Topics in Syntax-Phonology Interface in Turkish: Sentential Stress and Phases

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ABSTRACT

TOPICS IN SYNTAX-PHONOLOGY INTERFACE IN TURKISH:

SENTENTIAL STRESS AND PHASES

by

Fatma Aslı Üntak Tarhan

This study investigates the nature of sentential stress, how it is assigned and how it interacts with focus structure and discourse pragmatic factors in Turkish. Recent work in the literature (Legate 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Selkirk and Kratzer 2005) point out that phonological component of the language faculty is sensitive to phases and multiple Spell-out (Chomsky 2000, 2001) as domains wherein sentential stress is assigned. The present study explores the possibility of accounting for Turkish sentential stress facts by using the notions of phases and multiple Spell-out in the light of these previous studies.

Following Kahnemuyipour (2004) and Selkirk and Kratzer (2005), it is argued that sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the Spell-out in focus-neutral contexts. It is shown that this kind of a sentential stress assignment mechanism accounts for the unusual stress behaviour of unaccusative, passive, unergative structures and structures containing manner adverbials.

An investigation of accusative-marked objects reveals that there is also another mechanism regulating the stress patterns. It is argued that the accusative-marked objects in Turkish are subject to the discourse anaphora generalization proposed by Neeleman

and Reinhart (1998). It is shown that D-linked accusative-marked objects are unstressed whereas non-D-linked ones can bear stress.

It is also proposed that there is a type of optional scrambling in Turkish that is sensitive to intonational phrasing and that does not have discourse pragmatic functions. It is argued that optional scrambling is allowed as long as the intonational phrasing is kept intact.

Finally, it is argued that the conditions on subject ellipsis is looser than that of object ellipsis in that they are sensitive to different givenness types.

KISA ÖZET

TÜRKÇE'DE SÖZDİZİM-SESBİLİM ARAYÜZÜNDE KONULAR: TÜMCE VURGUSU VE EVRELER

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkçe'de tümce vurgusunun doğasını, nasıl belirlendiğini ve odak yapısı ve söylemsel faydacı etkenlerle nasıl etkileştiğini araştırmaktır. Son zamanlarda dilbilim alanında yapılan çalışmalar (Legate 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Selkirk ve Kratzer 2005), dilin sesbilimsel biriminin, tümce vurgusunun belirlenmesi konusunda, evreler ve çoklu sesletime (Chomsky 2000, 2001) duyarlı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, Türkçe'de tümce vurgusu konusunu, yukarıda bahsedilen çalışmalar ışığında, evreler ve çoklu sesletim kavramlarını kullanarak açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Kahnemuyipour (2004) ve Selkirk ve Kratzer (2005) çalışmaları doğrultusunda, tümce vurgusunun, bütün tümce odak olduğu durumlarda, çoklu sesletim içindeki en yüksek öğeye düştüğü önerilmektedir. Tümce vurgusunun böyle bir yöntemle belirlenmesi, nesneli geçissiz, özneli geçissiz, edilgen yapılarının ve durum belirteçleri içeren yapıların sıradışı vurgu davranışlarını açıklamaktadır.

Belirtme durum eki taşıyan nesnelerin vurgularının incelenmesi, tümce vurgusunun belirlenmesinde başka bir sistemin daha etkili olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışma Türkçe'de belirtme durum eki taşıyan nesnelerin, Neeleman ve Reinhart (1998) çalışmasında önerilen söylemsel artgönderim genellemesine uyduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Söylem içinde daha önceki bir söylem varlığına bağlanabilen belirtme durum ekli

nesnelerin vurgu alamadığı, ancak söylem içinde daha önceki bir söylem varlığına bağlanamayan belirtme durum ekli nesnelerin vurgu alabildiği gösterilmektedir.

Bu çalışma ayrıca Türkçe'de, ezgisel öbeklemeye duyarlı olan ve söylemsel faydacı etkileri olmayan bir devrikleme türü olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Tümce üzerinde söylemsel faydacı etkileri olmayan bu devrikleme türünün, ezgisel öbekleme korunduğu sürece gerçekleşebileceği gösterilmektedir.

Son olarak, Türkçe'de özne eksiltisi koşullarının nesne eksiltisi koşullarından daha gevşek olduğu ve bunun, özne ve nesnelerin bağlam içinde farklı verilmiş bilgi konumlarına duyarlı olmalarından kaynaklandığı öne sürülmektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to investigate the nature of sentential stress, how it is assigned and how it interacts with focus structure and discourse-pragmatic factors in Turkish. Recent work in the literature (Legate 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Selkirk & Kratzer 2005) point out that the phonological component of the language faculty is sensitive to phases and multiple Spell-out (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) as domains wherein sentential stress is assigned. This thesis explores the possibility of accounting for Turkish sentential stress facts by exploiting the notions of phases and multiple Spell-out in the light of these previous studies.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

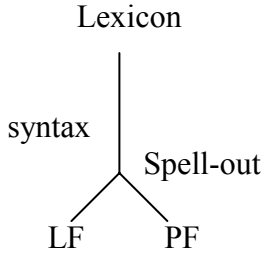
The theoretical framework which is adopted in this thesis is *Minimalism* (Chomsky 1995), in particular, the recent version of the theory known as the theory of phases and multiple spell-out as developed in Chomsky (2000, 2001). In the following section, I will briefly discuss the core points of this framework.

1.2.1 Minimalism

The Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent work), which is the recent development in the theory of principles-and-parameters (P&P) of the generative framework, hinges upon the idea that the faculty of language is an optimal solution to design specifications. According to this framework, every linguistic expression encompasses instructions to the performance systems with which it interacts. These performance systems are as follows: the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and the conceptual-intentional (C-I). A particular language L is taken to be a generative system which constructs pairs (π, λ) that are interpreted at these interfaces levels. π is a PF (Phonetic Form) representation and λ is an LF (Logical Form) representation. A linguistic expression is at most a pair of this type, meaning that there are no other interface levels apart from PF and LF. Essentially, the Deep Structure (D-Structure) and the Surface Structure (S-Structure) levels of the Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) are eliminated.

There are two components that a language comprises. These are the lexicon and the computational system (or syntax). The model assumed in Minimalist Program is shown in (1).

(1)



The representation in (1) is known as the Y-model of grammar. The computational system accesses the lexicon and generates linguistic expressions of the sort (π, λ) as described above. At the point of Spell-out, the linguistic expression (π, λ) is sent to interface levels for phonological (PF) and semantic (LF) interpretation.

For a sentence to be generated, the computational component selects lexical items from the lexicon and puts them in a lexical array (LA). Then, the following three operations are exploited by the computational component to generate a sentence: *Merge*, *Agree* and *Move*. The operation *Merge* takes a pair of syntactic objects (α, β) and puts them together in order to combine a new syntactic object K(α, β). The operation *Agree*, on the other hand, establishes a relation (e.g. case checking, agreement) between a lexical item α and a feature F in a restricted domain. The operation *Move*, takes a phrase determined by the feature F and merges it in the specifier of α [Spec, α] after an *Agree* relation is established between α and F. These operations apply to the lexical items until the syntactic structure is sent to PF and LF for phonological and semantic interpretation, respectively.

The recent version of this theory (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) which will be adopted in this thesis, introduces the notion of phases and multiple Spell-out. The crucial modification that is made to the earlier versions of the theory is that derivation proceeds in a phase-by-phase manner. The computational component does not select the lexical items and form the lexical array (LA) at once. Rather, LA is selected in a phasal manner. The same operations *Merge*, *Agree* and *Move* are exploited to generate a sentence. Crucially, syntactic structure is sent to PF and LF interfaces in chunks. That is, when the derivation reaches a phase, the complement of the phasal head, which is referred to as

the "Spell-out" is shipped off to PF and LF for interpretation. Chomsky (2000) also proposes the following condition on the derivation known as the *Phase Impenetrability Condition*.

(2) *Phase Impenetrability Condition*

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2000: 108)

Suppose we have a configuration [XP [H YP]] in which H is a head introducing a phase. According to the condition in (2), YP is not accessible to operations outside this domain, i.e. this phase. Only H and XP are accessible to such operations.

Chomsky argues that phases are propositional and defines phases as "either a verb phrase in which all theta roles are assigned or a full clause including tense and force" (Chomsky 2000: 106). According to him, only CP and transitive vP constitute phases. TP or unaccusative (or passive) vPs, on the other hand, do not induce phasal boundaries. Note that this distinction will be crucial throughout the analysis in this thesis.

In this section, I discussed the main points of the theoretical framework which will be adopted in this thesis. In the following section, I will provide some general background on Turkish.

1.3 Some properties of Turkish

1.3.1 Word Order

The canonical word order of Turkish is generally considered to be SOV (cf. Lewis 1967, Erguvanlı 1984). In unmarked structures, complements and adjuncts precede heads as shown in (3).

(3) a. *Main clause*

Ali kitab-ı oku-du.
Ali book-acc read-past
'Ali read the book.'

b. *Postpositional phrase*

ben-im için
I-1gen for
'for me'

c. *Adjective phrase*

çalışkan öğrenci
hard-working student
'hard-working student'

1.3.2 The pro-drop nature of Turkish

Turkish is a language which has rich verbal morphology. The verbs agree with the subject in person and number. As can be seen in (4), the subject position of a sentence need not be occupied with an overt, phonologically realized noun phrase.[1]

(4) a. Ben dün Ayşe-yi gör-dü-m.
I yesterday Ayşe-acc see-past-1sg
'I saw Ayşe yesterday.'

b. Dün Ayşe-yi gör-dü-m.
Yesterday Ayşe-acc see-past-1sg
'I saw Ayşe yesterday.'

The subjects of noun phrases can be phonologically null as well as in (5).

(5) a. ben-im çanta-m
I-1gen bag-1poss
'my bag'
b. çanta-m
bag-1poss
'my bag'

[1] See Öztürk (1999) for a proposal that Turkish is not a pro-drop language.

1.3.3 Case-marking

In Turkish, noun phrases are generally overtly marked for Case. The nominative is a null morpheme. Some examples are illustrated in (6) below.

(6) a. *Nominative*

Ali-∅ gel-di.
Ali-nom come-past
'Ali came.'

b. *Accusative*

Ali kitab-ı oku-du.
Ali book-acc read-past
'Ali read the book.'

c. *Dative*

Ali kitab-a bak-tı.
Ali kitab-dat look-past
'Ali looked at the book.'

d. *Ablative*

Ali kitap-tan bahset-ti.
Ali book-abl talk about-past
'Ali talked about the book.'

Object noun phrases can occur without overt case morphology as well. These cases will be discussed in Section 1.2.5.

1.3.4 Scrambling

In Section 1.2.1, we said that the unmarked word order in Turkish is SOV. However, different orders are also possible as shown in (7).

(7) a. Ali gazete-yi oku-du. *Basic order*
Ali newspaper-acc read-past
'Ali read the newspaper.'

b. Ali okudu gazeteyi.
c. Gazete-yi oku-du Ali.
d. Oku-du Ali gazeteyi.
e. Gazete-yi Ali oku-du.
f. Oku-du gazete-yi Ali.

It has been argued that word order variation is sensitive to the information structure of the sentence (cf. Erguvanlı 1984). Erguvanlı (1984) holds the view that specific positions in a sentence are associated with certain pragmatic functions. One such position is the immediately preverbal position. Erguvanlı argues that the immediately preverbal position is the *focus* position in Turkish and that word order variation achieves a pragmatic function in the sense that the constituent that is the focus of the sentence is brought to this position. Sentence-initial position is the position for *topics*. The post-

predicate region, on the other hand, hosts the informational unit *backgrounding*.[2] Departing from this view, Göksel and Özsoy (2000, 2003) show that topic and focus do not have designated positions in a sentence.

1.3.5 Articles

Turkish does not have a definite article. The interpretation of a noun phrase is contingent on factors such as the absence/presence of overt case marking, word order and the absence/presence of modal operators (such as future, possibility, negation, conditional, habitual, probability, etc.) (cf. Dede 1986, Kelepir 2001, among others). Some examples are shown below to illustrate these different cases.

(8) *Case Marking*

a. Hasan-a kedi al-dı-m.
Hasan-dat cat buy-past-1sg
'I bought a cat for Hasan.'

b. Hasan-a kedi-yi al-dı-m.
Hasan-dat cat-acc buy-past-1sg
'I bought the cat for Hasan.' (Kelepir 2001: (16))

[2] The reader is referred to Erguvanlı (1984) for an extensive discussion of this issue.

(9) *Word order*

a. Çocuk yer-de yat-ıyor-du.
child ground-loc lie-prog-past
'The child was lying on the ground.'

b. Yer-de çocuk yat-ıyor-du.
ground-loc child lie-prog-past
'On the ground children were lying.' (Dede 1986: (17), (18))

(10) *Modality*

Generic

a. Çocuk sev-il-mek iste-r.
child love-pass-inf want-aor.
'Children need to be loved.'

Episodic

b. Çocuk sev-il-mek iste-di.
child love-pass-inf want-past
'The child needed to be loved.' (Dede 1986: (31), (34))

It has been traditionally assumed that the indefinite article in Turkish is *bir* 'one' (Aygen 2002, Kelepir 2001, among others) though there have also been proposals that *bir* cannot be treated as an indefinite article (Öztürk 2004). Descriptively, 'bir' seems to be ambiguous between a weak determiner and a numeral quantifier in Turkish. There are two variants of 'bir': a stressed and an unstressed variant. 'bir' which is envisaged as the

indefinite article is the unstressed variant. The stressed 'bir' functions as a numeral (cf. Aygen 2002). This is shown in (11).

(11) a. bir çocuk 'a child'
a child

b. bir çocuk 'one child'
one child

1.4 Summary of Proposals

The central argument put forth in this thesis is that sentential stress, associated with high pitch accent, is assigned in a phasal manner in Turkish akin to the systems proposed by Kahnemuyipour (2004) and Selkirk and Kratzer (2005). In focus-neutral contexts, i.e. when the entire sentence is the focus, focus meaning new information in the discourse, sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the spell-out, i.e. the complement of the phasal head as developed in the mechanism by Kahnemuyipour (2004) (*Sentential Stress Rule*, SSR).

However, on closer scrutiny, it turns out that this is not the whole picture. The stress behavior of accusative-marked objects show that another mechanism is also at work in addition to the above system in determining the sentential stress patterns. Following Selkirk and Kratzer (2005), who incorporate the notion of discourse-givenness[3] into Kahnemuyipour's Sentential Stress Rule, I argue that *D-linking* also affects the stress

[3] They use the term *F-marked* to indicate a constituent that is not discourse-given. I will discuss their account in detail in Chapter 2.

patterns of DPs in Turkish. More specifically, D-linked DPs are subject to the principle stated by Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) known as the *discourse anaphora generalization* that is shown in (12).

(12) *Discourse anaphora generalization*

A DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity.

(Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (64))

An antecedent of a DP is "accessible" if it is mentioned very recently or if it is a topic (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998).

In informationally non-neutral contexts, i.e. in sentences in which a constituent smaller than the sentence is the focus, sentential stress can be assigned (again in a phasal fashion) in the following ways: If a case of *broad focus*, that is, a case in which stress on a constituent can mark larger constituents as the focus (e.g. stress on the object marking VP as the focus), is in question, SSR operates and assigns stress to the constituent from which *focus projection* (in the sense of Selkirk (1995)) occurs. In cases of narrow focus, in which the stress on a constituent cannot mark larger constituents as the focus, the focused constituent is assigned stress by a rule different from SSR. For these cases, I adopt Kahnemuyipour's (2004) *Focus Stress Rule* (FSR).

There are two further proposals made in this thesis. The first one is related to an optional word order variation type in Turkish which is sensitive to *intonational phrasing*. I propose that, in addition to scrambling operations that have discourse-pragmatic effects (Erguvanlı 1984, among others), there is also optional scrambling in

Turkish which does not affect discourse appropriateness as long as the intonational phrasing is preserved.

The final proposal which I will make concerns the phenomenon of ellipsis in Turkish. Following Gundel and Fretheim's (2004) definitions on two types of givenness, *referential* and *relational givenness*, I argue that there is an asymmetry between subjects and objects with respect to allowing ellipsis and that they are sensitive to different givenness types. The *referentially givenness* status suffices for the subject DP to be ellided. An object DP, however, can be ellided only when it is *relationally given*. Thus, the condition on subject ellipsis is looser than that of object ellipsis in Turkish.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

The organization of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 2 first reviews the phasal accounts of sentential stress assignment (Legate 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Selkirk & Kratzer 2005). Then the position of the object in Turkish is discussed. It is suggested that the accusative-marked object occupies the specifier position of an intermediate projection between the lexical VP and the functional vP. Considering the accumulating evidence that shows that the accusative case has aspectual content (cf. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2004, Kratzer 2004, Svenonius 2002, Borer 2005), this projection is taken to be AspP. On the basis of this clausal structure, I examine various structures such as unaccusatives, unergatives and passives and structures containing time, location and manner adverbials with respect to their stress patterns. I argue that Sentential Stress Rule (SSR), as formulated in Kahnemuyipour (2004) which assigns stress to the highest element in the

Spellout can account for the stress patterns of the above structures, that seem unusual and random at first glance.

Chapter 3 mainly discusses the stress facts related to acc-marked objects in Turkish. First, a brief review of the semantics and the position related to acc-marked objects in Turkish is provided. Then, it is observed that there is a dichotomy among the acc-marked objects with respect to stress. A group of acc-marked objects can receive stress in focus-neutral contexts, whereas there is another group of acc-marked objects that cannot host sentential stress. I argue that the notion of D-linking is a key to this difference. The stress-bearing acc-marked objects are non-D-linked whilst the other ones are D-linked. In this chapter, I also discuss issues related to D-linking, stress shifting operations (Cinque 1993) and givenness. It is argued that SSR as proposed by Kahnemuyipour (2004) cannot explain the stress behavior of acc-marked objects in Turkish on its own. I suggest that another mechanism, namely *discourse anaphora generalization* as proposed by Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), is also at work in determining stress patterns. By adopting these two rules, I analyze the stress patterns of acc-marked objects in Turkish. Also, first concentrating on a special case of object scrambling in Turkish, i.e. scrambling of the D-linked acc-marked object, I investigate a number of scrambling structures and argue for a type of optional scrambling that is sensitive to intonational phrasing. I further examine D-linked subjects of unaccusative, unergative and passive structures and show that they are also subject to discourse anaphora generalization (cf. Neeleman & Reinhart 1998). The optional scrambling mentioned above is also shown to exist in structures containing D-linked subjects. I also attempt to analyze the stress patterns of bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects.

Finally, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings in this chapter on the general architecture of grammar.

Chapter 4 investigates sentences that are informationally non-neutral. It is argued that, in these cases SSR is not adequate in explaining the stress facts and another rule referred to as Focus Stress Rule (FSR) is adopted from Kahnemuyipour (2004). It is shown that this rule captures the stress facts in non-neutral contexts. Finally, I touch upon the phenomenon of ellipsis in Turkish. I argue that there is subject-object asymmetry in Turkish with respect to allowing ellipsis and that the condition on the ellipsis of the subject is looser than that of the object.

Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the main proposals and concludes the thesis. In this chapter, I also discuss the theoretical implications of the findings in this study and bring up potential questions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

SENTENTIAL STRESS AND PHASES

In this chapter, I will analyze a variety of structures such as unaccusative, passive, unergative structures and structures containing adverbials and propose that sentential stress assignment in Turkish applies in a phasal manner akin to the systems proposed by Kahnemuyipour (2004) and Selkirk and Kratzer (2005). My main aim is to show that a periphery of a domain, i.e. the highest element in the complement of the phasal head (Spell-out), is sensitive to sentential stress assignment in Turkish and that the differences between various structures with respect to their stress patterns can be accounted for in such a system.

2.1 Phase-based Accounts of Sentential Stress Assignment

In this section, I will briefly review previous accounts of sentential stress assignment that rest upon the notion of phases and multiple spell-out.

2.1.1 Legate (2003)

Legate (2003), in an attempt to identify evidence for the phasehood of vPs at PF, investigates whether sentential stress assignment is sensitive to phases. The stress rule she assumes to apply, the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR), is along the lines of Cinque (1993). According to this rule, primary stress in a phrase is assigned to the deeply embedded constituent in that phrase.[4] One point which is significant for the following discussion is that, Cinque's system predicts that in right-branching phrases, i.e. in phrases in which the depth of embedding increases to the right, primary stress must fall on the rightmost constituent since it is the most deeply embedded element. Thus, as is also noted by Legate (2003), Cinque's rule assigns the primary stress in English to the rightmost element in the VP, which is a right-branching structure.[5]

Legate (2003) shows that there are some structures that are problematic to Cinque's rule in that primary stress is not assigned to the rightmost element in the VP in English as shown in (1b) below. ((1) and (2) are examples Legate adopts from Bresnan (1972)) Throughout the thesis, sentential stress will be indicated via underlining.

(1) a. Mary liked the proposal that George <u>leave</u>.

b. Mary liked the <u>proposal</u> that George left. (Bresnan 1972: 75)

[4] For present purposes, this definition of the Nuclear Stress Rule is sufficient. The NSR proposed by Cinque (1993) will be discussed in detail in Section 3.3.2.1.

[5] For the time being, I will not discuss the cases in which the verb and the object are sisters and have equal depth of embedding. This will be discussed in Section 3.3.2.1.

In (1a), that-clause is the complement of 'the proposal' whereas it appears in a relative clause construction in (1b). NSR assigns stress to 'leave' which is in the sentence-final position in (1a). In (1b), on the other hand, primary stress is assigned to the *non-final* 'proposal'. Legate assumes that 'proposal' in (1b) is moved from the object position of the embedded clause. Now let us consider (2).

(2) a. I'll look up Mary, when I'm in Toronto.

b. I'll look her/?Mary up, when I'm in Toronto.

c. Please put away the dishes.

d. Please put them/?the dishes away. (Legate 2003: (10))

In (2), Legate assumes that the object undergoes short movement within the verb phrase in (2b) and (2d). If we look at (2a) and (2c), we see that NSR assigns stress to the sentence-final constituents. Likewise, in (2b) and (2d), the sentence-final constituents, but not the moved objects, receive primary stress. Legate points out that the examples in (2) contrast with those in (1) in that NSR assigns stress to the shifted object in (1) whereas it does not do so in (2).

Legate attempts to solve this puzzle by proposing that sentential stress is in fact sensitive to phases and that NSR applies in a phasal fashion.[6] She suggests that the discrepancy between the two sets of examples (1) and (2) is that in (1), the object moves out of the vP phase, whilst in (2) it moves within the vP phase. Note that Legate assumes

[6] Legate argues that passive and unaccusative vPs constitute phases as opposed to Chomsky (2001, 2002).

the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1993).[7] Thus, she claims that the input to PF on the first phase (vP) of (1b) is [left the proposal], whereas the input to PF on the first phase (vP) of (2d) is [put the dishes away the dishes].

Legate talks about a PF operation that deletes non-initial copies in a chain and further assumes that this operation treats each phase as a separate unit. In (1b), 'proposal' is a copy which moves to the phase edge ([Spec, vP]) to be accessible for movement for a further phase. Thus, the vP phase now contains only one occurrence of the DP 'proposal' since the other copy is outside (i.e. at the edge of) the vP phase. Therefore, the PF operation that deletes non-initial copies in a chain cannot apply to it. NSR assigns primary stress to the final element which is the lower copy 'proposal'. Legate claims that this copy of 'proposal' will be deleted in favor of a higher copy at a later phase, primary stress being inherited to this higher copy. In (2d), on the other hand, the input to PF contains two copies of 'the dishes'. Therefore, the PF operation which deletes non-initial copies can apply and delete the lower copy. The input to NSR has 'away' as the final element in the verb phrase. Thus, 'away' receives primary stress (Legate 2003: 11).

Kahnemuyipour (2004) argues that one of the shortcomings of this account is that it cannot explain how left edge markers like manner or measure adverbials receive sentential stress in some languages. Let us consider the following Persian data adopted from Kahnemuyipour (2004).

---

[7] The copy theory of movement assumes that movement of an element creates two identical occurrences of the moved element; one in the extraction site, and one in the landing site. If there are intermediate landing sites, movement will create more than two occurrences. These occurrences are referred to as *copies*. Which copy should be interpreted or pronounced depends on the instructions to LF and PF components, respectively.

(3) a. Ali [xub qazaa mi-xord][8]
Ali well food dur-ate
'Ali would (used to) eat well.'

b. Maryam [xeyli film mi-did]
Maryam a lot film dur-saw
'Maryam would (used to) see films a lot.'

(Kahnemuyipour 2004: (12d), (13d))

Recall that NSR assigns stress to the deeply embedded element in the phrase. If two constituents have equal depth of embedding, on the other hand, the one that is selected by the other receives stress (Cinque 1993). In the case of verb and object then, it is the object that should be assigned primary stress. Thus, Legate's account, which takes Cinque's NSR as its basis, would predict that the primary stress in the above examples falls onto the objects since they are the deeply embedded constituents in the phase vP (note that they are selected by the verb). Turkish also behaves similar to Persian in that the left edge of a domain seems to be sensitive to stress assignment.

(4) a. Ali [hızlı kitap oku-du]
Ali fast book read-past
'Ali read a book fast.'

b. Ayşe [güzel yemek yap-ar]
Ayşe well food cook-aor
'Ayşe cooks (food) well.'

[8] Square brackets are used here to indicate that stress is assigned to the left periphery of a domain.

To solve this puzzle, Kahnemuyipour suggests to define the stress rule in a way that it would assign stress to the leftmost (i.e. the highest) element within a stress domain (Kahnemuyipour 2004: 51). In the following section, I review his account of sentential stress assignment.

2.1.2 Kahnemuyipour (2004)

Kahnemuyipour (2004), similar to Legate (2003), proposes a phase-based account to the assignment of sentential stress. The basic claim of this work is that sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the Spell-out, i.e. the complement of the phasal head, to which Kahnemuyipour refers to as Stress Domain. As to what constitutes phases, he follows Chomsky (2001, 2002) in that only transitive vPs and CPs constitute phases. Passive and unaccusative vPs, on the other hand, do not induce phasal boundaries. Kahnemuyipour's Sentential Stress Rule (SSR) is shown below in (4).

(4) *Sentential Stress Rule*

> Sentential Stress is assigned at the phase to the highest element (i.e. the phonological border) of the spelled-out constituent or the SPELLEE.[9]

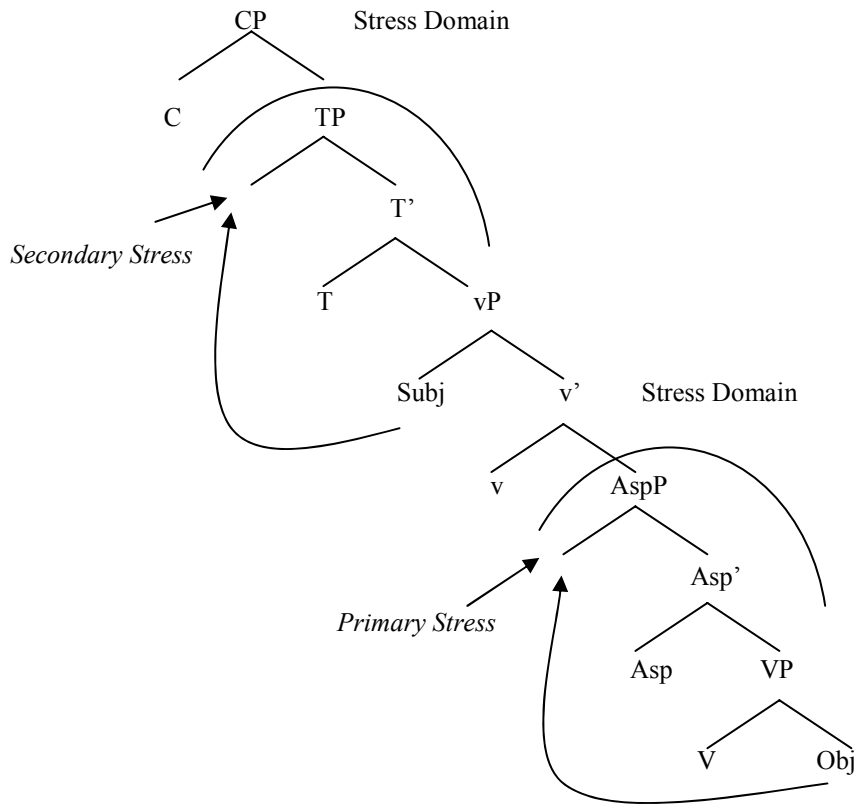
This rule is a default rule which operates in focus-neutral contexts. Another property of this mechanism is that it is iterative in nature. That is, the highest element of the lower spell-out (AspP) receives primary stress, whilst the highest element of the second spell-

[9] Kahnemuyipour refers to the spelled-out constituent as SPELLEE.

out (TP) receives secondary stress. The system proposed by Kahnemuyipour is shown in (5).[10]

Assignment of Sentential Stress:

(5)



Kahnemuyipour formulates another rule to account for sentential stress in informationally non-neutral contexts. This is the Focus Stress Rule (FSR) shown in (6).

[10] Note that Kahnemuyipour (2004) assumes Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry Theory. We will not be assuming an antisymmetry approach. See Kelepir (1996) and Kural (1997) for a view against an antisymmetric analysis of Turkish.

(6) *Focus Stress Rule*

At the phase HP[11], mark a focussed subconstituent C to receive focus stress. At PF, the constituent marked for focus stress receives the highest prominence of the sentence.

Kahnemuyipour claims that Focus Stress Rule marks constituents with stress in languages which allow for a prosodic realization of focus. Furthermore, he proposes that Sentential Stress Rule and Focus Stress Rule apply independently and mark constituents to receive corresponding stresses (i.e. sentential stress and focus stress). This is illustrated in (7).

(7) [$_F$ John] kissed Mary. (Kahnemuyipour 2004: 166)

In (7), the subject of the sentence 'John' is the focused constituent in the sentence. Kahnemuyipour argues that SSR and FSR are both on operation in determining the stress pattern of (7). Here is how the mechanism works. At the phase vP, there is no focused constituent. Thus, FSR does not apply. SSR, on the other hand, applies and assigns primary stress to the object 'Mary'. At the CP phase, the subject 'John' is marked for Focus Stress (FS) as well as for secondary sentential stress. Recall that the SSR is iterative. This is illustrated in (8).

[11] Chomsky (2001) distinguishes between weak phases and strong phases. CP and transitive vP are strong phases whereas passive and unaccusative vPs are weak phases. Chomsky uses HP for a strong phase with head H. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to strong phases as phases and weak phases as non-phases.

SS_1: Primary sentential stress

SS_2: Secondary sentential stress

(8)	John	kissed	Mary	→	John	kissed Mary
	FS, SS_2		SS_1		1	2

In (8), we see that SSR and FSR both operate. Kahnemuyipour suggests that focus stress takes precedence over sentential stress. This entails the following: i) A constituent marked for FS receives higher prominence than the one marked for SS. ii) If a constituent is marked for both FS and SS, only the FS marking is interpreted (Kahnemuyipour 2004: 166). Therefore, in (8), for the subject which is marked for both FS and SS_2, FS will be interpreted. Thus, the subject should have higher prominence than the object which is marked for SS_1. As can be seen from (8), the subject 'John' receives primary stress whereas the object 'Mary' receives secondary stress. The secondary stress on the object leads Kahnemuyipour to conclude that SSR is also at work as an independent mechanism from FSR (Kahnemuyipour 2004: 167).

While the basic idea adopted in this thesis is quite similar to Kahnemuyipour's proposal, we will see that it departs from this proposal to a certain extent subsequently when data from Turkish are analyzed. In what follows, I will review Selkirk and Kratzer's (2005) phasal account of sentential stress assignment.

2.1.3 Selkirk and Kratzer (2005)

Selkirk and Kratzer (2005) also argue in favor of the impact of phases and multiple spell-out in determining the stress patterns in a sentence. They point out to a problematic aspect of Kahnemuyipour's (2004) account and reformulate the sentential stress rule. First, let us look at the shortcoming of Kahnemuyipour's account.

Before illustrating the issue with an example, I would like to introduce a term exploited by Selkirk and Kratzer (2005) which will be crucial in modifying Kahnemuyipour's SSR: *F-marking*. This is a feature carried by words which solely produces inferences about discourse-old versus discourse-new information (Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: 3). Selkirk & Kratzer state the *Givenness Constraint* shown in (9).

(9) *Givenness Constraint*

A constituent is given if and only if it contains no F-marks.

(Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: 3)

Now, let us consider (10).

(10) *A law degree* is an important qualification for this job. Because Mary_F isn't $\underline{\text{studying}}_F$ *law*, she is not likely to get the job.

(Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: (9))

Selkirk & Kratzer argue that phrase stress is assigned to the verb 'studying' in (10) instead of the object 'law', onto which Kahnemuyipour's (2004) SSR would predict the

primary stress to fall since it is the highest element in the spell-out of the vP phase. They suggest that this is due to the fact that the object does not contain F-marking. That is, the object is discourse-given in that 'a law degree' is introduced in the previous context. Thus, it is not F-marked. The verb, being an F-marked element, is assigned primary stress. For these cases, i.e. cases in which discourse-given elements occur, Kahnemuyipour argues that FSR applies since he considers these sentences not belonging to focus-neutral context. Thus, for (10), Kahnemuyipour's system would suggest that it is the verb 'studying' that is the focus of the sentence.

In order to explain the stress pattern in (10), Selkirk & Kratzer revise Kahnemuyipour's (2004) SSR (Sentential Stress Rule), incorporating the notion of F-marking into it as shown in (11).

