James Griffiths and Güliz Güneş

Ki issues in Turkish

Parenthetical coordination and adjunction

Abstract: De Vries' (2006 et seq.) addition of '*par*-Merge' to the extant Merger operations utilized by the narrow syntax provides a means by which to model parataxis and yet maintain that paratactic constituents (i.e. parentheticals) are concatenated with their host in the narrow syntax in the structural position in which they are observed. A principal ingredient of the *par*-Merge approach to parataxis is the functional head Par, which triggers *par*-Merge. While Par is often morphologically realized as a coordinator in English, in certain parentheticals it is never realized. Its absence lends credence to *par*-Merge's alternatives, which demand that parataxis be modelled semantically rather than syntactically. In this paper, we provide indirect support for the *par*-Merge approach by demonstrating that, in the Turkish counterparts to those English parentheticals that never realize Par, Par is realized as the lexeme *ki*. If *ki* is indeed Par's realization in Turkish, one may stipulate that Par's morphological absence in certain English constructions does not indicate that *par*-Merge must be discarded or even that its universality for modelling parataxis must be diminished – its absence indicates only that some language-specific constraint prevents Par's realization in certain English parentheticals.

Keywords: Turkish, parenthetical coordination, parenthetical adjunction, undominance, *par*-Merge, appositive relative clauses, comment clauses, prosody

1 Introduction

As (1) to (3) demonstrate, parentheticals escape the scope of linearly preceding operators contained in their hosts. This 'scopelessness' is an issue that must be – and is – addressed by many of the analyses that treat parentheticals as first-Merged to their hosts in the position in which they are observed (Potts 2005, De Vries 2006, 2007, Arnold 2007), as parentheticals are otherwise incorrectly predicted to be bound by host clause operators that c-command them.

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(1) a) John didn't kiss Mary, *who is my sister*.
b) John might kiss Mary, *who is my sister*.

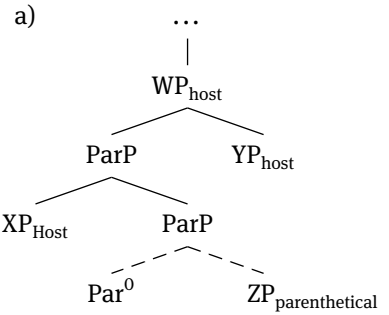
(2) a) John didn't kiss Mary, *my sister*.
b) John might kiss Mary, *my sister*.

(3) a) John isn't here, *I reckon*.
b) John might, *I reckon*, be here.

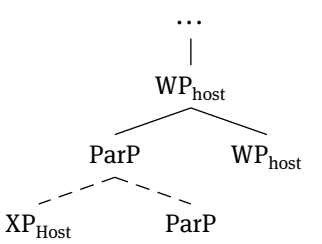
(4) *Interpretation:*
a) (i) my-sister(M) ∧ ¬[kiss(M, J)]
(ii) *¬[my-sister(M) ∧ kiss(M, J)] (1a–2a)
a′) (i) reckon(p, I) ∧ ¬[here(J)]
(ii) *¬[reckon(p, I) ∧ here(J)] (3a)
b) (i) my-sister(M) ∧ ◇[kiss(M, J)]
(ii) *◇[my-sister(M) ∧ kiss(M, J)] (1b–2b)
b′) (i) reckon(p, I) ∧ ◇[here(J)]
(ii) *◇[reckon(p, I) ∧ here(J)] (3b)

To account for scopelessness and other 'invisibility effects', De Vries (2012), building on earlier work, posits that a parenthetical's attachment to its host is mediated by a Merger operation called '*par*-Merge'. Unlike set-Merge or pair-Merge (Chomsky 2001), the output of *par*-Merge does not dominate its input. *Par*-Merge is permitted only when one of its inputs is the functional head *Par*. Parentheticals first *par*-Merge with Par, and then the output of this operation undergoes either set-Merge (5a) or pair-Merge (5b) with a host clause node (see Kluck 2013 for discussion). Scopelessness – and syntactic isolation in general – is obtained because neither ParP, nor any node that dominates ParP, dominates the parenthetical.

(5) a)



b)



(where -- represents *par*-Merge)

The success of the *par*-Merge approach rests in part on empirical evidence for the functional head Par. De Vries (2009) argues that parentheticals and their host clauses (or constituents thereof) stand in a *specificational coordination* relation to one another, and, resultantly, Par should be morphologically realized as a 'linking' element that can be included in the broader class of coordinators. That certain parentheticals are indeed optionally introduced by linkers that are homonymous with regular Boolean coordinators provides empirical support for the existence of Par (Heringa 2012).

(6) a) The BBC, (*or*) *the Beeb*, started broadcasting in 1922.
b) Paul is interested in all music, (*but*) *especially jazz*.
c) Henry, (*and*) *he is the poorest of us all*, bought the first round of drinks.
d) Ben was, (*or*) *so Pete tells me*, late for his own wedding.

However, other parentheticals cannot be introduced by an overt coordinator.

(7) a) My bicycle, (**and*) *a racer*, was stolen from the park last week.
b) Henry, (**and*) *who is the poorest of us all*, bought the first round of drinks.
c) Ben was, (**or*) *Pete tells me*, late for his own wedding.

An advocate of the *par*-Merge approach might suggest that, while all parentheticals are *par*-Merged to their host, in some constructions – such as those in (7) – Par must remain null for some extraneous and currently unknown reason. A sceptic may suggest however that the absence of coordinators in (7) demonstrates that not all parentheticals are attached to their host via *par*-Merge: an alternative method of attachment is available. It could be that the parentheticals in (7) are regular adjuncts, and scopelessness is triggered by a feature-bundle that is (rather exceptionally) attached to the parenthetical's maximal projection: a non-terminal, and thus always phonologically covert, syntactic node (Potts 2005).

The parentheticals unable to host overt coordinators in (7) share two commonalities. On the surface they are unary predicates, while underlyingly they are propositions (Partee 1975, Kempson 2003, Heringa 2012, Vicente 2013, Griffiths to appear(a)). Secondly, they display 'incomplete' left edges.

(8) a) My bicycle, ~~*it is*~~ *a racer*, was stolen from the park last week.
b) Henry, ~~*he is the one*~~ *who is the poorest of us all*, bought the first round of drinks.
c) Ben was, ~~*so*~~ *Pete tells me*, late for his own wedding.

In this paper, we provide indirect support for the idea that the parentheticals in (7) are complements of Par by demonstrating that the null element postulated in (7) on the *par*-Merge approach is morphologically realized in (7)'s Turkish counterparts as the lexeme *ki*. Unlike in English, the incompleteness observed in (7) is irrelevant to the realization of *ki* in Turkish: *ki* may be spelled-out regardless of whether or not its type-*t* complement is 'complete'. Thus, we suggest that 'completeness' is the extraneous and seemingly language-specific constraint that blocks realization of the English coordinators in (7) (see §3.8 for discussion).

We tread a convoluted path in order to demonstrate that *ki* is the realization of a type-*t* complement-taking Par in Turkish. Firstly, we demonstrate that our objects of inquiry (which are delimited in §2) are paratactic constructions. Secondly, we provide for them plausible syntactic analyses. Thirdly, we demonstrate that these analyses, which invoke *par*-Merge and *ki* as Par, extend to the English constructions in (7), which invoke *par*-Merge and Ø as Par. It is only in this final step that *ki* is equated with Ø, and indirect evidence for Par is obtained.

In what follows, we undertake the methodology described above twice: first in §3 to illustrate that what we call 'PK-clauses' are equivalent to the appositive constructions in (7a–b), and second in §4 to illustrate that what we call 'EK-clauses' are equivalent to the *comment clauses* (Quirk et al. 1992) in (7c). §5 concludes.

2 Background

Before we begin our investigation of PK- and EK-clauses, we must delimit them. Also, we must provide some background information about Turkish syntax and prosody which we will utilize in our investigations in §3–4.

The lexeme *ki* – a loan from Persian (Erguvanlı 1981) – displays a variety of functions in Turkish, as (9) to (14) demonstrate. *Inter alia*, *ki* may: introduce parenthetical clauses (9) and parenthetical subclausal constituents (10), introduce what appear to be finite subordinate clauses (11), provide emphasis (12), introduce a temporal clause (13), and function as a pronoun (14).

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

(10) Adem, [**ki** en yakın arkadaş-ım], ben-i parti-ye davet
Adem **ki** most close friend-POSS I-ACC party-DAT invitation
et-me-di.
make-NEG-PST
'Adem, *my best friend*, did not invite me to the party.'

(11) [Adem san-ıyor **ki**] Havva elma-yı ye-di.
Adem believe-PROG **ki** Havva apple-ACC eat-PST
'Adem believes that Havva ate the apple.'

(12) O kadar gül-dü-k **ki**!
that much laugh-PST-1PL **ki**
'We laughed so much!'

(13) [Güneş bat-mış-tı **ki**] garip ses-ler duy-ma-ya başla-dı-k.
sun set-PERF-PST **ki** weird noise-PL hear-INF-DAT start-PST-1PL
'The sun had set when we started to hear weird noises.'

(14) Kemal-in-**ki**-ni oku-ma-dı-m.
Kemal-GEN-**ki**-ACC read-NEG-PST-1SG
'I didn't read the one by Kemal.'

We focus on (9), (10) and (11). In (9) and (10), *ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain of the clause or subclausal constituent that follows it. We call this *ki* 'proclitic-*ki*' and dub the bracketed strings in (9) and (10) *PK-clauses* and *PK-XPs* respectively. In (11), *ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain of the clause that precedes it. We call this *ki* 'enclitic-*ki*' and dub the bracketed string in (11) an *EK-clause*.

We will argue that proclitic-*ki* in (9) and (10) and enclitic-*ki* in (11) – both of which can be optionally dropped without any consequences for interpretation – are realizations of a Par head that selects for type-*t* complements. Whether or not the *ki*s in (12) to (14) are also realizations of Par are beyond this paper's scope. We hope that the conclusions reached below can be extended to other *ki*-constructions in the future (as such extension would confer parsimony). Of course, one cannot rule out the presence of homonymy in *ki*'s lexical semantics.

Now for some necessary background information about Turkish. Syntactically, Turkish is an agglutinative head-final language that displays canonical SOV word order. Prosodically, Turkish root clauses are parsed as Intonational Phrases (ıs), which are right-prominent (Kan 2009). ıs are composed of Phonological Phrases (φs), which are left-prominent (ibid.). In Turkish, prominence is conveyed

via *phrasing*. The most prominent element within an ι is the *nucleus*, which is obligatory. The nucleus is the prosodic head of the rightmost φ. This rightmost φ is the *final* φ. Any φ that precedes it is a *non-final* φ.[1] Non-final φs are optional. Certain rules govern ι-formation in Turkish (Güneş 2013a, b). These are:

(15) a) There is one and only one nucleus per ι.
b) The verb of a root clause α must be parsed as contained within the final φ of ι_{α}.
c) Any F0 excursion observed in the post-nuclear area marks the start of a new ι.

