

INTERVENTION EFFECTS IN SIMPLE WH-QUESTIONS  
IN TURKISH

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Intervention Effects in Simple Wh-questions in Turkish

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## Thesis Abstract

Yasemin Kesen, “Intervention Effects in Simple Wh-questions in Turkish ”

This study investigates the nature of intervention effects introduced by four groups of potential interveners in simple wh-questions in Turkish: negative polarity items, quantifier phrases, lexically marked focus phrases with the focus particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’, *da* ‘also’ and phonologically marked focus phrases without any focus particles.

The acceptability judgments the analysis relies on have been derived partly from my own intuitions supported by the judgments of native speakers I consulted informally. However, judgments for some of the structures were not clear, and thus, I designed and conducted acceptability judgment surveys for those structures. Thus, the analysis also relies partly on the judgments collected in these surveys.

The findings have revealed that negative polarity items and lexically marked focus phrases create intervention effects in Turkish whereas quantifier phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases do not. Considering the morphological, syntactic and phonological properties of negative polarity items and focus phrases in Turkish, it is argued that interveners do not form a natural class, and focus cannot be argued to create intervention effects in Turkish, in contrast to what has been proposed for other languages in the literature (Kim 2002, Beck 2006 and Kim 2006).

Furthermore, the findings in this study point to the following additional observations: (i) Turkish ‘why’ phrases differ from other wh-phrases in that they induce a weaker intervention effect; (ii) a semantically focused phrase may not get stress when it co-occurs with another semantically focused phrase in a sentence; (iii) all wh-in-situ accounts adopted by intervention effects proposals can explain Turkish intervention data.

## Tez Özeti

Yasemin Kesen, “Türkçe’deki Basit Soru Cümlelerinde Engelleme Etkileri ”

Bu çalışma, engelleme etkisi yaratma potansiyeline sahip dört grup öbeğin, yani, eksi kutup öğeleri, nicelik sözcüğü öbekleri, ‘sadece’, ‘bile’, ‘dA’ vurgu ilgeçlerini alan sözcüksel vurgu öbekleri ve sadece sessel olarak vurgulanan öbeklerin Türkçe’deki basit soru cümlelerinde engelleme etkisi yaratıp yaratmadığını incelemektedir.

Analizin temelini oluşturan uygunluk tanıları kısmen kişisel sezgilerime dayanmaktadır ve resmi olmayan görüşmelerde fikirlerine başvurduğum anadili Türkçe olan kişilerin yargılarınca desteklenmektedir. Ayrıca, bazı yapılar hakkındaki yargıların net olmaması nedeniyle bu yapılara özgü uygunluk tanı anketleri geliştirdim ve uyguladım. Bu nedenle, analizim kısmen de bu anketlerle derlediğim yargılara dayanmaktadır.

Elde edilen bulgular, Türkçe’de eksi kutup öğeleri ve ilgeçli vurgu öbeklerinin engelleme etkileri yaratırken, nicelik sözcüğü öbekleri ve ilgeçsiz vurgu öbeklerinin böyle bir etkiye neden olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Türkçe eksi kutup öğeleri ve vurgu öbeklerinin biçimbilimsel, sözdizimsel ve sesbilimsel özellikleri göz önüne alındığında, literatürde başka diller için ileri sürülenin aksine (Kim 2002, Beck 2006 ve Kim 2006), Türkçe engelleme öğelerinin doğal bir grup oluşturmadığı ve engelleme etkisi yaratan unsurun vurgu olmadığı öne sürülmektedir.

Bunun dışında, bu çalışmadaki bulgular şu gözlemlere de işaret etmektedir: (i) Türkçe’de ‘neden’ soru öbekleri, engelleme etkilerini hafifletmeleri nedeniyle diğer soru öbeklerinden farklı özellikler göstermektedir; (ii) Türkçe’de anlamsal vurgu alan öbekler aynı türden bir sözcükle birlikte bulunursa, sözcüklerden biri vurgu almayabilir; (iii) engelleme etkileri önerileri tarafından kabul edilen yerinden soru yapılarına dair bütün kavramsal çalışmalar Türkçe engelleme etkisi cümlelerini açıklayabilmektedir.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

2sg	Second person singular
3sg	Third person singular
acc	accusative
abl	ablative
abil	ability
agr	agreement
aux	auxiliary
cl	clitic
dat	dative
ev	evidential
fut	future
gen	genitive
hs	hearsay
imp	imperative
loc	locative
neg	negative marker (suffix)
nom	nominative
past	past tense marker
plr	plural
poss	possessive
prog	progressive

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Aim

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the nature of intervention effects introduced by four potential groups of interveners in simple wh-questions in Turkish. The groups of potential interveners are negative polarity items, quantifier phrases, lexically marked focus phrases with the focus particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’, and phonologically marked focus phrases. Previous studies reveal that intervention effects are observed in many languages and in the literature there have been many syntactic (Beck 1996; Beck and Kim 1997) as well as semantic (Beck 2006) explanations of this phenomenon. The sentences given in (1) and (2) exemplify a set of data referred to as intervention effects. The examples are from German and Korean respectively.

- (1) a. <sup>??</sup>Wen hat niemand wo gesehen?  
whom has nobody where seen  
‘Where did nobody see whom?’

(Beck 1996: 3)

- b. Wen hat Luise wo gesehen?  
whom has Luise where seen  
‘Where did Luise see whom?’

(Beck 1996: 4)

- (2) a. \*Minsu-man nuku-lûl po-ass-ni?  
 Minsu-only who-Acc see-Past-Q  
 ‘Who did only Minsu see?’

(Beck & Kim 1997: 370)

- b. Minsu-nun nuku-lûl po-ass-ni?  
 Minsu-Top who-Acc see-Past-Q  
 ‘Who did Minsu see?’

(Beck 2006: 3)

Both (1) and (2) illustrate structures with an in-situ wh-phrase: *wo* ‘where’ in (1) and *nukulul* ‘who-acc’ in (2). In both (1) and (2), (a) and (b) contrast in that (b)-examples have non-quantificational proper noun subjects whereas (a)-examples have quantificational subjects: a negative quantifier in (1a) and a focus phrase in (2a).

The examples in (1) and (2) illustrate the observation that in German and Korean when certain quantificational items c-command a wh-phrase, the structure is uninterpretable. In the examples above, the negative quantifier *niemand* ‘nobody’ in (1a) and the focus phrase *Minsu-man* ‘only Minsu’ in (2a) are argued to create intervention effects when they appear to the left of a wh-in-situ phrase. No such intervention effect is observed when the intervener is replaced by a proper noun.

Korean allows scrambling of the wh-phrase. When the wh-phrase is scrambled to the left of the intervener, the structure becomes interpretable, as exemplified below:

- (3) a. \*Amuto ôti-e ka-chi anh-ass-ni?  
 anyone where-Dir go-CHI not do-Past-Q

b. Ôti-e      amuto ka-chi anh-ass-ni?  
where-Dir anyone go-CHI not do-Past-Q  
'Where did noone go?'

(Beck & Kim: 341)

The initial studies on intervention effects in German and Korean reported in Beck (2006) and Beck and Kim (1997) reveal that the class of interveners may vary across languages.

Turkish shares some significant properties with Korean (and German). It allows wh-phrases to stay in-situ, and it also allows scrambling of wh-phrases. Thus, an investigation of intervention effects in Turkish would extend our understanding of this phenomenon.

In order to contribute to the understanding of the nature of intervention effects and of the cross-linguistic variation of interveners, in this study, I investigate the items which have been argued to be potential interveners in the literature.

This study will explore the following questions:

- i. Do we observe any intervention effects in Turkish wh-questions?
- ii. If yes, what are the interveners and do they form a natural class?

The following represents the configurations that will be investigated for Turkish:

- (4) a. Her öğrenci kim-i gör-dü? *QuantP...wh-phrase*  
 every student who-acc see-past  
 ‘Who did every student see?’
- b. Ali de kim-i gör-dü? *NP focus particle...wh-phrase*  
 Ali also who-acc see-past  
 ‘Who did Ali, too, see?’
- c. Sadece Ali kim-i gör-dü ? *focus particle NP...wh-phrase*  
 only Ali who-acc see-past  
 ‘Who did only Ali see?’
- d. ALİ kim-i gör-dü? *phonologically focused phr...wh-phrase*  
 Ali who-acc see-past  
 ‘Who did ALİ see?’
- e. Kimse kim-i gör-me-di? *NPI...wh-phrase*  
 anyone who-acc see-neg-past  
 ‘Who did noone see?’

In the following section, I will present some properties of Turkish in order to provide a background for the discussion of the Turkish data in this thesis.

## 1.2 Some Properties of Turkish

### 1.2.1 Word Order

The basic word order of Turkish is generally considered to be SOV (cf. Lewis 1967, Erguvanlı 1984). In unmarked structures, complements and adjuncts precede heads as shown below.

- (5) a. Main Clause  
Çocuk süt-ü iç-ti.  
The child milk-acc drink-past  
'The child drank the milk.'
- (6) b. Postpositional Phrase  
ev-e doğru  
house-dat towards  
'towards the house'
- (7) c. Adjective Phrase  
güzel kadın  
beautiful woman  
'beautiful woman'

### 1.2.2 Scrambling

Even though the unmarked word order of Turkish is considered to be SOV, variants of the unmarked order are also possible as given below.

- (8) a. Ali kitab-ı oku-du. Unmarked order  
Ali book-acc read-past  
'Ali read the book.'

- b. Ali oku-du kitab-1.
- c. Kitab-1 oku-du Ali.
- d. Oku-du Ali kitab-1.
- e. Kitab-1 Ali oku-du.
- f. Oku-du kitab-1 Ali.

### Marked Orders

Although all these sentences are equally grammatical, they are used in different contexts. In other words they cannot be used interchangeably in a given context, but word order variation is subject to certain syntactic restrictions and pragmatic conditions. Scrambling constituents in a sentence has the function of making a certain constituent prominent in the discourse by highlighting new information or introducing an item which contrasts with what has been said previously.

Placing sentence stress on a particular constituent has a similar function to that of scrambling in that it also determines information value of a constituent. Focus constituents are almost always stressed and all types of constituents can be focused. Focused constituents can appear in any position before the predicate (Göksel & Kerslake 2005); however, it has been claimed that the immediately preverbal position is the typical focus position in Turkish (Erguvanlı 1984) as represented below. Capitalizing the letters indicates that the constituent is focused.

- (9) Parti-ye ALİ gel-me-di.  
party-dat Ali come-neg-past  
'ALİ didn't come to the party.'

It is also possible to place stress on a focused constituent in its unmarked position (Göksel & Kerslake 2005).



- (10) ALİ parti-ye gel-me-di.  
Ali party-dat come-neg-past  
'ALİ didn't come to the party.'

Focused constituents can also be scrambled in a sentence (Göksel & Özsoy 2000).

- (11) a. ALİ Ayşe-yi bugün gör-müş.  
Ali Ayşe-acc today see-ev/past  
'ALİ saw Ayşe today.'
- b. Ayşe-yi ALİ bugün gör-müş.  
Ayşe-acc ALİ today see-ev/past  
'ALİ saw Ayşe today.'

However, focused constituents cannot appear in postverbal position in Turkish as given in (12).

- (12) \*Ayşe-yi bugün gör-müş ALİ.  
Ayşe-acc today see-ev/past Ali.

### 1.2.3 Information Structure

Erguvanlı (1984) brings up the view that in Turkish certain positions in a sentence are associated with certain pragmatic functions. As mentioned above, the position immediately preceding the verb is argued to be the focus position in Turkish, hence in any marked order the constituent that appears in that specific position is argued to be the focus of the sentence. Another position that carries a particular pragmatic function is argued to be the sentence-initial position. Erguvanlı (1984) proposes that

sentence initial position is the topic position in Turkish. The unmarked order implies that Turkish subjects are unmarked or neutral topics. Post-predicate position, on the other hand, is associated with the pragmatic function of backgrounding which is argued to express an after-thought. The analysis presented in Erguvanlı (1984) implies that word order variation does not apply randomly in Turkish but it is sensitive to contextual cues and information structure of the sentences.

Göksel and Özsoy (2000, 2003), on the other hand, argue that there are no designated positions for topic and focus in Turkish. I will present their proposal in more detail in Chapter 3.

#### 1.2.4 Wh-Questions

Turkish wh-questions are formed by using one of the following question phrases.

##### (13) *Wh-words in Turkish*

kim	‘who’	ne kadar	‘how much’
ne	‘what’	nasıl	‘how’
hangi	‘which’,	niye	‘why’
nere-	‘where’	neden	‘why’
ne zaman	‘when’	niçin	‘why’
kaç	‘how many’, ‘what time’		

The most common position in which Turkish wh-phrases would appear is argued to be the immediately preverbal position as given below (Erguvanlı 1984:35).

##### (14) Ali-yi kim sev-iyor-muş?

Ali-acc who love-prog-hs-3sg

‘Who loves Ali?’

However, the immediately preverbal position is only one of the possible positions for wh-phrases. Since Turkish does not have obligatory wh-movement (Özsoy 1996), wh-phrases may also remain in-situ and occupy the position that their answers would occupy in the corresponding affirmative sentence (Göksel & Kerslake 2005).

- (15) Kim Ali-yi sev-iyor-muş?  
who Ali-acc love-prog-hs-3sg  
'Who loves Ali?'

Moreover, as (16) below shows wh-phrases are limited neither to their in-situ positions nor to the immediately preverbal position (Kural 1993, Demircan 1996).

- (16) a. Ali-yi kim bugün gör-müş?  
Ali-acc who today see/ev-past  
'Who saw Ali today?'
- b. Kim-i Ali bugün gör-müş?  
who-acc Ali today see-ev/past  
'Who did Ali see today?'

However, similar to focus phrases, wh-phrases cannot occupy the postverbal position.

- (17) \*Ali-yi bugün gör-müş kim?  
Ali-acc today see-ev/past who  
'Who saw Ali today?'

I will present multiple wh-constructions in Chapter 3.

### 1.2.5 Negative Polarity Items in Turkish

Kelepir (2001) shows that Turkish NPIs can be grouped morphologically into three as given below.

- (18) (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’

(Kelepir 2001:138)

Kelepir (2001) describes the items given in (18) in this way. *Hiç* is an adverb in isolation which means ‘ever’ in questions and ‘at all’ both in questions and negative clauses. Consider the following examples.

- (19) a. question

Ali-yi hiç gör-dü-n mü?

Ali-acc ever see-past-2sg q.marker

‘Did you ever/at all see Ali?’

- b. negative clause

Ali-yi hiç gör-me-di-m.

Ali-acc at all see-neg-past-1sg

‘I have never seen Ali.’/ ‘I haven’t seen Ali at all.’

When the morpheme *hiç* is combined with indefinites, the result is a negative polarity item as represented below.

- (20) a.                                      bir ‘one’                                      hiçbir ‘any’  
      b. şey ‘thing’                              birşey ‘something’                              hiçbirşey ‘anything’  
      c. yer ‘place’                              biryer ‘somewhere’                              hiçbiryer ‘anywhere’

(Keleşir 2001:139)

It is also possible to use *hiçkimse* ‘anybody’ and *kimse* ‘anybody’ interchangeably although *hiçkimse* is frequently used to give more emphasis.

Turkish NPIs must occur with a sentential negation marker on the verb.

Consider the following example.

- (21) Ali (hiç)kimse-yi gör-me-di.  
      Ali anybody-acc see-neg-past  
      ‘Ali didn’t see anybody.’

The ungrammaticality of (22) shows that NPIs cannot appear in affirmative sentences as given below.

- (22) \*Ali (hiç)kimse-yi gör-dü.  
      Ali anybody-acc see-past

### 1.2.6 Focus in Turkish

Focus in Turkish can be expressed both phonologically and with focus particles. In the latter case the lexically marked focus is employed through the contribution of focus particles such as *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’, and *de* ‘also’ (Göksel & Özsoy 2000; Erguvanlı 1984; among others).

- (23) a. Parti-ye SADECE Ali gel-di.  
party-dat only Ali come-past  
'Only Ali came to the party.'
- b. Parti-ye ALİ bile gel-di.  
party-dat Ali even come-past  
'Even Ali came to the party.'
- c. Partiye ALİ de gel-ecek.  
party-dat Ali also come-fut  
'Ali will also come to the party.'

#### 1.2.7 Quantifier Phrases in Turkish

Turkish quantifiers can be roughly grouped into four categories which are presented below.

## (24) Quantifiers in Turkish

Universal Quantifiers	<i>Herkes</i> 'everyone'	<i>her</i> 'every'	<i>bütün</i> 'all'	<i>her bir</i> 'each'
Indefinite Phrases	<i>Birçok</i> 'many'	<i>bazı</i> 'some'	<i>birkaç</i> 'a few'	<i>birtakım</i> 'some'
	<i>Çoğu</i> 'most'			
Partitive Phrases	<i>NP+(n)In</i> <i>çoğu</i> 'most of the NP'	<i>NP +(n)In</i> <i>birkaçı</i> 'a few of the NP'	<i>NP+(n)In</i> <i>bazıları</i> 'some of the NP'	<i>NP+(n)In</i> <i>ikisi</i> 'two/three of the NP'
Others	<i>ikiden fazla</i> 'more than two'	<i>herhangi bir</i> 'any' (free choice)		

Before giving some facts of Turkish quantifiers, I would like to present a syntactic diagnostic which is proposed to explain varying behavior of quantifiers in English. For English Milsark (1977 cited in Keleşir 2001) distinguishes two types of determiners: strong and weak. According to the syntactic diagnostic that he employs to differentiate between these two categories, noun phrases with weak determiners can appear in the postverbal position of a *there*-sentence, whereas those with strong determiners cannot. Consider Milsark (1977)'s examples below.

- (25) weak determiners
- a. There is a mouse in the kitchen.
  - b. There are some/a few/many/three mice in the kitchen.
- (26) strong determiners
- a. \*There is the/every mouse in the kitchen.
  - b. \*There are all/most mice in the kitchen.

(Kelepir 2001:82)

Enç (1991) observes that in Turkish phrases with strong determiners are marked for accusative obligatorily, whereas those with weak determiners are not. Consider the following examples.

- (27) a. Hasan herkes-i ara-dı. /\*... herkes-Ø ara-dı.  
 Hasan everybody-acc call-past  
 ‘Hasan called everybody.’
- b. Hasan her aday-ı ara-dı. /\*...her aday- Ø ara-dı.  
 Hasan every candidate-acc call-past  
 ‘Hasan called every candidate.’
- c. Hasan bütün aday-lar-ı ara-dı./\*...bütün adaylar- Ø ara-dı.  
 Hasan all candidate-pl-acc call-past  
 ‘Hasan called all the candidates.’
- d. Hasan çoğu aday-ı ara-dı./\*...çoğu aday- Ø ara-dı.  
 Hasan most candidate-acc call-past  
 ‘Hasan called each candidate.’

(Kelepir 2001:83)



We see in (27) that strong determiners are obligatorily marked for accusative, otherwise the sentence is unacceptable. Now let us present how weak determiners behave in such sentences.

- (28) a. Ali birçok kitap-Ø oku-du./... kitab-ı oku-du.  
 Ali many book read-past book-acc read-past  
 ‘Ali read many books./... many of the books.’
- b. Ali tatil-de üç kitap-Ø bitir-di. /...kitab-ı bitir-di.  
 Ali holiday-loc three book finish-past book-acc finish-past  
 ‘Ali finished three books during the holiday. /...three of the books...’

In (28) indefinite phrases appear with weak determiners, so it is optional that they are marked for accusative. When they appear with accusative, they are interpreted as “specific”, whereas without acc-marking they are interpreted as “non-specific” (cf. Enç (1991), among others). In (28b), for instance, if the indefinite object is marked with accusative, the sentence can be interpreted as Ali having read three of the books from the list that was assigned for the holiday which implies that there is a presupposition for the set of books out of which Ali read three.

Even though *çoğu* ‘most’ is an indefinite phrase, it does not have optional accusative marking but it needs to be acc-marked obligatorily. The reason for this is that *çoğu* is a strong determiner so it is marked for accusative obligatorily.

Consider the following example.

- (29) Ali çoğu aday-ı ara-dı./\*Ali çoğu aday- Ø ara-dı.  
 Ali most candidate-acc call-past  
 ‘Ali called most candidates.’

Kelepir (2001) notes that partitive phrases carry presupposition of existence and they have obligatory overt accusative marking as given below.

- (30) a. Ali kitap-lar-in çoğ-u-nu oku-du./\*Ali kitap-lar-in çoğu- Ø oku-du.  
Ali book-pl-gen most-3poss-acc read-past  
'Ali read most of the books.'
- b. Ali kitap-lar-in iki-si-ni oku-du./\*Ali kitap-lar-in iki-si- Ø okudu.  
Ali book-pl-gen two 3poss-acc read-past  
'Ali read two of the books.'

Partitive phrases in (30) are genitive-possessive constructions which are composite noun phrases constructed of two noun phrases. The first noun phrase, which carries the genitive marker, expresses the whole or set, whereas the second noun phrase expresses the part or some selected items from that set.

To summarize, we have seen that in Turkish accusative marking on quantifier phrases depends on whether the quantifier phrase is with a strong determiner or a weak determiner. Phrases with strong determiners are marked for accusative obligatorily, while those with weak determiners are not.

Having presented relevant properties of Turkish, let me now present the acceptability judgment surveys that I conducted to explore intervention effects.

### 1.3 Acceptability Judgment Surveys and Results

In this study my main aim is to investigate the interaction of wh-phrases with four potential groups of interveners which are negative polarity items, quantifier phrases, lexically marked focus phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases. The reason why I explore these four categories is that they are the most widely studied groups of

interveners in the literature. The analysis of the constructions studied in this work is based on a combination of my own judgments and the results of three acceptability judgment surveys I conducted.

I conducted these surveys to explore the tendency of the general population for the constructions under investigation and not to be restricted by my own intuitions. The first survey involved presenting informants with *wh*-questions containing potential interveners; negative polarity items, quantifier phrases and focus phrases with the particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’ in the intervener-*wh*-phrase order and asking them whether they find these questions acceptable or not. The responses of the participants led to a conclusive result for negative polarity items and focus phrases with particles; however, they did not present a clear pattern for quantifier phrases. For this reason in order to investigate the relationship between *wh*-phrases and quantifier phrases I conducted a second survey which presented questions with the ‘QP...*wh*-phrase’ order inside dialogues. Since the results for this order were still unclear, I conducted a third and a more comprehensive survey which presented the investigated constructions inside longer dialogues.

