

THE TATAR IP-FIELD *

Goljihan Kashaeva (*goljihan.kashaeva@unige.ch*)

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we discuss few facts from Tatar language which reflect a similarity between the domain immediately above VP and the CP domain, i.e. the left periphery of the clause. Particularly, we analyze the definiteness/specificity constraints on clause-internal scrambling in Tatar.

The Tatar language belongs to the Altaic or North Western Qypchak branch of the Turkic language family. Typologically, it is a strongly agglutinating language possessing suffixal inflectional and derivational morphology accompanied by various phonologic harmony rules.

In a Tatar sentence, there are several types of constituents which are obliged to occupy the position immediately before the verb (Zakiev, 1974): *Subject/Modal Adverb/Accusative-marked Direct Object/Manner Adverbs/Oblique Object/Non-case-marked Direct Object/Verb*.

- (1) Bez balki kibettan IPad satyp alabyz.
We perhaps store_{Loc} IPad buy_{Fut}
“We will perhaps buy an iPad in the store.”

Tatar is typically considered as a head-final language displaying the neutral SOV (*subject-object-verb*) order. However, the SOV nature of Tatar is not very rigid as some sentences admit free word order where constituents can go to any position, and each such alternative usually results in semantic consequences. It is important to note that Tatar also uses prosody to express discursive differences (Safiullina, 1966, Zakiev 2002). Consider an example of composing different sentences by using only three constituents. Whenever the direct object is a definite noun overtly marked for the accusative case, Tatar allows six possible word orders:

- (2) Bala alma-ny ashyi. (S O V)
child apple_{Acc} eats
- (3) Almany bala ashyi. (O S V)
Apple_{Acc} child eats
- (4) Almany ashyi bala. (O V S)
apple_{Acc} eats child
- (5) Bala ashyi almany. (S V O)
child eats apple_{Acc}
- (6) Ashyi bala almany. (V S O)
eats child apple_{Acc}

* I would like to thank Christopher Laenzlinger for his valuable comments and suggestions on this paper. I thank Gabriela Soare and Anamaria Bentea for their generous help. All remaining errors are mine.

- (7) Ashyi almany bala. (V O S)
 eats apple_{Acc} child
 “The child eats the apple.”

All six permutations of the arguments and the verb produce grammatical orderings which can be used in different contexts. The SOV structure of (2) represents the unmarked option in Tatar, being uttered in out-of-the-blue contexts. It gives a natural answer to out-of-the-blue questions like “*What happens?*”. The OSV structure of (3) could be an answer to the question “*Who eats the apple?*”. The answer is unmarked with respect to the intonation. The direct object does not have any focal property because it is the topic. The OSV structure of (3) and the OVS structure of (4) are more or less interchangeable if the object *almany* (apple) bears stress. These sentences are used in the circumstances where the focus is placed on this constituent, e.g. to draw attention to the fact that it is the apple and not something else that the child eats. This interpretation equally applies to the SOV structure of (2) if the object *almany* bears stress. In OVS structure of (4), the subject can appear in the post-verbal position. Post-verbal constituents display a high degree of presuppositionality, hence topicality. If the subject or the verb is stressed then the objects also can appear post-verbally, as in the SVO structure of (5). The interpretation of this sentence will be: “*The child eats the apple* (or, it is the child who eats the apple)”. The SVO structure of (5) and the OSV structure of (3) are also interchangeable if the subject *bala* is stressed, i.e. it is *bala* who eats the apple. When the verb is the focus, both constituents can appear post-verbally. The orders in (6) and (7) emphasize the eating of the apple. However, there are some restrictions on the NPs to scramble to certain positions in Tatar. For example, if we have a structure with an indefinite non-specific NP without accusative case marking (bare noun - *alma*), only SOV (9) and OVS (4) word orders are grammatical. The only available position for that NP is the immediately preverbal position.

2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

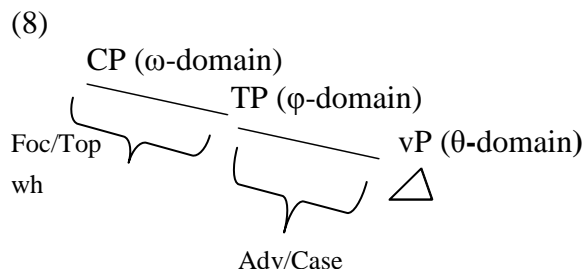
The phenomenon of argument reordering in the clause is called scrambling, the term first introduced in this context by Ross (1967). It is a particular case of a more general notion of movement through which word order permutations are derived from a basic underlying order. Scrambling is a syntactic phenomenon which changes the interpretation of a sentence in the way that the Information Structure (IS) changes, so that in practice it is used to refer to all IS related reorderings. Thus, scrambling signifies Topic or Focus driven movements.

Based on an analysis of Turkish, Erguvanli (1984) argues that the word order freedom is due to the IS. Taking into account closeness of Turkish and Tatar, we assume that scrambling in Tatar is also related to IS. Following Vallduvi (1992), we consider IS with tripartite division corresponding to topical, backgrounded and new (or focused) information. In Tatar, like in Turkish, we have the following correspondences: sentence-initial position - Topic, the immediately pre-verbal position - Focus, and the post-verbal position - backgrounded information. Topic contains old or given information in a sentence. There is no precise definition of Topic, but we differentiate between topic-comment which is expressed in Spec-TopP of the CP-domain and topic-aboutness which is the subject¹ of the clause occupying SpecIP/TP.² Focus is assumed to constitute a new information, the most important element in the utterance. We distinguish between contrastive and new information focus.

¹ Extended Projection Principle (EPP) states that every clause must have a subject (Chomsky 1981).

