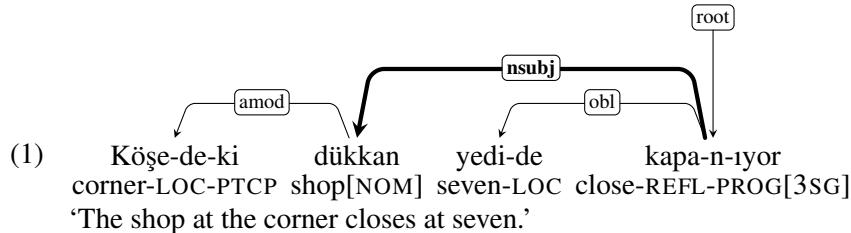


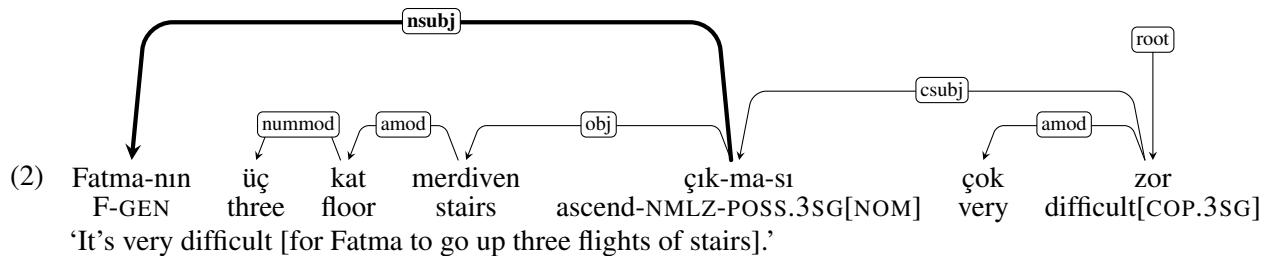
Suggested UD Guidelines for syntactic dependencies in Turkish

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Balkız Öztürk Başaran, Tunga Güngör, Arzucan Özgür

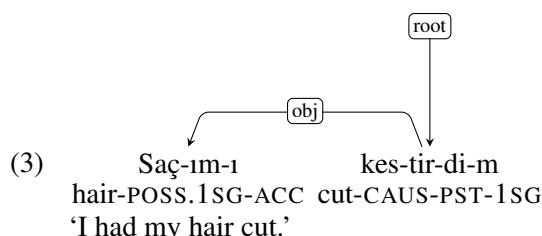
nsubj: nsubj marks the overt nominal subjects. Subjects in matrix clauses and some embedded clauses bear nominative case in Turkish represented by a null suffix ([Göksel, Kerslake, 2005](#)). In [Example 1¹](#), the phrase *Köşedeki dükkân* is the subject of the sentence. *dükkan* is the head of this phrase. Therefore, it is tied to the predicate. As for *köşedeki*, it is a modifier (amod) for *dükkan*.



Subjects in possessive embedded clauses bear genitive case marked by -(n)In. In UD, we do not use the nsubj relation to indicate subjects of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) structures, those subjects are indicated by obj and depend on the upper clause predicate. In [Example 2](#), the bracketed part is a nominalized embedded sentence. In these sentences, the predicate and the subject agree; we recognize the subject by genitive marker -(n)In and the nominalized predicate by the possessive marker -(s)I(n).

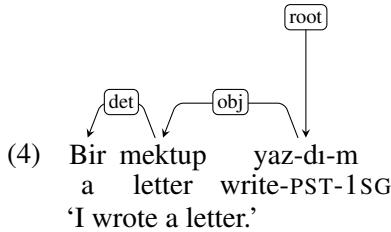


obj: obj marks the overt nominal direct objects. Direct objects bear accusative case in Turkish. Accusative case is realized two ways depending on definiteness: -(y)I marks definite accusative arguments and null suffix marks indefinite accusative arguments. In [Example 3](#), the phrase [*Sağımı*] is the direct internal argument of *kestir-* ‘get sth cut’.

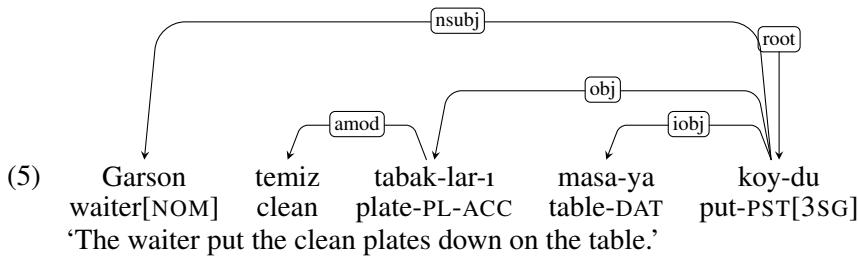


In [Example 4](#), the unmarked phrase [*mektup*] is the direct internal argument of *yaz-* ‘to write’. It is a potential candidate for being a nominal subject as well; however, it is eliminated by the fact that the predicate is inflected by 1st person. If the predicate were to be inflected to 3rd person like *Bir mektup yazdı* ‘He wrote a letter.’ then we are supposed to look for semantic clues and imagine probable contexts. In this case semantic clues would be enough since a letter cannot write as the predicate’s external argument demands agency.