#### 1.4. Summary of the Proposals

This study investigates intervention effects in simple *wh*-questions in Turkish. There are four potential groups of interveners which are negative polarity items, quantifier phrases, lexically marked focus phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases. It is shown that negative polarity items and lexically marked focus phrases create intervention effects in Turkish, but quantifier phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases do not induce such an effect. It is argued that Turkish interveners do not form a natural class. Unlike what has been proposed for many languages such as

Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam, all interveners cannot be grouped as focus phrases in Turkish. Therefore, focus cannot be argued to act as an intervener in Turkish.

Furthermore, it is shown that Turkish ‘why’ phrases have a weakening effect on intervention effects compared to other wh-phrases. The interaction between semantically focus phrases and stress is also discussed, and it is suggested that a semantically focused phrase may not get stress when it co-occurs with another semantically focused phrase in a sentence. Finally, it is shown that all accounts of wh-in-situ can explain Turkish intervention data presented throughout the study.

### 1.5 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 presents previous proposals concerning intervention effects in wh-questions. Chapter 3 is a brief survey of the literature on Turkish wh-questions, negative polarity items, quantifiers and focus phrases. Chapter 4 presents the acceptability judgment surveys and their results. Chapter 5 discusses the analysis of the results and it further investigates whether all interveners can be grouped in one class in Turkish. Discussion on the varying behavior of wh-phrases and focused phrases is also presented. Finally, this chapter discusses the syntax of wh-in-situ and the Turkish intervention data presented in this study. Chapter 6 presents the summary of the proposals and findings. It also considers the questions for further research. Survey questions and their detailed results are presented in the Appendix section.

## CHAPTER 2

### PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS ON INTERVENTION EFFECTS

In this chapter, I will provide a review of the previous proposals concerning intervention effects. Since the aim of this study is to investigate intervention effects in wh-questions in Turkish, I will restrict my analysis to the studies that specifically work on intervention effects in wh-questions.

Rizzi (1990), in his influential study wherein he develops the principle, Relativized Minimality, introduced the term *intervention* for governing relations. Since then the term has been studied from different aspects; however, Rizzi's proposal has been a major contribution for the following studies. Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997) explain intervention effects in terms of structural relations and they argue for intervention effects as a restriction on LF movement of wh-phrases. Later these authors acknowledge some problems this account has and propose a semantic analysis where interveners are focus-sensitive operators.

I will present these accounts in the given order to illustrate how *intervention effects* have been analyzed in different ways.

## 2.1 Rizzi (1990)

Rizzi (1990), in an attempt to explain locality conditions on government, proposes Relativized Minimality, and investigates its consequences for the minimality. The main idea of the minimality principle is that a governor cannot govern inside the domain of another governor.

(1)   ....X.....Z.....Y....

(Rizzi 1990: 1)

In the configuration above X cannot govern Y if there is a closer potential governor Z for Y. Thus, the ambiguity in government relations is minimized as there will be exactly one governor for each governee.

Minimality is also relativized. The nature of the government relation involved is relevant to the blocking effect of the intervening governor. In this theory there are two kinds of government: head government and antecedent government. In configuration (1), if Z is a potential governor of *some kind* for Y, it will block only government of the *same kind* from X. For instance, if Z is a head governor, it functions as an intervener only if the government relation between Y and X is head-government. This is formalized in the definition below:

(2)   Relativized Minimality: X  $\alpha$ -governs Y only if there is no Z such that

- (i) Z is a typical  $\alpha$ -governor for Y,
- (ii) Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X.

(Rizzi 1990: 7)

Rizzi (1990) argues that Relativized Minimality unifies three empirical domains which are very close to each other under the domain of Empty Category Principle. These are Huang (1982)'s observation on wh-islands, Obenauer (1984)'s pseudo opacity effects, and Ross (1983)'s inner islands.

Huang (1982) observed that extraction of an adjunct from a wh-island gives worse results than extraction of a complement, and proposed this asymmetry to be explained under the ECP. Consider the examples below.

- (3) a. ?? Which problem do you wonder how John could solve t t  
 b. \* Which student do you wonder how t could solve the problem t  
 c. \* How do you wonder which problem John could solve t t
- (4) a. Which problem do you think [ t [John could solve t ] ]  
 b. Which student do you think [ t [ t could solve this problem] ]  
 c. How do you think [ t [John could solve this problem t ] ]

(Rizzi 1990: 4)

In (3) it is clearly shown that subjects and adjuncts pattern similarly and different from complements. In (3a) the object trace is governed by the verb which assigns Theta-role to it; hence the structure is grammatical. The weak deviance is argued to be due to a Subjacency violation. In (3b) and (3c), on the other hand, there is a potential antecedent governor for the subject and adjunct trace in the lower Spec of Comp. Its presence in the structure blocks government from the actual antecedent as Relativized Minimality requires that antecedent government cannot take place inside

the domain of a potential antecedent governor. Since the relevant traces are not theta-governed either, the ECP is violated.<sup>1</sup>

In (4a) the lower trace is theta-governed by the verb in the embedded clause. In (4b) and (4c), on the other hand, the non-theta-governed trace is antecedent governed by the trace in the embedded Spec of Comp, so ECP is satisfied.

Similar to Huang's work on wh-islands, Hans Obenauer (1984) observed interesting facts on various constructions in French. One of these constructions involves a quantificational adverbial which seems to intervene in an A'-chain. Consider the following:

- (5) a. [Combien de livres] a-t-il consultés t  
      'How many of books did he consult?'
- b. Combien a-t-il consulté [t de livres]  
      'How many did he consult of books?' (Rizzi 1990: 12)

It is shown in (5) that the wh quantifier *combien* 'how much/many' can pied-pipe the NP *de livres* 'of books' or be extracted from it when it is used as an NP specifier. Obenauer's second observation on French wh-constructions is given below.

- (6) a. Il a consulté [beaucoup de livres]  
      'He has consulted many of books.'
- b. Il a beaucoup consulté [t de livres]  
      'He has many consulted of books.' (Rizzi 1990: 12)

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<sup>1</sup> See Rizzi (1990) for the formal definitions of theta- and antecedent-government.



Obenauer (1984) shows that adverbial QPs can occur in a VP-initial position which is a landing site for a QP specifier of the object NP. Obenauer points out that these two facts are related to each other in an interesting way, which is represented in (7).

(7) a. *Combien de livres a-t-il beaucoup consultés t*

‘How many of books did he a lot consult?’

b.\* *Combien a-t-il beaucoup consulté [t de livres]*

‘How many did he a lot consult of books?’ (Rizzi 1990: 12)

If the VP-initial position is filled with an adverbial quantifier *beaucoup* ‘a lot’, wh-extraction of the specifier of the object yields a deviant structure, as in (7b), whereas extraction of the whole object is acceptable, as in (7a). For the facts above, Obenauer introduces a principle which requires empty categories to be bound by the closest potential binder.

Rizzi (1990) argues that this fact can also be accounted for as a case of Relativized Minimality since here, too, a potential governor intervenes between a trace and its actual governor. In (7) the QP *beaucoup* ‘a lot’ is the potential antecedent governor in an A’-chain. Hence, the trace of the wh-phrase cannot be governed by its actual antecedent *combien* ‘how many’ due to the presence of a closer potential governor. Relativized Minimality rules out the structure.

As the third empirical domain which can be explained under Relativized Minimality, Rizzi refers to Ross (1984)’s inner islands. Ross noticed that negation interferes with extraction of adverbial elements but it does not affect the extraction of arguments.

- (8) a. Bill is here, which they (don't) know  
b. \*Bill is here, as they (\*don't) know

(Rizzi 1990: 15)

Wh-movement of the argumental element *which* is not affected by the presence of negation while the adverbial element *as* is not acceptable with negation. The presence of negation can also give rise to unambiguous readings.

- (9) a. How strongly do you believe that inflation will rebound?  
b. How strongly do you not believe that inflation will rebound?

(Rizzi 1990: 7)

(9a) is ambiguous in the sense that the question can be about the strength of the belief or the inflation's rebound. However, in (9b) *how* can only be interpreted as having been base-generated in the adjunct position of the higher clause. Thus, Ross concludes that negation creates opacity effects on adjunct variables; in other words, it blocks wh-movement of adjuncts.

Rizzi (1990) relates Ross (1984)'s observation on inner islands to Relativized Minimality in that if negation is a potential A' binder, the extraction of a non-theta marked element such as an adjunct from the domain of negation yields the structure deviant since the extracted element cannot govern its trace due to the presence of a closer potential binder which is negation in the structure.

To summarize, Rizzi (1990) observes that in some kinds of structures certain elements block extraction of other elements. The intervening elements we discussed above are quantificational adverbials and negation. We will see below that quantificational elements such as quantifiers, negation and focus have been observed

to have intervention effects even in constructions where there is no overt extraction of a wh-phrase in languages other than English and French.

## 2.2 Beck (1996)

Beck (1996) investigates certain types of wh-constructions in German and proposes a restriction, the *Minimal Quantified Structure Constraint*. The basic claim of this study is that an expression with an inherent quantificational force blocks LF movement of the wh-in-situ phrase. The paradigm of the constructions under investigation is represented below.

- (10) a. <sup>??</sup>Was glaubt niemand *wen* Karl gesehen hat?  
what believes nobody whom Karl seen has  
'Who does nobody believe that Karl saw?'
- b. <sup>??</sup>Wen hat niemand *wo* gesehen?  
whom has nobody where seen  
'Where did nobody see whom?'
- c. <sup>??</sup>Wen hat niemand *alles* gesehen?  
whom has nobody all seen  
'Who-all did nobody see?'
- d. <sup>??</sup>Wen hat keine Studentin *von den Musikern* getroffen?  
whom has no student of the musicians met  
'Which of the musicians did no student meet?'

(Beck 1996: 3)

(10a) is a scope-marking construction where a semantically empty wh-phrase *was* ‘what’ marks the scope of the in-situ wh-phrase *wen* ‘who-acc’, (10b) is a multiple question with two wh-phrases *wen* ‘who-acc’ and *wo* ‘where’, (10c) is a *w-alles* construction where the moved wh-phrase and *alles* ‘all’ are interpreted as if they were together (cf. the translation), and (10d) has an in-situ part, *von den Musikern*, that belongs to the restriction of the wh-phrase; again they are interpreted as if they were together. Each of the constructions involves an expression that is left in-situ at Surface Structure. These expressions are all preceded by a negative quantifier.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, Beck (1996) shows that when the negative quantifier subject is replaced by a proper noun, these structures become grammatical. (11) below is a representative example, contrasting with (10a).

- (11) Was glaubt Luise *wen* Karl gesehen hat?  
 what believes Luise whom Karl seen has  
 ‘Who does Luise believe that Karl saw?’

(Beck 1996: 4)

Beck (1996) explains the contrast in acceptability as in the following: the in-situ constituents in (10) have to move at LF. However, the presence of an intervening negation -the negative quantifier in the subject position- between a moved wh-phrase and its LF trace yields uninterpretability. Beck (1996) proposes the following generalization.

- (12) An intervening negation blocks LF movement.

(Beck 1996: 12)

The generalization above rules out structures that have the configuration in (13).

(13)  $[X_k \dots [\text{Neg} [\dots t_k^{\text{LF}} \dots]] \dots]$  (Beck 1996: 12)

Beck puts forward the definitions below to account for the uninterpretability in structures illustrated in (10).

(14) *Negation-Induced Barrier (NIB):*

The first node that dominates a negative quantifier, its restriction, and its nuclear scope is a Negation-Induced Barrier (NIB).

(15) *Minimal Negative Structure Constraint (MNSC):*

If an LF trace  $\beta$  is dominated by a NIB  $\alpha$ , then the binder of  $\beta$  must also be dominated by  $\alpha$ .

(Beck 1996: 15)

(16) presents LF representations of the constructions in (10).

- (16) a.  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{wen}_k [_{\text{C}} \text{C}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{niemand glaubt } [t_k^{\text{LF}} \text{Karl } t_k \text{gesehen hat}]]]]$   
b.  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{wen}_j \text{wo}_k [_{\text{C}} \text{C}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{niemand } t_j t_k^{\text{LF}} \text{gesehen hat}]]]]$   
c.  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{alles}_k [_{\text{CP}} \text{wen}_j [_{\text{C}} \text{C}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{niemand } t_j t_k^{\text{LF}} \text{gesehen hat}]]]]$   
d.  $[_{\text{CP}} [\text{wen}_j [ \text{von de Musikern}]_k] [_{\text{C}} \text{C}^0 [_{\text{IP}} \text{keine Studentin } t_j t_k^{\text{LF}} \text{getroffen hat}]]]]$

(Beck 1996: 12)

As an example, let me explain why (16a) violates MNSC. In (16a) the negative quantifier *niemand* induces a NIB. The LF trace  $t_k^{\text{LF}}$  of *wen* is dominated by this NIB, but the binder of this trace is not. The rest of the LF configurations violate MNSC in a similar way.

Beck (1996) points out that her work is close to Rizzi (1990)'s Relativized Minimality in that negation acts as a kind of barrier for certain kinds of movement in both studies. However, her analysis is different in the sense that MNSC applies to LF traces only whereas Relativized Minimality applies to s-structural traces.

Beck further observes that it is not only negative expressions that create intervention effects in German. Consider the following examples:

- (17) a. ?? *Wen* hat Karl *selten* alles gefüttert?  
whom has Karl rarely all fed  
'Who-all did Karl rarely feed?'
- b. ?? *Wen* hat *nur* Karl wo getroffen?  
whom has only Karl where met  
'Who did only Karl meet where?'
- c. ?? *Was* glaubt *fast jeder* wen Karl gesehen hat?  
what believes almost everyone whom Karl seen has  
'Who does almost everyone believe that Karl saw?'

(Beck 1996: 30)

In (17a) the adverb *selten* 'rarely' c-commands the wh-in-situ phrase, and the structure is ungrammatical. As for (17b), Beck (1996) notes that the element *nur* 'only' can be characterized as 'negative' in some sense, therefore she argues that it is among problematic interveners in German. In (17c), on the other hand, it is the quantificational expression *fast jeder* 'almost everyone' which appears to the left of the wh-in-situ phrase. All these expressions are shown to induce intervention effects.

As for the quantifier *jeder* 'every', she observes that an intervening *jeder* 'every' gives rise to unambiguity rather than ungrammaticality since among other quantifiers it is the only quantifier that can have a pair-list reading in questions.

Consider the following example:

(18) a. Was glaubt *jeder* wen Karl gesehen hat?

what believes everyone whom Karl seen has

‘Who does everyone believe that Karl saw?’

(i) For each person  $x$ : who does  $x$  believe that Karl saw?

(ii) \*For which  $x$ ,  $x$  a person: everyone believes that Karl saw  $x$ .

(Beck 1996: 12)

That the sentence given in (18), unlike those in (17), is grammatical is due to the fact that *jeder* ‘every’ can induce a pair list reading as given in (i). However, from the absence of a non-distributive reading in (ii), Beck (1996) concludes that *jeder* ‘every’ does indeed induce intervention effects.<sup>2</sup>

Based on the examples above, Beck (1996) argues that the class of interveners is broader than just negative expressions and it, in fact, consists of inherently quantified expressions in general. She proposes the following generalization.

(19) Quantifiers block LF movement.

(Beck 1996: 38)

The generalization is formalized in the following definitions.

(20) *Quantifier-Induced Barrier (QUIB)*:

The first node that dominates a quantifier, its restriction, and its nuclear scope is a Quantifier-Induced Barrier (NIB).

(21) *Minimal Quantified Structure Constraint (MQSC)*:

If an LF trace  $\beta$  is dominated by a QUIB  $\alpha$ , then the binder of  $\beta$  must also be dominated by  $\alpha$ .

(Beck 1996: 38)

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<sup>2</sup> cf. Beck (1996) for a detailed discussion of the available readings and also for a discussion whether indefinites are interveners, as well.

Beck argues that MQSC is a definition for all quantified expressions, including negative expressions. Therefore, we do not need to have MNSC which was previously proposed for negative expressions.

Now let us show how MQSC explains the examples above. LF representation of (17c) is provided in (22).

(22) [<sub>CP</sub> wen<sub>k</sub> [<sub>C</sub> C<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> fast jeder glaubt [<sub>t<sub>k</sub></sub><sup>LF</sup> Karl t<sub>k</sub> gesehen hat]]]]

(Beck 1996: 39)

The IP projection that dominates *fast jeder* ‘almost every’ is a QUIB which intervenes between the wh-in-situ expression *wen* ‘who’ and its trace. MQSC rules out this structure.

In sum, Beck (1996) proposes a general principle that operates at LF to express a syntactic constraint. A class of interveners that are inherently quantified expressions are claimed to block LF movement of wh-in-situ phrases. Hence, a wh-in-situ must not be c-commanded by any of those expressions, otherwise the structure is out.

In the following section, I will show how Beck and Kim (1997) analyze Korean data with respect to the interaction between negation and wh-in-situ phrases.

### 2.3 Beck and Kim (1997)

Beck and Kim (1997) investigate the interaction of negation and wh-in-situ phrases in Korean to see whether Minimal Negative Structure Constraint (MNSC), which is proposed in Beck (1996) for German, holds for Korean or not. To begin with, they identify syntactic resemblances between German and Korean.



It is stated that both languages have a relatively free word order which is derived via scrambling. Korean data are given below.

(23) a. Suna-ka muôs-ûl ilk-ôss-ni?  
Suna-Nom what-Acc read-Past-Q  
'What did Suna read?'

b. Muôs-ûl Suna-ka ilk-ôss-ni?  
what-Acc Suna-Nom read-Past-Q  
'What did Suna read?'

(Beck & Kim 1997: 341)

(23a) shows the unmarked word order of a wh-question with the subject preceding the object wh-phrase. In (23b) the object wh-phrase is scrambled to the sentence initial position. Now consider the negated Korean examples below.

(24) a. \*Amuto muôs-ûl ilk-chi anh-ass-ni?  
anyone what-Acc read-CHI not do-Past-Q

b. Muôs-ûl amuto ilk-chi anh-ass-ni?  
what-Acc anyone read-CHI not-do-past Q  
'What did no one read?'

(Beck & Kim 1997:341)

In (24a), which has the unmarked word order, negative polarity item subject *amuto* 'anyone' c-commands the wh-phrase object and the structure is ungrammatical. However, the scrambled version in which the wh-phrase appears to the left of the negative polarity item is well formed. Recall that this configuration is strongly reminiscent of German data. After testing all other wh-phrases, Beck and Kim (1997),

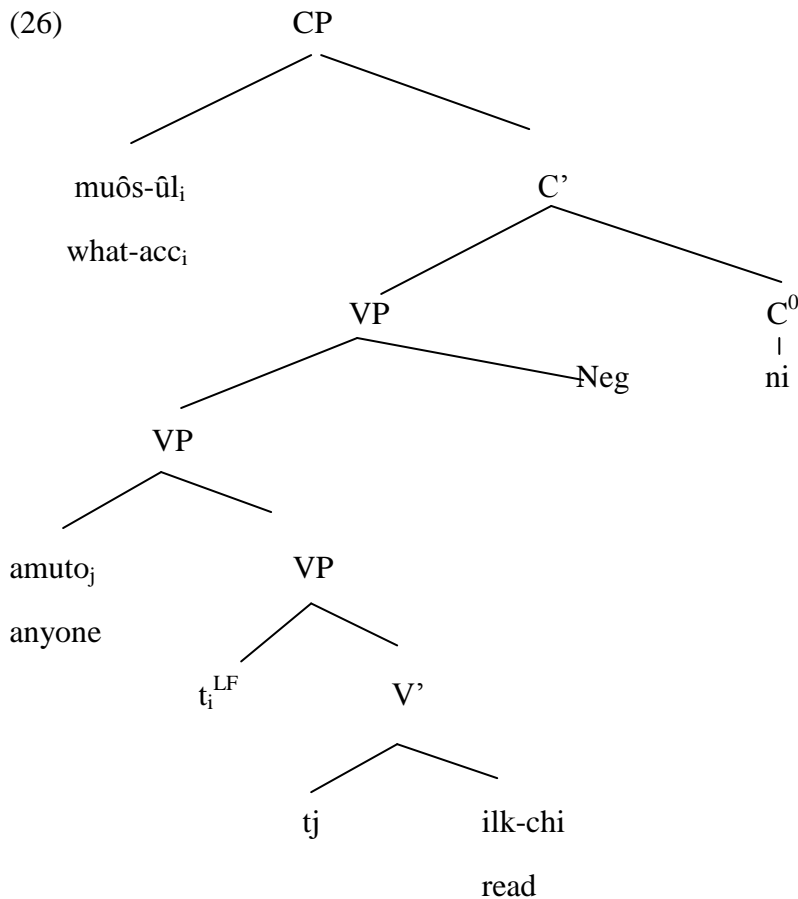
following Beck (1996), propose the generalization below to exclude structures like in (24a).

(25) \* [...[NPI [...*wh-phrase*...]]...Q]

(Beck & Kim 1997:343)

(25) indicates that a *wh-phrase* cannot be c-commanded by an NPI at Surface Structure. Note that in both German and Korean the intervener is the Negative Operator. The difference between German examples and Korean examples is that in German the intervener was claimed to be the negation expressed by the negative quantifier whereas in Korean it is the negation that has to bind, thus, c-command the NPI. Beck and Kim (1997) assume that NPIs have to be licensed by an abstract Neg Op and the Neg Op has to c-command the NPI at LF. Besides, the Neg Op is argued to be able to adjoin to any VP projection in Korean.

The LF representation of (24a) is given in (26) below.



(Beck & Kim 1997: 354)

In (26) the LF representation reflects Beck and Kim (1997)'s assumption that the Neg Op that licenses the NPI has to adjoin to a VP projection. The question word *muosul* 'what' needs to move at LF to a higher position where it can take scope over the proposition. When it moves, it leaves an LF trace inside the scope of negation which blocks the relation between that trace and its binder, the wh-phrase. Therefore, it violates the MNSC that is proposed in Beck (1996). The definitions are repeated below.

(27) *Negation-Induced Barrier (NIB):*

The first node that dominates a negative quantifier, its restriction, and its nuclear scope is a Negation-Induced Barrier (NIB).

(28) *Minimal Negative Structure Constraint (MNSC):*

If an LF trace  $\beta$  is dominated by a NIB  $\alpha$ , then the binder of  $\beta$  must also be dominated by  $\alpha$ .

