

Appositive *ki* Clauses in Turkish*

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(Received 1 May 2017; accepted 13 March 2018)

ABSTRACT: This study explores the post-nominal appositives formed with the so called complementizer *ki* in Turkish. It makes two sets of arguments: (i) Post-nominal appositives formed with *ki* do not form a constituent with their antecedents in syntax, instead they are formed as separate clauses, having their own illocutionary act and being opaque to syntactic operations of their host clauses, hence non-integrated in the sense of Cinque (2008), (ii) Appositive *ki* clauses involve neither subordination, nor coordination, rather they are ForcePs adjoining to the root clause, and this root level adjunction is characterized as concatenation without labels in the sense of Horstein (2009) and Citko (2016).

Keywords: appositive, *ki* clauses, relative clause, Turkish

Eşlemeli *ki* Tümcecikleri

ÖZ: Bu çalışma Türkçede *ki* ile kurulan eşlemeli yan tümceleri araştırmaktadır. Çalışmada iki küme sav geliştirilmiştir: (i) *ki* ile kurulan ad sonrası eşlemeli yan tümceler ilişkili oldukları öğelerle sözdizim modülünde bir öbek oluşturmak yerine bağımsız tümcecikler olarak üretilir. Kendi edimsel eylemlerine sahip olan bu tümcecikler ana tümce kaynaklı sözdizimsel işlemlere kapalıdır ve Cinque (2008) sistemine göre bütünleşmemiş tümceciklerdir. (ii) Eşlemeli *ki* tümcecikleri ne yantümceleme ne de sıralama içerirler. Eşlemeli *ki* tümcecikleri yapı olarak Güç Öbekleridir ve ana tümceye eklenirler. Bu ekleme kök tümce düzeyinde bir eklemedir ve Hornstein (2009), Citko (2016)'dan hareketle etiketsiz eklenme olarak gerçekleşir.

Anahtar sözcükler: eşleme, *ki* tümcecikleri, ortaç

* I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions and critical remarks. Usual disclaimers apply.

1 Introduction

This study explores the post-nominal appositives formed with the so called complementizer *ki* in Turkish. It makes two sets of arguments: (i) Post-nominal appositives do not form a constituent with their antecedents in syntax, instead they are formed as separate clauses, having their own illocutionary act and being opaque to syntactic operations of their host clauses, hence non-integrated in the sense of Cinque (2008), (ii) Appositive *ki* clauses involve neither subordination, nor coordination, rather they are ForcePs adjoining to the root clause, the position where the appositive *ki* clauses adjoin is the root level and this adjunction is concatenation without labels in the sense of Horstein (2009) and Ćitko (2016).

There are many different types of appositive structures in the language. See Griffiths (2015) for a discussion on a variety of appositive forms both in clausal and sub-clausal levels. In this paper, we mainly focus on the clausal post-nominal appositives that are introduced with the so called complementizer *ki*.

(1) a. *Non-restrictive post-relative*

Ali, [*ki* bugün Ankara-dan gel-di], çok yorgun.
 Ali, *ki* today Ankara-ABL come-PAST so tired
 Ali, who came from Ankara today, is so tired.'

b. *Non-restrictive pre-relative*

[Bugün Ankara-dan gel-en] Ali çok yorgun.
 today Ankara-ABL come-REL Ali so tired
 'Ali, who came from Ankara today, is so tired.'

c. *Restrictive pre-relative*

[Bugün Ankara-dan gel-en] adam çok yorgun.
 today Ankara-ABL come-REL man so tired
 'The man that come from Ankara today is so tired.'

Relative clauses above establish different relationships with their antecedents. In (1a) the post-relative clause inside the brackets has a non-restrictive reading, i.e., it provides extra information about the antecedent *Ali*, rather than restricting the set of individuals. This kind of relationship is also observed in (1b) but this time the pre-relative clause formed with *-(y)An* acts as the relativizer. In (1c), however, the pre-relative clause has a restrictive reading, i.e. it restricts the set of individuals denoted by the head noun *adam* 'man'. We focus on (1a) above, which is labeled as the appositive post-relative and exclude (1b) from the discussion given that whether Turkish has genuine pre-relative appositives or not is still a controversial issue. Aygen (2003), for

instance, argues that those structures exemplified in (1b) are not relative clauses but are free adjuncts or absolutes.¹

2 Appositives at the Syntax-Semantics Interface

One of the main points of interest about appositives is whether they form a syntactic constituent with their antecedent or not (constituency vs. orphanage), an issue which has long been discussed in the literature. Ross (1967) claims that appositives are main clauses which are coordinated with the matrix clauses at Deep Structure and after some transformations applied, they turn into relative clauses which are adjacent to their antecedents. A radical extension of the main clause hypothesis has been discussed by Safir (1986), who claims that appositives are not even part of the matrix clause. They become adjacent to their antecedents at LF', a level which is beyond LF. Moreover, Fabb (1990) claims that appositives are attached to the structure at the discourse level. The common point is that appositives do not form a constituent with their antecedents and this argument has been labeled as the Main Clause Hypothesis (Ross, 1967; Thompson, 1971; Emonds, 1979 among others). In a recent work, Griffiths (2015) argues that appositive relative clauses are stand-alone parenthetical clauses which adjoin to their hosts as finite adjuncts.

