

MULTIPLE DOMINANCE BY DEFAULT, ELLIPSIS BY NECESSITY:
AN ANALYSIS OF *HEM...HEM* COORDINATION IN TURKISH

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores *hem...hem* ‘both...and’ coordination (HHC) in Turkish. I argue that HHC never involves small coordination (i.e., coordination of DPs) but consistently conjoins structures that are at least as big as vP. The central proposal is that the default PF-reduction mechanism is Multiple Dominance (MD), and ellipsis is employed only by necessity. Regulated by an economy principle (Citko & Gračanin-Yüksek, in press), MD is favored because it requires fewer lexical resources and operations compared to ellipsis. I demonstrate that MD successfully derives the obligatory multiple events reading, incompatibility with collective predicates, sloppy identity readings with the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’, cumulative agreement, and negation ambiguity. However, MD cannot account for morphological mismatches, such as non-identical case markers in suspended affixation or overt singular agreement on reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’ in the object position. In such cases, the grammar resorts to ellipsis to derive the surface string. Finally, I show that these two mechanisms can interact, but such mixed and matched analyses, given that they involve ellipsis, are last resort mechanisms, employed only when MD fails.

Keywords: *hem...hem* coordination, Multiple Dominance, Ellipsis, PF-reduction, Turkish syntax

ÖZ

VARSAYILAN OLARAK ÇOKLU HÜKMETME, GEREKLİ DURUMLARDA EKSİLTİ: TÜRKÇE'DEKİ *HEM...HEM* KOORDİNASYONUNUN BİR ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ

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Bu tez, Türkçedeki hem...hem koordinasyonunun (HHK) yapısını incelemektedir. Çalışmada, HHK'nin asla küçük koordinasyon (yani Belirleyici Öbeği koordinasyonu) içermediği, aksine tutarlı bir şekilde en az Hafif Eylem Öbeği büyüklüğündeki yapıları birleştirdiği savunulmaktadır. Temel öneri, varsayılan PF-indirgeme mekanizmasının Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH) olduğu ve eksiltili yapının ancak zorunluluk halinde kullanıldığıdır. Bu öneri, ekonomi ilkesi (Citko & Gračanin-Yüksek, baskıda) tarafından yönetilir ve ÇH, eksiltili yapıya kıyasla daha az sözcüksel kaynak ve işlem gerektirdiği için tercih edilmektedir.

Çalışmada, ÇH'nin zorunlu çoklu olay okumasını, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluğu, dönüşlü kendi sözcüğüyle oluşan gevşek özdeşlik okumalarını, yığılmalı uyumu ve olumsuzluk belirsizliğini başarıyla türettiği gösterilmektedir. Ancak ÇH, özdeş olmayan durum ekleri içeren ertelenmiş ekleme öbeklerini veya nesne konumundaki dönüşlü kendisi sözcüğünün üzerindeki tekil ekleri gibi durumları

açıklayamamaktadır. Bu tür durumlarda, yüzey dizilişini türetmek için dilbilgisi, eksiltili yapıya başvurmaktadır. Son olarak, bu iki mekanizmanın etkileşime girebildiği, ancak eksiltili yapı içermeleri nedeniyle bu tür karma analizlerin yalnızca ÇH'nin başarısız olduğu durumlarda başvurulan son çare mekanizmaları olduğu gösterilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: hem...hem koordinasyonu, Çoklu Hükmetme, Eksilti, PF-İndirgeme, Türkçe sözdizimi

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

#	Semantically ill-formed
&	Coordination
&'	Coordination bar
&P	Coordination phrase
*	Ungrammatical
∅	Null
1PL	1 st person plural
1SG	1st person singular
2PL	2 nd person plural
3PL	3 rd person plural
3SG	3 rd person singular
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
Agr	Agreement
Agr'	Agreement bar
AgrP	Agreement phrase
AJT	Acceptability judgment test
APPL	Applicative
ATB	Across-the-Board
AUX	Auxiliary
COP	Copula
CP	Complementizer phrase
D	Determiner
DAT	Dative
DP	Determiner phrase
EVID	Evidential
GEN	Genitive
HHC	<i>Hem...hem</i> coordination

IO	Indirect object
K	Case
KP	Case phrase
MD	Multiple dominance
N	Noun
N'	Noun bar
Neg	Negation
NegP	Negation phrase
NEUT	Neuter
SG	Singular
NP	Noun phrase
NumP	Number phrase
PerfP	Perfective phrase
PF	Phonological form
PIE	Properties indicative of ellipsis
PIM	Properties indicative of MD
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PROG	Progressive
PST	Past
REFL	Reflexive
RNR	Right node raising
SA	Suspended Affixation
Spec	Specifier
T	Tense
T'	Tense bar
TP	Tense phrase
V	Verb
v	Little verb
v'	Little verb bar
V'	Verb bar
VNOM	Verbal nominalizer

vP Little verb phrase
VP Verb phrase

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the *hem...hem* ‘both...and’ coordination in Turkish, which is used to conjoin two or more elements. *Hem* particles combine conjuncts of various categories (DPs, verbs, AdvPs, among others), and the coordinated phrase can figure as a subject, direct and indirect object, adjunct and predicate, as shown in (1)-(5). Importantly, *hem...hem* coordination (HHC) can also combine clauses, as shown in (6).

(1) **Hem Ali hem Ayşe** dans et -ti.¹ *hem...hem subject*
hem Ali hem Ayşe dance do-PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe danced.’

(2) Ali **hem dergi -yi hem kitab-ı** oku-du. *hem...hem direct object*
Ali hem magazine-ACC hem book-ACC read-PST
‘Ali read both the magazine and the book.’

(3) Ali **hem Ayşe’ye hem Zehra’ya** şarkı söyle-di. *hem...hem indirect object*
Ali hem Ayşe-DAT hem Zehra-DAT song sing -PST
‘Ali sang a song to both Ayşe and Zehra.’

¹In this example, the absence of the overt plural agreement marker on the verb does not necessarily indicate the absence of plural agreement. This is because in Turkish, third person plural subjects can be used with both plural and singular form of the verb regardless of the presence of coordination (Underhill, 1976; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kahraman, 2018), as shown below:

- (i) Ali ve Ayşe dans et -ti -(ler).
Ali and Ayşe dance do-PST-(3PL)
‘Ali and Ayşe danced.’
- (ii) Onlar gel -di -(ler).
They come-PST-(3PL)
‘They came.’

(4) Ali **hem sabah hem öğleden sonra** ders çalış -tı. hem...hem *adjunct*
Ali hem morning hem afternoon lesson study-PST
'Ali studied both in the morning and in the afternoon.'

(5) Ali **hem gül -dü hem ağla-dı.** hem...hem *verb*
Ali hem laugh-PST hem cry -PST
'Ali both laughed and cried.'

(6) **Hem Hasan iş -e git -ti, hem (de)** hem...hem *clause*
hem Hasan work-DAT go-PST hem (also)
Ali çarşı -ya çık -tı.
Ali market-DAT go out-PST
'Hasan went to work and Ali went shopping.' (Kornfilt, 1997, p.111)

Existing literature on HHC is predominantly descriptive in nature. For instance, Göksel and Kerslake (2005) describe *hem...hem* as a reduplicative conjunction used to introduce phrases or clauses, emphasizing the equal syntactic status and function of each element it connects, as shown in (7).²

(7) Necla hem Boğaziçi Üniversitesi hem de Bilkent'e
Necla hem Boğaziçi University hem (also) Bilkent-DAT
gir-ebil -iyor -muş.
go-POT-PROG- EVID
'Necla has been admitted to both Boğaziçi University and Bilkent.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 444)

In (7), *hem...hem* links two parallel elements, *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi* 'Bosphorus University' and *Bilkent* 'Bilkent (University)'. The conjunction conveys that both DPs stand in equal relation to the verb, and that they function as indirect objects of the predicate.³

² The second (last) *hem* particle can optionally be followed by an additive particle *de* 'also'.

³ Sentence (7) also involves so-called *suspended affixation*; the dative case marker *-e*, present only on the DP *Bilkent* is understood as modifying also the DP *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi* 'Bosphorus University'. I will discuss suspended affixation in HHC in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.8.

Similarly, Göksel and Kerslake (2011) provide the example in (8), where *hem* is positioned before each ablative DP, *Ali'den* 'from Ali' and *ablasından* 'from his sister', to list multiple sources of borrowing. Göksel and Kerslake state that *hem* is placed before each conjunct and functions as an enumerating conjunction.

- (8) Hem Ali'den hem (de) abla -sı -n-dan ayrı ayrı borç al -miş.
 hem Ali-ABL hem (also) sister-3SG -ABL separately borrow-EVID
 'S/he borrowed money both from Ali and from his sister.'

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2011, p. 134)

Kornfilt (1997) states that the number of *hem* particles in a clause must match the number of the elements conjoined, as in (9). In (9), three DPs, namely *Hasan*, *Ali*, and *Zeynep* are conjoined within the subject, and the number of instances of *hem* in the coordination matches the number of conjuncts being connected. Therefore, *hem* is repeated three times: once before each conjunct.

- (9) Hem Hasan hem Ali hem (de) Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti -ler.
 Hem Hasan hem Ali hem (also) Zeynep yesterday cinema-ACC go-PST-3PL
 'Hasan, Ali and Zeynep went to the cinema yesterday.'

(Kornfilt, 1997, p. 113)

Crucially, no instance of *hem* may be omitted in such examples, as (10) and (11) show.

- (10) *Hasan hem Ali hem (de) Zeynep dün sinema-ya
 Hasan hem Ali hem (also) Zeynep yesterday cinema-ACC
 git-ti -ler.
 go-PST- 3PL
 Intended: 'Hasan, Ali and Zeynep went to the cinema yesterday.'

- (11) *Hem Hasan hem Ali (de) Zeynep dün sinema-ya .
 Hem Hasan hem Ali (also) Zeynep yesterday cinema-ACC
 git-ti -ler.
 go -PST-3PL
 Intended: 'Hasan, Ali and Zeynep went to the cinema yesterday.'

To date, little attention has been paid to the syntactic underpinnings of HHC in Turkish. In particular, the size of the conjuncts, their internal syntactic make-up, and the complex agreement patterns that arise in cases when *hem...hem* conjoins non-third personal singular subjects have not, to the best of my knowledge, been systematically investigated. In this dissertation, I aim to fill this gap by examining HHC when it conjoins two (or more) subjects or non-subjects.

I will argue that HHC never involves “small coordination” (i.e., coordination of phrasal units, such as DPs). Rather, I will demonstrate that it consistently conjoins structures that are at least as big as vP, or even bigger (such as TP or CP). Since this underlying structure is often syntactically richer than the surface string, a PF-reduction mechanism is required to derive the pronounced form. An example is given in (12)a), where *hem...hem* appears to be conjoining DPs *Ali* and *Ayşe* on the surface, but underlyingly conjoins clauses, as in (12)b), where the material unpronounced in the first conjunct is shaded.⁴

- (12) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe şarkı söyle-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe song sing -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe sang a song.’
- b. Hem Ali şarkı söyle-di hem Ayşe şarkı söyle-di.
 hem Ali song sing -PST hem Ayşe song sing -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe sang a song.’

The central proposal of this dissertation is that the default PF-reduction mechanism in HHC is Multiple dominance (MD), and ellipsis only by necessity, i.e., when MD is impossible. The choice between MD and ellipsis is regulated by an economy principle which favors the PF-reduction mechanism that derives (a) given surface string(s) (with a particular interpretation) in the most economical way. Ćitko and Gračanin-Yüksek (in press) define the economy principle as favoring “least effort” derivations (i.e., derivations with fewest operations) and suggest that economy bans derivations in

⁴Throughout the dissertation, grey shading is used to mark non-pronounced material, without committing to any particular analysis.

which PF-reducing operations apply vacuously. I, on the other hand, will define this economy principle as in (13).⁵

- (13) *Economy Principle*: minimize the number of syntactic nodes.

Specifically, when a certain string with a certain reading of a HHC can in principle be derived by both MD and ellipsis, the MD derivation is preferred because it requires fewer lexical resources and fewer operations compared to the ellipsis derivation, and does not require the deletion of structure, but nevertheless allows the shared material to be interpreted as syntactically present in both conjuncts. Ellipsis, by contrast, incurs additional cost, since syntactic material must be generated multiple times and subsequently deleted at PF. This economy principle favors MD as the default PF-reduction mechanism, with ellipsis being used only when the intended reading cannot be derived via MD (sharing).

My proposal is that MD is employed as the PF-reduction mechanism whenever the material “missing” from the first conjunct is identical to the material pronounced in the second conjunct, as in (14)a), where the multiply dominated material is underlined.⁶ As examples (14)b) and (14)c) show, the multiply dominated material in (14)a) is independently compatible with the subject of each conjunct.

- (14) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe toplantı-ya katıl -dı.
hem Ali hem Ayşe meeting-ACC attend-PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe attended the meeting.’
- b. Ali toplantı -ya katıl -dı.
Ali meeting-ACC attend-PST
‘Ali attended the meeting.’
- c. Ayşe toplantı -ya katıl -dı.
Ayşe meeting-ACC attend-PST
‘Ayşe attended the meeting.’

⁵ I thank İsa Bayırlı for this suggestion.

⁶ Throughout the dissertation, underlining is used to indicate material that is shared.

I further propose that material missing in the first conjunct in a HHC can be multiply dominated even if it is not absolutely identical with the material pronounced in the second conjunct, provided that the mismatch can be resolved via so-called cumulative agreement (agreement of a shared functional head with multiple goals) (Grosz 2015). For example, cumulative agreement mechanism can “save” cases in which subjects do not match in person, but both agree with a shared verbal head, as in (15).

- (15) a. Hem ben hem Ali güldü-k.
hem I hem Ali laugh-PST
‘Both Ali and I laughed.’
- b. Ben gül -dü -m/ *gül -dü -k.
I laugh-PST-1SG laugh-PST-1PL
‘I laughed.’
- c. Ali gül -dü /*gül -dü -k.
Ali laugh-PST- laugh-PST-1PL
‘Ali laughed.’

I extend this proposal to other agreeing expressions in Turkish, such as reflexives and possessive phrases: if the material missing from the first conjunct contains a reflexive or a possessive phrase that would show different agreement pattern with the two subjects of the HHC, this material can be multiply dominated because the mismatch in agreement morphology can be resolved through cumulative agreement. However, instances of non-identity that cannot be resolved via cumulative agreement (e.g., binding indices on the unambiguously singular reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’, necessary to derive the sloppy identity reading), shown in (16), cannot be derived by MD, forcing the grammar to resort to ellipsis to derive the surface structure.

- (16) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-si -ni değerlendir-di.
hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated themselves.’

In the remainder of this chapter, I introduce the two puzzles addressed in this dissertation: the size of the conjuncts in HHC (Section 1.1) and the choice of the PF-

reduction mechanism (Section 1.2), outlining the PF-reduction mechanism that I will propose.

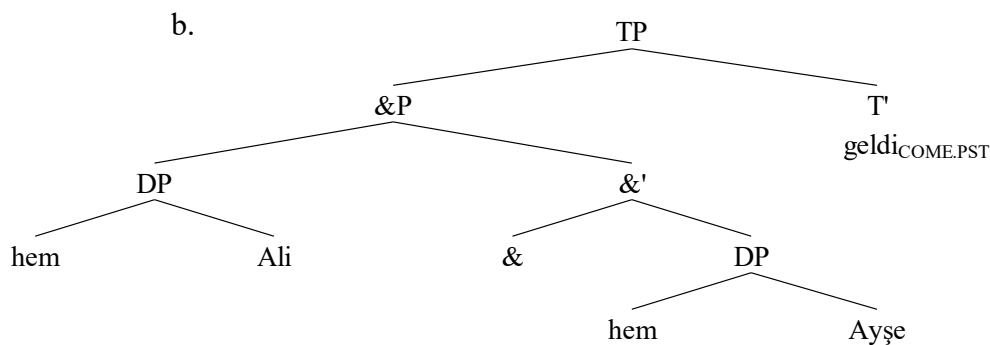
1.1. Puzzle #1: The Size of the Conjuncts in HHC

The first goal of this dissertation is to determine the underlying syntactic structure for HHC in Turkish. In particular, the question is whether HHC is best analyzed as involving “small” coordination (a what-you-see-is-what-you-get analysis) or “big” coordination (where each *hem* particle introduces a clausal constituent, part of which is unpronounced in non-final conjunct(s)) or whether both analyses are possible. I investigate this by examining HHC in different positions in the sentence, more precisely, in the position of the subject and in the position of an indirect object. There are at least two ways to analyze sentences that contain HHC, like the one in (17)⁷.

- (17) Hem Ali hem Ayşe gel -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe come-PST.
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe came.’

Under a *small coordination* analysis, illustrated in (18)b), the two DPs *Ali* and *Ayşe* are directly conjoined by a null conjunction, and each is preceded by the particle *hem*.

- (18) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe gel -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe come-PST.
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe came.’

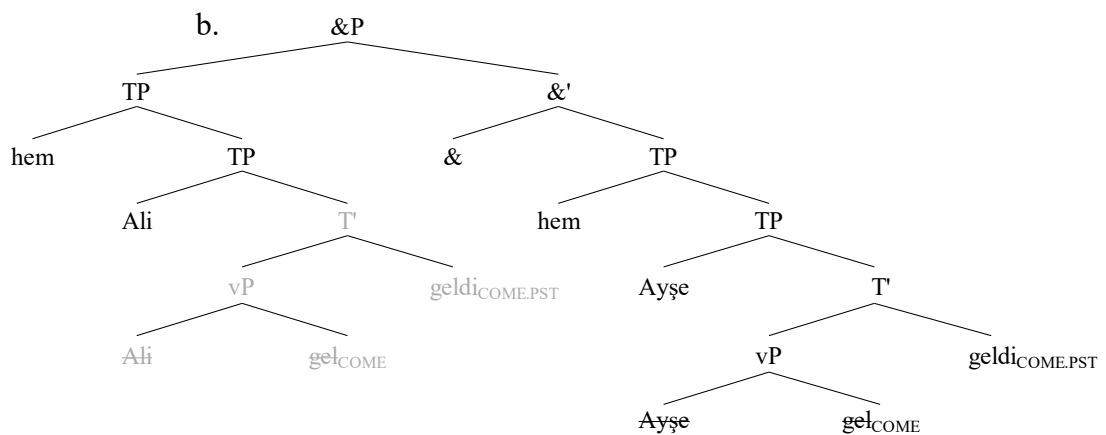


⁷ Here and throughout the thesis, I assume that coordination is asymmetric (Johannessen, 1998; Citko, 2005; Benmamoun et al., 2009; Zhang, 2010; Marušič et al., 2015; Nevins & Weisser 2019), though nothing in my analysis hinges on this assumption. The exact position of the *hem* particles is also unclear. For concreteness, I represent them within the projection of each conjunct, but this is just for the purposes of exposition.

In this analysis, phrases such as noun phrases (NPs), determiner phrases (DPs), or verb phrases (VPs) are conjoined within a larger structure. These smaller units do not constitute full clauses on their own, and the entire &P functions as part of a bigger structure. In (18)b), *Ali* and *Ayşe* are coordinated at the DP level, and the coordination functions as the subject of the matrix clause. Crucially, on this analysis the structure does not contain any PF-reduction: the syntactic structure closely matches the pronounced string.

Alternatively, a *clausal coordination* analysis assumes that *hem...hem* particles introduce entire clauses, such as *Ali geldi* ‘Ali came’ and *Ayşe geldi* ‘Ayşe came’, as in (19)b).

- (19) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe gel -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe come-PST.
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe came.’



In this analysis, coordination targets larger syntactic units, such as vPs, TPs, or CPs (here, I represented the conjuncts as TPs). Depending on their size, these conjuncts might function independently as full clauses and the reduction of identical material across conjuncts must be derived by a PF reduction mechanism, such as MD or ellipsis. The apparent coordination of the subjects in the surface string is thus misleading, since it suggests that conjoined elements are DPs, rather than larger conjuncts.

In Chapter 2, I will present arguments indicating that clausal coordination, along the lines of (19)b), is the only possible underlying structure for HHC, thereby ruling out

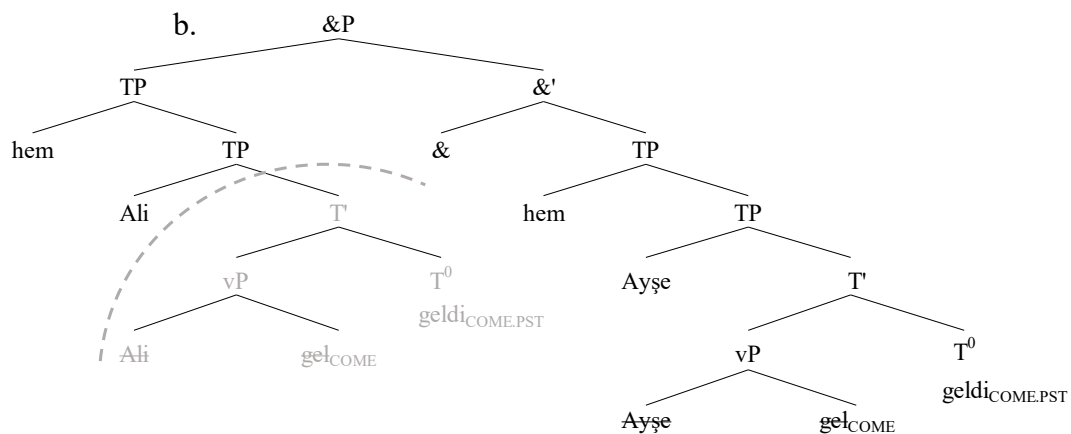
the small coordination analysis. Support for the clausal analysis of HHC comes from the interpretation of HHC and its incompatibility with collective predicates. However, clausal coordination means that the syntactic structure is richer than the pronounced string, necessitating a PF-reduction mechanism. This is the second puzzle I will focus on in this dissertation.

1.2. Puzzle #2: How to Derive the String from the Underlying Clausal Coordination

Once a clausal coordination analysis for HHC is adopted, a second puzzle immediately arises: how does the grammar derive the observed surface string, exemplified in (19)b), where only a single instance of the verb and inflectional material is pronounced, from an underlying structure that contains multiple clauses?

Two standard candidates for this PF reduction of HHC are ellipsis and MD. An example of the ellipsis analysis of HHC, where some material in the first conjunct (here, the entire T') is elided, is given in (20)b).^{8, 9}

- (20) a. [~~Hem Ali gel-di~~] [hem Ayşe gel -di].
 Hem Ali come-PST hem Ayşe come-PST
 'Both Ali and Ayşe came.'



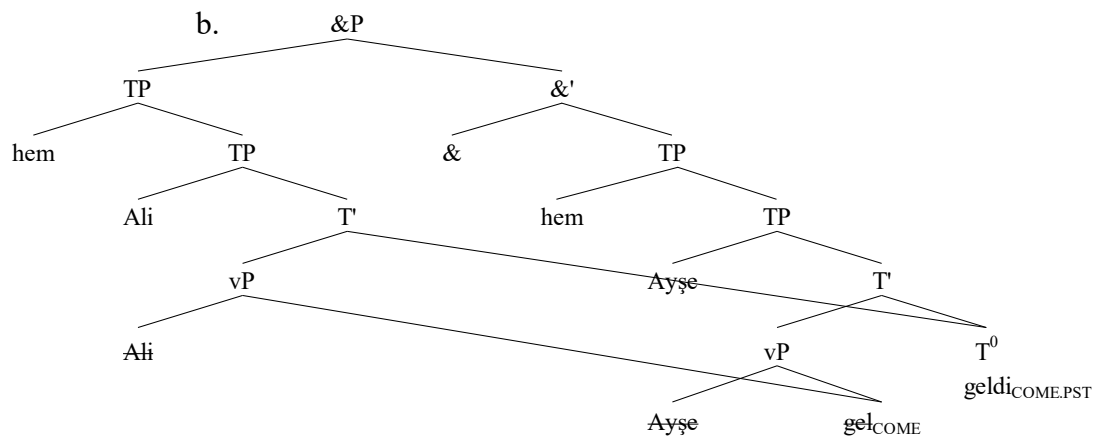
⁸ Here and throughout the dissertation, I assume that the verb in Turkish raises at least as high as the T (see Kural, 1992, 1997); this is why ellipsis of T' is necessary to remove the verb from the string. If the verb remains in its original VP-internal position, then ellipsis may target the VP instead.

⁹ In the bracketed example (20)a), elided material is shown with strikethrough. In diagram (20)b), the elided material is shaded, and the ellipsis site is indicated with a dashed arc. Throughout the dissertation, I use these notational devices – strikethrough in bracketed examples and shading with a dashed arc in diagrams – to mark ellipsis consistently. Strikethrough in diagrams will be reserved for marking unpronounced copies of moved constituents.

The analysis in (20)b) is reminiscent of the ellipsis account of Right Node Raising (RNR), on which the unpronounced material in the first conjunct is deleted (Wexler & Culicover, 1980; Swingle, 1993; Kayne, 1994; Wilder, 1997; Hartmann, 2000; Bošković, 2004; Ha, 2008; İnce, 2009; Barros and Vicente, 2011; Gürer & Göksel, 2019).

An alternative to the ellipsis analysis is an MD analysis. MD involves a sharing mechanism where a single node of syntactic material is dominated by nodes in both conjuncts and pronounced only once (typically in the second conjunct). This analysis corresponds to an MD analysis of RNR (McCawley, 1982; McCloskey, 1986; Muadz, 1991; Wilder, 1999; Bachrach & Katzir, 2007; Gračanin-Yüksek, 2007; Grosz, 2015; Citko, 2017; Gürer & Göksel, 2019, Şehit 2025). An MD-based derivation of the sentence in (21)a), is given in (21)b), where the verb phrase *gel* ‘come’ and the T head *-di* ‘.PST’ are multiply dominated.

- (21) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe gel -di.
 Hem Ali hem Ayşe come-PST.
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe came.’



Taking as the starting point the proposal that MD is a more economical PF-reduction mechanism than ellipsis (Citko and Gračanin-Yuksek in press), in Chapter 3, I will present a proposal that MD is preferred over ellipsis in HHCs in which PF-reduced material is identical across conjuncts, as well as in HHCs in which PF-reduced material is non-identical across conjuncts, but the mismatch can be resolved through cumulative agreement. I will also argue that MD is the only mechanism that can derive

the negation scope ambiguity observed in HHCs. However, in Chapter 4, I will demonstrate that a pure MD analysis cannot account for HHCs which contain reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ involving an overt 3rd person singular agreement (-*si*) and those that contain suspended affixation across conjuncts in which the suspended affix, if it were produced twice, would not be identical in the two conjuncts. In such cases, ellipsis analysis is forced. Finally, in Chapter 5, I will show that the two PF mechanisms, MD and ellipsis, can interact with each other, i.e., there are examples of HHC which involve both MD and ellipsis. Thus, the conclusion emerges that the surface form of a HHC is derived via a constrained hybrid system: multiple dominance by default, ellipsis by necessity. I will demonstrate how this interaction successfully derives sentences that combine properties of both MD and ellipsis. Chapter 6 is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

CLAUSAL COORDINATION ANALYSIS FOR HHC

In this chapter, I present evidence that HHC consistently requires a clausal coordination analysis. I first examine HHC in sentences where *hem...hem* conjoins subjects (section 2.1) and then proceed with sentences where it conjoins indirect objects (section 2.2). The evidence compiled here demonstrates that small coordination – a "what-you-see-is-what-you-get" approach, in which only phrasal units are conjoined – is not a viable option for HHC in any position.

2.1. HHC in the Subject Position

In this section, I present the core proposal that HHC requires clausal analysis when it conjoins subjects. In section 2.1.1, I examine the interpretation of HHC, particularly focusing on the number of events denoted by the coordinate phrase. This discussion will demonstrate that HHC inherently involves multiple events, supporting a clausal coordination analysis. Section 2.1.2 provides further evidence for the clausal analysis of HHC by discussing HHC and collective predicates. Finally, section 2.1.3 investigates sentences with the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ to demonstrate that HHC in the subject position yields the sloppy identity reading, a phenomenon inconsistent with the small coordination analysis.

2.1.1. Interpretation of HHC in the Subject Position

I begin my investigation of the interpretation of HHC with the following sentence:

- (22) Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka -dı.
Hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe washed the car.’

Sentence (22) superficially appears to feature a simple coordinate subject, *hem Ali hem Ayşe* ‘both Ali and Ayşe’. However, its interpretation does not describe a single, collective car-washing event. Although the sentence yields an interpretation where both Ali and Ayşe washed a specific car (as indicated by the accusative ending on the direct object *araba-yı* ‘car.ACC’),¹⁰ it obligatorily reports multiple events of car-washing, suggesting a bi-clausal analysis.¹¹ Specifically, the sentence reports that two distinct car-washing events occurred – one performed by Ali and another by Ayşe – rather than a joint action of car-washing within a single event. This is supported by the fact that sentence (22) can felicitously summarize only scenarios that force the interpretation in which two events of car-washing take place.

¹⁰ In Turkish, the accusative case is used not only to formally mark the direct object of a verb, but also to mark specificity (see Enç, 1991; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; von Heusinger & Kornfilt, 2005, 2017; Nakipoğlu, 2009 for detailed discussions on specificity and definiteness in Turkish). In particular, the accusative case in Turkish differentiates between specific and non-specific interpretations of an object noun phrase, as shown below:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (i) | Ali elma -yı ye -di.
Ali apple-ACC eat-PST
‘Ali ate the apple.’ | <i>case-marked object → specific interpretation</i> |
| (ii) | Ali elma ye-di.
Ali apple eat-PST
‘Ali ate an apple/apples.’ | <i>bare object → non-specific interpretation</i> |

¹¹ I assume that two separate events are most naturally represented by two separate clauses, therefore, by a bi-clausal analysis, and a single event is most naturally represented by a single clause, therefore, by a mono-clausal analysis. I posit the correlation between the number of events and the number of clauses because it is the simplest way to derive the interpretation. This assumption is supported by empirical evidence by Clifton and Frazier (2012). In one of their experiments, they used coordinated sentences with the anaphoric subject in the second conjunct; the anaphoric subject was either the collectively biased pronoun *they*, as in (i) and (iii), or the distributively biased *neither of them*, as in (ii) and (iv). The antecedent of the second conjunct subject was presented either in NP coordination, as in (i) and (ii), or in separate clauses, as in (iii) and (iv). Participants experienced reading difficulties when the conjoined NP antecedent in the first conjunct (*Stacey and Lisa*) was referred to by *neither of them* in the second conjunct (i.e., in sentences like (ii)). No reading difficulties arose when the antecedent was presented in separate clauses (i.e., in sentences like (iv)). This suggests that NP coordination biases readers toward a collective reading, while separate clauses facilitate a multiple-event interpretation.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| (i) | Paul wrote to Stacey and Lisa, but they didn’t respond, though nobody knows why. |
| (ii) | Paul wrote to Stacey and Lisa, but neither of them responded, though nobody knows why. |
| (iii) | Paul wrote to Stacey and he called Lisa, but they didn’t respond, though nobody knows why. |
| (iv) | Paul wrote to Stacey and he called Lisa, but neither of them responded, though nobody knows why. |

This aligns with the proposal that the obligatory multiple-event reading of HHC is derived from an underlying bi-clausal structure.

Consider the scenario in (23), which forces multiple car-washing events of the same car.

(23) Ali and Ayşe work at the same car wash company. Their boss, by mistake, assigns the same car to Ali and Ayşe, so the car is washed twice, once by Ali and once by Ayşe. The boss reports the following to the customer:

(24) Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka -dı.
hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
'Both Ali and Ayşe washed the car.'

In this context, sentence (24), repeated from (22), successfully summarizes the scenario. Intuitively, for a sentence to felicitously report two events of car washing, clausal coordination is required as there need to be two car-washing activities on different occasions, performed by different subjects. The felicity of (24) in this context supports the conclusion that the sentence can receive a bi-clausal analysis.

Based on the interpretation, the syntactic configuration appears to be as follows:

(25) [Hem Ali araba-yı yıka dı] [hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka -dı].
hem Ali car -ACC wash-PST hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
'Both Ali washed the car and Ayşe washed the car.'

The next question is whether the clausal coordination analysis is the only available analysis for HHC. To establish this, HHC will be examined in a scenario that forces an interpretation where a single, collective event of car-washing took place. If HHC can also receive a small coordination analysis, the sentence should felicitously summarize this scenario as well. The evidence, however, indicates otherwise. Consider the scenario in (26).

(26) Ali and Ayşe work at the same car wash company. Their boss tells them they have an important customer and asks Ali and Ayşe to work together so that they can provide the best service and wash this customer's car. While returning the car, the boss says to the customer:

- (27) #Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka -dı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe washed the car.’

This scenario forces a single car-washing event, and sentence (27), with HHC, does not successfully describe the scenario. This shows that the small coordination analysis, shown in (28), is unavailable for HHC, as it cannot accommodate a single-event interpretation.

- (28) *[Hem Ali hem Ayşe] araba-yı yıka -dı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST

Based on these interpretations, the conclusion emerges that HHC always involves clausal coordination, as it cannot accommodate a single-event scenario.

In the following section, I present supporting evidence for the clausal coordination analysis of HHC by showing that HHC is incompatible with collective predicates.

2.1.2. Collective Predicates

Collective predicates, such as *meet*, *gather*, *together* can only be predicated of semantically plural entities and are licensed only in the presence of plural subjects (Link, 1983; Lasersohn, 1995; Champollion, 2015; Smith, 2017), as in (29). The same holds true in Turkish, as shown in (30).

- (29) a. John and Mary met.
 b. *John met.
- (30) a. Öğrenciler buluş-tu.
 student-PL meet -PST-3PL
 ‘Students met.’
 b. *Öğrenci buluş-tu.
 Student meet -PST-3PL
 *‘A student met.’

In (29)a) and (30)a), the DPs *John and Mary* and *öğrenciler* ‘students’ are plural both syntactically and semantically, and the sentences are grammatical. However, the

subjects in (29)b) and (30)b), namely *John* and *öğrenci* ‘student’, are singular, leading to ungrammaticality when the predicate involves the verb *meet/buluşmak* ‘meet’. This shows that collective predicates require plurality to be licensed.¹²

In the previous section, I showed that HHC requires clausal coordination where each particle precedes an independent clause with a singular subject. This structural constraint predicts that a collective predicate will not be licensed with HHC in the subject position because neither of the two underlying singular subjects can satisfy the plurality requirement of the predicate *buluşmak* ‘meet’, so the use of a collective predicate should be banned. The ungrammaticality of sentence (31), which contains a collective predicate, confirms this prediction.

- (31) *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluş-tu.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe meet-PST
 Intended: ‘Both Ali and Ayşe met.’

¹² That collective predicates require *semantic* plurality is important because DPs that are syntactically singular, but yield a group/plural interpretation, such as *committee*, also allow the use of a collective predicate. An example is given in (i) below.

- (i) The committee gathered to discuss the schedule.

Conversely, nouns that have only a plural form (*pluralia tantum*) (Corbett, 2000) but denote a singular entity (e.g., *scissors* or *glasses*) cannot be modified by a collective predicate. For instance, in Croatian, the noun *vrata* ‘door’ is syntactically plural and requires plural verbal agreement, yet it cannot be modified by the collective adverb *zajedno* ‘together’, as shown in (ii) and (iii) (Gračanin-Yüksek, personal communication).

- (ii) a. Jedna vrata su otvorena.
 one door AUX.PL open.NEUT.PL
 ‘One door is open.’
 b. *Jedna vrata je otvoreno.
 one door AUX.SG open.NEUT.SG
- (iii) a. Jedna vrata su se otvorila.
 one door AUX.PL REFL. open.NEUT.PL
 ‘One door opened.’
 b. *Jedna vrata su se zajedno otvorila.
 one door AUX.PL REFL. together open.NEUT.PL
 Intended: ‘One door opened together.’

Sentence (31) is ungrammatical because the subject *Hem Ali hem Ayşe* ‘both Ali and Ayşe’ cannot denote plurality or a group reading that the verb *buluş* ‘meet’ requires.¹³ This shows that *Ali* and *Ayşe* are not coordinated with each other, but are rather subjects of different conjuncts, as in (32).

- (32) **[Hem Ali_[SG] buluş-tu*_[pl]]* *[hem Ayşe_[SG] buluş-tu*_[pl]]*.
 hem Ali *meet -PST* *hem Ayşe* *meet-PST*

Collective predicates thus present further evidence for clausal coordination of HHC in the subject position.

2.1.3. Sloppy Identity Reading

In this section, I provide the final piece of evidence supporting the clausal coordination analysis of HHC in the subject position. To do that, I will examine coordination structures with reflexives, with a focus on the sloppy identity reading.

In earlier works (Ross, 1967; Reinhart, 1983; Fiengo & May, 1994; Tomioka, 1999, among others), it was shown that sentences which involve VP ellipsis, like (33), have both sloppy and strict identity readings.

- (33) Peter walked his dog, and Dan did [*t*], too. (Tomioka, 1999, p. 217)

The second (elliptical) conjunct in this sentence has two possible interpretations:¹⁴

¹³ Sentence (31) is ungrammatical on the reading that Ali and Ayşe met each other. This sentence is grammatical only with the reading in which both Ali and Ayşe meet the same person, as follows:

- (i) A: *Kim Mehmet’le buluş-tu?*
 who Mehmet-with meet-PST
 ‘Who met Mehmet?’
 B: *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluş-tu.*
 hem Ali hem Ayşe meet-PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe meet (Mehmet).’

¹⁴ It should be noted that a "third-party reading" is also possible in an appropriate context (e.g., where both Peter and Dan walked e.g., John’s dog). However, the literature primarily focuses on the contrast between the strict and sloppy readings discussed here.

- (36) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’

(Eren Gezen, 2022, p. 47)

Sentence (36) exhibits the sloppy identity reading; on this reading, Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself. This reading is only possible if HHC is clausal, with each conjunct functioning as an independent clause, as shown in 0. [Hem Ali_i kendi-ni_i değerlendir-di] [hem Ayşe_k kendi-ni_k

hem Ali self -ACC evaluate -PST hem Ayşe self -ACC
 değerlendir-di].

evaluate -PST

‘Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.’

By contrast, the sentence does not allow the strict identity reading, as shown in (37).

- (37) *[Hem Ali_i kendi-ni*_k değerlendir-di] [hem Ayşe_k kendi-ni_k
 hem Ali self -ACC evaluate -PST [hem Ayşe self -ACC
 değerlendir-di].
 evaluate -PST]

Intended: ‘Ali evaluated Ayşe and Ayşe evaluated herself.’

Eren Gezen (2022) confirms these interpretations with an experiment in which she found that the acceptance rate for the sloppy identity reading in HHC is 93.2%, while for the strict identity reading it is only 0.89%. The reason why the strict identity reading is absent is somewhat mysterious, since the anaphor *kendi* ‘self’ can normally be co-indexed with a local antecedent as well as a long-distant antecedent (Özgen, 2019), as shown in (38).¹⁶

¹⁶ Özgen (2019) proposes an interphasal mechanism, *phase sliding*, to account for how *kendi* ‘self’ may take a non-local antecedent. See Özgen (2019) for a detailed discussion.

(38) Polis_j [_{DP} hırsız_i -in kendi_{i/j}-ni yarala -dığ -in -ı]
 cop burglar-GEN self -ACC wound-VNOM-POSS-ACC
 bil -iyor.
 know-PROG

‘The cop knows that the burglar wounded him/himself.’

(Özgen, 2019, p. 149)

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important that the availability of the sloppy reading provides further evidence that HHC in the subject position derives from clausal coordination, since each conjunct must contain its own instance of *kendi*, bound by its own subject, to carry a distinct index (as shown in 0) and yield the sloppy interpretation. Why exactly the strict identity reading is absent is beyond the scope of this study.

In this section, several pieces of evidence have been presented to support a clausal coordination analysis of HHC in the subject position: multiple events interpretations (section 2.1.1), incompatibility with collective predicates (section 2.1.2), and the availability of the sloppy identity reading (Section 2.1.3).

In the next section, I turn to HHC in the indirect object position, to see whether the bi-clausal analysis I argued for can be maintained for non-subject HHC.

2.2. HHC in the Indirect Object Position

In section 2.1, I established that HHC in the subject position requires clausal coordination, where each *hem* particle precedes the entire clause. In this section, I extend this argument to cases in which *hem...hem* appears in non-subject position. However, the analysis becomes more complex in cases where *hem* particles precede non-subject constituents, such as indirect objects, since the indirect object is not the leftmost element in the clause. This raises key questions for this section:

- (i) Can the clausal coordination analysis also account for HHC in positions other than the subject?
- (ii) What is the exact size of the conjoined constituents (vP, TP, or CP)?

To explore this, I will focus on coordination of indirect objects, exemplified in (39).

- (39) Galerici hem Ali-ye hem Ayşe-ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

There are several reasons for opting to examine HHC in the position of an indirect object (rather than, for example, direct object). Firstly, indirect objects are obligatorily marked with a dative case, regardless of whether they are specific or non-specific, as shown in (40).

- (40) Ahmet öğrenci*(-ye) kitap ver -di.
Ahmet student-DAT book give-PST
'Ahmet gave a/the student a book.'

This is not the case with direct objects, which are marked with the accusative case only when the object is specific, as shown in (41) and (42).

- (41) Ahmet Ali'ye elma -yı ver -di.
Ahmet Ali-DAT apple-ACC give-PST
'Ahmet gave the apple to Ali.'
- (42) Ahmet Ali'ye elma ver -di.
Ahmet Ali-DAT apple give-PST
'Ahmet gave an apple to Ali.'

This alternation between the presence and absence of accusative case has been referred to as *differential object marking* (Kornfilt, 2008; Key, 2012; Kızılkaya et al., 2022).¹⁷ Since differential object marking in Turkish might introduce complications into the analysis that are unrelated to HHC, I chose to examine HHC in the indirect object position. A second reason for focusing on indirect objects is that in this position Turkish allows suspended affixation (SA) (Lewis, 1967; Broadwell, 2008; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kabak, 2007), which provides insight into the syntactic structure of HHC. SA refers to a phenomenon where a suffix appears only on the final conjunct while being interpreted as applying to all conjuncts. This is shown in (43), where (43)a

¹⁷ See also footnote 10.

illustrates the sentence with suspended suffixes and (43)b) its semantic interpretation.¹⁸

- (43) a. Zengin ve ünlü -y -dü -m.
rich and famous-COP-PST-1SG
'I was rich and famous.'
- b. Zengin(-di -m) ve ünlü -y -dü -m.
rich -PST-1SG and famous-COP-PST-1SG
'I was rich and famous.' (Kabak, 2007, p. 314)

Suspended affixation is also available in HHC, as in (44), where the dative case *-ye* on the first member of the HHC, *Ali*, is suspended and pronounced only on the second member, *Ayşe*.

- (44) Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe -DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

Possible underlying structures for this sentence include at least the following:

- (45) Galerici [hem Ali hem Ayşe]'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'
- (46) Galerici [hem Ali'ye] [hem Ayşe'ye] araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

¹⁸ Suspended affixation has been extensively studied in the literature, with different perspectives especially on the behavior of derivational suffixes. However, as they fall outside the scope of this dissertation, they will not be addressed. Interested readers may refer to Kabak (2007) and Kornfilt (2012) for a detailed discussion.

- (47) Galerici_k hem [_k Ali'ye araba-y₁ sat -t₁] hem [_k Ayşe'ye
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST hem Ayşe-DAT
 araba-y₁ sat -t₁.]
 sell-PST car -ACC
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

In this section, I propose that HHC in the indirect object position never involves small coordination, represented in (45) and (46), but rather must be analyzed as clausal coordination as in (47). Under this analysis, I assume that *hem...hem* particles mark the left edge of the clause. The subject, *galerici* 'car dealer', originates within each conjunct (represented by t_k), and the surface word order is derived via Across-the-Board (ATB) movement of the subject from both clausal conjuncts to a position above the coordination phrase.

The proposal that HHC in the indirect object position involves clausal coordination will be supported by several pieces of evidence. In section 2.2.1, I will examine the interpretation of HHC, particularly how it relates to the number of events denoted by the sentence and how it interacts with SA. This discussion will provide evidence that HHC in the indirect object position involves multiple events, supporting a clausal coordination analysis. In section 2.2.2, I will further support this analysis by investigating sentences containing the reflexive pronoun *kendi* 'self' to demonstrate that HHC in this position yields sloppy identity readings. The presence of sloppy identity effects will reinforce the claim that a clausal coordination structure is necessary.

2.2.1. Interpretation of HHC in the Indirect Object Position

In this section, I will investigate the interpretation of HHC in the indirect object position, specifically in relation to suspended affixation. I will demonstrate that HHC in the indirect object position is never ambiguous and yields multiple events interpretation regardless of the presence or absence of suspended affixation. This rigidity of interpretation provides support for the claim that HHC in the indirect object position necessitates a clausal coordination analysis, where each conjunct corresponds to a separate event.

As noted in section 2.2, HHC in indirect object position can appear with or without the dative case marker being suspended. The relevant examples are repeated here as (48) and (49).