Based on (15a–c), the prosodic constituency in a declarative root clause with a single prosodic word (ω) in the non-final φs and multiple ωs in the final φ in Turkish can be diagrammatically represented as in (16).[2]

(16) (______________________ nucleus ______ post-nucleus $)_{\iota}$
(non-final $)_{\varphi}$ (non-final $)_{\varphi}$ (______ final ______ $)_{\varphi}$
(______ $)_{\omega}$ (______ $)_{\omega}$ (head_{N} $)_{\omega}$ (______ $)_{\omega}$
└______ **. . . VERB . . .** ______┘

3 Pk-clauses and Pk-XPs

We now begin our analysis of PK-clauses and PK-XPs. We endeavour to demonstrate in this section that proclitic-*ki* is an instantiation of Par that selects solely for type-*t* complements.

3.1 Pk-clauses: the traditional analysis

Canonically, nouns are modified by clauses in Turkish by adjoining a nominalized clause (a *NOM-clause*) to a noun (17) (Kornfilt 2007). The resulting structure is roughly comparable to the English participle attributive adjective construction in (18) (Lewis 1967:260).

1 For discussion of the prosodic properties listed here, see Kabak and Vogel (2001), Kan (2009), Kamali (2011), and Güneş (2013a,b).
2 The verb can be in anywhere within the final φ; it may be the nucleus or (part of) the post-nucleus.

(17) [İş-i-ni daima zaman-ı-nda yap-**an**] abi-m bu sefer
work-POSS-ACC always time-POSS-LOC do-**NOM** brother-POSS this time
geciktir-miş.
delay-EVD

(18) My always-on-time-work$_i$-doing brother handed it$_i$ in late.

Because PK-clause constructions like (19) provide an alternative method by which to achieve the same basic interpretation as (17), constructions like (19) could be assumed to display similar syntax to (17), where the PK-clause adjoins to the modified noun (hereafter, the *anchor*) (compare (20a) and (20b)).[3,4]

(19) Abi-m, [**ki** iş-i-ni daima zaman-ı-nda yap-ar], bu sefer
brother-POSS **ki** work-POSS-ACC always time-POSS-LOC do-AOR this time
geciktir-miş.
delay-EVD
'My brother, (*and he*) *always does his work on time*, handed it in late.'

(20) a) [… [$_{NP}$ [NOM-clause] [$_{NP}$ anchor]] …]
b) [… [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ anchor] [PK-clause]] …]

The schematic in (20) represents the 'traditional' analysis, which is advanced in various guises in the previous literature by Vaughan (1709), Underhill (1976), Erguvanlı (1981), Lehmann (1984), Bainbridge (1987), and Çağrı (2005), and which is implied in Göksel & Kerslake (2005). It states that PK-clauses are the

3 We assume an adjunction (or *matching*) approach to the Turkish NOM-clauses in (17). This is because (i) Turkish nominals are NPs and not DPs (Bošković & Şener 2012), and (ii) the raising analysis is plausible only if the relativized clause is topped by a DP projection (see De Vries 2002:85 for details and additional references).

4 Note that the default interpretation for both (17) and (19) is non-restrictive. Thus, NOM-clauses and PK-clauses are not distinguished by their restrictivity, unlike relative clauses and appositive relative clauses in languages like English (see Kerslake 2007 and Kan 2009 for discussion). Göksel and Kerslake (2005:397) note that *ki*-clauses can be restrictive in certain literary contexts, which are exemplified in (i). Whether or not the account we pursue for *ki*-clauses in this paper can be extended to this variety of *ki*-clauses is an issue for further investigation.

(i) Bir aşçı, **ki** baklava yap-may-ı bil-me-sin, ben on-a aşçı de-me-m.
a cook **ki** baklava make-INF-ACC know-NEG-OPT I s/he-DAT cook call-NEG-1SG
'A cook who can't make baklava! I don't call that a cook.'

Indo-European (i.e. head-initial) counterpart of NOM-clauses. On this analysis, PK-clauses are adjoined to NPs, and proclitic-*ki* is a relative pronoun.

We suggest that this analysis must be discarded, as evidence suggests that (i) PK-clauses, unlike NOM-clauses, do not adjoin to their anchor, and (ii) *ki* is not a relative pronoun.

3.2 PK-clauses are not canonical clausal adjuncts

The obligatory *NOM-clause → anchor* word order observed in (17) conforms to the generalization that Turkish adjunction is left-branching (Potts 2005:107) (where α → β = α precedes β). If PK-clauses were adjuncts, the *PK-clause → anchor* word order observed in (19) would contradict this generalization.

Furthermore, a NOM-clause and its anchor must be linearly adjacent (21). Linear adjacency need not be maintained between a PK-clause and its anchor, however (22).

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

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

Lastly, NOM-clauses are treated as regular subclausal constituents (i.e. arguments, central adjuncts, adverbs) with respect to *intonational phrase* (ι) formation. This is illustrated by the fact that a constituent of the NOM-clause may be utilized as the nucleus of the ι that contains the entire utterance (23a). PK-clauses (or constituents thereof) cannot be utilized in this manner. (23b) is unacceptable. This is surprising if PK-clauses, like NOM-clauses, are regular adjuncts. That PK-clauses cannot be utilized for ι-formation within their host suggests that PK-clauses are root clauses that must be mapped to independent ιs (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Selkirk 1986 et seq.), and as such cannot be parsed as contained within a hierarchically lower prosodic unit, such as the final φ of their host's ι, without violating the *Layerness Constraint* (ibid.).

(23) a) [(Emine)$_{NF\varphi}$ (Havva-yı)$_{NF\varphi}$ (<u>yanağ-ın-dan</u>$_{N}$ öp-**en**
a′) [(<u>Emine</u>$_{N}$ Havva-yı yanağ-ın-dan öp-**en**
[$_{CP1}$ Emine [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP2}$ Havva-yı yanağ-ın-dan öp-**en**] [$_{NP}$
Emine Havva-ACC cheek-POSS-ABL kiss-**NOM**
çocuğ-u gör-dü)$_{F\varphi}$]$_{ι}$
çocuğ-u gör-dü)$_{F\varphi}$]$_{ι}$
çocuğ-u]] gör-dü]
kid-ACC see-PST

b) *[(Emine)$_{NF\varphi}$ (çocuğ-u)$_{NF\varphi}$ (**ki** Havva-yı)$_{NF\varphi}$ (<u>yanağ-ın-dan</u>$_{N}$
b′) *[(<u>Emine</u>$_{N}$ çocuğ-u **ki** Havva-yı yanağ-ın-dan
[$_{CP1}$ Emine [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ çocuğ-u] [$_{CP2}$ **ki** Havva-yı yanağ-ın-dan
Emine kid-ACC **ki** Havva-ACC cheek-POSS-ABL
öp-tü gör-dü)$_{F\varphi}$]$_{ι}$
öp-tü gör-dü)$_{F\varphi}$]$_{ι}$
öp-tü]] gör-dü]
kiss-PST see-PST
'Emine saw the kid, (*and he/she*) *kissed Havva on the cheek*.'

That they fail the diagnostics of adjunction listed above suggests that PK-clauses are syntactically isolated from their anchor, and hence the clause in which their anchor is contained. This suggests that the PK-clauses in (19) to (23) are independent root clauses, and not clausal adjuncts akin to NOM-clauses.

Additional evidence that PK-clauses are indeed root clauses comes from two observations. Firstly, PK-clauses may display independent illocutionary force (24).

(24) Parti-de, **ki** lütfen o zaman bu konu-yu aç-ma!, Ali de ol-acak.
Party-LOC **ki** please that time this topic-ACC open-NEG Ali too be-FUT
'Ali will be at the party too: *please do not bring this up there*!'

Second, PK-clauses may also contain speaker-oriented adverbs: a perspicuous sign of root clause status according to Cinque (1999).

(25) Hasan, **ki** maalesef berbat yemek yap-ar, biz-i yemeğ-e
Hasan **ki** unfortunately terrible food make-AOR we-ACC dinner-DAT
davet et-ti.
invitation make-PST
'Hasan, *who unfortunately cooks terribly*, invited us to dinner.'

Note that neither of these properties is observed with NOM-clauses, which confirms their status as regular subclausal constituents.

(26) *[Lütfen o zaman bu konu-yu aç-ma-**dığ**-ın] parti-de Ali de
please that time this topic-ACC open-NEG-**NOM**-2SG party-LOC Ali too
ol-acak.
be-FUT
'Ali will be at the party too: *please do not bring this up there*.'

(27) *[Maalesef berbat yemek yap-**an**] Hasan biz-i yemeğ-e
unfortunately terrible food make-**NOM** Hasan we-ACC dinner-DAT
davet et-ti.
invite make-PST
'Hasan, *who unfortunately cooks terribly*, invited us for dinner.'

3.3 Proclitic-*ki* is not a relative pronoun

That PK-clauses distribute like root clauses suggests that they **are** root clauses. If this is true, what then is *ki*? *Ki* cannot be a complementizer, as root clauses do not display complementizers. The traditional analysis claims that *ki* is the relative pronoun of an Indo-European style relative clause. This conclusion cannot be maintained however, as PK-clauses may reduplicate their anchor internal to the PK-clause: something that Indo-European relative clauses are unable to do.[5]

(28) a) Ahmet, **ki** öğrenci-ler **o salağ-ı** çok sever-ler, okul-dan
Ahmet **ki** student-PL that idiot-ACC very love-3PL school-ABL
atıl-mış.
fired-EVD
'Ahmet, *the students love **that idiot** very much*, has been fired.'
b) *Ahmet, *whom the students loved that idiot*, has been fired.

5 In languages like English, appositive relative clauses may display an 'internal restrictor' (*idiot* in (i) below) if the relative pronoun is *which*. Note that this restrictor is **not** a resumed element, but part of the phrase that contains the relative pronoun.

(i) Ahmet, [*which idiot*]$_1$ *the students loved* t_1, has been fired.

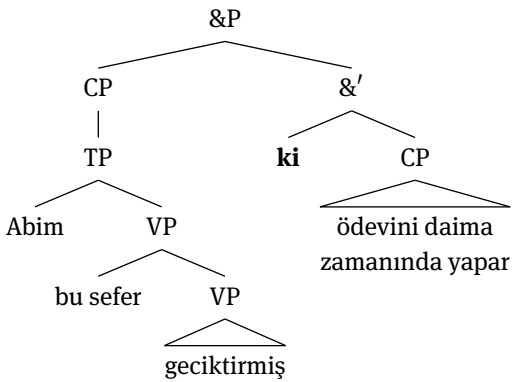
3.4 Proclitic-*ki* as a coordinator

We propose, following Lewis (1967:212) and Schröder (2002), that *ki* in PK-clauses is a *coordinator*. This conclusion is immediately validated by the fact that other coordinators in Turkish are pronounced as part of the φ or ι that contains their second conjunct (29a), just as proclitic-*ki* is pronounced with the clause that follows it.

