

TURKISH NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS AND SCOPE OF NEGATION REVISITED

EMRAH GÖRGÜLÜ

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates certain issues concerning negative polarity items (NPIs henceforth), the scope of sentential negation and other negative elements in Turkish. Unlike previous claims by Kelepir (2000; 2001), it is argued that the distribution of the NPI *sakin* 'ever' is not so restricted. In fact, its behavior is quite similar to that of other NPIs such as *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way' as they can all appear both in imperative and optative constructions. Moreover, contra Kelepir (2000; 2001) and McKenzie (2006), it is shown that neither NPIs nor negation invoke any intervention effects in the environment of accusative-marked NPs. In that sense it does not seem necessary to posit the idea that the Immediate Scope Constraint holds in Turkish. Lastly, a small-scale online corpus search on the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase along with negation produced results that is in agreement with the account proposed Şener and İşsever (2003). However, the results also illustrate the fact that negation only occurs when the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins constituents smaller than clauses.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a fresh look at a number of issues regarding certain NPIs, the scope of negation, intervention effects or lack thereof and the negative phrase *ne... ne...* (i.e. neither... nor...) in Turkish. It is argued that adverbial NPIs such as *sakin* 'ever', *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way' form a natural class with respect to their distribution and appear in similar contexts. More specifically, unlike earlier assumptions by Kelepir (2000, 2001), it is shown that the use of *sakin* is not limited to only imperative environments but it can occur in optative contexts as well. In addition, it is argued that NPIs and negation, when they appear together in a structure, do not cause any intervention effects for any logical elements such as the existential quantifier. This is again against previous claims by Kelepir (2000, 2001) and McKenzie (2006) that the presence of certain negative elements causes intervention effects for the existential quantifier over choice functions and the functional variable it binds. Finally, a small-scale online corpus search on the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase with negation shows results that is in tandem with the analysis found in Şener and İşsever (2003). Nevertheless, the findings also indicate that negation occurs only when the *ne... ne...* phrase connects elements as big as phrases, excluding clauses.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 provides a general overview of NPIs and then looks into three NPIs in Turkish. It is shown in this section that the distribution of the NPIs is in fact quite similar, if not the same. Section 3 considers those structures that contain NPIs, negation, and other logical elements. It is argued that NPIs and negation do not cause any intervention effects at all. Section 4 discusses the rather understudied *ne... ne...* phrase and argues that when it appears with negation, it only combines phrasal elements. Section 5 briefly concludes the paper and provides suggestions for further research.

2. NPIs in Turkish

NPIs in languages are elements that generally require the presence of certain entities like negation in the sentences they appear. Consider (1) and (2).

- (1) a. John didn't kill *anyone*.
b. *John killed *anyone*.

- (2) a. Mary didn't buy *anything*.
b. *Mary bought *anything*.

The elements *anyone* and *anything* above are classified as NPIs. They occur along with negation in (1a) and (2a) and are licensed by it. On the other hand, the sentences in (1b) and (2b) are ungrammatical since there is no negative element to license the NPIs. Hence the presence of negation is a requirement for these elements.

Note that negation cannot be just anywhere in the structure. Descriptively speaking, negation must precede the NPI in the sentence. Otherwise, the resulting structure would be ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) a. John didn't kill *anyone*.
b. **Anyone* didn't kill John.

- (4) a. Mary didn't buy *anything*.
b. **Anything* wasn't bought by Mary.

The ungrammaticality of the structures in (3b) and (4b), as opposed to the grammaticality of (3a) and (4a), indicates that NPIs must follow negation in the sentence. More specifically, as we will see later, NPIs must be in the scope of negation.

Note also that NPIs can also be licensed in non-affirmative structures such as questions and if-conditionals, as shown respectively below.

- (5) a. Did you see *anyone*?
b. *You saw *anyone*.

- (6) a. If you see *anyone*...
b. If you buy *anything*...

The data above show that NPIs in English appear in a variety of contexts and are licensed by certain elements and environments like negation, questions and conditionals, excluding affirmative contexts.

When we consider the behavior of NPIs in Turkish, on the other hand, we observe that there are only a handful of studies on the topic. Keleşir's (2001) work provides one of the early analysis where she classifies NPIs into three different categories, as shown below.

