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Echo Questions in Turkish

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ECHO QUESTIONS in TURKISH

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ECHO QUESTIONS IN TURKISH

by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis work, I will study Turkish Echo Questions. Syntactically, Turkish EQs are unexplored in the literature. Some works on Turkish (Aygen, 2007; Göksel&Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997) have investigated echo questions to some extent yet without deep inquiry. Kornfilt (1997), one among others, pragmatically explains types of echo questions and forming them. Aygen (2007) includes echo questions in her study to prove that there is a null Q particle in Turkish interrogative sentences. Neither of them makes a detailed syntactic inquiry of echo questions. However, the syntax of English echo questions has been discussed in some works (Parker&Pickeral, 1985; Sobin, 1978, 1990, 2010). Blakemore (1994) and Noh (1998) have also investigated the pragmatics of English echo questions. Among others one particular study will shed light on my analysis and be the basis for my arguments in the paper. That is the work by Sobin (2010). Sobin argues that English EQs demonstrate characteristics of normal question formation. I will follow his findings on characteristics of English EQs and show the extent to which Turkish EQs fit in this framework. One major objective of the thesis will be to discover whether some or all of the characteristics have validity in Turkish EQs. I believe that this discussion will bring some clarity to EQs in Turkish.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed investigation of English EQs cited from Sobin (2010). In Chapter 3 I will briefly discuss Turkish interrogative sentences and their formation in the light of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995; 2000; 2001). Chapter 4 will contain the main argu

ment of the study: Turkish EQs. I will parse Turkish EQs in comparison with EQ mechanisms by Sobin (2010). Conclusion of the thesis will be presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

ENGLISH EQs

In this chapter I will provide a sketch of Sobin's (2010) EQ analysis. He argues that echo questions in English are in the normal domain of English syntax and should not be exempted from a syntactic analysis as has been the case in the literature so far. He highlights the apparent misbehavior of EQs and then proposes that they have their distinct syntactic mechanism within MP. These apparent misbehaviors are listed in Sobin's (2010) work as follows: i) We cannot observe Wh-movement in EQs though it is obligatory in English Wh-questions; ii) The WH phrases introduced in all EQs, including embedded ones, have 'wide scope', though normally, only WH phrases in or linked to the root clause have wide scope; iii) EQs appear to violate Superiority (which dictates that you can't move one *wh* phrase leftward past another higher *wh* phrase); iv) EQs appear to violate a universal norm (Greenberg 1966) which says that in WHQs, verb movement (T-to-C) normally only occurs when WH phrases are moved; v) Partial *wh* marking (e.g. *the what*) is possible in EQs but not in normal questions vi) EQs allow non-*wh* phrases with interrogative emphasis; normal questions do not allow such elements.

Such apparent misbehavior of English EQs has resulted in the literature excluding them from a syntactic analysis:

Echo questions are far less restricted syntactically than normal questions. ...[This] makes it unprofitable to attempt to integrate them into the analysis of the more usual type of questions considered here.

(Culicover, 1976: 73)

Adger (2007) too proposes that EQs have different C with no association with C of normal questions/interrogatives.

Sobin (1978; 1990; 2010) however has a good starting point to bring them under investigation by linguistic theory. He put forward that they are ‘automatic’ and exemplary ‘untutored’ constructions to the extent which is no less than normal interrogative sentences are. He explains their apparent misbehavior in the framework of Chomsky’s (1995, 2000, 2001) Minimalist program (MP) and argues that EQs syntactically follow question formation norms within MP.

He starts up his analysis by dividing echo questions in two types: i) Pseudo EQs, and ii) Syntactic EQs. Consider the examples below. Hereafter ‘U’ and ‘E’ will represent ‘utterance’ and ‘echo question of utterance’ respectively.

(1) U: Mary dated Beethoven.

E: Who did Mary date? (a pseudo EQ = a normal question)

E: Mary dated who? (a syntactic EQ)

(Sobin, 2009)¹

The syntactic EQs are the ones that pose problems for analysis of English question formation. Let’s see how each of the misbehaviors of EQs is discussed in Sobin’s (2010) study.

2.1 Properties of English EQs

¹ Presentation at Linguistics Colloquium, Department of Languages and Linguistics at UTEP.

Sobin (2010) analyzes in detail the properties of English echo questions. As noted above he divides echo questions into two types: i) Pseudo EQs, and ii) Syntactic EQs. Pseudo echo questions follow the normal question formation pattern: wh-movement; T-to-C movement, etc. However, syntactic EQs appear to disobey the norms of question formation and exhibit wh-phrase in-situ, verb movement without WH movement, and so forth. Consider the examples below:

- (2) a. U: Frieda likes chocolate worms.
- b. E: Does Frieda like chocolate worms?
- c. E: What does Frieda like?
- d. E: Who likes chocolate worms?
- e. E: Who likes what?
- f. E: Frieda likes what?

(Sobin, 1990; 146-147)

Sentences (2b-e) are pseudo EQs which follow the syntax of English question formation. Sentence (2f) is a syntactic EQ violating the English syntax rules with respect to question formation. Yes-no questions in English demonstrate such violations too. Consider the examples:

- (3) a. U: Does Frieda like chocolate worms?
- b. E: Does Frieda like what?

c. E: Does who like chocolate worms?

d. E: Does who like what?

e. E: *What does Frieda like?

(Sobin, 1990; 146-147)

(3b-d) are syntactic EQs. They illustrate that echo questions to a yes-no question in English are at odds with syntactic rules of question formation. The only way to make an echo question to a “yes-no question” is through syntactic EQs such as (3a-d), and a normally formed question such as (3e) fails.

The same observation holds for echoing WHQs too. Consider the examples:

(4) a. U: What did Tarzan drink at Mary’s party?

b. E: What did who drink at Mary’s party?

(4b) is an echo question to WHQ and seems to violate the syntax of question formation (i.e. violation of Superiority).

Providing a bit of syntactic EQs in English, I will present their apparent misbehavior in depth following Sobin (2010).

2.1.1 Wh-in-situ

English requires wh-movement in WHQs. This movement is due to interrogative C's having the feature [uwh*] bearing the EPP property. That [uwh*] on C probes into TP, locates the nearest wh-phrase, and triggers its movement to Spec, CP. Consider the examples below.

- (5) a. What can Mary see _?
b. *Mary can see what? (as a non-EQ)

However syntactic EQs do not show WH movement. (1) is repeated as (6).

- (6) U: Mary dated Beethoven.
E: Mary dated who? (Echo question)

As (6) illustrates syntactic EQs have wh-phrases left in-situ yielding no ungrammaticality.

2.1.2 Wide Scope for WH Phrases in EQs

Scope assignment of wh-phrases is a significant aspect of question formation, first analyzed in Baker (1970). Complementizers are argued by Sobin to assign scope to wh-phrases. When an interrogative phrase has 'wide' scope, this means that it is associated with a root clause, and is being actively questioned/asked about (*'What did Mary see?'*). When an interrogative phrase has 'narrow' scope, this means that it is associated with a lower clause, and is not being actively questioned/asked about (*'I asked [what Mary saw]'*). Consider the sentences in (4).

