




Negative polarity, scope of negation and negative phrases in Turkish

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Abstract

This paper investigates a number of issues regarding negative polarity items (NPIs henceforth), the scope of negation and other negative elements in Turkish. First, based on new data, I argue that the distribution of the adverbial NPI *sakın* 'ever' is not as restricted as it was claimed in previous work (cf. Keleşir 2000, 2001). That's, its behavior is quite similar to that of other adverbial NPIs such as *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way' in the language. Second, in contrast to the some claims made by Keleşir (2000, 2001), I show that neither NPIs nor negation invoke any intervention effects in the environment of Noun Phrases (NPs). Thus I argue that it is not necessary to posit the Immediate Scope Constraint in Turkish. Lastly, I investigate the interaction between the *ne... ne...* phrase (i.e. neither... nor...) and negation in Turkish. More specifically, a small-scale online corpus research on the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase along with negation produced results that are in agreement with the account proposed by Şener and İşsever (2003). However, the results also illustrate the fact that negation occurs only when the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins constituents smaller than clauses.

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a fresh look at a number of issues regarding certain NPIs, the scope of negation, intervention effects or lack thereof and the negative *ne... ne...* phrase in Turkish. It is argued that adverbial NPIs such as *sakın* 'ever', *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way' form a natural class with respect to their distribution and appear in similar contexts. Specifically, unlike earlier assumptions by Keleşir (2000, 2001), it is shown that the use of *sakın* 'ever' is not limited to only imperative contexts but it can occur in optative environments as well. In addition, it is argued that NPIs and negation do not cause any intervention effects when they co-occur with logical elements such as the existential quantifier. This is again against previous claims by Keleşir (2000, 2001) and McKenzie (2006) that the presence of certain negative elements causes intervention effects for the existential quantifier over choice functions and the functional variable it binds. Finally, a small-scale online corpus search on the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase along with negation shows results that is in tandem with the analysis found

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in Şener and İşsever (2003). Nevertheless, the findings also indicate that negation occurs only when the *ne... ne...* phrase only connects elements as big as phrases but excludes clauses.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 gives a general overview of NPIs in general and then focuses on three NPIs functioning as adverbs in Turkish. Section 3 is concerned with those structures that contain NPIs, negation, and other logical elements. Section 4 looks into the behavior of understudied *ne... ne...* phrase when it co-occurs with negation. Section 5 briefly concludes the paper and provides suggestions for further research.

2. Negative polarity

NPIs are well-attested across languages and they are known as elements that require the presence of another element such as sentential negation in the contexts they appear. Giannakidou (2011) provides the examples in (1) and (2) to illustrate that.

- (1) a. Bill didn't buy *any* books.
b. *Bill bought *any* books.
- (2) a. Bill hasn't *ever* read War and Peace.
b. *Bill has *ever* read War and Peace.

The elements *any* and *ever* above are well-known NPIs in English. They need to occur along with negation in (1a) and (2a) in order to be licensed. On the other hand, the sentences in (1b) and (2b) are ungrammatical since there is no negation to license these NPIs. Therefore, the presence of negation is obligatory for these elements.

Note, however, that negation cannot be just anywhere in the structure. That is to say, negation must precede any NPIs in the sentence. Otherwise, the resulting structure would be ungrammatical, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) a. Bill didn't see *anyone*.
b. **Anyone* didn't see Bill.
- (4) a. Bill didn't see *anything*.
b. **Anything* wasn't seen by Bill.

The ungrammaticality of the structures in (3b) and (4b), as opposed to the grammaticality of (3a) and (4a), indicates that NPIs must follow negation in the sentence in English. More specifically, NPIs must be in the scope of negation. In the next section, I introduce NPIs and their distributional properties in Turkish.

3. Negative polarity in Turkish

Negative polarity is not a well-studied area in Turkish and there are only a few studies that are concerned with the phenomenon. Kelepir (2001) and Yanılmaz (2009) divide Turkish NPIs into different categories based on their morphological makeup, as shown below.