(48) Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı. *No SA*
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

(49) Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat-tı. *SA*
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

As it turns out, the presence versus the absence of suspended affixation does not affect the interpretation possibilities of HHC, which always denotes two events.

This is confirmed by the fact that both (48) and (49) can successfully summarize only the two-event scenario in (50), but neither can be used to summarize the single-event scenario in (51).

(50) The car dealer sells the same car separately, once to Ali and once to Ayşe, on different occasions. Someone realizes the deceit and talks about the fraud to a friend:

a. Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

b. Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

(51) Ali and Ayşe, a married couple, save diligently for years to buy a car as a gift for their son on his 18th birthday, and they finally purchase the car that their son has been dreaming of. Witnessing the sale, a neighbor says:

- a. #Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'
- b. #Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

In scenario (50), both example (a), which has no SA, and example (b), where the dative suffix is suspended, are felicitous, as both clearly communicate that the car dealer sold the car to Ali and Ayşe in two distinct events. By contrast, in scenario (51), neither example (a), without SA, nor example (b), with the dative suffix suspended, is acceptable. This indicates that HHC obligatorily denotes multiple events, which is incompatible with a single joint purchase.¹⁹

This lack of contrast between the interpretation of HHC with and without suspended affixation suggests that suspended affixation in HHC is not an indication of a smaller coordinate structure, i.e., that (b) examples in (50) and (51) do not involve a small, DP coordination in the indirect object position.

The multiple events reading, however, does not persist in the presence of SA across all coordinators in Turkish; whether the affix is suspended or not affects the interpretation in some cases. One such example comes from *ve* 'and' coordination. The scenario in (52) shows that *ve* 'and' coordination without suspended affixation can denote a multiple events reading in a scenario like (50) – the same way HHC can,

¹⁹ Duygu Sarısoy (personal communication) raises the question of whether the obligatory multiple event reading in these examples stems from the nature of the event - since a single car cannot be sold twice in one event - rather than from the syntactic structure itself. She gives the following sentence as an example of a single event in which an action (a click) targets multiple recipients.

- (i) Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye fotoğraf-ı gönder-di.
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT photo -ACC send -PST
 'The car dealer sent the photo to both Ali and Ayşe.'

I believe that the presence of two recipients in (i) forces a multiple event interpretation of the HHC, regardless of the fact that it involves a single click. Progovac (1999) argues that correlative conjunctions force the assignment of separate theta-roles to each conjunct (*Ali* and *Ayşe* in (i)). Consequently, even if the two events are simultaneous, the grammar treats them as distinct. Thus, even if the dealer sends a photo to multiple recipients with a single click, HHC grammatically encodes these as distinct events of sending: one to Ali and one to Ayşe.

but presumably without clausal coordination. However, when suspended affixation is applied, multiple events reading becomes unavailable.

(52) The car dealer sells the same car separately, once to Ali and once to Ayşe, on different occasions. Someone realizes the deceit and talks about the fraud to a friend:

a. Galerici Ali'ye ve Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer Ali-DAT and Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

b. #Galerici Ali ve Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer Ali and Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
Intended: 'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

The incompatibility of (52)b) with the two-event scenario shows that *ve* 'and' coordination, unlike HHC, cannot express two events when the case marker is suspended. On the other hand, *ve* 'and' coordination, appears to allow a different interpretational flexibility. Specifically, the presence of suspended affixation in *ve* 'and' coordination can yield a single-event reading in a scenario like (51), as shown in (53). The full form (without SA), on the other hand, cannot accommodate this reading, as shown in (53)b).

(53) Ali and Ayşe, a married couple, save diligently for years to buy a car as a gift for their son on his 18th birthday, and they finally purchase the car that their son has been dreaming of. Witnessing the sale, a neighbor says:

a. Galerici Ali ve Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer Ali and Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to Ali and Ayşe.'

b. *Galerici Ali'ye ve Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer Ali-DAT and Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
Intended: 'The car dealer sold the car to Ali and Ayşe.'

With *ve* ‘and’ coordination, this flexibility is not unexpected and has been discussed in the literature. For instance, Bayırlı (2017, 2022) provides the following examples demonstrating the effect of suspended affixation.

(54) Kız ve erkek-ler buluş-tu.
girl and boy-PL meet-PST
‘Girls and boys met.’

(55) Kız-lar ve erkek-ler buluş-tu
girl-PL and boy -PL meet-PST
‘Girls and boys met.’ *or* ‘Girls met and boys met.’

(Bayırlı, 2022, p. 390)

In (54), where suspended affixation applies to the plural marker, the interpretation necessarily involves a meeting that involves both girls and boys together. By contrast, in (55), where each conjunct bears a plural marker, the interpretation is ambiguous between *one meeting* that involves both girls and boys or *two meetings*; one separately for girls, one separately for boys.

The observations in (52)-(55) show that the presence or absence of SA directly affects the interpretation of *ve* ‘and’ coordination. By contrast, suspended affixation has no such effect with HHC, and the multiple events interpretation is obligatory regardless of whether the suffix is suspended or not. This supports the proposal that HHC necessarily involves clausal coordination, where each conjunct denotes a distinct event.

2.2.2. Sloppy Identity Reading

In this section, I will present the final piece of evidence that supports the clausal coordination analysis of HHC in the indirect object position. Specifically, I will examine sloppy identity readings by analyzing sentences that include the reflexive pronoun *kendi* ‘self’.

An example involving the reflexive pronoun *kendi* ‘self’ with HHC in the indirect object position is given in (56).

- (56) Terapist hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye kendi-ni anlat-tı.
 Therapist hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT self -ACC tell-PST
Sloppy Identity Reading: 'The therapist talked to Ali about Ali and to Ayşe about Ayşe.'²⁰

The availability of the sloppy identity reading in sentence (56) provides evidence for the clausal coordination analysis of HHC in the indirect object position. Since reflexive pronouns like *kendi* 'self' must be locally bound (Chomsky, 1981 for Principle A; Enç, 1989; Kornfilt, 2001; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005 for local binding of *kendi* 'self'), the underlying representation for the sloppy identity reading must involve *kendi* 'self' in the first conjunct bound by the indirect object of that conjunct *Ali'ye* 'Ali.DAT', as in (57).

- (57) Terapist_j [hem Ali_k'ye kendi-ni_k anlat-tı] [hem Ayşe_w'ye
 threapist hem Ali-DAT self -ACC tell -PST hem Ayşe -DAT
 kendi-ni_w anlat -tı].
 self -ACC tell -PST
 'The therapist talked to Ali about Ali, and the therapist talked to Ayşe about Ayşe.'

2.3. Interim Conclusion

Evidence from multiple events interpretations, incompatibility with collective predicates, and reflexive binding consistently points towards a clausal coordination analysis of HHC in both subject and indirect object positions, demonstrating that small coordination is not a viable option for this construction.

The next challenge is to determine the precise PF-reduction mechanism that reduces this underlying clausal structure to the impoverished surface string. In the following chapter, I will begin by arguing that the structure is derived primarily via the MD

²⁰In principle, the strict identity reading, on which the therapist talked to both Ali and Ayşe about Ayşe, might be expected. However, this reading is not attested, so with respect to the presence/absence of the strict identity reading, HHC in the indirect object position parallels the behavior of subject HHC, where the strict identity reading is similarly unavailable. Additionally, (56) allows a reading in which the reflexive takes the matrix subject as its antecedent (i.e., the therapist talked to Ali and Ayşe about the therapist). However, this reading is irrelevant for the purposes of this dissertation.

mechanism, which provides a straightforward account of the semantic and syntactic properties of HHC discussed in this chapter. However, as subsequent chapters will show, MD alone is insufficient, and the development of a hybrid system is necessary.

CHAPTER 3

MULTIPLE DOMINANCE ANALYSIS: THE DEFAULT MECHANISM

In Chapter 2, I established that HHC, irrespective of its syntactic position, necessarily involves clausal coordination. This conclusion raises the question of how the underlying clausal structure is reduced to the surface string. The central claim of this chapter is that an MD analysis is the default mechanism to account for HHC in Turkish. In this chapter, I demonstrate that MD successfully derives the properties we have already observed: the obligatory multiple events reading, incompatibility with collective predicates, reflexive binding and the sloppy identity reading (which will be shown to be a distributive reading of a plural anaphor), and suspended affixation. In addition, I will show that MD can also derive the properties of HHC that I have not discussed yet: cumulative agreement, the sloppy identity reading of possessive phrases (which will be shown to be the distributive reading of plural possessives), as well as the collective reading of both reflexive and possessive constructions. Finally, I will show how an MD analysis can derive ambiguity of HHCs with negation.

However, this chapter also demonstrates that MD fails to account for instances of HHC that involve certain morphological mismatches across conjuncts and this motivates the need for an ellipsis analysis, discussed in Chapter 4. The emerging picture is that ellipsis serves as a mechanism for PF-reduction that becomes available only for configurations that MD cannot derive. This is because, as mentioned in the Introduction, MD is a more economical mechanism of PF-reduction and is therefore favored by the grammar (Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek, in press).

In Section 3.1, I present HHC sentences exhibiting different semantic and syntactic properties and show that these properties can be derived by the MD analysis, establishing MD as the default mechanism for PF-reduction. Section 3.2 turns to HHC

sentences featuring morphological mismatches, demonstrating that such cases cannot be derived under an MD analysis, paving the way for the introduction of the ellipsis analysis in Chapter 4 as a necessary alternative analysis.

3.1. What MD Can Account for: Establishing the Default

This section proposes an MD analysis as the correct analysis of HHC, which can derive a range of behavior of HHCs and can account for all the properties of HHC discussed in the previous chapter, covering both subject and indirect object positions.

In Section 3.1.1, I will show how the MD analysis of HHC derives the multiple events reading observed in sentences like (58) and (59) (repeated from (22) and (39) respectively), in which the HHC appears in the subject and indirect object positions respectively. Because in these examples shared material is identical across conjuncts, MD analysis can easily derive the observed strings and the accompanying readings.

(58) Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka-dı.
hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
'Both Ali and Ayşe washed the car.'

(59) Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
'The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.'

In section 3.1.2, I will explain why HHC is incompatible with collective predicates, as shown in (60), providing evidence for the MD analysis when the HHC occupies the subject position.

(60) *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluş-tu.
hem Ali hem Ayşe meet-PST
Intended: 'Both Ali and Ayşe met.'

In section 3.1.3, I will demonstrate how the MD analysis accounts for the availability of the sloppy identity reading of the reflexive *kendi* 'self' when *kendi* 'self' occupies the position of the direct object, and the examples involve either a subject HHC, as in (61), or an indirect object HHC, as in (62).

- (61) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-ni değerlendir-di. *Subject HHC*
hem Ali hem Ayşe self -ACC evaluate -PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’
- (62) Terapist hem Ali’ye hem Ayşe’ye kendi-ni anlat-tı. *IO HHC*
Therapist hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT self -ACC tell-PST
Sloppy Identity Reading: ‘The therapist talked to Ali about him and Ayşe about her.’

Having established how the MD analysis derives the multiple events readings of HHC, its incompatibility with collective predicates and the sloppy identity reading with the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’, I will introduce some additional observations about HHC and demonstrate how the MD analysis can account for them.

In section 3.1.4, I will show that the proposed analysis accounts for sentences with *cumulative agreement*, as in (63), where the shared verb carries 1st person plural morphology, although neither subject (*ben* ‘I’, *Ali*) is plural. I will propose that the cumulative agreement pattern results from the way the subjects interact with the shared T, adopting the analysis proposed by Grosz (2015).

- (63) Hem ben hem Ali yemek söyle-di -k.
hem I hem Ali food order-PST-1PL
‘Both Ali and I ordered food.’

In section 3.1.5, I will extend the cumulative agreement analysis to agreement patterns observed in possessive phrases. Crucially, this section will explain multiple interpretations of sentences with possessive objects (such as *oğ(u)lu* ‘his/her/their son’, *evleri* ‘their house(s)’ and *arabamız* ‘our car’) both with singular possessive morphology, as in (64), and with plural possessive morphology, as in (65) and (66).

- (64) Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü. *Possessive object Sg*
hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
Distributive Reading: ‘Ali praised his son and Ayşe praised her son.’
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised their son.’
External Referent Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised someone else’s son.’

- (65) Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri-ni sat -tı. *Possessive object Pl*
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-3PL-ACC sell-PST
Distributive Reading 1: ‘Ali sold his house and Ayşe sold her house.’
Distributive Reading 2: ‘Ali sold his houses and Ayşe sold her houses.’
Collective Reading 1: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared house.’
Collective Reading 2: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared houses.’
External Referent Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s shared house(s).’
- (66) Hem ben hem Ali araba-mız-ı yıka -dı -k. *Possessive object Pl*
 hem I hem Ali car -1PL-ACC wash-PST-1PL
Distributive Reading: ‘I washed my car and Ali washed his car.’
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and I washed a shared car.’

In section 3.1.6, I will discuss HHC sentences with cumulative agreement on the verb, which obligatorily yield only the strict identity reading, as in (67). I will argue that this reading arises naturally under the MD analysis, and will show why the sloppy identity reading is absent.

- (67) Hem Ali hem ben baba -m -ı sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I father-1SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 ‘Both Ali loves my father and I love my father.’

In Section 3.1.7, I will investigate the ambiguity of negation in HHC, illustrated in (68). I will argue that MD analysis explains this ambiguity because a representation where negation is multiply dominated delays its spellout (Bachrach & Katzir, 2007), making available multiple positions in which it can be interpreted. Thus, different interpretations of negated HHC sentences can be derived by a single syntactic derivation.

- (68) Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe fell.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t fall or Ayşe didn’t fall.’

Finally, in Section 3.1.8, I will extend the analysis to instances of HHC in the indirect object position and discuss sentences where HHC involves suspended affixation (SA). Recall from Chapter 2 that SA refers to a morphosyntactic phenomenon where an affix that is grammatically required in all conjuncts is phonologically realized only in the last conjunct in coordinate structures (Lewis, 1967; Broadwell, 2008; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kabak, 2007). This is illustrated in (69), where the dative suffix *-ye* is omitted from the DP *Ali* in the first conjunct and appears only on the DP *Ayşe* in the second conjunct although it is interpreted in both.

- (69) Galerici hem Ali`ye hem Ayşe`ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe -DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’

3.1.1. Multiple Events Reading and Identical Shared Material

In chapter 2, I demonstrated that HHC denotes multiple events and proposed that the most straightforward way to capture this property is by analyzing HHC as involving clausal coordination in both subject and indirect object position.²¹ In this section, I begin the investigation with HHC in the subject position, illustrated in (22), repeated here as (70).

- (70) Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka-dı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
 ‘Both Ali (washed the car) and Ayşe washed the car.’

As stated earlier, semantically, there are two separate events of car-washing in this sentence: the car was washed once by Ali, once by Ayşe. Although there is only one

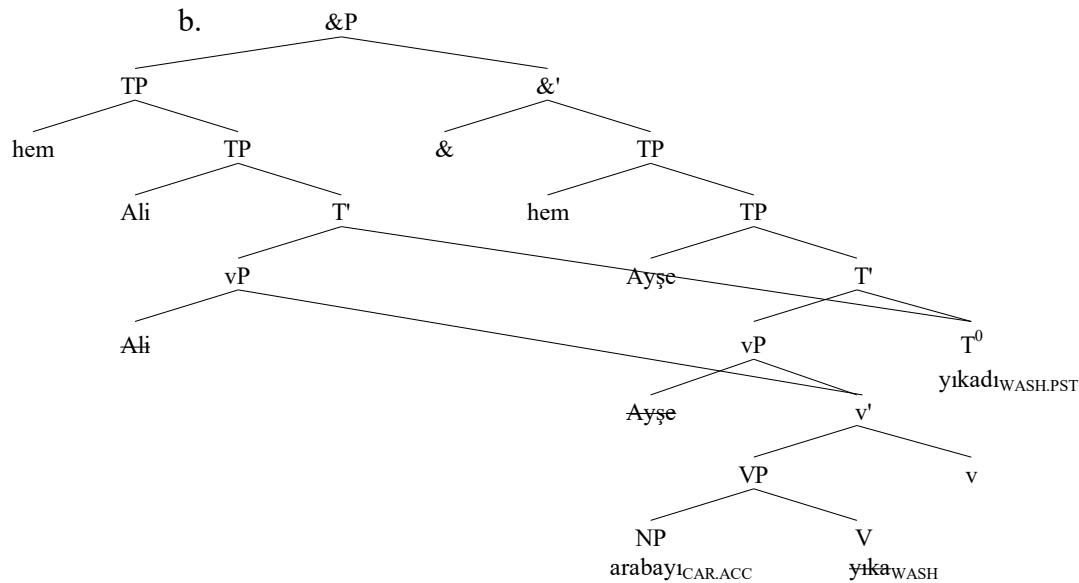
²¹ In this dissertation, I restrict my discussion of HHC to instances in which it appears in subject and indirect object positions. However, further evidence supports the claim that the coordination is clausal rather than phrasal. Consider the following example, where each conjunct contains its own overt subject and distinct predicate:

- (i) Hem güneş var -dı hem de yağmur yağ-ıyor -du.
 hem sun exist-PST hem also rain rain-PROG-PST
 ‘Both there was sun and also it was raining.’

The presence of independent subjects and predicates across conjuncts suggests that each conjunct is independent. This pattern constitutes direct evidence that HHC *can* involve clausal coordination regardless of what analysis we believe is responsible for examples where the conjuncts are seemingly smaller.

occurrence of the predicate *arabayı yıkadı* ‘washed the car’ in the surface string, the MD representation in (71)b) contains two clauses that share the VP *arabayı yıka-* ‘wash the car’ and the T head *-dı* ‘-PST’.^{22, 23}

- (71) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe araba-yı yıka-dı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe car -ACC wash-PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe washed the car.’



This structural configuration allows the shared predicate *arabayı yıkadı* ‘washed the car’ to be associated with each subject – *Ali* and *Ayşe* – independently, yielding two distinct clauses, each indicating a separate event. Thus, even though the predicate surfaces only once, the representation is still bi-clausal, with *Ali* and *Ayşe* each functioning as the subject of its own clause, which results in two independently interpreted events of car washing.

Because the VP and T are multiply dominated, they are generated only once in the structure and shared by both clauses. This configuration produces a single overt

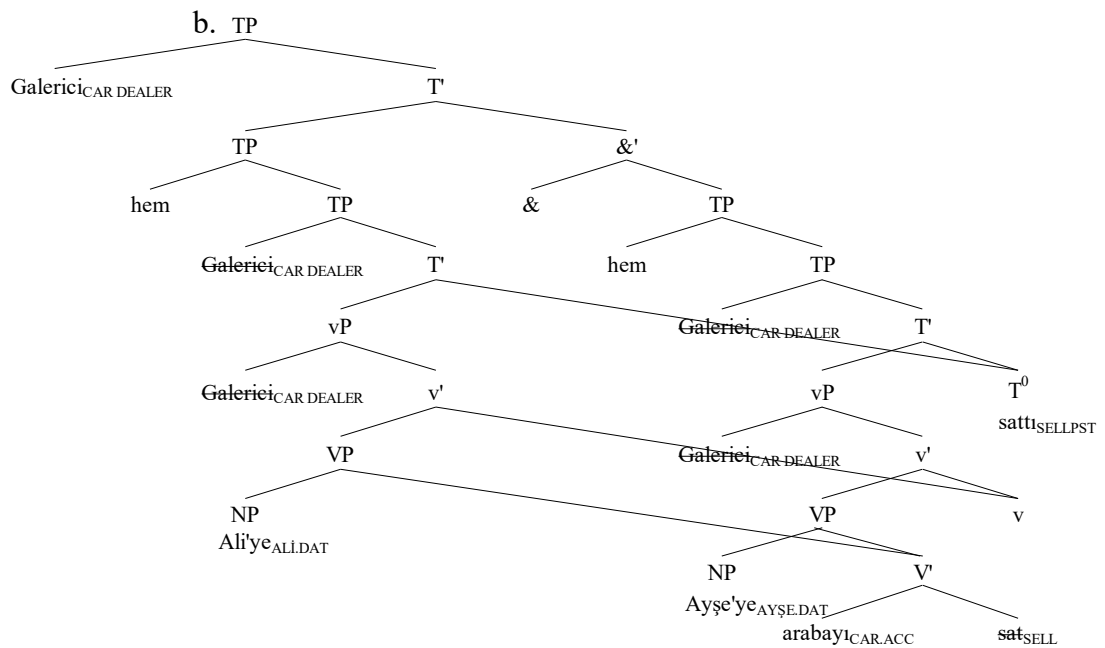
²² As stated in Chapter 2, I adopt the correlation between the number of events and the number of clauses as the simplest and most transparent way to derive the observed interpretation. If there are two separate events, this corresponds to a bi-clausal analysis, whereas a single event corresponds to a mono-clausal analysis.

²³ It may not be obvious why the T head must be shared in this structure. I will address this requirement in Section 3.1.4, where I discuss cumulative agreement.

realization of the identical material and still allows each subject to access the same predicate. This is consistent with the economy principle stated earlier, since the analysis derives the correct surface string and interpretation without requiring duplication or deletion of any constituent.

The same reasoning extends to cases in which the HHC is in the indirect object position. In (39), repeated here as (72), *Ali'ye* ‘to Ali’ and *Ayşe'ye* ‘to Ayşe’ function as the indirect object, while the predicate *arabayı sattı* ‘sold the car’ is pronounced only once, but is interpreted as applying to each recipient separately. Under the MD analysis, the sentence is represented as in (72)b).²⁴

- (72) a. *Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye arabayı sat-tı.*
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’



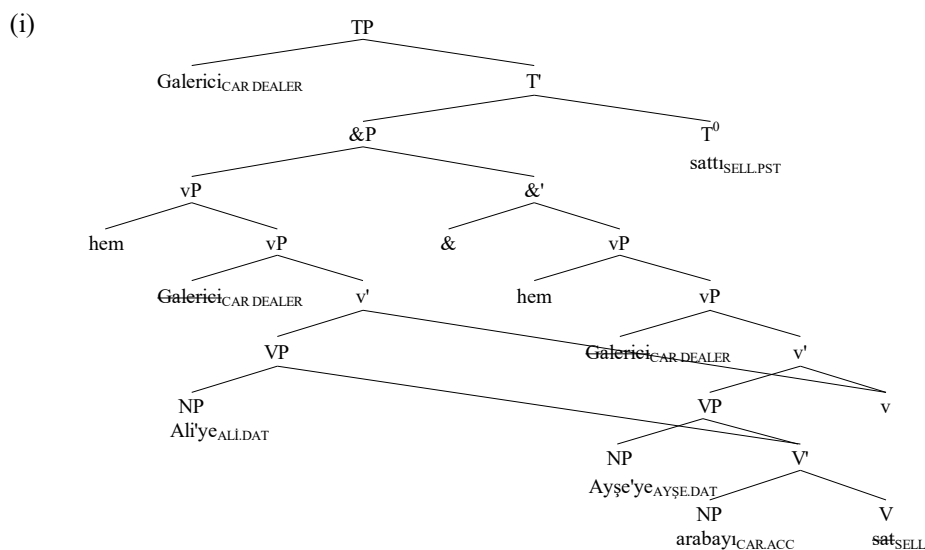
²⁴ Recall from section 2.2 that I assume across-the-board (ATB) movement of the matrix subject to account for the single pronounced occurrence of the subject *galerici* ‘car dealer’. Under the MD analysis, each conjunct is a separate clause, and the matrix subject must be interpreted as originating in both conjuncts. ATB movement provides a straightforward way to capture this multiple events structure while maintaining the surface string.

Each conjunct contains its own VP: the VP in the first conjunct contains the IO *Ali'ye* ‘to Ali’ and the VP in the second conjunct contains the IO *Ayşe'ye* ‘to Ayşe’.²⁵ Both VPs also dominate the shared predicate *arabayı sat* ‘sell the car’. In addition, the v head and the T head are multiply dominated and shared across the two conjuncts.

As in HHC in the subject position, this structural configuration correctly predicts the multiple events reading: one event in which the car dealer sells the car to Ali, and another in which the car dealer sells the car to Ayşe. Crucially, the predicate *arabayı sat* ‘sell the car’ and the T head *-tı* ‘-PST’ are shared, but the indirect objects occupy positions in separate conjuncts, each associated with an independent event.²⁶ This analysis is also compatible with the economy principle since there is only one occurrence of the shared predicate in the derivation. If the derivation involved ellipsis, the predicate would have to be built twice, with one instance elided. Since this is less economical than the MD derivation in (72), MD is preferred.

²⁵ This discussion adopts the VP-shell analysis for ditransitive predicates, following Larson, (1988), where indirect objects are generated within a layered VP structure. An alternative approach treats indirect objects as introduced by an applicative functional head (Appl), as proposed in Pykkänen (2002). Nothing in the present analysis hinges on choosing between these implementations: the crucial assumption is simply that each conjunct independently introduces its own applied argument, whether via VP shells or an applicative projection.

²⁶ Alternatively, it is possible that the HHC in (72b) involves vP coordination, with the *hem* particles adjoined to the vP in each conjunct, as shown in (i). Such a structure would also yield multiple events interpretation, since each vP constitutes a complete proposition. However, since HHC in the subject position must involve TP coordination (on the assumption that the verb moves at least to T), I adopt the structure in (72b) for uniformity, where *hem...hem* coordinates TPs.



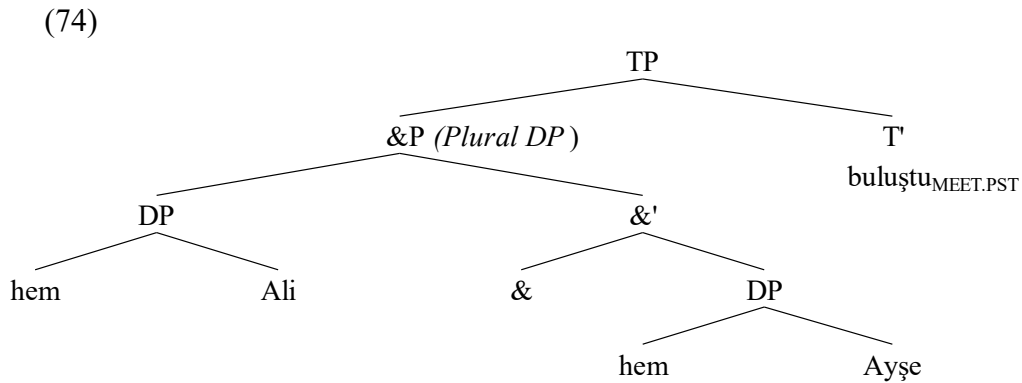
Thus, regardless of whether the HHC appears in the subject or indirect object position, the MD analysis derives the multiple events interpretation while generating a single instance of the predicate across conjuncts.

3.1.2. Incompatibility with Collective Predicates

Next, I will present how the MD analysis proposed here derives the incompatibility of HHC with collective predicates. I will show that the ungrammaticality of (31), repeated here as (73), follows naturally from the proposed MD analysis.

- (73) *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluş-tu.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe meet-PST
 Intended: ‘Ali and Ayşe met.’

As shown earlier, HHC in the subject position does not form a single syntactic constituent that functions as a plural DP. If it were the case, DP coordination [_{DP} *hem Ali hem Ayşe*] would form a single subject. In this (hypothetical) case, the coordinated DP would be plural, with the representation in (74), and it would license collective predicates like *buluşmak* ‘meet’, as is the case with DP *ve* ‘and’ coordination in (75).



- (75) Ali ve Ayşe buluş-tu.
 Ali and Ayşe meet-PST
 ‘Ali and Ayşe met.’

The structure in (74) incorrectly predicts the sentence in (73) to be grammatical. The ungrammaticality of the sentence, on the other hand, indicates that a DP-level (small) coordination is not available for HHC. The incompatibility of collective predicates

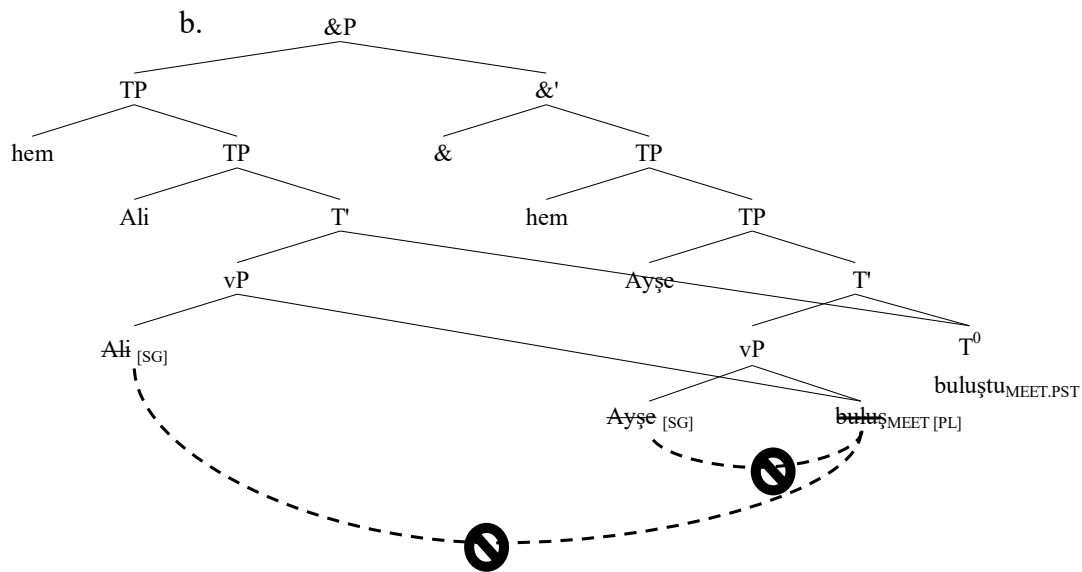
with HHC shows that that *Ali* and *Ayşe* do not form a single plural argument; rather, each functions as the subject of a separate conjunct.

In the MD analysis proposed here, each conjunct contains its own singular subject while sharing the predicate and the T head. In this configuration, shown in (76), the shared T head ensures a single realization of tense and agreement, but it does not enforce a plural subject. Each subject, *Ali* and *Ayşe*, remains singular within its conjunct and thus, the collective predicate *buluşmak* ‘meet’, which needs to combine with a semantically plural subjects (Link, 1983; Lasersohn, 1995; Champollion, 2015; Smith, 2017), is not licensed.

(76) a. *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluştu.

hem Ali hem Ayşe meet-PST

Intended: ‘Ali and Ayşe met.’



The MD structure proposed here, despite having a shared predicate, correctly accounts for the ungrammaticality of collective predicates in HHC, by positing two separate conjuncts, each containing a singular subject.

3.1.3. Sloppy Identity Reading with the Unmarked Reflexive *kendi* ‘self’

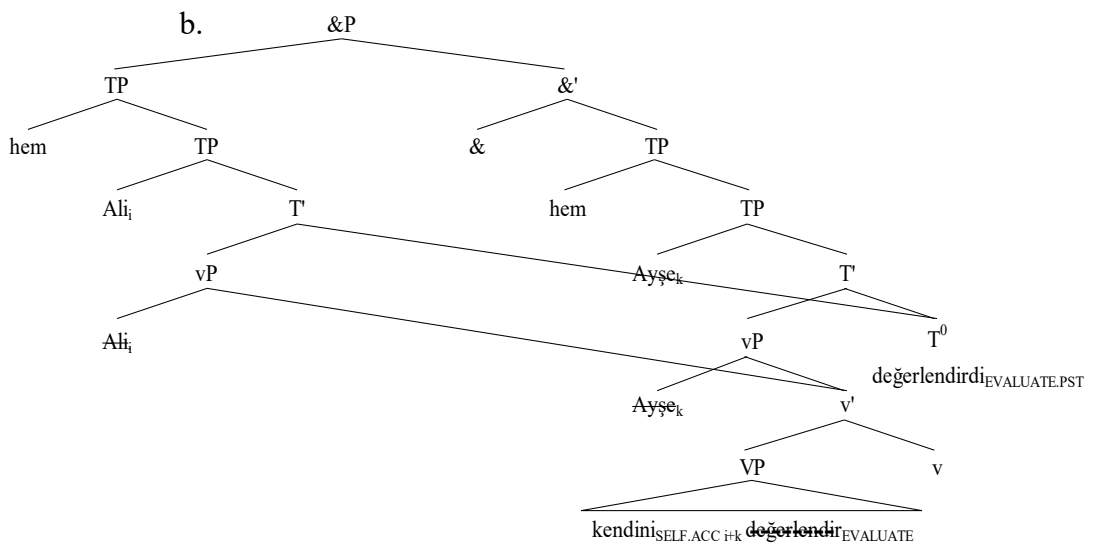
Finally, I will show how the MD analysis derives examples of HHC that involve the sloppy identity reading in the presence of the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’. Example (36),

repeated here as (77), exhibits the sloppy identity reading, where Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.

- (77) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’

At first glance, this reading may seem incompatible with the MD representation proposed for HHC. Under the MD analysis, sentence (77) is represented as in (78)b), where the *v'* is bulk-shared between the conjuncts. This entails that the structure contains a single instance of the reflexive *kendini* ‘self.ACC’. For the sloppy identity reading to arise, this single reflexive must therefore be simultaneously bound by the subject of the first conjunct, *Ali*, and by the subject of the second conjunct, *Ayşe*.

- (78) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’



The key question is whether such simultaneous binding of a single reflexive by more than one antecedent is allowed. Although classical Binding Theory assumes a one-to-one relation between a reflexive and its antecedent, work on split antecedents and plural anaphora suggests that such configurations are not in principle excluded, as shown in (79).

(79) Mary_i showed Paul_w a nice picture of themselves_{i+w}.

(Okada, 1998, p. 61)

A similar pattern is observed in Turkish. In (80), Ali and Oya function as split antecedents, binding the plural reflexive *kendileri* ‘self.3PL’.

(80) Ali_i Oya_j’ya_j [Ankara_j’ya kendi-leri-nin_{i+j}
 Ali Oya-DAT Ankara-DAT self -3PL-GEN
 gönder-il -eceğ-in]-i söyle-di.
 send -PASS-FUT-3SG -ACC tell -PST
 ‘Ali told Oya that they would get sent to Ankara.’

(Kornfilt, 2001, p. 205)

Sentence (80) confirms that Turkish allows split antecedents to bind a single plural anaphor.²⁷ Given that, as mentioned in the Introduction and footnote 1, Turkish allows 3rd person plural agreement to go morphologically unmarked, I propose that the reflexive *kendini* ‘self.ACC’ in (77) is actually underlyingly plural, corresponding to *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’, as in (81), and that the sloppy identity reading, on which Ali evaluated himself, and Ayşe evaluated herself, arises through a combination of agreement and binding.²⁸

²⁷ It is worth noting that, similar to English, the plural marker must be overt for the split antecedent reading. However, HHC differs from (80). In (80), the antecedents are distinct arguments (i.e., Ali: the subject; Oya: the indirect object) that bind a reflexive across a clausal boundary. This obligatorily results in a collective reading of the reflexive, which appears to obligatorily require an overt plural marker on the reflexive. In HHC, the antecedents are subjects that share the same Agreement head via MD. The cumulative agreement triggered on this shared head allows syntactic plurality, and when it does, it can (optionally) have a null morpheme (\emptyset). However, such unmarked plural on the reflexive results only in the distributive reading of the reflexive and disallows the collective reading. (See also footnote 31.)

²⁸ The fact that syntactic plurality does not necessarily go hand in hand with morphological plurality can also be observed with possessive DPs, as shown in (i), and bare objects, as shown in (ii).

- (i) Çocuk-lar **anne** -**si** -**ni** sev-iyor. = *anne* -(*leri*)-*ni*
 Child -PL mother-3SG-ACC love-PROG mother-3PL -ACC
 Collective interpretation: ‘Multiple children love their single mother.’
 Distributive interpretation: ‘Every child loves his/her mother.’
- (ii) Öğrenci-ler **makale** yaz -dı. = *makale*-(*ler*)
 Student-PL article write-PST article -3PL
 Collective interpretation: ‘Multiple students wrote a single article.’
 Distributive interpretation: ‘Each student wrote an article.’

- (81) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-(leri)-ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3PL -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated themselves’.

If this analysis is correct (and I will introduce the details in the next subsection), the two singular subjects in a HHC function as split antecedents that jointly bind a syntactically plural reflexive, while each conjunct introduces a separate event. With this mechanism, what looks like a sloppy identity reading becomes possible: there is one event in which Ali evaluates himself and another in which Ayşe evaluates herself.

In the following subsection, I will first discuss a property of Turkish agreement system that makes this analysis possible: namely, the fact that third-person plural agreement in Turkish is morphologically optional. I will present the relevant agreement patterns in Turkish starting with subject-verb agreement and then extend the discussion to agreement patterns with reflexives. I will then show how this optionality of plural marking makes it possible to derive the sloppy identity reading in HHC under an MD analysis.

3.1.3.1. Optionality of Turkish Plural Marker *-lar*

Turkish exhibits an interesting agreement pattern in third person plural subject-verb agreement, given in (82). In Turkish system, predicates obligatorily agree with the subject based on their ϕ -features (person and number).

- (82) a. Ben gel-di-m.
 I come-PST-1SG
 ‘I came.’
- b. Sen gel-di-n.
 You come-PST-2SG
 ‘You came.’
- c. O gel-di- \emptyset .
 S/he come-PST-3SG
 ‘S/he came.’

- d. Biz gel-di-k.
 We come-PST-1PL
 ‘We came.’
- e. Siz gel-di-niz.
 You come-PST-2PL
 ‘You came.’
- f. Onlar gel-di- \emptyset /ler.
 They come-PST-3SG/3PL
 ‘They came. (Kahraman, 2018, pp. 145-146)

As shown in (82)a-e), the verb obligatorily agrees with the subject by taking a suffix that reflects the subject’s ϕ -features (except perhaps in (82)c), where the exponent of the 3rd person singular agreement is null). However, in (82)f), where the subject is third person plural *onlar* ‘they’, plural marking is optional: the plural suffix *-lar* alternates with a null morpheme (\emptyset), typically associated with third person singular agreement, without affecting the grammaticality or meaning of the utterance (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Bamyacı et al., 2014). This means that the singular *gel-di- \emptyset* ‘come-PST- \emptyset ’ can replace the plural *gel-di-ler* ‘come-PST-3PL’.

Importantly, this optionality is not limited to subject–verb agreement. As shown in (83), reflexives also display the same flexibility, where the plural suffix *-lar*, in (83)b), alternates with a null morpheme (\emptyset), in (83)a).

- (83) a. Çocuk-lar kendi- \emptyset -ni kurtar-dı.
 child -PL self -3SG-ACC save -PST
 ‘Children saved themselves.’
- b. Çocuk-lar kendi-leri -ni kurtar-dı.
 child -PL self -3PL-ACC save -PST
 ‘Children saved themselves.’

In both (83)a) and (83)b), the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ is bound by the plural subject *çocuklar* ‘children’, but only the reflexive in (83)b) shows overt plural agreement.

Both sentences are grammatical and have the same interpretation: they are ambiguous between the distributive reading, on which each child saved himself/herself, and the collective reading, on which the children worked as a group to save the whole group. The fact that (83)a), where the reflexive is singular, is completely equivalent to (83)b), where the reflexive is plural, indicates that the presence versus absence of third person plural morphology on the reflexive makes no semantic contribution to the sentence, just like it does not in the case of subject-verb agreement in (82)f). This suggests that third person plural morphology for both subject-verb and reflexive agreement is truly optional, and the plural meaning can be present without a corresponding plural suffix.

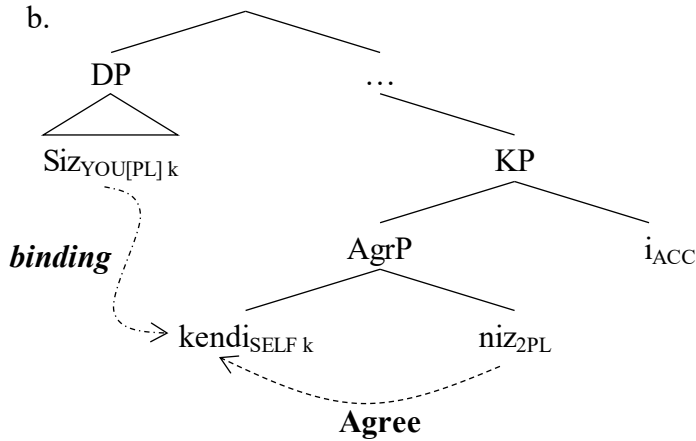
Given this optionality of third person plural agreement in Turkish, I propose that the reflexive *kendini* ‘self.ACC’ in (77), repeated here as (84), is syntactically plural, corresponding to *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’, but surfaces without plural morphology.

- (84) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-(leri)-ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3PL -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’

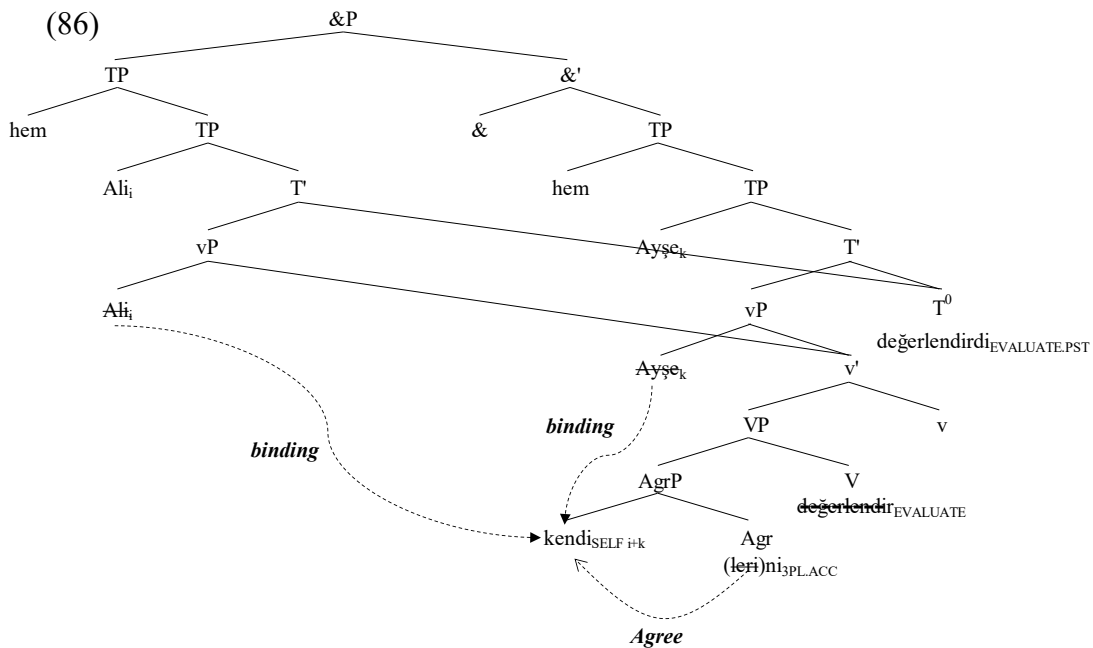
The central claim here is that the sloppy identity interpretation of *kendi(leri)ni* ‘self.(3PL).ACC’ is in fact the distributive reading attested more generally with plural reflexives (Heim et al., 1991; Sternefeld, 1998)). The plurality of the reflexive in turn arises through sharing, agreement and binding under MD. Under this account, Turkish reflexives are complex, containing the invariant component *kendi* ‘self’, taken as the complement by the agreement head, Agr. Crucially, the Agr head agrees with *kendi* ‘self’ and reflects the ϕ -features of the antecedent(s) which bind(s) the anaphor.²⁹ An example is given in (85).

²⁹ Although similar to the account in Kornfilt (2001), this account differs from it. Kornfilt assumes that only the third person inflected reflexives (*kendisi* ‘self.3SG’, *kendileri* ‘self.3PL’) are complex and contain an Agr head, which agrees with the *pro* in [Spec Agr] – similar to the analysis of possessive phrases in Turkish. In the present proposal, however, all local anaphors contain an Agr head, but none contains a *pro* (except perhaps *kendisi*, which is not considered part of the local anaphor paradigm). All local reflexives reflect the person and number features of their antecedent(s) because *kendi* is always locally bound by a(n) antecedent(s), and the Agree relation between the Agr head and the invariant *kendi* ‘self’ results in Agr reflecting the features of the binder(s) of *kendi*.

- (85) a. Siz kendi-niz -i sev -iyor -sunuz.
 you self -2PL-ACC love-PROG-2PL
 ‘You love yourselves.’



The plural interpretation of *kendini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’ in (84) arises because *kendi* ‘self’ is bound by both subjects, which act as split antecedents (see (79) for English; (80) for Turkish). Split antecedents require the reflexive to be plural. In Turkish, the Agr head agrees with *kendi* ‘self’ and shows agreement with the ϕ -features of both subjects, which results in plural agreement. Since the reflexive is syntactically plural, the distributive reading (equivalent to the sloppy identity reading) arises, and the optionality of the plural marker *-lar* in Turkish accounts for the singular surface string of *kendi* ‘self’. The MD structure of (84) is given in (86).



