

Right Dislocation in Turkish

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Abstract. This paper investigates a scrambling operation called Right Dislocation (RD) in Turkish. Despite the limited understanding of RD in Turkish, previous studies have converged on the conclusion that (i) RD in Turkish involves rightward movement (Kural 1997, Kornfilt 2005), and (ii) post-verbal constituents (PVCs) consistently undergo reconstruction (with the exception of scope, as suggested by Kural (1997)), indicating that PVCs occupy an A'-position. This paper presents instances where PVCs are interpreted in their surface position, casting doubt on the presumed A'-properties. Additionally, it demonstrates that RD of higher arguments (*e.g.*, subjects or indirect objects) seems to create new binding and scope relations with respect to lower arguments (*e.g.*, direct and indirect objects). To address these issues, this paper proposes a structure that is governed by the interaction between discourse, pragmatics, and syntax. It argues that RD is a by-product of focus movement which is found in cleft-like constructions, and RD is preceded by the scrambling of lower arguments to discourse-functional projections such as FocusP and TopicP. Similarly, the RD of lower arguments is preceded by their short scrambling to the specifier of vP, driven by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). By aligning syntax with discourse through a one-to-one mapping, in conjunction with independently motivated principles like the Scope principle, LF-approach to Condition C, and the Anywhere Condition of Condition A and pronominal binding, the proposed framework provides a consistent explanation for RD in Turkish, attributing all A-properties to the short scrambling of arguments.

Keywords. right dislocation; Turkish; backgrounding; focus; information structure

1. Introduction. Elements in Turkish can appear to the right of the verb through the operation called "Right Dislocation" (henceforth RD). RD has been observed in many head-final languages such as Japanese (Whitman 2000, Takita 2011), Korean (Ko 2022), Hindi (Mahajan 1997, Bhatt and Dayal 2007), Bangla (Simpson and Choudhury 2014), and Tamil (Sarma 2003). Turkish is among these languages and allows post-verbal constituents (henceforth PVCs) much more readily than other SOV languages (Kornfilt 2005). In Turkish, both arguments and adjuncts can appear in this position.

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| (1) a. Demet pizza-y ₁ hızlıca ye-di.
D pizza-ACC fast eat-PAST
'Demet quickly ate the pizza.' | b. [Demet _ hızlıca yedi] pizzayı.
c. [_ pizzayı hızlıca yedi] Demet.
d. [Demet pizzayı _ yedi] hızlıca. |
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Compared to the leftward movement, RD in Turkish remains not well understood. This article makes an attempt to address this gap, investigating PVCs in Turkish. The study demonstrates that RD of any argument, be it subject, indirect object (IO), or direct object (DO), can give rise

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to novel binding and scope relations, challenging the prevailing A'-analysis of RD. For instance, when higher arguments (*e.g.*, subject or IO) undergo RD, this leads the lowest argument (*e.g.*, DO) to bind the postposed argument. To address these issues, I propose that RD occurs only in cleft-like structures, therefore is a by-product of focus movement. That is, the movement of a focused element to the Focus projection causes presupposed (backgrounded) material to move to the postverbal field. This, in turn, suggest that focus movement triggers and precedes RD. As for the preverbal sentence-initial XPs preceding focused items, I argue that they obligatorily move to the Spec,TopP position in the CP layer. This analysis considers RD as an A'-movement, where all A-properties of RD result from the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which requires elements to undergo cyclic movement through intermediate landing sites. By incorporating independently motivated principles such as the Anywhere condition of Condition A and the Scope principle, these proposals offer an explanation for the empirical observations in Turkish. This article is organized as follows. §2 provides a summary of previous research on Turkish RD and offers a concise overview of the information structure. In §3, the data that poses challenges to existing accounts is presented. §4 presents the novel proposal and key assumptions adopted in this study. In §5, the proposal outlined in §4 is applied to Turkish RD constructions, supported by evidence from Condition A, Condition C, pronominal binding, and scope relations. §6 concludes the paper.

2. Turkish PVCs.

2.1. RD AS RIGHTWARD MOVEMENT. RD, cross-linguistically, has been analyzed from various perspectives, and they mostly differ in two fundamental aspects: the size of the construction at stake (mono-clausal vs. bi-clausal) and the way the PVC is introduced into the derivation (movement vs. base-generation) (see Ko 2022 for an extensive summary). Given the limited available space, I will primarily concentrate on the predominant approach to RD, which involves analyzing it as a form of movement towards the right of the verb.

Rightward scrambling analysis has been argued for Hindi (Mahajan 1997, Manetta 2012), Korean (Choe 1987b), and Japanese (Simon 1989, Murayama et al. 1999). In this approach, PVCs originate in their thematic positions and move to the right periphery without anything else moving. The prevailing treatment of RD as rightward movement stems from the observation that PVCs mostly obey island constraints, indicating that RD indeed involves movement. Turkish is also one of these languages where PVC constructions are subject to island constraints, and in addition, movement is not possible out of the PVC, again suggesting that it is a derived position. Kural (1997) provides the following example to demonstrate this point.

