Hacettepe University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Linguistics

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS IN TURKISH

Aydoğan Yanılmaz

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2009

An Investigation Into The Lexical And Syntactic Properties of Negative Polarity Items in Turkish

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ÖZET

YANILMAZ, Aydoğan. *Türkçe'deki Olumsuz Uç İfadelerinin Sözdizimsel ve Sözcüksel Özellikleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2009.

Bu çalışma Türkçe'deki Olumsuz Uç İfadelerinin (OUİ) sözcüksel ve sözdizimsel özelliklerini incelemektedir. Türkçe'deki OUİ'lerinin sözcüksel özelliklerini açıklayabilmek için sözdizimsel tabanlı bir ayrım öne sürülmektedir. Bu ayrıma göre Türkçe'de iki tür OUİ'leri vardır. Birinci tür OUİ'ler, *asla* ve *sakın* gibi, sadece tümcede var olan belirgin olumsuzlama eki tarafından dilbilsel olabildikleri için "Güçlü OUİ'ler" diye adlandırılmıştır. Diğer taraftan dilbilgisel olması sadece tümcedeki belirgin olumsuzlama ekine bağlı olmayan OUİ'ler ise 'Zayıf OUİ'ler' diye kategorize edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın Türkçe'deki Olumsuz Uç İfadelerinin (OUİ) sözcüksel özelliklerine dair başka bir savı ise OUİ olan *kimse*'nin aynı zamanda serbest seçme ifadesi olmasıdır.

Bu çalışma Türkçe'deki Olumsuz Uç İfadelerinin (OUİ) sözdizimsel özelliklerine dair ise Türkçe OUİ'lerin özne konumunda nasıl dilbilgisel olduğunu araştırmaktadır. Turkce'nin özne konumunda OUİ'leri konumlandırabilmesi ise iki sözdizimsel şarta bağlanmıştır. Bunlardan ilki K-buyurma şartı, ikincisi ise de Taşıma şartıdır. Diğer bir değişle, özne ve nesne konumundaki OUİ'ler önce asıl pozisyonlarında k-buyurulup daha sonra da özne pozisyonuna taşındıklar belirtilmektedir. Bu nesne konumundaki OUİ'ler için de geçerli görünmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada ele alınan Türkçe'deki Olumsuz Uç İfadelerinin (OUİ) sözcüksel ve sözdizimsel özellikleri olumsuz uç ifadelerinin dilbilgisel olmasını Mantıksal Yapı'da çalışan bir sözdizimsel olay olduğu savı desteklemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Olumsuz uç ifadeleri, sözcüksel, sözdizim, izin verme

ABSTRACT

YANILMAZ, Aydoğan. *An Investigation Into The Lexical And Syntactic Properties of Negative Polarity Items In Turkish*. Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2009.

This study analyzes the lexical and syntactic properties of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in Turkish. In order to account for the lexical properties of NPIs in Turkish, a syntactically oriented distiction is proposed for different types of NPIs in Turkish. In that respect, the items which are licensed only through overt negation morphemes are named to be 'Strong-NPIs'. NPIs such as *asla* and *sakın* fall into this category. The items which do not depend solely on overt negation, however, is named to be 'Weak-NPIs'. With respect to the lexical properties of NPIs in Turkish, it is also proposed that *kimse* bears not only a negative polarity reading, it also has a free choice item reading.

As for the syntactic properties of NPIs in Turkish, the present study elaborates on the grammatical status of subject NPIs in Turkish. It proposes that the licensing of NPIs in Turkish is made by two syntactic conditions: the first being the C-Command Condition and the second being the Movement Condition. In other words, the grammaticality of the NPIs in [Spec, TP] position is accounted for by the movement of the subject NPI from the [Spec, *vP*] position to [Spec, TP] position after it is c-commanded in its base position.

To conclude, the analysis of lexical and syntactic properties of NPIs in Turkish are boiled down to the claim that negative polarity licensing is a syntactic phenomena operating at LF.

Key Words

Negative polarity items, lexical, syntax, licensing

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KABUL VE ONAY……... i
BİLDİRİM……. ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT..... iii
ÖZET..... iv
ABSTRACT..... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS..... vi
LIST OF FIGURES..... ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....… x

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Natural Language Negation……..... 1
    1.1 Negative Polarity……..……..... 1
    1.2 Positive Polarity……..... 2
1.3 Theoretical Framework……..... 3
    1.3.1 Basic Assumptions of Generative Grammar..... 3
    1.3.2 Minimalist Program……. 4
        1.3.2.1 Architecture of the Minimalist Program…….. 4
        1.3.2.2 Economy Principles…….. 5
        1.3.2.3 Syntactic Operations……. 6
        1.3.2.4 Formal Features……. 6
1.4 Statement of the Problem…….…… 7
1.5 Aim…….. 8
1.6 Research Questions……. 9
1.7 Outline of the Study……. 10

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.1 NPIs in Generative Grammar..... 11
2.2 Early Transformational Approaches..... 12
2.2.1 Klima (1964)..... 12
2.2.2 Jackendoff (1969) and Lasnik (1972)…… 13
2.3 Analysis from a GB perspective……..... 13
2.3.1 Progovac (1994)……..... 13
2.3.2 Linebarger (1980,1987)……..... 16

2.4 Minimalist Analysis..... 17
2.4.1 Kato (2000)..... 17
2.4.2 Guerzoni (2007)……..... 18
2.5 NPIs in Turkish..... 19
2.5.1 Zidani-Eroglu (1997a,b)……..... 19
2.5.2 Kelepir (2001)…….. 22
2.6 Other Studies on NPIs in Turkish……..... 24
2.6.1 Aygen-Tosun (1998)…….. 24
2.6.2 Besler (2000)…… 25
2.7 NPIs in Various Languages……. 26
2.7.1 Hungarian……... 26
2.7.2 Japanese & Korean…….. 27
2.7.3 Hindi…… 30

CHAPTER 3
ANALYSIS

3.1 Observations on Negative Polarity Items in Turkish……..... 32
3.1.1 What are other NPI Licensers in Turkish?..... 32

3.1.1.1 *DEGIL*…… 33
3.1.1.2 *YOK*..…… 37
3.1.2 Other Basic Observations on Turkish NPIs……..... 38
3.2 Clausal Configuration..... 40
3.3 Types of NPIs……..... 41
3.3.1 Strong NPIs..... 41
3.3.2 Weak NPIs…… 43
3.4 *Kimse* as a Free Choice Item……. 46
3.4 Subject NPIs in Turkish……. 50

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion and Conclusion..... 55

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 60

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1 The Architecture of the Minimalist Program..... 40

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABIL	ability
ACC	accusative case
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary verb
COND	conditional
COP	copula
C	complementizer
DAT	dative case
DET	determiner
DP	determiner phrase
FUT	future
I	inflection
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
LOC	locative case
NEG	negation
NP	noun phrase
PAST	past tense
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
VP	verb phrase
vP	little-v phrase
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. NATURAL LANGUAGE NEGATION

Negation is one, among others, of the universal properties of human language and every language has its own linguistic means to express negation (Horn 2001; Zeiljstra 2007). The first studies on negation, which do not scrutinize the universality of negation, date back to the ancient Greek philosophers. While Plato in *Sophist* suggests an ontological perspective to linguistic negation, Aristotle shifts the problem from ontological to logics (Horn 2001). In fact, Aristotelian analysis has composed the basic inspiration for the subsequent analysis of natural language negation by philosophers and linguists which further take the issue to the interaction of form and meaning. The form and meaning link which natural language negation exhibits poses a range of possible investigations especially when the universality of negation is taken into account.

1.1. NEGATIVE POLARITY

Some expressions in natural languages can only be used when they are in a suitable *polarity sensitive* (Baker 1970) context. English 'any' and 'ever' cannot appear in a positive context[1].

[1] 'Any' in (i) below is not a negative polarity item but it is a free choice item. I will discuss this contrast in Chapter III.

(i) Any student can answer this question.

(1) a. *John bought *any* apple today

b. John did not buy *any* apple today

(2) a. * I think John could *ever* climb Mount Everest

b. I do not think John could *ever* climb Mount Everest

(Linebarger 1980: 73)

The term Negative Polarity Items are used to refer to the lexical expressions such as ‘any’ and ‘ever’ whose distribution is limited to certain context, mostly negative context. The theoretical significance of these items for the modern linguistics or more specifically for the theoretical linguistics will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

1.2. POSITIVE POLARITY

In contrast to the NPIs which require mostly negative contexts, there are also Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) whose polarity sensitivity depends on positive contexts. For instance, ‘already’ and ‘some’ are well-studied PPIs in English.

(3) a. *John has not *already* come to the party

b. John has *already* come to the party

(4) a. *John does not have *some* money

b. John has *some* money

(Ladusaw 1980: 67)

As revealed in (4) and (5), PPIs are ungrammatical under the presence of a negative marker. In a sense, negative markers function as licensors for NPIs and anti-licensors for PPIs.

1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical basis that the present study lays down on is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). Before going into the outline of Minimalist Program (MP), the main claims of Generative Grammar, where MP has evolved, will be discussed in the next section.