Subordinate Clause Hypothesis of Jackendoff (1977), on the other hand, argues that appositives are subordinate clauses of a maximal projection which includes the antecedent. Therefore, the appositive and its antecedent form a syntactic constituent. How the appositive and its antecedent form a syntactic constituent has been a debated issue and various options have been discussed in the literature: appositives as the complement of a D head (Smith, 1964), the complement of a N head (Platzack, 1997), the small clause complement of the antecedent (Liptak, 1998). De Vries (2006) claims that appositives are

¹ De Vries (2006) claims that appositive relatives must be post-nominal. Thus, prenominal appositives in languages such as Turkish and Japanese are taken to be not appositives but something else. Along this line of reasoning, Griffiths & Güneş (2014), Griffiths (2015), Jongsma (2016) take these structures not as appositives but adjectival units. According to Jongsma (2016), appositive meaning of a prenominal relative is only possible when the prenominal relative clause precedes a demonstrative pronoun, a fact which has also been observed by Özçelik (to appear). The idea that there is no pre-relative appositive in Turkish actually follows from del Gobbo (2010), who says that the non-existence of relative pronouns in a language indicates the non-existence of appositive relatives altogether. According to del Gobbo, Chinese prenominal appositives are actually not appositives but integrated non-restrictives in Cinque's (2008) terminology: The Universal Grammar allows two types of non-restrictive modification: (i) integrated relatives (restrictive or appositive), and (ii) non-integrated relatives (only appositive).

specifying conjuncts but they involve a special type of coordination. Contra de Vries (2006), Citko (2008) argues that appositives are better explained with an adjunction analysis.

Some researchers argue for a mixed position whereby an appositive starts as a constituent of its antecedent as in the case of subordinate clause hypothesis, but separates from it in the course of derivation and become main clauses at LF. This position is defended by Demirdache (1991), Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999) and Del Gobbo (2003).

3 Appositive *ki* Clauses in Turkish

Turkish does not implement Indo-European strategy of subordination where a complementizer subordinates a finite clause to a matrix one. An exception to this generalization is a borrowed lexical item *ki* ‘that’, which connects finite complement clauses to the matrix predicates. These *ki* clauses can also act as restrictive and appositive relatives (Kornfilt, 1997; Akerson & Özil, 1998; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 among others). For the appositive function of *ki* clauses in Turkish, Meral (2006) argues that appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish seem to be main clauses compared to English ones which show both the main clause and subordinate clause behavior.

The status of *ki* as a complementizer has been questioned recently and a number of scholars argued that it is not a genuine complementizer. Kesici (2013) claims that *ki* clauses are not subordinate or coordinate clauses due to the fact that they behave differently with respect to binding, scope and adverb modification. She argues that *ki* clauses are independent expressions which have their own illocutionary force and they are paratactically connected to their matrix clauses (cf. Torrego & Uriagereka, 2002 cited in Kesici, 2013). Griffiths & Güneş (2014) argue that *ki* clauses are not subordinate clauses and *ki* is not a complementizer given that root clauses do not need a subordinator. Contra Aygen (2003), they claim that *ki* is not a relative pronoun either since it can double inside the clause, i.e. the appositive clause may host a pronoun co-indexed with the antecedent.² According to Griffiths & Güneş (2014), *ki* is a coordinator which connects the *ki* clause to the matrix one.

² Griffiths and Güneş (2014) discuss the following example:

- (i) Ahmet [*ki* öğrenci-ler o-nu çok sever-ler] okul-dan atıl-mış
 Ahmet *ki* student-PL he-ACC very love-3PL school-ABL fired-EVD
 ‘Ahmet, *ki* the students love him very much, has been fired.’

Example from Griffiths and Güneş (2014:4) Example (14a)

A personal pronoun *onu* ‘him’ occurs inside the appositive clause and this is taken to be an instance of relative pronoun doubling but not resumption since the only resumptive is *kendisi* (himself) in Turkish (Griffiths and Güneş, 2014:4 ff.1). However, there is no

In the rest of this section, I will try to support the idea that Turkish appositive *ki* clauses are indeed root clauses by constructing a set of arguments including intonation, pronominal binding, bound variable anaphora, scope reconstruction, dislocation and antecedent doubling. For the status of *ki*, I will argue that it is merely a phonetic realization of the special intonation associated with the appositive clauses.