- (i) The adverb *hiç* meaning 'ever' or 'at all',
 (ii) The words that begin with the morpheme *hiç* such as *hiçkimse* 'anyone', *hiçbirşey* 'anything' and *hiçbir N(oun)* 'any N',
 (iii) The words that do not contain the morpheme *hiç* like *kimse* 'anyone', *sakın* 'ever', *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way'.

Note that the distribution of the NPIs in each classification above shows differences. However, all of them can appear in the context of negation in Turkish. Consider some examples in (5).[†]

- (5) a. Ahmet bura-ya *hiç* gel-*(me)-di.
 Ahmet here-DAT at all come-NEG-PAST
 'Ahmet did not come here at all.'
- b. Ahmet *hiçkimse-yi* gör-*(me)-di.
 Ahmet anyone-ACC see-NEG-PAST
 'Ahmet didn't see anyone.'

The examples in (5) and (6) clearly illustrate that NPIs require the presence of negation in the structure. Note also that *hiç* can also appear in yes-no questions, another context in which NPIs are allowed to appear across languages. Consider (6).

- (6) Ahmet bura-ya *hiç* gel-di mi?
 Ahmet here-DAT ever come-PAST Q
 'Did Ahmet ever come here?'

What is interesting here is that the third set of NPIs in the above classification involves three elements, namely *asla* 'never', *katiyyen* 'in no way' and *sakın* 'ever', that generally function as adverbs in sentences. Consider (7).

- (7) a. O-ndan *asla* vaz geç-me.
 it-ABL never give up-NEG
 'Never give up on that.'
- b. *Katiyyen* inan-ma.
 In no way believe-NEG
 'Don't ever believe (it).'
- c. *Sakın* bura-ya gel-me.
 ever here-DAT come-NEG
 'Don't ever come here!'

[†] Abbreviations in the glosses are as follows: 1 = first person; 3 = third person; ABIL = ability; ABL = ablative case; ACC = accusative case; AOR = aorist marker; CP = complementizer phrase; C⁰ = complementizer; DAT = dative case; EVID = evidential marker; IMP = imperative; LOC = locative case; NEG = negation; OPT = optative marker; PAST = past tense; PERF = perfect aspect; PL = plural; PROG = progressive; Q = question particle, SG = singular; TP = tense phrase; T⁰ = tense

The three NPIs in (7) all appear in negative imperative constructions where a warning, a piece of advice or a command is communicated. Note that Kelepir (2000, 2001) maintains that the NPI *sakin* ‘ever’ only occurs in imperative contexts in Turkish. That is to say, the use of *sakin* is restricted to imperatives and the adverb cannot appear in other contexts in the language. However, when one looks at the contexts in which *sakin* can occur, one can easily notice that its use is in fact not limited to imperative constructions, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. *Sakin* bura-ya gel-miş ol-ma-sın.
 ever here-DAT come-PERF be-NEG-OPT.3SG
 ‘What if he ever came here?’
- b. *Sakin* biz-e yalan söyle-miş ol-ma-sınlar.
 ever us-DAT lie tell-PERF be-NEG-OPT.3PL
 ‘What if they ever lied to us?’

The availability of the structures in (8) indicates that there is at least one other environment that the presence of *sakin* is allowed. This environment is what is referred to as an optative context in which a wish, a supposition, a desire, or a possibility is usually indicated. This is in fact not so surprising since optatives are shown to be contexts where NPIs are allowed to appear in other languages (cf. Giannakidou, 2014). One the reason why it was assumed that *sakin* only appears in imperatives might be because of the fact that the agreement markers on the verbs are the same in both optatives and imperatives in the language. This is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Third person singular/plural agreement of optatives and imperatives

	Optative	Imperative
Third person singular	-(y)A (-sIn)	-sIn
Third person plural	-(y)Alar (-sInAr)	-sInAr

As illustrated above, the alternate agreement markers are identical in both cases. In fact, Kornfilt (1997) argues that the third person forms of the optative are obsolete and are usually replaced with the third person forms of the imperative paradigm. Thus the new paradigm of agreement markers looks like the following.

