124 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

11. On the double use of *katiyen* in Turkish: A corpus analysis

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Abstract

Turkish has a negative concord item (NCI) katiyen 'never' that functions as an adverb and generally requires the presence of sentential negation in the sentence (Kelepir, 2001; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005). Yakut-Kubaş (2022), in a recent work, on the other hand, argues that katiyen can also appear in certain non-negative structures. She proposes that these two uses of the word in negative and non-negative structures can be captured in a unified manner if we assume that katiyen is an element that marks the highest degree of subjective certainty expressed by the speaker. In that sense, this pragmatic function is argued to bring these two uses together. In this work, based on a large-scale corpus work that includes 648 sentences containing the word, I will show that katiyen is essentially ambiguous that has distinct semantic and pragmatic meanings with different syntactic distributions. First, it is primarily an NCI that requires the presence of sentential negation at all times and is interpreted as 'never' or 'in no way'. This use accounts for 619 instances of katiyen in the corpus data and shows that more than 95% of the time it predominantly functions as an NCI. Second, it can appear in two structurally non-negative structures: (i) 14 instances of syntactically and semantically positive structures that comprise less than 1 percent of the data and katiyen having the meaning 'definitely' and (ii) 13 instances of syntactically non-negative but semantically negative structures that account for less than 1 percent of the data and katiyen being interpreted as 'strictly'. Here it is used to modify a prohibitive predicate but does not necessarily mark the subjective certainty. I conclude that different uses of katiyen indicate significant structural, semantic and pragmatic distinctions, which is in contrast with recent claims that its pragmatic use is the same in each case.

Keywords: Negative concord item, syntax, semantics, corpus analysis, Turkish

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi

Öz

Türkçede belirteç işlevi gören ve Olumsuz Uyum İfadesi (OUİ) olan katiyen sözcüğü genellikle tümcede olumsuzluğun varlığını gerektirmektedir (Kelepir, 2001; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005). Bunun yanında, Yakut-Kubaş (2022) yakın tarihli bir çalışmasında katiyen sözcüğünün olumsuz olmayan bazı yapılarda da bulunabileceğini söylemektedir. Kendisi bu çalışmasında katiyen sözcüğünün konuşmacı tarafından ifade edilen en yüksek kesinlik derecesini işaret eden bir unsur olduğunu varsayarsak, sözcüğün olumsuz ve olumsuz olmayan yapılardaki bu iki kullanımının açık bir şekilde görülebileceğini savunmaktadır. Yani, bu edimbilimsel işlevin iki kullanımı bir araya getiren olgu olduğu ileri sürülmektedir. Bu çalışmada ise, katiyen sözcüğünü içinde bulunduran 648 tümceyi içeren geniş çaplı bir derlem çalışması sonuçlarına dayanarak, bu sözcüğün temelde farklı sözdizimsel dağılımları ve anlamı olan belirsiz bir sözcük olduğu gösterilmektedir. Öncelikle, bu kelimenin her

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RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **125**

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

zaman tümcesel olumsuzluğun varlığını gerektiren bir OUİ olduğu ve 'asla' ya da 'hiçbir şekilde' anlamına gelen bir yorumlanması olduğu ortaya konmaktadır. Bu kullanım, derlemdeki 619 adet katiyen sözcüğünün bulunduğu sözdizimsel ve anlamsal yapıyı göstermektedir ve %95'inden fazlasının ağırlıklı olarak bir OUİ olarak işlev gördüğü anlamına gelmektedir. Ayrıca, katiyen sözcüğünün bulunabildiği yerler arasında olumsuz olmayan iki farklı yapı mevcut olduğu ortaya konmuştur: (i) sözdizimsel ve anlamsal olarak olumlu olan 14 yapı mevcuttur ve tüm verilerin yüzde 1'inden azını oluşturmaktadır ve (ii) sözdizimsel olarak olumsuz olmayan ancak anlamsal olarak olumsuz olan 13 yapı vardır ve verilerin yüzde 1'inden azını oluşturmaktadır. Bu yapılarda, sözcüğün okuması farklıdır çünkü yorumlanması 'kesinlikle' şeklindedir ve burada yasaklayıcı bir eylemi nitelemek etmek için kullanılır; ancak mutlaka öznel kesinliği belirtmek zorunda olmadığı ortaya konmuştur. Bu sonuçlardan dolayı, iki kullanımın edimbilimsel işlevi benzer olsa bile yine de önemli yapısal ve anlamsal ayrımlara sahip oldukları sonucuna varılmaktadır

Anahtar kelimeler: Olumsuz uyum ifadesi, anlambilim, sözdizimi, derlem analizi, Türkçe

1. Introduction

It is well-attested that the Turkish lexical item *katiyen* primarily functions as an NCI that requires sentential negation to be present in the structure (Kelepir, 2001; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Görgülü, 2017, 2020). This is exemplified in (1) and (2) below.[2]

(1) Ben siz-i   *katiyen* unut-*(ma)-yacağ-ım.

