SEQUENCE

IN THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

OF SPOKEN TURKISH

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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.
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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.

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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.

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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
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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, -I is -i, -i, -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.

OF SPOKEN TURKISH
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 structure, 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". 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

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

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-group 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 recognised, 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 "kuralli"\(^2\) ("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.

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.


3. Lewis (1967), p.239.

"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 (tümleq) come before the verb."^3

"Conforming to the principle that the main (asil) 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

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.\(^1\)

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 theQualifier+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, theQualifier+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 Ediskun\(^1\) 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

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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 (1965) 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 (sehs\(\ddot{\text{s}}\) fantazi) of certain writers"\(^1\) or as "a sign of the slip-shod nature (ihmalk\(\ddot{\text{\textxhr{}l}}\)k 'neglectfulness') of everyday speech"\(^1\) or as "ignorance of the language" by Turks\(^5\) or as "an indication of confusion"\(^5\); it is to be explained as being "a sign of foreign influence"\(^6\) or even as "as indication that the speaker is in fact a foreigner"\(^1,\)^4 Or it is to be

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3. Gencen (1966), p.76.  4. Gencen (1964), p.74 but not Gencen (1966). It is possible that the writers are including the native minority groups under this head, i.e. the Armenians, Greeks and the (Judaeo-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 lengths it is in Turkish is alien.
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 altogether\footnote{As in Ergin (1962).} "in the hope that it will go away", as Lewis so amusingly puts it\footnote{Lewis (1967), p.242.}. Or it is "a Communist plot":

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 absent\footnote{This is asserted in an article in Türk Düşüncesi (No.3, vol.10) quoted in Ediskun (1959).}; 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 other\footnote{Ediskun (1959; 1965).}, 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...
and the spoken language of all on the other is great. As Mundy points out: "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 this: "this rigid system of preceding qualifiers and added relation-particles 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

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. 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 plays 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.

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

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.
4. Even Swift, although he does speak of the "phonological utterance" in practice uses the sentence.
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 prose, 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 "regular" 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 point\(^1\), 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

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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 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" and there is no doubt that a sequence of "imprecise = more precise" or "statement + modification", as Laver suggests 2, 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 again 3: "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."

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 composition. 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, 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 syntax 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 Lyons) will produce sentences in spontaneous speech which are considered "regular", whereas one which does not permit that sequence (as in so-called "regular"

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

\[^2\] 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. 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, 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" and therefore "much of what we say is constrained, in important ways, by the particular circumstances in which we are speaking or writing."

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

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.
   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

\(^1\) 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:\(^1\)

\[
\begin{align*}
Q & \quad \text{Sentence level and above} \\
\text{or} & \quad \text{Clause level} \\
\text{or} & \quad \text{Word-group level}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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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 relationships 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 competence, although in all the attitude of "respect" is present. At one extreme is a professor of literature who was also a writer and a practised and accomplished raconteur. 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 regrettable 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 structures\textsuperscript{1} 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.

\textsuperscript{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 ONE

COMBINATION 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. 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. Three nominal Word-groups have been found sufficient for this. 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 word as exponent of each of its constituent parts.

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-S 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 Noun 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 suffix, namely -(s)İ(n), or
(ii) it does not.

These two types of Noun Head are symbolised "N-(s)İ(n)" and "N-(Ş)İ(Ş)" 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)İ(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, $N^-\{N\}$, 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 $N^-\cdot$ (specifically Adjective ("Adj")$^1$);
(ii) the Non-head is $N^-$ but $N^-\{N\}$ (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, $N^-\{N\}$, 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 "$\text{Adj}_N^-\{N\}$" and is referred to hereafter as "pattern A Word-group":

(A) \text{The } \text{Adj}_N^-\{N\} \text{ (pattern A) Word-group:}

(i)

\begin{align*}
\text{bir kilo} \\
\text{one kilo}
\end{align*}

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) \text{iki kilo biber} 'two kilos of pepper(s)'; in this the $N^-\{N\}$ (kilo) belongs to the class "quantity" which is always qualified. This phrase is thus structurally $\text{Adj}_N^-\{N\}$.\text{Adj}_N^-\{N\} + N^-\{N\}$.

(ii) \text{kağıt peşete} 'paper napkin'; in this the $N^-\{N\}$ belongs to the class "material" and need not be qualified. The group is thus $N^-\{N\}$.\text{Adj}_N^-\{N\}$. Cf. Lewis, p.42, Swift, p.188.

In both, the members are juxtaposed in a fixed sequence.
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 -Ik of kari-gılık (cf. Lewis p.221, Swift pp.82-3) and the -ıl of yeşil (which are respectively deverbal and denominal adjective-building suffixes) and the -ı of nezarı (see next page) which is like the latter but Arabic (cf. Lewis p.53, 65). Into the second class fall the -ılı of limonçu (see next page) (cf. Lewis p.60, Swift pp.56-59) and the -ki of g índice (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:
These examples reveal that only one sequence of members occurs, \( \text{Aj + } N^-(\&)_{(\&)} \), which in traditional terms is "Qualifier followed by Head". Pattern A may thus be more precisely symbolised: \( \text{Aj + } N^-(\&)_{(\&)} \).

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

1. (continued from the previous page:)

1. The 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 \( \text{halde} \) (-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" 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-lEr-(n)Er".

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

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

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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 -(y)I (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 $N^-(n)IN \rightarrow N^-(s)I(n)$ (pattern B) Word-group:\(^1\)

(11) zeytinyağı\(^2\) olive-oil

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

It will be observed that the sequence is $N^-(n)IN + N^-(s)I(n)$ (Qualifier followed by Head) and the symbolisation will be adjusted accordingly.

(C) The $N^-(n)IN \rightarrow N^-(s)I(n)$ (pattern C) Word-group:\(^3\)

(13) türkçeIN kiberliği the nobility of Turkish

(14) gözümÜN önünde in front of my eye(s)

(15) bunlarIN hepSI\(^4\) all of these/them

---

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


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

5. (From p.41) Originally ben-in; that is, the suffix is an allomorph of $-nIN$, not the 1st person possessive DS $-(I)m$ (see Swift p.41).
It is apparent that this type of Word-group differs from
the previous ones in having two possible sequences,
\( N^{-}(n)I(n) \) (which is Non-head (Qualifier) followed
by Head) or \( N^{-}(s)I(n) + N^{-}(n)In \) (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 \( N^{-}(n)I(n) \)
\( + N^{-}(s)I(n) \).

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
\textit{fixity of sequence}. The third (pattern C) occurs in either
sequence, that is to say, the relative position of its con­
stituent parts is optional; this Word-group therefore does
not exhibit fixity of sequence. Comparing the forms of the

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 "per­
son". When the latter is not the 3rd person, the approp­
riate member of the set of possessive DS's replaces it,
\textit{viz.} \(-(I)m\) and \(-(I)m\) (1st persons, sing. and pl. respect­
ively), \(-(I)n\) and \(-(I)m\) (2nd person, sing. and pl.).
This distinction is not pertinent to the present argu­
ment, 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.

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1. "Dependent" and "non-dependent" are other possible terms.
subordinated to another is here said to be "Included", 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 \( \text{Aj} + \text{N} \rightarrow (\mathcal{A}) \text{I}(\mathcal{A}) \) (pattern A) Word-group expanded by compounding:

The first two examples illustrate the realisation of the \( \text{N} \rightarrow (\mathcal{A}) \text{I}(\mathcal{A}) \) (Head) member by a pattern A Word-group; the Aj member of each is simple (i.e., unexpanded):

(18)
\[ \text{b"uy"uk, bir, lokanta} \]
\[ \text{a large restaurant} \]

(19)
\[ \text{bir, b"uy"uk, lokanta} \]
\[ \text{a large restaurant} \]

that is, their structure is: \( \text{Aj, Aj, N} \rightarrow (\mathcal{A}) \text{I}(\mathcal{A}) \)

In the next three examples, it is the \( \text{N} \rightarrow (\mathcal{A}) \text{I}(\mathcal{A}) \) member which is simple and the Aj member which is expanded. Some of the ways in which an Aj can be qualified are illustrated incidentally: in no. 20, the Aj is qualified by a word from a very small class "q":

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 \( \text{N} \rightarrow \mathcal{B} \), includes \( \mathcal{Cok} \) 'much', 'many' 'very', \( \mathcal{Pek} \) 'very', \( \mathcal{Gayet} \) 'extremely' (cf. Swift p.189).
(20)

_çok güzel seyler_ very nice things

the structure of which is

\[ a_{\text{A}j} N^{-}(s)I(n) \]

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

(21)

_gözü açık millet_ a wide-awake people ("its-eye-open people")

which is

\[ N^{-}\text{DS} A_{\text{A}j} N^{-}(s)I(n) \]

In no.22, Aj is qualified by \( N^{-}\text{DEN} \), which makes "the comparison of adjectives"; 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

\[ N^{-}\text{IS} A_{\text{A}j} A_{\text{A}j} N^{-}(s)I(n) \]

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 Aj:

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.
No. 25 has a simple exponent for its $N^{-(*)}I(\#)$ 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 asirdaki:

(25)

$$Aj \cdot N^{-(*)}I(\#) \cdot N-(s)I(n)+-(*)I(\#)$$

In contrast, the whole derived Aj is qualified as an Aj in the next illustration, not just its root. The $N^{-(*)}I(\#)$ 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 that it is not the Word-group onsekizinci asir that is a constituent of the larger pattern but onsekizinci asirdaki.
(26) gayet kuvvetli bir cihaz an extremely powerful apparatus which is $\bar{A}_j, \bar{A}_j, N-(\ddagger)I(\ddagger)$

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

(27) zeytinyağlı 1 yemekler dishes made with olive-oil ("olive-oil-y dishes") that is: $N-(\ddagger)I(\ddagger), N-(s)I(n)+-DS, N-(\ddagger)I(\ddagger)$

In the final example, the $N-(\ddagger)I(\ddagger)$ member is realised by a pattern A Word-group (etrafındaki şey), whose $A_j$ is realised by a pattern C Word-group (hazretleriNIN etrafIN-), whose Non-head member is realised by a pattern B Word-group (şeyh hazretleri). Its $A_j$ member is simple (o):

(28) that şeyh hazretlerinin thing on the perimeter 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 on line of text; the lines are rarely opposite each other, however.

- continued on next page -
the structure of which may be represented thus:

\[ A_j \quad N-(\#)I'(A) \quad N-(s)I(n)+-(n)I_n \quad N-(s)I(n)+-DS \quad N-(\#)I'(A) \]

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 \[ N-(\#)I'(A) + N-(s)I(n) \] (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 \[ N-(\#)I'(A) \] member of a pattern A Word-group in nos. 23 and 24 above and of the \[ N-(n)I_n \] 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.
the N (root) of the N-(s)I(n) (the Head) member is from the class "noun of place", the Non-head member may be realised by a pattern A group, as in no. 29 below; where the whole is a proper name, it may also be realised by a pattern A Word-group, as in no. 30 below; and where the Non-head member is a citation, the Non-head may be realised by any "part of speech" whatsoever, as in nos. 31 and 32, where it is a finite verb, without and with adverb qualifier respectively.

(29)

\[
\text{N-(s)I(n)} + (\text{N-(s)I(n)})^\text{IS}
\]

(30)

\[
\text{N-(s)I(n)} + (\text{N-(s)I(n)})^\text{IS}
\]

(31)

\[
\text{N-(s)I(n)} + (\text{N-(s)I(n)})^\text{IS}
\]

1. The DS is here omitted in accordance with the system of symbolisation (see p. 39 above), although this example in fact illustrates the one case in which a DS may be present in the Non-head of this Word-group (viz. -lEr, marker of the plural).

2. The verb is analysed later (p. 60 ff.). Notice that Turkish does not require the inverted commas needed in English.
(32) 
\[ \text{daha gelmedi cevabI} \] 
the reply "He has not come yet"

\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{\(AV\)} \rightarrow \text{\(V\)} \\ \text{\(N-(n)I\)} \rightarrow \text{\(N-(s)I(n)\)} \end{array} \]

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 \(N-(n)I(n) \neq N-(s)I(n)\) (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) 
\[ \text{biberIN kendi kapağı} \] 
the pepper's own lid

\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{\(N-(n)I\)} \rightarrow \text{\(A\)} \rightarrow \text{\(N-(s)I(n)\)} \end{array} \]

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

(34) 
\[ \text{bir dalgaNIN üzerINDe} \] 
on top of a wave

\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{\(A\)} \rightarrow \text{\(N-(s)I(n)\)} \rightarrow \text{\(A\)} \rightarrow \text{\(N-(s)I(n)\)} \rightarrow \text{\(IS\)} \end{array} \]
No. 35 shows both members realised by a pattern A Word-group:

(35)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bir aile NIN iki cocu} & \text{GU} \\
\text{a family's two children} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In all three of these the sequence is \text{Non-head+Head} ; in the following example, however, this is reversed. There the \text{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 \text{Aj} is derived from a pattern C Word-group by means of the subordinating suffix -11:

(36)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sogan} & \\
\text{the onion} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bu zeytin} & \text{ag} \text{I} \text{I yemeklerIN} \\
\text{of these olive-oil((y)))\text{I} dishes} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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)

\[ \text{onlarIN yaşayış terzlerI} \]

their mode of living

\[ N-(n)I \quad N-(s)I \quad N-(s)I(n) \]

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)

\[ \text{ÇocuklarINIZ} \quad \text{Have you} \]

\[ \text{var mıyıdI, sizIN?} \quad \text{any children ("Were your children existent")?} \]

\[ N-(s)I(n) \quad \text{predicate} \quad N-(n)I \]

(39)

\[ \text{Ne tarafINda} \quad \text{In which part} \]

\[ \text{oturuyorsunuz} \quad \text{of London} \]

\[ \text{LondraNIN?} \quad \text{do you live?} \]

---

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 Turkish 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 relationship;

(iii) juxtaposition may be reinforced 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 word-group expanded by multiplicity:

Nos. 38 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) TWO hour(s)

(40)
ZARARLI FAYDALI tesirler ¹ HARMFUL (and) USEFUL influences

These three all have the structure $A_j A_j N^{-(\delta)}X(\mu)$

(41)
ZARARLI ve FAYDALI tesirler HARMFUL and USEFUL influences

$A_j C_j A_j N^{-(\delta)}X(\mu)$

(42)
Hem NAZARLI, hem AMELİ ders¹ both THEORETICAL and PRACTICAL lessons

$C_j A_j C_j A_j N^{-(\delta)}X(\mu)$

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)  
\[ \text{yeşil OT, YAPRAK, AÇAC} \quad \text{green GRASS, LEAVES (leaf") (and)} \]
\[ \text{TREE(S)} \]
\[ A_j N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) \]

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

(44)  
\[ \text{çok KÜCÜK, İNCE} \quad \text{very small, thin} \]
\[ \text{dolma sogan} \quad \text{dolma-onion(s)} \]
\[ q, A_j, A_j N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) N-(\varepsilon)I(n) \]

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

(B) The \[ N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) + N-(\varepsilon)I(n) \] (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)  
\[ \text{FINCANLAR, KAPLAR içinde} \quad \text{in CUPS (and) POTS} \]
\[ N-(\varepsilon)X(\varepsilon) N-(\varepsilon)I(\varepsilon) N-(\varepsilon)I(n)+IS \]

1. dolma: stuffed (vegetables)
The next has the same structure, with the addition of Cj between the last two items:

(49)

It can be seen once more that when the members are multiple their position relative to one another is unaffected.
(C) The $N^-(n)In + N^-(s)I(n)$ (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
büyülkügüNE küçükükügüNE to the largeness (or) smallness 
göre of the wheat

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

(51) 
eski türkçeNIN the nobility, delicacy,
kibarlıgı, inceliği, refinement (and) subtlety 
nezaketİ, seçkinliği of the old Turkish

$A_{ij} N^-(s)I(m) + -(n)In N^-(s)I(n) N^-(s)I(n) N^-(s)I(n)$

(52) 
meyvelerIN, sebzelerIN, the influences upon people 
seslerIN of fruits, vegetables 
insan üzerindeki tesirlerİ (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:
\[ N-(n)I \rightarrow N-(n)I N-(\pi)x N-(s)I(n)+-DS \rightarrow N-(\pi)x(s)+-(s)I(n) \]

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, orientated 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/F"):

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/F 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
   -DI2, -r, -mEz, -mIṣ, -(y)EčEk, -(I)yor, -mElI, -∅3;

(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 alternants5; see p.7.


