

November 29, 2006

Kelepir (2001) and Butler (2002) independently examine the interaction of scopal elements in Turkish. Kelepir focuses on the syntax, while Butler develops a semantics for it. Both claim that sentential negation (the *-mE-* suffix) needs to be interpretable in any position. In essence, all negation is constituent negation. This conclusion is odd, because Turkish uses a completely different strategy for constituent negation, the particle *değil*.

1 Introductory facts

1.1 Sentential negation in Turkish

SN in Turkish is marked by the suffix *-mE-*, which attaches to the verb stem.

- (1) (Ben) on-u oku-**ma**-dı-m
 I it-ACC read-NEG-PST-1sg
 'I didn't read it.'

Note that *-mE-* is attached between the stem and modal suffixes and aspect suffixes. (with the exception of the ability modal)

- (2) on-u oku-**ma**-yabil-eceğ-im
 it-ACC read-NEG-able-FUT-1sg.
 'I won't be allowed to read it.'

And that the stem includes things like passives, reflexives, causatives, and reciprocals.

- (3) tez-i hiç oku-n-ma-yacak-Ø-Ø
 thesis-3sg never read-PASS-NEG-FUT-BE.aux-3sg.
 'His thesis will never be read.'

The important counter-example: 'Verbless' copular clauses, where an independent particle *değil* is used.

- (4) a. Sen hasta-Ø-sın = 'You are sick'
 b. Sen hasta *değil*-Ø-sın = 'You are not sick'
 c. Sen hasta-y-dı-n
 you sick-BE-past-2sg
 'You were sick.'
 d. Sen hasta *değil*-Ø-di-n
 you sick NOT-BE-past-2sg
 'You weren't sick.'

- e. Sen hasta m₁-Ø-sın?
 you sick Q-BE-2sg
 'Are you sick?'
- f. Sen hasta *değil*-mi-Ø-sın?
 you sick NOT-Q-BE-2sg
 'Aren't you sick?'

Note that when the negated copula bears aspect, or modality, a verb stem *ol* is used with *-mE-*.¹

- (5) a. Sen hasta ol-acak-Ø-sın
 you sick BE-FUT-BE.aux-2sg
 'You will be sick.'
- b. Sen hasta ol-ma-yacak-Ø-sın
 you sick BE-NEG-FUT-BE-aux.-2sg
 'You will not be sick.'

1.2 Turkish is scope-rigid

It has long been known that Turkish is scope-rigid. That is, the surface word order of scope-bearing elements directly reflects their scope. Put crudely, PF = LF.²

- (6) a. ($\forall > \exists$)
Her balerin iki dans-ta gör-ün-dü-Ø
 every ballerina two dance-LOC see-PASS-PST-3sg
 'Every ballerina is such that she was seen in two dances.'
- b.
- c. ($\exists > \forall$)
 İki dans-ta **her balerin** gör-ün-dü-Ø
 two dance-LOC every ballerina see-PASS-PST-3sg
 'There are two dances such that every ballerina was seen in it.'

1.3 \forall Qs and SN

\forall Qs must take scope below SN.

¹The existential copula is *var*, whose negation is *yok*, both of which use the *ol-* when the other BE does. I will ignore these because no one's quite sure what these are. Um, I mean, examination of these forms is beyond the scope of this paper.

²There is (at least) one interesting exception to this: Accusative-marked indefinites can take variable scope in a lot of instances. Kelepir claims that these indefinites are not quantifiers, but choice functions (Reinhart 1997). As choice functions, their scope comes from an existential quantifier that binds them from some higher position.

- (7) Her balerin vaktinde gel-me-di- \emptyset
 every ballerina on.time come-NEG-PST-3sg
 ‘Not every ballerina came on time.’ (neg > \forall , \forall > neg)

1.4 \exists Qs and SN

bazı-marked \exists Q’s must take scope above negation.