    I   you-ACC never forget-NEG-FUT-1SG

    'I will never forget you.'

(2) O   para-ya   *katiyen*   dokun-a-*(ma)-z-sın.

    that money-DAT in no way touch-ABIL-NEG-AOR-2SG

    'There is no way you can touch that money.'

The sentences above clearly show that the absence of sentential negation would lead to ungrammaticality when the NCI occurs in the structure. In a recent work, on the other hand, Yakut-Kubaş (2022) argues that *katiyen* can also appear in sentences without negation so long as it co-occurs with elements such as lexically negative predicates *karşı olmak* 'to be against', *reddetmek* 'to refuse', verbal predicates that have the morpheme *–mAlI, –Ir, –(y)AcAk* as well as predicates like *lazım/gerek* 'needed'. Consider (3), (4) and (5).

(3) Bu karar-a *katiyen*   karşı-yım.

    this decision-DAT definitely against-COP.1SG

    'I am definitely against this decision.'

(4) *Katiyen*   emin-im   ki   bu hastalık gün-ler-i-ni   geçir-eceğ-iz.

    definitely sure-COP.1SG COMP this sickness day-PL- 3POSS-ACC pass-FUT-1PL

    'I am definitely certain that we will leave these sick days behind.'

(5) Bina-yı   *katiyen*   boşalt-ma-nız   lazım/gerek.

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[2]   The abbreviations in the glosses are as follows: 1 = first person; ABIL = ability; ABL = ablative case; ACC = accusative case; AOR = aorist marker; COMP = complementizer; COND = conditional; COP = copula; DAT = dative case; FOC = focus marker; FUT = future tense; GEN = genitive case; INF = infinitivizer; LOC = locative case; MOD = modal verb; NEG = sentential negation; NMN = nominalizer; SG = singular; PL = plural marker; POSS = possessive marker; PROG = progressive aspect; Q = question particle

126 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

building-ACC definitely evacuate-NMN-2PL need

'You definitely need to evacuate the building.'

Based on the data above, Yakut-Kubaş argues that the occurrence of *katiyen* in the sentence is not restricted only to its NCI function but it can occur in certain other structures. She goes on to say that what brings these two uses together is the fact that *katiyen* [pragmatically] "marks the highest degree of certainty expressed by the attitude holder, behaving as a universal adverb" (Yakut-Kubaş, 2022, p. 117). Based on Romero and Han (2004) and Repp (2013), she argues that *katiyen* has a common ground (CG) function in that it strengthens the speaker's (i.e. attitude holder) position towards the proposition that is expressed in the utterance. In that sense, this single pragmatic function is what brings its two uses together in the language. She concludes that these two uses of *katiyen* can be captured if one assumes that it is a universal modal adverb that take scope over sentential negation, behaving similarly to the emphatic NCIs in Greek (Giannakidou, 2000, 2006).

While the account proposed by Yakut-Kubaş has certain merits, it should be noted that her analysis does not completely account for the behavior of *katiyen* the corpus data, as we will see. For instance, her proposal is based solely on the idea that these two uses can be explained through a joint pragmatic function of common ground, strengthening the meaning of the verb on opposite sides. However, this should be taken as a natural consequence as it is generally the characteristics of the adverbs modifying verbs cross-linguistically (Grosz, 2010; Anand & Brasoveanu, 2010). Moreover, the use of *katiyen* does not always reflect the attitude holder's certainty in the common ground. Finally, it will be shown that this analysis falls short in illustrating the fact that *katiyen* is primarily used as an NCI whereas other uses are so rare in comparison. Therefore, a more careful reanalysis of the word *katiyen* seems to be warranted in the language.

The structure of this paper is as follows: in Section 2, I will introduce and show the results of the corpus work regarding the use of *katiyen* in the language. In Section 3, I will first propose a new analysis to account for the syntactic and semantic properties of *katiyen* and then will consider some problematic issues in Yakut-Kubaş's work that need to be properly dealt with. In Section 4, I will briefly conclude the paper and make some suggestions for further research.