- (2) a. *pro* [[Ahmet'in Ayşe'ye ver-diğ-i] kitab-ı] sev-di-m.
 A-GEN A-DAT give-NOM-3SG book-ACC like-PST-1SG
 'I liked the book that Ahmet gave to Ayşe'
- b. **[pro* [[Ahmet'in *t* ver-diğ-i] kitab-ı] sevdim] Ayşe'ye. (Kural 1997:500)

Kornfilt (2005) gives further evidence in support of rightward movement analysis for Turkish. In the following example (3a), the focus particle *sadece* 'only' can have the whole embedded clause in its scope or only the adjacent embedded subject, inducing ambiguity. This is expected given that the particle c-commands both the embedded clause and its subject. When the embedded clause is postposed, as in (3b), the particle no longer c-commands any of them. This suggests that the nominalized embedded clause moved to a higher position where it cannot be c-commanded

by anything in the host clause. Note that the ungrammaticality of (3b) is not due to the dislocation of the embedded clause as they can freely scramble around given their DP status (Aygen 2002, Kornfilt 2003) and overt case marking.

- (3) a. Sanık sadece [hakim-in uyuyakal-dıĝ-ı]-nı farket-ti.
 accused only judge-GEN fall.asleep-NOM-3SG-ACC notice-PAST
 ‘The accused noticed only that the judge had fallen asleep.’
 b. [Sanık (*sadece) *t* fark etti] [hakimin uyuyakaldıĝını]. (Kornfilt 2005:164,165)

These properties of PVC constructions led previous works to converge on the conclusion that RD is a rightward movement in Turkish.

2.2. THE NATURE OF POST-VERBAL FIELD. Having established that RD involves rightward movement in Turkish, the next issue is the nature of the post-verbal field. Even though Kural (1997) does not explicitly address the issue of A vs. A’-dependency, his findings suggest that both properties are present. He shows that PVCs undergo (obligatory) reconstruction when there is an anaphoric expression in PVC.

- (4) PVCs undergoing reconstruction
 a. [Herkes_i *t* dün ara-mıŝ] *pro*_i anne-si-ni.
 everybody yesterday call-EP.PAST mother-3SG-ACC
 ‘Everybody_i called his_i mother yesterday.’
 b. [Herkes_i *t* dün ara-mıŝ] birbirini-ni.
 everybody yesterday call-EP.PAST each.other-ACC
 ‘Everybody_i called each other_i yesterday.’
 c. [Herkes_i *t* dün ara-mıŝ] *pro*_i üç akraba-sı-nı.
 everybody yesterday call-EP.PAST three relative-3SG-ACC
 ‘Everybody_i called three relatives of him_i yesterday.’¹ (*3 > ∀, ∀ > 3)
 (Kural 1997:506)

However, according to him, PVC QPs that do not include any anaphor inside asymmetrically c-command the pre-predicate QP.

- (5) PVC QPs taking wide scope
 a. Üç kiŝi herkes-i dün ara-mıŝ.
 three person everybody-ACC yesterday call-EP.PAST
 ‘Three people called everyone yesterday.’ (3 > ∀, *∀ > 3)
 b. [Üç kiŝi *t* dün aramıŝ] herkesi. (*3 > ∀, ∀ > 3)
 c. [*t* herkesi dün aramıŝ] üç kiŝi. (3 > ∀, *∀ > 3)
 (Kural 1997:505)

He attributes PVC QPs taking obligatory wide scope to the following principles:

¹ As we will see later, my analysis predicts ambiguity here as the subject QP c-commands the trace of the postposed QP. However, the lack of ambiguity is most likely due to the pronominal element inside of the QP.

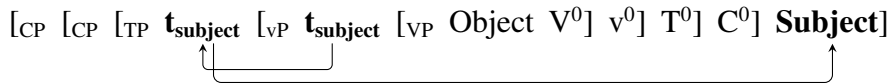
- (6) Scope preservation:
If QP1 c-commands QP2 at S-Structure, it also c-commands QP2 at LF.
- (7) Economy of Reconstruction:
A QP reconstructs only when it is required to do so for independent reasons. (Kural 1997:508)

Kural (1997) argues that quantifiers are banned from raising at LF due to the Scope preservation principle, hence the lack of ambiguity. On the other hand, Kornfilt (2005) explicitly argues that RD in Turkish is an A'-movement, therefore elements appearing in this position, including QPs as in (8), undergo obligatory reconstruction (with the exception of focused constituents illustrated in 3b).

