

NOT EVERY GAP IS A GAP:
TURKISH RIGHT NODE RAISING AND THE SYNTAX-PF INTERFACE

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TURKISH RIGHT NODE RAISING AND THE SYNTAX-PF INTERFACE**

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ABSTRACT

NOT EVERY GAP IS A GAP: TURKISH RIGHT NODE RAISING AND THE SYNTAX-PF INTERFACE

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This thesis investigates Right Node Raising (RNR) constructions in Turkish. I argue that Turkish RNR requires both ellipsis and multidominance. The evidence comes from the variation in agreement morphology on the surviving verb: I show that when the verb shows cumulative agreement (i.e., when it agrees with both subjects), the structure shows effects reminiscent of multidominance (licenses plurality dependent expressions and allows distributive readings). In comparison, when the verb shows non-cumulative agreement (i.e., when it agrees with the subject of the final conjunct), the structure exhibits effects reminiscent of ellipsis (allows morphological and polarity mismatches, yields sloppy readings of pronouns, and permits the verbs in the two conjuncts to be semantically different). I also show that these effects are in complementary distribution, suggesting that an observed effect is only compatible with either multidominance or ellipsis. In addition, I argue that multidominance and ellipsis can interact, but I show that this interaction is sensitive to constituency.

Keywords: Right Node Raising, ellipsis, multidominance, Turkish, gapping

ÖZ

HER BOŞLUK BİR BOŞLUK DEĞİLDİR: TÜRKÇE SAĞ BUDAK TAŞIMA VE SÖZDİZİM-SESBİLİMSEL BİÇİM ARAKESİTİ

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Bu tez, Türkçedeki Sağ Budak Yükseltme (Right Node Raising) yapılarını incelemektedir. Bu tezde, Türkçe Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarındaki fiil üzerindeki uyum çeşitliliğine dayanarak, hem Eksilti hem de çoklu-başatlık gerektirdiğini ileri sürüyorum. Fiil kümülatif uyum gösterdiğinde (her iki özne ile uyuma girdiğinde), yapı çoklu-başatlığın etkilerini göstermektedir: çoğulluk bağımlı ifadeler ve dağılımlı okumalara izin vermektedir. Fiil yalnızca son bağlaç öbeğinin öznesiyle tekil (kümülatif olmayan) uzlaşım gösterdiğinde ise yapı eksilti etkileri göstermektedir: biçimbirimsel ve kutuplanma uyumsuzluklarına izin vermekte, zamirlerin değişken okumalarına ve senkretik fiillerin anlamsal olarak farklı olmasına olanak tanımaktadır. Bu etkilerin tamamlayıcı dağılım içinde olduğunu ve gözlemlenen bir etkinin yalnızca çoklu-başatlık ya da eksiltiden biriyle uyumlu olduğunu gösteriyorum. Buna ek olarak, çoklu-başatlık ve eksiltinin birbiriyle etkileşime girebileceğini savunuyor; ancak bu etkileşimin kurucu yapılarla sınırlı olduğunu ortaya koyuyorum.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sağ Budak Yükseltme, eksilti, çoklu-başatlık, Türkçe, boşaltma

To ZZ, I couldn't do it without you



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An attentive reader may have noticed that I have not yet thanked my advisor. One important thing I learned from my advisor is to not take any rule for granted, no matter where it comes from. The observation I make suggests that the end of this acknowledgements section is usually reserved for special people. This is why, I thank my advisor Martina Gračanin-Yüksek here, right before my family, exactly where she belongs. Ever since my undergraduate years, she has always supported me as a student, as an athlete and most importantly, as a linguist. Apart from always finding the time to meet me and considering every little detail in literally everything I do; I thank her most of all for believing in me. It means the world to me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

?	Almost Acceptable
*	Syntactically Ill-formed
#	Indicates a prosodic break
φ	Phi-feature
&P	Coordination Phrase
1	1 st Person
2	2 nd Person
3	3 rd Person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
Agr	Agreement
AgrP	Agreement Phrase
ATB	Across the Board
AuxP	Auxiliary Phrase
BG	Backward Gapping
CAgr	Cumulative Agreement
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
DAT	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
FG	Forward Gapping
GEN	Genitive
IMPF	Imperfective
INT	Intended Meaning
LF	Logical Form
MD	Multidominance

Neg	Negation
NCAgr	Non-cumulative Agreement
Nom	Nominalizer
NomP	Nominalizer Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
PAST	Past Tense
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PL	Plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase
QR	Quantifier Raising
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive
RNR	Right Node Raising
RNR-E	Right Node Raising as Ellipsis
RNR-MD	Right Node Raising as Multidominance
SG	Singular
Spec	Specifier
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
V	V
VP	Verb Phrase
v	Little Verb
vP	Little Verb Phrase
V ^C	Verb that shows Cumulative Agreement
V ^{NC}	Verb that shows Non-cumulative Agreement

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I examine backward gapping constructions in Turkish, illustrated in (1). In such constructions, the verb in the initial conjunct is not pronounced, and the verb in the final conjunct is interpreted in both conjuncts.

- (1) Ali elma-yı, Ayşe de armut-u ye-di.
Ali apple-ACC Ayşe and pear-ACC eat-PST
“Ali (ate) apple and Ayşe ate pear.”

The term *gapping*, coined by Ross (1970), is a type of ellipsis where a repeated main verb in a coordinate structure gets deleted in non-final conjunct(s), as shown in (2). In head-initial languages such as English, gapping only operates forward, and *backward gapping* is impossible as shown by (3).

- (2) Some ate beans and others, rice.

(Johnson 2004: 1)

- (3) *Some beans, and others ate rice.

However, some languages such as Turkish, Japanese and Polish, allow backward gapping, which makes it possible to gap the verb in the initial conjunct, exemplified in (4) with Polish.

- (4) ?Jan kawę pije, a Maria herbatę pije.
Jan coffee drinks and Maria tea drinks
‘Jan (drinks) coffee and Maria drinks tea.’

(Citko 2018: 1)

In this thesis, I will show that properties of backward gapping in Turkish overlap perfectly with the properties of Right Node Raising (*RNR*), where the rightmost material in each conjunct in a coordinate structure is pronounced only in the final conjunct, but is interpreted in both/all conjuncts.¹ *RNR* is illustrated in (5), where the object DP *a book* is pronounced only following the verb *read* in the second conjunct, but is interpreted as the direct object of the verb *bought* in the initial conjunct as well. This constituent, which satisfies both conjuncts in an *RNR* construction, has also been called the *pivot* in the literature (Citko 2017, Sabbagh 2014)

(5) Alice bought, and John read *a book*.

The only difference between the constructions named backward gapping in Turkish (and other languages that allow it) and *RNR* in head-initial languages is the constituent that is unpronounced. In English *RNR*, the constituent missing from the initial conjunct (the *pivot*) is typically either the direct object, an adjunct, or some other constituent that is naturally found conjunct-finally. Because of its head-final nature, the conjunct-final element in Turkish is the verb, and no matter how big the *pivot* is, the verb must be a part of it. Thus, *RNR* in Turkish most naturally targets the verb (or a constituent that includes the verb). Gapping, including backward gapping, also obligatorily targets the verb (or a constituent that includes the verb). Since the verb in Turkish is conjunct final, gapping resembles *RNR*.

The observation that backward gapping and *RNR* in Turkish are indistinguishable is by no means new. Duman and van Riemsdijk (2003) and Ince (2009) argue that backward gapping is *RNR*. Ince builds his argument on the observation made in Bozşahin (2001), who shows that backward gapping in (6) and (7) requires a parallel word order between the two conjuncts, while forward gapping in (8) and (9) does not (see Ince (2009) for more combinations regarding word order).

(6) Adam kitab-ı, çocuk da dergi-yi oku-du. *backward gapping*
 man book-ACC child CONJ magazine-ACC read-PAST **SO & SOV**
 ‘The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.’

¹ While earlier works such as Hankamer (1971) and Maling (1972) mention the construction as *node raising*, the term Right Node Raising (*RNR*) has been attributed to Postal (1974) (Citko 2017).

(7) *Kitab-ı adam, çocuk da dergi-yi oku-du. *backward gapping*
 book-ACC man child CONJ magazine-ACC read-PAST *OS & SOV
 ‘The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.’

(8) Adam kitab-ı oku-du, çocuk da dergi-yi. *forward gapping*
 man book-ACC read-PAST child CONJ magazine-ACC SOV & SO
 ‘The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.’

(9) Adam kitab-ı oku-du, dergi-yi de çocuk. *forward gapping*
 man book-ACC read-PAST magazine-ACC CONJ child SOV & OS
 ‘The man read the book, and the child, the magazine.’

(Ince 2009: 249)

There are three main analyses that have been proposed to derive the properties of RNR: ATB-movement (Abbott 1976; Postal 1974; Ross 1967; Sabbagh 2007), ellipsis (An 2007; Bošković 2004; Ha 2006; Hartmann 2000) and multidominance (Abels 2004; Bachrach & Katzir 2009; Citko 2005; Fox & Pesetsky 2007). There are, however, proposals which argue that RNR structures can involve different (combinations of these) processes. Barros and Vicente (2011) argue that certain examples of RNR are best analyzed through ellipsis, while certain others are best analyzed through multidominance, and the choice depends on the distinct properties of each example.² More recently, Belk, Neeleman and Philip (2023) proposed that in certain cases, a single RNR sentence may involve both ellipsis and multidominance.

Ellipsis, for example, has been argued to be tolerant of inflectional mismatches across conjuncts (Bošković 2004; Fiengo and May 1994; Sag 1976; Williams 1977). In the VP ellipsis example (10), the elided VP is recovered as *sleep in his office*, while the antecedent VP is *slept in her office*, so the two conjuncts show a tense and gender mismatch. This is also possible under RNR, as shown in the example (11), where the

² Barros & Vicente rule out the ATB-movement of the pivot as a possible analysis of RNR, since earlier works argue that ATB-movement violates certain restrictions on movement with respect to locality and bans on adposition stranding. In this thesis, I also rule out ATB-movement as a possible source for RNR, since a multidominance approach can account for the same set of facts that has been attributed to ATB-movement (wide scope of the pivot, internal reading of relational adjectives) without violating the restrictions on movement (Bachrach & Katzir 2009). I discuss additional problems related to ATB-movement in Turkish in chapter 6, where I revisit earlier works.

missing portion of the structure is recovered as *wake up early every day* while the antecedent is *wakes up early every day*.

(10) Alice has slept in her office, but Bob will not [sleep in his office].

(11) I usually don't [wake up early every day], but Alice wakes up early every day.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

Another phenomenon that is expected under ellipsis is Vehicle Change. Fiengo and May (1994) observe the contrast between (12) and (13); in (13) ellipsis obviates an otherwise expected Principle C violation, which makes the non-elliptical sentence in (12) ill-formed (since in the second conjunct, the R-expression *Alice* is coindexed with the c-commanding pronoun *she*). Fiengo and May argue that this is possible due to Vehicle Change, a mechanism which allows the proper name *Alice* in the ellipsis site to be interpreted as its pronominal correlate *her*, obviating a Principle C violation, while retaining semantic parallelism required by the elided VP and the antecedent, as shown in (14).

(12) *I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will fire Alice_i.

(13) I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will [___].

(14) I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will [fire her_i].

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

Vehicle Change is also possible under RNR, as illustrated in (15). In the elliptical conjunct, the R-expression *Alice* is interpreted as *her* again, as shown in (16), which makes it subject to Principle B, instead of Principle C, and the example is grammatical.

(15) She_i hopes that the boss won't [___], but I suspect that the boss will fire Alice_i.

(16) She_i hopes that the boss won't [fire her_i], but I ...

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

RNR phenomena that are attributed to multidominance instead of ellipsis involve, for example, cumulative agreement (Grosz 2015). In examples such as (17), the auxiliary in the conjunct final constituent *have travelled to Cameroon* shows plural agreement, even though the embedded subjects in each conjunct (*John* and *Bill*) are singular.

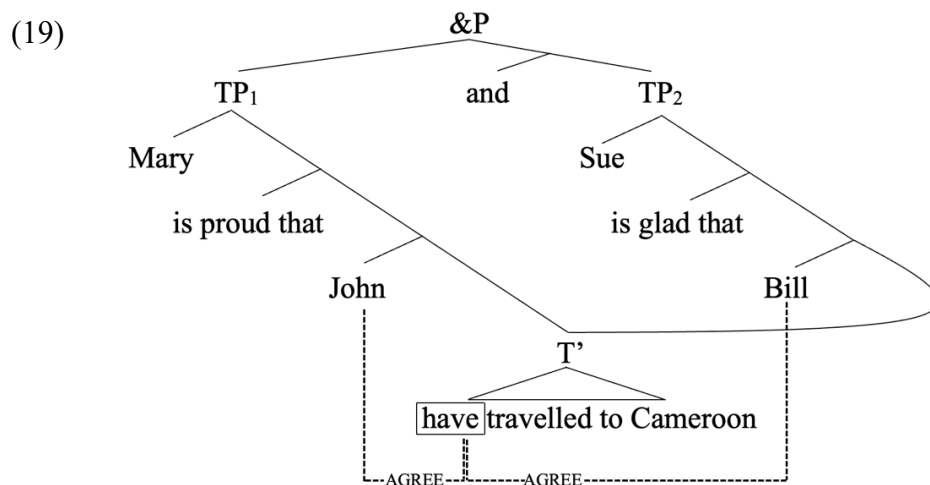
(17) [Mary is proud that *John* ___], and [Sue is glad that *Bill* ___] **have** $t_{John/Bill}$
travelled to Cameroon.

As Grosz states, the source of (17) cannot be (18): if it were, the verb in each conjunct would not show agreement with its subject (**John have travelled, *Bill have travelled*). This suggests that backward deletion alone cannot account for the derivation of cumulative agreement. If backward deletion was responsible for sentences such as (18), then each conjunct would have its own embedded T^0 , which would agree with the respective subject in each conjunct. Such configuration such would lead exclusively to singular agreement on the verb.

(18) [Mary is proud that *John have travelled t_{John} to Cameroon*], and [Sue is glad that *Bill have travelled t_{Bill} to Cameroon*].

(Grosz 2015: 25)

Grosz argues that the plurality in (17) is due to a shared T^0 , which is multiply dominated, as in(19), and agrees with both singular embedded subjects. The ϕ -features of both subjects accumulate on the shared T^0 , resulting in plural agreement.



(adapted from Grosz 2015: 14)

Another effect attributed to the multidominance analysis is the internal reading of relational adjectives like *same* and *different* (Abels 2004; Bachrach & Katzir 2009). A sentence such as (20)a), which contains a relational adjective, has two readings: an external reading, paraphrased in (20)b), and an internal reading, paraphrased in (20)c). While the external reading is always available, the internal reading requires the relational adjective to scope over distributively interpreted plurality or a distributive quantifier (Carlson 1987). In (20), the internal reading of the adjective *same* arises because the two conjoined subjects, *John and Bill*, represent such plurality.

- (20) a. John and Bill whistled the same tunes.
 b. **External Reading:** There is a tune such that both John and Bill whistled tunes that are the same as that (external) tune.
 c. **Internal Reading:** The tune that John whistled was the same as the tune Bill whistled and vice versa.

RNR also permits the internal reading of relational adjectives contained in the pivot: the sentence (21) allows for an internal reading of the adjective *different* even though neither of the conjuncts contains a plural subject or a distributive quantifier (Jackendoff 1977). This suggests that the relational adjective scopes over, i.e., c-commands, both singular subjects.

(21) Alice composed [__], and Beatrix performed [__], different songs.

[✓external, ✓internal]

(Jackendoff 1977: 192-194)

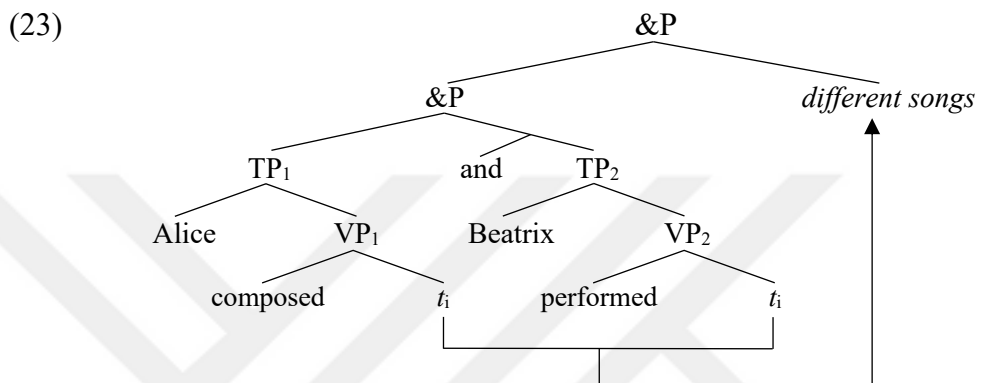
Abels (2004) shows that this contrasts sharply with the VP-ellipsis example (22), where the internal reading of the adjective *different* is absent. This suggests that ellipsis of the pivot in the first conjunct cannot derive the internal reading in (21).

(22) Alice composed different songs, and Beatrix did [__] too.

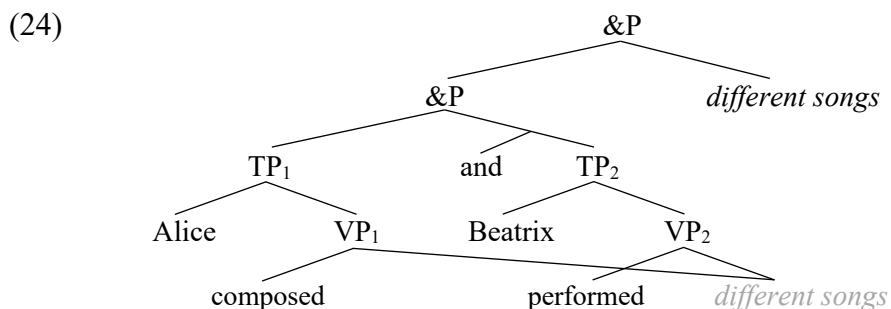
[✓external, *internal]

(Abels 2004)

Any phenomenon that requires the pivot to take wide scope with respect to conjunct-internal material, including internal readings of relational adjectives, can only be derived either through multidominance or through ATB-movement analyses of RNR, which, unlike the ellipsis analysis, allow the pivot to have exceptionally wide scope over both conjuncts. Under ATB-movement (Ross 1967), identical element(s) from both conjuncts move out of the conjuncts to be right adjoined to coordination, which allows the pivot to c-command both conjuncts. This is illustrated in (23).



By contrast, Bachrach and Katzir (2007) propose a multidominance analysis of RNR, which allows the shared pivot to take wide scope without any movement. For Bachrach and Katzir, the spell-out of a shared node is delayed until both conjuncts unite under the &P. Since the shared constituent is spelled out higher than coordination, as in (24), this delay allows the shared node *different songs* to c-command both conjuncts at LF, yielding the internal reading, as desired.³



Barros and Vicente argue that both ellipsis and multidominance are possible analyses for RNR, but they specifically argue that the two processes are in complementary

³ For a more detailed discussion of Bachrach and Katzir's (2007) analysis of RNR, see chapter 3.

distribution. The note that the example in (25), which contains no morphological mismatches, allows cumulative agreement. On the other hand, the example in (26), in which the pivot is non-finite, allows two types of mismatches: the pronoun *his* in the pivot is interpreted as *her* in the initial conjunct, and the verb in the initial conjunct is a participle (*negotiated*) while in the second conjunct it is an infinitive (*negotiate*).

(25) *No morphological mismatch, cumulative agreement possible*

Alice is happy that Beatrix [__], and Claire is proud that Diane [__],
{have/*has} negotiated with the manager.

(26) *No cumulative agreement, morphological mismatch possible*

Alice already has [__], and Bob is about to [__], negotiate his salary with
the manager.

Crucially, an example that exhibits a phenomenon imposed by multidominance cannot exhibit ellipsis effects. In the example (27), the presence of cumulative agreement blocks the possibility of a morphological mismatch. Unlike (26), example (27) only has a strict reading where Beatrix negotiated Daniel's salary and not her own.

(27) *Cumulative agreement, potential morphological mismatch blocked*

Alice is happy that Beatrix [__], and Claire is proud that Daniel [__], have
negotiated his salary with the manager.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 6)

A similar conflict arises in the class of examples that attempt to combine Vehicle Change and cumulative agreement even though both examples are grammatical on their own, as illustrated in (28)-(29). However, when the example contains cumulative agreement on the auxiliary, as in (30), the subject pronoun *she* in the initial clause cannot co-refer with the proper name *Claire*, which suggests that Vehicle Change is not possible.

(28) *No cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change possible*

She_i fears [__], but Bob is not worried [__], that Alice_i might lose the
election.

(29) *No Vehicle Change, cumulative agreement possible*

Alice fears that Beatrix [__], and Claire worries that Diane [__], {have/*has} decided to nominate Esther.

(30) *Cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change Blocked*

She_{*i/k} fears that Alex [__], and I worry that Bob [__], {have/*has} decided to nominate Claire_i.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 7)

Other attempts that intent to combine ellipsis- and multidominance-induced effects, such as morphological mismatches and internal readings, also result in conflicts. Without any morphological mismatch present, the example (31), which contains a relational adjective *different* in the pivot, gives rise to an internal reading. By contrast, when the verbs in the two conjuncts show mismatch with respect to tense (*worked* versus *work*), as in (32), the internal reading is not available.

(31) *No morphological mismatch, internal reading possible*

Alice must [__], and Beatrix should [__], work on different theories.

[✓external, ✓internal]

(32) *Morphological mismatch present, internal reading blocked*

Alice has [__], and Beatrix wants to [__], work on different theories.

[✓external, *internal]

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 7)

Likewise, a sentence cannot at the same time exhibit vehicle change and yield the internal reading of a relational adjective. The sentence in (33) yields an internal reading of the relational adjective.

(33) *No Vehicle Change, internal reading possible*

Alice absolutely must [__], and Beatrix is obliged to [__], come up with different theories.

[✓external, ✓internal]

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 7)

However, when the subject in the initial conjunct is replaced by a pronoun *she*, as in (34)a), the internal reading is blocked if the pronoun is coindexed with an R-expression *Alice* in the pivot, as in (34)b). The disjoint indexing of the subject pronoun *she* and *Alice*, illustrated in (34)c), saves the internal reading. Thus, either vehicle change or internal reading is available in (34)a), but not both.

(34) *Either Vehicle Change or internal reading blocked*

- a. She absolutely must [__], and Beatrix is obliged to [__], present different theories to Alice’s supervisor.
- b. She_i absolutely must [__], and Beatrix is obliged to [__], present different theories to Alice’s_i supervisor.
 - a. [✓vehicle change/*internal]
- c. She_k absolutely must [__], and Beatrix is obliged to [__], present different theories to Alice’s_i supervisor.
 - [*vehicle change/✓internal]

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 8)

In this thesis, taking seriously the similarities between backward gapping and RNR in Turkish, I propose that they receive the same analysis.⁴ In particular, I show that examples like (1), repeated here as (35), sometimes involve multidominance, and sometimes ellipsis.

- (35) Ali elma-y₁, Ayşe de armut-u ye-di.
 Ali apple-ACC Ayşe and pear-ACC eat-PST
 “Ali (ate) apple and Ayşe ate pear.”