Table 2. Third person singular/plural agreement of optatives/imperatives

	Optative/Imperative
Third person singular	-sIn
Third person plural	-sInAr

This behavior of *sakin* is in tandem with other NPIs since they can also appear in imperative as well as in other contexts.

- (9) a. O-ndan *asla* vaz geç-me-di.
 it-ABL never give up-NEG-PAST
 ‘S/he never gave up on that.’

- b. *Katiyyen* inan-mı-yor.
 in no way believe-NEG-PROG
 ‘S/he doesn’t ever believe (it).’

To conclude, it was argued in this section that NPIs in Turkish display some differences, as they do not appear in all contexts as their counterparts in languages like English. Specifically, I showed that they are not licensed in conditional clauses. Also, I argued that the distribution of the NPI *sakin* is very similar to *asla* and *katiyyen* since it occurs in imperative as well as non-imperative (e.g. optative) contexts. In the next section, I will analyze the scope of negation and intervention effects, or lack thereof in Turkish.

4. Scope of Negation and Intervention Effects

It is well-attested that the scope of negation in different languages varies since negation can be interpreted in different positions in a given structure. For instance, the negative morpheme ‘not’ in English as well as its counterparts in various languages may be interpreted inside or outside certain elements. This is shown in (10).

- (10) John does *not* discipline his children *because* he loves them.
 (i) Ahmet refrains from punishing his children because he loves them.
 (ii) Ahmet punishes his children for some other reason than that he loves them.

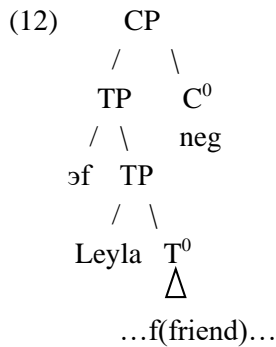
The sentence in (10) is ambiguous since it can be interpreted in two different ways. The two readings can be understood in terms of the relative syntactic position of negation with respect to other elements in the structure. In the first reading, negation takes scope over the subordinate clause and is interpreted at a higher node. On the other hand, in the second reading, the reverse scope is available where the subordinate clause takes scope over negation. This clearly illustrates the fact that the relative position and the interpretation of negation is subject to variation.

When we consider the issues concerning negation and scope in Turkish, one of the things that is well-attested is that Turkish is a scope-rigid language. What this means is that the surface order of certain elements such as negation and quantifiers is the same at the interpretative level. However, Keleşir (2000, 2001) argues that there is at least one environment in which an element could take scope over another that appears higher in the structure. That is to say, an accusative marked object NP can be interpreted inside or outside sentential negation, as shown in (11).

- (11) Leyla [_{NP} *bir arkadaş-ım-ı*] davet et-me-miş.
 Leyla one friend-1SG-ACC invite do-NEG-EVID
 (i) ‘A friend of mine is such that Leyla didn’t invite her/him.’
 (ii) ‘Leyla didn’t invite (even) one friend of mine.’

The sentence in (11) is ambiguous in that it can be interpreted in two different ways. In the first reading, the accusative marked object NP *bir arkadaş-ım-ı* takes scope over negation in which case the reading is ‘there is a friend of mine such that Leyla didn’t invite him or her’. In the second reading, on the other hand, negation takes scope over the object NP where the reading is ‘Leyla didn’t invite any of my friends’. Keleşir argues that the first reading is possible due to the presence of an existential quantifier over choice functions and the function variable that it binds. In other words, the function

variable is interpreted in a higher position by way of the phonologically null existential quantifier over choice functions. The syntactic structure in (11) would look like in (12).

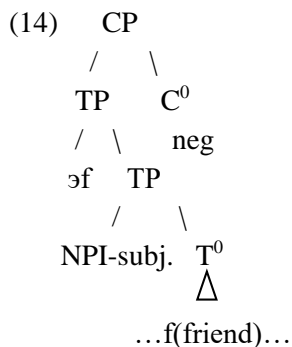


The syntactic representation in (12) captures the ambiguity of the sentence in (11) if we assume that in the first reading the posited existential quantifier over choice functions binds the function variable. On the other hand, negation takes scope over the object NP in the second reading since it appears high in the structure. However, it should be noted that one of these readings is more prominent and that one is the first reading. The second reading is only possible when there is a special emphasis (i.e. focal stress) on the object NP.

