

SEQUENCE
IN THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES
OF SPOKEN TURKISH

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to identify the principles governing sequence in Turkish by examining its syntactic structures.

Turkish syntax is here treated taxonomically and is seen as consisting of several levels which form a pyramid. At the base of this is Word-group level; above that, in order, are Clause, Sentence and Sentence-complex levels, Paragraph level being at the apex. Except for the topmost one, the Paragraph (which is only touched upon), in Chapters 1 to 4 the principal syntactic structures occurring at each of these levels are identified and examined in detail, the principles governing the sequence of their constituent parts being sought at the same time. The corpus used for this is, in the main, tape recordings of spontaneous speech; this type of material was preferred since it includes many markers of relationship - needed as criteria - not present in literary texts.

It is found that grammatical factors determine sequence in some structures but in many more it is contextual ones which exercise control. Included among the latter are the "signals" which are an integral part of Discourse; these and their effect upon syntactic structure are examined in Chapter 5.

The inclusion in the examination of the hitherto neglected higher levels reveals that the sequence traditionally held to be the basis of Turkish syntax, "qualifier precedes qualified", obtains only at the lowest, Word-group, level; at the highest ones (Sentence level and above), the reverse sequence occurs exclusively, while between, at Clause level, both are in operation, subject either to grammatical or contextual constraints or to both.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have been instrumental in the preparation of this study and it is possible to acknowledge my indebtedness to only a few of them.

It was C.S.Mundy, whose deep understanding of the Turkish language and inspired teaching first awakened my interest in Turkish syntax and prompted in me the urge to solve at least a few of its mysteries; this work is the first step along the path upon which he set my feet and my debt to him is great.

I should like to thank the many Turkish friends who invited me and my tape recorder into their sitting rooms and submitted without a murmur of protest to the ordeal of having even their most trivial remarks recorded, and who yet remain my friends. Without their willing co-operation this study could not have taken the form it has.

Other Turkish friends acted as informants - mostly unpaid; I thank them for responding so courteously and indeed cheerfully to frequent and doubtless wearisome interrogation.

The School of Oriental and African Studies provided not only the opportunities but also technical and financial assistance for the making of recordings in Turkey and for their transcription and analysis in England; without that help this study would have been impossible. I am grateful to its staff - technical, administrative and academic.

Of the last named, my supervisor, Mrs N. Waterson, has been an unfailing source of encouragement when the

spirit weakened - which was often, and I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude.

Finally, my parents have earned a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid, by their patience and understanding, their forbearance and their selfless support.

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SYMBOLS and ABBREVIATIONS

All symbols and abbreviations are explained as their use is introduced into the exposition; for convenient reference, however, the most commonly recurring ones are also given here.

In the representation of Suffixes:

- indicates that what follows without a space is a Suffix.

() indicates that the sound within is a "cushion".

an upper case letter subsumes the two or four alternants;

thus -D is -d or -t, -Ī is -i, -ī, -ĩ, -u, -E is -e or -a.

a lower case letter indicates the normal orthography.

/ written over another symbol indicates absence of the item over-written, viz. "non-".

S suffix.

IS inflectional suffix.

DS derivational suffix.

In the representation of syntactic Structures:

"either preceded or followed by".

+ "followed by".

Aj adjective.

Ay adverb.

AW attitude word.

C complement.

Cj conjunction.


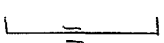
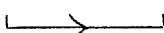
Cl clause.

Ct comment.

CW comment word.

E alone, this signifies "Filler"; in conjunction with Cl, it signifies "Finite".

N.	noun.
P	predicate.
Rp	response.
S	Sentence.
Sm	stimulus.
St	statement
V	verb.

Brackets  are used as in conventional Immediate Constituent analysis, with slight modifications. Thus  indicates co-ordination.  indicates an endocentric structure.

In the Illustrations:

- before a line of text indicates a different speaker; this is used only where two speakers are quoted.
- () when enclosing the whole of a speech, indicates that the speaker is non-Turkish.
- { preceding two lines of speech, one above the other, indicates that they are simultaneous (like notes on a musical stave).
- indicates that speech is in progress but the actual words of the utterance are immaterial.
- ++ preceding or following a quotation indicates further speech by the same person, i.e. that quotation is not an isolate utterance.
- ... indicates hesitation.
- / primary stress
- ** after the number of the illustration indicates that the passage in question has been taken from a literary work, not from the corpus on tape, which provides the bulk of the examples.

In the English translation only:

- () when enclosing a word or phrase, indicates that the item so enclosed has been supplied to render the translation more idiomatic.
- (()) indicates that the word or phrase inclosed is present in a word-for-word translation of the Turkish but should be omitted for a more idiomatic rendering.

UPPER case letters are sometimes used for words or phrases to which particular attention is drawn.

SEQUENCE
IN THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES
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INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of the syntactic structures of Turkish, made with the object of identifying the principles which govern sequence in that language.

Sequence, recognised to be one possible exponent of structure¹, is sometimes said to be considerably used as such in predominantly non-inflecting languages such as English, where "word-order" is therefore "fixed", but less so in predominantly inflecting ones such as Latin, where word-order is therefore "free".² This might lead one to expect word-order to be free in Turkish, for that language is classed as an inflecting, specifically an agglutinative, one, in which function is indicated by means of suffixes. Yet, if the explicit pronouncements of traditional grammarians and the implicit assumptions of general linguists are given their full weight, the conclusion reached would be that word-order (and clause-order also) in Turkish, far from being free, is in fact fixed, with just a few obstinate, or careless, Turks refusing to conform. This is the impression given by the adoption of certain sequences as "normal" or "correct" and the relegation of others to footnotes or a paragraph or two of exceptions, by preoccupation with form while at the same time failing to notice that the "uses" listed for each form are not in fact complete, and

p.28

1. Cf. Halliday et al.(1964)¹ for instance. Details of the works referred to in the footnotes are given in the Bibliography.

2. Cf. Lyons (1969) p.76.

by the failure to recognise even the existence of most of the relationships which are not indicated by form.

For indeed very many, perhaps most, of the syntactic relationships in Turkish are not marked by suffix: at Word-group¹ level only a small minority of the elements (words) involved is so marked, at Clause level the "grammatical subject", the "adverb" and the "unspecified direct object" are not; at Sentence level only the "complex sentence" having a subordinate adverb clause (which is marked by suffix) is recognised², whereas several other types (which exhibit parataxis) can be identified, as can even larger structures for which two higher levels have to be postulated.

In short, in Turkish, a 'classic' example of an agglutinating language, the marking of grammatical relationships by suffix is wholly absent at the higher levels of structure (that is, at Sentence level and above) and largely absent at the lowest level (Word-group level); almost its whole occurrence is at Clause level and even there is not present in all cases.

-
1. The term "Word-group" is used here in preference to "Phrase", in order to avoid confusion with Swift's use of the latter, subsuming several of the "levels" postulated here (Swift, 1963).
 2. Traditional terminology, indicated by the use of lower case initial letters, is used throughout this Introduction, since any new interpretation requires explanation. In fact, the "complex sentence" mentioned is not classed as a "sentence" at all in this study, but as an "Expanded Clause".

Capital initial letters indicate classes re-defined in this study and used in the Introduction with that specific connotation.

If such suffix-markers of function as do exist are taken as evidence, does the proposition that word-order (and clause-order) is free where an overt suffix-marker is present stand up to scrutiny? Certainly all clause units bearing an overt suffix may either precede or follow their Head (i.e. the verb), and so-called "subordinate adverb clauses" (which also have an overt suffix) also either precede or follow their Head (i.e. the "principal clause"). But this one-to-one relationship between suffix and freedom of position does not hold good when the clause unit has no overt marker, for, although the "unspecified direct object" does occupy a fixed position relative to its Head (the verb), the "grammatical subject" and the "adverb" do not.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that at Clause level, where the overtly suffix-marked units are in fact positionally free, both traditional grammarians and general linguists, the one explicitly, the other implicitly, accept one of the positions they occupy relative to the Head, the verb, as the "norm"; a clause with such a sequence, i.e. qualifier + Head (Head = the verb)¹ is usually called "kurallı"² ('according to the rule', 'regular') whereas one having the other sequence, in which the verb is not placed last, is viewed as at best a "variant"³, at worst aberrant, abnormal, and dubbed "devrik" ('inverted'). The following

-
1. Throughout this study the sign "+" is to be read "followed by".
 2. Non-English words are underlined in the exposition.
 3. Swift, 1963, p.210.

pronouncements, taken from the whole range of works on Turkish grammar, leave one in no doubt:

"... Second law (loi).- In a word group, every secondary element is placed before the principal element. In other terms, all words which complete the sense of another word are placed before it."¹

"In a syntactic structure in Turkish the placing of the principal element after the secondary element is a law (kanun)."²

"The cardinal rule is that the qualifier precedes the qualified; i.e. the adjective, participle, or qualifying noun precedes the noun; the adverb or complement precedes the verb; the modifying phrase or adverb precedes the adjective."³

"The subject is placed before the predicate ... Each verbal form is put at the end of the group to which it belongs, since it is placed after its complement and after its subject."⁴

-
1. Deny (1921), p.732. This is the first really comprehensive work on Turkish grammar and is still the source of much that is published, especially in Turkish - as the next quotation illustrates.
 2. Bilgegil (1964), p.51.
 3. Lewis (1967), p.239.
 4. Deny (1921), p.733.

"In the natural formation of sentences in Turkish the verb is the element mentioned last."¹

"... the predicate segment ... forms the final comment of the clause."²

"In Turkish the completing (tümleyici) and qualifying (belirtici) words come before the main words. Just as in noun and adjective groups, so also in sentences, modifiers (tümleç) come before the verb."³

"Conforming to the principle that the main (asıl) element comes after the dependent (tali) one, the verb, which is the main element of the clause, always occurs at the end."⁴

"In regular sentences the subordinate clauses come before the principal clauses."⁵

"This principle of preceding qualification underlies every relationship and syntactic combination, from the simplest to the most complex. It

1. Bilgegil (1964), p.51.

2. Swift (1963), p.179.

3. Gencen (1966), p.74.

4. Ergin (1962), p.377.

5. Gencen (1966), p.89.

is the basic principle, and indeed the only real structural principle, of Turkish syntax. All other principles are either, on the one hand, direct consequences of the system of preceding qualification, or, on the other hand, modifying factors or external influences which limit the rigid operation of this system."¹

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1. Mundy (1955), p.281. This article, although written 20 years ago, remains the only published attempt to find the principles underlying the Turkish system of syntax so as to accommodate the "inverted" as well as the "regular" sequence; this is perhaps some measure of the difficulty of the subject.

Ergin (1962), Bilgegil (1964) and Gencan (1966), quoted from above, are typical of the grammars written for Turkish university students, while Gencan (1964), quoted from below, although intended for high school pupils, differs little from Gencan (1966). Like Deny (1921), in French, they deal mainly with morphology, labelling of the "parts of speech" and with parsing. Lewis (1967) follows a similar approach, although his book is the most comprehensive of all, since it draws upon all previously published work. Swift (1963), unlike the others mentioned a general linguist, covers some of the same ground (i.e. he deals only with the simpler constructions); he sets up a classification of phrase structures arrived at by immediate constituent analysis. The result is very little different from the work of philologists, except in terminology, and it omits much.

Two other works not quoted from should be mentioned for the sake of completeness: Meskill (1970) follows a transformational approach; he, too, seems to assume the "prescribed" word order, since he specifically mentions only "emphatic word order"; Sebüktekin's little work (1971) deals only with morphology.

The implication - made explicit in some - is that the Qualifier+Head sequence is not only the more common, the more important one, but the principle which dominates Turkish syntax as a whole. That the latter is not true will become clear in the course of the following pages; even the correctness of the first - normally not doubted - is open to question, particularly if the whole language, every structural level of it, every style of it, is taken into consideration. It is only at Word-group level that it can be held to be a "ruling principle", for there, in all cases but one, sequence is fixed, and fixed in that order. At Clause level and in the "complex sentence" mentioned above, the Head (i.e. respectively the verb and the principal clause) frequently does not follow the Qualifier but precedes it. Despite this, the Qualifier+Head sequence is presumed to be "regular" and superior to the other to such an extent that all writers on Turkish - all Turkish grammarians except Ediskun¹ and all non-Turkish philologists and general linguists except Mundy - restrict mention of this so-called "inverted" order to a mere page or two at the most out of a total of perhaps 300 or 400.

Turkish grammarians indeed, with the exception mentioned, content themselves with an attempt to explain away this

1. Ediskun in the main has the usual Turkish grammarian's approach, but he differs from the rest in refusing to call the "inverted" order "wrong". In Ediskun (1959) he pleads for serious investigation of this type of sentence and in Ediskun (1963) makes an attempt himself; unfortunately, this goes no further than listing the clause units which can follow the verb and identifying one which cannot (see p. 86 below).

"inverted" order as an exceptional form to be found in a few abnormal circumstances: it is to be tolerated as "poetic licence"^{1,2} or as "a stylistic device to prevent monotony"¹; to be excused as "due to haste, which results in the words popping out in the order in which the thoughts and meanings occur to the speaker"³ or because it is uttered "at moments of crisis, excitement or deep emotion"^{3,5} circumstances in which "one says what occurs to one first, and upon realizing that it is deficient, completes it by appending something"³; it is to be deplored as a "personal idiosyncrasy or quirk (şahsî fantazi) of certain writers"¹ or as "a sign of the slipshod nature (ihmalkârlık 'neglectfulness') of everyday speech"¹ or as "ignorance of the language" by Turks⁵ or as "an indication of confusion"⁵; it is to be explained as being "a sign of foreign influence"⁶ or even as "an indication that the speaker is in fact a foreigner"^{1,4}. Or it is to be

-
1. Bilgegil (1964), p.52. 2. Gencan (1966), p.89.
 3. Gencan (1966), p.76. 4. Gencan (1964), p.74 but not Gencan (1966). It is possible that the writers are including the native minority groups under this head, i.e. the Armenians, Greeks and the (Judæo-Spanish-speaking) Jews. It is important to note, however, that all these speak Indo-European languages, to which this principle of preceding qualification taken to the length it is in Turkish is alien.
 5. N.S.Banarlı in Hürriyet Gazetesi (24 Oct. 1959) quoted in Ediskun (1959).
 6. Zajaczkowski, quoted in Mundy (1955), p.299; A.Ateş in Türk Dili No.28, vol.III, quoted in Ediskun (1959). Both specify Arabic as the foreign language. This attribution of "inverted" order to Arabic influence is not supported either by Mundy or Ediskun, or by Banarlı.

ignored altogether¹ "in the hope that it will go away", as Lewis so amusingly puts it². Or it is "a Communist plot"!³

But the "inverted" sentence is far more common and far more significant than the strangeness and diversity of these reasons might suggest: not only is it extremely widespread in speech but it is becoming increasingly so in prose writings - from which, in fact, it has never been absent⁴; it is indeed deserving of more attention than it has received on grounds of very frequency alone. Yet among Turkish grammarians only Ediskun treats it as seriously as he does the other⁵, while Mundy's perceptive article of 1955 is the sole contribution of non-Turkish philologists and general linguists to the problem.

How has it come about that this Qualifier+Head sequence has been granted a more honourable status than the other? Perhaps partly because it is the only one explicable in terms of the accepted system of syntax, but partly because that system is based upon the language of prose - and the formal, "chancery" style of prose at that - which is particularly disastrous in Turkish, for the difference in modern Turkish between the written language of the older generation on the one hand, and the written language of the younger generation

1. As in Ergin (1962).
2. Lewis (1967), p.242.
3. This is asserted in an article in Türk Düşüncesi (No.3, vol.10) quoted in Ediskun (1959).
4. Mundy (1955), p.299; Ediskun (1959), and (1963) p.363.
5. Ediskun (1959; 1963).

and the spoken language of all on the other is great. As Mundy points out¹: "This concentration upon the written word has had a most serious effect upon Turkish syntactical studies. Modern Turkish prose" (of the older generation, that is) "is a very special development, in which the basic structural principle of the language" (by which he means the principle of preceding qualification) "is exploited to the utmost and all other factors excluded." The result has been the development of the 'periodic sentence', in which the "grammatical subject" is placed first, the "verb" last, and all the qualifying elements, be they single words or word-groups or the equivalent of the English relative clause or several of these, are placed between them. "It is an eccentric or at least a one-sided development, and the view of Turkish syntax based upon it is incomplete and distorted."

Elsewhere Mundy amplifies this²: "this rigid system of preceding qualifiers and added relation-particles³ has imposed severe limitations on the development of Turkish ... It has no genuine relative clause (which is an appended qualifier) ... (This fact has) been considered a great peculiarity but is the logical result of the structure of the language. In the case of the written language this and other difficulties have been overcome by the evolution of very complicated constructions, much too involved for ordinary speech. The spoken language, on the other hand, makes great use of mere subsequence of groups, the relations being

1. Mundy (1955), p.279.

2. Mundy (1959).

3. Suffixes.

implied but not expressed grammatically, and it also allows itself great freedom (but not complete lawlessness) in word-order. There is thus a considerable difference between spoken and written Turkish."

Unfortunately, general linguists, none of whom had attempted any substantial description of Turkish syntax at the time Mundy was writing, have used no less limited a corpus than the philologists to whom he is referring.¹ Swift, for instance, makes no mention of having continuous speech available in a permanent form, i.e. on tape; indeed he seems to have taken his examples of the spoken language from short stories and plays² which were "selected as a sufficient sampling of modern colloquial texts likely to contain orthographic representations of the spoken language" - a naive view of literary style indeed.³

Moreover, general linguists, like philologists, select from this already limited corpus a unit that is too small to reveal all the relationships identifiable.⁴ For, as Halliday points out⁵: "The basic unit of language is not a word

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1. Indeed, they have used a much more limited one, having excluded the really "difficult" constructions, which the philologists do at least make an attempt to explain.
 2. Swift (1963), pp.1-2.
 3. Cf., for instance, Abercrombie (1965).
 4. Even Swift, although he does speak of the "phonological utterance" in practice uses the sentence.
 5. Halliday (1970), pp. 160-1.

or a sentence but a 'text'; and the 'textual component' in language is the set of options by means of which a speaker or writer is enabled to create texts - to use language in a way that is relevant to the context."

Philologist and general linguist alike, by using prose¹, encountered in the Clause and the "complex sentence" a preponderance of the sequence Qualifier+Head, which is so clearly identifiable in the Word-group; further, by restricting their analysis to the smaller structures (of which the "complex sentence" is the largest), that is, by restricting their analysis to the lower levels of structure, they have failed to notice the non-occurrence of that sequence at higher levels and have consequently pronounced this sequence to be the "basic principle of Turkish syntax". Unable to account for the "inverted" sequence except in the terms just quoted, i.e. unable to fit it into the general scheme, and finding it much rarer than the other, they have naturally deemed it an "exceptional", instead of what it demonstrably is, an "optional" form. Moreover, they have failed to notice that in the Word-group (and in the "unspecified object + verb" and "Complement + verb" groups of the Clause) the relationship is marked not by suffix but by fixity of sequence while with the remaining clause units the reverse is true, i.e. the relationship is marked by suffix not by fixity of sequence.

This, then, is one of the points to be made in the pre-

1. Moreover, the prose they use is, in the main, that of the older generation.

sent study: that the sequence Qualifier+Head is not the one "basic principle of Turkish syntax"; it is not a "law", or even a "rule" (kural) of the language as a whole but applies, with two exceptions, at Word-group level only and accordingly it is the misapplication of a feature belonging to one level of structure to another where it is redundant that has resulted in the treatment of what is properly only one of two alternants as the only "correct" or "regulär" one.

Another point to be investigated is this: that absence of suffix is associated with presence of some other marker, usually fixity of sequence. Structures which exemplify this principle are in fact found at every level: it is seen just as clearly at the higher syntactic levels as at the lowest, for the Word-group is not the only structure not to be marked by suffix. Even with little earlier work to use as a starting point¹, it has proved possible to identify new sentence types and structures larger than the Sentence, by using other criteria to replace the absent suffix marker: lexical, semantic, suprasegmental and contextual features have been used; positional ones also, though not, of course, sequential in the first instance, since their identification was the object of the exercise.²

It was fixity of sequence that emerged as the true marker of relationship, but the most significant point of all is this: the fixed sequence of the higher levels is not

1. The only one, in fact, is Mundy (1955).

2. Campbell and Wales (1970) draw attention to the value of the inclusion of contextual matters to widen the concept of "grammaticality" (p.249). See also Halliday (1970).

Qualifier+Head but its reverse, Head+Qualifier. Now this is a discovery of some moment, for from it arises the problem of how to reconcile two opposing sequences within one language: how indeed can a sequence occur which is the very reverse of that put forward as a "law" and "the basic principle of syntax" - and which is undoubtedly present?

One clue to this lies in one ^{of the} facile-looking explanations given on page 18, and used by Mundy also to account for certain constructions that he postulates: "We say first what is uppermost in our minds, or what occurs to us first at the moment of speaking; and we append afterthoughts and add explanations ... Surely a universal linguistic phenomenon." ⁴ This corresponds to the psycholinguist's "monitoring" or "editing"¹; and there is no doubt that a sequence of "imprecise = more precise" or "stat^ement + modification", as Laver suggests², is easily recognisable in Turkish speech. There are many examples of its various structural manifestations in the following pages, and such a sequence might indeed be expressed as Head+Qualifier.

This could explain how a sequence which is the opposite of the "regular" one comes about; it does not explain why it does. Mundy again³: "Whereas in the written language the sentence is elastic, and is developed by internal expansion, in spoken speech the short rigid sentence pattern resists this kind of development. There is a tendency for the sentence pattern to be kept intact, and for qualifying material to be added at the end."

1. Laver (1970), p.62.

2. Laver (1970), p.74.

3. Mundy (1955), p.303.

4. Mundy (1955), p.300.

If this is what lies behind the production of "inverted" sentences, then their occurrence points to an incompatibility between the sequence inherent in the principle of preceding qualification which underlies "regular" (more correctly, "low level") syntactic patterns and the processes involved in oral composition¹. For to compose orally a structure consisting of several clauses, arrange not only these clauses themselves but also the elements within them into a Qualifier+Head sequence without repetition, hesitation, revision and the like is a feat which seems to be beyond most - perhaps all - Turkish speakers. It is a feat not required in English, for instance, where any number of relative clauses can be appended to the main clause which is uttered first.² resulting in a sentence which is "regular" in form even though it was built up "step by step". The supposed Turkish system, however, requires a prior knowledge of the whole content (for the important part is placed last) as well as the time to plan its linguistic expression in its entirety before uttering it, which is rarely available in any kind of speech situation.

It seems, therefore, that a type of synt^{ax} which permits planning and monitoring, that is, one which has a Head+Qualifier sequence (as in the English sequence of principal clause + relative clause, or the noun phrase series quoted in Lyons²) will produce sentences in spontaneous speech which are considered "regular", whereas one which does not permit that sequence (as in so-called "regular"

1. Laver (1970), p.62.

2. Lyons (1969), p.233, where the principle is illustrated by means of noun phrases.

Turkish) will not. Thus in spoken Turkish there is a conflict between the prescribed and the practicable, and the existence of the sequence Head+Qualifier (which is without exception the sequence of the higher level structures - and not only those of speech) shows that Turkish does in fact use the practicable one as the overall sequence, the "regular" Qualifier+Head sequence being confined to the constituent parts - to the 'bricks', as it were, of which the structure is built up.

This is an interesting confirmation of the assertion of Halliday et al.¹ that "... translation ... often entails a change in the sequence of units up to the clause, but rarely entails or even permits a change in the sequence of sentences", for Turkish sequence at Word-group level, which is the one dealt with by the grammars, is the opposite of that of English in the main, while at Sentence level and above it is the same as that of English.

That the postulated sequence of statement + modifier (a realisation of Head+Qualifier) is not mere speculation can be demonstrated when contexts, both linguistic and situational are examined, for these yield evidence of factors governing a speaker's choice of exponents for his utterance. This is shown in Chapter 5, where it becomes apparent that the choice is made in response to certain determining factors occurring in the preceding linguistic context. These are Mundy's "external influences".² It is thus the context of

1. Halliday et al. (1964), p.26.

2. See p.16 above.

situation that determines the differences between the spoken and written languages, rendering what is "correct" in one inappropriate in the other.¹ It is this that accounts for the speaker's opting for the "regular" or for the "inverted" sequence for a clause or "complex sentence": each is appropriate and therefore "correct" in a certain linguistic environment; therefore, given adequate understanding of the preceding context, the choice of sequence, and also of structure, ought to be predictable - and even, to a limited extent, some of the exponent^s, as seen in Chapter 5. For "one aspect of textual function is the establishment of cohesive relations from one sentence to another in a discourse"² and therefore "much of what we say is constrained, in important ways, by the particular circumstances in which we are speaking or writing."³

By taking as the basis for analysis the whole context, new constraining factors, new relationships and new structures have been revealed.⁴ First it proved necessary to reject the traditional view of Turkish syntax as a system of only

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1. The "Multiple Unit structures" first discussed in Chapter 3 are striking examples of this.

Although it is not the purpose of this study to compare the two styles of language, the differences are touched upon in passing.

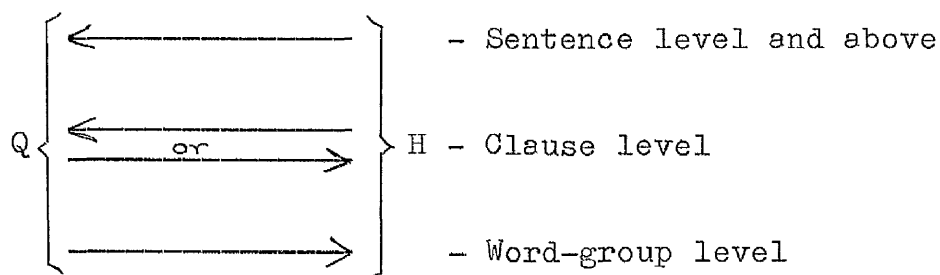
2. Halliday (1970), p.143. 3. Campbell and Wales (1970), p.247-8.
4. Halliday (1970), p.165 also refers to relating "the internal patterns of language - its underlying options, and their realisation in structure - to the demands that are made on language in the actual situations in which it is used."

preceding qualifiers and this revealed the need for a re-appraisal of all the syntactic structures of the language, which in turn led to the setting up of a new system. The result, based upon an examination of Immediate Constituents and the possibilities for substitution and combination, is a view of Turkish syntax as a pyramid which has as its apex the Paragraph (only touched upon in this study)¹, and below that, in order, the levels of the Sentence-complex, the Sentence, the Clause and the Word-group. The base of the pyramid, the Word, is not dealt with here, being sufficiently described in the literature.

This pyramid structure, it is believed, reveals the very striking "rank-shifting" propensities of Turkish more economically and more clearly than either the traditional morphological approach or Swift's linear phrase structure one which recognises only levels of "nesting" within each sentence and does not relate these levels to those occurring in any other sentence. Moreover, it permits the incorporation of two opposing sequences, apparently conflicting but seen in fact to operate independently of each other on different levels, in a manner that could be represented

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1. This is not the equivalent of Swift's "utterance", for that is a "phonological" unit whereas my "Paragraph" is grammatical. A Paragraph may extend over more than one utterance (see p. 233 below).
 2. Or "ranks".

thus:¹



in which the flow of speech is always towards the arrow-head.

The materials used cover the widest range practicable, as befits a study of syntax, and, because the factors governing a speaker's reaction to context can most easily be observed in the situation which precludes the possibility of revision before utterance, the corpus used consists primarily of tape recordings of unrehearsed spoken Turkish, but backed up by a familiarity with the literary language and with earlier forms of the language. Only material on tape provides both the segmental components of the structures and all those signals - suprasegmental and situational - which are lacking in writing.²

The taped material consists of extempore conversations between two, four or six participants and also some pseudo-monologue.³ It runs some 16 hours. Of this, passages totalling about one hour's playing time were analysed in

-
1. "Q" represents "Qualifier", "H" "Head".
 2. Visual signals are absent, of course, but as the writer was present at every recording some of these can be supplied.
 3. "Pseudo" because I have found no situation in which the speaker is not responsive to the listener and whose exposition is not therefore affected (structurally) by the discourse situation.

depth, noting for the purpose of identification of relationships¹ intonation, juncture prosodies, exponents of prominence (not only stress but also loudness and speed) as well as segmental and more narrowly "grammatical" features. The rest provided confirmation and examples more suitable for quotation.

The participants include both men and women; all speak versions of what may be described as "standard (Istanbul) Turkish". They range in age from the seventies to the teens and in linguistic prowess from the highly articulate to the almost inarticulate, and they produce both rapid exchanges and passages of more sustained speech - exposition and narrative. There is thus a wide range of styles ("registers") and competence², although in all the attitude of "respect" is present.³ At one extreme is a professor of literature who was also a writer and a practised and accomplished raconteur.⁴ At the other is a timid (not to say brow-beaten) housewife accustomed to being "seen but not heard", so unaccustomed to sustained speech as to be almost incapable of forming a "correct" structure of any length - although considered "cultured". Most of the dozen or more speakers, however, fall somewhere

-
1. But regrettably not for the present exposition, from which most suprasegmental features have had to be excluded for the sake of brevity.
 2. This word is used in its general, not its technical, sense.
 3. This attitude is discussed in Chapter 5.
 4. That is to say, he told stories which he had told many times before, so that, although the telling on this occasion is "spontaneous", arising as it does out of the flow of conversation, without prior warning, it is a "practised" narration.

between these extremes and about midway comes the young woman whose conversation (mainly about cookery) was subjected to the most intensive analysis of all. This tape was the one eventually selected for detailed study, despite the other participant (the present writer) not being a native speaker of the language, for this reason: the latter, though wishing to remain silent, found herself obliged to speak - to encourage, to act as interlocutor when the other flagged; she therefore knows at least her own motives for giving utterance, i.e. knows what it was in the context that prompted her to do so. It was decided that such knowledge is vital in discourse analysis and as it was in this case first hand it could provide a basis of fact upon which to found assumptions about the motives of others. The fear that the presence of a non-native may have produced concessions, simplifications in the speech of the native can be shown not to have been substantiated.¹

The results of the analysis of this corpus are set out as follows: each level is examined in turn - Word-group, Clause, Sentence, Sentence-complex - and structures are

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1. There is three-fold evidence for this: (a) other native speakers of Turkish judge her speech to be "natural"; (b) the structures, etc., she uses can be found used by Turks speaking to their compatriots; (c) she uses certain forms indicating "familiarity" which do not occur in formal, more "self-conscious" speech.

identified, described and classified. Each recurs at higher levels, as an exponent of a constituent of a larger structure. Only internal evidence is used in the first instance, since this proved to be sufficient for the recognition of structures¹ and to go some way towards accounting for sequence within them. The factors governing those sequences found not to be explicable by internal evidence are then sought in the largest context of all, that is, in discourse.

1. Indeed, it has proved possible to account for all except very few of the structures using the visual evidence only, i.e. that which can be seen in the orthographic representation of the speech; this has simplified the task of exposition and has made unnecessary the inclusion of most suprasegmental features. This is fortunate, since the lack of any adequate description of Turkish intonation, stress, etc., would have necessitated a full account here.

CHAPTER ONECOMBINATION AND SEQUENCE AT WORD-GROUP LEVEL,AND AT CLAUSE LEVEL-1: THE SIMPLE CLAUSE

In any study of sequence it is first necessary to establish the extent to which sequence is grammatically determined and therefore invariable, and the extent to which it is free and therefore optional. Taking "grammatical" in the widest sense, it has been found that in Turkish both possibilities occur at every level of structure. Accordingly, each level will be examined in turn, beginning with the lowest, Word-group, level since the principles of combination are most easily observed in these, the smallest, structures; when those whose sequence is grammatically determined have been identified and set aside, reasons will be sought for the selection of sequence in the remainder.

WORD-GROUP LEVEL

The Word-groups of Turkish have long been recognised and are to be found in every grammar and text-book of the language, usually incidental to a description of the "parts of speech" or of phrase structure.¹ Since they are well-known, it is possible to be selective here, choosing for discussion only those which demonstrate those general principles

1. For instance, in Lewis (1967) and Swift (1963). It is to these two works that references are given in the following pages.

of combination (specifically, of qualification) found to operate also at higher levels.¹ Three nominal Word-groups have been found sufficient for this.² The method of treatment is that adopted for every level, that is, the structures are examined first in their basic, or simple, form, then in their expanded forms.

THE SIMPLE WORD-GROUP:

In its simple, that is, basic or unexpanded form, a Word-group has a single word³ as exponent of each of its constituent parts.

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1. The "postpositional phrase" (Lewis, pp.85-95, Swift, pp. 199-204), for instance, illustrates a principle which does not appear in structures larger than the Word-group and can therefore be excluded.
 2. Verbal groups are not so useful for this purpose because the status of the verb itself is open to argument; e.g. a contention that Turkish does not possess the class "verb" at all can be supported, as can one which asserts that the "verb" belongs to a higher level of structure than the noun. The latter is the view taken in this study.
 3. "Word" is here defined as any morpheme or group of morphemes which is written separately in the ordinary orthography. There are two classes of word: those which must include an inflexional suffix ("IS") and those which cannot do so; when their root is nominal they are symbolised N^{-S} and N^{-Ø} respectively. Words in the first class function as Nouns (nouns substantive), those in the second as Non-heads only: i.e. as Adjective ("Aj") when qualifying a Noun Head, and Adverbs ("Av") when qualifying a Verb Head.

Each of the Word-groups selected for discussion consists of a Noun¹ Head and a Non-head (or Qualifier). The Word-groups are differentiated by the markers each employs to indicate the relationship between their constituent parts. Suffixation is the device traditionally used as the distinguishing feature and may therefore be taken here as a convenient point at which to start the exposition.

Word-groups are firstly differentiated by the form of the Noun Head: either

- (i) the Noun Head bears an explicit derivational suffix², namely $-(s)I(n)$ ³, or
- (ii) it does not.

These two types of Noun Head are symbolised " $N^{-(s)I(n)}$ " and " $N^{-(\emptyset)I(\emptyset)}$ " respectively.

The Word-groups are further differentiated by the form

-
1. "Noun" is that class of nominal which requires IS for its operation: it bears an explicit IS or a meaningful absence of an explicit IS. This suffixation is discussed in full later in this chapter.
 2. Derivation suffix, symbolised "DS", is one of the two types of suffix in Turkish, the other being the IS mentioned earlier. A Noun or a Verb consists of three parts: (i) the Root (Noun Root and Verb Root respectively), to which is attached (ii) any number of DS (including none) taken from the Nominal or the Verbal series of DS respectively, thus forming a Stem; to this Stem is attached (iii) one, and only one, IS, taken from the Nominal or the Verbal series of IS respectively.
 3. $-(s)I(n)$ is one member of the 5-member set of DS indicating "possession", that for the 3rd person ("its"). See Lewis p.39, Swift p.130. For the symbolisation used, see above, p.7.

of the Non-heads. Those having the second, $N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}$, as Head are of two kinds, distinguished by the class of word which functions as the Non-head in the group:

- (i) the Non-head is $N^{\cancel{s}}$ (specifically Adjective ("Aj")¹);
- (ii) the Non-head is N^{-S} but $N^{-\cancel{X}\cancel{s}}$ (that is, a formal Noun without any member of the class IS).

Since (ii) belongs to a restricted class, and since the Word-group formed with it, $\underbrace{N^{-\cancel{X}\cancel{s}} N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}}$, has no analogy at a higher level of structure, it need not be discussed further here.²

The other, (i), however, is important for the argument; this Word-group is symbolised "Aj $\underbrace{N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}}$ " and is referred to hereafter as "pattern A Word-group":

(A) The Aj $\underbrace{N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}}$ (pattern A) Word-group:

(1)

bir kilo

one kilo

1. For the class "adjective" see Lewis, p.53, Swift, p.188-9.

2. It should be illustrated, however, since it does occur in the examples quoted in this study. There are two sub-groups:

(i) iki kilo biber 'two kilos of pepper(s)'; in this the $N^{-\cancel{X}\cancel{s}}$ (kilo) belongs to the class "quantity" which is always qualified. This phrase is thus structurally Aj $\underbrace{N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})} + \cancel{X}\cancel{s}}_{N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}}$.

(ii) kâğıt peçete 'paper napkin'; in this the $N^{-\cancel{X}\cancel{s}}$ belongs to the class "material" and need not be qualified. The group is thus $\underbrace{N^{-\cancel{X}\cancel{s}} N^{-(\cancel{s})\cancel{X}(\cancel{n})}}$. Cf. Lewis p.42, Swift p.188.

In both, the members are juxtaposed in a fixed sequence.

(2)

güzel şey

nice thing

(3)

o yazı

that writing

(4)

ne kadar

what quantity?

(5)

kara biber

black pepper

(6)

karişık¹ bahar

mixed spice

(7)

yeşil¹ soğan

green onion

-
1. DS (derivational suffixes) are of two kinds: those which have been used and may still be used as word-building elements to create new items in the lexicon, and those which are in constant use for making new forms for the use of the moment. Into the first class fall the -İk of karişık (cf. Lewis p.221, Swift pp.82-3) and the -İl of yeşil (which are respectively deverbal and denominal adjective-building suffixes) and the -î of nazarî (see next page) which is like the latter but Arabic (cf. Lewis p.53, 65). Into the second class fall the -lı of limonlu (see next page) (cf. Lewis p.60, Swift pp.56-59) and the -ki of şimdiki (see next page) (cf. Lewis pp.69-70, Swift p.138) which enable any Noun and Adverb of Time respectively to be operated adjectivally in a given context. This second

- continued on next page:

(8)

nazarî¹ ders

theoretical lesson

(9)

limonlu¹ su

water with lemon in it

("lemon-y water")

(10)

şimdiki¹ halde²

in its present state

These examples reveal that only one sequence of members occurs, $Aj + N^{-(\text{ş})\text{X}(\text{N})}$ 3, which in traditional terms is "Qualifier followed by Head". Pattern A may thus be more precisely symbolised: $Aj + N^{-(\text{ş})\text{X}(\text{N})}$.

Word-groups having $N^{-(\text{s})\text{X}(\text{n})}$ as Head always have as their Non-head member a Noun (i.e. $N^{-\text{S}}$), sometimes called "a qualifying noun". Two such groups occur, differentiated

1. (continued from the previous page:)

type is here called a "Subordinating Suffix", since it reduces the Root to which it is attached from Head to Non-head; it will be seen that this type of suffix is analogous to the suffix marking a "subordinate" clause. Ajs bearing a Subordinating Suffix (DS) will be referred to as "derived" adjectives in this study, the other type will have no epithet. In the following pages these two types will have to be differentiated since the class of word which qualifies each is different. At this stage, however, it is sufficient to realise that both are Adjectives.

2. The last syllable of halde (-de) is IS.

3. "+" is to be read "followed by".

by the suffixation of the Non-head:

- (i) the Non-head bears the IS " $-(n)In$ "¹ and this is attached to a Stem which may have one (or more) overt DS (or none); it might therefore be symbolised " $N-DS+-(n)In$ ";
- (ii) the Non-head does not bear the IS " $-(n)In$ "; moreover the Stem may not have any DS except $-lEr$ (DS indicating plurality). This might therefore be symbolised " $N-\emptyset\emptyset+-(\emptyset)\emptyset\emptyset$ ".

However, it has not been found necessary to refer again to the DS/ $\emptyset\emptyset$ contrast and as its absence simplifies the symbolisation it will be omitted. These two Non-heads are therefore symbolised " $N-(n)In$ " and " $N-(\emptyset)\emptyset\emptyset$ " respectively.

The two Word-groups are thus $\underbrace{N-(n)In}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N-(s)I(n)}_{\rightarrow}$ and $\underbrace{N-(\emptyset)\emptyset\emptyset}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N-(s)I(n)}_{\rightarrow}$ respectively. They are now illustrated but in the reverse order, since the latter more closely resembles the Word-group already described.

1. $-(n)In$ (cf. Swift p.135) is classed here as an IS because it forms part of the set of IS's of the nominal series (i.e., those which are attached to Noun Stems) whose members are mutually exclusive: $-DE$, $-DEn$, $-(y)E$, $-(y)I$ or $-(\emptyset)\emptyset$ (all of which will be discussed later) and $-(n)In$ ("genitive" or "possessor", which also indicates "definiteness" (cf. Lewis p.41 ff.; 28 ff. where all these suffixes are listed as "case-endings", and given as a paradigm). $-(n)In$ differs from the others, however, in being only part of a discontinuous morpheme. (See also Swift p.207).

(B) The N^{-(n)İn} N^{-(s)İ(n)} (pattern B) Word-group:¹

(11)

zeytinyağı² olive-oil

(12)

kadın mantosu lady's coat (i.e. a type of coat)

It will be observed that the sequence is N^{-(n)İn} + N^{-(s)İ(n)} (Qualifier followed by Head) and the symbolisation will be adjusted accordingly.

(C) The N^{-(n)İn} N^{-(s)İ(n)} (pattern C) Word-group:³

(13)

türkçe İN kibarlığı the nobility of Turkish

(14)

gözüm ÜN önünde in front of my eye(s)

(15)

bunlar İN hepsi⁴ all of these/them

1. Capital letters in the Turkish text indicate a suffix or other element to which attention is to be directed.

2. Cf. Lewis p.42 ff., Swift pp.130-1, 195.

3. Cf. Lewis p.42 ff., Swift pp. 135, 207, 194.

4. Formerly hepsi (see Lewis p.75).

5. (From p.41) Originally ben-in; that is, the suffix is an allomorph of -(n)İn, not the 1st person possessive DS -(İ)m (see Swift p.41).

(16)

$$\underbrace{\text{benIM}^5 \text{ daireM}^1}_{\rightarrow}$$

my apartment

(17)

$$\underbrace{\text{kızIM} \text{ benIM}}_{\leftarrow}$$

my daughter

It is apparent that this type of Word-group differs from the previous ones in having two possible sequences, $N^{-(n)}I(n)$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ (which is Non-head (Qualifier) followed by Head) or $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ + $N^{-(n)}I(n)$ (which is Head followed by Non-head). The existence of both possibilities is indicated hereafter by the symbol "+", to be read "either followed or preceded by"; thus the Word-group is $\underbrace{N^{-(n)}I(n)}_{\rightarrow} + \underbrace{N^{-(s)}I(n)}_{\leftarrow}$.

The conclusions that can now be drawn from these three Word-groups are these: two of them (pattern A and pattern B) occur in only one sequence, that is to say, the relative position of their constituent parts is determined grammatically; they thus exhibit a feature which may be called fixity of sequence. The third (pattern C) occurs in either sequence, that is to say, the relative position of its constituent parts is optional; this Word-group therefore does not exhibit fixity of sequence. Comparing the forms of the

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1. It could be argued that $-(s)I(n)$ is really two suffixes: when the exponent of $N^{-(n)}I(n)$ is inanimate, $-(s)I(n)$ has as its referent the Non-head, as in a pattern B Word-group; when it is animate, however, it contains not one but two notions, the grammatical link with the Non-head and "person". When the latter is not the 3rd person, the appropriate member of the set of possessive DS's replaces it, viz. $-(I)m$ and $-(I)mIz$ (1st persons, sing. and pl. respectively), $-(I)n$ and $-(I)nIz$ (2nd person, sing. and pl.).

This distinction is not pertinent to the present argument, however.

5. See previous page.

words making up the Word-groups possessing fixed sequence with those in the other, it is seen that fixity of sequence is associated with lack of overt suffix in the Non-head, and conversely, lack of fixity is associated with presence of a suffix marker in the Non-head. From this it may be postulated that in the absence of an overt suffix, relationship is marked by fixity of sequence.

Whether or not any additional non-suffix indication of relationship is present will emerge from the examination of the expanded forms of these Word-groups which now follows.

THE EXPANDED WORD-GROUP:

Word-groups are expanded by increasing the number of words which make up one or both of their constituent parts. This is done by substituting for the single word of the basic form a group of two or more words which are either

(i) unequal in status (that is to say, are Non-head = Head groups such as those already described), or

(ii) equal in status (that is, in apposition).¹

The first is here termed "expansion by compounding", the second "expansion by multiplicity". These seem to account for all expansion in Turkish. They can be combined, of course.

Expansion by Compounding:

Expansion by compounding means the realisation of at least one member of the basic Word-group by some other Word-group, instead of by a single word. The Word-group thus

1. "Dependent" and "non-dependent" are other possible terms.

subordinated to another is here said to be "Included"¹, a term that will be found necessary in describing the other levels of structure. All three of the Word-groups described may be "included" in any one of the three.

(A) The Aj + N^{-(s)}X(N) (pattern A) Word-group expanded by
compounding:

The first two examples illustrate the realisation of the N^{-(s)}X(N) (Head) member by a pattern A Word-group; the Aj member of each is simple (i.e. unexpanded):

(18)

büyük bir lokanta a large restaurant

(19)

bir büyük lokanta a large restaurant

that is, their structure is: Aj Aj N^{-(s)}X(N)

In the next three examples, it is the N^{-(s)}X(N) member which is simple and the Aj member which is expanded. Some of the ways in which an Aj can be qualified are illustrated incidentally²; in no. 20, the Aj is qualified by a word from a very small class "q"³

1. An "included" unit is thus "rankshifted", in Halliday's terminology.
2. These are yet more types of Word-group and will not be dealt with further in this work.
3. This class, a type of N^{-(s)}, includes cok 'much', 'many' 'very', pek 'very', gayet 'extremely' (cf. Swift p.189).

(20)

çok güzel şeyler

very nice things

the structure of which is q Aj N^{-(s)I(n)}¹

In no.21. Aj is qualified by N^{-(s)I(n)}¹:

(21)

gözü açık millet

a wide-awake people ("its-
eye-open people")

which is N^{-DS} Aj N^{-(s)I(n)}

In no.22, Aj is qualified by N^{-D^{En}}, which makes "the comparison of adjectives"²; the N^{-(s)I(n)} member is realised by a pattern A Word-group:

(22)

Rikkatten uzun bir hanım

a "taller-than-Rikkat" lady

which is N^{-IS} Aj Aj N^{-(s)I(n)}

In the next two examples, the Head of both is realised by a pattern B Word-group; the Non-head of the first is a simple Aj, that of the second a derived Aj³:

1. Not to be confused with pattern B Word-group. This is the construction named "başbozuk" by Lewis (pp.259-260). See also Swift, p.198.
2. Cf. Lewis, p.54; Swift, p.189.
3. That is, it bears a "subordinating suffix"; cf. pp.37-8 above, footnote 1.

(23)

bir kadın mantoSU a lady's coat (= a type of coat)

which is: Aj N^{-(N)XN} N^{-(s)I(n)+-(S)X(N)}

(24)

bugünkü Hürriyet gazetesİ today's "Hürriyet" newspaper

which is Aj N^{-(N)XN} N^{-(s)I(n)+-(S)X(N)} like the last.

No.25 has a simple exponent for its N^{-(S)X(N)} member; its Aj member is realised by a pattern A Word-group operating adjectivally by means of the subordinating suffix -DEki attached to it. Note that the Aj (onsekizinci) qualifies only the root of asırdaki:

(25)

onsekizinci asırdaki motifler¹ the motifs in the 18th century

which is Aj N^{-(S)X(N)+-DS} N^{-(S)X(N)}

In contrast, the whole derived Aj is qualified as an Aj in the next illustration, not just its root. The N^{-(S)X(N)} member is realised by a pattern A Word-group:

-
1. Because in Turkish a suffix is attached to the whole Word-group the standard method of I.C. bracketting has been adapted here; it thus shows^{eq} that it is not the Word-group onsekizinci asır that is a constituent of the larger pattern but onsekizinci asırdaki.

(26)

gayet kuvvetli bir cihaz an extremely powerful
 apparatus

which is q Aj Aj N-(s)I(N)

The next example illustrates the realisation of the Aj member by a pattern B Word-group operated as an Aj by the addition of the subordinating suffix -lî; its Head member, however, is simple:

(27)

zeytinyağlı¹ yemekler dishes made with olive-oil
 ("olive-oil-y dishes")

that is: N-(N)I(N) N-(s)I(n)+-DS N-(s)I(N)

In the final example, the $N-(s)I(N)$ member is realised by a pattern A Word-group (etrafındaki şey), whose Aj is realised by a pattern C Word-group (hazretleriNİN etrafıN-), whose Non-head member is realised by a pattern B Word-group (şeyh hazretleri). Its Aj member is simple (o):

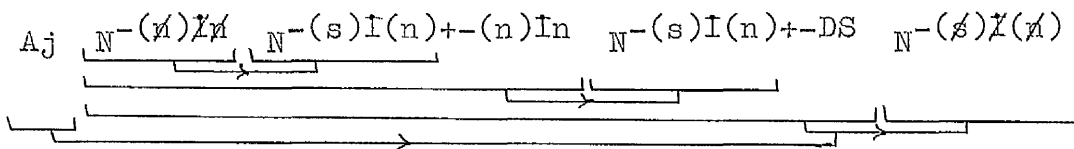
(28)

o that
 ↓
 şeyh hazretlerinin thing on the perimeter²
 3 ↓
 etrafındaki şey of his blessedness the
 ↓
 sheikh('s tomb)

1. The $-(s)I(n)$ is dropped before -lî; cf. Lewis, p.50.
2. The English words making up one line of the translation correspond to the Turkish words also making up one line of text; the lines are rarely opposite each other, however.

- continued on next page -

the structure of which may be represented thus:



To summarise: in nos. 20, 21, 25 and 27 it is the Non-head member of the Word-group that is expanded by having as its exponent an included Word-group; in nos. 18, 19, 23, 24 and 28 it is the Head that is so expanded; in nos. 22 and 26 both members are. The basic pattern is unaffected, however, and it is now possible to distinguish another feature marking the relationship: the members are adjacent, that is, juxtaposed, in addition to being fixed in sequence.

(B) The $N^{-(\cancel{x})}\cancel{x}$ + $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ (pattern B) Word-group expanded
by compounding:

In compounding, this Word-group more frequently becomes an exponent of a compound member of another Word-group than compound itself; for instance, it is the exponent of the $N^{-(\cancel{s})}\cancel{x}(\cancel{x})$ member of a pattern A Word-group in nos. 23 and 24 above and of the $N^{-(n)}In$ member of a pattern C Word-group in no. 28 above.

However, compounding is possible: for instance, where

-
2. (continued from the previous page) Nevertheless, the labels should make recognition of the correct line possible.
 3. The length of the examples sometimes necessitates the use of vertical instead of the usual horizontal brackets.

(32)

daha gelmedi cevabI

the reply "He has not come yet"

Av V
N-(~~n~~)I(n) N-(s)I(n)

Once more it can be observed that the constituents of this Word-group exhibit the feature juxtaposition in addition to fixity of sequence.

(C) The N-(n)I(n) + N-(s)I(n) (pattern C) Word-group expanded
by compounding:

In the first example, no. 33, the exponent of the N (root) element of the N-(s)I(n) member is a pattern A Word-group, while the other member is simple:

(33)

biberIN kendi kapağI

the pepper's own lid

N-(n)I(n) Aj N-(~~s~~)I(~~n~~)+-(s)I(n)

The next, which has a "noun of place" as the root of its Head, should be compared with no. 29 above:

(34)

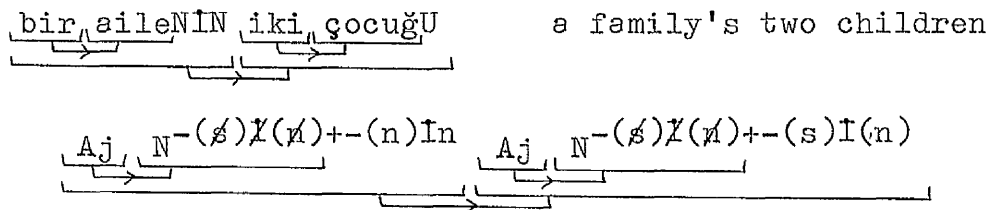
bir dalganIN üzerINde

on top of a wave

Aj N-(~~s~~)I(~~n~~)+-(n)I(n) N-(s)I(n)+-IS

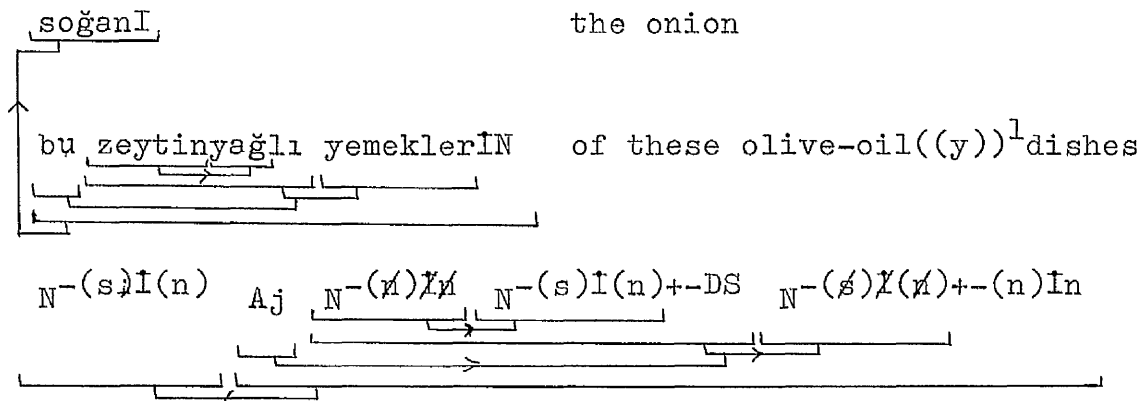
No. 35 shows both members realised by a pattern A Word-group:

(35)



In all three of these the sequence is Non-head+Head ; in the following example, however, this is reversed. There the $N^{-(s)I(n)}$ member is again simple; the exponent of the Non-head member is a pattern A Word-group whose Head is itself realised by another pattern A Word-group whose Aj is derived from a pattern C Word-group by means of the subordinating suffix -lİ:

(36)



The next example illustrates the suffix $-(s)I(n)$ serv-

-
1. Double brackets in the English translation limit a word, etc. which is present in the Turkish and therefore present in a literal translation, but whose omission gives a more idiomatic rendering.

ing as marker for two Word-groups: in a pattern B Word-group which is the exponent of the Head of a pattern C group and at the same time the Head in that pattern C group itself:

(37)

onlarIN yaşayış tarzları their mode of living

$N^{-(n)}I(n)$ $N^{-(n)}I(n)$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$

The final two examples again show a simple Non-head member; in no. 38 the other member, too, is simple, while in no. 39 it is expressed by a pattern A Word-group. However, in both, not only is the Head placed first, but it and the Non-head are also separated by a word extraneous to the construction:

(38)

ÇocuklarıNIZ Have you

var mıydı sizİN? any children ("Were your children existent")?