2. Corpus work on *katiyen*

When we consider the etymology of *katiyen*, we observe that it is in fact a borrowed word from Arabic with the root [kt'] meaning 'cutting'. Its oldest use in a written source goes as far back as the work called Kısasül-Enbiya (The Stories of the Prophets) by Nasırüddin Ragbuzi in 1310 (Nişanyan Online Dictionary; Yakut-Kubaş, 2022). It appears in the sentence "*χıtāb keldi; duˁānı icābet kıIdım, ḳatˁiyyetdin āmān berdim*". Later, it is found in another work titled Burhan-ı Katı by Asım Efendi in 1797 in the sentence "*o deveye denir ki ḳaṭˁīyen uyuz olmamış ola.*". Since then, it can be found in numerous written texts in alternating forms such as *katiyetle* and *kati suretle*, however it retains its original meaning. In this work, on the other hand, in order to find out the true nature of the word *katiyen* in modern Turkish, a large-scale corpus study was carried out through the TS Corpus v2 (Sezer & Sezer, 2013). The reason for this kind of data collection as methodology was to find and analyze as many naturally occurring data as possible rather than analyzing a constructed set of examples. In the data collection process, the lexical item that was being investigated was searched by way of the online search engine of the TS Corpus. 648 occurrences of *katiyen* were collected and were entered into a data spreadsheet, based on the syntactic and semantic characteristics of sentences in which *katiyen* appears

RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **127**

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

(e.g. syntactically negative, syntactically non-negative and semantically positive as well as syntactically non-negative but semantically negative structures). The findings show that 619 instances of *katiyen* in the entire data appear in syntactically negative sentences, meaning that more than 95% of the time it predominantly functions as an NCI. It was also found in the corpus study that *katiyen* can appear in two non-negative structures: (i) syntactically non-negative and semantically positive structures where *katiyen* occurs only 14 times, which accounts for less than 1 percent of the data, and (ii) syntactically non-negative but semantically negative structures in which katiyen occurs only 13 times, which comprises less than 1 percent of the entire corpus data. In these latter structures, the reading *katiyen* is assigned is different than the NCI interpretation in that it is interpreted as 'definitely' or 'strictly' in these cases. In the following subsections, I will introduce and exemplify different syntactic and semantic structures in which *katiyen* appears. I will begin with the structure in which it occurs as an NCI since this is the environment it appears much more than others.

2.1. *Katiyen* as an NCI

The results of the corpus study revealed that the adverb *katiyen* is predominantly used as an NCI in Turkish. This is because 619 occurrences of it are in various negative structures, accounting for the 95% of the entire data. This means that *katiyen* co-occurs with a negative element; however, it does not always need to be the sentential negation marker –mA. Other elements such as the nonverbal negative marker *değil* 'not', the existential negative marker *yok* 'not exist' as well as the negative response particle *hayır* 'no' are also what license the NCI in the language. Some of the representative examples are provided in (6), (7) and (8).

(6) Aile-m-in   *katiyen* kabul ed-ebil-eceğ-i   bir şey   değil.

    family-1SG-GEN never accept do-ABIL-FUT-POSS one thing not

    'It is not something that my family would never accept.'

(7) Anadolu kültür-ü-nde   bu nevi görgüsüzlük   *katiyen* yok-tur.

    Anatolian culture-1SG-LOC this kind unmannerliness never   not exist-COP

    'There is never such unmannerliness in the Anatolian culture.'

(8) a. Çok mu umutsuz-sunuz? Hayır, *katiyen.*

      a lot Q hopeless-2PL   No   never

      'Are you that hopeless? No never.'

    b. Hayır, katiyen. Bunlar-ın ancak yüzde 1'i,   2'si   cerrahi müdahale-ye muhtaç-tır.

      no   never   these-GEN at most percent 1-POSS 2-POSS surgical operation-DAT need-COP

      'No, never. At most one or two percent of these need surgical operation.'

