MISSING VERBS IN YES/NO QUESTIONS: GAPPING OR RIGHT NODE RAISING?

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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

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ABSTRACT

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M.A., English Language Teaching
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The aim of this thesis is to discuss elliptical Yes-No (YN) questions that contain the adversative conjunction *-ise* in Turkish. Although these questions seem to be instances of backward gapping as the missing element is the verb in such sentences, I show that that they have only YN question reading (but not alternative reading) and argue that they are generated via Across-the-Board (ATB) Movement analysis of Right Node Raising (RNR). I propose that the question particle *mI* is base-generated as a Focus head which is higher than the conjuncts. Next, the matrix verb, which is shared by the embedded clauses, moves in the ATB fashion to a position higher than the question particle through some form of scrambling. The second aim of this study was to establish what semantic interpretation L2 learners of English assign to sentences containing clausal disjunction and whether this interpretation might be influenced by the interpretation of comparable structures in their native Turkish given that these sentences in English are ambiguous between Yes-No reading and alternative reading while sentences in Turkish lack this ambiguity. Considering that there is a Syntax-Semantics Interface (although it is an internal interface), a problem (a syntactic transfer, more specifically) in the acquisition of this phenomenon was expected to

occur for L2 speakers. However, the results suggested that participants were not affected by their native languages and attested even higher scores on alternative reading questions.

Keywords: right node raising, across-the-board movement, backward gapping, elliptical questions

ÖZ

EVET-HAYIR SORULARINDA EKSİLTİLİ FİİLLER: BOŞALTMA MI SAĞ BUDAK YÜKSELTME Mİ?

Köse, Engin
Yüksek Lisans, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek

Ekim 2019, 110 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı Türkçe'de eksiltili -ise çeliştirici bağlacını içeren Evet-Hayır sorularını incelemektir. Bu tip sorular, cümlelerdeki eksiltili ögenin fiil olması sebebiyle başlangıçta geri doğru boşaltma örnekleri gibi gözükmektedir. Ancak ben bu cümlelerin sadece Evet-Hayır okumalarıyla yorumlanabileceğini, seçenekli okumanın mümkün olmadığını ve bu sebeple de Sağ Budak Yükseltme (SBY) yapısının Bağlak Dışına Taşıma analiziyle açıklanabileceğini iddia etmekteyim. Bu yapıdan yola çıkarak, Türkçe'de soru parçacığı mI'nın odak öbeğinin başı olarak bağlakların üzerinde türetildiğini, ayrıca bu yapılarda bağlaklar tarafından paylaşılan fiillerin de bağlak dışında türeyen mI soru parçacığının üzerinde bir noktaya bir tür çalkalama yoluyla taşındığını ileri sürmekteyim. Çalışmanın ikinci amacı olarak anadili Türkçe olan ve ikinci dil olarak İngilizce öğrenenlerin bahsi geçen yapılar için ne tür anlamsal yorumlalar yaptıklarını ve bu yapıların İngilizce'deki sözdizim özelliklerinden ne derece etkilendiklerini araştırdım. İngilizce'deki anlamsal bulanıklığın Türkçe'deki yapılarda bulunmaması sebebiyle sözdizim-anlambilim arakesitinin ortaya çıkabileceğini ve bu farklılığın İngilizce dilinin ediniminde bazı problemlere yol açabileceğini öngördüm. Ancak çalışmada elde edilen bulgular, katılımcıların diller

arasındaki sözdizimsel farklılıktan etkilenmediğini ve seçenekli yorumlamaların da en az evet-hayır yorumlamaları kadar yüksek olduğunu gösterdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sağ budak yükseltme, bağlak dışına taşıma, geri doğru boşaltma, eksiltili sorular

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
AGR	Agreement
ALT	Alternative
AP	Articulatory-Perceptual
ATB	Across-the-Board
C	Complementizer
C’	Complementizer Bar
CI	Conceptual Intention System
CONJ	Conjunction
CP	Complementizer Phrase
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
DAT	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
Fin	Finite
Foc	Focus
FocP	Focus Phrase
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IH	Interface Hypothesis
LF	Logical Form
MD	Multiple Dominance
NP	Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
OPT	Oxford Placement Test
PF	Phonetic Form
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PST	Past
RNR	Right Node Raising

Q	Question Particle
RRC	Right Roof Constraint
SAT	Semantic Appropriateness Task
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
Top	Topic
T’	Tense Bar
TP	Tense Phrase
v'	Little Verb Bar
V’	Verb Bar
VP	Verb Phrase
vP	Little Verb Phrase

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I discuss elliptical yes-no (YN) questions that contain the adversative conjunction *–(y)sA/–ise*[1] in Turkish. An example of such a question is given in (1).

1) Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Ayşe as-for pear Q eat-PST
'Did Ali eat apples and Ayşe pears?'

In addition to *–(y)sA/-ise*, the sentence in (1) contains two subjects (*Ali* and *Ayşe*) and two objects (*elma* 'apple' and *armut* 'pear'), suggesting that the structure contains a conjunction (disjunction) of clauses, but at the same time, it contains only a single verb (*yedi* 'ate'), construed with both conjuncts. Thus, the derivation of (1) must involve a mechanism by which the verb is pronounced only once, but is interpreted twice. Moreover, the sentence in (1) is puzzling because of the following two reasons:

i. It seems to have the reading where the question particle *mI* has a wide scope; In other words, *mI* scopes over both conjuncts.
ii. The question particle *mI*, positioned immediately preverbally, occupies a position from which it should not be able to scope over both conjuncts.

In what follows, I discuss each of these considerations in turn.

[1] I am going to call *ise* an adversative conjunction and I am going to assume that it is base generated in the same position as *ve* 'and', that it takes one conjunct in its specifier and the other one in its complement. However, I remain agnostic as to the mechanism that places *ise* on to the subject of the second conjunct.

What indicates that in (i) *mI* scopes over both conjuncts is the fact that (1) contains only one question about two events, as schematized in (2), rather than two separate questions about a single event each, as shown in (2).

2) a. [p & q] + *mI*

b. #[p + *mI*] & [q + *mI*]

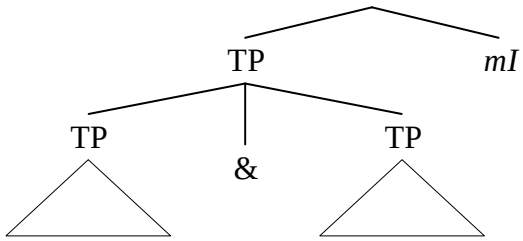
According to (2) then, the interpretation of (1) is the one given in (3), and not the one in (3).

3) a. 'Is it the case that Ali ate apples and Ayşe ate pears?'

b. #'Is it the case that Ali ate apples and is it the case that Ayşe ate pears?'

Given the meaning of the question in (1), its syntactic representation should be as follows:[2]

4)



In (4), *mI* c-commands both TP conjuncts and thus takes the widest scope in the sentence. *mI* is the clitic through which Turkish forms YN questions (Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1965). While *mI* can behave purely as a question particle (in a sentence where it functions as the marker of sentential interrogation), as in (5), it can also have just one constituent in its scope and mark emphasis on it, as in (6) (Kornfilt, 2000: 191).

5) Ali dün geldi mi?
Ali yesterday come-PST-3SG Q
'Did Ali come yesterday?'

6) Ali mi dün geldi?

[2]Here and in the rest of the thesis I represent coordination as symmetric for simplicity without attaching any theoretical importance to this choice.

Ali Q yesterday come-PST-3SG
'Was it ALİ[3] who came yesterday?'

In direct YN questions, the clitic *mI* attaches to the predicate when the entirety of a proposition is questioned (Goksel & Kerslake, 2005: 251). In such cases, *mI* has the whole sentence in its scope, which results in a wide scope reading, indicated by the translation in (5) (Kornfilt, 1997). *mI* can also attach to phrases other than the predicate. In such cases, it takes only one constituent in its scope, which results in a narrow scope reading, as in (6) (Kornfilt, 1997).

However, the wide scope reading also arises when *mI* is placed on the immediately preverbal constituent as in (8) (Kamali, 2011; Gračanin-Yuksek and Kirkici, 2016). Thus, when *mI* is placed immediately preverbally, the question has two readings. In that position, the question particle *mI* can:

i. take the whole sentence in its scope,
ii. scope only over the constituents that immediately precedes it, namely *dün* 'yesterday'.

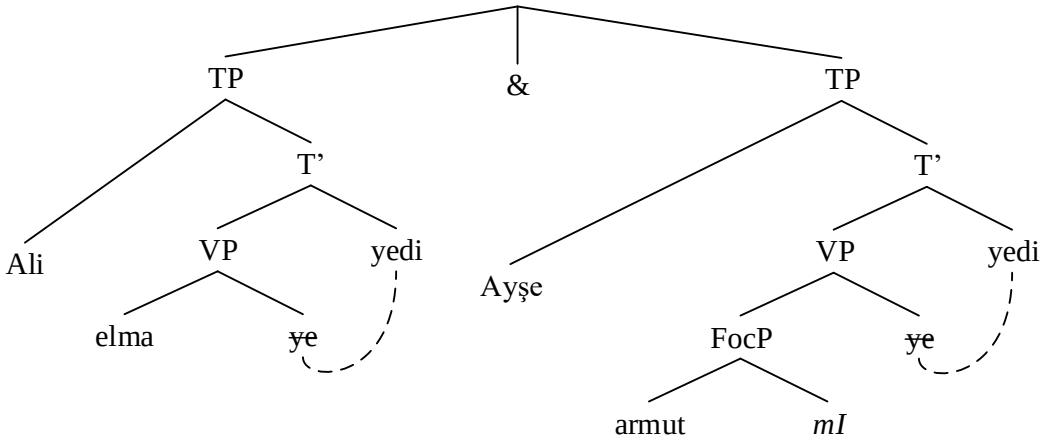
8) Ali dün mü geldi?
Ali yesterday Q come-PST-3SG
'Did Ali come yesterday?' *wide scope reading*
'Was it YESTERDAY that Ali came?' *narrow scope reading*

This brings us to the second puzzling property of (1), that is, the fact that it contains a single *mI,* placed on the immediately preverbal constituent, namely the object, in the second conjunct. This linear placement of *mI* may reflect several structural positions of *mI*:

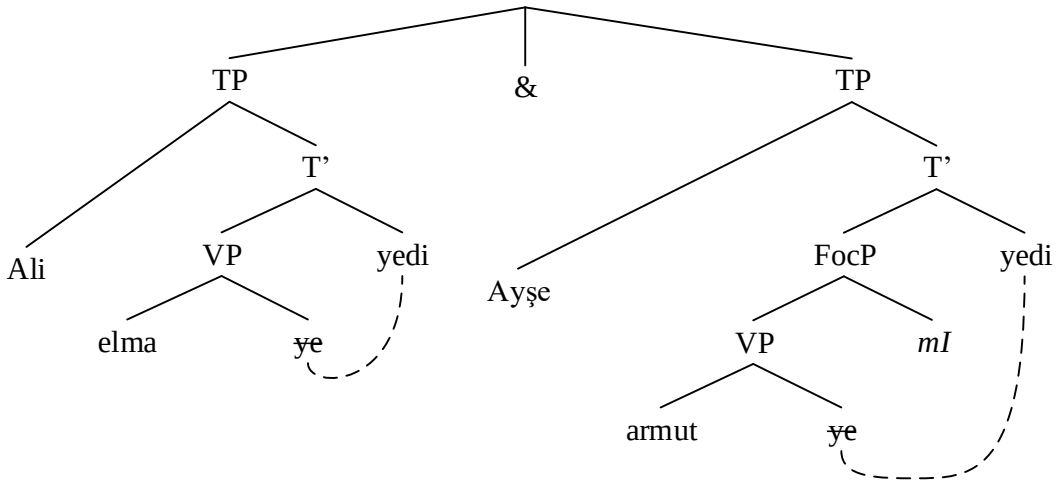
i. *mI* could be placed on the object phrase of the second conjunct itself (*armut* 'pear'), as in (9),
ii. *mI* could be placed on the VP of the second conjunct, as in (10), or on the vP of the second conjunct, as in (10)

[3] Focused constituents are capitalized here and in the remainder of the thesis.

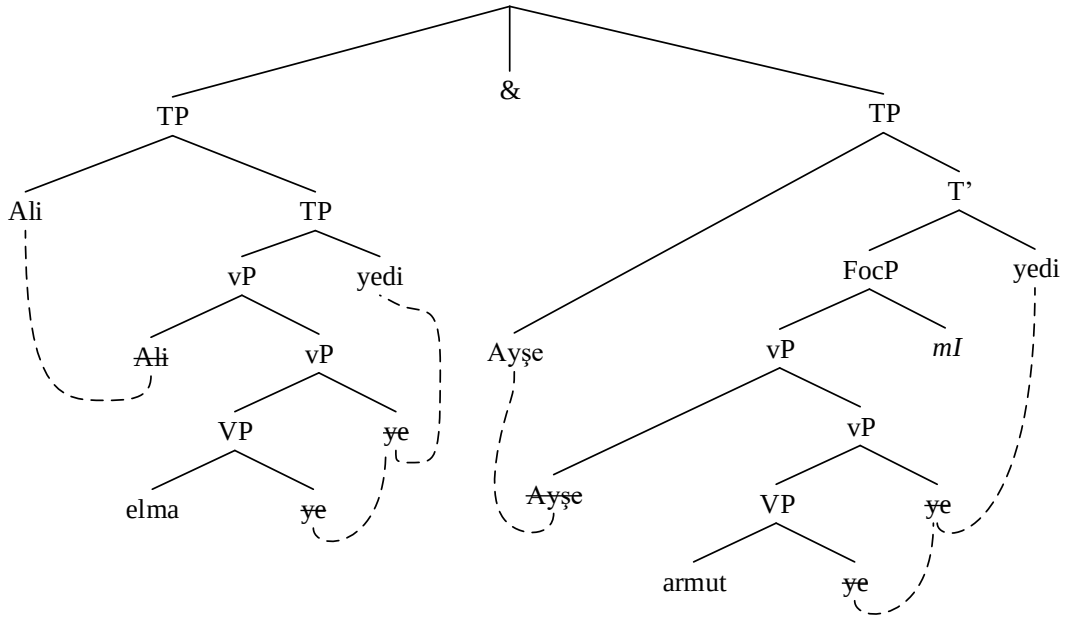
9)


TP
&
TP
T'
T'
Ali
VP
yedi
Ayşe
VP
yedi
elma
~~ye~~
FocP
~~ye~~
armut
mI

10) a.


TP
&
TP
T'
T'
Ali
VP
yedi
Ayşe
FocP
yedi
elma
~~ye~~
VP
mI
armut
~~ye~~

b.


&
TP
TP
Ali
TP
T'
vP
yedi
FocP
yedi
~~Ali~~
vP
Ayşe
vP
mI
VP
~~ye~~
vP
elma
~~ye~~
~~Ayşe~~
VP
~~ye~~
armut
~~ye~~

The meaning of the question, however, suggests that none of the above possibilities is correct. The position of *mI* is likely not on the object in the second conjunct, as in (9), because if that were the case, *mI* would scope only over the object in the second conjunct, and the reading would be as in (11):

11) #'Ali ate apples and is it PEARS that Ayşe ate?'

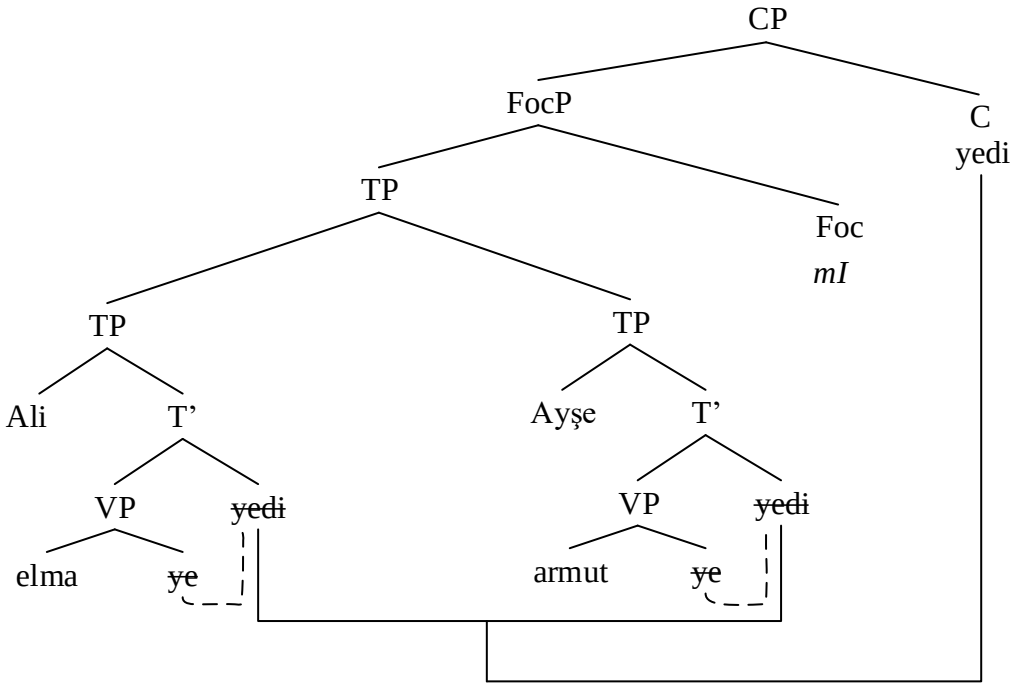
It is not likely that *mI* is placed on the vP/VP of the second conjunct either (as in (10)) because if it were, it would take wide scope in the second conjunct only (taking into its scope the vP/VP of the second conjunct), and the reading would be the one in (12).

12) #'Ali ate apples and is it the case that Ayşe ate pears?'

Given that *mI* scopes over *both* conjuncts (which are presumably clausal), its position seems to be C. However, given that the verb construed with the subject in each conjunct (*yedi* 'ate') follows *mI*, it is hard to see how *mI* could occupy the C position since the verb itself would then have to occupy an even higher position, which does not seem likely.

Given all these considerations, the derivation of sentences like (1) must reconcile the fact that the meaning of the question indicates a high position of *mI* with the fact that the linear placement of *mI* suggests that it occupies a low position. Furthermore, the analysis must explain how the verb, which is interpreted in each conjunct, ends up being pronounced only once. In the remainder of the thesis, I will argue that in (1), *mI* is base generated as the head of FocP above both conjuncts, and that there is Across-the-Board (ATB) Movement of the verb to a position which is outside of the conjunction and higher than *mI*, as shown in (13).

13)



The analysis I propose, given in (13), derives the fact that Turkish questions involving an adversative conjunction *–ise*, but missing the verb in the first conjunct receive only a *YN interpretation*, but lack an *alternative interpretation*.[4] In other words, the sentence in (14) has the YN reading in (14), but not the alternative reading in (14).

14) a. Ali okula Ayşe ise eve mi gitti?

b. Is it the case that Ali went to school and Ayse went home? ✓*YN reading*

c. #Is it the case that Ali went to school or that Ayse went home?

**alternative reading*

Comparable sentences in English, however, are ambiguous between the two readings. Thus, the question in (15), which also has two clausal conjuncts and a missing verb in one, has both the YN reading in (15) and the alternative reading in (15).

15) a. Did John go to school or Mary home?

b. Is it the case that John went to school and Mary went home? ✓*Y/N reading*

c. Is it the case that John went to school or that Mary went home?

✓*alternative reading*

[4] See Gračanin-Yuksek (2016) for an analysis of alternative questions in Turkish, where she argues that they involve the coordination of interrogative CPs, with a question particle in each.

In the remainder of the thesis, I will first present relevant theoretical background necessary to understand the properties of questions like that in (1), as well as lay the basics for the proposed analysis. I will do that in the next chapter, Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I will motivate the analysis proposed and argue against plausible alternatives. Finally, in Chapter 4, I explore possible effects on L2 acquisition of the fact that Turkish questions like that in (1), which are superficially very similar to English questions like that in (15), do not share structural similarities with them. This results in different interpretations available to the construction in the two languages and this interpretive difference might have consequences for L2 acquisition of such questions in English by native speakers of Turkish. This question is experimentally explored in Chapter 4 of the thesis. Chapter 5 is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

To analyze the puzzle from the previous chapter, I begin with the observation that questions like (1) in the first chapter, repeated here as (16), are likely related to statements like that in (17) below, which have been analyzed as involving *backward gapping* (Bozsahin, 2000; Ince, 2009; Kornfilt, 1997). Sentence (16) is different from (17) in that while (16) is a polar question, (17) is a declarative sentence.

16) a. Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
b. Ali apple Ayşe as-for pear Q eat-PST
'Did Ali eat apples and Ayşe pears?'

17) a. Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut yedi.
b. Ali apple Ayşe as-for pear eat-PST

Before moving on to gapping structures in polar questions, I will first discuss gapping in declarative sentences.

2.1. Gapping

Gapping, a term that Ross (1970) introduced to the literature, is a process which takes place only in coordinate structures, and the missing element is always a verb no matter what the language under investigation is. Gapping allows the verb to go unpronounced in one or more of a series of conjuncts in coordination if its content can be recovered from the other conjunct(s) (Johnson, 2004: 1). An example to illustrate gapping in English is given in (18).

18) John ate apples, and Mary bananas.

In such sentences, one of the occurrences of the verb can be missing since its content is recoverable from the other conjunct.

Gapping can be derived in two different ways; Citko (2018: 1) summarizes them as follows:

> While gapping operates forward in head-initial languages, it operates backward in head-final languages. In addition to these, in languages with (relatively) free word order, it can operate in either direction.

In the following list,[5] all possible outputs of gapping can be seen:

19)	a. Type A:	SVO + SO	*Forward Gapping*
	b. Type B:	SOV + SO	
	c. Type C:	SO + SOV	*Backward Gapping*
	d. Type D:	*SO + SVO	

In the next two subsections, I discuss gapping in English and in Turkish.

2.1.1. Gapping in English

Ross (1970: 250) indicates that "gapping is a rule that operates to delete indefinitely many occurrences of a repeated main verb in a coordination structure." He points out that languages like English show only forward gapping in the form of *SVO and SO* (deletion of the identical verb in the second conjunct). The rule of gapping in English is considered as a transformation which converts sentences like those in (20) into corresponding sentences like those in (21).

20) a. I ate fish, Bill ate rice, and Harry ate roast beef.
    b. Tom has a pistol, and Dick has a sword.

21) a. I ate fish, Bill rice, and Harry roast beef.
    b. Tom has a pistol, and Dick a sword.

[5] Ross's (1970) classification of gapping patterns.

Johnson (2004) states that, unlike many other syntactic operations, Gapping does not respect constituency. Examples in (22) illustrate this.

22) a. Some gave albums to their spouses, and others ~~gave~~ tapes ~~to their spouses.~~
b. Some went out to buy beer, and others ~~went out to buy~~ fried chicken.

In addition to the instances of gapping in (20) and (21) where we elide only one word (*ate* in (20) and *has* in (21)), it is possible to elide more than one word, as shown in (22). However, Johnson (2004) states that material left behind, called *remnants*, should be in a contrastive relation with the antecedent, as shown in (23).

23) I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~wants to try to begin to write~~ a play.

Otherwise, when there are remnants that are not in a contrastive relation with the antecedent, sentences are degraded.

24) a. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~wants to try to begin~~ to write a play.
b. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~wants to try~~ to begin to write a play.
c. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~want~~s to try to begin to write a play. (Ross, 1970: 250)

To eliminate this degradation, the contrastive relationship which gapping invokes must be satisfied, as in (25).

25) a. I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~wants to try to begin~~ to review a play.
b. I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~wants to try~~ to set out to review a play.
c. I want to try to begin to write a novel, and Mary ~~want~~s to get ready to set out to review a play. [6] (Ross, 1970: 250)

[6] Although there is no degradation in these sentences, Johnson (2009) indicates that there is an awkwardness since there is lots of contrasting material with the antecedent.

Although it is possible to have big gaps as in (23), Johnson (2004) also states that there is a lower bound on the number of remnants following gapping, which suggests that there should be at least two remnants in the second conjunct. Otherwise, the sentence yields an ungrammatical result, as in (26).[7]

26) a. *Sarah left and Betsy.
b**.** ***Sarah ate them and Betsy. (Johnson, 2004: 3)

Since only forward gapping is allowed in languages with government to the right (SVO, VSO) (Krisch, 2009: 194), English, as a head-initial language, is a language in which backward gapping does not occur felicitously. The example in (27) shows the ungrammaticality of backward gapping structures in English.

27) a. John loves apples and Mary loves bananas.
b. *John apples and Mary loves bananas.

While Ross (1967), Hartman (2001), Wexler & Culicover (1980), and Wilder (1997), among others adopt an ellipsis analysis of gapping in coordination structures where the second occurrence of any verb or verb phrase is missing, Johnson (2004, 2009), on the other hand, argues for the Across-the-Board (ATB) Movement analysis of Gapping. Before turning to this analysis, I briefly introduce ATB movement.

ATB movement is apparent simultaneous movement of an element from multiple source positions to a single target position (Franks & Bosovic, 2000). It can be both rightward, as in (28), where the object *your birthday cake* moves to the right of the coordination, or leftward, as in (29), where both the auxiliary *did* and the wh-phrase *what* move simultaneously from both conjuncts to the CP layer of the clause.

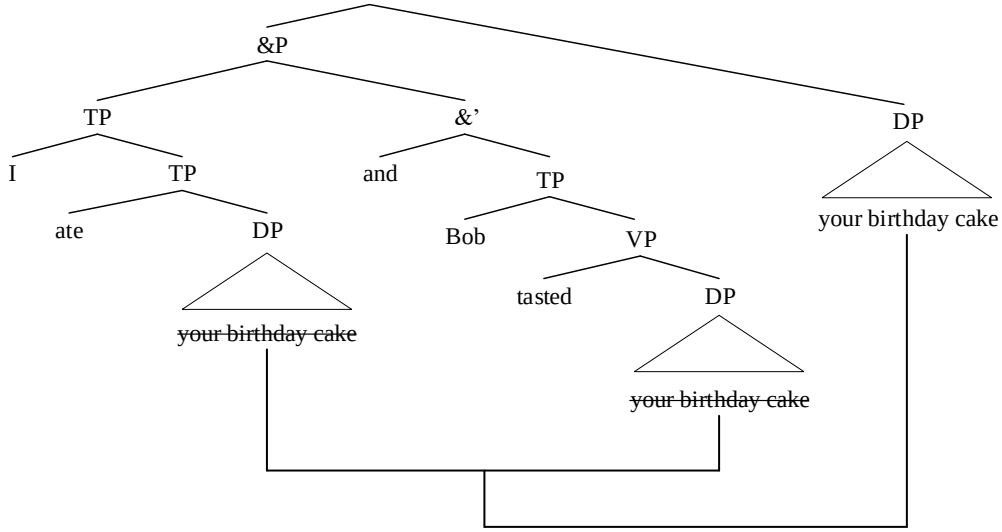
28) a. I ate and Bob tasted your birthday cake.
b. [[I ate ___] and [Bob tasted ___] your birthday cake.]

