

CONTRASTIVE *DEĞİL* CONSTRUCTIONS IN TURKISH: A LARGE
CONJUNCT AND PF-DELETION ANALYSIS

AYŞE BÜŞRA YAKUT KUBAŞ

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2015

CONTRASTIVE *DEĞİL* CONSTRUCTIONS IN TURKISH: A LARGE
CONJUNCT AND PF-DELETION ANALYSIS

Thesis submitted to
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Linguistics

by

Ayşe Büşra Yakut Kubaş

Boğaziçi University

2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ayşe Büşra Yakut Kubaş, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date

ABSTRACT

Contrastive *Değil* Constructions In Turkish: A Large Conjunct And Pf-Deletion Analysis

I aim to contribute new empirical evidence and theoretical insight pertinent to the general issue of negation in contrastive environments. An understanding of the contrastive *değil* constructions and the nature of *değil* in these constructions are crucially contingent on an understanding of those linguistic phenomena that involve the so-called constituent negation. Some researchers have previously suggested that *değil* attaches to just any constituent in syntax based on the surface order, implying that it has a cross-categorical syntax (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006). I argue against them by presenting conceptual and empirical evidence that *değil* does not negate constituents, it occupies a higher syntactic position and semantically it is above a proposition. I further argue that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts by presenting supporting evidence that the conjuncts are larger than TP but smaller than CP, namely ΣP . *Değil* occupies the Σ head, having Neg and E(llipsis) features on the one hand, and the correlate has a null Affirmative head occupying the respective Σ position on the other hand. In terms of information structure, it is the coordination of opposites (i.e., Contrast). Lastly, I claim that the surface order is obtained by in-situ PF-deletion following Hartmann (2000) by showing that movement accounts of ellipsis (Johnson, 1996; Merchant, 2003) cannot handle the empirical data.

ÖZET

Karşıtsal *Değil* Yapıları: Büyük Bağlaçlık ve Sesbilimsel Biçim Silme

Bu çalışma, karşıtsal yapılarda olumsuzlama olayına yeni empirik kanıtlar ve teorik bir anlayış sağlamayı amaçlıyor. Karşıtsal *değil* yapılarının ve bu yapılarda kullanılan *değil*'in doğasının anlaşılması önemli bir şekilde sözde bileşen olumsuzlama içeren dilbilimsel olaylarının anlaşılmasına bağlıdır. Bazı araştırmacılar tarafından daha önce yüzey yapı baz alınarak *değil*'in sentakta her bileşene eklenebildiğini söylenmiştir (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006). Bu aynı zamanda *değil*'in çapraz-ulamsal sentaksa sahip olduğunu ima etmektedir. Bu çalışma kavramsal ve empirik kanıtlar sunarak *değil*'in bileşen olumsuzlayıcı olmadığını, yüksek bir sentaktik pozisyona sahip olduğunu ve anlamsal olarak da bir önermenin üzerinde yer aldığını iddia etmektedir. Buna ek olarak, karşıtsal *değil* yapılarının büyük bağlaçlardan, yani zaman öbeğinden büyük tümleyici öbeğinden küçük olan sigma öbeğinden oluştuğu önerilecektir. *Değil* sigma öbeklerinden birinin baş pozisyonundadır ve silme özelliğini barındırır. Bunun yanında, sesbilimsel olarak boş olan olumlama başı, diğer sigma öbeğinde bulunmaktadır. Böylece, bilgi yapısal terimlerle ifade etmek gerekirse, bağlaç yapısı karşıtsal yapıların bağlanmasından oluşmaktadır. Son olarak, görülen yüzey yapısının silmenin yer değiştirme analizleriyle açıklanamayacağını gösterilerek (Johnson, 1996; Merchant, 2003), Hartmann (2000) ışığında bir fonolojik biçim silme analizi öne sürülmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express the deepest gratitude to my thesis advisor, Meltem Kelepir-Wood for her guidance, understanding and patience throughout this research. She let me play with my ideas, set me free in choosing the path that I wanted to follow, and gave invaluable detailed feedback in each and every step of the research process. During my MA, her help is far beyond teaching me linguistics, she taught me how to question, challenge, and argue. I am indebted to her for all.

I wish to thank Aslı Göksel for simply being who she is, a linguist who thinks differently and who is excellent in turning an argument upside down and in pointing out the issues left unnoticed. It has always been a pleasure to listen to her questions. I also thank Martina Gracanin Yüksek for kindly accepting to be the external member in my thesis committee and for her invaluable feedback on my work.

I would like to thank A. Sumru Özsoy, who took me back in time to the early Generative Grammar and introduced the development of a theory of language. She always encouraged me, and provided the stimulus to keep going when I was stuck. She has contributed a lot to my career as a prospective linguist. I also wish to thank Mine Nakipoğlu-Demiralp for being such a great mentor. She is the very first linguist who inspired and encouraged me to pursue a career in linguistics. Thank you! I would also like to thank my instructors Balkız Öztürk, Eser Erguvanlı-Taylan and Markus Pöchtrager over the course of my years with linguistics for their guidance and unwavering support.

Songül Gündoğdu was an excellent teaching assistant during my bachelor years, and she is now an excellent friend. She has been a source of love, support and constructive feedback in my life. I am afraid I cannot thank her enough. I thank my

classmates, Seda, Betül, Dariya, Faruk, Emre, Feyza, and Nil for making an intellectually challenging and productive research environment possible, and I also thank Burcu for her friendship.

This project has been funded by the TÜBİTAK-BİDEB 2210 grant, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. It made the research possible.

I express my special thanks to my father Mustafa Nadir Yakut and my mother Esin Yakut, who have always been by my side and supported me in every way they can. I love them with all my being. I also wish to thank my elder sisters Feyza and Seza who always keep me in their prayers. My special thanks go to my husband Arif Kubaş for his unconditional love and support. He knew that it is not easy to be a researcher's husband but he gallantly acknowledged it.

Last of all, I humbly express my deepest appreciation to my deceased grandfather, H. Galip Hasan Kuşcuoğlu. He has been the guiding light in my life. I am forever indebted to him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 The aim.....	1
1.2 The basic properties of CDCs.....	5
1.3. The summary of the proposal.....	8
1.4 The outline.....	10
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND ON NEGATION.....	12
2.1 Traditional SN versus CN distinction.....	13
2.2 Problems with the traditional SN versus CN distinction.....	17
2.3 Markers of negation in Turkish.....	22
CHAPTER 3: COORDINATION AND ELLIPSIS.....	42
3.1 Coordination.....	43
3.2 Ellipsis.....	56
CHAPTER 4: A LARGE CONJUNCT AND PF-DELETION ANALYSIS.....	63
4.1 Corrective ‘but’.....	64
4.2. The previous proposals on <i>değil</i> in CDCs.....	84
4.3 The proposal.....	111
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	147
5.1 Contribution to the field of linguistics.....	147
5.2 Summary of the claims and the findings.....	149
5.3 Future research.....	150

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Taxonomy of Ellipsis Approaches.....	52
Table 2. The Properties of the Anchored Form of Corrective ‘but’.....	74
Table 3. Proposals on <i>değil</i> in CDCs.....	84
Table 4. ‘Not’ and ‘Corrective but’ in English.....	109
Table 5. <i>Değil</i> and Contrastive <i>Değil</i> Constructions in Turkish.....	109

ABBREVIATIONS

1/2/3 first/second/third person
ABL ablative
ACC accusative
BAC backward anaphora constraint
C complementizer
CAUS causative
CDCs contrastive *değil* constructions
CN constituent negation
CP complementizer phrase
COP copula
CSR complete syntactic representation
DAT dative
IMPF imperfective
INST instrumental
LCH large conjunct hypothesis
LOC locative
NEG negative marker; negation
NEC necessitative
NML nominalizer
NOM nominative
NP noun phrase
NSR non-subject relative
NSR no syntactic representation
O object
PART participial
PASS passive/derived unaccusative
PERF perfect
PL plural
POS possessive
PRES present
pro pronominal element
PST past
S subject
SCH small conjunct hypothesis
SG singular
SN sentential negation
SR subject relative
T tense head
TP tense phrase
vP little verb phrase
VP verb phrase

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aim

This thesis aims to investigate contrastive *değil* constructions (CDCs) in Turkish. It primarily examines the syntactic structure of CDCs and the nature of *değil* used in these constructions. Briefly, the questions investigated with respect to CDCs are the following:

- (i) Does *değil* in CDCs function as a constituent negation attached to a subclausal phrase such as a DP or does it function as a higher negation, which attaches to a sentence and some part of the sentence gets elided?
 - a. Does *değil* have cross-categorial syntax?
 - b. Does *değil* behave like an adjunct or a head category?
- (ii) What is the structure of the conjunct that contains *değil* in CDCs?
 - a. Does The Small Conjunct Hypothesis or The Large Conjunct Hypothesis provide an adequate explanation?
 - b. What is the category and the size of the conjuncts (e.g., vP, TP, or CP)?
- (iii) What is the nature of the ellipsis operation taking place in CDCs?

In this thesis I argue for the following as possible answers to the questions above:

- (i) *Değil* in CDCs is not constituent negation, and it does not have cross-categorial syntax. Instead, it occupies the Σ head position and takes a TP as its complement.
- (ii) CDCs are composed of large conjuncts, more specifically Σ Ps which occupy a position between TP and CP.
- (iii) I propose a non-movement analysis of ellipsis.

Turkish has three negative markers, *-mA*, *yok* and *değil*. The negative morpheme *-mA* negates verbal clauses and subordinate clauses as in (1a) and (1b); the negative existential *yok* is the negative counterpart of the existential *var* as in (1c), and the negative particle *değil* is used for negating nominal-participial clauses as in (1d), and (1e) (Taylan, 1984; Özmen, 1995; Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

- (1) a. Ali dün okul-a git-me-di-Ø.
 Ali yesterday school-DAT go-NEG-PST-Ø3SG
 ‘Ali did not go to school yesterday.’
- b. Ali-nin dün okul-da ol-ma-dığ-ın-ı
 Ali-GEN yesterday school-LOC be-NEG-GER-3SG-ACC
 bil-iyor-Ø-uz.
 know-IMP-ØCOP-1PLU
 ‘We know that Ali didn’t go to school yesterday.’
- c. Oda-da hiç kimse yok-tu-Ø.
 room.LOC. nobody absent-ØCOP-PST-3SG
 ‘There wasn’t anybody in the room.’

d. Bugün okul-da değil-Ø-im.

today school-DAT NOT-ØCOP-1SG

‘I’m not at school today.’

e. Ali ile bu konu-yu tartış-acak değil-Ø-iz.

Ali with this subject-ACC discuss-FUT NOT-ØCOP-1PL

‘It is not the case that we will discuss this subject with Ali.’

The seminal work of Taylan (1984) discusses the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the negative markers, *-mA* and *değil*. Following Tura (1981a), she argues that *-mA* is an internal negation operator while *değil* is an external negation operator, which marks sentential negation (SN). Their morphosyntactic properties also differ from each other such that *-mA* only attaches to verbal roots whereas *değil* attaches to nominal roots and to certain participle forms as illustrated in (2).

(2) a. With a nominal root:

Hemen uyu-ma-m mümkün değil-Ø-Ø

instantly sleep-GER-1SG possible NOT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘It is not possible for me to fall asleep instantly.’

b. With a verbal predicate, after a participle.

Henüz kaybol-duğ-u kesinleş-miş değil-Ø-Ø

yet get.lost.GER.ACC become.definite-PST.PART NOT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘It has not yet become definite that it was lost.’

Değil also appears in the following structures:

(3) a. (Positive and Negative) Tag Questions:

Gör-üyor-sun, değil mi?

see-IMP-ØCOP-2SG NOT Q

‘You see, don’t you?’

b. Double Negation:

Belki, düşün-me-di-m değil-Ø.

maybe, think-NEG-PST-1SG NOT-ØCOP

‘Maybe, it is not that I haven’t thought about it’

(4) a. Contrasting XPs:

Düğme-ye Ersümer değil biz bas-tı-k.

button-DAT Ersümer NOT we press-PST-1SG

‘Not Ersümer but we pressed on the button.’

b. ‘Not Only But Also’ construction:

Yalnız o değil, başka sapıklar da var-Ø.

only he NOT, else pervert-PLU also exist-Ø3SG

‘Not only him, but there are also other perverts.’

c. ‘Let Alone’ Construction:

Karanlık gün-ler-de değil konuş-mak haykır-malı-yız.

dark day-PLU-LOC NOT speak-MAS shout-NEC-1PLU

‘In these dark days, let alone speak, one needs to shout.’

d. *Metatextual negation in corrections:*

- i: Saat gece yarısı-3SG.POSS-ACC geç-iyor ol-malı-Ø.
clock night half-3SG.POSS-ACC pass-IMP be-NEC-Ø3SG
'It must be past midnight.'
- ii: Olmalı değil geç-iyor-Ø-Ø.
be-NEC NOT pass-IMP-ØCOP-PST-Ø3SG
'Not 'must'. It IS.'

This thesis examines the nature of the construction given in (4a) where *değil* is used to contrast (at least) two items. From now on, we will refer to this construction as Contrastive *Değil* Construction (CDC) based on the information structural property that it expresses Contrast.

1.2 The basic properties of CDCs

In CDCs, there must be at least two contrasted elements. *Değil* 'not' cannot be used alone as a means of contrast without a contrastive correlate

- (5) *Ali hızlıca değil geldi.
Ali quickly NOT come-PST-Ø3SG
'He came not quickly *(but slowly) yesterday.'

At least two items that share the same syntactic category and structural property are contrasted in contrastive *değil* construction. For instance, an adverb can only be contrasted with an adverb of the same kind. The example (6) indicates that

the manner adverb *hızlıca* ‘quickly’ cannot be contrasted with the temporal adverb *dün* ‘yesterday. This is relevant for all the categories to be contrasted in CDCs.

(6) *Ali hızlıca değil dün geldi.

Ali quickly NOT yesterday come-PST-Ø3SG

‘*He came not quickly but yesterday.’

Below are given the possible categorial combinations that can appear in CDCs.

(7) Possible combinations:

a. DP:

Kitap değil defter aldım.

book NOT notebook buy-PST-1SG

‘I bought not a book but a notebook.’

b. PP:

Senin için değil senden dolayı maçı kaybettik.

you-POSS for NOT you-ABL because match-ACC. lose-PST-1PLU

‘It is not for you but because of you that we lost the match.’

c. AdjP:

Güzel değil çirkin bir kızım.

beautiful NOT ugly a girl-ØCOP-1SG

‘I am not a beautiful but an ugly girl.’

d. AdvP:

Yavaş değil hızlı koştum.

slowly NOT fast run-PST-1SG

‘I ran not slowly but fast.’

e. TP:

Onu görmedim değil gördüm.

he-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG NOT see-PST-1SG

‘It is not that I haven’t seen him. I saw him.’

f. CP¹:

Sen-in oyunu kazan-dığı-nı değil

you-GEN game-ACC win-PST.PART-ACC NOT

Ali’-nin atıl-dığı-nı bil-iyor.

Ali-GEN be.kicked.out -PST.PART-ACC know-IMPR- ØCOP- Ø3SG

‘S/he knows not that you won the game but that Ali was kicked out (of it).’

The sentences in (7) seem to show that *değil* can contrast a number of syntactic items ranging from DPs to CPs. Note that *değil* used in (7e) is assumed to be different from *değil* used in the rest of the examples in (7) such that the former is called sentential negation (i.e., external negation, see Taylan (1984)) while the latter is usually called constituent negation (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006). Constituent negation *değil* is assumed to attach to just any constituent. No restriction on its distribution has been offered in the Turkish literature. As a matter of fact, the surface structure of the sentences in (7) supports this constituent negation view since there is

¹ We are not sure that the embedded *-DIK* sentences form CPs in Turkish.

a wide range of syntactic categories that can be embedded under the so-called CN *değil*.

This study tries to argue against the CN view of *değil*. I argue that *değil* is not a constituent negation, and I will provide evidence, which challenges the constituent negation proposals of Kornfilt (1997) and McKenzie (2006).

1.3 The summary of the proposal

This study argues that *değil*, which is used as a means of Contrast in CDCs, is not a constituent negation marker even though on the surface, *değil* occurs with a number of syntactic categories. The following piece of evidence is used to support this claim: (i) *değil* cannot be used without a contrastive correlate, (ii) *değil* cannot attach to all syntactic constituents, meaning that there are certain restrictions with respect to the type of the constituent *değil* attaches to, (iii) *değil* takes scope over modal verbs and certain focus particles like *sadece* ‘only’, not just over the item next to which it appears on the surface structure.

I will further argue that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts, again based on the scope and binding facts (i.e., sloppy identity readings). There are Case-matching and binding connectivity effects observed in CDCs. I will show that the Large Conjunct Hypothesis offers a more straightforward explanation to the connectivity effects. The predicate in CDCs agrees with the nearest subject when two subjects are contrasted, which is easily accounted for, if there are two sentences with two predicates, one of which then gets elided. However, the SCH might require a construction specific rule to explain single agreement property of CDCs. One more piece of evidence to support the LCH comes from the paired contrasted items.

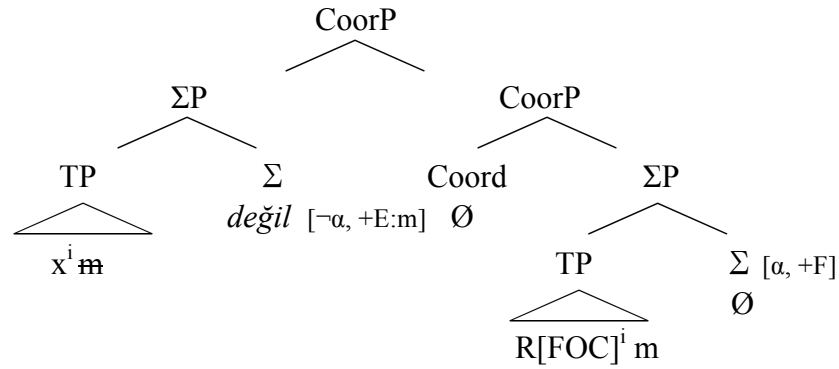
Discontinuous items can be contrasted in CDCs, which finds an explanation in a large conjunct coordination structure with two intact sentences in the derivation. Non-constituent elements cannot be coordinated in a small conjunct analysis; therefore the paired discontinuous items pose a problem for the SCH.

Establishing that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts, I will search for an answer to the question of how large the conjuncts are supposed to be. In order to determine the size and the category of the conjuncts, I will look at whether *değil* in CDCs can scope over a Speaker-Oriented Adverb (SpOA), which is assumed to occupy a left-peripheral position in syntax (Ernst, 2009). It is observed that neither the sentential negation *-mA* nor *değil* in CDCs is compatible with a SpOA since these adverbs are regarded as positive polarity items. I also look at whether wh-questions and yes-no questions can be embedded under *değil* in CDCs. The findings suggest that except for the metatextual readings, questions are not compatible with *değil*, either. Taking into the consideration the fact that subjects, and temporal adverbs, which mark the same Time reference, can be contrasted in CDCs, I also eliminate the possibility that CDCs are composed of vPs. Given the opposing polarity values of each conjunct, I argue that CDCs are composed of the polarity phrase, ΣP , which dominates the inflectional domain, TP (Laka, 1990).

In terms of the deletion analysis, I eliminate the movement possibility before deletion by indicating that there are no locality effects observed in CDCs. Then, I propose an optional PF-deletion analysis of the shared elements, which leaves behind the contrasted item in the ΣP headed by *değil*.

The syntactic representation of the structure I argue for CDCs is given below:

(8)



Following Merchant (2001) and Winkler (2005), I assume that *değil* occupying the Σ head bears an [E]llipsis feature, and licenses ellipsis. The null Σ head of the second conjunct bears the Focus feature, and licenses the Focus of the contrastive correlate in-situ. The superscript marks the contrastive correlate items in two conjuncts. The $[\alpha]$ symbol in the tree makes sure that the conjuncts always have the reverse polarity values. For instance, when the shared predicate is negative (e.g., *gelmedim* ‘I didn’t come’), $[\alpha]$ is marked $[-]$ while its counterpart is marked $[+]$, namely $[+]$.

1.4 The outline

In Chapter 2, I discuss some background on negation. It has been suggested that there are two types of negation in language: sentential negation (SN) and constituent negation (CN). The seminal work of Klima (1964, p. 247) aims to clarify the traditional grammatical concepts stated mostly in impressionistic terms, such as ‘sentence negation’ and ‘word negation’, by providing nonarbitrary rules of grammar for generating the sentences, which contain ‘sentence negation’ and ‘word negation’. I will briefly discuss certain theoretical assumptions in Klima (1964) in order to fully grasp the content of his work.

Then I will move on to the distribution of sentential negation *değil*, its morphosyntactic properties. Lastly, I present the contrastive *değil* constructions, possible and impossible combinations in them, which are the focus of this study.

In Chapter 3, I review the literature on coordination and ellipsis, which is necessary in order to understand the structure of CDCs. The studies that are discussed in this chapter are mainly on English, and yet they form the fundamental basis that I rely on while formalizing my claims about CDCs.

In Chapter 4, I firstly present the analyses developed to account for the English corrective ‘but’ construction (McCawley, 1991; Vicente, 2009; and Toosarvandani, 2013) since it resembles CDCs in that they both mark cancelling a part of an utterance and replacing it with its correlate. There is no formal investigation of the CDCs in the literature on Turkish; therefore corrective ‘but’ analyses enable us to stipulate potential structures that can be proposed for CDCs and the negative marker *değil*.

Then I continue with the previous proposals on *değil* used in CDCs (Ediskun, 1985; Özmen, 1995; Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006; and Göksel and Kerslake, 2005), and show that they fail to capture the data in its entirety. In turn, I argue that *değil* seems to attach to a large constituent, possibly larger than a TP. I also provide evidence suggesting that CDCs cannot be accounted for with the Small Conjunct Hypothesis. I finally present my proposal that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts subject to PF-deletion with my supporting arguments that lead me to this conclusion.

In Chapter 5, I summarize the basic findings and claims in the thesis and present some of the remaining issues that need to be investigated in the future research.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND ON NEGATION

It has been suggested that there are two kinds of negation: sentential negation (SN) and constituent negation (CN) (Klima, 1964; Lasnik, 1972; Horn, 1989; Ernst, 1992; Kim and Sag, 2001; among others), and there have been a number of studies which discuss the syntactic and/or semantic distinctions between them in English and in other languages. Among these studies, Klima (1964) is the most prominent work, which predates all the other theoretical works on this subject.

Written in the pre-Aspects framework (i.e., Transformational Generative Grammar) Klima (1964) aims to clarify the traditional grammatical concepts stated mostly in impressionistic terms, such as ‘sentence negation’ and ‘word negation’, by providing nonarbitrary rules of grammar for generating the sentences, which contain ‘sentence negation’ and ‘word negation’. (p. 247) But before discussing his tests and transformational rules of English grammar with respect to negation, we will briefly discuss certain theoretical assumptions in Klima (1964) in order to present the content of his work more clearly.

Klima (1964) proposes a strictly structural (viz. syntactic) analysis to account for a semantic concept like negation. He puts forward “the unwarranted assumption that semantic categories are always matched by grammatical ones” (p. 247). Following this assumption, it is predicted that the semantic scope of negation always matches the structural position of the relevant negative marker since they are not treated as separate phenomena as Klima (1964, p. 247) states below:

Finally –and very unfortunately- the analysis that shall be proposed offers itself no interpretation of notions like *negative* that appear as designations of grammatical symbols. That is, as far as the formal grammatical analysis is concerned, labels like *negative* have no meaning above and beyond their grammatical function of specifying a structural position and some difference from other symbols.

Klima suggests that the label ‘negative’ cannot always be used to refer to certain items like ‘not’, ‘never’, ‘neither’, etc. The grammatical features define the label, not the arbitrary items. Thereby we can clearly see that negation is defined in syntactic terms in Klima (1964). The semantic categories (e.g., negation) always correspond to a grammatical one (e.g., a structural position) in Klima’s system.

Given that the terms are coined as sentential negation and constituent negation, one needs to present their differences in syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation (if there are any). Beginning with Klima (1964), there has been substantial research on this traditional distinction between SN and CN.

2.1 Traditional SN versus CN distinction

The distinction between SN and CN depends on whether one defines these terms in a syntactic or a semantic way (Zeijlstra, 2004). Klima distinguishes them in a syntactic way, and posits the following tests to designate the structural positions labeled as ‘negative’ in English. Below I present the traditional tests to diagnose SN in English:

SN permits the occurrence of *either*-conjunctions, the negative appositive tag *not even*, positive tag questions, and *neither*-tags, as given in (9) (Klima, 1964, pp. 261-66).

- (9) a. ... and writers will *not/scarcely/hardly/never/seldom/rarely/* accept them, *neither*.
- b. The writer will *not/never/seldom/rarely* accept suggestions, *not even* reasonable ones.
- c. Writers will *never* accept suggestions, *will* they?
- d. Writers will *never* accept suggestions, and *neither will* publishers.

When negation expressed by a marker meets the conditions above in English, it is called SN. Since the conditions are defined in syntactic terms (e.g., permitting the negative appositive tag, etc.), SN is in turn defined as a syntactic phenomenon.

Klima argues that sentential negation (as a non-arbitrary grammatical feature) occupies pre-sentential position when first introduced into the structure (i.e., deep structure²). After particular transformations its ultimate position is obtained.

Klima follows a framework in which deep structure (DS) representations are transferred to semantic interpretation (i.e., transformations don't alter meaning (originated in Katz and Postal, 1964)). Therefore, the pre-sentential position of negation (in recent syntactic terms, the first Merge position) is the input to the semantic component, implying that negation takes wide scope over the whole sentence. I can say that in Klima's account, the term 'sentence negation' corresponds both to certain surface syntactic positions (which are obtained after the required transformations), such as the position right after the auxiliary, and to the sentential scope of negation due to the pre-sentence position of negation in deep structure.

² Klima himself does not discuss deep vs. surface structure. I name the basic position before any transformation occurs as DS, and the ultimate position after certain transformations as SS based on the terminology of Principles and Parameters.

However, the distribution of negative markers in English indicates that there are a number of structural configurations in which certain negative markers do not pass Klima's tests intended for determining SN. Previously called as 'word negation', Klima has described such a marker that is distributionally excluded from SN contexts as 'constituent negation' (CN). What are the contexts in which one encounters a CN marker in English? For instance, negation trapped in a subordinate clause is CN with respect to the main clause since the scope of negation does not extend to the main clause as in (8) (Klima, 1964, p. 304). Secondly, there are cases where negation in a simple clause does not take scope over the whole sentence, but just seems to negate a constituent in the sentence, generated as the sister of Time (e.g., 'not long ago') or a modified adjective (e.g., 'not unattractive'), etc. as in (10). Therefore, Klima (1964, p. 307) suggests that the 'not' of constituent negation and the 'not' of sentence negation do not have the same original structure.

CN is attested in infinitival, gerundial and finite subordinate clauses, as given in (10):

- (10) a. I would force her not to marry anyone.

(Klima, 1964, p. 303)

- b. Kim regrets not having read the book.

(Choi, 2004, p. 188)

- c. He knows that no rain needs fall and so does she.

(Klima, 1964, p. 304)

CN does not permit *either*-conjunctions, the negative appositive tag *not even*, positive tag questions, and *neither*-tags as given in (11).

