Topics in Turkish Syntax: Clausal Structure and Scope

by

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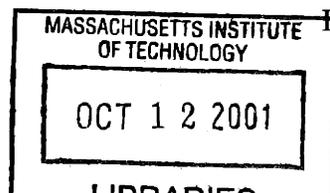
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Abstract

This dissertation asks two main questions for Turkish: (i) what is the interaction between verbal morphology and the structure?, and (ii) what is the interaction between word order and interpretation?

Following Kornfilt (1996) I argue that there are two verbal forms in finite structures: one consists of a participle and a copula, which is inflected for tense and agreement, and the other is a fully inflected verbal form. I propose that the former is formed by a derivation in which the verb moves as far as a functional head such Aspect or Modal, creating a participle. A verbal feature (copula) is inserted at T^0 satisfying its verbal requirement. In the latter case the verb moves all the way up to T^0. No copula is inserted.

The rest of the dissertation focuses on the interaction between structure and quantificational elements. One question addressed is why indefinites marked overtly for accusative case violate scope rigidity, and are interpreted as having wide scope over quantificational elements c-commanding them. It is argued that they do not violate scope rigidity, but rather the unexpected wide scope interpretation is the result of a special interpretative mechanism. Accusative-marked indefinites are interpreted as choice functions. Structures with various quantifiers, indefinites and negative polarity items are discussed, and it is argued that the interpretation of both choice function variables and negative polarity items are subject to intervention effects.

Finally, structures with clausal possessives are analyzed. The discussion focuses on one type of clausal possessive in which the possessor is in the genitive case and the possessee agrees with the possessor. It is shown that this construction is subject to a constraint similar to the *there*-sentences in English in that the possessee cannot be presuppositional. It is argued that the possessor is generated in a constituent within VP with the possessee, but raises to the [Spec, TP]. The possessee remains within VP, and is interpreted non-presuppositionally.

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List of abbreviations and conventions

<u>Abbreviations</u>

acc   accusative

abl   ablative

comm commitative

dat   dative

loc   locative

gen   genitive

neg   negative marker (suffix)

nom   nominative

nomin nominalizer

pass   passive

past   past tense marker

poss   possessive

prog   progressive marker

recip reciprocal

refl   reflexive

<u>Glossing Conventions</u>

✶ glossing system for agreement markers: number marking followed by case if case is present (e.g. 1sg: verbal agreement for 1st person singular, 1pl: verbal agreement for 1st person plural; 1gen: genitive case for 1st person singular etc.)

✶ "Genitive" and "possessive" are the agreement markers for the subject and the head of a noun phrase respectively

✶ Most of the suffixes inTurkish are subject to vowel and/or consonant harmony. Following the conventions of Turkish linguistics, I will represent the vowels and consonants that undergo harmony in capital letters, e.g. the representation –*mEK* means that in this morpheme only *m* stays intact regardless of the phonological environment, while the vowel and the last consonant may change.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will present the goals of this research project, some basic syntactic properties of Turkish that will be relevant for the discussion of the phenomena in the remainder of the dissertation, and give an overview of the chapters to come.

1. Goals of this dissertation

In this dissertation my goal is to contribute to the understanding of the general architecture of Turkish, and its implications for the theory of syntax. The structures discussed include verbal morphology and functional categories, interpretation and scopal properties of indefinites, negative clauses and specifically the interaction of certain logical elements such as quantifiers and NPIs, and existential and possessive clauses. Two main questions throughout this project are how morphology reflects the clausal structure, and how structure reflects scopal relations.

2. Some background

2.1. Word order

Turkish is generally considered to be a canonical SOV language (cf. Lewis (1975); Erguvanlı (1984) and Kural (1993b)). Complements and adjuncts precede heads in unmarked structures, as illustrated in (1a-c):

(1) a. **Main clause**
   Hasan Elif-i aradı.
   Hasan Elif-acc called
   'Hasan called Elif.'

b. **Postpositional phrase**
sen-in için
you-gen for
'for you'

c. **Relative clause with a subject gap**
Hasan-ı   arayan   adam
Hasan-acc who.called. man
'The man who called Hasan.'

d. **Relative clause with an object gap**
Hasan-ın   aradığı adam
whom.Hasan.called man
'The man whom Hasan called.'

2.2. Case-marking

In most of the cases, noun phrases in Turkish are marked for case overtly, nominative is a null morpheme. Here are some examples:

(2)   a. **Nominative**
Hasan-Ø   gel-di.
Hasan-**nom** come-past
'Hasan came.'

b. **Accusative**
Hasan Elif-**i**   aradı.
Hasan Elif-**acc** called
'Hasan called Elif.'

c. **Dative**
Hasan Elif-**e**   baktı.
Hasan Elif-**dat** looked
'Hasan looked at Elif.'

d. **Commitative**
Hasan Elif-**le**   tanıştı.
Hasan Elif-**comm.** met
'Hasan met Elif.'

2.3. Embedded clauses

In Turkish finite embedded clauses are rare. Only complements of *san-* 'think' as an attitude verb and of some postpositions can be finite.

(3)   Finite embedding

    a.   Hasan Elif güldü **sandı**.
            Hasan Elif laughed thought
            'Hasan thought Elif laughed.'

    b.   Hasan Elif gelecek **diye** çok sevindi.
            Hasan Elif will.come **diye** very was.happy
            'Hasan was very happy that Elif would come.'

Most of the embedded clauses, however, are "nominalized". By "nominalized", I mean that they show some of the external and internal characteristics of noun phrases: they show nominal agreement, and they bear case morphology assigned by the matrix predicate. "Nominalization" is accomplished by the so-called nominalizers *–ME(K), –DIK* and *–ECEK-*, which are directly attached to the verb root.[1]

Let me first exemplify nominal agreement and case marking. (4) is a noun phrase with agreement on the subject (possessor) and the head noun (possessee). The agreement markers are labeled as 'genitive' and 'possessive' respectively following the conventions of Turkish linguistics.

(4)   Ben-**im** kitab-ım
        I-**1gen** book-**1possessive**
        'My book.'

In embedded clauses, as well, we see this nominal agreement. The subject carries the genitive marker and the verb carries the possessive marker.

---

[1] Whether or not these nominalizers are monomorphemic is controversial. See Kornfilt (1984), Özsoy (1988) and Kennelly (1993) for a view that holds that they are monomorphemic, and Kural (1993) and Göksel (1997) for the opposite view.

(5)   Ben-**im** aç-tığ-**ım**-ı....
            I-**1gen** open-nomin-**1possessive**-acc...
            'That I opened...'

The embedded predicate also carries the case marking that reflects the case assigned by the matrix predicate.

(6)   **Nominalized embedded clauses**

      a.   Hasan Elif-in   gül-me-sin-**e**   kızdı.
            Hasan Elif-3gen laugh-nomin.-3poss-**dat** got angry
            'Hasan got angry that Elif laughed.'

      b.   Hasan Elif-in   gül-düğ-ün-**ü**   biliyor.
            Hasan Elif-3gen laugh-nomin.-3poss-**acc** knows
            'Hasan knows that Elif is laughing/laughed.'

For more on embedded clauses in Turkish see Kornfilt (1984); Özsoy (1988); Kural (1993a); Kennelly (1993); Göksel (1997) among others.

      Nominalized clauses can be objects as in (6), or subjects as in (7a), or other arguments as in (7b, c, d).

(7)   a.   **Nominative**
            Hasan-ın   gel-diğ-i-∅   doğru değil.
            Hasan-3gen come-DIK-3poss-nom true not
            'Hasan's coming/having come is not true.'

      b.   **Dative**
            Hasan-ın   gel-diğ-in-e   inanamıyorum.
            Hasan-3gen come-DIK-3poss-dat I.can't.believe
            'I can't believe that Hasan is coming.'

      c.   **Ablative**
            Hasan-ın   ben-i unut-ma-sın-dan   korkuyorum.
            Hasan-3gen I-acc forget-ME-3poss-abl I.am.afraid
            'I fear of Hasan's forgetting me.'

      d.   **Instrumental/Commitative**
            Hasan-ın   konuş-ma-sı-yla   dalga geçiyorlar.
            Hasan-3gen talk-ME-3poss-instr.al they.are.making.fun.of
            'They are making fun of Hasan's talking.'

They can also be adjuncts. However, adjunct clauses do not always show agreement.

(8) a. Hasan gel-dik-ten   sonra gideceğiz.
       Hasan come-DIK-abl after we.will.go
       'We will go after Hasan comes.'

   b. Bura-ya gel-me-den   önce eve   uğradık.
      Here-dat come-ME-ablative before home-dat we.stopped.by
      'We stopped by home before coming here.'

   c. Bu meyve-yi Hasan sevdiği   için aldım.
      this fruit-acc Hasan like-DIK-3poss for I.bought
      'I bought this fruit because Hasan likes it.'

2.4. Scrambling

Even though the unmarked order is SOV, this is not strictly so. In main clauses objects can occur to the left of the subject, or both subjects and objects can occur post-verbally. The word order is sensitive to many factors such the information structure of the clause (Erguvanlı (1984)).

(9) a. Elif-i   Hasan   aradı.
       Elif-acc Hasan-nom called
       'Elif, Hasan called.'

   b. Hasan   aradı Elif-i.
      Hasan-nom called Elif-acc
      'It is Hasan who called Elif.'

   c. ?Aradı Hasan   Elif-i.
      called Hasan-nom Elif-acc
      'Hasan CALLED Elif.'

Whereas preposing is possible in embedded clauses, postposing is not:

(10)　a.　**object preposing**
Hasan Elif-i　Burak-ın　ara-dığ-ın-ı　söyledi.
Hasan Elif-acc Burak-3gen call-nominal-3poss-acc said
'Hasan said that Burak called Elif.'

　　b.　**object post-posing**
*Hasan Burak-ın　ara-dığ-ın-ı　Elif-i　söyledi.
Hasan　Burak-3gen call-nominal-3poss-acc Elif-acc said

　　c.　**subject post-posing**
*Hasan Elif-i　ara-dığ-ın-ı　Burak-ın　söyledi.
Hasan Elif-acc call-nominal-3poss-acc Burak-3gen　said

See Kural (1993) and Erguvanlı (1984); among others, for an extensive discussion of scrambling in Turkish.

2.5. Turkish as a pro-drop language

Turkish is a morphologically rich language with verbs agreeing with the subject in person and number. The subject position of a sentence or a noun phrase need not be filled overtly with a phonologically realized noun phrase. This is illustrated below:[2]

(11)　a.　Onlar bugün okul-a　git-ti-ler.
they　today school-dat go-past-3pl
'They went to school today.'

　　b.　Bugün okul-a　git-ti-ler.
today school-dat　go-past-3pl
'They went to school today.'

This is true for subjects of noun phrases as well.

---

[2] See Öztürk (1999) for an argument against treating Turkish as a pro-drop language.

(12)   a.   O-nun   araba-sı
                       he/she-3gen car-3poss
                       'his/her car'

        b.   araba-sı
                       car-3poss
                       'his/her car'

Sometimes the object can also be phonologically null (cf. Turan (1995)).

(13)   A: Çikolata-m-ı   sen mi   ye-di-n?
                    chocolate-1poss-acc you q.marker ate-2sg
                    'Did YOU eat my chocolate?'

        B: Hayır, ben ye-me-di-m.
                    No,   I   eat-neg-past-1sg
                    'No, I didn't eat.'

2.6. Negation

In Turkish the form of sentential negation depends on the nature of the predicate. In verbal sentences, negation is realized as a suffix attached to the verb root. If the stem contains a causative, passive, reflexive or a reciprocal marker, negative morpheme follows these markers. However, it precedes any other marker such as aspectual, modal and tense markers. Moreover, the vowel of the morpheme is subject to phonological changes depending on its environment. If it is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme, it undergoes vowel harmony with the vowel in the preceding syllable. If it is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme, its vowel drops. The following are some examples:

(14) a. Hasan gel-**me**-di.
          Hasan come-**neg**-past
          'Hasan didn't come.'

      b. Bina   yık-ıl-**ma**-dı.
          building tear down-pass-**neg**-past
          'The building hasn't been torn down.'

      c. Hasan yıka-n-**ma**-dı.
          Hasan wash-refl.-**neg**-past
          'Hasan didn't take a bath.' Or lit. 'Hasan didn't wash himself.'

      d. Hasan gel-**m**-iyor.
          Hasan come-**neg**-prog
          'Hasan is not coming.'

      e. Hasan gel-**me**-meli-y-di.
          Hasan come-**neg**-should-cop-past
          'Hasan shouldn't have come.'

If the clause is non-verbal, then the negative morpheme is a free morpheme: *değil*, not a suffix. It occurs after the predicate but before tense and agreement markers[3]. It doesn't undergo vowel harmony, and it can bear primary stress.

(15) a. Hasan kısa **değil-Ø-Ø.**
          Hasan short not-cop-3sg
          'Hsan is not short.'

      b. Ben okul-da   **değil-di-m.**
          I   school-loc not-past-1sg
          'I was not at school.'

2.7. Articles/Determiners

In Turkish there is no overt definite article. The interpretation of a bare noun (i.e. a noun phrase without a determiner) depends on many factors such as absence or presence of overt case marking, its position in the structure, the aspectual/modal properties of the clause, stress and overt case marking it bears. The following illustrates this with a few examples. For an extensive discussion of contextual factors affecting the interpretation of

---

[3] In Chapter 2 and 4 I discuss the morphosyntax of negative markers in more detail.

bare noun phrases see Dede (1986). (See also Underhill (1976), Erguvanlı (1984) and Tura (1986)):

(16) <u>Case-marking</u>

    a.   Hasan'a   kedi aldım.
               Hasan-dat cat I.bought
               'I bought a cat for Hasan.'

    b.   Hasan'a   kedi-**yi** aldım.
               Hasan-dat cat-**acc** I.bought
               'I bought **the** cat for Hasan.'

(17) <u>Position</u>

    a.   Sokakta   köpek havlıyor.
               in.the.street dog   barking
               'A dog/dogs are barking in the street.'
    b.   Köpek sokakta   havlıyor.
               dog   in.the.street barking
               'The dog is barking in the street.'

(18) <u>Aspectual properties</u>

    a.   <u>Generic</u>
               Çocuk sevilmek ister.[4]
               child to.be.loved wants
               'A child wants to be loved.' (referring to the kind of child, not a particular one)
               'The child wants to be loved.'   Dede's (31)

    b.   <u>Episodic</u>
               Çocuk sevilmek istedi.
               child to.be.loved wanted
               'The child needed/wanted to be loved.'   Dede's (34)

Constructions in which a bare singular noun object is adjacent to the verb has been analyzed as those in which the object is incorporated into the verb (Dede (1986)), and the interpretation they receive has been described as "non-referential", "non-specific" and "non-definite" (cf. Tura (1973), (1986), Underhill (1976), Dede (1986), Erguvanlı (1984),

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[4] Dede (1986) translates this sentence as "Children need to be loved." with a kind interpretation for the subject; however, definite interpretation is also possible, as indicated in the text.

Enç (1991); see Erguvanlı (1984) for arguments for and against the incorporation analysis):

There is no designated indefinite article. Indefinite article is identical to the numeral *bir* 'one'.

(19)   a.   <u>*bir* as numeral</u>
                  Sadece **bir** kadeh şarap içtim.
                  only   **one** glass wine I.drank
                  'I drank only one glass of wine.'

       b.   <u>*bir* as an indefinite article</u>
                  Hasan çok iyi   **bir** insan-dır.
                  Hasan very good **a** person-assertive.copula
                  'Hasan is a very good person.'

3. Overview

Chapter 2 proposes a theory of clausal structure of Turkish that will provide the foundation for the discussions in the following chapters. Following Kornfilt (1996) I argue that verbal forms with aspectual or modal markers differ from verbal forms with only the past tense marker in that the former are participles embedded under a copula, whereas the latter is a finite form. In Section 2.1.1-2.1.3. I discuss Kornfilt's (1996) arguments and in Section 2.1.4. I provide further evidence for this analysis. Section 2.2. proposes different structures and derivations for these two different verbal forms. Section 2.3. provides further evidence for the existence of the copula. Section 2.4. brings up two issues that come up in Kornfilt (1996). Section 2.4.1. discusses the nature of one of the agreement paradigms (the z-paradigm), and argues that they are not copular clitics, but the choice of the agreement marker depends on the last morpheme on the verbal stem. Section 2.4.2. argues that *değil*, a negative word that occurs in copular structures, must be treated as a head distinct from the copula, and not as the "negative form of the copula".

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 concentrate one the interaction between structure and interpretation. Chapter 3 focuses on the interpretation of indefinites. First, I show that there is scope rigidity in Turkish in that the order of the quantifiers reflect their relative scope. Then I show that there is one exception to this generalization: indefinites that are marked with accusative overtly. I raise the question why they violate scope rigidity, and

later in the chapter I answer this question by arguing that they do not violate scope rigidity, but the apparent violation is the result of a special interpretive mechanism. In Section 2 I discuss the notions specificity, presuppositionality and partitivity. Section 2.3. lists the contexts in which acc-indefinites are interpreted as partitive (Enç (1991)). Section 2.4. discusses the scopal properties of indefinites and concludes that whereas acc-indefinites can have narrow or wide scope w.r.t. a quantificational element, those indefinites that are not marked with accusative overtly always have narrow scope. It is also shown that in quantificational contexts an acc-indefinite does not have to be interpreted as partitive. 2.5.1. brings up the question whether acc-indefinites can be referential, and argues that they cannot. Finally, 2.5.2. proposes an analysis which explains the facts in the preceding sections. It is argued that acc-indefinites are interpreted as choice functions, and the existential quantifier that binds them is generated at a level higher than the subject but lower than the highest node where negation can take scope. Chapter 3 discusses the view that acc-indefinites are in a position outside the VP, and thus, interpreted presuppositionally, and that non-marked indefinites are inside VP, and thus, interpreted non-presuppositionally. I provide further evidence for this view and also discuss some interesting properties of structures with verbs of creation.

Chapter 4 builds on the findings and the proposal in Chapter 3. In this chapter I focus on negative structures with negative polarity items (NPIs), and I analyze the scope facts of structures in which NPIs cooccur with certain quantifiers and indefinites. Section 2 describes the morphological properties and licensing environments of NPIs. In Section 3 it is shown that the position of the NPI w.r.t. to the quantifier/indefinite determines the relative scope between negation and that quantifier/indefinite. Sections 4-6 outline the analysis. I argue that the facts discussed in Section 3 are the result of the fact that negation is relatively free in that it can take scope at various nodes in the structure and that it has to take immediate scope over an NPI. I also argue that negation with an NPI functions as an intervener between an existential quantifier over choice functions and the function variable it binds. Likewise, an existential quantifier and the function variable it binds act as an intervener between negation and the NPI it licenses. Section 7 argues that there is more convincing evidence that the words discussed are negative polarity items as opposed to negative quantifiers. Section 8 shows that an analysis which argues for

licensing NPIs and fixing the scope of negation within a functional negative phrase would fail to account for the facts discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 provides further evidence for the view that the position of a noun phrase in the structure determines its interpretation. The construction that is the focus of this chapter is clausal possessives. Section 1 briefly discusses existential sentences to provide the background for further discussion. Section 2 analyzes two different types of clausal possessives, and argues that their different properties are a result of different structures. The construction in which the possessor and the possessee are identical to a regular possessive phrase in form is in fact different from a possessive noun phrase structurally in that the clausal possessive construction is the result of the possessor moving out of the noun phrase to the subject position. This derivation is argued to be responsible for the fact that in this construction the possessee cannot be a presuppositional noun phrase. In Section 2.5. I discuss Freeze (1992)'s typology of clausal possessives, which argues that in constructions in which the possessor is genitive (as opposed to locative) a possessive phrase moves to the subject position instead of the possessor only. I argue with further evidence from Hindi that the facts discussed in this chapter may be showing that in fact all clausal possessive constructions involve moving of the possessor to the subject position, not only the ones with locative possessors. Section 3 proposes a morphosyntactic account for the various forms of *be*. Section 4 discusses the effect of focus on the word order and the morphology of the verbal form in locative constructions. Section 5 discusses agreement properties of clausal possessives and existential clauses.

CHAPTER 2: THE TURKISH VERB

In this chapter I will analyze verbal morphology and the clausal structure it reflects. The findings in this chapter will constitute the basis for the discussion of the facts in the following chapters.

1. Introduction

Traditionally, all verbal forms in Turkish have been analyzed as finite forms of verbs which consist of a root and a number of verbal suffixes. However, Kornfilt (1996) argues that there are in fact two types of verbal forms in Turkish. The first type consists of fully inflected finite forms of verbs, whereas the second group consists of participles that are embedded under a copula. This chapter develops a theory of Turkish verb based on this insight, and embeds it in a theory of clause structure.

In Section 2 I summarize the arguments in Kornfilt (1996) for the participial nature of the second group, and provide further evidence for it. Then I propose a structure for a simple Turkish clause. Finally, I suggest an alternative explanation for some of the issues that come up in Kornfilt (1996).

2. Verbal forms in Turkish

On the surface, a verbal form in a simple affirmative sentence consists of a verb root followed by a number of suffixes that include voice, negative, modal, aspectual, mood, tense and subject agreement markers. There are no verbal prefixes, and object agreement is not marked morphologically. In addition to these markers, the verbal stem may also bear a question marker in yes/no questions, the position of which will be significant for our discussion later.

The morphological shape of the agreement suffixes seems to vary depending on the rightmost Tense-Aspect-Mood/Modality (TAM) marker on the verbal stem. Traditional grammars list three or four agreement paradigms. I will be discussing only two of them.[5]

Between these two paradigms, the most striking difference is at the first person plural suffix. In one paradigm, the suffix ends in −z, whereas in the other it ends in −k. I will refer to these paradigms as the z-paradigm and the k-paradigm, following the terminology of Good & Yu (1999).

The following represent the "TAM marker ⇔ agreement marker" correspondences that have been assumed traditionally; (c)-sentences are representative examples:

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[5] (Lewis, 1975) lists three different paradigms of person suffixes, the ones in the main text and Paradigm III below. Others such as Kornfilt (1997) treat the person suffixes in the imperative mood as a yet different paradigm.

Paradigm III:	subjunctive/ optative mood	Example gel- 'come'	Paradigm IV:	imperative	Example gel- 'come'
'1st sing,'	-(y)AyIm	gel-eyim	'1st sing,'	---	---
'2nd sing.'	-(y)AsIn	gel-esin	'2nd sing.'	-Ø-	gel-Ø
'3rd sing.'	-(y)A(-sIn)	gel-e	3rd sing.'	-sIn	gel-sin
'1st pl.'	-(y)AlIm	gel-elim	'1st pl.'	---	---
'2nd pl.'	-(y)AsInIz	gel-esiniz	'2nd pl.'	-(y)In(Iz)	gel-in
'3rd pl.'	-(y)Alar (-sInlAr)	gel-eler	'3rd pl.'	-sInlAr	gels-in-ler

(20) a. **Group 1 TAM markers**

-Iyor-	'progressive'
-EcEK-	'future'
-mIş-, imiş-	'perfect'and 'evidential'
-Ir, -Ar, -r-	'aorist'
-EbIl-	'abilitative'
-mElI-	'(epistemic and deontic) necessitative'

b.	z-**paradigm**
'1st sing.'	-(y)Im
'2nd sing.'	-sIn
'3rd sing.'	–∅
'1st pl.'	-(y)Iz
'2nd pl.'	-sInIz
'3rd pl.'	-∅lAr

c.   Biz gel-iyor-**uz**.
        we come-progressive-**1pl**
        'We are coming.'

(21) a. **Group 2 TAM markers**

-dI-, idi-	'past'[6]
-se-, ise-	'conditional'[7]

c.   Biz gel-di-**k**.
        we come-past-**1pl**
        'We came.'

b.	k-paradigm
'1st sing.'	-m
'2nd sing.'	-n
'3rd sing.'	–∅
'1st pl.'	**-k**
'2nd pl.'	-nIz
'3rd pl.'	–∅ lAr

We can conclude the following generalization: when the last TAM marker in the verbal stem is the past tense marker or the conditional marker, then the agreement marker

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[6] The exact nature of this morpheme is controversial. Taylan (1993), (1996) argues that –dı and idi- are two different morphemes: the first one is a perfective marker, and the latter is the real past tense marker. Following Kornfilt (1996) and Göksel (in press) I assume that it is the past tense marker.

[7] I group the conditional marker –sE/ise- here together with –dI/idi- since they are followed by the same agreement paradigm. However, the distribution of -sE/ise differs from –dI/idi- in many respects, the analysis of which would take me to an analysis of conditionals and outside the scope of this dissertation. For a discussion of conditionals, see Kuruoğlu (1984), Aygen-Tosun (1996) and (1999).

is from the *k*-paradigm. When, however, the last TAM marker is anything else, then the agreement marker is from the *z*-paradigm.[8]

From the representation of these examples, it looks as though both types of verbal forms have the same structure, namely, verb root + tense/aspect/modality marker + agreement, and the only difference between these two is that they differ in the agreement suffixes they occur with. However, a closer scrutiny reveals that they also differ in their structure.

In the next section I will present the arguments for the claim that Group 1 markers are actually participle markers, and the entire participle is embedded under a copula. Thus, the agreement markers listed in (20b) are not directly attached to the stem that consists of a root and a TAM marker, but rather, to a copular morpheme that embeds the participle formed by the root and the TAM marker. In contrast, forms with Group 2 markers are finite forms consisting of a root and inflectional suffixes (Kornfilt (1996)).[9]

Before proceeding, let me mention that -*mIş* functions as the perfect marker and the evidential marker (Aksu-Koç (1988)). I will show that when it occurs as the perfect

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[8] A verb root always has to be inflected with a TAM marker. A non-verbal predicate, on the other hand, can occur without any overt marker in present tense if the subject is third person singular, as illustrated below:

(i) Ahmet hasta.
     Ahmet sick
     'Ahmet is sick.'

When the subject is 1st or 2nd person, for instance, the agreement marker is again from the z-paradigm:

(ii) Ben hasta-yım.
     I   sick-1sg
     'I am sick.'

I assume that when a structure is in present tense, the tense morpheme is a null morpheme. Thus, it follows from the generalization above that in addition to the overt TAM markers, when the verbal stem has the present tense null morpheme as the last morpheme, then the agreement marker is from the z-paradigm. If one doesn't assume a null morpheme here, then the generalization could be that if the verbal stem ends in the past tense or the conditional marker, then the k-paradigm is chosen, or else the z-paradigm.

[9] Throughout the text I have to refer to two different kinds of tense-aspect-modality/mood markers and two different agreement paradigms. To avoid losing track of what "label" refers to what, please remember that Group 1 markers constitute the larger group, and this is the group we are mostly be concerned with since one of the goals of this Chapter is to show that they actually form participles when they are attached to verb roots.

The labels of the agreement paradigms are named after their 1st person plural marker (Good & Yu (1999)).

marker, it occurs before the copula on the verbal stem, whereas when it functions as the evidentiality marker, it occurs after the copula.

2.1. Participle nature of Group 1 markers

Kornfilt (1996) argues that the forms with Group 1 markers are actually participles embedded by a copula.[10] I assume that a participle is a complex head that cannot move to Tense.

The evidence for their participial nature comes from the fact that in a number of constructions, the combination of a verb root and a Group 1 marker can occur without the tense and agreement markers. This is a clear indication that those markers are in fact inflections of another verbal element, namely, the copula. One of these environments is the Double Negation contexts.

2.1.1. Double Negation: Embedding under the negative word DEĞİL

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, negation in simple verbal sentences is expressed by a negative verbal suffix –mE, as exemplified in (22):

(22)   Ben gel-**me**-yeceğ-im.
        I   come-**neg**-future-1sg
        'I am not going to come.'

In non-verbal sentences, however, a negative predicate *değil* 'not' appears:

(23)   Ben hasta değil-im.
        I   sick   not-1sg
        'I am not sick.'

In complex verbal sentences in which the speaker wants to express double negation, the negative predicate *değil* is used together with the verbal negative suffix in the embedded form:

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[10] Kornfilt (1996) cites Lees (1962) as the only instance that she is aware of where a similar proposal was made.

(24) a. Ben gel-me-yecek   değil-**im**.
          I   come-neg-future not-**1sg**
          'It is not that I am not going to come.'

      b. *Ben gel-me-yeceğ-**im**   değil.
          I   come-neg-future-**1sg** not

Note that in (24a) the agreement marker *–im* '1sg' occurs on the negative word *değil* rather than with the verbal form *gelmeyecek*, in contrast with (22), in which *–im* obligatorily occurs right after the future marker. The absence of the agreement in the embedded verb is not only possible but also obligatory, as (24b) shows.

A verb with a Group 2 marker can also be embedded under *değil*. However, in this case, the agreement marker <u>must</u> be on the verb and not on *değil*. [11]

(25) a. *Ben gel-me-di değil-**im**.   [contrast with (24a)]
          I come-neg-past not-**1sg**

      b. Ben gel-me-di-**m**   değil.   [contrast with (24b)]
          I come-neg-past-**1sg** not
          'It is not that I didn't come.'

Kornfilt (1996) suggests that this contrast is due to the fact that V+future is a participle, whereas V+past is not. *Değil* in (25b), on the other hand, is negating a clause.

Moreover, a type of coordination, called "suspended affixation" by Lewis (1975) provides another context in which these participles can occur without tense and agreement.

2.1.2. Coordination with Suspended affixation

In Turkish two verbal phrases can be coordinated with or without an overt coordinator, as exemplified below:

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[11] Kornfilt (1996)'s examples do not involve double-negation contexts, but a participle embedded under *değil*. I am using double negation contexts here since to me a negated clause in a structure, for instance, in (25b) sounds more natural than the one without negation. Though, see Kornfilt (1996, ftn. 8) for such an example.

(26)   Ben para-yı   al-ıyor-**du-m**   (ve) o-na   ver-iyor-**du-m.**
        I   money-acc take-prog-**past-1sg** and s(he)-dat give-prog-**past-1sg**
        'I was taking the money and giving (it) to him/her.'

Note that in this structure both of the verbs are inflected fully for aspect, tense and agreement. However, in colloquial speech, another type of structure is preferred, in which the verb in the first conjunct is not fully inflected but the second one is. Consider the following example:

(27)   Ben para-yı   al-ıyor   (ve) o-na   ver-iyor-**du-m.**
        I   money-acc take-prog and s(he)-dat give-prog-**past-1sg**
        'I was taking the money and giving (it) to him/her.'

(27) is identical to (26) semantically. The difference is that in (27) the first conjunct is inflected for aspect only, i.e. progressive *-Iyor-,* whereas the second one is inflected for aspect, tense and agreement. Note also that the first conjunct is interpreted to be under the scope of the tense and agreement morphologically expressed in the second conjunct. This kind of coordination that involves "suspended affixation" is possible with all Group1 markers. However, it is not possible with Group2 markers, as shown by the contrast below:

(28)   a.   Ben para-yı   al-dı-**m**   (ve) o-na   ver-di-**m.**
              I   money-acc take-past-**1sg** and s(he)-dat give-past-**1sg**
              'I took the money and gave (it) to him/her.'

        b.   *Ben para-yı al-dı   (ve) o-na   ver-di-**m.**
              I money-acc take- past and s(he)-dat give-past-**1sg**

These examples are further evidence for the claim that verbal forms with Group 1 markers are participles that can occur without tense and agreement markers, whereas forms with Group 2 markers are not.[12]

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[12] See also Kabak (2000) for an analysis of suspended affixation in Turkish.

2.1.3. The position of the yes/no question marker -mI

Kornfilt provides one more piece of evidence for contrasting properties of Group1 and Group 2 markers. It is the variation they exhibit in the suffix order in yes/no questions.

Recall that the following represents the basic suffix order in an affirmative sentence in Turkish:

(29)   a.   Group 1: V + aspect/modal + copula + (tense +) agreement

         b.   Group 2: V + aspect/modal + tense + agreement

On the surface, the suffix order of the forms in these two groups look similar except that one has the copula, and the other does not. However, when the sentence is a yes/no question, the position of the question marker is not the same in these two groups.

In Turkish, yes/no questions have a question marker, -mI[13], whereas wh-questions don't. –mI is a clitic that attaches to the verbal stem in unmarked structures (i.e. when the

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[13] Sabine Iatridou (p.c.) brought up the possibility that mI doesn't have to be the "question marker" per se since it doesn't occur in all questions, i.e. it doesn't occur in wh-questions. The following are examples for a regular yes/no question and a wh-question:

(i)   a.   Hasan gelecek mi?
           Hasan come-fut MI
           'Will Hasan come?'

      b.   Kim gelecek (*mi)?
           who come-fut MI
           'Who will come?'

MI also occurs in alternative questions, and crucially, it occurs to the right of each alternative:

(ii)   Hasan okul-a   **mı** eve   **mi** gel-ecek?
       Hasan school-dat **mI** home-dat **mI** come-fut
       'Will Hasan come home or to school?'

(iii)   Çay **mı** kahve **mi**?
        tea **mI** coffee **mI**
        'Tea or coffee?'

entire clause is questioned). It has been argued to be a clitic since it does not carry stress. Its vowel undergoes vowel harmony, and agrees in features [back] and [round] with the vowel of the last syllable of the word it is attached to (see Besler (1998) for a discussion on the clitichood of –*mI*)).

Kornfilt (1996) shows that the position of *mI* with respect to verbal morphemes seems to be determined by whether or not it occurs in a structure with a participle. Consider the contrast between (30) and (31):

(30)   a.   Gid-iyor-**mu**-Ø- yuz?
                 go-prog- mI-cop-1pl
                 'Are we going?'

         b.   Hazır-**mı**-Ø- yız?
                 ready-mI-cop-1pl
                 'Are we ready?'

Given its occurrence in alternative questions and regular yes/no questions above, Sabine Iatridou brings up the possibility that *mI* can be functioning as a disjunctive marker in questions. Regular yes/no questions have also been argued to involve disjunction. Kartunnen (1977), for instance, claims that yes/no questions are a subclass of alternative questions. (i) denotes either the proposition "p=Hasan will come" or "p= Hasan will not come", depending on what the world is like. Thus, one can argue that in regular yes/no questions, -*mI* marks one of the disjunctively specified propositions, and the other one is stated implicitly. In alternative questions in which both alternatives are overtly stated, as in (ii) and (iii), -*mI* as the disjunct marker occurs with both alternatives.

My intuition is that *mI* is more like a focus marker since in regular yes/no questions it can occur not only at the end of the clause but to the right of the questioned phrase, as in (iv):

(iv) a.   Hasan mı gel-ecek?
        Hasan MI come-fut
        'Is it Hasan who will come?'
        'Will HASAN come ?'

     b.   Hasan yarın   mı gel-ecek?
         Hasan tomorrow MI come-fut
         'Is it tomorrow that Hasan will come?'
         'Will Hasan come TOMORROW?'

If we assume the alternative semantics of Rooth (1992) for focus, one might argue that there is virtually no difference between calling *mI* a disjunction marker vs. a focus marker.

However, an analysis along these lines would take me too far afield. Therefore, I will keep on assuming it to be a marker in yes/no questions, the exact semantic nature of which is yet to be determined. See Aygen-Tosun (to appear) for a discussion of -*mI* along the lines of Hagstrom (1998).

(31)   Git- ti- k- **mi**?
        go -past-1pl-mI
        'Did we go?'

As (30) shows if the structure has a participle,–*mI* occurs after the participle. If the stem

has a Group 2 marker, -*mI* occurs <u>after</u> the agreement marker. I will not go into the detail

of discussing how *mI* is cliticized (see Kornfilt (1996), Besler (1999), Aygen-Tosun (to

appear)). What is crucial here is that the position of *mI*, as well, distinguishes between

two types of markers.

2.1.4. Embedding under the verb *ol-* 'to be'

In addition to the environments discussed in Kornfilt (1996) in previous sections, I would

like to present another context in which these forms can occur without tense and

agreement, namely the embedded clauses.

Although many aspectual/modal/temporal differences can be expressed in matrix

clauses in Turkish, embedded clauses lose most of these contrasts. The morphosyntax of

embedded clauses in Turkish is quite complex (Kornfilt (1984), Kural (1993); among

others). For expository simplicity, I will focus only on one type of complement clauses

here, namely those complement clauses that are nominalized by (the nominalizer) –*DIK*-

.[14]

I discussed the formation of embedded clauses in Chapter 1 briefly. Let me repeat

it here for the convenience of the reader: Roughly, in embedded clauses the verbal

predicate of a complement clause consists of a verb root followed by the so-called

nominalizer, which in turn is followed by nominal agreement and case. Consider the

contrast between the matrix forms in (32) and the embedded verbal forms in (33):

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[14] -*DIK* and –*ECEK* contrast in tense. –*ECEK* has been characterized as expressing future, whereas -*DIK* has been characterized as expressing non-future. See also Taylan (1993) for the limited aspectual role of the nominalizers and Kornfilt (1984), Kennelly (1993), (1996), Kural (1993), Ozil (1994), among others, for a discussion of embedded clauses in Turkish.

(32) a. Sen gel-**iyor**-sun. [progressive, present]
you come-**prog**-2sg
'You are coming.'

b. Sen gel-**di**-n. [past]
You come-**past**-2sg
'You came.'

c. Sen gel-**iyor-du**-n. [progressive, past]
you come-**prog-past**-2sg
'You were coming.'

d. Sen gel-**miş**-sin. [evidential]
you come-**evid**-2sg
'Apparently, you came.'

(33) a. Sen-in gel-**diğ**-in-i duy-du-m. [progressive/past/present]
you-2gen come-**DIK**-2poss-acc hear-past-1sg
'I heard that you came/were coming/are coming.'

b. * Sen-in gel-**iyor**-un-u duy-du-m.
you-2gen come-**prog**-2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

c. *Sen-in gel-**iyor-duğ**- un-u duy-du-m.
you-2gen come-**prog-** DIK -2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

d. * Sen-in gel-**miş**-in-i duy-du-m.
you-2gen come-**evid**-2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

These examples show that although matrix verbal forms are capable of expressing a variety of aspectual, modal and temporal differences morphologically, embedded verbal forms are not. Most of the time, embedded forms are ambiguous with respect to tense, aspect and modality. They can be disambiguated with temporal and aspectual adverbials.

(34) a. Hasan-ın **şu anda** beni düşün-düğ-ün-ü bil-iyor-um.
Hasan-3gen **at the moment** me think-nomin-3poss-acc know-prog-1sg
'I know that Hasan is thinking about me at the moment.'

b. Hasan-ın **dün** parti-de sen-i düşün-düğ-ün-ü bil-iyor-um.
Hasan-3gen **yesterday** party-loc you-acc think-nomin-3poss-acc know-prog-1sg
'I know that Hasan was thinking about you at the party yesterday.'

(35) a. Hasan-ın **saatlerdir** orada otur-duğ-un-u bil-m-iyor-du-m.
Hasan-3gen **for hours** there sit-nomin-3poss-acc know-neg-prog-past-1sg
'I didn't know that Hasan had been sitting there for hours.'

b. Hasan-ın **dün** gel-diğ-in-i duy-du-m.
Hasan-3gen **yesterday** come-nomin-3poss-acc hear-past-1sg
'I heard that Hasan came yesterday.'

c. Hasan-ın buraya **üç saat-te** gel-diğ-in-i duy-dum.
Hasan-1gen here-dat **three hour-loc** come-DIK-3poss-acc hear-past-1sg
'I heard that Hasan came here in three hours.'

Embedded verb roots can only be followed by the so-called nominalizers (*-DIK* as in (33a), *-EcEK, -mE(K)* etc.); nothing else can occur after the verb root and before the agreement marker. When there is a need to express a particular aspectual difference, a participial form is embedded under the verb *ol-* 'to be', which in turn is treated as the embedded verbal predicate.[15] What gets inflected for the nominalizer and agreement is now this higher (light) verb *ol-*'to be', as illustrated below:

(36) a. Sen-in sınav-a hazırlan-ıyor ol-**duğ**-un-u biliyorum.
you-2gen exam-dat prepare-**prog** be-**DIK**-2poss -acc I.know
'I know that you're preparing for the exam.'

a. Sen-in sınav-a hazırlan-mış ol-**duğ**-un-u biliyorum.
you-2gen exam-dat prepare-**perfect** be-**DIK**-2poss -acc I.know
'I know that you have prepared for the exam.'

Similar to the facts we saw in the section on Double Negation, a verbal form inflected for a Group 2 marker, e.g. the past marker *–DI,* cannot be embedded under *ol-* as such:

(37) *Sen-in gel-**di** ol-duğ-un-u duy-du-m.
you-2gen come-**past** be-nomin-2poss-acc hear-past-1sg
'I heard that you had come.

Again we see that Group 1 markers behave like participles in that they can occur without tense and agreement, whereas Group 2 markers cannot. Note, however, that even in those

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[15] See Göksel (in press) for the "buffer" role of *ol-* in some embedded clauses. *Ol-* will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 4. Göksel argues that *ol-* is not visible to syntax, doesn't head a functional category. It is inserted only in the morphological component. For the discussion here, whether or not *ol-* is present in syntax is not crucial.

cases in which the participles seem to occur without tense and agreement, those features are still expressed by some other form, which is probably higher in the structure: in Double Negation structures, by the negative predicate *değil*; in embedded clauses by the verb *ol-* and in suspended affixation cases by the second conjunct. If these forms are participles that obviously occur without tense and agreement in these contexts, how can they occur *with* tense and agreement in simple matrix sentences such as in (38)? [16]

(38)   Ben gel-iyor-du-m.
        I come-prog-past-1sg
        'I was coming.'

In the next section I will suggest an answer to this question.

2.2. The Proposal

My answer will be (with Kornfilt (1996)) that even in those simple sentences such as (38), in which the verb seems to carry a TAM marker from Group 1 followed by tense and agreement, what carries these inflections is not the verb itself but a copula. Thus, *V+Group 1 marker* is always a participle. I propose that the copula is generated at T^0.

By the "copula" I mean a verbal feature with no semantic content, inserted only to support the Tense. I refrain from calling it a light verb since light verbs are usually characterized as verbs which in some context have some semantic content, and in some contexts occur only to satisfy a syntactic requirement such as *do* in English.[17] In Chapter 5 I will discuss other verbs that have been characterized as 'to be' or the copula in Turkish, and I will argue that all these verbs are the realization of a verbal feature, and their phonological form depends on the environment in which they are inserted in and other features they combine with. Whereas the two other verbs/copulas I will discuss in

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[16] Note that although I treat all markers that occur with the *z*-paradigm as participles, not all members of this group behave identically across all the environments I have been discussing as arguments for their participial nature. Specifically, whereas *–Iyor-* 'progressive', *-EcEk-* 'future' (modal), and *–mIş* 'perfect & evidential', *–Ir/-Ar/-r* 'aorist' can be embedded under *ol-* 'to be' and *değil* 'not'; *-mElI* 'necessitative' cannot. However, all of them seem to allow suspended affixation. Future work on the semantics of these markers can reveal more about the nature of the participles, and phrases that can undergo embedding and suspended affixation.

[17] See also Arregi (2000) for light verbs in Basque.

Chapter 5 may have some semantic content, and thus, can be characterized as light verbs, the copular form that I am discussing in this chapter is devoid of any meaning.

I assume late insertion of the phonological content of lexical items, following Beard (1991) and Marantz & Halle (1993), among others.[18] I also assume that the order of the verbal inflection morphemes reflect the order of the functional categories they head, following Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker (1988). (See also Kural (1993), Kural (1998), Aygen-Tosun (1998) for a discussion of functional categories in Turkish, which assumes the Mirror Principle. See Göksel (1997) for arguments against the Mirror Principle).

For the structure of (38) repeated here I propose the following:

(39)   Ben gel- iyor-Ø- du- m.
        I   come-prog-cop-past-1sg
        'I was coming.'

(40)

                        TP
                   _____
              AspP   T⁰ [verbal] [past] [agr]
          _____
      VP   Asp⁰[progressive]
   _____
          V_____

(41)   a. T^0 [verbal] [past] [agr]

        b.   Asp⁰
                   _____
               V   Asp⁰
                            [progressive]

| ← *Ø-du-m* |
| cop-past-1sg |
| ← *gel-iyor* come-progressive |

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[18] Late insertion approach will be significant when we discuss the different phonological forms of the verb 'to be' later in Chapter 5.