$N^{-(s)}I(n)$ $predicate^1$ $N^{-(n)}I(n)$

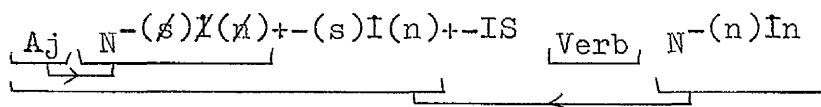
(39)

Ne tarafINDa In which part

oturuyorsunuz of London

LondraNIN? do you live?

1. Explained below, p. 59 ff.



It can be seen that this Word-group differs from the other two not only in lacking the feature fixity of sequence but in a second respect also: its constituent parts are not adjacent. Thus the feature juxtaposition is also absent.

Expansion by Multiplicity:

This type of expansion, much more straightforward than the last, employs devices of co-ordination; these are numerous in Turkish¹ although only two appear at this level.

In the simplest form of expansion by multiplicity, at least one of the members of a Word-group has as its exponent two or more single words of equal status.

The examples which follow demonstrate that

- (i) either the Head or the Non-head or both members of a simple Word-group may be made multiple;
- (ii) juxtaposition alone is sufficient to establish the relationship²;
- (iii) juxtaposition may be reinforced³ by a word from the class conjunction.

-
1. They are largely unrecognised as such, as will become evident in the following chapters.
 2. This may be associated with suprasegmental features, but, unfortunately, examination of these has had to be excluded from this description.
 3. It is because juxtaposition alone is the true indicator of a co-ordinate relationship that there is no clear-cut distinction between "co-ordinate" and "paratactic", as Quirk observed in his work on concession in O.E. (1954). Like him, I find the distinction unreal and therefore use neither term here.

(A) The Aj + N^{-(/)}X(N) (pattern A) Word-group expanded by
multiplicity:

Nos. 38^A to 42 illustrate expansion by multiplicity of the Non-head, the first three without, the rest with a conjunction.

(38)

TAZE YEŞİL soğan

FRESH, GREEN onion(s)

(39)

BİR İKİ saat

ONE (or)² TWO hour(s)

(40)

ZARARLI FAYDALI tesirler¹

HARMFUL (and)² USEFUL influences

These three all have the structure Aj Aj N^{-(/)}X(N)

(41)

ZARARLI ve FAYDALI tesirler

HARMFUL and USEFUL influences

Aj Cj Aj N^{-(/)}X(N)

(42)

Hem NAZARÎ hem AMELÎ ders¹

both THEORETICAL and PRACTICAL
lessons

Cj Aj Cj Aj N^{-(/)}X(N)

1. The similarity in structure sometimes exhibited between the words in a multiple unit, and seen here, should be noted: it foreshadows a conjunctive device to be seen later in larger structures.
2. Words within single brackets are supplied in the English translation to achieve a more idiomatic rendering.

The next example illustrates expansion of the Head:

(43)

yeşil OT, YAPRAK, AĞAÇ green GRASS, LEAVES (leaf") (and)
TREE(S)

A_j $N-(s)X(N)$ $N-(s)X(N)$ $N-(s)X(N)$

Finally, an example to show a multiplicity of compound members:

(44)

çok KÜÇÜK, INCE very small, thin
dolma, soğanı dolma¹-onion(s)

q A_j A_j $N-(N)X(N)$ $N-(s)I(n)$

It is clear that, even though expanded, the relative positions of the constituent members of the original Word-group are unaffected .

(B) The $N-(N)X(N)$ + $N-(s)I(n)$ (pattern B) Word-group expanded by
multiplicity:

Examples 45 to 47 have multiplicity of the Non-head, 48 and 49 multiplicity of the Head, reinforcement by conjunction being present in nos. 47 and 49.

(45)

FİNCANLAR, KAPLAR içinde in CUPS (and) POTS
 $N-(N)X(N)$ $N-(N)X(N)$ $N-(s)I(n)+-IS$

1. dolma: stuffed (vegetables)

(46)

İRAN, İNGİLİZ, TÜRK
çayları

IRANIAN, ENGLISH (and)
TURKISH
teas

$N-(\emptyset)XN$ $N-(\emptyset)XN$ $N-(\emptyset)XN$ $N-(s)I(n)$

(47)

FİNCANLAR ve KAPLAR
içinde

in
CUPS and POTS

$N-(\emptyset)XN$ C_j $N-(\emptyset)XN$ $N-(s)I(n)+-IS$

(48)

çay
FİNCANI, KAŞIĞI, TABAĞI

tea-
CUP, SPOON (and) PLATE

$N-(\emptyset)XN$ $N-(s)I(n)$ $N-(s)I(n)$ $N-(s)I(n)$

The next has the same structure, with the addition of C_j between the last two items:

(49)

çay
FİNCANI, KAŞIĞI ve TABAĞI

tea-
CUP, SPOON and PLATE

It can be seen once more that when the members are multiple their position relative to one another is unaffected.

(C) The $N^{-(n)}In$ \neq $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ (pattern C) Word-group expanded
by multiplicity:

Examples 50 and 51 illustrate expansion of the Head, while no. 52 shows the Non-head made multiple in a Word-group also expanded by compounding:

(50)

bulgunUN according
büyük \ddot{U} Ne küç \ddot{U} kl \ddot{U} g \ddot{U} Ne to the largeness (or) smallness
göre of the wheat

The structure of this is $N^{-(n)}In$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)+-IS$ $N^{-(n)}In+-IS$ pp¹

(51)

eski türkçeNIN the nobility, delicacy,
kibarlı \ddot{I} , incel \ddot{I} ğ \ddot{I} , refinement (and) subtlety
nezaket \ddot{I} , seç \ddot{I} kinli \ddot{I} ğ \ddot{I} of the old Turkish

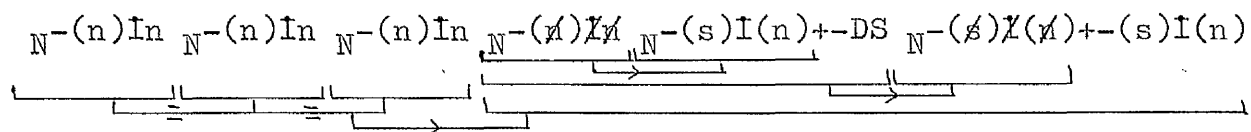
Aj $N^{-(s)}I(n)+-(n)In$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)$

(52)

meyvelerIN, sebzelerIN the influences upon people
seslerIN of fruits, vegetables
insan üzerindeki tesirler \ddot{I} (and) sounds

1. "pp" symbolises "postposition; this one, göre, requires the N with which it is grouped to bear the IS -(y)E.

which is:



Again it can be seen that the observations made about sequence and position earlier are not affected by expansion.

CONCLUSION:

The following points emerge from these examples:

- (i) a simple Word-group may have one or both of its members expanded, subject to certain limitations set by grammar and usage;
- (ii) a Word-group, either simple or expanded, may function as exponent of one member of another Word-group, i.e. be "included" in another;
- (iii) when expanded, the basic forms, both of the Word-group expanded and of the Word-group used to expand it, are unaffected;
- (iv) the Word-groups exhibit certain internal restrictions: two positional features, juxtaposition and fixity of sequence, are found to occur where at least one of the members does not bear an overt suffix indicating the relationship, and conversely to be absent where suffixation is complete and overt.

This last observation permits the setting up of a working hypothesis: where each constituent member of a group bears a suffix marking its relationship to the other (s), the position of the members is free; but in the absence of such complete suffixation, relationship is marked by position, which is therefore fixed. This will now be tested in the next

largest structure, the simple Clause.

CLAUSE LEVEL

In dealing with structures larger than the Word-group, even with one as apparently straightforward as the Clause, the problem of interpretation arises, in particular that of the relationship of each constituent part (i) to the structure as a whole, (ii) to the other constituent parts. In published works, the "words" which make up a Clause have been described according to their form and identified as "subject", "direct object", "verb" and the like but the Clause itself has been left almost as a random collection of such words. Consequently, such descriptions of its structure as exist (and these are discussed below) are totally inadequate for the present purpose, which is to find the system of combination operating in all Turkish structures so that the rules of sequence, if any exist, can be abstracted and described. For this reason, a new analysis of the Clause is required, oriented towards syntax instead of morphology, and towards the Clause instead of the "Phrase".¹

Like the Word-group, the Clause occurs in both basic, or simple, and in expanded forms. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the first of these.

1. The latter is Swift's approach.

THE SIMPLE CLAUSE:

The Clause is interpreted in this study as a grammatical structure made up of Clause-units, each of which has a unique rôle within it. There is, for instance, a "grammatical subject" unit, a "predicate" unit, a "direct object" unit, an "adverb" unit, and so on. "Clause" is defined as a structure composed of one or more of these units, the Predicate/Non-predicate unit (described below) being obligatory. The exponent of a Clause-unit is either a word or a Word-group, simple or expanded; indeed, it is only as the exponent of a Clause-unit that a Word-group has meaning.

Identification and description of Clause-units:

It is possible to identify 3, 5, 6 or 9 units according to the interpretation adopted. Here the full 9 are given. Of these the most important, because by definition the only obligatory one, is the Predicate/Non-predicate unit.

The Predicate/Non-predicate Clause-unit (symbolised "P/~~P~~"):

This unit is, by definition, essential to all Clauses. The form of its Head affects the manner in which

- (i) this unit combines with others in the same Clause, and
- (ii) the Clause of which it is part combines with others;

it must therefore be examined in detail .

The P/~~P~~ Clause-unit occurs in two forms:

- (i) verbal,
- (ii) nominal.

These will now be examined in turn.

(i) The Form of the Verbal variant:

When it is verbal, the Predicate/Non-predicate Clause-unit consists of a Verb ("V"), with or without immediate qualifiers. This verb may be either

(i) finite, or

(ii) non-finite,

two forms which differ only in (a) the class of IS which they bear and (b) the presence or absence respectively of the suffix marking "person" (item (iv) in the scheme below).

All Finite forms of the Verb conform to the following scheme:- the Finite Verb contains, within the bounds of a single word and in a fixed sequence

(i) the Verb Root, i.e. the lexical element;
this is inherently either transitive or intransitive;

(ii) the marker(s) of "passive-ness", "intransitivity", "causative-ness", "reciprocity", "negation", etc., if any be present; these are DS¹;

(iii) the marker of tense: this is an IS of the sub-class "tense-marker" which includes -Dl², -r, -mEz, -mIs, -(y)EcEk, -(l)yor, -mElI, -Ø³;

(iv) the marker of person: this is in most cases the verb substantive ("v.s.")⁴; it is this

1. Zero is used in this study to indicate the meaningful, i.e. contrastive, absence of suffix only; it is therefore not postulated for DS.

2. Capital letters represent morpho-phonemic alternants, see p.7.

3. Marker of the "imperative", cf. Lewis, p.137; Swift, p.155.

4. Described fully in Lewis, p.96 ff; Swift, p. 142 ff.

that makes the Verb a Predicate, but it is also the marker of the grammatical subject.

In the interrogative form these are arranged into two words (a mere convention of the orthography, not reflected in the suprasegmental features): the marker, the enclitic particle mī, is placed between (iii) and (iv) and initially in the second word. In the imperative, optative-subjunctive, conditional and the -Dī tense, mī is a separate word following (iv), which is there not the v.s.¹

This structure is illustrated in the following examples:

yap + ar + im I make

(i) (iii) (iv)

yap + ar mī + yim? Do I make?

(i) (iii) (iv)

yap + tīr + īr + im I have (something) made, I

(i) (ii) (iii) (iv) cause(s.t.)to be made

yap + tīr + īl + īr + ø² It is caused to be made

(i) (ii) (ii) (iii)(iv)

yap + tīr + mī + yor + um I am not having (s.t.) made

(i) (ii) (ii) (iii) (iv)

yap + tī + m mī? Did I make?

(i) (iii)(iv)

1. For these markers of person see Lewis, pp.106-7.

2. The 3rd person is unmarked, except in the imperative.

yap + ma + dı + m m1+ Did I not make?

(i) (ii) (iii)(iv)

Non-finite forms of the Verb contain, also within the bounds of a single word, (i) and (ii) in the scheme above, and (iii) whose exponent is taken from one of the following groups:

- (a) -r, -mEz, -(y)En, -mİş, -Dİk, -(y)EcEk, -Dİğİ¹, -(y)EcEğİ¹, etc. (markers of the "verbal adjective" or "participle")²;
 - (b) -mEk, -mE, -(y)İş, -(y)En, -Dİğİ, -(y)EcEğİ, -mİş, etc. (markers of the "verbal noun")³;
 - (c) -(y)ErEk, -(y)InCE, -(y)Elİ, -(y)E⁴, -(y)İp and many others (markers of the "verbal adverb"); or the phrases which substitute for these, such as -(y)EnE kadar, -Dİğİ için, -(y)EcEğİnE, -DİktEn sonra⁵;
 - (d) -(y)İp (marker of the "verbal conjunction").
- (iv), however, is absent⁶. Interrogation is indicated by mİ which follows immediately, written as a separate word.

1. These are compound suffixes consisting respectively of -dı -Dİk and -(y)EcEk + the possessive DS (here given as -(s)İ(n) but using other persons as the need arises). Nevertheless, they are suffixes in their own right, since they function differently from the forms without the "possessive" DS.
2. Cf. Lewis, p.158 ff. 3. Cf. Lewis, p.167 ff.
4. Not to be confused with its homonym belonging to the nominal series of IS (marker of the "dative").
5. Cf. Lewis, p.174 ff.
6. Person is of course indicated in some, in the possessive mentioned in footnote 1, for instance. This is merely a nominal DS, however, i.e. a modification of the Stem, not the grammatical subject.

Here are some examples:

(a)

ak + ar

which flows

(i) (iii)

yıka + n + ır

which may be washed

(i) (ii)(iii)

anla + ş + ıl + maz

which cannot be understood or
agreed

(i) (ii)(ii) (iii)

yap + tır + an

which has/had¹ (something) made

(i) (ii) (iii)

geç + miş

passed, past

(i) (iii)

söyle + n + me + dik

which is/was not said¹

(i) (ii)(ii) (iii)

gel + ecek

which will come, future

(i) (iii)

koy + duğu

which he/she/it put¹

(i) (iii)

yap + ış + tır +acağı

which he/she/it will stick (tr)

(i) (ii) (ii) (iii)

1. The English tenses given do not represent the full range needed to translate the Turkish in every context.

(b)

yap + ıl + mak

being made, to be made

(i) (ii) (iii)

yap + ıl + ma

being made, to be made

(i) (ii) (iii)

yaşa + yış

living, (manner of) living

(i) (iii)

yap + ma + yan

he/she/it who does/did not make

(i) (ii) (iii)

yap + tır + ıl + dıgı

that which is/was caused to be
made

(i) (ii) (ii) (iii)

yap + tır + ıl + aceğı

that which will be caused to
be made

(i) (ii) (ii) (iii)

geç + miş

that which is passed, the past

(i) (iii)

(c)

koş + uş + arak

by running about together

(i) (ii) (iii)

gel + me + yince

upon not coming

(i) (ii) (iii)

gel + eli

since coming

(i) (iii)

(i) VP:

(53)

Ben¹ bekledim.
VP

I waited.

(54)

Anlaşıyor.
VP

It is understood.

(55)

Biz¹ anlamıyor muyuz?
VP

Don't we understand?

(56)

Kim¹ bilir?
VP

Who knows?

(57)

Bahar¹ sever misin?
VP

Do you like spice?

(58)

Kahverengi oldu.
VP

It became brown.

(ii) V \emptyset :

(59)

siz¹ geleli
V \emptyset

since you came ("coming")

1. Clause-units not yet discussed are left unlabelled.

(60)

soğuduktan sonra
VØ

after cooling

(61)

Fıstık da kahverengi oluncā Upon the pine-kernels also
VØ becoming brown

(62)

Üzerine yazmak için mi? To write on?
VØ

(ii) The Form of the Nominal variant:

A Nominal Predicate ("NP") or Non-predicate ("NØ") consists of a Nominal to which the v.s. (verb substantive) is suffixed. The exponent of this Nominal can be:

1. a formal Noun bearing any of the IS of the nominal series except $-(y)I/-\langle y \rangle I$, the marker of the "direct object"¹;
2. a N^{-Ø} word, such as an Aj.

It can be a single word, or a Word-group, simple or expanded. In the interrogative form the particle mİ follows the Nominal but, in writing, separated from it; it is to the mİ that the v.s. is attached. The Nominal here substitutes for the items (i), (ii) and (iii) of the Finite verb.

The following examples show the Nominal of NP as a Noun (nos. 63, 64, 65, 66), as an Adjective (nos. 67 - 70), as a single word (nos. 63, 65, 67, 68, 69) and as a Word-group (nos. 64, 66, 70):

1. See below, pp. 77-79.

(63)

Müsaade kendinde.
NP

Permission (is) with yourself.

(64)

Kimin yazısı bu?
NP

Whose writing (is) this?

(65)

Süleymaniye'dedir.
NP

(It)is at the Süleymaniye.

(66)

Ben sizin fikrinizdeyim.
NP

I am of ("in") your opinion.

(67)

Şekeri yok.
NP

(It) has no sugar (in it) ("Its sugar is non-existent!")

(68)

Kaçtı?
NP

How much was (it)? ("It was how much?")

(69)

Fransız değilsiniz.
NP

You are not French.

(70)

Ders daha mühim.
NP

Lessons ("Lesson") (are) more important.

$N\cancel{P}$ is more limited than $V\cancel{P}$ because of the accident that v.s. is defective, lacking all of the forms bearing the suffixes listed on p.62. It occurs only with the following, which are enclitic: $-(y)sE$ (marker of the conditional) and $iken/-(y)ken$ (marker of a verbal adverb¹). When other ISs $iken/-(y)ken$ (marker of a verbal adverb¹). When other ISs are required the verb ol- 'become' is employed as suppletive; such forms are verbal, however, not nominal.

(71)

domates biberse, if it is tomatoes or pepper(s)
 $N\cancel{P}$

(72)

ben Londradayken, when/while I am/was in London
 $N\cancel{P}$

A Clause whose P/\cancel{P} unit is realised by P, whether VP or NP, is hereafter termed a Finite Clause ("F.CL"), one in which it is realised by \cancel{P} , whether $V\cancel{P}$ or $N\cancel{P}$, a Non-finite Clause (" \cancel{P} .CL"). Discussion of these two type will occupy a large part of Chapter 2.

The other, non-predicative, Clause-units:

Each of the remaining Clause-units has a Nominal as is Head. Relationship, or function, is indicated by the potential presence of IS or its absence; that is to say, these unit Heads are either

1. $N^{-\cancel{P}}$ or
2. N^{-IS} (i.e. a formal Noun).

1. Cf. Lewis, p.190 ff.

Any one of these units may be made interrogative by appending the enclitic mi, which is written as a separate word.

The first of the groups above, $N^{-\cancel{S}}$ -headed units, contains two Clause-units:

1. the Adverb Clause-unit,
2. the Complement Clause-unit.

These are now described.

The Adverb Clause-unit (symbolised " N^{Av} "): 1,2

This unit is most often the qualifier of the Root of the verb of the P/\cancel{P} Unit; its commonest occurrence is therefore in Clauses with VP or $V\cancel{P}$.

(73)

Şimdi, öğrendim.
 N^{Av} VP

I have just learnt (it).

(74)

Dönecekler mi, tekrar?
VP N^{Av}

Will they return again?

(75)

Pirince göre, değişiyor.
 N^{Av} VP

It varies according to the rice.

-
1. Absence of hyphen indicates that the following symbol denotes the class of word, not the marker.
 2. "Adverb" is restricted to one meaning in this study: an Adverb qualifies a verb only. Lewis, p.193 ff., deals with "adverbs" in the traditional, multiple, use of this word.
 3. Postpositional phrases are generally used adverbially. For their structure, cf. p.56 above, footnote 1.

(76)

Su, iyice, kaynayınca,
 N^{Av} VP

When the water is thoroughly
 boiling,¹

(77)

çok konuşan,
 N^{Av} VP

who talks a lot,

It will be seen that the position of this Unit relative to that of the P/~~P~~ one is not fixed.

The Complement Clause-unit ("N^C"):

In contrast to the last, this Unit qualifies not the Root (as it were the "action") but a nominal (as it were a "person" or "thing"):

(78)

Az şekerli, içiyorsunuz,
 N^C VP

You drink (it) semi-sweet
 ("little sugar-y")

(79)

Biraz daha dökük, buluyorum,
 N^C VP

I find (it) a little more
 flaked-off.

(80)

İstanbulu, allak bullak, etti,
 N^C VP

It made Istanbul topsy-turvy.

-
1. A final comma indicates that the clause quoted is not a "complete" sentence"; it occurs only in the translation, since Turkish does not use any punctuation mark in such a position.

(81)

Şehriyeli yapacaksan,
 N^C VP

If you would make (it) with
 vermicelli ("vermicelli-y"),

(82)

Kahverengi oldu.
 N^C VP

It became brown.

(83)

Soğan kahverengi olunca,
 N^C VP

When the onion becomes/is
 brown,

(84)

Kendileri şekerli olan,
 N^C VP

those who are themselves sweet,

(85)

Türk olmadığını,
 N^C VP

that he/she is not a Turk/
 Turkish (dir. obj.),

It is clear from these examples that the position of the N^C Clause-unit is invariably immediately before the P/\bar{P} unit.

The remaining Clause-units are N^{-IS} -headed, that is, they belong to the second group on p.69. These, too, are of two types:

1. those with explicit IS,
2. those with implicit IS.

The first contains the "suffix-marked Adverbial units" and the "specific direct object" Clause-unit; these will now be dealt with.

The Suffix-marked Adverbial Units:

There are four such units, marked by the suffixes $-DE^1$, $-DEn^1$, $-(y)E^1$ and $-(y)lE^2$; the suffix of the first three is stressable, that of the last enclitic. All, like the N^{Av} Unit, qualify the Root of the Verb forming the VP or VP^p of the Clause; all may also function as the N component of NP/NP^3 .

(a) The N^{-DE} Clause-unit:

(86)

Londrada m₁ oturuyorsunuz? Do you live in London?
 N^{-DE} VP

(87)

Hiç bir fark yoktur. There is no difference at all
 NP

içinin yapılışında. in the manner of making the
 N^{-DE} inside.

(88)

Üçte burda olacaktınız. You were going to be here at
 N^{-DE} N^{-DE} VP three.

-
1. For $-DE$ see Lewis pp. 29, 37 ("locative"); Swift p.137 ("locative"). For $-DEn$ see Lewis, pp.29,37 ("ablative"); Swift p.138 ("Source-Route Suffix"). For $-(y)E$ see Lewis, p.29, 36 ("dative"); Swift, p.135-6 ("Goal Suffix").
 2. $ile/=(y)lE$ has two functions: (i) it is a conjunction (see Chapter 2), (ii) it replaces in the modern language the now "dead" "instrumental case-ending" $-İn$. It is the second that concerns us here. Cf. Lewis, p.86; Swift, p.204.
 3. This adverbial function of nouns bearing these suffixes is not their only one, but it is the only one at Clause level. They also function as Qualifiers at Word-group level (see p.44, for $-DEn$ operating thus). Some also function as N^C at Clause level in literary Turkish.

(b) The N^{-DEn} Clause-unit:

(89)

Kitaptan öğrenilmiyor.
 N^{-DEn} VP

It isn't to be learnt from
 books.

(90)

tencereden çıkarmamak
 N^{-DEn} VP

not to take (it) out of the
 pan,

(91)

İyi bilmiyorum onu eskiden.
 N^{Av} VP N^{-DEn}

I don't know that well from
 memory.

(c) The N^{-(y)E} Clause-unit:

(92)

Vereyim sana.
 VP N^{-(y)E}

Let me give (it) to you.

(93)

İstanbul'a geleli.
 N^{-(y)E} VP

since coming to Istanbul,

(d)

(94)

Hep böyle yapıyorum.
 N^{Av} N^{-(y)lE} VP

I always do it thus (böyle <
 bu ile).

(95)

Ben, fıstık ve üzümle
 N^{-(y)lE}

I make (it) with pine

yapıyorum.
 VP

with pine-kernels and currants.

These Suffix-marked Adverbial Clause-units can be seen to occur either before or after the P/Ø unit; they are therefore not positionally fixed.

The Specific Direct Object Clause-unit alternant:

A Head marked by the IS $-(y)I^1$ is one of the two alternants of the Direct Object Unit, namely the "Specific" Direct Object. This, and the other alternant which is described next, is associated with transitivity of the Verb, whether overtly marked by DS or inherent in the root (cf. p.60 above); it cannot occur in Clauses with NP/NP̄.

(96)

Biberleri oydum.
N^{-(y)I} VP

I scooped out the peppers.

(97)

Kim yaptı bunları?
VP N^{-(y)I}

Who did these (things)?

(98)

Onu
N^{-(y)I}

Not to take

ertesi güne kadar

it

N^{Av}

out of the pan

tencereden çıkarmamak
N^{-DEn} VP̄

until the next day,

This unit-alternant is seen to be positionally free, like the other units with explicit IS.

1. Cf. Lewis, pp.28, 35-6; Swift, p.136.

There are two Clause-units with implicit IS. The first of these is an alternant of the last discussed, i.e. the Non-specified variant of the Direct Object unit. Since the two, the "marked" and the "unmarked", are in free variation, being mutually exclusive, the Direct Object unit as a whole may be symbolised " $N^{-(y)I/-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$ ", the Non-specific member being $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$.

The Non-specific Direct Object Clause-unit alternant:

(99)

Bahar sever misin?
 $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$ VP

Do you like spice?

(100)

Gayet güzel vakit,
 $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$
geçiriyoruz.
 VP

We are having ("spending")

a very nice time.

(101)

Kardeşim, iş
 $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$
yaptığı zaman,
 VP

When

my sister

does/did work,

(102)

Öyle bir şey,
 $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$
bekliyerek,
 VP

Expecting

such a thing,

1. Cf. Lewis, p.35; Swift, pp. 190-1, 134.

The fact that these two are indeed alternants does not seem to have been recognised before.

This unit-alternant is seen to be invariably immediately before the P/\bar{P} unit; it is thus positionally fixed.

The Grammatical Subject Clause-unit:

The other unit with implicit not explicit IS is the "Grammatical Subject" unit. Unlike $N^{-(\bar{y})\bar{X}}$, which is in contrast with only one other form (namely $N^{-(y)I}$), this unit is in contrast with all the other non-predicative nominal units:

1. with the N^{-IS} -headed units (N^{-DE} , N^{-DEn} , $N^{-(y)E}$, $N^{-(y)lE}$, and $N^{-(y)I/(\bar{y})\bar{X}}$; and
2. with the $N^{-\bar{S}}$ -headed units (N^{Av} , N^C).

To indicate that absence of explicit suffix is meaningful this unit is symbolised " $N^{-\emptyset}$ "¹.

This unit is associated with the marker of person (i.e. item (iv) in the scheme on p.60 above) which the VP or NP contains; it may also occur in Clauses with $V\bar{P}$ and $N\bar{P}$ having its IS drawn from group (c) (p.62 above).

(103)

Ben, bekledim.
 $N^{-\emptyset}$ VP

I waited.

(104)

Kim, bilir?
 $N^{-\emptyset}$ VP

Who knows?

(105)

Hiç ses, duyulmuyor.²
 $N^{-\emptyset}$ VP

No sound at all is heard.

1. Cf. Lewis, p.35.

2. It has not been found necessary to distinguish between active and passive verbs when postulating $N^{-\emptyset}$ as the "grammatical subject".

(106)

Kimdir, o kadın?
NP N- \emptyset

Who is that woman?

(107)

Türkçenin kibarlığı,
N- \emptyset

The nobility of Turkish

kalmadı.
VP

is no more ("does not remain")

(108)

siz, İstanbul'a geleli,
N- \emptyset N-(y)E VP

since you came to Istanbul,

(109)

Kardeşim,
N- \emptyset

when

my sister

iş yaptığı zaman
N-(\emptyset)I VP

does/did work

The position of this unit is seen not to be fixed.

These, then, are the theoretical constituents of the Clause: a Predicate/Non-predicate unit (P/ \emptyset) which may be verbal or nominal, a grammatical Subject unit (N- \emptyset), a Direct Object unit with specific and non-specific alternants (N-(y)I/(\emptyset)I), a Complement unit (N^C) and five adverbial units (N^{Av} and four suffix-marked ones: N-^{DE}, N-^{DEn}, N-(y)E, N-(y)lE). An "indirect object" unit has been found unnecessary; the "vocative" (which is without suffix-marker) has been excluded because of its limited application.¹

1. In the illustrations, any vocatives that occur are simply labelled without comment.

Naturally, Clauses do not usually contain all of these units, although it might be theoretically possible for one to do so. The first question to be considered in seeking an explanation for the actual content of a given Clause is this: since at Clause-level there are no universally recognised patterns comparable to the Word-group¹ what are the factors governing

(i) the selection,

(ii) the sequential arrangement

of units in the construction of a given Clause?

(i) Selection of Clause-units:

Some selection is grammatically determined. For instance, the presence of "intransitivity" and "passivity" in the V exponent of the P/P unit and the use of a N exponent for that unit, preclude the presence of the $N^{-(y)I/-(y)X}$ Clause-unit.

In the other hand, it can be shown that not a single one of the nominal Clause-units which are grammatically permissible is obligatory: in no case is an expressed Adverb or Suffix-marked Adverbial unit necessary; no verb which "governs" the "dative" ($N^{-(y)E}$) or the "ablative" (N^{-DEn}) needs to have it expressed; no transitive verb needs an explicit Direct Object ($N^{-(y)I/-(y)X}$) unit, and no Predicate

1. Swift (190 ff.) identifies endocentric phrase structures whose Head is a Verb and whose "modifier" is one or other of the Clause-units listed here. Under the heading "modifier, however, he brings together items which, in my view, belong to different levels of structure; for instance, he does not distinguish between a type of Adverb omitted from this study which bears the same relationship to the V as the Aj does to its N-Head (juxtaposition, fixity of sequence) and the type classed here as a Clause-unit (freedom of position). Swift does not recognise structural levels.

or Non-predicate needs to be accompanied by an expressed Subject ($N^{-\emptyset}$) unit.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that all non-predicative nominal units are optional¹. This is tantamount to saying that those units are lower in status than the P/\bar{P} unit and that the latter is therefore the Head of an endocentric group. for, since the P/\bar{P} unit contains not only the 'content' component (in its Root) but also indications of the implied presence of other units (in its Root - which is ^hinherently either transitive or intransitive - and in its DS), indications of time (tense) (in its IS) and of the grammatical subject (in the v.s. or its substitute) the non-predicative nominal units are mere amplifications or qualifications of the elements present already in the P/\bar{P} unit.

This superior status of the P/\bar{P} unit is accepted by some Turkish grammarians:

"The verb is the essential (esaslı 'having the essence') element, the main (ana) element, the fundamental (temel 'foundation') element, the prop (direk) of the Clause. The whole structure (yapı) of the Clause is founded upon it. All the other elements are elements which gather about²

-
1. This is an observation that does not seem to have been made before.

The difference between Turkish and English practice in this respect is interesting; e.g. certain English transitive verbs require an expressed^s Direct Object unit - like, for instance.

2. Presumably he is not using this word in a locational sense!

the verb, support it, and complete it."¹

"For a sentence" (i.e. F.Cl) "to exist, the minimum condition/stipulation is a finite verb. A finite verb is necessary and sufficient for the existence of a sentence. This means that a sentence can be a single word if that word is a verb, because it contains both subject ('actor', fail) and verb ('action' fiil), the two fundamental elements of a sentence."²

Swift makes the same assertion:

"The one essential to a clause is a predicate segment. Many Turkish clauses consist of such a segment alone."³

Theoretically, therefore, the Turkish Clause, like the Word-group, can be described as a Qualifier-Head⁴ structure in which the form of the Head determines which Qualifier(s) may be present, but in no case determines which shall be. It follows that the presence of these qualifying Clause-units must be entirely a matter of choice, and in the subsequent chapters an attempt is made to identify the factors which govern the speaker's selection.

(ii) Sequential arrangement of Clause-units:

Accounting for the arrangement of the units within the

1. Ergin (1962), pp.376-7. 2. Ergin (1962), p.376.

3. Swift, p.174.

4. The sign "-" avoids indication of sequential arrangement.

Clause is the more difficult problem of the two.

The "accepted" view - that "secondary element precedes primary", that "the verb is the last element in a clause" has already been found inadequate.¹ The position of the verb, however, - the criterion by which a "sentence" is deemed "regular" or "inverted" - is merely part of a much larger problem: it is the question of the sequence of Clause-units other than the P/Ø one which presents the greatest difficulty.

Following Deny², and like Bilgegil³, Lewis⁴ sets out the sequential arrangement:

"... the typical order of the elements in a literary sentence is: (1) subject⁵, (2) expression of time, (3) expression of place⁶, (4) indirect object⁷, (5) direct object⁸, (6) modifier of the verb⁹, (7) verb. If any of these elements is qualified, the qualifier precedes it. The definite precedes the indefinite, so elements (4) and (5) will change place if the indirect object is indefinite and the direct object is definite¹⁰."

-
1. See p.17 ff., above.
 2. Deny (1921), p.911.
 3. Bilgegil (1964), p.51.
 4. Lewis, 239.
 5. Our N^{-Ø}.
 6. Both are presumably our N^{Av} and N^{-DE}.
 7. Our N^{-(y)E}.
 8. Presumably our N^{-(y)I/- (y)I}, i.e. both alternants.
 9. What this is is not made clear.
 10. That is, N^{-(y)I}.

Not only is this exceedingly clumsy, but on Lewis's own admission does not always fit the facts:

"It will not escape the reader's attention that such 'typical' sentences are relatively infrequent among the enormous variety that can occur in human speech, especially in its written form¹. Nevertheless, although not every sentence will have all these elements, the order given above will be found to fit not only most sentences but also most clauses within the sentence."²

The truth of this may be doubted.

However, there are indisputable facts to be uncovered: a careful examination of the position of each of the non-predicative nominal units relative to that of the P/ \bar{P} unit reveals that the former fall into two groups:

- (i) those whose position is fixed,
- (ii) those whose position is free.

Into the first of these groups fall three Clause-units:

- (a) the $N^{-(\bar{X})X}$ alternant of the Direct Object unit;
- (b) the N^C unit;
- (c) any non-predicative nominal unit which is interrogative, whether (1) by virtue of having as its exponent an inherently interrogative nominal Root (such as kim 'who?', hangı 'which?', nasıl 'how'? ne 'what?'; kimi 'whom?', kime 'to whom?', kimden 'from whom?')

1. The assertion that the written form shows greater variety than the spoken is one that could only be made by someone who has not tried to analyse the latter! Yet it is a truism, scarcely ever questioned.

2. Lewis, p.241.

kiminle 'with whom?', etc.)

or (2) by virtue of the presence of the enclitic interrogative particle mİ.

All three occupy the position immediately before the P/Ø unit,¹ no matter whether the Clause is in the main "regular" or "inverted"² It will be observed that (a) and (b) above, that is, the two non-interrogative units, are non-suffix-marked ones so that their being positionally fixed supports the hypothesis that fixity of position replaces a suffix as marker of relationship.

Into the second of the groups fall $N^{-\emptyset}$, N^{Av} , N^{-DE} , N^{-DEn} , $N^{-(y)E}$ and $N^{-(y)İ}$, all of which are positionally free. It will be noted that they are of two types: non-suffix-marked ones ($N^{-\emptyset}$, N^{Av}) and suffix-marked ones (the rest). The latter may be presumed to make no use of position as marker of function, in accordance with the hypothesis above.

1. When more than one of them occur in a Clause, one must take precedence, of course. It has not been possible to work out the rule for this, although examples no. 384 on p. 320 does suggest one possibility.
2. Ediskun (1963) mentions the position of interrogatives (pp. 366-7).

Concerning the position of the interrogative, cf. Halliday (1970), pp. 161-2: "... we put first, in an interrogative clause, the element that contains this request for information, the polarity-carrying element in a yes/no question and the questioning element in a 'wh-' question." Substitute "before the verb" for "first" and the statement is true of Turkish, and for the same reason - emphasis, as will be shown later.

The former, however, are positionally free, for although each frequently occupies the initial position in a Clause¹, in fact any position is available to them; it is clear that in any given instance some factor ^{other} ~~than~~ than determination by "grammatical rules" must be in operation.

Swift explains the use of the initial position for these two units as the result of choosing one or other as the "topic" about which the rest of the clause is the "comment" but he never justifies his division of a clause (or utterance) into these two parts.² "Meaning" is also the criterion used by Turkish grammarians:

"In "regular" (kurallı) sentences the words are arranged according to their importance and the most important word occurs beside the verb."³

or more accurately:

"There is no fixed (kesin) order for the elements occurring before the verb. They are brought

-
1. See Lewis above (p.84) and Swift, pp.178-9
 2. The impression given is of a mechanical division of the clause, on a par with the tradition "subject and predicate". In fact, there is a lot of evidence to support his unsubstantiated claim: Mundy (1955) uses the concept, and it appears in the following pages. Unfortunately all Swift offers is "that it is not a matter of grammar at all but a matter of the lexical meanings of the words themselves and of the total context of the utterance of which the clause is all or part" - but he gives no evidence. (p.178).
 3. Gencan (1966), p.75.

close to it according to the degree of emphasis required. The most emphatic is generally the element closest to, and immediately preceding, the verb, and it has the tonal stress of the clause."¹

Although the accuracy of the last sentence may be disputed, it is at least a pointer to the fact that phonetic prominence of some sort, and occurring at a particular point in the intonation contour may exercise a controlling influence upon the position and/or sequence of the units it encompasses. Swift seems to imply a contour-initial prominence also²; Meskill includes an "emphatic word order"³.

These, however, are only scratching the surface, picking out details - hence the apparent contradictions; examination of the larger context can reconcile them. A start will be made upon this now, although the account will not be completed until Chapter 5.

Phonetic prominence is a feature found to occupy one, and only^{me} unit in a Clause; selecting a unit to receive this prominence entails the selection of a certain sequence also. To demonstrate this, a brief description of the basic intonation contour is necessary.⁴

1. Ergin (1962), pp. 376-7. Swift, p. 174.

3. Meskill (1970), pp. 61, 62.

4. The description that follows is a summary of original work not yet published. There is no adequate published account of Turkish suprasegmental features, intonation being particularly badly served: Nash (1973) analyses a highly specialised style (read anecdote) which bears little relation to the contours of spontaneous speech; Tansu¹⁹⁴¹ likewise does not deal with speech (he analyses a poem); Ediskun's examination (1963) is superficial and inaccurate.

The basic intonation contour and its prominent parts:

All isolate clauses in Turkish, be they affirmative, negative or interrogative, unless carrying one of a small number of special implications which need not concern us here, are uttered with an identical tune. This begins at a high pitch and ends at "base-line" pitch, that is, the speaker's lowest; the steepness of the intervening slope depends upon the length of the contour (or clause), its lack of smoothness being due to the minor modifications imposed by word accentual patterns.

This descending contour has two peaks of prominence:

- (i) the high pitch at the start; this is a pitch prominence, rather than a stress prominence;
- (ii) a single primary stress with associated raised pitch which interrupts the basic fall and is followed by a sharp descent to "base-line" pitch. Thus this peak of prominence, a stress prominence, which does not reach the same absolute pitch as that at the start, immediately precedes the "tail", ~~the~~ section characterised by low pitch, weak volume, and total or almost total absence of word accentual patterns.

It is the second of these, the stress prominence, that affects

-continued from previous page -

Previous work on stress is admirably summarised by Lees (Lees (1961)). Mundy also deals with it (Mundy (1955)), and Swift makes excellent observations about "segmental stress"; unfortunately some of Swift's findings are obscured by his use of suprasegmental "phonemes". A useful prosodic analysis is to be found in Winnick (1972).

sequence in the isolate clause; the first (pitch prominence) seems to be significant only in structures larger than the simple Clause and discussion of it is not appropriate before Chapter 5.

Although this basic contour does not alter (except in the presence of one of the special implications already mentioned), the proportion of it which lies before this stress prominence and after it does vary; indeed, where both prominences coincide, as in example 117 below) all may lie after it. This proportion is inseparably bound up with the sequence of units, for the stress prominence is located either within or immediately preceding the P/Ø unit. This is illustrated in the following examples, where the stress prominence is marked ' ; every syllable after this lies in the tail.

(110)

İlle bu aileyile
N^{Av} N-(y)I^E

Please ("absolutely")

introduce us

bizi tanıştır.
N-(y)I^E VP

to ("with") that family.

(111)

Halktan para
N-DEn N-(y)I^E

They collect

toplıyorlar.
VP

money from the people.

(112)

Beni hep
N-(y)I^E N^{Av}

They

always

cenup tarafına
N-(y)E
gönderiyorlar.
VP

send

me

to southern districts.

In this last example, it is still the pre-P/P unit that has the contour stress prominence, even though it may seem at first sight to be far removed from the P/P, for it is the stressable syllable of the $\underbrace{N^{-(n)}\bar{M}}_{\text{}} + \underbrace{N^{-(s)}\bar{I}(n)}_{\text{}} \text{ word-group}$ (cenup tarafı) that bears it.

The next three examples have the P/P unit in the initial position so that the two prominences coalesce:

(113)

Sordum
VP

I asked

bir kaç arkadaşım.
 $N^{-(y)}E$

a few friends of mine.

(114)

Güzel alıyor
 N^{Av} VP

It picks up
the sound

herhalde sesi.
 N^{Av} $N^{-(y)}\bar{I}$

well,
I suppose.

(115)

Güzel herhalde
NP N^{Av}

It must be nice

oraları.
 $N^{-\emptyset}$

there,
I suppose ("thereabouts is
nice, I suppose")

Returning to those units or exponents whose position is grammatically determined to look at their position in relation to that of the stress prominence, it can be seen in no. 111 above that the $N^{-(y)}\bar{I}$ (para) is not only immediately before the P/P unit as already stated, but also coincides with the stress prominence. Interrogative words show the same

coincidence of position and stress prominence:

(116)

<u>Ondan</u> <u>ne</u> beklenir?	What can one expect of that?
N-DEn N-Ø VP	("What is expected of from it?")

(117)

<u>Kim</u> yaptı bunları?	Who did these (things)?
N-Ø VP N-(y)I	

(118)

<u>Nasıl</u> götüreceksin bunu?	How are you going to take
N-Av VP N-(y)I	this away?

It is possible that the relationship between position within the Clause and possession of the stress prominence may be a causal one, $N^{-(y)I}$ and N^C and interrogative units occupying the position immediately before the P/\bar{P} unit because they all require to receive the stress; that is, both have inherently not only word stress but also Clause stress.¹ However that may be, the fact remains that

- (i) in a Clause containing either of these, the speaker has no choice over their position,
- (ii) the stress prominence is either the pre- P/\bar{P} unit, as here, or the P/\bar{P} unit itself.

There are two other cases in which the speaker has no choice over the unit to bear the stress prominence: it is grammatically determined where the P/\bar{P} is either interrogative or negative. That is to say, stress prominence coincides

primary
1. There is only one/stress in each piece;

(i)

with the stressable syllable immediately preceding

(a) the unstressable (enclitic) DS which marks verbal negation (-ME-),

(b) the unstressable (enclitic) particle mİ which marks verbal interrogation, unless negation (-ME-) is also present, when that takes precedence

(ii)

with the marker of negation itself (değil 'not') in NP/N \emptyset .

(119)

Bunlar bir türlü
 N- \emptyset N^{Av}

They

cannot take note(s)

not tutamiyorlar.
 N-(~~ME~~) \emptyset VP

any how.

(120)

Zeytinyağı çekmiyor.
 N-(~~ME~~) \emptyset VP

Rice doesn't soak up

pirinç.
 N- \emptyset

olive oil.

(121)

Dönecekler mi tekrar?
 VP N^{Av}

Are they going to come back again?

(122)

Beraber hep türkçe mi
 N^{Av} N^{Av} N-(~~ME~~) \emptyset

(Is it) always Turkish
(that)

you speak

konuşuyorsunuz?
 VP

together?

(123)

Koyú mu, içersiniz,
 N^C VP

Do you drink tea strong?

çay1?
 $N-(\emptyset)I$

(124)

Fransız, değilsiniz.
 N^C NP

You are not French.

The findings can be summarised thus: the stress prominence of a Turkish Clause is placed either just before the P/Ø unit (which is where the $N-(\emptyset)I$, N^C or an interrogative unit is placed) or in the P/Ø unit itself. It was seen also that there are three units whose position is fixed. It follows that when a speaker wished to emphasis one of the other (positionally free) nominal units he moves that unit¹ into the pre-P/Ø unit position. The following example has been made up to illustrate this¹:

(125)

Bugün, çocuk, köpeğini,
 N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)I$

The child brought her dog

sınıfa, getirdi.
 $N-(y)E$ VP

to class today.

This is the "basic" sequence, that is, the least "coloured"

-
1. It contains more single-word units than a smoothly-flowing Clause would have and is therefore rather ungainly; nevertheless, it is perfectly "correct" and serves to illustrate the principle in question better than any of the Clauses available in the corpus.

one. Theoretically, however, since every unit here possesses freedom of position, every one can be placed in any position. Not every possibility has been tested, for there must be scores; the point is sufficiently made by giving six others only:

(126)

Bugün çocuk sınıfa
 N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought her dog

köpeğini getirdi.
 $N-(y)I$ VP

to class today.

(127)

Bugün köpeğini sınıfa
 N^{Av} $N-(y)I$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought her dog

çocuk getirdi.
 $N-\emptyset$ VP

to class today, (or "It was the child who ...").

(128)

Bugün çocuk köpeğini
 N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)I$

The child did bring her dog

sınıfa getirdi.
 $N-(y)E$ VP

to class today.

(129)

Çocuk köpeğini sınıfa
 $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)I$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought her dog

bugün getirdi.
 N^{Av} VP

to class today, (or "It was today that ...")

(130)

Çocuk köpeğini sınıfa
 $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)I$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought her dog

getirdi bugün.
 VP N^{Av}

to class today.

(131)

Çocuk köpeğini sınıfa
 $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)I$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought her dog

getirdi bugün
 VP N^{Av}

to class today.

It is clearly seen that whereas English retains the same word order throughout and shifts the stress prominence, Turkish retains the stress prominence and moves the words to it.

To point the contrast, the word köpek may be substituted for köpeğini (that is, $N-(\cancel{y})I$ replaces $N-(y)I$):

(132)

Bugün çocuk sınıfa
 N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)E$

The child brought one/some
 from the class of object 'dog'

köpek getirdi
 $N-(\cancel{y})I$ VP

to class today.

In this case, not only does the obligation of maintaining the sequence $N-(\cancel{y})I + P/\cancel{P}$ reduce the number of possibilities but even the following is unacceptable:

*Bugün çocuk sınıfa
 N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ $N-(y)E$

The child did bring one/some
 from the class of object 'dog'

köpek getirdi¹
 $N-(\cancel{y})I$ VP

to class today.

Conclusion:

The discussion has shown

1. To the Turks asked, this feels like the answer to a question, however, as such it would be unacceptable; that would have to be:

"Bugün çocuk sınıfa köpek getirdi mi?" "Did the child ..."

"Getirdi". "Yes, she did."

- (i) that the fixity of position exhibited in the majority of Word-groups obtains in the Clause only in three cases, and
- (ii) that the positional freedom possessed by almost all units cannot be explained by the earlier hypothesis which suggested that freedom of position might be associated with presence of a suffix marker; it was found to be so in the case of all the suffixed-marker units, but not in that of N^{Av} and $N^{-\emptyset}$, which are without overt suffix.

Nevertheless, two rules of position can be identified:

- (i) the position of the $N^{-(\cancel{X})\cancel{X}}$ unit alternant, N^C and of any interrogative nominal unit has been found to be the pre-P/ \cancel{P} unit one invariably and thus to be grammatically determined. Accordingly these need be mentioned no more.
- (ii) the remaining units, free positionally, are found to be placed by choice in the pre-P/ \cancel{P} unit when they are to receive special emphasis.

Many questions remain unanswered, however; for instance:

1. What governs the sequence of units in that part of the intonation contour before the stress prominence and within the tail?
2. Is the initial pitch prominence of the contour a factor affecting sequence?

3. Is the verbal content of the low pitched, unemphatic tail really "less important" than what precedes it (This is the Turk's stock explanation of the "inverted" sentence)?

Possible answers will be suggested in Chapter 5. Meanwhile there is much more to be done in identifying those sequences which are grammatically determined, before the factors governing the speaker's choice in the rest can be dealt with. They will now be sought in the structure next in size to the Simple Clause but at the same level as that, namely, the Expanded Clause.

CHAPTER TWO

COMBINATION AND SEQUENCE AT CLAUSE LEVEL - 2:

THE EXPANDED CLAUSE

In the previous chapter fixity of sequence was found to be a feature of some Word-groups and Clause-unit combinations but not of others; the suggestion that its presence may be associated with absence of suffix-marker of relationship was tested and found inadequate.

In this chapter, the Expanded Clause is examined with the object of identifying those sequences which are grammatically determined and those which are free. Some methods of indicating relationship are also shown; recognition of these will help later in the identification of the larger structures of speech.

THE EXPANDED CLAUSE

The Simple Clause, like the Word-group, can be expanded by compounding or by multiplicity or both.

Expansion by compounding:

Just as the Word-group is deemed "compound" when the exponent of one of its constituent parts is another Word-group (termed "included"), so a Clause is "compound" when the exponent of one of its constituent parts, that is, Clause-units, is another Clause, also termed "included".¹

1. This term is also the one used by Turkish grammarians, a clause acting as exponent of the constituent of another being called girişik ("entered into"). Cf. Ediskun (1963), p. 379; Ergin (1962), p. 384.

In the exposition that follows attention is especially directed towards the Finite/Non-finite nature of the Clause which is included, since this not only illustrates how poor a guide morphology is to function but also highlights one of the most significant facts of combination in Turkish, viz. that theoretically any structure can be operated as a Non-head.

Included Clauses:

An Included Clause may be the exponent of any Clause-unit except the verbal variant (VP/V \bar{P}) of the P/ \bar{P} unit. It may realise either the whole of a unit or only part of it. Thus it may be the exponent of either

1. an unqualified Clause-unit Head; or
2. the Non-head member of a Word-group constituting the whole of, or part of, the unit.

1. In the first, the Included Clause is, of course, the exponent of the whole unit, if that be simple. It is either

- (i) a tradition^{al} "noun clause" (in our terminology, \bar{P} .Cl with suffix marker from group (b) (p.60) + IS of the nominal series)
- as in the following:

(133)

Yanmasını, kasdetmiyorum. I don't mean its burning.
 $\sqrt{N}-(y)I$ VP

in which the Included Clause, a single unit one, is made up as follows:

- | | |
|------|---|
| yan | verb Root (intransitive);; |
| -ma | IS of the verbal series (b), creating a de-verbal noun; |
| -sın | DS of the nominal series (3rd person of the possessive set) |

- 1 IS of the nominal series $(-(y)I)$ marking the specified Direct Object.

Or it is

- (ii) a traditional "adverb clause" ($\cancel{F}.Cl$ with suffix marker form group (c)) as in

(134)

GülümseyEREK gitmiş
VN^{Av} VP

She herself

kendisi.
N- \emptyset

went (there) smiling.

It will be shown, however, that $F.Cl$ can function as exponent of an Included Clause in those units which are without overt suffix marker (viz. $N-\emptyset$, $N-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}$, N^C).