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 ml, is placed between (iii) and (iv) and initially in the second word. In the imperative, optative-subjunctive, conditional and the -DI tense, ml is a separate word following (iv), which is there not the v.s.¹

This structure is illustrated in the following examples:

\[\text{yap} + \text{ar} + \text{lm}\]
\(\text{(i) (iii) (iv)}\)

\[\text{yap} + \text{ar} \quad \text{ml} + \text{yim}\text{?}\]
\(\text{(i) (iii) (iv)}\)

\[\text{yap} + \text{tir} + \text{ir} + \text{lm}\]
\(\text{(i) (ii) (iii) (iv)}\)

\[\text{yap} + \text{tir} + \text{il} + \text{ir} + \emptyset^2\]
\(\text{(i) (ii) (ii) (iii)(iv)}\)

\[\text{yap} + \text{tir} + \text{mi} + \text{yor} + \text{um}\]
\(\text{(i) (ii) (ii) (iii) (iv)}\)

\[\text{yap} + \text{t1} + \text{m} \quad \text{mi}?\]
\(\text{(i) (iii)(iv)}\)

---

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

² The 3rd person is unmarked, except in the imperative.
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, -mI§, -Dl{k, -(y)EcEk, -Dl{gI, -(y)EcEgI, etc. (markers of the "verbal adjective" or "participle")²;

(b) \(-mEk, -mE, -(y)I§, -(y)En, -Dl{gI, -(y)EcEgI, -mI§, etc. (markers of the "verbal noun")³;

(c) -(y)ErEk, -(y)InCE, -(y)ElI, -(y)Ip and many others (markers of the "verbal adverb"); or the phrases which substitute for these, such as -(y)EnE kadar, -Dl{gI için, -(y)EcEgInE, -Dl{kEn sonra⁵;

(d) -(y)Ip (marker of the "verbal conjunction").

(iv), however, is absent⁶. Interrogation is indicated by mi which follows immediately, written as a separate word.

1. These are compound suffixes consisting respectively of \(-di\) \(-Dl{k and -(y)EcEk + the possessive DS (here given as -(s)I(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.


4. Not to be confused with its homonym belonging to the nominal series of IS (marker of the "dative").


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)

\( a k + a r \) which flows

(i) (iii)

\( yıka + n + ır \) which may be washed

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

\( anla + ₃ + ı1 + maz \) which cannot be understood or agreed

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

\( ysp + tır + an \) which has/had \(^1\) (something) made

(i) (i) (iii)

\( geç + mış \) passed, past

(i) (iii)

\( sócyle + n + me + dik \) which is/was not said \(^1\)

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

\( gel + ecek \) which will come, future

(i) (iii)

\( koy + duğu \) which he/she/it put \(^1\)

(i) (iii)

\( ysp + ı5 + tır + eceği \) which he/she/it will stick (tr)

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

---

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

\[ \text{yap} + \text{il} + \text{mak} \]

being made, to be made

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{yap} + \text{il} + \text{mə} \]

being made, to be made

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{yaşa} + \text{yış} \]

living, (manner of) living

\[(i) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{yap} + \text{mə} + \text{yen} \]

he/she/it who does/did not make

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{yap} + \text{tir} + \text{il} + \text{diği} \]

that which is/was caused to be made

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{yap} + \text{tir} + \text{il} + \text{açağı} \]

that which will be caused to be made

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{geç} + \text{miş} \]

that which is passed, the past

\[(i) \ (iii) \]

(c)

\[ \text{kos} + \text{uş} + \text{arək} \]

by running about together

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{gel} + \text{me} + \text{yince} \]

upon not coming

\[(i) \ (ii) \ (iii) \]

\[ \text{gel} + \text{eli} \]

since coming

\[(i) \ (iii) \]
di + ye saying, by saying
(i) (iii)

dur + ma + yip upon, by not stopping
(i) (ii) (iii)

evle + n + ene kadar until getting married
(i) (ii) (iii)

anla + ma + digim icin because I do/did not understand
(i) (ii) (iii)

gid + ecegbine instead of going
(i) (iii)

yap ' i + tir + il + diktan sonra after having/having had
(ii) (ii) (ii) (iii) (something) made

(d)

A Verbal Predicate ("VP") is realised by a Finite Verb, a Verbal Non-predicate ("VP") by a Non-finite one. The converse is not true, it should be noted: as will become apparent in Chapter 2, a Finite Verb does not always function as P, nor a Non-finite one as \( Pf \).

Here are some examples of Clauses containing (i) VP (ii) VP: 

(d) gel + ip come and ...
(i) (iii)
(i) VP:

(53)
\[\text{Ben}^{1}\text{bekledim.} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
I waited.

(54)
\[\text{Anlaşılmıyor.} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
It is understood.

(55)
\[\text{Biz}^{1}\text{snlemiyor muyuz?} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
Don't we understand?

(56)
\[\text{Kim}^{1}\text{bılır?} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
Who knows?

(57)
\[\text{Bahar}^{1}\text{sever misin?} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
Do you like spice?

(58)
\[\text{Kahverengi}^{1}\text{oldu.} \]
\[\text{VP} \]
It became brown.

(ii) VP:

(59)
\[\text{siz}^{1}\text{geleli} \]
\[\text{VP}^{2} \]
since you came ("coming")

1. Clause-units not yet discussed are left unlabelled.
(60)

\[ \text{soguduktan sonra} \quad \text{after cooling} \]

(61)

\[ \text{Fistik de kahverengi olunca} \quad \text{Upon the pine-kernels also} \]

\[ \text{becoming brown} \]

(62)

\[ \text{\'Uzerine yazmak icin mi?} \quad \text{To write on?} \]

(ii) The Form of the Nominal variant:

A Nominal Predicate ("NP") or Non-predicate ("N^p") 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/-{(y)}I, the marker of the "direct object";
2. a N^p word, such as an Aj.

It can be a single word, or a Word-group, simple or expanded. In the interrogative form the particle ml follows the Nominal but, in writing, separated from it; it is to the ml 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, Permission (is) with yourself.

(64) Kimin yazısı bu?, Whose writing (is) this?

(65) Süleymeniyedir, (It) is at the Suleymaniye.

(66) Ben sizin fikrinizdeyim, I am of ("in") your opinion.

(67) Şeker, yok, (It) has no sugar (in it) ("Its sugar is non-existent!")

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

(69) Fransız, değil, You are not French.

(70) Ders, deňe mühim, Lessons ("Lesson") (are) more important.
NP is more limited than VP 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 adverb). When other ISs are required the verb ol- 'become' is employed as suppletive; such forms are verbal, however, not nominal.

(71)
\[ \text{domates biberse,} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]

if it is tomatoes or pepper(s)

(72)
\[ \text{benLondradayken,} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]

when/while I am/was in London

A Clause whose P/\( \mathcal{P} \) unit is realised by \( \mathcal{P} \), whether VP or NP, is hereafter termed a Finite Clause ("F.CI"), one in which it is realised by \( \mathcal{P} \), whether VP or NP, a Non-finite Clause ("F.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. \( N^{-E} \) or
2. \( N^{-IS} \) (i.e. a formal Noun).

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

The first of the groups above, \textit{N-}\textit{β}-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 \textit{"N\text{Av}"}): 1,2

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

(73)
\begin{verbatim}
Sımdı, öğrendim,\textsuperscript{N\text{Av}} \textsuperscript{VP} \\
I have just learnt (it).
\end{verbatim}

(74)
\begin{verbatim}
Dönecekler mi, tekrar?\textsuperscript{VP} \textsuperscript{N\text{Av}} \\
Will they return again?
\end{verbatim}

(75)
\begin{verbatim}
Pirince göre, değişiyor.\textsuperscript{N\text{Av}} \textsuperscript{VP} \\
It varies according to the rice.
\end{verbatim}

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.
When the water is thoroughly boiling,

who talks a lot,

It will be seen that the position of this Unit relative to that of the $P/F$ 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"):

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

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

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

It became brown.

When the onion becomes/is brown,

those who are themselves sweet,

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/F 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, -DEN, -(y)E, and -(y)LE; the suffix of the first three is stressable, that of the last enclitic. All, like the NAv Unit, qualify the Root of the Verb forming the VP or Vf of the Clause; all may also function as the N component of NP/Nf.

(a) The N-DE Clause-unit:

(86)
Londrada mi oturuyorsunuz?, Do you live in London?
N-DE VP

(87)
Hiq bir fark yoktur, There is no difference at all
NP

iginin 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"-in. 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 at Clause level in literary Turkish.
(b) The N-DEn Clause-unit:

(89)
\[\text{Kitaptan Öğrenilmiyor.} \quad \text{N-DEn VP} \]
It isn't to be learnt from books.

(90)
\[\text{tencereden çıkarmamak,} \quad \text{N-DEn VP} \]
not to take (it) out of the pan,

(91)
\[\text{İyi bilmiyorum onu, skilden.} \quad \text{N-DEn VP N-DEn} \]
I don't know that well from memory.

(c) The N-(y)E Clause-unit:

(92)
\[\text{Vereyim, sana.} \quad \text{N-(y)E VP} \]
Let me give (it) to you.

(93)
\[\text{İstanbula gelemi.} \quad \text{N-(y)E VP} \]
since coming to Istanbul,

(d)

(94)
\[\text{Hep, böyle yapıyorum.} \quad \text{NAv N-(y)1E VP} \]
I always do it thus (böyle < bu ile).

(95)
\[\text{Ben, fistik ve üzümle, yapıyorum.} \quad \text{N-(y)1E VP} \]
I make (it) with pine

with pine-kernels and currants.
These Suffix-marked Adverbial Clause-units can be seen to occur either before or after the $P/F$ unit; they are therefore not positionally fixed.

**The Specific Direct Object Clause-unit alternant:**

A Head marked by the IS -(y)İ 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/NP.

(96)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Biberleri, oydum.} \\
N-(y)İ \\
VP
\end{array}
\]

I scooped out the peppers.

(97)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Kim, yaptı, bunları?} \\
VP \\
N-(y)İ
\end{array}
\]

Who did these (things)?

(98)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Onu} \\
N-(y)İ \\
\text{ertesi güne kadar} \\
AV \\
\text{tencereden çıkarmamak} \\
DEN \\
VP
\end{array}
\]

Not to take it out of the pan until the next day,

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

There are two Clause-units with implicit IS. The first of these is an alternant of the last discussed, i.e. the Non-specific 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 \(N-(y)\mathcal{I}/-(\not y)\mathcal{I}\), the Non-specific member being \(N-(\not y)\mathcal{I}\).

The Non-specific Direct Object Clause-unit alternant:

(99)  
\[ \text{Bahar seyver misin?} \quad \text{VP} \]
\[ N-(\not y)\mathcal{I} \quad \text{Do you like spice?} \]

(100)  
\[ \text{Gayet güzel vakit} \quad \text{VP} \]
\[ N-(\not y)\mathcal{I} \quad \text{a very nice time.} \]
\[ \text{geçiriyoruz,} \quad \text{VP} \]

(101)  
\[ \text{Kardeşim iş yapılı zaman} \quad \text{VP} \]
\[ N-(\not y)\mathcal{I} \quad \text{When my sister does/did work,} \]
\[ \text{yaptılı zaman,} \quad \text{VP} \]

(102)  
\[ \text{Öyle bir şey bekliyerek} \quad \text{VP} \]
\[ N-(\not y)\mathcal{I} \quad \text{Expecting such a thing,} \]
\[ \text{bekliyerek,} \quad \text{VP} \]

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 \( N^- (\neq) I \), which is in contrast with only one other form (namely \( N^- (\neq) I \)), this unit is in contrast with all the other non-predicative nominal units:

1. with the \( N^- IS \)-headed units (\( N^- DE, N^- DE m \), \( N^- (\neq) E, N^- (\neq) I(E) \) and \( N^- (\neq) I(\neq) I \)); and
2. with the \( N^- \neq \)-headed units (\( N^ Av, N^ C \)).

To indicate that absence of explicit suffix is meaningful this unit is symbolised "\( N^- \neq \)".

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 \( V P \) and \( N P \) having its IS drawn from group (c) (p. 62 above).

(103)

\[ \text{Ben bekledim.} \]  
\[ N^- \neq \text{VP} \]  

I waited.

(104)

\[ \text{Kim bilir?} \]  
\[ N^- \neq \text{VP} \]  

Who knows?

(105)

\[ \text{Hiq ses duyulmuyor.} \]  
\[ N^- \neq \text{VP} \]  

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 \( N^- \) as the "grammatical subject".
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/∅) which may be verbal or nominal, a grammatical Subject unit (N-∅), a Direct Object unit with specific and non-specific alternants (N-(y)I/(y)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)1E). 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 possibly 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)I

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)I) 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^∅) unit.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that all non-predicative nominal units are optional. This is tantamount to saying that those units are lower in status than the P/Φ unit and that the latter is therefore the Head of an endocentric group. For, since the P/Φ 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 inherently 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/Φ unit.

This superior status of the P/Φ unit is accepted by some Turkish grammarians:

"The verb is the essential (essali '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 about."

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 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' fill), 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

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/\(\overline{P}\) one which presents the greatest difficulty.

Following Deny\(^2\), and like Bilgegil\(^3\), Lewis\(^4\) sets out the sequential arrangement:

"... the typical order of the elements in a literary sentence is: (1) subject\(^5\), (2) expression of time, (3) expression of place\(^6\), (4) indirect object\(^7\), (5) direct object\(^8\), (6) modifier of the verb\(^9\), (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 definite\(^10\)."

---

1. See p.17 ff., above.  
4. Lewis, 239.  
5. Our \(N^-\emptyset\).  
6. Both are presumably our \(N^A\) and \(N^D\)E.  
7. Our \(N^-(y)E\).  
8. Presumably our \(N^-(y)I/-(\bar{y})\overline{I}\), 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 form. 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/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-(?) unit, the alternant of the Direct Object unit;
(b) the N̄ 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?', hangi 'which?', nasıll '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 en-
clitic interrogative particle m̃̃.
All three occupy the position immediately before the E/P unit, no matter whether the Clause is in the main "regular" or "in-
verted". 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 mark-
er of relationship.

Into the second of the groups fall N−Ø, NAV, N−DE, N−DEn, N−(y)E and N−(y)i, all of which are positionally free. It will be noted that they are of two types: non-suffix-marked ones (N−Ø, NAV) 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 nos. 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 interro-
gative 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 Clause, in fact any position is available to them; it is clear that in any given instance some factor other 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. "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." 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).
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 also\(^2\); 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 one, 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.\(^4\)

3. 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 anecdotes) which bears little relation to the contours of spontaneous speech; Tansu\(^5\) likewise does not deal with speech (he analyses a poem); Ediskun's examinstion (1963) is superficial and inaccurate.

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- continued on next page -
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", a 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/? unit. This is illustrated in the following examples, where the stress prominence is marked `; every syllable after this lies in the tail.

(110)
\[
\text{Ille bu aileyle} \quad \text{Please ("absolutely") introduce us to ("with") that family.}
\]
\[
\text{N}^AV \quad \text{N}-(y)1E
\]
\[
\text{bizi tanistir} . \quad \text{They collect money from the people.}
\]
\[
\text{N}-(y)I \quad \text{VP}
\]

(111)
\[
\text{Halktan para} \quad \text{They}
\]
\[
\text{N}^-DEn \quad \text{N}-(y)E
\]
\[
\text{topliyorlar} . \quad \text{collect}
\]
\[
\text{VP}
\]

(112)
\[
\text{Beni hep} \quad \text{They always send}
\]
\[
\text{N}-(y)I \quad \text{N}^AV
\]
\[
\text{cenup tarafina} \quad \text{me}
\]
\[
\text{N}-(y)E \quad \text{VP}
\]
\[
\text{gonderiyorlar} . \quad \text{to southern districts.}
\]
In this last example, it is still the pre-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 \( N-(\chi)I \), \( N-(s)I(n) \) 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)

\[
\text{Sordum,} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{bir kaç arkadaşına,} \quad \text{N-(y)E}
\]

I asked

a few friends of mine.

(114)

\[
\text{Güzel, aliyor,} \quad \text{N^Av} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{herhalde sesi,} \quad \text{N^Av} \quad \text{N-(y)I}
\]

It picks up

the sound

well.

I suppose.

(115)

\[
\text{Güzeldir, herhalde} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{N^Av}
\]

\[
\text{oraları,} \quad \text{N-∅}
\]

It must be nice

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 \( N-(\chi)I \) (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) \[ \text{Ondan ne beklenir?} \quad \text{VP} \]

What can one expect of that?

(117) \[ \text{Kim yapti bunlar?} \quad \text{VP} \]

Who did these (things)?

(118) \[ \text{Nasil gütüreceksin bunu?} \quad \text{VP} \]

How are you going to take this away?

It is possible that the relationship between position within the Clause and possession of the stress prominence may be a causal one, 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

\(^1\) 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 mi 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/NP.

(119)

\[
\text{Bunlar ' bir türlü,} \quad \text{N-Ø} \quad \text{NAv}
\]

\[
\text{tutamıyorlar.} \quad \text{N-(Ø)}^2 \quad \text{VP}
\]

They cannot take note(s) any how.

(120)

\[
\text{Zeytinyağı ' çekmiyor,} \quad \text{N-(Ø)}^2 \quad \text{VP}
\]

Rice doesn't soak up olive oil.

(121)

\[
\text{Dönecek mi ' tekrar?}, \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{NAv}
\]

Are they going to come back again?