According to this analysis, the verb moves to Asp^0, forming a complex head. This complex head with Asp^0 is blocked from moving further to T^0. T^0 hosts a copula, which is inflected for tense and agreement.[19,20]

The facts with suspended affixation (cf. Section 2.1.2.) show that the participle cannot be moving to T. Recall that both conjuncts contain a verb root and an aspectual marker, and the tense and the agreement markers appear next to the participle in the second conjunct.

(42)   Ben para-yı   al-ıyor   (ve) o-na   ver-iyor-**du-m**.
        I   money-acc take-prog and s(he)-dat give-prog-**past-1sg**
        'I was taking the money and giving (it) to him/her.'

If the participle in the second conjunct were to move to Tense, then this would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross (1967)), which prohibits movement out of the coordinated phrases unless the movement is across-the-board. That is, the participle in the first conjunct would have to stay inside the conjunct, whereas the one in the second conjunct would have to move out and to Tense.

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[19] It is crucial to note at this point that a participle can be formed with a verb root followed by an imperfective, perfect, modal or future marker. I remain agnostic to the question whether all these suffixes are realizations of different heads or hybrid heads. Aygen-Tosun (1998), for instance, argues that Tense and Aspect form a hybrid head. Göksel (in press), on the other hand, assumes that different TAM markers head different TAM heads. Since both views are compatible with the discussion here, for simplicity reasons, I will represent the structures with a single head above VP, and use Asp^0 as the representative of all the features/functional heads that can form a participle.

Moreover, for simplicity of exposition, I have remained neutral as to whether what moves to Asp is V or V+v in this derivation. Both options are compatible with the analysis presented here.

[20] The fact that a modal or an aspectual marker has to attach to a verbal predicate is evident from the following in which the future marker, for instance, cannot attach to a non-verbal predicate:

(i)   a.   Koş- acağ-Ø-ım.
         run-future-cop-1sg
         'I am going to run.'

     b.   *Hasta-yacağ-Ø-ım.
         sick-future-Ø-1sg
         Int.: I am going to be sick.

Let us return to the structures with a verb root inflected for the past tense. In those cases, the structure lacks an Asp^0 head[21]. Thus, the verb can freely move up to Tense. There is no participle, and there is no copula.

(43)   Ben gel-di-m.
       I   come-past-1sg
       'I came.'

(44)   a.

       b.
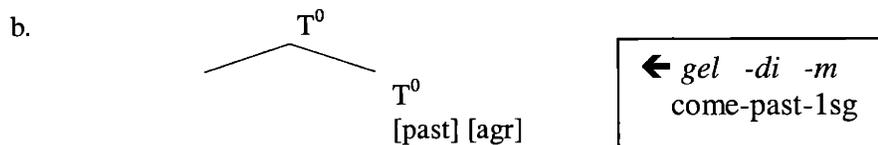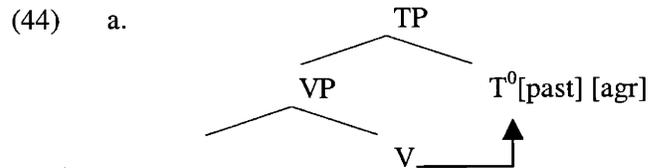
The fact that verb movement to Tense is blocked by an intervening head is attested cross-linguistically. Ouhalla (1991), for instance, makes the observation that in languages such as Swahili and Welsh, when an aspectual marker is not present, i.e. Aspect is missing, Tense can attach to the verb root itself. Alternatively, if Aspect^0 is present, then there is a dummy verb that carries the tense (and agreement). The presence of a dummy verb/copula/light verb inserted at T^0/I^0 is also common across languages. Pollock (1989), for instance, argues that in English tensed clauses, *do* is inserted at Infl when the negative particle *not* blocks affix lowering from Infl to the verb (Emonds (1976)).

One may ask why Aspect should block verb movement. There is no a priori reason why the verb should not be able to move first to Aspect and then to Tense. Ouhalla (1991) argues that Aspect can be marked [+verbal] or [-verbal]. When it is [+verbal], the verb can move to Aspect and then to Tense; when it is [-verbal] or

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[21] Also see Arregi (2000) for an analysis of Ondarroa Basque in which he argues for structures without Aspect when the verb can move up to Tense.

[+nominal], the verb stops at Aspect and a dummy verb is inserted at Tense (Ouhalla (1991)). One might argue similarly for Turkish that Aspect is [-verbal], and thus, fails to move to Tense, which requires a [+verbal] element. This might also explain the reason why in embedded clauses, the verb cannot carry aspectual markers. The relevant examples are repeated below:

(45) a.   Sen-in   gel-**diğ**-in-i   duy-du-m.   [progressive/past/present]
              you-2gen come-**nomin**-2poss-acc hear-past-1sg
              'I heard that you came/were coming/are coming.'

      b.   * Sen-in gel-**iyor**-un-u   duy-du-m.
              you-2gen come-**prog**-2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

      c.   *Sen-in gel-**iyor-duğ**- un-u   duy-du-m.
              you-2gen come-**prog-nomin**-2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

      d.   * Sen-in gel-**miş**-in-i   duy-du-m.
              you-2gen come-**evid**-2poss -acc hear-past-1sg

Recall that I mentioned in the Introduction and earlier in this chapter that most of the embedded clauses in Turkish show some nominal properties. The verb root has to be followed by the so-called nominalizers, for instance, -*DIK* and –*mA*, which are further followed by nominal agreement and case markers. If these markers (-*DIK*, -*mA* etc.) have to attach to verbal elements, then the fact that they cannot attach to stems that end with an aspectual marker is explained if Aspect is not [+verbal] in Turkish.[22]

We have seen so far that the verbal forms with Group 1 markers are participles. In the next section I will present evidence for the presence of the copula.

2.3. Evidence for the copula

In this section I will first discuss evidence that shows that the copula exists, and then that its position is higher than the participle/non-verbal predicate and lower than the head(s) that express tense and evidentiality.

The claim that clauses with participles contain a copula implies that the same copular morpheme must be present in both these clauses and in sentences with non-verbal predicates.

Let us focus on constructions with non-verbal predicates. When a clause is in present tense, neither the tense morpheme, nor the copular morpheme is overtly realized, as in many languages such as Russian and Hebrew.

(46)   a.   **Copular sentence with a non-verbal predicate**
              Biz genc-Ø-**iz.**
              we young-cop-**1pl**
              'We are young.'

       b.   **Copular sentence with a participle (Group 1 markers)**
              Biz siz-e   gel-eceğ-Ø-**iz.**
              we you-dat come-future-cop-**1pl**
              'We are going to come to you.' (=We are going to visit you.)

Is there any evidence that shows that the copula is not always phonologically null? Yes. Kornfilt (1996) argues that when the copular sentence is inflected for past tense and evidential, the copula is realized overtly, as –*y*-, when the predicate ends in a vowel. Consider the following:

(47)   a.   Biz hasta-**y**-dı-k.
              we sick-**cop**-past-1pl
              'We were sick.'

       b.   Biz hasta-**y**-mış-ız.
              we sick-**cop**-evid-1pl
              'Apparently, we are/were sick.'

Note that –*y*- cannot be a hiatus breaker here, since all the TAM markers in these examples begin with a consonant. For instance, a word such as *hastadık* (compare with (48)) would be phonologically legitimate in Turkish but it doesn't exist.

As expected, –*y*- appears in sentences with participial forms as well:

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[22] Kural (1993) and Göksel (in press) argue, in contrast to Kornfilt (1984), that two of these so-called nominalizers –*DIK*- and –*ECEK*- in embedded clauses are not simplex participial markers, but rather consist of a tense marker and a complementizer.

(48)   Git-meli-**y**-di-k.
         go-necessitative-**cop**-past-1pl
         'We had to go.'

When the non-verbal predicate (or the participle) ends in a consonant, however, *-y-* disappears:

(49)   a.   Güzel-Ø-di-k.
                 pretty-**cop**-past-1pl
                 'We were pretty.'

         b.   Güzel-Ø-miş-iz.
                 pretty-**cop**-evid-1pl
                 'Apparently, we are/were pretty.'

What we have seen so far suggests that the copular suffix is *–y-*, and it is deleted between two consonants, since Turkish doesn't allows consonant clusters, as exemplified below:

(50)   *Güzel-**y**-**d**i-k.
         pretty-cop-past-1pl

Kornfilt (1996) suggests that the rule for *–y-* deletion is the following:

(51)   -y- 'copula' → Ø/ C-C   (Kornfilt's (13))

However, *-y-* fails to occur even before a vowel if it has to follow a consonant, as illustrated below:

(52)   * Öğretmen-y-im.
         teacher-cop-1sg
         Intended: 'I am a teacher.'

So, the rule has to be modified as in (53):

(53)   -y- 'copula' → Ø/ C-

Let me again emphasize that the occurrence of *–y-* (or any glide/consonant, for that matter) would not be phonologically illegitimate in this environment, i.e. after a

consonant and before a vowel. In fact, this sequence is possible in a dialect of Turkish, the Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük dialect (see Eren 1997).[23] Thus, (52) is in fact grammatical in that dialect.[24] (54) has examples in which –y- follows a fricative, as in (54a) or a stop as in (54b) and (54c):

(54)   a.   Aç- y- ım.   /Aç-y-ız.
            hungry-cop-1sg   hungry-cop-1pl
            'I am hungry.'

        b.   Böyük- y- üm.
            big/old-cop-1sg
            'I am big/old.'   (Eren 1997: 86)

        c.   Kasap- y- ım.
            butcher-cop-1sg
            'I am a butcher.'

We have seen that there is evidence that –y- is not just a hiatus breaker but occurs even in contexts when it is not required phonologically.

Another piece of evidence provides further support for this proposal: Note that the allomorphs of the copula, i.e. –y- and –∅- are suffixes, and the morphemes for past tense and evidential that follow the copula in the examples discussed above are also suffixes and undergo vowel harmony with the preceding syllable. However, the copula has another allomorph that is not a suffix, but a bound stem, i-, as illustrated in the second column in (55) below. Consider the examples below. (The form in Column II is used less frequently in colloquial speech):

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[23] Eren (1997) notes that the existence of –y- in this dialect even after a consonant differs from the written Turkish, and is a defining characteristic of this dialect.

[24] Thanks to Ertan Kelepir for his judgments on (52) and (54c). Even though it is not relevant for our discussion, let me briefly note that in Bartın dialect, it seems that the 1st person singular suffix alternates between –(y)In and –(y)Im, which contrasts with the standard/written dialect in which only –(y)Im is possible. To avoid confusion on the part of the reader, I represent the examples I got from my informant with only the –(y)Im variant.

(55) **Column I: -y-**   **Column II: *i-***

    a.   Biz hasta-**y**-dı-k.   b.   Biz hasta **i**-di-k.
        we sick-**cop**-past-1pl   we sick **cop**-past-1pl
        'We were sick.'

    c.   Biz hasta-**y**-mış-ız.   d.   Biz hasta **i**-miş-iz.
        we sick-**cop**-evid-1pl   we sick **cop**-evid-1pl
        'Apparently, we are/were sick.'

The *copula+past/evidential+agreement* complex in the sentences in the Column II above have the following properties: (i) the copula is realized as *i-* as opposed to *–y--/Ø-*, and (ii) the copular morpheme *i-* does not undergo vowel harmony; that is, it does not agree with the preceding vowel in [back]. If it did, it would have to be a back, unrounded, high vowel *ı* [ɯ] since the preceding vowel *a* is [back]. Thus, it seems that this complex is a separate "word", a separate domain for certain phonological processes such as vowel harmony to operate on. Note that the morphemes in the first column <u>do</u> undergo vowel harmony. For instance, the vowel of the past tense marker in (55a) does agree with the last vowel of *hasta* in backness.

What I would like the reader to note is the fact that the "*i*-version" of the copula remains intact no matter whether the preceding word ends in a consonant or not, in contrast to *-y-*'s absence in structures such as (49) above. Consider the consonant-final non-verbal predicates and participles below:

(56) a.   Güzel-Ø-di-k.   Güzel **i**-di-k.
          pretty-cop-past-1pl   pretty **cop**-past-1pl
          'We were pretty.'   'We were pretty.'

      b.   Güzel-Ø-miş-iz.   Güzel **i**-miş-iz.
          pretty-cop-evid-1pl   pretty-**cop**-evid-1pl
          'Apparently, we are/were pretty.'   'Apparently, we are/were pretty.'

(57) a.   Gel-iyor-Ø-du-k.   Gel-iyor **i**-di-k.
          come-prog-cop-past-1pl   come-prog **cop**-past-1pl
          'We were coming.'

      b.   Gel-iyor-Ø-muş-uz.   Gel-iyor **i**-miş-iz.
          come-prog-cop-evid-1pl   come-prog **cop**-evid-1pl
          'Apparently, we are/were coming.'   'Apparently, we are/were coming.'

I take this as evidence for the proposal that the copula is <u>present</u> in all of these forms but is realized as phonologically null when it is suffixed after a consonant. The rules that govern this allomorphy would be a topic for further research.[25]

The second issue I would like to discuss is the position of the copula. I will show that the copula occurs between these two participles/non-verbal predicates and tense-evidential marker, and propose that this is due to the fact that it is inserted at Tense(/Evid).

Another fact provides further evidence: *–MIŞ* can function as expressing Perfect or Evidential, depending on its position on the verbal stem. When it is attached to a verb root, and it is the only verbal marker, then it is most saliently interpreted as evidential, as in (58a). However, when it is followed by *–DI*, the past tense marker, then it has to be interpreted as expressing the Perfect, as in (58b).

(58)   a.   Gel-miş.
              come-mIş
              'Apparently, s(he) came./has come.'   [evidential]

         b.   Gel-miş-Ø-ti.
              come-mIş-cop-past
              'He had come.'   [perfect]

When it occurs with non-verbal predicates, namely, in copular sentences, it can only function as the evidentiality marker, as in (59a). It cannot be followed by the past tense marker, as shown in (59b).

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[25] Göksel (in press) independently argues against the treatment of *–di* and *idi* as separate suffixes. She argues that *–y-/i-* is the remnant of an obsolete verbal stem *är*, and that there is a single morpheme *–di*, the marker of non-future tense, which attaches only to verbal stems (p. 14). See ibid. for further arguments involving stress assignment.

(59) a. Hasta-y-mış. [26]
      sick-cop-mIş
      'Apparently, he was/is sick.'   [evidential]

    b. *Hasta-y-mış-tı.   (contrast with (58b))
      sick-cop-mIş-past
      Intended: 'He had been sick'

The same grammaticality contrast is found in structures with participles.

(60) a. Gid-iyor-Ø-muş.
      go-prog-cop-mIş
      'Apparently, he was/is going.'   [evidential]

    b. *Gid-iyor-Ø-muş-tu.
      go-prog-cop-mIş-past
      Intended: 'Apparently, he was/is going.'

This suggests that the copula must be in a position between the functional heads expressing these "lower" meanings such as Perfective/Imperfective, Perfect and "higher" meanings such as Tense and Evidential,[27] This is schematized below:

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[26]Present Perfect reading is not impossible:
(i) Hasan üç gündür hasta-y-mış.
  Hasan for three days sick-cop-mIş
  'Apparently, Hasan has/had been sick for three days.'

(ii) Hasan üç gündür yür-üyor-Ø-muş.
  Hasan for three days go-prog-cop-mIş
  'Apparently, Hasan has/had been walking for three days.'

What is crucial here is that these sentences cannot have a Perfect meaning without the evidential reading, in contrast with (58b), where –mIş functions as only the Perfect, and not the evidential. For a more detailed discussion of the meaning and distribution of –mIş, see Aksu-Koç (1988), Slobin & Aksu (1982) and Yavaş (1980); among others.

[27] Note that the high position of these heads are not unique to Turkish. It appears that Tense and Evidential are among the highest heads across languages. Based on cross-linguistic evidence, and typological generalizations drawn from a number studies, Cinque (1999) argues for a structure in which Evidential Mood is higher than Tense, which is in turn higher than Aspectual phrases (Cinque (1999:56)). The latter order has been argued for by many. Also see de Haan (1996), (1997) for evidentiality.

(61)   TP/EvidentialP

T^0	$\emptyset$-*tı-m* cop-past-1sg
	OR
$Evid^0$	$\emptyset$-*mIş-ım* cop-evid-1sg

Adj^0 *hasta*   sick
OR
Asp^0 *gel-iyor*   come-prog
OR
$Perf^0$ *gel–miş*   come-Perf
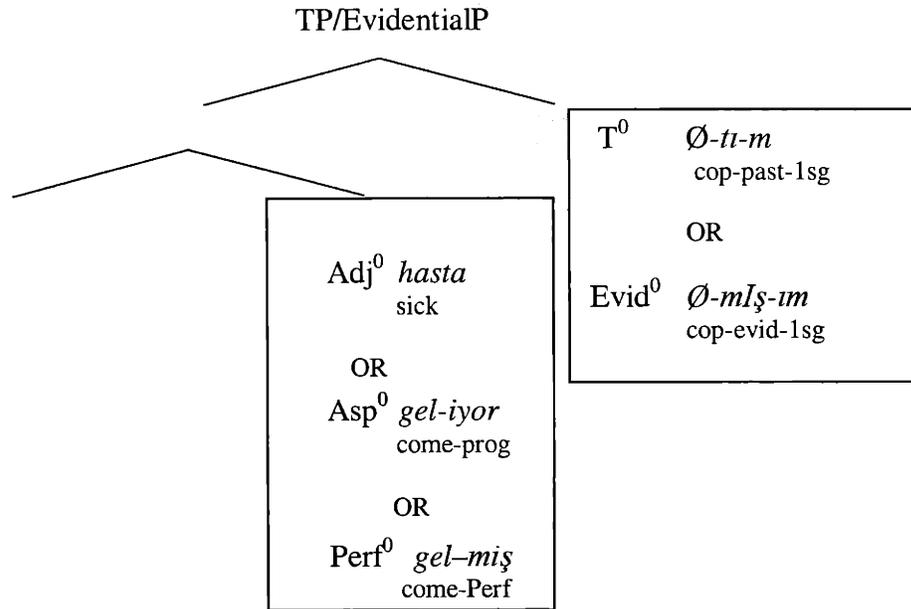
To summarize, we have seen that verbal forms with Group 1 markers are participles embedded under a copula, whereas verbal forms with Group 2 markers are finite fully inflected verbs. I suggested that if the structure contains Asp/Modal/PerfectP, then the verb root moves only up to the Aspect/Modal/Perfect head in the structure, forming a participle, and this complex head (the participle) cannot move further up to Tense due to its non-verbal nature, whereas when the structure doesn't contain an Asp/Modal/PerfectP, then the verb goes all the way up to T^0. In copular sentences, it is the copula that functions as the "finite form" in that it is the one that carries the tense and agreement features that get checked against the features of T^0. This property of the copula is similar to the "supporting" property of *do* in English. *Do*, too, is inserted when a verb cannot raise to T as in questions and negative sentences (see Emonds (1976), Pollock (1989)):

(62)   a.   Does John like Mary?/*Likes John Mary?

        b.   John doesn't like Mary./*John likes not Mary.

Similar to *do*, the Turkish copula cannot occur in infinitival form, either. This follows naturally because its function is to occur in T^0, which is in complementary distribution with infinitivalhood.

In this section we have seen evidence for the presence of the copula (*i-*, *-y-*, *-Ø-*) in structures with Group 1 markers and with non-verbal predicates. I also showed that the copula resides between markers that I argue (following Kornfilt 1996) form participles and the higher functional heads such as tense and evidential.

2.4. The nature of the z-paradigm and the negative word *değil*

In this section I will take up two issues related to copular structures: the question of what determines the choice of the agreement paradigms and the nature and the position of the negative word *değil*. In contrast to general belief (see, for instance, Lewis (1975), Kornfilt (1996)), I will argue that the agreement markers in the z-paradigm are not copular clitics. The shape of the agreement suffix, i.e. the choice of the paradigm, depends on the last TAM marker that occurs on the verbal stem, not on the presence or absence of the copula. Again in contrast to general belief, I will show that *değil* is not "the negative form of the copula", but a negative head residing under the copula.

2.4.1. The nature of the z-paradigm

Recall that in the introduction to this chapter I listed the two main agreement paradigms (named after their 1st person plural markers): the z-paradigm and the k-paradigm. There seems to be a consensus in Turkish linguistics that the markers in z-paradigm are not suffixes but clitics (or enclitics) since they cannot bear stress in contrast to the markers in k-paradigms, which can. They have also been frequently termed copular clitics (Kornfilt (1996)), or as "the present tense forms of the verb 'to be'" (Lewis (1975)).[28] In this section I will analyze the distribution of these markers in more detail, and I will show that they are not copular agreement markers, but that in general the "choice" of a paradigm over another one is determined by the last TAM marker on the verbal stem (Wlliams

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[28] Lewis (1975) and Erdal (1998) also state that these markers are in fact cliticized personal pronouns.

(1981). (I will use the term "agreement marker" as a covering term for both paradigms and for both types of markers: clitics and suffixes.)

What would it mean for an agreement marker to be a copular clitic? What would be the morphosyntactic environment? There are two alternatives: either (i) these clitics are directly attached to the copula, whereas agreement suffixes attach to a (lexical) verbal stem inflected for past tense, or (ii) they attach to any verbal complex that includes the copular morpheme. Let's entertain the former hypothesis first:

(63)　HYPOTHESIS 1—Rule: Attach an agreement clitic (from the z-paradigm) to the right of the copular morpheme.

If this were the rule, (64a and a') would be predicted to be ungrammatical:

(64)　a.　Hasta-y-mış-ız.　　　a'.　Hasta i-miş-iz.
　　　　　sick-cop-evid-1pl　　　　　sick cop-evid-1pl
　　　　　'Apparently, we were/are sick.'

　　　b.　*Hasta-y-ız-mış.　　　b'.　*Hasta i-iz-miş.
　　　　　sick-cop-1pl-evid　　　　　sick-cop-1pl-evid

In the grammatical forms in (64a and a') the agreement marker actually follows the evidential marker, and not the copula. In fact, it cannot attach to the copula at all, as the ungrammaticality of (64b) and (64b') show. So, Hypothesis1 cannot be right. Let's now discuss the second hypothesis.

(65)　HYPOTHESIS 2: The agreement clitic occurs in copular structures.

In other words, the choice of the agreement paradigm depends on whether the structure has a finite verb or a participle and a copula. This also makes wrong predictions. Consider the following:

(66)　　　Participle

　　　a.　Gel -meli　　　-y -di -k.
　　　　　come-necessitative-**cop**-past-**1pl (k-par.)**
　　　　　'We had to come.'

b.　　*Gel -meli　　　-y　-di　-z.
　　　　come-necessitative-**cop**-past-**1pl** (**z-par.**)

(67)　　　　Non-verbal predicate

a.　　Hasta-y- dı- k.
　　　　sick- cop-past-1pl
　　　　'We were sick.'

b.　　*Hasta-y-dı-z.
　　　　sick- cop-past-1pl

If this hypothesis were correct, the ungrammatical forms would be (66a) and (67b) but
not (66b) and (67b) since the former contain a copular morpheme but not the agreement
clitic from the *z*-paradigm.

　　　The contrast in the following examples (all copular sentences) summarizes the
point that the z-paradigm is not determined by the presence of the copula:

(68)　a.　　Güzel-Ø-Ø-**iz**.　　　　　　(z-par.)
　　　　　　pretty-cop-present-1pl
　　　　　　'We are pretty'

　　　b.　　Gel-eceğ-Ø-Ø-**iz**.　　　　　(z-par.)
　　　　　　come-future-cop-present-1pl
　　　　　　'We are going to come.'

(69)　a.　　Güzel-Ø-di-**k**.　　　　　　(k-par.)
　　　　　　pretty-cop-past-1pl
　　　　　　'We were pretty'

　　　b.　　Gel-ecek-Ø-ti-**k**.　　　　　(k-par.)
　　　　　　come-future-cop-past-1pl
　　　　　　'We were going to come.'

What these examples in fact suggest is that the determining factor is simply the identity
of the last suffix on the verbal stem an agreement marker attaches to. Namely, when the
last TAM marker on the verbal stem is the past tense marker (or the conditional marker),
then the agreement marker is from the *k*-paradigm, and if the last TAM marker is
anything else, the agreement marker is from the *z*-paradigm.

2.4.2. The nature and the position of *değil*

Recall that *değil* negates non-verbal predicates, and participial forms. Kornfilt (1996) suggest in passing that one might treat *değil* as "the negative copula", or it could be that it is a negative operator to which the null present tense copula is attached (Kornfilt (1996): p.number). I will show here that the latter is the correct analysis.

If *değil* were the negative copula, the clear prediction is that it should occur in the position where the copular suffix *–y-* occurs otherwise, and should not be able to cooccur with the "affirmative copula". The following shows that this prediction is not borne out.

(70) a. Hasta mı -y- dı -n?
          sick q.marker-cop-past-2sg
          'Were you sick?'

      b. *Hasta –mı -değil- di-n?
          sick -q.marker- DEĞIL-past-2sg
          Intended: 'Were you not sick?'

      c. Hasta **değil** -mi- y- di -n?
          sick DEĞIL- q.marker-cop-past-2sg
          'Were you not sick?'

I argued in previous sections (with Kornfilt (1996)) that *–y-* in (70a) is the copula, and not simply a hiatus breaker. If this is correct, and if *değil* is the negative form of the copula, we would expect the negative form of (70a) to be (70b), and not (70c).[29] (70c) in fact contains both *değil* and the copular suffix *-y-*.

The relative order of the morphemes suggests that *değil* is occupying a lower position than the copula. I suggest that it heads a NegP higher than the NegP headed by the verbal negative suffix *–mE-*, Neg⁰❷, and selects for a [-verbal] head.[30] The structure of (71a) is represented in (71b):

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[29] (70b) is grammatical in the reading in which *mI* focuses on *hasta*, not in the intended reading, in which *mI* has its focus over the entire clause. So, the meaning of the grammatical (70b) would be something like "Is it sick that you were not?".

[30] See also Aygen-Tosun (1998) for the head nature of *değil*.

(71) a. Hasta değil-Ø-di-n.
sick değil-cop-past-2sg
'You were not sick.'

b.

```
                    TP
              _____/_____
          NegP❷              T⁰Ø- di- n
         __/\__                cop-past-2sg
        /      \ Neg⁰❷ değil
    Adj⁰ hasta
      sick
```
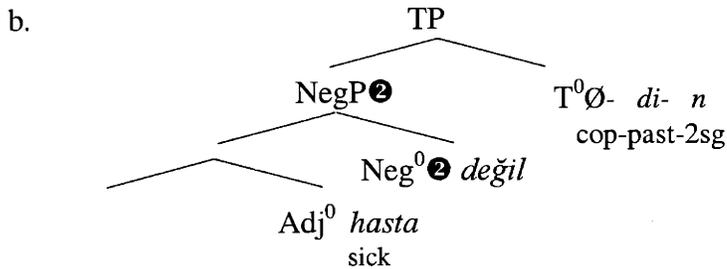
The proposal that there are two different NegP positions also predicts the facts we discussed in the section on double negation. Remember that in double negation contexts with verbal predicates, the participle is negated with the suffix *–mE* and it is embedded under *değil*. Given the previous discussion, I suggest that the structure of such sentences is like the following.

(72) a. Duy-m-uyor değil- Ø-di- n (ama duymuyormuş gibi yapmayı tercih ettin.)
hear-neg-prog not-cop-past-2sg
'You were not not hearing,
(but you preferred to pretend that you were not).'

b.

```
                                      TP
                               _____/_____
                              /               T⁰Ø- di- n
                         ____/\____             cop-past-2sg
                        /          \ Neg⁰❷ değil
                   ____/\____
                  /          \ Asp⁰ duy-m-uyor
             ____/\____        ▲ hear-neg-prog
            /          Neg❶ __|
           V __|▲
```
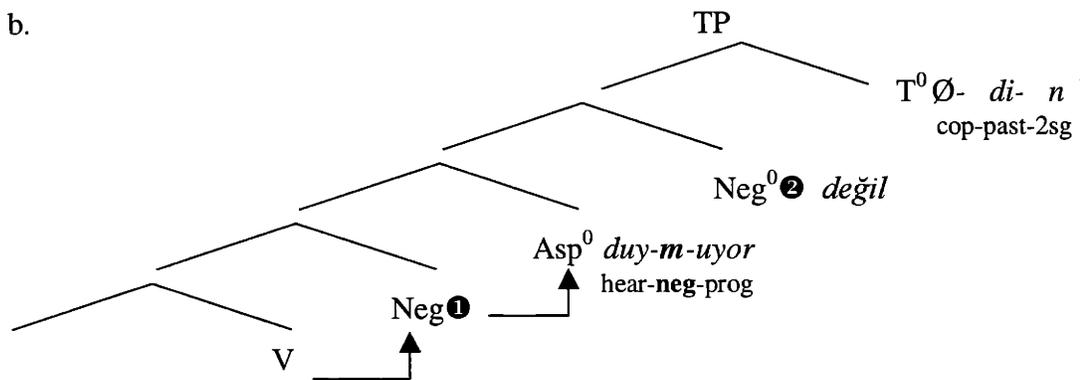
The presence of more than one negative phrase in a clause is a fact attested cross-linguistically (Zanuttini (1991)). It seems that in Turkish both of the negative phrases occur below TP. However, the lower one selects for a verbal head, whereas the higher

one selects for a non-verbal head, a participle or a non-verbal predicate.[31] The two negative markers also differ in their morphological properties: whereas the lower one – *mE*- is a suffix, the higher one *değil* is a free morpheme.

2.5. Conclusion

In previous sections we discussed the morphosyntax of simple clauses in Turkish, and concluded that when there is no Aspect/Perfect/Modal phrase between VP and TP, then the verb moves directly to Tense, yielding a finite structure (Kornfilt (1996)). If, on the other hand, a Aspect/Perfect/Modal phrase is present between VP and TP, then the verb moves only up to this intervening head, and forms a participle. The participle is [-verbal], and thus, cannot check the verbal feature of Tense. Instead, to check the verbal feature of Tense, a copula *(-y- i-, Ø-)* is inserted.

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[31] The distribution of *değil* is not limited to these cases. It can, for instance, negate entire clauses, as in the following:

(i) [O-nu ara-ma-dı-m] değil.
    he-acc call-neg-1sg değil
    'It is not (true) that I didn't call him...'

It can also function as constituent negation:

(ii) Kahya-yı değil şoför-ü tutukladılar.
    butler-acc değil driver-acc they arrested
    'They arrested not the butler but the driver.'

It can also occur to the left of a constituent it negates. When it does, it seems to have a very specific pragmatic function, namely, in cases where the constituent it negates is contrasted with another one, and this other constituent is modified by an explicit or implicit 'even'. The following should clarify what I mean:

(iii) Değil ben-i, baba-sı-nı bile dinle-m-iyor.
    değil I-acc father-3poss-acc even listen-neg-prog
    'Forget me, he doesn't even listen to his father.'

CHAPTER 3: Scope-rigidity and acc-marked indefinites

1. Introduction

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 I will discuss the scopal relationships between various quantificational elements in the structure. These elements will be mainly subject and object quantifiers, negation and negative polarity items.

As a starting point for the discussion on scope, I will first show in the following section that there is scope rigidity between two quantifiers in Turkish. I will conclude that an object quantifier cannot QR above a subject quantifier, and likewise, a subject quantifier cannot reconstruct, and take scope lower than the object. I will end the introduction pointing to the fact that indefinite direct objects marked for accusative seem to violate scope rigidity.

This will lead me to a detailed discussion of indefinite direct objects in Section 2. [32] This section aims at cataloging the contexts where acc-marked indefinites are felicitious, and the kinds of interpretations they receive in those contexts. The second part of Section 2 is devoted to analyzing the scope behavior of indefinite direct objects. I will conclude that similar to the facts discussed in the introduction, acc-marked indefinites seem to be able to take wider scope than the other quantificational elements in the structure such as a subject quantifier, negation and intensional verbs, whereas non-case-marked indefinites always take narrow scope. In Section 2.4.1. I discuss the question whether acc-indefinites can be treated as ambiguous between a referential and a quantificational reading, and conclude that they cannot be referential in the sense discussed in Fodor & Sag (1982). In the last subsection of Section 2 I argue that acc-indefinites are not really exceptions to scope rigidity but the unexpected scope facts are a

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[32] In this dissertation my discussion is restricted to those indefinites that are formed by a numeral or a weak determiner in the sense of Milsark (1977) plus common noun such as *bir kitap* 'a book', *iki kitap* 'two books', and *birkaç kitap* 'a few books', though the majority of the discussion will revolve around those indefinites that are modified by numerals. I will not discuss bare singulars and plurals, whose interpretation depends on many factors as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1. The reader is referred to the works cited there.

result of the way they are interpreted. I will offer an analysis that adopts some properties of the interpretive mechanism for indefinites proposed in Reinhart (1997), Winter (1997), Kratzer (1998), Chierchia (1999), Matthewson (1998) and Lidz (1999). Similar to these works, my analysis will also treat acc-indefinites as choice function variables. However, it will differ from them in many respects, which will be discussed in detail in this section and in Chapter 4.

Section 3 turns to the question why case marking should signal a certain interpretation for a noun phrase. I provide further arguments to the view that the acc-marked indefinites in Turkish differ in their surface position from the non-case-marked indefinites (Diesing (1992), Kennelly (1994), de Hoop (1992), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Aygen-Tosun (1999)), the former being VP-external, the latter VP-internal. Following Diesing (1992) amd Kennelly (1994), I propose that acc-indefinites check their case feature in a position that lies above the existential closure, and receive presuppositional interpretation.

1.1. Scope rigidity

Turkish has been considered a scope rigid language similar to German, Japanese and Chinese (see Huang (1982) and Hoji (1986), among others) in that scope relations seem to be read off the surface order of the quantifiers (see Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Göksel (1997), Aygen-Tosun (1999); among others).

Canonical examples to illustrate scope rigidity usually consist of a universal quantifier and an indefinite. However, since the main goal of this chapter is to show that indefinites behave exceptionally, I will illustrate scope rigidity in Turkish with examples which <u>do not</u> contain indefinites. This is the reason for the complexity of the following examples. The examples in the following contain combinations of different subject and direct object quantifiers. I will illustrate the available and unavailable readings by first describing a context.

Example (73) presents two scenarios. Let's suppose there are 10 students (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J) and 5 books: a, b, c, d and e. In (73a) there is a group/set of

students the number of which is more than half of the total number of the students in the class. I.e. the number of students who read all the books is more than 5, half of the total number of students. Each member of this set read all the five books.

In (73b) each book is read by a *different* set of students. However, the number of the students in each set still represents the majority of the students because it is more than half, i.e. more than 5.

(73)   a.   Each of the 7 students (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) read Books a, b, c, d and e.

       b.   Book a was read by students: B, C, D, E, H, J, K
            Book b was read by students: A, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K
            Book c was read by students: D, E, F, G, H, I, J
            Book d was read by students: C, D, E, F, G, I
            Book e was read by students: A, B, C, D, E, F, G

The Turkish sentence in (74a) is true only in a scenario such as (73a), and not in one such as (73b). (74b), in which the object 'every book-acc' occurs to the left of the subject 'most of the students', is felicitous only in a situation such as the one in (73b) but not in (73a).

(74)   a.   Öğrenciler-in çoğ-u   her kitab-ı   okudu.
            students-gen most-poss every book-acc read
            'Most of the students read every book.'

       b.   Her kitab-ı   öğrenciler-in çoğ-u   okudu.
            every book-acc students-gen most-poss read
            'Every book, most of the students read.'

Again imagine a class with 10 students and a library of 5 books. (75a) would be true in a situation in which there are only three students (say, John, Mary and Kim) who read every book in the library. It cannot be true in a situation in which every book is read by different sets of three students, e.g. *Moby Dick* is read by John, Mary and Kim, and *Catcher in the Rye* is read by Peter, Paul and Mary, and so on. The salient reading of

(75b), on the other hand, is that every student read a set of three books, possibly different sets.

(75) a.   Sadece üç öğrenci her kitab-ı   okudu.
              only three student every book-acc read
              'Only three students read every book.'

      b.   Her   öğrenci sadece üç kitab-ı   okudu.
              every student only   three book-acc read
              'Every student read only three books.'

The following examples involve the quantifiers 'at most' and 'every N'. Consider a situation as schematized in (76).

(76)
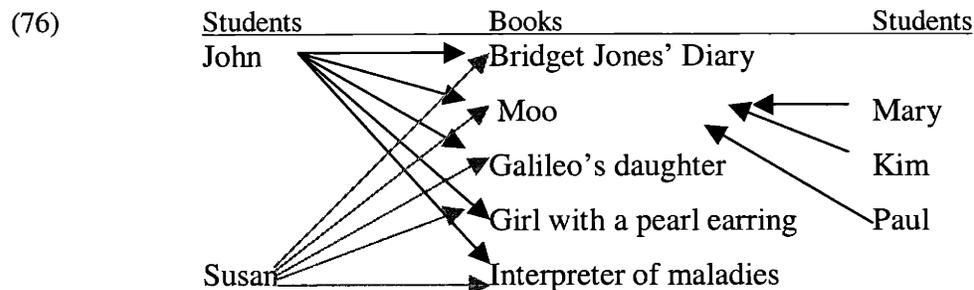
(77)   At most three students read every book.

The English example in (77) is ambiguous. The surface order reading in which 'at most three students' takes scope over 'every book', is true in the situation in (76) because there are two students John and Susan, each of which read all the books. The inverse scope reading, on the other hand, in which *every book* takes scope over *at most three students* is false in the situation described in (76) because this reading requires *every book* to be read by at most three students. If you consider the situation in (76), you see that that is not the case. The "Moo" is read by John, Susan, Mary, Kim and Paul, thus, by more than 3 students.

Let us now consider the Turkish examples below. (78a) is true in a situation such as (76). (78b), on the other hand, is false. Thus, (78a) corresponds to the first reading we discussed for the English example above, namely, the reading in which the surface order

of the quantifiers is retained. The order of the quantifiers is reversed in (78b); hence, it has the second reading of (77).

(78) a.   En fazla üç öğrenci   her kitab-ı   okudu.   [true]
            at most three student every book-acc read
            'At most three students read every book.'

      b.   Her kitab-ı   en fazla üç öğrenci   okudu.   [false]
            every book-acc at most three student read

Let us now consider structures with *every student* as the subject and *at most four books* as the object. A structure with the subject-object order as in (79a) is false in a situation such as (76) since there are two students John and Susan, who read more than four books. So, 'read at most four books' is not true for every student. (79b), on the other hand, where the order of the subject and object is reversed, is true in this situation since there are two books that are read by every student, hence, at most four.

(79) a.   Her   öğrenci en fazla dört kitab-ı   okudu.   [false]
            Every student at most two book-acc read
            'Every student read at most two books.'

      b.   En fazla dört kitab-ı   her öğrenci   okudu.   [true]
            at most two book-acc every student read
            'At most two books, every student read.'

We have seen so far that the surface order of quantifiers reflect their relative scope, and that scrambling does not create ambiguity. The examples we have looked at consisted of universal quantifiers, *most* and modified numerals.

The next set of examples contain a universal quantifier and an indefinite; the pair of quantifiers, which is, in fact, generally used to illustrate scope rigidity. Consider (80):

(80) Bir öğrenci her kitab-ı   okumuş.
      A student   every book-acc read
      'A student read every book.'

Suppose you have a very small library in the department, and at the end of the year you check which of the books were read, and you find a very surprising fact: there are 205 books in the library, and you find out that there is one student who read all of them! The

sentence in (80) is felicitous in this situation. Contrary to its English counterpart in the translation, this sentence is not true in a situation in which every book was read by a (possibly) different student. This fact supports the generalization that the surface order of the quantifiers reflects their relative scope: the indefinite subject takes scope over the universal quantifier object, and the universal quantifier object <u>cannot</u> take scope over the indefinite subject.

However, things get more complicated when we try to test whether the same "rigidity" holds when we swap the positions of these quantifiers, namely, when the subject is a universal quantifier, and the object an indefinite. The reason is that when an indefinite is a direct object, it may or not may not bear overt marking for accusative case, as shown in (81) and (82), and this has an effect on the interpretation.[33]

(81)   a.   Her öğrenci bir kitap okudu.
             every student a book   read.

        b.   Her öğrenci bir kitab-ı okudu.
             every student a book-**acc** read.

(82)   a.   Her öğrenci iki kitap okudu.
             every student two book read.

        b.   Her öğrenci iki kitab-ı   okudu.
             every student two book-**acc** read.

The significance of (a)- vs. (b)-sentences in (81) and (82) is as follows: they differ in the way their objects are interpreted, that is, the absence vs. presence of the acc-marking on the indefinite has an effect on the interpretation (Aygen-Tosun (1999)).[34] For simplicity

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[33] This optionality is not possible for other Cases, regardless of whether the noun phrase is a quantifier or not:
(i)   a.   Her öğrenci iki kişi-ye   yardım etti.
         every student two person-**dat** helped
         'Every student helped two people.'

    b.   *Her öğrenci iki kişi   yardım etti.
        every student two person helped

[34] As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no definite article. Definite NPs consist of a bare noun, and the definite vs. indefinite interpretation of the NP depends on the position of the NP (next to the verb or away from it), the absence vs. presence of case marking, and the semantics of the predicate (stage vs. individual, generic vs. episodic etc.) (See Erguvanlı (1984), Dede (1986) and Tura (1986) among others.)

of exposition, let me call those indefinites that are marked for accusative overtly "acc-marked indefinites" and those that do not bear any overt case marking "zero-marked indefinites".[35] (In the following I will occasionally make these shorter as "acc-indefinite" and "zero-indefinite".)

1.2. Acc-marking and scope interactions: violation of scope rigidity?

Recall that the structure in (80), in which the subject is an indefinite and the object is a universal quantifier, is unambiguous. When the subject is a universal quantifier and the object is a zero-marked indefinite, the structure is **again unambiguous**:

(83)   Her öğrenci bir kitap okudu.
        every student a book   read
        'Every student read a book.'

Here every student read a book, possibly a different one. This example also supports the generalization that scope relations on the surface remain identical at LF.

However, as mentioned above, acc-marked indefinites seem to create a counterexample to this generalization. Consider the following:

(84)   Her öğrenci bir kitab-ı okudu.
        every student a book-**acc** read
        'Every student read a book.'

This sentence can be uttered in the following situations:

(i) There is a list of books and every student x read a book y from that list.

(ii) There is one book s.t. every student read that book.

The determiner in indefinites is *bir* 'one', which is identical to the numeral *bir* 'one', and thus, the nature of the *bir* N phrases is controversial. See Aygen-Tosun (1999) for an approach that treats *bir* N as only a numeral quantifier.

35 I refrain from calling the latter "nominative marked" since that would not be a theory-neutral term.

Note that both of the readings differ from the one in (83). (84) would, for instance, be felicitous in the following cases: (i) there is a list of books, for instance, that the teacher gave to the students before the winter break, and told them to read as many books as possible from that list. After the winter break, the students reported to the teacher what they read. The result is that every student read one book (possibly different), chosen from this list. In the other reading, (ii), the result is that every student chose to read the same book, e.g. *Moby Dick*. (84) <u>cannot</u> be uttered in a situation in which there was no list of books mentioned before in the discourse. (Every item in the list does not have to have been mentioned. What matters is that the existence of such a list is in the commonground of the conversation.) In other words, this sentence would sound really awkward to report a situation in which the teacher just told the students to read (any) books in the winter break, and it turned out to be the case that every student read one, possibly different, book of their own choice. Such a meaning would be expressed by (83) where the object is zero-marked.

What do we learn from these examples? First, we learn that an acc-marked object is interpreted as a (covert) partitive. This is what Enç (1991) calls "specificity".[36] Second, we learn that this discourse linking does not mean that the object has to have the widest scope since obviously it might have narrow scope w.r.t, for instance, a universal quantifier subject as in (84), a fact also observed in Enç (1991).

Note at this moment that the ambiguity in (84) would not be surprising for a language such as English in which multiple ambiguities in structures with two (or more) quantifiers is a common phenomenon. Many quantifiers in English in object position can take scope over the subject, and the resulting reading has been claimed by many to be one in which the object quantifier moves to a position higher than the subject.