- (11) a. He married a *not* unattractive girl, *and you didn't, either.
b. There was some rain *not* long ago, *not even in the desert.
c. He had spoken with her *not* many hours earlier, *had he?
d. He found something interesting there *not* long ago, *and neither did she.

(Klima, 1964, p. 305)

To sum up, in Klima's seminal work, a deep structure position is assigned for negation (i.e., pre-S), which is transferred into the semantic component for interpretation (i.e., scope). There are a number of transformational rules operating between deep structure and surface structure in order to obtain the surface representation. Thus, the ultimate position of a negative marker on surface can be misleading since they are mobile and capable of incorporating with other elements.

There have been some opposing views about the reliability of Klima's tests used for identifying SN. In the next section, we will discuss Jackendoff (1969), which claims that neg is generated in its surface position and then moves up in the tree to its scope position, and Penka (2011), which claims that Klima's SN tests actually identify the widest scope of negation. Whenever negation takes the widest scope, the relevant negative marker is assumed to mark SN marker in Klima's terms, meaning that one needs to have different structural positions for negation in sentences that are quite similar.

2.2. Problems with the traditional SN versus CN distinction

As already stated above, Klima writes in a framework in which transformations do not alter meaning (Katz and Postal, 1964).³ Contra Klima (1964), Jackendoff (1969, p. 228) indicates, “a theory which requires that all semantic interpretation can be captured in deep structure ...” does not account for the full range of the phenomena.

Klima’s rules are based on the following assumption: “A sentence [_S X-neg-Y]_S is an instance of sentence negation if there exists a paraphrase *It is not so that* [_S X-Y]” (Jackendoff, 1969:218). It implies that SN contexts mark the widest scope of negation. Klima (1964) argues that the underlying position of neg is pre-S in SN contexts. Yet, he notes that there is a number of instances where negation does not seem to be the daughter of the S as given below.

(12) I will force you to marry no one.

SN-reading: It is not the case that I will force you to marry someone.

CN-reading: I will force you not to marry anyone.

The sentence in (12) has two readings. The SN reading of ‘not’ can be paraphrased as ‘It is not the case that’ (Jackendoff, 1969). The second reading, on the other hand, cannot be paraphrased like that because negation is restricted to the complement clause. Klima (1964) proposes to generate ‘not’ in the complement position (in deep structure), and names it CN.

³ Beginning with Katz and Postal (1964), the idea of deriving semantic structure from deep structure has come into play, which is an attempt, as Chomsky (1972, p. 67) states, “to represent independently the ‘purely grammatical’ component of meaning”, and which is “a fashion that [it] is hopeless and misguided...”

Consider another interesting case of contrast given in (13) and (14).

- (13) a. Not many of the arrows hit the target.
b. Many of the arrows didn't hit the target.
- (14) a. Some of the men didn't see anything.
b. None of the men saw anything.

(Jackendoff, 1969, p. 223)

In (13a) and (14b), 'not' is placed before the indefinites, 'many' and 'some' with regard to the obligatory incorporation of neg into the first indefinite before the aux, but (13b) and (14a) are not synonyms of (13a) and (14b) and they cannot be explained by the rules of sentence negation since neg is associated with aux instead of the indefinite. The scopal properties of these pairs are also different. Negation takes wide scope in (13a) and (14b), but not in (13b) and (14a).

Up until this point it has been assumed that neg is base-generated at the position necessary for scope interpretation, and Klima's rules of neg-placement attach it to its surface position. Jackendoff (1969, p. 235), however, proposes to do the opposite. Instead of making neg move and attach to lower nodes in the tree, he argues that it can be generated in its surface structure position and then in the semantic component it can move up into its scopal position. Since scope is a semantic notion, it does not induce any changes to the surface form. It just affects the semantic interpretation of the sentence. In turn, the terms SN and CN only refer to the scope of negation, not a particular surface syntactic position.

2.2.1 Penka (2011)

Penka (2011) in “Negative Indefinites” discusses the traditional distinction between SN vs. CN. She lists a number of counter-arguments against such a distinction based on syntactic terms, and argues that Klima’s tests are problematic for several reasons: (i) they do not seem to have a cross-linguistic applicability, (ii) they identify adverbial forms such as ‘never’, ‘seldom’, ‘hardly’, etc., as SN although these items actually express negation in a weaker sense (i.e., downward-entailing contexts), and (iii) they actually indicate the widest scope of negation in a proposition.

Penka presents the following sentence in (13) in which the particle ‘not’ occupies one of the designated SN positions (i.e., the immediate right of the auxiliary in a finite clause). We observe that there is a quantificational element such as ‘often’ taking scope over negation expressed by the SN ‘not’. Klima’s tests fail to account for the status of negation.

- (15) ??John often doesn’t pay taxes, [does he?/and neither did I/ not even to Malta]

(Penka, 2011, p. 5)

This example shows that Klima’s tests identify the widest scope of negation regardless of the surface position of the negative marker. When another operator takes scope over negation in a sentence, the surface position of the negative marker can be misleading in terms of making the SN versus CN distinction.

Penka states, by referring to Dahl (1993), that even the usefulness of the term CN is doubtful. Consider the following sentences in (11) repeated here as (16) which are argued to involve CN.

- (16) a. He married a **not** unattractive girl.
b. There was some rain **not** long ago.

Dahl (1993) points out that examples in (16) might actually involve SN by giving their sentential expansions as in (16¹).

- (16¹) a. He married a girl who was **not** unattractive.
b. There was some rain at the time which is located **not** long ago.

Dahl (1993) looks at the issue from a semantic point of view, and argues that there is no need to postulate another notion like CN, since ‘not’ negates a complete (embedded) sentence in both examples. Although the constituents to which ‘not’ attaches in (14) are not sentential in syntactic terms, Dahl indicates that they are propositional, which is in line with the semantics of negation (i.e., it targets propositions).

Up until this point, we have discussed the syntax-based distinction between SN and CN, and certain problems related to it. The notions are used to refer to two things: The surface position of a negative marker and the semantic scope of negation. The syntax-based accounts try to derive the scope properties from the syntactic position of negation, which leads to a number of mismatches as indicated above. Now we will present a perspective based on semantics of negation.

2.2.2 Negation is propositional

Penka (2011, p. 10) states that “[n]egation as a sentential operator needs an argument of type *t*, i.e., its sister node has to denote a truth value. The lowest position at which negation can apply is thus the lowest position that expresses a complete sentence”.

What is meant by “a complete sentence”? From a neo-Davidsonian perspective, sentences are descriptions of events (Davidson, 1967). In the semantic component, negation is assumed to attach to an event argument which has already been existentially quantified over. This kind of existential quantification is possible when an aspectual operator introduces a quantifier into the semantic structure, implying that in the semantic representation negation has to wait for the aspectual operator to existentially quantify the event argument (i.e., Negation>Aspect>Event).⁴

For syntax, however, negation corresponds to a functional projection in the tree. The early work in Generative Syntax claimed that it is either TP or CP.⁵ For the sake of my analysis I assume that proposition is a sentence, and it corresponds to a position above TP and below CP in syntax due to the empirical evidence discussed in Chapter 4. Note that TP and CP are also constituents per se, and constituent negation as a term does not necessarily mean that negation attaches to smaller constituents. One needs to determine the size of the constituent negation attaches to. But still, constituent negation refers to the mobility of the negative marker so it can attach to just any constituent in principle. Sentential negation, on the other hand, only attaches

⁴ This quantifier binds the event variable by locating the time at which the event takes place with respect to the reference time. In addition to introducing an event-binding quantifier, the same aspectual operator is argued to introduce a time variable, which has to be bound by a temporal operator. The discussions about the position of negation with respect to the aspectual and temporal operators in the semantic structure are not conclusive.

⁵ According to Phase Theory in the recent framework of Minimalism, Chomsky claims phases are propositional, and CP and vP are phases (Chomsky, 2001).

to the positions that correspond to a proposition in the semantic component, thus the term implies a restriction in its distribution.

To sum up, we have presented two approaches regarding syntax-semantics interface of negation above. The first argues that the syntactic position of a negative marker overlaps with the semantic scope of negation. If the marker occupies the position allocated for SN, then it is predicted that negation takes sentential scope, and vice versa. The other argues that negation, as a semantic concept always requires a proposition.

2.3 Markers of negation in Turkish

In this section we will first provide general information about the markers of negation in Turkish (i.e. *-mA*, *yok*, and *değil*). Then we will introduce the focus of the study, namely contrastive *değil* constructions.

Değil occurs in a variety of constructions with a variety of functions; so we will first present the distribution of *değil* to provide a background for the discussion of the specific construction that is the main theme of the thesis. Morphosyntactic properties of *değil* and its syntactic position in clause structure will also be introduced for the same purpose.

2.3.1 *-mA* and *yok*

The negative morpheme *-mA* negates verbal clauses and subordinate clauses as in (17a) and (17b); and the negative existential *yok* is the negative counterpart of the

existential *var* as in (15c) (Taylan, 1984; Özmen, 1995; Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

- (17) a. Ali dün okul-a git-me-di-Ø.
Ali yesterday school-DAT go-NEG-PST-Ø3SG
'Ali did not go to school yesterday.'
- b. Ali-nin okul-da ol-ma-dığ-ın-ı bil-iyor-Ø-uz.
Ali.-GEN school-LOC be-NEG-GER-3SG-ACC know-IMP-ØCOP-1PLU
'We know that Ali didn't go to school yesterday.'
- c. Oda-da hiç kimse yok-tu-Ø.
room.LOC. nobody absent-ØCOP-PST-3SG
'There wasn't anybody in the room.'

The negative suffix *-mA* has been claimed to occupy the head position of a functional projection below TP in Turkish (Aygen, 1998; Kelepir, 2001; among others), and it has been argued to be sentential negation (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006).

As we have noted above, these markers are not the focus of this study, therefore in the following section I will continue our discussion with the distribution of *değil* used as sentential negation in matrix clauses. Note that the aim of this thesis is not specifically related to SN *değil* either, but in order to follow the general discussion in the thesis we first present its morphosyntactic properties and highlight some peculiarities with respect to its distribution that is worth further investigation.

2.3.2 The distribution of *değil*

The negative particle *değil* is used for negating nominal-participial clauses as in (18a), and (18b):

- (18) a. Bugün okul-da değil-Ø-im.
 today school-DAT NOT-ØCOP-1SG
 ‘I’m not at school today.’
- b. Ali ile bu konu-yu tartış-acak değil-Ø-iz.
 Ali with this subject-ACC discuss-FUT NOT-ØCOP-1PL
 ‘It is not the case that we will discuss this subject with Ayşe.’

The seminal work of Taylan (1984) discusses the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the negative markers, *-mA* and *değil*. Following Tura (1981a), she argues that *-mA* is an internal negation operator while *değil* is an external negation operator, which marks sentential negation (SN). Their morphosyntactic properties also differ from each other such that *-mA* only attaches to verbal roots whereas *değil* attaches to nominal roots and certain participle forms as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. A nominal root:
- Hemen uyu-ma-m mümkün değil-Ø-Ø
 Instantly sleep-GER-1SG possible NOT-ØCOP-Ø3SG
 ‘It is not possible for me to fall asleep instantly.’

b. A verbal predicate, after a participle.

Henüz kaybol-duğ-u kesinleş-miş değil-Ø-Ø

Yet get.lost-GER-ACC become.definite-PST.PART NOT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘It has not yet become definite that it was lost.’

Agreement suffixes and postclitics attach to *değil*, leaving the verb in its participial form as illustrated in (20).

(20) O-nun-la bir daha gör-üş-ecek değil-im.

he-gen-with one more see-recip-fut not-1sg

‘I will not see (socialize with) him again’

(Taylan, 1984, p. 159)

However, not all sentences with a verbal predicate can be combined with *değil*. There are certain restrictions with respect to the Tense, Aspect and Modality markers that a verb can take when embedded under *değil*.

In the literature on verbal forms in Turkish, the inflectional suffixes a verb can take have been classified under two groups (Kornfilt, 1996; Kelepir, 2001; Sezer, 2001; Enç, 2004). Group 1 involves the imperfective *-Iyor*, the future *-AcAK*, the perfect and evidential *-mİş*, the aorist *-Ir/-Ar*, the abilitative *-AbIl*, and finally the epistemic and deontic necessity marker *-mAIl*. Group 2, on the other hand, includes only the definite past *-DI*, and the conditional *-sA* (Kelepir, 2001, p. 25).

Değil is compatible with the TAM marks in Group 1, namely the imperfective *-Iyor*, the future *-AcAK*, and the perfect *-mİş* whereas it is not compatible with the TAM markers in Group 2.⁶

(21) a. İsmail her gün parti-ler-e gid-iyor/-ecek/-miş değil-Ø-di-Ø.

İsmail every day party-PLU-DAT go-IMP NOT-ØCOP-PST-Ø3SG

‘It was not the case that İsmail was going to parties every day.’

b. *İsmail partiye git-ti değil.

İsmail party-DAT go-PST/-COND- Ø3SG NOT

Int: ‘It is not the case that İsmail went to the party.’

Before discussing the studies on the structural position of the SN *değil*, the next section will present certain contexts in which *değil* can be used as metatextual negation. Any TAM marker, which is normally not compatible with *değil*, can be embedded under *değil*.

2.3.3 A note on metatextual negation

I have shown above that *değil* cannot survive in certain morphosyntactic contexts.

However, when used as metatextual negation, grammaticality judgments change.

Consider the examples below.

⁶ *Değil* is not compatible with the aorist *-Ir/-Ar* and the necessiative *-mAll* even though they are classified under the Group 1 as participials. However, the definite past *-DI* and the aorist *-Ir/-Ar* which cannot be embedded under *değil*, become compatible with it in double negation contexts. See Keleşir (2001) for a detailed discussion.

- (22) a. The definite past in affirmative contexts

Ben koca-m-ı boşa-dı-m değil

I husband-1SG.POSS-ACC divorce-PST-1SG NOT

boşa-yacağ-Ø-ım.

divorce-FUT-ØCOP-1SG

‘I did not divorce my husband, I WILL.’

- b. The conditional -sA

Cemal Süreya gibi öl-se-ler değil ol-sa-lar de-di-m.

Cemal Süreya like die-COND-3PLU NOT be-COND-3PLU say-PST-1SG

‘I said I wish they WERE like Cemal Süreya, not dead like Cemal Süreya.’

- c. The necessitative -mAll

Amerika’-ya git-meli-sin değil git-me-meli-sin

the States-DAT go-NES-ØCOP-2SG NOT go-NEG-NES-COP-2SG

‘You SHOULDN’T go to the States, not should.’

In addition to these TAM markers, compound tenses which are composed of the combinations of the postclitic forms, -(y)DI, -(y)mİş, -(y)sA with the participle forms, -(I)yor, -AcAK and -mİş, cannot be embedded under *değil* unless it is metatextual negation.

- (23) a. Ali ile konuş-uyor-Ø-muş-sun değil konuş-uyor-Ø-muş-sunuz.

Ali with talk-IMP-ØCOP-EVID-2SG NOT talk-IMP-ØCOP-EVID-2PLU

‘Apparently, YOU ALL were talking to Ali, not just you.’

b. Araba-yı tamir ed-ecek-Ø-ti-m değil et-ti-m bile.

car-ACC. fix-FUT-ØCOP-PST-1SG NOT fix-PST-1SG already

‘I was not GOING to fix the car. I have already done it.’

c. Biz senin-le önceden karşılaş-mış-Ø-tı-k değil

We you-INST before come.across-PST.PART-ØCOP-PST-1PLU NOT

karşılaş-malı-y-dı-k demiş.

come.across-NES-ØCOP-PST-1PLU say-EVID-Ø3SG

‘He said, we should have met with each other before, not HAD MET.’

Horn (1989) refers to the instances like those given above as metalinguistic negation in English, and defines it as the speaker’s objection to the way a previous proposition is uttered. In such metalinguistic uses, the negation operator is not a truth-functional operator. The focus is not on the truth or falsity of an utterance, but on the assertability of it. In Horn (1989, p. 363)’s terms, metalinguistic negation expresses the speaker’s “unwillingness to assert, or accept another’s assertion of, a given proposition in a given way”.

Dancygier (1992, p. 68), however, proposes a distinction between metalinguistic negation and metatextual negation by pointing out that Horn (1989)’s examples of metalinguistic negation are actually metatextual in nature. She argues that the speaker does not reject the whole of the utterance told, but some aspects or parts of it by using certain devices such as echoing or revising the fragment of the text s/he rejects. In other words, the speaker’s text makes a commentary on the previously uttered text. Therefore, according to Dancygier (1992), the negation is at the metatextual level.

I will not go into the details of her analysis in comparison to Horn's analysis, but I adopt the terminology Dancygier uses in the scope of the study. In my examples the speaker focuses on a fragment of the text s/he heard, and rejects it by utilizing *değil*.

It is important to point out that metatextual negation contexts will not be discussed in the scope of the thesis. And yet, the readers can see that it is not easy to tease apart the metatextual reading since it is the pragmatic extension of the so-called CN *değil*.

To sum up, the general tendency of *değil* with respect to the TAM markers in Turkish is that it can follow the markers, which belong to the first group, namely – *Iyor*, –*mİş*, –*AcAK*, but it cannot follow the markers which belong to the second group, namely –*DI*, and –*sA*.

In the next section, I will focus on the syntactic position of the sentential negation *değil*.

2.3.4 The syntactic position of the SN *değil*

Değil has been referred to with a number of names in the literature: ‘negative predicate’ (Taylan, 1984), ‘negative copula’ (Kornfilt, 1996), ‘syntactic head’ (Aygen, 1998), and as ‘the head of a higher negation projection’ (i.e., Neg2) (Kelepir, 2001). In this section, we will present the syntactic accounts that Aygen (1998) and Kelepir (2001) have proposed.

2.3.4.1 Aygen (1998)

Aygen (1998) applies the split-Infinitival analysis of Pollock (1989) into Turkish, and splits the Turkish IP into several functional categories, one of which is NegP. According to her proposal, Mood, Neg(ation), T(ense)-A(spect) (hybrid projection), and Agr(eement) are the syntactic heads which project their own functional projections in Turkish. Accordingly, she argues that the negative affix *-mA*, the lexical *değil* and the negative existential *yok* occupy the Neg head category and project a NegP. Aygen (1998) bases her proposal on the following theoretical premises that define a head category in X-bar theory.

Theoretical premises:

- (i) Movement from a head category to a phrasal category is banned.
- (ii) Head Movement Constraint: Head movement is strictly cyclic and movement of a head category cannot cross another head category.
- (iii) Heads block stress.
- (iv) Clitics attach to head categories.
- (v) There has to be one head per projection and one projection per head (i.e. the isomorphic constraint on categories and their projections).

The negative markers (i.e., *-mA*, *değil* and *yok*) project NegP since they conform to the premises given above:

- (24) They undergo feature-checking with respect to Tense and Agreement:

Ben hasta değil-im:

I ill not-1st sg

‘I am not ill’

(Aygen, 1998, p. 36)

- (25) They block the movement of the substantive predicate:⁷

*Ben değil hasta-yım.

I not ill-1st sg

Int: ‘I am not ill.’

- (26) *-mA* blocks stress to move to the following affix:

a. Kanıtla-yá-ma-dı-m.

prove DM-NEG-PAST-1st Pr.AGR

‘I could not prove.’

b. *Kanıtla-ya-ma-dı-m.

prove DM-NEG-PAST-1st Pr.AGR

‘I could not move

(Aygen, 1998, p. 35)

- (27) They host clitics such as *-yDI*, *-ymIş*, or *-ysA*:

Dün ev-de yok-tu-m.

yesterday house-LOC NEGEx-Past postclitic-1 Pr Sing

‘I was not at home yesterday.’

(Aygen, 1998, p. 37)

⁷ Except *-mA* which is affixal. When heads are affixal, V-to-Neg movement is not blocked (Aygen, 1998).

As one of the earliest works on the syntax of functional categories in Turkish, Aygen (1998) discovers important facts about the morphosyntax of the negative markers, and makes a strong claim about their head vs. phrase status. Yet, her analysis is not without problems. She does not differentiate between the negative markers, but treats them in a unified manner. However, as she also puts it, their morphological properties are not the same. *-mA* is a suffix, that is why it does not block movement of a verbal head to Asp and T while *değil* is a free morpheme which seems to block this kind of movement. Also, in double negation constructions *-mA* and *yok* co-occur with *değil*, suggesting that Neg is projected twice.⁸

In the next subsection we will show that Kelepir (2001) posits two Neg positions specified for *-mA* and *değil* separately.

2.3.4.2 Kelepir (2001)

While discussing the copula in Turkish, Kornfilt (1996) refers to *değil* as ‘the negative copula’ in-passing. It is now established that *değil* occurs after the participial forms of Group 1 so it always precedes the copula. Kelepir (2001) argues against Kornfilt (1996) by asserting that if *değil* were the negative copula, it could occupy the position of the copula, not co-occur with it as given in (28c).

- (28) a. Hasta mı -y- dı -n?
 sick q.marker -cop- past -2sg
 ‘Were you sick?’

⁸ Projecting NegP twice would not be a problem for Aygen (1998) though, since she suggests the same for Modality.

b. *Hasta -mı -değil- di-n?
 sick -q.marker DEĞİL -past-2sg

Intended: ‘Were you not sick?’

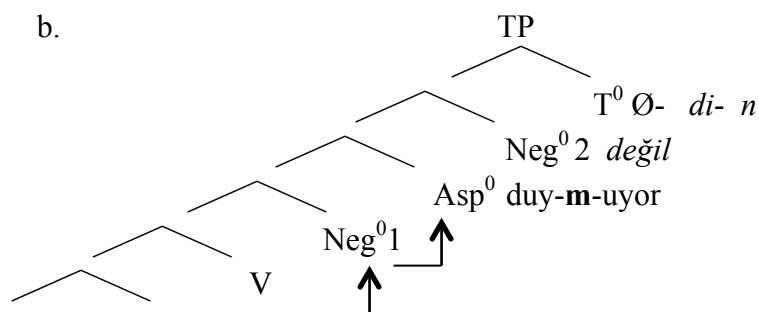
c. Hasta değil -mi- y- di- -n?
 sick DEĞİL -q.marker-cop-past-2sg

‘Were you not sick?’

(Kelepir, 2001, p. 50)

Considering the relative order of the verbal forms, Kelepir (2001) argues that *değil* occupies a lower position than the copula, which is claimed to occupy the T head. She suggests that *değil* is also a Neg head which is higher than the NegP headed by the negative morpheme *-mA* in Turkish. She names it Neg⁰2 and suggests that it selects for nonverbal items. The structure she proposes is given below (Kelepir, 2001, p. 51).

- (29) a. Duy-m-uyor değil- Ø-di- n (ama duymuyormuş gibi yapmayı tercih ettin.)
 hear-neg-prog not-cop-past -2sg
 ‘You were not not hearing, (but you preferred to pretend that you were not).’



(Kelepir, 2001, p. 51)

In contrast with Aygen (1998), Kelepir (2001) takes the double negation constructions into consideration. Negation is projected twice, and the higher projection is occupied by the negative particle *değil*.

2.3.5 Interim discussion

Up until this point, I have discussed the properties of the SN *değil*, its morphosyntactic restrictions and syntactic position although the focus of this thesis is not the SN *değil*. The reason why I have given such a detailed description of it is in order to better understand the facts of the so-called CN *değil*. The morphophonological forms of the two *değils* are the same, but, as will be clear in the next section, the so-called CN *değil* has a wider distribution, attaching to various items (on the surface). According to Aygen (1998) and Kelepir (2001), the SN *değil* occupies the head of a functional negation projection, but there is no reference to the CN use of *değil* and its syntactic status. In the next chapter we will try to discuss this issue. Before that we will introduce the constructions in which *değil* is used in Turkish.

2.3.6 Contrastive *değil* constructions

The so-called CN *değil* can be used in a number of constructions.⁹ It forms a tag question together with the question particle *-mI* as in (30a). It marks a doubly negated construction when used after the verbal negative morpheme *-mA* as in (30b). It is used in contrasting (at least) two items as in (31a). Together with *yalnız* ‘only’ it

⁹ The examples in (27) and (28) are from the Turkish National Corpus (Aksan *et al.*, 2012)

forms ‘not only...but also’ construction as in (31b). It is used as ‘let alone’ construction by preceding the item it attaches to as given in (31c). And finally it appears in metatextual negation contexts, which contains a direct quotation from the utterance just heard as in (31d).

(30) a. (Positive and negative) Tag questions

Gör-üyor-sun, değil mi?

See-IMP-ØCOP-2SG NOT Q

‘You see, don’t you?’

b. Double negation

Belki, düşün-me-di-m değil-Ø.

Maybe, think-NEG-PST-1SG NOT-ØCOP

‘Maybe, it is not that I haven’t thought about it.’

(31) a. Contrasting XPs

Düğme-ye Ersümer değil biz bas-tı-k.

button-DAT Ersümer NOT we press-PST-1SG

‘Not Ersümer but we pressed on the button.’

b. ‘Not only, but also’ construction

Yalnız o değil, başka sapıklar da var-Ø.

only he NOT, else pervert-PLU also exist-Ø3SG

Not only him, but there are also other perverts.’

c. ‘Let alone’ construction

Karanlık gün-ler-de değil konuş-mak haykır-malı-yız.

dark day-PLU-LOC NOT speak-MAS shout-NEC-1PLU

‘In these dark days, let alone speak, one needs to shout.’

d. Metatextual negation in corrections

i. Saat gece yarısı-_{3SG.POSS-ACC} geç-iyor ol-malı-Ø.

clock night half-3SG.POSS-ACC pass-IMP be-NES-Ø3SG

‘It must be past midnight.’

ii. Ol-malı-Ø değil geç-iyor-Ø-du-Ø.

be-NES NOT pass-IMP-ØCOP-PST-Ø3SG

‘Not ‘must be’. It WAS.’

This thesis is about the construction given in (31a) where *değil* is used to contrast two items of the same syntactic category. I name this construction as “contrastive *değil* construction (CDC)” because of the information structural property of *değil* in CDCs. It is used in contrasting a part of a previously uttered sentence with its contrastive correlate.

Except (31c), where *değil* precedes the item it is associated with, the other constructions are some variant of the construction given in (31a). For instance, ‘not only but also’ construction is not radically different from the simple contrastive *değil* construction. The focus particles that corresponds to ‘only’ in Turkish, such as *yalnız*, *sadece*, *bir tek*, etc, modify the item *değil* attaches to, while the particle *-da* modifies the following contrastive correlate. The metatextual use of *değil* in (31d) is its pragmatic extension, which is again related to the construction in (31a). I am particularly interested in the structure of (31a) in the scope of the thesis.

Değil in CDCs can contrast a number of constituents on the condition that they share the same syntactic category. I present the possible combinations with

respect to the type of the syntactic categories to be found in contrastive *değil* constructions.

(32) Possible combinations:

a. DP

Kitap değil defter aldım.

book NOT notebook buy-PST-1SG

‘I bought not a book but a notebook.’

b. PP

Senin için değil senden dolayı maçı kaybettik.

you-POSS. for NOT you-ABL. because match-ACC. lose-PST-1PLU

‘It is not for you but because of you that we lost the match.’

c. AdjP

Güzel değil çirkin bir kızım.

beautiful NOT ugly a girl-ØCOP-1SG

‘I am not a beautiful but an ugly girl.’

d. AdvP

Yavaş değil hızlı koştum.

slowly NOT fast run-PST-1SG

‘I run not slowly but fast.’

e. TP

Onu görmedim değil gördüm.

he-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG NOT see-PST-1SG

‘It is not that I haven’t seen him. I saw him.’

f. CP¹⁰

Senin onu öldürdüğünü değil sadece

you-POSS he-ACC kill-PST.PART-ACC NOT only

dövdüğünü biliyoruz.

beat -PST.PART-ACC know-IMPR- ØCOP-1PLU

‘We know not that you killed him, but that you just beat him.’