3.1 *Separate Intonation Domain*

Embedded clauses in Turkish are nominalized through a set of nominalizing suffixes. These clauses are constituents of matrix clauses and they do not form a separate intonation domain. In other words, both matrix and embedded clause are part of the same intonation domain. Appositives, on the other hand, are separated from their antecedents via an intonation break and this separate intonation domain speaks for a parenthetical like structure for the appositives (Meral, 2006; Griffiths and Güneş, 2014). (1a and c) are repeated below as (2a-b) respectively, with intonation breaks.

- (2) a. Antecedent | appositive *ki* clause | separate intonation domain
 b. | Restrictive relative clause+Antecedent | single intonation domain

The appositive exemplified in (2a) above corresponds to the ‘comma phrase’ of Selkirk (2005) and Potts (2005), which is a unit bearing an independent illocutionary force. Likewise, the appositive above is typed as a separate intonation phrase in the sense of Kan (2009), who distinguishes intonation phrases from phonological phrases in Turkish via four diagnostics: boundary tones, pauses, head prominence and final lengthening. Accordingly, *ki* clauses are argued to be Force_{illoc}Ps by Kan (2009).³ (2b) exemplifies a case where a single intonation domain includes both the relative clause and its antecedent.

reason why we cannot take the personal pronoun as a resumptive pronoun in this case. Meral (2004, 2013) indicates that personal pronouns cannot be used resumptively but this is true only for restrictive pre-relatives, which form a constituent with their antecedents. As Meral (2006) shows, personal pronouns can occur as resumptives not only in restrictive pre-relatives which form constituents with their antecedents, but also inside the appositive *ki* clauses which do not form a constituent with their antecedents.

³ See Kamali (2011), Griffiths and Güneş (2014), Griffiths (2015), Güneş and Çöltekin (2016) for observations similar to those of Kan (2009). Güneş and Çöltekin (2016) note that the separate intonation domain is not the case for sub-clausal appositives, which are more like to be phonological phrases.

3.2 Pronominals inside the Appositives vs. Restrictive Relatives

The root clause status of an appositive clause can also be tested via pronominal elements. Nominalized relative clauses do not allow personal pronouns which are co-indexed with the head nouns, i.e., personal pronouns cannot be used for resumptive purposes (Kornfilt, 1997; Meral, 2010).⁴ Moreover, other nominalized subordinate clauses put some restrictions on the use of personal pronouns. For instance, a personal pronoun in the subject position of a nominalized embedded clause cannot be co-indexed with a referential or quantified antecedent in the matrix subject position (Montalbetti, 1984; Gürel, 2003; Meral, 2008, 2010). However, this is not the same for appositive relatives formed with *ki*.

(3) a. Nominalized restrictive pre-relative clause

[Onu_i sev-diğ-im] adam_i
 him love-REL-1SG man
 *‘The man_i that I love him_i’

b. Appositive *ki* clause

Ali_i, [ki onu_i çok sev-er-im]
 Ali, *ki* him much love-AOR-1SG
 *‘Ali_i, whom I love him_i very much’

In the nominalized restrictive relative clause in (3a) the pronoun *onu* ‘him’ cannot be co-indexed with the head noun *adam* ‘man’. In (b), on the other hand, the pronoun inside the appositive *ki* clause can be co-indexed with the antecedent.

The above-mentioned difference between the nominalized clauses and appositive *ki* clauses can be taken as evidence for the root clause status of an appositive *ki* clause. Nominalized clauses are not opaque to the syntactic operations from the outside, i.e., anaphor binding, quantificational binding, A’-binding, etc. As we will see in the next sections, *ki* clauses are different from regular subordinate clauses in Turkish with respect to the quantificational binding. Here, I would like to point out that *ki* clauses are exempt from the

⁴ As one of the reviewers states, this section implies that the nominalized relative clauses are CPs, an issue which has not been resolved in Turkish syntax yet. I assume that relative clauses are CPs due to the variable binding inside the clause (Kornfilt, 2000; Meral, 2010) and post-verbal scrambling (Kural, 1992). Kornfilt (2000:125) argues that the gap in Turkish relative clauses is a bound variable that results from syntactic movement. Following Krause (2001), Aygen (2002:27 ff. 24), however, proposes that the empty category inside the relative clauses is not a trace, but a *pro*. The reader may see Özsoy (1996), Kornfilt (2000) among others for arguments in favor of the CP idea and Krause (2001) and Aygen (2002) among others for the opposite view.

syntactic operations which are responsible for the pronominal dependencies across the domains.

The question arises as to how a pronominal element inside the appositive clause is interpreted if appositive clauses are root clauses. The point is that the pronoun inside the clause is no different from pronouns which are bound at the discourse level. Accordingly, pronominals inside an appositive clause are discourse-bound resumptives if they are co-indexed with the antecedent in the sense of Prince (1990).⁵ Prince (1990) argues that these pronouns appear in relative clauses which provide extra information about a discourse entity denoted by the head noun.