(122)

\[
\text{Bereber/hep ' türkçe mi,} \quad \text{NAv} \quad \text{NAv} \quad \text{N-(Ø)}^2
\]

\[
\text{konuşuyorsunuz?,} \quad \text{VP}
\]

(Is it) always Turkish (that) you speak together?
The findings can be summarised thus: the stress prominence of a Turkish Clause is placed either just before the P/P unit (which is where the N-(y)E, N or an interrogative unit is placed) or in the P/P 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 unit  into the pre-P/P unit position. The following example has been made up to illustrate this  

(125)  
\[
\text{Bugün çocuk köpeğini,}\quad N_{-y}^A \quad \text{The child brought her dog}
\]
\[
\text{sinif\'a getirdi.}\quad N_{-y}^E \quad \text{to class today.}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{Bugün, cocuk, \textit{sinifa, köpeğini, getirdi.}}
\]
\[
\text{NA}^\text{Av} \quad \text{N-∅} \quad N-(y)E
\]
\[
\text{The child brought her dog}
\]
\[
\text{to class today.}
\]

(127)  
\[
\text{Bugün, köpeğini, \textit{sinifa, cocuk, getirdi.}}
\]
\[
\text{NA}^\text{Av} \quad N-(y)I \quad N-(y)E
\]
\[
\text{The child brought her dog}
\]
\[
\text{to class today, (or "it was the child who...".)}
\]

(128)  
\[
\text{Bugün, cocuk, köpeğini, \textit{sinifa, getirdi.}}
\]
\[
\text{NA}^\text{Av} \quad N-∅ \quad N-(y)I
\]
\[
\text{The child did bring her dog}
\]
\[
\text{to class today.}
\]

(129)  
\[
\text{Cocuk, köpeğini, \textit{sinifa, bugün, getirdi.}}
\]
\[
\text{N-∅} \quad N-(y)I \quad N-(y)E
\]
\[
\text{The child brought her dog}
\]
\[
\text{to class today, (or "it was today that...")}
\]

(130)  
\[
\text{Cocuk, köpeğini, \textit{sinifa, getirdi, bugün.}}
\]
\[
\text{N-∅} \quad N-(y)I \quad N-(y)E
\]
\[
\text{The child brought her dog}
\]
\[
\text{to class today.}
\]
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, \( N^{-y} x \) replaces \( N^{-y} I \)):

(132)
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{The child brought one/some} \\
&\text{from the class of object 'dog'} \\
&\text{to class today.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(131)
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{The child brought her dog} \\
&\text{to class today.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 sınıfına 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 \( N^{-(\emptyset)} \) unit alternant, \( N^C \) and of any interrogative nominal unit has been found to be the pre-\( P/P' \) 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-\( P/P' \) 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.
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 (1942), 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/VP') of the F/F' 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 constitut-
ing the whole of, or part of, the unit.

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

(i) a traditionnoun clause" (in our termin-
ology, F.C1 with suffix marker from group
(b) (p.60) + IS of the nominal series)
as in the following:

(133)

\[ \text{Yanmesini, kasdetmiyorum.} \quad \text{I don't mean its burning.} \]

\[ VN-(y')l yp \quad \text{VP} \]

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

- **yen** verb Root (intransitive);
- **-ma** IS of the verbal series (b), creating a
de-verbal noun;
- **-sin** DS of the nominal series (3rd person of the
possessive set)
101

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

Or it is

(ii) a traditional "adverb clause" (\(\varphi, Cl\) with suffix marker form group (c)) as in

\[(134)\]

\[\underbrace{Ghülüm\bar{S}i\bar{Y}EREK}_N \underbrace{\bar{g}it\bar{m}i\bar{s}}_I \underbrace{VP}_{\text{She herself}}\]

\[A \overset{\text{kendisi}}{N-\emptyset} \overset{\text{VP}}{\text{went (there) smiling.}}\]

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

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" (\(\varphi, Cl\) with suffix marker fromm group (a) as in the following:

\[(135)\]

\[\text{ayiklanMISgjfasulve}\overset{\text{beans that have been strung}}{\underbrace{\text{VP}}_{\text{N-(y)I}}}_{\text{N-Aj}}\]

(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" (\(\varphi, Cl\) with IS of group (b)), as in:

\[(136)\]

\[\text{onu, anlamak, meselesi}\overset{\text{The problem of understanding}}{\underbrace{\text{VP}}_{\text{N-(y)I}}}_{\text{N-Aj}}\overset{\text{it}}{\underbrace{\text{VP}}_{\text{N-(y)I}}}_{\text{N-\emptyset}}\overset{\text{N-(s)I(n)}}{\text{N-(s)I(n)}}\]

whose structure is:
It will be shown, however, that a F.CI may function as 
\( N^{-\left(\bar{\lambda}\right)\bar{A}^I} \), i.e. as Qualifier in 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
\[ Aj, N^{-\left(\bar{\lambda}\right)\bar{A}^I} \] (pattern A) Word-group ("VAj"):

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

\[(137)\]

\( \text{bugün, yediğimiz, fasulyeyi, The beans(s) we ate today} \)

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

\[ N^{Av}, V^F, N^{-\left(\bar{\lambda}\right)\bar{A}^I} \]

\[(138)\]

\( \text{bu, these} \)

\( \text{yedigim, liraya, roses that I bought} \)

\( \text{aldirirm, guller, for seven liras each} \)

\( \text{1. Throughout this exposition the suffix marker of relationship present in the F.CI is indicated by capital letters; there is of course no such marker where the Included Clause is Finite.} \)

\( \text{2. The final IS is no longer indicated by the class symbol S but specified.} \)
the structure of which is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aj} & \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset)+-(y)\mathcal{E} \\
& \quad \text{VP}^Z \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset) \\
& \quad \text{VAj} \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset) \\
\text{Aj} & \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset) \\
\end{align*}
\]

that is, it is a pattern A word-group with two exponents of Aj, the first simple, the second a V.Cl with two Units, of which N-\((y)\mathcal{E}\) is realised by a simple pattern A word-group.

(139)

\[\text{ kişi	extasciitilde} \text{ ni	extasciitilde} \text{ yi	extasciitilde} \text{ ye	extasciitilde} \text{ ce	extasciitilde} \text{ gi	extasciitilde}, \text{ pi	extasciitilde} \text{ rinci} \]

the rice he will eat in winter

whose structure is identical with that of no. 137.

(140)

\[\text{ ga	extasciitilde} \text{ li	extasciitilde} \text{ smi	extasciitilde} \text{ ya	extasciitilde} \text{ ca	extasciitilde} \text{ gi}, \text{ za\textasciitilde} \text{ m\textasciitilde} \text{ nk\textasciitilde} \]

his situation

\[\text{ vasiyeti	extasciitilde} \]

when ("at the time at which")

he will not work

The structure of this is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP} & \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset)+-DS \\
\text{VAj} & \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset) \\
\text{Aj} & \quad \text{N-}(\emptyset)\mathcal{I}(\emptyset) \\
\end{align*}
\]

a pattern A word-group whose Aj is derived from another pattern A "word-group having a single-unit V.Cl as its Aj.

(141)

\[\text{ yazi	extasciitilde} \text{ tutACAK}, \text{ sey} \]

a thing that will hold writing

a pattern A "word-group which has a two-unit V.Cl as exponent of its Aj member.
a person who talks a lot

similar to nos. 137 and 139.

the child of a family

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

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 F.Cl of two units - N-∅ which is multiple, and 

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

which is simply a pattern A word-group with a one-units F.Cl as Aj, that unit being multiple.

The Included Clause is the exponent of N-(m)İ in the pattern B word-group ("VN-(m)İ"):

Both (i) F.Cl and (ii) F.Cl occur here.
(i) The Included Clause \((VN-(n)XH)\) is Non-finite:

(145)

\[
\text{onlerin yaşayış tarzları} \quad \text{their mode of living}
\]

\[
N-(n)In \quad Vp \quad N-(s)I(n)
\]

(146)

\[
\text{satandan para} \quad \text{the question of taking}
\]

\[
\text{almak meselesini} \quad \text{money from the seller ("from the one who sells")}
\]

\[
VN-DEn \quad N-(f)XH \quad Vp \quad N-(s)I(n)
\]

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

(147)**

\[
\text{Anneme, öldü haberini} \quad \text{When}
\]

\[
\text{gelince} \quad \text{("the 'he-has-died' news") came}
\]

\[
N-(y)E \quad Vp \quad N-(s)I(n) \quad Vp
\]

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 başlıkbin,

"Hâlâ İstanbuldan,

bir ses seda yok,

hemşire hanim"

reply,

\[ N-\text{(s})I(n)+-(y)1E \]

\[ N^-(n)\text{In} \]

which is simply a pattern C Word-group (operated as \( N-(y)1E \) 
Clouse-unit) having a pattern B Word-group as its second mem-
ber; it is this which has a F.Cl as exponent of its Non-head 
member.

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

\[ \underbrace{N-(n)\text{In}}_{\text{pattern C) Word-group ("VN-(n)In")}} \]

Only F.Cls occur here.

(150)**

Dışeridende ALIKLARIMIZ in, three-fourths ("three in four")

dörtte üçü

of what we buy from abroad

\[ N^\text{DEN} Vx-(n)\text{In} \]

\[ N^\text{DEN} \]

\[ VD-(s)I(n) \]

\[ N-(s)I(n) \]
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. $N^-(y)$, $N^-$, $N^C$),
5-6 adverbial units ($N^{Ay}$ 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 $F.Cls$ having suffix marker from group (b) on p. 60; $-mEk$, however, does not occur in this use in the modern language.

(151)

YenMAsını kasdetmiyorum.  I don't mean its burning.
\[ VN-(y)I \quad VP \]

(152)

Sizin sesinizin

bulunDUĞUnu

istemiyor musunuz içinde?

Don't you want your voice to occur ("be found") in it? ("Don't you want the occurring of your voice in it?")

\[ N^-(n)In \quad N^-(s)I(n)+-(n)In \quad V^\uparrow_\uparrow \quad (\sim)I^-(y)I \quad VP \quad N^{DE} \]

1. This has an inherent -(s)I(n).
We buy (the things) that are ("come") necessary.

\[ NC \quad VP^{+(y)}I \quad VP \]

\[ VN^{-(y)}I \quad VP \]

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

\[ VP^{+(y)}I \quad VP \quad N^{-(y)}I \]

\[ VN^{-(y)}I \quad VP \]

(155)

\[ Burada da \]

Here, too.

\[ yemek seyine, kursuna \]

I wanted to go \[ gitmek istiyordum. \]

\[ to^{9} cookery what's-its-name \]

course.
That is:
\[ N^{-DE} C_j N-(\gamma)I N-(s)I(n) +-(y)E N-(s)I(n) +-(y)E V_{P+-(y)I} V_{P} \]
\[ N^{-DE} C_j \quad VN-(\gamma)I \quad VN-(\gamma)I \]

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 VN-(\gamma)I possible with iste-, as will be seen in the next section.

(ii) The Included Clause (VN-(\gamma)I) 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-*2 'call', 'name', iste- 'want', 'wish'.

Juxtaposition of VN-(\gamma)I 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 "iş içe birleşik cümle" (one inside the other compound sentence'). Lewis deals with some of them under "asynthetic subordination" (p.274).
(156)  
Sen tüccara meaning (or, 'for the reason that') "You do not look like a merchant", 
benzemiyorsun diye  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N^\emptyset & N^-(E)E & V_P & +(\#)X & V_P \\
& & VN^-(\#)X & V_P \\
\end{array}
\]

(157)  
kardeşim gelsin diye so that my sister might come  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N^\emptyset & V_P & +(\#)X & V_P \\
& VN^-(\#)X & V_P \\
\end{array}
\]

The same structure occurs in the next example:

(158)**  
Kelbi kirilsun istemem I don't want his heart to break ("I don't want 'Let his heart break'") 

(159)  
Şimdi kendi nerde dersiniz? Where would you say he is now- ("'Where is he now?' you would say")  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N^Av & N^\emptyset & NP & +(\#)X & V_P \\
& & VN^-(\#)X & V_P \\
\end{array}
\]

(160)  
Biliyor musun bilmem, I don't know whether you know ("'Do you know?' I don't know"). 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V_P & +(\#)X & V_P \\
& VN^-(\#)X & V_P \\
\end{array}
\]
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.

(162)

Bu, kaç senelik biliyor musunuz? Do you know how many years (old) this is? ("This is how many years (old)? do you know?")

(163)**

Ben boş durur muyum sanıyorsun? Do you think that I would stay idle? ("Shall I stay idle? you think")
Dedim "Sen yap corbeyi". I said "You make the soup".

\[ \text{VP} \quad N^\emptyset \quad \text{VP} \quad N^\emptyset \]

\[ \text{VP} \quad \text{VN}^\emptyset \]

In the last example \texttt{de-} precedes its Object, in the next it follows:

(165)

"Are you going to kill everyone who is against you?" ("every in-your-opposition-

\texttt{dedim}"")

I said.

\[ \text{Aj} \quad N^{\text{DE}} \quad \text{VP}^+-(y)I \quad N^\emptyset \quad \text{VP}^+-(y)I \quad \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{VN}^-(y)I \quad N^\emptyset \quad \text{VP}_I \]

\[ \text{VN}^-(y)I \quad \text{VN}^-(y)I \quad \text{VP}_I \]

3. The Included Clause is the exponent of the \( N^\emptyset \) unit ("VN^\emptyset")

Both (i) F.C1 and (ii) F.C1 occur here.

(i) The Included Clause (VN^\emptyset) is Non-finite:

(166)

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

\[ N^- \text{LE} \quad \text{VP}^+\emptyset \quad \text{NP} \]

\[ \text{VN}^\emptyset \quad \text{NP}_I \]
(167)

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

\[
\text{Aj N-}(\phi \text{x}(\phi))+\text{DE VP}^{+\phi} \text{ NP}
\]

\[
-\text{N-DE} \quad \text{NP}
\]

\[
-\text{VN}^{\phi} \quad \text{NP}
\]

(168)

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

\[
\text{N-}(\phi \text{x}) \quad \text{VP}^{+\phi} \quad \text{NC VP}
\]

\[
-\text{VN}^{\phi} \quad \text{NC} \quad \text{VP}
\]

(169)

Yapmadan kalmadı. There isn't anybody who didn't do (it)("He/they who does/do/ did not do (it) does not remain").

\[
\text{VP}^{+\phi} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
-\text{VN}^{\phi} \quad \text{VP}
\]

(ii) The Included Clause (VN^{\phi}) is Finite:

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

(170)

Epey gezdiniz demek. It means that you have traveled quite a lot ("You-have-traveled-quite-a-lot meaning/to mean is").
That is:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N^A_v \quad VP \quad \rightarrow \emptyset \quad NP \\
F.Cl \\
VN \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \Rightarrow \quad NP
\end{array}
\]

(171)

Düzeldi demek bu iş. It means that this business has sorted (itself out).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
VP \quad NP \quad \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \Rightarrow \quad (\varepsilon) \quad \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\leftarrow \quad VP \quad \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \Rightarrow \quad (\varepsilon)
\end{array}
\]

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) F.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)

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
VP \quad VP \quad N^I (y) \\
\leftarrow \quad VP \quad VN \rightarrow (y) \\
\end{array}
\]
(173)**

Ümrümde ilk defa

For the first time in my life

bir insani

I watched

uyurKEN seyrettim.

a person

sleeping.

(174)

Çinileri oldUGU GIBI

They took away

to tiles

(görümsülær,

(just) as they were.

(N-(y)ı) Vp+ $ Vp

VNc

(N-(y)ı) VP

(ii) The Included Clause (VNc) is Finite:

For a VNc 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 görünü- 'seem', gözük-

'appear', 'seem', sayıl- 'be deemed', 'be surprised', or

(b) from one of a restricted class of transitive

verbs which includes sen- 'think', 'believe'.

1. These classes are as yet only tentative.
As with VN^P realised by P.Cl, VN^C realised by P.Cl must precede immediately the P/P unit whose Complement it is.

(a)(175)**

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

(b)(176)**

Hep tavşanlarla uğraşır She appeared to be always occupying herself with


gözüküyordu she appeared.

She appeared to be always occupying herself with the rabbits ("She-is-always-occupying-herself-with-the-rabbits she appeared").

This could also be used in the following sequence:

Uğrasır gözükuyordu

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

(177)**

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

\[ N\(^{(y)}\) L \_N\(^{(y)}\) L VP \_ VP \]

(178)**

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

\[ N\(^{(y)}\) L \_ NP \_ VP \]

(179)**

Beni \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ buna razi olurum, mu, Did you think that I
would be agreeable to that?
("Did you think me 'I will be 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 razi olurum (I will be agreeable to that'); that is, interrogation is moved from the Verb Unit (so that it is sendiniz not sendiniz mi) 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 oahr muyum) shows that it is the whole phrase (buna rezi ularum) that is made interrogative; it can therefore only be nominal:

\[ N^-(y) \hat{I} N^-(y)E \quad N^C \quad VP \quad +mI \quad VP \]

\[ -N^-(y) \hat{I} \quad VN^C \quad \quad VP \]

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

\[ N^-(y) \hat{I} + VN^C + VP/VP \]

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

Only F.C1 occurs here.

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

\[ VN^\text{-DE} \]

(180)

\[ \text{VerMEK+TE devem \ edin,} \quad \text{Continue to give (it) ("in giving" (it")}. \]

\[ VN^\text{-DE} \quad VP \]

\[ VN^\text{-DEn} \]

(181)

\[ \text{YapTICIM+DAN pismen oldum.} \quad \text{I am sorry I did (it) ("from my doing (it")}. \]

\[ VN^\text{-DEn} \quad N^C \quad VP \]
They decided to go ("upon going") to a part of Anatolia.