² SpecIP/TP corresponds to Spec-SubjP in present approach.

The structure of a clause can be divided into three domains: θ (Nachfeld), φ (Mittelfeld), and ω (Vorfeld). The lowest θ - domain also identified as vP (Chomsky 1995) is the thematic domain where all arguments of the verb merge (external merge).³ The middle φ - domain, corresponding to the minimalist TP, is composed of functional projections related to adverbs (Cinque 1994, 1998). It also contains functional heads licensing Case and φ -features under Agree. Finally, the upper ω -domain, also called left periphery and identified as CP, is the domain where the discourse-related information is encoded by dedicated functional heads Top and Foc (Brody 1990, Kiss 1995, Rizzi 1997, Puskas 1997, Aboh 2004). The three domains are schematized in (8) (see e.g. Laenzlinger 2011).



In this work, we adopt the antisymmetry hypothesis from Kayne's theory of phrase structure where the order Specifier-Head-Complement is universal. This hypothesis assumes that the hierarchical structure invariably determines the linear order, or that dominance relations directly map into precedence relations (Kayne 1994). The SOV order in Tatar is straightforwardly accounted for in Kayne's framework (Kayne 2005) where the object must be moved to the Spec of a higher projection inside the Mittelfeld⁴ in order to check its IS-features as in (9).

- (9) Bala almany ashya. (SOV)
 child apple_{Acc} eats
 "The child eats the apple."

Given the antisymmetry hypothesis, an SOV language like Tatar displays a derived structure where both the subject and the object move out of the vP-shell. As we can see in (10), the subject in Tatar raises to Spec-IP. As for the Object, it raises to Spec-ObjP. The lexical verb remains in situ.

³ Koopman and Sportiche (1991) claim that subject NPs are generated within the VP domain.

⁴ Notice that in German and Dutch, the elements of Mittelfeld undergo clause-internal scrambling.

from the Numeration.⁶ Cardinaletti 2004, Rizzi 2006a, argue that some DP movement may be triggered purely by φ - (and case-) features. Laenzlinger (2011) shows that DP movement in the Mittelfeld is triggered not only by Case but also by some IS-features. He argues that in the Mittelfeld, IS-features are parasitic on Case/ φ -related heads, namely Subject and Object and shows that this heads Subj/Obj are associated with an EPP-feature that will attract the nominal category (N) associated with an IS-feature.

3. CASE AND SPECIFICITY

In Tatar, there is no definite article which corresponds to the definite article "the" in English. Definite object nouns are marked with the accusative case marker *ny/ne*, as in (12). Indefinite nouns are not case marked, so the form of the noun is identical to the nominative, as shown in (13) and it may occur with the indefinite determiner *bir*, which is the same as the numeral *bir* (one), as in (14).

- (12) Bala almany ashyi.
 child apple_{Acc/Def} eats_{Pres3sg}
 "The child eats the/a certain apple."
- (13) Bala alma ashyi.
 child apple_{Indef} eats_{Pres3sg}
 "The child eats an apple."
- (14) Bala ber alma ashyi.
 child apple_{Indef} eats_{Pres3sg}
 "The child eats an apple."
- (15) Bala ber almany ashyi.
 child apple_{Acc} eats_{Pres3sg}
 "The child eats the/a certain apple."

Following Enc (1991), Issever (2003) and others, we assume that definites in Tatar (as in Turkish), as in (12) and (15) are always specific while indefinites may or may not be interpreted as specific. The object DPs in (14), (15) are both indefinites; but, the object in (14) is non-specific and the one in (15) is specific.

As noted by Enç (1991), a specific argument has an already known or identified discourse referent in being "linked to a previously established discourse referent", whereas a non-specific argument introduces a new or novel discourse referent. Enç (1991) and Cecchetto (1994) suggest that there is a link between specificity and Structural Case which is overtly realized in Turkish. In Tatar, as in Turkish, a full DP is overtly Case-marked only if it gets specific reading (Zakiev, 2002). A specific reading corresponds to a referential, partitive or quantificational reading, and a non-specific reading essentially to an attributive or existential reading. Tatar marks a referential (definite) complement (16), a partitive complement (17) and a quantificational complement (18) with an accusative morpheme *ny/ne*, whereas an existential complement is realized in its bare form (19)⁷

⁶ Aboh (2007a) shows that Gungbe (a West African language) has specific morphosyntactic markers for topic *ya* and focus *we* and they occur in dedicated syntactic positions at the left periphery of the clause in a strict order: Topic - Focus.

⁷ Adapted from Laenzlinger (1998).

- (16) Rustam kyz-ny kurde.
Rustam girl_{Acc} saw
"Rustam saw the girl."
- (17) Rustam studentlarnyn bishesen belde.
Rustam students_{SPIGen_VCAgrAcc} knew
"Rustam knew five students."
- (18) Rustam her kitap-ny ukydy.
Rustam every book_{Acc} read
"Rustam read every book."
- (19) Rustam ber kitap aldy.
Rustam some book bought
"Rustam bought some book or the other."

Neeleman & Reinhart (1998) argues that the major factor that determines word order variation across languages is case checking, which, in turn, is sensitive to prosodic phrasing. They propose that case can be checked either in prosodic or in syntactic domains. Given that in OV languages "prosodic checking is impossible, the system must consequently resort to the broader, syntactic domain" (Neeleman & Reinhart, 1988).