(29) a) Ahmet ekmek al-dı [**ve** Ali peynir al-dı]$_{\iota}$.
b) # [Ahmet ekmek al-dı **ve**]$_{\iota}$ Ali peynir al-dı.
Ahmet bread buy-PST **and** Ali cheese buy-PST
'Ahmet bought bread and Ali bought cheese.'

To capture this proposal in more formal terms, we propose that a construction like (19) displays the underlying syntax in (30). We propose that the surface word order in (19) is derived by a reordering operation that has no effect upon interpretation (we remain ambivalent as to the exact nature of this reordering operation here).

(30) **The syntax of PK-clauses (first attempt)**



The syntax in (30) accounts for all the properties of PK-clauses discussed thus far: (i) PK-clauses may exceptionally follow their anchor because they are not adjoined but coordinated, and coordination is left-headed even in languages which are otherwise right-headed (Zwart 2005); (ii) PK-clauses cannot be utilized in the ι-formation of their host because they themselves must be mapped as ιs; (iii) PK-clauses display root clause properties because they are root clause conjuncts; (iv) PK-clauses escape the scope of sentential negation and attitudinal verbs present in the host clause because they are never c-commanded by them.

In (30), proclitic-*ki* coordinates two root clauses. Plausibly, proclitic-*ki* could coordinate phrases of other semantic types. If this were true, one could straightforwardly apply a coordination analysis to PK-XPs (i.e. the other proclitic-*ki* construction under investigation here, which is repeated from (10) below), and hypothesize that, in these constructions, *ki* coordinates two subclausal constituents.

(31) Adem, **ki** en yakın arkadaş-ım, ben-i parti-ye davet
Adem **ki** most close friend-POSS I-ACC party-DAT invitation
et-me-di.
make-NEG-PST
'Adem, *my best friend*, did not invite me to the party.'

We now demonstrate, by comparing PK-XPs to '*yani*-XPs', that such a hypothesis is false, and that proclitic-*ki* is indeed limited to coordinating two root clauses.

3.5 Proclitic-*ki* coordinates root clauses: a comparison of PK-XPs and *yani*-XPs

Yani-XPs are subclausal constituents preceded by *yani*, where *yani* is pronounced as part of the phonological phrase that contains the XP that follows it. A *yani*-XP provides an *identification* (Heringa 2012) or *reformulation* (Ruhi 2009) of the constituent (the *anchor*) it immediately linearly follows.[6]

(32) a) Altıgen, **yani** altı kenarlı şekil, Roma tanrı-sı Satürn-ü
hexagon **yani** six sided shape Roman god-COMPD Saturn-ACC
simgele-r.
symbolize-AOR
'A hexagon, *a shape with six sides*, symbolises the Roman god Saturn.'
b) Büyük Elma, **yani** New York, beş ilçe-den oluş-ur.
Big Apple **yani** New York five borough-ABL consist.of-AOR
'The Big Apple, *New York*, consists of five boroughs.'

Yani-XPs and their anchors must be of the same semantic category (33), and, if they are arguments, must display the same case (34).

6 Note that we concentrate only on the identificational form of *yani* here. For other forms of *yani*, see Ruhi (2009).

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

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

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

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

A *yani*-XP and its anchor must maintain linear adjacency.

(35) a) Demir Leydi, **yani** Thatcher, bu yıl aramız-dan ayrıl-dı.
Iron Lady **yani** Thatcher this year among.us-ABL depart-PST

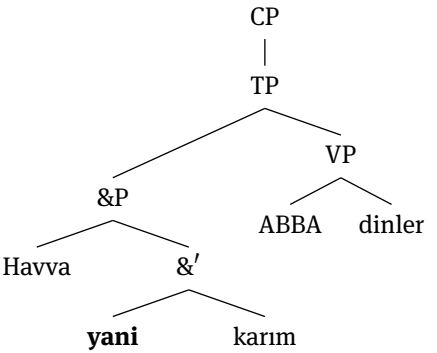
b) *Demir Leydi bu yıl, **yani** Thatcher, aramız-dan ayrıl-dı.
Iron Lady this year **yani** Thatcher among.us-ABL depart-PST
'The Iron Lady, *Thatcher*, this year departed from among us.'

Furthermore, *yani*-XPs cannot host speaker-oriented adverbs.

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

Considering that *yani* is pronounced as part of the φ of the XP that follows it, we assume that *yani*, like proclitic-*ki*, is a coordinator, whose syntax can be schematized as in (37). Note that this assumption is immediately validated by (33) to (36), as: (i) only constituents of the same semantic type can be coordinated (this is a version of the *Law of Coordination of Likes*, i.e. the *LCL*); (ii) coordinated arguments are typically assigned the same case; (iii) conjuncts must maintain linear adjacency; and (iv) subclausal constituents cannot display adverbs reserved for root clauses that bear illocutionary force.

(37) **The Syntax of *yani*-XPs (first attempt)**
Havva, **yani** karı-m, ABBA dinle-r.
Havva, **yani** wife-POSS ABBA listen-AOR
'Havva, *my wife*, listens to ABBA.'



If proclitic-*ki* could coordinate subclausal constituents like *yani* can (and hence display the syntax in (37)), one would expect PK-XP constructions like (31) to exhibit the same properties as *yani*-XPs. However, they do not.

Firstly, PK-XPs and their anchors need not be of the same semantic type (38), which violates the LCL. Secondly, PK-XPs and their anchors need not display the same case, unlike the conjuncts of regular coordinated phrases. Indeed, if the PK-XP is not assigned a lexical or inherent case, it must be assigned nominative case (which is null in Turkish) (39).

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

(39) a) Adem Havva-yı, **ki** karı-sı-{Ø/*nı}, düğün-de
Adem Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS-{NOM/*ACC} wedding-LOC
öp-me-di.
kiss-NEG-PST
'Adem did not kiss Havva, *his wife*, at the wedding.'
b) Adem bu saat-i, **ki** Vakko-dan, karı-sı-na al-dı.
Adem this watch-ACC **ki** Vakko-ABL wife-POSS-DAT buy-PST
'Adem bought this watch, *from Vakko*, for his wife.'

Thirdly, linear adjacency not need be maintained between a PK-XP and its anchor.

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

Fourthly, PK-XPs may host speaker-oriented adverbs.

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

Prosodic dissimilarities also pertain between *yani*-XPs and PK-XPs. *Yani*-XPs (or constituents thereof) can be utilized within the final φ of the surrounding ι both as the nucleus (42a) and the post-nucleus (42b).[7]

(42) a) $[(\text{Adem})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\text{pazar-da})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\text{Havva-yı})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\textbf{yani}\ \underline{\text{karı-sı-nı}}_{\text{N}}$
Adem market-LOC Havva-ACC **yani** wife-POSS-ACC
$\text{kaybet-ti})_{\text{F}\varphi}]_{\iota}$
lose-PST
b) $[(\text{Adem})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\underline{\text{pazar-da}}_{\text{N}}$ kaybet-ti Havva-yı **yani** $\text{karı-sı-nı})_{\text{F}\varphi}]_{\iota}$
Adem market-LOC lose-PST Havva-ACC **yani** wife-POSS-ACC
'In the marketplace, Adem lost Havva, *his wife*.'

PK-XPs (or constituents thereof) cannot be utilized within the final φ of the surrounding ι as the nucleus (43a), or as the post-nucleus (43b).

(43) a) $*[(\text{Adem})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\text{pazar-da})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\text{Havva-yı})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\underline{\textbf{ki}}\ \underline{\text{karı-sı}}_{\text{N}}$ $\text{kaybet-ti})_{\text{F}\varphi}]_{\iota}$
Adem market-LOC Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS lose-PST
b) $*[(\text{Adem})_{\text{NF}\varphi}$ $(\underline{\text{pazar-da}}_{\text{N}}$ kaybet-ti Havva-yı **ki** $\text{karı-sı})_{\text{F}\varphi}]_{\iota}$
Adem market-LOC lose-PST Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS
'In the marketplace, Adem lost Havva, *his wife*.'

7 For experimental confirmation that *yani*-XPs are prosodically integrated (i.e. parsed as φs) while PK-XPs are not (i.e. they are parsed as ιs), see Güneş & Çöltekin (to appear).

That *yani*-XPs can be displayed within the final φ of the surrounding clauses' ι is unsurprising if *yani*-XP constructions are derived according to (37), as the *yani*-XP is a subclausal constituent of the host clause. However, that PK-XPs cannot be displayed within the final φ of the surrounding clauses' ι is unexpected if *yani*-XPs and PK-XPs share the syntax in (37).

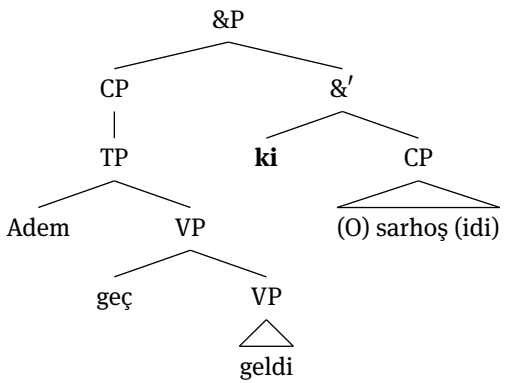
In summary, if PK-XPs were an instantiation of subclausal coordination, it would be rather exceptional: it would be able to violate the LCL and the linear adjacency condition operative on coordination, and fail – for some unknown reason – to permit its second conjunct to participate in ι-formation.

3.6 PK-XPs as reduced PK-clauses

Rather than stipulate that PK-XPs are indeed an exceptional case of subclausal coordination, we instead propose that PK-XPs are phonologically reduced PK-clauses. Under this analysis, a PK-XP like (44a) displays the underlying syntax in (44b). (44b) is schematically represented in (45).

(44) a) Adem, **ki** sarhoş, geç gel-di. *(Surface string)*
b) Adem$_i$, **ki** (o$_i$) sarhoş (i-di), late gel-di. *(Underlying)*
Adem **ki** (he) drunk (COP-PST) late arrive-PST
'Adem, (*and he was*) *drunk*, arrived late.'

(45)



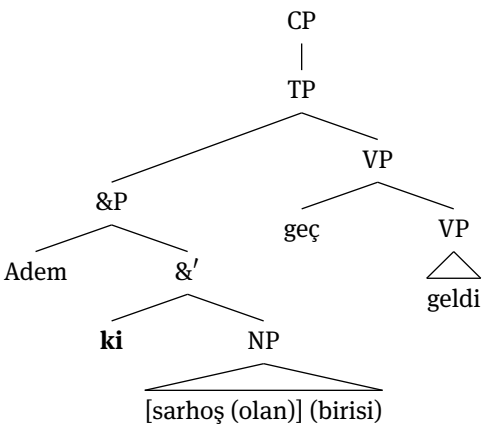
The derivation in (45) is similar to (30) *modulo* subject- and copula-drop inside the PK-clause (both of these 'dropping' mechanisms are ubiquitous in Turkish). The structure in (45) immediately accounts for why PK-XPs and their anchors may be of dissimilar semantic types, as, underlyingly, the conjuncts of coordination are both root clauses (which obeys the LCL). That non-structurally case-assigned PK-

XPs always display nominative case is also explained by (45): the PK-XP is actually the predicate of a reduced predicational copula clause, and the predicates of such copula clauses, unless they display a non-structural case, are always assigned nominative case in Turkish. Also, the ability of PK-XPs to host speaker-oriented adverbs is accounted for by (45), as the PK-XP is, underlyingly, a root clause. Lastly, (45) explains why PK-XPs (or constituents thereof) cannot occupy the final φ of the ι that surrounds them: PK-XPs are underlyingly root clauses, and as such must be mapped as ιs. To parse them as part of a hierarchically lower prosodic unit (such a final φ) therefore violates the *Layerness Constraint*.