However, in a language such as Turkish in which an object otherwise never takes scope over the subject, this very same reading in (84ii), namely, the wide scope reading is surprising, since it violates the generalization about scope rigidity, as shown in examples

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[36] Enç (1991:6) uses the term partitive "...in its syntactic sense to refer to NPs such as *two of the books* with definite adjuncts, and in its semantic sense to refer to the interpretation of such NPs. Partitivity will thus be associated with specificity..."

(74) thru (80).[37] I argue in Section 2.4.2. that wide-scope readings of acc-marked indefinites in Turkish are not a violation of scope rigidity but a result of a general interpretive mechanism, e.g. a choice-function interpretation. Before proceeding to an analysis along these lines, let us first understand what interpretation acc-indefinites receive in which contexts. This will be the main topic of the following section. Later I will come back to the scopal behavior of indefinites in general, and end Section 2 with a proposal.

2. Acc-marking and presuppositionality

It has been observed that in Turkish presence vs. absence of overt acc-marking on direct objects has an effect on their interpretation (Erguvanlı (1984), Nilsson (1985), Lewis (1975), Enç (1991), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Aygen-Tosun (1999); among others). It has also been argued that acc-marked indefinite objects are interpreted as "specific", whereas those that are not marked for accusative are interpreted as "non-specific" (Erguvanlı (1984), Nilsson (1985), Enç (1991), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997); among others).

Before proceeding let me discuss the notions "specific", "partitive" and "presuppositional" that have been used to characterize the interpretation of indefinites.

2.1. Specificity, partitivity, presuppositionality

In the literature the terms specific, partitive and presuppositional are sometimes used interchangeably. Each term is also used to express different notions in different works. Therefore, in this section I discuss them in detail to provide a foundation for later discussions.

The notion "specificity" has been used in the literature to express different interpretations. In one sense of the term, it has been argued that "specific" is used for those indefinites that "refer" to an individual the speaker has in mind. Fodor & Sag (1982), for instance, argue that this reading of indefinites exists independently from their

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[37] Aygen-Tosun (1999) claims that acc-marked scpecific nouns are independent of the scope of a higher quantifier, and proposes that acc-marking indicates independency from quantifier scope.

quantificational interpretation. They claim, for instance, that the indefinite in the following example is ambiguous between a quantificational and a referential interpretation.

(85)   A student in the syntax class cheated on the final exam.

(Fodor & Sag (1982): 475)

The significance of the structure in (85) is that it doesn't contain a quantificational element, and thus, they claim that the different readings of the indefinite they claim to exist cannot be of a quantificational nature. They argue that one semantic interpretation of the indefinite is that of a quantified expression such as *each student* or *few students*, and the other is that of a referring expression such as a proper name or demonstrative phrase. They claim that the ambiguity in (85) is between the following two interpretations: someone who utters it might be intending to assert merely that the set of students in the syntax class who cheated on the final exam is not empty (quantificational interpretation); or he might be intending to assert of some particular student, whom he does not identify, that this student cheated (referential interpretation). They claim that when a speaker utters a referential indefinite, that means s(he) is making an assertion about the individual s(he) has in mind. From the hearer's point of view, a referential indefinite conveys no more information than an existential statement would have - except for the prospect that, if it became relevant to the conversation, the speaker could specify which individual the assertion was about. I will show later in Section 2.4.1. that acc-indefinites in Turkish cannot be "referential", and thus, cannot be characterized as "specific" in this sense.

Ludlow & Neale (1991), in fact, challenge the "referential" view, and show that there are no good arguments for the claim that indefinites are lexically ambiguous between a quantificational and a referential reading. Rather, they argue that indefinites lend themselves to referential "uses" when certain pragmatic conditions are met (see ibid. for a detailed discussion of such conditions).

It has been also argued that "specificity" equals "partitivity" (cf. Enç (1991)). Partitive interpretation requires that there is some previous discourse to which both the

speaker and the hearer can relate the denotation of the noun phrase in question. Consider the following example:

(86)   My son has already read two of the books.

If (86) is uttered without prior discourse in which the existence of the denotation of *the books* was asserted, this utterance would sound pretty awkward to the hearer, who would not know which books the speaker was referring to. Consider, however, the following discourse in which the existence of a set of books is asserted first:

(87)   I bought lots of books and magazines for my son who says he is bored when he is alone at home. He is such a smart kid. He has already read two of the books.

Here the partitive phrase *two of the books* is felicitous since the hearer can relate it to the larger set of books mentioned in the previous sentence.

Now let us return to the sentence in (85). Regardless of whether we assume that the indefinite *a student* has a referential use (Ludlow and Neale (1991)) or that it has a referential reading (Fodor & Sag (1982)), it is very clear that it has different licensing conditions than partitives. Contrast the following:

(88)   a.   A student in the syntax class cheated on the final exam.
         b.   #My son has already read two of the books.

The reader would agree that the "particular" reading/use of *a student* in (88a) is pretty easy to get even without prior discourse establishing a partitive relation between *a student* and a set of students, whereas *two of the books* in (88b) is infelicitous without such prior discourse.

This discussion shows that there is a clear distinction between a "specific" reading that is characterized as "a particular/certain N", "a N the speaker has in mind" versus a "specific" reading characterized as a (concealed) partitive.

Another notion that has been used in connection with specificity is "presuppositionality". In the following I would like to show that presuppositionality is different from partitivity, though the latter entails the former.

In the literature of indefinites and quantifiers, this term is usually used to characterize noun phrases which carry presuppositions of existence. Let me first discuss presuppositionality of some quantifier phrases.

A quantifier is said to be presuppositional if its restrictor is presupposed to denote a non-empty set (Strawson (1952), Diesing (1992), Lappin & Reinhart (1988), Heim & Kratzer (1998); among others).

(89)   a.   Every student protested the war.

        b.   Most professors supported the anti-war campaign.

The determiners *every* and *most* in the examples above are said to be presuppositional since by uttering the sentences in (93), the speaker <u>presupposes</u> that the hearer and him/herself share the knowledge that students exist and professors exist. Note again that for these sentences to be felicitous, there <u>does not</u> need to be prior discourse in which the existence of students or professors is asserted. That is, they could easily follow the following conversation-starter:

(90)   Discourse: "Do you remember the 60s?"

Again, presuppositionality is not identical to partitivity. Contrast the examples in (89) with their partitive counterparts:

(91)   a.   Every one of the students protested the war.

        b.   Most of the professors supported the anti-war campaign.

The structures in (91) sound odd in the same discourse. For them to be felicituous, *the students* and *the professors* should be mentioned in prior discourse or their denotation should be recoverable from contextual clues. In most of the cases, *the students* and *the*

professors would refer to a relevant, contextually recoverable set of students or a set of professors.

Having shown that presuppositionality as defined is not identical to partitivity, let me now discuss what is meant by the claim that in phrases with these determiners the restrictor is presupposed to be non-empty. If we define presuppositionality of a noun phrase merely as presupposition of the non-emptiness of the set denoted by the head noun, then the contrast between presuppositional vs. non-presuppositional noun phrases is clear <u>only</u> when the head noun denotes a kind of an individual or an entity, whose existence is not a common, world knowledge. Consider (89) again repeated here:

(92)   a.   Every student protested the war.

        b.   Most professors supported the anti-war campaign.

It is hard to prove that the utterer of (92a) "presupposes" that the set of students is non-empty since that set is already presupposed to be non-empty as part of world knowledge, i.e. we all know/believe that students exist. Now contrast these with the following:[38]

(93)   a.   Every American king lived in New York.

                           (adapted from Lappin & Reinhart (1988: 1021))

        b.   Most unicorns have accounts at the Chase Manhattan Bank.

                           (adapted from Heim & Kratzer (1998))

(94)   a.   Two American kings lived in New York.

        b.   No American king lived in New York.

These sentences in (93a) and (93b) sound odd. Intuitively, they sound odd since we know/believe that there has never been any kings in America, or that there are no unicorns. The determiners *every* and *most*, on the other hand, presuppose the non-emptiness of their restrictor, *American kings* and *unicorns*, respectively.

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[38] Heim & Kratzer (1998) cite McCawley (1972) for (93b).

The oddness of such structures have been characterized as "presupposition failure" (Barwise & Cooper (1981), Lappin & Reinhart (1988), de Jong and Verkuyl (1985); among others). Namely, there is a clash between the presuppositional nature of the determiners *every* and *most*, and the world knowledge that there have never been American kings or unicorns.

A structure is said to have presupposition failure when a native speaker cannot judge it as true or false. Lappin & Reinhart (1988) report that when native speakers are presented with (93a) or (93b), they judge it to be neither true nor false. When they are presented with the structures in (94), on the other hand, some of them judge them as false and some as indeterminate. These judgments are taken to show that determiners such as *every* and *most* presuppose the non-emptiness of their restrictor; hence, they are presuppositional in this sense.

To summarize, returning to the contrast between (89) and (91), we can say that simple quantifier phrases such as *most professors* presuppose the existence of their restrictor, in this case, existence of professors in general, whereas in partitive phrases what is presupposed is the existence of the denotation of the definite phrase, such as *the professors* in (91b). The fact that *the professors* is definite requires the denotation of this phrase to be familiar in the discourse to both the speaker and the hearer (cf. Heim's Familiarity Condition for definites (1982)).

I suggest that one can account for the data I will be discussing in this chapter if one maintains that what acc-indefinites have in common is that they presuppose the non-emptiness of their restrictor.

It has also been observed that the quantifier phrases exemplified in (89) do not always have to presuppose only that their (overt) restrictor is non-empty. It has been observed that some quantifiers allow their restrictors to be further restricted by the context, even implicitly. What do I mean by that? Consider the following example:

(95)   Every professor came to our party.

In its literal interpretation, (95) means that for every individual x such that if x is a professor, x came to our party. In reality, however, that would not be the meaning I am

trying to express since there is no way all the professors in the world can come to our party. This sentence in fact expresses a more humble fact: that every professor in our department or in our university came to our party, depending on the context of the conversation. Thus, if we were talking about our department, and I uttered this sentence, the hearer could easily infer that what I mean by "every professor" is actually "every professor in our department". It's been argued that this is made possible with an implicit restrictor restricting further the domain the quantifier ranges over (von Fintel, 1994; among others). Thus, in this case the restrictor of the determiner *every* is not only the set of professors (in the world) but a subset of it: the set of professors in our department.

Diesing (1992) bases her weak vs. strong distinction for indefinites on their contrast in presuppositionality. She follows (Milsark (1977) in assuming that phrases with strong determiners are quantifiers, whereas phrases with weak determiners are cardinality words. Diesing (1992) equates quantificationality with presuppositionality. Thus, for her noun phrases with strong determiners are presuppositional, whereas those with weak determiners are non-presuppositional. Indefinites are ambigous between these two.

The term "presuppositional" has been also used in a slightly different way. For instance, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) maintains that Diesing's (1992) presuppositionality of indefinites is identical to partitivity. In this sense, a noun phrase is presuppositional if its denotation is presupposed to exist <u>in a certain domain</u>. Let's call this the partitive definition of presuppositionality (Partitive-Presup), and the one we discussed earlier as the first definition of presuppositionality (General-Presup).

However, we have seen earlier that presuppositionality is not identical to partitivity. Let us now return to the question we started with. What is meant by when Turkish acc-indefinites are said to be "specific", "presuppositional", "partitive"? If we define presuppositionality as (General-Presup), then it boils down to saying that when a speaker utters an acc-indefinite, say, *bir kitabı* 'a book-acc' s(he) presupposes that books exist. If presuppositionality (or specificity) is partitivity, on the other hand, then when a speaker utters *bir kitabı* 'a book-acc' s(he) presupposes that there is a set of books that both the speaker and the hearer are familiar with (mentioned in the prior discourse), (Partitive-Presup). If specificity is "having a particular individual in mind", then *bir*

kitabı 'a book-acc' <u>can</u> be uttered out of the blue, with no prior discourse establishing a set of books, simply signaling to the hearer that the speaker is talking about a particular book. Which one of these meanings does accusative marking encode? If it encodes some or all of these meanings, is there a common denominator that encompasses them all?

I will argue in the rest of the chapter that acc-indefinites do not always have to be partitive and moreover, they cannot be "referential". Thus, if we want to maintain the assumption that acc-marking signals one semantic property across all contexts, that will be the presuppositionality defined as the presupposition that the denotation of the head noun of the indefinite phrase is non-empty, and not necessarily partitivity. As I showed earlier with the example *Every professor came to the party*, the restrictor can further be restricted implicitly.

Is there a way to test the presuppositional nature of acc-indefinites? von Fintel (1998) suggest a number of environments where presuppositions project as a testing ground for the presuppositionality of an indefinite. One such environment is the yes/no questions. Consider the following:

(96) a. Are there any major mistakes in this manuscript?
more than a few
Is there a significant number of

b. Are some mistakes
more than a few mistakes
Is a significant number of mistakes in this manuscript major?

von Fintel (1998)'s (7)

Von Fintel (1998) reports that the questions in (96b) signal that the existence of mistakes in this manuscript is taken to be granted, which is not the case for (96a). As commonly known, indefinites in *there*-sentences do not carry an existence presupposition, while those used as the subject of the individual-level predicates such as major as in (96b) are presupposition triggers. Next, he tests Reinhart (1995)'s examples that she argues to be counterexamples to Diesing's claim that some indefinites are presuppositional.

(97) a. Do some ghosts study Dutch?

 b. Are some students of Dutch ghosts?

 c. Are some ghosts speakers of Dutch?

 d. Are some speakers of Dutch ghosts?

<div align="right">von Fintel (1998)'s (8)</div>

Von Fintel argues that someone who doesn't believe in the existence of ghosts can simply answer "No!" to the questions in (97b) and (97d). However, the questioner who asks (97a) or (97c) is taken to presuppose that ghosts exists.

When we use this test for acc-indefinites in Turkish, we see that they do carry presupposition of existence as opposed to zero-indefinites, which do not.

(98) a. ?Sen bir hayalet-i gördün mü?
 you bir ghost-acc saw q.marker
 'Did you see one of the ghosts?'

 b. Sen bir hayalet-Ø gördün mü?
 you bir ghost   saw q.marker
 'Did you see a ghost?'

The questioner who asks (98a) is taken to believe that there are ghosts, whereas this is not the case for the person who asks (98b).

Another testing environment von Fintel (1998) offers is the antecedent of a conditional. It has been known that presuppositions project in this environment, as well. I report only a representative number of examples below:

(99) a. I am not sure yet whether there are any mistakes at all in this book manuscript, but we can definitely not publish it.

 b. if there turns out to be some major mistakes in there...

 c. if some major mistakes are found...

 d. #if some mistakes are major...

<div align="right">(adapted from von Fintel (1998)'s (9))</div>

Von Fintel attributes the oddity of (99d) in contrast to (99b) and (99c) to the fact that the former has existence presupposition of mistakes in the manuscript, which conflicts with the discourse in (99a).

Again, acc-indefinites pass this test of presuppositionality. Consider the following:

(100) a. Bir hata-yı   bul-ur-sa-n   gitmene izin vereceğim.
           a mistake-acc find-aorist-cond-2sg I will let yo go.
           'If you find one of the mistakes, I will let you go.'

       b. Bir hata-∅ bul-ur-sa-n   gitmene izin vereceğim.
           a mistake find-aorist-cond-2sg I will let yo go.
           'If you find a mistake, I will let you go.'

The contrast is very sharp. The speaker of (100a) presupposes that there are mistakes (in the relevant document), whereas the speaker of (100b) does not. The first one can be uttered in a situation, for instance, in which a senior editor tells his assistant that there are many subtle mistakes in a manuscript, and as part of his training, he is supposed to find them. The assistant is tired, and doesn't want to do it, but the senior editor doesn't want to let him go unless he finds at least one. Similar to von Fintel's example, when the discourse is such that the speaker believes that there may be no mistakes at all, then (100a) is infelicitous.

(101) a. Bu yazı kontrol edildi mi bilmiyorum.
           I don't know whether this text has been edited.

       b. #Bir hata-yı   bulursan   bana haber ver.
           you a mistake-acc find-aorist-cond-2sg let me know.
           'If you find one of the mistakes, let me know.'

       c. Bir hata-∅   bulursan   bana haber ver.
           you a mistake-acc find-aorist-cond-2sg let me know.
           'If you find a mistake, let me know.'

To summarize, we have seen that there is empirical evidence for the claim that acc-indefinites are presuppositional.

The following sections are devoted to cataloging the contexts acc-indefinites are felicitous in, as well as describing the meanings they induce in the hopes of shedding light on the correlation between overt case-marking and interpretation in general.[39]

Before discussing indefinites in detail, however, let me first discuss acc-marked noun phrases in general.

2.2. Accusative marked objects in general

Enç (1991) observes that it is not only the specific indefinites but also definites, proper names, personal pronouns and strong quantifiers such as *her* 'every', *çoğu* 'most', that are marked for accusative overtly when they occur as direct objects. (102) lists the types of noun phrases that are marked for accusative obligatorily, and (103)-(109) provide examples.

(102) A direct object is accusative marked overtly:

(i) if it is definite: definites such as *the book*, pronouns, proper names, demonstratives, noun phrases with possessive determiners/subjects;

(ii) if its determiner is a strong determiner such as *every, most, all*;

(iii) if it is an overt or a covert partitive indefinite or wh-phrase; (Enç (1991), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997))[40]

(v) if it has wide scope over a quantificational element.

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[39] I will still leave some cases not fully explained. Please see the Appendix for a discussion and possible ways to pursue in future research.

[40] Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) argues that there are three types of acc-indefinites, the first two discussed first in Enç (1991): (i) concealed partitives, (ii) relational specifics, which are typically but not necessarily preceded by a specificity adjective such as "certain", and (iii) what Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) calls out-of-the-blue indefinites. She doesn't discuss the second type for Turkish. For the third type, she suggests that they are referential indefinites in Fodor & Sag (1982)'s sense. While I agree with the correlation between acc-marking and concealed partitivity, as I will shortly discuss, I will show that acc-indefinites cannot be "referential". Rather, I will show in Section 2.4. that Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)'s examples can be explained when we look at the properties of the structure more closely.

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) also extensively discusses free choice items in Turkish, *herhangi* N 'any', which she claims to be marked for accusative obligatorily when they occur as direct objects. These FCIs in Turkish are argued to be similar to the FCIs in Serbo-Croatian discussed by Progovac (1994) in that they are licensed in negative and modal environments, but differ morphologically from negative polarity items. Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) argues that phrases with *herhangi* are a subcase of concealed partitives since they can be paraphrased with an overt partitive phrase, and thus, they are presuppositional in the sense discussed in Diesing (1992). I will not discuss FCIs in this dissertation. I refer the reader to Zidani-Eroğlu (1997).

Proper names, noun phrases with demonstratives or possessive determiners/subjects, and personal pronouns have been argued to be "definites" since they share distributional properties with definite noun phrases that have the definite determiner *the* (Postal (1966))[41]. Further, it has been commonly held that a definite description presupposes existence. Thus, as expected, these noun phrases along with the canonically definite noun phrases[42] have to be marked for accusative overtly. (–Ø-marking on the object represents lack of overt accusative marker –*I).*

(103) a. **Proper names**
Hasan Elif-i aradı./*..Elif-Ø...aradı
Hasan Elif-acc called
'Hasan called Elif.'

b. **Definite common nouns**
Hasan başkan-ı aradı./* ...başkan-Ø aradı.
Hasan president-acc called
'Hasan called the president.'

c. **Demonstratives**
Hasan bu kitab-ı okudu./*...bu kitap-Ø okudu.
Hasan this book-acc read
'Hasan read this book.'

d. **Pronouns**
Hasan sen-i aradı./*...sen-Ø aradı.
Hasan you-acc called
'Hasan called you.'

e. **Noun phrases with possessive subjects**
Hasan-ın   araba-sı-nı   gör-dü-m.
Hasan-3gen car-3poss-acc see-past-1sg
'I saw Hasan's car.'

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[41]There is no obvious reason why all these types of NPs should be characterized as "definite", as noted in Milsark (1977:6). Postal (1966)) shows that they have common distributional properties. Milsark (1977) treats them together with the items in (ii) and (iii) as "quantifiers". Heim (1982) considers the items in (i) (except the pronouns) as definites "...in the sense that their descriptive content of the noun phrase is presupposed, i.e. they have presupposition of existence", (p. 230-238).

[42] Recall that Turkish does not have an overt definite article. By "canonically definite", I simply mean, a noun phrase that would be translated into a language such as English with the definite article *the*.

Partitive phrases, as well, carry presupposition of existence. That is, in *one of the candidates*, by the nature of definiteness the existence of the denotation of *the candidates* is presupposed. They have to have overt accusative marking in Turkish.

(104)   **Partitive phrases**

    a.   Hasan aday-lar-dan   çoğ-u-nu   aradı./*Hasan aday-lar-dan çoğu-Ø aradı.
            Hasan candidate-pl-abl most-3poss-acc called
            'Hasan called most of the candidates.'

    b.   Hasan aday-lar-dan   bir-i-ni   aradı./*Hasan aday-lar-dan bir-i-Ø aradı.
            Hasan candidate-pl-abl one-3poss-acc called
            'Hasan called one of the candidates.'

Milsark (1977) distinguishes two types of determiners: strong and weak. The syntactic diagnostic he employs for these two different types of determiners is the *there*-insertion contexts. He argues that noun phrases with weak determiners can appear in the post-verbal position of a *there*-sentence, whereas those with strong determiners cannot. This distribution has been characterized as "the definiteness restriction" (Milsark (1974, 1977)). (i) and (ii) illustrate the different behavior of strong vs. weak determiners:

(105)   weak determiners

    a.   There is a mouse in the kitchen.

    b.   There are some/a few/many /three mice in the kitchen.

(106)   strong determiners

    a.   *There is the/every mouse in the kitchen.

    b.   *There are all/most mice in the kitchen.

As expected, in Turkish phrases with strong determiners are marked for accusative obligatorily, whereas those with weak determiners are not (Enç (1991)).

(107) **Strong determiners**

    a.   Hasan herkes-i   aradı./*...herkes-Ø aradı.
              Hasan everybody-acc called
              'Hasan called everybody.'

    b.   Hasan her aday-ı   aradı./*...her aday-Ø aradı.
              Hasan every candidate-acc called
              'Hasan called every candidate.'

    c.   Hasan çoğu aday-ı   aradı./*...çoğu aday- Ø aradı.
              Hasan most candidate-acc called
              'Hasan called most candidates.'

    d.   Hasan bütün adayları aradı./*...bütün aday-Ø aradı.
              Hasan all candidate-pl-acc called
              'Hasan called all the candidates.'

(108) **Weak determiners**

    a.   Hasan birçok kitap-Ø okudu.
              Hasan many book   read
              'Hasan read many books.'

    b.   Hasan üç   kitap-Ø okumuş.
              Hasan three book   read
              'Hasan read three books.'

Another type of phrase that has to be marked for accusative is the D(iscourse)-linked *wh*-phrases (cf. Pesetsky, 1987). D-linked wh-phrases are partitives in interpretation. Similar to partitives, they carry presupposition of existence.

The example in (109a) shows that besides *hangi* 'which' phrases, *ne* 'what' can also be marked for accusative, and interpreted as D-linked. [43] The wh-phrase *ne* 'what' is marked for accusative if it is used to ask about an object that belongs to a group of objects that have been mentioned before in the discourse or that are contextually available. As in simple indefinite noun phrases, accusative marking is optional. *Which*-phrases, on the other hand, are acc-marked obligatorily, as shown in (109c).

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[43] There is no such optionality for *kim* 'who', though. See the Appendix.

(109) **D-linked wh-phrases**

    a.   Hasan ne-**yi** aldı?
          Hasan what-**acc** bought
          'What (among the things that have been mentioned) did Hasan buy?'

    b.   Hasan hangi araba-**yı** aldı?/*Hasan hangi araba-Ø aldı?
          Hasan which car-**acc** bought
          "Which car did Hasan buy?'

    c.   Hasan hangi-si-**ni**   aldı?/*Hasan hangisi-Ø aldı?
          Hasan which-3poss-**acc** bought
          'Which (one) did Hasan buy?'

(110) **non-D-linked wh-phrase**
       Hasan ne-Ø aldı?
       Hasan what bought
       'What did Hasan buy?'

In this section we have seen that those noun phrases that have been argued to be presuppositional have to be marked for accusative overtly in Turkish. In the next section we will analyze indefinite direct objects, for which the presence or absence of accusative marking is optional.

2.3. *Accusative marked indefinites*

Indefinites constitute the core of the discussion in this chapter and the next. They differ from most of the objects discussed above in that their marking for accusative case is <u>optional</u>. However, it's been observed that the optionality correlates with a particular interpretation. As I mentioned above, it's been commonly accepted in the literature that acc-marked indefinite objects are interpreted as "specific", and those that are not marked for accusative are interpreted as "non-specific" (Erguvanlı (1984), Nilsson (1985), Enç (1991), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997); among others). It has also been known that the correlation between case-marking and (non)-specificity is true for many languages that are not related to Turkish. One can list Hindi (Mahajan (1990)), Kannada (Lidz (1999)), Spanish (Torrego (1998)), West Greenlandic (van Geenhoven (1998)), among others.

In this section I will show that indefinites interpreted as partitives (Enç (1991)), and interpreted as having wide scope over a quantificational element are marked with accusative.

To have a better understanding of the data, in this section my goal is to describe different types of covert partitive phrases. When we go through the examples, the reader will notice that these indefinites are used in a variety of contexts.

Before proceeding with the Turkish examples, let us remind ourselves of canonical partitive phrases. The following provides an example:

(111)   John nominated one of the candidates.

Note that the partitive phrase contains the definite phrase *the candidates*, and for the sentence to be felicitous, the existence of the candidates must have been mentioned in the discourse, and the denotation of the definite phrase must be familiar to the hearer and the speaker (the Familiarity Condition of Definites in Heim (1982)). Thus, it would be felicitous in a discourse such as the following:

(112)   Students nominated <u>some candidates</u> for the position of the student representative.
        John immediately called <u>one of the candidates</u>.

However, it has also been commonly observed that for a definite phrase to be felicitous, it is not necessary that the existence of its descriptive content be <u>linguistically</u> mentioned before. As long as there are enough clues in the discourse, the hearer can "accommodate the presupposition" (Lewis (1979), Heim, (1982)). Thus, a similar sentence can be felicitous in a discourse as the following (Prince (1981)):

(113)   Students decided to <u>elect</u> a representative. John suggested <u>one of the candidates</u>.

Since "election" might easily be associated with "candidates", when the hearer hears the second sentence, she can easily add to her presuppositions that there was a set of candidates related to the elections in question.

The availability of presupposition accomodation with partitives is crucial in understanding some cases with acc-marked objects in Turkish that I will discuss shortly.

(114) is an example of a canonical (covert) partitive context in that the denotation of N' of the phrase is mentioned before in the discourse.

(114)...Kutuda bir sürü kitap ve defter vardı.   Hasan bir kitab-ı alıp çantası-na koydu.
    ...There were lots of books and notebooks in the box. Hasan a book-**acc** took his bag-dat
     put.
    '...There were lots of books and notebooks in the box. Hasan took a book and put it in his
    bag.'

The following is the Turkish counterpart of (111). Here, a contextual clue (election) is sufficent to license a partitive interpretation for *bir adayı* 'a candidate-acc':

(115)   Öğrenciler yeni bir temsilci   seçmeye karar verdiler. Bir aday-ı   John tavsiye etti.
       students new a representative to.elect   decided   a candidate-acc John suggested
       'Students decided to elect a new representative. John suggested one of the candidates.

(116) illustrates a case with presupposition accomodation. The example, in fact, is taken from Enç 1991.

(116)   a.   Odam-a   birkaç çocuk girdi.
                my.room-dat several child entered
                'Several children entered my room.'

       b.   İki kız-ı   tanıyordum.
                two girl-acc I.knew
                'I knew two girls.'

       c.   İki kız-Ø tanıyordum.
                two girl   I.knew
                'I knew two girls.'   (Enç's (16), (17) and (18))

Note that for the sentence in (116b) to be felicitious for the hearer, s(he) must infer that the *girls* are a subset of the *children*.

Enç observes that (116b) and (116c) differ in the way they are interpreted. (116b) is about two girls who are included in the set of children, established by the utterance of (116a), that entered the room. (116c) is about two girls who are excluded from the

original set of children. (116b) is equivalent to the sentence with the partitive NP in (117), but (116c) is not.

(117)   Kız-lar-dan iki-sin-i   tanıyordum.
         girl-pl-abl   two-3poss-acc I.knew
         'I knew two of the girls.'   (Enç's (19))

We can conclude that one can maintain Enç's claim that acc-marked objects can be covert partitives if we include the second and third type of partitives that require presupposition accomodation we just discussed above. Note that Enç's examples contain a subset relation between children and girls but this is not necessary.

We have seen in this section that acc-marked indefinites are interpreted as partitive, as argued for in Enç (1991). In the next section we will concentrate on the scope properties of indefinites.

2.4. Indefinites and scope

In this section we will analyze cases in which an acc-indefinite cooccurs with attitude verbs, subject quantifiers and negation. We will see that acc-indefinites easily take wide scope w.r.t. these quantificational elements. In Sections 2.4.1.-2.4.4. I will present the facts, in Section 2.5.1. and 2.5.2. I will offer an explanation for these facts.

2.4.1. Indefinites and attitude verbs: *de re* vs. *de dicto* readings

It has been known that indefinite complements of intensional verbs are ambiguous between a *de re* and a *de dicto* reading as exemplified in the following. (The sentences below the example represent the two readings informally):

(118)   I am looking for a doctor.

(i) …any doctor… [de dicto]

(ii) there is a particular doctor that I am looking for [de re]

This sentence can be uttered in a situation in which I am desperate to find any doctor (*de dicto*). It can also be uttered in a situation in which I am looking for a particular doctor, Dr. Smith (*de re*).

It's been argued that the de re reading is the result of the wide scope of the indefinite over the intensional verb, whereas the de dicto reading is the result of its narrow scope.

In Turkish, as the reader might expect, these two readings are expressed with two different forms of indefinites. To express the de dicto reading in (118i) the indefinite complement must be zero-marked, as in (119a), and to express the de re reading in (118ii), it has to be acc-marked, as in (119b) (Dede (1986) and Taylan & Zimmer (1994); among others).

(119) a. Bir doktor-Ø arıyor-um.
          a doctor   looking.for-1sg
          'I am looking for a doctor.'

       b. Bir doktor-**u** arıyor-um.
          a doctor-**acc** looking.for-1sg
          'I am looking for a (specific) doctor.'

The following has examples one of which has a context in which a *de re* reading of an object is obligatory, as in (120), and one in which it is not possible, as in (121).

(120) Hasan bugünlerde ne yapıyor?
       What is Hasan doing these days?

       a. Hasan Cambridge'te bir sokağ-ı arıyor.
          Hasan C-loc   a street-acc looking.for
          'Hasan is looking for a street in Cambridge.'

       b. #/*Hasan Cambridge'te bir sokak-Ø arıyor.
          Hasan C-loc   a street   looking.for
          'Hasan is looking for a street in Cambridge.'

(120a) is interpreted as there is a particular street in Cambridge, and Hasan is looking for it. (120b) is interpreted as "Hasan is looking for a/<u>any</u> street in Cambridge." It is odd because it is odd to look for <u>any</u> street in a town. A town basically consists of streets.

(121)　　Ahmet bugünlerde ne yapıyor?
　　　　What is Ahmet doing these days?

　　　a.　　#/*Ahmet kendi-ne bir eş-**i** arıyor.
　　　　　　Ahmet himself-dat a spouse-**acc** looking.for
　　　　　　Intended: 'Ahmet is looking for a spouse for himself.'

　　　b.　　Ahmet kendi-ne　　bir eş-Ø arıyor. Onu internette bulacağına inanıyor.
　　　　　　Ahmet self-dat a spouse looking.for
　　　　　　'Ahmet is looking for a spouse for himself. He thinks he can find her on the
　　　　　　internet.'

(121a) is very odd because it implies that there is a spouse, and Ahmet is looking for her. Since whoever he finds may be his spouse only <u>when</u> he finds her (and marries her), the presupposition of the spouse makes the sentence sound odd, whereas (121b) is perfectly fine.

Let us now return to the examples in (120) and (121). We saw in extensional contexts in Section 2.2. that acc-indefinites are interpreted as covert partitives. What happens in intensional contexts? Is *bir sokağı* in (120a), for instance, a covert partitive? It doesn't have to be, but one might argue that the presence of a city name might provide the necessary contextual clues for a covert partitive to occur. Let's try another example:

(122)　a.　　What is Ahmet doing these days?
　　　　b.　　He is looking for an interpreter.

(122b) can be interpreted in the following two ways: (i) E.g. Ahmet needs a document to be translated, and is looking for someone who can translate it (de dicto); or (ii) there is a person, who happens to be a translator, and Ahmet is looking for him/her (de re).

Let us consider a similar Turkish example:

(123)　　Ahmet bugünlerde ne yapıyor?
　　　　What is Ahmet doing these days?

a. Bir çevirmen-Ø arıyor.
   an interpreter   looking.for
   '(He) is looking for an interpreter (de dicto).'

b. Bir çevirmen-**i**   arıyor.
   an interpreter -**acc** looking.for
   '(He) is looking for an interpreter (de re).'

(123a) would be a felicitous answer in a context such as (i) above, (177b) would not. The crucial point here is that (177b) does not need to be partitive. It is not necessarily equivalent to the following:

(124) Ahmet çevirmen-ler-den bir-i-ni   arıyor./istiyor.
       Ahmet interpreter-pl-abl one-3poss-acc looking.for/wants
       'Ahmet is looking for/wants one of the interpreters.'

If there has not been a mentioning of some set of translators before in the discourse, (123b) would be felicitous as an answer to the question "*What is Hasan doing these days*?"; however, (124) would puzzle the hearer, and s(he) would be inclined to ask "*Which* interpreters?". Thus, these examples show that an acc-indefinite in an intensional context is interpreted as having wide scope over the intensional verb without having to be interpreted as partitive.

We have seen that acc-indefinite is interpreted as de re, and a zero-marked indefinite is interpreted as de dicto when they are complemenst of an attitude verb.

It is important at this point to emphasize that presuppositionality does not require widest scope interpretation, that is, a noun phrase can be interpreted presupppositionally but still can take scope below a quantificational element. This is most evident when we analyze an overt partitive phrase as a complement of an attitude verb. To make my point clearer, let me digress here for a moment, and discuss the possible readings of (124).

As we saw earlier partitive phrases are marked for accusative <u>obligatorily</u>. They don't have the option of being Ø-marked.

(125) *Ahmet çevirmen-ler-den bir-i-Ø   arıyor.
       Ahmet interpreter-pl-abl one-3poss looking.for
       'Ahmet is looking for one of the interpreters.'

However, recall that we attributed the obligatory acc-marking to the fact that a partitive phrase is presuppositional, not that it has wide scope over a quantificational element. If obligatory acc-marking were a sign of wide scope, then (124) would only have a de re reading for the object. Even though de re is the more salient reading for the object, it is not the only available one: it can also be interpreted de dicto. A relevant situation, for instance, would be in which there are several interpreters at a convention, and Ahmet is looking for any one of them, he doesn't care which one.

Kornfilt (2000) discusses partitive phrases with "non-specific" intepretation in imperatives, and argues that obligatory acc-marking must be due to a formal requirement rather than a semantic one. The following are her examples:

(126) a.   Kitap-lar-dan iki-si-ni   al, geri-si-ni   kutu-da bırak.[44]
            book-pl-abl   two-3poss-acc take, remainder-3poss-acc box-loc leave
            'Take (any) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box.'

        b.   Kitap-lar-ın iki-si-ni   al, geri-si-ni   kutu-da bırak.
            book-pl-gen two-3poss-acc take, remainder-3poss-acc box-loc leave
            'Take (any) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box.'

(127) a.   *Kitap-lar-dan iki-si-Ø   al, geri-si-ni   kutu-da bırak.
            book-pl-abl   two-3poss-acc take, remainder-3poss-acc box-loc leave
            'Take (any) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box.'

        b.   *Kitap-lar-ın iki-si-Ø   al, geri-si-ni   kutu-da bırak.
            book-pl-gen two-3poss-acc take, remainder-3poss-acc box-loc leave
            'Take (any) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box.'

Given the nature of imperatives, it is almost impossible to have a reading for the partitive in these examples that refer to some individuals that the speaker has in mind ("specificity" Kornfilt is assuming). It would definitely be a very odd situation if the speaker expected the hearer to guess the specific books that s(he) had in mind that the hearer is expected to pick. The fact that these sentences are most naturally interpreted as

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[44] Note that in this example the restrictive phrase *kitaplar* 'books' is inflected for ablative. I assume that this phrase functions the same way as its genitive marked counterpart in (126b) in forming a partitive. Needless to say, the exact analysis of these two different structures requires further research.

"take (any) two of the books..." leads Kornfilt to conclude that acc-marking does not always correlate with a certain semantic interpretation, and in certain cases it can be there for formal reasons. She attributes the acc-marking to the presence of the agreement marker –*sIn* on the head noun (the "possessive" marker), and concludes that it is a formal requirement that whenever this possessive marker occurs, accusative marking is also obligatory (a similar conclusion was made in Nilsson (1985)). However, there are two reasons why such a formal requirement does not need to be stipulated: first, if we assume that acc-marking is there because the partitive phrase is presuppositional, and it says nothing about its scope or "specificity" in the referential sense, then we don't need an additional explanation for the cases in (126) and (127). Second, the generalization that the presence of possessive marker on the head noun requires acc-marking is not accurate. Consider the following:

(128)   Bugün balık çorba-sı-Ø   içtik.
        today fish   soup-3poss-Ø we.drank
        'We drank fish soup today.'

The noun phrase in this example, too, has the agreement/possessive marker –*sI*;[45] however, it is not marked for accusative overtly.[46]

We have seen in this section that acc-indefinites in intensional contexts are interpreted as de re, whereas zero-marked indefinites are interpreted as de dicto. We have also seen that in contrast to the extensional contexts discussed in Section 2.2., the acc-indefinite in an intensional context does not have to be partitive. In both contexts, however, acc-indefinites are interpreted as presuppositional.

2.4.2. Indefinites and subject quantifiers

Recall the discussion at the beginning of this chapter. I showed that acc-indefinites with subject quantifiers present a puzzle since they seem to violate the scope rigidity previously discussed in Section 1.1. This apparent violation was the following: an acc-

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[45] The statues of the marker -*(s)In* in compounds is controversial. See Ketrez (2000) for an extensive discussion of Turkish nominal compounds and a survey of various analyses.

indefinite c-commanded by a subject quantifier seems to be able to take both wide and narrow scope w.r.t. the subject quantifier. Let's remember the facts:

(129)　a.　　Herkes　　bir kitab-ı okudu.
　　　　　　　everybody a book-acc read
　　　　　　　'Everybody read a book.'

　　　b.　　Herkes　　iki kitab-ı okudu.
　　　　　　　everybody two book-acc read
　　　　　　　'Everybody read two books.'

　　　c.　　Öğrencilerin çoğu　　bir kitab-ı　okudu.
　　　　　　　students-agr most-agr a book-acc read
　　　　　　　'Most of the students read a book.'

The general intuition is that (129b), for instance, can be interpreted in two ways: (i) there are two books that everybody read, and (ii) for everybody there was a (predetermined) pair of books, possibly different pairs. Let us for the moment interpret the first reading as the wide scope reading, and the second as the narrow scope reading of the indefinite.

The availability of the reading in (ii) shows again that acc-indefinites do not necessarily have widest scope possible; they might, if we assume that the reading should be characterized that way, but they can also have narrow scope w.r.t. a c-commanding quantifier. In that case, what distinguishes them from zero-marked indefinites in, for instance, (130) is that even when they have narrow scope, they are still partitive, whereas zero-marked indefinites are not (see also Aygen-Tosun (1999)).

(130)　**Only narrow scope for the zero-marked indefinite**

　　　a.　　Parti-de herkes　　bir şarkı-Ø söyledi.
　　　　　　　party-loc everybody a song　　　sang
　　　　　　　'At the party everybody sang a song.'

　　　b.　　Sömestir tatilinde　öğrenciler-in　çoğ-u　　　yeni bir kitap-Ø okudu.
　　　　　　　in the winter break students-3gen most-3poss new a book　　read
　　　　　　　'In the winter break most of the students read a new book.'

---

[46] With accusative marking this noun phrase would be interpreted as definite, i.e. as *the fish soup*.

<table>
<tr><td>c.</td><td>Sömestir tatilinde öğrenciler-in yarı-sı yeni bir kitap-Ø okudu.
in the winter break students-agr half-agr new a book   read
'In the winter break half of the students read a new book.'</td></tr>
</table>

2.4.3. Indefinites and negation

Acc-marked and zero-marked indefinites differ in the way they interact with negation, as well. As expected from the previous discussions, zero-marked indefinites take narrow scope w.r.t. negation, whereas the acc-indefinites can take both wide and narrow scope, wide scope being the more salient one.

(131) **Only narrow scope for the zero-marked indefinite**

a.   Hasan Ali-ye bir hediye-Ø al-ma-dı.
         Hasan Ali-dat a book buy-neg-past
         'Hasan didn't buy Ali a present.'

b.   Hasan iki kitap-Ø oku-ma-dı. (Sadece bir kitap okudu)
         Hasan two book read-neg-past
         'Hasan didn't read two books. (He read only one book.)'

(132) **Wide scope reading is possible for the acc-indefinite**

a.   Hasan bir ödev-i   yap-ma-dı.
         Hasan a homework-acc do-neg-past
         'Hasan didn't do a homework.' ('Hasan didn't do one of the homeworks.')

b.   Hasan iki kapı-yı   cilala-ma-dı.
         Hasan two door-acc polish-neg-past
         'Hasan didn't polish two doors.' ('Hasan didn't polish two of the doors.')

The most salient reading for the structures in (132) is the one in which the indefinite takes scope above negation and is interpreted partitively. So, for instance, (132a) is interpreted as "there is a homework that Hasan didn't do, and (132b) as "there are two doors (e.g. of the car) that Hasan didn't polish".

The acc-indefinite can also take scope below negation, and is interpreted like a negative polarity item. One can, for instance, paraphrase (132a) to express that reading as "Hasan didn't do even one of the homeworks!", with an implicit *even* (with stress on *bir*).

The object in (132b) can also take scope below negation in a denial context, as in the following:

(133)   A: Hasan iki kapı-yı cilalamış, sen hala oturuyorsun.
                Hasan polished two of the doors, you are still sitting (here).

        B: Hasan iki kapı-yı   cilala-ma-dı,   sadece bir kapı-yı cilaladı.
                Hasan two door-acc polish-neg-past,   (he) only polished one of the
                doors.
                'Hasan didn't polish two of the doors, (he) only polished one of the
                doors.'

The following has an acc-indefinite in an embedded clause, and the matrix verb is negated:

(134)   Müdür   bir öğrenci-yi sınıf-ta   bırak-tığ-ım-ı   bilmiyor.
        principal a student-acc class-loc leave-DIK-1poss-acc doesn't know
        'The principal doesn't know that I failed a student.'

Thus, we can conclude that similar to the cases with a subject quantifier, an acc-indefinite object can have narrow or wide scope w.r.t. negation, with the wide scope reading being much stronger, whereas a zero-marked indefinite can only be interpreted inside the scope of negation.

The facts with negation also show that the existence presupposition acc-indefinites carry is preserved under negation, a property common to presuppositional items (Morgan (1969), Langendoen and Savin (1971), Gazdar (1979), Karttunen and Peters (1979), Soames (1982), Heim (1988), Matthewson (1998)).

Finally, as expected, since an acc-marked indefinite can take scope over the operator, it can be an antecedent of a pronoun in the subsequent clause (Heim (1982)).

(135)   **Coreference**

        a.   Hasan bir kitab-ı arıyor(: Syntactic Structures.)Onu trende okuyacak.
                Hasan a book-**acc** looking for. S.S.
                'Hasan is looking for a book: S.S. He will read it on the train.'

b.   Ahmet bir kitab-ı okumadı. Çünkü o Fransızca'ymış ve Ahmet Fr bilmiyor.
Hasan a book-**acc** didn't read
'Ahmet didn't read a book because it was in French, and Ahmet can't read
French.'