In distinguishing between a multidominance and an ellipsis analysis of RNR in Turkish, I will rely on examples in which the surviving verb may overtly agree either with the subject in the second conjunct only, or it can agree with both subjects, exhibiting cumulative agreement, as shown in (36)-(37) below, where the surviving

⁴ I follow Ince (2009) and analyze the so called ‘backward gapping’ as RNR and refer to this construction as RNR. However, to avoid confusion, I specifically mention the analysis that can account for RNR when it is necessary since various analyses have been argued to be a possible source for RNR, such as ellipsis (Hartmann 2000; Bošković 2004), multidominance (Abels 2004; Fox & Pesetsky 2007; Bachrach & Katzir 2009) and ATB-movement (Hankamer 1971; Abbott 1976; Sabbagh 2007).

verb can either show first person singular agreement (*yedim* ‘ate.1SG’) or first person plural agreement (*yedik* ‘ate.1PL’).⁵

(36) Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-m. *non-cumulative agreement*
You apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
“You (ate) apple and I ate pear.”

(37) Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-k. *cumulative agreement*
You apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
“You (ate) apple and I ate pear.”

In the following chapters, I use cumulative agreement on the surviving verb as a diagnostic of multidominance. I show that in the absence of cumulative agreement on the surviving verb, the structure shows effects that are reminiscent of ellipsis. For example, it allows the material missing from the first conjunct to be morphologically non-identical with the pronounced antecedent. It also allows the verbs in the two conjuncts to have different meanings, as long as they are syncretic. Similarly, in the absence of cumulative agreement, the structure does not permit distributive readings of quantificational elements contained in the pivot and it does not license plurality dependent expressions (such as the reciprocal *birbiri* ‘each other’) contained in the pivot. By contrast, when the verb shows cumulative agreement and agrees with both subjects, the structure shows effects that are indicative of multidominance. For example, in such cases, the sentence permits distributive readings of numerals contained in the pivot, which suggests that the pivot c-commands both subjects. Moreover, examples with cumulative agreement license plurality dependent expressions, but do not allow morphological mismatches or syncretic, but semantically non-identical verbs across conjuncts.

⁵ There seem to be conflicting judgements with respect to the grammaticality of both examples. While Ince (2009) finds plural (cumulative) agreement ungrammatical, Kornfilt (2010, 2012) reports that the plural agreement on the verb is most natural and marks the examples where the verb agrees with the final conjunct as ungrammatical. In an experimental study, Gürer & Göksel (2019) show that both examples are in fact acceptable, especially with the right prosody. They show that there is a prosodic break before the plural verb, and such break is absent when the verb agrees with the final conjunct only. I find both examples grammatical, and my judgements align with Gürer & Göksel’s findings. While the judgements reported in this thesis are my own, I have also consulted 14 native speakers of Turkish for judgements. While 3 speakers accept cumulative agreement and reject non-cumulative agreement, 5 speakers accept both agreement patterns. The remaining 6 speakers I have consulted accept only the non-cumulative agreement, and reject the cumulative agreement example.

Considering that the effects observed with different agreement patterns on the verb (namely cumulative agreement and agreement with the subject in the final conjunct only) are in complementary distribution, following Barros and Vicente (2011), I propose an eclectic analysis of RNR, which requires both ellipsis and multidominance to explain the full range of facts.

The thesis is organized as follows. In the next chapter, I introduce the properties of RNR in Turkish and show that the observed effects of multidominance and ellipsis dovetail with the agreement morphology on the verb in such constructions. In chapter 3, I develop my analysis based on the observed facts. In chapter 4, I show that multidominance and ellipsis can interact within the same structure (Belk et al. 2023), and I investigate what governs this interaction. In chapter 5, I summarize earlier works, which all propose a homogenous/exclusivist analysis of backward gapping/RNR in Turkish and I show why all of the exclusivist analyses that have been offered for this construction fall short of explaining all the facts. In chapter 6, I mention some of the remaining questions. Chapter 7 is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

THE FACTS

In Turkish RNR constructions, there are two possibilities with respect to agreement on the surviving verb (the pivot). The verb can agree with the subject in the final conjunct, as in (38). I will refer to such agreement pattern as *non-cumulative agreement (NCAgr)* and I will abbreviate a verb with non-cumulative agreement as V^{NC} . Alternatively, the verb may also show plural agreement with respect to subjects in both conjuncts, even if they are singular, as in (39).⁶ I will call this agreement pattern *cumulative agreement (CAgr)* and I will abbreviate a verb with cumulative agreement as V^C .

(38) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-**m**. *NCAgr*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

(Ince 2009: 252)

(39) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-**k**. *CAgr*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 57)

These two patterns of verb agreement interact differently with a number of phenomena. In the following section, I show that each of the two agreement patterns mentioned above dovetails with the effects that are expected from multidominance/ellipsis analyses of RNR. Crucially, I also show that the effects that are observed with each of the two agreement patterns are in complementary distribution.

⁶ İsa Kerem Bayırlı (p.c.) states that cumulative agreement suggests that the two events reported by the conjuncts are somehow related to one another, and accumulate to one bigger event. The cumulative example in (39) is an answer to a question such as "Why is there no more fruit?" but not to a question such as "What did you and I do?", whereas non-cumulative examples are not constrained in that way.

In section 2.1 and the following subsections, I present examples which show that when the verb agrees with the subject of the final conjunct only (V^{NC}), the sentence shows effects that are reminiscent of ellipsis: In section 2.1.1., we will see that examples with V^{NC} tolerate morphological mismatches between the verbs in the two conjuncts. In section 2.1.2., I show that in examples with V^{NC} , it is possible to license an NPI in the initial conjunct without overt negation on the surviving verb. In section 2.1.3., I show that examples with V^{NC} allow a sloppy reading of a pronoun contained within the pivot. Finally, in section 2.1.4., I show that in examples with V^{NC} , the verbs in the two conjuncts can have different meanings (even though they have the same form, such as *içmek* ‘drink/smoke’).

In section 2.2., I present the effects that arise when the verb agrees with the subjects of both conjuncts (i.e., when it shows cumulative agreement), which are indicative of multidominance. In section 2.2.1., I show that examples with V^C license plurality-dependent expressions, such as reciprocals. Similarly, such examples also permit distributive readings of quantificational elements and numerals contained in the pivot, discussed in section 2.2.2. In each subsection, we will also see that the effects that go hand in hand with V^{NC}/V^C are in complementary distribution, i.e., if an effect indicative of ellipsis or multidominance is observed in one agreement pattern, the other agreement pattern prohibits this effect. The complementary distribution of effects associated with ellipsis/MD suggests that both mechanisms are required to derive the full range of the observed phenomena. I present such an analysis in Chapter 3.

2.1. Phenomena Licensed Under Non-Cumulative Agreement

Here, I present the effects observed when the verb shows non-cumulative agreement, i.e., when it agrees with the subject of the final conjunct only (V^{NC}). Relevant effects include morphological and polarity mismatches between the verbs in the two conjuncts, the availability of sloppy reading in the elliptical conjunct, and the possibility of mismatches in the verb semantics across conjuncts. These effects are reminiscent of ellipsis. I also show that none of these effects shows up in sentences with the cumulative agreement morphology on the verb.

2.1.1 Morphological Mismatches

As mentioned in the previous section, morphological mismatches between the overt antecedent and a missing portion in the non-final conjuncts are only allowed if the verb in the final conjunct shows non-cumulative agreement. This is illustrated in (40), where the verb in the final conjunct *gittim* ‘go.PAST.1SG’ agrees with the subject of that conjunct *ben* ‘I.1SG’, and not the subject of the initial conjunct, *sen* ‘you.2SG’ (*gittin* ‘go.PAST.2SG’), showing a mismatch with respect to person features in the two conjuncts.

- (40) *Sen ev-e, ben de okul-a git-ti-m. NCAgr*
you home-DAT I and school-DAT go-PAST-1SG
‘You (went) home, and I went to school.’

A mismatch between number features is also possible, as in (41), where the verb in the final conjunct *gittim* ‘go.PAST.1SG’ agrees with the subject of that conjunct *ben* ‘I.1SG’ and not the subject of the other conjunct *siz* ‘you.2PL’ (*gittiniz* ‘go.PAST.2PL’), leading to a mismatch between the number features in the two subjects.

- (41) *Siz ev-e, ben de okul-a git-ti-m. NCAgr*
you home-DAT I and school-DAT go-PAST-1SG
‘You (went) home, and I went to school.’

By contrast, when the verb shows cumulative (plural) agreement, ϕ -features of both subjects are expressed on the verb. In example (42), the verb *gittik* ‘go.PAST.1PL’ shows plural agreement even though subjects of both conjuncts (*sen* ‘you.2SG’ and *ben* ‘I.1SG’) are singular.

- (42) *Sen ev-e, ben de okul-a git-ti-k. CAgr*
you home-DAT I and school-DAT go-PAST-1PL
‘You (went) home, and I went to school.’

Unlike in (40) and (41), the verb in (42) shows agreement with the subjects of both conjuncts, and not just with subject of the final conjunct. In the examples where the verb agrees with both subjects, when the subjects of the conjuncts are flipped, the agreement is not affected, as shown in (43), where even though the subjects are flipped,

the ϕ -features of both singular subjects (*ben* ‘I.1SG’ and *sen* ‘you.2SG’) are still expressed on the verb, the same as in the original example (42).⁷

- (43) ?Ben ev-e, sen de okul-a git-ti-k. **CAgr**
 I home-DAT you and school-DAT go-PAST-1PL
 ‘I (went) home, and you went to school.’

This is not the case for the examples where the verb shows morphological mismatches; when the subjects of the conjuncts are flipped, the agreement pattern also changes. In (44) (the flipped version of (41)), the verb *gittiniz* ‘go.PAST.2PL’ agrees only with the subject of the final conjunct, and the ϕ -features of the subject of the initial conjunct (*ben* ‘I.1SG’) are not expressed on the verb.

- (44) Ben ev-e, siz de okul-a git-ti-niz. **NCAgr**
 I home-DAT you and school-DAT go-PAST-1PL
 ‘I (went) home, and you went to school.’

2.1.2. Polarity Mismatches

Mismatches in ϕ -features are not the only kind of verb mismatches that are attested in Turkish RNR examples; the two verbs may also differ in polarity. Let us first consider the example in (45), which has a negative polarity item (NPI) *hiçbirini* ‘none of.ACC’ in the final conjunct. While the NPI is licensed in (45) with both agreement patterns (singular *imzalamadım* ‘not sign.PAST.1SG’ and plural *imzalamadık* ‘not

⁷ In (43), a proximity effect is observed, namely, when the verb shows first person agreement *gittik* ‘went.1pl’ the preferred order of the subjects for most speakers is the one in which the first person subject *ben* ‘I’ is closer to the verb. However, Kornfilt (2019) notes that this is not unique to these examples. When the order of the subjects in the grammatical example with small-subject coordination (i) are switched, as in (ii), the outcome is not ungrammatical, although not great as the original example (i). This is what we observe in (42)-(43) as well, and although (43) is acceptable, it is not as great as (42).

- i. Ali ve ben *gel-di-m / *gel-di / gel-di-k
 Ali and I come-PAST-1SG come-PAST come-PAST-1PL
 ‘Ali and I came’.
- ii. Ben ve Ali *gel-di-m / *gel-di / gel-di-k
 I and Ali come-PAST-1SG come-PAST come-PAST-1PL
 ‘I and Ali came’.

(Kornfilt 2019: 60)

sign.PAST.1PL’), the first conjunct does not yield a reading where all the articles were signed; instead, it says that not all of them were signed. This suggests that negation scopes over both objects, *makalelerin hepsini* ‘all of the articles’ and *dosyaların hiçbirini* ‘none of the files’.

- (45) Sen makale-ler-in hepsi-ni, ben-se dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini
 you article-PL-GEN all of-ACC, I-but file-PL-GEN none of-ACC

imzala-ma-dı-m/-k.

sign-NEG-PAST-1SG/-1PL

‘You did not sign all of the articles, and I signed none of the files.’

Interestingly, when we flip the objects in the two conjuncts, as in (46), and make the verb in the pivot affirmative, *imzaladım* ‘sign.PAST.1SG’, the sentence is still grammatical although there is a negative polarity item *hiçbirini* ‘none of.ACC’ in the initial conjunct, which needs negation to license it. This suggests that the omitted verb in the initial conjunct is negative, *imzalamadım* ‘signed.NEG.1SG’, and that the unpronounced negation suffix *-mA* ‘not’ licenses the NPI *hiçbirini* ‘none of’.

- (46) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsi-ni
 you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC

imzala-dı-m.

sign-PST-1SG

‘You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.’

NCAgr

Notice that the polarity mismatch is only possible when the pronounced verb in the final conjunct shows non-cumulative agreement. When the pronounced verb that is affirmative shows cumulative agreement and there is an NPI in the initial conjunct, the sentence is ungrammatical, as shown in (47).

- (47) *Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsini imzaladık.
 you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-PST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles’

The contrast between (46) and (47) shows that in RNR structures where the verb agrees with both subjects (shows cumulative agreement) an NPI in the initial conjunct is not licensed without overt negation, whereas this is possible when the verb agrees only

with subject of the final conjunct (shows non-cumulative agreement). In other words, V^C does not tolerate polarity mismatches across conjuncts.

2.1.3. Strict/Sloppy Identity

Another observation related to the two agreement patterns concerns the availability of strict/sloppy readings of pronouns contained in the unpronounced material in the first conjunct. In (48), where the verb in the pivot shows non-cumulative agreement, the strict reading (where I saw *my* father and you saw *my* father) is available for only some speakers.⁸ In comparison to the strict reading, a sloppy reading where I saw *my* father and you saw *your* father is available for all speakers. The availability of the sloppy reading has been attributed to ellipsis (Partee 1978; Ross 1967).

- (48) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-m. **NCAgr**
 you yesterday I and today father-1P.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my* father yesterday, and I saw *my* father today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your* father yesterday, and I saw *my* father today.’

In comparison, when the pivot agrees with the subjects in both conjuncts, as in (49), the sloppy reading becomes unavailable. The sentence only has the reading where I saw my father and you saw my father, too.

- (49) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-k. **CAgr**
 you yesterday I and today father-1P.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 =Strict: ‘You saw *my* father yesterday, and I saw *my* father today.’
 ≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your* father yesterday, and I saw *my* father today.’

⁸ Not all speakers can access the strict reading of (48). In the literature, Eren Gezen (2022) and Günel (2025) both report that the strict identity interpretation of the anaphor is unavailable. Eren Gezen tested this with coordinate sentences like the one in (i) below, while Günel tested it with repeated RNR examples, like (ii).

- i. Hem Ecem hem İdil kendi-ni aşağı-la-dı.
 also Ecem also İdil self-ACC insult-PAST
 ‘Ecem insulted herself, and İdil insulted herself.’
- ii. Sen Mert’in, ben de Selim’in arkadaş-m-ı it-tiğ-ini öğren-di-m.
 You Mert-GEN I and Selim-GEN friend-POSS-ACC push-NOM-ACC learn-PAST-1SG
 ‘You learned that Mert (pushed his friend), and I learned that Selim pushed his friend.’

Both authors explain the absence of the strict reading by stating that vehicle change, necessary for the strict reading to arise, is impossible in Turkish RNR.

2.1.4. Syncretic Verbs

Duman and van Riemsdijk (2003) show that RNR in Turkish resists semantic mismatches, even though the elements subjected to RNR (*yaptı* ‘did/made’) may be syncretic. They use examples in (50) and (51), which are grammatical in isolation, and show that when they are conjoined and the verb is targeted by RNR, the result in (52) is ungrammatical since semantic categories of the object NPs *kek* ‘cake’ and *maç* ‘match’ are dissimilar.

(50) Zeynep kek yap-tı.
Zeynep cake make-PAST-3SG
‘Zeynep made a cake.’

(51) Deniz maç yap-tı.
Deniz match make-PAST-3SG
‘Deniz played football.’

(52) *Zeynep kek, Deniz ise maç yap-tı.
Zeynep cake Deniz and match make-PAST-3SG
‘Zeynep made a cake, and Deniz played fooball.’

(Duman & van Riemsdijk 2003: 23)

While (52) is worse than both (50) and (51) in isolation, there is something about these examples that needs to be clarified. While (50) is an ordinary example, in which the verb *yap* ‘make’ is used as a verb of creation, the verb *yap* ‘do’ in *maç yapmak* ‘have a match’ in (51) is a light verb. Furthermore, *maç yapmak* ‘have a match’ is different than *futbol oynamak* ‘play football’, and having a match entails having more than one participant in the event as one is not expected to ‘have a match’ on their own, suggesting that there might be a dropped internal argument in (51), such as *birileriyle* ‘with someone.PL’ or *arkadaşlarıyla* ‘with friends’, as in (53).

(53) Deniz (*arkadaş-lar-ı-yla*) maç yap-tı.
Deniz friend-PL-ACC-WITH match make-PAST-3SG
‘Deniz had a match (with his friends).’

It seems that when we introduce a contrasting internal argument to both conjuncts, as in (54), the example improves significantly.

(54) Zeynep *kuzen-ler-i-yle* kek, Deniz ise
 Zeynep cousin-PL-ACC-WITH cake Deniz and

arkadaş-lar-ı-yla maç yap-tı.
 friend-PL-ACC-WITH match make-PAST-3SG

‘Zeynep made a cake with her cousins, and Deniz had a match with his friends.’

Interestingly, even though pronouncing the internal argument in both conjuncts, as in (54), improves the ill-formed example (52), pronouncing the internal argument in both conjuncts do not save the example in (55), where the verb shows cumulative agreement.

(55) *Zeynep *kuzen-ler-i-yle* kek, Deniz ise
 Zeynep cousin-PL-ACC-WITH cake Deniz and

arkadaş-lar-ı-yla maç yap-tı-lar.
 friend-PL-ACC-WITH match make-PAST-3PL

‘Zeynep made a cake with her cousins, and Deniz had a match with his friends.’

In order to show that RNR in Turkish allows semantic mismatches in verbs across conjuncts, I will use the verb *iç*, ‘drink/smoke’, which cannot be used as a light verb the way *yap* ‘make/do’ can, and does not require implicit plurality of agents. The verb *iç* is syncretic between the meanings ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’. An example where both conjuncts have an object that is liquid is acceptable both when the verb appears in cumulative agreement, as in (56), and when it appears in non-cumulative agreement, as in (57).

(56) Sen suy-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-m. **NCAgr**
 you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
 ‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

(57) Sen suy-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-k. **CAgr**
 you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
 ‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

However, when one of the objects necessitates inhaling, such as a cigarette, the sentence is only acceptable when the agreement on the verb is non-cumulative, as in (58). When the agreement on the verb is cumulative, as in (59), the result is ungrammatical.

(58) Sen sigara-y₁, ben de soda-y₁ iç-ti-m. *NCAgr*
 you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
 ‘You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda’

(59) *Sen sigara-y₁, ben de soda-y₁ iç-ti-k. *CAgr*
 you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
 ‘You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda’

Thus, the presence of cumulative agreement disallows semantically mismatched verbs across conjuncts, while these are allowed when the verb agrees only with the subject of the final conjunct.

2.2. Phenomena Licensed Under Cumulative Agreement

In this section, I discuss phenomena that are allowed only when the verb shows cumulative agreement. These phenomena involve distributive readings of numerals contained in the pivot and the presence of plurality-dependent expressions in the pivot. Like in the previous section, I will also demonstrate that examples with non-cumulative agreement behave differently (have only the non-distributive readings of numerals in the pivot and cannot contain plurality-dependent expressions). As discussed in section 2.1., cumulative agreement pattern shows properties indicative of multidominance.

2.2.1. Distributive Readings

The two agreement patterns differ in terms of the distributive readings of quantificational elements. In examples such as (60), the prominent reading is the one where the total number of banks contacted by Ali and Oya is three.

(60) Ali okul parasın-ı, Oya da ev kirasın-ı (toplam)
 Ali school money-ACC Oya and house rent-ACC (sum)

üç banka-dan temin et-ti.

three bank-ABL procure-PAST

‘Ali and Oya procured the tuition and the rent (respectively) from three banks in total.’

Kornfilt (2010) states that a non-distributive reading for this sentence, on which Ali borrowed money from three banks and Oya borrowed money from three banks, is weak for most speakers. She notes that most speakers either cannot access this secondary reading, where there are six banks total from which Ali and Oya procured the money, or the reading is weak. This contrasts with the example in (61), where nothing is unpronounced: this example only yields the reading where the number of banks contacted is six.

(61) Ali okul parasın-ı (toplam) üç banka-dan temin et-ti,
 Ali school money-ACC (sum) three bank-ABL procure-PAST

Oya da ev kirasın-ı (toplam) üç banka-dan temin et-ti.
 Oya and house rent-ACC (sum) three bank-ABL procure-PAST
 ‘Ali and Oya procured the tuition and the rent (respectively) from three banks each, i.e. from six banks in total.’

(Kornfilt 2010: 217)

The observed contrast between (60) and (61) is not unique to Turkish. A similar pattern has also been discussed in Bachrach and Katzir (2009), where the interpretation of the RNR construction in (62) is not equivalent to the non-elliptical version in (63), where the pivot (*a total of \$3000 from the Chase Manhattan Bank*) is pronounced in both conjuncts. In (62), the prominent reading is the one where the total amount of money John borrowed and Mary stole is \$3000. In (63), however, the total amount of money must be equivalent to \$6000.

(62) John borrowed _____, and Mary stole _____, *a total of \$3000 from the Chase Manhattan Bank.*

(\$3000, \$6000)

(63) John borrowed *a total of \$3000 from the Chase Manhattan Bank*, and Mary stole *a total of \$3000 from the Chase Manhattan Bank.*

(*\$3000, \$6000)

(Bachrach & Katzir 2009: 288)

Kornfilt (2010) argues that while there is a contrast in interpretation between (60) and (61), it is not convincing enough to argue for a multidominance analysis of RNR, such

as the one proposed by Bachrach and Katzir (2009). Instead, Kornfilt (2010, 2019) proposes an ellipsis analysis of the facts. I will present the details of Kornfilt’s proposals in chapter 5.

Here I show that the availability of the distributive reading of the quantificational pivot dovetails with the presence of cumulative agreement on the verb. This is impossible to show with Kornfilt’s examples (60) and (61), which all have 3rd person subjects (namely *Ali* and *Oya*), because 3rd person plural agreement in Turkish (*-ler* ‘3PL’) is never required on the verb. Thus, in both examples, where the subject is plural *çocuklar* ‘children’, as in (64), or is a coordinate phrase *Ali ve Ayşe* ‘Ali and Ayşe’, as in (65), the verb only optionally shows plural agreement.

(64) Çocuk-lar eve git-ti(-ler).
 Child-PL home-DAT go-PAST(-3PL)
 ‘Children went home.’

(65) Ali ve Ayşe eve git-ti(-ler).
 Ali and Ayşe home-DAT go-PAST(-3PL)
 ‘Ali and Ayşe went home.’

This quirk of the Turkish agreement morphology makes it hard to tell whether in Kornfilt’s example (60) the verb shows non-cumulative agreement or cumulative agreement (since the verb can appear without agreement morphology in either case).⁹ On the other hand, plural agreement morphology on the verb with persons other than the third person is always obligatory, as shown in (66)a-b).

⁹ Interestingly, there are indications that this might not be entirely true, and that singular agreement with 3rd person singular subjects really means non-cumulative agreement since the two agreement patterns (shown in (i) and (ii)) result in a semantic difference, where only sentence (ii) allows Ali and Ayşe to see only one doctor each, whereas (i) requires that each of them see more than one doctor.

(i) Ali bugün, Ayşe de yarın doktor-lar-ı gör-ecek.
 Ali today Ayşe and tomorrow doctor-PL-ACC see-FUT
 ‘Ali will see the doctors today, and Ayşe will see the doctors tomorrow.’