- (8) Bazı balerin-lar vaktinde gel-me-di-ler \emptyset
 some ballerina-pl on.time come-NEG-PST-3pl
 ‘There are some ballerinas who didn’t come on time.’ (*neg > \exists , \exists > neg)

1.5 Turkish NPIs

- (9) **(hiç)kimse** ‘anybody, nobody’
hiçbirşey ‘anything, nothing’
hiç ‘ever, never’
hiçbir ‘any, no’

Turkish NPIs must occur in the presence of negation.

- (10) Kimse gel-*(me)-di- \emptyset
 anybody come-NEG-PST-3sg
 ‘Nobody came.’

Kelepir claims that they must also have immediate scope below negation. That is, no intervening operators can come between negation and the NPI.

1.6 Why NPIs are useful as a scope diagnostic

Turkish is an SOV language.³ Because of this, the negation-marked verb doesn’t tell us much about scope. NPIs do, though. They interact with other SBEs like quantifiers do. Unlike the quantifiers outlined above, some quantifiers (e.g., numerals) can scope either above or below NPIs and negation. Since Turkish is scope-rigid, the surface orders are different depending on that scope.

- (11) a. **beş polis** hiçbir maç-a git-me-di- \emptyset
 five policemen any match-DAT go-NEG-PST-3sg
 ‘There are five policemen (x) such that x didn’t go to any match.’ (\exists > NPI)
 b. hiçbir maç-a **beş polis** git-me-di- \emptyset
 any match-DAT five policemen go-NEG-PST-3sg
 ‘There are no matches (x) such that five policemen went to x.’ (NPI > \exists)

³In default clauses. I like to point out that Erguvanlı (1984)’s informal survey found SOV in only 48% of clauses!

2 *Negatio mobilis?*

Kelepir and Butler both claim, based on these facts, that SN's site of interpretation varies. Let's look at Kelepir's analysis, because she's more thorough, and because Butler uses her data anyways.

Kelepir's goal was to examine scope effects on Turkish syntax. As far as NPIs are concerned, they must take immediate scope below negation. This comes about from a constraint on LF, the IMMEDIATE SCOPE CONSTRAINT (from Linebarger 1980).

- (12) IMMEDIATE SCOPE CONSTRAINT— No scope-bearing element can come between negation and the NPI.

*Neg ... SBE ... NPI

2.1 \forall Qs

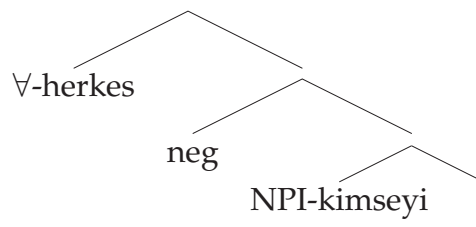
First, consider a \forall Q's interaction with an NPI. Recall that \forall Q's can't scope above negation. In addition to that, they cannot scope above an NPI. They can, however, scope below it. (The double star (**)) means 'uninterpretable'. Kelepir uses a simple star only when discussing these phrases.)

- (13) (Kelepir 2001, no. 207a, p. 125)

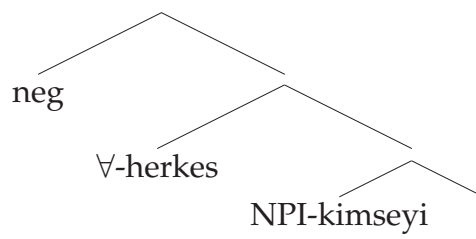
- a. **Herkes kimse-yi gör-me-di- \emptyset
 everyone anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST-3sg
 'Everyone didn't see anyone.'
- b. Kimse herşey-den ye-me-di- \emptyset
 anyone everything-ABL eat-NEG-PST-3sg
 'Nobody ate from everything.'

Here is (13a \emptyset), schematized in two theoretically possible ways, both empirically impossible:

- (14)



- (15)



In (14 \emptyset), the UQ scopes over negation, which doesn't happen in Turkish. In (15 \emptyset), the UQ intervenes between negation and the NPI, in violation of the ISC.

