PHASEHOOD OF DPS IN TURKISH: AN IMPLICATION FOR NON-SIMULTANEITY[1]

Murat ÖZGEN[*]

ABSTRACT

Relevant literature on the phasehood of phrases puts forwards a number of diagnostic tests which can reveal the interface properties of such phrases. Common phasal phrases are known to be *v**P (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent studies), CP (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent studies), DP/*n*P (Chomsky, 2006; Hiraiwa 2005; Marantz 2007; Ott, 2008 and Svenious, 2004), and *p*P (Abels, 2003; Raposo, 2002; Svenonius, 2003 and van Riemsdijk, 1978). Given that phases have natural interface correlates, we might state the following PF & LF correlates: extraposition & isolation, clefting, nuclear/sentential stress rule, ellipsis, extraction, propositionality, reconstruction, quantifier raising, binding, negative polarity item licensing. In this study, I aim to explore the phasehood of DPs in Turkish since these phrases are still on debate within the literature. I will show that the phasehood diagnostics applied on DPs in Turkish yield contradictory results in that DPs are convergent at PF, whereas they are not phases in terms of LF diagnostics. This problem suggests a dichotomy between simultaneous spell-out (Chomsky, 2008), and non-simultaneous spell-out (Felser, 2004; Marušič, 2008) phenomena.

Keywords: Phasehood, nominal phrases, interface, non-simultaneous spell-out

TÜRKÇEDE BELÖ'LERİN EVRELİKLERİ: EŞSÜREMSİZLİĞE YÖNELİK BİR SEZDİRİM

ÖZET

Öbeklerin evreliği konusundaki ilgili alanyazın öbeklerin arakesit özelliklerini ortaya çıkaran tanılar ortaya koymaktadır. Evre olarak varsayılan standart öbekler *e**Ö (Chomsky, 2000 ve izleyen çalışmaları), TÖ (Chomsky, 2000 ve izleyen çalışmaları), BelÖ/*a*Ö (Chomsky, 2006; Hiraiwa, 2005; Marantz, 2007; Ott, 2008 ve Svenious, 2004) ve *i*Ö (Abels, 2003; Raposo, 2002; Svenonius, 2003 ve van Riemsdijk, 1978) olarak biçimlenir. Evrelerin arakesitlerde yansımalarının bulunduğu düşünülürse, bu arakesit özelliklerinin şu şekilde olduğunu belirtebiliriz: dışakaydırma ve yalıtlama, ayrıklaştırma, çekirdek/tümce vurgusu kuralı, eksiltileme, çıkarma, önermesellik, gerikurulum, niceleyici yükseltme, bağlama, olumsuz kutup birimi yetkilendirme. Bu çalışmada, BelÖ'lerin evreliklerini Türkçe üzerinden tartışmayı amaçladık. Bu anlamda, BelÖ'lerin SB arakesitinde evre oluşturduklarını; buna karşın MB'de evre olamadıklarını gösteren deneysel kanıtlar

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[*] Dr., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dilbilim Bölümü, murat.ozgen@deu.edu.tr

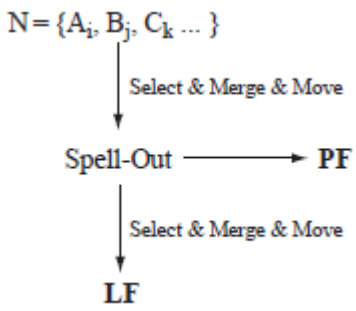
sunacağız. Bu görünüm de alanyazında eşsüremli dağıtım (Chomsky, 2008) ve eşsüremsiz (ayrık) dağıtımla (Felser, 2004, Marušič 2008) ilgili bir sezdirimde bulunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Evrelik, adcıl öbekler, arakesit, eşsüremsiz dağıtım.

INTRODUCTION

As put by Chomsky (1995 and subsequent studies), The Minimalist Program maintains that the derivations and representations constituting linguistic competence conform to an 'economy' criterion. Therefore, language is the most optimal solution to the computational system, which formalists call *grammar*, to the constraints imposed by two interfaces. These interfaces are the articulatory-perceptual system and the conceptual-intentional system. Articulatory-perceptual system is known briefly as PF, while conceptual-intentional system is known as LF.[2]

Figure 1. The Single Spell-Out Architecture of Grammar



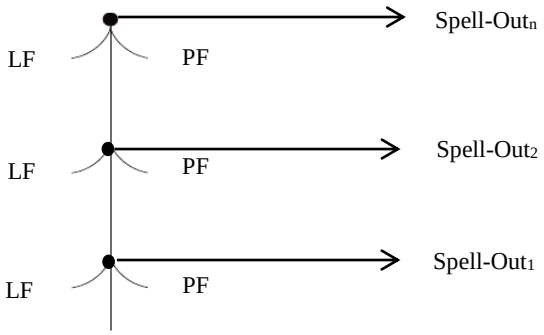
(Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann, 2005, p. 73)

Given a numeration N, the computational system accesses the lexical items of N through the operation Select and builds syntactic structures through the operations Merge and Move. At some point in the derivation, the system employs the operation Spell-Out, which splits the computation in two parts, leading to PF and LF. The mapping that leads to LF is referred to as the covert component and the one that leads to PF as the phonetic/phonological component; the computation that precedes Spell-Out is referred to as overt syntax (Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann, 2005, p. 73).

[2] Recent studies in Phase Theory (Chomsky, 2000, 2001, 2008) uses the terms <PHON> and <SEM> to denote these two interfaces. For the ease of understanding throughout the study, I will employ the common abbreviations PF and LF to refer to these two interfaces respectively.

In more recent studies, the architecture forwards the idea of Multiple Spell-Out, which suggests that a derivation is composed of incremental computations called *phases*. A phase is a unit of syntactic computation that converges at <PF, LF>. The key point here is that a phase must be legible at both interfaces, which suggests the idea that phases can be isolated at <PF, LF>.

Figure 2. The Multiple Spell-Out Architecture of Grammar

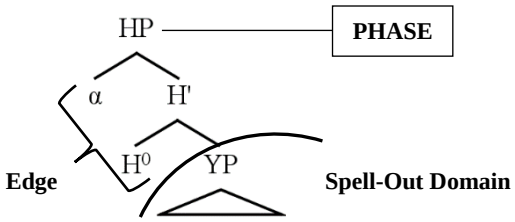


What is different in Figure 2 from Figure 1 is that at certain points of the derivation, the syntactic information is shipped to the interfaces <PF, LF>. Those certain points are the spell-out points so the parts of the derivation are sent to interfaces more than one time (i.e. multiple times).