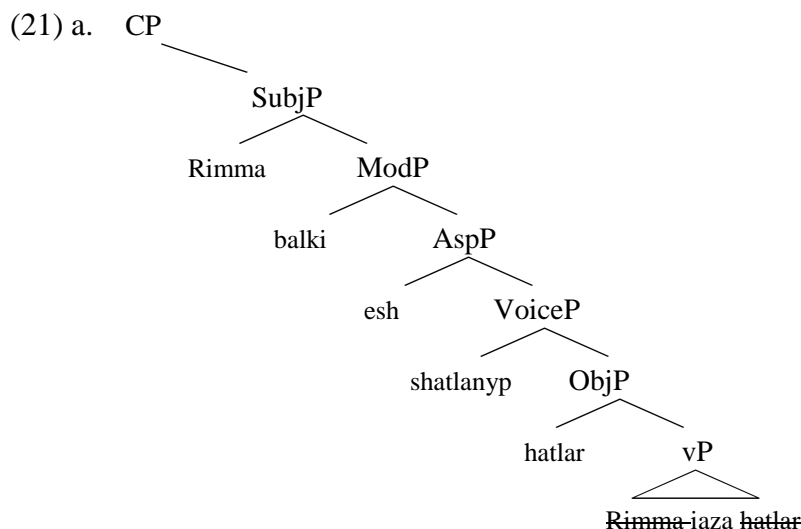
4. SCRAMBLING AND IP-INTERNAL TOPICS

As in our work we assume the underlying order Specifier-head-Complement (Kayne 1994), a surface SOV order in Tatar is obtained by moving V's complements out of the VP. Scrambling is explained in terms of cartographic approach, especially in function of adverb intervention. According to Cinque's (Cinque 1999) hypothesis, adverbs have fixed positions in the Mittelfeld. When they occur in front of the subject, they move to a topic position at the border of the Vorfeld. When they are clause internal (below the subject), they are in their root-merge position. It is the nominal object that moves around them. The neutral order of a transitive sentence involving the three adverbs in Tatar is given in (20) (adapted from Laenzlinger 2011).

- (20) Rimmel balki esh shatlanyp hatlar iaza.
Rimma probably often with pleasure letters writes
"Probably Rimma often writes letters with pleasure."

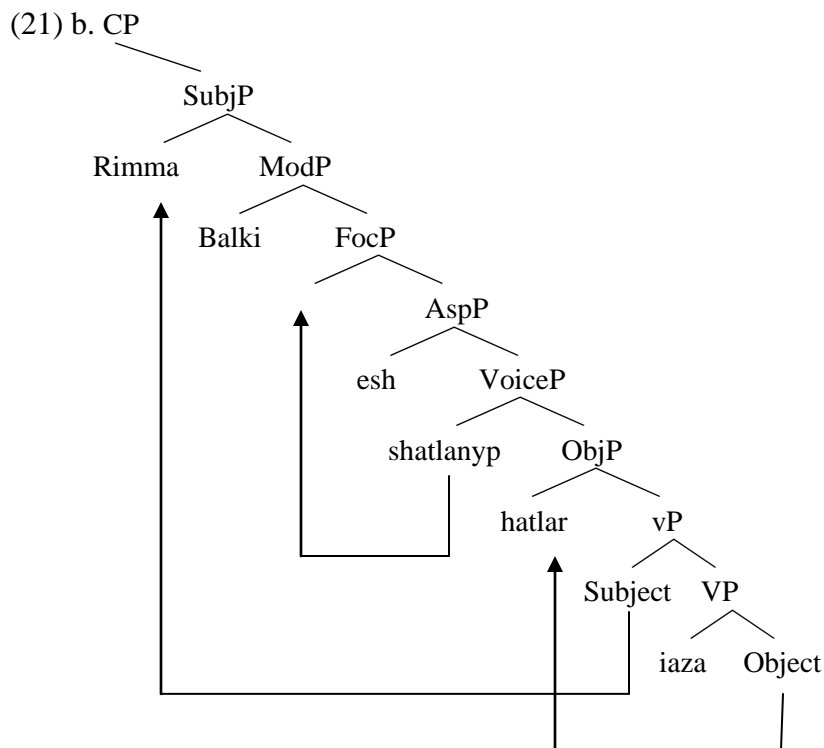
The surface SOV order in (20) is derived from object raising to the specifier of an object projection, i.e. ObjP which is below VoiceP. All adverbs merge with their related semantico-functional head, *Mode*_{epistemic}, *Asp*_{frequency} and *Voice*_{manner}. The subject raises to SubjP⁸, as illustrated in (21).

⁸ If Ramil is interpreted as aboutness-topic of the sentence, SubjP is identified as Rizzi's (2006) /Rizzi & Shlonsky's (2007) criterial subject position.



The manner adverb can precede the aspectual adverb under focalization. This does not contradict Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of adverbs because adverb of frequency is moved to a Mittelfeld focus position from its base position, as in (21b.).

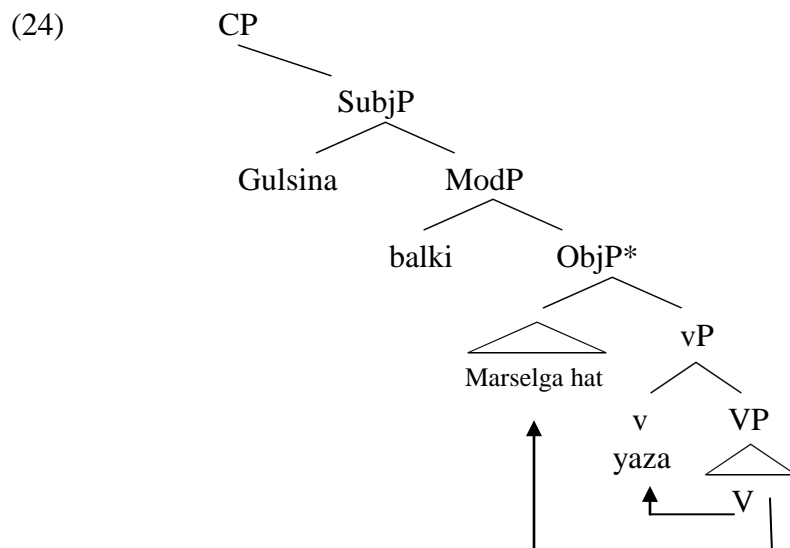
Rimma balki SHATLANYP esh ~~shatlanyp~~ hatlar iaza



In Tatar, in bitransitive clauses adverbs precede the verb's complements, as illustrated in (22). This order is derived as shown in (24).