2.2 Analysis

But where does the idea come from that SN is interpretable in many locations? Neither Kelepir nor Butler develop a theory of *negatio mobilis*. Kelepir does discuss two problems with the idea that NPIs are licensed by a fixed NegP (cf. Haegemann, Zanuttini, etc.), where the NPI moves to [Spec, NegP]. All of them involve impossible configurations involving NPIs.

With the phrases we've seen so far, nothing says for certain that NPIs aren't just moving to NegP, and that this movement is obscured by all the scrambling. However, Kelepir points out two cases where it is clear that the NPI can't get to NegP, but gets licensed nonetheless.

First case is inside the matrix clause. Turkish direct objects are differentially marked for accusative case— only specific DPs get marked (Enç 1991). Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) demonstrates that these case marked DPs have moved out of the VP, while non-case marked ones are trapped inside. Kelepir's logic is simple: Use an unmarked NPI object. It can't leave the VP, so it certainly isn't in NegP.

(16) Kelepir p 170, n. 298

Hasan **aceyle** bir tavukgöğsü- \emptyset ye-di- \emptyset , çak-tı- \emptyset
 Hasan in a hurry a tavukgöğsü eat-PST-3s, leave-PST-3s

'Hasan ate a tavukgöğsü quickly and left.'

Hasan bir tavukgöğsü- \emptyset -(nü) **aceyle** ye-di- \emptyset , çak-tı- \emptyset
 Hasan a tavukgöğsü-ACC in a hurry eat-PST-3s, leave-PST-3s

(17) *Hiçbirşey aceyle ye-me-di-m
 anything in.a.hurry eat-NEG-PST-1sg
 'I didn't eat anything in a hurry.'

A second problem is long-distance licensing. Turkish NPIs are licensed at a distance in some non-factive complement clauses (depends on the matrix verb).

(18) Ben [Hasan-ın **kimse-yi** ara-ma-sı]-nı iste-mi-yor- \emptyset -um
 I Hasan-GEN anybody-ACC call-NOM-3s.p-ACC want-NEG-prog-BE.aux-1s
 'I don't want Hasan to call anybody.'

The NPI is not moving out of the clause to meet the NegP. In fact, such an order is ungrammatical. This test can be replicated with matrix VP adverbs, which clearly show where the embedded clause ends.

- (19) Hasan inatla [Elif-in kimse-yi gör-me-si]-ne izin
 Hasan stubbornly Elif-GEN anyone-ACC see-NOM-3s.p-DAT permission
 ver-mi-yor-Ø-Ø
 give-NEG-prog-BE.aux-3sg.
 Hasan doesn't allow in a stubborn way Elif to see anybody.'
- (20) * Hasan Elif-in₁ kimse-yi₂ inatla [t₁ t₂ gör-me-si]-ne izin
 Hasan Elif-GEN anyone-ACC stubbornly t t see-NOM-3s.p-DAT permission
 ver-mi-yor-Ø-Ø
 give-NEG-prog-BE.aux-3sg.

2.3 My Qualms

1. *-mE-* isn't used for constituent negation, *değil* is.
2. Their mechanism for deriving SN's 'mobility' is semantically contentful head movement.
3. The idea that SN is 'mobile' is an assumption, but one that isn't warranted except for this argument. Can their data be explained without mobile SN?
4. Kelepir's intervention effect requires a stipulated constraint. Can we derive that constraint via movement, like Beck (1996) proposes?

These qualms go away if SN is fixed, and I will now propose a way to deal with Kelepir's problems with a fixed SN.

3 *değil*

We've seen *değil* before, acting like a negative copula. It also shows up in constituent negation.