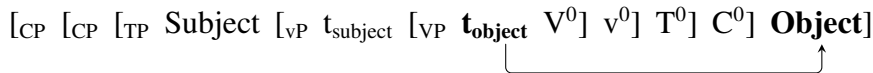
- (8) Evidence for reconstruction of PVCs
- a. [Herkes bu yıl *t* kitap-lar-ı-nı ithaf et-miş] üç kişi-ye.
everyone this year book-PL-3SG-ACC dedicate LV-EP.PST three person-DAT
'Everybody dedicated his books to three people this year.' $\forall \rangle 3, *3 \rangle \forall$
- b. [Üç kişi dün akşam *t* yardım et-miş] herkes-e.
three person yesterday evening help LV-EP.PST everyone-DAT
'Three people helped everybody yesterday evening.' $*\forall \rangle 3, 3 \rangle \forall$
(Kornfilt 2005:174)

Despite the differences, all previous accounts have converged on the conclusion that RD is a CP-adjunction operation as illustrated in (9) and (10).

(9) **Subject RD**



(10) **Object RD**



Before delving into the issue at stake, I provide a concise outline of the information structure in Turkish.

2.3. INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN TURKISH. Turkish is quite flexible with respect to the linearization of the arguments. However, this flexibility is not just a simple variation in arrangements of constituents, rather, it has an interpretative value in it such that every non-canonical appearance of an argument signals its role in the information structure. That is, arguments are associated with a particular discourse-pragmatic function in each word-order variation, thus the occurrences of these arguments in different positions are constrained by the information structure. The discourse-pragmatic functions in Turkish information structure can be boiled down to three main informational primitives: focus, background, and topic. Focus denotes a portion bearing new information, background is the part in which old information is accommodated, and topic is what anchors the sentence to the hearer's mental world or the previous discourse, and is the given information that signals what the sentence is about. These three discourse-pragmatic notions have been argued to map to the following syntactic positions in Turkish.

(11) Sentence-initial Pre-verbal V Post-verbal
Topic Focus Background

Topics in Turkish bear a pitch accent, identified as a rising tone (Kılıçaslan 1994). Additionally, Turkish has both syntactic and phonological definitions for topics: they are marked in Turkish by movement to sentence-initial position (Erguvanlı 1984, Kornfilt 1997), and cannot have primary sentential stress or focal accent.²

As for focused elements, regardless of the grammatical functions, they appear in the immediately-preverbal position, though they may remain in situ just like *wh*-expressions (Göksel and Özsoy 2000). Crucially, they cannot be followed by topicalized (bearing old information) constituents, as shown in (12).³

- (12) a. Cem kalem-i kim-e ver-di? b. A: Cem [kalemi]_T [Demet'e]_F verdi.
 C pencil-ACC who-DAT give-PAST A': *Cem [Demet'e]_F [kalemi]_T verdi.
 'Who did Cem give the pencil?'

The last information structure element that needs to be taken into consideration is background information. In Turkish, the post-verbal field is assigned a special status in information structure in that it can only contain backgrounded (non-focal) material (Erguvanlı 1984, Kural 1997). In other words, new information is barred from occurring on this side of the clause. This is illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. Cem nereye gid-iyor? c. [_ [İstanbul'a]_F gidiyor] Cem.
 J where go-PROG
 'Where is Cem going?'
 b. Cem [İstanbul'a]_F gidiyor. d. *[Cem _ gidiyor] [İstanbul'a]_F.
 e. *[_ _ gidiyor] Cem [İstanbul'a]_F.

This is also supported further by the fact that *wh*-elements, which are focal by nature, cannot appear post-verbally (Kural 1992, Göksel 1998).⁴

- (14) a. Cem kim-i ar-ıyor? b. *Cem arıyor kimi?
 Cem who-ACC call-PROG
 'Who is Cem calling?' c. *Arıyor Cem kimi?

² Kılıçaslan (2004) argues that this kind of movement for topicalized expressions is not obligatory.

³ The claim that preverbal position is reserved for focus, has been subject to criticism. It has been pointed out that the pre-verbal position does not always accommodate the *f*-phrase. Göksel and Özsoy (2000) show that once there is a *wh*-element in the clause, an *f*-phrase cannot be preceded by a *wh*-phrase, even if the *f*-phrase occurs in the immediately preverbal position. On the basis of this, they argue for a focus field, an area hosting the elements denoting non-recoverable information, covering all preverbal positions (and the verbal complex). In this paper, I follow the traditional approach and assume that the preverbal position, in declarative sentences, is reserved for focused materials.

⁴ *Wh*-elements have also been reported to be barred from occurring post-verbally in other languages such as Korean (Choe 1987b) and Japanese (Kuno 1996, Takita 2011a). In Hindi-Urdu, even though it is possible to accommodate *wh*-expressions in the appendix, they do not take matrix scope (see Mahajan 1990 and Bhatt and Dayal 2007 for further details).

It is important to know that in Turkish, backgrounded elements cannot receive stress and have low pitch regardless of the number of the PVCs.⁵ This aligns with the fact that foci are not allowed in postverbal slots for they require primary stress, as previously explained.