- (7) a. Bill wondered [what Mary saw]. ('narrow scope' *what*)
b. What do you think [that Mary saw _]? ('wide scope' *what*)

(Sobin, 2009)

In (7a) *what* gets narrow scope for being in an embedded sentence. In (7b) *what* moves to Spec, CP of the root sentence and has wide scope.

Here it is noteworthy to mention a key problem first discussed by Baker (1970), the problem of *scope ambiguity* in WHQs. He noted that (8a) may be answered by (8b) with *what* having narrow scope, or by (8c) with *what* having wide scope.

(8) a. Who knows where Mary bought what?

b. Bill does. (what with narrow scope)

c. Bill knows where she bought the soap, Jane

knows where she bought the toothpaste, etc. (what with wide scope)

(Sobin, 2010:142)

Sobin (2010) addresses this problem as follows: a wh-phrase in a WHQ bears a feature [uwh:] which, he claims, is uninterpretable for lack of a scope value. An interrogative complementizer C_{WH} (feature composition: C_{WH} [Int, *Q, uwh*])² assigns a scope value to a wh-phrase by assigning its (that is, C_{WH}) label as the requisite value for [uwh:], effectively binding the wh-phrase to that C_{WH} . C_{WH} probes every wh-phrase in its domain and it may value (or not) any of the wh-phrases in its domain. However, the [uwh*]/ EPP feature of interrogative C_{WH} can only be satisfied by raising to its Spec, CP a wh-phrase which is both scope-valued and nearest to C_{WH} . A wh-phrase left in-situ with unvalued [uwh:] may receive a value from a higher C_{WH} by

² C_{WH} [Int, *Q, uwh*]: WHQ Complementizer with Interrogative, strong Q, and strong uwh feature. Strong Q motivates Tense movement to Complementizer, and strong uwh on C triggers wh-movement to Spec, CP.

being assigned the label of that higher C_{WH} . Thus, the ambiguity in (8) is explained in terms of two possible scope assignments as shown in (9).

(9) a. Who knows where Mary bought what?

b. [Who [uwh : C_{WH1}] $C_{WH1}[uwh^*]$ knows [where [uwh : C_{WH2}] $C_{WH2}[uwh^*]$ Mary bought what [uwh : C_{WH2}]]]?
‘Bill does.’

c. [Who [uwh : C_{WH1}] $C_{WH1}[uwh^*]$ knows [where [uwh : C_{WH2}] $C_{WH2}[uwh^*]$ Mary bought what [uwh : C_{WH1}]]]?
‘Bill knows where she bought the soap, Jane knows where she bought the tooth paste, etc.’

In (9b) *what* is valued by the C_{WH} in the embedded sentence and thus has narrow scope. In (9c) *what* receives its value by the C_{WH} in the root sentence/ higher clause and thus has wide scope.

The WH phrases in all EQs, including embedded ones, have ‘wide scope’, though normally, only WH phrases in or linked to the root clause have wide scope:

(10) a. U: Bill asked [who is still dating Mozart]. (‘narrow scope’ *who*)

b. E: Bill asked [who₁ is still dating who₂]? (‘wide scope’ *who*₂)

(Sobin, 2009)

The *wh*-word in (10a) is located in the embedded clause and has narrow scope. The echo question to (10a) which is (10b) is accomplished by introducing a *wh*-phrase for the argument in the lowest position, and unexpectedly the *wh*-phrase receives wide scope.

2.1.3 Superiority Violations

In English WHQs we cannot observe a *wh*-phrase movement passing a higher *wh*-phrase.³

- (11) a. Who ate what at the party?
b. *What did who eat _ at the party?

In (11a) *who* is in higher position and *what* is in the lower position, and thus this movement obeys the Superiority Condition illustrated here. In (11b) *what* is clearly lower than *who*, it has undergone a movement to Spec, CP, hence the ungrammaticality.

EQs on the other hand seem to exhibit violations of this sort. See (12) below.

- (12) a. U: What did Jack the Ripper eat _ at the party?
b. E: What did **who** eat _ at the party?
c. E: ***Who** ate what at the party?

(12a) is a simple object WHQ. An echo question to it introduces *who* for the subject position and apparently violates the Superiority Condition. Notice that the normal form observing Superiority in (12c) is impossible as an EQ to (12a).

³ Pesetsky (1987) discusses that D-linked *wh*-phrases can violate the Superiority Condition and excludes EQs from his analysis. Also see Sobin (1990) for EQs and Discourse relation in detail.

2.1.4 WH Movement without Verb Movement

English EQs appear to violate a universal norm (Greenberg 1966) which says that in WHQs, verb movement (T-to-C) normally only occurs when WH phrases are moved. See (13a) and (13b) respectively.

(13) a. What did Mary see _ ?

b. *Did Mary see what?

(13a) displays this norm. (13b) on the other hand lacks wh-movement though T-to-C has taken place. Thus (13b) is not permissible in English as a normal question.

This ungrammaticality observed in (13b) disappears in EQs, though. Consider (14).

(14) a. U: Did Mary see the flying saucer?

b. E: Did Mary see **what**?

c. *E: **What** did Mary see _ ?

(14c) is an ill-formed echo question to (14a) although it does show wh-movement accompanied by T-to-C movement. Note that (14c) is ill-formed as an echo to (14a) though it manifests both wh-movement and verb movement.

2.1.5 Partial WH Marking

Partial *wh* marking (e.g. *the what*) is possible in EQs but not in normal questions. Consider the examples below.

(15) a. U: I saw the flying saucer.

b. E: You saw the what?

c. * The what did you see?

While (15b) is acceptable as an echo to (15a), (15c) is not allowed as a normal question in English.

2.2 Mechanisms of Syntactic EQs

2.2.1 Surprise Intonation

All echo introduced WH phrases bear upward intonation. Consider the examples below.

(16) a. U: Mary dated Beethoven.

b. E: WHO did Mary date? ↑ (a pseudo EQ = a normal question)

c. E: Mary dated WHO? ↑ (a syntactic EQ)

(16c) is a syntactic echo question and it includes a wh-phrase with echo intonation.⁴

2.2.2 COMP Freezing

‘Comp Freezing’ in Sobin’s (2010) analysis refers to creating a strict copy of the CP structure of the utterance being echoed in the EQ. See (6) below which is repeated as (17).

(17) a. U: Mary dated Beethoven.

⁴ The constituent with the strong intonation will be represented in FULL CAPITALS through the paper.

a'. U: [CP [CDECL] [TP Mary dated Beethoven]]

b. E: WHO did Mary date? (a pseudo EQ = a normal question)

b'. E: [CP Who [C did] [TP Mary date \emptyset]]?
[$\bar{u}wh$: C_{WH}] [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$, $\bar{u}wh^*$]

c. E: Mary dated WHO? (a syntactic EQ--COMP freezing!)

c'. [CP [CDECL] [TP Mary dated who]] ?

(17b/b') are normal questions in which we observe both wh-movement and T-to-C movement. In (17c') none of the (former) derivational process is seen to take place. Sobin (2010) claims that the wh-phrase stays in-situ through freezing the CP layer of the original sentence: [Decl].