Notice that Turkish differs from English, where person and number matching between the reflexive and its antecedent seems to be encoded lexically, through distinct reflexive forms such as *myself*, *yourself*, *themselves*, rather than syntactically, as illustrated in (87), where each reflexive form contains either a possessive pronoun associated with the antecedent (e.g., *my-* in *myself*) or an accusative pronoun associated with the antecedent (e.g., *them* in *themselves*).

- (87) a. I saw myself.
 b. You saw yourself.
 c. They saw themselves.

In Turkish, on the other hand, ϕ -features on reflexives are more transparently syntactic, and obtained through agreement, as shown in (88). In fact, the ϕ -feature agreement on the reflexive is (in the singular paradigm at least) identical to verbal agreement.³⁰

- (88) a. Ben kendi-**m** -i gör-dü -**m**.
 I self -1SG-ACC see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw myself.’
- b. Sen kendi-**n** -i gör-dü -**n**.
 you self -2SG-ACC see-PST-2SG
 ‘You saw yourself.’
- c. O kendi- \emptyset -ni gör -dü- \emptyset .
 he/she self -3SG-ACC see-PST-3SG
 ‘He/she saw himself/herself.’

³⁰ The morphological form of the 3rd person singular is important here because it is the same as the surface realization of the "unmarked" plural. In Turkish, for the reflexive and verbal paradigms, third person plural agreement is interchangeable with the third person singular form, which means it can be expressed as \emptyset . However, in the possessive paradigm, where the 3rd person singular agreement is $-(s)I$ (not \emptyset), the 3rd person plural alternates between the plural form $-larI$ and the singular form $-(s)I$. This distinction will be crucial for the discussion of possessive interpretations in HHC in Section 3.1.5.

- d. Onlar kendi-Ø -ni gör -dü-Ø.
 They self -3SG-ACC see-PST-3SG
 ‘They saw themselves.’

The interim conclusion is that the MD analysis offers a structure that can capture all the observed facts: It derives the existence of the sloppy identity reading (a.k.a. the distributive reading of a plural reflexive), person/number agreement on the reflexive through treating multiple subjects as split antecedents of the plural reflexive and having Agr reflect their (cumulative) ϕ -features, and the multiple events interpretation through clausal coordination. The shared *kendi(leri)ni* ‘self.(3PL).ACC’ is bound by subjects of both conjuncts simultaneously and a single (shared) agreement head can value its ϕ -features by agreeing with the ϕ -features on *kendi*, which correspond to the ϕ -features of the split antecedents: subjects of each conjunct. As a result, the reflexive may surface as morphologically singular but syntactically plural, yielding the distributive reading, which is equivalent with the sloppy identity reading.

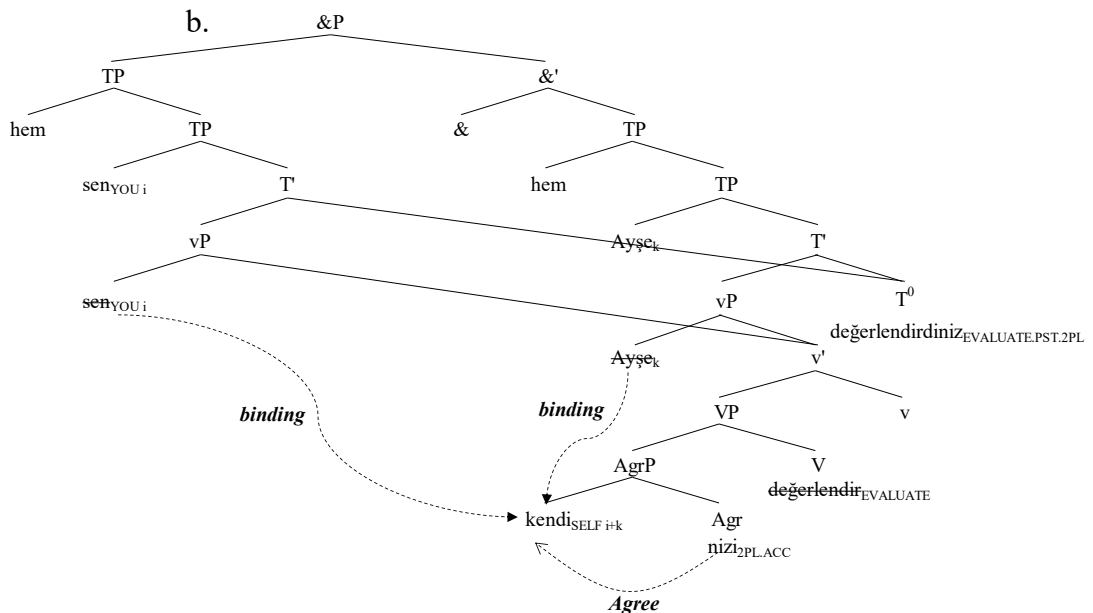
Importantly, the MD analysis that I argue for here is more economical than the ellipsis analysis: the shared chunk of structure is built only once and no ellipsis is necessary. The MD representation derives the same string and the same reading (distributive reading of a plural anaphor) that the ellipsis analysis would (the sloppy identity reading). Therefore, ellipsis analysis, although it can arguably derive the relevant reading in a more straightforward way, is forbidden. Crucially, the distributive reading of *kendi* ‘self’ in subject HHC persists even when the reflexive bears *overt* plural morphology, as shown in (89). This supports the claim that plural marking is morphologically optional for sloppy identity/distributive reading.³¹

³¹ It is worth noting that while *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL’ with an overt plural marker allows both the distributive reading (where Ali evaluates himself and Ayşe evaluates herself) and the collective reading (where Ali and Ayşe evaluate themselves together as a group), the singular *kendini* ‘self.3SG’ is restricted to the distributive reading. This poses a challenge to the analysis in (86) since treating *kendini* ‘self.3SG’ as syntactically plural incorrectly predicts the availability of the collective reading. This implies that the plural marker *-lar* is not completely optional; rather, it is necessary to license the collective interpretation. At present, it is unclear to me why the absence of the plural marker constrains the interpretation, and I leave the precise derivation of this difference for future research. Crucially, however, the proposed MD analysis successfully derives the distributive reading, which is the primary focus of this section and is available for both overt and covert plural forms.

- (89) Hem Ali hem Ayşe **kendi-leri -ni değerlendir-di.**
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3PL-ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.’

This account derives not only 3rd + 3rd person coordination (*Hem Ali hem Ayşe*); the fact that *kendi* ‘self’ is actually plural in HHC examples like (90) becomes more apparent with combinations of singular subjects with different person features, as in (90).³²

- (90) a. Hem sen hem Ayşe kendi-niz -i değerlendir-di -niz.
 hem you hem Ayşe self -2PL-ACC evaluate -PST-2PL
 ‘Both you and Ayşe evaluated yourselves.’



In this structure, sharing allows the reflexive to be bound by subjects from two different conjuncts. The morphology in the Agr head, the 2nd person plural *-niz*, is a reflex of agreement, contributed by the indices on *kendi* of both *sen* ‘you.2SG’ and *Ayşe*. Thus, structural sharing allows multiple binders, and the consequent plurality of the reflexive derives the distributive reading, which gives the illusion of the sloppy identity reading.

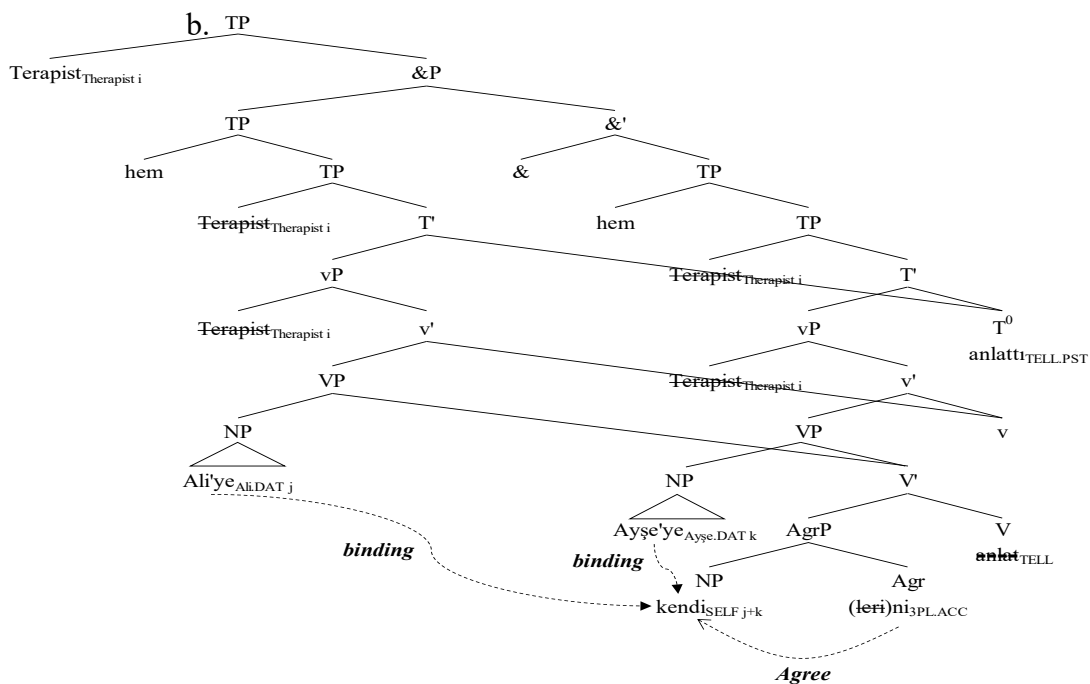
³² The plural agreement on the verb *değerlendirdiniz* ‘evaluate.2PL’ in (90) is an instance of cumulative verbal agreement, which I discuss in the next section.

Having established that a reflexive direct object (*kendi* ‘self’) in subject HHC supports an MD analysis, the next step is to examine whether it behaves the same way in terms of structure, binding properties and agreement patterns in different syntactic environments. To check this, I will examine *kendi* ‘self’ in indirect object HHC, as in (91).

- (91) Terapist hem Ali’ye hem Ayşe’ye kendi-ni anlat-tı.
 Therapist hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT self -ACC tell-PST
 ‘The therapist talked to Ali about Ali and to Ayşe about Ayşe.’

Under the proposed MD analysis, the sloppy reading arises because *kendi* ‘self’ is shared across the two conjuncts. Like with the subject HHC, the reflexive is bound by both indirect objects simultaneously. As proposed earlier, the Agr head reflects both sets of ϕ -features, resulting in *kendini* ‘self.ACC’ being syntactically plural, corresponding to *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’, but surfaces without overt plural morphology due to the optionality of third-person plural agreement in Turkish. Thus, the sloppy identity interpretation in (91) can be derived through MD as shown in (92).

- (92) a. Terapist hem Ali’ye hem Ayşe’ye kendi-ni anlat-tı.
 therapist hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe-DAT self -ACC tell-PST
 ‘The therapist told Ali about Ali and to Ayşe about Ayşe.’



The availability of the distributive reading/sloppy identity reading in this sentence confirms that the MD structure is not restricted to subject coordination but extends to lower positions such as indirect objects.³³

As a consequence of the discussion in this section, two generalizations can be established. First, the presence of the sloppy identity reading is not necessarily diagnostic of deletion (Merchant, 2013). HHC in Turkish provides evidence of the availability of sloppy identity reading in MD structures.³⁴ Second, the MD structure, the agreeing nature of Turkish reflexives, and more general optionality of the plural agreement in Turkish together make it possible to derive the sloppy identity readings of HHC under the MD analysis.

If *kendini* ‘self.ACC’ can be semantically plural but morphologically singular, a question arises as to whether the same pattern extends to verbs. In other words, can we argue that in (77), repeated here as (93), the predicate *değerlendirdi* ‘evaluate.PST’, which is morphologically singular, can be underlyingly plural, with the plural morphology omitted?

- (93) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-ni değerlendir-di.
hem Ali hem Ayşe self -ACC evaluate -PST
‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’

I will discuss this possibility in the next section, on cumulative agreement.

3.1.4. Cumulative agreement

In the previous section, we saw that a single shared reflexive can be bound simultaneously by two different antecedents, which results in the features on the Agr head that selects the reflexive as the complement (and agrees with it) bearing plural features. When both subjects are third person, the plural morphology on Agr is

³³ Unlike *kendini* ‘self.ACC’, which is strictly distributive, the overt plural *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’ is ambiguous between a collective reading (where the therapist talks to each about the two of them as a pair) and a distributive reading. However, since the distributive reading is available for both forms and is the focus of this analysis, I set aside the discussion of the collective reading.

³⁴ Examples arguing against the sloppy identity reading being a diagnostic test for ellipsis were also given in footnote 15.

optionally omitted. I speculated that the same reasoning can be applied to the shared T, which surfaces as singular despite agreeing with two different third person singular subjects.

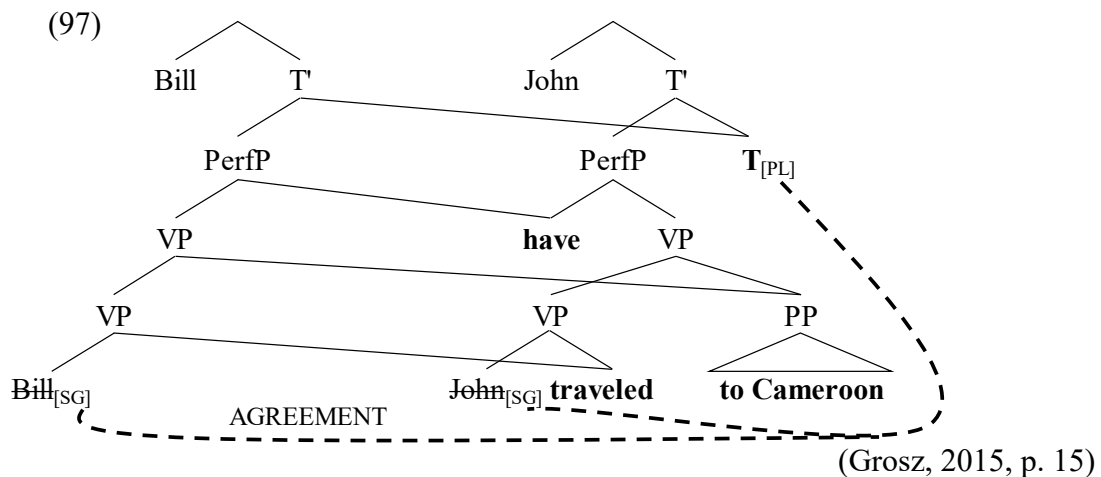
In this section I will show that sharing T more generally gives rise to plural agreement, in which a single T probe agrees with multiple goals (the subjects in the two conjuncts). This becomes apparent when not both coordinated subjects in HHC are third person singular since plural/cumulative agreement is obligatory on the verb in all other persons. Cumulative agreement is shown in (94).

- (94) Hem ben hem Ali gel -di -k.
 hem I hem Ali come-PST-3PL
 ‘Both Ali and I came.’

In order to account for sentences like (94), there should be a way to reconcile having two separate singular subjects, *ben* ‘I’ and *Ali* in this case, in two separate conjuncts, with a single plural verb, *gel-di-k* ‘sell-PST-1PL’. An analysis for such cases has already been proposed by Grosz (2015) for RNR constructions. Grosz (2015) suggests that sentences like (95) in English can be given a multi-dominance analysis of Right Node Raising (RNR), as in (97).

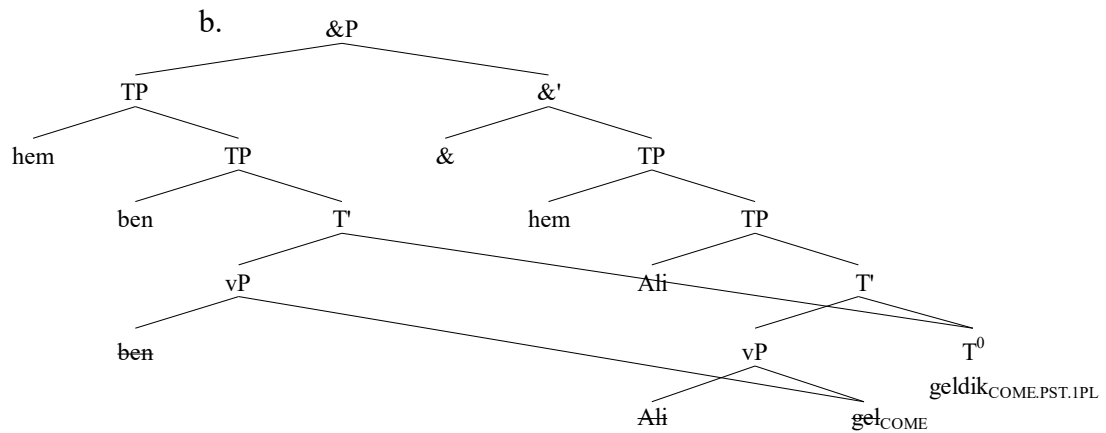
- (95) [Sue is proud that Bill_i] and [Mary is glad that John_k] have_{i+k} travelled to Cameroon.

- (96) [. . . X α_[SG] ___] and [. . . Z β_[SG] . . . ___] F_[PL] t_{αβ} Q. (Grosz, 2015, p. 6)



This structure makes it possible to reconcile a clausal coordination analysis with the presence of plural agreement, given that plural agreement does not necessarily require small coordination. As the agreement facts in HHC are parallel to what Grosz (2015) describes, it should be possible to analyze them adopting his MD analysis, as shown in (98).

- (98) a. Hem ben hem Ali gel -di -k.
 hem I hem Ali come-PST-3PL
 ‘Both Ali and I came.’



Under the MD analysis, the verb *gel* ‘come’, as well as the T head *-di-k* ‘PST.1PL’, is shared by both conjuncts. Since T has both subjects in its c-command domain, it agrees with both and the features of each singular subject accumulate on T, resulting in the plural agreement observed in (98).

3.1.5. Sloppy and Collective Reading of Possessive Phrases in HHC

In this section, I argue that the MD analysis can account for HHC sentences that contain possessive objects, both in cases when the possessive object is singular, as illustrated in (99), and when it is plural, as in (100). All such sentences are ambiguous between a *distributive* interpretation of the object (e.g., in (99), Ali praised his son and Ayşe praised her son = the sloppy reading) and a *collective* interpretation of the object (e.g., in (99), Ali and Ayşe praised their shared son). In addition, they all have the external referent reading, where the possessor is extra-sentential (e.g., in (99), Ali and Ayşe praised somebody else’s son).

- (99) Hem Ali hem Ayşe **oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü.**
 hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
Distributive Reading: ‘Ali praised his son and Ayşe praised her son.’
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised their son.’
External referent Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised someone else’s son.’
- (100) Hem Ali hem Ayşe **ev -leri-ni sat -tı.**
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-3PL-ACC sell-PST
Distributive Reading 1: ‘Ali sold his house and Ayşe sold her house.’
Distributive Reading 2: ‘Ali sold his houses and Ayşe sold her houses.’
Collective Reading 1: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared house.’
Collective Reading 2: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared houses.’
External referent Readings: Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s shared house(s).

Given the observed optionality of plural agreement with third person subjects, I will also discuss sentences where the subjects differ in person (e.g. *ben* ‘I’ and *Ali*), as in (101), which results in obligatory plural possessive marking on the object, *arabamızı* ‘car.1PL.ACC’

- (101) Hem ben hem Ali **araba-mız-ı yıka -dı -k.**
 hem I hem Ali car -1PL-ACC wash-PST-1PL
Distributive Reading: ‘I washed my car and Ali washed his car.’
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and I washed a shared car.’

The main claim is that the MD analysis derives both distributive and collective interpretations of these sentences, as well as external-referent interpretations, by allowing agreement nodes to be shared at different levels in the structure.

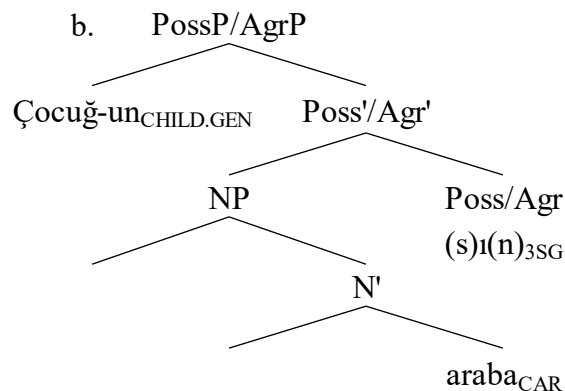
These sentences all feature definite objects: *oğlunu* ‘son.1SG.ACC = his/her son’, *evlerini* ‘house.3PL.ACC = their house’, and *arabamızı* ‘car.1PL.ACC = our car’ respectively. The objects are Possessive Determiner Phrases, which have been extensively discussed by a number of scholars in the literature (Underhill, 1976; Kornfilt, 1997; Yüksek, 1998; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, 2011; Bahadır, 2012;

Kunduracı, 2013; Bošković & Şener, 2014; Öztürk & Erguvanlı Taylan, 2016; Erbaşı 2019; Çakır, 2023). In the following subsection, I summarize this discussion and motivate my assumptions about the structure of possessive phrases in Turkish.

3.1.5.1. Possessive Phrases in Turkish and *pro* vs. null reflexive *kendi* ‘self’

In this dissertation, I follow the predominant analysis of Turkish genitive possessive structures in assuming that the morphology (*-u* ‘poss.3SG’ / *-mız* ‘poss.1PL’ / *-leri* ‘POSS.3PL’) on the possessed entities (*oğul* ‘son’, *araba* ‘car’, *ev* ‘house’) is a reflex of agreement (e.g., Dede, 1978; Kornfilt, 1985; Özsoy, 1994) between a possessive agreement head and an overt or null genitive possessor in its specifier. Öztürk and Erguvanlı Taylan (2016) give the following structure as an example of a commonly assumed structure of PossP/AgrP in the literature:

- (102) a. Çocuğ-un araba-sı
 child -GEN car -3SG
 ‘The child’s car’



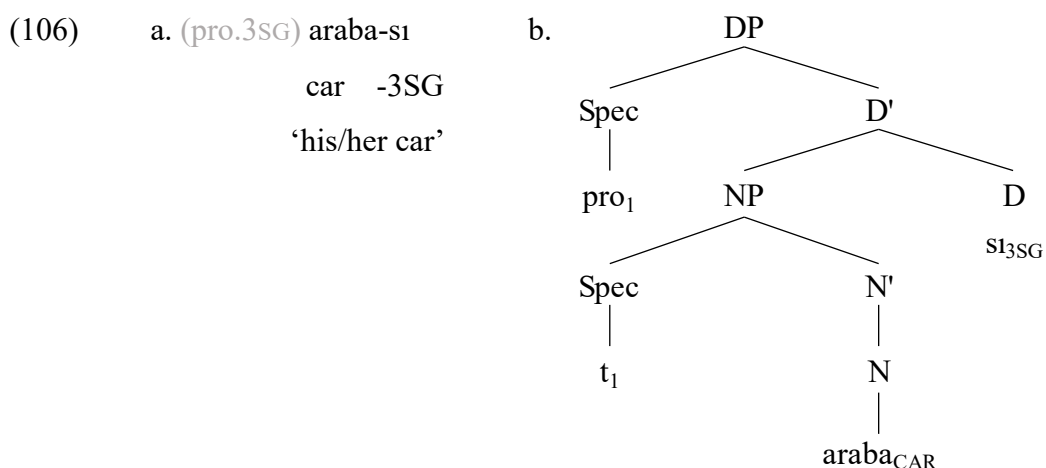
(adapted from Öztürk & Erguvanlı Taylan, 2016, p. 97)

However, Öztürk and Erguvanlı Taylan propose a slightly different approach, in which POSS is not a morphological suffix, but the head of a functional projection, little *n*, which introduces an argument in its specifier position. This structure is analogous to how vP introduces an external argument in [Spec, vP]. The structure they propose is given in (103).

In the following discussion, I adopt Erbaşı’s (2019) analysis for two reasons. First, Erbaşı employs a familiar PossP/AgrP format, which provides simplicity and ease of exposition. Second, the Agreement node (D₁ in this representation) c-commands the goal (*Possessor*) before the latter moves to [Spec DP], enabling an agreement relation to be established and allowing for genitive case assignment.³⁵

At this point, an additional property of Turkish becomes relevant: because Turkish is a pro-drop language, overt possessors do not need to appear in the structure whenever they are recoverable from the context and the agreement morphology.

When the possessor is not overtly expressed, the [Spec, AgrP] position can be filled by a null *pro*, whose features control the possessive suffix. Adopting Erbaşı’s analysis, the structure is as follows.³⁶



In (106)b, the possessor *çocuk* ‘child’ is syntactically represented as a null *pro*, interpreted as referring to a contextually salient possessor, namely *çocuk* ‘child’. It agrees with Agr, and this agreement yields the third person singular possessive suffix *-sı* on the possessed noun. However, in some cases this raises an important question

³⁵ Although I adopt Erbaşı’s (2019) analysis of possessive phrases, I will continue to label the agreement head as Agr, rather than D.

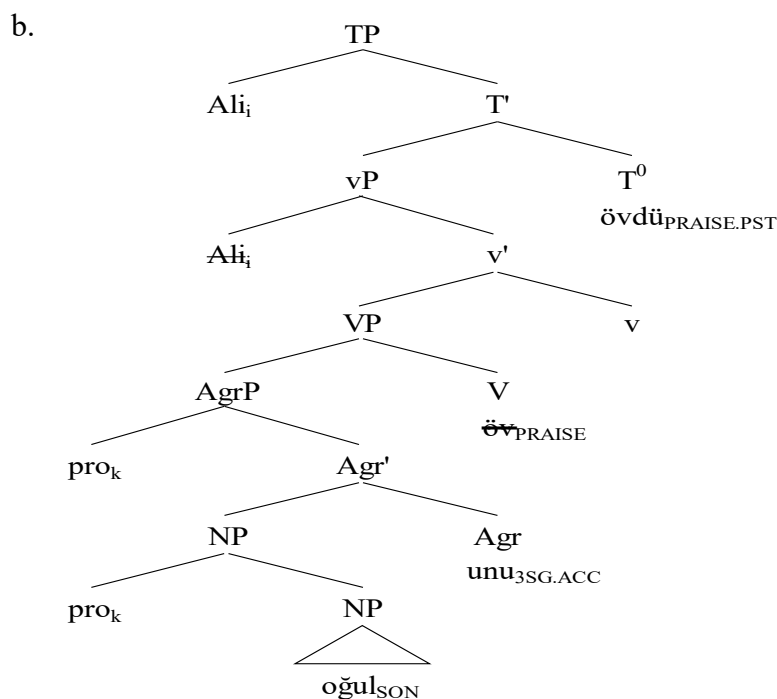
³⁶ Importantly, while I gloss *-sı* as ‘3SG’ in (106), it should be noted that facts are more complex; *-sı* can also denote plural agreement (as in *onların arabası* ‘their car’). However, while *onların arabası* ‘their car’ unambiguously denotes a single car, the plural form of the agreement suffix *-leri*, as in *onların arabaları* ‘their car(s)’ is ambiguous: it can denote multiple possessed objects (*araba-lar-ı* ‘their cars’) or a single one (*araba-ları* ‘their car’). This will be important in Section 3.1.5.2.

about the principles of the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). Consider the ambiguous example in (107).

- (107) Ali oğ(ul)-u -nu öv -dü.
 Ali son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
 Interpretation 1: ‘Ali praised **someone else**’s son.’
 Interpretation 2: ‘Ali praised **his** son.’

The example in (107) shows that Turkish third-person possessive morphology alone does not determine whether the possessor is a pronoun (free to take any discourse antecedent), as in Interpretation 1 in (107), or a reflexive (obligatorily locally bound), as in Interpretation 2 in (107). Notice that the two interpretations cannot be derived by assuming that the possessor is a *pro* in both cases or that it is a reflexive in both cases because *pro* resists local binding and reflexives require it. When the possessor is not overtly expressed and does not refer to the subject, it is presumably *pro* that occupies [Spec, AgrP], and its reference is determined by the context. Thus, the first interpretation of (107) is derived as follows:

- (108) a. Ali oğ(ul)-u -nu öv -dü.
 Ali son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
 Interpretation 1: ‘Ali praised **someone else**’s son.’



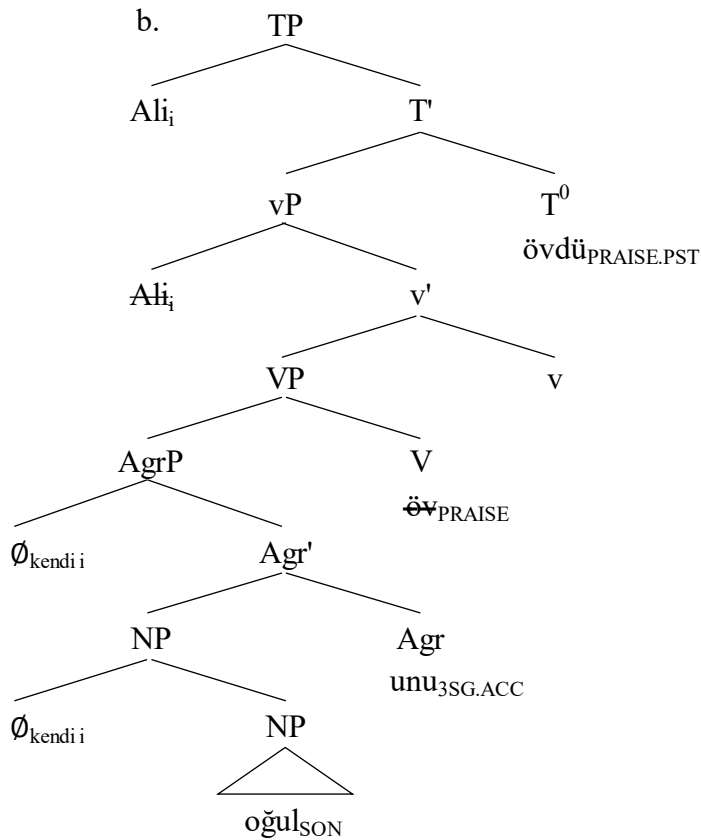
In accordance with Principle B of Binding Theory, *pro* must be free in its governing category. In this derivation, since *pro* is not bound by the subject *Ali*, Principle B is satisfied, and the sentence is grammatical, yielding the reading where Ali praises someone else's son.³⁷

However, since Turkish lacks a reflexive possessive marker, nothing on the surface distinguishes the *pro*-possessor reading (Interpretation 1 of (107)) from the reflexive-possessor reading (Interpretation 2 of (107)), and the same morphological form also yields the second interpretation, where the possessor is bound by the matrix subject.

In this reading, the structure behaves as if the possessor were a null reflexive, as shown in (109)b). To satisfy Principle A, this null reflexive must be bound within its local domain. Consequently, it is co-indexed with the c-commanding subject *Ali*, yielding the reading where Ali praises his own son. In this reading, the possessor cannot be a pronominal *pro* co-indexed with the subject *Ali* since such a configuration would violate Principle B, which requires pronouns to be free in their local domain.

- (109) a. Ali oğ(ul)-u -nu öv -dü.
 Ali son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
 Interpretation 2: 'Ali praised **his** son.'

³⁷ Kornfilt (1985, 1997, 2001) argues that the unpronounced possessor is always *pro*. In her analysis, the possessive phrase (AgrP) is the governing category for *pro* since it is headed by a "strong Agr element". Consequently, *pro* is free within this minimal domain (the AgrP).



The analysis of possessive constructions in Turkish requires distinguishing two different null elements in Turkish possessive constructions: *pro* and a null version of *kendi* ‘self’. Without positing a null reflexive, the grammar would incorrectly predict only the external referent reading. Thus, to maintain the principles of the Binding Theory, the grammar must distinguish between a null pronoun *pro*, which cannot be locally bound, and a null reflexive *kendi* ‘self’, which must be locally bound, even though both appear with identical possessive morphology on the possessed noun.³⁸ This distinction is essential to account for the multiple interpretations of possessive phrases in HHCs.

With this distinction established, the following subsection presents the MD derivations for HHC sentences containing possessive constructions where the shared material includes a possessed noun and its agreement morphology. Recall from Section 3.1.1 that MD analysis is available for the derivation of HHC only in cases where the shared material is identical across conjuncts or when the differences can be resolved via

³⁸ For further discussion of null reflexive possessors in Turkish, interested readers may refer to Şehit (2025).

cumulative agreement. Importantly, only a subset of the interpretations reported in sentences (99)-(101) involves identical material across conjuncts, and they will be the focus of the next subsection.

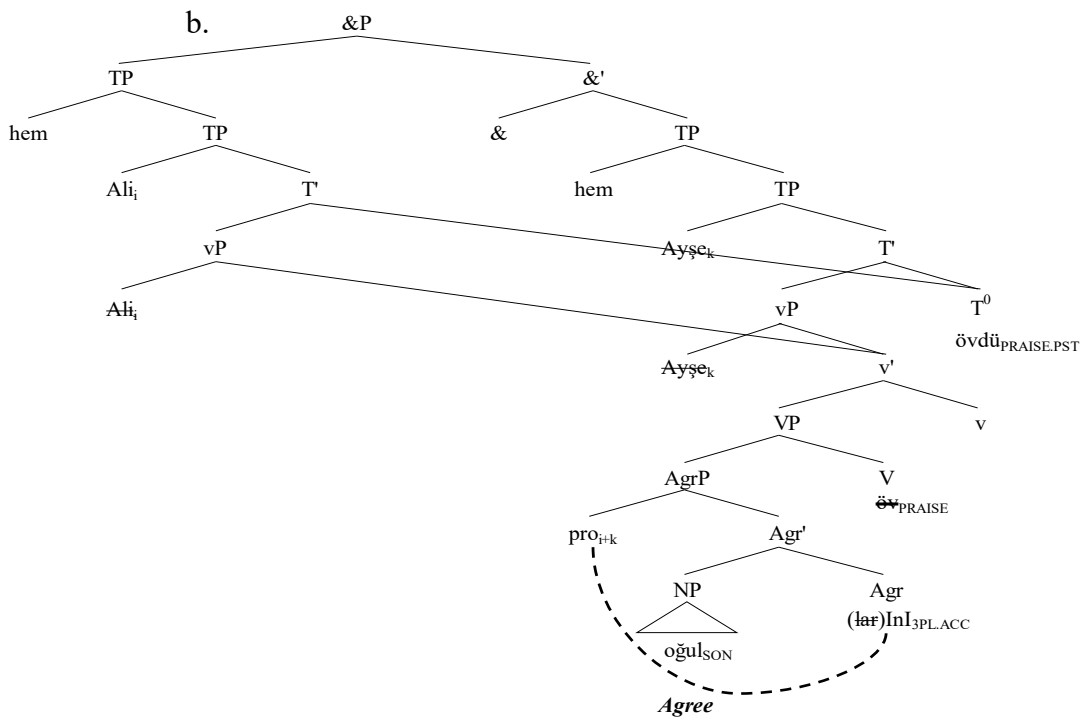
3.1.5.2. Identity in HHC Possessives: Collective and External Referent Readings

In this subsection, I begin with the examples in (64), repeated here as (110), and propose that both collective and external-referent readings of such sentences contain fully identical material across conjuncts, straightforwardly enabling an MD analysis.

- (110) Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised their son.’
External referent Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised someone else’s son.’

The MD analysis accounts for these two readings by varying the referent of the possessor. The collective reading, where each subject praises their shared son, arises from the structure in (111).

- (111) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
Collective Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised their son.’



In this derivation (and in the ones that follow), each conjunct contains a bulk shared *v'*, and a single possessive phrase; thus, whatever the representation of the possessive phrase is in one conjunct, it is the same in the other. Crucially, this results in the shared object in (111)b) containing a single null possessor, which is syntactically plural (*pro*). This plural possessor is bound by the subjects of each conjunct, corresponding to a plural antecedent (*Ali + Ayşe*). This seemingly results in a Principle B violation since the possessor seems to be locally bound in each conjunct. However, I propose that, given that the null possessor is bound by *both* subjects, one in each conjunct, *pro* is actually free in each conjunct. The singular subject *Ali* in the first conjunct does not bind the plural *pro* on its own: While *Ali* does locally c-command the anaphor, the difference in indexation (*i* on *Ali*, *i+k* on *pro*) seems to be sufficient to obviate a Principle B violation. The same logic holds for the subject of the second conjunct *Ayşe*. Therefore, *pro* remains free in each local domain, satisfying Principle B.³⁹

In this derivation, crucially, the surface form of the possessed DP is singular: *oğ(u)l-u-nu* ‘son.3SG.ACC’. However, as noted by Göksel and Kerslake (2005), Turkish possessive morphology does not obligatorily reflect the plurality of the possessor, as I have already shown in the case with verbal and reflexive agreement morphology (see also footnote 36). Thus, the syntax may contain a plural possessor even when the morphology remains singular, as shown in (112) and (113). In (112), the singular possessive morphology on the possessed DP *oğ(u)l-u* ‘son.3SG’ reflects agreement with the singular genitive possessor *Ahmet’in* ‘Ahmet.GEN’. However, in (113), the overt possessor is plural *onların* ‘their’, but the agreement morphology on the

³⁹ This configuration is somewhat similar to sentences like (i), where a first person singular subject *ben* ‘I’ locally c-commands a first-person plural null possessor. The subject is included in the reference of the possessor (*biz* ‘we’) but does not bind it, and Principle B remains satisfied.

- (i) Ben oğ(u)l-umuz-u öv -dü-m.
 I son -1PL -ACC praise-PST-1SG
 ‘I praised our son.’

Notice that the condition of what counts as ‘bound’ and what counts as ‘free’ differs between *pro* and the null possessor *kendi*. For anaphors, I assume that the presence of a single locally c-commanding index is sufficient to make the anaphor bound, regardless of any other indices it might bear. By contrast, for *pro*, the presence of a single local c- is not sufficient to establish binding if additional indices are present. Thus, Principle B is not violated in these configurations.

possessed *oğ(u)l-u* ‘son.3SG’ is again singular even though the meaning of the possessive phrase is ‘their son’.

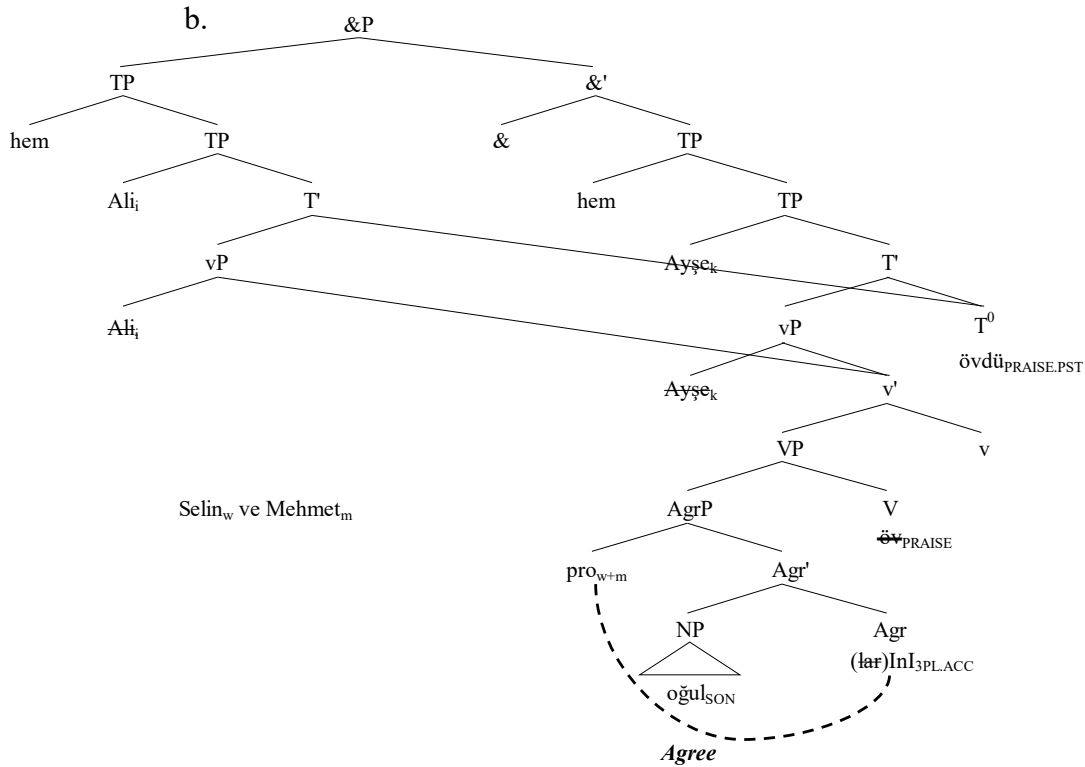
- (112) Ahmet’in oğ(u)l-u çok zeki.
 Ahmet-GEN son - 3SG very smart
 ‘Ahmet’s son is very smart.’
- (113) Onlar-ın oğ(u)l-u çok zeki.
 they -GEN son -3SG very smart
 ‘Their son is very smart.’

This morphological flexibility in the realization of third person plural possessive morphology, which have already been observed in reflexive and verbal agreement, allows *-u* (3SG) to signal agreement with either a singular or a plural possessor depending on the context, so that (113) receives the collective reading, on which the possessor of the son is plural, *Ali* and *Ayşe*.

Having established how the collective reading is derived under the MD analysis, I turn to the external referent interpretation, on which *Ali* and *Ayşe* both praised somebody else’s son. This reading also involves identical possessive morphology across conjuncts but differs in how the possessor is interpreted.

In the external-referent interpretation, the possessor inside the shared AgrP is not bound by the subjects of either conjunct. Instead, the null possessor *pro* is co-indexed with a contextually salient possessor, as shown in (114).

- (114) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
External referent Reading: ‘Ali and Ayşe praised someone else’s son.’



As shown in (114), the subjects of the conjuncts do not bind the possessor, since neither is co-indexed with it, so the possessor *pro* is contextually interpreted. The third person singular surface morphology (*-u* ‘3SG’) is compatible with both a plural possessor, as in (114b), and a singular possessor. The external referent reading (both when the possessor is singular and when it is plural) thus follows directly from the MD analysis.

The analysis of possessive phrases that we saw in the *oğ(u)l* ‘son’ example extends to cases in which the possessee is marked with the plural marker *-lar*, as in *evlerini* ‘their house(s).ACC’. As before, the collective reading and the external referent reading in these constructions involve fully identical material across conjuncts, allowing for an MD derivation.

- (115) Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri -ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-PL/3PL/3SG-ACC sell-PST
Collective Reading 1: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared house.’
Collective Reading 2: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared houses.’
External referent Readings: Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s shared house(s).

In collective reading 1, Ali and Ayşe jointly possess a single house. The fact that the plural agreement on the shared object is compatible with a *single* possessed house is due to the morphological ambiguity of the string *-larI* found on possessed nouns. This string can be analyzed as involving a regular plural marker (*-lar*) on the possessee, followed by the singular possessive agreement (*-I*), which, as we have seen above, can reflect agreement with a singular possessor or with a plural possessor. When the possessor is null (*pro*), this gives us the following possibilities:

(116) *pro_{SG}* at *-lar-I*
horse-PL-3SG
‘his/her horses’

(117) *pro_{PL}* at *-lar-I*
horse-PL-3SG(=3PL)
‘their horses’

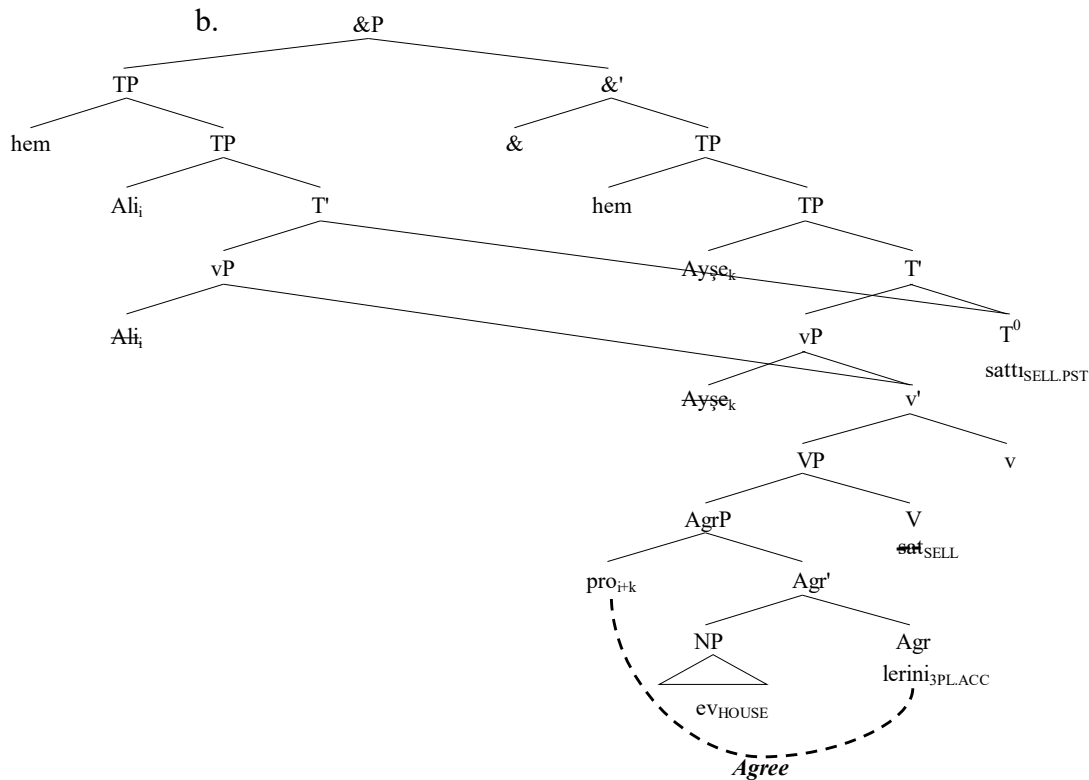
However, *-larI* can also be analyzed as a single plural possessive agreement morpheme, which reflects agreement with a plural possessor, as in (118). In that case the possessed noun is singular.