(22) Gulsina balki Marselga hat jaza.
 Gulsina probably Marsel_{Dat} letter_{Ind} write_{Fut}
 "Probably Gulsina will write Marsel a letter."

(23) * Gulsina hat balki Marselga jaza.
 Gulsina letter_{Ind} probably Marsel_{Dat} write_{Fut}
 "Probably Gulsina will write Marsel a letter."



The ungrammaticality of (23) indicates that indefinite object DPs cannot appear in a VP-external position. Öztürk (2005) argues that in Turkish the structure as in (23), is an example of pseudo-incorporation in which a non-specific NP and a lexical verb together form a complex predicate. She analyses pseudo-incorporated NPs as part of the verbal complex and suggests that it is not allowed to scramble them to other position in the clause than the immediately preverbal one.⁹

The option of placing adverbials between the object and the verb in some Germanic SOV (Dutch, German) languages is based on the phenomenon of scrambling. The scrambled word order SOAdV is derived from the neutral order SAdOV moving the object DP to the left of an adverb. It was observed, however, that the scrambled word order is sensitive to discourse conditions, often described as "definiteness/specificity effects" (Zwart 1996, Diesing 1992). This is illustrated by the following Dutch example (Zwart 1996):

(25) dat Jan gisteren een meisje gekust heft
 that John yesterday a girl kissed has
 "..that John kissed a girl yesterday"

⁹ We should notice that some focus particles like *da*, question particle *my* can intervene between the verb and the bare noun (Taylan 1986), as in (24)

(i) Bala jyr da tynglyj.
 child song_{Ind} also listen_{Pres3sg}
 "The child is listening also to the song."

- (26) dat Jan een meisje gisteren gekust heft
 that John a girl yesterday kissed has
 "..that John kissed a (particular) girl yesterday"

In (25) "een meisje" - "a girl" can have an existential reading, but in (26) it requires a specific reading. Diesing (1997) argues that the VP is the domain of existential closure. She claims that specific DP can move to SpecAgrP (ObjP) in order to receive case or that the accusative marker triggers the movement of object DP out of the VP. It must move out of the VP in order to "escape" existential closure. An indefinite NP may remain in the VP and get existential interpretation or it may scramble out of VP and get a specific interpretation. Let us look at the following German example from Diesing (1992) (adapted from Jayaseelan 2008).

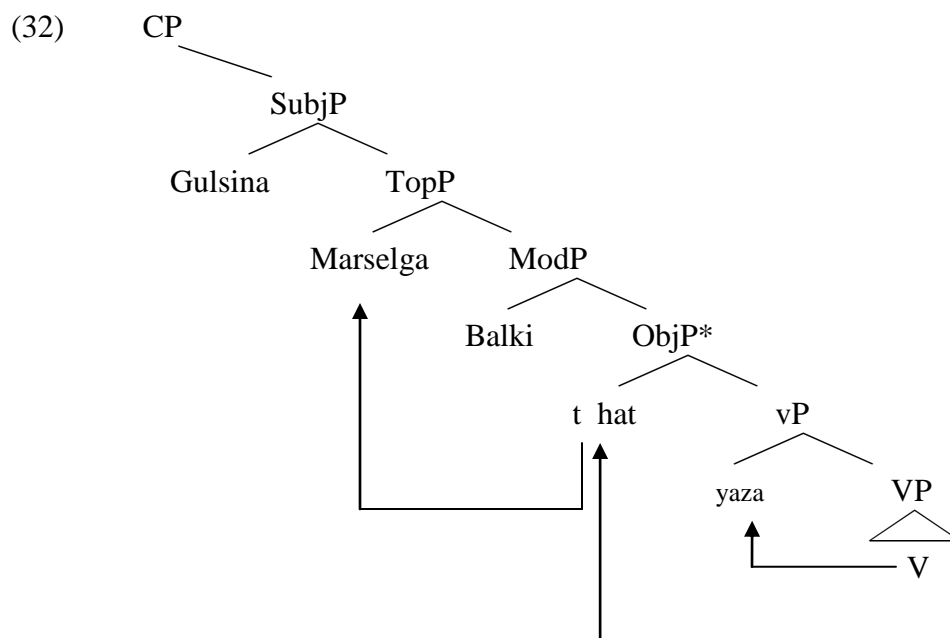
- (27) das Otto immer Bucher über Wombats schreibt
 that Otto always books about wombats writes
 "Otto always writes books about wombats"
- (28) * das Otto [Bucher über Wombats]_i immer _{t_i} schreibt
 that Otto books about wombats always writes

The structure in (28) is agrammatical because the scrambled object should have specific reading of "books" whereas the verb of creation "schreiben" means to create something which didn't exist. The direct counterpart of this German contrast exists also in Tatar:

- (29) Ul gel kitaplar balalar turynda yaza
 he always books about children writes
 "He always writes books about children"
- (30) * Ul [kitaplar balalar turynda]_i gel _{t_i} yaza
 he books about children always writes

In order to explain the same structure in Malayalam (SOV language), Jayaseelan (2008) postulates a Topic position above the adverb position, although the movement is to an IP-internal position. As we can see in (30), the indefinite object in Tatar is in Topic position which leads to its agrammaticality. However, in Tatar, as in Malayalam, a definite object can precede an adverb, as in (31), represented in (32).