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

The adverb *hiç* is an NPI in Turkish and occurs with negation. The absence of negation leads to ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. Ora-ya *hiç* git-me-di-m.
there-DAT ever go-NEG-PAST-1SG
'I never went there.'
b. *Ora-ya *hiç* git-ti-m.
there-DAT ever go-PAST-1SG
'I ever went there.'

Hiç can also appear in questions. However, *hiç* does not seem to be allowed in conditional sentences, a fact that was not mentioned in earlier analyses. Consider (8a) and (8b).

- (8) a. Ora-ya *hiç* git-ti-n *mi*?
there-DAT ever go-PAST-2SG Q
'Did you ever go there?'

- b. *Ora-ya hiç gid-er-sen, ben-i ara.
there-DAT ever go-AOR-COND I-ACC call
'If you ever go there, call me.'

As noted above, the second category contains words that begin with *hiç* such as *hiçkimse* 'anyone' and 'hiçbirşey' anything. These words also need the presence of negation.

- (9) a. Ahmet *hiçkimse-yi* gör-me-di.
Ahmet no one-ACC see-NEG-PAST
'Ahmet didn't see anybody.'

- b. *Ahmet *hiçkimse-yi* gör-dü.
Ahmet no one-ACC see-PAST
'Ahmet saw anybody.'

These elements seem to occur in questions as well, as in (10).

- (10) a. Bir daha özler-mi-yim *hiçkimse-yi* senin kadar?
one more miss-Q-1SG anyone-ACC your as much
'Would I miss anyone as much as I missed you?'
- b. *Hiçkimse-yi* senin-le aynı tut-mak ol-ur mu?
anyone-ACC you-WITH same hold-INF be-AOR Q
'Is it possible to compare anyone with you?'

The elements in this category are not allowed in conditional structures. In other words, their presence is restricted to negative and interrogative contexts. This is illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. *Eğer *hiçkimse-yi* gör-ür-sen...
if anyone-ACC see-AOR-COND
'If you see anyone....'
- b. *Eğer *hiçbirşey* bili-yor-san...
if anything know-PROG-COND
'If you know anything....'

The only element that can appear in conditional structures seems to be the word *kimse* 'anyone' that Kelepir (2001) put in the last category. Consider (12).

- (12) Eğer *kimse-yi* gör-ür-sen...
if anyone-ACC see-AOR-COND
'If you see anyone...'

Note that *kimse* can also occur in questions.

- (13) Ora-da kimse var mı?
there anyone exist Q
'Is there anyone out there?'

In that sense *kimse* patterns with other elements that do not have *hiç* in their morphological make-up.

- (14) Eğer *birşey* bil-iyor-san / ora-da *bir adam* tanı-yor-san...
if something know-PROG-COND / there-LOC one man know-PROG-COND

'If you know anything / If you know any man there...'

The discussion above indicates that the words *hiçkimse* and *kimse* are not in free variation in Turkish after all, as suggested in previous work. The distribution of the latter is obviously wider than the former since it can appear in such contexts as negation, questions as well as if-conditionals.

The last set of NPIs in Keleşir's classification involves three elements, namely *sakın* 'ever', *asla* 'never' and *katiyyen* 'in no way', that generally function as adverbs in sentences. Consider (15).

(15) a. O-na *asla* dokun-ma.
it-DAT never touch-NEG
'Don't you ever touch it.'

b. *Katiyyen* inan-ma.
In no way believe-NEG
'Don't you ever believe (it).'

c. *Sakın* bir daha bura-ya gel-me.
ever one more here-DAT come-NEG
'Don't you ever come here again!'

Note that these elements do not occur in if-conditionals either.

(16) *Eğer o-na *sakın* / *asla* / *katiyyen* dokun-ur-san...
if it-ACC ever / never / in no way touch-AOR-COND
'If you ever / never / in no way touch it...'

The three NPIs in (15) all appear in imperative constructions in which commands and prohibitions are generally expressed. Keleşir (2000, 2001) makes the strong claim that the NPI *sakın* 'ever' only occurs in imperative contexts. In other words, the use of *sakın* is restricted to imperatives and it cannot appear in other contexts. Keleşir does not go into detail about the distribution of *asla* and *katiyyen*, however, the inference is that, unlike *sakın*, they can appear in other environments. However, when we investigate the contexts in which *sakın* can appear, we notice that its use is not limited to imperatives. This is shown in (17).