- (21) 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. You can't attach *değil* to a bare VP; it has to have Aspect:
 ye-mek *değil*, oku-mak isti-yor-Ø-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* ...
 Kemal on.time come-PST-3sg NOT ...
 'It's not that Kemal came on time...'
- f. CPs: [Kemal'in vaktinde gel-diğ-i]-ni *değil*, [biz-im hastane-de gör-üş-tüğ-ümüz]-ü de-di-m
 Kemal-GEN on.time come-NOM-3s.p-ACC NOT We-GEN hospital-LOC see- recip-NOM-1p.p-ACC say-PST-1sg
 'I didn't say that Kemal came on time, I said we met in the hospital.'
- g. Double negation:
 i. elma-yı ye-me-di-m *değil*
 apple-ACC eat-NEG-PST-1sg NOT
 'I didn't not eat the apple.' (It's not that I didn't eat the apple)
 ii. elma-yı ye-mi-yor *değil*-Ø-im
 apple-ACC eat-NEG-prog NOT-BE.aux-1sg
 'I'm not not eating the apple.'

About the only thing you can't tack *değil* on to is bare verb stems; for this you need *-mE-*.

What does this mean? That when you wanna put negation wherever you need to, you can adjoin a *değil*. The only odd behavior of *değil*, then, is in copulas. Why does it act like a negative copula? Because *değil*-marked negative copulas are constituently negated. Compare this to Russian.

- (22) a. Kolja ne v Londone \Rightarrow Kolja is not in London.
 b. Kolja net v Londone.
 c. (Kolya Londra'da *değil*.)

Now, Russian has an option that Turkish doesn't: You can use the non-constituent negation in bare copulas. In the Turkish bare cases, one *must* use *değil*, and in aspect-marked cases, one *must* use *-mE-*.

We can make a minimal pair with aspect- or tense-marked copulas.

- (23) Ankara'da olmayacak 'He won't be in Ankara.'
 (24) Ankara'da olacak *değil* 'It's not that he'll be in Ankara'

The *değil* example clearly feels to speakers like constituent negation (CN), because it sounds funny without something to contrast with.

As Borschev et al. (2006) point out, though, contrastiveness isn't always a helpful diagnostic. They use a scope comparison. Do ne-marked bare copulas pattern with SN? or with CN? In Russian, they pattern with CN.

(25) a. sentential negation:

Vse baleriny ne budut v Londone.
all ballerinas-NOM NEG will.be in London
($\forall > \text{neg}$; ? $\text{neg} > \forall$)

b. constituent negation:

Vse baleriny budut ne v Londone.
all ballerinas-NOM will.be NEG in London
($\forall > \text{neg}$; * $\text{neg} > \forall$)

Vse baleriny ne v Londone.
all ballerinas-NOM NEG in London
($\forall > \text{neg}$; * $\text{neg} > \forall$)

But in Turkish they pattern with SN.

(26) a. SN:

Her balerin Londra'da olmayacak
every ballerina in.London be.NEG.FUT
'Every ballerina won't be in London.' (* $\forall > \text{neg}$; $\text{neg} > \forall$)

b. CN:

Her balerin Londra'da değil olacak
every ballerina in.London NOT be.FUT
($\forall > \text{neg}$; * $\text{neg} > \forall$)

c. Her balerin Londra'da değil
every ballerina in.London NOT

'Every ballerina isn't in London.' (* $\forall > \text{neg}$; $\text{neg} > \forall$)

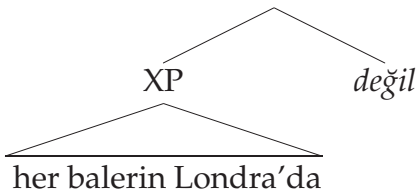
Uh-oh. Either *değil* is acting like a variant SN in (26c \emptyset), or something else is forcing a low scope reading. Now, UQs do not scope over sentential negation in Turkish. This need not be the case, however. Keleşir notes that *değil* doesn't attach to verb stems, but can attach to pretty much anything else. It then takes the copula BE.