(118) *pro_{PL}* at *-ları*
horse-3PL
‘their horse’

Because the morphology on a possessed noun can be analyzed in these two ways, (115) is ambiguous between the collective reading 1 (Ali and Ayşe sold their shared house) and the collective reading 2 (Ali and Ayşe sold their shared houses). In the collective reading 1, *evlerini* ‘house.PL.ACC’ is analyzed as containing a singular noun *ev* ‘house’, followed the third person plural possessive agreement marker *-leri* ‘3PL’, followed by the accusative marker. This yields *ev-leri-ni* ‘house.3PL.ACC = their house’. This reading is derived as follows under the MD analysis: as before, the referents of the plural *pro* possessor are *Ali* and *Ayşe*; Agr undergoes agreement with the *pro*, surfacing as *-leri* ‘POSS.3PL’.

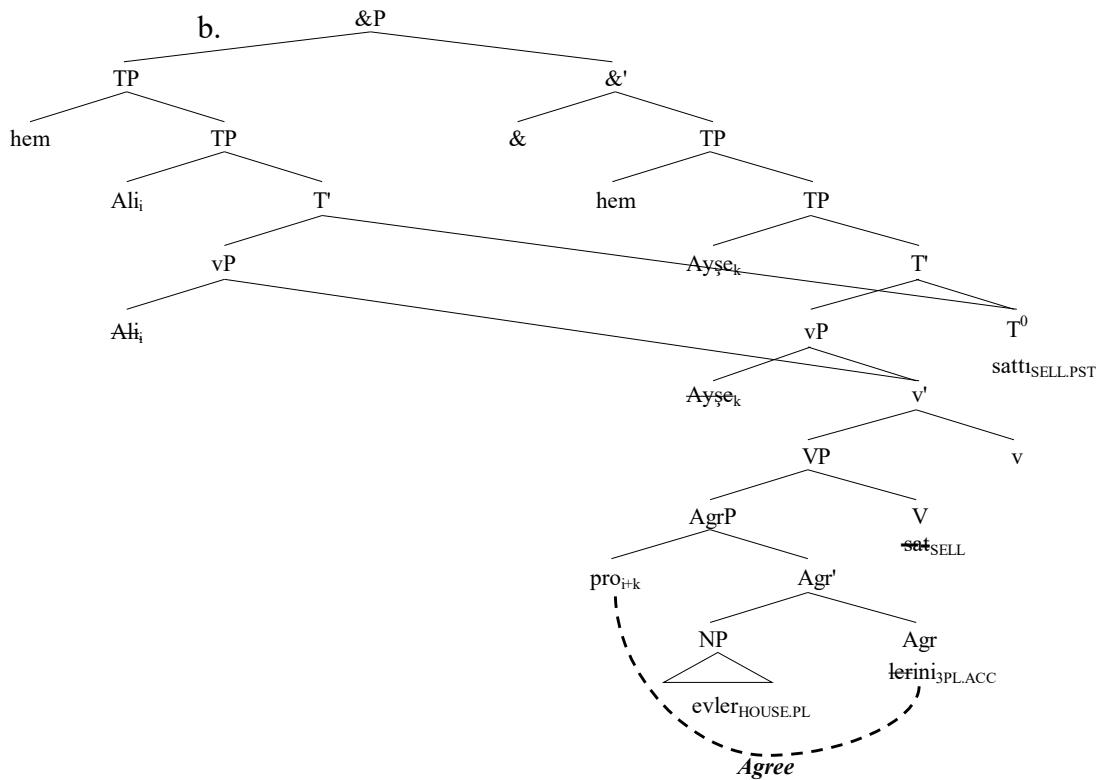
Crucially, the possessed noun is singular, *ev* ‘house’ and the surface realization of *-ler* is not a marker of the noun's plurality, but part of a reflex of agreement with the plural *pro*.

- (119) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri -ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house- 3PL-ACC sell-PST
Collective Reading 1: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared house.’



The structural ambiguity of *evlerini* ‘their house(s)’ allows another collective interpretation: one in which Ali and Ayşe jointly possess multiple houses. In contrast to the first collective reading, where the plural morphology reflects only the plurality of the possessor, this reading requires *-ler* to be interpreted as the plural marker on the noun itself. The underlying representation and the derivation of this interpretation are given in (120).

- (120) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -ler(ler)i -ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-PL 3PL -ACC sell-PST
Collective Reading 2: ‘Ali and Ayşe sold their shared houses.’



In this derivation, the NP *ev* ‘house’ has a plural marker (*evler* ‘house.PL’) to represent the plurality given in the reading. Additionally, there is a possessive agreement marker in Agr, reflecting agreement with the plural *pro* possessor (interpreted as Ali + Ayşe). This possessive agreement marker might be morphologically singular *-i*, given that in Turkish, plural possessive morphology may surface as singular. It is also possible that the 3rd person possessive marker is plural *-leri* ‘3PL’. However, having a plural possessive marker *-leri* ‘3PL’ follow the plural marker *-ler*, results in two stacked identical plural markers, yielding (121).

- (121) **ev-ler-leri*
‘house.PL.3PL’

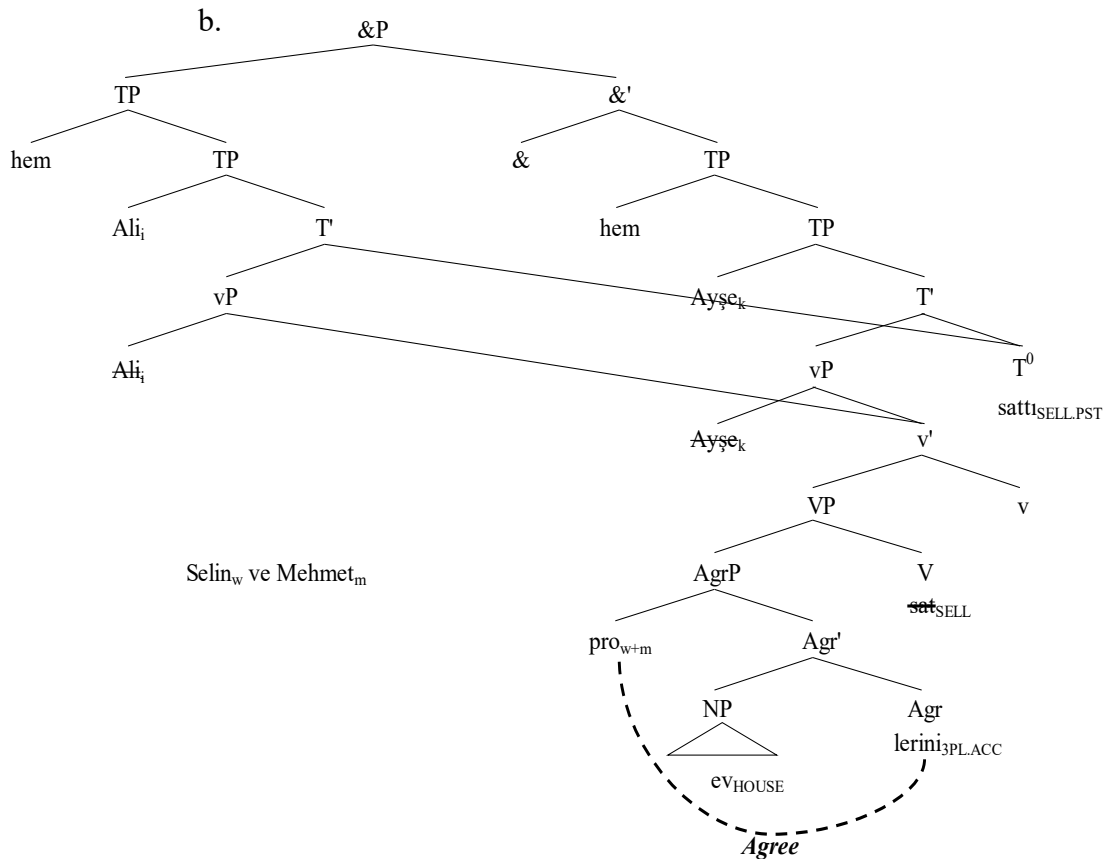
To avoid this repetition and the resulting ungrammaticality, one of the suffixes is omitted because of a morphological phenomenon called haplology (Stemberger, 1981; Menn & MacWhinney, 1984; Kirby & Sevgi, 2022), which forces two identical morphemes that appear next to each other to be reduced to one in the surface string.

Having shown how an MD analysis of HHC derives the attested collective readings of (115), I turn to the external referent interpretations, where the possessor of the sold

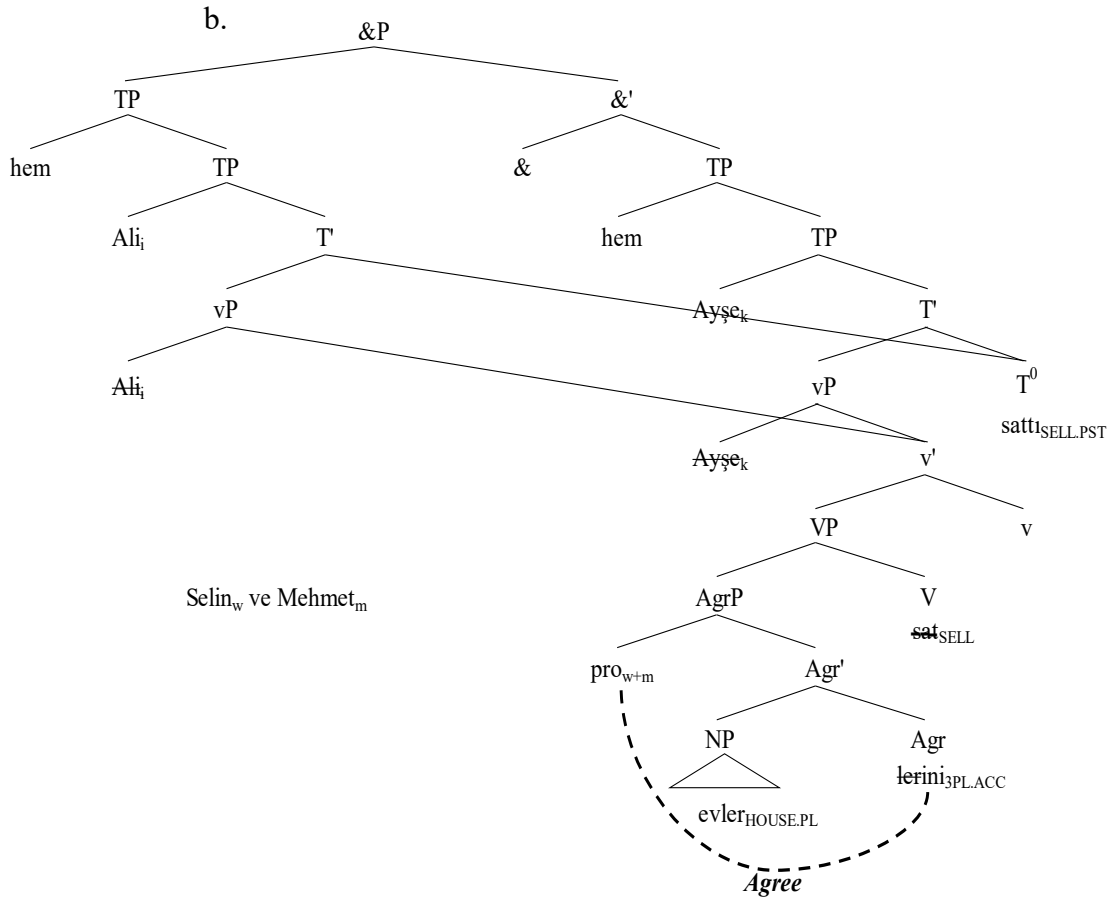
house(s) is a contextually salient third party. As with the collective readings, the external referent interpretation is compatible with both singular and plural possessors, regardless of whether the NP *ev* ‘house’ is singular or plural.

The derivations for both single and the multiple house readings with a plural possessor are given in (122) and (123).

- (122) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri -ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-3PL -ACC sell-PST
External referent Reading: Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s_(PL) shared house.

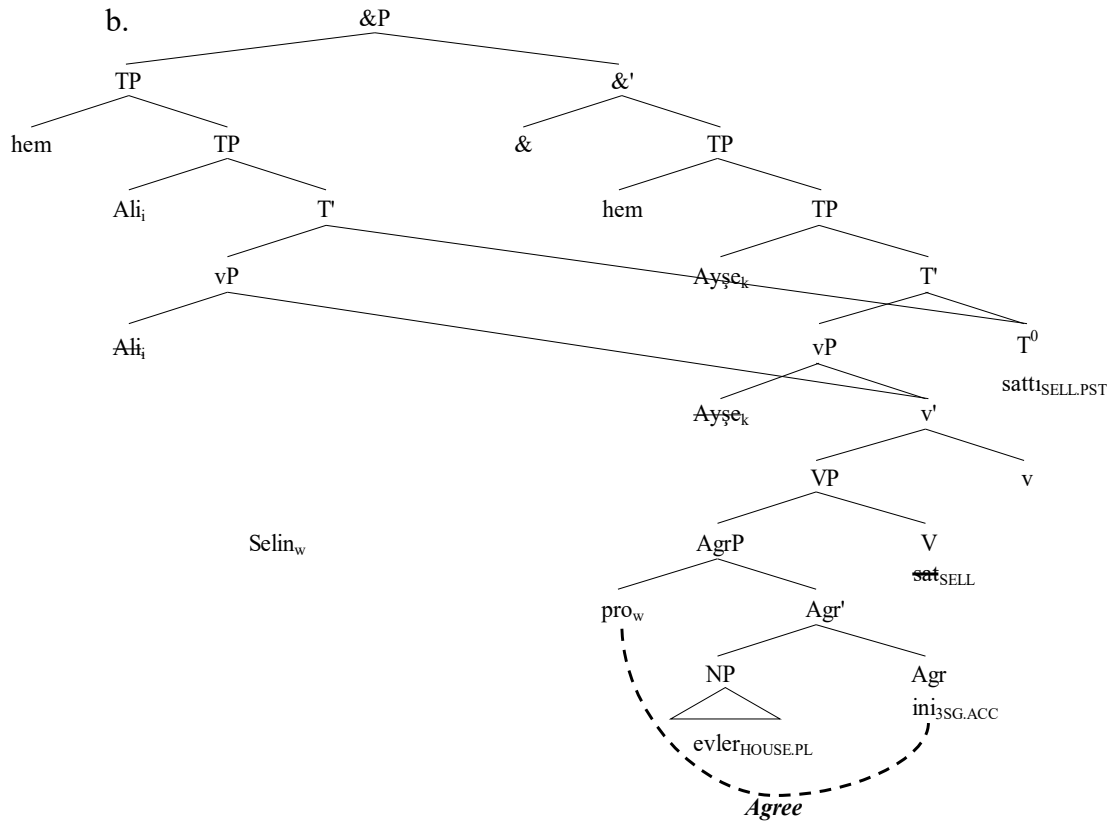


- (123) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev **-ler(ler)i-ni** sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-PL3PL -ACC sell-PST
External referent Reading: Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s_(PL) shared houses.

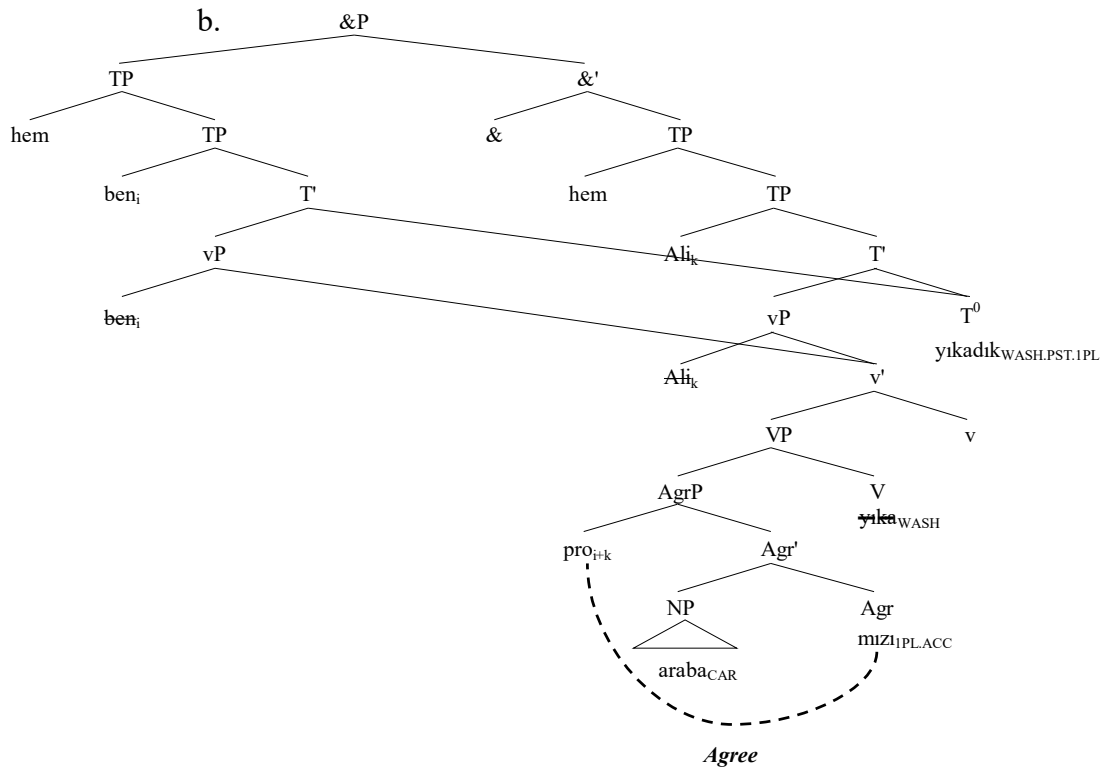


However, if the possessed noun *ev* ‘house’ belongs to a singular possessor (*pro*_{SG}), then the only possible interpretation is that this person possesses multiple houses and both Ali and Ayşe sold those houses. This is shown in (124). Finally, I turn to the collective reading of sentences with mixed-person subjects as in (125).

- (124) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -ler-i -ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-PL-3SG-ACC sell-PST
External referent Reading: Ali and Ayşe sold someone else’s_(SG) houses.



- (125) a. Hem ben hem Ali araba-mıZ-1 yıka-dı -k.
 hem I hem Ali car -1PL-ACC wash-PST-1PL
Collective Reading: 'Ali and I washed a shared car.'



As in previous cases, the multiply dominated possessive phrase is identical across conjuncts, and it contains the possessed noun *araba* ‘car’ and the possessor *pro*. What is different in this derivation is that while morphological plurality is optional in the third person subject coordination, it is obligatory in mixed-person subjects. Therefore, the Agr head agrees with the plural *pro*, and the possessed noun obligatorily surfaces as *araba-mız* ‘car.1PL’.

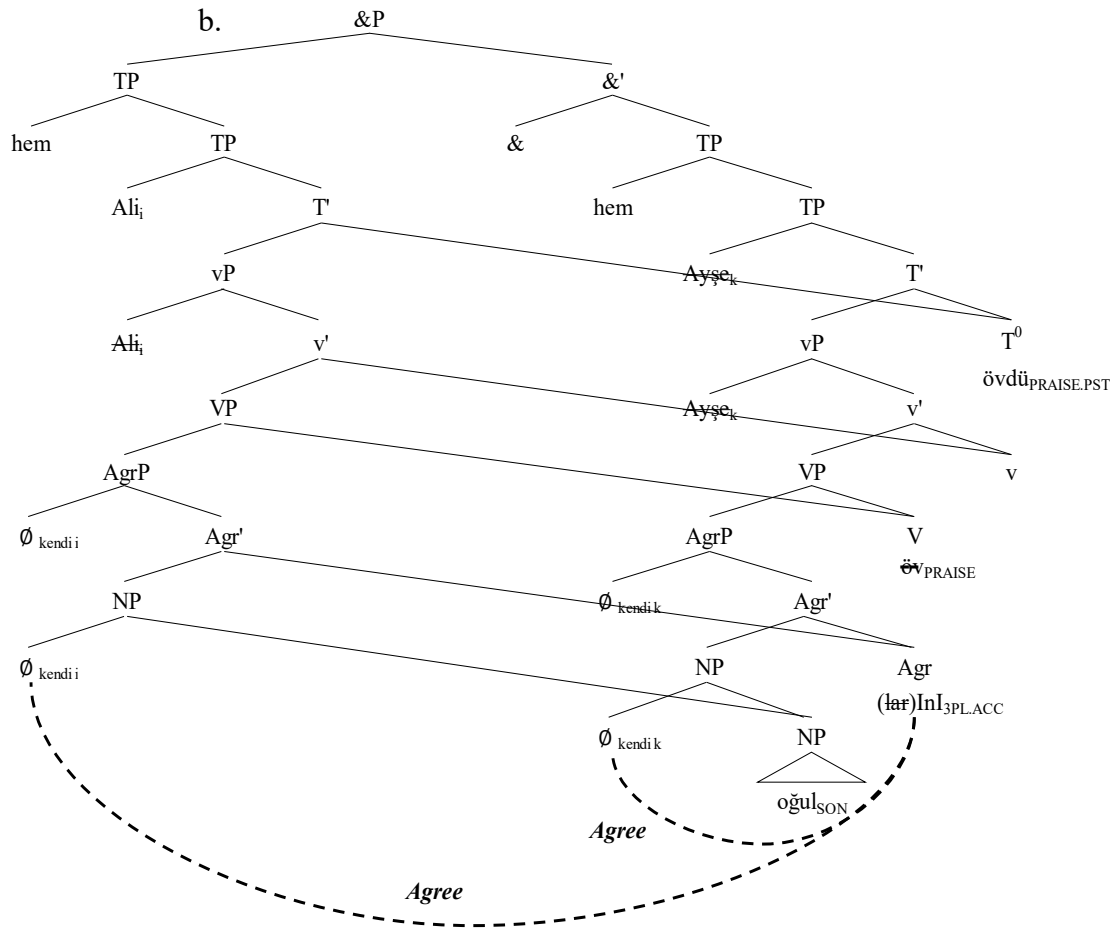
The interim conclusion is that whether the possessive morphology on possessed objects is singular or plural, the MD analysis successfully derives collective and external referent readings in such HHCs because only in these cases is the shared material identical across conjuncts.

In the distributive readings, on the other hand, each conjunct appears to feature a distinct possessor, which means that the shared material (the possessive phrase + the verb) is not identical across conjuncts. In the next subsection, I will argue that an MD analysis is still available for such examples because the morphological mismatch can be resolved by cumulative agreement.

3.1.5.3. Non-Identity in HHC Possessives: Cumulative Agreement as a Resolution

In the distributive interpretations of the HHC sentences, each conjunct contributes its own possessor coreferential with the subject (e.g., Ali praises *his* son; Ayşe praises *her* son). Although the fact that there are differences across conjuncts appears to challenge the requirement stipulated by MD that shared material has to be identical across conjuncts, I propose that mismatches are allowed if: (i) the agreement morphology on shared possessed nouns is plural (result of cumulative agreement), and (ii) each conjunct contains its own null *kendi* (reflexive) possessor. Consider example (126)a and its derivation in (126)b).

- (126) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğ(u)l-u -nu öv -dü.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe son -3SG-ACC praise-PST
Distributive Reading: ‘Ali praised his son and Ayşe praised her son.’



In this derivation, unlike with the collective and external referent readings, the v' is not bulk-shared. Instead, the functional heads (Agr, v , V) and the possessed NP are shared, while the possessors remain distinct and unshared (i.e., each conjunct has its own possessor).

The first conjunct contains a null possessor *kendi*, licensed and interpreted in [Spec, Agr], locally bound by *Ali*. The same mechanism applies to the second conjunct: the null possessor *kendi* is bound by *Ayşe*, and is likewise licensed and interpreted in [Spec, Agr] of the second conjunct.

Crucially, although the possessed object *oğ(u)l-u-nu* ‘his/her son’ surfaces with singular morphology, the underlying representation corresponds to a two-son reading. This underlying plurality on the object arises since the structure contains two null possessors *kendi* ‘self’, and the shared possessive Agr head agrees with both. This

results in the plural (cumulative) agreement, which is realized as singular due to the optionality of the third person plural agreement.⁴⁰

Since plural reflexives can be interpreted distributively, this leads to the interpretation where Ali praised his own son and Ayşe praised her own son. Given that the possessed NP *oğul* ‘son’ is singular, the fact that it is multiply dominated does not lead to multiple son interpretation for *each* conjunct, but rather to the interpretation of a separate son for each subject.⁴¹

Through these mechanisms – cumulative agreement, the complex nature of the possessive DPs, and the optionality of third person plural markers – the derivation of the distributive, two-son interpretation (equivalent to the sloppy identity reading) becomes possible through an MD analysis, which is preferred to an ellipsis analysis because it is more economical.

The reasoning developed for the singular surface form of the object *oğ(u)l-u-nu* ‘his/her son’ extends to the distributive reading with the overtly plural marked *evlerini* ‘his/her house(s)’, where the surface form of the possessed NP carries the plural marker: *ev-ler* ‘houses’. This leads to ambiguity between two available distributive readings of (65) (single house vs. multiple houses), repeated here as (127)a) and (127)b). Under the proposed MD analysis, the first distributive reading in (127) is analyzed as follows:

⁴⁰ Kunduracı (2013) analyzes the third person possessive agreement suffix *-(s)I* as being underspecified for number, rather than marking singularity. The choice between treating the suffix as underspecified for number or assuming optionality of the plural marker does not affect the present analysis.

⁴¹ One may question why the possessed object *oğlunu* ‘son.3SG.ACC’ does not surface with plural agreement. In fact, there is no morphological restriction that blocks the presence of the plural marker *-lar* in a sentence like (i), which has the same distributive reading, as shown below:

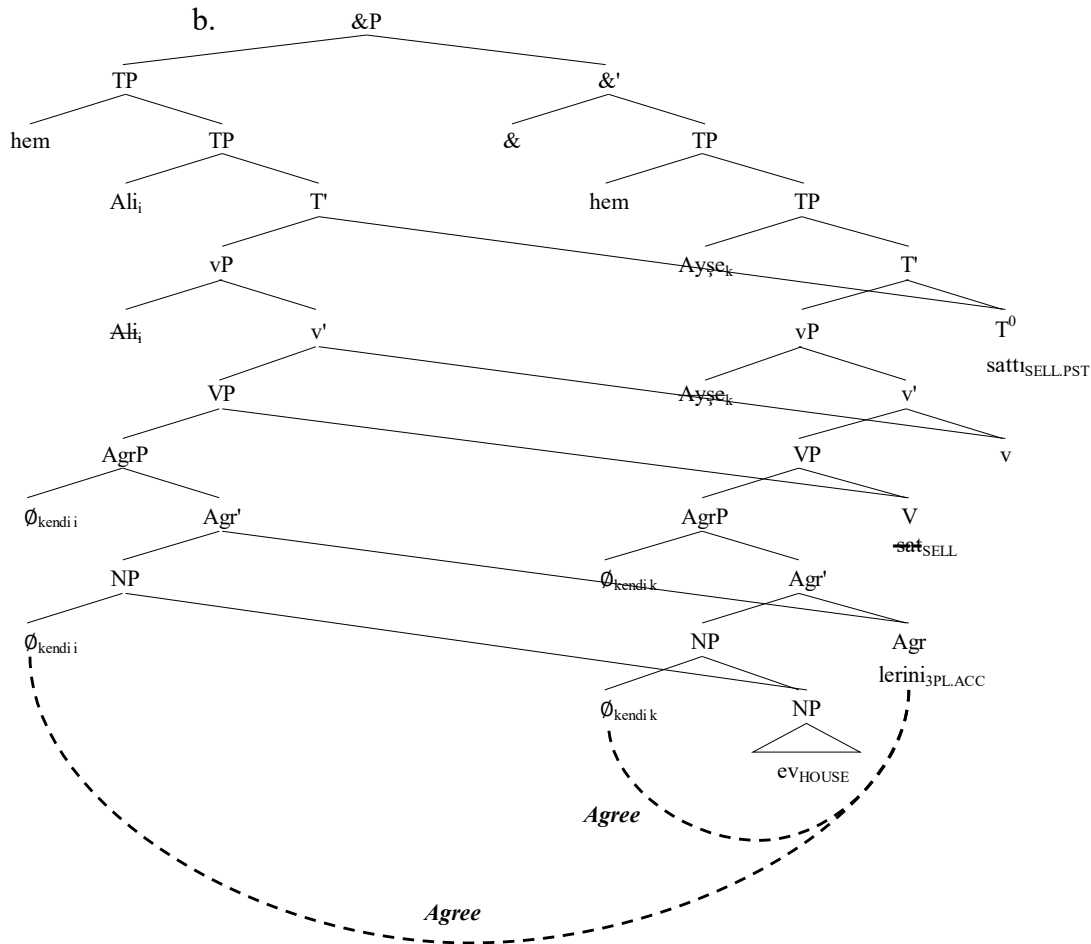
- (i) Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğul-ları-nı öv -dü.
hem Ali hem Ayşe son-3PL-ACC praise-PST
‘Ali praised his son and Ayşe praised her son.’

The presence of the plural marker *-lar*, however, leads to ambiguity, and the following interpretations also become possible:

- (ii) ‘Ali praised his son(s) and Ayşe praised her son(s).’
(iii) ‘Ali and Ayşe praised their shared son(s).’

This ambiguity has already been addressed in the previous section and is consistent with the analysis developed there.

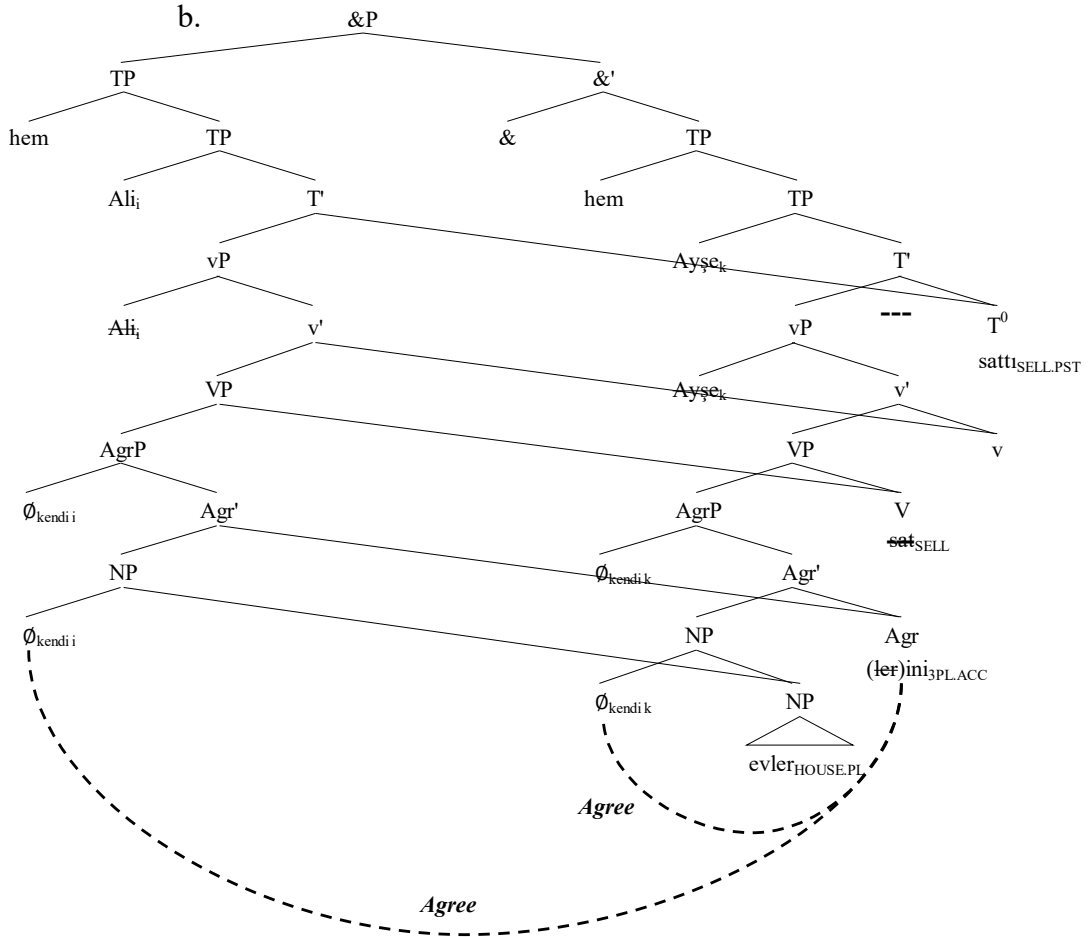
- (127) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri-ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-3PL-ACC sell-PST
Distributive Reading 1: 'Ali sold his house and Ayşe sold her house.'



In this derivation, as in (126)b), sharing is not done in a bulk fashion. The possessors (i.e., null possessors *kendi* ‘self’) originate separately in each conjunct, and are co-indexed with their local subjects. The NP *ev* ‘house’ is singular and shared. Similar to the previous example, Agr head agrees with both null reflexive possessors, leading to the cumulative plural agreement (realized as *-leri*, resulting in the seemingly plural possessed NP *evlerini* ‘house.3PL.ACC’). The plurality of the possessive phrase allows for the distributive reading, on which each house belongs to a separate subject.

The second distributive interpretation, given in (65), repeated here as (128), corresponds to the reading where each subject sold their own *multiple houses*. This reading is also derived from the following MD analysis.

- (128) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe ev -leri-ni sat -tı.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe house-3PL-ACC sell-PST
Distributive Reading 2: 'Ali sold his houses and Ayşe sold her houses.'

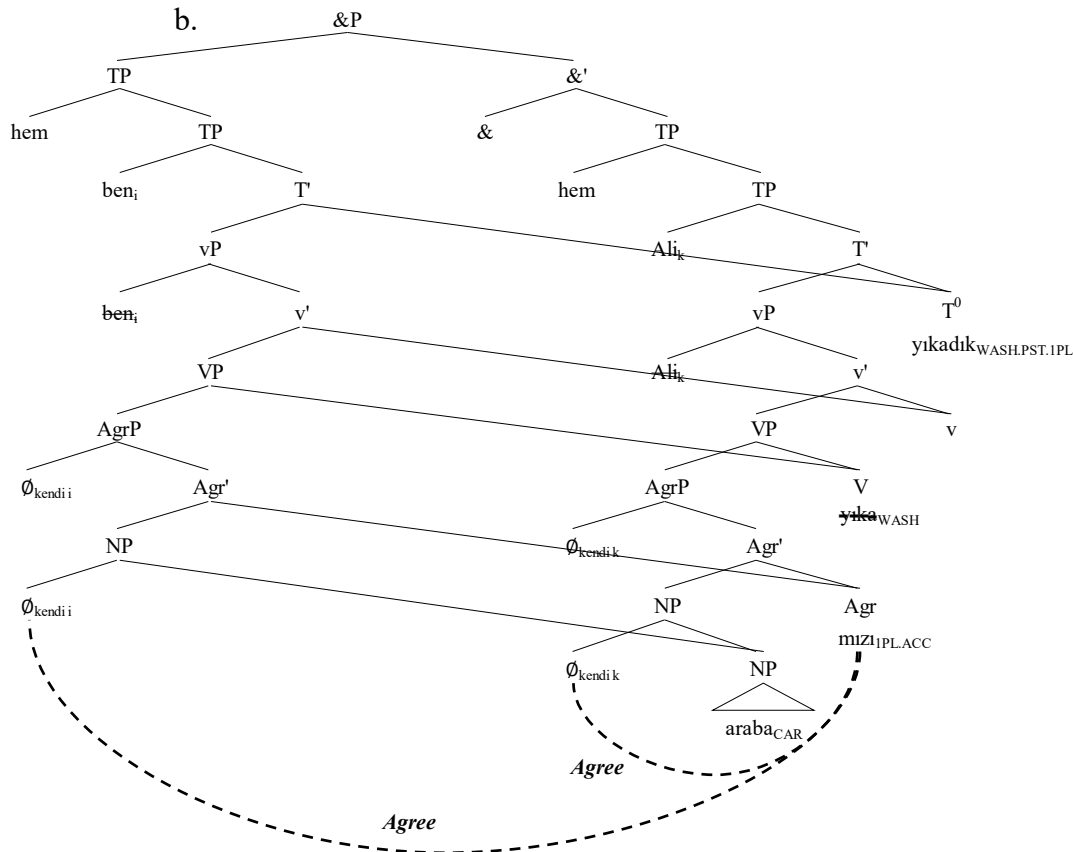


Similar to the first distributive reading, sharing is not done in bulk, and the two null *kendi* possessors originate in their respective conjuncts. This time, however, the possessed NP is plural (*evler* ‘houses’). The shared *Agr* again agrees with both possessors, which results in the plural possessive agreement (*-leri*). The underlying string is thus **evlerlerini* ‘their houses.ACC’. The possessive phrase distributes over the conjuncts, leading to the interpretation that each subject sold their multiple houses, as desired.

However, at this point, haplology kicks in and removes one of the multiple plural markers on the NP *ev* ‘house’, leading to the surface string *evlerini* ‘their houses.ACC’. Thus, a combination of cumulative agreement and haplology accounts for the surface

string and the attested interpretation.⁴² Lastly, I turn to the distributive reading of the sentences with mixed-person subjects as in (66), repeated here as (129).

- (129) a. Hem ben hem Ali araba-mıZ-1 yıka -dı -k.
 hem I hem Ali car -1PL-ACC wash-PST-1PL
Distributive Reading: 'I washed my car and Ali washed his car.'



Under the MD analysis, deriving the distributive reading of such sentences requires a mechanism identical to the previous distributive reading examples: the *v'* is not bulk-shared, allowing for distinct null *kendi* possessors in each conjunct, leading to two-car reading. However, in this structure, the distinct null possessors are co-indexed with subjects of different persons (1st and 3rd) and Agr head obligatorily features overt plural cumulative agreement *mıZ* '1PL' since there is no optionality for the realization of the

⁴² Alternatively, it is possible that the exponent of the multiple agreement relations between the Agr head and the possessor in each conjunct is singular (*-s*/*I*) due to the optionality of 3rd person possessive agreement. In that case, the same string is derived: *ev-ler-i* 'house.PL.POSS3PL' and haplogy does not apply.

first person plural marker in Turkish. Additionally, since the first person plural possessive agreement (*miz* ‘1PL’) is not homophonous with the plural marked (*lar* ‘PL’), the sentence can only mean that each subject washed a single car.

So far, I have shown how the proposed MD analysis can derive both collective and distributive readings of possessive object DPs. Different interpretations result from different MD configurations, supplemented by the interplay of cumulative agreement, optional realization of third person plural possessive morphology and haplology.

3.1.6. Obligatory Strict Identity Reading under Cumulative Verbal Agreement

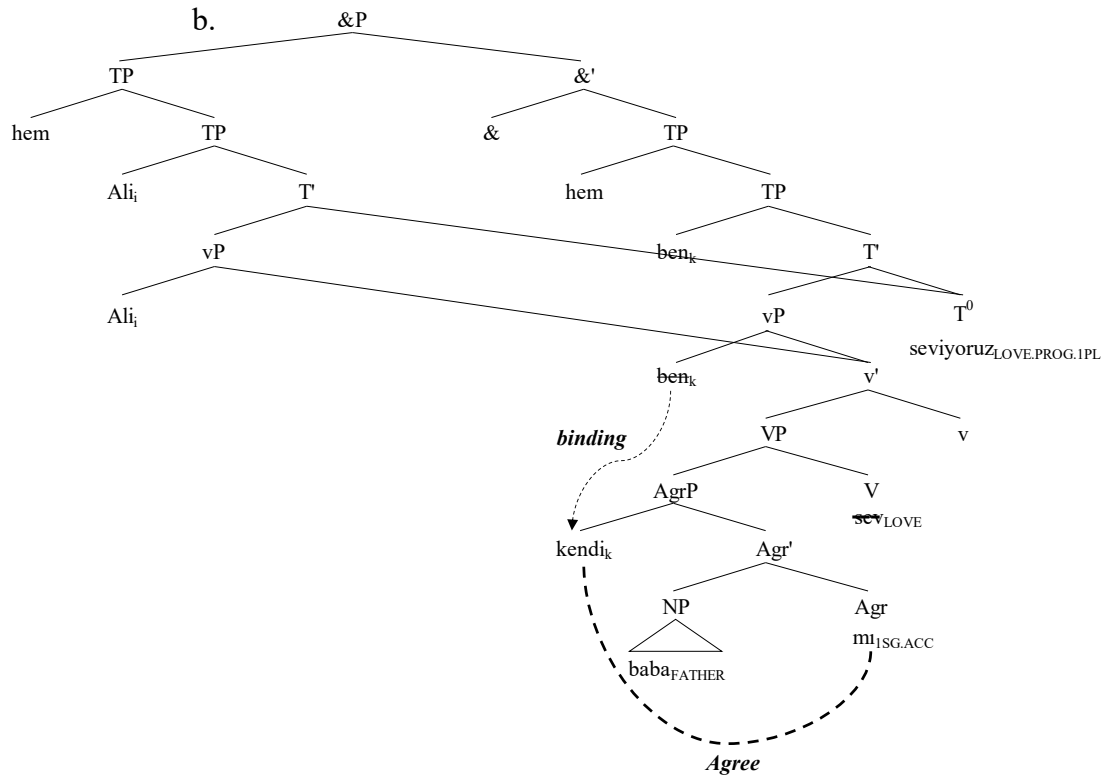
In this section, I analyze sentences where the singular possessed noun must be interpreted as belonging to the same individual in both conjuncts, yielding only a strict identity reading. An example is given in (67), repeated here as (130).

- (130) Hem Ali hem ben baba -m -ı sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I father-1SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 ‘Both Ali loves my father and I love my father.’

In this sentence, the singular subjects in the conjuncts (*Ali*, *ben* ‘I’) differ in the person feature (3rd vs. 1st) and the possessive object is marked with singular agreement (*babamı* ‘my father.ACC’). Unlike other cases of HHC, which allow sloppy identity readings, as shown in Section 3.1.5, this sentence exhibits only a strict interpretation, on which both *Ali* and *I* love the same individual (my father).

This suggests that the v’ is multiply dominated by both conjuncts, including the object *baba-m-ı* ‘father.1SG.ACC’ and the rest of the verbal projection, with a single null possessor *kendi* in [Spec, AgrP]. The possessive marker *-m* arises because Agr head agrees with the null possessor and establishes a reference to the speaker’s father, which remains unchanged across both conjuncts. Because the null *kendi* ‘self’ is not coindexed with, and therefore, not bound by *Ali*, but only by *ben* ‘I’, the referent of the possessive phrase is a single individual, my father. Since there is no distinct possessor for each conjunct, only the strict interpretation obtains, as shown in (131).

- (131) a. Hem Ali hem ben baba -m -1 sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I father-1SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 ‘Both Ali loves my father and I love my father.