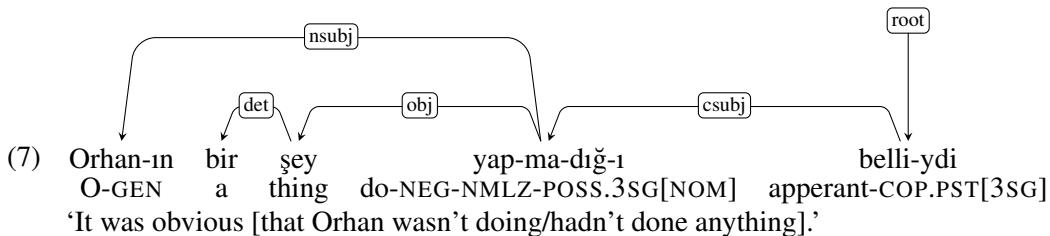
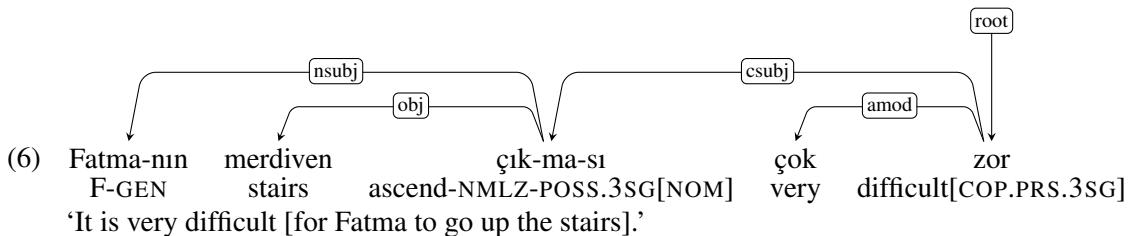
¹ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADJ = adjective, ADV = adverbial, CAUS = causative, COND = conditional, COP = copula, DAT = dative, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, INS = instrumental, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NMLZ = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PRS = present, PST = past, PTCP = participle, REFL = reflexive, SG = singular.



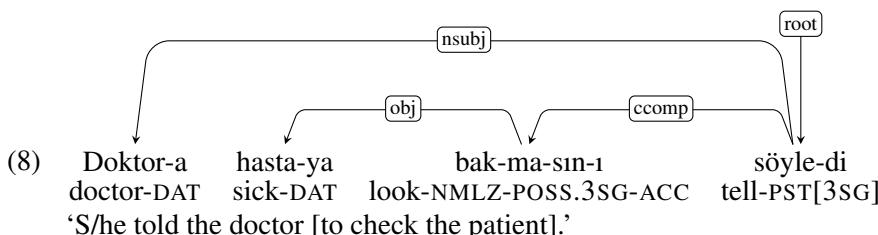
iobj: i_{obj} marks the overt nominal indirect objects predicates. In Turkish, they are marked by dative case $-(y)A$. In UD, i_{obj} is used when there is an overt direct object. In [Example 5](#), the phrase [*temiz tabakları*] 'clean plates' is the direct object and is obj to *koydu* 'put', whereas the the phrase [*masaya*] 'table-DAT' is the indirect object and i_{obj} to *koydu* 'put'.



csubj: Clausal subjects are marked with nominalizers $-mA$, $-mAK$, $-DIK$, and $-(y)AcAK$. Subjects are marked nominative in matrix clauses, some embedded clauses, and genitive in possessive embedded clauses. In [Example 6](#), the phrase [*Fatma-nın merdiven çıkışması*] has as its head [*çıkması*], which is a nominalized *çık* 'to ascend' with $-mA$ and marked by $-(s)I(n)$.

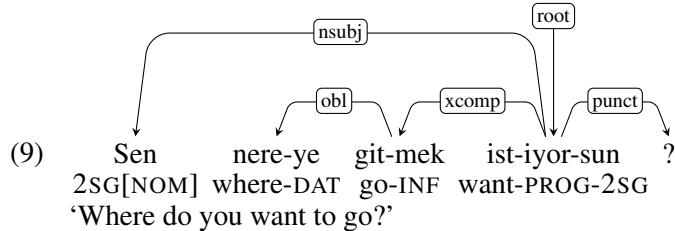


ccomp: Clausal complements are any infinite or finite clauses that are direct objects depended on a predicate. When they are infinite, they are expected to bear an overt case, if not we prefer to use $xcomp$.