Kelepir (2000, 2001) also maintains that if there is an NPI in the subject position in a sentence, the accusative marked object NP is obligatorily interpreted inside negation. This means that the wide scope reading of the object NP is not available, as shown in (13).

- (13)? *Kimse bir arkadaş-ım-ı davet et-me-miş.*
 anybody one friend-1SG-ACC invite do-NEG-EVID
 only reading: ‘Nobody invited a friend of mine.’
 *‘A friend of mine is such that nobody invited her/him.’

Kelepir claims that the wide scope reading of the object NP is impossible in (13). This is because a subject NPI intervenes between the existential quantifier over choice functions and the function variable it binds. The structure in (13) is given in (14).



The idea here is that the NPI *kimse* ‘anyone’ in (14) that is the subject of the sentence appears between the existential quantifier and the function variable in the structure. This is the reason why the wide scope reading of the object NP is unavailable. Kelepir attempts to explain the unavailability of the wide scope reading by referring to the Immediate Scope Constraint that was originally proposed by Linebarger

(1980) in order to account for the (un)grammaticality of NPIs in English. The Immediate Scope Constraint states that there should be no intervening element between negation and NPIs. It also holds for existential quantifiers and function variables they bind. The intervening NPI between the existential quantifier and the function variable is the reason for unavailability of the wide scope reading of the object NP in (13). Note, however, that if we follow this argumentation, we need to assume that the Immediate Scope Constraint does not hold for the NPI and negation even though there is an intervening logical element (i.e. existential quantifier) but it does hold for the existential quantifier and the function variable in (14). This does not sound so feasible since we would then expect the rule to hold in one case and not to do so in the other. Another point here is that the unavailability of the wide scope reading is rather controversial. This is because of the fact that the accusative-marked object NP in the preceding sentence can be an antecedent for an overt pronominal in the subsequent discourse, showing that the wide scope reading for the object NP is available. Consider (15).

- (15) Kimse [_{NP} *bir arkadaş-ım-ı*] parti-ye davet et-me-miş. Bu yüzden *o_i* gel-e-me-di.
 anybody one friend-1SG-ACC party-DAT invite do-NEG-PERF this reason s/he come-ABIL
 ‘A friend of mine is such that nobody invited her/him to the party. That is why s/he couldn’t come.’

In (15), the object NP *bir arkadaş-ım-ı* introduces a discourse referent that acts as an antecedent for the pronominal element *o* ‘s/he’ that is co-referential with it in the following sentence, indicating that the NPI is not intervening and the function variable is bound by the existential quantifier. In fact, the wide scope reading is more prominent than the other one. This is shown in (16).

- (16) Hiçbir öğrenci [_{NP} *bir soru-yu*] cevapla-ya-ma-mış.
 any student one question-ACC answer-ABIL-NEG-EVID
 (i) ‘There is one question such that no student was able to answer it.’
 (ii) ‘No student was able to answer any question.’

In the first reading, the object NP takes scope over negation in which case the reading is ‘there is one (particular) question that no student was able to answer’. The availability of this wide scope reading indicates that NPIs do not in fact act like an intervener in the language. The second reading, on the other hand, is possible with focal stress on the NP. Therefore, there is no need to posit such a rule as the Immediate Scope Constraint in Turkish, not at least for the elements analyzed above. Both interpretations are possible and the assignment of focal stress seems to handle each reading in these constructions.

Note also that when there is a focus particle like *bile* ‘even’ in the sentence, the ambiguity disappears, as shown in (17).

- (17) Hiçbir öğrenci [_{NP} *bir soru-yu*] *bile* cevapla-ya-ma-mış.
 any student one question-ACC even answer-ABIL-NEG-EVID
 ‘No student was able to answer even one question.’

The unambiguity of the sentence in (17) indicates that only when the object NP is in focus, the wide scope reading of the object NP is unavailable. This also shows that heavy stress and focal elements play a role in disambiguating the meaning of the sentences in question.