Since Ø-marked indefinites have to have obligatory narrow scope, they cannot
corefer with a pronoun in the subsequent clause unless the subsequent clause also
contains an intensional verb.[47] (see Heim (1982) and Roberts (1986), among others for a
discussion of this phenomenon)

(136)   **Coreference**

a.   Hasan'a hediye olarak bir kitap alabilirsin. Onu güzelce paketlersin....
Hasan-dat present as a book buy-can-1sg. it-acc well wrap up-would-2sg
'You can buy Hasan a book as a gift. You could wrap it up in a nice way...'

a'.   *Hasan'a hediye olarak bir kitap alabilirsin. Onu güzelce paketle-yecek-sin....
Hasan-dat present as a book buy-can-1sg. it-acc well wrap up-going to-2sg
'You can buy Hasan a book as a gift. You are going to wrap it up in a nice
way...'

b.   *Ahmet bir kitap oku-ma-dı çünkü o Fransızca'ydı.
Ahmet a book read-neg-past because it French-cop-past
'Ahmet didn't read a book because it was French.'

However, note that coreference <u>is</u> possible when the indefinite is not inside the scope of
an operator:

(137) a.   Hasan bir kitap-Ø okumuş sonra **o-nu** ablasına   vermiş.
Hasan a book   read   then **it-acc** to his sister gave
'Hasan read a book, then gave it to his sister.'

b.   Babam   bana yeni bir araba-Ø aldı.   Yarın   okula   **o-nunla** gideceğim.
my father me   new a car   bought Tomorrow to school **it-with** I will go
'My father bought me a new car. Tomorrow I will go to school with it.'

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[47] Irene Heim also has pointed out to me that in English, the two sentences do not have to contain the same
modal. Consider the following:

(i) " Probably he will buy a car, and possibly he will paint it red.

To summarize, Ø-marked indefinites seem to have obligatory narrow scope w.r.t. an operator. Acc-marked indefinites, on the other hand, can always be interpreted outside the scope of the operator. In intensional context, it can only be interpreted as de re. In a structure with a subject quantifier, it can have wide or narrow scope w.r.t. the quantifier. When it is c-commanded by negation, again it can have wide or narrow scope w.r.t. negation. The observation that they can be interpreted outside the scope of an operator is supported by the fact that they can corefer with a pronoun in the subsequent clause.

Having seen the distribution and scopal behavior of indefinite objects, and especially those of acc-indefinites, we return to the question we started with : how can an acc-marked indefinite take wider scope than a quantificational element that c-commands it? Inability of object quantifiers to take scope over subject quantifiers precludes the possibility of a free QR analysis of an acc-indefinite. In the following section I will try to answer this question.

2.5. The interpretation of acc-indefinites

Unusual scope behavior of indefinites is not unique to Turkish. Ability to be interpreted with wide scope in unexpected contexts, and the intuition that some indefinites can be interpreted as "having an individual in mind" is observed in English, and has intrigued many linguists. In the following section I will raise the question whether acc-indefinites can be referential, and my answer will be that they cannot. In the next section I will propose a choice-function analysis for the interpretation of acc-indefinites.

2.5.1. Are acc-indefinites "referential"?

In Section 2.1. I discussed Fodor & Sag (1982)'s claim that in structures with no scopal element such as (138), the indefinite noun phrase is still ambiguous between a "quantificational reading" and "a referential reading".

(138)   A student in the syntax class cheated on the final exam.

Fodor & Sag (1982) draw their arguments for the referential reading from structures with scope islands, and argue that indefinites seem to be able to escape scope islands such as complex noun phrases and the antecedent of conditionals, whereas regular quantifiers such as *each* cannot. The following illustrate their point:

(139)   **Complex Noun Phrases**

        a.   <u>regular quantifier</u>

                John overheard the rumor that each student of mine had been called before the dean.

        b.   <u>indefinite</u>

                John overheard the rumor that a student of mine had been called before the dean.

(139a) doesn't have the reading in which *each student of mine* takes scope over *the rumor*, namely, that for each student of mine John overheard the rumor that she/he had been called before the dean. The indefinite *a student of mine* in (139b), on the other hand, can be interpreted as having scope over *the rumor*, namely, that there is a student of mine such that John overheard the rumor that she/he had been called before the dean.

Structures with conditionals show similar properties. (140a) cannot be interpreted as "it is true for each friend of mine from Texas that if she/he died in the fire, I would have inherited a fortune", a reading which would be possible, were the quantifier able to take scope outside of the antecedent of the conditional. The indefinite in (140b), on the other hand, can be interpreted outside the scope of the conditional operator, i.e. " there is a friend of mine from Texas such that if she/he died in the fire, I would have inherited a fortune".

(140)   **Antecedent of conditionals**

      a.   <u>regular quantifier</u>

           If each friend of mine from Texas died in the fire, I would have inherited a fortune.

      b.   <u>indefinite</u>

           If a friend of mine from Texas died in the fire, I would have inherited a fortune.

In the context of arguing against Diesing (1992)'s suggestion that acc-indefinites in Turkish may be quantifiers, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) argues that they cannot be quantificational since they seem to escape scope islands, whereas genuine quantifiers cannot, as shown in the examples below:[48]

(141)   **Turkish**

      a.   Eğer her arkadaş parti-ye gel-ir-se,   Ali mutlu ol-acak.
           if   every friend   party-dat come-aor-cond Ali happy be-fut
           'If every friend comes to the party, Ali will be happy.'   Z.E's (46)

      b.   Eğer iki arkadaş parti-ye gel-ir-se,   Ali mutlu ol-acak.
           if   two friend   party-dat come-aor-cond Al happy be-fut
           'If two friends come to the party, Ali will be happy.'   Z.E.'s (47)

      c.   Eğer Ali okulla ilgili iki raporu düşünüp duruyorsa, işi zor.
           if Ali school-with related two report-acc keeps thinking job-3poss difficult
           'If Ali has been thinking about two reports/two of the reports related to school,
           he faces a difficult task.'   Z.E.'s (48)

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) also argues that some acc-indefinites can be uttered out-of-the-blue and need not be partitive. She concludes that she is inclined to consider them "referential" in the sense discussed in Fodor & Sag (1982). However, there are at least two reasons why acc-indefinites should not be treated as referential: one is that in the contexts she discusses these indefinites are marked with accusative either because they are interpreted as having wide scope over a quantificational element, consistent with the

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[48] Aygen-Tosun (1999) suggests that case-marking on DPs indicates independency w.r.t. quantifier scope.

facts discussed in this section, or the verb that takes it as its complement requires its complement to be presuppositional. The other reason will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Suffice it to say for now that there is evidence that acc-indefinites can not have widest possible scope, and thus, cannot be referential.

The following illustrates the contexts in which an acc-indefinite is not necessarily a partitive. The examples in (142) are in modal contexts. ((142a) is taken from a newspaper article, and (142b) is from Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)).

(142)   Modal contexts

    a.   "Ben iki husus-u   vurgulamak isterim: (1)….(2)…"
              I   two point-acc emphasize I.would.like.to
              'I would like to emphasize two points: one…two…'

                                     from an interview with Kemal Derviş—*Milliyet* 4/16/01
                                          (a Turkish newspaper)
    b.   Ali hastane-ye birkaç adam-ı   görmeğe gitti.
              Ali hospital-dat a few men-acc to see   went
              'Ali went to the hospital to see several men.'   (Z.-E.'s (32), p. 122)

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) argues on the basis of (142b) that the indefinite object can be uttered out of the blue. That is, for this sentence to be uttered there does not need to be a previous discourse establishing a set of men. However, note that the structure contains modality and the indefinite is interpreted having scope over the modal. It means that there are a few men and Ali went to the hospital see them. When the indefinite object is not marked for accusative, as in (143), then it has narrow scope.

(143)   Ali hastane-ye birkaç adam-∅ görmeğe gitti.
         Ali hospital-dat a few men   to see   went
         'Ali went to the hospital to see several men.'

The structure would be interpreted as "Ali went to the hospital to see a few men. He just needs to see some men, he doesn't care who." It is hard to imagine a pragmatically appropriate context for this example. The following makes the contrast clearer:

(144) a. Ali birkaç kutu-∅ almaya gitti.
           Ali a few box   to get went
           'Ali went to get a few boxes.'

       b. Ali birkaç kutu-yu almaya gitti.
           Ali a few box-acc to get went
           'Ali went to get a few boxes.'

(144a) could be used in a situation in which Ali is moving out, and he needs boxes to put his things in. He goes to a store to get a few boxes. (144b), on the other hand, means that there are a few boxes and Ali went to get them. These may be boxes in the moving truck or in his apartment.

Another example Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) provides is (145). However, note that the verb *turn down* requires a presuppositional object. This fact is also in line with the view that acc-indefinites are presuppositional.[49]

(145) <u>Verbs that presuppose the existence of their objects</u>

       Ali eşi istemediği için   bir iş teklifi-ni   reddetmiş.
       Ali because his wife didn't want (it) a job offer-acc turned down
       'Ali turned downa job offer because his wife did not want it.'   (Z.-E.'s (18), p. 89)

The discussion above shows that the indefinites in the examples are marked with accusative either because they take wide scope or because the verb requires a presuppositional object. However, I haven't necessarily shown that acc-indefinites cannot be referential.

In fact, if we assume that acc-indefinites are referential or ambiguous between referential and quantificational interpretations, we can attribute the wide scope interpretations discussed in Chapter 3 Section 2.5. (i.e. wide scope over a subject quantifier, *de re* reading in an intensional context, wide scope over negation) to the

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[49] Note also that if *turning down/rejecting* can be interpreted as an activity, the object can be without accusative marking. Imagine that Ali is the head of a grant committee and he is known for rejecting grant proposals mercilessly. In that context, the following would be acceptable:

(i) Ali son iki senede onbeş teklif-∅   reddetmiş.
     Ali last two years fifteen proposal-acc rejected
     'Ali has rejected fifteen proposals in the last two years.'

availability of this referential interpretation, and the violation of scope rigidity we worried about at the beginning of this chapter becomes only apparent.

However, note that ambiguity entails <u>availability</u> of a reading. In other words, if acc-indefinites can be interpreted referentially, then this referential interpretation <u>should always be available</u> regardless of the quantificational properties of the structure it occurs in. As we noted earlier, an acc-indefinite is easily interpreted outside the scope of negation, as shown in (146) and (147). If *bir arkadaşımı* 'a friend of mine-acc' is ambiguous between a referential and a quantificational reading, then one can argue that the so-called wide scope interpretation is actually the referential interpretation, and this is possible even under the scope of negation (i.e. when it is c-commanded by negation at LF) since as Fodor & Sag (1982) argued, referential indefinites are scopeless, they "shine through" the scope of negation(, through the scope of anything for that matter).

(146)   Leyla bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
        Hasan a friend-1poss-acc invite-not-evid
        'Hasan didn't invite a friend of mine.'
        salient reading: A friend of mine is s.t. Leyla didn't invite her/him.

(147)   Ali [bir arkadaş-ın tez-i-ni   savun-duğ-u]-nu   bil-m-iyor.
        Ali a friend-gen   thesis-3poss-acc defend-DIK-3poss-acc know-neg-prog
        'Ali doesn't know that a friend (of ours) defended his thesis.'
        (i) A friend is such that Ali didn't know that s/he defended her/his thesis.
        (ii) One of the friends is such that Ali didn't know that s/he defended her/his thesis.
                                                                    Z.E.'s (42, p. 113)

However, we will see shortly that treating acc-indefinites as referential or ambiguous between a referential and quantificational reading makes wrong predictions.

Let's suppose that Melahat is getting married, and her bridesmaids were responsible for throwing a bridal shower for her. They invited lots of friends of Melahat's but they forgot to invite one special friend of hers, her best friend from college. Melahat is upset. Sema asks Melahat why she is upset. Given this context, if the acc-indefinite could be interpreted referentially, (148b) would be a felicitous answer to the question in (148a). However, it is not felicitous in this context. It can only mean that nobody invited <u>any of my friends</u>, (with the implicit *even*) with wide scope reading for negation. This reading would render the sentence false, given the context above.

(148) a. A: Neye kızdın?
Why are you upset?

b. M: Kimse bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
anybody a friend-1poss-acc invite-neg-evid
only reading: 'Nobody invited any friend of mine.'
*A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.[50]

Note that in contrast to (146) which has a proper name as the subject, the subject in (148b) is a negative polarity item. Thus, descriptively, we can conclude that the acc-indefinite cannot take scope over negation in a structure in which the subject is a negative polarity item. We will discuss negative polarity items in Chapter 4 and configurations similar to (148b), but suffice it to say for now that the acc-indefinite cannot be interpreted as having wide scope over ngetaion when it is c-commanded by an NPI. This clearly shows that it cannot have the referential reading as one of its meanings since referential reading is supposed to surface regardless of the scopal elements in the structure (cf. Fodor & Sag (1982)). Then what is it that gives the wide scope reading?

In the next section I offer an analysis for acc-indefinites, adopting the choice-function approach to wide scope readings of indefinites cross-linguistically.

2.5.2. Acc-marked indefinites and the choice-function analysis

As I mentioned before availability of unexpected scope for indefinites is not unique to Turkish. The observation that indefinites in English take exceptional scope has produced a large literature. We briefly discussed Fodor & Sag (1982)'s approach in the previous section, and noted that the facts that led them to posit a referential reading for indefinites mainly come from structures with islands. To the island types discussed in Fodor & Sag

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[50] The intended can be expressed in a structure in which the indefinite is to the left of the negative polarity subject, as in (i) below:

(i) Bir arkadaş-ım-ı kimse   davet et-me-miş.
a friend-1poss-acc anybody invite-neg-evid
'Nobody invited a friend of mine.'
only reading: A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.

(1982), Reinhart (1997) adds structures with coordination, and observes that there is a similar contrast between indefinites and quantifiers such as *most* in that whereas indefinites can take scope outside the conjunct, *most* cannot.

(149) a.   Some linguist reported that Max and **most philosophers** disappeared.

<div align="center">(*most > some)</div>

       b.   Most linguists reported that Max and **some philosopher** disappeared.

<div align="center">(most > some, some > most)</div>

<div align="right">(Reinhart 1997)</div>

In (149a) *most philosophers* in the second conjunct cannot take scope over the subject *some linguist*. However, *some philosopher* in (149a) can be interpreted taking scope over the subject *most linguists*. If conjuncts are islands for Quantifier Raising, the fact that *some philosopher* can take scope out of this island is surprising.

Reinhart (1997) proposed that the wide scope interpretation is not a result of raising the indefinite out of the island, but of a different interpretive mechanism. According to Reinhart, indefinite determiners may introduce variables over choice functions, defined below:

(150)   A function f is a choice function (CH(f)) if it applies to any non-empty set and yields a

       member of that set.   (Reinhart (1997): 372)

These variables are bound by an existential quantifier which can appear <u>at any level</u>. The following illustrates her proposal:

(151)   Every lady read some book.

      a. $\exists f$ [CH (f) & $\forall z$ [lady $\rightarrow$ z read f(book)]]
      b. $\forall z$ [lady (z) $\rightarrow$ $\exists f$ [CH(f) & z read f(book)]]

<div align="right">(Reinhart 1997:372)</div>

In (151a) the existential quantifier over choice functions, $\exists f$, is generated at a level higher than the universal quantifier; hence, the wide scope reading for *some book,* even though the function variable *f(book)* is in the scope of the universal quantifier. In (151b), on the

<div align="right">95</div>

other hand, this existential quantifier is generated below the universal quantifier; hence, the narrow scope reading.

Recall that in Turkish, too, as Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) shows, an acc-indefinite object can be interpreted outside the scope islands, and as having wide or narrow scope w.r.t. a higher quantifier, as Aygen-Tosun (1999) shows. Thus, an analysis similar to Reinhart's would account for these two readings. However, there are two problems such an approach would face: first, it would not be able to explain the lack of wide scope interpretation of the indefinite in (148). If the existential quantifier over choice function were to be generated freely in the structure, then the structure would have a representation in which this quantifier is generated above negation yielding a wide scope reading for the indefinite. Second, this approach predicts that the existential quantifier over choice functions can be generated below the intensional operator and the indefinite can be interpreted de dicto. However, we have seen that this is not the case. An acc-indefinite can never be interpreted de dicto in a simplex clause with an intensional verb. Thus, we need a more restrictive theory to account for the scope properties of acc-indefinites.

In contrast to the Reinhart/Winter approach, Kratzer (1998) and Matthewson (1999) propose that the ∃-quantifier over choice functions is generated at the top level of a clause. Let me for the moment put aside the fact in (148), and concentrate on (i) the structures with intensional verbs, (ii) those with sentential negation (but without an NPI), and (iii) those with a subject quantifier. Recall that the facts we need to account for is that an acc-indefinite (i) cannot have a de dicto reading, (ii) can have wide or narrow scope reading w.r.t. a subject quantifier, and (iii) can have wide or narrow scope w.r.t. negation (in a structure without an NPI). It seems that an analysis which generates the the ∃-quantifier over choice functions is generated at the top level of the clause, higher than the intensional verb, and higher than the subject quantifier would correctly account for the facts described in (i)-(iii) above. However, we will see that this approach fails to account for the structures such as (148) in which an acc-indefinite is c-commanded by an NPI. Before proceeding with those structures, I will first discuss the structures with an intensional verb, with a subject quantifier and negation separately, and show how generating the ∃f at the top level ("top-level analysis" for short) would account for the

relevant facts. Then I will return to structures such as (148), and show why this approach would be inadequate, and I will offer a different proposal, which will be discussed in more extensively in Chapter 4.

Within the "top-level" analysis, the obligatory de re reading can be acounted for straighforwardly. Since the ∃-quantifier over choice functions is generated at the top level, the function variable bound by this quantifier is interpreted outside the scope of the intensional operator. (152b) is an informal representation of the proposed configuration for (152b).

(152) a.   Bir çevirmen-i   arıyor.
              an interpreter -**acc** looking.for
              '(He) is looking for an interpreter (de re).'

       b.
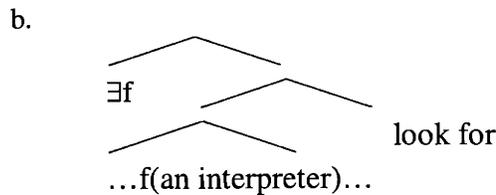
...f(an interpreter)...

Let us now turn to structures with subject quantifiers. The relevant example is repeated here:

(153) Herkes   bir kitab-ı okudu.
       everybody a book-acc read
       'Everybody read a book.'

Recall that the acc-indefinite can be interpreted as having wide scope over the subject quantifier, as well as having narrow scope, i.e. with a distributive reading. If the ∃-quantifier over choice functions is generated at the top level only, presumably above the subject quantifier, how can the indefinite have a narrow scope interpretation? Here I will adopt Lidz (1999)'s analysis for indefinite direct objects in Kannada, which have a very similar distribution to Turkish indefinite objects(, though not identical). In Kannada, too, the acc-indefinite can have a wide or narrow scope reading w.r.t. a subject quantifier, but it has to be interpreted as *de re* in an intensional context. Lidz proposes that these readings can be accounted for if the choice functions are skolemized (Mitchell (1986),

Hintikka (1986), Kratzer (1998)). His examples contain both a universal quantifier and an intensional verb:

(154) a.   pratiyobba vidyaarthi pustakav-annu huduk-utt-idd-aane
           every   student   book-acc   look.for-PPL-prog-3sm
           'Every student is looking for a book.'

b.   *de re* reading: $\exists f \forall x$ [student (x) $\rightarrow$ look for (x, f(book))]

c.   intermediate r.: $\exists f \forall x$ [student (x) $\rightarrow$ look for (x, f_x(book))]

Lidz argues that the existential operator in (154b) is generated above the subject universal quantifier, and binds the function variable embedded under the intensional verb, giving us the appearance of widest scope, independent of the syntactic position of the indefinite NP. Since the choice function picks out an individual book, he argues that, the NP cannot be interpreted as *de dicto*.

How do we get the intermediate scope reading for the acc-indefinite in (154c)? He proposes that the appearance of the intermediate scope reading is due to the function being dependent on the value chosen by the universal quantifier. In other words, the function chooses for each student the book appropriately related to that student. Thus, in both readings the existential operator is in fact generated at the root level of the clause, in accordance with the proposal in Kratzer (1998).

Thus, I propose following Lidz (1999) that the same mechanism is responsible for the the narrow scope reading of the indefinite object in (153). The following represents the readings:

(155) a. $\exists f \forall x$ [student (x) $\rightarrow$ read (x, f (book))] [wide scope reading]

b. $\exists f \forall x$ [student (x) $\rightarrow$ read (x, f_x(book))] [narrow scope reading]

Let us now discuss the structures with negation. Recall that an acc-indefinite can take narrow or wide scope w.r.t. negation. The examples are repeated here:

(156) a.   Hasan bir ödev-i   yap-ma-dı.
                  Hasan a homework-acc do-neg-past
                  'Hasan didn't do a homework.' ('Hasan didn't do one of the homeworks.')

      b.   Hasan iki kapı-yı   cilala-ma-dı.
                  Hasan two door-acc polish-neg-past
                  'Hasan didn't polish two doors.' ('Hasan didn't polish two of the doors.')

The more salient reading is the one in which the indefinite has scope over negation, but given the right context negation can take clausal scope, as shown below:

(157) A: Hasan iki kapı-yı cilalamış, sen hala oturuyorsun.
              Hasan polished two of the doors, you are still sitting (here).

      B: Hasan iki kapı-yı   cilala-ma-dı,   sadece bir kapı-yı cilaladı.
              Hasan two door-acc polish-neg-past,   (he) only polished one of the
              doors.
              'Hasan didn't polish two of the doors, (he) only polished one of the
              doors.'

I propose that these facts can be captured if we modify the Kratzer/ Matthewson approach slightly. I suggest that Turkish differs from English in that in Turkish negation can take scope at a position higher than the node where the ∃-quantifier over choice functions is generated, whereas the scope of negation in English is limited to the nodes the ∃-quantifier is c-commanding. This will be supported by the facts discussed in Chapter 4.

      Returning to the structure with a negative polarity subject, repeated below, suffice it to say for now that descriptively, an acc-indefinite cannot be interpreted outside the scope of negation if it is c-commanded by an NPI.

(158) ?Kimse   bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
      anybody a friend-1poss-acc invite-neg-evid
      only reading: 'Nobody invited any friend of mine.'
      *'A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.[51]

To summarize, we have seen that acc-indefinites in Turkish are interpreted as presuppositional, and show unexpected scope properties. When they interact with higher quantifiers, negation and intensional operators, they very easily take wide scope. Even when they take narrow scope w.r.t., for instance, a higher quantifier, they are still interpreted as a covert partitive. Moreover, similar to English indefinites, acc-indefinites in Turkish can have wide scope interpretation inside islands such as the antecedent of the conditionals, a fact which contrasts with the unavailability of wide scope interpretation for other quantifiers (Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)). I proposed that this unusual scope property of acc-indefinites can be explained if we adopt a choice-function analysis. We noted that the studies that treat indefinites as choice function variables differ as to where they posit the existential quantifier that binds the choice function variable. The scope facts of acc-indefinites discussed in this and the previous sections can be best accounted for by an approach which generates this quantifier at the top level of the clause (Kratzer (1998), Matthewson (1999)). Within this approach, the distributed reading of the indefinite is explained by skolemizing the function variable (Kratzer 1998, Chierchia 1999, Lidz 1999). I later suggested a modified version of this proposal, and proposed that the existential quantifier is generated at a node above the subject but below the highest scope position of negation. I will discuss this proposal in more detail in Chapter 4.

As for the Ø-indefinites, we have seen that they always take narrow scope w.r.t. an operator, may it be a higher quantifier, negation or an intensional operator. The correlation between overt morphology and interpretation will be the topic of Section 3. I postpone the discussion of Ø-indefinites until then.

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[51] The intended can be expressed in a structure in which the indefinite is to the left of the negative polarity subject, as in (i) below:

(i) Bir arkadaş-ım-ı   kimse   davet et-me-miş.
    a friend-1poss-acc anybody invite-neg-evid
    'Nobody invited a friend of mine.'
    only reading: A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.

3. Case, word order and interpretation

In this section I will briefly summarize previous accounts for the syntactic relationship between overt accusative marking and the interpretation of acc-marked objects. I will follow Diesing (1992), Kennelly (1994) and Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) in assuming that the acc-marked objects are outside the VP, and the non-marked ones are inside the VP. I will provide further arguments for this view.

Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis is based on Heim (1982) and Kamp (1981)'s system of splitting the structure into semantic partitions. Based on Lewis (1975)'s observation that the interpretation of indefinites may vary depending on the quantificational force of the operator in the same structure, Heim (1982) argues that indefinites are variables, and have to be bound by an operator. When there is an operator such as an adverb or a higher quantifier, the indefinite is bound by it. A structure such as (159) contains three parts: the determiner *every*, its restrictor *man* and its nuclear scope.

Heim (1982) proposes that a rule of Existential Closure applies, and adjoins an existential quantifier at two levels: (i) to the nuclear scope of a quantifier or a quantificational adverb, (ii) at the sentence/text level (sequences of sentences). This quantifier binds all the variables within its scope.

(159)   a.   Every man saw a cat.   (Heim (1982), p. 136)

b.

every
NP$_1$ ∃
__ man NP$_2$
a cat e$_1$ saw e$_2$
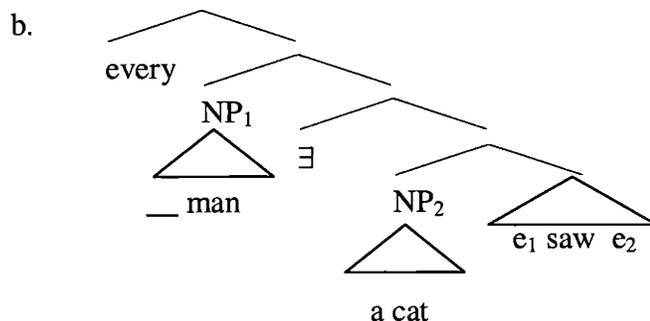
Diesing (1992) adopts this view, and for structures with a quantified noun phrase, she argues for an algorithm that splits the structure into two partitions: the VP-internal

domain, and the VP-external domain. She proposes that when the splitting happens, and the syntactic representation of the structure (i.e. its logical form) becomes an input for the logical representation, the noun phrases in the VP-internal domain are mapped into the nuclear scope of the quantifier/operator, and those in the VP-external domain are mapped into its restrictive clause (the Mapping Hypothesis).

Diesing (1992) briefly discusses Turkish indefinites, and offers two paths to pursue to explain the correlation between overt accusative marking and the "specific" interpretation: either (i) the acc-marked object has to be in the specifier of some phrase where it checks its feature, and this phrase happens to be outside VP, and hence, outside the existential closure, within the Mapping Hypothesis, or (ii) acc-marking merely triggers LF movement, causing the acc-indefinite to move to the restrictive clause, and to be interpreted quantificationally.

Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) considers these suggestions, and argues that the first alternative can account for the Turkish facts, whereas the second one makes wrong predictions. She argues that acc-marked objects are in a position external to the VP, and those that are not marked for accusative are internal to the VP (cf. also Kennelly (94) for a similar proposal). She also adds that Diesing (1992) concentrated on structures which contained a quantificational operator (a covert generic operator or an overt quantificational adverb) that would split the structure into semantic partitions, but did not discuss extensional contexts and how presuppositional readings for indefinites obtain in those contexts. She proposes that a rule similar to Heim (1982)'s Rule of Existential Closure applies, but she follows Diesing (1992) that this rule introduces an existential quantifier at the VP level. This, she argues, explains why acc-indefinites are interpreted as presuppositional, and zero-indefinites as non-presuppositional.

3.1. Acc-indefinites are external to the VP

Following Kennelly (1994) and Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) I also assume that acc-indefinites are outside the VP, whereas zero-marked indefinites are inside VP. In the following I will present the evidence that supports this analysis.

It has been observed before that zero-marked objects are not grammatical if they occur away from the verb, for instance, to the left of the subject or an adverb, as shown below (Erguvanlı (1984); among others):

(160) Zero-marked object

    a.   *Bir kitap-Ø Hasan t aldı.
           a book   Hasan bought

    b.   *Hasan bir kitap-Ø dün   aldı.
           Hasan a book   yesterday bought

Acc-marked objects, on the other hand, can occur to the left of the subject or an adverb:

(161) Accusative marked object

    a.   Bir kitab-ı   Hasan t aldı.
           one book-acc Hasan bought
           'One book, Hasan bought.'

    b.   Hasan bir kitab-ı   dün   aldı.
           Hasan one book-acc yesterday bought
           'Hasan bought one book yesterday.'

The following have further evidence for the claim that acc-objects are situated in a position outisde the VP, whereas zero-marked ones are inside the VP.

Recall that definites, demonstratives, personal pronouns are also marked for accusative obligatorily. The word order facts with adverbs show that they are outside the VP, as predicted. This was observed in Kennelly (1994), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) and Aygen-Tosun (1999); among others. Consider the following:

(162)   ***Personal pronouns***
    a.   Hasan <u>sen-i</u> **deli gibi**   seviyor.
           Hasan <u>you-acc</u> **like crazy** loves
           'Hasan loves you madly.'

    b.   *Hasan **deli gibi** <u>sen-i</u> seviyor.
           Hasan **like crazy** <u>you-acc</u> loves

The examples in (162b) shows that the personal pronoun cannot occur to the right of the manner adverb *deli gibi* 'like crazy'. The same adverb can occur to the left of a zero-marked object, as illustrated below:

(163)   Hasan **deli gibi**   bir doktor-Ø arıyordu.
        Hasan **like crazy** a doctor   was.looking.for
        'Hasan was looking for a doctor like crazy.'

(164) and (165) provide examples with demonstratives and definites respectively:

(164)   a.   *Demonstratives*
                Hasan bu işi/işini   **severek** yapıyor.
                Hasan this job-acc/his job-acc **with joy** does
                'Hasan does his job with joy. = enjoys this job/his job.'

        b.   *Hasan **severek** bu iş-i/ işini   yapıyor.
                Hasan   **with joy** this job-acc/his job-acc does

(165)   a.   *Definites*
                Hasan kitab-ı   **tamamen** okudu.
                Hasan book-acc **completely** read
                'Hasan read the book completely.'

        b.   *Hasan **tamamen** kitab-ı okudu.
                Hasan **completely** book-acc read
                'Hasan read the book completely.'

The following have contrastive examples for acc- and zero-marked indefinites:

(166)   *Acc-indefinites*
        a.   ??Hasan **aceleyle** bir tavukgöğsü-nü yedi, çıktı.
                Hasan **in a hurry** a tavukgöğsü-acc ate, left
                Intended: 'Hasan quickly ate a tavukgöğsü and left.'

        b.   Hasan bir tavukgöğsü-nü **aceleyle** yedi, çıktı.
                Hasan a tavukgöğsü-acc **in a hurry** ate, left
                'Hasan quickly ate one of the tavukgöğsüs and left.'

(167)   *Zero-indefinites*
        a.   Hasan **aceleyle**   bir tavukgöğsü-Ø yedi, çıktı.
                Hasan **in a hurry** a tavukgöğsü   ate, left
                'Hasan quickly ate a tavukgöğsü and left.'

b.   *Hasan <u>bir tavukgöğsü-Ø</u> **aceleyle** yedi, çıktı.
           Hasan <u>a tavukgöğsü</u> **in a hurry**   ate, left

We have seen that the relative order possibilities between VP-adverbs and objects that are marked for accusative obligatorily such as pronouns, demonstratives and definites provides further evidence to the proposal that acc-marked objects are in a position outside the VP.

Before proceeding, let me bring up a potential question the preceding discussion may raise: it has been assumed in the literature that immediately preverbal position in Turkish is the "focus position", similar to languages such as Hungarian (cf. Erguvanlı (1984); though see Göksel and Özsoy (2000) for arguments against this assumption). One might ask whether the grammaticality contrasts in (162) and (164) are due to the fact that the manner adverb needs to be in the "focus" position. This can be due to the fact that definites are "given" and thus, cannot be in the focus position. However, if this were true, then the grammaticality judgments would have to be reversed when the objects occur with focus particles such as *de* 'also', *bile* 'even' and *sadece* 'only'. This is not the case:

(168) a.   Hasan <u>sen-i</u>   de **deli gibi**   seviyor. (...bile, sadece ...)/   sevdi.
                Hasan <u>you-acc</u> too **like crazy** loves   loved
                'Hasan loves you madly, too.'

        b.   *Hasan **deli gibi** <u>sen-i</u>   de   seviyor.
                Hasan **like crazy** <u>you-acc too</u> loves

(169) a.   Hasan <u>bu işi/işini</u>   de **severek** yapıyor.
                Hasan <u>this job-acc/his job-acc</u> too **with joy** does
                'Hasan does his job with joy. = enjoys this job/his job, too.'

        b.   *Hasan **severek** <u>bu iş-i</u>   de yapıyor.
                Hasan **with joy** <u>this job-acc/his job-acc</u> too does

Moreover, the following clearly shows that the adverb cannot be the focus of the structure since it is not contrasted, nor is it the answer to the question. Still, it has to be to the right of the object. (**BOLD SMALL CAPS** represent contrastive stress)

(170) A: Sen-i kim deli gibi seviyor?
you-acc who like crazy loves
'Who loves you like crazy?'

       B: a.   HaSAN ben-i deli gibi seviyor.
Hasan I-acc like crazy loves
'Hasan loves me like crazy.'

             b.   Ben-i HaSAN deli gibi seviyor.
I-acc Hasan like crazy loves
'Hasan loves me like crazy.'

Following Diesing (1992), Kennelly (1994) [52], Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)[53], I propose that acc-indefinites move to a position above VP to check their case features, and thus, get interpreted presuppositionally. I propose the structures in (171b) and (172b) for (171a) and (172a) respectively. (I assume following Chomsky (1995) that there is a small vP dominating the VP. The subject is merged at v-level, and the object checks its feature against v at a position higher than the subject, though the nature of the functional category that hosts the subject and the object is not crucial for this discussion.

(171)   a.   Ben **bir kitap-∅** aldım.
             I   a book   I bought
             'I bought a book.'

---

[52] Kennelly (1994) offers an analysis in which zero-marked DPs remain within VP, and are licensed by the verb under government. Acc-marked DPs, on the other hand, check their Case feature by moving to [Spec, AgroP] at LF. Kennelly mainly focuses on the bare nouns as objects, on which the presence vs. absence of case marking has a slightly different effect in contrast to indefinites. (See footnote 3). However, she also notes the scope ambiguity in (84). She adopts May (1985)'s approach to the interpretation of quantifiers that all quantifiers must move and adjoin to IP to be interpreted, and suggests that "the acc-marked object must move to S-initial position external to VP regardless of interpretation. In the wide scope reading, it must be in a position higher than the universal quantifier at LF; in the distributive reading, it must be in a position lower than the universal quantifier. She concludes that in a similar structure with a zero-marked object, however, the object cannot move out of the VP, and the obligatory distributive reading must be due to that fact." One fact this explanation misses is that no other object can take scope over the subject in Turkish.

[53] Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) doesn't discuss the syntactic position of acc-indefinites nor how the case of the zero-marked indefinite is checked. However, she provides evidence for the claim that the acc-indefinites are external to the VP, and the zero-marked ones are internal.

b.

```
              ___/\___
subject......      ___/\___
             ∃              vP
                         __/\__
                       subject    __/\__
                               VP        v
                             _/\_
                        object-Ø   V
```
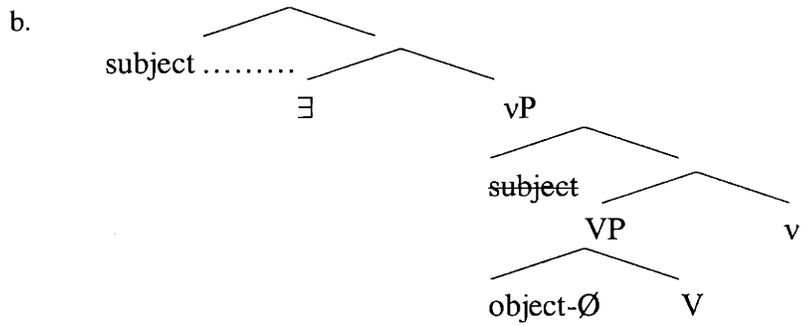
(172) a. Ben **bir kitab-ı** aldım.
       I   **a book-acc**   I bought
       'I bought a book.'

b.

```
      __/\__
subject..................
           vP
        _/\_
object-acc    __/\__
          ∃        __/\__
              manner adv   vP
                        __/\__
                    subject    __/\__
                            VP        v
                          _/\_
                     object-acc   V
```
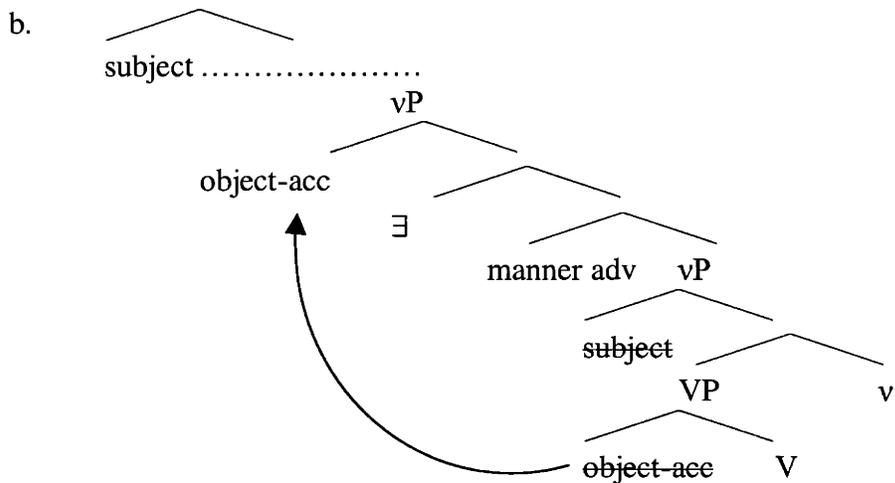
Thus, we can conclude that the manner adverbs shown in the examples above mark the edge of the VP inside of which a definite object cannot occur.

How does the zero-marked object receive its case? There is a number of analyses for the objects across languages that show similar properties to the Turkish zero-indefinites: (i) obligatory narrow scope, (ii) strict adjacency to the verb, (iii) lack of overt case morphology. Most of these analyses have similar proposals. Kennelly (1994) argues that these objects in Turkish are caseless, and their case requirement is satisfied under strict sisterhood by the verb within VP.

De Hoop (1996) proposes that VP-internal objects are interpreted existentially because they bear weak case. She argues that there are two structural cases: strong case and weak case. A noun phrase receives a strong vs. weak interpretation depending on

whether it has a strong or a weak case to be checked. Languages differ in where they license these cases. If a language allows an objective case to be checked only VP-internally, then noun phrases in that position are ambiguous between a strong and a weak reading. If that language allows an objective case to be checked VP-internally and VP-externally, then the one that checks its case VP-internally receives weak case, and the one that checks its case VP-externally receives a strong reading.[54] She discusses Turkish objects briefly, and proposes that those that do not have overt case morphology have weak case, and they check their case VP-internally.

Van Geenhoven (1998) proposes that objects that are interpreted with narrow scope w.r.t. quantificational elements in the structure, and that have to remain adjacent to the verb are in fact incorporated into the verb. To this type of object she includes not only the ones that do not bear any overt case morphology but also those that do have case morphology such as partitive. She mainly focusses on West Greenlandic, but claims that her proposal extends to other languages including English.

For case-licensing of Turkish zero-marked indefinites I see no empirical evidence that would favor one proposal to the other. Any of these approaches would be compatible with the facts discussed here.

3.2. Objects of verbs of creation

Objects of verbs of creation present an interesting picture. They support the claim that acc-indefinites carry existence presuppositions since they cannot have acc-indefinites as their complements unless the complement functions as the "topic", "given" phrase of the clause and some other element is focussed.

Recall that with any other type of verb (verb of use, verb of destruction etc.) an acc-indefinite can be its complement, as illustrated below:

---

[54] Her proposal extends to subjects and weak vs. strong nominative case, as well.

(173) a.   Ayşe iki kitab-ı   okudu.
                  Ayşe two book-**acc** read
                  'Ayşe read two (of the) books.'

      b.   Ayşe iki kitab-ı   yaktı.
                  Ayşe two book-**acc** burnt
                  'Ayşe burnt two (of the) books.'

Contrast (173) now with the examples in (174). These examples contain verbs of creation[55] and acc-marked objects. With neutral focus and intonation, these structures are unacceptable.[56]

(174) a.   */#Ayşe iki çocuğ-u   doğurdu.
               Ayşe   two child-acc gave birth
               Intended: 'Ayşe gave birth to two children.'

      b.   */# Ayşe üç   kazağ-ı   ördü.
               Ayşe three sweater-acc knit
               Intended: 'Ayşe knit three of the sweaters.'

      c.   */# Bir kek-i   yaptım.
               you for   a cake-acc I-made
               Intended: 'I made one of the cakes.'

      d.   */#Hasan bir kitab-ı yazdı.
               Hasan a book-acc wrote
               Intended: 'Hasan wrote one of the books.'

---

[55] The term "verbs of creation" should be taken as a cover term for verbs that describe events in which the internal argument of the verb is brought into existence in a particular fashion (Szabolcsi (1986)).

[56] Diesing (1992) observes a syntactic contrast between verbs of use/destruction and verbs of creation in English and German. She shows that whereas extraction out of the complements of the latter type is possible, extraction from the complements of the former type is not. She also shows that complements of verbs of creation cannot occur outside VP, but must remain inside VP, where they are interpreted existentially.

(175) a.   Ayşe iki çocuk-Ø   doğurdu.
                  Ayşe two child   gave.birth
                  'Ayşe gave birth to two children.'

        b.   Ayşe üç kazak-Ø ördü.
                  Ayşe three sweater knit
                  'Ayşe knit three sweaters.'

        c.   Senin için bir kek-Ø yap-tı-m.
                  you for   a cake   I.made
                  'I have made a cake for you.'

        d.   Hasan bir kitap-Ø yazıyor.
                  Hasan a book is.writing
                  'Hasan is writing a book.'

The unacceptability of these sentences seems to be caused by two factors: (i) the presuppositional nature of the acc-indefinite, and (ii) the topic-focus structure of the clause. It has been known that in Turkish when a phrase is the topic or the "given" element of the clause, the speakers tend to pronounce it at the sentence-initial position, and new information usually occurs in the immediately preverbal position (Erguvanlı (1984), Kural (1993); see also Göksel and Özsoy (2000) for arguments against a designated focus position in Turkish).

Thus, in examples (174), for instance, under neutral focus and intonation the subject is interpreted as "given". In addition, because of the fact that acc-indefinites are presuppositional, a sentence such as (174b) does not convey any additonal information other than that three sweaters that we presuppose to exist have been knitted. Since sweaters are usually brought into existence by knitting, this sentence seems to convey no information; hence, the oddness. In fact, some of the speakers that I have consulted for the grammaticality judgments reported that the sentence in (174b) sounds as if "the sweaters were there before Ayşe knit them."

When, however, the topic-focus structure is changed, these examples improve. When the verb is contrastively focussed, for instance, it implies that the sweaters were brought to existence by knitting but not by some other means. Again the degree of acceptability depends on whether or not the hearer can imagine another means by which a sweater can be made.

(176) Ayşe üç kazağ-ı   ÖRDÜ.
      Ayşe three sweater-acc knitted
      'Ayşe KNITTED three of the sweaters.'

If the subject occurs in the immediately pre-verbal position, and interpreted as new information or contrastively focussed, then the examples become perfect:

(177) a.   Üç kazağ-ı   Ayşe ördü.
              three sweater-acc Ayşe knit
              'Three of the sweaters, Ayşe knit.'

      b.   Bir kek-i ben yaptım.
              you for I   a cake-acc I-made
              'I made one of the cakes.'

      c.   Bir kitab-ı Hasan yazdı.
              a book-acc Hasan wrote
              'One of the books Hasan wrote.'