2. In the second, the Included Clause is a Qualifier. Thus:

- (i) if it is the exponent of Aj in a pattern A Word-group, it is a traditional "adjective clause" ($\cancel{F}.Cl$ with suffix marker from group (a) as in the following:

(135)

ayıklanMIS fasulye
VAj \rightarrow N $-(\cancel{s})\cancel{I}(\cancel{n})$

beans that have been strung

- (ii) if it is the exponent of a nominal qualifier (as in patterns B and C Word-groups) it is again a traditional "noun clause" ($\cancel{F}.Cl$ with IS of group (b)), as in:

(136)

onu anlamak meselesi

The problem of understanding
it

whose structure is: $N-(y)I$ \rightarrow VP $N-(s)I(n)$
 \rightarrow VN $-(\cancel{n})\cancel{I}\cancel{n}$ \rightarrow N $-(s)I(n)$

It will be shown, however, that a F.Cl may function as $N-(\emptyset)(\emptyset)(\emptyset)$, i.e. as Qualifier is a pattern B Word-group.

An Included Clause occupies the same position as the single word (N, Aj, Av) it replaces. This is seen most clearly when it is operating as a Non-head; for this reason, that function is described first.¹

I-Included Clauses functioning as Non-heads:

(A) The Included Clause is the exponent of Aj in the

Aj + N-(\emptyset)(\emptyset)(\emptyset) (pattern A) Word-group ("VAj"):

Only F.Cl (Non-finite Clauses) occur here.

(137)

bugün, yeDIĞİMİZ, fasulyeyi The bean(s) we ate today

This is a pattern A Word-group whose Aj is realised by a F.Cl consisting of two units, N^{Av} and $V\bar{P}$:

$$\begin{array}{c} N^{Av} \quad V\bar{P}^{+\emptyset} \quad N-(\emptyset)(\emptyset)(\emptyset) + -(y)I^1 \\ \hline \text{VAj} \quad \text{N}-(\emptyset)(\emptyset)(\emptyset) \\ \hline \text{N}-(y)I \end{array}$$

(138)

bu

these

yedişer, liraya

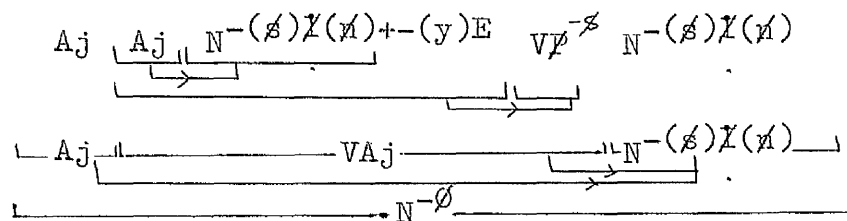
roses that I bought

alDIĞIM, güller

for seven liras each

-
1. Throughout this exposition the suffix marker of relationship present in the F.Cl is indicated by capital letters; there is of course no such marker where the Included Clause is Finite.
 2. The final IS is no longer indicated by the class symbol \bar{S} but specified.

the structure of which is:



that is, it is a pattern A Word-group with two exponents of Aj, the first simple, the second a $\overline{\text{P}}\text{.Cl}$ with two Units, of which $\text{N}^{-(\text{y})\text{E}}$ is realised by a simple pattern A Word-group.

(139)

kışın yiYECEĞİ pirinci the rice he will eat in winter

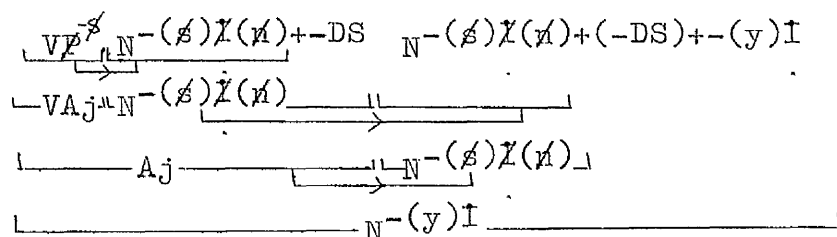
whose structure is identical with that of no. 137.

(140)

çalışmıYACAĞI zamanki his situation

vəziyyətini when ("at the time at which")
he will not work

The structure of this is:



a pattern A Word-group whose Aj is derived from another pattern A Word-group having a single-unit $\overline{\text{P}}\text{.Cl}$ as its Aj.

(141)

yazı tutACA şey a thing that will hold writing

a pattern A Word-group which has a two-unit $\overline{\text{P}}\text{.Cl}$ as exponent of its Aj member.

(142)

çok konuşAN birisi

a person who talks a lot

similar to nos. 137 and 139.

(143)

karıkoca, çalışAN

the child of a family

bir ailenin çocuğU

the husband and wife ("wife-husband") of which work

$\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \text{---} \text{N}^{-\emptyset} \quad \text{V}\cancel{\text{P}} + \cancel{\text{S}} \quad \text{Aj} \text{---} \text{N}^{-(\cancel{\text{S}})\cancel{\text{I}}(\cancel{\text{n}})} + (\text{n})\text{In} \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{s})\text{I}(\text{n})} \\ \text{N}^{-\emptyset} \text{---} \text{V}\cancel{\text{P}} \end{array}$

$\begin{array}{c} \text{VAj} \text{---} \text{N}^{-(\cancel{\text{S}})\cancel{\text{I}}(\cancel{\text{n}})} \\ \text{N}^{-(\text{n})\text{In}} \text{---} \text{N}^{-(\text{s})\text{I}(\text{n})} \end{array}$

that is, a pattern C Word-group whose Non-head member is realised by a pattern A Word-group having as Head another pattern A Word-group and as Non-head (Aj) a $\cancel{\text{F}}\text{.Cl}$ of two units - $\text{N}^{-\emptyset}$ which is multiple, and $\text{V}\cancel{\text{P}}$

(144)

bitMEZ, tükenMEZ, para

inexhaustible money ("money that does not finish (or) becomes exhausted")

which is simply a pattern A Word-group with a one-units $\cancel{\text{F}}\text{.Cl}$ as Aj, that unit being multiple.

(B) The Included Clause is the exponent of $\text{N}^{-(\cancel{\text{n}})\cancel{\text{I}}(\cancel{\text{n}})}$ in the

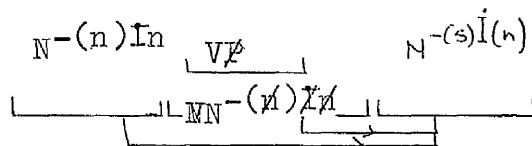
$\text{N}^{-(\cancel{\text{n}})\cancel{\text{I}}(\cancel{\text{n}})} + \text{N}^{-(\text{s})\text{I}(\text{n})}$ (pattern B) Word-group (" $\text{VN}^{-(\cancel{\text{n}})\cancel{\text{I}}(\cancel{\text{n}})}$ "):

Both (i) $\cancel{\text{F}}\text{.Cl}$ and (ii) F.CI occur here.

(i) The Included Clause (VN-(n)I(n)) is Non-finite:

(145)

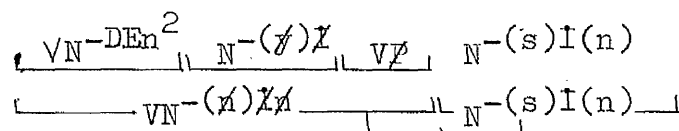
onların yaşayış tarzları¹ their mode of living



(146)

satandan para the question of taking

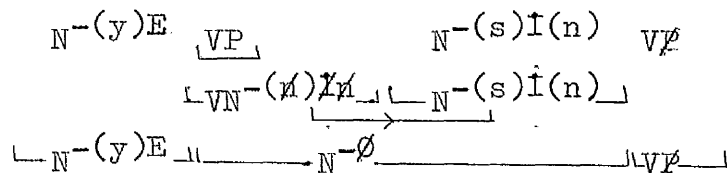
alMAK meselesini money from the seller ("from
the one who sells")



(ii) The Included Clause (VN-(n)I(n)) is Finite:

(147)**³

Anneme "öldü" haberi When
the news that he had died
gelince ("the 'he-has-died' news")
came
to my mother,



1. See also p. 51 above.

2. The exponent of this N is also an Included Clause.

3. "***" indicates that the quotation is taken from a literary work, not from the corpus on tape.

(149)**

Kuşaklı başkâtibin

With

the cummerbunded head-clerk's

"Hâlâ İstanbuldan

"There's-still-no-word-

bir ses seda yok,

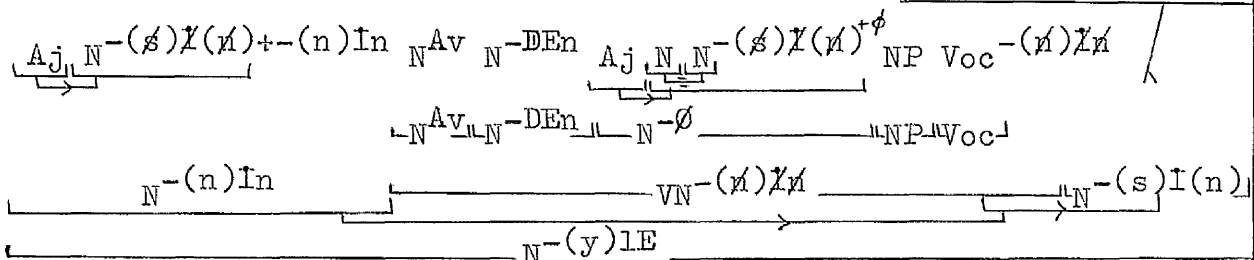
from-Istanbul,

hemşire hanım"

miss"

cevabiyle

reply,

 $N^{-(s)I(n)+-(y)lE}$ 

which is simply a pattern C Word-group (operated as $N^{-(y)lE}$ Clause-unit) having a pattern B Word-group as its second member; it is this which has a F.Cl as exponent of its Non-head member.

(C) The Included Clause is the exponent of $N^{-(n)In}$ in the

$N^{-(n)In} \# N^{-(s)I(n)}$ (pattern C) Word-group (" $VN^{-(n)In}$ "):

Only F.Cls occur here.

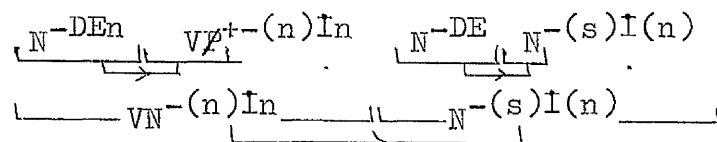
(150)**

Dışarıdan aldıkları

three-fourths ("three in four")

dörtte üçü

of what we buy from abroad



II - Included Clauses functioning as Clause-unit Heads:

It is most convenient to present the Clause-units having a Clause as exponent in this order:

1. non-adverbial units having an overt marker (i.e. $N^{-(y)I}$ only),
- 2-4 non-adverbial units lacking overt marker (i.e. $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}$, $N^{-\emptyset}$, N^C),
- 5-6. adverbial units (N^{Av} and the suffix-marked ones).

1. The Included Clause is the exponent of the $N^{-(y)I}$ unit-alternant (" $VN^{-(y)I}$ "):

Only Non-finite Clauses occur here, namely \cancel{F} .Cls having suffix marker from group (b) on p. 60; $-mEk$, however, does not occur in this use in the modern language.

(151)

YanMASını kasetmiyorum. I don't mean its burning.

$VN^{-(y)I}$ VP

(152)

Sizin sesinizin

Don't you want

your voice

bulunduğunu

to occur ("be found")

in it? ("Don't you want the oc-

istemiıyor musunuz içinde? curring of your voice in it?")

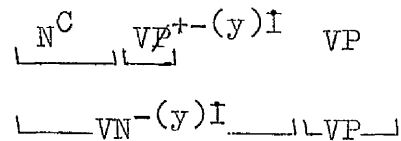
$N^{-(n)In}$ $N^{-(s)I(n)+-(n)In}$ $V\cancel{P}^{1-(s)I(n)+-(y)I}$ VP N^{DE}

$N^{-(n)In}$ $VN^{-(s)I(n)}$

$VN^{-(y)I}$ VP N^{DE}

1. This has an inherent $-(s)I(n)$.

(153)

lâzım gelenleri alırız.We buy (the things) that are
("come") necessary.

2. The Included Clause is the exponent of the $N^{-(\cancel{y})I}$ unit-
alternant (" $VN^{-(\cancel{y})I}$ "):

Contrary to the situation in other Clause-units, here it is the F.Cl which occurs most commonly, F.Cl being found in one case only.

- (i) The Included Clause ($VN^{-(\cancel{y})I}$) is Non-finite:

Only that which bears the suffix-marker -mEk occurs here and then only as Direct Object of the one verb iste- 'want':

(154)

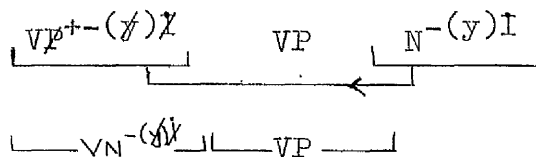
GörMEK istiyorum

I want to see

memleketimi.

my country.

In this the Included Clause is discontinuous:



(155)

Burada da

Here, too,

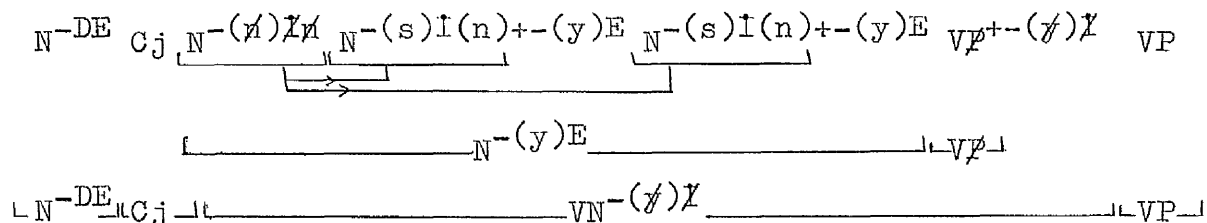
yemek şeyine, kursuna

I wanted to go

gitMEK istiyordum.

to ⁸cookery what's-its-name
course.

That is:



It will be noted that the Clause-head bearing -mEk must precede iste- immediately, but only the Clause-head. A Clause marked with -mEk is not the only type of $\text{VN}^{-(\cancel{y})}\cancel{X}$ possible with iste-, as will be seen in the next section.

(ii) The Included Clause ($\text{VN}^{-(\cancel{y})}\cancel{X}$) is Finite:

This is possible only when the Verb whose Direct Object this unit is is drawn from a small class having inherently transitive roots: this includes bil- ('know', san- 'think', 'believe', de-*¹ 'say', de-**¹ 'call', 'name', iste- 'want', 'wish'.²

Juxtaposition of $\text{VN}^{-(\cancel{y})}\cancel{X}$ and VP/VP occurs with all of these. Fixity of sequence is also present where the verb is de-* or iste- (see examples nos. 156-9) but not where it is one of the others listed (nos. 160-5).

1. de- has three uses, indicated de-*, de-**, de-***.

2. Cf. Ergin (1962), p.384; he terms this type of sentence "iç içe birleşik cümle" ('one inside the other compound sentence'). Lewis deals with some of them under "asyndetic subordination" (p.274).

(156)

Sen tüccara

meaning (or, 'for the reason
that') "You do not look like
a merchant",

benzemiyorsun diye

$\underbrace{N-\emptyset}_{\text{N}} \underbrace{N-(y)E}_{\text{N}} \underbrace{VP}_{\text{VP}} +-(\not\exists)\not\exists \quad V\cancel{P}$
 $\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VN}} -(\not\exists)\not\exists \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VP}}$

(157)

kardeşim gelsin diye

so that my sister might come

$\underbrace{N-\emptyset}_{\text{N}} \underbrace{VP}_{\text{VP}} +-(\not\exists)\not\exists \quad V\cancel{P}$
 $\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VN}} -(\not\exists)\not\exists \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VP}}$

The same structure occurs in the next example :

(158)**

Kalbi kırılınsın istemem

I don't want his heart to
break ("I don't want 'Let his
heart break'")

(159)

Şimdi kendi nerede dersiniz? Where would you say he is now-

("Where is he now?" you
would say")

$\underbrace{N^{Av}}_{\text{N}^{Av}} \underbrace{N-\emptyset}_{\text{N}} \underbrace{NP}_{\text{NP}} +-(\not\exists)\not\exists \quad VP$

$\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VN}} -(\not\exists)\not\exists \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VP}}$

(160)

Biliyor musun bilmem.

I don't know whether you know
("Do you know?" I don't know").

$\underbrace{VP}_{\text{VP}} +-(\not\exists)\not\exists \quad VP$
 $\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VN}} -(\not\exists)\not\exists \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\text{VP}}$

The next example is basically the same as the last but has the reverse sequence:

(161)

Bilmem biliyor musunuz? I don't know whether you know.

VP VP $+-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$
 \hookrightarrow VP \hookrightarrow VN $-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$

(162)

Bu kaç senelik Do you know

biliyor musunuz? how many years (old) this is?
 ("This is how many years (old)?"
 do you know?")

N- \emptyset Aj N $-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}(\cancel{\text{N}})+\text{--DS}$ $+-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$ VP
 \hookrightarrow Aj \hookrightarrow Aj
 \hookrightarrow N- \emptyset \hookrightarrow NP
 \hookrightarrow VN $-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$ \hookrightarrow VP

(163)**

Ben boş durur muyum Do you think

sanıyorsun? that I would stay idle?
 ("Shall I stay idle?" you
 think")

N- \emptyset N^C VP $+-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$ VP
 \hookrightarrow VN $-(\cancel{\text{X}})\cancel{\text{X}}$ \hookrightarrow VP

(164)

Dedim "Sen yap çorbayı". I said "You make the soup".

VF N-∅ VP N-(∅)I
VP VN-(∅)I

In the last example de- precedes its Object, in the next it follows:

(165)

Her aleyhinde bulunanı "Are you going to kill
sen öldürecek misin? everyone who is against you?
dedim. ("every in-your-opposition-
 occurring-one")
 I said.

Aj N-DE V∅ +(y)I N-∅ VP +(∅)I VP
VN-(y)I N-∅ VP
VN-(∅)I VP

3. The Included Clause is the exponent of the N-∅ unit ("VN-∅")

Both (i) ~~MC~~l and (ii) F.Cl occur here.

(i) The Included Clause (VN-∅) is Non-finite:

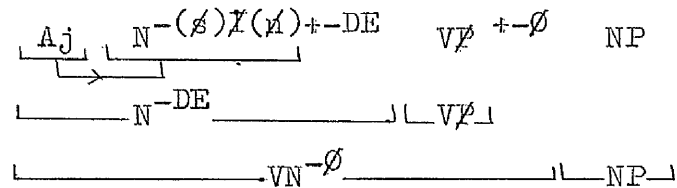
(166)

Yoğurtla tutturması zor. Getting it to take ("its-
 causing to take") with yogurt
 is difficult.

N-(y)IE V∅ +(∅) NP
VN-∅ NP

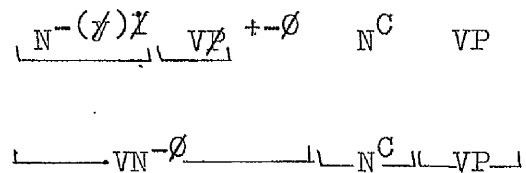
(167)

Ağır ateşte yapMAK iyidir. Doing it on a slow heat is good.



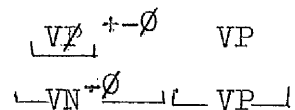
(168)

Yazı deDİĞİN böyle olur. What you (properly) call
'calligraphy' is thus.



(169)

YapmaYAN kalmadı. There isn't anybody who didn't
do (it) ("He/they who does/do/
did not do (it) does not re-
main").



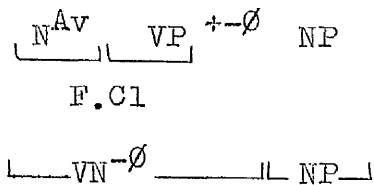
(ii) The Included Clause (VN^{-∅}) is Finite:

This is only possible when the verb whose grammatical subject the Included Clause is is de-*** 'mean'. The two units (VN^{-∅} and VP/V∅) must be juxtaposed but their sequence is optional:

(170)

Epey gezdiniz demek. It means that you have travel-
led quite a lot ("You-have-
travelled-quite-a-lot meaning/
to mean is").

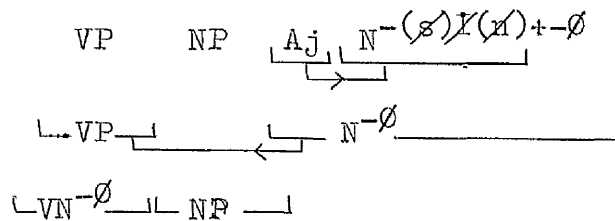
That is:



(171)

Düzeldi demek bu iş.

It means that this business
has sorted (itself out).



It will be observed that the form of de- here is always VP , which in fact constitutes a derived NP; that is, there are grammatical constraints placed upon this type of compound Clause.

4. The Included Clause is the exponent of the N^{C} unit (" VN^{C} "):

Both (i) VP .Cl and (ii) F.Cl occur here.

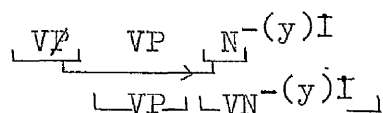
(i) The Included Clause (VN^{C}) is Non-finite:

As with the simple form of the Complement Clause-unit, there is some overlap with adverbial forms; that is, a form commonly used to qualify the action of the verb is used to qualify a Noun instead:

(172)

Gülümseyerek görmüş onu.

She saw him smiling (i.e. he
was smiling, not she).



(173)**

Ömrümde ilk defa

For the first time in my life

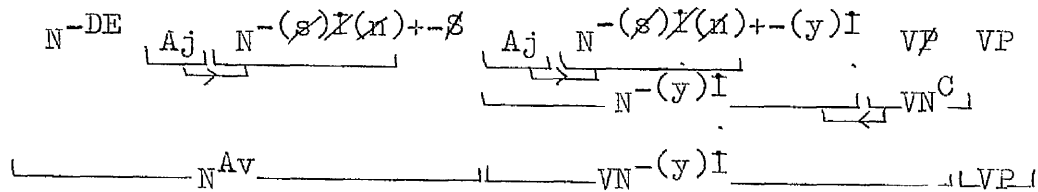
bir insanı

I watched

a person

uyurKEN seyrettim.

sleeping.



(174)

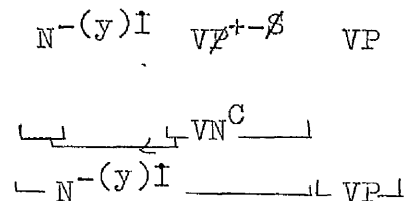
Çinileri olduĞU GİBİ

They took away

the tiles

götürmüşler.

(just) as they were.

(ii) The Included Clause (VN^C) is Finite:

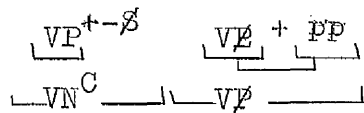
For a VN^C to be F.Cl the Predicate of which this is the Complement must be Verbal (VP/VP) and be formed either

- (a) from one of a restricted class of intransitive verbs which includes görün- 'seem', gözük- 'appear', 'seem', sayıl- 'be deemed', şaş- 'be surprised', or
- (b) from one of a restricted class of transitive verbs which includes san- 'think', 'believe'.¹

1. These classes are as yet only tentative.

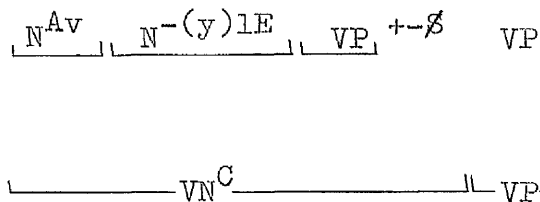
As with $VN^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{x}}$ realised by F.Cl, VN^C realised by F.Cl must precede immediately the P/\cancel{P} unit whose Complement it is.
(a)(175)**

Uyur görülmelerine rağmen despite their appearing to be
sleeping ("despite their-'he-
is-sleeping'- seeming")



(176)**

Hep tavşanlarla uğraşır, She appeared to be
always occupying herself with
gözüküyordu. the rabbits ("She-is-always-
occupying-herself-with-the-
rabbits she appeared").



This could also be used in the following sequence:

Uğraşır, gözüküyordu,

hep, tavşanlarla.

showing how it is only the Head of the Included Clause which is restricted as to position.

(b) The next structure, in which the VN^C which is F.Cl is Complement in a Clause whose Verb is transitive, is possibly more revealing than any other structure of the ability Turkish has to reduce structures of almost any type to the status of Qualifier. In this one, the Clause which contains the

VN^C also has an obligatory $N^{-(y)}I$ Unit. It is to this that the VN^C is the Complement. The VN^C being a F.Cl, however, it contains a marker of person in its P/\bar{P} constituent; there is lack of concord between this and the "person" of $N^{-(y)}I$.

(177)**

Seni büyü yapar sanırlar. They think that you cast spell(s)
("They think you 'She casts
spell(s)('").

$N^{-(y)}I$ $\underline{N^{-(\cancel{y})}I}$ \underline{VP} $+-\cancel{\$}$ VP

$\underline{N^{-(y)}I}$ $\underline{VN^C}$ \underline{VP}

(178)**

Sizi o sandık. We thought that you were he.
("We thought you 'He it is'")

$N^{-(y)}I$ $\underline{NP}^{+-\cancel{\$}}$ VP

$\underline{N^{-(y)}I}$ $\underline{VN^C}$ \underline{VP}

(179)**

Beni Did you think
that I
buna razı olurum mu would be agreeable to that?
("Did you think me 'I will be
sandınız? agreeable to that?'")

Even the supposedly literal translation does not render the Turkish accurately, for the interrogation is not of the Verb ('you thought') but of the phrase buna razı olurum ('I will be agreeable to that'); that is, interrogation is moved from the Verb Unit (so that it is sandınız not sandınız mı) on to one of the non-predicative nominal units for special emphasis. That fact that it is not the verb olurum which is interrogat-

ive (that would be olur muyum) shows that it is the whole phrase (buna razı olurum) that is made interrogative; it can therefore only be nominal:

$$\text{N}^{-(y)}\text{I} \quad \text{N}^{-(y)}\text{E} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{VP} \quad +\text{mI} \quad \text{VP}$$

$$\text{N}^{-(y)}\text{I} \quad \text{VN}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{VP}$$

It will be observed that in the type of structure exemplified in nos. 177, 178 and 179 the sequence is fixed:

$$\text{N}^{-(y)}\text{I} + \text{VN}^{\text{C}} + \text{VP/VP}$$

5. The Included Clause is the exponent of the Suffix-marked

Adverbial Units:

Only F.CI occurs here.

These are in effect VN to which the appropriate IS of the nominal series is attached.

VN-DE

(180)

$$\text{VerMEK+TE devam edin.}$$

$$\text{VN-DE} \quad \text{VP}$$

Continue to give (it) ("in giving" (it)).

VN-DEn

(181)

$$\text{YapTIGIM+DAN pişman oldum.}$$

$$\text{VN-DEn} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{VP}$$

I am sorry I did (it) ("from my doing (it)").

$$VN^{-(y)}E$$

6. The Included Clause is the exponent of the N^{Av} unit (" VN^{Av} "):

All but one of these Clauses are $\bar{F}.Cl.$

(i) The Included Clause (VN^{Av}) is Non-finite:

The IS which mark verbal adverbs (those in group (c) on p. 60) are very numerous; as all exhibit the same features of combination and sequence a selection will suffice:

(185)

Su, iyice, kaynaYINCA,

When the water is thoroughly
boiling

atiyorsun, pirinci.

you put ("throw") the rice
(into it).²

$\underbrace{N-\emptyset}_{VN^{Av}} \underbrace{N^{Av} VP}_{+-\bar{S}} N^{-(y)I}$

$\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{VN^{Av}} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{VP} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{N^{-(y)I}}$

(186)

KaynaYINCA, aynı, şekilde, su,

When the water is boiling
in the same (=as before)
you put the

atiyorsun,

you put the what's-it, the

seyi, pirinci.

rice (into it).

$\underbrace{VP}_{\underbrace{Aj}_{\underbrace{N^{-(\bar{S})X(\bar{N})}_{+-DE}}}} \underbrace{N-\emptyset}_{VN^{Av}} \underbrace{VP}_{\underbrace{N^{-(y)I}}_{\underbrace{N^{-(y)I}}}} \underbrace{N^{-(y)I}}_{\underbrace{N^{-(y)I}}}$

$\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{VN^{Av}} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{VP} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{N^{-(y)I}}$

1. (From previous page) For the use of a pattern A "word-group" to express the possessor-possessioned relationship, instead of the pattern C one as described above (pp.40-1) see Swift, p.207.
2. For the interpretation of VN^{Av} as a "subordinate Clause" instead of as a Clause-unit, see Chapter 3.

(187)

Evi kiraya mı

Are you letting the house

veriyorsunuz sizgelİNCE?

when you come ("upon coming")?

$$N^{-(y)}I \quad N^{-(y)}E \quad VP \quad N-\emptyset \quad \underline{V\cancel{\emptyset}}$$

$$\underline{\underline{N^{-(y)}I}} \quad \underline{\underline{N^{-(y)}E}} \quad \underline{\underline{VP}} \quad \underline{\underline{N-\emptyset}} \quad \underline{\underline{VN^{Av}}}$$

(188)

İngilteredeYKEN

While/When in England

kullanıyordum.

I used to use (it).

$$\underline{N\cancel{\emptyset}} \quad VP$$

$$\underline{\underline{VN^{Av}}} \quad \underline{\underline{VP}}$$

(189)

Kaçtı, ben, ordaYKEN?

How much was it when I was there?

$$NP \quad \underline{N-\emptyset} \quad \underline{N\cancel{\emptyset}}$$

$$\underline{\underline{NP}} \quad \underline{\underline{VN^{Av}}}$$

(190)

Ben, zorluk, çektim

I experienced difficulty

öğrenirKEN

while learning (it).

$$N-\emptyset \quad N^{-(\cancel{\emptyset})}I \quad VP \quad \underline{N\cancel{\emptyset}}$$

$$\underline{\underline{N-\emptyset}} \quad \underline{\underline{N^{-(\cancel{\emptyset})}I}} \quad \underline{\underline{VP}} \quad \underline{\underline{VN^{Av}}}$$

(192)

GelirKEN „getirmedi_m._iI didn't bring (it) when I
came ("when/while coming")
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{VN}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

(193)

Açmamak „lâzım_i

One must not lift off ("open")

pişirirKEN

the lid of the pan

tencerenin kapağını.

while cooking (it).

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V}\emptyset^{+-\emptyset} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{V}\emptyset \quad \text{N}^{-(n)}\text{In} \quad \text{N}^{-(s)}\text{I}(n)^{+-\text{(y)}}\text{I} \\ \text{V}\emptyset \quad \text{N}^{-(y)}\text{I} \\ \text{VN}^{\emptyset} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VN}^{\text{Av}} \end{array}$$

(194)

Burada „lisan_i

You went

öğrenDİKTEN SONRA

after learning/having learnt

gittiniz.

the language here.

$$\text{N}^{-\text{DE}} \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I} \quad \text{V}\emptyset^{+-\emptyset} \quad \text{VP}$$

$$\text{VN}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{VP}$$

(195)

Haberim „yoktu_iI knew nothing about it ("my
knowledge was non-existent")evlenENE KADAR.

until marrying.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N}^{-\emptyset} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{V}\emptyset \\ \text{N}^{-\emptyset} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VN}^{\text{Av}} \end{array}$$

(196)

Sütü

You must boil

iyice kabarıANA KADAR

the milk

kaynatacaksın.

until it rises well.

$$\begin{array}{c} N-(y)I \quad \underline{N^{Av} \quad VP} \quad VP \\ \underline{N-(y)I} \quad \underline{VN^{Av} \quad VP} \end{array}$$

(197)

Ben

Because

I

çok soğan koyDUĞUM İÇİN

put (in) a lot of onions

şeker koymuyorum.

I don't put sugar (in).

$$\begin{array}{c} N-\emptyset \quad \underline{Aj \quad N-(s)I(n)+-(s)I} \quad VP \quad N-(s)I \quad VP \\ \underline{N-\emptyset} \quad \underline{VN^{Av} \quad N-(s)I} \quad VP \end{array}$$

(198)

Bizleri konuşturMAK İÇİN

In order to make us speak

bir mevzu atın ortaya.

throw out a topic.

$$\begin{array}{c} N-(y)I \quad VP \quad \underline{Aj \quad N-(s)I(n)+-(s)I} \quad VP \quad N-(y)E \\ \underline{VN^{Av} \quad N-(y)I} \quad \underline{VP \quad N-(y)E} \end{array}$$

(199)

Onu vekâlet aldı

The Ministry took it

bastırMAK İÇİN

to print (it)

$$\begin{array}{c} N-(y)I \quad N-\emptyset \quad VP \quad \underline{VZ}^{+-s} \\ \underline{N-(y)I} \quad \underline{N-\emptyset} \quad \underline{VP} \quad \underline{VN^{Av}} \end{array}$$

- (i) Both $\bar{F}.Cl$ and $F.Cl$ may be Included;
- (ii) Units with overt suffix markers ($N^{-(y)}I$ and the suffix-marked adverbial units) are made compound only with $\bar{F}.Cl$;
- (iii) All units without overt suffix marker (N^{Av} , $N^{-(y)}I$, $N^{-\emptyset}$, N^C) are made compound either with $\bar{F}.Cl$ or with $F.Cl$.

As regards sequence:

- (iv) The Included Clause is seen to occupy the position occupied by the simple (i.e. single-word) exponent it replaces; this is shown most clearly when it operates as the qualifying member of a Word-group but is also true when it operates as the whole Clause-unit.

The position obligatory for Included Clauses which are $F.Cl$ is that which is available to the single-word exponent. The fact that the Included $F.Cl$ does have to occupy a fixed position (viz. juxtaposed to the P/\bar{P} unit, and in most cases with fixity of sequence also) is in accordance with the hypothesis put forward earlier, that the absence of suffix-marker indicating relationship is associated with the presence of position as indicator.

- (v) Sequence within an Included Clause is seen to be unaffected by the Clause's being included: any sequence possible in the Simple Clause in isolation is possible when that Simple Clause is

included. Thus, even though in most cases the P/P unit of the Included Clause is placed last, in no. 186 the P/P unit is seen standing before all other units, while in nos. 154, 171, 172 and 176(b), the Included Clauses are discontinuous.

Discussion of the principle of compounding and its effect upon sequence will be continued in Chapter 3, where the Sentence is examined; but before that can be done, the principles of combination occurring when expansion is by multiplicity must be described, for there the principles are different.

Expansion by multiplicity¹

Examination of Clause expansion which uses two or more like units in apposition reveals (a) many sequences which are determined either grammatically or by usage² and therefore do not require the speaker to exercise choice, and also (b) some of the devices employed in joining like units, an appreciation of which will prove useful in the identification of larger structures.

These conjunctive devices are various and may conveniently be used as headings under which to describe the simple types of multiple unit.

-
1. Like Quirk (Quirk (1954)), I find the distinction between co-ordinate and paratactic impossible to maintain, since in Turkish "coordination" is achieved far more frequently by juxtaposition ("parataxis") than by use of a conjunction (the two have already been illustrated in Chapter 1); he uses the term non-dependent to cover both, describing co-ordination without conjunction as having "zero relating element".

1 It may be sound resemblance of some kind that is the principal marker of relationship. The items may constitute the widely recognised patterns, (a) the "doublet"³ (as in no. 201⁴) or (b) the "manufactured doublet"⁵ (as in nos. 202 and 203⁶):

(a)

(201)

Çolugumuza, çocuğumuza

which is/are necessary

lâzım gelen

for our wives and children

Here çoluk çocuk is the doublet; the structure of the Clause is:

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{N-(y)E} \quad \underline{N-(y)E} \quad \underline{N^C} \quad \underline{VP} \\ \underline{\quad N-(y)E \quad \quad \quad N^C \quad \quad VP} \end{array}$$

(202)

Kitaptan, mitaptan,

It is not learnt

Öğrenilmiyor.

from books and such.

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{N-DEn} \quad \underline{N-DEn} \quad \underline{VP} \\ \underline{\quad N-DEn \quad \quad \quad VP} \end{array}$$

1. (continued from previous page). This is very suitable to the present work. Thus, the relationship between the members of a structure exhibiting multiplicity is "non-dependent" while in compounding it is dependent.
2. As is the sequence "black and white" and "Oxford and Cambridge" in English.
3. Cf. Lewis, p.236; Swift, p.121.⁴ Also illustrated here on p.71 ("allak bullak"), p.104 ("bitmez tükenmez"), p.106 ("ses seda") and later (no.335 on p.281).
5. Cf. Lewis, p.237; Swift, pp.120-121.⁶ Also later, (no.331 on p.272, no.332 on p.273, no.371 on p.306A).

(203)

Temizlettim memizlettim. I had (it) cleaned and so on.
 VP VP

In both of these structures the number of items is restricted to two. Both exhibit juxtaposition and fixity of sequence in addition to similarity of sound.

2. Where two or more items are without sound resemblance, juxtaposition alone is a common method of conjoining (i.e. x and y) or disjoining (x or y). This has already been seen in word-group expansion (Chapter 1, p.53 ff., nos 38 - 40, 43, 45, 46, 48 - 52) but it occurs at all levels.

(204)

Bir oğlu, bir kızı vardı. He had a son and a daughter
 ("A son of his and a daughter
 of his were existent").

Aj N-(ø)X(N) Aj N-(ø)X(N) + - ø NP
 N-ø NP

(204)

Fıstığı üzümü You fry
 N-(M)I N-(y)I
kavuruyorsun, the pine-kernels

VP

N-(y)I N-(y)I VP
 N-(y)I VP

(205)

Bir de In addition,

ispanaklı peynirli we make (it)

yapıyoruz. with spinach and cheese

("spinach-y and chees-y")

NAv NC NC VP
 NAv N VP

(207)

Annenize babanıza

Please give ("you will say")

çok selâmlarımızıour many greetings and ((our
many)) love((s))muhabbetlerimizisöylersiniz.to your mother and ((^{fp}
your))
father.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N}^-(y)\text{E} \quad \text{N}^-(y)\text{E} \quad \text{Aj} \quad \text{N}^-(\emptyset)\text{I}(\emptyset)+-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{N}^-(\emptyset)\text{I}(\emptyset)+-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \hline \text{N}^-(y)\text{E} \quad \text{N}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

$$\text{N}^-(y)\text{E} \quad \text{N}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP}$$

3. The joining of such a juxtaposed group may be further marked by the use of a suffix. This is done in two ways:

- (i) by manipulation of one or more suffixes which mark some other notion, specifically by deferring one or more of the suffixes required grammatically and making it or them explicit only on the last one. The Heads thus linked can be Nominal (non-predicative) (as in no.208) or part of the P/P unit (as in no. 209):

(208)

Yağ yumurtaYI, gezdiriyorsun You spread the fat and egg

(on it)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N}^-(\emptyset)\text{I} \quad \text{N}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \hline \text{N}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

(209)

Eğer domates ^{SE} biber

If it is tomato or pepper,

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Cj} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \\ \hline \text{Cj} \quad \text{NP} \end{array}$$

- (ii) with verbal unl only, by the use of the conjunctive suffix $-(y)Ip$ (listed on p. 62). This IS replaces any other IS in position (iii) of the scheme on p.60 (i.e. the tense marker) or of that on p.62; and (iv) also (i.e. the marker of person) if the verb is finite. It may also, but need not, replace the DS $-mE-$ which marks negation ((ii) in the scheme):

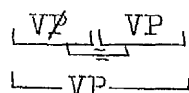
(210)

TuzlaYIP

You apparently salt (it)

sık+IYOR+MUŞ+SUN

and squeeze (it)



(211)

Havagazını kısıP

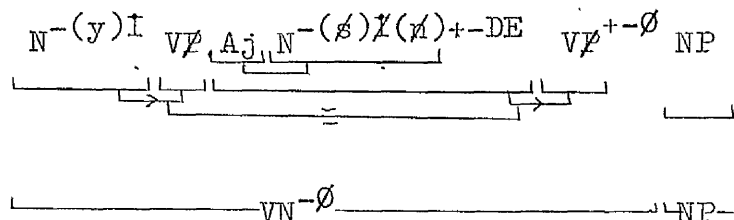
It is good

ağır ateşte yapMAK

to turn down the gas and

iyidir.

do (it) on a slow heat.



This suffix is much used in joining Clauses (see Chapter 4).

With both of these conjunctive devices involving suffixes the sequence of items is fixed, the complete form being last.

45. A Ajuxtaposed group may also be joined by a lexical item the simplest of which is the conjunction. Conjunctions are of two kinds, one used singly (as in nos. 41 and 47 in Chapter 1 (pp.53 and 55), the other used in multiplicity (as in no.42, p.53).

(212)

<u>Et veyā tavuk eti</u>	Meat or chicken-flesh
--------------------------	-----------------------

kanuluyor, is put(in).

$N-\emptyset$ C_j $N^{-(n)}X_n$ $N^{-(s)}I(n)++\emptyset$ VP

(213)

Onlar deęistirmişler artık By now they have altered

telâffuzu da, ahengi de. both the pronunciation and
the harmoniousness.

$$\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{N-\emptyset \quad VP \quad N^{Av}}_{\text{N-}\emptyset \quad VP \quad N^{Av}} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(y)\dagger} \quad Cj \quad N^{-(y)\dagger} \quad Cj}_{N^{-(y)\dagger} \quad Cj \quad N^{-(y)\dagger} \quad Cj} \\ \underbrace{N-\emptyset \quad VP \quad N^{Av}}_{\text{N-}\emptyset \quad VP \quad N^{Av}} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(y)\dagger}}_{N^{-(y)\dagger}} \end{array}$$

The next example combines multiplicity with compounding (for the latter see above p.105):

(214)

Anlatmış adama , He explained to the man

alandan, da, satandan, da, the question of taking money

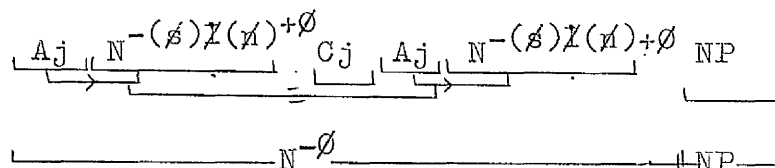
para almak meselesini. both from the buyer and from
the seller.

VP N-(y)E VN-DEn Cj VN-DEn Cj N-(y)I VN-(s)I(n)(y)I

(215)

Bir atımla bir kılıcım

I have a horse and a sword

("A horse of mine and a sword
of mine are existent").var.

The next example shows a multiplicity of units which are themselves compound:

(216)

Nihayet

In the end (only)

T.F.in yazdığı

a few poems

bir kaç şiirle

that T.F had written and

benim yazdığım

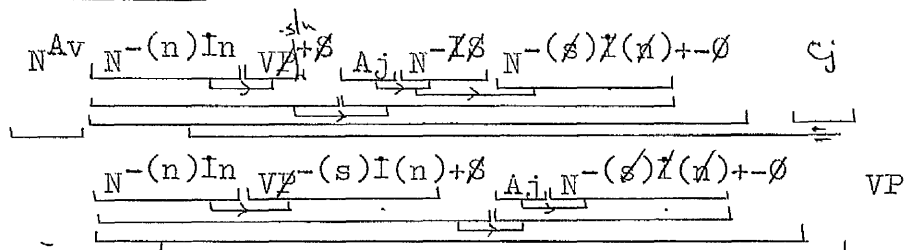
an article

bir makale

that I had written

kaldı.

remained.



i.e. N^{Av} $N-\emptyset$ VP is the basic structure.

The conjunctive devices in sections 4 and 3⁽ⁱ⁾ may be combined (as in no.217) but not those in 4 and 3⁽ⁱⁱ⁾.

(217)

Fıstık ve üzümünü

I put ("threw") (in)

attım.the pine-kernel(s) and cur-
("its") rant(s).

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-DS+-(x)I} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N-DS+-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \hline \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

56. Lexical restriction may also operate in unit expansion, always^a in conjunction with fixity of sequence. It occurs in many structures only one of which will be mentioned at this point: a word or phrase belonging to a limited class "Expansion Filler" (a sub-class of "Filler") substitutes for the final item or items in a series. When used singly this Filler is invariably last; where there is more than one, usage dictates the sequence they follow, although the whole filler group is itself last.

(218)

Odununu, kömürünü ve

He buys

kışın yiyeceği pirincini

his fire-wood, the coal and

BİLMEM NESİNİ alır.("his")
the rice he will eat in winter

and ((his))I-DON'T-KNOW-WHAT.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{VP}^{\text{+S}} \quad \text{N-(s)I} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \hline \text{VAj} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

(219)

Margarin FALAN

We used to use

kullanıyorduk.

margarine AND THE LIKE.

$$\underbrace{N-(\cancel{y})\cancel{I}}_{\underbrace{N-(y)I}} \quad \underbrace{VP}$$

It happens that falán never bears a suffix whereas bilmem ne usually does. This difference is immaterial for the problem at hand; what matters is that their position is fixed: last in a series and juxtaposed to that series.

These six conjunctive devices have been shown in simple examples. Several of them occur together, however, in a number of types of expanded unit which exhibit an internal patterning sufficiently striking to suggest that they should be seen as structures in their own right. These are termed here Multiple Unit structures. All of these are common in speech, one occurring not at all, the rest only occasionally, in the written language, and therefore able to throw light upon the conditions present during spontaneous speech and absent during the process of writing which make certain sequences useful. All possess not only the features juxtaposition and fixity of sequence but also some kind of resemblance between their component parts; this may be realised, for instance, by repetition of lexical items or of syntactic patterns or both, by the use of pairs of antonyms or of "likes" or of substitutes.

Taking this resemblance as the common feature is the most convenient way of grouping; thus the headings used are

- (1) Repetition.
- (2) Contrast,
- (3) Substitution.

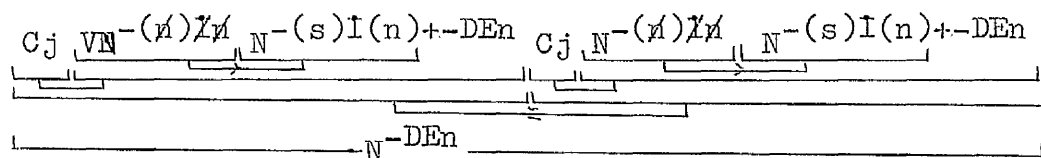
(1) Multiple Unit Structures possessing the feature "Repetition":

Turkish contains a category of word "multiple conjunction", e.g. ...dE ...dE (cf.p.131), ne... ne... 'neither... nor...', hem... hem... 'both... and...'. The units (or, as will be seen later, Clauses) which these join usually exhibit a high degree of similarity of lexicon (i.e. repetition) and of structure (i.e. parallelism) or both.

(220)

<u>GEREK</u>	Whether
<u>renklendirme</u> <u>BAKIMINDAN</u> ,	from the point of view of coloration
<u>GEREK</u>	or
<u>şekil</u> <u>BAKIMINDAN</u> ,	from the point of view of shape,

In this expanded unit, whose structure is:



there is repetition of the C_j , the stem bakımın and its suffix -dan, as well as of the Word-group pattern B $(\overline{N-(N)XN} \text{ } \overline{N-(s)I(n)})$.

(221)

Yufkanın iki ucunu

You will stick together

YA suYLAN YA yumurtayLAN

the two ends of the pastry

yapıştırıcaksın.

EITHER WITH water OR WITH egg.

$$N^{-(n)}In \underbrace{Aj \ N^{-(\emptyset)}I(N)+(s)I(n)+-(y)I}_{\text{Cj} \ N^{-(y)}IE \ \text{Cj} \ N^{-(y)}IE} VP$$

$$\underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{N^{-(y)}I} \quad \underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{N^{-(y)}IE} \quad \underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{VP}$$

The parallelism in these may be said to be grammatically induced, the result of using a pair of conjunctions. However the same kind of parallelism is common, especially in speech, without use of a special class of word. In this any lexical element may be repeated:

(222)

BİR PARÇASI ORDAN,a piece of it from here ("there")
(and)BİR PARÇASI ORDAN,

a piece of it from there,

which is $Aj \ N^{-(\emptyset)}I(N)+DS \ N^{-DEN}$ in each, with repetition of each word, the effect being conjunctive¹

(223)

Telâffuz İTİBARIYLA

It is different

ŞİVE İTİBARIYLA

in respect of its pronunciation

AHENK İTİBARIYLA

((in respect of)) its accent,

başkadır.((in respect of)) its harmoniousness.²

1. It is not at all emphatic, as the English version may suggest.

2. The repetition has been removed from the English version by (()) so as to give the true force of the Turkish.

which is simply a three-fold expansion of the $N^{-(y)lE}$ ¹³⁷
unit, each one being a pattern B Word-group, followed by NP.

(224)

BİRAZ zorLAN

I would set (her to work)

BİRAZ nasihatLA

a little by force,

sokarım.

a little by admonition.

which is

$$\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{N^{Av} \quad N^{-(y)lE}}_{N^{-(y)lE}} \quad \underbrace{N^{Av} \quad N^{-(y)lE}}_{N^{-(y)lE}} \quad \underbrace{VP}_{VP} \end{array}$$

(225)

Erzurum taşı DENİLEN

The stone

siyah kahlibar DENİLEN

called "Erzurum stone",

taş

((called)) "black amber"(=jet)

kiymetlidir.

is valuable.

In this, a pattern A Word-group has its Aj member made multiple, the exponent in each case being an Included Clause. This is therefore an example of expansion by compounding and by multiplicity occurring together. Its structure is:

$$\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{N^{-(n)l(n)} \quad N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{VP^{+-\emptyset}}_{VP^{+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{Aj \quad N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{VP^{+-\emptyset}}_{VP^{+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(s)l(n)}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)}} \quad NP \\ \underbrace{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{VP^{+-\emptyset}}_{VP^{+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{VP^{+-\emptyset}}_{VP^{+-\emptyset}} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(s)l(n)}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)}} \quad \underbrace{NP}_{NP} \\ \underbrace{VAj} \quad \underbrace{VAj} \quad \underbrace{N^{-(s)l(n)}}_{N^{-(s)l(n)}} \quad \underbrace{NP}_{NP} \end{array}$$

Repetition is also a feature of the two-part structure recognised here as such for the first time and termed Amplification. This does not exhibit parallelism. In it, the noun which constitutes the first member is repeated with

the addition of a qualifier; this forms the second member. Thus $\underline{N} \underline{Aj} + \underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)}$ is its form when the Head is a Noun and the Non-head an Aj; the Head may be any class of word, however. The two members obviously exhibit fixity of sequence but they need not be juxtaposed.

(226)

O SU, o PIS SU

That STREAM, that FILTHY STREAM

akıyor, böyle.

flows thus.

In this there is amplification of the $N^{-(\emptyset)}$ unit:

$\underline{Aj} \underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)^{+\emptyset}} \underline{Aj} \underline{Aj} \underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)^{+\emptyset}} \underline{VP} \underline{N^{-(y)}lE}$
 $\underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}} \underline{VP} \underline{N^{-(y)}lE}$

In the next it is $N^{-(\emptyset)}X$ which is amplified:

(227)

ARAZÎ, BOŞ ARAZÎ

They seek

arıyorlar.

building plot(s), vacant building plot(s).

$\underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X} \underline{Aj} \underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)^{+-(\emptyset)}X} \underline{VP}$
 $\underline{N^{-(\emptyset)}X} \underline{VP}$

In no.228 the amplification is of the P/\emptyset unit:

(228)

ARADIK, ÇOK ARADIK.

We missed ("sought") (them),
 we missed (them) very much.

$\underline{VP} \underline{N^{Av}} \underline{VP}$
 \underline{VP}

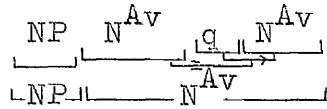
In the next example it is the N^{Av} unit that is amplified:

(229)

Sıcaştır

It's hot

NISPETEN, BURAYA NISPETEN. relatively, relatively to here.



In the next example, the unit amplified is probably N-(~~7~~)X but the verb was never expressed to make this certain. It has as qualifier an Included Clause:

(230)

Bir tencereye

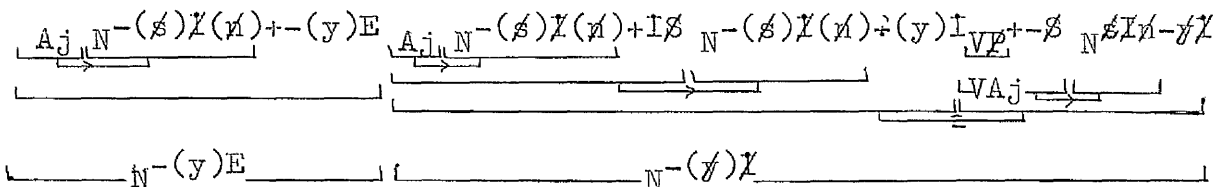
Into a pan

bir kat FASULYE

a layer of beans,

AYIKLANMIŞ FASULYE,

beans that have been strung,



In the next example the $N^{-(y)1}$ unit is amplified, having an Included Clause as the qualifier in the second member. The members are no juxtaposed:

(231)

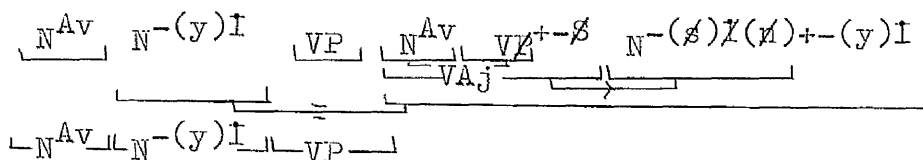
Mecburî

Of necessity

TASULVEYİ çıkarttım.