3. The issue. Certain aspects of RD in Turkish have not received thorough investigation. One such aspect pertains to the potential for RD to generate new binding and scope relations. In other words, RD has the capacity to remedy binding violations and modify the interpretation of scope. As mentioned earlier, previous studies have already argued for the existence of new scope relations resulting from RD (Kural 1997, Kornfilt 2005), however, to the best of my knowledge, the former has been overlooked in the literature. Consider the following examples in (15).

- (15) a. ??Kendi_i komşu-su adam-ı_i döv-müş.
 self neighbor-3SG.POSS man-ACC beat-EP.PAST
 ‘*Himself_i’s neighbor beat the man_i.’
 b. [Kendi_i komşusu *t* dövmüş] adamı_i.

In (15a), the anaphor is embedded in the subject position and is not c-commanded by the object R-expression, hence the Condition A violation. Upon RD of the object R-expression, Condition A violation is avoided in (15b). The same point can be demonstrated with respect to pronominal binding (16), reciprocal binding (17), and scope configurations (18).

- (16) a. **pro*_i hoca-sı her öğrenci-ye_i sarıl-dı.
 teacher-3SG.POSS every student-DAT hug-EP.PAST
 ‘His_i teacher hugged every student_i.’
 b. [*pro*_i hocası *t* sarıldı] her öğrenciye_i.

- (17) a. *Birbirleri-nin_i aile-leri çocuk-lar-ı_i suçla-mış.
 each.other-gen parent-3.PL.POSS kid-pl-ACC blame-EP.PAST
 ‘*Each other_i’s family blamed the kids_i.’
 b. [Birbirlerinin_i aileleri *t* suçlamış] çocukları_i.

- (18) a. İki çocuk her film-i izle-di.
 two child every movie-ACC watch-PAST
 ‘Two boys watched every movie.’ 2 > ∀, *∀ > 2
 b. [İki çocuk *t* izledi] her filmi. 2 > ∀, ∀ > 2

Even though previous analyses differ as to where and when, PVCs have been reported to undergo reconstruction, which suggests that PVCs occupy an A'-position. The new relations obtained upon RD in (16), (17), and (18) are therefore surprising considering the claimed A'-properties of the PVCs. What is more interesting is that the RD of higher elements (*e.g.*, subject or indirect object), seems to create new c-command and scope relations with respect to the lower arguments (*e.g.*, direct object), as well. In the following examples, the bindees embedded in the subject position, which are unbound in their canonical positions as they are higher in the derivation, get bound upon RD of themselves.

⁵ PVCs have cross-linguistically been reported to resist focus (*e.g.*, Dutch, Mandarin, Cantonese, etc.). However, there are several languages allowing focus in the post-verbal field such as Japanese, Korean, and Mongolian.

(19) **Condition A**

- a. ??Kendi_i komşu-su adam-ı_i döv-müş.
self neighbor-3SG.POSS man-ACC beat-EP.PAST
'*Himself_i's neighbor beat the man_i.'
- b. [*t* adam_i döv-müş] kendi komşusu.

(20) **Pronominal binding**

- a. **pro*_i hoca-sı her öğrenci-ye_i sarıl-dı.
teacher-3SG.POSS every student-DAT hug-PAST
'His_i teacher hugged every student_i.'
- b. [*t* her öğrenci-ye_i sarıldı] *pro*_i hoca-sı.

(21) **Scope relations**

- a. İki çocuk her film-i izle-di.
two child every movie-ACC watch-PAST
'Two boys watched every movie.'
2 > ∀, *∀ > 2
- b. [*t* her filmi izledi] iki çocuk.
2 > ∀, ∀ > 2

The data in (19)-(21) is quite unexpected given that what is postposed in these cases is an argument that is already higher in the hierarchy. Once postposed, the object binder, which is supposed to stay in situ in the lowest position, is able to c-command and bind the postposed subject. The same pattern can also be found in ditransitive clauses with respect to indirect-direct object relations. In (22a), the IO pronoun c-commands the R-expression *Ali* embedded in the DP in the base order. The RD of the higher argument, the IO pronoun, leads to Condition C remedy in (22b), suggesting that the R-expression is somehow in a position, at some level, where it is not c-commanded by the pronoun anymore.

- (22) a. *Cem_i o-na_j Ali'ye_j yaz-ıl-an kitabı göster-di.
Cem he-DAT Ali-DAT write-PASS-RC book-ACC show-PST
'Cem_i showed him_j the book written to Ali_j.'
- b. [Cem_i *t* Ali'ye_j yazılan kitabı gösterdi] ona_j.

4. Proposal. Having laid out the properties of rightward scrambling and having presented the issues, I now turn to the account of the phenomenon. First, I assume that Turkish follows a strict head-final structure in which the head of a phrase always appears at the end of its own projection. Following Kural (1997) and Kornfilt (2005), I take RD in Turkish to be a rightward movement and a CP-adjunction operation.

