NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS IN YES-NO QUESTIONS

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ALPER KESİCİ

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_____

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Sağın Şimşek
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____   _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Umut Özge   Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek
Co-Supervisor   Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Duygu Özge   (METU, FLE)   _____

Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek (METU, FLE)   _____

Prof. Dr. Selçuk İşsever   (Ankara Uni., LING) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Alper Kesici

Signature　　　　　:

ABSTRACT

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Kesici, Alper

M.A., English Language Teaching

Supervisor   :   Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek

Co-Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Umut Özge

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This thesis is about licensing of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in non-negative Yes-No (YN) questions in Turkish. I argue that NPIs are licensed in such environments only if the interrogative feature on C^0 is spelled out by the question particle *mI*. I propose that this is achieved if the question particle, base-generated as the head of the FocP that dominates the TP, is moved to C^0 after it is picked up by the verb. Empirical evidence for my argument comes from both matrix and embedded YN questions, where NPIs are only licensed if *mI* is attached to the verb. Additionally, NPIs in an embedded clause are licensed only if the embedded C^0 is not occupied by an overt complementizer and this is only true in non-nominalized embedded clauses. As a secondary objective, I argued for a placement algorithm for the questions particle that accounts for the various positions that the particle can occupy and derives both the narrow- and wide-scope interpretations that arise depending on the position that *mI* occupies. In the algorithm, *mI* is base-generated as the head of the FocP and lowers itself to the position it ends up occupying by traversing

the tree downwards and attaching itself to the left daughter of each node it hits on the way, provided this daughter hosts overt material. As a third objective, I tested if L2 English learners with L1 Turkish license NPIs in non-negative YN questions in their L2 English by the same mechanism that I argued for in Turkish. This was done through an acceptability judgement task. The results suggested that the different mechanism existing in English were not influenced by the one in L1 Turkish of the learners.

ÖZ

EVET-HAYIR SORULARINDAKİ OLUMSUZ KUTUPLANMA ÖĞELERİ

Kesici, Alper

Yüksek Lisans, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi

Tez Yöneticisi   :   Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Umut Özge

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Bu tez Olumsuz Kutuplanma Öğelerinin (OKÖ) olumsuz olmayan Evet-Hayır (EH) sorularındaki dağılımını incelemektedir. OKÖlerin bu tarz sorularda sadece soru eki *mI* tümleyici öbeğinin başında ise bulunabileceğini iddia etmekteyim. Bu türetmenin ise soru ekinin zaman öbeğini başatlayan odak öbeğinin başında üretilip eylem tarafından tümleyici öbeğinin başına taşınması yoluyla elde edildiğini ileri sürmekteyim İddiamı destekleyen ampirik kanıt ise OKÖlerin sadece *mI*'nın fiil üzerinde olduğu durumlarda bulunabildiği ana ve içeyerleşik EH sorularından gelmektedir. Buna ek olarak, içeyerleşik tümcelerde OKÖlerin yalnızca içeyerleşik tümce adlaşmamış ise ve herhangi bir tümleyici öğe içermiyorsa bulunabileceğini göstermekteyim. İkincil bir amaç olarak ise soru ekinin birbirinden farklı pozisyonlarda bulunabilmesini ve bu pozisyonlara göre sorunun geniş veya dar kapsamlı olabilmesini açıklayan bir algoritma öne sürmekteyim. Bu algoritmada, soru eki *mI* odak öbeğinin başı olarak üretilmekte ve odakladığı kurucuya kardeş olduğu bir konuma budaktan budağa geçerek ve kendisini sol tarafta bulunan yavruya (eğer açık

bir öğe içermekteyse) kardeş olma yoluyla alçalmaktadır. Çalışmanın üçüncü amacı olarak anadili Türkçe olan ve ikinci dil olarak İngilizce öğrenenlerin öne sürdüğüm düzeneği anadillerinden aktarıp aktarmadığını dilbilgisellik değerlendirme testi kullanarak araştırdım. Çalışmada elde edilen bulgular ise anadildeki düzeneğin ikinci dil olan İngilizceyi etkilemediğine işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: olumsuz kutuplanma öğeleri, soru eki, Türkçe, evet-hayır soruları

To My Father

ACKNOWLEDMENTS

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

#	Indicates that the expression is judged to be semantically ill-formed by native speakers.
*	Indicates that the expression is judged to be ungrammatical by native speakers.
??	Indicates that the expression is judged to be of borderline acceptability by native speakers.
??/*	Indicates that the expression is judged to be either ungrammatical or of borderline acceptability by native speakers.
+Int	Interrogative
1PL	1st Person Plural
2SG	2nd Person Singular
3PL	3rd Person Plural
3SG	3rd Person Singular
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
AOR	Aorist
API	Affective Polarity Item
C	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DAT	Dative
DE	Downward Entailment

DP	Determiner Phrase
Foc	Focus
FocP	Focus Phrase
FTFAH	Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerundive
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INT	Intended Meaning
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LF	Logical Form
*mI*P	*mI* Phrase
n	Little-Noun
Neg/NEG	Negation
NMZ	Nominalizer/Nominalized
NOM	Nominative
*n*P	Little-Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
Ø	Phonologically null marker
OPT	Optative
PART	Participle
PAST	Past Tense
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PP	Pre/Postpositional Phrase
PPI	Positive Polarity Item
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive

Q	Question Particle
REP	Reported
Spec	Specifier
UG	Universal Grammar
v	Little-Verb
V	Verb
*v*P	Little-Verb Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
YN	Yes-No

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an investigation of Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing in non-negative Yes-No (YN) questions in Turkish and implications that it has for the acquisition of second language (L2) English. Via the data presented, the aim is to capture the licensing conditions of NPIs in Turkish non-negative YN questions and the role that the question particle plays in these environments. The discussion mainly revolves around syntactic constraints in NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions. I show that only when it is placed on the verb, can the question particle license NPIs in non-negative YN questions and argue that this is because only when *mI* is placed on the verb, does it occupy the C^0 position. I further argue, based also on some cross-linguistic data, that NPIs are licensed in a non-negative YN question only if C^0 is overtly realized. I, then, explore the consequences of this requirement in L2 English.

The question particle *mI* in Turkish has two basic functions. The first one is to mark the interrogative force of the sentence and the second one is to mark the focus of a YN question (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997). The particle can be placed after almost any constituent; the questioned entity/proposition varies accordingly, as can be

seen in (1).[1] In (1a), the whole proposition is in the scope of the question particle and consequently, the question receives a wide-scope interpretation.[2] (1b); however, is ambiguous. On one reading, we have a wide-scope reading 'Did Ali go to Ankara?' and on the other, the narrow-scope reading 'Is it Ankara that Ali went to?' is available. (1c) can only have one interpretation and it is the narrow-scope reading 'Is it Ali who went to Ankara?' The contrast between (1b-c) seems to be an interesting one since *mI* occupies a pre-verbal position in both questions. Possible reasons behind this contrast will be discussed in further chapters but to state briefly, the most plausible reason behind this is that (1b) has also wide-scope reading because *mI* is inside the VP (Kamali, 2011), while in (1c), it is outside the VP.[3]

1) a. Ali Ankara'ya git -ti -Ø mi?

Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q

'Did Ali go to Ankara?'

b. Ali Ankara'ya mı git -ti -Ø?

Ali Ankara-DAT Q go -PAST-3SG

Reading 1: 'Did Ali go to Ankara?'

Reading 2: 'Is it Ankara that Ali went to?'

c. Ali mi Ankara'ya git -ti -Ø?

Ali Q Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG

'Is it Ali who went to Ankara?'

---

[1] *mI* cannot be placed after any element in the sentence. The positions in which *mI* is prohibited will be given in chapters to come.

[2] Throughout the thesis, I use the term *wide-scope* to refer to cases which are traditionally called *verum focus* (Höhle, 1992) or *narrow/polarity focus*. I thank Umut Özge for bringing this to my attention.

[3] The wide-scope interpretation of questions like (1b) becomes clearer in sentences where the object is non-specific (non-referential):

1) a. Ali temizlik mi yap -tı -Ø?
Ali cleaning Q do -PAST -3SG
'Did Ali do the cleaning?'
b. Kitap mı oku -yor -sun?
book Q read -PRES.PROG -2SG
'Are you reading?'

However, there are some constraints regarding the positions in which *mI* can occur in specific constructions. For example, in non-negative YN questions, the particle must be placed on the verb if the sentence contains an NPI, as seen in (2). Example (2b), which contains the NPI *hiç* 'ever' and in which *mI* is placed pre-verbally, is ungrammatical.

2) a. Ali hiç Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi?
       Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q
       'Did Ali ever go to Ankara?'

    b. *Ali hiç   Ankara'ya   mı git -ti   -Ø?
        Ali ever Ankara-DAT Q   go -PAST-3SG
       INT: 'Was it Ankara that Ali ever went to?'

Obviously, the reason behind the contrast between (2a-b) is the position that *mI* occupies. In (2a), the question particle is attached to the verb and in (2b), the position that it occupies is pre-verbal. I argue that *mI* enters the derivation as the head of the FocP above the TP. This claim will be argued for in chapters to come with data from embedded YN questions, availability of wide- and narrow-scope reading in questions where *mI* occupies a pre-verbal position and from other languages as well. I further propose that in Turkish, *mI* licenses NPIs like *hiç* 'ever' in non-negative YN questions only when it raises from Foc^0 to C^0, i.e., when it is suffixed to the verb. This is only valid under neutral intonation, when the YN question is interpreted as asking for information and in the absence of another licensing element such as negation, which licenses NPIs regardless of the position of *mI*. It can be seen in (3) that when the negation is present, the particle can freely occupy a pre-verbal position; in fact, it is free to appear on almost any constituent.

3) a. Ali hiç Ankara'ya   mı git -me -di   -Ø?
       Ali ever Ankara-DAT Q   go -NEG -PAST-3SG
       'Was it Ankara that Ali has never been to?'

    b. Ali hiç Ankara'ya   mı git -miş -Ø   değil?
       Ali ever Ankara-DAT Q   go -PERF-3SG not
       'Was it Ankara that Ali has never been to?'

In addition, it is worth mentioning here the interaction of NPI licensing, the position of *mI*, and the presence of the conjunction *sanki* 'as if'. *Sanki* 'as if' is a subordinating conjunction and it signals non-factuality of the clause to the hearer (Kerslake, 2007). As the data in (4) illustrates, NPIs are licensed in such examples regardless of the presence of the negation or the question particle, as shown in (4a). The fact that in (4b), *mI* can surface pre-verbally in the presence of *sanki* 'as if', just like it can when the negation is present, suggests that *sanki* itself can license NPIs. Note also that (4b) is not interpreted as an information-seeking question, but rather as a rhetorical question expressing the view that the speaker believes that the answer to this question is "No." As a result, examples such as (4a-b) are orthogonal to the arguments made in this thesis.

4) a. Sanki hiç havyar ye -miş -Ø, Ali.

      as-if   ever caviar eat-PERF-3SG Ali

      INT: '(Ali is talking) As if he has ever eaten caviar.'

   b. Ali sanki hiç   Ankara'ya   mı git-miş -Ø?

      Ali as-if ever Ankara-DAT Q   go -PERF-3SG

      INT: 'As if Ali has ever been to Ankara.'

However, *hiç*-type NPIs are not the only NPIs in Turkish. In fact, based on their distribution and licensing environments, it is possible to talk about four types of NPIs (excluding minimizer NPIs like *parmağını bile kıpırdatmamak* 'lift a finger'). They are listed below:

I.   *Asla* 'never', *katiyen* 'never ever', and *zinhar* 'by no means'
II.   *Sakın* 'never'
III. *Kimse/hiçkimse*[4] 'nobody/anybody', *hiçbir* 'any', and *hiç* 'never/at all'
IV.   *Henüz* 'yet' and *daha* 'any longer/yet'

Out of the four types, only the NPIs in III above, *kimse/hiçkimse* 'nobody/anybody', *hiçbir* 'any', and *hiç* 'never/at all' are licensed in non-negative YN questions, while NPIs in

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[4] Orthographically, *hiçkimse* is written as *hiç kimse* in Turkish but it will be written as *hiçkimse* throughout the thesis

groups I and IV *asla* 'never', *katiyen* 'never ever', and *zinhar* 'by no means', *henüz* 'yet' and *daha* 'any longer/yet' are licensed only by overt negation. Finally, *sakın* 'never' is only licensed in negative imperatives and optatives. The distribution of NPIs in negative and non-negative YN questions can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of NPIs in YN questions in Turkish

	YN Questions			
	mI in sentence final position		*mI* on a different element	
NPI	+	-	+	-
kimse	✓	✓	X	✓
hiçkimse	✓	✓	X	✓
hiçbir	✓	✓	X	✓
hiç	✓	✓	X	✓
henüz	X	✓	X	on NPI: X on other elements: ✓
daha	X	✓	X	on NPI: X on other elements: ✓
sakın	X	X	X	X
asla	X	✓	X	✓
katiyen	X	✓	X	✓
zinhar	X	✓	X	✓

In chapters to come, I will discuss the question particle *mI* in Turkish. The positions of *mI* in the derivation, its functions, and other uses will be discussed in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I discuss licensing of NPIs in general and in Turkish. Observations regarding NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions in Turkish and its cross-linguistic viability are the

topics of Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I explore whether native speakers of Turkish transfer the NPI licensing requirements into their L2 English. Chapter 6 is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

QUESTION PARTICLE IN TURKISH

2.1. WHAT IS *mI*?

The question particle *mI* in Turkish is analyzed as an enclitic that marks YN questions (Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967) and it also acts as a question focus particle (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997). It undergoes vowel harmony with the constituent that it is attached to. Consequently, it has four forms: *mı*, *mi*, *mu*, and *mü*. Unlike question particles in Mandarin Chinese (Cheng, 1997), Japanese (Hagstrom, 2000), and Korean (Choe, 1987), the use of *mI* in *wh*-questions is disallowed except for echo questions. In YN questions, *mI* can be placed after almost any element (Gračanin-Yuksek & Kırkıcı, 2016; Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967) and its position determines the focus of the question. In (5b-c), the question particle is placed pre-verbally and only the constituent that it is attached to is focused. This results in the *narrow-scope reading*. In (5a), *mI* is attached to the verb, yielding a *wide-scope reading,* as indicated with the translations.

5) a. Ali dün   gel -di   -Ø   mi?
       Ali yesterday come -PAST-3SG Q
       'Did Ali come yesterday?'
    b. Ali dün   mü gel   -di   -Ø?
       Ali yesterday Q   come -PAST-3SG

'Was it yesterday that Ali came?'

c. Ali mi dün   gel -di -Ø?

    Ali Q yesterday come -PAST-3SG

    'Was it Ali who came yesterday?'

However, *mI* is not allowed to be placed after just any element. For example, it cannot intervene between elements inside a DP except for possessives. It can attach to any phrase if the phrase is on the clausal spine (Özyıldız, 2015). As can be seen in (6), *mI* can intervene between the possessor and the possessee in the DP *Ali'nin hızlı arabası* 'Ali's fast car' but it cannot be placed after the AdjP *hızlı* 'fast' in the DP *hızlı araba* 'fast car'.[5]

6)   [Ali'nin   (mi) [hızlı AdjP] *(mı) araba -sı   -nı DP] DP] çal -dı -lar?

      Ali-GEN   Q   fast   Q   car -POSS.3SG -ACC   steal -PAST-3PL

In addition to marking YN questions and determining the focus of the question, the question particle can also be used for emphasis, as in (7a); as a coordinator in a conditional, as in (7b); and with a *wh*-word with an indefinite reading, as in (7c) (Besler, 2000). Also, when *mI* is in an embedded clause, the sentence is not always interrogative, as illustrated in (7d).

7)   a. Kız akıllı mı akıllı.

      girl smart Q smart

      INT: 'What a smart girl.'

   b. Ben dikkatli oku -du -m mu hemen anla   -r -ım.

      I   carefully read -PAST-1SG Q   instantly understand -AOR-1SG

      INT: 'If I read carefully, I can easily/instantly understand.'

   c. Ali parti -ye   mi ne   gid -iyor   (-i) -muş   -Ø.

      Ali party -DAT Q   what go -PRES.PROG -COP -REP.PAST -3SG

      INT: 'I heard that Ali is going to a party or something.'

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[5] Although the questions of what exactly prohibits the placement of *mI* in these positions is interesting in its own right, I will largely ignore it in this thesis.

d. Ali okul -a   mı git -ti -Ø bil -m -iyor   -um.
   Ali school-DAT Q go -PAST-3SG know -NEG-PRES.PROG -1SG
   'I don't know whether it was the school that Ali went to.' (Besler, 2000: 23)

There is another interesting property of the question particle when it is on the immediately pre-verbal constituent, such as the complement of the predicate. Recall that the question has a wide-scope reading in (5a) while in (5b-c) the question has a narrow-scope reading. The generalization that pre-verbal placement of *mI* results in narrow-scope reading is not entirely accurate, since a question can have a wide-scope reading with pre-verbal *mI*. In the next section, I will present such data, as well as discuss the properties of *mI* as a focus particle in more detail.

2.2. *mI* AS A QUESTION FOCUS PARTICLE

In the previous section, the differences between the question particle taking wide- and narrow-scope were shown through the data presented in (5). It was also briefly stated that not all pre-verbal placement of *mI* results in a narrow-scope reading. This becomes clear especially when a YN question is used in context. In certain contexts that require a wide-scope YN question, *mI* is required to appear sentence-finally, while in some such contexts, it can also appear in the immediately pre-verbal position. This is illustrated in (8). The question with wide-scope reading in (8b) is not suitable for Context A. This is because the context requires more than one alternative to cigarettes (bad habits like drinking alcohol and taking drugs.). As a result, the context requires narrow-scope reading via *mI* placement on the object DP. Context B in (8), on the other hand, requires wide-scope reading since what is questioned is the fact of whether Ali quit smoking. However, pre-verbal placement of the question particle on the object is still allowed and yields wide-scope reading in (8d) (cf. Gračanin-Yuksek & Kırkıcı, 2016). In (8c-f), wide-scope reading is impossible. If the particle is not on the predicate or its complement, it can only have narrow-scope.

8)   Context A: Ali is addicted to all sorts of drugs and substances. He recently quit

one of his bad habits. You turn to your friend wondering whether it is smoking cigarettes that he has quit:

a. Ali sigara   -yı   mı bırak-tı   -Ø?
   Ali cigarette -ACC Q   leave-PAST-3SG
   Reading 1: 'Is it smoking cigarettes that Ali has quit?'
   #Reading 2: 'Did Ali quit smoking?'

b. #Ali sigara   -yı   bırak-tı   -Ø   mı?
   Ali cigarette -ACC leave-PAST-3SG Q
   'Did Ali quit smoking?'

c. #Ali mi sigara   -yı   bırak-tı   -Ø?
   Ali Q   cigarette -ACC leave-PAST-3SG
   'Is it Ali that quit smoking?'

Context B: Ali and you are at a party. Smoking is not allowed inside so smokers constantly go in and out. You know that Ali is also a smoker, but you don't see him going out with others. You turn to your friend wondering whether Ali quit smoking:

d. Ali sigara   -yı   mı bırak-tı   -Ø?
   Ali cigarette -ACC Q   leave-PAST-3SG
   'Did Ali quit smoking?'

e. Ali sigara   -yı   bırak-tı   -Ø   mı?
   Ali cigarette -ACC leave-PAST-3SG Q
   'Did Ali quit smoking?'

f. #Ali mi sigara   -yı   bırak-tı   -Ø?
   Ali Q   cigarette -ACC leave-PAST-3SG
   'Is it Ali that quit smoking?'

A similar observation is also pointed out by Kamali (2011) regarding idiomatic verbs in YN questions. Out of the available readings, the only possible reading for the context given in (9) is the wide-scope reading of the idiomatic verb *sinek avlamak* 'to have no

customers'. This is also in line with the Context B in (8): Although the question particle occupies a pre-verbal position, the question can still have a wide-scope reading.

9) A: I heard Ali owes a lot of money to the bank.

   B: Hala sinek   mi avl   -ıyor   -Ø?

      still mosquito Q   catch-PRES.PROG -3SG

   i.   Idiomatic/wide: 'Is Ali's business still not doing well?

   ii.   #Literal/narrow: 'Is it mosquitoes that Ali is still catching?'

   iii. #Literal/wide: 'Is it catching mosquitoes that Ali is still doing?'(Kamali, 2011: 2)

To sum up, when the question particle is placed on a constituent in the left periphery or outside of the *v*P, the only possible reading is the narrow-scope one. However, if it is on the predicate or its complement, both wide- and narrow-scope readings are possible. It is the context that determines the suitable reading.

Leaving the functions of *mI*, exemplified in (7), aside for the moment, the distinct properties and the flexibility regarding the positions the question particle may occupy raise a question: "Where does *mI* originate in the derivation?" In the next section, I will present the existing structural analyses on the question particle in Turkish and in Chapter 4, I will present my own proposal, based on the features of the question particle and its relationship with NPIs.

2.3. BASE POSITION OF *mI*

The question particle *mI* in Turkish has been studied extensively and in the following sections, I will present different analyses that have been proposed.

2.3.1. Besler (2000)

In her thesis, Besler (2000) argues that the base position of the question particle *mI* in Turkish is flexible and that the particle behaves both as a suffix and a free morpheme. In examples (10a-b), *mI* is analyzed as a free morpheme that originates as a sister to the

maximal projection that it marks. To be more specific, *mI* is base-generated as the sister to the DP *Ali* in (10a) and as the sister to the DP *çocuğu* 'the child' in (10b). However, when the particle is on the VP as in (10c), then Besler argues that *mI* behaves like a suffix on the verb.

10) a. Ali çocuğ -u   mu gör-dü   -Ø?   *free morpheme* mI
         Ali child -ACC Q   see -PAST-3SG
         'Was it the child that Ali saw?'

     b. Ali mi çocuğ -u   gör-dü   -Ø?   *free morpheme* mI
         Ali Q   child -ACC see -PAST-3SG
         'Was it Ali that saw the child?'

     c. Ali çocuğ -u   gör-dü   -Ø   mü?   *suffix* mI
         Ali child -ACC see -PAST-3SG Q
         'Did Ali see the child?'   (Besler, 2000: 63)

The structures illustrating Besler's (2000: 69-70) analysis can be seen in (11). In (11a), *mI* enters the derivation as a free morpheme and it is the sister to the phrase that it marks and in (11b), it enters the derivation as a suffix on the verb. More detailed versions of the derivations can be seen in (12). (12a) corresponds to the structure of (10a), in which the question particle enters the derivation as the sister to the DP *çocuğu* 'the child' and (12b) corresponds to the one of (10c), in which the question particle is the sister to the head of the verb *gördü* 'saw'.

11) a.   b.

12) a.

CP

TP C⁰
gördü$_{\text{SEE.PAST.3SG}}$

DP T'
△
Ali vP T^θ
~~gördü~~$_{\text{SEE.PAST.3SG}}$

~~DP~~ v'
△
~~Ali~~ VP v^θ
~~gör-~~$_{\text{SEE}}$

mIP ~~V~~^θ
~~gör-~~$_{\text{SEE}}$

DP mI^0
△
çocuğu$_{\text{CHILD.ACC}}$

b.