3.3 Quantificational Expressions and Appositives

A well-known fact about subordinate clauses is that they involve potential movement sites from which a quantificational element moves outside of the clause for scope reasons. If appositive clauses are not subordinate clauses, they are expected not to allow such operations. Relative clauses with quantificational heads provide a testing ground in this sense (Safir, 1986; del Gobbo, 2003 among others). If a quantificational element occurs as the head of an appositive, we can conclude that the appositive clause is a kind of a subordinate clause from which the quantificational head moves, for instance, for scope reasons.

(4) a. Restrictive pre-relative⁶

[Her doktor-un muayene et-tiğ-i] üç hasta taburcu oldu.
 every doctor-GEN examine-REL-3SG three.patients discharged
 ‘The three patients that every doctor examined were discharged.’

⁵ According to one reviewer, this predicts that the appositive clause cannot contain the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’, which has to be bound by a c-commanding antecedent and cannot be discourse bound, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the following example.

- (i) *Ali, [ki kendin-i; çok sev-iyor],
 Ali ki himself-ACC much love-PROG
 *‘Ali, who loves himself much,’

This is indeed true given that the sentence above is ungrammatical. However, the exact nature of *kendi* ‘self’ and its syntactic distribution are still controversial in Turkish syntax-semantics and syntax-discourse interface. The reader may have a look at Gracanin-Yukseket al. (2017) for a recent investigation of the issue.

⁶ As one of the reviewers says, some native speakers do not get the scope ambiguity in this example although my informants find it ambiguous as presented in the article. I leave the issue of whether there is a dialectal difference among the native speakers about the scope differences in this example for further research.

b. *Appositive ki clause*

*Üç hasta, [*ki* her doktor muayene etti], taburcu oldu.
 three.patients *ki* every.doctor examined discharged
 ‘The three patients, who every doctor examined, were discharged.’

(4a) has two interpretations: (i) the quantificational head noun *üç hasta* ‘three patients’ scopes over another quantificational element inside the clause *her doktor* ‘every doctor’. This means that there are three patients and all the doctors in the hospital examined them, (ii) the quantificational element *her doktor* ‘every doctor’ scopes over another quantificational element *üç hasta* ‘three patients’. The second reading requires that the head noun *üç hasta* ‘three patients’ reconstructs into its original position in order to be in the scope of, i.e., within the c-command domain of the quantificational expression *her doktor* ‘every doctor’. In order for this to happen, the relative clause must form a constituent with the head noun that it modifies and this is what we have indeed. The restrictive pre-relative clause forms a constituent with its antecedent.

One might expect the same thing to happen for (4b) case above, i.e., the head noun *üç hasta* ‘three patients’ to reconstruct into the appositive clause for scope reasons. However, (4b) is ungrammatical with the reading on which *her doktor* ‘every doctor’ scopes over the head noun *üç hasta* ‘three patients’. This can be taken as evidence for the root clause status of the appositive. That is to say, the scope of the elements in (4b) is fixed since the head noun does not raise from the appositive clause. Since there is no movement, there is no reconstruction. The head noun cannot be within the c-command domain of the quantificational expression in the subject position.

Another point about the quantificational expressions and appositives is the possibility of a quantifier phrase having scope into the appositive. If this is allowed, there should be a bound variable inside the appositive clause and this bound variable has to be bound in syntax proper. In order for this to happen, an appositive clause has to form a constituent with its antecedent so that the antecedent c-commands the bound variable within its c-command domain. (5a-b)⁷ below show that this is not possible in appositive *ki* clauses.

(5) a. *Her öğretmen_i [*ki* ona_i projeler-de yardım ed-ecek],
 every teacher_i *ki* him_i projects-LOC help-FUT
 bir asistan al-malı.
 a assistant get-NEC.
 ‘Every teacher_i should have an assistant_k, which she/he_k will help him/her_i for the projects.’

⁷ I would like to thank one of the reviewers for providing these examples to me.

- b. Her öğretmen_i bir asistan_k al-malı.
 every teacher a assistant get-NEC
 Asistan_k ona_i projeler-de yardım et-meli.
 assistant him projects-LOC help-NEC.
 ‘Every teacher_i should have an assistant_k. S/he_k should help him/her_i
 for the projects.’

The example in (5a) shows that the pronominal item *ona* ‘him/her’ cannot act as a bound variable which must be licensed within syntax.⁸ Since (5a) is ungrammatical, the pronominal does not act as anything. If it were possible for the pronominal in (5a) to be interpreted as it is interpreted in (5b), the sentence would be grammatical under some reading. This contrast follows from what we have argued so far: appositive *ki* relatives are root clauses which do not allow bound variable anaphora across domains.