The derivation chunk between two spell-out points is called a phase, and each phase is built on a separate lexical subarray. Chomksy (2008) claims that each phase is a propositional unit, therefore *v**Ps and CPs are phases. He argues that the former indicates an argument complex where roles are marked and the predication is built, while the latter is the propositional complex. Chomsky (2008, p. 143) also claims that DPs are also propositional as well as CPs, thus they might as well be phases. This reasoning has been widely discussed in the literature (*see* Mathushansky, 2005; Svenious, 2004; Marantz 2007; Ott, 2008 and Hiraiwa, 2005), studies in this regard tend to conclude that DPs are also phases.

Each phase has a phase head which has an edge and a spell-out property. While edge property of a phase functions as an escape hatch, the spell-out property of each phase head enables strong locality:

(1)



(Adapted from Citko, 2014, p. 32)

The tree in (1) has HP as the phase, and the phase head H^0. The edge of the phase are α, and H^0. The spell-out is triggered by the phase head H^0, and it contains YP. The spell-out domain is interpreted at <PF, LF>. Following spell-out, the domain shipped to interfaces become opaque to external probes. This is formulated by *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC):

(2) *Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)*

The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky, 2001, pp. 13-14)

ZP is a hypothetical phrase which bears an external probe outside the domain of H. This definition of PIC allows probing inside the spell-out domain until the next phase head is merged. Assume another non-phase head X^0 merged with the phase HP. This head, as a non-phase head, can agree with YP since YP is not spelled out until another phase head (say Z^0) is merged.

Relevant literature on the phasehood a PhP puts forwards a number of tests which can display the interface properties of such phrases. Common phasal phrases are known to be *v**P (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent studies), CP (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent studies), DP/*n*P (Chomsky, 2006; Hiraiwa, 2005; Marantz, 2007; Ott, 2008 and Svenious, 2004), and *p*P (Abels, 2003; Raposo, 2002; Svenonius, 2003 and van Riemsdijk, 1978 (for island constraints)). Given that phases have natural interface correlates, we might state the following PF & LF correlates:

(3) a. PF interface correlates
- (i) extraposition & isolation
- (ii) clefting
- (iii) Nuclear Stress Rule
- (iv) ellipsis
- (v) extraction

b. LF interface correlates

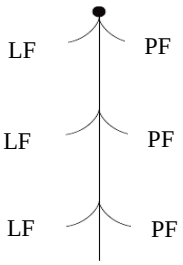
(i) propositionality
(ii) reconstruction
(iii) quantifier raising
(iv) binding
(v) negative polarity item licensing

In this study, I aim to explore the phasehood of DPs in Turkish since these phrases are still on debate within the literature. I will show that the phasehood diagnostics applied on DPs in Turkish yield contradictory results in that DPs are convergent at PF, whereas they are not phases in terms of LF diagnostics. This problem suggests a dichotomy between simultaneous spell-out (Chomsky, 2008), and non-simultaneous spell-out (Felser, 2004; Marušič, 2008) phenomena. To this end, Section 2 presents a short summary as to the distinction between simultaneous spell-out, and non-simultaneous spell-out. Section 3 introduces the PF & LF diagnostics of phases and presents the contradictory results. Section 4 presents the whole picture discussed. Section 5 concludes the paper and discusses theoretical implications and further issues.

Non-Simultaneous Spell-Out: A Crash Course

Phases are strong cyclic units, and that when a phase is completed, it is frozen and shipped to <LF, PF>. These shipments to these interfaces are commonly believed to happen simultaneously (Chomsky, 2004, 2005, 2008; Legate, 2003 *among others*). Therefore, in a simultaneous fashion a derivation will seem as follows:

(4) *Simultaneous spell-out mechanism*



Marušič (2008, p. 8) claims that if units at the two interfaces can only be created with spell-out, and if spell-out happens simultaneously, then every PF unit should have a corresponding LF unit and vice versa. However, some complex phrases are not semantically complex, nor are all phonologically simple units simple also at the LF interface:

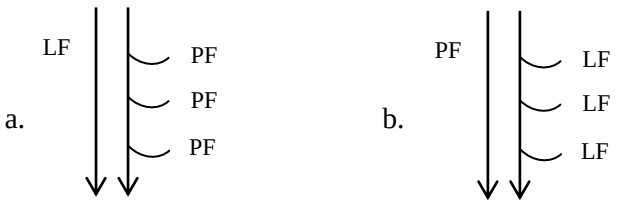
(5) a. John let the cat out of the bag
b. John spilled the beans

(6) *unlockable*
a. [un-[lock-able]] : which cannot be locked
b. [[un-lock]-able] : which can be unlocked

Marušič (2008, p. 8)

This data suggest, to some extent, that at the point of spell-out only some features are frozen and sent to the relevant interface. Given that lexical items are composed of three types of features (that is, semantic, phonological, and syntactic/grammatical), provided one of these features is frozen and sent to the relevant interface, the other two can still take part in the derivation. Take PhP as a phase. Ph^0, the head of this phrase, might be a PF-phase head but not a LF-phase head. If the next phase satisfies the semantic features, then this chunk is also sent to the interface in a non-simultaneous fashion. To say, Marušič (2008) mentions about a delayed spell-out of a material created in a phasal domain.[3] (7) is an illustration of non-simultaneous spell-out mechanism:

(7) *Non-simultaneous spell-out mechanism*



Relevant literature presents some studies in this regard. Megerdoomian (2003) compares Armenian and Japanese causatives, and claims that spell-out to LF is universal, while PF spell-out is subject to parametric variation among languages. Another study on non-simultaneous spell-out is carried out by Felser (2004). Contrary to Megerdoomian (2003), she claims that there are certain phases that can only be sent to PF-interface. Marušič (2008), on the other hand, claims that spell-out can be advanced to either interface. Therefore, within non-simultaneous spell-out approach, we have three distinct views in hand. Next, I move on to phasehood diagnostics of DPs in Turkish, which will favor non-simultaneous spell-out.

To Be A Phase or Not To Be A Phase

This section presents arguments in favor of the non-simultaneous spell-out phenomenon. I evidence these arguments from phasehood

[3] Due to space limitations, I cannot go into empirical evidence about non-simultaneous approach. Instead, I refer the reader to the studies cited therein.

diagnostics applied on DPs. First, I will show which types of DPs are under analysis here, and then I will move on to present the diagnostics.

DPs in Turkish

There have been many studies regarding the question as to whether DPs exist in Turkish or not. Studies in this regard within the literature can be divided in two. On one side, some studies claim that DPs do exist in Turkish (Arslan-Kechriotis, 2006 and 2009; Erk-Emeksiz, 2003; Tuğcu, 2009). On the other side of the page stand studies which claim there is no DP construction in Turkish (Bošković & Şener, 2012; Bošković 2010). I remain agnostic as to this polarization of arguments in this regard, and follow Erk-Emeksiz (2003), and Tuğcu (2009) and assume DP constructions in Turkish.