(ii) Ali bugün, Ayşe de yarın doktor-lar-ı gör-ecek-ler.
 Ali today Ayşe and tomorrow doctor-PL-ACC see-FUT-PL
 Reading 1: ‘Ali will see the doctors today, and Ayşe will see the doctors tomorrow.’
 Reading 2: ‘Ali will see a doctor today, and Ayşe will see a doctor tomorrow.’

I am grateful to İsa Kerem Bayırlı (p.c.) for bringing this to my attention.

- (66) a. Biz gel-di*(-k).
 We come-PAST-(1PL)
 ‘We came.’
- b. Ali ve ben gel-di*(-k)
 Ali and I come- PAST-(1PL)
 ‘Ali and I came.’

This is why, in order to make the distinction between the two patterns of agreement, I use 1st and 2nd person subjects (*sen* ‘you.2SG’ and *ben* ‘I.1SG’) in the RNR examples (68) and (69). This forces the verb to show agreement (*ödedik* ‘pay.1PL’ versus *ödedim* ‘pay.1SG’). I also modify the distributed object and use examples involving money amounts (like the ones in Bachrach and Katzir (2009)), which makes the reading clearer.

The baseline, non-elliptical example with quantificational objects is given in (67). This example only yields a non-distributive reading, the reading where you paid 100 dollars to the bank, and I paid 100 dollars to the school (200 dollars in total).

- (67) Sen banka-ya 100 dolar öde-di-**n**, ben de okul-a
 you bank-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-**2SG** I and school-DAT
- 100 dolar öde-di-**m**.
 100 dollars pay-PAST-**1SG**
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 #Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

When the verb is targeted by RNR, and it shows cumulative agreement (agrees with subjects in both conjuncts), as in (68), a distributive reading - the reading where the total amount of money paid is 100 dollars (Reading 2) - is possible, in addition to a non-distributive reading (Reading 1). By contrast, when the verb shows non-cumulative, singular agreement (agrees only with the subject of the final conjunct), as in (69), only a non-distributive reading is possible, just like in (67), where both conjuncts are pronounced. This shows that the examples in (69) and (67) are synonymous, while (68) has an additional reading, similar to what Bachrach and Katzir (2009) (and Abbott 1976) claim.

(68) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-k. *CAgr*
 you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-1PL
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

(69) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-m. *NCAgr*
 you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-1SG
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 #Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

2.2.2. Plurality Dependent Expressions

In addition to distributive readings, the two agreement patterns also show different behavior with respect to the licensing of plurality dependent expressions. Such expressions, like the reciprocal *each other* and the collective predicate *together*, require plural subjects to be licensed (Brisson 1998; Champollion 2020; Chung 2004; Dowty 1987). Güreer and Göksel (2019) show that reciprocal anaphors in Turkish RNR, such as *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’, also require plurality to be licensed, as shown in (70). In (70), two singular subjects in different conjuncts (*sen* ‘you.2SG’ and *ben* ‘I.1SG’) license the reciprocal anaphor *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’, and the verb *okuyoruz* ‘read.IMPF.1PL’ agrees with both subjects, showing up with cumulative agreement.

(70) Sen şiir-le-rin-i ben de hikaye-ler-im-i *CAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC
 birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-uz.
 each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1PL
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(Güreer & Göksel 2019: 247)

However, Güreer and Göksel (2019) argue that the reciprocal anaphor in (70) requires plurality to be licensed, irrespective of the agreement on the verb. To show this, they give the ungrammatical example in (71).

(71) *Ben de hikaye-ler-im-i birbirimiz-e zevkle
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure

oku-yor-uz/-um.

read-IMPF-1PL/-1SG

Intended: ‘I read my stories to each other.’

(Gürer & Göksel 2019: 247)

While the example in (71) is indeed ungrammatical, it is also monoclausal, unlike the example in (70) and the other examples we have seen in the previous sections. By contrast, the example in (72) is biclausal and has a subject in each conjunct, similar to (70). However, unlike in the grammatical example in (70), the verb *okuyorum* ‘read.IMPF.1SG’ in (72) agrees only with subject of the final conjunct, namely *ben* ‘I.1SG’, and not with both subjects, and the sentence is ill-formed. Crucially, when the reciprocal is removed from the example in (72) (as in (73)), the outcome is grammatical, like the examples in the earlier sections. This shows that it is crucially the reciprocal that is not licensed when the verb shows non-cumulative agreement.

(72) *Sen şiir-le-rin-i ben de hikaye-ler-im-i **NCAgr**
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC

birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um.

each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(73) Sen şiir-le-rin-i, ben de hikaye-ler-im-i **CAgr**
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC

zevkle oku-yor-um.

with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

‘You (read with pleasure) your poems, and I read my stories with pleasure.’

The contrasts observed in (70)-(72) show two things: (i) the agreement on the verb in RNR examples affects the licensing of the anaphor (contra Gürer and Göksel) and (ii) the examples where the verb agrees only with the subject of the final conjunct are incompatible with reciprocal anaphors such as *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’. This suggests that such elements require cumulative agreement to be licensed.

2.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated how the behavior of Turkish RNR differs depending on the agreement properties on the verb in the final conjunct. We have seen that when the verb surfaces with non-cumulative agreement (agrees with the subject in the final conjunct), the sentence shows properties that are indicative of ellipsis: it allows verb mismatches in morphology, and the sentence yields a sloppy interpretation of a pronoun in the ellipsis site. Such constructions also license an NPI in the initial conjunct without overt negation on the pronounced verb, suggesting that mismatches in polarity are also tolerated. By contrast, when the verb surfaces with cumulative agreement (agrees with both subjects), the sentence shows properties indicative of multidominance: it permits distributive readings of numerals in the pivot and licenses plurality dependent expressions.

In the following chapter, I propose my analysis of these facts, which explains the dichotomy between the two agreement paradigms.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANALYSIS

Recall that the main aim of this thesis is to determine the analysis of RNR constructions in Turkish, including the properties that correlate with the two patterns of agreement found on the verb in these constructions: non-cumulative agreement, illustrated in (74) and cumulative agreement, illustrated in (75).

(74) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-m. *NCAgr*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
'You (ate) the apple, and I ate the pear.'

(Ince 2009: 252)

(75) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-k. *CAgr*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
'You (ate) the apple, and I ate the pear.'

(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 57)

Earlier analyses have argued that a single operation is responsible for both of these constructions. There are proposals that analyze RNR in Turkish as Across-the-Board Movement (Hankamer 1972; Kornfilt 2000), PF-deletion (Ince 2009; Kornfilt 2010, 2019), or multidominance (Gürer & Göksel 2019). Crucially, these analyses are held to be mutually exclusive; for example, the ellipsis account argues that the agreement patterns observed in (74) and (75) display a purely PF-phenomenon, while the multidominance or ATB-movement analyses claim that they are due to syntax only, with no ellipsis is involved. Here, I argue against such exclusivist views.

In what follows, I argue that a homogenous analysis of RNR is inadequate for explaining all the facts. Instead, following Barros and Vicente's (2011) eclectic analysis of RNR, which combines multidominance and ellipsis for English RNR constructions, I argue that both multidominance and ellipsis are necessary to explain

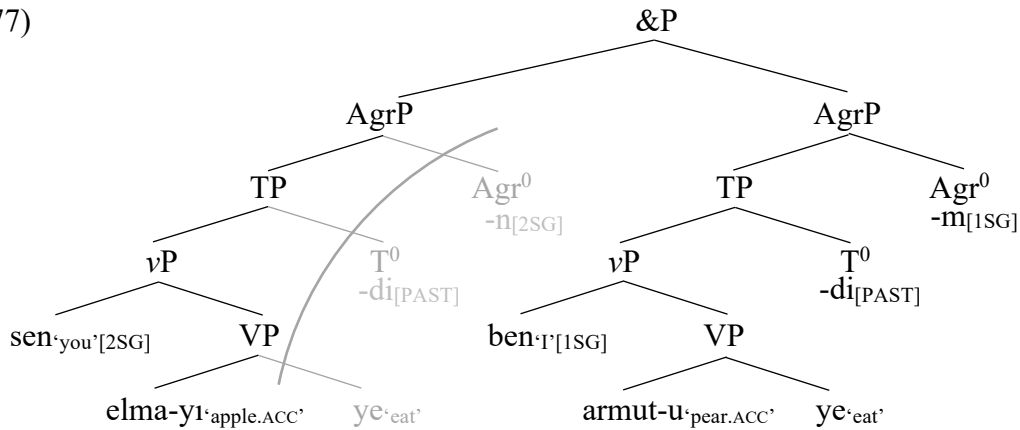
the Turkish facts. I argue that cumulative agreement on the verb is indicative of an analysis that involves multidominance (Bachrach & Katzir 2009; Citko 2005; Grosz 2015) and refer to the examples where the pivot shows cumulative agreement as *RNR-multidominance* (*RNR-MD*). I show that the properties that dovetail with cumulative agreement (the licensing of plurality dependent expressions, the presence of distributive readings, and the absence of sloppy readings and verb-ambiguity in the two conjuncts) follow from the MD analysis. On the other hand, I argue that structures where the pivot shows non-cumulative agreement (where the verb agrees with the subject of the final conjunct) are a result of PF-deletion in the initial conjunct (Bošković 2004; Ince 2009) and refer to them *RNR-ellipsis* (*RNR-E*). In the following subsections (3.1. and 3.2.), I propose my analysis for RNR-MD and RNR-E in Turkish and show why the verb can show two different agreement patterns, i.e., why it can either agree only with the subject in the final conjunct or with both subjects. After introducing the analysis, in section 3.3. and onwards, I go on to explain why the two agreement patterns interact with the diverging behavior of various phenomena illustrated in chapter 2, and show that this behavior follows directly from the proposed analysis.

3.1. RNR as Ellipsis (RNR-E)

As mentioned in the previous section, in Turkish RNR constructions, it is possible for the verb to show agreement with the subject of the final conjunct only, as in (74) (repeated below as (76)). Following Ince (2009), I argue that these constructions are the result of the elision of the rightmost material (in Turkish, the verb and possibly its VP-dependents) in the initial conjunct. In such configurations, illustrated in (77), each conjunct has its own T/Agr, which agrees with its own subject. This results in the overt verb – the verb in the final conjunct – exhibiting agreement with the subject in the final conjunct only (*ben* ‘I.1SG’ in (76)), while the elided verb – the verb in the first, non-final conjunct – agrees with its own subject (*sen* ‘you.2SG’). In (77) and henceforth, Agree relations in the diagrams are indicated by dashed lines.

- (76) *Sen elma-yı ye-di-n, ben de armut-u ye-di-m. NC Agr*
 you apple-ACC eat-PST-2SG I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
 ‘You (ate) the apple, and I ate the pear.’

(77)



3.1.1. Morphological Mismatches

VP-Ellipsis has been shown to disregard certain inflectional mismatches between the antecedent and the elided verb (Bošković 2004; Fiengo & May 1994; among many others). This is shown in the VP ellipsis example in (78), where an infinitive (*sleep in her house*) is deleted under the identity with a participle (*slept in her house*). Bošković shows that RNR also tolerates these types of inflectional mismatches, as shown in (79). He further argues that this parallelism between VP-Ellipsis and RNR strongly suggests that a similar process underlies both operations.

(78) John has slept in her house, and now Peter will ~~sleep in her house~~.

(79) John has ~~slept in her house~~, and Peter definitely will, sleep in her house.

(Bošković 2004: 15)

Another type of mismatch, pointed out by Ross (1970), is attested in Russian examples such as (80), where the conjunct final verb *pila* 'drank.F' agrees with the gender of the feminine subject of the second conjunct, *Anna*, but the elided verb *pil* 'drank.M' presumably agrees with the masculine *ja* 'I' in the first conjunct. Ross uses this example to support his argument that the verb in the initial conjunct is gapped, i.e., elided.

(80) Ja vodu ~~pi~~, i Anna vodku pila
 I water drank and Anna vodka drank
 ‘I drank water, and Anna vodka’

(Ross 1970: 251)

As we have seen in section 2.1.1. above, RNR constructions in Turkish exhibit a similar behavior; they allow both person mismatches and number mismatches between the missing verb in the initial conjunct and the verb in the final conjunct. This is expected if the verb in the initial conjunct is deleted. In (81), the conjunct final verb *yedin* ‘eat.PAST.2SG’ agrees with the subject of the final conjunct *sen* ‘you’, while the elided verb of the initial conjunct *yedim* ‘eat.PAST.1SG’ agrees with subject of the initial conjunct *ben* ‘I’. The agreement pattern changes when the subjects of the two conjuncts are switched (as in (76)).

(81) Ben elma-y₁ ~~ye-di-m~~, sen de armut-u ye-di-n. *NCAgr*
 I apple-ACC eat-PST-1SG you and pear-ACC eat-PST-2SG
 ‘I (ate) the apple, and you ate the pear.’

It is also possible to have a mismatch in the number features of the two conjuncts. In (82), the verb *yediniz* ‘eat.2PL’ agrees with the plural subject *siz* ‘you.2PL’ while the subject of the initial conjunct *ben* ‘I’ is singular.

(82) Ben elma-y₁ ~~ye-di-m~~, siz de armut-u ye-di-niz. *NCAgr*
 I apple-ACC eat-PST-1SG you and pear-ACC eat-PST-2PL
 ‘I (ate) the apple, and you ate the pear.’

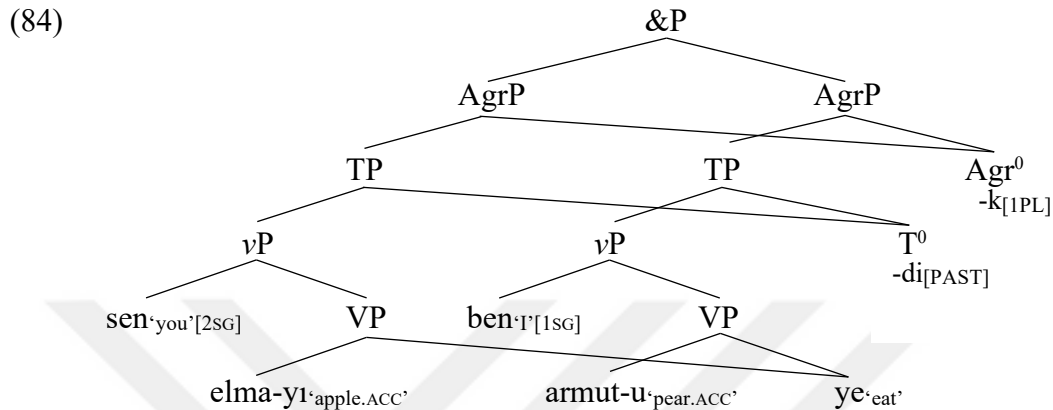
The fact that the verb shows 2nd person plural agreement (*yediniz*) instead of 1st person plural agreement (*yedik*) also suggests that this is different than cumulative agreement examples discussed back in chapter 2. Hence, in RNR-E examples, the verb always agrees only with the subject of the final conjunct.

3.2. RNR as Multidominance (RNR-MD)

For RNR constructions in Turkish which show plural agreement on the verb, illustrated in (83), I argue that the verb and the functional projections above the verb are shared by both conjuncts, as in (84). In such configurations, the functional projections (T and Agr) are non-bulk shared (Gračanin-Yuksekk 2007). As a result, there is no real “gap”

in the initial conjunct of RNR-MD; the absence of a verb in the initial conjunct is just a side effect of multidominance.

- (83) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-k. **CAgr**
 you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 ‘You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.’



In the following subsection, I explain the mechanism of cumulative agreement (Grosz 2015) and then go on to show how the two analyses derive the contrasts discussed in Chapter 2.

3.2.1. Deriving Cumulative Agreement

Grosz (2015) provides English examples for RNR such as (85), wherein the verb shows Cumulative (Plural) Agreement even though each embedded clause in both conjuncts has a singular subject.

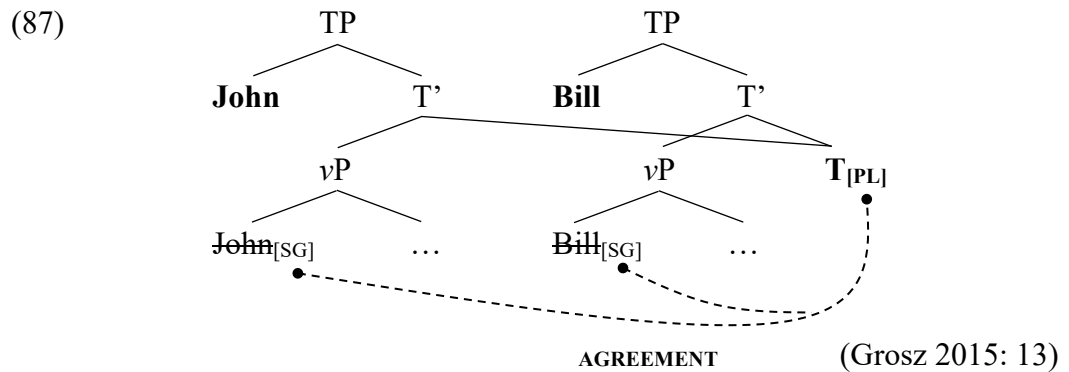
- (85) [Mary is proud that *John* ____], and [Sue is glad that *Bill* ____] **have travelled** _{t_{John/Bill}} **to Cameroon**.

- (86) *[Mary is proud that *John* have travelled _{t_{John}} to Cameroon], and [Sue is glad that *Bill* **have travelled** _{t_{Bill}} **to Cameroon**].

(Grosz 2015: 25)

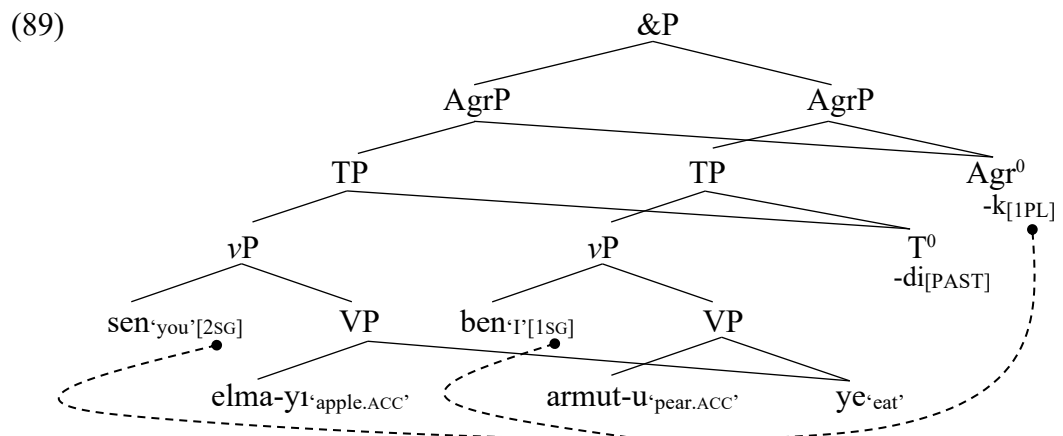
Grosz builds on the contrast between the RNR example in (85) and the non-elliptical example in (86), and argues for a Multidominance analysis of (85). Grosz argues that ϕ -features of multiple singular subjects are copied onto a single, shared T, as in (87).

This permits the agreement target (e.g., T) to show agreement with respect to two unshared DP's (*John* and *Bill*).



I follow Grosz's analysis for Turkish RNR constructions. I argue that plural agreement found on the verb follows from multidominance, and the ϕ -features of the two unshared subjects of each conjunct (namely *sen* 'you.2SG' and *ben* 'I.1SG') accumulate on a shared T, as in (89), resulting in plural agreement in examples such as (88) (repeated here from (83)).

(88) *Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-k.* *CAgr*
 you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'



Unlike Grosz, Belk et al. (2023) argue that the plural agreement observed in Grosz's examples is due not to the accumulation of multiple sets of ϕ -features on T, but to the unavailability of syntactic agreement under multidominance, which gives rise to semantic agreement. Since the object language for both authors is English, there are only two agreement possibilities, namely the plural and the singular (*have/has*), without distinctions regarding the person of the subject in each conjunct. On the other

hand, more than two possibilities exist in Turkish. Thus, in (90), the verb *yedik* ‘eat.PAST.1PL’ shows agreement in number and person with the subjects in both conjuncts, namely *sen* ‘you.2SG’ and *ben* ‘I.1SG’. In contrast, when the 1st person singular subject in the first conjunct is replaced by a 3rd person singular subject, as in (91), the verb *yediniz* ‘eat.2PL’ shows second person plural agreement, as is expected if it agrees both with the subject of the first conjunct *Ali* and the subject of the second conjunct *sen* ‘you.2SG’.

(90) *Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-k.*
 you-(2SG) apple-ACC I-(1SG) and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 ‘You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.’

(91) *Ali elma-yı, sen de armut-u ye-di-niz.*
 Ali-(3SG) apple-ACC you-(2SG) and pear-ACC eat-PST-2PL
 ‘You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.’

Agreement combinations available in (90)-(91) suggest that the verb agrees with both subjects, which supports the view that the plural agreement found in RNR constructions is indeed syntactic, as Grosz argues, rather than semantic, contra Belk et al. (2023).

In the following subsections, I will show why RNR-MD and RNR-E show different behavior in terms of the distributive readings of quantified elements, licensing of reciprocals and NPIs, and syncretic verbs.

3.3. Distributive Readings

Bachrach and Katzir (2007) argue for a multidominance analysis of RNR. They argue that such an analysis explains the fact that in the RNR example in (93), a shared quantifier embedded inside a complex NP island in each conjunct can nevertheless scope over both conjuncts even though this is impossible in a simple (non-RNR) configuration, illustrated in (92). The absence of the inverse scope reading in (92) is due to the fact that Quantifier Raising (QR) does not cross a clause boundary (Beghelli & Stowell 1997; Farkas 1981; Reinhart 1997), so the embedded quantifier *every Germanic language*, does not scope over the indefinite *a man* in the matrix clause. By contrast, in the RNR configuration in (93), the inverse scope reading is possible, and

the quantifier *every Germanic language* scopes over the indefinites in both conjuncts, *a man* and *a woman*.

(92) John knows a man who speaks every Germanic language.

($\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$)

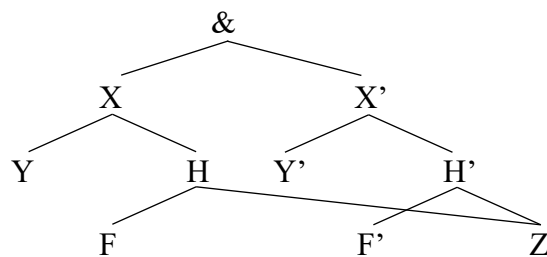
(93) [John knows a man who speaks __] and [Mary knows a woman who wants to learn __] every Germanic language.

($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)

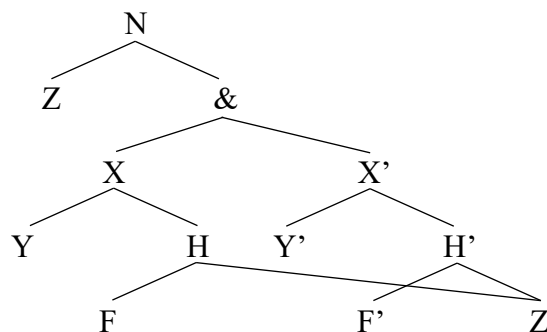
(Sabbagh 2007: 367)

In order to explain the exceptional behavior of quantifiers in English RNR, Bachrach and Katzir propose a system where the spell-out of the multiply dominated node is delayed until it is completely dominated. For Bachrach and Katzir, the base position of the shared quantifier Z in (94) is treated as a free variable, which is bound by Z once Z is spelled out in its higher position (after the &P is built, as in (95)). This permits Z to be interpreted in either position, below the conjunction (in the position where it is shared) or above the conjunction (in the position where it is spelled out).