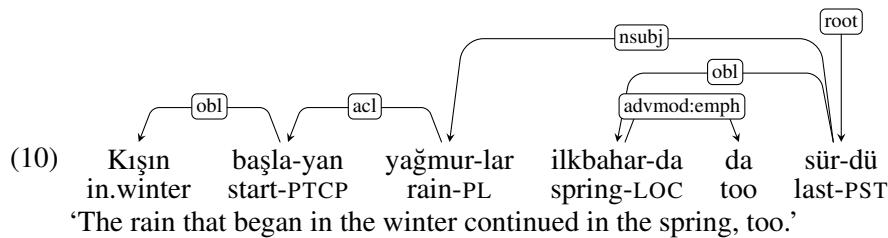
In this example, the VP [**bakmasını**] is the head of the CP [*hastaya bakmasını*] and is $c_{comp} > söyledi$ because it is the clausal complement of the predicate. Notice that this CP has a covert PRO_i that is coindexed with another element that occurred before: *Doktora_i*. We understand existence of this invisible subject of the embedded CP via the 3rd person agreement marker on the predicate [*bakma-sin-i*].

xcomp: *xcomp* is used for the clausal infinite complements that lack subject place (subject of the embedded clauses is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause) and they are not marked with any case marker. Typically, these are embedded predicates that suffixed by *-mAK* under the matrix predicate *iste-*.
PS: In UD, *xcomp* is used for all open clauses without subject. We however, put additional condition to use this relation: the embedded clause must be caseless.

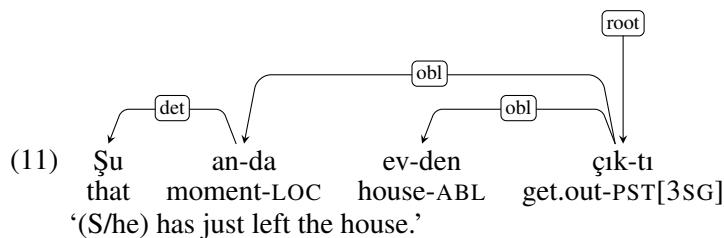


In this example, the embedded CP [*nereye gitmek*] lacks any subject and case marking. It is also the complement of the matrix predicate *istiyorsun*. Therefore, the head of the embedded CP *gitmek* should be *xcomp>istiyorsun*.

obl: *obl* is used to mark non-core arguments in a sentence that can indicate time, place, manner, and alike. They can be marked by a grammatical case (many time obliques are not marked with any case), or dependency case.



In this example, oblique objects *kışın* 'in.winter' and *ilkbaharda* 'in autumn' indicate the time, former of which is a dependent to the embedded predicate, the latter to matrix. Generally, any nominal that indicates time of the verb will be marked with *obl*. In [Example 11](#), *evden* 'from the house' is a typical example of non-core argument (adjunct). The predicate *çık-* 'to get out' is an unergative verb that cannot have an internal argument. Besides accusative, all cases could potentially be a sign of an adjunct in Turkish.



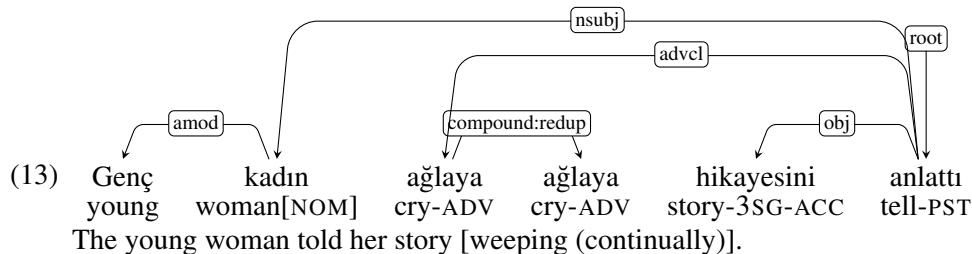
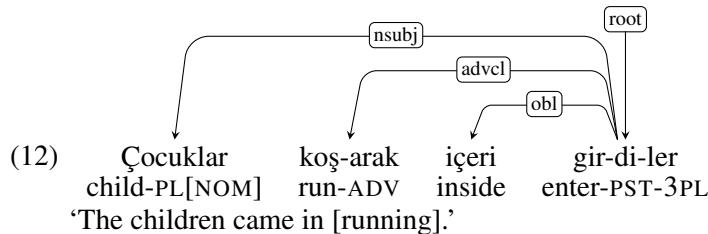
vocative: Indicates vocative elements in a sentence. They directly depend on the predicate of that clause.

expl: N/A

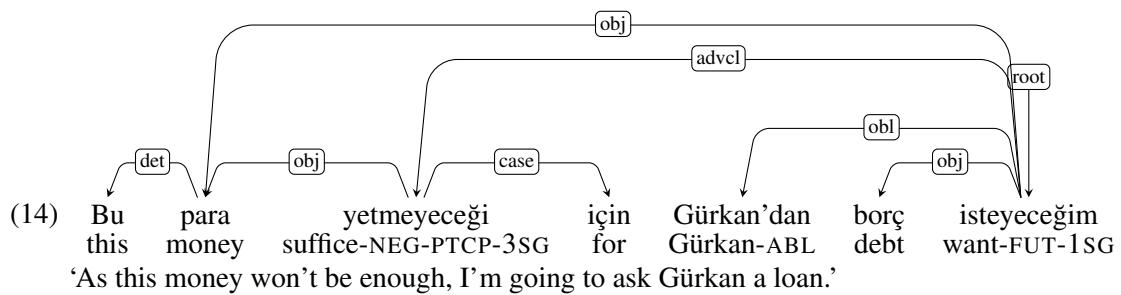
dislocated: *dislocated* is utilized in Turkish when a sentence contains an element that is exemplified usually after a colon.

advcl: *advcl* is the only non-core clausal element. It basically marks the predicate of an embedded clause. They are identified by some items like *olarak* or *için* marked by case or such suffixes: *-(y)ArAK*, *-DIkçA*, *-mAdAn*, *-DİgİndAn*, *-ken*, *-Inca*, *mAktAnsA*, and alike. *advcl:cond* is used to tie heads of conditional adverbial clauses to the upper clause.