3.4 Possibility of Having an Internal Head

One of the diagnostics offered in Cinque’s (2008) for the non-integrated appositives is the possibility of having an internal head inside the appositive relative clause. This means that the appositive shows behavior similar to independent root clauses.

- (6) Ali bir bar-da_i çalış-ıyor, [*ki* mekan_i bu gece çok kalabalık değil]
 Ali a bar-LOC work-PROG *ki* place this.night very crowded not
 *‘Ali works in a bar, which the place is not so crowded tonight.’

⁸ One of the reviewers states that some native speakers find (i) below as grammatical.

- (i) Her öğretmen-e_i bir asistan, ki on-a_i yardım ed-ecek, ver-il-meli.
 every teacher-DAT one assistant ki him-DAT help do-FUT give-PASS-NEC
 *‘An assistant should be given to every teacher, who will help him.’

As for the example provided by the reviewer (i), I should say that the example is different from (5a). (5a) includes a quantificational expression as the subject, which would definitely c-command the variable inside the *ki*-clause. The one provided by the reviewer includes a quantificational expression as the indirect object whose c-commanding potential for the variable position is at least questionable. The indirect object seems to be preposed to the sentence initial position, an operation which calls for a separate investigation especially in its relation to the passive movement of the indefinite object DP/NP. I have also checked this example with the same group of informants and actually they found it better than the one I originally asked. The preposing of the quantificational expression may be the reason for the increase in the grammaticality of the example.

The grammaticality of this example indicates that the *ki* clause is a separate clause having its own binding conditions. There is a referential expression inside the appositive clause *mekan* ‘the place’ and this referential expression is co-indexed with the antecedent of the appositive clause *bar* ‘bar’. Note that this internal head can also be taken as an epithet phrase inside the relative clause which is co-indexed with the antecedent and has its own binding properties different from those of other referential expressions. The point however, is that this “double” inside the relative cannot occur in pre-relative clauses.

(7) a. *Restrictive pre-relative*

*[Zavallı-yı_i dün sokak-ta bul-duğ-um] sarı kedi_i
 poor-ACC yesterday street-LOC find-REL-1SG yellow cat
 ‘The yellow cat_i that I found the poor_i on the street yesterday’

b. *Appositive ki clause*

Sarı kedi_i, [*ki* zavallı-yı_i dün sokak-ta bul-du-m]
 yellow cat *ki* poor-ACC yesterday street-LOC find-PAST-1SG
 ‘The yellow cat_i, which I found the poor_i on the street yesterday’

The ungrammaticality of (7a) compared to the grammaticality of (7b) follows from the argument made in the paper. Restrictive pre-relatives form constituents with their antecedents and not opaque to the binding conditions of the main clause. However, this is not true for the appositive *ki* relatives which are separate clauses.

3.5 Adjacency to the Antecedent

Unlike non-finite pre-relative clauses, *ki* clauses in Turkish need not be adjacent to their antecedents. This means that the appositive *ki* clauses are separate clauses which do not form a constituent with their antecedent. If they were a constituent of their antecedent, or integrated in the sense of Cinque (2008), it would not be possible to separate them. However, facts are on the contrary as has also been observed by Griffiths and Güneş (2014).

(8) a. [Bugün Ankara-dan gel-en] Ali

today Ankara-ABL come-REL Ali
 ‘Ali, who came from Ankara today’

b. *Ali [bugün Ankara-dan gel-en]
 Ali today Ankara-ABL come-REL
 ‘Ali, who came from Ankara today’

c. Bugün Ankara-dan Ali gel-di, [*ki* onu çok sev-er-im]
 today Ankara-ABL Ali come-PAST *ki* him very love-AOR-1SG
 *‘Today Ali_i came from Ankara, who I love him_i very much.’

(8a) case above involves a pre-relative clause where the head noun *Ali* and the relative clause are adjacent to each other. The displacement of the head noun *Ali* results in ungrammaticality in (8b). In (8c), on the other hand, an appositive *ki* clause is separated from the antecedent of it and the structure is still grammatical. This fact can be taken as another piece of evidence for the root clause status of the appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish.⁹

The discussion so far has revealed some facts about the syntactic and semantic differences between the appositive *ki* clauses and restrictive pre-relatives. These facts indicate that the appositive *ki* clauses exhibit properties similar to those of separate clauses and for this reason we argued that they are root clauses which are not part of the projection of their antecedents. Note that the facts presented about the appositive *ki* clauses are compatible with any syntactic analysis on which they do not form a constituent with the antecedents. In the next section, I will compare two analyses of the appositive relatives, the coordination analysis of de Vries (2006) and the adjunction analysis of Citko (2016), and argue in favor of the latter.

4 The Relation between the Appositive and Matrix Clause

After discussing the root clause properties of the appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish, in this section we will offer an analysis for the syntactic and semantic relations between the appositive clause and the matrix clause containing its antecedent.