On a descriptive level, there are four types of DPs in Turkish. The first one is bare DP, which only bears possessive marking as in (8):

(8) [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Kapı kol-u]]
door knob-3SG.POSS
'Door knob'

The second type of DP in Turkish is Agreeing DPs, which bear genitive-possessive agreement as in (9):

(9) [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{NP}$ kitab-ı]]
Ali-GEN book-3SG.POSS
'Ali's book'

The third type of DPs in Turkish bears genitive-possessive agreement as well as an acc-marked object (*see* Keskin, 2009), which I will call complex DP:

(10) [$_{DP}$ Doktor-un [$_{PredP}$ hasta-yı muayene-si]]
Doctor-GEN patient-ACC examination-3SG.POSS
'Doctor's examination of the patient'

The last type of DPs in Turkish is sentential DPs in Turkish. They bear genitive-possessive agreement along with a verb carrying a verbal nominalizer and an agreement marker:

(11) [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{CP}$ kereviz-i ye-diğ-i]
Ali-GEN celery-ACC eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS

'Ali's eating of the celery'

DPs are deemed as phases, since they present a propositional complexity in the same way as CPs and *v**Ps (*see* Hiraiwa, 2005; Svenious, 2004). Take, for instance, (9). The agreeing DP in (9) indicates an existential relationship between *Ali* and *kitap* (book). The proposition here leads us to

the conclusion that *Ali has a book*. Besides, following Matushansky (2005, p. 159), if we take propositional complexity argument to display that there might be some limit on the number of projections in the workspace, then DPs in Turkish must contain phases since they exhaust the memory resources available:

(12) Ali-nin kardeş-i-nin arkadaş-ı-nın hala-sı-nın ...
Ali-GEN sister-3SG.POSS-GEN friend-3SG.POSS-GEN aunt-3SG.POSS-GEN
kitab-ı
book-3SG.POSS
'Ali's sister's friend's aunt's ... book'

The fact that the DP in (12) is iterated in terms of a noun rather a modifier indicates that computational complexity is right in stating that there might be a limit on the number of maximal projections. Therefore, on conceptual grounds, DPs seem to constitute phases. However, DPs must also display interface properties on empirical grounds, as stated in (3a-b). Now, I move on to present PF and LF diagnostics, and implement them on Turkish DPs.

Phasehood diagnostics and DPs

PF diagnostics

In this section, I will try to present PF diagnostics applicable on Turkish DPs. I claim that DPs in Turkish display phasal properties in terms of PF interface. I will evidence my arguments from nuclear stress rule/sentential stress rule, ellipsis and clefting. First, I move on to show how nuclear/sentential stress rule determines phases.

Nuclear stress and sentential stress

Legate (2003), following Bresnan (1972), discusses the phase-sensitivity of sentential stress to show that all type of *v*Ps are phases. Her theory is based on the idea that nuclear stress rule is applied in a cyclic fashion in each spell-out domain. Similarly, Kahnemuyipour (2004) suggests a sentential stress mechanism which is based on the multiple spell-out of phases. His mechanism is based on the notion that sentential stress is assigned to the topmost element in each SPELLEE (i.e. spell-out domain). The basic assumption behind this rule is on a similar vein to Legate (2003). Sentential stress is assigned to the highest element iteratively in each SPELLEE in focus-neutral contexts. To illustrate this rule with an example adjusted from Kahnemuyipour (2004, p. 167) (PS stands for primary stress, and SS stands for secondary stress):

(13) a. John kissed Mary
b. [v^0 [$_{VP}$ kissed Mary]]
c. [$_{vP}$ John v^0 + kissed [$_{VP}$ <kissed> Mary]]
PS
d. [$_{CP}$ C^0 [T^0 [$_{vP}$ John v^0 + kissed [$_{VP}$ ...]]]]
SS

The first SPELLEE in (13c) contains the lexical item *Mary*, so the first sentential stress is assigned to this lexical item. In the second SPELLEE in (13d), the topmost element is *John*, thus the sentential stress #2 is assigned to this element.

Assuming Kahnemuyipour (2004) Legate (2003) are on the right track, phasal stress is assigned in a cyclic fashion (i.e. in spell-out domains), and since it is related to stress, it is a PF interface correlate. Therefore, in our case, DPs must also display this property.

Take, for instance, the agreeing DPs. These DPs have the following construction in terms of phasal accounts:

(14) [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{NP}$ kitab-ı] D^0][4]
Ali-GEN book-3SG.POSS
'Ali's book'

Therefore, one might expect the following nuclear stress application on the element *kitab-ı* (book-3SG.POSS) since it is presumably the spell out domain:

(15) [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{NP}$ kitab-ı] D^0]
PS

Assigning PS to the only element within the spell-out domain has the following consequence. This PS is preserved notwithstanding any type of movement:

(16) a. Ali-nin kitab-ı b. *t* kitabı Ali-nin c. * *t* kitabı Ali-nin
PS PS PS

The asymmetry between (16b-c) suggests that DP displays a PF correlate, thus a phase. This reasoning is also borne out by complex DPs[5]:

[4] Here my analysis follows the lexicalist view that all words enter the derivation in an inflected form for the ease of analysis and understanding.
[5] Here, I follow Keskin's (2009) claim that these complex DPs include the following construction: [DP [PredP [NP]]].

(17) a. [$_{DP}$ Bakan-ın [$_{PredP}$ bölge-yi ziyaret-i] Pred^0] D^0]
minister-GEN area-ACC visit-3SG.POSS

'The minister's visit to the area'

b. [$_{DP}$ Bakan-ın [$_{PredP}$ bölge-yi ziyaret-i] Pred^0] D^0]

PS

The topmost element in the SPELLEE *bölge-yi* (area- ACC) is assigned the primary stress. Any type of movement preserves this stress pattern:

(18) a. *t* bölge-yi ziyaret-i bakan-ın

PS

b. **t* bölge-yi ziyaret-i bakan-ın

PS

The fact that movement does not change the primary stress supports the claim that DPs display phasal properties. Sentential DPs[6] yield the same result as well:

(19) a. [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{CP}$ kereviz-i ye-diğ-i] C$^0_{[def]}$] D^0]
Ali-GEN celery-ACC eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS
'Ali's eating the celery'
b. [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{CP}$ kereviz-i ye-diğ-i] C$^0_{[def]}$] D^0]

PS

c. *t* kereviz-i ye-diğ-i Murat-ın d. **t* kereviz-i ye-diğ-i Murat-ın

PS PS

The first PF-diagnostic (i.e. the stress rule application within phases) shows that DPs display the very first PF correlate, thus we might postulate that DPs are phases in Turkish.