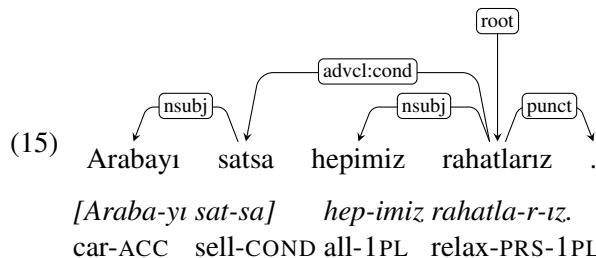
In [Example 12](#) and [Example 13](#), the adverbial phrase in brackets is a deverbal. Note that many adverbial clauses naturally lack subject. These adverbial clauses have a covert subject (*PRO_i*) that is co-indexed with the subject of the relevant clause. In [Example 13](#), we see a compound adverbial clause. Duplication is a fairly common operation in Turkish for both denominal and deverbal adverbials.



In Example 14 the embedded sentence is an adverbial clause with an overt subject [*Bu para*] ‘this money’, so its predicate *yetmeyeceğι* ‘will not be enough’ is inflected for 3SG which is different than the matrix subject which is 1SG.



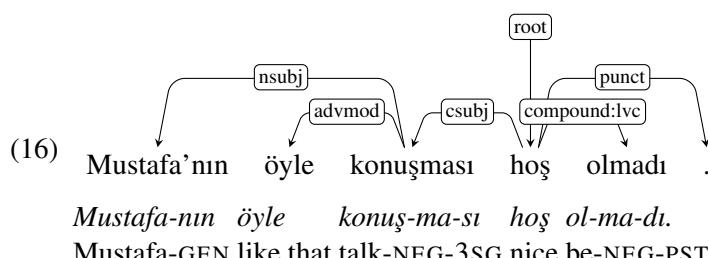
In Example 15, *satsa* “” is the head of the conditional phrase. These are regarded as a sort of adverbial clause in UD. In Turkish, they are marked by -sA suffix.



[As this money won't be enough] I'm going to ask Gürkan a loan.

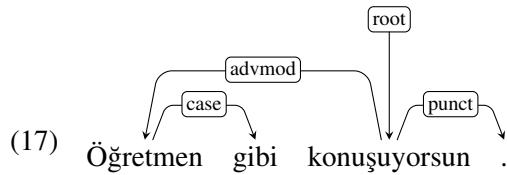
advmod: advmod is used to mark adverbs that modify an adjective, a verb or another adverb in terms of manner, degree, or frequency. It is also used to mark sentence level adverbials like *özellikle*, *ayrıca*, *bilhassa*, *buna ilaveten* etc.

advmod:emph: advmod:emph is used to mark the clitic *dA* which indicates inclusion (means like 'also, too') and appears in some fixed variations like *ya da*, *hem de*, *ne de* etc. *bile* is also marked with this relation.



It was unpleasant that Mustafa talked like that.

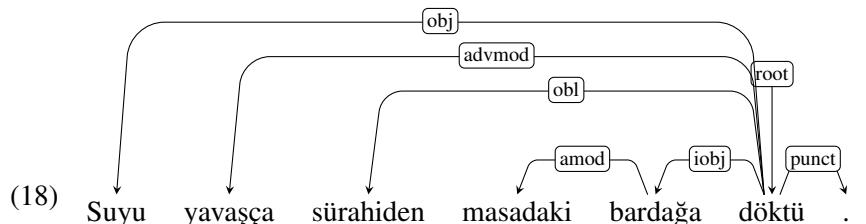
In this example *öyle* ‘like that’ is the adverbial modifier of the embedded predicate.



Öğretmen gibi konuș-uyor-sun.
teacher like talk-PROG-2SG

You're talking like a teacher.

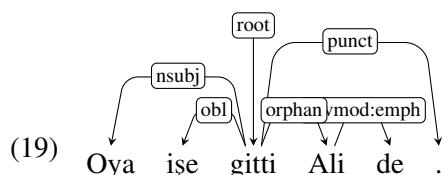
The postpositive particle *gibi* ‘like, as’ is understood to be head of the postpositional phrase [PP Öğretmen gibi]; in UD we understand it as merely a dependent (marked by *case*) of a nominal which it makes into an adverbial modifier.



Su-yu yavaş-ça sürahi-den masa-da-ki bardağ-a dök-tü.
water-ACC slow-ADV jug-ABL table-LOC-ADJ glass-DAT pour-PST

S/he slowly poured the water from the jug into the glass.