(Beck & Kim 1997: 355)

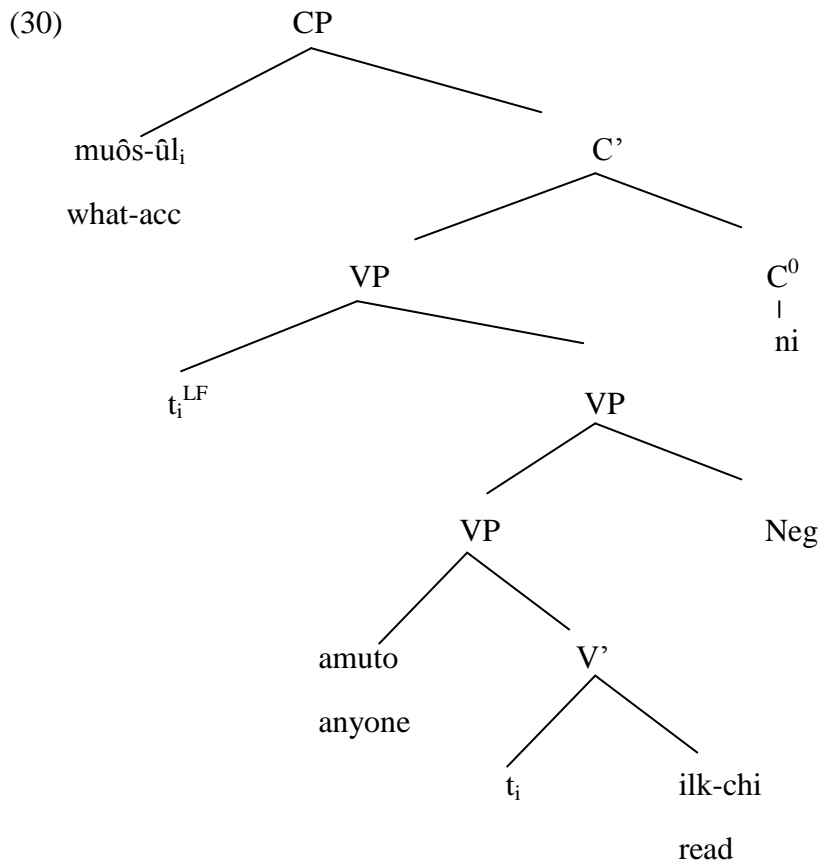
Following the definition above, Beck and Kim (1997) suggest that the reason for the ungrammaticality in (24a) is the lack of an interpretable LF in the structure. The grammatical counterpart of (24a) is repeated in (29) below.

(29) Muôs-ûl amuto ilk-chi anh-ass-ni?  
what-Acc anyone read-CHI not-do-past Q  
'What did no one read?'

(Beck & Kim 1997:341)

They assume that *muosul* 'what-acc' in (29) has scrambled from its base position, and adjoined to VP. Thus, it moves from that position to Spec, CP at LF. Hence, the trace created at LF is higher than the base position of the wh-phrase, as shown in (30) below.

The LF representation of (29) is given below.



(Beck & Kim 1997: 354)

In this LF, the LF-trace of the wh-phrase is outside the NIB created by the Neg Operator. In other words, the LF trace and its binder are not separated by negation. Hence, the structure does not violate the MNSC.

Recall that Beck (1996) observes that other quantifiers seem to have an effect similar to that of negation in German and proposes MQSC for all quantified expressions including the negative quantifier. MQSC is repeated below.

(31) *Quantifier-Induced Barrier (QUIB):*

The first node that dominates a quantifier, its restriction, and its nuclear scope is a Quantifier-Induced Barrier (NIB).

(32) *Minimal Quantified Structure Constraint (MQSC):*

If an LF trace  $\beta$  is dominated by a QUIB  $\alpha$ , then the binder of  $\beta$  must also be dominated by  $\alpha$ .

(Beck & Kim 1997:355)

Beck and Kim (1997) examine QUIB inducing expressions they identified for German to test whether QUIB applies to Korean as well. They conclude that focus phrases with the particles *only* and *also*, and the universal quantifier *every* are interveners in Korean. The following examples are taken from Beck and Kim (1997).

(33) a. \*Minsu-man nuku-lûl po-ass-ni?

Minsu-only who-Acc see-Past-Q

b. \*Minsu-to nuku-lûl po-ass-ni?

Minsu-also who-Acc see-Past-Q

c. ?Nukuna-ka ônû kyosu-lûl chonkyôngha-ni?

everyone-Nom which professor-Acc respect

c'. For which x, x a professor: everyone respects x.

(Beck & Kim 1997:370)

Examples above indicate that focus phrases with the particles *only* and *also* behave as interveners. The universal quantifier is also an intervener as it induces only a single answer reading given in (33c'), but no pair list reading.

On the other hand, they show that other quantificational elements such as *most+NP*, *always*, and *often* do not induce a barrier as shown below.

(34) a. Taepupun-ûi haksæng-tûl-I ònû kyosu-lûl chonkyôngha-ni?  
 most-Gen student-PL-Nom which professor-ACC respect-Q

b. Minsu-nûn hangsang nuku-lûl p'ati-e teliko ka-ss-ni?  
 Minsu-Top always who-Acc party-Dir take-Past-Q

(35) a. Mira-ka chachu ch'aek myôch' kwôn-ûl hakkyo-e kachiko ka-ss-ni?  
 Mira-Nom often book how many CL-Acc school-Dir take-Past-Q

a'. For which n: it is often the case that Mira took n books to school.

b. Mira-ka ch'aek myôch' kwôn-ûl chach hakkyo-e kachiko ka-ss-ni?  
 Mira-Nom book how many CL-Acc often school-Dir take-Past-Q

b'. For which n: there are n books which Mira often took to school

(Beck & Kim 1997:372)

It is clearly shown in (34) and (35) that in Korean it is not the full class of quantified expressions that block LF movement of the wh-phrase.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the resemblance of German and Korean data of this kind, they argue that in both languages it is possible to identify intended scope orderings via S-Structure linear order. It might not be a coincidence to observe the same restriction, MNSC, applicable in both languages which have scrambling in common. Thus, it is suggested that MNSC or MQSC might be observable in other scrambling languages

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<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in (35) even though the presence of the quantificational element *chachu* 'often' does not block the movement of *myôch* 'how many', its relative order to the wh-phrase creates an interpretational difference. Beck and Kim suggest that linear order determines the relative scope of the indefinite part of the *how many* and the adverb.

as well. Turkish and Hindi are among the languages that they suggest to show MNSC effects. Below you can find their examples from Turkish.

(36) a. \*Kimse kim-i gör-me-di?  
anyone who-Acc see-Neg-Past

b. Kim-i kimse gör-me-di?  
who-Acc anyone see-Neg-Past  
'Who did nobody see?'

(37) a. \* Can kimse-ye hangi resim-ler-i göster-me-di?  
John anyone-Dat which picture-PL-Acc show-Neg-Past

b. Can hangi resim-ler-i kimse-ye göster-me-di?  
John which picture-PL-Acc anyone-Dat show-Neg-part  
'Which pictures didn't John show anyone?'

(Beck & Kim 1997:378)

In the examples above, the NPIs that appear to the left of the wh-phrases render the structures unacceptable. Therefore, Turkish is argued to be sensitive to MNSC, similar to Korean.

To summarize, based on the analysis of German data in Beck (1996), Beck and Kim (1997) present the interaction of wh-phrases and negation in Korean. They argue that the presence of a negative polarity item to the left of the wh-phrase rules out the structure. Hence, similar to German, Korean is claimed to be sensitive to a restriction that forbids LF movement across negation, MNSC. On the other hand, it is shown that not all quantified expressions in Korean induce intervention effects. The argumentation on the availability of MNSC and MQSC in other wh-in-situ and



scrambling languages is one of the reasons that has led me to analyze Turkish which is both a scrambling and wh-in-situ language as well.

Having presented Beck and Kim's (1997) analysis on Korean intervention data, let me now present Kim's (2002) proposal on the natural class of interveners in Korean and the syntactic analysis that she suggests to explain intervention effects.

#### 2.4 Kim (2002)

Kim (2002) proposes that interveners in wh-questions are not quantified expressions in general, as has been proposed in Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997), but they are focus phrases. Consider her examples below.

(38) a. \*Minsu-man nuku-lûl<sub>i</sub> manna-ss-ni?

Minsu-only who-acc meet-Past-Q

b. \*MINSU-ka nuku-lûl p'ati-e ch'otaeha-ôss-ni?

Minsu-Nom who-Acc party-to invite-Past-Q

c. \*Amuto muôs-ûl sa-chi anh-ass-ni?

anyone what-Acc buy-CHI not do-Past-Q

In (38a) the focus phrase *Minsu-man* 'only' c-commands the wh-in-situ and the structure is ungrammatical. In (38b) Kim shows that focus phrases even without any focus particle act as interveners in Korean. On the other hand, it is the NPI c-commanding the wh-in-situ phrase that creates ungrammaticality in (38c). These observations lead Kim to search for a natural class of interveners and she proposes that what Korean interveners have in common is that they are all focused phrases.

The question this proposal has to answer is why NPIs should be considered focus phrases. For this, Kim refers to Lahiri's (1998) work on Hindi NPIs. Lahiri (1998) observes that NPIs in Hindi are morphologically made up of an indefinite existential or a weak predicate and a focus particle *'bhii'* which means *'also'* or *'even'*. Let me present the following examples of Hindi NPIs.

(39)	eh bhii	'anyone, even one'	ek	'one'
	koi bhii	'anyone, any (count)'	koi	'someone'
	kuch bhii	'anything, any (mass)'	kuch	'something'
	kabhii bhii	'anytime, ever'	kabhii	'sometime'
	kahiiN bhii	'anywhere'	kahiiN	'somewhere'

(Kim 2002: 17)

Kim (2002) shows that NPIs in Korean have a very similar structure to Hindi NPIs.

This is illustrated in (40) and (41).

(40) indefinite+*to* 'also/even'

a. han salam-to an o-ass-ta.

one person-even not come-past-dec

'No one came.'

b. amu-to kû ch'aek-ûl ilk-chi anh-ass-ta

any-even that-book-acc read-CHI not do-past-Dec

'No one read that book.'

c. Suna-nûn amu-to an manna-ss-ta.

Suna-Top any-even not meet-past-dec

'Suna didn't meet anyone.'

(Kim 2002: (19))

- (41) *wh+to* ‘also/even’
- a. Suna-nûn nuku-to          an    manna-ss-ta.  
 Suna-Top who-also/even not meet-past-dec  
 ‘Suna didn’t meet anyone.’
- b. Suna-nûn ônû    haksæng-eke-to          kû ch’aek-ûl  
 Suna-Top which student-dat-also/even that book-acc  
 chu-chi    anh-ass-ta.  
 give-CHI not do-past-dec  
 ‘Suna didn’t give the book to any student.’

(Kim 2002: (20))

Korean exhibits two types of negative polarity above. One is based on an indefinite expression given in (40) and the other is based on a *wh*-pronoun given in (41). What these two types have in common is the scalar focus particle *to* meaning ‘also, even’. Given this similarity, Kim (2002) claims that what Lahiri (1998) suggests for Hindi NPIs can be applied to Korean NPIs as well in that NPIs can be treated as focus phrases in both languages.

Kim also presents examples from Mandarin Chinese, another *wh*-in-situ language. In Mandarin Chinese ordinary quantifier NPs, frequency adverbials, and negation do not show intervention effects as given below.

- (42) a. meigeren dou mai-le    shenme?  
 everyone all buy-ASP what  
 ‘What did everyone buy?’

b. Zhangsan changchang mai shenme?

Zhangsan often buy what

‘What does Zhangsan often buy?’

c. Zhangsan bu xiang mai shenme?

Zhangsan not want buy what

‘What doesn’t Zhangsan want to buy?’

(Kim 2002: (24))

Focus phrases and NPIs, on the other hand, do function as interveners, as shown in (43). In (43), focus phrases with particles *ye* ‘also’, *lian* ‘even’, and *zhiyou* ‘only’ and the NPI *shei ye* ‘who also’ show intervention effects. The NPI *shei ye* ‘who also’ given in (43d) means ‘anyone’ and it has the same morphological structure as the second type of the Korean NPIs ‘*wh+to* ‘also’ given in (41). Thus, Mandarin Chinese data support the proposal that NPIs are focus phrases.

(43) a. ? Lili ye kan-le na-ben shu?

Lili also read-ASP which-CL book

‘Which book did Lili, too, read?’

b. ??lian Lili ye kan de dong na-ben shu?

even Lili also read DE understand which-CL book

‘Which book could even Lili understand?’

c. ?\*zhiyou Lili kan-le na-ben shu?

Only Lili read-ASP which-CL book

‘Which book did only Lili read?’

- d. \*shei ye kan bu dong na-ben shu?  
 who also read not understand which-CL book  
 ‘Which book could no one understand?’

(Kim 2002: (25))

Kim further shows that Malayalam exhibits a similar pattern to Korean and Mandarin Chinese. The examples are given below.

- (44) a. ellaawarum eetə pustakam-aanə waayicc-atə?  
 everyone which book-be read-nmz  
 ‘Which book did everyone read?’

- b. \*Lili-maatram eetə pustakam-aanə waayicc-atə?  
 Lili-only which book-be read-nmz

- c. \*aarum eetə pustakam-aanə waayikk-aa-te irunn-atə?  
 anyone which book-be read-neg-aug-nmz  
 ‘Which book did no one read?’

(Kim 2002: (25))

In (44a) the universal quantifier does not induce intervention effects for wh-in-situ, but the f-phrase in (44b) and the NPI in (44c) do. The NPI in (44c) is made up of the wh-word *aar* ‘who’ and the particle *um* ‘also’ similar to Hindi and Korean NPIs.

To summarize, Kim (2002) shows that Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam NPIs share a common property in that they are morphologically made up of an indefinite expression or a wh-expression and a focus particle meaning ‘also, even’. The presence of the focus particle inside the NPI leads Kim (2002) to propose that NPIs in these languages can be analyzed as focus phrases similar to their Hindi

counterparts. Therefore, she claims that the core set of interveners consists of focus phrases, and any focus phrase intervening between the interrogative C and wh-in-situ creates intervention effects.

Recall that Beck and Kim (1997) base their proposal of intervention effects on LF movement of wh-in-situ to an operator position in SpecC for semantic reasons. Kim (2002) abandons the LF-movement analysis of wh-in-situ, and adopts instead Pesetsky's (1999) alternative formulation which is given below.

(45) Intervention Effect (Pesetsky 1999: 88)

A semantic restriction on a quantifier (including wh) may not be separated from that quantifier by a scope-bearing element.

(Kim 2002: 20)

Pesetsky's (1999) formulation assumes that there is no LF movement of wh-phrases. To interpret wh-in-situ without LF movement, Kim refers to Reinhart's (1997, 1998) choice function analysis in which a wh-expression is interpreted as a choice function variable which is long-distance bound by the interrogative existential Q operator in SpecCP. Hence, LF movement is not a requirement in this case. The description of choice functions is given in (46).

(46) 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)

Assuming Reinhart's choice function analysis, Kim (2002) proposes the following generalization.

(47) If a wh-in-situ  $\alpha$  is c-commanded by a focus-phrase  $\beta$ , then the Q-Operator binding  $\alpha$  must also be c-commanded by  $\beta$ . (Kim 2002: 25)

(47) implies that a focus phrase may not intervene between a Q-operator and the wh-in-situ that is bound by that operator and it excludes structures that have the following configuration.

(48) \* $[_{CP} Q_i [_{IP} \dots \text{FocP} \dots \text{wh}_i \dots]]$  (Kim 2002: 25)

Consider the following examples from Kim (2002) to show how (48) applies to Korean data.

(49) a. \* $[_{CP} Q_i [_{IP} \text{Minsu-man nuku-l\u016bl}_i \text{manna-ss}]_{ni}]?$   
 Minsu-only who-Acc meet-Past-Q

b.  $[_{CP} Q_i [_{IP} \text{nuku-l\u016bl}_i [_{IP} \text{Minsu-man t manna-ss}]_{ni}]?$   
 who-Acc Minsu-only meet-Past-Q

(Kim 2002: 25)

In (49a) the focus phrase *Minsu-man* ‘only Minsu’ intervenes between the Q-operator and the wh-in-situ, hence the structure is out. On the other hand, there is no intervening focus phrase in (49b).

To sum up, Kim (2002) argues that what creates intervention effects is not negation or quantifiers, but focus phrases in general. Following Reinhart’s analysis of wh-in-situ, she proposes that a focus phrase may not intervene between a Q operator and the wh-in-situ that is bound by that operator; otherwise the structure is uninterpretable.

## 2.5 Beck (2006)

Beck (2006) builds on Kim's (2002) proposal that it is focus that creates intervention effects and she provides a formal semantic analysis that explains why focus is the intervener.

To achieve this, she exploits Rooth's (1992) semantic analysis of questions and focus phrases. Rooth (1985, 1992) suggests that sentences with a focus phrase have two semantic objects: the ordinary semantic value and the focus semantic value. Consider the following example.

(50) a. [John]<sub>F</sub> left. (Beck 2006:11)

The sentence in (50), in which the subject NP 'John' is a focused phrase, evokes two potential readings. The first one is a single proposition which is given in (51a) and its informal representation in (51b).

(51) a.  $\lambda w. \text{John left in } w$   
b. that John left (Beck 2006:11)

In addition to this single proposition, the sentence in (51) also introduces a set of alternative propositions obtained by replacing the focused constituent with an alternative of the same kind. This focus semantic value of the proposition is given in (52).

(52) a. {that John left, that Bill left, that Amelie left,...}  
b. {that x left | x is an individual}  
c.  $\lambda p \exists x [p = \lambda w. x \text{ left in } w]$  (Beck 2006:11)



Now let me show how interrogative sentences are analyzed semantically. Beck notes that according to standard semantic analysis of questions (Hamblin 1973), the denotation of a question is a set of propositions corresponding to potential answers to the question. The following example is taken from Beck (2006).

(53) Who left?

- (54) a. {that John left, that Bill left, that Amelie left,...}  
b. {that x left | x is an individual}  
c.  $\lambda p \exists x [p = \lambda w. x \text{ left in } w]$

(Beck 2006:12)

(53) is the interrogative that denotes a set of potential answers as given in (54a) and in more formal terms in (54b) and (54c). The denotation of the interrogative is the set of answers to that question. Note that the focus semantic value of an ordinary sentence is identical to the ordinary meaning of a question (cf. (52a) and (54a)).

Based on the analogy between wh-phrases and focus phrases, Beck proposes that wh-phrases and focus phrases are interpreted via the same interpretational mechanism as both introduce a set of alternatives. While introducing alternatives is one of the two interpretations of focus phrases that entail a single proposition, it is the only semantic role of wh-phrases. This suggests that wh-phrases have a well-defined focus semantic value but its ordinary semantic value is undefined.

Beck (2006) argues that as the Q-operator co-occurs with structures that have a well-defined ordinary semantics, it saves this kind of structures from total undefiniteness by raising the focus semantic value of the sentence to the ordinary semantics. Consider the following:

(55) [Q [who left]]

(Beck 2006:12)

(55) represents the LF representation of (53). The semantics of the Q operator lifts the focus semantic value of its sister to the level of ordinary semantics.

Now that we understand how interrogatives are analyzed semantically, Beck discusses the effects of the contribution of a focus phrase in the structure. She assumes that the presence of a focused phrase changes the evaluation of the structure since the presence of focus requires focus semantic values enter into the computation. She claims that a problem arises when a focus operator lands inside the scope of Q operator because the focus phrase needs to have a Foc Op so as to be evaluated. This situation is schematized below.

(56) [Q ... [Op [ $\phi$  ... XP<sub>FP</sub>... wh...]]]

(Beck 2006:14)

In the configuration above, Op stands for the Focus Operator (FocOp). FocOp, which is below the Q operator in the structure, takes all focus taking elements into its scope, including the wh-phrase, and reduces their semantics to ordinary semantics. However, wh-phrases do not have ordinary semantics in the absence of a Q-operator so the structure crashes because the sister of the Q-operator has neither a well-defined ordinary nor a well-defined focus semantic value. In Rooth's terms, the  $\sim$  operator evaluates all foci unselectively and resets focus-sensitive operators to ordinary semantics and this operation makes wh-phrases uninterpretable. What causes this uninterpretability?

Beck defines this notion as presented below:

(57) Principle of Interpretability:<sup>4</sup>

An LF must have an ordinary semantic value.

(Beck 2006:16)

Thus, the LF structures that do not have ordinary semantic values are uninterpretable.

The generalization explaining the uninterpretability is shown in (58):

(58) (G) Generalization: A wh-phrase may not have a ~ operator as its closest c-commanding potential binder.

(Beck 2006: 17)

The generalization above suggests that any intervening focus-sensitive operator between a wh-phrase and its associated Q-operator renders the structure uninterpretable. Moreover, Beck suggests that similar to the instances where wh-phrases and focus phrases co-occur, ~ operator is an intervener in any environment where alternative semantics is used. The property of ~ operator is unselectively resetting of focus semantic values in wh-constructions. That is why intervention effects are expected to be observed in other focus-related constructions as well. For this prediction Beck proposes the following.

(59) (M) General Minimality Effect

The evaluation of alternatives introduced by an XP cannot skip an intervening ~ operator.

\*[Op<sub>1</sub> ... [~C [φ ... XP<sub>1</sub> ...]]]

(Beck 2006:17)

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<sup>4</sup> See Beck (2006:16) for a detailed explanation how the ordinary and focus semantic values of constituents are computed in a wh-question with a focus phrase.

Since it is the focus alternatives that cause an intervention effect in a sentence, Beck searches for other constructions which have focus related operators as well. These constructions are multiple questions, focus evaluation out of questions and multiple focus. I will not discuss those cases as they are beyond the scope of this study.

To summarize, Beck (2006) develops a semantic analysis of intervention effects which is tied to the evaluation of focus in the structure. Her analysis relies on the assumption that *wh*-phrases and focus phrases are interpreted via the same mechanism. In the system of compositional interpretation *wh*-phrases play the same role as focus phrases do in the sense that both introduce alternatives into the computation. However, unlike focus phrases, *wh*-phrases do not have any ordinary semantic interpretation. An intervention effect is argued to arise whenever a focus-sensitive operator other than the Q operator tries to evaluate a *wh*-constituent. Thus, a *wh*-constituent may never have a focus-sensitive operator other than the Q operator as its closest c-commanding potential binder. Beck argues that this semantic analysis is superior to previous accounts as it captures both universality and cross-linguistic variety of intervention data.

## 2.6 Kim (2006)

Similar to Beck (2006), Kim (2006) presents an analysis which is based on the evaluation of focus alternatives. Different from Beck (2006), Kim (2006) presents evidence for syntactic and phonological similarities between focus and *wh*-phrases. She further provides a syntactic analysis based on feature checking to explain intervention effects.