[7] It is also noted that these sentences can be improved with a suitable context and with the integration of *too*. Johnson (2004) exemplifies it with the following context:

A: Who left?

B: Sarah left, and Betsy, too.

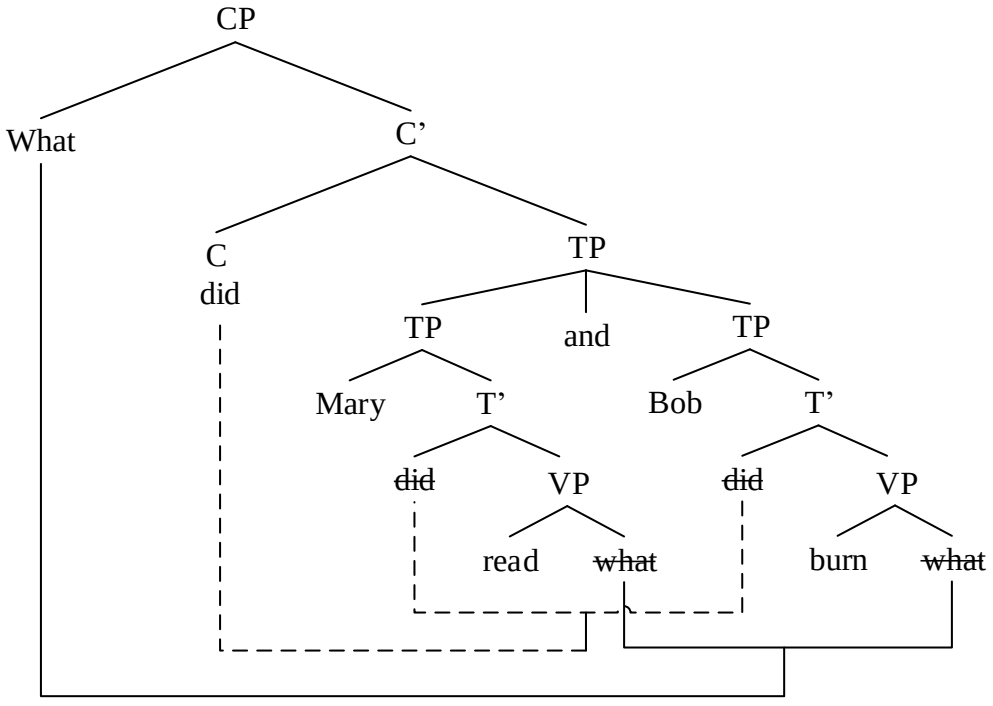
c.



29) a. What did Mary read and Bob burn?

b. [[What did [Mary read ___] and [Bob burn ___]?]

c.



ATB Movement is the only kind of movement allowed to take place out of a coordinate structure, even though it violates the *Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC)* (Ross 1967).

Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) prohibits the extraction of a conjunct or of an element from a single conjunct when it is in coordination with another conjunct in a sentence. When CSC is violated, the sentences become illicit (Ross 1967, Salzman, 2012). This constraint accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (30) and (31):

30) *What is John eating bread and __?

31) *Which book did John give __ to Mary and stole the paper from Gary?

CSC violations are obviated in ATB movement because identical material is extracted from both/all conjuncts. However, when this is not the case, as in RNR sentences like (32) and (32), ungrammaticality obtains.

32) a. *?[Josh was looking for the dean's office],[Maria was waiting in ~~Joss' office~~], and [reporters were trying to find ~~Joss' office~~], Joss' office.
b. *[Josh was looking for ~~Joss' office~~], [Maria was waiting in the dean's office], and [reporters were trying to find ~~Joss' office]~~ Joss' office.

(Sabbagh, 2007: 376)

In (32), the DP *Joss's office* is moved from the second and third conjunct, but not the first conjunct, while in (32), the DP *Joss's office* is moved from the first and the third conjunct, but not the second conjunct. As '*Joss' office'* is not extracted from all conjuncts, the sentences are ungrammatical.

However, when an argument is shared by all the conjuncts in a coordination structure, it is possible to move it and adjoin it outside of the conjuncts. In sentence (33), the pivot, namely *Joss' office,* is moved to the rightmost position and is associated with the gap in each conjunct obviating a CSC violation as the shared object is extracted from all of the conjuncts.

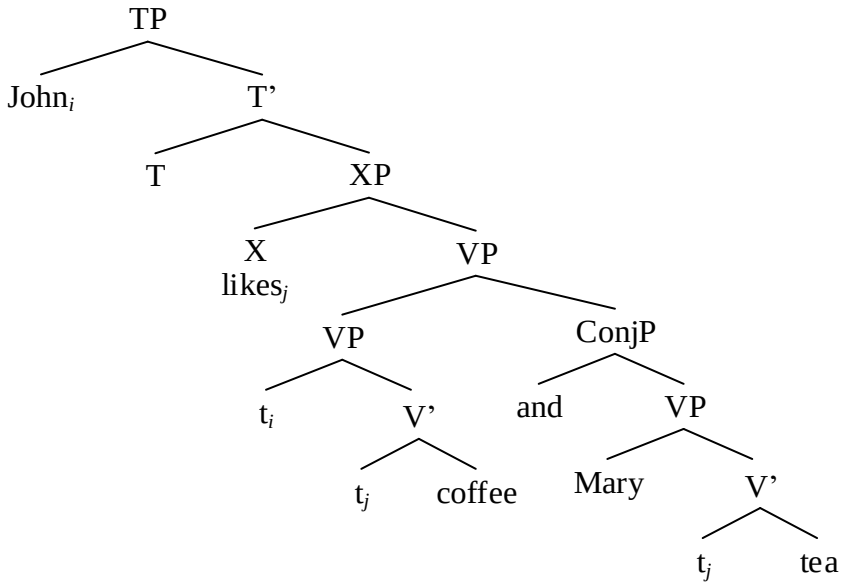
33) [Josh was looking for ~~Joss' office~~], [Maria was waiting in ~~Joss' office~~], and [reporters were trying to find ~~Joss' office~~], Joss' office. (Sabbagh, 2007: 376)

With this much in mind, let us return to gapping. On Johnson's (2009) ATB analysis of gapping, gapping does not involve deletion at all, but rather leftward ATB movement of the verb from both conjuncts to a position outside the coordination. This

movement is accompanied by the A-movement of the subject of the first conjunct to a position to the left of the ATB-moved verb. This is illustrated in (34).

34) a. John likes coffee and Mary tea.

b.



(Frazier and Yoshida, 2012: 11)

Johnson's ATB movement analysis completes the discussion of gapping in English. Next, I will discuss gapping in Turkish.

2.1.2. Gapping in Turkish

In contrast to some other verb-final languages like Japanese, Turkish allows both forward and backward gapping (Kornfilt, 2000). I discuss them in turn in the following subsections.

2.1.2.1. Forward Gapping in Turkish

An application of forward gapping in Turkish is shown in sentence (36), which is identical to sentence (35) except that it features a missing verb in the second conjunct.

35) Hasan karidesi yedi, Mehmet de/ise istiridyeyi yedi.
Hasan shrimp -ACC eat –PST Mehmet and/as for oyster –ACC eat –PST
'Hasan ate the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.'

36) Hasan karidesi yedi, Mehmet de/ise istiridyeyi.
Hasan shrimp -ACC eat –PST Mehmet and/as for oyster –ACC
'Hasan ate the shrimp, and Mehmet (ate) the oyster.'

(adapted from Kornfilt, 2000:1)

The grammaticality of sentence (36) shows that in Turkish, forward gapping can occur in matrix clauses. Sentence (37), on the other hand, shows that forward gapping cannot occur in complement clauses.

37) *Ahmet [[Hasan-ın çikolata-yı yediğini] [Mehmet-in (de) armud-u]]
Ahmet [[Hasan-GEN chocolate-ACC eat-] [Mehmet-GEN also pear-ACC]
biliyor.
knows.
'Ahmet knows that Hsan ate the chocolate and Mehmet the pear.'

(Ince, 2009:2)

The sentence improves if the rightmost conjunct extraposes to a position after the matrix verb.

38) Zeynep [Hasan'-ın karides-i ye-diğini] duy -du [Mehmed'-in
Zeynep Hasan-GEN shrimp-ACC eat hear-PST Mehmet – GEN
de istiridye-yi.]
and oyster-ACC
'Zeynep heard that Hasan ate shrimp and Mehmet the oyster. (Ince, 2009:5)

Kornfilt (2000), as cited in Gračanin-Yüksek (2016), explains the contrast between (37) and (38) as follows: Turkish prohibits the generation of embedded clauses that are not verb-final *([Mehmet'in de armudu])* when they are followed by a material which belongs to the matrix clause *(biliyor)*, as in (37). In (38), on the other hand, the sentence yields a grammatical result since even though the embedded clause is not verb-final, there is no matrix material which follows it.

The second peculiarity of forward gapping is that it does not require parallel word order in the two conjuncts (Bozsahin, 2000). Sentences (39) show that forward gapping structures yield grammatical results regardless of the order of constituents across conjuncts.

39) a. Adam kitabı okudu, çocuk da dergiyi. (SOV & SO)
man book-ACC read-PST child CONJ magazine-ACC
'The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.'

b. Kitabı adam okudu, dergiyi de çocuk. (OSV & OS)
book-ACC man read-PST mag.-ACC CONJ child

c. Adam kitabı okudu, dergiyi de çocuk. (SOV & OS)
man book-ACC read-PST mag.-ACC CONJ child

d. Kitabı adam okudu, çocuk da dergiyi.
Book-ACC man read-PST child CONJ mag.-ACC (OSV & SO)

(Ince, 2009: 2)

In the next section, I discuss backward gapping in Turkish, which displays somewhat different properties.

2.1.2.2. Backward Gapping in Turkish

In addition to forward gapping, backward gapping structures are also present in Turkish. A backward-gapped version of sentence (35), repeated here as (40), is given in (41).

40) Hasan karidesi yedi, Mehmet de istiridyeyi yedi.
Hasan shrimp -ACC eat –PST Mehmet and oyster –ACC eat –PST
'Hasan ate the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.'

41) Hasan karidesi, Mehmet de istiridyeyi yedi.
Hasan shrimp -ACC Mehmet and oyster –ACC eat –PST
'Hasan (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.' (Kornfilt, 2000: 1)

Hankamer (1971, 1972), Kornfilt (2000), and Ince (2009) argue that backward gapping differs from forward gapping in terms of syntactic processes involved based on several considerations that I discuss next.

First, unlike forward gapping, backward gapping *can* occur in complement clauses, as shown in (42).

42) Ahmet [[Hasan-ın çikolata-yı] [Mehmet-in (de) armud-u yediğini]]
Ahmet Hasan-GEN chocolate-ACC Mehmet-GEN also pear-ACC ate

biliyor.

knows.

'Ahmet knows that Hasan ate the chocolate and Mehmet the pear'

(Ince, 2009: 2)

Additionally**,** unlike forward gapping, backward gapping requires parallel word order across conjuncts (Bozsahin, 2000). Sentences (43) illustrate this requirement.

43) a. Adam kitabı, çocuk da dergiyi okudu. (SO & SOV)
man book-ACC child CONJ magazine-ACC read-PST
'The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.'

b. Kitabı adam, dergiyi de çocuk okudu. (OS & OSV)
book-ACC man magazine-ACC CONJ child read-PST
'The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.'

c. *Adam kitabı, dergiyi de çocuk okudu. (*SO & OSV)
man book-ACC magazine-ACC CONJ child read-PST

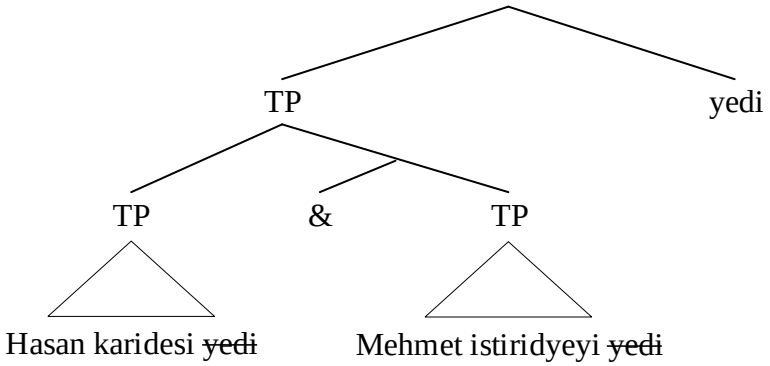
d. *Kitabı adam, çocuk da dergiyi okudu. (*OS & SOV)
book-ACC man child CONJ magazine-ACC read-PST (Ince, 2009: 2)

Based on these syntactic differences, Hankamer (1971) proposes that the two instances of gapping are different. While forward gapping genuinely "gaps" into the right conjunct, leaving a gap in the position of the identical element, backward gapping, by contrast, erases both instances of the identical element and adjoins a copy to the top IP (or CP). On Hankamer's analysis, backward gapping in Turkish is derived as in (45) below.

44) a. Hasan karidesi, Mehmet de istiridyeyi yedi.
Hasan shrimp -ACC Mehmet and oyster –ACC ate

b. [[Hasan karides -i ~~yedi~~], [Mehmet te istiridye –yi ~~yedi~~] yedi.
'Hasan (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.' (Kornfilt, 2000:1)

45)



The derivation in (45) involves an instance of rightward ATB movement of the verb from both conjuncts to a position higher than the coordination. This is reminiscent of Right Node Raising (RNR), which, at least on some analyses, is derived in the same way. In fact, there have been proposals (Ince, 2009) that reduce backward gapping in Turkish to RNR. In the next section, I discuss various analyses that have been proposed for RNR.

2.2. Right Node Raising

Right Node Raising is an operation in which a part of the shared material in coordination structures, namely the *pivot*, is unpronounced (Bachrach & Katzir, 2007). An example of RNR is given in sentence (47), which corresponds in meaning to sentence (46).

46) John bought the book and Mary read the book.

47) John bought and Mary read the book. (Wilder, 1999: 1)

RNR is subject to the so-called *Right Edge Restriction*, which dictates that shared material *x* must be located at the right edge of their non-final conjuncts (Wilder 1999, 2008; Oehrle 1991; Sabbagh 2007).[8] In English, this position, the right edge position, is typically occupied by an object, and in RNR it is unpronounced in the first conjunct.

[8] However, when the shared element is overt in the second conjunct, it does not have to be in the rightmost position of the sentence as in (i).

(i) a. John should fetch __ and give **the book** to Mary.
b. John [should fetch **the book**] and [give **the book** to Mary]. (Wilder 2008: 244)

This is illustrated in (48), where the shared material *all the winners* is part of both conjuncts and is located at the right edge of each.

48) I gave a present to __ and congratulated **all the winners.**

(Bachrach & Katzir, 2007: 1)

In Turkish, the right edge position is typically occupied by a verb, as shown in (49).

49) Ahmet hediye __, Sevgi para **verdi.**
Ahmet present ___ Sevgi money **gave**
'Ahmet (gave) a present, Sevgi gave money.'

This is why sentences that feature what looks like backward gapping in Turkish, such as (44), can be reduced to RNR.[9]

The correct analysis of RNR remains controversial regardless of the language. This syntactic construction has been analyzed in three different ways, which fall either into the family of *ex-situ* analyses or into the family of *in-situ* analyses, each with characteristics listed below.

50) a. In the ex-situ analysis, shared elements are analyzed as being *outside* both conjuncts:

i. Across-the-Board Movement (Ross 1967; Hankamer 1971, 1972; Postal 1974, 1998; Bresnan 1974; Sabbagh 2007).

b. In the in-situ analyses, shared elements are analyzed as remaining *inside* both conjuncts:

i. PF-Ellipsis (Wexler & Cullicover 1980; Hartmann 2001; Wilder 1997),

[9] Ince (2009) argues that, in contrast with English, Wilder's Right Edge Generalization does not hold in Turkish. He provides the following example to illustrate:

(i) Hasan Tolgaya dergiyi sattı, Meral de gazeteyi sattı Tolgaya.
Hasan Tolga-DAT magazine-ACC sold, Meral as for newspaper-ACC sold Tolga-DAT
'Hasan sold the magazine, and Meral sold the newspaper, to Tolga.' (Ince, 2009: 12)

ii. Multiple Dominance (McCawley 1982; Levine 1985; Bachrach & Katzir 2007; Wilder 1999)

In the following section, I discuss each of these analyses in turn.

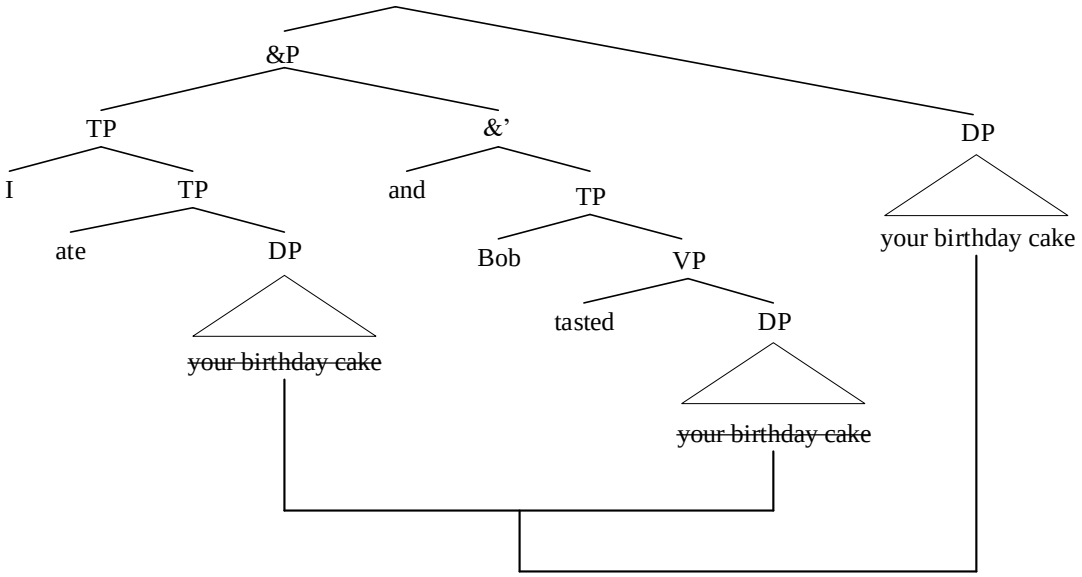
2.2.1. Across-the-Board (ATB) Movement Analysis of RNR

Recall from section 2.1.1 that ATB Movement is movement that takes two identical elements from the two conjuncts and adjoins them to some position outside of the coordination. When applied to RNR sentences, ATB Movement gives us (28), repeated here as (51).

51) a. I ate and Bob tasted your birthday cake.

b. [I ate ___] and [Bob tasted ____] [your birthday cake.]

c.



In the ATB Movement analysis of RNR, the object, which is shared by both conjuncts, in this case *your birthday cake* (also called the *pivot*), moves out of both conjuncts and right adjoins to a position where it is external to the coordinate structure (Sabbagh, 2007).

Rightward movement in English is known to be subject to a very strict locality restriction, and is not allowed freely. To illustrate how strict the requirement is, Sabbagh (2007) gives the following examples.

52) Josh [$_{vP}$ returned _ to the library for Jamie], each of the books she checked out last week.

53) Josh will [$_{vP}$ eat _ raw], almost anything you give him.

54) *Max said that he was going to [$_{vP}$ return _ to the library] yesterday, each of the books that he checked out last week.

55) *Jamie walked [$_{PP}$ into _] suddenly, the dean's office. (Sabbagh, 2007: 350)

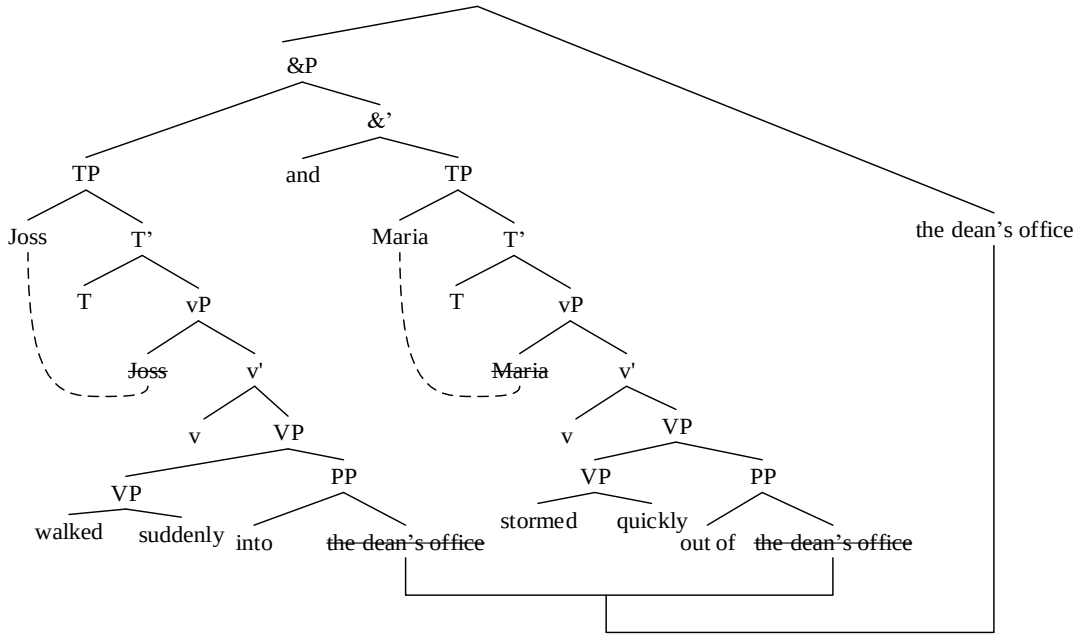
Based on (52) and (53), Sabbagh (2007) shows that rightward movement may move an argument across all vP-internal arguments and modifiers. However, (54) and (55) are ungrammatical because the NPs *each of the books that he checked out last week* and *the dean's office* respectively, have undergone a too long rightward movement. What restricts this movement is the so-called *Right Roof Constraint* (RRC). RRC states that rightward movement may move and right-adjoin an element X to the cyclic node in which X is merged, but no further (Baltin, 1978).[10]

RNR constructions are problematic for the RRC because of the grammaticality of examples like (56), where a DP pivot has been extracted from a PP in each conjunct in apparent violation of the RRC.

56) a. Joss [walked suddenly [PP into ~~the dean's office~~], and [Maria stormed quickly [PP out of ~~the dean's office~~]] the dean's office.

[10] A cyclic node is any node in a tree which belongs to one of certain categories whose domains are designated as cyclic domains for the application of the transformational cycle (Trask, 1996). S, NP, vP, and PP are considered cyclic nodes.

b.



As illustrated in (56), the DP pivot in the first conjunct, *the dean's office*, is moved from where it originates all the way to a right-adjoined position outside of the coordination, across the entire second conjunct, and the sentence is still perfectly grammatical even though it violates RRC. To account for the grammaticality of sentences like (56), Sabbagh (2007) entertains three solutions.

The first approach to solve the problem caused by the grammaticality of sentences like (56) is to reject the ATB Movement analysis and accept the backward deletion analysis of RNR, also known as PF Deletion, which will be discussed in section 2.2.2.

The second approach to solve the problem is to accept the Multiple Dominance approach to RNR structures, which will be discussed in section 2.2.3.

The third approach is to re-evaluate the RRC. Sabbagh (2007) opts for this solution. He argues that the ATB Movement analysis of RNR is correct and hypothesizes that rightward movement is an unbounded movement rule. He adopts the *Cyclic Spell-Out Model* of grammar proposed by Bresnan (1971), and more recently by Chomsky (2000, 2001) among others, according to which Spell-out can take place at various points in the course of the derivation rather than at a single point. Spell-Out can be defined as an operation that takes place after the syntactic processes such as Merge, Move and Agree in a derivation are completed and the outcomes are transferred to the PF (Franks,

2017). The syntactic elements that are targeted by this operation are called *cyclic nodes or phases*. This process is illustrated in (57), in which the wh-phrase *to whom* moves from the position of the embedded indirect object to the front of the matrix clause, moving through the phase (vP and CP) edges.

57) [To whom will he [$_{vP}$ __ say [$_{CP}$ ___ that Mary [$_{vP}$__ gave the book ___]]]]?

(Fox and Pesetsky, 2004: 3)

Sabbagh follows Fox and Pesetsky (2004), who argue that movement proceeds successive cyclically because of a general requirement that movement be order-preserving, i.e., that ordering of a particular element relative to other elements in the structure at each cycle not contradict the ordering of that element established at a previous cycle. Based on this, Sabbagh (2007) proposes that RRC does not restrict how far the constituent actually moves rightwards as long as at each spell-out, the movement does not cause the reversal in the linear order of material established at a previous spell-out point (see Sabbagh, 2007 for detailed information). Sabbagh captures this by proposing the constraint that he calls the *Rightward Crossing Constraint* (RCC), given in (58).

58) *Rightward Crossing Constraint*

Rightward movement of X may not cross phonologically overt material which is not contained within the cyclic node (=vP, PP) wherein X is initially merged.

(Sabbagh 2007: 359)

Sabbagh thus convincingly argues for the ATB movement analysis of RNR. In my analysis of Turkish YN questions that feature backward gapping, I will be relying heavily on ATB movement as well.

2.2.2. PF-Ellipsis Analysis of RNR

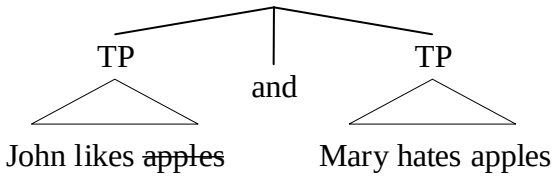
Hartman (2001), Wexler & Culicover (1980), and Wilder (1997) propose that Right Node Raising (RNR) is not derived by movement. Rather, they argue that RNR sentences result from an ellipsis operation which deletes a constituent from all non-

final conjuncts under identity with an in-situ constituent (i.e., the pivot) which occurs overtly in the final conjunct. To illustrate, an example is given in (59).