Ellipsis

Ellipsis refers to an operation in which a certain amount of syntactic structure is omitted from a certain structure. The most famous types of ellipsis are known as sluicing, gapping and right node raising as in (20a-b-c):

[6] Following Ulutaş (2009), nominal sentences includes a defective C^0 which lacks spell-out feature.

(20) a. *Sluicing*
Mary searched something today, but I don't know what ~~Mary searched~~
b. *Gapping*
Mary drank beer, and others ~~drank~~ wine.
c. *Right node raising*
Mary hates ~~bureaucracy~~ but John loves bureaucracy.

Most analyses regarding elliptical structures explain the phenomenon as a PF-deletion operation (*see* Lasnik, 1999, 2001; Merchant, 2001 for sluicing; *see* Ross, 1970; Abe & Hoshi, 1997 for gapping, and *see* Wexler & Culicover, 1980; Levine, 1985 & 2001; Kayne, 1994; İnce, 2009 for right node raising). PF-deletion basically claims that the structure is derived in full form, and that the identical part in the second clause is elided phonologically. Works within the framework of Phase Theory also suggest that ellipsis is a PF operation (*see* Gallego, 2009; Gengel 2007; Yoshida & Gallego, 2008).

If the assumption that ellipsis is a PF operation is on the right track, then we are forced to assume that there must be a rationale behind ellipsis in terms of phases. Relevant literature provides two domains in this respect:

(i) if phases yield periodic forgetting via PIC, then we must assume that spell-out domains are domains to be elided (Gallego, 2009; Lasnik, 2008; Rouveret, 2012)
(ii) given that phases are isolable, another possibility is to elide the full phase (Bošković, 2012; Gengel, 2007)

If DP is a phase (*see* Chomsky, 2008; Hiraiwa, 2005; Marantz, 2007; Ott, 2008; Svenonius, 2004), then we have two options to elide. First, after spell-out, the complement domain can be elided. Second, as a full domain the phase itself can be elided. Therefore, the basic assumption following the works cited above is that ellipsis is a PF deletion operation; thus a PF correlate. Considering DPs as arguments of verbs, ellipsis of the full phase rather than the spell-out domain is also known as *argument ellipsis*. This type of ellipsis has been extensively discussed in the literature (*see* Bošković, 2010; Oku, 1998; Kim, 1999; Saito, 2007; Şener & Takahashi, 2010). If argument ellipsis is a PF correlate, and we can show that DPs can be elided in this sense, then DPs must be assumed as phases. This prediction is borne out by the ellipsis of agreeing DPs, complex DPs as well as sentential DPs as in (21a-b-c):

(21) a. *Ellipsis of agreeing DPs*

[$_{DP}$ Poe-nun yeni kitab-ı] bas-ıl-dı ve

Poe-GEN new book-3SG.POSS publish-PASS-PAST and

~~[$_{DP}$ Poe-nun yeni kitab-ı]~~ hemen tüken-di.

immediately sold.out-PAST

'Poe's new book was published and sold out.'

b. *Ellipsis of complex DPs*

[$_{DP}$ Doktor-un hasta-yı muayene-si] uzun sür-dü

Doctor-GEN patient-ACC examination-3SG.POSS long last-PAST

ve ~~[$_{DP}$ Doktor-un hasta-yı tedavi-si]~~ çok tut-tu.

and much cost-PAST

'Doctor examination of the patient lasted long and cost too much.'

c. *Ellipsis of sentential DPs*

[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin kereviz ye-diğ-i] duy-ul-muş, ama

Ali-GEN celery eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS hear-PASS-EVID but

~~[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin kereviz ye-diği-i]~~ hiç gör-ül-me-miş.

never see-PASS-NEG-EVID

'It is heard that Ali ate celery but it has never been witnessed.'

(21a-b-c) include ellipsis of an agreeing DP, a complex DP and a sentential DP as arguments of the verbs. Therefore, DPs as phases can be elided, and this is an empirical evidence indicating that these phrases can be isolated at PF, thus phases.

Given that ellipsis of spell-out domains is another option following Gallego (2009), Lasnik (2008), and Rouveret (2012) one can easily expect that NPs embedded in agreeing DPs, PredPs embedded in complex DPs or CPs[7] in sentential DPs as spell-out domains must also be elided, if we are to assume that they are phases. (22a-b-c) bear out this prediction as well. Note that the shaded areas indicate spell-out domains:

[7] Since the spell-out domain is the focus of interest here, I avoid the discussion on purpose as to whether the spell-out domain is defective CP or TP in sentential DPs. In any case, it does not influence my analysis.

(22) a. *Ellipsis in agreeing DPs*

[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{NP}$ kitab-ı]] bul-un-du,
Ali-GEN book-3SG.POSS find-PASS-PAST ama
[$_{DP}$ Ayşe-nin [~~$_{NP}$ kitab-ı~~]] hala kayıp. but
Ayşe-GEN still lost
'Ali's book has been found but Ayşe's is still lost.'

b. *Ellipsis in complex DPs*

[$_{DP}$ ilk doktor-un [$_{NP}$ hasta-yı muayene-si]] uzun-du,
first doctor-GEN patient-ACC examination-3SG.POSS long-PAST
ama [$_{DP}$ ikinci doktor-un [~~$_{NP}$ hasta-yı muayenesi~~]] kısa.
but second doctor-GEN[8] short

'The first doctor's examination of the patient was long, but the second one was short.'

c. *Ellipsis in sentential DPs*

[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{CP}$ kereviz ye-diğ-i]] yalan ama
Ali-GEN celery eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS lie but
[$_{DP}$ Ayşe-nin [~~$_{CP}$ kereviz ye-diğ-i~~]] gerçek.
Ayşe-GEN real

'It is a lie that Ali ate celery, but it is real for Ayşe.'

Ellipsis is a PF operation, thus a PF-correlate. Given that phases are isolable units at interfaces, the hypothesis that DPs, as phases, can be elided as a full domain is borne out by the examples in (21a-b-c). The other hypothesis is grounded on PIC. Given that spell-out domains are the first domains to be shipped to interfaces, the hypothesis that the spell-out domains in DPs can also be elided is borne out by the examples in (22a-b-c). In addition to nuclear/sentential stress rule data, empirical evidence as to the ellipsis data also suggests that DPs can be deemed as phases. Now, I move on to my last evidence: Clefting.

Clefting

Cleft constructions involve movement-like operations (Legate, 1998, p. 4; Matushansky, 2005, p. 161). Phases can be the targets of such movement operations. Given the hypothesis that phases are independent units at interfaces, and that phasehood diagnostics test this independency, they should exhibit this independency via such movement-like operations. Clefting is one of them.