We more easily observe Comp Freezing in YNQs. Consider the examples below:

(18) a. U: [CP [C Did] [TP Mary meet Mozart at the party]]?
[INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$]

b. *E: [CP Who [C did] [TP Mary meet \emptyset at the party]]?
[$\bar{u}wh$: C] [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$, $\bar{u}wh^*$]

c. *E: [CP [C DECL] [TP Mary met who at the party]]?

d. E: [CP [C Did] [TP Mary meet who at the party]]?
[INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$]

As an echo question to (18a), (18b) and (18c) fail because there is not a copy of CP layer of the original sentence, a YNQ. In (18b) CP layer has changed to C with [INT, *uwh*] and respectively in (18c), CP layer has become [DECL]. New CP layers in both (18b-c) are different than the CP of original utterance. (18d), however, contains the copy of the original CP of the main utterance, thus successfully echoes (18a).⁵

Note that pseudo EQs only work for declarative utterances. Thus (18b) is bad as a pseudo EQ and as a syntactic EQ (for lack of Comp Freezing).

2.2.3 Unselective Binding by C_{EQ}

In Sobin's (2010) analysis all EQ-introduced 'interrogative-marked' phrases bear an uninterpretable feature [*ui-m*:], which requires a scope value like [*uwh*:]. EQs utilize a different complementizer, C_{EQ} (feature composition: C_{EQ} [Int, *ui-m*]), which assigns scope to all interrogative-marked expressions introduced into the EQ, including (i) 'fully *wh*-marked' interrogative phrases (e.g. *what*), 'partially-marked' interrogative phrases (e.g. *the what*), and even intonationally-marked interrogative phrases. The feature '*ui-m*' of C_{EQ} is 'weak', or has no EPP property so interrogative-marked phrases remain in place.

In 'normal' questions, scope valuation is accomplished by C_{WH} valuing [*uwh*] on any fully *wh*-marked phrase. C_{WH} can only 'see' and value the feature [*uwh*:], because C_{WH} has [*uwh**].

In an EQ, C_{EQ} bears the feature [*ui-m*] and can only see and value the feature [*ui-m*:] on its fully *wh*-marked, partially *wh*-marked, and intonationally-marked interrogative phrases. As

⁵ Comp Freezing is observed in echoing WHQs in English too. See Sobin (2010) for further analysis.

with C_{WH} , C_{EQ} also accomplishes the goal of assigning scope to interrogative phrases. Below is how it looks. ((17) is repeated as (19)).

(19) a. U: Mary dated Beethoven.

a'. $[_{CP} [_{C} DECL] [_{TP} \text{Mary dated Beethoven}]]$

b. E: Mary dated WHO?

b'. $[_{CP} C_{EQ} [_{CP} [_{C} DECL] [_{TP} \text{Mary dated who}]]] ??$

$[INT, \cancel{ui-m}]$

$[\cancel{ui-m}: C_{EQ}]$

(19b') has a new complementizer; C_{EQ} with $[ui-m]$. Like C_{WH} with $[uwh]$ of normal questions, this new complementizer assigns scope to the interrogative-marked expression *who* in the given sentence. Thus, *who* is scope-marked.

Below is a partially-marked wh-question. (15) is repeated as (20).

(20) a. I saw the flying saucer.

a'. $[_{CP} [_{C} DECL] [_{TP} \text{I saw the flying saucer.}]]$

b. E: You saw the what?

b'. $[_{CP} C_{EQ} [_{CP} [_{C} DECL] [_{TP} \text{you saw the what}]]] ??$

$[INT, \cancel{ui-m}]$

$[\cancel{ui-m}: C_{EQ}]$

The partially-marked wh-phrase in (20b') is valued and scope assigned by C_{EQ} with $[INT, ui-m]$.

Finally, we will see how the C_{EQ} mechanism binds and values intonationally-marked expressions. Consider the examples below:

(21) a. U: What did Dracula drink at Mary's party?

a.' $[_{CP} [C \text{ INT}, uQ^*, uwh^*] [_{TP} \text{Dracula drink at Mary's party}] ?$

b. E: What did DRACULA drink at Mary's party?

b.' $[_{CP} C_{EQ} [_{CP} [C \text{ INT}, uQ^*, uwh^*] [_{TP} \text{DRACULA drink at Mary's party}]]?$

$[INT, \cancel{ui-m}]$

$[\cancel{ui-m}: C_{EQ}]$

'Dracula' in (21b') is not a wh-phrase but has interrogative emphasis. Because it is an intonationally-marked phrase which may only bear $[ui-m]$. C_{EQ} bears $[ui-m]$ too, and successfully binds and scope-values to 'DRACULA' so that it has wide-scope interpretation.

In sum, C_{EQ} has $[ui-m]$ feature and it may value any of the three types of interrogative-marked phrases.

2.3 Summary of English EQs

Below is a summary of Sobin's (2010) findings on English EQs.

WH movement doesn't occur in EQs, though it is normally obligatory in English WHQs. The explanation is that C_{EQ} bears a 'weak' $[ui-m]$ feature, which scope-values but does not raise an interrogative-marked phrase.

The WH phrases in all EQs, including embedded ones, have ‘wide scope’, though normally, only WH phrases in or linked to the root clause have wide scope. This is due to the fact that C_{EQ} always heads the ‘highest’ CP, so that the interrogative phrases that it values for scope always have wide scope. All other interrogative phrases have ‘narrow scope’ in an EQ (regardless of their original scope in U) because they are in CPs which are subordinate to the ‘Echo’ CP.

EQs appear to violate the Superiority Condition. In an EQ such as (22b) below, the movement of *what* does not actually disobey Superiority. There is no ‘C’ which can ‘see’ both *what* and *who*. Each is properly linked to the C that it can interact with.

- (22) a. U: [_{CP} What did [_{TP} Jack the Ripper eat \emptyset at the party]]?
 [$\bar{u}wh$: C] [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$, $\bar{u}wh^*$]
- b. E: [_{CP} C_{EQ} [_{CP} What did [_{TP} who eat \emptyset at the party]]]?
 [INT, $\bar{u}i-m$] [$\bar{u}wh$: C] [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$, $\bar{u}wh^*$] [$\bar{u}i-m$: C_{EQ}]

EQs appear to violate a universal norm which says that in WHQs, verb movement (T-to-C) normally only occurs when WH phrases are moved. Again, there is no violation. Each C is doing exactly what it should do; there is no single C which is both moving the verb element and ‘seeing’ but ignoring *who*. Consider (18) which is repeated here as (23):

- (23) a. U: [_{CP} [C Did] [_{TP} Mary meet Mozart at the party]]?
 [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$]
- b. E: [_{CP} C_{EQ} [_{CP} [C Did] [_{TP} Mary meet who at the party]]]?
 [INT, $\bar{u}i-m$] [INT, $\bar{u}Q^*$] [$\bar{u}i-m$: C_{EQ}]

Partial *wh* marking (e.g. *the what*) is possible in EQs but not in normal questions. Additionally, EQs allow non-*wh* phrases with interrogative emphasis (e.g. ‘You saw DRACULA?’); normal questions do not allow such elements. The explanation lies in the proposal that all interrogative-marked phrases must have a scope. Fully *wh*-marked phrases (e.g. *what* or *which book*) may have either [*uwh*:] or [*ui-m*:]; either will get them a scope value. However, C_{WH} bears [*uwh**], can only ‘see’ and value a phrase with [*uwh*:].