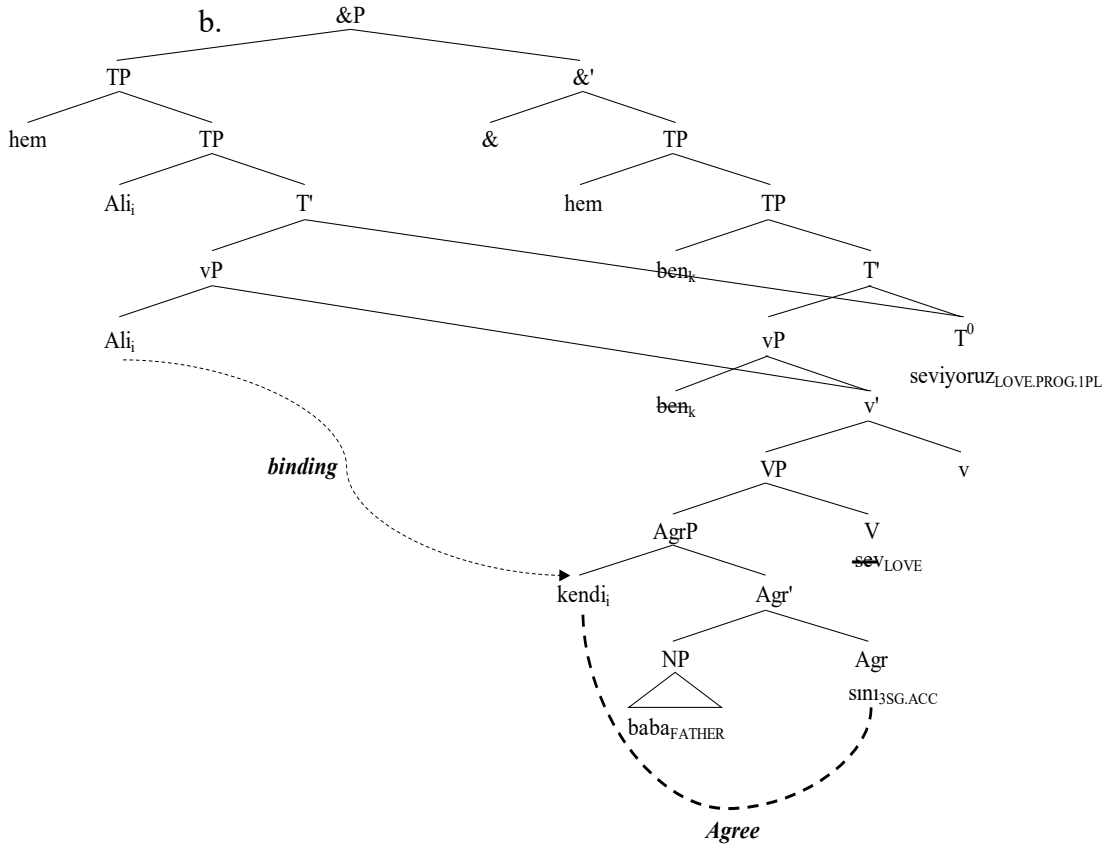
An immediate question that arises for this derivation is why the possessor must be bound by the subject of the second conjunct, but not the first conjunct. In fact, there is no restriction that blocks the null possessor *kendi* from being bound by the first subject, but that would change the surface string since the Agr head agrees with a possessor that carries a third person singular feature. In this case, the sentence and the derivation would be as in (132)a-b). Crucially, however, the sentence, again, allows only the strict reading, in which both Ali and I love Ali’s father.⁴³

⁴³ Interestingly, sentences (131) and (132) become ungrammatical if the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ is overt, as shown in (i) and (ii).

- (i) *Hem Ali hem ben kendi baba -m -1 sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I self father-1SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 (ii) *Hem Ali hem ben kendi baba -sı -nı sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I self father-3SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL

The presence versus the absence of the reflexive possessor does not make a difference outside of HHC, when each conjunct appears in isolation, as shown in (iii) and (iv).

- (132) a. Hem Ali hem ben baba-sı -nı sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I father-3SG-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 ‘Both Ali and I love his father.’



- (iii) Ben (kendi) baba -m -ı sev -iyor -um.
 I self father-1SG-ACC love-PROG-1SG
 ‘I like my own father.’
- (iv) Ali (kendi) baba -sı -nı sev -iyor.
 Ali self father-3SG-ACC love-PROG
 ‘Ali likes his own father.’

HHC examples (131) and (132) differ from (iii) and (iv) in that in (131) and (132), the shared reflexive *kendi* is bound in one conjunct, but is free in the other conjunct: in (131) *kendi* is bound in the second conjunct (by *ben* ‘I’) but it is free in the first. Conversely, in (132), *kendi* is bound in the first conjunct (by *Ali*) but free in the second. Given that binding violations are typically ruled out by the grammar, the acceptability of the covert versions like (131) and (132) suggests that the local binding failure in one conjunct is tolerated because the anaphor is not globally unbound. The fact that (i) and (ii), where *kendi* is pronounced, are ungrammatical suggests a salvation-by-deletion mechanism (e.g., Ross, 1969; Lasnik 2001a; Lasnik 2001b; Merchant, 2001): a shared reflexive, unbound in one conjunct, leads to degradation if it is overt, but not if it is covert. Therefore, it may be argued that salvation-by-deletion is not specific to ellipsis operations but applies more broadly to non-pronunciation of problematic configurations.

Thus, under the bulk-sharing of the *v'* and the possessor position being occupied by a null *kendi*, the Agr head surfaces with the person feature depending on which subject this null *kendi* is co-indexed with and yields only a strict identity interpretation.⁴⁴

3.1.7. Negation Ambiguity in HHC

In this section, I examine the interaction between negation and HHC. Negation in HHC introduces a systematic ambiguity between two interpretations, as shown in (68), repeated here as (133).

- (133) Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘For both Ali and Ayşe, it is the case that they didn’t fall.’
 = ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe fell.’
 ‘It is not the case that both Ali and Ayşe fell.’
 = ‘Either Ali didn’t fall or Ayşe didn’t fall.’

The availability of these two readings suggests that the relation between coordination and negation involves two possible scope configurations:

- (i) **Conjunction > Negation (Narrow Scope of negation)**: The conjunction takes scope over the negation. This results in a reading where the negation applies to each conjunct individually, yielding a “neither...nor” interpretation.
- (ii) **Negation > Conjunction (Wide Scope)**: The negation takes scope over the entire conjunction. This results in a reading where the negation applies to the coordination, yielding a “mixed polarity” interpretation.

I propose that this ambiguity arises because the negative morpheme *-mA* occurs within a structure in which it is multiply dominated, enabling the Neg head to be interpreted

⁴⁴ It is also possible for the null possessor to be a *pro*, co-indexed with both subjects. In this case, however, the surface string would be as follows:

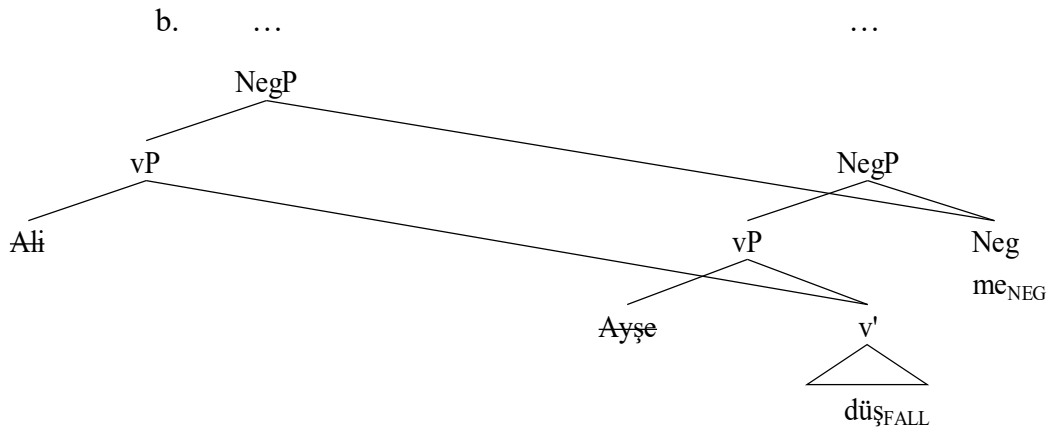
- (i) Hem Ali hem ben baba -mız-1 sev -iyor -uz.
 hem Ali hem I father-1PL-ACC love-PROG-1PL
 ‘Both Ali and I love our father(s).’

in different positions. The reasoning is as follows: As proposed by Bachrach and Katzir (2007), for a shared node to be spelled out, it must be completely dominated.

- (134) *Complete Dominance*
 α completely dominates β if every path from β upwards to the root includes α .
 (Gračanin-Yüksek, 2013, p. 5)

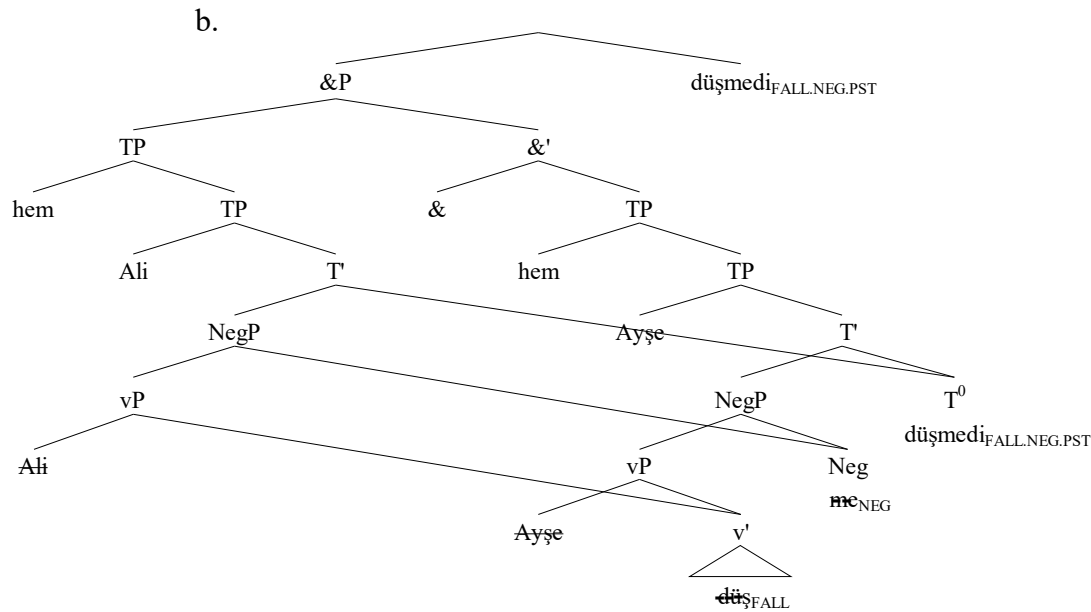
Under this proposal, because the Neg head (together with the verb and the tense) is shared across conjuncts, Neg is not completely dominated within either conjunct, as shown in (135).

- (135) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST



Subsequently, the derivation continues upwards until it reaches the root of the sentence, the Coordination Phrase (&P). Since this is the first node that includes every path from the negated verb to the root, it is the first node that completely dominates the shared Neg head. At this point, Neg is spelled out (becomes visible to semantics). The position where negation is originally introduced is interpreted as a variable, bound by the higher, spelled out instance of Neg. The complete derivation is given in (136).

- (136) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe fell.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t fall or Ayşe didn’t fall.’



This derivation makes it possible to interpret the Neg head in two possible sites: If it is interpreted low, in its original position, the “neither X nor Y” reading obtains. Alternatively, if the Neg head is interpreted high, where it was spelled out, it scopes over the entire &P, yielding the “not X and Y” reading.⁴⁵

3.1.8. Suspended Affixation and Multiple Events Reading in HHC

In this section, I examine suspended affixation (SA) in HHC and show that the proposed MD analysis accounts for SA in HHC. Consider the examples in (137)a-b), where in the (a) example the dative case-marker is present on the indirect object in each conjunct (*Ali'ye* ‘Ali.DAT’, *Ayşe'ye* ‘Ayşe.DAT’), while in the (b) example the dative case-marker is suspended on *Ali* and surfaces only on *Ayşe*.

- (137) a. Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT hem Ayşe -DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’
- b. Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’

⁴⁵ It is important to note that the “higher copy” in this representation is not the result of movement operations. In an MD structure, the shared node is base generated with multiple parents; the higher position simply marks where the node is completely dominated and spelled out.

Recall that both (137)a) and (137)b) convey the meaning that the selling event happened twice, and that the car was sold once to Ali and once to Ayşe, rather than a single car-selling event in which Ali and Ayşe jointly bought a car. As stated in Chapter 2, I assume that the multiple events reading in HHC is due to the bi-clausal structure of the sentence, and this analysis extends to indirect object coordination of *hem...hem*, regardless of the presence of suspended affixation. Given this assumption, a question arises as to how the dative suffix on the indirect object *Ali* in the first conjunct gets suspended. A straightforward way to analyze suspended affixation is to assume a small coordination (NP- or DP-coordination), where *Ali* and *Ayşe* form a single constituent before the suffix is attached (Bayırlı 2017, 2022).

- (138) Galerici [hem Ali hem Ayşe]’ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Ali hem Ayşe -DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’

The analysis in (138), however, cannot be correct as the bi-clausal structure, necessary to derive multiple events reading, is absent. Instead, such a structure would imply a single event in which *Ali* and *Ayşe* are treated as a group. Since the multiple events reading is the only reading that both (137)a) and (137)b) have, coordination is not limited to small constituents but rather involves clausal coordination. The underlying structure of sentence (137) is, thus, the following:

- (139) Galerici hem Ali’ye araba-yı sat -tı hem Ayşe’ye
 car dealer hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST hem Ayşe-DAT
araba-yı sat-tı.
 car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Ali and Ayşe.’

To derive this underlying representation through the MD analysis, I adopt Kornfilt (2012)’s analysis of suspended affixation. Kornfilt proposes that SA in Turkish is not a purely morphological phenomenon but a syntactic one, deriving from RNR. She argues that functional heads, such as number and case markers, can be suspended since they are part of the syntax rather than the lexicon.

Kornfilt (2012) presents the following sentences to illustrate that such suffixes can appear once at the right edge of the coordination structure and still scope over both conjuncts.

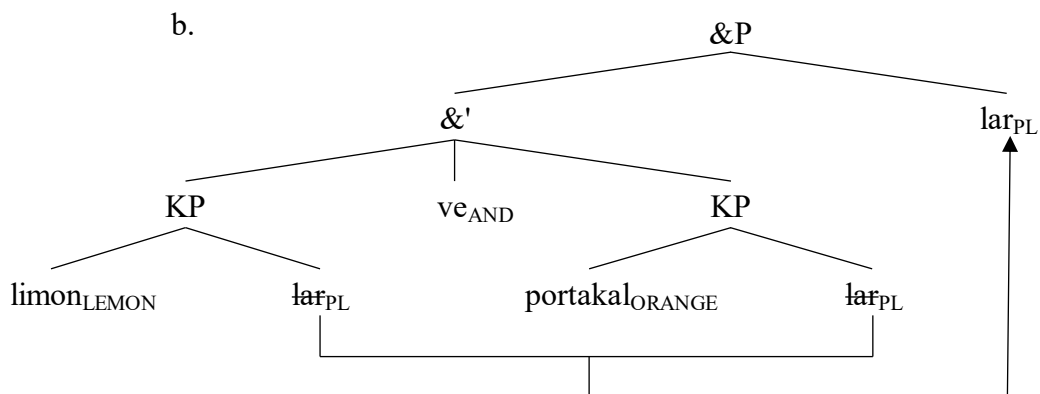
- (140) Masada-ki limon ve portakal-lar -a bak -tı -m.
 table -linker lemon and orange -PL-DAT look-PST-1SG
 ‘I looked at the lemons and the oranges on the table.’

- (141) Masada-ki limon ve portakal -a bak -tı -m.
 table -linker lemon and orange -DAT look-PST-1SG
 ‘I looked at the lemon and the orange on the table.’

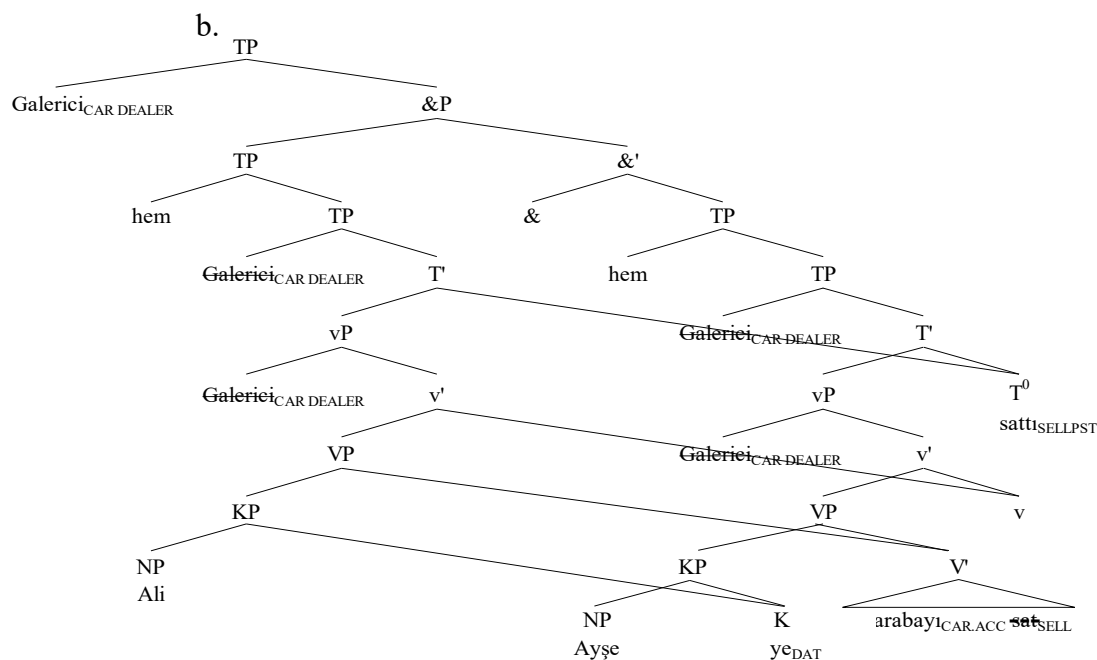
(Kornfilt, 2012, p. 183)

Kornfilt argues for an analysis in which case and number suffixes are the heads of their own syntactic projection (KP/NumP) and shared across conjuncts through RNR. She suggests that the possibility of suspension of these suffixes follows from their being heads of syntactic projections. Based on this proposal, SA looks like the following (on the ATB-movement analysis of RNR):

- (142) a. limon-lar ve portakal-lar
 lemon-PL and orange -PL
 ‘lemons and oranges’



Adopting Kornfilt’s proposal that case markers are functional heads (K), an MD analysis can be proposed for Turkish HHC with suspended case markers. First, consider the derivation with no SA in (143), where the dative case appears on both conjuncts.



In this derivation, the bi-clausal structure required for multiple events reading is still present (i.e., V', v' and T are still shared), but a crucial difference lies in the status of the Case marker. Under the MD analysis, the dative suffix *-ye* is introduced as the head of the KP and multiply dominated by both conjuncts. As a result, it appears only once, but it can still be interpreted in both conjuncts (because it is syntactically present in both conjuncts). Thus, the analysis captures the availability of SA along with the clausal coordination analysis required for the multiple events reading.

3.2. What MD Cannot Account for: Morphological Mismatches

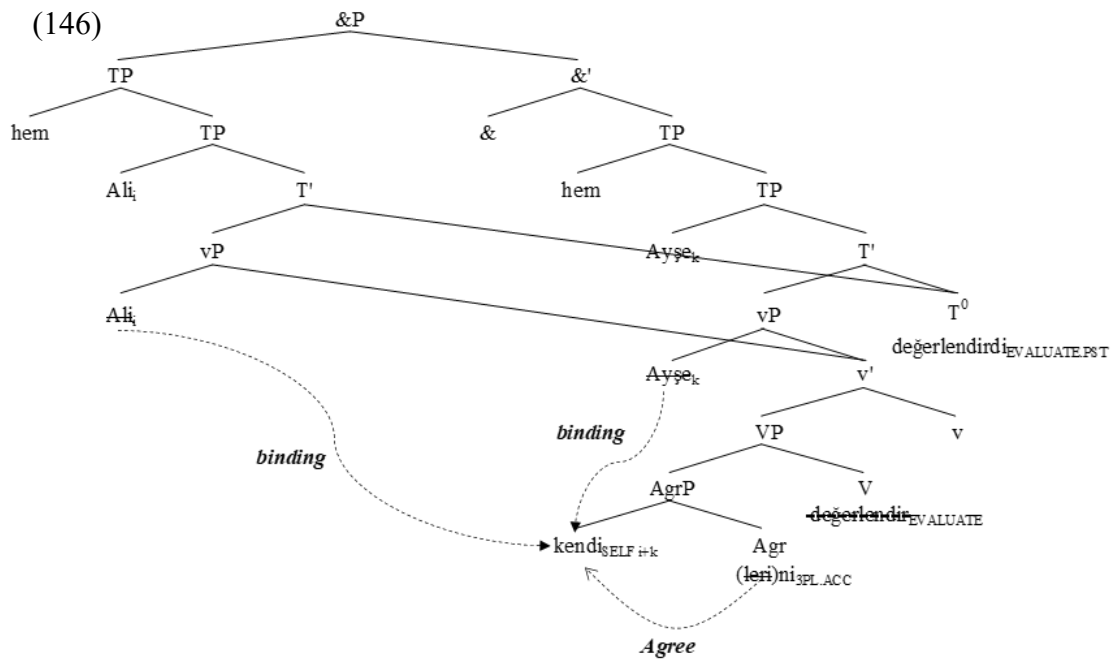
As shown in the previous sections, the MD analysis successfully derives a wide range of interpretations in different HHCs either because the shared material is identical across conjuncts or because cumulative agreement can resolve any mismatches. However, there exist a number of cases in which the surface string exhibits morphological mismatches that cannot be resolved by cumulative agreement. In the following subsections, two such cases will be discussed.

3.2.1. Unresolvable Non-Identity with Overt Singular Agreement

The first case of unresolvable non-identity involves a variant of the reflexive *kendi* 'self', with an overt 3rd person singular possessive marker *-si* on the anaphor.

Recall from Section 3.1.3 that the bare reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ allows for an MD derivation in which the Agr head agrees with *kendi* bound by two different antecedents, which results in cumulative agreement. The relevant sentence is repeated here as (145), with the derivation in (146).

- (145) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-(leri)-ni değerlendirdi.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3PL -ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated himself/herself.’



However, Turkish anaphoric system also includes the form of the reflexive with the overt singular suffix *-si* (*kendisi*). This anaphor behaves differently from uninflected *kendi* ‘self’: it can be bound locally, long-distance, or behave like a pronoun (taking a discourse antecedent). This ambiguity is demonstrated in (147).

- (147) Ali_i Ayşe'nin_j kendi-si -ni_{i/j/k} öv-düğü-nü söyle-di.
 Ali Ayşe-GEN self -3SG-ACC praise-NOM-3SG-ACC say -PST
 a. *Local binding*: ‘Ali said that Ayşe praised herself.’
 b. *Long distance binding*: ‘Ali said that Ayşe praised Ali.’
 c. *Discourse binding*: ‘Ali said that Ayşe praised someone (e.g., Mehmet).’

Kendisi can also appear in HHC; examples with and without PF-reduction are given in (148) and (149).

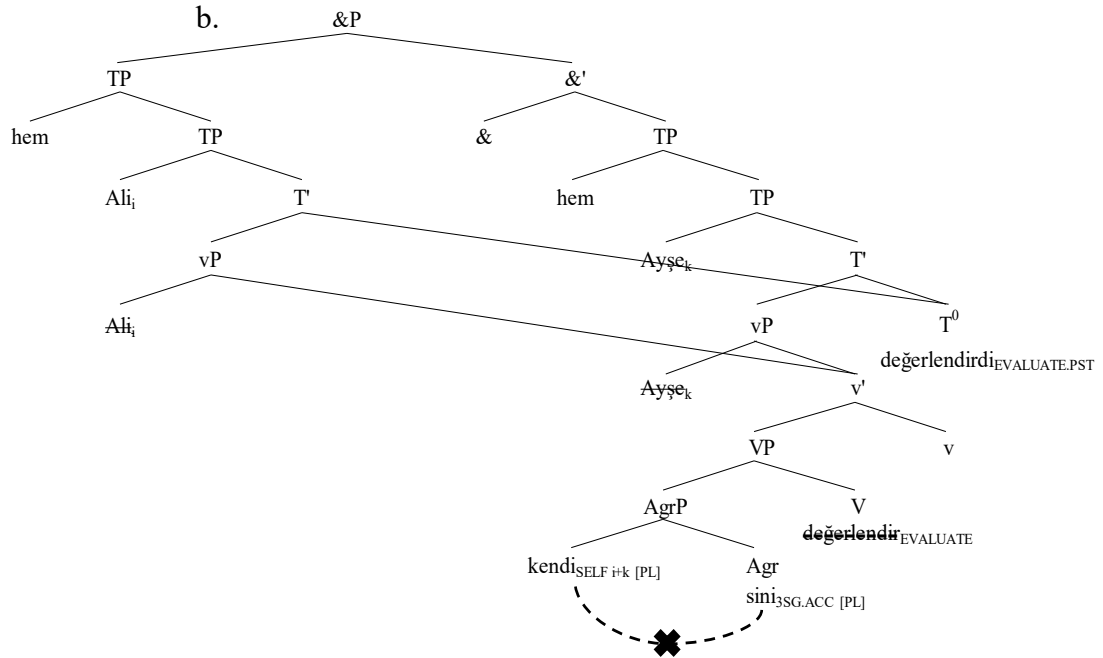
- (148) Hem Ali kendi-si -ni değerlendir-di hem Ayşe kendi -si -ni
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC
 değerlendir-di.
 evaluate -PST
 'Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.'
- (149) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi -si -ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
 'Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.'

Apart from the reading on which Ali and Ayşe each praised a third, contextually salient individual, (149) has only the sloppy reading (on which Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself). This reading cannot be derived through MD. In a hypothetical MD derivation, given in (150)b), *v'* is multiply dominated, making the predicate *kendisini değerlendirdi* 'evaluated himself/herself' shared across the conjuncts. This structure would result in several interpretations, none of which is the sloppy identity reading.

First, *kendi* 'self' might be co-indexed with the subjects of both conjuncts, *Ali* and *Ayşe*, and this would result in cumulative agreement on Agr, which cannot surface as *-sI* (it can surface as null: *kendi-Ø-ni* 'self.ACC', or as *-leri*: *kendilerini* 'self.3PL.ACC'). Since the surface string contains *kendi-si-ni* 'self.3SG.ACC', the hypothetical derivation in (150)b) cannot be correct.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Recall that while 3rd person plural agreement can be optional in Turkish, it takes different forms across paradigms. In the verbal paradigm, the plural marker is *-lAr* or \emptyset (e.g., *gel-di-ler* 'come.PST.3PL' / *gel-di* 'come.PST'). In the possessive paradigm, it alternates between *-lArI* and the singular form *-(s)I* (e.g., *anne-leri* 'mother.3PL.ACC' / *anne-si* 'mother.ACC'). In the reflexive paradigm, plural agreement surfaces as *-lArI* (*kendi-ler-i* 'self.3PL.ACC') or as the bare form (*kendi-ni* 'self.ACC'), but never as the singular suffix *-(s)I* (*kendisi* 'self.3SG.ACC').

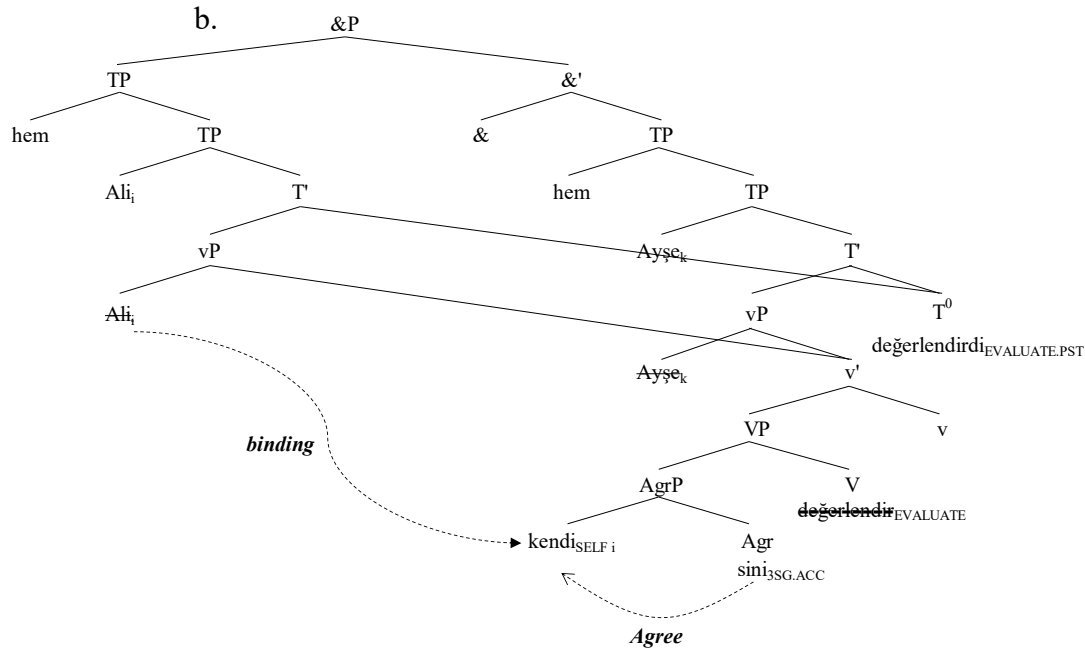
- (150) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-si -ni değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
 'Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.'



As illustrated in the diagram, this structural configuration creates a conflict between the required outcome of syntactic agreement and the observed morphological suffix: Syntactic agreement forces the plural form of the Agr head. Consequently, the anaphor is expected to surface as *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’ or *kendini* ‘self.ACC’, but not as the singular form *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’.

Another possibility would be for *kendi* ‘self’ to be co-indexed with (and bound by) only one subject. If this were the case, Agr would agree with a singular *kendi* ‘self’ and appear with the surface string given in (151).

- (151) a. *Hem Ali_i hem Ayşe_k kendi-si -ni_{i/*k} or *i/k değerlendir-di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
 Intended: ‘Both Ali and Ayşe evaluated Ali/Ayşe’.



However, such a structure and binding relation would yield only the strict identity reading: that both Ali and Ayşe praised Ali (if *kendi* is bound by *Ali*) or that both Ali and Ayşe praised Ayşe (if *kendi* is bound by *Ayşe*). Crucially, however, strict identity readings are unavailable in HHC constructions (Eren Gezen, 2022). Since the sentence in question (with or without the overt singular agreement on the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’) allows only the sloppy identity reading (where Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself), the derivation in (150) is not possible.

Thus, because the overt singular marker *-si* is incompatible with the plural agreement required for the sloppy identity reading in an MD structure, and the alternative binding derivation given in (150) yields an unavailable strict identity reading, these sentences cannot be derived via sharing. To account for the presence of the overt singular marker, there must exist an instance of (singular) *kendi* ‘self’, as well as an instance of Agr in each conjunct; thus, the PF-reduction mechanism in this example cannot be MD.

3.2.2. Suspended Affixation with Non-Identical Affixes

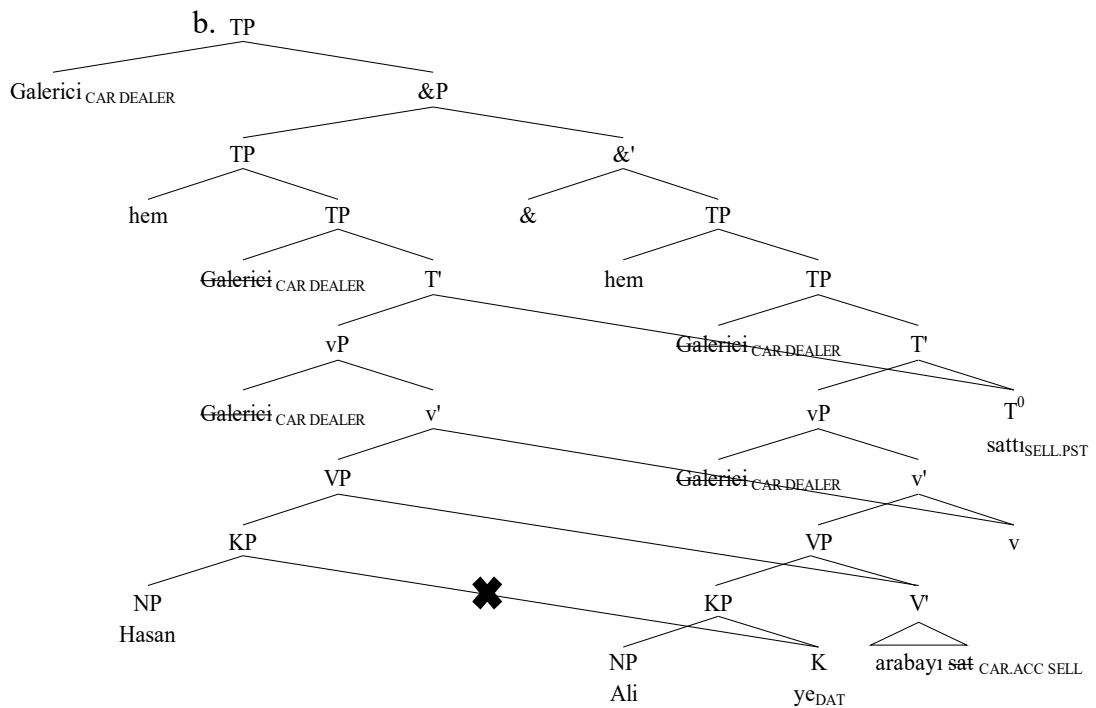
The second case of morphological mismatches that cannot be resolved by cumulative agreement comes from suspended affixation in HHC, where the inflectional suffix appears only on the final conjunct, is interpreted in both conjuncts, but would require different forms in the two conjuncts if it were not suspended. Consider the sentences in (152) and (153), with and without PF-reduction.

(152) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'Car dealer sold the car to Both Hasan and Ali.'

(153) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'Car dealer sold the car to Both Hasan and Ali.'

Under the MD analysis of sentence (153), as explained in Section 3.1.8, the dative head (K) needs to be multiply dominated for the case marker to be shared across conjuncts. This implies that a single functional head provides the case for both NPs, as shown in (154).

(154) a. Galerici hem Hasan hem Ali'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'Car dealer sold the car to Both Hasan and Ali.'



As the surface string shows, the shared case marker is linearized in the rightmost conjunct, appearing as -ye on Ali. However, as shown in the diagram, this creates a conflict with the phonological requirements of the dative DP in the first conjunct,

where the indirect object *Hasan* requires the dative suffix to be realized as *-a*, as dictated by Turkish vowel harmony rules.

If the structure were derived from the MD analysis in (154), the single shared head would have to be identical, satisfying the phonological requirements of both dative DPs. Since the shared node surfaces as *-ye* to satisfy only the requirement of the second conjunct, it would yield the phonologically unacceptable sequence **Hasan-ye* ‘Hasan.DAT in the first conjunct. Therefore, similar to the singular *kendisi* case, sentences like these cannot be derived via sharing. To account for the morphological mismatch, there must exist two distinct dative heads underlyingly, where the former undergoes deletion at PF.

Bayırlı (personal communication) suggests that (154)b) might be the correct derivation of (154)a), since the MD structure posits the syntactically correct case (i.e., dative case) in both conjuncts. His reasoning is that maybe the morphological mismatch shown in (154) might be tolerated since the observed difference (i.e., *-a* in the first conjunct *-ye* in the second conjunct) results from vowel harmony in Turkish, which is a phonological feature that does not affect syntax. This is not unreasonable, given that instances of cumulative agreement discussed so far also yield sequences that are not acceptable conjunct-internally. Consider the example in (94), repeated here as (155):

- (155) Hem ben hem Ali **gel -di -k.**
hem I hem Ali come-PST-3PL
‘Both Ali and I came.’

For sentence (155), if the conjuncts are considered individually, each conjunct yields an unacceptable string, as shown in (156):

- (156) a. **Hem ben gel -di -k.*
hem I come-PST-1PL
b. **Hem Ali gel -di -k.*
hem Ali come-PST-1PL

However, mismatches that are not a result of cumulative agreement seem to behave differently and are generally not tolerated in shared structures. Unlike agreement

features on the verbs (i.e., cumulative agreement with two singular subjects) and on the reflexives (i.e., agreement with a reflexive bound by split antecedents), the phonological realization of a head appears to require complete identity if it is shared. For example, Barros and Vicente (2011) argue that sentence (157) cannot be derived through MD because the forms of the verb are different across conjuncts, although both involve the same tense:

- (157) I usually don't [*wake up early every day*], but Alice wakes up early every day. (Barros & Vicente, 2011, p. 3)

Another piece of evidence that phonology, and specifically surface form identity, constrains sharing is also observed in languages like Croatian, which display morphological syncretism across certain case forms. As shown in (158) and (159), the sharing of the object between the verbs in different conjuncts is impossible when the verbs assign different cases (accusative vs. genitive), resulting in distinct surface forms on the object (*vode* 'water.GEN' vs. *vodu* 'water.ACC'):

- (158) *Jan voli a Petar se boji vode.
 Jan loves(ACC) and Petar refl fears(GEN) water(GEN)
 Intended: 'Jan loves and Petar fears water.'

- (159) *Jan voli a Petar se boji vodu.
 Jan loves(ACC) and Petar refl fears(GEN) water(ACC)
 Intended: 'Jan loves and Petar fears water.'

(Gračanin-Yüksek, personal communication)

Crucially, however, when the form of the shared object is syncretic (identical on the surface) between the two required cases, the fact that the actual cases required by each conjunct are different (accusative vs. genitive) does not matter, and the sentence becomes grammatical, as shown in (160).

- (160) Jan voli a Petar se boji ovog profesora.
 Jan loves(ACC) and Petar refl fears(GEN) this professor(ACC/GEN)
 'John loves and Petar fears this professor.'

This pattern demonstrates that for a single node to be shared, it must be *phonologically* compatible with both positions that it occupies. Since the Turkish dative markers *-a* and *-ye* are not completely identical, they cannot be realized by a single shared head. Consequently, the suspended affixation in (154) cannot be derived with the MD analysis.

CHAPTER 4

ELLIPSIS ANALYSIS: BY NECESSITY

In Chapter 3, I proposed that the MD analysis is the default mechanism for deriving the surface string of PF-reduced HHC sentences. This was motivated by a conceptual preference for MD as a more economical mechanism, which is, therefore, favored by the grammar over ellipsis. I demonstrated that MD accounts for a wide range of phenomena, including multiple events readings of HHC, incompatibility of HHC with collective predicates, the existence of sloppy identity readings with unmarked (uninflected) reflexives, attested and unattested readings with possessive phrases, cumulative agreement patterns, and negation ambiguity.

However, as mentioned in Section 3.2, there are some sentences that cannot be derived through an MD analysis. Specifically, an MD analysis cannot derive sentences in which the conjuncts feature reflexives with overt singular agreement *kendisi*, (as shown in Section 3.2.1), or phonologically non-identical case markers in suspended affixation, (as shown in Section 3.2.2).

In this chapter, I propose that the grammar resorts to ellipsis by necessity to derive sentences containing instances of morphological mismatches that are unresolvable by MD. Following the economy principle presented in Chapter 1, this is compatible with MD being preferred for its derivational economy, but Ellipsis being available by necessity when MD is blocked.

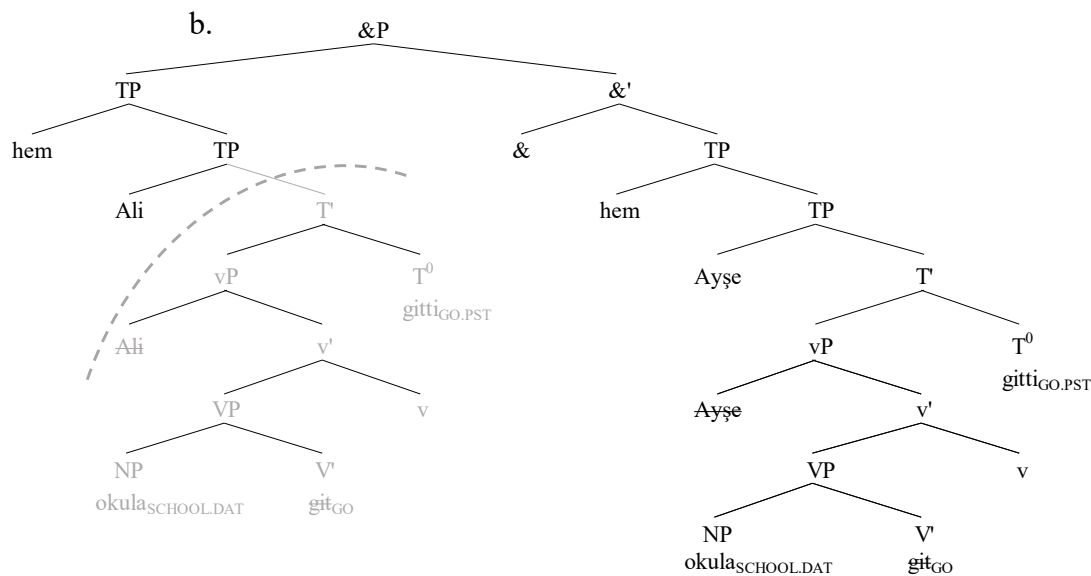
This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.1 presents cases of PF-reduction that MD cannot derive and suggests how an ellipsis analysis accounts for them. Section 4.2 revisits some properties of HHC that receive an explanation under an MD analysis and shows that the same properties cannot be accounted for by the ellipsis analysis

(negation ambiguity, cumulative agreement). This supports the claim that ellipsis functions only as a secondary, last resort mechanism, not as the default PF-reduction operation. Finally, Section 4.3 presents empirical evidence to support these observations.

4.1. What Ellipsis Can Account For: Morphological Mismatches

The impoverished surface string in HHC could in principle also be derived through ellipsis, which would operate on a clausal coordination structure to account for the core properties of HHC, such as multiple events readings, incompatibility with collective predicates, and the sloppy identity reading. An example of the underlying structure for an ellipsis derivation is given in (161).

- (161) a. Hem Ali okul -a - git-ti hem Ayşe okul -a git-ti.
 hem Ali school-DAT go-PST hem Ayşe school-DAT go-PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayşe went to school.’



However, sentences like (161) do not necessitate the ellipsis analysis since they can also be derived under the MD analysis. As stated in Chapter 3, the economy principle favors MD in such cases because it avoids generating (and eliding) identical material (Citko & Gračanin-Yüksek, in press). The necessity for ellipsis only arises on the condition that MD is blocked.

The core difference between MD and ellipsis is that ellipsis allows each conjunct to satisfy its own morphological requirements locally, and also tolerates mismatches in morphology across conjuncts (i.e., for an element to be elided in one conjunct, it does not have to be morphologically identical to the element in the other conjunct).

In the following subsections, I present examples that contain such morphological mismatches and show that ellipsis can derive the impoverished surface string from their underlying structures. This will serve as evidence for ellipsis as a secondary PF-reduction mechanism. Specifically, I show how ellipsis can derive examples that contain reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ with overt singular morphology in Section 4.1.1, and morphological mismatches with suspended affixation in Section 4.1.2.

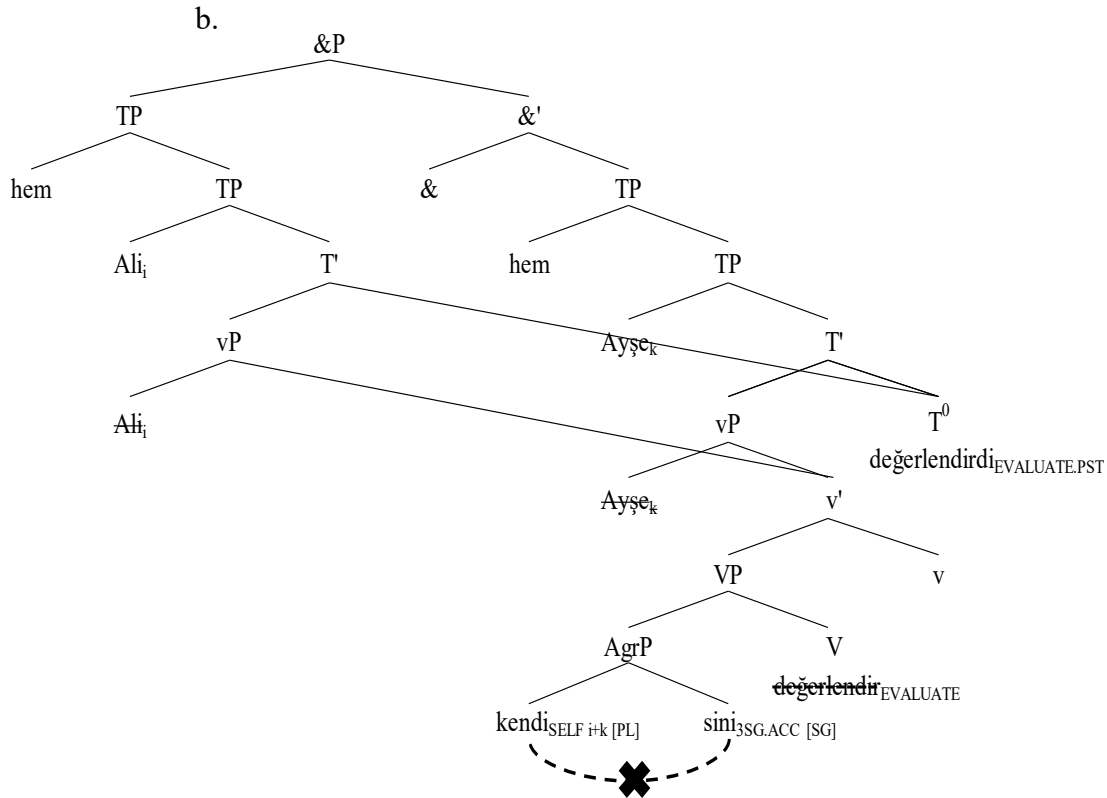
4.1.1. Overt Singular Agreement on Reflexive *kendi* ‘self’

As discussed in Chapter 3, the MD analysis derives sloppy identity readings with the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ by positing that the reflexive is syntactically plural since the Agr head enters an agreement relation with the reflexive, bound by both subjects, via Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa, 2001).