[8] An anonymous reviewer points out that the acceptability of (22a-c) is doubtful. Here, I consulted a couple of Turkish native speakers and they all agree on the fact that the sentences are still acceptable even without the relativization marker *–ki*.

Clefts in Turkish are constructed by an adjectival clause and a covert or overt copula like *–DIr* (Turan, 2002, p. 59). They also have an equivalent as simple clauses. Consider (23a-b) & (24a-b):

(23) a. I don't like [beer].
b. It is [beer] that I don't like

(24) a. *pro* [Bira] sev-me-m.
beer like-NEG-1SG

'I don't like beer.'

b. Sev-me-diğ-im şey [bira].

like-NEG-VNOM-1SG.POSS thing beer
It is beer that I don't like'

The targeted movement unit is the nominal phrase in both examples. CPs and *v**Ps are known to be phases (Chomsky, 2000 and subsequent studies), and clefting can target CPs and *v**Ps. Consider (25a-b) & (26a-b):

(25) a. Othello doubted [$_{CP}$ that Desdemona was faithful].
b. It's [$_{CP}$ that Desdemona was faithful]$_i$ that Othello doubted t_i
(Matushansky, 2005, p. 162)

(26) a. Goneril [$_{vP}$ blinded Gloster].
b. What Goneril did was [$_{vP}$ blind Gloster]
(Matushansky, 2005, p. 162)

(26a) type of cleft constructions are known to be pseudo-clefting (also known as wh-clefts). Following Can-Bakırlı (2005), I assume that Turkish also displays this property with a slight difference. (27b) below is a *thing-cleft* type in that an optional *şey* 'thing' head is used in the adjectival part:

(27) a. Dün [$_{vP}$ Ali-yi arı sok-]tu.
yesterday Ali-acc bee sting-PAST
'Yesterday, a bee stung Ali'

b. Dün yaşan-an (şey)[$_{vP}$ Ali-yi arı sok-]ma-sı-ydı
yesterday happen-PART (thing) Ali-ACC bee sting-VNOM-3SG.POSS-PAST

'What happened yesterday was that a bee stung Ali.'

Considering that cleft-constructions can target commonly known type phases, CPs, and *v**Ps, one can easily expect that they must also target DPs if they are to be deemed as phases. Let us start with agreeing DP type:

(28) a. [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin cüzdan-ı] çal-ın-dı.
Ali-GEN wallet-3SG.POSS steal-PASS-PAST
'Ali's wallet was stolen.'

b. Çal-ın-an [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin cüzdan-ı]-ydı
steal-PASS-PART Ali-GEN wallet-3SG.POSS-PAST
'It is Ali's wallet that was stolen.'

Agreeing DP in (28a) is the target of cleft construction given in (28b). It indicates that cleft construction test yield a positive result in such DP types. This test yields positive results in complex and sentential DPs as well:

(29) a. [$_{DP}$ Doktor-un hasta-yı muayene-si] uzun sür-dü.
doctor-GEN patient-ACC examination-3SG.POSS long last-PAST
'The doctor's examination of the patient lasted long.'

b. Uzun sür-en [$_{DP}$ doktor-un hasta-yı muayene-si]-ydi.
long last-PART doctor-GEN patient-ACC examination-3SG.POSS-PAST
'It was the doctor's examination of the patient that lasted long.'

(30) a. [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin kereviz ye-me-si] herkes-i şaşırt-tı.
Ali-GEN celery eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS everyone surprise-PAST
'That Ali ate celery surprised everyone.'

b. Herkes-i şaşırt-an [$_{DP}$ Ali-nin kereviz ye-me-si]-ydi.
everyone-ACC surprise-PART Ali-GEN celery eat-VNOM-3SG.POSS-PAST
'It was Ali's eating the celery that surprised everyone.'

As has already been mentioned, phases as isolable units should display independency at interfaces. Clefting presents a good test mechanism to test this phenomenon. The fact that agreeing DPs, complex DPs as well as sentential DPs can be clefted as a phrase suggest that DPs can be deemed as phases.

Interim conclusion I: PF tests

So far, we have considered the question as to whether DPs can be regarded as phases. In order to do so, I have employed the phasehood diagnostic tests mainly proposed by Chomsky (2000) and Legate (1998, 2003).

In terms of nuclear/sentential stress rule application phases are cycles where the stress is applied on a cyclical base. Agreeing, complex and sentential DPs in Turkish also display this property. In each spell-out domain of DPs, a lexical unit which remains the highest in the spell-out domain is assigned the nuclear/sentential stress.

Ellipsis is also another PF correlate which can be used as a test mechanism. Given that ellipsis can be applied to the phase itself (following

Bošković, 2012; Gengel, 2007), or to the spell-out domain due to PIC reasons (following Gallego, 2009; Lasnik, 2008; Rouveret, 2012), data between (21a-b-c) and (22a-b-c) suggest that DPs are phasal domains where ellipsis can occur.

Last, clefting is a test mechanism to show the phasehood of DPs. If a domain is to be accepted as a phasal domain, then it is isolable and independent at interfaces, therefore it can be clefted. I have shown that DPs also yield positive result in this PF test.

Let us display the picture we have had in hand so far. Below we see test names and their validity:

(31) *PF Diagnostics of DPs in summary*

		PF Diagnostics		
		NSR/SSR	Ellipsis	Clefting
DP-Types	Agreeing DPs	✓	✓	✓
	Complex DPs	✓	✓	✓
	Sentential DPs	✓	✓	✓

Now, I move on to show that DPs fail in terms of LF-tests. Next section discusses contradictory results.

LF diagnostics

In this section, I will try to present LF diagnostics applicable on Turkish DPs. I claim that DPs in Turkish fail to display phasal properties in terms of LF interface. I will evidence my arguments from binding, negative polarity item licensing, and reconstruction to the edge. First, let us discuss binding and DPs.

Binding

On phasal grounds, sister of a phase head is shipped interfaces due to PIC reasons, and this area becomes an opaque domain for further syntactic operations. Binding is an operation that configures the distribution of nominals in certain c-command relations. Due to the reason that it includes co-reference relationship between two nominals, it is accepted as a LF-correlate (*cf.* Gallego, 2009; Quicoli, 2008; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2004).

Lee-Schoenfeld (2004, p. 147) defines Principle A and Principle B within the framework phases:

(32) *Principle A*
An anaphor is bound within its accessible phase.
Principle B
A pronominal must be free within its accessible phase.