Partially *wh*-marked phrases and intonationally-marked phrases may only bear [*ui-m*:]. C_{EQ} bears [*ui-m*], so it may value any of the three types of interrogative-marked phrases (including fully-marked *wh* phrases) bearing [*ui-m*:]. As a result, only fully *wh*-marked phrases may appear in normal questions, but all three types of interrogative phrases may appear in EQs.

CHAPTER 3

QUESTION FORMATION in TURKISH

The preceding sections elaborate the nature of English EQs. We have reviewed Sobin's (2010) EQs analysis. Before moving to the main topic of this thesis study, I would like to give a preliminary sketch of question formation in Turkish as a backdrop to the main discussion. Considering the fact that Turkish interrogative sentences have been investigated amply in the literature, I will leave much of it to the works in the literature.

In the literature Turkish is mostly studied as an SOV language though it shows word-scrambling. Any constituent in the sentence can be the questioned element. Turkish utilizes the question (Q) particle *-mI* in yes-no questions⁶ and proper wh-words in wh-type interrogative sentences. Syntactic inquiry of yes-no and WH questions has been the topic of some studies in the literature such as Aygen (2007), Besler (2000), Gracanin-Yüksek (2012), İşsever (2009), Kamali (2011), Yoshimura (2010). One uncontroversial fact about Turkish interrogative sentences is that the Q particle and a wh-phrase never show up together in a sentence except for the echo questions.

Let's briefly look at the sentence types in Turkish and their syntactic formation. (1) is an example of a declarative sentence.

(1) a. Ali (dün) çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø.

⁶ *-mI* has the allomorphs of *-mı* *-mi*, *-mu*, *-mü* depending on the final sound of the word it attaches.

Ali (yesterday) kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG

‘Ali saw the kid (yesterday).’

b. [CP [TP Ali [T çocuğu gördü]] [C Decl]]

Utterance (1) is a declarative sentence with the complementizer feature [DECL]. As Turkish is a head-right language, complements of the verb precede their head.

(2) below presents yes-no questions. Yes-no questions in Turkish are formed by inserting the *-mI* question particle into the sentence.⁷

(2) a. Ali çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø mü?

Ali the kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG Q

‘Did Ali see the kid?’

b. [CP [TP Ali [T çocuğu gördü]] [C INT, YNQ-*mI*]]?

-mI in Turkish has wider distribution than (2). The Q particle can be attached to any constituent or phrase and marks it for interrogative meaning. Consider the examples below:

(3) a. Ali çocuğ-u mu gör-dü-ø?

Ali the kid- ACC Q see-PAST-3SG

‘Is it the kid that Ali saw?’

⁷ *-mI* forms alternative questions in Turkish as well (See Göksel&Kerslake 2005).

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali [_T çocuğu *ml* gördü]] [_C INT, YNQ]]?

(4) a. Ali mi çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø?

Ali Q the kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG

‘Is it Ali that who saw the kid?’

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali *ml* [_T çocuğu gördü]] [_C INT, YNQ]]?

In (2) the whole sentence is questioned. In (3) the NP in the object position is in the scope of the *-ml* particle. In (4) the NP in the subject position is targeted by *-ml* particle. Other than NPs, VPs, *-ml* particle can be attached to AdvPs, and PPs. Consider the examples:

(5) a. Ali çocuğ-u aniden mi gör-dü-ø?

Ali kid-ACC suddenly Q see-PAST-3SG

‘Is it suddenly that Ali saw the kid.’

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali [_T çocuğu aniden *ml* gördü]] [_C INT, YNQ]]?

(6) a. Ali çocuğ-u bar-ın önünde mi gör-dü-ø?

Ali the kid-ACC bar-GEN in front of Q see-PAST-3SG

‘Is it in front of the bar that Ali saw the kid?’

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali [_T çocuğu barın önünde *ml* gördü]] [_C INT, YNQ]]?

(5) and (6) are yes-no questions yet with different semantic readings. In (5) the Q particle is attached to the AdvP. (6) contains *-mI* which is attached to the PPs. Though both are yes-no questions, the answer being elicited varies depending on the distribution of the Q particle.

The examples given in (2-6) are yes-no question sentences that have a complementizer with [INT, YNQ] through which interrogative semantics is ensured. *-mI* on such constructions is an YNQ marker and is checked by [YNQ] on C.⁸

WHQs in Turkish are formed by replacing the target phrase with a proper wh-phrase. See (7) & (8) which are subject and object wh-questions, respectively.

(7) a. Kim çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø?

Who kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG

‘Who saw the kid?’

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim [_T çocuğu gördü]] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?

(8) a. Ali ne gör-dü-ø?

Ali what see-PAST-3SG

‘What did Ali see?’

⁸ a. Special thanks to Selçuk İşsever for his input on the topic.

b. The literature does not bear a uniformed syntactic analysis of the Q particle in Turkish. Throughout the thesis I will adopt the proposal of Besler (2000) that the Q particle is generated in Spec, CP when the whole sentence is questioned, and the idea that it is base generated as a sister to the clause-internal constituent that the Q particle immediately dominates. For a detailed syntactic analysis of Q particle in Turkish, see the referred studies in the literature.

b. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali [_T ne gördü]] [_C INT, *ıwh*]]?

Unlike English, interrogative complementizers in Turkish have weak [*ıwh*], and feature checking takes place in-situ with no movement of wh-phrases. This fact about Turkish makes this work on EQs in Turkish interesting. Sobin (2010) in his studies on English EQs described the apparent misbehavior of EQs as compared to normal question formation. Among others, two major challenges of EQs in English to normal question formation are un-moved wh-word in EQs and Superiority Violations. It naturally comes to mind that Turkish manifests no wh movement thus no observation of such challenges observed in English EQs exist in Turkish EQs. Despite this, I will argue, in what follows, that Turkish EQs display some characteristics on a par with English EQs.

CHAPTER 4

TURKISH EQs

As we have illustrated the basics of question formation in Turkish, we are in a position to move to EQs in Turkish. Göksel&Kerslake (2005) describes echo questions in Turkish as what in follows:

*An echo question follows a question which has just been uttered, either because the initial question is unexpected and has come as a surprise, or because part of the initial question has not been heard or understood properly. Echo questions may also be used for inquiring about the validity of a question which has already been asked. Depending on the form of the initial question, they may contain a wh-phrase and the interrogative particle *mi*.*

(Göksel&Kerslake, 2005:267)

Kornfilt (1997) also characterizes Turkish echo questions within the same pragmatic and semantic framework.⁹ Here I will discuss the syntactic aspect of echo questions in Turkish.

⁹ See the data from Göksel&Kerslake (2005) and Kornfilt (1997).