The sentences in (32) indicate that *değil* can contrast a number of syntactic items ranging from DPs to CPs. But note that *değil* used in (32e) to contrast two TPs is different from the other *değil* used in the rest of the examples above. The former is sentential negation while the latter is usually called constituent negation (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006). The hidden assumption behind the term constituent negation is that *değil* may attach to just any constituent. The sentences in (33), however, will be used as evidence to argue against that assumption. They indicate that it is not possible to combine any material under contrastive *değil* constructions.

Değil cannot come between a numeral/adjective/genitive phrase/postposition and a noun respectively. Note that the examples below improve when *değil* follows the nouns in (33a), (33b), and (33c) and the postposition in (33d):

(33) a. *Sadece [bir değil erkek] her erkek kaçır.

only one NOT man every man escape-AOR- ØCOP-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Not only one but every man escapes.’

b. *Güzel değil adamı çirkin adamı sevmişsin.

handsome NOT man-ACC ugly-ACC love-EVID-2SG

¹⁰ Note that I will argue against this examples by proposing that the so-called CN *değil* cannot attach to a CP, but a ΣP, which is located below CP and above TP.

Int: ‘You loved not the handsome but the ugly man.’

- c. *Benim değil arabam senin araban geldi.

I-GEN NOT car-POSS.1SG you-GEN car-POSS.2SG arrive-PST-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Your car has arrived, not mine.’

- d. *Esma [senin değil ile] benim ile gelecek.

Esma you-GEN NOT with I-GEN. with come.FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Esma is not coming with you, but with me.’

Değil cannot also be used with the following items. Not that even if *değil* follows *öğrenci* ‘student’ in (34a), the ungrammaticality status does not change.

- (34) a. Certain quantifiers:

*Okul-da [her] değil sadece [bir] öğrenci kal-dı-Ø.

school-LOC every NOT only one student stay-PST-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Not every but only one student stayed at the school.’

- b. Yes-no questions:

*Yoksa [Fatma mı] değil [Ayşe mi] kaç-tı-Ø?

I wonder if Fatma NOT Ayşe Q run-PST-Ø3SG

Int: ‘I wonder whether it is Ayşe, not Fatma, who ran away?’

- c. NPIs:

??Hiçkimse değil (sadece) ben geldim.¹¹

anyone NOT only I come-PST-1SG

Int: Nobody came, but only me.

¹¹ Semantically, one cannot assert that there is a member of the set (e.g., I), which is marked as empty. Therefore, this sentence is only plausible with a pragmatic extension when the interpretation is that the person who comes is not a stranger but someone familiar to the listener.

There are other properties of contrastive *değil* constructions which are relevant for the following discussions: (i) The overt verb can be negative as in (35a) (ii) without a contrastive correlate CDCs are ungrammatical as in (35b), (iii) the position of the *değil*-marked item can be relocated in the sentence as in (35c), (iii) items can be contrasted as a pair in CDCs as in (35d), (iv) more than one item can be *değil*-marked as in (35e), and finally (v) the contrastive correlate is always F-marked (35f).

- (35) a. Ali değil Ahmet gelmedi.

Ali NOT Ahmet come-NEG-PST-Ø3SG

‘Ahmet didn’t come. Ali did.’

- b. *Herkes değil gelmedi.

everybody NOT come-NEG-PST-Ø3SG

Int: Not everybody came.

- c. [Onu değil]₁ ben en çok [t₁] seni sevdim [onu değil]₁.

he-ACC NOT I the most you-ACC love-PST-3SG

‘It is you I loved the most, not him.’

- d. Ahmet sana değil sen Ahmet’e yalvardın.

Ahmet you-DAT NOT you Ahmet-DAT beg-PST-2SG

‘You begged Ahmet, not vice versa.’

- e. Ben değil sen değil Ali ödül aldı.

I NOT you NOT Ali reward get-PST-Ø3SG

‘Ali got a reward, not me, not you.’

f. Ben değil onu SEN kurtaracaksın.

I NOT he-ACC YOU save-FUT-ØCOP-2SG

‘It is not me but you who are going to save him/her.’

This study proposes that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts; more specifically Σ Ps, which are situated above TP. The conjuncts have opposite polarity values. Thus, the coordinate structure is not a canonical one but still it is the coordination of likes as long as the syntactic make-up is the same. The nature of *değil* in these constructions is not constituent negation in contrast with the previous proposals in several works based on the observation of the surface order of items in CDCs. *Değil* occupies the Σ head and triggers ellipsis in the conjunct it is located in.

In the next chapter I will review some literature on coordination and ellipsis in order to have a background on the issues, which are significant for the purpose of our discussion. There are two lines of argumentation with respect to the structure of coordinates in contrastive *değil* constructions. I will discuss two hypotheses regarding the size of conjuncts in coordination: The Small Conjunct Hypothesis (SCH) and The Large Conjunct Hypothesis (LCH). Since the latter hypothesis requires the operation of ellipsis in order to account for the surface structure of sentences, I will also provide some background information on ellipsis while discussing LCH.

CHAPTER 3

COORDINATION AND ELLIPSIS

In this chapter we will present a review of literature on coordination and ellipsis. As mentioned in the Introduction, the aim in this thesis is to answer the following questions:

- (i) Does *değil* in CDCs function as constituent negation attached to a subclausal phrase such as DP or does it function as a higher negation with some elements in the clause elided?
- (ii) What is the structure of the conjunct that contains *değil* in CDCs?

Note that the constructions illustrated in (32) are similar to ‘not...but’ construction in English (in other words, corrective ‘but’ construction) in the meaning of a signal to the addressee that some material is removed from the discourse and is replaced with some alternative material provided by the speaker (Repp, 2009, p. 150). ‘Not...but’ constructions have also raised the question of whether they involve constituent negation or sentential negation with ellipsis (Merchant, 2003, Oikonomou, 2015; among others). In the following chapter, I summarize a number of competing analyses put forward to account for the structure of corrective ‘but’ construction in English and then I discuss which approach explains the Turkish data better. In this chapter, however, I will provide the reader with an overview of coordination and ellipsis literature, which is necessary in order to follow the upcoming discussions in the next chapter.

3.1 Coordination

Coordination has been used as a collective term referring to a variety of constructions usually having the following characteristics: (i) iteration of type of a constituent, (ii) separation of the iterated constituents by at least one coordinating conjunction, and (iii) optional reduction of redundant material (Hartmann, 2000, p. 21). The first one is the basic property of all coordinate constructions while the second characteristic is subject to both language-internal and cross-linguistic variation. We discuss the third type in detail later.

A coordinating construction consists of two or more *coordinates*, and their coordinate status may be indicated by *coordinators* (i.e., particles like ‘and’, ‘but’ in English). A coordinated construction may have one or more coordinators as illustrated in (36a) below or the conjuncts may simply be juxtaposed as illustrated in (36b) below.

(36) a. Ali ve Büşra konuştu.

Ali and Büşra talk-PST-3PLU

‘Ali and Büşra talked.’

b. Ali gidecek (ve) Ahmet gelecek.¹² -

Ali go-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG Ahmet come-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘Ali and Ahmet will come’

Three different coordinators are identified depending on the semantic types: conjunction (= conjunctive ‘and’ coordination, e.g...), disjunction (=disjunctive ‘or’

¹² Note that clausal juxtaposition sounds more natural than DP-juxtaposition (e.g., “Ali, Ahmet geldiler”).

coordination, e.g....), and adversative coordination ('but' coordination, e.g....) (Haspelmath, 2004, p. 3). In this chapter, we will focus on adversative 'but' coordination.

Two senses of 'but' are distinguished in the Oxford English Dictionary Second Edition:

23. As adversative conjunction, appending a statement contrary to, or incompatible with, one that is negative: On the contrary.
24. Appending a statement which is not contrary to, but is not fully consonant with, or is contrasted with, that already made: Nevertheless, yet, however.

Thus, traditionally adversative 'but' is divided into two: 'corrective' and 'contrastive' (Vicente, 2009, p. 2).

- (37) a. John isn't clever but lazy. — correction
b. John isn't clever but he is lazy. — contrast

(Repp, 2009, p. 150)

Contrastive 'but' marks counterexpectationality such that the expectation based on the contextual information has been denied; that's why it is also called 'counter-expectational but' in the literature. Corrective 'but', however, indicates the replacement of a previously uttered material from the discourse record with some alternative material.

While English uses the same item for expressing the two flavors of 'but', other languages mark the difference by using phonologically two distinct lexical items. German uses 'aber' and 'sondern'; Spanish uses 'pero' and 'sino', and

Swedish uses ‘men’ and ‘utan’ for contrastive and corrective coordination, respectively (Repp, 2009; Toosarvandani, 2013).

Turkish can also be considered to belong to the languages that mark the difference lexically. The Turkish counterpart of ‘but’ *ama*, is counterexpectational as opposed to *değil*.

(38) a. Ali tembel ama zeki bir öğrenci olduğunu düşünüyor.

Ali lazy but clever a student be-MAS-3SG-ACC think-IMP-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘Ali thinks that he is lazy but he is clever’

b. #Ali tembel değil zeki bir öğrenci olduğunu düşünüyor.

‘Ali thinks that he is not a lazy but a clever student’

Counterexpectational *ama* is outside the scope of this thesis. I propose that the following construction is a subtype of adversative coordination, and this type of construction is the target of the study in this thesis.

(39) Ali tembel değil çalışkan bir öğrenci olduğunu düşünüyor.

‘Ali thinks that he is not a lazy but a hardworking student’

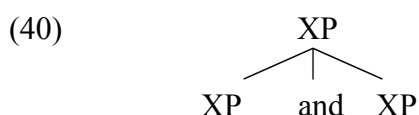
The construction in (39) is entitled contrastive *değil* constructions although one would use ‘corrective’ instead of ‘contrastive’ based on the terminological distinction between different types of ‘but’s in English. We follow McCawley (1991) in this respect.

McCawley (1991) suggests that ‘not...but’ constructions, along with other variations, are forms of contrastive negation simply contrasting two ways of filling a

syntactic position, one that results in false proposition and the other that results in a true proposition.

Even Toosarvandani (2013) who use the term ‘corrective’ admits that McCawley’s terminology reflects the nature of these constructions. In the same vein, we use the term ‘contrastive’ without the implication of counterexpectationality. Another reason why I do not use ‘corrective’ is to put aside metatextual contexts not studied in this thesis. To sum up, there is a lexical difference between counterexpectational ‘but’ and corrective ‘but’ in Turkish; but the terms I use to refer to each are different such that *ama* is counterexpectational whereas *değil* is contrastive. So, *ama* corresponds to (37b) and *değil* to (37a).

The second issue with respect to coordination besides the semantic types of coordination is the syntactic structure. Earlier studies have simply assumed that coordinate constructions have a flat structure implying that they are non-headed or multiply headed (Chomsky, 1965) (40).



However, based on Ross’ observation that a coordinator seems to belong to the second coordinate rather than the first (Ross, 1967, p. 99), the ternary structure in (40) is abandoned in favor of a binary structure. Munn (1993), for instance, argues against the flat representation by proposing two conceptual arguments (see also Johannessen (1998) and Wilder (1997)). The construction (40) violates endocentricity in two respects: (i) The coordinator, although a head, does not project its own maximal projection; (ii) conversely, the maximal projection does not have a unique head. In the generative linguistics, it is assumed that all syntactic structures

are binary branching since such a structure is the most economical maximization (Kayne, 1984; among others). In line with this hypothesis, no linguistic structure should be flat (i.e., syntax does not accept exceptions) further implying that coordination has to have a hierarchical (i.e., asymmetrical) structure.

3.1.1 The hypotheses regarding the size of the conjuncts

In this section we will introduce two hypotheses with respect to the size of the conjuncts in a coordinate structure.

Consider the following ‘and’ coordination:

(41) I like apples and bananas.

In the literature, there are two basic hypotheses that propose an analysis for (41), namely the Small Conjunct Analysis (Wilder, 1994) and the Large Conjunct Analysis (see Gleitmann, 1965; Wilder, 1997). The syntactic representations of (41) according to each hypothesis are presented below.

(42) a. The SCH:

I like [apples] and [bananas]

b. The LCH:

[I like apples] and [I like bananas]

The SCH states that the sentence in (41) is based-generated as it appears on the surface so there is no deletion, whereas the LCH states that phrasal coordination

is derived by deletion from bigger conjuncts. Both are not without problems. In the following subsections we will discuss them in detail.

3.1.1.1 The Small Conjunct Hypothesis

The Small Conjunct Hypothesis assumes that the surface string of the constituents of coordination reflects the deep structure of the conjuncts, that is, there is no deletion at any level of the representation. There are at least three arguments which support the SCH and which are even acknowledged by the proponents of the LCH: (i) morphological factors (i.e., plural agreement on the verb), (ii) the possibility of collective/symmetric predicates (e.g., marry, be a couple, be the same, etc.), (iii) wide-scope reading of universal quantifiers over a coordinated DP.

The first argument indicates that if the predicate is marked with plural marker then the subject must be a coordinated DP. Therefore, the DP coordination in (43) for instance, cannot be derived from sentential coordination plus deletion.

(43) a. Silvia and Barbara *has/have left London.

(Hartmann, 2000, p. 35)

The second argument involves symmetric predicates. They require plural subjects.

(44) a. Jimmie and Timmie are a pair of fools.

b. *Jimmie are/is a pair of fools and Timmie are/is a pair of fools.

(Smith, 1969; cited in Hartmann, 2000, p. 35)

And finally, if a universal quantifier such as ‘almost all’ takes wide scope over the coordinated structure, it cannot be analyzed as underlyingly bisentential.

(45) Bill spent almost all his money in lottery and gambling.

≠ Bill spent almost all his money in lottery and Bill spent all his money in gambling.

(Hartmann, 2000, p. 36)

To sum up, the arguments above clearly indicate that even within a large conjunct approach, one must acknowledge the existence of DP-coordination. Three pieces of evidence are provided in favor of the SCH. However, there are certain cases in which the SCH falls short of explaining the syntactic structure of coordination. In the following section we will discuss the alternative approach to the size of conjuncts in coordination, namely the LCH, by presenting evidence refuting the SCH.

3.1.1.2 The Large Conjunct Hypothesis

As I have mentioned above, Hartmann (2000, p. 21) lists the characteristics of coordinate structures: (i) iteration of type of a constituent, (ii) separation of the iterated constituents by at least one coordinating conjunction, and (iii) optional reduction of redundant material. I have discussed the first two characteristics above, thus there is just the last one left to be discussed, “the optional reduction of the redundant material.”

The term ‘ellipsis’ most generally refers to omission of linguistic material, sound and/or structure. In elliptical constructions, linguistic material is deleted, or simply left unpronounced. Nonetheless, the silent string is always interpreted. Below is given a subset of elliptical constructions in English, as an example:

(46) a. Gapping (forward)

Jane plays the piano and July ~~plays~~ the guitar.

b. Gapping (backward) - Right Node Raising

Jam hates ~~holidays~~ and Johanna loves holidays.

c. (Not-) Stripping

Sam solved the problem, not Bill.

d. Fragment Answers

A: Who did Hale call?

B: Betül.

e. Sluicing

Someone is playing the violin but I don’t know who ~~is playing the violin~~.

f. VP-Ellipsis

Jane plays the piano but July doesn’t ~~play the piano~~.

Except fragment answers which occur in answers to questions as exemplified in (46d), the rest of the elliptical constructions are coordinate ellipsis. Gapping occurs in non-initial conjuncts of coordinate structures i.e., forward gapping. Right node raising, coined by Postal (1974), on the other hand, occurs in initial conjuncts of coordinate structures i.e., backward gapping. There is generally more than one remnant in gapping constructions. The construction is called ‘stripping’ or ‘bare

argument ellipsis' if everything is deleted from a clause except one constituent.

Hankamer and Sag (1976, p. 409) state that stripping is "a rule that deletes everything in a clause under identity with corresponding parts of a preceding clause, except for one constituent and sometimes a clause-initial adverb or negative."

Sluicing, in (46e), is a type of ellipsis that occurs in both direct and indirect interrogative clauses. It is introduced by a *wh*-expression, whereby in most cases, everything except the *wh*-expression is elided from the clause. Finally, in VP-ellipsis, the non-finite verb phrase is elided and one auxiliary is left behind.

As presented above, an analysis of coordination involving large conjuncts is closely related to analyses of ellipsis. It is assumed that at some level of grammar, reduced conjuncts are larger than they overtly appear. Thus, we discuss types of ellipsis and different approaches to ellipsis along with the Large Conjunct Hypothesis (LCH).

The LCH subsumes a number of deletion approaches to coordination. What characterizes these approaches is that they are generally against What You See is What You Get (WYSWYG), in other words, they share the idea that there is hidden structure in coordination. Let us first present a short review of different deletion approaches:

3.2 Ellipsis

3.2.1 CRS versus NSR accounts

There are mainly two competing approaches to ellipsis: approaches that suggest that ellipsis is structurally fully represented before deletion takes place and those that do not. The first approach is referred to as the 'Complete Syntactic Representation'

account (CSR account) and the second as the ‘No Syntactic Representation’ account (NSR account) [WYSWYG] (Winkler, 2005, p. 45).

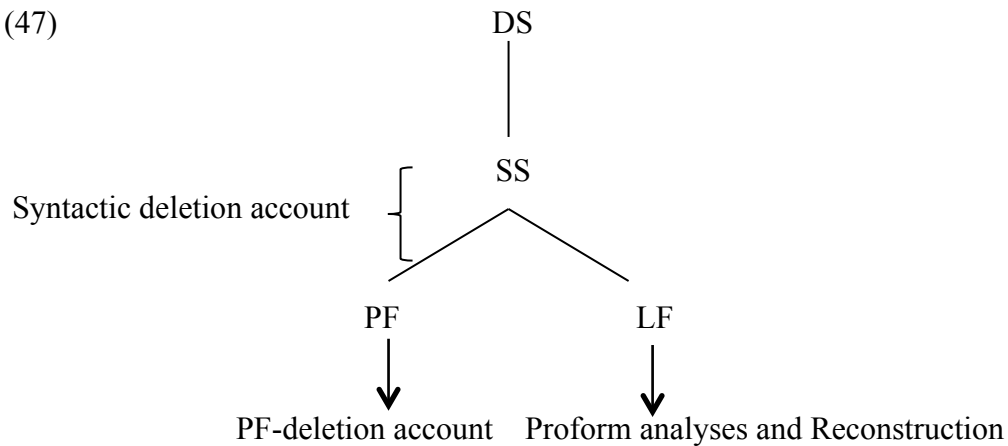
Below is given a taxonomy of approaches to ellipsis (Schwabe and Winkler, 2003):

Table 1. The Taxonomy of Ellipsis Approaches.

Deletion		No Deletion
Syntactic Deletion	PF-Deletion	Proform Analyses
Ross (1967, 1969), Postal and Sag (1976a, 1976b), Hankamer and Sag (1976), Wasow (1979)	Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), Hartmann (2000) and Merchant (2001)	Hardt (1992), Fiengo and May (1994), Wilder (1994-1997), Lobeck (1995), López and Winkler (2000)

In the Principles and Parameter Framework (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 1995: Ch.1), the traditional levels of representation are D-structure, S-structure, Logical Form (LF), and Phonetic Form (PF), which are connected to each other in the well-known fashion: D-structure is transferred into S-structure by means of the rule Move Alpha which also regulates the transfer from S-structure to LF, and the transfer from s-structure to PF makes use of another mechanism, phonological in nature (Hartmann, 2000). Based on this theory of representation, CSR accounts suggest that ellipsis can possibly take place in two positions: at S-structure (i.e., syntactic deletion account) or at PF (PF-deletion account).

(47)



In order to understand the characteristics of ellipsis analyses adopting the CSR approach, we need to have a closer look at the premises of each account by trying to answer the following questions: (i) Where does silence take place (ii) Where does semantic interpretation take place? (Winkler, 2005, pp. 45-46)

The syntactic deletion account, formulated by Sag (1977, p. 68), proposes, “Given...a theory that countenances deletion rules, it is certainly the case that a semantic interpretation must take place at a level prior to deletion. The picture of linguistic systems that emerges, then, is one that countenances a level which we might call “shallow structure”... which serves as the input to the rules of semantic interpretation”. Sag suggests that interpretation of the items to be deleted takes place at the level of shallow structure, and deletion rules take place at the derivation of S-structure, PF in modern terms (see also Wasow (1979, p. 109)’s Empty Structure Hypothesis.

The Phonological Reduction Hypothesis (PRH) (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993, p. 564) states that “[e]lliptical sentences are formed by a rule of the PF-component that deletes the phonologically redundant information, which is characterized by a ‘distinguished low-flat intonation’”. But what about the semantic interpretation of the elided material? A major problem for any theory of large conjunct coordination is

the interpretation of PF-deleted DPs. Deletion in coordination cannot have any impact on the syntactic and semantic structure of coordination. This condition is stated in the Principle of Interpretation in Hartmann (2000, p. 34):

(48) *Principle of Interpretation*

Coordinated structures must be compositionally interpretable.

Deletion in coordination may not have any impact on the syntax and semantic structure of the clause. Thus, if a coordinated structure potentially derived by deletion differs from its corresponding non-deleted counterpart with respect to its syntactic and semantic properties, then the LCH has difficulty in explaining the meaning difference since it does not predict that there would be any meaning differences between the deleted and non-deleted versions of a coordinated structure (Hartmann, 2000, p. 33).

For instance, quantified subjects are problematic for the LCH. The indefinite subjects, for instance, may refer to two separate individuals; however, in a sentential coordination analysis the reading in (49b) is excluded.

(49) a. Jemand kam um vier Uhr und ging um fünf Uhr.

somebody came at four o'clock and left at five o'clock.

b. Jemand kam um vier Uhr und jemand ging um fünf Uhr.

[somebody came at four o'clock and somebody left at five o'clock]

(Hartmann, 2000, p. 33)

In (49a) there is a person who came at four o'clock and the very same person left at five o'clock. The indefinite does not refer to two separate individuals, which would be against Hartmann's Principle of Interpretation.

What is the alternative approach to account for cases that are problematic for the Complete Syntactic Representation account? In contrast with CSR accounts, the NSR accounts assume that there is no syntactic structure in the ellipsis site. One of the instantiations suggests that ellipsis is licensed by a null proform and interpreted in the semantic component based on discourse representation structures and focus structures (Winkler, 2005, p. 51). For instance, in VP-ellipsis, VP functions as a null anaphor -variable- that must be bound in the discourse. It does not have an internal structure (Hardt, 1992). This account seems conceptually preferable since it subsumes ellipsis phenomena under the theory of discourse anaphora and expresses that VP-ellipsis is intrinsically anaphoric (Winkler, 2005, p. 126).

A variant of the proform account argues for the presence of a proform plus reconstruction (Lobeck, 1995; López and Winkler, 2000). These accounts are more concerned with proform licensing in syntax, interpretation and reconstruction at LF.

To sum up, both accounts (CSR and NSR) try to derive structures that are interpreted at PF as silent material but that are fully interpreted in the semantic component. CSR accounts suggest that there is syntactic material at some level of representation while NSR accounts suggest that syntactic structure is absent in ellipsis sites.

However, the following questions still remain; what is the internal make-up of the structure (in the CSR approach) in ellipsis site? And how is meaning expressed when there is no sound (or structure; in the NSR approach)? In the next section we will discuss two conditions on ellipsis, namely recoverability and licensing.

3.2.2 Conditions on ellipsis

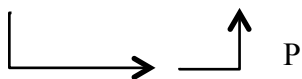
Ellipsis is a mismatch between sound and meaning, and there are two conditions on ellipsis: (i) recoverability, and (ii) licensing (Lobeck, 1995). First we will describe what is meant by these conditions and then we will discuss how different approaches mentioned above deal with them.

Ellipsis needs an antecedent and thus, it is in a sense similar to anaphors. If there is no antecedent, it is not possible for the hearer to interpret what is meant in the ellipsis site. Consider the following example:

- (50) a. [out of the blue]
 *Ayşe does, too.
 b. *I want three birds, and my sister wants two ~~tigers~~.

Then, how do we understand what the deleted material means? In other words, how can we find a proper antecedent for the ellipsis? There are two opposing answers: (i) semantically identical antecedent, (ii) structurally identical antecedent (Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 5).

Within the semantic identity view, an ellipsis site only has to have the same meaning with its antecedent, i.e., in terms of truth conditions (Hardt, 1992; among others). The differences in the syntactic structure do not matter. Below is given an example of the semantic identity view:

- (51) Harry walked in. Sean did *pro* too.
- 

It is assumed that there is a little *pro* occupying the position of VP in (51), and it is bound by the antecedent VP in the preceding sentence. There is no structural match between the two since one is pronominal while the other is a VP, but the binding relation establishes the semantic identity between the two.

In a more recent study, Merchant (2001, p. 31) argues for the necessity of both semantic identity and structural isomorphism. He proposes a rule, namely E-Givenness to define the semantic identity in ellipsis:

- (52) An expression *E* counts as e-given iff *E* has a salient antecedent *A* and,
- (i) *A* entails the F-closure of *E*, and
 - (ii) *E* entails the F-closure of *A*.

F-closure is defined as the following (Merchant, 2001, p. 14):

- (53) The F-closure of α , written $F\text{-clo}(\alpha)$, is the result of replacing F(ocus)-marked parts of α with *E*-bound variables of the appropriate type.

The structural identity (structural isomorphism) condition, on the other hand, claims that ellipsis site has an identical structure with its antecedent that is interpreted at LF. Thus, the ellipsis material and its antecedent have identical structures at LF. Within the LF-identity approach, Fiengo and May (1994) formulates this as follows:

- (54) Let E be a(n) LF phrase marker. Then, E can be deleted only if there is a(n) LF phrase marker A, A distinct from E, such that A=E (taken from Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 5).

Arguments supporting the syntactic identity view come from sluicing and VP-ellipsis. It has been shown that sluicing does not allow for voice mismatches as in (55) and VP-ellipsis does not allow for argument structure mismatches as in (56).

- (55) Sluicing

*[_A Joe was murdered by someone], but we don't know who [_E ~~the~~ ~~murdered~~ ~~Joe~~].

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 6)

- (56) VP-ellipsis

*Jeff was [reading a book] and Steve was [~~reading~~], too.

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 6)

However, there are also counterarguments from VP-ellipsis suggesting that structural isomorphism does not always hold in ellipsis. It is possible to have an active antecedent and a passive ellipsis clause in VP-ellipsis.¹³

- (57) The janitor should [_A remove the trash] whenever it's apparent it needs to be [_E ~~removed~~].

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 6)

¹³ Fiengo and May (1994) argue that active and passive verb phrases, despite their apparent differences, are still LF-identical. Therefore, voice-mismatches do not violate the identity condition licensing ellipsis, and so are permitted by the grammar.

VP-ellipsis also allows for voice and category mismatches as in (58) and (59).

- (58) This problem was to have been [_A looked into], but obviously nobody did [_E ~~look into it~~].

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 7)

- (59) Susan is a great [_A laugher] and when she does [_E], she gets cute wrinkles around her eyes.