In this section, I argued that in contrast to the claims made in previous work, NPIs do not act like interveners for other elements in Turkish. The elements such as the existential quantifier over choice functions and functional variable are not subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint in the language. In the next section, I will look into the *ne... ne...* phrase and its interaction with negation in Turkish and argue that its behavior is more intricate than it was shown in earlier work.

5. The *ne... ne...* construction

Turkish has a grammatical element, known as the *ne... ne...* phrase. It is basically a conjunction that conjoins phrases of the same type. It is considered to be an element whose behavior is similar to negative quantifiers in other languages such as *no one* or *nothing* in English (Keleşir, 2001; Şener and İşsever, 2003). This is because the *ne... ne...* phrase in Turkish is inherently negative in terms of its semantics and does not require the presence of negation in the structure. Consider (18).

- (18) a. *Ne Cem ne Suna bir mektup yaz-dı.*
 neither Cem nor Suna one letter write-PAST
 ‘Neither Cem nor Suna wrote a letter.’
- b. *Cem ne dergi ne kitap oku-r.*
 Cem neither magazine nor book read-AOR
 ‘Cem reads neither magazines nor books.’
- c. *Suna ben-i ne geçen hafta ne bu hafta ara-dı.*
 Suna I-ACC neither last week nor this week call-PAST
 ‘Suna called me neither last week nor this week.’

As can be respectively observed from the examples above, the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins subject NPs, object NPs as well as adjuncts in the language. Note also that there is no negation in the sentences but the meaning is negative. In spite of this fact, it was shown in previous work that the *ne... ne...* phrase can also co-occur in sentences with sentential negation without leading to ungrammaticality (cf. Gencan 1979; Göksel, 1987). This is illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. *Ne anne-m ne baba-m ev-e gel-di.*
 neither mother-1SG nor father-1SG home-DAT come-PAST
 ‘Neither my mother nor my father came home.’
- b. *Ne anne-m ne baba-m ev-e gel-me-di.*
 neither mother-1SG nor father-1SG home-DAT come-NEG-PAST
 ‘Neither my mother nor my father came home.’

The grammaticality of the sentence in (19b) is a challenge to the common assumption in the traditional grammars that the *ne... ne...* phrase occurs only in sentences without a negative marker. However, the existence of such sentences indicates that the *ne... ne...* phrase may occur without negation as well as along with it. This raises the question of whether there is free variation or whether the presence of negation is necessary in those cases. When we consider previous work, we observe that there are a number of different analyses. For instance, Gencan (1979) argues that the former is [more] “preferable” over the latter, thereby suggesting that it is a matter of choice. On the other hand, Göksel (1987) notes

that the acceptability of the *ne... ne...* phrase with negation would suggest that it is subject to certain syntactic and stylistic restrictions. She argues that whereas the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase with or without the negative marker on the verb in (20a) is optional, no such optionality is available in the case of (20b) and (20c), where the “distance” between the *ne... ne...* phrase and the verb forces the predicate to be marked for negation.

- (20) a. *Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de Türk işçilerini gör-e-me-m / gör-ür-üm.*
 neither old women nor also Turkish laborers see-ABIL-NEG-1SG / see-AOR-1SG
 ‘I see neither old women nor Turkish laborers.’
- b. *Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de yaz tatili için ülkelerine gitmeden önce tüm mağazaların en gereksiz mallarını satın alan Türk işçilerini gör-e-me-m.*
 ‘I can see neither old women nor Turkish laborers who buy all the unnecessary things from all the shops before they go to their countries.’
- c. *?Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de yaz tatili için ülkelerine gitmeden önce tüm mağazaların en gereksiz mallarını satın alan Türk işçilerini gör-ür-üm.*
 ‘I can see neither old women nor Turkish laborers who buy all the unnecessary things from all the shops before they go to their countries.’

The fact that the sentence in (20c) sounds degraded when compared to the one in (20b) is because the conjunct is far from the verb and the latter is not marked for negation. Therefore, Göksel concludes that in cases where the *ne... ne...* phrase is far from the verb, negation on the verb improves the reading.