1.3.1 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

Generative Grammar (GG) whose history dates back to mid-1950s is indeed not only a linguistic theorizing of natural languages but also research agenda which seeks out the intertwined role of language in human cognitive system. Regardless of the changes from the rudimentary to the fundamental ones in the theories of GG, the basic assumption is that humans are biologically endowed with the knowledge of language, just as they are born with their biological organs (Chomsky 2002). This knowledge of language is coded in our brain, and with the minimum exposure to the external linguistic input, children can acquire a language. The knowledge of language we are born with is composed of a few universal principals and constraints, supplemented with parameters which are responsible for the different instantiation of those principles in different

languages (Crain & Thornton 1998). Putting aside the lexicon which is idiosyncratic to each language, ideally, this minimum is argued to be sufficient to account for the nature of language. Thus the term Minimalist Program emerges from this idea (Boeckx 2008).

1.3.2 MINIMALIST PROGRAM

Minimalist Program is the most recent form of Parameters & Principles framework within Generative Grammar. It radically diverges from the earlier versions such as Extended Standard Theory (Chomsky 1964) and Government & Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) in that it eliminates the main transformational representations *Deep Structure* and *Surface Structure* from the architecture of the theory. Moreover, the derivations heavily depend on *formal features* of the lexical items instead of the rule-based systems with various transformations that applied in previous theories in GG.

1.3.2.1 ARCHITECTURE OF THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

The lexicon plays a considerable role in the architecture of MP. Along with the formal features, it is the main reason of cross-linguistic variation. The lexicon, which is technically known as *Numeration*, also hosts the initial position for the derivation to occur. Then, the derivation continues with another step called *Select* where one lexical item with an interpretable feature looks out another lexical item with an uninterpretable feature. To illustrate, in a DP like [$_{DP}$ The house], the head of the phrase which is *the* in this case looks out for a lexical element with an uninterpretable noun feature. Since

house bears this characteristic, the selection is legitimate. After *Select*, the lexical items are *merged* and become ready for syntactic operations like *Move* and *Agree*. What happens next is the interface of syntax, semantics and phonological features. There are two interface levels. The first one is the Logical Form (LF), also called the Conceptual-Intentional (CI) system, where the meaning of the derivation is attributed. The other interface level is the Phonetic Form (PF), also named Articulatory-Perceptual (AP) system, where the physical occurrences of the syntactic object in terms of sounds, or gestures are realized (Adger 2003). In case there occurs a need in the derivation regarding the extra processes of the input in terms of its pronunciation or morphological features, there is another point in the architecture which is Spellout. Below is the figure of the basic architecture of the Minimalist Program discussed so far.

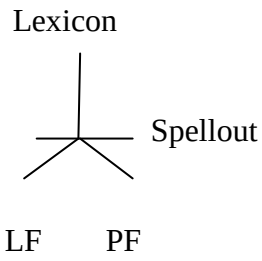


Figure 1: The architecture of the Minimalist Program

1.3.2.2 ECONOMY PRINCIPLES

The principle of Economy dictates that the levels of representations that no longer have any empirical foundation be removed from the architecture of the MP. Thus, the previous levels of representation which are the deep structure and surface structure do not have a role in the derivation. This principle also requires that human brain should adopt the most economical way for the derivations thus it makes it possible for the human brain to acquire a language with minimum amount of linguistic input.

1.3.2.3 SYNTACTIC OPERATIONS

Merge is at the center of the derivation in the MP. It is a binary concatenation operation which takes as input in the form of lexical items and produces a unit with a hierarchical nature. The choice of what items can merge is not idiosyncratic, yet it depends on the kind of features they posses. Thus, merge is the operation which implements recursion. In other words, it yields a number of relations which feature as crucial configurational patterns in the computational component like c-command (Chomsky 2002).

Agree is another syntactic operation that occurs in the MP. It establishes a relation between two lexical items with respect to their features: a probe and a goal. The probe has unvalued uninterpretable *Φ*-features which must be deleted. For this to occur, it must find a goal that possesses matching features with which it can check.

As in previous versions of the theories in GG, a movement operation is still posited for some derivations. However, in contrast to the earlier ones, MP claims that movement is not optional but must be forced in the derivation.

1.3.2.4 FORMAL FEATURES

Features are at the core system of derivation. They bear two main properties. First one is the interpretability property of the features. It is claimed that a formal feature is either [+interpretable] or uninterpretable. Interpretable formal features can be distinguished from purely semantic features in that semantic features cannot bear any sort of syntactic structures such as case and binding. In that respect, *Φ*-features (person, number and gender) of nominals are assumed to be interpretable; for example, the distinction between *man* and *woman* can be attributed to their *Φ*-feature (gender in this case) which is an interpretable feature. Case features on nominals, on the other hand, are taken to be uninterpretable as it is subject to a syntactic operation. What is essential about uninterpretable formal features is that they should be checked by selection of an interpretable formal feature so that they could *merge* during the derivation thus satisfying the condition of *Full Interpretation.*

The second property of the formal features is that of *strength*. Chomsky (1995) defines strong features to be those that a derivation simply 'cannot tolerate' and which trigger rules that eliminate them; "[strength] is associated with a pair of operations, one that introduces it into the derivation (actually, a combination of Select and Merge), a second that (quickly) eliminates it (1995: 233)."

These features are the focus of parameterization. In other words, due to the presence of the features, there arises cross-linguistic variation.

1.4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although there are analysis of Turkish NPIs in terms of their place in the clausal structure of Turkish (Kelepir 2001; Aygen 1998) and studies on the licensing properties of Turkish NPIs (Kelepir 2000, 2001, 2003; Kural 1993; Zidani-Eroglu 1998) and their relevance with respect to scrambling and question particles (Besler 2000) apparently there is no study describing the very nature of the lexical features of Turkish NPIs. Moreover, the subject NPIs have not dealt with in the literature so far.

Thus, the present study attempts to provide a solid analysis for the lexical properties of NPIs in Turkish and to come up with a syntactic account of how NPIs are licensed in the subject position.

1.5. AIM

The aim of this study is to determine what Turkish Negative Polarity Items (henceforth NPIs) are and to investigate how Turkish NPIs are syntactically licensed when they are in the subject position. The data from Turkish NPIs seem to converge with the classification laid out by Zwarts (1997) in that NPIs are divided into two categories namely the *strong NPIs* and *weak NPIs* according to the different syntactic environments that they occur. While the licensing of the former ones requires a context where there exists a negative licensor, the licensing of the latter ones seems to be possible even when they are in a non-negative context (e.g., questions and conditionals). This categorization provides a thorough analysis of NPIs with respect to their lexical properties. It also offers an empirical basis for some expressions, especially for some of the idiomatic phrases, to be treated with a negative polarity reading or not. Thus, this

thesis focuses on these previously unattested NPIs in Turkish, such as '*kılını kıpırdat-'* 'move an inch' and *gözünü kırp-* 'bat an eye', and discusses them under the categorization proposed by Zwarts (1997). While studying the Turkish NPIs from their lexical characterization, it is noted that 'kimse' *anybody* is lexically ambiguous between its negative polarity reading and its free choice (Kadmon & Landman 1993; Chierchia 2004; Horn 2005) reading depending on the various syntactic structures.

In contrast to the English NPIs, NPIs in Turkish can be licensed even when they are in the subject position (Zidani-Eroglu 1997). In order to be able to provide an explanation for this contrast, the study is further set out to discuss the syntactic mechanisms that allow the NPIs in Turkish to be in the [Spec, TP] position. It will be argued that the grammaticality of the subject NPIs are felicitous due to the *Head Movement Constraint* (Travis 1984; Pollock 1989) in that subject NPIs are based generated in the specifier of *vP* and then moves to the specifier of TP during the *spell-out*. That way they are c-commanded by their licensors which are either the head of NegP or the head of the CP before the derivation *crashes*. The analysis is compatible with the *VP-internal Subject Hypothesis* (Koopman & Sportiche 1991) and shows that NPIs in Turkish are licensed at LF rather than at PF in the course of the derivation.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study tries to answer the following research questions which are in parallel to the aims of the study mentioned above.

1. What are Turkish NPIs? In relation to this, how should they be grouped in a linguistic categorization?

2. Is 'kimse' *anybody* lexically ambiguous between negative polarity and free choice readings?

3. How is it possible for the NPIs to be licensed when they are in the subject position? In other words, what is the syntactic mechanism that operates for putting the NPI in the [Spec, TP] position?

4. Is the licensing of NPIs in Turkish subject to Head Movement analysis?

5. Does the licensing of NPIs in Turkish occur at LF or at some other interface level?

1.7 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is organized as follow. Chapter II includes an overview of the literature background on the NPIs from a theoretical linguistic point of view. It also discusses various data from typologically unrelated languages. Chapter III presents the NPIs in Turkish and offers an analysis. Chapter IV presents the discussion of the arguments defended in this study and further offers some implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Chapter II starts of with a broad introduction of the study of Negative Polarity in the Generative Grammar. It then elaborates on the analysis done from a Transformational, Government and Binding Theory and Minimalist frameworks. After that, it presents the studies carried out on the Negative Polarity Items in Turkish. This chapter is concluded by presenting Negative Polarity data from various languages.