59) a. John likes and Mary hates apples.

b. [[John likes ~~apples~~] and [Mary hates apples]]

c.



In an RNR construction with the PF-Ellipsis analysis, a string in the sentence-final position is considered to actually syntactically be part of both conjuncts that precede it (Swingle, 1993), as illustrated in (59). In the PF-Ellipsis analysis, *apples* is referred to as the *target* of ellipsis in an RNR construction, and the rest of the conjuncts, *John likes* and *Mary hates* are referred to as *remnants*. Many studies (Wexler & Cullicover 1980; Hartmann 2001; Wilder 1997) argue that PF-Ellipsis is the correct analysis of RNR structures and prefer it over ATB Movement for several reasons.

The first reason why RNR is considered to involve PF-Ellipsis rather than ATB Movement is that RNR is not affected by either syntactic or semantic restrictions, which suggests that it takes place in PF (Hartmann, 2001). Right Node Raising is a productive coordination pattern in which almost all elements that are positioned at the right edge of the conjuncts can be targeted by RNR. Although there are studies (Bresnan, 1974; Reinhart, 1991) stating that targets/pivots in RNR are always constituents, Abbott (1976) shows that there are some sentences which are inconsistent with the claim that RNR produces structures in which the targets/pivots always form a constituent. Sentences (60) and (61) illustrate this for English. In (60), the pivot involves a string that is not a constituent (*[a valuable collection of manuscripts] [to the library]*) and the same is true of (61), where the pivot (*[20 cakes] [in less than an hour]*) also does not form a constituent.

60) Smith loaned, and his widow later donated, a valuable collection of manuscripts to the library.

61) Mary baked, and George frosted, 20 cakes in less than an hour.

(Abbott, 1976: 1)

Klein (1981) also argues that in RNR neither the remnants, nor the unexpressed element has to correspond to a constituent. This is obvious in German examples in (62), where the pivot of RNR involves the string *Mutter helfen* 'mother help', where *Mutter* is part of the object DPs *seiner Mutter* 'his mother' and *ihrer Mutter* 'her mother' respectively, and is RNR-ed together with the main verb *helfen* 'help'. Moreover, neither of the two remnants *Fritz soll seiner* 'Fritz should his' (remnant) and *Mutter helfen* 'mother help' forms a constituent.

62) Fritz soll seiner (Mutter helfen) und Gabriele soll ihrer Mutter helfen.
Fritz should his (Mother help) and Gabriele should her Mother help.
'Fritz should (help his mother) and Gabriele should help her mother.

(Klein, 1981:59)

Moreover, even smaller units, such as morphemes, can also be targets of RNR (Booij, 1985). Huddleston et al. (2002) provides examples for such structures:

63) It is neither un~~patriotic~~ nor overly patriotic to tread that path.
64) The ex~~-smokers~~ or current smokers had a higher blood pressure.

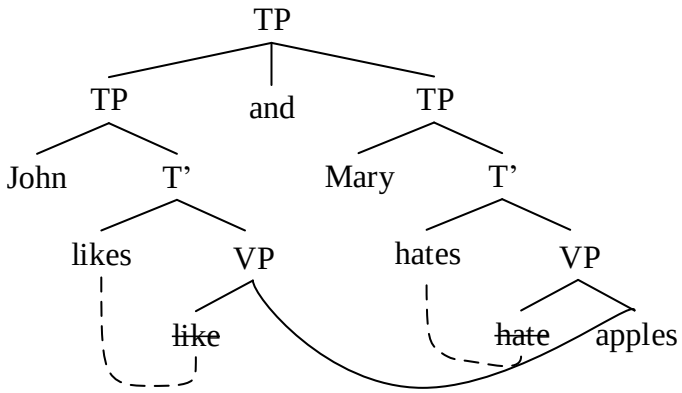
As constituency is important for syntactic movement, these examples argue against the ATB Movement analysis of the construction.

2.2.3. Multiple Dominance Analysis of RNR

Just like the PF-Ellipsis analysis of RNR, Multiple Dominance (MD) analysis of RNR also argues against movement. McCawley (1982), Levine (1985), Blevins (1990), Wilder (1999) and many others argue that in RNR, there is only *one* shared element *x* which happens to be in two places at once, and nothing can happen to *x* in one conjunct unless the same thing happens to *x* in the other position in a coordinate structure. Sentence (59), repeated here as (65), is analyzed in (59) in a Multiple Dominance fashion.

65) a. John likes and Mary hates apples.

b.

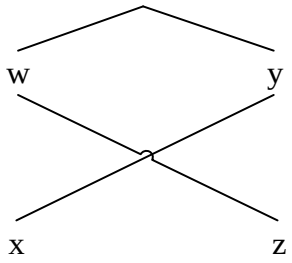


Wilder (1999) states that multiple dominance view differs from PF ellipsis and ATB Movement in the number of copies of the pivot in the construction. While in the PF ellipsis and ATB Movement analyses there is a copy of the pivot in each conjunct, there is only one occurrence of a constituent shared by the two conjuncts in Multiple Dominance.

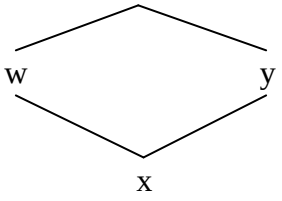
Previous accounts in syntax indicate that syntactic trees should not involve crossing branches as they violate the *Non-Tangling Condition* (Partee et al. 1990). The Non-Tangling Condition is given in (66).

66) Non-Tangling Condition (from Bachrach and Katzir, 2007:6)

i. Discontinuous constituents are not allowed.



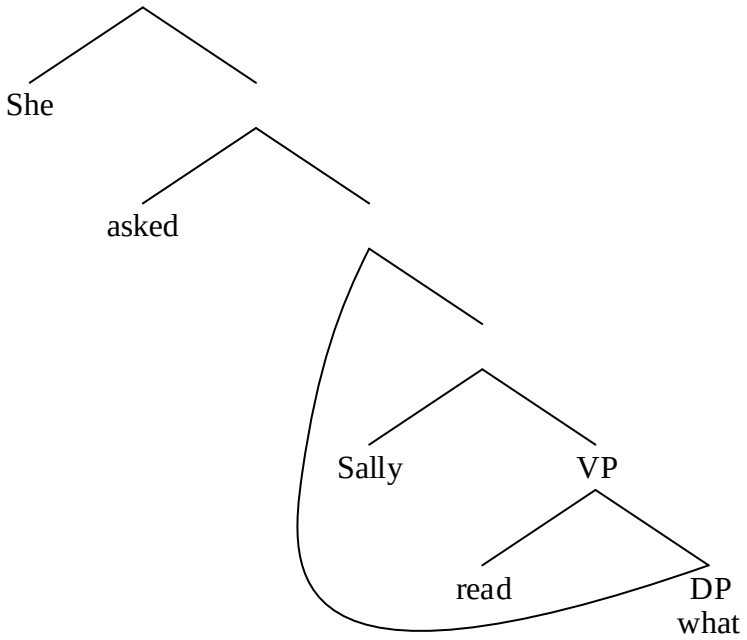
ii. There should not be multiple dominance trees.



Thus, Multiple Dominance can occur only if (66) is abandoned. In that case, *Internal Merge* – or movement – is no longer viewed as an operation that creates a copy of the moving element and merges the copy in a new position (as is the case in the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky, 1993)), but rather as an operation where no new copies of the moving element are created and the only existing copy is remerged into a new position, thereby becoming dominated simultaneously by two mothers. This type of Merge is called *Internal Remerge* by DeVries (2005), and *vertical sharing* by Gračanin-Yuksek (2007). Sentence (67) shows wh-movement represented in a multi-dominant fashion.

67) a. She asked what Sally read ~~what.~~

b.

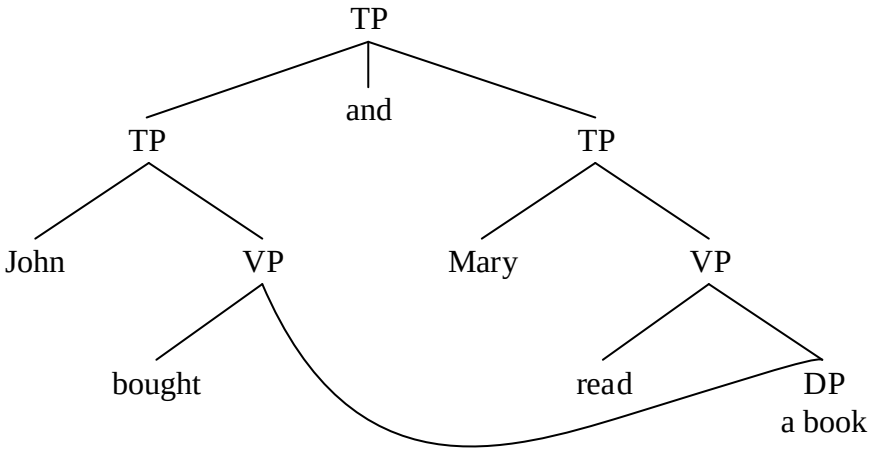


(Bachrach and Katzir, 2007:6)

Sentence (68) also shows Merge that creates MD representations, but this time the shared DP, *a book*, is dominated by two mother nodes that are part of different conjuncts. This is called *Parallel Merge* by Citko (2005), *External Remerge* by DeVries (2005) and *horizontal sharing* by Gračanin-Yuksek (2007).

68) a. John bought and Mary read a book.

b.

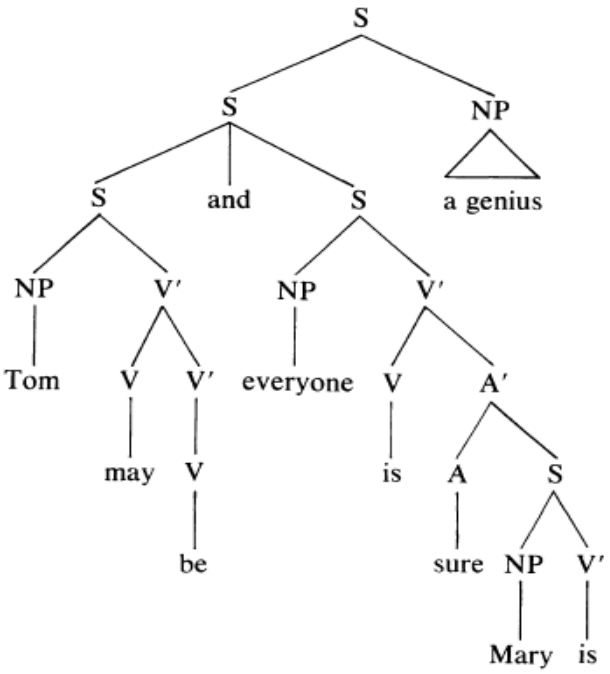


(Bachrach and Katzir, 2007:6)

There are several pieces of evidence provided for why the Multiple Dominance analysis of RNR should be preferred over other analyses of RNR. McCawley (1982) gives the following example to illustrate how Multiple Dominance analysis is useful for such sentences. He states that RNR structures change the word order of the sentences, yet this change does not seem to cause any alteration in the constituent structure. To capture these contradicting properties of RNR, he proposes the discontinuous structure in (69) as an alternative to be preferred to the structure in (69).

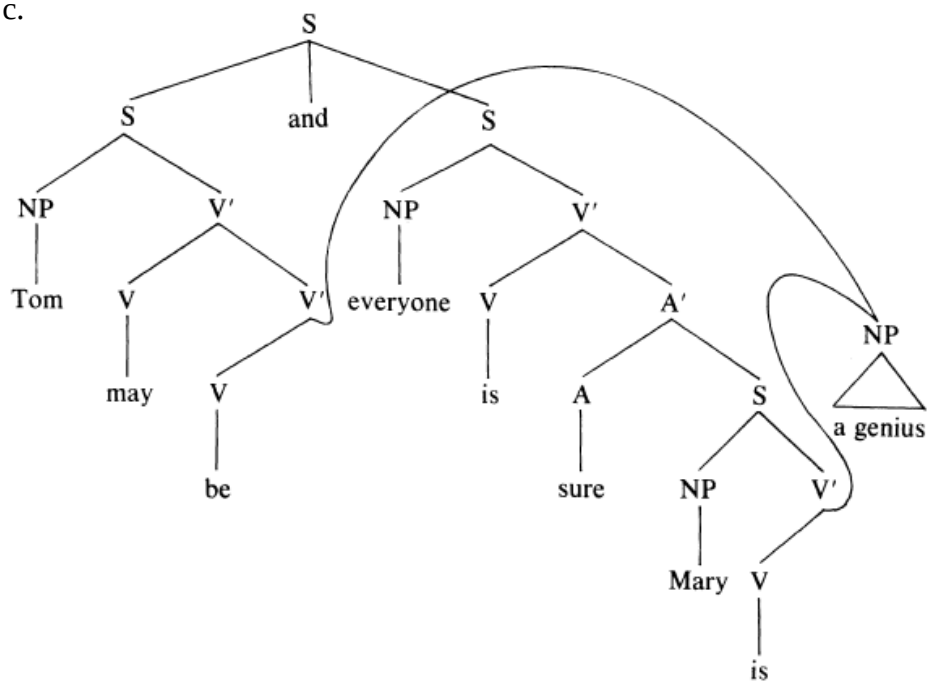
69) a. Tom may be, and everyone is sure that Mary is, a genius.

b.



(McCawley 1982: 98)

c.



(McCawley 1982: 99)

The second reason why (69) is the preferred analysis of RNR is the interaction of RNR with relative clauses. This is shown by (70). (70) suggest that the pivot of an RNR operation is not completely detached from the complex NP. Rather, the relative clause behaves as if it remained inside the syntactic island, out of which extraction is banned.

70) a. Tom bought a can opener t_i and Alice bought a dictionary t_i [that once belonged to Leonard Bloomfield]$_i$.

b. *[Which linguist]$_i$ did Tom buy a can opener t_j and Alice buy a dictionary t_j [that once belonged to t_i]$_j$? (McCawley 1982: 101)

Multiple Dominance analysis of RNR seems applicable at this point as it predicts that nothing can move out of the relative clause, because, since the pivot never moves, it never ceases to be a syntactic island. Instead, *that were once owned by Leonard Bloomfield* is dominated by two different nodes, namely the NPs that also dominate the NPs *can opener* and *dictionary.*

Considering all this evidence, several scholars (McCawley 1982; Levine 1985; Bachrach & Katzir 2007; Wilder 1999; among many others) prefer Multiple Dominance analysis over ATB Movement and PF-Ellipsis of RNR.

With this much in mind, we are now in a position to return to backwards gapping in Turkish and evaluate whether it is an instance of RNR, as suggested by Ince (2009).

2.3. Backwards Gapping in Turkish = RNR?

It is not clear whether sentences with backward gapping in Turkish are instance of RNR or gapping proper because in head-final languages like Turkish, the missing element in RNR happens to be a verb (given that the verb is typically the sentence-final, therefore, the conjunct-final element), and this makes such sentences reminiscent of gapping.

Recall from Section 2.1.2. that backward gapping and forward gapping in Turkish are different in terms of parallel word order requirement. While backward gapping requires a parallel word order across conjuncts, forward gapping does not (as cited in Ince, 2009). This is illustrated in (71) and (72).

71) Adam kitabı okudu, dergiyi de çocuk. *Forward gapping*
man book-ACC read-PST magazine-ACC as for child

72) *Kitabı adam, **cocuk** da dergiyi okudu. *Backward gapping*
book-ACC man child as for magazine-ACC read-PST (Ince, 2009:2)

Thus, Ince (2009) argues that if both forward and backward gapping had the same derivation (deletion of the verb), one would expect either forward gapping to be subject to the same word order parallelism requirement or backward gapping not to be subject to it. Since this is not the case, he proposes that backward gapping in Turkish is actually RNR and considers the abovementioned three analyses for the derivation of RNR. He establishes that in Turkish, PF Ellipsis is the only way to derive RNR constructions and that ATB Movement and Multiple Dominance cannot derive the facts. His arguments against RNR as ATB Movement and Multiple Dominance include the following:

- Agreement Properties
- Impossibility of head-adjunction to a phrase
- Impossibility of adjunction to complement clauses
- Availability of long distance RNR

In the following sections, I discuss each of these arguments in turn.

2.3.1. Arguments against ATB Movement and Multiple Dominance in Turkish RNR structures

2.3.1.1. Agreement Properties

Ince (2009) states that ATB Movement is unsatisfactory to explain the grammaticality of sentences like (73), where the verb in the first conjunct is gapped.

73) a. Sen elmayı, ben armudu yedim.

b. [[Sen elmayı yedin], [ben armudu yedi**m**]] *<u>yedin / yedim.</u>

'You (ate) the apple, I ate the pear.' (Ince, 2009:4)

In (73), the verb *ye-* 'eat' in the first conjunct underlyingly presumably bears the second person singular agreement while the verb *ye-* in the second conjunct bears the first-person singular agreement. However, the surfacing verb can only agree with the subject in the second conjunct.

Ince (2009) states that ATB Movement analysis does not explain why the verb *ye-* agrees only with the subject in the second conjunct and cannot agree with the subject in the first conjunct. According to Ince (2009), under the ATB Movement analysis, there should be nothing to block the pronunciation of the copy of the verb from the first conjunct.[11] Ince argues that Multiple Dominance analysis does not explain why the verb *ye-* 'eat' agrees only with the subject of the second conjunct. He states that the verb should be able to agree with the subject of the first conjunct as well since linear precedence does not matter in Multiple Dominance analysis.[12]

[11] It seems to me that an additional problem with ATB movement analysis of RNR concerns the non-identity of the verbs in the two conjuncts since they bear different morphology. ATB movement, however, can only apply to instances of identical lexical items.

[12] Again, the non-identity of the agreement requirements on the verb in the two conjuncts is a problem for the MD analysis of such examples: the structure features a *single* verb and this *one* verb needs to agree with multiple subjects, with different φ-features, which is impossible.

On the other hand, Kornfilt (2012: 193) states that examples such as (73) are ill-formed unless the verbs are parallel with respect to agreement inflection. She indicates that while agreement mismatches are possible in forward gapping, as shown in (74), they are impossible in backward gapping, as (75) shows[13].

74) [[Kaz -ı sen ye -di -n], [hindi -yi de ben Ø]]
goose-ACC you eat-PST turkey-ACC and I
'You ate the goose and I (ate) the turkey'

75) *[[Sen kaz-ı t_i], [ben de hindi-yi t_i]] [ye-di-m]$_i$
you goose-ACC I and turkey-ACC eat-PST
'You (ate) the goose and I ate the turkey' (Kornfilt, 2012: 193)

Johnson (2004) indicates that in English, gapping allows a mismatch in the inflectional class between the gapped verb and its antecedent, but Right Node Raising resists this.

76) a. He likes beans and you rice.
b. *He always and you sometimes complain. (Johnson, 2006: 410)

Contrary to Ince's arguments, observations by Kornfilt (2012) and Johnson (2004) are compatible with the view that RNR/backward gapping in Turkish is actually derived through ATB Movement since ATB movement requires the two elements to be identical in order to be extracted from different conjuncts, which is not the case in (75).

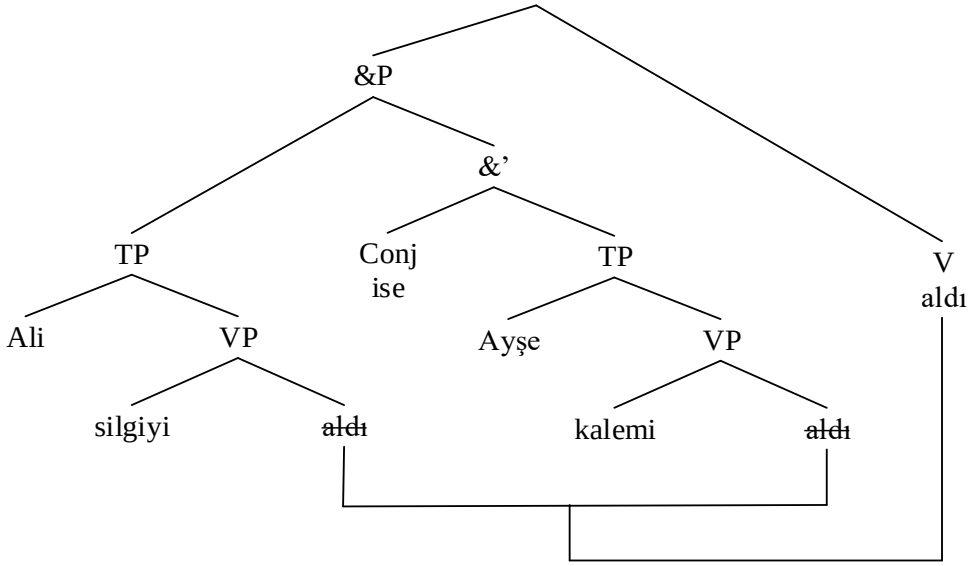
2.3.1.2. Impossibility of head-adjunction to a phrase

The next piece of evidence that Ince lists against the ATB movement analysis of RNR concerns a universal ban against the adjunction of a head to a phrase (Chomsky, 1986). However, under the ATB analysis of sentence (77), TPs are coordinated and the shared element, namely the verbal head *al*, is ATB moved to adjoin the TP. The sentence is grammatical, which seems surprising as it is not clear how a head (V) can be licitly adjoined to a phrase (the coordination phrase), as in (77). This, Ince maintains, argues against the ATB movement analysis of RNR.

[13] However, many people actually accept sentences like this. If that is true, it is difficult to see how the structure can be derived through ATB movement.

77) a. Ali silgiyi, Ayşe ise kalemi aldı.
Ali eraser-ACC Ayşe as for pencil-ACC take-PST
'Ali (took) the eraser, Ayşe took the pencil.

b.

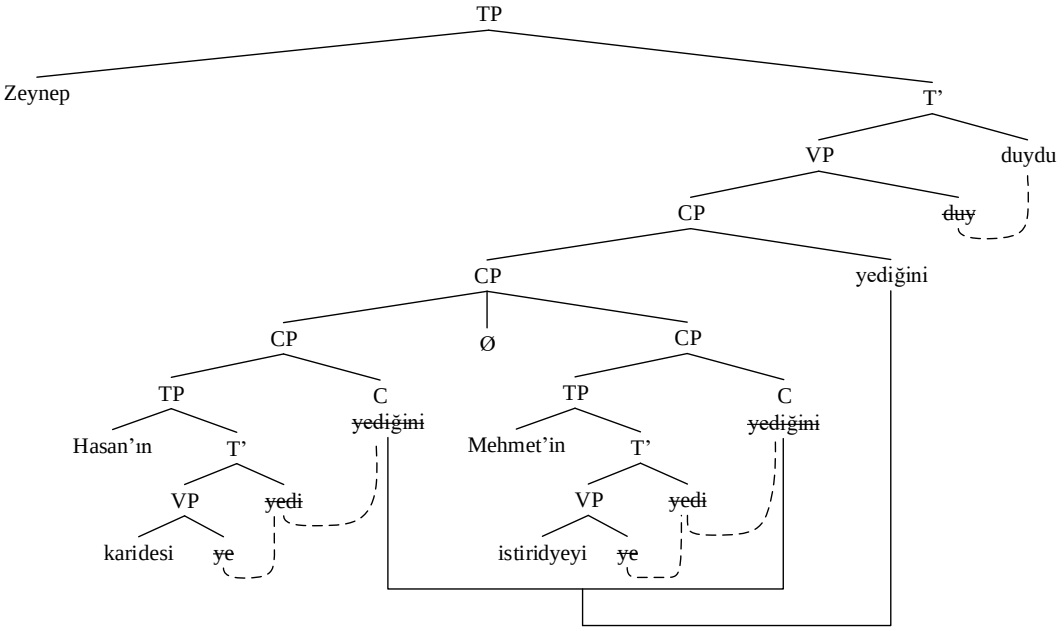


2.3.1.3. Impossibility of adjunction to complement clauses

Ince (2009) also notes that sharing a verb is not restricted to matrix clauses, since complement clauses with shared verbs are grammatical as well, as in (78). Under the ATB Movement analysis, this means that the verb *-yediğini* is adjoined to the complement clause of the main verb *duydu* 'heard', as seen in (78).

78) a. Zeynep [[Hasan-ın karides-i], [Mehmet-in de istiridye-yi]
Zeynep Hasan-GEN shrimp-ACC Mehmet-GEN as for oyster-ACC
yediğini] duydu.
eat hear-PST
'Zeynep heard that Hasan (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.'

b.



However, it is impossible for anything to adjoin a complement clause grammatically as shown in (79). In (79), the object of the embedded clause *Ayşe'yi*, is scrambled to a position where it is adjoined to a complement clause and the result is ungrammatical.

79) a. *Ahmet [[Ali-nin öptüğünü] Ayşe-yi] biliyor.
Ahmet Ali-GEN kissed Ayşe-ACC knows. (Ince, 2009: 5)

Thus, (78) should be ungrammatical under the ATB Movement analysis. Since it is not, Ince (2009) argues that ATB Movement is not the correct analysis for RNR.

2.3.1.4. Availability of Long distance RNR

Finally, Ince (2009) states that another problem for the ATB Movement analysis of RNR/backward gapping is that some existing contrasts involving embedded clauses are not predicted on this analysis. Namely, while a shared embedded object can move to the right of the matrix clause, as in (80), moving an embedded verb to the right of the matrix clause causes ungrammaticality, as shown in (81).[14]

80) a. Mehmet'in pişirdiğini Hasan'ın da yediğini biliyorum elmayı.
Mehmet-GEN cook Hasan-GEN as for eat know apple-ACC

[14] While Ince states that (65b) is grammatical, the sentence seems degraded to me.

‘I know that Mehmet cooked and Hasan ate, the apple.’

b. [[*pro*[[Mehmet’in ___$_1$ pişirdiğini],[Hasan’ın da ____$_1$ yediğini]] biliyorum] elma-y$ı_1$.]

81) a. *Hasan’ın karidesi, Mehmet’in de istiridyeyi duydum yediğini.