Regarding syntactic similarities, it is argued that wh-phrases in some languages such as Hungarian, Chadic and Malayalam, bear a focus feature that makes them target the same position as other focused constituents.

Moreover, both focus and wh-phrases are observed to be insensitive to island effects in English. Consider the examples below.

- (60) a. Dr. Stevenson only rejected the proposal that [John]<sub>F</sub> submitted.  
b. Dr. Stevenson rejected the proposal that no student/almost every student submitted.  
c. Tell me who rejected the proposal that who submitted.

(Kim 2006:21)

In the example above, it is seen that the focus phrase in (60a) and the wh-phrase in (60c) can take scope over the entire utterance; however, the quantifier phrase in (60b) cannot.

As a phonological similarity, a wh-element is claimed to carry a pitch accent like focused phrases. Otherwise, a wh-in-situ receives an indefinite reading as opposed to a question word meaning in many languages such as Korean and German. Consider the example below.

- (61) a. Wer hat WAS gelesen?  
Who has what read?  
'Who read what?'
- b. Wer hat was gelesen?  
Who has what read?  
'Who read something/anything?'

(Kim 2006:22)

In (61a) *was* ‘what’ receives focal stress and is interpreted as a wh-phrase, whereas in (61b) it doesn’t receive focal stress and is interpreted as an indefinite. Therefore, Kim (2006) suggests that wh-phrases and focus phrases have similar prosodic properties. Kim provides similar examples from Korean.

As for the semantic similarity between the two groups, Kim (2006) refers to Rooth’s (1992) analysis of questions and focus phrases as involving alternative semantics.

Having established that wh-phrases share properties with focus phrases, Kim formulates this observation in a minimalist syntactic analysis. She adopts Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) framework, and assumes that wh-phrases bear features that can be checked by long-distance Agree. Thus, wh-phrases do not have to move to Spec, CP at LF. According to Chomsky (2000, 2001), Agree operation has the following properties.

(62) (i) Agree between a probe P and a goal G is based on the relation Matching under the locality condition of closest c-command, where Matching is a feature identity.

(ii) Agree deletes the uninterpretable features of P and G, allowing derivations to converge at LF.

(Kim 2006:39)

Following Chomsky’s proposal, Kim assumes that a wh-phrase has an uninterpretable [wh] feature and an interpretable [Q] feature but the interrogative complementizer has an uninterpretable [Q] feature. Different from Chomsky’s proposal, Kim argues for an account that incorporates the similarities between wh-

phrases and focus phrases. She proposes a focus feature for the wh-phrase and the wh-operator. Below you can see the difference between these proposals.

(63) Chomsky (2000)

a. probe: [ $uQ$ ] in C

b. goal: [ $iQ, uwh$ ] in wh-phrase (Kim 2006:40)

(64) Kim's (2006) proposal

a. probe: [ $iQ, iF$ ] in C

b. goal: [ $uQ, uF$ ] in wh-phrase (must be valued by C)

c. The probe must have a complete set of features matching those of the goal in order to delete its uninterpretable features (= Maximize Matching Effects proposed by Chomsky 2001)

(Kim 2006:41)

In a wh-question with an intervening focus phrase, the relative ordering of an interrogative C, focus phrase and an in-situ wh-phrase is as in the following:

(65) \* $[_{CP} C_{[iQ, iF]} [ \dots Foc_{[iF]} \dots [ \dots wh_{[uQ, uF]} \dots ] ] ] ]$

(Kim 2006:42)

In this configuration, the wh-phrase has uninterpretable [ $uQ, uF$ ] features that need to be checked against the interpretable features of an operator. Only the Q operator has all the features available that can delete the uninterpretable features of the wh-in-situ. The intervening focus operator has an interpretable focus feature to check uninterpretable focus feature of the wh-phrase; however, it does not have the  $iQ$  feature. Therefore, the Focus operator cannot be in Agree relation with the wh-phrase so it induces an intervention effect. Consequently, Kim (2006) shows that a wh-

phrase that does not have a Q operator as its closest c-commanding operator is uninterpretable.

To summarize, Beck (2006) provides a semantic analysis that attributes uninterpretability in intervention structures to the failure of a wh-question to be assigned an ordinary semantic value.

Kim (2006), on the other hand, proposes a syntactic analysis that attributes uninterpretability in these structures to the failure of a wh-phrase to check its uninterpretable [Q] feature.



## CHAPTER 3

### WH-QUESTIONS AND POTENTIAL INTERVENERS IN TURKISH

So far, I have reviewed previous accounts for intervention effects in wh-questions. The present chapter provides a brief survey of theoretical analyses of wh-questions in Turkish as well as analyses of NPIs, quantifiers and focus phrases, which are potential interveners in wh-questions. The aim of this survey is to familiarize the reader with the properties of these items identified in theoretical studies, and thus, establish a basis for the analysis and implications discussed in the following chapters.

#### 3.1 Wh-Questions in Turkish

Akar (1990) investigates simplex wh-questions and accounts for the properties of wh-constructions in Turkish. She shows that, unlike their English counterparts, wh-phrases in Turkish do not move obligatorily to sentence initial position. Nevertheless, they can take matrix clause under their scope even when they appear inside of an embedded clause. Based on this observation, Akar (1990) proposes that Turkish wh-phrases do not move at Surface Structure but they undergo a movement rule at the level of Logical Form which confirms Huang (1982)'s LF wh-movement analysis.

Akar (1990) also discusses the restrictions that apply for NP-scrambling to sentence initial, sentence final and immediately preverbal positions and explores wh-constructions in which a wh-phrase does not appear in-situ. She proposes Q-

Placement and Q-Scrambling rules which account for the unmarked position of a wh-phrase as well as other possible positions in which it may appear in a sentence. She argues that the rules that apply for scrambling of wh-phrases exhibit similar properties to the rules that apply for scrambling of NPs in a sentence, even though application of wh-scrambling is more restricted than that of NP-scrambling.

Özsoy (1990) is in line with Akar (1990) in that in her analysis there is no surface syntactic rule of wh-movement in Turkish but wh-constituents move at the level of LF. Özsoy investigates certain types of unexpectedly grammatical constructions in Turkish in which a wh-phrase is extracted out of a complex NP and an adjunct island. Even though the grammaticality of those constructions seem to imply that for Turkish wh-constructions subjacency is not relevant, Özsoy shows that in these constructions wh-element does not move out of its blocking category so, in fact, these examples are not violations of subjacency. For Turkish wh-constructions, she adopts Nishigauchi's (1990) pied piping LF movement account which was proposed for similar facts in Japanese. According to this pied piping account, there is a process of 'feature percolation' in which the [+wh] feature of the wh-phrase percolates up to the node heading the maximal projection. This feature percolation marks the maximal projection as [+wh], hence it allows the whole maximal projection to move to the Spec of the matrix clause. Thus, the wh-element moves with its clause which in the end does not violate subjacency.

We have seen that both Akar (1990) and Özsoy (1990) argue for LF wh-movement account for Turkish wh-constructions. Arslan (1999), on the other hand, follows wh-indexing analysis of Aoun & Li (1993) which proposes that there is no LF wh-movement for languages in which the wh-phrase does not move to SpecCP at Surface Structure. According to this analysis, wh-in-situ phrases do not move to

SpecCP position at any level of presentation but they get coindexed with a phonologically null question operator, *Qu*, that is base-generated in the SpecCP and takes the matrix clause under its scope. Thus there is no need for the wh-in-situ to move so as to take the structure under its scope.

Arslan (1999) illustrates that although LF wh-movement analysis can explain scope properties of wh-in-situ elements, it cannot account for constructions such as adjunct wh-phrases within a sentential subject, adjunct wh-phrases within postpositional phrases, and structures in which the wh-element co-occurs with the operator *yalnızca* ‘only’. Arslan argues that unlike the raising analysis of wh-in-situ, non-raising analysis correctly predicts the grammaticality of the structures above.

İşsever (2008) investigates the licensing mechanism of wh-in-situ in Turkish and argues for an overt movement of a phonologically null question operator in wh-constructions. To start with, İşsever investigates complex NP islands, wh-islands and adjunct islands and shows that they all display locality effects for extraction of adjunct wh-phrases. To answer whether the type of movement in these constructions takes place at overt syntax or LF, he adopts Watanabe’s (2003) proposal for Japanese wh-questions. According to this proposal, Japanese wh-in-situ displays a blocking effect that wh-clauses have for another type of A’ movement, called Comparative Deletion (CD). Watanabe (2003) follows Kikuchi’s (1987) proposal that CD is derived in overt syntax. Considering the fact that Turkish displays similar patterns to Japanese, İşsever suggests that Turkish wh-in-situ phrases have a null operator in their Spec, which undergoes overt movement in syntax.

İşsever further investigates the interaction between focus and wh-phrases in Turkish. He argues that Turkish wh-phrases in single wh-constructions are

obligatorily marked for focus, displaying the close interaction between focus and wh-phrases (İşsever 2008: 105). However, it is possible for wh-phrases to appear without focus accent when another constituent is focused in the structure, as was observed in Göksel and Özsoy (2000). İşsever claims that when there are two wh-phrases in a question, focus interacts with wh-in-situ in overt syntax in Turkish. Note that İşsever's judgments are different from Göksel and Özsoy's (2000) judgments which will be presented in Section 3.3 in this chapter. Consider the following examples from İşsever (2008). Capitalizing the letters indicates that the constituent is focused.

(1) a. Tamer neyi NEREYE koydu?

T-Nom what-Acc where-Dat put-Past-3.sg

'What did Tamer put where?'

b. [CP [TP [FocP [vP [VP [Op<sub>i</sub> nereye]<sub>+[wh]+foc</sub> DPsubj [Op<sub>i</sub> nereye]<sub>+[wh]+foc</sub> [Op<sub>j</sub> neyi]<sub>+[wh]</sub> ]]] ]]  
 koydu?

(2) a. \*<sup>/?</sup> Tamer NEYİ nereye koydu?

T-Nom what-Acc where-Dat put-Past-3Sg

'What did Tamer put where?'

b. [CP [TP [FocP [vP [VP [Op<sub>i</sub> neyi]<sub>+[wh]+foc</sub> DPsubj [Op<sub>i</sub> neyi]<sub>+[wh]+foc</sub> [Op<sub>j</sub> nereye]<sub>+[wh]</sub> ]]] ]]  
 koydu?

(İşsever 2008:107)

İşsever marks (1a) as grammatical and (2a) as ungrammatical relying on a survey he conducted. He proposes that the contrast between the two sentences can be accounted

for if we assume a syntactic licenser for focus in the lower IP area. The proposal is that there is a low Focus Projection (FocP) above vP in Turkish where focused elements are licensed. According to the analysis he proposes, in (1b)  $\text{Foc}^0$  attracts the lowest wh-phrase *nereye* ‘where’ as it is the only element which has the [+foc] feature in the structure. Thus, the wh-phrase moves to Spec,FocP and checks its uninterpretable  $u[\text{Foc}]$  feature of  $\text{Foc}^0$ . This movement obeys minimality as the highest wh-phrase *neyi* ‘what’ is invisible to  $\text{Foc}^0$ . In the next step,  $u[\text{wh}]$  feature of  $\text{C}^0$  attracts the closest phrase that has the [wh] feature in the structure. Accordingly, the operator of the closest phrase, which is *nereye* ‘where’ in the structure, moves to Spec,CP and unselectively binds both of the wh-variables in its scope. İşsever (2008) notes that the scope of the wh-operator is the area between the position of the lowest copy and the highest position where the operator lands. Turning to the ungrammatical case (2b), he shows that movement of the highest wh-phrase *neyi* ‘what’, which has the [+foc] feature, leads to ungrammaticality because the lowest wh-phrase *nereye* ‘where’ is beyond the scope of the operator. Thus, the presence of an unbound wh-variable in the derivation leads to ungrammaticality.

İşsever (2008) notes that the proposed analysis for wh-in-situ in Turkish is a novel one in terms of combining the advantages of both syntactic operator movement and unselective binding approaches. I will return to the discussion of this work in Section 5.4.

In Section 5.4 I will also discuss whether the results obtained in the current study support any of these proposals for wh-questions in Turkish, and conclude that intervention effects observed in this study can be accounted for within any of these analyses.

### 3.2 Negative Polarity Items and Quantifiers in Turkish

In this section I will briefly summarize the analyses regarding the nature of NPIs and quantifiers in Turkish.

#### 3.2.1 Negative Polarity Items in Turkish

We have seen in Section 1.2.4 that most of Turkish NPIs are licensed only in a negated sentence. How are NPIs licensed by negation? Kornfilt (1984) cited in Kural (1993) observes that in Turkish NPIs need to be c-commanded by a negated verb at S-structure. Consider Kornfilt's (1984) examples below.

- (3) a. \*Ahmet-Ø [kimse-yi koş-ma-dı] san-ı-yor-Ø  
Ahmet-nom noone-nom run-neg-past think-pres-agr  
'Ahmet thinks noone ran.'
- b. Ahmet-Ø [kimse-yi koş-tu] san-mı-yor-Ø<sup>5</sup>  
Ahmet-nom noone-nom run-past think-pres-acc  
'Ahmet does not think anyone ran.'

(Kural 1993:21)

We see in (3a) that the NPI *kimse* 'noone' needs to be licensed by negation through c-command.

In addition to the requirement that NPIs be c-commanded by negation at surface structure, Kelepir (2001) proposes a further restriction on NPI licensing in Turkish. Following Linebarger (1980), she argues that there cannot be a quantificational element between negation and an NPI at LF since any

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<sup>5</sup> I do not share Kornfilt's (1983) grammaticality judgment on (3b) which is ungrammatical in my dialect.

quantificational element that appears in between blocks the licensing of the NPI due to Immediate Scope Constraint which is presented below.

- (4) A negative polarity item is acceptable in a sentence S if in the logical form of S the subformula presenting 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 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)

Kelepir (2001) analyzes structures with *her* ‘every’, quantificational adverbs, reason-clauses, and NPIs, and proposes that these quantificational elements function as interveners between the negative operator and an NPI in certain configurations causing uninterpretability. Consider the following:

- (5) a. \*Herkes kimse-yi gör-me-di-Ø  
 everybody anybody-Acc see-Neg-Past-3sg  
 (i) “It is not the case that everybody saw any/somebody.”  
 (ii) “For everybody it is the case that he/she did not see anybody.”

- b. Kimse herşey-den ye-me-di-Ø  
 anybody-Nom everything-Abl eat-Neg-Past-3sg  
 ‘Nobody ate from everything’ (Kelepir 2001:142)

Kelepir (2001) attributes the uninterpretability of (5a) to a violation of the ISC. This structure cannot be interpreted as in (i) because for the structure to be interpreted that way, the universal quantifier has to intervene between the negative operator and NPI.

The other logically possible interpretation is (ii). The logical form for this interpretation would not violate the ISC, but the structure is still uninterpretable. Kelepir attributes the lack of this reading to a lexical property of the universal quantifier *her* in Turkish. She proposes that *her* cannot take immediate scope over negation, as the unavailable reading in (6ii) below illustrates:

- (6) Bugün herkes gel-me-di-Ø  
Today everybody come-Neg-Past-3sg
- (i) It is not the case that everybody came today.
  - (ii) \*It is true that for every x.s.t. x didn't come today. = Nobody came.
- (Kelepir 2001:144)

In (6ii) since negation needs to be interpreted at a node immediately c-commanding the NPI, the universal quantifier would be left outside the scope of negation, which is not possible in Turkish.

Relying on the data above, Kelepir (2001) argues that NPIs in Turkish are subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint of Linebarger (1980) in that they have to be in the immediate scope of negation.

### 3.2.2 Quantifiers in Turkish

Turkish has been considered a scope rigid language in that scope relations seem to reflect surface order of the quantifiers (see Zidani-Eroğlu 1997; Göksel 1998; Aygen-Tosun 1999; among others). However, it has also been argued that indefinites and scrambling violate scope rigidity. In other words, structures with indefinite objects and structures where one of the quantifiers has scrambled are ambiguous. Kelepir (2001) claims that the violation of scope rigidity is only apparent. She does



not discuss structures with scrambling per se but she discusses constructions with indefinite objects such as the following:

- (7) a. Her öğrenci bir kitap okudu.  
every student a book read  
'Every student read a book.'
- b. Her öğrenci bir kitab-ı okudu.<sup>6</sup>  
every student a book read  
'Every student read a book.'

(Kelepir 2001:66)

She observes following Enç (1991) among others that the accusative-marked indefinite object can be interpreted having wide or narrow scope over the universal quantifier subject in (7b), in contrast with (7a) where the indefinite object which is not marked for accusative case can only be interpreted having narrow scope. It is the wide scope interpretation of the indefinite object in (7b) which seems to violate scope rigidity. Kelepir (2001) argues that it is not a violation of scope rigidity, but the wide scope interpretation is due to a universally observed idiosyncratic property of indefinites. Indefinites across languages have been observed to be able to take unexpected wide scope, even out of scope islands (Fodor&Sag 1982, among others). It has been argued by many that this unexpected wide scope property cannot be accounted for by a simple quantifier raising analysis since this would imply that indefinites can quantifier raise out of islands whereas other quantifiers cannot (cf. Fodor&Sag, 1982 and Reinhart, 1997, among others). A number of researchers have proposed a special interpretive mechanism to explain this property of indefinites

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<sup>6</sup> The sentence above would be felicitous when; (i) there is a list of books and every student reads a book from that list, and (ii) there is one book s.t. every student reads that book.

(Reinhart (1997), Kratzer (1998) and Matthewson (1999), Lidz (1999), among others), which Kelepir (2001) adopts for accusative marked indefinites. I will not discuss the analysis here as it is beyond the scope of this study.

Returning to scope rigidity, Kelepir (2001) discusses structures which do not involve indefinites, and argues that these show that Turkish is a scope rigid language since quantifier phrases other than indefinites seem to consistently fail to take inverse scope. The following is an example:

- (8) 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'

(Kelepir 2001:62)

Imagine a class with 10 students and a library of 5 books. (8a) would be true in a case in which there are only three students (say, John, Mary and Kim) who read every book in the library. The sentence is wrong if every book is read by different sets of students. (8b), on the other hand, is felicitous only in a situation in which every student read a set of three books, possibly different sets.

Öztürk (2005), on the other hand, claims that there are no genuine quantifiers in Turkish. In chapter 1 we have seen that QPs with strong quantifiers obligatorily occur with accusative case in Turkish (Enç 1991). An example is repeated below.

(9) Ali herkes-i aradı. /\*... herkes-Ø aradı.

Ali everybody-acc called

‘Ali called everybody.’

Partee (1986 cited in Öztürk (2005)) proposes that quantified phrases denote a set or a group cross-linguistically. We have seen that in Turkish case has the same function as it refers to a particular set of individuals in an established context. Departing from this proposal, Öztürk (2005) raises the question how it is possible for case to co-occur with quantifiers in Turkish in that if case is a type-shifter that yields arguments or referential individuals or kinds, there is a mismatch between quantifier phrases and case. Öztürk presents this observation as her first example for the absence of genuine quantifiers in Turkish.

Moreover, she shows that except for the quantifier *her* “every”, quantifiers in Turkish do not impose distributivity or collectivity. Consider her examples below.

(10) a. Çoğu çocuk/bütün çocuk-lar para toplayıp birlikte bir (Collective)

most child/ all child-pl money collecting together one

kitap aldı.

book bought

‘Most/all children bought a book in different times.’

b. Çoğu çocuk/bütün çocuk-lar ayrı zamanlar-da bir kitap aldı. (Dist)

most child/ all child-pl different times-loc one book bought

‘Most/all children bought a book in different times.’

(Öztürk 2005:90)

(11) Her çocuk bir kitap aldı. (Dist/\*Collective)

every child one book bought

‘Every child bought a book each.’

(Öztürk 2005:90)

She also shows that quantificational force of quantifiers in Turkish is controversial.

Here is her scenario to test quantificational force of quantifiers: imagine that there are 50 students in the department. 25 of them are not happy with the tutorials and complain about them. We are trying to improve the tutorials by listening to the students who are actually taking them. A few weeks later someone can ask the following questions implying just the students who take the tutorials.

(12) a. Çoğu öğrenci hala mutsuz mu?

most student still unhappy Q

‘Are most students still unhappy?’

b. Çoğu öğrenci-yle konuş-tu-nuz mu?

most student with speak-past-2pl-Q

‘Have you spoken with most students?’

(Öztürk 2005:91)

Öztürk claims that Turkish quantifiers always refer to a relevant set no matter how much in advance the context was presented. Besides, Öztürk (2005) refers to Brisson (1997)’s observation on *all* in English. Brisson (1997) proposes that *all* in English is not a true quantifier but is a modifier which operates on covers of definite quantifiers.

(13) a. The children are dancing.

b. All the children are dancing.

(13a) can be true even if some of the children are dancing; whereas, (13b) can only be true when all the children in the context are dancing. Thus, Brisson claims that *all* requires a good fit in that it is compatible with definite plurals that are contextually relevant. Öztürk highlights the analogy between *all* in English and quantifiers in Turkish in that since Turkish quantifiers always choose a contextually relevant set, they might not be true quantifiers but operate on definite plurals.

### 3.3 Focus Phrases in Turkish

#### 3.3.1 Göksel and Özsoy (2000)

Focus has been a subject matter where phonology, syntax and semantics interconnect. Göksel and Özsoy (2000) investigate the nature of the domain of the sentence in which focus phrases and wh-phrases can appear in the surface syntax of Turkish.

Recall from Chapter 1 that the immediately preverbal position is claimed to be the focus position in Turkish (Erguvanlı 1984). In fact any focused constituent, irrespective of its grammatical function can appear in this position. This position hosts wh-phrases as well. The immediately preverbal position is not the only position for f-phrases and wh-phrases since both can remain in-situ. Moreover, both types of phrases can be scrambled in a sentence; however, neither of them can appear in the postverbal position.

To summarize, f-phrases and wh-phrases can occur in any preverbal position. Based on this observation, Göksel and Özsoy (2000) conclude that the focus field, which is the area that hosts the elements that convey non-recoverable information, may cover the entire preverbal domain.

The authors also explore the ordering restrictions of f-phrases and wh-phrases as both bear primary stress and can co-occur in a sentence. The first observation that they report is that a f-phrase cannot be preceded by a wh-phrase, but the reverse order is grammatical. Consider the examples below.

(14) a. \*Ne zaman OKULA gid-ecek-sin?  
when SCHOOL-DAT go -fut-2sg

b. OKULA ne zaman gid-ecek-sin?  
SCHOOL-DAT when go-fut-2sg  
'When will you go to school?'