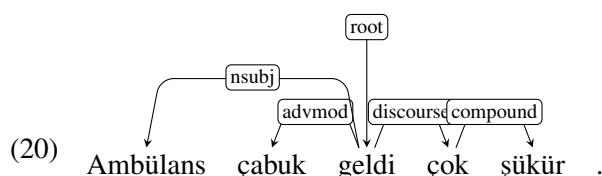
-cA is a typical adverbializer in Turkish, which is mostly added to the adjectives.



Oya iş-e git-ti, Ali de
Oya work-DAT go-PST Ali too

Oya went to work, and Ali, too.

In this example, emphatic *dA* gives meaning of inclusion to Ali and connects it to the previous predicate. **discourse**: discourse is used to mark discursive elements such as exclamations, murmurs, and other semantically vacuous sounds. *Evet* ‘yes’ and *hayır* ‘no’ are also marked with discourse. These elements depend on the predicate of the relevant clause.



Ambülans çabuk gel-di [çok şükür].
ambulance quick come-PST thankfully

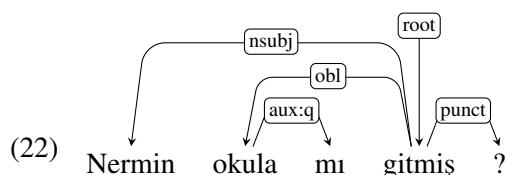
Thank god, ambulance came quickly.

In this example, *cok şükür* is a compound that expresses thankful wishes. In (21), (Göksel, Kerslake, 2005) provides some list of these discursive elements like this:

(21) Some discourse elements

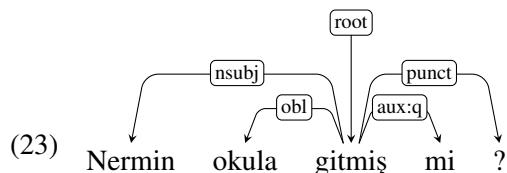
- a. *inşallah* 'God willing, hopefully'
- b. *umaram* 'I hope'
- c. *Allahtan/bereket versin* 'fortunately'
- d. *cok şükür* 'thank goodness, fortunately'
- e. *iyi ki* 'it's good idea that...' 'thank goodness'
- f. *maalesef/ne yazık ki* 'unfortunately'
- g. *tabii (ki)/doğal olarak* 'of course, naturally'

aux: Turkish lacks most auxiliary elements, the only element we utilize in UD is aux : q for the question clitic *mi*.



Nermin okul-a mi git-miş?
Nermin school-DAT Q go-PST

Has Nermin gone to school?

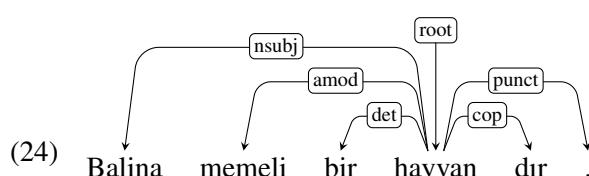


Nermin okul-a git-miş mi?
Nermin school-DAT go-PST Q

Has Nermin gone to school?

In example (22), question particle *mi* focuses over the adjunct [NPokula] therefore it is dependent on it whereas in (23) it focuses on the predicate.

cop: cop is used to mark copular elements that are either attached or cliticized to the predicate. -DIr, -(y)DI, -(y)mış, -(y)sA, -(y)ken are considered as Turkish copulas and are always marked cop.

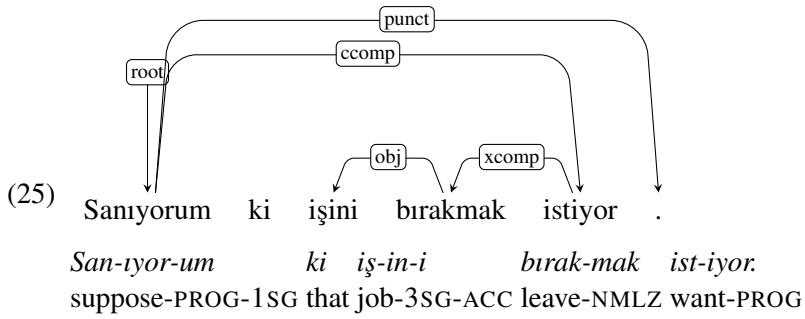


Balina memeli bir hayvan-dir.
Whale mammal a animal-COP

Balina is a mammal.

-DIr is the only copular element in Turkish that solely comes in suffixal form, others may turn into clitics as well: -(y)DI ~ idi, -(y)mış ~ imiş, -(y)sA ~ ise, -(y)ken ~ iken.

mark: mark is generally used to mark *ki* that conjoins two sentences.

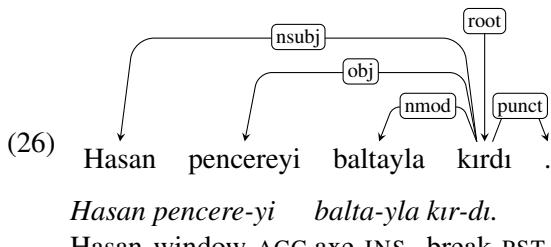


I think (that) s/he wants to leave his/her job.

nmod: Bare nmod is the relation that indicates instrumental nouns.