2.1. NPIS IN GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

The syntactic features of negative phrases and the negators have puzzled linguists and thus led to ample amount of studies since the influential and comprehensive analysis of (Klima 1964). Negative Polarity Items (NPIs; henceforth) which are expressions such as ‘any’, ‘ever’, and ‘not at all’ or idioms like ‘lift a finger’, and ‘the faintest idea’ in English have been one of the focus of these studies. The analyses of NPIs have been one of the quite vehemently discussed topics of theoretical linguistics over the past four decades. There are several reasons why linguists have pursued the study of NPIs. The main reason why much attention has been drawn to the NPIs is that they behave quite similarly in most of the languages. The NPIs in typologically unrelated languages exhibit similar syntactic behaviors in that they all need a licensor, which is usually a negative marker or a negative free morpheme, for the sentence to be grammatical. Moreover, the study of NPIs provide clear example for the fundamental claim of

Generative Grammar that all natural languages are same at the deep level et they are subject to the parametric differences at the surface level (Chomsky 1995).

Another significant_of the NPIs for the theoretical linguistics is that they are the topic which is at the core of meaning and form. The topic of Negative Polarity licensing is at the core of Syntax-Semantics interface. Although essentially studied from a semantic point of view since the early study of Jespersen (1914), NPIs have also been a subject of study for Syntax due to their licensing conditions and the determination of where licensers can show up in the clause structure.

2.2. EARLY TRANSFORMATIONAL APPROACHES

2.2.1. KLIMA (1964)

Analysis of Klima (1964) is among the first treatment of the NPIs from a modern linguistics framework. His analysis, which is situated on the fundamental assumptions of the Transformational Grammar, deals with the polarity phenomena through syntactic mechanisms where he associates Neg symbol to the pre-sentential position. This Neg symbol is then transformed and incorporated into AUX or indefinites. According to his analysis, the problem of Negative Polarity, however, is solved by the presence of an *affective* feature which behaves like a trigger of an NPI. This affective feature, he claims, can be found in environments such as the scope of the negation, complements to negative predicates, questions and comparative clauses. Although in his study Klima (1964) does

not propose that there is a c-command relationship between NPIs and their licensors, he hints that argument by saying that they are ‘in construction with’ each other.

2.2.2 JACKENDOFF (1969) AND LASNIK (1972)

On the basis of the data in (5) below, Jackendoff (1969) and Lasnik (1972) both come up with a similar scenario with respect to the NPI licensing:

(5) a. * Anybody does not play cricket.

b. * The man who did not come watched any movie.

c. I did not ask anybody to play cricket.

d. [I did not think [that anybody would play cricket]].

Jackendoff (1969) suggest that negation marker originates in the licensing of NPIs and is transformed in the tree by an interpretive rule of a wide scope.

2.3. ANALYSIS FROM A GB PERSPECTIVE

2.3.1. PROGOVAC (1994)

Progovac (1994) comes up with a solution to NPI licensing problem by combining the Government and Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981) and extended Binding Theory of Aoun (1985, 1986) which includes both A and A′-binding. She assumes that the negative marker is in an A′ position. In this account, NPIs are assumed to have

anaphoric references and locality conditions just like reflexives. In other words, just like reflexives need a clausemate antecedent as in example (6) and NPIs must be licensed by a clausemate negation as shown in (7) and (8) in Serbian/Croatian, (9) and (10) in Russian and (11) and (12) in Chinese.

(6) Jane$_{\mathbf{i}}$ believes [that Mary$_{\mathbf{j}}$ respects *herself* $_{*\mathbf{i/j}}$.]

(7) Marija *(ne) voli *ni(t)ko*-ga

Mary not loves no one-ACC

'Mary does not love anyone.'

(8) *Ne tvrdi-m da Marija voli *ni(t)ko*-ga

not claim-1SG that Mary loves anyone

'I do not claim that Mary loves anyone'

(9) Maria *(ne) vidit *nikogo*

Mary not sees anyone

'Mary does not see anyone'

(10) *Peter ne skazal, [čto Maria vidit *nikogo*]

Peter not says that Mary sees nobody.

'Peter did not say that Mary can see anyone'

(11) Ta *conglai* meiyou kanjian Mali.

He ever did-not see Mary

'He has never seen Mary'

(12) * Zhangasan meiyou shuo ta *conglai* kanjian quo Mali

John did-not say he ever see Asp Mary

'John did not say that he had ever seen Mary'

(Progovac 1994: 3)

Then, she comes up with the Binding Parameter (13) for the licensing of NPIs

(13) **NPI Binding Parameter**

Most NPIs are subject to the Principle A (e.g. Serbian/Croatian, English, Catalan, Chinese)

According to her analysis, NPIs are assumed to move at LF so that they could be in the governing category of negative licensor for the long distance licensing of NPIs. This is illustrated in (14 a,b,c,d.)

(14) a.Mary did not say that John had met *anyone*

b. Mary did not say [$_{CP}$ *anybody* $_{i}$ [$_{C`}$that [$_{IP}$ John had met t_i]]]

c. John does not think that Mary said that she had met *anyone*

d. John does not think [$_{CP}$ *anyone* $_{i}$ [$_{C`}$that [$_{IP}$ Mary said [$_{CP}$ t_i [$_{C``}$that [$_{IP}$ she had met t_i]]]]]]

(14b and d) are the LF representations of (15a and c) respectively. In these examples, the NPI *anyone* is allowed to move higher at LF.

2.3.2. LINEBARGER (1980, 1987)

The analysis of Linebarger (1980, 1987) suggests a syntactic approach to the study of NPI lincensing where she comes up with a constraint as indicated in (16) below.

(16) **Immediate Scope Constraint (ISC)**:

> A negative polarity item is acceptable in a sentence S if in the LF of S the s subformula representing the NPI is in the immediate scope of the negation operator. An operator is in the immediate scope of NOT only if (i) it occurs in a preposition that is the entire scope of NOT, and (ii) within this proposition there are no logical elements intervening between it and NOT.
>
> (Linebarger 1987: 338)

The ISC is a kind of minimality requirement on NPI-licensing which ensures that no other logical operators such as quantified NPs or quantificational adverbs can intervene between an NPI and its licensing negation. Linebarger (1980, 1987) also indicates that being in the scope of a negative function is not sufficient to license NPIs. Their relation to the licensing negative expression is also subject to locality conditions, illustrated in (17) below.

(17) a. I did not budge

b. I did not say [that I budged]/[that John has seen Mary in years]/[that John likes Mary one bit]

c. * I did not shoot [because you budged] (but because…)

d. * I did not budge [because I am courageous, but because]

e. * I will not leave [after you budge to help me]

2.4 MINIMALIST ANALYSIS

2.4.1 KATO (2000)

Based on the asymmetries of data from English and Japanese, Kato (2000) proposes an unified theory of NPI licensing within the framework of the Minimalist Program. Building on the work of Laka (1990), he distinguishes between the *neg-feature* and *polarity feature* of the lexical items. In his analysis, the polarity feature is situated in CP whereas the neg-feature might show up in both CP and TP. Then, he suggests the following formal conditions for NPI licensing:

(18) a. α c-commands β

b. α is closest to β

c. α and β share the neg-feature

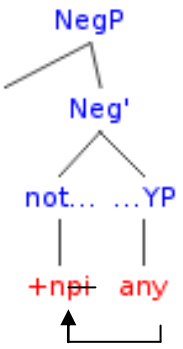
Thus, he comes up with the following formalization of the licensing conditions on negative polarity:

(19) An NPI is licensed by the neg-feature, which (*a*) c-commands the NPI, and (*b*) is closest to it.

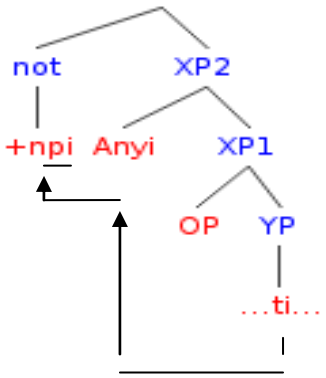
2.4.2 GUERZONI (2007)

In her analysis of NPI licensing, Guerzoni (2007) assumes in line with the Minimalist Program that distribution of NPIs occur with respect to the morphology-driven features that are to be checked via covert movement. She argues NPIs such as *anything* are special instances of indefinites which have a 'weak'/uninterpretable feature ([+npi]) which is supposed to be checked at LF by the head of a NegP. She further maintains that the licensing of the [+npi] feature can be accomplished covert movement. Following Pesetsky (2001), she distinguishes between Phrasal movement and Feature Movement as two types of covert movement. The former type is demonstrated in (20a) while the latter is in (20b).

(20)a. Feature Movement



b. Phrasal Movement + Feature Movement



What is essential in these representations is that they both are instances of covert movement where the uninterpretable [+npi] feature is checked by the Neg^0. Thus, she argues, NPI licensing is solved by Feature Movement if there is no logical operator in the sense of Linebarger (1980). However, if there is such intervener, the licensing puzzle is worked out by both Phrasal Movement and Feature movement as shown in (20b) above.

2.5 NPIS IN TURKISH

2.5.1. ZIDANI-EROGLU (1997a, 1997b)

In her study on Indefinite Noun Phrases in Turkish, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997a) illustrates the contexts where NPIs are licensed in Turkish. The first context that she points out is the presence of negation as indicated in the contrast between (21a) and (22b).

(21) a. Ali kimse-yi gör-me-di
Ali anyone-ACC see-NOT-PST
'Ali did not see anyone'

b. *Ali kimse-yi gör-dü
Ali anyone-ACC see-PST

(Zidani-Eroğlu 1997a: 138)

As another context where the NPIs are licensed in Turkish, she suggests the context of a matrix yes/no question morpheme (Q):

(22) a. Ali kimse-yi gör-dü mü?
Ali anyone-ACC see-PST Q
'Did Ali see anyone?'