On the other hand, Şener and İşsever (2003) notice the fact that there are cases in which the use of the negative marker on the verb is obligatory, as in (21) and (22).

- (21) a. *Bu yılki toplantı-ya ne Ali ne Ayşe kimse-yi davet et-me-miş.*
 this year’s meeting-DAT neither Ali nor Ayşe anybody-ACC invite do-NEG-PERF
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited anybody to this year’s meeting.’
- b. **Bu yılki toplantı-ya ne Ali ne Ayşe kimse-yi davet et-miş.*
 this year’s meeting-DAT neither Ali nor Ayşe anybody-ACC invite do-EVID
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited anybody to this year’s meeting.’
- (22) a. *Bu yılki toplantı-ya sen-i davet et-me-miş, ne Ali ne Ayşe.*
 this year’s meeting-DAT you-ACC invite do-NEG-PERF neither Ali nor Ayşe
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited you to this year’s meeting.’
- b. **Bu yılki toplantı-ya sen-i davet et-miş, ne Ali ne Ayşe.*
 this year’s meeting-DAT you-ACC invite do-PERF neither Ali nor Ayşe
 ‘Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited you to this year’s meeting.’

The ungrammaticality of (21b), as opposed to the grammaticality of (21a), shows that if there is an NPI in the sentence, the verb must be marked for negation in the presence of a *ne... ne...* phrase. Similarly, in cases where the verb is not marked for negation, a *ne... ne...* phrase can never be right

dislocated. That is why, the sentence in (22b), as opposed to the one in (22a), is ungrammatical. In order to account for the use of negation, or lack thereof, along with the *ne... ne...* phrase, Şener and İşsever (2003) propose an analysis in which they argue that the sentences with and without a negative marker have different focus and information structural properties. Specifically, a *ne... ne...* phrase can negate a sentence only when it is focused. In other words, a *ne... ne...* phrase negates a sentence only when it carries new information and receives heavy stress. This means that it is not the *ne... ne...* phrase itself but its combination with the focus feature that negates a sentence. In other words, in those cases where a *ne... ne...* phrase is in focus, negation is never allowed on the verb. Consider (23).

- (23) a. *Ne anne-m ne baba-m ev-e* [F GEL-ME-Dİ].
 neither mother-1SG nor father-1SG home-DAT come-NEG-PAST.3SG
 ‘Neither my mother nor my father came home.’
- b. *[F *NE ANNE-M NE BABA-M*] *ev-e gel-me-di*.
 neither mother-1SG nor father-1SG home-DAT come-NEG-PAST.3SG
 ‘Neither my mother nor my father came home.’

Şener and İşsever (2003) conclude that it is not the *ne... ne...* phrase itself but the negative marking on the verb in (23a) that negates the sentence. This is because the *ne... ne...* phrase is not focused, not providing new information, nor receiving heavy stress in the sentence. Instead, the verb itself is in focus providing new information. On the other hand, the sentence in (23b) shows that with negation on the verb, the assignment of heavy stress to any other element including the *ne... ne...* phrase leads to ungrammaticality. Based on these facts, Şener and İşsever (2003:1095) formulate their proposal as in (24).

- (24) a. [F *NE... NE...*] ___ V_{aff}
 b. *ne... ne...* ___ [F V_{neg}]

The formula in (24a) states that if a *ne... ne...* phrase is focused, the verb must be morphologically affirmative. That is to say, if the verb is morphologically affirmative, then no element other than a *ne... ne...* phrase can be focused in the sentence. On the other hand, the one in (24b) states that if the verb is marked for negation, the *ne... ne...* phrase itself cannot be focused. Şener and İşsever conclude that there is a close relationship between focus and sentential negation in the language.