- (105) **HÜLYA mı kim?**
'Are you asking *who* Hülya is?/*Who* is HÜLYA?'

(Göksel&Kerslake, 2005: 267)

- (167) Speaker A: Yarın akşam *nereye* gideceksin?
'Where will you go tomorrow evening?'

Speaker B: Yarın akşam *nereye* **mi** gideceğim?
'Where will I go tomorrow morning?'

Speaker A: Evet, yarın akşam *nereye* gideceksin?
'Yes, *where* will you go tomorrow morning?'

(Kornfilt, 1997: 38)

The discussion in chapter 3 demonstrates a key difference between English and Turkish question formation: Turkish *wh*-phrases do not move to Spec, CP, and there is no T-to-C movement. Thus some of the EQ properties that show up in English will not show up in Turkish EQs. However I will demonstrate that some of the mechanisms that English EQs utilize are observed in Turkish EQs too.

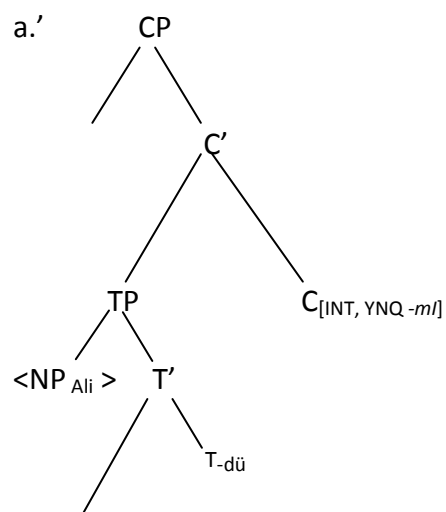
4.1 Comp Freezing

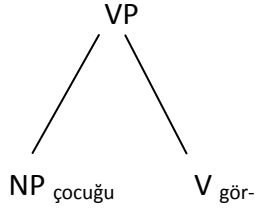
I will start Turkish EQs inquiry with discussing the availability of Complementizer Freezing. In normal YNQs you have *-mI*, and in normal WHQs, you have only a WH phrase. Normally both don't appear in a sentence. But in some EQs, we do get both. This points toward COMP Freezing of the original utterance. Consider the examples:

- (1) a. U: Ali çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø mü?

Ali kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG Q

'Did Ali see the kid?'





b. E: **Kim** çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø mü?

Who kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG Q

'Did WHO see the kid?

c. E: Ali **kim-i** gör-dü-ø mü?

Ali who-ACC see-PAST-3SG Q

'Did Ali see WHO?

(1a) is an YNQ by utilizing Q-particle which is coded on C. When we make an echo question of this utterance, we introduce a *wh*-phrase into the sentence and we maintain the Q particle of the main utterance. In (1b) subject *wh*-phrase is included to the sentence, and in (1c) object *wh*-phrase is inserted into the utterance. One possible proposal is that the feature composition of EQs to (1a) appears like what in follows:

(2) E: [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim çocuğu gördü] [_C INT, YNQ-*ml*, *uwh*]]?

(3) E: [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali kimi gördü] [_C INT, YNQ-*ml*, *uwh*]]?

C in both (2) and (3) keep their [YNQ] features. Also a new *wh*-phrase is introduced to the sentence. The assumption in (2) and (3) is that both [*uwh*] and [YNQ] are encoded on a sin-

gle C which still has the force of [INT]. However, an interrogative expression in Turkish should either be an YNQ or a WHQ. It is impossible to obtain both “for which x” and “is it true that” semantics from a single interrogative expression. (2) and (3) fail to capture this.

Following Sobin (2010), I will propose that (2) and (3) can be revised as in (4):

(4) E: ...[_{CP} [_{TP} SOV] [_C INT, YNQ-*ml*]]...

(4) shows that the CP structure of the original utterance is frozen in forming the EQ.

Consider some alternative ways in echo questioning (1), repeated here as (5).

(5) a. U: Ali çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø mü?

Ali kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG Q

‘Did Ali see the kid?’

a’. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali çocuğ-u gördü] [_CYNQ-*ml*]]?

b. E: *Kim çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø?

Who kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG

‘Who saw the kid?’

b’. [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim çocuğ-u gördü] [_CWH]]?

c. E: *Ali çocuğ-u gör-dü-ø.

Ali kid-ACC see-PAST-3SG

'Ali saw the kid.'

c'. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali çocuğ-u gördü] [_C_{DECL}]].

Note that (5a) is a yes-no question whose complementizer is [INT] feature. Echoing (5a) is not possible with (5b) and (5c) which are WHQ and a declarative sentence. Turkish doesn't allow such constructions as echo questions to (5a).

Taking (1-5) into consideration I will claim that Turkish EQs shows freezing of the Comp of the original sentence.

4.2 Echo Question Complementizer: C_{EQ}

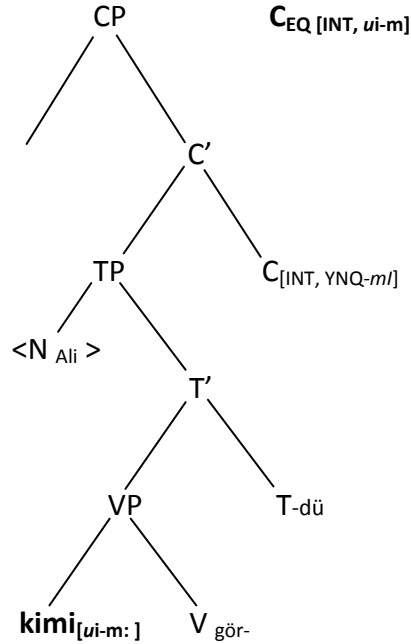
Echo questions utilize another mechanism in Turkish: building of a new layer of CP into the sentence. The new introduced Complementizer of CP, which is C_{EQ} , has the feature of composition of [INT, “uninterpretable interrogative-marked” *ui-m*] and [*ui-m*] must be checked by making a scope assignment. The EQ-introduced wh-phrase bears [*ui-m*] too. It needs a valuation by a C for the question interpretation. Hence both are in a probe-goal relation in the structure, and the feature checking between two takes place. Ultimately there remains no lexical item with an (non-deleted) uninterpretable feature. The derivation assigns wide scope to the echo-introduced wh-phrases (i.e., *Kim* in (1b), and *ne* in (1c)) over the Q particle which is possible only in echo questions in Turkish. Thus the feature composition of (2) and (3) ultimately becomes as (6) and (7) relatively.

- (6) a. $[_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} \text{Kim} \text{ } \text{çocuğu} \text{ } \text{gördü}] [_{C_{YNQ-*m*}}]]] [_{C_{EQ}}]$
 $[_{ui-m: C_{EQ}}] \quad \quad \quad [INT, ui-m]$



- (7)





C in the highest clause has [INT, *ui-m*] feature which needs a scope assignee. The Echo-introduced wh-phrase has [*ui-m*] too. Both successfully undergo feature checking and the derivation succeeds. That is why it is not Q particles in (6) and (7) that have wide scope but echo-introduced wh-phrases; wh-phrases in (6) and (7) have the matching feature of [*ui-m*] with the new-built C_{EQ} in the highest position.