Our folk are not accustomed to living (in) (s) communal life in block(s) of flats.

It does not stop at ("remain with") filling its belly.
6. The Included Clause is the exponent of the $N^{Av}$ unit ("VN^{Av}"): All but one of these Clauses are $F$.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)

\[
\text{Su_{iyice_{kaynayINCA}}}
\]

When the water is thoroughly boiling

\[
\text{stiYorsun_{pirinci}}.
\]

you put ("throw") the rice (into it)?

\[
\text{VN^{Av}} \quad \overline{\text{VP}} \quad N^{-(y)I}
\]

(186)

\[
\text{KaynayINCA_{syni_{sekilde_{su}}}}
\]

When the water is boiling in the same (=as before) you put the rice (into it).

\[
\text{stiYorsun_{pirinci}}.
\]

\[
\text{VN^{Av}} \quad \overline{\text{VP}} \quad N^{-(y)I}
\]

1. (From previous page) For the use of a pattern A word-group to express the possessor-possessed 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.
Are you letting the house when you come ("upon coming")?

While/When in England I used to use (it).

How much was it when I was there?

I experienced difficulty while learning (it).
(192) 
GelirKEN getirmedim.  
I didn't bring (it) when I came ("when/while coming")

(193) 
Açmamak lazım.  
One must not lift off ("open")

pişirirKEN  
the lid of the pan

tencerenin kapagını.  
while cooking (it).

(194) 
Burada lisan.  
You went

öğrenmekten SONRA  
after learning/having learnt

gittiniz,  
the language here.

(195) 
Haberim yoktu.  
I knew nothing about it ("my knowledge was non-existent")
evlenene KADAR,  
until marrying.
Sütü   You must boil

iyice kaba RNA KADAR  the milk

kaynatsacaksın.  until it rises well.

Because

I  gok, soğan, koyDÜÇÜM İÇİN  put (in) a lot of onions

geker koymuyorum.  I don't put sugar (in).

In order to make us speak

bir, mevzu atın ortays.  throw out a topic.

The Ministry took it

bastrıMAK İÇİN  to print (it)
Beni daima senen tarafına gönderiyorlar.

So that I may be comfortable in winter ("saying 'let me be comfortable in winter').

(ii) The Included Clause (VNAv) is Finite:

(201)

İşlerinden teksüt oldular mı?

Meselerini alıyorlar.

Conclusion:

The following principles of combination have emerged from this examination of the Clause expanded by compounding:
(i) Both F.Cl and F.Cl may be Included;
(ii) Units with overt suffix markers (N-_{(y)1} and the suffix-marked adverbial units) are made compound only with F.Cl;
(iii) All units without overt suffix marker (N^v, N-_{(y)2}, N-∅, N^c) are made compound either with 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 F/∅ 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 multiplicity

Examination of Clause expansion which uses two or more like units in apposition reveals (a) many sequences which are determined either grammatically or by usage 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. 201\(^4\)) or (b) the "manufactured doublet"\(^5\) (as in nos. 202 and 203\(^6\)):

(a)

\((201)\)

\(\underline{\text{Qolugumuza, cocugumuza}}\) which is/are necessary

\(\underline{\text{lazim, gelen}}\) for our wives and children

Here \(\underline{\text{qoluk cocuk}}\) is the doublet; the structure of the Clause is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} - (\text{y})E & \text{N} - (\text{y})E \ N^C \ VP
\end{align*}
\]

(202)

\(\underline{\text{Kitaptan, mitaptan}},\) It is not learnt

\(\underline{\text{ogrenilmiyor}}\) from books and such.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} - \text{DEN} & \text{N} - \text{DEN} \ N^C \ VP
\end{align*}
\]

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 tükmenmey"), p.106 ("ses seda") and later (no.335 on p.281).

5. Cf. Lewis, p.237; Swift, pp.120-121.\(^5\) Also later, (no.331 on p.272, no.332 on p.278, no.371 on p.386A).
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.

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

Fıstığı üzümü. You fry

Kavuruyorsun, the pine-kernels

Bir de In addition,

İspanaklı peynirli we make (it)

With spinach and cheese ("spinach-y and cheese-y")
(207)

Annenez babaniza Please give ("you will say")

çoq selâmlerimizi our many greetings and ((our

muhabbetlerimizi meny)) love((s))

söyleriniz. to your mother and ((your))

father.

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 yumurta gezdiriyorsun. You spread the fat and egg

(on it)

(209)

Eğer domates biberSE If it is tomato or pepper,
(ii) with verbal 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)

\[ \text{TuzlaYIP} \] You apparently salt (it)

\[ \text{sik+IYOR+MUG+SUN} \] and squeeze (it)

(211)

\[ \text{Havagazını+kisIP} \] It is good

\[ \text{sığır,steşte,yspMAK} \] to turn down the gas and

\[ \text{işdir.} \] 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 lost.
A juxtaposed 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)

\[
\text{Et, veya tavuk eti} \quad \text{Meat or chicken-flesh}
\]

(213)

\[
\text{Onlar, de‐şistirmi‐şeler, artık} \quad \text{By now they have altered}
\]

\[
\text{telöffuzu da, shengi de.} \quad \text{both the pronunciation and}
\]

\[
\text{the harmoniousness.}
\]

(214)

\[
\text{Anlatmış edeş} \quad \text{He explained to the man}
\]

\[
\text{alandan da, satandan da} \quad \text{the question of taking money}
\]

\[
\text{paralarmak meselerini} \quad \text{both from the buyer and from}
\]

\[
\text{the seller.}
\]
I have a horse and a sword ("A horse of mine and a sword of mine are existent").

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

In the end (only)

a few poems

that T.F had written and

an article

that I had written

remained.

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

The conjunctive devices in sections 4 and 3 may be combined (as in no. 217) but not those in 4 and 3(n).
Lexical restriction may also operate in unit expansion, always 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)

He buys his fire-wood, the coal and the rice he will eat in winter and ((his)) I-DON'T-KNOW-WHAT.
Margarin, we used to use

kullen-yorduk, margarine AND THE LIKE.

It happens that falen 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)

**GEREK** Whether

renklandırma **BAKIMINDAN,** from the point of view of coloration

**GEREK** or

**şekil** BAKIMINDAN, form the point of view of shape,

In this expanded unit, whose structure is:

\[
\text{Cj}_1 \text{\underline{VN}}^- (\chi) I \chi \underline{N}^- (s) I(n) + -D \text{Em} \quad \text{Cj}_2 \text{\underline{N}}^- (\chi) I \chi \underline{N}^- (s) I(n) + -D \text{Em} \\
\text{\underline{N}}^- D \text{Em}
\]

there is repetition of the Cj, the stem bakımlı and its suffix -den, as well as of the Word-group pattern B \((\underline{N}^- (\chi) I \chi + \underline{N}^- (s) I(n))\).
(221) 
Yufkanın iki ucunu, You will stick together

YA suYLAN YA yumurtaYLAN the two ends of the pastry

yapıstıracaksın. EITHER WITH water OR WITH egg.

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

BIR PARÇASI ORDAN, a piece of it from there,

which is in each, with repetition of each word, the effect being conjunctive.

(223) 
Telâffuz, ITIBARİYE It is different

SIVE ITIBARİYE in respect of its pronunciation

AHENK ITIBARİYE (in respect of) its accent, ((in respect of)) its harmoniousness.

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 \(N \rightarrow (y)lE\) unit, each one being a pattern B Word-group, followed by NP.

(224)

\[\text{BIRAZ, zor\textsc{L}AN}\]

I would set (her to work)

\[\text{BIRAZ, nssihet\textsc{L}A,}\]

a little by force,

\[\text{sokar\textsc{I}m,}\]

a little by admonition.

which is

\[N^A v \quad N \rightarrow (y)lE \quad N^A v \quad N \rightarrow (y)lE \quad VP\]

\[N \rightarrow (y)lE \quad VP\]

(225)

\[\text{Erzurum, ta\textsc{g}I, DENILEN}\]

The stone

\[\text{siyah, kehliber, DENILEN}\]

called "Erzurum stone",

\[\text{ta\textsc{g}I}\]

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

\[\text{kiymetlidir,}\]

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:

\[N \rightarrow (y)I^A \quad N \rightarrow (s)I(n) + - \emptyset \quad VP \rightarrow - \emptyset \quad A_j \quad N \rightarrow (\emptyset)I(\emptyset) + - \emptyset \quad VP \rightarrow - \emptyset \quad N \rightarrow (\emptyset)I(\emptyset) \quad NP\]

\[N \rightarrow (\emptyset) \quad "VP" \quad N \rightarrow (\emptyset) \quad "VP"\]

\[VA_j \quad VA_j \quad N \rightarrow (\emptyset)I(\emptyset) \quad "NP"\]

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 \( N_{\text{Aj}} + N_{(\#)X(x)} \) 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)
\[
\text{O SU, o PIS SU}
\]
That STREAM, that FILTHY STREAM

\( \text{ak\=yor\=o\=yle.} \)
flows thus.

In this there is amplification of the \( N^\# \) unit:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aj} & \quad N_{(\#)X(x)} + \#^\phi \\
& \quad \text{Aj} \quad N_{(\#)X(x)} + \#^\phi \quad \text{VP} \quad N_{(\#)1E}
\end{align*}
\]

In the next it is \( N_{(\#)X(x)} \) which is amplified:

(227)
\[
\text{ARAZI, BO\=\c{s} ARAZI}
\]
They seek

\( \text{\=sri\=yor\=lar.} \)
building plot(s), vacant building plot(s).
\[
\begin{align*}
N_{(\#)X(x)} & \quad \text{Aj} \quad N_{(\#)X(x)} + (\#)X \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad N_{(\#)X(x)} \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad N_{(\#)X(x)} \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(228)
\[
\text{ARADIK, \=zOK, ARADIK.}
\]
We missed ("sought") (them), we missed (them) very much.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP} & \quad N^{\text{Av}} \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

In the next example it is the \( N^{\text{Av}} \) unit that is amplified:
(229)

Sisaktır. It's hot

NISPETEN, BURAYA NISPETEN, relatively, relatively to here.

NP NAv G NAv
NP N Av

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

(230)

Bir tencereye. Into a pen

bir kst FASULYE, a layer of beans,

AYIKLANMIS FASULYE, beans that have been strung,

\[ N^-(s)I(y')+(y)E \]

\[ N^-(s)I(y')+(y)E+I \]

\[ N^-(s)I(y')+(y)I \]

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

(231)

Mecburî. Of necessity

FASULYEYI çıkarttım, I had the beans brought out

BUGÜN YEDİĞIMIZ FASULYEYI, the beans we ate today.
In the next, no. 232, the unit amplified is $N-(\gamma)x$; again the two members of the structure are not juxtaposed:

(232)

\[ \text{Ben \_ NANE, de \_ koyuyorum, \_ I put (in) mint, too.} \]

\[ \text{YAS, NANE. \_ fresh mint.} \]

\[ N-\emptyset, N-(\gamma)x C_j, VP, A_j, N-(\gamma)x(n) \]

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)

\[ \text{Those} \]

\[ \text{onsekizinci, asirdaki, MOTIF, 18th century motifs,} \]

\[ \text{LALE, MOTİPLERT,} \]

\[ \text{tulip motifs} \]

\[ \text{tamamiyle, degenerê, olmus, \_ became completely degenerê.} \]

\[ A_j, A_j, N-(\gamma)x(n) \]

\[ N-(\gamma)x(n) \]

\[ N-(\gamma)x(n) \]

\[ N-(\gamma)x(n) \]

1. French.
In the final example the $N^A$ (actually a $VN^A$) is seem amplified:

(234)

Bu _ para_goktur. This is a lot of money ("this money is much")

MEKTEBE, VERMEK TİCİN to pay for ("give to") (a) school,

LEYLİ, MEKTEBE, VERMEK TİCİN ((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:
Otelde mi, pensiyonda mı? In a hotel or in a boarding-house?

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

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, would sit (idle)
BESSAAT, not (just) for 5 minutes
otururum; but for 5 hours!

(237)

ANLAR MI, ANLAMAZ MI Does he ((understand)) or does he not understand
konuştuğunu? what he is talking about?
(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 which may be a Noun or an Adj (meaning respectively 'that, its', 'its' and 'this', 'that', 'it' 'its'. Others are her 'each', 'every' hepsi\(^2\), 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 "Demonstrative Completion".

2. Formerly hep+i+si (Lewis, 1975). 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, HIZMETÇİLERİ, HIS COOKS, HIS SERVANTS,

ŞOFÖRLERİ, HIS DRIVERS,

HEPSİ, ALL OF THEM

çeşinin içinde rush around
dört dönüyorlar, inside the market.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
N-∅ & N-∅ \quad N-∅ \\
N-(n) & N-(s) & N-(n) \quad -DE \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
N-∅ & N-∅ & N-∅ \quad -DE \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
& \quad & \rightarrow \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
\rightarrow & \quad & \rightarrow \\
\end{align*}
\]

In no. 239 it is again the N-∅ 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 gibî kullanılan, The stuffed mussel(s),

MIDYE DOLMASI, stuffed mackerel.

USKUMRU DOLMASI, fried mussel(s)

MIDYE KIZARTMASI, used among ("in") us as hors-d'oeuvres

BUNLAR, there are these ("These are existent.")
In the following the first member of Assembly is transformed into a marked qualifier \((N^- (n) I n)\) in the second:

(240)

Gerek DOMATES, gerek BIBER, Whether tomato(es), or pepper(s)

Gerek PATLICAN or aubergine(s),

LAHANA, YAPRAK, cabbage, (vine-)leave(s),

BUNLARIN HEPSININ *içi* the stuffing ("inside") of ALL OF THEM/These

ayni yapılır, is made the same (way).

The next (no. 241)) has already been discussed in part in no. 218 (p. 133). The \(N^- (y) I\) unit is the one expanded here:

1. The symbols are shortened here so as to allow the whole Clause to fit on one line.

2. These items may be \(N^- \emptyset\), they may not be presented as Clause-units at all; this is a question discussed at some length in Chapter 5.
(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

şerkti ekmek yapırlar, they make bread on (a) griddle.

(243)

Şerkti da söylüyorlar And they are singing, too,

HERİFLER, LÂZLAR, the rascals, the Lsz.

(244)

Sonradan Afterwards

BURDA, TOPTAŞINDA it was made

yapılmış o here, in/at Toptaşı.

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

(245)

ONUN kılçığı pek olmuyor They don't have very many strings

BAKLÂNIN 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

bilmem_ whether you like spice -

KARA BIBER, TARQIN, FALÂN. black pepper, cinnamon and the like

In neither this example, where the unit expanded is _N-(y)I_ nor the next, where expansion is of the _N-(y)I_ unit-alternant, are the two members of the structure juxtaposed:

(247)

HEPSİNİ _giğden_ koyuyorum. I put all of them (in) raw

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

1. Cf. p.110, no 160, where this structure is analysed.
In no. 248 it is the $N^-$ unit that is expanded:

(248)

\[ \text{ÖTEKILER, hıngisidir,} \quad \text{Which are the other ones,} \]

\[ \text{SARI CLANLAR,} \quad \text{the ones that are fair,} \]

\[ \text{UZUN BOYLU CLANLAR?} \quad \text{the ones that are tall?} \]

(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: see '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 $N^-$ unit:

1. For the absence of suffix on $\hat{f}a\hat{l}a\hat{n}$ see above, p. 134.
Bizim ŞEYLER, GENÇLER

Our what's-its-names, young men

Abdülhamid zamanında

at the time of Abdulhamid

Yeni Zelanda'da

decided (have)

bir koloni yapmağe decision")

erar
to found a colony

verbatim.
in New Zealand

Line by line this is:

\[
\begin{align*}
N - (n) & \rightarrow L(n) + - \emptyset \\
N - (s) & \rightarrow L(n) + - \emptyset \\
A j - (\emptyset) & \rightarrow L(\emptyset) + - DE \\
N - (\emptyset) & \rightarrow L(\emptyset) + - DE \\
A j - (\emptyset) & \rightarrow L(\emptyset) + - (\emptyset) \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

Atiyorsun, SEYI, PIRINCI, You throw (in) the what's-it, the rice.

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

(251)

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

bir Istanbul pastanesi there was

vardı, a "Istanbul" tea-shop.

(252)

SEYLERINDEN, ESERLERINDEN I know (him)

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

(250)

VP $N^-(y)I$ $N^-(y)I$

VP $N^-(y)I$

VP $N^-(y)I$
(253) 

Bursada da I wanted to go

yemek SEYINE KURSUNA to a cookery what's-it, course
gitmek istiyordum here, too.

(254) 

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

(254) 

SEY GIBI PILAV GIBI Like what'-it, like pilaff

suyunu gecti, it soaked up the ("its") water.