I had the beans brought out

BUGÜN YEDİĞİMİZ "FASULYEYİ." the beans we ate today.



In the next, no.232, the unit amplified is $N^{-(\emptyset)}X$;
again the two members of the structure are not juxtaposed:

(232)

Ben NANE de koyuyorum, I put (in) mint, too,

YAŞ NANE. fresh mint.

$\underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)} \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X \quad Cj \quad VP \quad Aj \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)+-(\emptyset)X}_{\underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)} \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X \quad Cj \quad VP}}$

In all these examples the structure has consisted of an unqualified Head followed by a qualified Head, specifically by a pattern A Word-group. In the next, however, the qualified form consists of a Pattern B Word-group; this entails a modification of the form of the Head:

(233)

0 Those

onsekizinci, asırdaki MOTİF, 18th century motifs,

LÂLE MOTİFLERİ tulip motifs

tamamiyle degeneré¹ olmuş. became completely degeneré.

$\underbrace{Aj \quad Aj \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)+-DS \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)+-\emptyset \quad N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset) \quad N^{-(s)I(n)} \quad N^{-(y)lE \quad N^C VP}_{\underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)} \quad N^{-(y)lE \quad N^C VP}}}$

1. French.

In the final example the N^{Av} (actually a VN^{Av}) is seen amplified:

(234)

Bu para çoktur

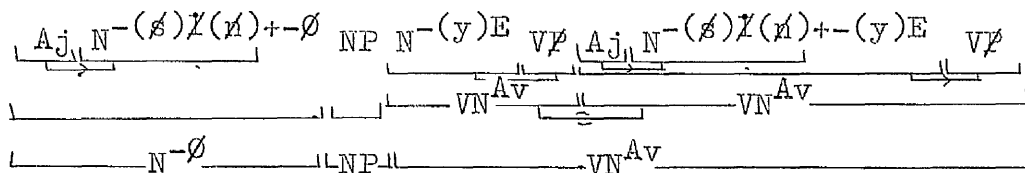
This is a lot of money ("this money is much")

MEKTEBE VERMEK İÇİN

to pay for ("give to") (a) school,

LEYLİ MEKTEBE VERMEK İÇİN

((to pay for)) (a) boarding school.



Thus, every Clause-unit has been shown capable of expansion by use of Amplification, a structure which by definition includes repetition.

It is noteworthy that the structures just described, which exhibit parallelism, have obligatory juxtaposing of constituent members, whereas Amplification which has no parallelism possesses not juxtaposition but only fixity of sequence.

(2) Multiple Unit Structures possessing the feature "Contrast":

This is achieved by using pairs of antonyms, verbs exhibiting affirmative-negative opposition, or other words chosen to express contrast. Other features, such as parallelism, may also be present. A multiplicity of adjacent interrogative units is the regular method of expressing alternatives:

(235)

Otelde mi, pansiyonda mı? In a hotel or in a boarding-house?

This is not a full Clause but only a detached Clause-unit expanded:

$\overbrace{\text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-DE}}$

When the opposition is between affirmative and negative, the sequence is grammatically fixed: with Nominal units it is negative+affirmative, with verbal units affirmative+negative:

(236)

Ben

I

BEŞ DAKİKA değil,

would sit (idle)

BEŞ SAAT

not (just) for 5 minutes

otururum!

but for 5 hours!

$\overbrace{\text{N-}\emptyset \quad \text{Aj} \quad \text{N}-(\emptyset) \text{X}(\text{X}) \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Aj} \quad \text{N}-(\emptyset) \text{X}(\text{X}) \quad \text{VP}}$
 $\overbrace{\text{N-}\emptyset \quad \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{VP}}$

(237)

ANLAR MI, ANLAMAZ MI

Does he ((understand)) or
does he not understand

konuştuğunu?

what he is talking about?

$\overbrace{\text{VP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{VP}^+(\text{X}) \text{I}}$
 $\overbrace{\text{VP} \quad \text{VN}^-(\text{Y}) \text{I}}$

(3) Multiple Unit Structures possessing the feature "Substitution":

This type is the most productive of clues to the principles which govern sequence. It is confined very largely - and in one case wholly - to the spoken language.

By substitution is meant the uttering of a second element, which is a modification of a first element (as has already been seen in Amplification but without the repetition which that structure exhibits).

Two basic structures have been identified, both having two members:

- (i) Assembly;
- (ii) Particularisation.

(i) Assembly:

The first member of this structure consists of a list of items which usually, but not necessarily, lack the IS required; the second member contains a portmanteau word which

- (a) subsumes the items in the first members, and
- (b) bears the required IS.¹

This is often a demonstrative o, less often bu which may be a Noun or an Aj (meaning respectively 'that, its', 'its' and 'this', 'that', 'it' 'its'. Others are her 'each', 'every' hepsi² 'all of them'.³ When each item is a Clause-unit, as

1. A variant with only one item in the first member is also theoretically possible but I have failed to find an example of this at Clause level. It is common, however, at Sentence level (see Chapter 4) where it is termed "De^monstrative Completion".
2. Formerly hep+i+si (Lewis, p.75). Note that this includes the possessive DS -(s)I(n): the significance of this will emerge later.
3. Where the number of items is specific the portmanteau word may be the appropriate numeral + -(s)I(n).

here, it is called "Clause-unit Assembly".

(238)

AHÇILARI, HİZMETÇİLERİ, HIS COOKS, HIS SERVANTS,

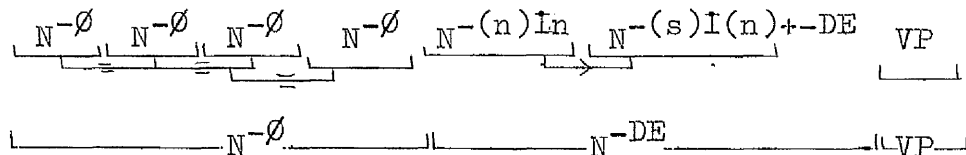
ŞOFÖRLERİ, HIS DRIVERS,

HEPSİ ALL OF THEM

çalışının içinde rush around

dört dönüyorlar. inside the market.

Here it is the $N-\emptyset$ unit which is subject to expansion and it consists of an Assembly structure with a three-fold first member and the portmanteau word hepsi as its second member:



In no. 239 it is again the $N-\emptyset$ unit that is expanded but here the Head alone shows expansion by means of Assembly, the whole being qualified by a single Aj whose exponent is an Included Clause:

(239)

Bizde meze gibi kullanılan The stuffed mussel(s),

MİDYE DOLMASI, stuffed mackerel.

USKUMRU DOLMASI, fried mussel(s)

MİDYE KIZARTMASI, used among ("in") us as
hors-d'œuvres

BUNLAR vermiş. there are these ("These are
existent.")

(241)

Herkes

Everyone

ODUNUNU KÖMÜRÜNÜ

buys

his wood, his coal

ve kışın yiyeceğiand the ("his") rice he will
eat in winter,PIRINCİNİBİLMEM NESİNİ

his I-don't-know-what,

HEPSİNİ filân alır,

his all-of-them, and so on.

in which hepsini subsumes (i) odununu (ii) kömürünü (iii) kışın yiyeceği pirincini (iv) bilmem nesini. It will be noted that in this case each item in the first member bears its full complement of suffixes.

(ii) Particularisation:

This structure has three variants:

- (a) the exponent of each of the two members is a single word;
- (b) the exponent of the second is a list;
- (c) the exponent of the first is restricted to the one word şey 'thing'.

It will be seen again that the sequence of members is fixed and that juxtaposition, though possible, is not an essential feature.

(a) The first three examples show Clause-unit particularisation being used in the initial unit (no.242), the final unit (no.243) and an internal unit (no.244); it is therefore apparent that its presence does not affect the basic sequence

within the Clause.

(242)

ORDA, URFADA

There ("in that place"), in
Urfa

sağta ekmek yaparlar,

they make bread on (a) griddle.

$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-(\cancel{X})X} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-(\cancel{X})X} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$

(243)

Şarkı da söylüyorlar

And they are singing, too,

HERİFLER, LÂZLAR.

the rascals, the Laz.

$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-(\cancel{X})X} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N-}\emptyset \quad \text{N-}\emptyset \\ \text{N-(\cancel{X})X} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N-}\emptyset \end{array}$

(244)

Sonradan

Afterwards

BURDA, TOPTAŞINDA

it was made

yapılmış o.

here, in/at Toptaşı.

$\begin{array}{c} \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N-}\emptyset \\ \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{N-DE} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N-}\emptyset \end{array}$

In the next, no.245, Particularisation occurs within a Word-group:

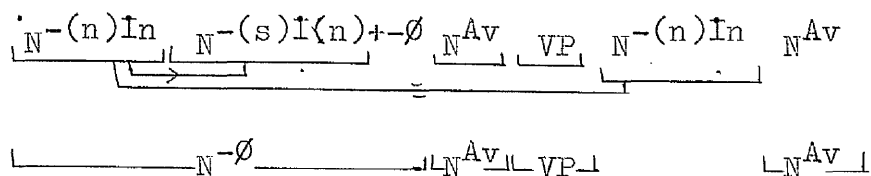
(245)

ONUN kılçığı pek olmuyor

They don't have very many
strings

BAKLANIN fazla.

broad bean^(s) ("Their strings
do not occur much").



In this example the two members are not adjacent.

(b) In the next variant the second member is a List. It will be noticed that where the sord in the first member is a "portmanteau" word, this structure is in effect the opposite of "Assembly".

(246)

Ama, BAHAR, sever misin, But I don't know

bilmem¹ whether you like spice -

KARA BIBER, TARÇIN, FALÂN. black pepper, cinnamon and the

VP like

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{Cj} \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I} \quad \text{VP}^{+-(\text{y})}\text{I} \quad \text{Aj} \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I}(\text{y})+-(\text{y})\text{I}, \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I}, \quad \text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I} \\
 \hline
 \text{Cj} \quad \text{VN}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I} \quad \text{VP}
 \end{array}$$

Cj VN^{-(y)I} VP

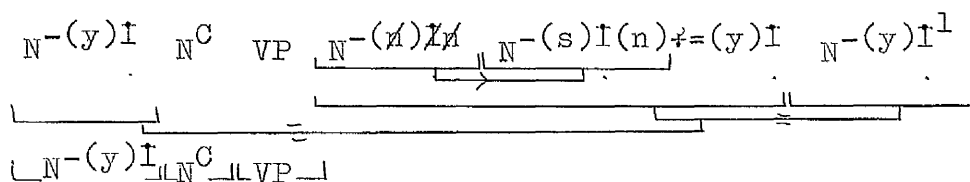
In neither this example, where the unit expanded is $\text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I}$ nor the next, where expansion is of the $\text{N}^{-(\text{y})}\text{I}$ unit-alternant, are the two members of the structure juxtaposed:

(247)

HEPSİNİ, çiğden, koyuyorum, I put all of them (in) raw

ZEYTİNYAĞINI, FALÂN, its olive-oil and so on.

1. Cf. p.110, no 160, where this structure is analysed.



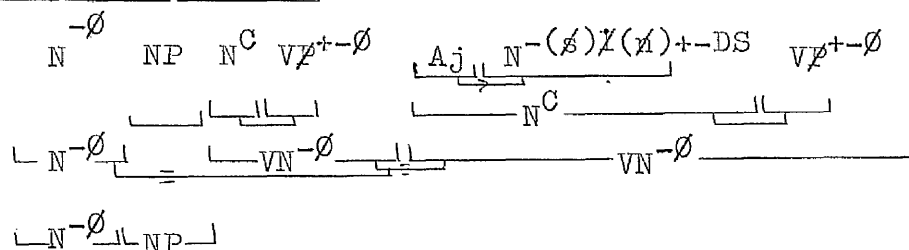
In no.248 it is the $\text{N}^-\emptyset$ unit that is expanded:

(248)

ÖTEKİLER hangisidir, Which are the other ones,

SARI OLANLAR, the ones that are fair,

UZUN BOYLU OLANLAR? the ones that are tall?



(c) The third variant has been termed "Temporary Substitution"; in some of its manifestations it does not occur in writing at all, even in written representations of speech. It differs from the other variants in one respect only: sey 'thing' is substituted for a word of any class required in the Clause, the 'real' word following (as the second member) either juxtaposed or not.

In the first example the structure is seen in the $\text{N}^-\emptyset$ unit:

1. For the absence of suffix on falân see above, p. 134.

(249)

Bizim ŞEYLER, GENÇLER

Our what's-its-names, young
men

Abdülhamid zamanında

at the time of Abdulhamid

Yeni Zelandada

decided (gave

bir koloni yapmağa

decision")

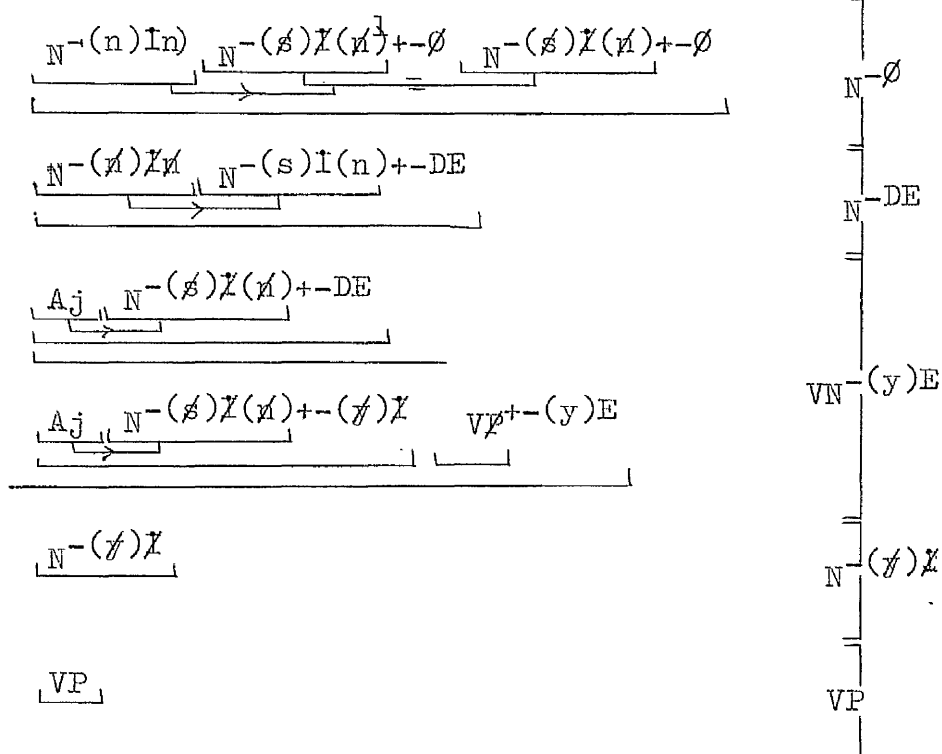
karar

to found a colony

vermişler.

in New Zealand

Line by line this is:



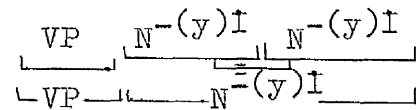
the structure of the basic Clause being shown vertically on the right.

1. Cf.p. 120, footnote 1.

In the next example the $N^{-(y)}I$ is expanded:

(250)

Atıyorsun, ŞEYİ, PIRİNCİ, You throw (in) the what's-it,
the rice.



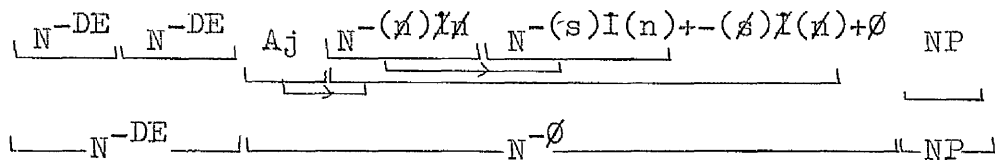
Nos. 251 to 253 illustrate Temporary Substitution as expansion of the Adverbial Nominal units:

(251)

ŞEYDE, ANKARADA In what's-it, in Ankara

bir, İstanbul, pastanesi there was

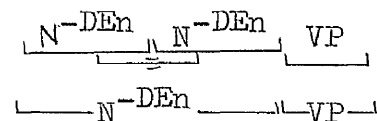
vardı, a "İstanbul" tea-shop.



(252)

ŞEYLERİNDEN, ESERLERİNDEN I know (him)

tanırım, from his what's-its, from his
works.



(253)

Burada da

I wanted to go

yemek ŞEYİNE, KURSUNA

to a cookery what's-it, course

gitmek istiyordum.

here, too.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-DE} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N-(s)I(n)+-(y)E} \quad \text{N-(s)I(n)z(y)E} \quad \text{VP}^+ \text{ (y) } \text{VP} \\ \text{N-DE} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N-(y)E} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{VN-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

No. 254 shows the N^{Av} Clause-unit so expanded, no.255 the N^C unit:

(254)

ŞEY GİBİ, PILÂV GİBİ

Like what'-it, like pilaff

suyunu çekti.

it soaked up the ("its") water.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N}_{pp} \quad \text{N}_{pp} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{N-(y)I} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

(255)

Umumiyetle

Generally

ispanaklı ve

we make (it)

ŞEYLİ, SOĞANLI

with spinach ("spinach-y")

yapıyoruz biz.

and with what's-it, with onion

("what's-it-y, onion-y")

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{N-(y)IE} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \\ \text{N-(y)IE} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N}^{\text{C}} \end{array}$$

The P/P Clause-unit is not excluded from Temporary Substitution:

(256)

Benim sıhhatimi ona

They what's-it-ted,

ŞEY EDİYORLARDI,

attributed

BAĞLIYORLARDI,

my health to that.

$\underbrace{N^{-(n)}I_n}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(s)}I(n)+-(y)I}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(y)}E}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{VP}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{VP}_{\rightarrow}$
 $\underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(y)}I}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(y)}E}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{VP}_{\rightarrow}$

All the previous examples have shown the structure with juxtaposition; the next illustrates it without:

(257)

Arkasında da

And on its back

bir ŞEYİ vardı,

it had a what's-it, a house

bir KÖŞKÜ

a house.

$\underbrace{N^{DE}}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{Cj}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{Aj}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)+\emptyset}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{NP}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{Aj}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)}X(\emptyset)+\emptyset}_{\rightarrow}$
 $\underbrace{N^{DE}}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{Cj}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{N^{-(\emptyset)}}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{\quad\quad\quad}_{\rightarrow} \underbrace{NP}_{\rightarrow}$

These three variant forms of Particularisation have one feature in common: the relationship between the first and second members is that of "imprecise" followed by "more precise", or "general" followed by "particular". The same sequence is found in Amplification also.

Conclusion:

Multiplicity of Unit has been shown to be achieved by one of several means; items are joined

1. phonologically, by use of sound resemblance;
2. by suffix, either by the use of a special conjunctive IS in the case of verbs. or by "deferment" of an IS or DS+IS in the case of nouns and also v.s. in the case of verbs;
3. lexically, by the use of a conjunctive, or of a portmanteau word;
4. semantically, by the use of items in contrast, or of words standing in a relationship of "general - particular" or "imprecise - more precise";
5. structurally, by the use of parallelism;
6. positionally.

It is the last that is significant here. Of its two exponents juxtaposition is important only in being a conjunctive device; realisation that juxtaposition has this function is essential in the analysis of structures larger than the Simple Clause but it has no importance in the search for the factors governing sequence. Its other exponent, fixity of sequence, however, is a feature which in some cases advances the search.

Fixity of sequence appears in two groups of structures. In one of these (which includes phonologically- and suffix-linked multiple units and those containing contrasted elements) it is determined grammatically or by usage; thus this group cannot provide any clues to choice of sequence. In the other group occur structures which have not previously been recognised as such, Particularisation, Amplification and Assembly, in which sequence is determined by usage but

in a certain pattern. It is these that suggest an ordering of sequence.

The constituent members of these structures (Particularisation, etc.) differ from those in the first group (those joined by suffix link or by parallelism of structure) in being logically unequal. This implies that one member must be dominant, one dependent, thus forming a relationship already seen in the Word-group between Head and Non-head, and in the Simple Clause between the P/~~P~~ unit and the rest. Which of the two members is the dominant one, which the dependent one it is too early to say; in Chapter 5 an interpretation will be put forward but in the meantime the four observations so far made must suffice:

- (a) The members of the structures Particularisation, Amplification and Assembly constitute a sequence:
 - (i) a statement of some kind, followed by
 - (ii) a modification of that statement;
- (b) The relationship between the members of these structures is "imprecise + more precise". In the case of Particularisation and Amplification this is contained in the meaning of the member words themselves; in the case of Assembly the second is "more precise" not semantically but grammatically.
- (c) These structures have a distribution strikingly different in spontaneous speech and in the written language: they are common in the first, rare in the second; indeed, most forms of Temporary Substitution are absent altogether from the second.

- (d) Like most of the structures in the first group, they contain repetition in lesser or greater degree, in fact, to a degree that is unacceptable in the written language. The great use made of them in spontaneous speech, even by highly accomplished speakers, suggests that they must meet some need existing in the speech situation which is not present in the other. An attempt will be made in Chapter 5 to identify the characteristics of the speech situation and discover how they affect the structure of utterances, but before this can be done, it is necessary to know the structures common to all styles.

Accordingly, those structures larger than the Expanded Clause must now be identified, starting with the next in size, the Sentence.

CHAPTER THREE

COMBINATION AND SEQUENCE AT SENTENCE LEVEL - 1:

the SIMPLE SENTENCE

Just as a Word-group is a structure which is without meaning until operated as part of a Clause, so a Clause is without meaning until operated as a part of, or the whole of, a Sentence.

A Sentence is here defined in purely formal terms as a grammatically complete structure consisting of at least one Clause. Thus, since it must be complete, a Sentence can never consist of a detached Clause-unit or of a F.Cl; a F.Cl on the other hand can constitute a Sentence although it does not necessarily do so (cf. Chapter 2, where F.Cls were seen operating as Included Clauses).

Three types of Sentence have been identified:

1. the Single-clause Sentence,
2. the Two-clause Sentence,
3. the Three-clause Sentence,

all three occurring in both Simple and Expanded forms.

It is the Simple form that is dealt with in this chapter. However, no discussion of the Simple Single-clause Sentence is needed here, since it is co-terminous with the Finite Clause already described. Discussion of those sentences traditionally described as "co-ordinate" (i.e. combinations of two (or more) clauses which are in a non-dependent relationship) is also excluded, since co-ordination is interpreted in this study as "multiplicity", a method for expanding simple structures, not the basis of a structure in its

own right.

This chapter, then, deals with Simple Sentences composed of two or three Clauses which are logically unequal.

THE SIMPLE TWO-CLAUSE SENTENCE:

The relationship between the members of a Simple Two-clause Sentence has been found to be indicated either

1. by a suffix, or
2. by position, with or without another marker, which is not (by definition) a suffix.

Two-clause Sentences may accordingly be examined under those headings.

1. Relationship marked by suffix:

The suffixes in question are IS and the Sentence type may be symbolised "Sx.S", indicating "Suffix-marked Sentence".

This type of Sentence is the largest unexpanded structure in Turkish having a suffix to indicate the relationship between the parts. The category contains all those Sentences traditionally described as consisting of a "principal" and a "subordinate" clause (that is, of a F.Cl with a ~~Y~~Cl).¹

The "subordinate" Clauses treated there are those ~~Y~~.Cls already classified here (pp. 120-124) as the "Included Clause" exponents of the N^{Av} Clause-unit. Thus, the Included Clauses occurring in examples 185 to 196 would by the traditional view be interpreted as "adverb clauses of time", that in no. 197 as a "clause of cause or reason" and those in

1. Cf, for instance, Swift, pp.235-7.

nos. 198 - 200 as "final clauses" or "clauses of purpose". Others not illustrated in Chapter 2, such as "privative" and "adversative" clauses, clauses of "concession" and "condition", are constructed and used in the same way.

This difference in interpretation comes about in the following way: the N^{Av} unit is most often situated in the initial and final positions of a Clause; consequently, when its exponent is VN^{Av} - a particularly when this Included Clause consists of several units - it can have the 'feel' of a separate, though not an independent, statement. In that case, interpreting it as an Adverb Clause (as a "subordinate" clause) is perfectly acceptable. It is not acceptable, however, where it is situated medially in the Clause, for there it is clearly a Qualifier of the P/\bar{P} unit like any other nominal unit.¹

Thus the Adverb Clause functions on two levels: on one it is comparable to the Included Clause operating as exponent of a nominal unit, on the other it is comparable to the independent F.Cl. The first has been illustrated already, in Chapter 2 where that interpretation was adopted in order to show

- (i) the similarity between Units and the Clauses
that may realise them, and

L. Possibly a medial Included Clause gives rise to the "discontinuity" discussed by Halliday et al. (1965, p.28). If this is so, it would emphasise the point being made here; unfortunately it cannot be proved, however, until the suprasegmental features of Clauses expanded by compounding has been investigated.

- (ii) the possibility of enclosing one structure within another, which is fundamental in Turkish syntax.

Now, the second interpretation will be adopted, in order to draw attention to the similarity between these "subordinate" clauses which have suffix markers and those which have not. Accordingly, the Clause (compound Clause) earlier described as having an Included Clause as exponent of an initially or finally placed N^{Av} unit is now re-interpreted as a F.Cl (a simple Clause) to which is attached another Clause which is F.Cl and contains a suffix clearly marking

- (i) lack of independence (i.e. "subordinate" status),
- (ii) the nature of the Clause's relationship to that F.Cl against which it is juxtaposed,
- (iii) its being conjoined to that F.Cl (i.e. it has a co-ordinating as well as a subordinating function.).

The term "subordinate" has, however, been found misleading and is therefore not used in the terminology of this study; the F.Cl functioning thus is therefore called a "Suffix-marked Dependent Clause" and its function described as "Dependent" here, whereas it was "Included" in Chapter 2. The F.Cl is not termed "principal" here but "Dominant".

Thus example no. 185 on p. 120 is ^{for} this new purpose re-interpreted as follows:

(258)

Su iyice kaynaYINCAWhen the water is thoroughly
boilinget iyorsun pirinci.

you put the rice (into it).

$$\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|} \hline N^{-\emptyset} & N^{Av} & VP^{+-\emptyset} & VP \mid N^{-(y)I} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline \cancel{F}.Cl & F.Cl \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline & Sx.S \\ \hline \end{array}$$

The conclusions that can be reached about sequence within the Suffix-marked type of Two-clause Sentence are as follows:

(i) the relative positions of its constituent Clauses can be seen from those illustrations given in Chapter 2 (pp.120-124) where " VN^{Av} " is not medial and is therefore capable of re-interpretation as a Dependent Clause, that is, in nos. 185-192, 195, 197-200. In these, the two Clauses are juxtaposed, but not in a fixed sequence, for in some (nos. 185 and 186, for instance) the $\cancel{F}.Cl$ precedes the $F.Cl$, while in others (nos. 187 and 189, for instance) it follows.

The existence of both sequences supports the hypothesis that where relationship is marked by suffix the relative positions (or sequence) of the constituents is optional. Thus, contrary to the dictates of prescriptive grammars¹, which would allow only the first to be "correct", a speaker can be observed to select one sequence in one context, the other in another, without any apparent loss of grammatical "correctness"². That is, he varies his selection not in

1. Cf. p.15 above.

2. It is even possible to show that circumstances exist in which the prescribed order is unacceptable, although this has not been done in this study.

response to some dictate of grammar (for none has been identified) but possibly in response to contextual factors, some of which will be tentatively identified and discussed in Chapter 5.

(ii) Sequence of units within the constituent Clauses does not seem to be affected

either by the Clause being F.Cl or \bar{F} .Cl (this has already been dealt with in Chapter 1),

or by the Clause being either member of a Suffix-marked Sentence.

It does seem to be true that a \bar{F} .Cl when Dependent most often has its Head (its P/ \bar{P} unit) last; however, other sequences are not excluded, (see, for instance, no. 186 where the P/ \bar{P} unit is initial in the \bar{F} .Cl. and no. 200 where the unalterable $N^{-(\bar{F})}\bar{X} + P/\bar{P}$ group is initial). A F.Cl is also unaffected by having a Dependent \bar{F} .Cl attached to it: in nos. 185 and 186 its P/ \bar{P} unit is initial, in 190, 199 and 200 it is final, in 187 and 198 it is medial.

2. Relationship marked by Position:

It is possible to describe the relationship obtaining between the members of the Suffix-marked Sentence in terms other than those just used: instead of saying that such a structure consists of a Dominant and a Dependent Clause (or a "principal" and a "subordinate" one), one can say that it consists of a "statement" to which some kind of "qualification" is added (e.g. a Clause expressing the time at which the action of the "statement" takes place, the reason for it, the condition under which it occurs, and so on). This "statement" is capable of standing alone and is therefore grammatically "independent", the "qualification" is not (for without the

other it loses much of its meaning) and it is therefore grammatically "dependent" upon the other which is thus "dominant" over it.

When expressed thus, it becomes apparent that this is the same relationship that obtains between the Head and Non-head members of a Word-group, and between the two members of the structures Particularisation, Amplification and Assembly. That is to say, it appears that the relationship "Dominant and Dependent" occurs at all the levels of structure so far examined. The sequence of members within the structures exhibiting it is in some cases free (as in the pattern C Word-group, in some nominal Clause-units in relation to the P/ \bar{P} unit, and in the Suffix-marked Sentence), in others it is fixed, either as Dependent+Dominant (as in the pattern A and pattern B Word-groups, in the $N^{-(\bar{P})}X$ and N^C Clause-units and the P/ \bar{P} , and in all Included F.Cls), or as Dominant+Dependent (as in Particularisation, Amplification and Assembly, but in no Word-group and no Clause-unit group).

From now on, as we progress through the remaining Two-clause Sentences and even larger structures, it will be found that

- (a) suffix-marking of relationships no longer occurs; that is to say, it occurs in no structure larger than the Suffix-marked Sentence;
- (b) fixity of sequence takes over as marker of relationship¹;
- (c) the fixed sequence is invariably Dominant+Dependent.

1. Of positional markers Swift notes only juxtaposition, not fixity of sequence. Cf. p. 172; "the relationship or relationships between segments within an utterance depends upon their juxtaposition ..."

the one not recognised in the grammar books.

Two-clause Sentences which are without Suffix-marker of relationship ("Non-suffix-marked Sentences") invariably possess the feature fixity of sequence, as well as the juxtaposition which is common to all types of Sentence.

Sentences in this category are of two kinds:

- (i) those without obligatory other (non-suffix marker)(i.e., with only juxtaposition and fixity of sequence as markers of relationship);
- (ii) those with obligatory other (non-suffix) marker.

These are referred to respectively as "Non-suffix-marked Sentence without other marker" and "Non-suffix-marked Sentence with other marker" and symbolised "~~S~~x(≠)S" and "~~S~~x(+)S".

(i) Non-suffix-marked Sentence without other marker (Sx(≠)S):

There is only one type of Sentence in this category.

Relationships identical with those expressed by the previous type of Sentence, the Suffix-marked Two-clause one, (such as Statement ≠ condition, statement ≠ reason or cause, statement ≠ time, and many more) are also expressed by pairs of Clauses without any suffix to indicate that relationship, in other words, by pairs of F.Cls.

In such structures, the Dependent Clause is no less dependent than is the one that is suffix-marked in the other. Indeed, suprasegmentally its dependent status is just as clearly indicated. And yet, because no visual sign is appar-

ent in the written text¹ and because there is usually a total absence of lexical and structural similarity between the constituent parts which would draw attention to the existence of a relationship, it has hitherto passed largely unnoticed. Thus this sentence type has been postulated only once before², although "subordination by juxtaposition" has been recognised as a feature of Turkish.³

Such pairs of F.Cls therefore constitute a second Sentence type, the Dominant member of which is termed here the "Statement" ("St"), the Dependent one the "Comment" ("Ct"). These constituents are not only juxtaposed but fixed in sequence: the Clause which loses much of its meaning when removed from the other, i.e. the "Dependent" one, is here the "Comment"; the sequence is thus Dominant+ Dependent and the Sentence type is "Statement+Comment" ("St+Ct").⁴

-
1. This is partly due to the deficiencies of the system of punctuation, newly adopted into the language along with the Latin alphabet in 1928, and not yet well assimilated: there is very real difficulty in fitting European punctuation to a language having a very different structure.
 2. Mundy (1955).
 3. Cf. Lewis, p.274 ff. 'Asyndetic subordination'; Swift (p.173) when discussing the example Besliyiemiyecektin beni niye aldın? ('If you were not going to be able to feed [me], why did you take me?' is his rendering although "You were ... feed me, so why ... ?" would be closer) observes that "here a relationship, requiring a subordinating conjunction in the English translation, is clear from the juxtaposition of the two segments (each a clause) in which the second is clearly a comment on the first, despite the absence of formal signals of relationship such as particles or suffixes would provide."
 4. For Swift, every combination of two or more "segments", be they "phrases" or "clauses" is arranged as "topic" and comment". That is too sweeping and unsubstantiated an assumption to be followed in this study. However, it is undoubtedly so in the Sentence types under discussion.

St+Ct Sentences are used to express all the relationships listed in the previous section (see pp. 158-9), with the apparent exception of *St+Ct(Ct=purpose); this seems to be absent and to be replaced by its converse St+Ct(Ct=consequence). which, in turn, is not found among the Suffix-marked Sentences although it is particularly common among the Non-suffixed marked types.

Three of the relationships that can be expressed by this type of Sentence have been selected as representative of the whole range of formal variants:

- (a) Statement + Comment(Ct=reason),
- (b) Statement + Comment(Ct=consequence),
- (c) Statement + Comment(Ct= particularisation, etc.)

Using these as evidence, it will be shown that the relationship in question may be expressed

either merely be the juxtaposing in a fixed sequence of the two F.Cls,

or by such juxtaposed, sequentially fixed, F.Cls, reinforced (i.e. the meaning made more explicit) by the addition to the second F.Cl of a lexical marker, termed here a "Comment Word"("CW").¹

1. This class of word, newly postulated here, draws its members from the traditional classes "Adverb" and "Conjunction". In St+Ct Sentences, however, they neither "qualify the verb" nor "join"; they merely make more explicit the relationship which the Ct has to the St, a relationship which is present without them. They are therefore redundant. Nevertheless, they are useful for testing the validity of the contention regarding the nature of the relationship. C.Ws include yani 'I mean', meselâ 'for example', tabii 'of course', fakat 'yet', 'but', onun için 'therefore'.

(a) Statement + Comment(Ct=reason)¹:

(259)(a)

<u>Bulguru</u> N-(y)İ	] VN-Ø	] F.Cl ¹	One must
<u>çok iyi</u> N ^{Av}			pick through	
<u>ayıklamak</u> V ^P			the wheat	
<u>lâzım.</u> NP	] F.Cl ²	] F.Cl ²	very thoroughly: ²
<u>Taş</u> N-Ø			there are	
<u>oluyor</u> VP			generally	
<u>umumiyetle</u> N-(y)İE			stones	
<u>arasında.</u> N-DE			among it.	
	1] F.Cl		2] F.Cl	
	] St- + - Ct		

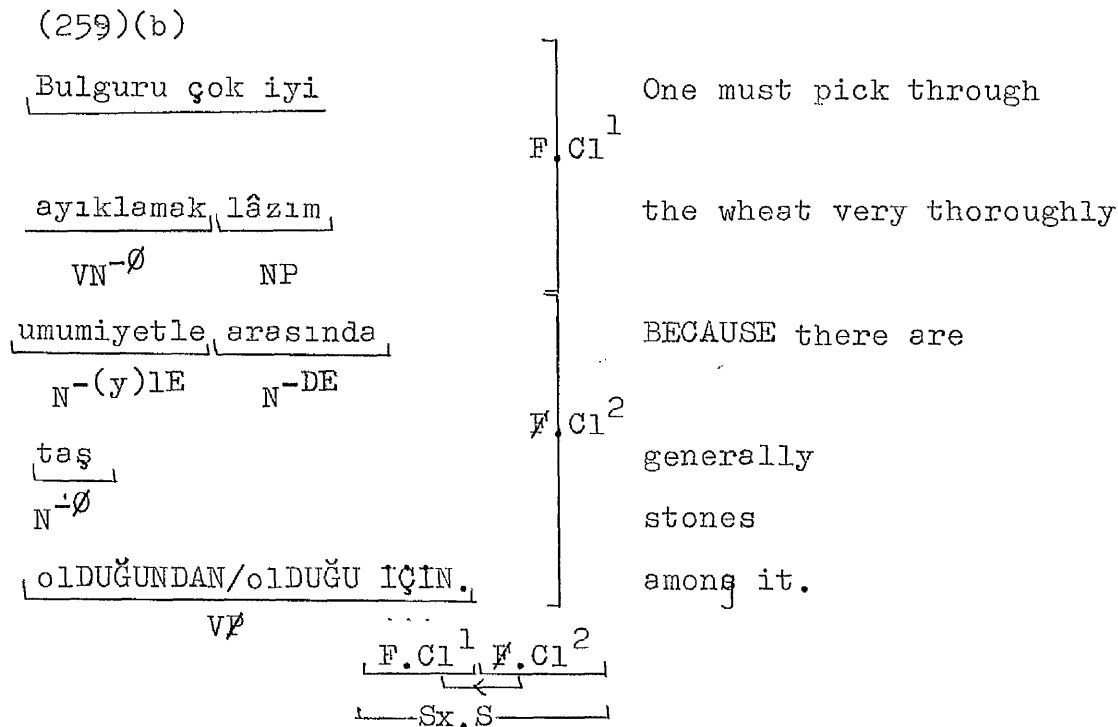
1. Because the examples are from now on of considerable length it has been found that structural analyses of the type given hitherto, using symbols, are unnecessarily cumbersome, even confusing. To simplify matters, therefore, (i) Clause-unit is the smallest item identified individually, (ii) the unit is named under the actual exponent only, (iii) the bracket indicating the Clause, which is the thing to which attention is now primarily directed, is drawn vertically, to be clear of other symbols.

Clauses are henceforth numbered^{ed} consecutively; the numbering makes no distinction between F.Cl and ~~F~~.Cl, since the important fact is that they are Clauses, their suffix-marking being held to be of little significance.

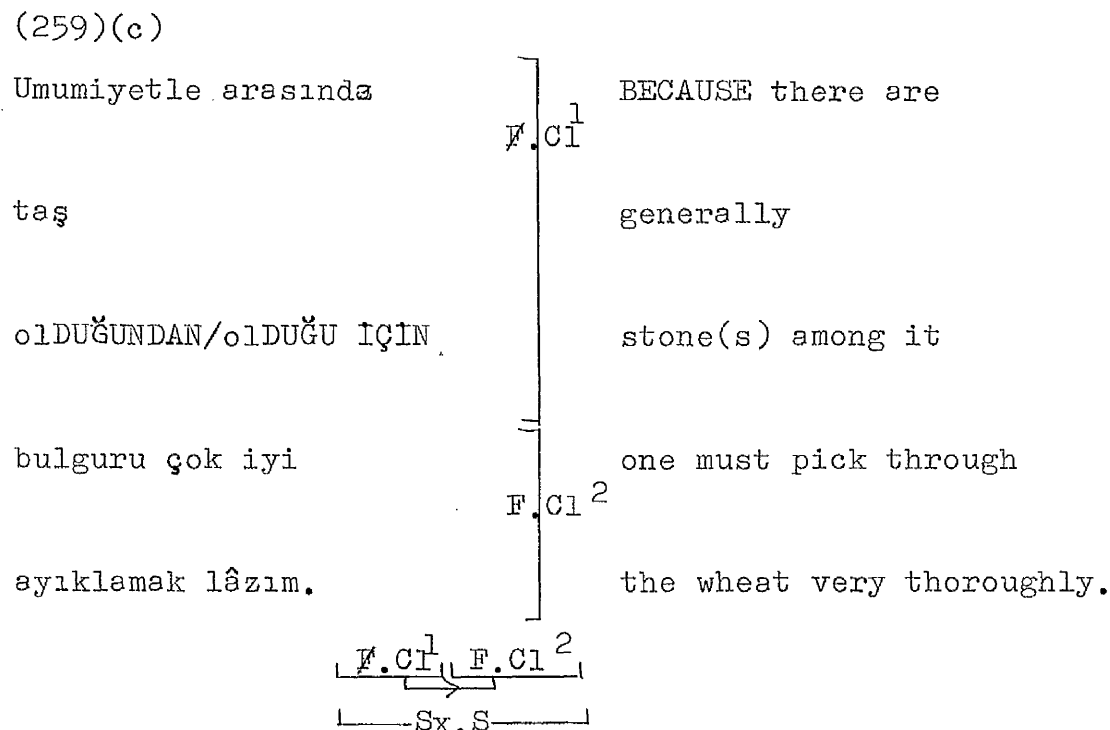
2. The colon cannot be used in the Turkish text since its use in Turkish differs from that in English.

There are two ways in which this can be tested to demonstrate that the Dominant+Dependent relationship postulated is valid.

Firstly, it can be transformed into a Suffix-marked Sentence; there is no significant change of meaning:

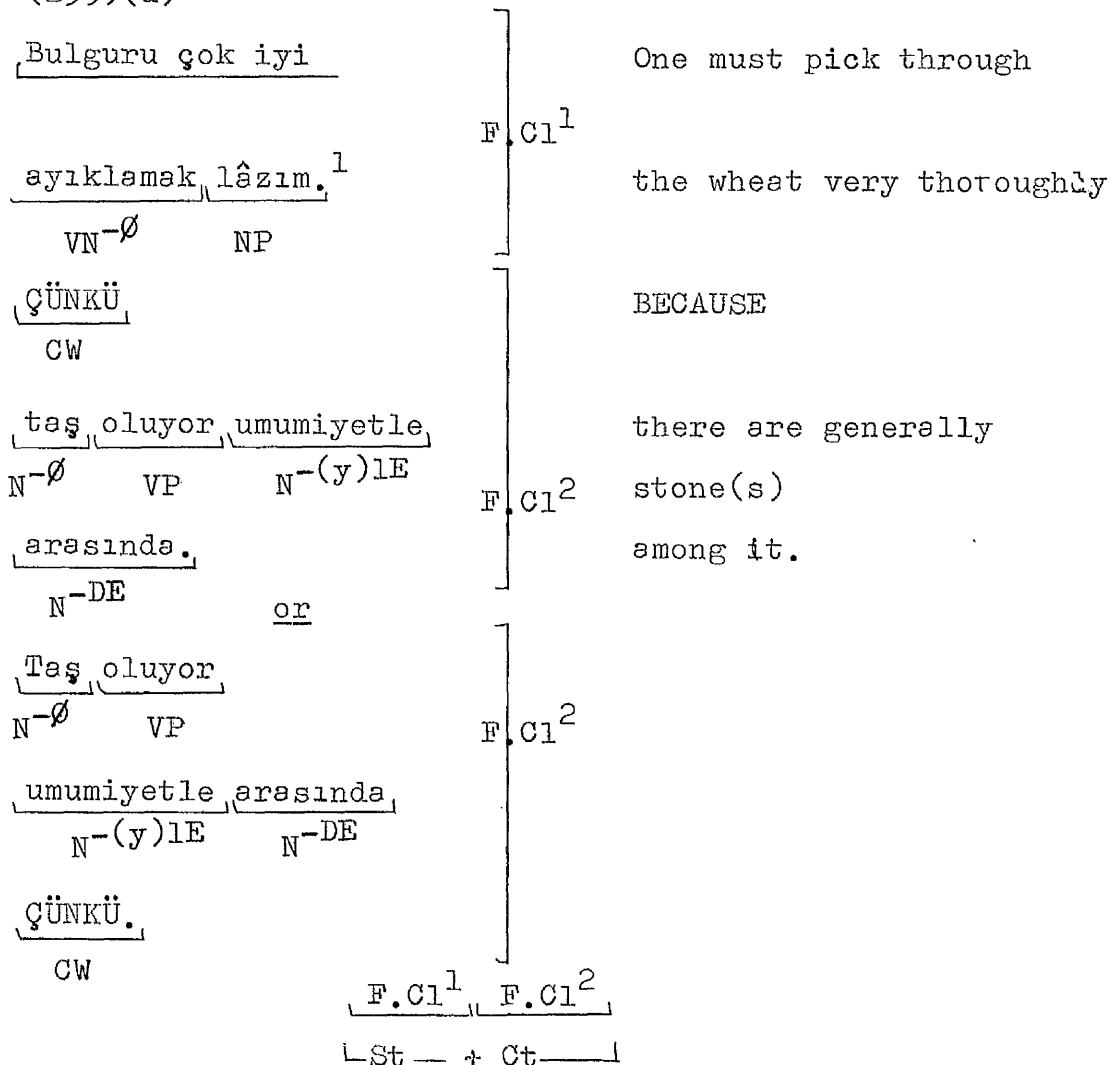


This version retains the original sequence; the prescribed order is equally possible:



Secondly, it can be tested by retaining the St+Ct structure but making the relationship more explicit by adding the Comment Word çünkü 'because' to the Ct, either before it or after it:

(259)(d)



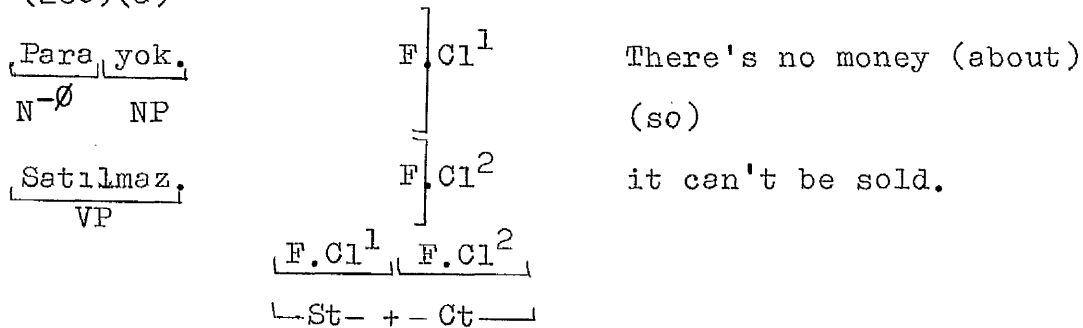
Çünkü is a particularly good illustration of the true function of a Comment Word: it is both grammatically and semantically redundant, for the meaning of the combination of Clauses is clear without it.

†. It is interesting that Turkish orthography requires a full stop before the Clause to which çünkü is added (as has been done here), for this corresponds exactly to the interpretation placed upon the structure here.

(b) Statement + Comment(Ct=consequence):

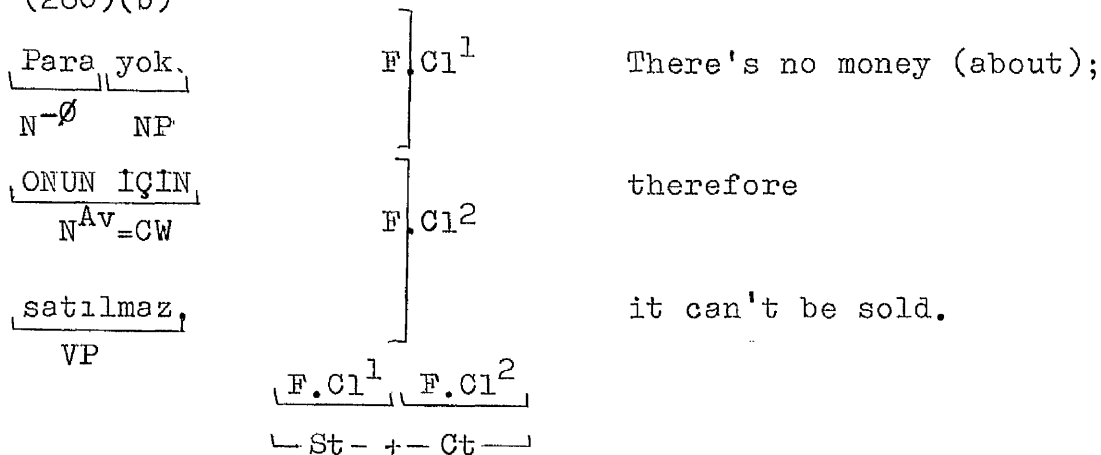
This is a relationship which cannot be expressed by a Suffix-marked Sentence:

(260)(a)



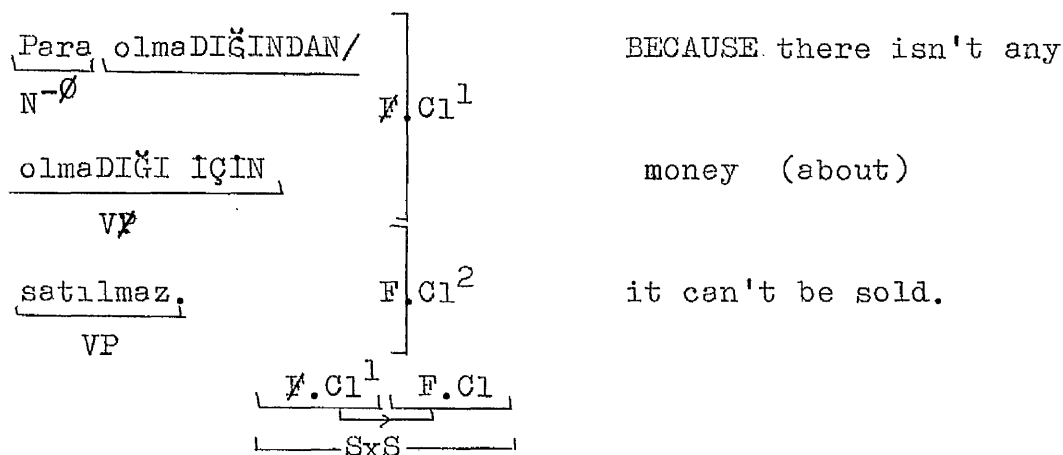
This relationship can be tested by adding an appropriate Comment Word. In this case onun için 'for that (reason)'
is suitable; its position is before the Comment:

(260)(b)



Transformation into a Suffix-marked Sentence is only possible if a complete reversal of meaning is accepted:

(260)(c)



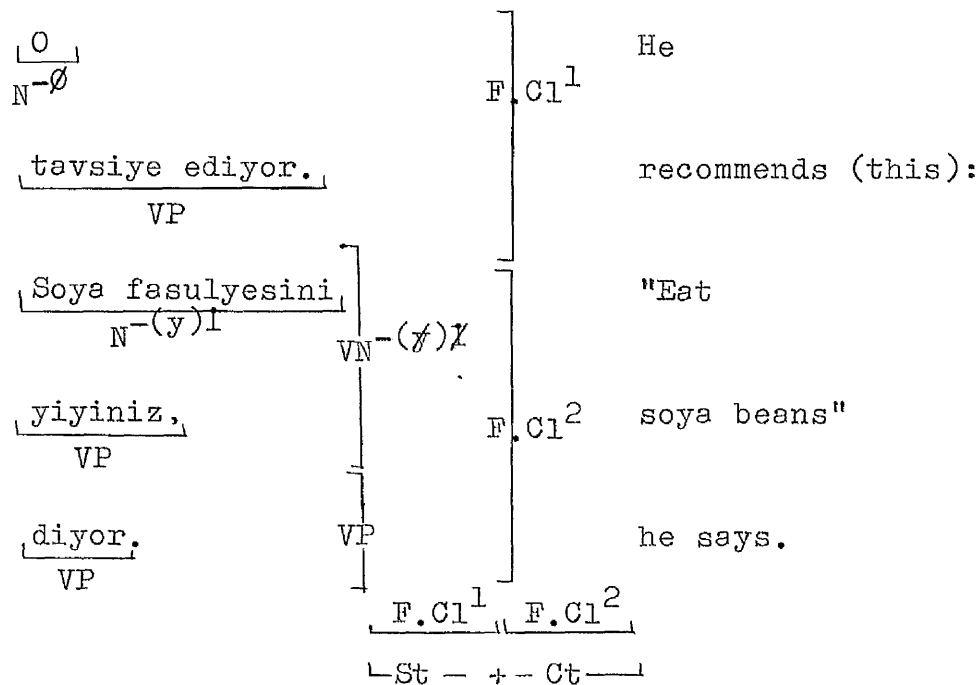
the other sequence also being possible, of course.

(c) Statement + Comment(Ct=particularisation, etc.):

This is also a very productive combination.

Like the last, this cannot be expressed by a Suffix-marked Sentence (unless "reason", "proviso", "concession" and the like be classed as types of particularisation, which is of course possible). It is, however, analogous to a structure seen earlier under "Multiple Unit Structures", namely, Particularisation, since the second Clause is a particularisation or exemplification or emendation, or the like, of the first.