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:3)

In (14a) the wh-phrase precedes the f-phrase and the sentence is ungrammatical even though the f-phrase is in the immediately preverbal position. However, in (14b) the order where the f-phrase is followed by a wh-phrase is grammatical. Similarly in structures with multiple wh-phrases, the leftmost wh-phrase has to bear stress as given below.<sup>7</sup>

(15) a. \*Kim KİM-İ sev-iyor-muş?  
who WHO-ACC love-prog-hs-3sg

b. KİM kim-i sev-iyor-muş?  
who WHO-ACC love-prog-hs-3sg  
'Who loves who?'

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:3)

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<sup>7</sup> İşsever (2006) claims that the judgment is the opposite in his dialect. See section 3.1. where I discuss this work in detail.

The observations above are stated as follows:

- (16) \*wh.....F                    F.....wh  
      \*wh.....WH                WH.....wh

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:3)

From the observations above, Göksel & Özsoy (2000) conclude that not all preverbal positions are available for non-recoverable information. F-phrases and wh-phrases have to occur in the area between the position that bears primary stress and verbal complex.

The authors further consider how their observations are related to the approaches that investigate the syntactic location of focus. One of these approaches employs the strategy of feature assignment according to which focus is assigned by the verb to its adjacent constituent in languages like Hungarian which has a fixed position for focus (Horvath 1986). Some other researchers (cf. Tuller 1992) claim that focus can be assigned by other heads like C and I to their Spec positions. For languages with focus in situ, it is claimed that focus can be assigned to any phrase freely. However, Göksel and Özsoy (2000) show that this approach cannot be adopted for Turkish as it cannot explain why postverbal position is not a possible landing site for f-phrases. Furthermore, it cannot explain why the immediately preverbal position cannot always host a focused phrase as exemplified below.

- (17) \*Ne zaman EV-E                    gid-iyor-sun?  
      when        HOME-DAT go-prog-2sg  
      ‘When are you going home?’

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:20)

Another approach proposes an independent phrasal category, a functional phrase FP. FP can be either an adjunction structure which takes S as its complement, or it is a maximal projection to which an NP moves. This strategy cannot be adopted for Turkish either, since a freely and multiply generated FP would be a problem for the reasons that were given above. Moreover, an adjunct FP which dominates S would require multiple movements for the intervening phrases to higher adjunction sites to leave the focused element in the immediately preverbal area. This movement would also necessitate a mechanism to prevent the movement of V to move to one of these positions, otherwise, the postverbal position would be left as a landing site for f-phrases and wh-phrases. As we have seen, this is unattested in Turkish.

Erteschik-Shir (1986 cited in Göksel & Özsoy (2000)) proposes a level of F-structure which is a projection of S-structure for topic and focus. According to the phonological rule that she proposes, sentential stress is assigned to the focused constituent. Göksel and Özsoy (2000), on the other hand, argue that there needs to be a distinction between sentence stress and focal stress in Turkish. Their claim is that the position for sentential stress is the immediately preverbal position. However, this position may also bear focal stress just like any other preverbal position. Hence, both sentential and focal stress can appear in the preverbal domain.

To summarize, Göksel and Özsoy (2000) argue that the area between the constituent that takes focal stress and the position that includes verbal complex is the focus field in Turkish. Both wh-phrases and f-phrases can appear in this area but they have distributional constraints as both bear primary stress and can co-occur in a sentence. Moreover, among two elements competing for stress, the leftmost one wins out and gets stress.



I will return to these observations and proposals in Chapter 5 where I discuss whether all interveners can be considered focus phrases in Turkish.

### 3.3.2 Göksel and Özsoy (2003)

One of the constructions I analyze as interveners in Turkish in this thesis is focus phrases with the clitic *dA*. Göksel and Özsoy (2003) is the only theoretical study which discusses the semantic properties of this clitic in detail.

The clitic *dA* has been claimed to function as a focalizer, topicalizer, additive and intensifier (Erguvanlı 1984, Kerslake 1996, Ergin 1975). It is situated at the right outermost boundary of a word to the right of all other markers, such as number, person and case suffixes. It can occur with a focused as well as a non-focused phrase in a sentence. Consider the examples below.

(18) a. AHMET de sinema-ya gid-iyor.  
Ahmet also cinema-dat go-prog  
'Ahmet, too, is going to the cinema.'

b. Ahmet de SİNEMA-YA gid-iyor.  
Ahmet also cinema-dat go-prog  
'Ahmet, on the other hand, is going to the cinema.'

(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1147)

(18a) can be uttered in a context where someone other than Ahmet is going to the cinema. (18b), on the other hand, can be uttered in a number of contexts such as someone else is going to the theatre, or someone mentions that there is a lot of work to be done. Now consider the structures below.

(19) a. Ahmet bu arada SINAV-A DA hazırlan-acak-tı.  
Ahmet in the mean time exam-dat da prepare-fut-past  
'In the meantime, Ahmet was supposed to get prepared for the exam.'

b. \*Ahmet bu arada hazırlan-acak-tı SINAV-A da.  
Ahmet in the mean time prepare-fut-past exam-dat da

(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1148)

The examples above show that when dA occurs with a focused constituent, it can occur anywhere in the preverbal domain but not in the postverbal position as given in (19). Indeed, we have already seen that postverbal position cannot host focused elements so unacceptability in (19b) is expected.

In the examples below we see that *hiç* 'at all' is the focused constituent in the structure. Now dA clitic does not appear with the focused constituent, but it appears with a non-focused phrase in the sentences below. It is argued that when dA appears with non-focused constituents, there is a tendency among speakers to prefer it either in sentence initial position as in (20a) or in postverbal position which is associated with background information as in (20b) (Erguvanlı 1984). However, its occurrence in other preverbal positions is also acceptable, as in (20c).

(20) a. Annesi-yle de Ahmet bugünlerde HİÇ anlař-a-m-ıy-or-muř.  
Mother-3sg-poss-com da Ahmet nowadays at all get along-ab-neg-prog-ev  
'As for his mother, Ahmet apparently cannot get along at all with her nowadays.'

b. Ahmet bugünlerde HİÇ anlařamıyormuř annesiyle de.

c. Ahmet bugünlerde annesiyle de HİÇ anlařamıyormuř.

(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1148)

Moreover when dA appears with a bare complement of the verb, the complement can occur sentence initially but not postverbally as exemplified below.

- (21) a. Hasan kitap da oku-sun.  
Hasan book CL read-imp-3sg  
b. Kitap da Hasan oku-sun.  
c. \*Hasan oku-sun kitap da.

(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1149)

It is claimed that the interaction between the semantics of focus and the semantics of dA makes the clitic have various functions. The authors present the following manifestations that dA and focus have. (X is any stressed constituent while [<sub>F</sub>] indicates the scope of focus.)

- (22) a. [<sub>F</sub> [<sub>S</sub> YP-dA ... [XP]...]]  
b. [<sub>S</sub> [ YP-dA ... [<sub>F</sub> XP ]... ]]  
c. [<sub>S</sub> [<sub>F</sub> XP] -dA ...]

(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1149)

Göksel and Özsoy (2003) argue against the view that dA is a focus particle. They compare the semantics of focusing with the semantics of dA. As for the semantics of focus they adopt Rooth's (1992) approach. We have already seen in previous chapter that according to Rooth, an utterance with a focused constituent evokes a set of propositions with alternatives to the focused part of the proposition. The focused constituent indicates that there is a contrast between the denotation of the focused constituent and other individuals in the discourse. The authors argue that while focusing evokes a set of alternatives, dA asserts that one of these alternatives is true. Moreover, dA imposes a distinctness constraint on the value of the variable(s) bound

by the existential operators. Some analyses which consider dA as a focus particle are based on its occurrence adjacent to a focused phrase. However, there are sentences where dA is not adjacent to the focused constituent as exemplified below.

- (23) Ahmet de arkadaş-lar-ı-yla SİNEMA-YA gi-tti.  
Ahmet dA friend-pl-poss-com cinema-dat go-past  
'And/As for Ahmet, (he) went to the cinema with his friends.'  
(Göksel & Özsoy 2003:1160)

It is also suggested that dA itself is not an additive but its interpretation with the rest of the sentence makes it function as additive.

Göksel and Özsoy (2003) further discuss the question whether there is a distinction between contrastive and presentational focus in terms of their syntactic and semantic properties. Presentational focus, also referred to as broad focus or information focus, is defined as an out-of-the-blue sentence which is not connected to a previously mentioned proposition in the discourse or an answer to a question. Contrastive focus, also referred to as narrow focus or identificational focus, is a marked constituent which is given to provide an alternative to a previously mentioned constituent or new information (Szabolcsi 1999, Zubizarreta 1998, Kiss 1995, 1998, Choe 1995).

The authors propose that presentational and contrastive focus can be argued to be the manifestations of the same phenomenon. What distinguishes them is in the scope of the two types of foci rather than qualitative differences. They argue that the full proposition is focused in the case of presentational focus as it introduces new information. However, when the subconstituents are newly introduced items, they are

instances of contrastive focus. Furthermore, since high pitch accent is the sign of focus, it can restrict its scope to a single item or mark a larger constituent.

To summarize, Göksel and Özsoy (2003) discuss the contribution of *dA* to the interpretation of an utterance, and provide a uniform analysis for its various functions. They argue that focus presents a set of alternatives whereas *dA* asserts the truth of one of these alternatives. They also show that presentational and contrastive focus are not distinct phenomena but they are different manifestations of the same phenomenon.

### 3.3.3 Kılıçaslan (2004)

Kılıçaslan (2004) argues against the proposal that sentence-initial, postverbal and immediately preverbal slots are three syntactic positions for topic, background and focus respectively. He proposes that Turkish does not employ any syntactic strategy to mark the informational status of a sentence which means that there are no specific syntactic positions reserved for specific informational primitives such as topic, focus and background in Turkish.

We have seen that scrambling of constituents is not entirely free in Turkish, but it is restricted by some information structural requirements of sentences. Focus, background and topic are three primitives that are used in the information structure analysis of sentences. Kılıçaslan defines these notions as follows: focus is the part of a sentence which encodes new information that is highly relevant to the discourse context. Background is the part of a sentence which is not included in the focus part. Topic, on the other hand, is a distinguished background element which the sentence is about (Kılıçaslan 2004).

To argue against the proposal that there is a mapping between information structure and syntactic position of constituents, Kılıçaslan (2004) refers to previous studies which show that the immediately preverbal position is not the only position for focus (Gencan (1979), Göksel (1998), Göksel & Özsoy (2000), Kılıçaslan (1998)), as we have already mentioned earlier. Kılıçaslan (2004) provides additional examples where the elements that are marked as focal are obliged to occur in a slot other than the immediately preverbal position. Consider the example below.

- (24) KİM KİM-LE evlen-di?<sup>8</sup>  
 who who-com marry-past  
 ‘Who married who?’  
 [<sub>F</sub>OYA] [<sub>F</sub>KAYA-YLA] evlen-di.  
 Oya Kaya-com marry-past  
 ‘[<sub>F</sub>OYA] married [<sub>F</sub>KAYA].’

(Kılıçaslan 2004:720)

In the example above two separate constituents are interpreted and marked as focal, therefore it is obligatory for at least one focal constituent to occupy a position other than the immediately preverbal position.

Kılıçaslan also shows some examples in which a focal constituent cannot be placed in the immediately preverbal position. Consider the example below.

- (25) Bahçe-de KİM bir köpek gör-dü?  
 garden-loc who one dog see-past  
 ‘Who saw a dog in the garden?’

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<sup>8</sup> Note that this observation contrasts with what Göksel and Özsoy (2000) and İşsever (2008) propose for stress taking properties of multiple wh-constructions.

- a. Bahçe-de [<sub>F</sub>OYA] bir köpek gör-dü.  
 garden-loc Oya one dog see-past  
 ‘[<sub>F</sub>OYA] saw a dog in the garden.’
- b. \*Bahçe-de bir köpek [<sub>F</sub>OYA] gördü.
- c. \*Bir köpek bahçe-de [<sub>F</sub>OYA] gördü.
- d. \*Bahçe-de [<sub>F</sub>OYA] gör-dü bir köpek.

(Kılıçaslan 2004:721)

An object NP not carrying case morphology is restricted to the position just before the verb, its placement to other positions yields ungrammaticality. Therefore, the object NP intervenes between the focal constituent and the verb; the focal constituent cannot appear in the immediately preverbal positions.

We have also seen that postverbal position can only host backgrounded elements and the constituents which land in this position cannot be stressed. However, Kılıçaslan shows that it is not the only place where backgrounded constituents can appear.

- (26) Kaya-yla KİM evlen-di?  
 Kaya-com who marry past  
 ‘Who married Kaya?’

- a. Kaya-yla [<sub>F</sub>OYA] evlen-di.  
 Kaya-com Oya marry-past  
 ‘[<sub>F</sub>OYA] married Kaya.’
- b. [<sub>F</sub>OYA] Kaya-yla evlendi.

(Kılıçaslan 2004:720)

The example above illustrates that a backgrounded NP, *Kaya-yla*, can appear preverbally, either before the focus or between the focus and the verb. So far we have seen that not all immediately preverbal elements are focal; however, all postverbal ones are backgrounded.

As for topics, the sentence-initial position is argued to be the most appropriate place. However, Kılıçaslan shows that the topic does not have to appear at the beginning of a sentence. The following example is taken from Kılıçaslan (2004).

- (27) *Istakoz-dan ne haber? O-na ne ol-du?*  
 Lobster-acc what news it-dat what happen-past  
 ‘What about the lobster? What happened to it?’

Hasan [<sub>T</sub> *istakoz-u*] [<sub>F</sub> *ALİ-YE ver-di*].

Hasan lobster-acc Ali-dat give-past

‘Hasan gave the lobster to Ali.’

(Kılıçaslan 2004:730)

The example above shows that a topic may be preceded by other constituents in a sentence. Moreover, non-topical backgrounded elements may also appear sentence initially.

- (28) *Birkaç gün önce birisi [<sub>T</sub> *istakoz-u*] [<sub>F</sub> *ALİ-YE verdi*].*  
 Several day before someone lobster-acc Ali-dat give-past  
 ‘Several days ago someone gave the lobster to Ali.’

(Kılıçaslan 2004:730)

Topics can also appear postverbally in Turkish as given below. Kılıçaslan notes that as topics are backgrounded elements, it is not surprising that they appear postverbally.



(29) Birkaç gün önce birisi [<sub>F</sub> ALİ-YE ver-di] [<sub>T</sub> 1stakoz-u].

(Kılıçaslan 2004:730)

To summarize, Kılıçaslan (2004) proposes that a position-function mapping cannot give a complete and correct description of information structure in Turkish, which in turn indicates that Turkish does not employ any syntactic strategy to mark the informational status of a sentence element.<sup>9</sup>

In this chapter, I have provided previous accounts of potential interveners in Turkish. These constructions are *wh*-questions, NPIs, quantifiers and focus phrases. We have seen that each group has its own properties and restrictions. In the following chapter, I will present acceptability judgment surveys that are conducted to investigate intervention effects in Turkish *wh*-questions.

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<sup>9</sup> Note that this claim contradicts with what İşsever (2008) proposes, i.e. that there is/are designated focus position(s) in the structure. I discuss İşsever (2008) in Section 5.2 and 5.4.

## CHAPTER 4

### ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENT SURVEYS

Recall from Chapter 1 that the main aim of this study is to answer the following questions:

- i. Do we observe any intervention effects in Turkish?
- ii. If yes, what are they and do they have anything in common?

In order to answer the questions above, I conducted three acceptability judgment surveys.

#### 4.1. Survey I: NPIs, FocPs and QPs

In Survey I my aim was to investigate the constructions in which potential interveners; NPIs, QPs and FocPs with focus particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’, *da* ‘also’ appear to the left of a wh-in-situ phrase. I also presented informants the alternative word order in which those phrases appear to the right of a wh-in-situ expression to make sure that it was really the word order that creates ungrammaticality. Below you can see all potential interveners tested in Survey I.

(1)	NPI...wh-phrase	Wh-phrase...NPI
(1)	kimse.....kimi anyone...whom	(1) kimi...kimse whom..anyone
(2)	kimse... kim anyone...who	(2) kim...kimse who...anyone
(3)	kimse.....niye anyone...why	(3) niye...kimse why...anyone
(4)	kimse.....hangi anyone...which	(4) hangi...kimse which...anyone
(5)	hiçbir öğrenci neyi any student what	(5) neyi...hiçbir öğrenci what...any student
(6)	hiçbirşey...kim anything...who	(6) kim...hiçbirşey who...anything
(2)	FocP...wh-phrase	Wh-phrase...FocP
(1)	sadece...kimi only.....who	(1) kimi...sadece who....only
(2)	sadece...nereye only.....where	(2) nereye...sadece where....only

(3) bile....nereye even...where	(3) nereye....bile where.....even
(4) bile....neden even...why	(4) neden....bile why.....even
(5) de....kime also...who	(5) kime...de who....also
(3) QP...wh-phrase	Wh-phrase...QP
(1) herkes.....niye everyone..why	(1) niye...herkes why...everyone
(2) herkes.....nerede everyone...where	(2) nerede...herkes where....everyone
(3) bazı....nerede some...where	(3) nerede...bazı where....some
(4) bazı....kimi some...who	(4) kimi...bazı who some

Below you can see example sentences from each category.

- (4) a. \*Kimse kim-i gör-me-di?  
anyone who-acc see-neg-past
- b. \*Sadece Ali kim-i ara-dı?  
only Ali who-acc call-past

- c. ?Bazı öğrenci-ler kim-i ara-mış?  
 some students who-acc call-ev/past

There were 16 questions in total; 6 for NPIs, 6 for FocPs and 4 for QPs. In each question a different wh-word was presented, and both argument and adjunct wh-phrases were included to see whether grammaticality judgments varied accordingly. 8 participants who are instructors at Işık University were tested in this survey. They were asked to give grammaticality judgments by selecting either accept or reject option after reading the questions.<sup>10</sup> The results of Survey I are given table in (1) below.<sup>11</sup>

(5) Results of Survey I

	Accept	Reject	Total
NPI.....wh-phrase	0.5	5.5	6
FocPs...wh-phrase	0.3	5.7	6
QPs.....wh-phrase	2.1	1.9	6

The results presented in (5) come from the word order in which potential interveners appear to the left of a wh-phrase. ‘NPI...wh-phrase’ order is rejected by all participants. Similarly, ‘FocP...wh-phrase’ order is not accepted by any of the participants. It is seen that these two groups of potential interveners behave alike in that they create intervention effects when they precede a wh-phrase. On the other hand, the results that I gathered for QPs were different than the other two groups in that they acted as non-interveners in the same position.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix A for a list of all questions presented in Survey I.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix B for a detailed representation of Survey I results.

The number of rejected constructions is below 6 due to the questions which have causal *wh*-words *niye* and *neden* ‘why’. These questions were not rejected by some participants unlike the questions with other *wh*-words. When these questions are removed from the survey, my scores would be 6 out of 6. Participants were asked to comment on their ungrammatical judgments, and their responses suggested that it was word order that was making the sentences ungrammatical and when they were asked how the sentences could be fixed, all of the participants suggested to change the word order. The results were very much the same across all speakers in that they all accepted questions in which NPIs and FocPs appear to the right of a *wh*-phrase.

On the other hand, the responses that I gathered for QPs were inconsistent in that some of the participants marked ‘QP...*wh*-phrase’ order as grammatical; however, some others marked it as ungrammatical. This inconsistency led me to conduct a second survey for QPs.

#### 4.2 Survey II: QPs within Dialogues

This survey is a follow-up to Survey I. The aim of this survey is to investigate ‘QP...*wh*-phrase’ order whose grammaticality judgment results were not pointing to either clearly grammatical or clearly ungrammatical results. In the first survey, I presented the participants questions with all potential interveners; however, the inconsistency that I had for ‘QP...*wh*-phrase’ order led me to come up with another survey that focused only on this type of constructions. In this second survey I presented the questions with QPs inside dialogues so as to make the structures sound as natural as possible.<sup>12</sup> The quantifiers were chosen to provide a representative sample of data. Below you can see a list of quantifier phrases tested in Survey II.

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix C for the dialogues presented in Survey II.

(6) QPs tested in Survey II

(1) herkes.....hangi  
everyone...which

(2) bütün...kime  
all.....who

(3) bazı...hangi  
some...which

(4) birçok...neden  
many...why

(5) çoğu...hangi  
most...which

In this survey 11 participants who are instructors at Işık University were tested. They were asked to report their judgments by selecting accept or reject option. Below you can find the results of Survey II.<sup>13</sup>

(7) Results of Survey II

	Accept	Reject	Total
'herkes...wh-phrase'	9 [81%]	2[18%]	11[20%]
'bütün...wh-phrase'	6 [55%]	5[46%]	11[20%]
'bazı...wh-phrase'	4 [36%]	7[65%]	11[20%]
'birçok...wh-phrase'	5 [46%]	6[55%]	11[20%]
'çoğu...wh-phrase'	7 [65%]	4[36%]	11[20%]
Total	31[56%]	24[44%]	55[100%]

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix D for a detailed representation of Survey II results.

In the table above, the scores listed in accept column show the percentages of participants who accepted ‘QP...wh-phrase’ order; on the other hand, the percentages of participants who considered the same order as ungrammatical are listed in reject column. The results show that responses of the participants gathered in this second survey do not lead to a conclusive result in terms of ungrammaticality, either. Participants are more likely to accept ‘*çoğ u*...wh-phrase’ and ‘*herkes*...wh-phrase’ order, and they are more likely to reject ‘*bazı*...wh-phrase’ order. However, when it comes to ‘*bütün*...wh-phrase’ and ‘*birçok*...wh-phrase’ orders they are just behaving around the chance level (undecided behavior). Therefore, I decided to conduct a more comprehensive third survey.

#### 4.3. Survey III: QPs Once More with Longer Dialogues

This is a follow up to Survey II. In this survey I aimed at investigating ‘QP...wh-phrase’ order once again. I had 15 quantifier phrases to test, more than the ones in Survey II, and all questions were presented inside dialogues. Each quantifier phrase was presented in two different dialogues to guarantee that the dialogues in which it appears does not affect participants’ judgments. Thus, there were 30 dialogues in total for 15 quantifier phrases.<sup>14</sup> Below you can see all the quantifier wh-phrase pairs tested in Survey III.