(255) 

Umumiyetle Generally

ispanakli ve we make (it)

SEYLI SOGANLI with spinach ("spinach-y")

yapiyoruz biz and with what's-it, with onion

("what's-it-y, onion-y")
The P\(P\) Clause-unit is not excluded from Temporary Substitution:

(256)

\[
\text{\underline{Benim sıhhatimi ona}} \quad \text{They what's-it-ted},
\]

\[
\text{\underline{ŞEY EDİYORLARDI}, \quad \text{attributed}}
\]

\[
\text{\underline{BAĞLIYORLARDI}, \quad \text{my health to that.}}
\]

\[
\frac{N-(n)\text{In}}{\frac{N-(s)\text{i}(n)+-(y)\text{i}}{N-(y)\text{E} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{VP}}}
\]

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

(257)

\[
\text{\underline{Arkasında da}} \quad \text{And on its back}
\]

\[
\text{\underline{bir ŞEYSEL vardı}, \quad \text{it had a what's-it, a house-}}
\]

\[
\text{\underline{bir KÖŞKÜ}, \quad \text{a house.}}
\]

\[
\frac{N-\text{DE} \quad \text{Cj}}{\frac{\text{Aj} \quad N-(\#)(\#)+\# \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{Aj} \quad N-(\#)(\#)+-\#}{\text{N-DE} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{N-\#} \quad \text{NP}}}
\]

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 IS-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 imples 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.C1; a F.C1 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 symbolied "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 K.Cl).\(^1\)

   The "subordinate" Clauses treated there are those F.Cls already classified here (pp. 120-124) as the "Included Clause" exponents of the \(N^A\) 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 $N^A$ unit is most often situated in the initial and final positions of a Clause; consequently, when its exponent is $V N^A$ - 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 $F/F$ 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

¹ Possibly a medial Included Clause gives rise to the "dis-continuity" 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 \(^{N}_{A\upsilon}\) unit is now re-interpreted as a \(F.CI\) (a simple Clause) to which is attached another Clause which is \(F.CI\) and contains a suffix clearly marking

(i) lack of independence (i.e. "subordinate" status),
(ii) the nature of the Clause's relationship to that \(F.CI\) against which it is juxta­posed,
(iii) its being conjoined to that \(F.CI\) (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 \(F.CI\) 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 \(F.CI\) is not termed "principal" here but "Dominant".

Thus example no. 185 on p. 120 is this new purpose re-interpreted as follows:
When the water is thoroughly boiling you put the rice (into it).

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 \( \text{VN}^\text{Av} \) 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 \( \text{F}.\text{Cl} \) precedes the \( \text{F}.\text{Cl} \), 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 grammars\(^1\), 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 P.Cl or 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 F.Cl when Dependent most often has its Head (its *P/JP* unit) last; however, other sequences are not excluded, (see, for instance, no. 186 where the *P/JP* unit is initial in the F.Cl. and no. 200 where the unalterable *N-[P] + P/JP* group is initial). A F.Cl is also unaffected by having a Dependent F.Cl attached to it: in nos. 185 and 186 its *P/JP* 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/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^N and N^C Clause-units and the P/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 relationship;

(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 "$S(\neq)S$" and "$S(+)S$". 

(i) Non-suffix-marked Sentence without other marker ($S(\neq)S$):

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.Cons.

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 appa-
ent in the written text 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 before, although "subordination by juxtaposition" has been recognised as a feature of Turkish.

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").

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.


3. Cf. Lewis, p.274 ff. 'Asyndetic subordination'; Swift (p,173) when discussing the example Besliyemiyeciktin beni niye aldn? [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" of "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', mesela 'for example', tabiî 'of course', fakat 'yet', 'but', onun için 'therefore'.
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 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:

\[(259)(b)\]

Bulguru çok iyi

ayıkmak lazım

VN-Ø NP

umumiyetle arasında

N-(y)1E N-DE

taş

N-Ø

olduğundan/olduğu için

VP

One must pick through

the wheat very thoroughly

BECAUSE there are
generally
stones
among it.

This version retains the original sequence; the prescribed order is equally possible:

\[(259)(c)\]

Umumiyetle arasında

BECAUSE there are
generally

stone(s) among it

olduğundan/olduğu için

one must pick through

the wheat very thoroughly.

bulguru çok iyi

ayıkmak lazım.
Secondly, it can be tested by retaining the St+Ct structure but making the relationship more explicit by adding the Comment Word \textit{günkü} 'because' to the Ct, either before it or after it:

\begin{equation}
(259)(d)
\end{equation}

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{\text{Bulguru çok iyi}} \\
\underline{\text{sayıklamak lazım}}. \\
\underline{\text{WN-∅ NP}} \\
\underline{\text{GÜNKÜ CW}} \\
\underline{\text{tas oluyor, umumiyetle}} \\
\underline{\text{N-∅ VP N-(y)1E}} \\
\underline{\text{arsında,}} \\
\underline{\text{N-DE or}} \\
\underline{\text{Tek oluyor}} \\
\underline{\text{N-∅ VP}} \\
\underline{\text{umumiyetle, arsında,}} \\
\underline{\text{N-(y)1E N-DE}} \\
\underline{\text{GÜNKÜ CW}} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{One must pick through} \\
\text{the wheat very thoroughly} \\
\text{BECAUSE} \\
\text{there are generally} \\
\text{stone(s)} \\
\text{among it.}
\end{array}
\]

\textit{Günkü} 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.

\footnote{It is interesting that Turkish orthography requires a full stop before the Clause to which \textit{günkü} is added (as has been done here), for this corresponds exactly to the interpretation placed upon the structure here.}
(b) **Statement + Comment\( (Ct=\text{consequence}) \):**

This is a relationship which cannot be expressed by a Suffix-marked Sentence:

\[(260) (a)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Para yok.} \\
\text{N-Ø} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^1 \\
\text{There's no money (about)} \\
\text{(so)}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{it can't be sold.}
\end{array}
\]

This relationship can be tested by adding an appropriate Comment Word. In this case \textit{onun ıcin} 'for that (reason)' is suitable; its position is before the Comment:

\[(260) (b)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Para yok.} \\
\text{N-Ø} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^1 \\
\text{There's no money (about);}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{therefore}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^1, \text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{it can't be sold.}
\end{array}
\]

Transformation into a Suffix-marked Sentence is only possible if a complete reversal of meaning is accepted:

\[(260) (c)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Para olmadık İÇINDEN/} \\
\text{N-Ø} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^1 \\
\text{BECAUSE there isn't any money (about)}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{it can't be sold.}
\end{array}
\]

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)

He
tavsiye ediyor.

recommends (this):

"Eat
soya beans"

he says.

- St + - Ct -

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
N^0 & N^0_\emptyset \\
\text{tavsiye ediyor.} & \text{He} \\
\text{VP} & \text{F.Cl}^1 \\
\text{Soya fasulyesini} & \text{recommends (this):} \\
N^{-(y)1} & "Eat \\
\text{yiyiniz,} & \text{soya beans"} \\
\text{VP} & \text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{diyor.} & \text{he says.} \\
\text{VP} & \text{F.Cl}^1 \text{ F.Cl}^2 \\
\end{array}
\]
There was no possibility of my knowing (him) personally: I know him from his what's-its, ((from)) his works.

Several Comment Words are available, depending upon the precise nature of the particularisation, e.g. yani 'I mean' 'that is', mesela 'for example', hatta 'even':

Onion, too, if put into that: one should put rather a lot (in).

1. This word tabii is a Comment Word; its presence here is irrelevant to the structure illustrated but shows that the Clause to which it is appended is a Comment - the Ct of a previous Ct not quoted. 2. Temporary Substitution, cf. pl51
You grease

the (baking-)tray

well,

with fat:

we, FOR INSTANCE,

use

Vita margarine.

(ii) Non-suffix-marked Sentence with other marker (\$x(+)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^+Ct")

Sentences:

In this the first F.Cl is a Statement as before, the second a Comment upon it but this of necessity incorporates 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(h),
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. 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 ver '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 requirement.

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.79-80 below.
Examples no. 265 and 266 show the first Clause as an affirmative statement containing var in its NP:

(265)

There is also

There is also

we abandoned it/that

Towards Qarşıkapi

towards Qarşıkapi

fish and such

are sold

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:

\[(267)\]

\[
\text{A lorry's radiator}
\]

\[
\text{has a projection like this, hasn't it?}
\]

\[
(\text{Well)}
\]

\[
\text{that projection came right to his here (= forehead; indicated by gesture}).
\]

\[
\text{No. 268 has a VP in the St:}
\]
(268)

You are going to make (it) with ("from") one glass of rice, aren't you?
(Well), with that glass you'll put (in) two glasses of water.

F.Cl1  F.Cl2

St  +   s1Ct

The Statement Clause of the next example does not include var, but its P is still a NP:

(269)
The windows are high:
cleaning them is difficult.

F.Cl1  F.Cl2

St  +   s1Ct

The final example illustrates a Statement Clause having a P/P unit which is VP (as in no. 268) but also multiple:

(270) Does he understand what he (=another person) is saying or not?
They don't know that either.

F.Cl1  F.Cl2

St  +   s1Ct
This St+S¹Ct 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+S¹Ct) or a Clause expanded by compounding and thus a Single-clause Sentence:

(271)

Whatever kinds of things that will meet

there may be the coal requirements

it is necessary for us to think about (them) already.

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 analyzable thus:

in which the first Clause is an Included one. With the word bearing the segmental link present it would be:
St+S\textsuperscript{1}Ct 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)

\[
\text{Yüksek olan pencereleri temizlemek,}
\]

To clean windows which are high is difficult.

(269)(c)

\[
\text{Pencereleri yüksek olup, onları temizlemek,}
\]

Because the windows are high to clean them is difficult.

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)

Konu§tu§unu They do not know either
anlami§ anlamadgini de whether he understands what he says or ((does))
bilmezler. not ((understand)).

This is a literary structure, unusual in spontaneous speech.

St+81Ct 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 $\text{dE}$ 'and' and $\text{ki}$ 'that', a lexical marker which is optional in some cases, obligatory in others.

Eight patterns have been identified and are referred to here as Patterns (A) to (H).

Patterns (A) and (B) share the restrictions:

(i) the first Clause is either negative or affirmative-interrogative implying negation;

(ii) the enclitic conjunction $\text{ki}$ is present, placed after the first Clause.

---

1. In these structures $\text{dE}$ and $\text{ki}$ 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 $\text{dE}$ may possibly be excluded only when the second Clause cannot be 'understood' from what is implied by the first, i.e. $\text{dE}$-pause or $\text{dE}$/pause may be determined by lexical restriction operating between the two Clauses.

2. This pattern is discussed Lewis, pp.264-5; Swift's quotes an example when illustrating the uses of $\text{ki}$ but does not described 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)  
\[ \text{Burdan yok, zaten ki,} \quad F_{Cl^1} \]
\[ \text{ordan olsun,} \quad F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{anyway, there isn't (any) here} \]
\[ \text{so why should there be (any there. ("Here there is not, anyway, that there it may be")} \]
\[ F_{Cl^1} F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{St + Ct^R S} \]

(273)  
\[ \text{Ezberubir sey,} \quad F_{Cl^1} \]
\[ \text{bilmiyorum, ki,} \quad F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{I don't know} \]
\[ \text{anything from memory that} \]
\[ F_{Cl^1} F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{I may talk.} \]
\[ \text{St + Ct^R S} \]

On the other hand Pattern (B) requires that (iii) the Predicates of the two Clauses have to their referents in chronological order:

(274)**  
\[ \text{Ne zaman, bize} \quad F_{Cl^1} \]
\[ \text{bir iyiilikleri,} \quad F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{When} \]
\[ \text{has} \]
\[ \text{a kind act of theirs (ever) reached} \]
\[ ((to)) \text{ us} \]
\[ \text{that it should ("will") reach (us) today?} \]
\[ F_{Cl^1} F_{Cl^2} \]
\[ \text{St + Ct^R S} \]
The structure of this is: $F.Cl^1 \ F.Cl^2$

$\leftarrow \text{St} + \text{Ct}^R \text{-S}^-$

In Pattern (C) 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)**

Relate

those things that have
happened to me ("These
(things) coming to my head")
that he may be dumbfounded.

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 $F.Cl^1$.

(276) **

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ben, ağlamayıyım da,} & \quad F_{Cl^1} \\
N-\varnothing & \quad \text{If I should not weep ("Let me not weep"),} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{then who should ((weep))}? \\
\text{Cj} & \quad ("let who weep?") \\
\text{kimler, ağlarsın?} & \quad F_{Cl^2} \\
N-\varnothing & \quad \text{If I should not weep ("Let me not weep"),} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{then who should ((weep))}? \\
\end{align*}
\]

(277) **

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Geceleri,} & \quad F_{Cl^1} \\
N^{Av} & \quad \text{If I don't sleep ("let me not sleep") at night} \\
\text{sabahlar kadar,} & \quad F_{Cl^1} \\
N^{Av} & \quad ("nights") \\
\text{uyumayıyım de,} & \quad \text{until morning} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{then} \\
\text{Cj} & \quad \text{what should I do?} \\
\text{ne yapayım?} & \quad F_{Cl^2} \\
N(\#)^2 & \quad \text{F.Cl}^1 \quad \text{F.Cl}^2 \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{St + Ct}^R - S \\
\end{align*}
\]

The English translations suggest that the implication here is of "condition"; basically, however, it is a Statement 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.Cl^2 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.Cl^1 that is affirmative, F.Cl^2 that is negative:
Isine geldiği zaman,

\( N^-(\gamma)E \)

\( VN^A \)

\( V^2 \)

\( \text{inanıyorsun, de} \)

\( \text{VP} \)

\( C_j \)

\( N^-((\gamma)E) \)

\( VN^A \)

\( \text{inşine gelmediği zaman} \)

\( C_j \)

\( N^A \)

\( \text{niye, inanmiyorsun?} \)

\( \text{VP} \)

\( \text{You believe when it suits your purpose} \)

\( \text{"when it comes to your business"} \)

\( \text{so why don't you believe} \)

\( \text{when it does not (suit your purpose))?} \)

This is compound: \( F.C_{\text{1}} \), \( F.C_{\text{2}} \), \( F.C_{\text{3}} \), \( F.C_{\text{4}} \)

Pattern (F) is very common. In it, the presence of

(i) \( dE \) in \( F.C_{\text{1}} \)

(ii) the same tense in both Clauses

but without the negative-affirmative and non-interrogative-interrogative opposition, combine to make the equivalent of a \( St+CT(CT=\text{consequence}) \) Sentence:

(278)**

\( Ne \)

\( N(\gamma)E \)

\( \text{etti} \)

\( \text{VP} \)

\( \text{What did he do} \)

\( \text{that ("and")} \)

\( \text{he saved (him)?} \)

\( \text{St + CT} \)

1. Cf Lewis, p. 207.
(279)  
\[ \text{Söyle köşayım da} \]  
\[ \text{VP} \]  
\[ \text{Cj} \]  
\[ \text{F.Cl}^1 \]  \text{Let me put it like that}  

\[ \text{sizi} \]  
\[ \text{N-(D)} \]  
\[ \text{F.Cl}^2 \]  \text{so that}  

\[ \text{rahatı̇z etmesin.} \]  
\[ \text{N} \]  
\[ \text{VP} \]  \text{it won't disturb you ("and let it not disturb you")}  

\[ \text{F.Cl}^1 \]  
\[ \text{F.Cl}^2 \]  \text{St + Ct}^R \text{S}  

Indeed the 'feeling' of St + consequence is so strong^1 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)  
- Evlêdim,  
"My boy, 

bursâi  
why is this place  
neden kâlebelîk?  
(st) crowded?"  

- Hüsemeddinin  
\[ \text{NP} \]  
\[ \text{F.Cl}^1 \]  "It's Husameddin's  

muhakemesi  
\[ \text{de} \]  
\[ \text{Cj} \]  
trial  
so ("and")  

ondan  
\[ \text{N-(D)} \]  
\[ \text{F.Cl}^2 \]  that's why."  

1. And the intonation contour so striking. 2. Cf Lewis, p.207.
The implication here is:

- Husameddinin muhakemesi de
  - HP CP
  - N P
  - from the trial, so ("and")

- ondan kalabalık,
  - N-EN NP
  - it is because of that

That it is crowded.

This could be transformed into a Suffix-marked Sentence:

- Husameddinin muhakemesi
  - N-σ

- oldugundan
  - VP

- bursa kalabalık,
  - N-σ NP

- Because it is
  - Husameddin's trial

- this place is crowded.

It must be borne in mind, however, that such a transformation reverses the meaning (cf. p. 170 above).

The next example is likewise given in its original form and then with the implication written out in full:

(281)**

- O yahni yensıkli kız da¹
  - "That pasty-faced girl, too,

  - koca buldu.
  - has found a husband."

- Hem hepimiziden evvel.
  - "And before us all".

- Babasının liralari var da
  - "Her father has money,

  - onun için,
  - so that's why."

1. This is the normal conjunctive use of dE; it is not part of the pattern under discussion.
This is: \[ F, Cl^1, F, Cl^2 \]

\[ \text{and it implies: } \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Bebaşının liralari} \\
N^\text{\$} \\
F, Cl^1 \\
\hline
\text{Her father}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{var, da,} \\
NP \\
Cj \\
\hline
\text{he has money, so}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{onun için,} \\
N^\text{AV} \\
\hline
\text{therefore}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{hepimizden evvel,} \\
N^\text{AV} \\
\hline
\text{she has found a husband}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{koca buldu,} \\
N(Y)T \\
VP \\
\hline
\text{before all of us.}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
F, Cl^1, F, Cl^2 \\
\hline
\text{The next example illustrates Pattern (H):}
\end{array} \]

(282)**

- Ne gülдün? dedi. "Why did you smile?" he said.