(261)



(264)		
<u>Tepsiyi</u>		You grease
N-(y)I		
<u>iyice</u>	F.Cl ¹	the (baking-)tray
N ^{Av}		
<u>yağlıyorsun,</u>		well,
VP		
<u>sade yağla.</u>		with fat:
N-(y)IE		
<u>Biz MESELA</u>		we, FOR INSTANCE,
N-Ø CW	F.Cl ²	
<u>Vita yağı</u>		use
N-(y)I		
<u>kullanıyoruz.</u>		Vita margarine.
VP		
	F.Cl ¹ F.Cl ²	
	└ St + -Ct ─┘	

(ii) Non-suffix-marked Sentence with other marker (~~S~~(+)S):

Several structures fall into this category. They are grouped under two headings:

- (a) Statement + segmentally-linked Comment,
- (b) Statement + Comment with restriction.

(a) Statement + segmentally-linked Comment ("St+^{sl}Ct")

Sentences:

In this the first F.Cl is a Statement as before, the second a Comment upon it but this of necessity incorporates a segmental link. This is

either a demonstrative (Aj or N Root) whose referent is sometimes clearly identifiable as a single item in the first F.Cl (as in no. 267), sometimes as the whole of the first F.Cl (no. 271)

and sometimes not clearly distinguishable as either (i.e. ambiguous)(as in no. 269),

or a suffix: the 3rd person possessive DS -(s)I(N), whose referent is invariably one item in the first Clause.

This structure is thus a two-clause one exhibiting not only juxtaposition and fixity of sequence but also lexical restriction in the second Clause. This is "Demonstrative Completion".

The similarity of this Sentence-type to the Multiple Unit Structure called Assembly will be apparent.¹ In that, however, the first member is invariably multiple, so its true equivalent at Sentence level is in the Expanded Sentence.

The first Clause (St) in this structure frequently has a NP which includes var 'existent' (usually translated 'there is/are') or its opposite yok 'non-existent', but this, although by far the most common form, is not a necessary requirement².

-
1. The classification of this structure as a combination of Clauses of unequal status may therefore be questioned; it could be argued that the Clauses are co-ordinate and therefore equal. While admitting this possibility, it is felt that the structure is intermediate between the two. By classifying it as a kind of St+Ct structure, attention is directed towards the dependence of the second Clause upon the first, which is undoubtedly present in some measure. The fact that it can be expanded (see next chapter) is also justification for classifying it as a structure in its own right.
 2. This construction may be what Mundy (1955, p.300) had in mind when he wrote "the strength of the short statement form as a habitual pattern sometimes causes inverted order in sentence development... It is interesting, and indeed important that they sometimes convey shades of meaning not expressed by the normal or uninverted order." Certainly this Sentence type is not transformable without considerable alteration in meaning; cf. pp. 179-180 below.

Examples no. 265 and 266 show the first Clause as an affirmative statement containing var in its NP:

(265)

<u>Kocaman bir de salon</u>	}	There is also
N-Ø		
		F.Cl ¹
<u>var.</u>	}	a huge sitting-room:
NP		
<u>ONU terk ettik</u>	}	we abandoned it/that ¹
N -(Ø)I VP		F.Cl ²
	<u>F.Cl¹ F.Cl²</u>	
	<u>St + -sl Ct</u>	

(266)

<u>Çarşıkapıya doğru</u>	}	Towards Çarşıkapı
N ^{Av}		F.Cl ¹
<u>bir sokak</u> <u>var.</u>		there is a street:
N-∅ NP		
<u>ORDA</u> <u>balık</u> <u>filân</u>	}	fish and such
N-DE N-∅		F.Cl ²
<u>satılıyor.</u>		are sold
VP		there.

F.Cl¹ F.Cl²
 I—St—+—s¹Cl—

1. Curme (1931, p.170) notes a similar device in English: "The connection between the members may be made by placing at the beginning of the sentence a stressed personal pronoun, possessive adjective, or demonstrative pronoun or adverb referring back to the preceding proposition: 'In this crisis I have often thought of the old home, of Father, of Mother. That was a good place to start out in life from. Their life has always been an inspiration to me, their example a sure guide. There at least in memory I shall often tarry. Them I shall often consult.'

This is not the equivalent of the Turkish structure under discussion, for in that the demonstrative is not emphasised when it is placed initially. This point is dealt with at length in Chapter 5.

Note that the words containing the segmental links are initial in the Clause. This is a point discussed further in Chapter 5.

In the next two examples, the first Clause is a "rhetorical question", an interrogative implying the answer "yes"; it is a reminder of something the listener is assumed to know:

(267)		
<u>Bir kamyonun kasasının</u>	F.Cl ¹	A lorry's radiator
<u>böyle çıkıntısı var ya?</u>		has a projection like this,
N-Ø NP		hasn't it?
<u>O çıkıntı</u>	F.Cl ²	(Well) ¹ ,
N-Ø		that projection
<u>tam burasına</u>		came
N-(y)E		right to his here (=fore-
<u>gelmiş.</u>		head; indicated by
VP		gesture).
<u>F.Cl¹ F.Cl²</u>		
<u>—St- + -sl Ct—</u>		

No.268 has a VP in the St:

-
1. This is a Comment Word required in the English version. Turkish could have iste in this situation, although it is not present in either of the examples quoted.

(268)

<u>Bir bardak piringten</u> N-DEn	F.Cl ¹	You are going to make (it)
<u>yapacaksın, değil mi?</u> VP		with ("from") one glass of rice, aren't you?
<u>O BARDAKLA</u> N-(y)lE	F.Cl ²	(Well), with that glass
<u>iki bardak su</u> N-(y)l		you'll put (in)
<u>koyacaksın.</u> VP		two glasses of water.
<u>F.Cl¹ F.Cl²</u> <u>St - + -sl Ct</u>		

The Statement Clause of the next example does not include var, but its P is still a NP:

(269)

(269)		
<u>Pencereler</u> N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	The windows are high:
<u>yüksek.</u> NP		
<u>ONLARI</u> N-(y)l	F.Cl ²	cleaning them
<u>temizlemek</u> V ⁺ -Ø		
<u>güç.</u> NP		
<u>FN-Ø</u>		is difficult.
	<u>F.Cl¹</u>	<u>F.Cl²</u>
	<u>St - t - s¹ Ct</u>	

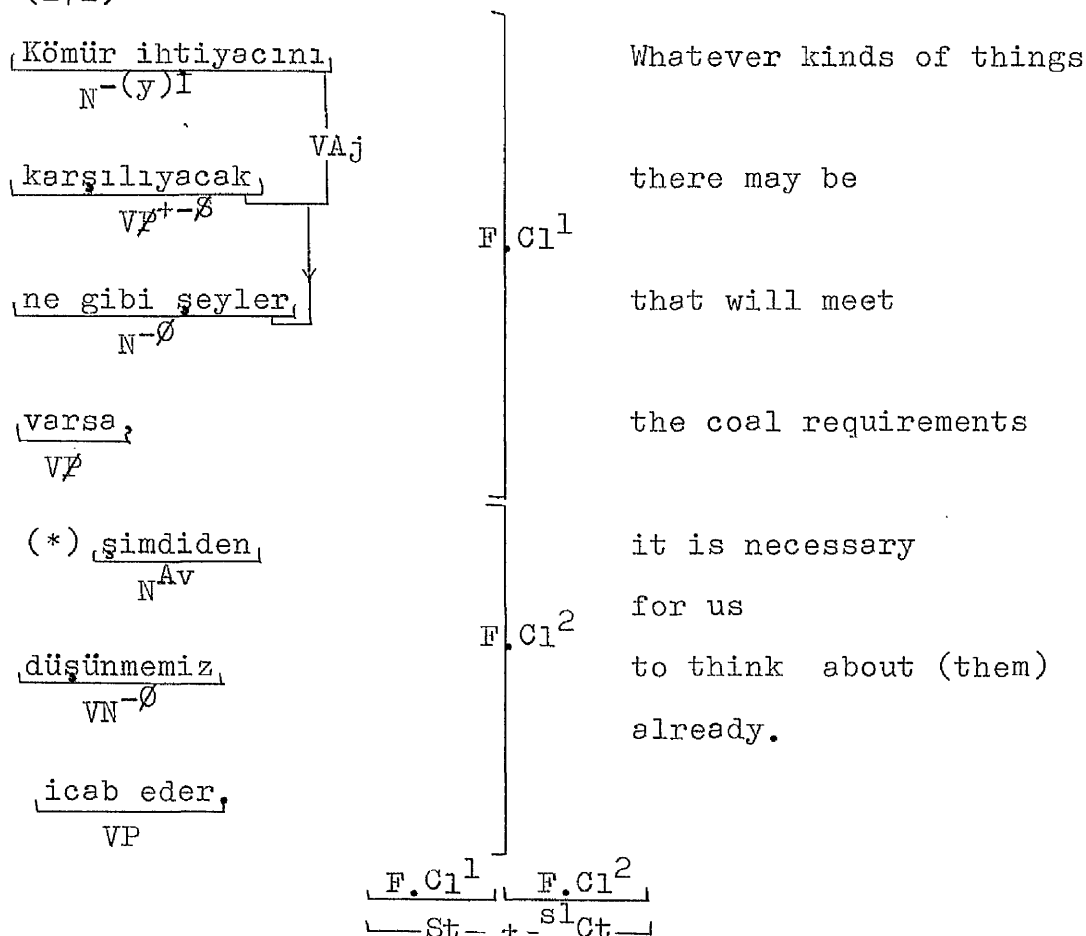
The final example illustrates a Statement Clause having a P/Ø unit which is VP (as in no. 268) but also multiple:

(270)

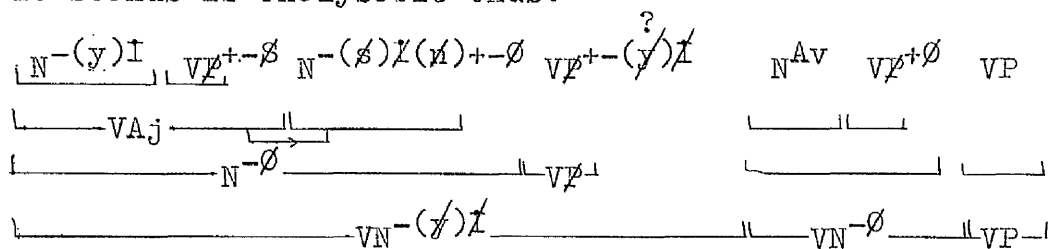
(270)		
<u>Anlar mı, anlamaz mı,</u>	F.Cl ¹	Does he understand
VP		
<u>konuştuğunu?</u>		what he (=another person)
N ^{-(y)} I		is saying or not?
<u>ONU da, bilmezler.</u>	F.Cl ²	They don't know that either.
N ^{-(y)} I _{Cj} VP		
	<u>F.Cl¹ F.Cl²</u>	
	<u>St - + - s¹ Ct</u>	

This $St+^{sl}Ct$ Sentence structure has a variant form which is borderline between two levels: it may be interpreted as either a Sentence of two Clauses, one of which is Dependent (i.e. as $St+^{sl}Ct$) or a Clause expanded by compounding and thus a Single-clause Sentence:

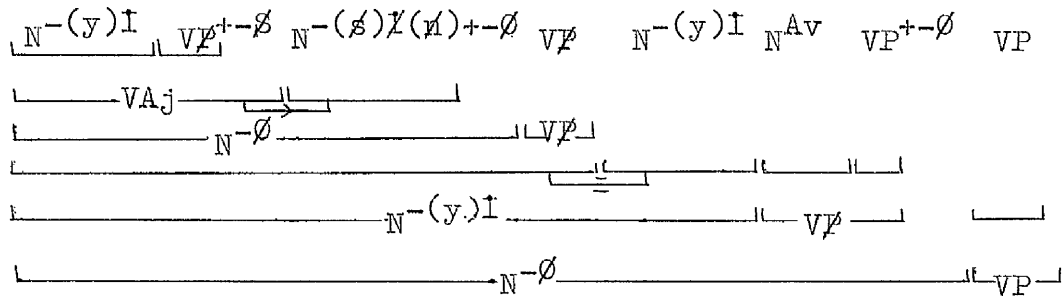
(271)



It will be noted that the segmental link is absent. It is in fact option. and if present would most probably stand at the position indicated (*) and would be ONLARI. The Sentence as it stands is analysable thus:

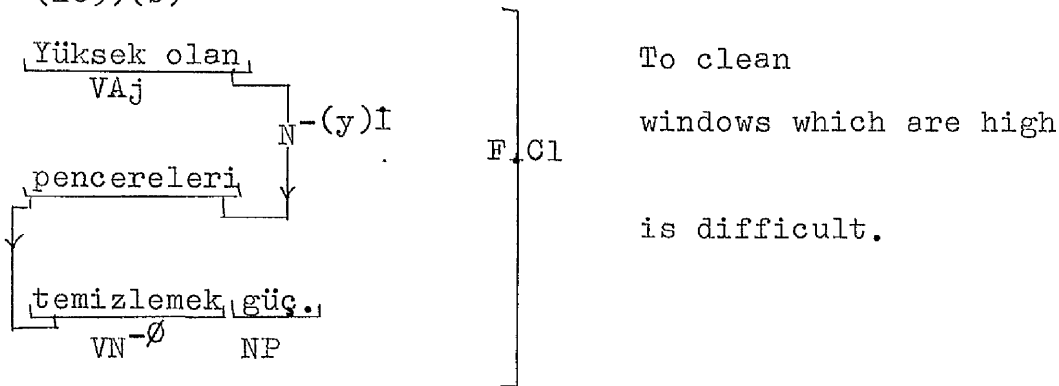


in which the first Clause is an Included one. With the word bearing the segmental link present it would be:

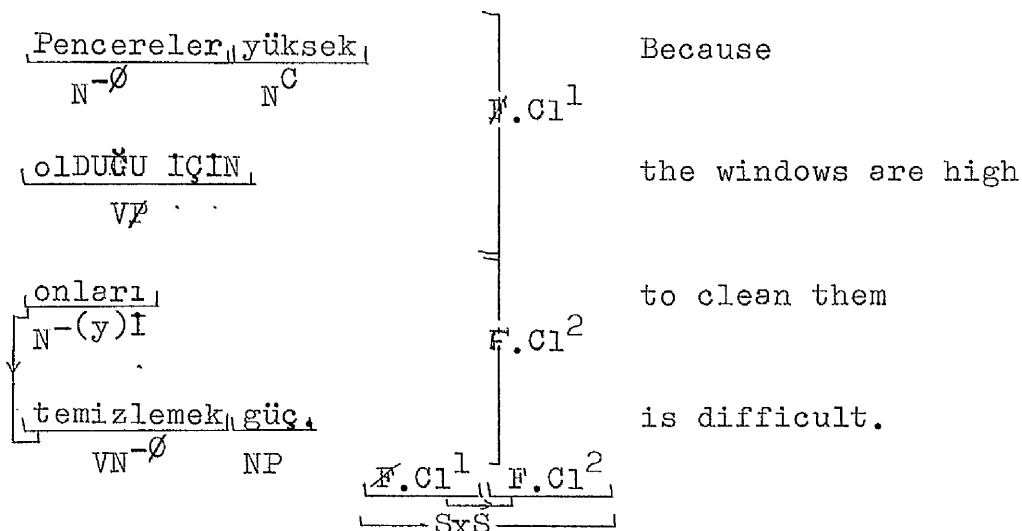


$St+s^1Ct$ is a Sentence type that cannot be transformed without considerable change in meaning, unlike the $St+Ct$ type. For instance, although it is possible to render no. 269 in at least two ways:

(269)(b)



(269)(c)



neither of these expresses the full meaning of the original: 269(b) is the statement of a general truth, as the English translation indicates, and is in fact the generalisation that can be made from the particular circumstance expressed in the original version; 269(c) make explicit the notion of causal

relationship implicit in the original, excluding all other implications there. That is to say, these two renderings express something more limited than does the original. Moreover, both of them, particularly the first, belong to a different style of language: they are literary and occur only rarely in spontaneous speech, while the original is colloquial and occurs only rarely in writing.

The same point can be illustrated perhaps even more strikingly by transforming no 270 into a Suffix-marked Sentence -- this is the only example for which this is possible:

(270)(b)

Konuştuguunu

They do not know
either

anlaYIP anlamaDIĞINI¹ da

whether he understands
what he says or ((does))

bilmezler.

not ((understand)).

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{VP}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP}^+ \text{VP}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{VN}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{VP} \\ \text{VN}^-(y)\text{I} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$$

This is a literary structure, unusual in spontaneous speech.

St^{s1}Ct is a Sentence type which occurs in speech with great frequency, on the lips of all speakers from the almost inarticulate to the most highly skilled, yet it is infrequent in writing; this is a difference in distribution that suggests that it may be another of the structures (like the Multiple Unit ones) which serve a purpose in spontaneous speech. This point will be taken up in Chapter 5.

1. For this suffix see Lewis, p.178.

(b) Statement + Comment with restriction ("St+Ct^R") Sentences:

All the structures in this group of Non-suffix-marked Sentences have as marker (additional to juxtaposition and fixity of sequence).

- (i) lexical restriction, or restriction in choice of tense, or both of these; and
- (ii) one of the enclitic conjunctions dE 'and' and ki 'that', a lexical marker which is optional in some cases, obligatory in others.¹

Eight patterns have been identified and are referred to here as Patterns (A) to (H).

Patterns (A)² and (B) share the restrictions:

- (i) the first Clause is either negative or affirmative-interrogative implying negation;
- (ii) the enclitic conjunction ki is present, placed after the first Clause.

-
1. In these structures dE and ki have characteristics differing from those they possess elsewhere: (1) they are in some cases not followed by the potential pause otherwise associated with them (thus the two Clauses may be uttered without a break); (2) they are in some cases obligatory. The research that has resulted in the identification of the structures in this section, an advance on what the grammars offer, has uncovered many more problems which cannot be solved as yet. For instance, (a) intonation may be one of the markers, even the primary one; (b) the pause after dE may possibly be excluded only when the second Clause cannot be 'understood' from what is implied by the first, i.e. dE+pause or dE/pause may be determined by lexical restriction operating between the two Clauses.
 2. This pattern is discussed Lewis, pp.264-5; Swift³ quotes an example when illustrating the uses of ki but does not describe the structure itself.

Each has a third restriction: Pattern (A) requires that
 (iii) the verb of the second Clause have the
 optative-imperative form.

(272)

<u>Burda</u> _{N-DE} <u>yok</u> _{NP} <u>zaten</u> _{N^{Av}} <u>ki</u> _{Cj}	F <div> Cl¹ </div>	Anyway, there isn't (any)
		<u>here</u>
<u>orda</u> _{N-DE} <u>olsun</u> _{VP}	F <div> Cl² </div>	so why should there be (any
		<u>there</u> . ("Here there is
		not, anyway, that there
		it may be")

F.Cl¹ F.Cl²
 St + Ct^R S

(273)

<u>Ezber</u> _{N^{Av}} <u>bir şey</u> _{N-(y)I}	F.Cl ¹	I don't know
<u>bilmiyorum</u> _{VP} <u>ki</u> _{Cj}		anything from memory
<u>konuşayım</u> _{VP}	F.Cl ²	that
		I may talk.

F.Cl¹ F.Cl²
 St + Ct^R S

On the other hand Pattern (B) requires that

(iii) the Predicates of the two Clauses have
 to their referents in chronological order:

(274)**

<u>Ne zaman</u> _{N^{Av}} <u>bize</u> _{N^{-(y)E}}	F.Cl ¹	When
<u>bir iyilikleri</u> _{N-Ø}		has
<u>dokundu</u> _{VP} <u>ki</u> _{Cj}		a kind act of theirs (ever)
<u>bugün</u> _{N^{Av}} <u>dokunacak</u> _{VP}	F.Cl ²	reached
		((to)) us
		that it should ("will")
		reach (us) today?

The structure of this is: $\frac{F.Cl^1}{\text{---}St + Ct^R\text{---}S}$ $\frac{F.Cl^2}{\text{---}St + Ct^R\text{---}S}$

In Pattern (C)¹ the restrictions additional to juxtaposition and fixity of sequence are only:

- (i) restriction of the form of the verb of Cl^2 to the optative-imperative;
- (ii) use of ki after Cl^1 .

(275) **

<u>Bu başıma gelenleri</u>	}	F.Cl ¹	Relate
VN-(y)I			
<u>anlat, ki</u>			those things that have
VP Cj			happened to me ("These
<u>şaşsın kalsın,</u>	}	F.Cl ²	(things) coming to my head")
VP			
			that he may be dumbfounded.

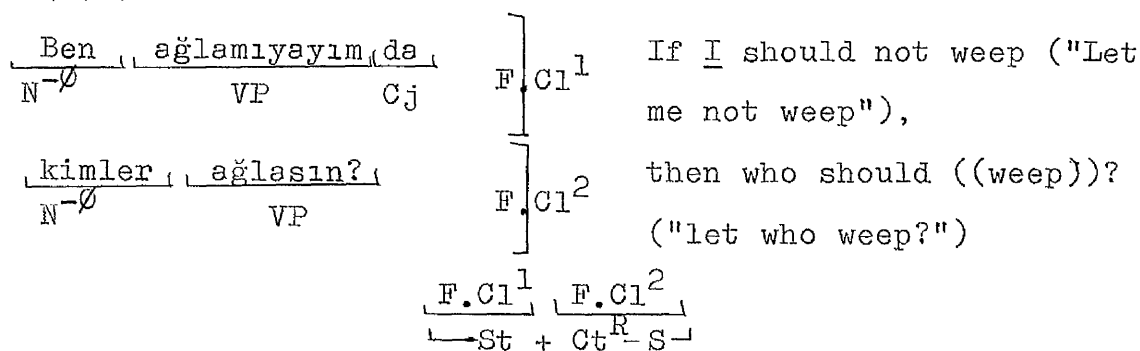
$\frac{F.Cl^1}{\text{---}St + Ct^R\text{---}S}$ $\frac{F.Cl^2}{\text{---}St + Ct^R\text{---}S}$

Pattern (D) exhibits a different set of additional restrictions:

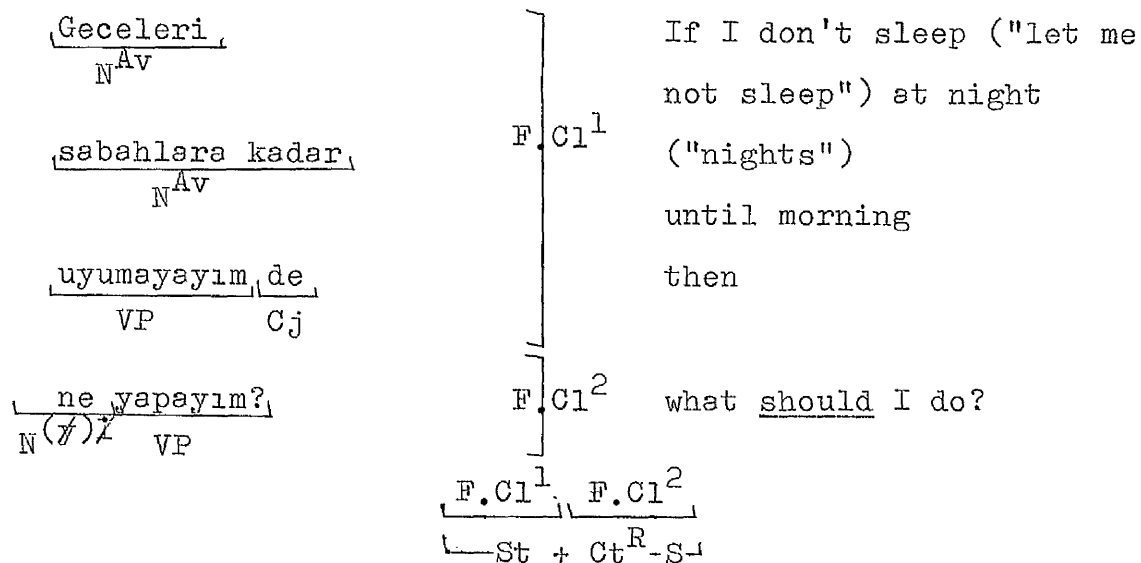
- (i) the tense is the same in both Clauses;
- (ii) the $F.Cl^1$ is negative, $F.Cl^2$ affirmative;
- (iii) $F.Cl^2$ is also interrogative;
- (iv) either the two Verb Roots are identical and the person different, or the two Verb Roots are different and the person the same;
- (v) the conjunction dE is appended to $F.Cl^1$.

1. Cf. Lewis, p.264.

(276) **



(277) **



The English translations suggest that the implication here is of "condition"; basically, however, it is a Stat^ement followed by a Comment which is the expression of the "consequence"

Pattern (E) is very similar:

- (i) the tense is the same in both Clauses;
- (ii) F.Cl² is interrogative;
- (iii) de is present

as in the previous pattern, but

- (iv) both the Verb Root and the person are identical in each Clause, and
- (v) It is F.Cl¹ that is affirmative, F.Cl² that is negative:

(277)**

<u>İsine</u> <u>geldiği zaman</u> N-(y)E VN ^{Av} VP	F.Cl ¹ F.Cl ² F.Cl ³ F.Cl ⁴	You believe
<u>inanıyorsun</u> <u>da</u> VP Cj		when it suits your purpose
<u>İsine</u> <u>gelmediği zaman</u> N-(y)E VN ^{Av}		("when it comes to your business")
<u>niye</u> N ^{Av}		so why
<u>inanmıyorsun?</u> VP		don't you believe
		when it does not ((suit your purpose))?

This is compound: $\overbrace{F.Cl^1 \quad F.Cl^2}^{Sx \rightarrow S} \quad \overbrace{F.Cl^3 \quad F.Cl^4}^{Sx \rightarrow S}$
 $\overbrace{\quad \quad \quad}^{St} + \overbrace{\quad \quad \quad}^{Ct^R \quad S}$

Pattern (F)¹ is very common. In it, the presence of

(i) dE in F.Cl¹

(ii) the same tense in both Clauses

but without the negative-affirmative and non-interrogative-interrogative opposition, combine to make the equivalent of a St+Ct(Ct=consequence) Sentence:

(278)**

<u>Ne</u> <u>etti</u> N(✓) VP	F.Cl ¹ F.Cl ²	What did he do
<u>de</u> Cj		that ("and")
<u>kurtardı?</u> VP		he saved (him)?
		$\overbrace{F.Cl^1 \quad F.Cl^2}^{St + Ct^R - S}$

(279)

Söyle koyayım da
N-(y)E VP Cj

F.Cl¹ Let me put it like that

sizi
N-(~~y~~)~~z~~

so that

F.Cl²

rahatsız etmesin.
N^C VP

it won't disturb you("and
let it not disturb you")

F.Cl¹ F.Cl²
St + Ct^R S

Indeed the 'feeling' of St + consequence is so strong¹ in all these patterns incorporating dE that the second Clause (the consequence) may even be left unexpressed. In its place a Clause-unit meaning 'that's why', 'for that reason' may be used, implying repetition of the previous sentence (as in Pattern (G))², or the exponent of the second may be silence (Pattern (H))².

Nos. 280 and 281 illustrate Pattern G:

(280)

- Evlêdım,

"My boy,

burası

why is this place

neden kalabalık?

(so) crowded?"

- Hüsameddinin

"It's Husameddin's

NP

F.Cl¹

muhakemesi de
Cj

trial

so ("and")

ondan!
N-DEn

F.Ø²

that's why"

1. And the intonation contour so striking. 2.Cf Lewis, p.207.

$$\frac{\frac{F.Cl^1}{\text{St}} + \frac{F.\emptyset\chi^2}{Ct^R S}}{\text{St} + Ct^R S}$$

The implication here is:

- <u>Hüsameddinin</u>	F.Cl ¹	It's Hüsameddin's
<u>muhakemesi</u> <u>de</u>		trial, so ("and")
NP Cj		it is because of <u>that</u>
<u>ondan</u> <u>kalabalık.</u>	F.Cl ²	that it is crowded.
N-DEn NP		

This could be transformed into a Suffix-marked Sentence:

<u>Hüsameddinin muhakemesi</u>	F.Cl ¹	Because it is
N-∅		
<u>OLDUĞUNDAN</u>		Hüsameddin's trial
VP		
<u>burası</u> <u>kalabalık.</u>	F.Cl ²	this place is crowded.
N-∅ NP		
<u>F.Cl¹</u> <u>F.Cl²</u>		
Sx S		

It must be borne in mind, however, that such a transformation reverses the meaning (cf. p. 170 above).

The next ^xexample is likewise given in its original form and then with the implication written out in full:

(281) **

- O yahnı yâsklı kız da¹ "That pesty-faced girl, too,

koca buldu. has found a husband."

- Hem hepimiziden evvel. "And before us all".

- <u>Babasının liraları</u> <u>var</u> <u>da</u>	F.Cl ¹	"Her father has money,
N-∅ NP Cj		
<u>onun için.</u>	F.∅χ ²	so that's why."
N ^{Av}		

1. This is the normal conjunctive use of dE; it is not part of the pattern under discussion.

This is: $\frac{F.Cl^1, F.Cl^2}{St + Ct^R S}$ and it implies:

<u>Babasının liraları</u> N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	Her father
<u>var da</u> NP Cj		has money, so
<u>onun için</u> N ^{Av}	F.Cl ²	therefore
<u>hepimizden evvel</u> N ^{Av}		she has found a husband
<u>koca buldu.</u> N(y)X VP		before all of us.
<u>F.Cl¹</u> <u>F.Cl²</u> └─ St + s ¹ Ct S ─┘		

The next example illustrated⁵ Pattern (H):

(282)**

- Ne güldün? dedi.	"Why did you smile?" he said.	
- $\frac{Aklıma}{N-(y)E}$	F.Cl ¹	"Something ^h
$\frac{bir\ şey}{N-\emptyset}$		came
$\frac{geldi\ de...^1}{VP\ Cj}$	$\overline{F.Cl^2}$	into my mind (and so...)

In full, the Sentence might be

$\frac{Aklıma\ bir\ şey}{N-(y)E\ N-\emptyset}$	F.Cl ¹	Something
$\frac{geldi\ de}{VP\ Cj}$		came
$\frac{onun\ için\ güldüm.}{N^{Av}\ VP}$	F.Cl ²	into my mind and so
		for that reason I smiled.

1. This is conventional Turkish punctuation. It implies the something left unsaid.

which is:
$$\frac{\frac{F.Cl^1}{\text{St}} + \frac{F.Cl^2}{\text{Ct}^{sl}}}{S}$$

It will be observed that some of these patterns (B,D and E) display a striking parallelism in their constituent Clauses and it will be remembered that this has been shown to be one of the conjunctive devices used to co-ordinate structures of equal status (that is, to make multiple structures).

Whether this most striking of features is present or not, however, all Non-suffix-marked Sentence types in this section (that is, with additional marker) demonstrate that Turkish can express logical inequality without resorting to morphological inequality, that is, without formal subordination. For instance, dE and ki express nothing more than conjoining; however, use them to link Clauses which exhibit certain lexical and other restrictions, and a new relationship which indicates more than mere conjoining is created.¹

Non-suffix-marked Sentences with additional marker, whether $\text{St} + \text{Ct}^{sl}$ or $\text{St} + \text{Ct}^R$ Sentences, are thus intermediate between the traditional "co-ordinate" and "subordinating" sentences: the constituent Clauses being Finite, and the

-
1. This last sentence of mine (beginning "however", illustrates the same phenomenon occurring in English: "Use ... restrictions" is $F.Cl^1$, containing, of necessity, the imperative (use"): it is joined to the $F.Cl^2$ (a relationship ... created") by an obligatory "and" which merely co-ordinates. The resulting structure is $\text{St} + \text{Ct}(\text{Ct} = \text{consequence})$. It is transformable into the equivalent of a Turkish Suffix-marked Sentence containing a marked clause of condition: "If you use them ... etc."

presence in one of a segmental marker (demonstrative etc.) and in the other of a lexical marker (conjunction) might lead one to expect the co-ordination of equals to be in operation (cf. the conjunctive devices discussed in Chapter 2). Against this, however, is the stronger evidence of the meaning: the second Clause is deprived of a great deal of its meaning if it is taken in isolation, i.e. deprived of its "prop", the first Clause; consequently the second can only be interpreted as Dependent and so the constituent Clauses are logically unequal. The strongest evidence of this is of course in Pattern (H).

To summarize: both types of Non-suffix-marked Sentence having an additional marker (i.e. $St+^{sl}Ct$ and $St+Ct^R$) have

- (i) a sequence that is fixed,
- (ii) a sequence of Dominant+Dependent,

that is, a sequence which is at variance with that traditionally prescribed for Two-clause sentences.

Less immediately apparent, but in fact just as clearly demonstrable, is the occurrence of the same sequence in the Non-suffix-marked Sentence without additional marker ($St+Ct$) which is far more common than the others.

3. Discussion:

It is apparent that the Two-clause Sentence expresses the Dominant - Dependent relationship by means of the whole gamut of structures: at one extreme is the Suffix-marked Sentence in which the relationship is explicit; at the other is the $St+Ct$ Sentence which lacks all suffix or segmental indication of the connection between the two parts and yet implies the same relationship, as can be proved by transform-

ing it into the Suffix-marked type. Between these two extremes come all other structures, in which

- (i) like the Sx S but unlike the St+Ct S. the constituent parts are formally equal, both being F.CLs.
- (ii) unlike Sx S but like St+Ct S the existence of a connection between the constituent parts is made explicit, the markers (conjunction, segmental link, parallelism, repetition) being those shown in Chapter 2 to be markers of co-ordination, i.e. joining pieces of equal status;
- (iii) despite these indications of equality the constituent parts are seen to be logically unequal, one being Dependent upon the other.

All Two-clause Sentences , therefore, no matter how marked, have

- (a) the feature juxtaposition in common, but
- (b) Suffix-marked Sentences have no fixity of sequence, both sequences, Dominant+Dependent and Dependent+Dominant being possible;
- (c) Non-suffix-marked Sentences have fixity of sequence as marker of relationship, in some (St+Ct) as the only one¹. This sequence is invariably Dominant+Dependent.

This sequence is seen possibly even more clearly in Three-clause Sentence types; these will therefore be examined next, before any attempt is made to suggest reasons for its occurrence.

1. Apart from suprasegmental ones, regretably not dealt with here.

THE THREE-CLAUSE SENTENCE:

Three-clause Sentences seem to be a special feature of spontaneous speech and unknown in writing.

Two types have been identified, both having as their basis the Non-suffix-marked Sentence without additional marker (i.e. $St+Ct$)^{or $St+slCt$} . To this is added a third F.Cl as follows:

1. the third Clause is a re-statement of the first, either in the same form or a slightly different one; it is a kind of summing up. This type, much less common than the next, is symbolised:

$$St^1+Ct^1+Ct^1;$$

2. the third Clause is a Comment prompted by the second one; the second is thus a Comment in its relationship to the first, and a Statement in its relationship with the third. There is no direct logical connection between the first Clause and the third. This, highly significant, structure is symbolised:

$$St^1+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2$$

and may be termed a "Chain". Theoretically a Chain can be prolonged indefinitely by using each Comment as a new Statement.

Both types are more common in their expanded forms and are therefore shown in some detail in the next chapter. One short example of each will accordingly suffice here.

No.283 illustrates the $St^1+Ct^1+St^1$ type; each member is simple and the reiteration of St^1 is not identical with its first occurrence:

(283)

<u>Ben</u> N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	I
<u>karıştırıyorum</u> <u>hep</u> ; VP N ^{Av}		always stir (it):
<u>bilmiyorum</u> <u>başkalarını</u> VP N-(y)I	F.Cl ²	I don't know about others
<u>ama</u> CW	F.Cl ³	but
<u>hep</u> <u>karıştırıyorum</u> . N ^{Av} VP		I always stir (it).
<u>F.Cl¹</u> <u>F.Cl²</u> <u>F.Cl³</u> <u>St¹</u> + - <u>Ct¹</u> + - <u>Ct¹</u>		

The next example has a multiple third member. It is a Chain, but only because the word fasulye is used in two different meanings, as the English translation shows:

(284)

<u>Çok lezzetli</u> N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	It was not
<u>bir fasulye</u> , <u>değildi.</u> NP		
<u>Çünkü</u> , <u>fasulyesi</u> CW N-Ø	F.Cl ²	because its beans (= ingredients)
<u>iyi</u> , <u>değildi.</u> N ^C NP		
<u>Pazardan</u> , <u>aldım.</u> N-DEn VP	F.Cl ³	I got (them) in ("from") the market (and)
<u>iyi</u> , <u>çıkmadı.</u> N ^C VP		
	F.Cl ⁴	they didn't turn out well.

<u>F.Cl¹</u>	<u>F.Cl²</u>	<u>F.Cl³</u>	<u>F.Cl⁴</u>
└ St ¹ - + Ct ¹ /St ² + — Ct ² —┐			

Both Cts are Clauses of reason.

It is especially the second of these two types that provides evidence for the validity of the St+Ct concept, for Ct² is not a comment upon St¹: the speaker has arrived at Ct² by following up what Ct¹ suggested. Clearly the implication is that the speaker is proceeding "step by step", an observation that will be shown to be of the greatest importance in providing the key to the rules governing sequence in Turkish (see Chapter 5). Of course, in the example given here, the "step" consists of a Simple (or in one case a short multiple) Clause, but that is merely the result of the limitations arbitrarily imposed upon the length of the structure for the purposes of the present exposition. The expanded forms examined in the next chapter give a truer picture of the length that each step may attain.

Even the Expanded Sentence, however, proves to be less than the whole of the structure which the speaker uses and to be merely a constituent in a larger one, termed here the Sentence Complex. Both are described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMBINATION AND SEQUENCE AT SENTENCE LEVEL - 2:

THE EXPANDED SENTENCE, AND AT SENTENCE-COMPLEX LEVEL

In the previous chapter a classification of Sentences into Simple one-, two- and three-clause structures was made and the main patterns in the last two of these described, the first having been dealt with in Chapter 2 under "Clause" with which it is co-terminous.

It was found that two sequences of Clause occur:

- (i) Dependent+Dominant, which, at this level is always optional;
- (ii) Dominant+Dependent, which is fixed.

Larger structures must now be examined, the next largest being, of course, the Expanded Sentence.

The principles of expansion at Sentence level are in no way different from those obtaining at Word-group and Clause levels, compounding and multiplicity again being the two methods used.

Perhaps surprisingly, however, it has been found when seeking illustrations, that the isolate (and thus easily quotable) Expanded Sentence is uncommon in speech, where the utterance is usually either shorter (in effect a Simple Sentence) or longer, the structure here termed Sentence-complex.

A Sentence-complex is defined here as that portion of speech, at least one Sentence in length, which has clearly audible limits.¹ In practice, delimitation presents no

1. Silence before and after, intonation contour and loudness are the main features isolating the Sentence-complex.

problems; nor does identification of its constituent Clauses. It is the accurate identifying of the relationship present without a suffix-marker to guide that requires careful and objective observation. Fortunately, the suprasegmental features almost ^aalways remove any ambiguity that the written text may present; for this reason, it is all the more regrettable that they have had to be excluded from the description.

In this chapter, therefore, first the Expanded Sentence and then the Sentence-complex are dealt with, with a reference to the largest structure of speech, the Paragraph. In both the principles which govern sequence are sought, those problems which seem to be incapable of solution when only grammatical criteria are employed are set forth for consideration by different ones in the next chapter.

THE EXPANDED SENTENCE:

It has not proved practicable to arrange the examples to show expansion by compounding and by multiplicity separately as was done with smaller structures, since the two occur together so frequently. Accordingly, in dealing in turn with Single-, Two- and Three-clause Sentences, all expanded forms are given together.

1. The Expanded Single-clause Sentence:

In the first instance only multiplicity is possible here, since a Single-clause Sentence expanded by compounding is, by definition, a Two-clause sentence; however, a constituent in the multiple structure may itself be compound (as in no.294).

A Single-clause Sentence (symbolised "1-Cl.S" and co-terminous with F.Cl) expanded by multiplicity is one con-

sisting of two or more equal structures in apposition; that is to say, each constituent of a multiple structure is a Sentence¹.

All the examples from no. 285 to no. 293 have the structure

$$\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{\text{1-Cl.S}^1 \quad \text{1-Cl.S}^2}_{\text{1-Cl.S}} \end{array}$$

They may be grouped according to the type of conjunctive device that links them.

In the first example, juxtaposition alone² marks the relationship:

. (285)

<u>Ağaca</u> N-(y)E	<u>çıkardım</u> VP	1-Cl.S ¹	I used to climb ((into)) tree(s)
<u>saklanırdım.</u> VP		1-Cl.S ²	(and)((I used to)) hide.

The relationship between the constituent Sentences may also be reinforced by the use of a lexical conjunctive; in nos. 286-288 (and also 291) this is a conjunction:

-
1. A Single-clause Sentence and a Clause are co-terminous, of course; the distinction between Clause and Sentence must be strictly maintained, however, otherwise description of larger structures becomes impossible.
 2. Suprasegmental features are excluded from this study; otherwise, intonation and juncture prosodies would also need to be described here.

(286)

Vallah¹

Well yes,

<u>yapıyordum,</u> VP	1-Cl.S ¹	I used to make (it)
<u>AMA²</u> Cj		but
<u>şu anda,</u> N-DE	1-Cl.S ²	just at the moment
<u>unuttum.</u> VP		I've forgotten (how).

(287)

<u>Tabii³</u> CW		Of course
<u>her şey,</u> <u>değişiyor,</u> N-Ø VP	1-Cl.S ¹	everything changes (and)
<u>o,</u> <u>DA,</u> <u>değişmiş.</u> N-Ø Cj VP	1-Cl.S ²	that, too, has changed.

-
1. The function and thus the status of this word is discussed in the next chapter.
 2. A conjunction is interpreted in this study as being extra to Clause structure proper. For this reason, it is left outside the bracket delimiting the Clause/Sentence wherever possible. It is, of course, not possible to do this with the enclitic conjunction de in any use except that described in the previous chapter.
 3. The Comment Word indicates that the whole Sentence quoted is in fact the Ct to a preceding St which has not been given.

(288)		
<u>HEM</u> Cj	] 1-Cl. S ¹	You BOTH
<u>güzel, diyorsunuz,</u> N ^C VP		say that the tea is nice
<u>çaya</u> N-(y)E		
<u>HEM</u> Cj		AND (yet) ¹
<u>baska içmiyorsunuz!</u> N (y) VP	] 1-Cl. S ²	you don't drink any more!

The conjunctive lexical item may indicate membership of a temporal or spacial series:

(289)		
<u>İLK ÖNCE</u> N ^{Av} =Cj	] 1-Cl. S ¹	AT FIRST
<u>taslarım, yoktu,</u> N-Ø NP		I hadn't any bowls,
<u>bu taslar.</u> ²		these bowls; ³
<u>SONRA</u> N ^{Av} -Cj		LATER
<u>bunları</u> N(y)I	] 1-Cl. S ²	I got these from <u>Tide</u> .
<u>Tideten aldım.</u> N-DEn VP		from <u>Tide</u> .

1. Putting in "yet" converts this from a co-ordinate Sentence into a St+Ct one. It seems to be obligatory in the English; the Turkish, however, really is "co-ordinate".
2. Amplification.
3. The semi-colon is not used in Turkish; thus a Turkish orthographic sentence is shorter than the "true" sentence.

The use of a Clause-unit as the conjunctive item (cf. p. 136) is illustrated in the next example:

(290)

<u>KİMİSİ</u> N-Ø	] 1-Cl.S ¹ =] 1-Cl.S ²	SOME OF THEM
<u>bu kadar ağır</u> <u>olur.</u> N ^C VP		are as heavy as this (but)
<u>KİMİSİ</u> N-Ø		SOME OF THEM
<u>hafif</u> <u>olur.</u> N ^C VP		are light.

This also illustrates the parallelism that can occur between Sentences (cf. p.136 ff. where parallelism between Clause-units is discussed), as do the next two also; in 291 antonyms are contrasted, in 292 negative and affirmative:

(291)

<u>DÜZ</u> <u>de</u> <u>olabilir.</u> N ^C Cj VP	] 1-Cl.S ¹ =] 1-Cl.S ²	It can be plain (or)
<u>İŞLEMELİ</u> <u>de</u> <u>olabilir.</u> N ^C Cj VP		((it can be)) embroidered.

(292)

<u>"Türküz"</u> <u>dememişiz.</u> VN-(Ø) VP	] 1-Cl.S ¹ =] 1-Cl.S ²	We did not say "We are Turks/Turkish",
<u>"Osmanlıyız"</u> <u> demişiz.</u> VN-(Ø) VP		we said "We are 'Ottomans'!"

The next demonstrates the negative-affirmative opposition between Sentences with NP:

(293)

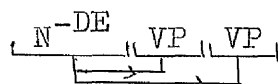
<u>Gür</u> <u>değil.</u> N ^C NP	] 1-Cl.S ¹ =] 1-Cl.S ²	It isn't thick,
<u>uzun</u> NP		it's long.

The last example in this section shows a combination of multiplicity and compounding: a Single-clause Sentence has three-fold multiplicity, indicated by deferment of suffix (cf. p.129 above); the first two of the three constituent Sentences are Simple Single-clause ones, having a Clause-unit in common, the third is a Suffix-marked Sentence:

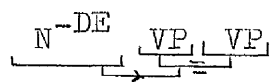
(294)		
<u>O salonda,</u> N ^{DE}	F.Cl ¹	They were going to gather
<u>toplancaklar</u> ØX, VP		(and)
<u>konuşacaklar</u> ØX, VP	F.Cl ²	((they were going to))
<u>akşam olunca,</u> N-Ø VP		converse
<u>evlerine,</u> N-(y)E	F.Cl ³	in that hall
<u>dağılacaklardı,</u> VP		(and)
	F.Cl ⁴	when evening came ("became")
		((they were going to))
		disperse
		to their homes.

This appears to be a straightforward example of three-fold multiplicity with compounding in the last member; in fact, it demonstrates two difficulties of interpretation that occur with great frequency:

(i) the first two Clauses can be seen either as



i.e. as two Clauses of equal status having a common N^{-DE} unit which is expressed only once, or as



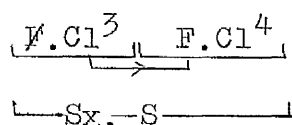
i.e. as a Simple Clause having a multiple P/Ø unit. In

practice, the suprasegmental features indicate beyond any doubt that the first interpretation is the correct one here.

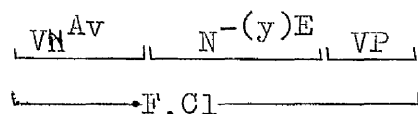
The same avoidance of repetition is to be seen in examples 299, 300, 304 and 306.

(ii) the last two Clauses are clearly part of the same Sentence but can be interpreted in two ways (cf. p 158 ff.):

F.Cl³ can be seen either as Dependent upon F.Cl⁴, in which case the Sentence is a Suffix-marked ones:



thus making the third Sentence of the multiple structure a compound one (i.e. realised by a Tw_λ^o-clause Sentence);
or as Included:



in which case the Sentence is a Single-clause one expanded by compounding.

This double possibility of interpretation is largely a matter of terminology and not nearly so significant as the previous point. It occurs, however, with all Adverb Clauses except the Clause of condition which can only be Dependent¹; accordingly, to avoid repetition the double possibility is not referred to again in this section: all F.Cls will be treated as Dependent only.

2. The Expanded Two-clause Sentence:

In describing the expansion of Two-clause Sentences the same order will be followed as was adopted for the

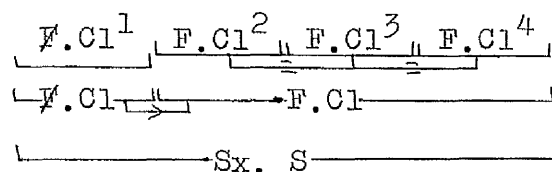
1. But cf. p.178.

Simple forms; St+Ct^R Sentences are not dealt with, however, since they occur very rarely in an expanded form.

If the F.Cl is interpreted as Dependent, not Included, no. 295 shows an expanded Suffix-marked Sentence having a simple Dependent and a multiple Dominant constituent:

(295)		
<u>Geldiği zaman</u> VP	F.Cl ¹	When she comes,
<u>koşarım.</u> VP	F.Cl ²	I run (to her).
<u>boynuna sarılırım.</u> N-(y)E VP	F.Cl ³	((I)) throw my arms around her neck (and)
<u>öperim.</u> VP	F.Cl ⁴	((I)) kiss (her).

The F.Cl could be placed last (after the three F.Cls), since it qualifies all three:



It should be noted, however, that the sequence follows the actual order of events; this is a point that will be taken up again later (Chapter 5) (see also p. 226).

The remaining examples are of Expanded Non-suffix-marked Sentences.

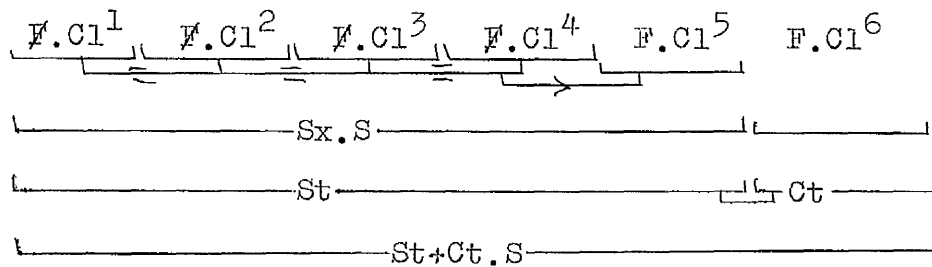
Nos. 296 and 297 are expanded St+Ct Sentences, in turn St+Ct(Ct=consequence) and St+Ct(Ct=amplification, or contrast). In both the St is compound, being realised by a Suffix-marked Sentence. The Ct of no. 296 is likewise simple, while that of no. 297 is multiple, realised by Clauses in a "Temporary

Substitution" relationship, the equivalent at Sentence level of the structure already identified at Clause level (see p. 149 ff. above).

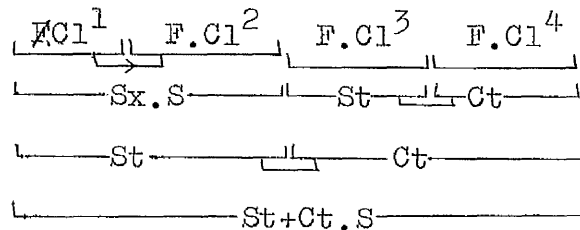
(296)

<u>Eğer</u> Cj			If
<u>hakikaten</u> N			he
<u>yerini</u> N-(y)İ			really
<u>değiştiriyor</u> ŞA, VØ			changes
<u>daha güzel bir yere</u> N-(y)E			his place (or residence),
<u>çıkıyor</u> ŞA, VØ			goes
<u>çocuklarına</u> daha iyi N-(y)E N ^{Av}			to a nicer place.
<u>bakıyor</u> ŞA, VØ			looks after
<u>haftada</u> bir defa yerine N-DE N ^{Av}			his children better,
<u>iki defa</u> et N-(y)Ø			eats
<u>iyiyorsa</u> , VØ			meat twice a week
<u>bu</u> "bir ihtiyactan doğan" N-Ø VAj			instead of once, (then)
<u>bir taleptir</u> , NP			this is an application
<u>Vermekte</u> devam edin, VN-DE VP			arising from a need
			(sb)
			continue to pay ("give")(it).

This is:



The next, no. 297 may be rendered thus:



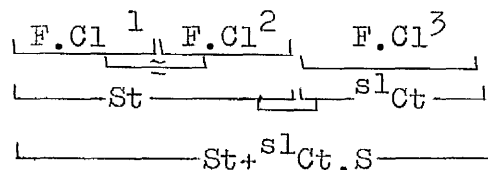
(297)

<u>İngiltereden gelirken,</u> N ^{-DEN} VP	F.Cl ¹	When (I was) coming (back) from England
<u>getirmedim.</u> VP	F.Cl ²	I didn't bring (it):
<u>Şeye verdim,</u> N(y)E VP	F.Cl ³	I gave (it) to the what's- it,
<u>fakir çocuklar yurduna,</u> N ^{-(y)E}	F.Cl ⁴	((I gave (it)))
<u>verdim.</u> VP		to the poor children's home.

The next group illustrates expansion of the St+S¹Ct Sentence. These are the equivalents at Sentence level of the Multiple Unit structures described within the Clause in Chapter 2. Examples 298 - 300 illustrate Assembly (Sentence Assembly) (cf. p. 143 ff. above): in all three the St is multiple and the link contained by the Ct is a portmanteau word, in 298 and 300 a demonstrative.

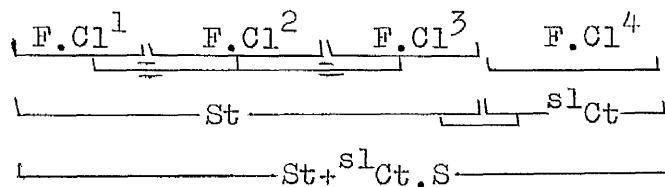
(298)

<u>Tuz</u> , kaçırıyorlar., N(y)X VP	F.Cl ¹	They smuggle salt,
<u>tütün</u> , kaçırıyorlar., N(y)X VP	F.Cl ²	they smuggle tobacco
<u>ONUNla</u> , yaşıyorlar., N(y)1E VP	F.Cl ³	(and) they live by that.