(Zidani-Eroğlu 1997a: 138)

In contrast to NPI in English, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997a) notes that if clauses (23) and adversative predicates (24) such as 'surprised'. 'regret' and 'doubt' are unable to license NPIs in Turkish.

(23) a. *Eğer Ali kimse-yi gör-dü-yse, ban-a haber ver
If Ali anybody-ACC see-PST-COND I-DAT news give
'If Ali saw anyone, let me know'

(23) b. Eğer Ali kimse-yi gör-me-di-yse, ban-a haber ver
If Ali anybody-ACC see-not-PST-COND I-DAT news give
'If Ali did not see anyone, let me know'

(24) a. *pro* [kimse-nin gel-me-diğ-in]-den kuşkulu-y-um
Anyone-GEN come-not-NOM-3SG-ABL doubtful-COP-1SG
'I doubt that anyone did not come' = 'I doubt that anyone came'

(25) b. **pro* [kimse-nin gel-diğ-in]-den kuşkulu-y-um

(Zidani-Eroğlu 1997a: 138)

Given the contexts of the NPIs where they are licensed, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997a) concludes that the occurrence of NPIs in Turkish depends on the overt presence of negation or the matrix yes/no question morpheme. However, she does not come up with a licensing scenario of the distribution of NPIs in Turkish.

In another study on the Exceptionally Cased-Marked Noun Phrases in Turkish, Zidani-Eroğlu (1997b) puts forward a syntactic explanation of NPI licensing in Turkish. She assumes that affixal negation is attached to the verb which moves to the highest position in the sentence as shown in the representation (26)

(26) $[_{AgrP}[\ _{TP}[\ _{NegP}[\ _{VP}\ T_v]\ t_{Neg}\ ]\ t_T\ ]$ Verb + Neg + Tense + Agr]

Drawing on the representation in (26), she assumes that the verbal complex is positioned at S-Structure. She further argues that NPI licensing in Turkish takes place under *m-command* where the definition of m-command is 'α m-commands β iff the maximal projection dominating α dominates β, and α does not dominate β' Aoun and Sportiche (1983). She presents evidence for this argument by indicating the ungrammaticallness of subject and object NPIs when they are in a *–DIK* complement clauses as shown in (27a) and (27b) below.

(27) a. * Kimse [Ali'nin Banu-yu gör-me-diğ-in]i söyle-di

Anybody-NOM Ali-GEN Banu-ACC see-not-NOMIN-3SG-ACC say-PST-3SG

'Anybody said that Ali did not see Banu'

b.*Lale kimse-ye [Ali'nin Banu-yu gör-me-diğ-in]i söyle-di

Lale-NOM anybody-DAT Ali-GEN Banu-ACC see-not-NOMIN-3SG-ACC say-PST-3SG

'Lale said to anybody that Ali did not see Banu'

(Zidani-Eroğlu 1997b: 225)

Since the subject NPI in (27a) and the object NPI in (27b) in the matrix clauses are higher than the negation which is in *–DIK* complement, they fail to be m-commanded therefore making the sentences ungrammatical. Her analysis also assumes that the representation where the NPIs are licensed in Turkish is the S-Structure rather than LF.

2.5.2. KELEPIR (2001)

Kelepir (2001) groups NPIs in Turkish into three categories according to their morphological properties in (28)

(28) (i) **the adverb** *hiç* 'ever', 'at all'

(ii) **The words that begin with the morpheme *hiç*** such as *hiçkimse* 'anybody', *hiçbirsey* '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'

She then analyzes Turkish NPIs in simple clauses with universal quantifiers like *her* 'every', and *bazı* 'some' and she comes up with a conclusion that Turkish NPIs are subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint of Linebarger (1980) which basically claims that NPIs not only have to be in the scope of negation, but they have to be in its immediate scope. Therefore, while (29a) is judged to grammatical, (29b) is marked ungrammatical.

(29) a. *Hasan **hiçbir resm-i** bazı insan-lar-a göster-me-di-∅

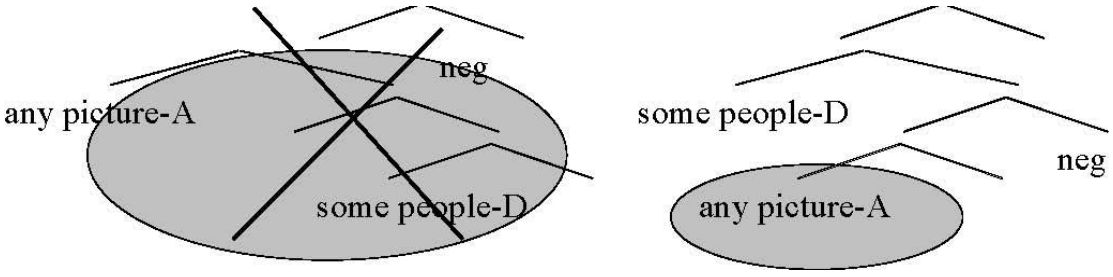
Hasan **any picture-A** some person-pl-D show-neg-past-3sg

Intended reading: 'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'

(29) b. Hasan bazı insan-lar-a **hiçbir resm-i** göster-me-di-∅

Hasan some person-pl-D **any picture-A** show-neg-past-3sg

'Hasan didn't show any pictures to some people'



(30) a. LF of (a) b. LF of (b)

(Kelepir 2001:138)

Following Kural (1993), Kelepir (2001) claims that negation must c-command NPIs in Turkish. Unless an NPI is c-commanded by a negative morpheme, the structure cannot be grammatical. To illustrate, in (31) is infelicitous as the negative marker is in the embedded verb which fails to c-command the NPI which is at the [Spec, TP] position.

(31) * Kimse [Ali'nin gel-me-diğ-i]-ni söyledi
Anybody Ali-GEN come-NEG-NOM-POSS-ACC say-PAST
'Nobody said Ali did not come'

Kelepir (2001) also explores the long distance licensing of NPIs in Turkish. She maintains that long distance licensing of NPIs can be accomplished through the syntax of the embedded clause in combination with the semantics of the embedding verb. She further argues that finite clauses and factive clauses do not allow long distance licensing.

2.6. OTHER STUDIES ON NPIS IN TURKISH

2.6.1. AYGEN-TOSUN (1998)

In contrast to the arguments of defended in Zidani-Eroğlu (1997a, 1997b), Kelepir (2001) and Kural (1993), Tosun-Aygen (1998) comes up with a counter argument by making use of the Spec-Head basis analysis of NPIs in Turkish. She assumes that Spec-Head relationship could enable the syntactic relation in which an NPI triggers the

emergence of NEG. She supports this argument with an empirical data (32) where the NPI *hic* is situated under SPEC NEGP as the frequency adverb *sık sık* is already assumed to occur at the SPEC TP position.

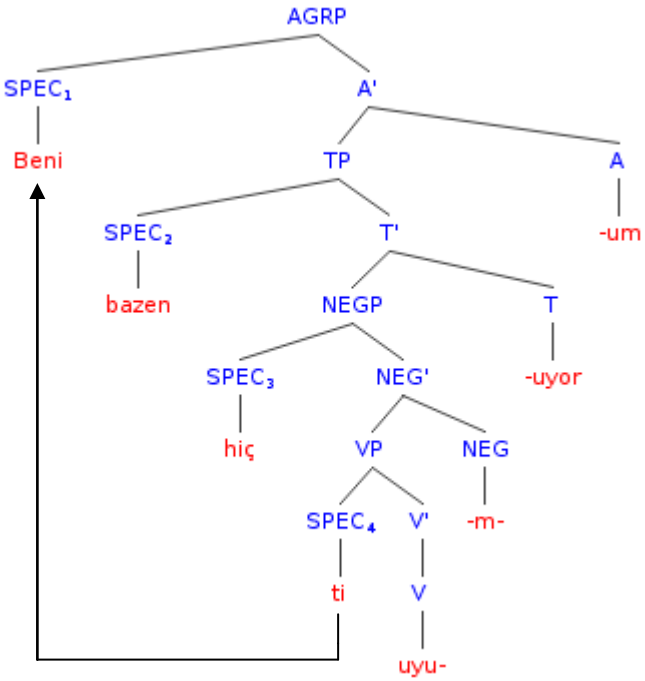
(32) Ben bazen hiç uyu-mu-yor-um

I sometimes never sleep-NEG-Prog-1stSgAgr

'I sometimes never sleep'

Tree structure of (32) is represented in (33) below.

(33)



2.6.2 BESLER (2000)

Besler (2000) analyzes the NPIs in interrogative environments in Turkish. She assumes that both NPIs and focus constituents exhibit similar syntactic behavior when they occur in interrogative sentences in that both are disallowed to take place when *–mI* marks a constituent other than AGRP or Tense/Aspect P. She also assumes that in order for the NPIs to be licensed in interrogative sentences the question particle should not occur with constituents other than the verb complex; otherwise, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as shown in (34a) and 34(b).

(34) a. * Ali mi hiç geldi?

b. * Kimse Ali'yi mi gördü?