Hasan-GEN shrimp-ACC Mehmet-GEN as for oyster-GEN hear-PST eat

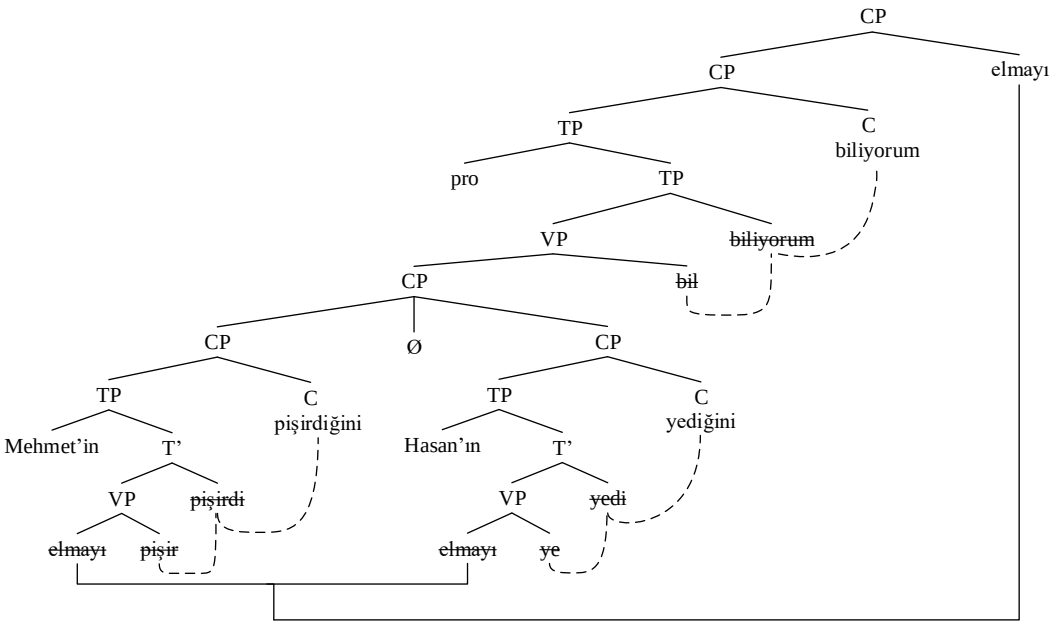
‘I heard that Hasan (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.’

b. *[[*pro*[[Hasan’ın karidesi __], [Mehmet’in de istiridyeyi __]] duydum] yediğini.]

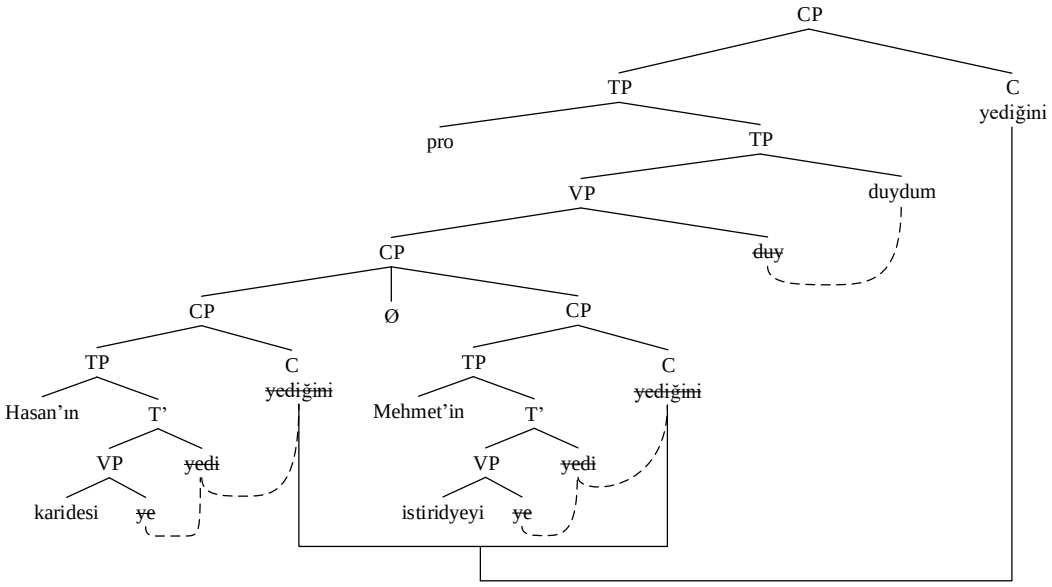
(Ince, 2009: 9)

Based on (80) and (81), it seems that while it is possible for objects to move rightward (outside of the complement clause), as in (82) below, verbs cannot do so, as (83) shows.

82)



83)



It is not clear why it is possible for objects to be moved long distance movement while it is not for verbs. The relevant fact is, argues Ince, that it is unlikely for the two examples to involve the same, ATB movement analysis.

For all these reasons, Ince argues that backward gapping sentences like (84), which he considers to be instances of RNR, pose problems for ATB Movement analysis and instead involve PF-Ellipsis. He proposes that the verb in the first conjunct is deleted under the identity with the verb in the second conjunct.

84) Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut yedi.
Ali apple Ayşe as for pear eat-PST
'Ali (ate) apples and Ayşe ate pears.'

Arguments by Ince, however, are limited only to declarative sentences and do not address the derivation of polar questions in backward gapping structures in Turkish, illustrated in (85), which this thesis focuses on. In the next chapter, I examine these constructions in detail and propose an analysis.

85) Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Ayşe as for pear Q eat-PST
'Is it the case that Ali ate apples and Ayşe ate pears?'

2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have looked at Turkish sentences that involve coordination but lack a verb or a verb phrase in the first conjunct. We have seen that while some researchers analyzed these examples as backwards gapping (Bozsahin, 2000; Ince, 2009; Kornfilt, 1997), some believe that these sentences are instances of RNR (Duman, 2003; Hankamer, 1971, 1972; Kornfilt, 2019). We have, therefore, reviewed previous accounts for RNR structures that have been proposed for both Turkish and English.

In what follows, I will examine properties of the construction in (85) – the YN question with a backward gapped/RNR-ed verb – and propose an analysis based on these properties. According to my analysis, these sentences involve an ATB movement of the verb to a position outside of the coordination, but are not entirely reducible to RNR because of the presence of the question particle *mI*.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS

Recall from Chapter 1 that sentences like (86) involve adversative conjunction as well as what looks like backward gapping.

86) Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Ayşe as-for pear Q eat-PST
'Did Ali eat apples and Ayşe pears?'

These structures in Turkish have the properties listed in (87).

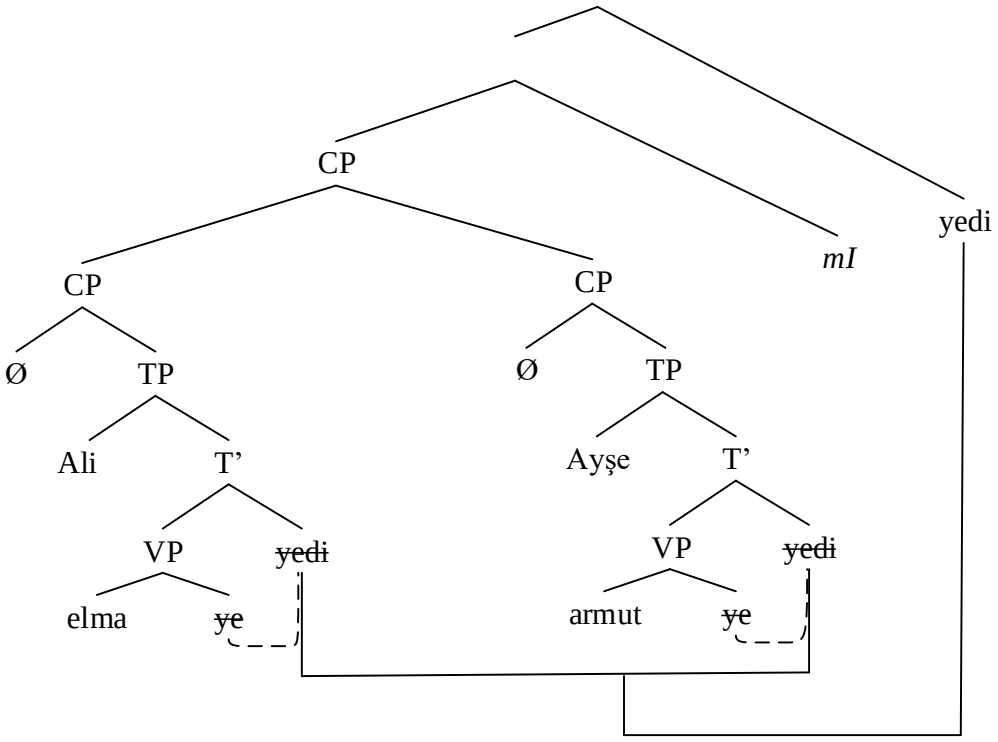
87) i. These sentences are questions involving a coordinator *-ise* and a single instance of the question particle *mI*,

ii. *mI* has a wide scope, i.e., it scopes over both conjuncts, but

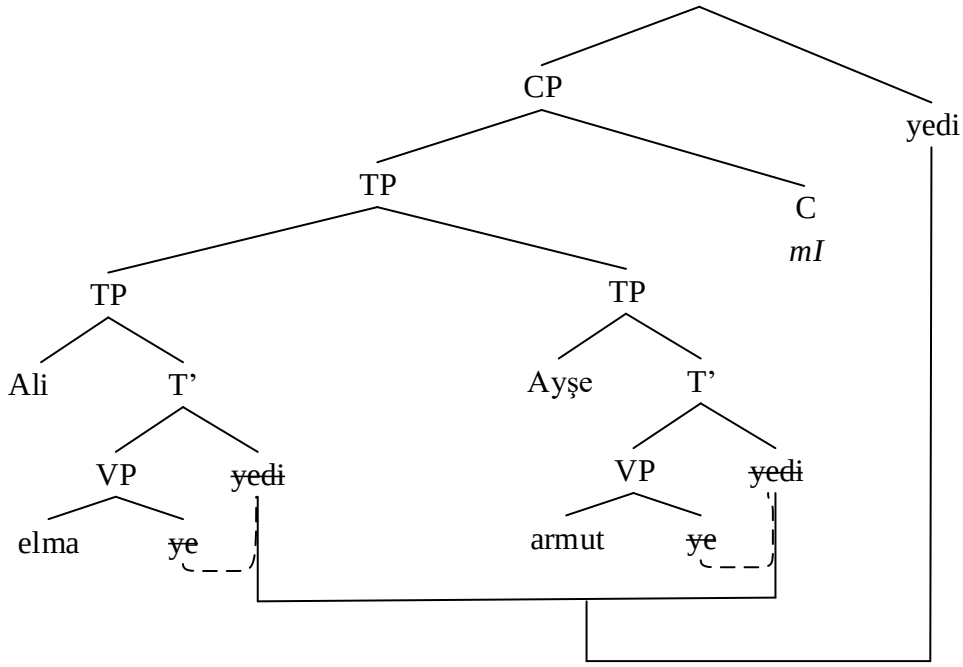
iii. the word order suggests that *mI* occupies a position *inside* the second conjunct, from where it cannot take scope over the material in the first conjunct.

The analysis that I propose reconciles all of these properties by positing that *mI* originates outside of the conjunction and ends up linearly preceding the verb because the verb undergoes ATB movement to a position that is even higher than *mI*. The conjuncts in such questions are at least the size of a vP because they involve a subject, an object, and a verb. However, it is also possible to consider the conjuncts to be TPs or CPs. Possible derivations of the sentence in (86) are given in (88).

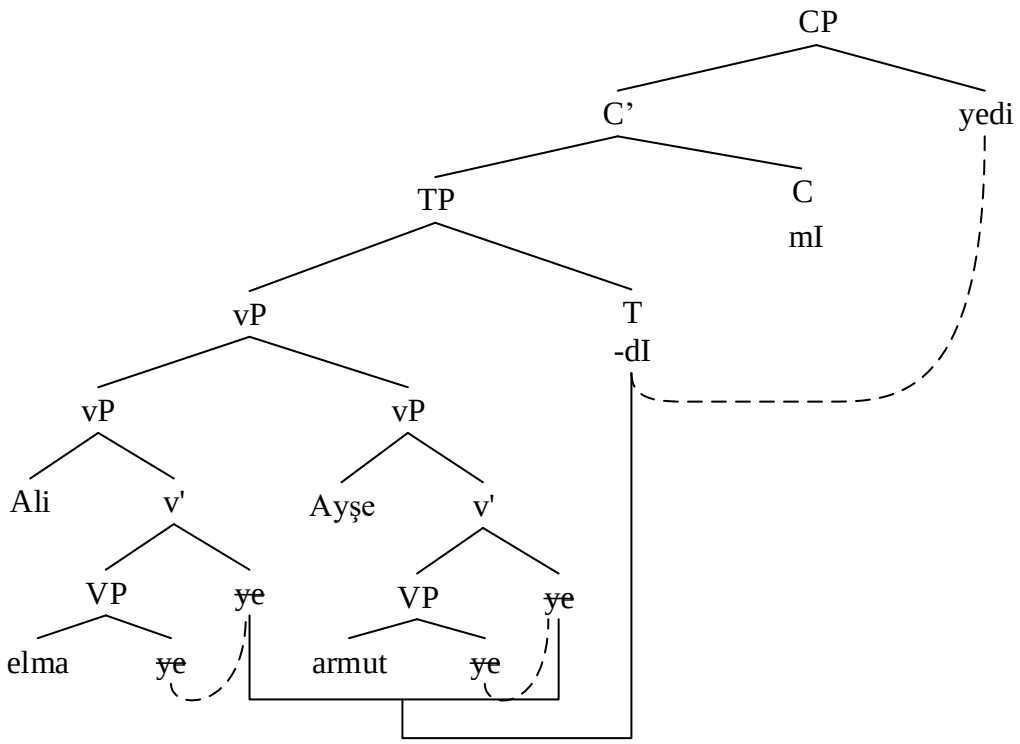
88) a.


CP
yedi
CP
mI
CP
CP
Ø
TP
Ø
TP
Ali
T'
Ayşe
T'
VP
yedi
VP
yedi
elma
ye
armut
ye

b.


CP
yedi
TP
C
mI
TP
TP
Ali
T'
Ayşe
T'
VP
yedi
VP
yedi
elma
ye
armut
ye

c.



There are several pieces of evidence which suggest that the analysis illustrated in (88) is the correct analysis for such sentences. However, before discussing them, we first need to familiarize ourselves with the properties and the distribution of the question particle *mI* in Turkish. I will discuss the question particle *mI* in the next section.

3.1. Question Particle *mI* in Turkish

In Turkish, *mI* is a question particle and a clitic[15] which transforms declarative sentences into polar questions (Kornfilt, 1997) as shown in (89).[16, 17]

89) a. Ali elma yedi.
Ali apple eat-PST.
'Ali ate an apple.'
b. Ali elma yedi mi?
Ali apple eat-PST Q
'Did Ali eat an apple?

Although *mI* can follow almost any element in YN questions (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: Gračanin-Yuksek & Kırkıcı, 2016), different placements of *mI* result in different semantic interpretations of the question in that the position which it takes decides the focus of the question. Whether *mI* has a narrow focus or a wide focus is determined based on this position in the sentence.

I discuss the possible placements of *mI* in the following subsections.

3.1.1. Placement of *mI*

mI displays interesting properties with respect to its placement and interaction with sentence accent (Kamalı, 2011). For example, it is possible for *mI* to attach to the predicate of the sentence, as in (90), and in this position, *mI* has the whole sentence in

[15]*mI* has been argued in the literature as a clitic (Kornfilt, 1997; Besler, 2000; Göksel & Kerslake: 2005; Kamalı, 2011) based on Uriagereka (1995), who suggests that clitics are morphophonological units and that they have properties which distinguish them from suffixes. One clear distinction between clitics and suffixes is that clitics are pretty unselective when it comes to what they can attach to. They can attach to a DP, a V, or a participle. On the other hand, there are very few suffixes that can attach to both nouns and verbs. Since *mI* can attach to various smaller type constituents, I will adopt the view that it is a clitic.

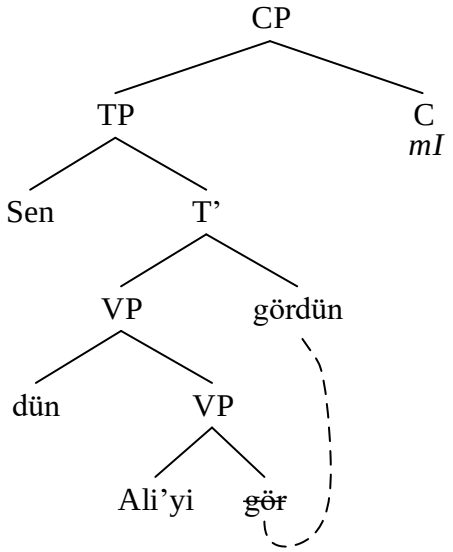
[16]Turkish orthography requires *mI* to be written separately from the word it attaches to, but this is only a writing convention; *mI* is in fact not separable from the element preceding it.

[17] Turkish also allows the question particle to be used in wh-questions. However, unlike in languages like Japanese and Korean, in which information-seeking questions can/must contain a question particle and a wh-phrase simultaneously, in Turkish such questions can only be echo questions (see Besler, 2000; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005 for detailed information). Since only polar questions are the focus of this thesis, *mI* in wh-question contexts will not be considered.

its scope, yielding a wide scope reading of the sentence. Thus, *mI* seems to occupy the C position in such sentences.

90) a. Sen dün Ali'yi gördün mü?
you yesterday Ali-ACC see-PST-AGR Q
'Did you see Ali yesterday? (Besler, 2000: 7)

b.



This derivation is in line with the claim that the functional category C types a sentence as declarative or interrogative (Cheng, 1991; Chomsky, 1995; as cited in Besler, 2000).

However, Besler (2000) argues that *mI* is not always generated in C in Turkish. To illustrate it, she provides examples where the question particle is between a Tense/Aspect marker and an Agreement marker.

91) a. Sen gidecek misin?
you go-FUT Q-AGR
'Are you going to go?' (Besler, 2000: 29)

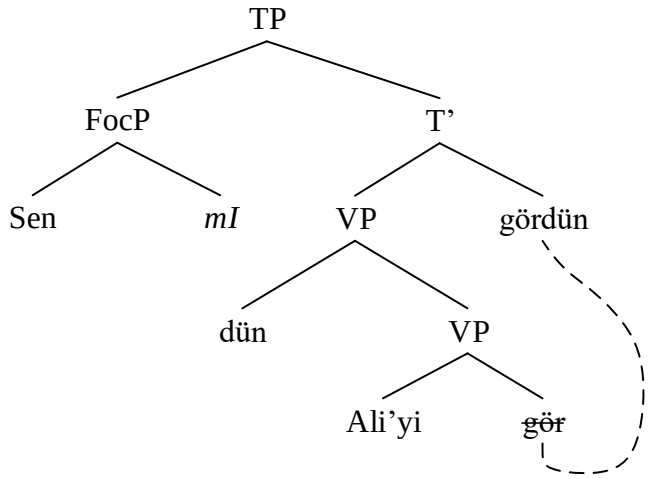
(91) is clear counter-evidence to the claim that the question particle *mI* is base-generated in C. If it were generated in C, (91) would be ungrammatical, and (92) would be grammatical. This is because if *mI* were base-generated as the head of CP, it would be the rightmost element in the sentence as it would c-command both tense and agreement markers. Since this is not the case, it can be argued that *mI* does not always occupy the C position in polar questions.

92) a. *Sen gideceksin mi?
you go-FUT-AGR Q
Int.: 'Will you go?'

Another piece of evidence against *mI* originating in C position is that it can also attach to smaller constituents and take only the constituent that it is attached to in its scope (Kornfilt, 1997). In this way, it may have, e.g., the subject DP or an adverb in its immediate c-command domain and this yields a narrow scope reading. Examples in (93) and (94) illustrate.

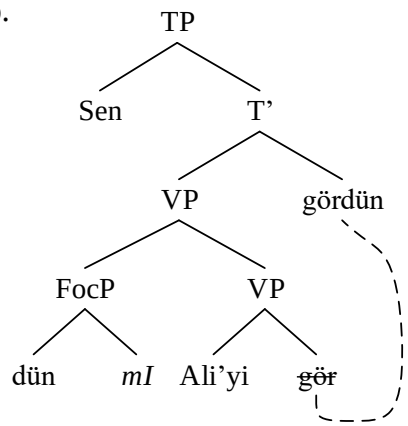
93) a. Sen mi dün Ali'yi gördün?
you Q yesterday Ali-ACC see-PST-AGR
'Was it YOU who saw Ali yesterday?'

b.



94) a. Sen dün mü Ali'yi gördün?
You yesterday Q Ali-ACC see-PST
'Was it YESTERDAY that you saw Ali?' (Besler, 2000: 8)

b.



Moreover, *mI* can yield both narrow and wide scope reading when it is positioned in the immediately pre-verbal position. In this position, it may take the whole sentence in its scope as in (95) (Kornfilt, 1997) or it may give rise to a narrow scope reading as in (95).

95) a. Sen dün Ali'yi mi gördün?
You yesterday Ali-ACC Q see-PST
b. Wide scope reading: 'Did you see Ali yesterday?
c. Narrow scope reading: 'Was it ALİ that you saw yesterday?

(Besler, 2000: 8)

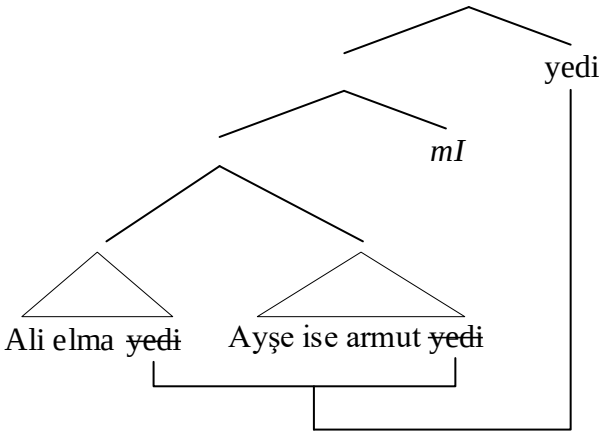
With this much in mind, let us return to the sentences involving backward gapping that are the focus of this thesis. Given that *mI* can surface in various positions in the sentence, and especially given that the immediately preverbal position may yield the wide scope reading of the question might make us wonder whether the *–ise* YN questions might underlyingly contain two instances of *mI*, with deletion applying to one of them. In the next subsection I argue against this possibility.

3.2. Against the Presence of Two Question Particles *mI* in *-ise* YN Questions

Recall that the sentences like (86), repeated as (96) here, are reminiscent of RNR and can be analyzed both as involving gapping, as in (96), or as involving ATB Movement of the shared verb, as in (96).

96) a. Ali elma Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Ayşe as for pear Q eat-PST
'Did Ali eat apples or Ayşe pears?'
b. [[Ali elma ~~mı~~ ~~yedi~~][Ayşe ise armut mu yedi]]?

c.



If we analyze them as gapping (which is equivalent to the PF Ellipsis analysis of RNR), they would be derived by simply deleting the first verb. In this thesis, I argue that questions like the one in (96) are derived instead through ATB Movement of the verb from both conjuncts, i.e., I argue that these examples involve the ATB movement analysis of RNR. This analysis is preferred over the PF-Ellipsis analysis of RNR for the following reasons:

- The PF-Ellipsis analysis of RNR would necessarily require an instance of *mI* in both conjuncts,[18] but it is impossible to strand *mI* in the first conjunct,

- The presence of two instances of *mI* in *–ise* YN questions predicts that such questions should have the semantic interpretation of two separate questions, which is not attested: These questions can only be interpreted as asking one question instead of two.

3.2.1. It is Impossible to Strand *mI* in the First Conjunct

On the PF-Ellipsis analysis of RNR, sentence (96) would look like (96):

96) a. Ali elma Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Ayşe as for pear Q eat-PST
'Did Ali eat apples or Ayşe pears?'

[18] This is because the first conjunct is not interpreted as a statement, i.e., it is in the scope of the question particle. Since the question particle does not c-command the first conjunct from its position in the second conjunct, the presence of the second *mI* in the first conjunct would be necessary on the PF deletion analysis.

b. [[Ali elma ~~mı yedi~~] [Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?]]
Ali apples Q eat-PST Ayşe as for pears Q eat-PST

If this analysis is correct, there must be two *mI*s in the sentence, and the first one is deleted together with the verb. This, then, should also mean that there is nothing to block the deletion of only the verb *yedi* 'ate' stranding the question particle *mI*. However, when we delete only the verb and strand *mI* in the first conjunct as in (97), the sentence is ungrammatical.

97) *Ali elma mı Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
Ali apple Q Ayşe as for pear Q eat-PST
Int.: 'Did Ali eat apples and Ayşe pears?'

So, one question that this analysis raises is why *mI* in the first conjunct always has to be deleted. One possible explanation would be to say that *mI* is somehow related to the verbal complex in such a way that the verb cannot be deleted without *mI*. However, in Turkish, it is possible to form questions in which the verb is missing, and the question particle *mI* is stranded. One such question is given in (98).

98) a. Ali elma yedi Ayşe armut mu?
Ali apple eat-PST Ayşe pear Q
'Did Ali eat an apple and Ayşe a pear?'
b. [[Ali elma yedi] [Ayşe armut mu ~~yedi~~]?]

Sentence (98) illustrates that deleting just the verb *yedi* 'eat*'* in the second conjunct without deleting *mI* does not cause ungrammaticality. In other words, *mI* can be stranded by ellipsis in interrogative sentences. Therefore, the fact that we cannot do it in the examples that I am interested in points to the conclusion that there is no *mI* in the first conjunct.

3.2.2. One Question Interpretation against Two Questions Interpretation

The second argument against the presence of two *mI*s in *-ise* YN questions is that *mI* in these sentences takes wide scope. That is, *mI* scopes over both conjuncts. This indicates that sentence (99) contains only one question about two events as

schematized in (100) rather than two separate questions about a single event each as in (100).

99) Ali elma, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?
'Did Ali eat apples and Ayşe pears?'

100) a. [p & q] + mI
b. #[p + *mI*] & [q + *mI*]

The interpretation of (99), then, is the one given in (101), not the one in (101).

101) a. 'Is it the case that Ali ate apples and Ayşe ate pears?'
b. #'Is it the case that Ali ate apples and is it the case that Ayşe ate pears?'

As the presence of two *mI*s predicts the reading where these constructions are two conjoined questions rather than one question with two conjoined clauses, I conclude that the analysis in which there are two *mI*s is incorrect.

These arguments show us two things about *–ise* YN questions:

i. It is incorrect to say that the verb is simply deleted. If it were, we could have stranded *mI* in the first conjunct after the deletion of the verb.
ii. Given the meaning of the sentence, *mI* does not originate inside the first conjunct. Actually, I argue, that it does not originate in *either* conjunct in such sentences, but in a position higher than the coordination phrase.