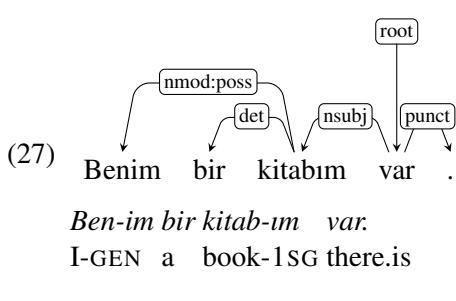
nmod:poss is an extremely common relation that marks a possessive dependent that modifies possessed noun. Possessive dependent might bear -In genitive suffix or not. Note that for the dependents nominalized embedded clauses whose structure looks a lot like a possessive noun phrase we use nsubj rather than nmod:poss.

PS: In UD, nmod is supposed to modify a noun head. We, however, use nmod in a particular situation that modifies a predicate.



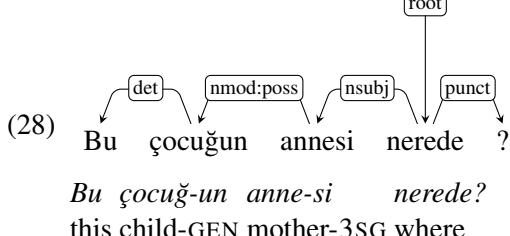
Hasan broke the window with (an) axe.

In this example, the noun phrase *baltayla* is in instrumental case and modifies a predicate.



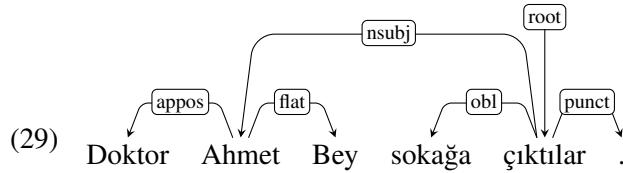
I have a book.

Turkish lacks the verb *have to* indicate possession. So, it uses possessive existential sentences like (27) to indicate possession. That is, in order to say *x has y*, it says *x's y exists*. In these structures, we ought to use nmod:poss to indicate that y belongs to x.



Where is this child's mother?

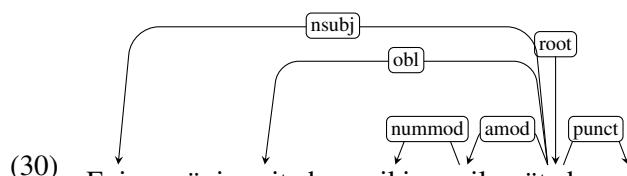
appos: appos is a relation between two nominals, one being the explanation of the other. We mark the modifying nominal by this relation. Modifying nouns generally indicate the title, relation. If the explanation is in parentheses appos is still applicable.



Doktor Ahmet Bey sokağ-a çıktı-tı-lar.
doctor Ahmet Mr street-LOC get.out-PST-3PL

Mr Doctor Ahmet has gone out on the street.

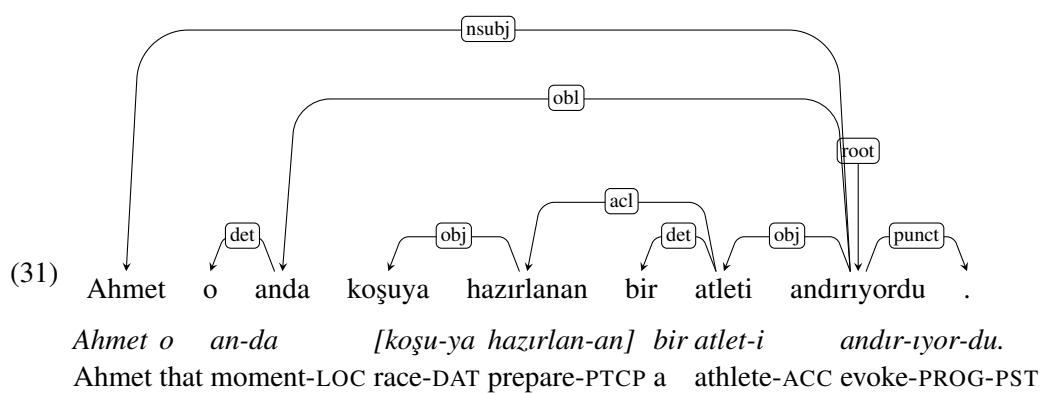
nummod: Numerical modifiers are ordinal, cardinal numbers and numbers inflected with -lArca like *yüzlerce, onlarca* marked by nummod. Numerical modifiers with multiple items are tied together via flat.



Ev-im üniversite-den iki mil ötededir.
house-1SG university-ABL two mile is.away

My house is two miles away from the university.

acl: acl is a relation for adjectival clauses which are embedded structures that modify a noun. They are typically suffixed by -(y)An, -DIK, -(y)AcAK, -Ar, -mIş, -AsI. Another rather rare construction is via *ki* particle in a sentence like *Ali ki arkadaşımdır beni çok sever arkadaşımdır* is depended on *Ali* via acl.