(299)

<u>Bunların</u> boyaları, N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	Their dyes
<u>yerli</u> , NP		are local,
<u>toprağı</u> , yerli, N-Ø NP	F.Cl ²	their clay is local,
<u>işçisi</u> , yerli, N-Ø NP	F.Cl ³	their makers ("Workmen") are local;
<u>HEPSİ</u> , yerli, N-Ø NP	F.Cl ⁴	All or them are local



The structure of the next, no. 300 is the same. The amount of repetition in these structures should be noted. In addition, no. 299 and 300 illustrate the non-repetition of an item common to several, discussed above (p.201 ff); in 299 this is bunların, a marked Qualifier within a Word-group, in 300 it is the two-unit group N-Ø N-(y)E (o onlara).

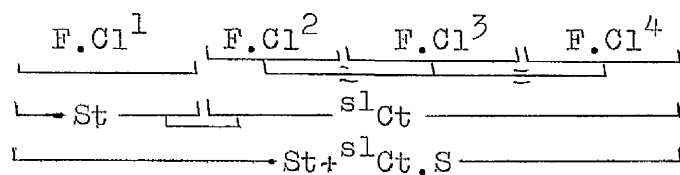
(300)		
<u>0</u> , <u>onlara</u>		He
N- \emptyset N-(y)E	F.Cl ¹	
<u>mihmandarlık</u> , <u>edecekti.</u>		was going to be a guide
N-(\cancel{y}) \cancel{I} VP		to them,
<u>İstanbulu</u> , <u>gezdirecekti.</u>		((he was going to)) take
N-(y)I VP	F.Cl ²	them around Istanbul,
<u>lâzım gelen izahat</u>		((he was going to)) give
N-(\cancel{y}) \cancel{I}	F.Cl ³	them
<u>verecekti.</u>		the necessary explanations;
VP		
<u>BUNLAR HEPSİ</u>		all of these
N- \emptyset	F.Cl ⁴	
<u>bana</u> , <u>düştü.</u>		fell to me.
N-(y)E VP		

Examples 301 - 303 illustrate the opposite, i.e. Particularisation (cf. p. 146 ff. above): in 302 the word particularised is N- \emptyset (bütün Lazlar) in no 301 the "general" word is her, a portmanteau word (Aj), in 303 it is a numeral (cf. p.143 above, footnote 3). In all the St is simple, the Ct multiple. Note also the presence of a suffix link (-s)I(n) in no. 303.

(301)		
<u>Her tarafta</u> , <u>vardır.</u>		They are in every part:
N-DE NP	F.Cl ¹	
<u>Aksarayda</u> , <u>da</u> , <u>olur.</u>		they occur in Aksaray and
N-DE Cj VP	F.Cl ²	
<u>Fatih tarafında</u> , <u>da</u> , <u>olur.</u>		((they occur)) around Fatih.
N-DE Cj VP	F.Cl ³	
	F.Cl ¹ F.Cl ² F.Cl ³	
	St Ct	
	St+Ct.S	

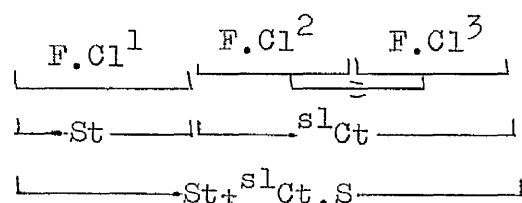
(302)

<u>Eskiden</u> N ^{Av}		Formerly
<u>Rusyada, İranda</u> N ^{-DE}		all the Laz
<u>bütün Lazlar</u> N ^{-Ø}	F.Cl ¹	used to work
<u>çalışıyorlardı</u> VP		in Russian (and) in Iran;
<u>Ekmekçiliği</u> N ^{-(y)İ}		(it was) they (who) did
<u>onlar yapar</u> N ^{-Ø} VP	F.Cl ²	the bread-making,
<u>pastacılığı</u> N ^{-(y)İ}		they (who) did
<u>onlar yapar</u> N ^{-Ø} VP	F.Cl ³	the cake-making,
<u>lokantacılığı</u> N ^{-(y)İ}		they (who) did
<u>onlar yapar</u> N ^{-Ø} VP	F.Cl ⁴	the restaurant-running.



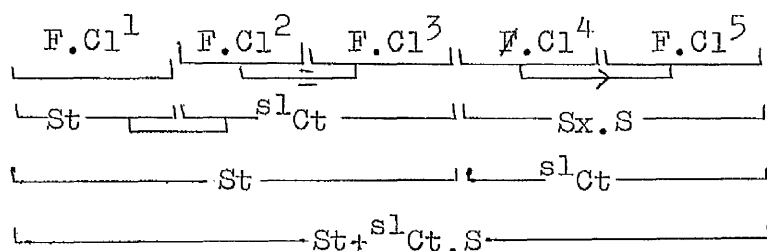
(303)

<u>Bir ailenin iki çocuğu</u> N ^{-Ø}	F.Cl ¹	A family has two sons:
<u>var.</u> NP		
<u>BİRİ kaçakçı oluyor</u> N ^{-Ø} N ^C VP	F.Cl ²	one of them becomes a smuggler,
<u>BİRİ kolcu oluyor</u> N ^{-Ø} N ^C VP	F.Cl ²	the other ("one of them") ((becomes)) an exciseman.



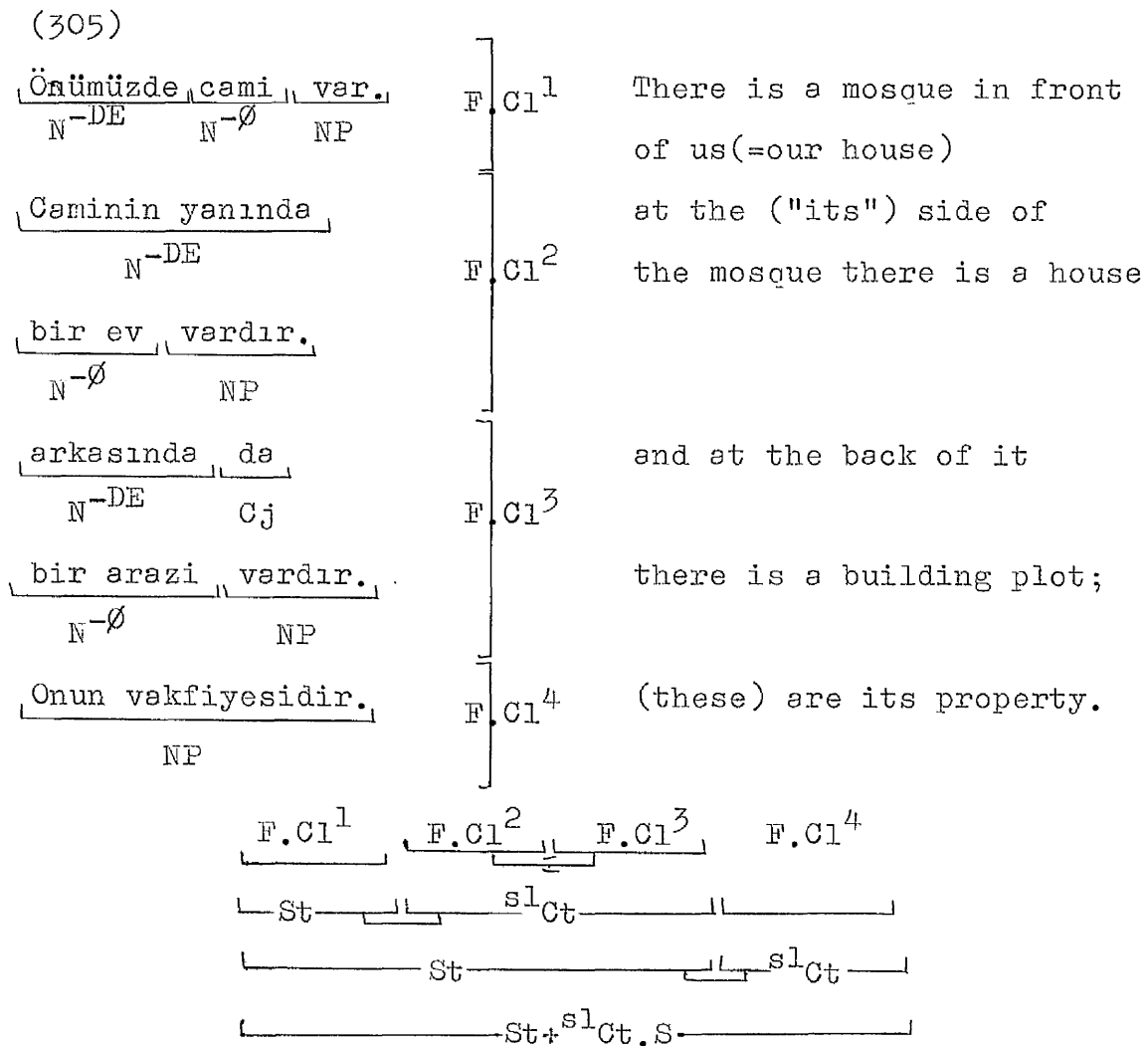
The next example, no. 304, shows Particularisation and Assembly together:

(304)		
<u>Filân falân yerleri,</u>		I have visited
N-(y)İ	F.Cl ¹	
<u>dolaştım,</u>		such and such places;
VP		
<u>orda,</u>		there are missing tiles
N-DE	F.Cl ²	
<u>eksik çiniler var,</u>		there are broken tiles
N-Ø NP		
<u>bozuk çiniler var,</u>		there:
N-Ø NP	F.Cl ³	
<u>Müsade ederseniz,</u>		if you permit,
VØ	F.Cl ⁴	
<u>bunları,</u>		I will have them repaired
N+(y)İ	F.Cl ⁵	
<u>tamir ettireceğim.</u>		
VP		



The similarity between this and the Chain (p.192) will be apparent. This Sentence, however, is undoubtedly a two-part one.

Like the 1st example, no. 305 also illustrates a St+^{s1}Ct Sentence Included: it is the exponent of the St which is accordingly compound:



This example also illustrates the various kinds of segmental link available, both lexical and suffix (cf. p.154 above):

- (i) caminin: in this, the Root (camı) is a repetition of the camı in F.Cl¹. (This is uncommon, replacement by a demonstrative being the usual practice);
- (ii) arkasında: this contains -(s)I(n), the possessive DS whose referent here is either camı or ev (i.e. there is

some ambiguity);

- (iii) onun: with this the demonstrative replaces canı.

Segmental links will be discussed again in Chapter 5.

3. The Expanded Three-clause Sentence:

The $St^1 + Ct^1 + St^1$ Sentence type is seen expanded in nos. 306 and 307. In the first of these both Sts are simple while the Ct is multiple:

(306)

<u>Ben</u> N-Ø	F.Cl ¹	I
<u>hepsini</u> , <u>çığden</u> N-(y)İ N-DEn		put
<u>koyuyorum.</u> VP		all of them (in) raw:
<u>Kimisi</u> <u>de</u> N-Ø Cj	F.Cl ²	some people
<u>ilk önce</u> N ^{Av}		first of all
<u>soğanını</u> , <u>kavuruyor.</u> N-(y)İ VP		fry the ("its") onion (and)
<u>ondan sonra</u> N ^{Av}		then
<u>fasulyesini</u> , <u>falan</u> N-(y)İ	F.Cl ³	put (in) the ("its") beans
<u>koyuyor.</u> VP		and the like,
<u>suyunu</u> , <u>koyuyor.</u> N-(y)İ VP	F.Cl ⁴	put (in) the ("its") water;

(-continued on the next page -

Ben, hepsini, giğ,
N-Ø N-(y)I N^C
koyuyorum,
VP

F.Cl⁵

I
put them all (in)
raw.

F.Cl¹ F.Cl² F.Cl³ F.Cl⁴ F.Cl⁵
St¹ Ct¹ St¹
St¹+Ct¹+St¹ S

In the next, no. 307, both Sts are compound, each being realised by a Suffix-marked Sentence. The Ct is multiple:

(307)

Fırında, olursa,
N-DE VP

F.Cl¹

If it is (done) in the
oven

daha iyi, oluyor.
N^C VP

F.Cl²

it turns out ("becomes")
better;

Fakat,
CW

however,

umumiyetle,
N-(y)IE

I generally

tencerede,
N+DE

F.Cl³

cook (it)

pişiriyorum, ben,
VP N-Ø

in a pan (and)

fırında, üstünü,
N-DE N-(y)I

F.Cl⁴

((I)) brown

kızartıyorum,
VP

its top in the oven; (yet)

Fırında, olursa,
N-DE VP

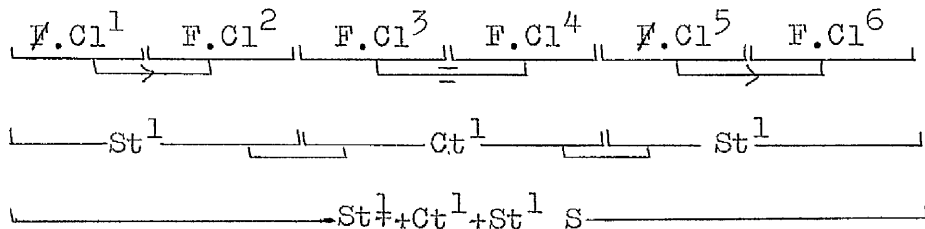
F.Cl⁵

if it is (done) in the oven

daha iyi, olur.
N^C VP

F.Cl⁶

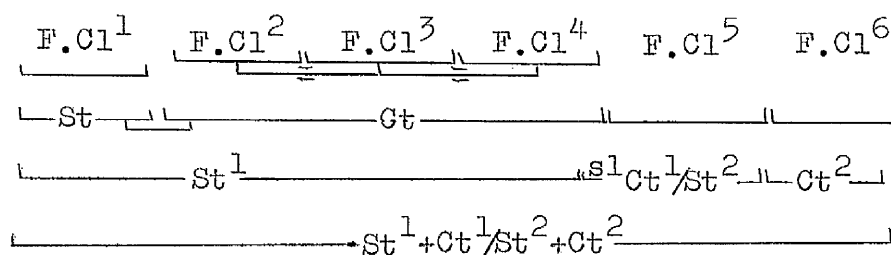
it turns out ("becomes")
better.



It will be noticed that in neither example is the second St an exact repetition of the first; that this change of form is not mere carelessness but a phenomenon having some significance will appear in Chapter 5.

The Chain (St^1+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2) is the basis of the following expanded Sentence:

(308)		
<u>Hani, var, ya, şurda</u>		
NP N-DE	F.Cl ¹	You know (those) three
<u>üç tane maymun,</u>		monkeys over there, don't
N-Ø		you? -
<u>birisi gözünü kapamış,</u>		
N-Ø N-(M)I VP	F.Cl ²	one of them has shut its
<u>birisi kulağını kapamış,</u>		eye(s),
N-Ø N-(y)I VP	F.Cl ³	one of them has shut its
<u>birisi ağzını kapamış.</u>		ear(s) ,
N-Ø N-(y)I VP	F.Cl ⁴	one of them has shut its
<u>Öyle olacak.</u>		mouth?
N-(y)IE VP	F.Cl ⁵	(Well), it has to be like
<u>Başka çare yok.</u>		that -
N-Ø NP	F.Cl ⁶	there's no other way.



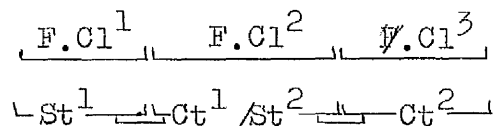
That is to say, this is a $St^1 + {}^{s1}Ct^1 / St^2 + Ct^2$ Sentence whose last two Clauses are simple but whose St^1 is compound, having as its exponent a Non-suffix-marked Two-clause Sentence, namely $St + {}^{s1}Ct$ ($Ct = \text{amplification}$). The second member of that Included Sentence is multiple, the segmental link used being the possessive $-(s)I(n)$.

The final example may be said to combine characteristics of both types of Three-clause Sentence:

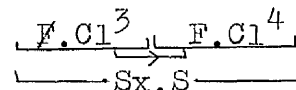
(309)

<u>Hiç</u> <u>yapmadım.</u> N ^{AV} VP	F.Cl ¹	I never made it
<u>Çünkü,</u> CW		because
<u>çok hafif ateş,</u> N-(y)I	F.Cl ²	it needs
<u>ister</u> <u>o</u> VP N-Ø		a very low heat:
<u>Elektrik</u> <u>olduğu için,</u> N-Ø VP	F.Cl ³	since it(=the stove) was electric
<u>yapmadım</u> <u>ben</u> <u>aşureyi.</u> VP N-Ø N-(y)I		F.Cl ⁴ I didn't make <u>aşure</u> .

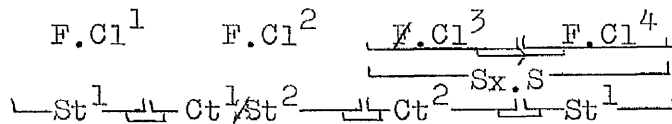
The F.Cl² here is clearly a Ct upon F.Cl¹, and F.Cl³ is, in turn, clearly a Ct upon F.Cl², thus:



That is, if taken as far as F.Cl³ this is a Chain. However, F.Cl³ is grammatically incomplete; to complete it a fuller version of St^1 is added, thus:



Thus the whole is:



The significant point is this: Ct^2 is not $F.Cl$; however, a $F.Cl$ could be substituted for it:

Hiç yapmadım. Çünkü çok hafif ateş ister o. Ocagımız elektrik-
ti.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the Clause arrangements illustrated is this: looking at the constituent Clauses as a whole - and not, for the present, at the words which they comprise - the "rule" postulated first in Chapter 1 as operating with compound Word-groups, then in Chapter 3 as operating with compound Clauses is seen to apply also at Sentence level: that is, "inclusion" of a structure does not seem to place any constraint upon its internal sequence. Consequently, once the sequence obtaining in the basic structure has been identified, it is possible to predict the same sequence for its "included" operation.

4. Discussion:

The present analysis of syntactic structures has now encompassed the one traditionally taken to be the largest, the Expanded Sentence, having progressed from the smallest, the Word-group, and on the way identified new types of structure. Enough has been presented to make possible a deduction of the principles of combination at each level.

It has been found that:

- (i) constituent members of a structure combine in some cases in a fixed sequence, in others freely;

- (ii) the free sequence is always associated with the presence of suffixes which preclude all possibility of ambiguity, while fixed sequence is associated with lack of such suffixes;
- (iii) at Word-group level the fixed sequence is Dependent+Dominant,
 at Clause level: in the Simple Clause there is no fixed sequence (although there is some restriction of position), but in the Expanded Clause
 - (a) the fixed sequence of the Word-group is maintained when compounding is used (e.g. when an Included Aj Clause is exponent of a Word-group member),
 - (b) the fixed sequence Dependent+Dominant also obtains when co-ordinating suffixes are used (i.e. -(y)Ip and "deferment" cf. p.129 ff.),
 - (c) the fixed sequence Dominant+Dependent occurs in certain structures such as Particularisation and Amplification;
 at Sentence level the fixed sequence is invariably Dominant+Dependent and gives rise to chains of Clauses in which each is a St (Dominant) to which a Ct (Dependent) can be added;
- (iv) when any of these structures is "included" in another, it retains the sequence of its isolate form;

- (v) a sequence "imprecise+more precise" is found both in some Multiple Unit structures within the Clause (Amplification and Particularisation) and also in some Two-clause Sentences (St+Ct and St+^{s1}Ct).

In addition, a "step by step" progression was observed in the St¹+Ct¹/St²+Ct² type of Sentence (and will also be observed in the Sentence-complexes described in the next section). The fact that this Sentence type is apparently peculiar to the spoken language is suggestive; this point will be pursued in the following pages.

Already more observations have been made about the Sentence in Turkish than ever before; and yet one is very much aware, in working with recorded material, that even the longest structure so far described, the Expanded Sentence is not the largest structure in the spoken language, and that the real unit of speech has not yet been reached: when isolating structures for a description such as that contained in the preceding pages, one is very conscious of being engaged in cutting parts out of a whole. Consequently, we are not yet in possession of all the evidence available even among purely grammatical elements which is necessary before identification of the factors governing choice of sequence can be attempted with any hope of success. The structure of which the Sentence is merely a constituent is the Sentence-complex, and this must now be examined,¹

1. Even this is not the largest structure of speech, it is suggested; that seems to be what may be called the "Speech Paragraph" but its analysis is not attempted here, since that would require a thorough understanding of (i) syntactic structures, (ii) suprasegmental features and their syntactic function, (iii) the features of Discourse, which is obviously not available at the present stage of our knowledge. An example of a Speech Paragraph is, however, given below.

THE SENTENCE-COMPLEX:

Sentence-complexes as postulated here differ from expanded sentences not in basic structure but in being complete entities, separated from neighbouring ones by silence and internally by suprasegmental features. The constituent members are the structures called "Sentences" in this study which are found to have their full meaning only in a relationship with neighbouring members. Thus although a Sentence-complex may be co-terminous with a Sentence, and often is, this may be anything from an unexpanded Single-clause Sentence to a Three-clause one exhibiting expansion on several levels; thus the term "Sentence" refers to a particular type of grammatical structure only, while "Sentence-complex" refers to a unit of speech, at least one simple Single-clause Sentence in length, separated from its neighbours. It may be a complete utterance¹ (as in nos. 310 and 311) or only part of an utterance (as in no. 320).

-
1. "Utterance" is used in this study to signify one whole "speech", in the sense in which it is used in drama. The term bears no structural implications. It is possible that the "Sentence-complex" corresponds to Swift's "utterance", since he uses this term to cover both as a structural and as a phonological unit; cf. 172-3: "What occurs is that the Turk puts together into a single utterance as many items as he wishes to have considered together as bearing on one another in this topic-comment relationship, regardless of their lack of overt morphological signals of relationship."

Cf. also Halliday (1970) p.162 discussing "information structure" says it "is expressed by intonation. Connected speech takes the form of an unbroken succession of distinctive pitch contours, or 'tone groups'; each tone group represents what the speaker decides to make into one unit of information."

The first two examples show the Sentence-complex at its shortest, both being realised by a Simple Single-clause Sentence. Both are also complete utterances:

- (310)
- | | | |
|---|----------|------------------|
| <u>Bir zamanlar,</u>
N ^{Av} |] 1-Cl.S | At one time |
| <u>bizim filiz çayları,</u>
N-Ø | | our "Filiz" teas |
| <u>pek güzeldi.</u>
NP | | were very good. |
- (311)
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| <u>Ne</u>
N-(Ø) |] 1-Cl.S | What are you thinking |
| <u>düşünyorsunuz,</u>
VP | | about, |
| <u>Matmazel?</u>
Voc. | | mademoiselle? |

The next two examples, also complete utterances, are of Sentence-complexes whose exponent is a St^1+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2 Sentence, possibly the most common type in spontaneous speech.¹

No. 312 has a variant form with a segmental link. Its structure can be represented thus:²

$$\begin{array}{l}
 Cl^1 \quad Cl^2 \quad \underbrace{Cl^3 \quad Cl^4 \quad Cl^5}_{s^1} \quad Cl^6 \quad (2) \\
 \underbrace{St^1 \quad Ct^1}_{s^1} / St^2 \quad \underbrace{s^1 \quad Ct^2}_{s^1} \quad (2) \\
 \underbrace{St^1}_{s^1} \quad \underbrace{Ct^1 / St^2}_{s^1} \quad \underbrace{s^1 \quad Ct^2}_{s^1} \quad (1) \\
 \underbrace{St^1 + Ct^1 / St^2 + s^1 \quad Ct^2}_{s^1} \quad s \quad
 \end{array}$$

1. ~~F~~ and F are omitted from the symbolisation from now on.
2. The "nesting" of Clauses in the structures under discussion is so complex that some method has to be found of indicating the layers; accordingly each is numbered: ().

It is thus basically a St^1+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2 structure (as shown in line (1)), whose middle member is compound (see line (2)), being realised by the second and third members of another St^1+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2 Sentence. The third member of the last mentioned is multiple (see line (3)). The first Clause-unit of all is also expanded by compounding and by multiplicity:

(312)

0
 bizim beğenmediğimiz
 babalar dedeler
 kendi zamanlarına göre
 her şeyi
 uydurlamışlar.
 Evlerinde daima
 bir sarnıç
 yaparlarmış.
 Yağmur sularını
 onun içine
 toplarlarmış.

N-Ø
 N-(y)E
 N-(y)I
 VP
 N-DE N-Av
 N-(y)X
 VP
 N-(y)I
 N-(y)E
 VP

Those

fathers and grandfathers
of ours

that we don't approve of

invented

everything

according to (the limitations of) their own times:

(for instance)

they always used to make
a cistern

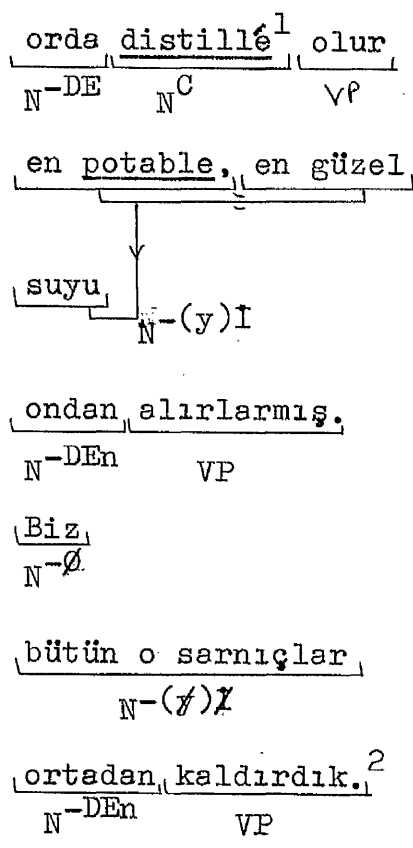
in their houses

(and)

they used to collect

the rain water((s))

in it.

Cl⁴

it got distillé¹ there
(and)

Cl⁵

they used to get
the most potable, the best
water from there.

Cl⁶

(But) we
have done away with ("re-
moved from roundabout")
all those tanks.

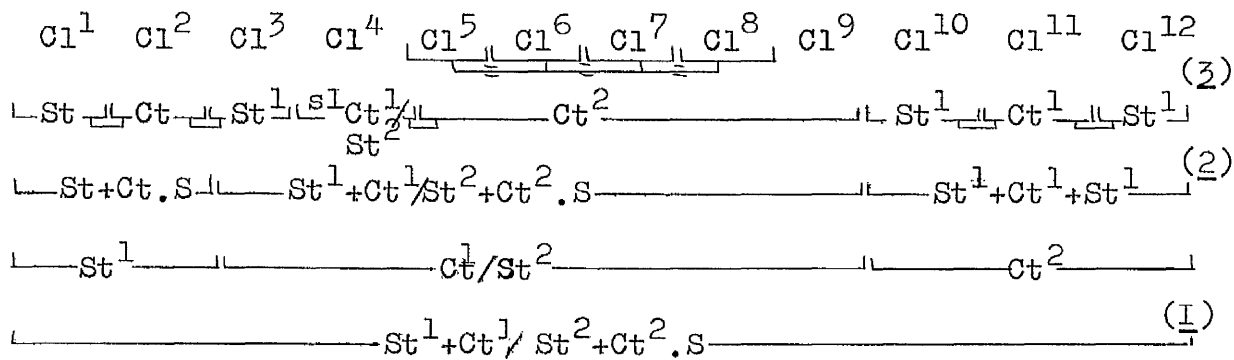
It should be observed that his Sentence-complex contains only one Clause which is logically "independent", the first: only this would be as meaningful if the others were removed. Yet, although the remaining five Clauses are "dependent", not one of them is F.Cl, i.e. a formally non-dominant one³.

1. French.

2. Ortadan kaldır- is an inseparable set phrase; therefore N-(Ø)I is in fact in the pre-verb position (cf. Chapter 1).

3. Clauses which are functioning as Included ones are not being considered here, as they are at a different level of structure; there is one such in Cl¹ of this example. Adverb Clauses, it will be remembered are being taken as Dependent, not Included, in this Chapter.

No. 313 has the following structure:



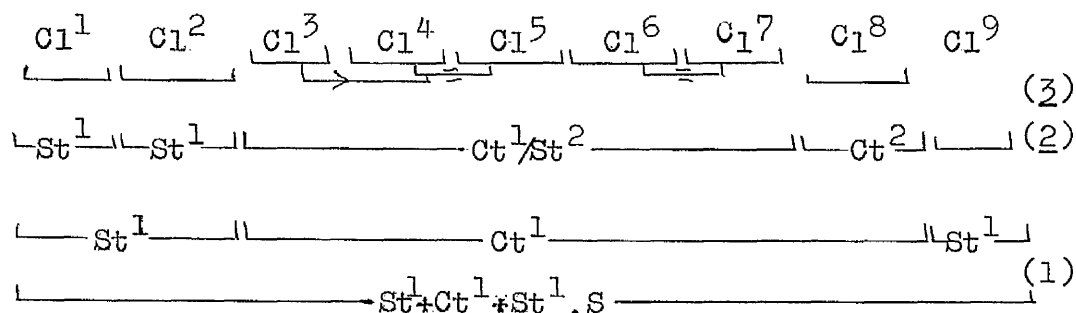
Thus this Sentence-complex is basically a $\text{St}^1 \text{Ct}^1 \text{St}^2 \text{Ct}^2$ Sentence (line (1)) (that is, a Chain) like the last, but each member is expanded by compounding. There is expansion by multiplicity only at layer (3):

(313)		
<u>Bir doktor var.</u> N-Ø NP	C1 ¹	There's a certain doctor
<u>Kendi Italyandır.</u> N-Ø NP	C1 ²	- he's Italian;
<u>O tavsiye ediyor.</u> N-Ø VP	C1 ³	he recommends (this):
<u>soya fasulyesini</u> N-(y)I	C1 ⁴	"Eat soya beans"
<u>yiyeceksiniz</u> VP		
<u>diyor.</u> VP		he says: (because)
<u>Eti de yerini tutar.</u> Cj N(y)I VP	C1 ⁵	"It both takes the place of meat
<u>sunun da tutar.</u> Cj VP	C1 ⁶	and also (takes that of that (thing)
<u>Ömrünüz de uzar</u> N-Ø Cj VP	C1 ⁷	and also your life is pro- longed, (and)

- continued on the next page -

<u>bilmem ne</u> , <u>olur</u> VN-Ø VP	C1 ⁸	I-don't-know-what happens;
<u>filân¹</u> F	Ø ⁹	and so on.
<u>Eh</u> , CW		But
<u>soya fasulyesini</u> N-(y)I	C1 ¹⁰	I don't know
<u>bilmiyorum</u> , <u>ki²</u> VP		(what) soya beans (are)!
<u>Görmedim</u> , <u>bile</u> , VP CW	C1 ¹¹	I've never even seen (them)!
<u>Nerden</u> , <u>bileceğiz?</u> N-DEn VP	C1 ¹²	(so) how ("from where") should we know (them)?

The next example, no. 314, again a complete utterance, is basically a $St^1+Ct^1+St^1$ Sentence (see line (1)) but the first St is interpreted as multiple, and the Ct as compound, having as exponent the second and third members of a Chain Sentence (line 2) whose middle member is expanded by multiplicity:



1. "Expansion filler", cf pp. 133-4 above.
2. In this use, ki merely emphasises. It must not be confused with the use described in Chapter 3.

(314)

1- (Zeytinyağlı dolma
nasıl yapılıyor?)¹

2- Vallah
CW

3- bütün² se-

4- gerek domates...

5- gerek biber...

6- gerek patlıcan...

7- lahana...

8- yaprak,

9- bunların hepsinin içi
N-Ø

10- aynı yapılır...
N^{Av} VP

11- Hiç bir fark yoktur
N-Ø NP

12- içinin yapılışında.
N-DE

13-Sonra

- (m)4

(How are stuffed vegetables
-in-olive-oil made?)¹

Well, really,

all...veg-

whether tomato...

or pepper...

or aubergine...

cabbage...

v-vine-leaf,

the stuffing ("inside") of
all of them

is made the same (way)...

There's no difference

in the making of the inside.

....Then

(m)4

1. The speech of a non-native speaker of Turkish is enclosed in brackets.
2. "... " symbolises "hesitation"; it will be discussed in Ch.5.
3. Assembly. 5. Particularisation.
4. This (m) is the listener's non-verbal signal of attention. Here it coincides with the speaker's hesitation. It is discussed in Ch. 5.

14 <u>eğer</u> Cj		if
15 <u>domates biberse</u> .. NP	Cl ³	it is tomato or pepper
16 <u>oyup</u> VP	Cl ⁴	you scoop (it) out and
17 <u>içini</u> N(y)I	Cl ⁵	fill
18 <u>dolduruyorsunuz</u> VP		the inside,
19 <u>1-lahana veyahut yapraksa</u> NP	Cl ⁶	if it is c-cabbage or vine- leaves ("leaf")
20 <u>içine</u> N(y)E	Cl ⁷	you wrap (it)
21 <u>sarıyorsunuz</u> .. VP		inside it.
22 <u>Yani</u> .. (m) CW		...I mean.. (m)
23 <u>onun için</u> .. N ^{Av}	Cl ⁸	for that..
24 <u>bir çeşit dolma içi</u> N-Ø		there is
25 <u>vardır</u> .. NP		<u>one</u> kind of dolma filling
26 (Yani <u>fark</u> <u>yoktur</u> .. (CW NØ NP) .. ((Evet Evet	Cl ⁹ 1	(I mean, there's no differ- ence. Yes ((I see Yes
27 (Ama ne dolduruyorsunuz?)		(But what do you fill it <u>with</u> ?

1. Three brackets one above the other link two lines of simultaneous speech, like the musical stave.

The following example, no.315, also a complete utterance, is a Sentence-complex which in the text follows on from the last. It is much longer than any Sentence, even an expanded one, and demonstrates a different principle at work in ogverning sequence: instead of the representation of logical inequality arranged in a sequence Dominant+Dependent found hitherto, here the determining factor is the actual sequence in time of the referents (cf. also no. 295 on p. 203 above); that is, the Sentence-complex represents a number of acts which take place in a fixed order and are being described in that order.

This passage contains many other interesting features which are discussed at some length in the next chapter; here only its grammatical structure is dealt with. This is done after the text has been given, since an analysis using symbols is not feasible with a passage of such length.

(315)

(Ne dolduruyorsunuz içine?	(What do you fill into them?)
1 <u>Simdi</u> ¹ F	Well now,
2 <u>ilk önce</u> _{N^{Av}}	first of all.....
3 <u>bol miktarda soğan</u> , N	onions in great quantity.

1. The function of this word is discussed in the next chapter.
2. This may be either a F.Cl which lacks its P/P unit, or simply an item stated with no thought of uttering a full Clause, as occurs in the List which is the first member of Assembly. Cf. also piring on line 35, and bahar, line 53.

4	...Meselâ... CW		...For instance...
5	Ben bir kere yaptım N ^Ø N ^{Av} VP	C1 ²	I made (them/it) once -
6	...bir buçuk kilo biberdi NP		...it was 1 ¹ / ₂ kilos of peppers,
7	...bir buçuk kilo biber	C1 ³	...1 ¹ / ₂ kilos of peppers (and)
8	bir buçuk kilo soğan....		1 ¹ / ₂ kilos of onions....
9	Ince ince doğradım.... N ^{Av} VP	C1 ⁴	I chopped (them) up finely
10	Zeytinyağında kavurdum N ^{-DE} VP	C1 ⁵	I fried (them) in olive oil
11	soğanları.... N ^{-(y)I}		the onions....
12	Kahverengi oldu.... N ^C VP	C1 ⁶	They got brown....
13	Onun üzerine- ¹ N ^{-(y)E}		On to that/them ¹
14	ben.. N ^{-Ø}	C1 ⁷	<u>I</u> ..
15	fıstık ve üzümle... N ^{-(y)IE}		make (it)
16	yapıyorum.. VP		with pine-kernels and currants..
17	kimisi.. N ^{-Ø}	C1 ⁸	some people..
18	fıstık üzüm.. N ^{-(y)I}		don't put (in).. pine-kernels and currants.
19	koymaz.... VP		

1. The Clause thus started is left uncompleted.

20	<u>Soğan</u> _{N-Ø} <u>ka-</u> _{VP}	Cl ⁹	Upon the onions
21	<u>kahverengi</u> _{N^C} <u>olunc-</u> _{VP}		getting brown _{VP}
22	<u>fıstık ve üzümünü</u> _{N-(y)I}	Cl ¹⁰	I put (in)
23	<u>attım</u> _{VP}		the ("its") pine-kernels and currants.
24	<u>Fıstıklar</u> _{N-Ø} <u>da</u> _{Cj}	Cl ¹¹	Until the pine-kernels, too,
25	<u>kahverengi</u> _{N^C}		got ¹
26	<u>oluncaya kadar</u> _{VP}		brown _{VP}
27	<u>tabii</u> _{CW}		of course
28	<u>kahverengimsi</u> _{N^C} ²		brownish,
29	<u>yanmas-</u> _{VP}	Cl ¹²	I don't mean bu-
30	<u>yanmasını</u> _{VN-(y)I} <u>kasdetmiyorum</u> _{VP}		<u>burnt</u> brown ("its burning")
31	(<u>rengini</u> _{N(y)I} ³ <u>yani</u> _P <u>değişecek</u> _{VP}) _(m)	Cl ¹³	their colour(obj.) I mean, it will change _{VP}

1. The time is not expressed in the Turkish: oluncaya kadar may be 'get/got/had got/will get' etc. The Turkish "sub-ordinate clause is therefore more weakly connected to the "principal" one than is the case in English.

2. Particularisation, 2nd member.

3. The Clause started thus, with N-(y)I, is not completed; yani represents a change in direction (it is a "hesitation disguiser": see Chapter 5), the intransitive verb which follows requires rengi (N-Ø).

32(..... Fıstık, ..da...
 ((m) N-Ø Cj)

C1¹⁴

33 kahverengi, olunca...
 N^C VP

34 bu sefer...
 Av
 N

35 piring...

36 küçük bardakla

C1¹⁵

37 iki bardak kadar...

1

38 piring
 N-(Ø)Z

39 (koydum,
 (VP)
 ((m))

40 Bundan sonra...
 N^{Av}

C1¹⁶

41 bir bardak su,
 N-(Ø)Z

42 koydum,
 VP

.....Upon the pine-kernels,
 togo ..

getting brown...

this time..

rice:

with a small glass

I put (in)

about two glasses of

rice.....
 (m)

After that ...

I put (in)

one glass of water.....

1 Amplification.

43	<u>Sey gibi,</u>			Like what's-it,
44	<u>pilâv gibi</u> N ^{Av}	1		Like pilaff,
45	<u>suyunu</u> <u>çekti.</u> N ^{(y)I} VP		Cl ¹⁷	it soaked up the ("its") water;....
46	<u>hiç su</u> <u>kalmadı</u> N- ^Ø VP		Cl ¹⁸	no water at all remained
47	<u>tencerede.</u> N- ^{DE}			in the pan;..
48	<u>sade</u> <u>tabii</u> CW CW			only, of course,
49	<u>yağ</u> <u>hafif.</u> N- ^Ø	2	Ø ¹⁹	oil slightly ² -
50	<u>zeytinyağı</u> <u>çekmiyor</u> N- ^{(y)I} VP		Cl ²⁰	rice doesn't soak up
51	<u>pirinç.</u> N- ^Ø			olive oil....
52	<u>Onun üzerine</u> N- ^{(y)E}			On to that
53	<u>bahar.</u>		Cl ²¹	spice:
54	<u>kara biber.</u>			black pepper....
55	<u>tarçın.</u>			cinnamon....
56	<u>karışık bahar.</u>			mixed spice....
57	<u>onları</u> <u>koydum.</u> N- ^{(y)I} VP	4		I put them (in)....

1. Temporary Substitution. 2. Unfinished Clause.
3. Amplification. 4. Assembly.

- 58 iyice karıştırdım,...
N^{Av} VP Cl²² I stirred (it) well...
- 59 Soğudu,....
VP Cl²³ It cooled....
- 60 Soğuduktan sonra,...
VP Cl²⁴ After cooling...
- 61 biberleri oydum,
N^{-(y)İ} VP Cl²⁵ I scooped out the peppers,
- 62 içine koyup,...
N^{(y)E} VP Cl²⁶ and, putting (it) inside,
- 63 { doldurdum,....
VP (m) Cl²⁷ filled (them)...
- 64 Ve,
Cj And
- 65 tekrar,...
N^{Av} again...
- 66 biberler pişsin diye,...
VN^{-(y)İ} VP Cl²⁸ I cooked (them)
- 67 pişirdim,....
VP Cl²⁹ so that the peppers should cook....
- 68 Üstüne de,....
N^{-(y)E} Cj And on top of them....
- 69 ya,
Cj Cl³⁰ either
- 70 biberin kendi kapağını,
N^{-(y)İ} you put on
- 71 koyuyorsun,
VP the peppers' own lid
- 72 tekrar,...
N^{Av} again....

73 veya
Cj

or

74 ben
N-Ø

I

75 domatesten kapak yapıp
N-DEn N(Ø) VP

make lid(s) out of tomato

76 koyuyorum...
VP

and put (them on)...

77 Böyle
N(y)1E

In that way

78 daha güzel gözüyor.
N^C VP

it looks nicer.

79 (....
(m. Onların da dinlen-

(....
(m. They too have to
stand

80 (Tabii Tabii
CW CW
(mesi lâzım herhalde)

(Of course..Of course.
(I suppose.

This is the end of the Sentence-complex in question but before discussing it the next one in the text will be quoted, since it is in effect a Comment upon it:

(316)

81 Hattâ
CW

It is

even

82 onu
N(y)1

better

83 ertesi güne kadar..
N^{Av}

not to take

84 tencereden
N-DEn

it

85 çıkarmamak
VP

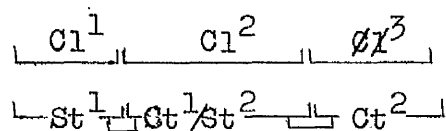
out of the pan

86 daha iyi
NP

until the next day

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 87 | <u>Çünkü</u> | | because |
| | CW | | |
| 88 | <u>sıcak sıcak</u> <u>çıkıyor</u> | | it won't come out |
| | N ^C VP | Cl ² | |
| 89 | <u>tencereden</u> ... | | of the pan |
| | N-DEn | | all hot. |
| 90 | (<u>Bilhassa</u> <u>yaprak</u>) | | Especially vine-leaves..... |
| | { CW N (m) | ØX ³ | (m) |
| 91 | Evet..... | | Yes..... |

The structure of this Sentence-complex may be expressed thus:



that is, it is a Chain, but the whole is a Comment upon the previous Sentence-complex, to which attention is now directed.

It is clear that no. 316, although a complete utterance, is not an independent structure but a Comment upon Sentence-complex no. 315, which is therefore its Stat^ement.

Nos. 315 and 316 demonstrate that the Sentence-complex itself is not the largest unit of speech: these two, together with the two short utterances of the other participant, constitute the complete working out of one topic, a complete "train of thought", and might therefore be termed a "Speech Paragraph". The present discussion must be limited to no. 315 as a Sentence-complex, however.

The sequence of the component parts of this Sentence-

complex (from Şimdi (line 1) to gözüküyor (line 78) follows the natural order of the events described. These may be summarised thus: (1) onions (Cls¹⁻³), (2) chop them (Cl⁴), (3) fry them (Cl⁵), (4) they become brown (Cls⁶). (5) pine-kernels and currants (Cls⁷⁻¹⁰), (6) they become brown (Cls¹¹⁻¹⁴), (7) rice (Cl¹⁵), (8) water (Cls¹⁶⁻²⁰), (9) spice (Cl²¹), (10) stir (Cl²²), (11) it cools (Cl²³⁻²⁴), (12) scoop out the peppers (Cl²⁵), (13) stuff them (Cl²⁶⁻²⁷), (14) cook (Cl²⁸⁻²⁹), (15) put on a lid (Cl³⁰⁻³³). That is, each ingredient or process is introduced in the correct place in the natural sequence, with the exception of (15), which should be the penultimate one. Where necessary, each is amplified or commented upon as it is mentioned and then not referred to again¹. In detail the structure is as follows:

- (1) the topic "onion" is introduced as an item, not as a complete Clause. The quantity is then recalled and stated in Cls²⁻³ which constitute a St+Ct Sentence, the whole of which is an amplification of "onion".
- (2), (3), (4) are Simple Single-clause Sentences following the sequence of events (Cls⁴⁻⁶). None is amplified or commented upon.
- (5) starts as the description of the next action in the natural sequence, using a lexical link ('On to that') but this is interrupted to explain that variant practices are possible (this is a Comment), and is never completed. Cls⁷⁻⁸ together constitute a St+Ct(Ct=contrast) Sentence. To bring the narration back to the recital of processes in order after this

1. It must be borne in mind that the passages analysed here, including this one, are taken from spontaneous, i.e. unrehearsed, speech.

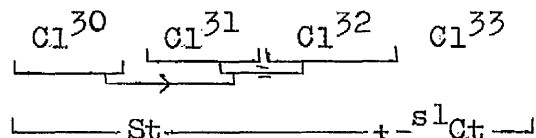
digression Cl⁹ is used containing a repetition of the information that preceded the digression, then Cl¹⁰, repeating fıstık, üzüm, words that occur in the digression itself.

- (6) is the next in the series; Cls¹²⁻¹³ particularise: here the task of "recall" seems to be dominant over that of expression.
- (7) For this item the structure Amplification is used, i.e. the item "rice" is named first, and then the quantity of rice (cf. (1)). The impression given is that this is the sequence in which they occur to the speaker, that is, the item itself, then something about that item.
- (8) Two facts come here: (i) I put in some water (Cl¹⁶), (ii) 'what happened to the water' (Cls¹⁷⁻²⁰). Cl¹⁷ and Cl¹⁸ constitute a St+Ct(Ct=consequence) Sentence which is a Ct on the St of Cl¹⁶. This is followed by another Ct consisting of $\emptyset\chi^{19}$ and Cl²⁰, the latter being itself a Ct (=reason) upon $\emptyset\chi^{19}$.
- (9) This is expressed by a Sentence (Cl²¹) incorporating both Clause-unit Amplification and Clause-unit Assembly; the "step-by-step" compilation of this Sentence is particularly clear.
- (10)-(13) It is interesting that here the constituent Clauses of the two Suffix-marked Sentences ($\overbrace{F.Cl^{24} \rightarrow F.Cl^{25}}$ and $\overbrace{F.Cl^{26} \rightarrow F.Cl^{27}}$) follow the sequence of events. In doing so, these sentences also happen to accord with the "prescribed" order; it is suggested, however, that

since the Sentence-complex as a whole demonstrates beyond doubt that the speaker is following the natural sequence of processes, it is reasonable to suppose that it is this that determines her choice. conformity with the supposed "rule" being coincidental.

(14) This contains the only medially placed Included Clause in the passage (Cl²⁸).

(15) This, the only part which is out of sequence, has the structure:



It can be seen that the exposition is ordered in a series of steps, corresponding to the actual steps in the process. Within that overall sequence, however, each step is dealt with separately, being enlarged where necessary. The sequence of constituents within these enlarged steps is: "name of item first, then amplification or other comment". This suggests that the sequence "imprecise+more precise" observed earlier (p. 153 ff., p. 217) may represent the process of recall: a speaker recalls the item first and then some details about it. It is also possible to suggest that this is another instance of the sequence Dominant+Dependent.

This passage contains two other features also apparently indicating how the speaker is progressing step-by-step in her exposition:

- (i) at the outset the topic of conversation is "stuffed vegetables in olive oil" in general (see the first question on p. 224). To this question "How do you made dolma?" the speaker only replies that the same filling is used for every kind of dolma. This

therefore prompts the second question "But what is the filling?) (p.226). The speaker then embarks upon a description of how the filling is made: "First of all, onions in great quantity" (line 3). She then tries to specify the quantity (i.e. to make bol miktar more precise). Apparently in order to arrive at the precise quantity, she calls to mind a specific occasion (Ben bir kere yaptım) on which she made stuffed peppers only; she recalls the quantity of peppers, which yields the quantity of onion needed in stuffing them. She then returns to the description of the process and continues without interruption until it is completed. However, it can be seen in section (12) that she has been describing how to make stuffed peppers. That is to say, she has proceeded thus:

stuffed vegetables in general -->¹ the filling
that is common to all kinds --> the first ingredient dealt with in the preparation thereof
viz. the onion --> the quantity of onion -->
the quantity needed with a certain quantity of
peppers --> the filling of stuffed peppers only.

The two ends of the Sentence-complex thus have different topics². This is a step-by-step progression which results in a change of meaning or content.

(ii) A step-by-step progression can also result in a change of structure. This happens at the same place: the

1. Symbolising "leading to".

2. The word "topic" is used in this study in its general meaning (as in "topic of conversation"), not to denote a structural element.

Sentence-complex^x begins with the stating or naming of an item (soğan). This is not a Clause, since it lacks a predicate; there is therefore no way of knowing which Clause-unit the word soğan is exponent of. It would be quite acceptable for the speaker to go on to list all the ingredients in this way; instead, however, when recalling the specific occasion referred to above, as she does next, she introduces a Sentence with VP and she also changes the grammatical subject to the 1st person. It is with this form that she continues thereafter. It is significant that the change from one type of structure to another occurs at the word meselâ; it will be postulated in the next chapter that "Fillers" like this are important in the signalling system of the language, as indicators of structural features.

The step^p-by-step process by which an unprepared sentence is assembled is illustrated even more strikingly in the following example (no.317). This Sentence-complex, which is only a part of a much larger utterance, consists basically of a Single-clause Sentence, a F.Cl which is the Direct Object ($VN^{-(\text{ø})\text{X}}$) of the VP diyor (cf. p. 109 ff.). This Included Clause is the one analysed here.

1	<u>Meselâ</u> CW		For instance,
2	<u>İsveçte</u> N-DE		in Sweden,
3	<u>diyorlar</u> VP		they say....
4	<u>bir aile reisi</u> .. N-Ø		the head of a family (need not think about) ¹
5	<u>çocuklarının</u>	N-(y)I ¹	his children's
6	<u>istikbalini</u> ..		future (dir, obj.)
7	<u>kendi ihtiyarlığını</u>	N-(y)I ²	his own old age (dr, obj.)
8	<u>çalışmıyacağı zamanki</u>		his situation
9	<u>vaziyetini</u> ..	N-(y)I ³	at the time when he will not work,
10	<u>işte</u> F		I mean,/er
11	<u>ne kadar tekaüdiye alması</u>	VN-(y)I ¹	how much pension
12	<u>lâzım geldiğini</u>		he has to get....
13	<u>hayatında bir para</u>	VN-(y)I ²	that it is necessary
14	<u>bir tarafa koyması</u>		to set aside
15	<u>lâzım geldiğini</u>		a bit of money during his life,

1. This is lacking in the Turkish - see discussion.

16	<u>ki</u> Cj			so that
17	<u>ihtiyarlığında</u> N-DE			he may not suffer want
18	<u>sıkıntı çekmesin,</u> N-(ş)X VP	F.Cl ¹	Ct ¹	in his old age,
19	<u>hasta olursa</u> N ^C VP	F.Cl ²	Ct ²	he may be looked after
20	<u>bakılsın,</u> VP	F.Cl ³		if he is ill,
21	yok ¹			no,
22	<u>ihtiyaç içinde olursa</u> N-DE VP	F.Cl ⁴	Ct ³	if he is in need
23	<u>karşılasın...</u> VP	F.Cl ⁵		he may meet (it):
24	<u>böyle düşünceler</u> N-Ø			there are
25	<u>yok</u> NP			no such thoughts,
26	diyor...sey			she says...er,
27	<u>İsveçte...</u> N-DE			in Sweden.

The VN-(~~ş~~)X in question (which is everything in the Sentence-complex except the initial Comment Word meselâ, the substitution word sey in line 26 and the two words diyorlar and diyor (lines 3, 26)) is built up by expansion of one Clause-unit, each exponent apparently suggesting the next,

1. This is apparently parenthetic and has not been considered in the analysis.

either by its content or by its form. The result of this progression is that the two extremes of the Clause do not fit each other; that is, the Clause is, by literary standards, an anacoluthon. How this comes about is clear, however:

(i) The speaker begins with a very ordinary $N^{-DE} + N^{-\emptyset} + N^{-(y)}I$

sequence: (lines 2 - 6):

İsveçte bir aile reisi çocuklarının istikbalini
 $N^{-DE} \text{ Aj } N^{-(\text{Ø})}I N^{-(s)}I(n) + -(\text{Ø})I(n) + -\emptyset N(n)In N(s)I(n) + (y)I$
 $N^{-DE}I \text{ } N^{-\emptyset} \text{ } N^{-(y)}I$

Here the $N^{-(y)}I$ Clause-unit is realised by a pattern C Word-group.