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 8)

Up until this point, I have discussed semantic identity and syntactic identity conditions, and observed that there are certain controversial examples. Semantic isomorphism view requires only semantic identity while structural isomorphism view conceptualizes ellipsis as the output of a syntactic derivation, and consequently requires syntactic identity between an antecedent and an elision site. There is logical structure in the ellipsis site, though phonologically not pronounced. And yet, the question remains, how is ellipsis licensed?

According to Merchant (2013), licensing refers to local and idiosyncratic features of a head, which is assumed to license the ellipsis site. It has been observed that the syntactic environment of an ellipsis site plays a significant role since even with a syntactically identical antecedent, not all ellipses are possible. For instance, only a specific set of IPs are possible in sluicing, the ones with a *wh*-element as given in (60).

- (60) a. It was painted, but it was not obvious how [_{IP} ~~it was painted~~].

- b. *It was painted, but it was not obvious that [_{IP} ~~it was painted~~].

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 3).

NP-ellipsis is only allowed with possessors, quantifiers and plural demonstratives (Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 16).

- (61) a. Jeff's alibi was much more credible than Steve's [~~alibi~~].
b. The bands at this festival are very diverse. Some [~~bands~~] play reggae, but many more [~~bands~~] play rock. Several [~~bands~~] are difficult to class with a musical style.

In order to explain the impossible elliptical constructions given above, some researchers have suggested that every ellipsis site needs a licensing head which has to c-command it (e.g., complementizer head found in constituent questions in sluicing or the T node (hosting an auxiliary) in VP ellipsis, among others).

Recently, licensing head requirement for ellipsis is abandoned in exchange for an [E]llipsis feature in syntax. Merchant (2013, p. 85) states, "None of these alternatives are particularly palatable in the more ontologically restrictive theories under the Minimalist umbrella, in which the locus of all variation is posited to be the lexicon". Licensing condition, as it has been understood in a more representational model of syntax is no longer tenable in a derivational model of syntax in which ellipsis is treated as the phonological reduction located at PF. Therefore, in tandem with the strict lexicalist view, one needs to posit a lexical feature that encodes the property of the old licensing heads, and such an approach is developed in Merchant (2001), among others. According to this analysis, the English lexicon contains a

feature [E]llipsis that must be merged with an appropriate head (certain Ts or auxiliary v's for VP-ellipsis, C [wh, Q] for sluicing), because of the head's morphosyntactic deficiency (see Gengel, 2007 and Gallego, 2009 for a Phase-based analysis of ellipsis).

(62) The syntax of [E]: $E_{[uwh^*, uQ^*]}$

The semantics of [E]: $[[E]] = \lambda p: e\text{-GIVEN}(p) [p]$

The phonology of [E]: $\varphi_{IP} \rightarrow \emptyset/E_$

(Aelbrecht, class notes, p. 19)

As Merchant (2013) states, the licensing theories that are representational in nature have been replaced with PF-deletion theories in a derivational model. A derivational model for ellipsis is actually more preferable since in a PF-deletion account of ellipsis, the lexical and syntactic representation of an elliptical construction is intact for semantic interpretation. And ellipsis is an endpoint of a continuum ranging from destressing to complete silence (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993; cited in Winker, 2005, p. 52).

In this chapter, I have presented a brief overview of the literature on coordination and ellipsis. The characteristics of a coordinate structure can be summarized as follows: A certain type of a constituent must be iterated. The iterated constituents are generally separated by at least one coordinator. And finally, redundant material is optionally reduced (Hartmann, 2000). The size of the iterated items has been discussed extensively in the literature, and there are two basic hypotheses: the Small Conjunct Hypothesis (SCH), which suggests that there is no hidden structure in coordination, thus no need to delete any (redundant) material. The

Large Conjunct Hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that there is hidden structure in coordination, thus an ellipsis operation is needed in order to get the correct surface structure. I have also discussed the types, conditions and licensing requirements of ellipsis. I follow the overriding proposal that ellipsis is a PF-phenomenon (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993; among others). The full-fledged syntactic structure is generated and then it is sent to the interfaces, LF and PF. Ellipsis applies at PF, the outcome of which provides us with the surface order of items. In terms of conditions of ellipsis, I agree with Merchant (2003) and thus assume for Turkish that CDCs require semantic identity together with syntactic identity except the subject agreement markers on the predicates, the details of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the next chapter I am going to posit my proposal for CDCs in Turkish, which has two folds: (i) *değil* in CDCs is not constituent negation, (ii) CDCs have a large conjunct coordination structure where two Σ Ps that have opposite polarity values are coordinated.

As described above, CDCs are similar to corrective ‘but’ in English in the sense that a part of the previously uttered sentence is removed from the discourse record and replaced with an alternative. Corrective ‘but’ constructions have also raised the question of whether the negative marker ‘not’ in the first part of the construction is constituent negation. Due to these similarities between these two constructions, I will summarize the analyses put forth to account for the structure of corrective ‘but’ in English, and then will discuss which approach can be better adapted to Turkish.

CHAPTER 4

A LARGE CONJUNCT AND PF-DELETION ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I am going to propose my analysis of CDCs in Turkish. I will claim the following: *değil* used in CDCs is not constituent negation. It does not attach to just any kind of syntactic item. Instead, it has a more restricted distribution. It occupies the Σ head position and has an E[llipsis]-feature attached to it thereby licensing the ellipsis (Merchant, 2004). CDCs are coordination structures without an overt coordinator, and the coordinated structures are Σ Ps each having opposite polarity values i.e., negative and positive. Ellipsis applies at PF, deleting the shared elements in the negative Σ P leaving the contrasted elements behind.

I have noted in the previous chapter that contrastive *değil* constructions are similar to corrective ‘but’ constructions in English since both of them indicate the replacement of a part of the utterance with its contrastive alternative. In the next section, I will focus on analyses of corrective ‘but’ in order to pave the way for possible analyses of CDCs. There are mainly two opposite views on the syntax of corrective ‘but’: McCawley (1991) and Vicente (2009)’s clausal coordination hypotheses versus Toosarvandani (2010, 2013)’s subclausal (i.e., cross-categorical) syntax hypothesis. It is significant to discuss English data before moving on to Turkish data since there is no detailed account of CDCs in Turkish, but similar proposals have been stated without a thorough formal investigation. English corrective ‘but’ analyses will help us compare potential analyses that can be proposed for CDCs.

4.1 Corrective ‘but’

In this section, I will initially present the clausal analyses of corrective ‘but’ given in McCawley (1991) and Vicente (2009). Then I will compare them with the subclausal analysis of Toosarvandani (2013), which argues against the previous clausal analyses.

It was previously noted that adversative ‘but’ coordination in English has two versions that differ in meaning: Contrastive ‘but’ is counterexpectational whereas corrective ‘but’ is not. Vicente argues, both for English and Spanish, that in addition to the meaning differences, two ‘but’s also differ in their syntactic distribution. While contrastive ‘but’ has the typical cross-categorical syntax of a coordinator, corrective ‘but’ only coordinates full clauses.

- (63) a. Corrective but (*sino*) always requires its conjuncts to be full clauses.
b. Counterexpectational but (*pero*) allows its conjuncts to be smaller than clauses.

(Vicente, 2009, p. 4)

Since the scope of this thesis encapsulates only corrective ‘but’, I will not go into Vicente’s proposal for counterexpectational ‘but’. Corrective ‘but’ is argued to occur in a number of forms, two of which is given below (McCawley, 1991).¹⁴

- (64) a. John drank not coffee but tea. (basic form)

¹⁴ McCawley (1991) also talks about reverse form and the expanded versions of basic and reverse forms, which we will not discuss here.

b. John didn't drink coffee but tea. (anchored form)

(McCawley, 1991 p. 190)

The sentence with sentential negation 'not' in (64b) is called the anchored form of corrective 'but' while the sentence with constituent negation 'not' in (64a) is called the basic form corrective 'but'.

In order to better understand the nature of negation used in corrective 'but' constructions in English, we need to look at its semantic function. Horn (1989) argues that negation in 'not X but Y construction' is "the archetypal frame for metalinguistic negation", which mostly occurs in denials. A denial is a speech act that is an objection to the previous utterance. According to Horn (1989) and Repp (2009), negation in denials is not ordinary negation T operating on the propositional level. The evidence for that comes from negative polarity items. 'Not' in English does not license NPIs, which implies that negation is not inside of a proposition, but outside of it (Horn, 1989). Thus, it cannot license the quantificational items that need to be licensed inside of the proposition.

(65) NPI in corrective 'but' constructions:

I haven't (*ever) been to Mexico but to Canada.

(Vicente, 2010, p. 4)

What about the structural properties of 'not' in corrective 'but'? In the following section I will discuss the syntax of corrective 'but' and in the meantime, I will touch upon the syntactic status of 'not' in corrective 'but' constructions.

4.1.1 The syntax of corrective ‘but’

McCawley (1991) suggests that corrective ‘but’ constructions, contrastive negation in his terms, are made up of two sentences being coordinated. Following McCawley (1991), Vicente argues for English and Spanish that corrective ‘but’ coordinates constituents somewhat larger than what appears on the surface, namely two sentences. The second sentence gets elided, and only a remnant survives.

Vicente presents *the scope of negation* as a strong evidence to support the Large Conjunct Hypothesis, which assumes sentential coordination, in corrective ‘but’ constructions. The scope of negation is restricted to the first clause as given in (66).

(66) Gabriel didn’t drink beer but champagne.

(Vicente, 2009, p. 5)

The example in (66) suggests that corrective ‘but’ does not structurally resemble the coordinator ‘and’. If corrective ‘but’ coordinated small constituents like NPs ‘beer’ and ‘champagne’, then the scope of negation in (66) would be over the whole coordination. And yet, negation takes narrow scope as presented.

Another piece of evidence to support the large conjunct coordination hypothesis comes from *preverbal subject coordination*. Corrective ‘but’ cannot coordinate preverbal subjects. Under a small-conjunct analysis, it would be possible to coordinate two preverbal sentences. However, if corrective ‘but’ coordinated

clauses, then the ungrammaticality of (67) would find an explanation from the Backward Anaphora Constraint (BAC, see Langacker, 1969).

- (67) *~~[Two mathematicians [_{IP} got their papers published]]~~ but seven astrophysicists didn't get their papers published.

(Vicente, 2010, p. 7)

The example (67) indicates that corrective 'but' is not a canonical cross-categorial coordinator like 'and' since preverbal subject coordination would not pose any problem if the subjects were coordinated with 'and', supporting the claim that 'but' in (67) is different from 'and' in (68) structurally.

- (68) [[_{DP} Two mathematicians] and [_{DP} seven astrophysicists]] didn't get their papers published.

Note that negation in (67) and (68) is not the constituent negation 'not', meaning that corrective 'but' coordination that is discussed is not the basic form, but the anchored form. The preverbal subject coordination test is not generalizable to the basic form corrective 'but' coordination. See below.

- (69) Not the mathematicians but the physicists managed to get their papers published.

Another piece of evidence supporting the large conjunct analysis of corrective 'but' in English comes from *first conjunct agreement* data. Corrective 'but' in Spanish can coordinate clause final subjects. Given that the second conjunct belongs

to a separate clause according to Vicente (2009), it is predicted that this conjunct will not trigger agreement on the first conjunct verb. This prediction is confirmed.¹⁵

- (70) No se { ✓presento' / *presentaron } un pianista sino tres trombonistas.
 not SE showed.up.3PL showed.up.3PL a pianist but three trombone players
 “A pianist didn’t show up but three trombone players did.”

(Vicente, 2009, p. 10)

Based on the example (70), Vicente (2009) concludes that distinct agreement morphology marked on the verb according to the features of the subject it agrees indicates that each subject has its own verb in the syntactic structure, so there is an elliptical clause in the second conjunct.

The next argument regarding the LCH analysis of corrective ‘but’ is the presence of locality effects. Following Merchant (2001), who suggests that in ellipsis, remnants move to a position outside the ellipsis site prior to PF deletion, Vicente (2009) observes, locality effects (i.e., island effects) as give in the example in (71).

¹⁵ Vicente (2009) discusses whether the first conjunct agreement is due to ellipsis or it is a genuine first conjunct agreement effect. It is observed that Spanish does not behave like other languages that display the first conjunct agreement effect such as Standard Arabic in which the plural reading of the subject is enforced via ‘together’ even though the verb is inflected with singular morphology, which makes an ellipsis analysis impossible. In Spanish, on the other hand, the first conjunct effect is not observed with ‘and’ coordination. Spanish invariably requires full conjunct agreement in that environment.

- (i) {✓Vinieron / *vino } Daniel y Gabriel juntos
 came.3PL came.3SG Daniel and Gabriel together
 “Daniel and Gabriel came together.”
- (ii) Se { ✓miraron / *miro' } Daniel y Gabriel el uno al otro
 SE looked.3PL looked.3SG Daniel and Gabriel the one to.the other
 “Daniel and Gabriel looked at each other.”

(Vicente, 2009, p. 11)

(71) a. ?? I didn't leave the party [{after/because} Amy started telling bad jokes]
but [childhood anecdotes].

b. *I didn't leave the party [{after/because} Amy started telling bad jokes]
but [Cassandra].

(Vicente, 2009, p. 12)

The example (71) indicates that the subject-object extraction out of an adjunct clause leads to ungrammaticality in English. The structures are grammatical when corrective 'but' clearly coordinates two full clauses, though.

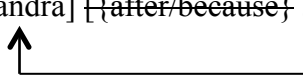
(72) a. ✓ I didn't leave the party [{after/because} Amy started telling bad jokes]
but [{after/because} she started telling childhood anecdotes].

b. ✓ I didn't leave the party [{after/because} Amy started telling bad jokes]
but [{after/because} Cassandra started telling them].

(Vicente, 2009, p. 12)

We have seen that movement seems to be an integral part of the ellipsis operation that takes place in corrective 'but' constructions. A representation of the operation is given below:

(73) *... the party [{after/because} Amy started telling bad jokes] but
[Cassandra] [~~{after/because} t-started telling bad jokes~~].



The final argument in favor of the LCH in analyzing corrective ‘but’ constructions is Connectivity Effects, which show that there is phonologically invisible syntactic structure in fragment answers (Merchant, 2004).

- (74) a. Who did she see?
b. John.
c. She saw John.

(Merchant 2004, p. 674)

Merchant (2004, p. 675) argues for an ellipsis analysis such that “the fragment shows grammatical dependencies – also known as connectivity effects – on missing linguistic material which are non-trivially similar to those exhibited by the fragment’s correlate in a non-elliptical sentential structure”. In other words, the structure of the fragment given in the (b) example is similar to its complete versions in (c). They are not generated as DPs but CPs. Merchant (2004) discusses the following to show that fragment answers in English stem from a full clause undergoing ellipsis.

Connectivity effects are the following: (i) Case-matching connectivity effects and (ii) Binding effects and bound pronouns. We will start with the first one.

Merchant (2004) indicates that the morphological case of a fragment DP is exactly the same with the DP we find in its full answer counterpart as in (75).

- (75) *English*

Q: Whose car did you take?

- a. John’s.

b. *John.

(Merchant 2004, p. 678)

The example (75) indicates that a full clause is needed in order to explain why the fragment bears the same Case marking.

Another connectivity effect to support a clausal analysis of fragment answers is related to binding of anaphora. Reflexives and reciprocals can occur in fragment answers even though they have to be bound locally.

(76) Who does John like?

a. Himself.

b. John likes himself.

(Merchant, 2004, p. 680)

As it is clear, the fragment is dependent on the antecedent ‘John’ in (76), and according to Condition A, it has to have this antecedent in the minimal domain; therefore, it is argued that fragments are full clauses, reduced at PF. Similar examples can be constructed with reciprocals.

In the same vein, the interpretation of remnants in VP-ellipsis cases indicate that one cannot obtain two different readings (i.e., sloppy identity versus strict identity reading) for the reflexive or the reciprocal. In sloppy identity readings, the identity of the pronoun in an elided VP is not identical to the antecedent in the overt conjunct but refers to a different entity while in strict identity readings, the pronoun refers to the same antecedent both in the first and the second conjuncts. Consider the

example given in (77a). The VP in the second conjunct is elided, and the reflexive in the elided VP is interpreted as referring to Bill and not John.

- (77) a. John blamed himself, and Bill did too.
b. John blamed himself_i, and Bill_j [_{VP} ~~blamed himself_{j/*i}~~] too.

An explanation for this fact could be derived from the full syntactic representation given in (77b), where the structure is marked ungrammatical if the reflexive is co-indexed with the non-local antecedent ‘John’ obeying the Principle A of the BT (Winkler 2005). A small coordination analysis cannot explain the sloppy readings in sentences like (77a) since it is assumed that there is just one sentence and thus one anaphor. And it is not predicted that the bound variable can refer to a distinct antecedent.

Another example shows that when the antecedent is a quantifier, instead of an R-expression, the strict reading is completely excluded (cf., Reinhart 1983a,b).

- (78) a. Everyone_i respects himself_i, and Ben does, too.
b. Everyone_i respects himself_i, and Ben_j [_{VP} respects himself_{j/*i}], too.

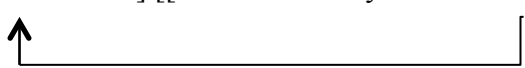
(Winkler 2005, p. 150)

The pronoun in (78) gives rise to a bound variable reading although there is no overt quantifier that binds it, suggesting that there is a full clausal structure in fragment answers.

Vicente (2009) compares fragment answers and corrective ‘but’ constructions in terms of variable binding properties, and finds interesting correlations between the two.

- (79) a. I didn’t say that every_i man loves his_i wife but his_i mistress.
 b. No he dicho que todoi hombre quiera a sui mujer, sino a sui amante.
 not have said I that every man loves to his wife but to his mistress

Both in English and in Spanish ‘his mistress’ is interpreted outside the scope of negation, but in the scope of the quantifier ‘every man’ meaning that ‘every man’ binds the variable ‘his’. Vicente (2009) states that it is possible to avoid this paradox by assuming that the second conjunct is a full clause containing a silent antecedent.

- (80) but [his_i mistress] [[~~I said that every_i man loves~~ *t*]]
- 

All of these arguments indicate that corrective ‘but’ constructions in the anchored form in McCawley (1991)’s terms, seem to have a hidden clausal structure.

The table adopted from Vicente (2009, p. 18) summarizes the properties of the anchored form of corrective ‘but’:

Table 2. The Properties of the Anchored Form of Corrective ‘but’.

Blocks scope of negation	yes
Allows preverbal subject coordination	no
Allows attributive adjective coordination	no
Triggers first conjunct agreement	yes
Shows locality effects	yes
Shows connectivity effects	yes

So far we have seen Vicente’s analysis of the anchored form corrective ‘but’, the one that is assumed to contain sentential negation in the first conjunct. In terms of the basic form of corrective ‘but’, the arguments above do not seem to work, as Vicente admits. For instance, in the example below, it is not possible to detect the cause of ungrammaticality.

- (81) *[Not the neutron but the Higgs boson] we had a toast because [a physicist had discovered *t*].

It could well be that the basic form is a case of small coordination and the ungrammaticality occurs because the complex phrase has moved out of an adjunct clause. And yet, it could also well be that the basic form is a case of clausal coordination and the cause of ungrammaticality lies in the independent movement of ‘not the neutron’ and ‘the Higgs boson’ (Vicente, 2009, p. 16).

According to Vicente, we are only left with one test, *agreement*. If the basic form sentences are analyzed as small DP coordination, then it is predicted that the whole structure would be semantically plural, but this prediction does not hold,

which implies that small conjunct coordination does not explain corrective ‘but’ constructions.

(82) Not a boy but a girl {**are/✓is*} sunbathing on the lawn.

(Vicente, 2009, p. 17)

An additional argument in favor of the clausal analysis comes from Bianchi and Zamparelli (2004, p. 314). It is possible to separate two conjuncts in the basic form sentences, which should have been banned according to Ross (1967)’s Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).

- (83) a. [Not only Mary but also Lucy] did he invite.
b. [Not only Mary] did he invite, [but also Lucy].

One problem left in the clausal analysis of some basic form sentences (like the ones which coordinate subjects) is the direction of the deletion operation. It is not possible to derive the surface form of these sentences via eliding the first conjunct due to the Backward Anaphora Constraint (Langacker, 1969). Vicente (2009) points out this problem, but also notes Hankamer (1973) conjecture that the apparent cases of backward ellipsis can be analyzed as Right Node Raising (see Vicente (2009) for details).

To sum up, Vicente (2009) keeps the same argument constant both for the anchored form and the basic form of corrective ‘but’ constructions although he admits that he has not given a conclusive argument in favor of the clausal analysis of

the basic form sentences. Toosarvandani (2010, 2013) takes up where Vicente has left off and challenges the clausal analysis of the basic form corrective ‘but’.

4.1.2 Cross-categorical syntax hypothesis of Toosarvandani (2013)

Vicente (2009) has argued that the two types of ‘but’ constructions in English differ both in their meaning and differ in their syntax. While contrastive ‘but’ can coordinate any type of constituents, corrective ‘but’ only coordinates clauses as in (36) above, repeated here in (84).

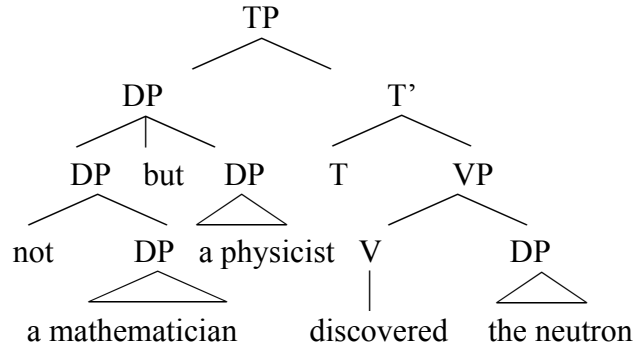
- (84) a. John isn’t clever but lazy. — correction
b. John isn’t clever but he is lazy. — contrast

(Repp, 2009, p. 150)

Toosarvandani (2013) argues against Vicente’s proposal that corrective ‘but’ is always clausal coordination. Instead he claims that corrective ‘but’ constructions have cross-categorical syntax, i.e., they can involve clausal and subclausal coordination. To prove his point, he shows that in a number of cases with corrective ‘but’ where coordination seems to be subclausal.

Below is given the syntactic representation of the basic form corrective ‘but’ sentence “Not a mathematician but a physicist discovered the neutron” (Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 848).

(85)



This representation indicates that the negative element in the first conjunct is not sentential negation but constituent negation, which adjoins to the first DP. Moreover, ‘but’ seems to have all the properties of a coordinator such that it combines two constituents of the same type of DP and the final product is a small coordinate structure behaving like a single unit. Toosarvandani (2013) suggests that ‘but’ is no different than other coordinators like ‘and’ since it combines a wide range of constituents just like ‘and’ such as DPs, PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, etc.

Toosarvandani discusses Vicente’s arguments for clausal coordination analysis and provides counterarguments. First, recall that Vicente argues that in corrective ‘but’ constructions, ‘but’ does not behave like a canonical coordinator ‘and’ since it does not trigger plural agreement on the verb. Toosarvandani argues that this does not necessarily support the clausal analysis since there are also other coordinators that do not trigger plural agreement on the verb such as ‘or’ and ‘neither...nor’.

Second, Toosarvandani shows that when corrective ‘but’ occurs in sentence-medial position as in (86a), the coordinate structure is unambiguously subclausal. And extraction out of this coordination leads to ungrammaticality as in (86b), implying that corrective ‘but’ is subclausal and the construction violates the CSC in contrast with Vicente’s claim.

- (86) a. He invited not (only) Mary but (also) Lucy to the party.
b. *Not (only) Mary did he invite but (also) Lucy to the party.

(Toosarvandani, 2013, pp. 845-46)

Toosarvandani also discusses the semantic counterargument that negation is a propositional operator and thus has to take scope over a clause. He first presents this argument as the following:

In classical logic, negation is a truth-functional sentence operator (it takes a sentence that denotes a truth value as an argument and returns a sentence that denotes a truth value). Consequently, the argument goes, corrective but must always coordinate full clauses, since how else would negation be able to take scope just inside the first conjunct? That is, how else would all corrective but sentences translate schematically as $\neg p \wedge q$?

(Toosarvandani, 2013, pp. 845-46)

In the early transformational grammar, ‘and’ is also treated as coordinating truth functional sentences (Chomsky, 1957). However, Toosarvandani argues that since then semanticists have shown that ‘and’ can have the meaning of a truth functional sentence connective, but in syntax it can combine different kinds of constituents (Partee and Rooth, 1983; cited in Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 847). Toosarvandani (2013) claims that ‘but’ is like ‘and’ in that respect, although negation requires a sentence as its argument in semantics, ‘but’ can combine any item in syntax. How to derive the semantic structure from the syntactic structure is the question.

In a sentence involving subclausal coordination such as “Not a mathematician but a physicist discovered the neutron”, negation is attached to a DP in syntax. With certain moves in the Boolean algebra ‘not’ can be interpreted as the Boolean complement operator:

- (87) $\neg X = \neg X$, if X is a truth value,
 $\lambda Y (\neg X (Y))$, if X is a function.

(Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 849)

Thus, constituent negation has the same truth conditions as sentential negation, which shows that it can be interpreted as sentential negation even when it attaches to a smaller constituent, which in turn reveals that the semantics of negation does not form a sufficient argument against Toosarvandani's subclausal corrective 'but' analysis.

To sum up, we have seen Toosarvandani's counterarguments against Vicente's clausal analysis. In the following subsection we will also talk about the nature of the ellipsis operation in corrective 'but' constructions by presenting Toosarvandani's comments on Vicente's perspective on this matter and his own point of view.

4.1.3 The deletion operation

As pointed out above, Vicente draws a similarity between corrective 'but' sentences and fragment answers. He argues that the remnant in the second conjunct moves to a left-peripheral position (Spec-CP) before the rest is deleted at PF (Merchant, 2004).

- (88) $[_{CP} [_{CP} \text{Max doesn't eat chard}] \text{but} [_{CP} [_{DP} \text{spinach}] [_{TP} \text{Max eats } \langle \text{spinach} \rangle]]]$.

(Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 851)

However, Toosarvandani (2013) indicates that the elided TP is positive while its antecedent is negative. According to Merchant's E-Givenness identity constraint, both conjuncts should mutually entail each other. Yet, in the example (88) above the antecedent "Max doesn't eat chard" does not entail the deleted string "Max eats spinach", and vice versa. If there is something that Max does not eat, it does not entail that there is also something that he does eat. Therefore, the condition is not satisfied.¹⁶

Vicente suggests that corrective 'but' constructions are similar to fragment answers since the remnant moves to a left-peripheral position and the TP gets deleted at PF (Merchant, 2004). Toosarvandani (2013) conversely suggests that they are like gapping structures since everything in the second conjunct is missing except one phrase or two.

(89) Max brings gin to parties, and vodka, too.

(Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 854)

Johnson (2004, 2009) in his theory of gapping argues that gapping involves small coordination structures, more specifically coordination of just vPs. The vP in the second conjunct is emptied not through ellipsis but through the Across The Board (ATB) movement of the vPs in both conjuncts to the specifier of a functional projection located immediately above the coordination (see Johnson (2004) for the details of his proposal).

¹⁶ In a sentence like "Not Mary did he invite, but Lucy", the identity condition between TPs in the first and the second conjunct is assumed to be met since CN attached to 'Mary' moves out of TP to the Spec, CP, thus it does not go into the identity calculation. Thereby not all corrective 'but' sentences violate the E-Givenness, but still Vicente's account is not inclusive enough even though he argues for a clausal coordination analysis for all the examples.