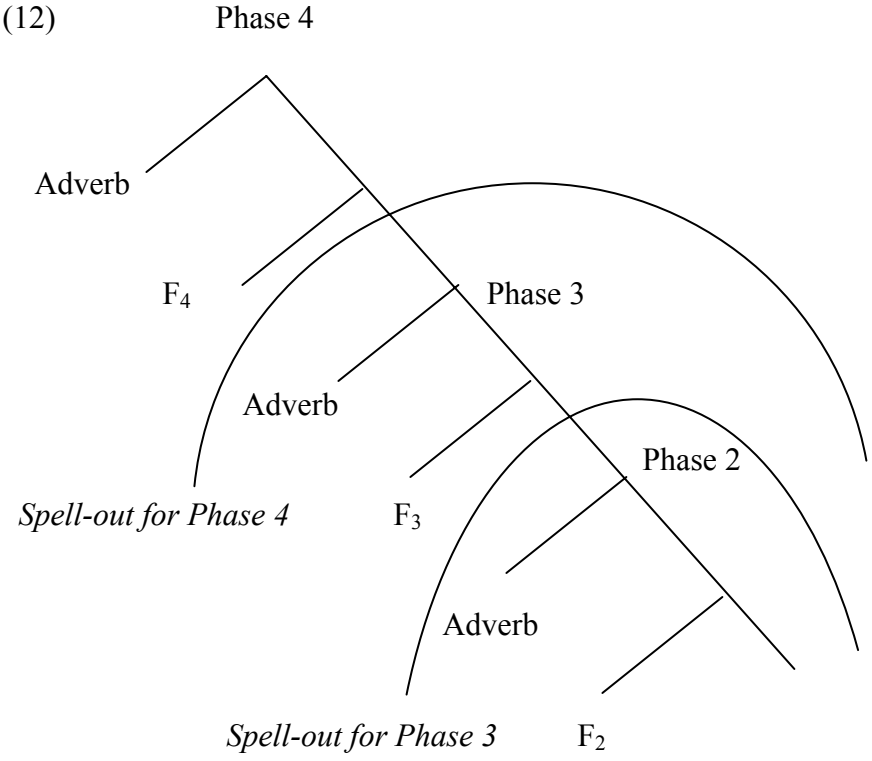
(11) *Phrase Stress Computation*

> In a spelled-out domain, phrase stress falls within the highest constituent that contains an F-mark. (Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: 6)

Another point in Selkirk & Kratzer's account which departs from Kahnemuyipour's concerns what constitutes phases. They propose that there are more phases than vP and CP as defined by Chomsky (2001, 2002). Assuming Cinque's (1999) work which suggests that the locus of adverbs is the specifier positions of distinct functional heads and Morzycki's study (2004) which proposes that adverbs are arguments of those functional heads, Selkirk & Kratzer redefine the notion of 'phase' as follows: "Phase heads are functional heads that have a semantic 'grip' on their specifier positions."

(Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: 7) Some examples of semantic grip illustrated by them are a head introducing an argument into its specifier position (e.g. active v) or a head whose specifier is associated with a particular discourse function, e.g. C and $Topic_0$. On the basis of this, they propose that all heads introducing adverbials are phase heads. This yields the following structure where F_n is a functional head introducing Phase n.

(12)



According to Selkirk & Kratzer, possible phase heads are active v, C and $Topic_0$. Heads that cannot constitute phases, on the other hand, are unaccusative v, telic[12] and tense. They suggest that these functional heads either do not introduce arguments or do not

[12] This functional head corresponds to the AspP in Kahnemuyipour's (2004) proposal as shown in (5). I will elaborate on the nature of this functional projection in Section 2.2.

impose semantic/discourse functions on their specifiers. Their specifiers are licensed via agreement relations such as *tense* with *nominative* in the sense of Pesetsky and Torrego (2004), *telic* with *accusative* along the lines of Kratzer (2004) (Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: 8).

Selkirk & Kratzer conclude that the number of spell-outs in a sentence reflect the number of phrase stresses. Furthermore, they suggest that none of these phrase stresses are defined as *main sentence stress*. Rather, these phrase stresses are identical. Recall that in Kahnemuyipour's (2004) system, stress is assigned iteratively, i.e. the highest element in the first spell-out (AspP) is assigned primary stress whereas the highest element in the second spell-out (TP) receives secondary stress. This is another discrepancy between these approaches.

In addition to the Phrase Stress Computation in (11), Selkirk & Kratzer argue that there is another factor which also has impact on the computation of stress patterns: FOC-marking. They use FOC-marking in the sense of Rooth (1985, 1992, 1996), as generating alternatives. (13) and (14) illustrate FOC-marking.

(13) Mary bought a book about FOC [bats], not FOC [cats].
(14) Mary bought him FOC [a book about bats], not FOC [a compass].

(Selkirk & Kratzer 2005: (5), (6))

Selkirk & Kratzer suggest that FOC seems to be a feature which corresponds to a functional head and can take scope over constituents. In their view, the following rule captures the impact of FOC-marking on computation of stress.

(15) *FOCUS Stress Computation*

A FOC-marked constituent must contain the main stress of an Intonational Phrase.

The main proposal which I will put forth in this thesis shares properties both with Kahnemuyipour's (2004) and Selkirk & Kratzer's (2005) accounts of sentential stress assignment. Most significantly, following these accounts, I will propose that sentential stress is assigned to the element that is in the *highest edge position* in the spell-out in Turkish. This is a major point of departure from Legate's (2003) account which, following Cinque's (1993) NSR, assigns stress to the deeply embedded constituent in the phase.

My proposal will be along parallel lines with Selkirk & Kratzer's in that I will also be incorporating the notion of discourse-givenness into Kahnemuyipour's Sentential Stress Rule (SSR). However, as we will see in Chapter 3, I will exploit a different definition of discourse-givenness which rests upon D-linking and accesibility (cf. Ariel 1991, Neeleman & Reinhart 1998). This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Following Kahnemuyipour, I assume that the stress assignment system operates in an iterative nature as discussed above. Here, I depart from Selkirk & Kratzer's account in which all spell-out stresses are on a par. The reason for this is that, if we take a simple SOV sentence in Turkish, the prominence on the object is higher than that of the subject in neutral context. Thus, it is plausible to assume that SSR weakens the prominence it assigns at each phase.

In the rest of this chapter, I will be adopting Kahnemuyipour's Sentential Stress Rule (SSR) since the structures I will analyze in this chapter do not contain discourse-given information. The rule is repeated as (16) below.

(16) *Sentential Stress Rule*

Sentential Stress is assigned at the phase to the highest element (i.e.the phonological border) of the spelled-out constituent or the SPELLEE. (Kahnemuyipour 2004)

In Chapter 3, we will see that this system cannot account for certain cases and that another mechanism is also at work in determing the stress patterns.

2.2 What is the syntactic position of the object in Turkish?

In this section, I will briefly review some previous views on the position of the object, especially, the accusative-marked object in Turkish and propose a clausal structure which I will be exploiting throughout the thesis. Note that I will confine my interest mainly to the syntactic position, rather than the semantics induced by the acc-marked object in this section. See, however, Section 3.2 for a detailed discussion of the relation between accusative case marking, interpretation and position.

Kennelly (1994) argues that the zero-marked DPs are VP-internal and that their Case requirement is satisfied by the verb under government. Acc-marked DPs, on the other hand, move to [Spec, AgrOP] at LF to check their Case features. Thus, they reside in a VP-external position.

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) makes a proposal along the lines of Kennelly (1994). According to her, acc-marked objects are VP-external whereas zero-marked ones occupy a VP-internal position. However, she does not discuss the exact position of acc-marked objects.

Kelepir (2001), following Kennelly (1994) and Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), proposes that acc-marked indefinites move to a position above VP ([Spec, vP]) to check their case features. Furthermore, she suggests that they receive presuppositional interpretation in this position in accordance with the semantic partitioning of Diesing (1992).[13] Zero-marked objects, on the other hand, are VP-internal. As to how these zero-marked objects receive their case, Kelepir (2001) discusses a number of views that analyze objects in languages displaying similar properties to the Turkish zero-marked objects (cf. De Hoop 1996, van Geenhoven 1998) and does not make a choice among these different approaches. She concludes that any of these approaches are compatible with her analysis.

It has been observed that zero-marked objects cannot appear to the left of an adverb whereas this is possible with the acc-marked ones in Turkish (cf. Erguvanlı 1984, Kelepir 2001, among others). Kelepir gives the following example to show that the acc-marked objects can occupy a VP-external position whereas the zero-marked ones are VP-internal in Turkish.

[13] See Section 3.2 for a detailed discussion of Diesing's (1992) semantic partitioning and the Mapping Hypothesis.

(17) *Zero-marked object*

a. *Hasan bir kitap-∅ dün al-dı.
Hasan a book yesterday buy-past
'Hasan bought a book yesterday.'

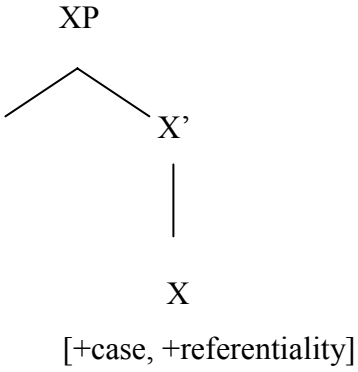
Accusative-marked object

b. Hasan bir kitab-ı dün al-dı.
Hasan a book-acc yesterday buy-past
'Hasan bought one book yesterday.' (Kelepir 2001: (160b), (161b))

(17a) shows that the occurrence of the zero-marked object to the left of the adverb 'dün', which is assumed to occupy a position outside VP, renders the sentence ungrammatical. (17b), on the other hand, illustrates that the acc-marked object can occur in this VP-external position.

Öztürk (2004) proposes a different approach than the above ones. She argues that for an NP to become a syntactic argument, it has to be assigned both case and referentiality. These two conditions for argumenthood, in her view, i.e. case and referentiality features need to be associated with each other in syntax. Furthermore, the assignment of these features takes place within the domain of a single functional projection in Turkish as shown in (18).

(18)



Öztürk also argues that there is typological variation among languages with respect to the association of case and referentiality features in syntax. In languages like English, there are separate functional projections associated with case and referentiality. NPs are merged into their theta positions and they are already assigned referentiality by DPs. Case checking is achieved via other functional projections such as vP and TP. On the other hand, for languages like Turkish, which Öztürk claims to lack morphological determiners and consequently the functional projection DP, Öztürk argues that case and referentiality features are encoded in the same functional head as in (12). She further holds the view that arguments in Turkish do not have to establish an Agree relation with higher projections as in English, and case assignment is in-situ (Öztürk 2004: 45-47).[14]

Before moving on, I would like to illustrate two examples that will be relevant for the following discussion, one containing a bare noun object and the other a non-specific indefinite one.

[14] The reader is referred to Öztürk (2004) for an extensive discussion of this typological variation of languages which also include Hungarian and Chinese.

(19) a. Ali kitap oku-du.
Ali book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ali bir kitap oku-du.
Ali a book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

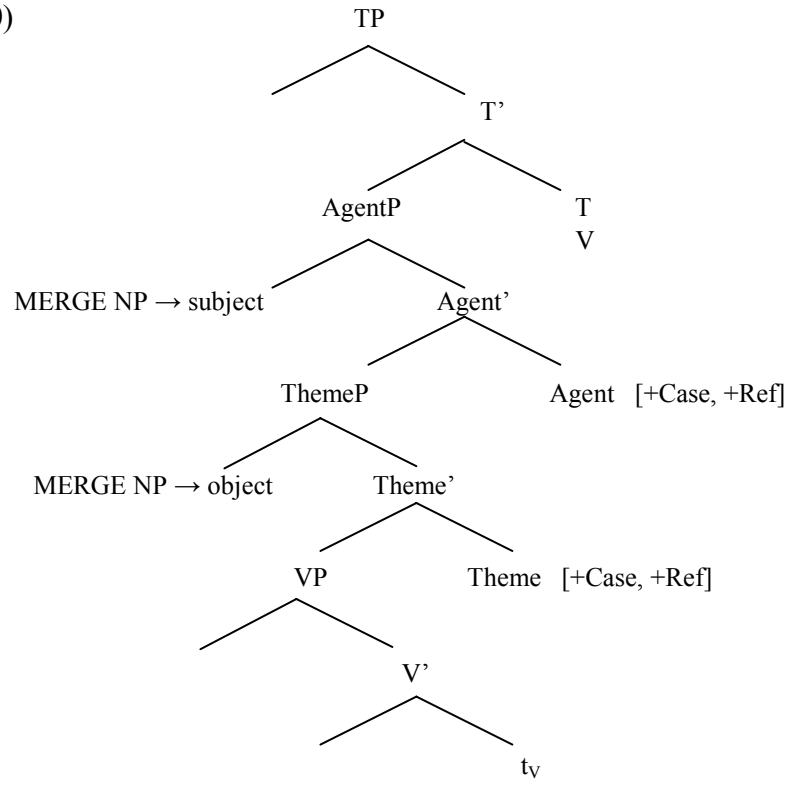
(19a) is a sentence with a bare noun object whereas (19b) contains a non-specific indefinite object.

Öztürk (2004) proposes a pseudo-incorporation analysis for the bare noun objects in Turkish (see Massam 2001 for a pseudo-incorporation analysis of Niuean data). She argues against a head-incorporation analysis for Turkish as proposed in Mithun (1984) and Kornfilt (1995, 2003) in which a noun head-incorporates into a verb head and formes a new V^0 as $[N^0 + V^0]$. She offers an incorporation analysis in which bare noun objects are viewed as phrasal categories of the type NP and are pseudo-incorporated into the verb V^0, forming a bar-level category V' as $[NP+ V^0]$. In her view, these pseudo-incorporated NPs are not syntactic arguments since they do not satisfy the two conditions on argumenthood, i.e. they are not assigned Case and they are not referential. She proposes that these NPs are of predicate type (i.e. of <e, t> semantic type). Being predicative, they form a complex predicate along with the verb at the V-bar level. This level, she argues, is a purely predicative level. For non-specific indefinite objects, Öztürk proposes the same analysis as with the bare noun objects. That is, non-specific indefinite objects are also predicative NPs. Therefore, they undergo complex predicate

formation along with the verb, forming the [NP+ V^0] complex. NPs that are syntactic arguments, on the other hand, need to occur in specifier positions of higher functional categories.

As to the nature of these functional categories, Öztürk (2004), following recent approaches to argument structure (cf. Lin 2001, Borer 2004), proposes a Neo-Davidsonian model for Turkish, in which verbs do not have a fixed argument structure but arguments are introduced via *theta-role assigning* functional categories. A transitive structure, for instance, would have the following structure in this view.

(20)



Öztürk assumes that all NPs in Turkish are merged into syntactic structure as predicative NPs. If the position to which the NP is merged licenses case assignment, it is type-shifted into an argument. If not, the NP remains predicative. Merging a predicative NP to the Spec of theta role assigning functional heads (ThemeP, AgentP) turns that predicative NP to a syntactic argument via assignment of case and referentiality features. Note that the acc-marked object would occupy [Spec, ThemeP] which is above VP in this structure.

Öztürk further argues against the presence of vP as a case-assigning functional projection in the clausal structure of Turkish. One of the evidence she suggests for such a claim is that the main idea behind a vP projection is Burzio's Generalization (1986)[15] which rests upon a relationship between the merging of external argument and object case checking. She claims that Turkish poses a challenge to Burzio's Generalization by providing evidence from pseudo-incorporation of agents in Turkish.[16] Öztürk argues that pseudo-incorporated agents do not allow control or agent-oriented adverbs that target external arguments. In her view, pseudo-incorporated agents are not external arguments. Thus, she concludes that Turkish does not obey Burzio's Generalization since it is possible to assign accusative case to the object in the absence of an external argument. Hence, there is no motivation for a vP projection in Turkish.

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[15] *Burzio's Generalization*: Abstract accusative case is assigned if and only if an external theta-role is assigned. (Burzio: 1986)

[16] In addition to the pseudo-incorporation analysis for the bare noun objects, which Öztürk calls the pseudo-incorporation of themes, Öztürk also argues that there is also pseudo-incorporation of agents in Turkish as in i.

i) Ali-yi [$_{NP}$arı] soktu.
Ali-acc bee stung
'Ali got bee stung.' (Öztürk 2004: 74)

Another argument Öztürk presents in favor of the absence of vP in Turkish concerns a cross-linguistic principle proposed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) which relies on the case feature on vP (Öztürk 2004: 182). According to this principle, the Spell-out VP cannot contain more than one argument with an unchecked Case feature. Öztürk argues that arguments remain in their theta positions in Turkish by examining scope relations of subjects and objects with respect to negation. Thus, she claims that Turkish challenges the cross-linguistic principle proposed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) in that subjects and objects are in their base positions. Öztürk notes that the principle in question follows from a v node which undergoes a Case checking relation with the object (Öztürk 2004: 185). She suggests that if it is assumed that objects check their Case in-situ via ThemeP rather than establishing an Agree relation with vP, Turkish will not be a problematic case for Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's principle any more. According to Öztürk, if vP is eliminated from the phrase structure of Turkish, the restriction stated by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou which says that no more than one argument can remain in-situ, will not be needed. Based on this discussion, Öztürk suggests to eliminate vP from Turkish.

Another evidence she suggests comes from the lack of vP-fronting in Turkish. She discusses Abels' (2003) study which investigates the issue of vP-fronting within minimalist framework, based on Huang's (1993) discussion on VP-fronting. Briefly, Abels (2003) argues that vP can be identified as a syntactic constituent in vP-fronting cases. Thus, vP-fronting could be an argument in favor of the existence of vP. Öztürk considers structures from Turkish that look like vP-fronting at first glance. However, she claims that these structures are formed by the right-adjunction of the subject, rather than

vP-fronting. She argues that since vP-fronting is not possible in Turkish, Huang's test cannot provide evidence that there is a vP level in the structure.

Finally, she discusses Legate's (2003) three arguments for the phasehood of vP. These are: i) reconstruction of wh-phrases to the vP-edge. ii) quantifier raising in ACD constructions targeting the vP edge iii) parasitic gaps licensed at the vP edge. Öztürk tries to use Legate's tests for phasehood of the vP. She argues that Turkish does not have ACD constructions following Özsoy (1996). She claims that Turkish does not exhibit parasitic gaps either (cf. İnce 2004). Furthermore, Turkish is a wh-in-situ language. Therefore, Öztürk concludes that none of these tests are applicable to Turkish and that it is not possible to argue for the phasehood of such a domain as vP as proposed in Legate (2003).

Öztürk claims that these arguments argue against the presence of vP as a case-assigning functional projection in the clause structure of Turkish (Öztürk 2004: 193). Thus, she concludes that there is no vP in Turkish.

Departing from this view, I suggest that the above discussion does not provide conclusive evidence to eliminate vP from the clause structure of Turkish. Firstly, the discussion mainly points out to the *absence* of evidence and inapplicability of phasehood of vP tests to Turkish rather than evidence *against* their presence. Secondly, Legate's tests are tools to identify the *phasehood* of vPs, rather than the *existence* of them. Thus, the nonphasehood of a vP does not rule out its existence from the phrase structure. In other words, a vP projection may not induce a phasal boundary but still be present in the phrase structure. Therefore, even if these tests were applicable to Turkish and Turkish failed them, this would merely show that the vP projection in Turkish is not capable of

inducing a phasal boundary, rather than providing evidence for the absence of vP from Turkish clausal structure. As Chomsky (2000, 2001) suggests, vP in unaccusative and passive structures is not a phase. However, vP is still present in these structures. Therefore, I suggest to retain vP in Turkish phrase structure.

Following, Kennelly (1994), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Kelepir (2001) and Öztürk (2004), I will also propose that acc-marked objects are VP-external whereas zero-marked ones are VP-internal. However, I will follow a different path in pinpointing the exact position of the acc-marked object. Let us consider (21) and (22).[17]

(21) a. Ali dün *kitab-ı* oku-du.
Ali yesterday *book-acc* read-past
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

b. Ali *kitabı* dün oku-du.
Ali *book-acc* yesterday read-past
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

(22) a. Ayşe okul-da *yemeği* ye-di.
Ayşe school-loc *food-acc* eat-past
'Ayşe ate the food at school.'

b. Ayşe *yemeği* okul-da ye-di.
Ayşe *food-acc* school-loc eat-past
'Ayşe ate the food at school.'

[17] Italics are used to indicate the position of the object in the following examples.

In (21) and (22), we see that the acc-marked object can occur both to the right and to the left of the adverb. For (21a) and (22a), we could say that the acc-marked object is in-situ and occupying a VP-internal position. In (21b) and (22b), on the other hand, it is moved to the left of the adverb. Now let us look at (23) and (24).

(23) a. *Ali yavaş *kitab-ı* oku-du.
Ali slowly *book-acc* read-past
Intended meaning: 'Ali read the book slowly.'

b. Ali *kitab-ı* yavaş oku-du.
Ali *book-acc* slowly read-past
'Ali read the book slowly.'

(24) a. *Ayşe hızlı *yemeğ-i* ye-di.
Ayşe fast *food-acc* eat-past
Intended meaning: 'Ayşe ate the food fast.'

b. Ayşe *yemeğ-i* hızlı ye-di.
Ayşe *food-acc* fast eat-past
'Ayşe ate the food fast.'

In (23a) and (24a), we observe that the acc-marked object cannot occur to the right of the adverb. (23b) and (24b), wherein the acc-marked object is to the left of the adverb, on the other hand, are grammatical. What is the difference between (21), (22) and (23), (24)?

If we look at the adverbs used in the above examples, we see that in (21) and (22), time and location adverbs are used, respectively. (23) and (24), on the other hand, have manner adverbs. Manner adverbs are generally assumed to mark the left edge of the verbal domain VP in the literature (Pollock 1989, among others). Therefore, if we follow this assumption, we can say that (23a) and (24a) demonstrate that the acc-marked object cannot be VP-internal. As (23b) and (24b) show, it occupies a VP-external position. Now consider (25) and (26).

(25) a. Ali yavaşça *kitab-ı* oku-du.
Ali slowly *book-acc* read-past
'Ali slowly read the book.'

b. Ali *kitab-ı* yavaşça oku-du.
Ali *book-acc* slowly read-past
'Ali slowly read the book.'

(26) a. Ayşe hızlıca *yemeğ-i* ye-di.
Ayşe quickly *food-acc* eat-past
'Ayşe quickly ate the food.'

b. Ayşe *yemeğ-i* hızlıca ye-di.
Ayşe *food-acc* quickly eat-past
'Ayşe quickly ate the food.'

(25) and (26) pattern with (21) and (22) as far as word order facts are concerned. This is interesting because (25) and (26) contain manner adverbs similar to (23) and (24).

Therefore, we would expect them to pattern with (23) and (24). Note that (25a) and (26a), as opposed to (23a) and (24a), lead us to envisage the object in VP-internal domain.

In Section 2.4, I will show that the manner adverb type in (25) and (26) is in fact a different type than the one used in (23) and (24). In particular, the manner adverbs in (23) and (24) are true left edge markers of VP whereas the ones in (25) and (26) behave like time and location adverbs in that they reside higher in syntactic structure. For the time being, I will postpone this discussion to Section 2.4 in which a detailed comparison of these adverbs is provided and tied to the stress facts. What is significant at this point is that the acc-marked object appears to be located between these two types of adverbs. This is shown in (27) and (28). T, M and L stand for time, manner and location adverbs, respectively.

(27) a. *Ali dün yavaş *kitab-ı* oku-du.
Ali yesterday slowly *book-acc* read-past
T M
Intended meaning: 'Ali yesterday read the book slowly.'

b. Ali dün *kitab-ı* yavaş oku-du.
Ali yesterday *book-acc* slowly read-past
T M
'Ali yesterday read the book slowly.'

(28) a. *Ayşe okul-da hızlı *yemeğ-i* ye-di.
Ayşe school-loc fast *food-acc* eat-past
L M
Intended meaning: 'Ayşe ate the food fast at school.'

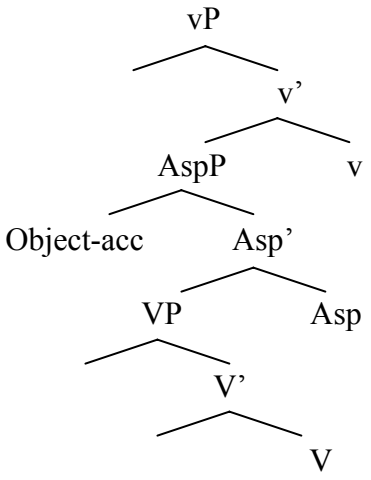
b. Ayşe okulda *yemeği* hızlı ye-di.
Ayşe school-loc *food-acc* fast eat-past
L M
'Ayşe ate the food fast at school.'

(27) and (28) illustrate that what might seem as in-situ and VP-internal (i.e. the acc-marked object) as in (21a) and (22a), in fact occupies a position outside VP. What seems as the moved object in (21b) and (22b), on the other hand, resides in a much higher position than this object. Therefore, I propose that there is an intermediate projection outside VP but below the circumstantial adverbs, which the acc-marked object occupies. What is the nature of this intermediate projection?

There is an increasing amount of work in the literature that points out to the correlation between accusative case/direct object and aspect (Svenonius 2001, 2002; Kratzer 2004; Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2004; Borer 2005; among others). Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) argues that the Turkish accusative, in addition to inducing a presuppositional interpretation, serves as a marker of measuring and delimiting when it is the argument of a verb of motion, an incremental theme verb or a location verb. Given that the accusative-marked object has aspectual content, I will assume that the intermediate projection in which the acc-marked object resides, corresponds to Aspect Phrase (AspP).

Travis (1991, 1992) proposes a split verbal structure in which there is an inner aspectual head between the lexical head V and the functional head v. According to this view, the verbal structure is split into two parts; a lower verbal structure that projects the internal arguments and a higher verbal structure which projects the external argument. Following Travis (1991, 1992), I will assume that the AspP which we proposed to host the acc-marked object, is positioned between the lexical VP and the functional vP as shown in (29).

(29)



In order to account for how the acc-marked object occupies this position, we could follow two paths. i) The object could be merged as the sister of V and then moved to [Spec, AspP] for case-checking. ii) The object could be base-generated in [Spec, AspP] and could check its Case there. As discussed above, Kennelly (1994), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) and Kelepir (2001) propose that the acc-marked object moves to a higher functional projection to satisfy its case-checking requirements. Öztürk (2004), on the other hand, argues that the acc-marked object checks its case in-situ in the specifier

position of the theta-role assigning functional head ThemeP akin to inherent case assignment. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) also argues against the view that the acc-marked object moves to a higher functional projection for case-checking. Her main argumentation is that the acc-marked object in the immediately preverbal position and the displaced acc-marked object (as in (21a) and (22a)) both satisfy their case-checking requirements. Thus, if the acc-marked object can remain in-situ (i.e. to the right of the adverb) and still check its case, then the movement of the object cannot be due to case-checking. Hence, she concludes that an acc-marked object is licensed case inherently, rather then being raised for case-checking. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) also observes that the in-situ and the moved acc-marked objects are both presuppositional. Therefore, she also rejects the view that the movement of the acc-marked object is triggered by interpretational requirements in the sense of Diesing (1992).[18]

We have shown above that what seems in-situ in the immediately preverbal position in (21a) and (22a), is not really in-situ but occupies an intermediate position which we proposed to be [Spec, AspP]. (14) is repeated below as (30).

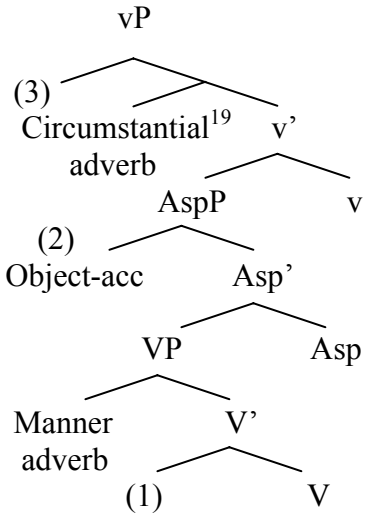
(30) a. Ali dün *kitab-ı* oku-du.
Ali yesterday *book-acc* read-past
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

b. Ali *kitab-ı* dün oku-du.
Ali *book-acc* yesterday read-past
'Ali read the book yesterday.'

[18] Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's (2004) account of object displacement will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 3.

(31) represents the clausal structure in (29), with the positions of the adverbs indicated.

(31)



This kind of a clausal structure sheds light on the above observations made by Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004). That is, if we look at (31), we see that the acc-marked object in (30a) (i.e. the immediately preverbal one) is outside VP in [Spec, AspP] (Position (2)). It checks its case and also receives presuppositional interpretation since it is outside VP. As discussed above, we assume that the displaced acc-marked object in (30b), appearing to the left of the time adverb, is higher than this object (i.e. higher than [Spec, AspP]) and take this position to be [Spec, vP] (Position (3) in (31)). Thus, the displaced object checks its case in [Spec, AspP] first and then moves to [Spec, vP].

[19] Circumstantial adverbs include the time and location adverbs as shown in (21) and (22) and the manner adverb type illustrated in (25) and (26) that are above the acc-marked object. As will also be explained in the following sections, I assume that they occupy [Spec, vP]. The manner adverbs that are merged to [Spec, VP], on the other hand, are those shown in (23) and (24).

Please note that what Nakipoğlu-Demiralp refers to as the in-situ object, i.e. the object appearing to the right of the adverb in (30a), corresponds to position (1) in our structure (31). Departing from this view, I argued above that acc-marked objects are higher than VP-level manner adverbs as shown in (23) and (24). Thus, the immediately preverbal acc-marked object in (30a) is not in position (1) as the sister of the verb but in position (2) which is [Spec, AspP].

What is crucial here is that both the immediately preverbal object in (30a) (as referred to as in-situ in Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004)) and the moved objects check their case features and are outside VP. Therefore, under the view that the immediately preverbal acc-marked object is in fact not the sister of the verb but is in a higher intermediate position as pursued here, we capture the fact that both the immediately preverbal and the moved (i.e. occurring to the left of the time adverb in (30b)) acc-marked objects satisfy their syntactic (case) and semantic (presuppositionality) requirements.

Going back to our discussion as to whether the acc-marked object is merged as the sister of the verb and then moved to [Spec, AspP] for case-checking or whether it is base-generated in [Spec, AspP] and checks its case in-situ, I do not see conclusive evidence that would favor one approach to the other. What is crucial here is that both ways make the same predictions for my analysis since our system, as we will see, is sensitive to surface, rather than underlying syntactic positions. At this point, I will make a random choice and assume that the object is first merged to the structure as the sister of the verb and then moved to [Spec, AspP] for case-checking.

For the bare noun objects, as assumed by all the approaches above, I will assume that they are VP-internal. The examples below also illustrate this.

(32) a. Ali yavaş *kitap* oku-du.
Ali slowly *book* read-past
'Ali read a book slowly.'

b. *Ali *kitap* yavaş oku-du.
Ali *book* slowly read-past
Intended meaning: 'Ali read a book slowly.'

(33) a. Ayşe hızlı *yemek* ye-di.
Ayşe fast *food* eat-past
'Ayşe ate (food) fast.'

b. *Ayşe *yemek* hızlı ye-di.
Ayşe *food* fast eat-past
Intended meaning: 'Ayşe ate (food) fast.'

(32) and (33) show that bare noun objects occur to the right of the manner adverbs known as left edge markers, but they cannot appear to the left of these adverbs. Thus, these objects are VP-internal.

2.3 Unaccusative, unergative and passive structures

In this section, we will look at unaccusative, unergative and passive structures with respect to sentential stress. It is crucial to keep in mind that all the structures that we will be analyzing until Chapter 4 are assumed to be in focus-neutral context. First of all, let me remind the reader what I mean by focus-neutral context. What is meant by focus-neutral context is that the whole sentence is envisaged as the focus, rather than a specific constituent in the sentence.[20]

Another crucial point pertinent to my analysis is that I assume unaccusative and passive vPs not to constitute phases, following Chomsky (2001, 2002). Let us now look at the data that show unaccusative (34) and unergative (35) structures below.

Unaccusatives

(34) a. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy.What happened?'
Speaker B: <u>Ali</u> gel-di.
Ali come-past
'Ali came.'

b. Speaker A: Haberler-i duy-du-n mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'

[20] I refrain from referring to this definition as presentational focus at this point. This will be explained in Chapter 4 wherein different types of foci will be discussed.

Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bomba patla-mış.
bomb explode-evid
'A bomb exploded.'

c. Speaker A: Haberler-i duy-du-n mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bir gemi bat-mış.
a ship sink-evid
'A ship sunk.'

d. Speaker A: Bu kanepe neden bu kadar kirli?
this couch why this much dirty
'Why is this couch this dirty?'
Speaker B: Kahve dökül-dü.
coffee spill-past
'Coffee spilled.'

Looking at the stress patterns in (34), we observe that in each case, it is the subject that bears sentential stress.

Unergatives

(35) a. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
morning what happened
'What happened in the morning?'
Speaker B: Ali koş-tu.
Ali run-past
'Ali ran.'

b. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
morning what happened
'What happened in the morning?'
Speaker B: Ali yüzdü.
Ali swim-past
'Ali swam.'

c. Speaker A: Ev çok sessiz. Ne oldu?
Home very quiet what happened
'It is very quiet (here) at home. What happened?'
Speaker B: Ali çalış-ıyor.
Ali study-prog
'Ali is studying.'

d. Speaker A: Kötü görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
bad look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look bad. What happened?'
Speaker B: Dün gece uyu-ya-ma-dı-m. Ali horla-dı.
last night sleep-capability-neg-past-1sg Ali snore-past
'I couldn't sleep last night. Ali snored.'

In (35), we have unergative structures. As opposed to the unaccusative structures in (34), sentential stress is on the subjects in each case. This is a very interesting dichotomy. Let us now look at (36) which illustrates passive structures.

Passives

(36) a. Speaker A: Çok üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very sad look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very sad. What happened?'
Speaker B: Cüzdan-ım çal-ın-dı.
wallet- poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'My wallet is stolen.'

b. Speaker A: Haberler-i duy-dun mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bir çocuk kaçır-ıl-mış.
A child kidnap-pass-evid
'A child is kidnapped.'

c. Speaker A: Haberleri duydun mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'

Speaker A: Bir bina kundakla-n-mış.
a building arson-pass-evid
'A building is arsoned.'

d. Speaker A: Haberleri duydun mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bir gökdelen yapılacakmış.
a skyscraper build-pass-fut-evid
'A skyscraper is going to be built.'

As observed by Selkirk (1995), Legate (2003) and Kahnemuyipour (2004), the passive structures in (36) exhibit the same stress behavior with the unaccusative structures in (34). The similarity between the two structures is that the subject is the internal argument of the verb.

Before analyzing the structures in (34)-(36), I would like to emphasize that the unergative structures in (35) provide a counterexample to the view that the immediately preverbal position is the position which allows focus projection in Turkish (Göksel & Özsoy, 2003). Göksel & Özsoy (2003) argue that the immediately preverbal position in Turkish is not the focus position as has been the prevailing view but that this position possesses structural properties that allow percolation of stress. Furthermore, they argue that only objects in this position allow stress to be percolated to the sentence level,

meaning that the stress on the object can mark the whole sentence as the focus in the sense of Selkirk (1984).