(17) a. *Sakın* bura-ya gel-miş ol-ma-sın.
ever here-DAT come-EVID be-NEG-3SG
'I wish/hope she did not ever come here.'

b. *Sakın* biz-e yalan söyle-miş ol-ma-sınlar.
ever us-DAT lie tell-EVID be-NEG-3PL
'I wish/hope they did not ever lie to us.'

The availability of the structures in (17) indicates that there is at least one other environment that the presence of *sakın* is permitted. This environment is what is usually referred to as optative contexts in which one indicates a wish or hope. This is in fact not so surprising since optatives are contexts where NPIs are argued to appear in other languages (cf. Giannakidou, 2014).

Perhaps the reason why it was assumed that *sakın* only appears in imperatives may well be the fact that the agreement markers on the verbs are (at least used to be) the same both in optatives and imperatives. This is shown below.

<u>Optative</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
3SG (y)A (-sın)	-sın
3PL (y)Alar (-sınlar)	-sınlar

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

<u>Optative / Imperative</u>	
3SG	-sIn
3PL	-sInIAr

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

(18) a. O-nu *asla* bil-e-mez-sin.
 it-DAT never know-ABIL-NEG-2SG
 'You would never know it.'

b. *Katiyyen* inan-ma-z-sin.
 by any means believe-NEG-1SG
 'In no way would you believe (it).'

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

3. Scope of negation and intervention effects

It is well-attested that the scope of negation in languages may vary since it can be interpreted at different positions (i.e. nodes) in a structure. For instance, the negative morpheme 'not' in English, and its counterparts in various languages, may be interpreted inside or outside certain elements, as shown in (19).

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

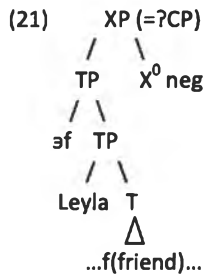
The sentence in (19) is ambiguous in that it can be interpreted in two different ways. The two readings can be understood in terms of the relative syntactic position of negation with respect to other elements in the structure. For instance, in the first reading, negation takes scope over the subordinate clause and is interpreted at a higher node. On the other hand, in the second reading, the reverse scope is available where the subordinate clause takes scope over negation. This is taken as evidence that the syntax and semantics of negation is subject to variation.

It is well-known that Turkish is a scope-rigid language. This means that the surface order of certain elements such as negation and quantifiers is the same at the interpretative level. However, Keleşir (2000, 2001) argues that there is at least one environment in which an element could take scope over another that appears high in the structure. More specifically, an accusative marked object NP can be interpreted inside or outside sentential negation. Consider (20).

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

The sentence in (20) is ambiguous in the sense that it can be interpreted in two different ways. In the first reading, the acc-marked object NP *bir arkadaş-ım-ı* takes scope over negation where the reading is 'there is a friend of mine such that Leyla didn't invite him/her'. In the second reading, on the other hand, negation takes scope over the object

NP where the reading is 'Leyla didn't invite any of my friends'. According to Kelepir, the first reading is possible due to the presence of an existential quantifier over choice functions and the function variable that it binds. In other words, the function variable is interpreted in a higher position through the phonologically null existential quantifier over choice functions. So the syntactic structure in (20) would look like in (21).



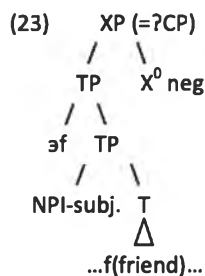
Kelepir argues that the structure in (21) captures the ambiguity of the sentence in (20), if we assume that in the first reading the posited existential quantifier over choice functions binds the function variable, and in the second reading negation, as it appears high in the structure, takes scope over the object NP.

However, it should also be noted that one of these readings is more prominent and that is the first reading. The second reading is only possible when there is special emphasis (i.e. stress) on the entire object NP. Only that way is the second reading is available.

Kelepir (2000, 2001) goes on to say that if there is an NPI in the subject position, the accusative marked object is obligatorily interpreted inside negation. In other words, the wide scope reading of the object NP is unavailable, as shown in (22).

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

According to Kelepir, the wide scope reading of the object NP is impossible in (22). This is because a subject NPI is intervening between the existential quantifier over choice functions and the function variable it binds. The structure in (22) is given in (23).



Kelepir maintains that in (23) the NPI *kimse* 'anyone' which is functioning as the subject of the sentence is intervening between the quantifier and the variable, and hence the wide scope reading of the object NP is not available. She assumes that the Immediate Scope Constraint which was originally posited to account for the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of NPIs in English (cf. Linebarger, 1980) is also at work in Turkish. That is, there should be no intervening element between negation and NPIs. It also holds for existential quantifiers and variables they bind. That is why the sentence in (22) is not ambiguous for Kelepir.