(94)



(95)

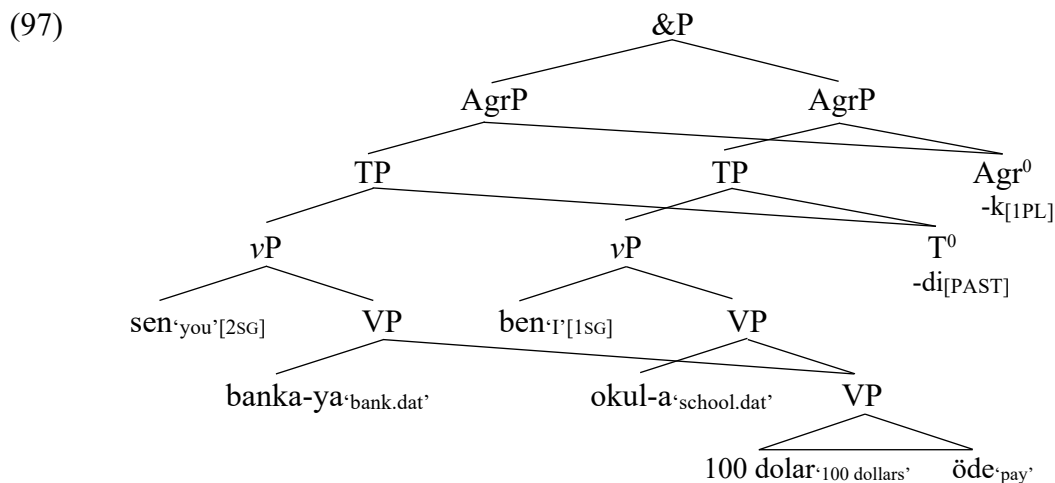


(Bachrach & Katzir 2007: 73)

The solution proposed by Bachrach and Katzir hinges on the assumption that the quantifier is multiply dominated because only a multiply dominated constituent can avoid spell-out and therefore escape islands and take wide scope.

As mentioned in chapter 2, section 2.2.1., RNR examples in Turkish where the pivot agrees with both subjects (shows cumulative agreement) behave in a similar way. The sentence in (96) is ambiguous between a *distributive* and a *non-distributive* reading of the quantified object *100 dolar* ‘100 dollars’. I argue that the distributive readings are derived in a similar fashion, as proposed in Bachrach and Katzir. I further propose that the quantificational object *100 dolar* ‘100 dollars’, and the verb in (96) are shared in bulk (Gračanin-Yukseş 2007), as in (97).¹⁰ This allows the VP to escape spell-out until it is completely dominated. Due to this delay, the VP is spelled out after the &P is built, in a position higher than both subjects, and thus the VP scopes over both conjuncts.

- (96) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-k. **CAGR**
 you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PST-1PL
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’



The fact that the VP escapes spell-out until the two conjuncts are conjoined derives the distributive reading: since the shared object is spelled out after the &P is built, it is interpreted in a position that is higher than both conjuncts, allowing the quantifier to

¹⁰ In chapter 4, I will show that if bulk sharing is possible, it also forced.

gain scope over both subjects.¹¹ The proposed structure in (97) derives the non-distributive reading as well: the conjunct-internal site of the shared object is treated as a free variable until complete dominance is established (until the &P is built). Once the shared object is spelled out, the variable becomes bound. Since it is possible to interpret the object in either position, (96) is ambiguous between a distributive and a non-distributive reading.

In comparison to RNR-MD, RNR-E in example (98), diagnosed by the pivot which agrees only with the subject in the final conjunct, yields only a non-distributive reading. The fact that the RNR-E example does not yield a distributive reading is expected under this analysis. In order to gain scope over both subjects, the VP (containing the verb and its object) in the final conjunct would have to move to a position which allows them to c-command both conjuncts. This is only possible if the verb and the quantified object move out of the coordinate structure, which would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).¹²

- (98) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-m. *NCAgr*
 you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PST-1SG
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 #Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

Finally, if (98) involves ellipsis, one would expect RNR-E examples to be synonymous with the non-elliptical versions (Kornfilt 2010), unlike RNR-MD. This prediction is also borne out; the non-elliptical example in (99) is synonymous with the RNR-E

¹¹ Surprisingly, although cumulative agreement allows the distributive reading of the quantified object in (96) (see also footnote 9), it does not make inverse scope available in (i). The difference in the behavior of (96) and (i) does not follow from the analysis, and I leave this issue for further research.

- (i) Birhemşire bugün, bir doktor da yarın her hasta-yı tedavi ed-ecek-(ler).
 A nurse today, a doctor and tomorrow every patient-ACC cure-PST-PL
 R1: ‘A nurse will treat every patient today, and a doctor will treat every patient tomorrow.’
 *R2: ‘There is potentially a different doctor and nurse who will treat every patient.’

¹² The VP can also take scope over the &P if it moves in an ATB manner. However, as shown by Bošković and Franks (2000), covert ATB movement does not exist. I will argue against this possibility in chapter 5 discussing ATB-movement.

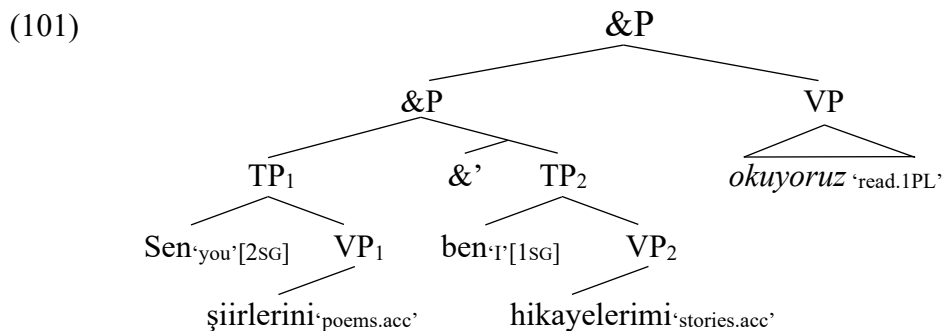
example in (98) as it only yields a non-distributive reading in contrast to RNR-MD in (96).

- (99) Sen banka-ya 100 dolar öde-di-n, ben de okul-a
 you bank-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-2SG I and school-DAT
 100 dolar öde-di-m.
 100 dollars pay-PAST-1SG
 Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
 #Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

3.4. Plurality Dependent Expressions

Gürer and Göksel (2019) propose a multidominance analysis for RNR with cumulative agreement, exemplified in (100), where the verb is base generated above the &P, as in (101).

- (100) Sen şiirlerin-i, ben de hikâyelerim-i oku-yor-uz. *CAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC read-IMPf-1PL
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories.’



(adapted from Gürer & Göksel 2019:251)

The authors give the contrast between the grammatical RNR example in (102) and the ungrammatical non-elliptical example in (103) as an argument against the ATB-Movement analysis of RNR. They suggest that, since (103) is ungrammatical, there is

no source that can feed ATB-Movement since the reciprocal cannot be pronounced in each conjunct.¹³

(102) Sen şiirlerin-i, ben de hikâyelerim-i birbirimiz-e *CAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT

zevkle oku-yor-uz.

with pleasure read-IMPF-1PL

‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(103) *[Sen şiirlerin-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-2SG

[ben de hikâyelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um].

I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

Int: ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(Gürer & Göksel 2019: 247)

While the authors are correct in stating that (103) rules out an ATB-Movement analysis of (102), they do not offer an explanation as to why (102) is grammatical under the multidominance analysis they propose.

Gürer and Göksel’s argument hinges on the existence of prosodic breaks in the pronunciation of RNR sentences. For them, a long break before a constituent suggests that the constituent is base generated above the conjunction phrase. However, in examples that contain the reciprocal, such as (102) (repeated below as (104)), the associated break precedes the reciprocal as well as the verb, which suggests that the reciprocal is also base generated above the &P, as in (105). (I represent the break with <#> and the shared material in bold).

(104) [[[Sen şiirlerin-i] [ben de hikâyelerim-i]] <#> [**birbirimiz-e**
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT

oku-yor-uz].

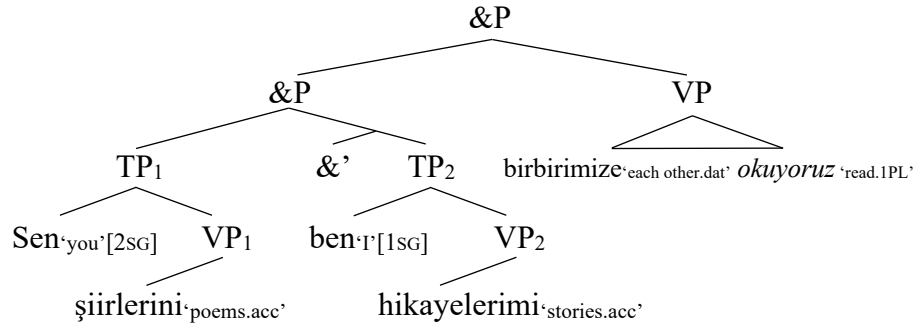
read-IMPF-1PL

‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other.’

CAgr

¹³ The verbs in (103) are also non-identical as they have different agreement morphology. This is also problematic for ATB-movement, as it requires strict identity between the moved objects (Citko 2005).

(105)

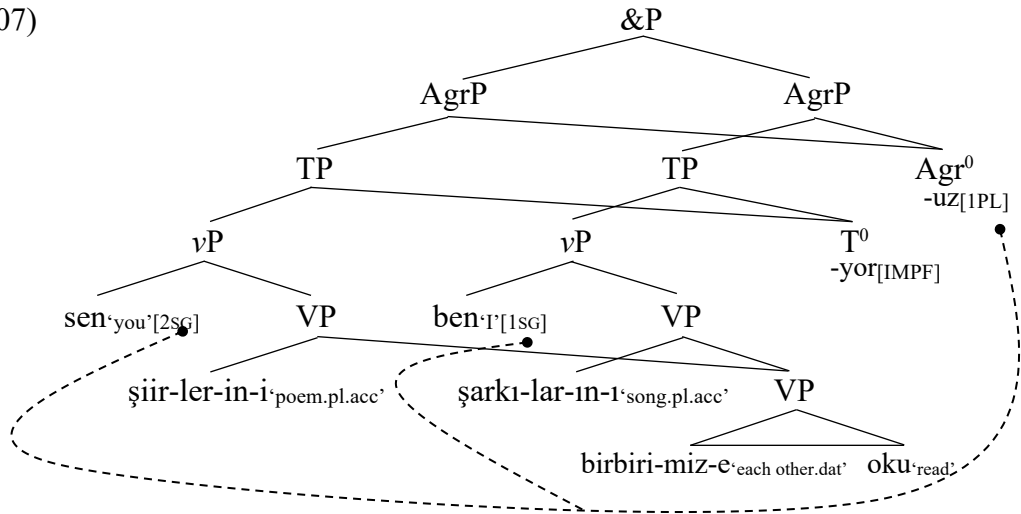


If the reciprocal anaphor is base generated above &P along with the verb, as Gürer and Göksel argue, neither subject *sen* ‘you’ or *ben* ‘I’ c-commands the anaphor at any step in the derivation, violating Principle A of the Binding Theory.

Instead, I argue that, similar to quantified objects mentioned in previous section (3.3), in sentences such as (102), repeated below as (106), the reciprocal anaphor *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’ is bulk shared alongside the verb, as in (107). The single shared reciprocal in (107) is c-commanded by singular subjects in both conjuncts, which meets the plurality requirement, without violating Principle A.

(106) *Sen şiiirlerin-i ben de hikâyelerim-i birbirimiz-e CAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT
 zevkle oku-yor-uz.
 with pleasure read-IMPF-1PL
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(107)



Under the multidominance analysis of RNR that I have proposed, a shared node, like Agr, agrees with the subjects of both conjuncts because it has *both* in its c-command domain. In Turkish, besides the shared Agr, the shared *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’ also shows agreement, as shown in (108) and (109); in (108) the reciprocal shows 1PL agreement with the coordinated subject *ben ve Ali* ‘I and Ali’ and in (109) it shows 2PL agreement with the subject *sen ve Ali* ‘you and Ali’.

(108) Ben ve Ali birbirimiz-e bak-tı-k.
 I and Ali each other-1PL-DAT look-PAST-1PL
 ‘I and Ali looked at each other.’

(109) Sen ve Ali birbiriniz-e bak-tı-nız.
 you and Ali each other-2PL-DAT look-PAST-2PL
 ‘You and Ali looked at each other.’

Agreement morphology on the reciprocal in RNR-MD examples shows that it agrees with both subjects. In (110)-(111), the ϕ -features of both subjects accumulate on the reciprocal as well as the verb (Grosz 2015), and the agreement morphology co-varies with the ϕ -features of the subjects in the two conjuncts.¹⁴ This is depicted in (112).

(110) Sen şiir-ler-in-i ben de hikâye-ler-im-i
 you-2SG poem-PL-2SG-ACC I-1SG and story-PL-1SG-ACC

birbiri-**miz-e** zevkle oku-yor-**uz**. *CAgr*
 eachother-**1PL-DAT** with pleasure read-IMP-**1PL**
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(111) Ali şiir-ler-in-i sen de hikâye-ler-in-i
 Ali-3SG poem-PL-2SG-ACC you-2SG and story-PL-2SG-ACC

birbiri-**niz-e** zevkle oku-yor-**sunuz**. *CAgr*
 each other-**2PL-DAT** pleasure read-IMP-**2PL**
 ‘Ali (reads) his poems, and you read your stories to each other with pleasure.’

¹⁴ Considering that the reciprocal shows agreement with both subjects, it is safe to assume that the reciprocal somehow probes the structure. Yet, in the proposed structure (112), the reciprocal does not c-command the subjects in both conjuncts. However, it seems that in mono-clausal examples (108) and (109), which have plural subjects, the reciprocal in each example does not c-command the plural subject, but nevertheless shows agreement with it.

that plurality dependent expressions such as reciprocals depend on multidominance in bi-clausal environments.

(114) *Sen şiir-ler-in-i, ben de hikâye-ler-im-i birbirimiz-e *NCAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT

zevkle oku-yor-um.
 with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

Int: ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(115) Sen şiir-ler-in-i, ben de hikâye-ler-im-i zevkle *NCAgr*
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC with pleasure

oku-yor-um.
 read-IMPF-1SG

‘You (read) your poems (with pleasure), and I read my stories with pleasure.’

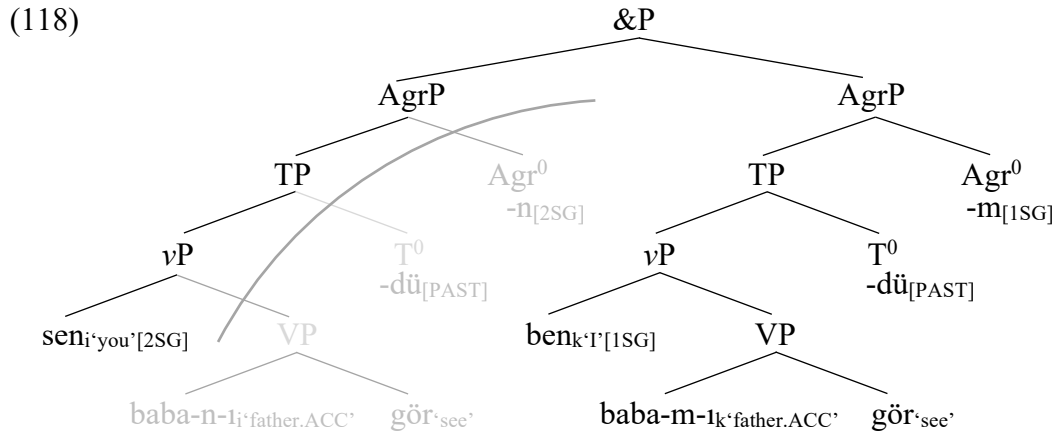
3.5. Strict/Sloppy Identity

In chapter 3, I have shown that RNR-E examples allow a sloppy reading, and for some speakers at least, also a strict reading, as shown in (116). RNR-MD, on the other hand, only allows a strict reading, as shown in (117).

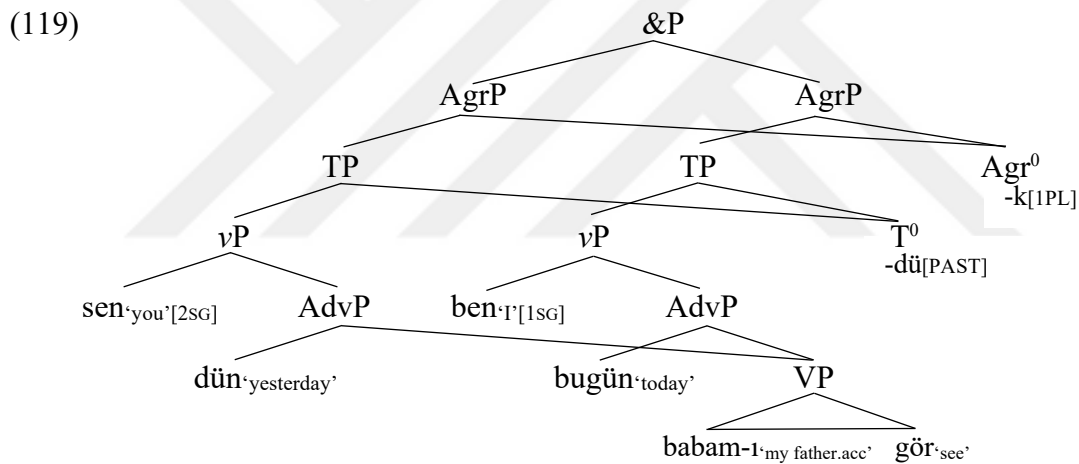
(116) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-m. *NCAgr*
 you yesterday I and today father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

(117) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-k. *CAgr*
 you yesterday I and today father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 =Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 ≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

Since the availability of sloppy interpretation is attributed to ellipsis, it is expected for RNR-E examples to allow the sloppy interpretation. This suggests that the initial conjunct of (116), in addition to the elided verb *gördün* ‘see.PAST.2SG’, also contains a silent object interpreted as *babanı* ‘your father.ACC’, elided under identity with the pronounced object *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ in the second conjunct, shown in (118). Similarly, the silent object may be interpreted as *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’, which accounts for the strict reading.



The fact that RNR-MD in (117) only yields a strict reading is also expected. Since there is no ellipsis taking place in this example, the shared pivot contains a single possessed DP (*babamı* ‘my father.ACC’), as shown in (119), and that DP picks a single entity as a referent, yielding only the strict identity reading.

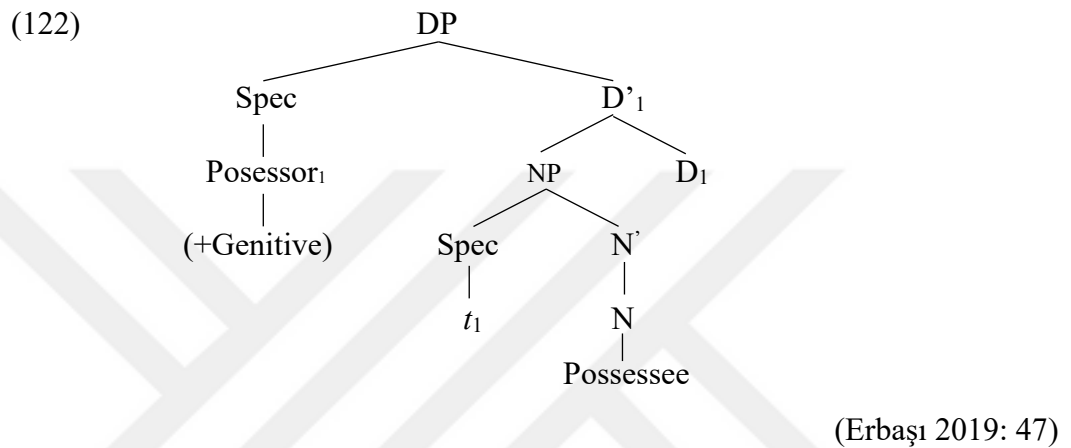


A note on Turkish possessive phrases is in order here because, unlike in English, the person properties of possessed DP’s in Turkish, such as *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’, is a result of possessive agreement (*-m* ‘POSS.1SG’) (Dede 1978; Kornfilt 1984; Özsoy 1994; Öztürk & Erguvanlı Taylan 2016) and this agreement is present even when the possessed DP has no overt possessor to agree with; for example, when the possessed DP is the subject of a sentence, as in (120) and (121).

- (120) Baba-m gel-di.
 father-POSS.1SG come-PAST
 ‘My father came.’

- (121) Baba-n gel-di.
 father-POSS.2SG come-PAST
 ‘Your father came.’

This suggests that the possessed NP *baba* ‘father’ undergoes agreement with a *null* possessor. Erbaşı (2019) argues that Turkish genitive phrases (GP’s) are DP’s, with the structure in (122), where the possessor moves from [Spec NP] to [Spec DP] for genitive case assignment.



This structure gives rise to possessive phrases where the possessor can be overt, as in (123) and (124), or null (*pro*), as in (125) and (126).

- (123) Ben-im baba-m gel-di.
 I-GEN father-POSS.1SG come-PAST
 ‘My father came.’

- (124) Sen-in baba-n gel-di.
 you-GEN father-POSS.2SG come-PAST
 ‘Your father came.’

- (125) *pro* baba-m gel-di.
 pro.1SG father-POSS.1SG come-PAST
 ‘My father came.’

- (126) *pro* baba-n gel-di.
 pro.2SG father-POSS.2SG come-PAST
 ‘Your father came.’

In fact, the null possessor can also be a null reflexive *kendi* ‘self’, as indicated by examples such as (127) and (128), where the reflexive possessor is overt.

(127) Ben_i kendi_i baba-m-1 gör-dü-m.
 I self father-POSS.1SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw my father.’

(128) Sen_k kendi_k baba-n-1 gör-dü-n.
 you self father-POSS.2SG-ACC see-PAST-2SG
 ‘You saw your father.’

Following earlier literature and assuming that Turkish GP’s contain a possessor, the possessive marker on the direct object *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ in the pivot of RNR sentences in (116) and (117) suggests that there is a null possessor present in this object DP. Both the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ and the pronoun *benim* ‘I.GEN’ are possible candidates for the position of the null genitive possessor, and both could account for the agreement on the object *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’. In order to decide which of the two possible possessors (a null reflexive or a null pronoun) is present, I will examine an interesting contrast that RNR-E and RNR-MD yield in this respect. RNR-E permits the possessor *kendi* ‘self’s’ to be overt, as shown in (129), and does not allow an overt pronominal possessive *benim* ‘my’, as shown in (130).

(129) Sen dün, ben de bugün *kendi* baba-m-1 gör-dü-m.
 you yesterday I and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

(130) *Sen dün, ben de bugün *ben-im* baba-m-1 gör-dü-m.
 you yesterday I and today I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 Intended: ‘You (saw *my father*) yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

On the other hand, RNR-MD does the exact reverse; it does not allow *kendi* ‘self’s’, but permits *benim* ‘my’, as the contrast between (131) and (132) shows.