Data presented thus far illustrate that echoing an YNQ in Turkish requires freezing the complementizer of the main utterance then adding a new CP layer with C_{EQ} with [*ui-m*]. C_{EQ} with [*ui-m*] assigns scope to all ‘interrogative-marked’ phrases. In echo of YNQs the lexical items that undergo feature-checking with C_{EQ} are the newly-introduced WH phrases with [*ui-m*].

The architecture above offers an explanation of how an echo question to YNQs is accomplished. Now we will look at whether an echo question to WHQs manifests C_{EQ} with [*ui-m*] feature too. If so, then how does it work? Consider the sentence below:

- (8) a. Kim döv-dü -ø Ali'yi?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

'Who beat Ali?'

- b. [_{CP} [_{TP}Kim döv-dü Ali'yi] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?

- (9) a. Ali (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø?

Ali (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

'Who did Ali beat again?'

- b. [_{CP} [_{TP}Ali kimi döv-dü] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?

The feature composition of the complementizer of (8) and (9) is [INT, *uwh*]. [*uwh*] on C is a probe and it finds a wh-phrase with uninterpretable feature which is a *goal* in its c-command domain and it assigns a scope value to it. In (8) [*uwh*] on C finds the wh-phrase in Spec, TP position with matching [*uwh*] and feature checking takes place between the two. In (9) [*uwh*] on C finds the wh-phrase in Spec, TP and resolves its uninterpretable feature in situ. (8) and (9) show that wh-questions in Turkish have different characteristics than WHQs in English.

In echo questioning them there are three possibilities: a) Echo questioning the wh-word itself; b) Echoing the whole proposition; c) Echo questioning a constituent other than wh-word. Here we will consider the a-type and b-type echo questions of WHQs in relation to Comp freezing and the C_{EQ} mechanism. We will first look at a-type of echo questions of WHQs that attempt to bring some evidence to the current discussion. See the examples below:

(8) a. U: Kim döv-dü-ø Ali'yi?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

'Who beat Ali?'

b. E: Kim **mi** döv-dü-ø Ali'yi?

Who Q beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

'WHO beat Ali?'

(9) a. U: Ali (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø?

Ali (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

'Who did Ali beat again?'

b. E: Ali yine kim-i **mi** döv-dü-ø?

Ali again who-ACC **Q** beat-PAST-3SG

'WHO did Ali beat again?'

Both (8a) and (9a) have C with [INT, *uwh*]. [*uwh*] on C probes and finds wh-words with uninterpretable feature thus the derivation of WHQ succeeds. The Q particle is attached to the wh-phrases being echoed (a-type echo question). Notice that it is not wh-phrases that give interrogative meaning to the sentences but the Q particle in (8b) and (9b). I propose that this comes true by introducing a new CP layer with C_{EQ} in constructing echo questions to (8a) and (9a). Let's see them in action. Echo questions to (8a) and (9a) are presented as (10) and (11).

(8) a. [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim dövdü Ali'yi] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?→

(10) [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim **mi**_{*ui-m*:CEQ} dövdü Ali'yi] [_C INT, *uwh*] [_{CEQ} INT, ***ui-m***]]?

(9) a. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali kimi dövdü] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?→

(11) [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali kimi **mi**_{*ui-m*:CEQ} dövdü] [_C INT, *uwh*] [_{CEQ} INT, ***ui-m***]]?

In both (10) and (11) Comp of the original sentence freezes and a new CP layer is inserted to the sentence. C of this new CP layer has the feature of 'uninterpretable interrogative marked' which needs to be checked. The new introduced Q particle bear [*ui-m*] feature as well. Hence feature checking between C_{EQ} with [*ui-m*] and Q with [*ui-m*] is accomplished and thus the derivation succeeds. Ultimately the question reading is due to the Q particle. Note that C with [INT, *uwh*] is now buried under C_{EQ} and does not elicit an answer, except the answer "Yes, 'WHO'". That is how Q particles in (10) and (11) elicit answers but not the wh-words. Q particles successfully are valued by the highest C_{EQ} with [*ui-m*]. Recall that (6) and (7) as EQs to a YNQ were bearing wh-phrases with 'interrogative marked' feature and thus receiving question interpretation. In that architecture it was C with [INT, YNQ] that was buried under C_{EQ} (cf. (10) and (11)) in result Q particle did not receive question semantics.

We mentioned that the b-type echo of WHQs may bring some evidence to Comp Freezing and C_{EQ} as well. Remember that the b-type echo is an echo question for the whole WHQ

proposition. Let's see how it works in regard to the discussion. (8) and (9) are repeated here as (12) and (13).¹⁰

(12) a. U: Kim döv-dü-ø Ali'yi?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

'Who beat Ali?'

a'. [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim döv-dü Ali'yi]] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?

b. E: Kim döv-dü -ø Ali'yi **mi**?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC **Q**

'Who beat Ali?'

Intended reading: Are you asking *who beat Ali*?

b'. [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim döv-dü Ali'yi **mi**]] [_C INT, *uwh*]] [_{C_{EQ}}]]?

[*ui-m*: C_{EQ}]

[INT, *ui-m*]

(13) a. U: Ali (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø?

Ali (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

'Who did Ali beat (again)?'

a'. [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali kimi döv-dü]] [_C INT, *uwh*]]?

¹⁰ In (12) and (13) the whole sentence is in the scope of the *-mi*. The hearer being unaware of the case shows her surprise by echo questioning the whole sentence that she just heard.

b. E: Ali (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø mü?

Ali (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG Q

‘Who did Ali beat?’

Intended reading: Are you asking *who* Ali beat?

b'. [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Ali kimi döv-dü mü] [_C INT, *uwh*]] [_{C_{EQ}}]]?

[*ui-m*:C_{EQ}] [INT, *ui-m*]

In EQs (12b) and (13b) we can make use of C_{EQ} mechanism to explain rescoping of the utterance. The wh-phrase of the original sentence in this architecture is not available for an answer due to the fact that C_{WH} which values wh-phrase in the clauses is frozen and buried under the new CP layer with C_{EQ}. The Q particle with the [*ui-m*] feature has undergone feature checking with C_{EQ} having [*ui-m*] feature and scope valued by C_{EQ}. Thus the question interpretation for Q particle is obtained.

4.3 Wide Scope for Echo Introduced WH Phrases

Now we can look at the scope assignment in Turkish EQs. Recall that we formerly stated that WHQs can be echo questioned in three ways. They were: a) Echoing the wh-word itself; b) Echoing the whole proposition; and c) Echoing a constituent other than a wh-word. The a&b types have been used to argue for the existence of Comp freezing and C_{EQ} in echo of WHQs. Here I will discuss the c-type of echo questions to WHQs for the purpose of wide scope assign-

ment of wh-phrases in Turkish WHQs. Again Comp Freezing and the C_{EQ} proposal will be in action to argue for wide scope assignment of echo-introduced wh-phrases in Turkish.