Toosarvandani (2013) shows that such a derivation for corrective ‘but’ sentences is not possible. Although they are similar to gapping structures, they cannot be generated under the same theory of gapping Johnson has proposed since the first coordinate contains a negative element. Let’s take the sentence (88) above. When both the vP in the first conjunct and the vP in the second conjunct ATB-move, the word order ends up being “Max does eat not chard but spinach”. Thus, the ATB movement account seems to be unable to produce the correct linear order in corrective ‘but’ constructions (Toosarvandani, 2013, pp. 855-56).

Still pursuing the small coordination analysis, Toosarvandani (2013) turns away from the non-elliptical approach of Johnson, and adopts an elliptical small coordination analysis.

He adapts the proposals of Coppock (2001) and Lin (2002) for gapping to corrective ‘but’, and thus suggests a small coordination - vP coordination - plus ellipsis for (the anchored form) corrective ‘but’ sentences.

The representation of the sentence in (98) is given in the figure below (Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 856):

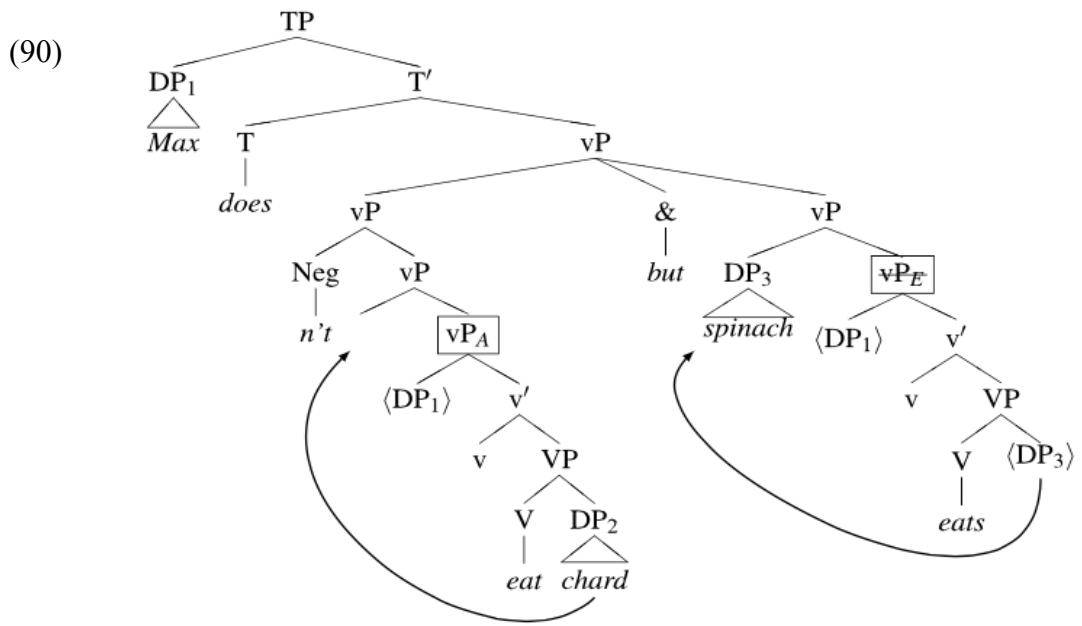


Figure 1. The syntactic representation of the anchored form of corrective 'but' in Toosarvandani (2013)

As in the clausal ellipsis analysis, the remnant in the second conjunct overtly moves while its contrasted item in the first conjunct covertly moves out of its own vP and adjoins to it. This movement makes both vacated vPs identical at LF since they mutually entail each other (i.e., identity condition is satisfied). The vP in the second conjunct is then deleted under identity, which also gives us the correct word order in corrective 'but' constructions.

Evidence for the analysis above comes from quantifier binding and quantifiers in the subject position. Consider the sentence in (91). The quantifier in the subject position can take scope over corrective 'but' coordination.

(91) No child didn't eat chard but spinach.

‘There was no child who did not eat chard and who ate spinach.’

no > ^

(Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 856)

The second argument was originally proposed by Johnson (2009, p. 297; cited in Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 857) in order to prove that corrective ‘but’ does not coordinate full clauses. If the subject of the first conjunct is a quantifier, it can bind a variable in the second conjunct.

(92) No woman didn’t talk to an old friend, but her girlfriend.

‘There is no woman such that she did not talk to an old friend and she talked to her girlfriend.’

To sum up, we have seen that Toosarvandani (2013) proposes a non-unified account for corrective ‘but’ in English. The basic form sentences are analyzed as small-coordination structures with no ellipsis taking place whereas the anchored form sentences involve vP-coordination plus ellipsis. He argues that when corrective ‘but’ occurs in the sentence-medial position, the structure is subclausal, which implies that minimal differences between any two sentences, such as “I didn’t invite John, but Mary”, and “I didn’t invite John but Mary yesterday”, will signal a structural difference in the coordination. The former is clausal coordination, in Vicente (2009)’s terms, while the latter is small coordination. So the anchored form corrective ‘but’ can have either S coordination (Vicente, 2009) or vP-coordination (Toosarvandani, 2013). When it comes to the basic form sentences, Toosarvandani

suggests that they are all subclausal, so what you see is what you get. There is no hidden structure.

In the following section I will start discussing CDCs in Turkish. First, I will present previous proposals on *değil* in CDCs, which can be grouped under two titles: Proposals that CDCs are not elliptical versus proposals that CDCs are elliptical.

Based on the evidence to be presented, I will argue that *değil* is neither a coordinator nor constituent negation, thus it is neither ‘but’ in the sense of corrective ‘but’, nor ‘not’ in the sense of constituent negation ‘not’.

4.2 The previous proposals on *değil* in CDCs

Kornfilt (1997) and McKenzie (2006) suggest that *değil* when used in CDCs behaves like the English CN ‘not’. It attaches to a small constituent and negation takes narrow scope. On the other hand, Özmen (1995) argues that *değil* in that context is a coordinator like Turkish *ve* ‘and’. While the authors have focused directly on the nature of *değil* while making these proposals, Ediskun (1985) has proposed a verb-gapping analysis stating that *değil* in CDCs is a particle. Göksel & Kerslake (2005), on the other hand, suggest that *değil* substitutes the silent part in the first conjunct similar to a proform.

As illustrated in Table 3 below, the earlier proposals are grouped into two categories: non-elliptical versus elliptical.

Table 3. Proposals on *değil* in CDCs.

Non-elliptical		Elliptical
Özmen, 1995	Conjunction	Ediskun, 1985 Particle (verb gapping)
Kornfilt, 1997	CN (adjunction)	Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 (elliptical
McKenzie, 2006	CN (adjunction)	<i>değil</i>)

In the next section, I will discuss these analyses one by one and see whether any of them can be pursued considering the characteristics of CDCs in Turkish.

4.2.1 Proposal 1: CDCs are non-elliptical

Özmen (1995) suggests that *değil* in CDCs is a canonical coordinator like *ve* ‘and’ in Turkish. It combines two constituents of the same kind, and the rest of the items in the sentence are shared. For instance, in an example where objects are contrasted via *değil* as in (103), Özmen argues that there is only one subject and one predicate. *Değil* coordinates the two DPs in the object position, so what we have is a complex object composed of two constituents. Thereby, Özmen rejects an ellipsis analysis in which there are two separate sentences, one of which is reduced and chooses to analyze the CDCs as small coordination structures in which there is no missing material.

(93) Ben [[sen-i] değil [on-u]] sev-iyor-um.

I you-ACC NOT he-ACC love-IMP-ØCOP-1SG

‘I love not you but him.’

The main question here is whether *değil* is a coordinator. In the next section we will try to answer that question based on empirical evidence, and conclude that *değil* cannot be a coordinator.

4.2.1.1 *Değil* is not a coordinator

Değil does not behave like a canonical coordinator such as *ve*, *veya*, *ama*, *fakat*, etc. in Turkish. The latter are right-branching (Zwart, 2005) and they are pronounced as proclitics of second conjuncts as given in (105a), while *değil* appears to the right of the item it attaches to. Thus, it does not fall in the class of coordinations in terms of its position with respect to the item it is associated with.

Moreover, *değil* in CDCs only combines with one item. Fronting and backgrounding data indicate that *değil*-marked item moves separately from its contrastive correlate as in (95)., thus we conclude that the contrastive correlates in (95) do not form a single constituent, which is not predicted if *değil* is a coordinator. Note that the movement of both correlates to the postverbal position together is also bad as in (95a¹). The reason is that Turkish postverbal area cannot contain F-marked items (Özsoy and Göksel, 2000), and *Pınar* in (95a¹) is F-marked. Therefore, it cannot occur in the postverbal area.

- (94) a. Ahmet ekmek al-dı [ve Ali peynir al-dı]

Ahmet break take-PST-Ø3SG and Ali cheese take-PST-Ø3SG

‘Ahmet bought bread, and Ali bought cheese.

- b. # [Ahmet ekmek al-dı ve], [Ali peynir al-dı]

(Griffiths and Güneş, 2014, [handout], p. 2)

- (95) a. [Ali değil]₁, yarın biz-e t₁ Pınar gel-ecek.
 Ali NOT tomorrow we-DAT Pınar come-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG
 ‘Not Ali, but PINAR will visit us tomorrow.’
- a¹. *Yarın biz-e t₁ gel-ecek [Ali değil Pınar]₁
 tomorrow we-DAT come-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG Ali NOT Pınar
 ‘Not Ali, but PINAR will visit us tomorrow.’
- b. Yarın biz-e t₁ Pınar gel-ecek, [Ali değil]₁
 tomorrow we-DAT Pınar come-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG Ali NOT
 ‘Not Ali, but PINAR will visit us tomorrow.’

Another piece of evidence refuting the coordinator analysis of *değil* is based on the fact that it is not in complementary distribution with adversative coordinators in Turkish. *Ama* and *fakat* can follow *değil* as in (96).

- (96) Bu sistem halk-ı değil (ama/fakat) halk-ın düşman-lar-ı-nı
 this system people-ACC NOT (but) people-GEN enemy-PLU-POSS-ACC
 destekli-yor.
 support-IMP-ØCOP-Ø3SG
 ‘This system doesn’t support people, but people’s enemies.’

The evidence above militates against Özmen (1995)’s proposal that *değil* is a canonical coordinator. Contrastive *değil* constructions appear to be different from English corrective ‘but’ sentences since there is no overt coordinator like ‘but’ in them. But even if there is no overt coordinator, we cannot proceed with a

coordinator-free analysis, or the following argument structure and Case-checking problems would occur.

In (97a), there is just one verb but there are two Acc-marked complements, but a transitive verb (excluding ditransitive verbs) cannot have two internal arguments. In (97b), there are two (Nom-)Case-marked subjects but again only one predicate. The same T head cannot check more than one Case (assuming that T checks the Nominative Case in Turkish).

- (97) a. Faruk [DP [kitab-ı] değil] [DP makale-yi] ok-uyor-Ø.

Faruk book-ACC NOT article-ACC read-IMP-ØCOP-Ø3SG

‘Faruk is reading not a book but an article.’

- b. [DP [Ben] değil] [DP sen] koş-acak-sın.

I NOT you run-FUT-ØCOP-2SG

‘Not me but you will run.’

Thus I conclude that CDCs are coordinate structures even though the coordinator is covert.¹⁷ Or we might say that CDCs involve juxtaposition of two items (the size of which is to be discovered). (At least) two conjuncts are chained by just placing one after the other, without using an overt conjunction.

The question still remains; what is the nature of *değil* in CDCs if not a coordinator as Özmen has claimed. Some researchers have argued that *değil* comes close to the identity of its English counterpart ‘not’ in nature. The latter has been called constituent negation in the literature, and based on the surface similarity

¹⁷ The covert coordinator must be adversative in nature since *ve* ‘and’ is not compatible with CDCs (e.g., “*Ali değil ve Ahmet...”). One might suggest that the overt counterpart of the covert coordinator is *ama* ‘but’, and yet when *ama* ‘but’ is used in CDCs, the counterexpectational reading is available meaning that as opposed to one’s expectations something else happened (e.g., “Ali değil ama Ahmet...”).

between the two; *değil* is also called CN (Kornfilt, 1997; McKenzie, 2006; among others). Below I will show that there are some conceptual problems with the notion of CN in grammar, and there are also certain empirical issues with calling ‘not’ and *değil* CN.

4.2.1.2 *Değil* is not constituent negation

As given in Table 3 above, Kornfilt (1997) and McKenzie (2006) suggest that *değil* is constituent negation (CN). As a matter of fact, the surface order of *değil* in CDCs implies that *değil* structurally combines with a wide range of material, and semantically negation takes narrow scope over the very same material it overtly attaches to. McKenzie (2006) gives the following examples to demonstrate the variety of constituents which *değil* can follow.

(98) a. APs

mavi *değil*, kırmızı bir araba al-dı-k
 blue NOT red a car buy.PST.1PL.
 ‘We bought a red car, not a blue one.’

b. DPs

peynir *değil*, elma isti-yor-Ø-um
 cheese NOT apple want.PROG.BE-AUX.1SG.
 ‘I want an apple, not cheese.’

c. PPs

on-un gibi *değil* on-un için yap-tı-m
 her.GEN. like NOT her.GEN. for do.PST.1SG.

‘I did it not like her, but for her.’

d. VPs

değil cannot attach to VPs. The root has to be inflected with an infinitival or a participial marker.

ye-mek *değil* oku-mak isti-yor-um

eat.INF. NOT read.INF. want.PROG.BE-AUX.1SG.

‘I don’t wanna eat, I wanna read.’

e. IPs

Kemal vaktinde gel-di-Ø *değil*...¹⁸

Kemal on. time come.PST.3SG. NOT

‘It is not that Kemal came on time...’

f. CPs

[Kemal’in vaktinde gel-diğ-i]-ni *değil*, [biz-im

Kemal.GEN. on.time come.NOM.3S-POSS.ACC. NOT we.GEN.

hastane-de gör-üş-tüğ-ümüz]-ü de-di-m.

hospital.LOC. see.RECIP.NOM.1P-POSS.ACC. say.PST.1SG.

‘I didn’t say that Kemal came on time, I said we met in the hospital.’

(McKenzie, 2006, pp. 6-7)

Both authors confine themselves to mentioning the similarity between the CN ‘not’ in English and Turkish *değil* used in CDCs, and do not provide a detailed structural analysis. Before delving into the notion of CN and questioning its descriptive power, let us compare the (so-called) CN markers in English and Turkish.

¹⁸ Not grammatical unless used in metatextual contexts, cf. Taylan (1984).

One interesting point is that the CN ‘not’ in corrective ‘but’ constructions cannot be used alone, without a contrastive correlate although the canonical CN contexts in (10) and (11) above, repeated here in (99) and (100), do not require a contrastive correlate.

(99) a. I would force her not to marry anyone.

(Klima, 1964, p. 303)

b. Kim regrets not having read the book.

(Choi, 2004, p. 188)

c. He knows that no rain needs fall and so does she.

(Klima, 1964, p. 304)

(100) a. He married a *not* unattractive girl, *and you didn’t, either.

b. There was some rain *not* long ago, *not even in the desert.

c. He had spoken with her *not* many hours earlier, *had he?

d. He found something interesting there not long ago, *and neither did she.

(Klima, 1964, p. 305)

Accordingly, some researchers have suggested that corrective ‘but’ is actually a two-place quantificational determiner ‘not ... but’ similar to ‘more ... than’ constructions, and is actually a single lexical item (Keanan and Moss, 1985; cited in Toosarvandani, 2013, p. 840).

- (101) a. *I saw not Aiden (*cf.*, *I saw not Aiden but Jeremy.*)
 b. Not many students came.

In its so-called CN function, Turkish *değil* is different from the canonical CN since it never surfaces without a contrastive correlate. CDCs are similar to corrective ‘but’ constructions in this respect, as well.

- (102) a. *Ben Aydan’ı değil gördüm.

I Aydan-ACC NOT see-PST-1SG

Int: ‘It is not Aydan that I saw.’

- b. *Çok öğrenci değil geldi/gelmedi.

Many student NOT come-PST-Ø3SG / come-NEG-PST-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Not many students came.’

Another difference between English CN ‘not’ and Turkish *değil* is that ‘not’ is used in subordinate clauses (Choi, 2002) while *değil* is not.

- (103) a. I want you to not buy that ball.

- b. *Senin topu almanı değil istiyorum.

You-GEN ball-ACC buy-MAS-2SG-ACC NOT want-IMP-ØCOP-1SG

‘I want you to not buy the ball.’

The examples above indicate that English CN and Turkish CN differ in their distribution. Especially English CN ‘not’ does not seem to correspond to *değil* in terms of its syntactic behavior when not used in corrective ‘but’ constructions.

Since neither Kornfilt nor McKenzie present a structural analysis of CN in Turkish, we will try to postulate one in order to see its predictions for the CDCs, but before doing that, I need to investigate the status of CN in the literature and what has been said about its syntactic representation.

4.2.1.3 CN and its theoretical implications

Merchant (2004) calls the structures in which CN ‘not’ occurs (104) as ‘negative stripping’ and states that “[l]ittle secure theoretical understanding has been achieved of the position and analysis of negation in such examples: ...”

- (104) a. Abby left, but not Ben.
b. Who left? Not Ben.

(Merchant, 2004, p. 711)

As I have mentioned while discussing SN and CN in Chapter 2, the research has suggested that there is a number of differences between the two in terms of syntactic structure and semantic scope.

The term ‘constituent’ in CN implies the cross-categorial syntax of negation meaning that the negative marker can attach to just any constituent in syntax (i.e., any XP. Also it is assumed that it does not take sentential scope and positionally it might be replaced with certain negative adverbs such as *rarely* or *never* (Choi, 2004, p. 188). Toosarvandani (2010, p. 42) presents a number of examples where we find a range of other negative elements in corrective ‘but’ constructions in (105).

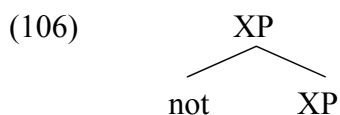
(105) a. ... I rarely invent at the typewriter but recall what I've experienced.

(periodical)

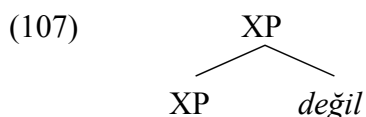
b. ... She never got hungry like ordinary mortals or realized that others could be hungry, but simply took in sustenance when the clock reminded her.

(literature)

Haegeman (1995, p. 92) states, “If the Neg-feature is base generated at the clausal level, it takes clausal scope. If it is base generated at a constituent level, it takes local scope”. Thus, she suggests that the morphosyntactic position of a negative marker is mapped into the respective scope of negation.). In tandem with this view, the structure of CN has often been argued to be adjunction to a maximal projection (Embick & Noyer, 2001, Haegeman, 2005; Kim & Sag, 2002; Quhalla, 1991; Toosarvandani, 2010, 2013; Zanuttini, 2001; among others).



Kornfilt and McKenzie’s proposals imply the following right-adjunction structure for *değil*.



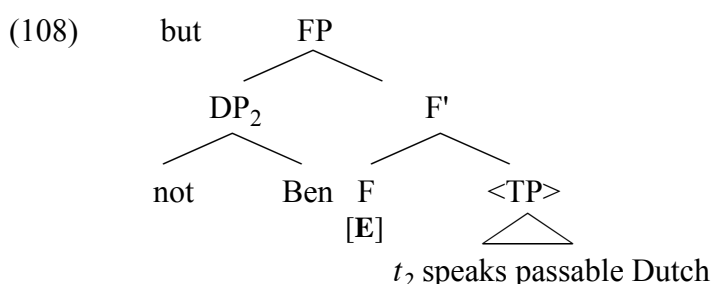
The syntactic representations given in (106) and (107) are compatible with both The Small Coordination and The Large Coordination Hypotheses. McCawley

(1991) and Vicente (2009) argue for a clausal coordination analysis for both forms of corrective ‘but’, and ‘not’ in the basic form is called constituent negation.

Toosarvandani (2013), however, claims that the basic form corrective ‘but’ is always subclausal, and still ‘not’ is again constituent negation.

There is another construction where the status of ‘not’ can be analyzed as constituent negation even though the structure requires clausal coordination.

Merchant (2003) discusses negative stripping sentences like “Abby speaks passable Dutch, (but) not Ben” and mentions a possible analysis of ‘not’ forming a constituent with the fragment ‘Ben’, and moving together to the spec of FocusP. Note that the stripped structure is a TP and ‘not’ is constituent negation.¹⁹



(Merchant, 2003, p. 5).

4.2.1.4 Problems with the notion of CN

What do the CN-adjunction structures in (106) and (107) imply? First, ‘not’ and *değil* can attach to any maximal projection. There is no restriction in the type of the

¹⁹ Merchant (2003) actually discusses two possibilities with regard to the status of ‘not’ in Not-stripping constructions. Besides the constituent negation analysis, one might also suggest that ‘not’ is a sentential adverb left-adjoined to FP, or it is in the specifier position of a Neg head which takes a FP as its complement (Merchant, 2003, p. 5).

constituent they might attach to. However, the empirical facts indicate that neither ‘not’ nor *değil* can attach to just any constituent.

The distribution of the CN ‘not’ is restricted in grammar. It cannot occur after a determiner or a preposition (Oikonomou, 2015).

- (109) a. *She wants to read the black book, [the not red one].
 b. *I will speak with him, [with not her].

The CN *değil* also has a restricted distribution in Turkish. It cannot appear between a numeral (or indefinite determiner) or a postposition and the noun they modify.

- (110) a. Yine *[bir değil erkek] bir kadın öldü, *[bir değil erkek].
 again a NOT man a woman die.PST.Ø3SG
 b. Esma *[senin değil ile] benim ile gelecek.
 Esma you.GEN. NOT with I.GEN. with come.FUT.ØCOP.Ø3SG.

The sentences in (111) are also ungrammatical in Turkish although contrast is semantically possible.

- (111) a. *Okul-da her değil sadece bir öğrenci kal-dı-Ø.
 school-LOC every NOT only one student stay-PST-Ø3SG
 Int: ‘Not every but only one student stayed at the school.’

b. *Okul-da bütün değil bazı öğrenci-ler kal-dı-Ø.

school-LOC all NOT some student-PLU stay-PST-Ø3SG

Int: 'Not all but some students stayed at the school.'

As it is obvious from the examples, the empirical facts do not support the claim that these markers have a cross-categorial syntax as Toosarvandani (2013) has proposed. Although these negative markers seem to attach to a number of constituents on the surface structure, it is not enough to say that they can attach to just any kind of constituents. A theory should be able to explain why 'not' and *değil* cannot attach to certain kinds of items, which does not find any explanation in Toosarvandani's account of corrective 'but'. Actually, any theory suggesting that these markers are CNs, cannot posit a convincing explanation to their restrictive behavior since there is no mechanism, which prohibits the marker from attaching to a particular position. It would be against the cross-categorial syntactic nature of the marker.²⁰

There is also a conceptual problem with the CN analysis, which is related to the labeling of the end product after 'not' or *değil* merges with an XP. In Minimalism, two primitive structure-building operations have been proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2004) to capture argument-adjunct asymmetries: Set-Merge and Pair-Merge. The former generates simple unordered sets while the latter produces ordered pairs. Adjuncts are argued to be subject to Pair-Merge, since naturally they do not induce their label on a newly formed object. Accordingly, English CN and Turkish CN, which are assumed to be adjuncts, should carry the properties of adjuncts defined above. The label of the category they attach to should not change after adjunction according to the classical theory of adjunct. In the classical theory of

²⁰ There is actually a restriction even in saying that 'not' adjoins to maximal projections. Ungrammaticality might be a result of a possibility that 'not' attaches to X' not an XP.

adjuncts, in terms of Chomsky-adjunction, adjuncts do not introduce novel subcategorization and distribution relations, and they do not affect the distribution of expressions. The positions that can host a category do not change when an adjunct attaches to it. And (at least in English) adjuncts are optionally pied-piped with the category that is subject to remerge (Chomsky, 1986a; Hornstein and Nunes, 2008).

However, there is a number of peculiarities within the CN ‘not’ structures: (i) “*I saw not Aiden” is ungrammatical if a ‘but’ sentence does not follow, whereas “Not many students came” is not. Both ‘not’s are claimed to be CN. (ii) There is a restricted set of syntactic positions that can host the [not +XP]: “Not everybody can see ghosts” is grammatical whereas “*Ghosts can see not everybody” is not. The implication is that [not [everybody]] does not have the same syntactic distribution as [everybody], which is unexpected if ‘not’ is a canonical adjunct. (iii) Considering the (un)/bounded nature of verbal adjuncts such as ‘in the house’, ‘not’ does not seem to have the optionality to be not pied-piped.

(112) a. Play soccer on SUNDAY is what he’ll do.

(Hornstein & Nunes, 2008, p. 73)

b. *Having read the book, Kim regrets **not**.

The same problems hold for *değil*: (i) it cannot be used without a contrastive correlate as given in (102), repeated here in (113) for readers’ convenience, (ii) the distribution of a DP does not stay the same when the so-called CN *değil* attaches to it, and finally (iii) it cannot be separated from the item in any case (i.e., no optionality of pied-piping) as in (114a). In this respect, it resembles non-derived adverbs such as *hızlı* ‘fast’ in Turkish (Taylan, 1984) (114c).

(113) a. *Ben Aydan'ı değil gördüm.

I Aydan-ACC NOT see-PST-1SG

Int: 'It is not Aydan that I saw.'

b. *Çok öğrenci değil geldi/gelmedi.

Many student NOT come-PST-Ø3SG / come-NEG-PST-Ø3SG

Int: 'Not many students came.'

(114) a. *Beni₁ Ali t₁ değil seni gördü.

I-ACC Ali t NOT you-ACC see-PST-Ø3SG

Int: 'It is not me whom Ali saw, but you.'

b. Hızlı hızlı₁ Ali arabayı t₁ sürdü.

fast fast Ali car.ACC. drive-PST-Ø3SG

'Ali drove the car quickly.'

c. *Hızlı₁ Ali arabayı t₁ sürdü.

Fast Ali car-ACC drive-PST-Ø3SG

'Ali drove the car fast.'

The Minimalist Program has a different account of adjuncts. In Chomsky

(1995, p. 248)'s terms:

Substitution forms $L = \{H(K), \{\alpha, K\}\}$, where $H(K)$ is the head (= the label) of the projected element K . But adjunction forms a different object [our emphasis; NH & JN]. In this case L is a two-segment category, not a new category. Therefore, there must be an object constructed from K but with a label distinct from its head $H(K)$. One minimal choice is the ordered pair $\langle H(K), H(K) \rangle$. We thus take $L = \{\langle H(K), H(K) \rangle, \{\alpha, K\}\}$.

The overall discussion leads us to the conceptual implication that CN seems to be subject to a mechanism of a different kind (i.e., Set-Merge) than of canonical

adjuncts (i.e., Pair-Merge). We might extend this implication and say that the term ‘adjunction’ does not serve the purpose anymore. It remains as a descriptive taxonomic word. What we need are fine-tuned syntactic operations, which are simple and adequate to explain the similarities as well as the differences between the syntactic behaviors of items previously called ‘adjuncts’. That’s why future studies should break up the term ‘adjunction’ and reanalyze the properties of so-called adjuncts in terms of labeling.

I have presented certain empirical and conceptual evidence in order to show that CN account of the negative markers ‘not’ and *değil* is problematic. In this subsection, I will further present more data from scope and binding facts in corrective ‘but’ and CDCs, which will take us to the conclusion that an analysis which stipulates the adjunction of ‘not’ and *değil* to XP based on their surface realizations falls short of explaining why things work in the way they do.