As expected, when the structures contain additional information, again they become perfect. In the cases in (178), for instance, the acc-object is the topic (or the given element) of the structure and the additional information is the focus.

(178) a.   O kadın   iki çocuğ-u-nu   son üç senede   doğurdu.
              That woman two child-3poss-acc in the last 3 years gave birth
              'She gave birth to two of her children in the last three years.'

      b.   Hasan iki kitab-ın-ı burada yazdı.
              Hasan two book-acc here wrote
              'Hasan wrote two of his books here.'

(179) a.   Bir kek-i   senin için yaptım.
              a cake-acc for you   I made
              'One of the cakes, I have made FOR YOU.'

      b.   Bir kek-i Hasan yaptı.
              A cake-acc Hasan made
              'One of the cakes, Hasan made.'

Hungarian seems to exhibit similar facts in that non-presuppositional requirement for an argument of a verb of creation disappears if the argument can be interpreted as given.

Kiss (1995) discusses predicates characterized as "come to exist (in a particular fashion)(in the domain of discourse)" or "cause to come to exist (in a particular fashion)(in the domain of discourse)" that Szabolcsi (1986) shows require non-specific arguments. She calls this effect the "Non-specificity Effect", as illustrated below:

(180) a.   Született egy gyerek.
                was born a baby

        b.   *A gyerek született.
                the baby was born

(181) a.   Énekkar alakult.
                choir was formed

        b.   *Az énekkar alakult.
                the choir was formed

The intransitive verbs *was born* and *was formed* allow an indefinite argument, as in (181a) and (182a), but they are not compatible with definite arguments, as in (181b) and (182b).

Kiss (1995) shows further that the ungrammatical structures become grammatical if the constituent other than the one that is subject to Non-specificity Effect (i.e. the argument of the verb) is contrastively focussed (focussed constituent is bold-faced).

(182) a.   A gyerek **'idejében** született.
                the child **on time** was born
                'The child was born ON TIME.'

        b.   A tó   az **'esözések következtében** keletkezett.
                the lake **as a consequence of the rains** was formed
                'The lake was formed AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE RAINS.'

The structures in (182) contain the same predicates in (180) and (181), and have definite arguments, but they are grammatical. The difference between ungrammatical structures in

(180b) and (181b), and the grammatical ones in (182) is that in the latter another constituent is contrastively focussed, and the argument of the verb is interpreted as the topic. Kiss offers the following explanation: the predicate in (180) and (181) the verb that has the non-specificity requirement, whereas it is the focus phrase (182). She posits following Brody (1990) that there is a FocusP above VP, whose specifier is occupied by the focussed adverbs in structures in (182). Following Herburger (1993), she proposes that in sentences with a focus operator, the focussed constituent functions as a higher predicate. In other words, it is the focussed constituent that represents the main assertion. She posits the following structure for Hungarian:

(183)

```
            TopP
          /      \
     Spec          FP
               /        \
          Spec            VP
                        /      \
                      V          XP*
```
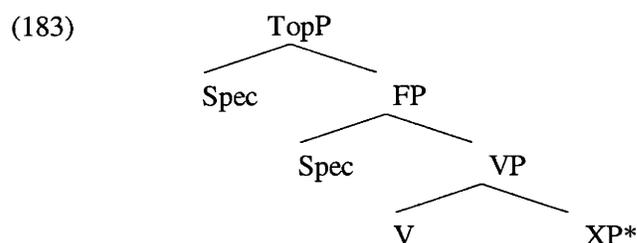
The subject of predication is the constituent in [Spec, TopP], and FocusP functions as the predicate phrase, and the constituent in its specifier position is the main predicate. She concludes that the non-specificity effect disappears because in the cases discussed above "it is not the existence of an argument that is asserted. What is asserted of the topicalized NP associated with an existential presupposition is not the verb with the EXIST meaning component but the focus; hence, no tautology arises. (Kiss, 1995: 74)"

The intuition about structures with Hungarian verbs of creation and their arguments seems to be similar to the intuition I sketched for the Turkish structures. I leave the formalization of this intuition and the question of whether or not Kiss' approach can account for the Turkish facts for future research.[57]

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[57] Also see Kálmán (1995) for another account of the so-called definiteness effect verbs in Hungarian, including verbs of creation.

3.3. Maybe it has nothing to do with syntax?

I mentioned at the beginning that many linguists that have worked on the interpretation of the lack vs. absence of accusative marking on an object took it as a signal to the interpretive component that it has to be interpreted in a certain way. (Nilsson (1985), Enç (1991). However, if this were the case, one important question would remain unanswered: if this morpheme functions as the signal for the referentiality/definiteness/specificity of an object, why doesn't it occur in objects other than direct objects(, or even on subjects)? Or if there is a general rule that says the presence vs. absence of a(ny) case marker on the object shows that the object is interpreted as such and such, then we should expect this alternation to occur with other cases, as well. But this is not the case (see footnote 2 for an example) .

4. Appendix: Mysterious cases: who, someone and anybody

Some [+human] objects have to be acc-marked even when they are read as non-partitively: *kim* 'who', *biri* 'someone', *kimse* 'anybody'. The following illustrates this:

(184)   **who**
   a.   Hasan kim-i seviyor? /istiyor?/ariyor?/*Hasan kim-Ø ....?
           Hasan who-acc loves/wants/looking for
           'Who does Hasan love?' /want/is looking for

   b.   **someone**
           Hasan kendisine yardım edebilecek biri-ni arıyor./ *...biri-Ø... arıyor
           Hasan himself help-fut someone-acc is.looking.for
           'Hasan is looking for someone who can help him.'

   c.   **anybody**
           Ben kimse-yi öldür-me-di-m.
           I anybody-acc kill-neg-past-1sg/*...kimse-Ø...
           'I didn't kill anybody.'

It is a mystery why these noun phrases differ from the others in not having to be interpreted presuppositionally.

This is not unique to Turkish, though. In Spanish, similar to Turkish, the so-called "specific" animate objects are marked with the dative marker *a,* and those that are "non-specific" are not. (cf. Torrego (1998)).[58] Spanish differs from Turkish in, for instance, not marking inanimate objects with *a* at all. The optionality of *a*-marking is relevant only for animate objects. Consider the following:

(185) a.   Pedro esta buscando   dos sillas
               Pedro is   looking.for two chairs
               'Pedro is looking for two chairs.'
               (i) Pedro is looking for (any) two chairs.
               (ii) There are two chairs and Pedro is looking for them.

(186) a.   Pedro está buscando   **a**   dos personas
               Pedro is   looking.for **to** two people
               'There are two people and Pedro is looking for them.'

        b.   Pedro está buscando dos personas
               Pedro is   looking.for two people
               'Pedro is looking for (any) two people.'

(185) shows that an inanimate object is not marked with *a* even when it has to be interpreted presuppositionally. In contrast, animate objects such as *two people*, as in (186), has to be marked with *a* to have a presuppositional interpretation.

One would expect that words such as *quien* 'who', *alguien* 'someone' and *nadie* 'nobody/anybody' would show the same alternation in case marking. However, they do not. The following illustrates this. Compare these with their inanimate counterparts.

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[58] Thanks also to Calixto Agüero-Bautista for discussions on this topic.

(187) a. **'who'**

A <u>quién</u> ama Pedro?/ *Quién ama Pedor?
to <u>whom</u> loves Pedro
'Who does Pedro love?'

b. **'who'**

A <u>quién</u> está buscando Pedro?/*Quién está buscando Pedro
to <u>whom</u> is looking.for Pedro
'Who is Pedro looking for?'

c. **'what'**

<u>Qué</u> está buscando Pedro?
what is looking.for Pedro
'What is Pedro looking for?'

(188) a. **'someone'**

Pedro está buscando **a** <u>alguien</u>   (que pueda ayudarlo)./*... buscando alguien...
Pedro is looking.for **to** <u>someone</u> (that can help him).
(i) Pedro is looking for someone (anyone) who can help him.
(ii) Pedro is looking for a particular person who can help him.

b. **'something'**

Pedro está buscando <u>algo</u>   que pueda ayudarlo a levantar el coche
Pedro is looking.for <u>something</u> that can help.him to lift the car
'Pedro is looking.for something that can help.him to lift the car.'

(189) a. **'nobody/anybody'**

Ayer,   no atropellé   **a** <u>nadie</u>/*... atropellé nadie.
yesterday not run.over.1sg **to** <u>nobody</u>
'Yesterday I didn't run over anybody.'

b. Ayer   atropellé   **(a)** <u>dos personas</u>
yesteday run.over.1sg.past **to** <u>two persons</u>
'Yesterday I ran over two people.'

c. **'nothing/anything'**
No he robado   <u>nada</u>   /*No he robado **a** nada.
Not have.1sg stolen <u>nothing</u>
'I haven't stolen anything.'

In this section I will not offer an explanation for this puzzle, but I will discuss various points that might provide clues for future research on this topic.

First, natural language grammar may distinguish between [+human] and [-human] or [+animate] vs. [-animate] noun phrases in that it may treat [+human]/[+animate] ones

to be "presuppositional". Heim (1987) discusses the contrast between *who* and *what* in existential contexts, and shows that *who* is marginal in *there*-constructions, whereas *what* is not (speakers seem to vary, though).

(190)　??Who was there in the room when you got home?　　　Safir (1982)

(191)　What is there in Austin?　　　　　　　　　　　Heim ((1987): 27)

Thus, if it is the presuppositional nature of a noun phrase that blocks it from occuring in a *there*-sentence, then the contrast in acceptability of the structures in (190) paralells with the objects and overt case-marking in languages such as Turkish and Spanish.

As for *someone*, I will speculate about the morphemes that form the word *biri* 'someone' in Turkish. Interestingly, the morphological makeup of *biri* 'someone' is identical to the to the head noun of a partitive phrase "one of the ...":

(192)　a.　　**partitive 'one of the..'**
　　　　　　　Kız-lar-dan bir-i-ni　　　tanıyordum.
　　　　　　　girl-pl-abl　two-3poss-acc I.knew
　　　　　　　'I knew one of the girls.'

　　　　b.　　**narrow scope *biri* 'someone'**
　　　　　　　Hasan kendisine yardım edebilecek bir-i-ni arıyor.
　　　　　　　Hasan himself help-fut someone-acc is.looking.for
　　　　　　　'Hasan is looking for someone who can help him.'

Biri is made up of the following morphemes:

(193)　bir-i
　　　　one-3poss

I showed earlier that partitive phrases, being presuppositional, are always marked for accusative overtly. I also noted that presuppositionality does not mean that they are interpreted having widest scope nor as "a particular individual in mind" (Hellan (1981), Ioup (1977), Fodor & Sag (1982)). They are presuppositional simply because the definite phrase that determines their domain is presupposed to exist.

One might speculate that the morphological makeup of *someone* in Turkish together with *who* and *anybody* may be signalling that the grammar treats them as somehow presuppositional.[59]

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[59] Moreover, in Turkish, at least in one dialect, there is a strong tendency to mark human object indefinites with accusative. For many speakers, the object in the following has to carry accusative marking, while for others, it doesn't have to:

(i)　　Çünkü　pro　**iki kişi-yi**　　öldürdü.
　　　　because he/she **two people-acc** killed
　　　　'Because he/she killed two people.'

I leave this issue open since acc-marking is not obligatory on human objects across-the-board, that is in some contexts, it is not necessary, and there is a lot of speaker variation.

CHAPTER 4: NEGATION, NPIS, INDEFINITES AND QUANTIFIERS

1. Introduction[60]

In Chapter 3 I showed that there is scope rigidity between a subject quantifier and an object quantifier in that an object quantifier can never be intepreted having scope over the subject quantifier. I argued that acc-marked indefinites seem to violate this generalization since they <u>can</u> take wide scope over a c-commanding operator. They can be interpreted having wide scope over a subject quantifier, over an intensional verb and over negation. I proposed that this exceptional scope behavior can be captured if we assume that acc-indefinites are interpreted as choice-functions, as proposed by Reinhart (1997), Winter (1997), Kratzer (1998), Chierchia (1999) for English, Matthewson (1999) for St'át'imcets and Lidz (1999) for Kannada. I proposed that the facts discussed can be captured best if we assume that the existential quantifier over choice functions is generated at the top level of the structure.

Later I focused on structures with negation and an acc-indefinite. I showed that when a negated structure contains a definite noun or a proper name in the subject position and an acc-indefinite in the object position, the acc-indefinite can be interpreted having scope over or below negation. The relevant examples are repeated here:

(194)   Leyla bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
        Hasan a friend-1poss-acc invite-not-evid
        'Hasan didn't invite a friend of mine.'
        (i) A friend of mine is s.t. Leyla didn't invite her/him.
        (ii) 'Leyla didn't invite (even) one friend of mine.'

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[60] This chapter is a radically modified version of Kelepir (1999).

The fact that negation can take scope over the acc-indefinite, thus, over the existential quantifier that binds the variable introduced by the indefinite led me to modify my initial proposal. I suggested that in Turkish this quantifier is not generated at a level as high as proposed in Kratzer (1998) and Matthewson (1999). Rather, it is generated at a level higher than the subject but lower than the highest position where negation can take scope.[61]

Furthermore, I showed that when the subject is a negative polarity item (NPI), only the narrow scope reading is available for the acc-indefinite object, as shown below:

(195) ?Kimse bir arkadaş-ım-ı davet et-me-miş.
anybody a friend-1poss-acc invite-neg-evid
only reading: 'Nobody invited any friend of mine.'
*'A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.

In contrast to (194), in (195) *a friend of mine* cannot be interpreted outside the scope of negation. In other words, the speaker cannot be talking about a particular friend of his/her. We concluded that descriptively in a configuration in which an acc-indefinite is c-commanded by an NPI, the acc-indefinite cannot be interpreted outside the scope of negation.

In this chapter I will analyze negative polarity items and the structures in which they cooccur with other logical elements in detail, and will offer an explanation for the contrasts in the examples above. I will argue that negative polarity items in Turkish are subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint proposed by Linebarger (1980). Moreover, I will show that the facts concerning negative structures discussed above are due to a general property of negation in Turkish, that it can be interpreted at various positions in the structure. I will also suggest that acc-indefinites interpreted as choice functions are subject to a similar constraint in that certain elements may act as interveners for the binding relation between an existential quantifier and a choice function variable.

In Section 7 I will argue that these elements are negative polarity items and not negative quantifiers. Finally, I will show that an analysis in which the NPIs are licensed

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[61] The fact that negation is a suffix attached to the verb may be causing it to move together with the verb to a functional projection higher than the subject.

in the specifier position of a negative phrase could not account for the facts presented here.

2. Turkish NPIs: some background

In Turkish there are no negative phrases such as English *nobody* and *nothing*, which can express negation without an accompanying sentential negation marker.[62] Thus, the proposition that "there was no person John saw" can be expressed only by the following:

(196)   John (**hiç**)**kimse**-yi gör-**me**-di-∅.
       John **anybody**-A see-**neg**-past-3sg
       'John didn't see anybody'.

(Hiç)kimse in (196), like the other NPIs in Turkish, requires overt negation. As illustrated in (197) these NPIs cannot occur in affirmative sentences. [63]

(197)   *John (hiç)kimse-yi gör-dü-∅.
       John anybody-A see-past-3sg

2.1. The morphological makeup of the NPIs

Turkish NPIs can be grouped morphologically into three as in (198):

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[62] The *ne...ne* 'neither..nor'construction, a borrowing from Persian, seems to be the only construction in which one can talk about an inherently negative word. See Şener & İşsever (1999) for an extensive discussion of this construction.

[63] I will assume that these items are negative polarity items until I take up the question whether they could be argued to be negative polarity items in Section 7, and show that there are more arguments for their negative polarity nature.

(198)   (i) **the adverb** *hiç* 'ever', 'at all',

(ii) **the words that begin with the morpheme** *hiç* such as

hiçkimse 'anybody', *hiçbirşey* 'anything', *hiçbir* N 'any N',

(iii) **the words that do not contain the morpheme** *hiç* such as

kimse 'anybody', *asla* 'ever' and *katiyyen* 'in any way', *sakın* 'ever'

Let me briefly describe the items in (198): *hiç* is an adverb in isolation, and means 'ever' in questions, as in (199a), and 'at all' in negative clauses as in (199b).

(199)   a.   question
Hasan sen-i   **hiç**   arıyor mu?
Hasan you-acc **ever** call-prog q.marker
'Does Hasan ever call you?

b.   negative clause
O-nu   **hiç**   sev-m-iyor-um.
S(he)-acc **at all** like-neg-prog-1sg
'I don't like her/him at all.'

When the morpheme *hiç* is combined with indefinites, the resulting meaning is of a negative polarity item.

(200)   a.   *bir* 'one'   *hiçbir* 'any'

b.   *şey* 'thing '   *birşey* 'something'   *hiçbirşey* 'anything'

c.   *yer* 'place'   *biryer* 'somewhere'   *hiçbiryer* 'anywhere'

The morphological status of the morpheme *hiç* in cases in (200) is unclear. In other words, I don't know of any study that shows whether it functions as a prefix or it forms a compund with the following word.[64]

Kimse used to occur in [+human] indefinite phrases similar to *-body* in English, as shown in the following:

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[64] Turkish does not have prefixes, only a few loan prefixes that used to be used in Ottoman remain today.

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(201) a. *bir   kimse*   b. *kimse-ler* 'people'   c. *bazı kimseler*
         a/one *kimse*   *kimse*-pl   some *kimse*-pl
         'somebody'   'some people'

In contemporary Turkish *kimse* has more or less lost its indefinite usage, and become a negative polarity item.

Hiçkimse 'anybody' and *kimse* 'anybody' are used interchangeably.[65] It is the speakers' intuition that *hiçkimse* involves more emphasis as in "...not anybody at all". In the following I will use *kimse* most of the time. [66]

The adverbs *katiyyen* and *sakın* are illustrated in the following:[67]

(202) a.   O paraya   **katiyyen**   dokunamazsın.
            that money-day **in any way** can't touch-2sg
            'There is no way you can touch that money!'

     b.   **Sakın** bir daha bura-ya gel-me !
           ever again here-dat come-neg
           'Don't you ever come here again'!

2.2. Licensing environments

Similar to Slavic (Progovac 1994; Brown 1999), Korean and Japanese NPIs (Sohn 1995; among others), most of the Turkish NPIs are licensed only by a negative operator as illustrated in (205) (cf. Zidani-Eroğlu (1997)).

(203)   John (**hiç**)**kimse**-yi gör-**me**-di-∅.
         John **anybody**-A see-**neg**-past-3sg
         'John didn't see anybody'.

Hiç 'ever, at all' and *kimse* 'anybody' are accepted in yes/no questions:

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[65] It could have been the case that before *kimse* has lost its indefinite usage, *hiçkimse* was part of the paradigm exemplified in (200) in that *hiç* combined with the indefinite *kimse* yielded a negative polarity item. In time, as *kimse* has lost its indefinite usage, *hiçkimse* and *kimse* have become interchangeable. Needless to say, to see whether this speculation is on the right track, diachronic research on these items is necessary.

[66] To my knowledge, the morphological composition of these NPIs has never been analyzed. In this research project I will not offer one, either. I leave it to further research.

[67] *Sakın* 'ever' is used only in imperatives.

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(204) a.   Hasan **hiç**   Amerika-ya gel-di-Ø   mi ?
             Hasan **ever** America-D come-past-3sg q.marker
             'Has Hasan ever come to America ?'

     b.   Evlendiğinizi   **kimse**   biliyor mu?
             that you got married **anybody** knows q.marker
             'Does anybody know that you got married?'

In this dissertation I will only focus on negative structures.[68]

In contrast to English NPIs, they cannot be licensed in, for instance, conditionals. (205) is an example:

(205) a.   If you see anybody, let me know.

     b.   *Hiçkimse-yi gör-ür-se-n,   ban-a haber ver.
             anybody-A   see-aor-cond-2sg I-D   news give
             Intended reading: 'If you see anybody, let me know'.

As illustrated in (205a), English NPI *anybody* can be licensed in the antecedent of a conditional, whereas a Turkish NPI cannot be, as in (205b).

The following shows that, for instance, a subject, an object and an adverb NPI can be licensed in a negative clause:

(206) a.   <u>subject</u>[69]
             Kimse   gel-**me**-di.
             anybody come-**neg**-past
             'Nobody came.'

     b.   <u>object</u>
             John **hiçbirşey** iste-**me**-di-Ø.
             John **anything** want-**neg**-past-3sg
             'John didn't want anything.

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[68] See Progovac (1994) for an analysis of Turkish NPIs in yes/no questions. Briefly, Progovac proposes following a suggestion by Mürvet Enç (lecture notes) that the yes/no question marker in Turkish may be related to the negative marker –*mE*, and thus, licenses an NPI (or, "binds" it, within her framework).

[69] As (206a) shows subject NPIs in Turkish are licensed by clausemate negation in contrast to English NPIs.

(i) *Anybody didn't come.

c.	<u>adverb</u>
	Hasan ben-i **hiç** özle-**me**-miş.
	Hasan I-acc at all miss-**neg**-evid
	'Hasan didn't miss me at all.'

In this section we have seen negative polarity items, their morphological makeup and their licensing environments. In the following I will present a puzzle concerning some structures with NPIs, which will be the starting point of our discussion in this chapter. Later I will offer an explanation for this apparent puzzle.

3. A puzzle

In the previous section I showed that NPIs in subject, object and adverb positions are licensed by clausemate negation. However, not all structures in which an NPI is in a negated clause are grammatical. Consider the following:

(207)	a.	*Herkes	kimsey-i	gör-me-di-∅.
			everybody anybody-A	see-neg-past-3sg

	b.	Kimse	herşey-den	ye-me-di-∅.
			anybody-nom everything-Ab eat-neg-past-3sg
			'Nobody ate from everything.'

(207a) has a universal quantifier in the subject position and an NPI object, and the structure is uninterpretable. In (207b), on the other hand, the order of these elements are reversed, and the structure is interpretable. What could be the reason for this contrast?

Consider now the following:[70]

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[70] The reason why the structures in (207) and (208) are not complete minimal pairs is due to the difficulty of finding minimal pairs that would also sound pragmatically natural and plausible. I have to ask the reader to concentrate on the nature and the order of the quantifiers and the NPIs.

Moreover, when evaluating the structures throughout this chapter, Turkish speakers should not ask themselves whether a certain structure is grammatical or not, but rather what that structure means. They will notice that even when a structure appears to be "grammatical" at first reading, the ones that I mark with (*) or (??) become uninterpretable when one tries to make sense out of them.

(208) a.   Hasan bazı insan-lar-a   hiçbir resm-i   göster-me-di-∅.
              Hasan some person-pl-D any picture-A show-neg-past-3sg
              'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'.

      b.   *Hasan hiçbir resm-i   bazı insan-lar-a   göster-me-di-∅.
              Hasan any picture-a   some person-pl-D show-neg-past-3sg
              Intended reading: 'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'.

In (208a) some people precedes the NPI, and the structure is interpretable. In (208b), the order is reversed, the structure is uninterpretable.

These examples show that the order of a quantifier and an NPI has an effect on the interpretability of the structure. They also show that it is not that a certain order between any quantifier and an NPI results in uninterpretability. For instance, in (207a) the quantifier – NPI order is bad, whereas in (208b), the NPI-quantifier order is bad. Thus, it seems that the nature of the quantifier also has an effect on the interpretability of a structure with an NPI.

To understand these facts, we need to first understand the properties of the elements involved. I showed earlier in the chapter that the negative polarity items have to be licensed by negation, and they can be licensed by clausemate negation. This is a property that we know of NPIs in general.

The other logical elements involved in these structures are the universal quantifier, the indefinite *some* and negation. In the following, I will first discuss how the first two interact with negation scopally in structures without an NPI. This discussion will provide the basis for our understanding of more complex structures such as the ones in (207) and (208b).

4. *Her, bazı* and negation

Consider the following English example:

(209)   Everybody didn't come today.

It has been reported in many works that in English the universal quantifier *every* can take scope below or above negation. Thus, for many speakers (209) is ambiguous between a reading such as "It is not the case that everybody came." (with a narrow scope reading for *every)*, and a reading such as "It is true for every x s.t. x did not come.", which is logically equivalent to "Nobody came.".[71]

In Turkish, however, the counterpart of (209) is <u>unambiguous</u>:

(210) Bugün herkes   gel-me-di-$\varnothing$.
       Today everybody come-neg-past-3sg
       (i) It is not the case that everybody came today.
       (ii) *It is true for every x s.t. x didn't come today. = Nobody came.

(210) can only be interpreted in a way in which negation takes scope over the universal quantifier. The reverse is not possible. Thus, we can conclude that it is a property of the universal quantifier in Turkish that it cannot be interpreted immediately outside the scope of negation.[72]

Now let us consider a negative clause with *bazı* 'some':

(211) Hasan bazı müşteri-ler-i   ara-ma-dı.
       Hasan some customer-pl-acc call-neg-past
       'Hasan didn't call some customers.'

       (i) There are some people x s.t. Hasan didn't call x.
       (ii)* It is not the case that John called some customers.

(211) is also unambiguous, but in the opposite way: *bazı* can only take scope over negation, it cannot be interpreted in the scope of negation. In this respect, it resembles its English counterpart *some*, which also cannot be interpreted under the scope of negation,

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[71] It seems that for some speakers *every* cannot take scope over negation (cf. Beghelli & Stowell (1997), Kroch (1974)).

[72] This is not completely true. It turns out that if there is an indefinite intervening between the universal quantifier and negation, depending on the day, the universal quantifier can take scope outside negation.

(i) Her öğrenci   bir ödev-i   yapmadı.
    Every student one homework-acc do-neg-past
    'It is true for every student x s.t. x didn't do one of the homeworks.'

at least for some speakers. Hence, the label "positive polarity item (PPI)". The following is an example:

(212) John didn't call some customers.[73]
    (i) There are some customers x s.t. John didn't call x.
    (ii)* It is not the case that John called some customers.

Note that *bazı* is an indefinite. I will argue in the following that similar to the acc-indefinites discussed in Chapter 3, *bazı* is interpreted by choice-functions. Before discussing *bazı*, though, let me first discuss its English counterpart *some*.

In their paper Fodor & Sag (1982) focus on indefinites with the indefinite article *a*; however, they mention at the beginning of their discussion that they believe other indefinites such as *some*, *a few*, *many* can also be interpreted as referential. This implies that they, too, are expected to be interpreted outside scope islands. In fact, Reinhart (1997)'s examples that I reported in Chapter 3 contain *some*. It is repeated here:[74]

(213) a.   Some linguist reported that Max and **most philosophers** disappeared.
                           (unambiguous)

      b.   Most linguists reported that Max and **some philosopher** disappeared.
                           (ambiguous)

                               (Reinhart 1997)

In (213b) *some philosopher* can be interpreted having scope over the subject *most linguists* even though it is in an island (a conjunct). The fact that conjuncts are islands to quantifiers is evident from the fact that *most philosophers* cannot be interpreted having scope over the subject *some linguist* in (213a). Reinhart argues that this is due to the fact

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Kroch (1974), who argues that in English *every* cannot take scope over negation, also observes that it can take scope outside negation in a configuration similar to the one in (i) above. I don't have an explanation for this interesting fact.

[73] Some speakers may get clausal scope for negation in structures with the so-called PPIs. I believe this is possible when one thinks of a conversation in which the speaker repeats an utterance including the PPI and negates it in invisible quotation marks, as in the following with *already*, which has also been considered a PPI.
(i) A: I have already done my homework.
   B: No, you haven't "already done your homework".

that *some philosopher*, an indefinite, is interpreted by choice functions. When the existential quantifier over choice functions is generated above the subject, the indefinite is interpreted having wide scope even though it hasn't raised out of the island.

I propose that the same analysis is true for the Turkish *bazı* 'some'. As expected, *bazı* can take scope out of islands:

(214) a. <u>antecedent of conditionals</u>
          Danışmanım **bazı kısımlar-ı** düzeltirsem tezimin daha iyi olacağını söyledi.
          my.advisor **some parts-acc** if.I.correct my.thesis better will.be said
          'My advisor told me that if I correct some parts, my thesis will be better.

       b. <u>Complex noun phrases</u>
          Bazı öğrenciler-in sınavı kopya çekerek geçtiği dedikodusu tüm okulda yayıldı.
          some students-3gen exam-acc by.cheating passed rumor entire in.school spread
          'The rumor that some students passed the exam by cheating spread to the entire school.'

(214a) can mean that there are some parts in my dissertation; if I correct them, my advisor told me that it is going to be better. Similarly, (214b) can mean that there are some students, and the rumor that they passed the exam by cheating spread throughout the school.

In summary, I have shown that *her* 'every' cannot be interpreted having immediate scope over negation, and that *bazı* cannot be interpreted having scope under negation. I have also shown that *bazı* shows parallel behavior to acc-indefinites in that it can escape scope islands, and thus, I concluded that it has to be interpreted by choice functions. In the light of these facts we will consider the examples with NPIs again, and I will argue that the grammaticality facts discussed are the result of the properties of these logical elements and a constraint NPIs are subject to at LF. This constraint is the *Immediate Scope Constraint* proposed for English NPIs in Linebarger (1980).

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[74] It's been observed that those indefinites that are not modifed by phrases such as *less than, exactly, at least* etc. allow wide scope interpretations (Beghelli (1993) and Szabolcsi (1995, 1996), Reinhart (1997)). Reinhart (1997) claims that the following unmodified/bare indefinites are interpreted by choice-functions: *a, some, three, which, many*, etc.

5. The Immediate Scope Constraint and the scope of negation

Linebarger observes for English that there cannot be a quantificational element between negation and an NPI at LF since any quantificational element that intervenes blocks the licensing of the NPI due to the *Immediate Scope Constraint (ISC)* (part A) defined below:[75]

(215)   A negative polarity item is acceptable in a sentence S if in the logical form of S the subformula representing the NPI is in the immediate scope of the operator NOT. An item is in the immediate scope of NOT if (1) it occurs only in the proposition which is the entire scope of NOT, and (2) within this proposition there are no logical elements intervening between it and NOT. 'Logical elements' are defined here as elements capable of entering into scope ambiguities; that is, the occurrence of the surface realization of n logical elements in a sentence S results in the association of S with up to n! logical forms expressing the possible and acceptable ordering of these elements.
(Linebarger 1980:30)

Linebarger provides a considerable amount of data from English as evidence for the ISC. In the following I will discuss a few of them.

The idiom *to budge for someone* is considered to be an NPI since it loses its idiomatic reading when it occurs without negation, as in (216):

(216)   *She budged for me.

Now consider (217). There are two logically possible readings for this structure. In one reading, (217b), negation takes clausal scope, and the universal quantifier is interpreted between negation and the NPI. In the other reading, (217c), the universal quantifier takes scope over negation, and negation takes scope immediately over the NPI.

(217) a.   *She doesn't budge for everybody.

       b.   NOT [∀x: x is a person] (she <u>budges for</u> x)

       c.   [∀x: x is a person] NOT (she <u>budges for</u> x)

<div align="right">(Linebarger 1980:29)</div>

Linebarger argues that the two readings in (217) are not possible for the following reasons: (i) the first reading is not possible since the universal quantifier is intervening between negation and the NPI in the logical form, violating the ISC; (ii) the second reading is not available either since (at least in her dialect) speakers of English do not allow the universal quantifier to take wide scope with respect to negation for independent reasons. Since both of these logically possible readings are ruled out by the constraints of the grammar, this structure is uninterpretable.

The following illustrates a grammatical structure. However, only one of the logically possible readings is available:

(218)   a. That doesn't hold a candle to most of Frank's ideas.

        b. *NOT [MOSTx: x is an idea of Frank's] (that holds a candle to x)

        c. [MOSTx: x is an idea of Frank's] NOT (that holds a candle to x)

<div align="right">(Linebarger 1980:29)</div>

Note that in reading (218b) the quantifier MOST intervenes between NOT and the NPI (218c) NOT takes immediate scope over the NPI, obeying the ISC and MOST takes scope over both. In contrast to (217), speakers <u>do</u> allow MOST to take wide scope over negation, hence, the grammaticality of the structure.

The class of *interveners* (as Linebargers calls them) that may block the relationship between an NPI and its licensing negation is not restricted to quantifiers. *Because*-clauses constitue another type of intervener. Consider the following:

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[75] Part B of this constraint is to account for overtly non-negative environments that license NPIs in languages such as English. Since we are not interested in those environments for our purposes, we will not discuss this part of the constraint.

(219) a.*John's paper didn't hold a candle to Mary's because he had (any) help.

   b. ...but because he worked hard.

Linebarger argues that (219a) is ungrammatical since the *because*-clause is negated given the follow-up sentence in (219b). However, if the *because*-clause is negated, negation has to take scope over it, and the *because*-clause would intervene between the NPI and its licensor, violating the ISC (*NOT > CAUSE > NPI). The unavailable configuration is represented below:

(220)   NOT CAUSE (S1 , S2)

           S1: "He had help."

           S2: "John's paper **held a candle** to Mary's."

Linebarger analyzes the intervener here as a predicate CAUSE, which takes two sentences S1 and S2 as its arguments.

To summarize, Linebarger proposes that NPIs are subject to a constraint that requires them to be in the immediate scope of negation. LF representations in which another quantificational element such as quantifiers and reason clauses (among others) intervenes between negation (NOT) and the NPI are not interpretable.[76]

Adopting Linebarger's analysis, I propose that, similar to the English cases, the NPIs in Turkish as well have to be in the immediate scope of negation, and representations in which another 'logical element' intervenes between an NPI and its licensor will violate the ISC, and thus fail to converge.[77]

In addition to adopting Linebarger's analysis for NPIs, I propose that in Turkish the scope of negation is not fixed to one position in the structure. In studies on negation in English and similar languages in which sentential negation is expressed by a free morpheme such as *not* in English and *nicht* in German, the general assumption seems to

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[76] See Linebarger (1980) for a detailed discussion of this proposal, and for a list of quantificational elements that behave as interveners and non-interveners.

[77] We will see later in this chapter that not all logical elements function as interveners, a fact Linebarger (1980) has also noticed.

be that negation takes scope at wherever this morpheme resides in the structure. I will show in the following that fixing the scope of negation at one node cannot account for the Turkish facts. Rather, I propose that negation can be interpreted at a number of positions, yielding ambiguous structures unless certain readings are ruled out by constraints such as the ISC or the inherent scope requirements of the logical elements.

This is not the first proposal that argues for a freer negation. Beck & Kim (1996) also argues for an analysis of negation in Korean which assumes that the negative verb can adjoin to any VP.

In the following I will discuss the structures that presented a puzzle in Section 3 and show how these facts follow given the proposal just sketched.

6. Analysis

In this section I will analyze the structures with *her* 'every', quantificational adverbs, reason-clauses, and NPIs. I will discuss the prediction this analysis makes, and show that they are borne out.

6.1. Her and NPIs

Let's recall the facts discussed in Section 3.

(221) a.   *Herkes   kimsey-i gör-me-di-Ø.
            everybody anybody-A   see-neg-past-3sg

      b.   Kimse   herşey-den   ye-me-di-Ø.
            anybody-nom everything-Ab eat-neg-past-3sg
            'Nobody ate from everything.'

Let's evaluate these facts in the light of the discussion before. (221a and b) contrast in that it seem that whereas *her* – NPI order is uninterpretable, NPI -*her* order is. Given what we know now about *her* and the NPIs, this is no longer a mystery. We have seen Linebarger (1980)'s arguments for her claim that in English the NPIs have to be under the immediate scope of negation; that is, no logical element can intervene between an NPI and negation. We have also seen that independently *her* 'every' cannot be interpreted

outside the scope of negation in Turkish. Consequently, I propose that the uninterpretability of (221a) is due to the fact that *herkes* 'everybody' is forced to be outside the scope of negation since negation has to be interpreted at a node immediately c-commanding the NPI, and this leaves *herkes* 'everybody' outside its scope. Similarly, in (221b) the NPI precedes, thus, by assumption, c-commands *herşey* 'everything'. The scope relations at LF are represented below in a simplified informal way (the grey areas represent the scope of negation):

(222) a. Kimse   herşey-den   ye-me-di-∅.
          anybody-nom everything-abl. eat-neg-past-3sg
          'Nobody ate from everything.'

       b. *Herkes   kimse-yi   gör-me-di-∅.
          everybody anybody-acc see-neg-past-3sg
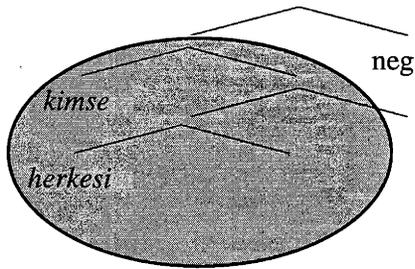
(223) a. LF1 of (222a)   b. LF1 of (222b)
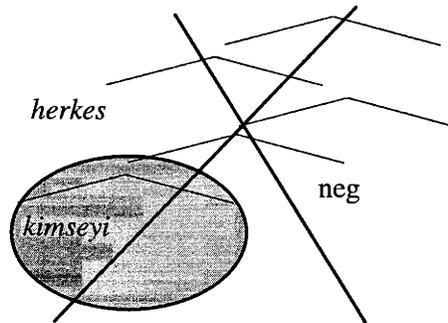
                                      ✶ violates the scope requirement of *her*
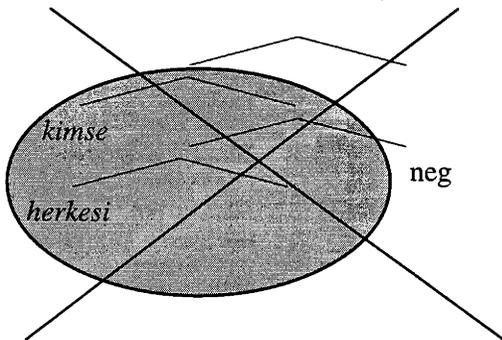
(224) a. LF2 of (222a)   b. LF2 of (222b)

✶ violates the scope requirement   ✶ violates the ISC

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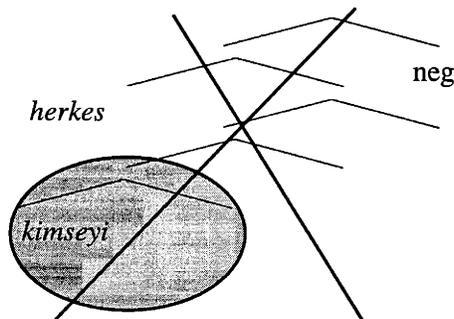
Although Neg > ∀ > NPI would satisfy the inherent scope property of the universal quantifier, it would violate the ISC, as shown in (224b) since ∀ would be intervening between negation and the NPI.

Note that negation can be interpreted at more than one node is crucial here. I do not list here all possible scopal combinations in which negation is intepreted at different nodes for brevity, but the assumption is that, for instance, in both (223a) and (223b) the subject and the object are in the same position in the two structures , whereas negation is interpreted at different positions.

Finally, it seems that scope rigidity that I showed in Chapter 3 also restricts the number of available readings. Otherwise, the quantifiers could shift around at LF, and receive interpretations that do not violate any of these constraints.

Quantificational adverbs and *because*-clauses show similar properties when they cooccur with NPIs. In the following I will discuss them.

6.2. Quantificational adverbs and NPIs

There are two groups of adverbs that can be classified with respect to their interaction with negation: (i) those that obligatorily take *narrow* scope with respect to negation, and (ii) those that obligatorily take *wide* scope with respect to Neg. Let me call these wide *narrow scope adverbs* and *wide scope adverbs* informally. The following illustrates this:

(225) a.   Hasan bu ders-e   her zaman   git-m-iyor-muş-∅.   **Neg > always**
           Hasan this class-D always   go-neg-prog-EP-3sg
           'It is not the case that Hasan always goes to this class.'
           (He *sometimes* goes there.)

     b.   Hasan genellikle bu ders-e   git-m-iyor-muş-∅.   **usually > Neg**
           Hasan usually   this class-D go-neg-prog-EP-3sg
           'Hasan usually doesn't go to this class.'

As with the ∀ quantifier *her* N 'every', the adverb *her zaman* 'always' cannot take wide scope with respect to Neg. *Genellikle* 'usually', on the other hand, tends to take wide

scope w.r.t. negation, similar to the PPI *bazı*. Now consider the following structures with an NPI and a frequency adverb.

(226)   ??Bu ders-e   her zaman kimse git-m-iyor-muş-Ø.   **always>neg>NPI**
           this class-dat always   anybody go-neg-prog-evid-3sg
           Intended reading: 'It is always the case that nobody goes to this class.'

This structure is not interpretable as expected since the narrow-scope adverb is c-commanding the NPI, namely, it is outside the scope of negation. On the other hand, a wide scope adverb in the same position is perfect, as illustrated below:

(227)   Bu ders-e genellikle kimse git-m-iyor-muş-Ø.   **usually>Neg >NPI**
           this class-D usually   anybody go-neg-prog-past-3sg
           'Usually nobody goes to this class.'

(228) further shows that NPI-wide scope adverb order is not acceptable as predicted by our analysis. It is unacceptable since the wide-scope adverb is trapped under the scope of negation.

(228)   ??Bu ders-e kimse genellikle git-m-iyor-mus-Ø.   **Neg >NPI> usually**
           this class-D anybody usually   go-neg-prog-past-3sg

In this section we have seen that quantificational adverbs behave similarly to quantifiers. Their relative order with respect to the NPI in the structure reflects their LF scope with respect to negation, further supporting the claim that scope rigidity and ISC conspire to give us these results. In the next section we will analyze structures with reason clauses and NPIs.

6.3. *Reason-clauses and NPIs*

As expected from the discussions in previous sections, the relative order of NPIs and the reason-clauses determines the scope of the reason clause with respect to negation.

First consider a reason-clause embedded under a negated clause without an NPI:

(229) Hasan bugün Pazar olduğu için ara-ma-dı.
       Hasan [because it is Sunday]   come-neg-past
       'Hasan didn't come because it is Sunday today.'
       (i) Because it is Sunday today, Hasan didn't call. (Hasan never calls me on Sundays.)
                                 because > neg
       (ii) Hasan called but not because it is Sunday today. (He called because he had something
       important to say.)   **neg > because**

As the two readings in (i) and (ii) above show, the structure in (229) is ambiguous: negation can take scope below or above the *because*-clause. As predicted from previous discussion, if there is an NPI in the clause, then the structure becomes unambiguous. Consider the following:

(230) a.   Hasan hiçkimse-yi [pro final-ler-e hazırlan-dığ-ı için] ara-ma-dı.
             Hasan anybody-A   final-pl-D prepare-nomin-3P for   call-neg-past-3sg
             'Hasan didn't call anybody because he is preparing for the finals
             (, he called them because he missed them).'
             Neg > NPI> because

       b.   Hasan [pro finaller-e hazırlan-dığ-ı için]hiçkimse-yi ara-ma-dı-Ø
             Hasan finals-D prepare-nomin-3P for   anybody-A   call-neg-past-3sg
             'Because he is preparing for the finals Hasan didn't call anybody,
             (he has no time for it)'.
             because > Neg>NPI

(231) a.   Ahmet hiçbirşey-i [pro hasta ol-duğ-u için] ye-m-iyor-Ø.
             Ahmet anything-A   sick be-nomin-3P for eat-neg-past-3sg
             'Ahmet doesn't eat anything because he is sick
             (, he eats those things because he likes that kind of food)'.
             Neg> NPI> because

       b.   Ahmet [pro hasta ol-duğ-u için]   hiçbirşey ye-m-iyor-Ø.
             Ahmet   sick be-nomin-3P for anything eat-neg-past-3sg
             'Because he is sick Ahmet doesn't eat anything,
             he doesn't feel like eating.'
             because> Neg> NPI

In (230a) and (231a), the NPI precedes the *reason*-clause, and as expected, negation takes scope over the latter. In (230b) and (231b), on the other hand, the *reason*-clause precedes the NPI, and thus has wide scope over negation. It is clear that the order of the *reason*-clause with respect to the NPI reflects the relative scope of the reason clause and

negation, supporting the analysis developed here. Note also that the (b)-sentences reflect the unmarked order.[78]

In this section we have seen that structures in which reason-clauses and NPIs cooccur provide further evidence for our claim that NPIs must be in the immediate scope of negation, and the readings in which a reason clause (operator CAUSE) intervenes between a negative operator and an NPI are not available.