Sobin (2010) argued that English EQs of WHQs require wide scope for echo-introduced wh-phrases. This is true for even embedded and deeply embedded sentences. Do Turkish EQs have this property? For an answer, I will start with presenting simple WHQs in Turkish and EQs to them. (8) will be repeated as (15) here.

(15) a. U: Kim döv-dü-ø Ali'yi?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

'Who beat Ali?'

b. E: (Kim döv-dü-ø) **kim-i**?

(Who beat-PAST-3SG) who-ACC?

'Who beat WHOM?'

In (15) kimi 'whom' is inserted into the main utterance to make an echo question to it. We end up with having two wh-phrases in hand. Now the problem is to decide which wh-word is being questioned. In other words, are both wh-phrases bound by a single C and do they both have wide scope, or only one wh-word has wide scope? Consider the following sentences for an answer. 'R' will indicate response to the EQ.

(15) a. U: Kim döv-dü-ø Ali'yi?

Who beat-PAST-3SG Ali-ACC

‘Who beat Ali?’

b. E: Kim döv-dü-ø **kim-i?**

Who beat-PAST-3SG who-ACC

‘Who beat WHO?’

c. R:* Veli (dövdü Ali’yi).

‘Veli beat Ali’

d. R: Ali’yi!

‘Ali.’

Here the newly introduced wh-phrase in object position (i.e., *kimi* ‘whom’) elicits for information. A possible question to be asked is what motivation is behind the fact that *kimi* ‘whom’ has wide scope over *kim* ‘who’. We know that all interrogative phrases must have a scope assignment to establish whether or not they are being questioned. For now let’s assume that (15b) has the feature composition as follows;

(15) b. E: [_{CP} [_{TP} Kim döv-dü *kimi*] [_C INT, *uwh*]]

‘Who beat whom?’

Both wh-phrases in the EQ need a valuation and scope assignment. I will resolve this scope assignment problem of such Turkish EQs by following Sobin (2010). Note that an echo

introduced wh-phrase is targeted in (15b). Otherwise each of the wh-phrases might have wide scope through C_{WH} which bind both of them. In that case both wh-words would elicit for an answer, yet they don't.

As mentioned earlier Sobin (2010) argues that all EQ-introduced 'interrogative-marked' phrases have $[ui-m]$, which requires a scope value. EQs make use of a different complementizer, C_{EQ} which assigns scope to all 'interrogative-marked' expressions. Turkish echo questions utilize the same mechanism as well: Addition of the higher C_{EQ} , which gives the EQ-introduced WH phrase wide scope. Consider the revised derivation in (15c):

(15c) E: $[_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} \text{Kim dövdü } \mathbf{kimi}] [_C \text{INT, } uwh] [\mathbf{C_{EQ}}]]?$
 $[\mathbf{ui-m: C_{EQ}}] \qquad \qquad [\text{INT, } \mathbf{ui-m}]$

In this structure, *kimi* 'whom' has wide scope and thus has interrogative reading through its $[ui-m]$ feature which is bound and valued by C_{EQ} in the highest CP. On the other hand *kim* 'who' has narrow scope due to the fact that C_{uwh} which binds it is positioned below C_{EQ} . Hence (15c) succeeds in explaining how *kimi* 'whom' has wide scope over *kim* 'who'. In other words, (15c) illustrates that in such EQs, the wh-phrase in the lower position gets wide scope, and the wh-phrase in the higher position gets narrow scope.¹¹

¹¹ Syntactic echo of subject WHQs in English manifests this observation too in which the sentence seems to violate Superiority. Consider the example:

(1) U: Who ate the cookie?
 E: Who ate WHAT?
 E: *What did who eat?

See Sobin (2010) for further analysis.

Wide scope for an echo-introduced wh-phrase is available in object WHQs too. (9) will be repeated as (16):

(16) a. U: Ali (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø?

Ali (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

‘Who did Ali beat again?’

b. E: **Kim** (yine) kim-i döv-dü-ø?

Who (again) who-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

‘Who did WHO beat (again)?’

c. R: * Ali Veli’yi döv-dü-ø.

Ali Veli-ACC beat-PAST-3SG

‘Ali beat Veli.’

d. R: * Veli’yi.

‘Veli’

e. R: Ali (dövdü Veli’yi).

‘Ali (beat Veli).’

The newly introduced wh-phrase for the subject position targets an answer (i.e. 16e), not the object wh-phrase in the original sentence (i.e. 16d). We cannot observe wide scope for

both wh-phrases either (i.e.16c). The grammaticality of (16e) supports the claim that the new CP layer with C_{EQ} is built on the top of the original utterance. Now this EQ has the following structure:

$$(16b') \quad E: [_{CP} [_{TP} \text{Kim kimi döv}d\ddot{u}] [_{C} \text{INT, } uwh]] [C_{EQ}]]? \\ \quad \quad \quad [ui-m: C_{EQ}] \quad \quad \quad [INT, ui-m]$$

The new C_{EQ} has a [ui-m] feature and needs a goal to check its uninterpretable feature. The newly introduced wh-phrase too has [ui-m] feature to be valued by a C in this case by C_{EQ} in the highest position. This also explains the ungrammaticality of (16c-d). C_{WH} which binds and values the wh-phrases is now buried under C_{EQ}. Following the same pattern, the new wh-phrase with the [ui-m] feature (16b) has wide scope because C_{EQ} which binds and values it is in the highest position in the structure.

As the structure illustrates the newly introduced wh-phrase for the subject position is valued by the highest C_{EQ} with [ui-m] feature so that it can receive interrogative semantics over wh-phrase in the object position which is valued by the C_{WH} buried under C_{EQ} now.

We can now move to the embedded sentences and EQs to them in discussing wide-scope for echo-introduced wh-phrases in Turkish. Consider the examples below:¹²

(17) a. U: Ayşe [kim-in Ali'yi döv-düğ-ü]-nü sor-du-ø.

Ayşe [who-GEN Ali-ACC beat-NOM-POSS]-ACC ask-PAST-3SG

¹² See Kural (1993) for an analysis that –K morpheme in some subordinate inflections in Turkish functions as the C⁰.

‘Ayşe asked who beat Ali.’

b. E: [_{CP} Ayşe [_{CP} kim-in **kim-i** döv-düğ-ü]-nü sor-du-ø]?

Ayşe [who-GEN whom-ACC beat-NOM-POSS]-ACC ask-PAST-3SG

‘Ayşe asked who beat WHOM?’

c. R: Kimin Ali’yi dövdüğünü sordu.

‘She asked who beat Ali.’

A new wh-phrase for the object position in the embedded sentence is inserted into the main utterance. Only the echo-introduced wh-phrase elicits for an answer by having wide scope. Similar to echo of simple WHQs, they make use of C_{EQ} with [INT, *ui-m*] which needs a goal to uncheck its uninterpretable feature. The new wh-phrase also has the [*ui-m*] feature which needs a scope valuation by a C_{EQ} . Then the derivation of the construction becomes as follows:

b'. [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Ayşe [_{CP} [_{TP} kimin **kimi** dövdüğünü]] sordu] [_C DECL]] [**C_{EQ}**].