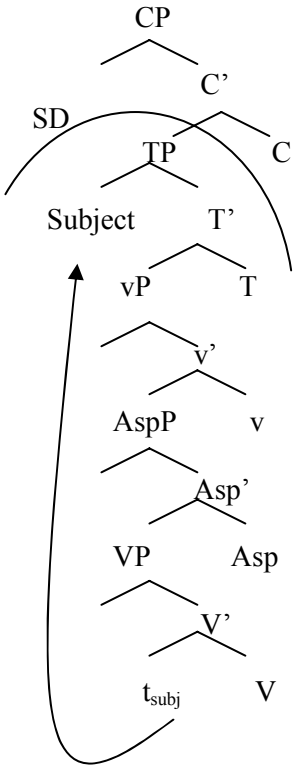
Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004), departing from the above view, shows that focus does not only project from the immediately preverbal position. She argues that in intransitive structures, it is always *the verb* which carries stress in out-of-the-blue context. Thus, in these structures, stress on the verb can mark the entire sentence as the focus. Furthermore, she claims that the subject of the sentence can be focused only for contrastive purposes in intransitive structures. The examples in (35) support Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's claim that in intransitive structures, verbs receive sentential stress. However, Nakipoğlu-Demiralp does not make a distinction between unaccusative and unergative structures. As shown in the above examples, these structures are different in terms of their stress placement. The unaccusative and passive examples in (34) and (36) show that the stress on the subject can mark the whole sentence as the domain for focus in intransitive structures.

Let us now analyze the examples in (34)-(36) using the sentential stress rule in (16). The crucial point to remember is that, following Chomsky (2001, 2002), I assume that unaccusative and passive vPs do not constitute phases. I also assume that the subject is merged at vP-level and then moved to [Spec, TP] to check its nominative case feature. In (34), we have unaccusative structures and sentential stress is on the subject. Since unaccusative vPs do not induce phases, they cannot create stress domains. Thus, CP is the only phase in the sentence. TP, by virtue of being the complement of the phasal head, is the only stress domain in the sentence. More specifically, the stress domain is

the entire sentence in this case. According to our rule, the highest element in the stress domain is assigned sentential stress. Hence, the subject is assigned sentential stress.

The passive structures in (36) can be explained in a similar fashion to the unaccusatives. Passive vPs do not constitute phases. Hence, the only phase is CP. TP, the complement of the phasal head, is the stress domain in the sentence (again the whole sentence). The highest element in the stress domain is the subject. Thus, our rule predicts stress on the subject. (37) shows the structure corresponding to the unaccusative (34) and passive structures (36).

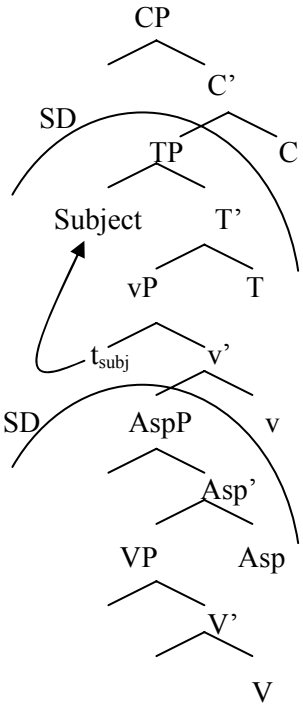
(37)



SD: Stress Domain

In (35), we have unergative structures. Since the vP of unergative structures are capable of inducing phases, v can create a stress domain. The only element in this domain (AspP) is the verb. Hence, it is assigned sentential stress. The structure corresponding to the unergative structures in (35) are shown in (38).

(38)



In this section, we looked at the behavior of unaccusative, unergative and passive structures with respect to sentential stress. We have seen that the discrepancy between their stress patterns can be explained on the basis of what appears to be the highest element in the spell-out in each case (subject in unaccusatives and passives, verb in unergatives).

One might raise the question whether the same predictions would be borne out if Öztürk's (2004) clausal structure were adopted. However, since Öztürk does not adopt the theory of phases and multiple Spell-out (Chomsky 2000, 2001), it is not possible to observe how the phasal system of sentential stress assignment used in the present work would apply to the clausal structure she proposes. A pursuit of this is beyond the scope of this thesis. I leave this issue to future inquiry.

2.4 Adverbials

In this section, the stress behavior of time, location and manner adverbials will be examined.[21] These adverbs, especially the manner ones, exhibit interesting stress patterns that would seem random at first glance. In what follows, I will show that these stress patterns are not random at all and receive a plausible explanation in our system. Let us look at the examples below.

[21] It is worthwhile to note that, in the structures that will be analyzed in this section, intransitive verbs will be exploited rather than transitive verbs and bare noun objects. The motivation behind that is the controversial nature of the bare noun object in Turkish which will be discussed in Section 3.x. Bare noun objects receive sentential stress in focus-neutral contexts. However, this could be attributed to the compoundlike nature of the bare noun and the predicate (see Section 2.2 for complex predicate formation of the bare noun object and the predicate by Öztürk (2004)). Therefore, the stress on the bare noun object could be phrasal stress rather than clausal stress. In this thesis, our aim is to explore the nature of clause-level but not phrase-level stress.

Time and Location Adverbs

(39)a. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'
Speaker B: Ali şu anda uyuyor.
Ali at the moment sleep-prog.
'Ali is sleeping at the moment.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

b. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'
Speaker B: Ali odada uyuyor.
Ali room-loc sleep-prog
'Ali is sleeping in the room.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

Manner Adverbs

(40)a. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'

Speaker B: Ayşe mışıl mışıl uyuyor.
Ayşe peacefully sleep-prog
'Ayşe is sleeping peacefully.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

b. Speaker A: Bu ilaçlar nedir?
these pill-pl what
'What are these pills?'
Speaker B: Ayşe zor uyuyor. Bunlar onun uyku ilaçları.
Ayşe difficult sleep-prog. these her sleeping pills
'Ayşe has difficulty in sleeping. These are her sleeping pills.'

(39a) illustrates a sentence with a time adverb, 'şu anda', (39b) with a location adverb, 'odada'. (40a) and (40b), on the other hand, show structures containing manner adverbs, 'mışıl mışıl' and 'zor'. If we look at the stress patterns, we see that in (39a) and (39b), i.e. in structures with time and location adverbs, it is the verb that receives sentential stress. (40), which illustrates sentences with manner adverbs, on the other hand, displays an interesting case in that (40a) contrasts with (40b) even though both structures contain manner adverbs. That is, in (40a), the verb receives sentential stress whereas in (40b), it is the manner adverb which bears sentential stress. Recall that both structures occur in focus-neutral contexts. (41) is another example which presents the dual behavior displayed by manner adverbs.

(41) a. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
morning what happened
'What happened in the morning?'
Speaker B: Çocuk-lar güzelce yüz-dü-ler.
child-pl nicely swim-past-3pl
'The children nicely swam.'

b. Speaker A: Neden kızgın-sın?
why angry-2sg
'Why are you angry?'
Speaker B: Öğretmen hızlı konuş-tu. Bazı önemli noktaları kaçır-dı-m.
teacher fast speak-past. some important points miss-past-1sg
'The teacher spoke fast. I missed some importany points.

In (41a), the verb, but not the manner adverb, receives sentential stress. In (41b), on the other hand, it is the manner adverb that bears stress. The question that arises at this point is: What is the difference between these manner adverbs? The data in (40) and (41) show that these manner adverbs have different phonological properties. In what follows, I will argue that there are in fact two classes of manner adverbs in Turkish by presenting other differences of these adverbs. Let's first concentrate on their morphological properties.

The manner adverbs like the ones in (40b) and (41b) have the form of adjectives as initially observed by Erguvanlı (1984) who refers to these adverbs as 'non-derived adverbs' and argues that they are morphologically ambiguous between adjectives and adverbs, whereas the ones in (40a) and (41a) are more complex in structure. Henceforth, I will refer to the former type of adverbs as Simple Manner Adverbs (SMA) and the

latter type as Complex Manner Adverbs (CMA). (42) and (43) illustrate some examples of simple manner adverbs and complex manner adverbs, respectively.

(42) *Simple Manner Adverbs*

hızlı ‘fast’

zor ‘difficult’

yavaş ‘slowly’

güzel ‘well’

(43) *Complex Manner Adverbs*

i) CMA derived by adding -ce/-ca/-çe/-ça to adjectives:

güzelce ‘nicely’

hızlıca ‘quickly’

yavaşça ‘slowly’

sessizce ‘quietly’

ii) CMA derived by adding cık/-cik to CMA type in i:

yavaşçacık ‘slowly’

güzelcecik ‘nicely’

usulcacık ‘quietly’

iii) CMA derived by reduplication of adjectives:

yavaş yavaş ‘slowly’

hızlı hızlı ‘quickly’

sakin sakin ‘calmly’

güzel güzel ‘nicely’

iv) CMA in the form of ‘*adjective* bir şekilde’ (in a *adjective* manner):

yavaş bir şekilde ‘in a slow manner’

sessiz bir şekilde ‘in a quiet manner’

esrarengiz bir şekilde ‘in a mysterious manner’

As can be seen from the above examples, there are a number of ways to derive complex manner adverbs whereas simple manner adverbs are underived.[22] This shows that these adverbs also have different morphological properties, apart from their different phonological properties. (44) presents examples of SMA as adjectives.

(44) hızlı tren ‘fast train’

zor sınav ‘difficult exam’

yavaş araba ‘slow car’

güzel kız ‘nice girl’

Having examined the morphological properties of these adverbs, let us now look at their syntactic properties.

[22] Note that not each word formation process for CMA presented in (43) is equally productive.

One syntactic evidence in favor of a bifurcation among manner adverbs is illustrated via VP-fronting possibilities in the two structures as in (45).

(45) a. * [Elbise dik-er]$_i$ Ayşe güzel t_i.
dress sew-aor Ayşe well
'Ayşe sews dresses well.'

b. [Elbise dik-ti]$_i$ Ayşe güzelce t_i.
dress sew-past Ayşe nicely
'Ayşe nicely sew a dress.'

(45a) shows that simple manner adverbs cannot be stranded when the VP is fronted. (45b), by conrast, shows that this is possible with complex manner adverbs. This provides evidence that simple manner adverbs reside in VP. Thus, VP cannot be fronted without the simple manner adverb. When the simple manner adverb is also fronted with VP, the structure becomes grammatical as in (46).

(46) [Güzel elbise dik-er]$_i$ Ayşe t_i.
well dress sew-aor Ayşe
'Ayşe sews dresses well.'

(45b) also shows that complex manner adverbs are higher than simple manner adverbs. That is, they do not appear in VP. Therefore, they can be stranded when VP is fronted. (47) and (48) show the configurations in (45a) and (45b).[23]

(47) *VP S SMA t SMA: Simple manner adverb

(48) VP S CMA t CMA: Complex manner adverb

As discussed in Section 2.2, manner adverbs are usually assumed to demarcate the left edge of VP in the literature (Pollock 1989, among others). This behavior can also be seen from the adverbial hierarchy proposed by Jackendoff (1972).

(49) speaker-oriented adverbs > subject-oriented adverbs > manner/measure adverbials

According to this hierarchy, the adverbs on the left are higher in the structure than the ones on the right. Therefore, manner adverbs are the lowest adverbs merged in the structure. What is striking about Turkish is that we can identify two classes of manner

[23] We could assume postverbal scrambling instead of VP-fronting here. (See Erguvanlı (1984), Kelepir (1996), Göksel (1997), Kural (1997), among others for postverbal scrambling and right adjunction structures in Turkish) Then, (15) could be analyzed as follows:
i) * t_i tk Elbise diker [Ayşe]$_i$ [güzel]$_k$
ii) t_i t_k Elbise dikti [Ayşe]$_i$ [güzelce]$_k$
This kind of an analysis also shows that SMA and CMA have different syntactic properties and that SMA can not be separated from VP and undergo postverbal scrambling as opposed to CMA that can do so.

adverbs (with distinct phonological, morphological and syntactic properties), one of which (SMA) is lower than the other (CMA). That is, SMA mark the left edge of VP, whilst CMA are merged higher (presumably vP) in the structure.

Another syntactic difference between two types of adverbs comes from word order facts. Let us consider (50).

(50) a. *Ayşe <u>güzel</u> elbise-yi dik-ti.
SMA
Ayşe well dress-acc sew-past
Intended meaning: Ayşe sewed the dress well.'

b. Ayşe <u>güzelce</u> elbise-yi dik-ti.[24]
CMA
Ayşe nicely dress-acc sew-past
'Ayşe nicely sewed the dress.'

c. Ayşe elbise-yi <u>güzel</u> dik-ti.
SMA
Ayşe dress-acc well sew-past
'Ayşe sewed the dress well.'

What (50) shows is that there is a difference between SMA and CMA with respect to the syntactic position they occupy, as shown in Section 2.2. As can be seen in (50a), the acc-marked object cannot occur to the right of a simple manner adverb. By contrast, this

[24] We can also have the order 'Ayşe elbiseyi güzelce dikti.' Note that what I am examining here is whether the acc-marked object can appear to the right of the complex manner adverb. The word order variation of adverbs and acc-marked objects will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3.

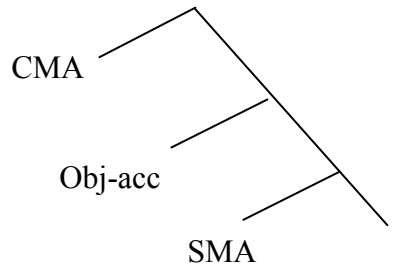
order (manner adverb-acc-marked object) is acceptable in (50b) when a complex manner adverb is used. As discussed above, SMA mark the left edge of VP. Thus, (50a) shows that the acc-marked object cannot stand in a VP-internal position. The acceptability of (50b), on the other hand, shows that the complex manner adverb resides in a higher position than the simple manner adverb. It must also be higher than the acc-marked object since (50b) is possible. In (50c), we observe that when the acc-marked object occurs to the left of the simple manner adverb, the sentence becomes grammatical. (51) and (52) summarize the configurations above.

(51) * SMA (simple manner adverb) acc-marked object

(52) CMA (complex manner adverb) acc-marked object

(53) is a simple representation which shows the relative positions of SMA, CMA and acc-marked objects.

(53)



After digressing from our discussion on stress facts, let us return to our data in (39) and (40), that is repeated below as (54) and (55).

Time and Location Adverbs

(54)a. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'
Speaker B: Ali şu anda uyuyor.
Ali at the moment sleep-prog.
'Ali is sleeping at the moment.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

b. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'
Speaker B: Ali odada uyuyor.
Ali room-loc sleep-prog
'Ali is sleeping in the room.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

Manner Adverbs

(55)a. Speaker A: Niye ev bu kadar sessiz?
why home this much quiet
'Why is it this quiet (here) at home?'

Speaker B: Ayşe mışıl mışıl uyuyor.
Ayşe peacefully sleep-prog
'Ayşe is sleeping peacefully.'

O yüzden gürültü yap-ma-ma-ya çalış-ıyor-uz.
For that reason noise make-neg-comp-dat try-prog-1pl
'For that reason, we try not to make any noise.'

b. Speaker A: Bu ilaçlar nedir?
these pill-pl what
'What are these pills?'
Speaker B: Ayşe zor uyuyor. Bunlar onun uyku ilaçları.
Ayşe difficult sleep-prog. these her sleeping pills
'Ayşe has difficulty in sleeping. These are her sleeping pills.'

When we look at the data once more, we see that complex manner adverbs pattern with time and location adverbs. That is, all of them are unstressed in focus-neutral sentences. Simple manner adverbs, on the other hand, have a different behavior than the other adverbs in that they receive sentential stress in focus-neutral context. I assume that time, location and complex manner adverbs are merged to a higher position than simple manner adverbs and I take this position to be [Spec,vP]. The reason for this is that the acc-marked object, which we said to occupy the specifier position of AspP, occurs to the right of these adverbs in canonical order as in (56).

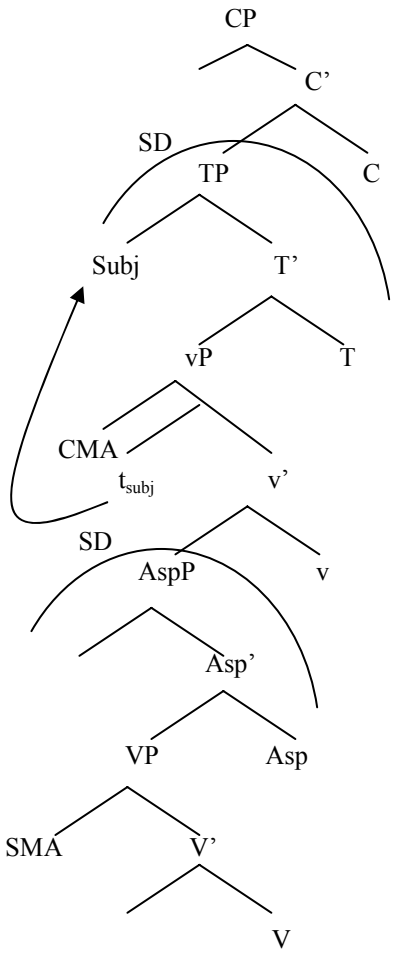
(56) a. Ali dün arabay-ı çarp-tı.
Ali yesterday car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Ali okul-da kitab-ın-ı kaybet-miş.
Ali school-loc book-poss.3sg-acc lose-evid
'Ali lost his book at school.'

c. Ali yavaşça yemeğ-in-i ye-di.
Ali slowly food-poss.3sg eat-past
'Ali slowly ate his food.'

Let us now attempt to analyze (54) and (55). In (54a), (54b) and (55a), time, location and complex manner adverbs correspondingly are merged to vP. Hence, they are outside the stress domain AspP, which is the complement of the phasal head v. The only element in the stress domain is the verb itself. Hence, the verb receives sentential stress. In (55b), on the other hand, the simple manner adverb 'zor' is in the specifier position of VP. Hence, it receives stress by virtue of being the highest element in the stress domain, or the spell-out. Thus, (54) and (55) are explained. Note that the discrepancy between CMA and SMA is due to the fact that SMA fall within the boundaries of the stress domain, whereas CMA remain outside the stress domain. (57) show the structure I propose for (54) and (55).

(57)



SD: Stress Domain (= Spell-out)

Note that the second specifier of vP which is occupied by CMA is also taken as the position of temporal and location adverbs. Only CMA is shown above for the sake of simplicity.

To sum up, the different stress behaviors of time, location, complex and simple manner adverbs are shown to be due to the positions they occupy in the structure. Time, location and complex manner adverbs are assumed to be merged outside the stress domain (AspP), whereas the simple manner adverbs are merged in the stress domain to

the specifier position of VP. Consequently, simple manner adverbs receive sentential stress, whilst others remain unstressed outside the stress domain.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from these observations. The behavior of simple manner adverbs shows that, not only arguments, but also adjuncts can receive sentential stress in focus-neutral sentences as opposed to Selkirk's Focus Projection Algorithm (1995) which claims that only the stress on internal arguments can project to the whole clause and mark the entire sentence as focus. These findings are also against Göksel & Özsoy's (2003) claim that only a stressed direct/indirect object in the immediately preverbal position can yield a neutral focus reading. According to them, other grammatical categories always receive a contrastive focus reading. Contra Göksel & Özsoy (2003), I have shown that the type of manner adverbs that are referred to as simple manner adverbs in this thesis, are capable of receiving a neutral focus reading.

As a final remark, I would like to illustrate one more interesting property of simple manner adverbs in Turkish. As opposed to other adverbs, these adverbs can behave like arguments in some contexts. This is shown in (58).

(58) Ali Ahmet-e *(<u>kötü</u>) davran-dı.
Ali Ahmet-dat bad behave-past
'Ali behaved Ahmet *(badly).'

In (58), 'kötü' behaves like an argument in that its absence renders the sentence ungrammatical. That is, it is syntactically required in the sentence. It seems that the verb is subcategorized for this adverb. This interesting behavior of manner adverbs (in this

case, SMA in Turkish) has been reported in the literature (Alexiadou 1997, among others).[25] Note that this cannot be envisaged as evidence in favor of Selkirk's Focus Projection Algorithm (1995). On the contrary, this shows that stress facts are not related to argument/adjunct distinction, but to structural properties (such as the position of SMA). In the examples above, in which the manner adverb received stress, the adverbs were functioning as adjuncts. Therefore, regardless of their status as argument or adjunct, simple manner adverbs in Turkish attract the primary stress of the sentence onto themselves. I conclude that this is due to their low position in the structure which resides inside the stress domain.

[25] Dowty (2003) refers to these adverbs as 'subcategorized adverbs'.

CHAPTER 3

ACCUSATIVE MARKED OBJECTS AND D-LINKING

In this chapter, we will look at the behavior of accusative marked objects in Turkish with respect to sentential stress. We will see that the system of sentential stress assignment discussed in Chapter 2 is inadequate in explaining the stress patterns of acc-marked objects and that there is another mechanism also at work in determining sentential stress. Before elucidating the stress facts, let us briefly discuss the nature of accusative case in Turkish.

3.1 Introduction[26]

In Turkish, the direct object can be overtly marked with accusative case as in (1b) or it can be non-case marked as in (1a) (bare noun object).

[26] In Turkish, accusative case is marked overtly on noun phrases as -(y)I morpheme. The allomorphs of the accusative morpheme are determined by two factors. The variants of the high vowel are determined by vowel harmony. More specifically, the vowel of the morpheme agrees with the preceding vowel in frontness/backness and roundness (i). The absence or presence of the palatal glide –y- is contingent on the final sound of the word to which the morpheme is attached. If the word ends with a consonant, -y- is deleted. –y- appears only when the word ends with a vowel (ii).

(i) ütü-yü (iron-acc)
kutu-yu (box-acc)
kedi-yi (cat-acc)
araba-yı (car-acc)

(ii) ütü-yü (iron-acc)
ağac-ı (tree-acc)

(1) a. Ali kitap oku-du.
Ali book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ali kitab-ı oku-du.
Ali book-acc read-past
'Ali read the book.'

In (1a), 'kitap' is associated with a nonspecific reading whereas in (1b) 'kitabı' carries a definite reading. Accusative marking can also be used with indefinite noun phrases, inducing a specific reading. This is shown in (2).

(2) a. Ali bir kitap oku-du.[27]
Ali a book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ali bir kitab-ı okudu.
Ali a book-acc read-past
'Ali read a book.'

In (2a), 'bir kitap' is associated with nonspecific indefinite reading whereas in (2b), in the presence of overt accusative marking, 'bir kitabı' carries a specific indefinite reading (cf. Enç (1991)).

[27] We assume 'bir' as the indefinite article here. As discussed in Section 1.2.5, 'bir' is ambiguous between a weak determiner and a numeral quantifier. There are two variants of 'bir': a stressed and an unstressed variant. Crucially, 'bir' which we take as the indefinite article is the unstressed variant. The stressed 'bir' functions as a numeral. (cf. Aygen 2002)
i. bir çocuk 'a child'
ii. bir çocuk 'one child'
See Öztürk (2004) for an account which is against treating 'bir' as an indefinite article.

In the following sections, I will only concentrate on the stress patterns exhibited by accusative-marked objects (definite or indefinite) and will postpone the discussion of non-case marked objects (nonspecific indefinite or bare noun) to Section 3.5.

As can be seen from (1) and (2), the absence or presence of overt accusative marking correlates with a change in interpretation. In what follows, I will briefly review the accounts that attempt to illuminate the relation between accusative case marking and interpretation of noun phrases in Turkish.

3.2 Accusative case marking, interpretation and position

3.2.1 Enç (1991)

Enç (1991) argues that accusative case in Turkish expresses the semantic notion of *specificity*. Furthermore, she considers specificity to be equivalent to *partitivity*. That is, specific objects have to be linked to previously established discourse referents and the linking relation in question is partitivity such that the discourse referent introduced by the specific object is included in the set denoted by the antecedent discourse referent. (3), (4) and (5) are taken from Enç (1991).

(3) Odama birkaç çocuk girdi.
my-room-dat several child entered
'Several children entered my room.'

(4) İki kız-ı tanıyordum.
two girl-acc I-knew
'I knew two girls.'

(5) İki kız tanıyordum.
two girl I-knew
'I knew two girls.' (Enç 1991: (16), (17), (18))

The difference between (4) and (5) is that the indefinite object in (4) is overtly marked with the accusative marker whereas the one in (5) is not. Enç observes that this discrepancy with respect to case marking correlates with a discrepancy in interpretation. Two girls in (4) are included in the set of children that are introduced in the utterance (3). Two girls in (5), on the other hand, are excluded from this set of children. Note that a point not mentioned in Enç (1991), but relevant to the present work is that in (4), sentential stress falls onto the verb and the acc-marked indefinite object 'iki kızı' is unstressed. In (5), on the other hand, the zero-marked indefinite object 'iki kız' bears sentential stress. According to Enç, (4), but not (5) is equivalent to (6) which is shown below.

(6) Kızlardan ikisini tanıyordum.
girl-pl-abl two-agr-acc I-knew
'I knew two of the girls.' (Enç 1991: (19))

This shows that the indefinite object in (4) has a covert partitive reading.

On the basis of these observations, Enç proposes that accusative marked indefinite objects in Turkish are specific and that they are interpreted as partitives.

Enç (1991) further observes that strong quantifiers require overt accusative case marking in Turkish. She argues that indefinite NPs that involve universal quantification, i.e. NPs with the determiner 'her' (*every*), yield ungrammaticality if they are not overtly marked with accusative case. This is shown in (7).

(7) a. Ali her kitab-ı okudu.
Ali every book-acc read
'Ali read every book.'

b. *Ali her kitap okudu. (Enç 1991: (30))

Since Enç associates the accusative marker in Turkish with the notion of specificity, she concludes that universally quantifying NPs like the one in (7) are specific. Furthermore, as discussed above, she envisages specificity being tantamount to covert partitivity. Thus, according to her, NPs that involve universal quantification are partitive. In order to explain how universal quantifiers are partitive, she argues that universal quantifiers in natural languages quantify over *contextually given* (or *contextually relevant*) sets. Enç defines *contextually relevant* as 'already in the domain of discourse' (Enç 1991: 11). She gives the following examples to clarify this notion.

(8) Sally danced with every man.

(9) Sally danced with every one of the men. (Enç 1991: (32), (33))

Enç argues that (8) is equivalent to (9) with the overt partitive in the sense that (8) entails that Sally danced with every contextually relevant man, but not with every man on earth. Thus, universally quantifying NPs involve covert partitivity and specifity.

3.2.2 Diesing (1992)

Diesing (1992) proposes a mapping procedure known as the *Mapping Hypothesis* which attempts to establish a link between syntactic representation and semantic representation. This is shown in (10).

(10) *Mapping Hypothesis*

Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.

Material from IP is mapped into a restrictive clause. (Diesing 1992: 10)

This mapping procedure splits the syntactic tree into two parts (VP and the subtree dominating VP, to which Diesing refers to as the IP-level structure). These two parts are then mapped into the two parts of the logical representation, the restrictive clause and the nuclear scope.[28] According to Diesing, the interpretation of NPs depends on their syntactic position at the time when tree splitting occurs. NPs in VP are mapped into

[28] This kind of a semantic partition was developed by Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982).

nuclear scope and bound by existential closure, receiving an existential interpretation. NPs that are outside VP form a restrictive clause and have a presuppositional reading.

Diesing follows Enç (1991)'s view that accusative case marking induces a concealed partitive reading for object NPs in Turkish. She also argues that specificity involves the notion of presupposition and partitivity and that Turkish exploits morphological means to signal presuppositionality. Furthermore, what distinguishes accusative marked (specific) NPs from nonspecific ones is that specific NPs are capable of forming a restrictive clause. Diesing discusses Enç's abovementioned examples (3-5) and argues that the acc-marked NP 'iki kız-ı' in (4) forms a restrictive clause whereas the zero-marked 'iki kız' in (5) can not do so.

At this point, Diesing raises the question of how accusative case marking, which she presumes to be a VP-internal process can signal restrictive clause formation, which is associated with VP-external NPs according to the Mapping Hypothesis. She entertains two possibilities in order to obviate this contradictory situation: i) The accusative-marked NPs can move out of the VP to the specifier of a functional head (e.g. [Spec, AgrO]) at S-Structure in order to receive accusative case. Thus, presence of accusative case would indicate that the NP occupies a VP-external position, which is then mapped into a restrictive clause according to the Mapping Hypothesis. ii) The accusative case marker in Turkish can trigger LF movement (e.g. Quantifier Raising) of an object NP. Thus, the acc-marked object would again occupy a VP-external position and be mapped into a restrictive clause. The NPs that are not marked with accusative case, on the other hand, lack the trigger for LF movement and as a consequence remain in-situ and receive

a non-presuppositional reading inside VP. Diesing does not make a choice among these two possibilities.

3.2.3 Kennelly (1994)

Another work which addresses the relation between accusative case marking and interpretation in Turkish is Kennelly (1994). Kennelly follows Milsark's (1974, 1977) classification of quantifiers which divides quantifiers into two groups: *strong* quantifiers such as *every, all, each, most* that force a presuppositional interpretation and *weak* quantifiers such as *no, two, some, a, at most, at least* that are ambiguous between two readings, a presuppositional and an existential reading. According to Kennelly, strong determiners such as 'bütün' (all) in Turkish necessarily receive a presuppositional interpretation, whilst weak determiners such as 'bir' (one/a) are ambiguous in that they can either induce a presuppositional or an existential reading. Furthermore, following Enç (1991), she argues that 'bir' would occur either with a marked or an unmarked accusative DP whereas 'bütün' would only appear with the overtly marked accusative DP if it is the case that Accusative Marker encodes presupposition. She gives the following examples to show that her prediction is borne out.

(11) Adam dün *bütün* kitaplar*(-ı) seçti.
Man-Nom yesterday all books-acc chose
'The man chose all the books yesterday.'

(12) Adam dün *bir* kitap/b(-ı) seçti.
Man-Nom yesterday one/a book chose
'The man chose a/one book yesterday.' (Kennelly 1994: (12) & (13))

Kennelly concludes that accusative case marking encodes the semantic notion of presuppositionality and that the accusative-marked DPs move to [Spec, AgrO] at LF to check their case. Existential DPs, on the contrary, remain within V' wherein they receive existential interpretation.

3.2.4 Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) argues that, in addition to concealed partitive acc-indefinites (in the sense of Enç (1991)), there is a class of acc-indefinites in Turkish which can be uttered out-of-the-blue. She refers to these acc-indefinites as *out-of-the-blue indefinites*. According to Zidani-Eroğlu, these indefinites can be uttered with no previous discourse and still be interpreted as specific. (13) illustrates examples of out-of-the-blue indefinites taken from Zidani-Eroğlu (1997).

(13) a. Ali birkaç belge-yi incel-iyor.
Ali several document-acc study-prog
'Ali is studying several documents.'

b. Ali dün bir kitab-ı oku-du.
Ali yesterday one book-acc read-past
'Ali read a book yesterday.'

c. Ali uzun zamandır bir soru-yu düşün-üyor.
Ali long time one question-acc think-prog
'Ali has been thinking about a question for a long time.'
(Zidani-Eroğlu 1997: 78)

Zidani-Eroğlu argues that the indefinites in (13) marked with accusative case need not denote a document, a book or a question from the set of documents, the set of books or the set of questions that were previously introduced into the domain of discourse (Zidani-Eroğlu 1997: 79). Nevertheless, these indefinites can be uttered out-of-the-blue and receive a specific interpretation. Zidani-Eroğlu suggests that these indefinites can be envisaged as *referential* along the lines of Fodor & Sag (1982). As to the syntactic position of acc-indefinites, she claims that they occupy a VP-external position. Zero-marked indefinites, on the other hand, are VP-internal.

3.2.5 Kelepir (2001)

Kelepir (2001), contra Enç (1991), argues that specificity can not be equated with partitivity in Turkish. Furthermore, she argues against Zidani-Eroğlu's (1997) suggestion to treat out-of-the-blue indefinites as *referential*. She holds the view that acc-marked indefinites cannot be ambiguous between referential and quantificational readings. According to Kelepir, one semantic property which captures all the readings induced by accusative marking is *presuppositionality* defined as the presupposition that the denotation of the head noun of the indefinite phrase is non-empty (Kelepir 2001: 68).

In order to show that acc-indefinites receive a presuppositional interpretation, Kelepir adopts testing environments proposed by von Fintel (1998) to examine the presuppositionality of an indefinite. One such environment is yes/no questions which is shown in (14).

(14) a. ?Sen bir hayalet-i gördün mü?
you a ghost-acc saw q.marker
'Did you see one of the ghosts?'

b. Sen bir hayalet-∅[29] gördün mü?
you a ghost saw q.marker
'Did you see a ghost?' (Kelepir 2001: (98))

Kelepir argues that in (14a), the acc-indefinite 'bir hayaleti' carries presupposition of existence as opposed to 'bir hayalet' in (14b). More specifically, the questioner who asks (14a) believes that ghosts exist, whilst this does not hold for the questioner in (14b).

Following Diesing (1992), Kennelly (1994), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Kelepir (2001) proposes that acc-indefinites move to a position above VP, in particular [Spec,vP], to check their case features. Hence, they receive presuppositional reading.

[29] ∅ indicates the absence of accusative marking.

3.2.6 Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004)

The final work which I would like to discuss on the acc-marked objects in Turkish is Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) which addresses the stress behavior of accusative-marked objects and provides a prosodic account for object displacement in Turkish. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp first considers whether object displacement is triggered by syntactic or semantic requirements. She assumes an acc-marked object such as the one in (15a) (i.e. immediately preverbal) as "in-situ", meaning that it has not moved from its base position whereas it is a displaced object in (15b), wherein it appears to the left of the adverb.

(15) a. Ali hızlıca yemeğ-i ye-di.
Ali quickly food-acc eat-past
'Ali quickly ate the food.'

b. Ali yemeğ-i hızlıca ye-di.

As discussed in Section 2.2, she argues that both the in-situ (immediately preverbal) and the displaced acc-marked objects check their case features. Thus, in her view, the trigger for object displacement in (15b) cannot be syntactic. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp also observes that the in-situ and the displaced acc-marked objects are both presuppositional. Therefore, she argues that object displacement cannot be triggered by interpretational requirements (i.e. in the sense of Diesing (1992), escaping from nuclear scope (VP)), either. As will be discussed below, she suggests a prosodically-motivated displacement for the object. Also, she proposes that the acc-marked object is licensed case inherently.