For all of these reasons, I believe that the PF-Ellipsis analysis of these questions, which I believe to be instances of RNR, is incorrect. Instead, I propose that underlyingly, *mI* is base-generated higher than the conjunction and the final word order is achieved by the verb movement to a position that is higher than *mI*.

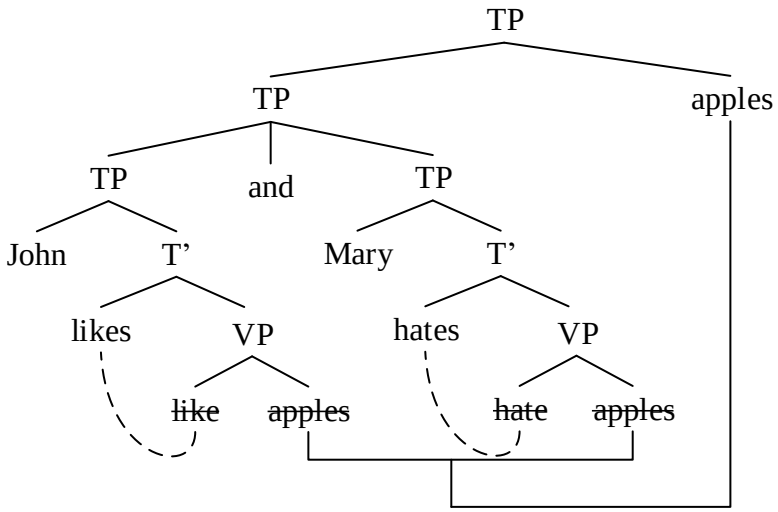
At this point, the question may arise as to why we are considering only the ATB Movement analysis of RNR but not the Multiple Dominance analysis of RNR to derive *–ise* YN questions.

To answer this question, let's first take a look at an example from English with the analysis of RNR that involves ATB Movement of the object DP, which is *not* multiply dominated, as in (102), the analysis of RNR that involves Multiple Dominance, where

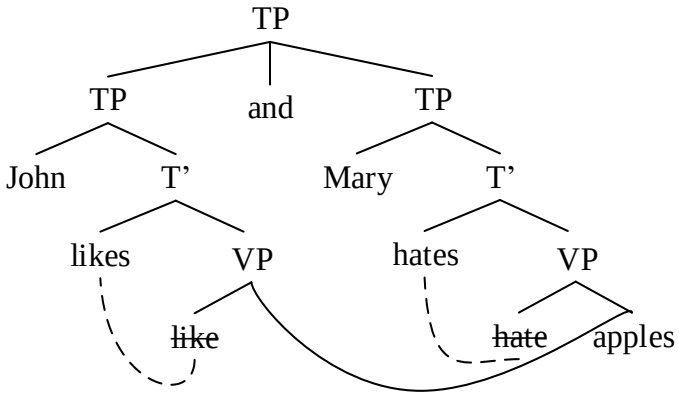
the DP stays in-situ, as in (102), and the analysis of RNR that combines the Multiple Dominance and Across-the-Board Movement where the DP is multiply dominated and moved outside of both conjuncts, as in (102).

102) a. John likes and Mary hates apples.

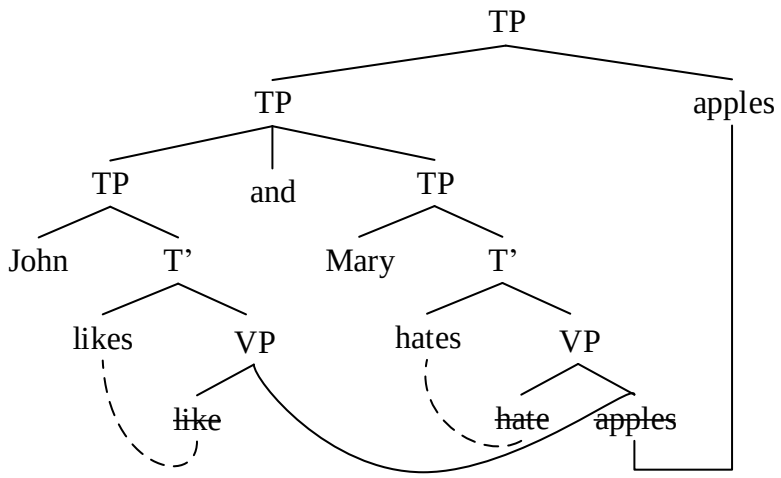
b.



c.



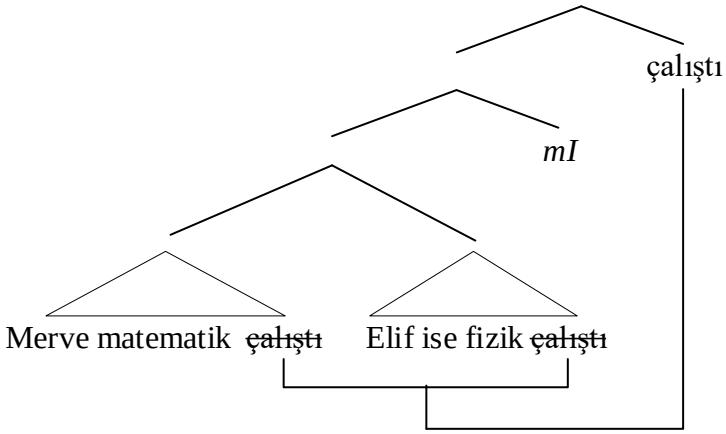
d.



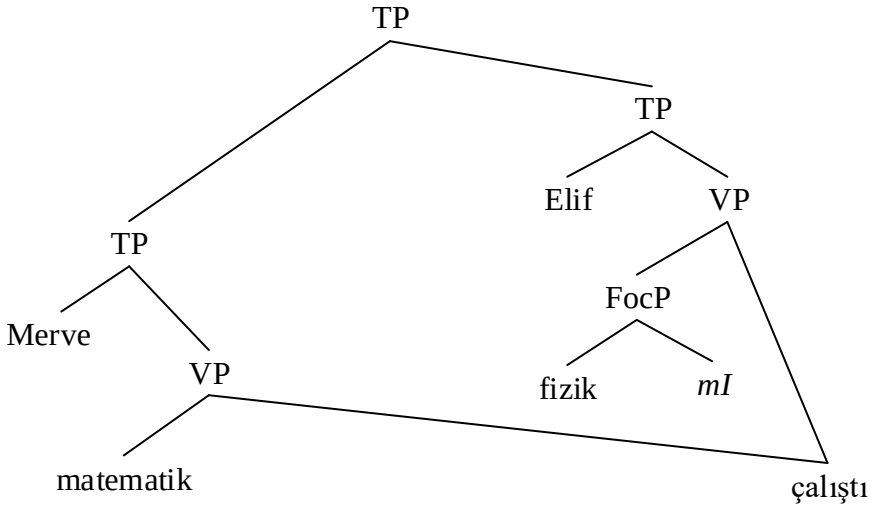
Applied to the cases that we are interested in, these three analyses look like the following:

103) a. Merve matematik Elif ise fizik mi çalıştı?
Merve math Elif as-for physics Q study-PST
'Did Merve study math and Elif physics?'

b.



c.



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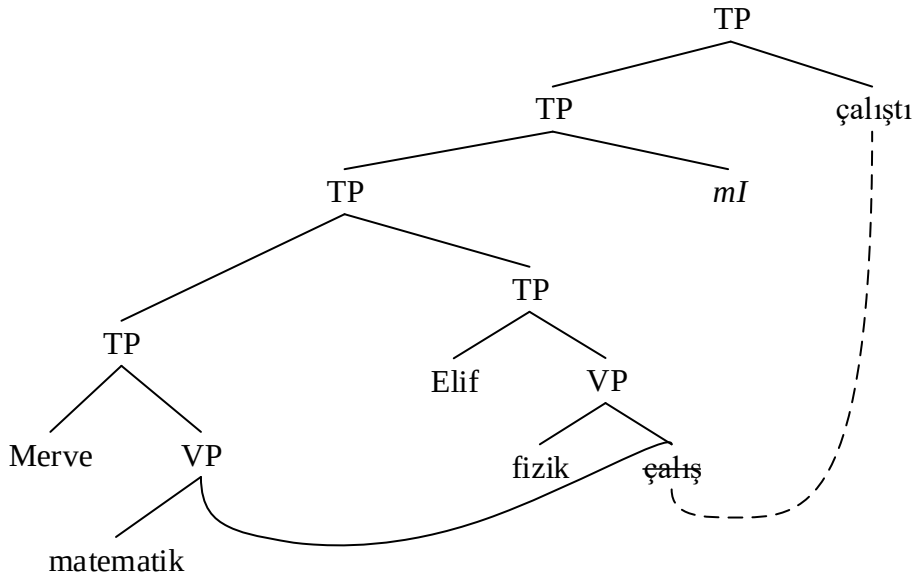


The word order and the fact that *mI* takes scope over both conjunct in Turkish suggests that the shared verb cannot simply be multiply dominated in situ, as in (103)– if it were, there would be a coordination of a statement (1st conjunct) and a question (2nd conjunct). Thus, the interpretation would be as in (104), but this is not the interpretation that we get.

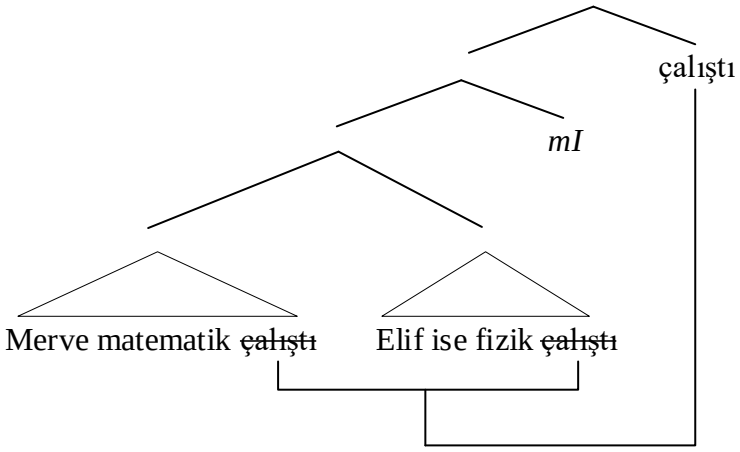
104) #Ali ate apples and/but is it the case that Ayşe ate pears?

The fact that we do not find this interpretation argues against the MD in-situ analysis in (103). Thus, MD analysis does not seem to be correct for such sentences. At best,

MD may be involved to the extent that the verb that moves to a position outside of the coordination phrase is multiply dominated in its base position, as in (103). However, since (103) and (103) make the same predictions about the movement of the verb to a higher position than *mI*, I will not explore whether the verb is or is not multiply dominated before the ATB Movement. Yet, it should be noted that Multiple Dominance of the verb in the base position, as in (103), is also an option.

For concreteness, I propose that the analysis of these sentences are as follows.

105)



This analysis derives all the properties of the construction that we see. The first thing that it does is it derives the high scope of *mI* because it c-commands both conjuncts. Additionally, it derives the correct word order by locating the verb in the sentence-final position as it moves across *mI*.

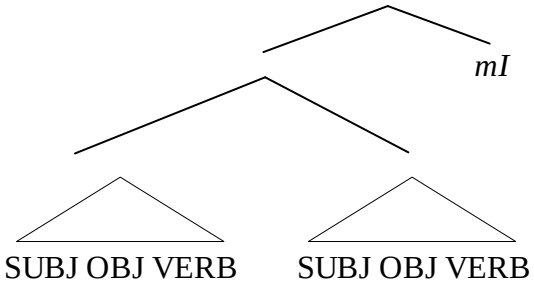
The following details of the analysis, however, still need to be worked out. First, what position *mI* occupies in these sentences is still not identified. In order to determine where the question particle *mI* might be, we need to determine the size of the conjuncts.

In the next section, I discuss the size of the conjuncts in *–ise* YN questions.

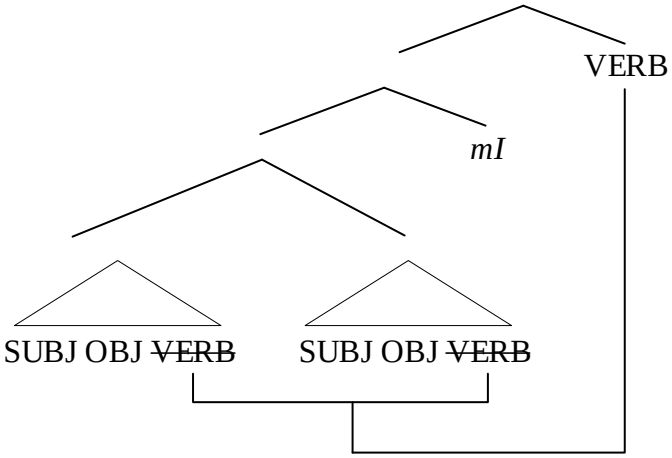
3.3. The Size of the Conjuncts

Given that there are not two *mI*s in the conjuncts, and we have seen arguments against that in the previous section, my proposal for the derivation of the sentences that I am interested is schematically shown in (106):

106) a.



b.



(106) shows that *mI* is already higher than the conjuncts in the base-generated position. (106), on the other hand, shows the derived representation, where the verb has undergone movement. I next turn to the question of what labels should be inserted in the schematic diagrams above; this depends on what the syntactic make up of the conjuncts is, and relatedly, what position *mI* occupies. In the following subsections, we will see that the conjuncts are CPs and *mI* occupies a position of a focus head.

3.3.1. Can the Conjuncts be CPs?

In order to test the size of the conjuncts in the *–ise* questions with a missing verb, we should look at examples where the position of *mI* can be determined with more confidence than in examples that we have been discussing so far. One possibility is to look at examples where the only thing following *mI* is not only the matrix verb. Embedded questions as in (107) are one such configuration.

107) Ayşe [[Ali'nin okula ~~gittiğini~~][Mehmet'in ise eve mi
Ayşe Ali-GEN school-DAT go Mehmet-GEN as for home-DAT Q
~~gittiğini~~] gittiğini] sordu? /.
go go ask-PST
'Did Ayşe ask whether Ali go to school and Mehmet to home?' [19] or
'Ayşe asked whether Ali go to school and Mehmet to home.'

Here, the first part of the embedded clause is the subject *Ali'nin* 'Ali's', and the last part of it is *gittiğini* 'goes/went', and on my analysis, underlyingly, there is another *gittiğini* in both conjuncts of the embedded clause. So, the representation has a conjunction of two clausal conjuncts, which means that it has all the syntactic properties that we are interested in. The question we are asking now is how the sentence is interpreted.

Note that (107) has two readings, one being a question reading and the other being a statement reading. Based on this, we can conclude that *mI* belongs either to the embedded clause, in which case the sentence is a statement (with an embedded question), or to the matrix clause, in which case the sentence is a question (with an embedded statement).

If the sentence is a question, the question particle *mI* must be related to the matrix C, with the interrogative force. However, we do not observe *mI* in this position because if we did, the sentence would be as in (108).

108) Ayşe [[Ali'nin okula ~~gittiğini~~] [Mehmet'in ise eve ~~gittiğini~~]
Ayşe Ali-GEN school-DAT go Mehmet-GEN as for home-DAT go
gittiğini] sordu mu?
go ask-PST Q
'Did Ayşe ask whether Ali go to school and Mehmet home?'

This is not the word order that we observe in (107), so *mI* does not occupy the C position, but it does not necessarily mean that it is not associated with the matrix C.

[19] Not all native speakers can interpret this as a question. However, the analysis I propose goes through even if this reading is indeed absent.

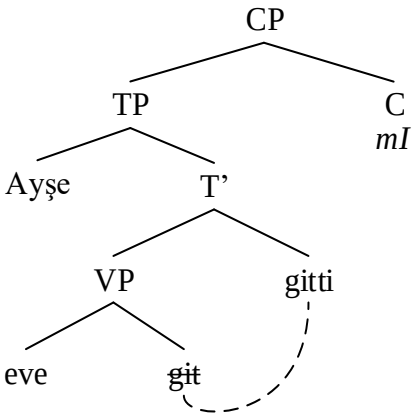
Recall from Section 3.1.1. that *mI* can have the interrogative force in different positions.

Simple sentences in which *mI* is positioned in different places should be examined to see if *mI* is necessarily base-generated in the matrix C. Given the focus of this thesis, we need to look at questions where *mI* has the wide scope reading.

Sentences in (109) and (110), without coordination, show a pattern very similar to that of (107) and (108) in that *mI* has interrogative force regardless of its position. In (109), the question particle *mI* is in C position, where it has interrogative force like it does in (108).

109) a. Ayşe eve gitti mi?
Ayşe home-DAT go-PST Q
'Did Ayşe go home?'

b.

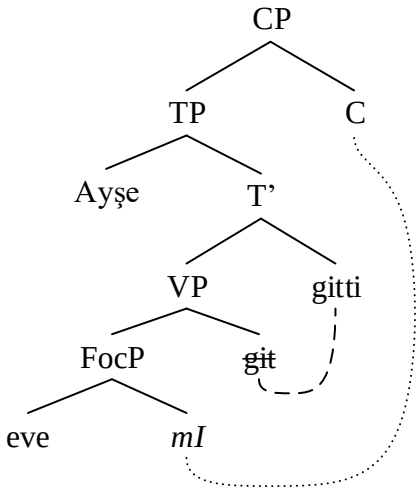


In (110), the question particle is on the object of the sentence. It is not in C position, but it is still associated with C, and the utterance still has the interrogative reading.[20]

110) a. Ayşe eve mi gitti?
Ayşe home-DAT Q go-PST
'Did Ayşe go home?'

[20] I assume, following Gracanin-Yuksek and Kirkici (2016) that in such questions *mI* originates in a low position and covertly moves to C at LF. In the diagrams, this is indicated with fine-dotted lines.

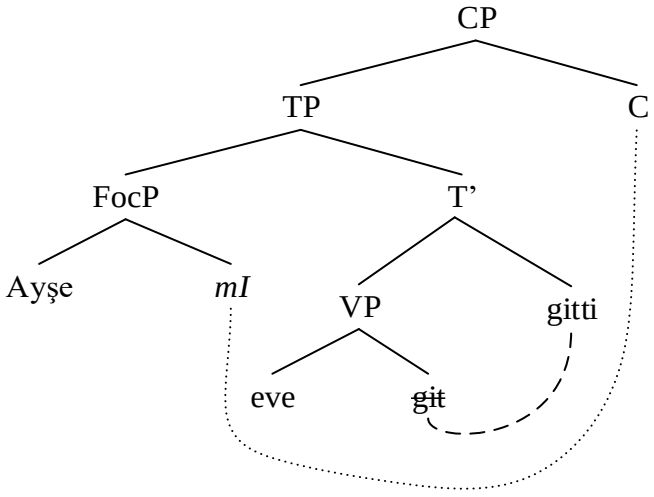
b.



Similarly, there are examples where *mI* is placed after various constituents in the question, as in (111)-(113), and in all such examples, the question particle *mI* is somehow related to C, and gives the sentences a question reading.

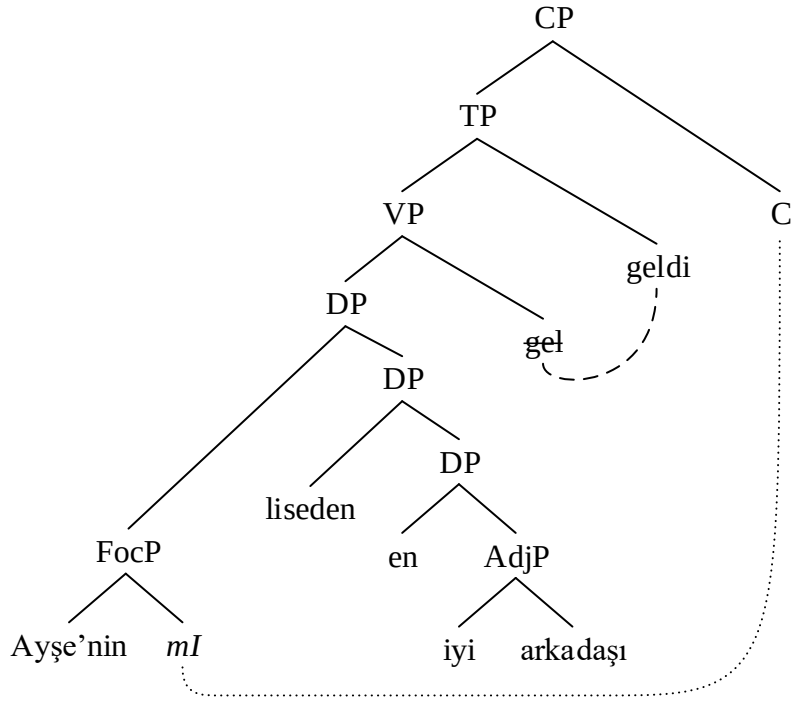
111) a. Ayşe mi eve gitti?
Ayşe Q home-DAT go-PST
'Did Ayşe go home?'

b.

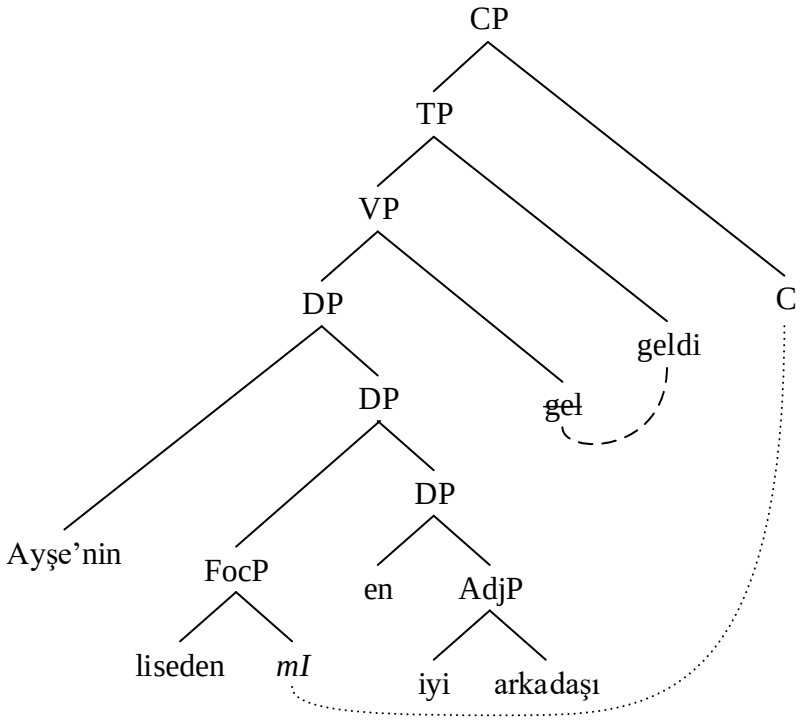


112) a. Ayşe'nin mi liseden en iyi arkadaşı geldi?
Ayşe-GEN Q high school-ABL best friend-ACC come-PST

b.



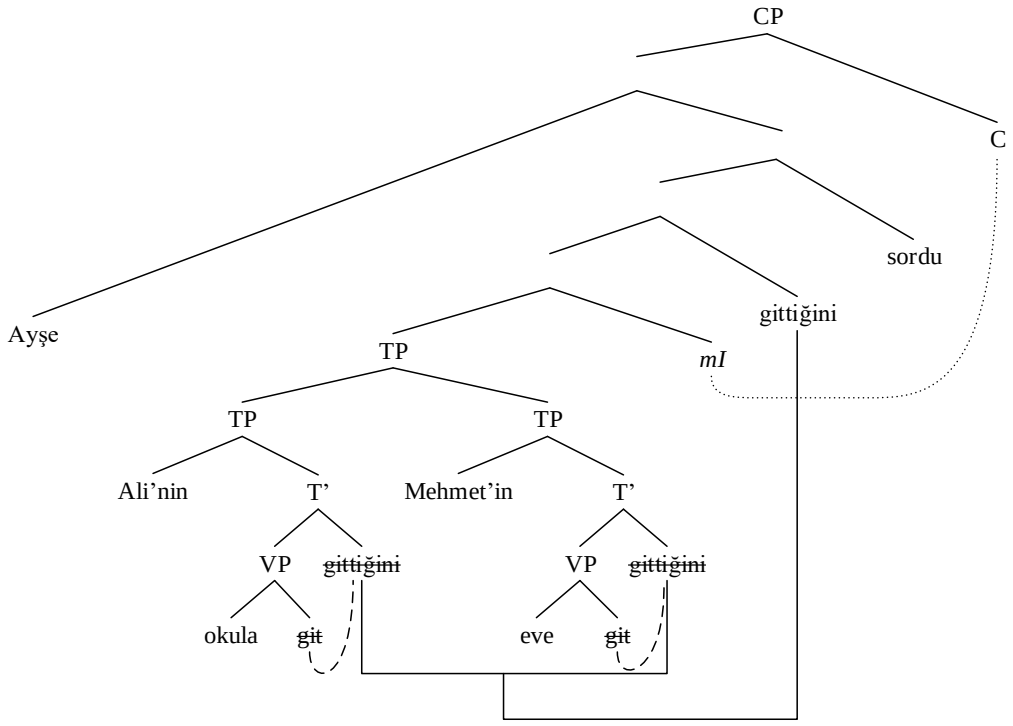
113) a. Ayşe'nin liseden mi en iyi arkadaşı geldi?
Ayşe-GEN high school-ABL Q best friend-ACC come-PST
b.



At this point, one might argue that [$_{DP}$*Ayşe'nin liseden en iyi arkadaşı]* is one constituent, and breaking this constituency by inserting the question particle *mI* should cause ungrammaticality. However, it has been argued that the question particle *mI* and its hosts do not form a constituent, and the constituency tests are not applicable for such structures (Kahnemuyipour & Kornfilt, 2011; Kamali, 2011; Özyıldız, 2015). Thus, given the data in (110), we are not surprised by the matrix question reading in (107), repeated here as (114). This is because *mI* in this sentence behaves just like it does in sentences (110), namely, it is associated with the matrix C, but it is placed inside a constituent embedded deeper inside the structure.[21]

114) a. Ayşe [[Ali'nin okula ~~gittiğini~~] [Mehmet'in ise eve
Ayşe Ali-GEN school-DAT go Mehmet-GEN as for home-DAT
~~gittiğini~~] mi gittiğini] sordu?/.
go Q go ask-PST

b.



[21] In the diagram in (114), the conjuncts are labeled as TPs, but this is done just for convenience. In fact, we are still debating the size of the conjuncts.