(Besler 2000: 65)

2.7. NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

2.7.1 HUNGARIAN NPIS

Toth (1999) claims that there are two types of NPIs in Hungarian. The first type is the SE-NPI group and the second type is VALA-NPI group. SE-NPIs involve lexical items beginning with the prefix –SE such as *senkt* 'nobody', *sehol* 'nowhere', and *semmit* 'nothing' whereas VALA-NPIs involve words like *valaki* 'anybody', *valami* 'anything' and *valahol* 'anywhere'. Toth (1999) further demonstrates that SE-NPIs can occur only

with clausemate negation as pointed out in (35a) and (35b) while VALA-NPIs are licensed by superordinate negation and in non-negative polarity contexts as shown in (36a) and (36b)

(35) a. Pal nem latott senkit
Paul not saw nobody-ACC
'Paul did not see anybody'

b. *Maria nem mondta hogy Pal latott senkit
Mary not said that Paul saw nobody-ACC
'Mary did not say that Paul saw anybody'

(36) a. Pal nem mondta, hogy Maria valakitis latott
Paul not said that Mary anybody-ACC saw
'Paul did not say that Mary saw anybody'

b. * Pal nem mondott valamitis
Paul not said anything-ACC
'Paul did not say anything'

2.7.2 JAPANESE & KOREAN

NPIs in Korean and Japanese display common syntactic characteristics in different configurations. Unlike English NPIs, NPIs in both languages require its licensor, i.e., negation to be clausemate (37a) and (37b) otherwise the structure becomes degraded as shown in (38a) and (38b)

(37) a. ?*na-nun[John-i amwuto ttayliessta-ko] mitci ani hanta
I –Top -Nom anyone hit-Comp believe not do.
'I do not believe that John hit anyone'

b. na-nun[John-i amwuto ttaylici ani hayssta-ko] mitnunta
I –Top -Nom anyone hit not did-comp believe
'I believe that John did not hit anyone'

(Korean)

(38) a. ?*boku-wa [John-ga daremo nagutta to] sinzinai
I-Top [-Nom anyone hit-Comp believe-not
'I do not believe that John hit anyone'

b. ?*boku-wa [John-ga daremo nagurani to] sinziteiru
I-Top [-Nom anyone hit-not-Comp believe
'I believe that John did not hit anyone'

(Japanese)

(Sohn 1995: 9)

Another common characteristics of Korean and Japanese with respect to their NPIs is that both languages allow their NPIs to be licensed in the subject position.

(39) a. Anwuto cha-lul saci ani hayssta (Korean)
Anyone car-Acc buy not did
'(lit) Anybody did not buy a car'

b. Daremo kuruma-o kawa-na-katta (Japanese)
'(lit) Anyone did not buy a car'

(Sohn 1995: 10)

Unlike NPIs in Turkish and English, Korean and Japanese NPIs cannot be licensed by a question morpheme.

(40) * Amwuto wass-ni? (Korean)
Anyone come-Q
'Did anyone come?'

(41) * Daremo kimassitaka? (Japanese)
'Did anyone come?'

(Sohn 1995: 11)

2.5.3 HINDI

Lahiri (1998) suggests that NPIs in Hindi are formed by the combination of an indefinite and an emphatic marker *bhii*. He lists several such types of NPIs in (42)

(42) ek bhii 'any, even one'	ek 'one'
koii bhii 'anyone, any (count)'	koii 'someone'
kuch bhii 'anything, any (mass)'	kuch 'something, a little'
zaraa bhii 'even a little'	zaraa 'a little'
kabhii bhii 'anytime, ever'	kabhii 'sometime'

NPIs in Hindi are also licensed by the presence of the negative morpheme *nahiiN*. He further argues that NPIs appear freely in the semantic scope of negation, and there is no S-Structure or c-command requirement on NPI licensing as observed in English. He illustrates this argument with the examples in (43).

(43) a.* Koii bhii aayaa
anyone came
'Anyone came'

b. Koii bhii nahiiN aayaa
anyone not came
'No one came'

c.* Main-ne kisii-ko bhii dekhaa

I ERG anyone saw

'I saw anyone'

d. Main-ne kisii-ko bhii nahiiN dekhaa

I ERG anyone not saw

'I didn't see anyone'

(Lahiri 1998: 60)

It is appealing to note that NPIs in genetically unrelated languages as exemplified above display same syntactic requirement in that they all need a licensor, which is in most case a negation morpheme, so that the sentence could be grammatical. This empirical conclusion consolidates that the basic assumption of Universal Grammar argued by Chomsky (1957, 1964, 1995 and among others).

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the claims of the current study. It starts off with some observations that have not been paid attention to in the previous studies on NPIs in Turkish. Then, it offers a distinction between Negative Polarity types which is followed by the arguments on the lexical property of a Turkish NPI. The chapter concludes with proposals on the syntax of the NPIs which are in the subject position.

3.1. OBSERVATIONS ON NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS IN TURKISH

Before going on with the arguments of this study, I present some more background on Turkish NPIs that have not been discussed so far in the literature. I will discuss some other licensers of NPIs in Turkish and then provide some more empirical facts about them.

3.1.1. WHAT ARE OTHER NPI LICENSERS IN TURKISH?

In the previous chapter, it is pointed out that the licensing domains of NPIs in Turkish are not as diverse as those of English, German and Dutch. For instance, while English NPIs such as ‘ever’ and ‘and’ can be licensed under the presence of negation; if-conditionals; comparative clauses; complements of ‘too’; questions and complements of adversative predicates, the licensing domains of NPIs in Turkish are claimed to be the

presence of the negation morpheme *–mA*; question particle *–mI* and *–sIz* ‘without’ morpheme (Kelepir, 2001).

It should be noticed that there are other negative environments other than the occurrence of *–mA* and *–sIz* where the NPIs are licensed in Turkish. *Değil* ‘not’, *yok* ‘non-existent’ and *olmadan* ‘except for’ are other expressions which render the grammaticality of the NPIs in Turkish[1]. Both the lexical and NPI-licensing properties of *Değil* ‘not’, *yok* ‘non-existent’ and *olmadan* ‘except for’ will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.1.1. *DEĞIL*

Değil ‘not’ is a free morpheme which is used to indicate negativity in both nominal and verbal sentences (Erguvanlı Taylan, 1986).

(43)a. Ali zekidir

Ali smart. *DIr*.3sg

‘Ali is smart’

b. Ali zeki değildir

Ali smart not. *-DIr*.3sg

‘Ali is not smart’

[1] It should be made clear that in Turkish linguistics *değil* and *yok* have been treated as the same instantion of the negation morpheme *–mE* with different semantic and pragmatic interpretation. For a detailed discussion, see Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986). The reason why they appear in this part of the study is just for illustrative purposes.

In (43b) *değil* negates the nominal sentence in (43a). It is also attached with *–DIr* and the zero morpheme for third person singular. Göksel and Kerslake (2005) indicate that *değil* can also be attached with the copular markers (44), the person markers belonging to a group (45) and the converbial marker *–(y)ken* (46).

(44) Nejat gençliğinde bu kadar ***inatçı*** **değil-di**

stubborn not-P.COP

'Nejat wasn't so stubborn when he was young.'

(45) [**Evde değil-sin**] sandık

not-2SG

'We thought [you weren't at home]'

(46) [Anneleri **ev-de** **değil-ken**] çok daha derli toplu oluyorlar

Home-LOC not-CV

'They are much tidier [when their mother isn't at home]'

(Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 313,314)

değil is also used to negate the verbal sentences as illustrated in (47) below:

(47) Her yere taksiyle **gid-iyor** ***değil*-im**

go-IMPF not-1SG

'It's not the case that I go everywhere by taxi'

(Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 314)

Göksel & Kerslake (2005) observe that negating a sentence with *değil* is different from negating it with *–mA*. They claim that negations with *–mA* as indicated in (48) below maintains a state of affairs, while negating a verbal sentence with *değil* rejects an assumption which has either been overtly expressed or which the speaker attributes to the hearer.

(48) Her yere taksiyle **git-mi-yor-um**

go-NEG-IMPF-1SG

'I don't go everywhere by taxi'

(Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 314)

There is sufficient amount of evidence suggesting that apart from its nominal negation feature, *değil* also bears NPI-licensing property. It can license the NPIs when they are in a nominal sentence.

(49) a. Bu devirde *kimse* sultan **değil**

This age-LOC anybody sultan not-3SG

'No one is a sultan in this age'

b. *Hiç kimse* farkında **değil**

Anybody aware not- 3SG

'No one is aware'

In both (49a) and (49b) *değil* functions as the licensers of the NPIs *kimse* and *hiç kimse* since the sentences turn out to be ungrammatical without *değil* (50a) and (50b)

(50) a. *Bu devirde *kimse* sultan

b. **Hiç kimse* farkında

In addition to its syntactic role in the licensing of NPIs, *değil* also contributes to the semantics of the sentence especially when it is used with adverbial NPI *hiç* 'ever', 'at all'.

(51) a. Ali yakışıklı **değil**
Ali handsome not.3SG
'Ali is not handsome'

b. Ali sempatik de **değil**
Ali sympathetic also not.3SG
'Ali isn't even sympathetic'

c. Ali idealist *hiç* **değil**
Ali idealist at all not.3SG
'He isn't idealist at all'

It can be derived from the set of data (51 a-d) that there is a change of strength in meaning (51c) has a more semantic force than (51b-c). (51c) implies that Ali has no chance of being idealist at all while (51b-c) does not have the same interpretation as the

one in (51c). It should be pointed out that (51a) and (51b) do not convey the same semantic force since the meaning in (51b) is stronger than (51a). These interpretations may shed light to the assumption that there is in fact there is a scalar implicatures in the semantics of the NPIs.