CP

TP C⁰
gördü$_{\text{SEE.PAST.3SG}}$ + mI

DP T'
△
Ali vP T⁰
~~gördü~~$_{\text{SEE.PAST.3SG}}$ + mI

~~DP~~ v'
△
~~Ali~~ VP v⁰
~~gör-~~$_{\text{SEE}}$ + mI

DP V⁰
△
çocuğu$_{\text{CHILD.ACC}}$ ~~gör-~~$_{\text{SEE}}$ + mI

13
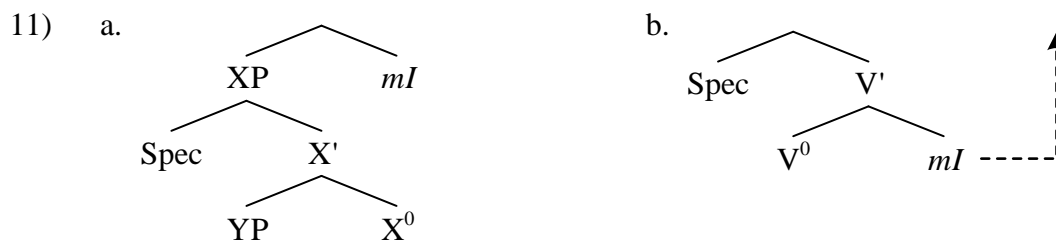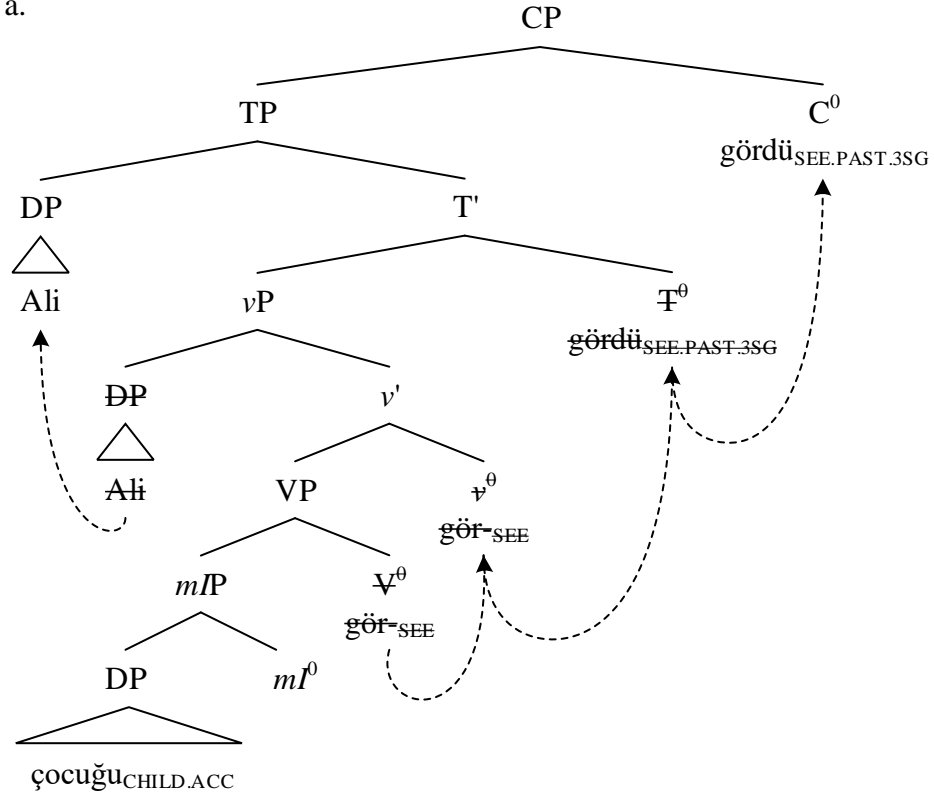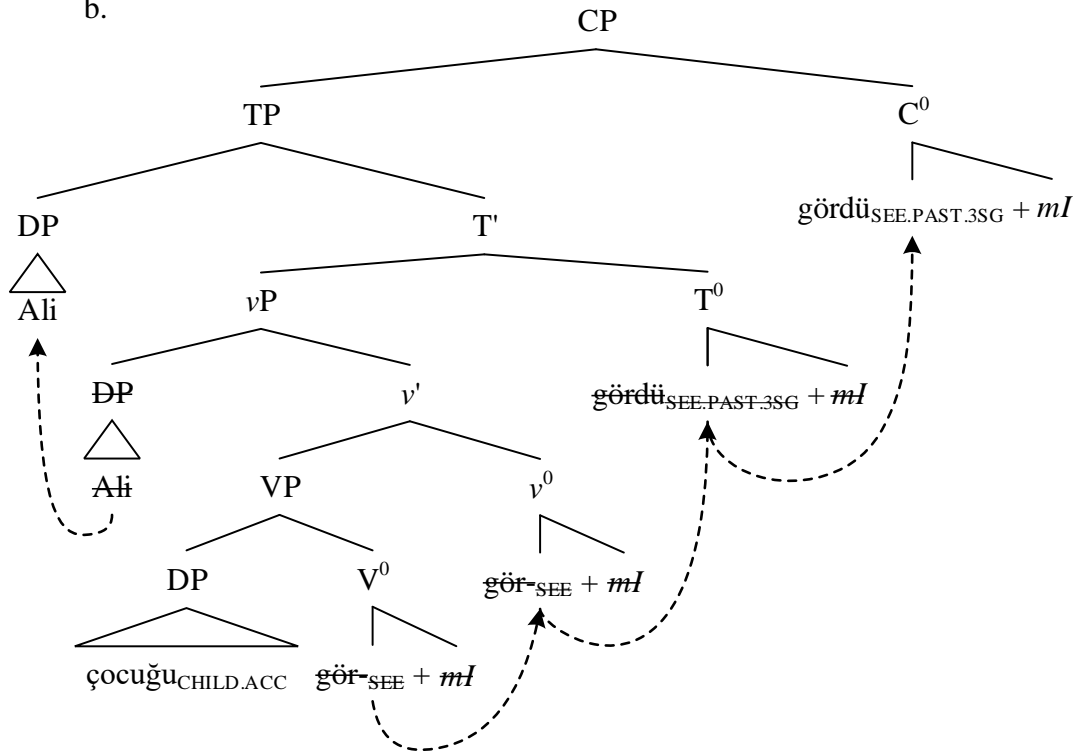
According to Besler's proposal, the question particle is not base-generated in C^0. The evidence for this comes from the order of the question particle, Tense/Aspect, and Agreement markers. The observations that *mI* cannot appear after the Agreement marker in (13a) and the Tense/Aspect and Agreement markers in (13b) suggest that the question particle does not originate in C^0 according to Besler. If it did, following the Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985), *mI* would be expected to surface as the last suffix in a verbal complex.

13)   a. Ankara'ya   gid -ecek mi -yiz? / *gid -eceğ -iz   mi?
           Ankara-DAT   go -FUT   Q -1PL /   go -FUT -1PL   Q
           'Will we go to Ankara?'
       b. Ankara'ya   gid -ecek mi -y   -di   -k? / *gid -ecek (-i)   -ti   -k   mi?
           Ankara-DAT   go -FUT   Q -COP -PAST-1PL /   go -FUT   -COP -PAST -1PL   Q
           'Were we going to Ankara?'

Instead, following the proposals by Kural (1993) and Aygen-Tosun (1998) that the verb in Turkish overtly moves to C^0, Besler proposes that the question particle, being a suffix on the verb, undergoes movement to C^0 with the verb, as shown in (12a). This, according to Besler, explains the licensing of NPIs in non-negative YN questions. NPIs like *hiç* 'ever' are licensed when *mI* undergoes movement to C^0 along with the verb.

2.3.3. Aygen (2007)

Following Hagstrom's (1998) proposal that in *wh*-in-situ languages (e.g., Japanese and Sinhala), *wh*-words come with a question particle, which is a sister to the *wh*-word, and this particle undergoes movement to the clause periphery, Aygen (2007) proposes that this is also the case in Turkish. In Turkish *wh*-questions, the question particle *mI* is not used except in *wh*-echo questions, unlike in Japanese and Sinhala. Aygen argues that in Turkish *wh*-questions, *wh*-words come with a null counterpart of the question particle and this particle undergoes movement to the clause periphery. If, on the other hand, the question particle *mI* is present, as in YN questions and *wh*-echo questions, it moves covertly to the clause periphery, the position that is thought to be default for the question particle. The

reason the clause edge is the default position of the question particle is that except for *wh*-echo questions and YN questions in which a certain constituent is focused, the canonical position for *mI* is the clause periphery.

Since in this thesis, I am not focusing on the usage of *mI* in *wh*-questions, here I only report Aygen's evidence for covert movement of *mI* in YN questions. The evidence involves intervention effects that prevent particle movement by intervenors like quantifiers and NPIs. This is shown in (14). According to Aygen, the contrast between (14a-b) is due to the intervention effects caused by the NPI *kimse* 'nobody' in (14a). The presence of this element blocks the covert movement of the question particle, which results in ungrammaticality.[6] On the other hand, (14b) is grammatical because scrambling the object DP *pizzayı* 'the pizza' in (14b) along with *mI* enables the question particle to launch to the clause periphery. This is because, after scrambling, the scrambled element would be higher than the intervenor and this enables the covert movement of the question particle.

14)   a. *Kimse pizza-yı   mı ye -me -di   -Ø?
          nobody pizza-ACC Q eat-NEG-PAST-3SG

    b. Pizza -yı   mı kimse ye -me -di   -Ø?
      pizza -ACC Q nobody eat-NEG-PAST-3SG

      'Did nobody eat the pizza?'   (Aygen, 2007: 7)

Aygen does not provide much detail regarding the base position of the question particle since she focuses on the covert movement of the question particle and its null counterpart that comes with *wh*-words. However, she assumes that the canonical position of the question particle is C^0 and similar to Besler (2000), Aygen also argues that when *mI* is on the predicate, it moves to C^0 with the verb complex based on the proposal that there is an overt V-to-C movement in Turkish (Kural, 1993).

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[6] The reported judgments are from Aygen (2007). According to my won intuitions (and intuitions of my informants), (14a) is grammatical.

2.3.2. Kamali (2011)

Following the proposal of Kahnemuyipour and Megerdoomian (2011) about the auxiliary verb in Eastern Armenian, Kamali (2011) argues that the question particle in Turkish has a default place in the structure when it occurs with the VP, which is the second position in the *v*P domain. Kamali's proposal is illustrated in (15). In (15), it is argued that *mI* occupies a position between the v^0 and the VP. If *mI* is merged, it expands the spell-out domain and attracts the low adverb *hızlı* 'fast', base-generated at the edge of the VP, to its specifier. As explained by Kamali, the motivation behind this movement comes from *mI* being a clitic and therefore, needing a host in its specifier. The AdvP *hızlı* 'fast' is the closest host to *mI* and is attracted to [Spec *mI*P] due to Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky, 1995).

15) a. Ali hızlı mı yemek yap -ar -Ø?

       Ali fast Q food make -AOR-3SG

      'Does Ali cook fast?'

   b.
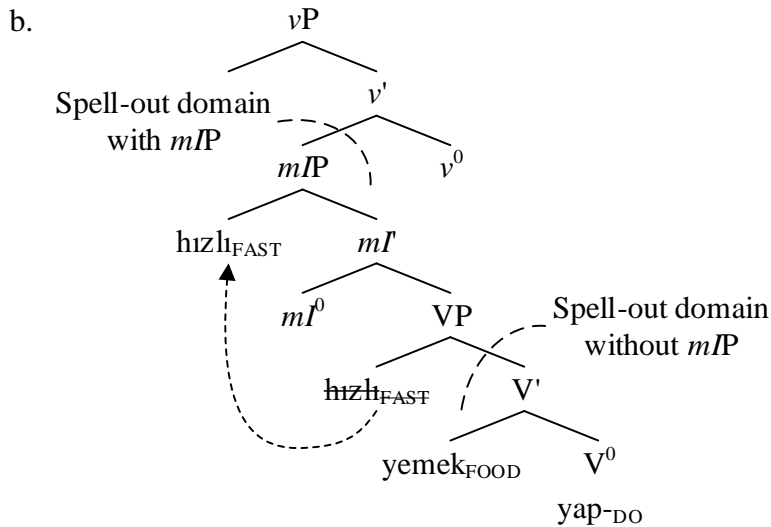
(Kamali, 2011: 8)

In addition, Kamali proposes that when *mI* marks a constituent outside the VP, it is base-generated on that constituent. As illustrated in (10b), repeated here as (16a), *mI* is base-generated next to the phrase/element that it marks. Thus, presumably, in (16b), *mI* occupies a position similar to what Besler (2000) argues for. This is shown in (16c).

However, Kamali does not discuss the placement of question particle in negative sentences and NPI licensing. Regarding NPI licensing, Kamali is also in line with Besler (2000) in that NPIs are licensed in configurations in which the question particle attaches to the verb. However, she does not state whether the verb moves with *mI* or how exactly NPI licensing works in such questions.

16) a. Ali mi çocuğ -u   gör -dü -Ø?
     Ali Q child -ACC see -PAST-3SG
     'Was it Ali that saw the child?'   (Besler, 2000: 63)

   b. Emre Ali'nin mi beyaz araba -sı   -nı   al -dı   -Ø?
     Emre Ali-GEN Q white car   -POSS.3SG -ACC buy -PAST-3SG
     'Was it Ali's white car that Emre bought?'   (Kamali, 2011: 6)

   c.
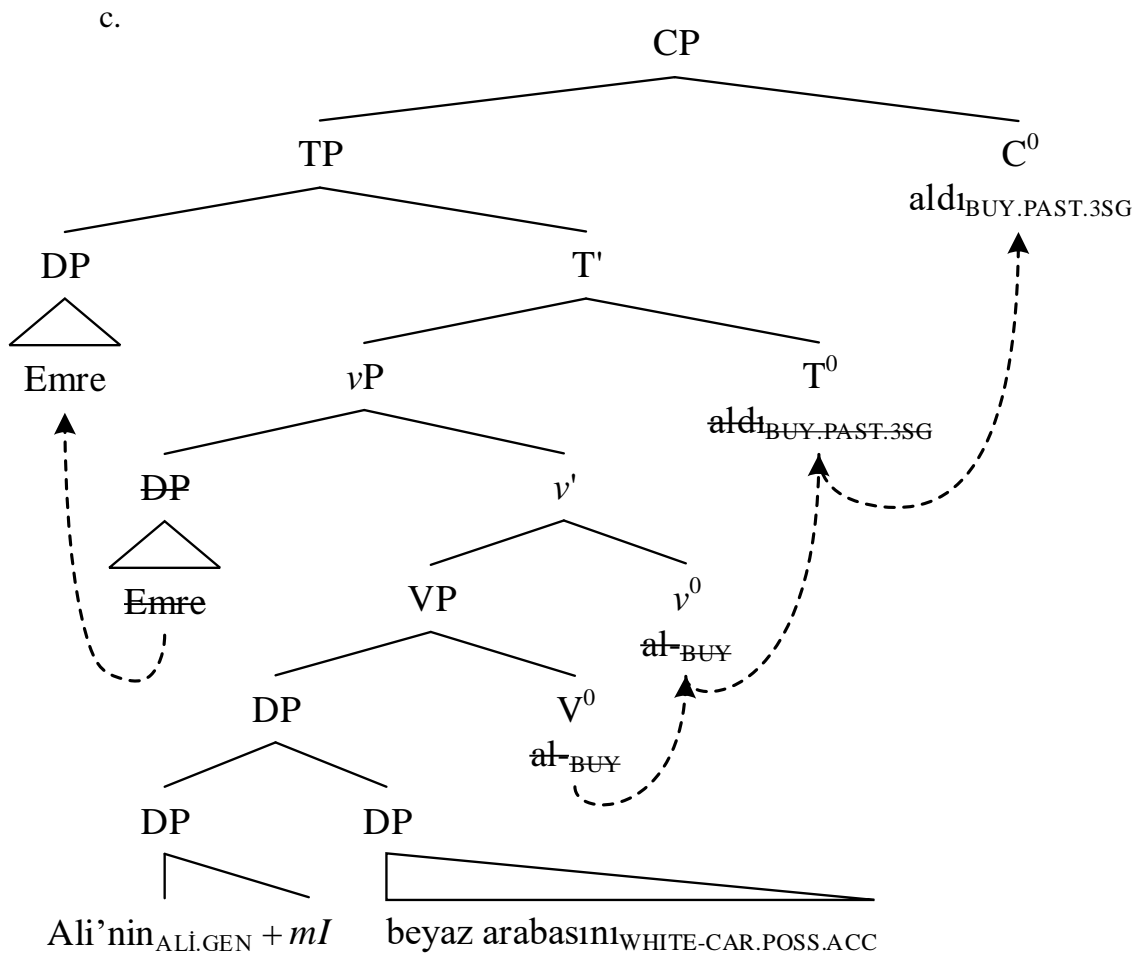
2.3.3. Yücel (2012)

Contra Aygen (2007), Yücel argues that the position that *mI* occupies should be lower than the Force head and no movement to C^0/Force^0 is necessary to type the clause interrogative. Instead, in order to type a clause interrogative, intonation morpheme existing in C^0 checks the Q feature as proposed by Cheng and Rooryck (2000).

Yücel (2012) looks at the relationship between the question particle and declarative complementizers like *ki* 'that' and *diye* 'saying'. The fact that these complementizers can be placed higher than the question particle in embedded YN questions suggests that *mI* does not move to Force^0 covertly or overtly since Force^0 seems to be occupied by these complementizers. This is shown in (17) below. In (17a), the final element in the embedded clause is *diye* 'saying' and in (17b), it is *ki* 'that', and both follow *mI*.

17)   a. Ali [okul -a   gel -di   -k   mi diye] sor -du   -Ø.
         Ali   school-DAT come -PAST-1PL Q   saying ask -PAST-3SG
         'Ali asked if we came to school.'
      b. [Ali ders   çalış -tı   -Ø   mı ki] sınıf -i   geç -sin!
         Ali lesson study -PAST-3SG Q   that course-ACC pass -IMP.3SG
         'As if Ali studied his lessons to pass the course!'   (Yücel, 2012: 612)

Structurally, Yücel suggests that the question particle moves to FocP at Logical Form (LF) irrespective of the syntactic position it is base-generated in because of the focus features of the question particle. Thus, apart from the functional head to which *mI* moves, the derivation proposed by Yücel is reminiscent of Aygen's (2007) account.

2.3.4. Özyıldız (2015)

Özyıldız (2015) proposes an analysis similar to that of Kamali's (2011). He claims that when a constituent hosts *mI*, it has moved to *mI*. It follows then that if a constituent can host *mI*, that constituent can move. This is made clear in (18) below. Sentences (18c-d) show that *mI* cannot be placed on the constituent *araba* 'car' inside the PP *araba için* 'for the car'. This is because the DP *araba* 'car' is not available to move independently, as

(18b) shows. However, the PP is free to move and therefore, can host *mI*.

18)   a. Tunç araba için gel -di -Ø.
          Tunç car   for come -PAST-3SG
          'Tunç came for the car.'

      b. *Tunç için gel -di -Ø araba.
          Tunç for come -PAST-3SG car
          INT: 'Tunç came for the car.'

      c. Tunç araba için mi gel -di -Ø?
          Tunç car   for Q come -PAST-3SG
          'Did Tunç come for the car?'

      d. *Tunç araba mı için gel -di -Ø?
          Tunç car   Q for come -PAST-3SG   (Özyıldız, 2015: 7)

Özyıldız's analysis differs from that of Kamali's in terms of the position that *mI* occupies. Kamali argues that the question particle is a second position clitic in the *v*P domain, as in (15). However, Özyıldız argues that *mI* must be higher than the TP based on the fact that it cannot intervene between the verb and the tense marker, as can be seen in (19). Özyıldız accounts for the ungrammaticality of (19a) with the claim that verb undergoes V-to-T movement in Turkish (Gračanin-Yuksek & İşsever, 2011; Kural, 1993). Thus, when the verb raises, it first raises to T^0 before raising to the head occupied by the question particle (since no other head than Neg^0 can intervene between V^0 an T^0, it is impossible for the verb to "pick up" the question particle on its way to T^0).

19)   a. *Sen araba al -mı-dı -n?
          you car   buy -Q -PAST-2SG
          INT: 'Did you buy a car?'

      b. $^?$Sen zengin (-i) -di -n mi?
          you rich   -COP -PAST-2SG Q
          'Were you rich?'   (Özyıldız, 2015: 9)

Özyıldız does not discuss the availability of wide- and narrow-scope interpretations, or

the licensing of polarity items in non-negative YN questions.

2.4. SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS

Of all the proposals reported in this chapter, only Özyıldız (2015) argues that the question particle in Turkish has a single base position, which is above the TP regardless of where it ends up surfacing (on the predicate or on a different constituent). On the other hand, Besler (2000), Kamali (2011), and Yücel (2012) all argue for different base positions of *mI*, depending on its host. Besler argues that *mI* enters the derivation as the sister to the maximal projection that it marks if it occurs pre-verbally and it enters the derivation as the sister to the head of the VP when it is a suffix on the verb. Kamali argues that if *mI* is inside the *v*P (surfacing on the object or a low adverb), it enters the derivation as a second position clitic in the *v*P domain; if, on the other hand, it occurs outside of the *v*P (surfacing on the subject or a high adverb) then, it is base-generated on the constituent that it focuses. Yücel does not state explicitly how *mI* enters the derivation, but she suggests that "irrespective of the syntactic position it is base-generated" *mI* moves to FocP covertly "whenever the clause has an interrogative force" (Yücel, 2012: 609). In addition, Besler (2000), Kamali (2011), and Aygen (2007) argue that *mI* moves to C^0 if it is suffixed to the verb. Finally, Kamali (2011) and Özyıldız (2015) argue that the constituents that are marked by the question particle move to *mI*. In Kamali's account, this movement is more restricted than in that of Özyıldız's. Kamali's account states that when *mI* is a second position clitic in the *v*P domain, a lower constituent moves to it. However, in Özyıldız's account, if a constituent in the derivation has the ability to move, it can end up moving to *mI*.

My proposal, which will be presented in detail in Chapter 4, has some similarities with the proposals summarized above. I argue that *mI* has a single base position in the derivation and that this position is above the TP, like in Özyıldız (2015). On the other hand, like Besler (2000), Kamali (2011), and Aygen (2007), I argue that *mI* moves to C^0 with the verb when it is placed on the verb. However, unlike Besler, I do not assume that *mI* is base-generated alongside the VP head. Also, unlike Kamali (2011) and Özyıldız

(2015), I argue that constituents that host the question particle (except the verb) do not move to *mI*, but rather that *mI* moves to its host. Before moving on to my proposal, in the next chapter, I will introduce the notion of NPIs and how they are licensed in different environments in general and in Turkish in particular.

CHAPTER 3

LICENSING OF NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS

3.1. NPI LICENSING ENVIRONMENTS

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are defined as expressions that are licensed in negative contexts (van der Wouden, 1997). Typical examples of NPIs in English are determiner *any*, adverbials *ever* and *at all*, and minimizers like *lift a finger*:

20)   a. I don't think we have any potatoes.

        b. *I think we have any potatoes

        c. I don't think there will ever be another Aristotle.

        d. *I think there will ever be another Aristotle.   (von Fintel, 1999: 97)

However, an overt negative marker is not always necessary for NPIs to be licensed. NPIs *ever* and *any* in English can also be licensed in YN questions (Giannakidou, 2002; Herdan & Sharvit, 2006; Hoeksema, 2000; Israel, 1995; Levinson, 2008), as shown in (21).

21)   Does Mary trust anyone?   (Progovac, 1993: 150)

Rhetorical/non-rhetorical *wh*-questions, illustrated in (22), as well as superlatives and conditionals, shown in (23) and (24) respectively, also license NPIs.

22)   a. Who would ever trust Fred?   (Hoeksema, 2000: 116)

b. Who has seen any students? (Giannakidou, 1998: 11)

23) The longest book I ever read is *War and Peace*. (Herdan & Sharvit, 2006: 3)

24) If you have any idea, please share it. (Levinson, 2008: 6)

NPIs can also occur in the scope of elements like *few* and *rarely*, shown in (25), and are licensed by negative implicative verbs like *refuse* and *forget*, as shown in (25) and (26).

25) a. Few of the students who ate any trout dressed well. (Israel, 1995: 167)

b. It is rarely seen anymore. (Levinson, 2008: 60)

26) Larry regrets that he said anything. (Giannakidou, 2006: 577)

Finally, negative implicative constructions with *without* and *too* and the universal *every* also serve as NPI licensors, as seen in (27) and (28) respectively.

27) John finished his homework without any help. (Ladusaw, 1980: 458)

28) Every student who heard anything should report to the police.

(Giannakidou, 2002: 6)

Given the wide distribution of NPIs across different clauses and their relationship with other elements within the clause, NPI licensing has been extensively studied from the perspective of different domains of language. In this chapter, I am going to focus on the semantic and syntactic analyses regarding NPI licensing.

3.1.1. Semantic Accounts on NPI Licensing

Two of the most influential semantic analyses aiming to account for NPI licensing are those making reference to Downward Entailment (DE) (Ladusaw, 1979, 1980) and Veridicality (Giannakidou, 1998, Zwarts, 1995).

3.1.1.1. Ladusaw (1979, 1980)

According to Ladusaw (1979, 1980), NPIs are licensed in the scope of *downward entailing*

expressions and disallowed in *upward entailing* ones. Negation licenses NPIs because it creates a downward entailing environment. An example of downward entailment is shown in (29). In downward entailing contexts, a proposition involving a general expression entails a proposition that contains a more specific expression; in other words, entailment holds from sets to subsets (Fauconnier, 1975; Ladusaw, 1979; 1980). (29a) downward entails (29b) because *red jacket* is a subset of *jacket* and if someone leaves without a jacket it would also entail the action of leaving without a *red* jacket.

29)   a. John left without a jacket.   *downward entailment*
        b. John left without a red jacket.   (Ladusaw, 1980: 463)

On the other hand, (30a) upward entails (30b) because if someone leaves with a *red* jacket, it would also entail the action of leaving with a jacket.

30)   a. John left with a red jacket.   *upward entailment*
        b. John left with a jacket.   (Ladusaw, 1980: 463)

The reason why (29) is different from (30) is because while *without* creates a downward entailing context, *with* creates an upward entailing one. Consequently, if Ladusaw (1979, 1980) is correct, then, one would expect sentences that contain *without* to license NPIs and those *with* not to. This is borne out, as shown in (31). The NPI *anyone* is licensed in (31a) since *without* creates a downward entailing context: if John went to Boston without anyone, then John also did not take his wife with him either. In (32); however, the NPI is not licensed since the context is upward entailing.

31)   a. John went to Boston without anyone.
        b. John went to Boston without his wife.

32)   *John went to Boston with anyone.

Ladusaw's theory does not go without challenges. It is generally argued that downward entailment (DE) is too restrictive and fails to account for the fact that not all downward entailing contexts can license NPIs and not all contexts that license NPIs are downward entailing (Giannakidou, 1998; Pietarinen, 2001; Progovac, 1994; von Fintel, 1999). This

can be seen in (33). Giannakidou points out that although both *each* and *every* are universal quantifiers and their restrictions denote DE (e.g., *Each/every student voted* entails *John voted*), it is expected under Ladusaw's theory that the NPI *anything* should be licensed both in (33a-b), contrary to fact. Similarly, in (33c), the NPIs *ever* and *any* are licensed despite the fact that *only John* is not downward entailing (e.g., *Only students voted* does not entail *John voted*).