Under this analysis, the subjects function as split antecedents, and the optionality of the third person plural marker *-ArI* (as explained in Section 3.1.3) allows this plural feature to be phonologically null, leading *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’ to surface as morphologically unmarked *kendini* ‘self.ACC’. Such underlyingly plural reflexive then allows for a distributive reading, which is equivalent to the sloppy identity reading that such examples have.

However, as shown in Section 3.2.1, this mechanism fails when the reflexive bears an overt third person singular marker, *-sI*. Consider the structure in (150), repeated here as (162), where the singular morphology on the reflexive cannot be derived under the MD analysis.

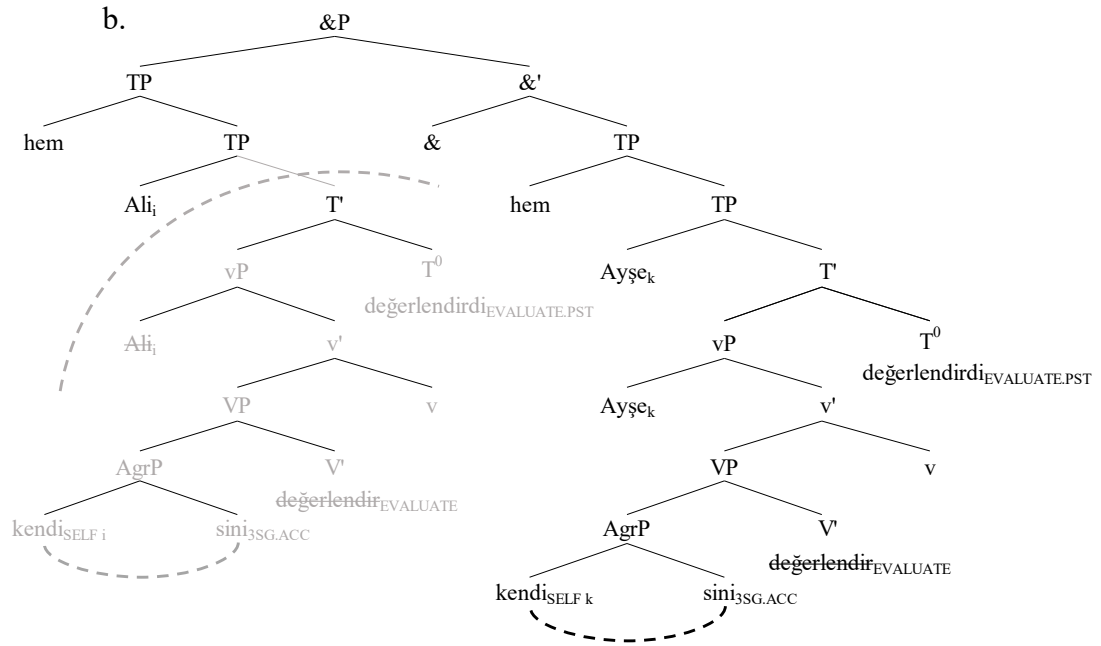
- (162) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendi-si -ni değerlendir-di.
hem Ali hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
‘Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.’



The derivation given in (162) demonstrates that if the shared reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ is bound by the subject in each conjunct, the result is syntactic plurality on the reflexive. Agreement with this plural reflexive cannot be morphologically realized as the singular *-si* on Agr.

Ellipsis, on the other hand, straightforwardly accounts for this sentence. Under this analysis, the underlying structure consists of two independent conjuncts, and each contains its own singular reflexive co-indexed with its local subject. This is shown in (163).

- (163) a. Hem Ali_i kendi_i si — ni_j — değerlendir — di hem Ayşe_k
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST hem Ayşe
 kendi-si -ni_k değerlendir-di.
 self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.’



Under this analysis, each reflexive is locally bound within its own clause, and the surface string is derived by eliding the predicate *kendisini değerlendirdi* ‘evaluated himself’ in the first conjunct. Thus, since the sentence with the interpretation that it has cannot be derived by a more economical MD mechanism of PF-reduction, the competing (although less economical) ellipsis analysis is employed to derive the sentence.

4.1.2. Suspended Affixation with Non-Identical Affixes

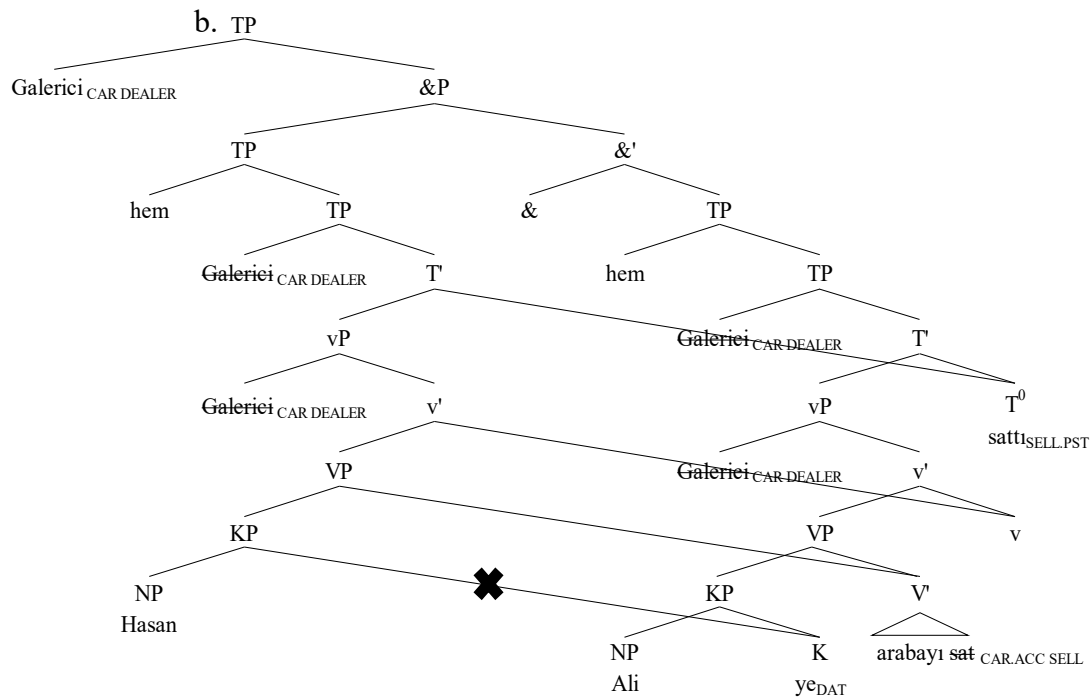
The second property of HHC that cannot be derived under the MD analysis is observed when HHC involves suspended affixation, where the suffixes (only one of which surfaces) are phonologically distinct in the two conjuncts due to vowel harmony, as shown in (154), repeated here as (164).

- (164) Galerici hem Hasan’a hem Ali’ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 ‘The car dealer sold the car to both Hasan and Ali.’

As argued in Section 3.1.8, MD derives suspended affixation by sharing a single functional head (i.e., K head, hosting dative case). However, this requires the shared head to have a single phonological realization.

This creates a problem in sentences like (164), where the dative suffix is suspended on *Hasan* but realized on *Ali*, as shown in (165).

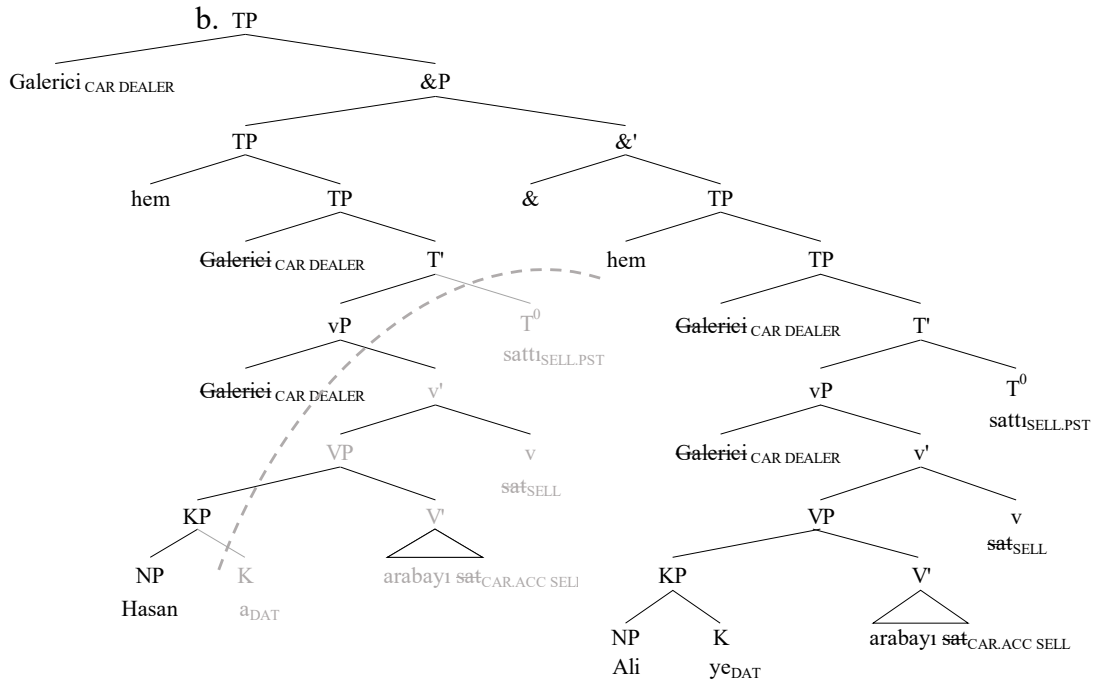
- (165) a. Galerici hem Hasan hem Ali'ye araba-yı sat -tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan hem Ali-DAT car -ACC sell-PST
 'Car dealer sold the car to Both Hasan and Ali.'



Due to vowel harmony, the dative suffix for *Hasan* is *-a*, while for *Ali* it is *-ye*, which makes the MD analysis impossible because a single shared K node cannot be realized as both *-a* and *-ye* simultaneously.

In the ellipsis analysis, this conflict does not arise since the first conjunct underlyingly contains the fully fledged clausal structure, part of which is deleted, as shown in (166).

- (166) a. Galerici hem Hasan'a — araba-yı — sat -tı hem Ali'ye
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT car -ACC sell-PST hem Ali-DAT
 araba-yı sat -tı.
 car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Hasan and Ali.'



In (166)b, the first conjunct contains the dative suffix *-a*, satisfying the phonological requirements of *Hasan*, while the second conjunct contains *-ye*, satisfying the requirements of *Ali*.⁴⁷

Crucially, the ellipsis analysis tolerates a morpho-phonological mismatch between the elided *-a* and the pronounced *-ye*, and allows the derivation to converge, unlike the MD analysis.

4.2. What Ellipsis Cannot Account for

Having established that ellipsis is a necessary repair strategy for deriving sentences with morphological mismatches that do not arise due to cumulative agreement, one might ask why it cannot serve as the default mechanism for all HHC constructions. In the following subsections, I demonstrate that a pure ellipsis analysis fails to capture certain syntactic and semantic properties of HHC established in the previous chapters.

In section 4.2.1, I show that the ellipsis analysis cannot account for negation ambiguity as it derives only a narrow scope reading of negation, and in Section 4.2.2, I

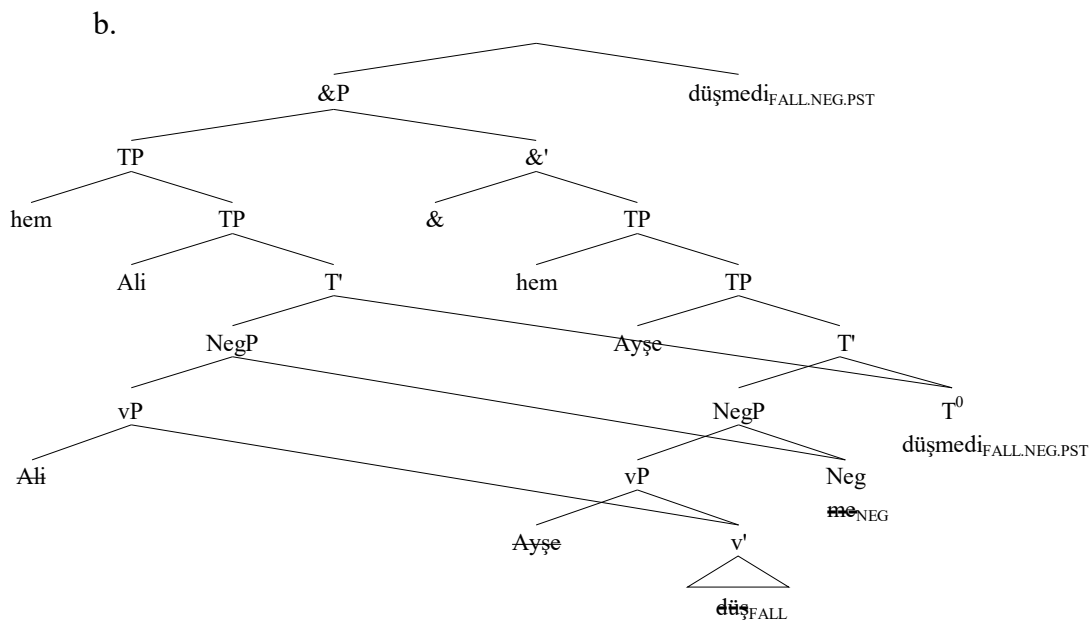
⁴⁷ Since *arabay1 sattı* ‘sold the car’ is identical across conjuncts, it is in principle possible to share it instead of generating it twice and eliding it in the first conjunct. This will be revisited in Chapter 5.

demonstrate that ellipsis cannot derive examples of HHC where the pronounced verb surfaces with plural agreement.

4.2.1. Negation Ambiguity

As shown in Chapter 3, HHC sentences involving negation exhibit a scope ambiguity between a "neither...nor" reading, where coordination scopes over negation, and a "mixed polarity" reading, where negation scopes over coordination. This ambiguity is derived under the MD analysis as shown in (136), repeated here as (167).

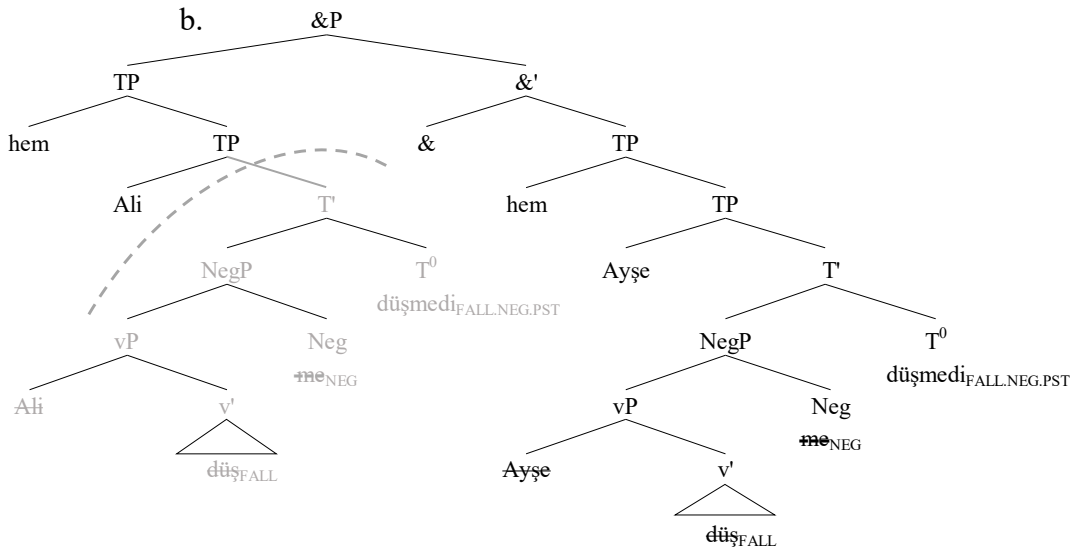
- (167) a. Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe fell.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t fall or Ayşe didn’t fall.’



Under the MD analysis, this ambiguity follows from the semantic possibilities made available by sharing. Since the shared Neg head is spelled out at the coordination level (&P), negation can be interpreted in two positions: either in situ, yielding a *neither...nor* reading since the coordination scopes over negation; or at the spell out position, from which it scopes over the coordination, yielding the mixed polarity reading.

However, the ellipsis analysis fails to capture this ambiguity since it obligatorily posits a structure where two full negative clauses are coordinated, as shown in (168).

- (168) a. Hem Ali ~~düş-me-di~~ hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali fall-NEG-PST hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘Ali didn’t fall and Ayşe didn’t fall.’



In this derivation, the predicate *düşmedi* ‘fall.NEG.PST’ is generated independently in each conjunct, and the first instance is elided to derive the PF-reduced surface string. However, since there are two distinct Neg heads in this structure, they must be interpreted each within a conjunct, leading exclusively to the *neither...nor* reading.

Crucially, there is no possible structural mechanism available to derive the mixed polarity reading since there is no single Neg head that scopes over the coordination. Consequently, the ellipsis analysis incorrectly predicts the absence of the attested “not both” interpretation.

4.2.2. Cumulative Agreement

The second piece of evidence against the pure ellipsis analysis of HHC comes from the fact that it fails to explain the plural agreement on the verb when each conjunct contains a singular subject.

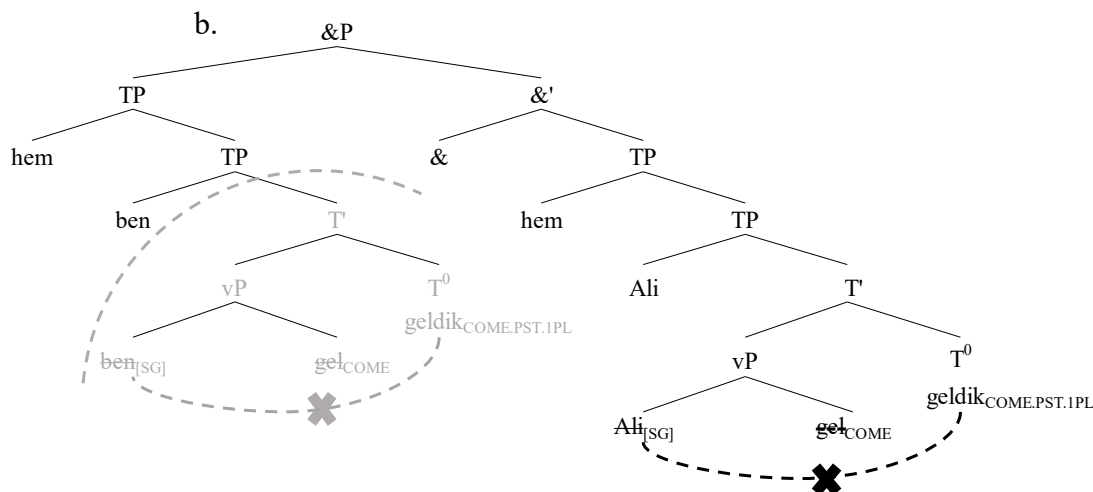
As shown in Chapter 3, the MD analysis accounts for this phenomenon with the cumulative agreement mechanism, in which the combined contribution of the two

singular subjects trigger plural agreement on the shared verb even if the subjects are individually singular, as shown in (169).

- (169) a. Hem ben hem Ali gel -di -k.
 hem I hem Ali come-PST-1PL
 ‘Both Ali and I came.’
 b. [... ben [SG] ___] [... Ali [SG] ___] geldik [PL]
-

However, the ellipsis analysis cannot derive this surface string. Under ellipsis analysis, the surviving portion of the predicate, *geldik* ‘come.PST.1PL’, belongs exclusively to the second conjunct, while the corresponding portion in the first conjunct is elided. For sentence (169), this means that the second conjunct (and presumably the first conjunct as well) must contain plural agreement on the verb. This leads to ungrammaticality because a singular subject cannot license plural agreement, as shown in (170).

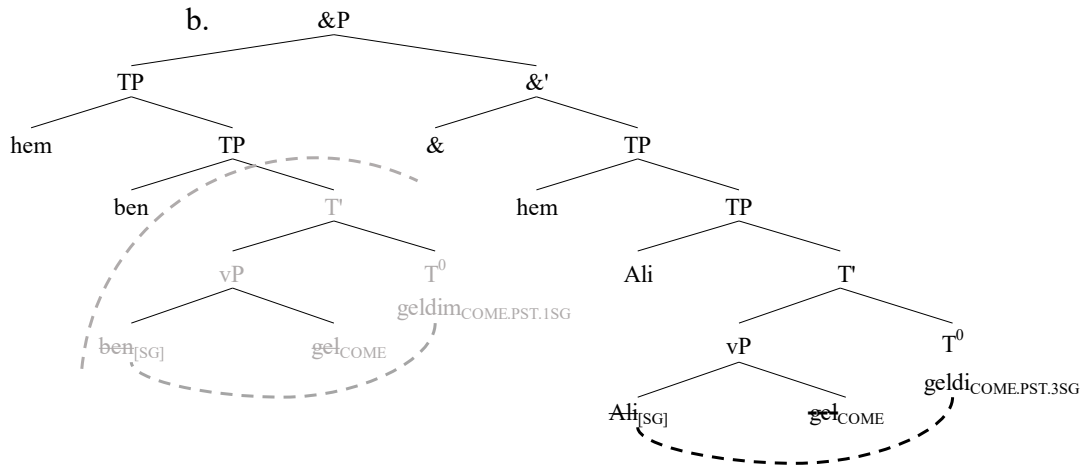
- (170) a. [~~*Hem ben gel di k*~~] [~~*hem Ali gel -di -k~~].
 hem I come-PST-1PL hem Ali come-PST-1PL
 ‘Both Ali and I came.’



Since the underlying conjuncts (or at least the second, pronounced conjunct) derived through the ellipsis analysis are ungrammatical, the derivation crashes. This shows that the ellipsis analysis cannot derive sentences with cumulative agreement, even though they are grammatical.

Ellipsis analysis for examples such as (169) predicts a different surface string, in which the pronounced verb agrees locally with the subject of the second conjunct, resulting in so-called *partial agreement*, as shown in (171).

- (171) a. Hem ben ~~gel~~ ~~di~~ ~~m~~ hem Ali gel -di -Ø.
 Hem I come-PST-1SG hem Ali come-PST-3SG
 ‘Both Ali and I came.’



In the following section, I present experimental evidence to demonstrate that Turkish speakers find such alternative surface strings degraded. This shows that ellipsis is dispreferred as a PF-reduction mechanism of HHC.

4.3. Experimental Findings

As established in the previous section, HHC involves different underlying structures under the MD and ellipsis analyses. Since these analyses force cumulative and partial agreement respectively, they result in different surface strings when HHC involves mixed person subjects. To test whether either of these analyses is preferred over the other by native speakers of Turkish, a Acceptability Judgment Test (AJT) was conducted.

4.3.1. Participants

The experiment was conducted on 98 native speakers of Turkish (44 male, 54 female) recruited from a state university. The age range of the participants was 18-42 years, with a mean age of 21.66 years (SD = 4.78).

4.3.2. Materials

The AJT consisted of 90 sentences distributed across 5 categories:

- a. *Baseline*, including HHCs in which the unpronounced part of the first conjunct was identical to the pronounced part in the second conjunct (up to agreement), shown in (172),
- b. *Negation*, including negative HHCs, shown in (173),
- c. *Collective predicates*, including HHCs with a collective predicate, shown in (174),
- d. *Possessive objects*, including HHCs with possessive object phrases, shown in (175),
- e. *Anaphor*, including HHCs with an anaphor in the object position, shown in (176).

Each category consisted of 18 sentences: in 6 of them, the subjects were both 3rd person singular (e.g., *Hem Ali hem Ayşe*), while in the remaining 12 sentences, one subject was 1st person singular, and the other one was 3rd person singular. The mixed-person sentences were balanced for the order of the subjects: in half of them, the 3rd person subject preceded the 1st person subject (e.g., *Hem Ali hem ben*), and in the other half, the 1st person subject preceded the 3rd person subject (e.g., *Hem ben hem Ali*). Finally, half of the sentences in each subject configuration contained cumulative agreement, while the other half contained partial agreement.

Sample experimental items for each category are given below. For each category, the (a) sentence exemplifies the cumulative agreement pattern, predicted by the MD analysis, while the (b) sentence exemplifies the partial agreement pattern, predicted by the ellipsis analysis. Examples (172) through (176) involve mixed-person singular subjects.

- (172) a. Hem Selman hem ben öksür -dü -k. *Baseline*
hem Selman hem I cough-PST-1PL
'Both Selman and I coughed.'

- b. Hem ben hem Fırat gül -dü.
hem I hem Fırat laugh-PST
'Both Fırat and I laughed.'
- (173) a. Hem ben hem Mehmet uyu -ma -dı -k. *Negation*
hem I hem Mehmet sleep-NEG-PST-1PL
'Both Mehmet and I didn't sleep.'
- b. Hem Cemile hem ben düş-me -di -m.
hem Cemile hem I fall -NEG-PST-1SG
'Both Cemile and I didn't fall.'
- (174) a. Hem Mustafa hem ben beraber yürü -dü -k. *Collective*
hem Mustafa hem I together walk-PST-1PL
'Both Mustafa and I walked together.'
- b. Hem ben hem Zehra beraber bayıl-dı.
hem I hem Zehra together faint-PST
'Both Zehra and I fainted together.'
- (175) a. Hem ben hem İlgin sigara -m -i iç -ti -k. *Possessive*
hem I hem İlgin cigarette-1SG-ACC smoke-PST-1PL
'Both İlgin and I smoked my cigarette.'
- b. Hem Selim hem ben çiçeğ -im -i sula -dı -m.
hem Selim hem I flower-1SG-ACC water-PST-1SG
'Both Selim and I watered my flower.'
- (176) a. Hem Mert hem ben kendi-m -i teselli et -ti -k. *Anaphor*
hem Mert hem I self -1SG-ACC console do-PST-1PL
'Both Mert and I consoled ourselves.'
- b. Hem ben hem Aslı kendi-ni vur -du.
hem I hem Aslı self -ACC shoot-PST
'Both Aslı and I shot ourselves.'

Examples (177) through (181) show experimental items involving third person singular subjects.

- (177) a. Hem Arzu hem Aylin bekle-di -ler. *Baseline*
hem Arzu hem Aylin wait -PST-3PL
'Both Arzu and Aylin waited.'
- b. Hem Bilal hem Onur susa -dı.
hem Bilal hem Onur get thirsty-PST
'Both Bilal and Onur got thirsty.'
- (178) a. Hem Serkan hem Yasemin konuş-ma -dı -lar. *Negation*
hem Serkan hem Yasemin talk -NEG-PST-3PL
'Both Serkan and Yasemin didn't talk.'
- b. Hem Efe hem Duru ağla-ma -dı.
hem Efe hem Duru cry -NEG-PST
'Both Efe and Duru didn't cry.'
- (179) a. Hem Sema hem Betül birlikte büyü -dü -ler. *Collective*
hem Sema hem Betül together grow up-PST-3PL
'Both Sema and Betül grew up together.'
- b. Hem Nur hem Leman birlikte esne-di.
hem Nur hem Leman together yawn-PST
'Both Nur and Leman yawned together.'
- (180) a. Hem Berk hem Birkan araba-sı-nı yıka -dı -lar. *Possessive*
hem Berk hem Birkan car -3SG-ACC wash-PST-3PL
'Both Berk and Birkan washed his car.'
- b. Hem İrem hem Melisa çay-ı -nı dök -tü.
hem İrem hem Melisa tea -3SG-ACC spill-PST
'Both İrem and Melisa spilled her tea.'

- (181) a. Hem Lena hem İnci kendi-ni koru -du -lar. *Anaphor*
 hem Lena hem İnci self -ACC protect-PST-3PL
 ‘Both Lena and İnci protected themselves.’
- b. Hem Yakup hem Kevser kendi-ni geliřtir -di.
 hem Yakup hem Kevser self -ACC improve-PST
 ‘Both Yakup and Kevser improved themselves.’

Sentences in which each HHC conjunct had a 3rd person singular subject were tested for completeness since they do not distinguish between cumulative and partial agreement. This is because, due to the optionality of third person plural agreement in Turkish, the absence of an overt plural marker on the verb in (182) is compatible both with singular (partial) agreement and plural (cumulative) agreement.

- (182) Hem Ali hem Ayře gel -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayře come-PST
 ‘Both Ali and Ayře came.’

Thus, participants’ acceptance of (182) might be interpreted as a preference for partial agreement or as a preference for cumulative agreement. As will be seen in the results, this expectation was confirmed.

4.3.3. Procedure

Participants completed the AJT online via Google Forms. They were instructed to read each sentence carefully and rate its acceptability based on their intuitions, using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 5 (completely acceptable). The test took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

4.3.4. Data Analysis

Statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS software, employing t-tests and repeated measures ANOVA to compare the mean scores for different syntactic structures. Before running statistical tests, mean scores were checked for normality using skewness and kurtosis. The skewness values range from -.70 to .64, and the kurtosis values range from -.87 to .45, indicating no departure from normality.

4.3.5. Results and Discussion

The results for HHCs with mixed-person subjects were collapsed across the two word orders (e.g., 3rd+1st / 1st+3rd) since different orders did not yield statistically different results for any of the categories. Table 1 presents the mean scores for cumulative and partial agreement sentences across categories for mixed-person subjects (*asterisks indicate significant differences*).

Table 1. Mean Scores for Each Category with Mixed-Person Subjects

	Cumulative	Partial
Baseline	3.86*	2.32
Negation	3.22*	1.80
Collective	3.22*	1.58
Possessive	2.45*	1.87
Anaphor	1.59	1.78

Paired-samples t-tests revealed that the mean scores for partial agreement sentences were consistently lower than the mean scores for cumulative agreement sentences, except for the Anaphor category, where the opposite was true, but the difference was not significant. As for the comparison of baseline sentences to the other categories within the same agreement pattern, repeated measures ANOVA showed that the mean scores for baseline sentences were significantly higher than the mean scores for all other categories. These consistently low scores on mixed-person sentences with partial agreement provide further evidence in support of the MD analysis as the default PF-reduction mechanism in HHC.

Consistent with the predictions, the mean scores for baseline and negation sentences with cumulative agreement were relatively higher. Regarding HHCs with collective predicates, even though the repeated measures ANOVA showed that the mean score (m=3.22) was significantly lower than baseline sentences (m=3.86), the null hypothesis was to observe much lower scores, given that collective predicates typically

require semantically plural subjects, which do not exist in the present analysis. This unexpected mean score might stem from the phrases *birlikte/beraber* ‘together’, which may not have enforced a strict “collective” reading, allowing for an interpretation where each subject performed the action together with an unpronounced entity. For example, in (183), a possible interpretation may have been that both *Mustafa* and *I* walked together with a third party, unexpressed in the sentence.

- (183) Hem Mustafa hem ben beraber yürü -dü -k.
 hem Mustafa hem I together walk-PST-1PL
 ‘Both Mustafa and I walked together.’

The mean score for these experimental items would likely have been lower if collective predicates like the following were used:

- (184) *Hem ben hem Ayşe öpüş-tü -k.
 hem I hem Ayşe kiss-PST-1PL
 Intended: ‘Ayşe and I kissed each other.’

Regarding HHCs involving possessive phrases, the results show a significant preference for cumulative agreement ($m=2.45$) over partial agreement ($m=1.87$). However, it is important to note that the score for cumulative agreement in this category is significantly lower than the baseline sentences ($m=3.86$). This difference likely results from the singular possessive morphology on the possessed entity used in the experimental items. To keep the sentences uniform across agreement patterns, the objects were presented with singular possessive markers (e.g., *sigaramı* ‘cigarette.1SG.ACC’) regardless of the agreement pattern on the verb. However, singular morphology on the object, unlike plural possessive morphology, eliminates the possibility of a sloppy identity reading (e.g., ‘I smoked my cigarette, and Ilgın smoked her cigarette’), which might have led participants to rate sentences with lower scores. If the object were marked with plural possessive morphology (e.g., *sigaramızı* ‘cigarette.1PL.ACC’), the acceptability scores would likely have been higher.

Importantly, the acceptability scores with mixed-person subjects in this category are significantly lower than those for third-person subjects (3rd + 3rd person: $m=3.40$;

mixed-person: $m=1.87$), which can be attributed to the fact that the underlying conjuncts in partial agreement configurations are both grammatical in with 3rd+3rd person subjects, but not with mixed-person subjects. In 3rd+3rd person sentences, partial agreement yields two grammatical conjuncts if they are construed separately, as shown in (185)a-c).

- (185) a. Hem İrem hem Melisa çay-ı -nı dök -tü.
 hem İrem hem Melisa tea -3SG-ACC spill-PST
 ‘Both İrem and Melisa spilled their tea.’
- b. İrem çay-ı -nı dök -tü.
 İrem tea -3SG-ACC spill-PST
 ‘İrem spilled her tea.’
- c. Melisa çay-ı -nı dök -tü.
 Melisa tea -3SG-ACC spill-PST
 ‘Melisa spilled her tea.’

By contrast, in mixed-person subjects, partial agreement results in one ungrammatical conjunct, as shown in (186)a-c).

- (186) a. *Hem Selim hem ben çiçeğ -im -i sula -dı -m.
 hem Selim hem I flower-1SG-ACC water-PST-1SG
 Intended: ‘Both Selim watered his flower and I watered my flower.’
- b. *Selim çiçeğ -im -i sula -dı -m.
 Selim flower-1SG-ACC water-PST-1SG
 Intended: ‘Selim watered his flower.’
- c. Ben çiçeğ -im -i sula -dı -m.
 I flower-1SG-ACC water-PST-1SG
 ‘I watered my flower.’

The significantly higher scores observed for 3rd+3rd person partial agreement suggest that these sentences are in fact acceptable when properly construed. Lastly, the results for the anaphor category show low scores for both agreement patterns (cumulative:

m=1.59; partial: m=1.78). Similar to the possessive phrases, the anaphors were not presented with plural morphology (i.e., *kendimizi* ‘self.1PL.ACC’) for the sake of uniformity across the test items. Since this eliminates the sloppy identity reading of the sentences (e.g., ‘I consoled *myself* and Mert consoled *himself*’), the results are relatively lower even in the presence of the cumulative agreement.

Having analyzed the results for mixed-person subjects, I turn to the results for HHCs involving subjects with identical person features. Table 2 presents the mean scores for 3rd+3rd subjects.

Table 2. Mean Scores for Each Category with 3rd+3rd Subjects

	Cumulative	Partial
Baseline	3.75	4.06*
Negation	3.54*	3.15
Collective	3.31	3.19
Possessive	2.82	3.40*
Anaphor	2.71	3.34*

Speakers’ ratings of HHC sentences with third person singular subjects were considerably less systematic than those involving first and third/third and first person singular subjects. First, as seen in Table 2, partial agreement was rated higher than cumulative agreement in all categories but Negation and Collective, where the opposite was true. This is not surprising: the preference for null agreement with third person plural subjects (over the overt *-lar*) has been reported in the literature (e.g., Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Bamyacı et al., 2014). This preference likely accounts for the fact that partial agreement scores in examples of HHC with a third person singular subject in each conjunct are all significantly higher than their counterparts in HHCs with first and third/third and first singular subjects. This is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Mean Scores for Partial Agreement: 3rd+3rd vs. Mixed-Person

Subjects		
	3 rd +3 rd	Mixed-Person
Baseline	4.06*	2.31
Negation	3.15*	1.80
Collective	3.19*	1.59
Possessive	3.40*	1.87
Anaphor	3.34*	1.79

However, no such consistency is found in the comparison of the cumulative agreement scores between the two kinds of HHC: while in some categories cumulative agreement received higher scores in 3rd+3rd HHCs, in others cumulative agreement received higher scores in 1st+3rd HHCs, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Mean Scores for Cumulative Agreement: 3rd+3rd vs. Mixed-Person

Subjects		
	3 rd +3 rd	Mixed-Person
Baseline	3.75	3.85
Negation	3.54*	3.21
Collective	3.31	3.21
Possessive	2.82*	2.44
Anaphor	2.71*	1.59

In light of these findings, I conclude that due to the confounding factors that influenced the scores in HHCs with third person singular subjects (possibility of plural agreement without plural morphology and preference for plural agreement without plural morphology) results obtained in HHCs with third person singular subjects cannot be

relied on. Thus, I based my conclusions on the results of mixed-person subject HHCs, presented in Table 1 and the accompanying discussion.

4.3.6. Interim Conclusion

In Chapter 1, following Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek (in press), I presented the hypothesis that MD is preferred over ellipsis due to economy considerations: MD involves fewer syntactic operations and lexical resources than ellipsis. Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek (in press) propose that the two PF-reduction mechanisms compete (and MD wins) only in cases where they both derive the same string with the same interpretation. In the Turkish data at hand, the ellipsis derivation (featuring partial agreement) on the one hand, and the MD derivation (featuring cumulative agreement) on the other, derive utterances with the same interpretation, but with different strings. Despite this, as shown in this section, HHC with cumulative agreement, a consequence of MD analysis, received higher scores in the AJT compared to HHC with singular agreement, a property of ellipsis. These results indicate that the competition between ellipsis and MD does not require arrival at the same string, but is primarily about selecting the most economical derivation that yields a particular interpretation. Building on the logic implied by Şehit's (2025) analysis of reflexives in Turkish RNR, I propose that if a sentence that is PF-reduced through MD has the same reading as a sentence that is PF-reduced through ellipsis, MD is favored since it is more economical.

CHAPTER 5

INTERACTION OF MULTIPLE DOMINANCE AND ELLIPSIS: THE LAST RESORT

In the previous chapters, I established that while MD analysis is the default mechanism responsible for the PF-reduction of HHC in Turkish, the ellipsis analysis is employed in configurations that MD cannot derive. In Chapter 3, I showed that MD derives the core properties of HHC, including multiple events readings, incompatibility with collective predicates, and the sloppy identity of the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’. Additionally, I demonstrated that it also accounts for cumulative agreement, the sloppy identity reading of possessive phrases, and the ambiguity of HHC involving negation. In Chapter 4, I proposed that the grammar resorts to ellipsis by necessity to derive sentences featuring morphological mismatches across conjuncts, such as phonologically non-identical case markers in suspended affixation, and also those featuring agreement patterns incompatible with MD (reflexives with overt singular agreement *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’). Crucially, this proposal adopts a hierarchical approach, following the economy principle of Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek (in press), suggesting that the grammar favors MD over ellipsis when these two analyses compete for the derivation of sentences that involve the same meaning.

However, a fundamental question that has been addressed in the RNR literature remains: Are MD and ellipsis analyses mutually exclusive, or can they interact to account for HHC? In this chapter, I propose that the interaction of these two analyses is not merely a possibility, but a necessity in certain configurations (Belk et al. 2023; Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek in press; Günel 2025; Şehit 2025). The interaction of these mechanisms allows us to account for sentences that exhibit properties of both MD and ellipsis analyses. Importantly, however, the MD-ellipsis interaction is not a free

choice, but a last resort mechanism employed only when it is the only way to derive the surface string with a particular meaning. Therefore, the hierarchy posited earlier extends beyond a binary choice between MD and ellipsis, and includes the interaction approach as a third option. Economy favors an MD analysis, allows MD to interact with ellipsis if MD alone is not possible, and resorts to ellipsis alone (as the least economical option) only in cases when everything else fails.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.1, I review the existing literature on the MD and ellipsis analyses, more specifically, contrasting exclusive, eclectic and interaction approaches to RNR. In Section 5.2, I present evidence for the interaction approach using HHC sentences featuring morphological mismatches and internal readings of relational adjectives. Section 5.3 provides further evidence for the interaction of MD and ellipsis demonstrating that singular agreement on the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ gives rise to negation ambiguity in HHC. Section 5.4 presents the restrictions that limit the interaction of MD and ellipsis, showing that the interaction approach is possible only when MD cannot capture the surface string exclusively. Section 5.5 is the conclusion.

5.1. Previous Accounts on the Interaction of MD and Ellipsis

The relationship between Multiple Dominance (MD) and Ellipsis has been extensively studied in the literature on coordination structures, and three possible approaches have been established: an exclusivist approach, where all RNR is derived by a single mechanism, an eclectic approach, where MD and ellipsis analysis are in complementary distribution, and an interaction approach, where sentences exhibit the effects of MD and ellipsis within a single derivation simultaneously.

Barros and Vicente (2011) argue against the exclusivist approach by presenting diagnostic tests for both RNR examples derived by ellipsis (characterized by inflectional mismatches and vehicle change effects) and RNR examples derived by MD (characterized by cumulative agreement and internal readings of relational adjectives), suggesting that neither mechanism can be reduced to the other. They demonstrate that these mechanisms are in complementary distribution, and the presence of properties specific to one mechanism blocks the availability of the other,

suggesting that a sentence is impossible to derive when the requirements of MD and ellipsis co-exist. Relevant examples are given in (187)-(190).

- (187) *Cumulative agreement, potential morphological mismatch blocked.*
Alice is happy that Beatrix [____], and Claire is proud that Daniel [____],
{have/*has} **negotiated his salary with the manager.**

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p.6)

In (187), the sentence allows only the strict reading, where Beatrix negotiated Daniel's salary.

- (188) *Morphological mismatch blocks internal reading*⁴⁸
Alice has [____], and Beatrix wants to [____], **work on different topics.**

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p.7)

Crucially, this sentence lacks the internal reading of the relational adjective; it cannot be interpreted such that the topic that Alice has worked on is different from the topic Beatrix wants to work on.

- (189) *Cumulative agreement, vehicle change blocked*
*She*_{*i/k} fears that Alex [____], and I worry that Bob [____], {have/*has} **decided to nominate Claire.**

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p.7)

In this sentence, the matrix subject *she* cannot refer to the embedded object *Claire*.

⁴⁸ The availability of the internal reading of adjective *different*, illustrated in (i)a), has been used as a diagnostic for the MD analysis (Carlson, 1987; Beck, 2000; Barros & Vicente, 2011; Larson, 2012; Belk et al. 2023).

- (i) Alice and Beatrix read different gothic novels.
a. Internal Reading: Alice's novels are different from Beatrix's.
b. External Reading: Alice and Beatrix's novels are different from some contextually salient novels.

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p. 5)

(190) *Either vehicle change or internal reading blocked*

She_i absolutely must [____], and Bob is obliged to [____], **present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor.**

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p.8)

In (190), on the interpretation that the topic she must present to Alice's supervisor is different from the topic that Bob is obliged to present to Alice's supervisor, *she* cannot be coreferential with *Alice*. On the interpretation that *she* and *Alice* are coreferential, the topic she must present to Alice's supervisor cannot be interpreted as different from the topic that Bob is obliged to present to Alice's supervisor.

Larson (2012), on the other hand, refutes Barros and Vicente's (2011) eclectic approach and demonstrates that the grammar is more flexible. In the following examples, Larson provides evidence for the co-existence of properties characteristic of MD and those characteristic of ellipsis.

(191) *Morphological mismatches and internal reading*

Alice must [~~work on different topics~~], and Iris ought to be, working on **different topics.**

(Larson, 2012, p. 147)

Here, the internal reading remains available despite the mismatch: the topics Alice must be working on and Iris ought to be working on can be interpreted as different from each other.

(192) *Vehicle change and internal reading*

She_i thinks that she absolutely must, and Bill fears that he won't, **present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor.**

(Larson, 2012, p. 148)

Lastly, in (192), *she* can be coreferential with *Alice* even though the topics that she thinks she absolutely must present to Alice's supervisor and the topics that Bill fears that he won't present to Alice's supervisor are interpreted as different from each other.

While Larson (2012) challenges the eclectic approach proposed by Barros and Vicente (2011), Belk et al. (2023) suggest that the co-existence of the properties indicative of MD and ellipsis is not impossible, although it is constrained. They propose that the interaction of MD and ellipsis is sensitive to linear order, and that the order of properties indicative of ellipsis (PIE) and properties indicative of MD (PIM) determines whether the derivation converges.

Crucially, when properties indicative of ellipsis precede properties indicative of MD, the sentence can be successfully linearized, yielding a grammatical sentence. An example is given in (193).

- (193) Habib is going to ~~study~~, and Ava will soon be studying **the same Oceanic language**. (Belk et al., 2023, p. 705)

In sentence (193), the morphological mismatch (PIE) between *study* and *studying* precedes the relational adjective *same* (PIM), which receives the internal reading. This order does not disrupt linearization and the sentence is grammatical.⁴⁹

On the other hand, when PIM precedes PIE, the sentence is predicted to be ungrammatical. An example is given in (194).