##### (8) Universal Quantifiers

1. <i>herkes</i> ..... <i>kaç</i>	<i>herkes</i> ..... <i>nerede</i>
everyone.....how many	everyone.....where
2. <i>bütün</i> ..... <i>hangi</i>	<i>bütün</i> ..... <i>kaç</i>
all.....which	all.....how many

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix E for the dialogues of QPs presented in two sessions in Survey III.





3. *NP+-(n)In ikisi.....hangi*      *NP+-(n)In ikisi.....kim*  
two of the NP.....which      two of the NP.....who

4. *NP+-(n)In bazıları.....hangi*      *NP+-(n)In bazıları.....kimin*  
some of the NP.....which      some of the NP.....whose

(11) Others

1. *ikiden fazla.....neden*      *ikiden fazla.....kaç*  
more than two.....why      more than two.....how many

2. *herhangi bir.....nasıl*      *herhangi bir.....nasıl*  
any.....how      any.....how

All dialogues were also mixed with some filler dialogues to make sure that the participants cannot guess what I test.<sup>15</sup> 20 participants between the ages 25 and 35 who are instructors at Işık University were tested in this survey once again.

The participants were asked to read the dialogues in two sessions on two different days in order to prevent attention problems in the decision-making process. After reading the dialogues, they were asked to give their judgments on the underlined questions by selecting one of the options on an acceptability scale. I was inspired by the scale in Beck (2006) which presents participants all possible options that they might give. This scale also gives me the chance to measure the results numerically and have a more clear set of results. Below you can see two dialogues from the survey for the universal quantifier *herkes* ‘everyone’ as an example and the scale on which the participants marked their choice.

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix F for a list of filler dialogues.

(12)

a.

Ahmet ve Nazan önümüzdeki hafta sonu yapılacak olan sınıf pikniği hakkında konuşuyorlar. Pikniği organize eden kişi olan Ahmet Nazan'ın sorularını yanıtlıyor.

Nazan: Haftaya pikniğe gidiyoruz, değil mi?

Ahmet: Evet gidiyoruz ama artık kesin sayıyı almam gerek. Ona göre araç ayarlayacağım. Kesin olarak gelip gelmeyeceğinizi bir an önce söylerseniz sevinirim.

Nazan: Ben gelmeyi çok istiyorum ama yanımda getirmek istediğim arkadaşlarım var. Getirebilirim değil mi?

Ahmet: Tabii ama yer sıkıntısı olmasın diye sayı sınırlaması yapalım.

Nazan: Hmm... Herkes kaç kişi getirebilir?

Ahmet: En fazla iki diyelim şimdilik. Bir değişiklik olursa ben sana haber veririm.

*Yukarıdaki altı çizili soru söylenebilir mi, kulağınıza nasıl geliyor? Aşağıdaki çizelgede işaretleyin.*

1	2	3	4

Çok iyi, söylenebilir

Çok kötü, söylenemez

b.

Ahmet onları pikniğe götürecektir otobüs firmasıyla konuşuyor.

Ahmet: Anadolu yakasında oturanlar kendilerini geçerken almamızı istediler.

Mümkün mü acaba?

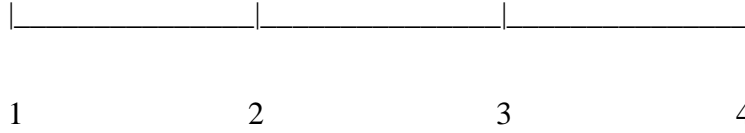
Firma çalışanı: Tabii olur. Alırız.

Ahmet: Herkes nerede beklesin?

Firma çalışanı: Beykoz parkı önünde beklesinler.

Ahmet: Tamam, teşekkürler.

*Yukarıdaki altı çizili soru söylenebilir mi, kulağınıza nasıl geliyor? Aşağıdaki çizelgede işaretleyin.*



Çok iyi, söylenebilir

Çok kötü, söylenemez

The dialogue given in (12a) was presented in the first session, and the one in (12b) was presented in the second session of the survey.

Now let me summarize the results of the survey<sup>16</sup>. According to the results, 85% of the participants selected 1 for the ‘universal quantifier.....wh-phrase’ order, which means that the majority of the participants considered the sentences in which

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix G for the results of Survey III.

the universal quantifier appears to the left of the wh-phrase totally acceptable. 11% of the participants selected option 2 while remaining 4% selected option 3. None of the participants considered the ‘universal quantifier.....wh-phrase’ order totally unacceptable. Below you can see the summary table of Survey III. In the table, the numbers from 1 to 4 show the acceptability judgments of the participants on the underlined constructions. 1 is totally acceptable, 4 is totally unacceptable. Recall that the percentages reflect the responses of 20 participants.

### (13) Results of Survey III

Quantifier Phrases	1	2	3	4
Universal Quantifier...wh-phrase	85%	11%	4%	
Indefinite Phrase...wh-phrase	83%	13%	3%	1%
Partitive Phrase...wh-phrase	78%	18%	3%	1%
Others...wh-phrase	79%	18%	2%	1%

As for the indefinite phrases, 83% of the participants selected option 1 while 13% selected option 2. Option 3 was selected by 3% of the participants; however, only 1% marked ‘indefinite phrase.....wh-phrase’ order totally unacceptable.

Partitive phrases to the left of the wh-phrase were accepted as grammatical by 78% of the participants, whereas 18% selected option 2. 3% of the participants selected option 3 whereas only 1% considered ‘partitive phrase.....wh-phrase’ order as totally unacceptable.

I grouped *-DAn fazla+NP* ‘more than+NP’ and *herhangi bir* ‘any’ under the ‘others’ category in the table. The ‘*DAn fazla+NP*.....wh-phrase’ order was accepted as totally acceptable by 80% of the participants; 18% selected option 2. Only 2% selected option 3 while none of the participants marked ‘*DAn fazla+NP*.....wh-phrase’ order as totally unacceptable.

78% of the participants marked the *'herhangi.....wh-phrase'* order as totally acceptable, whereas 20% selected option 2. Option 3 was selected by 2% while none of the participants selected option 4.

The results that I gathered from Survey III display a consistent pattern in that none of the quantifiers created intervention effects when they appeared to the left of a wh-phrase. Besides, the number of participants who accepted 'QP...wh-phrase' order is close to each other for all groups of quantifier phrases.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.4. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

I have presented three acceptability surveys which investigate the interaction between wh-phrases and three potential groups of interveners; NPIs, QPs and FocPs with focus particles *sadece* 'only', *bile* 'even' and *da* 'also'. According to the survey results, 'NPI...wh-phrase' and 'FocP...wh-phrase' orders are both unacceptable, which indicates that these items are interveners in Turkish. However, 'QP...wh-phrase' order is acceptable, so QPs are shown to be non-interveners in Turkish. I will relate these findings to the literature in the following chapter.

The results presented in this chapter present a consistent and clear pattern which enables us to see the general tendency in the population of Turkish speakers, which I will rely on in my analysis.

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<sup>17</sup> Note that I did not control yes bias in this survey. However, since all participants responded in the same exact way, yes bias seems unlikely in this case.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS

This chapter first focuses on the results that I gathered from the acceptability judgment surveys presented in the previous chapter. It further discusses whether Turkish interveners can be grouped in one natural class, and whether focus can be argued to act as an intervener in Turkish, as has been proposed in the literature. Finally, it presents the discussions on the varying behavior of wh-phrases and focus phrases, and how wh-in-situ accounts can explain Turkish intervention data.

We have seen that NPIs and lexically marked focus phrases with the particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’ induce intervention effects for wh-phrases in Turkish. Therefore, the generalization seems to be that the following configuration at S-Structure is out.

(1) \* [ ... [ NPI / f-phrase [ ...wh-phrase... ] ] ]

QPs, on the other hand, are observed to act as non-interveners in that they do not create any uninterpretability when they appear to the left of the wh-phrase, as represented in the configuration below.

(2) [ ... [ QP [ ... wh-phrase... ] ] ]

Now that we know which phrases create intervention effects in Turkish, the next step is to ask what these phrases have in common to introduce such an effect. In other words, what is the property that groups all interveners as a natural class in Turkish?

### 5.1. Are Interveners Focus Phrases in Turkish?

Recall from Chapter 2 that in Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997) quantificational expressions in general are proposed to create intervention effects when they appear to the left of a *wh*-in-situ phrase. Kim (2002), on the other hand, identifies a common property for all interveners. Relying on the evidence that NPIs contain a focus particle meaning ‘also, even’ in some languages such as Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam, Kim claims that NPIs in these languages can be analyzed as focus phrases. Therefore, she proposes that the core set of interveners consists of focus phrases. Beck (2006) develops a semantic analysis based on the semantic interpretation of *wh*-phrases and focus phrases to provide support for Kim’s (2002) claim that interveners are focus phrases. Kim (2006) supports Beck (2006) in that intervention effects arise due to semantic uninterpretability. Kim further illustrates syntactic and phonological similarities between focus and *wh*-phrases to explain why interveners are focus phrases.

Apart from the studies presented so far, some other works in the literature also focus on the relationship between NPIs and *f*-phrases. Rooth (1985, 1992), in his focus theory, propose that NPIs resemble focus items in that both are analyzed as being the semantic focus of a sentence. Lee (1996) similarly argues that Korean NPIs are accompanied by strong stress, which is the sole indicator of focus. Shalin (1979) and Krifka (1995) also discuss the role of focus and stress for ‘any’ in English. These



studies reveal that NPIs are associated with focus in many languages which leads us to consider them as f-phrases.

We have seen that many studies analyze interveners as focus phrases in the literature. Can we argue that Turkish interveners are also focus phrases? To answer this question, I discuss whether NPIs and focus phrases have morphological, syntactic and phonological similarities in Turkish, and conclude that the evidence is inconclusive.

Kelepir (2001) groups Turkish NPIs morphologically into two as given below.

- (3) (i) *hiç* + indefinite  
*hiçkimse* ‘anybody’, *hiçbirşey* ‘anything’, *hiçbir N* ‘any N’  
(ii) *kimse/hiçkimse*

All the NPIs given in the first group are morphologically made up of the morpheme *hiç* and an indefinite expression. The resulting meaning is a negative polarity item. Recall from Chapter 2 that Kim (2002) analyzes one type of Korean NPIs as being a combination of an indefinite expression and a focus particle (cf. (44)). Taking the similarity between this type of Korean NPIs and Turkish ‘*hiç*+indefinite’ into consideration, I raise the question whether the morphological analysis that Kim (2002) proposes for Korean NPIs applies to Turkish NPIs as well. In other words, can the morpheme *hiç* be analyzed as a focus particle in Turkish?

If I assume that *hiç* is a particle which attracts focus, I can analyze this type of NPIs as focus phrases. However, there is an option to omit *hiç* when it combines with the indefinite *kimse* as shown in (3ii) above. In that case how can it retain its focus feature? Besides, *hiç* does not function as a particle in other constructions apart from

NPIs. Thus, even though Turkish NPIs can also be morphologically decomposed similarly to Korean NPIs, the morpheme other than the indefinite is not a morpheme found in focus constructions in Turkish.

Now let me present the morphological analysis of the second type of the NPI *(hiç)kimse* ‘anyone’.

(4) *(hiç) kim+se* ‘anyone’

It is possible to use *hiçkimse* ‘anybody’ and *kimse* ‘anybody’ interchangeably, although *hiç* is frequently used to give more emphasis. Both function as a negative polarity item. Interestingly, the morphological make up of this NPI resembles that of the second type of Korean NPI. Consider the following examples which illustrate the resemblance.

(5) a. *nuku-to*  
who-also/even  
‘anyone’

b. *kim+se*  
who+se  
‘anyone’

In (5a) the Korean NPI contains a wh-phrase *nuku* ‘who’ and a focus particle meaning *-to* ‘also, even’. Similarly, the Turkish NPI in (5b) contains the wh-word *kim* ‘who’ and the morpheme *-se*. Can this morpheme be analyzed as a focus particle in Turkish?

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) analyzes –se particle as having the free form *ise* and bound form *–(y)sA*. They show that it is a conditional copula marker used in conditional clauses. Moreover, it functions as a contrastive topic marker which shows a direct contrast with what has been said about the topic previously. Neither of these functions can be argued to serve as evidence for the presence of focus on this particle. Besides, *kimse* is not part of a paradigm but it is the only example of its category, so I cannot propose a generalization based on only one example.

So far we have seen that even though all these NPIs can be analyzed into distinct morphemes, none can be identified as a focus particle as in Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam. Now let me present the syntactic distribution of NPIs in a sentence and compare them with focus phrases.

As mentioned previously, the immediately preverbal position has been claimed to be the focus position in Turkish (Erguvanlı 1984). Any focused constituent can appear in this position irrespective of its grammatical function. However, it has recently been shown that the immediately preverbal position is actually only one of the possible positions for focused phrases (Göksel & Özsoy 2000). They can remain in-situ as well, even if they give the most natural reading when they appear in the immediately preverbal position. It is also possible to scramble focus phrases in a sentence. However, they cannot appear postverbally. Now let me present the following examples to exemplify the syntactic distribution of focused phrases.

- (6) a. Ayşe-yi dün ALİ ara-mış. *immediately preverbal*  
 Ayşe-acc yesterday Ali call-ev/past  
 ‘ALİ called Ayşe yesterday.’

- b. ALİ dün Ayşe-yi ara-mış. *in-situ*  
 Ali yesterday Ayşe-acc call-ev/past  
 ‘ALİ called Ayşe yesterday.’
- c. AYŞE-Yİ Ali ara-mış. *scrambled*  
 Ayşe-acc Ali call-ev/past  
 ‘Ali called AYŞE.’
- d. \*Ayşe-yi dün ara-mış ALİ. *post-verbal*  
 Ayşe-acc yesterday call-ev/past Ali  
 ‘ALİ called Ayşe yesterday.’

In (6a) the f-phrase appears in the immediately preverbal position but it is also possible for it to appear in-situ as given in (6b). In (6c) the f-phrase is in its scrambled position. However, (6d) shows that postverbal position is not a possible landing site for f-phrases. Now let me compare the sentences in (6) with the ones in (7) in which the f-phrase is replaced by an NPI.

- (7) a. Parti-ye kimse gel-me-di.  
 party-dat anyone come-neg-past  
 ‘Noone came to the party.’
- b. Kimse partiye gelmedi.
- c. Partiye gelmedi kimse.

In (7a) the NPI appears in the immediately preverbal position whereas it appears in-situ in (7b). Just like f-phrases, NPIs also have the most natural reading in the immediately preverbal position, even though this is not obligatory. (7c), on the other hand, shows that unlike f-phrases, NPIs can occur postverbally. Now consider the

following example in which the NPI in the postverbal position is replaced with another intervener, the lexically marked focus phrase with the particle *sadece* ‘only’.

- (8) \*Parti-ye gel-me-di sadece Ali.  
 party-dat come-neg-past only Ali

The contrast between (7c) and (8) shows that interveners do not behave alike in that the focused phrase with the particle *sadece* ‘only’ cannot occur in the postverbal position but the NPI *kimse* ‘anyone’ can. Considering this variation among interveners in terms of their syntactic distribution in a sentence, one may think that grouping them all as focus phrases does not give an accurate result in Turkish.

In the literature NPIs and f-phrases have been shown to share some phonological properties as well. As mentioned earlier, Rooth (1985, 1992), in his focus theory, propose that NPIs resemble focus items in that both are analyzed as being the semantic focus of a sentence, and semantic focus attracts phonological focus. Lee (1994) shows that Korean NPIs have strong stress, which is the only indicator of focus. Recall that Göksel and Özsoy (2000) similarly propose that stress is the sole indicator of focus and a focused phrase is necessarily stressed in Turkish. I present the following examples to show an observation on the relationship between NPIs and phonological focus in Turkish.

- (9) a. KİMSE beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-ı bul-a-ma-mış.  
 anyone fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc find-abil-ev/past  
 ‘Noone could find the answer to the fifth question.’
- b. SADECE ALİ beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-ı bul-a-ma-mış.  
 only Ali fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc find-abil-neg-ev/past  
 ‘Only Ali couldn't find the answer to the fifth question.’

c. ÖĞRENCİ-LER beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-1 bul-a-ma-mış.  
students-pl fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc find-abil-neg-  
ev/past

‘The students couldn't find te answer to the fifth question.’

In (9) the phrases in capital letters get phonological focus and they appear in the sentence initial position in these sentences. Now consider the following sentences in which these phrases are scrambled to the immediately preverbal position.

(10) a. Beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-1 KİMSE bulamamış.  
fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc anyone find-abil-ev/past

‘Noone could find the answer to the fifth question.’

b. Beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-1 SADECE ALİ bulamamış.  
fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc only Ali find-abil-neg-  
ev/past

‘Only Ali couldn't find the answer to the fifth question.’

c. Beşinci soru-nun cevab-ın-1 ÖĞRENCİ-LER bul-a-ma-mış.  
fifth question-gen answer-poss-acc students-pl find-abil-neg-  
ev/past

‘THE STUDENTS couldn't find the answer to the fifth question.’

The NPI in (10a) and the focus phrase with the particle *sadece* ‘only’ in (10b) have the same interpretation after they are scrambled to the immediately preverbal position. However, the interpretation of the focused phrase in (10c) changes after the scrambling in that it gets a contrastive reading when it appears in the immediately preverbal position rather than its in-situ position. This sentence means that only the

students (not someone else) could not find the answer to the fifth question. We see that there is no need to scramble the NPIs and f-phrases to get a contrastive reading as they are not affected by the scrambling process. It seems that NPIs and focus phrases already have a contrastive interpretation in themselves, therefore one may argue that they cannot appear without phonological focus in a sentence.

However, in (7c) I have shown that NPIs can also appear in the postverbal position in which phonologically focused constituents cannot appear. Besides, it is the verb rather than the NPI that receives stress in (7c). These examples show that unlike f-phrases, it is possible for NPIs to appear without stress in some constructions but not in others. Taking the varying behavior of NPIs and f-phrases into consideration, I conclude that they cannot be argued to form a natural class in Turkish.

To conclude, there is no straightforward evidence to claim that Turkish NPIs are focus phrases just like NPIs in Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam. Focus might be the natural class for these languages, but it seems that focus cannot be argued to create intervention effects in Turkish. In the following section I discuss the status of phonologically focused phrases as potential interveners to provide more support for this conclusion.

## 5.2. Lexically Marked vs. Phonologically Marked Focus Phrases

I have presented that lexically marked focus phrases with particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’ create intervention effects in Turkish. The examples are repeated below.

- (11) a. \*Sadece Ali kim-i ara-dı?  
 only Ali who-acc call-past-3g
- b. \*Ali bile nereye git-me-yecek  
 Ali even where go-neg-fut
- c. \*Seçim-ler-de Ali de kime oy ver-miş?  
 election-pl-loc Ali also who vote-past/ev

In the examples above, focus phrases c-commanding wh-in-situ render the structures ungrammatical. Recall that Kim (2002) proposes that in Korean focus phrases even without focus particles create intervention effects. Kim's (2002) examples are repeated below.

- (12) a. ?\* MINSU-ka nuku-lül p'ati-e ch'otaeha-ôss-ni?  
 Minsu-Nom who-Acc party-to invite-Past-Q
- b. nuku-lül<sub>i</sub> MINSU-ka t<sub>i</sub> p'at'i-e ch'otaeha-ôss-ni?  
 Who-Acc Minsu-Nom part-to invite-Past-Q  
 'Who did MINSU (not someone else) invite to the party?'

(Kim 2002: (16))

In (12a), the phonologically marked focus phrase appears to the left of the wh-phrase, and the structure is out. However, (12b), in which the wh-phrase precedes the focus phrase, is acceptable. Therefore, Kim (2002) proposes that not only lexical but also phonological focus creates intervention effects in Korean. One may raise the question whether phonological focus is an intervener in Turkish as well. Let me



show how phonologically marked focus phrases behave when they appear to the left of the *wh*-in-situ in Turkish.

- (13) ALİ kim-i ara-dı?  
Ali who-acc call-past-3g  
'Whom did ALİ call?'

In (13) the phonologically focused phrase in capital letters, *Ali*, appears to the left of the *wh*-phrase, and the structure is grammatical. The examples above show that lexically marked focus phrases create intervention effects in Turkish; however, phonologically marked focus phrases do not.<sup>18</sup>

İşsever (2008) analyzes only phonologically marked focus phrases (but not lexically marked focus phrases) and their interaction with *wh*-in-situ. Consider his example below.

- (14) SEN-İ kim sev-iyor?  
you-acc who-nom love-prog-3sg  
'Who loves you?'

İşsever (2008)'s example shows that it is acceptable to have a phonologically focused phrase to the left of the *wh*-in-situ.

The observations above show that phonologically marked focus phrases without any focus particles and lexically marked focus phrases display distinct behaviors when they appear to the left of a *wh*-in-situ phrase in Turkish. Lexical focus creates intervention effects; however, phonological focus does not have such

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<sup>18</sup> The difference between the Korean example in (12b) and the Turkish one in (13) might be due to the semantic interpretation of focus phrases in two languages. Meltem Keleş, in our personal communication, notes her observation that the question given in (13) does not have a typical *wh*-question intonation.

an effect in Turkish. This observation provides further evidence for my analysis that focus cannot be argued to act as an intervener in Turkish. Otherwise, the phonologically marked focus phrase in (14) would create intervention effects; however, it does not. Therefore, I conclude that among four potential groups of interveners, negative polarity items and lexically marked focus phrases with the focus particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’ are interveners in Turkish; however, quantifier phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases are not.

In the following section I will present the discussions on the varying behavior of wh-phrases and focused phrases.

### 5.3 Discussion on the Varying Behavior of Wh-Phrases and Focused Phrases

In this section, I will focus on the causal wh-phrases which are observed to display different behaviors compared to their counterparts analyzed throughout the study. I will also discuss the interaction between semantically focused phrases and stress in Turkish.

#### 5.3.1 *neden* ‘why’ as the Oddball

While investigating the interaction between wh-phrases and interveners in Turkish, I observed that, quite unexpectedly, some improvement is felt by many participants when the wh-phrase is a causal wh-expression, *niye*, *neden*, *niçin* ‘why’ in Turkish. Note that not every participant felt this improvement but many of them recognized the significant difference created by causal wh-phrases and other wh-phrases. That is the reason why the questions with causal wh-phrases were not rejected by many participants unlike the questions with other wh-words in the first acceptability judgment survey. Consider the examples below.

(15) a. Niye kimse yemeğ-in-i bitir-me-di?  
why anyone meal-poss-acc finish-neg-past  
'Why hasn't anyone finished his meal?'

b.? Kimse niye yemeğ-in-i bitir-me-di?  
anyone why meal-poss-acc finish-neg-past  
'Why hasn't anyone finished his meal?'