Recall that, according to the clausal structure we proposed in Section 2.2, the acc-marked object (the immediately preverbal one which Nakipoğlu-Demiralp refers to as in-situ) resides in [Spec, AspP], which is a position above VP. The displaced object starts from this position and moves to a higher position. Both objects check their case features in [Spec, AspP] and are outside VP. Thus, this structure provides an explanation to Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's observation that both the in-situ and displaced acc-marked objects are case-checked and presuppositional.

Nakipoğlu-Demiralp further claims that the accusative-marked object in the preverbal position cannot host neutral focus due to its presuppositional nature. According to her, when the acc-marked object is stressed, this can only yield a contrastive focus reading. (16) is an example taken from Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004).

(16) a. Orhun gazete-yi dikkatle oku-du.
Orhun newspaper-acc carefully read-past-3sg

b. Orhun dikkatle gazeteyi oku-du.

(Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2004: (31c), (31d))

Nakipoğlu-Demiralp argues that (16a) can be interpreted both neutrally as an answer to the question *What happened?* or contrastively (e.g. *Orhun read the newspaper carefully, not sloppily)*. (16b), on the other hand, can only be interpreted contrastively in her view.

Furthermore, she points out to a conflict that emerges in the circumstance in which the acc-marked object in the immediately preverbal position needs to be interpreted

presuppositionally. The conflict in question is as follows: LF requires a presuppositional interpretation for the acc-marked object. PF, on the other hand, requires that the left edge of VP, the locus for neutral focus, carry new information. Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's claim is that these two requirements are incompatible with each other in that presupposition suggests givenness whilst nuclear scope demands newness.[30] She suggests two ways in order to avoid a clash between the requirements of LF and PF interfaces:

i) to dislocate the acc-marked object so that it can escape from the domain of neutral focus (VP, in her view).
ii) to narrow the neutral focus domain, i.e. constraining it to the verb. (In this case, the acc-marked object can remain in-situ and receive presuppositional interpretation)

(Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2004: 30)

Under this view, a direct object marked overtly with accusative case either has to be displaced out of VP, which according to Nakipoğlu-Demiralp can only host new information, or the focus domain has to be narrowed. What she means by narrowing the focus domain is that the verb is assigned stress. If the object is stressed, the only reading associated with it can be contrastive as discussed above. Also, in this case, Nakipoğlu-Demiralp claims that the object remains in VP and receives existential closure interpretation in nuclear scope. (17) is another example taken from Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) which shows that the acc-marked object does not receive stress if it is associated with presuppositional reading. She considers this sentence as an answer to the question

[30] Nakipoğlu-Demiralp takes nuclear scope to be associated with VP following Diesing (1992).

'What happened?' which is generally assumed to induce an out-of-the-blue context. As can be seen from the example, the acc-marked object is unstressed whereas the verb receives stress.

(17) Tolga araba-yı al-dı.
Tolga car-acc buy-past
'Tolga bought the car.' (Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (28b))

According to Nakipoğlu-Demiralp, the presuppositional nature of the accusative marked object prevents it from carrying neutral focus in the preverbal position. Therefore, stress falls on the verb in (17) (Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2004:24). Under her view, a focused direct object can only give rise to a contrastive reading. If a bare noun object, which conveys nonpresupposed information, is used in the same construction, it bears stress as shown in (18) (Nakipoğlu-Demiralp: 24).

(18) Tolga araba al-dı.
Tolga car buy-past
'Tolga bought a car.' (Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (28a))

In what follows, I will depart from this approach and show that the accusative-marked object in Turkish in fact can receive sentential stress in focus-neutral sentences. Furthermore, different than the above approaches to the semantics of acc-marked noun phrases, I will provide another classification among acc-marked objects which can also be tied to the stress facts.

3.3 Accusative marked objects and sentential stress

In this section, I will scrutinize the stress patterns displayed by accusative marked objects and show that Sentential Stress Rule (Kahnemuyipour 2004) is not adequate in determining the stress facts pertinent to the acc-marked objects. Another mechanism will be adopted in order to overcome this problem.

3.3.1 A dichotomy among the accusative marked objects

We have seen that Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) claims that the accusative-marked object in the preverbal position cannot host neutral focus. In what follows, I will propose a different analysis and argue that the stress patterns of acc-marked objects are in fact determined by the context in which they are uttered. If we look at (17), we see that this sentence could well be interpreted as uttered in a non-out-of-the-blue context. As a matter of fact, when the context is not correctly specified, similar to the example above, the judgments of informants vary. My informants were split into two groups, one putting stress on the verb and the other on the object, when the utterance was introduced in a similar fashion to (17). We will see as we proceed that once the context is specified, the judgments become clearer. Let us look at the examples below.[31]

[31] It is crucial to keep in mind that discourse entities denoted by the direct objects in (19) are assumed *not* to be recently mentioned in discourse. Note that (19a'), (19b') and (19c') would be appropriate in a discourse in which Speaker A and B had a recent discussion on 'Ali's car', 'the office' or 'the food', respectively.

Definite Objects

(19) a. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgün-sün?
what happened why upset-2sg
'What happened? Why are you upset?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ali araba-yı çarp-tı.
(Don't get me started) Ali car-acc crash-past
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgünsün?
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Ali arabayı çarptı.

b. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
morning what happened
'What happened in the morning?'
Speaker A: Ali büro-yu ara-dı.
Ali office-acc call-past
'Ali called the office.'

b'. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
Speaker A: #Ali büroyu aradı.

c. Speaker A: Bu koku nedir?
this smell what
'What is this smell?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ayşe yemeğ-i yak-mış.
(Don't get me started) Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'(Don't get me started) Ayşe burnt the food.'

c'. Speaker A: Bu koku nedir?
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Ayşe yemeği yakmış.

(20) a. Speaker A: Ankara-ya neden uçak-la git-ti-niz?
Ankara-dat why plane-inst go-past-2pl
'Why did you go to Ankara with plane?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı <u>çarp-mış-tı</u>.
because Ali car-acc crash-perf-past
'Because Ali had crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Ankara'ya neden uçakla gittiniz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ali <u>arabayı</u> çarpmıştı.

b. Speaker A: Neden yemek ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i <u>yak-mış</u>.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

b'. Speaker A: Neden yemek yemiyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ayşe <u>yemeği</u> yakmış.

c. Speaker A: Okul-a neden servis-le gel-me-di-n?
school-dat why schoolbus-inst come-neg-past-2sg
'Why didn't you come to school with the schoolbus?'
Speaker B: Çünkü servis-i <u>kaçır-mış-ım</u>.
because schoolbus-acc miss-evid-1sg
'Because I have missed the schoolbus.'

c'. Speaker A: Okula neden servisle gelmedin?
Speaker B: #Çünkü <u>servisi</u> kaçırmışım.

If we look at (19a), (19b) and (19c), we see that the definite objects are assigned sentential stress in focus-neutral contexts. By contrast, (19a'), (19b') and (19c'), wherein the verbs but not the definite objects receive sentential stress, are infelicitious in the contexts specified above. In (20a), (20b) and (20c), on the other hand, the verbs receive sentential stress. As can be seen, (20a'), (20b') and (20c'), in which the definite objects but not the verbs are assigned sentential stress, are infelicitious in the above context. The examples in (19) are striking in that they show that the acc-marked object can receive a neutral-focus reading. The question that arises is what is the discrepancy between the specific objects in (19) and (20)? What is the motivation behind this dichotomy with respect to their stress behavior? Before attempting to answer these questions, I would like to illustrate examples containing specific indefinite objects below.[32]

Specific Indefinite Objects

(21) a. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: <u>Bir doktor-u</u> ar-ıyor-um.
a doctor-acc seek-prog-1sg
'I'm seeking a doctor.'

a'. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
Speaker B: #Bir doktoru <u>arıyorum</u>

[32] It would be useful here to remind the reader that the indefinite article 'bir' is unstressed in the following examples (See Section 3.2, ftn.2). Therefore, in the stressed accusative-marked indefinite object (21), it is the accusative marker that receives stress. Note that 'bir' would function as a numeral if it were to receive stress. In this case, it would induce a contrastive reading instead of a neutral focus one for the examples below.

b. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: Bir arkadaş-ı bekl-iyor-um.[33]
a friend wait-prog-past
'I am waiting for a friend.'

b'. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
Speaker B: #Bir arkadaşı bekliyorum.

c. Speaker A: Bugün ilginç birşey oldu mu?
today interesting something happened q-particle
'Did something interesting happen today?'
Speaker B: Polis bir suçlu-yu tutukla-mış.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested a criminal.'

c'. Speaker A: Bugün ilginç birşey oldu mu?
Speaker B: #Polis bir suçluyu tutuklamış.

(22) a. 1. Oda-m-a birkaç doktor gir-di.
room-poss.1sg-dat several doctor enter-past
'Several doctors entered my room.'
2. Bir doktor-u tan-ıyor-du-m.
a doctor-acc know-prog-past-1sg
'I knew one of the doctors.'

a'. 1. Odama birkaç doktor girdi.
2. #Bir doktoru tanıyordum.[34]

[33] In (21a) and (21b), we do not have an overt subject due to the pro-drop nature of Turkish. I assume that this does not pose any problem for the stress facts which will be discussed subsequently.

b. 1. Kütüphane-den birkaç kitap ve dergi al-mış-tı-m.
library-abl several book and journal borrow-perf-past-1sg
'I had borrowed several books and journals from the library.'
2. Ali iki kitab-ı <u>kaybet-miş</u>.
Ali two book-acc lose-evid
'Ali lost two of the books.'

b'. 1. Kütüphaneden birkaç kitap ve dergi almıştım.
2. #Ali <u>iki kitabı</u> kaybetmiş.

c. 1. Hapishane-den on tane suçlu kaç-mış.
prison-abl ten cl criminal escape-evid
'Ten prisoners escaped from prison.'
2. Polis bir suçlu-yu <u>tutukla-mış</u>.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested one of the criminals.'

c'. 1. Hapishaneden on tane suçlu kaçmış.
2. #Polis <u>bir suçluyu</u> tutuklamış.

If we examine the examples above, we see that in (21) the acc-marked objects receive sentential stress in focus-neutral contexts. In (22), on the other hand, the acc-marked objects are unstressed. Instead, the verb receives sentential stress in these examples. Crucially, in both of the examples (21 and 22), the acc-marked objects in question are specific. Once again, we have an asymmetry among the acc-marked objects with respect

[34] (22a) and (22a') are illustrated following Enç's examples (4) and (5) discussed in Section 3.2.

to their stress patterns. In what follows, I will attempt to answer the question as to why there is such a dichotomy among the acc-marked objects (definite and specific).

3.3.2 D-linking, stress shifting and givenness

In my view, the crucial notions that shed light on the above phenomena are discourse anaphora and the notion of *D-linking* as used by Pesetsky (1987) and developed further in Birner and Ward (2001, 2004, among others). More specifically, I argue that in those examples (19 and 21) in which acc-marked objects are stressed, there is no discourse-anaphoric process involved. That is, these discourse entities are not evoked in prior discourse. In other words, they are non-D-linked. The acc-marked objects that are unstressed (20 and 22), on the other hand, are linked to prior discourse via an anaphoric relation. That is, they are D-linked. At this point, I would like to digress a bit and discuss *stress-shifting operations* introduced in Cinque (1993) and developed further in Reinhart (1996) and Neeleman & Reinhart (1998).

3.3.2.1 Stress-shifting operations and givenness

i) Cinque (1993)

In his null theory of phrase and compound stress, Cinque (1993) provides a syntactic account of phrase stress. Cinque, taking Halle and Verganud (1987)'s metrical grid theory as the basis of his analysis, proposes a *nuclear stress rule* which states that stress

is assigned to *the most deeply embedded constituent* in a phrase. This formulation immediately brings up the question of how this rule would work in a situation in which two elements are equally deeply embedded, i.e. are sisters in a given phrase. In order to capture the sisterhood relations, Cinque argues that the depth of embedding among two sisters in the structure is determined by the direction of selection. That is to say, among two sisters, the most deeply embedded one is the one selected by the other. According to this system, if the verb and the object are viewed as sisters, the object is assigned stress since it is selected by the verb.

Cinque refers to this system of stress assignment (Nuclear Stress Rule) as the formal *sentence grammar procedure*. He argues that sentence stress is not only determined by this formal procedure, but also by another procedure which takes the focus and presupposition articulation of the sentence (Chomsky, 1970) into account. Cinque names this mechanism as the *discourse grammar procedure* and holds the view that these two procedures (sentence grammar and discourse grammar) must be distinguished. Sentence grammar procedure (Nuclear Stress Rule) determines where the prominence of a phrase is located. Discourse grammar procedure, on the other hand, provides that the relative prominence of the focused phrase is higher than the presupposed phrase. In this case, a *stress-strengthening operation* is in question. Let us look at (23) to understand the issue.[35]

[35] In (23), the numbers 1 and 2 indicate that 2 is less prominent than 1 in absolute terms.

(23) a. (Any news of John?)

[$_{NP}$ Our poor <u>child</u>] [$_{VP}$ is in bed with a <u>flu</u>]

2 1

Presupposed phrase *Focused phrase*

b. (Who's in bed with a flu?)

[$_{NP}$ Our poor <u>child</u>] [$_{VP}$ is in bed with a <u>flu</u>]

1 2

Focused phrase *Presupposed phrase* (Cinque 1993: (46))

Cinque argues that the sentence grammar procedure is at work in both focused and presupposed phrases in (23). Nuclear Stress Rule assigns primary stress to 'flu' because it is the most deeply embedded constituent in the phrase (VP) in which it appears (either focused as in (23a) or presupposed as in (23b)). Likewise, nuclear stress rule assigns primary stress to 'child' since it is the most deeply embedded constituent in the phrase (NP) in which it occurs no matter focused (23b) or presupposed (23a). According to the view put forth by Cinque, both the presupposed and focused phrases have a constituent which has prominence in the above example due to the application of sentence grammar procedure to each phrase. The task of discourse grammar procedure, on the other hand, is to fulfill the requirement that the main stress of the focused phrase be more prominent than the main stress of the presupposition (Cinque 1993: 258). Note that the stress-shifting operation exploited here is a *stress strengthening operation* in that the stress on

the presupposed element assigned by nuclear stress rule remains (but as secondary) and the prominence of the phrase that is in focus is strengthened. Thus, the focused phrase becomes the constituent containing the primary stress of the sentence.

The other stress-shifting operation Cinque discusses is *destressing* of a stressed element. Cinque argues that the constituent which the nuclear stress rule would predict the main stress to fall (the deeply embedded constituent according to Cinque) may be old information, depending on context. In this case, the constituent is *destressed* and the main stress falls on to the most deeply embedded constituent that is not old information.[36] (25) is an example of *destressing* taken from Cinque (1993).

(24) He doesn't read books.

(25) Has John read *Tristam Shandy*? He doesn't read books. (Cinque 1993: (49b))

For the sentence in (24), nuclear stress rule (NSR) predicts primary stress on 'books' since it is the most deeply embedded constituent in the sentence. However, in a context like (25), the nuclear stress rule fails to predict the primary stress of the sentence. That is, the sentential stress in (25) is on the verb 'read' whereas NSR would predict it to be on 'books'. The reason for this is that 'books' is old information in (25). More specifically, since 'Tristam Shandy' is a book, 'books' counts as old information. Thus, 'books' has no prominence.

[36] Cinque entertains the possibility that destressing might be a consequence of the presupposed constituent being moved from its base position and adjoining to some higher node, hence, ceasing to be the deeply embedded constituent of the phrase (Cinque 1993: 259). Cinque refers to this process as 'marginalization'.

A crucial phonological difference between stress strengthening and destressing operations is that, a subsidiary prominence is left on the presupposed constituent after stress strengthening operations apply whilst no prominence is left on the destressed constituent.

ii) Reinhart (1996)

As noted in Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), although Cinque (1993) illuminates the prosodic properties associated with each stress-shifting operation, he does not explicitly discuss the pragmatic/semantic functions of these operations. Reinhart (1996) argues that, in addition to their different prosodic properties, these two procedures are in fact exploited for independent discourse functions. Stress strengthening is an operation on focus structure, whereas destressing is an *anaphoric* process independent of the focus structure. Before elucidating this discrepancy, let me discuss what is meant by 'focus structure' in Reinhart (1996).

Reinhart (1996) proposes that each derivation is associated with a set of possible foci which she refers to as the *focus set*. The focus set of IP encompasses the constituents containing the main stress of IP. That is, if main stress falls on the object in a sentence, the focus set associated with that sentence is (26) since both VP and IP contain the object.

(26) Focus Set: {IP, VP, Object}

According to Reinhart, one member of this focus set is chosen as the focus of the sentence at the interface depending on discourse conditions. In order to understand this, let us consider (27), in which the object is stressed in the utterance of Speaker B.

(27) a. Speaker A: What's this noise?
Speaker B: $[_{IP}$ My neighbor is building a <u>desk</u>$]_{focus}$

b. Speaker A: What's your neighbor doing?
Speaker B: My neighbor is $[_{VP}$ building a <u>desk</u>$]_{focus}$

c. Speaker A: What's your neighbor building?
Speaker B: My neighbor is building $[_{DP}$ a <u>desk</u>$]_{focus}$ (N&R 1998: (53))

The sentence uttered by Speaker B can be used in any of the contexts in (27) since the focus set defined on the basis of the stress of the object (i.e. {IP, VP, Object}) is compatible with the contexts specified above. Let us now look at (28), in which the sentences uttered by Speaker B are infelicitious.

(28) a. Speaker A: Has your neighbor bought a desk already?
Speaker B: #No, my neighbor is [building]$_{focus}$ a <u>desk</u>

b. Speaker A: Who is building a desk?
Speaker B: #[My neighbor]$_{focus}$ is building a <u>desk</u> (N&R 1998: (54))

In (28), the focus set defined on the basis of the sentence in which the object bears stress is {IP, VP, Object}. Note that in (28a), the actual focus is the verb 'building'. However, as can be seen, the verb is not among the members of the focus set {IP, VP, Object}. (28b) receives a similar explanation. In (28b), the actual focus in the context is the subject 'my neighbor'. However, the subject is not a member of the focus set, either. Thus, the utterance of Speaker B in which the object receives stress is not appropriate in the contexts specified in (28), which are associated with foci not encompassed in the focus set.

Reinhart argues that, in cases like (28a) and (28b), where the focus set defined on the basis of neutral stress does not encompass the desired focus, *stress strengthening* applies. (29) shows how stress strengthening applies to (28).[37]

(29) a. Speaker A: Has your neighbor bought a desk already?
Speaker B: No, my neighbor is [<u>building</u>]$_{focus}$ a desk.

b. Speaker A: Who is building a desk?
Speaker B: [<u>My neighbor</u>]$_{focus}$ is building a desk.

In (29a), extra prominence is given to the verb 'building'. Thus, the verb is contained in the focus set. As a consequence, Speaker B's utterance is appropriate in this context. Likewise, in (29b), the subject 'my neighbor' is assigned extra stress and thus is in the focus set. Hence, the answer given by Speaker B in (29b) is appropriate in the given context.

[37] Note that 'a desk' here has stress as well but it is subsidiary.

Let us now return to our discussion on the distinction between *anaphoric destressing* and *stress strengthening*. Reinhart (1996) argues that stress strengthening is an operation on focus structure, whereas destressing is an *anaphoric* process independent of the focus structure. To be more specific, *anaphoric destressing* applies when a DP denotes an entity previously mentioned in the discourse or available in the situation. Let us consider the examples below, that are adopted by N&R from Schmerling (1976) and Ladd (1980) respectively, to grasp what *anaphoric destressing* means.

Anaphoric destressing

(30) I'd give the money to Mary, but I don't <u>trust</u> Mary.

(31) Speaker A: Has John read 'Slaughterhouse five'?
Speaker B: No, John doesn't <u>read</u> books.

In (30), 'Mary' has been directly mentioned in the first sentence. Hence, this is a case of anaphoric destressing whereby the D-linked DP 'Mary' in the second sentence is destressed. In (31), on the other hand, 'books' can be linked to previous discourse via 'Slaughterhouse five'. Thus, it is destressed. Once again, this is an instantiation of anaphoric destressing. Let us now consider (32), which is another case of stress strengthening.

Stress strengthening

(32) Only Lucie passed the exam. (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (68))

In (32), we observe that the subject of the sentence bears sentential stress. Now consider the structure in (33), in which the object bears neutral stress. (34) shows the focus set defined on the basis of (33).

(33) Lucie passed the exam. (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (69a))

(34) Focus Set: {IP, VP, Object}

If we have a closer look at (32), we see that the focused phrase (i.e. the subject) is not contained in the focus set in (34). Reinhart argues that, at this point, when the actual focus of the sentence is not contained in the focus set, stress strengthening operation applies. Hence, for the desired focus to be contained in the focus set, stress strengthening must occur. After this operation applies, the subject 'Lucie' bears main stress. Therefore, it is included in the focus set.

What is crucial here is that, stress strengthening operations apply to the focus structure, i.e. they apply in order to *alter* the focus set. Anaphoric destressing, on the other hand, is independent of the focus structure. The major difference which Neeleman & Reinhart claim to exist between these two stress shift procedures is that stress

strengthening blocks *focus projection*[38] whereas anaphoric destressing does not do so. They argue that in (30) and (31), which are cases of anaphoric destressing, the whole IP is the focus even though stress shift has occurred. In (32), by contrast, stress strengthening operation blocks focus projection in that the whole IP can not be the focus. In this case, solely the subject is the focus. Neeleman & Reinhart conclude that the reason that anaphoric destressing does not block focus projection can be attributed to the fact that it applies independent of the focus structure. It is crucial to keep in mind that I will follow this view and assume that the stress patterns exhibited by D-linked DPs can be analyzed within focus-neutral context.

iii) Gundel & Fretheim (2004)

Another view which supports this line of thinking is Gundel & Fretheim's (2004) definition of two different kinds of givenness/newness: *referential givenness-newness* vs. *relational givenness-newness*. "Referential givenness-newness involves a relation between a linguistic expression and a corresponding non-linguistic entity in the speaker/hearer's mind, the discourse (model), or some real or possible world, depending on where the referents or corresponding meanings of these linguistic expressions are

[38] Neeleman & Reinhart use focus projection in the sense of Selkirk (1984). (34) is an instance of focus projection whereby stress on the object can mark VP or IP as the focus of the sentence.

assumed to reside." (Gundel & Fretheim 2004:176) Note that notions related to discourse givenness-newness belong to this class.[39]

"Relational givenness-newness, in contrast, involves a partition of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about (the logical/psychological subject) and Y is what is predicated about X (the logical/psychological predicate)." (Gundel & Fretheim 2004:177) So, one part of the sentence is relationally new whereas the rest is relationally given. Some examples of relational givenness-newness are presupposition-focus (Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972), theme-rheme (Vallduvi 1992). Let us consider (35) and (36) to understand the issue.

(35) Speaker A: Who called?
Speaker B: Pat said she called.

(36) Speaker A: Did you order the chicken or the pork?
Speaker B: It was the pork that I ordered.

(Gundel & Fretheim 2004: (3) & (4))

According to Gundel & Fretheim, if 'she' refers to 'Pat' in (35), it is *referentially given* in that the intended referent is presupposed, specific, referential, familiar and discourse-old. Yet, 'she' is *relationally new*, therefore receives stress. What makes it relationally

[39] Some other examples of referential givenness are existential presupposition (Strawson 1964), referentiality and specificity (e.g. Fodor & Sag 1982, Enç 1991), the familiarity condition (Heim 1982) according to Gundel & Fretheim (2004).

new is that it instantiates the variable in the relationally given part of the sentence, *x called* (Gundel & Fretheim 2004: 177).

In (36), we have a similar situation. 'pork' which occurs in the answer uttered by Speaker B is *referentially given* in that it is mentioned in the preceding sentence uttered by Speaker A. However, it is new in *relation* to 'what Speaker B ordered' which is the topic. Thus, both (35) and (36) show that an entity can be referentially given but at the same time relationally new. This observation leads Gundel & Fretheim to conclude that referential givenness-newness and relational givenness-newness are logically independent. On the basis of this view, it is plausible to treat discourse-givenness/newness (which is an instance of referential givenness-newness) as being an independent notion from focus structure (relational givenness-newness). This is in support of two distinct stress operations applying to discourse anaphora and focus structure.

iv) Givenness and Accessibility

The final point which I would like to touch upon before an analysis of our data is the definition of discourse-givenness. Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) focus on the question as to when an entity counts as discourse-given. They conclude that anaphoricity (or previous mention) is not a sufficient condition for *anaphoric destressing*. The reason for this is that if a DP refers to an entity that has not been active for a while, or if it has been mentioned too far back, it is not destressed. They cite Ariel's (1990) analysis of anaphora resolution and hold the view that destressing is governed by the *accessibility* of

the antecedent. According to this view, a DP is highly accessible if it is either a topic, or if it has been mentioned very recently. The relation between discourse-givenness and destressing under this view is summarized in (37).

Accessibility and Destressing

(37) a. A discourse entity is destressed iff it has an *accessible* antecedent.

b. A DP is accessible if it is either a topic, or if it has been mentioned very recently.

Following this view, I will treat a discourse entity as discourse-given if it has an *accessible* antecedent. In the next section, I will discuss D-linking relations and the affinity between D-linking and sentential stress.

3.3.2.2 D-linking relations and sentential stress

The approach to D-linking relations in this thesis will be parallel to the view that the linking relation between a discourse entity and its antecedent need not be that of identity (Pesetsky 1987, Birner and Ward 2001, 2004, among others). Birner&Ward (2001, 2004) argue that the discourse-old link in a given utterance is related to previously evoked information via a partially ordered set, or *poset*. Discourse entities that are ordered by means of a partial ordering constitute partially ordered sets, or *posets* (Birner & Ward, 2004: 159). Let me briefly explain what Birner&Ward mean by a poset.

According to Birner&Ward (2001), two elements, e.g. A and B, that co-occur in a poset can be related to each other in three possible ways: i) A can represent a lower

value than B. ii) A can represent a higher value than B. iii) The two can be of equal rank, meaning that they represent 'alternate values' sharing a common higher or lower value rather than being ordered with respect to each other. (Birner&Ward 2001: 121-122). Let us look at the following examples to understand the issue.[40]

(38) Lower Value

G: Do you like *this album*?

M: Yeah, *this song* I really like. (M. Rendell to G. Ward in conversation)

(39) Higher Value

C: Have you filled out *the summary sheet*?

T: Yeah. Both *the summary sheet and the recording sheet* I've done.

(T. Culp to C. Wessell in conversation)

(40) Alternate values

G: Did you get any more answers to *the crossword puzzle*?

S: No. *The cryptogram* I can do like that. The crossword puzzle is hard.

(S. Makais to G. Ward in conversation)

(Birner&Ward 2001: (5))

In (38), 'is-a-part-of' relation orders the poset {album parts} wherein 'this song' represents a lower value than 'this album', since 'this song' is included in 'this album'. In (39), on the other hand, 'is-a-member-of' relation orders the poset {forms} in which 'the summary sheet and the recording sheet' represents a higher value than does 'the summary sheet' since 'the summary sheet' is a part of 'the summary sheet and the

[40] The phrases written in italic indicate discourse items that stand in a linking relation.

recording sheet'. In (40), 'the crossword puzzle' and 'the cryptogram' represent equally ranked, alternate values within the poset {newspaper puzzles} which is ordered by the relation 'is-a-type-of' (Birner&Ward 2001:122).

Birner&Ward argue that poset relations include a broad range of relations such as type/subtype, part/whole, set/subset, entity/attribute and identity. Following this line of thinking, I will also envisage D-linking relations as relations in discourse that can be realized in complex ways. Note, however, that I will not be using the term 'poset' in my analysis for the sake of simplicity. I assume that the relation which links an entity to prior discourse can range from strong to loose. Let me illustrate some cases of D-linking from Turkish to make the issue clearer.

We have stated above that D-linking relations can vary from stronger relations to looser ones. The strongest possible D-linking relation is *identity* as noted in Enç (1991). In this type of discourse linking, a DP and its antecedent have to be *coreferential*. This is shown in (41).[41]

(41) a. Ali kitapçı-dan *gazete* al-dı.
Ali bookstore-abl newspaper buy-past
'Ali bought newspaper from the bookstore.'

b. Sonra *gazete-yi* oku-du.
Then newspaper-acc read-past
'Then he read the newspaper.'

[41] The phrases written in italic again indicate discourse items that stand in a linking relation.

Another D-linking relation which is looser than identity is *partitivity*. In this kind of a linking relation, a DP is *included* in the set denoted by the antecedent DP (cf. Enç 1991). We can also call this a *set/subset* relation. (42) is an instance of D-linking via partitivity.

(42) a. Ali pastane-den *beş tane poğaça* al-dı.
Ali pastry shop-abl five cl poğaça buy-past
'Ali bought five poğaças from the pastry shop.'

b. *İki poğaçay-ı* ye-di.
two poğaça-acc eat-past
'He ate two of the poğaças.'

A DP can also be linked to its antecedent when they are both members of a set. In this kind of linking, the DP and its antecedent stand in a *type/subtype* relation to a set. This is shown in (43).

(43) Speaker A: *Çay-ınız* var mı?
tea-poss.2pl cop q-particle
'Have you got tea?'

Speaker B: Maalesef hayır. Ama *kahve* ver-ebil-ir-im.
Unfortunately no but coffee give-abil-aor-1sg
'Unfortunately no. But I can offer coffee.'

In (43), we observe that 'kahve' and its antecedent 'çay' are members of a broader set such as {hot drinks}. We can say that they stand in a type/subtype relation to this set.

The final D-linking relation which I would like to exemplify is a type/subtype relation wherein a DP denotes a type and its antecedent a subtype. This is shown in (44).

(44) Speaker A: *Sütlaç* al-ır mı-sınız?
sütlaç take-aor q-particle-2pl
'Would you like to have sütlaç?'
Speaker B: Ben *tatlı* ye-di-m, çok teşekkür-ler.
I desert eat-past-1sg many thank-pl
'I ate desert, many thanks.'

As can be seen from these examples, there are various ways, apart from identity relation, in which a DP can be linked to its antecedent in discourse. Therefore, I will assume, throughout my analysis, that D-linking is not confined to identity relation but can be realized in more ramified ways.

With these in mind, let us analyze the examples (19)-(22) repeated below. First, let us look at definite objects.

(45) a. Speaker A: Bu koku nedir?
this smell what
'What is this smell?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ayşe <u>yemeğ-i</u> yak-mış.
(Don't get me started) Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'(Don't get me started) Ayşe burnt the food.'

b. Speaker A: Neden yemek ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i yak-mış.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

In (45a), we see that the definite object 'yemeği' receives sentential stress in neutral context. In (45b), on the other hand, the definite object, 'yemeği' once again, is unstressed. Instead of the object, it is the verb that bears stress. I argue that the definite object in (45a) is a non-D-linked DP, whilst the definite object in (45b) is a D-linked one. Furthermore, the D-linking relation in question is an instance of coreferential linking. That is, the definite object 'yemeği' is linked to prior discourse (or its antecedent 'yemek') via an identity relation.[42] By contrast, the definite object in (45a), does not have an antecedent in prior discourse. Crucially, the D-linked definite is unstressed (45b), whereas the non-D-linked counterpart (45a) is stressed. Let us now look at another example which includes a somewhat more complex linking relation in (46).

(46) a. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgün-sün?
what happened why upset-2sg
'What happened? Why are you upset?'

[42] Enç (1991) also claims that the discourse-old link between definites and their antecedents is established via identity relation. I will elaborate on this issue when specific objects are analyzed.

Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ali araba-yı çarp-tı.
(Don't get me started) Ali car-acc crash-past
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car.'

b. Speaker A: Ankara-ya neden uçak-la git-ti-niz?
Ankara-dat why plane-inst go-past-2pl
'Why did you go to Ankara with plane?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı çarp-mış-tı.
because Ali car-acc crash-perf-past
'Because Ali had crashed the car.'

In (46), we have the same asymmetry between the definite objects in a and b with respect to their accent patterns. In (46a), the definite object 'arabayı' is stressed whereas the definite object in (46b) ('arabayı' again) is unstressed. Similar to (45), I claim that the definite object in (46a) is non-D-linked, whilst the definite object in (46b) is D-linked. In this example, however, we have a different linking relation. The definite object 'arabayı' is not linked to prior discourse via identity relation but via sharing a membership relation to a broader set with the antecedent. This broader set is {transportation vehicles}, members of which are 'uçak' and 'araba'. 'araba' stands in a type/subtype relation to this set and thus, can be linked to prior discourse by virtue of being a member of this set. This is an instantiation of non-coreferential D-linking, as opposed to (45).[43] Before moving on, it is worthwhile to note that nothing precludes the

[43] (46b) is an interesting case in that the linking relation can also be 'identity' if a *conversational implicature* in the sense of Grice (1975) is in question. Imagine a situation in which Speaker B and his/her family always go to Ankara by their car and that this is known by Speaker A. Then, what is inferred by Speaker B would not be the literal meaning of 'Ankara'ya neden uçakla gittiniz?' but the conversational implicature 'Ankara'ya neden arabayla gitmediniz?'. In this case, Speaker B infers this implicature and

definite object in (46a) from being familiar to the hearer. However, this does not suffice to destress the object. By stating that this object is non-D-linked, I try to emphasize that the object cannot be D-linked to an *accessible* discourse entity. That is, it has to be mentioned very recently to be destressed which is why the object in (46a) is *not* destressed, because there is no accessible antecedent for it. This shows that givenness can not be equated with familiarity. Let us now analyze some examples containing specific objects.

(47) a. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: Bir doktor-u ar-ıyor-um.
a doctor-acc seek-prog-1sg
'I'm seeking a doctor.'

b. 1. Oda-m-a birkaç doktor gir-di.
room-poss.1sg-dat several doctor enter-past
'Several doctors entered my room.'
2. Bir doktor-u tan-ıyor-du-m.
a doctor-acc know-prog-past-1sg
'I knew one of the doctors.'