4.1 The Syntactic Nature of *ki* and *ki* Clauses

One of the main properties of the non-integrated appositives is that they have their own illocutionary force different from that of the matrix clause containing its antecedent.

⁹ One of the reviewers questions the validity of the non-adjacency as an evidence for the root clause status of an appositive given that English allows the extraposition of the restrictive relatives. (i) below is provided by one of the reviewers.

(i) A man came into the bar who we knew in school. (Borsley, 1997)

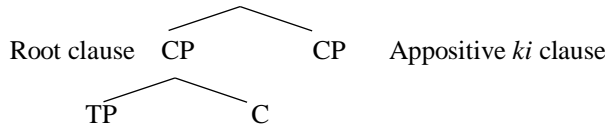
Note that the non-adjacency of the appositive clause to its head has been taken as evidence for its non-integrated status (Cinque, 2008), its root clause status (Citko, 2016) although both authors acknowledge the counter-examples to the prediction they make. See de Vries (2006) and Cinque (2008) for a further discussion of this issue.

- (9) Ders-in hoca-sı Ali-yi,
 course-GEN instructor-3SG Ali-ACC
 [*ki* herkes-in ona_i saygı duy-ma-sı gerek-iyor] gör-dü-n-mü?
ki everyone-GEN him respect-NOM-3SG need-PROG see-PAST-2SG-QP
 *‘Did you see the instructor Ali_i, who everyone should respect him_i?’

In (9) the illocutionary force of the appositive *ki* clause is not the same with that of the main clause. While the main clause is a question, the appositive *ki* clause has an assertive meaning. Note that other options of the difference in force are also possible for appositive *ki* clauses.

Assuming that the force of an utterance is projected as a ForceP (Rizzi, 1997), I propose that appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish are ForcePs (cf. Kan, 2009). This is also in accordance with the non-integrated appositives of Cinque’s (2008) classification. As for the syntactic positioning of the appositive ForcePs, I propose, following Citko (2016) that Turkish *ki* appositives adjoin to the matrix clauses in a label-free sense (cf. Hornstein, 2009). That is to say, the appositive relative ForceP adjoins to the matrix clause without a label in the sense of Hornstein (2009), who argues that adjunction is concatenation without labeling. This analysis explains the root clause properties of the appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish. Since adjoining to the root clause does not make the adjoined material open for the syntactic operations of the root clause, the appositive keeps its independent clause status at all levels.

(10)



Adapted from Citko (2016:105) Example (42)

At this point, the status of the so called borrowed complementizer *ki* should be clarified. *Ki* has been observed to exhibit different properties from regular subordination in Turkish.¹⁰ It has been assumed to be a relativizer (Erguvanlı, 1981; Çağrı, 2005, Göksel & Kerlake, 2005). Similar to Griffiths & Güneş (2014), I propose that *ki* is not a complementizer/subordinator given that root clauses need not be introduced by a complementizer. We have shown that the appositive *ki* clauses show root clause properties, and hence *ki* is not a complementizer/subordinator.

¹⁰ See Kesici (2013), Griffiths and Güneş (2015) for a recent overview.

I propose that *ki* is not a relative pronoun either. It is a well-known fact that relative pronouns are e-type pronouns (Demirdache, 1991; Citko, 2016 among others). Turkish *ki* does not seem to be a relative pronoun given that many relative pronouns carry phi features which connect them to their antecedents.¹¹ Moreover, a personal pronoun or an epithet which are co-indexed with the antecedent can occur inside the appositive clause.

- (11) a. Ali_i, *ki* onu_i çok sev-er-im, bugün gör-me-di-m.
 Ali *ki* him very love-AOR-1SG today see-NEG-PAST-1SG
 *‘Today I have not seen Ali_i, who I love him_i very much.’
- b. Ali_i, *ki* zavallı çocuk_i çok üşü-müş-tü, hasta ol-muş.
 Ali *ki* poor boy very get.cold-PERF-PAST be.sick-EVI
 *‘Ali_i, who the poor boy_i got cold badly, got sick.’

(11a) above includes a personal pronoun used as a discourse resumptive and (11b) an epithet phrase *zavallı çocuk* ‘poor boy’. Note that Citko (2016) makes a connection between the lack of relative pronouns and the lack of non-integrated appositives in a given language. However, this does not seem to be true for Turkish: *ki* introduces appositive relatives but it does not seem to be a relative pronoun.

Contra Griffiths and Güneş (2014), I propose that *ki* is not a coordinator and the analysis of appositive *ki* clauses as involving a coordination structure is problematic for reasons that I discuss in the next section.