Recall that we had concluded in Section 3 that *bazı* 'some' is a positive polarity item, and as an indefinite, it is interpreted by choice functions, a proposal supported by the fact that it can be interpreted outside scope islands, even though genuine quantifiers cannot. My analysis predicts that since *bazı* 'some' is a positive polarity item, structures in which it is preceded, and thus, c-commanded by an NPI should be uninterpretable since negation that has to take immediate scope over the NPI would trap the PPI *bazı* 'some' in its scope. In the following section we will see that this prediction is borne out.

6.4. *Bazı 'some' and NPIs*

Consider the structures with *bazı* 'some' that I presented earlier, repeated here:

(232)   a.   Hasan bazı insan-lar-a   hiçbir resm-i göster-me-di-∅.
                 Hasan some person-pl-D any picture-A show-neg-past-3sg
                 'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'.

    b.   *Hasan hiçbir resm-i bazı insan-lar-a   göster-me-di-∅.
                 Hasan any picture-a some person-pl-D show-neg-past-3sg
                 Intended reading: 'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'.

    c.   Hasan **hiçbir resmi**   adamlar-a göster-me-di.
                 Hasan **any picture-A** men-D   show-neg-past-3sg
                 'Hasan didn't show any picture to the men.'

---

[78] One may argue that in the (b)-sentences, both the subject and the *reason*-clause have moved out of the domain of negation by topicalization. However, even if the wide scope of the reason-clause is due to the topicalization of both it and the subject, we would still expect to have an ambiguity, with the reverse scope also available, which is not the case here.

The (un)interpretability judgments here follow from my analysis. Given that negation can be interpreted at more than one position in the structure, I propose that (232a) is acceptable because the LF configuration in which negation is at a node immediately dominating the NPI, below the PPI *bazı* is a legitimate configuration since it satisfies both the ISC and the PPI requirement of *bazı*. Recall also that I argued *bazı* should also be interpreted by choice functions. The relevant LF configuration is illustrated below informally:

(233)

∃f   TP

bazı insanlar-a
some people-D
f(people)   *hiçbir resmi*
             any picture-acc   neg
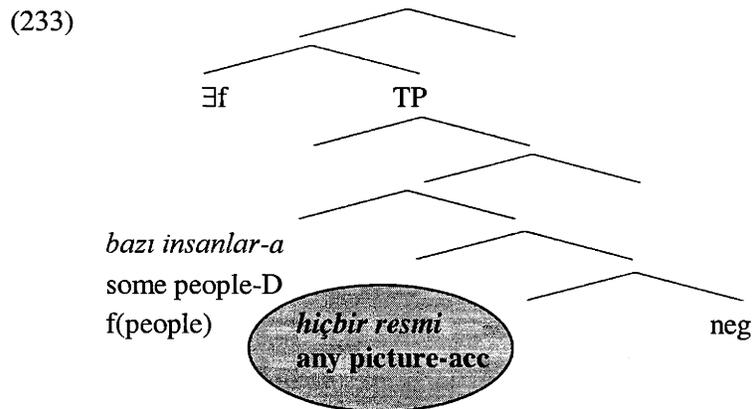
(232b) presents an interesting picture. Recall that I argued that the ∃-quantifier over choice functions must be generated above the subject but lower than the highest scope position for negation. This configuration should allow wide scope reading for *bazı* 'some' since the relevant configuration would be as in (234):

(234)

∃f   TP

                                        neg
hiçbir resm-i
any picture-acc   *bazı insanlar-a*
                      some people-D
                      f(people)
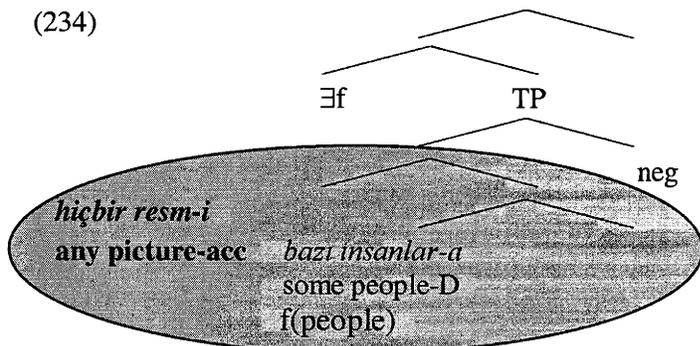
But it doesn't. The structure is uninterpretable. I propose that this is because negation together with the NPI acts as an intervener between the existential quantifier over choice functions and the variable it binds *bazı* . We will see a similar intervention effect is at work for the licensing of an NPI by negation.

Another prediction this analysis makes is that acc-indefinites that are not positive polarity items such as numerals should yield ambiguity in negative clauses, but unambiguity when they occur with an NPI. In the next section I will discuss these cases.

6.5. Numerals

Our analysis predicts that if an element can take both narrow and wide scope with respect to negation, it can occur before or after an NPI. The NPI-numeral order would force a wide scope reading for negation, and the numeral-NPI narrow. One such type of quantifier is numeral quantifiers. They take both wide and narrow scope with respect to negation. Recall first the acc-indefinites that I discussed when I analyzed acc-indefinites and negation in Chapter 3, repeated here:

(235)   a.   Hasan bir ödev-i   yap-ma-dı.
                Hasan a homework-acc do-neg-past
                'Hasan didn't do a homework.' ('Hasan didn't do one of the homeworks.')

        b.   Hasan iki kapı-yı   cilala-ma-dı.
                Hasan two door-acc polish-neg-past
                'Hasan didn't polish two doors.' ('Hasan didn't polish two of the doors.')

I showed that in both examples the acc-indefinite can take scope over or below negation. Recall also that I argued for a choice-function analysis that generates the $\exists$-quantifier over choice functions at the top level of the claus a là Kratzer (1998) and Matthewson (1999) but allows negation to take scope over it. The relevant evidence will be discussed again shortly. Thus, the two LF representations of (235a) is informally as the following:

(236) a.

...f(homework)...

b.

...f(homework)...
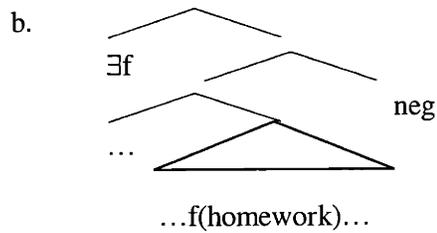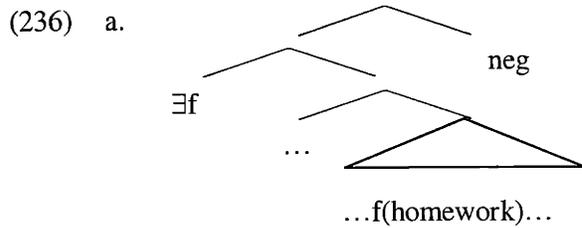
We also saw that when an acc-indefinite co-occurs with an NPI, the structure becomes unambiguous:

(237) a.   Kimse   bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
             anybody a friend-1poss-acc invite-neg-evid
             (i) only reading: Nobody invited any friend of mine.
             (ii) *A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him

b.

...f(friend)...
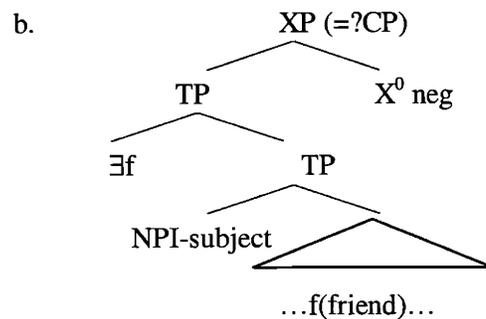
Recall that I proposed that the existential quantifier over choice functions ($\exists f$, for short) is generated immediately above the subject position (adjoins to TP). This explains the unavailability of the wide scope reading for the indefinite in (237a): the wide scope reading is not available because there negation and the NPI would intervene between the $\exists f$ and the function variable it binds.

The reverse order of the numeral and the NPI presents a fact similar to the one in (234) . Consider the following:

(238) a. Bir arkadaş-ım kimse-yi   davet et-me-miş.
           a friend-1poss anybody-acc invite-neg-evid
           'A friend of mine didn't invite anybody.'

This structure yields only a wide scope reading for the indefinite subject. This reading can be derived straightforwardly. Negation is interpreted at a lower position higher than the NPI but lower than the $\exists f$, as represented below:

b.

XP
TP X^0
$\exists f$
...f(friend)...
                       neg
NPI-object
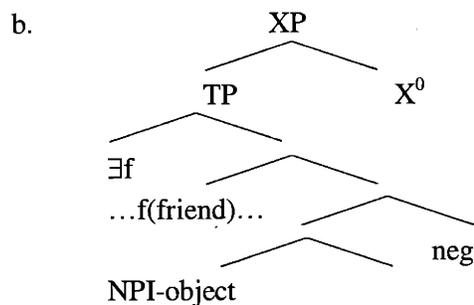
However, if our proposal that negation can be interpreted at the highest available functional head is correct, this structure must be ambiguous. That is, there must be another reading available in which negation takes scope over $\exists f$ (at X^0) similar to the case in (237b). (238a) doesn't have that reading. How does it differ from (237) that makes the higher interpretation of negation impossible? The difference is that in (237) the NPI is higher than the function variable, whereas it is lower in (238). I propose that similar to the neg-NPI pair functioning as an intervener between $\exists f$ and a function variable, $\exists f$-f pair also functions as an intervener between negation and the NPI, which we know independently is subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint.

If we assume following Reinhart (1997) that all indefinites are interpreted as choice-functions, then English indefinites seem to be subject to a similar constraint. Consider (239).

(239)   A student didn't come.

   (i)   It is not the case that a student came.
            ¬...∃f...f(student)

   (ii)   There is a student x, x didn't come.
            ∃f...¬ ...f(student)

(239a) is ambiguous: the indefinite can be interpreted above or below negation. Within Reinhart's choice function analysis, the ambiguity of (239) can be explained in the following way: the existential quantifier over choice functions can be generated above or below negation (or negation can be interpreted above or below the ∃f). However, note that (240) is not ambiguous:

(240)   A student didn't buy anything.

   (i)   *It is not the case that a student bought anything.
            * ¬...∃f...f(student)...anything

   (ii)   There is a student x, x didn't buy anything.
            ∃f...¬ ...f(student)...anything

If negation could be interpreted above the ∃f, as in (240i), then this structure would have the reading "No student bought anything.", but it doesn't. Thus, it seems to be a general property of these structures that when both the ∃f and the function variable it binds occur between negation and the NPI, they act as an intervener in Linebarger (1980)'s sense, and violate the ISC. Consequently, such an LF representation is ruled out yielding an unambiguous structure. The reason why this is so remains to be explored.

Earlier in this Chapter I mentioned that Beck & Kim (1996) proposes an analysis that lets negation be interpreted at various positions in the structure. Let me discuss their analysis briefly, and show how mine differs from theirs.

Beck & Kim (1996) concentrate on structures with wh-phrases and NPIs. They implement the proposal in Beck (1995) that negation induces a barrier for LF-movement in that no quantificational element in its scope can move at LF. When there is a wh-phrase and an NPI in the same structure in Korean, the NPI cannot precede the wh-phrase

because the latter is in the scope of negation at LF, and thus, cannot move to [Spec, CP] to get interpreted since that would create an LF trace inside the Negation Induced Barrier (NIB).

Towards the end of the paper, they also discuss some Korean facts in declarative contexts. Consider the following Korean sentences:

(241) a. ônû hakseng-ina amu ch'aekt-to ilk-chi anh-ass-ta. $\qquad$ $\forall > \neg\exists$
           every student any book read-chi not do-past-Dec
           'Every student didn't read any book.'

       b. amu ch'aek-to ônû hakseng-ina t_i ilk-chi $\quad$ anh-ass-ta. $\qquad$ $\neg\exists > \forall$
           any book $\quad$ every student $\qquad$ read-chi not do-past-Dec
           'Any book$_i$ every student didn't read t_i .'

Beck & Kim propose tentatively that the observation that the s-structure order is always the intended scope order fall out from their Minimal Negative/Quantified Structure Constraint, as defined below:

(242) a. NEGATION/QUANTIFIER INDUCED BARRIER (QUIB)

           The first node that dominates a negative quantifier/quantifier, its restriction and its nuclear scope is a negation induced barrier/a barrier formed by quantified expression.

       b. MINIMAL NEGATIVE/QUANTIFIED STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT

           If an LF trace α is dominated by a N/QUIB β, then the binder of α must also be dominated by β .

For instance, in (241b) the universal quantifier couldn't take wide scope w.r.t. the NPI because in that case it would have to leave an LF trace in the scope of negation that would violate the MNSC. Note, however, that in their analysis there is nothing that prevents negation from adjoining to a node that would c-command both the universal quantifier and the NPI in, for instance, (241a). Such a configuration would satisfy the licensing condition of the NPI, and would yield a reading Neg $> \forall > \exists$, that can be

paraphrased as "It is not the case that every student read some book (or another).", which obviously has different truth-conditions than the reading in (241a). Youngjoo Lee reports that it does not have that reading. However, the proposal that has been developed in the current paper predicts this correctly. This reading would violate the Immediate Scope Constraint in that the universal quantifier would intervene between negation and the NPI.

I believe that future research on the interpretation of indefinites and their interaction with negation and NPIs in other so-called scope-rigid languages will shed more light on this phenomenon. Before proceeding to the next section, I would like to present some preliminary data from Japanese that show similar properties.

Sika 'only' is a negative polarity item in that it has to occur with the negative marker *-nai* (Tanaka (1997)).

(243) a. Taroo-sika LGB-o yonde-nai (koto)
           Taroo-focus LGB-acc read-neg
           'Only Taroo read LGB.'

       b. *Taroo-sika LGB-o yonda (koto)

Moreover, Shigeru Miyagawa (personal communication) reports that the indefinite *dareka* 'someone' is interpreted having wide scope over negation.

(244) John-ga   dareka-o   yoba-nakat-ta.
       John-nom someone-acc call-neg-past
       'John didn't call someone.' = There is someone that John didn't call.

Similar to the Turkish examples discussed above, when *dareka* is c-commanded by an NPI, hwoever, the structure becomes unacceptable.

(245) ??John-sika dareka-o yoba-nakat-ta.
       only John someone call-neg-past
       Intended: 'Only John called someone.'

When *dareka* is scrambled, however, the structure becomes acceptable, and it is interpreted as having wide scope.

(246)   Dareka-o John-sika yoba-nakat-ta.
        someone only John call-neg-past
        'Only John called someone.' = There is someone and only John called him/her.

Numerals with floated quantifiers can take wide or narrow scope w.r.t. negation. The following data are from Hideaki Yamashita (personal communication):

(247)   John-ga   gakusei-o futari home-nakat-ta.
        John-nom student-acc two   praise-neg-past
        'John didn't praise two students.'
        (i) There are two students x s.t. John didn't praise x.
        (ii) John didn't praise two students (but three).

However, similar to Turkish, its position w.r.t. to the phrase modified by *sika* determines its interpretation. When it follows a *sika*-phrase, then it cannot have a wide scope interpretation w.r.t. negation, as in (248a), whereas when it precedes a *sika*-phrase it must, as in (248b):

(248) a.   John-sika gakusei-o futari home-nakat-ta.
               John-foc student-acc two   praise-neg-past
               'Only John praised two students.'
               (i) *There are two students x s.t. John praised x.
               (ii) Only John praised two students. (Others praised more students/one student.)

These examples provide further cross-linguistic evidence for the generalizations shown and the proposal defended in this chapter. Needless to say, a more detailed investigation of the interpretation of indefinites and their interaction with negation and NPIs in Japanese (and languages with similar properties) are required.

6.6. Long-distance licensing

This section discusses long-distance licensing of the NPIs. We will see that the syntax of the embedded clause in combination with the semantics of the embedding verb determines the availability of the LD licensing. Specifically, I will show that finite clauses and factive clauses do not allow LD licensing (c.f. Kornfilt (1984)).

Recall that in Chapter 1 and 2 I briefly discussed embedded clauses, and showed that most of the embedded clauses are nominalized by the so-called nominalizers such as –DIK-, -ECEK- and –ME(K)-.

(249) a.   -ME(K)-nominalization
             Hasan Elif-in   gül-**me**-si-ne   kızdı.
             Hasan Elif-3agr laugh-**MA**-3agr-D got angry
             'Hasan got angry that Elif laughed.'

      b.   -DIK- (past/present) and –ECEK- (future) nominalization
             Hasan Elif-in   gül-**düğ**-ü-nü   biliyor.
             Hasan Elif-3agr laugh-**DIK**-3agr-acc knows
             'Hasan knows that Elif is laughing/laughed.'

      c.   Hasan Elif-in   gül-**eceğ**-i-ni   biliyor.
             Hasan Elif-3agr laugh-**ECEK/future**-3agr-acc knows
             'Hasan knows that Elif is going to laugh.'

(250) a.   Finite embedding
             [Hasan ben gül-dü-**m**] sandı.
             Hasan I laugh-past-**1sg** thought
             'Hasan thought I laughed.'

      b.   Finite embedding with accusative marked subject and no agreement
             [Hasan ben-i gül-dü]   sandı.
             Hasan I-acc laugh-past-**Ø** thought
             'Hasan thought I laughed.'

The difference between two nominalizations is that –ME(K)- nominalizations parallel the infinitival/gerundive embedding in English in that it has no specification for tense, the tense interpretation of the embedded clause depends on the matrix tense. –ME(K)- clauses behave like subjunctives in that they are usually embedded by attitude predicates such as *want, wish, regret* (be sorry) etc.

-DIK-/-ECEK- clauses have a partial tense contrast: [± future]. -DIK is interpreted as either past or present, and –ECEK- is identical to the future morpheme that is used in finite clauses.

Kornfilt (1984) discusses long-distance binding of anaphors and licensing of NPIs, and concludes that the type of the nominalizer determines whether there can be a long-distance relationship between an embedded element and another one in the matrix clause.

She suggests that whereas *–DIK-* type of embedded clauses are opaque to long-distance licensing, *–ME(K)-* type of clauses are more transparent, though she notes that the distribution is not very clear. She also argues that *–DIK-* type of clauses are "factive" clauses, whereas *–ME(K)-* type of clauses are "action nominals".

A detailed study of the predicates that allow long-distance licensing of NPIs, however, reveals that it is the semantics of the predicate that determines whether or not long-distance NPIs are licensed. The predicates that allow long-distance licensing are the so-called neg-raising predicates such as *san-* 'think' and *iste-* 'want', perception predicates such as *duy-* 'hear', *gör-* 'see' and attitude predicates such as 'allow'.

It has been observed that in structures with neg-raising verbs in the matrix clause, negation can be intepreted having scope in the embedded clause (cf. Horn (1995); among others). For instance, in the following structure only the matrix verb is negated. However, the structure can also be understood with embedded scope for negation:

(251)   I don't think he will come.

    (i) I don't think he will come.

    (ii) I think he will not come.

The following illustrates long-distance licensing of the NPIs with neg-raising verbs.

(252)   *san-* 'think'

    a.   Ahmet-in kimse-yi   sev-diğ-in-i   sanmıyorum.
             Ahmet-agr anybody-acc love-DIK-agr-acc I.don't.think
             'I don't think Ahmet loves anybody.'
             'I think Ahmet doesn't love anybody.'

    b.   Toplantıya   kimse-nin   gel-eceğ-in-i   sanmıyorum.
             to.the meeting anybody-3gen come-ECEK-3poss-acc I.don't.think
             'I don't think anybody will come to the meeting.'
             'I think nobody will come to the meeting.'

c.　　Ali-nin　Ahmet-ten　　hiçbirşey iste-diğ-ini　　　　　sanmıyorum.
　　　Ali-3gen Ahmet-ablative anything want-DIK-3poss -acc I.don't.think
　　　'I don't think Ali wanted/wants anything from Ahmet.'
　　　'I think Ali doesn't want/didn't want anything from Ahmet.'

d.　　Murat-ın babasın-dan　hiçbirşey iste-yeceğ-ini　　　　　sanmıyorum.
　　　Murat-3gen his.father-abl　anything　want-ECEk-3poss -acc I.don't.think
　　　'I don't think Murat will ask for anything from his father.'
　　　'I think Murat will not ask for anything from his father.'

e.　　Ahmet-in　bu sene hiçbir yer-e　gid-eceğ-in-i　　　　sanmıyorum.
　　　Ahmet-3gen this year anywhere-dat go-ECEK-3poss-acc　I.don't.think
　　　'I don't think Ahmet will go anywhere this year.'
　　　'I think Ahmet will not go anywhere this year.'

(253)　　　*iste-* 'want'

a.　　Hasan-ın　kimse-yi　ara-ma-sın-ı　　　　istemiyorum.
　　　Hasan-3gen anybody-acc call-MA-3poss-acc I.don't.want
　　　'I don't want Hasan to call anybody.'
　　　'I want Hasan not to call anybody.'

b.　　Kimse-nin　　Hasan-ı　ara-ma-sın-ı　　　　istemiyorum.
　　　Anybody-3gen Hasan-acc call-MA-3poss-acc I.don't.want
　　　'I don't want anybody to call Hasan.'
　　　'I want nobody to call Hasan.'

(254)　*tahmin et-* 'guess'

Hiçbirşey-in　onu　　bu kadar üze-bil-eceğ-in-i　　　　tahmin etmezdim.
anything-3gen him/her this much worry-can-ECEK-3poss-acc I wouldn't guess
'I wouldn't guess anything would worry him/make him unhappy so much.'
'I would guess nothing would worry him/make him unhappy so much.'

(255)　*bekle-* 'expect'

Kimse-nin　anla-ma-sı-nı　　　　　beklemiyorum.
anybody-3gen understand-MA-3poss-acc I don't expect
'I don't expect anybody to understand.'
'I expect nobody to understand.'

(256) *tavsiye et- 'recommend'*

> Bu şirkette   kimse-yle   arkadaş ol-ma-nı   tavsiye etmem.
> in.this.company anybody-with friend   be-MA-2poss-acc I.wouldn'trecommend
> 'I wouldn't advise you to be friends with anybody in this company.'
> 'I would advise you not to be friends with anybody in this company.'

Kornfilt (1984) shows that long-distance anaphor binding is also possible when the matrix predicate is, for instance, *want-*:

(257) ?Biz birbirimizin   toplantıya gel-me-sin-i   istiyorduk.
       We each other-3gen meeting-dat come-ME-3poss-acc wanted
       'We wanted each other to come to the meeting.'

Within the current analysis, long-distance licensing of NPIs are accounted for straightforwardly: in both readings, the NPI is in the scope of negation, and thus, licensed.

Factive embedded clauses seem to disallow long-distance licensing regardless of the nominalizer. The following illustrate canonical factive clauses:

(258) a.   *Kimse-nin gel-diğ-in-i bil-m-iyor-um.
              Anybody-3gen come-DIK-3poss-acc know-neg-prog-1sg
              Intended: 'I don't know that anybody came.'

       b.   *Hasan-ın kimse-yi çağır-dığ-ın-ı öğren-me-di-m.
              Hasan-3gen anybody-acc invite-DIK-acc learn-neg-past-1sg
              Intended: 'I didn't learn/find out that Hasan invited anybody.'

       c.   *Hasan-ın kimse-yi   çağır-dığ-ın-ı keşfet-me-di-m.
              Hasan-3gen anybody-acc invite-DIK-acc discover-neg-past-1sg
              Intended: 'I didn't discover that Hasan invited anybody.'

Verbs such as *şaşır-* 'be surprised', *üzül-* 'be sad', *kız-* 'be angry' have been considered "emotive factives" since they presuppose the truth of their complements. Note that even though embedded clauses have the *–mA* nominalizer, they are still factive.

(259) a.   ??Hasan-ın kimse-yi   ara-ma-sın-a şaşır-ma-dı-m.
            Hasan-ın anybody-acc call-neg-MA-3poss-dat be.surprised-neg-past
            Intended: 'I wasn't surprised that Hasan called anybody.'

      b.   ??Hasan-ın kimse-yi   ara-ma-sın-a   üzül-me-di-m.
            Hasan-ın   anybody-acc call-neg-MA-3poss-dat be.sad-neg-past
            Intended: 'I wasn't sad that Hasan called anybody.'

      c.   ??Hasan-ın kimse-yi   ara-ma-sın-a   kız-ma-dı-m.
            Hasan-ın   anybody-acc call-neg-MA-3poss-dat be.angry-neg-past
            Intended: 'I wasn't angry that Hasan called anybody.'

Kornfilt (1984) observes that finite embedded clauses do not allow long-distance binding of anaphors and licensing of NPIs. She calls these embedded clauses "direct complements". She also observes that when the subject of the embedded clause is marked with accusative (similar to the ECM cases in English, see also Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) for an ECM analysis of these clauses), licensing of the NPI is allowed:

(260)   Embedded subject: nominative

      a.   *Kimse-Ø   geç geldi san-m-ıyorlar.
            Anybody-nom late came they.don't.think
            Intended: 'They don't think anybody came late.'

      b.   Kimse-Ø   geç gel-me-di   sanıyorlar.
            Anybody-nom late came-neg-past they.think
            'They think nobody came late.'

(261)   Embedded subject: accusative

      a.   Kimse-yi   geç geldi san-m-ıyorlar.
            Anybody-acc late came they.don't.think
            'They don't think anybody came late.'
            'There is nobody they think came late.'

      b.   *Kimse-yi   geç gel-me-di   sanıyorlar.
            Anybody-acc late come-neg-past they.think
            Intended: 'They don't think anybody came late.'

Thus, we have seen that factive complements and finite complements do not allow long-distance licensing. I assume following Kornfilt (1984) that these environments are opaque environments to long-distance relations.

Next let us consider embedded structures with *her*, *bazı* and NPIs. When the matrix predicate is a neg-raising verb, we predict that the facts we observed in simplex clauses should be replicated. This is borne out.

(262)   *Bu sınıfta herkesin   kimseyi   rahatsiz etmesini   **iste-m-iyorum.**
        in this class everybody-agr anybody-acc disturb-MA-agr-acc **Idon't want**

This structure is not interpretable because again the universal quantifier intervenes between negation and the NPI, violating the scope rigidity.

With *bazı*, the *bazı*-NPI order should be interpretable since the existential quantifier binding *bazı* can be generated higher than negation. This is in fact what we find.

(263)   ?Bazı öğrencilerin   ödevlerden   hiçbirini yapacağını   **sanmıyorum.**
        some students-agr homeworks-abl any-acc   do-ACAK-agr-acc **Idon't think**
        'I don't think some of the students will do any of the homeworks.'

(264)   Ben   bazı insanların evimdeki   hiçbirşey-e dokunmasını   **istemiyorum.**
        I some people-agr   in my house anything-dat touch-MA-agr-acc **Idon't want**
        'I don't want some people to touch anything in my house.'

(263), for instance, means that there are some students x, and I think x won't do any of the homeworks. Similarly, (264) means that there are some people x, and I don't want x to touch anything in my house.

I advertised at the beginning that *izin ver-* 'allow' also allows long-distance licensing.[79] First consider a structure with an NPI only:

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[79] Note that the grammaticality of this structure implies that the matrix verb does not act as an intervener, and does not violate the ISC.

(265) *izin ver-* 'allow'

    a.   Müdür kimsenin dışarı çıkmasına izin vermiyor.
            manager anybody-agr go out-MA-agr-acc doesn't allow
            'The manager doesn't allow anybody to go out.'

    b.   Müdür mahkumların kimseyi aramasına izin vermiyor.
            manager prisoners-agr anybody-acc call-MA-agr-acc doesn't allow
            'The manager doesn't allow the prisoners to call anybody.'

The NPIs are licensed under the scope of matrix negation. The attitude verb *izin ver-* 'allow' doesn't seem to function as an intervener.

Note that in the structures with neg-raising verbs, negation could be interpreted at the matrix level, or the embedded clause level. However, with *izin ver-* 'allow' it can only be interpreted at the matrix level since if it were interpreted at the embedded level, it would have a logically different interpretation, as shown in (266).

(266) a.   Hasan git-me-m-e izin ver-me-di.
            Hasan go-MA-1poss allow-neg-past
            'Hasan didn't allow me to go.'

      b.   Hasan git-me-me-m-e izin ver- di.
            Hasan go-neg-MA-1poss-dat allow-past
            'Hasan allowed me not to go.'

As the reader can verify to her-/himself, these two sentences have different truth conditions. This shows that a structure with a negated *izin ver-* 'allow' as the matrix verb cannot lend into an embedded level interpretation of negation.

In this context the proposal that *bazı* and regular indefinites are interpreted by choice-functions receives a testing ground. If this analysis is correct, then these indefinites are expected to be able to take wide scope over the negated matrix verb even when they are embedded under a non-neg-raising verb since (as I mentioned above) the ∃f can be generated above the matrix verb. They are predicted to have wide scope when they precede an NPI, but only narrow scope when they follow an NPI.

(267) Yeni hapishane müdürü bazı mahkumlar-ın avlu-ya cik-ma-sin-a izin ver-m-iyor.
new prison manager some prisoners-3gen yard-dat go-MA-3poss-dat allow-not-prog
'The new manager doesn't allow some prisoners to go out to the yard.'

The grammaticality of (267) shows that *bazı* can take scope above the negated matrix verb *izin ver-* 'allow'.

(268) Yeni hapishane müdürü bazı mahkumlar-ın kimse-yle görüş-me-sin-e izin ver-m-iyor.
new prison manager some prisoners-3gen anybody-comm. see-MA-agr-dat allow-not-prog
'The new manager doesn't allow some prisoners to see anybody.'

The *NPI-bazı* order in the embedded clause seems to be not interpretable. Note that for this to be interpretable negation and the NPI have to intervene between the ∃f and the function variable introduced by the indefinite. Similar to the uninterpretable case in which the ∃f and the function variable intervened between negation and NPI, this configuration is also ruled out. The other alternative in which negation takes scope over the ∃f is also ruled out since that would trap *bazı* under the scope of negation.

(269) *Müdür kimse-nin bazı kitaplar-ı oku-ma-sın-a izin ver-me-di.
headmaster anybody-3gen some books-acc read-MA-3poss-dat allow-neg-past
'The headmaster didn't allow anybody to read some books.'

(i) *∃f...neg...NPI...f(books)... → neg..NPI intervenes

(ii) *neg...∃f... NPI...f(books)...→ neg takes scope over a PPI

This predicts that with numerals NPI-numeral order should be allowed but only a narrow scope reading is available for the numeral:

(270) Müdür kimse-nin iki kişi-yi ara-ma-sın-a izin ver-me-di.
headmaster anybody-3gen two person-acc call-MA-3poss-dat allow-neg-past
'The headmaster didn't allow anybody to call two people. (They can call one person, though.)'

(i) *∃f...neg...NPI...f(two people)... → neg..NPI intervenes

(ii) ✓neg...∃f... NPI...f(two people)... → neg takes scope over the numeral

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In the next section I will discuss the question whether the items that I have been assuming to be negative polarity items can be negative quantifiers instead.

7. The nature of the NPIs

One might claim that these words are inherently negative themselves, and that they express sentential negation, the existence of the negative marker on the verb being redundant, a case of Negative Concord. I will argue in this section that this approach is would not be plausible.

Before going into the discussion of the nature of these words, let us try to clarify what it means to have a case of negative concord with negative quantifiers: Definitions vary. Ladusaw (1992) defines Negative Concord (NC) as the following: "Negative Concord (NC) is the indication at multiple points in a clause of the fact that the clause is to be interpreted as semantically negated." (Ladusaw (1993): 1). That is, NC-structures are those in which some of the constituents are marked morphologically to indicate that they are in a negative structure. In contrast to this "morphological" one, there is another usage of NC: in some approaches such as of Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995), and Brown (1995) a NC-structure is one that contains two or more *inherently negative* elements but still expresses *only one* negation. This usage differs from the other one in that it assumes that the elements involved in expressing negation are not only morphologically but also semantically negative.[80] This will become clearer below. Consider first a standard English example with two negative quantifiers:

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[80] Note that "concord" is a term from morphology to describe the structures in which, for instance, all constituents in a noun phrase are marked for gender such as the following German example:

(i) ein-e   schön-e   jung-e Frau
     one-fem. pretty-fem. young-fem. woman
     'a beautiful young woman'

(271) Standard English:
       Nobody talked to nobody.
       = Everybody talked to somebody.

In (271) two negative elements cancel each other out as expressed in the paraphrase. However, in a non-standard dialect of English, the same sentence expresses a different meaning. Consider (272):

(272) Non-standard English:
       Nobody talked to nobody.   (Ladusaw (1993): 240)
       'Nobody talked to anybody'.

In (272) two *nobody*s express one single negation in contrast to (271) in which they induce 'Double Negation' (DN). In (272), two *nobody*s do not contribute independent negations to the structure. The 'object *nobody*' seems to behave like an NPI *anybody* in standard English, whereas the 'subject *nobody*' behaves like the negative quantifier *nobody* in standard English.

The following also show that *nobody*s c-commanded by another negative element such as *nobody* in the subject position, as in (273a), or the sentential negation marker, as in (273b), behave like NPIs. *Nobody*s in the subject position, on the other hand, behave like a negative quantifier in that they can occur without the existence of a sentential negation marker, as in (273a & b), and they can also license NPIs in their c-command domain such as *nobody*s in (273a).

(273) a.   Nobody said nothing to nobody. (Ladusaw's (1))
              'Nobody said anything to anybody'.

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b. Maria didn't say nothing to nobody. (Ladusaw's (2))
   'Maria didn't say anything to anybody'.

c. Nobody talked to Mary. (Ladusaw's (6))
   'Nobody talked to Mary'.

Languages with similar phenomena that attract most of the discussion, i.e. Romance, Basque and Greek among others, contain these 'dual-natured' lexical items -such as *nobody* in the non-standard English examples above- that behave like a typical negative quantifier in some contexts such as the subjects (273a and c), and like a typical NPI in others such as the objects in (273b).[81] These dual-natured lexical items have been known as n-words since Laka (1990).

Going back to the discussion of defining "negative concord", I would like to make clear what I mean by NC when I use it in this paper. When I say a certain structure is a NC structure, I will simply mean that -in a more theory-neutral way- it is a structure in which these 'dual-natured' items occur, nothing more.

Most of the discussion on NC revolves around the nature of these words: are they negative quantifiers or NPIs, and what causes this 'dual-nature'?[82]

The 'Negative Quantifier (NQ)-view' claims that these words are negative quantifiers, and two inherently negative elements (two or more negative quantifers and/or sentential negation) result in a single negation since their negative force is absorbed by the negative head in the structure (cf. Zanuttini (1991) for a detailed discussion of this proposal). The 'NPI-view', on the other hand, argues that these n-words are, in fact NPIs licensed by a negative operator, and the fact that they seem to be able to occur independent of a negative element in some contexts such as (273c) is due to a covert negative head in the structure which licenses them. (cf. Laka 1990 and Ladusaw 1992).[83]

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[81] *Nobody*s in subject position cannot be NPIs since subject NPIs are not licensed in English as exemplified in (i) below.
(i) *Anybody didn't see Mary.

[83] Note also that there is a third view in which these n-words are ambiguous between negative quantifiers and NPIs (see Herburger (1998) and Longobardi (1987); among others). However, treating NPIs as ambiguous would predict that in every structure they are ambiguous between an NPI and a negative quantifier reading, which is not the case at least for Turkish.

The structures that triggered the question whether n-words are inherently negative are those in which n-words occur without sentential negation such as the Italian example below:

(274)   Nessuno ha telefonato.
        no one has telephoned

Proponents of the NQ-view claim that given that this structure is negative without a sentential negation marker, *nessuno* must be a negative quantifier, contributing its inherent negative force to the structure. Structures similar to the one in (274) has led many to claim that these n-words are unambiguously negative.

In Turkish, on the other hand, finite structures in which an n-word can occur without overt negation do not exist. In contrast to Romance languages, Turkish NPIs can never occur in finite complete sentences without a sentential negation marker as illustrated below:

(275)   *Hiçkimse ara-dı-Ø.
        anybody   call-past-3sg
        Intended reading: 'Nobody called'.

However, for some speakers they can occur without overt negation only as an elliptical answer to a wh-question as exemplified in (276):

(276)   a.   Kim gel-miş- Ø ?   Hiçkimse.
                who come-past-EP   anybody
                'Who came?'   'Nobody'.

        b.   Bura-ya tekrar gel-ecek mi-sin?   Asla.
                here-D again come-fut q.marker-2sg   Ever.
                'Will you come here again?'   'Never'.

Although Turkish NPIs differ from Romance n-words in that they cannot occur independent of a sentential negation marker in finite structures such as (275), the fact that they can occur in isolation without overt negation such as in (276) still raises the question whether they are in fact inherently negative.

The possibility of structures such as (276) is an interesting puzzle, not only for the NPI-view but also for the NQ-view. The proponents of the NPI-view have to explain how an NPI like *hiçkimse* and *asla* in (276) can remain unlicensed if licensing of NPIs requires overt negation.

The NQ-view, too, however, has to explain why these structures are grammatical. Even though this view treats n-words as negative quantifiers, n-words are not identical to negative quantifiers in non-NC languages such as standard English since they are also subject to licensing conditions similar to NPIs. Namely, whereas in standard English negative quantifiers such as *nobody* and *nothing* contribute their negative force to the structure independent of a sentential negation marker, in NC-languages n-words have to coocur with sentential negation or a higher negative quantifier. Haegeman (1995) and Zanuttini (1991), for instance, formulate this requirement as a criterion imposed on negative structures. This criterion, described in (277), requires a negative quantifier to occur in the specifier position of a negative head, and it requires the negative head to have a negative operator in its specifier. Thus, this approach, too, faces the question of how the negative criterion is satisfied (at s-structure or at LF) in structures such as (276) in which there is no negative head: neither in the answer, nor in the question.

(277) NEG -Criterion

    a.   A NEG-operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with an
             X^0 [NEG];

    b.   An X^0 [NEG] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a
             NEG-operator.

Where the following definitions obtain:

    c.   NEG-operator: a negative phrase in a scope position
    d.   Scope position: left-peripheral A'-position [Spec, XP] or [YP, XP].

(Haegeman (1995): 106)

In fact, there is basically no difference between NPIs and n-words in this respect. Both come from the lexicon with a requirement that does not allow them to occur freely, i.e. without the existence of a sentential negation marker. Thus, NEG-criterion is in a way paraphrasing the licensing condition since it basically states that these words cannot occur by themselves. Thus, even for this view there is a difference between negative quantifiers such as *nobody* in standard English and n-words in NC languages in that the former can occur "freely" whereas n-words are dependent on the Spec-head relationship with a negative head.

Without going into too much detailed discussion, I leave the explanation for the structures such as (275) and their counterparts in other NC-languages to further research. What I would like to emphasize is the fact that the grammaticality of these structures are not evidence for the NQ-view, since even in that approach as well these structures remain to be a puzzle.

Moreover, one would expect there to be contexts in which inherently negative quantifiers induce double negation, such as when they occur with other negative elements as in the standard English example below:

(278)   Nobody likes nobody. = Everybody likes somebody.

However, this is not possible in Turkish. To express DN, the structure has to have an additional negative predicate, as in (279):

(279)   Kimse   kimse-yi   sev-m-iyor   değil.
        Anybody anybody-acc like-neg-prog not
        'It is not the case that nobody likes anybody.'

Furthermore, the suffix *-sIz* 'without' when attached to the NPIs, licenses them, and does not create DN as would be the case with negative quantifiers.[84] Contrast the Turkish example (280b) with the standard English example in (281b):

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[84] The fact that a suffix with negative feature can license NPIs suggest that even negation with scope only over an NP can be a licensor of NPIs.

(280) a.   Biz bu ülke-ye   para-sız   gel-di-k.
    we this country-D money-without come-past-1pl.
    'We came to this country without money.'

b.   Biz bu ülke-ye   hiçbirşey-siz   gel-di-k.
    we this country-D anything-without come-past-1pl.
    'We came to this country without anything.'

(281) a.   We came to this country without anything.

b.   We came to this country without nothing.

=We came to this country with something.

Whereas the combination of *without* and *nothing* in (281b) result in DN, the cooccurence of *hiçbirşey* and *-sız* in (280b) does not. Rather, *hiçbirsey* seems more like *anything* in (281a) in that it is licensed by the negation of *-siz* and the structure is negative.

One might suspect that the lack of DN reading with n-words and negative markers in Turkish is simply a by-product of being a NC language. Namely, one might claim that whatever makes two negative elements result in a single negation is never overridden by any other constraint in the grammar, and that is why DN readings do not exist in NC languages. However, note that not all NC languages lack DN readings as in Turkish. That is, lacking DN readings is not an inherent property of NC languages. As a matter of fact, Haegeman (1995) shows that West Flemish, which she argues to exhibit Negative Concord, has structures in which two negative elements fail to produce a single negation, leading to DN. Consider (282):

(282) a.   da Valère an niemand niets **nie** gezeid (en)-oat
    that Valère to nobody nothing not said en-had
    'that Valère had not said anything to anyone'

b.   da Valère an niemand **nie** niets gezeid (en)-oat
    that Valère to nobody nothing not said en-had
    'that Valère had said nothing to noone'

(Haegeman 1995: 133)

(282a) and (282b) are identical except in the relative order of *nie* 'nothing'and *niets* 'not'. In (282a) *nie* follows *niets* and the structure has single negation. In (282b), on the other hand, *nie* precedes *niets* and they cancel each other out resulting in DN.

Italian and a dialect of NC-English also have structures which have DN reading. Consider the following:

(283)   a.   <u>NC-A dialect</u>
                Nobody didn't say nothing.
                'Nobody didn't say anything'. = Everybody said something.

(Ladusaw (1992): 250)

        b.   <u>Italian</u>
                Nessuno e rimasto con noente in mano.
                noone is left   with nothing in hand
                'Noone was left with nothing.'

(Zanuttini 1991: 144)

Both (283a) (at least for some speakers) and (283b) have DN reading. Both (283a) and (283b) show that it is not necessarily the case that in NC structures multiple negative elements always result in a single negation reading. Thus, lack of DN of multiple NPIs in Turkish casts a serious doubt on the possibility that the constituents in question are inherently negative.

We have noted before that Turkish NPIs are licensed mainly by negation. However, two of these words *kimse* 'anybody' and *hiç* 'ever' are licensed in questions as well, as illustrated below:

(284)   a.   Hasan **hiç** Amerika-ya gel-di- Ø   mi ?
                Hasan **ever** America-D come-past-3sg q.marker
                'Has Hasan ever come to America ?'

        b.   Sana   **kimse**   5-te buluş-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-di- Ø mi?
                you-D **anybody** 5-L meet-fut.-1pl.P.-A say-past-3sg q. marker
                Did **anybody/*nobody** tell you that we are meeting at 5 P.M. ?

The fact that the paradigm in (1) includes words that begin with *hiç* might lead one to suspect that it is this morpheme that makes the quantifier negative. Consequently, if *hiç* turns indefinites into negative quantifiers unambiguously, one might also expect the

free morpheme *hiç* 'ever' to have its own negative force, and not to be able to occur in non-negative structures. However, the structure in (284a) shows just the opposite. In this structure *hiç* behaves exactly like the English NPI *ever*. It is licensed by the question operator, and does not contribute negation to the structure.

The case of *kimse* is more complicated: it is used intercheangeably with *hiçkimse*, which is described as 'the emphasized form of *kimse*' by many speakers. In both declarative and interrogative negative structures, both of these words can be used:

(285) a. **Kimse/Hiçkimse** ban-a 5-te bulus-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-me-di-Ø.
anybody I-D 5-L meet-fut.-1pl.P-A say-neg-past-3sg
'Nobody told me that we were meeting at 5 P.M.'.

b. **Kimse/Hiçkimse** san-a 5-te bulus-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-me-diØ mi?
anybody you-D 5-L meet-fut.-1pl.P-A say-neg-past-3sg
'Didn't anybody tell you that we were meeting at 5 P.M.?'

However, their distribution differs in one context: *kimse* is acceptable in non-negative yes/no questions such as (286), whereas *hiçkimse* is less acceptable among some speakers, though some others accept it in questions as well.

(286) San-a **kimse/??hiçkimse** 5-te buluş-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-di-Ø mi?
you-D **anybody** 5-loc meet-fut.-1pl.P-A say-past-3sg q.marker
'Did **anybody** tell you that we were meeting at 5 P.M.?'