In (47a), the specific indefinite object 'bir doktoru' bears sentential stress in focus-neutral context, whilst in (47b), it is the verb but not the specific object that receives stress. This accent asymmetry between a and b pairs is similar to the one found among

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utters the sentence in which 'arabayı' is destressed on the basis of an *identity* relation since the implicature *implicitly* introduces the discourse entity 'arabayı' into the discourse.

definite objects as explained above. I argue, once again, that the discrepancy is due to discourse anaphora. The specific object in (47a) is non-D-linked, i.e. there is not an accessible antecedent in prior discourse "Burada ne işin var?". As opposed to the non-D-linked object in (47a), the specific object in (47b) 'bir doktoru' is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity 'birkaç doktor'. Crucially, this linking relation is a *set/subset* relation. 'bir doktoru', by virtue of being a member of the set denoted by its antecedent 'birkaç doktor', can be linked to prior discourse. As stated above, the linking relation is a set/subset relation since 'bir doktor' is encapsulated in this set. Let us now move onto another example containing a specific object.

(48) a. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: Bir arkadaş-ı bekl-iyor-um.
a friend wait-prog-past
'I am waiting for a friend.'

b. 1. Kütüphane-den birkaç kitap ve dergi al-mış-tı-m.
library-abl several book and journal borrow-perf-past-1sg
'I had borrowed several books and journals from the library.'
2. Ali iki kitab-ı kaybet-miş.
Ali two book-acc lose-evid
'Ali lost two of the books.'

In (48), we, again, observe a dichotomy among specific objects with respect to their stress patterns. In (48a), the specific object 'bir arkadaşı' receives sentential stress. In (48b), on the other hand, the specific object 'iki kitabı' does not bear sentential stress.

Rather, it is the verb that carries stress. Similar to (47), I argue that the specific object in (48a) 'bir arkadaşı' is non-D-linked in that there is no accessible antecedent for it in prior discourse. By contrast, the specific object in (48b) 'iki kitabı', is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity 'birkaç kitap ve dergi'. Since 'iki kitap' is a member of the set denoted by its antecedent 'birkaç kitap ve dergi', it can be D-linked to prior discourse. Note that the linking relation in question is a *set/subset* relation similar to (47).

In all of these examples, what is striking is that the stress pattern depends on whether the object is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity or not, regardless of presuppositionality. If it is D-linked, it cannot bear sentential stress. If it is non-D-linked, it receives sentential stress. This finding is against Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's (2004) claim that accusative-marked objects cannot be stressed in focus-neutral contexts. We have seen that non-D-linked acc-marked objects can receive sentential stress in neutral contexts.

At this point, I would like to discuss the difference between specific and definite objects. We observe above that, for all D-linked specific objects, the linking relation is a set/subset relation. This has also been brought into attention by Enç (1991). According to Enç, the discourse referents of specific NPs are linked to previously established discourse entities via *inclusion* or *partitivity* relation. The linking relevant for definite NPs, on the other hand, is *identity*. Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), contra Enç (1991), argues that some accusative indefinities need not be partitive. According to her, these acc-indefinites can be uttered out-of-the-blue. She considers them as 'referential' along the lines of Fodor & Sag (1982). Kelepir (2001) also argues that accusative indefinites do

not always have to be partitive. According to her, *presuppositionality* is the semantic property that defines specific DP's (partitive or not). Furthermore, she argues against Zidani-Eroğlu's (1997) view of treating the acc-indefinites that are not partitive, as referential.[44]

The argumentation which I will follow is along the same lines with Kelepir (2001) and Zidani-Eroğlu (1997). That is, specific objects need not be partitive at all times. My claim is that the two classes of specific DPs (those that are partitive and those that are not, regardless of whether they are referential or not[45]) can be distinguished on the basis of their different stress behaviors. Partitive specifics are unstressed, whereas non-partitive specifics are stressed as can be seen from (21) and (22). Furthermore, I argue that partitive specific DPs are D-linked to an accessible discourse entity (via set/subset relation), whilst non-partitive specific DPs are non-D-linked, hence they can be uttered out-of-the-blue. According to this view, Enç's specific NPs correspond to the D-linked class of specific DPs.

Let us now examine definite objects. Similar to specific objects, we again identified two classes of definites among definite DPs as in (19) and (20). A stress bearing non-D-linked definite class, and an unstressed D-linked definite class. These examples also show that an acc-marked object can be stressed in neutral contexts, provided that it is non-D-linked. As opposed to D-linked specific objects, we have shown, in (45b) and (46b), that the linking relation for the discourse-anaphoric link of

[44] See Section 3.2 for a detailed discussion of the semantics of accusative case (specific and definite objects) in Turkish.

[45] Note that the semantic properties that are associated with the non-partitive acc-indefinites do not affect our analysis. What is crucial here is that these two classes of acc-indefinites exhibit distinct accent patterns.

D-linked definites can be identity as in (45b) or they can stand in a type/subtype relation to a broader set which also encapsulates their antecedents as in (46b).

We have seen that among the definite and specific objects, there are two groups with respect to stress facts. The first group contains those acc-marked objects that are stressed and non-D-linked, the second group comprises those acc-marked objects that are unstressed and D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. I would like to give two final examples that illustrate an interesting behavior displayed by nonspecific objects.

(49) a. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
evening what happened
'What happened in the evening?'
Speaker B: Ali <u>yemek</u> ye-di.
Ali food eat-past
'Ali ate food.'

a'. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
Speaker B: #Ali yemek <u>yedi</u>.

b. Speaker A: Ali aç mı?
Ali hungry q-particle
'Is Ali hungry?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ali yemek <u>ye-di</u>.
no Ali food eat-past
'No. Ali ate food.'

b'. Speaker A: Ali aç mı?
Speaker B: #Hayır. Ali <u>yemek</u> yedi

Interestingly, (49) exhibits a parallel behavior with examples containing specific and definite objects. In (49a), the nonspecific object ‘yemek’ bears sentential stress. (49a'), in which the verb is stressed is infelicitious in this context. In (49b), on the other hand, the verb receives stress. This time, (49b'), in which the bare noun object bears stress, is not appropriate in this context. In my view, the nonspecific DP in (49a) is non-D-linked in that it cannot be associated with an accessible discourse entity in prior discourse. Let us consider (49b). In this example, ‘yemek’ can be associated with prior discourse via ‘aç’. Since the discussion is about ‘eating’, a discourse-old anaphoric link can be established. That is, it can be D-linked. (50) presents further examples.

(50) a. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
evening what happened
‘What happened in the evening?’
Speaker B: Ayşe <u>tatlı</u> ye-di.
Ayşe desert eat-past
‘Ayşe ate desert.’

a'. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
Speaker B: #Ayşe tatlı <u>yedi</u>.

b. Speaker A: Sütlaç al-ır mı-sınız?
sütlaç take-aor q-particle-2pl
‘Would you like to have sütlaç?’

Speaker B: Ben tatlı <u>ye-di-m</u>, çok teşekkür-ler.
I desert eat-past-1sg many thank-pl
‘I ate desert, many thanks.’

b'. Speaker A: Sütlaç alır mısınız?
Speaker B: #Ben tatlı yedim, çok teşekkürler.

The bare noun object receives stress when it is non-D-linked, as in (50a); but cannot receive stress when it is D-linked, as in (50b- b').

On the basis of these observations, I argue that, as far as stress facts are concerned, what is relevant for DPs is the D-linking process but not their semantic properties (definite, indefinite, specific, nonspecific, referential, etc.). N&R (1998) note that DPs that have different semantic properties (definite, partitive, specific indefinite) may not form a known set as far as semantics is concerned. However, they can share a discourse property in the appropriate context (i.e. D-linking) (N&R 1998: 21). Thus, we can argue that there are two broader classes that encapsulate all these semantic classes. These are D-linked versus non-D-linked DPs. I believe that stress facts can be captured by these classes: the stressed non-D-linked class and the unstressed D-linked class.

An interesting view on acc-indefinites that can be uttered out-of-the-blue is held by Kelepir (2001: 92) who argues that verbal semantics might also play a role and require the object to be presuppositional. Hence, it can be uttered out-of-the-blue. While endorsing this view, I believe that presuppositionality, on its own, cannot explain why we have two distinct stress patterns among presuppositional objects as well. I think this is the point when D-linking becomes essential in determining the accent patterns. To clarify this issue, let me give an example of a structure containing a verb of destruction. Verbs of destruction are known to presuppose the existence of their objects in the literature (Diesing 1992, among others). Hence, their objects are presuppositional.

(51) a. Speaker A: Bugün ilginç birşey oldu mu?
today interesting something happened q-particle
'Did something interesting happen today?'
Speaker B: Polis bir suçlu-yu tutukla-mış.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested a criminal.'

b. 1. Hapishane-den on tane suçlu kaç-mış.
prison-abl ten cl criminal escape-evid
'Ten prisoners escaped from prison.'
2. Polis bir suçlu-yu tutukla-mış.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested one of the criminals.'

In (51a), the acc-indefinite 'bir suçluyu' is stressed in neutral context. In (51b), on the other hand, it is not stressed. Rather, the verb receives stress. Note that in both cases, the object is presuppositional. In my view, the discrepancy between the stress patterns is due to discourse givenness. In (51a), 'bir suçluyu' cannot be linked to an accessible antecedent in prior discourse, i.e. it is new information to the discourse. By contrast, in (51b), 'bir suçluyu' can be D-linked to the previous discourse by virtue of the fact that it included in the previously established discourse referent 'on tane suçlu'. Partitivity is the linking relation in question.

Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004) also discusses the role of verbal semantics on focus structure in Turkish. She argues that in structures with psychological verbs, it is the verb that receives stress and she conjectures that this might be related to the special semantics

of psychological verbs. I think the reason why we always find stress on the verb could be that it is very difficult to find contexts in which the object of the psych verb is discourse-new (e.g. “Ali likes bananas.” (generic context) or “Ali liked bananas.” (episodic context) as an answer to “What happened?). That is, the examples we examine contain D-linked objects. That could be the reason why the stress is always on the verb. (52) illustrates an example with a psych verb, in one case in generic context, in the other case in episodic context.

(52) a. Speaker A: Amsterdam-a neden otobüs-le git-ti-niz?
Amsterdam-dat why bus-inst go-past-2pl
‘Why did you go to Amsterdam by bus?’
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali uçak-tan kork-ar.
because Ali plane-abl fear-aor
‘Because Ali fears flying.’

b. Speaker A: Yolculuk nasıl geç-ti?
trip how pass-past
‘How was the trip?’
Speaker B: Ali uçak-tan kork-tu. Onun dışında herşey iyiydi.
Ali plane-abl fear-past apart from that everything was-good
‘Ali feared flying. Apart from that, everything was fine.’

In (52a), we have a generic context. The object of the psych verb is not stressed. Rather, the verb receives sentential stress. As can be seen, ‘uçak’ is D-linked because there is an accessible discourse entity ‘otobüs’ in previous discourse. ‘uçak’ and ‘otobüs’ are both

members of the set {transportation vehicles}.[46] In (52b), on the other hand, we have an episodic context. Once again, it is the psych verb that receives stress. Similar to (52a), the object in (52b) 'uçaktan' is also D-linked to an accessible discourse entity 'yolculuk'. Thus, in both generic and episodic contexts, the D-linked objects of psych verbs are unstressed. As a matter of fact, it is much easier to find these kinds of contexts, in which the object of the psych verb can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Thus, it could be that Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's observation solely holds for these cases. Although it is extremely difficult to find context for discourse-new objects of psych verbs, we may use the example below to illustrate the issue.

(53) Speaker A: Tatil-de ilginç birşey oldu mu?
vacation-loc interesting something happen q-particle
'Did anything interesting happen on vacation?'
Speaker B: Ali <u>uçak-tan</u> kork-tu.
Ali plane-abl fear-past
'Ali feared flying.'

In (53), the object of the psych verb receives sentential stress. We observe that it cannot be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Thus, I conclude that the objects of psych verbs are not unstressed *per se* due to the semantics of these verbs. Rather, the discourse status (given vs. new) of the object determines the accent patterns.

[46] The linking relation in this example can also be identity if a conversational implicature is in question similar to (46b). Imagine a situation in which Speaker B lives quite far away from Amsterdam (e.g. Istanbul) and that traveling from Istanbul to Amsterdam by plane is the more usual way than traveling by bus. In this case, the *intended* question behind Speaker A's question could be why Speaker B did not travel by plane which is the usual way, i.e. 'Amsterdam'a neden uçakla gitmediniz?'. In this case, 'uçak' is destressed because it can be linked to prior discourse since the implicature introduces 'uçak' into the discourse (implicitly).

That there is an affinity between D-linking and stress patterns has also been observed by Neeleman & Reinhart (1998). On the basis of this observation, they state the discourse anaphora generalization which is as follows:

(54) *Discourse Anaphora Generalization*

"A DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity."

(Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (64))

According to this generalization, a DP must be destressed if it is appropriately D-linked, and it cannot be fully destressed, if it is not D-linked, independent of the focus structure of the sentence (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998). Crucially, this is a PF interface requirement. Note that this generalization captures the stress facts observed above and will be essential in determining the stress patterns of DPs.

3.3.2.3 D-linking and Sentential Stress Rule

Having established the quintessential concepts and assumptions, let us now proceed to see how Sentential Stress Rule (henceforth, SSR) (Kahnemuyipour, 2004) accounts for (19)-(22) repeated below as (55-58).

Definite Objects

(55) a. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgün-sün?
what happened why upset-2sg
'What happened? Why are you upset?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ali araba-yı çarp-tı.
(Don't get me started) Ali car-acc crash-past
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgünsün?
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Ali arabayı çarptı.

b. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
morning what happened
'What happened in the morning?'
Speaker A: Ali büro-yu ara-dı.
Ali office-acc call-past
'Ali called the office.'

b'. Speaker A: Sabah ne oldu?
Speaker A: #Ali büroyu aradı.

c. Speaker A: Bu koku nedir?
this smell what
'What is this smell?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ayşe yemeğ-i yak-mış.
(Don't get me started) Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'(Don't get me started) Ayşe burnt the food.'

c'. Speaker A: Bu koku nedir?
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Ayşe yemeği yakmış.

(56) a. Speaker A: Ankara-ya neden uçak-la git-ti-niz?
Ankara-dat why plane-inst go-past-2pl
'Why did you go to Ankara with plane?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı <u>çarp-mış-tı</u>.
because Ali car-acc crash-perf-past
'Because Ali had crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Ankara'ya neden uçakla gittiniz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ali <u>arabayı</u> çarpmıştı.

b. Speaker A: Neden yemek ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i <u>yak-mış</u>.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

b'. Speaker A: Neden yemek yemiyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ayşe <u>yemeği</u> yakmış.

c. Speaker A: Okul-a neden servis-le gel-me-di-n?
school-dat why schoolbus-inst come-neg-past-2sg
'Why didn't you come to school with the schoolbus?'
Speaker B: Çünkü servis-i <u>kaçır-mış-ım</u>.
because schoolbus-acc miss-evid-1sg
'Because I have missed the schoolbus.'

c'. Speaker A: Okula neden servisle gelmedin?
Speaker B: #Çünkü <u>servisi</u> kaçırmışım.

Specific Indefinite Objects

(57) a. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: Bir doktor-u ar-ıyor-um.
a doctor-acc seek-prog-1sg
'I'm seeking a doctor.'

a'. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
Speaker B: #Bir doktoru arıyorum

b. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
'What are you doing here?'
Speaker B: Bir arkadaş-ı bekl-iyor-um.[47]
a friend wait-prog-past
'I am waiting for a friend.'

b'. Speaker A: Burada ne işin var?
Speaker B: #Bir arkadaşı bekliyorum.

c. Speaker A: Bugün ilginç birşey oldu mu?
today interesting something happened q-particle
'Did something interesting happen today?'

Speaker B: Polis bir suçlu-yu tutukla-mış.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested a criminal.'

[47] In (21a) and (21b), we do not have an overt subject due to the pro-drop nature of Turkish. I assume that this does not pose any problem for the stress facts which will be discussed subsequently.

c'. Speaker A: Bugün ilginç birşey oldu mu?
Speaker B: #Polis bir suçluyu tutuklamış.

(58) a. 1. Oda-m-a birkaç doktor gir-di.
room-poss.1sg-dat several doctor enter-past
'Several doctors entered my room.'
2. Bir doktor-u tan-ıyor-du-m.
a doctor-acc know-prog-past-1sg
'I knew one of the doctors.'

a'. 1. Odama birkaç doktor girdi.
2. #Bir doktoru tanıyordum.

b. 1. Kütüphane-den birkaç kitap ve dergi al-mış-tı-m.
library-abl several book and journal borrow-perf-past-1sg
'I had borrowed several books and journals from the library.'
2. Ali iki kitab-ı kaybet-miş.
Ali two book-acc lose-evid
'Ali lost two of the books.'

b'. 1. Kütüphaneden birkaç kitap ve dergi almıştım.
2. #Ali iki kitabı kaybetmiş.

c. 1. Hapishane-den on tane suçlu kaç-mış.
prison-abl ten cl criminal escape-evid
'Ten prisoners escaped from prison.'
2. Polis bir suçlu-yu tutukla-mış.
police a criminal-acc arrest-evid
'The police arrested one of the criminals.'

c'. 1. Hapishaneden on tane suçlu kaçmış.
2. #Polis bir suçluyu tutuklamış.

Recall that according to this rule sentential stress is assigned in a phasal fashion to the highest element in the spell-out. As has been discussed, the objects in (55) and (57) (definite and specific, respectively) are stressed whereas the ones in (56) and (58) do not bear stress. Although the rule seems to explain the stress behavior of the objects in (55) and (57), it fails to account for (56) and (58).[48] In (55) and (57), the object is the highest element in the spellout (i.e. specifier position of the Aspectual Phrase). Thus, it receives stress. In (56) and (58), the object is again in [Spec, AspP], hence, the highest element in the stress domain. Nevertheless, this time it does not bear stress. Note that the rule does not mention any kind of D-linking procedures. Kahnemuyipour (2004), analyzing data from Persian,[49] argues that the specific objects in Persian move out of the stress domain for independent syntactic reasons. Hence, they reside outside the stress domain which explains why they are unstressed. Let us consider the case in Turkish. As discussed above, the examples in (55) and (57) provide counterevidence to Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's (2004) claim that acc-marked objects (if they are to receive a presuppositional reading) either move out of VP or the verb is focused in order to avoid a clash between PF and LF. These examples show that acc-marked objects can be uttered in focus-neutral context without giving rise to a clash between PF and LF. Thus, I do not see any reason as to why the object must move any higher than AspP in Turkish as is the case with

[48] Assuming that the object checks its acc-case by moving to [Spec, AspP] and stays there. The position of the object will be discussed subsequently.
[49] He argues that specific objects are unstressed in Persian.

Persian (I will elaborate on this below). As can be seen, Kahnemuyipour's (2004) SSR can not explain the stress facts on its own.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Kahnemuyipour suggests that in structures in which discourse-given elements occur, FSR (Focus Stress Rule)[50] applies instead of SSR since he assumes that these structures cannot be analyzed in focus-neutral contexts. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, focus structure and discourse anaphora are accepted to be independent from each other (cf. Reinhart 1996, Neeleman and Reinhart 1998). They display both different discourse/pragmatic functions (Neeleman and Reinhart 1996) and different prosodic properties (Cinque 1993, Neeleman and Reinhart 1998).[51] Furthermore, in Section 3.3.2.1, we have seen that a sentence, though it contains a discourse-given element, can be treated as uttered in a focus-neutral context. Therefore, I will pursue a different analysis.

In order to circumvent the problems discussed above, I propose to reconcile Kahnemuyipour's (2004) SSR and the discourse anaphora generalization stated by Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) in (54). That is, I suggest that they are both on operation in regulating the stress patterns. In (59), I repeat these two rules.

(59) a. *Sentential Stress Rule*

"Sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the spellout (or stress domain)." (Kahnemuyipour (2004))

[50] FSR will be extensively discussed in Chapter 4.
[51] See Section 3.3.2.1 for a detailed discussion of this issue.

b. *Discourse Anaphora Generalization*

"A DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity."

(Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (64))

According to this system, PF has two tasks as far as sentential stress is concerned (in neutral context): i) to assign stress to the highest element in the spellout. ii) to recognize a D-linked element and destress it. This is plausible since we assumed that destressing of D-linked elements is a requirement of PF interface. The reconciliation of these rules has more explanatory power because it also captures the distinct stress patterns related to discourse anaphora.

A question may arise as to how PF recognizes a D-linked element. I would like to propose that DPs carry a feature such as [+D-linked] or [-D-linked] that signals whether they can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity or not. Thus, if a DP is [+D-linked], it has to be destressed. If it is [-D-linked], on the other hand, it can receive sentential stress.

As discussed in Section 2.1.3, Selkirk & Kratzer modify Kahnemuyipour's SSR incorporating the notion of F-marking to the rule. The rule they formulate is repeated below:

(60) *Phrase Stress Rule*

"In a spelled-out domain, phrase stress falls within the highest constituent that contains an F-mark." (Selkirk & Kratzer, 2005)

As noted in Section 2.1.3, Selkirk & Kratzer argue that F-marking is a feature carried by words which produces inferences about discourse-old vs. discourse-new information.[52]

My proposal differs from Selkirk & Kratzer's account in certain aspects. Firstly, rather than collapsing SSR with discourse-givenness into a single rule, I suggest that two rules are on operation, i.e. SSR and discourse anaphora generalization (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998). The motivation behind following such a path will be discussed in Section 3.5 when I examine the stress behavior of nonspecific indefinite and bare noun objects. Secondly, the definition of discourse-givenness I assumed following Neeleman and Reinhart encapsulates the notion of *accessibility* (cf. Ariel 1990, cited in Neeleman and Reinhart 1998) different than Selkirk & Kratzer's approach. This can be envisaged as an advantage of my account since, as noted in Section 3.3.2.2, accessibility makes room for discourse entities that are presuppositional, familiar (in the sense of Heim 1982) but that nevertheless count as new information due to the fact that they are not recently mentioned in discourse.

Following (59), we have two ways to analyze the facts in (55)-(58). The first way is to assume that the object, that can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity, moves out of the stress domain (i.e. out of the complement of the lower phase) to escape from a position in which it otherwise would receive stress, which is against PF interface needs (i.e. anaphoric destressing). Since the D-linked object is out of the stress domain, it remains unstressed. Note that this would be a movement triggered by PF needs.

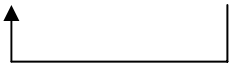
The second way is to assume that the D-linked object does not move, i.e. does not move higher than [Spec, AspP] since it checks its case whether D-linked or not.

[52] See Section 2.1.3 for more information on Selkirk & Kratzer's (2005) account.

Rather, PF seeks the next highest element in the stress domain that is not D-linked. In other words, spellout (or stress domain) is like a search space for PF. If it encounters a D-linked element at the edge (at the highest point), it narrows this search space and assigns stress to the highest element in this new domain, that is new information to the discourse. (61) illustrates the two possibilities.

SD: Stress Domain

(61) a. D-linked object $[_{AspP}\ t_o'\ [_{VP}\ t_o\ V\ ]\ ]_{SD}$



b. $[_{AspP}$ D-linked Object $[_{VP}\ t_o\ V\ ]_{SD1}\ ]_{SD2}$

Recall that this way of solving a conflict was first suggested by Nakipoğlu-Demiralp as discussed in Section 3.2. Briefly, her line of argumentation was that LF requires the acc-marked object to be interpreted as presuppositional. PF, on the other hand, requires that the left edge of VP, neutral focus domain according to Nakipoğlu-Demiralp, carry new information. She argues that these two requirements are incompatible with each other. Thus, this gives rise to a conflict between LF and PF interfaces. In order to avoid this conflict, Nakipoğlu-Demiralp proposed two ways: i) the acc-marked object can move out of the focus domain, i.e. VP. ii) the focus domain is narrowed such that the only element in it becomes the verb.

Though I adopt *the way* Nakipoğlu-Demiralp proposes to solve the conflict she claims to arise between LF and PF interfaces, it is important to note that the nature of the

conflict which I attempt to demonstrate in (61) is different from hers. The conflict which I discuss in (61) can be summarized as follows: If an acc-marked object is D-linked, it has to obey the discourse anaphora generalization, which is crucially a PF requirement, and must be destressed. However, SSR requires that the highest element in the spellout receive sentential stress. Since the object is the highest element in the spellout, it has to be assigned sentential stress. So, the conflict is between SSR and discourse anaphora generalization and arises when the object is D-linked. Please recall that both SSR and discourse anaphora generalization are requirements of the PF interface. Thus, the discrepancy between the nature of the conflict which Nakipoğlu-Demiralp discusses and the one which is shown in (61) is that Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's conflict is *among* LF and PF interfaces. However, the conflict I discuss here is *within* a single interface, i.e. the PF interface.

The question that arises at this point is whether we have evidence in favor of any of these two approaches (movement vs. non-movement). In what follows, I will suggest that we in fact have evidence for the *non-movement approach* (61b) which comes from word order facts of structures containing acc-marked objects and adverbs. Let us first consider (62).

(62) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yla git-m-iyor-uz?
why car-inst go-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we going by car?'
Speaker B: Ali dün araba-yı <u>çarp-tı</u>.
Ali yesterday car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden arabayla gitmiyoruz?
Speaker B: Ali arabayı dün çarptı.

In (62a), we observe that the object 'arabayı' is D-linked and it appears to the right of the adverb 'dün'. Furthermore, it is the verb that receives sentential stress. In (62b), the object 'arabayı' is again D-linked. However, this time, it appears to the left of the adverb 'dün'. Again, sentential stress is assigned to the verb. Note that the answers uttered by Speaker B in (62a) and (62b) are equally appropriate in the above context. Then the question that arises is what triggers this word order variation. Before attempting to answer this question, let us briefly discuss which element can be envisaged as changing its position.

We could follow two ways in analyzing the change in word order. The first way would be to assume that the object occupies a fixed position but it is the adverb that is changing its position. The second way would be to consider the object to be moving. I will follow the second way in that there are no rules for moving adverbs in Minimalist Program because they do not have any features to check (Chomsky, 1995). I will assume that it is the object that is changing its position.

(62a) illustrates that the D-linked object can remain in [Spec, AspP] and still be destressed. Therefore, this clearly shows that we can not choose the movement approach in (61a) in explaining how the D-linked object is destressed. This is in support of a non-movement approach as shown in (61b). Note that anaphoric destressing, which is a stress-shifting operation, applies in this example.

Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) argue that stress-shifting operations are uneconomical. According to the view put forth by them, if a language has a means to satisfy an interface need without violating economy principles, then that means is chosen in derivation. More specifically, if a language has the option of scrambling, it will exploit this option but not the uneconomical operation of stress-shifting to satisfy the needs of the PF interface in this case (anaphoric destressing).[53] They argue for this view by presenting data from English and Dutch, comparing the two languages in the way they achieve anaphoric destressing. This is shown in (63) and (64).[54]

(63) Speaker A: Hoe gaat het met de review van Jan's boek?
how goes it with the review of Jan's book?

a. Speaker B: Ik heb *het boek* eindelijk <u>gelezen</u> [55]
I have *the book* finally read
b. Speaker B: # Ik heb eindelijk <u>het boek</u> gelezen (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (99)

In (63), we see how Dutch deals with anaphoric destressing. We observe that object 'het boek' is D-linked, therefore it has to obey the discourse anaphora generalization and be destressed. In (63a), we observe the scrambled order in that the object appears to the left

[53] Note that Neeleman&Reinhart do not mean that a scrambling language can never employ stress-shifting operations. What they mean is that if the option of scrambling is available in a certain environment (e.g. the scrambling of the object in the existence of an adverb), this option is used and the application of stress-shifting operations result in inappropriate structures. However, if the option of scrambling is not available (i.e. the impossibility of the object to scramble in the absence of adverbs in Dutch), the language can resort to stress-shifting operations. We will see that Turkish presents a challenge to this view.
[54] Italics in (63) and (64) are used to indicate the position of the object in Dutch.
[55] Neeleman&Reinhart indicate stress with bold characters. I follow the convention of this thesis and use underlining to indicate stress.

of the adverb 'eindelijk'.[56] Thus, the object escapes from a position in which it would otherwise receive stress.[57] In this way, the verb is assigned stress. (63b) illustrates the sentence in the unscrambled version. This is ruled out since discourse anaphora generalization is violated in that the D-linked object is not destressed. Now let us look at how English and Dutch differ in (64) which encompasses answers to the question in (63).

(64) a. I have read the book finally
b. # Ik heb eindelijk *het boek* gelezen
I have finally *the book* read (Neeleman&Reinhart 1998: (100))

In (64a), English uses stress-shifting to destress the D-linked object. Note that English does not possess the option of scrambling. In Dutch, on the other hand, as shown in (64b), the application of stress-shifting results in an infelicitious answer. Neeleman & Reinhart conclude that this is due to the fact that (64b) is an uneconomical derivation. Since Dutch has the means to scramble the object, using stress-shifting, which is uneconomical under their view, to achieve anaphoric destressing results in an inappropriate structure in the above context. Now let us consider (62) again, repeated below as (65).

[56] Note that Neeleman&Reinhart do not use the term 'scrambling' for movement but base-generation. The reader is referred to Neeleman&Reinhart for an extensive discussion of the issue.
[57] Neeleman&Reinhart assume Cinque's (1993) rule of sentential stress in the sense that phrase stress is assigned to the most deeply embedded element in a given phrase. Thus, in (63a), when the object appears to the left of the adverb, the verb becomes the most deeply embedded element in the sentence.

(65) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yla git-m-iyor-uz?
why car-inst go-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we going by car?'
Speaker B: Ali dün araba-yı çarp-tı.
Ali yesterday car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden arabayla gitmiyoruz?
Speaker B: Ali arabayı dün çarptı.
'Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

Turkish presents an interesting challenge to the view put forth by Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) in that although scrambling of the D-linked object is possible as in (65b), the object which occurs to the right of the adverb in (65a) can be destressed as well without giving rise to infelicity. What is interesting about the Turkish data in (65) is that the displaced and the immediately preverbal D-linked objects are equally felicitious in the context in (55). Therefore, Turkish behaves differently from Dutch in that it can exploit both stress-shifting and scrambling (in an environment in which scrambling *is* possible) although it has the means of scrambling similar to Dutch. From another point of view, Turkish behaves like English in (65a) in that the D-linked object is destressed without having moved. In (65b), on the other hand, it behaves like Dutch in that the D-linked object precedes the adverb. However, as discussed above, the movement of the object in Turkish can not be due to discourse anaphora generalization, as the immediately preverbal occurrence of it can be destressed as well.

Then, what prompts this movement to take place? The first alternative could be to check its Case feature. However, the movement of the object can not be due to Case checking because it checks its Case already by moving to [Spec, AspP] which is a position below the temporal adverb.

The second alternative could be semantic in the sense of Diesing (1992). Under this view, the object could be moving due to its presuppositional nature to escape from nuclear scope which is associated with existential closure interpretation. However, as noted by Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2004), both the displaced and the immediately preverbal occurrences of the object are presuppositional. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the immediately preverbal acc-marked object is in [Spec, AspP] position in my account. A displaced acc-marked object, on the other hand, moves to a position higher than [Spec, AspP], as can be seen from its left occurrence to the adverb as in (65b). Thus, under this view, both the immediately preverbal and the displaced objects are in fact outside the nuclear scope (VP) which explains why they are both presuppositional. Hence, the movement of the object can not be semantically-driven. In what follows, I will provide a different account of the phenomenon in question.

3.3.2.4 Intonation, prosodic structure and word order variation

I propose that it is *intonation* and *prosodic structure* in Turkish that lie at the heart of the matter in (65). In (65a) and (65b), what is common among the utterances of Speaker B is the *intonational phrasing*. Let me first clarify what I mean by intonational phrasing. Every utterance is divided into *intonational phrases*, whereby every intonational phrase

is associated with its own tune (the term *intonational contour* is also used for *tune*). Intonational phrases are separated by *phrase boundaries*, that can be signaled by some parts of tune, duration pattern or by pausing (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990). Tunes are described by using sequences of low (L) and high (H) tones. The terms *intonational phrasing* and *prosodic phrasing* will be used interchangeably throughout my analysis.

Let us now consider the prosodic structure of the sentences uttered by Speaker B in (65). The prosodic phrasing of both utterances ((65a) and (65b)) are shown in (66a) and (66b), respectively .[58]

(66) a. (Ali dün arabayı) (çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Ali arabayı dün) (çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

When we examine (66a) and (66b), we see that the prosodic phrases encapsulate the same constituents, though with a different word order in the first phrase. Furthermore, in both cases, the prosodic phrases are associated with the same tunes or intonational contours (L*H- with the first prosodic phrases and H*LL% with the second ones). L* represents low tone on a stressed syllable. H- indicates a rise in the pitch at the end of a prosodic phrase. H* represents a pitch peak on a stressed syllable. '%' indicates the end

[58] Prosodic phrasing is indicated via parantheses.

of an intonational phrase. LL% shows that pitch falls at the end of the intonational phrase.[59] Let us now look at another example.

(67) a. Speaker A: Neden defter-in yok?
why notebook-poss.2sg cop.neg
'Why don't you have your notebook?'
Speaker B: Ali okul-da defter-im-i kaybet-miş.
Ali school-loc notebook-poss.1sg-acc lose-evid
'Ali lost my notebook at school.'

b. Speaker A: Neden defterin yok?
Speaker B: Ali defterimi okulda kaybetmiş.
'Ali lost my notebook at school.'

In (67), the object is D-linked and we observe the same stress pattern as in (65), i.e. the verb receives sentential stress. The answers uttered by Speaker B in (67a) and (67b) are again equally appropriate in the above discourse. Let us examine the prosodic phrasing of these answers in (68).

(68) a. (Ali okulda defterimi) (kaybetmiş)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Ali defterimi okulda) (kaybetmiş)
L*H- H* LL%

[59] An indepth description of intonation would take us too far afield. The reader is referred to Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1990) for intonation in English, Nash (1969), Demircan (2001), Ekenel et al. (2002) and Özge (2003) for intonation in Turkish.

Interestingly, the prosodic phrasings of these two utterances are identical in that the prosodic phrases contain the same constituents (with a difference in order in the first prosodic phrases) and are associated with the same tunes. Once again, the word order variation has no impact on the appropriateness to discourse.

Crucially, what we observe up until now is that there is some kind of flexibility with respect to word order variation *inside* the prosodic phrases. In other words, word order variation yields felicitious results in a given context as long as prosodic grouping (phrasing) is preserved, i.e. as long as the same constituents are grouped with one another. Now let us consider another example in which word order variation alters the prosodic grouping of constituents. This is shown in (69).