At this juncture, one might argue that the data in §3.5 do not necessarily constitute evidence that PK-XPs display the syntax in (45), as PK-XPs could be derived from the reduction of a PK-NOM-clause that, as an entity, can be coordinated directly to its type-*e* anchor, as in (46) and (47).

(46) [[Adem], **ki** [sarhoş]], geç gel-di. *(Surface string)*
[[Adem$_i$ **ki** [[sarhoş (ol-an)] (birisi$_i$)]], geç gel-di. *(Underlying)*
Adem **ki** drunk COP-NOM someone late arrive-PST
'Adem, (*someone who is*) *drunk*, arrived late.'

(47)

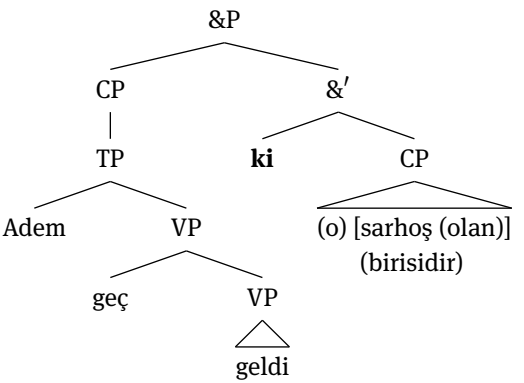


While (47) explains why PK-XPs receive nominative case (as the pronounced element *sarhoş* is the predicate of the nominalized copula clause), and why PK-XPs may appear to be of a different semantic type to their anchor, it fails to account for the positional flexibility of PK-XPs that is observed in (40) and their prosodic distribution that is observed in (43). This is because, if (47) underlay PK-XP constructions, then PK-XPs would pattern with *yani*-XPs with respect to these properties, which they do not. Thus, if NOM-clause reduction of the type witnessed in (46)

is even permitted in Turkish, we postulate that it will only occur when the NOM-clause is itself the predicate of a copula clause that is coordinated at the CP level, as in (48) and (49).

(48) Adem, **ki** sarhoş, geç gel-di. *(Surface string)*
Adem$_i$, **ki** (o$_i$) sarhoş (ol-an) (birisi$_i$-dir), geç gel-di. *(Underlying)*
Adem **ki** he drunk be-NOM someone-COP late arrive-PST
'Adem, (*he is someone who is*) *drunk*, arrived late.'

(49)



Evidence for (48) and (49) comes from the fact that PK-NOM-clauses may contain speaker-oriented adverbs (a sign of root clause status), and may optionally display the copula that is posited to be null in (48) and (49).

(50) Adem, **ki** maalesef sarhoş ol-an birisi**-dir**, geç gel-di
Adem **ki** unfortunately drunk COP-NOM someone-**COP** late arrive.PST
'Adem, *unfortunately* (*he*) *was someone who was drunk*, arrived late.'

Thus, regardless of the presence of recursive nominalized clauses (i.e. *he is someone who is someone who is someone who is drunk*), PK-XPs are always underlyingly predicative copula clauses. Resultantly, our analysis provides a unified account of PK-XPs and PK-clauses, by subsuming the former under the latter. PK-XPs differ from their PK-clausal counterparts only in that the former displays (multiple) instances of subject- and copula-drop – elliptical operations that are optionally and freely utilized in Turkish. From this unification, we propose that proclitic-*ki* performs the same function across PK-XP and PK-clause constructions: proclitic-*ki* is a coordinator of type-*t* root clauses. Hereafter we refer to PK-XPs and PK-clauses as the same construction – PK-clauses.

3.7 *Par*-Merge

The analysis advanced in §3.4–3.6 treats PK-clauses and their hosts, and *yani*-XPs and their anchors, as conjuncts coordinated by regular Boolean coordinators. This analysis is problematic for three reasons.

The first concerns the interpretation of PK-clauses and their hosts. The current account predicts that the truth of a PK-clause should be evaluated concurrently with the truth-evaluation of its host, just as regularly coordinated propositions are. In (51), for example, B's *generic opposition* to A's utterance cannot target either conjunct in isolation; rather, it refers to the entire coordination phrase (where *generic opposition* is opposition that can be voiced against *any* assertion).

(51) A: [[$_{\text{CONJ1}}$ Ahmet armut sev-er] ve [$_{\text{CONJ2}}$ Hasan elma sev-er]].
Ahmet pear like-AOR and Hasan apple like-AOR
'Ahmet likes pears and Hasan likes apples'
B: Bu doğru değil!
this true not
'That's not true!'

The abovementioned prediction is incorrect. If a PK-clause fully linearly follows its host, then the PK-clause's truth is interpreted as assessed in the world *w* in which the truth of its host is guaranteed. This is evidenced by the fact that one cannot voice generic opposition towards the host (52). Conversely, if a PK-clause does not fully follow its host, then the host's truth is interpreted as assessed in the world *w* in which the truth of the PK-clause is guaranteed, as (53) shows.

(52) A: Adem Havva-yı düğün-de öp-me-di, **ki** karı-sı.
Adem Havva-ACC wedding-LOC kiss-NEG-PST **ki** wife-POSS
'Adem did not kiss Havva at the wedding, *his wife*.'
B: #Bu doğru değil!
this true not
'That's not true!' (where B attempts to deny the truth of the host)

(53) A: Adem Havva-yı, **ki** karı-sı, düğün-de öp-me-di.
Adem Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS wedding-LOC kiss-NEG-PST
'Adem did not kiss Havva, *his wife*, at the wedding.'
B: #Bu doğru değil!
this true not
'That's not true!' (where B attempts to deny the truth of the PK-clause)

In this respect, PK-clauses and their hosts stand in the same relation to separate utterances in an ordered discourse created by a speaker (i.e. a *monologue*). In the ordered discourse in (54) for example, β is interpreted as assessed in the world *w* in which the truth of α is guaranteed. Here, α cannot be targeted by generic opposition, just like the PK-clause in (53).

(54) A: [$_{\alpha}$ David is a nice guy.] [$_{\beta}$ He baked Sally a cake.]
B: # That's not true! (referring to α)

Thus, it seems that PK-clauses and their hosts stand in an ordered discourse relation to one another (*cf*. Del Gobbo 2007:180, Griffiths & De Vries, 2014), just like the assertions that comprise the two-utterance monologue in (54). However, unlike with α in the monologue case, the truth of the PK-clause in (53) is *imposed* upon the discourse. This is because the PK-clause and its host are uttered simultaneously, and hence there is no point in conversational-time at which speaker B can deny the truth of the PK-clause in a generic manner.

The second issue with the approach advanced in §3.4–3.6 is that it predicts that, as with regular coordination, the conjuncts of PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs can be switched without any consequences in the interpretation. This prediction is false.

(55) a) Adem Havva-yı düğün-de öp-me-di, **ki** karı-sı.
Adem Havva-ACC wedding-LOC kiss-NEG-PST **ki** wife-POSS
'Adem did not kiss Havva at the wedding, *his wife*.'
b) Havva Adem-in karı-sı **ki** Adem o-nu düğün-de
Havva Adem-GEN wife-POSS **ki** Adem she-ACC wedding-LOC
öp-me-di.
kiss-NEG-PST
'Havva is Adem's wife; *he did not kiss her at the wedding*.'

(56) a) Ayşe okul-a [kitab-ı-nı, **yani** Beş Şehir-i,] götür-dü.
Ayşe school-DAT book-POSS-ACC **yani** five city-ACC take-PST
'Ayşe took her book, *Beş Şehir*, to the school.'
b) Ayşe okul-a [Beş Şehir-i, **yani** kitab-ı-nı,] götür-dü.
Ayşe school-DAT five city-ACC **yani** book-POSS-ACC take-PST
'Ayşe took *Beş Şehir*, *her book*, to the school.'

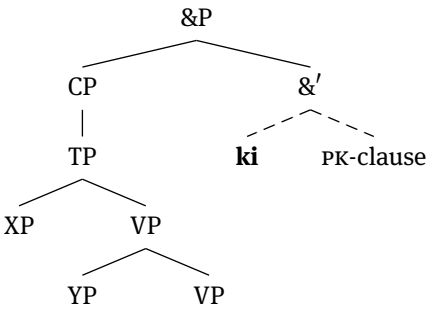
(57) a) p *ki* q ≠ q *ki* p (for (55))
b) x *yani* y ≠ y *yani* x (for (56))

The third issue that arises from the analysis advanced in §3.4–3.6 concerns *suspended affixation* (SA) in *yani*-XPs. SA is the acceptable omission of shared affixes on all conjuncts but the last in a coordination structure, where omission does not affect interpretation. SA is observed in cases of regular coordination in Turkish (58a) (Lewis 1967, Kabak 2007), but is illicit in *yani*-XP structures (58b).[8] This is unexpected if *yani* is a regular coordinator, as (37) suggests.

(58) a) Ayşe okul-a [Ali-(yi) ve Ahmet-i] götür-dü.
Ayşe school-DAT Ali-ACC and Ahmet-ACC take-PST
'Ayşe took Ali and Ahmet to the school.'
b) Ayşe okul-a [Ali-*(yi) **yani** abi-m-i] götür-dü.
Ayşe school-DAT Ali-(acc) **yani** brother-POSS-ACC take-PST
'Ayşe took Ali, *my brother*, to the school.'

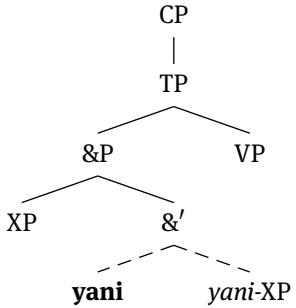
To resolve these issues, we adopt De Vries' (2006 et seq.) *par*-Merge approach discussed in §1. We propose that both *yani* and proclitic-*ki* are morphological realizations of the Par functional head. Thus, the final derivations we propose for PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs is provided in (59) and (60) below.

(59) **The syntax of PK-clauses (final version)**



8 Thanks to Jorge Hankamer (p.c.) for bringing the suspended affixation data to our attention.

(60) **The syntax of *yani*-XPs (final version)**



That the output of *par*-Merge (i.e. &′ in (59) and (60) above) does not dominate its input implies that nothing that c-commands &′ dominates *par*-Merge's input. This leads to scopelessness for *par*-Merge's input, and renders the PK-clause in (59) equivalent to an undominated root. Undominated propositional syntactic elements – which are typically root clauses – are the input for the discourse structure, and are ordered in the discourse with respect to one another. How these units are ordered is dictated by their linear position, as already discussed above.