- (31) Gulsina Marselga balki hat jaza.
 Gulsina Marsel_{Dat} probably letter_{Ind} write_{Fut}
 "Probably Gulsina will write Marsel a letter"



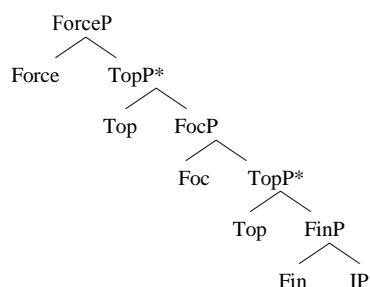
In the left periphery of the clause, in the CP domain (Vorfeld), there are any number of TopP possible above the FocP (Rizzi 1997).¹⁰ Jayaseelan (2001), proposes a similar possibility in the Mittelfeld too. He postulates that the landing sites for arguments and adjuncts moved out of VP could be topic positions. But the problem of this account could be in the fact that the internal arguments in their canonical order do not show any topicalization effects. Topics are entities which have already been mentioned in the previous context, so they are definite or specific. However, in Tatar (34), as in Malayalam (33) there are no definiteness/specificity constraints on verb's internal arguments in their canonical order:

(33) nii puuwe paRik'k-arute
 you ower_{Acc} pick-should not
 "You should not pick owers"

(34) sin ceceklar ozma
 you flowers_{SP1} pick not
 "You should not pick flowers"

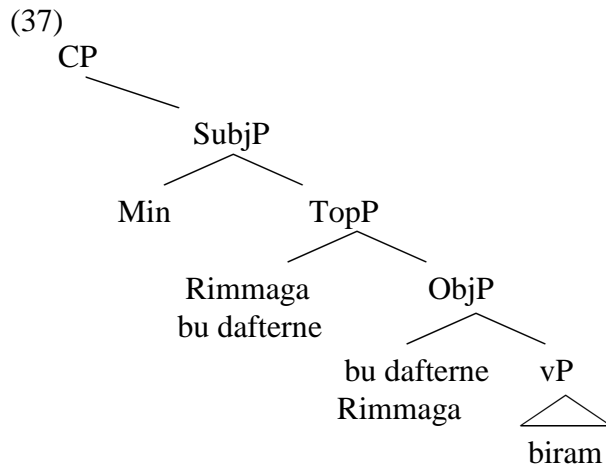
In Tatar, as in Malayalam, in bitransitive clauses, when two definite objects exchange their positions, it is difficult to say which one is topic:

¹⁰ Rizzi's (1997) articulation of Comp system:



(35) Min Rimmaga bu dafterne biram.
I Rimma_{Dat} this notebook_{Acc} give_{Fut}

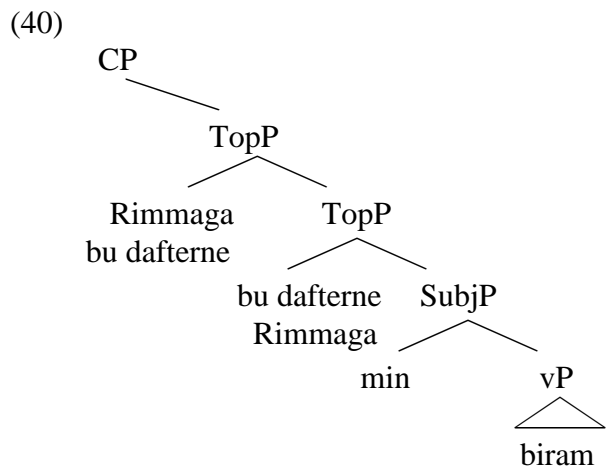
(36) Min bu dafterne Rimmaga biram.
I this notebook_{Acc} Rimma_{Dat} give_{Fut}
"I will give this notebook to Rimma "



As the neutral word order of bitransitive clauses in Tatar is *Subject-Indirect Object-Direct Object-Verb*, as in (35), the structure in (36) is obtained by moving DO "bu dafterne" from its base-generation position vP into Spec, TopP and the object should be definite. Following Laenzlinger (2011), we realize that the two verbal complements can scramble either below the subject or above the subject. If we interchange the positions of the accusative complement with the dative complement, the accusative complement will be more prominent informationally. If we scramble the two verbal complements above the subject, as in (38), (39) this will involve a Top projection at the boundary of the Vorfeld. This projection can be recursive, as illustrated in (40).

(38) Rimmaga bu dafterne min biram.
Rimma_{Dat} this notebook_{Acc} I give_{Fut}

(39) Bu dafterne Rimmaga min biram.
this notebook_{Acc} Rimma_{Dat} I give_{Fut}
"I will give this notebook to Rimma "



All this scrambling variations are enforced by Information Structure and by the richness of Tatar Case system. We should note that the motivation for overt movement of the object in cases of object scrambling is to satisfy the EPP on T, which is accompanied by verb raising to T. However, if one of the arguments, for example, the direct object is indefinite, we have different results, as in (41).

(41) Min anga hat jibardem.
I him a letter_{Indef} sent
"I sent him a letter "

(42) ?* Min hat anga jibardem.
I a letter_{Indef} him sent
"I sent him a letter "

If an indefinite (non-specific) NP is topicalized, as in (42), the sentence is bad.

In Tatar, as in Malayalam, if the IO is indefinite and the DO is definite and it is a pronoun, as in (43), the sentence is not nice. Here, an indefinite NP is topicalized which is not grammatical.