As can be observed from the discussion above, there are various analyses that attempt to account for the presence and absence of negation along with the *ne... ne...* phrase in Turkish. Some researchers consider the issue to be a preference, perhaps a personal choice, whereas others argue that it is a matter of stylistics or syntactic restriction. Yet, a different group of researchers entertains the idea that the presence or absence of negation is strongly correlated with focus and information structure. Note, however, that the data analyzed in previous studies were mostly constructed with researchers' intuitions and do not quite represent naturally flowing language. The goal in this section, on the other hand, is to put these earlier analyses and claims to the test using naturally occurring discourse. In order to do that a small-scale corpus study was done using Twitter, an online social networking and microblogging service. Using the Twitter search engine, the researcher looked for and collected sentences with the *ne... ne...* phrase. Forty sentences that came up first in the search were taken and analyzed. The analysis showed interesting results in that 9 of the sentences (%36), two of which involved NPIs, had verbs marked for negation. Note also that in all of the sentences that the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoined either

Noun Phrases (NPs) or Postpositional Phrases (PPs), excluding any other larger sentential structures. Consider (25).

- (25) a. O yüzden *ne* siz-i *ne* de onlar-ı gör-mek iste-*mi*-yor-um.
 it reason neither you-ACC nor also they-ACC see-INF want-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘For that reason I want to see neither you nor them.’
- b. Ben bura-da-yım her yer-de-yim, *ne* eşkiya-dan *ne* de kolluk-tan
 I here-LOC-1SG every place-LOC-1SG neither thug-ABL nor also police-ABL
 kork-*ma*-m.
 fear-NEG-1SG
 ‘I am here, I am everywhere; I am afraid of neither thugs nor the police.’

If Şener and İşsever's (2003) analysis is correct, the foci in (25a) and (25b) are on the verb. That is to say, the *ne... ne...* phrase itself cannot negate the meaning of the sentence and negation on the verb is needed. This is also true for the structure in (26) where the speaker herself uses capital letters writing the verb, indicating the fact that focus is somewhere outside the *ne... ne...* phrase.

- (26) Ben böyle *ne* fandom *ne* de kanal GÖR-*ME*-Dİ-M.
 I like that neither fandom nor also channel see-NEG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I have seen neither a fandom nor a channel like that.’

On the other hand, the data also showed that in 25 of the sentences (62.5%), there is never negation on the verb where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins more than one clause. This is something that was not found in previous work. Consider (27).

- (27) a. *Ne* sen ben-i düşün *ne* de ben sen-i unut-a-yım.
 neither you I-ACC think nor also I you-ACC forget-IMP-1SG
 ‘Neither you think about me, nor I forget about you.’
- b. *Ne* yağmur yağ-ıyor *ne* hava soğuk *ne* de üşü-yor-um.
 neither rain rain-PROG nor weather cold nor also feel cold-PROG-1SG
 ‘Neither it is raining, nor it is cold, nor I feel cold.’

The absence of negation on the verbs in the above sentences is in fact not surprising. Note that the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins two (matrix) clauses and they have their own separate verbs. Therefore, it would not be reasonable to mark only one verb with negation and expect the other verb to be semantically negative. Also, the fact that there is no negation in sentences with the *ne... ne...* phrase also holds for the sentences with only one verb. This is illustrated in (28).

- (28) *Ne* ben bil-iyor-um *ne* de sen.
 neither I know-PROG-1SG nor also you
 ‘Neither I know nor you (know).’

As the above discussion clearly shows, when there is more than one clause that the *ne... ne...* phrase connects, neither verb is marked with negation. If we adopt the paradigm proposed by Şener and İşsever (2003), we could say that in (27) and (28), where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins two or more clauses, the

entire sentence is in focus, providing new information. This is in fact what would be expected since there are two separate clauses with two different verbs that have different propositions. However, the formula they proposed is not inclusive enough to account for the data shown above. Thus we need a new formula that can also account for cases where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins matrix clauses. The new one would then look like in (29).

(29) [_F [NE... (V_{aff})] [NE... (V_{aff})]] — V_{aff}

The revised formula above states that when the focus is the entire sentence, which includes at least one verbal element, the verb must be affirmative. The main difference between the formula in (24a) and the one in (29) is that the latter is more inclusive. More specifically, in addition to the subject and object NPs conjoined by the *ne... ne...* phrase, it also contains two (or more) matrix clauses that are connected by the negative phrase. The formula also shows that the verb does not necessarily have to be outside the focus domain in order to be affirmative. In this way, we have a unified account of the use of the negative phrase with phrasal and sentential elements in the presence and absence of negation.