Resultantly, *par*-Merge provides an explanation for the interpretation of the PK-clauses in (52) and (53). PK-clauses act as independent speech acts in an ordered discourse because they are syntactically undominated maximal projections, which are the atoms of discourse.

The *par*-Merge approach also accounts for the interpretative asymmetries observed when the conjuncts of ParP are swapped. The syntactic isolation that *par*-Merge engenders requires that extraneous mechanisms are invoked to aid interpretation. Such mechanisms are influenced by linear order, just as with assertions in an ordered discourse:

(61) a) [$_{\alpha}$ John pushed Sally.] [$_{\beta}$ She fell over.] (α causes β)
b) [$_{\alpha}$ Sally fell over.] [$_{\beta}$ John pushed her.] (α is the result of β)

Par-Merge also provides an explanation for why affixation cannot be suspended in *yani*-XPs constructions: SA is licensed only in cases of regular coordination.

We have now provided a plausible analysis of PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs. In the next section, we compare PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs to Germanic (mostly English) appositions and illustrate that PK-clauses equate with the class of appositions discussed in §1 whose coordinators are obligatorily null.

3.8 Germanic appositions

In their work on Germanic appositions, Heringa & De Vries (2008) motivate a distinction between two types: *identificational* and *attributive*. Identificational appositions provide an alternative and often more informative description of their anchor. They are optionally introduced by *namely* or *that is* (62a). Attributive appositions denote the set of which their anchor is a member (62b). Attributive appositives are the group that were discussed in §1 that in English, Dutch and German cannot be introduced by an overt element of any type (Heringa 2012:56).

(62) a) Jo drew an icosahedron, {Ø/*namely/that is*} *a shape with twenty faces*, in her maths class.
b) Tim's bicycle, Ø *a racer*, was stolen from outside his house last week.

Identificational and attributive appositions display divergent properties. For instance, identificational appositions must be assigned the same case as their anchor, while attributive appositions that are not assigned lexical or inherent case display nominative case. This is illustrated in the German examples in (63) and (64) below.

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

(64) Man pflichtete dem jungen Atomphysiker, {*Student* /
one agreed the.DAT young nuclear.physicist student.NOM
**Studenten*} *an einer renommierten Universität*, begeistert bei.
student.DAT at a renowned.DAT university enthusiastically with
'They enthusiastically agreed with the young nuclear physicist, *a student at a renowned university*.'

Furthermore, an identificational apposition and its anchor must be of the same semantic type (65a). This restriction is not observed with attributive appositions and their anchors (65b).

(65) a) *[$_{\langle e \rangle}$ Tim's bicycle], *namely* [$_{\langle e,t \rangle}$ *a racer*], was stolen yesterday.
b) [$_{\langle e \rangle}$ Tim's bicycle], Ø [$_{\langle e,t \rangle}$ *a racer*], was stolen yesterday.

Also, attributive appositions may host speaker-oriented adverbs (66), while identificational appositions cannot (67).

(66) *My guitar instructor, *namely* (*fortunately*) *Jimmy Page* (*fortunately*), taught me my scales.

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

Identificational and attributive appositions do share three important similarities, however. Firstly, both types must maintain linear adjacency.[9]

(68) a) A planet, *namely Saturn*, has entered the constellation of Libra.
a′) *A planet has, *namely Saturn*, entered the constellation of Libra.
b) Tim's bike, Ø *a racer*, was stolen from outside his house last week.
b′) *Tim's bike was, Ø *a racer*, stolen from outside his house last week.

Secondly, attributive appositions display scopelessness, as was demonstrated in §1 (see also Potts 2005, Arnold 2007, Heringa 2012). Thirdly, attributive appositions function as atoms of the structured discourse (AnderBois et al. 2011).

One observes a non-trivial correlation between Germanic appositions and PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs. Aside from linear adjacency – which must be maintained between Germanic attributive appositions and their anchors but not PK-clauses and their anchors – *yani*-XPs equate with identificational appositions, while PK-clauses equate with attributive appositions with respect to the similar properties they display (as Table 1 illustrates).

Bearing this equivalence in mind, should the derivation provided for PK-clauses in (59) be extended to Germanic attributive appositions, and should the derivation provided for *yani*-XPs in (60) be extended to Germanic identificational appositions? We propose so. Extending (60) to identificational appositions is unproblematic, and endorsed by Cardoso & De Vries (2010).

By extending (59) to attributive appositions, we imply that, like their PK-clause counterparts, attributive appositions are reduced from finite copular clauses (or '*and*-parentheticals', Kavalova 2007).

(69) John, (*and he is*) *my friend*, just got fired.

9 Due to constraints on space, we must ignore the fact that identificational appositions can appear at the right-edges of clauses (see (i)). See Ott & De Vries (2012) for discussion.

(i) I saw her yesterday, that is to say *my ex-wife*.

Tab. 1: Properties of Germanic appositions/PK-clauses and *yani*-XPs.

Construction type	Same case as anchor required?	Same semantic type of anchor required?	Able to host speaker-oriented adverbs?	Linear adjacency required?	Able to swap conjuncts?
Identificational appositions	√	√	×	√	×
Yani-XPs	√	√	×	√	×
Attributive appositions	×	×	√	√	×
PK-clauses	×	×	√	×	×

In §3.6, we proposed that PK-clauses are reduced to PK-XPs by subject- and copular-drop. The same mechanisms cannot engender reduction in a Germanic language like English, however, as English does not license them (except in a specific register called *diary-drop*, see Weir 2008). Thus, reduction must be engendered by a different means, which we propose is *left-edge deletion* (LED), a form of ellipsis. The constraints on applying LED to a finite parenthetical copular clause α are as follows:

(70) a) α must immediately linearly follow the item with which α's subject corefers.
b) All of the items from α's left edge up to the postcopular element must be deleted (excluding parentheticals that might be attached within α).

The notion that PK-XPs and attributive appositions are both clausal conjuncts that are reduced down to their postcopular element by dissimilar means provides an explanation of the differences between the two. Like PK-clauses (see §3.2), *and*-parentheticals can occupy any *niche* (Ross 1984) within the host clause.

(71) a) John_i has (*and* he_i*'s a great snooker player*) made a maximum break.
b) John_i (*and* he_i*'s a great snooker player*) has made a maximum break.

Unlike PK-clauses, which do not obey (70), *and*-parentheticals can only undergo LED when the parenthetical is linearly adjacent to the host clause constituent with which its subject corefers. This dictates that, unlike PK-clauses, attributive appositions must maintain linear adjacency with their host.

(72) a) *John$_i$ has (~~*and he$_i$'s* a great snooker player~~) made a maximum break.
b) John$_i$ (~~*and he$_i$'s* a great snooker player~~) has made a maximum break.

The rule in (70) also explains why attributive appositions cannot be introduced by an overt element of any type: LED will always render such elements unpronounced. However, because LED does not create PK-XPs, *ki* can be optionally pronounced in such constructions.[10]

To account for the strict linear adjacency observed in Germanic, Cardoso & De Vries (2010) claim that attributive appositions are relativized copula clauses whose head, relative pronoun and copula are elided. As DPs, these relativized constructions are coordinated at the subclausal level using *par*-Merge – just like identificational appositions and *yani*-XPs (73).

(73) [$_{TP}$ [$_{\&\ P}$ [$_{DP}$ John] <$_{\&'}$ Ø [$_{DP}$ ~~*he who is* my neighbour~~]>] [$_{VP}$ will arrive late]].

Such a suggestion faces problems. Firstly, unless a constraint is invoked that demands it, nothing requires that attributive appositions are always derived from underlying relative constructions. If *my neighbour* in (73) can be derived from the CP ~~*he is* my neighbour~~ (as Heringa 2012 maintains), then the structure in (59) is needed independently. Secondly, there are acceptable attributive appositions that do not have an acceptable relativized counterpart (compare (74a) and (74b)). Note that such appositions are indeed attributive and not identificational, as they cannot be introduced by an element like *i.e.* or *that is to say* (74c).

10 Our appeal to LED also provides an explanation for a Germanic phenomenon that has gone unmentioned in the main text, which is the distribution of parenthetical circumstantial secondary predicates such as *drunk* in (i). Unlike identificational and attributive appositions, such parentheticals need not maintain linear adjacency with their anchor.

(i) John has, *drunk*, fallen asleep on his doorstep.

This interpolational freedom arises because *drunk* in (i) is not derived from a finite copular clause that has been reduced by LED. Rather, it is a nonfinite clause with a PRO subject that corefers with its anchor. Because such parentheticals are not created by LED, their interpolational freedom is expected (see (ii) and (iii)).

(ii) John$_i$ has, PRO$_i$ *drunk*, fallen asleep on his doorstep.
(iii) Pete$_i$ has, PRO$_i$ *being an Englishman*, gone straight to the nearest pub.

(74) a) A recent winner of the Illinois State Lottery, *Albert Swenson*, has announced that he plans to move to Bermuda.
b) *A recent winner of the Illinois State Lottery, *who is Albert Swenson*, has announced that he plans to move to Bermuda.
c) *A recent winner of the Illinois State Lottery, that is to say *Albert Swenson*, has announced that he plans move to Bermuda.
(modified from McCawley 1998:468)

Discarding Cardoso & De Vries' claims about the syntax of attributive appositions, it appears that *yani*-XPs and identificational appositions share the same derivation (i.e. (60)), while PK-clauses and attributive appositions share the same derivation (i.e. (59)). If this is correct, then *yani* and *namely* are coordinators with similar lexical semantics: they coordinate elements of any semantic type – where the second conjunct provides an additional referent for the entity denoted by the first –, and they trigger *par*-Merge. Attributive appositions do not exhibit an overt coordinator, but the fact that their Turkish counterparts display the coordinator proclitic-*ki* provides indirect support for the idea that they do exhibit a coordinator, but it is always reduced by LED. If true, proclitic-*ki* and Ø serve the same function: they coordinate root clauses and trigger *par*-Merge.

3.9 Summary of §3

In this section, we examined the syntax and prosody of PK-clauses and PK-XPs and concluded that the latter are a reduced version of the former. We claimed that PK-clauses are not clausal adjuncts (as the previous literature maintains), but conjuncts coordinated by proclitic-*ki*. Along the way we also examined *yani*-XPs, and argued that *yani* may coordinate subclausal constituents, while proclitic-*ki* can only coordinate root clauses.

Unlike regular Boolean coordinators, both proclitic-*ki* and *yani* trigger *par*-Merge. Each *par*-Merges with its complement and set-Merges with its specifier. In this respect, they are *bivalent* Par functional heads.

We have also placed *yani*-XPs and PK-clauses with respect to the wider literature on appositions. *Yani*-XPs equate with Germanic identificational appositions in all respects. PK-clauses and attributive appositions share a number of properties, and also share, we claim, the same syntactic derivation. PK-clauses and attributive appositions differ in that the latter, but not the former, must be linearly adjacent to their anchor. We suggest that dissimilar methods of reduction in Germanic and Turkish derives this difference.