4.2.1.5 Evidence from scope

The deontic modal ‘must’ takes scope over SN in English (Lee, 2006; Iatridou and Zeijlstra, 2013). Oikonomou (2015, p. 25) suggests that CN scopes over ‘must’ as in (115) although it is expected to take narrow scope with respect to ‘must’ considering the fact that even SN cannot take scope over it.²¹

(115) C-Negation > must

You must see not Hobbit but Psycho.

LF: [not [_F Hobbit_i [_{TP} you must see t_i]]] but [_F Psycho_j [_{TP} you must see t_j]]

²¹ It suggests that ‘not’ in corrective ‘but’ might occupy a position higher than sentential negation. The same holds for Turkish *değil*.

A similar scope relationship is obtained in Turkish as exemplified in (116) below.

(116) C-Negation > -mALI

Hobbit'i değil Psycho'yu izlemelisin.

LF: [[[_F Hobbit'i_i [_{TP} t_i izlemelisin]] değil]] [_F Psycho'yu_j [_{TP} t_j izlemelisin]]

The so-called CN *değil* in the example (116) takes scope over the necessiative -*mAll*, which would be impossible if there were only one predicate. Therefore, the scope data support the view that *değil* is not constituent negation.

Oikonomou (2015, p. 26) indicates that CN 'not' also takes obligatory scope over the matrix predicate.

(117) John managed to pay not the tuition but the health insurance.

not > *manage* / **manage* > *not*

LF: [not [_F tuition [J managed to pay t_i]]] but ...

The so-called CN *değil* always take scope over the matrix predicate in Turkish, as well.

(118) Harcı değil sigortayı ödemeyi becerdim.

tuition-ACC NOT insurance-ACC pay-MAS-ACC manage-PST-1SG

not > *manage* / **manage* > *not*

LF: [[_F [t_i ödemeyi becerdim]] değil]...

Again, if there were only one sentence, then *değil* would not be able to scope over the matrix predicate. Based on the scopal facts, I argue that *değil* cannot be constituent negation, but it is higher negation probably attaching over a sentence.

Another example is about the scope of ‘only’ *sadece/yalnız(ca)* in Turkish. In the sentence (119), the scope of negation is not just over the item it combines with on the surface but also over the Focus particle *sadece*.

(119) Dün sadece ona Ali değil, ben de çok kızdım.

yesterday only he-DAT Ali NOT I also very get.mad-PST-1SG

LF: [[sadece ...ona [_F [ALİ çok kızdı]]] değil]...

As illustrated above, the surface order of items in the sentence does not provide sufficient explanations for the scope relations of those items in CDCs.. The so-called CN *değil* is not predicted to take scope over items other than the one that immediately precedes it, but apparently, there becomes a mismatch between PF and LF with respect to negation. This mismatch has been brought up by a number of people before, one of which is for Turkish verbal negative marker *-mA* by Keleşir (2011). Consider the following sentence in which there is an existential operator and a negative operator, either of which can take scope over the other, yielding ambiguity.

(120) Hasan iki kişi-yi ara-ma-dı. (two>neg, neg>two)

Hasan two person-acc call-neg-past-3sg

‘Hasan didn’t call two people.’

(Keleşir 2011, p. 32)

If we fix the scope of negation to the syntactic position of the negative morpheme, then we have to posit more than one landing site for the quantified object in (120) since it might take wide or narrow scope with respect to negation.²² Instead, Kelepir (2001; 2011, p. 33) proposes, “freeing the negative operator from the morphological (and possibly the syntactic) position of the negative marker...” She argues that as a quantificational concept that can interact with other quantificational operators in a given structure, it is not surprising that semantic negation behaves differently from other functional categories by being not directly associated with the morphosyntactic position of a negative marker. That is why it is not surprising if negation has the flexibility to attach to different positions. In other words, the morphosyntax might fool you when it comes to the interpretation of the structure.

According to Kelepir (2011, p. 33), considering the dichotomy between the negative morpheme and the negative operator, “Turkish should not have constructions where negation takes sentential scope” because the negative suffix *-mA* occupies a relatively lower position, right above VP. Therefore, to be interpreted in the scope of negation, an item merged above NegP has to be squeezed in the c-command domain of the negative marker, and to be interpreted out of the scope of negation; an item merged below NegP has to move out to another position above NegP.

To sum up the Section 4.2.1.5, not only CN markers such as *değil*, but also SN marker *-mA* pose certain questions with respect to the dichotomy between PF and LF representations of negation. On the one hand, Kelepir (2011) argues that the negative operator does not have a fixed position in the structure. It can attach to a position where it is interpreted. On the other hand, some authors suggest that

²² Öztürk (2005) argues for two object positions in Turkish. The data are presented as a piece of evidence to support her argument.

negation is always propositional no matter where the negative marker appears on the surface (Dahl, 1993; Büring and Hartmann, 2001; Penka, 2011, among others). If we take Keleşir (2011)'s statement literally and assume that semantic negation is free, the question is how free is it? Can it attach to any position it takes scope at? If so, can it scope over a DP? Since semantically negation is a truth functional operator and it needs a proposition, it should not be possible for it to be interpreted at just any position, thus it is not entirely free. In order to restrict the initial hypothesis I think that it seems to be a better stance to dispose the hidden assumptions behind the term CN by restricting the syntactic positions negation can occupy based on the semantics of negation. Keleşir (2011) also suggests that negation operator is generated in the position that it takes scope independent from the negative marker *-mA*. My proposal for *değil* in CDCs is slightly different in the sense that the negative marker also appears higher in the structure.

In the next section, I will discuss elliptical proposals about CDCs in Turkish, namely Ediskun (1985)'s verb gapping proposal and Göksel and Kerslake (2005)'s ellipsis proposal.

4.2.2 Proposal 2: CDCs are elliptical

Ediskun (1985, p. 288) indicates that CDCs are clausal coordination structures. One conjunct has a positive verb whereas the other has a negative verb. He claims that *değil* substitutes the initial predicate.

(121) a. Ben değil (gülmedim), sen güldün.

I NOT (laugh-NEG-PST-1SG), you laugh-PST-2SG

‘You laughed, not me.’

b. Öğretmeni değil (gördüm), çocuğunu görmedim.

Teacher NOT (see-PST-1SG), kid-2SG.POSS-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG

‘It is your child that I didn’t see, not the teacher.’

(Adapted from Ediskun, 1985, p. 288)

Ediskun’s generalization implies that CDCs involve verb-gapping, i.e. gapping the verb in the initial conjunct. However, the following example poses a challenge for the verb-gapping account of Ediskun (1985):

(122) Ben bir değil iki oyuncak almak istedim.

Mother-1SG.POSS one NOT two toy buy-MAS want-PST-1SG

‘I wanted to buy not one but two toys.’

In this example, in the first conjunct in addition to the verbal predicate *istedim* ‘I wanted’, both the noun *oyuncak* ‘toy’ and the embedded verb *almak* ‘to take’ are elided. This is clearly not a straightforward case of verb gapping. Even if we extend gapping to VP-gapping, which includes the verb and its complement, we can still not explain how the numeral *bir* ‘one’, which modifies the object of the embedded verb, is pronounced while the rest of the VP, which does not form a constituent, is elided.

It seems that verb gapping does not explain the facts of CDCs. Below we will see that Göksel and Kerslake’s clausal coordination proposal better explains the empirical facts by extending the scope of the deletion operation based on the shape of shared elements between the first and second conjunct.

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) assert that *değil* in CDCs is used as a means to elide a particular part of a sentence. In other words, there is hidden structure on the surface form of these constructions. See the examples below (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 275).

(123) a. Elma yemiyorum. Armut yiyorum.

‘I’m not eating apples, I’m eating pears’

b. Elma değil armut yi-yor-um.

apple not pear eat-IMPR-1SG

‘I’m eating pears, not apples.’

(124) Büyük değil, küçük bir elma iste-miş-ti-m.

big not small a(n) apple want-PF-P. COP-1SG

‘I had asked for a small apple, *not* [a] big [one].’

According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005), *değil* in (123) must replace the predicate *yemiyorum* ‘I am not eating’ while *değil* in (124) replaces the determiner ‘*bir*’, the noun *elma* ‘apple’ and the predicate *istemiştim* ‘I had asked’. What is the nature of ellipsis taking place in these sentences? Göksel and Kerslake do not name a particular elliptical structure such as gapping as Ediskun (1985) does, and yet we understand that what they have in mind is more like substituting *değil* with the shared part of the sentence which contains a predicate contrasting with the overt predicate in the second conjunct. The reason why I have come to such a conclusion is that they argue “*değil* can be used as a means of ellipsis... by replacing a particular part of a sentence” (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 275). So, *değil* is like a proform replacing a part of a structure as illustrated in (136).

(125) [[Büyük ~~bir elma~~] ~~iste-me-miş-ti-m~~], küçük bir elma iste-miş-ti-m.



değil

Both Ediskun (1985) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005) have proposed that *değil* replaces some (shared) material in the first conjunct, and yet neither has defined the fine details of this substitution process and exactly when it happens. In substitution, the material is not omitted as it is in ellipsis, but it is substituted for another. For instance, ‘one’ in English replaces nominal elements, as in “I would like to buy that one [dress].” But the term ‘replace’ is a descriptive term, which does not have a technical correspondence in the syntactic theory. According to the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky, 1995), the machinery of syntax (C_{HL}) does not introduce any new features that are not already contained in the Numeration. Thus, in a sentence like “x *değil* y”, *değil* has to be in the Numeration, meaning that it cannot be introduced into the structure to substitute a certain material. Moreover, in order to replace something with another the items have to be identical in terms of syntactic category. Consider the examples (123) and (124) above. These examples exhibit an interesting property: If *değil* is a proform, then what is the constituent it replaces? Substitution is a vague term to use in order to explain what is going on in CDCs, and what the nature of *değil* is in these particular constructions.

To wrap up, the shared arguments between Ediskun (1985) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005) are the following: (i) substitution: *Değil* replaces a part of the non-initial conjunct (invariably the predicate), (ii) clausal coordination: CDCs are made

up of large conjuncts (though ‘how large’ is undefined), and finally (iii) neither account describes *değil* as CN.

4.2.3 Interim summary

In this section, I have presented previous proposals about the nature of *değil* in CDCs with the foundations of these proposals discussed in the literature. I have provided the arguments about the structure of the English ‘not’ used in corrective ‘but’ constructions (single agreement, the scope of negation, etc.) while investigating the nature of *değil* used in CDCs since the proposals put forward for the Turkish *değil* have its roots in these previous accounts on the English ‘not’. Moreover, the Generative Framework looks for unified explanations for linguistics concepts, which are externalized in spoken languages in the shape of different morphosyntactic forms, yet the computational principles operate univocally. Therefore, while we are discussing the linguistic concept CN in a particular language, Turkish in this case, we follow the footsteps of previous studies discussing this concept but for another language like English.

The following table summarizes the claims with respect to the two forms of the English corrective ‘but’, and the claims about the nature of ‘not’ in these forms (adapted from Oikonomou, 2015, p. 12):

Table 4. ‘Not’ and ‘Corrective but’ in English.

	“x (and/but) not y”		“not y but x”	
	Negation	Coordination	Negation	Coordination
McCawley (1991)	Clausal	Clausal	Clausal	Clausal
Merchant (2003)	either	Clausal	-	-
Vicente (2009)	Constituent	Clausal	Constituent	Clausal
Toosarvandani (2013)	-	-	Constituent	Constituent

The following table, on the other hand, illustrates the previous proposals about the nature of *değil* in CDCs and the structure of CDCs.

Table 5. *Değil* and Contastive *Değil* Constructions in Turkish.

	<i>x değil y</i>		<i>y, x değil</i> ²³	
	Negation	Coordination	Negation	Coordination
Kornfilt (1997)	constituent	?	-	-
McKenzie (2006)	constituent	?	-	-
Özmen (1995)	coordinator	small conjunct	-	-
Ediskun (1985)	clausal	verb-gapping	-	-
Göksel and Kerslake (2005)	proform	clausal	-	-

In this section, I have examined each one of these proposals summarized in Table 5, and based on evidence from the scope data, and concluded that *değil* cannot

²³ As noticed, none of the proposals has stated anything about the [*y, x değil*] form of CDCs, thus I suppose that they do not differentiate between the two forms, as opposed to what we have observed in English. Is there really a syntactic difference between the two? Or is the difference stylistic? We will discuss this at the end of this chapter.

be CN since negation takes scope over the material which does not form a unit with *değil* on the surface structure (e.g., *sadece* ‘only’ as in (119)).

In other words, negation takes scope over the first sentence after which an alternative proposition (i.e., the second sentence) is offered in order to contrast a piece of information with its counterpart. Thereby, negation introduced into the structure in CDCs requires a propositional complement despite the surface order of the negative marker. That is, there is a dichotomy between semantic scope of negation and the morphosyntactic position of *değil*.

One issue needs clarification. There might be two approaches in order to better understand the nature of this dichotomy. One is to assume an overlap between the syntactic structure and the Logical Form. This kind of an overlap has been assumed in McCawley (1991) by suggesting that negation is clausal in corrective ‘but’ constructions, therefore the propositional complement required at LF is already provided.

In the second approach, one still can assume that the negative markers ‘not’ and *değil* are CN, though corrective ‘but’ and CDCs have a clausal coordination structure. As Merchant (2003) indicates, neg is base-generated inside a constituent which undergoes movement to FocP and the TP is deleted. So the negative marker merges with the relevant constituent first, but moves up and thus the semantic Neg can take scope over the TP (see the example in (108)).

In this thesis I will argue that the first approach explains CDCs in a more unified fashion. In the previous sections I presented the first part of the thesis proposal i.e., *değil* is not constituent negation. In the next section the second part of the proposal will be provided.

4.3 The proposal

In this section, I present the main proposal with the following premises that will be supported by providing evidence for each one.

- (i) CDCs are composed of large conjuncts.
- (ii) The size of the conjuncts is Σ P.
- (iii) *Değil* is a syntactic head category. It licenses ellipsis.
- (iv) Ellipsis applies at PF. Deletion occurs in initial conjuncts in the basic form contrastive *değil* constructions while it occurs in non-initial conjuncts in cases where *değil*-marked conjunct follows its correlate.

I argue that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts (Large Conjunct Hypothesis, LCH), and involve PF-deletion. The first question I raise is how large the conjuncts are. I will use agreement mismatches and Time adverbs being contrasted as pieces of evidence to show that the conjuncts are neither CP nor vP, but they are larger than TP smaller than CP. Following Laka (1990) I assume that it is Σ P.

The second question is the syntactic nature of *değil* in contrastive *değil* constructions, i.e., whether it is a phrase or a head. Since I have already indicated that *değil* is not constituent negation, it cannot be subject to adjunction to a maximal projection. Instead, following Aygen (1998) and Kelepir (2001) I argue that *değil* in CDCs is a syntactic head above TP occupying the Σ position, and it has a Neg and E(llipsis) features bundled up in the same category.

Finally, I raise the question of how the surface structure is obtained. I will compare movement accounts; such as ATB movement and Focus movement

followed by PF deletion, with a no-movement account of Hartmann (2000), who discusses Right Node Raising in English and German. I adapt Hartmann (2000) in my analysis by displaying that CDCs do not obey locality.

4.3.1 CDCs are composed of large conjuncts

It is argued in Section 4.1 that CDCs are made up of large conjuncts based on the scope of negation i.e., *değil* takes wide scope over the deontic modal as in (116), and over the matrix predicate as in (118). And yet, more empirical evidence is needed in order to support this claim, which will be provided in this section.

We will show that CDCs exhibit the Case-matching and binding connectivity effects just as discussed in Merchant (2004) with respect to fragment answers. Merchant (2004) uses connectivity effects as a piece of evidence to support his claim that fragment answers are clausal structures later subject to PF-deletion.²⁴ In a similar vein, we will show that the LCH provides a more straightforward explanation for these effects in CDCs when compared to the SCH. But note that the presence of the connectivity effects does not directly suggest that the SCH cannot provide an explanation for them. In other words, these effects do not show that the SCH is simply wrong. What I claim is that the SCH would require construction-specific rules in the grammar in order to account for these effects, and it would adopt different mechanisms for Case-matching and binding effects while the LCH would simply say that there are two sentences, which explains the cause of both effects.

²⁴ Ince (2011) argues for a clausal ellipsis analysis for fragment answers in Turkish in a similar vein to Merchant (2004).

4.3.1.1 Case-matching connectivity effects

The morphological Case of a DP that appears next to *değil* must match with the Case marked on the corresponding contrasted DP.

(126) a. Accusative

Ali koltuğ-u değil sandalye-yi tercih et-ti-Ø.

Ali couch-ACC NOT armchair-ACC prefer-PST-3SG

‘Ali preferred the armchair, not the couch.’

b. Locative

Çanta-m okul-da değil ev-de kal-mış-Ø.

bag-1SG school-LOC NOT home-LOC be-left-EVID-Ø3SG

‘Apparently, I left my bag at home, not at the school.’

Given that every Case has to have a corresponding Case checker in syntax, and given that *değil* is not a coordinator, I argue for a full-fledged syntactic structure for the first conjuncts in the example (126). Given that, deletion would explain why the Case-checker is invisible on the surface.

Note that the morphological Case-marking on the *değil*-marked DP in CDCs can be omitted in Turkish, which might be thought as a counterexample to the existence of the Case-matching connectivity effect in CDCs.²⁵

(127) a. Ali koltuk değil sandalye-yi tercih et-ti-Ø.

Ali couch NOT armchair-ACC prefer-PST-3SG

²⁵ In the literature, this is called Suspended Affixation. See Kabak (2007) for a discussion.

‘Ali preferred the armchair, not the couch.’

b. Çanta-m okul değil ev-de kal-mış-Ø.

bag-1SG school NOT home-LOC be-left-EVID-Ø3SG

‘Apparently, I left my bag at home, not at the school.’

Turkish provides a means to test whether *koltuk* ‘couch’ in (127a) is genuinely a bare noun as it is caseless. Accusative-marked nouns in Turkish are specific while bare nouns are non-specific (Kelepir, 2001; among others). Given a context where the speaker is talking about a specific couch that Ali will not buy, the following sentence in (128a) is unacceptable. Compare it with (128b).

(128) a. #Ali koltuk almayacak. Sandalyeyi alacak.

‘Ali will not buy a couch. He will buy the armchair.’

b. Ali koltuğu almayacak. Sandalyeyi alacak.

‘Ali will not buy a couch. He will buy the armchair.’

Similarly, in the example (127a), *koltuk* ‘couch’ bears a specific reading even though there is no overt Case-marking on the DP, which indicates that the morphological Case-marking can be deleted under identity conditions.

Let us discuss another example to see the Case-matching requirement on CDCs. The predicative adjective *emin* ‘to be sure’ can assign two lexical Cases, dative and ablative (not at the same time, either one or the other), as presented in (129). Note that there are no meaning differences between the two sentences.

(129) a. Senin beni sevdiğine eminim.

you-GEN I-ACC love-PST.PART-DAT sure-ØCOP-1SG

‘I am sure that you love me.’

b. Beni özlediğinden eminim.

I-ACC miss-PST.PART-ABL sure-ØCOP-1SG

‘I am sure that you miss me.’

However, it is not quite possible to contrast two DPs, one of which carries Ablative Case while the other Dative Case.

(130) ??Sevdiğinden değil özlediğine eminim.

love-PST.PART-ABL NOT miss-PST.PART-DAT sure-ØCOP-1SG

Int: ‘I am not sure he loved (her), but I am sure that he missed (her).’

The example (130) indicates that the morphological Case of two DPs must match, so there is one-to-one matching requirement between the two constituents.^{26 27}

4.3.1.2 Binding effects

The piece of evidence from binding theory that will be discussed in this section shows that the ellipsis site contains syntactic structure responsible for the binding

²⁶ Special thanks to Martina G. Yüksek for pointing out that the example (130) might pose a challenge to the LCH. If there were two sentences being coordinated, we would predict the existence of different Case-marked objects at the same time since there are two *emins* ‘to be sure’ being coordinated, but our prediction is not born out.

²⁷ The example in (130) has a metatextual reading in which the speaker corrects a part of the previous utterance with a special focus on the Case-marking.

theory effects observed (Winker, 2005), given the proposal that syntactic identity condition must hold between the ellipsis site and its antecedent.

In the example (77) above we have shown that strict readings are difficult to obtain in VP-ellipsis in English, repeated here in (131) for readers' convenience.

- (131) a. John blamed himself, and Bill did too.
 b. John_i blamed himself_i, and Bill_j [_{VP} ~~blamed himself_j~~/_{*i}] too.

Consider the Turkish sentence in (132a). Based on the LCH, the Deep Structure representation would be as given in (132b) where each subject binds distinct reflexives, one of which is overt. Compared to a SCH explanation, which must adhere to more complex operations (e.g., vehicle change (Fiengo & May, 1994); complex DP structure, etc.), the LCH offer a simpler answer to the question of why we do not get a strict identity reading.

- (132) a. Mehmet değil Ali kendin-e kız-mış-Ø.
 Mehmet NOT Ali self-DAT be-angry-EVID-Ø3SG
 b. Mehmet_i kendin-e_i kız-ma-mış-Ø Ali_j [_{VP} kendin-e_j/_{*i} kız-mış-Ø].
 Mehmet self-DAT be-angry-NEG-EVID-Ø3SG Ali self-DAT be-angry-EVID-Ø3SG

*Strict identity reading not available: *Mehmet Ali'ye kızmamış. Mehmet kendine kızmış. Int: Mehmet is not angry at Ali. Ali is angry at himself.*

Sloppy identity reading: Mehmet kendine kızmamış. Ali kendine kızmış. Mehmet is not angry at himself. Mehmet is angry at himself.

In an analysis assuming the SCH would only coordinate two subjects *Mehmet* and *Ali*, and the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ has the optionality to choose between one of them, but it will not block the reading that *Mehmet* cannot be angry at *Ali*.

(133) [Mehmet_i değil Ali_j] kendine_{j/i} kızmış.

When the antecedent is a universal quantifier like *herkes* ‘everybody’, again there is only sloppy identity reading available.

(134) Herkes değil Arif kendin-i tanıt-acak-Ø-Ø.

Everybody NOT Arif self-ACC introduce-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

*Strict identity reading not available: *Herkes Arif’i tanıtmayacak. Arif kendini tanıtacak. Int: Arif is not going to introduce everybody. He is going to introduce himself.*

Sloppy identity reading: Herkes kendini tanıtmayacak. Arif kendini tanıtacak. Everybody is not going to introduce himself. Arif is going to introduce himself.

It is observed that both in (132) and (134), strict identity reading is not attested since the Principle A of the Binding Theory is not satisfied when the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ in the second conjunct is coreferential with the antecedent in the first conjunct (*cf.* Fiengo and May’s vehicle change (1994)). In a small conjunct analysis there would not be any sentential boundary in between, therefore strict readings would be predicted since the locality condition for the reflexive is satisfied.²⁸ However, it is clearly not the case. Even the mere existence of the sloppy

²⁸ If I argue that *ve* ‘and’ coordination in Turkish is small conjunct coordination, the non-existence of strict readings becomes problematic. See: Ali ve Ahmet kendini tanıtacak. * ‘Ali will introduce

identity readings in both examples suggests that CDCs require (at least) two sentence coordinates, and when the subject antecedents are contrasted under *değil*, each one binds its own variable though one is not visible on the surface structure.

In this section, a discussion on connectivity effects in CDCs is provided. In the next section, I will continue to provide more evidence to support the LCH with respect to the structure of CDCs in Turkish.

4.3.1.3 Single agreement

Vicente (2009) argues that corrective ‘but’ does not coordinate subclausal items such as DPs, since if it did then the whole coordinated structure should be semantically plural as given in (82) above, repeated here in (135) for readers’ convenience.

(135) Not a boy but a girl {**are/✓is*} sunbathing on the lawn.

CDCs in Turkish also require the verbs to agree with their arguments in person.

(136) Ben değil [sen al-dı-n] */*aldık /*aldım /*aldıØ* (3sg)

I NOT you buy-PST-2SG

‘You bought it, not me’

Toosarvandani (2013) states that (135) cannot be used as an argument to support a clausal coordination structure as opposed to a subclausal structure for

Ahmet and Ahmet will introduce himself.’ The loss of strict identity readings, therefore, might not be evidence for large conjunct hypothesis.

corrective ‘but’ since not all coordinators pattern identically. ‘And’ requires plural agreement while ‘neither...nor’ or ‘or’ requires the verb to agree with each of their arguments separately. Thus, one might say that ‘but’ patterns with ‘neither...nor’ type of coordinators as opposed to ‘and’ type.

In a small conjunct analysis, the agreement matching between the matrix verb and the subject might be explained by simply suggesting that the verb agrees with the nearest subject. However, the definition of ‘nearest’ in the syntactic theory is not clear. How does the T head choose the nearest DP in a symmetric coordination structure? One would need to postulate complex mechanisms to fit the single agreement into the small conjunct hypothesis. Compared to that, the LCH provides a simple solution by positing a full clause structure.

4.3.1.4 Discontinuous paired contrast

More than one remnant can appear in CDCs similar to backward gapping constructions, and the remnants do not form a constituent with each other. Note that the superscript indicates the contrastive correlates in each conjunct.

(137) [Hürrem]ⁱ [Nurbanuyu]^j değil [Kanuni]ⁱ [Mustafayı]^j öldürdü.

Hürrem Nurbanu-ACC NOT Kanuni Mustafa-ACC kill-PST-Ø3SG

‘Kanuni killed Mustafa, but not Hürrem Nurbanu.’

(138) [Ben]ⁱ [sen-i]^j değil [sen]ⁱ [ben-i]^j sev-di-n.

I you-ACC NOT you I-ACC love-PST-2SG

‘You loved me, not vice versa.’

The examples above illustrate that the non-constituent pairs can be embedded under *dežil*, which militates against a small conjunct analysis and thus supports the LCH for CDCs. The shared element is the verb in both cases, which is elided (Hankamer, 1971).

We have seen that general properties of CDCs support the LCH analysis. In the next section, I will investigate the size of the conjuncts first and then the nature of the deletion operation.

4.3.2 The category and the size of the conjuncts

As mentioned above, negation is a propositional operator. So there is a semantic requirement for the negative operator to attach to propositions. The question is, what is the syntactic counterpart of a proposition? Is it always CP or can it be vP or TP as well?

In order to determine how large the conjuncts are in CDCs, the following data will be discussed: (i) Speaker-oriented adverbs (henceforth, SpOAs), (ii) different time adverbs being contrasted, and (iii) questions (wh-questions and yes-no questions).

4.3.2.1 Speaker-oriented adverbs (SpOAs) and CDCs

Adverbs are generally categorized into three groups in the literature: higher adverbs (sentential adverbs), lower adverbs (temporal adverbs) and manner adverbs (Cinque, 1999). My aim in this section is to find out the size of the conjuncts in CDCs based

on the scope of negation with respect to certain Speaker-oriented adverbs such as ‘luckily’, which is assumed to belong to the group of higher adverbs.