33)   a. Every student who saw anything, spoke to the police.
       b. *Each student who saw anything, spoke to the police.   (Giannakidou, 1998: 12)
       c. Only John ever ate any kale for breakfast.   (von Fintel, 1999: 101)

In addition to the aforementioned objections to Ladusaw's account, it should also be noted that YN questions, which are the highlight of this study regarding NPI licensing, are also not downward entailing (Progovac, 1994), but license NPIs nevertheless. For YN questions, Ladusaw (1980) argues that as questions can be formed from any clause and they are all compatible with a positive or a negative answer, both negative and positive polarity items (PPI) can occur in them regardless of the existence of a licensor.

3.1.1.2. Giannakidou (1998, 2002)

Another theory that stands out regarding NPI licensing makes reference to *veridicality*. The notion of veridicality was first used by Montague (1969) and developed later on by Zwarts (1995) and Giannakidou (1998). According to this approach, a proposition can be veridical or nonveridical. Examples of veridical and nonveridical contexts are shown in (34). An affirmative declarative proposition is veridical based on the commitment of the speaker that the proposition is true, as in (34a); if a speaker utters (34a), the speaker believes that (34a) is true. A proposition may contain operators that make it nonveridical. A propositional operator is nonveridical if the addition of the operator to a proposition does not entail truth of the proposition. For example, in (34b), addition of the question operator to the proposition in (34a), does not entail that the proposition is true. (In fact, it does not entail a truth value at all.). Therefore, the YN question in (34b) is nonveridical. Finally, it is possible for an operator added to a proposition to not only not entail the truth

of the proposition, but to assert the falsity of the proposition, as in (34c), which contains a negative operator (Brandtler, 2012; Giannakidou, 2002). A negative operator is, therefore, not only nonveridical, but also antiveridical.

34)   a. John bought a new jacket.   *veridical:* p = true

         b. Did John buy a new jacket?   *nonveridical:* p = true *or* false

         c. John did not buy a new jacket.   *antiveridical:* p = false

In terms of NPI licensing, veridicality is put forward instead of Ladusaw's (1979, 1980) DE theory. Giannakidou (1998, 2002) points out that DE is too restrictive to account for NPI licensing for both English and other languages since DE cannot account for the NPI licensing in non-DE contexts and the infelicitous occurrences of some NPIs in DE contexts. Thus, the notion of entailment to account for NPI licensing should be broadened. According to Giannakidou (1998) and Zwarts (1995), downward entailing environments form a subset of nonveridical environments. In other words, no operator can be downward entailing and be veridical.

To account for the wide distribution of NPIs in different types of clauses and different patterns that NPIs follow in different languages, Giannakidou (1998: 162) argues for different levels of NPIs based on their licensing conditions in nonveridical contexts.[7] The levels are *weak*, *strong*, *superstrong*, and *hyperstrong*. Hyperstrong NPIs are only licensed by negation. Examples of such are Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian NPIs that begin with *ni-* (Giannakidou, 1998; Gračanin-Yuksek, 2017). Superstrong NPIs are licensed only in antiveridical contexts, so they are not licensed in counterfactual conditionals and rhetorical questions. As stated by Giannakidou (1998: 156), counterfactual conditionals and rhetorical questions are not antiveridical semantically but introduce antiveridical implicature. Examples of such NPIs are Polish n-words (Przepiórkowski & Kupść, 1997). Strong NPIs are the kind of NPIs that are licensed in antiveridical contexts and also by antiveridical implicature. Greek minimizers are NPIs of the strong kind. Lastly, weak

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[7] Giannakidou (1998) uses the term NPI to refer to items that are licensed by negation and negative like operators and uses the term API (Affective Polarity Item) to refer to items that are licensed in nonveridical contexts. She also states that NPIs are a proper subset of APIs. For terminological consistency reasons, I will use the term NPI to refer to both as I present Giannakidou's account.

NPIs are felicitous in nonveridical contexts and they can also be licensed by negative implicature. Turkish *hiç* 'at all' and its English counterpart *any* would be good examples of weak NPIs.

Giannakidou's account of NPI licensing seems to predict the distribution of NPIs across different languages more correctly than that of Ladusaw's. However, it also faces *prima facie* problems when certain constructions are considered (Horn, 2016). Constructions with, for example, *only* and *barely* are veridical. Yet, they license NPIs.

Considering that the current study is about NPIs in YN questions, I will not present Giannakidou's account any further. However, it is worth mentioning that although questions in English typically license weak NPIs, not all constructions seem to be able to do so. Take *wh*-questions in (35), for example. Even though both (35a-b) are nonveridical, the NPI *anyone* is licensed in (35a) while it is not in (35b).

35)   a. Who did Jeff introduce to anyone at the party?
       b. *Who did Jeff introduce anyone to at the party?   (Nicolae, 2015: 53)

Given that (35a-b) are semantically equivalent in the relevant sense (both are nonveridical), contrasts of this sort suggest that NPI licensing cannot be reduced only to semantics, but syntax must also be involved. In the next section, syntactic accounts on NPI licensing will be presented.

3.1.2. Syntactic Accounts on NPI Licensing

In this section, I will go over two syntactic accounts of NPI licensing. The first one is that of Linebarger's (1980, 1987), according to which NPIs are licensed under the scope of a negative operator. The second one is that of Progovac's (1994), which argues that NPIs must be A'-bound by negation in their governing category, like anaphors. In non-negative contexts, NPIs are licensed by the polarity operator in C^0.

3.1.2.1. Linebarger (1980, 1987)

Linebarger (1980, 1987) follows Baker's (1970a, 1970b) account of NPI licensing, which

argues that NPIs are licensed through c-command relation between the negation and the NPI, while in the absence of an overt negation, NPIs are licensed through entailment. Thus, Linebarger (1980, 1987) argues that NPI licensing in English is dependent on both syntax and pragmatics. Contra Ladusaw (1979, 1980), Linebarger argues that NPI licensing can be reduced to the presence of the negation. Syntactically, NPIs are licensed in the immediate scope of negation and this scope relation is relevant at LF and not at Surface Structure. This is argued for based on the observed ambiguity in negative clauses with an embedded *because*-clause, shown in (36). The sentence in (36) has two different interpretations: the wide-scope interpretation and the narrow-scope interpretation. The wide-scope reading is available when *not* scopes over both the embedded and the matrix clause. Under the wide-scope interpretation, the sentence means that the movement was not caused by the action of being pushed but for some other reason. The narrow-scope reading is obtained when *not* immediately scopes over the matrix clause.

36) He did not move because he was pushed.
   a. 'His movement was not caused by his being pushed.'   *wide-scope*
      [NOT [CAUSE (he was pushed, he moved)]]
   b. 'His not moving was caused by his being pushed.'   *narrow-scope*
      [CAUSE (he was pushed) [NOT (he moved)]]   (Linebarger, 1987: 336)

Now, consider the sentences in (37), below. The ambiguity available in (36) is lost in (37a-b). Only the wide-scope reading is available in (37a). This is because under narrow-scope interpretation, *not* does not scope over the NPI *anyone* at LF. *Because* acts as an intervener between the negation and the NPI. On the other hand, the only reading available is the narrow-scope one in (37b) because under the wide-scope reading, the minimizer *budge an inch* is not in the immediate scope of *not* at LF.

37) a. He did not move because anyone pushed him.   **narrow-scope / wide-scope*
    b. He did not budge an inch because he was pushed. *narrow-scope / *wide-scope*
                                                          (Linebarger, 1987: 337)

For NPIs that are licensed in non-negative contexts and for NPIs that are licensed even

though they are not in the immediate scope of negation, Linebarger argues that they are licensed by negative implicature, as illustrated in (38a). In (38a), the negation does not immediately scope over the NPI *any* in the embedded clause. On the other hand, overt negation is not present in (38b). For Linebarger, grammaticality of the sentences in (38) is due to the implicature carried by the clauses. In (38a), the NPI *any* is licensed under the negative implicature 'I thought that there was not any beer in the refrigerator.' As for (38b), the sentence lacks over negation but similarly to (38b), it carries the negative implicature 'John wishes he did not talk to anyone.' It is thus negative implicature that licenses NPIs.

38)   a. I did not know that there was any beer in the refrigerator.
        b. John regrets talking to anyone.

However, Linebarger's analysis also fails to account for some aspects of NPI licensing. Brandtler (2012) argues that Linebarger's account is insufficient in explaining NPI licensing in YN questions since questions like 'Have you ever been to Paris?' do not denote negative implicature. Also, Progovac (1994) states that Linebarger's account of NPI licensing at LF cannot predict the ungrammaticality of sentences like *'Anyone did not come to the party' since the subject NPI *anyone* would be in the scope of negation at LF.

3.1.2.2. Progovac (1994)

Progovac (1994) argues for a binding approach to polarity item licensing (following the lines of Generalized Binding of Aoun (1985, 1986)) and bases her analysis on the near-complementary distribution of NPIs and PPIs. Under her account, NPIs are subject to the Principle A of the Binding Theory. This means that an NPI is licensed either by negation or by a polarity operator in the same governing category. In negative polarity clauses, negation binds the NPI while in non-negative polarity clauses, the operator binds it. This polarity operator exists in all non-negative polarity clauses and in order to license NPIs, its truth value should not be fixed positively. The value must either be unfixed (e.g., conditionals and questions) or selected by lexical items like *doubt*, *forget*, and *without*

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(Progovac, 1994: 63). Progovac assumes that this operator is a clitic that must attach to a lexical material in C^0. The material can either be a complementizer or an inverted verb. Consider the sentences in (39) and (40). NPIs in sentences (39a), (40c), and (40e) are licensed and they all have something in common: Their C^0 position is occupied either by a complementizer or by an inverted auxiliary. The operator is licensed in (39a) through inversion and thus, the NPI *anyone* is licensed. By contrast, this is not the case in (39b) since the question does not feature inversion and the absence of lexical material in C^0 means that the operator is not licensed. Inversion is not really necessary in English to mark YN questions as can be seen in (39c), but it is obligatory in the presence of an NPI. As for (40a), (40b), and (40c), the NPI is only licensed if the complement of matrix predicate *forgot* is the CP headed by the complementizer *that*. Similarly, the NPI is licensed in (40e) because the embedded C^0 is occupied by the auxiliary *has*. In sum, in matrix YN questions and embedded clauses in English, NPIs are licensed only when C^0 is occupied through T-to-C movement or when it is occupied by a complementizer.

39) a. Did he complain about anything?
     b. ??/*He complained about anything?
     c. He complained about his salary?   (Progovac, 1994: 76-77)

40) a. Mary forgot [CP where Peter put her books].
     b. *Mary forgot [CP where anybody put his books].
     c. Mary forgot [CP that anybody visited her on Monday].
     d. *I forgot anything.
     e. [NP Every man [CP who [C' has [TP read anything by Chomsky]]]] will attend
        the lecture.   (Progovac, 1994: 67-68, 70, 77)

However, the polarity operator cannot co-occur with a raised epistemic modal and *wh*-agreement. It is argued that epistemic modals always move to C^0 at LF and if C^0 is already occupied by *wh*-agreement or a complementizer, epistemic modal movement at LF should not be possible (McDowell, 1987). Examples in (41) are ungrammatical because the epistemic modal, *wh*-agreement, and the polarity operator need to take clausal scope and their co-existence in the clause results in a scope clash.

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41)   a. ^{??}/*Must John know the answer?

      b. *If John must know the answer, let's ask him.

      c. *I doubt that John must know the answer.

      d. *Who must have killed Yuri?   (Progovac, 1994: 77-78)

Progovac (1994: 98) also argues that in non-negative *wh*-questions, *wh*-agreement must be suppressed in the presence of an NPI. This happens only in rhetorical questions and *wh*-questions with NPIs are obligatorily rhetorical. As can be seen in (42), sentences that have both *wh*-words and NPIs are obligatorily rhetorical while the rhetorical reading is optional if an NPI is not present.[8]

42)   a. When did Mary insult anyone?   *non-rhetorical / rhetorical

      b. When did Mary insult Peter?   non-rhetorical / rhetorical

      c. Who did Mary ever kiss on the first date?   *non-rhetorical / rhetorical

      d. Who did Mary kiss on the first date?   non-rhetorical / rhetorical

      e. I wondered when Mary insulted anyone.   *non-rhetorical / rhetorical

      f. I wondered when Mary insulted Peter.   non-rhetorical / rhetorical

                                                  (Progovac, 1994: 97, 100)

Overall, Progovac's account reduces NPI licensing to syntax. However, like all the proposals presented in this chapter, it also fails to be generalized cross-linguistically. For example, in Hindi, NPIs are licensed in subject position where they are outside of the scope of negation (Kumar, 2006).[9] Also, in Moroccan Arabic, there are cases in which NPIs are not licensed even when they are bound by negation (Benmamoun, 1997).

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[8] Not all *wh*-questions in which an NPI is licensed are rhetorical as shown in (22), repeated below as (1a). While (1a) is grammatical only under the rhetorical interpretation, it is also clear that (1b) is non-rhetorical and the NPI is licensed regardless.

   1)   a. Who would ever trust Fred?   *non-rhetorical / rhetorical (Hoeksema, 2000: 116)
        b. Who has seen any students?   non-rhetorical / rhetorical (Giannakidou, 1998: 11)

[9] Kumar's (2006) observation is also valid in Turkish. NPIs can be placed after the verb (a position which is outside the scope of negation) and be licensed nevertheless. This is shown in (2) below.

   2)   Ali Ankara'ya git-me -di -Ø   hiç.
        Ali Ankara-DAT go -NEG-PAST -3SG ever
        'Ali has never been to Ankara.'

Additionally, Krifka (1995) points out that Progovac's account does not seem to allow NPIs in the non-clausal argument position of a non-negated matrix clause, as illustrated in (43). The sentence in (43) should be ungrammatical because the NPI *any* is not bound by negation and the operator in C^0 is not overtly realized but the NPI is licensed anyway.

43)   Bill lacks any sense of humor.

In this section, I presented the semantic and syntactic accounts put forward to explain licensing of NPIs. In the next section, I will present the analyses proposed for NPI licensing in Turkish.

3.2. LICENSING OF NPIs IN TURKISH

NPIs are typically licensed by the negation in Turkish. However, like English and various other languages, NPI licensing environments are not limited to negative clauses. Like English, they can also be licensed in YN questions, as shown in (44).

44)   Kimse -nin anne -si   gel -di -Ø   mi?
       anyone-GEN mother-POSS.3SG come -PAST-3SG Q
       'Did anyone's mother come?'   (Besler, 2000: 67)

Rhetorical *wh*-questions, illustrated in (45), also license NPIs.

45)   Ali'ye   neden kimse haber ver -sin -Ø   (ki)?
       Ali-DAT why   anyone news give -OPT -3SG (that)
       'Why would anyone let Ali know?'

The adjectival suffix -*sIz*, broadly meaning 'without', licenses NPIs as well, as can be seen in (46).

46)   a. Hiçbir aktarma yap -mak-sız   -ın Esenler-e   ulaş -ıl -ır.
          any-one transfer make -INF -without -GER Esenler-DAT arrive-PASS-AOR
          'One can arrive at Esenler without making any transfer.'   (Görgülü, 2017: 57)

b. Biz bu ülke   -ye hiçbir şey -siz   gel -di -k.

    we this country-DAT any-one thing-without come -PAST-1PL

    'We came to this country without anything.'   (Kelepir, 2001: 161)

Negative existential *yok* 'absent/non-existent' and the negation word *değil* 'not' license NPIs, as shown in (47).

47)   a. Kimse kimse -yi   sev -iyor   değil -Ø.

        anyone anyone -ACC love -PRES.PROG not   -3SG

        'It is not the case that nobody likes nobody.'

        b. Ben-i   sev -en   kimse yok.

        I   -ACC love -PART anyone non-existent

        'There is nobody that likes me.'   (Kelepir, 2001: 214)

The subordinating conjunction *sanki* 'as if', as illustrated in (48), licenses NPIs.

48)   Sanki hiç   havyar ye -miş -Ø,   Ali.

    as-if   ever caviar eat-PERF-3SG Ali

    INT: '(Ali is talking) As if he has ever eaten caviar.'

However, unlike in English, NPIs in Turkish are not licensed in non-rhetorical *wh*-questions, superlatives, conditionals, by negative implicature verbs, and by universals. This is illustrated in examples from (49) to (51).

49)   a. Who has seen any students?   *non-rhetorical / rhetorical*

                                    (Giannakidou, 1998:11)

        b. Kim hiç   öğrenci gör-müş -Ø?   **non-rhetorical / rhetorical*

        who any student see -PERF-3SG

        INT: 'Who has seen any students?'

50)   a. The longest book I ever read is *War and Peace*.   (Herdan & Sharvit, 2006: 3)

        b. *Savaş ve   Barış* *hiç / daha önce oku -duğ -um en   uzun kitap.

        War   and peace ever / more before read -NMZ -1SG most long book.

        'The longest book I read up until now is *War and Peace*.'

51)   a. Every student who heard anything should report to the police.

(Giannakidou, 2002: 6)

   b. *Hiçkimse -yi   gör-ür -se   -n   ban -a   haber ver -Ø.
      anyone   -ACC see -AOR-COND -2SG I   -DAT news give -IMP.2SG
      INT: 'Let me know if you see anyone.'   (Kelepir, 2001: 124)

   c. *Hiçbir şey duy -an   her   öğrenci polis -e   haber ver -meli-Ø.
      any-one thing hear -PART every student police -DAT new   give -NEC -3SG
      INT: 'Every student who heard anything should report to the police.'

Another difference between English and Turkish regarding NPI licensing is that NPIs are not licensed in subject position in English while they are licensed in Turkish.

52)   a. Kimse uyu -ma -dı   -Ø.
      anyone sleep-NEG-PAST-3SG
      'Nobody slept.'   (Kural, 1997: 502)

   b. *Anyone did not sleep.

Licensing of NPIs in Turkish has not been studied extensively (Görgülü, 2017; Kayabaşı & Özgen, 2018; Kelepir; 2001; Kornfilt, 1984; 1987; Kural 1997; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997). Among the researchers that do investigate it, Görgülü (2017) favors a semantic approach while Kelepir (2001), Kornfilt (1984, 1997), Kayabaşı and Özgen (2018), Kural (1997), and Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) focus on the matter syntactically. In the next subsections, I will go over the semantic and syntactic accounts of NPI licensing in Turkish.

3.2.1. Semantic Accounts on NPI Licensing in Turkish

Görgülü (2017), proposes that Giannakidou's (1998, 2002) account of veridicality uniformly captures the distribution of NPIs in Turkish. NPIs are licensed in nonveridical contexts in which the truth conditions of the proposition are not entailed or are asserted to be false. According to Görgülü, NPIs in Turkish are licensed by negation, by the adjectival suffix -sIz, in conditionals, and YN questions. However, as also argued by Progovac (1994) for English, not all nonveridical contexts license NPIs. The most prominent

example of this comes from YN questions. NPIs in Turkish are licensed in non-negative YN questions, but only if the question particle *mI* is suffixed to the verb. This is shown in (2), repeated here as (53). In (53a), where *mI* is placed on the predicate *gitti* 'went', the NPI *hiç* 'at all' is licensed while this is not the case in (53b), where *mI* occurs pre-verbally. As both questions are nonveridical, one would expect the sentences in (53) to be grammatical regardless of the position of the question particle.

53)   a. Ali hiç   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi?
               Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q
               'Did Ali ever go to Ankara?'
         b. *Ali hiç   Ankara'ya   mı git -ti   -Ø?
                Ali ever Ankara-DAT Q   go -PAST-3SG
              INT: 'Was it Ankara that Ali ever went to?'

I will not discuss Görgülü's (2017) account further since it would be a repetition of Giannakidou's veridicality account presented in § 3.1.1.2. In the next section, syntactic accounts regarding NPI licensing in Turkish will be presented.

3.2.2. Syntactic Accounts on NPI Licensing in Turkish

There are a few studies that rely mostly on syntactic constraints regarding NPI licensing in Turkish (Kelepir, 2001; Kornfilt, 1984; 1997; Kayabaşı & Özgen 2018; Kural 1997; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997). All of the studies argue that NPIs are licensed by a negative operator only if the NPI is in the scope of negation (with some divergences when different types of clauses are considered). Kural (1993, 1997) argues that NPIs are licensed under asymmetric c-command relationship between the NPI and its licensor. The licensor must be positioned higher than the NPI under this view. For subject NPIs to be licensed, Kural argues that the domain of negation must be expanded and this is possible through V-to-C movement. Since the negation attaches to the verb and the verb movement from V-to-C, results in the subject NPI to be c-commanded by the negation. This is shown in (54) below. The NPI *kimse* 'anyone' is licensed in (54a) since it is under the scope of the matrix negation while it is not licensed in (54b) because when the NPI raises out of the embedded

clause it is no longer c-commanded by the negation in the embedded clause.

54)   a. Kimse$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t_i vur -ul -du] san -ıl -m -ıyor -Ø.
          anyone   shoot -PASS-PAST think-PASS-NEG-PRES.PROG -3SG
          'No one is thought to have been shot.'

    b. *Kimse$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t_i vur -ul -ma -dı] san -ıl -ıyor -Ø.
          anyone   shoot -PASS-NEG-PAST think-PASS-PRES.PROG -3SG

                                                  (Kural, 1993: 37)

On the other hand, Kelepir (2001: 172) argues that NPI licensing in Turkish is subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint (Linebarger, 1980) which means that NPIs are acceptable in a sentence if the NPI is in the scope of NOT and there are no logical elements intervening between the NPI and NOT at LF (Linebarger, 1987: 338). Zidani-Eroğlu (1997: 139) argues that NPI licensing depends on the overt presence of negation or the matrix question particle. According to her, if a sentence does not contain overt negation or a question particle that is suffixed to the verb, the NPI is not licensed.

Kelepir (2001) and Kornfilt (1984, 1997) state that NPIs in embedded clauses are not licensed by the matrix negation if the embedded clause is finite or factive. This is shown in (55). (55a) is ungrammatical because the embedded clause is finite and (55b) is ungrammatical because it is factive. On the other hand, (55c) is grammatical because negation can license the NPI in the non-finite and non-factive embedded clause.

55)   a. *Kimse geç gel -di -Ø san -m -ıyor -lar.
          anybody late come -PAST-3SG think-NEG-PRES.PROG -3PL
          INT: 'They do not think that anybody came late.'   (Kelepir, 2001:151)

    b. $^{??}$/*Hasan hiçbir yer -e git -tiğ -in -i söyle-me -di -Ø.
          Hasan any-one place-DAT go -NMZ -3SG-ACC say -NEG-PAST-3SG
          INT: 'Hasan did not say that he went anywhere.'   (Kornfilt, 1997: 127)

    c. Kimse -nin gel -me -si -ni iste -m -iyor -um.
          anyone -GEN come -NMZ -POSS.3SG -ACC want -NEG-PRES.PROG -1SG
          'I do not want anyone to come.'

Kayabaşı and Özgen (2018); however, find sentences like (55b) to be grammatical and my judgement is also in line with theirs. The negation on the matrix predicate can license NPIs in the embedded *-DIK* clauses. Kayabaşı and Özgen (2018) argue that NPIs are licensed by negation if they are in the same phasal domain with the negation. According to their account, NPIs in embedded clauses are not licensed by the matrix negation if the embedded CP is *defective* and therefore does not form a phase. By the term *defective CP*, Kayabaşı and Özgen mean that the embedded C^0 lacks one or more φ-features (Chomsky, 2001). These features include agreement, tense, aspect, or modality. If the C^0 lacks one or more of these features, NPIs in embedded clauses are not licensed by the matrix negation.

None of the studies related to NPI licensing in Turkish above discusses NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions further than stating that in order for NPIs to be licensed in such questions, *mI* must appear on the predicate. In the next chapter, I offer my analysis regarding the structure of YN questions and the way in which NPIs are licensed in YN questions when they do not contain negation.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSIS

4.1. THE STRUCTURE OF MATRIX YN QUESTIONS

The question particle *mI* in Turkish has many properties and developing an analysis that accounts for all these properties is very challenging. Especially, the fact that *mI* is very flexible regarding the position it occupies is highly problematic. In previous chapters, I discussed its properties and observations regarding *mI*. They are listed in (56) below:

56)　　i. *mI* is a question particle that also functions as a question focus particle,

ii. If *mI* is attached to an element that is not the predicate or the immediately pre-verbal constituent, it yields narrow-scope reading and if it is placed on the verb, the obtained reading is wide-scope,

iii. If *mI* is on the immediately pre-verbal constituent (e.g., the direct object), the reading of the question is ambiguous. It can have both a wide- and narrow-scope reading,

iv. *mI* licenses NPIs like *hiç* 'ever' in non-negative YN questions when it surfaces on the verb,

v. No element can intervene between the tensed verb and *mI*.

Examples in (57) illustrate these properties. The examples are all non-negative YN questions, which do not contain an NPI or any other element that requires a particular

attachment site of *mI*. As a result, *mI* can be positioned after any element in the derivation. The placement on different elements depends on the information sought by the speaker.