It is well-known that in addition to the sentential negative marker, NCIs like *katiyen* and *sakın* 'never' can be licensed by negative elements such as *değil* and *yok* in Turkish (Kelepir 2001, 2003; Görgülü 2017, 2020; Yakut-Kubaş 2022). In that sense, there seems to be nothing unexpected in sentences (6) and (7). On the other hand, the examples in (8a) and (8b) show that *katiyen* can also co-occur with and be licensed by *hayır* 'no' which is a negative response particle, a term coined by Watts (1986). In both cases, *katiyen* appears in an answer to a yes/no question that is accompanied by only the negative response particle. This seems to be an important finding since this environment was never discussed in previous studies on negative concord or negative polarity. However, it should also be noted that the fact that *katiyen* can appear along with the negative response particle in the language still makes sense and

128 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

in fact should be expected given that *katiyen* is first and foremost an NCI that requires a negative element in its local domain.

2.2. *Katiyen* in syntactically non-negative and semantically positive structures

It was found in the corpus work that *katiyen* can also appear in certain structurally non-negative structures without the presence of any negative element in the structure. However, it should be noted that these are very small in number as there are only fourteen contexts, making up of one per cent of the entire data. What is interesting in this set of data is that most of these sentences generally include some kind of command, warning as well as obligation. Also, the interpretation of *katiyen* is similar to the meaning of the adverb *kesinlikle* 'definitely' or 'certainly' rather than the NCI reading 'never' or 'in no way'. This is exemplified in the following sentences below.

(9) Böyle bir öngörü-de bulun-mak *katiyen* yanıltıcı ol-ur diye düşün-üyor-um.

such one prediction-LOC make-INF definitely misleading be-COP that think-PROG-1SG

'I think that making such a prediction would definitely be misleading.'

(10) Eğer memleket-te asayiş ve emniyet kolayca idare et-mek ise, *katiyen* bil-iniz ki

if country-LOC order and security easily ruling do-INF if definitely know-2PL COMP

hata ed-iyor-sunuz.

mistake do-PROG-2PL

'If (you think) order and security means governing easily, you should definitely know that you are

making a mistake.'

(11) Ben-im-le bura-da mücadele ed-en bilcümle asker-ler *katiyen* bil-meli-dir

I-GEN-with here-LOC fight do-NMN all soldier-PL definitely know-MOD-COP

ki uhde-miz-e tevdi ed-il-en namus vazife-si-ni tamamen ifa et-mek

COMP duty-1PL-DAT submission do-PSS-NMN honor job-POSS-ACC completely carry out-INF

için bir adım bile geri gitmek yok-tur

for one step even back go-INF not exist-COP.'

'All the soldiers who are fighting with me here must definitely know that we are not going back

even one step to fully fulfill the duty of honor entrusted to us.'

The examples in (9), (10) and (11) clearly indicate that when *katiyen* appears in syntactically and semantically positive structures, its primary function is to intensify the verb that expresses either a warning, a command or an obligation as part of the speaker's subjective evaluation in the sense of Ruhi (2002). Note that these findings are more inclusive than Yakut-Kubaş's arguments that *katiyen* is only functioning as a marker that expresses certainty of the attitude holder. In the next section, I will discuss the final non-negative structure in which *katiyen* can appear.

2.3. *Katiyen* in syntactically non-negative but semantically negative structures

The final structures that *katiyen* can appear in Turkish are those that are syntactically non-negative, yet semantically negative. However, just like the one in the previous section, these are very small in number and there are only thirteen instances, making up of less than one per cent of the whole data. Specifically, these are the environments in which *katiyen* co-occurs with a semantically negative verb or predicate

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RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **129**

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

such as *yasak* 'forbidden', *karşı* 'against', çekinmek 'to avoid', among some others. The findings of the corpus analysis indicate that in most of these cases *katiyen* appears with verbs that are mostly prohibitive in nature. It has an interpretation that can be translated as 'strictly' into English. Consider the sentences below.

(12) Ben yalnız   bu-nu   Türkiye-yle   özdeşleştir-me-ler-i-ne   *katiyen* karşı-yım.

I   however this-ACC Türkiye-with identify with-NMN-3PL-POSS-DAT strictly against-COP   'I am strictly against their identification of this with Türkiye'.

(13) Ast-ın   al-dığ-ı   bir emir-den dolayı amir-i-ne   mütaala-da bulun-ma-sı

junior-GEN take-NMN-POSS one order-ABL due to senior-POSS-DAT opinion-LOC give-NMN

katiyen   yasak-tır.

strictly forbidden-COP

'It is strictly forbidden for the subordinate to comment on their superior because of an order they

have received.'