(43) ?? Min ber malaiga any jibardem.
I a boy_{Dat} it_{Acc} sent

When the definite DO is in a position higher than its canonical position, as in (44), it is topicalized.¹¹

(44) Min any ber malaiga jibardem.
I it_{Acc} a boy_{Dat} sent
"I sent it to a boy "

Modern Persian, a SOV language, has a very interesting confirmation where an indefinite and non-specific DO follows an IO; but a definite or specific DO precedes an IO and is marked by a special marker *ro* (Karimi 1999), illustrated in (45), (46).

(45) Kimea bara man (ye) ketab xarid
Kimea for me (a) book bought
"Kimea bought (a) book for me."

(46) Kimea un ketab ro bara man xarid
Kimea that book RA for me bought
"Kimea bought that book for me."

¹¹ We can accept a sentence like (i) with stress on BER "one":

(i) Min BER hat anga jibardem.
I one letter him sent
"I sent him ONE letter "

Here *BER hat* "one letter" is specific. It is therefore topicalized.

Jayaseelan (2008) considers this *ro* as a topic marker, presumably generated in the head of TopP, and that a definite or specific DO is obligatory topicalized (scrambled) in Modern Persian. Maybe this Persian topic marker plays the same role in the IP domain as a topic marker *ya* in Gungbe in the left periphery of the clause.

In Tatar, as in Turkish, not only simple objects, but *wh*-words too can move to different positions through scrambling. In examples (47)-(49) they scramble in the sentence initial position:

- (47) Kemne_i bala ti kurde?
Who_{Acc} child see_{Past}
" Who did the child see?"
- (48) Narse_i sin ti ukyisyng?
what_{Acc} you read_{Pres}
" What do you read"
- (49) Nigai ul eshka ti kitte?
Why he work_{Dat} go_{Past}
" Why did he go to the work?"

Akar (1990) analyzing the motivation of scrambling of the *wh*-words to the sentence initial position in Turkish, argues that this is the process of Topicalisation. However, not all *wh*-phrases can be topicalized. This can be illustrated by the following examples from Tatar too:

- (50) * Kaidai Alsu ti kitte?
Where Alsu go_{Past}
" Where did Alsu go?"
- (51) * Niceki Alsu ti kitte?
how Alsu go_{Past}
" How did Alsu go?"
- (52) * Kaicani Alsu ti kitte?
when_{Acc} Alsu_{Nom} go_{Past}
" When did Alsu go?"

Akar argues that the *wh*-words in (50) - (52) are VP-internal adjuncts (which cannot scramble to the sentence-initial position) while the *wh*-words in (47) - (49) are VP external. The distinction between the two scrambling is accounted for in terms of the number of blocking categories that exist between the trace left behind and the moved element. *Wh*-words in Tatar, whether they are arguments or adjuncts, cannot appear in the post-verbal position as illustrated in (53) and (54).

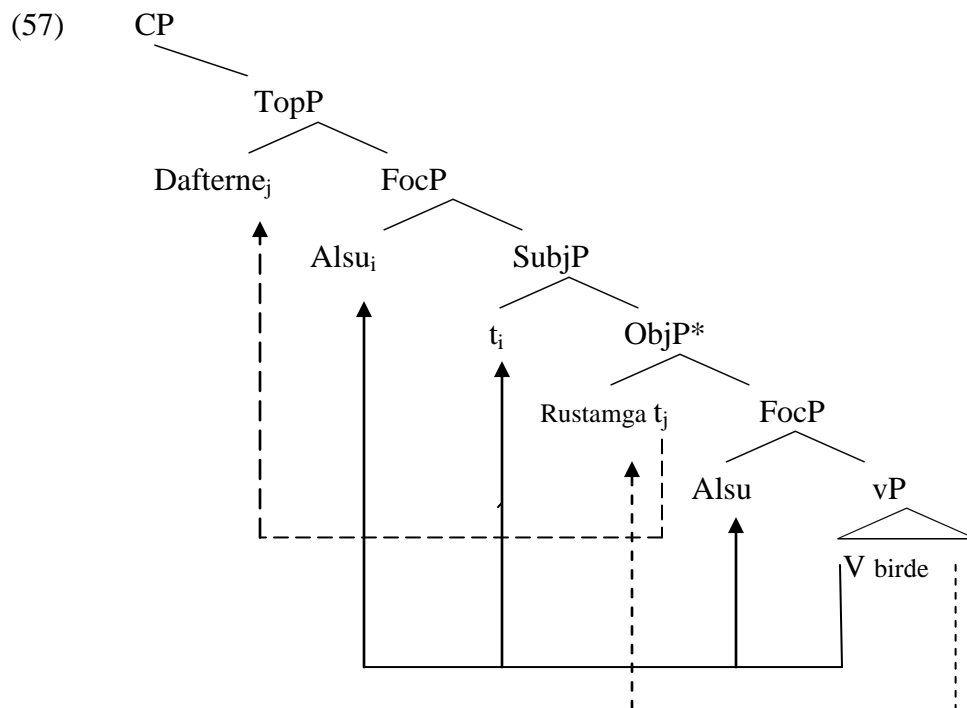
- (53) * Bala ti kurde kemne_i ?
Child_{Nom} see_{Past} who_{Acc}
"Who did the child see?"
- (54) * Sin ti ukyisyng narse_i ?
you_{Nom} read_{Pres} what_{Acc}
" What do you read"

Akar (1990) notes that the ungrammaticality of the structures as in (53) and (54) is due to the fact that only definite elements can occur in the clause-final position. Göksel & Ozsoy (2000), on the other hand, argue that such focused constituents as *wh*-words are not allowed in the post-verbal position.