In the rest of this section, I will present and discuss my proposal together with independently-motivated principles followed in this study. First, I assume that alterations in the prosodic structure must be represented in the syntactic derivation. That is, every argument that bears a discourse-pragmatic function has a designated place in the structure, and linear order of constituents in Turkish is regulated by discourse-features. Second, I propose the following: in constructions involving RD, the immediately preverbal XP always bears a higher pitch accent compared to its canonical form. A simple example of this is given in (23).

- (23) a. Cem elma-y1 ye-di.
 Cem apple-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘Cem ate an apple.’
- b. [*t* elmay1 yedi] Cem.
 ‘What Cem ate was an apple.’

As the translation suggests in (23b), preverbal arguments is obligatorily contrastively-focused, and RD creates a pseudocleft-like construction in that the sentence presupposes that Cem ate something, and what he ate was an apple, not something else. Based on this, I take the obligatory presence of focus on the immediately preverbal argument in constructions with RD as evidence that backgrounding is a by-product of focus movement. I argue that Turkish has a lower Focus projection which is situated above the vP domain. Once an element is focused, it moves to the specifier of the Focus phrase as illustrated in (24).

- (24) [_{FocP} **Object** [_{vP} Subject [_{vP} *t*_{object} V⁰] v⁰] Focus⁰]

Presupposed information, on the other hand, must be right-dislocated (backgrounded) which, in turn, suggests that focus movement triggers and precedes RD.

The concept of a low-type focus projection is not a novel proposal. It has previously been proposed in the context of Hungarian, another scrambling language, where the position directly preceding the verb is likewise reserved for elements that need to be focused (Kiss 1981, Horvath 1985).⁶ Therefore, it is reasonable to propose a comparable structure for languages that possess similar characteristics. As for sentence-initial non-focused preverbal arguments, I argue that they obtain a rising tone upon RD, therefore they must move to Spec,TopP located at the CP domain.

Crucially, Spec,FocP and Spec,TopP positions possess A'-properties, and movement to these positions occur cyclically. It is well-known that extraction out of phase domains is subject to certain constraints. Chomsky (2001) argues that, for the sake of efficiency, rather than sending a complete sentence to the interfaces at once, the Spell-out process proceeds gradually and cyclically, sending only "phases" out to interfaces. However, once the phase is spelled out, only the head and the edge are available to further syntactic operations. This is what is called Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

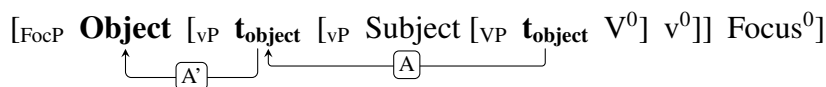
- (25) Phase Impenetrability Condition (Strong version):

The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2001:13-14)

This principle renders arguments that are outside of the phase edges invisible to syntax. To be visible, these items must move to the edge, a field which is called "escape hatch". Consequently, in order to reach their landing site, elements must first stop by at this escape hatch. Given that PIC applies to internal merge, Focus and Topic movements are also expected to obey this principle. Therefore, arguments whose θ -roles are assigned below v head, thus, must move through the designated escape hatches, that is, through the Spec,vP, resulting in the following derivation.

⁶ Hungarian differs from Turkish in that this movement in Hungarian has a direct effect on the output since it is an SVO language, the object must overtly move to preverbal position for focus. Based on differences between Turkish and Hungarian, Vallduví and Engdahl (1996) argue that Turkish is, in fact, more similar to Catalan than Hungarian regarding information structure.

(26) **The PIC effect**



In a similar vein, before moving to the post-verbal field, postposed elements first stop by at the Spec,vP (except for the subject which is already at the edge). I assume that Spec,vP is an A-position given that the head itself is a θ -role assigner. As a result, lower arguments, such as DOs, are placed in an A-position where they c-command the subject on their way to the postverbal field. We will see that all observed A-properties of RD in Turkish can be attributed to the short scrambling of arguments.

Another crucial assumption is pertinent to binding conditions. Belletti and Rizzi (1988) take Condition A to be an Anywhere condition, that is, it can be satisfied in narrow syntax or at LF. They argue that one instance of proper c-command relation between an antecedent and a bindee is enough to establish necessary binding relation. This principle is indeed cross-linguistically well-attested and accounts for cases where at the surface level, the bindee is dislocated and is not being c-commanded by the binder anymore. I follow their generalization on Condition A and extend it to pronominal binding:

- (27) A pronoun can be co-indexed with a quantifier iff it is c-commanded by the quantifier at any point in the course of the derivation.

Taking both cases of binding relations to be Anywhere condition will allow us to account for Turkish facts in section 3. What about binding conditions that require certain elements to be unbound? I adopt the view which aligns with Chomsky (1995) and Fox's (2000) treatment of Condition C, which states that it must be satisfied at Logical Form (LF) and not narrow syntax.

My last assumption is concerned with the quantifiers and their relations. I simply follow the Scope principle employed by Krifka (1998). The simplified version of this principle is given in (28).