- (194) *She_i is going to, and Ryo will soon, show the same person Ava_i's paper on Niuean word order. (Belk et al., 2023, p. 706)

In sentence (194), the configuration requires vehicle change (PIE) to obviate principle C violation since the R-expression *Ava* must be free and cannot be bound by *she*. However, the internal reading of the relational adjective *same* (PIM) precedes the expression requiring vehicle change (PIE), which leads to the derivation crashing.

⁴⁹ Belk et al. (2023) propose an operation called *pruning* to account for the linearization of RNR structures, where the branch from the shared pivot to its mother in the first conjunct is removed. This allows the shared pivot to remain present only in the second conjunct, so that a phrase containing the shared pivot in the first conjunct can be elided, without removing the pivot. However, a variation of this sentence given in (i) is ungrammatical because eliding the phrase containing the pivot in the second conjunct would necessarily remove the shared pivot as well.

- (i) *Habib is going to study, and Ava will soon be ~~studying~~ the same Oceanic language.

For a detailed discussion, see Belk et al. (2023).

Recent studies in Turkish provide further evidence for the interaction of MD and ellipsis. Şehit (2025) presents observations on mixed-person coordination and demonstrates that while sentences containing PIE-PIM order are grammatical, as in (195), sentences containing PIM-PIE order are ungrammatical, as in (196).

- (195) Sen Ali'nin ~~gel~~ ~~me~~ ~~si~~ ~~ne~~, Ayşe de ben-im
 you Ali-GEN come-NOM-3SG-DAT Ayşe and I -GEN
 gel -me -m -e **sevin -di -niz.**
 come-NOM-1SG-DAT be happy-PAST-2PL
 'You are happy that Ali, and Ayşe is happy that I came.'
 (Şehit, 2025, p. 65)

- (196) *Sen Ali'nin, Ayşe de ben-im gel -me -miz-e sevin -di.
 you Ali-GEN Ayşe and I-GEN come-NOM-1PL-DAT be happy-PST
 Intended: 'You are happy that Ali, and Ayşe is happy that I came.'
 (Şehit, 2025, p. 67)

Sentence (195) is grammatical because the morphological mismatch (PIE) on the embedded verb (i.e., *gelmesine* 'come.NOM.3SG.DAT' in the first conjunct and *gelmeme* 'come.NOM.1SG.DAT' in the second conjunct), indicative of the first verb being deleted under identity with the second, precedes cumulative agreement (PIM) on the matrix verb, indicative of MD. This satisfies the linearization constraint, and the derivation converges.

By contrast, sentence (196) is ungrammatical because cumulative agreement (PIM) on the embedded verb, indicative of MD, precedes partial agreement on the matrix verb, indicative of ellipsis (whereby the matrix verb in the first conjunct *sevindin* 'be happy.PST.2SG' was deleted under identity with *sevindi* 'be happy.PST.3SG'). Thus, the derivation fails.

Similarly, Günal (2025) provides empirical evidence for the role of the ordering between PIE and PIM. In an acceptability judgment task, PIM (cumulative agreement) and PIE (partial agreement) were given in the same RNR structure and the linear position of these properties was manipulated. Participants were asked to judge the

grammaticality of sentences exhibiting PIM-PIE order, as in (197), and PIE-PIM order, as in (198).

(197) Funda Aylin -in, ben de sen-in Amerika-ya *PIM-PIE*
 Funda Aylin-GEN I too you-GEN America-DAT
 taşın -ma -nız -a çok sevin -di -m.
 move-NOM-2PL-DAT a lot rejoice-PST-1SG
 ‘Funda rejoiced that Aylin and I rejoiced that you moved to America.

(198) Funda Aylin -in, ben de sen-in Amerika-ya *PIE-PIM*
 Funda Aylin-GEN I too you-GEN America-DAT
 taşın -ma -n -a çok sevin -di -k.
 move-NOM-2SG-DAT a lot rejoice-PST-1PL
 ‘Funda rejoiced that Aylin and I rejoiced that you moved to America.

(Günel, 2025, pp. 82-83)

The results showed that sentences with PIE-PIM order received significantly higher scores, supporting the hypothesis that MD and ellipsis can co-exist on the condition that the properties of ellipsis linearly precede the properties of MD. In the following sections, I will present further evidence for the interaction of MD and ellipsis proposed by Belk et al. (2023) and supported theoretically by Şehit (2025) and empirically by Günel (2025). I will demonstrate that certain configurations of HHC in Turkish systematically necessitate both MD and ellipsis.

5.2. Internal Reading with Morphological Mismatches

In the literature, the internal and external readings of relational adjectives like *the same*, *different*, *in equal amounts* and so on have been studied extensively and the availability of the internal reading has been used as a diagnostic test for the MD analysis (Carlson, 1987; Beck, 2000; Barros & Vicente, 2011; Larson, 2012; Belk et al. 2023). Sentence (199) demonstrates both readings.

(199) Alice and Beatrix read different gothic novels.
 a. *Internal Reading*: Alice’s novels are different from Beatrix’s.
 b. *External Reading*: Alice and Beatrix’s novels are different from some contextually salient novels. (Barros & Vicente, 2011, p. 5)

Crucially, the internal reading of this sentence, which requires the adjective to have both subjects in its scope, cannot be derived from the ellipsis analysis, as it would posit two instances of the relational adjective *different*, as shown in (200).

- (200) Alice ~~read different gothic novels~~ and Beatrix read different gothic novels.

This would disallow the internal reading because each instance of *different* would be in the scope of its own subject, triggering a comparison with an external context rather than comparing the two conjuncts to one another.

Relational adjectives exhibit the same behavior in HHC in Turkish, as shown in (201).

- (201) Hem Ali hem Ayşe aynı araba-y₁ sat-t₁.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe same car -ACC sell -PST
 c. *Internal Reading*: Ali's car is the same as Ayşe's.
 d. *External Reading*: Ali and Ayşe's cars are the same as some contextually salient cars.

One way to test for the interaction of MD and ellipsis is to consider examples where a relational adjective, like *aynı* 'same' is contained in a HHC that features a morphological mismatch impossible to derive through MD, such as suspended affixation where vowel harmony requires the DP in the first conjunct to appear with a suffix that is not identical with the suspended suffix, which surfaces only in the second conjunct. Recall from Chapter 4 sentences exhibiting suspended affixation with such morphological mismatches. An example is given in (164), repeated here as (202).

- (202) Galerici hem Hasan'a araba-y₁ sat -t₁ hem Ali'ye
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT car -ACC sell-PST hem Ali-DAT
 araba-y₁ sat -t₁.
 car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Hasan and Ali.'

The difference in the vowel quality of the dative suffix across the two conjuncts suggested that MD, which would yield the string **Hasan'ye* in the first conjunct

(instead of the required *Hasan'a* 'Hasan.DAT) through the sharing of the K head across conjuncts, cannot be the correct analysis of (202). I proposed instead that the example is derived through ellipsis, as in (203).

- (203) Galerici hem Hasan'a ~~araba-yı~~ ~~sat-tı~~ hem Ali'ye
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT car -ACC sell-PST hem Ali-DAT
 araba-yı sat -tı.
 car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the car to both Hasan and Ali.'

If the interaction approach is on the right track, there should be a way to combine the morphological mismatch, such as the one in (203) (PIE), with the internal reading of the relational adjective (PIM) in the same HHC sentence, if the mismatch precedes the relational adjective. Sentence (204) matches these requirements.

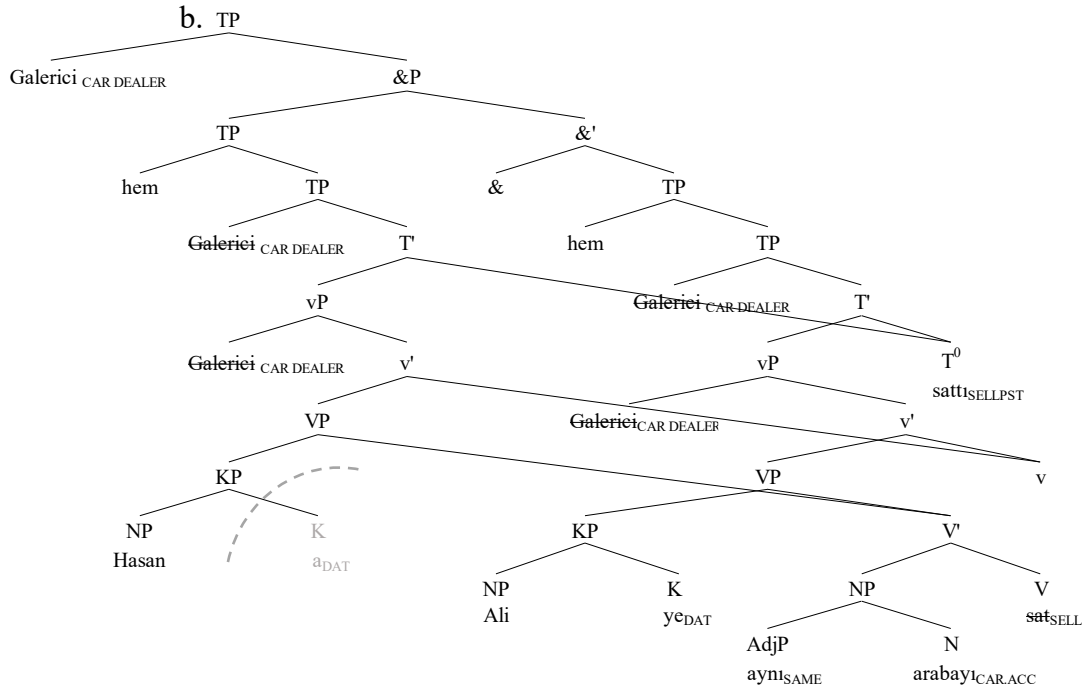
- (204) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye aynı araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan-DAT hem Ali-DAT same car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the same car to both Hasan and Ali.'

In (204), a morphological mismatch occurs across conjuncts since the dative case on the indirect objects is not identical. This prevents the case head (K) from being shared; instead, the first instance of the dative suffix (i.e., *-a* 'DAT') is elided in the first conjunct for the surface string to be derived. On the other hand, the presence of the relational adjective *aynı* 'the same' receives an internal reading, which forces the MD analysis. If the derivation involved ellipsis exclusively, the relational adjective would not have the internal reading.

In the same vein, if the derivation involved MD exclusively, it would crash since it cannot account for the case mismatch. The fact that the sentence is grammatical when the PIE-PIM order is maintained shows that the grammar employs both mechanisms, as shown in (205).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ In Belk et al.'s (2023) analysis, pruning deletes the entire VP in the first conjunct. This, however, does not carry over to Turkish since it would mean the deletion of the first indirect object *Hasan*.

- (205) a. Galerici hem Hasan²a hem Ali'ye aynı araba-yı sat-tı.
 car dealer hem Hasan hem Ali-DAT same car -ACC sell-PST
 'The car dealer sold the same car to both Hasan and Ali.'



As shown in the diagram, the indirect object in the first conjunct features a case head (K) that is elided under the ellipsis analysis, while the V' *aynı arabayı sat* 'sell the same car' is shared by both conjuncts under the MD analysis since it is identical across both conjuncts, allowing the internal reading of the relational adjective.

This configuration provides evidence for the interaction of ellipsis and MD: the mismatch in case morphology across conjuncts requires ellipsis; however, the amount of material that is elided is kept at the very minimum, with the rest of the pivot (*aynı arabayı sat* 'sell the same car') being shared, as is required by economy.

5.3. Local Binding of the Reflexive *kendi* 'self' and Negation Ambiguity

Another piece of evidence for the interaction of MD and ellipsis comes from HHC containing both negation and the inflected form of the reflexive *kendi* 'self' with an unambiguously singular possessive morphology (*kendi-si* 'self.3SG'). As established in Chapter 3, HHCs with negation are ambiguous between the *neither...nor* reading and the mixed polarity reading. An example is given in (133), repeated here as (206).

The ambiguity follows from the MD analysis since the spell out of the shared Neg is delayed until it is completely dominated. This happens only after the entire &P is built, allowing negation to take it in its scope, yielding the mixed polarity reading. If, on the other hand, negation is interpreted in the position where it is merged (i.e., within each conjunct), the *neither...nor* reading obtains.

- (206) Hem Ali hem Ayşe düş-me -di.
 hem Ali hem Ayşe fall-NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe fell.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t fall or Ayşe didn’t fall.’

Furthermore, in Chapter 4, we saw that overt singular agreement on the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ (i.e., *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’) requires the ellipsis analysis since the MD analysis can only derive cumulative agreement on the reflexive (pronounced either as *kendini* ‘self.ACC’ or *kendilerini* ‘self.3PL.ACC’, but not as *kendisini* ‘self.3SG.ACC’). An example is given (162), repeated here as (207).

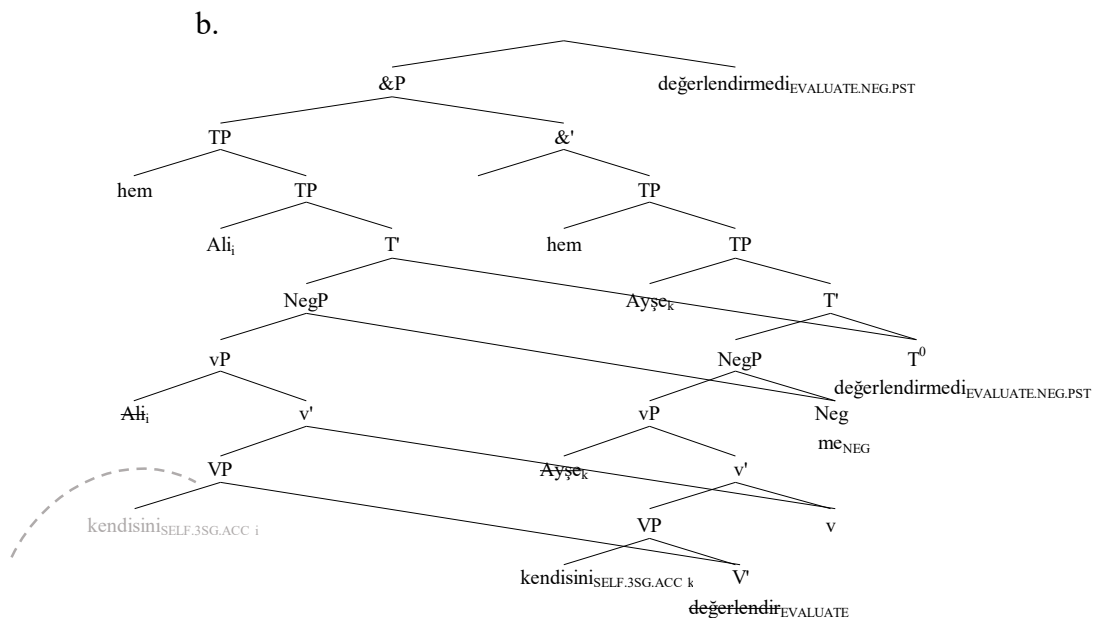
- (207) Hem Ali ~~kendi-si—ni—değerlendir-di~~ hem Ayşe
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST hem Ayşe
 kendi-si -ni değerlendir-di.
 self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST
 ‘Ali evaluated himself and Ayşe evaluated herself.’

Combining these two features that are indicative of distinct analyses provides us with another diagnostic test for the availability of the interaction of MD and ellipsis: If the sentence involving *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’ and negation is ambiguous, we have evidence that ellipsis and MD can interact with each other. Sentence (208) exhibits both features: the singular reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’ (PIE) and negation ambiguity (PIM).

- (208) Hem Ali ~~kendi-si—ni~~ hem Ayşe kendi-si -ni
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC
değerlendir-me- di.
 evaluate -NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe evaluated themselves.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t evaluate himself or Ayşe didn’t evaluate herself.’

This ambiguity of (208) suggests that negation is multiply dominated. On the other hand, the fact that the reflexive surfaces with the singular morphology *-si*, suggests that each conjunct contains the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ bound by the singular subject of the conjunct, together with an Agr head that takes *kendi* as the complement and agrees with it, yielding 3rd person singular agreement *-si*. The analysis is shown in (209).

- (209) a. Hem Ali *kendi-si-ni* hem Ayşe *kendi-si-ni*
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC hem Ayşe self -3SG-ACC
değerlendir-me-di.
 evaluate -NEG-PST
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe evaluated themselves.’
 ‘Either Ali didn’t evaluate himself or Ayşe didn’t evaluate herself.’



The derivation satisfies both morphological and semantic requirements, providing evidence that HHC in Turkish does not derive from MD and/or ellipsis exclusively.

5.4. Economy Constraint: The Interaction-as-Last-Resort Condition

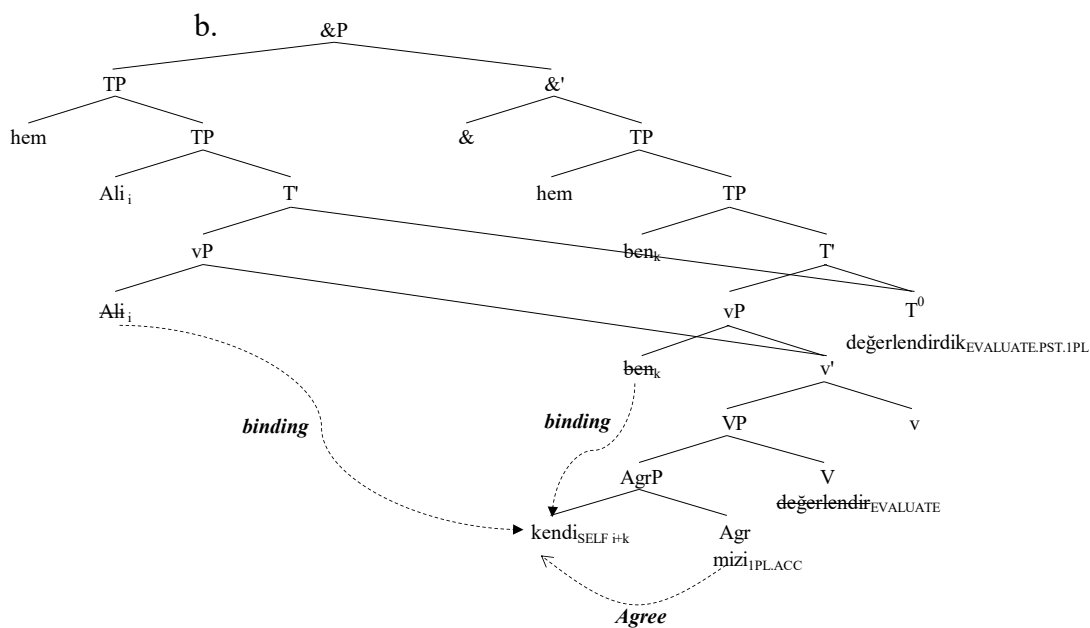
The evidence presented in this chapter so far has demonstrated that the grammar allows the interaction of MD and ellipsis to derive syntactic and semantic properties characteristic of each of these PF-reduction mechanisms (i.e., morphological mismatches in SA, unambiguously singular agreement on the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ for ellipsis; internal reading of relational adjectives, negation ambiguity for MD), when

these properties co-exist in the same sentence. However, if the interaction approach is employed freely and without constraints, certain sentences are incorrectly predicted to be grammatical even though they are not. An example is given in (210), where the verb features cumulative agreement, and the direct object is a reflexive with 1st person singular morphology (-*m*) on it.

- (210) *Hem Ali hem ben kendi-m -i değerlendir-di -k.
 hem Ali hem I self -1SG-ACC evaluate -PST-1PL
 Unattested sloppy reading: ‘Ali evaluated himself, I evaluated myself.’
 Unattested strict reading: ‘Ali evaluated me and I evaluated myself.’

The MD analysis cannot derive either the sloppy or the strict identity reading of the string in (210). For the sloppy identity reading to be derived under the MD analysis, the Agr head would have to agree with *kendi* bound by *both* subjects, *ben* ‘I’ and *Ali*, but this would result in the obligatorily plural agreement (-*miz*), as shown in (211)a-b). Such plural reflexive would then be able to distribute over the two subjects, yielding an illusion of the sloppy identity reading.

- (211) a. Hem Ali hem ben kendi-miz-i değerlendir-di -k.
 hem Ali hem I self -1PL-ACC evaluate -PST-1PL
 ‘Ali evaluated himself, I evaluated myself.’



Since the distributive reading of the plural reflexive, shown in (211), is equivalent to the sloppy identity reading and can be derived exclusively through MD, the less economical derivation involving ellipsis, which would result in the same reading given in (212), is blocked.

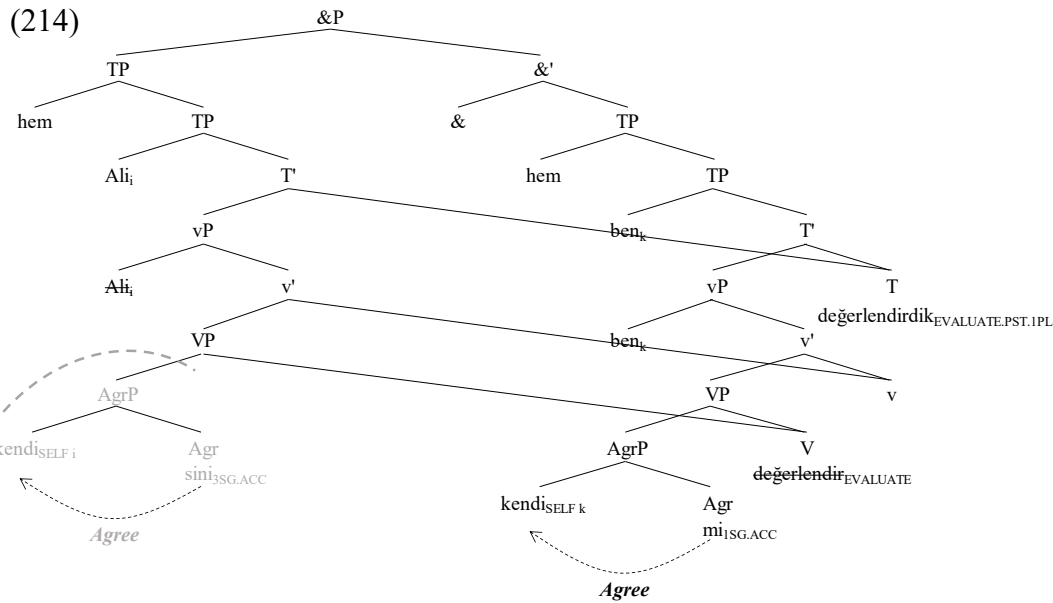
- (212) *Hem Ali ~~kendi-si~~ ~~ni~~ ~~değerlendir-di~~ hem ben kendi-m -i
 hem Ali self -3SG-ACC evaluate -PST hem I self -1SG-ACC
 değerlendir-di -m.
 evaluate -PST-1SG
 Unattested sloppy reading: #‘Ali evaluated himself, I evaluated myself.’

Importantly, the analysis in which MD and ellipsis interact, which would derive the sloppy identity reading of the string in (210), repeated here as (213) is *also* blocked.

- (213) *Hem Ali hem ben kendi-m -i değerlendir-di -k.
 hem Ali hem I self -1SG-ACC evaluate -PST-1PL
 Unattested sloppy reading: ‘Ali evaluated himself, I evaluated myself.’
 Unattested strict reading: ‘Ali evaluated me and I evaluated myself.’

The sloppy identity reading of this sentence would be derived as follows under a hypothetical interaction analysis: the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ in each conjunct is locally bound by its respective subject, and the first copy (e.g., *kendisini* ‘self.3SG.ACC’) is elided under identity with morphologically similar, but not identical *kendimi* ‘self.1SG.ACC’ in the second conjunct (PIE).

The cumulative agreement (PIM) is derived from the combined contribution of the subjects in each conjunct, leading to plural agreement on the verb. Considering that such a reading is absent from (210), it seems that exclusively MD analysis is not preferred by economy only over the exclusively ellipsis analysis; it is preferred over any alternative analysis that can derive the same interpretation and includes any ellipsis. The hypothetical interaction derivation is given in (214).



This is established based on the derivational cost of PF-reduction mechanisms. As discussed in Chapter 1, MD is the most economical PF-reduction mechanism since it requires fewer lexical items and fewer syntactic operations. Ellipsis, on the other hand, requires deletion of lexical items that are generated in each conjunct to account for the surface string, which is less economical. The fact that the division of labor between MD and ellipsis in a single derivation is blocked whenever a more economical MD derivation is available suggests that ellipsis is dispreferred as an operation, even when it is accompanied by MD.⁵¹

5.5. Interim Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that a strict binary choice between MD and ellipsis analyses cannot account for the full range of data in Turkish HHC. I have addressed the theoretical assumptions made by Barros and Vicente (2011) and Larson (2012) and provided evidence for the interaction approach in line with Belk et al. (2023). I have further shown that ellipsis is blocked as a PF-reduction mechanism even when it works in tandem with MD, if a more economical exclusively MD derivation is available.

⁵¹ This constraint explains the experimental findings reported in Chapter 4. Specifically, it accounts for the low acceptability scores participants assigned to 1st+3rd and 3rd+1st cumulative agreement sentences involving singular reflexives. Since the MD analysis offers a more economical derivation, the grammar blocks the interaction derivation, leading participants to assign low scores to the sentences with singular reflexives.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has investigated the syntactic structure and the PF-reduction mechanisms of HHC in Turkish. In Chapter 1, I laid out the goals of the dissertation: how big are the conjuncts in an HHC, and what is the PF-reduction mechanism that derives the surface string? I also previewed the analysis that I will argue for: that HHC involves big conjuncts and that the preferred way in which the surface string is derived is through MD. This was motivated by the idea that MD is favored by the grammar as a PF-reduction mechanism because it is more economical (involves fewer lexical resources and fewer syntactic operations) than ellipsis (Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek in press).

In Chapter 2, I addressed the first puzzle: the size of the conjuncts, by examining HHC in both subject and indirect object positions. By analyzing the interpretation of HHC, demonstrating the incompatibility of HHC with collective predicates, and the availability of sloppy identity readings, I proposed that HHC consistently involves clausal coordination rather than small coordination, despite the seemingly impoverished surface string.

Having established the clausal analysis of HHC, Chapter 3 addressed the second puzzle presented in the first chapter: the mechanism responsible for the PF-reduction. Adopting the economy principle proposed by Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek (in press), I argued that MD serves as the default mechanism due to its derivational economy compared to ellipsis. I demonstrated that MD successfully accounts for the multiple events reading when the material shared across conjunct is identical. I also proposed that MD is the correct PF-reduction mechanism even when the material shared across

conjuncts is non-identical, as long as cumulative agreement can resolve the differences. This explained several observations: plural agreement on the matrix verb with mixed-person subjects, the sloppy identity reading of the unmarked reflexive *kendi* (analyzed as a plural anaphor bound by split antecedents), and the ambiguous interpretations of complex possessive phrases. Additionally, I showed that MD is the only mechanism capable of deriving negation ambiguity in HHC, as it allows a single shared Neg head to be interpreted in two different positions.

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that while the MD analysis accounts for a wide range of phenomena, there are still some cases where it is blocked, such as cases of HHC with the reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’ with overt unequivocal singular agreement, and cases where HHC contains phonologically distinct case markers in suspended affixation. In these configurations, I argued that the grammar resorts to ellipsis by necessity. However, I also showed that while ellipsis allows morphological mismatches, it fails to account for phenomena like negation ambiguity and agreement patterns in HHC, deriving only the narrow scope interpretation of negation and partial agreement, respectively. The experimental results from the Acceptability Judgment Test (AJT) presented in Chapter 4 provided empirical support for the economy approach to PF-reduction, showing that speakers significantly prefer the cumulative agreement patterns, predicted by MD, over the partial agreement patterns, predicted by ellipsis.

Considering that neither analysis accounts for all phenomena, in Chapter 5, I addressed the interaction between these two mechanisms. Challenging the view that MD and ellipsis are mutually exclusive (Barros & Vicente, 2011), I provided evidence that they can coexist within a single derivation, specifically when properties indicative of ellipsis (PIE) linearly precede properties indicative of MD (PIM) (Belk et al., 2023). I showed that an analysis involving both MD and ellipsis, although preferred to an analysis that involves ellipsis alone, is still dispreferred to an analysis involving only MD.

This dissertation supports a non-uniform approach to Right Node Raising (RNR) and an economy-based approach to PF-reduction. Contrary to exclusivist approaches that attempt to derive all reduction phenomena via a single operation, the analysis of

Turkish HHC suggests that the grammar has access to multiple mechanisms, organized in an economy-based hierarchy.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu 17.11.2025
Gönderen : ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu
İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Başvurunuz

Sayın Prof. Dr. Martina Gracani Yüksek,
Sayın Engin Köse

“Correlative Coordination in Turkish: The Case of hem...hem” başlıklı araştırmanız ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek 0520-ODTÜİAEK-2025 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
Başkan

Prof. Dr. İ. Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Doç. Dr. Aslı KILIÇ ÖZHAN
Üye

Doç. Dr. Çağrı TOPAL
Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar AYKAÇ LEIDHOLM
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

B. ITEMS FOR THE ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENT TEST

Category	Subject Combination	Agreement	Sentence
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Halil hem Adem geldiler.
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Arzu hem Aylin beklediler.
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Yağız hem Hale iç çektiler.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Selman hem ben uzandık.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Gamze hem ben bayıldık.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Furkan hem ben öksürdük.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Aslı yüzdük.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Ömer sinirlendik.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Yıldız gezdik.
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Bilal hem Onur susadı.
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Seda hem Helin utandı.
Baseline	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Orhan hem Seda çıldırdı.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Fırat hem ben güldüm.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Nihal hem ben çuvalladım.
Baseline	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Salih hem ben diz çöktüm.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Hande yüzdü.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Emir dondu.
Baseline	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Duru kalktı.
Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Ali hem Mehmet çalışmadılar.
Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Nur hem Filiz utanmadılar.
Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Serkan hem Yasemin konuşmadılar.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Mehmet hem ben uyumadık.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Elif hem ben beklemedik.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Celal hem ben kaçmadık.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Canan dinlenmedik.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Alper üzülmedik.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Eylül üşümedik.
Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Kutay hem Orhun koşmadı.
Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Mine hem Özlem çabalamadı.

Negation	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Efe hem Duru ağlamadı.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Rıfat hem ben oturmam.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Cemile hem ben düşmedim.
Negation	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Ahmet hem ben yatmadım.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Zeynep özür dilemedi.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem İlhan geç kalmadı.
Negation	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Aleyna ürpermedi.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Timur hem Murat beraber dans ettiler.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Sema hem Betül birlikte büyüdüler.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Yankı hem Doğa beraber sevindiler.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Mustafa hem ben beraber yürüdük.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Hatice hem ben birlikte yaşlandık.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Kamil hem ben beraber uyandık.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Başak birlikte yorulduk.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Kadir beraber olgunlaştık.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Zülal birlikte acıttık.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Caner hem Meriç beraber afalladı.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Nur hem Leman birlikte esnedi.
Collective	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Furkan hem Bahar beraber korktu.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Özgür hem ben birlikte hopladım.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Zehra hem ben beraber bayıldım.
Collective	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Emre hem ben birlikte dışlandım.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Aysu beraber ısındı.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Onay birlikte somurttu.
Collective	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Nil beraber nişan aldı.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Berk hem Birkan arabasını yıkadılar.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Damla hem İpek çöpünü attılar.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Burak hem Ayla ayakkabısını bağladılar.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Yunus hem ben çantamı taşıdık.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem İlgin hem ben sigaramı içtik.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Semih hem ben yemeğimi ısıttık.
Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Berna odasını boyadık.
Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Can telefonunu güncelledik.

Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Tülay defterini karaladık.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Cem hem Zeki kedisini besledi.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem İrem hem Melisa çayını döktü.
Possessive	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Gökhan hem Beril borcunu ödedi.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Oğuz hem ben çantamı taşıdım.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Ezgi hem ben paramı saçtım.
Possessive	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Selim hem ben çiçeğimi suladım.
Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Aybüke masasını temizledi.
Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Hasan bilgisayarını şarj etti.
Possessive	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Suna kitabını yırttı.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Hakan hem Burak kendini övdüler.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem Lena hem İnci kendini korudular.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem İhsan hem Hatice kendini kurtardılar.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Mert hem ben kendimi teselli ettik.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem Sinem hem ben kendimi savunduk.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Cumulative	Hem İbrahim hem ben kendimi eleştirdik.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Bahar kendini seviyoruz.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Kemal kendini yaktık.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Cumulative	Hem ben hem Çağla kendini kandırdık.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Kutay hem Veysel kendini gösterdi.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem İrmak hem Cansu kendini affetti.
Anaphor	3 rd + 3 rd	Partial	Hem Yakup hem Kevser kendini geliştirdi.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Sinan hem ben kendimi üzdüm.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Aslı hem ben kendimi sakinleştirdim.
Anaphor	3 rd + 1 st	Partial	Hem Sefa hem ben kendimi vurdum.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem İlayda kendini gözlemledi.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Zeki kendini sorguladı.
Anaphor	1 st + 3 rd	Partial	Hem ben hem Türkan kendini tokatladı.

C. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name : Köse, Engin

Nationality : ██████████

Email : ████████████████████

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year
MA	<i>Middle East Technical University, English Language Teaching</i>	2019
BA	<i>Middle East Technical University, Foreign Language Education</i>	2016
High School	<i>Göl Anadolu Teacher Training High School</i>	2012

EMPLOYMENT

<u>Feb. 2020 to present</u>	<u>English Instructor</u> <i>Middle East Technical University, Modern Languages Department</i>
<u>Oct. 2017 – Feb. 2020</u>	<u>English Instructor</u> <i>National Defense University</i>
<u>Sept. 2016 – Oct. 2017</u>	<u>English Instructor</u> <i>TOBB University of Economics and Technology</i>

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. Giriş

Bu tez, Türkçede iki veya daha fazla ögeyi birbirine bağlamak için kullanılan hem...hem koordinasyonunu (HHK) mercek altına almaktadır. Hem parçacıkları; çeşitli kategorilerdeki birleşenleri bir araya getirebilir. Oluşan koordinasyon yapısı cümlede özne, doğrudan nesne, dolaylı nesne, eklenti ve yüklem gibi farklı işlevlerde kullanılabilir. Bu kullanımların bazıları aşağıda örneklendirilmiştir.

- (1) Hem Ali hem Ayşe dans etti.
- (2) Ali hem dergiyi hem kitabı okudu.
- (3) Ali hem Ayşe'ye hem Zehra'ya şarkı söyledi.
- (4) Ali hem sabah hem öğleden sonra ders çalıştı.
- (5) Ali hem güldü hem ağladı.
- (6) Hem Hasan işe git -ti, hem (de) Ali çarşıya çıktı.

Önemli bir nokta olarak, HHK sadece öbekleri değil, tam cümleleri de birbirine bağlayabilme kapasitesine sahiptir. Mevcut literatürde, HHK üzerine yapılan çalışmalar ağırlıklı olarak betimsel düzeyde kalmıştır. Örneğin Göksel ve Kerslake (2005; 2011), hem...hem yapısını, bağladığı öğelerin eşit sözdizimsel statüsünü ve işlevini vurgulayan, sıralayıcı bir bağlaç olarak tanımlamaktadır. Kornfilt (1997) ise cümledeki hem parçacığı sayısının birleşen sayısı ile eşleşmesi gerektiğini ve bu parçacıkların atılamayacağını belirtmiştir. Ancak bugüne kadar HHK'nin sözdizimsel temelleri, özellikle birleşenlerin boyutu, içsel sözdizimsel yapıları ve 3. tekil şahıs olmayan öznelerin birleşmesi durumunda ortaya çıkan karmaşık uyum kalıpları sistematik olarak incelenmemiştir. Bu tez, HHK'nin iki (veya daha fazla) özne ya da özne dışı ögeyi bağladığı durumları inceleyerek bu boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada savunulan ilk temel argüman, HHK'nin asla "küçük koordinasyon", yani sadece belirleyici öbeği (BÖ) gibi öbekselsel birimlerin koordinasyonunu içermediğidir. Aksine, HHK'nin tutarlı bir şekilde en az Hafif Eylem

Öbeği büyüklüğünde, hatta zaman öbeği (ZÖ) veya Tümleçleyici Öbeği (TÖ) gibi daha büyük cümlesel yapıları birleştirdiği gösterilecektir. Bu durum, altta yatan yapının yüzeydeki sesletilen dizilişten sözdizimsel olarak daha zengin olduğu anlamına gelir ve bu da telaffuz edilen formu türetmek için bir Fonetik Form (PF) indirgeme mekanizmasının gerekliliğini ortaya koyar. Örneğin, yüzeyde “Hem Ali hem Ayşe şarkı söyledi.” biçiminde görünen ve BÖ’leri bağliyormuş gibi duran bir yapı, altta yatan yapıda [Hem Ali şarkı söyledi] hem [Ayşe şarkı söyledi] şeklinde cümlesel bir koordinasyondur.

Tezin ikinci ve merkezi önerisi, HHK’de varsayılan PF-indirgeme mekanizmasının Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH) olduğu, Eksilteli Yapı’nın ise ancak bir zorunluluk halinde, yani ÇH’nin imkansız olduğu durumlarda devreye girdiğidir. ÇH ve Eksilteli Yapı arasındaki bu seçim, belirli bir yüzey dizilişini ve yorumu en ekonomik şekilde türeten mekanizmayı destekleyen bir ekonomi ilkesi tarafından yönetilir. Citko ve Gračanin-Yüksek (baskıda) tarafından öne sürülen görüşe paralel olarak, bu tezde ekonomi ilkesi "sözdizimsel düğüm sayısını en aza indirmek" olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Bu ilke gereği, bir HHK yapısı prensipte hem ÇH hem de Eksilteli Yapı ile türetilabiliyorsa, ÇH türetimi tercih edilir. Çünkü ÇH, Eksilteli Yapı’ya kıyasla daha az sözcüksel kaynak ve daha az işlem gerektirir; yapı silinmesini zorunlu kılmaz ancak paylaşılan materyalin her iki birleşimde de sözdizimsel olarak mevcutmuş gibi yorumlanmasına izin verir. Buna karşılık Eksilteli Yapı, sözdizimsel materyalin birden fazla kez üretilmesini ve ardından PF’de silinmesini gerektirdiği için ek maliyet yaratır.

Varsayılan mekanizma olarak Çoklu Hükmetme mekanizması, birinci birleşimde "eksik" olan materyalin ikinci birleşimde telaffuz edilen materyal ile özdeş olduğu durumlarda varsayılan olarak kullanılır. Dahası, birinci birleşimdeki eksik materyal ile ikinci birleşimdeki materyal birebir aynı olmasa bile, eğer aradaki uyumsuzluk Yıgılmalı Uyum yoluyla çözülebiliyorsa, ÇH yine de mümkündür. Örneğin, öznelerin şahıs özellikleri eşleşmese bile, paylaşılan eylem her iki özneyle uyum sağlayarak çoğul bir yapı oluşturabilir. Aşağıda, bu durumu örnekleyen bir cümle verilmiştir:

(7) Hem Ali hem ben güldük.

Bu tez, yığılmalı uyum önerisini Türkçe'deki diğer uyum gösteren ifadelerle (dönüşlü adılar ve iyelik öbekleri) de genişletmektedir. Ancak, yığılmalı uyum ile çözülemeyen morfolojik uyumsuzluklar söz konusu olduğunda (örneğin, gevşek özdeşlik okuması için gerekli olan ancak açıkça tekil ek taşıyan kendisi sözcüğü gibi), ÇH başarısız olur. Bu duruma bir örnek aşağıda verilmiştir.

(8) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendisini değerlendirdi.

Bu tür durumlarda dilbilgisi, yüzey yapıyı türetmek için zorunlu olarak Eksilteli Yapı'ya başvurur. Bu durumlar ele alındığında, mevcut tez, iki temel sorunsal etrafında şekillenmektedir:

Sorunsal 1: *HHK'de Birleşenlerin Boyutu*

İlk olarak, HHK'nin "küçük koordinasyon" mu yoksa "büyük/cümlesel koordinasyon" mu olduğu sorusu ele alınacaktır. Bölüm 2'de sunulacak kanıtlar (yorum, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk vb.), HHK'nin her zaman cümlesel koordinasyon gerektirdiğini gösterecektir.

Sorunsal 2: *Alta Yatan Cümlesel Koordinasyondan Yüzey Dizilişinin Türetilmesi*

Cümlesel analiz kabul edildiğinde, birden fazla cümle içeren yapıdan tek bir yüklem görüldüğü yüzey yapının nasıl elde edileceği sorunu ortaya çıkar. Bölüm 3'te, özdeş materyaller ve yığılmalı uyum içeren durumlar için ÇH'nin varsayılan mekanizma olduğu savunulacaktır. Bölüm 4'te ise, ÇH'nin açıklayamadığı morfolojik uyumsuzluklar (örneğin kendisi kullanımı veya ertelenmiş eklemdeki sesletim farkları) için Eksilteli Yapı'nın zorunlu olduğu gösterilecektir.

Son olarak, Bölüm 5'te bu iki mekanizmanın (Çoklu Hükmetme ve Eksilteli Yapı) birbirini dışlamadığı, aksine belirli durumlarda etkileşime girerek karma bir sistem oluşturabildiği gösterilecektir. Böylece HHK'nin yüzey formunun türetilmesinde ortaya çıkan genel tablo şudur: Varsayılan olarak Çoklu Hükmetme mekanizması kullanılıyorken, zorunluluk halinde Eksilteli Yapı mekanizması tercih edilmektedir ve aynı şekilde, zorunluluk halinde bu iki mekanizma etkileşime de girebilmektedir.

2. HHK için Cümlesel Koordinasyon Analizi

Bu bölümde, Türkçedeki hem...hem koordinasyonunun tutarlı bir şekilde cümlesel koordinasyon analizi gerektirdiğine dair kanıtlar sunulmaktadır. İnceleme, HHK'nin hem özne konumunda (Bölüm 2.1) hem de dolaylı nesne konumunda (Bölüm 2.2) birleşenleri bağladığı durumları kapsamaktadır. Burada sunulan kanıtlar, sadece öbekselsel birimlerin (Belirleyici Öbeği gibi) birleştirildiği "küçük koordinasyon" analizinin, HHK için hiçbir sözdizimsel konumda geçerli bir seçenek olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır.

2.1. Özne Konumunda HHK

Bu alt bölümde, HHK'nin özneleri birleştirdiği durumlarda cümlesel analiz gerektirdiği temel önerisi sunulmaktadır. Bu sav, üç temel olgu üzerinden temellendirilmiştir: belirtilen olayların sayısı, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk ve gevşek özdeşlik okumasının varlığı.

2.1.1. Özne Konumunda HHK: Çoklu Olay Okuması

HHK'nin yorumuna dair inceleme, şu cümle üzerinden gösterilebilir:

(9) Hem Ali hem Ayşe arabayı yıkadı.

Bu cümle yüzeysel olarak incelendiğinde, hem Ali hem Ayşe şeklinde basit bir özne içeriyor gibi görünmektedir. Ancak, cümlenin anlamsal yorumu, tek bir kolektif araba yıkama olayını betimlememektedir. Cümle, hem Ali'nin hem de Ayşe'nin belirli bir arabayı (nesne üzerindeki belirtme hali ekiyle gösterildiği üzere) yıkadığı bir yorumu verse de, zorunlu olarak birden fazla araba yıkama olayını rapor etmektedir. Bu durum, yapının iki cümleli bir analizi gerektirdiğini gösterir.

Spesifik olarak cümle, tek bir olay içinde gerçekleşen ortak bir araba yıkama eylemini değil; biri Ali tarafından, diğeri Ayşe tarafından gerçekleştirilen iki ayrı araba yıkama olayının meydana geldiğini bildirmektedir. Bu argüman, (9) numaralı cümlenin yalnızca iki ayrı araba yıkama olayının gerçekleştiği senaryoları başarılı bir şekilde özetleyebilmesi gerçeğiyle desteklenmektedir. Bu durumu netleştirmek için (10) numaralı senaryo ele alınmıştır:

- (10) Ali ve Ayşe aynı oto yıkama şirketinde çalışmaktadır. Patronları yanlışlıkla aynı arabayı hem Ali'ye hem de Ayşe'ye atar, böylece araba iki kez yıkanır; bir kez Ali tarafından, bir kez Ayşe tarafından.

Bu bağlamda patron müşteriye "Hem Ali hem Ayşe arabayı yıkadı" dediğinde, bu cümle senaryoyu başarıyla özetlemektedir. Sezgisel olarak, bir cümlenin iki ayrı araba yıkama olayını başarılı bir şekilde rapor edebilmesi için, farklı özneler tarafından farklı zamanlarda gerçekleştirilen iki aktiviteye ihtiyaç duyulduğundan, cümlesel koordinasyon gereklidir.