SpOAs form a subclass of Sentential Adverbs, which are assumed to attach to the spine of a sentence. They take scope over the whole proposition since “SpOAs, fundamentally represent speakers’ asserting an evaluation of a proposition, about the degree of certainty about that proposition’s truth (modal adverbs), the perception of that truth (evidential adverbs), or various evaluations of the fact/situation represented by the proposition (evaluatives)” (Ernst, 2009, p. 540). Therefore, a speaker-oriented adverb needs to take a propositional argument in order to express the speaker’s evaluation of that proposition or the degree of certainty, etc.

The example (139) illustrates SpOAs:

- (139) a. Honestly, I don’t know what you mean.
b. Karen is probably going to dance a tango.
c. Luckily, Aaron did not fall off his bicycle.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 498)

It has been suggested in several works that sentential adverbs are ordered (Cinque, 1999; Nilsen, 2002; Ernst, 2009; and among others), and the linear representation of SpOAs with respect to negation is the following:

- (140) Evaluatives > Epistemics > Negation

Nilsen (2002, p. 2) argues that many sentential adverbs are Positive Polarity Items (PPIs). In the same vein, Ernst (2009, p. 540) states, “Most SpOAs are positive

polarity items, with the result that they cannot occur in the scope of negation (and so they must be ordered before negation)”. The (141) shows the strong evaluative adverb ‘luckily’ cannot have narrow scope with respect to sentential negation in English.

(141) *Karen has not luckily left.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 506)

Similarly, SpOAs take scope over negation in Turkish as given in (142) below.

(142) Ali şans eseri cüzdan-ı-nı çal-dır-ma-dı-Ø.

Ali luckily wallet-Ø3SG-ACC steal-CAUS-NEE-PST-Ø3SG

‘It is a lucky situation that Ali did not get his wallet stolen.’

In addition to the sentential *negation* -mA, it is observed that the same rule holds *değil* in CDCs as in (142).

Context: You are working with two other people, Ali and Ayşe. You have heard that both of them are equally likely to be fired. You want Ayşe to stay. In the end, Ali is fired. You think that Ayşe is lucky not to be fired.

(143) ?Ali iş-ten kovul-du-Ø, şans eseri Ayşe değil.²⁹

Ali job-ABL be.fired-PST-Ø3SG, luckily Ayşe NOT

‘Ali left the job; luckily Ayşe did not.’

It is observed that the linear order that Ernst (2009) suggests for English SpOAs seems to hold in Turkish CDCs. The Turkish counterparts of SpOAs appear to take scope over negation. Given that these adverbs occupy a position higher (in the CP domain) in the syntactic structure, it is understood that the negative markers do not occupy a higher position than these adverbs in the structure, implying at least that CDCs cannot be CP-coordination constructions.

4.3.2.2 Different temporal adverbs contrasted in CDCs

It seems possible to contrast temporal adverbs that mark different points in the time line. See below.

(144) Bugün değil yarın İstanbul-a gid-eceğ-Ø-im.

Today NOT tomorrow İstanbul-DAT go-FUT-ØCOP-1SG

‘It is not today but tomorrow that I am going to go to İstanbul.’

²⁹ The intuition of some informants for the sentence in (143) was such that ‘luckily’ takes scope over the whole coordination. “Luckily, it was Ali who left the job, not Ayşe.” Actually the word order in (143) is intentionally given like that. When the negated part is put into the initial position, the second reading becomes stronger. But in any case, negation does not scope over the SpOA. That’s what we need to focus on. Recall that metatextual negation context might change the grammaticality judgement above. As stated earlier, CDCs have a pragmatic extension of taking any bit or piece of an utterance and correcting it by embedding it under *değil*. The example below demonstrates that ‘possibly’ and ‘definitely’ can be contrasted in a contrastive *değil* construction, implying that ‘possibly’ takes narrow scope with respect to negation.

Ali muhtemelen değil kesinlikle kovul-acak-Ø.

‘Ali will DEFINITELY be fired, not POSSIBLY.’

The shared material between the two conjuncts, [İstanbul-a gid-eceğ-Ø-im], is deleted. Notice that although different temporal adverbs are being contrasted, the verb form is the same in both conjuncts. Moreover, semantically both ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow’ in the sentence refer to a point in the future. In other words, the action of ‘going’ will take place at a time that comes after the Time of Speech both in the first conjunct and the second conjunct. The speaker cancels the utterance which addresses to a future in ‘today’, and asserts the second utterance which addresses to a future in ‘tomorrow’. Therefore, the Future Aspect marker *-AcAK* is used in the covert and overt forms of the shared verb.

The following example illustrates the formal identity requirement more clearly. Compare (145) with the example given in (144).

(145) *Ali dün değil bugün İstanbul’a gid-ecek.

Ali yesterday NOT tomorrow İstanbul-DAT go-FUT-ØCOP-Ø3SG

Int: ‘Ali did not go to Istanbul yesterday. He is going to go there TODAY.’

The shared verb which is deleted in the first conjunct is inflected with the Past Tense marker *-DI*, [git-ti-Ø], but the overt verb is inflected with the Future Aspect [gid-ecek]. So the verbs are actually not identical to each other in their morphophonological forms. That might be the reason why (145) is not grammatical.

The cause of ungrammaticality in (145) might actually be not just a formal identity requirement, but actually an identity requirement imposed on Tense operators. If there were a formal identity requirement between the shared verb forms, the distinct agreement morphology would not be allowed. Given that subjects having different person information can be contrasted, I conclude that there is no formal

requirement imposed on agreement at least. Therefore, the requirement in (145) might not be about the formal identity of verbs forms but about the semantic identity of Tense operators in coordinated conjuncts, implying that Tense and Agreement are actually separate phenomena.

4.3.2.3 Questions in CDCs

Ladd (1981) observes that the following sentence is ambiguous such that there are two readings available depending on the scope of negation i.e. it is either internal or external to the proposition.

(146) *Isn't there a vegetarian restaurant around here?*

(Ladd, 1981, p. 164)

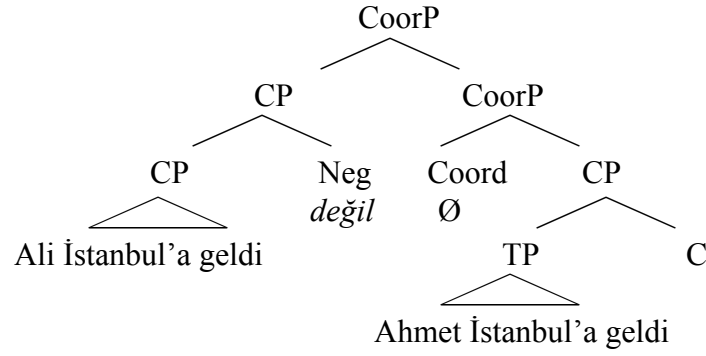
- a. Speaker wants confirmation that there is a vegetarian restaurant here.
- b. Speaker wants confirmation that there is no vegetarian restaurant here.

(Krifka, 2012, p. 1)

According to Ladd (1981), the scope of negation in (146b) is internal to the proposition while the scope of negation in (146a) is external to the proposition. Since negation is a propositional operator, its being outside of a proposition has been regarded as problematic for many years and left unexplained.

Let us first assume that CDCs are composed of CPs. When the scope of negation introduced into the structure (in the first conjunct) is above CP, negation is interpreted outside of that proposition. Consider the following representation which illustrates that.

(147)



The structure in (147) predicts that two questions can be contrasted. Note that two wh-questions can be coordinated in Turkish ‘and’ coordination as in (148). It is also possible in CDCs; however, the end product is not a canonical question, but an echo question in (149).

(148) Kim gel-di-Ø ve ne gör-dü-Ø?

Who come-PST- Ø3SG and what see-PST- Ø3SG

‘Who came? And what did s/he see?’

(149) Kim değil ne kaç-tı-Ø?

Who NOT what run-PST-Ø3SG?

‘I am asking what ran away, not who. It was not human.’

I argue that negation in (149) functions as “speech-act denegation” (Krifka, 2012, p. 2). The speaker negates a particular type of question, and replaces it with another question word. The first part of the construction in (149) does not ask a real question, which serves as counterevidence to the claim that contrastive *değil* constructions are composed of CPs.

I have stated in Chapter 2 that I will not focus on *değil*’s pragmatic extension as metatextual negation. Anything in an utterance can be embedded under *değil* and

thereby can be cancelled in the discourse. As it is clear from above, wh-questions in CDCs generally give rise to metatextual readings. What if wh-word is not the item that is contrasted? See the example (150) below in which *ne* ‘what’ occupies the object position while the subjects are being contrasted. Note that when the stressed item changes, the interpretation changes as well. The reason why the example (157) is presented is to make sure that it is only in metatextual contexts that a wh-question appears in a CDC.

(150) a. Ayşe değil FATMA ne-yi gör-dü-Ø?

Ayşe NOT Fatma what-ACC see-PST-Ø3SG

‘I am asking what FATMA saw, not what Ayşe saw.’

b. Someone said, ‘Ali saw something, not Fatma’ but you could not quite hear the thing that was seen. So you ask:

Ayşe değil Fatma NE-Yİ gör-dü-Ø?

Ayşe NOT Fatma what-ACC see-PST-Ø3SG

‘What is it that not Ali but Fatma saw?’

Similarly, yes-no questions embedded under CDCs have only a metatextual reading.

(151) Ali okula gitmedi mi değil gitti mi? (diye sordum.)

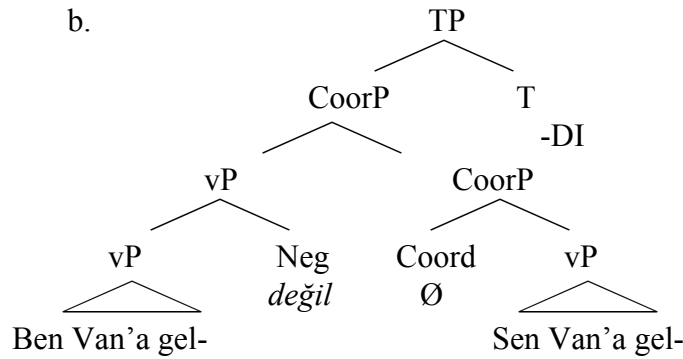
Ali school. DAT go-NEG-PST-3SG Q NOT go-PST-3SG Q

Int: ‘I asked whether he WENT to the school, not whether he did NOT.’

To wrap up, data on questions suggest that contrastive *değil* constructions are not compatible with them, which militates against the claim that the conjuncts are as large as CPs.³⁰

The second possibility to pursue is that the conjuncts are composed of vPs as illustrated in (152b).

- (152) a. Ben ~~Van'a geldim~~ değil sen Van'a geldin.
 I Van-DAT come-PST-1SG NOT you Van-DAT come-PST-2SG
 'You came to Van, not me.'

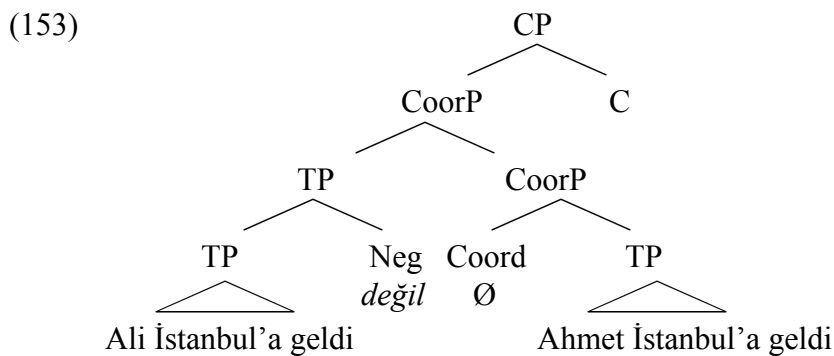


It is observed that the structure above does not predict contrasting subjects which require different agreement morphology on the verb in CDCs..The agreement requirement is satisfied above vP, but the subjects are contrasted under vP in (152b). Moreover, this structure does not predict the possibility of contrasting two Time adverbs such as *dün* ‘yesterday’ and *bugün* ‘today’ as in (144) since the coordination does not contain the TP level, Thus, based on the pieces of counterevidence, we do not adopt the structure in (152b) above as a possible structure of CDCs in Turkish.

³⁰ The reason why questions cannot be contrasted in CDCs might be because semantically contrast is not possible with questions, not because CDCs are not CPs. The metatextual readings observed when two questions are contrasted in CDCs might be based on the interactions of questions with focus and contrast in grammar. When the sentence in (149) is expressed in two full clauses, again only the metatextual reading is obtained.

i. Kim kaçtı değil. Ne kaçtı?
 ii. *Kim kaçmadı. Ne kaçtı?

So far the two of the possible categories and sizes for the conjuncts in CDCs (namely, CP and vP) are eliminated. We need to consider TP-coordination as well. The representation of TP-coordination is given in (153).



This structure correctly predicts that (i) subjects can be contrasted in CDCs, (ii) the shared verbs can bear different person agreement morphology (iii) different temporal adverbs can be contrasted, and (iv) higher adverbs and questions which target the whole CP cannot be contrasted..

One residual problem with respect to the structure given above is the status of *değil*. Notice that *değil* in (153) functions as an adverb attached to the spine of a maximal projection, e.g. TP. But we need to explain how the adjunct *değil* changes the polarity value of the whole structure embedded under itself, and poses some restrictions on the type of the material that can appear in a contrastive *değil* construction (see the examples in (111)).³¹

³¹ Arguing that *değil* cannot be an adjunct (phrase) has a bigger theoretical implication such that negation cannot be merged via adjunction. It always occupies a head position. I believe one may find counterevidence to this bold claim, but I also believe that there is no constituent negation in language, therefore we do not need adjoining negation to any projection. It has a more restricted position, which might be obtained by merging it as a head.

Therefore, I suggest a few alternations on the structure in (153). Considering the fact that the conjuncts always have opposite polarity values, i.e., when one is negative, the other is positive, and following Laka (1990), I add another projection, i.e., Σ P above TP to demonstrate this property of CDCs. Following Aygen (1998) and Kelepir (2001), I assume that *değil* in CDCs is not different from *değil* elsewhere, and it occupies a syntactic head position, namely the Σ head in CDCs. It has Neg and E[llipsis] features bundled up in itself, and its correlate Σ head has an affirmative feature.

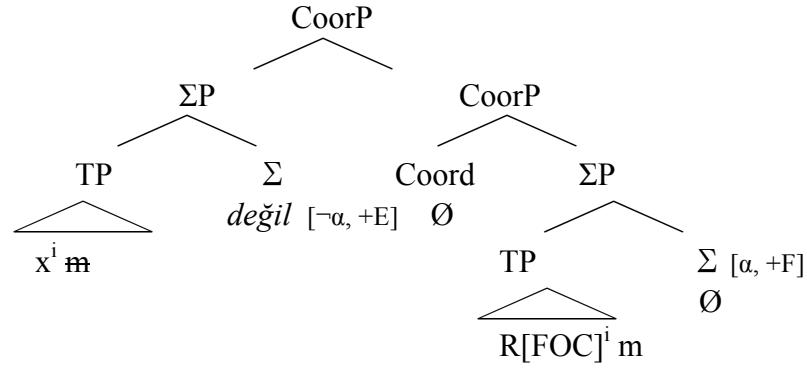
Laka (1990) indicates that negation and affirmation are in complementary distribution with each other, and she argues for Σ projection that combines the two.

Σ has a very sharply determined semantic nature: The type of elements that constitute the category Σ all relate to the truth value of the sentence: they either reverse the truth value (neg), or they affirm it (aff), or they deny that it is false ('so', 'ba'). Alternatively, we could characterize the nature of Σ in terms of the speaker's presupposition: Neg cancels an affirmative presupposition, Aff cancels a negative presupposition, and *so/ba* cancels the cancellation of an affirmative presupposition.

(Laka, 1990, pp. 103-4)

She proposes that there is an affirmative and a negative head both belonging to the same syntactic category, the Σ P. Following Laka (1990) I argue that CDCs are composed of Σ Ps each having opposite polarity values.

(154)



Let us examine the properties of the structure given above. First and the most importantly, the symbol $[\alpha]$ assures that whatever the polarity value of the second conjunct is, the *değil*-marked conjunct bears its opposite polarity value. Consider the sentence given in (35a), repeated here in (155).

(155) Ali değil Ahmet gelmedi.

Ali NOT Ahmet come-NEG-PST-Ø3SG

‘Ahmet didn’t come. Ali did.’

The polarity value of the second conjunct is negative, so $[\neg]$ replaces $[\alpha]$. Consequently, the polarity value of the *değil*-marked ΣP becomes $[\neg\neg]$, namely $[+]$. Contrast is guaranteed.

Another property of the structure in (154) is that *değil* has an E[llipsis] feature triggering PF-deletion. In information structural terms, the TP embedded under *değil* is Given. *Değil* functions as the licenser head of ellipsis in a similar vein to Aux functioning as the licenser of VP ellipsis in English. Note that the E[llipsis] feature on *değil* and the F[ocus] feature on the corresponding null Σ head seem to complement each other. More clearly, the counterpart of the F-marked item in the

second conjunct cannot be elided in the *değil*-marked conjunct.³² This association is indicated by the superscript in the tree given in (154).

In the next section, I am going to show that movement analyses, namely the ATB movement and Focus movement followed by PF-deletion proposed for similar elliptical constructions including corrective ‘but’ in English cannot explain the nature of the ellipsis operation in CDCs. I propose that the nature of the ellipsis operation licensed by the negative head *değil* resembles Right Node Raising in its basic form (i.e., the *değil*-marked item precedes its contrastive correlate), and Gapping constructions when the *değil*-marked item is backgrounded.

4.3.4 PF-deletion without movement

4.3.4.1 Problems with the movement analyses

In this section I will first discuss two movement approaches to elliptical constructions, the Across The Board (ATB) movement analysis of Johnson (1996) and Focus movement analysis (Merchant, 2003). I will show that neither of the two provides an adequate explanation for the empirical facts of the data. Following Hartmann (2000) I present my non-movement analysis of CDCs, which univocally handles the data.

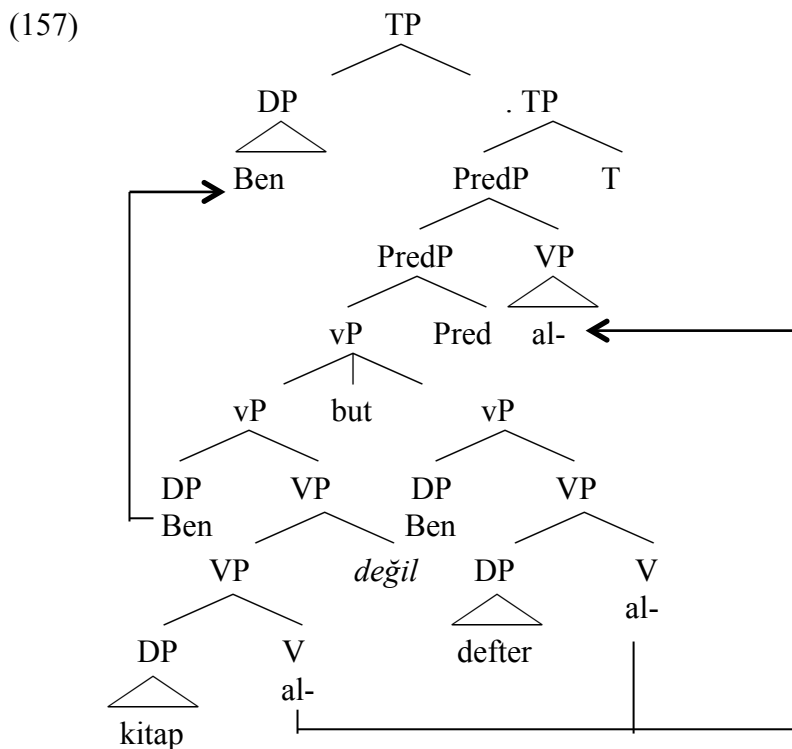
The ATB movement account of Johnson (1996) suggests that smaller conjuncts like vPs are conjoined and the shared element ATB-moves to a higher position. No deletion is involved. Recall that I have already discussed that vP-coordination analysis for CDCs would be problematic. However, I need to show that

³² Note that a phonologically null element, *pro*, cannot be contrasted with an overt NP in CDCs: “*pro_i değil AHMET_j geldi*”. The F-marked overt NP *Ahmet* is associated with its alternative that is cancelled in the *değil*-marked Σ P. This alternative cannot be a phonologically null element.

the ATB-movement analysis of vP-coordination is also problematic for CDCs in Turkish.

Incorporating VP-internal subject hypothesis, one might assume that both subjects are generated VP-internally and only the subject of the conjunct on the right raises to the specifier position of TP. Consider the syntactic representation in (157) where I have adapted the ATB movement account into CDCs.

- (156) Ben kitap değil defter aldım.
 I book NOT notebook buy-PST-1SG
 'I bought not a book but a notebook.'



There are a number of problems with the ATB movement analysis above. Johnson assumes that Agr⁰ assigns Case to both subjects, which does not explain subject contrast examples where the overt verb does not agree with subject embedded under *değil*, but the correlate subject.

Moreover, Johnson (1996) adheres to the standard assumption that grammatical operations must target constituents. Therefore, the target of a movement operation always has to be a constituent. The example above does not pose a problem, but but consider an example in which temporal adverbs are contrasted.

- (158) [Ali dün [[bir ~~çocuğun oyuncağını~~] aldı]] değil iki çocuğun oyuncağını aldı.
 Ali yesterday one NOT two kid-GEN toy-3SG.POSS-ACC take-PST-Ø3SG
 ‘Ali took the toy of not one but two kids.’

Given that the ATB movement targets shared constituents, the target of movement in (158) is [çocuğun oyuncağını aldı], which does not form a constituent., The ATB movement cannot explain such data.

Another movement analysis is Merchant (2003)’s Focus movement analysis proposed for ‘not’ stripping cases as given in (46c) above, repeated here in (159). He argues that the remnant rises to the specifier position of FP, and the rest of the conjunct is exposed to PF-deletion. In addition to the nature of movement, Merchant’s Focus movement account is different from Johnson’s ATB movement account because the former applies PF-deletion while the latter envisages no deletion.

- (159) Sam solved the problem, not Bill [~~solved the problem~~]

As mentioned above, movement targets constituents. Consider the example in (160). The remnants do not form a single constituent that will target a single position in the syntactic tree.

(160) [Sen bana kızdın], [[ben sana ~~kızdım~~] değil].

You I-DAT get.angry-PST-2SG I you-DAT NOT

‘You got angry with me, not me with you.’

One might argue that FP has multiple specifiers occupied by the two remnants in (160). However, the fact that the remnants are not F-marked suggests that they are not associated with FP at all; therefore they will not occupy the specifier position of FP.

Another property of movement is that it causes locality effects. Extraction out of islands leads to ungrammaticality. By asking seven native speakers of Turkish, İnce (2009) tries to find out what structures are islands in Turkish. He looks at scrambling out of Relative Clauses (RC) and a variety of adjunct clauses. From the acceptability range of 1-5 (1 equals complete unacceptability and 5 equals complete acceptability), subject and non-subject relative clauses have the lowest acceptability grade. See İnce (2009, pp. 49-50)’s RC examples below.

(161) Subject Relative Clause:

*Ne-yi₁ Hasan [₁ gezdiren] çocukla konuştu?

what-ACC walk-SR child-COMM talked

Int: ‘What is it that Hasan talked to the child who walked it?’

(162) Non-Subject Relative Clause:

*Ney-in₁ Ahmet [₁ ısırdığı] çocuğu tedavi ediyor?

what-GEN bite-NSR child-ACC treatment doing

Int: ‘What is it that Ahmet is treating the child that it bit?’

Following İnce (2009), I assume that Subject and Non-Subject Relative Clauses are islands in Turkish, and it is observed that *değil*-marked DP on the surface structure can be extracted out of these islands. There are no locality effects of movement. See the examples below:

(163) Subject Relative Clause:

[Beni değil]₁ Hasan [₁ Ece'yi gezdiren] çocukla konuştu.

I-ACC NOT Hasan Ece-ACC walk-SR child-COMM talked

‘Hasan didn’t talked to the child who walked me. He talked to the child who walked Ece.’

(164) Non-Subject Relative Clause:

[Köpeğin değil]₁ Ahmet [₁ kedinin ısırdığı] çocuğu tedavi ediyor.

dog-GEN NOT Ahmet cat-GEN bite-NSR child-ACC treatment doing

‘Ahmet is treating the child whom the cat bit. He is not treating the child whom the dog bit.’

Taking into account the pieces of counterevidence against the movement analyses above, I pursue a non-movement analysis in order to account for the surface structure of CDCs given that they are large conjuncts.

4.3.4.2 The non-movement account

Consider the contrastive *değil* constructions below. The first one is the basic form whereas the second one is the backgrounded form.

(165) a. Osman₁ kitap [~~aldı~~] değil pro₁ kalem aldı.

Osman book NOT pencil buy-PST-Ø3SG

‘Osman bought not a book but a pencil.’

b. Osman kalem aldı, [~~Osman~~ kitap ~~aldı~~] değil.

Osman pencil buy-PST- Ø3SG book NOT

‘Osman bought a pencil, not a book.’

The basic form contrastive construction resembles Right Node Raising (backward gapping) constructions in Turkish. The initial conjunct is gapped. The backgrounded form of CDCs, on the other hand, resembles forward gapping constructions. The non-initial conjunct is gapped.

(166) a. Backward Gapping:

[[Hasan karides-i _], [Mehmet de ıstırdıye-yi yedi]]

Hasan shrimp-ACC Mehmet also oyster-ACC ate

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

(Ince, 2009, p. 247)

b. Forward Gapping:

[[Burak kütüphane-ye gitti], [Mustafa (da) hastane-ye _]].

library-dat went also hospital-dat

‘Burak went to the library and Mustafa to the hospital.’

(Ince, 2009, p. 152)

Since I already indicated that CDCs does not show locality effects as in (163) and (164), which militates against the movement analyses, I am going to adopt a

non-movement account for deriving the surface structure in CDCs, namely Hartmann (2000).

Hartmann looks at the RNR constructions in English and German, and based on the observation that they disobey constraints on movement, she argues that RNR belongs to the phonetic form. It is a reduction operation of the identical material and it is a byproduct of focus-backgrounding structures. She basically builds her proposal on the evidence that RNR does not respect constituency and the lack of locality effects.

The examples (167) and (168) show that the deleted parts in RNR do not form a constituent together, and RNR does not exhibit any locality effects in a CNPC island, respectively.

(167) Peter verspricht seiner Mutter ~~in die Kirche zu gehen~~ und Maria

Peter promises his mother to the church to go and Maria

(verspricht) ihrer Mutter in die Kirche zu gehen.

(promises) her mother to the church to go

‘Peter promises his mother to go to church, and Maria promises her mother to go to church.’

(Hartmann, 2000, p. 57)

(168) Stefan verbreitete [_{DP} die Behauptung, [_{CP} dass Petra ~~schwanger sei~~]],

Stefan spread the rumor that Petra is pregnant

und Martin äußerte [_{DP} die Vermutung, [_{CP} dass Claudia schwanger sei]].

and Martin expressed the supposition that Claudia pregnant is

‘Stefan spread the rumor that Petra is pregnant and Martin supposed that Claudia is pregnant.’

(Hartmann, 2000, p. 65)

While formulating the analysis of CDCs I will use Hartmann’s observations based on her findings in order to claim that movement, let it be with or without deletion, cannot offer satisfactory explanations in our case, either.

Based on the evidence presented up until this point, we propose that CDCs in Turkish have a syntactically intact ΣP coordination structure with no movement or extraction taking place. The deletion operation targets a linearized string. See the example in (169).