57)   a. Ali dün   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi?
           Ali yesterday Ankara-DAT   go -PAST-3SG Q
           'Did Ali go to Ankara yesterday?'

        b. Ali mi dün   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø?
           Ali Q   yesterday Ankara-DAT   go -PAST-3SG
           'Was it Ali who went to Ankara yesterday?'

        c. Ali dün   mü Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø?
           Ali yesterday Q   Ankara-DAT   go -PAST-3SG
           'Was yesterday that Ali went to Ankara?'

        d. Ali dün   Ankara'ya   mı git -ti   -Ø?
           Ali yesterday Ankara-DAT   Q   go -PAST-3SG
           Reading 1: 'Was it Ankara that Ali went to yesterday?'
           Reading 2: 'Did Ali go to Ankara yesterday?'

The properties listed in (56) and illustrated in (57) are all syntactic and the aim of this study is to account for as many of these properties as possible, especially in connection to NPI licensing. In this chapter, I am going to propose an analysis that enables us to achieve this in a relatively minimalistic and economical way. My analysis, in part, shows similarities to previous proposals about the placement of *mI*. In line with Özyıldız (2015), I argue that *mI* enters the derivation in a position higher than the TP based on the observation that *mI* cannot be placed between the predicate and the tense marker; on my analysis, *mI* enters the derivation as the head of the FocP. Similarly to Kamali (2011), the question particle is analyzed as a clitic, but different from Kamali's account, I propose that *mI* is a clitic generated in the TP domain. There are basically two possible ways in which *mI* can be placed in a sentence. On one, *mI* starts out in its base-generated Foc^0 position, and then undergoes movement to C^0 along with the verb. On the other (if it does not raise to C^0), *mI* undergoes *lowering* to the position it ends up occupying. The lowering of *mI* follows a precise algorithm that I present in more detail below.

The first possibility of *mI* placement is shown in (58). After entering the derivation as the head of the FocP, the clitic *mI* waits for the verb to undergo movement from V-to-C. This movement is argued for by Besler (2000) based on the previous proposals that there is overt V-to-C movement in Turkish (Aygen-Tosun, 1998; Kural, 1993; see also Kelepir, 2001). The question particle is picked up by the verb and they raise to C^0.

58)
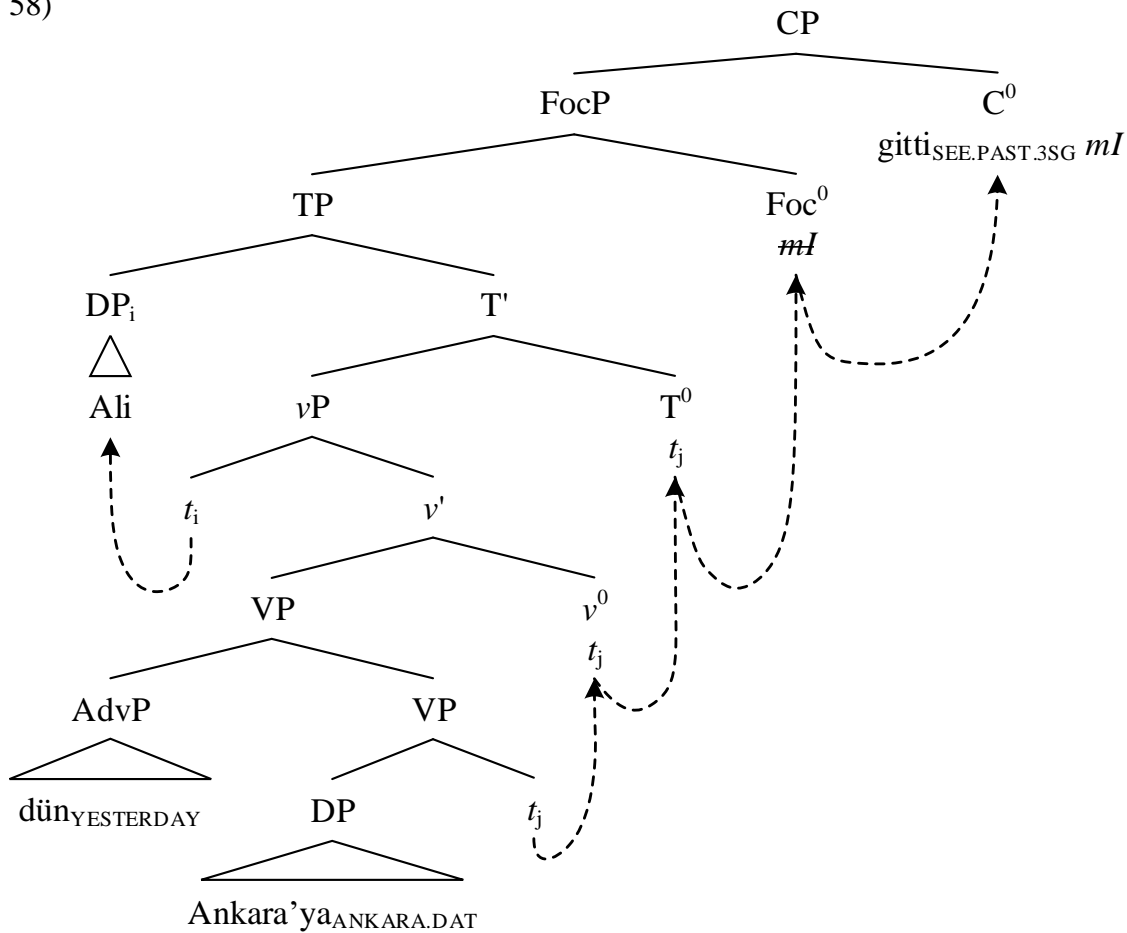
The second route that *mI* can follow is shown in (59). *mI* can attach to an element in its c-commanding domain and the element that it attaches to is determined depending on the information sought by the speaker. The placement algorithm limits the possible sites where *mI* can surface to positions that are adjoined to left daughters of every branching node in the c-command domain of *mI*. This is shown in (59), with the possible attachment positions illustrated with numbers from 1 through 6. The algorithm traverses the tree downwards starting from the sister of *mI* (TP), tracing the left branch of every branching

node that it hits and placing *mI* as the sister of its left daughter, provided this node hosts overt material.[10] If the left daughter is null, the algorithm proceeds with tracing the tree (along the right daughter) to the next branching node, and then down the left branch again. This procedure can be repeated until there are no branching nodes left for the algorithm to traverse. In which of the positions allowed by the algorithm *mI* actually surfaces depends on what the speaker wants to focus on in the question. Thus, if we want to form the question in (57b), the question particle occupies position 1, marking the subject DP *Ali*. In (57c), the particle is attached to the DP *dün* 'yesterday', namely, it occupies position 5. Finally, there are two possible readings for the question in (57c). If *mI* is in position 6, it scopes only over the object DP *Ankara'ya* 'to-Ankara', resulting in the narrow-scope reading (Reading 1). However, if *mI* is in position 2, then the reading we get is the wide-scope interpretation (Reading 2) even if the question particle is pre-verbal. This is because *mI* scopes over the entire *v*P.[11] The algorithm does not allow attachment of the question particle to right branches. It simply ignores these branches as possible attachment sites

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[10] The algorithm is based on Gračanin-Yuksek and Arsenijević's (2017) proposal developed for the positioning of second position clitics in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The authors use the algorithm to account for the fact that second position clitics in these languages can occupy a position following the first prosodic word or the first syntactic constituent of the sentence, as shown in (1a) and (1b) respectively.
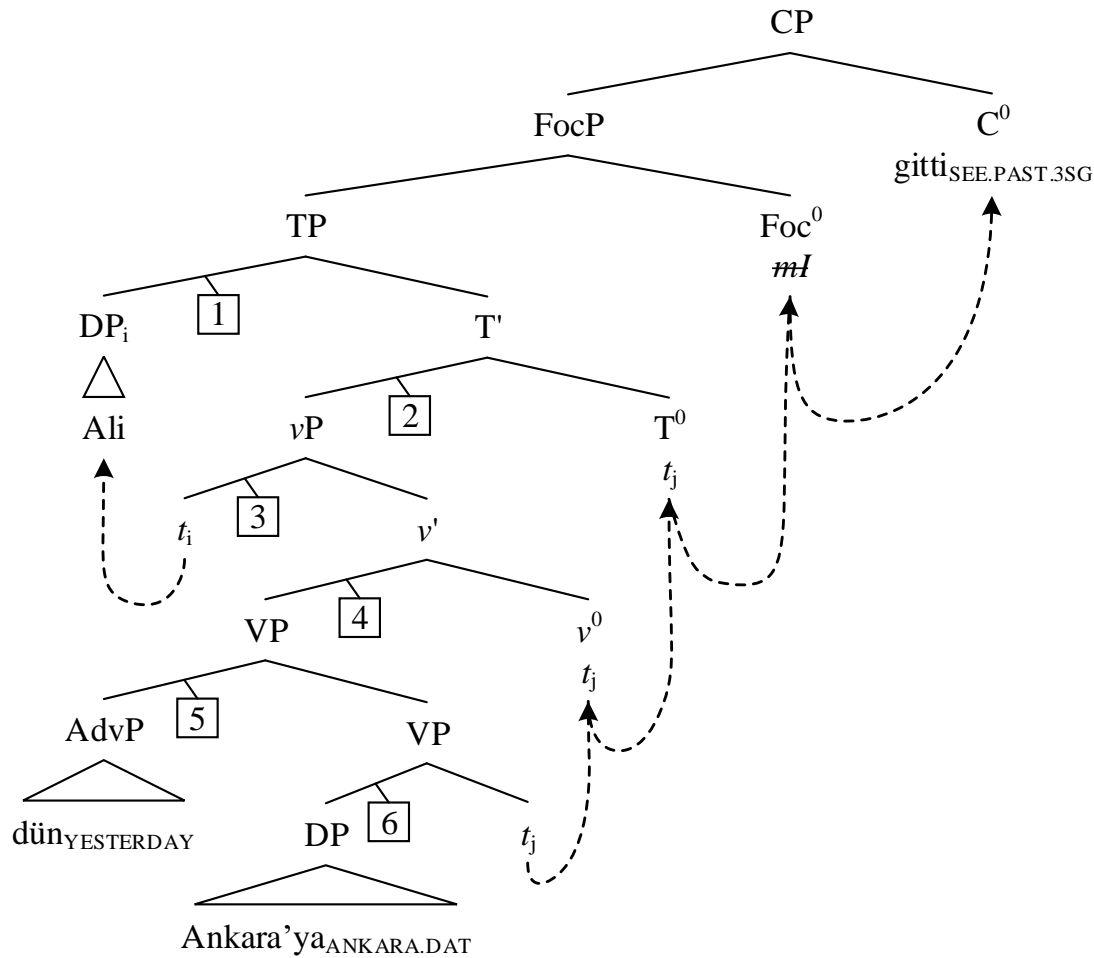
1) a. Moja ga   mama prezire.   b. Moja mama ga prezire.
       my   him mum   despises
       'My mum despises him.'

[11] The placement algorithm fails to account for the wide-scope reading obtained when *mI* is placed on the adverb in (15a), repeated here as (2). This is because *mI* would only scope over the adverb *hızlı* 'fast' from the position it lowers itself to. It seems that the only way to get the wide-scope reading in such conditions is to assume that the bare object *yemek* 'food' is incorporated with the verb *yap-* 'do' (Kornfilt 2003, among others) and undergoes movement to C^0 along with it. Some evidence for that comes from the fact that the wide-scope reading becomes unavailable when the object is not bare. In fact, the sentence becomes ungrammatical since *hızlı* can only modify the object *yemeği* 'the food' and *mI* cannot intervene between a noun and its modifier as can be seen in (3a). The wide-scope reading becomes available again when *mI* is placed in the pre-verbal position. This is expected, since the case-marked object is not incorporated into the verb and the verb undergoes movement to C^0 independently.

2) Ali hızlı mı yemek yap -ar -Ø?
    Ali fast Q food   make -AOR -3SG
    'Does Ali cook fast?'

3) a. *Ali hızlı mı yemeğ -i   yap -ar -Ø?   b. Ali hızlı yemeğ -i   mı yap -ar -Ø?
       Ali fast Q food -ACC make -AOR -3SG   Ali fast food -ACC Q make -AOR -3SG
       INT: 'Does Ali cook fast?'   'Does Ali cook the fast food?'

and only uses them to travel down the structure.[12, 13]

59)

CP
FocP
C^0
gitti$_{SEE.PAST.3SG}$
TP
Foc^0
mI
DP$_i$
1
T'
Ali
*v*P
2
T^0
t_j
t_i
3
v'
VP
4
v^0
t_j
AdvP
5
VP
dün$_{YESTERDAY}$
DP
6
t_j
Ankara'ya$_{ANKARA.DAT}$

In the next sections, I explain how my analysis accounts for possible and impossible readings of embedded YN questions with and without complementizers and also, how it

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[12] The lowering process of the question particle must take place prior to the V-to-C movement so that the question particle is not picked up by the verb along its way to C^0. In addition, since the change of the position of the question particle is overt and has consequences for the meaning, the lowering takes place in syntax.

[13] The placement algorithm presented in this chapter seems to me to be more economical than the account on which the question particle originates in the position where it is observed and moves to C^0 at LF. First, the proposed analysis does not require *mI* to be base-generated in different places for every position in which it is observed, but postulates a single locus of *mI*. Also, my analysis requires a single mechanism (overt movement, either upwards – when *mI* is picked up by the verb – or downwards – when it undergoes lowering) to derive both the fact that *mI* can take wide- or narrow-scope and its ability to license NPIs. The analysis based on LF movement requires two different mechanisms: LF lowering in cases where *mI* does not surface on the verb and overt upwards movement when it does.

accounts for NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions in Turkish.

4.2. THE STRUCTURE OF EMBEDDED YN QUESTIONS

Turkish does not have overt interrogative complementizers to introduce YN questions in embedded clauses, like *whether* and *if* do in English. Instead, the question particle *mI* is used to mark embedded YN questions as well. The position that *mI* surfaces in plays a critical role in the interpretation of bi-clausal sentences with *mI* in some sentence-medial position because in some cases the matrix clause may remain declarative, while in other cases, the matrix clause is obligatorily interrogative. This contrast is at its clearest when *mI* is at the right edge of the embedded clause. This is shown in (60). When the embedded clause is a full-fledged tensed CP that can also stand alone as a matrix clause, as in (60a), the sentence can be both declarative or interrogative at the matrix level; it can be both a statement and a question. However, this is not the case in (60b), which features a nominalized embedded clause, headed by the subordinator *-DIK*.[14] Sentence (60b) is obligatorily interrogative at the matrix level.

60)   a. Ali Ankara'ya git -ti -Ø mi bil -iyor   -sun?/.

         Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q know -PRES.PROG -2SG

         Reading 1: 'Do you know it to be true that Ali went to Ankara?'

         Reading 2: 'You know whether Ali went to Ankara.'

     b. Ali'nin Ankara'ya git -tiğ -in   -i   mi bil -iyor   -sun?/*.

         Ali-GEN Ankara-DAT go -NMZ -POSS.3SG -ACC Q know -PRES.PROG -2SG

         Reading 1: 'Do you know it to be true that Ali went to Ankara?'

         *Reading 2: 'You know whether Ali went to Ankara.'

I argue that the reason behind the contrast in (60) is the availability of the C^0 position in the embedded clause: In (60a) this position can be occupied by *mI*, making an embedded

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[14] *-DIK* is analyzed as a nominalizer that is followed by Agreement and Case (Kornfilt, 1997). The agreement holds between the subject and the verb that is marked by *-DIK* as genitive-possessive. Kornfilt (1984) analyzes *-DIK* as a monomorphemic nominalizer indicating the past tense while Kural (1993) argues that it is bimorphemic, consisting of a past tense marker and a complementizer, as will be presented shortly.

question reading possible, while in (60b) the embedded C^0 cannot be occupied by *mI*, which is why only the matrix question reading is available. One of the reasons why the embedded C^0 is not available to *mI* in (60b) goes as follows: Kural (1993) argues that markers which introduce embedded clauses: *-DIK*, *-EcEK*, and *-mAK* all consist of two parts. While *-DIK* indicates the past and *-EcEK* indicates the future, *-mAK* is infinitival and *-K* on these markers acts as a complementizer. According to this proposal, the nominalizer *-DIK*, realized as *-tiğ* in (60b), has two components: *-DI* is a tense marker and *-K* is a complementizer. In (60a), which is not headed by *-DIK*, *mI* may be occupying the embedded C^0 position, but in (60b), this is impossible, because C^0 is already occupied by an overt complementizer *-K*. This distinction in the availability of the embedded C^0 readily accounts for the observed contrast in available readings of the two sentences.

Another difference between tensed embedded clauses, as in (60a), and nominalized embedded clauses, as in (60b), is the presence versus absence of case and agreement morphology on the embedded verb. In (60a), the embedded verb is inflected for tense and agreement with the embedded subject and bears no other morphological marking. In (60b), on the other hand, the embedded verb also carries case morphology associated with the embedding clause (assigned by the matrix verb) besides agreement with the embedded subject. Importantly, in (60b), *mI* can only follow the accusative marker on the verb and cannot be placed before it. In other words, *mI* cannot intervene between the verb and its markers.[15] This is illustrated in (61), where the only well-formed sequence is the one in (61d). If *mI* occupied the embedded C^0 position in (60b), we would expect it to surface within the verbal complex and definitely before the morphology associated with the matrix clause, namely, before the accusative marker. This is, however, not what we find.

61)   a. *git -mi-tiğ-in -i : VERB + *Q   + NMZ + POSS + ACC
      b. *git -tiğ-mi-in -i : VERB + NMZ + *Q   + POSS + ACC
      c. *git -tiğ-in -mi-i : VERB + NMZ + POSS + *Q   + ACC
      d. git -tiğ-in -i   -mi: VERB + NMZ + POSS + ACC + Q

---

[15] This observation is similar to the one that *mI* cannot be placed between the verb and the tense marker in the embedded clause (Özyıldız, 2015) (see § 2.3.4).

Both the semantic and morphological evidence I discussed above suggest that in (60b), *mI* does not originate in the embedded clause (regardless of the existence of a Foc^0 head in such clauses). Building on this conclusion, I argue that in (60b) and other nominalized clauses, *mI* starts out in the Foc^0 of the *matrix* clause and undergoes lowering to the edge of the embedded CP, just as it does in simple clauses, where the complement of the verb is a DP. This means that in clauses like (60b), the embedded CP is treated by *mI* similar to object DPs, discussed in § 4.1. This is shown in (62). Given the derivation in (62b), it is not surprising that (60b) can only have a matrix question reading; it is because the question particle is associated with the matrix rather than with the embedded clause.

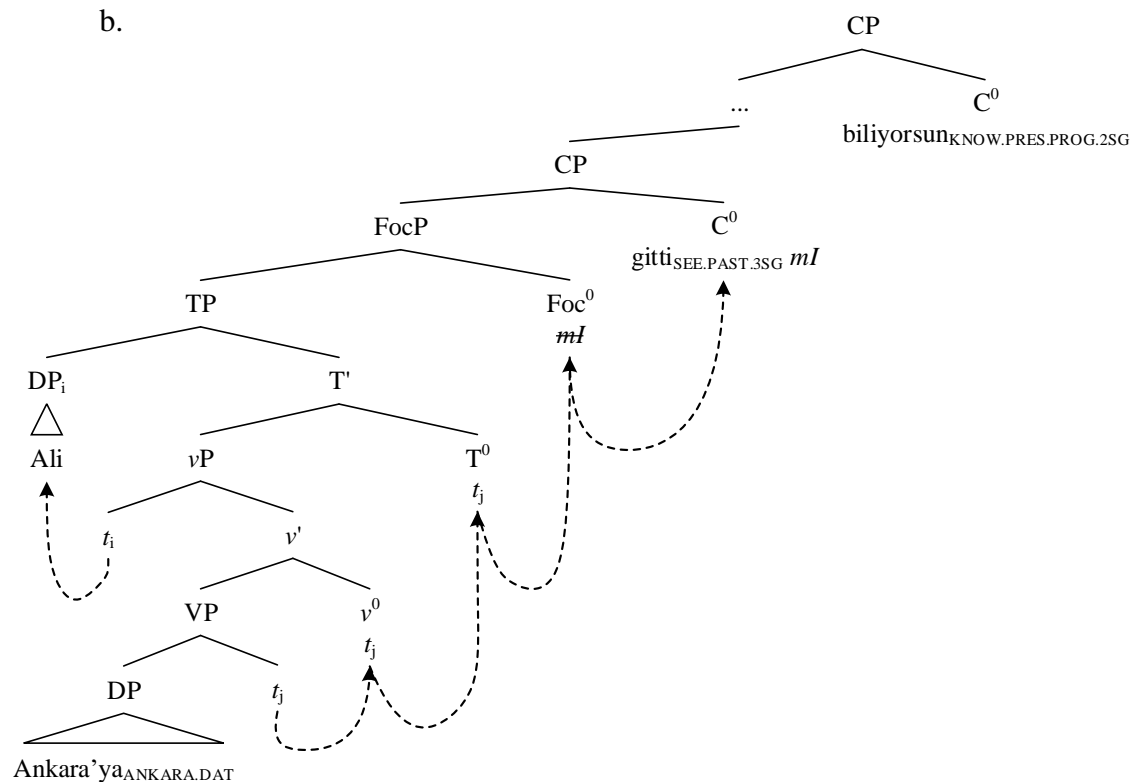62)   a. [Ali'nin   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -ğ   CP] -in   -i   mi bil

           Ali-GEN Ankara-DAT go -PAST-COMP   -POSS.3SG -ACC Q   know

           -iyor   -sun?

           -PRES.PROG -2SG

           'Do you know it to be true that Ali went to Ankara?'

      b.
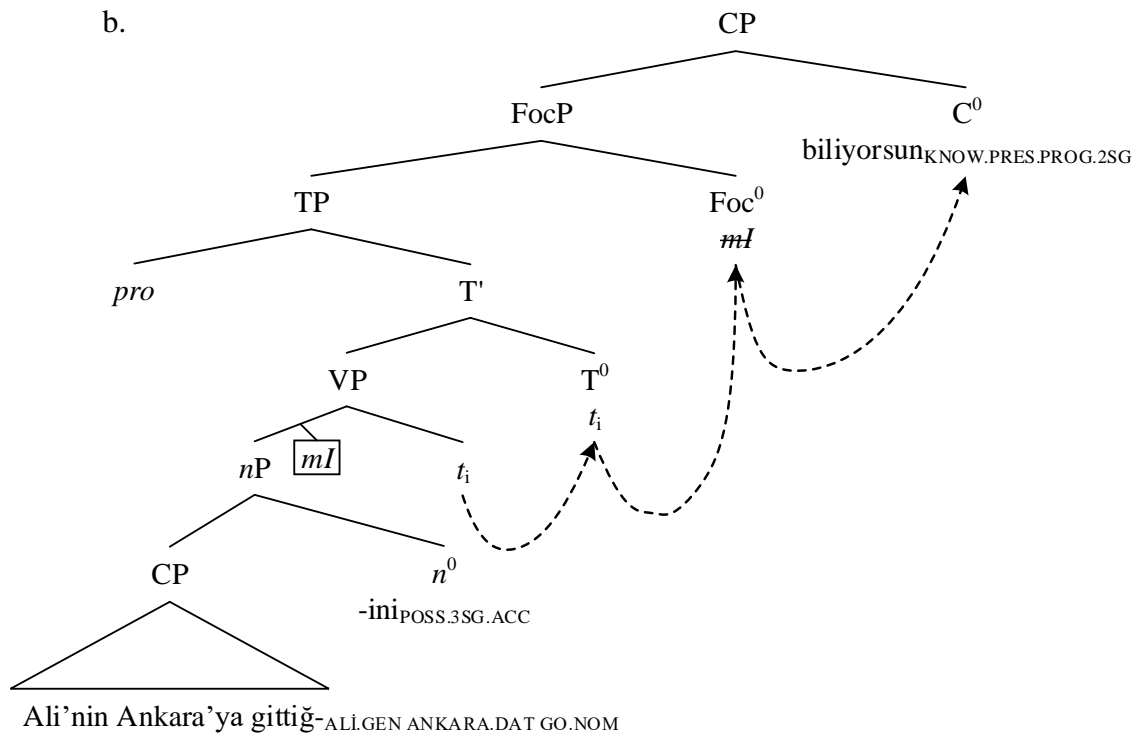
By contrast, the ambiguity of embedded clauses with non-nominalized CPs, as in (60a),

arises because in such clauses, *mI* can in principle be externally merged in both the embedded and the matrix clause. This is shown in (63) and (64) respectively. When the sentence is declarative at the matrix level, as in (63a), *mI* enters the derivation as the head of the FocP in the embedded clause and undergoes movement to the embedded C^0 along with the verb, which is similar to what happens in matrix YN questions. If the sentence is interrogative at the matrix level, *mI* is base-generated in the matrix clause and undergoes lowering to a position above the embedded CP.

63)   a. [Ali Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi _{CP}] bil   -iyor   -sun.

             Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q   know -PRES.PROG -2SG

             'You know whether Ali went to Ankara.'

b.