These bare copulas aren't really verbless: There is an old verb *imek* that means 'be'. This verb is elided in Modern Turkish, and its vestiges only shows up in certain situations, for instance before the past tense marker (Keleşir 2001, p. 43-45). In older forms of Turkish, the verb stood alone, and sometimes still does in very affected speech. So *hastaydın*, 'You were sick' is the same as *hasta i-di-n*. Note that when the verb is complete,

the suffixes harmonize with it, not the adjective. This is interesting, because it shows that *değil* is not a negative copula itself, and that it CNs the predicate.

If verb stems have a [verbal] feature, while other things don't. *değil* can't merge with anything bearing an unchecked [verbal] feature. *Değil* adjoins directly to the predicate, as in the tree below.

(27)



Okay, so *değil* is constituent negation, but that doesn't rule out *per se -mE-'s* also being constituent negation, though it strongly hints at it. But since SN being fixed is the null hypothesis, I simply need to show that an analysis is possible with fixed negation to make my point. Luckily, such an analysis is stronger than its counterpart anyways.

4 Deriving the floating effects

Under a typical NegP account, some operator in NegP licenses NPIs. (Negative quantifiers like Standard English *nobody* come with negation and don't need it licensed).

Keleşir argues against a NegP analysis. She shows that Turkish NPIs can't be raising to any NegP. She also mentions that this objection holds whether Turkish n-words are NPIs or negative quantifiers. However, she later points out that they fall somewhere in between. So if Turkish n-words are neither NPIs or negative quantifiers (NQ), then her objection might not hold.

4.1 French to the rescue

Mathieu (2001) points out eight ways that French n-words (*personne, rien, jamais, etc.*) are neither NPIs nor NQs. Turkish n-words are more similar to the French ones than to either NPIs or NQs.

(28) Differences from NPIs

| Distribution | English NPIs | French n-words | Turkish |
|---|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| can appear in non-negative contexts | Yes | No | No ⁴ |
| can appear in strong islands | Yes | No | No |
| can appear in weak islands | Yes | No | No |
| can be licensed by superordinate negation | Yes | No ⁵ | Yes ⁶ |
| can appear sentence initially | No | Yes | Yes |
| can be used as fragment answers | No | Yes | Yes |
| can be modified by adverbs | No | Yes | Yes |

- (29) a. Is anything the matter? / *T'as rien? / *Herşey var mı?
 b. John didn't say that the wife of any of his friends was a judge. / *Jean n'a dit que la femme d'aucun de ses amis était juge / *Can hiçbir arkadaşının eşki-si hâkim ol-duğunu demedi.
 c. I don't know when to do anything / *Je ne sais quand rien faire / *Herşey yapmak zamanı bilmiyorum
 d. I didn't say he had eaten anything / *Je n'ai dit qu'il avait rien mangé / *Hiçbirşey yediğini demedim.
 e. *Anybody isn't coming. / Personne (ne) vient. / Kimse gelmiyor.
 f. *Who came? Anybody. / Qui est venu? Personne. / Kim geldi? Kimse.
 g. *I didn't see almost anybody. / J'ai vu presque personne. / Hemen hemen kimseyi görmedim.

Here are a couple of ways they differ from NQs

- (30) Differences from NQs

| Distribution | English NQs | French n-words | Turkish |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------|
| trigger double negation | Yes | No ⁸ | No |
| trigger double negation in PPs | Yes | No | No |

- (31) a. Nobody said nothing. / Personne a rien dit. / Kimse herşey demedi.
 b. We came without nothing. / On est venu sans rien. / Hiçbirşeysiz geldik.

In sum, French n-words are inherently negative, but still require negative contexts. They are forbidden in islands. So we need a movement account that involves negative n-words, not pure indefinites.

4.2 How French n-words work

Here's Mathieu's claim: NPIs are indefinites waiting to be bound by an operator (cf. Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002, btw). NQs have their own quantificational force. French n-words are neither: They contain an indefinite with a null operator adjoined to it. In French, the Operator raises to [Spec, NegP], allowing the indefinite to end up elsewhere in the structure. The indefinite's variable is existentially closed off below NegP.