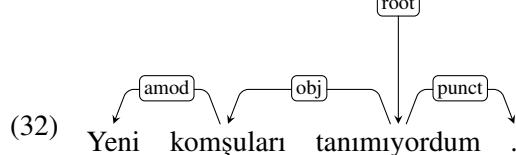


Ahmet that moment-LOC race-DAT prepare-PTCP a athlete-ACC evoke-PROG-PST

At that moment Ahmet looked like an athlete [preparing for a race].

In this example, the CP [koşuya hazırlanan] modifies the DP [bir atleti]. *hazırlanan* is the predicate of the CP and bears one of the adjectivizer suffixes.

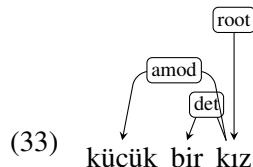
amod: amod is a relation that marks adjectival modifiers that modify the head of a nominal phrase. In Turkish many nouns are convertible in adjectives via conversion or suffixes like -lI, -sIz, -cA.



Yeni komşu-lar-i tani-m-iyor-du-m.
new neighbour-PL-ACC know-NEG-PROG-PST-1SG

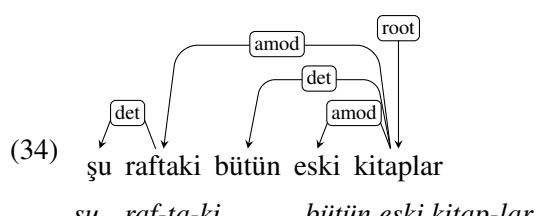
I didn't know the new neighbours.

det: det is a relation between a noun head and its determiner. Determiners in Turkish are demonstratives (*bu* 'this', *şu* 'that', *o* 'that'), indefinite article (*bir* 'a'), quantifiers (*bazı* 'some', *birkaç* 'a few', *hiçbir* 'none', *bütün* 'all', *tüm* 'every' etc.), or interrogative determiner (*hangi* 'which'). Possessive determiners (*benim* 'my', *senin* 'your' etc.) are, on the other hand, are marked by nmod:poss.



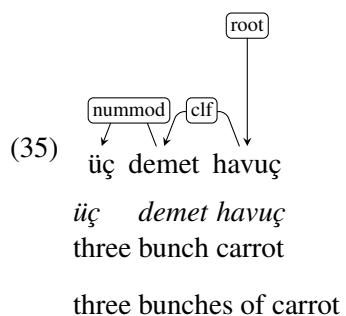
küçük bir kız
small a daughter
a small daughter

In this example, we see a typical use of an indefinite determiner who is often found between an adjective and the head noun.



şu raf-ta-ki bütün eski kitap-lar
that shelf-LOC-ADJ all old book-PL
all the old books on that shelf

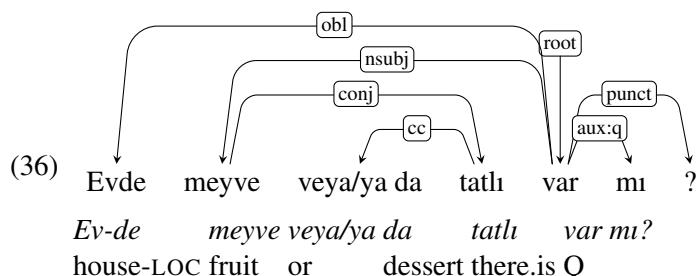
clf: clf is a relation that marks classifiers in Turkish. They are rather rare and generally occur between a numeral and a noun head. *demet*, *baş*, *çay kaşığı*, *tutam*, *tane*, *fincan*, *kap*, *teneke* are some examples of classifiers in Turkish.



üç demet havuç
three bunch carrot

three bunches of carrot

conj: The relation conj asymmetrically conjoins two syntactically identical elements, head being the first conjunct. Items could be conjoined via commas or coordinators such as *ve*, *veya*, *ya da* etc.



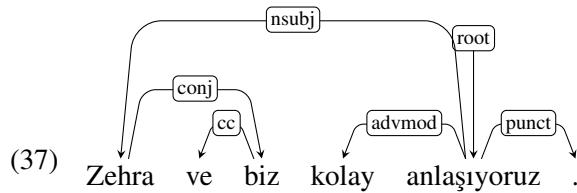
Ev-de meyve veyा/ya da tatlı var mi?
house-LOC fruit or dessert there.is Q

Is there any fruit or any [sort of] sweet in the house?

As per UD rules, we connect second component to the first if there is no meaningful hierarchy between components.

cc: cc is utilized for the coordinators that coordinate two elements like *ve*, *veya* etc. However, some conjunctions (such as *ancak*, *cünkü*) may not contain two elements, they modify entire sentence. In that case their dependency is still cc, but they depend on the predicate.

cc:preconj is a dependency that marks correlative conjunctions such as: *hem... hem (de)*, *ne... ne (de)*, *ya... ya (da)*, *ha ha...*

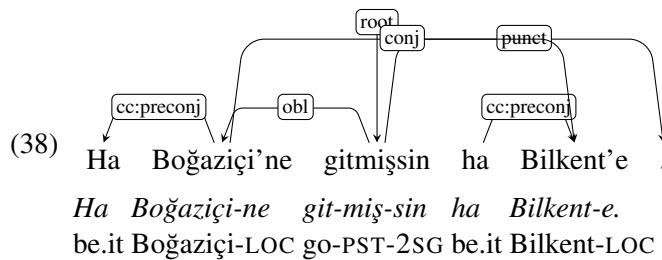


Zehra ve biz kolay anla-s-ıyor-uz.