To summarize, I investigated in this section the behavior of *ne... ne...* phrases in Turkish. A small-scale online research revealed that the use of negation along with the *ne... ne...* phrase is restricted and focus and information structure play an important role. One thing that was not found in previous studies is that when a *ne... ne...* phrase connects two or more clauses, the verb is never marked by negation, even in cases with elided verbs. Results from the study are discussed, explained, and interpreted in the Discussion part. This part should explore the significance of the results of the study, not repeat them. A combined Results and Discussion section is often appropriate. Avoid extensive citations and discussion of published literature. The results are examined to determine whether the study's hypotheses were confirmed. This section allows you to offer your interpretation and explain the meaning of your results. If the findings are different from those that were predicted by the hypotheses, you have to provide tentative explanations for those discrepancies. For example, some common explanations for unexpected results in a study are that the sample size was too small, the study was too short, directions given to participants were not followed properly, the instruments were not valid or reliable, or the survey response rate was too low. Or, in some studies, one may speculate that the responses given by the participants were contrary to what was expected because people were dishonest in their responses or were reluctant to share certain sensitive information with others.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, I investigated three issues regarding negative polarity and negation in Turkish: (i) NPIs and their licensing environments, (ii) negation, logical elements and intervention effects, and (iii) the *ne... ne...* phrase and its co-occurrence with and without negation. I argued that the distribution of the NPI *sakin* is similar to other NPIs like *asla* and *katiyyen* in the sense that it occurs in imperative as well as non-imperative (e.g. optative) environments. In addition, I argued that NPIs in Turkish do not act like interveners for other elements. I showed that logical elements such as the existential quantifier over choice functions and functional variable are not subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint in the language. Finally, an on-line research indicated that the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase with or without negation in Turkish is restricted to certain cases, and focus and information structure play an important role. One important finding that is not discussed in earlier studies is that when the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins more than one clause the verb is never marked for negation. Further work on the nature of NPIs, negation as well as other logical elements will surely shed more light on these issues.

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Türkçede olumsuz uçluk, olumsuzluğun açısı ve olumsuz öbekler

Öz

Bu yazıda, Türkçede olumsuz uç ifadeleri (OUİ), olumsuzluğun kapsamı ve birtakım olumsuz niceleyiciler hakkında konular araştırılmaktadır. Yeni verilere dayanarak, olumsuz bir uç ifadesi olan ve tümcede zarf işlevi gören *sakın* 'ever' sözcüğünün dağılımının önceki çalışmalarda (Keleşir 2000, 2001) olduğu kadar sınırlı olmadığı gösterilmektedir. Bu bakımdan, *sakın* sözcüğünün dağılımının *asla* 'never' ve *katıyın* 'in no way' gibi zarf görevi gören diğer OUİ'lere oldukça benzer olduğu ortaya konmaktadır. Bunun yanında, Keleşir (2000, 2001) ve McKenzie (2006) tarafından yapılan önceki önerilerin aksine, ne OUİ'lerin ne de olumsuzluğun, Ad Öbekleri (AÖ) ortamında herhangi bir müdahale etkisini ortaya koymadığı gösterilmektedir. Bu nedenle, Birincil Açık Kısıtlamasının Türkçede varlığının iddia edilmesinin gerekli olmadığını savunulmaktadır. Çalışmada son olarak, *ne... ne...* öbeğinin ile Türkçedeki olumsuzluğun arasındaki etkileşim araştırılmaktadır. Bu olumsuz niceleyicisinin kullanımına dair küçük ölçekli bir çevrimiçi çalışmada, Şener ve İşsever (2003) tarafından ortaya konan bulgular ile benzer sonuçlar ortaya çıkardığı gözlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, sonuçlar aynı zamanda

olumsuzluęun yalnızca *ne ... ne...* beęinin tmcelerden daha kk ęeleri birleřtirdięinde ortaya ıktıęını gstermektedir.

Anahtar szckler: Olumsuz uluk; olumsuzluęun aısı; olumsuz bekler; anlambilim; Trke

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