- (32) [Op_{Neg} [indefinite]]

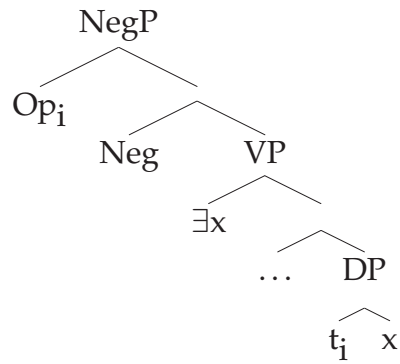
⁵Two of the Turkish n-words, *hiç* and *kimse* can appear in interrogative contexts.

⁶It can be in restructuring environments (*Je (ne) veux voir personne.*)

⁷Except in factive complement clauses.

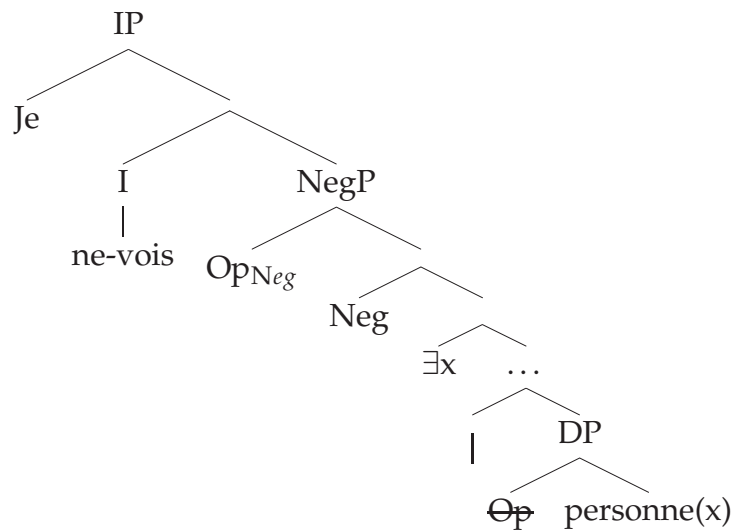
⁸French only allow DN with n-words if one is a subject: *Personne a rien dit* is ambiguous, according to Mathieu, as 'Nobody saw anything' or 'Nobody said nothing.' However, the double negative reading is available only in contrastive contexts when *rien* is stressed. So this isn't really a difference with NPIs, but rather with NQs.

(33)



(34) Je (ne) vois personne.

(35)

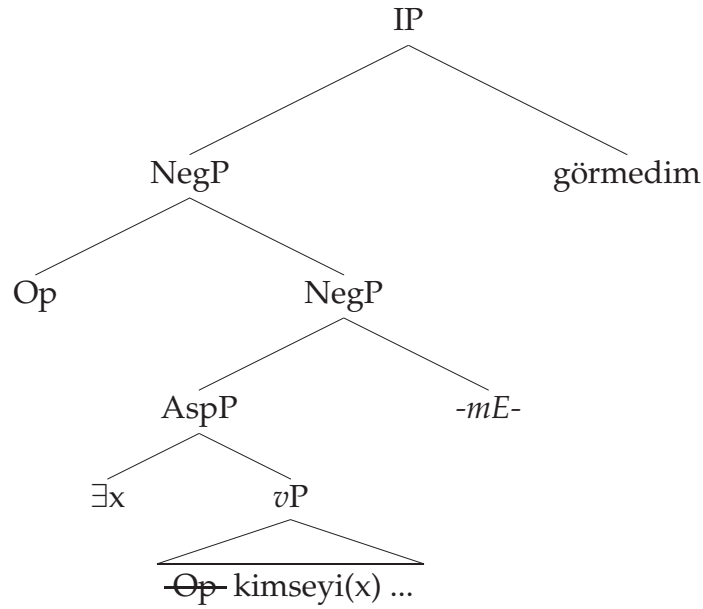


4.3 Now, Turkish

(36) [Op_{Neg} kimse_[indef]]