Tree diagram:

- CP
  - ... → CP
    - FocP
      - TP
        - DP_i (△ Ali)
        - T'
          - vP
            - t_i
            - v'
              - VP
                - DP (△ Ankara'ya_{ANKARA.DAT})
                - t_j
              - v⁰ t_j
          - T⁰ t_j
      - Foc⁰ *mI*
    - C⁰ gitti_{SEE.PAST.3SG} *mI*
  - C⁰ biliyorsun_{KNOW.PRES.PROG.2SG}

64)   a. [Ali Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø _{CP}] mi bil   -iyor   -sun?

             Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG   Q know -PRES.PROG -2SG

             'Do you suppose that Ali went to Ankara?

b.[16]

Ali Ankara'ya gitti$_{\text{ALİ ANKARA.DAT GO.PAST.3SG}}$
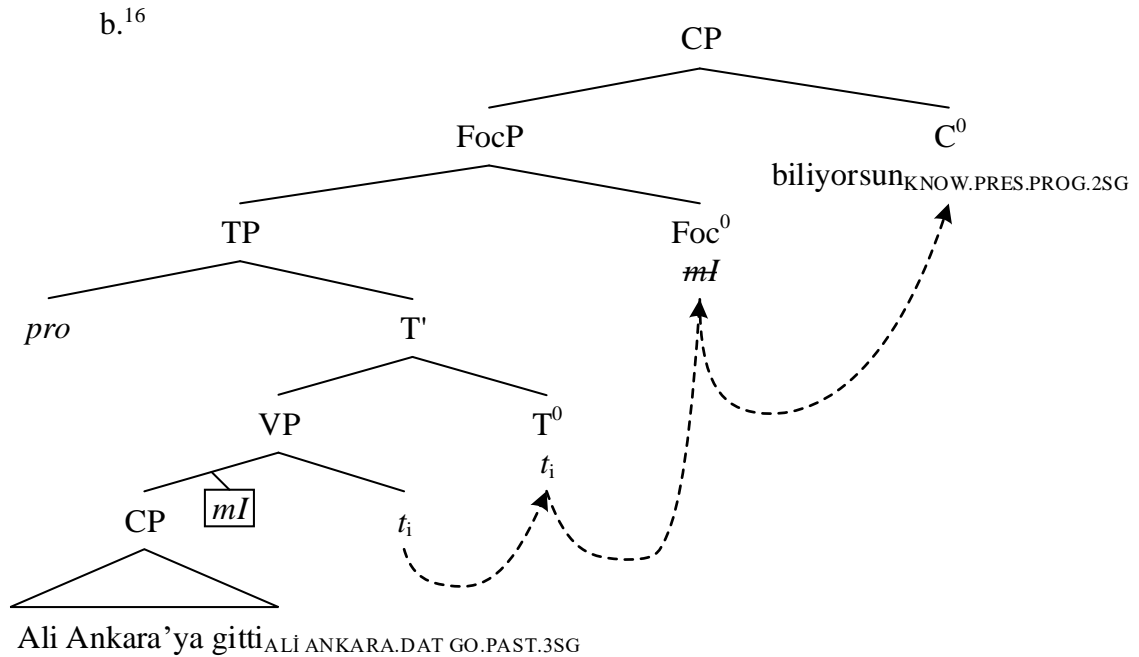
Supporting evidence for the derivations I proposed for the sentences in (63) and (64), comes from the fact that both the embedded and matrix clauses in (63) can host question particles separately, as can be seen in (65).[17] (65a) features two full-fledged CPs that can also be uttered independently and thus, both clauses can host *mI*. This is not the case in (65b). The embedded CP in this sentence is nominalized and the question particle cannot be placed both on the embedded verb and on the matrix verb.

65) a. [Ali Ankara'ya git -ti -Ø mi $_{CP}$] bil -iyor mu -sun?

   Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q know -PRES.PROG Q -2SG

   'Do you know whether Ali went to Ankara.'

   b. *[Ali'nin Ankara'ya git -ti -ğ $_{CP}$]-in -i mi bil

   Ali-GEN Ankara-DAT go -PAST-COMP -POSS.3SG -ACC Q know

   -iyor mu -sun?

   -PRES.PROG Q -2SG

---

[16] The verb does not contain *mI* even though it passes through Foc^0 on its way to C^0 because the lowering of the question particle takes place before the verb passes through Foc^0.

[17] (65a) might not be accepted by all native Turkish speakers as a single sentence that features an embedded clause and a matrix clause. Instead, these might be two separate sentences independent from one another. This would not change our current analysis since the two sentences would be expected to host their own question particles anyway.

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INT: 'Do you know whether Ali went to Ankara?'

If this analysis is on the right track, it is not unexpected that in examples like (63a) and (65a), which contain only a single *mI,* the particle can be placed on a constituent other than the verb inside the embedded clause. However, when the question particle is placed after the subject, as in (66a), or the object, as in (66b) inside the finite embedded clause, the ambiguity shown in (63) and (64) is no longer available. Both sentences in (66) are obligatorily declarative at the matrix level, suggesting that in these examples *mI* obligatorily originates in the embedded clause. This suggests that the embedded CP is impenetrable for the matrix question particle. Thus, it is impossible for the sentence to receive interrogative reading at the matrix level.

66)   a. [Ali mi Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø CP] bil   -iyor   -sun./*?

          Ali Q Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG   know -PRES.PROG -2SG

          'You know whether it was Ali who went to Ankara.'

    b. [Ali Ankara'ya   mı git -ti   -Ø CP] bil   -iyor   -sun./*?

          Ali Ankara-DAT Q go -PAST-3SG   know -PRES.PROG -2SG

          'You know whether it was Ankara that Ali went to.'

This is also the case with embedded clauses with a nominalized verb: In such sentences *mI* can only be placed on the verb as well.[18] This is shown by the ungrammaticality of examples in (67) and (68). If, as discussed previously, in such sentences *mI* obligatorily starts out in the matrix clause and undergoes lowering to the embedded CP, it seems to be the case that the lowering process has to stop at the edge of the embedded CP, i.e., that the embedded CP is impenetrable to the lowering of *mI*.

67)   a. *Ali'nin iş -ten mi ayrıl -dı -ğ   -ın   -ı   bil -m

          Ali-GEN job -LOC Q leave-PAST-COMP -POSS.3SG -ACC know -NEG

          -iyor   -um.

---

[18] Unfortunately, judgements are unstable for such questions. Native speakers judge such sentences as irritating but some of them do not judge them unacceptable. Sentences in (67) and (68) are judged to be ungrammatical and that is why in this study, I assume that nominalized embedded clauses are impenetrable for *mI*.

-PRES.PROG -1SG

INT: 'I don't know whether it was his job that Ali quit.'

b. *Ali'nin iş -ten mi ayrıl -aca -ğ   -ın   -ı   bil -m

Ali-GEN job -LOC Q leave-FUT -COMP -POSS.3SG -ACC know -NEG

-iyor   -um.

-PRES.PROG -1SG

INT: 'I don't know whether it is his job that Ali is going to quit.'

68)   a. *Ali'nin yeni araba mı al -dı -ğ   -ın   -ı   bil -m

Ali-GEN new car   Q buy -PAST-COMP -POSS.3SG -ACC know -NEG

-iyor   -um.

-PRES.PROG -1SG

INT: 'I don't know whether it was a new car that Ali bought.'

b. *Ali'nin yeni araba mı al -aca -ğ   -ın   -ı   bil -m

Ali-GEN new car   Q buy -FUT -COMP -POSS.3SG -ACC know -NEG

-iyor   -um.

-PRES.PROG -1SG

INT: 'I don't know whether it is a new car that Ali is going to buy.'

So far, we have reached the following generalizations:

i.   A tensed (non-nominalized) embedded clause may host its own question particle, and this question particle can be placed on any constituent in the embedded clause. Importantly, however, if *mI* is placed on a constituent in the embedded clause other than the verb, the sentence can only be embedded question, indicating that the question particle in such cases cannot have originated in the matrix clause.

ii.   A nominalized embedded clause can only feature the question particle on the embedded verb and this question particle necessarily originates in the matrix clause, giving rise to the matrix question reading.

iii. Both of these generalizations suggest that embedded CPs are impenetrable to the lowering of the matrix clause *mI*, regardless of their internal make-up.

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A natural question that arises at this point is how *mI* interacts with embedded clauses with a free-standing complementizer. One such complementizer is *diye* 'saying'. Gündoğdu (2017) argues that there are 3 types of phrases headed by *diye* 'saying'. These are illustrated in (69). The first one is the adjectival *diye* 'saying', which is the head of the PP *Mehmet diye* 'called Mehmet', as in (69a). In (69b), *diye* 'saying' is an adverbial at the VP-level. It takes the CP *ben geldim* 'I came' as its complement. The whole phrase, headed by *diye*, denotes the manner of the matrix predicate *bağırdı* 'shouted'. In (69c), *diye* is the head of the embedded CP and it denotes the reason of the matrix predicate.

69) a. [Mehmet diye _{PP}] bir oğl -u   daha var.

     Mehmet saying one son-POSS.3SG more exist

     '(S)he has got another son, called Mehmet.'   *PP = NP-level*

                     (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 175)

  b. Oya [[ben gel -di -m _{CP}] diye _{AdvP}] bağır -dı -Ø.

    Oya I come -PAST-1SG saying shout -PAST-3SG

    'Oya shouted "I came!".'   *manner adverbial = VP-level*

  c. Oya [ben gel -di -m diye _{CP}] bağır -dı -Ø.

    Oya I come -PAST-1SG saying shout -PAST-3SG

    'Oya shouted because I came.'   *reason adverbial = CP-level*

When *diye* 'saying' is the head of the embedded CP, it can also give rise to the purpose reading, as shown in (70b).

70) a. [Kedi -ler uyu -yor   -Ø diye _{CP}] git -ti -Ø.

     cat -PL sleep-PRES.PROG -3PL saying go -PAST-3SG

     '(S)he left because the cats were sleeping.' *reason adverbial = CP-level*

  b. [Kedi -ler uyu -sun -Ø diye _{CP}] git -ti -Ø.

     cat -PL sleep-IMP-3PL saying go -PAST-3SG

     '(S)he left so that the cats could sleep.' *purpose adverbial = CP-level*

                     (Gündoğdu, 2017: 64, 78)

In this study, I will not be concerned with the use of *diye* as a postposition and will only

focus on the CP- and VP-level *diye*. Let us consider the sentences in (71), in which the *diye*-clause contains the question particle *mI*. Surprisingly, example (71a), which is identical to (69b-c) except that it contains *mI*, is no longer ambiguous: It can only have the manner interpretation, but not the reason interpretation. If a sentence can receive the manner interpretation only if *diye* 'saying' is an adverbial that takes a CP as its complement, the absence of the reason interpretation is expected. In (71a), the embedded C^0 position is occupied by *mI*, so *diye* cannot be occupying the same position. Instead, it must occupy the position outside of the embedded clause, which gives rise to the manner interpretation only.

71) a. Oya [[ben gel -di -m mi CP] diye AdvP] bağır -dı -Ø.
     Oya I   come -PAST-1SG Q   saying   shout -PAST-3SG
       Reading 1: 'Oya shouted "Did I come?".'   *manner*
       *Reading 2: 'Did Oya shout because I came?'   **reason*

Example (72), however, in which *mI* follows *diye,* is again ambiguous: it has both the manner and the reason reading, as shown by (72a) and (72b) respectively. The manner reading arises if *diye* heads an adverbial clause which takes the CP as its complement, and *mI* is the matrix clause particle, focusing the adverbial expression within the matrix clause. The reason reading arises if *diye* heads the embedded CP, and *mI* is again the matrix clause particle, focusing the CP headed by *diye*. In any case, since the question particle is outside the embedded CP both the sentence in (72) are obligatorily interrogative at the matrix level. The unavailability of the reason interpretation in (72a) and the ambiguity in (72b) suggest that the CP-level *diye* is incompatible with *mI* placed on the verb in the embedded clause.

72) a. Oya [ben gel -di -m CP] diye AdvP] mi bağır -dı -Ø?
        Oya I come -PAST-1SG   saying   Q shout -PAST-3SG
        Reading 1: 'Did Oya shout "I came!"?'   *manner*
     b. Oya [ben gel -di -m diye CP] mi bağır -dı -Ø?
        Oya I come -PAST-1SG saying   Q shout -PAST-3SG
        Reading 2: 'Did Oya shout because I came?'   *reason*

The same conclusion follows from examples in (73), where *mI* can precede *diye* neither in the reason clause, as shown in (73a), nor in the purpose clause, as shown in (73c).[19]

73) a. *[Kedi -ler uyu -yor -Ø mu diye CP] git -ti -Ø?
       cat -PL sleep -PRES.PROG -3PL Q saying go -PAST-3SG

b. [Kedi -ler uyu -yor -Ø diye CP] mi git -ti?
   cat -PL sleep -PRES.PROG -3PL saying Q go -PAST-3SG
'Did (s)he leave because the cats were sleeping?'

c. *[Kedi -ler uyu -sun -Ø mu diye CP] git -ti -Ø?
       cat -PL sleep -IMP -3PL Q saying go -PAST-3SG

d. [Kedi -ler uyu -sun -Ø diye CP] mi git -ti -Ø?
   cat -PL sleep -IMP -3PL saying Q go -PAST-3SG
'Did (s)he leave so that the cats could sleep?'

Although not as clear as the contrasts presented in (71) and (73), people also judge the clauses with CP-level *diye* to be not perfectly grammatical when *mI* is placed next to another element in the embedded clause. By contrast, they find perfectly grammatical sentences in which *mI* follows *diye*. This is shown in (74) and (75).[20] When we couple this observation with the observation that embedded clauses with the CP-level *diye* are obligatorily interrogative at the matrix level, the generalization emerges that in such sentences, there is only one Foc^0 position available that can host *mI*, and this position is above the matrix TP.

74) a. [??]Oya ben mi gel -di -m diye üzül -dü -Ø?
     Oya I Q come -PAST-1SG saying become-sad -PAST-3SG
   INT: 'Did Oya become sad because it was I that came?'

b. [??]Oya süt mü iç -ti -Ø diye zehirlen -di -Ø?
     Oya milk Q drink-PAST-3SG saying get-poisoned -PAST-3SG
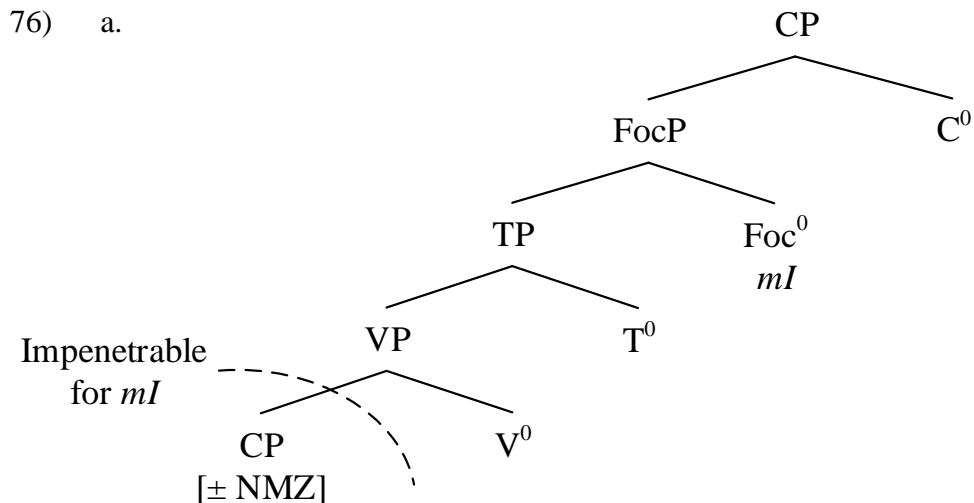
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[19] (73a-c) are acceptable if they are interpreted as rhetorical or echo questions.

[20] Capitalized words in the sentences in (75) indicate the focused constituent in the embedded clause. The observation that constituents in the embedded clauses can be focused without *mI* placed on them indicates that there is another mechanism that enables focusing such constituents (U. Özge, personal communication, 2019).
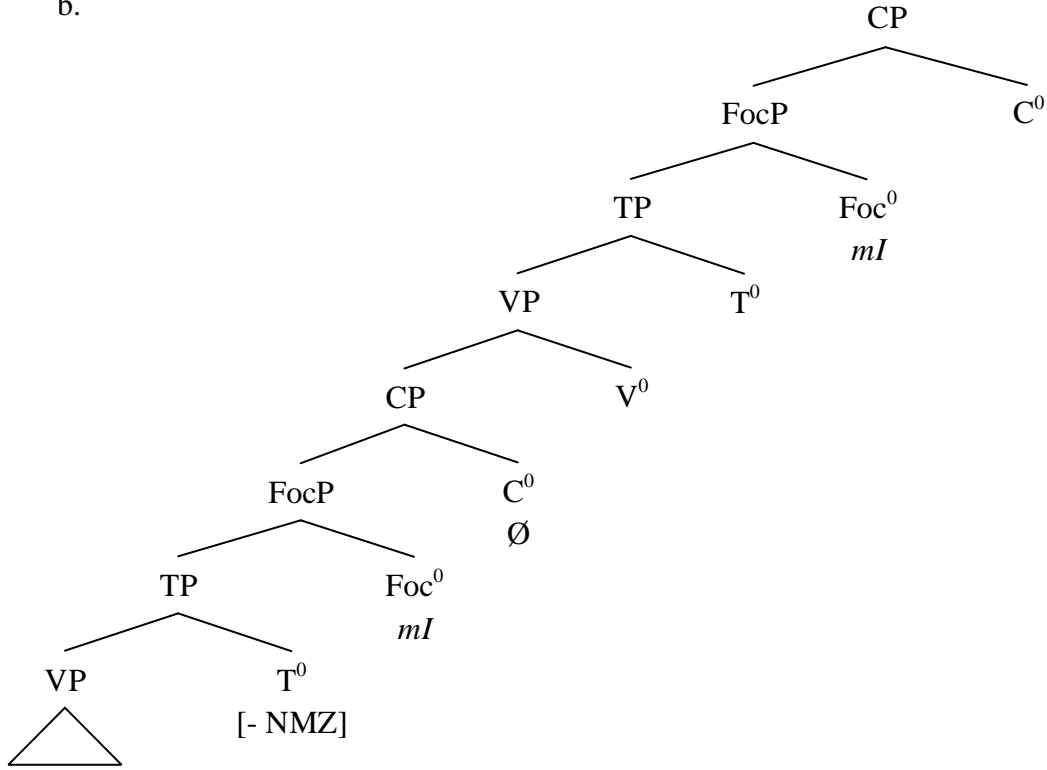
INT: 'Did Oya get poisoned because it was the milk that she drank?'

75) a. Oya BEN gel -di -m diye mi üzül   -dü -Ø?
     Oya I   come -PAST-1SG saying Q become-sad -PAST-3SG
     'Did Oya become sad because it was I that came?'
   b. Oya SÜT iç -ti -Ø diye mi zehirlen   -di -Ø?
     Oya milk drink-PAST-3SG saying Q get-poisoned-PAST-3SG
     'Did Oya get poisoned because it was the milk that she drank?'

Thus, the discussion so far leads to the conclusion that only tensed embedded clauses in Turkish, introduced most probably by the null complementizer, can host their own question particle. Nominalized clauses and clauses introduced by *diye* cannot contain a local *mI*. Moreover, the question particle originating in the matrix clause cannot be placed *inside* the embedded clause, only at its edge. The configurations that summarize the domains where *mI* can start out from and the ones that are impenetrable for *mI* are shown in (76) below. Regardless of whether the embedded CP is nominalized or not, it is impenetrable for the question particle from the matrix clause, as illustrated in (76a). Additionally, both the embedded and the matrix CP can host its own question particle only if the embedded CP is null and non-nominalized, as can be seen in (76b). In other cases, the embedded CP cannot introduce its own question particle and it is inaccessible by the matrix question particle.

76) a.

b.

```
                                    CP
                              ╱          ╲
                           FocP           C⁰
                         ╱      ╲
                       TP        Foc⁰
                     ╱    ╲       mI
                   VP      T⁰
                 ╱    ╲
               CP      V⁰
             ╱    ╲
          FocP     C⁰
        ╱    ╲     Ø
      TP      Foc⁰
    ╱   ╲     mI
  VP     T⁰
 ╱▲╲   [- NMZ]
```

Similar constraints are also valid for purpose denoting postpositions like *için* (Özyıldız, 2015), *yüzünden*, and *dolayısıyla* 'because'. Consider again sentence (71a), repeated below in (77), along with the data in (78), which show that the placement of *mI* between the postpositions *için*, *yüzünden*, and *dolayısıyla* 'because' and their (clausal) complements is infelicitous. The PP-internal clause in (78) is non-finite as opposed to (77), but is also obligatorily interrogative at the matrix level. This supports the claim that there is only one position in which *mI* can start out from and it is a position (Foc^0) above the TP of the matrix clause.

77) Oya [[ben gel -di -m mi CP] diye AdvP] bağır -dı -Ø.
    Oya I   come -PAST-1SG Q   saying   shout -PAST-3SG
      Reading 1: 'Oya shouted "Did I come?".'   *manner*
      *Reading 2: 'Did Oya shout because I came?'   *reason*

78) a. Oya ben gel -diğ   -im   (*mi) için   (mi) bağır -dı -Ø?
        Oya I   come -NMZ.PAST-1SG Q   because Q   shout -PAST-3SG

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'Did Oya shout because I came?'

b. Oya ben-im gel -me -m (*mi) yüzünden / dolayısıyla (mı) bağır

Oya I -GEN come -NMZ -POSS.1SG Q because Q shout

-dı -Ø?

-PAST-3SG

'Did Oya shout because of my coming?'

The impenetrability of embedded CPs headed by *-DIK* and *diye* (as well as PPs headed by *için*, *yüzünden*, and *dolayısıyla* 'because' with clausal complements) to the lowering of the matrix question particle is interesting in its own right, but proposing the explanation for this phenomenon is outside the scope of this thesis and will leave it for future work.

In the next section, I will build on the conclusions reached in this section, namely, that biclausal structures contain only one Foc^0 position available for *mI* to start out from and that is the one in the matrix clause and further investigate how the structure of both embedded and matrix questions interacts with NPI licensing.

4.3. LICENSING OF NPIs IN NON-NEGATIVE YN QUESTIONS

4.3.1. NPI licensing in matrix YN questions

In order for NPIs to be licensed in YN questions in Turkish, the question particle must be placed on the verb unless there is another element that can license NPIs, like negation or the expression *sanki* 'as-if'. No other placement of *mI* licenses NPIs in non-negative YN questions. In order to explain this restriction on NPI licensing by *mI*, I argue that in order for an NPI to be licensed in a Turkish non-negative YN question, the interrogative feature on C^0 must be spelled out and it has to be spelled out by the question particle. As discussed previously, the verb in Turkish undergoes movement from its base position and the movement is often considered to be of the from V-to-T-to-C for both declarative and interrogative clauses (Kural, 1993). In YN questions, *mI* spells out the interrogative feature on C^0 via V-to-C movement. On its way to C^0, the verb passes through the Foc^0 head above the TP since it cannot skip an intervening head due to the Head Movement

Constraint (Travis, 1984). When picked up by the verb, *mI* moves together with the verb to C^0 and this way NPIs are licensed in non-negative YN questions. The movement of the question particle to C^0 through verb movement is illustrated in (79b).

79)   a. Ali hiç Ankara'ya git -ti   -Ø   mi?
         Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q
         'Did Ali ever go to Ankara?'

       b.
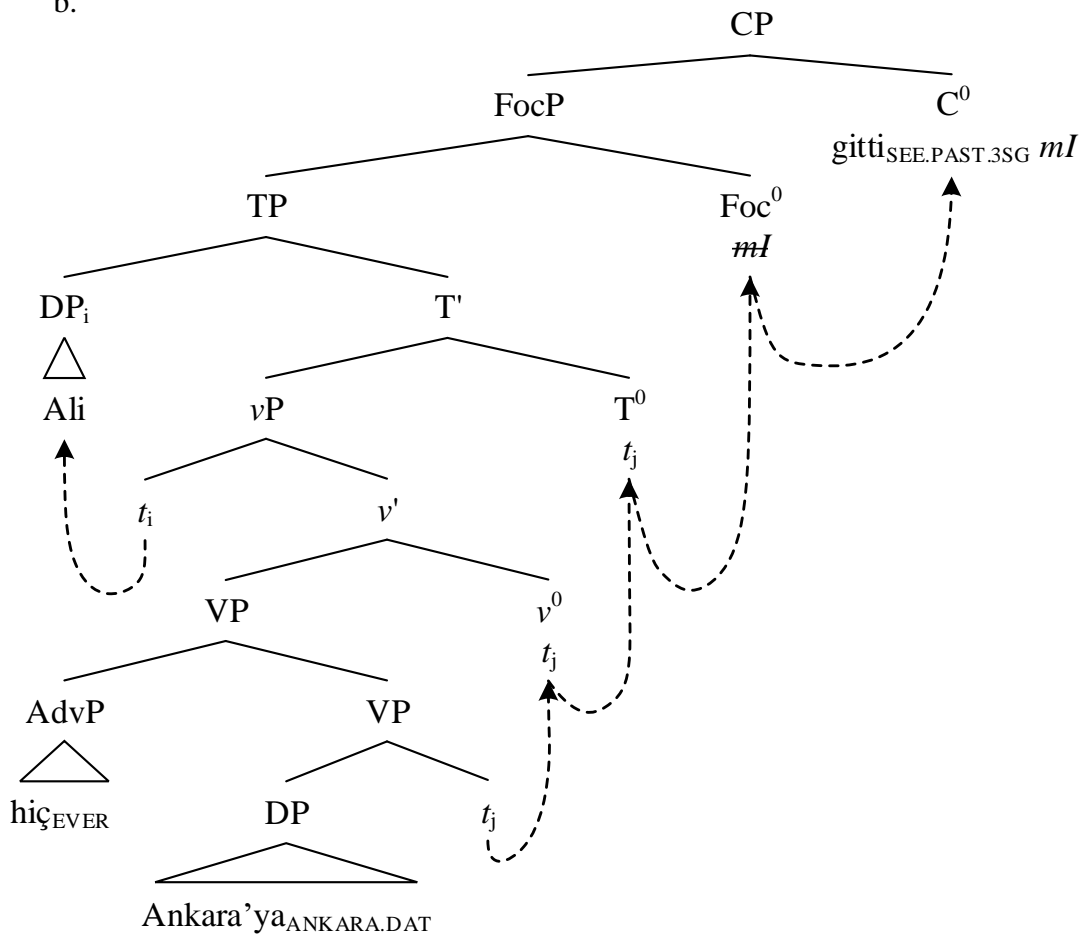
A similar, although not identical observation is also valid for languages that do not have a question particle, like English (Progovac, 1994) and Swedish (Brandtler, 2012), as can be seen in (80) and (81). In these languages, NPIs are licensed in non-negative YN questions only if the question also features subject-auxiliary inversion, as shown by the contrast between (80b) and (80c) for English and between (81a) and (81b) for Swedish. This is reminiscent of the Turkish context observed in (79), where the verb moves to C^0.