(131) *Sen dün, ben de bugün *kendi* baba-m-1 gör-dü-k.
 you yesterday I and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You (saw *my father*) yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

- (132) Sen dün, ben de bugün *ben-im* baba-m-ı gör-dü-k.
 you yesterday I and today I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 =Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 ≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

Let us first examine the contrast exhibited by RNR-E in (129) and (130). Since we expect RNR-E examples to be synonymous with their non-elliptical versions, the grammaticality of RNR-E in (129) is expected as the non-elliptical (133) is also grammatical.

- (133) Sen dün *kendi* baba-n-ı gör-dü-n,
 you yesterday self father-2POSS-ACC see-PAST-2SG
 ben de bugün *kendi* baba-m-ı gör-dü-m.
 I and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘You saw your father today, and I saw my father today.’

In order to see why the example (130), where the overt possessor is *benim* ‘my’, is ill formed, we need to construct each conjunct individually. When the first conjunct is in isolation, as in (134), it is grammatical. Compare this with the second conjunct, shown in (135), which is ungrammatical when it is construed in isolation.¹⁵ Given the ungrammaticality of (135), it appears that the elliptical RNR example in (130) (diagnosed as involving ellipsis by the non-cumulative agreement on the verb) contains an ungrammatical conjunct, which leads to the ungrammaticality of the entire sentence (Goodall 1983).

- (134) Sen dün *ben-im* baba-m-ı gör-dü-n.
 you yesterday I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-2SG
 ‘You saw my father yesterday.’

¹⁵ The example in (135) is grammatical with the reading ‘It was *me* who saw my father’, when the subject *ben* ‘I’ is focused. This is not the relevant reading, and in the absence of focus on the subject, the sentence is sharply ungrammatical, especially compared to (i), where the possessor of the object DP *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ is *kendi* ‘self’.

- (i) Ben *kendi* baba-m-ı gör-dü-m.
 I self father-POSS.1SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw my father.’

- (135) *Ben dün *ben-im* baba-m-1 gör-dü-m.
 I yesterday I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw my father yesterday.’

That this analysis is on the right track is shown by the fact that in the case of RNR-E, when the subjects of the grammatical example (129), repeated below as (136), are switched, the sentence becomes ill formed, as in (137).

- (136) Sen dün, ben de bugün *kendi* baba-m-1 gör-dü-m.
 you yesterday I and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

- (137) *Ben dün, sen de bugün *kendi* baba-m-1 gör-dü-n.
 I yesterday you and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-2SG
 Intended: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

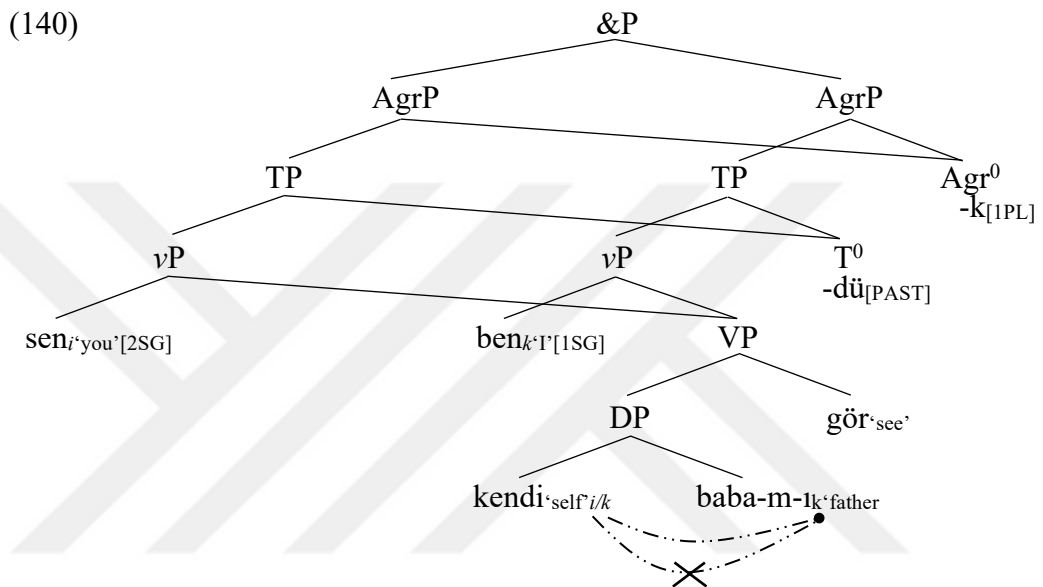
However, if the object shows 2nd person possessive agreement, as in (138), in line with the 2nd person subject in the second conjunct, the sentence is again grammatical, and yields the same readings as (136). This contrast shows that in RNR-E examples, the morphology on the pronounced object is dependent on the agreement with the subject of the second conjunct *only*, which in turn shows that the pronounced object is inside the second conjunct *only*.

- (138) Ben dün, sen de bugün *kendi* baba-n-1 gör-dü-n.
 I yesterday you and today self father-2poss-acc see-past-2sg
 %Strict: ‘I (saw *my father*) yesterday, and you saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘I (saw *my father*) yesterday, and you saw *my father* today.’

The pattern observed in cumulative agreement examples given in (131) and (132) can be explained under the proposed multidominance analysis. Example (131), repeated below as (139), is ungrammatical because, under this analysis, the object *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ is shared together with the verb *gördük* ‘saw.1PL’, similar to reciprocals discussed in section 3.4.. This would result in the shared object (*babamı* ‘my father.ACC’) containing a single (shared) reflexive possessor *kendi* ‘self’, bound by two different DP’s at the same time: *sen* ‘you’ in the first conjunct and *ben* ‘I’ in the second. This would be problematic both from the point of view of morphology and from the point of view of semantics. Morphologically speaking, the problem arises

because the object DP *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ shows 1st person singular agreement, as expected if the possessive reflexive is bound by the subject of the second conjunct *ben* ‘I’. But if the reflexive is *also* bound by the subject of the first conjunct *sen* ‘you’, the 1st person singular possessive making on the NP *baba* ‘father’ does not reflect it.

- (139) **Sen dün, ben de bugün kendi baba-m-ı gör-dü-k.*
 you yesterday I and today self father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You (saw *my father*) yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’



From the point of view of semantics, binding of the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’s’ by both subjects is problematic because this would require the object DP to refer to two different individuals, my father and your father, and this is impossible (Heim & Kratzer 1998).

However, if the DP shows plural agreement in the form of *babamızı* ‘our father.ACC’, as in (141), then the example is acceptable, but only under the reading where the two subjects are siblings, i.e., the reading on which each subject saw the *same* individual, who is *their* father. This suggests that the possessive reflexive *kendi* ‘self’s’ in the DP object *babamızı* ‘our father.ACC’ in (141) *can* be bound by both subjects, but only if the possessed NP shows cumulative agreement with both subjects and the DP refers to a single individual.

- (141) Sen dün, ben de bugün *kendi* baba-**mız-1** gör-dü-**k**.
 you yesterday I and today self father-**1PL.POSS-ACC** see-PAST-1PL
 ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

The well-formedness of (141) points to the conclusion that, similar to reciprocals discussed in section 3.4., the possessed object DP *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ must show cumulative agreement with both subjects whenever the possessor is an anaphor – here, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’s’ – bound by both subjects (*sen* ‘you’ and *ben* ‘I’).

Now that we have seen that the proposed multidominance analysis explains why the RNR-MD example in (131), is ungrammatical when the overt possessor in the object DP is *kendi* ‘self’s’, I turn to the grammatical example (132), repeated as (142), where the overt possessor in the object DP is the pronoun *benim* ‘my’.

- (142) Sen dün, ben de bugün *ben-im* baba-m-1 gör-dü-**k**.
 you yesterday I and today I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 =Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 ≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

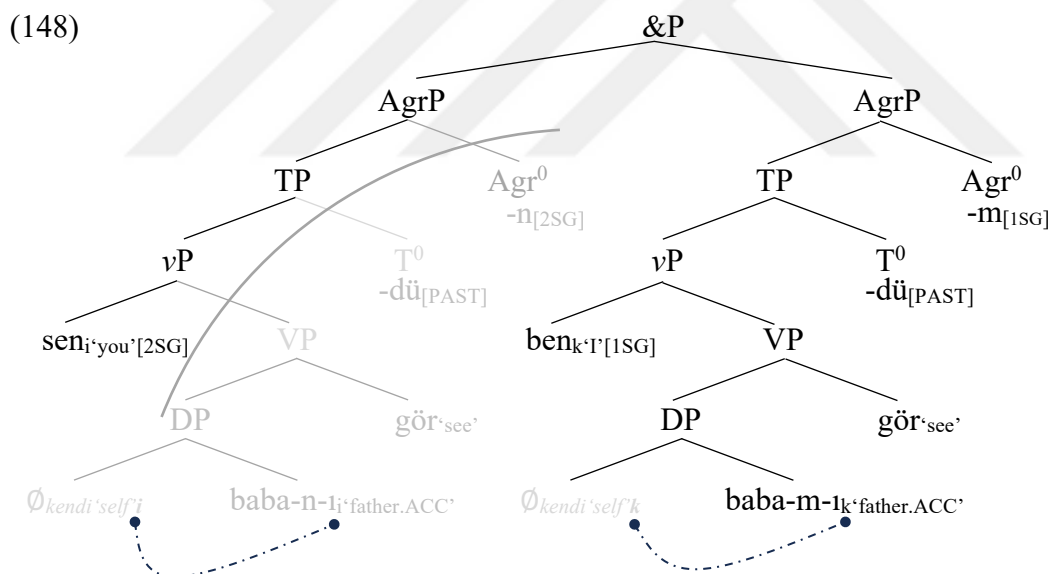
The fact that this example is grammatical is surprising given the ungrammaticality of (135), repeated here as (143), where the pronominal possessor is ruled out presumably because the pronominal *benim* ‘my’ is locally bound by the subject *ben* ‘I’, resulting in a violation of Principle B of the Binding Theory.

- (143) *Ben dün *ben-im* baba-m-1 gör-dü-**m**.
 I yesterday I-GEN father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw my father yesterday.’

One way to explain the contrast between (142) and (143) is to appeal to the fact that in (142) the possessor *benim* ‘my’ is multiply dominated, and therefore spelled out late, in a position higher than the &P. This means that in (142), there is a position in which the pronominal possessor *benim* ‘my’ can be interpreted, where it is not locally bound by the subject of the second conjunct *ben* ‘I’, as shown in (144), while no such position is available in (143).

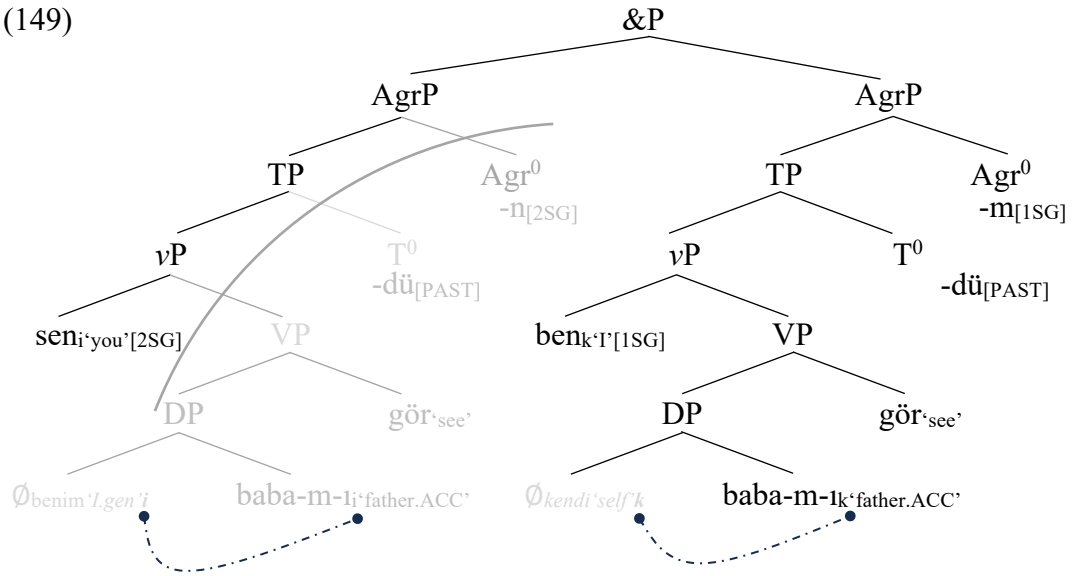
In RNR-E examples, such as (147), the object DP in each conjunct has its own null possessor and, as we have seen above, this null possessor has to be the possessive anaphor *kendi* ‘self’s’. This is illustrated in (148). In each conjunct, the possessive reflexive is bound by the subject of that conjunct, and the possessed NP (*baba* ‘father’) agrees with the null possessor, resulting in second person singular agreement in the first conjunct (*babamı* ‘your father.ACC’) and first-person singular agreement in the second one (*babamı* ‘my father.ACC’). The object DP *babamı* ‘your father.ACC’ in the initial conjunct is elided under identity with *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’ in the second conjunct (with the mismatch in morphology playing no role, as expected), which accounts for the sloppy reading.

- (147) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-m. *NCAgr*
 you yesterday I and today father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’



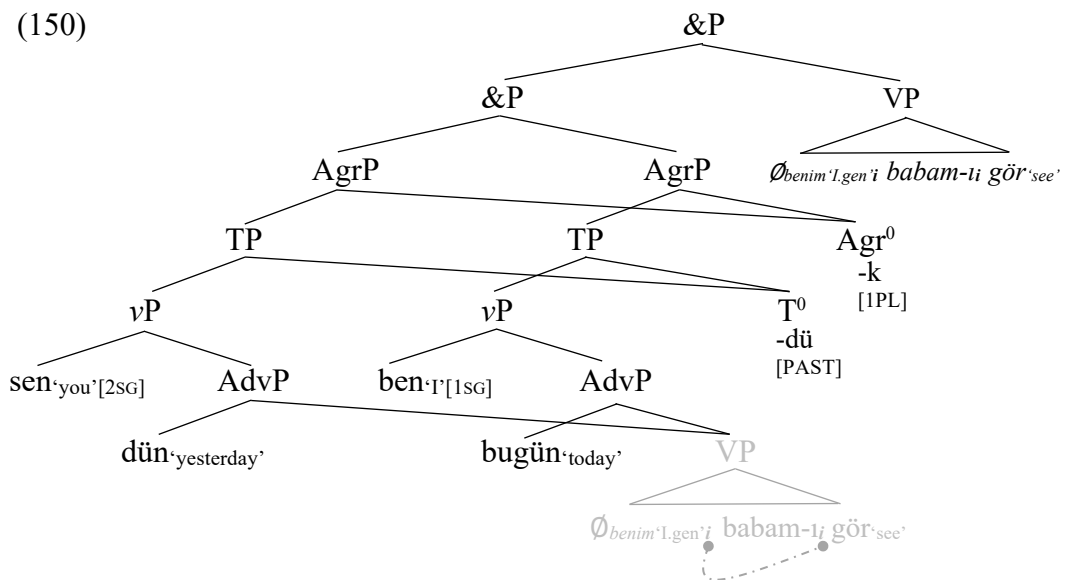
The strict reading, accessible by some speakers, is accounted for if the deleted object DP in the first conjunct is identical to the pronounced object DP in the second conjunct: *babamı* ‘my father.ACC’. In this case, the null possessive reflexive *kendi* ‘self’s’ in the genitive DP in the first conjunct undergoes vehicle change and is interpreted as a possessive pronominal *benim* ‘my’. This is illustrated in (149).

(149)



In RNR-MD examples, on the other hand, the null possessor in the genitive DP must be *benim* ‘my’, as shown by (131), where the presence of an overt reflexive *kendi* ‘self’s’ results in ungrammaticality. Since the genitive DP is argued to be shared between the conjuncts, as in (150), the representation straightforwardly yields the strict reading only: The genitive DP has to be interpreted as ‘my father’ in both conjuncts. Vehicle change is disallowed since the example contains no instance of ellipsis.

(150)



Now that we have seen how the proposed analysis derives the attested and non-attested readings in RNR-E and RNR-MD examples, I turn to polarity mismatches.

3.6. Polarity Mismatches

Recall that only RNR-E examples license an NPI in the initial conjunct without overt negation on the verb, as in (151), repeated from (46). Since Turkish NPI's require local negation in order to be licensed (Kelepir 2001, Kural 1997), the fact that the sentence is well-formed indicates that the NPI is licensed, which in turn suggests that the initial conjunct contains a *negated* verb *imzalamadın* 'sign.NEG.PAST.2SG', which is elided under identity with the affirmative verb in the final conjunct, *imzaladım* 'sign.PAST.1SG'.¹⁶

- (151) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbir-i-ni, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsini imzaladım.
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-PST-1SG
'You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.'

On the other hand, examples with cumulative agreement, as in (152), resist this. Notice that the example is grammatical when the verb has overt negation, as in (153). Moreover, the partitive quantifier *hepsini* 'all.ACC' in (153) is necessarily interpreted in the scope of the negation, yielding the reading 'I didn't sign all the articles' in the second conjunct (rather than 'I signed all the articles').

- (152) *Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbir-i-ni, bense makale-ler-in hepsi-ni imzala-dı-k.
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-PST-1PL
'You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.'

- (153) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbir-i-ni, bense makale-ler-in hepsi-ni imzala-ma-dı-k
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-NEG-PST-1PL
'You did not sign any files, and I did not sign all articles.'

The partitive quantifier has to be interpreted in the scope of negation even when the conjuncts are flipped, as in (154).

¹⁶ The fact that this is possible stretches the notion of 'identity' in ellipsis. However, identity between affirmative and negative verbs is not an issue that is specific for RNR. Sentences like (i), which involve VP-ellipsis (or perhaps stripping) are also possible. I leave this issue for further research.

- i. Sen dosya-lar-ın hepsi-ni imzala-dı-n, ben hiçbir-i-ni.
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC sign-PST-2SG I none-ACC.
'You signed all of the files, and I (did not sign) any.'

(154) Sen makale-ler-in hepsi-ni, ben-se dosya-lar-ın
 you file-PL-GEN all-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN

hiçbiri-ni imzala-ma-dı-k.

none-ACC sign-NEG-PST-1PL

‘You did not sign any files, and I did not sign all articles.’

If there is a single verb in RNR-MD structures, which is interpreted in both conjuncts and agrees with both subjects, then such a verb, by virtue of being shared, must have the same polarity in both conjuncts.

3.7. Syncretic Verbs

As mentioned in chapter 2, the verb *iç* is syncretic between the meanings ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ in Turkish. Therefore, an example where both conjuncts have an object that is a liquid, both RNR-E and RNR-MD are possible since in each case the verb is interpreted as ‘drink’ in both conjuncts.

(155) Sen suy-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-m. **NCAgr**
 you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
 ‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

(156) Sen suy-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-k. **CAgr**
 you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
 ‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

However, when one object forces the verb to be interpreted as ‘smoke’, such as *sigara* ‘cigarette’ in the following examples, RNR-E (157) is acceptable, but RNR-MD, shown in (158), is ungrammatical. This asymmetry is also expected considering what is possible under multidominance and ellipsis. In the RNR-E example (157), the verb *içtin* ‘smoke.PAST.2SG’ can be elided under identity with the verb *içtim* ‘drink.PAST.1SG’ because they are syncretic. One might argue that this is due to the PF-wing of grammar recognizing these verbs as identical.

Under RNR-MD, however, there is a single verb, shared by both conjuncts, and it must be either ‘drink’ or ‘smoke’ – their superficial identity does not play a role. Thus, the example (158) is ungrammatical because the cumulative agreement suggests that the

verb is multiply dominated and such a single, multiply dominated verb cannot be interpreted with a different meaning in each conjunct.

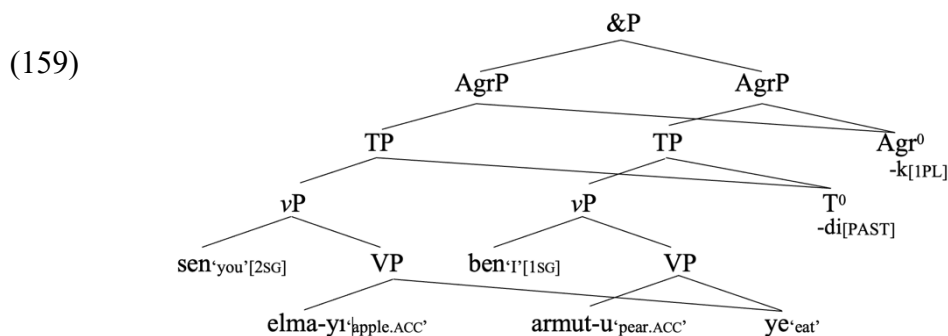
- (157) *Sen sigara-y1, ben de soda-y1 iç-ti-m.* *NCAgr*
 you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
 ‘You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda’

- (158) **Sen sigara-y1, ben de soda-y1 iç-ti-k.* *CAgr*
 you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
 ‘You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda’

This completes the discussion of contrasts between RNR-E and RNR-MD. I have shown that the agreement morphology of the verb is indicative of two different ways in which the pivot comes to be unpronounced in the first conjunct: ellipsis vs. multidominance. In the next section, I consider (and refute) a possible alternative to multidominance analysis I argued for, which can derive all the facts that cumulative agreement dovetails with, but does not involve multiple dominance.

3.8. One Way to Share

In section 4.2., I proposed that RNR-MD examples involve non-bulk sharing, where the verb and the functional projections above the verb are shared by the two conjuncts individually, as in (159).

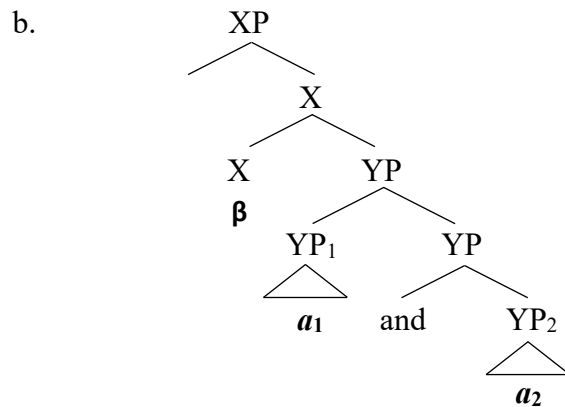


However, this type of sharing is not the only possibility for sharing a part of structure. Lin (2001) also argues for a sharing structure for English gapping that does not involve multidominance.¹⁷ Lin defines sharing as in (160).

¹⁷ I thank İsa Kerem Bayırlı (p.c.) for bringing this possibility to my attention.

(160) **Sharing in Coordinate Structures**

a. α_1 and α_2 share β if β c-commands both α_1 and α_2 .