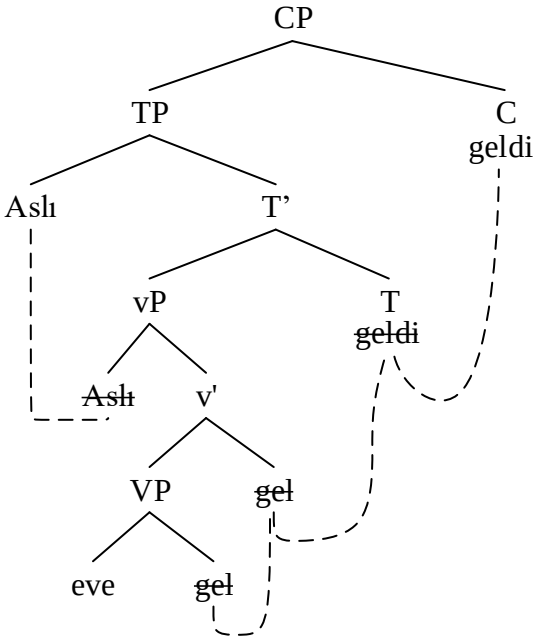
These data then indicate that *mI* does not necessarily have to occupy C position in adversative questions to be associated with the C. Instead, the question particle *mI* that is associated with the matrix interrogative C may find itself on various elements (like in the sentences (112) and (113)), and it can still give us the matrix question reading.

What is interesting for the purpose of this thesis is the situation in (107) when the matrix clause is declarative and the question particle originates within the *embedded* clause. In that case the embedded clause has the analysis that I propose for *–ise* YN questions (*mI* base-generated above the coordination with ATB movement of the verb across it).

We are now in the position to start discussing the size of the conjuncts in the embedded clause. Kural (1993) and Aygen-Tosun (1998) suggest that there is an overt V to C movement in Turkish, even in declarative clauses, as illustrated in (115) (see Ince (2006) for detailed information).

115) a. Aslı eve geldi.
Aslı home-DAT come-PST
'Aslı came home.'

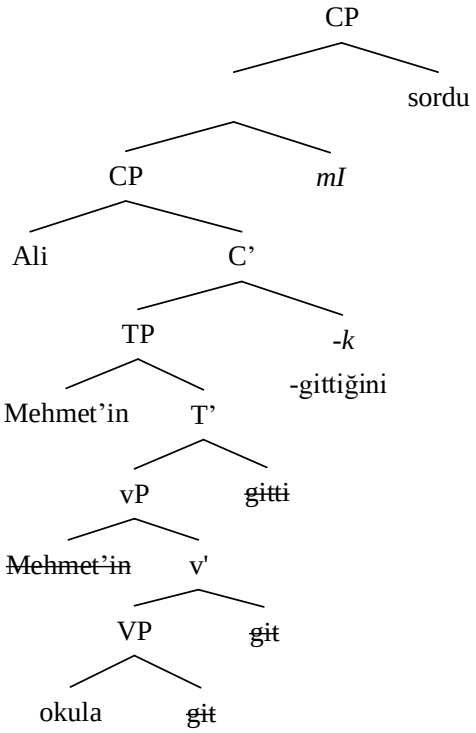
b.



In addition, Kural (1993) proposes that in embedded clauses, C is occupied by *-k* [22], i.e., that the nominalizing suffix *–DIK*, used for subordination, is composed of the tense marker *–DI*, and the complementizer *–K*, as illustrated in (116).

116) a. Ali Mehmet'in okula gittiğini mi sordu?
Ali Mehmet-GEN school-DAT go-*k* Q ask-PST
'Did Ali ask whether Mehmet went to school?'

b.



Therefore, in (116) the verb *gittiğini* occupies the C position. Following the same reasoning for (107), we conclude that the verb in each conjunct occupies the C position prior to ATB Movement. This means that the conjuncts are the size of CPs.

The second piece of evidence indicating that the conjuncts in (107) are CPs and that *mI* is somewhere other (higher) than the embedded C position is Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), which I discuss in the next section.

[22] The rule "softening of consonants" requires *gitti-k-ini* to become *gitti-ğ-ini*. That is why we do not observe *-k* in the verb.

3.3.1.1. Licensing Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)

While some lexical items are not dependent on the presence of another element, words such as *anything, anybody*, etc., have a strict distribution and can be present with only certain elements (Uribe-Etxebarria, 1994), such as negation. This is shown in (117) and (118).

117) *John saw anybody.
118) John did not see anybody. (Zeijlstra, 2007: 509)

Sentence (117) shows that *anybody* cannot occur in the sentence unless certain conditions are met. In order for *anybody* to be present in the sentence grammatically, it should be licensed by a licenser overtly. In English, this is done by negation, as in (118), which is why elements like *anybody* are called *Negative Polarity Items* (NPIs).

However, there are also cases where NPIs are licensed even though there is no overt negative marker (Giannakidou, 2002). NPIs can also be licensed by YN questions.

119) Do you expect anything from your life?
120) Have you ever been abroad?

English is not the only language that has NPIs. NPIs are typologically very common and exist in virtually every language (Giannakidou, 2008). Turkish, like English, has NPIs and very similar licensing rules apply for Turkish, too. That is, Turkish NPIs also need a licensor in the sentence and cannot be expressed in declarative sentences without negation as illustrated in (121) and (122).

121) John (hiç)kimse-yi gör-me-di.
John anybody-ACC see-NEG-PST
'John didn't see anybody.'
122) *John (hiç)kimse-yi gör-dü.
John anybody-ACC see-PST (Kelepir, 2001: 121)

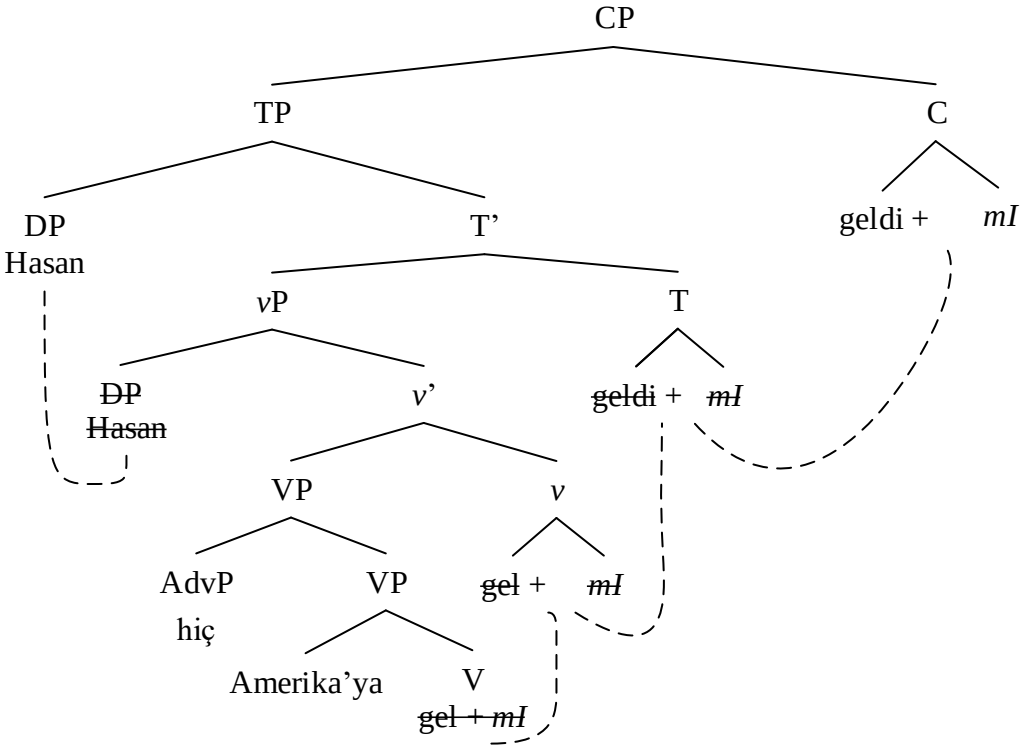
However, there are also a few NPIs that are licensed in polar questions such as *hiç* 'ever, at all' (Kelepir, 2001), but only when *mI* occupies the sentence-final, C position

(Besler, 2000), as in (124). A different position of *mI* does not license NPIs, as (125) shows.

123) *Hasan hiç Amerika'ya gel-di.
Hasan ever America-DAT come-PST

124) a. Hasan hiç Amerika'ya gel-di mi?
Hasan ever America-DAT come-PST Q
'Has Hasan ever come to America?'

b.



125) *Hasan hiç Amerika-ya mi gel-di?[23]
Hasan ever America-DAT Q come-PST

[23] (125) can be a grammatical sentence with an appropriate context, as in (i) below.

(i) Context: The person who asks the question is completely sure that Hasan has never gone to America in his life. Thus, to emphasize this, he says:
Hasan hiç Amerika-ya mi gel-di?
Int.: 'C'mon, I doubt that Hasan has gone to America.'

In such a sentence, *mI* seems to scope over the entire conjunct and takes wide scope even if it is not in C position. This issue remains unresolved in this thesis, and requires further research. Note that sentence (125) is marked as ungrammatical in neutral contexts.

Sentences (123), (124) and (125) suggest that only when the question particle *mI* is at the end of a sentence, and occupies the C position, is it a licenser and can license NPIs.

This piece of information comes in handy to test the position of *mI* in adversative questions in Turkish. Sentence (126) shows that an adversative question with an addition of an NPI becomes ungrammatical, suggesting that *mI* does not occupy the C position in the sentence.

126) *Ali hiç elma Ayşe ise hiç armut mu yedi?
Ali ever apple Ayşe as for ever pear Q eat-PST
Int.: 'Has Ali ever eaten an apple and Ayşe a pear?'

This is in accordance with the conclusion from the preceding section, where we saw that *gittiğini* occupies the embedded C position, so this position cannot be occupied by *mI*. The discussion in this section led to the conclusion that in *–ise* YN questions, the conjuncts are CPs, rather than e.g., TPs or vPs. This, in turn, led to the conclusion that *mI* does not occupy C, but rather a position higher than that. We next discuss the question of where *mI* is base-generated.

3.4. Where is *mI* Base-generated?

In Sections 3.3.1. and 3.3.1.1., we saw that *mI* is not base-generated in embedded C, but rather in some position higher than that. Thus, the observations we have so far are listed below:

i. Section 3.3.1 shows that, because there is V to C movement in Turkish, *mI* in adversative questions cannot occupy C as C is already occupied by the complementizer *-k*.
ii. Recall from Section 3.3.1.1. that *mI* does not license Negative Polarity Items unless it is in a sentence-final position where it scopes over the whole clause. This suggests that *mI* that occurs in a position other than the sentence-final position does not occupy C.

To establish an analysis which can explain all these considerations economically, there should be a head position where *mI* is base-generated (from which it can licitly move when necessary) and this position should c-command the CP (since we saw that prior

to the ATB movement, the two verbs occupy the C position in the individual conjuncts). In order to satisfy these considerations, we follow Rizzi (1997) and assume that the left periphery of the clause is elaborate and hosts more than one syntactic head. Rizzi argues that there is a number of functional heads that dominate the TP in a clause; in particular, he proposes the following hierarchy.

127) Force > Top* > Foc > Top* > Fin > TP (Rizzi 1997: 298)

If we assume, together with e.g., Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002), that the position occupied by the verb in both conjuncts is not Force^0, but Fin^0, this allows us to propose that *mI* is base-generated as the focus head (Kesici, 2019). Thus, the verb, which occupies Fin^0 in both conjuncts, ATB-moves across *mI*, which occupies Foc^0, to a position higher than that. This analysis is consistent with the word order and also the meaning of *mI* as a focus question particle.

At this point, the final position of the verb is problematic because it is a head and presumably moves as a head. Therefore, it should obey the *Head Movement Constraint* (Travis, 1984), i.e., it should move through every head position on the way from its original position to its final landing site. This means that all the heads on the way should be available to move into (i.e., should not contain overt material), or the verb should stop off in every head position on the way to its final position, picking up material on the way, assuming that such material is affixal in nature. Since *mI* is a clitic, it is conceivable that it will allow the verb to land in Foc^0, assuming that *mI* then attaches to the verb and is raised up together with it.[24] However, this would give us the following word order.

128) Emre şiir Mine dergi okudu mu?
Emre poem Mine magazine read-PST Q
'Is it the case that Emre read poems and Mine magazines?'

Since this is not the word order we get, there remain two possible solutions:

[24] See Kesici's (2019) analysis for furher information about his proposal in which *mI* is base-generated and moved in this manner.

i. Either the verb exceptionally skips a head on the way up, perhaps because it is moving in the ATB manner, or

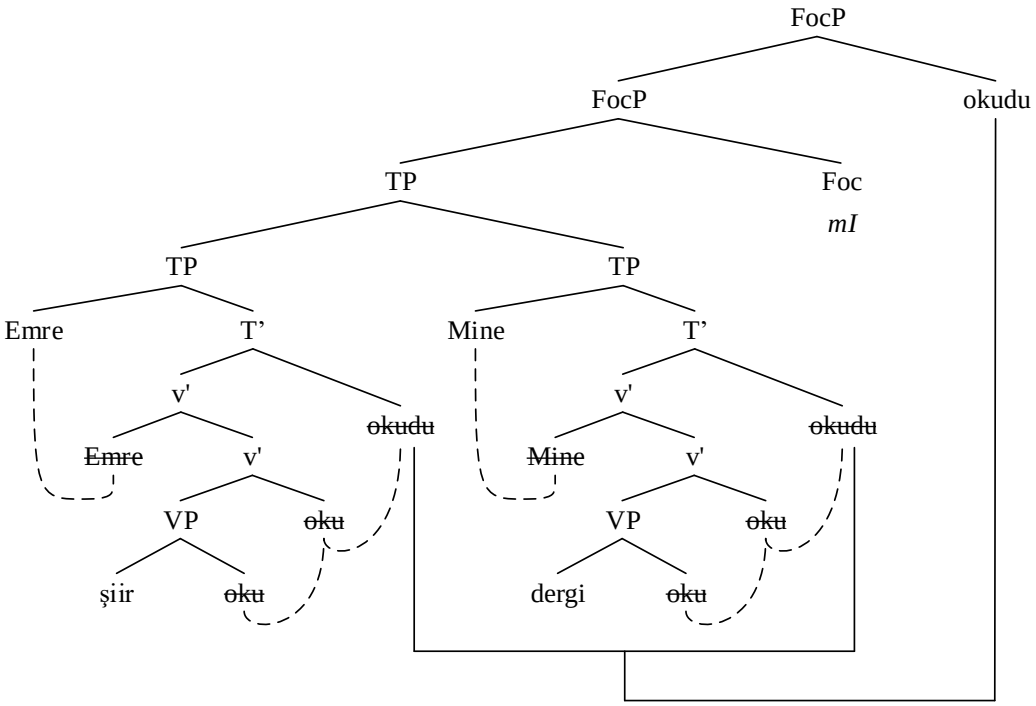
ii. the position to which the ATB-moved verb is not a head position, but some position that is not on the spine of the tree, therefore the movement of the verb is actually scrambling to some position that is adjoined to the FocP.

Since Head Movement Constraint applies to ATB Movement as well as regular head movement (Agbayani & Zoerner, 2004) scrambling of the verb is the only solution to explain this derivation.

When we combine all of this evidence, we can suggest that the verb that is shared in each conjunct ATB-moves across the question particle *mI* to a position that is adjoined to FocP. This gives us the complete analysis of the elliptical yes-no (YN) questions that contain the adversative conjunction as illustrated in (129).

129) a. Emre şiir Mine dergi mi okudu?

b.



3.5. Conclusion

We started this chapter with the question of how and why ATB movement analysis of RNR is correct for our target structures. Following that, we looked at the question particle *mI* in Turkish. We have seen its placement and the interpretation it gives to the questions, and we have established that it is not surprising that the adversative YN questions have a wide scope reading even though *mI* is followed by a verb. We have also discussed whether there can be two separate *mI*s in such YN questions and argued against this possibility. Lastly, the size of the conjuncts was discussed and it was shown that they are CPs (FinPs), and that the question particle *mI* originates as the head of the Focus Phrase. This, in turn, suggests that the ATB-movement that the verb undergoes is not head movement proper, but some version of scrambling that adjoins the verb to FocP.

With all this information, we have derived the correct word order with two conjuncts sharing a verb following the question particle *mI*. This structure also allows *mI* to scope over each conjunct and enables the sentence to have one question reading.

In what follows, I turn to how properties of the adversative YN questions in Turkish may be recast in second language (L2) English. In the next chapter, I will explore the possible effects of the superficial similarities of the target structures in Turkish and English on the L2 interpretation of comparable questions in English. We are going to see whether L2 learners of English, with native Turkish can assign YN and ALT interpretations to the questions in the target language even if the parallel structure in their native language (the adversative YN questions that we have discussed so far) lacks the ALT reading.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIMENT

The aim of this chapter is to investigate elliptical Yes-No questions that contain the adversative conjunction –(y)sA/–ise in Turkish, and to see whether comparable sentences in English, which are superficially very similar to their Turkish counterparts, are acquired correctly by Turkish speakers.

In Chapter 3, I showed that Turkish questions involving an adversative conjunction –*ise*, but missing the verb in the first conjunct receive only a yes/no interpretation and lack an alternative interpretation because of their syntactic make-up. Therefore, such sentences in Turkish do not involve ambiguity in the interpretation, as shown by the absence of the alternative reading in (130).

130) a. Frank hikaye Jessica ise şiir mi yazdı?
Frank story Jessica as for poem Q write-PST
b. Is it the case that Frank wrote a story and Jessica a poem?
c. #Is it the case that Frank wrote a story or is it the case that Jessica wrote a poem?

Sentence (130) can have the Yes-No question interpretation as in (130), but it is impossible to have the alternative reading as in (130) in Turkish.

Comparable sentences in English, however, are different from their Turkish counterparts.

131) a. Did Frank write a story or Jessica a poem?
b. Is it the case that Frank wrote a story and Jessica a poem?
c. Is it the case that Frank wrote a story or is it the case that Jessica wrote a poem?

Sentence (131) can have both the Yes-No question interpretation in (131), and the alternative reading interpretation in (131) in English. Therefore, there is an ambiguity between these two readings.

Here, I will be investigating the acquisition of disjunctive questions as in (131) to see whether Turkish speakers can get both of the interpretations (YN and ALT) even though they do not have such an ambiguity in their native language. Thus, to be able to acquire and use these constructions in English correctly, Turkish speakers need to have the knowledge of more than one language module and they should integrate the knowledge of syntax and semantics.

Before moving on to the experiment, I will discuss the interfaces of these modules in the following section.

4.1. Interfaces

The term *interfaces* are used in both linguistic theory and acquisition theory, and it is used in different ways. In linguistic theory, interfaces were first discussed by Chomsky (1995) in two forms: Logical Form (LF), being the interface with Conceptual Intention system (CI) and Phonetic Form (PF), being the interface with Articulatory-Perceptual system (AP). The function of these interfaces is to interpret the meaning and sound of an utterance (Eren-Gezen, 2015).

After its introduction to the field by Chomsky, interfaces were also adopted by acquisition theories. The most common definition of interfaces in L2 research is the interaction or mapping between different linguistic components (White, 2011). Language consists of different components of grammar such as phonology, lexicon, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and these components affect and interact with each other. It is also possible for L2 learners to have various levels of proficiency in these components. While they may perform well in syntax, they may be less successful in phonology or pragmatics (VanPatten, 2007; as cited in Eren-Gezen, 2015), but the problems in domains that do not require interfaces with other domains are solved more quickly, and acquisition takes place faster (Sorace, 2005). White (2011) also states that there is an emphasis in recent language acquisition research

suggesting that properties which are related to pure domains such as narrow syntax are easier to learn than interface properties.

The mapping of the syntax of a sentence to its semantics (syntax/semantics interface) or the mapping of the syntax of a sentence to phonology (syntax/phonology interface) may be more problematic for learners. The interaction between these modules often poses a problem for especially adult L2 learner and it may be difficult for them to acquire target structures. Sorace (2006) gives the following example from Italian to underline that even advanced learners of Italian whose L1 is English can experience residual optionality by being affected from their native language unsystematically.

132) a. Perche Maria e andata via?
Why Maria is gone away?
b. (perche) lei ha trovato un altro lavoro
(because) she has found another job.
c. (perche) ____ ha trovato un altro lavoro.
(because)____ has found another job. (Sorace, 2006: 112- 113)

For a question (132), (132), in which the subject is not overtly realized by a pronoun, would be a natural answer from a native Italian. However, Sorace (2006) argues that (132), where the subject is indicated by an overt usage of the pronoun *lei* 'she', would be a typical answer of a speaker whose native language is English even though they are advanced learners. Such learners prefer realizing the subject overtly while they can use a null pronoun even at near-native levels.

Sorace and Filiaci (2006) call generalizations like this the *Interface Hypothesis (IH*). The IH originally proposes that when a structure involves an interface between syntax and another domain (e.g., syntax-semantics, syntax-pragmatics, etc.), it is less likely to be acquired compared to a structure in which no interface is involved (Sorace, 2005; 2011).

However, Rothman (2009) suggests that interface properties can ultimately be acquired even though they pose problems for L2 learners. White (2011) also shares this opinion, but proposes that not all of the interfaces cause difficulties to the same

extent. She suggests an improved version of Interface Hypothesis by dividing it into two categories: *External Interfaces* and *Internal Interfaces.*

External interfaces involve the interface of syntax with external domains such as pragmatics, and they are reported to be more problematic in terms of acquisition even for advanced learners. When there are such interfaces for learners, the acquisition is subject to difficulties, delays and mapping problems, which results in *residual optionality* (Iverson and Rothman, 2008). Rankin (2009) defines residual optionality as both non-mastery of the interfaces and continued influence of L1. Influence of L1 occurs especially when it has more economical syntactic features compared to the structures of L2.

Internal interfaces, such as syntax-semantics, morphology-semantics, on the other hand, are easier to acquire completely (Tsimpli & Sorace, 2006; Antanova-Ünlü, 2015). Tsimpli and Sorace (2006) state that syntax-semantics interference is relatively unproblematic and their results show that this interface appears to be target-like even for participants who experience relatively less exposure and interaction.

To test whether this is the case for Turkish speakers who learn English as a foreign language, and to see whether they can assign correct readings (YN or ALT) to the disjunctive questions which require integration of syntax and semantics, an experiment was designed. In the next section, I will look at this study, its results and implications.

4.2. The Study

This section involves the overall description of the experiment conducted as part of the thesis. It contains information about the research question, the participants on which the experiment was conducted, the instrument which was used to collect the data, the procedures which were followed during the data collection process, the data analysis, and the results.

4.2.1. Research Questions and Hypothesis

Research Question 1: Turkish and English both have adversative questions with two conjuncts and the verb missing in one (which I have been exploring in this thesis). However, in the two languages, these questions while superficially similar, give rise

to different semantic interpretations: in Turkish, only a YN interpretation is possible, while in English, both the YN and the alternative interpretation are possible. In this study, I investigated whether my participants, who were L2 learners of English with Turkish as their L1, can access to the same extent ALT and YN readings of English adversative questions with a missing verb?

H_1: Participants will prefer the YN reading of the target questions and this will be manifested through their giving higher scores to such questions when they appear with contexts that require a YN interpretation of the question. On the other hand, participants will have difficulties accessing the ALT reading, and this will be obvious through their giving low scores to such questions when they follow contexts that favor ALT interpretation of the question.

There will be a statistical difference between the mean scores of ALT and YN reading since the participants' native language has only YN interpretation. Syntactic transfer is expected to be observed.

4.2.2. Participants

The participants of the study were selected through purposeful sampling method. There were two experimental groups consisting of 51 individuals 23 males & 28 females). All the participants were native speakers of Turkish who learned English as a second language. At the time of the experiment, they were 1st grade students at an English Language Teaching Department of a state university in one of the most populous cities in Turkey. Although all the participants have similar education backgrounds in terms of language education from their high schools, it was reported by their professors that their proficiency levels of English may vary to some extent. Therefore, the Oxford Placement Test (OPT) was administered to determine their proficiency levels. Those participants who received a score of 39 or lower out of 60 were considered intermediate level learners and excluded from the study. The participants who scored between 40 and 47 were considered upper-intermediate, and those who scored 48 and higher were considered advanced learners. Based on these results, the upper-intermediate group contained 22 participants and advanced group contained 29 participants.

4.2.3. Instrument

The aim of the study was to find out whether L2 learners of English whose native language is Turkish can understand the syntax and semantics of disjunctive questions with missing verbs in English, in which, unlike in their native Turkish, both ALT and YN question readings are available. Recall from Section 4.1. that the mapping of syntax and semantics does not involve an interface of syntax with language-external domains.

To see if there is a transfer of knowledge from the syntax or semantics of the participants' native language to their second language, a Semantic Appropriateness Task (SAT) with a 5-point likert-scale was developed and administered to the participants in two lists. Each list contained 8 experimental items and 16 filler items. All the items consisted of a context and a question following it. In the experimental items, the questions involved instances of RNR where a verb is shared by two clauses. Participants' job was to rate, on the scale 1-5 how appropriate the question is given the context it follows.

The eight experimental items in each list consisted of 4 contexts favoring the ALT reading of the question and 4 contexts favoring the YN reading of the question. These items were distributed to the lists in a way that the same question was shown in both lists with the exact same format, but one had an ALT reading as in (133), and one had a YN reading as in (134).

133) **1 2 3 4 5**

Last weekend, William and Lily wanted to do some sports. William wanted to play soccer and Lily wanted to play volleyball. However, their two-year-old daughter got sick, so only one of them could go and do sports. To find out which one, I ask their friend: **Did William play soccer or Lily volleyball?**					

In this item, the context favors the ALT reading and this reading is one of the possible readings of the question. Thus, the question is appropriate and advanced speakers are expected to give it a high score. However, recall from Chapter 1 that ALT reading is not present in Turkish, so this might create difficulties for Turkish speakers to access this reading.

In the following item, the context favors the YN interpretation of the same question. Since this interpretation is also available for the following question, advanced learners are, again, expected to give it a high score.

134)

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Last weekend, William and Lily wanted to do some sports. William wanted to play soccer and Lily wanted to play volleyball. However, over the weekend they both had to go to work, so I am not sure whether they managed to do any sports. I therefore ask their friend: **Did William play soccer or Lily volleyball?**					

For filler items, there are two groups of questions: WH and YN questions. Since all the experimental contexts and questions require a high score in terms of semantic appropriateness, 8 of the filler contexts and questions were created so that the question following the context did not semantically fit it. This was done in order not to cause a bias for the high scores in the likert-scale. However, the formats of these questions were still the same as the experimental ones. The items that were created so that the following question fits the provided context are illustrated in in (135) and (136). These items, like all the experimental items, required high scores.