[***ui-m***: C_{EQ}]

[INT, ***ui-m***]

4.4 Non-wh Phrases with Interrogative Emphasis

In this section I will argue that Turkish EQs exhibit non-wh-phrases with interrogative semantics. Consider the examples:

(18) a. U: Müfit Ali’nin parti-si-nde ne iç-ti-ø?

Müfit Ali-GEN party-ACC-ABL what drink-PAST-3SG

‘What did Müfit drink at Ali’s party?’

a.’ [CP [TP Müfit Ali’nin partisinde ne içti] [C INT, *uwh*]]?

b. E: **Müfit** Ali’nin parti-si-nde ne iç-ti-ø?

Müfit Ali-GEN party-ACC-ABL what drink-PAST-3SG

‘What did MÜFİT drink at Ali’s party?’

c. R:* Tekila.

‘Tequila.’

d. R: Evet, Müfit.

‘Yes, Müfit.’

In (18a) we have an object wh-phrase. As an echo question to it (18b) is uttered introducing intonation to the subject of the clause. Here the hearer shows his surprise by being told that ‘Müfit drinks (alcohol)’. As a response to it (18c) fails. However (18d) is the correct response to (18b).

If Sobin is on the right track in his proposal that intonationally-marked non-wh-word phrases can be bound by C_{EQ} in the highest position so that they receive question semantics, the given data can be explained following his proposal. In that case (18b) will have the following structure:

(18) b'. [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} **Müfit** Ali'nin partisinde ne içti] [_C INT, *ıwh*] [**C_{EQ}**]]?

[*ıi-m*: **C_{EQ}**]

[INT, *ıi-m*]

'Müfit' with [*ıi-m*] feature is valued by C_{EQ} so that its question reading can be obtained.

We can observe the same behavior in a declarative sentence as well. Consider the example:

(19) a. U: Müfit Ali'nin parti-si-nde tekila iç-ti-ø.

Müfit Ali-GEN party-ACC-ABL tequila drink-PAST-3SG

'Müfit drank tequila at Ali's party.'

b. E: **Müfit** Ali'nin parti-si-nde tekila iç-ti-ø?

Müfit Ali-GEN party-POSS-ABL tequila drink-PAST-3SG

'MÜFIT drank tequila at Ali's party?'

c. R: Evet, Müfit.

'Yes, Müfit.'

(19a) is a declarative sentence. In the echo question to it, the subject is given intonation to show the surprise at the claim that 'Müfit drinks (alcohol).' The mechanism behind this semantics is explained by Müfit's having a [*ıi-m*] feature which is valued by the new added CP with C_{EQ} bearing [*ıi-m*]. Thus derivation is (19b):

(19b') [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} **Müfit** Ali'nin partisinde tekila içti] [_C DECL]] [**C_{EQ}**]]?

[~~ui-m~~: C_{EQ}]

[INT, ~~ui-m~~]

[~~ui-m~~] on C needs to be checked by valuing a goal, so it probes down for a constituent with a matching feature. The echo introduced subject has the same matching feature then they both knock off their uninterpretable features hence the derivation in (19b') succeeds.

4.4 The Availability of Pseudo and Syntactic EQs in Turkish

The findings on Turkish EQs so far bring to light another similarity to English EQs with respect to the availability of Syntactic EQs and Pseudo EQs. Recall from Chapter 2 that Sobin (2010) argues for two types of echo questions in English. These are pseudo EQs and syntactic EQs. Pseudo EQs are observed when you echo an utterance but adhere to the syntax of normal question formation. Syntactic EQs are, on the other hand, the ones that you echo an expression using Comp Freezing and C_{EQ}. For convenience, the examples in Chapter 2 are repeated here:

- (20) a. U: Mary dated Beethoven
b. E: Who did Mary date? (pseudo EQ)
c. E: Mary dated who? (syntactic EQ)

(20b) abides by the syntax of normal question formation in English, and (20c) has a wh-phrase left in-situ.

My analysis of Turkish EQs partly follows from the characteristic of Turkish interrogative sentences that they never allow Q particle and WH phrase simultaneously except for the EQs¹³. The data thus far has illustrated the mechanism for the cooccurrence of the Q particle and a

¹³ Aygen (2007) discusses the idea that Turkish WHQs benefit from a Null Q particle.

WH phrase in EQs. Yet Turkish displays EQs without the cooccurrence of Q the particle and a wh-phrase. See the examples below:

(21) a. U: Müfit domuz eti ye-mis-Ø.

Müfit pork eat- REP.PAST-3SG

‘Müfit reportedly ate pork.’

b. E: Müfit ne ye-mis-Ø?

Müfit what eat-REP.PAST-3SG

‘What did Müfit eat?’

c. E: Müfit domuz eti mi ye-mis-Ø?

Müfit pork Q eat-REP.PAST-3SG

‘Did Müfit eat pork?’

Echo questions to a declarative sentence, (21b-c), fits the norm that interrogative sentences in Turkish never contain both Q particle and WH phrase at the same time. (21b) contains a wh-phrase for the object position, while (21c) benefits from a Q particle attached to the object NP in the clause. Following Sobin (2010) I will call such EQs in Turkish as “Pseudo EQ”. Note also that the observation that English pseudo EQs cannot echo a non-declarative utterance is consistent with Turkish EQs. Consider the examples below:

(22) a. U: Müfit domuz eti ye-miş-Ø mi? (YNQ, non-DECL)

Müfit pork eat- REP.PAST-3SG Q

‘Did Müfit reportedly eat pork?’

b. E: Müfit **ne** ye-miş-ø mi? (Syntactic echo of YNQ)

Müfit what eat-REP.PAST-3SG Q

‘Did Müfit eat WHAT?’

(23) a. U: Müfit parti-de ne iç-ti- ø? (WHQ, non-DECL)

Müfit party-ABL what drink-PAST-3SG

‘What did Müfit drink at the party?’

b. E: Müfit parti-de ne **mi** iç-ti- ø? (Syntactic Echo of WHQ)

Müfit party-ABL what Q drink-PAST-3SG

‘WHAT did Müfit drink at the party?’

(21-23) illustrate that echo of an YNQ and a WHQ is only through syntactic echo question: pseudo EQs fail in this framework. Thus I will claim that such disparity of EQs in Turkish can be explained with the availability of two types of echo questions in Turkish: i) Pseudo EQs; ii) Syntactic EQs.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The thesis work here is an attempt to see to what extent Sobin's analysis of English EQs extends to Turkish. I have benefited from Sobin (2010) in the investigation. The data in Turkish has been argued to be on a par with some characteristics of English echo question. They are: i) Comp Freezing; ii) Echo question complementizer: C_{EQ} ; iii) Wide scope for echo-introduced wh-phrases; iv) EQs's allowing non-phrases with interrogative interpretation; v) The availability of Pseudo and Syntactic EQs in Turkish. The work has adapted the most convenient assumptions on the syntax of Turkish question sentences and limited itself to the analysis of EQs. As the analysis of Turkish interrogatives is still under investigation the study here can by no means give an answer to every question that can be asked about them. However I hope that this study can serve as a starting point for an intense investigation of EQs in Turkish.

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CURRICULUM VITA

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