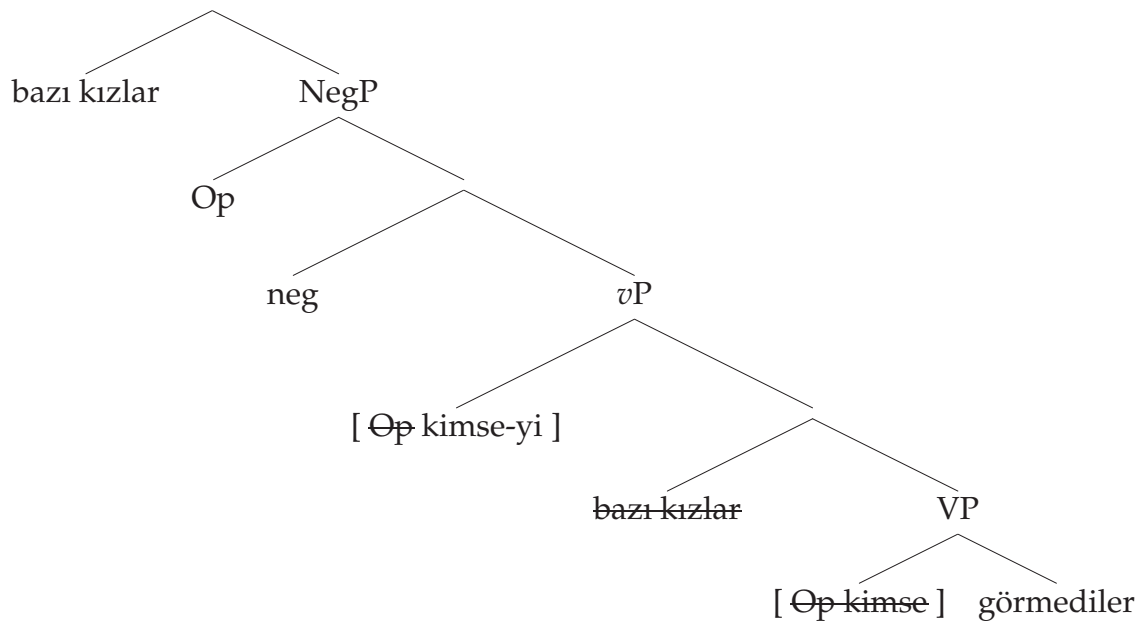
(37) Kimse-yi gör-*(me)-di-m
 anybody-ACC see-NEG-PST-1sg
 'I didn't see anybody.'

(38)

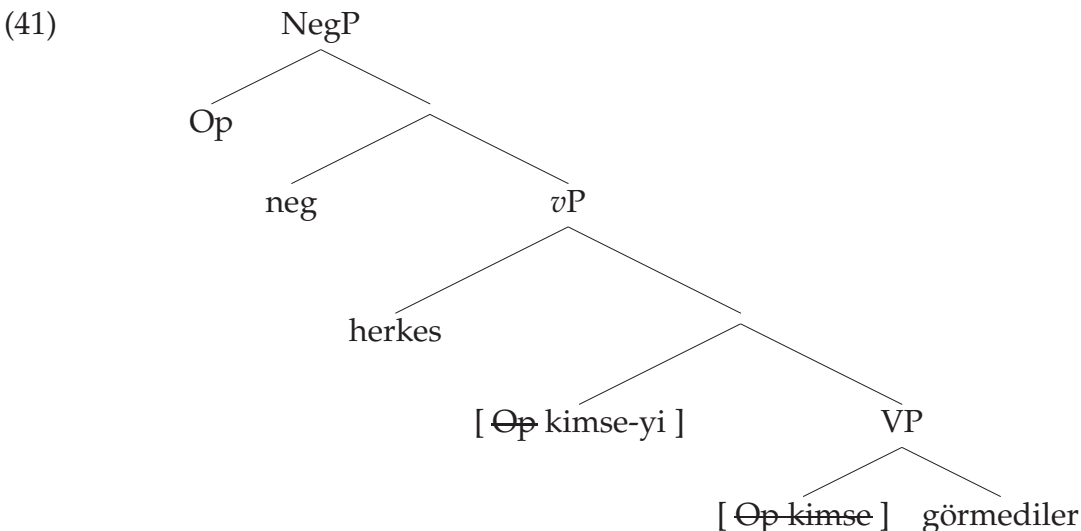


Let's look at the cases where n-words interfered with quantifier interpretation.