(69) a. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Neden üzgün-sün?
what happened why upset-2sg
'What happened? Why are you upset?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ali dün <u>arabayı</u> çarp-tı.
(Don't get me started) Ali yesterday car-acc crash-past
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Neden üzgünsün?
Speaker B: # (Ya sorma) Ali arabayı <u>dün</u> çarptı.
'(Don't get me started) It was yesterday when Ali crashed the car.'

In (69), the object is not D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. (70a) and (70b) below illustrate the prosodic structure of the answers uttered by Speaker B in (69a) and (69b), respectively.

(70) a. (Ali dün) (arabayı çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. # (Ali arabayı) (dün çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

When we examine the structures in (70), we see that the prosodic phrasing of constituents are not identical in a and b, as opposed to the examples presented above. In (70a), the non-D-linked object and the verb form a prosodic phrase. In (70b), on the other hand, the object forms a prosodic phrase with the subject. Furthermore, the adverb 'dün' and the verb are grouped in the same prosodic phrase. However, this structure is not appropriate in the context in (69). I suggest that this is due to the change in the prosodic grouping of (70a). To be more precise, the non-D-linked object, which is stressed, and the verb are as if they are glued to each other in (70a) when they appear in the same intonational phrase. In (70b), the object is separated from this unit and the prosodic grouping of constituents is changed. In my view, this change in the prosodic phrasing yields an inappropriate structure in the discourse. When the object is D-linked (as in (65) and (67)), on the other hand, the object is destressed obeying the discourse anaphora generalization. Since the object does not bear stress, it forms a prosodic phrase with the other unstressed constituents, but not with the verb. The movement of the object *within* this prosodic phrase is flexible and does not violate discourse appropriateness because the same prosodic grouping is retained in any order (as in (66) and (68)).

One might entertain the possibility of postverbal movement of the object in (70a) and consider this as movement within a prosodic phrase. Note that the VO order would not be appropriate in this context. However, as Özge (2003) discusses, a Turkish speaker always falls to the bottom of his/her normal pitch range after articulating the main functor of the sentence (the predicate in this case) and keeps a flat line on this lowered pitch until the end of the sentence. Özge (2003) names this as *pitch flooring*. What is pertinent to our analysis is that the elements that cause pitch flooring form a separate prosodic phrase. Therefore, postverbal movement in this example would alter prosodic phrasing.

The observation made above on prosodic phrasing and word order variation extends to other examples such as (71).

(71) a. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Neden üzgün-sün?
what happened why upset-2sg
'What happened? Why are you upset?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Ali dün <u>arabayı</u> çarp-tı.
(Don't get me started) Ali yesterday car-acc crash-past
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Ne oldu? Niye üzgünsün?
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün Ali <u>arabayı</u> çarptı.
'(Don't get me started) Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

In (71), the object is non-D-linked and stressed. What is interesting in this example is that, this time, the order of the subject and the adverb varies without affecting the

appropriateness of Speaker B's utterance to the discourse. (72a) and (72b) illustrate the prosodic structures of the sentences uttered by Speaker B in (71a) and (71b), respectively.

(72) a. (Ali dün) (arabayı çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Dün Ali) (arabayı çarptı)
L*H- H* LL%

In (72a) and (72b), we see that the prosodic phrasing is identical in that the phrases associated with L*H- intonational contour contains the same constituents, though differing in order. Also, the second prosodic phrases associated with H*LL% intonational contour are identical. Note that both of these sentences can be uttered as an answer in the context specified in (71). Similar to the examples discussed above, word order variation within a prosodic phrase does not affect discourse appropriateness. In other words, if prosodic phrasing is kept intact under different word orders, discourse appropriateness is maintained.

The final examples that I would like to discuss include cases of postverbal scrambling. Let us look at (73).

(73) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yla git-m-iyor-uz?
why car-inst go-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we going by car?'

Speaker B: Çünkü çarp-tı Ali dün araba-yı.
because crash-past Ali yesterday car-acc
'Because Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden arabayla gitmiyoruz?
Speaker B: Çünkü çarptı Ali arabayı dün.
'Because Ali crashed the car yesterday.'

In (73), the object 'arabayı' is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity both in (73a) and (73b). Note that all the elements in the sentence (the subject, the adverb and the object) occur in the postverbal region. The difference between the sentences uttered by Speaker B in (73a) and (73b) is the order of the adverb and the object in the postverbal domain. In (73a), the adverb 'dün' precedes the object 'arabayı' whereas in (73b), the object precedes the adverb. The prosodic structures associated with the utterances of Speaker B in (73a) and (73b) are shown in (74a) and (74b), respectively.

(74) a. (çarptı) (Ali dün arabayı)
H*LL% < -F- >

b. (çarptı) (Ali arabayı dün)
H*LL% < -F- >

In (74a) and (74b), we observe that the prosodic structures are identical. I follow Özge (2003) in using <-F-> to indicate a prosodic domain in which *pitch flooring* (i.e. the suppression and the flattening of the pitch) occurs. The first prosodic phrases in both

utterances are associated with H*LL% intonational contour. The second prosodic phrases, on the other hand, are also identical in that pitch is floored in both of the phrases. The only difference between the second phrases is the order of the adverb and the object. Note that both (74a) and (74b) are appropriate in the context in (73). Thus, (74) also supports our observation that word order variation does not affect discourse appropriateness as long as prosodic grouping of constituents is preserved. Now let us look at (75) in which the order of the subject and the object varies without violating discourse appropriateness .

(75) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yla git-m-iyor-uz?
why car-inst go-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we going by car?'
Speaker B: Çünkü <u>çarp-tı</u> Ali araba-yı.
because crash-past Ali car-acc
'Because Ali crashed the car.'

b. Speaker A: Neden arabayla gitmiyoruz?
Speaker B: Çünkü <u>çarptı</u> arabayı Ali.
'Because Ali crashed the car.'

In (75), the object 'arabayı' is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Both in (75a) and (75b), the subject and the object occur in the postverbal region, with a difference in order. Note that both utterances of Speaker B ((75a) and (75b)) are felicitous in the above context. (76a) and (76b) show the prosodic structures corresponding to Speaker B's utterances (75a) and (75b), respectively.

(76) a. (çarptı) (Ali arabayı)
H*LL% < -F- >

b. (çarptı) (arabayı Ali)
H*LL% < -F- >

Once again, optional word order variation is observed within a prosodic phrase.

This observation also extends to structures with D-linked subjects and adverbs. However, this issue will be handled in the next section wherein D-linked subjects will be investigated. The discussion above points out that Turkish, in addition to the discourse anaphora generalization, obeys another principle of the phonology-pragmatics interface. Let us call this principle *The Principle of Prosodic Structure Preservation* which is stated in (77).

(77) *The Principle of Prosodic Structure Preservation*

Prosodic structure must be preserved.

What I mean by prosodic structure is the prosodic phrasing or prosodic grouping of constituents. According to (77), a constituent has to end up in the same prosodic phrase in which it has started out in the derivation. That is, the prosodic grouping of constituents must be kept intact. Otherwise, discourse appropriateness will be violated. In my view, the different behavior of Turkish with respect to Dutch is due to this principle. At this stage, I would like to state another generalization which captures the

above observation that optional word order variation is allowed as long as prosodic grouping of constituents is preserved. This is shown below.

(78) *Prosodic Structure and Word Order Variation*

Preservation of prosodic structure licenses optional word order variation.

This generalization illuminates how we can have optional word order variation in the data above. What is relevant for discourse appropriateness is that once the prosodic phrasing is done, it must be retained throughout the derivation. Thus, as long as (77) is satisfied, optional scrambling is allowed according to the generalization (78). This accounts for the flexible word order in (65), (67), (71), (73) and (75).

Özge (2003), in his study in which he provides a tune-based account of Turkish information structure, argues that each informational unit in Turkish is associated with a certain tune and that different word order variations are due to phonological constraints. That is, there is a constraint on the order of intonational contours (e.g. H*LL% cannot be followed by L*H-) which triggers word order variation. Note that Özge (2003) talks about prosodic phrases and the constraints on the distribution of these prosodic phrases in a sentence. What I am examining at the moment is not the distribution of prosodic phrases but the distribution of constituents *within* prosodic phrases.

As a final remark, I conjecture that this optional scrambling in Turkish might take place at PF. The reason for this is that word order can vary optionally *after* SSR is applied and prosodic phrasing is done. For instance, for the order of the D-linked object and the adverb to be flexible, the object first has to be destressed. When the object is

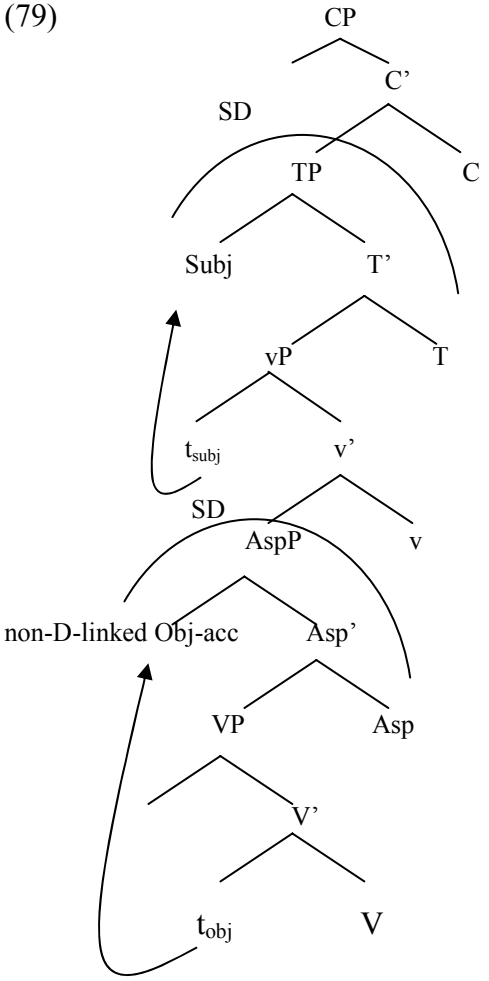
destressed, both Subject-Adverb-Object and Subject-Object-Adverb occur in the same intonational phrase bearing the intonational contour L*H-. This means that optional word order variation here is a consequence of destressing but does not take place in order for the object to be destressed. In my view, this is the point where Turkish departs from Dutch. Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) propose that the scrambling of the object in Dutch is triggered by PF and takes place in syntax. That is, the object is scrambled in order to be destressed. In Turkish, on the other hand, the object *can* move as a consequence of being destressed.

3.3.2.5 Analysis

Having shown that the D-linked object does not move in order to be destressed, I will pursue the non-movement approach in (61b) to account for the data in (55)-(58).[60] In (55) and (57), the objects are non-D-linked. They move to [Spec, AspP] to check their accusative case. When the spell-out is sent to PF, the object is the highest element in the spell-out. Since it is not D-linked, PF assigns sentential stress to the object. Thus, stress facts in (55) and (57) are accounted for. The structures related to (55) and (57) are shown in (79) below.

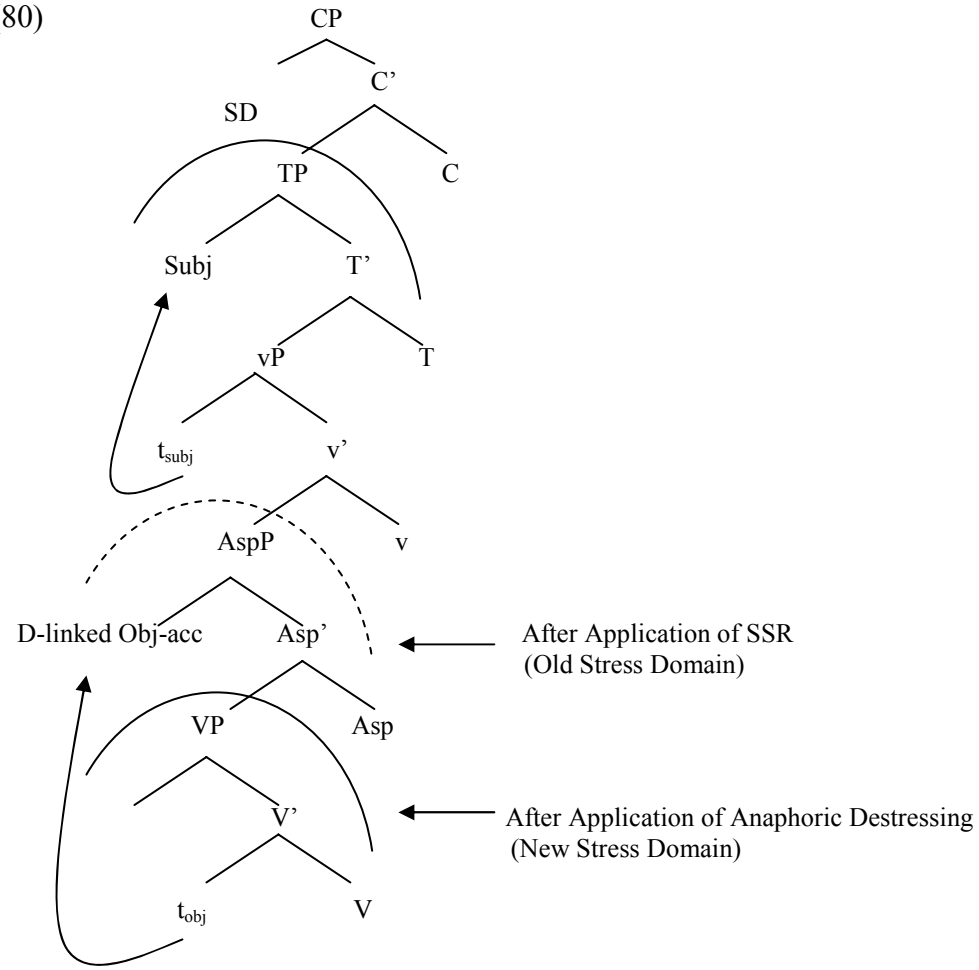
[60] Selkirk & Kratzer (2005) also argue that the D-linked object (object with no F-marking in their terms) is not scrambled out.

(79)



In (56) and (58), on the other hand, the objects are D-linked. Again, they move to [Spec, AspP] to check their case feature. When the spell-out is sent to PF, the object is the highest element once again. However, this time, since the object can be D-linked to an accessible antecedent, PF narrows the stress domain and assigns stress to the highest non-D-linked element in this domain. Since the only element in this domain is the verb, the verb is assigned stress. The structure associated with (56) and (58) is shown in (80).

(80)



In this section, we analyzed the stress patterns of acc-marked objects and proposed that Kahnemuyipour's (2004) Sentential Stress Rule and discourse anaphora generalization stated by Reinhart & Neeleman (1998) both determine the stress patterns. We also saw how stress (anaphoric destressing) functions as a means to signal discourse anaphora. In what follows, we will discuss the stress patterns exhibited by D-linked subjects of unaccusative and passive structures.

3.4 D-linked subjects of unaccusative and passive structures

Hitherto, we have analyzed cases in which *objects* are non-D-linked or D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Now, let us consider the subjects of unaccusative and passive structures which we said receive stress in focus-neutral contexts. This is shown in (81) and (82).

(81) a. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy.What happened?'
Speaker B: <u>Ali</u> gel-di.
Ali come-past
'Ali came.'

b. Speaker A: Bu kanepe neden bu kadar kirli?
this couch why this much dirty
'Why is this couch this dirty?'
Speaker B: <u>Kahve</u> dökül-dü.
coffee spill-past
'Coffee spilled.'

c. Speaker A: Haberler-i duy-du-n mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'

Speaker A: Bomba patla-mış.
bomb explode-evid
'A bomb exploded.'

(82) a. Speaker A: Çok üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very sad look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very sad. What happened?'
Speaker B: Cüzdan-ım çal-ın-dı.
wallet- poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'My wallet is stolen.'

b. Speaker A: Haberler-i duy-dun mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bir çocuk kaçır-ıl-mış.
A child kidnap-pass-evid
'A child is kidnapped.'

c. Speaker A: Haberleri duydun mu?
news-acc hear-past-2sg q-particle
'Have you heard the news?'
Speaker B: Hayır. Ne olmuş?
no what happened
'No. What happened?'
Speaker A: Bir bina kundakla-n-mış.
a building arson-pass-evid
'A building is arsoned.'

In (81) and (82), the subjects of unaccusative (81) and passive (82) structures are non-D-linked. Having modified our sentential stress rule taking discourse anaphora into account, let us now consider D-linked subjects of unaccusative and passive structures and see whether our system (59) can predict the stress patterns in these cases.

(83) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yla gel-me-di-n?
why car-inst come-ned-past-2sg
'Why didn't you come by car?'
Speaker B: Çünkü araba satıldı.
because car sell-pass-past
'Because the car was sold.'

a'. Speaker A: Neden arabayla gelmedin?
Speaker B: # Çünkü araba satıldı.

b. a. Ali kütüphane-den birkaç kitap ve bir dergi al-dı.
Ali library-abl several book and a journal borrow-past
'Ali borrowed several books and a journal from the library.'

b. Maalesef, kitaplardan ikisi çal-ın-dı.
Unfortunately two of the books steal-pass-past
'Unfortunately, two of the books were stolen.'

b'. a. Ali kütüphaneden birkaç kitap ve bir dergi aldı.
b. # Maalesef, kitaplardan ikisi çalındı.

In (83), we see passive structures. As opposed to the subjects in (82), the subjects of passive structures in (83a) and (83b) do not receive sentential stress. Note that (83a') and

(83b'), in which the D-linked subjects receive sentential stress, are infelicitious in this context. The difference between (82) and (83) is that the subjects in (83) are D-linked. In (83a), the subject 'araba' is D-linked to prior discourse via *identity* relation. In (83b), the subject 'kitaplardan ikisi' is associated with prior discourse via *partitivity* relation. Since 'kitaplardan ikisi' is a member of the set {some books and a journal}, it can be D-linked. Now, let us see how our sentential stress assignment system, which is repeated below as (84), operates in these examples.

(84) a. *Sentential Stress Rule*

"Sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the spellout (or stress domain)." (Kahnemuyipour (2004))

b. *Discourse Anaphora Generalization*

"A DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity." (Neeleman & Reinhart 1998: (64))

We have assumed passive and unaccusative vPs not to constitute phases. Thus, the passive structures in (83) encompass solely one phase, i.e. CP. This means that there is one stress domain in the sentence, which is TP. More specifically, the entire sentence is the stress domain in this case. The highest element in this domain is the subject. However, the subject is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. According to the discourse anaphora generalization, it must be destressed. Thus, SSR can not assign stress to the D-linked subject. Therefore, PF narrows the stress domain and seeks the highest element in this domain which is the verb. Thus, the verb is assigned stress. Now let us look at unaccusative structures which are shown in (85).

(85) a. Speaker A: Kahve yap-acak-tı-n n'oldu?
coffee make-fut-past-2sg what happened
'You were going to make coffee. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Sorma yaa) Kol-um-u cezve-ye çarp-tı-m;
(Don't get me started) arm-poss.1sg-acc pot-dat hit-past-1sg
'(Don't get me started) I hit the pot with my arm.'

kahve <u>döküldü</u>.
coffee spill-past
'The coffee spilled.'

a'. Speaker A: Kahve yapacaktın n'oldu?
Speaker B: # (Sorma yaa) Kolumu cezveye çarptım; <u>kahve</u> döküldü.

b. a. Ali bakkal-dan dondurma ve çikolata al-dı.
Ali grocery shop-abl ice-cream and chocolate buy-past
'Ali bought ice-cream and chocolate from the grocery shop.'

b. Dondurma <u>eri-di</u>.
ice-cream melt-past
'The ice-cream melted.'

b'. a. Ali bakkaldan dondurma ve çikolata aldı.
b. # <u>Dondurma</u> eridi.

c. a. Ayşe beş tane balon al-dı.
Ayşe five cl baloon buy-past
'Ayşe bought five baloons.'

b. Bir balon patla-dı.
one balloon burst-past
'One of the balloons burst.'

c'. a. Ayşe beş tane balon aldı.
b. # Bir balon patladı.

In (85), we have unaccusative structures. As opposed to the structures in (81), the subjects in (85a), (85b) and (85c) do not bear sentential stress. This is due to the D-linked status of these subjects. (85a'), (85b') and (85c'), in which the D-linked subjects of unaccusative structures are stressed, are infelicitious in the above context. In (85a), the subject 'kahve' is linked to prior discourse via *identity* relation. In (85b), on the other hand, the linking relation in question is *partitivity*. 'dondurma', by virtue of being the member of the set {ice cream and chocolate}, is D-linked. In (85c), we once again have a partitivity relation between the subject of the unaccusative and its antecedent in prior discourse. 'bir balon' is a member of the set {five baloons}. Thus, it can be linked to prior discourse. As can be seen, all the subjects in (85) are D-linked.

Our analysis for (85) will be similar to the analysis we made for (3). Since the structures in (85) are unaccusative, they contain only one phase, which is CP. Furthermore, there is a single stress domain, which is TP. The highest element in this domain, which is the subject, must receive stress. However, since the subject is D-linked, it can not be assigned stress due to discourse anaphora generalization. Thus, PF assigns stress to the next highest element, which is the verb.

To sum up, the correlation between D-linking and deaccenting which has been observed for objects, is also displayed by subjects of unaccusative and passive structures. Furthermore, our revised version of the sentential stress rule can predict the stress patterns observed in these cases.

Let us now add adverbs to unaccusative and passive structures and see how stress patterns are determined. (86) illustrates the addition of adverbs to passive ((86a) and (86b)) and unaccusative structures ((86c) and (86d)) in neutral context.

(86) a. Speaker A: Üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün <u>cüzdan-ım</u> çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) yesterday wallet-poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started). Yesterday, my wallet got stolen.'

b. Speaker A: Üzgün görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Otobüs-te <u>cüzdan-ım</u> çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) bus-loc wallet-poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen on the bus.'

c. Speaker A: Bu kanepe neden kirli?
this couch why dirty
'Why is this couch dirty?'

Speaker B: Maalesef kahve dökül-dü.
unfortunately coffee spill-past
'Unfortunately, coffee spilled.'

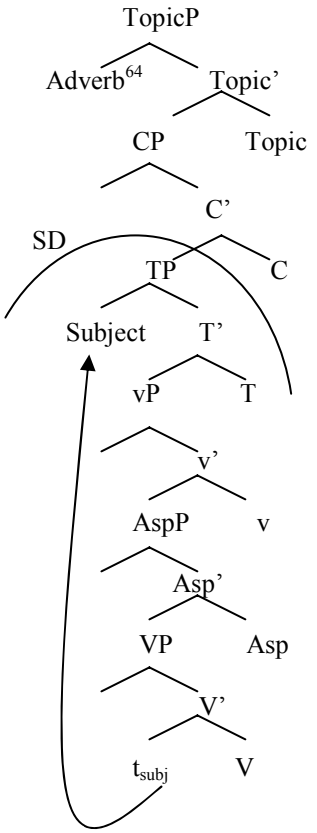
d. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy. What happened?'
Speaker B: Bugün Ali gel-di.
today Ali come-past
'Today, Ali came.'

In (86), we see that the adverbs precede the (non-D-linked) subjects in the unmarked order.[61] Under the assumption that the subject occupies [Spec,TP], these adverbs must be in a higher position. At this point, there are two possible analyses. According to the first analysis, the adverbs (time, location) that were assumed to be merged to [Spec,vP], move to a position higher than [Spec,TP]. According to the second analysis, these adverbs are not moved, but are directly merged to a position above [Spec,TP]. I will follow the second way for the following reasons: i) Under the movement analysis, the adverbs have to be moved to achieve the *unmarked* order. ii) According to MP, there are no rules to move adverbs since they are not assumed to possess features to check. Thus, I take the adverbs above (including *maalesef* 'unfortunately') to be merged in the CP domain, presumably to [Spec, TopicP].[62]

[61] What I mean by unmarked order here is that the order which occurs in focus-neutral context.
[62] 'maalesef' is assumed to be merged to [Spec, TopP] similar to the other adverbs above since they occupy the same position in (6).

Let us try to account for the stress patterns. Since vP in the structures in (86) cannot induce a phasal boundary, the only stress domain is the complement of CP, i.e. TP. The highest element in TP in all of the examples is the subject.[63] Since the subject is non-D-linked, it receives sentential stress. The structure associated with (86) is shown below.

(87)



Now let us consider (88).

(88) a. Speaker A: Üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'

[63] Note that the adverbs reside outside the stress domain.
[64] 'Adverb' here stands for the adverb types used in the data in this section.

Speaker B: # (Ya sorma) cüzdan-ım dün çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) wallet-poss.1sg yesterday steal-pass-past
'#(Don't get me started) It was my wallet that got stolen yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Üzgün görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Cüzdan-ım otobüs-te çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) wallet-poss.1sg bus-loc steal-pass-past
'#(Don't get me started) It was my wallet that got stolen on the bus.'

c. Speaker A: Bu kanepe neden kirli?
this couch why dirty
'Why is this couch dirty?'
Speaker B: #Kahve maalesef dökül-dü.
coffee unfortunately spill-past
'#It was coffee that unfortunately spilled.'

d. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy. What happened?'
Speaker B: #Ali bugün geldi.
Ali today come-past
'#It was Ali who came today.'

In (88), we observe that the subjects are non-D-linked and receive sentential stress similar to (86). (88) differs from (86) in that the subject (bearing stress) appears to the

left of the adverbs. As can be seen, the structures in (88) are not appropriate in the focus-neutral contexts specified above and can only induce contrastive readings.[65]

Now consider the following example (89), in which adverbs again follow the subjects of passive and unaccusative structures but the verbs receive sentential stress.

(89) a. Speaker A: Neden cüzdan-ın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Cüzdan-ım dün çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) wallet-poss.1sg yesterday steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden cüzdanın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Cüzdan-ım otobüs-te çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) wallet-poss.1sg bus-loc steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen on the bus.'

c. Speaker A: Kahve yap-acak-tı-n n'oldu?
coffee make-fut-past-2sg what happened
'You were going to make coffee. What happened?'

[65] The answers of Speaker B would be felicitious in the following contrastive contexts.
a. Cüzdanım dün çalındı, çantam değil. (It was my wallet that got stolen yesterday, not my bag.)
b. Cüzdanım otobüste çalındı, saatim değil. (It was my wallet that got stolen on the bus, not my watch.)
c. Kahve maalesef döküldü, çay değil. (It was coffee that unfortunately spilled, not tea.)
d. Ali bugün geldi, Ahmet değil. (It was Ali who came today, not Ahmet)

Speaker B: (Sorma yaa) kol-um-u cezve-ye çarp-tı-m;
(Don't get me started) arm-poss.1sg-acc pot-dat hit-past-1sg
'(Don't get me started) I hit the pot with my arm.'

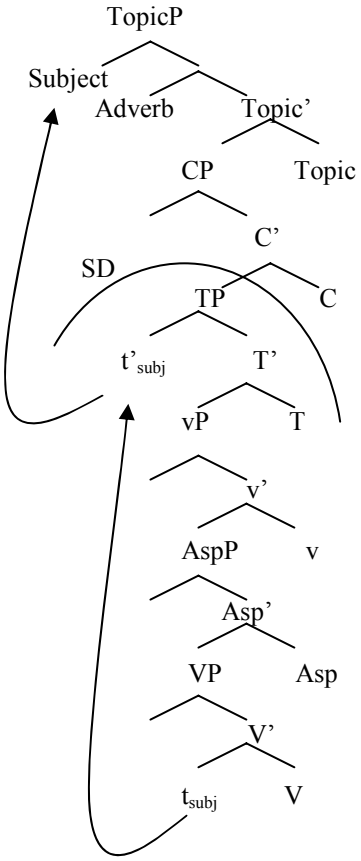
kahve maalesef dökül-dü.
coffee unfortunately spill-past
'The coffee unfortunately spilled.'

d. a. Ali ve ailesi bir aydır tatilde-y-di-ler.
Ali and family-poss.3sg for a month on vacation-cop-past-3pl
'Ali and his family have been on vacation for a month.'

b. Ali bugün gel-di.
Ali today come-past
'Ali came/returned today.'

In (89), the subjects precede the adverbs. This time, sentential stress is on verbs. Note that all the subjects in (89) are D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Under the assumption that adverbs occupy fixed positions, the subject appears to move to a position in the examples above. Let us assume that it moves to the second specifier of [Spec, TopP]. Now, we have solely the verb in the stress domain (TP). Therefore, according to SSR, the verb receives sentential stress. The structure associated with (89) is shown below.

(90)



It is noteworthy at this point to discuss the nature of the movement of the subject in (89). We could claim that the D-linked subject is in fact escaping from a position (as the highest element in TP) in which it would otherwise receive stress. However, consider the following examples in (91).

(91) a. Speaker A: Neden cüzdanın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'

Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün cüzdan-ım çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) yesterday wallet-poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden cüzdan-ın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) otobüs-te cüzdan-ım çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) bus-loc wallet-poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen on the bus.'

c. Speaker A: Kahve yap-acak-tı-n n'oldu?
coffee make-fut-past-2sg what happened
'You were going to make coffee. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Sorma yaa) kol-um-u cezve-ye çarp-tı-m;
(Don't get me started) arm-poss.1sg-acc pot-dat hit-past-1sg
'(Don't get me started) I hit the pot with my arm.'

maalesef kahve dökül-dü.
unfortunately coffee spill-past
'The coffee unfortunately spilled.'

d. a. Ali ve ailesi bir aydır tatilde-y-di-ler.
Ali and family-poss.3sg for a month on vacation-cop-past-3pl
'Ali and his family have been on vacation for a month.'

b. Bugün Ali geldi.
today Ali come-past
'Ali came/returned today.'

What is interesting about these examples is that the D-linked subjects are in-situ, i.e. in [Spec,TP]. Nevertheless, they are destressed according to the discourse anaphora generalization and the verbs receive sentential stress without yielding infelicity. These examples obviously show that the movement of the subject in (89) cannot be solely due to D-linking and that the subjects can remain in [Spec, TP] and be destressed. This is, as a matter of fact, reminiscent of our discussion on object-adverb order in Sections 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.4, which supports a non-movement analysis of the D-linked object. The data above also support a non-movement analysis for the D-linked subject. That is, the subject in (91) is the highest element in the stress domain (TP). However, it can not be assigned sentential stress since it is D-linked. PF assigns stress to the next highest element in the domain, i.e. the verb. Hence, the stress patterns are accounted for.

The remaining question is: Why does the subject move in examples like (89) if we can maintain the discourse appropriateness in (91) without moving it? I believe that the answer to this question is *prosodic phrasing*. More specifically, I argue that this is in fact the same phenomenon as the one we discussed on object-adverb order in Section 3.3.2.4. On the basis of this discussion, we formulated a prosodic constraint which says that the prosodic structure must be preserved. Let us see how this would account for the issue at hand.

(92) a. Speaker A: Neden cüzdan-ın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'

Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Cüzdan-ım dün çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) wallet-poss.1sg yesterday steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden cüzdanın yok?
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün cüzdanım çalındı.
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen yesterday.'

In (92), the subject 'cüzdanım' is D-linked in both of the passive structures (92a) and (92b). In (92a), we have subject-adverb order whereas, in (92b), we observe adverb-subject order. The prosodic phrasing of the utterances of Speaker B ((92a) and (92b)) are shown in (93a) and (93b), respectively.[66]

(93) a. (Cüzdanım dün) (çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Dün cüzdanım) (çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

In (93a) and (93b), we see that the prosodic phrases encompass the same constituents with a difference in order in the first prosodic phrase. Furthermore, prosodic phrases are associated with the same intonational contours, i.e. L*H- with the first prosodic phrases and H*LL% with the second ones. What we observe in (93) is that the prosodic phrasing is identical in both cases in the sense that same constituents are grouped with one another. Let us now look at (94).

[66] Again, parantheses indicate prosodic phrases.

(94) a. a. Ali ve ailesi bir aydır tatilde-y-di-ler.
Ali and family-poss.3sg for a month on vacation-cop-past-3pl
'Ali and his family have been on vacation for a month.'

b. Ali bugün gel-di.
Ali today come-past
'Ali came/returned today.'

b. a. Ali ve ailesi bir aydır tatildeydiler.
b. Bugün Ali geldi.
'Ali came/returned today.'

In (94), the subject 'Ali' is D-linked in both of the unaccusative structures (94a) and (94b). As can be seen, in (94a), we observe subject-adverb order whilst in (94b), we have adverb-subject order. Note that both (b) utterances are appropriate in the above context. The prosodic phrasing corresponding to the second ((b)) utterances of (94a) and (94b) are shown in (95a) and (95b), respectively.

(95) a. (Ali bugün) (geldi)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Bugün Ali) (geldi)
L*H- H* LL%

(95a) and (95b) show that the prosodic phrasings of the two utterances are identical in that the same constituents are grouped with each other. Moreover, the tunes associated with each prosodic phrase is also the same (L*H- for the first ones, H*LL% for the

second ones). The only discrepancy is found in the word order of the first prosodic phrases. Similar to (92), both utterances in (94) are felicitious in the above context.

What we have just observed is in support of the idea developed in Section 3.3.2.4 which states that there is some kind of flexibility with respect to word order *within* prosodic phrases in Turkish. That is, word order variation does not affect discourse appropriateness as long as the same prosodic grouping is maintained. Let us now look at (96).

(96) a. Speaker A: Üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün <u>cüzdan-ım</u> çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) yesterday wallet-poss.1sg steal-pass-past
'(Don't get me started). Yesterday, my wallet got stolen.'

b. Speaker A: Üzgün görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
Speaker B: #(Ya sorma) Cüzdanım <u>dün</u> çalındı.
'#(Don't get me started) It was yesterday when my wallet got stolen.'

In (96), we see that the subjects are not D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. The utterance of Speaker B in (96a) in which the subject receives sentential stress is licit as a response to Speaker A's question whereas the utterance in (96b) in which the adverb is stressed is infelicitious in the same context. (97a) and (97b) illustrate the prosodic structures of Speaker B's utterances in (96a) and (96b), respectively.

(97) a. (Dün) (<u>cüzdanım</u> çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. # (Cüzdanım) (<u>dün</u> çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

When we look at (97), we recognize that the prosodic phrasing is not identical in (97a) and (97b) as it was in the examples above (93) and (95). In (97a), the non-D-linked subject 'cüzdanım' and the verb form a prosodic phrase associated with the intonational contour H*LL%. In (97b), on the other hand, the adverb and the verb form a prosodic phrase. However, this is not an appropriate structure in the above discourse. In my view, this inappropriateness stems from the prosodic grouping in (97b) which deviates from the one in (97a). Let us now look at (98).