5. FOCUS

In Tatar, like in Turkish, the focus position immediately precedes the verb. (Erguvanli (1984) Göksel & Ozsoy (2000) among others). Any focalized element, including *wh*-phrases, can occupy this position. Focalized elements in Tatar are marked by strong stress and high pitch and can be of two types: (i) identificational or "new information" and (ii) contrastive. The main difference between the two foci stems from the position occupied by these elements in a sentence: identificational focus always appears in the immediately preverbal position (example (55) below), while contrastive focus can also occupy other positions in the IP field, as illustrated in (56). These examples are represented in (57).

- (55) Dafterne Rustamga ALSU birde.
 notebook_{Acc} Rustam_{Dat} Alsu give_{Past}
 "ALSU gave the notebook to Rustam."
- (56) Dafterne ALSU Rustamga birde (...Gulsina tugel)
 notebook_{Acc} Alsu Rustam_{Dat} give_{Past} Gulsina Neg.
 "ALSU gave the notebook to Rustam (and not Gulsina)."



When the subject *Alsu* expresses new information focus, it must occupy low FocP position, as suggested by Belletti (2004) for Italian. If the subject is contrastive focus, it is placed either in a low FocP position, or in a high FocP above the SubjP.

Focus phrases cannot occupy the postverbal position, irrespective of whether NP's are arguments or adjuncts (Kural 1993, Goksel 1998), as in (58).¹²

- (58) * Rustam birde DAFTERNE / DUSTYMA / KICA/KEMGE
Rustam give_{Past} notebook/ my friend_{Dat}/ yesturday/to whom

In the following example we can see that some positions in the Mittelfeld in Tatar are associated with distinct IS features, such as Topic and Focus (59), represented in (60).

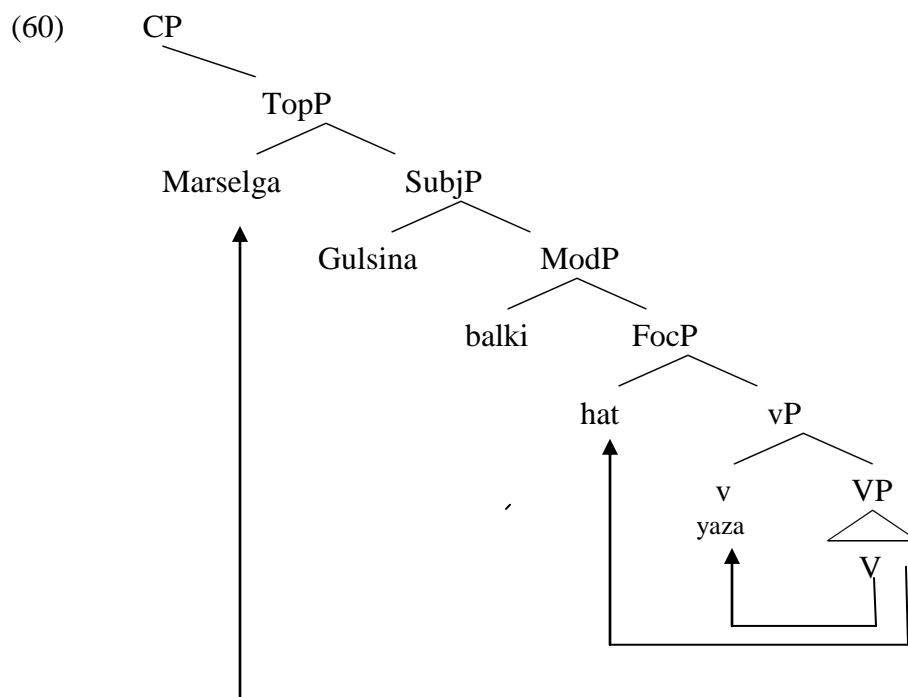
- (59) Marselga Gulsina balki hat iaza.
Marsel_{Dat} Gulsina maybe letter_{Indef} writes
"Gulsina maybe writes a letter to Marsel".

¹² However, as in Turkish (Göksel & Ozsoy, 2000), we can see that in Tatar a focus phrase cannot be preceded by wh-phrase. This is so, even if the focus phrase is placed in the immediately preverbal position, which assumed to be a focus position, as in (i), (ii):

- (i) * Kem SINGA kilde?
Who to you came
" Who came to you?"
- (ii) * Kaida SIN ukyisyng?
where you study_{Pres}
" Where do you study"

When the focus phrase is placed before the wh-phrase (iii), (iv), the sentence is grammatical:

- (iii) SINGA kem kilde?
TO YOU who came
" Who came to you?"
- (iv) SIN kaida ukyisyng?
YOU where study_{Pres}
" Where do YOU study?"



As it is shown in (66), the indefinite direct object *hat* being a focus new information occurs in a low FocP, while the indirect object *Marselga* is placed in a higher Topic position, above SubjP.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper we studied the IP-field or “Mittelfeld” in Tatar within the cartographic analysis of the clause structure. We have observed that the word order variation in Tatar is certainly discourse related. Tatar is a discourse configurational language due to richness of its information structure and the case marking system. We think that in Tatar there exists Topic/Focus configuration in the clause IP internal low area akin to the left periphery of the clause. In particular, a clause internal Focus must be immediately before the verb. It is known that in the CP domain, there can be any number of TopP above the FocP (Rizzi 1997). In our opinion, similar possibilities exist for Topics in the Tatar Mittelfeld. In Tatar, it is possible to scramble a definite object (marked with accusative case) for Topicalisation but not an indefinite one (a bare noun).