If *ki* is not a subordinator, a relative pronoun, or a coordinator, what is it? I propose that *ki* acts as a clause typer which occurs in the Force head position. It provides reformulative, attributive and specifying meanings to its antecedent. Actually, it is the special comma intonation which types the clause as appositive and *ki* is merely a phonetic realization of this special intonation. This is in line with the argumentation put forward in Göksel et.al., (2008) where the authors argue that the intonation acts as a clause typer distinguishing questions

¹¹ Both reviewers point out that there are invariant complementizers which introduce the relative clauses in languages such as Czech *co* and Persian *ki*. The lack of phi-features on a relative pronoun neither precludes it acting as a relative pronoun, nor precludes us labeling some linguistic form as a relative pronoun. Cross-linguistically, there are many languages having this sort of relative pronouns, such as the Czech *co*, as mentioned by one of the reviewers. Turkish *ki* under discussion seems to be different from those relative pronouns mentioned above in terms of its syntactic distribution. Languages with genuine relative pronouns English, German, Polish, etc. do have some restrictions on the relative pronoun choice (*kto* - *ktory* - *co* distinction in Polish (Citko, 2008), *die* - *wat* distinction in Dutch (de Vries, 2006), *chi* - *cui* - *il quale* in Italian (Bianchi, 1999) among others. Turkish *ki*, however, seems to be exempt from those restrictions and merely a phonetic realization of the special intonation.

from declaratives, an argument based on the Clause Typing Hypothesis of Cheng (1991).¹²

Support for the position above comes with the fact that *ki* is optional in appositive *ki* relatives. However, on the absence of it the sentence is ambiguous between an appositive relative reading and a coordination of events reading.

- (12) a. Adam, [*ki* dün Ankara-dan gel-di], bugün hastalan-mıř.
 man *ki* yesterday Ankara-ABL come-PAST today got.sick-EVI
 Appositive reading: The man, who came from Ankara yesterday, got sick today.
- b. Adam, dün Ankara-dan gel-di, bugün hastalan-mıř.
 man yesterday Ankara-ABL come-PAST today got.sick-EVI
 i. Appositive reading: The man, who came from Ankara yesterday, got sick today.¹³
 ii. Coordination of events reading: (Look at that) man, he came from Ankara yesterday and got sick today.

If *ki* is only the spell-out of the special intonation observed in appositive *ki* clauses, there should not be any difference between the presence of *ki* and the absence of it in terms of meaning. Whether there are differences between *ki* headed clausal appositives and null headed ones with respect to the intonation should be investigated further.

¹² One of the reviewers asks about the semantic and syntactic nature of clause typing. The idea of clause typing goes back to Cheng (1991) where the author introduces Clause Typing Hypothesis, which states that every clause has to be typed. For instance, in wh-questions, clause typing is established by inserting a wh-particle into the C head position, or moving a wh-item to the Spec-CP position. For Turkish, Göksel et. al. (2008) argue that intonation acts as a clause typer in Turkish and distinguishes a declarative from a question. In the same line of reasoning, I propose that the special intonation associated with the appositive *ki* clauses types the clause as an appositive and *ki* is the phonetic realization of it. I admit that the article leaves a thorough discussion of what exactly clause typing is and how it occurs in Turkish syntax-semantic interface for future studies.

¹³ The appositive interpretation in this example needs an intonation break (a decent pause) at the beginning and at the end of the appositive clause since there is no *ki* which would make this pause more natural.

4.2 *Ki, Hani, Var ya*

After discussing what appositive *ki* clauses are, in this section I will discuss two other potential appositive clause typers, and compare and contrast them with *ki*: a discourse reminder *hani* and a discourse topicalizer / reminder *var ya*.

- (13) a. Ali, *hani* senin arkadaşın, bugün buraya gel-di.
 Ali *hani* your friend today here come-PAST
 ‘Ali, your friend, came here today.’
 b. Ali *var ya* senin arkadaşın, bugün buraya gel-di.
 Ali *var ya* your friend today here come-PAST
 ‘Ali, your friend, came here today.’

As in the case of *ki*, *hani* requires a special comma intonation which types the clause as an appositive. It acts as a discourse reminder of an entity, which is the antecedent of the appositive (cf. Akerson and Özil, 1998). The appositive clause it heads provides extra information about the antecedent, but different from *ki*, it also has background information about that entity and this background information is already known to the interlocutor.

Different from *ki* and *hani*, *var ya* does not require separate comma intonation and this makes it not a root clause of the sort we have been discussing so far, but a subordinator-like item which means that the clause which follows forms a constituent with its antecedent. Note that it cannot be separated from its antecedent.

- (14) a. Ali bugün buraya gel-di, *hani* senin arkadaşın
 Ali today here come-PAST *hani* your friend
 *‘Ali came here today, your friend.’
 b. *Ali bugün buraya gel-di *var ya* senin arkadaşın.
 Ali today here come-PAST *var ya* your friend
 *‘Ali came here today, your friend.’