Most importantly, we have shown that proclitic-*ki* is not a relative pronoun, but a coordinator that *par*-Merges with its complement. This conclusion is important because it illustrates that clausal parentheticals that serve a general specificational function are conjuncts of *Par*. Thus, the null functional head that is posited by De Vries (2006 et seq.) to introduce the appositions in (7a–c) in Germanic receives indirect empirical support from Turkish, where it is spelled-out as *ki*.

4 Ek-clauses

Proclitic-*ki* is a bivalent instantiation of *Par*: its maximal projection (ParP) contains both a root clause complement and specifier (5a). The *par*-Merge approach does not place any restrictions upon Par's valency. Thus, the *par*-Merge approach predicts the existence of a monovalent version of Par, whose maximal projection contains a root clause complement but no specifier (5b). In this section, we claim that enclitic-*ki* is indeed a monovalent instantiation of Par. If our analysis is on the right track, it not only shows that English comment clauses like (7d) are complements of Par, but also demonstrates that in Turkish, Par – regardless of its valency – displays the same morphological realization if it selects for a type-*t* complement.

4.1 Enclitic-*ki* is not a subordinator: against the traditional analysis

Ek-clauses like that which is bracketed in (75b) contain transitive verbs that typically select for a subject and a nominalized clausal complement in Turkish (75a).

(75) a) Hasan [Ahmet-in okul-a git-**tiğ**-i]-ni san-ıyor.
Hasan Ahmet-GEN school-DAT go-**NOM**-3SG-ACC believe-PROG
'Hasan believes that Ahmet went to school.'

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

Constructions like (75b) are traditionally analysed as cases of Indo-European subordination, where *ki* is understood as the complementizer of the finite CP *Ahmet okula gitti* (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake 2005), and the clause to which *ki* is encliticized is analysed as the matrix clause (e.g. *Hasan sanıyor* in (75b)). However,

if EK-clauses were comparable to Indo-European superordinate clauses (we use English as an exemplar), would one expect EK-clauses to display the properties associated with them. They do not. Firstly, quantifiers contained within an EK-clause are unable to bind variables in the finite clause that linearly follows it (76d) (which we call for now, to remain theory neutral, the *succeeding clause*), whereas, binding is licit into both nominalized clauses (76b) and finite subordinate clauses headed by the complementizer *diye* (76c).

(76) a) Everyone$_i$ knows that his$_i$ wife will arrive late.
b) Herkes$_i$ [pro$_{k/i}$ karı-sı-nın geç gel-**eceğ**-in]-i
everyone *pro* wife-POSS-GEN late come-**FUT.NOM**-2SG-ACC
bil-iyor.[11]
know-PROG
'Everyone knows that his wife will arrive late.'
c) Herkes$_i$ [pro$_{k/i}$ karı-sı geç gel-ecek **diye**] bil-iyor.
everyone *pro* wife-POSS late come-FUT **COMP** know-PROG
'Everyone thinks that his wife will arrive late.'
d) [Herkes$_i$ bil-iyor **ki**] pro$_{k/*i}$ karı-sı geç gel-ecek.
everyone$_i$ know-PROG **ki** *pro* wife-POSS late come-FUT
'Everyone thinks that his wife will arrive late.'

Secondly, *wh*-words displayed within the succeeding clause cannot take wide scope over the entire EK-clause construction (77a). If, in line with traditional assumptions, the succeeding clause is subordinated under the EK-clause, (77d)'s unacceptability is unexpected, as a wide scope interpretation is required in (77a)'s English subordination equivalent, in Turkish constructions that display a nominalized clausal argument (77b), and in those constructions that display a finite subordinate clause that is headed by *diye* (77c).[12]

11 Only *pro* or the reflexive *kendi* can be bound by quantifiers in Turkish.

12 Note that a narrow scope interpretation of (77d) is also unacceptable. However, the narrow scope interpretation of EK-clauses is not universally prohibited. Provided that the verb contained within the EK-clause is of that class that usually subordinates indirect questions (such as *ask* or *wonder*), an interrogative interpretation of the succeeding clause is acceptable (i). Note that (i) is interpreted as direct quotation. We return to cases like (i) in §4.4.

(i) [Sor-du-m **ki**] Ahmet kim-i öp-tü.
ask-PST-1SG **ki** Ahmet who-ACC kiss-PST
'I asked: "who did Ahmet kiss?" '

(77) a) Whom$_1$ do you believe Ahmet kissed t_1?
b) [Ahmet-in kim-i öp-**tüğ**-ün]-ü san-ıyor-sun?
Ahmet-GEN who-ACC kiss-**NOM**-3SG-ACC believe-PROG-2SG
'Whom do you believe that Ahmet kissed?'
c) [Ahmet kim-i öp-tü **diye**] san-ıyor-sun?
Ahmet-GEN who-ACC kiss-PST **COMP** believe-PROG-2SG
'Whom do you believe that Ahmet kissed?'
d) *[San-ıyor-sun **ki**] Ahmet kim-i öp-tü?
believe-PROG-2SG **ki** Ahmet who-ACC kiss-PST
'Whom do you believe Ahmet kissed?'

Thirdly, the subject of a finite subordinate clause headed by *diye* can receive 'exceptional' accusative case from the attitudinal verb in the matrix clause in Turkish (78a). Such case-marking is impossible in the succeeding clause of an EK-clause construction (78b).

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

The examples in (76) to (78) display dependencies that rely upon c-command. In (76b–c), the quantifier *herkes* can bind the variable *pro* in the subordinate clause because *herkes* c-commands *pro*. In (77b–c), the *wh*-word *kimi* – which covertly A'-moves to SpecCP of the matrix clause (Cheng 1997) – can bind its trace because *kimi* c-commands its trace. In (78a), the attitudinal verb *sanıyor* can assign accusative case to *ben* because *sanıyor* locally c-commands *ben* (Şener 2008). That these dependencies are not permitted across the EK-clause/succeeding clause boundary in (76d), (77d) and (78b) suggests that c-command does not pertain between the binder/case-assigner in the EK-clause and the bindee/case-assignee in the succeeding clause.

Further evidence that EK-clause and subordination constructions are dissimilar comes from prosody. Recall from §2 that the verb of root clause α must be contained within the final φ of ι_α, and that any F0 excursion following the nucleus and/or the verb marks the start of a separate ι in Turkish. If the EK-clauses are matrix clauses and the succeeding clauses are subordinate clauses, then, one expects to observe post-nuclear/verbal levelling of the F0 immediately after the nucleus and/or the verb of the EK-clause. As illustrated below, subordinated

nominal clauses (79a) and subordinated finite clauses headed by *diye* (79b) confirm this prediction. However, this expectation is not borne out in the case of EK-clauses (79c).

(79) a) [(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor Meray-ın yürü-**düğ**-ü-ne yalı-ya.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG Meray-GEN walk-**NOM**-3SG-DAT house-DAT
'Emir believes that Meray walks home.'

b) [(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor Meray yürü-yor yalı-ya **diye**.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG Meray walk-PROG house-DAT **COMP**
'Emir believes that Meray walks home.'

c) *[(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor **ki** Meray yürü-yor yalı-ya.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG **ki** Meray walk-PROG house-DAT
'Emir believes Meray walks home.'

The example in (79c) is licit only when the EK-clause and the succeeding clause are parsed as independent ıs with independent nuclei. This is exemplified in (80c). Note that in the case of nominal and finite subordination, independent ı-formation of the matrix and the subordinated clauses (pitch excursion over the subordinated post-verbal clause) yields unacceptability (80a–b).

(80) a) *[(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$ [(Meray-ın)$_{NFφ}$ (yürü-**düğ**-ü-ne$_N$ yalı-ya.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG Meray-GEN walk-**NOM**-3SG-DAT house-DAT
'Emir believes that Meray walks home.'

b) *[(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$ [(Meray)$_{NFφ}$ (yürü-yor$_N$ yalı-ya **diye**.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG Meray walk-PROG house-DAT **COMP**
'Emir believes that Meray walks home.'

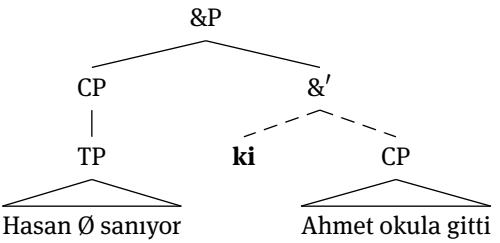
c) [(Emir$_N$ inan-ıyor **ki**)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$ [(Meray)$_{NFφ}$ (yürü-yor$_N$ yalı-ya.)$_{Fφ}$]$_ι$
Emir believe-PROG **ki** Meray walk-PROG house-DAT
'Emir believes Meray walks home.'

Coupled with the syntactic data from (76) to (78), the prosodic properties of EK-clauses indicate that EK-clauses and succeeding clauses are clauses that are linearly adjacent to each other, but which are not related hypotactically.

4.2 Enclitic-*ki* is not a (parenthetical) coordinator

Bearing in mind the observations in §4.1, and the conclusions reached in §3, one might suggest that EK-clause constructions are another case of *par*-Merge coordination, where – once again – *ki* functions as a coordinator (81).[13]

(81)



Taking (81) as our working hypothesis, let us investigate whether EK-clause constructions display the properties that (81) predicts they should.

The schematic in (81) predicts the absence of c-command dependencies observed in (76) to (78), as the TP contained in the first conjunct in (81) does not c-command the second conjunct.

Recall that the clauses coordinated by proclitic-*ki* display root clause properties. If the 'coordination approach' to EK-clause constructions is correct, the same root clause properties should be observed in the second conjunct in (81). This prediction is borne out. Rather trivially, root clauses in Turkish are finite, as are succeeding clauses in EK-clause constructions (see (75b) above). Also, these succeeding clauses may display speaker-oriented adverbs: another diagnostic of root clause status (compare (82a–b) to (82c)).

(82) a) *[Ahmet-in maalesef okul-a git-**tiğ**-i-ni]
Ahmet-GEN unfortunately school-DAT go-**NOM**-3SG-ACC
san-ıyor-um.
believe-PROG-1SG
'I believe that Ahmet, unfortunately, went to school.'

b) *Ben [Ahmet maalesef okul-a git-ti **diye**] san-ıyor-um.
I Ahmet unfortunately school-DAT go-PST **COMP** believe-PROG-1SG
'I believe that Ahmet, unfortunately, went to school.'

13 Following Kesici (2013), Kluck & De Vries (to appear), and Griffiths (to appear(b)), we assume in (81) that transitive verbs contained within EK-clauses select for a null complement whose content is denoted by the succeeding clause.

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

In §3, we observed that certain coordination constructions can be reordered. Such reordering gives the impression that a PK-clause is inserted into the middle of its host. EK-clauses may also appear in the middle of their succeeding clause (83). If the reordering operation that targets coordination is always the source for this interpolation, then (83) provides evidence for the coordination analysis in (81).