(15a) is predictably grammatical since the order in which the wh-phrase and the NPI occurs does not create any intervention effects. (15b), on the other hand, is not noted as totally unacceptable by many speakers. This is interesting because we normally expect this structure to be ungrammatical since the NPI to the left of the wh-phrase is given to yield the structure ungrammatical before. Now let me present an example with another wh-expression.

(16) \*Kimse kim-i gör-me-di?  
anyone who-acc see-neg-past

In (16) we see that the order in which the NPI c-commands the wh-phrase *nerede* 'where' is totally unacceptable. I conclude that causal wh-phrase creates weaker intervention effects compared to other wh-phrase above. However, the wh-phrase-NPI order is still more natural.

Tomioka (2007) also discusses the varying behavior of causal wh-phrases in Korean, Japanese and English. He shows that, similar to Turkish, these languages exhibit weaker intervention effects with *why*-phrase compared to other wh-phrases. However, the wh-phrase-NPI order is again the most natural order. Ko (2005 cited in Tomioka 2007) schematizes the 'why-intervener' order as below.



The unacceptable presuppositions given in (20) show that the wh-word ‘what’ does not presuppose the whole proposition, therefore Tomioka (2007) argues that in a why-question (and only in a why-question), the proposition that corresponds to the non-wh portion of the question must be presupposed. Therefore, why question is argued to allow weakening of the intervention effects.

Following Tomioka (2007), I assume that ‘why-questions’ in Turkish have the same presuppositional properties. Therefore, intervention effects with ‘why-questions’ are weaker in Turkish.

### 5.3.2 Semantically Focused Phrases and Stress

Findings in this study have implications for the interaction of semantically focused phrases and stress in Turkish.

Recall from Chapter 3 that Göksel and Özsoy (2000) argue that a second phrase in a multiple wh-question is de-accented even though it can be argued to be the semantic focus. They show that it is the leftmost phrase that receives stress in Turkish. Their examples are repeated below.

(21) a. \*Kim KİM-İ sev-iyor-muş?  
who WHO-ACC love-prog-hs-3sg

b. KİM kim-i sev-iyor-muş?  
who WHO-ACC love-prog-hs-3sg  
‘Who loves who?’

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:3)

We see that the sentence is grammatical when the leftmost wh-phrase bears stress as given in (21b). They further show that the same generalization applies to wh-constructions in which there is a stressed f-phrase. Consider the following examples.

(22) a. \*Ne zaman OKULA gid-ecek-sin?  
 when SCHOOL-DAT go -fut-2sg

b. OKULA ne zaman gid-ecek-sin?  
 SCHOOL-DAT when go-fut-2sg  
 ‘When will you go to school?’

(Göksel & Özsoy 2000:3)

In (22) the order where stressed f-phrase is followed by a wh-phrase is grammatical. The examples above show that if there are two semantically focused elements in a sentence, the leftmost one must receive stress.

Now let me analyze the wh-constructions in which there is a focused phrase with the particle ‘only’, and see whether Turkish intervention data are consistent with Göksel and Özsoy’s (2000) observations. Consider the following examples.

(23) a. KİM-İ sadece Ali ara-dı?  
 who-acc only Ali call-past

b. ?Kim-i SADECE ALİ ara-dı?  
 who-acc only Ali call-past  
 ‘Who did only Ali call?’

We see that (23a) is grammatical in which the focus phrase with the particle *sadece* ‘only’ does not get stress, but it is the wh-phrase that is stressed in the sentence.

(23b), on the other hand, is not an acceptable structure in which the leftmost element, wh-phrase, is not stressed. Therefore, the sentences in (23) support Göksel and Özsoy's (2000) generalization in that when two elements compete for stress, the leftmost one wins out and receives stress.

In this section I have presented my observations on the varying behavior of causal wh-phrases. I have shown that causal wh-phrases in Turkish have a weakening effect on intervention effects. Furthermore, I have shown that lexically marked focus phrase with the focus particle *sadece* 'only' provides evidence for Göksel and Özsoy's (2000) claim. It is the stress on the leftmost element, wh-phrase, which prevents the focus phrase to get stress.

#### 5.4. Syntax of Wh-in-situ and the Turkish Data

An analysis of intervention effects in wh-questions in wh-in-situ languages has to assume a proposal for wh-in-situ before proceeding to account for the intervention. Each of the works on intervention effects I discussed in earlier chapters assumes a different wh-in-situ account. Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997) assume that in-situ wh-phrases move to Spec, CP at LF, following Huang (1982). Kim (2002) assumes that the in-situ wh-phrase is interpreted as a choice function variable, and is bound by a Question Operator, following Reinhart (1998). Kim (2006) assumes that in-situ wh-phrases receive their interpretation by checking Question and Focus features against operators which have these features, following Chomsky (2000, 2001 and 2005).

In this section I raise the question whether the intervention data discussed in this thesis favors any of the accounts for wh-in-situ, those mentioned above and also those that have been proposed particularly for Turkish, as I discussed in Chapter 3. To answer this question I analyze representative intervention structures within three

major wh-in-situ and intervention approaches I mentioned above: LF-movement, operator-variable binding and feature checking approaches. I will conclude that once certain assumptions are made, Turkish intervention facts are compatible with all of these accounts.

The literature on wh-in-situ dates back to Huang's (1982) pioneering work which proposes a covert raising approach for wh-in-situ phrases. According to Huang (1982), although wh-in-situ phrases do not move at Surface Structure, they still move covertly at the level of LF and take scope over the whole structure. Huang's (1982) LF movement account is adopted by Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997) who propose that quantificational elements induce a blocking effect for the movement of the wh-in-situ which, for semantic reasons, have to move at LF to Spec, CP position.

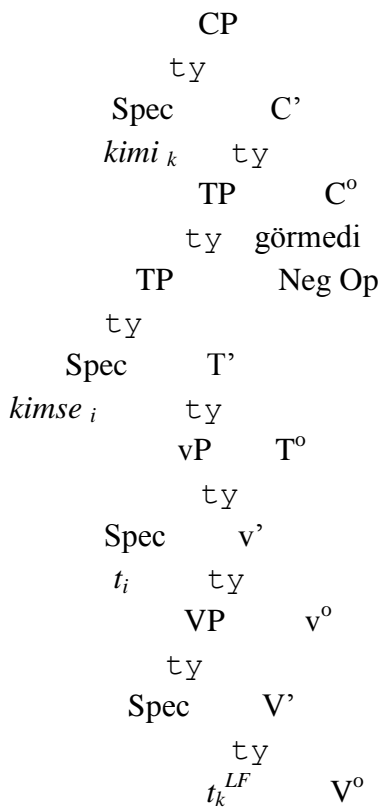
If one adopts Huang's approach to wh-in-situ in Turkish, as Akar (1990) and Özsoy (1990) do (cf. Chapter 3), then one could also adopt Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim's (1997) proposal to explain the intervention facts. Within this approach, the interveners in Turkish, NPIs and lexically marked focus phrases, would be assumed to create a blocking effect for the LF movement of in-situ wh-phrases. Consider the examples below.

- (24) a. \*Kimse kim-i gör-me-di?  
          anyone who-acc see-neg-past
- b. Kimi kimse görmedi?  
          'Whom didn't anyone see?'

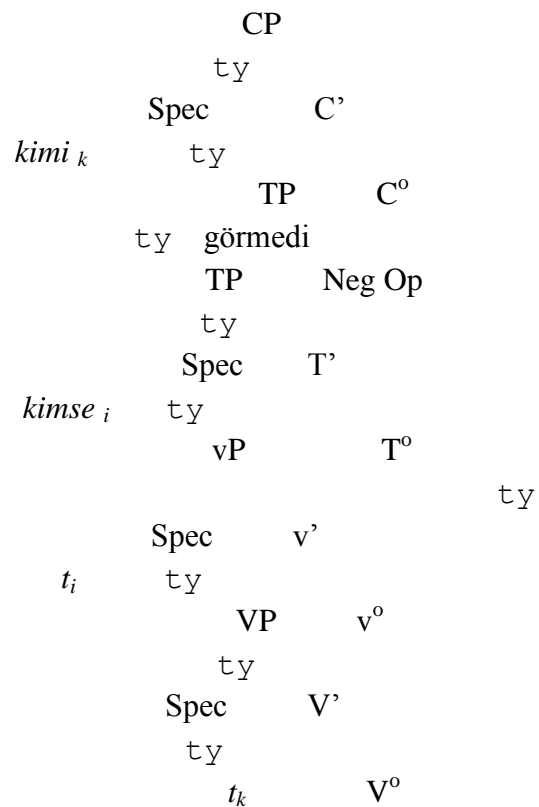
The LF representations of the sentences in (24) are presented below.



(25) a. LF representation of (25a)



b. LF representation of (25b)



In the LF representations above, I adopt the proposals presented in Kelepir (2001) and Beck and Kim (1997) for the syntactic position of the Neg Operator. Recall from Chapter 2 that Beck and Kim (1997) propose that Neg Op can be adjoined to any VP projection in Korean. Similarly, Kelepir (2001) argues for Turkish that an abstract Neg Op can adjoin to any projection c-commanding the NPI. For the structures above, following Kelepir (2001), I assume that the NPI is in SpecTP, and the Neg Op adjoins to TP.

In (25a) the wh-phrase moves to Spec,CP position covertly, and it leaves its LF trace behind. What renders the structure ungrammatical is that the first node that dominates the NPI, TP projection, creates a blocking domain and intervenes between

the moved wh-phrase and its LF trace. This is a violation of MQSC, therefore the structure is unacceptable.

In (25b), on the other hand, the wh-phrase does not move at LF but it first moves overtly to the sentence-initial position. Thus, the trace that it leaves in this position is not an LF trace. This does not violate MQSC since it is a constraint targeting only LF traces, hence the structure is acceptable.

We see that LF-movement-based accounts of wh-intervention effects can explain Turkish examples above. Now let me present how they can be analyzed without assuming LF movement.

An alternate account to LF movement of wh-in-situ phrases is Reinhart's (1997, 1998) choice function analysis according to which wh-in-situ is a function variable bound by the question existential operator (Q-operator). Therefore, there is no need to assume that wh-phrases move covertly at LF since they are interpreted in-situ. Analyzing NPIs as focus phrases, Kim (2002) proposes that a focus phrase may not intervene between a Q operator and wh-in-situ bound by that operator, and formulates the intervention effect not in terms of a restriction on the occurrence of an LF trace but in terms of a minimality effect blocking binding of a variable by its operator, which rules out the following configuration.

(26) \* [CP Q<sub>i</sub> [IP ... FocP ... wh<sub>i</sub> ... ]]

In (26) the focus-sensitive operator blocks the binding relation between the Q operator and the wh-in-situ bound by that operator. Now let us see how the contrast below can be explained if we adopt Reinhart's (1997, 1998) choice function analysis.

(27) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> Q<sub>k</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Sadece Ali kimi<sub>k</sub> gördü? ]]  
 only Ali who-acc see-past

b. [<sub>CP</sub> Q<sub>k</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Kimi<sub>k</sub> sadece Ali gördü? ]]

‘Who did only Ali see?’

In the ungrammatical case, (27a), the focus operator which comes with the focused phrase *sadece Ali* ‘only Ali’, intervenes between the Q operator and the wh-in-situ, *kimi* ‘who-acc’, bound by it. In the grammatical case, on the other hand, there is no intervening focus phrase between the Q operator and the wh-in-situ.

The last wh-in-situ account adopted by intervention effects proposals is feature movement account in the minimalist framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001 and 2005). This account argues that a wh-phrase has an uninterpretable [wh] feature and an interpretable [Q] feature, and an interrogative C has an uninterpretable [Q] feature. These features are argued to be checked by Agree at a distance. Kim (2006) proposes that the wh-in-situ has an uninterpretable [uQ] and also an uninterpretable focus [uF] feature that need to be checked against interpretable [iQ, iF] features of the Q operator. When these features match, all uninterpretable features are eliminated. However, the presence of a focus operator introduced by a focus element changes the structure as represented below.

(28) \*[<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>[iQ, iF]</sub> [ ... Foc<sub>[iF]</sub> ... [ ... wh<sub>[uQ, uF]</sub> ... ]]]

(Kim 2006:42)

Now let me analyze the sentences given in (28).

(29) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>[iQ, iF]</sub> [ FocOp<sub>[iF]</sub> Sadece Ali [ kimi<sub>[uQ, uF]</sub> gördü]]]

b. [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>[iQ, iF]</sub> [ Kimi<sub>[uQ, uF]</sub> [ FocOp<sub>[iF]</sub> Sadece Ali gördü]]]

In (29a) the *wh*-phrase has uninterpretable Q and Focus features which need to be checked against the interpretable features of the Q operator. However, the intervening focus operator, which is introduced into the structure with the focused element, can only check the uninterpretable F feature of the *wh*-phrase but it cannot eliminate the uninterpretable Q feature. The *wh*-phrase cannot be licensed by the Q operator due to the presence of the intervening focus operator, which yields the structure ungrammatical. In (29b), on the other hand, the *wh*-phrase checks its uninterpretable features against the Q operator as the focus operator does not intervene between the two.

We have seen that Turkish *wh*-intervention data can be explained with three of the accounts presented so far, only if certain assumptions are made for each account. If I assume that *wh*-in-situ phrases undergo LF movement in Turkish, Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997)'s analyses explain Turkish *wh*-intervention effects. However, under the assumption that *wh*-phrases get coindexed with the Q operator so they do not need to move at LF, I can display how Turkish interveners create blocking domains for the *wh*-in-situ. Similarly, feature checking account explains Turkish intervention data.

I assume that the reason why Turkish intervention data are compatible with all accounts is that Turkish is a *wh*-in-situ language and in all accounts, irrespective of the different assumptions presented, it is argued that interveners create a blocking domain for the *wh*-in-situ phrase. Considering the fact that all these accounts are proposed for Korean intervention data, I assume that it is predictable to explain

intervention effects in Turkish with these accounts since Korean and Turkish display similarities as mentioned before. Moreover, we have seen that even though the rules and the restrictions posed by each account change, the uninterpretability created by interveners remains the same.

At this point, I would like to discuss İşsever (2008) in more detail since it has more specific claims regarding wh-in-situ and focus as an intervener. As I mentioned earlier, İşsever (2008) is the first work in the literature which refers to wh-intervention effects in Turkish. He proposes that there is a FocP above the vP projection and it attracts phonologically focused phrases and creates intervention effects when it appears between the wh-operator and the wh-in-situ phrase. The data analyzed and the judgments presented in my thesis are different from what İşsever (2008) presents in his study. Now let me analyze my data based on İşsever's (2008) proposal.

- (30) a. KİM-İ sadece Ali gör-dü?  
who-acc only Ali see-past  
'Who did only Ali see?'
- b. KİM-İ kimse aramadı?  
who-acc anyone call-past  
'Whom did noone call?'

The sentences given in (30) are marked as grammatical in my study. Consider the following derivation of these sentences according to İşsever's proposal.

(31) [CP [TP [FocP [vP [VP ]]] ]]  
 OP<sub>i</sub> [Op<sub>i</sub> ~~kimi~~ <sub>+wh</sub>]<sub>+foc</sub> sadeceAli/kimse [Op<sub>i</sub> ~~kimi~~ <sub>+wh</sub>]<sub>+foc</sub> gördü/aramadı?

İşsever (2008)'s proposal can explain the grammaticality in (30) in this way. The wh-phrases are the only items which have the [+foc] feature since they are the only phonologically focused phrases in both sentences. Therefore, they move to FocP. In the next step, the uninterpretable u[wh] feature of C<sup>o</sup> attracts the operator of the wh-phrase with the feature [+wh] to its Spec. Thus, the wh-phrase lands in Spec,CP above. The semantically focused phrases *sadece Ali* 'only Ali' and *kimse* 'anyone' remain in their merge position, SpecvP. Recall that İşsever argues for [+foc] feature in SpecFocP as an intervener between a wh-phrase and its Q operator in Turkish. We see that [+foc] feature is not an intervener in the syntactic representation above. Hence, İşsever (2008)'s analysis seems to predict the grammatical structures in my data. Now consider the following ungrammatical examples.

- (32) a. \*Sadece Ali KİM-İ gör-dü?  
 only Ali who-acc see-past
- b. \*Kimse KİM-İ ara-ma-dı?  
 anyone wh-acc call-neg-past

The ungrammatical sentences in (32) are predicted to be grammatical according to İşsever's (2008) proposal. He argues that phonological focus is an intervener in Turkish. In the sentences above the NPI and the f-phrase do not get phonological focus, therefore the sentences are expected to be grammatical; however, they are still unacceptable. Now consider another example given below.

- (33) \*SADECE ALİ kim-i ara-dı?  
only Ali who-acc call-past

İşsever (2008) predicts the sentence given in (33) to be grammatical since the focused phrase with the particle *sadece* ‘only’ has a contrastive reading, and İşsever proposes that focus phrases with contrastive reading move to a higher FocP which is above the CP projection. Therefore, the focus phrase in this example is predicted not to create any intervention effects as it does not intervene between the Q operator and the wh-in-situ. However, the sentence in (33) is ungrammatical.

We have seen that even though we both argue that focus induces intervention effects in Turkish, İşsever (2008)’s proposal does not explain my data.

To summarize, three accounts have been proposed in the literature for the syntax of intervention effects in wh-questions. We have seen that if certain assumptions are made for each account for the syntax of Turkish wh-questions, all three accounts can explain Turkish intervention data.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter I would like to summarize the findings of my study and present questions for further research.

#### 6.1 Summary of the proposals and findings

This thesis investigates the nature of intervention effects introduced by four groups of potential interveners in simple wh-questions in Turkish. These groups are negative polarity items, quantifier phrases, lexically marked focus phrases with the focus particles *sadece* ‘only’, *bile* ‘even’ and *da* ‘also’, and phonologically marked focus phrases, that is, focus phrases which do not have any focus particles. It was shown that negative polarity items and lexically marked focus phrases create intervention effects in Turkish. However, quantifier phrases and phonologically marked focus phrases do not have such an effect.

Unlike what has been proposed for some languages such as Korean, Mandarin Chinese and Malayalam, it is argued that Turkish interveners do not form a natural group and it is not possible to treat all interveners as focus phrases. Therefore, the core set of interveners cannot be argued to be focus in Turkish.

It was presented that ‘why’ phrases have a weakening effect on intervention effects unlike other wh-expressions. This varying behavior of ‘why’ phrases is



argued to be derived from some peculiar presuppositional property that a *why* question has.

The interaction between semantically focus phrases and stress is also discussed, and it is shown that semantically focus phrases have a restriction which applies when there are two semantically focus phrases in the same structure. In a *wh*-question with the ‘*wh*-phrase...lexical focus’ order, it is the stress on the *wh*-phrase which prevents the focus phrase to get stress. This supports Göksel and Özsoy’s (2000) claim in that when two elements compete for stress the left-most one wins out and gets stress.

It was also argued that all accounts of *wh*-in-situ, which are adopted by the intervention effects proposals, can explain Turkish intervention data.

## 6.2 Questions for further research

One issue which was not addressed in this study is why phonologically focused phrases do not introduce intervention effects in Turkish unlike lexically focused phrases.

Another significant issue that needs to be studied is why there is a cross-linguistic variation among languages in terms of the set of interveners in each language. We have seen that the universal quantifier is an intervener in Korean but not in Turkish. What might be the reason for this variation?

I have emphasized throughout the study that this thesis investigates intervention effects in simple *wh*-questions in Turkish. Tomioka (2007) notes for Korean that intervention effects are weakened in embedded contexts. I would like to raise the question whether the same applies to Turkish as well. In other words, do we

observe intervention effects in embedded wh-questions in Turkish? If yes, is it the same class of interveners that create ungrammaticality? If no, what might be the reason for that?

Furthermore, I have investigated intervention effects only in questions with interrogative meaning. However, echo and rhetorical questions could also be analyzed to see whether intervention effects are observed in such structures as well.

Finally, considering the fact that two groups of interveners, i.e. lexically marked and phonologically marked focus phrases are focus related constructions, I expect that intervention effects might be observed in other focus related constructions as well. The first potentially focus-sensitive construction is alternative questions in which there is an intervener. An example is given below.

- (1) a. Ali çay mı kahve mi iç-ti?  
Ali tea q.marker coffee q.marker drink-past
- b. \*Sadece Ali çay mı kahve mi içti?  
only Ali tea q.marker coffee q.marker drink-past  
'Did only Ali drink tea or coffee?'

Another construction which might be studied is multiple wh-constructions. Consider the examples below.

- (2) a. Kim nerede sadece Ali'yi gör-dü?  
who where only Ali-acc see-past'  
'Who saw only Ali where?'

- b. \*Kim sadece Ali'yi nerede gördü?
- c. \*Sadece Ali'yi kim nerede gördü?

In the examples above I rely on my own intuitions. One needs to conduct an acceptability judgment survey for the constructions above. These questions are open for further research.

## APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS IN SURVEY I

Note that the grammaticality judgments that I mark for the questions below come from my results of the first study, they are not expected judgments or my own judgments.

### (A) ‘NPI.....wh-phrase’ order’

- (1) a. \*Kimse kimi görmedi?  
b. Kimi kimse görmedi?
- (2) a. \*Kimseye kim haber vermemiş;?  
b. Kim kimseye haber vermemiş?
- (3) a. ?Kimse niye yemeğini bitirmedi?  
b. Niye kimse yemeğini bitirmedi?
- (4) a. \*Dönem sonu raporlarına göre kimse hangi dersten kalmamış?  
b. Dönem sonu raporlarına göre hangi dersten kimse kalmamış?
- (5) a. \*Hiçbir öğrenci neyi okumamış?  
b. Neyi hiçbir öğrenci okumamış?
- (6) a. \*Partide hiçbirşeyden kim yememiş?  
b. Partide kim hiçbirşeyden yememiş?

(B) ‘Focus phrase.....wh-phrase’ order

- (1) a. \*Sadece Ali kimi aradı?  
b. Kimi sadece Ali aradı?
- (2) a. \*Sadece Ali nereye gidecekmiş?  
b. Nereye sadece Ali gidecekmiş?
- (3) a. \*Ali bile nereye gitmeyecek?  
b. Nereye Ali bile gitmeyecek?
- (4) a. ?Ali bile neden ödevini yapmamış?  
b. Neden Ali bile ödevini yapmamış?
- (5) a. \*Seçimlerde Ali de kime oy vermiş?  
b. Seçimlerde kime Ali de oy vermiş?