- (28) If α and β are operators occurring in a sentence S, then S has a reading in which α has scope over β if and only if:
- a. α c-commands β , or
 - b. α c-commands a trace of β (Krifka 1998:76)

According to the condition in (28a), the scopal orderings of operators can be determined by their syntactic position in cases where there is no movement involved, as shown in (29a). On the other hand, Condition (28b) predicts that scope ambiguities arise due to movement when operator α c-commands the trace of operator β and is itself c-commanded by β , as demonstrated in (29b).

- (29) a. [... α ...[... β ...]] \Rightarrow reading: $\alpha \succ \beta$
 b. [... β ₁...[... α ...[...t₁...]]] \Rightarrow reading: $\alpha \succ \beta, \beta \succ \alpha$

We will see that these principles will account for the relevant Turkish data on RD, without relying on elusive structures or proposals.

5. Deriving Turkish PVCs.

5.1. SUBJECT RD. As briefly discussed in section 3, RD of subjects or higher arguments is problematic since it is not expected to lead to new binding or scope relations as they already occupy the highest position in the derivation. Given that contemporary syntactic theory is based on a purely hierarchical structure, and directional concepts like left or right are exclusive to PF, the phonetic form, moving the highest argument to an even higher position, even if it changes the lin-ear order, should not affect its interpretation. However, if a higher argument is moved to a higher post-verbal position in Turkish, it does lead to a change in the c-command relations. This is seen in the examples (19) and (20), which are repeated below in (30) and (31).

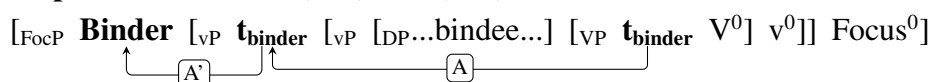
- (30) a. ??*Kendi*_i *komşu*-su *adam*-ı_i *döv*-müş.
 self neighbor-3SG.POSS man-ACC beat-EP.PAST
 ‘*Himself_i’s neighbor beat the man_i.’
 b. [*t* *adam*_i *dövmüş*] *kendi*_i *komşusu*.
- (31) a. **pro*_i *hoca*-sı *her* *öğrenci*-ye_i *sarıl*-dı.
 teacher-3SG.POSS every student-DAT hug-PAST
 ‘*His_i teacher hugged every student_i.’
 b. [*t* *her* *öğrenciye*_i *sarıldı*] *pro*_i *hocası*.

In (30a) and (31a), after assigning all theta roles, the required binding configurations are not obtained. The bindees *kendi* and *pro* are positioned in the subject position at Spec,vP, and therefore higher than the object binder (R-expression and QP) at the complement position of the VP. This results in binding violations since the bindees are not c-commanded by their antecedents. However, when the subject containing the bindee is moved to a post-verbal position, the co-reference becomes possible.

Recall that previous research has provided compelling evidence that post-verbal subjects, regardless of their semantic category (excluding QPs for Kural (1997)), undergo reconstruction and do not destroy binding relations already established. The question is, how can we reconcile these seemingly conflicting facts? In the rest of this subsection, we will see how these incompatible facts can be explained by the assumptions stated in section 4.

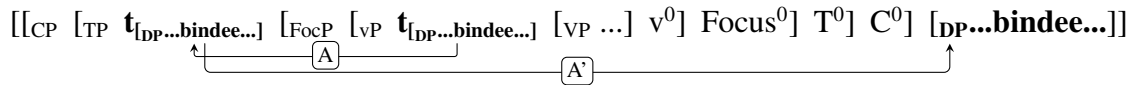
In (30b) and (31b), RD of the subject will be preceded by the focus movement of the object, therefore, the DO moves to the Spec,FocP. However, given that this movement extracts the object out of its phase domain, the object must stop by at the escape hatch, which is Spec,vP. This is illustrated in (32).

(32) The path of the DO in (30b) and (31b)



In Spec,vP, the object appears in a c-commanding A-position. I argue that this is the position where the object binder c-commands and A-binds the subject. As one instance of A-binding is sufficient for anaphor and pronominal bindings, this will yield new scope relations upon RD of higher arguments. After this step, the subject moves to the post-verbal field through Spec,TP, as in (33).

(33) **The path of the subject in (30b) and (31b)**



With respect to scope configurations, RD of the subject QP induces ambiguity.⁷ Consider the following sentences.

- (34) a. İki çocuk her film-i izle-di.
 two child every movie-ACC watch-PAST
 ‘Two boys watched every movie.’ 2 > ∀, *∀ > 2
- b. [*t* her filmi izledi] iki çocuk. 2 > ∀, ∀ > 2

In (34a), the numeral QP occupies the subject position, while the universal QP is located in the object position. Given that Turkish is a scope-rigid language, the subject QP unambiguously takes scope over the object QP. Consequently, the sentence only implies that two particular boys watched all of the movies. However, once numeral QP is moved via RD as in (34b), the ambiguity arises: the original meaning can still be retained, or the interpretation can be altered to indicate that for each movie, there are two boys who watched it.⁸ The second reading is only possible if the object universal QP c-commands the subject numeral QP or the trace of it. The proposed derivation predicts this ambiguity since the object appears above the subject at some point due to the Focus-movement. The derivation is given in (35).