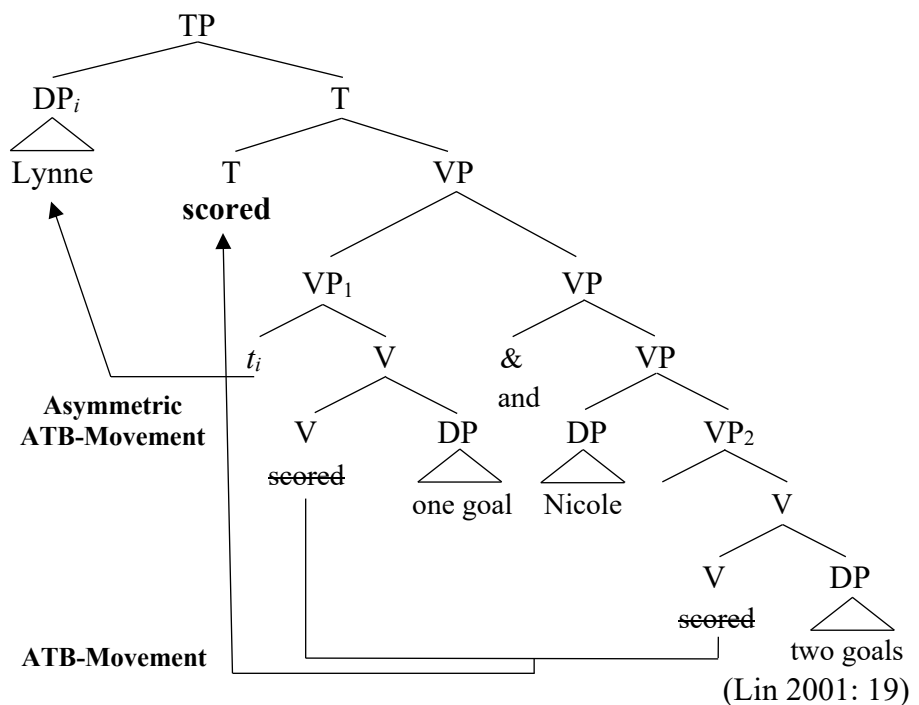


(Lin 2001: 7)

Lin also argues for a small-conjunct approach to gapping, where the conjuncts are ν P's which share a single T that sits above the coordination, as in (162), which is the structure Lin proposes for the example in (161). Lin's analysis is based on Johnson's (1996) analysis of gapping, on which gapping is the result of the ATB-movement of the verb to a shared T. The subject of the initial conjunct then undergoes A-movement to [Spec TP] to satisfy the EPP requirement on the shared T, leaving the subject in the second conjunct in situ.

(161) Lynne scored one goal, and Nicole, two goals.

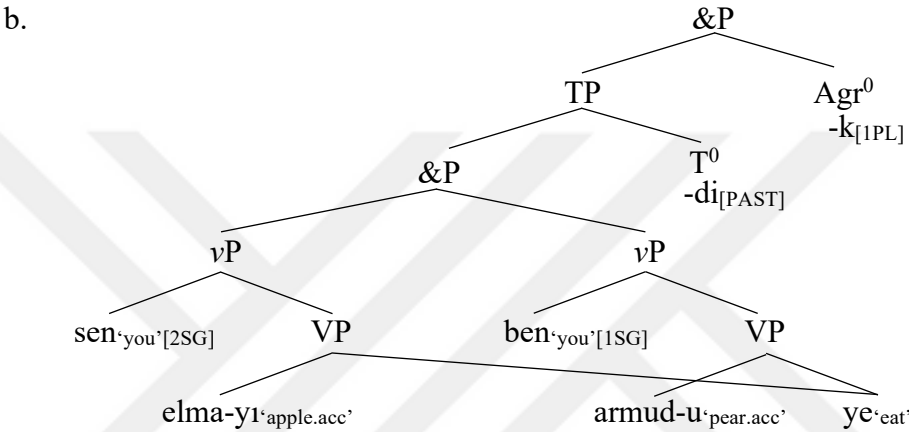
(162)



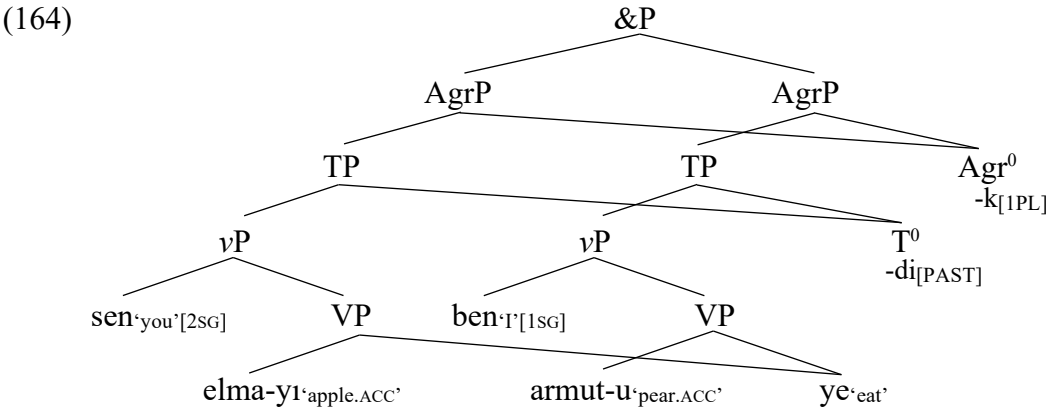
(Lin 2001: 19)

Such a proposal can be made for our examples as well; technically it is possible for the two conjuncts to share the T (have a single T that c-commands both vPs) and the functional projections above in a similar fashion while retaining multidominance below vP level, as in (163)b). This structure captures the agreement facts and other effects attributed to multidominance in chapter 2.

- (163) a. Sen elma-y1, ben de armut-u ye-di-k.
 you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 ‘You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.’



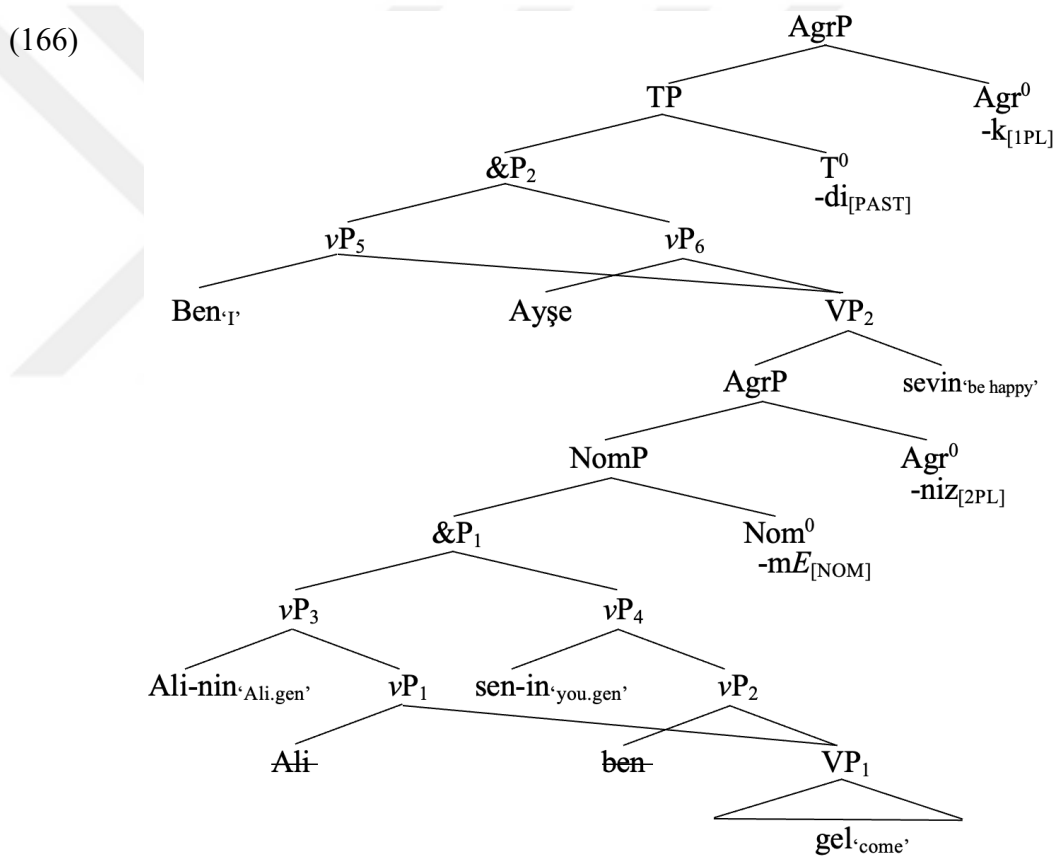
However, Turkish facts suggest that (163)b) is not the correct representation of what I have been referring to as RNR-MD, and that the functional heads above the verb cannot be shared in Lin’s sense of the term “sharing”, but must instead be multiply dominated, like I argued in section 3.2. On my analysis, the structure of (163)a) is as in (164), repeated here from (84) for convenience.



Evidence for this comes from examples like (165), where both the embedded and the matrix verb show cumulative agreement.¹⁸

- (165) Ben Ali'nin, Ayşe de senin gel-me-niz-e sevin-di-k.
 I Ali-GEN Ayşe and you-GEN come-mA-2PL-DAT be happy-PAST-1PL
 'I am happy that Ali, and Ayşe is happy that you came.'

If we follow a small-conjunct approach similar to Lin's analysis, we end up with the representation in (166). In (166), the nominalization (Nom) and Agr heads are merged directly above the embedded clause (&P₁), and the matrix subjects *ben* 'I' and *Ayşe* share the matrix verb *sevindik* 'be happy.PAST.1PL', which takes the embedded clause as its complement.



However, there is a problem with this proposal. Following Bachrach and Katzir's (2009; 2017) linearization algorithm for multidominant structures, the shared matrix

¹⁸ This is reminiscent of so-called repeated RNR (Abbott 1976). In (i), the object *John* and the adverbial *excessively* do not form a constituent, since RNR is sensitive to constituenthood, it suggests that this construction requires more than one application of RNR (Belk et. al 2023).

- i. Mary flattered, and Bill praised, John excessively.

In the following chapter, I discuss the repeated RNR examples in further detail.



CHAPTER 4

THE INTERACTION OF MULTIDOMINANCE AND ELLIPSIS

In previous chapters, I have argued that Turkish RNR could be the result of ellipsis, which takes place at PF, or multidominance, taking place in syntax. This argument raises the question about the possible interaction of the two mentioned mechanisms, and possibly the interaction between PF and syntax. In this chapter, I explore this interaction in Turkish.

Barros and Vicente (2011) argue that ellipsis and multidominance never interact as this interaction leads to ill-formed examples. In their view, the pivot of RNR is derived either by ellipsis or multidominance. On the other hand, Larson (2012) claims that RNR can exhibit effects attributed to multidominance and ellipsis within the same sentence, which does not lead to ungrammaticality as Barros and Vicente argue. Larson gives examples such as in (168), where a morphological mismatch is present since the verb in the second conjunct (*working*) is in its progressive form although the modal auxiliary in the first conjunct (*must*) requires the infinitival form (*work*). Thus, following Barros and Vicente's proposal, the relational adjective *different* in the pivot should not give rise to an internal reading. However, the example (168), according to Larson, does have an internal reading of the relational adjective, where the topics that Alice and Iris will work on are different from each other.

(168) Alice must, and Iris ought to be, working on different topics.

(Larson 2012: 147)

Larson raises another issue with respect to internal readings, combining it with vehicle change. In (169), the subject pronoun *she* can co-refer with the proper name *Alice*, obviating a Principle C violation; this is expected under ellipsis. On the other hand,

the relational adjective *different* has an internal reading, which is an effect induced by multidominance.

(169) She_i thinks that she_i absolutely must, and Bill fears that he won't, present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor.

(Larson 2012: 148)

On a similar note, Larson shows that a universally quantified NP found in the pivot, such as *every student* in (170), can take wide scope (suggesting that the pivot is multiply dominated) even though a verbal mismatch is present (suggesting that the pivot in the first conjunct is deleted).

(170) Some woman must, and some man ought to be, working with every student.

($\exists > \forall$, $\forall > \exists$)

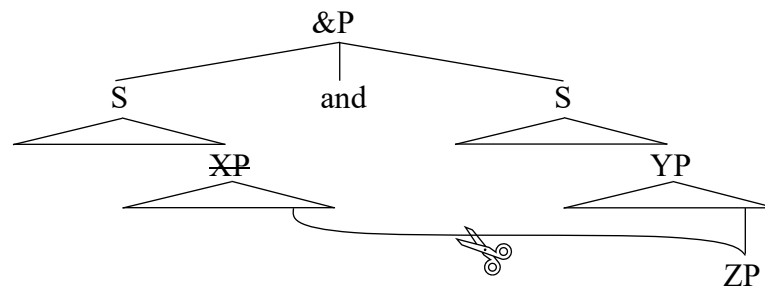
(Larson 2012: 149)

The verbal mismatch cannot be derived by multidominance, while the wide scope reading of the universal cannot be achieved by ellipsis since this type of scope taking would require covert ATB quantifier raising, which has been argued not to exist (Bošković & Franks 2000).

As the examples (168)-(170) display effects that are indicative of both ellipsis and multidominance, Larson argues that no single approach can capture the every aspect of RNR, including the ones that combine these approaches, such as Barros and Vicente.

In a more recent paper, building on the observations Larson made about “mixed” pivots, Belk et al. propose an analysis for RNR, one in which both ellipsis and multidominance can interact in certain configurations, contra the arguments of Barros and Vicente. Belk et al. argue that an RNR structure created through ellipsis may contain a secondary pivot created through MD, as in (171). Since MD structures violate the Non-Tangling Condition (Partee et al. 1993), given in (172), they further argue that a *pruning* operation is always necessary in order to linearize MD structures.

(171)



(adapted from Belk et al. 2023: 24)

(172) **Non-Tangling Condition**

In any well-formed constituent structure tree, for any nodes x and y , if x precedes y , then all nodes dominated by x precede all nodes dominated by y .

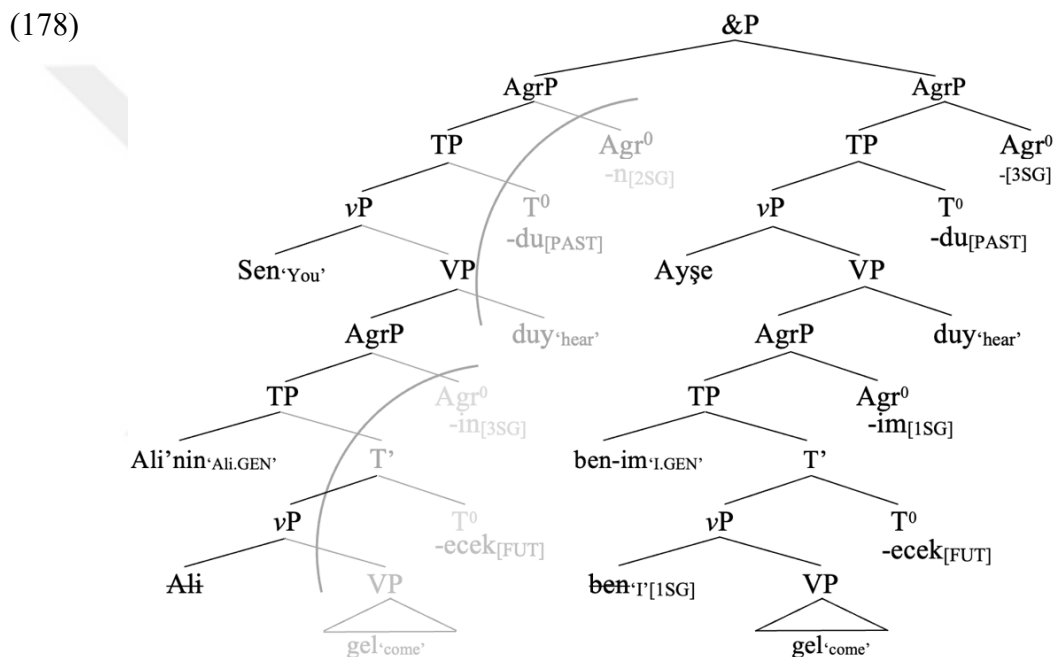
(Partee et al. 1993: 442)

Before the structure is sent to PF, the pruning operation removes the offending branch, and this results in a structure that does not violate the Non-Tangling Condition because it no longer includes multiply dominated nodes. Pruning also prevents the multiply dominated node (ZP in (171)) to be elided from both conjuncts when the constituent that originally contained it (the primary pivot) is deleted from the first conjunct (XP in (171)). This suggests that when the two processes interact within the same structure, ellipsis must always linearly precede multidominance. Crucially, it should also be impossible to elide an element from a multiply dominated constituent, since that constituent would not be recoverable, i.e., ZP in (171) cannot be elided as there is no other constituent that can serve as an antecedent for ellipsis, unlike XP, which can be elided under identity with YP.

This analysis explains why mixed pivots are possible. In Larson's examples, indications of ellipsis (morphological mismatches, vehicle change) also always precede indications of multidominance (wide scope of the pivot, internal readings). Under Belk et al.'s proposal, the example in (170), repeated below as (173), has the derivation in (174). Following pruning, the VP₁ in the initial conjunct, *work with every student*, is elided under identity with the VP in the second conjunct, *working with every student*. The two pivots (VP₁ and VP₂) also contain a multiply dominated pivot, namely the QP *every student*. The originally multiply dominated QP *every student* is spelled out above the &P and thus c-commands both subjects, yielding the wide scope reading.

It is also possible to derive a similar structure with repeated RNR-E. In (177), unlike in the RNR-MD example in (175), both verbs show non-cumulative agreement: the embedded verb *gelmeme* ‘come.NOM.1SG.DAT’ agrees only with the embedded subject in the second conjunct *benim* ‘I.GEN’ while the matrix verb *sevindi* ‘be happy.PAST.2SG’ agrees with the matrix subject of the second conjunct *Ayşe*. This suggests that the embedded and the matrix verbs in the initial conjunct are elided, as illustrated in (178).

- (177) Sen Ali'nin, Ayşe de benim gel-me-m-e sev-in-di.
 you Ali-GEN Ayşe and I-GEN come-mA-1SG-DAT be happy-PAST-2SG
 ‘You are happy that Ali, and Ayşe is happy that I came.’

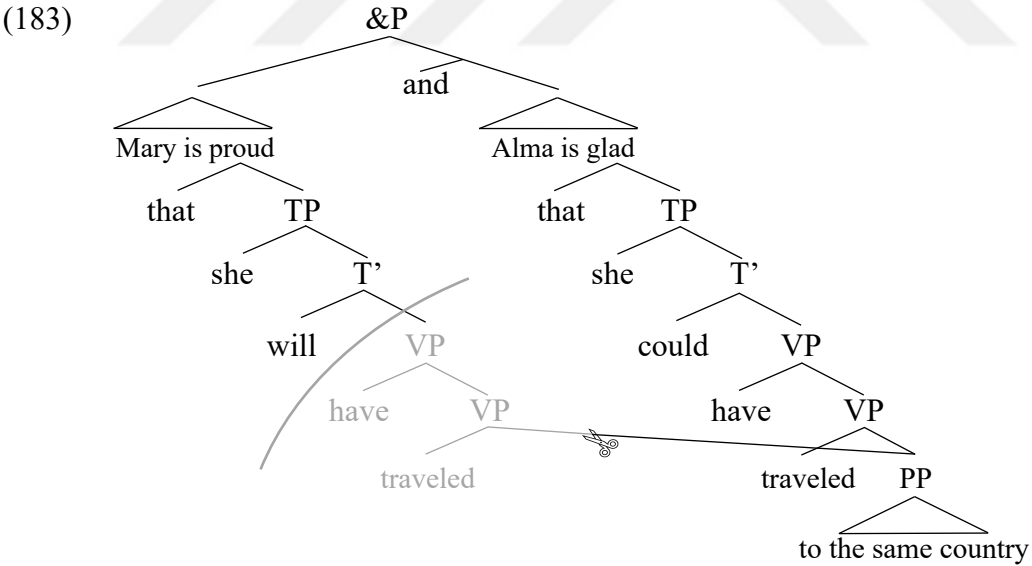


The possibility of repeated RNR in Turkish raises an important question as to whether multidominance and ellipsis can interact. Examples like (179) show that they in fact can interact within the same structure, as argued by Belk et al. In (179), the embedded verb *gelmeme* ‘come.NOM.1SG.DAT’ agrees with the embedded subject in the second conjunct *benim* ‘I.GEN’, and the matrix verb *sevindiniz* ‘be happy.PAST.2PL’ agrees with both matrix subjects *sen* ‘you’ and *Ayşe*. This suggests that the embedded clause underwent RNR-E while the matrix clause underwent RNR-MD, as shown in (180). Importantly, RNR-E precedes RNR-MD in (179).

example with a pivotal break in various places: either before the AuxP, VP or the PP. In (182), the relational adjective *same* has an internal reading, suggesting that at least the PP *to the same country* is multiply dominated. Belk et al. state that multiply dominated pivots require a pre-pivotal break, unlike pivots created through ellipsis; thus, the fact that in (182) the pre-pivotal break can move rightwards (preceding the auxiliary *have*, the verb *travelled* or the PP *to the same country*) suggests that the size of the multiply dominated constituent can vary.²¹

(182) Mary is proud that she WILL, and Alma is glad that she COULD, <#> [AuxP have <#> [VP traveled <#> [PP to the same_{INT} country]]].
 (Belk et al. 2023: 26)

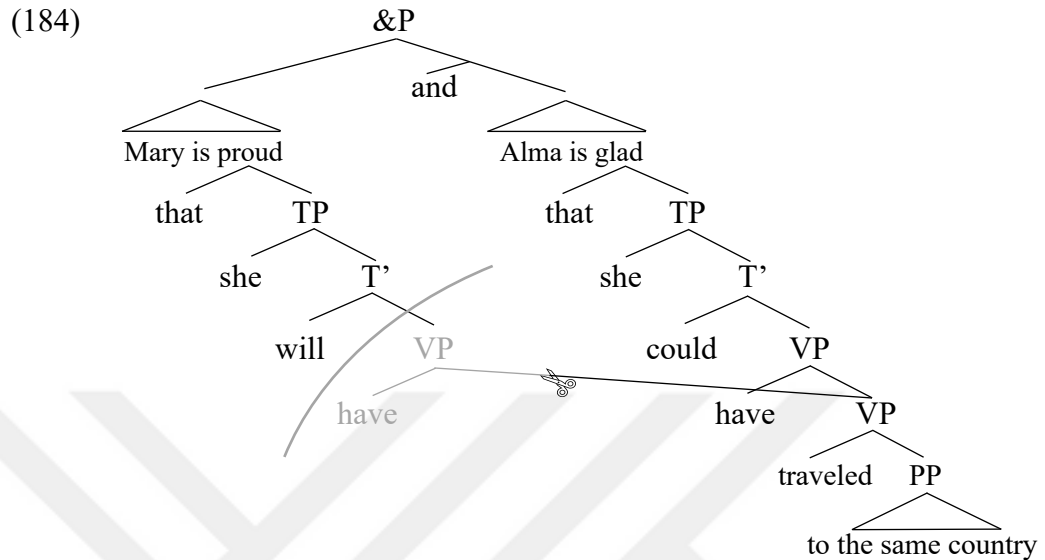
The possibility of a break before the PP (and the presence of the internal reading) suggests that the PP is shared, while the VP containing both the auxiliary *have* and the VP containing the verb *traveled* is elided in the first conjunct. This is illustrated in (183).²²



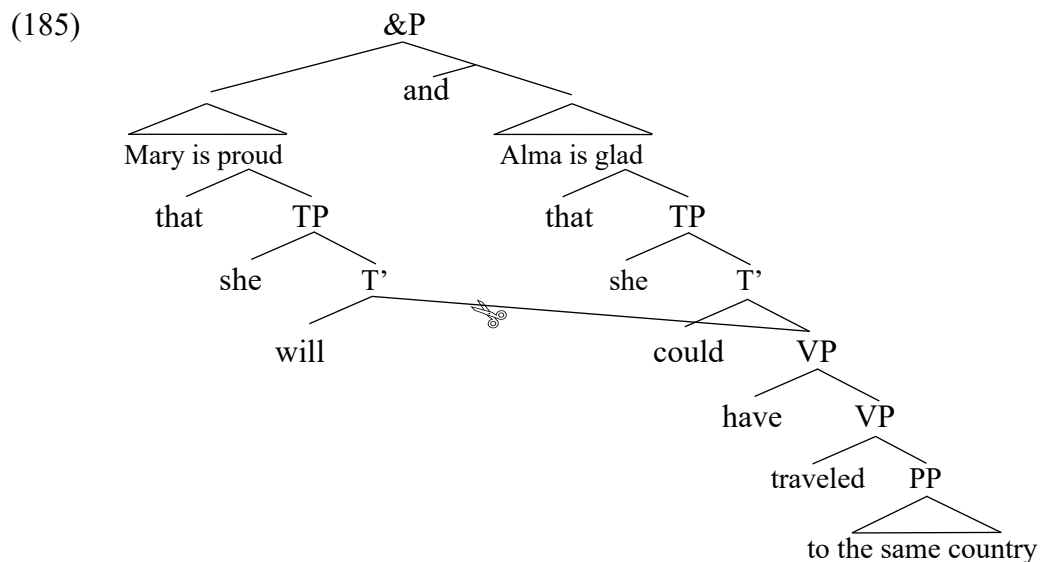
²¹ Both Valmala (2013) and Güner and Göksel (2019) argue that there are two types of RNR constructions. Both authors argue that one instance of RNR requires a pre-pivotal break, while the other does not. The fact that RNR constructions can be divided into two is predicted under this analysis, while RNR-MD requires a pre-pivotal break, RNR-E does not require a break before the pivot.