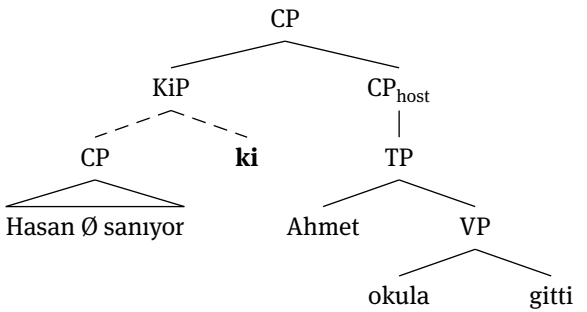
(83) a) Ali [Hasan sanıyor **ki**] Ayşe-yi nazikçe öp-tü.
Ali Hasan believes-PROG **ki** Ayşe-ACC gently kiss-PST
b) Ali Ayşe-yi [Hasan san-ıyor **ki**] nazikçe öp-tü.
Ali Ayşe-ACC Hasan believes-PROG **ki** gently kiss-PST
'Ali, *Hasan believes*, kissed Ayşe gently.'

However, while (81) is a plausible analysis of EK-clause constructions, it cannot be entirely correct. Firstly, we saw in §3 that proclitic-*ki* is pronounced as part of its second conjunct's φ. If EK-clauses and their succeeding clauses are coordinated, one expects the same prosodic distribution of enclitic-*ki*. However, the converse is true: in EK-clauses, enclitic-*ki* is pronounced as part of its apparent initial conjunct's φ (indeed, this is enclitic-*ki*'s defining property).

4.3 Enclitic-*ki* as monovalent Par

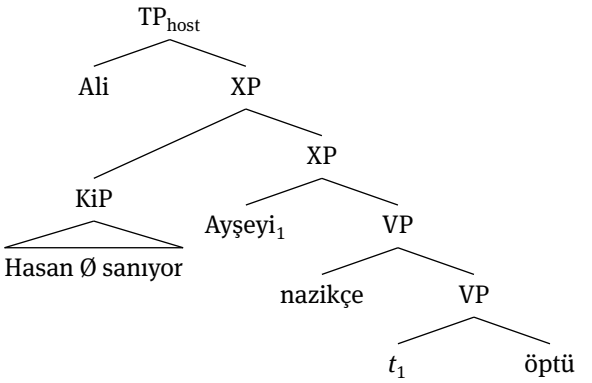
We propose that enclitic-*ki* is the realization of a Par that selects for type-*t* complements. Unlike proclitic-*ki* however, enclitic-*ki* does not take a specifier. Instead, the output of **monovalent** *par*-Merge (call it *KiP*) pair-Merges with any node within the host clause (see (5b) in §1). Concretely, we propose that an utterance like (75) displays the syntax in (84).

(84)

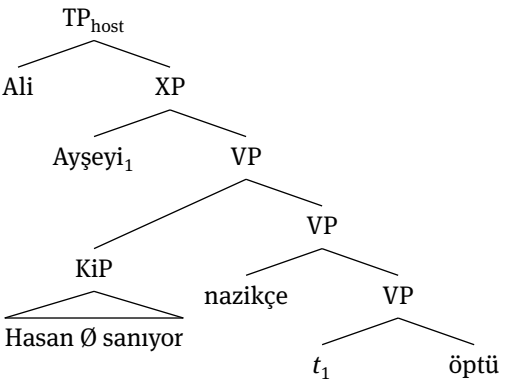


(84) retains the advantages but not the drawbacks of (71). Firstly, (84) accounts for why dependencies based on c-command cannot be established across the EK-clause/succeeding clause boundary: *par*-Merge of the EK-clause ensures its syntactic isolation from host clause operators and *vice versa* (though discourse relations, such as coreference, may persist across this boundary). Secondly, word-order variations such as those observed in (85) can be explained without recourse to a reordering operation. In (85a) the EK-clause adjoins to the XP containing *Ayşe*, while in (85b) it adjoins to VP.

(85) a)



b)



Thirdly, (84) provides a natural explanation for enclitic-*ki*'s position and pronunciation. Like heads of other clausal adjuncts in Turkish (86), enclitic-*ki* linearly succeeds its complement (recall that Turkish displays head-final syntax in all but coordination environments) and is parsed as contained within the φ formed by its complement (just like proclitic-*ki*).

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

b) [(Ali)$_{\varphi}$ (Ayşe-yi)$_{\varphi}$ (öp-me-den$_{N}$ **önce**)$_{\varphi}$]$_{\iota}$, [(diş-i-ni)$_{\varphi}$ (iyice$_{N}$
Ali Ayşe-ACC kiss-NEG-ABL **before** tooth-POSS-ACC very.well
fırçala-dı)$_{\varphi}$]$_{\iota}$.
brush-PST
'Ali brushed his teeth very well before he kissed Ayşe.'

At this juncture, one might wonder why we do not adopt the idea that EK-clauses are regularly pair-Merged clausal adjuncts, rather than ones that are derived by *par*-Merge. This is because syntactic dependencies that can pertain across regular adjunct boundaries do not persist across the EK-clause/host boundary.

For instance, regular clausal adjuncts, such as those headed by *için* ('because'), can contain quantified elements (87a), while EK-clauses cannot (87b).

(87) a) Herkes-i$_{i}$ [pro$_{k/i}$ iş-i-ni yap-ma-dığ-ı **için**]
everybody-ACC *pro* work-POSS-ACC make-NEG-NOM-3SG **because**
cezalandır-dı-m.
punish-PST-1SG
'I punished everybody because he did not do his work.'

b) Herkes-i$_{i}$ [pro$_{k/*i}$ karı-sı san-ıyor **ki**] cezalandır-dı-m.
everybody-ACC *pro* wife-POSS believe-PROG **ki** punish-PST-1SG
'I punished everybody, *their wives believe*.'

Also, *wh*-phrases contained within regular adjuncts can be interpreted with wide scope (88a), while *wh*-phrases contained with EK-clauses cannot (88b) (though such EK-clauses can be interpreted as echo questions).

(88) a) Ali-yi [kim iş-i-ni yap-ma-dığ-ı **için**]
Ali-ACC who work-POSS-ACC make-NEG-NOM-3SG **because**
cezalandır-dı-n?
punish-PST-2SG
'You punished Ali because WHO did not do his job?'

b) *Ali-yi [kim san-ıyor **ki**] cezalandır-dı-n?
Ali-ACC who believe-PROG **ki** punish-PST-2SG
'Who believes that you punished Ali?'

Thus, EK-clauses display a greater degree of syntactic isolation than regular clausal adjuncts. The *par*-merge approach schematized in (84) captures this fact.

4.4 Additional properties of EK-clauses: assertions vs. demonstrations

One observes a prominent distinction between EK-clauses that modify *assertions* and those that modify *demonstrations* (hereafter *EK_A-clauses* and *EK_D-clauses*, respectively)

Demonstrations are presentations of another person's speech (Clark & Gerrig 1990). While demonstrations are speech acts, they are not assertions, questions, demands, etc. Rather, they *demonstrate* assertions, questions, etc. The degree of accuracy with which demonstrations exemplify their sources varies: in some cases, the demonstrator (i.e. the speaker), may shift deictic elements from the original utterer's perspective to the speaker's own, while in other cases, she may not. If these deictic elements are not shifted, *direct quotation* is engendered.

We claim that EK_D-clauses are assertoric root clauses, while EK_A-clauses are non-assertoric clauses.[14] Furthermore, we claim that EK-clauses that contain third person subjects are always EK_D-clauses. This implies that EK-clauses that contain first person subjects are either EK_A- or EK_D-clauses. These claims are summarized in (89) below, where the linear position of the EK-clause respective to the host is irrelevant for the time being.

(89) Possible variations for EK-clause constructions

a) [[$_{\text{NON-ROOT}}$ Subj$_{1Prs}$ verb **ki**] [$_{\text{ASSERTION}}$ host clause]]
b) [[$_{\text{ROOT}}$ Subj$_{1\text{Prs}}$ verb **ki**] [$_{\text{DEMONSTRATION}}$ host clause]]
c) [[$_{\text{ROOT}}$ Subj$_{3\text{Prs}}$ verb **ki**] [$_{\text{DEMONSTRATION}}$ host clause]]

Evidence for the claim that third person EK-clauses are always EK_D-clauses is provided by application of '*you're right*' and '*right?*' tests, which distinguishes assertoric from non-assertoric material. The example in (90a–b) shows how these tests work.

14 Note that, with respect to illocutionary force, "root" equates with Rizzi's (1997) "ForceP".

(90) a) A: Bill said that John has been fired.
B: # You're right. (referring to the embedded clause)
b) # Bill said that John has been fired, right?
(*right?* referring to the embedded clause)

Speaker A in (90a) and the speaker in (90b) are committed to the truth of their utterance as a whole, which is their assertion. However, they are not committed to the truth of the embedded clause, which reports an utterance that Bill (but not speaker) previously asserted. Speaker B's response – *you're right* – is sensitive to this distinction, as *you're right* is coherent only as a response to an assertion to whose truth the speaker is committed. Resultantly, *you're right* is incoherent when it targets the non-assertoric embedded clause. Similarly, the generic confirmation tag *right?* in (90b) questions the truth of the asserted content to which the speaker is committed. Therefore, (90b) is only coherent if *right?* is understood as a request of confirmation of the assertion to whose truth the speaker is committed. *Right?* is incoherent if it targets the non-assertoric embedded clause.

When a speaker A *demonstrates* a third party's previously-uttered assertion β, A is not committed to the truth of β. Thus, when a demonstration is targeted with *you're right* or *right?*, incoherence is engendered. Such incoherence is observed in third person EK-clause constructions of all types, regardless of whether the deictic elements contained within host clause represent the perspective of the EK-clause's subject (as in direct quotation) (91–92b) or the speaker's perspective (91–92a).

(91) a) A: O_i ve Emine, $Hasan_i$ di-yor **ki**, sene-ye
he and Emine Hasan say-PROG **ki** next.year-DAT
evlen-ecek-ler.
get.married-FUT-3PL
'He_i and Emine, *$Hasan_i$ says*, will get married next year.'
b) A: Ben_i ve Emine, $Hasan_i$ di-yor **ki**, sene-ye
I and Emine Hasan say-PROG **ki** next.year-DAT
evlen-eceğ-iz.
get.married-FUT-1PL
' "Emine and I_i," *$Hasan_i$ says*, "will get married next year." '
B: # Evet, haklı-sın.
Yes right-COP.2SG
'Yes, you're right.' (referring to the host clause in (91a–b))

(92) a) # O_i ve Emine, $Hasan_i$ di-yor **ki**, sene-ye
he and Emine Hasan say-PROG **ki** next.year-DAT
evlen-ecek-ler, di mi?
get.married-FUT-3PL NOT Q
'He_i and Emine, *$Hasan_i$ says*, will get married next year, right?'

b) # Ben_i ve Emine, $Hasan_i$ di-yor **ki**, sene-ye
I and Emine Hasan say-PROG **ki** next.year-DAT
evlen-eceğ-iz, di mi?
get.married-FUT-1PL NOT Q
' "Emine and I_i," *$Hasan_i$ says*, "will get married next year", right?'
(*di mi?* referring to the host clause in (92a–b))

As mentioned above, we claim that first person EK-clauses are either EK_A- or EK_D-clauses. The presence of verbs like *fısılda* ('whisper') disambiguates EK_D-clauses from their counterparts, while *verba sentiendi* like *san* ('believe') disambiguates EK_A-clauses from their counterparts. Thus, first person EK_A-clauses should fail the *you're right* and *right?* tests, while first person EK_D-clauses should pass both. This expectation is borne out.