I suggest that for those speakers who do not accept *hiçkimse* --and other NPIs that begin with the morpheme *hiç*- in questions, this difference is simply due to the different lexical specifications of these items: whereas *kimse* and *hiç* can be licensed by an interrogative and a negative operator, words in the *hiç*-words paradigm can only be licensed by negation. This can be evaluated with an analogy to English NPIs: *any, anybody, anything* can be licensed both by a large number of operators including the interrogative and the negative operator, whereas *one bit* can only be licensed by overt sentential negation, as in *"I am not one bit happy about this fact."* (see Zwarts (1993) for a typology of NPIs and their licensing environments)

Note also the fact that *kimse* in (286) does not contribute negation to the structure, either. However, as discussed above, for a word to be a negative quantifier, one would

expect it to contribute negation to the structure whatever the context is since the assumption is that the feature [negative] is part of the lexical specification of this lexical item. Note that in English and German negative quantifiers such as *nobody* and *niemand* do retain their negativity in questions, as in (287). In Turkish, on the other hand, these words behave exactly like NPIs such as *ever* and *anybody*. Contrast (286) with (287):

(287)   a.   English
                Did **nobody** tell you that we are meeting at 5 P.M. ?

        b.   German
                Hat niemand dir gesagt, dass wir uns um 17 Uhr treffen?
                Has nobody you-D said that we refl. at 17 clock meet
                'Did **nobody** tell you that we are meeting at 5 P.M.?'

Neither (287a) nor (287b) can mean "Did anybody tell you that we are meeting at 5 P.M.?" However, *kimse* 'anybody' in (311) without sentential negation cannot contribute negation to the question, and functions as an indefinite. Note also that *kimse* and *hiçkimse* behave exactly the same way when they interact with other quantifiers. That is, if it were the case that *kimse* is an NPI and *hickimse* a negative quantifier, then they would be expected to behave differently: for instance, *hiçkimse* would, and *kimse* would not mark the scope of negation. However, this is not the case, as illustrated below:

(288)   a.   *Kimse bazı insan-lar-ı   ara-ma-dı- Ø.
                anybody some person-pl-A call-neg-past-3sg

        b.   *Hiçkimse bazı insan-lar-ı   ara-ma-dı- Ø.
                anybody   some person-pl-A call-neg-past-3sg

As you may recall these structures are unacceptable since in both *bazı* 'some' is c-commanded by an NPI, and thus, is under the scope of negation at LF, which is contradicting with its inherent scope property that it must not be under the scope of negation.

Furthermore, in the introduction to this chapter I discussed that *kimse* used to be an indefinite, and it is used as a negative polarity item among the younger generation. This is also a historical argument for its indefinite nature.

Finally, recall that acc-indefinites which can in general take scope over negation even when they are in a clause embedded under a negated matrix verb, cannot do so if the subject of the matrix clause is an NPI, e.g. *kimse*. The relevant examples are repeated here:

(289) Ali [bir arkadaş-ın tez-i-ni   savun-duğ-u]-nu   bil-m-iyor.
       Ali a friend-gen   thesis-3poss-acc defend-DIK-3poss-acc know-neg-prog
       'Ali doesn't know that a friend (of ours) defended his thesis.'
       (i) A friend is such that Ali didn't know that s/he defended her/his thesis.
       (ii) One of the friends is such that Ali didn't know that s/he defended her/his thesis.

<div align="right">Z.E.'s (42, p. 113)</div>

(290) a.   A: Neye kızdın?
                   Why are you upset?

       b.   M: Kimse   bir arkadaş-ım-ı   davet et-me-miş.
                   anybody a friend-1poss-acc invite-neg-evid
                   only reading: 'Nobody invited any friend of mine.'
                   *A friend of mine is s.t. nobody invited her/him.

There is logically no difference between a negative quantifier and sentential negation. Thus, if *kimse* in (148) were really a negative quantifier, then the acc-indefinite would be able to take wide scope over it, as it does in (147). The unavailability of that reading in (148) points to a licensing problem as argued earlier in this chapter.

Recall that one assumption concerning the semantics of the negative quantifiers is that they are inherently negative universal quantifiers. So far we have shown that there is no evidence to claim that the n-words in Turkish are inherently negative since they cannot contribute negation to the structure independent of a negative element, and there is no structure of any type in which they induce DN when they cooccur with other n-words or negative constituents.

Let us now try to see whether these words can be claimed to be universal quantifiers.[85] It has been suggested that one should test whether the item in question can be modified by *almost,* since universal quantifiers can be modified by it, while existential quantifiers cannot (see Carlson (1980); Hoeksama (1983)).

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[85] Note that my major claim is that they are not inherently negative. I am discussing the 'universality' of these words just to show that there is no evidence that they are negative quantifiers. However, even if they behave like universal quantifiers, i.e. even if they turned out to be non-negative quantifiers universal quantifiers with a licensing condition this would not constitute a problem for my proposal.

(291) a.   He has met almost everybody in the department.

   b.   He has met almost nobody in the department.

   c.   *He has met almost somebody in the department.

   d.   ??He has not met almost anybody in the department.[86]

The claim is that (291a & b) are grammatical since *everybody* and *nobody* are universal quantifiers, and thus, can be modified by *almos*t, whereas (291c & d) are not since *somebody* and *anybody* are existential quantifiers, and cannot be modified the same way. In Turkish, the NPIs do allow *almost*-modification:

(292)   Bugün bölüm-de   **hemen hemen hiçkimse-yi** gör-me-di-m.
        today department-L almost   anybody-acc see-neg-past-1sg
        'Today I saw almost nobody in the department'.

The *almost*-modification test may not be an accurate diagnostic of universal versus existential quantifiers, however. As has been noted by Laka (1990) and Giannakidou (1998) among others, there are non-universal quantifiers such as numeral quantifiers that can be modified by *almost*, and there are universal quantifiers such as *each* that cannot be modified by the same modifier. These two cases are illustrated by (293a) and (293b) respectively:

(293) a.   We invited **almost twenty** non-linguists to our party.

   b.   *He has met **almost each** linguist in the department.

The behavior of *almost* is an unexplained puzzle. Although Turkish NPIs do allow modification by 'almost', we cannot be sure what this shows for the nature of these words.

To summarize, we have seen that there is no convincing evidence to claim that Turkish NPIs are inherently negative. In contrast to many NC-languages such as Romance and NC-English, in Turkish NPIs cannot occur independent of a sentential negation marker. Furthermore, again in contrast to these languages, in Turkish there is no

structure in which these words create DN readings when they cooccur with each other or sentential negation markers. The fact that they can occur in isolation as answers to wh-questions is a problem for both the NPI-view, and the NQ-view, thus, it is still not evidence to the claim that they are negative quantifiers that have to coocur with sentential negation markers. Finally, the only test that has been suggested to identify universal quantifiers, the *almost*-test is not in fact an accurate diagnostic. Thus, the fact that these words can be modified by 'almost' does not necessarily show that they are universal.

In the next section I will discuss a potential alternative analysis that claims that NPIs are licensed in the specifier position of a negative phrase (cf. Sohn (1995)), and I will argue why this would not account for Turkish.

8. Alternative analysis: NegP as licensor of NPIs

I will show that an alternative analysis which would claim that NPIs are licensed by a Negative Phrase- which also determines the scope of negation- would not be able to account for the facts presented in this paper.

Most of the works proposing a functional projection headed by negation, Neg^0, attempt to explain the negative concord facts in Romance and Slavic, similar to the ones discussed in Section 7 (see Haegeman (1995), Zanuttini (1991), Brown (1998) among others). Haegeman (1995) mentions in a footnote that her theory can also account for negative polarity items:

(294)   "I leave it open at this point whether the polarity item is licensed by a negative
        /interrogative head, i.e. a category of the X level, or by a negative/interrogative operator,
        a category of the XP level. Following my own analysis where each negative/interrogative
        operator is licensed by a negative/interrogative head either option is available." (1995:
        294, fn.3)

Haegeman assumes that the licensing condition for NPIs is a requriement that they be c-commanded by a negative or interrogative element, and [Spec, NegP] position is reserved for n-words which are negative quantifiers (1995:71). Similarly, Zanuttini (1991) argues that the n-words in Romance are negative quantifiers and are licensed in

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[86] Note, however, that Laka (1990) discusses cases in which *any N* <u>can</u> be modified by *almost* in English.

[Spec, NegP] at LF. Beghelli&Stowell (1996) posit the same functional category above AgrₒP, and claim that this position marks the scope of negation. When the Spec position is phonologically empty, a covert negative operator occupies it, and when there is a negative constituent such as *nobody* in the structure, this constituent has to move to this Spec position to check its [+negative] feature. They do not propose that NPIs move to that position, and check their features there since obviously this would be logically implausible to move both [+negative] constituents such as *nobody* and [-negative] constituents to the same position, and have them check the same features. They do not offer an analysis for NPI-licensing. Laka (1990), on the other hand, claims that n-words in Romance and Basque are NPIs rather than negative quantifiers, and proposes that ΣP, which is headed by negation in negative structures, licenses NPIs in its Spec. Since Laka's analysis is for languages structurally very different from Turkish such as Basque, Spanish and English, I will not discuss here how her theory would be modified to accommodate the Turkish facts. Rather, I will show that a general alternative proposal which would claim that NPIs are licensed in the Spec of a NegP, the head of which hosts the negative operator, would not be able to account for the Turkish facts I have discussed (see Sohn 1995 for such a proposal for Korean and Japanese NPIs).

Let us first assume -- inspired by the morpheme order in the verbal complex-- that NegP is generated above VP. In a simple sentence, one can argue that both NPI subjects and NPI objects move to [Spec, NegP] to be licensed by the negative head, and once they are licensed they can freely move in the structure to Case positions, topic positions, etc.

One could argue that in structures in which the quantificational element precedes the NPI, negation takes lower scope since the NPI is in the Spec position of the NegP, and the quantifier has adjoined to NegP, the head of which hosts the negative operator. Consider the following:

(295)

```
                        CP
                   ___/    \___
               spec            C'
                          ___/   \___
                        TP           C⁰
                   ___/    \___
               SPEC            T⁰
             subject  NEGP
                   ___/    \___
               spec            
                          vP      NEG⁰
                     ___/   \___
                  SPEC
                subject   NP      v⁰
                        object
```
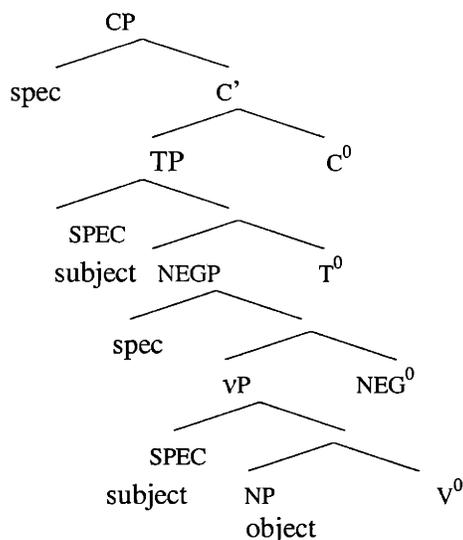
Note that this would require the object(s) to remain within the VP, lower than the base-position of the subject.

(296) a.   Hasan bazı öğrenci-ler-e hiçbirşey al-ma-dı-∅.
                 Hasan some student-pl-dat anything buy-neg-past-3sg
                 'Hasan didn't buy anything for some students'.

       b.   *Hasan her öğrenci-ye   hiçbirşey al-ma-dı.
                 Hasan every student-dat anything buy-neg-past-3sg

In both structures in (296) the NPI *hiçbirsey* is in NegP, and the quantifiers are adjoined to NegP, and thus, remain outside the scope of negation. In (296a), this results in a grammatical structure since *bazı* has to be outside the scope of negation. On the other hand, (296b) is ungrammatical since *her* must not take scope over negation.

This proposal has the following assumptions: in both structures in (296) the indirect object quantifiers are assumed to be generated in a position below the NPI/NegP as arguments of the verb *al-* 'buy', and have adjoined to NegP, whereas the NPI *hiçbirsey* is also generated within VP, and it moves to [Spec, NegP] to get licensed in Spec-Head relationship with the negative head. Thus, it ends up outside VP. However, we know independently that the zero-marked indefinites cannot be moved out of the VP, as shown in Chapter 3, repeated with some examples below:

(297)   *Acc-indefinites*

a.   ??Hasan **aceleyle** <u>bir tavukgöğsü-nü</u> yedi, çıktı.
          Hasan **in a hurry** <u>a tavukgöğsü-acc</u> ate, left
          Intended: 'Hasan quickly ate a tavukgöğsü and left.'

b.   Hasan <u>bir tavukgöğsü-nü</u> **aceleyle** yedi, çıktı.
          Hasan <u>a tavukgöğsü-acc</u> **in a hurry** ate, left
          'Hasan quickly ate one of the tavukgöğsüs and left.'

(298)   *Zero-indefinites*

a.   Hasan **aceleyle** <u>bir tavukgöğsü-Ø</u> yedi, çıktı.
          Hasan **in a hurry** <u>a tavukgöğsü</u> ate, left
          'Hasan ate a tavukgöğsü quickly and left.'

b.   *Hasan <u>bir tavukgöğsü-Ø</u> **aceleyle** yedi, çıktı.
          Hasan <u>a tavukgöğsü</u> **in a hurry** ate, left

Similarly, zeromarked NPIs cannot occur to the left of a VP-adverb, either.

(299)   *Hiçbirşey aceleyle   ye-me-di-m.
        anything   in.a.hurry eat-neg-past-1sg
        'I didn't eat anything in a hurry.'

So, since zero-marked NPIs cannot be moved out of VP, one has to explain how they can be assumed to move to NegP to be licensed.

Another problem arises when we try to explain the long-distance licensing of NPIs. Consider a structure in which the embedded object is licensed by matrix negation. (300) is a schematic structure for such a case:

(300)   ...   NegP_matrix

                    VP_matrix   Neg_matrix

              XP   V_matrix

        VP_emb   X

   subject   VP_emb
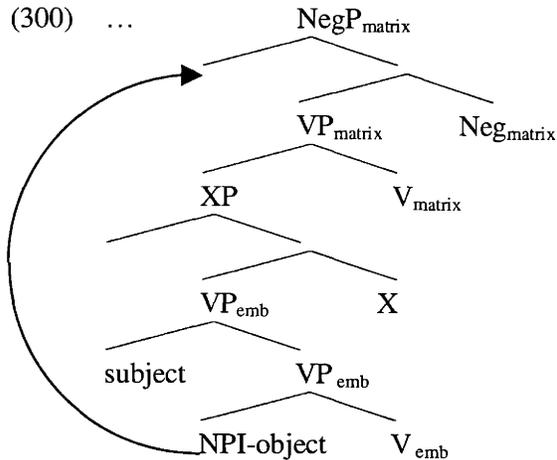
          NPI-object   V_emb

By assumption, the NPI must move to the Spec position of the matrix NegP to be licensed. When the embedded NPI-object moves to [Spec, NegP] in the matrix clause, it will end up to the left of the embedded subject. This analysis predicts that an embedded NPI can *never* occur to the right of the embedded subject. However, this prediction is not borne out. Such structures are perfectly possible in Turkish as in (301) below:

(301)   Ben [Hasan-ın kimse-yi   ara-ma-sın]-ı   iste-m-iyor-um.
        I   Hasan-G anybody-acc call-nomin.-3P-acc want-neg-prog-1sg
        'I don't want Hasan to call anybody.'

Obviously, the embedded NPI-object *can* follow the embedded subject, and there is no evidence to show that both have been moved out of the embedded clause. In fact, the order that (300) requires is not grammatical at all.

(302)   *Ben kimse-yi Hasan-ın ara-ma-sın-ı   iste-m-iyor-um.
        I   anybody-A   Hasan-G   call-nomin.-3P-A want-neg-prog-1sg
        Intended reading: 'I don't want Hasan to call anybody.'

Thus, this analysis would have to stipulate an obligatory movement for the embedded subject to a position higher than NegP just in case there is an embedded NPI occupying its Spec position. This would still not explain why (302) is not grammatical.

Another problem that this approach would face is the fact that it would wrongly predict grammatical those structures such as (303) in which the embedded subject and the NPI object precede a VP adverb that modifies the matrix verb.

(303) a.   Hasan inatla   Elif-in   kimse-yi gör-me-si-ne izin vermiyor.
             Hasan in a stubborn way Elif-agr anybody-A see-MA-agr-D doesn't allow
             'Hasan doesn't allow in a stubborn way Elif to see anybody.'

      b.   *Hasan Elif-in kimseyi inatla görmesine izin vermiyor.
             Hasan Elif-gen anything-abl in a stubborn way see-MA-agr-D doesn't allow

Note that if the embedded subject and the embedded NPI subject were out of the matrix VP, they would be able to precede a manner adverb such as *inatla* that modifies the matrix verb. However, as (303b) shows that this is not the case.

To summarize, an approach in which the NPIs are licensed in the Spec position of a negative functional projection have to stipulate movements for constituents that appear to the left of the NPIs at s-structure. Thus, we have seen that licensing of NPIs within a functional category such as NegP cannot account for the scope facts presented in this paper. Since NegP approaches fix the scope of negation to the position of this functional category, it is very difficult for such an approach to make correct predictions for the Turkish facts, if not impossible. Note also that this criticism would hold even if we assumed that Turkish NPIs are in fact negative quantifiers. There is virtually no difference regarding the scope of negation within approaches that employ NegP for licensing NPIs vs. attracting negative quantifiers.

9. Conclusion

In this chapter I analyzed structures with NPIs, universal quantifiers, and acc-indefinites. I showed that the NPIs are subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint of Linebarger (1980) in that they have to be in the immediate scope of negation. The universal quantifier functions as an intervener, as well as an existential quantifier and the variable it binds. I also showed that choice function variables are subject to a similar constraint in that negation and the NPI it binds functions as an intervener, and blocks the wide scope reading of an indefinite over negation. This was followed by a discussion of long-

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distance licensing of NPIs. I showed that the long-distance licensing of NPIs is regulated whether or not the embedded clause is finite, and whether or not it is a factive clause. I concluded that finite clauses and factive clauses do not allow long-distance licensing NPIs, as also observed in Kornfilt (1984). Later I discussed the question whether the items that I was assuming to be NPIs could in fact be negative quantifiers, and I argued that there is stronger evidence to believe that they are NPIs and not negative quantifiers. Finally, I showed that an alternative analysis that argues for licensing NPIs in the specifier position of a negative phrase would make wrong predictions.

CHAPTER 5: EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES AND CLAUSAL POSSESSIVES

We discussed in Chapter 3 that (non)-presuppositionality of a noun phrase may correlate with its position in the structure. In this chapter I analyze different constructions, anmely existentials and clausal possessives but the facts discussed will provide further evidence for the view that VP-internal material is interpreted as non-presuppositional, and VP-external material is interpreted as presuppositional (cf. Diesing (1992) among others).

First set of data come from existential constructions. We will see that there is strict ordering in these clauses between the theme and the locative phrase, and I will argue that the theme cannot occur to the left of the locative phrase since there it would not be interpreted existentially. This will be followed by the discussion of a related type of construction, namely, the clausal possessives. I will analyze two types of clausal possessives, and propose an account for their structure and derivation that explains their different properties. Specifically, I will show that the possessees of one type of clausal possessive is subject to definiteness/presuppositionality effect, and this is due to the fact that it has to remain within VP.

I will also discuss the implications of these facts for the structure of clausal possessives cross-linguistically proposed in Freeze (1992).

1. Existential sentences

The following are examples for existential sentences in Turkish.

(304) **Existential**

    a.   Sepet-te   kedi **var**-dı./Sepette bir kedi var-dı./Sepette kedi-ler var-dı.
                basket-loc cat   var-past/...a cat /...   cats
                'There was cat/a cat/cats in the basket.'

    b.   Sepet-te   kedi **yok- tu.**
                basket-loc cat yok-past
                'There wasn't a cat in the basket.'

In (304a) the subject *kedi* follows the locative *sepette*. By the "subject" I mean the constituent that bears the nominative case. However, note that the "subject" is not in its canonical position. Therefore, to avoid confusion, I will refer to this constituent as the "theme" of the construction from now on, following Freeze (1992).

As (304a) shows the theme of an existential sentence can be a bare common noun (kedi), an indefinite (bir kedi) or a bare plural (kediler). The locative and the theme are followed by *var*, in affirmative sentences and *yok* in negative sentences. It is crucial to note that *var/yok* is different in form from the copula we find in regular (non-existential) non-verbal sentences, as I discussed in Chapter 2. (310) is an example:

(310)   Tertia sepet- te -y-   di- Ø
           Tertia basket-loc-**COPULA**-past-3sg
           'Tertia was in the basket.'

We will return to this distinction in Section 3.

What is crucial in these constructions for our purposes is the strict ordering of constituents. In contrast to the relative flexibility we observe in non-existential clauses we discussed in earlier chapters, the ordering of the constituents in existential sentences is very strict. The theme must follow the locative, it cannot precede it, as (311) shows[87]:

(311)   *Kedi sepet-te   var-dı.   /*Bir kedi sepette var-dı./*Kedi-ler sepette var-dı.
           cat   in.the.basket cop-past/A cat.../Cats...

This is, in fact, not surprising within our analysis: in an existential clause if the interpretation intended is the assertion of the existence of the denotation of the theme

noun phrase, the theme cannot be interpreted existentially if it occurs in this position. For it to be interpreted existentially, it has to remain inside VP. Its position in (311) forces it to be outside ∃-closure, hence, the ungrammaticality.

Existential constructions and constructions with a predicative locative have opposite order of constituents (Freeze (1992)): in the former the order is Locative-Theme-*Var* and in the latter it is Subject-Locative predicate-Copula. Our analysis also predicts that non-presuppositional subjects are excluded from the latter type. This is in fact borne out.

(312) a. #Bir kedi sepet-te-y-di-Ø.
    a cat basket-loc-**COPULA**-past-3sg
    'A cat was in the basket.'

   b. Bir kedi sepet-te-y-di-Ø, bir kedi çekmece-de-y-di.
    one cat basket-loc-**COPULA**-past-3sg, one cat drawer-loc-cop-past
    'One cat was in the basket, and one cat was in the drawer.'

(312a) is very odd in isolation. However, if it is part of a context in which it is interpreted as a contrastive topic, as in (312b), then the occurrence of *bir kedi* in subject position preceding the locative is acceptable.[88]

Taylan (1987), in fact, judges a similar structure as ungrammatical:

(313) *Bir köpek bahçe-de.   (Taylan's (15a))
   a dog garden-loc
   Intended: 'There is a dog in the garden.'

The structures in (313) cannot be interpreted as "there is a dog in the garden". Note that the English counterpart of (313) can be interpreted existentially.

(314) A dog is in the garden.

Tura (1986) also notes that indefinite subjects are allowed only in generic sentences and in contrastive topic readings (ftn.17, p.192):[89]

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[87] As in many other languages such as Hindi and Russian (Freeze 1992).
[88] Note also that *bir kedi* in (312b) can only be translated as a numeral quantifier phrase in English.

(315) a.   Bir müdür daima haklı-dır.
          a manager always right-assertive.cop
          'A manager is always right.'

     b.   Iki cümle   olumlu,   üç cümle olumsuz.
          two sentence affirmative, three sentence negative
          'Two sentences are affirmative, and three sentences are negative,'

The possibility of an indefinite occuring in the sentence-initial position in generic sentences remind us of similar German structures discussed in Diesing (1992), who argues that indefinite subjects (bare plurals) of generic sentences with individual-level predicates have to be interpreted in the restrictive clause, thus in the "higher subject position" (Diesing 1992: 19).

The ungrammaticality of (311) and (313) shows that the theme noun phrase cannot reconstruct to a position where it can be interpreted existentially. The uninterpretability in the following also shows that it cannot reconstruct below the locative phrase predicate:

(316)   #Bir top her köşe-de-y-di.
         a ball every corner-loc-cop-past
         'A ball was in every corner.'

This structure sounds very awkward because it talks about one single ball that was in every corner, which is pragmatically implausible. This example provides further evidence for the lack of reconstruction for subjects.

In the light of these facts I propose that the theme of an existential clause is generated as the internal argument of an existential verb, whose exact nature will be discussed in Section 3, and the locative argument is generated above it.

---

[89] Tura calls the reading in (315b) "the list reading". Since the term "list reading" is used for a variety of readings in the literature, especially to characterize the occurrence of definites in the post-verbal position of *there*-sentences in English, I am calling this "the contrastive topic reading" to avoid confusion. Thanks to Irene Heim for pointing out to me this potential confusion. Also, see Büring () for a discussion on contrastive topics.

(317)

```
                          TP
                  _____
        Oda-da        _____   Ø—dı-Ø
        'room-loc'_____      T⁰ cop—tense-agr
           oda-da      _____
                  _____          var
           NP       V⁰
           kedi
           cat
```
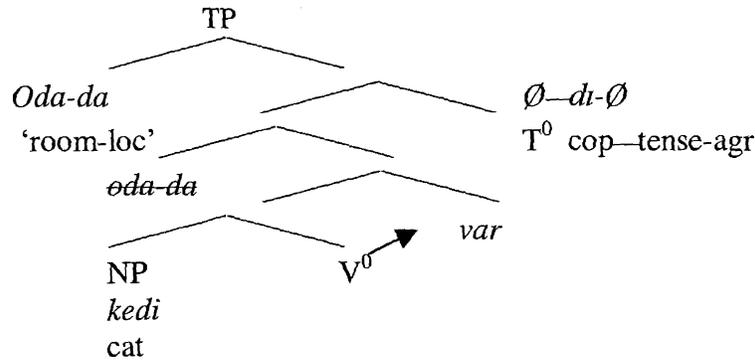
The locative phrase moves to the specifier position of TP, and satisfies the EPP/Occurrence feature of T^0, and the theme remians inside VP. Note that the locative in Turkish is not a pre- or post-positional phrase but simply a noun phrase inflected for locative case. Thus, it is not implausible to assume that it has relevant φ-features to check T's uninterpretable D features.

In the next section we will discuss clausal possessive constructions which show similar properties.

2. Clausal Possessives

Following Freeze (1992)'s classification, one can argue that there are two types of possessive constructions in Turkish: one in which the possessor is inflected with Genitive, and one in which it is inflected with Locative. I will call the former "the Genitive Possessor Construction (GPC)" and the latter "the Locative Possessor Construction (LPC)". The following illustrates these two types:

(318)   Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)
         Ben-im   iki kedi-m   var i-di.
         I-1gen   two cat-1poss var copula-past
         'I had two cats.'

(319)   Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)
         Ben-de iki kedi var i-di.
         I-loc   two cat var copula-past
         'I had two cats.'

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These two clausal possessive constructions differ in many respects. In the following we will discuss these differences.

2.1. Differences between GPC and LPC

One difference between GPC and LPC is that the relation between the possessor and the possessee in GPC can be an inalienable or an alienable one, whereas LPC is possible only with alienable possessions.[90] As Freeze (1992) notes, what is considered an inalienable or an alienable possession is arbitrary, and differs from language to language. In Turkish, as in many other languages, it seems that relations such as kinship and body parts is considered inalienable.

(320)   Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)

    a.   **Inalienable/relational**
        Ben-im iki   teyze-m   var.
        I-gen   two aunt-1poss var
        'I have two aunts.'

    b.   **Inalienable/body part**
        Ahmet-in   altı parmağ-ı   var.
        Ahmet-3gen six finger-3poss var
        'Ahmet has six fingers.'

    c.   **Alienable**
        Sen-in   iki araba-n   var.
        you-2gen two car-2poss var
        'You have two cars.'

(321)   Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)

    a.   **Inalienable/relational**
        #Ben-de iki teyze var.
         I-loc   two aunt var
         Intended: 'I have two aunts.'

---

[90] See Freeze (1992) for a similar restriction to alienable themes in locative-possessive constructions for Hindi and Tsujioka (2001) for Japanese.)

b. **Inalienable/body part**
#Ahmet-te altı parmak var.
Ahmet-loc six finger var
Intended: 'Ahmet has six fingers.'

c. **Alienable**
Sen-de iki araba var.
you-loc two car var
'You have two cars.'

In some contexts, inalienable/relational nouns are possible in LPC, but speakers' intuition is that the inalienable possessee is interpreted as alienable/distant/pejorative connotation:

(322) a. Bende iki teyze var ki Allah kimseye vermesin.
I have two aunts. May God give their like to nobody else!
(I am so tired of them. They are terrible.)

b. Kızda bir hafıza var ...!
'The girl has such a memory!...'

c. Adamda bir çene var...!
'The guy has a mouth...'   (talks too much)

One other major difference between GPC and LPC is that the GPC construction is subject to the so-called "definiteness effect", whereas LPC is not. That is, a referential or a strong quantifier cannot be the possessee in GPC, but this is possible in LPC.

(323) Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)
a. *Ben-im bütün İngilizce kitap-lar-ı-m   var.[91]
I-1gen all   English   book-pl-3poss-1poss var
Intended: 'I have all English books.'

---

[91] Iatridou (1995:199) shows that in English, HAVE construction allows strong determiners in its complement when the possession is of the "types", as in (ii) rather than the specific tokens at hand as in (i). However, availability of type reading doesn't save the *there*-constructions, as shown in (iib).

(i) a. Do you see all the antiques in this room? *I have most of them.
b. *There are most of them in my neigborhood store as well.

(ii) a. a. Do you see all the books in this room? I have most of them.
b. *There are most of them in my neigborhood store as well.

b. *Ben-im MIT Press tarafından yayınlanmış her kitab-ım var.[92]
I-1gen MIT Press by published every book-1poss var
Intended: 'I have every book that has been published by MIT Press.'

c. *Ben-im (Türkiye-de-ki) en hızlı araba-m var.
I-1gen (Turkey-loc-gen) fastest car-1poss var
Intended: 'I have the fastest car (in Turkey).'

d. Ben-im iki kedi-m var.
I-1gen two cat-1poss var
'I have two cats.'

This is similar to the effect observed in Milsark (1977), and discussed in a number of consecutive works. I illustrated the definiteness/presuppositionality effect in *there*-sentences in Chapter 3. They are repeated here:

(324) <u>weak determiners</u>

a. There is a mouse in the kitchen.

b. There are some/a few/many /three mice in the kitchen.

(325) <u>strong determiners</u>

a. *There is the/every mouse in the kitchen.

b. *There are all/most mice in the kitchen.

Thus, similar to English *there*-sentences Turkish GPC does not allow phrases with strong determiners to occur in its possessee position. There is no such restriction for the possessee in the Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC).

In the Turkish cases discussed in the text, the relevant sentences such as (iia) are still unacceptable under the "type" reading.

[92] The occurrence of a strong determiner inside a regular possessive phrase is possible:
(i) a. **GPC**
*Hasan-ın bütün kitap-lar-ı var.
Hasan-3gen all book-pl-3poss var
'Hasan has all (his) books.'

b. regular, argument possessive phrase
Hasan-ın bütün kitap-lar-ı bu dolap-ta.
Hasan-3gen all book-pl-3poss this cabinet-loc

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(326)   Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)

a.   Ben-de   Chomsky-nin   bütün kitap-lar-ı   var.
      I-loc   Chomsky-3gen all   book-plural-3poss var
      'I have all of Chomsky's books.'

b.   Ben-de MIT Press tarafından yayınlanmış her   kitap var.
      I-loc MIT Press by   published   every book var
      'I have every book that has been published by MIT Press.'

c.   Ben-de Türkiye-de-ki   en hızlı araba var. (Sende ne var?)
      I-loc Turkey-loc-gen fastest car   var
      'I have the fastest car in Turkey.'(What do you have?)

Finally, they differ in the flexibility they allow in the word order. Whereas the order in GPC is strict, i.e. the possessor has to precede the possessee, there is more flexibility in LPC.

(327) Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)

a.   Ben-im 20 dolar-ım   var.
      I-1gen 20 dollar-1poss var
      'I have 20 dollars.'

b.   *20 dolar-ım   ben-im t   var.
      20 dollar-1poss I-1gen   var

The ungrammaticality in (327b) shows that the possessee cannot be fronted to the left of the subject, whereas this is possible in LPC, as shown in (328b) below:

(328) Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)

a.   Ben-de 20 dolar var.
      I-loc 20 dolar var
      'I have $20.'

b.   ?20 dolar ben-de t var. 30 dolar Ahmet-te (var).
      20 dollar I-loc   var. 30 dollar Ahmet-loc (var)
      'I have $20. Ahmet has $30.'

'All of Hasan's books are in this cabinet.'

(328b) can be used, for instance, in a situation in which we are counting how much money we have to see whether we can buy what we want.

To summarize, we have seen that the genitive possessor construction differs from the locative possessor construction in that the former allows both alienable and inalienable possession, whereas the latter allows only inalienable possessions. GPC is subject to a presuppositionality/definiteness effect similar to the restriction in *there*-sentences in English. The possessee cannot be presuppositional, whereas this is possible in LPC. Further, GPC does not allow fronting of the possessee to the left of the possessor, whereas this is possible in LPC. The following is a schematic summary:

(329)

GPC (Genitive Possessor Construction)

✧ presuppositional possessees are not possible
✧ the order of the genitive possessor and the possessee is fixed
✧ (possible with both alienable and inalienable possessees)

LPC (Locative Possessor Construction)

✧ presuppositional possessions are possible
✧ the order of the locative possessor and the possessed is relatively flexible
✧ (possible only with alienable possesssees)

In the next section I will propose an analysis for the GPC and the LPC constructions that will derive the differences they exhibit.

2.2. Proposal

I propose that the possessor and the possessee in GPC are generated as one constituent within VP, but the possessor moves to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP/Occurrence feature of T^0(Chomsky 2001). The possessee remains within VP, under the existential closure,

and thus, gets interpreted non-presuppositionally (see Szabolcsi[93] (1994), Paul (2000) and Tsujioka (2001), among others, for an analysis of Hungarian, Malagasy and Japanese respectively, in which the possessor raises to the subject position; see also Freeze (1992) for an analysis in which the possessive construction in a number languages is derived by moving the locative possessor to the subject position)[94]. Here is the structure that I am proposing:

(330)
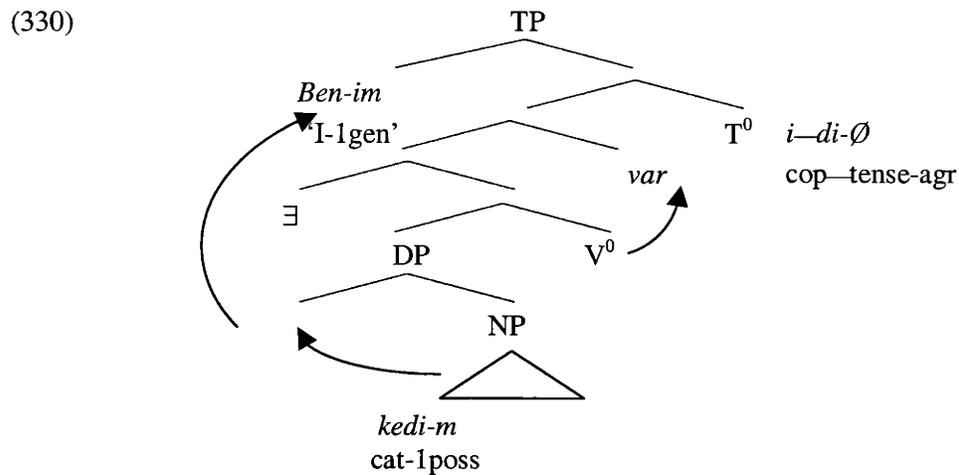
There are two questions we have to answer at this point: (i) how do we know that the possessor and the possessee start out as one constituent to begin with?, and (ii) even if they start out as one constituent, what evidence do we have that shows that they are separated at the end of the derivation?

The most straightforward evidence for the claim that they start out as one constituent, a noun phrase, is the fact that the possessor and the possessee show agreement (see also Szabolcsi (1994) for a similar argument for possessor raising in Hungarian). Consider the example in (330). The head noun *kedi* 'cat' agrees with the possessor, i.e. bears the 1st person singular possessive marker. Moreover, the possessor

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[93] Szabolcsi (1994) also argues that the possessor raising in clausal possessives in Hungarian is motivated by the specificity of the possessee in that when the possessee needs to be intepreted as non-specific, the possessor has to move out of VP.
[94] I have been told that Öztürk (2000) also suggests that clausal possessives may be derived from possessive phrases. I haven't had access to the paper.

bears genitive marking that is observed <u>only</u> in nominal domains (subjects of noun phrases and of nominalized clauses).

For the answer to the second question, I will provide evidence in the following section.[95]

2.3. Evidence for the proposal

In this section I will compare the GPC and regular possessive phrases that occur, for instance, in argument positions, and show that they have significant differences supporting the proposal that the possessor and the possessee are no longer one single constituent at the end of the derivation.[96]

Consider the following. (331a) illustrates GPC, and the intonation break is between the possessor and the possessee, whereas it is after the possessive phrase in (331b).

(331)   a.   <u>Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)</u>
Ben-im ‖ ev-im   var.
I-gen   house-1poss var
'I have a house.'

       b.   <u>Regular possessive phrase</u>
Benim ev-im   ‖   Cambridge-te.
I-gen house-1poss Cambridge -loc
'My house is in Cambridge.'

Furthermore, an adverb can occur between the possessor and the possessee in GPC, whereas this is not possible in a regular possessive phrase.

---

[95] Tsujioka (2001) independently argues for a similar account of Japanese clausal possessive constructions. She argues that D^0 incorporates into the copular verb, rendering the [Spec, DP] and [Spec, TP] equidistant from the possesor DP (Chomsky 1995). Similar to my assumption mentioned in the text, she also assumes that it is the EPP feature of T that attracts the possessor DP to [Spec, TP].

[96] That the possessor and the possessee are not one constituent in this construction was first claimed in Lewis (1975).

(332) a.   Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)

Cemiyet-in **dün** toplantı-sı var-dı.
association-3gen **yesterday** meeting-3poss var-past
'The association had a meeting yesterday.'

b.   Mehmet'in **o banka-da** para-sı var.
Mehmet-3gen **that bank-loc** money-3poss var
'Mehmet has money in that bank.' ((a) & (b) adapted from Lewis (1967), p. 251)

c.   Hasan'ın **çok** para-sı var.
Hasan-3gen **very/a lot** money-3poss var
'Hasan has a lot of money.'

(333)   Regular possessive phrase

a.   *[Cemiyet-in **dün** toplantı-sı] çok yararlı-y-dı.[97]
association-3gen **yesterday** meeting-3poss very useful-cop-past
Intended: 'Yesterday's meeting of the association was very useful.'

b.   *[Mehmet-in **o banka-da** para-sı] kimse-yi ilgilendirmez.
Mehmet-3gen **that bank-loc** money-3poss anybody-acc doesn't interest
Intended: 'Mehmet's money in that bank is nobody's business!'

c.   *[Hasan'ın **çok** para-sı] Elif'i onunla evlenmeye ikna etti.
Hasan-3gen **very/a lot** money-3poss Elif-acc with.him to marry convinced/persuaded
Intended: 'Hasan's a lot of money persuaded Elif to marry him.'[98]

We have seen evidence for the proposal that the possessor-possessee pair in GPC differs from a regular possessive phrase in that the former is not one single constituent at the end of the derivation.

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[97] To express the intended meaning, 'yesterday' must also be inflected with the genitive marker -*kI* that goes with adverbs.
(i) Cemiyet-in dün-**kü** toplantı-sı çok yararlı-y-dı.
   association-3gen yesterday-**gen** meeting-3poss very useful-cop-past
   'Yesterday's meeting of the society was very useful.'
[98] Irene Heim pointed out to me that "lots of" behaves similarly in English in that it seems to be an adjective in possessive constructions such as (ia); however, it cannot occur inside a DP in a possessive phrase even though there is no reason for it not to be able to occur there, as shown in (ib). Thus, it behaves like an adverb more than an adjective:

(i) a.   John has lots of money.

     b.   *John's lots of money impressed Bill.

The following shows that they also differ in allowing scrambling: as we saw earlier, fronting the possessee to the left of the possessor is not possible in GPC, whereas DP-internal fronting is possible in regular possessive phrases (cf. Öztürk (2000)).

(334)   GPC

   a.   Ben-im 20 dolar-ım   var.
          I-1gen 20 dollar-1poss var
          'I have 20 dollars.'

   b.   *20 dolar-ım   ben-im   t   var.
          20 dollar-1poss I-1gen   var

(335)   Regular possessive phrase

   a.   Ben-im 20 dolar-ım   taksi-ye gitti.
          I-1gen 20 dolar-1poss to.taxi went
          'I spent my 20 dollars for the taxi.'

   a'.   ?20 dolar-ım   ben-im t taksi-ye gitti.
          20 dolar-1poss I-1gen   to.taxi   went
          'I spent my 20 dollars for the taxi.'

   b.   Ben-im kız-ım   bu sene   mezun oluyor.
          I-1gen daughter-1poss this year graduating
          'My daughter is graduating this year.'[i]

   b'.   Kız-ım   ben-im t bu sene   mezun oluyor.
          daughter-1poss I-1gen   this year graduating
          'My daughter is graduating this year.'

To summarize, I have proposed that the presuppositionality effect observed in GPC is due to the fact that the possessee remains within VP, and is trapped under the existential closure, while the possessor moves out of the VP to [Spec, TP], and satisfies the EPP/Occurrence feature of T^0. This implied that the possessor-possessee pair in GPC is no longer a constituent at the end of the derivation. I provided evidence for this. There can be an intonation break or an adverb between the two constituents in GPC, whereas this is not possible in a regular DP. Further, a regular DP allows DP-internal fronting of the possessee, while this is not possible in GPC.

One may raise the question why the entire DP cannot move to satisfy the EPP/Occurrence feature of T^0. My answer to this question is that in fact it can; however, it would not make much sense. As a matter of fact, when you put the intonation break after the possessor in, for instance, (331a), repeated in (336a), then the structure means "My house exists." Similarly, if you put the intonation break after the DP in (323c), repeated in (336b), it means "My fastest car in Turkey exists." These examples are repeated here with a different position for the intonation break (and focus on the verb):

(336) a.   #Ben-im ev-im   ‖ var.
             I-gen   house-1poss var
             'My house exists.'

       b.   #Ben-im (Türkiye-de-ki) en hızlı araba-m ‖ var.
             I-1gen (Turkey-loc-gen) fastest car-1poss var
             Intended: 'I have the fastest car (in Turkey).'

Thus, these structures probably shouldn't be characterized as "ungrammatical" but as "severly unacceptable".

Before proceeding to the Locative Possessor Construction, let me discuss an apparent counterexample to the generalization that the possessee cannot be a presuppositional phrase in GPCs. Gülşat Aygen pointed out to me that structures such as the following in which the "possessee" is *herşey* 'everything' are grammatical:

(337) Sen-in herşey-in var.
       you-2gen everything-2poss var
       'You have everything.'

The acceptability of this structure seems to present a counterexample to the generalization that the possessed cannot be a quantifier. However, a closer look at the properties of *everything* shows that in fact this is only apparent.

First of all, *everything* seems to have a predicative use in contrast to other quantifiers (Williams (1984), Higginbotham (1987)).

(338)   a.   John is everything I respect.   Higginbotham (1987: 50)

           b.   *John is every lawyer from Pittsburgh.   Higginbotham (1987: 43)

Recall also that I have been pointing to a parallelism between the type of the noun phrases that cannot occur in *there*-sentences in English, and those that cannot occur in the possessee position in clausal possessives in Turkish. Now consider the following:

(339) a.   *There is every student in the classroom./ *There are most students…

       b.   There is everything you need here.

Again *everything* contrasts with other quantifiers in that it can occur in the post-verbal position in *there*-sentences when it is overtly or covertly modified, as in (339b). The structure in (337), too, does not express that for every x it is true that you have x. That would be a pragmatically implausible situation. Rather, it seems to have an implicit modifier such as *what you need* or *what you want*.

In sum, we have seen that the fact in Turkish *You have everything* can be expressed with the GPC is not an exception to the generalization stated in this section, but it follows from the general properties of *everything* itself. In the next section I will discuss the properties of the LPC.