(14) Her   ne   suret-le ol-ur-sa   ol-sun bir bahşiş talep   et-me-ler-i   *katiyen*

every what reason be-AOR-COND be-3SG one tip   demand do-NMN-3PL-POSS strictly

memnu-dur.

forbidden-COP

'It is strictly forbidden for them to ask for a tip under any circumstances.'

In each sentence above, *katiyen* modifies a verb or a predicate that is semantically negative and function as intensifying its meaning. It should also be noted that in certain cases *katiyen* expresses speaker's certainty, as in (12). However, not every instance of these includes the speaker's strong stance and attitude towards the proposition, as Yakut-Kubaş (2022) appears to claim. Rather, some of these examples seem to express mere prohibition without the subjective judgment of the speaker, as in (13) and (14). In other words, in contrast to the recent arguments, the use of *katiyen* does not always reflect the attitude holder's subjective certainty since the sentences in question express rather a mere fact in general. In the next section, I will deal with some remaining issues concerning the use of *katiyen* in Turkish.

3. A new proposal

Based on the findings of the corpus work outlined in the previous section, I argue that *katiyen* is an ambiguous word with distinct uses in the language. More specifically, it is interpreted differently depending on the structures in which it appears. The idea can be captured in (15).

(15) a. [[katiyen]] = never, in no way (NCI)

    b. [[katiyen]] = definitely, strictly (adverb/adjective)

We see in (15a) that when it appears in a syntactically negative environment, it is an NCI and is interpreted as 'never' in the language. On the other hand, in syntactically non-negative structures, it does not function as an NCI anymore and is interpreted differently, as (15b) illustrates. Note, however, what is common between these two uses is that katiyen has a function of reinforcing the meaning of the verb. That is to say, as an NCI it reinforces the negative meaning and as a regular adverbial/adjective it reinforces the meaning of the predicate it modifies.

130 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

The discussion so far has shown that *katiyen* is an ambiguous word that can be interpreted differently in different structures. Another piece of evidence that supports this argumentation comes from fragment answers to questions. Consider (16).

    (16) A: Ora-ya   yalnız mı git-ti-ler?

         there-DAT alone Q   go-PAST-3PL

        Did they go there alone?

       B: Katiyen (yalnız git-me-di-ler).

        No way (alone go-NEG-PAST-3PL)

        'No way did they go there alone'

       B': ??Katiyen   (yalnız git-ti-ler).

         definitely (alone go-PAST-3PL)

         Int: 'They definitely went there alone.'

It is clear that as an answer to a question like (16A), only the NCI reading of *katiyen* is available in fragment answers in (16B) and not the one in (16B'), favoring the NCI reading only.

Note also that there are other elements that behave like *katiyen* in terms of displaying ambiguity between an NCI reading and a non-NCI reading in the language. For instance, the word *zinhar* 'never' should be considered one of them, as shown in the sentences below.

    (17) Öyle farklı   alternatif-ler-e   de *zinhar* yönel-*(me)-yelim.

       such different alternative-PL-DAT FOC never incline-NEG-1PL

       'Let's never turn to such different alternatives.'

    (18) Sistem doğru çalış-ıyor-du   ve aksi-ni   söyle-mek *zinhar*   günah-tı.

       system right work-PROG-PAST and opposite.3POSS say-INF   definitely sin-PAST

       'The system was working correctly and it was definitely a sin to say otherwise.'

In (17), the only interpretation that *zinhar* is assigned is the NCI reading. On the other hand, in (18), its reading is different in the structurally non-negative sentence in that it is interpreted as 'definitely' in this case. In that sense, it is not just katiyen that displays ambiguity between and NCI reading and the non-NCI reading in the language.

4. Conclusion

In this work, I investigated the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the adverb *katiyen* in Turkish by way of a corpus analysis. The findings of the study showed that *katiyen* can appear in different syntactic structures with different meanings. Specifically, when it appears in a negative structure, it functions as an NCI and is interpreted as 'never' or in no way'. On the other hand, when it occurs in a non-negative structure, it is not interpreted as an NCI but it is assigned a reading as either 'definitely' or 'strictly' depending on the characteristics of the predicate with which it is associated. Also, it was found out that unlike previous claims, it is not always used to mark the subjective certainty of the attitude holder but it is used to mark mere facts that do not necessarily encode speaker's judgment. Further work will surely shed more light on these issues.

RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **131**

Türkçede katiyen sözcüğünün çifte kullanımı üzerine: Bir derlem analizi / Görgülü, E.

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