²² The diagrams in (183), (184), and (185) are from Citko and Gračanin-Yuksek (to appear).

It is also possible to have the break before the verb *traveled*, and this suggests that it is also possible to elide in the first conjunct the VP that contains the auxiliary *have* and share the rest of the VP *traveled to the same country*, as shown in (184).



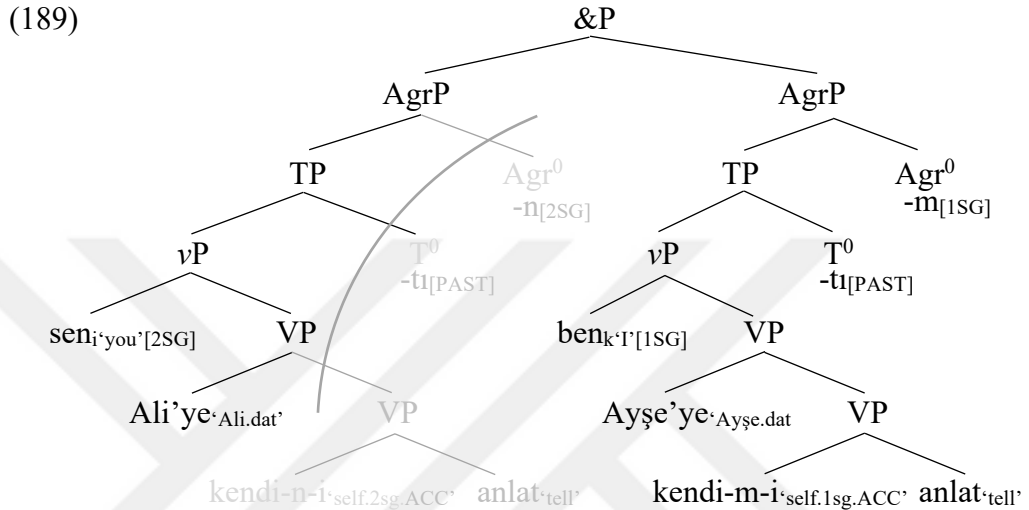
The final potential position of the break, where it appears before the AuxP, suggests that everything following the surviving auxiliaries (*will* and *could*) is shared, as in (185).



According to Belk et al., the fact that the pre-pivotal break can move rightwards suggests that the choice in creating the pivot by ellipsis or by multidominance is free unless it is necessary to derive an effect attributed to each (for example, the internal

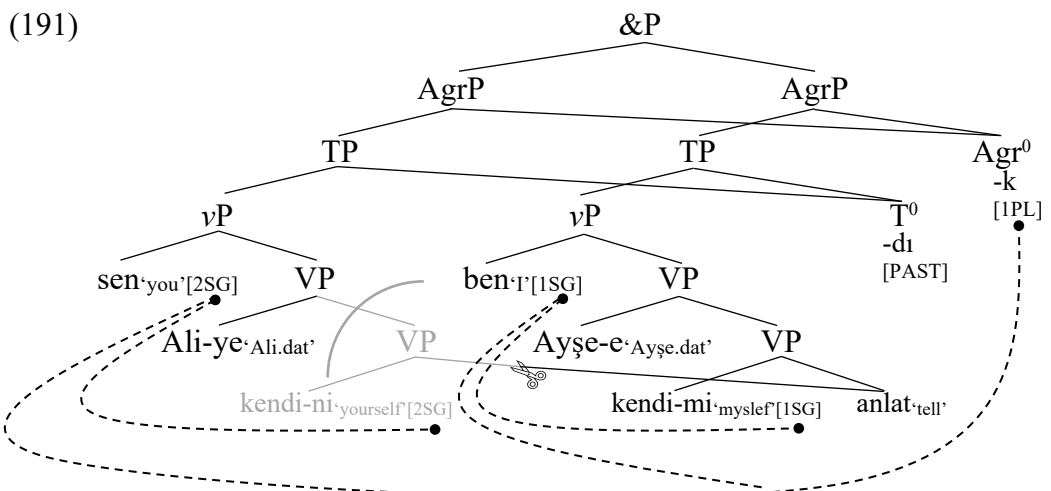
the anaphor *kendimi* ‘self.1SG.ACC’ is interpreted as *beni* ‘me.ACC’ under vehicle change. This is illustrated in (189).

- (188) Sen_k Ali’ye, ben_i de Ayşe’ye kendi-mi-i_i anlat-tı-m.
 You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1SG-ACC tell-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: You talked to Ali about me, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.
 =Sloppy: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.



However, an example like (190), where the verb *anlattık* ‘tell.PAST.1PL’ is shared, while its complement *kendimi* ‘self.1SG.ACC’ is not, and is instead elided in the first conjunct, as shown in (190), is unacceptable.

- (190) *Sen_k Ali’ye, ben_i de Ayşe’ye kendi-mi-i_i anlat-tı-k.
 You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1SG-ACC tell-PAST-1PL
 Intended: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.



The example in (190) (illustrated in the example (191)) meets the criteria for Belk et al.’s proposal for a possible interaction between ellipsis and multidominance: a pivot created through ellipsis (the anaphor, which displays a morphological mismatch across conjuncts) linearly precedes a pivot created through multidominance (the verb, which exhibits cumulative agreement). However, the outcome is ungrammatical.²⁴

Belk et al.’s proposal predicts that the anaphoric complement of the shared verb *anlattık* ‘tell.PAST.1PL’ can be either shared alongside the verb or elided in the first conjunct. However, this example shows that the sharing of the verb requires the sharing of its complement. In other words, Turkish data suggests that when sharing is possible, it is *obligatory*.²⁵

However, this conclusion contradicts what we saw in example (179), repeated below as (192), where it was possible to share the matrix verb *sevindiniz* ‘be happy.PAST.2PL’ (with cumulative agreement), and still elide the embedded verb *gelmem* ‘come.NOM.1SG.DAT’ (with non-cumulative agreement) in the first conjunct. The structure is shown in (193), repeated from (180).

- (192) Sen Ali’nin, Ayşe de benim gel-me-m-e sevin-di-niz.
 you Ali-GEN Ayşe and I-GEN come-mA-1SG-DAT be happy-PAST-2PL
 ‘You are happy that Ali, and Ayşe is happy that I came.’

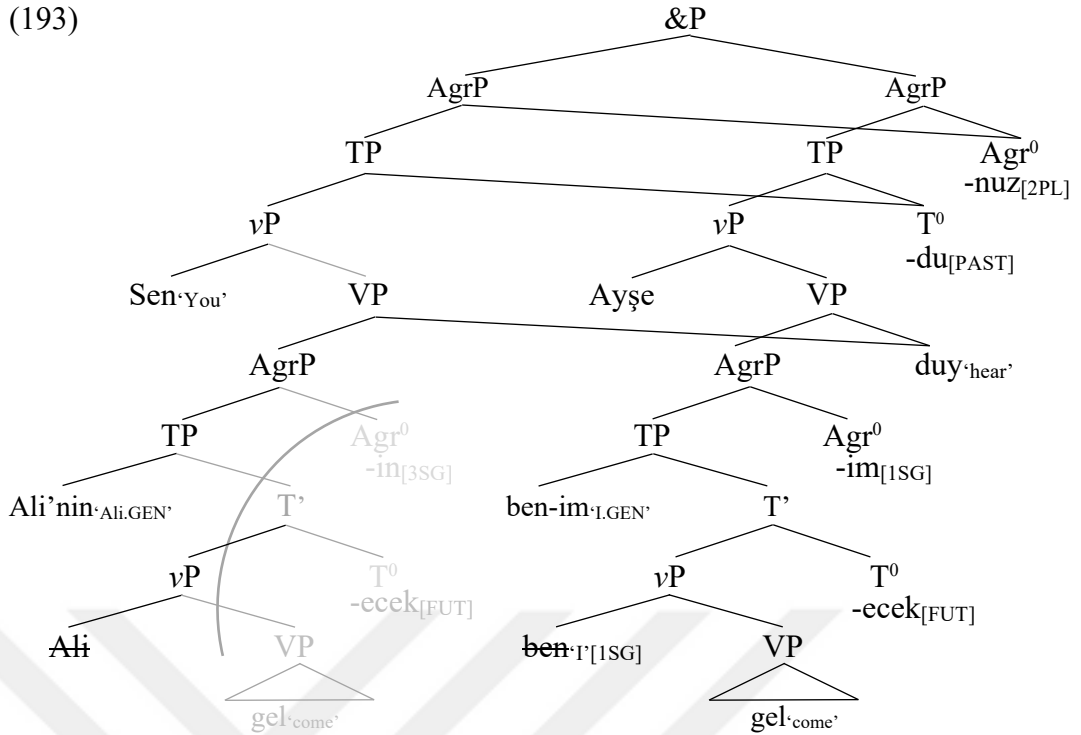
In both the mono-clausal RNR example in (190) and the bi-clausal repeated RNR example in (192) ellipsis precedes multidominance, but only the latter is grammatical.

²⁴ One could argue that (191) is the correct structure for (190), but the anaphor in the first conjunct cannot be deleted because the person mismatch causes two anaphors not to count as identical. Yet, independent of RNR constructions, the same mismatch is tolerated in VP ellipsis example (i), where the anaphor *kendimi* ‘self.1SG’ in the second conjunct is successfully elided under the identity with *kendini* ‘self.3SG’ in the first conjunct, giving rise to the sloppy identity reading.

- (i) Sen_k Ali’ye kendi-n-i_k anlat-tı-n, ben_i de Ayşe’ye.
 You Ali-DAT self-1SG-ACC tell-PAST-1SG I and Ayşe-DAT
 =Strict: ‘You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about you.’

²⁵ Citko and Gračanin-Yuksek (to appear) argue that sharing is more economical than ellipsis, as ellipsis would require more operations than multidominance. What I argue here supports this, as having an object in each conjunct followed by ellipsis would require more operations than sharing the object and the verb (in bulk).

(193)



I argue that this contrast obtains because the two examples differ with respect to constituency. In the grammatical (186), repeated below as (194) for convenience, the complement anaphor *kendimizi* 'self.1PL.ACC' and the verb *anlattık* 'tell.PAST.1PL' form a constituent, and the constituent is shared as a whole (in bulk).

- (194) Sen_k Ali'ye, ben_k de Ayşe'ye kendi-miz-i_k anlat-tı-k.
You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1PL-ACC tell-PAST-1PL
R1: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.
R2: You talked to Ali about me and you, and I talked to Ayşe about me and you.

In (192), however, the embedded verb *gelmeme* 'come.NOM.1SG.DAT' and the matrix verb *sevindiniz* 'be happy.PAST.2PL' do not form a constituent; their adjacency is just a by-product of the head-finality of Turkish. Since there is no way to share the matrix and embedded verbs as a constituent (in bulk), in this example the embedded verb does not have to be shared. Thus, Turkish data that I have discussed in this chapter suggests that Belk et al. (2023) are correct in proposing that ellipsis and multidominance can interact in the same RNR sentence. However, what governs this interaction seems to be more complicated than what these authors suggest: it seems that whenever sharing possible, ellipsis is banned.

In a recent paper, Citko and Gračanin-YukseK (to appear) propose that multidominance is more economical than ellipsis and is, therefore, forced whenever both derivations result in *the same string with the same meaning*. The data from Turkish that we have just seen, namely the fact that the shared verb requires the anaphoric complement to be shared as well, suggests that this proposal is on the right track, but is not completely correct; the two relevant examples, the ungrammatical (190) and the grammatical (194), repeated here as (195) and (196), do not result in the same string: in (195), the anaphor is *kendimi* ‘self.1SG.ACC’, while in (196) it is *kendimizi* ‘self.1PL.ACC’. Thus, on Citko and Gračanin-YukseK’s analysis, the two examples do not meet the identity-of-string requirement, which is required for the two to be compared on the grounds of economy.

(195) *Sen_k Ali’ye, ben_i de Ayşe’ye kendi-mi-i_i anlat-tı-k.
 You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1SG-ACC tell-PAST-1PL
 Intended: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.

(196) Sen_k Ali’ye, ben_k de Ayşe’ye kendi-miz-i_k anlat-tı-k.
 You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1PL-ACC tell-PAST-1PL
 Reading 1: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.
 Reading 2: You talked to Ali about me and you, and I talked to Ayşe about me and you.

I would like to suggest that perhaps these two examples *are* evaluated against the measure of economy, despite the string non-identity. Recall that in footnote (8) I cited Eren Gezen (2022) and Gunal (2025), who show that the strict identity reading is generally not accessed by Turkish speakers and attribute its absence to the impossibility of vehicle change in RNR. If this is correct, then the example (195) – were it grammatical – would only have the sloppy identity reading because it would be impossible to interpret the anaphor *kendimi* ‘self.1SG.ACC’ as a pronominal (*beni* ‘me.ACC’) under ellipsis (so the strict reading would be absent). Since the exact same sloppy reading is also available in the grammatical (196), where both the verb and the anaphor are shared in bulk, it is possible to argue that (195) is excluded because the only reading it could yield is derivable by a more economical, bulk-sharing example in (196).

CHAPTER 5

PREVIOUS ANALYSES

In chapter 2, we have seen that RNR examples in Turkish exhibit different behavior depending on the agreement on the verb in the final conjunct. When the verb agrees with the subject of the final conjunct, the structure is indicative of ellipsis. By contrast, when the verb agrees with both subjects, it shows signs of multidominance. Relevant examples for RNR-E and RNR-MD are repeated in (197) and (198) respectively.

(197) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-m. *RNR-E*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

(198) Sen elma-y₁, ben de armut-u ye-di-k. *RNR-MD*
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

In this chapter, I summarize previous arguments made for these constructions.²⁶ I will also show why these exclusivist proposals fail to explain the facts and problems mentioned in chapter 2.

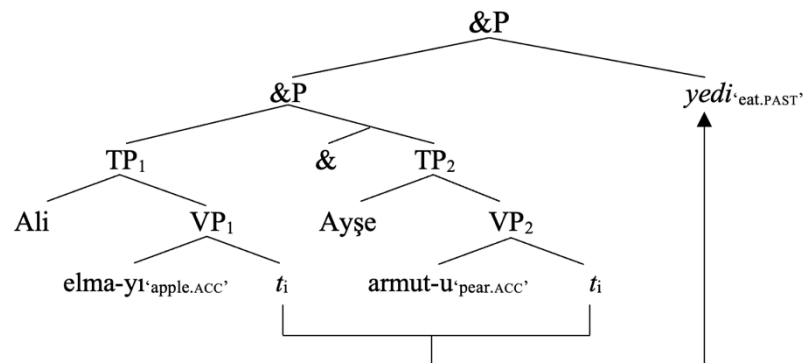
5.1. Across-the-Board Movement (Hankamer 1972, Kornfilt 2000; 2010)

Hankamer's (1972) early analysis of Turkish backward gapping, as well as Kornfilt's (2000; 2010) proposals, argue for an across-the-board (ATB) movement analysis for RNR in Turkish. Under this analysis, two identical elements (objects for English, and predicates for Turkish), one from each conjunct, are moved out of the coordinate

²⁶ While some of the proposals summarized here refer to this construction as RNR, some call it backward gapping. As discussed in the introduction, we have concluded that backward gapping is inherently RNR, but the rightmost material in Turkish is the verb instead of an object DP like in English. In this chapter, I will still refer to backward gapping as RNR, following the terminology in the literature, unless the proposal involves an analysis that concerns RNR itself (see Kornfilt 2010, 2019).

structure in an Across-the-board fashion, to adjoin the coordination phrase (&P), as in (199).

(199)



Since this operation is only capable of explaining strings where the verb in the initial conjunct is missing, it is impossible to derive forward gapping (FG) through the same analysis, as noted by Kornfilt (2010).²⁷ This is what Hankamer (1972) predicts since he argues against the existence of mirror-image rules in syntax: The rule that derives backward gapping should not derive FG. Indeed, Hankamer’s claim seems to hold when the structure is embedded (200). While it is possible to embed backward gapping in Turkish, FG is illicit in embedded environments (201).

(200) Zeynep [Hasan-ın karides-i _____, Mehmed-in de istiridyeye-yi
 Zeynep Hasan-GEN shrimp-ACC Mehmet-GEN and oyster-ACC
 ye-diğ-in-i] duy-du.
 eat-NOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST
 ‘Zeynep heard that Hasan (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster.’

(201) *Zeynep [Hasan-ın karides-i ye-diğ-in-i Mehmed-in de
 Zeynep Hasan-GEN shrimp-ACC eat-NOM-3SG-ACC Mehmet-GEN and
 istiridyeye-yi _____] duy-du.
 oyster-ACC hear-PAST
 ‘Zeynep heard that Hasan ate the shrimp, and Mehmet (ate) the oyster.’

(Kornfilt 2019: 49)

²⁷ Kornfilt (2010) notes that a hypothetical “Left-Node-Raising” in head-final languages such as Turkish would not be sufficient to account for forward gapping.

In Hankamer (1971), the ill-formedness of (201) is explained as a Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) violation (Ross 1967) because, under the assumption that nominalization follows ellipsis, the nominalization applies only to the verb in the non-final conjunct, i.e., the verb in the final conjunct gets elided before being nominalized. In (200), however, nominalization is possible since the ATB-moved element is out of the coordinate structure, and nominalization applies after the verb leaves the coordinate structure, without violating CSC, supporting Hankamer's claim.

In a more recent analysis, Kornfilt (2010, 2019) argues against the ATB-movement analysis of these constructions. Kornfilt shows that embedding FG under verbs that do not require nominalized complements, but accept a finite, fully tensed predicates such as *san* 'believe', is also impossible, as shown in (202). Although there is no nominalization taking place in either conjunct, embedding FG is still illicit, while embedding backward gapping is still possible, as shown in (203). Kornfilt's argument shows that the asymmetry between embedding FG and backward gapping is in fact not related to a CSC violation, as Hankamer claims, and she argues that there must be a different explanation that accounts for this asymmetry.

(202) *Ahmet [[Hasan karides-i ye-di], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ____]]
 Ahmet Hasan shrimp-ACC eat-PAST Mehmet and oyster-ACC

sanı-yor.

believe-PROG

'Ahmet believes that Hasan ate the shrimp and Mehmet (ate) the oyster.'

(203) Ahmet [[Hasan karides-i ____], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ye-di]]
 Ahmet Hasan shrimp-ACC Mehmet and oyster-ACC eat-PAST

sanı-yor.

believe-PROG

'Ahmet believes that Hasan (ate) the shrimp and Mehmet ate the oyster.'

(Kornfilt 2010: 200)

While Kornfilt (2000) and (2012) argue for an ATB-movement analysis of RNR, Kornfilt (2019) raises an important issue for this analysis. The main problem concerns the fact that ATB-movement of the verb from both conjuncts violates the universal ban against the adjunction of a head to a phrase (Chomsky 1986, Kayne 1994). This not a problem in RNR examples where the pivot consists of more than the verb (when

the pivot is a phrase); however, it is clear that examples where the pivot consists only of a verb are also grammatical.

Besides the problem of the adjunction of a head to a phrase that Kornfilt raises, there is another problem for the ATB-movement analysis, which concerns the lack of identity of verbal agreement morphology in the two conjuncts. This is not a problem for Kornfilt (2012) because she rejects examples such as (204) (judgment Kornfilt's), where the verbs in the two conjuncts show a mismatch with respect to the phi-feature agreement. Kornfilt argues that backward gapping requires strict identity between the two verbs, as in (205).

- (204) **Sen karides-i, ben de istiridye-yi ye-di-m.*
You shrimp-ACC, I and oyster-ACC eat-PAST-1SG
'You (ate) the shrimp, and you ate the pear.'
(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 56)

- (205) *Hasan karides-i, Mehmet de istiridye-yi ye-di.*
Hasan shrimp-ACC, Mehmet and oyster-ACC eat-PAST
'Hasan (ate) the apple, and Mehmet ate the pear.'
(Kornfilt 2019: 48)

Because ATB-movement requires strict identity between the moved elements, the grammaticality of the example in (204), which is reported to be grammatical by Gürer and Göksel (p. 252) is problematic for this approach. If it is somehow possible for the verb to undergo agreement after it is ATB moved, then it would c-command both subjects, and it would be unexpected for the verb to obligatorily agree with the subject in the final conjunct and not with the subject in the initial conjunct.

Lastly, the availability of plurality dependent expressions in RNR, mentioned in chapter 2, are also problematic for ATB-movement, as shown by Gürer and Göksel (2019) with the non-elliptical example in (206). This example shows that the reciprocal cannot be in two distinct conjuncts, which suggests that there is no putative source that can feed ATB-movement.

(206) *[Sen şiirlerin-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-2S

[ben de hikayelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um].
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG
 Int: ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(Gürer & Göksel 2019: 247)

Notice that this example remains ungrammatical even if both subjects are 3rd person singular, resulting in the absence of mismatch in the verbal agreement, and thus making the verb (together with the reciprocal) eligible for ATB movement. The ungrammaticality of (207) shows that the source that might feed this movement is not available. However, an example with 3rd person subjects with a single reciprocal in the final conjunct is grammatical, as shown in (208).

(207) *[Ali şiirlerin-i birbirlerin-e zevkle oku-yor]
 Ali poem-PL-3SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF

[Ayşe de hikayelerin-i birbirlerin-e zevkle oku-yor].
 Ayşe and story-PL-3SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF
 Int: ‘Ali (reads) his poems, and Ayşe reads her stories to each other with pleasure.’

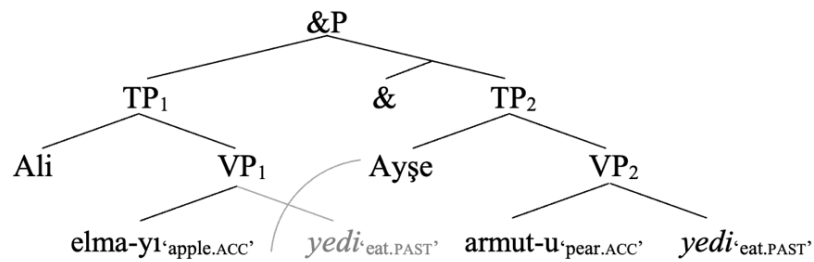
(208) Ali şiirlerin-i, Ayşe de hikayelerin-i
 Ali poem-PL-3SG-ACC Ayşe and story-PL-3SG-ACC

birbirlerin-e zevkle oku-yor.
 each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF
 ‘Ali (reads) his poems, and Ayşe reads her stories to each other with pleasure.’