(98) a. Speaker A: Üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) Dün otobüs-te <u>cüzdanım</u> çal-ın-dı.
(Don't get me started) yesterday bus-loc my-wallet steal-pass-past
'My wallet got stolen yesterday on the bus.'

b. Speaker A: Üzgün görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) otobüste dün <u>cüzdanım</u> çalındı.
'My wallet got stolen yesterday on the bus.'

In (98), the subjects are non-D-linked and receive sentential stress. As can be seen, both in (98a) and (98b), the sentences uttered by Speaker B are felicitious in the context above. (99a) and (99b) show the prosodic structures corresponding to Speaker B's utterances in (98a) and (98b), respectively.

(99) a. (Dün otobüste) (<u>cüzdanım</u> çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Otobüste dün) (<u>cüzdanım</u> çalındı)
L*H- H* LL%

What is interesting about (98) and (99) is that it is the order of adverbs that changes instead of subject-adverb order. A closer examination of (99) reveals that these adverbs that can appear in any order freely are in fact in the same prosodic phrase. In particular, the prosodic grouping in (99a) and (99b) are identical in that the same constituents are grouped with each other, though with a difference in word order in the first prosodic phrases. The first prosodic phrases in both utterances are associated with L*H- intonational contour, the second ones with H*LL%. This example eminently shows that word order variation within a prosodic phrase does not affect appropriateness in discourse since (98a) and (98b) are equally acceptable in the context above. Let us now consider the unaccusative structure in (100).

(100) a. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy.What happened?'

Speaker B: İnan-ma-yacak-sın ama, bugün büro-ya Ali gel-di.
believe-neg-fut-2sg but today office-dat Ali come-past
'You won't believe but, Ali came to the office today.'

b. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
Speaker B: İnanmayacaksın ama, büroya bugün Ali geldi.
'You won't believe but, Ali came to the office today.'

In (100), the subjects in the sentences uttered by Speaker B are non-D-linked and receive sentential stress. This example is very similar to (98) in which a passive structure was used instead of an unaccusative one. (101a) and (101b) illustrate the prosodic phrasing associated with Speaker B's utterances in (100a) and (100b), respectively.

(101) a. (Bugün büroya) (Ali geldi)
L*H- H* LL%

b. (Büroya bugün) (Ali geldi)
L*H- H* LL%

(101) can be analyzed in the same way as (99). That is, word order variation is optional if it occurs within the same prosodic phrase.

The final examples that I would like to present are structures that display word order variation in the postverbal area. Let us first consider the passive structure in (102).

(102) a. Speaker A: Üzgün görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
upset look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look upset. What happened?'
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) cüzdanım çal-ın-dı dün otobüs-te.
(Don't get me started) my-wallet steal-pass-past yesterday bus-loc
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen on the bus yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Üzgün görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
Speaker B: (Ya sorma) cüzdanım çalındı otobüste dün.
'(Don't get me started) My wallet got stolen on the bus yesterday.'

In (102), the subjects of the passive structures are non-D-linked and receive sentential stress. Note that (102) is very similar to (98) with the only difference being the postverbal occurrence of the adverbs. What is interesting in both of the examples is that, the adverbs, whether they occur in the preverbal or the postverbal area, can appear in different word orders. I suggest that this is due to the occurrence of the adverbs in the same prosodic phrase. (103a) and (103b) show the prosodic structures associated with Speaker B's utterances (102a) and (102b), respectively.

(103) a. (Cüzdanım çalındı) (dün otobüste)
H* LL% < -F- >

b. (Cüzdanım çalındı) (otobüste dün)
H* LL% < -F- >

In (103), we see that the prosodic phrasings of (103a) and (103b) are identical in that the same constituents are grouped with each other. Furthermore, the first prosodic phrases are associated with H*LL% intonational contour whereas the second prosodic phrases exhibit pitch flooring.[67] The only difference between (103a) and (103b) is the order of the adverbs. Note that (103a) and (103b) are equally appropriate in the context in (102).This example also shows that word order variation within a prosodic phrase is flexible and does not affect felicity in the discourse. It is noteworthy that the tune associated with the different orders of the adverbs 'otobüste dün' in (99) is L*H- whilst it is <-F-> in (103). However, what is significant is that, both in (99a) and (99b) and in (103a) and (103b), they are in the same prosodic phrase. Now consider the unaccusative structures in (104).

(104) a. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görün-üyor-sun. Ne oldu?
very happy look-prog-2sg what happened
'You look very happy. What happened?'
Speaker B: İnan-ma-yacak-sın ama, Ali gel-di bugün büro-ya.
believe-neg-fut-2sg but Ali come-past today office-dat
'You won't believe but, Ali came to the office today.'

b. Speaker A: Çok mutlu görünüyorsun. Ne oldu?
Speaker B: İnanmayacaksın ama, Ali geldi büroya bugün.
'You won't believe but, Ali came to the office today.'

[67] See Section 3.3.2.4 for the definition of pitch flooring.

In (104), the subjects of the unaccusative structures are non-D-linked and receive sentential stress. The order of the adverbs varies without yielding infelicity. (105a) and (105b) illustrate the prosodic structures corresponding to the utterances of Speaker B (104a) and (104b), respectively.

(105) a. (Ali geldi) (bugün büroya)
H* LL% < -F- >

b. (Ali geldi) (büroya bugün)
H* LL% < -F- >

Once again, we observe flexible word order *within* prosodic phrases.

Let us now analyze D-linked subjects of passive and unaccusative structures in the postverbal area in (106).

(106) a. Speaker A: Neden cüzdan-ın yok?
why wallet-poss.2sg cop-neg
'Why don't you have your wallet?'
Speaker B: Çünkü çal-ın-dı cüzdan-ım dün.
because steal-pass-past wallet-poss.1sg yesterday
'Because my wallet was stolen yesterday.'

b. Speaker A: Neden cüzdanın yok?
Speaker B: Çünkü çalındı dün cüzdanım.
'Because my wallet was stolen yesterday.'

In (106), the subjects of the passive structures can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity and subject-adverb order varies in the postverbal area. (107a) and (107b) show the prosodic structures of Speaker B's utterances (106a) and (106b), respectively.

(107) a. (Çalındı) (cüzdanım dün)
H* LL% < -F- >

b. (Çalındı) (dün cüzdanım)
H* LL% < -F- >

(107), similar to the above examples, shows that word order can vary if the same prosodic grouping is maintained. (108) illustrates the same phenomenon for unaccusative structures.

(108) a. Speaker A: Bu matematik problemi-ni ancak Ali çöz-ebil-ir
this math problem-acc only Ali solve-abil-aor

ama o da tatil-de.
but he clitic vacation-loc
'Only Ali can solve this math problem but he is on vacation.'

Speaker B: (Merak etme) gel-di Ali bugün.
(Don't worry) come-past Ali today

Problem-in-i sor-abil-ir-sin.
problem-poss.2sg-acc ask-abil-aor-2sg
'(Don't worry) Ali came today. You can ask your problem.'

b. Speaker A: Bu matematik problemini ancak Ali çözebilir ama o da tatilde.
Speaker B: Merak etme, geldi bugün Ali. Problemini sorabilirsin.
'(Don't worry) Ali came today. You can ask your problem.'

In (108), the subjects of the unaccusative structures can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity and subject-adverb orders varies in the postverbal region. (109a) and (109b) show the prosodic structures of the utterances of Speaker B (108a) and (108b), respectively.

(109) a. (Geldi) (Ali bugün)
H* LL% < -F- >

b. (Geldi) (bugün Ali)
H* LL% < -F- >

Again, optional word order variation occurs if it does not change prosodic grouping.

The discussion above is in support of the *The Principle of Prosodic Structure Preservation* (77) and the generalization for optional word order variation (78) formulated in Section 3.3.2.4 which state that prosodic structure must be preserved and that the preservation of prosodic structure licenses optional word order variation. The examples demonstrated above show that if prosodic grouping is preserved, the felicity conditions of the discourse are not violated. Furthermore, as long as the same prosodic grouping is maintained, optional scrambling can occur.

In this section, we investigated the nature of sentential stress assignment in passive and unaccusative structures containing D-linked subjects. We saw that our system of sentential stress assignment can account for the Turkish data. The D-linked subjects are destressed (in-situ, i.e. [Spec,TP]) in accordance with the discourse anaphora generalization. PF assigns stress to the next highest element in the stress domain (TP in unaccusative and passive structures) which is the verb. As discussed extensively above, in Turkish, the D-linked subject (similar to the D-linked object) does not move to escape from a position in which it would receive stress. To put it another way, the D-linked subject does not move *in order to* be destressed, but can move *as a consequence* of being destressed (since destressing causes it to form a prosodic phrase with other unstressed elements such as adverbs).

3.5 Bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects

In this section, we will look at the stress behavior of bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects in Turkish. Let us consider the examples below.

(110) *Bare noun objects*

a. Ali <u>kitap</u> oku-du.
Ali book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ayşe yemek ye-di.
Ayşe food eat-past
'Ayşe ate food.'

c. Hasan ödev yap-tı.
Hasan homework do-past
'Hasan did homework.'

(111) *Nonspecific Indefinite Objects*[68]

a. Ali bir kitap oku-du.
Ali a book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ayşe bir elbise al-dı.
Ayşe a dress buy-past
'Ayşe bought a dress.'

c. Hasan bir makale yaz-dı.
Hasan an article write-past
'Hasan wrote an article.'

In (110), we have sentences containing bare noun objects. In each case, it is the object that receives sentential stress. Structures in (111), on the other hand, encompass nonspecific indefinite objects. Similar to (110), the objects are assigned sentential stress.

At this point, we can pursue two analyses in explaining the stress facts related to bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects.

[68] In the underlined phrases, note that stress is on the noun rather than the indefinite article 'bir'. See Chapter 1 for the prosodic properties of 'bir'.

Analysis 1:

According to the first analysis, we could assume that the bare noun and nonspecific indefinite object NPs (as in (110) and (111)) and verbs form compounds in the sense of Öztürk (2004) as discussed in Section 2.2.[69] Therefore, what determines stress here would be a compound stress rule in addition to SSR (Sentential Stress Rule). More specifically, according to SSR, sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the spellout, i.e. AspP. The object-verb complex, being the only element in the stress domain, has to be assigned stress. How does the system know which element in the compound to assign stress? Note that SSR is a clause-level stress rule rather than a phrase-level rule. Thus, it does not determine which element in the compound receives stress. Kahnemuyipour (2004) argues that this can be seen as an advantage of this system because languages exhibit a uniform behavior with respect to sentence-level stress whereas there is cross-linguistic variation in domains lower than the clause (Kahnemuyipour 2004:14). What does this mean? Let us look at the following examples Kahnemuyipour illustrates.

(112) SOV languages:

Persian: Ali ye ketaab xarid
Ali a book bought
'Ali bought a book.' (Kahnemuyipour 2004)

[69] See Section 2.2 for Öztürk's account of complex predicate formation of bare noun and nonspecific indefinite NPs and predicates.

Ondarroa Basque: Jonek liburu irakurri ban
Jon-erg book-abs read had
'Jon read the book.' (Arregi 2003)

(113) SVO languages:

English: John read a book.

Spanish: Juan leyo un libro.
Juan bought a book
'Juan bought a book.' (Zubizarreta 1998)

(114)VSO languages:

Scottish Gaelic: chuala Seonag Calum.
heard Seonag Calum
'Seonag heard Calum.' (Adger 2002)

Kahnemuyipour argues that in all of the above examples illustrating SOV, SVO and VSO languages, it is the object that receives stress. He also notes that stress on subject in a simple transitive sentence in a focus-neutral context is not attested cross-linguistically. Now consider the following examples of Kahnemuyipour (2004:13), illustrating the stress pattern of DP in Persian.

Stress pattern of the DP in Persian:

(115) in do ketaab
this two book
'these two books'

(116) ketaab-e Ali
book -Ez Ali
'Ali's book'

(117) ketaab-e qermez
book-Ez red
'red book'

(118) gush-dard
ear-ache
'earache' (Kahnemuyipour 2004)

(115) illustrates a DP containing a demonstrative and a numeral. While in Persian stress falls on the demonstrative, in English the head noun is stressed. (116) shows a possessive construction. Stress falls on the head noun in English but on the possessive in Persian. In (117), a noun phrase containing an adjective, stress falls on the adjective in Persian whereas it falls on the head noun in English. Finally, in (118), stress falls on the head noun of the compound unlike English.

On the basis of these examples, Kahnemuyipour argues that there is more cross-linguistic variation in domains lower than the clause with respect to stress. He also gives the example of word-level stress. In a three-syllable word, for instance, all three possibilities of main stress are attested across languages. Thus, unlike word or phrase-level stress, sentential stress displays a more restricted behavior cross-linguistically. For domains lower than sentence-level, it is hard to make generalizations. Therefore, Kahnemuyipour holds the view that sentence-level and lower level stress phenomena

must be distinguished and that the system regulating sentential stress may be different than that of lower levels. Although sentential stress can be captured by a generalization, other levels of stress are determined by language-specific rules.

Going back to our data in (110) and (111) that contain bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects, respectively, we have to assume that a compound stress rule is at work in addition to SSR as discussed above. Note that SSR operates at the syntax-phonology interface and is a general rule which applies cross-linguistically. The compound stress rule, on the other hand, is a language-specific rule which is determined solely by the phonological component. Thus, as can be seen from (110) and (111), SSR predicts that stress will fall onto the object-verb complex. The compound stress rule, on the other hand, puts stress on the lefthand element, i.e. the objects.

In Section 3.3.2.3, wherein the issue of D-linking and sentential stress were handled, I postponed the discussion of why I proposed that two stress rules (SSR and discourse anaphora generalization) are at work, rather than collapsing them into one rule. The compound analysis pursued here may shed light on the motivation behind proposing two separate rules. Let us look at (119), an example illustrated in Section 3.3.2.2.

(119) a. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
evening what happened
'What happened in the evening?'
Speaker B: Ayşe <u>tatlı</u> ye-di.
Ayşe desert eat-past
'Ayşe ate desert.'

a’. Speaker A: Akşam ne oldu?
Speaker B: #Ayşe tatlı <u>yedi</u>.

b. Speaker A: Sütlaç al-ır mı-sınız?
sütlaç take-aor q-particle-2pl
‘Would you like to have sütlaç?’
Speaker B: Ben tatlı <u>ye-di-m</u>, çok teşekkür-ler.
I desert eat-past-1sg many thank-pl
‘I ate desert, many thanks.’

b’. Speaker A: Sütlaç alır mısınız?
Speaker B: #Ben <u>tatlı</u> yedim, çok teşekkürler.

As explained in Section 3.3.2.2, in (119a), we see that the bare noun object is non-D-linked and receives sentential stress. (119a’) shows that when the bare noun object is destressed in this context, the structure becomes infelicitious. In (119b), on the other hand, the bare noun object is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity (‘sütlaç’) and the verb is assigned sentential stress. (119b’) demonstrates that the structure becomes inappropriate when the D-linked object is stressed.

(119) obviously shows that bare noun objects are subject to discourse anaphora generalization which says that a DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Thus, as (119b) illustrates, the bare noun object is destressed if it is D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Otherwise, discourse appropriateness is violated as in (119b’). What does this mean?

This means that, if we assume that the bare noun object and the verb form a compoundlike structure (as in Öztürk 2004, among others), the discourse anaphora generalization can dictate to compounds as well. Then this would have certain implications for the domain of application of SSR and discourse anaphora generalization. To be more precise, discourse anaphora generalization would have a larger domain of application since it operates both at clause- and phrase-level. SSR, on the other hand, solely applies at clause-level, i.e. sentence-level. Thus, as long as there is the possibility that the bare noun object and the verb form a compound, I refrain from collapsing SSR and discourse anaphora generalization, two rules that have different domains of application.

Analysis 2:

We could also pursue an analysis in which the bare noun/nonspecific indefinite objects and verbs behave like separate units rather than forming a compound. The stress patterns of bare noun and nonspecific indefinite objects are repeated below.

(120) *Bare noun objects*

a. Ali kitap oku-du.
Ali book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ayşe yemek ye-di.
Ayşe food eat-past
'Ayşe ate food.'

c. Hasan ödev yap-tı.
Hasan homework do-past
'Hasan did homework.'

(121) *Nonspecific Indefinite Objects*

a. Ali bir kitap oku-du.
Ali a book read-past
'Ali read a book.'

b. Ayşe bir elbise al-dı.
Ayşe a dress buy-past
'Ayşe bought a dress.'

c. Hasan bir makale yaz-dı.
Hasan an article write-past
'Hasan wrote an article.'

Under this second view, we can analyze the above stress patterns as follows: The bare noun/nonspecific indefinite objects stand in a sisterhood relation with the verb. As to their case properties, there are different views (Kennelly 1994, De Hoop 1996, among others). Kennelly (1994) argues that these objects are caseless and that their case requirement is satisfied under strict sisterhood VP-internally by the verb. De Hoop (1992) proposes that there are two structural cases: strong case and weak case.[70] Furthermore, she argues that Turkish objects that do not have overt case morphology

[70] A noun phrase is associated with a weak or strong interpretation depending on whether it has checked strong or weak case under this view.

have weak case and check their case within VP. Since the way these objects satisfy their case requirements has no impact on my analysis, I do not see any reason to prefer one approach to the other. What is significant at this point is that when the verb and the object are sisters, they are on the same level. That is, none of them is higher than the other. Recall that SSR relies on hierarchical, rather than linear relationship. Therefore, if two elements are on the same level, SSR cannot predict which one to assign sentential stress. In order to circumvent this problem, we have to make use of selectional requirements following Cinque (1993). That is, if two elements stand in a sisterhood relation, than the one which is selected by the other receives stress. In our case, since the objects are selected by the verb, *they* are predicted to receive sentential stress which is in fact the case.

In this section, I pursued different analyses to explain the stress patterns of bare and nonspecific indefinite objects. Since there is no conclusive evidence for any of these analyses, I will not make a choice among them and assume that they are all possible solutions to the problem at hand.

3.6 Theoretical Implications

The discussion and the analyses I provided in this chapter have certain implications for the general architecture of grammar. First of all, we have seen that the relation between D-linking and deaccenting as observed by Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) manifests itself in Turkish as well. As a phonology-pragmatics interface phenomenon, this demonstrates that the phonological component of grammar directly interacts with pragmatics.

Another implication of our discussion in this chapter concerns the optional scrambling type in Turkish introduced in Section 3.3.2.4, which is sensitive to intonational phrasing. Recall that Sentential Stress Rule makes use of syntactic structure and assigns sentential stress to the highest element in the spellout at the PF interface. Assuming a minimalist approach (Chomsky 1995) and the Y-model of grammar as discussed in Chapter 1, syntactic operations take place in the computational component. Then, syntactic structure is sent to LF and PF interfaces for semantic and phonological interpretation, respectively. This entails that operations applying in syntax must precede those that apply at PF. To emphasize once again, SSR applies *after* syntactic structure is sent to PF, i.e. it applies at PF. Let us now return to the scrambling type in Turkish discussed in Section 3.3.2.4 which is sensitive to intonational phrasing. The question that we have to ask is: What does it mean for scrambling to be sensitive to intonational phrasing? Note that intonational phrasing must be formed after sentential stress is assigned since, for instance, H*LL% intonational contour is dependent on the assignment of sentential stress. Since intonational phrasing is formed after stress assignment, and stress assignment takes place at PF after syntactic operations take place, intonational phrasing, then, must be formed at PF and must follow syntactic operations.

Let me now briefly recapitulate the optional scrambling type I discussed in Section 3.3.2.4. I first concentrated on object scrambling in Turkish comparing it with the one found in Dutch and then examined various types of word order variations (e.g. subject-adverb, adverb-adverb, postverbal scrambling etc.) in Turkish. On closer scrutiny, it turned out that what is common among all these types of optional word order variations is that they are sensitive to intonational phrasing. More specifically, I observed that as

long as the intonational phrasing is kept intact, i.e. the same constituents are prosodically grouped with each other, optional scrambling occurs and has no impact on discourse appropriateness conditions. This, in effect, means that the intonational phrasing must be already formed (i.e. at PF) before this optional scrambling takes place since scrambling is sensitive to the boundaries of intonational phrases.

As also pointed out at the end of Section 3.3.2.4, this discussion points out to the possibility that what we are in fact dealing with might be an instance of PF-movement. Recall, for instance, that for the order of the D-linked object and the adverb to be flexible, the object has to be destressed first. When the object is destressed, both Subject-Adverb-Object and Subject-Object-Adverb occur in the same intonational phrase bearing the intonational contour L*H-. Thus, different than the PF-triggered movement of the object found in Dutch as proposed in Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), optional scrambling of the object in Turkish is a *consequence* of destressing but does not take place in order for the object to be destressed.

PF-movement has been argued to have no impact on the interpretation of the sentence (Chomsky 2001, Elbourne and Sauerland 2002, among others). Interestingly, the optional word order variation discussed above does not have discourse pragmatic functions unlike the scrambling types observed in Turkish before (Erguvanlı 1984, among others). Recall that scrambling *within* a prosodic phrase does not have effect on discourse. If, on the other hand, prosodic grouping of constituents is changed, discourse appropriateness is violated. Although this might be in support of the view that PF-movement has no discourse pragmatic effects, I refrain from drawing an ultimate conclusion at this point. In order to conclude that the scrambling type in Turkish

observed in this chapter is a post-syntactic movement which takes place at PF, various sorts of syntactic and semantic relations such as c-command, binding and scope must also be tested. A pursuit of this is beyond the scope of this thesis and awaits further research.

If the above tests approve our prediction that this movement is PF-movement, this would imply that there is a constraint on PF-movement which is determined by intonational phrasing. That is, optional movement is allowed at PF. However, there is a constraint on it such that optional scrambling is allowed if the same prosodic phrasing is maintained. In this case, scrambling does not affect discourse appropriateness. If, on the other hand, prosodic phrasing is changed, structures become infelicitious in the discourse.

Up until now, we have assumed a movement approach. If we assumed a base-generation approach, on the other hand, this would have very different implications. For instance, the above phenomena could be analyzed, very briefly, as follows: The intonational phrasing would be determined first and then structures that have the same intonational phrasing, i.e. structures in which the same constituents are prosodically grouped with each other, would be base-generated for a given context. A base-generation approach is beyond the scope of this study and could be pursued in further research.

CHAPTER 4

SENTENTIAL STRESS, FOCUS AND ELLIPSIS

In the previous chapters, we analyzed sentences that are uttered in focus-neutral contexts, in which the whole sentence is taken to be the focus. In this chapter, we will consider sentences uttered in non-neutral contexts and account for the interaction between sentential stress and focus. We will see that another mechanism, in addition to the ones proposed in the previous chapters, will be needed to capture this interaction. Before attempting an analysis, let me briefly touch upon some previous work on focus and information structure in Turkish.

4.1 Previous Work on Information Structure and Focus in Turkish

In this section, I will provide a brief review of the previous proposals concerning information structure and focus in Turkish. Note that the discussion in this section is far from being exhaustive. I will mainly focus on how these studies consider the affinity between focus and sentential stress.

The prevalent view on focus in Turkish has been to associate the immediately preverbal position with focus position (Ahmet Cevat 1931, Erkü 1983, Erguvanlı 1984, among others).[71] Under this view, the different scrambling options for sentences have been assumed to occur to satisfy the information structure of the sentence as in (1). In the following structures focus is indicated via italics.

(1) a. Speaker A: Ali nereye git-ti?
Ali where go-past
'Where did Ali go?'
Speaker B: Ali *okul-a* git-ti.
Ali school-dat go-past
'Ali went to *the school*.'

b. Speaker A: Okul-a kim git-ti?
school-dat who go-past
'Who went to the school?'
Speaker B: Okul-a *Ali* git-ti.
school-dat Ali go-past
'*Ali* went to the school.'

It has also been argued that apart from syntactic means (i.e. scrambling), Turkish also exploits prosodic means (i.e. stress) to indicate focus (Erguvanlı 1984, Kılıçaslan 1994, İşsever 2003). This is shown in (2).

[71] Note that Turkish is a language which allows scrambling.

(2) a. Speaker A: Kim okul-a git-ti?
who school-dat go-past
'Who went to the school?'
Speaker B: *Ali* okul-a git-ti.
Ali school-dat go-past
'*Ali* went to the school.'

These strategies, i.e. scrambling and prosody, have been treated as distinct strategies that cannot co-occur by these authors. Özge (2003), departing from this view, argues that Turkish can exploit both syntactic (scrambling) and prosodic (stress-shifting) means simultaneously. (3) is taken from Özge (2003).

(3) A: Ben, kapı-yı *Ali* kır-dı zanned-iyor-dum.
I door-acc Ali break-past think-prog-past-1sg
'I thought that Ali crashed the door.'

B: Hayır, *pencere-yi* Ali kır-dı.
No, window-acc Ali break-past
'No, it was the window that Ali crashed.' (Özge 2003:27, (25))

Göksel & Özsoy (2000) argue that the immediately preverbal position is not the focus position in Turkish contra the above view held by Ahmet Cevat (1931), Erkü (1983), Erguvanlı (1984), among others. Göksel & Özsoy (2000) claim that focus is not associated with a position but with a field in Turkish. Furthermore, they argue that stress is the sole means to indicate focus. Any constituent in the preverbal area can be the focus of the sentence which means focus is not confined to the immediately preverbal

position.[72] Thus, Özge's (2003) view as discussed above and illustrated in example (3), is parallel to Göksel & Özsoy's (2000) approach.

Göksel & Özsoy define focus field as the preverbal area whose left boundary is indicated by stress as in (4).

(4) ……{XP……V}…….. Focus Field

Furthermore, they draw a distinction between sentence stress and focal stress and argue that the immediately preverbal position is not the focus position in Turkish, but the position for sentential stress. However, a constituent with focal stress can also occur in this position since the immediately preverbal position falls within the boundaries of the focus field (Göksel & Özsoy 2000: 227) as can be seen from (4).

In my analysis, I will follow Göksel & Özsoy (2000) in that stress is the sole indicator of focus and that a focused constituent can appear in any preverbal position (as also argued in Özge (2003)).

4.2 Types of Foci

In this section, I will touch upon the different types of foci defined in the literature that will be relevant to Section 4.3 wherein the interaction between sentential stress and

[72] Elements in the postverbal area cannot be focused in Turkish (Erguvanlı 1984, Göksel & Özsoy 2000, among others).

focus will be handled. Note that the discussion in this section is far from being exhaustive.

In the literature, the terms *presentational focus vs. contrastive focus* (Göksel and Özsoy 2003, among others), *informational focus vs. identificational focus* (Kiss 1998) and *broad focus vs. narrow focus* (Göksel and Özsoy 2003, Brunetti 2003, among others) have been used to refer to two types of foci. However, these terms are used in distinct senses by different authors, which causes confusion in the focus literature.

Göksel and Özsoy (2003) define presentational vs. contrastive focus as follows: "Presentational focus, also referred to as broad focus or information focus in the literature, corresponds to the focus semantic structure of a proposition which is an out-of-the-blue sentence, a sentence which is not linked to a previously mentioned proposition in the discourse or one which is characterized as constituting the answer to a question *What happened?* Contrastive focus, also referred to as narrow focus or identificational focus, on the other hand, is generally taken to mark a constituent which provides an alternative to a similar constituent mentioned before, or it marks new information in a clause which otherwise contains information already mentioned or presupposed." (Göksel and Özsoy 2003: 1150) Thus, according to Göksel and Özsoy, when the full proposition is introduced into the discourse as an out-of -the-blue sentence, the whole proposition provides new information which is the case of presentational focus. In contrastive focus sentences, on the other hand, the subconstituents of a sentence provide new information. Therefore, the rest of the clause contain given information.

Göksel and Özsoy also argue that presentational and contrastive foci are different manifestations of the same phenomenon in Turkish from a semantic point of view. In their view, the difference between these types of foci is not a qualitative difference. Rather, their *scope* is different. They envisage the phenomenon of focus as evoking alternatives in line with the Alternative Semantics approach put forth in Rooth (1992). In presentational focus sentences, focus evokes alternatives such that the whole proposition is contrasted. In contrastive focus sentences, focus again evokes alternatives. However, this time, the subpart of a proposition is contrasted.

To emphasize once again, according to Göksel and Özsoy (2003), all of the constituents present new information in a presentational focus sentence. In contrastive focus sentences, on the other hand, one constituent, i.e. the focused constituent provides new information. Thus, presentational focus sentences do not contain a presupposed part whereas contrastive focus sentences contain a new and a presupposed part. Furthermore, when the stressed constituent in the immediately preverbal position projects focus in Turkish, the whole sentence corresponds to new information, i.e. an instantiation of presentational focus. When no focus projection to sentence level occurs, the sentence contains a given and new part which means that the sentence is a contrastive focus sentence. Note that Göksel and Özsoy use the term presentational focus to refer to propositions that are out-of-the-blue sentences and the term contrastive focus to focused subconstituents of a sentence (Göksel and Özsoy 2003: 1155).

Gussenhoven (forthcoming) has a different view on presentational vs. contrastive focus. He refers to contrastive foci as *corrective focus*. Gussenhoven, following Kanerva (1989), argues that a constituent that is associated with presentational focus is the part of

the sentence that corresponds to the answer to a question, either overt or implied. Corrective focus, on the other hand, occurs when the focus marks a constituent that is a direct rejection of an alternative. Gussenhoven notes that this type of focus is commonly referred to as contrastive focus. Let us look at (5) to understand the issue.

(5) a. (A: What's the capital of Finland?)
B: The capital of Finland is [Helsinki]$_{FOC}$

b. (A: The capital of Finland is Oslo)
B: (No.) The capital of Finland is [Helsinki]$_{CORRECTIVE}$

Gussenhoven (forthcoming, (23))

According to Gussenhoven, (5a) is a presentational focus example whereas (5b) a corrective, or a contrastive focus one. That is, 'Helsinki' corresponds to presentational focus in (5a) but corrective (or contrastive) focus in (5b). In (5a), 'Helsinki' provides new information. In (5b), it rejects the alternative 'Oslo' mentioned in prior discourse.

If we compare Gussenhoven's definition of presentational and contrastive foci with Göksel and Özsoy's (2003), we notice that they are different. (5a), for instance, which is an instantiation of *presentational focus* according to Gussenhoven, constitutes a *contrastive focus* example under Göksel and Özsoy's view. This is due to the fact that Göksel and Özsoy envisage contrastive focus as a focused subconstituent of a sentence. (5b), in their view, is a contrastive focus example as well. Thus, Göksel and Özsoy's approach treats both (5a) and (5b) as contrastive focus.

Gundel and Fretheim (2004) is another study which makes a distinction between two types of foci: *information focus vs. contrastive focus* in their terms. Similar to their distinction between two types of givenness, i.e. givenness as a referential notion and givenness as a relational notion, they argue for a distinction between two notions of focus, one of them being relational, the other referential. Gundel and Fretheim define the relational focus type as 'the information predicated about the topic'. The referential one, on the other hand, corresponds to 'material that the speaker calls to the addressee's attention, thereby often evoking a contrast with other entities that might fill the same position.' (Gundel and Fretheim 2004: 181) They refer to the former focus type as *information focus*, and to the latter one as *contrastive focus*. They also argue that information focus corresponds to new information *in relation* to the topic. Furthermore, one position it is associated with is the questioned position in the corresponding *wh*-question. This is shown in (6).

(6) A: Do you know who called the meeting?
B: $[\text{Bill}]_{\text{FOC}}$ called the meeting. (Gundel and Fretheim 2004: 181)

Under Gundel and Fretheim's view, 'Bill' in (6) expresses information focus which identifies the one who called the meeting, i.e. the topic of the sentence. Note that 'Bill' in (6) would correspond to contrastive focus according to Göksel and Özsoy (2003).

Kiss (1998) also argues in favor of a bifurcation of two types of foci. She refers to these focus types as *identificational focus vs. information focus.* According to Kiss, 'an identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given

elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds.' (Kiss 1998: 245) If a sentence part presents new, nonpresupposed information without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities, it corresponds to information focus (Kiss 1998: 246)). (7) is an example taken from Kiss (1998) which illustrates identificational and information focus in Hungarian. Italics indicate identificational focus whereas small capitals indicate informational focus.

(7) a. Mari *egy kalapot* nezett ki maganak.
Mary a hat.acc picked out herself.acc
'It was *a hat* that Mary picked for herself.'

b. Mari ki nezett maganak EGY KALAPOT.
'Mary picked for herself A HAT.' (Kiss 1998: (8))

Kiss argues that (7a) contains a preverbal identificational focus. This sentence would be used to describe a situation in which Mary chose one piece of clothing among various pieces. Thus, according to Kiss, the identificational focus conveys that the pieces of clothing are present in the domain of discourse, meaning that Mary picked for herself a hat and did not pick anything else (Kiss 1998: 249). Kiss also argues that in (7b), there is postverbal focus and that this example is different from (7a) in that it does not present the referent of the focused DP as a member of a set of alternative entities. Rather, the focus type here is informational focus which solely presents new information. (7b) could be used in the following context according to Kiss: Mary is a familiar participant, the

action denoted by the verb can or cannot be inferred from the preceding events, the DP 'egy kalapot' (a hat.acc), on the other hand, introduces new and nonpresupposed information. Kiss argues that (8) can be the context for (7b).

(8) Janos es Mari vasarolnak.
John and Mary are shopping.

Mari ki nezett maganak EGY KALAPOT.
Mary has picked herself A HAT. (Kiss 1998: (10))

Brunetti (2003), who attempts to unify the two notions contrastive focus and informational focus akin to Göksel and Özsoy (2003), uses these terms in the following sense. A constituent that is an answer to a *wh*-question and thus provides new information presents information focus. She uses contrastive focus in the sense of identificational focus (Kiss 1998) such that the element expressing contrastive focus is a member of a set of alternative entities present in the domain of discourse.