(C) ‘Quantifier phrase.....wh-phrase’ order

(1) a. ?Herkes niye bana bakıyor?

b. Niye herkes bana bakıyor?

(2) a. ?Herkes nerede toplanacak?

b. Nerede herkes toplanacak?

(3) a. ?Ali bazı dosyaları nerede saklıyormuş?

b. Ali nerede bazı dosyaları saklıyormuş?

(4) a. ?Bazı öğrenciler kimi aramış?

b. Kimi bazı öğrenciler aramış?

APPENDIX B: RESULTS OF SURVEY I

	Negative Polarity Items		Focus Phrases		Quantifier Phrases	
	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject
Subject1	0	6	0	6	2	2
Subject 2	1	5	1	5	3	1
Subject 3	1	5	0	6	2	2
Subject 4	0	6	0	6	2	2
Subject 5	1	5	1	5	1	3
Subject 6	1	5	1	5	2	2
Subject 7	0	6	0	6	2	2
Subject 8	0	6	0	6	3	1
Total	0.5	5.5	0.3	5.7	2.1	1.9

## APPENDIX C: DIALOGUES PRESENTED IN SURVEY II

### Dialogue 1

Öğretmen: Tatilde herkes hangi kitabı okudu?

Hakan: Ben *Suç ve Ceza* 'yı okudum.

Ozan: Ben de *Madame Bovary* 'yi okudum.

Öğretmen: Çok güzel. Şimdi herkes okuduğu kitabın bir sayfalık özetini çıkarın.

### Dialogue 2

Melike: Program kordinatörü bütün sınavları kime teslim etti?

Derya: Ali Bey almış ama şimdi kimde bilmiyorum.

Melike: Ben Melike Hanım'ı arayıp sorayım, sana da haber veririm.

Derya: Çok iyi olur, sağol.

### Dialogue 3

Hasan: Bazı öğrenciler hangi hocayı müdüre şikayet etmiş?

Duygu: Barış Bey'i şikayet etmişler diye duydum ama emin değilim açıkçası.

### Dialogue 4

Ömer: Geçen hafta birçok işçi neden işe gelmemiş?

Diyar: Bazı departman yöneticileri çalışanlarına tatil vermiş.

Ömer: Aaa... Ne güzel! Keşke bizim müdürümüz de bize verse.

Diyar: İnşallah bir gün o da olur.



Dialogue 5

Cemile: Sigara içen çođu vatandaş hangi yasanın çıkmasını istemiyormuş?

Melek: Artık kapalı alanlarda sigara içilemeyecekmiş. Tabii kimse yasa çıksın istemiyor.

Cemile: Evet ama içmeyenleri de düşünürsek çıkması daha iyi olacak gibi.

Melek: Haklısın.

APPENDIX D: RESULTS OF SURVEY II

	herkes...wh		bütün...wh		bazı...wh		birçok...wh		çoğu...wh	
	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject	Accept	Reject
S1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
S2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
S3	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
S4	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
S5	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
S6	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
S7	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
S8	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
S9	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
S10	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
S11	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Mean	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.4

## APPENDIX E: DIALOGUES OF QUANTIFIER PHRASES IN SURVEY III

### Session A

#### Dialogue 1

Ahmet ve Nazan önümüzdeki hafta sonu yapılacak olan sınıf pikniği hakkında konuşuyorlar. Pikniği organize eden kişi olan Ahmet Nazan'ın sorularını yanıtlıyor.

Nazan: Haftaya pikniğe gidiyoruz, değil mi?

Ahmet: Evet gidiyoruz ama artık kesin sayıyı almam gerek. Ona göre araç ayarlayacağım. Kesin olarak gelip gelmeyeceğinizi bir an önce söylerseniz sevinirim.

Nazan: Ben gelmeyi çok istiyorum ama yanımda getirmek istediğim arkadaşlarım var. Getirebilirim değil mi?

Ahmet: Tabii ama yer sıkıntısı olmasın diye sayı sınırlaması yapalım.

Nazan: Hmm... Herkes kaç kişi getirebilir?

Ahmet: En fazla iki diyelim şimdilik. Bir değişiklik olursa ben sana haber veririm.

#### Dialogue 2

Gazeteci: Sayın bakanım, Rusya'ya ihraç edilen birçok meyve ve sebze hangi nedenle geri gönderildi? Belirttikleri bir sebep var mı?

Bakan: İddialarına göre meyve ve sebzelerimizde ilaç kalıntısı varmış. Tabii bu tamamen asılsız bir iddia.

### Dialogue 3

Ali: Şirket elliden fazla çalışanı neden işten çıkaracakmış?

Mehmet: Ekonomik kriz yüzünden maaşları ödeyemez olmuşlar. İşçi sayısını azaltmaya karar vermişler.

Ali: Olan yine işçiye oluyor desene.

Mehmet: Öyle olacak gibi malesef.

### Dialogue 4

Ayşe Hanım: Yayınevi sahibi 90'lı yılların başında popüler olmuş birtakım yazarla neden tekrar çalışmak istiyor?

Ozan Bey: O yıllarda çok başarılı olmuş yazarlar çoğu. Sonra farklı alanlarda başka çalışmalar yapmak için yayıneviyle bağlarını kopardılar. Veli Bey de hepsini tekrar kendi çatısı altında toplamak istiyor.

### Dialogue 5

Bir bilgi yarışma programında sunucu yarışmacıya bir soru soruyor.

Sunucu: Türkiye'nin bütün şehirlerini hangi televizyon programcısı dolandı?

Yarışmacı: Ali Kırca.

Sunucu: Maalesef yanlış cevap verdiniz. Doğru cevap Uğur Dündar olacaktı.

## Dialogue 6

Seda: Dünkü toplantıya kimin katılmaması başkanı çok kızdırmış?

Nurcan: Ferhat Bey' miş duyduğuma göre. Son alınan kararlara tepki olsun diye gelmemiş.

Seda: Fakat bu yaptığı sorunu çözmez ki. Kuruldakileri de karşısına almış oldu böylece.

Nurcan: Bence de ama belki böylece kendisini dinlemelerini sağlamak istemiştir.

## Dialogue 7

Murat: 2010 için hazırlanan bazı takvimlerde hangi hatalar çıkmış?

Nihal: Baskı hataları çıkmış. Aslında ben siyah rengi seçmeyelim demiştim. Hep hata veriyor. Hem bulanık hem de çizgili çıkartıyor.

Murat: Evet ama diğer renkler de şirketin logosunu belli etmiyor.

Nihal: Beyaz yapabiliriz.. Neyse olan oldu. Hatalıları getirdim. Sayalım, ona göre beyaz yaptırırız.

## Dialogue 8

Gazeteci: Öne sürdüğünüz fikre göre herhangi bir nesneyi düşünce gücüyle nasıl hareket ettirebiliriz?

Mine Hanım: Kitabımda da anlattığım gibi herşey odaklanmayla alakalı. Öncelikle düşünce gücünün zamanla kazanılacağını kabul etmek, bunun bir sihir değil bilimsel bir gerçek olduğunu kabul etmek lazım.

## Dialogue 9

Okul Müdürü: Oya Hanım dersten kalan öğrencilerin birkaçından ne getirmelerini istemiş?

Müdür Yardımcısı: Ailelerinden durumdan haberdar olduklarını bildiren bir yazı istemiş çünkü yazı istenen bu öğrencilerin hepsinin devamsızlık sorunu varmış.

## Dialogue 10

Aşağıdaki diyalog bir sigorta şirketi yetkilisi ile bir müşteri arasında geçmektedir.

Yetkili: Sigorta sistemimiz yalnızca 18 yaşın üstünde olan çalışanlara açık.

Müşteri: Peki... Sisteminize giren her katılımcıdan hangi belgeleri istiyorsunuz?

Yetkili: Aslına bakarsanız istenen belgeler çalıştığınız kuruma, daha önceden bağlı olduğunuz sigorta şirketi ya da şirketlerine göre değişiklik gösterebiliyor. Başvuru formuna yazacağınız bilgiler doğrultusunda sizi daha iyi yönlendirebilirim.

## Dialogue 11

Öğretmen: Ali, ödevini kendin mi yaptın?

Ali: Evet hocam.

Öğretmen: Peki... İkinci bölümde verdiği araştırma sonuçlarını nereden aldın?

Ali: Onları bir internet sitesinden buldum.

Öğretmen: Bunu yasaklamıştım, hatırlamıyor musun?

Ali: Haklısınız hocam. Özür dilerim.

## Dialogue 12

Ahmet ve Can karşılaşıyor ve piknik hakkında konuşuyorlar.

Can: Şu pikniğe gelmek sıkıntılı olacak bizim için.

Ahmet: Niye?

Can: Otobüs Etiler Kapı'nın önünden kalkıyormuş duyduğuma göre ama biz karşıda oturuyoruz.

Ahmet: Nasıl yapalım? Buraya gelemez misiniz?

Can: Buraya kadar gelmeyelim. Bizi karşıdan alamaz mısınız?

Ahmet: Olabilir aslında. Çamlıca veya Beykoz'dan geçerken sizi alabiliriz. Çoğu kişi hangi semte yakın oturuyor?

Can: Beykoz'a yakın oyuranların sayısı daha fazla. En iyisi siz bizi oradan alın.

## Dialogue 13

Program sunucusu: Çalışma bakanlığı görevlileri ülkemizde çalışma şartlarının iyileştirilmesi için teklif edilen birkaç yasa değişikliğini işçi hakları yetkilileriyle ne zaman görüşecek?

Haberci: Henüz net bir açıklama yapılmadı ama önümüzdeki hafta görüşüleceği yönünde duyumlar aldık.

Dialogue 14

Aslı: Öğretmenim, Osmanlı Devleti'nin yıkılışında önemli rol oynayan dört anlaşmanın ikisi hangi padişah döneminde imzalanmıştı?

Öğretmen: Padişah Vahdettin.

Dialogue 15

İtir: Aradığın kitapları bulabildin mi?

Koray: Maalesef hayır. Bakmadığım yer kalmadı.

İtir: Kütüphanede elindeydiler. Kaçıncı katta çalıştın?

Koray: İkinci katta. Oradaki görevlilere de sordum ama görmemişler.

İtir: Umarım bulursun.

Koray: Umarım.

Dialogue 16

Gazeteci: Sayın Emniyet Müdürüm, yapılan baskında her bir terörist evinden kaç adet silah çıktı?

Emniyet Müdürü: Kesin bilgiyi polis arkadaşlarımdan edinebilirsiniz. Tek söyleyebileceğim ihbar edilen evlerin hiçbiri polisi yanıltmadı ve hepsinin örgüt evi olduğu ortaya çıktı.



Dialogue 17

Nazlı: Yanlış teşhis yüzünden yakınlarını kaybeden vatandaşların çoğu hangi kuruma dava açacakmış?

Mert: Sakarya devlet hastanesine dava açacaklarmış. Başhekimin de durumdan haberi varmış.

Nazlı: Peki bu durumda devletin bir birimine dava açıyor olacaklar. Bu biraz sıkıntı yaratmayacak mı?

Mert: Haklısın ama bu duruma birinin dur demesi lazım.

Dialogue 18

Mehmet Ali Birand: Göz altına alınan politikacıların bazıları hangi ünlü gazeteciyle görüşmek istedi?

Muhabir: Henüz açıklanmadı Sayın Birand ama gazetecinin yarın öğle saatlerinde cezaevine geleceğini öğrendik.

## Session B

### Dialogue 1

Merve: Derneğinizde Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi'nin bütün eserlerini kaç kişi okudu?

Emre: Hepsini okuyup bitiren sadece üç kişi var. Fakat diğer üyelerimiz de büyük bir azimle okumalarını sürdürüyorlar. En kısa zamanda bu sayının artmasını umuyoruz.

Merve: Umarız istediğiniz gibi olur.

### Dialogue 2

Gönül: Bu yılki bahar şenliklerinde konser verecek sanatçıların üçüyle kim görüşüp anlaşmış?

Tuğçe: Selim anlaşmış. Hem de biri ücretsiz çıkmayı kabul etmiş.

### Dialogue 3

Gazeteci: Özellikle ramazan ayında şerbetli tatlıları çok severek yiyoruz. Peki yediğimiz her bir dilim baklavada kaç kalori var?

Diyetisyen: Yaklaşık 300 kalori. Yani bütün gün aç kaldıktan sonra vücüda aşırı şeker yüklemesi yapıyoruz ve bu da kalp ve mide sorunlarını beraberinde getiriyor.

#### Dialogue 4

Berin: Dün akşamki partinin dedikodularını duydun mu?

Duygu: Kulağıma bişeyler geldi. Melek, Tan'ı yeni kız arkadaşıyla görünce erkenden gitmiş.

Berin: Aaa... gerçekten mi? Ben görmedim. Ben de birşeyler duydum da sana sorayım dedim. Sonradan gelen bazı davetsiz misafirler kimin keyfini kaçırmış?

Duygu: Ben o saate kadar çıkmıştım ama duydum ki Zuhal'in canı sonradan gelenlere çok sıkılmış. Sonuçta kendi partisi ve görmek istediklerini çağırıyor.

Berin: Haklısın, ayıp etmişler.

#### Dialogue 5

Ayşegül: Yemekhane ihalesini hangi firma almış?

Hande: Eurest almış yine.

Ayşegül: Üzüldüm, ben hiç memnun değildim.

Hande: Ben de ama yeni dönemde birçok değişiklik yapacaklarmış.

Ayşegül: İnşallah öyle olur.

## Dialogue 6

Gazeteci: Bahsetmiş olduğunuz boşanmaların ergen psikolojisi üzerine etkilerini inceleyen birtakım arařtırmalar hangi kurum tarafından yapılıyor?

Sosyolog: Çeřitli üniversitelerden toplamış olduğumuz öğrenci topluluęu ve ona liderlik eden bir grup sosyolog var. Onların sayesinde bu kadar önemli bir arařtırma yapabileceęiz.

## Dialogue 7

Deniz: Yapılan baskında listeye alınan yasaklı yayınların bazıları kimlerin evinde bulunmuş?

Tuęba: Hüseyin ve Murat'ın evinden çıkmış ama sadece o da deęil. Dięer arkadaşlar da gözaltına alınmış.

## Dialogue 8

Ali Bey: Sence seğıimlere katılan her üye neden Fatih Bey'i destekledi?

Pınar Hanım: Tam olarak bilemiyorum ama benim tahminim dięer başkan adayına tepkilerini göstermek için yaptılar.

Ali Bey: Bana kalırsa doęru bir yol izlemiyorlar. Fatih Bey başkanlık için uygun biri deęil.

Pınar Hanım: Haklısınız.

## Dialogue 9

Çiędem: Bu internet sitesinde üçten fazla dosya kaç saatte iniyor?

Deniz: Dosyanın büyüklüęüne baęlı ama en fazla iki saatte iner.

## Dialogue 10

Ali: Yarın akşamki davete gelenlerin çoğu hangi hava yolu firmasıyla geliyor?

Hasan: Türk Hava Yolları'yla geliyorlarmış.

Ali: Sen karşılar mısın?

Hasan: Olur ama yalnız gidemem. Kubilay da benimle gelsin.

Ali: Olur tabii.

## Dialogue 11

Gül: Sağlık raporlarını artık haftalık olarak dosyalamamızı istiyorlar.

Aydın: Dosyaladığımız raporları kime verecekmışiz? Sekretere mi?

Gül: Hayır. Personel işleri istiyormuş artık.

Aydın: Peki, anladım.

## Dialogue 12

Ahmet onları pikniğe götürecek otobüs firmasıyla konuşuyor.

Ahmet: Anadolu yakasında oturanlar kendilerini geçerken almamızı istediler.

Mümkün mü acaba?

Firma çalışanı: Tabii olur. Alırız.

Ahmet: Herkes nerede beklesin?

Firma çalışanı: Beykoz parkı önünde beklesinler.

Ahmet: Tamam, teşekkürler.

### Dialogue 13

Mehmet Bey: Borsada parasını kaybeden birkaç zengin bu durumdan hangi ekonomisti sorumlu tutuyor?

Ertuğrul Bey: Hepsinin ortak çalıştığı bir ekonomist var. Tesadüf olamaz, bilerek yanıldtı deniyor.

Mehmet Bey: Açıkçası ben inanmıyorum. Sonuçta bu kariyeri için büyük risk.

### Dialogue 14

Handan Hanım: Şirkete dava açmaya hazırlanan çalışanların birkaçı neden vazgeçmiş?

Ayça Hanım: Duyduğuma göre genel müdürle görüşükten sonra vazgeçmişler ama aralarında nasıl bir konuşma geçti bilemem.

### Dialogue 15

Öğretmen: Herhangi bir köklü sayı nasıl tamsayı yapılır? Kim söylemek ister?

Öğrenci: Kareköklü sayının katsayısını kök içine alırız.

Öğretmen: Peki, bunu nasılyaparız?

Öğrenci: Katsayının karesini kök içindeki sayı ile çarpar, kök içine yazarız.

Öğretmen: Çok güzel, aferin.

## Dialogue 16

Hilal: Erasmus için başvurular ne zaman bitiyor?

Kristin: Ayın 30'u son gün ama sen en geç haftaya Pazartesi ver. Son ana kalmasın.

Hilal: Tamam ben belgeleri hazırlayıp getiririm.

## Dialogue 17

Program sunucusu: Köyden kente göçün yarattığı sorunlardan bahsettiniz. Bunlardan en önemlisi işsizlik sorunu. Sizce köyden kente göç eden birçok vatandaş neden iş bulamıyor?

Milletvekili: Aslına bakarsanız genel bir işsizlik sorunu var. Çok fazla üniversite mezunu, buna karşılık az iş imkanı var. Bu durumda kalifiye eleman bile işsizken vasıfsız elemanın iş bulması iki kat zorlaşıyor.

## Dialogue 18

Ahmet: İhaleye teklifimizi sunmadan önce diğerlerinin ne fiyat verdiğini bilsek harika olurdu.

Hasan: Komite teklifleri ne zaman değerlendirecek?

Ahmet: Önümüzdeki ay.

Hasan: Peki çoğu şirket neden hala teklif vermedi?

Ahmet: Bilemiyorum ama biz kötü bir sürprizle karşılaşmamak için daha sıkı çalışmalıyız.

## APPENDIX F: FILLER DIALOGUES PRESENTED IN SURVEY III

### Dialogue 1

Seda: Dünkü toplantıya kimin katılmaması başkanı çok kızdırmış?

Nurcan: Ferhat Bey’miş duyduğuma göre. Son alınan kararlara tepki olsun diye gelmemiş.

Seda: Fakat bu yaptığı sorunu çözmez ki. Kuruldakileri de karşısına almış oldu böylece.

Nurcan: Bence de ama belki böylece kendisini dinlemelerini sağlamak istemiştir.

### Dialogue 2

Öğretmen: Ali, ödevini kendin mi yaptın?

Ali: Evet hocam.

Öğretmen: Peki...İkinci bölümde verdiğin araştırma sonuçlarını nereden aldın?

Ali: Onları bir internet sitesinden buldum.

Öğretmen: Bunu yasaklamıştım, hatırlamıyor musun?

Ali: Haklısınız hocam. Özür dilerim.



### Dialogue 3

İtir: Aradığın kitapları bulabildin mi?

Koray: Maalesef hayır. Bakmadığım yer kalmadı.

İtir: Kütüphanede elindeydiler. Kaçıncı katta çalıştın?

Koray: İkinci katta. Oradaki görevlilere de sordum ama görmemişler.

İtir: Umarım bulursun.

Koray: Umarım.

### Dialogue 4

Ayşegül: Yemekhane ihalesini hangi firma almış?

Hande: Eurest almış yine.

Ayşegül: Üzüldüm, ben hiç memnun değildim.

Hande: Ben de ama yeni dönemde birçok değişiklik yapacaklarmış.

Ayşegül: İnşallah öyle olur.

### Dialogue 5

Gül: Sağlık raporlarını artık haftalık olarak dosyalamamızı istiyorlar.

Aydın: Dosyaladığımız raporları kime verecekmiziz? Sekretere mi?

Gül: Hayır. Personel işleri istiyormuş artık.

Aydın: Peki, anladım.

Dialogue 6

Hilal: Erasmus için başvurular ne zaman bitiyor?

Kristin: Ayın 30'u son gün ama sen en geç haftaya Pazartesi ver. Son ana kalmasın.

Hilal: Tamam ben belgeleri hazırlayıp getiririm.

## APPENDIX G: RESULTS OF SURVEY III

In the table below A stands for the first session and B stands for the second session of the survey. The numbers from 1 to 4 show the acceptability judgments of the participants on the underlined constructions. 1 is totally acceptable, 4 is totally unacceptable. The numbers you see next to the quantifiers show the number of the participants (out of 20) who selected one of the options from 1 to 4. The percentage of each number is also given.

Quantifiers	Sessions	1	2	3	4
Universal Quantifiers					
Herkes	A	16 80%	3 15%	1 5%	0
	B	19 95%	1 5%	0	0
Bütün	A	16 80%	4 20%	0	0
	B	15 75%	3 15%	2 10%	0
Her	A	16 80%	2 10%	1 5%	1 5%
	B	15 75%	4 20%	1 5%	0
Her bir	A	19 95%	1 5%	0	0
	B	19 95%	0	1 5%	0
Total Percentage		85%	11%	4%	
Indefinite Phrases					
Birçok	A	18 90%	2 10%	0	0
	B	19 95%	1 5%	0	0
Çoğu	A	16 80%	3 15%	1 5%	0
	B	16 80%	2 10%	2 10%	0
Bazı	A	16 80%	3 15%	1 5%	0
	B	17 85%	3 15%	0	0
Birkaç	A	15 75%	4 20%	1 5%	0
	B	17 85%	2 10%	0	1 5%
Birtakım	A	15 75%	4 20%	1 5%	0
	B	16 80%	3 15%	1 5%	0
Total Quantifiers	Sessions	1	2	3	4
Partitive Phrases					
..in çoğu	A	16 80%	4 20%	0	0
	B	14 70%	4 20%	2 2%	0
..in birkaçı	A	18 80%	2 10%	0	0
	B	19 85%	1 5%	0	0

..in ikisi	A	16	80%	2	10%	2	10%	0
	B	14	70%	5	5%	1	5%	0
..in bazıları	A	15	75%	4	20%	0		1 5%
	B	17	85%	3	15%	0		0
Total Percentage			78%		18%		3%	1%
Others								
..den fazla	A	15	75%	4	20%	1	5%	0
	B	17	85%	3	15%	0		0
Herhangibir	A	16	80%	3	15%	1	5%	0
	B	15	75%	4	20%	0		1 5%
Total Percentage			78%		18%		2.5	

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