(169) *[[Ben seni ~~sevdim~~] değil] coord [[sen beni sevdin] ØFoc]*

I you-ACC love-PST-1SG NOT you I-ACC love-PST-2SG

‘You loved me, not me you.’

In the next section I will provide some information about the phonological properties of CDCs, which I believe serves as another piece of evidence to support the proposal that CDCs are composed of large conjuncts and subject to PF-deletion. The empirical data to be presented help us explain the word order variation observed in CDCs without resorting to scrambling taking place in one sentence.

4.3.4.3 The intonational properties of CDCs

There is a number of empirical ways to investigate intonational phrasehood in Turkish. Güneş (2013) uses post-nuclear area as a test. The Turkish post-verbal domain cannot be phonologically prominent meaning that it cannot host intonationally marked material (Göksel and Özsoy, 2000). If something is a root clause, you cannot put it in the post-nuclear area in Turkish. This is because, root clauses have to be parsed as intonational phrases, and intonational phrases cannot be ‘de-accented’ in Turkish.

Apparently, contrastive-*değil* seems to occupy the post-nuclear area in (170):

(170) Benimle AHMET konuştu, Ali değil.

I-INST Ahmet speak-PST-Ø3SG Ali NOT

‘Ahmet spoke with me, not Ali.’

Just with this datum, one may say that these forms do not form intonational phrases. But, the situation seems to be more complicated than the case in (170). It seems that these structures can only be in the post-nuclear position when they are at the right periphery of the clause that they adjoin to:

(171) ??Benimle AHMET konuştu, Ali değil geçen gün.

I-INST Ahmet speak-PST-Ø3SG Ali NOT the past day

Int: ‘It was Ahmet who spoke with me the other day, not Ali.’

Based on (171), one may still speculate that CDCs still form an intonational phrase of a sort, which is “encliticised” to the main clause’s prosodic domain at the level of intonational phrase. With this assumption, the prosodic constituency should be as in (172) (ı refers to intonational phrase):

(172) [[Benimle AHMET konuştu]ı Ali değil]ı

Let us say we are convinced that CDCs somehow form intonational phrases. What does this tell us about their syntax? What syntactic structures map as intonational phrases in Turkish? Cross-linguistically, the general assumption is that intonational phrases correspond to clausal syntax (e.g., Selkirk, 2009; MatchClause-to-ı³³). How we define intonational phrase is crucial here. Researchers generally assume the following is the correlate of intonational phrases: (i) Rizzi (1997)’s ForceP, (ii) all CPs (with and without force (e.g. including embedded clauses)) (Selkirk, 2009), (iii) structures that are performed as speech acts (Kan, 2009).

Kan (2009), on Turkish, suggests that embedded CPs do not map onto intonational phrases. She suggests that only clauses with illocutionary force (i.e., those that function as speech acts) are parsed as intonational phrases in Turkish. Güneş (2014) agrees with this, but takes this one step ahead, and suggests that all syntactic structures (clausal or not) are parsed as intonational phrases if they are performed as speech acts.³⁴ If they are right about Turkish intonational phrase formation, then the syntactic correlate of an intonational phrase must be minimally a

³³ According to The Match Theory (Selkirk 2009), (i) clauses are mapped as intonational phrases (ıs), (ii) sub-clausal constituents (DPs, PPs, AdjPs) are mapped as phonological phrases (Φs), and (iii) words are mapped as prosodic words (ωs) in the prosodic representation.

³⁴ Personal communication with Güliz Güneş.

ForceP. If CDCs are parsed as intonational phrases, then they predict that they bear Force-illocutionary projection.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Repp (2009) argues that negation in corrections is not ordinary negation but illocutionary negation. It is not a part of the proposition that the sentence denotes. Following Repp (2009) I have assumed that *değil* in CDCs is not ordinary sentential negation. It is used in denials and functions like illocutionary negation. Repp (2009)'s proposal for negation in corrections and Güneş (2014)'s proposal of intonational phrase formation based on illocutionary force seem to fit into our analysis of CDCs.

Another piece of evidence comes from the intonational break between the *değil*-marked conjunct and its contrastive correlate.

(173) [ALİ benimle konuştu] pause [Ahmet DEĞİL]

I admit that one needs to run experiments on real-life conversations including contrastive *değil* constructions before concluding that CDCs are composed of intonational phrases and there is a phonological break between the two conjuncts. These arguments are based on mere observations. And yet, (173) supports the claim the LCH.

However, the intonational break as a test of intonational phasehood, and thus the LCH, does not work in the basic form of CDCs. As presented in (174), the combination of the [l] sound in *değil* and the [l] sound of the following contrastive correlate *Lamia* cause gemination. Gemination does not occur between intonational phrase boundaries.³⁵

³⁵ Special thanks to Aslı Göksel for pointing out this counterexample.

(174) Ayşe değil Lamia geldi.

Ayşe NOT Lamia come-PST- Ø3SG

‘Not Ayşe but Lamia came.’

Although intonational break does not provide a uniform result considering the basic form of CDCs, it is not totally possible to reject the hypothesis that at least backgrounded forms of CDCs form intonational phrases.

Another issue with respect to CDCs is word order variations. The *değil*-marked constituent on the surface seems to be subject to word order variation with one restriction. It cannot come in between its contrastive correlate and the matrix verb as in (175e).

(175) a. Ali değil, Ahmet benimle konuştu.

Ali NOT Ahmet I-INST speak-PST-Ø3SG

‘Ahmet spoke with me, not Ali.’

b. Ali değil, benimle Ahmet konuştu.

c. Benimle Ali değil Ahmet konuştu.

d. Benimle Ahmet konuştu, Ali değil.

e. Ahmet *(Ali değil) benimle *(Ali değil) konuştu.

One might argue that these word order variations are a result of stylistic scrambling.³⁶ After deletion, the *değil*-marked items behave like they are in just one sentence, and are subject to stylistic scrambling like other items in that sentence. For instance, the *değil*-marked item in (175d) is assumed to be extraposed, in other

³⁶ The term ‘scrambling’ refers to a movement operation.

words scrambled to the post-verbal domain. However, the example (176) militates against such an assumption. Remember that Turkish postverbal area cannot host F-marked elements. But the focus particle *sadece* ‘only’ and the NP it modifies can follow the overt verb. Compare (176a) with (176b).

(176) a. *Hediye aldım sadece ALİ’YE.

gift buy-PST-1SG only Ali-DAT

Int: ‘I bought a gift only for Ali.’

b. BABAMA da hediye aldım, sadece Ali’ye DEĞİL.

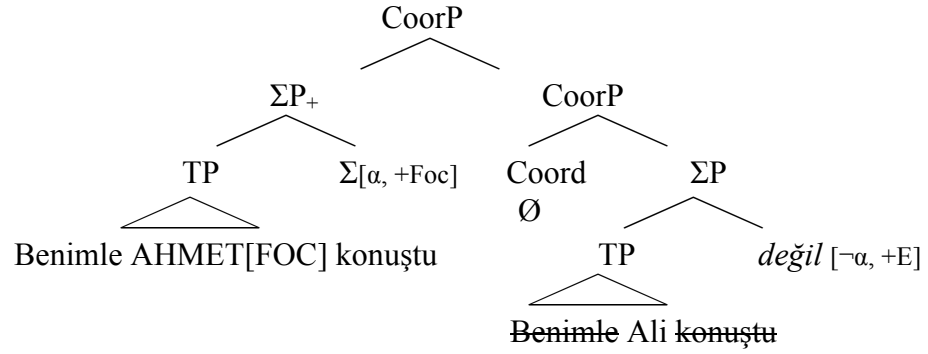
father-1SG.POSS-DAT also gift buy-PST-1SG only Ali-DAT NOT

‘I bought a gift not only for my mother but also for Ali.’

To wrap up, we have seen that the intonational properties of CDCs also support our main proposal that they are composed of large conjuncts (larger than TP). PF-deletion operation takes place at the final point on the linearized string, so there is no stylistic word-order changing operation after deletion.

Another benefit of excluding scrambling as an option is that the potential counterarguments to the large conjunct coordination analysis are invalidated, such as The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967). If we were to say that (175d) is derived from the basic form of contrastive *değil* construction, then the question would be how a coordinate structure allows extraposition. But in my analysis, keeping the basic arguments constant, I suggest the following structure for (175d). Notice that the order is reversed such that the *değil*-marked ΣP follows its correlated ΣP .

(177)



4.3.5 Interim summary

In this chapter, I have shown that *değil* is neither a coordinator, as Özmen (1995) assumes, nor a constituent negation marker as Kornfilt (1997) and McKenzie (2006) assume. Instead, it is a negative head occupying a position higher than TP, which is supported by the scope data. *Değil* takes scope over modal verbs and quantificational items, which are on the surface not attached to *değil*.

Secondly, I have argued that The Large Conjoint Hypothesis accounts for the structure of CDCs. I have presented the following evidence to support my argument: (i) Case-matching and binding effects, (ii) single agreement, and (iii) discontinuous paired contrast. In order to determine the category and the size of the conjuncts, I have looked at Speaker-Oriented Adverbs (SpOAs), different temporal adverbs contrasted in CDCs, and the status of questions in CDCs. Discussing three potential structures at first, and I have argued that CDCs are possibly composed of coordinated ΣPs. *Değil* occupies the Σ head, and a null Focus head occupies the Σ head of the contrastive conjunct. The coordination in CDCs is again coordination of likes since the syntactic make-up is the same, although information structurally it is the coordination of opposites since ΣPs have opposite polarity values.

In terms of the ellipsis operation, I have shown that movement analyses of ellipsis cannot account for the empirical facts of the CDC data. Such properties of

CDCs as non-constituency of the elided material and the remnants, nonexistence of locality effects, and the non-identity of the verbal forms in terms of the agreement morphology marked on them suggest that the ATB movement analysis of Johnson (1996) adapted to Turkish or a focus movement analysis does not provide an adequate explanation for the CDC phenomena. Instead, I have proposed a PF-deletion analysis in which movement is precluded. This analysis is based on the arguments and findings of Hartmann (2000).

In the final part of this chapter, I have presented the word order variation in CDCs and potential claims about their derivation. I have argued, based on certain intonational properties of CDCs, that stylistic scrambling cannot be an option since such an analysis would imply that there is one clause, and from that clause the *değil*-marked items are scrambled. The intonational properties indicate the opposite. There is an intonational break between *değil*-marked conjunct and its correlate conjunct (except the basic form of CDCs). Moreover, *değil*-marked item with the focus particle *sadece* ‘only’ can follow the overt verb, which implies that the position occupied by the *değil*-marked item on the surface structure cannot be the postverbal position since Turkish postverbal area does not allow prosodic prominence (Göksel and Özsoy, 2000).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Contribution to the field of linguistics

This thesis brings up the theoretical question of whether there is constituent negation in language. It tries to show that what has been named constituent negation marker in Turkish seems to be proposition negation. Although it is apparently a humble argument relevant for Turkish only, I have hiddenly suggested that one might come to the same conclusion for ‘not’ used in corrective ‘but’ construction in English or any other language which exhibits the same properties as the Turkish *değil* (see Oikonomou, 2015 for the same argument developed for the Modern Greek ‘ohi’).

Negation is assumed to be a propositional operator. Even the kind of analyses which assume that ‘not’ is constituent negation have to posit a semantic rule to type-shift into a proposition, the constituent that *değil* attaches to on the surface (see Toosarvandani, 2013). This results from the fact that negation never negates a DP. It is a truth-value changing operator, thus requires an argument, which denotes a truth-value. Based on this theoretical stipulation, every instance of negation in the syntactic structure might be analyzed as a sentence (Dahl, 1993) although there are potential entanglements to be faced when deriving the surface word order. This also conjures up the dichotomy between the semantic scope of negation and the morphosyntactic position of a negative marker.

The free attachment as a property of a negative marker is not desirable since it cannot account for impossible combinations, instead opens up a wide range of possibilities in a grammar. This study aims to restrict the possibilities into one in

order to grasp why *değil* behaves the way it does. It tries to accomplish that by breaking down the descriptive terms like sentential negation and constituent negation, which possibly lead to wrong assumptions that they really exist and the system is really sensitive to them.

The theory-internal contribution of this study is that it questions the notion of adjunction, again a descriptive term which is used to classify items that do not behave like arguments. Although the recent developments in the Generative Enterprise change the way we look at adjunction (i.e., Pair-Merge provides the adjoined structures (Chomsky, 2012)), it does not escape from overgeneralization. Constituent negation markers are assumed to adjoin to a maximal projection. So they are basically adjuncts. The classical theory of adjuncts tells us that they should be invisible meaning that they should not have any effects on the subcategorizational and/or selectional properties of the syntactic items they adjoin. However, the so-called CN ‘not’ in English and *değil* in Turkish clearly affect the item they attach to. The same is true for focus particles as well. They are also assumed to be adjuncts. However, we do not have a mechanism to tell apart the differences between temporal adverbs and the others such as negative adverbs or focus particles. A possible solution to this inconvenience might be found in the difference between Set-Merge and Pair-Merge as we have pointed out in Chapter 4. And yet, it implies that certain “adjuncts” are merged just like arguments (via Set-Merge), which tears apart the distinction between them. Or maybe, we do not always need such a distinction. As far as we know there are no attempts investigating this issue.

5.2 Summary of the claims and the findings

In Chapter 2, I have shown that Klima (1964)'s tests to diagnose the syntactic position of sentential negation actually detect the widest scope of negation. Negative markers in the sentences that minimally differ from each other (i.e., a negative sentence with a frequency adverb and without one) may be labeled differently when his tests are used as a basis. I have raised this problem in order to show that what looks like a constituent negation marker might not be so when one looks deeper into the syntactic structure.

In Chapter 3, I have introduced the distribution of the sentential negation *değil*. It is used in nominal and verbal clauses functioning as external negation (Taylan, 1984), and the syntactic analyses suggest that it possibly occupies a head position below TP in Turkish (Aygen, 1998; Kelepir, 2001). In terms of the constructions it occurs in, it is observed that the SN *değil* functions like a propositional negation considering the fact that *değil* in tag questions and double negation reverses the truth-value of an entire sentence.

The focus of this thesis; namely the contrastive *değil* constructions, are demonstrated in the final part of Chapter 3. I have provided the possible and impossible combinations with *değil* in CDCs, which is later used as evidence to invalidate the potential claim that *değil* has cross-categorical syntax. At the end of this chapter, I have presented the basic properties of CDCs (e.g., contrastive correlates are obligatory).

In Chapter 4, I have first discussed the different analyses of corrective 'but' in English, which may be grouped as clausal versus subclausal. Then I have introduced the previous proposals on the nature of *değil* in CDCs, and provided arguments

against all. After establishing that *değil* is neither a coordinator nor a constituent negation marker, I have provided evidence suggesting that *değil* seems to attach to a large conjunct, possibly larger than a TP. In tandem with this proposal, the potential small conjunct analysis for CDCs is eliminated. Instead, I have proposed that CDCs are composed of coordinated Σ Ps, which possess opposite polarity values. The surface order of items is obtained through PF-deletion without any movement. PF-deletion is licensed by *değil* which carries E(lipsis) feature, and the shared elements are deleted based on identity. The identity condition is defined on both structural and semantic terms with one catch. Agreement morphology is not counted as an identity condition since differentially Agreement-marked verbs can be elided.

5.3 Future research

The main disadvantage of this thesis is that it does not implement any experiments in order to evaluate the exceptability of the sentences presented and in order to determine the exact prosodic structure of CDCs. To find wider empirical support, a grammaticality judgement test should be implemented.

Another issue that calls for investigation is the question of what *değil* is as a whole. I have tried to show that it is never a constituent negation marker and it seems to attach to syntactic materials that express a proposition but one needs to take into account all its functions in Turkish to provide a lexical entry indicating how it is encoded in the Turkish speakers' lexicon.

Future research should also examine *değil*'s interaction with TAM markers in order to understand why certain puzzling cases occur and whether there are any

semantic differences between sentences where *değil* precedes or follows an agreement marker, for instance.

As a final remark, I am aware that my analysis and proposal in this thesis are not conclusive. They are falsifiable. There may be another way of explaining what is going on in CDCs. The arguments that I have used may be interpreted in a totally different way that might lead to an entirely different proposal. And yet, I hope that future research will look for the cross-linguistic validity of the claim that there is no constituent negation in language.

REFERENCES

- Aelbrecht, L. (2010). *The syntactic licensing of ellipsis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Aygen, G. (1998). *Split Infl Hypothesis in Turkish* (Unpublished MA thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.
- Banguoğlu, T. (1974). *Türkçenin Grameri*. Istanbul: Baha Press.
- Choi, K. (2004). The structure of constituent negation in English. *Studies in Generative Grammar*, 14(2), 187-197.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1972). *Studies on semantics in generative grammar*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures*. (Studies in Generative Grammar, 9). Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1982). *Noam Chomsky on Generative Enterprise*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. (Current Studies in Linguistics, 28). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language* (Current Studies in Linguistics, 36) (pp. 1-52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N., & Lasnik, H. (1993). The theory of principles and parameters. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, & T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research* (pp. 506-569). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional heads. A Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coppock, E. (2001). Gapping: In defense of deletion. *Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS)*, 37, 133-148.
- Dancygier, B. (1992). Two metatextual operators: Negation and conditionality in English and Polish. *Proceedings of the 18th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 61-75.
- Ediskun, H. (1985). *Türk Dilbilgisi: Dil - Sesbilgisi - Biçimbilgisi - Cümlebilgisi*. Istanbul: Remzi Bookstore.
- Embick, D., & Noyer, R. (2001). Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 32, 555-596.

- Enç, M. (2004). Functional categories in Turkish. *Proceedings of the First Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*, 208-226. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Fiengo, R., & May, R. (1994). *Indices and identity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fox, D. (2000). *Economy and Semantic Interpretation*. (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs, 35), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Giannakidou, A., & Stavrou, M. (2009). On metalinguistic comparatives and negation in Greek. In C. Halpert, J. Hartman, & D. Hill (Eds.), *Proceedings from the 2007 Workshop on Greek Syntax and Semantics. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 57 (pp. 57-74). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gleitman, L. (1965). Coordinating conjunctions in English. *Language*, 41(2), 260-293.
- Göksel, A. & Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Göksel, A., & Özsoy, A. S. (2000). Is there a focus position in Turkish? In A. Göksel, & C Kerslake (Eds.), *Studies on Turkish and Turkic Languages* (pp. 219-228). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Güneş, G. (2010). The pragmatic and prosodic analysis of Sentence Topic in Turkish; An investigation based on real-life conversations (Unpublished MA thesis). Bogaziçi University, Istanbul.
- Güneş, G. (2014). Constraints on syntax-prosody correspondence: The case of clausal and subclausal parentheticals in Turkish. *Lingua*, 150, 278-314.
- Griffiths, J & G. Güneş. (to appear). Ki issues in Turkish: Parenthetical coordination and adjunction. In M. E. Kluck, D. Ott, & M. de Vries (Eds.), *Parenthesis and ellipsis: Cross-linguistic and theoretical perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haegeman, L. (1995). *The syntax of negation*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 75). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hankamer, J. & Sag, I. (1976). Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 7(3), 391-428.
- Hardt, D. (1992). VP ellipsis and semantic identity. In C. Baker, & D. Dowty (Eds.), *Proceedings from the Second Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory* (pp. 145-161). Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Department of Linguistics.
- Hardt, D. (1993). Verb phrase ellipsis: Form, meaning, and processing (Doctoral dissertation). Retrived from http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1182&context=ircs_reports

- Haspelmath, M. (2004). Coordinating constructions: An overview. In M. Haspelmath (Ed.), *Coordinating constructions*. (Typological Studies in Language, 58) (pp. 3-39). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hartmann, K. (2000). *Right node raising and gapping: Interface conditions on prosodic deletion*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Horn, L. R. (1985). Metalinguistic negation and pragmatic ambiguity. *Language*, 51, 121-174.
- Ince, A. (2009). *Dimensions of Ellipsis: Investigations in Turkish* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/1903/9838/1/Ince_umd_0117E_10767.pdf
- Johannessen, J. B. (1998). *Coordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, K. (1996). *Gapping: In search of the middle field*. Manuscript. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Johnson, K. (2004). *In search of the English middle field*. Manuscript. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, URL: http://people.umass.edu/kbj/homepage/Content/middle_field.pdf.
- Johnson, K. (2009). Gapping is not (VP-) ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 40, 289-328.
- Kabak, B. (2007). Turkish suspended affixation. *Linguistics*, 45(2), 311-347.
- Kayne, R. (1984). *Connectedness and Binary Branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kan, S. (2009). *Prosodic Domains and the Syntax-Prosody Mapping in Turkish*. Unpublished Manuscript. Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Katz, J. J. & P. Postal. (1964). *An Intergrated Theory of Linguistic Description*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kehler, A. 2002. *Coherence in discourse*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Kim, J., & Sag, I. A. (2002). Negation without head-movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 20, 339-412.
- Kelepir, M. (2001). *Topics in Turkish syntax: Clausal structure and scope* (Doctoral dissertation). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kelepir, M. (2011). *Scope of negation in Turkish*. Unpublished Manuscript. Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Klima, E. (1964). Negation in English. In J. A. Fodor, & J. Katz (Eds.), *The structure of language* (pp. 246–323). Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Krifka, M. (2012). Negated polarity questions and denegations of assertions. *Questions in Discourse Network Meeting*. University of Frankfurt/Main.

- Kornfilt, J. (1996). On Copular Clitic Forms in Turkish. In A. Alexiadou, N. Fuhrhop, P. Law, & S. Löhken (Eds.), *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 6 (pp. 96-114). Berlin: ZAS.
- Kornfilt, J. (1997). *Turkish (Descriptive Grammar)*. London: Routledge.
- Laka, M. I. (1990). *Negation in Syntax: On the nature of functional categories and projections* (Doctoral dissertation). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Langacker, R.W. (1969). On pronominalization and the chain of c-command. In D.A. Reibel, & A.S. Sanford (Eds.), *Modern studies in English: Readings in transformational grammar* (pp. 160-186). New York: Prentice-Hall,
- Lee, F. (2006). *Have to* and the scope of modality. In D. Baumer, D. Montero, & M. Scanlon (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 25th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* (pp. 245-253). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Lin, V. (2002). *Coordination and sharing at the interfaces*. (Doctoral dissertation). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lobeck, A. (1995). *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing, and identification*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- López, L., & S. Winkler. (2000). Focus and topic in VP-anaphora constructions. *Linguistics*, 38, 623-664.
- McCawley, J. D. (1991). Contrastive negation and metalinguistic negation. *Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS)*, 27, 189-206.
- McKenzie, A. (2006). Fixing the scope of negation in Turkish. [Class handout]. Department of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. Partee- Borschev grant group.
- Merchant, J. (2001). *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics, 1.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, J. (2003). Remarks on stripping. Manuscript, University of Chicago.
- Merchant, J. (2004). Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 27, 661-738.
- Merchant, J. (2013). Voice and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 44, 77-108.
- Munn, Alan. (1993). *Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordinate structures*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, College Park, MD.
- Nilsen, Ø. (2004). Domains for adverbs. *Lingua*, 114(6), 809-847.

- Oikonomou, D. (2015). C-Negation is not constituent negation but CP-Negation: Evidence from Greek. *Ling Lunch Talk - 2/5*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.
- Özmen, M. (1995). Türkçe’de değil kelimesi ve kullanılması. *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı. Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları*, 634, 315-368.
- Öztürk, B. (2005). *Case, Referentiality and Phrase Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Partee, B. H. (1999). Focus, quantification, and semantics-pragmatics issues. In: P. Bosch, & R. van der Sandt (Eds.). *Focus: Linguistic, Cognitive, and Computational Perspectives* (pp. 213–231). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Partee, B. and Rooth, M. (1983). Generalized conjunction and type ambiguity. In R. Bauerle, C. Schwarze, & A. von Stechow, (Eds), *Meaning, Use and Interpretation of Language*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Penka, D. (2011). *Negative Indefinites*. (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics, 32). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pollock, J-Y. (1989). Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20, 365-424.
- Postal, P. (1974). *On raising: One rule of English grammar and its theoretical implications*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Quhalla, J. (1991). *Functional Categories and Parametric Variation*. London: Routledge.
- Reinhart, T. (1983a). *Anaphora and Semantic Interpretation*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Reinhart, T. (1983b). Coreference and Bound Anaphora: A Restatement of the Anaphora Questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 6, 47–88.
- Repp, S. (2009). *Negation in Gapping*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.) *Elements of Grammar* (pp. 281-337). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rooth, M. E. (1992). Ellipsis redundancy and reduction redundancy. In S. Berman, & A. Hestvik (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Stuttgart Ellipsis Workshop 1992*, Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340 ‘Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik’29. Universität Stuttgart/Universität Tübingen.
- Ross, J. R. (1967). *Constraints on variables in syntax* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

- Ross, J. R. (1969a). Guess who? In R. I. Binnich, A. Davison, G. M. Green, & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Papers from the 5th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, April 18-19, 1969* (pp. 252-286). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Sag, I. (1977). *Deletion and Logical Form* (Doctoral dissertation). Reproduced by Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Sag, I. & Hankamer, J. (1984). Toward a theory of anaphoric processing. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 7, 325-345.
- Selkirk, E. (2009). On clause and intonational phrase in Japanese: The syntactic grounding of prosodic constituent structure. *Gengo Kenkyu*, 136, 35-74.
- Sezer, E. (2001). Finite Inflection in Turkish. In E. E., Taylan (Ed.), *The Verb in Turkish* (pp. 1-45). Amsterdam: John Benjamins,
- Schwabe, K. & S. Winkler (Eds.) (2003). *The Interfaces: Deriving and Interpreting Omitted Structures*. (Linguistik Aktuell, 61). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schwartzchild, R. (1999). On the syntax of either...or. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 17, 339-370.
- Smith, C. S. (1969). Ambiguous sentences with 'and'. In D. Reibel, & S. Schane (Eds.), *Modern Studies in English*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Taylan, E. E. (1984). *The function of word order in Turkish Grammar*. Linguistics 106, University of California Publications. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Taylan, E. E. (1984). Some aspects of negation in Turkish. In A. A. Koç, & E. E. Taylan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Turkish Linguistics Conference* (pp. 159-179). Istanbul: Bogazici University Press.
- Toosarvandani, M. (2010). *Association with foci* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Oakland, CA.
- Toosarvandani, M. (2013). *Corrective but coordinates clauses not always but sometimes*. Manuscript. Lingbuzz/01561.
- Vicente, L. (2009). On the syntax of adversative coordination. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 28, 381-392.
- Ulutaş, S. (2006). Verb movement and feature percolation: Evidence from Turkish (Unpublished MA thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.
- Wasow, T. (1972). *Anaphoric relations in English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

- Wasow, T. (1979). *Anaphora in Generative Grammar*. (Studies in Generative Linguistics Analysis, 2) Ghent: Story-Scientia.
- Wilder, C. (1994). Coordination, ATB and ellipsis. In J-W Zwart (Ed.), *Minimalism and Kayne's Antisymmetry Hypothesis*, 37 (pp. 291-331). Grönigen Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik.
- Wilder, C. (1997). Some properties of ellipsis in coordination. In A. Alexiadou, & T. Hall (Eds.), *Studies on Universal Grammar and Typological Variation*, (Linguistik Aktuell, 13) (pp. 59-107). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Williams, E. (1977a). Discourse and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8(1), 101-139.
- Zanuttini, R. (2001). Sentential Negation. In M. Baltin, & C. Collins (Eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory* (pp. 511-535). Oxford: Blackwell.