(ii) She then makes $N^{-(y)}I$ multiple by adding two more:

on line 7:

kendi ihtiyarlığını
 $\text{Aj } N^{-(\text{Ø})}I(n) + -(y)I$
 $N^{-(y)}I$

this $N^{-(y)}I$ being realised by a pattern A Word-group; then

on lines 8 - 9:

çalışmıyacağı zamanki vaziyetini
 $V\text{Ø} + -\text{Ø} N^{-(\text{Ø})}I(n) + -DS N^{-(\text{Ø})}I(n) + -(y)I$
 $VAj N^{-(\text{Ø})}I(n)$
 $Aj N^{-(\text{Ø})}I(n)$
 $N^{-(y)}I$

in which $N^{-(y)}I$ consists of a pattern A Word-group whose first member (which is derived, cf. p. 37-8, footnote) is compound, being itself a pattern A Word-group whose first member is an Included Clause, a VAj with $-(y)I\text{Ec}\text{Eg}I$ Clause marker (IS).

- (iii) At iste a change in structure occurs (cf. meselâ in the previous example (p. 227 and p. 238): after iste she uses a verbal exponent of the $N^{-(y)}I$ unit, i.e. $VN^{-(y)}I$ replaces $N^{-(y)}I$. This Included Clause has as marker the IS $-DiğI$ which is the present/past equivalent of the future $-(y)EcEğI$ which has already occurred:

ne, kadar tekaüdiye alması lâzım, geldiğini
 A_j $N^{-(\cancel{y})X(\cancel{y})+-(\cancel{y})X}$ $N^{-(\cancel{y})X(\cancel{y})+(\cancel{y})X}$ $VP^{+-\emptyset}$ N^C $VP^{+-}(y)I$
 _____ $N^{-(\cancel{y})X}$ _____ VP^{+-}
 _____ $VN^{--\emptyset}$ _____ N^C _____ VP^{+-}
 _____ $VN^{-(y)}I$ _____

- (iv) Another $VN^{-(y)}I$ with the same Clause-marker follows (lines 13 - 15), but, as the English translation shows, it is not exactly parallel in meaning, even though it might seem to be so structurally:

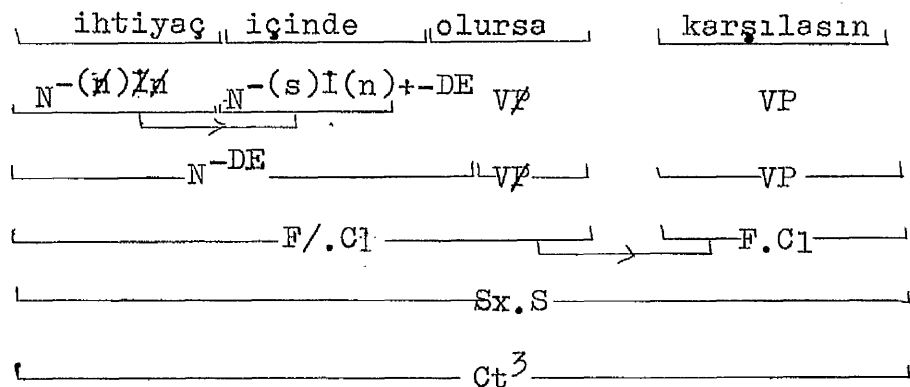
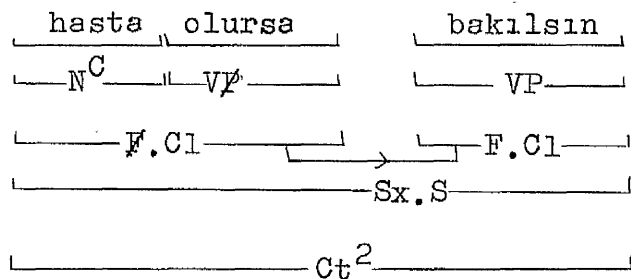
hayatında bir para bir tarafa koyması, lâzım, geldiğini
 N^{--DE} A_j $N^{(\cancel{y})X(\cancel{y})+(\cancel{y})X}$ A_j $N^{(\cancel{y})X(\cancel{y})+(\cancel{y})E}$ $VP^{+-\emptyset}$ N^C $VP^{+-}(y)I$
 N^{--DE} _____ $N^{-(\cancel{y})X}$ _____ $N^{-(y)E}$ _____ VP^{+-}
 _____ $VN^{--\emptyset}$ _____ N^C _____ VP^{+-}
 _____ $VN^{-(y)}I$ _____

- (v) This second $VN^{-(y)}I$ is then used as if it were the Statement in a $St+Ct^R$ Sentence (Pattern (C), p. 183):²

hayatında ... geldiğini, ki, ihtiyarlığında sıkıntı çemesin
 _____ N^{--DE} _____ $N^{(\cancel{y})X}$ _____ VP^{+-}
 _____ St _____ Cj _____ Ct _____

1. Bir tarafa koy- is considered to be a single Word-group: the $N^{(\cancel{y})X}$ unit alternant is therefore in the pre-verb position.
2. It is not a true $St+Ct^R$ Sentence, because the first Clause is not Finite.

- (vi) The Comment is then made multiple, by means of Ct² (lines 19-20) and Ct³ (lines 22-23); these contain F. Cls of the same structure as that just analysed (F.Cl³ and F.Cl⁵) but each of these is qualified by a F.Cl (F.Cl² and F.Cl⁴ respectively):



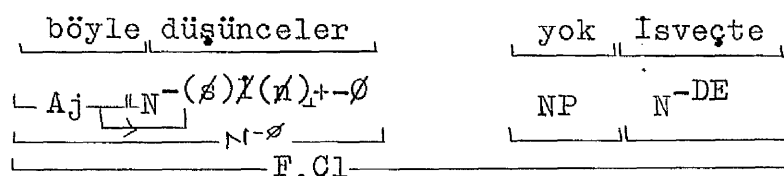
Thus, the second and third Cts are realised by Two-clause Sentences (Sx,S) whereas the exponent of the first Ct was a Single-clause Sentence.¹

Thus what started as N^{-(y)I} has by now developed, via VN^{-(y)I}, then F.Cl, into a Suffix-makred Two-clause Sentence.

- (vii) Finally, all the units developing from the first N^{-(y)I} but without -(y)I marker are assembled by means of the portmanteau demonstrative Aj böyle; this is part of a

1. The section from ki to karşılasın (line 16 to line 23) is parenthetic: it is uttered at base-line pitch, a monotone, soft and very fast.

$N^{-\emptyset}$ unit to which NP is added to complete the "Sentence", the N^{-DE} (of line 2) being repeated (line 27);



It can be seen that the transitive verb which the $N^{-(y)I}$ and $VN^{-(y)I}$ units required (and which would most naturally follow them) has been lost sight of during the process of multiplying the items listed. The Single-clause Sentence and the Suffix-marked Two-clause Sentences into which the $N^{-(y)I}$ developed has been treated as $N^{-\emptyset}$ ($VN^{-\emptyset}$); NP fits this $VN^{-\emptyset}$ but not the earlier $N^{-(y)I}$.

It is important to note that a listener to such an utterance is no more aware of its "ungrammatical" quality than is the speaker: it would appear that his apprehension of it proceeds at the same pace as that at which it is uttered, and by the same steps.¹

This concludes the present description of Sentence-complexes. No mention has been made of the sequence of words within the Clauses discussed; this is deferred until the next chapter.

DISCUSSION:

The present analysis of the syntactic structures of

L. Cf Fry (1970), p.49: "Just as the speaker, in generating his message, is working on a number of different levels at the same time, so the listener in reconstructing it has to work on the same levels and, like the speaker, he works on them all at the same time"

Turkish has now reached the ultimate point attainable when grammatical elements only are taken into consideration.

The points that emerge are these:

1. The elements of Turkish traditionally used as the sole basis for syntactic analysis, viz. the Suffixes, are found only in the smaller structures of the language - in the Word-group, in Clause constituents and in only one type of Sentence.
2. Many other structures, Non-suffix-marked ones, have been identified for the first time; these are found to be larger than the marked ones.
3. From this it follows that the suffix operates, with one exception, at levels lower than Sentence-level.
4. This "exception" may in fact be no exception at all: if all simple structures of two Clauses and more except one, (i.e. all Sentence-complexes, all Sentences except the Sx.S) indicate relationship by some means other than suffix, it can be argued that "all Sentences and larger structures in Turkish have the relationship between their constituent members indicated by non-suffix means." It would follow that the structure termed "Suffix-marked Two-clause Sentence" is not a two-clause Sentence at all but a compound Single-clause Sentence (i.e. with Included VN^{Av}) as originally put forward in Chapter 2. In that way, there is no structure larger than the Clause which does not indicate the relationship between the parts by Non-suffix means.

5. It was found that at every level of structure juxtaposition and fixity of sequence occur as markers of relationship, sometimes in conjunction with suffix, sometimes not. The other features identified, such as resemblance, repetition, use of some lexical links, enable certain combinations to be recognised as structures but do not themselves function as the sole marker of relationship: they are additional to juxtaposition and fixity of sequence.
6. Juxtaposition is found in almost every structure at every level (the exception is the Multiple Unit structures such as Particularisation). As a feature, it, too, is therefore valuable in enabling structures to be recognised as such but it is no help in accounting for sequence.
7. Fixity of sequence has emerged as the most valuable feature for the present purpose. It has been found to occur at Word-group level, and at Clause level where it is only one of several markers of relationship and associated with lack of suffixation. But at Sentence and Sentence-complex levels¹, it is either the only marker (as in the St+Ct Sentence) or the chief marker (as in St+^{S1}Ct and St+Ct^R Sentence types).
8. The sequence of members in these positionally-marked structures is found to be invariably Dominant+Dependent, a sequence of "statement" followed by a "comment" upon it which can be exemplified either by Sentences (in Sentence-complexes) or by Clauses (in Sentences) or by

1. And in the Speech Paragraph, not discussed here.

Units (in Clauses).

9. The sequence is invariable in structures larger than those marked by suffix. In suffix-marked structures however, there are two possibilities: where a suffix-marked structure has fixity of sequence (as in some Word-groups) the order dependent+dominant pertains; where a suffix-marked structure has optional sequence (as in pattern C Word-group and in the so-called "Suffix-marked Sentence"), it is the Dependent+Dominant sequence of the small structures that is "prescribed", though not by any means always followed.
10. The implication is this: since the structures which exhibit the Dependent+Dominant sequence are the smaller ones only, i.e. those that operate only as elements within a larger structure, they are no more than the "bricks" from which the larger structure is built and the sequence they exhibit need not obtain in the larger one: in fact the principle governing the assembling of these bricks, the framework or skeleton, is the reverse sequence Dominant+ Dependent.

So much has emerged from the examination of relationships within the syntactic structures of Turkish. One important question relating to sequence remains unanswered, however, the problem of order within the constituent members: which can now be expressed in the following terms:

How far does the "Dominant precedes Dependent" principle of combination govern the sequence of members of a structure - of the Clauses in a Sentence, of the units in a Clause, and of the Words within the non-sequentially fixed Word-group (i.e. pattern C)?

To answer this we must establish which Clause or Unit is the

Dominant member. This can only be done by examining each structure in its own context; consequently to do this is the aim of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FIVECOMBINATION AND SEQUENCE IN DISCOURSE

In the previous chapters the main types of syntactic structure in Turkish were identified, using as criteria only features internal to the structures. It was found that ^{each} is functions as a part of the next largest one, being combined with others of like status in a sequence sometimes grammatically determined, sometimes not. In the largest structures (the Two- and Three-clause Sentence and the Sentence-complex) sequence was found to be fixed in what was postulated as Dominant+Dependent, a sequence found to occur also in some smaller structures, compulsorily in some (such as the Multiple Unit ones), and optionally in others (such as the Word-group with marked qualifier (pattern C) and the Clause with P/P unit placed initially).

The next task is to confirm, if possible, that this interpretation of the observed sequence as "Dominant+Dependent" is indeed valid. This necessitates identifying either the Dominant member or the Dependent member as such beyond reasonable doubt; this entails explaining why a speaker begins his utterance as he does: it will be suggested that reasons are indeed discernible when elements external to the structure in question are taken into consideration. In this chapter some of these external elements are identified and shown to be features belonging not to grammar in the narrowest sense but to the Discourse situation. By using them it has been found possible to put forward reasons for the speaker's selection of:

- (i) a given sequentially fixed structure in a certain context, and of
- (ii) a certain sequence in a given context when using a sequentially free structure.

In other words, it will be shown that sequence is governed by principles as strong as those exercised by the rules of grammar, but different from those.

The Constituents of Discourse:

Hitherto the search for combinations of equal and unequal elements welded together in non-dependent and dependent relationships exemplified by syntactic structures has been illustrated only from the internal, grammatical, constituents thereof. In Discourse, which is the linguistic response to the whole context, situational as well as linguistic, the relationship between the parts of an utterance can also be examined using the same criteria, but here there is an additional relationship: in Discourse there are by definition two participants, both actively engaged the whole time and occupying the rôles of "Speaker" and "Listener"¹ but constantly changing from one to the other; Discourse therefore reflects

L. The term "Listener" is preferred to "Hearer" which is sometimes used (e.g. Lyons (1969), p.275) since that term suggests passivity. It is however essential to the successful execution of Discourse that the party not speaking is "responding", that is, is actively participating the whole time; this is illustrated in the following pages.

Spelt with capital letters, Speaker and Listener are technical terms denoting the two participants of Discourse; written with lower case letters they have their general connotation.

the relationship between these participants or rôle-bearers. These rôles are obtained and maintained by means of recognisable signals (shortly to be described); as a result, Discourse has as its constituents not only the grammatical or "content" element, which has occupied all the previous chapters and also the grammar books, but also an extra-grammatical, or signalling, element. These signals are just as important in determining structure as the features internal to the structure, such as the conjunctive devices listed earlier, and must therefore be identified so that their effect can be noted.

Signals:¹

The signals which make up the extra-grammatical constituent of Discourse are here identified as being of two kinds:

1. Signals of Communication,
2. Signals of Attitude.

1. Signals of Communication:

These signal the exchange, the rôle maintenance, rôle transference and acceptance which goes on ceaselessly between the participants. Their exponents may be

- (i) visual,
- (ii) non-verbal sounds,
- (iii) "meaningless" verbal utterances,
- (iv) meaningful verbal utterances.

The first of these does not concern us here. Of the rest,

-
1. A truly comprehensive ^{account} would have to be preceded by a thorough description of suprasegmental features, but this has yet to be made. In default of that, this tentative and far from complete analysis has to suffice.

although it is the last which is our primary concern, the others are of great importance in the recognition of structure and must therefore be briefly described.

(ii) Non-verbal sounds are those, like the English "er", used to avoid silence when the Speaker is obliged to hesitate. They are indicated in the following texts, since it has been found that hesitation is a useful indication of structure; as their precise exponent is immaterial, however, they are all prepresented by a single symbol "..."¹, an increased number of ... indicating increased length.

(iii) "Meaningless" verbal utterances are words or phrases similarly employed to avoid silence at moments of hesitation but without their lexical meaning. They included sey, efendim, ondan sonra, ondan sonra efendim, simdi, yani, ne? nedir? böyle, iste, and are indicated in the texts thus: efendim.

Words or phrases used thus, that is, as members of the function class "Filler", are not always easy to distinguish from their meaningful homonyms: suprasegmental features usually differentiate them but there is a certain amount of overlap. Nevertheless, precise identification must be attempted in order to avoid the type of misconstruction which has not been lacking hitherto. For instance,

simdi may be an Adverb ('now') or a Filler;

ondan sonra may be an Adverb ('then', 'after that')
a Conjunction, or a Filler.

It happens that these two most often occur in Clause initial

1. This has not been measured, however, since it varies from speaker to speaker and from mood to mood, and, being suprasegmental is, in any case, beyond the scope of this study.

position; they have therefore been taken as proof that, for instance, the class Adverb most often occurs in Clause initial position¹. This deduction is acceptable provided the classification of the word in question as (a) a meaningful one, that is, as having its lexical meaning, and (b) qualifying the verb, that is, as an Adverb, is correct. There are, however, many cases where this is not so: both of them may be Fillers as well as Adverbs; as such their position provides no evidence whatsoever for the position of the class "Adverb"; moreover, ondan sonra is frequently used as a Conjunction, and when doing so can provide no evidence for the position of the class "Adverb".² It is evident that the correct identification of the function of any unit is vital and must be made before any observation about the position any class of word occupies can be attempted.³ It is the wider context that provides the evidence for classification, as will be shown in the following pages.

1. See above, p. 87.

2. Indeed, it could probably be shown that as a Conjunction it is invariably initial, as an Adverb rarely.

The conjunctive function of ondan sonra is discussed later.

3. It seems quite probable that in many cases an apparently "meaningful" conjunction, such as ama, fakat, ve, which as a class have already been shown to be redundant (see above, p.126, footnote 1), is used solely as a hesitation disguiser, i.e. as a Filler; certainly the suprasegmental features seem to suggest this to be the case and worthy of further investigation.

2. Signals of Attitude:

When the attitude is an emotion (anger, surprise and the like) it is in the main rendered suprasegmentally (by loudness, speed, tune, for instance) and is therefore excluded from this study. However, an attitude found throughout the taped corpus, one which might be termed "respect", seems to have a recognisable effect upon content also and may accordingly be used to illustrate the general principle.¹

The influence of this Attitude, respect, upon the content of discourse is easily identifiable: it may be the determining factor in ⁱthe choice of

the exponent of a Clause-unit,

ii. the presence of a grammatically redundant unit,

iii. the presence of a word or phrase extra to Clause structure.

i. Respect determines two exponents in no. 318 -

(a) the plural form of the 2nd person when only one person is addressed,

(b) the negative form of the verb:

(318)

Bir çay dâha
N-(~~ç~~)Z

Won't you have ("drink")

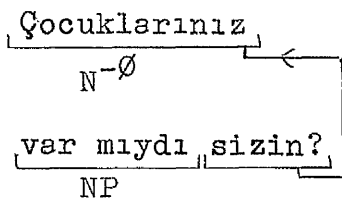
içmez misiniz?
VP

another cup of tea?

ii. Respect determines the presence of the grammatically redundant marked Qualifier (N⁻⁽ⁿ⁾In) in the following, making the utterance longer and therefore less abrupt:

1. Cf. Halliday et al (1964), pp. 92-3, where the effect of the relations between the participants upon style is discussed.

(319)

Have you ("Had you"¹)

any children ((of yours))?

iii. Respect determines the presence of a word extra to

Clause structure in no. 320, viz. zannedersem. Indeed it is possible to identify a function class whose members serve to indicate the speaker's attitude. Some of these Attitude Words have their lexical meaning: herhalde 'apparently', galiba 'evidently', öyle 'that is so', and therefore these present no problem. Others, however, do not and are therefore, like Fillers, liable to misinterpretation: zannedersem 'if I think', acaba 'I wonder' (see no. 357), ne bileyim and ne bileyim ben 'Oh, I don't know', yani 'I mean', meselâ 'I mean', 'let me see'; one of these either interjected into or appended to a Clause makes what would otherwise be an outright categorical statement into a more tentative one; i.e. it changes it from "assertion" to "proposition"²

(320)

Orası zannedersem..
N-Ø AW

In winter, I believe,

kışın biraz..
N^{Av}

it is rather er harsh

serttir.
NP

there.

Of the two types of signal, signals of Attitude seem to have the least effect upon structure by far; consequently,

1. Use of the past tense is another example of respect determining the exponent: past is more remote and therefore more polite. English uses it too, though not in this instance.
2. "Attitude Words" of one kind are called "intimacy" signals by Quirk (quoted Abercrombie (1965), p.9).

they will not be discussed further. The influence of signals of Communication is great, however, and can be clearly seen when syntactic structures are examined in their proper context.

Types of Context:

The corpus provides two types of context, that is to say, two types of discourse occur in it, both dialogues.¹ In one the Speaker is the dominant party, the Listener having a subordinate rôle; in the other, the two participants are equal.² These types of Discourse are termed here respectively Exposition and Exchange.³

ly Exposition and Exchange.³ are most conveniently described in the first instance as they occur in the Exposition situation.

1. THE EXPOSITION SITUATION:

In the Exposition situation the rôles are unequal: the Speaker has the initiative, the Listener's contributions being entirely prompted by the Speaker and therefore dependent upon his.

(A) Signals of Communication used by the Speaker:

In an expository utterance, the Speaker has been observed

-
1. There is also some "pseud^o-monologue", in which only one speaker is audible on the tape. I call it "pseudo" because the Speaker's discourse is much affected by his awareness of his audience and differs only in degree, not in kind, from that obtaining in the "Exposition situation" discussed next. (Cf. Abercrombie (1965), p.2)
 2. This parallels the similar inequality/equality existing between the constituents of syntactic structures.
 3. Indeed it may be that these are the only two forms that any Discourse may take; cf. footnote 1.

to signal three messages:

- I. his intention to embark upon an exposition,
- II. his wish to continue to hold the Listener's attention.
- III. his wish to learn the Listener's reaction.

For convenience these will be referred to as "signal AI", "signal AII" and "signal AIII". AI and AIII, which are the two terminal signals, are common to both of the Discourse situations; discussion of them will therefore be started here and continued under "Exchange situation".

(AI) To indicate intention of embarking upon an exposition:

To do this the Speaker must convey not one but two messages:

- (i) attract the Listener's attention,
- (ii) indicate his wish to speak at length, i.e. to "hold the floor", which means to take over the rôle of Speaker.

There are two devices which enable him to do this, both verbal and both extra to Clause structure proper.

(i) Merely attracting attention is seen most clearly where the would-be Speaker has to silence those he intends as his Listeners and uses a Filler (i.e. a non-content word) to do so. No. 321 illustrates this:¹

1. The speech of the other participant(s) is indicated by the sign "....." since its actual content is immaterial. The two utterances are written one above the other to indicate simultaneous speech, as in a musical score, and bracketed together. The first line of the two participants is introduced by a hyphen and the same line is kept for each throughout.

(321)

-{
 -(Efendim,
 F

-{
 -(Ef

{
 { (insanlara göre,
 N^{Av}

{
 { it varies

{
 { (değişir, Kimisi
 VP N-Ø

{
 { (according to people: some...

{
 { (kararını verir ve
 N-(y)I VP Cj

{
 { (makes his decision and

{
 { (yapar++¹
 VP

{
 { (does (it)++

(ii) He may combine the two signals by prefacing his first Sentence with a "content" word or Clause-unit. In doing so he not only attracts attention, but also announces the topic² of his intended exposition as a kind of "heading"³. When "content" words are used for this purpose, their repetition or near repetition seems obligatory, resulting in the use of one of the expanded structures described earlier: in no. 322 -

1. "++" indicates speech not quoted.

2. The word "topic" is used here in its general meaning ("subject of conversation"). It will be noted, however, that it does confirm Swift's classification of the first 'segment' of an utterance as 'topic', the rest being 'comment'.

3. Cf. Halliday (1970). pp. 162-3, where, in discussing "information unit" he describes this heading as "new" as opposed to "given", i.e. as signalling "I'm telling you what I am talking about", "Here is the heading to what I am saying" '

325, for instance, Multiple Unit structures are employed;
in 322 and 323 this is straightforward Particularisation:

(322)

.....Orda, Efganistanda N-DE	There (or: "er", "you know") in Afghanistan
...yerlilerin VP	I had
birkaç resmini N-(y)I	several portraits of the locals
yaptırdım ben, VP N-Ø	made -
sulu boya. NC	(in) water colour.

(323)

.....Orda, Urfada N-DE	There ("er") in Urfa
sağta, ekmek, N-DE N-(y)I	they make bread
yaparlar. VP	bread on griddle(s).

It will be noted that in 322 the Particularisation structure is separated in its entirety from the rest of the Clause of which it constitutes a unit by means of a pause or hesitation¹: in 323, however, there are two such pauses, the

1. Hesitation has many more exponents than silence: it may also be realised by the presence of meaningless vocalising, as in "er", by creaky voice, or by juncture features such as lengthening of a continuant consonant or a vowel, plosion of a plosive, and the presence of a primary or secondary stress.

longer one between the two members of the structure, the shorter one after the second.¹ The shorter one is not in fact manifested by silence. In neither case is there concurrent speech; it is therefore not to silence others that the signal is used. The pause is thus not a "waiting for your full attention" signal but may be an indication of one of two other things:

- (a) if it is deliberate it may be intended to enable the listener to become orientated to the new topic;
- (b) if it is not deliberate, it may be evidence of the planning process.

The same pause or hesitation is present in no. 324 which illustrates the use of Demonstrative Completion as a device for emendation of the suffix:

1. Cf. Laver (1970), p.68: "The tone-group is ... characterised by pauses, which are usually optional but sometimes mandatory, at its boundaries. Here the pauses are not perceived as hesitation signals, unless unduly prolonged; while internal pauses of even very short duration are heard by the listener as hesitations."

Also p. 70: "Boomer found that hesitation pauses tend to occur towards the beginning of the phonemic clauses (tone groups), often after the first word."

(324)

..... <u>İngiltereye</u> _{N-(y)E}	] VN ^{Av}	.....When I first went
<u>ilk</u> _{N^{Av}} <u>geldiğim zamanda</u> _{V\emptyset}		to England,
<u>orda</u> _{N^{DE}} ...		there...
<u>bir büyük mağazaya</u> _{N-(y)E}		we went
<u>girdik.</u> _{VP} ++		into a large store.++

Here orda supplies the -DE suffix which the Clause of which it is a unit requires, replacing the -(y)E which the Noun itself (İngiltere) bore in the Included Av Clause. The pause or hesitation occurs after the emendation, i.e. after the second member of the structure.

No. 325 illustrates use of Temporary Substitution followed by Demonstrative Completion in the announcement of the topic, all three members of the combined structure being separated by hesitation:

(325)

... <u>Seyde bulunduğum</u> _{N-DE V\emptyset}	] VN ^{Av}	...And when I was
zaman da... _{Cj}		in what's-it...
Tahrandada... <u>orda</u> _{N-DE} ...		((in)) Teheran...there...

-continued on the next page -

bir büyük pastane,

there was

bir büyük lokanta

a big pastry-cooks (and)

N-Ø

vardı..

a big restaurant;.

NP

¹
İkisinin da sahibi

the owner(s) of both of
them...

N-Ø

...Lazlardı...++

were Laz((es))...++

NP

No. 326 also illustrates Demonstrative Completion used to amend the unit marker (from -DE to -(y)E) but here the hesitation occurs between the two members, making the second an integral part of the Clause. Note that the first member contains (i) a repetition of the topic from the previous Sentence (which happens to be a question posed by the other party), and (ii) the enclitic conjunction de:

(326)

- (İç pilâv nasıl
yapılıyor?)

- (How is the rice filling
("inside pilaff") made?)

- İç pilâvda da...
N^{DE} Cj

- Now, in inside-pilaff ..

ona
N^{-(y)E}

pine-kernels and currants

fıstık üzüm
N-Ø

are put

konuluyor...++
VP

into it...++

It can be seen that the topic in the form used does not fit the rest of the Clause, indicating that when uttering it, the

1. Assembly with a possessive link (ikiSİNin) instead of a demonstrative one (cf. p.143 above, footnote 3)

Speaker did not know how her utterance was to continue.¹
 Reasons for (i) her uttering the topic before deciding upon the shwhole structure and for (ii) the content of this initial piece (Íç pilâvda da) will be suggested later.

The structure seen in the next example, no. 327, is a variation upon the last: the Speaker herself introduces the new topic; for this she uses a Dependent Clause followed by the enclitic conjunction dE, the whole being succeeded by a pause or hesitation. Repetition again occurs, however, in the Root domates:

-
1. Cf. Laver (1970), p.62: "Concerning "the ideation process which initiates the approximate semantic content of any verbal message the speaker wishes to communicate."

Also p.67: "The semantic structuring of the initial idea ... serves as a predisposition towards both activating particular areas of the memory store, and choosing the most relevant of the individual items to have been activated." This may be so; on the other hand, this example disproves Goldman Eisler's assumption (1968, p. 33) prior to carrying out certain experiments: "We assume that once a speaker has uttered the first word of a sentence he is on his course; he has decided not only what to say but has created for himself at least the broad syntactic framework" (my underlining). Her assumption can be true only of the part following the "heading", and many examples could be found of instances where it is demonstrably not true even there.

Cf. also Postal (1964) commenting (p. 109) upon Yngve's "quite dubious assumption that in producing a sentence a speaker derives it 'from top to bottom', that is, by choosing higher level elements (S,NP,VP) before lower level ones (Noun, particular morphemes, etc)."

(327)

Domatesli yaparsan da F,cl
 N^C VP Cj

y- ağda domatesi
 N-DE N-(y)I

kavuruyorsun F,cl
 VP ++

And if you mak it with
tomato ("tomato-y")
you fry

the tomato(es) in oil ++

Note that the hesiation here is placed not between the da and the word following it but actually within the following word.

Announcing one's intention to speak at length is not confined to utterance initial as these examples might suggest: a Speaker may have been interrupted and in order to be able to continue his exposition must (i) signal his intention to do so, (ii) recapture the attention of the Listener, and also (iii) silence the interrupter(s). A filler is frequently used for this purpose, as in no. 328:

(328)

-(++görmüş olsun diye...
 { VNAv
 -(

{++to say that they had seen
 { (it)...

{ Gidemediler.
 { VP
 {

{ They couldn't go.
 {

{Ondan sonra.....
 {
 F

{Well...er...
 {

{ Anadolunun bir tarafına
 { VN(y)E
 {

{ They decided to go
 {

{ gitmeğe karar verdiler. ++
 { N-(y)I VP

{ to a part of Anatolia. ++
 {

Here, if the pause or hesitation before and after the Filler were not indicated in the written version, ondan sonra would be interpreted as a N^{Av} unit belonging to, and initial in, the Clause, and meaning "After that". Such a misinterpretation would not be possible if the longer form of this Filler, ondan sonra efendim, were used, since this functions only as a Filler.¹

Irrefutable proof of the Filler status of a word which can also function as an Av is provided by the following example (329), which occurs after a lengthy interruption:

(329)

-{**.....	{++.....
-{ <u>Sonra</u> F	{ Er
{ (<u>daha</u> _N <u>evvel</u> _{Av})	{ earlier
{ (<u>Rüstem Paşa Camiine</u> _{N-(y)E})	{ (we had called
{ (<u>uğramıştık</u> _{VP} <u>efendim</u> _{Voc.})++	{ (at R.P Mosque, ma'am ₊₊

Here the literal meaning 'after' would be absurd.

-
1. It should also be noted that the interrupter butts in after only a short pause. It is significant that the interrupter was the Speaker's wife; for the other four people present (which included his (middle-aged) niece as well as more distant acquaintances) a pause of such short duration is insufficient to act as an invitation to speak

Note also that the Speaker only takes up his exposition after the interrupter falls silent again.

No. 330 also occurs after an interruption:

(330)

-{ <u>Şimdi</u> F	{ Well now,
(bize gelen misafirler, { N-Ø	{ the visitors who came to us { }
{ ... bunlar hepsi ... { m.	{ ... all of them { m
(yüksek tahsil yapmış ... ++ { N-(ş) VP	{ had had higher education ... ++ {

Here, too, the suprasegmental features make it clear that şimdi is a Filler, not a "meaningful" N^{Av} unit qualifying gel- ('come') which would otherwise be possible: 'the visitors who came to us just now'. And here again, a Demonstrative Completion structure is employed in announcing the topic.

Conclusions:

It can be seen that the Speaker indicates his intention to speak at some length, both at the beginning of his exposition and during it if he has been interrupted, by the use

either of a Filler

or of part of a Clause-unit, often an expanded one.

Particularly in the second of these, there is almost always a pause or hesitation. The actual exponent of the second is interesting on two counts: firstly as a constituent of an expanded structure which will be discussed below; secondly in being - in these examples, which are typical - either N^{DE}

or terminating in the éclitic conjunction dE^1 . The first is significant in being one of the Av units ('segments') which Swift and others note as often occurring initially in an utterance. It is now possible to suggest that it is in part the signalling system of Discourse that causes them to be placed there. Because these Clause-units are initial in the utterance, they have the possibility of bearing the high pitch associated with contour initial position (cf. p.89 above); Fillers, however, lack this prominence and it is this that marks them as Fillers. The second type, in contrast, reveal their signalling nature by causing a repetition of the prominent initial section of the intonation contour;

- (i) the pre-pause (or pre- last pause) piece has utterance initial pitch prominence;
- (ii) the pause or hesitation and/or the presence of of dE (which is extremely weakly stressed) serve to separate this piece from the remainder of the structure and so enhance its prominence;
- (iii) the pitch prominence of Clause initial occurs twice: once with the prefixed signal, and once with the beginning of the Clause proper.

The effect of this is to direct the attention of the other participants towards the Speaker, silencing them if they are speaking (as in no. 328).

It seems that the announcement of the new topic serves a second purpose: it orientates the Listener; the repetition

1. It is often impossible to hear any difference between them, contrary to what descriptions of stress in Turkish suggest.

involved and the pausing give him time to adjust before the Speaker embarks upon his exposition proper. It does not seem to matter if the Listener does not hear or grasp the actual content of the signal, because (i) if it is a Filler it is meaningless. (ii) if it is a Clause-unit, the relevant part of it is repeated in some form.

It is suggested, however, that these are not the only reasons for the Speaker using repetition, Particularisation and the like when signalling intention to embark upon an exposition and others are put forward later (p. 306^b).

(AII) To retain the rôle of Speaker.

To do this the Speaker is required to give constant indication of his intention to continue, throughout the whole of the main body of his exposition; failure to do so is an invitation to the Listener to take over the rôle of Speaker.

The primary requirement for preventing this seems to be the avoidance of

- (i) silence of more than a certain duration
(probably measurable), and
- (ii) the use of the "utterance final" pitch
(described in the next section, p. 278).

Only the former need concern us here.

If the Speaker were able to maintain a smooth flow without hesitation there would be no problem - the correct "continuation" signal would ensue automatically. This seems to be rarely found in unscripted speech, however, even when the speaker is well-practised; generally he resorts to devices that

either break up a potentially over-long silence into
two or more which are short enough to signal

"hesitation" instead of "termination"¹;

or disguise the hesitation.

The first is achieved by means of non-verbal vocalising and by the uttering of Fillers such as sey, ondan sonra efendim, sonra (as in no. 314, p.224), iste (as in no. 317, p.239), ne? (as in no. 332, p.274). Naturally enough, these devices seem to be used in inverse proportion to the skill of the speaker: they are never totally absent, however.²

It is the second category that is particularly significant in the search for clues to the choice of sequence: it was found when examining the taped corpus that many of the syntactic structures already presented in this study, such as those using Demonstrative Completion, and the Multiple Unit structures, were almost always associated with hesitation features (as in no. 315 on p. 226 ff.). That is, "when confronted with situations of uncertainty and when the selection of the next step requires an act of choice" the Speaker hesitates.³ Alerted by such clear instances, one is able to perceive similar, though minute, hesitations on the part of even the most fluent speakers⁴, not always realised by

1. Cf. footnote 1 on p. 265 above, where the two different interpretations given a pause that are brought about by the varying degree of familiarity between the parties is noted.
2. It should be noted that some Fillers are used only initially, others medially, a few in either position; separate sub-classes could therefore be set up.
3. Goldman Eisler (1968). p. 33.
4. Goldman Eisler, p.18, as the result of her experiments is able to assert that "at its most flent^u, two-thirds of spoken language comes in chunks of less than six words." It is not possible at this stage to suggest the number of words in a Turkish "chunk".

silence. The impression given is that he is speaking and simultaneously monitoring his utterance, then, if necessary, improving upon it.¹

It is not only the presence of hesitation that suggests this marshalling of thoughts and editing while speaking; the content of the utterance also provides evidence:

- (i) in structures where "imprecise" and "more precise" occur together, it is the "imprecise" which occurs first; this is the basis of the Multiple Unit structures Particularisation and Amplification. The notion of "statement followed by comment upon it, found in the St+Ct Sentence type, is basically the same;
- (ii) in others it is the referent that is uttered first in an isolate form, its incorporation into a grammatical structure being second; hence

1. This is supported by Hockett (quoted by Laver (Laver (1970) p. 75): "what is actually said aloud includes various signs of overt editing." Laver himself (p. 74) discusses the monitoring function which "has to evaluate the appropriateness of the performed program for the semantic expression of the speaker's idea." It is interesting that such a function results in the creation of syntactic structures (such as Particularisation) which make this process possible and which are, in turn, "fundamental evidence of a monitoring function in the speech-producing process (Laver, p. 73).

Demonstrative Completion, . Assembly at both Clause and Sentence levels (including, that is, the St+^{sl}Ct Sentence type.)¹

It is therefore suggested that these structures enable the Speaker to engage in recall and monitoring simultaneously with speaking and giving the correct signal: if they were not available, he would be obliged to pause during the flow of his exposition to find first the referent, then its lexical equivalent and then the appropriate mode of expression before giving utterance² and this would bring about the prohibited lengthy silence. For this reason the structures mentioned are interpreted here as hesitation disguisers.

Nor are these the only structural devices to fall into this category: many of those structures just mentioned contain some repetition; it can now be appreciated that repetition is simply the most rudimentary of the devices for disguising hesitation.³ Hence any structure whatsoever which incorporates repetition may serve the same purpose as Particularisation, etc. Indeed, this point may be taken further: still other types of expansion, which incorporate not actual repetition but some kind of resemblance instead, can now also

-
1. It is possible that the presence of this sequence may supply evidence additional to Goldman Eisler's use only of "pause" (silence and non-verbal filler) to indicate "whether the process in the brain is a generative one or one of association linkage" (p. 43).
 2. Goldman Eisler writes (p.33) "the decisions of a lexical and structural kind as well as of content made in the course of speech utterances must be accompanied by an arrest of the speech act, i.e. by pausing". I would add disguised pausing, which she does not deal with.
 3. Abercrombie (1965) also notes 'silence fillers' as he calls them, and observes that repetition serves the same purpose.

be seen as hesitation disguisers: the "manufactured doublet" (p. 127) and the restricted lexical class "Expansion Filler" (p. 133) also prevent the occurrence of silence; that is, they enable the flow to be maintained by releasing the Speaker from the obligation to look for a more precise word.

Two examples of this will suffice; they are both by a highly accomplished raconteur whose speech was rapid; the absence of hesitation proper is striking.

(331)

... <u>Düğünlerde, müğünlerde,</u>	At weddings and so on
<u>filân</u>	and so forth
<u>cirit oynarlar,</u>	they play jerid
<u>bilmem ne yaparlar</u>	and do I-don't-know-what ¹
<u>filân...</u>	and so on...

(332)

1 <u>Adam söylüyor,</u>	The man says (this):
2 <u>"Para yoktur,</u>	"There's no money
3 <u>bizim memlekette"</u>	in our district"
4 <u>diyor...</u>	he says...
5 <u>Değil mi ya?</u>	Isn't that so?

- continued on the next page -

1. The English version does not bring out the parallelism of the original.

- 5 "Biz, ancak yiyeceğimizi,
N-Ø NAv N-(y)I
"We barely
extract
- 6 içeceğimizi,
N-(y)I
our food,
- 7 hayvanlarımızın,
our drink, (and)
- 8 yiyeceğini"
N-(y)I
our animals'
- 9 diyor, "çıkartırız
VP VP
food
- 10 topraktan,...
N-DEn
from the earth"
- 11 Üst tarafında,
N-DE
he says,
- 12 bir şey yok" diyor,
N-Ø NP VP
"Apart from that
there's nothing", he says.
- 13 "Para yok,
N-Ø NP
"There's no money
(so)
- 14 satılmaz,...
VP
it can't be sold;
- 15 Yol yok,
N-Ø NP
there's no road
(so)
- 16 götürülmez,
VP
it can't be taken
- 17 bir yere,...
N-(y)E
anywhere...

- 18 Onun için
N^{Av}
- 19 kardışlarımız
" "
- 20 mardışlarımız
N-Ø
- 21 orda kalır,
N-DE VP
- 22 biz geliriz" diyor;
N-Ø VP VP
- 23 "Ya Ankarada,
Cj N-DE =
- 24 ya İstanbulda,
Cj N-DE =
- 25 ya... Selenikte,
Cj N-DE =
- 26 ya nedir o iste
Cj F F
- 27 İzmirde, İzmirde,
N-DE =
- 28 beş on kuruş
N-(~~ş~~)~~ı~~
- 29 toplarız" diyor...
VP VP
- 30 "çoluğumuza, çocuğumuza
"((we)) buy the things
that are necessary
- 31 lâzım gelenleri alırız"
VN(y)I VP
- 32 diyor,
VP
- So
- our brothers/sisters
- and such
- stay there
(and)
- we come" he says;
- "Either in Ankara
- or in Istanbul,
- or... in Salonika,
- or what is it? well
- in Izmir and such
- we collect
- 5 or 6 ("10") kuruş "
- he says
- "((we)) buy the things
that are necessary
- for our wives and families"
- he says,

33	"biraz şeker,	"a bit of sugar,
34	biraz gazyağı,	a bit of paraffin,
35	biraz sabun,	a bit of soap.
36	onları götürürüz" N-(y)I VP	we take those"
37	diyor, VP	he says (and)
38	"kış geçiririz" ...++ N-(y)I VP	"get through the winter." ...

In this passage, which is spoken very quickly, there is only one hesitation pause (on line 25) and one Filler (line 26); but the number of hesitation disguisers (or inhibitors) is remarkable:

parallelism of structure and/or lexicon occurs in lines
5-8, 13-16, 23-25, 33-35.

contrast. lines 21-22,

doublet, 5-8 (possibly 28 also)

manufactured doublet, 19, 27

filler, 26

Assembly 33-36

Particularisation , 33-36 (the first member being
lâzım gelenleri, line 31)

This does not exhaust the list: possibly diyor is a Filler to 6, possibly also ya, the one conjunction the passage contains; indeed, the absence of conjunction is very significant.

(AIII) The Speaker wishes to learn the Listener's reaction:

This is signalled in two situations: he may seek

(a) evidence of the Listener's continuing attention during his own exposition, or

(b) a considered response, at the end of his own exposition.

Each of these types of signal is different.

(AIIIa) Seeking evidence of the Listener's continuing attention:

This type of signal punctuates the main body of the Exposition at intervals throughout its whole length; this means that the Speaker has the double task of maintaining an uninterrupted flow, as described in the previous section (AII) and of prompting an "I-am-listening" response from the Listener. While a Speaker is "holding the floor", he seems to require encouragement to proceed, for if this is not forthcoming he interrupts his flow and asks directly for confirmation of his views. A very short indication of attention and interest seems to be sufficient. This he elicits by slight pause (as in no. 315, lines 32 and 39 on p. 229), along with other suprasegmental features not dealt with here. Should the Listener fail to react to this signal, the Speaker makes an explicit appeal, using some phrase such as Değil mi? (isn't it?' (illustrated below) or Değil mi ya? 'That's so, isn't it?' 'Right?' (as in no. 322, line 5 on p. 272). The former should not be confused with its use in true interrogation; the second functions only in the present context.

Nos. 333 and 334 illustrate the use of değil mi? to elicit a response. In no. 333 there are two Listeners:

(333)

(Eski Osmanlılarda,
 { N-DE
 {

Weren't they existent

o yok muydu?
 N-Ø NP

in (the time of) the old
Ottomans? -

Hastaneler bedava idi
 N-Ø NP

the hospitals were all

(hepsi Değil mi?

(free! Isn't that so?

(Evet)

(Yes)

(m)

(m)

Imarethaneler vardı
 N-Ø NP

There were almshouses

fakirler için++
 N-Av

for the poor ++

Note that one Listener responds at once, the other needs a little prompting. But after receiving the "I-am-listening" signal, the Speaker continues, in order to elaborate the point.

In no. 334 değil mi? is used to elicit a response to the point the Speaker wished attention to be directed to (gelişi-güzel i.e. "our speech has been haphazard"), the Listener having elected to respond to an earlier one ("control")

(334)

- { ++O zaman konuşmalarımızı N ^{Av} N ^{-(y)} I	{ ++In that case let us take
- { biraz kontrol altına N ^{-(y)} E	{ our conversation under con- {
(alalım. Şimdiye kadar VP N ^{Av}	{ trol a bit up to now (it {
(pek gelişigüzel. NP (O kon- O	{ has been very haphazard. { That con- That
{ (kontrolü Matmazel kendi N ^{-(y)} I N ^{-Ø}	{ { control M. herself will
{ (Değil mi? (yapacak. VP	{ Isn't that so?- { make.
(Pek gelişigüzel konuşuyor- N ^{Av} VP	{ we have been speaking very {
(duk şimdiye kadar. N ^{Av} { {	{ haphazardly up to now. { {

(AIIIB) Seeking a considered response:

In the Exposition situation this signal coincides with the whole of the final part of the Speaker's utterance. No structure has been identified as peculiar to this signal and its markers seem to be wholly suprasegmental: use of the baseline pitch and softness which are features of contour final

(cf. p. 89 above) indicates that the Speaker is drawing to a close and prompts a response as described below (BIII).

Conclusion:

It is now clear that the Speaker has a sequence of three relationships with or attitudes towards his Listener; first, he attracts his attention, then he holds it and finally he hands over to him. This his exposition falls into three parts:

- (1) the announcement of intention to speak at some length,
- (2) the main body of the exposition,
- (3) the closing, yielding section.

(B) Signals of Communication used by the Listener:

In the Exposition situation these signals are very much secondary to those of the Speaker.

The three parts of the Exposition have the following signals from the Listener:

- (1) When the Speaker signals his intention to embark upon an exposition, the Listener usually gives no responding signal other than turning his attention to the other. This is signal (BI).
- (2) When the Speaker is engaged upon the main body of his exposition, the Listener is required to indicate his attention and understanding. (Signal (BII)). This signal must be short, so as not to interrupt the Speaker's flow or upset his train of thought. Its exponents may be non-verbal (such as the m occurring in several places in the texts given here (e.g. no. 333, p. 277), or verbal: evet 'yes', 'and then?', 'I see'

and many othe meanings depending upon intonation and tone of voice, doğru 'true', tabii 'of course', ya 'you see!', öyle 'that is so', öyle mi? 'is that so?' really!?', vay vay 'dear dear', Allah Allah! 'Good gracious!' These need not be illustrated further.

The Listener, however, may acquit his duty to show understanding even more actively than in these short responses: he may help the exposition along, for example, by supplying the elusive word during the Speaker's use of a Temporary Substitution structure (see no. 335 'Panzehir') or by providing Amplification (as in no 336 where a multiple Clause-unit is added, making the original more precise; and as in nos 337 and 338, where a Clause is supplied.

(335)

- { ++Üst tarafından
- { N-DEn

- { ++From the remainder
- {

{ neyi sey yaparız,
{ F N (X) VP

{ we make what? what's-it
{

{ panzehir de,
{ PANZEHIR
N-(X) VP

{ antidote, too.
{ Antidote.

(336)

++Hem içerler,
Cj VP

++They both drink

hem bakarlar
Cj VP

and ((they)) look

tetkik ederler ..
VP

they examine (her) ..

- continued on the next page -

-{ <u>filân</u>	{and so on.....
-{ <u>Kaşına</u>	{At her eyebrows

{ <u>gözüne</u> ¹ , <u>boyuna</u> , <u>bosuna</u> ¹	{yes
<u>N^{-(y)}E</u>	{((at her eyes, ((at)) her
	stature ((at)) her figure

{ <u>inadına</u> <u>da</u>	{And out of
{ <u>bacaklarına</u> ²	{cussedness
	{((at)) her legs.....

{ <u>inadına</u> <u>da</u> <u>ağır</u> <u>içerler</u>	{and out of cussednes they
{ <u>N^{-(y)}E</u> <u>Cj</u> <u>N^{Av}</u> <u>VP</u>	{

{ ++	{drink slowly.++
{Tabii	{Of course.

The N^{-(y)}E unit is added to the Clause "hem bakanlar" whose verb "governs the dative"; tetkik et- requires N^{-(y)}I not N^{-(y)}E.

1. Doublets.

2. The speech indicated here by "" is indecipherable on the tape as the Speaker takes up her exposition in a rather loud voice, another exponent of the AI signal, aimed at silencing the other, the interrupter. She succeeds after a few words - which involve repetition.

In no. 337 the Listener steps in to supply the second Clause of a Two-clause Sentence¹. The long hesitation prompts his intervention, but he does not anticipate the sought-for second Clause exactly:

(337)

- {Herhalde, AW - {	{It is, apparently, {
{ gayet kuvvetli {	{ an extremely powerful {
{ bir cihaz ki, N-Ø Cj	{ apparatus, for {
{ hem ses Cj NØ { Hiç ses duyulmuyor, N-Ø VP	{ both the sound { No sound .. is heard.
{ duyulmuyor, hem sonra VP Cj F	{ is not heard, and gr it can {
{ epey uzak bir mesafeden, N-DEn ^	{ record { all the things spoken {
{ bütün konuşulanları N-(y)I	{ from a considerable {
{ enregistre edebiliyor. VP	{ distance. {

1. This expanded Clause ("hem ses .. edebiliyor") is an anacoluthon: the subjects of the two constituent Clauses are been different, therefore the subject of the second should have specified. In fact, one can see a reason for the deficiency - continued on the next page-

In no. 338 a Clause of reason is added:

(338)		
- { ++Ginileri N-(y)I - {	F.C1	{ ++They took away (=stole) {
{ (olduğu gibi N C {		{ (the tiles {
{ (götürmüşler..... VP {		{ (just as they were..... {
{ (Kaybolmasın diye!++ VPVN C VP {	F.C1	{ (So that they wouldn't get lost!++

This type of response has proved to be of the utmost significance in the search for the factors governing sequence, as will appear later: quite unexpectedly, it has been found that, at least where the attitude is "respect", a Listener's first response must always express confirmation, that is, it must indicate that the Listener is either of the same opinion as the Speaker or at least appreciates his point of view. All the examples quoted so far conform to this principle. The important point is, however, that the obligation to "confirm" has been found to have a profound effect upon structure.

1. - continued from the previous page -

cy: ses means both 'sound' and 'voice'. In the first, it is 'sound' that is meant ('the sound of the tape-recorder motor'), in the second, 'voices', 'voice' or 'sounds', i.e. what the tape recorder microphone is intended to pick up.

(3)

(BIII) When the Speaker indicates that he wishes to bring his spell as player of that rôle to an end, the Listener follows the Speaker's cessation, first by a short BII signal (in the present situation called BIIIa), followed by an "acknowledgement" or "acceptance" signal (BIIIb)¹ after which he gives his considered response, i.e., a meaningful utterance of some substance. By doing the latter, the Listener becomes the new Speaker, for this considered response - or at least the first part of it - may be a new announcement of intention to speak at length (i.e. be AI). This may be called BIIc. There may be only one exponent for all three signals, however.

Discussion:

It appears that Exposition is carried on by the Speaker in such a way as to not only put across the "content" of his utterance (this would be talking in a vacuum) in a manner and at a pace that is clearly understandable to the Listener, but also ensure its uninterrupted continuance for as long as he himself wishes. The latter he does by signalling, which in turn imposes the shape upon his exposition.

It is the requirements of the situation therefore that impose a sequence upon his exposition. First he must indicate his intention to hold forth; this necessitates the use of certain structures (their "content" will be discussed later under "Exchange situation"). Then he must put across the main body of his exposition in such a way that the Listener

1. Vallah on p. 224 is just such an "acknowledgment" and "acceptance" signal.

(i) follows his "meaning", and (ii) allows him, indeed encourages him, to proceed without interruption as long as he, the Speaker, wishes; this necessitates sustaining a steady flow without prolonged silences, and consequently he makes use of any device available to attain this end. Finally, he indicates by a general "running down", or by prolonged silence, that he has finished.

It is the middle section that provides the clearest clues to the choice of sequence in what is in effect almost monologue. The overall sequence is very often imposed by the referents¹; certainly this is so in the description of a process (as in no. 314 which begins on p. 224) and in narrative. But within that framework the Speaker has a choice (as discussed in connection with no. 314). It is clear that his choice of structures there is governed partly by the need to avoid prolonged silence. This would account for his use - to a degree not found (and probably not tolerated) in written versions of the language - of those incorporating some degree of repetition or at least resemblance. Hence his use of Multiple Unit structures, "Manufactured Doublets" and "Expansion Fillers" (filân, etc) also prevent silence by making it unnecessary for him to stop to recall the precise referent or the precise word.

All these are therefore hesitation disguisers and perform a vital rôle in the successful management of impromptu discourse.

These phenomena are significant in another direction, however: all the structures mentioned follow the sequence

1. It is a "verbal representation of serially connected phenomena in the same sequence as they are experienced."
(Goldman Eisler (1968), p. 50).

"imprecise then more precise", or, differently expressed, "statement of some kind, then modification of it", and this is a sequence already found to be obligatory in all the larger structures of the language and also to occur in some of the smaller ones by choice. Even the Expansion Filler (filân, etc) conforms to this.