The term accessible phase refers to the whole phasal domain. Take, for instance, PhP as a phase. If α is an anaphor, then it should find its antecedent β within PhP, not outside of it:

(33) $[_{XP}\ \gamma_i\ [_{PhP}\ \beta_i\ [\ ...\ \alpha_i\ ...\ ]]]$

The representation in (33) predicts that in a CP phase an anaphor is co-indexed with another nominal within the same phrase:

(34) a. $John_j$ said that $[_{CP}$ $Peter_i$ wounded $himself_{i/*j}]$
b. Ali_j $[Murat_i$ $kendi_{i/*j}$-ni yarala-dı diye] bil-iyor
Ali Murat self-ACC wound-PAST that suppose-PROG
'Ali supposes that Murat wounded himself'

(34a-b) clearly bears out the prediction given in (33). The anaphors *himself* and *kendi* in (34a-b) are co-indexed with the embedded antecedent *Peter* and *Murat* respectively, whereas the co-indexation is impossible out of this domain. Svenious (2004) claims that DPs also behaves like CPs:

(35) $*John_i$ saw $[_{DP}$ Casey's pictures of $himself_i]$

The fact that the co-indexation is not possible out of the DP in (35) suggests that DP is a phase. Now, let us discuss this LF phasehood diagnostics of DP-types in Turkish. Note that we need a two-place predicate to test this hypothesis:

(36) a. *Complex DPs*
Yaşlı $adam_i$ $[_{DP}$ çocuk-lar-ın $kendi_i$-ni ziyaret-i]-nden[9]
old man child-PLUR-GEN self-ACC visit-3SG.POSS-ABL
mutlu ol-du
happy become-PAST
'The old man became happy with the children's visit to him'

[9] An anonymous reviewer points out the it is also possible to use a pronominal to refer to the matrix subject as follows:

(1) Yaşlı $adam_i$ [çocuk-lar-ın onu_i ziyaret-in-den] mutlu ol-du.
old man child-plur-gen him visit-3sg.poss-abl happy become-past

It is equally possible to state that this DP domain behaves as an opaque domain as well. However, it does not still cast doubt on the transparency of anaphor binding given in (36). Therefore, I leave this opacity issue aside to discuss it in forthcoming studies.

b. *Sentential DPs*

Ali$_i$ [$_{DP}$ benim kendi$_i$-nden kork-tuğ-um]-u san-ıyor.
Ali my self-ABL be.afraid-VNOM-1SG.POSS suppose-PROG
'Ali thinks that I am afraid of him.'

(36a) includes a complex DP in which the anaphor *kendi* (self) can be co-indexed with an external antecedent. (36b) includes the same strategy. DP-external antecedent *Ali* can be co-indexed with the phase internal anaphor *kendi*. Data in (36a-b) suggest that DPs fail at binding phasehood diagnostic. This situation becomes more clear when we turn this DP into a finite CP:

(37) *Ali$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ben kendi$_i$-nden kork-tu-m diye] bil-iyor.
Ali I self-ABL be.afraid-PAST-1SG that suppose-PROG
'Ali supposes that I was afraid of him.'

Since full CPs are assumed to be phases, the anaphor cannot find its antecedent out of this phasal domain. The ungrammaticality of (37) indicates that binding is a good way to determine phasal domains, and thus the asymmetry between (36b) and (37) also suggests that DPs fail to be phases in terms of LF-interface.

Negative Polarity Licensing

A negative polarity item (NPI, hereafter) is an expression appearing in negative contexts and requires a licenser varying from overt negation to questions or conditionals (*see* Benmamoun, 1997; Kelepir, 2001; Kumar, 2006; Laka, 2013; Mahajan, 1990). These restrictions on where NPIs can or cannot appear imply that they need to be in a licensing environment:

(38) a. John doesn't have **any** potatoes.
b. *John has **any** potatoes.

The asymmetry between (38a-b) stems from the fact that the NPI *any* cannot be licensed within a negative licensing environment. Licensing environment includes licensor and a licensee. Former accounts with a syntactic perspective tend to agree upon the necessity of a c-command relation between the NPI (as a licensee) and its licenser (Benmamoun, 1997; Kelepir, 2001; Kumar, 2006; Kural, 1997; Laka, 2013; Mahajan, 1990; Vasishth, 1999)

As for Turkish, Kural (1997) claims that NPIs in Turkish can only be licensed if they are within the scope of the verb bearing negative morphology. Besides, this licensing is only possible if the verb raises to adjoin C^0; thus, c-commands the NPIs. Let us inspect the data taken from (Kural, 1997, p. 503):

(39) a. *Kimse$_i$ [Ahmet tarafından] [t_i uyu-ma-dı] san-ıl-ıyor
noone Ahmet by sleep-NEG-PAST suppose-PASS-PROG
b. Kimse$_i$ [Ahmet tarafından] [t_i uyu-du] san-ıl-mı-yor
noone Ahmet by sleep-PAST suppose-PASS-NEG-PROG
'No one is thought by Ahmet to have slept.'

As we can see above in (39a), the fact that the NPI *kimse*, which is the subject of the embedded clause, cannot move to spec, TP of the matrix clause after passivization supports the idea that the verb bearing negative morphology should be higher than NPIs to license them. This reasoning is borne out by the asymmetry between (39a) and (39b), as put by Kural (1997).

As an LF-correlate, NPI licensing occurs in a context where the c-command search domain is restricted to the same phase. Therefore, licensor and the licensee should be phasemates[10], as is the case in CPs in Turkish (*see* Kayabaşı & Özgen, 2018):

(40) a. *Ali [$_{CP}$ Ayşe **kimse**-yi gör-dü diye] bil-**mi**-yor
Ali Ayşe **noone**-ACC see-PAST that know-**NEG**-PROG
b. Ali [$_{CP}$ Ayşe **kimse**-yi gör-**me**-di diye] bil-iyor
Ali Ayşe **noone**-ACC see-**NEG**-PAST that know-PROG
'Ali knows that Ayşe didn't see anybody.'

The asymmetry between (40a) and (40b) stems from the fact that the NPI *kimse* cannot be licensed, although the licensor negation suffix {-mA} (in *bil-mi-yor*) c-commands the NPI. The reason why it cannot be licensed despite the c-command relation is that they are not within the same phase, thus the NPI will have already been shipped to interfaces by the time the negation suffix is merged to the structure. Therefore, this asymmetry suggests that NPIs can be used as a test mechanism to determine the phasal domains. Note that NPI-licensing is an LF diagnostic since it does not involve any movement like operation, but only the licensing conditions under which a certain element (namely, a NPI) can be used.