Zehra and we easy understand-REFL-PROG-1PL

We and Zehra get along easily(=well).

As we see in this example, cc is connected to the next coordinated item in a conjunction.

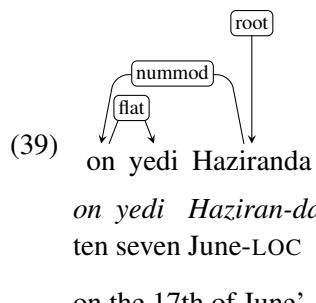


It doesn't matter whether you go to Boğaziçi or to Bilkent.

Just like cc, cc:preconj is also linked to the next item.

fixed: N/A

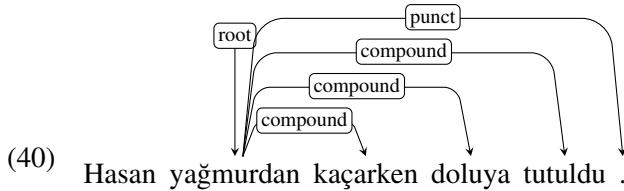
flat: flat is the relation that ties together proper nouns and numerals when they have more than one element. We also use it to mark the items connected by a dash or a slash. In any case, first element is always the head.



compound: compound is the relation we use when a noun modifies a noun head to give information about its material. In this case, the head is the modified noun. It is also used when there is an idiomatic expression in the sentence, in which case the first element would be the head.

compound:lvc is the relation that marks light verbs. Light verbs in Turkish follow their main verb, making a compound. *et-*, *yap-*, *ol-*, *kıl-* are common light verbs in Turkish.

compound:redup is a relation used for reduplications like *hemen hemen*, *yavaş yavaş*, *ufak tefek*, *zar zar* etc. The first element is the head as usual.



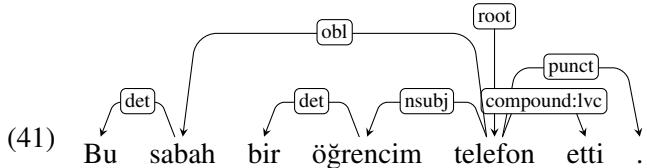
(40) Hasan yağmurdan kaçarken doluya tutuldu .

Hasan [yağmurdan kaçarken doluya tutuldu].

Idiomatic reading: ‘Hasan jumped out of the frying pan into the fire.’

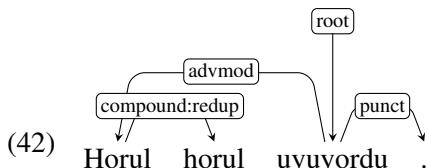
Literal reading: ‘While Hasan was trying to escape the rain, he was seized by hail.’

In this example, we see a long idiomatic expression. No matter how long it is, all idioms are to be linked via compound and headed by the first component.



*Bu sabah bir öğrenci-m telefon et-ti.
this morning a student-1SG telephone make-PST*

A student of mine rang this morning.



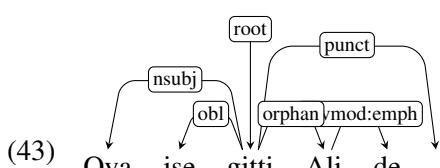
*Horul horul uyu-yor-du.
snoringly snoringly sleep-PROG-PST*

‘She was sleeping, snoring away.’

list: The relation list is used to indicate strings of phone numbers, post codes or full dates.

parataxis: We use parataxis in order to mark definitions, explanations and full sentences in parentheses.

orphan: orphan is utilized when a predicate is elided in a construction and one or more elements left with no overt head. In such cases, the element that is coordinated is promoted to the head of the clause; other elements are tied to this head via orphan.



*Oya iş-e git-ti, Ali de
Oya work-DAT go-PST Ali too*

Oya went to work, and Ali, too.

The sentence fragment Ali de is actually undergone ellipsis and the full form would be [CPAli de (gitti)]. Ali, being the subject, now lacks a predicate to be tied to. As a remedy, in UD, orphan is utilized to tie this particle onto an upper head that is relevant in the context. In this case, it is the predicate before since Ali is a subject of that.

goeswith: We use goeswith is utilized to tie together wrongly separated text.

reparandum: We use reparandum is utilized to mark speech repair.

punct: We use punct is utilized to mark speech repair.

root: root a special relation marks the roots of the sentence. Unlike other relations head of this relation is a hypothetical marker outside of the sentence. In UD, every sentence must contain one and only one root relation.

dep: dep is a last resort dependency when no other dependency is suited to use. Sometimes we use this dependency in order to indicate the numbers or letters as bullet heads like: A) [SENTENCE], a1-[SENTENCE].

References

Göksel Aslı, Kerslake Celia. Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar. 2005.