It should also be observed that the syntactic position of the Turkish NPI *hiç* does not have to be in the preverbal position. When it occurs after the subject as indicated in (51d) below, it does not cause ungrammaticality.

(51) d. Ali *hiç* idealist **değil**

3.1.1.2. *YOK*

Erguvanli-Taylan (1986) and Göksel & Kerslake (2005) define *yok* as the negative existential expression which is the negated form of *var* ‘existent’

(52) Evde bir tane bile fazla ampul yok

‘There isn’t even one spare light bulb in the house.’

(53) Çorbanın tuzu yok

‘The soup doesn’t have any salt [in it]’

Just like *değil, yok* ‘non-existent’ seems to license NPIs in nominal sentences as shown in (54a and 55a) whereas the existential morpheme *var* ‘existent’, which is the opposite of *yok*, cannot license NPIs in Turkish (54b and 55b).

(54) a. Oda-da *kimse* **yok**
Room-LOC anybody absent.3SG
‘There isn’t anyone in the room’

b. *Oda-da *kimse* **var**

(55) a. Para-m *hiç* **yok**
Money-1SG Poss at all absent.3SG
‘I don’t have any money’

b. * Para-m *hiç* **var**

3.1.2. OTHER BASIC OBSERVATIONS ON TURKISH NPIS

It is an uncontroversial fact that NPIs in Turkish can be found in adverbials such as *hiç* ‘at all’ and *katiyen* ‘never’ and occur in various syntactic positions such as the subject and the object positions. Yet, there are no verbal-NPIs which must always occur with negative such as German *brauchen* ‘need’ and Dutch *hoeven* ‘need’.

(56) a. *Er *braucht* zu kommen (German)
*He need come

(56) b. Er *braucht* **nicht/selten/kaum/** zu kommen

'He need not/seldom/hardly come'

(Falkenberg 2001: 80)

(57) a. Je *hoeft* deze boeken *(**niet)** te lezen (Dutch)

you need these books not to read

'You don't have to read those books'

(Hoeksema 2000: 130)

In Turkish one licenser is sufficient for the licensing of more than one NPI.

(58) *Kimse* *hiçbir* laf söyle-ye-**me**-z

Anybody anything remark say-ABIL-NEG-AOR.3SG

'Nobody can say any word'

In (58) above the use of *hiçbir* is not obligatory and seems to be related to strenghten the meaning since (59) below is also grammatical.

(59) *Kimse* laf söyle-ye-**me**-z

Moreover, there could also two licensers for one NPI as in (60)

(60) *Kimse* tehlike-nin farkında **değil mi**?

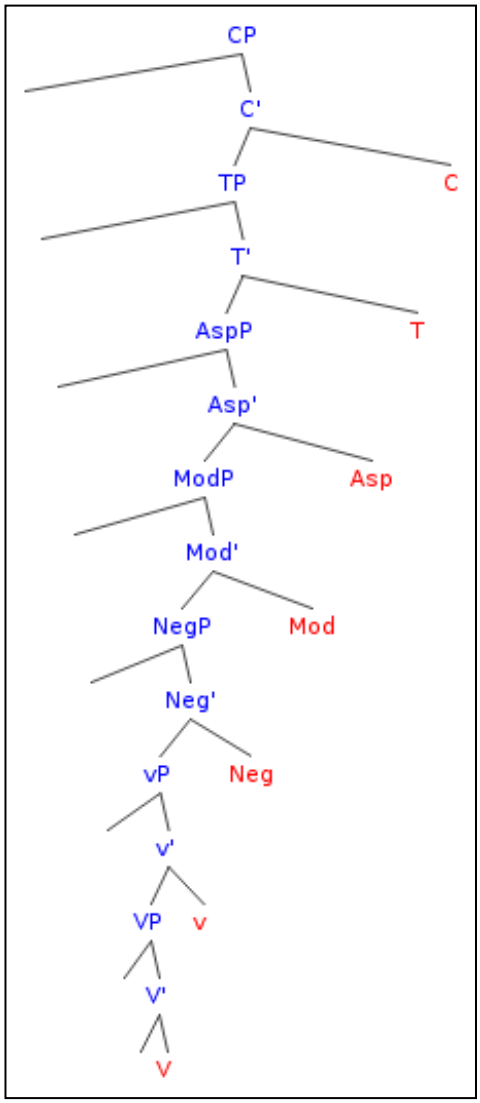
Anybody danger-GEN aware not Q

'Isn't there anyone who is aware of the danger?'

3.2. CLAUSAL CONFIGURATION

This study does not propose a new clausal structure for Turkish. Instead, it heavily relies on the structure (61) suggested by Aygen-Tosun (1998).This configuration is based on the fundamental assumptions of the Minimalist Program and Split-Infl hypothesis of Pollock (1989). According to this configuration, NegP is situated higher up in the tree than the vP. Thus, it becomes structurally inevitable for the subject NPI to be base generated under the [Spec, vP] position and then to be moved to [Spec, TP] position before Spell-Out.

(61)



Before going about the syntactic properties of subject NPIs and their licensing properties, it is necessary to reveal the claims of the present study on the lexical properties of NPIs in Turkish.

3.3. TYPES OF NPIS IN TURKISH

Zwarts (1997) argues that that polarity phenomenon should essentially be associated with the lexical properties of the items at issue. He further categorizes NPIs according to the context in which they are licensed. According to Zwarts' (1997) classification items that are only grammatical under the presence of negation are 'Strong NPIs' whereas other items which can also be licensed by other contexts such as questions or conditionals are 'Weak NPIs'.

Following Zwarts (1997), the present study argues that there is a distinction between Weak-NPIs and Strong-NPIs in Turkish and further claims that adverbial NPIs *asla* 'never' and *katiyen* 'ever' and the exclamation expression *sakın* 'beware' are Strong-NPIs while *hiç*-words, *kimse* and other idiomatic NPIs such as *ağzını bıçak aç-* 'not say a word' and *gözünü kırp-* 'not hesitate' are Weak-NPIs.

3.3.1. STRONG NPIS

Since they can only occur under the presence of a negation marker, *asla* 'never', *katiyen* 'ever' and *sakın* 'beware' are Strong-NPIs in Turkish. They are licensed by overt negation as in (62a,b,c)

(62) a. Anne-ni *sakın* üz-**me**/*üz

Mother-2SG POSS ever bother-NEG -3SG

'Beware, don't you ever bother your mother'

b. Sevgi-siz bir hayat *katiyen* düşün-e-**me**-m / *düşün-ür-üm

love-less a life ever think-ABIL-NEG-1SG

'I can never imagine a life without love'

c. *Asla* yalnız yürü-**me**-yecek-sin

never alone walk-NEG-FUT-2SG

'You will never walk alone'

Yet, they fail to be licensed by conditionals or questions as in (63) and (64)

(63) *Kimin-le *katiyen* konuş-acak-sın?

whom-with ever speak-FUT-2SG

'*With whom will you ever talk?'

(64) * Öğretmen *asla* gel-di mi?

teacher ever come-PAST.3SG Q

'*Did the teacher ever come?'

In order for the Strong-NPIs to occur in an interrogative structure there still must be an overt negation as indicated in (65).

(65) Onun-la *katiyen* konuş-**ma**-yacak mısın?
Him-with ever speak-NEG-FUT Q-2SG
'Won't you ever talk to him (again)?

This condition, namely the the existence of an overt negation marker, is also valid for conditional sentences leading to grammatical sentences for both adverbs:

(66) a. Öğretmen *asla* gel-me-z-se, hasta demektir
teacher ever come-NEG-AOR-COND.3SG

3.3.2 WEAK NPIS

Among the Weak-NPIs in Turkish are *hiç*-words, *kimse* and other idiomatic expressions. It mainly focuses on the idiomatic expressions and it proposes that some idiomatic phrases should also be taken to have negative polarity status in Turkish. These idiomatic expressions, however, are assumed to be Weak-NPIs as they can not only occur under negation but also some other contexts. It should be noted that these phrases, when in literal meaning, can occur without the presence of negation. The argument of this study regarding their negative polarity status holds true only when they are used in the figurative meaning. Each of these phrases has been analyzed below.

Ağzını bıçak aç- 'not say a word'

(67) Sınav-dan sonra *ağzı-nı* *bıçak aç***ma**dı /* açtı

exam-ABL after mouth-ACC knife open-NEG-PAST.3SG

'After the exam, he didn't say a word'

Beş para[2] 'not worth a cent'

(68) Bu adam-ın can-ı *beş para* et-**me**-z/*eder.

this man-GEN body-AGG five money AUX-NEG-AOR.3SG

'His life does not worth a cent'

Gözünü kırp- 'not hesitate'

(69) *Göz-ü-nü* *kırp*-**ma**-dı/* kırptı, böbreğ-i-ni anne-si-ne ver-di

eye-3SG POSS-ACC blink-NEG-PAST.3SG kidney-3SG POSS-ACC mother-3SG POSS-DAT give-PAST.3SG

'He didn't hesitate a moment, he gave his kidney to his mother'

Gözünün yaşına bak- 'show no mercy'

(70) Öğretmen başarısız öğrenci-ler-in *göz-ü-nün yaş-ı-na bak*-**ma**-*dı* /* baktı.