(39) Bazı kız-lar kimse-yi gör-me-di-ler
 some girl-pl anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST-3pl
 'Some girls didn't see anyone.'



(40) **Herkes kimse-yi gör-me-di-∅
 everyone anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST-3sg
 'Everyone didn't see anyone.'



As (41 \emptyset) shows, there is an intervention effect. The fact that we even get intervention effects from quantifiers is welcome, because it is a strong sign of movement. Intervention effects between SBE have long been tied to movement (Beck 1996). These effects occur when an SBE tries to move across another at LF. (PF movement can get around this.)

(42) * [[\forall]] ... Y ... X
 [[X]] ... Y ... \forall

(43) German example?

In (41 \emptyset), we have a classic intervention effect: the Operator cannot raise past the \forall Q *herkes*, thus blocking this derivation. (Remember that raising *herkes* past negation to avoid the intervention effect would violate the general ban on universals over sentential negation.)

To sum up what's going on: Turkish n-words are indefinites plus a negative expression. This negative expression is an operator that raises to [Spec, NegP], presumably to satisfy some feature. The left-behind indefinite is bound existentially. Because the negative operator has to move, it is blocked by islands, and is subject to intervention effects from quantificational elements. This explains why their behavior differs from that of NPIs as well as from that of pure NQs.

4.4 Addressing Kelepir's problems with fixed SN

Kelepir came up with two cases where a fixed scope of negation could be problematic, because it was clear that the N-word didn't reach NegP. However, now that we've separated the negative part from the indefinite part, we can account for these cases.

The first case involved n-words that were stuck within the VP.

(44) *Hiçbirşey aceleyle ye-me-di-m
 anything in.a.hurry eat-NEG-PST-1sg
 'I didn't eat anything in a hurry.'

On the present account, the negative part of the n-word raises to NegP, and leaves the indefinite behind. Since the indefinite is also non-specific, it doesn't object-shift, and doesn't get case. But since the indefinite's negative part is interpreted at NegP, it doesn't have to raise.

The other case involved n-words that were stuck within an embedded clause.

- (45) * Hasan Elif-in₁ kimse-yi₂ inatla [t₁ t₂ gör-me-si]-ne izin
 Hasan Elif-GEN anyone-ACC stubbornly t t see-NOM-3s.p-DAT permission
 ver-mi-yor-Ø-Ø
 give-NEG-prog-BE.aux-3sg.

Same story here. The embedded N-word's negative operator raises all the way to the matrix NegP. One cool point: Not all embeddings allow this. The one above is a non-factive embedding; factive ones don't allow long-distance n-words.

- (46) [Kimse-nin gel-diğ-i]-ni san-mı-yor-Ø-um
 anybody-GEN come-NOM-3sg.p-ACC think-NEG-prog-BE.aux-1sg
 'I don't think that anybody came.'
- (47) *[Kimse-nin gel-diğ-i]-ni bil-mi-yor-Ø-um
 anybody-GEN come-NOM-3sg.p-ACC know-NEG-prog-BE.aux-1sg
 'I don't know that anybody came.'

Interestingly, the verbs that allow long-distance n-words in Turkish are the same types that allow it in French— restructuring verbs, or infinitival or subjunctive contexts. These contexts are more 'porous' cross-linguistically.

- (48) a. Je ne veux qu'il voit personne.
 b. Je ne veux voir personne.
 c. Je n'ai décidé de voir personne.

What's important to keep in mind is that the negative operator in Turkish and French can raise to the matrix NegP if the environment allows. This isn't a constraint inherent to the negative operator.

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