- \[ \text{Aklima,} \] \[ N-\text{\{Y\}E} \]

- \[ \text{bir şey} \] \[ N-\$ \]

- geldi de...\[ VP \] \[ Cj \]

In full, the Sentence might be

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Aklima bir şey} \\
N-(\text{Y})E \\
N-\$ \\
F, Cl^1 \\
\hline
\text{Something came}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{geldi de,} \\
VP \\
Cj \\
\hline
\text{into my mind and so}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{onun için, gülдüm,} \\
N^\text{AV} \\
VP \\
\hline
\text{for that reason I smiled.}
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{1. This is conventional Turkish punctuation. It implies the something left unsaid.} \]
which is: \[ F.Cl_1 \mid F.Cl_2 \mid \text{St + Ct} \]

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, \( \text{de} \) and \( \text{ki} \) 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 \( \text{St+ Ct} \) or \( \text{St+ Ct}^R \) 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 ... crested) by an obligatory "and" which merely co-ordinates. The resulting structure is \( \text{St+ Ct} (\text{Ct=consequence}) \). 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. \(St^+St^1Ct\) and \(St+St^R\)) 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 one. 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, regrettably not dealt with here.
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). To this is added a third F.C1 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:

\[ \text{St}^1+\text{Ct}^1+\text{Ct}^1 \]

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:

\[ \text{St}^1+\text{Ct}^1/\text{St}^2+\text{Ct}^2 \]

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 \( \text{St}^1+\text{Ct}^1+\text{St}^1 \) type; each member is simple and the reiteration of \( \text{St}^1 \) is not identical with its first occurrence:
I always stir (it): 

always stir (it);

I don't know about others but

I always stir (it).

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:

It was not a very tasty dish because its beans (= ingredients) were not good:

I got (them) in ("from") the market (and)

they didn't turn out well.

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.
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. 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 always 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 Sentence.1

All the examples from no. 285 to no. 283 have the structure
\[
\frac{l-Cl.S_1 \quad l-Cl.S_2}{\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 1-Cl.S}
\]
They may be grouped according to the type of conjunctive device that links them.

In the first example, juxtaposition alone2 marks the relationship:

\( (285) \)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Ağaca, çıkardım.} \\
\text{N-(y)E} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array} \quad \frac{l-Cl.S_1}{\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 1-Cl.S} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{I used to climb (into)} \\
\text{tree(s)}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{saklanırdım.} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array} \quad \frac{l-Cl.S_2}{\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 1-Cl.S} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{(and)(I used to)) hide.}
\end{array} \]

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.
Well yes,

I used to make (it)

but

just at the moment

I've forgotten (how).

Of course

everything changes (and)

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.
You BOTH say that the tea is nice

AND (yet)¹

you don't drink any more!

The conjunctive lexical item may indicate membership of a temporal or special series:

AT FIRST

I hadn't any bowls,

these bowls;³

LATER

I got these from Tide.

from Tide.

1. Putting in "yet" converts this from a co-ordinate Sentence into a St+Ct one. It seems to be obligatory in the English; they² 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:

\[(290)\]

\[\text{KIMISTI, } -N\emptyset.\]

\[\text{bu kadar ağır, olur.},\]

\[\text{KIMISTI, } -N\emptyset.\]

\[\text{hafif, olur.}\]

\[\text{SOME OF THEM}\]

\[\text{are as heavy as this (but)}\]

\[\text{SOME OF THEM}\]

\[\text{are light.}\]

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:

\[(291)\]

\[\text{DUZ, deₙ₁ olabilir,}\]

\[\text{işlemeli, deₙ₁ olabilir.}\]

\[\text{It can be plain (or)}\]

\[\text{((it can be)) embroidered.}\]

\[(292)\]

\[\text{"Türküz", dememiz,}\]

\[\text{"Osmanlıyiz", demiz.}\]

\[\text{We did not say "We are Turks/Turkish",}\]

\[\text{we said "We are 'Ottomans'".}\]

The next demonstrates the negative-affirmative opposition between Sentences with NP:

\[(293)\]

\[\text{Gür, değil,}\]

\[\text{uzun,}\]

\[\text{It isn't thick,}\]

\[\text{it's long.}\]
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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o salonda}, & \quad \text{They were going to gather} \\
\text{toplansacaklar}, & \quad \text{(and)} \\
\text{konușacaklar}, & \quad \text{((they were going to))} \\
\text{eksem olunca}, & \quad \text{converse} \\
\text{evlerine,} & \quad \text{in that hall} \\
\text{dağilecaklardı}, & \quad \text{(end)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{They were going to gather} \\
\text{(and)} \\
\text{((they were going to))} \\
\text{converse} \\
\text{in that hall} \\
\text{(end)} \\
\text{((they were going to))} \\
\text{disperse} \\
\text{to their homes.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N}^{-\text{DE}} & \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. as two Clauses of equal status having a common \text{N}^{-\text{DE}} unit which is expressed only once, or as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N}^{-\text{DE}} & \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. as a Simple Clause having a multiple \text{P/Ψ} 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 Sen­
tence but can be interpreted in two ways (cf. p 158 ff.):
\( F.Cl^3 \) can be seen either as Dependent upon \( F.Cl^4 \), in which
case the Sentence is a Suffix-marked ones:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
F.Cl^3 \\
\rightarrow \quad Sx. \\
\end{array}
\]

thus making the third Sentence of the multiple structure a
compound one (i.e. realised by a \( T_w^2 \)-clause Sentence);
or as Included:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
VH^{Av} \\
\rightarrow \quad N^{-}(y)E \\
\rightarrow \quad F.Cl
\end{array}
\]
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 Dependent;
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

Simple forms; St+Ct Sentences are not dealt with, however, since they occur very rarely in an expanded form.

If the F.C1 is interpreted as Dependent, not Included, no. 295 shows an expanded Suffix-marked Sentence having a simple Dependent and a multiple Dominant constituent:

(295)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Geldiği zaman} \\
V P
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{koşarım,} \\
V P
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{boynuna sarılırın,} \\
N^{-(y)} E \quad V P
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{Şperim.} \\
V P
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1}
\end{array}
\]

The F.C1 could be placed last (after the three F.Cls), since it qualifies all three:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \\
\text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \\
\text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1} \quad \text{F.C1}
\end{array}
\]

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) ({\text it, 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)

Eğer  
Cj

hakikaten  
N

yerini  
N-(y)I

değiştiriyorSA,  
Vf

dahe güzel bir yere  
N-(y)E

gidiyorSA,  
Vf

gocuklarina daha iyi  
N-(y)E  NAv

bakiyorSA,  
Vf

haftada bir defa yerine  
N-DE  Av

iki defa et  
N-(y)'I

yiyorsa,  
Vf

bu bir ihtiyagten dogan  
N-Ö  VAj

bir taleptir.  
NP

Vermekte devam edin.  
VN-DE  VP

If  
C11

he  
C11

really  
C11

changes  
C11

his place (or residence),  
C11

goes  
C11

to a nicer place.  
C11

looks after  
C11

his children better,  
C11

eats  
C11

meat twice a week  
C11

instead of once, (then)  
C11

this is an application  
C11

arising from a need  
C11

(sb)  
C11

continue to pay ("give") (it).  
C11
This is:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{F.Cl}_1 \quad \text{F.Cl}_2 \quad \text{F.Cl}_3 \quad \text{F.Cl}_4 \quad \text{F.Cl}_5 \quad \text{F.Cl}_6 \\
&\text{Sx.S} \quad \text{St} \quad \text{St+Ct.S} \\
&\text{St} \quad \text{St+Ct.S}
\end{align*}
\]

The next, no. 297 may be rendered thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{F.Cl}_1 \quad \text{F.Cl}_2 \quad \text{F.Cl}_3 \quad \text{F.Cl}_4 \\
&\text{Sx.S} \quad \text{St} \quad \text{St+Ct.S} \\
&\text{St} \quad \text{St+Ct.S}
\end{align*}
\]

(297)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ingiltereden\ gelirken,} & \quad \text{When (I was) coming (back)} \\
N-\text{Den} & \quad \text{from England} \\
\text{getirmedim.} & \quad \text{I didn't bring (it):} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{F.Cl}_1 \\
\text{Seve\ verdim,} & \quad \text{I gave (it) to the what's-} \\
N-(y)E & \quad \text{St} \quad \text{it,} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{F.Cl}_2 \\
\text{fakir\ cocuklar\ yurduna,} & \quad \text{((I gave (it)))} \\
N-(y)E & \quad \text{F.Cl}_3 \\
\text{verdim.} & \quad \text{to the poor children's home.} \\
\text{VP} & \quad \text{F.Cl}_4 \\
\end{align*}
\]

The next group illustrates expansion of the St+S1 Ct 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
Tuz, & \text{ kağıryorlar,} \\
N(\mathbf{f})I & \text{ VP} \\
\text{tütün, kağıryorlar,} & \text{ F.Cl}^1 \\
N(\mathbf{f})I & \text{ they smuggle salt,} \\
\text{ONUNla, yaşyorlar,} & \text{ F.Cl}^2 \\
N(\mathbf{y})1E & \text{ they smuggle tobacco} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(299)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bunların, boyalari} & \text{ F.Cl}^1 \\
N & \text{ Their dyes} \\
\text{yerli,} & \text{ are local,} \\
NP & \text{their clay is local,} \\
\text{toprağı, yerli,} & \text{ F.Cl}^2 \\
N & \text{ their makers ("Workmen")} \\
\text{işcisi, yerli,} & \text{ F.Cl}^3 \\
N & \text{ are local;} \\
\text{HEPSİ, yerli,} & \text{ F.Cl}^4 \\
N & \text{All or them are local} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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-∅ N-(y)E (o onlara).
He was going to be a guide to them, ((he was going to)) take them around Istanbul, ((he was going to)) give them the necessary explanations; all of these fell to me.

Examples 301 - 303 illustrate the opposite, i.e. Particularisation (cf. p. 146 ff. above): in 302 the word particularised is \N^\empty (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 (-\(s\)1\(n\)) in no. 303.

(301)

\[ \text{They are in every part:} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Aksarayda, } & \text{they occur in Aksaray and} \\
\text{Fatih tarafında, } & \text{((they occur)) around Fatih.}
\end{align*} \]
Eskiden, Rusyada, İran'da, tüm Lazlar, çalışanlardı. (it was) they (who) did the bread-making, the cake-making, the restaurant-running.

Bir ailenin iki çocuğu, var, BİRİ kaçakçı oluyor, BİRİ kolcu oluyor, A family has two sons: one of them becomes a smuggler, the other ("one of them") (becomes) an ushiman.
The next example, no. 304, shows Particularisation and Assembly together:

(304)

I have visited such and such places; there are missing tiles there: if you permit, I will have them repaired

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+sl.Ct Sentence Included: it is the exponent of the St
which is accordingly compound:

\[(305)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Önümüzde,} & \text{cami} & \text{ver.} & \text{F.Cl}^1 & \text{There is a mosque in front} \\
N-DE & N-Ø & NP & & \text{of us(=our house)} \\
\text{Caminin yaninda} & & \text{F.Cl}^2 & \text{at the ("its") side of} \\
N-DE & & & \text{the mosque there is a house} \\
\text{bir ev,} & \text{vardir.} & \text{F.Cl}^3 & \text{and at the back of it} \\
N-Ø & NP & & \text{there is a building plot;} \\
\text{arkasinda da} & \text{verdir.} & \text{F.Cl}^4 & \text{(these) are its property.} \\
N-Ø & Cj & & \\
\text{Onun vekfiyisidir.} & & & \\
NP & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

This example also illustrates the various kinds of
segmental link available, both lexical and suffix (cf. p.154
above):

(i) \text{caminin}: in this, the Root (\text{cami}) is a
repetition of the \text{cami} in F.Cl\text{.}^1.
(This is uncommon, replacement
by a demonstrative being the
usual practice);

(ii) \text{arkasinda}: this contains \( \text{-(s)I(n)} \), the pos­
sessive DS whose referent here is
either \text{cami} or \text{ev} (i.e. there is
some ambiguity); 

(iii) onun: with this the demonstrative replaces cami.

Segmental links will be discussed again in Chapter 5.

3. The Expanded Three-clause Sentence:

The St\textsuperscript{1}+Ct\textsuperscript{1}+St\textsuperscript{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)

\begin{align*}
\text{Ben}_N^\emptyset & \quad \text{F}_4 \text{C}_1^1 \\
\text{hepsini, çiğden}_N^\text{(y)} & \quad \text{F}_4 \text{C}_2^2 \\
koyuyorum, & \\
\text{Kimisi}_N^\emptyset & \quad \text{F}_4 \text{C}_3^3 \\
\text{ilk önce}_N^\text{Av} & \\
\text{söğanını kavruruyor,}_N^\text{(y)} & \quad \text{F}_4 \text{C}_4^4 \\
onçan sonra}_N^\text{Av} & \\
\text{fasulyesini falan,}_N^\text{(y)} & \\
koyuyor, & \\
suyunu koyuyor. & \end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{I} & \\
put & \\
all of them (in) & \\
raw: & \\
some people & \\
first of all & \\
fry the ("its") onion (and) & \\
then & \\
put (in) the ("its") beans & \\
and the like, & \\
put (in) the ("its") water; & \\
\text{(-continued on the next page -)}
\end{align*}
I put them all (in) raw.

In the next, no. 307, both Sts are compound, each being realised by a Suffix-marked Sentence. The Ct is multiple:

(307)

If it is (done) in the oven it turns out ("becomes") better; however, I generally cook (it) in a pan (and) ((I)) brown its top in the oven; (yet) if it is (done) in the oven 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 signif­
icance will appear in Chapter 5.

The Chain (St₁+St₂+St₃) is the basis of the follow­
ing expanded Sentence:

(308)

You know (those) three
monkeys over there, don't you?

- one of them has shut its
eye(s),
one of them has shut its
ear(s),
one of them has shut its
mouth?
(Well), it has to be like
that -
there's no other way.

You know (those) three
monkeys over there, don't you?

- one of them has shut its
eye(s),
one of them has shut its
ear(s),
one of them has shut its
mouth?
(Well), it has to be like
that -
there's no other way.
That is to say, this is a $\text{St}^1+\text{s}^1\text{Ct}/\text{St}^2+\text{Ct}^2$ Sentence whose last two Clauses are simple but whose $\text{St}^1$ is compound, having as its exponent a Non-suffix-marked Two-clause Sentence, namely $\text{St}+\text{s}^1\text{Ct}(\text{Ct}=$ 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hiç yapmadım}, & \quad \text{F.Cl}^1 \quad \text{I never made it} \\
\text{Çünkü,} & \quad \text{F.Cl}^2 \quad \text{because} \\
\text{çok hafif ateş} & \quad \text{F.Cl}^3 \quad \text{it needs} \\
\text{ister,} & \quad \text{F.Cl}^4 \quad \text{a very low heat:} \\
\text{Elektrik, olduğu için,} & \quad \text{since it(=the stove) was} \\
\text{yapmadım ben, ayrıcayi,} & \quad \text{electric} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The $\text{F.Cl}^2$ here is clearly a Ct upon $\text{F.Cl}^1$, and $\text{F.Cl}^3$ is, in turn, clearly a Ct upon $\text{F.Cl}^2$, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{F.Cl}^1 & \quad \text{F.Cl}^2 & \quad \text{F.Cl}^3 \\
\text{St}^1 & \quad \text{Ct}^1 & \quad \text{St}^2 & \quad \text{Ct}^2
\end{align*}
\]

That is, if taken as far as $\text{F.Cl}^3$, this is a Chain. However, $\text{F.Cl}^3$ is grammatically incomplete; to complete it a fuller version of $\text{St}^1$ is added, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{F.Cl}^3 & \quad \text{F.Cl}^4 \\
\text{Sx.S}
\end{align*}
\]
Thus the whole is:

\[ F.Cl^1 \quad F.Cl^2 \quad F.Cl^3 \quad F.Cl^4 \]

\[ St^1 \quad Ct^1 \quad St^2 \quad Ct^2 \quad S \quad St^1 \]

The significant point is this: \( Ct^2 \) is not \( F.Cl \); however, a \( F.Cl \) could be substituted for it:

\[ \text{'Hiç yapmadım, Çünkü çok hafif ates ister o... Oçağımız elektrik-} \]

\[ \text{tı.'} \]

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 Expended Sentence, having progressed form 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 isolete 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+St+Ct).

In addition, a "step by step" progression was observed in the St1+Ct/St2+Ct 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.\footnote{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. P. 224.}
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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{At one time} & \quad l-\text{Cl. } S \\
\text{Bir zamanlar,} & \\
\text{bizim filiz çayları} & \\
\text{pek güzeldi.}
\end{align*}
\]

(311)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{What are you thinking about, mademoiselle?} & \quad l-\text{Cl. } S \\
\text{Ne düşünüyorsunuz,} & \\
\text{Matmazel?}
\end{align*}
\]

The next two examples, also complete utterances, are of Sentence-complexes whose exponent is a $S_{t^1+Ct_{t^1}}S_{t^2+Ct_{t^2}}$ Sentence, possibly the most common type in spontaneous speech.