135) **1 2 3 4 5**

Yesterday, Derek and Jane went to a café near their house. Derek wanted to have cheesecake and Jane wanted to have coffee. However, once they sat down to order, they realized they were too expensive, so they had to change their choices. I wonder what they decided to order, so I ask: **What did Derek eat and Jane drink?**					

136) **1 2 3 4 5**

John and Mary worked really hard this year, and they finally decided to go for a vacation. To find a place of destination, either John was going to call agencies or Mary was going to look online, but I don't know which one happened in the end. So, I asked: **Did John call agencies or Mary look online?**					

On the other hand, it is not the case in (137) and (138). In these examples, the questions do not fit the preceding contexts. These items, therefore, require low scores.

137) **1 2 3 4 5**

Kevin and Peter wanted to create a personalized present for their mother's birthday. Kevin was going to paint a picture and Peter was going to write a song. However, as they were really short on time, I was not sure whether they were able to finish them on time or not. To find out, I asked their sister: **For whom did Kevin paint a picture and Peter write a song?**					

138)		**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Wilson and Jones are farmers in a small village. They grow fruit trees to make a living. However, last year the trees did not yield much fruit because of the drought, so they found new jobs. Wilson herded animals and Jones did gardening in other villages. However, I am not sure if they were able to earn enough money. To find out, I asked their neighbor: **Did Wilson like herding animals or Jones get used to do gardening?**						

None of the filler items involved RNR structures as they did not have a shared verb in two clauses. All 16 fillers were used in both lists, and the instrument was constructed with pseudo-randomizing. The items were pseudo-randomized so that there is no more than two experimental items involving contexts with the same bias in a row.

4.2.4. Procedure

All the tests were administered in classroom environment with pencil and paper. In the middle of the semester, the students were given the OPT to determine their proficiency level. After that, they were asked to participate in the experimental part at the end of the semester on a voluntary basis.

Every participant took part in only one list, and the administration of the questionnaire for both lists took place in the same room at the same time, and lasted around 15 minutes. All the participants signed a consent form before the experiment.

4.2.5. Data Analysis

After the data collection period, the two lists were merged into one list and the data was entered to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. The mean scores of all the ALT reading items (4 items in List 1, 4 items in List 2) and the mean scores of all the YN reading items (4 items in List 1, 4 items in List 2) were calculated to see if there was a statistical difference between these scores. For

comparison, paired samples t-test was used. After the comparison of the mean scores of ALT reading and YN reading items for all the participants, another paired-samples t-test was also used within different groups, to see if there is a difference relative to the language proficiency level of the participants.

For filler items, the scores for the items that require low scores were reversed and the mean scores of the filler items were calculated together. Those who scored 3.5 and lower out of 5 (lower than 70%) were excluded.

Taking all these into consideration, some of the participants were not included to the study. Two participants from each group were excluded because they did not complete the experiment. Additionally, three participants from the advanced group and five participants from the upper-intermediate group were excluded because they scored 3.5 or lower in the filler items. In total, 39 participants' (24 advanced, 15 upper-intermediate) scores were used.

The results were analyzed statistically through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Alpha level was set .05 for every test run. To test whether the data is normality distributed, Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was conducted and it was found that the data were normally distributed and the variances were found to be equal ($p > .05$).

4.2.6. Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for ALT reading and YN reading questions' mean scores of all the participants collectively.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Question Types (n=39 for both groups, max. score: 5, min. score: 1)

	ALT Reading	**YN Reading**
Mean	3.89	3.34
SD	.73	.76

A paired samples t-test was conducted to compare the mean scores of ALT and YN reading questions. The results showed that there was a significant difference in the mean scores for ALT reading (M = 3.89, SD = .73) and YN reading (M = 3.34, SD = .76); t(38) = 3.19, p = .003). These results suggest that native speakers of Turkish who learn English as a foreign language tend to assign ALT reading interpretation to disjunctive questions.

Then, another paired-samples t-test was conducted within each group to see whether the result is different when each language proficiency level is considered separately.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Question Types by Proficiency Level

(n = 24 for advanced group, n = 15 for upper-intermediate group)

Proficiency Level	**Question Type**	***M***	***SD***
Advanced	*ALT*	4.08	.71
	YN	3.29	.79
Upper-Intermediate	*ALT*	3.58	.68
	YN	3.42	.74

The results showed that an the advanced group, there was again a significant difference in the mean scores for ALT reading (M = 4.08, SD = .71) and YN reading (M = 3.29, SD = .79); t(23) = 4.11, p = .0).

For the upper-intermediate group, on the other hand, there was no significant difference in the mean scores for ALT reading (M = 3.58, SD = .68) and YN reading (M = 3.42, SD = .794); t(14) = .54, p = .60).

4.2.7. Discussion

The aim of this study was to establish what semantic interpretation L2 learners of English assign to sentences containing clausal disjunction and whether this interpretation might be influenced by the interpretation of comparable structures in their native Turkish. The experiment was conducted to see if the participants can assign to the same extent ALT and YN reading to disjunctive questions with a missing verb. Ideally, learners who are proficient in English were expected to have high scores for both ALT and YN reading questions. Since the interface tested in this experiment is internal, and requires syntax-semantics mapping, the mapping of two language modules may be considered relatively less problematic for learners. Yet still, I was expecting that learners would have difficulty in assigning ALT and YN readings to the questions depending on the contexts.

The first reason why I had such an expectation is that the question has a structural ambiguity in it, and this ambiguity causes the questions to be confusing for learners. For that reason, I believe the target structure, disjunctive questions, can be difficult sentences to process for learners regardless of their native language.

The second reason why I thought that L1 Turkish speakers would have trouble in assigning correct readings to the questions is that a comparable structure in their native language involves YN reading only. Recall from Chapter 3 Section 3.3. that the size of the conjuncts in disjunctive questions in Turkish are CPs, and the question particle *mI* originates higher than these conjuncts as the head of FocP. Having only one question particle in the matrix clause makes it impossible to have two-question reading (see Chapter 3 Section 3.2.2.) in Turkish.

Based on these two considerations, I hypothesized that there would be syntactic transfer from L1 to L2, and the mean scores for YN reading would be significantly higher than ALT reading. However, the results were exactly the opposite and the mean scores for YN reading outscored the mean scores for ALT reading (overall and in the advanced group). Therefore, it seems that there is no syntactic transfer from L1 to L2 whatsoever.

A possible explanation for why adversative questions with a missing verb in Turkish do not affect the interpretation of disjunctive questions with the verb missing in one of the conjuncts is that the two structures are not syntactically related. Note that disjunctive questions experimentally tested in this study involve a bi-clausal structure in which the verb is missing in the second conjunct (descriptively corresponding to backward gapping), while in Turkish the structure I examined has the verb missing in the first conjunct (descriptively corresponding to forward gapping). This may mean that the two structures have different enough derivations for the syntactic transfer not to occur between them. This would be consistent with my analysis from Chapter 3 of this thesis, that adversative *–ise* questions in Turkish with a missing verb involve RNR, with an ATB movement of the shared verb. Note that backward gapping structures in English cannot be reduced to RNR (since this is incompatible with their word order). The absence of syntactic transfer from L1 to L2 in this case may be the result of this fact.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to propose an analysis of YN questions that contain the adversative conjunction *–(y)sA/–ise* in Turkish. The questions that are the focus of the thesis contain two conjuncts, one of which involves a missing verb, which also happens to be the rightmost element in the domains. In the existing literature, while some researchers analyze these sentences as backward gapping (since it is the verb that is missing in the first conjunct), some others analyze them as Right Node Raising (since it is the rightmost element that is missing in the first conjunct). The challenge to this study was to explain the mechanism by which the verb is pronounced only once, but is interpreted twice in these questions. The question particle *mI* also needed to have a wide scope reading, but should be positioned immediately preverbally. Considering these aspects together, one of the main objectives of this research was to determine which analysis is the correct one in Turkish. In order to choose among these two analyses, various facts were taken into consideration: Narrow and wide scope interpretations in these questions, the size of the conjuncts, the original position of the question particle *mI*, and licensing of Negative Polarity Items. In my arguments, I relied on Ince's (2009) proposal, which suggests that the questions under discussion are instances of Right Node Raising. However, unlike Ince, I propose that the Across-the-Board analysis of RNR is the correct explanation for such sentences.

Another objective of this thesis was to see whether the semantics of comparable questions in English can be acquired by Turkish learners. The challenge of the acquisition of these structures in English is the lack of ambiguity of such sentences in Turkish. While in English, such sentences are ambiguous between the ALT reading and the YN reading, there is only YN interpretation in Turkish because of the syntactic make-up of the relevant structures, which might make it difficult to acquire the ALT

reading in English. In order to test the acquisition of these disjunctive questions in English, a Semantic Appropriateness Task was administrated to the participants. I expected the participants to assign significantly higher scores to YN reading interpretation given that their native language (Turkish) promotes that reading. In other words, I expected syntactic transfer to take place from L1 to L2. Interestingly, native speakers of Turkish assigned higher scores to the ALT reading of disjunctive questions when compared to YN reading interpretation regardless of their proficiency levels. This might be explained by the underlying differences between the structures in Turkish and English. While the questions under examination in the experiment have missing verbs in the second conjunct, their counterparts in Turkish have missing verbs in the first conjunct. This difference between the structures in the two languages may be obvious enough to L2 learners for them to not map the gapping questions in English onto the adversative questions in Turkish, which obviates syntactic transfer.

This study demonstrates arguments for the Across-the-Board analysis of RNR for the sentences involving disjunctive questions with a missing verb. However, there is a need for further research to see if it is possible to generalize this analysis to declarative sentences. Similarly, further analysis of similar constructions in different environments is required to see if ATB Movement analysis of RNR is the correct way to derive such structures in all environments (e.g., when the constituent that ATB moves is not the verb, but say, an object). I leave these questions for further research.

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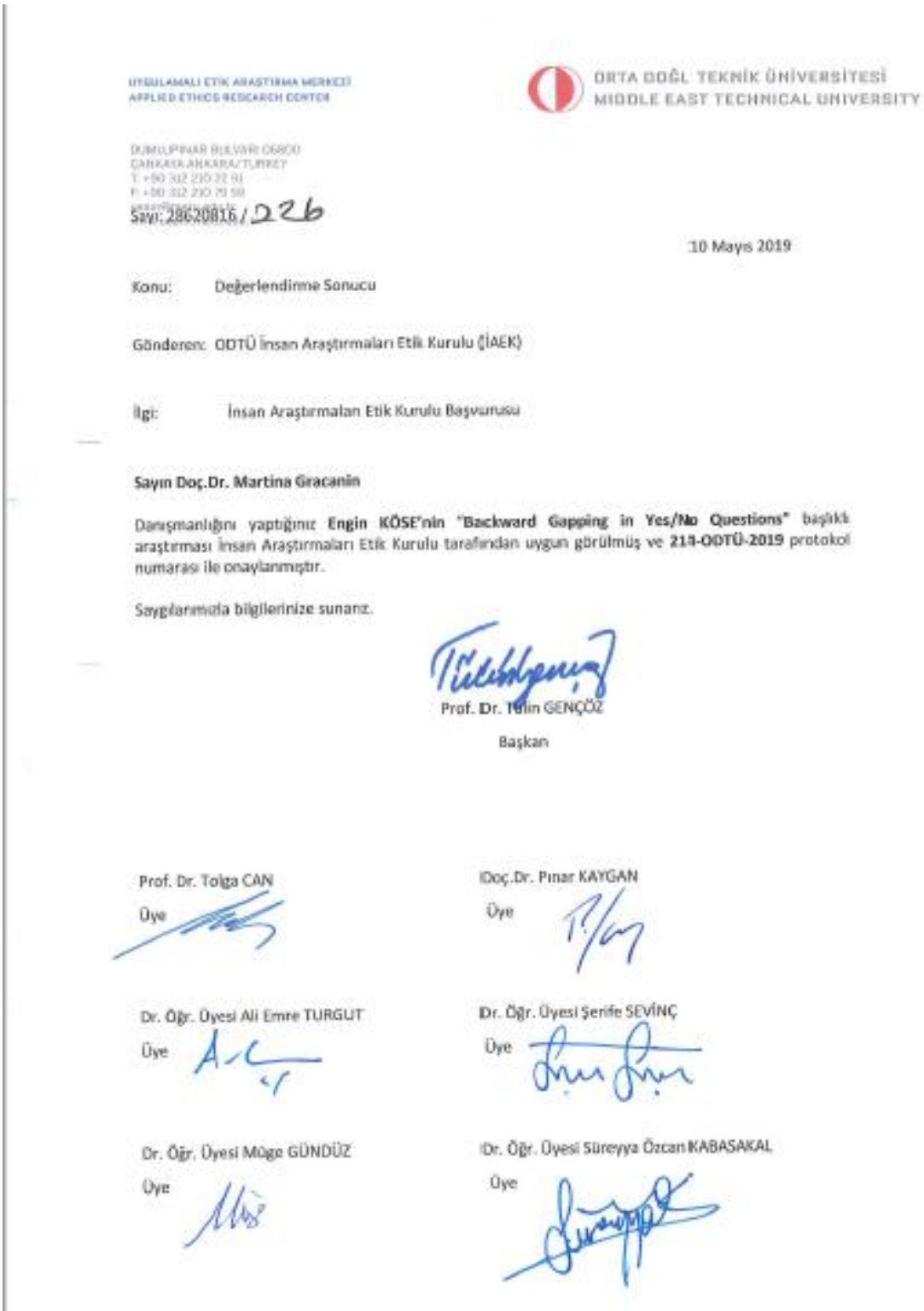
APPENDIX A: APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE



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10 Mayıs 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr. Martina Gracanin

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Engin KÖSE'nin "Backward Gapping in Yes/No Questions"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **219-ODTÜ-2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
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Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This study is conducted by Engin Köse as part of the MA thesis supervised by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek. The aim of the study is to establish what semantic interpretation L2 learners of English assign to sentences containing clausal disjunction. The participants are required to rate on a scale from 1 to 5 the semantic appropriateness of sentences given the context provided. Participation is entirely voluntary. No personal identification information is required in the questionnaire. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and evaluated only by the researcher; the obtained data will be used exclusively for scientific purposes.

The questionnaire does not contain questions that may cause discomfort to the participants. However, if during participation, you feel uncomfortable for any reason, you are free to quit at any time. In such a case, it will be sufficient to inform the person conducting the survey (i.e., data collector) that you have not completed the questionnaire.

After all the questionnaires have been filled and collected by the data collector, your questions related to the study will be answered. We would like to thank you in advance for your participation in this study. For further information about the study, you can contact Engin Köse, METU (e-mail: engin.kose@metu.edu.tr)

I am participating in this study completely of my own will and am aware that I can quit participating at any time I want / I give my consent for the use of the information I provide for scientific purposes. (Please return this form to the data collector after you have filled it in and signed it).

Name Surname: Date: Signature:

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APPENDIX C: ITEMS OF THE SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS TASK

Each of the items you are about to read contains a context (a situation), followed by a question. Please, read the contexts carefully and then, keeping the context in mind, rate how well the question fits the given context. (1= Strongly inappropriate, 2=inappropriate, 3= Neither appropriate nor inappropriate, 4= appropriate, 5= Strongly appropriate).

1) Yesterday, Derek and Jane went to a café near their house. Derek wanted to have cheesecake and Jane wanted to have coffee. However, once they sat down to order, they realized they were too expensive, so they had to change their choices. I wonder what they decided to order, so I ask: **What did Derek eat and Jane drink?**	1	2	3	4	5

2) Last weekend, William and Lily wanted to do some sports. William wanted to play soccer and Lily wanted to play volleyball. However, their two-year-old daughter got sick, so only one of them could go and do sports. To find out which one, I ask their friend: **Did William play soccer or Lily volleyball?**	1	2	3	4	5

3) Emily and Thomas are fond of animals, so they were thinking about building shelters for animals in their garden, to offer them protection from cold weather. Emily was going to build a bird house and Thomas was going to build a dog house, but then the weather got much nicer, so I didn't not know whether they built the shelters or not. Thus, I asked their neighbor: **Did Emily build a bird house or Thomas a dog house?**	1	2	3	4	5

4) Anderson and Taylor are fond of shopping. They always go to shopping malls and buy new clothes; Anderson likes t-shirts and Taylor likes suits. Last month, I heard that they wanted to go to a place to do shopping again. However, I do not know what happened in the end. So I asked: **Where did Anderson go to buy t-shirts and Taylor suits?**	1	2	3	4	5

5) Kevin and Peter wanted to create a personalized present for their mother's birthday. Kevin was going to paint a picture and Peter was going to write a song. However, as they were really short on time, I was not sure whether they were able to finish them on time or not. To find out, I asked their sister: **For whom did Kevin paint a picture and Peter write a song?**	1	2	3	4	5

6) Frank and Jessica are really good at writing literary pieces, so the teacher asked them to write for the school magazine. Frank was going to write a story and Jessica was going to write a poem. However, they got really busy with their midterm exams, so I am not sure whether they managed to complete their writing tasks. Therefore, I ask the teacher: **Did Frank write a story or Jessica a poem?**	1	2	3	4	5

7) Lara and Chandler work for a news website. During the interviews, either Lara records the sound or Chandler shoots a video. Last week, they had an interview with a celebrity, but I don't know what happened during the interview. To find out, I asked their manager: **Why did Lara record the sound and Chandler shoot a video?**	1	2	3	4	5

8) Amelia and Oliver were thinking about volunteering at a charity event for homeless people. However, one of them needed to stay home to take care of the children. So, either Amelia was going to bake cakes or Oliver was going to bake cookies. To learn what happened in the end, I asked the organizer: **Did Amelia bake cakes or Oliver cookies?**	1	2	3	4	5

9) I know that John and Mary needed money last year. John was thinking about selling his car and Mary was considering selling her motorcycle, but I forgot whether or not they managed to do either of those things and get the money. Thus, I asked a friend: **Did John sell his car or Mary her motorcycle?**	1	2	3	4	5

10) Brian and Carol attend extracurricular activities at school: Brian goes swimming and Carol plays tennis. However, I heard that they could not do sports on Monday last week. It was either because of the national holiday, or because of the bad weather. To find out what the actual reason is, I asked: **Why didn't Brian go swimming and Carol play tennis?**	1	2	3	4	5

11) Simon and Phoebe have a summer house on a remote island. Their water comes from a tank behind the house, so they have a limited supply. They typically do not have enough water for the housework. So every day, either Simon does the laundry or Phoebe washes the dishes. I wanted to learn which one happened yesterday, so I asked their son: **Where did Simon do the laundry and Phoebe wash the dishes?**	1	2	3	4	5

12) Emma and Liam are successful students and they always get high scores in exams. Both of them have different study routines. Emma likes studying at the library every evening and Liam likes solving tests twice a week. However, I heard that they both got low scores in their last exam. As I was not in town at the time, I asked their mother: **How often did Emma study at the library and Liam solve tests?**	1	2	3	4	5

13) Logan and Mia go to work using different ways of transportation. While Logan prefers getting on a bus, Mia takes a taxi. However, I heard that last month they bought a car, so I do not know how they went to work yesterday. I asked their colleagues: **How often did Logan get on a bus or Mia take a taxi?**	1	2	3	4	5

14) Smith and Barbara went on a three-day trip to Moscow. I know that Smith wanted to visit the Kremlin and Barbara wanted to visit the Bolshoi. However, they only had enough money to do one of those things and I am not sure which one they did. I ask their friend: **Did Smith visit Kremlin or Barbara the Bolshoi?**	1	2	3	4	5

15) Wilson and Jones are farmers in a small village. They grow fruit trees to make a living. However, last year the trees did not yield much fruit because of the drought, so they found new jobs. Wilson herded animals and Jones did gardening in other villages. However, I am not sure if they were able to earn enough money. To find out, I asked their neighbor: **Did Wilson like herding animals or Jones get used to do gardening?**	1	2	3	4	5

16) Kevin and Eve wanted to learn languages but they only had enough money for one of them to go to a language school. Either Kevin was going to learn Finnish or Eve was going to learn Russian, yet I don't know which one did in the end. To find out, I asked their friend: **Did Kevin learn Finnish or Eve Russian?**	1	2	3	4	5

17) George and Megan had a lot of free time because they were on holiday. They both wanted to spend their time playing games. George wanted to play SIMS and Megan wanted to play FIFA. However, I think their computers may have broken down, so I do not know whether they did or did not manage to play. I, therefore, asked their mother: **Did George play SIMS or Megan FIFA?**	1	2	3	4	5

18) Margaret and Samantha decided to go on holiday to the Bahamas. They were planning to spend as little money as possible for accommodation since they had a limited budget, so they considered cheap options. Therefore, Margaret bought a tent and Samantha found a cheap hostel. To find out about how much they spent, I asked a friend: **How much money did Margaret pay for a tent and Samantha for a cheap hotel?**	1	2	3	4	5

19) John and Mary worked really hard this year, and they finally decided to go for a vacation. To find a place of destination, either John was going to call agencies or Mary was going to look online, but I don't know which one happened in the end. So, I asked: **Did John call agencies or Mary look online?**	1	2	3	4	5

20) Susan and Maria are wonderful cooks. Every month, we gather at a friend's house and eat their dishes. For each occasion, they cook delicious things. Susan is good at dishes with chicken and Maria at dishes with beef. However, I could not attend our meeting last week, so do not know what happened. To find out what the ingredients were, I asked my friends: **What did Susan roast chicken and Maria grill beef with?**	1	2	3	4	5

21) Roy and Lee are brilliant scientists and often invent things to ease our daily life. Last week, they came up with a new gadget and started to work on it. Roy was dealing with the design and Lee was trying to fix mechanical problems. However, I do not know what happened in the end. So I asked: **Did Roy invent the gadget or Lee search online for a solution?**	1	2	3	4	5

22) Julia and Dwayne took care of a friend's daughter for a while. They were doing everything to entertain her during her stay. At some point, the girl was so upset that Julia considered painting her face and Dwayne considered doing an imitation. As I had to leave early, I could not see if they did or did not. So I asked the girl: **Did Julia paint her face or Dwayne do an imitation?**	1	2	3	4	5

23) Sally and Nick love their friend abroad, and like to communicate with him. When they want to contact him, they prefer different ways. Sometimes Sally sends an e-mail, and sometimes Nick makes a phone call. However, I do not know how they did it the last time. To find out, I asked their friend: **Why did Sally send an e-mail and Nick make a phone call?**	1	2	3	4	5

24) Eric and Stan love being on the stage. When they get drunk, Eric sings and Stan dances. Last week, I was at a party at a famous club with them. However, since I was also drunk during the party, I do not recall whether they did their favorite activity or not. So, I asked Eric's girlfriend: **Where did Eric dance and Stan sing?**	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Teorik Çalışma

Bu tezin odak noktası '-ise' çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır sorularıdır. Tümce (1)'de bu tip sorular için bir örnek gösterilmektedir.

1. Ali elma Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?

Bu tümcede iki tümceciği birbirine bağlayan bir çeliştirici bağlacı (ise), iki özne (Ali ve Ayşe), iki nesne (elma ve armut) ve her iki tümcecik tarafından paylaşılan bir de fiil vardır. Bu tip tümceler bazı sebeplerden dolayı anlambilim ve sözdizim açısından kafa karıştırıcı olabilmektedir. İlk olarak, bu tümcelerdeki soru parçacığı 'mI' geniş açılı gibi görünmektedir. Bir başka deyişle, 'mI' hem ana tümceyi hem de her iki tümceciği de etki alanına almaktadır. Bu sebeple, bu tip tümcelerde seçenekli okuma ya da yorumlama mümkün değildir çünkü bu tip bir yorumlama için tümcede iki ayrı soru tümceciği olmalıdır. Bundan ziyade, iki ayrı olayı ilgilendiren tek bir soru bulunmaktadır. Bu da demek oluyor ki tümce (2)'de verilen okuma mevcut değilken, tümce (3)'de verilen okuma, tek doğru okumadır.

2. #Ali elma mı yedi yoksa Ayşe armut mu yedi? [25] *Seçenekli Soru
3. Ali elma Ayşe armut mu yedi? Evet-hayır Sorusu

Fakat bu noktada 'mI' soru parçacığının tümcedeki konumu önemli bir role sahip olmaktadır. Bu tip tümcelerin kafa karıştırıcı olmasının bir sebebi, 'mI' soru parçacığının tümce içinde fiilden önceki öge olduğu durumlarda aslında geniş açılı bir etki alanına sahip olmaması gerekir. Bunun yerine, aşağıda görülen iki dar okumadan biri olması gerekir:

[25] Anlamsal olarak uygun olmayan tümceler (#) işareti ile gösterilmektedir.

4. #Ali elma yedi, Ayşe'nin yediği ise armut mu?
5. #Ali elma yedi, Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?

Bu iki okumada da iki tümceciği aynı anda etki alanına alamadığı için dizim ağacında daha yüksek bir konumda olması gerekir. 'mI' soru parçacığı geniş etki alanına sahip olmak için bu konumun tümce içinde açık tümleyici olduğu düşünülebilir. Fakat 'mI' soru parçacığının açık tümleyici konumunda olması için tümce sonunda olması gerektiği için bu konumda olmadığı da su götürmez bir gerçektir. Bu sebeple, bu tezde yapılan analize göre, 'mI' soru parçacığı her iki tümceciğin üstünde üretilerek bu iki tümceciği etki altına alır ve kutuplanma başına eklenir. Her iki tümcecik tarafından paylaşılan fiil ise Bağlak Dışına Taşıma yoluyla her iki tümceciğin de üstüne geçerek tümce sonuna taşınır. Bu durumda, hem 'mI' soru parçacığı hem de tümcecikler dizim ağacında fiilin altında kalır.

En başta bahsedilen '-ise' çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır sorularındaki kafa karıştırıcı kapsam ve 'mI' soru ekinin türetilmesi problemlerini çözmeden evvel konuyu daha detaylı anlamak ve problemleri daha açık bir şekilde görmek için bildirme tümcelerinin incelenmesi gerekir. Tümce (6) bahsedilen özellikleri taşımaktadır ve alanyazında geri doğru boşaltma olarak analiz edilmiştir.