REFERENCES

- Aboh, E.O. (2004) *The Morphosyntax of Complement-Head Sequences: Clause Structure and Word Order Patterns in Kwa*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aboh, E.O. (2007a) *Information Structure in the Numeration*. Ms., University of Amsterdam.
- Aboh, E.O. (2007b). "Leftward Focus versus Rightward Focus: the Kwa-Bantu Conspiracy." *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics vol. 15*: 81-104.
- Akar, D. (1990) *Wh-Questions in Turkish*. Unpublished M. A. Thesis. Bogaziçi University.

- Belletti, A. (2001) "Inversion as Focalization", in A. Hulk and J.Y.Pollock (eds.), *Subject Inversion in Romance and the Theory of Universal Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press, 60-90.
- Belletti, A. (2004) "Aspects of the Low IP Area", in L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 16-51.
- Brody, M. (1990) "Some Remarks on the Focus Field in Hungarian", in J. Harris (ed.), *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 2*. London: University College London, 201-225.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2004) "Towards a Cartography of Subject Positions", in L. Rizzi, (ed.) *The Structure of IP and CP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 2*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 115-165.
- Cecchetto, C. (1994) A Semantic Trigger for Scrambling. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa 19*, 33-69.
- Chomsky, N. (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding*, Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1995) *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. (1999) *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-linguistic Perspective*. Oxford/New-York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. (2006) *Restructuring and Functional Heads*. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Diesing, M. (1992) *Indefinites*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Diesing, M. (1997) "Yiddish VP Order and the Typology of Object Movement in Germanic", *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 15*, 369-427.
- Enç, M. (1991) "The Semantics of Specificity", *Linguistic Inquiry 22*. 1, 1-26.
- Erguvanli, E. E. (1984) *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar*. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.
- Göksel, A. and A.S. Ozsoy (2000) "Is there a focus position in Turkish? ", in Göksel, A., Kerslake, C. (Eds.), *Studies on Turkish and Turkic languages; Proceedings of the Ninth international conference on Turkish linguistics*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- Issever, S (2003) "Information structure in Turkish: the word order-prosody interface", *Lingua 113*, 1025-1053.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. (2001) "IP-internal Topic and Focus Phrases", *Studia Linguistica 55*, 39-75.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. (2008) "Topic, Focus and Adverb positions in clause structure", *Nanzan Linguistics 4*, 43-68.
- Karimi, S. (1999) "A Note on Parasitic Gaps and Specificity", *Linguistic Inquiry 30*, 704-713.
- Kayne, R. (1994) *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. (2005) *Movement and Silence*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kiss, K.E (1995) "Discourse Configurational Languages: Introduction", in K. E. Kiss (ed.), *Discourse Configurational Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-27.
- Kural, M. (1992) *Properties of Scrambling in Turkish*. ms., UCLA.
- Laenzlinger, C. (1998) *Comparative Studies in Word Order Variation: Adverbs, Pronouns, And German Clause Structure*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Laenzlinger, C. (2011) *Elements of comparative generative syntax. A cartographic approach*. Unipress. Padova.
- Ndayiragije, J. (1996) "TP-internal Focus in Kirundi and "Attract-F"", in E. Benedicto, M. Romero and S. Tomioka (eds.) *Proceedings of the Workshop on Focus: Occasional Papers in Linguistics 21*, University of Massachusetts, 175- 190.
- Ndayiragije, J. (1999) "Checking Economy", *Linguistic Inquiry 30*, 399-444.
- Neeleman, A.& Reinhart, T. (1998) "Scrambling and the PF-interface", in M. Butt, and W. Geuder (eds.), *The Projection of Arguments: Lexical and Compositional Factors*. Chicago: CSLI Publications, 309-353.

- Öztürk, B. (2004) "Case, Referentiality and Non-configurationality", *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics 10*, C. Bowers (eds.), 171-192.
- Puskas, G. (1997) "Focus and the CP Domain", in L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 145-163.
- Rizzi, L. (1997) "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery", in L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 287-296.
- Rizzi, L. (2004) *On the Form of Chains: Criterial Positions and ECP Effects*. Ms. University of Siena.
- Rizzi, L. (2006) "On the Form of Chains: Criterial Positions and ECP Effects", in L. L.-S. Cheng & N. Corver (eds.) *Wh-movement: Moving on*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 97-134.
- Rizzi, L. and U. Shlonsky (2007) "Strategies of Subject Extraction", in H.M. Gärtner and U. Sauerland (eds.), *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?* Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter, 115-160.
- Ross, J-R. (1967) "Constraints on variables in syntax", Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Safiullina, F. S. (1966) "Poriadok slov v sovremennom tatarskom literaturnom iazyke", Doctoral dissertation, Kazan.
- Safiullina, F. S. (1972) "Sootnoshenie aktual'nogo i grammaticeskogo cleneniia i slovopolozhenia v tatarskom iazyke" // *Tatar tele beleme mas'elere*. Kitap 5. Kazan.
- Soare, G. (2009) "The syntax-Information Structure Interface and Its Effects on A-Movement and A'-Movement in Romanian", Doctoral dissertation, University of Geneva.
- Taylan, E. E. (1986) "Pronominal vs. Zero Representation Anaphora in Turkish", in *Studies in Turkish Linguistics*, D. I. Slobin and K. Zimmer (eds.), John Benjamins, 209-232.
- Vallduvi, E. (1992). *The Informational Component*. NY, London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Zakiev, M. Z. (1974) *Hazerge tatar adebi tele*. Kazan.
- Zakiev, M. Z. (2002) *Tatar grammatikasy*. Moskva, Kazan: Insan, Fiker.
- Zwart, C. J. W. (1996) *Morphosyntax of Verb Movement. A Minimalist Approach to the Syntax of Dutch*, Kluwer Academic Publisher, Dordrecht.