No. 312 has a variant form with a segmental link. Its structure can be represented thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cl}_{t^1} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^2} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^3} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^4} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^5} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^6} & \quad \text{Cl}_{t^2} & \quad (2) \\
\text{St}_{t^1+Ct_{t^1}}S_{t^2+Ct_{t^2}} & \quad (2) \\
\text{St}_{t^1+Ct_{t^1}}S_{t^2+Ct_{t^2}} & \quad (1) \\
\text{St}_{t^1+Ct_{t^1}}S_{t^2+Ct_{t^2}} & \quad (1)
\end{align*}
\]

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))

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.

- continued on next page -
ordâ distillé\textsuperscript{1} olur
\[ \text{N--DE} \]  \[ \text{N}^\text{C} \]  \[ \text{Vp} \]
en potable, en güzel
\[ \text{suyu} \]  \[ \text{N--(y)I} \]
ondan alılarımış.
\[ \text{N--DEN} \]  \[ \text{VP} \]
Biz
\[ \text{N--Ø} \]
bütün o sı龙泉lar
\[ \text{N--(e)I} \]
ortadan kalındık.\textsuperscript{2}
\[ \text{N--DEN} \]  \[ \text{VP} \]

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 \( \text{F.Cl} \), i.e. a formally non-dominant one.\textsuperscript{3}

\textbf{1.} French.
\textbf{2.} Ortadan kalırdık is an inseparable set phrase; therefore \( \text{N--(e)I} \) is in fact in the pre-verb position (cf. Chapter 1).
\textbf{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 \( \text{Cl}^1 \) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
\text{Cl}^1 & \text{Cl}^2 & \text{Cl}^3 & \text{Cl}^4 & \text{Cl}^5 & \text{Cl}^6 & \text{Cl}^7 & \text{Cl}^8 & \text{Cl}^9 & \text{Cl}^{10} & \text{Cl}^{11} & \text{Cl}^{12} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 (2):

(313)

There's a certain doctor

- he's Italian;

he recommends (this):

"Eat

soya beans"

he says: (because)

"It both takes the place of meat

and also (takes that of that (thing)

and also your life is prolonged. (and)"

- continued on the next page -
I don't know what happens; and so on.

But I don't know (what) soya beans (are)!

I've never even seen (them)!

(so) how ("from where") should we know (them)?

The next example, no. 314, again a complete utterance, is basically a $St^1+St^1+St^1$ 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cl}^1 & \quad \text{Cl}^2 \\
\text{St}^1 & \quad \text{St}^1 \quad \text{St}^1 \quad \text{Ct}^1 \quad \text{St}^1 \quad \text{Ct}^2 \quad \text{Ct}^2 \quad \text{Ct}^2 & \quad \text{(2)}
\end{align*}
\]


2. In this use, $ki$ merely emphasises. It must not be confused with the use described in Chapter 3.
How are stuffed vegetables in-olive-oil made?)

Well, really,

all... veg-

whether tomato...

or pepper...

or subergine...

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.

---

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 eğer 

15 domates biberse...  

16 çıkıp  

17 içini...  

18 dolduruyorsunuz...  

19 1-lahana veyahut yapraksız  

20 içinde...  

21 sarıyorsunuz...  

22 ... Yani...  

23 onun için...  

24 bir çeşit dolma içi  

25 vardır...  

26 (Yani fark yoktur...)  

(Ama ne dolduruyorsunuz?) (But what do you fill it with?)

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 governing 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)

(What do you fill into them?)

1. The function of this word is discussed in the next chapter.
2. This may be either a F.Cl which lacks its P/T 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 behar, line 53.
For instance I made (them/it) once - it was 1½ kilos of peppers, 1½ kilos of onions.

I chopped (them) up finely

I fried (them) in olive oil the onions.

They got brown.

On to that/them

I make (it)

with pine-kernels and currants.

some people
don't put (in)
pine-kernels and currants.

1. The Clause thus started is left uncompleted.
Upon the onions getting brown...

I put (in) the ("its") pine-kernels and currants.

Until the pine-kernels, too, got

brown...

of course

brownish,

I don't mean burnt brown ("its burning")

their colour(obj.) I mean, it will change.....

1. The time is not expressed in the Turkish: oluncaya kadar may be 'get/got/had got/will get' etc. The Turkish "subordinate 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), 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-).
32. Fıstık, düğüm, (m)

33. Kahverengi, olunca,.., (m)

34. Bu sefer,.., (N)

35. Piring,...

36. Küçük bardakla

37. İki bardak kadar

38. Piringi, (f)

39. Koydum,... (m)

40. Bundan sonra,... (N)

41. Bir bardak su, (f)

42. Koydum,.... (VP)

Upon the pine-kernels, too.

Getting brown again.

This time.

Rice:

With a small glass.

I put (in)

About two glasses of rice.

After that...

I put (in)

One glass of water.

1 Amplification.
Like what's-it,

Like pilaff,

it soaked up the ("its")

water;

no water at all remained

in the pan;

only, of course,

oil slightly -

rice doesn't soak up

olive oil.

On to that

spice:

black pepper

cinnamon

mixed spice

I put them (in).

1. Temporary Substitution. 2. Unfinished Clause.
3. Amplification. 4. Assembly.
I stirred (it) well...

It cooled....

After cooling...

I scooped out the peppers, and, putting (it) inside, filled (them)...

And
again...

I cooked (them)

so that the peppers should cook.....

And on top of them...

either

you put on

the peppers' own lid

again...
veya,

ben;

donatesken kepik yepip

koyuyorum...

Böyle,

daha güzel gözüküyor,

(m. Onlarım de dinlen-
(m. They too have to
stand

Tabii Tabii

(mesi lazım herhalde)
(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)

Hatta,

onus

ertesi güne kadar...

tencereden.

GIKERMAMSK

daći iyı
The structure of this Sentence-complex may be expressed thus:

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Cl}_1 \quad \text{Cl}_2 \quad \text{Cl}_3 \\
&\text{St}_1 \quad \text{St}_2 \quad \text{St}_3 \quad \text{St}_4 \\
&\text{St}_5
\end{aligned}
\]

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 Statement.

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.
complex (from Simdi (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) spices
(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 fistik, 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' (Cl¹⁷-²⁰). 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 $X¹⁹$ and Cl²⁰, the latter being itself a Ct (=reason) upon $X¹⁹$.

(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 $F,Cl二十四,F,Cl二十五$ and $F,Cl二十六,F,Cl二十七$ 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 (Cl$^{28}$).

(15) This, the only part which is out of sequence, has the structure:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Cl}^{30} & \text{Cl}^{31} & \text{Cl}^{32} & \text{Cl}^{33} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 yaptim) 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 —→ 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 topics. 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 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 mesela; 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-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.C1 which is the Direct Object (VN-(/-)Z) of the VP diyor (cf. p. 109 ff.). This Included Clause is the one analysed here.
For instance,

in Sweden,

y they say.....

the head of a family

(need not think about) 

his children's

future (dir, obj.)

his own old age (dr, obj.)

his situation

at the time when he will

not work,

I mean, /er

how much pension

he has to get, ...

that it is necessary

to set aside

a bit of money during

his life.

1. This is lacking in the Turkish - see discussion.
so that he may not suffer want in his old age,

he may be looked after if he is ill,

no,

if he is in need he may meet (it):

there are

no such thoughts,

she says, she says,

in Sweden.

The VN-(Y) in question (which is everything in the Sentence-complex except the initial Comment Word mesela, the substitution word gev 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 parenthetical 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 \( N^{-DE+N^{-\emptyset+N^{-}(y)}} \) sequence: (lines 2 - 6):

\[
\text{İsveçte bir aile reisi çocuklarını istikbalını}
\]

\[
N^{-DE} A_j N^{-\emptyset} N^{-}(s)I(n)+-(s)(x)+-\emptyset(n)I(n)+(y)I
\]

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:

\[
kendi_\text{ihtiyarlığını,}
\]

\[
A_j N^{-}(s)(x)+-(y)I
\]

this \( N^{-}(y)I \) being realised by a pattern A Word-group; then on lines 8 - 9:

\[
\text{çalışmayaçağı, zamanı, vaziyetini}
\]

\[
V_{p^+\emptyset} N^{-\emptyset}(s)(x)+-DS N^{-\emptyset}(s)(x)+-(y)I
\]

\[
VAj N^{-\emptyset}(s)(x)I
\]

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)EcEgI Clause marker (IS).
(iii) At this a change in structure occurs (cf. mesela 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-Dili which is the present/past equivalent of the future -(y)ECgil which has already occurred:

(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:

(v) This second VN-(y)I is then used as if it were the Statement in a St+CtR Sentence (Pattern (C), p. 183):

1. Bir terefa koy- is considered to be a single Word-group: the N(?)I unit alternant is therefore in the pre-verb position.
2. It is not a true St+CtR Sentence, because the first Clause is not Finite.
(vi) The Comment is then made multiple, by means of \( Ct^2 \)
(lines 19-20) and \( Ct^3 \) (lines 22-23); these contain \( F.Cls \)
of the same structure as that just analysed (\( F.Cl^3 \)
and \( F.Cl^5 \)) but each of these is qualified by a \( F.Cl \)
(\( F.Cl^2 \) and \( F.Cl^4 \) respectively):

```
\text{hasta olursa, bakilsin}
\text{N} \rightarrow \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{F.Cl} \rightarrow \text{Sx.S} \rightarrow \text{Ct^2}
```

```
\text{ihtiyac icinde olursa, kargilasin}
\text{N-(k)I^n} \rightarrow \text{N-(s)l(n)+DE} \rightarrow \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{F.Cl} \rightarrow \text{Sx.S} \rightarrow \text{Ct^3}
```

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 \( N-(y)^\dagger \) has by now developed, via
\( VN-(y)^\dagger \), then \( F.Cl \), into a Suffix-makred Two-clause Sentence.

(vii) Finally, all the units developing from the first \( N-(y)^\dagger \)
but without \( -(y)I \) marker are assembled by means of the
portmanteau demonstrative Aj \( \text{böyle} \); this is part of a

---

1. The section from \text{ki} to \text{kargilasin} (line 16 to line 23)
is parenthetic: it is uttered at base-line pitch, a mono-
tone, soft and very fast.
It can be seen that the transitive verb which the N\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\) and VN\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\) 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\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\) developed has been treated as N\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\) (VN\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\)); NP fits this VN\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\) but not the earlier N\(^{-\mathbf{\emptyset}}\).

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) 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 levels, it is either the only marker (as in the St+Ct Sentence) or the chief marker (as in St+1Ct and St+CtR 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 FIVE

COMBINATION 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 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 roles of 'Speaker' and 'Listener' but constantly changing from one to the other; Discourse therefore reflects

---

1. 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:**

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 presented by a single symbol "…", 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? neredir? bŞyle, ipte, and are indicated in the texts thus:  

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 position. This deduction is acceptable provided
the classification of the word in question as (a) a meaning-
ful 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". 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. 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 the choice of

i. 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)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Bir qey daha,} \\
\text{N-(f)I} \\
\text{idmez misiniz?} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

Won't you have ("drink") 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:

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¹. Cf. Halliday et al (1964), pp. 92-3, where the effect of the relations between the participants upon style is discussed.
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', geliba 'evidently', oyle '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', mesela '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".

(320)

In winter, I believe, it is rather harsh 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. In one the Speaker is the dominant party, the Listener having a subordinate rôle; in the other, the two participants are equal. These types of Discourse are termed here respectively Exposition and Exchange.

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 "pseudo-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.
(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 topic of his intended exposition as a kind of "heading". 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 nos. 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)

There (or: "er", "you know") in Afghanistan
I had
several portraits
of the locals
made -
(in) water colour.

There ("er")
in Urfa
they make bread
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 hesitation\(^1\): 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.
The longer one between the two members of the structure, the shorter one after the second. 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."
When I first went to England, there...

And when I was in what's-it, ...

((in)) Teheran, there...
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?)
- Now, in inside-pilaff

-fistik üzüm, are put

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 (ikiSINin) instead of a demonstrative one (cf. p. 143 above, footnote 3)
Speaker did not know how her utterance was to continue.  
Reasons for (i) her uttering the topic before deciding upon the whole structure and for (ii) the content of this initial piece (*Iq 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:

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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)."
And if you make it with tomato ('tomato-y') you fry

the tomato(es) in oil

Note that the hesitation 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)

++to say that they had seen (it)...

(They couldn't go.

(They decided to go

(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 \( N^A v \) 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 \( A v \) is provided by the following example (329), which occurs after a lengthy interruption:

\[
(329)
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(Sonra F (}
\\
\text{(daha \( N^A v \)vel (}
\\
\text{(Rüstem Pasa Camiiine, (}
\\
\text{(uçramistik, efendim, ++ (at R.P Mosque, ma'am, ++)
\\
\text{VP Voc.}
\end{array}
\]

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)

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or terminating in the clitic conjunction dE₁. 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 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

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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. 8).

(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";  

or disguise the hesitation.

The first is achieved by means of non-verbal vocalising and  
by the uttering of Fillers such as gev, onden 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.  

It is the second category that is particularly signific­

ant 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 con­

fronted with situations of uncertainty and when the selection  
of the next step requires an act of choice" the Speaker  
hesitates. Alerted by such clear instances, one is able to  
perceive similar, though minute, hesitations on the part of  
even the most fluent speakers, 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.  
4. Goldman Eisler, p.18, as the result of her experiments is  
able to assert that "at its most fluent, two-thirds of  
spoken language come 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.

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 then 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. 75).
Demonstrative Completion, Assembly at both Clause and Sentence levels (including, that is, the St¹t 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)

Düğünlerde, müğünlerde, At weddings and so on
filân...
and so forth

...çirit oynerler,
they play jerid

...bilmem ne yaparlar,
and do I-don't-know-what

...filân...
and so on...

(332)

1 Adam söylüyor. The man says (this):

2 "Para yoktur," "There's no money

3 bizim memleket," in our district"

4 diyor... he says...

5 Değil mi ya? Isn't that so?

--- continued on the next page ---

1. The English version does not bring out the parallelism of the original.
"We barely extract our food, our drink, (and) our animals' food from the earth" he says, "Apart from that there's nothing", he says. "There's no money (so) it can't be sold; there's no road (so) it can't be taken anywhere..."
Onun için

kardaşlarımız

mardaşlarımız

orda, kalır,

biz geliyoruz, diyor;

"Ya, Ankara'da,

Istanbul'da,

Selenik'te,

Izmir'de, Mızmirde,

beyz-6 kurus,

toplarız", diyor...

"gölügümüze, çocuğumuza

Eşim gelenleri, slırız"

-diyor, 

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") kurus "

he says

"((we)) buy the things

that are necessary

for our wives and families"

— he says,
"a bit of sugar, a bit of paraffin, a bit of soap. we take those"

he says (end)

"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 latchım gelenleri, line 31)

This does not exhaust the list: possibly diyor is a Filler to6, 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 ex-
position.

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 forth-
coming he interrupts his flow and asks directly for confirmat-
on 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 interroga-
tion; 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)

o yok muydu?, N-Ø NP

Hastaneleri bedava idi, N-Ø NP

(hepsi, Değil mi? (Evet)

(m) (Yes)

(m)

Imarethaneleri vardı. N-Ø NP

fakirler için++, N-Av

There were almshouses for the poor ++

Weren't they existent in (the time of) the old Ottomans? -

the hospitals were all free! Isn't that so?

There were almshouses 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 (gelisi-güzel i.e. "our speech has been haphazard"), the Listener having elected to respond to an earlier one ("control")
(334)

\textbf{(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 (B1).
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: *yes*, 'and then?', 'I see'
and many other meanings depending upon intonation and tone of voice, doğru 'true', tabii 'of course', ye '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 tarafindan
- )

- ( + From the remainder
- )

- ( + buyi sey yapariz,
- )

- ( + we make... what? what's-it
- )

- ( + panzehir de,
- )

- ( + antidote, too.
- )

- ( + PANZEHİR
- )

- ( + A'tidote.
- )

(336)

++Hem igerler
Cj  VP

++They both drink

++Hem  bakerslar
Cj  VP

and ((they)) look

++tetkik ederler
VP

they examine (her)

- continued on the next page -
(filân...)

(At her eyebrows:

Evet. ((at her eyes, (at)) her stature ((at)) her figure

(gözüne, boyuna, bosuna, N-(y)E)

(And out of cussedness ((at)) her legs..............

(bacaklarına, bacaklarına, bacaklarına, N-(y)E)

(And out of cussedness they)

(şarılır, ağılır, ışırılır, N-(y)E Cj N AV VP)

(drink slowly.++)

(Of course."

The N-(y)E unit is added to the Clause "hem bakarlar" whose verb "governs the dative"; tetkik et- requires N-(y)E, not N-(y)İ.