6. Ali elma Ayşe ise armut yedi.

Boşaltma dil fark etmeksizin sadece eşbağımlı yapılarda gerçekleşir ve eşbağımlılık ilişkisi içinde olan tümceciklerden birindeki fiillerden birinin telaffuz edilmemesi olarak açıklanabilir. Boşaltma yapılarının iki farklı çeşidi vardır. İngilizce'de sadece öne doğru boşaltma bulunmaktadır ve geri doğru boşaltma dilbilgisidışıdır.

7. John loves apples and Mary bananas.
8. *John apples and Mary loves bananas. [26]

Öte yandan, Türkçe hem öne doğru hem de geri doğru boşaltma yapılarına izin vermektedir.

9. Hasan karidesi yedi Mehmet de istiridyeyi.

[26] Dilbilgisidışı yapılar (*) işareti ile gösterilmektedir.

10. Hasan karidesi Mehmet de istiridyeyi yedi.

Fakat alanyazında bu iki tümcenin (9-10) Türkçe'de tümcedizimsel olarak farklı olduğu belirtilmiştir.

İlk olarak, geri doğru boşaltma tümleç tümceciklerinde dilbilgisine uygun olarak yer alabiliyorken öne doğru boşaltma bu tip tümceciklerde dilbilgisidışıdır. Tümce (11) ve Tümce (12) bahsedilen konuyu örneklemektedir.

11. [Ahmet, [Hasan'ın çikolatayı] [Mehmet'in de armudu yediğini] biliyor.]
12. *[Ahmet, [Hasan'ın çikolatayı yediğini] [Mehmet'in de armudu] biliyor.]

İkinci olarak, geri doğru boşaltma paralel sözcük dizilişi gerektiriyorken, öne doğru boşaltma için bu tür bir gereklilik bulunmamaktadır. Tümce (13) ve (14) bahsedilen konuyu örneklemektedir.

13. *[[Adam kitabı], [dergiyi de çocuk okudu.]]
14. [[Adam kitabı okudu], [dergiyi de çocuk.]]

Bu iki sebebe dayanarak, Hankamer (1972) bu iki yapının sözdizimsel olarak aynı olmadığını ileri sürerek geri doğru boşaltma yapıları için daha farklı bir analiz sunmaktadır. Ona göre, geri doğru boşaltma yapılarında ilk tümcecikteki fiili silmek yerine her iki tümcecikte aynı şekilde bulunan fiiller silinerek dizim ağacında daha yukarıda bir konuma taşınmaktadır. Hankamer'in (1972) analizine göre bu yapılar Sağ Budak Yükseltme olarak adlandırılmaktadır.

Sağ Budak Yükseltme boşaltma yapılarından farklı olarak sadece fiillere değil diğer ögelere de uygulanabilmektedir. Bu yapılarda her iki tümcecik tarafından paylaşılan ortak öge iki defa telaffuz edilmek yerine yalnızca bir kez telaffuz edilmektedir. Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapısı için bir örnek aşağıda gösterilmektedir.

15. [[John baked _____] and [I ate <u>your birthday cake</u>.]]

Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapısının en önemli özelliği, ortak olarak her iki tümcecikte de bulunan ögenin, bulunduğu tümceciğin en sağındaki öge olmasıdır. Örneğin, Tümce (15)'te *your birthday cake* 'senin doğum günü pastan' her iki tümcecik içinde de en sağda bulunmaktadır.

Tümce (16)'de görüldüğü üzere, İngilizce'nin temel sözcük dizilişine göre en sağdaki öge nesnedir. Türkçe'de ise, temel sözcük dizilişine göre bu öge genellikle fiil olmaktadır.

16. [[Ahmet hediye _____], [Sevgi para verdi.]]

Bu özelliğinden dolayı, Türkçe'de geri doğru boşaltma gibi gözüken tümceler aslında Sağ Budak Yükseltme olarak da incelenebilmektedir. Bu sebeple Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarının daha detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesi gerekir.

Alanyazında Bağlak Dışına Taşıma, Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti ve Çoklu Başatlık olmak üzere 3 farklı Sağ Budak Yükseltme analizi bulunmaktadır.

Bağlak Dışına Taşıma'da özdeş ögeler bağlakların her ikisinden de silinerek dizim ağacında sağa doğru daha yüksek bir konuma taşınır.

Bu analiz, mevcut tezde bahsi geçen diğer iki analize (Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti ve Çoklu Başatlık) tercih edilmektedir. Bu seçime sebep olan detaylı bilgiler ilerleyen bölümlerde verilmektedir.

Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti'de ise tümceler eksilti yoluyla türetilmektedir. Bu yapılarda iki özdeş ögeden biri silinir ve Bağlak Dışına Taşıma'nın aksine herhangi bir taşınma yoktur.

Çoklu Başatlık'ta da herhangi bir taşınma yoktur. Buna ek olarak, Bağlak Dışına Taşıma ve Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti'den farklı olarak tümcede ortak olarak kullanılan öge iki değil yalnızca bir defa görülmektedir.

Bu noktada sorulması gereken soru şudur: Geri doğru boşaltma olarak adlandırılan yapının aslında Sağ Budak Yükseltme olarak incelenmesi daha mı doğrudur?

Önceden de belirtildiği üzere temel sözcük dizimine bakılırsa tümceciklerin en sağındaki öge Türkçe'de daima fiil olmaktadır. Bu da geri doğru boşaltma yapılarını Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarına fazlaca benzetmektedir. Buna ek olarak, öne doğru boşaltma ve geri doğru boşaltma yapılarının paralel sözcük dizimi ve tümleç tümceciklerindeki incelemeleri de bu iki yapının aslında birbirinden farklı olduğunun bir başka kanıtıdır.

Mevcut tezde yapılan çalışmalara göre, ‘-ise’ çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır soruları için doğru analiz İnce’nin (2009) öne sürdüğü Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti’den ziyade Bağlak Dışına Taşıma’dır. Bu düşünceyi destekleyen iki ana argüman mevcuttur.

Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti’ye karşı öne sürülen ilk argüman, bahsi geçen tümcelerde ‘mI’ soru parçacığının ilk tümcecikte parçacık ayrıştırma yoluyla tek başına bırakılamamasıdır. Tümce (17) bu sebeple dilbilgisidışıdır.

17. *Ali elma mı Ayşe ise armut mu yedi?

Bu tümcenin dilbilgisidışı olmasını açıklamak için mI soru parçacığının fiil veya fiil öbeğinden ayrılamayacak bir şekilde bağlı olduğu ileri sürülebilir. Ancak Tümce (18) bunun doğru olmadığını göstermektedir.

18. Ali bugün geldi Ayşe dün mü?

Bu tümceler aslında ‘mI’ soru parçacığının aslında bu tür tümcelerde hiçbir zaman bağlak içinde türetilmediğini göstermektedir.

Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti’ye karşı öne sürülen ikinci argüman ise ‘mI’ soru parçacığının etki alanıdır. Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti analizine göre her bağlakta bir tane ‘mI’ soru parçacığı türetilmesi gerektiğinden, ana tümcede bir soru okuması olması gerekirken iki soru okumasına yol açmaktadır. Ancak doğru okuma tek sorudan oluştuğu için Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti bu kuruluşları açıklamak için yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Bu argümanlar bizlere iki şey göstermektedir. Birincisi, ‘mI’ soru parçacığını ayrıştıramadığımız için bağlaklardaki fiilin basitçe silindiğini söylemek yanlıştır. İkincisi ise, bu soru parçacığı tümcenin yorumlamasından dolayı ilk bağlakta türetilmemektedir. Bunlara dayanarak, Bağlak Dışına Taşıma’nın Sesbilimsel Biçim Eksilti’ye göre daha doğru bir analiz olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz.

Sorulması gereken ikinci soru ise; eğer Bağlak Dışına Taşıma analizini doğru kabul edersek, tümcelerdeki bağlakların boyutu ne kadar büyüktür?

Buna karar vermek için tümcemizi farklı çevrelerde görmemiz gerekmektedir. Bu tümceleri analiz etmek için en uygun çevrelerden biri içeyerleşik sorulardır. Tümce (19) bu tür tümcelere bir örnek olarak gösterilebilir.

19. [Ayşe [Ali'nin okula _____] [Mehmet'in ise eve mi _____] gittiğini sordu?/.]

Tümce (19) hem bildirme tümcesi hem de soru tümcesi olarak yorumlanabilmektedir. 'mI' soru parçacığı soru tümcesi yorumlamasında ana tümcede türetiliyorken, bildirme tümcesi yorumlamasında içeyerleşik tümcecikte türetilmektedir. Mevcut tezde odak noktası soru parçacığının içeyerleşik tümcecikte türetildiği durumlar olduğu için bildirme tümcesi daha detaylı olarak incelenmektedir.

Kural (1993) ve Aygen-Tosun'a (1998) göre, Türkçe sözdiziminde fiiller daima zaman ekini aldıktan sonra tümleyici konumuna taşınır. Buna dayanarak, Tümce (19)'te *git-* fiili zaman ekini '*-ti'* alarak tümleyici konumuna taşınır. İçeyerleşik tümceciklerde fiilin tümleyici konumunu alması, bu tümceciklerin aslında birer tümleyici öbeği olduğunu göstermektedir.

Teze konu olan tümcelerdeki bağlakların tümleyici öbek olduğunun bir başka kanıtı da *olumsuz kutuplanma birimleri*dir. Türkçede *hiç* gibi bazı olumsuz kutuplanma birimleri sadece '*mI'* soru parçacığı tümleyici konumundayken kullanılabilir. Tümce (20a/b) bu durumu örneklendirmektedir.

20. a. *Hasan hiç Amerika'ya geldi.
    b. Hasan hiç Amerika'ya geldi mi?

Bu da demek oluyor ki olumsuz kutuplanma birimlerini teze konu olan tümcelerde kullandığımızda bağlakların boyutu hakkında daha iyi fikir sahibi olabiliriz. Tümce (21)'de bu birimler tümcelere eklenmiştir:

21. *Ali hiç elma Ayşe ise hiç armut mu yedi?

Tümce (21) olumsuz kutuplanma birimleri eklendiğinde dilbilgisidışı olduğu için 'mI' soru parçacığının tümleyici konumunda olmadığı açıkça gözükmektedir. Bu da bir önceki bölümde öne sürülen analiz ile uyumludur.

Özetle, bağlaklar içinde türetilen fiiler tümleyici konumuna taşınarak bağlakları tümleyici öbek yaparken, ‘mI’ soru parçacığı da daha yukarıda türetilerek bu iki bağlağı etki altına almaktadır.

Mı Soru Parçacığı Nerede Türetilmektedir?

Bu noktada ‘mI’ soru parçacığının tam olarak nerede türetildiği sorusu karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu soruya cevap vermek için şu ana kadar yapılan gözlem, analizler ve alanyazına bakılmalıdır:

i. Türkçe sözdiziminde fiiller tümleyici konumuna taşınmaktadır.
ii. Besler (2000) ve Özyıldız’a (2015) göre, ‘mI’ soru parçacığı tümleyici öbeğinin başı olarak türetilemez.
iii. Olumsuz kutuplanma birimleri, ‘mI’ soru parçacığı tümleyici konumuna taşınmadığı durumlarda tümcelerde dilbilgisidışılığa yol açar.

Tüm bu gözlem ve analizleri göz önüne aldığımızda, ‘mI’ soru parçacığının ekonomik olarak türetildiği ve gerektiğinde farklı konumlara taşınabildiği bir analiz ortaya koyulması gerekmektedir. Bu da, ‘mI’ soru parçacığının kutuplanma öbeğinde olmasıyla mümkün olmaktadır. Böylelikle, sözcük dizimi, ‘mI’ soru parçacığının etki alanı ve bağlakların boyutu doğru bir şekilde elde edilmiş olmaktadır.

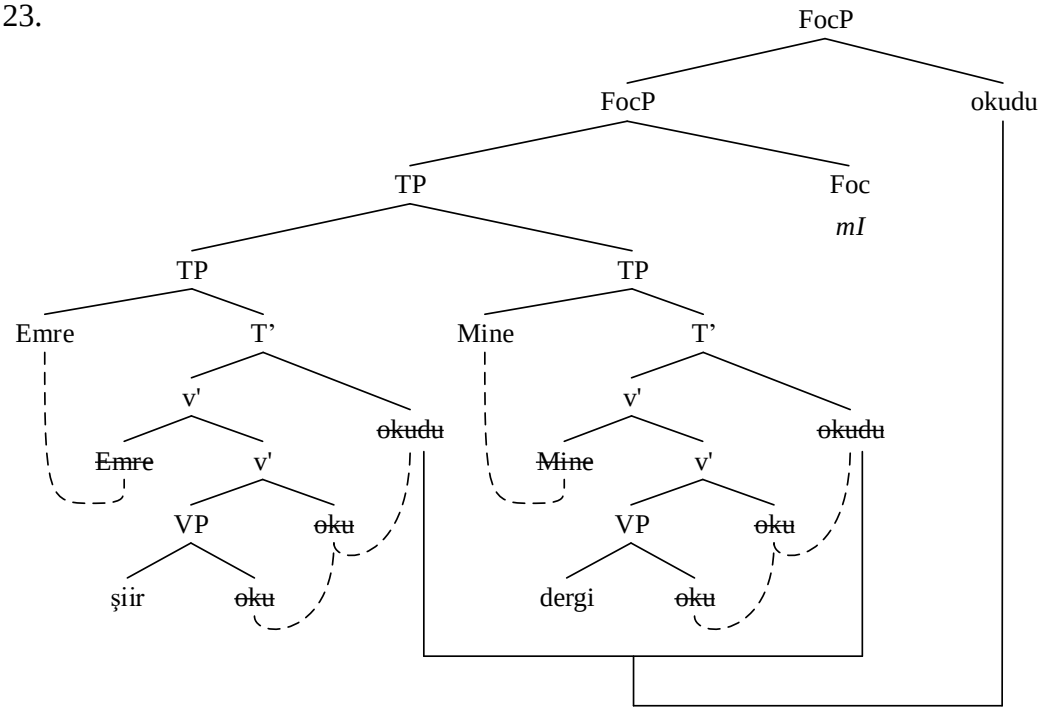
Bu noktada fiilin konumu, fiil bir baş olarak tümleyici konumuna taşındığı için kafa karıştırıcı olabilir. Başlar taşınırken baş taşıma kısıtlamasına uyması gerektiği için, ‘mI’ soru parçacığını kutuplanma başı olarak kabul edilmesi istediğimiz sözcük dizimini elde edemediğimiz anlamına gelmektedir. Çünkü bu durumda fiil önce kutuplanma başı konumuna, ardından da tümleyici başı konumuna taşınır. Bu durumda sözcük dizimi şu şekilde olmaktadır.

22. Emre şiir Mine ise dergi okudu mu?

Bu sebeple, ‘mI’ soru parçacığının, kutuplanma başı olmak yerine kutuplanma başına eklendiğini söylemek daha doğru olur.

Bu analizlerin her birbirini birleştirdiğimizde, (23)’te ‘-ise’ çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır sorularının tamamlanmış analizini elde etmiş oluruz.

23.



Deneysel Çalışma

Bu tezde yürütülen deneysel çalışmanın amacı İngilizceyi yabancı dil olarak öğrenen ve anadili Türkçe olan öğrencilerin, ana dillerindeki yapıları hedef dillere ne kadar aktardığını tespit etmektir. Bu noktada önem arz eden durum, bahsi geçen iki dil arasında eksiltili evet-hayır soru yapılarının yapısal farklılıklarının olmasıdır. Bu tip sorularda Türkçe'de sadece evet-hayır okuması elde ediliyorken, İngilizce'de hem evet-hayır hem de seçenekli okuma mümkün olmaktadır.

Tezin sorunsalı da tam olarak bu noktada devreye girmektedir:

Anadili Türkçe olan öğrenciler, kendi anadillerinde eksiltili evet-hayır sorularında bulunmayan seçenekli okumayı ne derecede yorumlayabilmektedir?

Bu sorunsal için mevcut varsayım ise, İngilizce öğrenen anadili Türkçe olan öğrencilerin seçenekli okumayı yorumlamakta güçlük çekeceği ve yapılan testlerde bu okumalara daha düşük puanlar vereceğidir.

Bu sorunsal için benim varsayımım, katılımcıların İngilizce bağlamlarda seçenekli okuma ve evet-hayır okumaları için ayrım yapmakta zorlanacaklarıydı ve seçenekli

okumalara düşük puanlar verecekleriydi. Bu düşüncenin sebebi; mevcut tümcelerde bulanıklık olmasıydı.

Arakesitler

Arakesit terimi hem dilbilim teorisinde hem de edinim teorisinde sıkça kullanılmaktadır. Dil; sesbilim, sözlükçe, sözdizim, biçimbilim, anlambilim, edimbilim gibi farklı modüllerin birbiriyle etkileşimiyle oluşmaktadır. Arakesit ise bu etkileşime verilen ad olarak tanımlanabilir.

İkinci dil öğrenenler, bu modüllerden bazılarında ileri seviyede bir bilgiye sahip olurken bir başkasında daha temel seviyede bilgiye sahip olabilir. Örneğin, tipik olarak, İngilizce'yi ikinci yabancı dil olarak öğrenen Türk öğrenciler, sözdizim konusunda daha az problem yaşıyorken, sesbilim ya da edimbilim konusunda daha fazla problem yaşayabilir. Fakat alanyazında, herhangi bir arakesit içermeyen, yalnızca bir modülü ilgilendiren problemlerin daha kolay çözülebildiği rapor edilmektedir (Sorace, 2005). Öte yandan, sözdizim-anlambilim ya da sözdizim-sesbilim gibi iki modülün etkileşiminin gerektiği durumların dil öğrenenler için daha fazla problem oluşturduğu ortaya konmuştur. Bu durum alanyazında Arakesit Varsayımı olarak adlandırılmaktadır ve ikinci dili anadili seviyesinde konuşan öğrencilerde bile bu tip problemlerin devam edebileceği vurgulanmaktadır. Ancak bahsi geçen Arakesit Varsayımı her bileşen için aynı oranda zorluğa sebep olmaz. White (2011) Arakesit Varsayımını ikiye ayırır: İçsel Arakesit ve Dışsal Arakesit.

White'a (2011) göre, dışsal arakesitler (örneğin; sözdizim-edimbilim) dil edinimi için daha fazla zorluğa sebep olmaktadır. Bu tip durumlarda, öğrenmede gecikme yaşanması daha muhtemeldir. İçsel arakesitler (örneğin; sözdizim-anlambilim) ise nispeten daha az probleme sebep olur ve problemler yaşansa dahi daha hızlı bir şekilde çözülebilir.

Bu tezde, White'ın (2011) varsayımını test etmek için Anlambilimsel Uygunluk Testi uygulanmıştır.

Yöntembilim

Çalışma

Tezin bu bölümü, uygulanan deneysel çalışmayı özetlemektedir. Çalışmada yer alan katılımcılar, araçlar, veri toplama, veri analiz yöntemleri ve sonuçlar bu bölümde yer almaktadır.

Katılımcılar

Bu tez çalışmasında 2 deneysel grup kullanıldı. Katılımcıların tamamı Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İngilizce Öğretmenliği 1. Sınıf öğrencileri olup, dil yeterlik seviyelerine göre gruplandırıldılar. Bu gruplandırma, Oxford Üniversitesi Yayınevi tarafından hazırlanan yeterlik sınavı (OPT) ile belirlendi. Uygulanan yeterlik sınavı sonuçlarına göre, 60 tam puan üzerinden 39 ya da daha az soruyu doğru cevaplayan katılımcılar orta seviye olarak değerlendirilirken, 40-47 soruya doğru cevap veren katılımcılar, orta-üstü seviye, 48 ya da daha fazla soruya doğru cevap verenler ise ileri seviye İngilizce bilen grup olarak değerlendirilir. Bu kriterlere dayanarak, çalışmada 22 orta-üstü, 29 ileri seviye yeterliğe sahip katılımcı yer aldı. Çalışma gönüllük esasına dayanılarak yürütüldü.

Araştırma Deseni

Araçlar

Çalışmada 2 farklı liste kullanılarak oluşturulan Anlambilimsel Uygunluk Testi kullanıldı. Her iki listede de 8 deneysel 16 çeldirici özellikte soru kullanıldı. 8 deneysel soruda kullanılan bağlamlardan 4 tanesi seçenekli okuma, 4 tanesi de evet-hayır okuma ile oluşturuldu. Yapılan testte katılımcılar, bir adet bağlamla birlikte verilen soruların anlambilimsel olarak bağlama ne kadar uygun olduğunu belirlediler. Bu değerlendirme, katılımcılar tarafından 1-5 arasında verilen puanlamalarla yapıldı. 1 “hiç uygun değil” anlamına geliyorken, 5 “tamamıyla uygun” anlamına geliyordu.

Yöntem

Tüm testler, yalnızca kağıt-kalem kullanılarak sınıf ortamında uygulandı. Katılımcılar, önce onay formunu doldurdu, ardından da deneysel testler uygulandı. Testler yaklaşık

olarak 15 dakika sürdü.

Verilerin İncelenmesi

Veri toplama sürecinin ardından, iki liste tek bir listede toplanarak analiz için SPSS 23.0 programına girildi. Verilerin girilmesinin ardından seçenekli okuma ve evet-hayır okumalarının ortalama puanları hesaplandı. Bu iki puan arasında istatistiksel olarak fark olup olmadığını belirlemek için t-testi yapıldı. Daha sonra iki farklı beceri düzeyi arasında istatistiksel olarak fark olup olmadığını belirlemek için Eşleştirilmiş Örneklemler t-testi uygulandı. Ayrıca, çeldirici sorularda toplamda 5 üzerinden 3.5 ya da daha az puan alan katılımcılar testin güvenilirliğini artırmak için analizlere dahil edilmedi. Bu yüzden, ileri gruptan 3 katılımcı, orta-üstü gruptan ise 5 katılımcı analizlerden çıkarıldı.

Bulgular ve Sonuç

Yapılan testler sonucunda varsayımlar kısmi olarak doğrulandı. Katılımcıların tamamı (yeterlik seviyesi ayırt etmeksizin) incelendiğinde, seçenekli okuma ve evet-hayır okuma arasında istatistiksel olarak bir fark bulundu $t(38) = 3.19$, $p = .003$). Bu da varsayımımla paraleldi. Ancak beklenenin aksine, testin sonuçları evet-hayır soru okumalarının değil seçenekli soru okumalarının puanlarının daha yüksek olduğunu gösterdi. Bu noktada ilk akla gelen, çıkan bu sonucun orta-üstü gruptan kaynaklandığıydı. Bu varsayımın doğruluğunu test etmek için ileri ve orta-üstü grup ayrı ayrı t-test'lere tabi tutularak analiz tekrar edildi. Ancak bu analizin sonucu da ilk yapılandan farklı olmadı.

Genel Tartışma

Bu çalışmada amaç; -ise çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır sorularında, 'mI' soru parçacığının geniş etki alanına sahip olduğu ve her iki bağlağı da etki altına aldığı, bunu yapıyorken de tümcede kullanılan fiilden önce konumlandığı bir analiz elde etmekti. Bu analizi elde etmek için, dar ve geniş etki alanları, bağlakların boyutu, 'mI' soru parçacığının ilk olarak türetildiği yer ve olumsuz kutuplanma birimleri kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak; Türkçe'de hedef tümcelerde, geri doğru boşaltma gibi gözüken yapıların aslında Sağ Budak Yükseltme olduğu saptanmıştır. Deneysel çalışmada ise herhangi bir modül arasında bir aktarım olmadığı gözlemlenmiştir.

Elbette yapılan çalışmanın bazı kısıtlamaları da bulunmaktadır. Yapılan çalışma, sadece -ise çeliştirici bağlacını içeren eksiltili evet-hayır soruları üzerinde yürütülmüştür. Bağlak Dışına Taşıma analizi bu tür tümceler için doğru gözükmektedir ancak bu analizi diğer tüm tümce türlerine genellemek yanlış olacaktır. Bu sebeple, gelecekteki çalışmalarda Bağlak Dışına Taşıma analizinin sadece soru tümcelerinde değil, aynı zamanda bildirme tümceleri gibi tümcelerde de doğru olup olmadığına bakılması gerekmektedir. Bununla birlikte, gelecekte yapılan çalışmalarda fiillere ek olarak nesneler ve diğer ögelere de bakılması, analizlerin genellenebilirliği açısından daha sağlıklı olacaktır.

Deneysel çalışmada ise İngilizce'yi ikinci dil olarak öğrenen Türk katılımcıların kendi anadillerinde bulunmayan okumaları hedef dilde tespit edip edemeyecekleri test edildi. Normal şartlar altında, özellikle İngilizce seviyesi yüksek olan grubun bu ayrımı orta-üstü gruba kıyasla daha iyi yapması beklenebilir. Bu beklentinin birinci sebebi, çalışmada yer alan ve arakesitin içsel olması ve içsel arakesitlerin dışsal arakesitlere kıyasla daha az problemli olması olabilir. Ancak benim varsayımım, çalışmada yer alan bağlam ve sorularda yapısal ve anlamsal bulanıklık olması sebebiyle katılımcıların okumaları doğru şekilde puanlamada zorluk yaşayacağıydı. Bu varsayım için bir başka sebep ise, katılımcıların kendi anadillerinde bahsi geçen anlamsal bulanıklığın olmamasıydı. Bu iki varsayıma dayanarak, çalışmada yer alan sorular için evet-hayır okumalarının, katılımcıların yeterlik seviyelerinden bağımsız olarak daha yüksek puan alacağı bekleniyordu. Ancak bu beklentiler karşılanmadı ve evet-hayır okumaları seçenekli soru okumalarına kıyasla daha az kabul edilebilir olarak puanlandı. Bu beklenmedik sonucun sebebi şu olabilir:

Çalışmaya konu olan İngilizce sorularda eksiltilen fiil ikinci bağlakta yer alıyorken, Türkçe sorularda eksiltilen fiil birinci bağlakta yer almaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, Türkçe'deki tümceler yüzeysel olarak geri doğru boşaltma gibi gözüküyorken, testte kullanılan İngilizce tümcelerin öne doğru boşaltma gibi gözükmektedir. Bu da, katılımcıların sözdizim aktarması yapmamasına yol açmış olabilir.

APPENDIX E: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Köse

Adı / Name : Engin

Bölümü / Department : English Language Teaching

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce /** English) : MISSING VERBS IN YES/NO QUESTIONS: GAPPING OR RIGHT NODE RAISING?

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans /** Master ☒ **Doktora /** Ph.D. ☐

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. /** Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. * ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. /** Secure the entire work for a period of **six months**. * ☐

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Yazarın İmzası / Signature …… **Tarih /** Date ……