As a diagnostic tool, NPI test yields negative results in DP-types of Turkish. To put in another way, if DPs are to be deemed phases as PF diagnostics suggest, then licensing of a NPI within a DP by a licensor out of this DP must be banned, which is not the case in agreeing, complex and sentential DPs:

(41) a. *Agreeing DPs*
[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{NP}$ hiçbir şey-i]] dün çal-ın-ma-dı.
Ali-GEN nothing-3SG.POSS yesterday steal-PASS-NEG-PAST

[10] *Phasemateness* is used to refer to a situation where two units are within the same phase, and they have a licensor-licensee relation.

'Nothing that belongs to Ali was stolen yesterday'

b. *Complex DPs*
[$_{DP}$ Doktor-un [$_{PredP}$ kimse-yi muayene-si]]
Doctor-GEN nobody-ACC examination-3SG.POSS
kısa sür-me-di.
short last-NEG-PAST
'Doctor's examination of nobody lasted long.'

c. *Sentential DPs*
[$_{DP}$ Ali-nin [$_{TP}$ kimse-yi yarala-dığ-ı]] doğru değil.
Ali-GEN nobody-ACC wound-VNOM-3SG.POSS true not
'It is not true that Ali wounded someone.'

Assuming the shaded areas in (41a-b-c) as spell-out domains, one would expect that the NPI trapped within these domains could not be licensed, which would render the sentences ungrammatical. On the contrary, the grammaticality of the sentences in (41a-b-c) despite the transphasal licensing of NPIs within DPs casts doubt on the phasehood of DPs. Similar to what binding data suggest, DPs are not to be regarded as phases since they fail NPI licensing test. Now, I move on to show that the DPs also fail the other phasehood diagnostic called reconstruction to the edge.

Reconstruction to the edge

Reconstruction, in its simplest terms, refers to an LF operation which undoes an element to its original merge site. Since the edge of phases are possible landing sites for movement, it is also a site for reconstruction. To put it differently, if one can prove that an element can be reconstructed to its original site, then it means that reconstructed area is still transparent in terms of LF interface. That is, it has yet to be spelled-out at LF. In order to account for this relationship between DP phasehood and reconstruction, scope interactions can be employed as a means.

In its simplest case, scope interactions take two quantifiers and determine the scope of the meaning with respect to these quantifiers. It is usually the case that if universal quantifiers such as *her* 'every' take scope over an existential quantifier such as *bir* 'a/one', then there is distributive reading as in (42a); otherwise, collective reading is realized as in (42b):

(42) a. Her öğrenci iki şiir-i dün oku-du[11].
every student two poem-ACC yesterday read-PAST

[11] The adverbial *dün* 'yesterday' is used in the sentence (40a) keep the focus constant. As put by Kural (1997, fn. 11) it is possible that focalization may change the scopal relations in a clause by creating different structures or triggering additional operations.

'Every student read two poems yesterday.'
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; *2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

b. İki şiir-i_i her öğrenci t_i dün oku-du.
two poem-ACC every student yesterday read-PAST
(2y ∀x [x read y yesterday]; ∀x 2y [x read y yesterday])

(42a) has a scope interaction in parallel to our expectation. There is a distributive reading, in which there exist students such that each read different two poems. This distributive reading is distorted if the existential quantifier is scrambled to sentence initial position. (42b), in this sense, also has a collective reading, in which there exist students such that each read the same two poems. As seen from the semantic representation, there is also distributive reading. It indicates that the scope interactions are not frozen on the surface. This is the point where reconstruction comes to the rescue. The assumption is that the scrambled element is reconstructed to its original merge site at LF, where it can set up new scope interactions. However, reconstruction is sensitive to phasal domains. If there is a spelled-out domain from which a quantifier has been extracted prior to spell-out, then one might expect that it cannot reconstruct to its original merge site, since it has already been shipped to the interfaces. This prediction is borne out by (43):

(43) a. Ali [$_{CP}$ her öğrenci iki şiir-i dün oku-du diye]
Ali every student two poem-ACC yesterday read-PAST that
duy-muş.
hear-EVID
'Ali heard that every student read two poems yesterday.'
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; *2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

b. Ali [$_{CP}$ iki şiir-i_i her öğrenci t_i dün oku-du diye]
Ali two poem-ACC every student yesterday read-PAST that
duy-muş.
hear-EVID
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; 2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

c. İki şiir-i_i Ali [$_{CP}$ her öğrenci t_i dün oku-du diye]
two poem-ACC Ali every student yesterday read-PAST that
duy-muş.
hear-EVID
(*$^{?}$∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; 2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

(43a) has a CP embedded within matrix clause. In the shaded area, the universal quantifier takes scope over existential quantifier, which leads to a distributive reading. (43b) has an embedded CP, where the existential quantifier direct object *iki şiir-i* 'two poems' has been scrambled to clause initial position. Since this scrambling is phase internal, we get the same scope effect with (42b), in which there are both distributive and collective reading. (42c) is striking in the sense that the distributive reading is cleared

out, and only collective reading remains after the existential quantifier is moved to matrix clause initial position. On the grounds of phasal mechanism, the reason for the disappearance of this reading is due to PIC reasons. By the time the existential quantifier is moved to the matrix clause-initial position, the spell-out domain within the embedded CP has already been shipped to interfaces, which makes it impossible for the existential to reconstruct.

Considering that phasal domains do not allow reconstruction due to PIC reasons as seen from the scope interpretations in (43a-b-c), one might expect that DPs should also behave accordingly in that they must not allow reconstruction either. However, this is not the case as seen from the data provided below in (44). Below, we see that DP cannot pose an opaque domain for the quantifier, therefore the quantifier is reconstructed back, and this, in turn, leads to an ambiguity of scope readings[12]:

(44) a. Ali [$_{DP}$ her öğrenci-nin iki şiir-i dün
Ali every student-GEN two poem-ACC yesterday
oku-duğ-u]-nu duy-muş.
read-VNOM-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-EVID
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; *2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])
'Ali heard that every student read two poems yesterday.'

b. Ali [$_{DP}$ iki şiir-i_i her öğrenci-nin t_i dün
Ali two poem-ACC every student-GEN yesterday
oku-duğ-u]-nu duy-muş.
read-VNOM-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-EVID
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; 2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

c. iki şiir-i_i Ali [$_{DP}$ her öğrenci-nin t_i dün
two poem-ACC Ali every student-GEN yesterday

[12] We can observe the same effect with the agreeing DPs and complex DPs. However, due to space limitations, I have not fully explored them here. Curious reader can check the following the data:

(1) *Agreeing DPs*
[İki şarkı-sı]$_i$ koro tarafından [$_{DP}$ her şarkıcı-nın t_i] söyle-n-di. (∀>2; 2>∀)
2 song-3POSS choir by ∀ singer-GEN sing-PASS-PAST
'Two songs of every singer were sung.'