- (35) [_{FocP} **QP**_v [_{vP} **tQP**_v [_{vP} **tQP**_{Num} [_{VP} **tQP**_v V⁰] v⁰]] Focus⁰]

The occurrence of the universal quantifier in Spec,FocP position allows it to c-command the trace of the numeral quantifier, hence the ambiguity.

In ditransitive constructions, the right-dislocated subject can be bound by both IO and DO in the host clause.

- (36) a. *Kendi_{*j/*k} öğretmen-i her öğrenci-ye_j Cem’i_k göster-miş.
 self teacher-3SG.POSS- every student-ACC C-ACC show-EP.PAST
 ‘His_{j/k} teacher showed Cem_k to every student_j.’
- b. [*t* her öğrenciye_j Cem’i_k göstermiş] kendi_{j/k} öğretmeni.

Example in (36) involves a subject in which an anaphor is embedded, a QP IO, and an R-expression DO. In their canonical order, the anaphor cannot be bound either by the QP or the R-expression since it is higher than these objects. Upon RD of the subject, both objects can bind the scrambled subject. This is only possible if both objects appear higher than the subject at some point. This is again a consequence of RD being a part of cleft-like structure. Before RD, the focused argument move to Spec,FocP, which allows it to c-command and bind the subject. As for the indirect object, focus movement causes the topicalized, sentence-initial argument IO to move to Spec,TopP,

⁷ Note that the judgement of my consultant and myself differ from those of Kural (1997) and Kornfilt’s (2005) consultants with respect to scope relations. According to Kural, PVC QPs obligatorily take wide scope, while for Kornfilt and her consultants, they undergo reconstruction. Therefore, their analyses are only compatible with their judgments.

⁸ There appears to be a parallelism between leftward and rightward movement in Turkish in that both operations result in scopal ambiguity upon dislocation of the object(s).

which is situated in the CP layer. Similar to focus movement, the topicalization operation must proceed through Spec,vP.

5.2. DO RD. Similar to subject RD instances, post-verbal DOs in Turkish can exhibit varied interpretations in their surface positions. This implies that moving the object to a postposed position does not necessarily destroy existing binding relations (except for Condition C), and can potentially give rise to new binding and scope relations. The latter scenario is illustrated in (15b) and (16b), and repeated in (37) for reference.

- (37) a. [Kendi_i komşusu *t* dövmüş] adamı_i.
 b. [*pro*_i hocası *t* sarıldı] her öğrenciye_i.

We have already seen why the base configurations of the examples above are ruled out in (30a) and (31a) - binding conditions are not met due to a lack of proper c-command relation between the binder and the bindee. In the previous section, scrambling the subjects to the post-verbal area was argued to establish necessary binding relations. (37a) and (37b) show that RD of the objects also satisfies the binding conditions. This is again predicted by the current proposal due to the appearance of the postposed DO in Spec,vP on the way. At this position, it c-commands and binds the subject, as in (38). After that, it A'-moves to the post-verbal field, where it will undergo reconstruction.

- (38) [_{VP} **Object** [_{VP} Subject [_{VP} **t_{object}** V⁰] v⁰]]

This structure also predicts scopal ambiguity. RD of the object QP creates ambiguity, inducing the reading in which for every movie, there are two boys who watched it, which was not available before movement. This falls out from Krifka's (1998) Scope principle: PVC QP c-commands the subject QP on surface structure, as in (40), hence the novel interpretation.

- (39) [İki çocuk *t* izledi] her filmi. 2 } ∀, ∀ } 2

- (40) [CP [CP [TP QP_{Num} [_{VP} t_{QP_{Num}} v'] T⁰] C⁰] QP_v]

In ditransitives, the proposed derivation predicts DO to bind both subject and IO as it stops by at Spec,vP, a position which c-commands both arguments. This prediction is borne out.

(41) **Condition A**

- a. *Çocuk-lar kendi_i eş-i-ne adam-ı_i göster-miş-ler.
 kid-pl self wife-3SG.POSS-DAT man-ACC show-EP.PAST-3PL.AGR
 '*Kids showed himself_i's wife the man_i.'
 b. [Çocuklar kendi_i eşine *t* göstermişler] adamı_i.
 c. *Kendi_i eş-i çocuk-lar-a adam-ı_i göster-miş.
 self wife-3SG.POSS- kid-PL-DAT man-ACC show-EP.PAST
 '*Himself's_i wife showed the man_i to children.'
 d. [Kendi_i eşi çocuklara *t* göstermiş] adamı_i.