However, it should be noted at this point that this is not the case for everybody. Also, if there is a pronominal in the subsequent discourse, it may in fact be co-referential with the referent of the accusative-marked NP. Consider (24).

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

In (24), the object NP *bir arkadaşım-ı* acts as an antecedent for the pronominal element *o* 's/he' in the subsequent sentence, indicating that the NPI is not an intervener and the function variable is bound by the existential quantifier. In fact, the wide scope reading is the most prominent one between the two. This is shown in (25).

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

In the first reading, the object NP takes scope over negation where the reading is 'there is one (particular) question that no student was able to answer'. The availability of this reading indicates that NPIs do not in fact act like interveners in the language. The second reading, on the other hand, is possible with focal (i.e. heavy) stress on the object NP *bir soru-yu*. Thus there is no need to posit such a rule as the immediate scope constraint in Turkish, not at least for the elements in question. Both interpretations are possible and the assignment of focal stress seems to handle each reading in these constructions.

Note also that when there is a focus particle like *bile* 'even' in the sentence, the ambiguity disappears, as shown in (26).

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

The unambiguity of the sentence in (26) clearly indicates that only when the object NP is in focus, the wide scope reading of the object NP is unavailable. This also shows that heavy stress or focal elements are at play to disambiguate the structures in question.

In this section I argued that NPIs do not act like interveners for other elements in Turkish, as was claimed to be the case in previous work. This means that elements like the existential quantifier over choice functions and functional variable are not subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint. In the next section, I will look into the *ne... ne...* construction in some detail in Turkish and propose an analysis to account for its seemingly changing characteristics.

4. The *ne... ne...* construction

Turkish has a grammatical element, known as the *ne... ne...* word or phrase. It is basically a conjunction that conjoins phrases of the same type. It is sometimes considered to be an element whose behavior is like a negative quantifier such as *no one* or *nothing* in English (cf. Keleşir 2001; Şener and İşsever, 2003). This is because of the fact that the *ne... ne...* phrase is inherently negative in terms of its semantics and does not require the presence of negation in the structure. Consider (27).

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

As can be seen respectively from the examples above, the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins subject NPs, object NPs as well as other elements like adjuncts in the language. Note that there is no negative marker on the verbs but the meaning of the sentences is negative.

Nevertheless, it was also noted in previous work that in certain cases the *ne... ne...* phrase can also co-occur in sentences with verbal negation without leading to ungrammaticality (cf. Gencan 1979; Göksel, 1987). This is illustrated in (28).

(28) a. *Ne anne-m ne baba-m ev-e gel-di.*
 neither mother-1SG nor father-1SG home-DAT come-PAST
 'Neither my mother nor my father came home.'

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

The grammaticality of the sentence in (28b) regarded as presenting a challenge to the common assumption in the traditional grammars that the *ne... ne...* phrases must occur only in sentences without a negative marker. However, the existence of such sentences indicates that the *ne... ne...* phrase may occur both with negative as well as positive predicates.

This raises the question of whether there is free variation or whether the presence of negation is necessary in such cases. When we consider previous studies, we observe that there are a number of alternative analyses. Gencan (1979), for instance, argues that the former is [more] "preferable" over the latter, thus suggesting that it is a matter of choice. On the other hand, Göksel (1987) notes that the acceptability of the *ne... ne...* phrase with negation would suggest that it is subject to certain syntactic and stylistic restrictions. Göksel argues that whereas the use of *ne... ne...* with or without the negative marker on the verb in (29a) is optional, no such optionality is available in the case of (29b-c), where the "distance" between the *ne... ne...* phrase and the verb forces the predicate to be marked for negation.

(29) a. *Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de Türk işçilerini gör-e-me-m / gör-ür-üm.*
 neither old women nor also Turkish laborers see-ABIL-NEG-1SG / see-AOR-1SG
 'I see neither old women nor Turkish laborers.'

b. *Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de yaz tatili için ülkelerine gitmeden önce tüm mağazaların en gereksiz mallarını satın alan Türk işçilerini gör-e-me-m.*
 'I can see neither old women nor Turkish laborers who buy all the unnecessary things from all the shops before they go to their countries.'

c. *Ne yaşlı kadınları ne de yaz tatili için ülkelerine gitmeden önce tüm mağazaların en gereksiz mallarını satın alan Türk işçilerini gör-ür-üm.*
 'I can see neither old women nor Turkish laborers who buy all the unnecessary things from all the shops before they go to their countries.'