(2) *Complex DPs*
[İki üke-yi ziyaret-i] medya tarafından [$_{DP}$ her bakan-ın t_i]
2 country-ACC visit-3POSS press by ∀ minister-GEN
eleştir-il-di. (∀>2; 2>∀)
criticize-PASS-PAST
'Every minister's visit to two countries was criticized by the press.'

oku-duğ-u]-nu duy-muş.
read-VNOM-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-EVID
(∀x 2y [x read y yesterday]; 2y ∀x [x read y yesterday])

The scope asymmetry between (43c) and (44c) is intriguing. The scope reading in which the existential takes over the universal is allowed in both sentences, whereas the scope reading in which universal takes over the existential is allowed only in (44c)[13]. By principle, the existential in (44c) should not have been reconstructed due to PIC reasons. Nevertheless, the availability of both scope interpretations here suggests that DP is a domain which allows reconstruction in contrast to CP, and that it cannot be assumed as a phase.

Interim conclusion II: LF tests

So far, I have employed the phasehood diagnostic tests proposed by Chomsky (2000) and Legate (1998, 2003). I have attempted to show that the results are contradictory in the sense that PF-legibility of DPs does not correspond to LF-legibility of DPs.

In terms of binding of anaphors, following Quicoli (2008) and Lee-Schoenfeld (2004), I assumed that phases are the local domains where anaphor binding is realized. The data between (36) and (37) suggest that DPs cannot be local domains due to the fact that an anaphor embedded within a DP cannot be bound by cross-phrasal antecedent.

NPI licensing was also another test mechanism. Turkish NPIs seek a phasemate licensor; therefore, DPs were expected to satisfy this phasemateness condition. However, DPs fail to do so given the data between (41a-c).

Last, reconstruction along with scope interaction was the last way to test DP-phasehood. Since reconstruction is only possible when spell-out has not swept away the spell-out domain yet, DPs as phases were expected to ban reconstruction of elements within its spell-out domain. However, the data in (44a-b-c) suggested that they failed to do so.

Below is the asymmetry between the phasehood diagnostics applied on DPs in Turkish:

[13] Of the native speakers I consulted, only one was doubtful of the lack of distributive reading in (43c). The rest marked that interpretation odd. However, all the speakers confirmed both interpretations in (44c).

(45) *Phasehood Diagnostics and DPs in Turkish*

		PF Diagnostics		
		NSR/SSR	Ellipsis	Clefting
DP-Types	Agreeing DPs	✓	✓	✓
	Complex DPs	✓	✓	✓
	Sentential DPs	✓	✓	✓
		LF Diagnostics		
		Binding	NPIs	Reconstruction
DP-Types	Agreeing DPs	**N/A**	**x**	**x**
	Complex DPs	**x**	**x**	**x**
	Sentential DPs	**x**	**x**	**x**

Except from a not-applicable diagnostic, all LF diagnostics yield negative results while PF diagnostics yield positive results. This sharp asymmetry supports the non-simultaneous spell-out fashion of syntax. The picture so far is along the same line with Felser (2004), and supports her claim that there are certain PF phases. I can here conclude that in terms of DPs, there are certain PF cycles, where the LF is not a cycle. LF side of DPs is subject to delayed spell-out due to some reasons. Next, I will try to discuss these findings with their theoretical consequences.

Discussion: The Remaining Issues

In this section, I will present some further issues that must certainly be discussed in future studies. I will divide these remaining issues in two parts. The first group of issues concerns the mechanism itself. The second group of issues concerns the cross-linguistic implications of the system. First, let me summarize the data and the conclusion I have reached so far.

The study began with a claim that DPs in Turkish are phases that display non-simultaneity in their spell-out timing. That is, following Felser (2004) and Marušič (2008), spell-out to PF and LF of DPs occur at different times and cycles of the derivation. I have attempted to evidence this claim by implementing phasehood diagnostics proposed by Legate (1998, 2003) and Chomksy (2000). First, I have made a distinction between PF-diagnostics and LF-diagnostics of phases assuming the fact that phases are isolable units at these interfaces, and thus they must exhibit independency therein. PF diagnostics are based heavily on movement-like operations, and

phonological processes such as stress assignment or deletion at PF. LF diagnostics, on the other hand, depend on interpretability at LF interface via licensing mechanism.

PF diagnostics I have employed are sentential/nuclear stress rule assignment, ellipsis, and clefting operations. All these diagnostics implemented on each of the DP-types (namely, agreeing DPs, complex DPs, and sentential DPs) yield positive results. To say, DPs displayed PF correlates, which suggests that they can be regarded as phases. LF diagnostics I have employed, on the other hand, are binding, NPI-licensing, and reconstruction to edge operations. All these diagnostics implemented on each of the DP-types yield negative results. That is, DPs failed to display LF correlates, which suggests that they cannot be regarded as phases.

This sharp asymmetry between these two interface properties has suggested a non-simultaneous spell-out procedure in the derivation. According to that perspective, timing of the LF and PF spell-out of the derivation is different from each other. However, the reason why the timing of spell-out is different remains a mystery.

Matushansky (2005, p. 162) claims that from the PF perspective, a movement-like operation pseudo-clefting also targets what doesn't seem to be a phase as in (65), which casts a doubt on clefting as a phasehood diagnostics:

(46) What Goneril did was [$_{TP}$ to blind Gloster].

It is either the case that the clefted element is not TP, or clefting gives no clue as to the phasehood of a given phrase. The same problem can be observed in Turkish:

(47) a. [$_{DP}$ [$_{AdjP}$ Çok dar] patika-lar-da] yürü-dü-m.
very narrow path-PL-LOC walk-PAST-1SG
'I walked on very narrow paths.'

b. Yürü-düğ-üm [$_{DP}$ t_i patika-lar] [$_{AdjP}$ çok dar]$_i$-dı.
walk-VNOM-1SG.POSS path-PL very narrow-PAST
'The paths I walked on was very narrow.'

Given that what might be clefted or the target of clefts can be phases since they are chunks isolable at interfaces, then we should also assume that AdjP are also phases or any phrase that can be clefted. The other way to circumvent this argument is to make a deeper investigation into the nature of this clefting operation. This is the first question that this study leaves aside for future research.

The results of phasehood diagnostics are parallel to those that Matushansky (2005) concluded. She claimed that the minimal result that

must be retained from the analysis is that PF and LF spell-outs cannot be simultaneous, if the tests suggested for the two are valid. It is also the case that the findings regarding the non-simultaneity of the DPs in Turkish are along the same line with Felser (2004) who claimed contrary to Megerdoomian (2003) that there are certain phases that can only be sent to PF-interface. Accordingly, I have tried to present arguments in favor of timely PF spell-out vs. delayed LF spell-out.

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