80)   a. He complained about his salary?

          b. ??/*He complained about anything?

          c. Did he complain about anything?   (Progovac, 1994: 76-77)

81)   a. Har du   någonsin varit i Paris?

           have you ever   been to Paris?

           'Have you ever been to Paris?'

          b. *Du har   någonsin varit i Paris?

            you have ever   been to Paris?

           INT: 'Have you ever been to Paris?'   (Brandtler, 2012: 52-53)

          c. Du har   varit i   Paris?[21]

           you have been to Paris

           'You have been to Paris?'

The possible reason behind this parallelism is the fact that in all three languages, C^0 is overtly realized in a YN question that licenses NPIs: In Turkish, C^0 is occupied by the question particle and the verb while Swedish and English more generally form YN questions through overt auxiliary movement to C^0.

In Turkish, V-to-C movement is not sufficient to license NPIs. This is because NPIs would be licensed whenever the verb undergoes movement to C^0 and this movement happens practically all the time (according to Kural, 1993). Consider the examples in (82) below. When *mI* occupies a position lower than the C^0, the NPI *hiç* is not licensed even though the verb presumably occupies C^0 in these sentences. The fact that sentences in (82) are ungrammatical suggests that it is the question particle spelling out the interrogative feature in C^0 that licenses NPIs in non-negative matrix YN questions.

82)   a. *Ali hiç Ankara'ya   mı git -ti   -Ø?

           Ali ever Ankara-DAT Q go -PAST-3SG

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[21] Brandtler (2012) does not give an example of Swedish YN question with V2 word order and without an NPI but does state "Not all Swedish YN questions are verb initial; they may marginally also have linear V2 word order. And when they do, they do not license NPIs in the absence of overt s (Brandtler, 2012: 53)."

b. *Ali mi hiç   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø?
    Ali Q   ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG

4.3.2. NPI licensing in embedded YN questions

Licensing of NPIs in embedded non-negative YN questions follows a similar pattern to that of the matrix clauses: in order for NPIs to be licensed in these clauses, the question particle *mI* must occupy C^0 in the embedded clause. Supporting evidence for this argument comes from the interaction of *mI* with the complementizers discussed in § 4.2. Consider the examples in (83) and (84). The NPI *hiç* 'ever' in the embedded clause is licensed in (83a) while it is not in (83b). The two clauses differ in that (83a) is a tensed embedded clause with no nominal morphology, while (83b) is a nominalized embedded clause which displays nominal morphology typical of Turkish complement clauses. Recall that I follow Kural (1993) in assuming that the nominal morphology found on embedded clauses with *-DIK* is composed of the past tense marker *-DI* and *-K* and that I assume that *-K* is a complementizer, based on Kural's analysis. Given this assumption, it is not surprising that the sentences in (83a) and (83b) differ in whether they license the NPI. This is because the embedded C^0 is occupied by *mI* in (83a), while it is occupied by *-K* in (83b), so in this example, *mI* is not in C^0 and the NPI is not licensed.

83)   a. [Ali hiç Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi $_{CP}$] bil   -iyor   -um.
        Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q   know -PRES.PROG -1SG
      'I know whether Ali ever went to Ankara.'

    b. *[Ali'nin hiç   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -ğ $_{CP}$]-in   -i   mi bil
        Ali-GEN ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-COMP   -POSS.3SG -ACC Q   know
        -iyor   -um?
        -PRES.PROG -1SG

Similarly, the NPI is licensed in (84a), but not in (84b), both of which contain an embedded clause introduced by *diye*. Sentences in (84) differ in what position *diye* occupies in them: In (84a), as indicated by the interpretation, *diye* introduces an adverbial expression of manner. Recall that in this configuration, *diye* occupies the head of AdvP

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which takes a CP as its complement. Thus, in (84a), *diye* does not block the embedded *mI* from occupying the C^0 position of its complement CP and the NPI is, therefore, licensed in this sentence. On the other hand, the NPI is not licensed in (84b) because *diye* itself occupies the embedded C^0, as again indicated by the fact that the *diye*-clause in (84b) denotes reason. Given the discussion in § 4.2, which lead us to conclude that multiple question particles in multiclausal sentences are not possible if the embedded clause is nominalized or hosts a CP-level *diye*, I argue that *mI* occupies the embedded C^0 in (83a) and (84a) because it enters the derivation as the Foc^0 head in the embedded clause and raises to C^0 of its own clause, just as it does in matrix YN questions.

84)   a. Oya [[hiç sigara iç -ti -m mi _{CP}] diye _{AdvP}] bağır -dı -Ø.

       Oya   ever cigarette smoke-PAST-1SG Q   saying   shout -PAST-3SG

       'Oya shouted "Did I ever smoke?".'

   b. Oya [[(*hiç) sigara iç -ti -m diye _{CP}] mi bağır -dı -Ø?

       Oya   ever   cigarette smoke-PAST-1SG saying   Q   shout -PAST-3SG

Another issue that needs considering is whether an NPI inside the embedded clause is licensed when the question particle occupies the matrix C^0. For clauses with the CP-level *diye*, the answer is no. Consider examples (85) and (86). (85) is ambiguous because the NPI *hiç* 'at all' can be interpreted both as part of the embedded and matrix clause. This is possible because both clauses have an NPI licensor: The embedded clause contains negation and the matrix clause contains the sentence-final question particle. As a result, both meanings given in (85b-c) are possible: the reading in (85b) arises if the NPI *hiç* 'at all' is licensed by the matrix *mI* (in C^0), and the reading in (85c) arises if the NPI is licensed by the embedded negation. However, the ambiguity is not present in (86). The NPI *hiç* in (86a) can only be interpreted as part of the matrix clause because the embedded clause does not contain a licensor.

85)   a. Oya hiç sigara iç -me -di -m diye bağır -dı -Ø mı?

       Oya ever cigarette smoke-NEG -PAST-1SG saying shout -PAST-3SG Q

   b. 'Did Oya ever shout because I didn't smoke?'

   c. 'Did Oya shout because I didn't ever smoke?'

86) a. Oya hiç sigara   iç   -ti -m diye   bağır -dı -Ø mı?
        Oya ever cigarette smoke-PAST-1SG saying shout -PAST-3SG Q

     b. 'Did Oya ever shout because I smoked?'

     c. *'Did Oya shout because I ever smoked?'

The structures corresponding to (86b-c) are shown in (87). (87a) underlies the reading (86b) and it is grammatical because the question particle and the NPI are both in the matrix clause and *mI* licenses the NPI. (87b), on the other hand, is ungrammatical because on that structure, *mI* is not local to *hiç* and cannot license it.

87) a. Oya hiç [sigara   iç   -ti -m diye CP] bağır -dı -Ø mı?
        Oya ever cigarette smoke-PAST-1SG saying   shout -PAST-3SG Q

     b. *Oya [hiç sigara   iç   -ti -m diye CP] bağır -dı -Ø mı?
         Oya ever cigarette smoke-PAST-1SG saying   shout -PAST-3SG Q

The same is true of examples in (88). The NPI is obligatorily interpreted as modifying the matrix predicate, indicating that it is only licensed by *mI* when *mI* occupies a position in the matrix clause. The word order in (88a) is confusing because the NPI *hiç* appears between the subject and the locative phrase of the embedded clause, but only modifies the matrix predicate. This is probably because the subject of the embedded clause *Ali'nin* 'Ali's' scrambles around to a position to the left of *hiç* as shown in (88a). The data in (86), (87), and (88) thus suggest that *mI* can only license NPIs if they are a part of the same clause.

88) a. Ali'nin$_i$ hiç [t_i Ankara'ya   git-ti   -ğ   CP]-in   -i   duy -du
        Ali-GEN ever   Ankara-DAT go-PAST -COMP   -POSS.3SG -ACC hear -PAST
        -n   mu?
        -2SG Q

     b. 'Did you ever hear that Ali went to Ankara?'

     c. *'Did you hear that Ali ever went to Ankara?'

4.3.3. Summary and Discussion

In this chapter, I discussed the structure of matrix and embedded YN questions. Based on the linear ordering of verbal morphology found on the verb, I argued that the question particle *mI* enters the derivation as the head of the FocP, which is above the TP since, as discussed earlier, *mI* cannot intervene between the verb and the tense marker (Özyıldız, 2015). Next, I offered an account for the distribution of *mI* on various elements in the sentence, namely the object, subject, and the verb itself. According to my proposal, once *mI* enters the derivation, it has two options: It either undergoes lowering to the constituent that is focused in the question, or it is picked up by the verb on its way to C^0 (Kural, 1993). Contrary to approaches that employ different base positions for *mI* depending on whether it surfaces on the verb or on a different constituent (Aygen, 2007; Besler, 2000; Kamali, 2011; Yücel, 2012), I argued for a single base position that accounts for the properties of the question particle in a simpler and more economical way. Besler (2000) argues that *mI* enters the derivation as sister to V^0 when it surfaces on the verb and in other cases it is base-generated as sister to the phrase that it marks. When the relationship between verbal morphology and the question particle is considered, Besler fails to account for the fact that *mI* cannot be placed between the verb and the tense marker. This is not a problem in my account since I argue that *mI* starts out from a position higher than the tense marker, so it seems very plausible that it follows the tense marker. Actually, the impossibility of *mI* to precede tense morphology is a problem for all the accounts that I review in this study except for Özyıldız's (2015) since they all follow Besler's proposal for cases in which the question particle surfaces on the verb. Kamali (2011) proposes a third configuration in which the question particle is regarded as a second position clitic in the *v*P domain. She does this to also account for the availability of the wide-scope reading when the question particle is pre-verbal and marks the constituent that immediately precedes the verb. In this study, I tried to account for this through showing that one of the positions to which *mI* can lower is above the *v*P, thus yielding a wide-scope reading of the question. This explanation strikes me as more parsimonious because it does not introduce multiple positions for the base-generation of the question particle. It is therefore simpler and more economical than that of Kamali's (2011).

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In this chapter, I also argued for the claim that in order for an NPI to be licensed in non-negative YN questions, the question particle must spell out the interrogative feature on C^0. This proposal is based on Progovac's (1994) argument that in English, an overt element needs to be present in C^0 in order for NPIs to be licensed in the absence of another licensor. Since English does not have a question particle, this is achieved through complementizers or T-to-C movement. In Turkish; however, neither the complementizers nor the raised verb license NPIs on their own: only the overt placement of the question particle on C^0 can license NPIs in the absence of another licensor. The question particle comes to occupy C^0 through V-to-C movement. The verb passes through Foc^0 and the question particle is picked up. That way, they move to C^0 together and NPIs are licensed. Supporting evidence for this argument comes from data in which we can show (through interaction with other elements, such as *diye* and *-DIK*) that NPIs are licensed only when *mI* occupies C^0 and not otherwise. In other words, I showed that non-negative YN questions license NPIs only in configurations in which *mI* is on the verb and no overt complementizer is present in C^0.

Given the analysis that I presented so far of NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions in Turkish, an interesting question arises as to how native speakers of Turkish acquire a language where NPIs in such constructions are licensed differently. In the next section, I examine the second language acquisition of one such language, English.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPERIMENT

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Whether the differences and similarities between the syntax of different languages affect the process of second language acquisition is a highly studied field of research. To this date, there have been arguments and discussions of how the structure of L1 interferes with the process of acquisition of an L2. One of the hypotheses that has gained a huge amount of attention in the field is the Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis (FTFAH) (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1994). According to FTFAH, second language acquisition is a process that is highly affected by the L1s of the learners. Broadly speaking, the structures of L1 are fully transferred when constructing the basis for the L2. Structural similarities between L1 and L2 affect the learning process positively, while structural differences delay the acquisition process since learners need to reconstruct the knowledge they transfer from their L1s. The full access component of the FTFAH states that the apparatus of Universal Grammar (UG) is fully accessible while reconstructing the parameters of the L2. However, access to UG can only be tested when the L2 structure to be acquired is different from L1 and cannot be detected by learners in the input they are exposed to. Since the use of NPIs can be acquired through positive evidence in the input, the Full Access component of the hypothesis is irrelevant for the aim of this study.

The part of the FTFAH that is related to this study is the Full Transfer part. As will be made clear in the next section, the overall aim of this study is to see whether L2 learners of English (with L1 Turkish) transfer their knowledge of NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions to their L2 English. The two languages are both similar and different regarding NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions (both matrix and embedded): While NPI licensing in matrix YN questions is similar in both languages – NPIs are licensed if an element (auxiliary in English, the question particle *mI* in Turkish) raises to C^0 – the two languages differ in how NPIs are licensed in embedded YN questions since Turkish does not have interrogative complementizers while English does. This situation allows us to test whether L1 transfer involves not only transfer of structures, but also of *grammatical mechanisms* involved in licensing of various elements. In particular, if L2 learners of English with L1 Turkish transfer their native language mechanism of NPI licensing into their L2 (at least in the very initial phases of SLA), we would expect them to perform better on matrix questions than on embedded questions that contain NPIs. I defer the discussion of the exact predictions of my proposal to section 5.2 of this chapter and continue with the overview of literature.

5.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue whether speakers' L1 affects their L2 regarding NPI licensing has been investigated in the literature. For example, Song (2003) investigated whether the patterns of NPI licensing are transferred from the learners' L1 Korean to their L2 English. In English, NPIs must be in the scope of a local or a long-distance licensor. This is the exact opposite of Korean. The NPI and the licensor must be clausemates, but no c-command relation between the licensor and the NPI is necessary in Korean. Song tested whether NPI licensing configurations from L1 Korean are transferred into L2 English using a production task in which the participants were shown pictures and were asked questions related to the pictures that forced the participants to use NPIs in their answers. Song reports that the differences between the two languages do not affect the L2 of learners. To be more specific, L2 learners of English with L1 Korean do not use NPIs in the subject

position, a case that is impossible in English, but possible in Korean. There are two possible reasons behind this, according to Song. Either this is because learners are not exposed to such data during their learning process or they receive explicit instruction to use negative words in subject position rather than NPIs.[22]

In a later (2007) study, Song investigates whether L2 Korean learners with L1 English can follow native-like patterns regarding *wh*-object questions with NPIs in Korean. Korean is a *wh*-in-situ language and canonically, *wh*-questions have the SOV word order but scrambling the *wh*-word and having the OSV word order is also acceptable. Interestingly, *wh*-object questions with NPIs have the OSV word order obligatorily, indicating that scrambling of the *wh*-object in such questions is compulsory. Relevant Korean examples are shown in (89) and (90). Based on Beck and Kim (1997), the contrast between (90a) and (90b) is due to the intervention effect caused by the NPI *amwuto* 'anyone'. Simply, interrogative *wh*-phrases cannot be c-commanded by NPIs in Korean (Song, 2007; Song & Schwartz, 2009).

89)   a. Swuna -ka   mwues-ul   sa -ass -ni?   *SOV*
            Swuna -NOM what   -ACC buy -PAST-Q
            'What did Swuna buy?'

         b. Mwues -ul   Swuna -ka   sa -ass -ni?   *OSV*
            what   -ACC Swuna -NOM buy -PAST-Q
            'What did Swuna buy?'

90)   a. *Amwuto mwues-ul   sa -ci anh -ass -ni?   *SOV*
            anyone what   -ACC buy -ci NEG -PAST-Q

         b. Mwues -ul   amwuto sa -ci anh -ass -ni?   *OSV*
            what   -ACC anyone   buy -ci NEG -PAST-Q
            'What didn't anyone buy?'   (Song & Schwartz; 2009: 326)

A parallel intervention effect is not present in English. To see whether L2 Korean learners

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[22] Song (2003) does not discuss the possibility of access to the UG. To my interpretation, the reason why English L2 learners with L1 Korean do not use NPIs in subject position can also be due to the accessibility of the UG to the learners.

with L1 English show native-like performance, an elicited production task and an acceptability judgement task were conducted on adult L2 Korean learners. The results showed that L2 Korean learners with L1 English know that *wh*-object must be scrambled as in (90b) in order to obviate the intervention effect. According to Song (2007), the results indicate that adult L2 acquisition is constrained by the UG in a similar way L1 acquisition is since learners are sensitive about an L2 parameter which is non-existent in their L1.

Ağçam (2008), and Can and Ağçam (2011) conducted a study with high and low proficiency level adult L2 learners of English with L1 Turkish regarding the acquisition of *any*-type NPIs. To achieve this, they used a sentence completion task to measure how proficient the two groups are in using NPIs to complete the sentences. The results of their study showed that participants with high proficiency levels performed better than the low proficiency group. Lower-proficiency participants are noted to use *anything* and *nothing* interchangeably more often than the participants with advanced English. The reason behind the interchangeable use of *anything* and *nothing* is probably due to the differences between the two languages. English does not allow multiple negations in the sentence while such constructions are permitted in Turkish. As a result, it is possible to take L1 transfer into consideration for learners with low proficiency levels.

Serindağ (2001) investigated German learners with L1 Turkish through a translation task in which the participants were asked to translate Turkish sentences that include *hiç*-type NPIs into German. Serindağ reported that participants were able to translate *hiç*-type NPIs into German with no problems. However, like Ağçam (2008), and Can and Ağçam (2011), L1 intervention was also detectable through the use of multiple negations, which, like in English, is also not permitted in German.

Overall, aforementioned studies show some differences and similarities in their results regarding the acquisition of NPIs in L2 English. Song (2003) reports no L1 transfer effect while Song and Schwartz (2009), Ağçam (2008), and Can and Ağçam (2011), and Serindağ (2001) report having found a higher rate of L1 intervention in low proficiency learners than in the high proficiency ones. L2 English learners seem to follow native-like patterns at the later stages of L2 acquisition. My study is designed to test whether adult

native speakers of Turkish transfer the NPI licensing mechanism of their native language (which I argued for in Chapter 4) into their L2 English. In the next section, I describe the rationale behind the study in some detail.

5.3. BACKGROUND

The aim of the study is to examine possible cross-linguistic influence of Turkish on the acquisition of English, which may result from the differences in the grammar of the two languages based on the analysis of NPI licensing that I argued for in Chapter 4. In particular, I am interested in how NPIs are licensed in non-negative matrix and embedded YN questions in L2 English.

As discussed in Chapter 4, I argued for an analysis on which the question particle *mI* in Turkish enters the derivation as the head of the FocP above the TP and it either undergoes lowering to the position it occupies or is picked up by the verb and moves to C^0. NPIs are licensed only in the latter case. In English, however, a question particle does not exist. Matrix YN questions are formed through subject-aux inversion and it is the movement of the auxiliary that licenses NPIs in the absence of negation or some other NPI licensor. The examples that show the contrast between the two languages are given in (91) and (92) below. In Turkish, *mI* moves from Foc^0 to C^0 (together with the verb) to mark the YN question in (91a) while in English, this is done through T-to-C movement of the auxiliary *did*.[23] Thus, the two languages share the general mechanism that licenses NPIs in matrix non-negative YN questions: the interrogative feature on C^0 is spelled out through movement of an element (auxiliary/question particle) to C^0.

91)   a. Ali Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø.
             Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG
             'Ali went to Ankara.'
        b. Ali Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi?
             Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q

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[23] See Chapter 2 for detailed information about the question particle in Turkish.

‘Did Ali go to Ankara?’

92)   a. Ali went to Ankara.
       b. Did Ali go to Ankara?

Licensing of NPIs in non-negative embedded YN questions is, however, different in the two languages. In Turkish, *mI* again raises from Foc^0 to C^0 to mark embedded YN questions; there are no interrogative complementizers in Turkish. In English, however, embedded YN questions are marked with the interrogative complementizers *if* and *whether*, which are base-generated in C^0. Examples of English and Turkish embedded YN questions are shown in (93). Recall from § 4.2 that *mI* can originate inside the embedded clause only if the embedded clause is a full-fledged CP and headed by no overt complementizer. In (93a), the embedded YN question is constructed the way same as a matrix question: The question particle enters the derivation as the head of the FocP of the embedded CP and undergoes movement to the embedded C^0 along with the verb. English however, does not feature auxiliary fronting in embedded YN questions. Such questions are marked by interrogative complementizers *whether* and *if*.

93)   a. Ali Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi merak   ed -iyor   -um.
          Ali Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q   curiosity do -PRES.PROG -1SG
          'I wonder if Ali went to Ankara.'

94)   a. I wonder if Ali went to Ankara.
       b. *I wonder did Ali go to Ankara.

While the two languages seem to be very different from one another in constructing YN questions in general, they share some interesting similarities as well, when NPI licensing is considered.[24] Based on the analysis presented in Chapter 4, in Turkish matrix and embedded YN questions, as well as in English matrix YN questions, NPIs are licensed through movement to C^0. In Turkish, this is the movement of the question particle along with the verb in both matrix and embedded contexts. In English, on the other hand, this is

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[24] I refer the reader back to § 4.3 for a detailed discussion regarding NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions in Turkish.

achieved through T-to-C movement of the auxiliary in matrix questions, but not in embedded questions. In English embedded questions, NPIs are licensed without inversion: no element undergoes movement to C^0 because the C^0 position in the embedded clause is already occupied by *if/whether*. I assume that since English does not have a question particle, any element that spells out the interrogative feature on C^0 licenses NPIs in the absence of negation (based on Progovac, 1994). Examples (95) and (96) below illustrate matrix and embedded YN questions without negation in both Turkish and English.

95)   a. Ali hiç   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi?
           Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q
           'Did Ali ever go to Ankara?'
        b. Ali hiç   Ankara'ya   git -ti   -Ø   mi merak   ed -iyor   -um.
           Ali ever Ankara-DAT go -PAST-3SG Q   curiosity do -PRES.PROG -1SG
           'I wonder whether Ali ever went to Ankara.'

96)   a. Did Ali ever go to Ankara?   *matrix*
        b. I wonder whether Ali ever went to Ankara.   *embedded*

These differences between Turkish NPI licensing on the one hand, and English NPI licensing on the other create interesting predictions for testing whether learners posit their L1 grammar as the starting point in the acquisition of their L2 and whether a licensing operation (like movement of an element to C^0) as opposed to the resulting representation (an overt element present in C^0) is transferred from L1 to L2. Given that in Turkish embedded non-negative YN questions, NPIs are licensed by movement (of *mI* to C^0), and in English they are licensed by base-generating an interrogative complementizer in C^0, if Full Transfer hypothesis is correct and if learners can transfer grammatical operations that partake in licensing configurations, we might expect beginner level learners of L2 English to reject NPIs in embedded English questions and accept them in matrix questions.

5.4. THE STUDY

Given the background on NPI licensing in non-negative YN question in English and

Turkish in the previous section, the aim of this study is to see whether Turkish native speakers who are learning English as a second language transfer their L1 knowledge to their L2 in the early stages of L2 acquisition since it is at this stage that L1 intervention is more prominent (Odlin, 2003).

5.4.1. Participants

Participants in the experiment were a total of 59 L2 learners of English (32 males, 27 females) who are enrolled in a preparatory school in a state university in Ankara, Turkey. Age of the participants ranged between 18 and 23 ($M = 19.52$, $SD = 1.03$). In the self-evaluation task, participants rated various aspects of their English proficiency. Self-evaluation was used in determining the overall proficiency levels of the participants based on literature indicating that they are as reliable as standardized tests (Blanche & Merino, 1989; Marian, Blumenfeld, & Kaushanskaya, 2007; Ross, 1998). Self-evaluation survey included 6 questions in which participants were asked to score themselves from 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent). The questions asked about the participants' overall proficiency, speaking skills, listening comprehension, writing skills, reading skills, and how comfortable they feel while using English. Participants were chosen from a low English proficiency group because in the earlier stages of L2 acquisition, transfer from L1 to L2 is more likely to take place (Odlin, 2003).