The fact that (29c) sounds bad compared to (29b) is because the conjunct is far from the verb and the latter is not marked for negation. That is to say, in cases where the *ne... ne...* phrase is far from the verb, negation on the verb improves the reading.

On the other hand, Şener and İşsever (2003) note the fact that there are cases in which the use of the negative marker on the verb is obligatory, as in (30) and (31).

(30) a. *Bu yılki toplantı-ya ne Ali ne Ayşe kimse-yi davet et-me-miş.*
 this year's meeting-DAT neither Ali nor Ayşe anybody-ACC invite do-NEG-EVID
 'Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited anybody to this year's meeting.'

b. **Bu yılki toplantı-ya ne Ali ne Ayşe kimse-yi davet et-miş.*

this year's meeting-DAT neither Ali nor Ayşe anybody-ACC invite do-EVID
'Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited anybody to this year's meeting.'

(31) a. Bu yılki toplantı-ya sen-i davet et-me-miş, *ne* Ali *ne* Ayşe.
this year's meeting-DAT you-ACC invite do-NEG-EVID neither Ali nor Ayşe
'Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited you to this year's meeting.'

b. *Bu yılki toplantı-ya sen-i davet et-miş, *ne* Ali *ne* Ayşe.
this year's meeting-DAT you-ACC invite do-EVID neither Ali nor Ayşe
'Neither Ali nor Ayşe invited you to this year's meeting.'

The ungrammaticality of (30b), as opposed to the grammaticality of (30a), shows that if there is an NPI in the sentence the predicate must be marked for negation in the presence of a *ne... ne...* phrase. Similarly, in cases where the verb is not marked for negation, a *ne... ne...* phrase can never be right dislocated. That is why, the sentence in (31b), as opposed to the one in (31a), is not grammatical.

In order to account for the use of negation, or lack thereof, with the *ne... ne...* phrase, Şener and İşsever (2003) propose an analysis in which they argue that the *ne... ne...* sentences with and without a negative marker have in fact different focus and information structural properties. More specifically, a *ne... ne...* phrase can negate a sentence only when it is focused, carrying new information and receiving heavy stress. This means that it is not the *ne... ne...* phrase itself but its combination with the focus feature that negates a sentence. In other words, in those cases where a *ne... ne...* phrase is not in focus, then negation is never allowed on the verb. Consider (32).

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

Şener and İşsever (2003) conclude that it is not the *ne... ne...* phrase itself but the negative marking on the verb in (32a) that negates the sentence. This is because the *ne... ne...* phrase is not focused, not providing new information and not receiving heavy stress in the sentence. Instead, the verb itself is in focus giving new info. On the other hand, the sentence in (32b) shows that with negation on the verb, the assignment of heavy stress to any other element including the *ne... ne...* phrase leads to unacceptability. Based on these facts, Şener and İşsever (2003:1095) formulate their proposal in (33).

(33) a. [_F NE... NE...] __ V_{aff}
b. ne... ne... __ [_F V_{neg}]

The formula in (33a) states that if a *ne... ne...* phrase is focused, the verb must be morphologically affirmative. That is to say, if the predicate is morphologically affirmative no element other than a *ne... ne...* phrase can be focused in the sentence. On the other hand, the one in (33b) states that if the verb is marked for negation, the *ne... ne...* phrase cannot be focused. Thus the upshot of their proposal is that there is a close relationship between focus and sentential negation in the language.

As can be seen from the discussion above, there are various analyses that attempt to account for the presence and absence of negation along with the *ne... ne...* phrase. Some researchers consider the issue to be a preference, perhaps a personal choice, while some argue it is a matter of stylistics or syntactic restriction. Yet, others entertain the idea that the presence or absence of negation is strongly correlated with focus and information structure. Note, however, that the data gathered in previous work were mostly constructed and not quite naturally occurring. The goal of the current study, on the other hand, is to put the analyses and claims made above to the test using actual data. To that end, a (very) small-scale corpus study was done on Twitter and sentences with the *ne... ne...* phrase were collected. More specifically, using the Twitter search engine, the researcher looked for structures with *ne... ne (de)* phrase.