It has been suggested (p. 271 above) that this sequence reflects the process of planning which lies behind spontaneous oral composition (that is, when one is "thinking on one's feet"¹). Specifically, it seems to be that the referent comes to mind in outline first and is then worked upon. Certainly this is what is reflected in the structures Amplification, Particularisation, Assembly, Temporary Substitution, at Sentence level as well as at Clause level, in Demonstrative Completion at Clause level and its equivalent Sentence form $St+^{s1}Ct$, in the $St+Ct$, $St+Ct^R$ and $St+Ct^1/St^2+Ct^2$ Sentence types. This is tantamount to saying that, in Turkish, speech sequence is governed by the principle "Dominant precedes Dependent", which is the response to the mental planning process. That is to say, the Turk does not in fact "think backwards" compared with speakers of other languages, as the student of the language is wont to complain!

It is tempting to speculate thus, since the weight of evidence in this corpus is so great, and since the structural evidence therein would seem to confirm the observations of psycholinguists and workers in similar fields concerning the processes involved in speech production.

An examination of the Exchange situation will take the

1. The expression is Goldman Eisler's.

investigation a step further and yield up evidence for the choice of sequence, this time within a structure; this will be found to add weight to these contentions.

2. THE EXCHANGE SITUATION:

A slight change must be made in the approach here: the two participants do not have clearly differentiated initiatory and subordinate (or Dominant and Dependent) rôles in this situation; they are equals, making equal contributions to the total discourse, each acting in response to the other. This means that although a given utterance may be a response by the "Listener" to a remark by the "Speaker" (as is "İç pilâvda da" on p. 263), this response itself prompts another ("ona fistik üzüm konuluyor"), just as the Ct¹ in the Chain Sentence prompts another Ct (Ct²). When this happens, Listener becomes Speaker. This can make description confusing in the Exchange situation, so these terms are now dropped in favour of two with structural implications, Stimulus and Response.¹

Stimulus is the name that has been given to anything that prompts a reaction, that reaction being known as the Response. Both may in fact be entirely visual, but it is only their linguistic manifestations that concern us here.

According to this definition, any member of a structure that has hitherto been termed "Dominant" is the Stimulus, any "Dependent" member the Response; further, any Response may

1. These terms, taken from the field of animal behaviour, were applied to linguistic structures by Fries (Fries, 1952); he discusses Responses fully.

function as the Stimulus to another Response.

They may be of any length: the Stimulus and Response sections of a Multiple Unit structure at Clause level are single units, some Stimuli even being single words; at the other extreme a Stimulus may prompt a whole Sentence-complex (even a Speech Paragraph) as its Response. For instance, in no. 315 (p. 226) the Stimulus is "Ne dolduruyorsunuz içine?" and the Response is the whole passage from "Şimdi" (line 1) to "gözüküyor (line 79, p. 232), but the Stimulus is itself the Response to the previous passage (no. 314, p. 224 to p. 225, line 26), which did not supply the information requested.

Stimulus signals will be labelled (C).

(CI) A Speaker wishing to attract another person's attention for the purpose of eliciting a verbal response (not for the purpose of "button-holing" him, as before) has been observed to do so, for example, by using the grammatically redundant N-Ø unit, apparently always initially in his utterance. E.g.

(339)

- Siz, nerde, oturuyorsunuz? - Er, where are you living?
N-Ø N-DE VP

- (Efendim?) - (I beg your pardaon?)

- Nerde, oturuyorsunuz? - Where are you living?
N-DE VP

The context is this: the Speaker has turned to address a different person¹ who has up till then been listening to a third

1. The present writer. It will be remembered that all speeches by non-native speakers of Turkish are given here in brackets and are not subjected to analysis.

person. When the addressee's attention has been captured, but the desired response is not forthcoming, the question is repeated, but this time without the $N^{-\emptyset}$ unit.

The implication seems to be that the $N^{-\emptyset}$ is unnecessary the second time. The only contextual factor which is different in the two utterances is that in the first the addressee is not attending to the Speaker, whereas in the second one she is. It is thus possible that the function of the unit is to indicate to the addressee that it is she who is being addressed, i.e. to attract the attention of the person referred to in siz.

There is a second possibility: the function of the unit in question may also be to announce the new topic of discourse (siz). Or both may be present. This is comparable to the function of signal AI, which not only announced the Speaker's intention to embark upon an exposition but also (i) stated the topic and (ii) attracted the Listener's attention.

The significant points here are (i) that a grammatically redundant unit seems to be serving a signalling purpose and (ii) that while doing so it is placed initially in the utterance (as was AI). The $N^{-\emptyset}$ unit is one for whose position we have so far been unable to find any rule, and has been seen placed medially (p. 95), finally (p.80) as well as initially (p.80).

It is frequently said that this unit is usually placed in the initial position (p. 84), an observation apparently based solely upon examination of sentences in isolation. It is now suggested that, when it occurs at all, it occupies this position perhaps because it is functioning primarily as a signal which is associated only with the initial position,

either (when its exponent is the second person) attracting the attention of an addressee, or (much more frequently) announcing a new topic of discourse.¹

(CII) Another type of Stimulus is intended to elicit a considered Response. In this the Speaker continues to add phrase after phrase until the desired result is forthcoming. It has been found realised by two patterns:

- (i) using a Multiple Unit structure,
- (ii) using repetition,

but this does not claim to be a comprehensive list.

(i) Using a Multiple Unit structure:

In the first example, an extension of the exchange quoted in no.339 , Particularisation is used:

(340)

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| - Siz nerde oturuyorsunuz? | - Er, where are you living+ |
| - (Efendim?) | - (I beg your pardon?) |
| - <u>Nerde oturuyorsunuz..</u>
N-DE VP | - Where are you living?- |
| - (Otelde mi...
(Hayır efendi- | - (in a hotel... (or)
No, sir |
| (pansiyonda mı?
(dim). Yok yok++ | (in a boarding house?
No, no++ |

1. Work done on written (literary) texts with an informant in which existing N-Ø units were removed, and others were added to sentences which were originally without any, supports this hypothesis. In any other pre-verb position, the unit is not a signal of this kind (i.e. a functional element of discourse) but a bearer of emphasis, i.e. an indication of special implication.

Here the initial Stimulus, not having produced the desired response, is repeated, exactly the same except for the omission of the $N^{-\emptyset}$ unit. But this, too, fails; so a Particularisation of the interrogative unit (N^{-DE}) is appended and this has the desired effect. The structure in question is:

N^{-DE} VP N^{2DE} N^{-DE}

Notice the hesitation[†] between the two members,¹

The same process is observable in the following examples. Potential or unfulfilled Response places coincide with the hesitation markers:

(341)

- Nerde₁ oldu₁ efendi₁?
 N^{-DE} VP Voc

- Er where did it take
 place, sir₁

bu hadise?₁
 $N^{-\emptyset}$

this incident?₁

Yine₁ Kabilde mi?
 N^{Av} N^{-DE}

Again in Kabul?

- Dağıstanda₁
 N^{-DE}

- In Dagistan.

-
1. Cf also Campbell and Wales (1970), p. 256; discussing the child's acquisition of language, they note another effect of failure to elicit the desired response: "Brown argues that the middle term of the exchange, Eh?, What?, etc., is understood by the child as a directive to repeat what he has just said. This is not borne out in our data, where the 'repeated' version of the first utterance is normally significantly altered. ... The child is attempting to produce a paraphrase or to correct his syntax or to elaborate in some way on what he previously said." This is essentially the same phenomenon as that under discussion.

The next uses Amplification, the marked qualifier $N^{-(n)}$ being added. This in turn becomes the $\overset{t}{\text{Stimulus}}$ for a new question:

(342)

- <u>Siz¹</u> <u>ne tarafında</u>	- On which part of it
$\begin{array}{c} N-\emptyset \\ \uparrow \\ N-DE \end{array}$	
<u>oturuyorsunuz?</u> ...	do you live...
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ VP \end{array}$	
<u>Londranın?</u> ... <u>Londra-</u>	of London?.... Do you
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ N-DE \end{array}$	
(da mı <u>oturuyorsunuz?</u>	(live in <u>London?</u>
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ VP \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \end{array}$
(Ben mi?)	(Me?)
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ (Hayır++) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ (No++) \end{array}$

In the next, no. 343, a series of phrases is needed to elicit the response, each being more precise than the one before but not forming a particular type of structure:

(343)

++Misafir geldi, Sadi.	++A visitor came - Sadi.
* <u>Sen de tanırsın</u>	2* <u>You know (him) too</u>
$\begin{array}{c} N-\emptyset \\ \uparrow \\ C_j \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ VP \end{array}$	
<u>Çok konuşan birisi</u> ...	A very talkative person...
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ N \end{array}$	
<u>Görümcemin</u> ... <u>tarafında</u>	My sister-in-law's... in her
$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ N-DE \end{array}$	neighbourhood,

- continued on next page -

1. This is serving the same purpose as the siz in no. 339.
2. The whole passage under discussion is between the two asterisks. It is parenthetic, a self-interruption functioning as Ct on (i.e. "Response" to) the St (or "Stimulus") Misafir geldi, Sadi.

- continued on next page-

(bitişikte otururlar, _{VP}
 { _{N-DE} (A! A! Evet!)

(they live next door, _{VP}
 { (Oh! Oh! Of course!

(Tamam, _{VP} Sana selâmı da
 {

(You've got it, _{VP} He sends you
 {

var.* Mecburi fasulyeyi

greetings, too* Of necessity

I had the beans

çıkarttım.

brought out.

(ii) Using repetition:

This is illustrated in no. 344: the intended Stimulus does not produce the desired Response (i.e. it fails as a Stimulus), because it coincides with other activity, mostly non-verbal:

(344)

-(Bir zaman _{NP}
 { _{N^{Av}}

-(At one time
 {

(bizim filiz çayları, _{NP}
 { _{N-Ø}

(our "Filiz" teas
 { _{N-Ø}

(pek güzeldi, _{NP}
 {

{ were very good. _{NP}
 {

{ Filiz çayları, _{NP}
 { Efendim? _{N-Ø}

{ "Filiz" teas.
 { What?

{ Pek güzeldi, _{NP}
 { Evet.

{ (They) were very good. _{NP}
 {

Yes indeed.

The points to be brought out are these:

- (i) where it is modification that is needed to elicit the desired response, the modification follows. but
- (ii) where repetition is what the situation requires, only as much as is needed to stimulate the response is repeated, phrase by phrase. What evidence there is suggests that the original sequence is preserved in the repetition but unfortunately there is not enough to confirm this.

These observations serve to demonstrate that the desire to elicit a response is one factor which may affect the length of the Stimulus, and possibly also the sequence. To pursue that matter of sequence further, however, it is advisable to leave Stimulus and turn to Response, for this has proved to be a more fruitful source of clues.

The Response:

It was stated earlier (p. 284) that when a Speaker brings his Exposition to a close, the Listener responds by uttering first a short, possibly non-verbal, signal, interpreted as "acknowledgement", before embarking upon his "meaningful" utterance (signals BIIIb and BIIIc), the latter being identical with AI). The first of these signals is here termed the Immediate Response, the whole of the remainder of the utterance prompted by the same Stimulus being distinguished from it by the term Main Response. The Main Response is itself made up of smaller structures whose component parts stand in a Stimulus+Response relationship to each other, Multiple Unit structures and St+Ct Sentences being structures in which this relationship is observable. This has already

been dealt with within the Exposition situation; in the Exchange situation it does not attain the length of the other but the principles of structure are the same. It is the nature of the Immediate Response and in its relationship to the Main Response that clues to the factors governing sequence are to be found.

The Immediate Response (BIIIB):

The evidence of the corpus points to the existence of a possible "rule" of Discourse, that "a Stimulus must be responded to immediately" - for if it is not, a repetition of the Stimulus is provoked.

If the Stimulus is a straightforward request for information that can be complied with easily, or is a statement which moves the other participant to comment upon it at once, there is no complication of structure and the division of Response into Immediate Response and Main Response does not occur. If, however, time for thought is necessary before a reply can be made, it seems that acknowledgement has to be given without delay, pending the true Response. The evidence for this in the corpus is overwhelming; and it affects sequence.

In nos 345 and 346 the exponent of the Immediate Response is Vallah, as in no, 314. In the first of these Vallah is the acknowledgment; both it and bütün se- is a signal of intention of speak; the latter is a false start and has hesitation features. Gerek is the start of the main body of the exposition which initially also has hesitation features;

(345)

-(Zeytinyağlı dolma
nasıl yapılıyor?)

-Vallah
F

bütün...s-..

gerek domates...
Cj N

gerek biber...++
Cj N

Sm
IRp
MRp
Rp

- (How do you make stuffed
vegetables in olive-oil?)

-Well really,

all...veg-..

whether tomatoes...

or peppers...++

(346)

-(İyi pilâv yapamıyo-
rum.Nasıl yapılıyor?)

-Vallah..
F

pirince göre..
N^{Av}

değişiyor...++
VP

Sm
IRp
MRp
Rp

-(I can't make good pilaff.
How is it made?)

-....Well..

it varies

according to the rice...++

(347)

-(İç pilâv nasıl
yapılıyor?)

- İç pilâvdada..
IRp

ona fıstık üzüm..
N(y)E N-Ø

konuluyor...++
VP

Sm
IRp
MRp
Rp

- (How is "inner pilaff"
(=stuffing) made?)

- Well in rice stuffing..

pine-kernels and currants

are put into it...++

Here the announcement of the topic, "İç pilâvda da" also acts as acknowledgment signal. The phrase is therefore both AI and BIIIb.

In the next example, 348, the two functions are separated, Hm being the acknowledgment (BIIIb), etli dolmayı da the announcement of the topic:

(348)		
- (Şimdi, etli dolma nasıl yapılıyor?)	Sm	- (Well now, how are dolmas-stuffed-with-meat made?)
- Hm...	IRp	- Hm...
		(well)
<u>etli dolmayı da</u> ...	IRp	the "meaty-dolma (dir.obj,)
<u>N-(Y)I Cj</u>	Rp	..
<u>kıymayla...pirinç</u> ...		mince and...rice,
<u>Cj N</u>	MRp	
<u>...ondan sonra</u>...		...then er
<u>F</u>		
<u>nane</u> ...		mint...++
<u>N</u>		

Conclusions:

The following points are suggested by this and by what has gone before:

- (i) The Immediate Response, where observably present, is initial in the utterance; that is, it is adjacent to (or "juxtaposed" to) its Stimulus.
- (ii) It is an acknowledgment of the Stimulus (seen clearly in no.348); the sounds of encouragement uttered by the Listener in the Exposition situation (signal BII) must therefore also be classed as Immediate Responses.
- (iii) An Immediate Response may have a separate exponent

(as in nos. 345, 346, 348), or share this function with a Heading (no.347); where neither is present it may be an integral part of the Main Response; this has not been dealt with yet.

- (iv) The exponents of Immediate Response are related to the rest of the context in one of two ways:
 - (a) non-verbal responses (no.351) and Fillers (345, 346) only "look back" to the Stimulus; they do not affect what follows;
 - (b) announcements of topics (heading) both look back to the Stimulus, and forward to a new Response. That is to say, they operate both as Response to the preceding Stimulus and as Stimulus for a following Response.

It is thus possible to identify the initial part of some Responses as pieces that owe their existence to the requirements of the Discourse situation, especially to the need therein to respond immediately in order to prevent a repetition of the Stimulus being involuntarily requested, i.e. in order to prevent the wrong signal being given. It thus shares one of the factors found to operate in the main body of the Speaker's exposition, that of avoiding over-long silence.

Hesitation proper is not the only feature found in association with the Immediate Response, however; in many (e.g. in no.347) it is instead disguised hesitation taking the form of repetition. It is this feature, the most easily recognised one, that makes possible the first step in identifying the effect which the Response function has upon sequence within syntactic structures.

Use of Repetition:

Repetition of part or all of the Stimulus as exponent of the Acknowledgement signal is seen at its simplest as the Response to what would be in English a "Yes" or "No" question; here the speaker has no choice but to use repetition, for usage dictates that the reply shall be a Clause constituent repeated from the question (Stimulus), not evet 'yes', hayır or yok 'no' which rarely form a complete utterance in respectful Discourse. Even though repetition in this circumstance is not left to the speaker's choice, and is therefore not itself useful as a clue to sequence, it is included here, since it is the simplest realisation of a principle operating in much larger structures, where it is optional, and since it is the easiest to see.

In the first group of examples, repetition is seen as the correct form of reply to a question:

- (349)
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| - <u>Güzel mi?</u>
NP |] Sm
[
] Rp | - Is she pretty? |
| - <u>Güzel</u>
NP | | - Yes, she is ("she is pretty") |
- (350)
- | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|
| - <u>Gördün mü bunu sen?</u>
VP N-(y)I N-Ø |] Sm
[
] Rp | - Have you seen this one? |
| - <u>Görmedim.</u>
VP | | -- No, I haven't ("I have not seen (it)") |
- (351)
- | | | |
|--|-------------------|--|
| - <u>Çift mi pencerelerin</u>
NP N-Ø |] Sm
[
] Rp | - Are the windows double-glazed? ("Is the windows' outside double?") |
| - <u>Çift.</u>
NP | | - Yesm they are ("Double" or "they are double") |

(352)

- Nura mı dedi?
N-(y)E VP

Sm

- He said (it) to Nur?

- Nura.
N(y)E

Rp

- Yes, he did ("to Nur").

(353)

- Teype konuşma
N-(y)E N(Ø)Z

Sm

- Have you recorded ("taken")

aldınız mı?
VP

conversation on the tape-
recorder?

- Alıyoruz,
VP

Rp

- We are doing so ("We are
taking").

(354)

- (Söyledim mi acaba -
Gümülcinede çok
güzel iğne oyası aldım.)

Sm

- (Did I tell (you), I wonder;
I bought some very pretty
needle lace in G.?)

- Mm Yok... söylemedin.
VP

Rp

- Really? No...you didn't
("tell")

This Response comprises: Mm, the Immediate Response, which acknowledges the Stimulus; yok, the Main Response, too curt without söylemedin: the presence of this word is therefore dictated by the wish to signal "respect"; it, too, is the Main Response.

In the next group of examples, the Stimulus is a non-interrogative statement. Again the Response is a repetition of the Stimulus' interrogative unit:

- (355)
- | | | |
|---|--------------|------------------------------|
| - <u>Güzeldir, karısı.</u>
NP N-Ø |] Sm
[Rp | - His wife is pretty. |
| - <u>Güzel mi?</u>
NP | | - Is she? ("Is she pretty?") |
- (356)
- | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| - <u>Zaten o</u>
N ^{Av} N-Ø |] Sm
[Rp | - And anywaym that/it |
| - <u>kitaptan mitaptan</u>
N-DEn | | can't be learnt |
| - <u>öğrenilmiyor.</u>
VP | | from books and such. |
| - <u>Öğrenilmiyor.</u>
VP | | - No, it can't ("It can't be learnt") |
- (357)
- | | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| - <u>Tamamiyle sır olmuş.</u>
N-(y)lE N ^C VP |] Sm
[Rp | - It became lost for ever |
| - <u>Sır olmuş.</u>
N ^C VP | | ("a secret wholly"). |
| | | - It did. ("It became a secret"). |
- (358)
- | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------------------------|
| - <u>İşte hali vakti de</u>
CW N-Ø Cj |] Sm
[Rp | - And their circumstances |
| - <u>müsait tabii.</u>
NP Cw | | are suitable, too, of course. |
| - <u>Tabii.</u>
CW | | - Of course. |

In the examples in both of these groups the Response merely acknowledges and confirms by means of repetition what has gone before; in no case does it look forward. That is, these are Immediate Responses only, not Response/Stimuli.

It is another well-known requirement of Turkish etiquette that in certain circumstances a Response should be longer than its Stimulus. For instance, a greeting must be returned by means of its formulaic response and then another should be added:

- (359)
- | | | |
|------------------------|------|-----------------------|
| - Selâmünaleyküm! |] Sm | - Peace unto you! |
| | | |
| - Aleykümselâm! Sağol! |] Rp | - And unto you peace! |
| N ^c VP | | Be well! |

When the examination of the use of repetition as a Response is extended to this lengthened form, two methods can be identified: in one the lengthening element precedes the repeated word, in the other it follows. Both are termed Repetition +. In fact, in the first, it is by substitution of Q+H for a simple repetition of the unqualified H that the lengthening is achieved, thus making an Amplification structure of the whole; in the second, quite simply an extra word or phrase is appended to the repetition.

The first group (nos. 360-362) shows use of Amplification to lengthen. Notice that in 360 the whole of the structure occurs in the Response, whereas in 361 and 362 the two members are divided between the two speakers.

- (360)
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---|
| - <u>Evet.</u> <u>Anlaşıyor,</u> |] Sm | - Yes one can tell ("it is understandable") |
| CW VP | | one can tell. |
| <u>anlaşıyor</u> |] Rp | - Yes, one can tell, |
| VP | | one certainly can tell. |
| - <u>Evet.</u> <u>Anlaşıyor,</u> | | |
| CW VP | | |
| <u>muhtakkak</u> <u>anlaşıyor.</u> | | |
| N ^{Av} VP | | |

(361)

- | | | |
|---|------|--------------------------------|
| - <u>Kendini</u> , <u>bilmiyormuş</u> . |] Sm | - It seems he didn't come |
| N ^{-(y)} I VP | | round("did not know himself") |
| - <u>Hiç</u> , <u>kendini</u> , <u>bilmiyordu</u> . |] Rp | - He didn't come round at all. |
| N ^{Av} N ^{-(y)} I VP | | |

(362)

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| - <u>Manası</u> , <u>da</u> , <u>güzel</u> . |] Sm | - Its meaning, too, is beautiful. |
| N [∅] Cj NP | | |
| - <u>Mana</u> , <u>çok güzel</u> , <u>efendim</u> . |] Rp | - The meaning is very beautiful, ma'am. |
| N [∅] NP Voc. | | |

The last also belongs to the next group, since it has a lengthener appended ("efendim") as illustrated in nos. 363-369.

(363)

- | | | |
|--|------|----------------------------------|
| - <u>Dehşet</u> . |] Sm | - (It's) fearsome. |
| NP | | |
| - <u>O</u> , <u>dehşet</u> , <u>değil mi?</u> ¹ |] Rp | - That one's fearsome, isn't it? |
| N [∅] NP, NP | | |

(364)

- | | | |
|--|------|---|
| - <u>Biz</u> , <u>de</u> , <u>anlamıyor muyuz?</u> |] Sm | - Don't we too understand |
| N [∅] Cj VP | | (<u>implies</u> affirmative) |
| - <u>Biz</u> , <u>de</u> , <u>anlıyoruz</u> , |] Rp | - We, too understand, |
| N [∅] Cj VP | | |
| <u>değil mi?</u> | | don't we? (<u>denotes</u> affirmative) |
| NP | | |

1. This has an extra word at the beginning too. O is not added for the sake of politeness, however, as is the değil mi? but to contrast it with another object of the same kind (a portrait) which was not so "fearsome".

(365)

- Beş buçuk herhalde.
NP N^{Av}

- Herhalde, değil mi?
N^{Av} NP

Sm

Rp

- (It's) half past five,
apparently.

- Apparently, isn't it?

(366)

- Kendi kendine yaratıyor.
N^{Av} VP

- Kendi kendine yaratıyor,
N^{Av} VP

herhalde, değil mi?
N^{Av} NP

Sm

Rp

- She creates (it) herself.

- She creates (it) herself

apparently, doesn't she?

(367)

- Dağıstanda,
N-DE

- Dağıstanda. Evet.
N-DE CW

Sm

Rp

- In Dagistan.

- In Dagistan. Just so ("yes").

(368)

- Kaç gün yattı efendim?
N^{Av} VP Voc

- On gün yattı, yavrum,
N^{Av} VP Voc

hastanede.
N-DE

Sm

Rp

- How many days was he is bed
("did he lie", ma'am?

- He was in bed for 10 days,
dear,
in the hospital.

(369)

- (Ne fark eder?)
N-(~~ş~~) VP

- Hic bir fark etmiyor.
N-(~~ş~~) VP

bence.
NAv

Sm

Rp

- (What difference does it
make?).

- It makes no difference at
all in my opinion.

The class of word appended is particularly significant in the last two of these examples, for there the realisation of the Repetition + pattern enables us to account for the post-verb positioning of the N^{-DE} and N^{Av} units respectively - i.e. for these Sentences to be what the grammarians call "inverted" and deplore. It is clear that here it is by responding to the requirements of the Discourse situation that an "inverted" sentence has come into being and that, therefore, is the sequence appropriate to the context.¹

Both of these dialogue patterns, Stimulus+Response(Rp= repetition) and Stimulus+Response + recall one of the two sequences of unequal members established in the previous chapters as being basic to Turkish, namely that of Dominant+ Dependent; here the Response owes its content and form to the Stimulus and is therefore dependent upon it. Accordingly, it is now possible to suggest a reason for a given piece becoming the Dominant one: it is because it has been suggested in the Stimulus and is therefore uppermost in the new Speaker's mind.

The examples given so far have illustrated only Single-clause responses; the same sequence of suggested piece + modifier or comment occurs in Two-clause Sentences also. This is seen in the next two examples, both of which are Repetition + :

-
1. It also conforms to that "aspect of textual organisation of language" which Halliday (1970, p.162) calls "information structure", where organisation is "in terms of 'given' and 'new', which, as he points out, corresponds in some measure to the other analyses 'theme and rheme' and 'topic and comment'.

(370)		
- <u>Orası zannedersen</u> N-Ø F	Sm	- In winter, I believe,
<u>kışın biraz</u> N ^{Av}		it is rather <u>er</u> harsh
<u>serttir</u> NP		there.
- <u>Sert ama sağlamdır</u> NP Cj NP	Rp	- Harsh but it's healthy
<u>havası</u> N-Ø		(or, "It is harsh but healthy") its climate.

It can be seen that the Response contains repetition ("sert")
+ contrast ("ama sağlam") + lengthening element ("havası")

(371)		
-+ <u>Halkı da zaten</u> N-Ø Cj N ^{Av}		- And anyway its people
<u>çok zavallıdır</u> NP		are very poor creatures...
<u>gayet iptidai kalmış</u> N ^C VP		extremely backward...
<u>...kafaları işlemez</u> N-Ø VP		their heads don't work...
<u>İşte bizim Dursun</u> CW N-Ø		Well, our Dursun and his
<u>Mursun hep oralı</u> N ^{Av} NP		ilk are all from there.....

-continued on next page -

(Dursun..... { <u>Ama ne iyi adamlar</u> CW NP	Sm	(Dursun..... {But what <u>good</u> men they are,
({ <u>zavallılar!</u> NP NP		({Good men {the poor things!
(<u>ama pek dünyayı görmemiş,</u> {CW VN	Rp	(but very ignorant of the {world ,
(<u>gayet iptidai insanlar.</u> {N		(very backward people. {

Takin only the Sm and Rp marked, the same sequence as before can be seen: repetition + contrast + lengthening element.

Attention must now be drawn to an observation made earlier (p. 283), that signals BII and BIIIa always indicate appreciation of the Speaker's point of view: the Listener must always express the appropriate emotional response, never disagreement, otherwise the Speaker will stop. The same is true here: the Response repeats the relevant part of the Stimulus, then goes on to make a contrasting statement, even to contradict it. Compare the interruption in the last example (371) ("Ama ne iyi adamlar, zavallılar!")¹ This lacks the initial repetition and any other form of agreement. The significant point is that the interrupter is the Speaker's wife who has already been seen to take less heed of the signals of respect than the other people present (see p. 265).

It is suggested, therefore, that the pattern Repetition+ Contrast is a device for expressing contradiction politely,

1. This is the Rp to the Sm "Halkı ... oralı".

the repetition being both the acknowledgement and the marker of respectful attitude.

If the Response of each of these examples is examined as an isolate structure, it is seen that each is a St+Ct(Ct=contrast) type of Sentence, the Sts being sert and ama pek ... insanlar respectively. Whether the two Sts are in fact Clauses or only detached Clause-units or even expletives cannot be ascertained - their status is ambiguous.

The same ambiguity of status and the same sequence, Acknowledgement+Comment is seen in the next example, which does not, however, indicate the acknowledgement by repetition but by overt approval:

(372)

- (Biz ESKİmişiz!) Sm - (We have become antiques!)

- İyi ama... Rp - True ("good")...but

ESKİye kıymet, ziyade!
N-(y)E N-Ø NP

the value (put) upon
antiques is greater!

Having now established that Acknowledgement + (covering a wider field than Repetition + which is merely one of its manifestations) is a common form for the Response to take, it is easy to recognise the even more common form of Response to be described next as being Acknowledgment + non-contrast.

The first example, no. 373, uses repetition for the acknowledgment:

(374) (see also p. 299)

- Gift mi pencere-

- Are the windows double-glazed?

lerin dışarısı?

- Gift.

Sm

- Yes, they are.

- Ha, ondan.
CW N-DEn

Rp

- You see? That's why.

Ha is the Immediate Response and acknowledgement, ondan the Comment upon it, the Main Response.

Thus a pattern exhibiting the sequence Acknowledgement+ arising from the obligation to begin a Response with something other than contrast has been identified with the help of repetition, but repetition is found not to be an essential ingredient of it. Consequently the search will be extended, from structures in which the Response contains an item having an antecedent in its Stimulus which is identical, to those having an antecedent which is not. Such an item will be termed Word-with-antecedent; its position will be noted.

Words-with-antecedents:

The antecedent is found either in the Immediate Stimulus (i.e. a Stimulus immediately preceding the Response) or further back in the preceding context (where it is still a Stimulus, of course). Three types have been identified:

- (i) a parallel item, i.e. belonging to the same word class,
- (ii) the whole of the preceding context,
- (iii) a structural device, not the content.

(i) The antecedent as an item of the same class as the Word-with-antecedent is illustrated in no. 375, where, in fact, the Roots are identical:

(375)(cf. no.334, p. 278)	
$\begin{array}{l} - \text{O zaman, konuşmalarımızı,} \\ \quad \text{N}^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{-(y)I} \\ \text{biraz KONTROL altına,} \\ \quad \text{N} \quad \text{-(y)E} \\ \text{alalım... Şimdiye kadar} \\ \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{F.Cl} \\ \text{pek gelişigüzel.} \end{array}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} - \text{In that case,} \\ \text{let us bring} \\ \text{our conversation} \\ \text{under control a bit. Up} \\ \text{to now} \\ \text{it has been very haphazard.} \end{array} \right\} \text{Sm}$
$\begin{array}{l} - \text{O KONTROLÜ Matmazel} \\ \quad \text{N} \quad \text{-(y)I} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{-Ø} \\ \text{kendi yapacak.} \\ \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} - \text{Mademoiselle herself} \\ \text{will exercise ("make") that} \\ \text{control.} \end{array} \right\} \text{Rp}$

Here only one word is selected from the Stimulus for Comment and its Root repeated. The Word-with-antecedent (i.e. the word bearing the Root-with-antecedent) is part of a Word-group placed initially in the Response .

Repetition is not essential, however; the antecedent may suggest another of the same or a similar meaning, as in no. 376. There the Word (Root)-with-antecedent is again initial: it is the nominal part of NP. Second in each Sentence comes the Av (N^{Av} and VN^{Av} respectively). The second Sentence (the Response) has therefore become "inverted" as a result of placing the Word-with-antecedent first¹.

1. Or possibly as a result of parallelism, it might seem. Actually, the intonation contours are not "parallel".

(376)		
- ++ <u>öbürlerinden</u> ..	Sm	- It was MORE EXPENSIVE
<u>PAHALI</u> ydı <u>o zaman</u> ..		than the other ones
NP N ^{Av}		at that time...
<u>KAÇtı</u> , <u>ben ordayken?</u>	Rp	HOW MUCH was it, when I
NP VN ^{Av}		was there?

Use of a demonstrative as Word-with-antecedent may also replace repetition. This is, of course, much more common, the demonstrative adjective occurring as well as the pronoun. In no.377, it is Root-with-antecedent:

(377)(see also p. 177 and 179)		
- <u>PENCERE</u> LER, <u>yüksek</u> ,	Sm	- The windows are high:
N-Ø NP		
<u>ONLARI</u> , <u>temizlemek</u> , <u>güç</u> ,	Rp	to clean them is difficult.
N-(y)I VN-Ø VP		
<u>_____VN-Ø_____NP</u>		

Use of the demonstrative, however, opens up the possibility of the antecedent's being not a single word in the Stimulus but the whole to the Stimulus itself:

(378)		
"Fatih Zamanında	Sm	I had prepared a thing
Tezhib Sanatı" diye		called "The Art of Gilding
bir şey <u>hazırlamıştım</u> ,	Rp	at the time of the Conqueror"
N-(y)I VP		
<u>ONU</u> , <u>Vekâlet</u> , <u>aldı</u> ..	Rp	...The Ministry took it,
N(y)I N-Ø VP		
<u>bastırmak için</u>		to publish (it).
VN ^{Av}		

The antecedent of O (in ONU) is "the thing called "..."
that I had prepared", i.e. the whole of the first Sentence.
Note that the Word-with-antecedent is again initial and that
this results in the F.Cl following the F.Cl. The whole
passage is, of course, an example of Demonstrative Completion,
and a St+^{sl}Ct type Sentence. The next, (no. 379) illustrates
its expanded form, Assembly, the demonstrative being an
adjective in this case:

(379)

Gözünü kapa,					Shut your eye(s),
N ^{-(y)} I	VP	F.Cl			
ağzını kapa,					shut your(mouth)
N ^{-(y)} I	VP	F.Cl	Sm		
kulağını kapa.					shut your ear(s);
N ^{-(y)} I	VP	F.Cl			
O zaman rahat					then ("at that time")
N ^{Av}	N ^{Av}				
yaşayacaksın.		F.Cl			you will live easy.
VP					

The antecedent is here "When/if you shut you eyes, mouth,
ears". The unit containing the demonstrative adjective (the
Word-with-antecedent) is again initial.

This need not be so, however, as the next example, no.
380 (already quoted as no.302 on p. 208), shows: In this the
Word-with-antecedent (the pronoun ONLAR) is given special
emphasis and has therefore been placed in the only part of
the intonation contour where this is possible, the pre-
final position:

(380)

Eskiden
N-DEn

Formerly

Rusyada...İranda
N-DE

all the Laz

Sm

bütün...Lâzlar
N-Ø

used to work

çalışıyorlardı...
VP

in Russia and in Iran:

(it was)

Ekmekçiliği ONLAR yapar...
N-(y)l N-Ø VP

they (who) did the bread-making,

pastacılığı ONLAR yapar...
N-(y)l N-Ø VP

Rp

they (who) did the cake-making,

lokantacılığı ONLAR yapar.
N-(y)l N-Ø VP

they(who) did the catering.

Another example of special emphasis occurs in no. 375, where the word kendi (like its English equivalent 'herself') is inherently a bearer of emphasis ; thus the inclusion of that word in the Sentence precludes the placing of the Word-with-antecedent in the pre-verb position. Another example which contrasts with no. 380 is this:

(381)

Evet, onlar
N-Ø

Rp

Yes, they

hemén yenir.
N^{Av} VP

are eaten right away.

Thus any "rule" that may have been under consideration to the effect that "a Word-with-antecedent is always initial" must be modified: "a Word-with-antecedent is initial where it does not receive a special emphasis" would fit the evidence so far obtained. Incidentally, it is interesting to note

that a demonstrative cannot occur as Word-with-antecedent exponent of the $N^{-(\cancel{X})X}$ unit alternant.

So far it has been the Root of the Word-with-antecedent or a qualifier that has been presented as having the Antecedent. This need not be so, however, for this status may belong to the possessive suffix, not the Root (or, more accurately, the Stem) to which it is attached. This is $-(s)I(n)$, already mentioned as a linking device (p.210). This suffix, like the Root, may have as its Antecedent either the whole or part of the preceding Stimulus, immediate or remote.

No. 382, which illustrates this, is an extract from the Sentence-complex quoted on p. 231:

(382)

++biberleri oydu,	Sm	++I scooped out the peppers
		and,
ıçıNe koyup..	Sm	putting (it) inside them,
	Rp	
doldurum.....++		filled (them).....++
ÜstÜNe de.....		And on top of them.....
ya biberin kendi		either you put on the
	Rp	
kapagını koyuyorsun ++		peppers' own lid(s)++

The antecedent of the $-(s)I(n)$ suffix in ıçıNe and üstÜNe is all that is quoted before each. The word bearing the Suffix-with-antecedent is again found to be initial in the Response.

The final stage in complexity involving use of Word-with-antecedent is seen in the next example. This is of

necessity longer than the previous ones; it is part of a Sentence-complex. The part quoted¹ consists of five Sentences: three simple Single-clause ones followed by a Single-clause one expanded (two-fold) by multiplicity. Each contains at least one Word-with-antecedent; these are underlined:

(383)		
++... <u>Ondan sonra</u> ...	S ¹	++... <u>After that</u> ...
N ^{Av}		
<u>ikinci kat yufkayı</u> ,		I put
N ^{-(y)I}		the second layer of pastry
<u>koyuyorum</u> ... <u>üstüne</u>...		...<u>on top of it</u>
VP N ^{-(y)E}		
<u>Onun üzerine</u> ,	S ²	<u>On top of that</u>
N ^{-(y)E}		
<u>üçüncü kat yufkayı</u> ,		I spread
N ^{-(y)I}		the third layer of pastry...
<u>döşüyorum</u>		
VP		
<u>Gine</u> ... <u>aynı şekilde</u>	S ³	<u>Again</u> ... <u>in the same way</u>
N ^{Av} N ^{-DE}		
<u>yağ ve</u> ... <u>yumurta</u>		I sprinkle
		the fat and ...egg
<u>karişımını</u> ...		mixture
N ^{-(y)I}		
<u>gezdiriyorum</u> ... <u>üstüne</u>		on top of its....
VP N ^{-(y)E}		

- continued on the next page -

1. Unfortunately, the first constituent member of the Sentence-complex is too long and interrupted to be quotable. It describes how (in making pasties) the first layer of pastry is spread on a greased baking tray and covered with a mixture of egg, cheese, parsley and margarine. After this comes the extract quoted.

<u>Sonuncuyu da</u> N ^{-(y)} I ⁺ C _j	S ⁴	<u>And the last one</u>
<u>yine</u> yağlıyorum, N ^{Av} VP		I <u>again</u> grease,
<u>ve</u> C _j		and
<u>yumurtayla</u> <u>üstünü</u> N ^{-(y)} IE N ^{-(y)} I ⁺	S ⁵	I brush
<u>sıvıyorum</u> . VP		<u>its top</u> with egg.

Several facts are to be seen here concerning the form of the Word-with-antecedent and their positions in their respective Sentences:

(i) There are three types of Word-with-antecedent:

- (a) demonstrative Root: ondan sonra in S¹
onun üzerine in S²
- (b) -(s)I(n) suffix: üstüne in S¹
onun üzerine in S²
üstüne in S³
üstünü in S⁵
- (c) without segmental link: gine in S³
ayni (şekilde) in S³
sonuncu(yu) in S⁴
yine in S⁴

Their antecedents are as follows: the antecedent of both words in S¹ is the same, viz. the part not quoted but summarized in the footnote on p. 315, that of the word in S² is the "ikinci kat yufkayı koyuyorum" of S¹. The first two in S³ have part of the first section (footnote, p.315) as antecedent (i.e. their antecedent is in the remote

Stimulus) while the third refers to the "üçüncü kat yufkayı koyuyorum" of S^2 . Sonuncuyu in S^4 suggests all that have preceded it (three in number), whereas the antecedent of üstünü is a single word only, sonuncuyu.

Thus not only does this example contain all possible types of Word-with-antecedent but also immediate and remote, and single-word and whole Clause antecedents. Moreover, the Words-with-antecedent occur as N^{Av} , nominal adverbial units ($N^{-(y)E}$ and $N^{-(y)I}$ and $N^{-(y)I}$).

(ii) It is not the form of these items that is of the first importance, however, but the position in which they occur: all except üstünü occur either initially or finally (and this apparent exception in fact occurs in the tail so that most of the remarks made about those occurring finally apply to it, too.)

If to these observations is not added evidence from the intonation contour (p.89), viz. that Sentence (or contour) initial position and the tail exhibit the two extremes of prominence¹, the evidence points to those placed initially being "more important", since they are situated in the most prominent part of the contour, while those placed finally are weak, apparently "less important", perhaps even inessential.

¹. The presence of a sharp pitch rise at the end of each Sentence (a continuation juncture) does not alter the non-prominent character of the tail: the difference in loudness between a syllable uttered in the contour initial position and one uttered at the end of a rising juncture (or as the bearer of the whole of the rising juncture) is considerable, even though they may be at the same pitch.

Further, if the content, also, is taken into consideration a pattern becomes apparent:

1. "Put in the first" -->
2. "Ondan sonra" "put in the second" -->
3. "Onun üzerine" "put in the third" -->
4. "Sonuncuyu" "the last one, put it on".

That is to say, the actual sequence is marked by those units placed initially. They seem to form a series of links, each referring not only to its own antecedent and to the Clause of which it is a unit but also to the other links. This is a relationship which those placed finally do not have. It may therefore be postulated that initially placed- and therefore also prominent - units having a series as their point of reference are not only nominal units qualifying the verb of their respective Clause but also conjunctives (cf. p. 253).

It follows, then, that the position of Clause-units functioning conjunctively is fixed: they must be initial in their respective Clauses, no matter which unit or which word class manifests them. The danger inherent in taking a sentence of this type out of context, treating it as an isolate and then deducing from it some "rule" of word order is only too clear.

This principle can be tested on an even longer passage, the Speech Paragraph beginning on p. 226 (nos. 315 and 316, pp. 226-233). There the Words-with-antecedent having a conjunctive function and therefore placed initially are:

<u>onun üzerine</u>	line 13	N ^{-(y)E}	(demonstrative; suffix)
<u>fıstıklarda</u>	" 24	N ^{-Ø}	(repetition)
<u>fıstık da</u>	" 32	N ^{-Ø}	(repetition)
<u>bundan sonra</u>	" 40	N ^{Av}	(demonstrative)
<u>onun üzerine</u>	" 52	N ^{-(y)E}	(demonstrative; suffix)
<u>soğuduktan sonra</u>	" 60	VN ^{Av}	(repetition)
<u>üstüne de</u>	" 68	N ^{-(y)E}	(suffix)
<u>onu</u> ¹	" 82	N ^{-(y)I}	(demonstrative)

Other words marking steps in the sequence^e are:

<u>ilk önce</u>	line 2	N ^{Av}
<u>bu sefer</u>	" 34	N ^{Av}

Note that Comment Words are also conjunctive but not at the same level: they indicate sequence only at Sentence-constituent level, whereas the ones under discussion are operating at Sentence-complex and Paragraph level. The same passage contains several^a which serve to illustrate the difference:

<u>meselâ</u>	line 4
<u>tabîî</u>	" 27
<u>sade</u>	" 48
<u>hattâ</u>	" 81
<u>çünkü</u>	" 87
<u>bilhassa</u>	" 90

Some of the effects upon syntactic structure of the interplay between the two rôles in Discourse have now been identified. Sequence is found to be affected in two ways:

-
1. This occupies the first position grammatically available to it, for the Comment Word hattâ must precede the Clause proper.

- (i) that which is suggested by the Stimulus is placed first in the Response,
- (ii) the need to employ hesitation disguisers favours the use of structures in which an emendation or comment follows that which it amends or comments upon..

The corpus also provides evidence of the effect upon the order of units within the Clause of the "emendation" process at work in the Acknowledgement + and other two-clause structures.

The following example, no.384, a simple Single-clause Sentence with a preceding AI signal ("peki") has N^{-Ø} placed last. It is possible to suggest why:

(384)

..... <u>Peki</u> ,	Look here,
 <u>niçin acaba</u> N ^{Av} AW	 why, I wonder,
 <u>iyi olmuyor pilâv?</u>++ N ^C VP N ^{-Ø}	 doesn't the pilaff turn out well?

An examination of the context enables us to suggest a reason (i) for the N^{-Ø} unit being present at all, and (ii) for its being placed last. The utterance is an unsolicited return to an earlier topic, that is, its Stimulus is remote, because since "pilaff" was the subject under discussion other matters have been dealt with at some length. Its topic, "pilaff", is therefore different from the one immediately preceding this extract. There is no indication of what the topic is other than this appended N^{-Ø}. It is therefore the need to

make this clear that renders its presence obligatory¹.

But why is it placed last?

Two positions only are possible for this unit in a Sentence so constituted: (i) before niçin (i.e. Clause initial position) and (ii) the one selected, the final one. The first would give it the contour pitch prominence; but if the $N^{-\emptyset}$ is not placed there, then this pitch prominence has to be put upon niçin, since there is no other word that can occupy this position; thus upon that single word are combined both the pitch and the stress prominence of the contour. And this is what has been done.

The impression given by the prominence of niçin and the weakness of $N^{-\emptyset}$ is that the Speaker, concentrating on niçin and rendering it the most prominent or important part of her utterance, did not intend $N^{-\emptyset}$ to be present, but finding her statement defective (not informative enough) appended the $N^{-\emptyset}$ to make good the deficiency.

The same can be seen in an example from page 227: on line 10 is the Sentence "Zeytinyağında kavurdum soğanları!" Soğanları ($N^{-(y)}I$) is grammatically redundant. It is a repetition of the original topic after a digression in which biber was also mentioned, introduced to prevent possible misunderstanding.

Surely this appending of clarification is analogous to those structures whose members exemplify "statement of some sort" followed by "modification of it or comment upon it"?

1. Cf. Mundy (1955); on p. 301 he says of an "inverted" example of a pattern C Word-group: "An unemphatic appended qualifier ... is often employed as a link with a preceding context."

That is, surely there is justification for interpreting "Niçin acaba iyi olmuyor" and "Zeytinyağında kavurdum" as the Statement, a grammatically complete structure, and pilâv and soğanları as subordinate, grammatically inessential, each one an amplification of the subject incorporated in the P/P and made in response to the realisation that the Statement is ambiguous or otherwise unclear? That is, it is here suggested that a grammatically redundant unit may be appended in order to clarify; therefore any grammatically redundant unit which is appended may be mere amplification, "dependent" upon the preceding statement, which is the "Dominant" member.

It also follows that where no misapprehension is likely the grammatically redundant unit will not be present, unless it has to receive contrastive prominence or serve as a signal. For example, the Sentence which follows the last example "Kahverengi oldu" (p.227) has no N- \emptyset . It is understood to be soğanlar; this has already been suggested in the previous Sentence by soğanları which is adjacent to this new Sentence; consequently it need not be expressed, even though the suffix required is different. Soğanları is thus both the Response to the preceding Zeytinyağında kavurdum and Stimulus to the succeeding Kahverengi oldu and need not be uttered twice.

Conclusion:

It is now possible to account for some of the sequences of units within the simple Clause and in the expanded Clause left unexplained in Chapters 2 and 3.

- (i) The need to plan an utterance and at the same time conform to the demands of the signalling system of Discourse (in particular, to respond without delay) determines

the position of certain constituents:

- (a) unless special emphasis precludes it, that which is suggested by the Stimulus is often initial; it may take the form of repetition or of lexical resemblance (a Word-with-antecedent, a Paragraph conjunctive link);
- (b) it may result in the need to clarify an utterance which the monitoring process reveals to be defective; as a consequence of this a grammatically redundant piece will be appended, that is, will form the last constituent.

The inference to be drawn is that the so-called "inverted sentence" is the correct response to a certain context and that whether the Sentence is "inverted" or "regular" depends entirely upon which part of it has an antecedent, that is, it is chance, arising out of the continuum of speech and not conformity to any supposed "rule" of grammar.

- (ii) The requirements of the Discourse situation also affect content:

- (a) the need to avoid prolonged silence as well as plan leads to the use of hesitation disguisers (repetition, Multiple Unit structures and their equivalents at Sentence level, and Fillers such as filân yani);
- (b) the need to respond without delay leads to the uttering first of what comes to mind first (which may be prompted by the Stimulus) and then improving upon it; again this results in the use of Multiple Unit structures, of the St+Ct and St+^{sl}Ct types of Sentence and of any other kind of appended emendation or amplification such as a grammatically redundant Clause-unit.

- (c) the need to acknowledge as well as plan determines the use of items extra to the Clause proper (e.g. acknowledgement Filler, announcement of topic ("heading") signals);
- (d) the need to attract attention results in the use of items extra to Clause structure proper (e.g. the vocative, grammatically redundant N- \emptyset , a Filler);
- (e) the need to indicate Attitude affects content also; (e.g. "Respect" determines the use of Acknowledgement signal, longer forms as exponents of units, the inclusion of Fillers implying tentativeness).

In the absence of any such factor determining the use of an item as exponent of a signal, that item is present only as a bearer of information (that is, it has its lexical meaning only); only if the meaning is not clear without it is it present, for - as was found earlier (pp. 81-82) - no Clause-unit (and, of course, no Clause or Sentence) is bound to be present in Turkish.

Signals, moreover, are associated with certain fixed positions in the utterance; consequently any word of syntactic structure operating as exponent of a signal is automatically fixed as to position.

Apart from that, the most widespread feature of sequence in spontaneous oral composition was seen to be the dependence of a second part upon the first, the Response to a Stimulus. This seems to confirm the suggestion made after studying the internal structure of Sentence-complexes (the largest one tackled) that the true progression in Turkish is from Dominant to Dependent (in a series of overlapping steps if necessary) for no evidence was found in the Discourse situation of the reverse sequence.

CONCLUSION

The examination of a large body of material, primarily of recordings of dialogue on tape, undertaken in order to identify syntactic relationships in Turkish and the principles governing sequence in the structures identified, has revealed that the traditional view of Turkish syntax as "a system of preceding qualifiers" needs to be revised.

A pyramid structure was found to be appropriate for the description because this allows the striking rank-shifts of Turkish to be described with economy. In examining structures at each level in turn, however, this pyramid notion proved to be useful in another respect: it enables the two opposing sequences operating in the language to be clearly differentiated. As a result, the qualifier+head sequence traditionally deemed "fundamental" or "basic" to Turkish syntax was found to be fundamental or basic only in the most literal sense, for it belongs to the lowest level of structure only - structures at the highest levels are invariably arranged in the sequence head+qualifier, thereby being manifestations in syntax of the processes of recall, planning, articulation and monitoring suggested by psycholinguists and others as underlying speech. Between these two extremes, at Clause level, both sequence are in operation and are selected in accordance with certain constraints imposed by the context, some of which have been identified.

For instance, the position of two Clause-units (N^C and the $N^{-(\text{✓})\text{✓}}$ unit alternant) is fixed, as is that of every interrogative unit. This can be explained in terms of emphasis, but another explanation is possible: it may be

that N^C and $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{Z}}$ - which precede the verb immediately and receive the contour stress prominence - are to be seen not as Clause-units at all but as qualifiers in the narrower sense, that is, as members of Word-groups, the N^C+V and $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{Z}}+V$ Word-groups, as seems to be the case with a small sub-class of Adverb (cf. p. 81, footnote). Although this interpretation would not show that $N^{-(y)I}$ and $N^{-(\cancel{y})\cancel{Z}}$ are alternants, there are many points in its favour. However, a final classification will not be possible until the relationship between juncture and structure has been thoroughly investigated.

As for the positionally "free" Clause-units, $N^{-\emptyset}$ and the five adverbial ones, it has been found that their place in a specific structure is determined either by emphasis or - much more commonly - by contextual factors. $N^{-\emptyset}$, for instance, was seen in one case to be a signal for attracting attention, in another to be appended as clarification - a use seen to be made of other "free units and even demonstrable, one might venture to suggest on available evidence, of the P/\cancel{P} unit itself. Adverbial units, which were already known to occur very frequently at Sentence initial position, are now seen to be functioning there quite often as signals - to attract attention, to announce the Heading, or to acknowledge a "Stimulus" by preventing the occurrence of prolonged pauses. Recognising these initial pieces as "signals" first and foremost, and as "content" bearers only secondarily if at all, made necessary their allocation to a different word class: they are Fillers ("non-content" words) not qualifiers of the verb (and therefore not Adverbs). This means that much of the evidence for the assertion that adverbs are frequently initial has to be discounted.

The unit occupying the Sentence-initial position may also be primarily conjunctive, either naming a topic which is in contrast with, or in a series with, others, or naming the steps in a temporal or spatial series. The pitch prominence inherent in the intonation contour helps this. It was found that there is no restriction of unit occupying this initial position: if a unit is one of the "free" ones it may be placed there, the P/P unit some way off; if it is one of the "fixed" units, again it may be placed there but the P/P unit must be placed immediately after it, all others being relegated to the "tail". In short, the Sentence-initial position is primarily a link with the wider context. This goes quite a long way to accounting for the failure of previous descriptions of the language, both by grammarians and by general linguists, to produce a satisfactory explanation of the sequence of words in a Clause, for none have taken the wider context into consideration.

The sequence of units within a Clause, which has hitherto proved the most intractable problem of Turkish syntax, is thus seen to be determined by factors which are identifiable but are of different kinds: the position of some units is determined grammatically, that of others contextually, while special emphasis accounts for the position selected for others.

These findings do not, of course, represent a complete explanation. For that, the Paragraph and the links between Paragraphs must be added; a detailed description of Turkish usage is a serious lack; an understanding of the interaction

between syntactic structure and intonation, prominence and juncture is another great need, while the manner in which structures of foreign inspiration fit into the Turkish system is yet another matter of great interest still to be studied. It is hoped, however, that this revision of traditional views may have helped to prepare the way.

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