The participants rated their overall English proficiency at 5.54, their speaking skills at 5.28, their listening skills at 4.77, writing skills at 5.96, and reading skills at 6.42. They rated their overall feeling of comfort while using English at 5.3. When the mean scores of these variables are combined, participants' average rate on this task was 5.55. This is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for the self-evaluation task (n = 59 for all variables)

	Overall	Speaking	Listening	Writing	Reading	Comfort	Average
M	5.54	5.28	4.77	5.96	6.42	5.3	5.55
SD	1.5	1.91	2.2	1.79	1.72	1.94	1.44

M = means, *SD* = standard deviation

5.4.2. Materials

A Grammaticality Judgement Task was developed, consisting of 40 English sentences. Of the 40 items, eight were experimental sentences and 32 were fillers. Experimental items included four matrix non-negative YN questions in English with an NPI and four embedded non-negative YN questions in English with an NPI. The NPIs used in these items were *any* and *ever*. Examples of both embedded and matrix experimental items are given in (97). These items were distributed across two lists, so that if a participant sees the item in (97a), that participant does not see the item in (97b) and vice versa.

97)   a. Do you like any doctors?

        b. John often wonders if you like any doctors.

The filler items consisted of both interrogative and declarative items. These items varied between being grammatical (8 items) or ungrammatical (24 items), affirmative (24 items) or negative (8 items), biclausal (16 items) or monoclausal (16 items). No NPIs were used in these items and they remained the same in the two lists. Some examples of filler items are given in (98).

98)   a. Should I open the window?

        b. *Does she smokes cigarettes?

        c. I don't wonder if the house is on sale.

        d. *He believing that I get paid more.

The items in the instrument were pseudo-randomized so that neither list contained more

than three consecutive items of the same kind.

5.4.3. Procedure

Before the main experiment, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire in which they were asked to state their age, gender, language background, and self-evaluate their overall proficiency in English. After the background questionnaire, participants were asked the judge the given sentences in terms of their grammaticality on a scale from 1 (completely ungrammatical) to 5 (completely grammatical). The data were gathered through a web-based surveying tool (Google Forms) and participants were only allowed to complete the task once.

5.4.4. Analysis and Results

After data collection was completed, data from the two lists were merged together and treated as a single list for analysis. After examining the mean scores of the filler items, participants who scored on average lower than 70% (3.5 or below) were excluded from the analysis. Out of 59 participants, 37 obtained a sufficient score on filler items and their scores on the experimental items were entered into the analysis. The mean scores obtained by the participants were 3.6 for the matrix non-negative YN questions ($SD = .72$) and 3.46 for embedded non-negative YN questions ($SD = .73$). Visual representation of both items is shown in Figure 1.

To see if there was a significant difference between the mean scores of the matrix and embedded experimental items, a paired samples t-test was conducted. The results showed that the mean difference between embedded and matrix items was statistically non-significant ($t(36) = 1.03$, $p = .3$, $r^2 = .17$). This means that participants were equally successful in rating the grammaticality of matrix and embedded non-negative YN questions with NPIs.
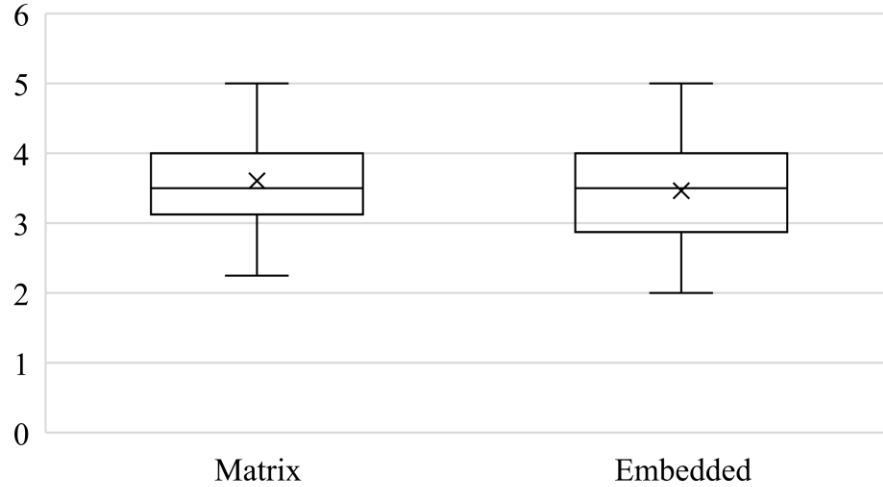
Figure 1. Box plots for matrix and embedded items

5.5. DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to see whether L1 Turkish native speakers in early stages of L2 English acquisition transfer their L1 knowledge regarding NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions to their L2, based on the analysis presented in Chapter 4. I argued that English and Turkish follow a similar pattern in NPI licensing in YN questions: both languages spell out the interrogative feature on C^0 in order to license NPIs. In matrix YN questions, it is the auxiliary that spells out the interrogative feature on C^0 through T-to-C movement in English. In Turkish, it is done through the movement of the question particle to C^0. In embedded questions in Turkish, the question particle also must move to C^0 in order for NPIs to be licensed. However, English does not feature such movement in embedded questions. They are formed through embedded complementizers *whether* and *if*. It is these elements that spell out the interrogative feature in embedded clauses and are responsible for NPI licensing in the absence of negation. Based on this contrast, it was expected that participants would accept NPIs in matrix YN questions more than the ones in embedded questions because the licensing pattern in matrix, but not in embedded YN questions in English parallels the one in Turkish. However, the results indicated that different NPI licensing mechanisms in L1 Turkish were not transferred to the participants'

L2 English. Yet again, it should be noted that L1 intervention on the existing mechanisms in the learners' L2 is very challenging to detect and ideally, requires more complex and detailed experiment designs. As a result, it is unsafe to make generalizations regarding language transfer at the mechanism level with the experiment design employed in this thesis since it only focuses on the outcome.[25]

There are various ways to interpret the results of the study, i.e., the absence of L1 influence in the licensing of NPIs in L2 English. The first one is that participants may have been exposed to explicit instruction about how to use NPIs in non-negative YN questions in English, a possibility which is also put forward by Song (2003). However, given that my participants were of low proficiency levels or at least they attended classes that are aimed at low proficiency learners, it seems unlikely that they received explicit instructions about the use of NPIs in general, let alone in non-negative YN questions. The second possibility is that the Full Transfer account of the FTFA Hypothesis is simply incorrect. In this sense, the results of the study are in contradiction with the studies that consistently report L1 intervention effects in NPI licensing (Ağçam, 2008; Can & Ağçam 2011; Song & Schwartz, 2009).

Yet another possibility is that learners do not transfer grammatical mechanisms from their native language to their L2, but rather only the resulting representations. There are non-trivial lexical differences between Turkish and English; namely, Turkish has a question particle and English does not. Learners might be well aware of this fact – the fact that English does not have a question particle – so, they assume that it is of no importance what spells out the interrogative feature on C^0; it is the fact that this feature is spelled out that is sufficient. Whether the mechanism that spells out the relevant feature is movement or lexical insertion is of no consequence. This may be why no L1 transfer is indicated by the results.

The last possibility is that my participants were already too advanced in English proficiency to show the effects of L1 interference (recall that their average mean score on

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[25] I thank Duygu Özge for bringing this to my attention.

the self-evaluation was the 5.55 out of 10). Thus, while the possibility of explicit instruction on the use of NPIs in the relevant contexts remains unlikely, it is possible that at an earlier stage in L2 acquisition, the participants would reveal the relevant difference between NPI licensing in matrix and embedded questions. Given the absence of sufficient literature regarding NPI licensing in SLA in Turkish and other languages, further studies are needed to shed light into this particular phenomenon.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this study is to account for the distribution of NPIs in non-negative YN questions in Turkish. I argued that NPIs are licensed in non-negative YN questions only if the interrogative feature on C^0 is spelled out by the question particle *mI*. I based my arguments on the previous proposal put forward for English by Progovac (1994). The main challenge while arguing for this was to take into consideration the different properties of the question particle listed in (56) in § 4.1 and to accommodate them in my analysis. Unlike the existent literature on the question particle and its relationship with different elements in the sentence (except for Özyıldız, 2015), I argued for a unique base-generation position of *mI* and I proposed a placement algorithm that accounts for the different surface positions of the question particle, as well as its interaction with NPI licensing. I argued that the same mechanism holds for both matrix and embedded YN questions. Compared to other analyses (Aygen, 2007; Besler, 2000; Kamali, 2011; Yücel, 2012), the analysis I argued for in this study seems to be more economical in explaining the different properties of the question particle in Turkish, the structure of YN questions, and the licensing of NPIs in these constructions.

As a secondary objective, based on my analysis on Turkish and the differences and similarities I identified between English and Turkish in NPI licensing in non-negative YN questions, an experiment was conducted to investigate if low proficiency L2 English

learners with L1 Turkish transfer their knowledge of NPI licensing in Turkish into their L2 English. The difference between the two languages was that in embedded YN questions, NPIs are licensed through movement of the question particle to C^0 in Turkish while in English this is achieved through the insertion of interrogative complementizers *if* and *whether*. In matrix YN questions, however, both languages show similar patterns: NPIs are licensed through movement to C^0.

In order to test this, an acceptability judgement task was administered to low proficiency learners of L2 English with L1 Turkish and the results showed that they found English matrix and embedded YN question with NPIs equally acceptable, suggesting that no transfer of the NPI licensing mechanism from L1 has taken place. This might be because the learners are already too proficient and have overcome the phase in which such transfer would have been detectable, or they may have received explicit instruction regarding the use of NPIs in YN questions, or because they are aware that English does not have a question particle, they infer that it does not matter what spells out the interrogative feature on C^0 (or how that element gets to occupy C^0), as long as the interrogative feature is spelled out.

One important aspect of the research that needs further attention is the relationship between the question particle *mI* and overt complementizers in Turkish. This is because the boundaries of embedded clauses are not very clear in Turkish since the complementizer status of various elements like *ki* 'that', *diye* 'saying', and nominalizers like *-DIK*, and *-EcEK* is not entirely settled. Further investigation of these elements will provide a clearer picture about Turkish clause structure and might provide us with new insights into NPI licensing. Finally, in order to test the generalizability of the *mI*-placement algorithm that I proposed in this thesis, the study should be expanded to conjunctions, as well as copula constructions. I leave these topics for further research.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Age : _____

Gender : Male ☐ Female ☐

Which language(s) have you learned (including your first language, in order of acquisition)?

_____

English Language Background:

Please indicate your answers to the following questions:

1) How would you rate…	poor									excellent
your overall proficiency in English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
your speaking skills in English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
your listening comprehension in English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
your writing skills in English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
your reading skills in English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	extremely comfortable								extremely uncomfortable	
2) How comfortable do you feel understanding and using English?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

APPENDIX B: ITEMS OF THE GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK

Please read the sentences below and rate their grammaticality from 1 to 5.	**1** = Completely Grammatical, **3** = Not Sure, **5** = Completely Ungrammatical				
We is getting extra homework.	1	2	3	4	5
Should I open the window?	1	2	3	4	5
The weather isn't nice today.	1	2	3	4	5
She know that the bird is alright.	1	2	3	4	5
Ben are late to the meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
Martha is asking if they arrested anyone.	1	2	3	4	5
James is asking if Jane likes anyone.	1	2	3	4	5
I knows that she cries a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
I knowing that there is milk in the fridge.	1	2	3	4	5
I wonder if I should leave the room.	1	2	3	4	5
I am curious if Maria ever loved me.	1	2	3	4	5
Do you ever play chess?	1	2	3	4	5
Did you speak to any lawyers?	1	2	3	4	5
Lilly like to smoke cigarettes.	1	2	3	4	5
He wanting more ice-cream.	1	2	3	4	5
Do you smell anything?	1	2	3	4	5
I believing that Johnny is at school.	1	2	3	4	5
She wants to know if I smell anything.	1	2	3	4	5
He believing that I get paid more.	1	2	3	4	5

I go to cinema often very.	1	2	3	4	5
They often wonder if you spoke to any lawyers.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't care if the house is on sale.	1	2	3	4	5
Do you want not more chocolate?	1	2	3	4	5
They thinks that she is married.	1	2	3	4	5
They wonders if Alan got the job.	1	2	3	4	5
Julie can't repairs the bike.	1	2	3	4	5
They knows that the weather is nice.	1	2	3	4	5
Alex doesn't like garlic.	1	2	3	4	5
She aren't wondering if Adam still loves her.	1	2	3	4	5
Travis have a lovely dog.	1	2	3	4	5
I have not an identity card.	1	2	3	4	5
Jake is curious if I ever play chess.	1	2	3	4	5
Laura wants to know if I said anything.	1	2	3	4	5
John often wonders if you like any doctors.	1	2	3	4	5
Did you say anything?	1	2	3	4	5
Did Maria ever love me?	1	2	3	4	5
Does Jane like anyone?	1	2	3	4	5
She want to goes home.	1	2	3	4	5
I believes that the animals are well-fed.	1	2	3	4	5
Don't they live in a house?	1	2	3	4	5
Sally believe that the cat loves to hunt.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't think that he is still at school.	1	2	3	4	5
Does she smokes cigarettes?	1	2	3	4	5
I think that this camera still works.	1	2	3	4	5
I doesn't think that there is a park there.	1	2	3	4	5
Did they arrest anyone?	1	2	3	4	5
Do you like any doctors?	1	2	3	4	5
Bill should studying more.	1	2	3	4	5

TURKISH SUMMARY

1. GİRİŞ

Bu tez, Türkçede olumsuz olmayan evet - hayır sorularında olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilmesini ve bu konunun İngilizcenin ikinci dil olarak edinimiyle ilgili sonuçlarını incelemektedir. Sunulan verilerle, olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerinin Türkçedeki olumsuz olmayan evet - hayır sorularındaki izin verilebilirlik koşullarını ve soru eki *mI*'nın bu hususta oynadığı rolü incelemeyi amaçlanmaktadır. Tartışma temel olarak olumsuz olmayan evet - hayır sorularında olumsuz kutuplanma öğesi bulunabilirliğini belirleyen söz dizimsel kısıtlamalar etrafında dönmektedir. Olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerinin negatif olmayan evet - hayır sorularında sadece soru eki *mI* tümleyici öğenin başında açık bir şekilde bulunuyorsa izin verildiğini bazı diller arası verilere de dayanarak ileri sürmekteyim. Sonrasında ise bu konuda ileri sürdüğüm argümanları kullanarak bu konunun İngilizcenin ikinci dil olarak öğrenimi konusundaki sonuçlarını incelemekteyim.

Türkçede yer alan soru eki *mI*'nın iki temel işlevi vardır. Bu işlevlerden ilki bir tümcenin soru tümcesi olduğunu göstermek ve ikincisi ise bu soru tümcesinin odağını belirlemektir (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997). (1)de görülebileceği üzere, soru eki *mI* tümce içerisinde yer alan neredeyse her kurucu öğeden sonra gelebilmekte ve sorgulanan varlık veya önerme soru eki *mI*'nın bulunduğu yere göre değişmektedir. (1a)da, soru eki *mI* bütün tümceyi kapsamına alırken (geniş kapsam) (1c)de ise soru dar kapsamlıdır. (1b)de ise sorunun anlamı belirsizdir çünkü soru hem geniş ((1b) – Okuma 1) hem de dar kapsamlı ((1b) – Okuma 2) olarak okunabilmektedir.

1) a. Ali Ankara'ya gitti mi?

   b. Ali Ankara'ya mı gitti?

Okuma 1: Ali Ankara'ya gitti mi?

Okuma 2: Ali'nin gittiği şehir Ankara mı?

c. Ali mi Ankara'ya gitti?

Şayet soru olumsuz kutuplanma öğesi içermekte ise soru eki *mI* (1)de olduğu gibi birbirinden farklı kurucuların yanına konuşlanamaz. Bu durum (2)de gösterilmiştir. (2)de yer alan tümcelerden (2a) hariç geri kalanı dil bilgisi dışıdır. Yani bir soru olumsuz kutuplanma öğesi içermekte ise, soru eki *mI*'nın sadece ve sadece tümcenin sonunda yer aldığı durumlarda tümce dil bilgisel olarak doğru kabul edilebilmektedir.

2)   a. Ali hiç Ankara'ya gitti mi?
     b. *Ali hiç Ankara'ya mı gitti?
     c. *Ali mi hiç Ankara'ya gitti?

Peki bu durum neden böyledir? Neden olumsuz kutuplanma öğeleri evet - hayır sorularında sadece soru eki *mI*'nın tümce sonunda yer aldığı durumlarda tümcede bulunabilmektedir? Tezimde içe yerleşik evet - hayır sorularını inceleyerek olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerinin bu tarz çevrelerdeki dağılımına açıklama getirmeye çalıştım ve bunu yaparken de literatürde bulunan incelemelerden daha basit ve ekonomik yöntemler kullanmaya çalıştım. Analizimi sunmadan önce soru eki *mI*'nın tümcede nasıl üretildiğine değinmek gerekmektedir çünkü olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine soru eki *mI* tarafından izin verilebilmesi tamamen içe yerleşik ve ana tümce evet – hayır sorularının yapısına ve soru eki *mI*'nın tümce içerisinde nasıl üretildiğine bağlıdır.

Soru eki mI'nın tümce içerisindeki dağılımı ve üretilmesi ile ilgili çalışmalara bakıldığında Besler'in (2000) çalışması ön plana çıkmaktadır. Temel olarak, Besler (2000) soru eki *mI*'nın iki türlü üretildiğini öne sürmektedir. Bunlardan birincisi, (3a)da gösterildiği üzere, sorunun dar kapsamlı olduğu durumlarda geçerlidir. Besler'e (2000) göre bu durumlarda soru eki *mI* odağına aldığı kurucunun büyükçül yansımasına kardeş ve bağımsız biçim birim olarak üretilmektedir. İkincisi ise sorunun geniş kapsamlı olduğu durumlarda, yani soru eki *mI*'nın fiilden sonra geldiği durumlarda geçerlidir. Bu

durumlarda ise, (3b)de görülebileceği üzere, soru eki *mI* eylem üzerinde bir son ek olarak üretilmektedir.
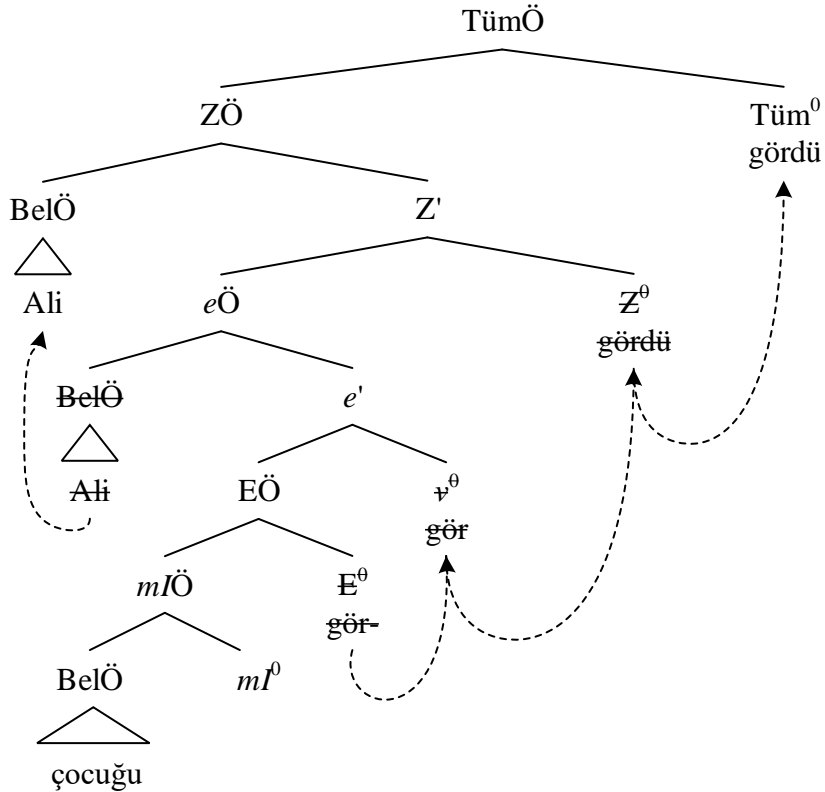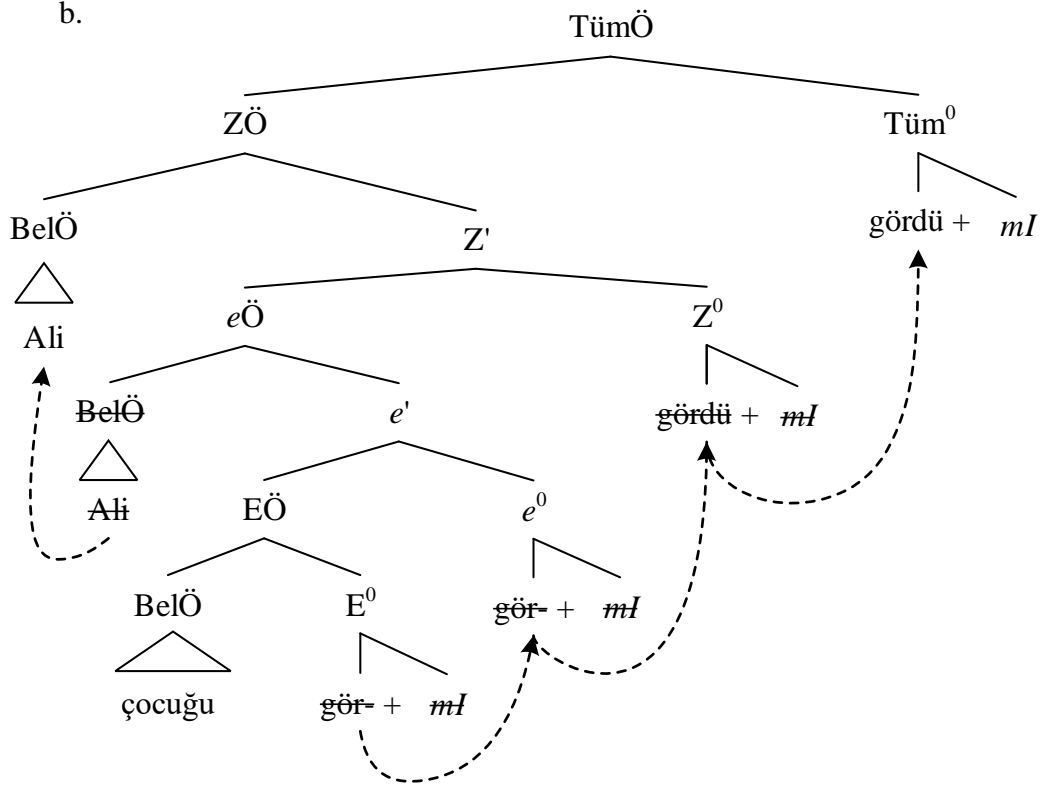
3) a.
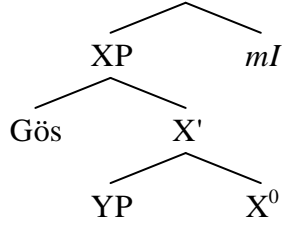
    b.
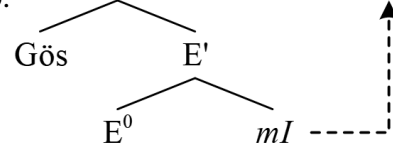
(Besler, 2000: 63 – 69 – 70)

Bu iki durumu da içeren örnekler aşağıda (4)te verilmektedir. (4a)da yer alan örnek soru eki *mI*'nın bağımsız biçim birim olarak belirleyici öbeği *çocuğu*nun yanında üretilmiştir. (4b)de ise eylem üzerinde son ek olarak üretildiği ve eyleme birlikte tümleyici öbeğine doğru taşındığı durum gösterilmektedir.

4) a.

b.

TümÖ

ZÖ — Tüm⁰

(Tüm⁰: gördü + *mI*)

BelÖ △ Ali — Z'

eÖ — Z⁰ (gördü + *mI*)

BelÖ △ Ali — e'

EÖ — e⁰ (gör- + *mI*)

BelÖ △ çocuğu — E⁰ (gör- + *mI*)

Soru eki mI'nın eylem öbeği içerisinde yer alıp da sorunun geniş kapsamlı okumaya sahip olduğu durumlarda ise Kamali (2011) *mI*'nın eylem öbeği içinde ikinci konum biçimce olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu duruma örnek ise aşağıda (5)te verilmiştir. Kamali'ye (2011) göre *mI* durumlarda eylem öbeğinin kardeşi olarak üretilir ve eylem öbeği *mI*'nın kapsamında olduğundan dolayı Okuma 1'deki anlam elde edilebilir. Yine Kamali'ye (2011) göre Okuma 2'deki anlam ise, Besler'in (2000) de ileri sürdüğü gibi, soru eki *mI*, odağına aldığı kurucunun büyükçül yansımasına kardeş ve bağımsız bir biçim birim olarak üretilmektedir.