Forty sentences that came up first in the search were taken and analyzed. The analysis showed interesting results in that 9 of the sentences (%36), two of which involved NPIs, had verbs with negation on them. In all of these sentences the *ne... ne...* phrase connected either Noun Phrases (NPs) or Postpositional Phrases (PPs), excluding any other phrases bigger than them (e.g. Complementizer Phrases (CPs)). Consider (34).

(34) a. O yüzden *ne* siz-i *ne* de onlar-ı gör-mek iste-*mi-yor-um*.
 it reasons neither you-ACC nor also they-ACC see-INF want-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'For that reason I want to see neither you nor them.'

b. Ben bura-da-yım her yer-de-yim, *ne* eşkiya-dan *ne* de kolluk-tan kork-*ma-m*.
 I here-LOC-1SG every place-LOC-1SG neither thug-ABL nor also police-ABL fear-NEG-1SG
 'I am here, I am everywhere; I am afraid of neither thugs nor the police.'

If Şener and İşsever (2003) is on the right track, the focus in (34a) and (34b) is on the verb. That is, the *ne... ne...* phrase itself cannot negate the sentence. This is also true for the sentence in (35) where the speaker herself uses capital letters writing the verb, underlining the fact that focus is somewhere outside the *ne... ne...* phrase.

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

On the other hand, the data also showed that in 25 of the sentences (62.5%), there is never negation on the verb where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins more than one clause. This is in fact an important finding that was not reached in any previous work. Consider (36).

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

The absence of negation on the verbs in the above sentences is in fact not surprising. Note that the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins two (matrix) clauses and they have separate verbs. Therefore, it would not be reasonable to mark only one verb with negation and expect the other verb to be semantically negative. Also, the fact that there is no negation in sentences with the *ne... ne...* phrase also holds for sentences with only one verb. This is illustrated in (37).

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

As the above discussion clearly shows, when there is more than one clause that the *ne... ne...* phrase connects, neither verb is marked with negation. If we adopt the paradigm proposed by Şener and İşsever (2003), we could say that in (36) and (37), where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins two or more clauses, the entire sentence is in focus, providing new information. This is in fact what would be expected since there are two separate clauses with two different verbs that offer different propositions. However, the formula they come up with is not strong enough to explain the facts shown above. Thus we need a new formula that can also account for cases where the *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins to matrix clauses. The new one, then, would look like (38).

(38) [_F [NE... (V_{aff})] [NE... (V_{aff}))] ___ V_{aff}

The revised formula in (38) states that when the focus is the entire sentence, which includes at least one verbal element, the verb must be affirmative. The main difference between the formula in (33a) and the revised one in (38)

is that the latter is more inclusive. More specifically, in addition to the subject and object NPs conjoined by the *ne... ne...* phrase, it also contains two (or more) matrix clauses that are connected by the negative conjunct. The formula also shows that the verb does not necessarily have to be outside the focus domain in order to be affirmative. In this way, we have a unified account of the use of the negative conjunct with phrasal and sentential elements in the presence and absence of negation.

To recap, I investigated in this section the behavior of *ne... ne...* phrases in Turkish. A small-scale online research revealed that the use of negation along with the phrases in question is restricted in nature and focus and information structure play an important role. One thing that was not found in previous studies is that when a *ne... ne...* phrase connects two or more clauses, the verb is never marked by negation, even in cases with elided verbs.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I primarily investigated three important issues: (i) NPIs and their licensing environments in Turkish, (ii) negation, logical elements and intervention effects, and (iii) the *ne... ne...* phrase and its co-occurrence with and without negation. Basically, I argued that NPIs in Turkish exhibit certain differences since they do not occur in all contexts as their counterparts in English. Also, I showed that the distribution of the NPI *sakin* is close to other NPIs like *asla* and *katiyyen* in that it occurs in imperative as well as non-imperative (e.g. optative) contexts. In addition to that, I argued that NPIs in Turkish do not act like interveners for other elements. Specifically, I showed that elements like the existential quantifier over choice functions and functional variable are not subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint in the language. Finally, an on-line search indicated that the use of the *ne... ne...* phrase with or without negation in Turkish is restricted to certain cases and focus and information structure play an important role. One important finding that is not observed in previous studies is that when a *ne... ne...* phrase conjoins more than one clause the verb is not marked for negation. Further work on the nature of NPIs, negation as well as other logical elements in the language will surely shed more light on these issues.

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