Teacher unsuccesful student-PL-GEN eye-3SG POSS-GEN drop-AGG-DAT look-NEG-PAST 3SG

'Teacher showed no mercy to the unsuccesful students'

Kılını kıpırdat- 'bat an eye'

[2] There is variation in native speakers' judgements on the negative polarity reading of this idiomatic phrase. These speakers contrast this usage with the adjectival usage of it, like in 'beş paralık N'.

(71) Ali arkadaş-ı-nın ödev-i için kıl-ı-nı kıpırdat-ma-dı / *kıpırdattı.

Ali friend-3SG POSS-GEN homework-AGG for hair-3SG POSS-ACC move-NEG-PAST 3SG

'Ali didn't bat an eye for his friend's homework'

It should be noted that these idiomatic phrases can be licensed by conditionals even when there is not an overt negation as in (72) and (73)

(72) Ali ödev-i için kıl-ı-nı kıpırdat-say-dı, şimdi rahat ed-er-di

Ali homework-3SG POSS for hair-3SG POSS-ACC move-COND-PAST.3SG, now relax AUX-AOR-PAST.3SG

'If Ali had batted an eye for his homework, he woul be relaxed now'

(73) Öğretmen öğrenci-ler-in *göz-ü-nün yaş-ı-na bak-say-dı*, basit soru sorardı

Teacher student-PL-GEN eye-3SG POSS-GEN drop-AGG-DAT look-COND-PAST.3SG, easy question ask-AOR-PAST.3SG

'If the teacher showed mercy for the students, he would have asked easy questions.'

In (72) and (73) above there is not a negation morpheme yet the sentences are still grammatical. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the sentences are not negated structurally, semantically both (72) and (73) implies negativity since these are counter-

factual conditional clauses. In other words, the doer of the action has not achieved of doing anything so the speaker of (72) and (73) in a way regrets his not doing anything. Similar semantic negativity cannot be achieved even when the structure encompasses an overt negation morpheme. In fact, the sentence becomes infelicitous due to the presence of the negation marker:

(74) *Öğretmen öğrenci-ler-in *göz-ü-nün yaş-ı-na bak-**ma**-say-dı*, basit soru sorardı

Teacher student-PL-GEN eye-3SG POSS-GEN drop-AGG-DAT look-NEG-COND-PAST.3SG, easy question ask-AOR-PAST.3SG

'If the teacher did not show mercy for the students, he would have asked easy questions.'

3.4. KIMSE AS A FREE CHOICE ITEM

In this section, I will argue that *kimse* 'anybody' has not only a negative polarity reading but also it possesses a free choice item reading as well. Thus, following Kadmon and Landman's (1993) claim on English 'any', I will claim that *kimse* is lexically ambiguous between these two readings.

'Any' which has a negative polarity reading in English can also occur in both non-negated sentences and other licensing environments of NPIs as illustrated in (75) below.

(75) To continue, push *any* key.

Horn (2005) and Carlson (1980) maintain that ‘any’ in (75) above is not an existential quantifier which most NPIs are but it is an universal determiner whose domain of quantification is not a set of particular individuals but the set of possible individuals of the relevant kind. Thus, it is a wide scope universal:

(76) Any cat hunts mice

$\forall x[cat(x) \quad \text{hunts-mice}(x)]$

‘Any’ when used with a universal quantifier reading is called to be a free choice item (FCI) and thus it is differentiated from the NPI ‘any’. Dayal (1998) observes that there are still semantic and syntactic restrictions in the use of ‘any’ with its FCI reading. In her analysis the reason why it is not possible for FCI ‘any’ in all non-negated sentences is explained by Subtriggering which states that non-negative statements may license an *any* phrase when they are modified by a subordinate clause, such as relative clauses. Thus, the examples in (77 a-c) are grammatical since the FCI ‘any’ has been modified by a subordinate clause in each case while their counterparts without a modifying clause in (78 a-c) are marked ungrammatical.

(77) a. John talked to any women who came up to him.

b. Any woman who heard the news contributed to the fund.

c. Any man who saw the fly in the food did not eat diner

(78) a. * John talked to any woman.

b. * Any woman contributed to the fund.

c. * Any man did not eat dinner.

Similarly, *kimse* which has a negative polarity reading contains a free choice item reading too. Its use, however, is strictly limited by the environments defined in the Subtriggering.

(79) a.*Bir *kimse-nin* durum-u benim durum-um gibi-dir

a anybody-GEN situation-ACC my situation like-*DIr*

'The situation of the person who wants to light a fire is like my situation (intended)'

b. Ateş yak-mak iste-yen bir *kimse-nin* durum-u benim durum-um gibi-dir

Fire burn-INF want-REL a anybody-GEN situation-ACC my situation like-*DIr*

'The situation of the person who wants to light a fire is like my situation'

(80) a. **Kimseler-e* siz de saldır-ın.

anybody-DAT you too attack-IMP

'Attack to those who attack you (intended)'

b. Size saldı-ran *kimseler-e* siz de saldır-ın.

Attack-Rel anybody-DAT you too attack-IMP

'Attack to those who attack you'

(81) a. **kimseler*, okuma-nın hakkı-nı ver-ir-ler

anybody, reading-GEN right-ACC give-AOR-1PL

'Those wise people whom we gave book do a genuine reading (intended)'

b. Kendi-leri-ne kitap verdiğimiz ehil *kimseler*, okuma-nın hakkı-nı ver-ir-ler

Self-PLU-DAT book give-REL-1PL-AOR wise anybody, reading-GEN right-ACC give-AOR-1PL

'Those wise people whom we gave book do a genuine reading'

The examples (79a-80a-81a) are ungrammatical since *kimse* does not have a modifier; however, (79b-80b-81b) are not ungrammatical due to the relative clause which modifies *kimse* in the sentences. Therefore, it is legitimate to conclude that *kimse* successfully obeys the Subtriggering Principle suggested by Dayal (1998). It then naturally leads to another argument that the quantificational force of *kimse* does not embody the set of particular individuals but it contains the set of possible individuals of the relevant kind. Likewise, in (79b-80b-81b) *kimse* refers to the group of people who have gone through the same action, which is committing crime, nevertheless it obviously does not refer to the specific individuals who have undergone the same action. It should be noticed that this quantificational force of *kimse* in (79b-80b-81b) not existential but it is clearly a universal quantifier with a wide scope domain. In other words, *kimse* in these examples is not an NPI but it is a FCI.

Another empirical fact which consolidates the argument that *kimse* apart from its NPI status has also a FCI reading comes from the observation that *kimse* can occur with indefinites and plurals.

(82) 18 yaş-ı-nı doldur-an herkes başka **bir** *kimse*-nin izn-i-ne bağlı olmak-sızın evlen-ebilir

18 age-AGG-ACC fill-REL everybody a anybody-GEN permission-AGG-DAT dependent AUX-INF-without marry-ABIL.3SG

'Everyone who is over 18 can marry without the permission of anyone else'

(83) Kişisel gelişim kurs-lar-ı-na git-miş veya en azından bunun-la ilgili kitap-lar oku-muş *kimse***ler** var-dır

Personal development course-PLU-AGG-DAT go-EV.MOD or at least this-COM related book-PLU read-EV.MOD anybody-PLU exist-DIr

'There are those who have attended the personal development courses or have at least read books about it'

In (82) the FCI *kimse* is modified by the indefinite determiner *bir* 'a' and in (83) *kimse* is inflected with the plural morpheme *lAr*. Both of these sentences are grammatical and in both sentences *kimse* has a universal quantifier reading. Although *kimse* can be used interchangeably with *hiç kimse* when it bears a negative polarity reading, it cannot be used interchangeable with *hiç kimse* when it has a free choice reading:

(84) *18 yaşını dolduran herkes başka bir *hiç kimse*nin iznine bağlı olmaksızın evlen-ebilir

(85)* Kişisel gelişim kurslarına gitmiş veya en azından bununla ilgili kitaplar okumuş *hiç kimseler* vardır

3.5 SUBJECT NPIS IN TURKISH

In chapter II, a contrast is drawn between English NPIs and NPIs in Korean and Japanese in that while English cannot allow NPIs in subject position as indicated in (86), in Korean and Japanese it is grammatical to have NPIs in subject position as in (39a) and (39b), repeated here as (86) and (87).

(86) *Anybody did not visit me

(87) Anwuto cha-lul saci ani hayssta (Korean)
Anyone car-Acc buy not did
'(lit) Anybody did not buy a car'

(88) Daremo kuruma-o kawa-na-katta (Japanese)
'(lit) Anyone did not buy a car'

(Sohn 1995: 10)

Similar to the Korean and Japanese, in Turkish NPIs can be situated in the subject position as shown in (89) below.

(89) *Kimse* beni aramadı
Anybody me call-NEG-PAST.3SG
'Nobody called me'

This empirical fact in which the licensee is not within the immediate scope of the licensor seriously casts doubt on the Immediate Scope Constraint (ISC) suggested by

Linebarger (1980). While ISC seems to explain the syntax of NPIs in English, it fails to capture the contrast observed in the subject NPIs. Likewise, the argument of Kelepir (2001) that the NPIs are subject to the ISC since they have to be in the immediate scope of negation cannot account for the NPIs in subject position.