5) a. Ali hızlı mı yemek yapar?
    Okuma 1: Ali hızlı yemek yapar mı?
    Okuma 2: Ali yemeği hızlı mı yapar?

b.
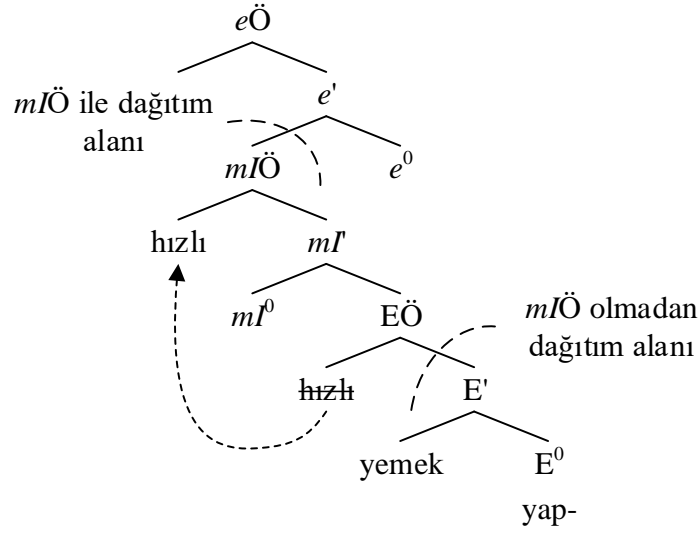
(Kamali, 2011: 8)

Soru ekini söz dizimsel açıdan inceleyen bir diğer araştırma ise Özyıldız'dır (2015). Özyıldız'a (2015) göre soru eki *mI* tümce içerisinde tek bir pozisyonda üretilmekte ve bu pozisyon eylem üzerindeki son ekler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda zaman öbeğinin üzerinde yer almaktadır. (6a)da görülebileceği üzere, soru eki *mI* eylem ve zaman belirleyicisinin arasında bir pozisyonda bulunamamaktadır. Bunun yerine, (6b)de görüldüğü gibi soru eki *mI* zaman belirleyicisinden sonra gelmelidir. Özyıldız'a göre soru eki *mI* zaman öbeği üzerinde odak öbeğinin başı olarak üretilmekte ve soru eki *mI* tarafından odaklanan kurucular zaman öbeğine doğru yer değiştirmektedirler.

6) a. *git -mi -di : E + *mI* + Z
    b. git -ti -mi: E + Z + *mI*

2. İNCELEME

Bahsi geçen incelemeler göz önünde bulundurularak, bu tezde temel olarak 3 iddiada bulunmaktayım:

I. Soru eki *mI* tümce içerisinde zaman öbeğini başatlayan bir odak başı olarak üretilmektedir.

II. Tümce içerisinde üretildikten sonra soru eki *mI* ya alçaltmaya uğrar (Gračanin-Yuksek & Arsenijević, 2017) ya da taşınması sırasında eylem tarafından

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tümleyici başına taşınır (Kural, 1993).

III. Sadece ve sadece tümleyici başına taşınarak bu baştaki sorgulayıcı özelliği açık olarak gerçekleştirir ise olumsuz kutuplanma öğeleri tümce içerisinde bulunabilir (Progovac, 1994).

Soru eki *mI*'nın izlediği ilk yol aşağıda (7)de gösterilmektedir. Buna göre soru eki *mI* tümce içerisinde odak öbeğinin başı olarak üretildikten sonra eylem tarafından tümleyici öbeğinin başına taşınır. Gösterilen bu ilk yol soru eki *mI*'nın fiil üzerinde bulunduğu durumlarda geçerlidir.

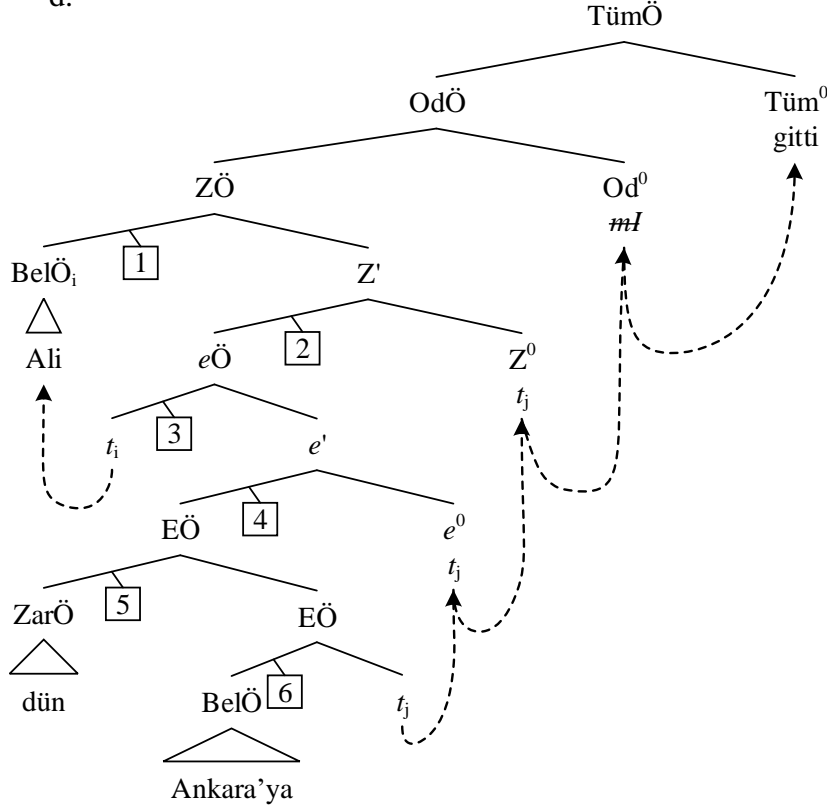7)   a. Ali dün Ankara'ya gitti mi?

   b.
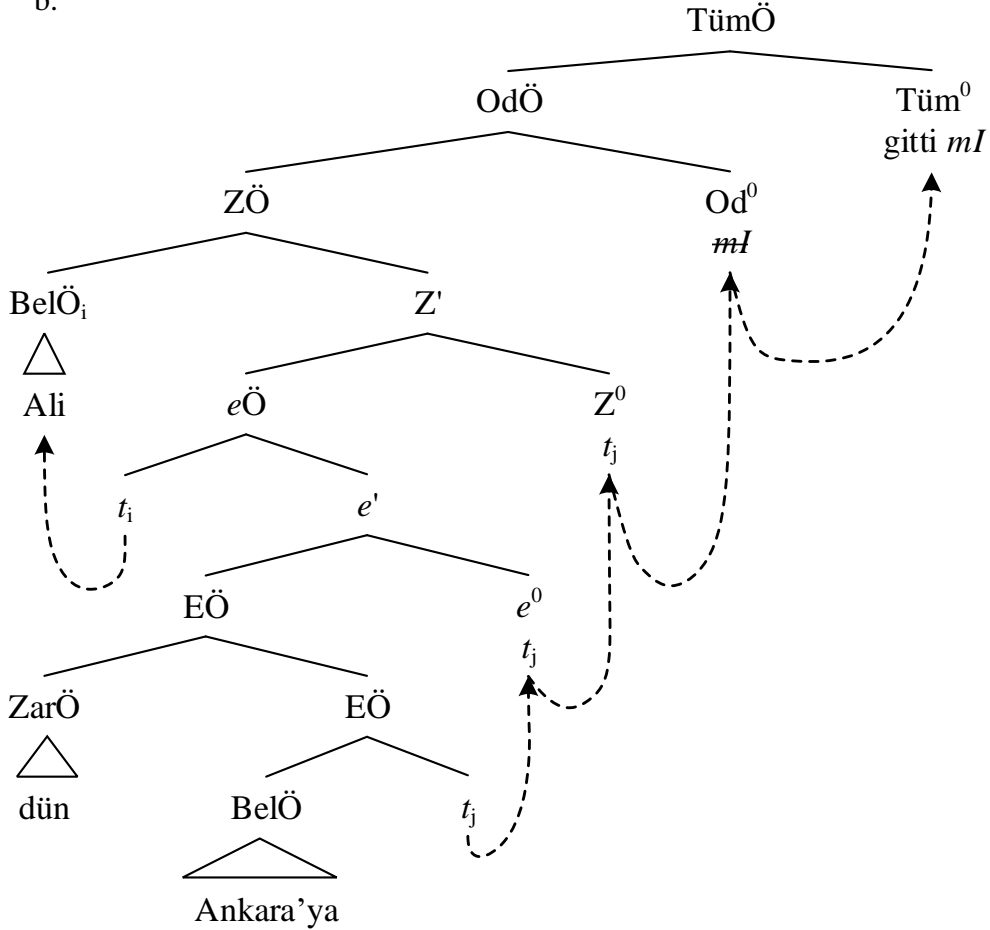
mI'nın izlediği ikinci yol da aşağıda (8)de verilmiştir. Bu yolda da soru eki *mI* birinci yolda olduğu gibi odak öbeğinin başı olarak ve zaman öbeğinin kardeşi olarak üretilir ve

1'den 6'ya kadar numaralandırılmış konumlardan birine doğru alçalmaya uğrar. Alçalma soru eki *mI*'nın üretildiği odak öbeği başının kardeşi olan zaman öbeğinin büyükçül yansımasından başlar ve budağın sol veya sağ dalından gerçekleşir. Eğer sol dalda soru eki *mI*'nın eklemlenip kardeş olabileceği bir budak var ise soru eki *mI* oraya eklemlenir. Bu algoritmada sağ dallar sadece ve sadece türetmede aşağı inmek için kullanılır ve herhangi bir eklemlenme gerçekleştirilemez. Konumu belirleyen konuşucudur ve soru eki *mI*'nın kaç numaralı pozisyona alçalacağı konuşucunun öğrenmek istediği bilgiye göre değişmektedir. Eğer soru eki *mI* Konum 1'e alçalırsa anlam (8a)'ya, Konum 5'e alçalırsa anlam (8c)ye ve Konum 6'ya alçalırsa anlam (8b)deki Okuma 2'ye tekabül eder ve bu durumlarda sorulan soru dar kapsamlıdır. Eğer ki alçalınan konum 2 numaralı konumsa bu sefer soru geniş kapsamlı olmakta ve (8b)deki Okuma 1'deki anlama gelmektedir. Bu farklılığın sebebi ise 1, 5, ve 6 numaralı konularda sadece tek bir kurucu soru eki *mI*'nın kapsamındayken 2 numaralı konumda hem özne hem eylem hem de zarf soru eki *mI*'nın kapsamında olmaktadır. İşte bu yüzden soru eki *mI* Konum 2'ye alçalmışsa elde edilen soru geniş kapsamlı olmaktadır.

8)   a. Ali mi dün Ankara'ya gitti?

       b. Ali dün Ankara'ya mı gitti?

          Okuma 1: Ali dün Ankara'ya gitti mi?

          Okuma 2: Ali'nin dün gittiği yer Ankara mı idi?

       c. Ali dün mü Ankara'ya gitti?

d.

TümÖ
    OdÖ   Tüm⁰
                 gitti
    ZÖ   Od⁰
                mI

BelÖ$_i$ ☐1   Z'
△
Ali   *e*Ö ☐2   Z⁰
                          t_j
         t_i ☐3   *e'*

              EÖ ☐4   *e*⁰
                        t_j
         ZarÖ ☐5   EÖ
         △
         dün   BelÖ ☐6 t_j
                △
              Ankara'ya

Ancak cümle içerisinde olumsuz kutuplanma öğesi bulunmakta ise, (8)de verilen alçalma algoritması geçerliğini yitirmektedir çünkü bu tarz durumlar soru eki *mI* yalnızca birinci yolu takip edebilmektedir (bkz. Örnek (2)). Çünkü sadece bu durumda soru eki *mI* tümleyici öbeğinin başına taşınmakta ve bu baştaki sorgulayıcı özelliği açıkça gerçekleştirmektedir. Buna benzer bir gözlem İngilizce ve İsveççe gibi dillerde de mevcuttur. (9)daki İngilizce örnekte görülebileceği üzere İngilizce sorular (9a)daki gibi devrikleme kullanılmadan sorulabilmektedir. Ancak soruda olumsuz kutuplanma öğesi bulunuyorsa devrikleme kullanmak zorunlu bir hale gelmektedir.

9) a. He complained about his salary?
    b. [??/]*He complained about anything?
    c. Did he complain about anything?   (Progovac, 1994: 76 - 77)

Türkçede ise olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerinin cümlede bulunabilmesi için *mI*'nın tümleyici öbeğinin başına taşınması gerektiğine dair kanıt ise içe yerleşik tümcelerden gelmektedir. (10a) da görüldüğü üzere içe yerleşik soru tümcesinde bulunan olumsuz

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kutuplanma öğesine soru eki *mI* tarafından izin verilmektedir. Ancak bu durum içe yerleşik isim tümcesi içeren (10b)de geçerli değildir. İçe yerleşik isim tümcesinde bulunan olumsuz kutuplanma öğesine *mI* tarafından izin verilememektedir. Bu iki örnek arasındaki karşıtlığın nedeni olarak da soru eki *mI*'nın içe yerleşik isim tümcesinde üretilememesinden kaynaklı olduğunu iddia etmekteyim ve bu iddiamı destekleyen 4 farklı kanıt sunmaktayım.

10) a. Ali [hiç Ankara'ya gitti mi ₜümÖ] biliyorum.

b. *[Ali'nin hiç Ankara'ya gittiğ- ₜümÖ] -ini mi biliyorum?

Bahsettiğim kanıtlardan ilki adlaşmış ve adlaşmamış içe yerleşik tümcelerde soru eki *mI* bulunduğu zaman meydana gelen belirsizlikten dolayı doğmaktadır. Adlaşmış içe yerleşik tümceler eyleme *-DIK* ve *-EcEK* gibi eklerin gelmesiyle oluşturulur ve Kural'a (1993) göre bu tarz eklerin sonun bulunan *-K-* tümleyici öbeğinin başında bulunmaktadır. Adlaşmış ve adlaşmamış içe yerleşik tümcelerdeki anlam belirsizliği farkı soru eki *mI* içe yerleşik tümcenin eyleminden sonra getirildiğinde daha belirgindir. Bu farklar (11)de görülebilir. (11a)da bulunan içe yerleşik tümce adlaşmamıştır ve bu tümceyi kapsayan ana tümcedeki anlam belirsizdir çünkü bu ana tümce hem soru hem de bildirme anlamı taşıyabilir. Öte yandan bu durum (11b)de geçerli değildir çünkü soru eki *mI* adlaşmış içe yerleşik tümcede üretilebilseydi (11b)de de (11a) olduğu gibi ana tümcede bildirme anlamı almamız gerekirdi.

11) a. Ali Ankara'ya gitti mi biliyorsun? / .

b. Ali'nin Ankara'ya gittiğini mi biliyorsun? / *.

İkinci olarak, eğer adlaşmamış içe yerleşik bir tümcede soru eki *mI* üretilebiliyorsa ve ana tümcede de zaten halihazırda bu durum mevcut ise hem ana hem de içe yerleşik bir tümcede aynı anda iki soru eki *mI* üretebilmemiz doğal olarak beklenmektedir. Bu durum ise (12)de görülebilir. (12a)nın dil bilgisel olarak doğru kabul edilmesi ve (12b)nin ise dil bilgisi dışı olması beklentimi doğrulamakta ve adlaşmış içe yerleşik bir tümcede soru eki *mI*'nın üretilemeyeceği iddiamı desteklemektedir.

12) a. [Ali Ankara'ya gitti mi ₜümÖ] biliyor musun?

b.*[Ali'nin Ankara'ya gittiğ ₜümö] -ini mi biliyor musun?

Sunacağım bir diğer kanıt ise eylem üzerinde bulunan belirleyicilerin sırasıdır. (13)te verilen örneklerden sadece (13d) dil bilgisel açıdan kabul edilebilirdir. Eylem üzerindeki ekler incelendiğinde ve içe yerleşik tümceye ve ana tümceye dahil olacak şekilde ikiye ayrıldığında en azından belirtme durumu (BEL) ekinin ana tümcede yer aldığını varsaymamız gerekmektedir. Bu husus göz önünde bulundurulduğunda soru eki *mI* eğer içe yerleşik tümcede üretilmiş olsa idi en azından belirtme durumu ekinden önce gelmesi beklenirdi. Soru eki *mI*'nın ancak ve ancak belirtme durumu ekinden sonra gelebiliyor olması da soru eki *mI*'nın ana tümcede üretilip alçaldığına dair önemli bir göstergedir.

13) a. *git-mi-tiğ -in -i : EYLEM + *mI* + ADL + İYE + BEL
     b. *git-tiğ -mi-in -i : EYLEM + ADL + *mI* + İYE + BEL
     c. *git-tiğ -in -mi-i : EYLEM + ADL + İYE + *mI* + BEL
     d. git-tiğ -in -i -mi: EYLEM + ADL + İYE + BEL + *mI*

Sunacağım dördüncü ve son kanıt ise bağımsız tümleyicilerle alakalı. Gündoğdu'ya (2017) göre üç farklı çeşit *diye* bulunmaktadır ancak bunlardan sadece ikisi konumuzla alakalıdır. (14a)da bulunan *diye* eylem öbeği seviyesinde bulunur ve *sigara içtim* tümleyici öbeğini tümleç olarak alan zarf öbeğinin başıdır. (14b)deki *diye* ise tümleyici öbeği seviyesindedir ve içe yerleşik tümcedeki tümleyici öbeğinin başıdır ve (14c)ye paralel bir anlam ifade etmektedir.

14) a. Oya "Sigara içtim." diye bağırdı.   *eylem öbeği seviyesi*
     b. Oya sigara içtim diye bağırdı.   *tümleyici öbeği seviyesi*
     c. Oya sigara içtiğim için bağırdı.

(14a) ve (14b)de bulunan *diye*lerin özellikleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine sadece ve sadece eylem öbeği seviyesindeki *diye*nin varlığında soru eki *mI* tarafından izin verilmesi beklenmelidir ve (15)teki örneklerde gösterilen durum da bunu yansıtmaktadır. (15b)deki *diye*nin tümleyici öbeği seviyesinde olması soru eki *mI*'nın tümleyici öbeği başına taşınmasını engellemekte ve soru eki *mI*'nın olumsuz kutuplanma öğesine izin vermesini engellemektedir. (15a)da is *diye* eylem öbeği

seviyesinde bulunduğundan içe yerleşik tümcedeki tümleyici öbeğinin başına eylem tarafından taşınabilmekte ve dolayısıyla bu durumlarda soru eki *mI* olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verebilmektedir.

15)   a. Oya [hiç sigara içtim mi ₜümö] diye ₂arö] bağırdı.

        b. *Oya [hiç sigara içtim mi diye ₜümö] bağırdı?

İncelenen veriler ve yapılan çıkarımlar öneriyor ki olumsuz kutuplanma öğeleri evet - hayır sorularında sadece ve sadece soru eki *mI* tümleyici öbeğinin başına eylem tarafından taşınması durumun bulunabilir. Bu durum ana tümcelerde hep böyle olmakla birlikte içe yerleşik tümcelerde tümleyici öbeğinin soru eki *mI*'nın taşınmasına müsait olup olmamasına bağlıdır. Eğer ki tümleyici öbeğinin başı *diye* gibi bir bağımsız tümleyici içeriyor ise veya içe yerleşik tümcede yer alan fiil adlaşmış bir fiil ise soru eki *mI* bu tarz cümlelerde üretilememekte ve olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilememektedir.

3. DENEY

İleri sürmüş olduğum analizi temel alarak İngilizce ve Türkçe arasındaki farkları incelendiğinde iki dilde olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine içe yerleşik evet – hayır sorularında farklı düzenekler kullanılarak izin verildiği görülmektedir. İki dilde de olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine tümleyici öbeği başının taşınma yoluyla açık olarak gerçekleştirilmesi ile izin verilmektedir. İngilizcede bu devrikleme ile sağlanırken Türkçede ise *mI*'nın eylem tarafından taşınmasıyla gerçekleşmektedir. İçe yerleşik sorularda da Türkçede durum aynıdır ancak İngilizcede devrikleme olmamakla birlikte *whether* ve *if* gibi tümleyicilerin üretilmesiyle gerçekleşir ve tümleyici başına herhangi bir taşıma bulunmaz ancak bu tümleyiciler olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verebilmektedirler. Bu farklılık temel alınarak beklentim Türkçe ana dilli İngilizce ikinci dil konuşucularının İngilizce içe yerleşik evet – hayır sorularında olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerini daha az kabul edeceği yönünde olmuştur. Bunu temel alarak oluşturduğum dil bilgisellik değerlendirme anketinin sonuçlarında ise herhangi bir farklılık tespit edilmemiştir. İkinci dil olarak İngilizce konuşucuları kendi anadillerinde bulunan farklı bir mekanizmada etkilenmemiştir. Yine de not edilmelidir ki anadil ve ikinci dil arasında

düzenek seviyesinde bir dil aktarımını dil bilgisellik değerlendirme testi kullanarak tespit etmek oldukça zorlu bir iştir çünkü bu tarz bir deneyde daha karmaşık ve detaylı deney yöntemleri kullanılmalıdır. Sonuç olarak tezimde kullandığım deneyin sonuçları baz alınarak dil aktarımının varlığından veya yokluğundan söz etmek veya bu konuda bir değerlendirmede veya genellemede bulunmak pek doğru değildir.

Yine de bir değerlendirme yapacak olursak elde edilen sonucu birkaç farklı şekilde yorumlayabiliriz. Bunların ilki katılımcıların halihazırda açık olarak bu konu hakkında eğitime tabi olmuş olabilecekleridir. Yani bir devlet üniversitesinde hazırlık öğrencileri olan katılımcılar işledikleri derslerde bu konu hakkında bilgilendirilmiş olabilirler. Fakat katılımcıların İngilizce düzeylerinin düşük olduğu göz önünde bulundurulursa olumsuz kutuplanma öğeleri hakkında doğrudan bir öğretime tabi tutulduklarını beklemek de çok olası değildir. İkincil olarak ise yapabileceğimiz çıkarım Doğrudan Transfer Doğrudan Erişim Kuramının yanlış olduğudur. Bu bağlamda bakacak olur isek, bu çalışmanın olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilmesinde anadil aktarımının var olduğunu savunan bulgularıyla bunu destekleyen çalışmalarla çelişki içinde olduğu söylenebilir (Ağçam, 2008; Can & Ağçam 2011; Song & Schwartz, 2009).

Varılabilecek bir başka sonuç ise olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilirken kullanıla düzeneğin anadilden ikinci dile aktarılmadığı, ancak içe yerleşik evet -hayır sorularında zaten bu durum mevcut olduğu için konuşucuların bu düzeneğin yarattığı sonucu aktarmış olabileceğidir. İngilizcede evet – hayır sorularını belirten özel bir sözcük olmadığı için tümleyici öğesinin başında bulunan herhangi bir açık sözcük olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilmesi sağlanabilmektedir. Bu husus göz önünde bulundurulduğunda İngilizce ikinci dil konuşucuları için tümleyici öğesinin başındaki herhangi bir kelime bu izin verilmeyi sağlıyor olabilir. Bu da herhangi bir dil aktarımı tespit edilememesinin sebebi olabilir.

Bulgularla alakalı değinmem gereken son nokta ise katılımcıların İngilizce seviyesinin halihazırda yeterli olabileceğidir. İngilizce yeterlik öz değerlendirmede elde edilen ortalama notun 10 üzerinden 5.5 olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda katılımcıların söz konusu yapıyı zaten içselleştirmiş olabileceği de önemli bir noktadır. Sonuç olarak,

olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verilmesi literatürde deneysel olarak çokça çalışılmış bir konu değildir ve bu alana daha iyi ışık tutabilmek için daha çok çalışma yapılması gerekmektedir.

4. DEĞERLENDİRME

Sonuç olarak, bu tez olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerinin evet – hayır cümlelerindeki dağılımını incelemektedir. Temel olarak amacım soru eki *mI*'nın soru tümceleri içerisindeki dağılımına bakarak bu hususta oynadığı rolü ortaya çıkarmak ve bunu yaparken de olabildiğince tutarlı, ekonomik, ve basit olabilmek idi. Bu amaçlarla birlikte, soru eki *mI*'nın tümce içerisinde odak öğeğinin başı olarak üretildiğini ve eylem ile birlikte tümleyici öğeğinin başına taşındığında olumsuz kutuplanma öğelerine izin verildiğini öne sürdüm. Çünkü ancak bu konumda tümleyici öğeğinin başındaki sorgulayıcı özellikler açıkça seslendirilebilmekte idi. Soru eki *mI*'nın bulunabildiği birçok farklı konumun ve bu konumların yarattığı anlam farklılığının ise tümcede üretildikten sonra alçalma yoluyla gerçekleştiğini öne sürmekteyim. Ancak öne sürdüğüm argümanların ne derecede genellenebilir olduğunu görmek için çalışmanın kapsamının genişletilmesi gerektiğini düşünmekteyim. Özellikle *diye* ve *ki* gibi öğelerin gerçekten tümleyici olup olmadıkları hala tartışılmakta olup ayrıca içe yerleşik tümcelerin sınır yapısı da tam olarak çözülebilmiş değildir. Bunlara ek olarak soru eki *mI*'nın koşaçla ve bağlaçlarla olan ilişkisi de göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Bu konular üzerine yoğunlaşılarak bu çalışmada ele aldığım konu ile ilgili daha somut ve genellenebilir argümanlar üretilebileceği kanısındayım.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname   : Kesici

Adı / Name   : Alper

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