Buna karşılık, küçük koordinasyon analizinin (yani BÖ koordinasyonunun) mümkün olup olmadığını test etmek için, tek bir kolektif olayı zorunlu kılan bir senaryo incelenmiştir. (11) numaralı senaryo bunu örneklendirmektedir.

- (11) Patron, önemli bir müşteri için Ali ve Ayşe'den birlikte çalışarak tek bir arabayı yıkamalarını ister. İşlem bittiğinde, patron arabayı teslim ederken şu cümleyi kurar:

- (12) "#Hem Ali hem Ayşe arabayı yıkadı."

(12) numaralı cümle senaryoyu tanımlamakta başarısız olur. Bu durum, HHK için, (13) numarada gösterilen küçük koordinasyon analizinin mevcut olmadığını, çünkü bu yapının tek olaylı bir yoruma izin vermediğini göstermektedir.

- (13) [Hem Ali hem Ayşe] arabayı yıkadı.

Bu yorumlara dayanarak, HHK'nin tek olaylı bir senaryoyu karşılayamaması nedeniyle her zaman cümlesel koordinasyon içerdiği sonucu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Sözdizimsel konfigürasyon şu şekildedir:

- (14) [Hem Ali arabayı yıkadı] [hem Ayşe arabayı yıkadı].

2.1.2. Topluluk Yüklemleri

Cümlesel koordinasyon analizini destekleyen ikinci kanıt, HHK'nin topluluk yüklemleriyle olan uyumsuzluğudur. Buluşmak, toplanmak, bir araya gelmek gibi topluluk yüklemleri, yalnızca anlamsal olarak çoğul varlıklar için kullanılabilir ve

yalnızca çoğul öznelerin varlığında lisanslanır (Link, 1983; Lasersohn, 1995). Örneğin Türkçede (15) numaralı cümle dilbilgiselken, (16) numaralı cümle (tekil özne nedeniyle) bozuktur.

(15) Öğrenciler buluştu.

(16) *Öğrenci buluştu.

Bir önceki bölümde, HHK'nin her bir parçacığının tekil bir özneye sahip bağımsız bir cümleyi öncelediği cümlesel bir koordinasyon gerektirdiği gösterilmişti. Bu yapısal kısıtlama, özne konumundaki HHK ile topluluk yüklemelerinin kullanılamayacağını öngörür. Çünkü altta yatan iki tekil öznenen hiçbirini, buluşmak yüklemine çoğulluk gereksinimini karşılayamaz. (17) numaralı örneğin dilbilgisi dışı olması bu öngörüğü doğrulamaktadır:

(17) *Hem Ali hem Ayşe buluştu.

Bu cümle dilbilgisi dışıdır çünkü özne (Hem Ali hem Ayşe), fiilin gerektirdiği çoğulluk veya grup okumasını ifade edemez. Bu durum, Ali ve Ayşe'nin birbiriyle koordine edilip çoğul bir grup oluşturmadığını; aksine her birinin farklı bir cümlenin öznesi olduğunu kanıtlar. Yapısal analiz şöyledir:

(18) [Hem Ali buluştu] [hem Ayşe buluştu].

Her iki cümlecikteki tekil özneler (Ali ve Ayşe), kendi cümleciklerindeki buluştu yüklemine lisanslayamadığı için yapı çöker. Dolayısıyla topluluk yüklemeleri, özne konumundaki HHK için cümlesel koordinasyonun varlığına dair güçlü bir kanıt sunar.

2.1.3. Gevşek Özdeşlik Okuması

Özne konumundaki HHK için cümlesel koordinasyon analizini destekleyen son kanıt, dönüşlü adiller içeren yapılardan ve özellikle gevşek özdeşlik okumasından gelmektedir. Literatürde, Fiil Öbeği eksilmesi içeren cümlelerin hem gevşek hem de sıkı özdeşlik okumalarına sahip olduğu gösterilmiştir. Gevşek özdeşlik okuması, eksilteli yapıların ayırt edici bir özelliği olarak kabul edilir. Eren Gezen (2022), Türkçedeki HHK yapılarında dönüşlü adillerin yorumunu incelemiş ve şu örneği sunmuştur:

(19) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendini değerlendirdi.

Bu cümle, Ali'nin kendini değerlendirdiği ve Ayşe'nin kendini değerlendirdiği "gevşek özdeşlik" okumasını sergilemektedir. Bu okumanın mümkün olabilmesi için HHK'nin cümlesel olması, yani her bir birleşenin bağımsız bir cümle işlevi görmesi gerekir. Yapısal olarak bu durum şöyledir:

(20) [Hem Ali_(i) kendini_(i) değerlendirdi] [hem Ayşe_(k) kendini_(k) değerlendirdi].

Eğer bu yapı küçük koordinasyon olsaydı, tek bir kendini dönüşlüsü olacaktı ve bu dönüşlünün her iki özneye ayrı ayrı bağlanması sözdizimsel olarak sorunlu olacaktı. Ancak cümlesel analizde, her cümlecik kendi *kendi* örneğini içerir ve bu dönüşlü, kendi öznesi tarafından bağlanarak farklı indeksler taşır. İlginç bir şekilde, bu cümle "sıkı özdeşlik" okumasına (Ali'nin Ayşe'yi, Ayşe'nin de kendisini değerlendirmesi gibi) izin vermemektedir. Sıkı özdeşlik okumasının yokluğu bu çalışmanın kapsamı dışında kalsa da, gevşek özdeşlik okumasının mevcudiyeti, özne konumundaki HHK'nin cümlesel koordinasyondan türediğine dair ek bir kanıt sağlar.

2.2. Dolaylı Nesne Konumunda HHK

Bölüm 2.1'de, özne konumundaki HHK'nin cümlesel koordinasyon gerektirdiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu bölümde, argüman özne dışı konumlara, özellikle dolaylı nesne koordinasyonuna genişletilmektedir.

Odaklanılan yapı şu şekildedir:

(21) Galerici hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye arabayı sattı.

Dolaylı nesne konumunun seçilmesinin iki nedeni vardır. Birincisi, dolaylı nesnelere belirli veya belirsiz olmalarından bağımsız olarak zorunlu olarak yönelme durumu ile işaretlenirler; bu da "belirtili nesne işaretleme" gibi ek karmaşıklıkları analizden uzak tutar. İkinci neden ise, bu konumda Türkçenin "ertelenmiş ekleme" yapısına izin vermesidir. Ertelenmiş ekleme, bir ekin sadece son birleşende görünmesi ancak tüm birleşenlere uygulanıyor gibi yorumlanması olgusudur. HHK'de SA şu şekilde görünür:

(22) Galerici hem Ali hem Ayşe'ye arabayı sattı.

Burada Ali üzerindeki yönelme durumu eki -ye askıya alınmış ve sadece Ayşe üzerinde telaffuz edilmiştir.

Bu bölümde, dolaylı nesne konumundaki HHK'nin asla küçük koordinasyon içermediği, aksine cümlesel koordinasyon olarak analiz edilmesi gerektiği savunulmaktadır. Bu analiz altında, hem...hem parçacıkları cümlenin sol kenarını işaretler. Özne (galerici), her iki cümlecik içinde üretilir ve yüzeydeki kelime sırası, öznenin her iki cümlecikten ATB (Across-the-Board) hareketi ile koordinasyon öbeğinin üzerine taşınmasıyla türetilir.

2.2.1. Dolaylı Nesne Konumunda HHK'nin Yorumu

Dolaylı nesne konumundaki HHK'nin yorumu, özellikle ertelenmiş ekleme bağlamında incelenmiştir. Önemli bir bulgu olarak, ertelenmiş eklemenin varlığı veya yokluğu, HHK'nin yorumlanma olasılıklarını etkilemez; yapı her zaman iki olayı ifade eder.

Bu durum, şu senaryolarla test edilmiştir:

(23) İki olaylı senaryo: Galerici aynı arabayı ayrı ayrı, farklı zamanlarda bir kez Ali'ye, bir kez Ayşe'ye satar.

(24) Tek olaylı senaryo: Ali ve Ayşe evli bir çifttir ve oğullarına hediye olarak arabayı ortaklaşa satın alırlar.

HHK içeren cümleler (hem ertelenmiş eklemeli hem ertelenmiş eklemesiz versiyonları), (23) numaralı iki olaylı senaryoyu başarıyla özetleyebilirken, (24) numaralı tek olaylı ortak satın alma senaryosunda kabul edilemez bulunmuştur. Bu durum, HHK'nin tek bir ortak satın alma eylemiyle uyumsuz olduğunu ve zorunlu olarak çoklu olayları ifade ettiğini gösterir. ertelenmiş eklemenin varlığının yorumu değiştirmemesi, ertelenmiş eklemeli örneklerin de (küçük BÖ koordinasyonu değil) cümlesel bir yapı içerdiğini düşündürmektedir.

Buna karşılık, ve bağlacı ile yapılan koordinasyonlarda ertelenmiş ekleme, yorumu doğrudan etkilemektedir. Ve bağlacı ertelenmiş ekleme olmadan kullanıldığında çoklu

olay okumasına izin verebilirken , ertelenmiş ekleme uygulandığında çoklu olay okuması kaybolur. Daha da önemlisi, ve koordinasyonunda ertelenmiş eklemenin varlığı, tek olaylı (ortak) okumayı mümkün kılar. HHK'de ise ertelenmiş ekleme olsa bile tek olaylı okuma mümkün değildir; çoklu olay yorumu zorunludur. Bu karşılaştırma, HHK'nin ertelenmiş ekleme içerse dahi her zaman cümlesel koordinasyon gerektirdiği ve her birleşenin ayrı bir olayı ifade ettiği önerisini destekler.

2.2.2. Gevşek Özdeşlik Okuması

Dolaylı nesne konumundaki HHK için cümlesel analizi destekleyen son kanıt, yine dönüşlü adıl kendi üzerinden gelmektedir:

(25) Terapist hem Ali'ye hem Ayşe'ye kendini anlattı.

Bu cümle, "Terapist Ali'ye Ali'yi, Ayşe'ye de Ayşe'yi anlattı" şeklindeki gevşek özdeşlik okumasına sahiptir. Dönüşlü adıların yerel olarak bağlanması gerektiği prensibi göz önüne alındığında, bu okumanın altta yatan temsili, birinci cümlecikteki kendi'nin o cümlecğin dolaylı nesnesi Ali tarafından bağlanmasını gerektirir. Yapısal analiz şu şekildedir:

(26) Terapist_(j) [hem Ali_(k)'ye kendini_(k) anlattı] [hem Ayşe_(w)'ye kendini_(w) anlattı].

Bu veriler, dolaylı nesne HHK'sinin de derin yapıda cümlesel olduğunu kanıtlar.

2.3. Ara Sonuç

Çoklu olay yorumları, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk ve dönüşlü bağlama özelliklerinden elde edilen kanıtlar, tutarlı bir şekilde HHK'nin hem özne hem de dolaylı nesne konumlarında cümlesel koordinasyon analizi gerektirdiğini göstermektedir. Küçük koordinasyon yaklaşımı bu yapı için geçerli bir seçenek değildir. Bir sonraki bölümde, bu zengin altyapısal formun (cümlesel yapı), yoksullaştırılmış yüzey dizilişine (tek fiil, tek özne vb.) nasıl indirildiği sorusu ele alınacaktır.

3. Varsayılan Mekanizma Olarak Çoklu Hükmetme

Tezin üçüncü bölümü, İkinci Bölüm'de ortaya konan cümlesel koordinasyon yapısının yüzey forma nasıl indirgendini ele almaktadır. Bu bölümün temel iddiası, Türkçedeki HHK yapılarında varsayılan PF-indirgeme mekanizmasının Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH) olduğudur. ÇH, hem özne hem de dolaylı nesne konumundaki HHK'lerin sergilediği anlamsal ve sözdizimsel özellikleri (çoklu olay okuması, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk, gevşek özdeşlik, yığılmalı uyum ve olumsuzluk belirsizliği) başarıyla türetmektedir. Ancak bölümün sonunda, ÇH'nin morfolojik uyumsuzluk içeren yapılarda başarısız olduğu ve bu noktada Eksilteli Yapı analizine ihtiyaç duyulduğu gösterilecektir.

3.1. ÇH Neleri Açıklayabilir: Varsayılanın Tespiti

Bu bölümde, paylaşılan materyalin birleşenler arasında özdeş olduğu veya uyumsuzluğun yığılmalı uyum ile çözülebildiği durumlarda ÇH'nin nasıl işlediği analiz edilmiştir.

3.1.1. Çoklu Olay Okuması ve Özdeş Paylaşım

HHK'nin zorunlu çoklu olay okuması, ÇH analizi ile doğrudan türetilebilmektedir. Bu durum, aşağıda verilen aynı örnek ile açıklanabilir:

(27) Hem Ali hem Ayşe arabayı yıkadı.

Bu yapıda, arabayı yıkadı her iki birleşen tarafından ortaklaşa Yapısal olarak tek bir Eylem Öbeği (EÖ) ve Z (Zaman) üretilir ancak bu öğeler her iki özneye (Ali ve Ayşe) ayrı ayrı bağlanır. Böylece, yüzeyde tek bir eylem görünmesine rağmen, derin yapıda iki ayrı olay (Ali'nin yıkaması ve Ayşe'nin yıkaması) kodlanmış olur. Aynı mantık, dolaylı nesne koordinasyonu için de geçerlidir; paylaşılan eylem ve zaman başı, her iki nesne ile ayrı ayrı ilişki kurarak iki olayı garantiler.

3.1.2. Topluluk Yüklemeleriyle Uyumsuzluk

ÇH analizi, HHK'nin topluluk yüklemeleriyle (buluşmak vb.) neden kullanılmadığını da doğal bir şekilde açıklar. ÇH yapısında, Ali ve Ayşe birleşip çoğul bir grup (BÖ) oluşturmaz. Aksine, her birleşen kendi tekil öznesine sahiptir. Paylaşılan Z başı her iki

özneyi görse de, her birleşen kendi içinde tekil kaldığı için, anlamsal çoğulluk gerektiren topluluk yüklemeleri lisanslanamaz.

3.1.3. Gevşek Özdeşlik Okuması ve Kendi

ÇH analizine yönelik en büyük teorik zorluk, genellikle eksilteli yapı ile ilişkilendirilmiş olan "gevşek özdeşlik" okumasının türetilmesidir. Aşağıda, bu durumu örnekleyen bir cümle verilmiştir.

(28) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendini değerlendirdi.

Bu tez, Türkçedeki kendi dönüşlü adılının ve çoğul uyum sisteminin özellikleri sayesinde, ÇH'nin de gevşek özdeşliği türetebileceğini savunmaktadır. ÇH analizinde, tek bir kendi sözcüğü üretilir ve paylaşılır. Bu paylaşılan kendi, "Ayrık Öncüller" mantığıyla, hem Ali hem de Ayşe tarafından aynı anda bağlanır. Bu ikili bağlanma, kendi üzerinde sözdizimsel bir çoğulluk yaratır ve cümlede kendilerini olarak ortaya çıkar. Türkçe'de 3. çoğul şahıs eklerinin (-lAr) isteğe bağlılığı göz önüne alındığında, sözdizimsel olarak çoğul olan kendilerini formunun morfolojik olarak kendini şeklinde (tekil görünümlü) yüzeye çıkması mümkündür. Dolayısıyla, ÇH analizinde "gevşek özdeşlik" olarak adlandırılan durum, aslında çoğul bir dönüşlü adılın dağıtımlı okumasından ibarettir.

3.1.4. Yığılmalı Uyum

ÇH analizinin en güçlü kanıtlarından biri yığılmalı uyumdur. Aşağıdaki cümlede bir örnek verilmiştir.

(29) Hem ben hem Ali geldik.

Burada paylaşılan Z başı, c-komuta alanındaki her iki özneyi (Ben ve Ali) görür. İki tekil öznenin özellikleri Z üzerinde birikerek çoğul uyumu (-k / 1.Çoğul) tetikler. Bu durum, ÇH'nin (Grosz, 2015) öngördüğü yapıyla birebir örtüşmektedir.

3.1.5. İyelik Öbeklerinde Okumalar

BU çalışma, iyelik öbekleri içeren HHK'leri de ÇH çerçevesinde analiz etmiştir. Bu duruma bir örnek, (30) numaralı örnekte verilmiştir.

(30) Hem Ali hem Ayşe oğlunu övdü.

Burada iki temel strateji izlenir:

Kolektif ve Harici Okumalar (Tam Özdeşlik): "Onların (ortak) oğlunu" veya "Başkasının oğlunu" okumalarında, paylaşılan iyelik öbeği (BÖ) yapısal olarak tamamen özdeştir ve "kütlesel paylaşım" ile türetilir. İyelik sahibi, her iki özne tarafından bağlandığında kolektif okuma elde edilir.

Dağıtımli Okuma (Yığılmalı Uyum): "Ali kendi oğlunu, Ayşe kendi oğlunu" okumasında ise birleşenler tam özdeş değildir (biri Ali'nin, diğeri Ayşe'nin oğludur). Ancak bu uyumsuzluk, Yığılmalı Uyum ile çözülür. Her birleşen kendi gizli dönüşlü iyelik sahibine sahiptir (telaffuz edilmeyen kendi). Paylaşılan iyelik başı, bu iki kendi'den gelen özellikleri toplar ve çoğul bir uyum oluşturur. Türkçede 3. çoğul iyelik ekinin tekilleşebilmesi sayesinde, yüzeyde tekil görünen oğlunu formu, altta yatan dağıtımli anlamı karşılar.

3.1.6. Sıkı Özdeşlik ve Karışık Şahıslar

Şahıs özelliklerinin uyummadığı durumlarda, yapı sadece sıkı özdeşlik okumasına izin verir. (31) numarada bu duruma bir örnek verilmiştir.

(31) Hem Ali hem ben babamı seviyoruz.

ÇH analizinde bu durum, paylaşılan nesnenin (babamı) içindeki iyelik sahibinin (telaffuz edilmeyen kendi) sadece 1. tekil şahıs (ben) tarafından bağlanabilmesi, ancak 3. tekil şahıs (Ali) ile indekslenememesi sonucunda doğal olarak ortaya çıkar.

3.1.7. Olumsuzluk Belirsizliği

HHK'de olumsuzluk eki kullanıldığında ortaya çıkan belirsizlik, ÇH'nin Tam Hükmetme prensibi ile açıklanır (Bachrach & Katzir, 2007). Bu duruma bir örnek (32) numarada verilmiştir.

(32) Hem Ali hem Ayşe düşmedi.

Bu cümle “Ne Ali ne Ayşe düřtü” anlamna gelebiliyorken, “İkisi birden düřmedi, sadece Ali (ya da sadece Ayře) düřtü” anlamı da taşıyabilmektedir. Paylaşılan Olumsuzluk başı, ancak Koordinasyon Öbeđi (&P) tamamlandığında "tam hükmedilir" ve sesletilir. Bu gecikmiş sesletim, olumsuzluđun hem düşük kapsamda hem de yüksek kapsamda yorumlanmasına olanak tanır.

3.1.8. Ertelenmiş Ekleme

Dolaylı nesne koordinasyonunda, Durum (Case/K) başının paylaşıldığı bir ÇH analizi önerilmiştir. Örnek (33) bu duruma bir örnek olarak verilebilir:

(33) Galerici hem Ali hem Ayře'ye arabayı sattı.

Bu cümlede, K başı (-'ye) her iki BÖ'ye hükmeder ve yüzeyde sadece sağdaki birleşimde sesletilir (Kornfilt, 2012). Bu, ÇH ile açıklanıyor olmakla birlikte, ekonomi ilkesiyle de uyumludur.

3.2. ÇH Neleri Açıklayamaz: Morfolojik Uyuşmazlıklar

ÇH varsayılan mekanizma olsa da, "paylaşılan öđenin fonolojik ve morfolojik olarak uyumlu olma zorunluluđu" nedeniyle her cümle ve yapıyı açıklayamaz.

3.2.1. Açık Tekil Uyum (Kendisi)

Kendisi sözcüğünün kullanıldığı durumlar ÇH ile açıklanamaz. Bu duruma bir örnek (34) numaralı cümlede verilmiştir:

(34) Hem Ali hem Ayře kendisini değerlendirdi.

ÇH analizinde gevşek özdeşlik için paylaşılan dönüşlü adılın sözdizimsel olarak çođul olması gerekir. Ancak -si eki açıkça 3. Tekil şahıstır ve -lAr ekinin aksine opsiyonel değildir. Sözdizimsel çođulluk ile morfolojik tekillik arasındaki bu çatışma ÇH'yi engeller.

3.2.2. Uyumsuz Ertelenmiş Ekleme

Aşağıdaki cümlede, ünlü uyumu nedeniyle ortaya çıkan -a / -ye farklılığı, tek bir Durum başının paylaşılmasını (ÇH) imkansız kılar.

(35) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye arabayı sattı.

Tek bir ek aynı anda iki farklı fonolojik formda olamayacağı için, bu tür morfolojik uyumsuzlukların varlığı, dilbilgisinin ÇH dışında bir mekanizmaya daha ihtiyaç duyduğunu gösterir. Bölüm 4, bu ihtiyacı karşılayan Eksilteli Yapı analizini ele alacaktır.

4. Zorunluluk Halinde Eksilteli Yapı Analizi

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde, hem...hem koordinasyonunun (HHK) yüzey dizilişini türetmek için varsayılan mekanizmanın Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH) olduğu savunulmuştur. Bu öneri, ÇH'nin eksilteli yapıya kıyasla daha ekonomik bir mekanizma olması ve dolayısıyla dilbilgisi tarafından tercih edilmesi ilkesine dayanmaktadır. ÇH analizi; çoklu olay okuması, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk, dönüşlü adlarla gevşek özdeşlik okuması, yığılmalı uyum kalıpları ve olumsuzluk belirsizliği gibi çok çeşitli olguları başarıyla açıklamaktadır.

Ancak, Bölüm 3.2'de belirtildiği üzere, bazı HHK cümleleri ÇH analizi ile türetilmemektedir. Özellikle, birleşenlerin açıkça tekil uyum eki taşıyan dönüşlü adil kendisi'ni içerdiği durumlar (Bölüm 3.2.1) veya ertelenmiş ekleme yapılarında fonolojik olarak özdeş olmayan durum eklerinin bulunduğu örnekler (Bölüm 3.2.2), ÇH için aşılmaz engeller oluşturmaktadır.

Bu bölümde, dilbilgisinin ÇH ile çözülemeyen morfolojik uyumsuzlukları içeren cümleleri türetmek için zorunluluk halinde Eksilteli Yapı mekanizmasına başvurduğu önerilmektedir. Bölüm 1'de sunulan "Ekonomi İlkesi" ile uyumlu olarak, bu yaklaşım türetimsel ekonomi nedeniyle ÇH'nin tercih edilmesini, ancak ÇH engellendiğinde Eksilteli Yapı'nın devreye girmesini öngörür. Bölüm 4.1'de ÇH'nin türetilmediği durumlar ve Eksilteli Yapı'nın çözümlemesi sunulacak; Bölüm 4.2'de ise Eksilteli Yapı'nın neden varsayılan olamayacağı (ÇH'nin açıkladığı olguları açıklayamaması üzerinden) tartışılacaktır. Son olarak Bölüm 4.3'te bu teorik iddiaları destekleyen deneysel kanıtlar sunulacaktır.

4.1. Eksiltili Yapı Neleri Açıklayabilir: Morfolojik Uyuşmazlıklar

HHK'deki yoksullaştırılmış yüzey dizilişi, prensipte eksiltili yapı yoluyla da türetilir. Ancak ekonomi ilkesi (Citko & Gračanin-Yüksek, baskıda), özdeş materyalin üretilip silinmesini (eksilti) gereksiz bir maliyet olarak görür ve mümkünse paylaşımı (ÇH) tercih eder. Eksiltili yapının zorunluluğu, ancak ÇH'nin imkansız olduğu durumlarda ortaya çıkar.

ÇH ile Eksiltili Yapı arasındaki temel fark şudur: ÇH, paylaşılan ögenin her iki birleşenle tam uyumlu olmasını gerektirirken; Eksiltili Yapı, her birleşenin kendi morfolojik gerekliliklerini yerel olarak karşılamasına izin verir ve birleşenler arasındaki morfolojik uyuşmazlıkları tolere eder. Yani, bir birleşende silinecek ögenin, diğer birleşendeki telaffuz edilen öge ile morfolojik olarak birebir aynı olması gerekmez.

4.1.1. Dönüştürülmüş Kendisi Üzerinde Açık Tekil Uyum

ÇH analizinde, kendi dönüşlününün gevşek özdeşlik okuması, dönüşlünün her iki özne tarafından bağlanması ve sözdizimsel olarak çoğul olmasıyla (kendilerini) açıklanmıştır. Türkçede 3. çoğul şahıs ekinin (-lAr) opsiyonel olması sayesinde yüzeyde kendini formu mümkün oluyordu.

Ancak, dönüşlü adılın açıkça tekil olan -si ekiyle kullanıldığı (ve yine de gevşek özdeşlik okumasına sahip olduğu) durumlar ÇH için sorun yaratır. Bu duruma bir örnek (36) numaralı cümle ile verilmiştir.

(36) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendisini değerlendirdi.

Bu cümlede, eğer kendisi ÇH ile paylaşılmış olsaydı, her iki özne tarafından bağlandığı için sözdizimsel olarak çoğul olması gerekirdi. Ancak yüzeydeki -si eki, tartışmasız bir şekilde tekildir. Sözdizimsel çoğulluk gerekliliği ile morfolojik tekillik arasındaki bu çatışma, ÇH'yi imkansız kılar. Eksiltili Yapı analizi ise bu durumu kolayca çözer. Altta yatan yapı, birbirinden bağımsız iki tam cümleden oluşur: Altta yatan yapı şu şekildedir:

(37) [Hem Ali_(j) kendisini_(j) değerlendirdi] hem [Ayşe_(k) kendisini_(k) değerlendirdi].

Bu analizde, her dönüşlü adıl kendi cümleciği içinde yerel öznesi tarafından bağlanır (Ali > kendisi / Ayşe > kendisi). Her iki cümlecikte de kendisi tekil bir öncüle sahip olduğu için morfolojik olarak tekil kalır (-si). Yüzey dizilişi, birinci cümlecikteki yüklem (kendisini değerlendirdi) silinmesiyle elde edilir. Eksiltili yapı, silinen kısmın diğer kısım ile anlamsal özdeşliğini yeterli görür ve bu türetimi mümkün kılar.

4.1.2. Uyumsuz Eklerle Ertelenmiş Ekleme

ÇH'nin açıklayamadığı ikinci durum, ünlü uyumu nedeniyle eklerin farklılaştığı ertelenmiş ekleme örnekleridir. (38) numaralı cümle bu durumu örneklemektedir:

(38) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye arabayı sattı.

Eğer burada durum eki askıya alınırsa (Galerici hem Hasan hem Ali'ye...), ÇH analizi tek bir Durum başının paylaşılmasını gerektirir. Ancak tek bir Durum başı, aynı anda hem -a (Hasan için) hem de -ye (Ali için) olarak sesletilemez.

Eksiltili yapı analizinde bu çatışma ortaya çıkmaz. Birinci birleşen altta yatan yapıda tamdır: [... Hasan'a arabayı sattı]. İkinci birleşen de tamdır: [... Ali'ye arabayı sattı]. Eksiltme işlemi, birinci kısımdaki -a ekini ve fiili siler. Eksiltili yapı teorisinde, silinen öge (-a) ile yüzeyde kalan karşılığı (-ye) arasında fonolojik tam özdeşlik aranmaz. Bu sayede, ÇH'nin başaramadığı bu türetim, eksiltili yapı ile sorunsuz bir şekilde gerçekleştirilir.

4.2. Eksiltili Yapı Neleri Açıklayamaz?

Eksiltili Yapı'nın morfolojik uyumsuzlukları çözebilmesi, "Neden tüm HHK yapıları varsayılan olarak Eksiltili Yapı ile analiz edilmiyor?" sorusunu doğurabilir. Bu bölümde, saf bir Eksiltili Yapı analizinin, HHK'nin daha önce tespit edilen (Bölüm 3) bazı temel özelliklerini açıklamakta başarısız olduğu gösterilmektedir. Bu durum, Eksiltili Yapı'nın varsayılan mekanizma olamayacağını, sadece "son çare" olarak başvurulmuş bir mekanizma olduğunu kanıtlar.

4.2.1. Olumsuzluk Belirsizliđi

HHK'de olumsuzluk iki okumaya sahiptir:

(39) Hem Ali hem Ayşe düřmedi.

"Ne Ali ne Ayşe düřtü" ve "İkisi birden düřmedi (sadece biri düřtü). ÇH analizi, paylaşılan Olumsuzluk başının gecikmiş sesletimi sayesinde her iki kapsam okumasını da türetebilir. Ancak Eksilteli Yapı analizi, zorunlu olarak iki ayrı olumsuz cümle varsayar. Bu analize göre yapı řu şekildedir:

(40) [Hem Ali düřmedi] [hem Ayşe düřmedi].

Bu yapıda iki ayrı Olumsuzluk başı vardır ve her biri kendi cümlecığı içinde yorumlanır. Bu konfigürasyon sadece "Ne Ali ne Ayşe düřtü" okumasını verebilir. Diğer okuma için olumsuzluđun tüm koordinasyonun üzerinde olması gerekir ki bu, iki ayrı cümlenin olduđu eksilteli yapıda imkansızdır. Dolayısıyla Eksilteli Yapı, HHK'nin bu özelliđini açıklamakta yetersiz kalır.

4.2.2. Yıđılmalı Uyum

Eksilteli Yapı'nın varsayılan olamayacağına dair ikinci ve en güçlü kanıt, yıđılmalı uyum olgusudur. Ařađıdaki cümle bu duruma bir örnek teşkil etmektedir:

(41) Hem ben hem Ali geldik.

ÇH analizi, paylaşılan Z başının her iki özneyle anlaşarak çođul uyumu (-k) oluşturduđunu öngörür. Eksilteli Yapı ise řu yapıyı öngörür:

(42) [Hem ben geldim] [hem Ali geldi].

Bu yapıda, ikinci cümlecikteki fiil (geldi), sadece kendi yerel öznesi (Ali) ile uyum sağlar. Eđer fiil yüzeyde geldik (1. çođul) olarak belirirse, eksilteli yapı analizine göre ikinci cümlecik [... Ali geldik] şeklinde olur ki bu dilbilgisi dışıdır (Tekil özne Ali, çođul geldik ile eşleşemez). Sonuç olarak, Eksilteli Yapı analizi "Kısmi Uyum"u (...geldi), ÇH analizi ise "Yıđılmalı Uyum"u (...geldik) öngörür. Hangisinin konuşucular tarafından tercih edildiđi deneysel bir sorudur.

4.3. Deneysel Bulgular

HHK'de karışık şahıslı özneler (Ben ve Ali) söz konusu olduğunda, ÇH ve Eksiltili Yapı analizleri farklı yüzey formları (sırasıyla geldik vs. geldi) öngörür. Hangi analizin varsayılan olduğunu test etmek amacıyla 98 katılımcı ile bir Kabul Edilebilirlik Yargısı Testi yapılmıştır.

Test, 5 farklı kategoride (Temel, Olumsuzluk, Topluluk, İyelik, Dönüştü Adıl) toplam 90 cümle içermektedir. Cümlelerin yarısı ÇH'nin öngörüsü olan Yığılmalı Uyum (Örn: Hem ben hem Mehmet uyumadık), diğer yarısı ise Eksiltili Yapı'nın öngörüsü olan Kısmi Uyum (Örn: Hem ben hem Mehmet uyumadım) ile oluşturulmuştur.

Elde edilen sonuçlar, karışık şahıslı özneler içeren cümlelerde Yığılmalı Uyum (ÇH) içeren cümlelerin, Kısmi Uyum (Eksiltili Yapı) içeren cümlelere göre istatistiksel olarak anlamlı derecede daha yüksek puan aldığını göstermektedir.

Bu veriler, konuşucuların zihninde HHK için varsayılan mekanizmanın, yığılmalı uyumu üreten Çoklu Hükmetme olduğunu net bir şekilde kanıtlamaktadır. Kısmi uyumun (dolayısıyla Eksiltili Yapı'nın) düşük puan alması, bu mekanizmanın tercih edilmediğini, ancak (Bölüm 4.1'de gösterildiği gibi) zorunluluk hallerinde devreye giren ikincil bir strateji olduğunu destekler.

İstisnai bir durum olarak "Dönüştü Adıl" kategorisinde her iki uyum türü de düşük puan almıştır. Bunun nedeni, test materyallerinde dönüştü adılın çoğul (kendimizi) yerine tekil (kendimi/kendini) formda sunulmasıdır. Tekil form, karışık şahıslı öznelerde ne ÇH'nin (çoğul gerektiren) ne de eksiltili yapının tam olarak karşılayabildiği bir durum yarattığı için genel kabul edilebilirlik düşmüştür. Benzer bir durum "İyelik" kategorisinde de gözlenmiş, tekil iyelik eki kullanımı (sigaramı) puanları düşürmüştür; ancak orada bile Yığılmalı Uyum (2.45), Kısmi Uyuma (1.87) göre tercih edilmiştir.

4.3.1. Ara Sonuç

Bölüm 1'de sunulan hipotez, ÇH'nin ekonomi nedeniyle Eksiltili Yapı'ya tercih edildiği yönündeydi. Deneysel sonuçlar bu hipotezi doğrulamaktadır: Türkçede

konuşucular, yorum aynı olsa bile, ÇH'nin çıktısı olan yüzey formları (yığılmalı uyum), Eksiltili Yapı'nın çıktısı olan formlara (kısmi uyum) tercih etmektedir. Bu, dilbilgisinin bir "maliyet hesabı" yaptığını ve daha az işlem gerektiren ÇH'yi varsayılan olarak atadığını gösterir. Eksiltili Yapı ise, ÇH'nin (morfolojik nedenlerle) başarısız olduğu durumlarda devreye giren bir kurtarıcı mekanizmadır.

Bir sonraki bölümde, bu iki mekanizmanın birbirini tamamen dışlamadığını, belirli karmaşık yapılarda etkileşime girerek hibrit türetimler oluşturabildiğini göreceğiz.

5. Hükmetme Ve Eksiltili Yapı Etkileşimi

Tezin önceki bölümlerinde, Türkçedeki HHK yapılarının PF-indirgemesi için varsayılan mekanizmanın Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH) olduğu, ancak ÇH'nin yetersiz kaldığı morfolojik uyumsuzluk durumlarda Eksiltili Yapı'nın bir zorunluluk olarak devreye girdiği gösterilmiştir. Bu hiyerarşik yapı, Citko ve Gračanin-Yüksek'in (baskıda) Ekonomi İlkesi ile temellendirilmiştir. Ancak literatürdeki tartışmalar, bu iki mekanizmanın (ÇH ve Eksiltili Yapı) birbirini tamamen dışlayan sistemler olup olmadığı sorusunu gündeme getirmektedir.

Bu bölümde, ÇH ve Eksiltili Yapı'nın etkileşiminin sadece bir olasılık değil, belirli konfigürasyonlarda bir zorunluluk olduğu savunulmaktadır. Belk vd. (2023), Günal (2025) ve Şehit (2025) gibi güncel çalışmalar ışığında, HHK'nin bazı karmaşık örneklerinin ancak bu iki mekanizmanın eşzamanlı kullanımıyla açıklanabileceği gösterilecektir. Bununla birlikte, bu etkileşim "serbest bir seçim" değildir; etkileşimli analiz, yalnızca ÇH tek başına yüzey dizilişini türetmediğinde başvuru olan bir "son çare" mekanizmasıdır. Dolayısıyla ekonomi temelli hiyerarşi şu şekilde genişletilmelidir:

- Sadece ÇH: En ekonomik (Varsayılan).
- ÇH + Eksiltili Yapı Etkileşimi: ÇH tek başına yetersizse.
- Sadece Eksiltili Yapı: En az ekonomik (Etkileşim de mümkün değilse).

5.1. Etkileşim Yaklaşımları ve Alanyazın

Barros ve Vicente (2011), ÇH ve Eksiltili Yapı'nın tamamlayıcı dağılımda olduğunu ve bir cümlede aynı anda bulunamayacağını savunmuştur. Ancak Larson (2012) ve

Belk vd. (2023), bu iki mekanizmanın özelliklerini aynı anda taşıyan cümlelerin varlığını kanıtlamıştır. Belk vd. (2023), bu etkileşimin "doğrusallaştırma" kısıtlarına tabi olduğunu öne sürer. Buna göre, bir cümlede Eksilteli Yapı Göstergeleri (EYG), ÇH Göstergeleri'nden (ÇHG) önce gelmelidir (EYG > ÇHG). Türkçede Şehit (2025) ve Günel (2025) tarafından yapılan çalışmalar da bu sıralama kısıtını desteklemektedir. Bu tez, HHK yapılarında da aynı kısıtlamanın geçerli olduğunu ve etkileşimin bu kurallar çerçevesinde gerçekleştiğini savunmaktadır.

5.2. İlişkisel Sıfatlar ve Morfolojik Uyuşmazlıklar

Etkileşimin varlığına dair en güçlü kanıtlardan biri, ÇH'ye özgü "ilişkisel sıfatların içsel okuması" ile Eksilteli Yapı'yı zorunlu kılan "morfolojik uyuşmazlıkların" aynı cümlede bulunabilmesidir. (43) numaralı cümle bu durumu örnelemektedir:

(43) Galerici hem Hasan'a hem Ali'ye aynı arabayı sattı.

Bu cümlede iki kritik özellik bir aradadır:

Morfolojik Uyuşmazlık (EYG): Dolaylı nesnelere üzerindeki durum ekleri (Hasan'a vs. Ali'ye) ünlü uyumu nedeniyle farklıdır. Bölüm 4'te tartışıldığı üzere, bu tür fonolojik farklılıklar tek bir Durum başının paylaşılmasını (ÇH) engeller ve Eksilteli Yapı'yı zorunlu kılar.

İçsel Okuma (PIM): Aynı araba ifadesi, "Hasan'a satılan araba ile Ali'ye satılan araba aynıdır" anlamında (içsel okuma) yorumlanmaktadır. Bu okuma, aynı araba öbeğinin her iki özneyi de kapsamında almasını gerektirir ki bu da ancak ÇH ile mümkündür. Eğer bu kısım da eksilteli yapı olsaydı, iki ayrı aynı araba olurdu ve "başkalarının arabalarıyla aynı" (dışsal okuma) anlamı çıkardı.

Bu cümlenin dilbilgisel olması ve her iki özelliği de barındırması, sistemin Durum başı için Eksilteli Yapı'yı, Eylem öbeği (aynı arabayı sat) için ise ÇH'yi aynı anda kullandığını kanıtlar. Doğrusallaştırma kısıtı açısından bakıldığında, morfolojik uyuşmazlık (EYG) cümlede ilişkisel sıfattan (ÇHG) önce geldiği için (EYG > ÇHG), türetim sorunsuz bir şekilde gerçekleşir.

5.3. Olumsuzluk Belirsizliği ve Kendisi

Etkileşimin bir diğer kanıtı, olumsuzluk içeren ve kendisi dönüşlüsünü barındıran cümlelerden gelir. (44) numaralı cümle buna bir örnektir.

(44) Hem Ali hem Ayşe kendisini değerlendirmede.

Bu cümlede, kendisini (tekil ekli) kullanımını, ÇH'nin gerektirdiği sözdizimsel çoğullukla çeliştiği için Eksilteli Yapı'yı zorunlu kılar (Bkz. Bölüm 4.1.1). Cümledeki olumsuzluk eki -me ise, "İkisi birden değerlendirmede" (not both) okumasına izin vermektedir. Bu "yüksek kapsam" okuması, olumsuzluk başının paylaşılmasını ve gecikmiş sesletimini (ÇH) gerektirir.

Eğer bu cümle sadece Eksilteli Yapı ile türetilseydi, "ne...ne" okuması imkansız olurdu. Eğer sadece ÇH ile türetilseydi, kendisini formu imkansız olurdu. Her iki özelliğin bir arada bulunması, kendisi kısmının eksilteli yapı ile, değerlendirmede kısmının ise ÇH ile türetildiğini doğrular.

5.4. Ekonomi Kısıtı: Son Çare Olarak Etkileşim

Etkileşimin mümkün olması, her zaman kullanılabileceği anlamına gelmez. Ekonomi ilkesi, eğer bir cümle tamamen ÇH ile (hiçbir eksiltme olmadan) türetilbiliyorsa, etkileşimli analizi engeller. Örneğin şu cümle dilbilgisel değildir:

(45) *Hem Ali hem ben kendimi değerlendirdik.

Bu cümlede "yığılmalı uyum" (-k) ÇH'ye işaret ederken, "kendimi" (1. tekil) Eksilteli Yapı'ya işaret eder. Teorik olarak bir etkileşim analizi (EYG > ÇHG) bu cümleyi üretebilirdi. Ancak bu okuma için daha ekonomik bir yol mevcuttur:

(46) Hem Ali hem ben kendimizi değerlendirdik.

Dilbilgisi, daha az maliyetli olan tam ÇH türetimi (çoğul kendimizi ile) mümkünken, karmaşık ve maliyetli olan etkileşimli yola sapılmasına izin vermez. Bu durum, etkileşimin ancak ve ancak ÇH'nin tamamen tıkandığı durumlarda devreye giren bir "son çare" olduğunu kanıtlar.

5.5. Ara Sonuç

Bu bölüm, HHK analizinde ikili bir karşıtlık (Ya ÇH Ya Eksilti) yerine, ekonomi temelli üçlü bir hiyerarşinin geçerli olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Türkçenin sözdizimi, ÇH ve Eksilteli Yapı'nın, belirli kısıtlar ($EYG > \text{ÇHG}$) ve ekonomi prensibi çerçevesinde iş birliği yapmasına olanak tanımaktadır.

6. Sonuç

Bu tez, Türkçedeki hem...hem koordinasyonunun (HHK) sözdizimsel yapısını ve fonetik form (PF) indirgeme mekanizmalarını kapsamlı bir şekilde incelemiştir. Çalışmanın başında ortaya konan iki temel soru şuydu: HHK'de birleşenlerin boyutu nedir ve yüzey dizilişi hangi mekanizma ile türetilir?

Bulgular ve Teorik Çıkarımlar

Cümlesel Koordinasyonun Zorunluluğu: Bölüm 2'de sunulan kanıtlar (yorum, topluluk yüklemeleri ve gevşek özdeşlik), HHK'nin yüzeyde ne kadar küçük görünürse görünsün, derin yapıda her zaman cümlesel koordinasyon içerdiğini kanıtlamıştır. "Küçük koordinasyon" analizi, HHK'nin anlamsal özelliklerini karşılamada yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Varsayılan Mekanizma Olarak Çoklu Hükmetme (ÇH): Bölüm 3'te, Ekonomi İlkesi gereği dilbilgisinin en az işlem ve kaynak gerektiren mekanizmayı tercih ettiği savunulmuştur. Bu bağlamda ÇH, HHK'nin varsayılan üretim mekanizmasıdır. Çoklu olay okuması, topluluk yüklemeleriyle uyumsuzluk, yığılmalı uyum ve olumsuzluk belirsizliği gibi temel özellikler, ÇH analizi ile tutarlı ve ekonomik bir şekilde açıklanmıştır.

Zorunluluk Halinde Eksilteli Yapı: Bölüm 4'te, ÇH'nin her veriyi açıklayamadığı gösterilmiştir. Özellikle morfolojik uyumsuzluklar (ertelenmiş eklemelerde ünlü uyumu sorunu) ve kendisi gibi açık tekil uyum gerektiren durumlar, ÇH'nin paylaşım ilkesine aykırıdır.

Bu durumlarda dilbilgisi, daha maliyetli olmasına rağmen bir "tamir stratejisi" olarak Eksilteli Yapı'ya başvurmaktadır. Deneysel bulgular, konuşucuların yığılmalı uyumu

(ÇH çıktısı) kısmi uyuma (Eksilteli Yapı çıktısı) tercih ettiğini göstererek, Eksilteli Yapı'nın ikincil statüsünü doğrulamıştır.

Etkileşim ve Hiyerarşi: Bölüm 5'te, bu iki mekanizmanın katı bir ikilik oluşturmadığı, "Etkileşim" modeli ile bir arada çalışabildiği gösterilmiştir. Ancak bu etkileşim de ekonomi ilkesine tabidir ve sadece "son çare" olarak kullanılır.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, Sağ Budak Yükseltme ve koordinasyon literatüründeki "tek biçimli" yaklaşımlara (Sadece ÇH veya Sadece Eksilti diyenlere) karşı çıkarak, ekonomi temelli, hiyerarşik ve hibrit bir model önermektedir. Türkçenin HHK yapısı, Evrensel Dilbilgisi'nin ekonomi ilkelerinin, bir dilin morfo-sentaktik özellikleri (uyum, durum ekleri vb.) ile nasıl etkileşime girdiğini göstermektedir. Bu çalışma, Türkçenin sözdizimsel esnekliğini ortaya koyarken, genel dilbilim teorisindeki "paylaşım vs. silme" tartışmalarına da yeni bir perspektif kazandırmaktadır.

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