The surface asymmetry that is observed among English, Korean, Japanese and Turkish does not actually undermine the rudimentary claim of Universal Grammar. In fact, a Minimalist analysis to the licensing properties of the subject NPIs adequately provides an explanation for the surface asymmetry. In this analysis, I assume that there are two syntactic mechanisms operating for the licensing of NPIs in Turkish. The first one is the c-command condition (90):

(90) C-command Condition

In Turkish, NPIs are licensed when they are c-commanded by their licensors.

This condition explains that the internal arguments such as the objects or other complements of the verb are licensed by the overt negation marker attached to the verb in Turkish. Besides the negation marker, *Değil, Yok* and the question particle *–mI* are all the syntactic licensors of the NPIs since they are the predicates of the sentence which can c-command their complements. The examples below

(91) ⌈Ali [*kimse-yi* üz-me-z]]

Ali anybody-ACC disappoint-NEG-AOR.SG

‘Ali does not disappoint anyone’

(92) [Ali [*hiç* ıspanak ye-me-z]]

Ali ever spinach eat-NEG-AOR.3SG

'Ali never eats spinach'

(93) [Ali [*hiç* başarılı değil]

Ali ever successful not

'Ali is not successful at all'

(94) [Ali [*hiç* ıspanak ye-di mi?]]

Ali ever spinach eat-PAST.3SG Q

'Has Ali ever eaten spinach?'

In the surface structure, the subject NPI in Turkish does not appear to have a c-command relationship. However, following the *Head Movement Constraint* (Travis 1984; Pollock 1989) and the *VP-internal Subject Hypothesis* (Koopman & Sportiche 1991), the present study assumes that the subject NPIs are base-generated within the [Spec, *vP*] position as shown in (95):

(95) [$_{vP}$ Subject NPI [$_{VP}$ …]]

Thus it is satisfactorily c-commanded by the licensor in the NegP which is just one step higher than the *vP*. So the next step in the derivation is indicated in (96) below:

(96) [$_{NegP}$ [$_{vP}$ Subject NPI [$_{VP}$ …]]]

In this representation the Subject NPIs are shown to be c-commanded by their licensor which is the head of the NegP before the derivation *crashes*. It should be noted that the derivation is not completed since there is another condition that the subject NPIs should meet. This condition is Movement Condition which is formulated in (97) below.

(97) Movement Condition

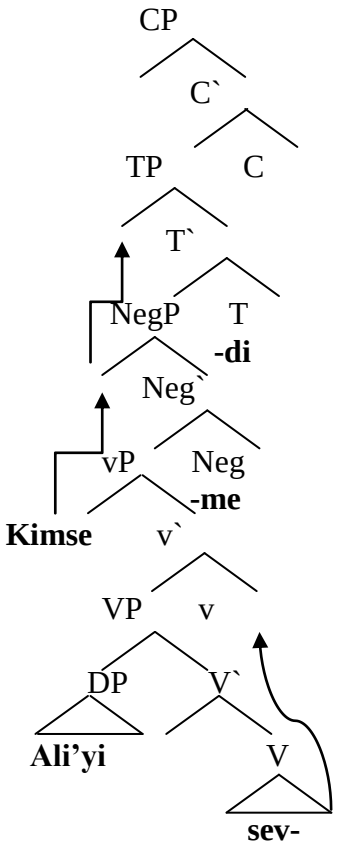
After the *checking* uninterpretable Neg feature, the Subject NPIs must move to the [Spec, TP] position before Spellout.

It should be noted that Movement Condition as suggested above is an instance of a covert movement which is achieved at LF. This analysis is compatible with the argument of Guerzoni (2007) which simply states that the NPIs bear a 'weak'/uninterpretable feature ([+npi]) which is assumed to be checked at LF by the head of a NegP.

To illustrate, see how the derivation occurs in the example (98) where there is a Subject NPI. (99) is the tree structure of (98)

(98) Kimse Ali'yi sevmedi.

(99)



(99) shows that the subject NPI *kimse* suitably meets both the C-Command Condition and Movement condition; therefore, there occurs no *crash* in the course of the derivation.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The present study iniatially set out to shed light to the syntactic configurations that grammaticalize the negative polarity items in Turkish. In the course of the study, it was soon realized that the fundamental questions regarding the very nature of negative polarity items have not been studied from a contemporary linguistics perspective. In fact, the previous studies on NPIs in Turkish have not provided a coherent framework to distinguish what an NPI is and what it is not. Thus, the study directed itself to analyze what Turkish NPIs are in the first place. Further analysis into the lexical nature of the NPIs has revealed that not all NPIs have the same semantic and syntactic characteristics. Keeping this in mind the study aimed to explore whether there could be a lexical ambiguity in one Turkish NPI, namely *kimse.* Moreoever, the study also intended to unearth some of the previously untouched syntactic behaviours of Turkish NPIs from a recent framework in syntactic theory. Finally, the study attempted to explore the grammatical status of the subject NPIs in Turkish and to come up with a syntactic account to explain the phenomena.

The findings of the analysis have shown some results that previous studies have not revealed. First of all, the present study has argued that not all NPIs in Turkish have the same quantificational force. For this purpose, NPIs in Turkish have been categorized into two main categories. Those which are bound to be licensed by only overt negation markers are called to be ‘Strong-NPIs’. This type of NPIs includes lexical items such as *asla* and *sakın*. The other category that the Turkish NPIs are attributed to is called

‘Weak-NPIs’ which can be licensed not only by negation morpheme but also by other licensors such as question particle *–mI* and non-existential *yok*. While investigating the linguistic properties of the Weak-NPIs, it became apparent that in Turkish some idiomatic expressions have indeed negative polarity readings when they are used in the figurative sense. Their status as negative polarity items have been first attested in this study.

Another result that the study has come up with is related to the lexical property of *kimse.* In the literature, it has always been treated to carry a negative polarity reading. This study has argued that apart from its negative polarity status, *kimse* also possesses a free choice item reading as well. The empirical evidence supporting this claim is that *kimse* complies with the Subtriggering Principle suggested by Dayal (1998) for the free choice ‘any’ in English. Another supporting evidence for the free choice reading of *kimse* is that it can be modified by the indefinite determiner *bir* and it can be inflected by the plural suffix *–lAr* while the use *hi kimse* with the indefinite determiner or the plural suffix is strictly ungrammatical.

The study also provided a syntactic analysis for the NPIs in subject position. It has argued that the licensing of NPIs in Turkish is due to two conditions: the C-Command Condition and the Movement Condition. In line with the basic derivational design of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), the study concentrated on syntactic operations that allow the NPIs in Turkish to be in the [Spec, TP] position. Then, it came up with an analysis stating that the grammaticality of the NPIs in [Spec, TP] position is made

possible by the movement of the subject NPI from the [Spec, *vP*] position to [Spec, TP] position after it is c-commanded in its base position.

Although these results contribute to the literature on the negative polarity items in Turkish, they are by no means the ultimate conclusions on the subject at hand. Surely, there are subtle differences among the lexical items and there is definitely a need to disclose the essential properties which let them behave in various syntactic structures. For instance, a diachronic analysis of *kimse* will unquestionably yield some results that will enlighten the historical change that this particular lexical item has undergone. In modern standard Turkish, the free choice use of *kimse* seems to be abundantly found in legal discourse or in formal settings. More interesting results might come up when a linguistic analysis is done on the discourse of *kimse*.

The present study focused on the lexical and syntactic properties of the NPIs in Turkish. While doing that, it has followed the basic notions of Generative Grammar and used the recent version, Minimalist Program as its method for the conduct of the research. Thus, it thrives to contribute to the current approaches from this framework. However, it could not manage to compare and contrast this analysis from Generative Grammar perspective with other existing theories of syntax such as Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Lexical Functional Grammar or Categorial Grammar. Further research into the licensing phenomena of NPIs might yield some more conclusions in the war these grammars analyze the natural language and more results regarding the derivative power of each framework may emerge.

One obvious limitation of the present study is that it extensively relied on the native speakers judgements while analyzing the data. Therefore, it did not include possible discoursal and phonological factors that also play a great role in language comprehension. While analyzing the data, it became noticeable that there is a need to document the negative polarity items in Turkish. A corpus study into the lexical properties of NPIs in Turkish may produce significant results for the lexicographical studies. Hoeksema (2000) for instance reports to have completed a lexicon of Dutch polarity items, which approximately contains 500 items.

When statistical results are drawn from Corpus studies and the NPIs are well-documented, there will certainly arise more studies from Psycholinguistics to find out the acquisition patterns of NPIs. These studies have been conducted in languages in which NPIs have been extensively analyzed both from Theoretical Linguistics and Corpus Linguistics. To illustrate, in their study on the processing NPIs in German Saddy et al. (2004) suggest that negative polarity items extract distant processing reflexes when the syntactic conditions are not met. The arguments of the present study might give some insights for such experimental linguistic works.

One essential argument that the present study profoundly relies on is that the knowledge of language is innate in human beings. Therefore, the same principles hold true for all natural languages while they exhibit various syntactic pattern to articulate the same semantic expression. In other words, languages are same at the deep level in spite of the differences in the surface level. Thus, keeping this significant assumption in mind, another implication of the present study can be conducted in the language

teaching/learning areas. If the curriculum developers are informed about the structural differences observed in NPIs of different languages, they can design their materials accordingly. Also, they will be more tolerant of their students' mistake in the wrong use of the NPIs.

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