(93) a) A: [Fısılda-dı-m **ki**] Meryem bir milyon dolar kazan-dı.
whisper-PST-1SG **ki** Meryem a million dollar win-PST
'I whispered: "Meryem won a million dollars".'
B: Evet, haklı-sın.
Yes right-COP.2SG
'Yes, you're right.' (referring to the EK_D-clause clause)

b) A: [İnan-ıyor-um **ki**] Meryem bir milyon dolar kazan-dı.
believe-PROG-1SG **ki** Meryem a million dollar win-PST
'I believe Meryem won a million dollars.'
B: # Evet, haklı-sın.
Yes right-COP.2SG
'Yes, you're right.' (referring to the EK_A-clause)

(94) a) [Fısılda-dı-m **ki**] Meryem bir milyon dolar kazan-dı, di mi?
whisper-PST-1SG **ki** Meryem a million dollar win-PST NOT Q
'I whispered: "Meryem won a million dollars", right?'
(*di mi?* referring to the EK_D-clause)

b) # [İnan-ıyor-um **ki**] Meryem bir milyon dolar kazan-dı, di mi?
believe-PROG-1SG **ki** Meryem a million dollar win-PST NOT Q
'I believe Meryem won a million dollars, right?'
(*di mi?* referring to the EK_A-clause)

Evidence that EK_D-clauses are root clauses, while EK_A-clauses are non-roots, comes from a number of sources. The first concerns their distribution. Recall from §3.6 that PK-clauses are banned from occupying the final φ of their host clause because, as root clauses that are mapped to ɪs, PK-clauses cannot be inserted into a hierarchically lower prosodic unit (as per the *Layerness Constraint*). Thus, if EK_D-clauses are root clauses, one expects that, like PK-clauses, they cannot occupy the final φ of ɪ of the demonstration that they modify. This expectation is borne out.

(95) a) *[(Ali)$_{NF\varphi}$ (gel-di$_N$, san-ıyor **ki**)$_{F\varphi}$].
Ali come-PST believe-PROG **ki**
'Ali arrived, *he believes*.'
b) *[(Ali)$_{NF\varphi}$ (gel-di$_N$, fısıld-ıyor-um **ki**)$_{F\varphi}$].
Ali come-PST whisper-PROG-1SG **ki**
'Ali arrived, *I whisper*.'

Conversely, as non-roots, EK_A-clauses need not be mapped to ɪ. Resultantly, one expects that EK_A-clauses can occupy the final φ of the ɪ of the assertion that they modify, as no violation of the Layerness Constraint is engendered. Again, this expectation is borne out.

(96) [(Ali)$_{NF\varphi}$ (gel-di$_N$, san-ıyor-um **ki**)$_{F\varphi}$].
Ali come-PST believe-PROG-1SG **ki**
'Ali arrived, *I believe*.'

That EK_A-clauses are non-roots, regardless of their finite morphology, is also evidenced by experimental data from Güneş and Çöltekin (to appear). These authors observe that parentheticals that are root clauses (CPs with a Force projection) are always mapped as ɪs when they occupy the prenuclear position within the ɪ of their host, whereas EK_A-clauses are always mapped as φs in the same position in Turkish.

Additionally, in a highly relevant study, Truckenbrodt (this volume) investigates a number of German structures including a variety of parentheticals such as appositives, peripheral adverbial clauses, and comment clauses. He concludes that ɪ-formation is observed only if the these structures bear an independent speech act (i.e. if they are root clauses). In this sense, our observations partly converge with Truckenbrodt's, and establishes crosslinguistic common ground.

Additional evidence comes from the distribution of speaker-oriented adverbs. If EK_D-clauses are root clauses, one expects that they can host speaker-oriented adverbs such as *maalesef* ('unfortunately') (97a). Conversely, if EK_A-clauses are

non-roots, one expects that they cannot host such speaker-oriented adverbs (97b). Both expectations are borne out.

(97) a) Ali [Hasan maalesef san-ıyor **ki**] okul-a git-ti.
Ali Hasan unfortunately believe-PROG **ki** school-DAT go-PST
'Ali, *Hasan unfortunately believes*, went to school.'
b) *Ali [maalesef san-ıyor-um **ki**] okul-a git-ti.
Ali unfortunately believe-PROG-1SG **ki** school-DAT go-PST
'Ali, *I unfortunately believe*, went to school.'

We observed in §3.7 that, from a semantic perspective, PK-clauses and their hosts distribute like assertions that comprise a two-utterance monologue. More specifically, we observed that, if PK-clauses do not linearly succeed their host, the truth of the host is evaluated in a world in which the truth of the PK-clause is guaranteed. Furthermore, we saw that, if PK-clauses do linearly succeed their host, the truth of the PK-clause is evaluated in a world in which the truth of the host is guaranteed. This engenders the prediction that generic opposition (such as *that's not true!*) may only target a root clause (either the PK-clause or the host) whose truth is not already guaranteed.

Returning to EK-clauses, the current approach predicts that, as non-roots that do not engender assertions, EK_A-clauses can never be generically opposed (98), while EK_D-clauses can be generically opposed regardless of their linear position respective to their host (99). This latter prediction is engendered for two reasons: (i) EK_D-clauses are roots that engender assertions, and (ii) the truth of an EK_D-clause's host is never guaranteed (as such hosts are demonstrations, which can neither be true nor false). As the examples below demonstrate, each of these predictions is borne out.

(98) a) A: Ali [san-ıyor-um **ki**] okul-a git-ti.
Ali believe-PROG-1SG **ki** school-DAT go-PST
'Ali, *I believe*, went to school.'
b) A: Ali okul-a git-ti [san-ıyor-um **ki**].
Ali school-DAT go-PST believe-PROG-1SG **ki**
'Ali, *I believe*, went to school.'
B: # Bu doğru değil!
that true not
'That's not true!' (referring to the EK_A-clause in (98a–b))

(99) A: Ali [Hasan san-ıyor **ki**] okul-a git-ti.
Ali Hasan believe-PROG **ki** school-DAT go-PST
'Ali, *Hasan believes*, went to school.'

B: Bu doğru değil!
that true not
'That's not true!' (referring to the EK_D-clause)

To summarize §4.1–4.4: enclitic-*ki* is a postpositional head that *par*-Merges with its complement. The maximal projection of *ki* (KiP in (84)) then pair-Merges to its host, which is a root clause. EK-clauses come in two types, (i) those that adjoin to assertive hosts, and (ii) those that adjoin to demonstrative hosts. We called the former *EK_A-clauses* and the latter *EK_D-clauses*. We claimed that, while both are undominated adjuncts with respect to their external syntax, EK_A-clauses are non-roots whereas EK_D-clauses are roots.

4.5 EK-clauses and Germanic comment clauses

The reader will have noted from the English translations provided in §4.2–4.4 that we associate EK-clauses with Germanic *comment clauses*. Indeed, many similarities pertain between the two. Just like Turkish EK-clauses, comment clauses display scopelessness (see (3)), an inability to establish c-command relations (100a–b), interpolational freedom (100c), and an ability to adjoin to direct quoted demonstrations (100d).

(100) a) *Everyone$_i$ will, *she$_{k/*i}$ says*, find someone to love.
b) *Who$_1$ did John, t_1 *reckons*, kiss Mary?
c) (*I think*) John (*I think*) will (*I think*) kiss Mary (*I think*)
d) "I$_i$ will," *John$_i$ declared*, "rule the world one day."

Considering the correlation between EK-clauses and comment clauses (CCs), it is unsurprising that Griffiths (to appear(b)) proposes a syntax similar to (84) for CCs. We endorse this proposal, and maintain that EK-clauses are the Turkish counterpart of Germanic CCs, and that enclitic-*ki* is the realization of the covert, monovalent, propositional complement-selecting Par for which Griffiths argues. Thus, *ki* once again provides indirect support for the application of the *par*-Merge approach to parenthetical constructions in Germanic that resist introduction by a coordinator.

EK-clauses and comment clauses do display dissimilarities, however. While EK-clauses are constrained only according to the type of host clause that they modify (assertion vs. demonstration), English CCs are also constrained by their linear position: utterance-initial CCs display root properties that their medial and final counterparts do not, regardless of whether their hosts are assertions or demon-

strations. For instance, initial CCs may host speaker-oriented adverbs, while medial and final CCs cannot.

(101) a) *John* (*evidently*) *shouted* (*this*): "I have won the lottery!"
b) "I have," *John* (**evidently*) *shouted*, "won the lottery!"
c) "I have won the lottery," *John* (**evidently*) *shouted*.

For scholars like Banfield (1982), this dissimilarity in between initial and medial/final CCs is indicative of external syntactic variation. Due to space constraints, we can neither evaluate Banfield's proposal nor provide an explanation for why English CCs are subject to additional constraints that their Turkish counterparts are not. This must be left for future investigation. Important for us is that EK-clauses should be associated with CCs, and not with matrix clauses of finite subordination constructions, or with root clause conjuncts.

5 Conclusion

We argued that PK-clauses in Turkish and attributive appositions in Germanic are the second conjuncts of the parenthetical coordination of two root clauses. The coordinator, Par, is realized in Turkish as the lexeme *ki*, but is obligatorily null in Germanic. If *ki* is indeed Par's realization, one may stipulate that Par's morphological absence in Germanic does not indicate that *par*-Merge (in other words, syntactic integration of undominated units) must be discarded or even that its universality for modelling parataxis must be diminished. We suggest that an extraneous constraint blocks realization of the coordinator in Germanic clausal parenthetical coordination, which is *left-edge deletion*.

When PK-clauses and attributive appositions surface in a sentence-medial position, a reordering operation occurs, about whose exact nature we remained ambivalent. One may stipulate that the reordering applies at PF (as an instance of PF scrambling) or after spell-out to LF but before spell-out to PF. In any case, this operation must be invisible to the interpretation module.

Furthermore, we argued that *yani*-XPs in Turkish and identificational appositions in Germanic are the second conjuncts of the parenthetical coordination of two subclausal items. In Turkish and Germanic, the coordinator (Par) is realized overtly.

We argued that EK-clauses are parenthetically adjoined via *par*-Merge, which yields undominated adjunction. We showed that EK-clauses are structurally ambiguous in their internal syntax. While EK-clauses that adjoin to assertions lack

root clausal properties, specifically a Force projection, (akin to comment clauses in Germanic), EK-clauses that adjoin to demonstrations are root clauses that display a Force projection. This dichotomy is evidenced by differences in their linear distribution, prosodic realization, and their availability to host speaker oriented adverbs or to be targeted by generic responses and tags. Whether this ambiguity persists in Germanic comment clauses is an issue for future investigation.

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