In sum, the above discussion shows that there are two views that define presentational vs. contrastive (or information vs. contrastive) focus in different senses. Under the first view (Göksel and Özsoy 2003, among others), the whole proposition provides new information in a presentational focus sentence which means that presentational focus sentences do not contain presupposed information. Contrastive focus sentences, on the other hand, contain a presupposed and a new part. Note that an element which is an answer to a *wh*-question would be associated with contrastive focus in this view. According to the other view (Gussenhoven (forthcoming), Kiss 1998,

Gundel and Fretheim 2004, Brunetti 2003, among others), the whole sentence need not provide new information in presentational or information focus sentences. If a constituent in a sentence solely provides new, nonpresupposed information, without being a member of a set of alternatives present in the domain of discourse (unlike contrastive focus), it corresponds to information focus (or presentational focus). It is usually an answer to a *wh*-question. A contrastively focused element, on the other hand, is a member of a set of alternatives present in the domain of discourse. Under this view, both information focus and contrastive focus sentences can contain presupposed segments.

Recall that in Chapters 2 and 3, I analyzed sentences uttered in focus-neutral contexts in which I assumed that the whole sentence is the focus and refrained from referring to this context as presentational focus in order to avoid confusion since presentational focus, as discussed above, is used in different meanings. As noted in Section 2.3, what I refer to as 'focus-neutral context' is in the sense of what Schmerling (1976) calls an 'all-new' sentence, i.e. a sentence in which the whole sentence is the focus. Among the above views, on the other hand, presentational focus as defined in Göksel and Özsoy (2003) is the closest to our definition of focus-neutral context. However, the two concepts (i.e. focus-neutral context and presentational focus) are not identical in that, according to Göksel and Özsoy's definition, no presupposed element can appear in a presentational focus sentence. Note that in Chapter 3, in which we analyzed the stress patterns of acc-marked objects, we saw that sentences containing D-linked acc-marked objects, though these objects convey given information, behaved like *all-new* sentences in which the proposition as a whole is the focus. Recall that this was

due to the reason that we treated discourse anaphoric processes and focus structure as independent phenomena.[73]

Another distinction made between types of foci is *broad vs. narrow focus*. There is not a unanimous agreement on the use of these notions in the literature either. In one approach, *broad focus* is seen equivalent to presentational focus (in the sense of Göksel and Özsoy 2003) in that the whole sentence provides new information and the sentence does not contain a presupposed part. *Narrow focus*, on the other hand, is equated with contrastive focus in that subconstituents of a sentence convey new information (instead of the whole clause) whereas the remaining part of the sentence expresses given information (Göksel and Özsoy 2003, among others).

Broad and narrow foci are also used in another sense in some studies (Kahnemuyipour 2004, among others). If the stress on a constituent can project and mark larger constituents as focus, this focus type is broad focus. If, on the other hand, the stress on a constituent cannot project focus, this type of focus is narrow focus. Thus, if the stress on the object in a sentence can mark VP and IP (i.e. the whole clause) as the focus, this would correspond to broad focus. The stress on the subject in transitive structures, for instance, cannot project and mark larger constituents as the focus. Thus, this is narrow focus. Note that if VP is the focus in a sentence, it would be associated with narrow focus under the above approach (Göksel and Özsoy 2003) since a subpart of a sentence is focused. However, it would correspond to broad focus from a focus projection point of view since focus projects from a smaller constituent to a larger one.

[73] See Section 3.3.2.1 for a detailed discussion of this issue.

Brunetti (2003), in her study wherein she attempts to unify information and contrastive foci, argues that contrastive focus can be projected to larger domains such as VP or IP just like information focus. Note that she uses information focus and contrastive focus as in the second view discussed above (e.g. Gussenhoven, among others). If we apply her approach to Turkish data, we see that it is also possible in Turkish for contrastive focus to project as in (10) similar to information focus examples in (10).

(9) a. Speaker A: Bu ses nedir?
this noise what
'What's this noise?'
Speaker B: [Ali <u>çivi</u> çak-ıyor]$_{FOC}$ *Information focus*
Ali nail hammer-prog
'Ali is hammering a nail.'

b. Speaker A: Ali ne yap-ıyor?
Ali what do-prog
'What is Ali doing?'
Speaker B: (Ali) [<u>çivi</u> çak-ıyor]$_{FOC}$ *Information focus*
Ali nail hammer-prog
'Ali is hammering a nail.'

(10) a. Speaker A: Ali çivi mi çak-ıyor?
Ali nail q-particle hammer-prog
'Is Ali hammering a nail?'

Speaker B: Hayır. [Ayşe <u>ceviz</u> kır-ıyor]$_{FOC}$ *Contrastive focus*
No Ayşe walnut crack-prog
'No. Ayşe is cracking a walnut.'

b. Speaker A: Ali çivi mi çakıyor?
Ali nail q-particle hammer-prog
'Is Ali hammering a nail?'
Speaker B: Hayır. (Ali) [<u>ceviz</u> kır-ıyor]$_{FOC}$ *Contrastive focus*
No Ali walnut crack-prog
'No. Ali is cracking a walnut.'

In (9), we see that the stress on the object can project to the whole clause as in (9a) and to VP as in (9b) that are information focus cases according to Brunetti. Under her view, (10) shows that focus projection is equally possible for contrastive focus cases. In (10a), the stress on the object projects and the whole clause can be contrastively focused. In (10b), the stress on the object projects to VP. Thus, VP can express contrastive focus.

Brunetti (2003) argues that information focus and contrastive focus can be treated uniformly from a prosodic perspective since they both allow focus projection. Keeping in mind *her* way of using the terms *broad focus* and *narrow focus*, Brunetti suggests that information focus cannot be equated with broad focus. Likewise, contrastive focus is not tantamount to narrow focus. She points out that it is just easier to find contexts wherein broad focus corresponds to information focus and narrow focus to contrastive focus.

In the next section, I will make use of the notions *broad focus vs. narrow focus* rather than *information focus vs. contrastive focus* in explaining the stress facts of sentences uttered in informationally non-neutral contexts, i.e. contexts in which a

specific constituent conveys new information but not the whole clause. The reason for this is that as far as stress facts are concerned, *wh*-question contexts as in (9) and contrastive contexts as in (10) behave in a similar manner as can be seen above. Rather, the distinction of broad focus vs. narrow focus will be relevant to our discussion in the next section. Please note that I use broad focus and narrow focus in the sense of Brunetti (2003) and Kahnemuyipour (2004). Thus, as will be discussed below, I will refer to cases in which the focus of the sentence is VP or IP as *broad focus*. If focus is on smaller constituents, I will refer to such cases as *narrow focus*.

4.3 Focus and Sentential Stress

In Chapters 2 and 3, we analyzed sentences that are uttered in focus-neutral contexts, in which the whole proposition is the focus. In this section, we will investigate the interaction between sentential stress and focus.

Let us first consider cases of *broad focus*, i.e. cases in which the focus of the sentence is the whole clause or the verb phrase. In these cases, I will follow Selkirk's (1984) *focus projection* view in the sense that the stress on the object can mark larger constituents (VP, IP) as the focus of the sentence. Let us look at (11) to understand the issue.

Broad focus

(11) a. Speaker A: Bu ses nedir?
this noise what
'What's this noise?'

Speaker B: [$_{IP}$ Ali musluğ-u onar-ıyor]$_{focus}$
Ali tap-acc repair-prog
'Ali is repairing the tap.'

b. Speaker A: Ali ne yapıyor?
Ali what do-prog
'What is Ali doing?'
Speaker B: (Ali) [$_{VP}$ musluğ-u onar-ıyor]$_{focus}$
Ali tap-acc repair-prog
'Ali is repairing the tap.'

.

In (11a), sentential stress is on the object 'musluğu'. We see that the stress on the object can mark the whole clause as the focus. As a matter of fact, this has been the type of structure which we have analyzed in previous chapters (focus-neutral context). In (11b), sentential stress is again on the object. However, this time, the verb phrase is the focus of the sentence. What determine the focus in these examples are the context questions uttered by Speaker A. Note that in actual speech, Turkish speakers omit the subject in (11b).

How can we account for the stress patterns in these examples? I argue that the phase-based sentential stress rule defined in Chapter 2 is at work in determining the stress patterns in (11). Recall that according to this rule, sentential stress is assigned to the highest element in the spellout, i.e. the complement of the phasal head.

In (11a), the accusative marked object, being the highest element in the first spell-out ([Spec, AspP]), receives sentential stress. In (11b), again, the accusative-marked

object is assigned sentential stress by virtue of being the highest element in the spell-out. The difference between these examples is the constituent that is the focus of the sentence. In (11a), it is the whole sentence that is the focus. In (11b), on the other hand, the verb phrase is the focus. More specifically, the stress on the object marks the whole sentence as the focus in (11a) whereas it can only mark VP in (11b). Let us now consider cases with *narrow focus* in which focus is on constituents smaller than IP or VP.

Narrow focus

(12) a. Speaker A: Ali ne-yi onar-ıyor?
Ali what-acc repair-prog
'What is Ali repairing?'
Speaker B: (Ali) $[_{DP}$ musluğ-u$]_{focus}$ onar-ıyor
Ali tap-acc repair-prog
'Ali is repairing the tap.'

b. Speaker A: Kim musluğ-u onar-ıyor?
Who tap-acc repair-prog
'Who is repairing the tap?'
Speaker B: $[_{DP}$ Ali$]_{focus}$ (musluğ-u) onar-ıyor
Ali tap-acc repair-prog
'Ali is repairing the tap.'

c. Speaker A: Ali musluğ-u değiştir-iyor mu?
Ali tap-acc change-prog q-particle
'Is Ali changing the tap?'

Speaker B: Hayır, (Ali) (musluğ-u) [$_{V}$ onar-ıyor]$_{focus}$
No Ali tap-acc repair-prog
'No. Ali is repairing the tap.'

In (12a), we see that the object is the focus in this context. In (12b), on the other hand, it is the subject 'Ali' that is the focus of the sentence. The focus in (12c) is the verb 'onarıyor'. Note that in actual speech, Turkish speakers can omit the subject 'Ali' and the verb 'onarıyor' in (12a), the object 'musluğu' and the verb 'onarıyor' in (12b) and both the subject 'Ali' and the object 'musluğu' in (12c).

We observe that SSR does not make the correct predictions for the stress patterns of the structures in (12b) and (12c). To be more specific, SSR predicts sentential stress on the object. However, as we saw, in (12b) and (12c), the foci are the subject and the predicate, respectively. In order to capture the stress patterns in (12), I adopt another rule proposed by Kahnemuyipour (2004), which is also at work in determining sentential stress. The rule formulated by Kahnemuyipour is shown in (13).

(13) *Focus Stress Rule*[74]

At the phase HP, mark a focussed subconstituent C to receive focus stress. At PF, the constituent marked for focus stress receives the highest prominence of the sentence.

[74] Note that Kahnemuyipour (2004) argues that *Focus Stress Rule* (FSR, henceforth) and SSR both apply independently. However, the constituent that is marked with FSR to receive stress is assigned the highest prominence. The other constituent which is assigned stress via SSR, on the other hand, receives secondary stress. I put aside secondary stress phenomena in (12) due to the occurrence of ellipsis and solely account for primary stress.

Let us apply the rule FSR to (12). In (12a), at the first phase vP, we see that the object is marked to receive focus stress. At PF, the object 'musluğu' is assigned focus stress. In (12b), at the first phase vP, there is no element that is marked to receive focus stress. When the second phase (CP) is reached, the subject is marked to receive focus stress. At PF, the subject 'Ali' is assigned focus stress. In (12c), when the derivation reaches the first phase vP, the verb is marked to receive focus stress. At PF, the verb 'onarıyor' is assigned focus stress. Note that we have the same stress patterns in (11a) and (12a). However, it is crucial to keep in mind that different rules are at work in determining the stress patterns in these structures. In particular, the object in (11a) is assigned sentential stress via SSR whereas the object in (12a) receives stress via FSR.

We saw above that when the sentences contain broad focus, focus projection applies in the sense that the stress on the object marks larger constituents (the whole sentence or the verb phrase) as focus depending on the context. In these cases, SSR determines the stress patterns. In cases of narrow focus, on the other hand, we observed that SSR is inadequate in explaining the stress patterns. We adopted another rule, i.e. FSR, to account for these cases. FSR applies in a phasal manner (akin to SSR) and marks a focused element to be assigned focus stress at PF. This rule overrides SSR and predicts the patterns in (12). In what follows, I will discuss the nature of 'ellipsis' we encountered in the examples above.

4.4 Destressing, Ellipsis and two types of givenness

In this section, I will illustrate an interesting discrepancy between destressing and ellipsis. If we look at (11b) and (12), we see that certain constituents can be deleted in actual speech. Let us now consider the following examples.

(14) a. Speaker A: Ali ne yap-tı?
Ali what do-past
'What did Ali do?'
Speaker B: (Ali) araba-yı çarp-tı.
Ali car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

b. Speaker A: Ali ne-yi çarp-tı?
Ali what-acc crash-past
'What did Ali crash?'
Speaker B: (Ali) araba-yı çarp-tı
Ali car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

c. Speaker A: Arabayı kim çarp-tı?
car-acc who crash-past
'Who crashed the car?'
Speaker B: (Arabayı) Ali çarp-tı
car-acc Ali crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

(15) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yı al-m-ıyor-uz?
why car-acc take-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we taking the car?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı çarp-tı.
because Ali car-acc crash-past
'Because Ali crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Neden arabayı almıyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ali çarptı.

b. Speaker A: Neden yemeğ-i ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food-acc eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating the food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i yak-mış.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

b'. Speaker A: Neden yemeği yemiyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ayşe yakmış.

c. Speaker A: Bugün neden servis-i kullan-ma-dı-n?
today why schoolbus-acc use-neg-past-2sg
'Why didn't you use the schoolbus today?'
Speaker B: Çünkü servis-i kaçır-dı-m.
because schoolbus-acc miss-past-1sg
'Because I missed the schoolbus.'

c'. Speaker A: Bugün neden servisi kullanmadın?
Speaker B: # Çünkü kaçırdım.

In (14), we observe that certain elements can be elided in the contexts in which they are uttered. In (14a), the subject 'Ali', in (14b) the subject 'Ali' and the verb 'çarptı', in (14c), the object 'arabayı' and the verb çarptı' can be omitted in the sentences uttered by Speaker B. If we look at (15), on the other hand, we notice that the ellipsis of the objects renders the sentences Speaker B utters infelicitious although the objects can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity in each case.

If we look at (14) carefully, we see that the constituents that can be omitted are mentioned in the previous discourse. That is, in (14a), the subject 'Ali', in (14b), again the subject 'Ali', and in (14c), the object 'arabayı' are discourse referents that are established in prior discourse. In (15), the objects in each case ('arabayı' in (15a), 'yemeği' in (15b) and 'servisi' in (15c)) are also discourse entities that are introduced in prior discourse. Hence, they can be D-linked to an accessible discourse entity. Yet, these D-linked constituents cannot be elided unlike the cases in (14). However, as shown in Chapter 3, these elements are destressed. The gist of this discussion is that, in (14), we have constituents that are previously mentioned in the discourse and can be elided. In (15), on the other hand, we again have previously established discourse entities. However, they can only be destressed but cannot undergo ellipsis. Why do we have such a dichotomy?

I argue that the discrepancy observed in (14) and (15) follows from a subtle but a crucial distinction between two types of givenness (and newness) as defined in Gundel & Fretheim (2004). As discussed in Chapter 3, Gundel & Fretheim (2004) define two different kinds of givenness/newness: *referential givenness-newness* vs. *relational*

givenness-newness. Let us recall the definitions of these notions.[75] "Referential givenness-newness involves a relation between a linguistic expression and a corresponding non-linguistic entity in the speaker/hearer's mind, the discourse (model), or some real or possible world, depending on where the referents or corresponding meanings of these linguistic expressions are assumed to reside." (Gundel & Fretheim 2004:176) Note that notions related to discourse givenness-newness belong to this class.

"Relational givenness-newness, in contrast, involves a partition of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about (the logical/psychological subject) and Y is what is predicated about X (the logical/psychological predicate)." (Gundel & Fretheim 2004:177) Some examples of relational givenness-newness are presupposition-focus (Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972), theme-rheme (Vallduvi 1992).

In my view, it is this distinction between two types of givenness (and newness) that causes the discrepancy in (14) and (15). I would like to propose that the constituents that can be elided in (14) are *relationally given* whereas the elements that cannot be elided (but are destressed) in (15) are *referentially given*. Let us consider the structures in (14) again. In all these structures, the questions asked by Speaker A encompass a presupposition.

In order to understand the nature of the presuppositions, I will adopt the notion of *open proposition* defined by Ward & Birner as follows: "An *open proposition* (OP) is a proposition in which a constituent is left OPEN or unspecified." (Ward & Birner 2004: 156). Ward and Birner further argue that the instantiation of the variable in the OP

[75] For examples and a more detailed explanation of these definitions, see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.1.

corresponds to the FOCUS, or NEW INFORMATION (Ward & Birner 2004: 157). This kind of an information partitioning (open proposition and focus) is very similar to focus/presupposition distinction of Chomsky (1971), Jackendoff (1972) (among others) as pointed out by Ward and Birner. (16) illustrates an example of an open proposition evoked by a question.

(16) a. Where are your mittens?
b. Your mittens are X: Xϵ{places} (Ward and Birner 2004: (4))

Ward and Birner argue that the question (16a) will render the OP in (16b) salient which means that asking someone about the location of their mittens evokes the proposition that their mittens are in some location, that is, some member of the set of places (Ward & Birner 2004: 156).

Going back to our examples in (14), we observe that the questions of Speaker A carry an open proposition in which a constituent is unspecified. Now let us consider each case in (14) below ((17a), (18a), (19a) correspond to (14a), (14b) and (14c)). (17b), (18b) and (19b) show the open propositions evoked by the questions of Speaker A uttered in these contexts.

(17) a. Speaker A: Ali ne yap-tı?
Ali what do-past
'What did Ali do?'

Speaker B: (Ali) araba-yı çarptı.
Ali car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

b. OP: Ali did X: Xϵ{activities}

In (17a), the question asked by Speaker A evokes the open proposition that Ali did something, i.e. some member of the set of activities {read a book, go to the cinema, etc.}. The verb phrase 'arabayı çarptı' in Speaker B's utterance instantiates the unspecified constituent in the open proposition. Therefore, it is the focus of the sentence uttered by Speaker B. The subject 'Ali' is old information *in relation to* the focus 'arabayı çarptı'. That is, it is *relationally given*. Furthermore, it can be elided as can be seen from (17a). Note that relational givenness does not exclude referential givenness here. That is, the subject 'Ali' is referentially given as well since it is introduced in Speaker A's question. However, what is essential here is its relationally given status. Let us now look at (18).

(18) a. Speaker A: Ali ne-yi çarp-tı?
Ali what-acc crash-past
'What did Ali crash?'
Speaker B: (Ali) araba-yı çarp-tı
Ali car-acc crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

b. OP: Ali crashed X: Xϵ{objects}

In (18), Speaker A's question encapsulates the open proposition that Ali crashed something, i.e. crashed some member of the set of objects {car, bicycle, etc.}. The object 'arabayı' in the sentence uttered by Speaker B, on the other hand, instantiates the variable in the open proposition. Thus, it is the focus in this context. Now if we consider the subject 'Ali' that can be omitted in the above context, we notice that it is old information in relation to the focus 'arabayı'. That is, it is again *relationally given*.[76] Also note that "Ali…çarptı" is relationally given and both can be ellided.

(19) a. Speaker A: Araba-yı kim çarp-tı?
car-acc who crash-past
'Who crashed the car?'
Speaker B: (araba-yı) <u>Ali</u> çarp-tı
car-acc Ali crash-past
'Ali crashed the car.'

b. OP: X: X∈{people} crashed the car.

In (19), the question asked by Speaker A evokes the open proposition that someone (i.e. some member of the set of people {Ali, Veli, Zeynep, etc.}) crashed the car. The subject 'Ali' in Speaker B's utterance, on the other hand, instantiates the variable in the open proposition. Therefore, it is the focus in this context. Note that 'arabayı' that can be elided in (19) is old information in relation to the focus of the sentence 'Ali'. Thus, it is relationally given. Similarly, "arabayı…çarptı" is relationally given and both can be ellided.

[76] Note that 'Ali' is referentially given here as well.

Let us now analyze the examples in (15) repeated below as (20).

(20) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yı al-m-ıyor-uz?
why car-acc take-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we taking the car?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı <u>çarp-tı</u>.
because Ali car-acc crash-past
'Because Ali crashed the car.'

a'. Speaker A: Neden arabayı almıyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ali çarptı.

b. Speaker A: Neden yemeğ-i ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food-acc eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating the food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i <u>yak-mış</u>.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

b'. Speaker A: Neden yemeği yemiyoruz?
Speaker B: # Çünkü Ayşe yakmış.

c. Speaker A: Bugün neden servis-i kullan-ma-dı-n?
today why schoolbus-acc use-neg-past-2sg
'Why didn't you use the schoolbus today?'
Speaker B: Çünkü servis-i <u>kaçır-dı-m</u>.
because schoolbus-acc miss-past-1sg
'Because I missed the schoolbus.'

c'. Speaker A: Bugün neden servisi kullanmadın?
Speaker B: # Çünkü kaçırdım.

In (20), similar to (17), (18) and (19), the questions asked by Speaker A all evoke open propositions.[77] Let us analyze each case to understand the discrepancy between these examples and examples in (14). ((20a), (20b), (20c) are repeated as (21a), (22a), (23a), respectively)

(21) a. Speaker A: Neden araba-yı al-m-ıyor-uz?
why car-acc take-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we taking the car?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ali araba-yı çarp-tı.
because Ali car-acc crash-past
'Because Ali crashed the car.'

b. OP: We are not taking the car for reason X: Xϵ{propositions}.

In (21), the question uttered by Speaker A evokes the OP that Speaker A and B are not taking the car for some reason, i.e. some member of the set of propositions {Ali crashed the car, Ayşe sold the car, etc.} as shown in (21b). The difference between this example and (14) is that the whole sentence Speaker B utters in (21) instantiates the variable in the OP. That is, there is no single element which is the focus in (21). It is the whole sentence uttered by Speaker B that is the focus. Crucially, this entails that no constituent is relationally newer than the other. In other words, since the whole proposition is the

[77] I am grateful to Meltem Kelepir for pointing this out.

focus, the constituents in the sentence are relationally neutral to each other. If we look at (20a'), we see that the ellipsis of the object 'arabayı' renders the sentence infelicitious in this context. Note that the object 'arabayı' is *referentially given* in the sense that it is introduced in the previous discourse. We observe that the object 'arabayı' is destressed in (21). As a matter of fact, this follows from the discourse anaphora generalization discussed in Chapter 3. Let us now consider (22).

(22) a. Speaker A: Neden yemeğ-i ye-m-iyor-uz?
why food-acc eat-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we eating the food?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Ayşe yemeğ-i yak-mış.
because Ayşe food-acc burn-evid
'Because Ayşe burnt the food.'

b. OP: We are not eating the food for reason X: Xϵ{propositions}

Similar to our explanation for (21), the whole sentence uttered by Speaker B is the focus since the whole clause instantiates the unspecified variable in the OP. Thus, no element in Speaker B's utterance is relationally newer than the other. This means that the object 'yemeği' is not relationally given. Note that it cannot be omitted as shown in (20b').[78] Let us now look at our final example.

[78] However, it is referentially given and destressed.

(23) a. Speaker A: Bugün neden servis-i kullan-ma-dı-n?
today why schoolbus-acc use-neg-past-2sg
'Why didn't you use the schoolbus today?'
Speaker B: Çünkü servis-i kaçır-dı-m.
because schoolbus-acc miss-past-1sg
'Because I missed the schoolbus.'

b. OP: You didn't use the school-bus today for reason X: Xϵ{propositions}

(23) can be analyzed in a similar way to (21) and (22). The whole sentence Speaker B utters instantiates the variable in the OP. Thus, the whole sentence uttered by Speaker B is the focus. The object 'servisi' is not *relationally given* (it is relationally neutral to other elements in the sentence). Note that the omission of 'servisi' yields infelicity as can be seen in (20c').

The above discussion shows that there is an affinity between destressing, ellipsis and givenness types in Turkish. On the basis of this discussion, we could conclude that *referentially given* DPs are destressed[79] whereas only *relationally given* DPs can be omitted via ellipsis and that destressing (or deaccenting) and ellipsis (or deletion) are sensitive to distinct givenness types in Turkish. A referentially given DP is destressed.[80] However, referential givenness does not suffice for it to be deleted. Only a relationally given DP can be deleted through ellipsis. Note that a relationally given element is referentially given as well (but the vice versa does not hold). Therefore, it can be envisaged as possessing a stronger givenness status. This shows that depending on the

[79] Note that referentially given DPs are D-linked. Therefore, this is, in a sense, restating the discourse anaphora generalization discussed in Chapter 3.
[80] Provided that it has an accessible antecedent. See Chapter 3 for the relevant discussion.

strength of the givenness type, a DP is either destressed (referential givenness) or can be deleted (relational givenness). Let us state the following generalization temporarily.

(24) *Condition on Ellipsis* (to be revised)
Only a *relationally given* constituent can be ellided.

Though illuminating the data above, this discussion does not reflect the whole picture. Let us consider the following data.

Ellipsis of Object

(25) a. Speaker A: Neden *araba-yı* al-m-ıyor-uz?
why car-acc take-neg-prog-1pl
'Why aren't we taking the car?'
Speaker B: #Çünkü Ali <u>çarp-mış</u>. *object*
because Ali crash-evid
'Because Ali crashed it.'

b. Speaker A: *Ali* neden okul-a gel-me-di?
Ali why school-dat come-neg-past
'Why didn't Ali come to the school?'
Speaker B: #Çünkü Hasan <u>döv-müş</u>. *object*
because Hasan beat-evid
'Because Hasan beat him.'

Ellipsis of Subject

(26) a. Speaker A: *Ali* neden okul-a gel-me-di?
Ali why school-dat come-neg-past
'Why didn't Ali come to the school?'

Speaker B: Çünkü Zeynep-le buluş-tu. *subject*
because Zeynep-inst meet-past
'Because he met with Zeynep.'

b. Speaker A: Neden *Ayşe-yi* gör-m-üyor-uz?
why Ayşe-acc see-neg-prog-1pl
'Why don't we meet Ayşe?'
Speaker B: Çünkü tatil-e git-ti. *subject*
because vacation-dat go-past
'Because she went on a vacation.'

In (25), we observe that the ellipsis of the object is not possible although it is mentioned in previous discourse and referentially given. This is true regardless of its grammatical function in the question. In (26), on the other hand, we observe that the ellipsis of the subject is felicitious, again regardless of its grammatical function in the question. What could be the reason for this dichotomy? In all of the examples in (24) and (25), the whole sentence uttered by Speaker B is the focus. The questions in these examples induce open propositions as represented below. For the sake of brevity, the OPs of (24b) and (25b) are shown in (27) and (28). Other examples can be analyzed in the same way.

Object Ellipsis

(27) a. Speaker A: *Ali* neden okul-a gel-me-di?
Ali why school-dat come-neg-past
'Why didn't Ali come to the school?'

Speaker B: #Çünkü Hasan döv-müş
because Hasan beat-evid
'Because Hasan beat him.'

b. OP: Ali didn't come to school for reason X: Xϵ{propositions}

Subject Ellipsis

(28) a. Speaker A: *Ali* neden okul-a gel-me-di?
Ali why school-dat come-neg-past
'Why didn't Ali come to the school?'
Speaker B: Çünkü Zeynep-le buluş-tu.
because Zeynep-inst meet-past
'Because he met with Zeynep.'

b. OP: Ali didn't come to school for reason X: Xϵ{propositions}

As (27) and (28) shows, it is the whole sentence uttered by Speaker B which is the focus above. Thus, the objects in (25a) and (25b) and the subjects in (26a) and (26b) are not relationally given. The contrast between the acceptabilities of (25) and (26) leads us to conclude that *relational givenness* is required for object ellipsis whereas it is not required for subject ellipsis. (26) further shows that *referential givenness* suffices for the subject to be ellided. On the basis of these observations, we can now revise the condition on ellipsis we stated in (24).

(29) *Condition on Ellipsis*

a. A subject DP can be ellided if it is given (*referentially* or *relationally*).

b. An object DP can be elided only when it is *relationally given*.

In this chapter, I attempted to account for sentential stress assignment in non-neutral contexts. In essence, it was claimed that the Sentential Stress Rule is not adequate in predicting the stress facts of sentences uttered in non-neutral contexts and another mechanism, i.e. Focus Stress Rule, which assigns stress to the focused constituent in such contexts, was adopted from Kahnemuyipour (2004). Furthermore, I argued that there is subject-object asymmetry with respect to ellipsis in Turkish and proposed that subject ellipsis and object ellipsis require different conditions to be satisfied. For a subject DP, referential givenness suffices for the DP to be deleted. An object DP, on the other hand, is only destressed but cannot be deleted if it is referentially given. It can be ellided only when it is relationally given. Thus, the conditions on subject ellipsis appear to be looser in comparison to that of object ellipsis.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I investigated the nature of sentential stress, how it is assigned and how it interacts with focus structure and discourse pragmatic factors in Turkish. Following the recent studies in the literature (Legate 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Selkirk and Kratzer 2005), I pursued an analysis which relies on the notions of phases and multiple Spell-out as developed in Chomsky (2000, 2001). The main proposals put forth in this study is summarized below.

5.1 Summary of Main Proposals

The major proposal made in this thesis is that the mechanism for sentential stress assignment in Turkish operates in a phasal manner and assigns stress to the highest element in the Spell-out, i.e. complement of the phasal head in focus-neutral contexts akin to the systems proposed by Kahnemuyipour (2004) and Selkirk and Kratzer (2005). A variety of structures such as unaccusative, passive, unergative structures and structures containing time, location and manner adverbials, whose stress patterns appear random and peculiar at first glance were shown to receive an explanation in the present work.

I further argued that in addition to this mechanism, there is another rule that plays a role in sentential stress assignment in focus-neutral contexts. On the basis of the stress patterns exhibited by accusative marked objects in Turkish, I showed that D-linked DPs are destressed whereas non-D-linked DPs can receive stress and argued that D-linked DPs in Turkish are in fact subject to the discourse anaphora generalization formulated by Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) according to which a DP is destressed if and only if it is D-linked to an accesible discourse entity. Thus, I proposed that both of the rules, i.e. Sentential Stress Rule (SSR) which assigns stress to the highest element in the Spell-out and discourse anaphora generalization which accounts for the stress patterns of D-linked DPs, are at work in determining sentential stress.

For sentences that are uttered in informationally non-neutral contexts, on the other hand, I adopted Kahnemuyipour's (2004) FSR (Focus Stress Rule) which assigns stress to the focused element in the sentence. For narrow focus cases, e.g. when the subject of a transitive sentence is the focus, FSR assigns stress to the subject. For broad focus cases, on the other hand, e.g. if the VP is the focus, I argued that SSR assigns stress and focus projection occurs in the sense of Selkirk (1984).

A further proposal made in the present work concerns an optional word order variation type in Turkish which is sensitive to intonational phrasing. By first concentrating on object scrambling and then examining other types of word order variations (adverb-adverb, subject-adverb, postverbal scrambling), I proposed that optional word order variation is allowed as long as the same intonational phrasing is preserved. I further proposed that this kind of an optional word order variation does not

have discourse pragmatic functions different from the previous work on scrambling in Turkish (Erguvanlı 1984, among others).

The final proposal put forth in this thesis is related to the phenomenon of ellipsis in Turkish. Following Gundel and Fretheim's (2004) definitions of two types of givenness, *referential* and *relational givenness*, I proposed that there is an asymmetry between subjects and objects with respect to allowing ellipsis and that they are sensitive to different givenness types. The referentially givenness status suffices for the subject to be ellided. An object, on the other hand, can be ellided only when it is relationally given. Hence, the condition on subject ellipsis is looser than that of object ellipsis in Turkish.

5.2 Theoretical Implications and Remaining Questions

The findings in this study has certain theoretical implications. Firstly, as also discussed in Chapter 3, the observation that D-linked DPs are destressed and non-D-linked DPs can receive stress point out that phonology and pragmatics directly interact with each other.

The proposal related to the optional scrambling type which is sensitive to intonational phrasing also has implications for the general architecture of grammar. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, the optional scrambling in question might be an instance of PF movement since this type of scrambling appears to be sensitive to the boundaries of intonational phrases. That is, since intonational phrases are formed after stress assignment and stress assignment takes place at PF, this might be an indication that this optional word order variation is taking place at PF. However, in order to argue

for PF-movement, a number of issues such as scope relations and binding must be tested. Thus, at this point, I refrain from drawing an ultimate conclusion and leave this issue to further research.

If we pursue a base-generation analysis, on the other hand, this would have different implications. The scrambling type in question, then, would be very roughly analyzed as follows: The intonational phrasing of an utterance would be determined first. Then, structures that have the same intonational phrasing, i.e. structures in which the same constituents form intonational phrases, would be base-generated for a given context. This matter also requires future inquiry.

Another issue not addressed in the present work is the relation between phases and intonational phrases. One might possibly raise the question of whether the stress domains, i.e. the Spell-outs, as phonological domains wherein sentential stress is assigned, overlap with intonational phrases that are also phonological domains. This may also be a topic of further research.

Finally, the proposal concerning the phenomenon of ellipsis also has implications for future research on subject and object pro-drop. In particular, I have shown that subjects and objects may be sensitive to distinct givenness types with respect to ellipsis in Turkish and that the conditions on subject ellipsis appear to be looser than that of object ellipsis. Thus, I have mainly pointed out to the impact of the notion of *givenness* in determining the conditions on subject and object ellipsis. Further research will reveal other conditions related to this issue.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I attempted to explore the nature of sentential stress in Turkish. Given the complexity of the issue, I limited my area of research and concentrated, in particular, on to what extent sentential stress is determined by syntactic structure, phonology, discourse pragmatic factors and focus structure. Thus, the findings and the proposals in this study should not be understood as being exhaustive. It is only possible with future research to have a fuller understanding of sentential stress and its interaction with other realms of grammar.

As a final remark, I hope to have shown that pursuing research on phonological phenomena such as stress and intonation is extremely significant in that it not only contributes to the field of phonology, but also sheds light on other modules of grammar. For instance, in the processing of discourse anaphora in speech communication, we have seen how stress acts as a cue between speakers and hearers to signal discourse-given information. I have also shown how optional scrambling is sensitive to intonational phrasing and how it can be explained by prosodic constraints. This provided us with a very interesting finding that constraints on prosody may yield optionality in word order. Thus, I believe that research in interface issues is crucial to see the big picture of grammar.

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