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 Sentence. The long hesitation prompts his intervention, but he does not anticipate the sought-for second Clause exactly:

(337)

- (Hin bilede,)
- (It is, apparently,

- (gayet kuvvetli)
- (an extremely powerful

- (bir oibez ki,)
- (apparatus, for

- (Hic ses, duyulumuyor)
- (No sound is heard.

- (duyulumuyor, hem sesa)
- (is not heard, and it can

- (eyey uzak bir meafeden,
- (record

- (yultur konusulanlar,
- (from a considerable

- (enregistré edebiliyor.
- (distance.

1. This expanded Clause ("hem ses .. edebiliyor") is an anacoluthon: the subjects of the two constituent Clauses are different, therefore the subject of the second should have been 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{They took away (=stole)} \\
&\text{the tiles} \\
&\text{just as they were.} \\
&\text{So that they wouldn't get lost!}
\end{align*}
\]

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.
When the Speaker indicates that he wishes to bring his spell as player of that role 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) 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 BIIIc. 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 referents; 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" (filânr, 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 (fihan, 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+St1 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 pilêvde da" on p. 263), this response itself prompts another ("ona fistik üzüm konuluyor"), just as the Ct in the Chain Sentence prompts another Ct (Ct). 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

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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)

\[
\begin{align*}
N-Ø & \quad N-\text{DE} \quad \text{VP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- Siz nerde oturuyorsunuz? - Er, where are you living?
- (Efendim?) - (I beg your pardon?)

\[
\begin{align*}
N-\text{DE} & \quad \text{VP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- Nerde oturuyorsunuz? - Where are you living?

The context is this: the Speaker has turned to address a different person 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 $N^-$ unit.

The implication seems to be that the $N^-$ 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 $N^-$ 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 consi­
dered 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?)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{N-DE} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Nerde oturuyorsunuz...} \\
\text{Where are you living?}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(Otelde mi...)} \\
\text{(Hayir efen...)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{in a hotel...} \\
\text{(or)} \\
\text{No, sir}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(pensiyonda mi?)} \\
\text{(dim).}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Yok yok ++} \\
\text{(in a boarding house?} \\
\text{No, no++}
\end{array}
\]

1. Work done on written (literary) texts with an informant in
which existing N-Ø units were removed, and others were add­
ed 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 \( N^0 \) 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:

\[
N^{-DE} \quad VP \quad N^{2-DE} \quad N^{-DE}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Nerde oldu efendim?} \\
N^{-DE} \quad VP \quad Voc
\end{array}
\]

- Er where did it take place, sir.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{bu hadise?} \\
N^{-0}
\end{array}
\]

- this incident?

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Yine Kebilde mi?} \\
N^{Av} \quad N^{-DE}
\end{array}
\]

Again in Kabul?

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Dağistanda.} \\
N^{-DE}
\end{array}
\]

- 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, \( \text{Eh?, 'What?', etc.} \), 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 of 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 \((n)\) being added. This in turn becomes the Stimulus for a new question:

\[(342)\]

\[-{\text{Siz}}_{\text{NE tarafinda}}, \quad -\text{On which part of it oturuyorsunuz?} \quad \text{- do you live...} \]

\[-{\text{Londrade}}, \quad -\text{of London?} \quad \text{- Do you}\]

\[(da \ mi)_{\text{oturuyorsunuz?}} \quad \text{- live in London?}\]

\[(Ben \ mi?) \quad \text{- (Me?)}\]

\[\text{(Eayır++)} \quad \text{- (No++)}\]

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:

\[(343)\]

\[+ +\text{Misafir geldi, Sadi.} \quad + +\text{A visitor came - Sadi.}\]

\[\ast \text{Sen de tanırın...} \quad 2* \text{You know (him) too...}\]

\[\text{Çok konușan birisi...} \quad \text{A very talkative person...}\]

\[\text{Görümcemin...tarafindas} \quad \text{My sister-in-law's...in her neighbourhood,}\]

- continued on next page -

1. This is serving the same purpose as the \textit{siz} in no. 339.

2. The whole passage under discussion is between the two asterisks. It is parenthetic, a self-interruption functioning as \textit{Ct on} (i.e. "Response" to ) the \textit{St} (or "Stimulus") \textit{Misafir geldi, Sadi."} - continued on next page-
(they live next door...)

(Oh! Oh! Of course!)

They live next door.

You've got it. He sends you greetings, too. Of necessity I had the beans 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,)

(At one time)

(bizim filiz çayları,)

(our "Filiz" teas)

(pek güzeldi,)

(They) were very good...

(Filiz çayları,)

(What? "Filiz" teas.

(Efendim?)

(Pek güzeldi...)

(They) were very good...

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 re- 
sponse is repeated, phrase by phrase. What 
evidence there is suggests that the original 
sequence is preserved in the repetition but un- 
fortunately 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 ad- 
visable 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, inter- 
preted as "acknowledgement", before embarking upon his "mean- 
ingful" utterance (signals BIIIb and BIIIc), the latter being 
identical with AI). The first of these signals is here term-
ed 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 it-
self made up of smaller structures whose component parts 
stand in a Stimulus+Response relationship to each other, 

Multiple Unit structures and St+Ot 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 is 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 sä 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)
- How do you make stuffed vegetables in olive-oil?
- Well really, all veggies whether tomatoes or peppers.

(346)
- I can't make good pilaff. How is it made?
- Well it varies according to the rice.

(347)
- 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 separ­
ated, Hm being the acknowledgment (BIIIb), etli dolmayi da
the announcement of the topic:

(348)

- (Şimdi, etli dolma
  nasıl yapılılıyor?)
- Hm... 
- etli dolmayı da
  IRp
- N(y)I Cj Rp
  kıyımaylan... piring,
  MRp
  endan sonra....
  nane...++

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)

- Güzell mi?
  NP
  - Is she pretty?
  Sm

- Güzell
  NP
  - Yes, she is ("she is pretty")
  Rp

(350)

- Görđmn mü, bunu sen?
  VP
  N-(y)I
  - Have you seen this one?
  Sm
  N-Ø

- Görmedim.
  VP
  - No, I haven't("I have not seen (it)"
  Rp

(351)

- Çift mi pencelerinin
  NP
  N-Ø
  - Are the windows double-
  Sm
digarısı?,

- Çift.
  NP
  - Yes, they are ("Double" or "they are double")
  Rp
(352)
- Nura mı dedi?  
  \[ N-(y)E \] \[ VP \]  
  \[ Sm \]  
  - He said (it) to Nur?  

(353)
- TYPE konuşma  
  \[ N-(y)E \] \[ N(y)Z \]  
  \[ Sm \]  
  - Have you recorded ("taken") conversation on the tape-recorder?  

- Aldınız mı?  
  \[ VP \]  
  \[ Rp \]  
  - We are doing so ("We are taking").

(354)
- (Söyledim mi scaba -  
  Gümülcinede çok güzel iğne oyaşı aldım.)  
  \[ VP \] \[ Sm \]  
  - (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 dictates 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:
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 than another should be added:

(359)
- Selâmünaleyküm!
  \[ Sm \]
- Peace unto you!

- Aleyküm selâm! Sağol!
  \[ Rp \]
- And unto you peace!
  \[ Be well! \]

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)
- Evet, anläsılıyor,
  \[ CW \]
  \[ VP \]
- Yes one can tell ("it is understandable")
  \[ Sm \]
  \[ one can tell. \]

- Evet, anläsılıyor,
  \[ CW \]
  \[ VP \]
- Yes, one can tell,
  \[ Rp \]
  \[ one certainly can tell. \]
(361)
- Kendini, bilmiyormuş.
  \[ N^{-}(y) N^{-} \]  
  VP
  \[ Sm \]
- Hıg kendini, bilmiyordu.
  \[ N^{-}(y) N^{-} \]  
  VP
  \[ Rp \]
- It seems he didn't come round ("did not know himself")
- He didn't come round at all.

(362)
- Meneş, de, güzel.
  \[ N^0 Cj NP \]
  Sm
- Its meaning, too, is beautiful.

- Meneş, çok güzel, efendim.
  \[ N^0 NP \]
  Voc.
  Rp
- The meaning is very beautiful, ma'am.

The last also belongs to the next group, since it has a lengthener appended ("efendim") as illustrated in nos. 363-369.

(363)
- Dehset,\[1\]
  \[ NP \]
  Sm
- (It's) fearsome.

- O, dehset, değil mi?\[1\]
  \[ N^0 NP, NP \]
  Rp
- That one's fearsome, isn't it?

(364)
- Biz, de, anlamıyor muyuz?
  \[ N^0 Cj VP \]
  Sm
- Don't we too understand (implies affirmative)
- We, too understand,
- (denotes affirmative)

- Biz, de, anlamıyoruz,
  \[ Cj VP \]
  Rp

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".
It's half past five, apparently.

She creates (it) herself apparently, doesn't she?

In Dagistan, Just so ("yes").

He was in bed for 10 days, dear, in the hospital.

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

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'.

In winter, I believe, it is rather... harsh there.

- Harsh but it's healthy (or, "It is harsh but healthy") its climate.

It can be seen that the Response contains repetition ("sert") + contrast ("ama sağlam") + lengthening element ("havesi")

And anyway its people are very poor creatures... extremely backward... their heads don't work... Well, our Dursun and his ilk are all from there...
(Dursun....................)

{Ama ne iyi adamlar,}

\(\text{CW} \quad \text{NP}\)

Sm

{Iyi adamlar

\(\text{NP} \quad \text{NP}\}

zavalliler!}

\(\text{NN} \quad \text{NN}\)

But what good men they are,

Good men

(the poor things!)

{ama, pak dünyayı görmemig,}

\(\text{CW} \quad \text{VN}\)

Rp

(but very ignorant of the world,

very backward people.

Taking 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 BIIIs 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, zavalliler!")\(^1\) 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 ... orali".
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 ESKImişiz!) Sm - (We have become antiques!)

- İyi ama

- True ("good")...but

\[ \text{ESKiye knymet ziyade!} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{N-}\text{(y)z} \]
\[ \text{N-}\text{\sigma} \]

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:
(373)

- (Ne zaman yapıyorsunuz? Aynı gün mü, 
  Bir gün evvel mi?)
  
- Bir gün önceden {olup
dinlenirse, 
daha iyidir,
zeytinyağlı yemekler,

   Sm

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(374) (see also p. 299)

- Çift mi pencere-lerin dışarısı?

- Çift.

- Ha, ondan, they are.

- 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. 275)
- O zaman konuşmalarımızı
  \[ N^{Av} N^{-(y)i} \]
  - biraz KONTROL altına
  \[ N^{-(y)E} \]
  - alalım. ... Sımdiye kadar
  \[ VP \]
  - pek gelişigüzel.
  \[ F.Cl \]
  - In that case, let us bring
  - our conversation under control a bit. Up to now it has been very haphazard.

- O KONTROLÜ, Matmazel
  \[ N^{-(y)i} N^f \]
  - kendi yapacak.
  \[ VP \]
  - Mademoiselle herself will exercise ("make") that control.

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 \( N^{\text{Av}} \) and \( VN^{\text{Av}} \) respectively. The second Sentence (the Response) has therefore become "inverted" as a result of placing the Word-with-antecedent first.

1. Or possibly as a result of parallelism, it might seem. Actually, the intonation contours are not "parallel".
(376) - PAHALYdi yo zaman.. - It was MORE EXPENSIVE
than the other ones
NP \[ N^ Av \] at that time... Rp

KAQti, ben ordayken? 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)
- PENGERELER[\[yuksek. \[ N^ \[ y \] ] ] - The windows are high:
NP \[ N^ Av \] Sm

ONLARI temizleme[\[Fuc. \[ N^y \] ] ] to clean them is difficult.
NP \[ VN^ Av \] \[ VN^ \[ y \] [ y ] \] Rp

Use of the demonstrative, however, opens up the possibil-
ity of the antecedent's being not a single word in the
Stimulus but the whole to the Stimulus itself:

(378) "Fatih Zamaninda.. I had prepared a thing
Tezhib Senati" diye called "The Art of Gilding
bir sey[\[hezirlamistim. \[ N^y \] ] ] at the time of the Conqueror"
VP \[ N^ Av \] Rp

ONU[\[Vekilet, aldii.. \[ N^y \] ] ]... The Ministry took it,
NP \[ VN^ Av \] to publish (it).

basmirak icin..
The antecedent of 0 (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)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{Gözünü kapa,} & \text{Shut your eye(s),} \\
N-(y)I & F,Cl \\
\text{ağzınızı kapa,} & \text{shut your(mouth)} \\
N-(y)I & F,Cl \\
kulağınızı kapa. & \text{shut your ear(s);} \\
N-(y)I & F,Cl \\
O zaman rehat & \text{then ("at that time")} \\
NAv & F,Cl \\
yağlıyacaksın. & \text{you will live easy.} \\
\end{array}
\]

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:
Formerly all the Laz used to work in Russia and in Iran: (it was) they (who) did the bread-making, they (who) did the cake-making, 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 will with no. 380 is this:

(381)
Evet, onlar
Yes, they
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 $N^{-\langle \# \rangle_7}$ 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)İ(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)

$+_biberleri oydum, \quad Sm \quad +_I$ scooped out the peppers and,

$iğINE koyup_{\ldots} \quad Sm \quad$ putting (it) inside them,

$doldurum_{\ldots} +\ldots \quad Rp \quad$ filled (them)_{\ldots} +\ldots

$ÜstÜNE de_{\ldots} \quad$ And on top of them_{\ldots}

$ya biberin kendi \quad Rp \quad$ either you put on the

$kapağını koyuyorsun +\ldots \quad$ peppers' own lid(s)+

The antecedent of the -(s)İ(n) suffix in $iğINE$ 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 quoted consists of five Sentences: three simple Single-clause ones followed by a Single-clause one expended (two-fold) by multiplicity. Each contains at least one Word-with-antecedent; these are underlined:

(383)

++...Ondan sonra...

++...After that...

ikinci kat yufkayı,

I put the second layer of pastry

N-(y)İ

on top of it....

koyuyorum üstÜNe...

On top of that

VP 

N-(y)E

üçüncü kat yufkayı

I spread

N-(y)İ

döşüyorum....

the third layer of pastry...

VP

Gine aynı şekilde

Again...in the same way

N-NE

yeğ ve yumurta

I sprinkle

N-DE

kirisimini...

the fat and egg

N-(y)İ

gezdiriyorum üstÜNe.

mixture

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.
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: onden sonra in $S^1$
onun üzerine in $S^2$
(b) -(s)I(n) suffix: üstüne in $S^1$
onun üzerine in $S^2$

(c) without segmental link:
gine in $S^3$
syni (gökdde) in $S^3$
sonuncu(yu) in $S^4$
vine in $S^4$

Their antecedents are as follows: the antecedent of both words in $S^1$ is the same, viz. the part not quoted but summarized in the footnote on p. 315, that of the word in $S^2$ is the "ikinci kat yufkayi koyuyorum" of $S^1$. The first two in $S^3$ 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 \textit{S}^{2}. \textit{Sonuncuyu} in \textit{S}^{4} suggests all that have preceded it (three in number), whereas the antecedent of \textit{Üstүnçũ} is a single word only, \textit{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 \(Üstүnçũ\) 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 prominence\(^{1}\), 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.

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\(^{1}\) 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 an 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:
onun üzerine line 13 N-(y)E (demonstrative; suffix)
fistiklerde " 24 N-Ø (repetition)
fistik de " 32 N-Ø (repetition)
binden sonra " 40 NAv (demonstrative)
onun üzerine " 52 N-(y)E (demonstrative; suffix)
soğuduktan sonra " 60 VNAv (repetition)
üstüne de " 68 N-(y)E (suffix)
onul " 82 N-(y)I (demonstrative)

Other words marking steps in the sequence are:
ilk önce line 2 NAv
bu sefer " 34 NAv

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 which serve to illustrate the difference:
mesela line 4
tabii " 27
sade " 48
hattâ " 81
günkü " 87
bilhassa " 90

Some of the effects upon syntactic structure of the interplay between the two roles 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-∅ placed last. It is possible to suggest why:

(384)

Peki, Look here,

niçin acaba why, I wonder,

why, I wonder,  

iyi olmuyor pilav? doesn't

turn out well?

An examination of the context enables us to suggest a reason (i) for the N-∅ 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-∅. It is therefore the need to
make this clear that renders its presence obligatory.

But why is it placed last?

Two positions only are possible for this unit in a Sentence so constituted: (i) before nigin (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-∅ is not placed there, then this pitch prominence has to be put upon nigin, 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 nigin and the weakness of N-∅ is that the Speaker, concentrating on nigin and rendering it the most prominent or important part of her utterance, did not intend N-∅ to be present, but finding her statement defective (not informative enough) appended the N-∅ 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-∅) 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"?

L. Cf. Mundy (1955); on p. 301 he says of an "inverted" example of a pattern C Word-group: "An umemphatic 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 "Zeytinyağıında 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/F 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-∅. 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 Zeytinyağlıda 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 fillān 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+³Ct 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. acknowledgment 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^O, 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.
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 $N^C \cdot \gamma$ 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 $N^{-y}I$ - 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 $N^{-y}I+V$ 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 $N^{-y}I$ 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 $P/F$ 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: it 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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