2.4. Locative Possessor Construction

Why does LPC show different properties? Recall that LPC is not subject to the presuppositionality effect we observe in GPC. Its possessee can easily be a presuppositional phrase. The relevant examples are repeated here:

(340) a. <u>Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)</u>

*Ben-im MIT Press tarafından yayınlanmış her kitab-ım var.
I-1gen MIT Press by published every book-1poss var
Intended: 'I have every book that has been published by MIT Press.'

b. <u>Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)</u>

Ben-de MIT Press tarafından yayınlanmış her kitap var.
I-loc MIT Press by published every book var
'I have every book that has been published by MIT Press.'

I propose that it is because LPC has a different structure. Its structure is identical to the existential construction that I discussed briefly in Section 1. As a consequence of this, the locative phrase (the human possessor, Freeze (1992)) has the option of not occupying the [Spec, TP], but a higher Spec position, presumably a Topic position[99], leaving the [Spec, TP] position to the possessee, where it can be interpreted presuppositionally. (341) has examples with a presuppositional and a non-presuppositional possessee.

(342) is the structure I am proposing for LPC:

(341) a. Ben-de MIT Press tarafından yayınlanmış her kitap var.
I-loc MIT Press by published every book var
'I have every book that has been published by MIT Press.'

b. Ben-de iki kitap var.
I-loc two book var
'I have two books.'

(342) **LPC**
a.

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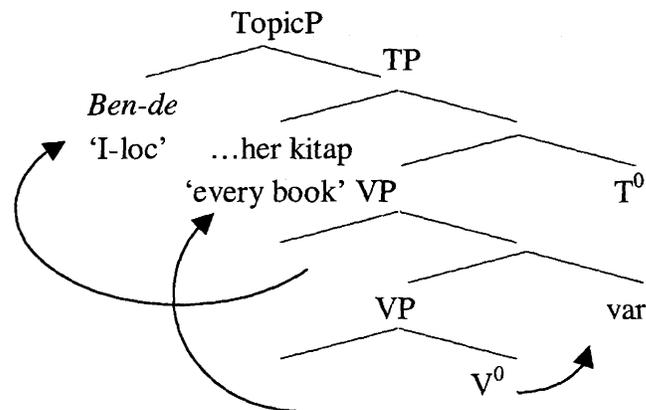
[99] see Öztürk (1999) which posits a TopicPhrase dominating the TP for Turkish.

b.

```
                              TP
                       _____/_____
                  Ben-de         ____/\____
                  'I-loc'      VP          T⁰
                        ____/\____
                      VP          var
                  __/\__      __/\__
              iki kitap    V⁰
              two book
```
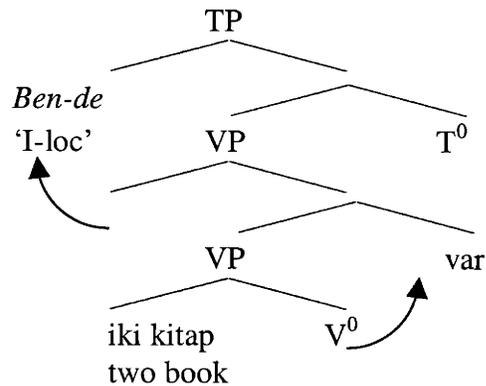
The proposal that LPC is structurally identical to the existential constructions is similar to Freeze (1992)'s view that clausal possessives, existential (i.e. *there-*) constructions (and locative predicative constructions) are derived from the same deep structure, and the difference between clausal possessives and *there*-sentences is that in the former the location is [+human], whereas in the latter it is [-human]. I will discuss Freeze (1992)'s theory in more detail later in Section 2.5.

Assuming the structure in (384) for LPC also explains the fact that the word order is more flexible in this construction than it is in GPC. In (343) and (344) the examples are repeated:

(343)   Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)

a.   Ben-im 20 dolar-ım   var.
I-1gen 20 dollar-1poss var
'I have 20 dollars.'

b.   *20 dolar-ım   ben-im   t   var.
20 dollar-1poss I-1gen   var

(344)   Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)

a.   Ben-de 20 dolar var.
I-loc   20 dolar var
'I have $20.'

b.   ?Yirmi dolar ben-de   t var. Otuz dolar Ahmet-te   (var).
twenty dollar I-loc   var. thirty dollar Ahmet-loc (var)
'Tweny dollars I have, and thirty dollars Ahmet has.'

Since the possessee can move to [Spec, TP], it can further adjoin to the Topic Phrase, as in (344b). Note that both the possessor and the possessee function as contrastive topics in this structure. So, I assume that both are in TopicP.

Recall that one other difference between GPC and LPC we discussed earlier was in their choice for the (in)alienability of their possessees. A sample of the examples are repeated here:

(345)   Genitive-Possessor Construction (GPC)

      a.   **Inalienable/body part**
           Ahmet-in   altı parmağ-ı   var.
           Ahmet-3gen six finger-3poss var
           'Ahmet has six fingers.'

      b.   **Alienable**
           Sen-in   iki araba-n   var.
           you-2gen two car-2poss var
           'You have two cars.'

(346)   Locative-Possessor Construction (LPC)

      b.   **Inalienable/body part**
           #Ahmet-te altı parmak var.
           Ahmet-loc six finger var
           Intended: 'Ahmet has six fingers.'

      c.   **Alienable**
           Sen-de iki araba var.
           you-loc two car var
           'You have two cars.'

It has been proposed in the literature that when the relationship between a possessor and a possessee is an inalienable (relational) one, then the former is base-generated as an argument of the other. However, when the relationship is an alienable one, then the possessor might be generated outside the noun phrase the possessee is generated (Abney (1987), Vergnaud and Zubizaretta (1992), and Tsujioka (2001); among others). [100]

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[100] Tsujioka (2001) provides further evidence from Japanese for this analysis.

This, too, follows from the structures I posited: in GPC, the possessor and the possessee start as one constituent, and thus, the possessor can get a theta-role from the head noun (the possessee).[101] However, in LPC the locative possessor is generated not as part of the NP, so it cannot be assigned the relevant theta-role, thus, inalienable possession is not an option.

Let me summarize: We argued that the positional restrictions observed supports our analysis outlined in the previous chapter since these constituents (theme of the existential construction and the possessee of the possessive construction) are restricted to the VP internal position. Further, we argued that the possessor-possessee pair in possessive *var* construction are not one single constituent, but rather they are split due to independent syntactic and semantic requirements.

Let me end the discussion on clausal possessives with another type of possession expressed clausally. Iatridou (1995) discusses *custodial* possession, as exemplified in the following for English and Modern Greek:

(347) a. Modern Greek
           echo to aftokinito
           I have the car   (Iatridou's (35a))

       b. English
           I have the car today.

Turkish expresses this temporary/custodial possession in yet another way. Consider (348):

(348) a. Araba bugün bende-y-di-Ø.
           car   today I-loc-cop-past-3sg
           'Today I had the car.' (lit. 'The car was at me today.'

       b. Çocuk-lar bu haftasonu annem-ler-de-Ø-Ø.
           kid-pl   this weekend my mother-pl-loc-cop-3
           'The kids are at my mother's this weekend.'

---

[101] Note that this must not be obligatory since alienable possession is also possible in this construction.

As the examples show custodial HAVE is expressed in a predicative locative construction in which the "temporary possessor" is the locative predicate of the clause.[102]

In the following section I will discuss the implication of Turkish clausal possessives for Freeze (1992)'s typology in particular, and for the structure of possessive clauses in general.

2.5. The Implications

Freeze (1992) develops a theory that derives existential (EXSTL), possessive (POSS) and predicative locative (PREDLOC) constructions exemplified in (349) from the same deep structure:[103]

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[102] Tura (1986) mentions that locative possessor constructions are usually used to express temporary possession, whereas genitive possessive expresses genuine ownership:

(i) a. Masa-nın örtü-sü var.
      table-3gen cloth-3poss var
      'The table has a cloth.'

    b. Masa-da örtü var.
      table-loc cloth var
      'There is a cloth on the table.' (her translation: 'The table has a cloth on it.' (Her (63))

She claims that the relationship between the table and the cloth is of a genuine possession in (ia), whereas in (ib) it is temporary. The following illustrates the contrast:

(ii) a. *Masa-nın gazete-si var.
      table-3gen newspaper-3poss var
      'The table has a newspaper.'

    b. Masa-da gazete var.
      table-loc newspaper var
      'There is a newspaper on the table.'   (Her (64))

I think what these examples show is that when the possessor is genitive, there must be a natural relation between it and the theme of the structure, in most of the cases a relation of possession or relatedness. (b)-cases are I think simply existential constructions, which do not necessarily express possession or relatedness but assert the existence of their themes in a certain location. Hence, the grammaticality of both of the b-examples. The custodial possession meaning Iatridou discusses in her paper is expressed in a structure where the temporary possessor is in the locative case and is the predicate of the clause, as in the examples in (348).

[103] The acronyms are mine.

(349) a. Predicative locative: The book is on the bench.

  b. Existential: There is a book on the bench.

  c. 'Have': Lupe has a book. His (1)

He shows that in most of the languages the difference between PREDLOC and EXSTL is a matter of word order. English with its expletive in EXSTL, in fact, constitutues a rare case. Russian, for instance, can be a representative of the languages he analyzes:

(350) Russian
  a. kniga   byla na stole   [predicate locative]
      book.nom.fem was on table-loc
      'The book was on the table.'

  b. na stole   byla kniga   [existential]
      on table.loc was book.nom.fem
      'There was a book on the table.'

  c. u menja   byla sestra.   [possessive]
      at 1sg.gen was sister.nom
      'I had a sister.'   (Freeze's (2))

He assumes that the predicate in all these clauses is a pre- or postpositional phrase depending on the language, and the possessor in a *have* possessive construction (*I* as in (350c)) is a semantic location, parallel to the locations (*on the table*) in the constructions in (350a) and (350b). The deep structure for these constructions is represented in (351):

(351)

(adapted from his (7))
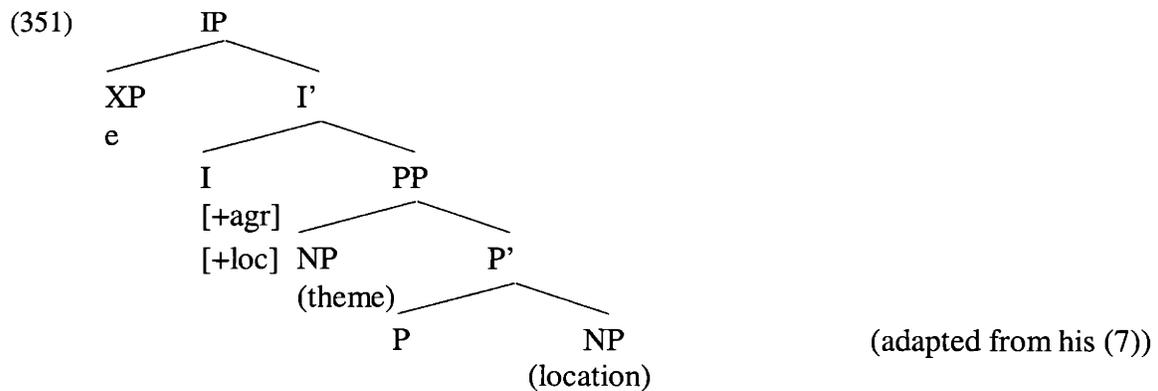
He assumes that the theme argument (e.g. *book/sister*) is the specifier of the predicate phrase, which is a PP in this case, and the location is the complement (e.g. *on the table/I*). The different structures are results of the movements of these different constituents. The movement of the theme or the location is governed by the [± definite] feature of the theme: a definite theme may move to the subject position, yielding the predicative locative, as in (350a). Alternatively, an indefinite theme may stay in place while the location moves to the subject position, yielding the existential, as in (350b). In Poss P' moves to the subject position, and its specifier stays in situ, as in (350c).

Note that the possessive construction in Turkish that we have discussed so far cannot be accounted for in the same way since in the Turkish construction the possessor is not a locative but a genitive possessor agreeing with the possessee. Freeze himself notes that there are languages with this property. Among them are K'eckchi' and Hindi. While K'eckchi' has only the genitive possessor construction, Hindi can have both the genitive possessor and the locative possessor.

Freeze briefly discusses the genitive possessor construction in K'eckchi' and Hindi, and proposes that in these languages the predicate is DP (as opposed to PP in (351)). (352) is an example from K'ekchi', and (353) is the structure proposed for this type of clausal possessive constructions:

(352) K'ekchi' (Maya)
      wan   iš-so?sol-č'ič'   li   išq.
      cop [+loc] 3sg.gen-dragon.fly-metal the woman
      'The woman has a helicopter.' (lit. 'The woman's helicopter is.')

<div align="right">Freeze's (81)</div>

(353)
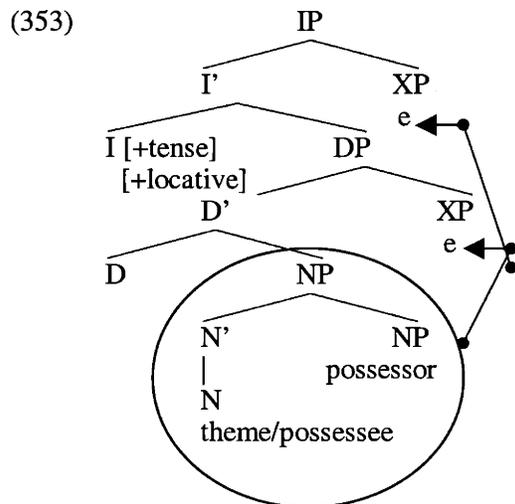
'e' stands for empty category

<div align="right">196</div>

The possessor is in [Spec, NP] and the NP containing the possessor and the theme (the possessee) moves to Spec, IP. This NP moves thru the Spec of the Predicate Phrase, which is [Spec, DP] in this case. The copula agrees with the theme. (353) is the structure in his (82) and the drawings represent the derivation that I think Freeze has in mind.

Freeze treats the theme + the possessor as one constituent which moves to the subject position in clausal possessives. However, we have seen significant evidence that in Turkish the possessor-possessee pair is not a constituent in these structures. The Turkish facts I discussed in earlier sections have an interesting implication for the typology of clausal possessives: it may show that, in fact, in all clausal possessive constructions including the ones with a genitive possessor, the possessor is separated from the possessee, and moves to [Spec, TP], by an operation identical to the one Freeze proposes for a large number of languages. This predicts that languages that has this type of clausal possessive should show similar properties that I discussed as evidence for this separation analysis. In fact, Hindi does. The following is the Hindi counterpart of the Turkish example in (332a) repeated here:

(354)   Cemiyet-in   **dün**   toplantı-sı   var-dı.
        association-3gen **yesterday** meeting-3poss var-past
        'The association had a meeting yesterday.'

Recall that I provided the availability of adverb insertion as evidence for the separation of the possessor and the possessee in the clausal possessives. The same seems to be true for Hindi:

(355) a. merii **kal** ek meeting thii
          me.gen.f **yesterday** a meeting was
          'I had a meeting yesterday.'
          'There was a meeting of mine yesterday.'

      b. *[merii **kal** ek meeting] cancel ho gayii
          my **yesterday** a meeting cancel happened

      c. [merii **kal-kii** ek meeting] cancel ho gayii[104]
          my **tomorrow-Gen.fem.** a meeting cancel was
          'A meeting of mine for tomorrow has gotten cancelled.'

Inserting the adverb *yesterday* between *merii* 'my' and *ek meeting* 'a meeting' is possible in a clausal possessive, as in (355a) even though it is not possible in a regular possessive phrase, as in (355b). To express the meaning that the meeting we are talking about is yesterday's meeting, the adverb *yesterday* has to be marked with a special genitive marker, as in (355c), a fact we observe identically in Turkish. The genitive marker on yesterday, *kii*, also agrees with *meeting* (feminine). The Turkish example is repeated below:

(356) Cemiyet-in   dün-**kü**   toplantı-sı   çok yararlı-y-dı.
      association-3gen yesterday-**gen** meeting-3poss very useful-cop-past
      'Yesterday's meeting of the society was very useful.'

To summarize, in this section I brought up the possibility that in fact all clausal possessives across languages may be derived with an operation similar to the one Freeze (1992) proposes for languages with locative possessors, namely, a derivation in which the possessor separates from the possessee, and moves to [Spec, TP]. I argued that the Turkish evidence that I discussed shows that this is true even for languages with genitive possessors that agree with their possessees, and look like a regular possessive phrase on the surface. This predicted that languages such as Hindi and K'ekchi', which Freeze (1992) reports to have this "rare" clausal possessive type with the genitive possessor may show properties signaling the fact that the possessor is separated. I showed that in fact this prediction is borne out for Hindi. Further research will shed more light on this issue.

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[104] *kal* means both 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday'.
[105] I am grateful to Rajesh Bhatt for the data and the helpful discussion.

In the following section, we will discuss the morphosyntactic status of *var/yok*.

3. Morphosyntax of var/yok

I have been avoiding labeling *var/yok* that occurs in both existential and possessive clauses but not in regular predicative structures. Freeze (1992) assumes that the verb in the similar GPC structures in K'ekchi' is a locative copula, and in many languages there is such a copula that is found in GPC and EXISTENTIALS that differs from the copula in predicative locative structures. He claims that it is the spell-out of a combination of the regular copula plus some locative feature. I will show in this section that this is only partly true for *var/yok*. It is, indeed, a combination of a verbal feature with some other feature (, which could be locative as Freeze proposes), but it is not the finite copula. Rather, it is a participle embedded under <u>another</u> copula.

Consider the K'ekchi' example from Freeze again, repeated here:

(357)　K'ekchi' (Maya)
　　　　wan　　　　iš-so?sol-č'ič'　　　　　li　　išq.
　　　　cop [+loc] 3sg.gen-dragon.fly-metal the woman
　　　　'The woman has a helicopter.' (lit. 'The woman's helicopter is.')

<div align="right">Freeze's (81)</div>

Freeze assumes that there is one copula, and when it is [+locative], it has a certain form that is different from the copula in regular predicative structures since that one would lack the [+locative] feature.[106] Though it seems that the unique occurrence of the Turkish *var/yok* in existential and possessive construction can be accounted for in the same way, a slight modification in Freeze's approach is necessary to accommodate the Turkish facts. Careful analysis of the facts suggest that *var/yok* is a participle. Consider the following:

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[106] In his 1992 paper he doesn't have an example or a discussion that shows why the copula here should be treated as [+locative]. He refers the reader to another paper of his, which I haven't been able to find.

(358) a.   Ben hasta-y-dı-m.
                I   sick-cop-past-1sg
                'I was sick.'

       b.   Ben hasta i-di-m.
                I   sick cop-past-1sg
                'I was sick.'

       c.   Ben güzel-Ø-di-m.
                I   pretty-cop-past-1sg
                'I was pretty.'

       d.   Ben çalışıyor   i-di-m. /   çalışıyor-Ø-du-m.
                I   work-prog-cop-past-1sg/ work-prog-cop-past-1sg
                'I was working.'

I argued in Chapter 2 that −*y*- and *i*- in (358) above is the copula that gets inflected for tense/evidential and agreement. It takes a non-verbal predicate as its complement. This predicate can be nominal, adjectival (as in (358)) or participial (verb root+aspect/modal) .

The same copula shows up in *var/yok* constructions. The suffixed form −*y*- drops when it follows a consonant, but the 'free' form *i*- remains.[107]

(359) a.   Sepet-te   kedi var-Ø-dı.
                basket-loc cat var-**cop**-past
                'There was (a) cat in the basket.'

       b.   Sepet-te   kedi var i-di.
                basket-loc cat   var **cop**-past
                'There was (a) cat in the basket.'

(365) a.   Sepet-te   kedi **yok-tu.**
                basket-loc cat   yok-cop-past
                'There wasn't a cat in the basket.'

       b.   Sepet-te   kedi yok i-di.
                basket-loc cat   yok **cop**-past
                'There wasn't a cat in the basket.'

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[107] (b)-sentences in these examples might sound very old-fashioned to many speakers of Turkish, but I am sure they would agree with the grammaticality.

Further, as in the structures with participials, the question particle *mI* occurs between *var/yok* and the copula, as opposed to structures with no copula in which *mI* occurs to the right of the tense (and agreement) markers:

(370) a. Çalış-ıyor-**mu-**   y- du-n?
           work-prog-**q.part.**-cop-past-2sg
           'Were you working?'

       b. Ev-de   mum var-**mı-**   y- dı-Ø?
           home-loc candle var-**q.part.**-cop-past-3sg
           'Was there (a) candle at home?'

       c. Liste-de ben var-**mı-**   y- dı-m?
           list-loc I   var-**q.part**-cop-past-1sg
           'Was I on the list?'

(371) Çalış-tı-n   mı?
       work-past-2sg **q.part**
       'Did you work?'

Note that in (370a) *mI* follows the participle *çalışıyor* and precedes the copula *–y-*, which is in turn followed by the tense and agreement markers. Similarly, in (370b) it follows *var* and precedes the copula *–y-* and tense & agreement. In (371), on the other hand, where there is no participle and no copula, it follows the tense and agreement markers. Contrast the position of the agreement marker in (371) with its position in (370c).

Thus, the independent presence of the copula *i-* suggest that *var* is not an amalgamation of the regular copula that is inserted at $T^0/Infl^0$ plus some feature but it is independent of it. In fact, the facts suggest that it is its complement.

I would like to suggest at this point a more general account for the way copulas are realized in Turkish: I would like to propose that a "copula" is in fact simply a verbal feature or a verb devoid of any semantic content. It is inserted in environments when a verbal feature is needed as in T^0 when the participle cannot merge with it (see Chapter 2).

The phonological form of this feature varies depending on where it is inserted and what other features it combines with. For instance, when this feature is realized on V^0, it

takes the form ol-[108], and when it is realized on T^0, it takes the form $-y$-/$\emptyset$/i-. When it is realized on V^0 and moves to a higher head with the locative feature, then it becomes a participle, and takes the form var. Since it is a participle, it has to be embedded under another copula realized at T^0. The following show the relevant structures :

(372) a. [verbal] inserted at V^0 ➔ ol-

ol- can move up to Tense
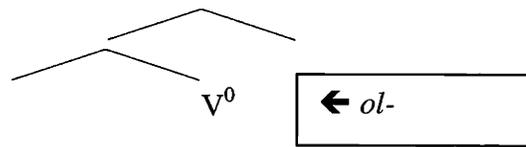
b. [verbal] inserted at V^0 + [locative] ➔ var
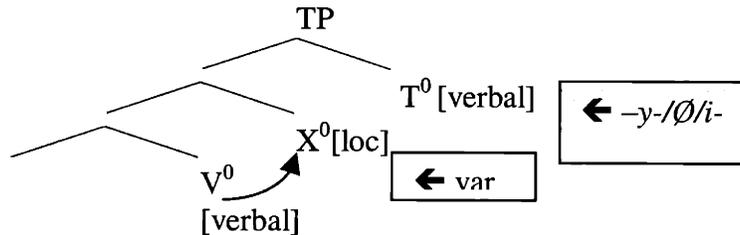
Recall that the negative counterpart of var is yok. In the following I will briefly discuss how different negative forms are derived in Turkish.

Depending on the nature of the predicate, the morpheme that expresses sentential negation might have a different form. We have been assuming that there is a negative phrase above VP, inspired by the morpheme order in negative verbal forms.

When the predicate is a verbal predicate, Neg^0 is realized as the suffix $-mE$. Recall that I argued in Chapter 2 following Kornfilt (1996) that verbal forms in Turkish are realized in two ways: as a finite form consisting of the verb root, tense and agreement,

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[108] ol- can be considered a light verb since it can function as a pure verbal feature supporting certain inflectional markers (see Göksel (in press) for its buffer role in morphology) or as a verb with semantic content such as $become$. In this respect it is similar to do in English.

or as a participle and a copula. The participle can consist of a verb root plus an aspectual or modal marker.

In the finite case, i.e. when the verb has no aspectual inflection, in a negative clause it moves thru Neg^0 to T^0, as represented in (373a). The negation is realized as the suffix *–mE*. If verbal form is a participle, again it is the result of the verb moving to Neg^0 and then to the Aspectual/Modal head, embedded under a copula at T^0, as represented in (373b).

(373) a.　finite form

T^0 [tense], [agr]

Neg= *-mE*

Neg^0

V

b.　participle+copula

TP

T^0 [verbal], [tense], [agr]

Asp^0/$Modal^0$

Neg= *-mE*

Neg^0

V^0
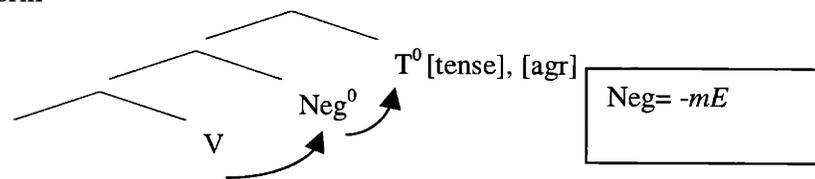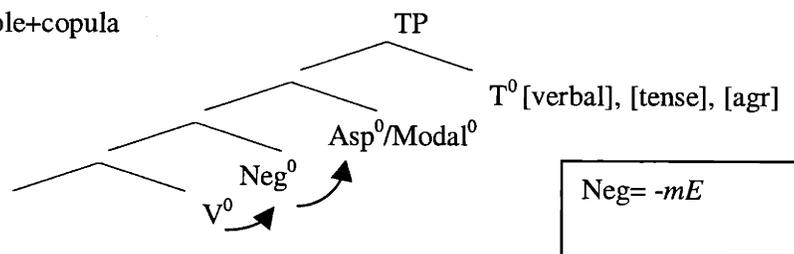
When the predicate is nominal or adjectival, Neg^0 is realized as *değil*, and again it is dominated by the copula at T^0.

(374)　adjectival/nominal predicate

T^0[verbal], [tense], [agreement]

$Neg^0 = değil$

Neg^0

AdjP/NP
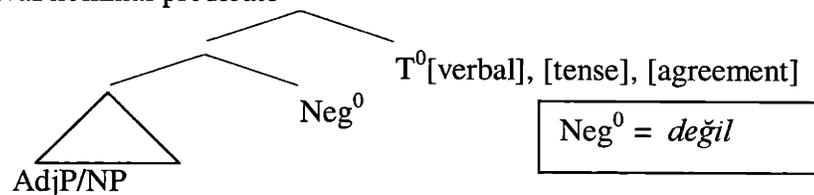
One might ask why the form of negation is sensitive to the participle vs. adjectival/nominal distinction if all are treated as non-verbal by the grammar, as I have been arguing for. The answer is actually very simple. In the case of the participle, Neg merges with the verb. Only after the complex verb+neg is formed, they are merged with

Asp or Mod, at which point the participle is formed. So, in informal terms, *-mE* "selects" for a verbal complement. This is why *-mE* cannot occur with adjectival/nominal predicates. *Değil*, on the other hand, selects for a non-verbal complement. Thus, it occurs with both adjectival/nominal predicates and participles.[109]

(375) a.　　Hasta değil-Ø-im.
　　　　　　sick değil-Ø-1sg
　　　　　　'I am not sick.'

　　　b.　　Artık　　öğrenci değil-Ø-im.
　　　　　　anymore student değil-cop-1sg
　　　　　　'I am not a student anymore.'

　　　c.　　Sen-i　　anla-m-ıyor　　　değil-Ø-im.
　　　　　　you-acc understand-neg-prog değil-cop-1sg
　　　　　　'It's not that I don't understand you.'

Finally, when this verbal feature is realized on the V^0 node and combines with not only [locative] (which would give us *var*) but also with Neg^0, we get *yok*.

(376) [verbal] inserted at V^0 plus Neg^0 plus [locative] → *yok*

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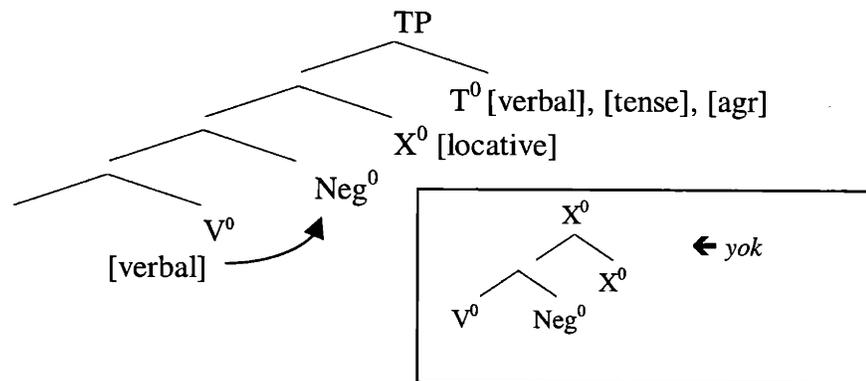
[109] Technically one may argue that *–mE* comes with a verbal feature to check. In other words, if NegP is headed by *–mE*, then *Neg⁰/-mE* has to merge with a verb. *Değil* may not have a specific feature to check.

The claim that these three copular/verbal forms are derived from the same verbal feature is supported by the fact that when these structures (i.e. copular, existential, possessive) are embedded, they are all embedded under the verb *ol-*. [110]

(377) a.   **Nominal predicate**
Elif öğretmen i-di.
Elif teacher   cop-past
'Elif was a teacher.'

        b.   **Adjectival predicate**
Hasan yakışıklı   i-di- Ø
Hasan good-looking cop-past-3sg
'Hasan was good-looking.'

        c.   **Existential *var***
Türkiye'de çok güzel   yerler var i-di-Ø
Turkey-loc very beautiful places var cop-past-3sg
'There were very beautiful places in Turkey.'

        d.   **Possessive *var***
Sen-in kardeş-in var-Ø-Ø-Ø
you-3gen sibling-3poss var-cop-present-3sg
'You have a sibling.'

(378) a.   **Nominal predicate (embedded)**
Elif-in   öğretmen **ol-duğ-un-u**   biliyorum.
Elif-3gen teacher   **be-DIK-3poss-acc** I.know
'I know that Elif was a teacher.'

        b.   **Adjectival predicate (embedded)**
Hasan-ın   yakışıklı   **ol-duğ-un-u**   biliyorum.
Hasan-3gen good-looking **be-DIK-3poss-acc** I.know
'I know that Hasan was good-looking.'

---

[110] Göksel (in press) discusses the status of *ol-* in main clauses and in object relative clauses extensively, and argues that whereas it functions as an aspectual marker in main clauses, and heads a functional projection, it is syntactically invisible in object relative clauses, and is there only for morphological reasons independent of syntax. She is not concerned with its status in clauses I am focussing here. She suggests in a footnote (#17) that it might be analyzed as a morphological buffer in embedded clauses with substantive predicates but leaves the complete analysis to further research.

(379) a.   **Existential *var* (embedded)**
            Türkiye'de çok güzel yerler   ol-duğ-un-u   biliyorum.
            Turkey-loc very beautiful places be-DIK-3poss-acc I.know
            'I know that there are very beautiful places in Turkey.'

       b.   **Possessive *var* (embedded)**
            Sen-in   kardeş-in   ol-duğ-un-u   biliyorum.
            you-3gen sibling-3poss be-DIK-3poss-acc I.know
            'I know that you have a sibling.'

If *var* were a verb root, then we would expect it to be nominalized as other verb roots, but that is not possible:

(380) a.   **Existential *var* (embedded)**
            *Türkiye'de çok güzel yerler   **var-dığ-ın-ı**   biliyorum.
            Turkey-loc very beautiful places var   be-DIK-3poss-acc I.know
            Intended: 'I know that there were very beautiful places in Turkey.'

       b.   **Possessive *var* (embedded)**
            *Sen-in   kardeş-in   **var-dığ-ın-ı**   biliyorum.
            you-3gen sibling-3poss var be-DIK-3poss-acc I.know
            Intended: 'I know that you have a sibling.'

To summarize, I proposed that all three copulas are derived from the same verb 'be'. The phonological form of it depends on the head it merges with, or its environment. When it is inserted at V^0, it is *ol-*. When it is inserted at V^0 but is in the environment of a locative feature, it is *var*, and when it is inserted at T^0, it is *i-/-y-/Ø*.

(381)   Informal rules:

        'be' → *ol-* /_V

        'be' → *var* / _V & _locative

        'be' → *i,-y, Ø*/_T

4. Var/Yok in predicative locative clauses

I have avoided mentioning semantic restrictions imposed on the constituents in *var/yok* constructions. We have seen that in possessive *var* constructions the possessee is subject

to definiteness effect. This leads one to ask whether *var* constructions in general are subject to this restriction. This doesn't seem to be the case. Consider the following:

(382) A: Bana yardım edecek kimse yok.
           There is nobody to help me!

       B: Hasan var ya!
           Hasan var exclamation
           '(But) There is Hasan!'

This is identical to the puzzling cases in English, where a definite theme can occur in a *there*-sentence, violating the definiteness restriction.

(383) a. A: There is nobody to help me!
           B: But there is me! or There is John!

       b. A: Who can present at this workshp?
           B: Well, there is John, there is Mary…

There is another environment in which *var* can occur with a referential theme. Consider the following:

(384) A: Neden duş almıyorsun?
           Why aren't you taking a shower?

       B: Çünkü banyo-da   Hasan var.
           Because bathroom-loc Hasan var
           'Because Hasan is in the bathroom.'

(385) A: Mutfak-ta kim var?
           kitchen-loc who var
           'Who is in the kitchen?'

       B: (Mutfakta) Hasan var.
           (kitchen-loc) Hasan var
           'Hasan is.'

Note that in this example the locative precedes *Hasan*, in fact, the other order is not possible, as we mentioned above:

(386)   *Hasan banyo-da var.
   Hasan bathroom-loc var

The crucial point in all these structures is that *Hasan* in (382), (384) and (385) has to be focussed. In Turkish it has been observed that focussed phrases usually occur in the immediately preverbal position (though not necessarily, see Göksel and Özsoy (1998)), and given/topic phrases occur away from the verb. Kelepir (2000) following Kural (1993) argues that the phrases marked as topic/given move to a TopicPhrase (Öztürk (1998)), and the lowest constituent in the structure is interpreted as the contrastive focus, and receive prominent stress (cf. Cinque (1993), Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), Arregi (2001), Ishihara (2001)). Tura (1986:172) argues that the order of the constituents in this structure is due to the fact that the locative is topic and Hasan is new information. She doesn't, however, discuss the function of *var*.

I share Tura's intuition, and suggest that the structures in (384) and (385) are not canonical existential sentences as discussed in Section 1 but they are rather predicative locative structures which involve topicalization of the locative to the left of the subject to leave subject as the focus of the structure. Let's first consider a predicative locative structure with unmarked order of the constituents (in past tense to see the copula more clearly):

(387)   Hasan banyoda-y-dı.
        Hasan bathroom-cop-past
        'Hasan was in the bathroom.'

One way of making this an answer to the question "Why didn't you take a shower?" is to put strong stress on *Hasan*. However, Turkish speakers prefer to put the topic of the sentence in sentence initial position when another constituent is focussed. To do that the positions of the subject and the locative need to be switched resulting in the following, which is ungrammatical:

(388)   *Banyo-da   Hasan-Ø-dı.
        bathroom-loc Hasan-cop-past

The ungrammaticality of (388) may be morphological: note that the copula is a suffix and has to attach to a preceding head. The subject *Hasan*, however, is in the Specifier position of TP. Thus, it cannot attach to that.

(389) *

```
         TopicP
        /      \
   banyoda      TP
      ▲        /    \
       \    Hasan   /    \
        \         /   \   T⁰ Ø-dı
         _____/
```
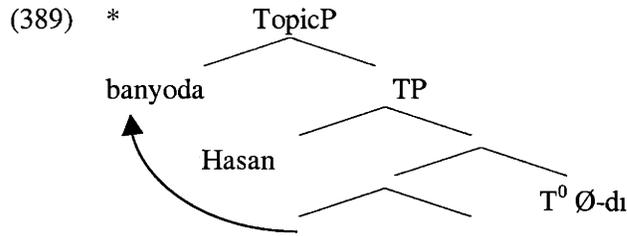
Note also that if *Hasan* were the predicate, then this would be possible:

(390) Gel-en   Hasan-Ø-dı.
       come-subj.rel.marker Hasan-cop-past
       'The one who came was Hasan.'

So, I propose that the var-construction is an alternative derivation to the ungrammatical (388). One may argue that the presence of *var* is made possible by the locative feature of the locative phrase. One might even go further and argue that scrambling of the locative phrase somehow requires the head with the locative feature to be present so that their features can be checked against each other. I leave the investigation of these possibilities to further research.

Furthermore, in Turkish -like all focussed phrases- wh-phrases tend to occur in the immediately preverbal position, and the presupposed elements tend to occur away from the verb. The clearest case is with subject wh-phrases. (391a) is the natural order of a subject wh-question:

(391) a.   Bisikletim-i   kim aldı?
             my.bicycle-acc who took
             'Who took my bicycle?'

       b.   ?Kim bisikletim-i aldı?
             who my.bicycle-acc took
             'Who took my bicycle?'

Although (391b) is grammatical, it has a very marked order. (391a) is preferred. Now, when the question has a non-verbal predicate, the topic-focus distinction will force the speaker to use this order but given the non-verbal nature of the clause, what occurs sentence-initially is now not the object but the predicate, thus, the information structure forces the predicate to occur in a non-canonical position, as shown in (392):

(392) a.   Hasan mutfak-ta-Ø-Ø.
          Hasan kitchen-loc-cop-3gs
          'Hasan is in the kitchen.'

     b.   *Kim mutfak-ta ?
          who kitchen-loc
          Intended:'Who is in the kitchen?'

     c.   *Mutfakta kim?
          kitchen-loc who

Again a *var*-clause is used:

(393) A: Mutfak-ta kim var?
          kitchen-loc who var
          'Who is in the kitchen?'

     B: (Mutfakta) Hasan var.
          (kitchen-loc) Hasan var
          'Hasan is.'

Moreover, as I mentioned in a footnote in Chapter 2, the marker *mI* occurs adjacent to the constituent that is questioned (focused) in yes/no questions. The obligatory adjacency of *mI* in a question such as the one below supports the claim that the formation of the clause the way it is is due to the contrastive focus nature of the subject:

(394) a.   *Banyo-da   Hasan var mı?
          bathroom-loc Hasan var mI
          Intended: 'Is Hasan in the bathroom?'

     b.   Banyo-da   HASAN **mı** var?
          bathroom-loc Hasan mI var
          'Is it Hasan who is in the bsathroom?'

This peculiarity is not unique to Turkish. In fact, it's been observed by many linguists that there are numerous counterexamples to definiteness effect in *there*-sentences in English. An approach based on a similar intuition I have just discussed has been defended by Ward & Birner (1995). They analyze 100 naturally occuring *there*-sentences with definite NPs in them, and conclude that there are five contexts in which the occurrence of a definite postverbal NP is felicitous. One of these contexts they characterize as "hearer-old entities newly instantiating a variable". The most known example of this context has been called the "list-reading" of *there*-sentences with definite postverbal NPs.

They argue that in these contexts the discourse may create "an open proposition, which represents presupposed or backgrounded information. The element that instantiates the variable of the open proposition constitutes the new information, or FOCUS, of the utterance." (W&B 1995: 734)

(395)   A: Who was at the party last night?
        B: There was John, Mary, Fred, Susan, Hilda, Xavier, and Ethel. (their (30b))

They note that the postverbal NP need not to be a list at all, as long as it instantiates a variable in a salient open proposition.

(396)   A: What's on the office desk?
        B: There is the telephone, but nothing else.
        [OP: X is in the office desk.]

Their point is that the entity referred to by the postverbal NP does not need to be new to the hearer. "The open proposition may set up a narrower context into which the entity is to be introduced as new. Thus, the entity is hearer-new, but (perhaps) only within the context established by the salient OP." (W&B 1995: 735)

Hungarian seems to have a similar phenomenon. Kiss (1995) briefly discusses existential sentences in Hungarian, which in the unmarked cases do not allow arguments with existence presupposition.

(397) a.   Van egy könyv az asztalon.   (Kiss's (14a))
                  is   a   book on the table
                  'There is a book on the table.'

      b.   *A könyv van az asztalon.[1]
                  the book is on the table
                  Intended: 'The book is on the table.'   adapted from (Kiss's (14b))

However, she observes that when the constituent other than the subject is focussed, then the subject can be definite.

(398) A könyv **az asztalon** van.[1]
       the book **on the table** is
       'The book is ON THE TABLE.'   (Kiss's (14c))

I have shown in this section that var-clauses do not necessarily show definiteness effect as long as the theme/subject is contrastively focussed.

In the following I will take up the question of agreement in existentials and clausal possessives.

5. Agreement

Agreement facts in clausal possesives also present an interesting picture. In contrast to the *have*-construction but similar to *there*-construction in English, the copula does not agree with the possessor:

(399) a.   *Ben-im kedi-m   var-ım.
                  I-gen   cat-1poss var-1sg
                  Intended: 'I have a cat.'

      b.   Ben-im kedi-m   var-Ø.
                  I-gen   cat-1poss var-3sg
                  'I have a cat.'

Var can be agreeing either with the possessee or the entire DP the possessor moves out from. It is hard to test this since third person singular is always Ø in Turkish, and the possessee is also always third person given the definiteness effect we discussed in

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Section 2. One interesting point here is that *var* in this construction can never bear the third person plural marker.

(400)   *Ben-im çocuk-lar-ım var-lar.
        I-1gen child-pl-1poss var-pl
        'I have children.'

Both the entire possessive phrase and the possessee is plural (i.e. both 'my children' and 'children' are plural), and thus, we would expect availability of plural marking on the copula with whichever phrase it agrees. However, this is not the case.[111,112]

In regular existentials, too, it is still not possible to have plural marking with the third person plural theme:

(401)   Existential

        a.   *Odada çocuklar var-lar.
                in.the.room kids cop-3pl
                Int.:'There are kids in the room.'

        b.   Odada çocuklar var-Ø.
                in.the.room kids cop-3sg

---

[111] In Turkish plural subject agreement on the verb is optional when the subject is animate, and impossible when the subject is inanimate (see Sezer (1991) for a more detailed discussion of this):

(i) Öğrenciler gel-di./gel-di-ler.
     students come-past/come-past
     'The students came.'

(ii) Kitaplar gel-di./*gel-di-ler.
     books come-past/come-past
     'The books came/arrived.'

One might think that this optionality might have an effect on the unacceptability of (400). However, optionality should not cause such a strong ungrammaticality judgment.

[112] In a regular predicative constructions, on the other hand, plural marking is perfectly possible.

(i) predicative locative
     Cocuklar odada-Ø-lar.
     kids in.the.room-cop-3pl
     'The kids are in the room.'

Returning to the GPC, we can ask the following: is it <u>none</u> of the noun phrases that the verb agrees? That is, is there some covert constituent (maybe a pro without number marking, as proposed in Sezer (1991)) that the copula agrees with? This seems to be not a necessary conclusion since in constructions similar to the ones we discussed in the previous section *var* does show agreement morphology.

(402) a. Benim için sadece sen var-**sın**.
            me   for   only   you var-**2sg**
            'For me there is only you.'

       b. A: Beni seven kimse yok!
                There is nobody who loves me!

           B: Ben var-ım ya!
                I   var-1sg exclamation
                'But there is me!'

These examples show that when overt inflection is available, it <u>does</u> occur with *var*. They, of course, only show that *var* can be inflected for person, not that this is the case in possessive *var* constructions. It is not possible to have a first or second person as the possessee in clausal possessives since those are not allowed to occur as the possessee, given that they are definite. If we assume that agreement works the same way in both constructions, it seems to be the case that it is somehow deficient: third person plural marking is not available.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I analyzed existential clauses and two types of clausal possessives. I argued that one type of possessives, namely, the genitive possessor construction is subject to definiteness/presuupositionality effect (Milsark (1977)), since its possessee cannot be a presuppositional noun phrase. The other type, on the other hand, does not have such a restriction. I argued that this and a number of other differences they exhibit follow from the structures and the operations that derive the structures I proposed. Specifically, I

proposed that in the case of the GPC, the possessor is separated from the possessee. Furthermore, I suggested that these facts may point a cross-linguistic generalization that in fact all clausal possessives are derived by an operation that separates the possessor from the possessee. New data from Hindi supported this suggestion.

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