(42) **Pronominal binding**

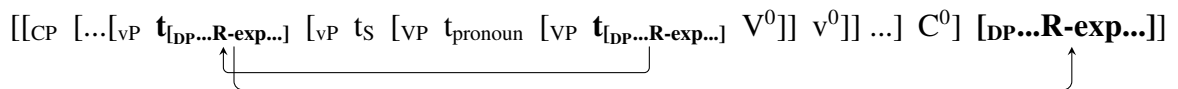
- a. *Görevli pro_i anne-si-ne her çocuğ-u_i ver-di.
 officer mother-3SG.POSS-DAT every kid-ACC give-PAST
 ‘*The officer gave his_i mother every boy_i.’
- b. [Görevli pro_i annesine t verdi] her çocuğ-u_i.
- c. * pro_i hoca-sı İstanbul’a her öğrenci-yi_i gönder-di.
 teacher-3SG.POSS- I-DAT every student-ACC send-PAST
 ‘*His_i teacher sent every student_i to Istanbul.’
- d. [pro_i hocası İstanbul’a t gönderdi] her öğrenciyi_i.

So far, my attention has primarily been directed toward evidence provided by Condition A, pronominal binding, and scope relations. To assess the effectiveness of my proposal with respect to DO RD, the analysis now turns to examine Condition C. The example in (22a), repeated in (43a) for reference, involves an R-expression embedded in the DO and a pronoun functioning as the IO.

- (43) a. *Cem_i o-na_j Ali’ye_j yaz-ıl-an kitabı göster-di.
 Cem he-DAT Ali-DAT write-PASS-RC book-ACC show-PST
 ‘*Cem_i showed him_j the book written to Ali_j.’
- b. *[Cem_i ona_j t göster-di] [Ali’ye_j yaz-ıl-an kitabı].

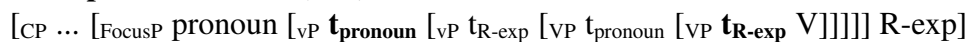
In (43a), the pronoun *ona* is higher than the R-expression *Ali* and c-commands it, inducing Condition C violation. In (43b), dislocating the R-expression contained in the DO places it in a higher position, therefore in the surface structure, the R-expression is unbound. However, the sentence still involves Condition C violation. The derivation, according to my proposal, proceeds as in (44).

(44) **Movement of the R-expression DO**



The IO pronoun moves to Spec,FocP, and the DO moves to the post-verbal field through Spec,vP. The fact that R-expression is unbound in the surface form and the Condition C is still violated suggests that Condition C of the binding theory indeed applies at LF. Crucially, reconstruction for the DO containing the R-expression must occur all the way down to its canonical position because if it reconstructed into an intermediate position, we could get Condition C remedy.⁹ However, this is not the case. Therefore, following Chomsky (1995) and Fox’s (2000) treatment of the Condition C is sufficient to account for the pattern presented above. As a result, the R-expression will be interpreted in its base position, which is c-commanded by the IO pronoun, leading to Condition C violation, as illustrated in (45).

(45) **LF representation of (43b)**¹⁰



⁹ In this paper, I assume that adjoined material reconstruct into the base position, while items whose landing site is a specifier position reconstructs into their last A-position.

¹⁰ So far, I indicated all traces/copies by boldfacing them. However, in (45) and (47), only copies that are interpreted at LF are boldfaced. The other copies are invisible.

More interestingly, in spite of the presence of the surface c-command, RD of the IO pronoun obviates Condition C, as shown in (46).

(46) [Cem_i t Ali'ye_j yazılan kitabı gösterdi] ona_j.

This, again, demonstrates that Condition C applies at LF, and the R-expression is interpreted somewhere higher than the pronoun at LF. We have already seen where the DO is interpreted: it is positioned at Spec,FocP, but interpreted in its last A-position, which is Spec,vP, while the postposed pronoun reconstruct all the way down to its base position. Therefore, at LF, the R-expression is higher than the pronoun, as in (47).

(47) **LF representation of (46)**

[CP ... [FOCUSP R-exp [VP t_{R-exp} [VP S [VP t_{pronoun} [VP t_{R-exp} V]]]]] pronoun]

6. Conclusion. In this paper, I investigated two key problems of RD in Turkish: (1) Why are certain PVCs sometimes interpreted in their landing site and sometimes in their thematic position? (2) How does RD of higher arguments change binding and scope relations? The former is accounted for with independently motivated principles such as Scope principle, PIC, and Anywhere condition of Condition A and pronominal binding. As for the latter, due to the cleft structure involving in RD constructions, I argued that immediately preverbal XP to Spec,FocP, which projects above vP, and preverbal sentence-initial arguments move to Spec,TopP in the CP layer, which explains how lower arguments can bind and take scope over higher arguments during derivation. The evidence from Condition A, Condition C, pronominal binding, and scope relations show that the current proposal explains a wide range of otherwise elusive properties of RD in Turkish. As a result, I proposed a uniform account of RD as an A'-operation.

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