As the examples above show, *var ya* cannot be separated from its antecedent. This implies that the clause introduced by it and its antecedent form a syntactic unit. However, this does not mean that *var ya* has restrictive interpretations. *Var ya* and *hani* are always appositives while there are *ki* clauses which are used as restrictive relatives.¹⁴

¹⁴ The discussion of *hani* and *var ya* in this paper is short and far from being conclusive about the syntactic and semantic properties of these forms. The discussion is limited to their potential as being appositive clause introducers / subordinators.

4.3 Against Coordination Analysis

This section provides a discussion on why Turkish appositive *ki* clauses cannot be analyzed as coordination structures in the sense of de Vries (2006), Griffiths & Güneş (2014). I will discuss three phenomena in relation to this argument: (i) displacement, (ii) stacking, and (iii) reverse ordering.

First, if the appositive clause and its antecedent formed a coordination structure, they would have to move together in accordance with the Coordinate Structure Constraint of Ross (1967). However, Turkish allows the separation of the appositive *ki* clause from its antecedent. (cf. Citko, 2016) Example (6c) is repeated here as (15).

- (15) Bugün Ankara-dan Ali_i geldi, [ki onu_i çok sev-er-im]
 today Ankara-ABL Ali come-PAST *ki* him very love-AOR-1SG
 *‘Today Ali_i came from Ankara, who I love him_i very much.’

In (15) the antecedent *Ali* occurs in the preverbal position and receives the main stress of the sentence. In this way, *Ali* is separated from the appositive clause which modifies it. The backgrounding of the appositive clause does not result in ungrammaticality as opposed to what is observed in restrictive pre-relatives.

The second criticism about the coordination analysis comes from the stacking possibilities. The coordination analysis predicts that the conjuncts can be stacked. However, appositive *ki* clauses cannot be stacked in Turkish, as shown by (16a), while sub-clausal appositives can be as (16b) shows.

- (16) a. *Ali_i, [ki onu_i çok sev-er-im], [ki onu_i çok özle-di-m],
 Ali *ki* him very love-AOR-1SG *ki* him very miss-PAST-1SG
 bugün gel-me-di.
 today come-NEG-PAST
 *‘Ali_i, who I love him_i very much, who I missed him_i very much, did not come today.’
- b. Ali, [sevgili kardeşim], [canım arkadaşım], bugün gel-me-di.
 Ali my.dear.brother, my.dear.friend today come-NEG-PAST
 ‘Ali, my dear brother, my dear friend, did not come today.’

There are actually contexts where the appositive *ki* clauses seem to be stacked. However, these cases do not show any evidence for the stacking of the equal conjuncts. Instead, the structure in (17) below indicates that the second appositive *ki* clause has a relationship with the former one, not with its antecedent.

- (17) Ali_i, [*ki* onu_i sev-er-im], [*ki* bun-u herkes bil-ir],
 Ali *ki* him love-AOR-1SG *ki* this-ACC everyone know-AOR
 bugün gel-me-di.
 today come-NEG-PAST
 *‘Ali_i, who I love him_i very much, which everyone knows this, did not
 come today.’

The stacking of the appositive *ki* clauses above are interpreted as “chains” where each appositive clause modifies an item in the previous discourse. Accordingly, the first appositive *ki* clause modifies *Ali*, but the second one modifies the first appositive clause, not the original antecedent *Ali*. The fact that they have to be interpreted as chains is an argument against coordination.

Another problematic aspect of the coordination analysis is the impossibility of the reverse ordering of the conjuncts in appositive *ki* clauses (Kesici, 2013). Since conjuncts in a coordination structure are equal, their order can be reversed. However, this option is not attested in appositive *ki* clauses.

- (18) a. [Ali] ve [Ayşe]
 Ali and Ayşe
 b. [Ayşe] ve [Ali]
 Ayşe and Ali
 c. Ali_i, [*ki* onu_i çok sev-er-im]
 Ali *ki* him very love-AOR-1SG
 d. *[*Ki* onu_i çok sev-er-im] Ali_i
ki him very love-AOR-1SG Ali

The impossibility of the reverse ordering in appositive *ki* clauses disfavors the coordination analysis where conjuncts should have an equal status.

5 Conclusion

This paper provided a discussion on the status of the appositive *ki* clauses in Turkish syntax and made a number of points. Appositive *ki* clauses exhibit root clause properties with respect to the comma intonation, pronominal binding, scope reconstruction, bound variable anaphora, adjacency to the antecedents and availability of the internal head. These properties of the appositives made us classify them as non-integrated in the sense of Cinque (2008). Together with its special intonation, the item *ki*, borrowed from Persian, in these constructions is analyzed as a clause typer which introduces the appositive clause. These appositive clauses can be analyzed as adjunction structures which adjoint to the root clause a la Citko (2016).

Though there are many different types of appositive clauses in the language, this paper addressed only those introduced by *ki*. Other types of appositive structures, and their syntactic and semantic properties might reveal new facts regarding to the exact nature of these forms.

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