5.2. PF-Deletion (Ince 2009, Kornfilt 2010; 2019)

Another suggested source for backward gapping in Turkish is PF-deletion (Ince 2009, Kornfilt 2010; 2019), where the verb (and possibly more material adjacent to the verb) in the initial conjunct is not pronounced, as shown in (209)

(209)



Building on the observations made in Bozşahin (2001), where he shows that backward gapping requires parallel word order between the two conjuncts while forward gapping does not, Ince (2009) argues that backward gapping strings are RNR structures, which are subject to the Right Edge Restriction (RER).

(210) **Right Edge Restriction (RER)**

In the configuration: [[A... X...]] conj [B...X...]]

X must be the rightmost within A and B before either (i) X can be deleted from A; (ii) X can be rightward ATB-moved; or (iii) X can be multiply dominated by A and B.

(Sabbagh 2007: 356)

Ince (2009) follows an ellipsis analysis of RNR (Bošković 2004; Hartmann 2000), where the rightmost material in the initial conjunct gets elided, as in (211). Ince argues that the agreement on the verb is an indication that it is the verb in the final conjunct that survives ellipsis. Similarly, in case there are more than two conjuncts, as in (212), the verb again agrees only with the subject in the final conjunct.

(211) Sen elma-yı ~~ye-di-n~~, ben armut-u ye-di-m.
you apple-ACC ~~eat-PST-2SG~~ I pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
'You (ate) the apple, and I ate the pear.'

(212) Sen elma-yı ye-di-n, ben armut-u ~~ye-di-m~~, Tolga
you apple-ACC eat-PST-2SG I pear-ACC ~~eat-PST-1SG~~ Tolga

üzüm-ü ye-di.
grape-ACC eat-PST-2SG
'You (ate) the apple, I (ate) the pear, and Tolga ate the grape.'

(Ince 2009: 254)

Although Ince successfully derives all the facts associated with RNR-E, this analysis alone cannot account for the cumulative agreement facts we have seen in chapter 2, which we attributed to multidominance. In contrast to Kornfilt’s judgments, Ince rejects the grammaticality of examples with cumulative agreement. Given that Gürer and Göksel show that such examples are grammatical, especially with the right prosody, which is also my own judgment, I conclude that an ellipsis account alone cannot explain the facts that we observed in chapter 2, namely cumulative agreement, distributive readings of numerals in the pivot and licensing of plurality dependent expressions, such as reciprocals.

While Ince (2009) suggests that backward gapping is RNR and follows an ellipsis analysis of RNR, there exist analyses which argue that backward gapping involves ellipsis but does not instantiate RNR. As stated earlier, Kornfilt (2000) follows an ATB-movement analysis of RNR, but in a more recent work on coordination ellipsis (Kornfilt 2019) she focuses on differences between backward and forward gapping. In earlier work, she argues for a constraint, operative in head-final languages, which she calls the Predicate Final Constraint (PFC) (Kornfilt 2000, 2010). Kornfilt argues that in head-final languages (even if they allow scrambling) the predicate must be clause-final. For some languages, such as Japanese, this holds true both in embedded and matrix environments. By contrast, in some languages (such as Turkish), this constraint applies only in embedded environments.

As a result, the constraint rules out ungrammatical embedded forward gapping examples like (202) (repeated below as (213)) since the embedded clause does not contain a final predicate. However, forward gapping in root clauses, shown in (214), is allowed since the constraint only applies to embedded environments in Turkish.

(213) *Ahmet [[Hasan karides-i ye-di], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ____]]
 Ahmet Hasan shrimp-ACC eat-PAST Mehmet and oyster-ACC

sanı-yor.

believe-PROG

‘Ahmet believes that Hasan ate the shrimp and Mehmet (ate) the oyster.’

- (214) [Ahmet karides-i ye-di], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ____].
 Ahmet shrimp-ACC eat-PST Mehmet and oyster-ACC
 ‘Ahmet ate the shrimp, and Mehmet (ate) the oyster’

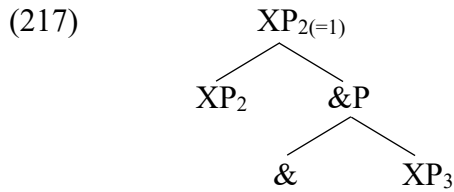
This restriction has no effect on backward gapping examples, whether the embedded verb is gapped, as in (215), or the root verb is gapped, as in (216), since neither involves an embedded clause with a non-final predicate.

- (215) Ahmet [[Hasan karides-i ____], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ye-di]]
 Ahmet Hasan shrimp-ACC Mehmet and oyster-ACC eat-PAST
 sanı-yor.
 believe-PROG
 ‘Ahmet believes that Hasan (ate) the shrimp and Mehmet ate the oyster.’

- (216) [Ahmet karides-i ____], [Mehmet de istiridye-yi ye-di].
 Ahmet shrimp-ACC Mehmet and oyster-ACC eat-PST
 ‘Ahmet (ate) the shrimp, and Mehmet ate the oyster’

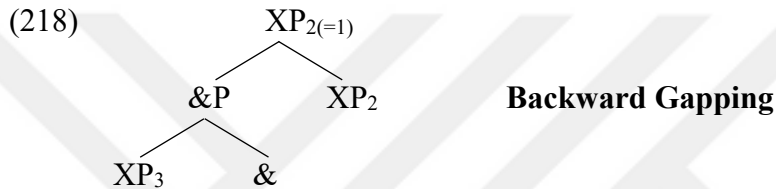
In order to explain the asymmetry between forward and backward gapping (namely that backward gapping requires parallel word order between the conjuncts and has the possibility of pluralizing the surviving verb), Kornfilt makes a proposal based on PF-deletion that retains PFC.²⁸ She argues that these gapping structures are not the result of different processes (forward and backward gapping) applying to a full, symmetric coordination. Rather, forward and backward gapping are the result of the same process (gapping) that applies to distinct structures, which differ in the way the two conjuncts are coordinated. Kornfilt adopts Munn’s (1993, 1996) work on headed coordinate structures, where Munn proposes that in a coordinate structure, the second conjunct is taken as the complement of the coordinate conjunction &, and the entire &P is right adjoined to the first conjunct. The first conjunct, in turn, acts as a phrasal head of the entire coordinate phrase. This is illustrated in (217)

²⁸ It is worth noting that the ellipsis analysis Kornfilt proposes is different from the one proposed in Ince (2009), since Kornfilt’s analysis is not based on RNR (i.e. it is not subject to the Right Edge Restriction). Rather, Kornfilt argues that the same elliptical process (namely Gapping) operates on different structures, resulting either in forward or backward gapping. For this reason, following her terminology, I refer to these structures as backward gapping in this section, although they have the same appearance as RNR constructions.



(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 59)

Kornfilt adopts this structure, but proposes that in head-final languages, since adjunction is typically to the left, it is the second conjunct (XP₂ in (218) below) that heads the entire phrase, while the first conjunct (XP₃ in (218)) is embedded in the &P, which is itself left-adjoined to the second conjunct.

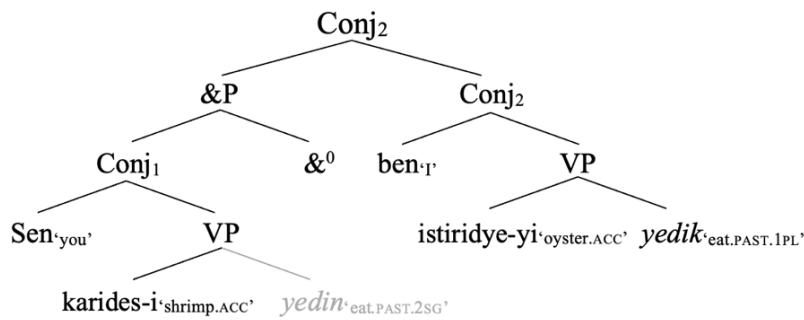


(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 59)

The way this proposal explains backward gapping is illustrated in (220), based on the example (219). Recall that Kornfilt argues that only the matrix clause must be clause-final in Turkish for PFC to hold. For this reason, Kornfilt argues that it is sufficient for the predicate of the top node of the coordinate structure to be clause final. Since the first conjunct (Conj₁), together with the conjunction, is adjoined leftwards to the second conjunct (Conj₂) in (220), when the verb of the Conj₁ is gapped, the highest node of the coordinate structure (Conj₂ in (220)) is predicate final, and (220) obeys PFC. Kornfilt further argues that plural (cumulative) agreement observed in backward gapping structures follows from this proposal. Since the highest segment (XP₁ in (218)) is formed by adjoining &P to XP₂, Kornfilt argues that XP₁ is sensitive to the presence of XP₃, and therefore it can pluralize the predicate overtly.

- (219) Sen karides-i ~~ye-di-n~~, ben istiridye-yi ye-di-m/(-k).
 you shrimp-ACC eat-PST-2SG I oyster-ACC eat-PST-1SG/-(1PL)
 ‘You (ate) the shrimp, and I ate the oyster.’

(220)



By contrast, Kornfilt argues that forward gapping is the result of ellipsis taking place in the structure in (221), where the second conjunct (XP₃, embedded in the &P) is right-adjoined to the first conjunct (XP₂), and here, the first conjunct (XP₂) acts as the phrasal head of the phrase.

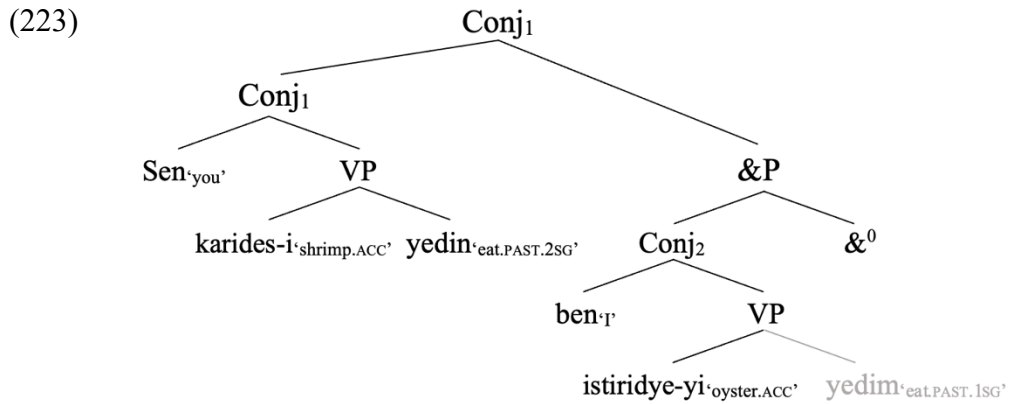
(221)



(adapted from Kornfilt 2019: 61)

How forward gapping operates is illustrated in (223), based on the example (222). In (222), ellipsis takes place in the second conjunct, namely the embedded Conj₂. Since the predicate at the highest node of the coordinate structure (Conj₁) is pronounced and clause-final, (223) complies with PFC. Since adjunction in head-final languages is typically to the left of the target, as Kornfilt argues, this unique rightward-adjunction is the source of the differences between forward and backward gapping, namely, the possibility of pluralizing overtly and parallel word order. Kornfilt argues that this is due to the most important boundary in head-final languages, the right edge. The right edge of the highest node of the coordinate structure (XP₁ in (221)) is the same as the that of its phrasal head (namely XP₂). For this reason, Kornfilt argues that the right-adjoined XP₃ does not “count” with respect to computing plurality of both subjects and does not require parallel word order, i.e., the adjunct comes after what constitutes the right edge and is “disregarded” by syntax. Kornfilt states that only XP₂ “counts” in the syntax and the adjunct only exists phonologically, and this is why the word order in the second conjunct can be different from that in the first.

- (222) Sen karides-i ye-di-n, ben istiridye-yi ~~ye-di-m~~.
 you shrimp-ACC eat-PST-2SG I oyster-ACC eat- PST-1SG
 ‘You ate the shrimp, and I (ate) the oyster.’



Unlike Ince’s RNR-as-ellipsis analysis, Kornfilt’s ellipsis proposal can derive the plural agreement on the verb without designating different analyses for examples where the surviving verb bears cumulative versus non-cumulative agreement; rather, Kornfilt derives both patterns from the same structure and treats them as dialect differences. The fact that this analysis derives both agreement patterns suggests that it should be capable of deriving all the facts mentioned in chapter 2. However, this is not exactly the case.

Recall that Gürer and Göksel (2019) use the reciprocal anaphor *birbiri* ‘each other’ to rule out ATB-movement analysis of RNR. The same example, repeated below as (224), can also be used to rule out the ellipsis analysis that Kornfilt argues for. Göksel and Gürer’s ungrammatical example in (224) shows that it is not possible to pronounce the reciprocal in both conjuncts. If we assume an ellipsis analysis along the lines of Kornfilt (2019), on which the verb and the anaphor in the initial conjunct are elided, ellipsis would have to operate on the ungrammatical source, namely (224).

- (224) *[Sen şiirlerin-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-2SG
 [ben de hikayelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um].
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG
 Int: ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(Gürer & Göksel 2019: 247)

The same problem persists in (225), where the verb in the second conjunct pluralizes overtly: it is still the case that in the source to which ellipsis applies, both conjuncts contain the reciprocal *birbirimize* ‘each other.DAT’, which is unlicensed in the absence of the plural subject in each conjunct.

- (225) [Sen şiirlerin-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-2SG
- [ben de hikayelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-uz].
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1PL
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

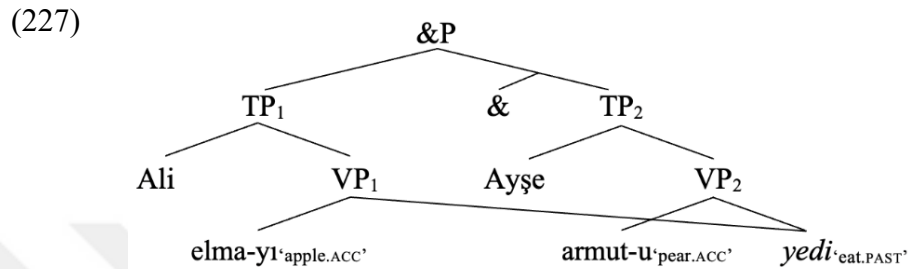
One could argue that there is no reciprocal in the first conjunct at all, and that the reciprocal is only present in the second conjunct (and perhaps somehow licensed by the plural verb). In this case, it is only the verb in the initial conjunct that gets elided. However, the non-elliptical version where the verb in the initial conjunct is pronounced, as in (226), is again ungrammatical irrespective of agreement.

- (226) *[Sen şiirlerin-i zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC with pleasure read-IMPF-2SG
- [ben de hikayelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um/(-uz)].
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG/(1PL)
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

Thus, Kornfilt’s analysis, although insightful and successful in deriving the differences between backward and forward gapping, cannot explain why the reciprocal is licensed only when the verb in the first conjunct is absent and the verb in the second conjunct carries cumulative agreement. Since for Kornfilt the two agreement patterns in Turkish RNR are just a result of different options that the verb in the second conjunct may reflect (namely, singular if the left-adjoined adjunct is disregarded, plural otherwise), it is hard to see how this analysis can account for other contrasts between RNR-E and RNR-MD that we observed: the absence of the distributive reading in cases where the pivot contains a numeral and the verb shows non-cumulative agreement, as well as the fact that syncretic verbs are allowed in non-cumulative environments but disallowed in cumulative environments.

5.3. Multidominance (Gürer & Göksel 2019)

There also exist analyses where it is argued that there is nothing missing in either conjunct in Turkish RNR structures, but rather that both conjuncts *share* the rightmost material, which creates an illusion that something is missing in the first conjunct. This is the multidominance approach, proposed by Gürer and Göksel (2019), shown in (227).

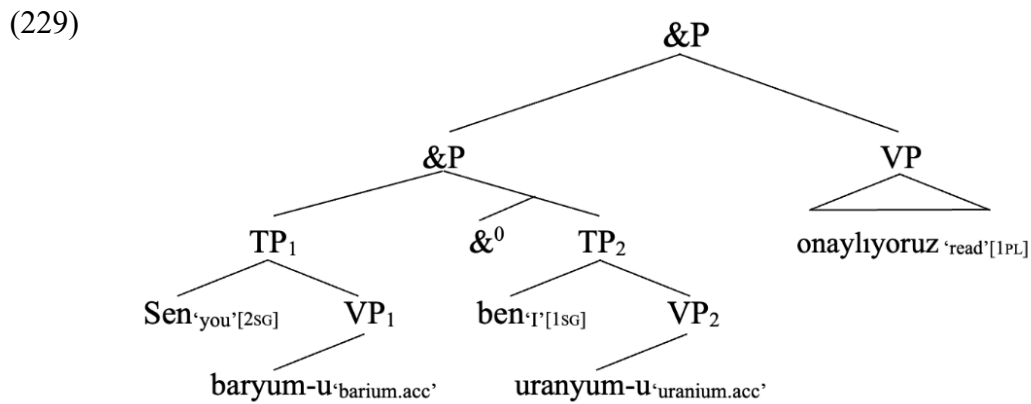


Following an experimental study, Gürer and Göksel (2019) propose a multidominance analysis for RNR in Turkish, on which the verb is shared between the conjuncts, i.e., it is multiply dominated. Focusing on the agreement pattern: singular versus plural (non-cumulative vs. cumulative in my terms), Gürer and Göksel argue that plural agreement on the verb in RNR is licensed when the shared verb is focused (F marked), i.e., when there is a prosodic break before the verb. On the other hand, the verb with singular agreement is not F marked.

The authors' explanation for different agreement markers on the verb is couched in their argument that syntax and prosody are intertwined. Under this approach, prosody works in tandem with syntax, rather than working on its output. Since prosody and syntax work simultaneously, the authors claim that syntactic bracketing can be determined by prosodic outputs.

They argue that while the plural verb in backward gapping constructions is in a different intonation phrase (IP) than either of the conjuncts, the singular verb is prosodically parsed inside the second conjunct (inside the second IP). This leads the authors to analyze the plural verb in RNR (such as *onaylıyoruz* 'approve.IMPF.1PL' in (228)) as base-generated *above* the conjunction, as in (229), which yields plural agreement since the verb c-commands both subjects.

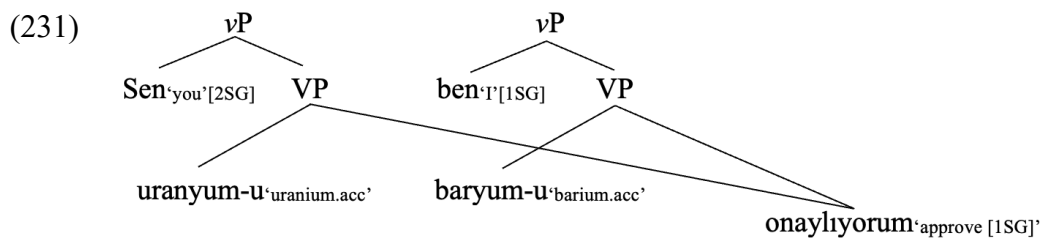
- (228) Sen uranyum-u, ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-uz.
 you uranium-ACC I and barium-ACC approve-IMPf-1PL
 ‘You (approve) of uranium, and I approve of barium.’



(adapted from Gürer & Göksel 2019: 251)

On the other hand, since the singular (non-cumulative) verb, as in in (230), is prosodically inside the second IP, the authors argue that the singular verb is in-situ (inside both conjuncts), yet c-commanded by a single subject, resulting in singular agreement. This is shown in (231).

- (230) Sen uranyum-u, ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-um.
 you uranium-ACC I and barium-ACC approve-IMPf-1SG
 ‘You (approve) of uranium, and I approve of barium.’



(adapted from Gürer & Göksel 2019: 252)

While this analysis has its merits, such as the insights into the prosody of RNR, there are problems with both (229) and (231). It is hard to see how the verb in (229) is multiply-dominated, i.e., what mother nodes it has in each conjunct. There is also a question of what theta marks the verb’s arguments in each conjunct, given the proposal that the verb (with the plural agreement) is *base generated* above the &P. The authors state that theta-marking and case assignment are not problematic since the verb is

“linked” to the lower V positions. This is presumably correct regarding case assignment since there is a *v* present in each conjunct, which is commonly assumed to assign accusative case to the object (Chomsky 1995). Yet, with the verb base-generated over the conjunction, it is difficult to see how theta-marking could happen, since theta-marking requires structural proximity between the head and its arguments (Chomsky 1981, 1986, Rizzi 1990, Chomsky et al. 2019, among others).

Also, it is not clear how the DP objects (*uranyumu* ‘uranium.ACC’ and *baryumu* ‘barium.ACC’) in each conjunct can be sisterless, or indeed, how the VP in each conjunct is projected without the projecting head ever being there. Finally, although agreement with the subject is visible on the verb, the agreeing head is not V, but T. It is unclear whether Gürer and Göksel assume that in (229) there is a single T, or there are multiple T heads. If the T is shared between the conjuncts, similar to the proposal made for RNR in English by Grosz (2015), one would expect plural agreement to arise, since a shared T c-commands both subjects and agrees with both subjects. If this is the case, the plural agreement on the verb is the consequence of the shared T and not of the F-marking of the verb, as Gürer and Göksel propose.²⁹

The same question – is the T shared? – is also valid for (231), where the verb is indeed multiply dominated, and it is c-commanded by both subjects. However, it is unexpected of a multiply dominated element to necessarily show *singular* agreement (see Grosz 2015). While Grosz points out that it would be more economical to pursue an analysis where RNR always involves multidominance and the agreement mechanism is parametrized across languages (some languages allowing for a single head to agree with multiple goals, some not), Gürer and Göksel (2019) do not discuss these considerations. They are not explicit about how a shared verb can yield singular agreement, which is problematic since we have evidence that a shared constituent scopes over both conjuncts (Bachrach & Katzir 2007). Therefore, if (231) is a result

²⁹ Valmala (2013) highlights the intonational differences between RNR structures. While both RNR-MD (multidominance) and RNR-E (ellipsis) require short prosodic breaks between the conjuncts, RNR-MD also requires a break before the shared constituent (Belk et al. 2023). Although plural agreement may not be a direct consequence of F-marking, Göksel and Gürer might still be on the right track as to analyzing plural backward gapping as multidominance.

of multidominance, we would expect plural agreement (at the very least, plural agreement could not be excluded).

Apart from how non-cumulative agreement arises, as already mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.4., Gürer and Göksel do not explain why reciprocals are possible under their analysis, and also why non-cumulative examples with reciprocals are ill-formed. Similarly, without appealing to bulk sharing, it is hard to see how this analysis can derive distributive readings, as it is possible for the pivot to contain the direct object and the verb together, as a constituent. The authors do not mention the possibility of these cases, as in (232) (repeated from (69) in chapter 2), where the direct object of the initial conjunct *100 dolar* ‘100 dollars’ is also unpronounced.

- (232) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-m.
you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-1SG
Reading 1: ‘You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).’
#Reading 2: ‘You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).’

In addition, if non-cumulative examples also result from multidominance, the non-cumulative examples that have an NPI in the initial conjunct, such as (233) (repeated from (46) in chapter 2), would be ruled out: since the shared verb does not carry negation, NPI in the initial conjunct would not be licensed.

- (233) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbiri-ni, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsi-ni
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC
imzaladım.
sign-PST-1SG
‘You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.’

Finally, if both cumulative and non-cumulative examples were derived by multidominance, we would expect the verb to disallow semantic mismatches between the two conjuncts in both examples with cumulative and non-cumulative agreement. The analysis of Gürer and Göksel predicts all such examples to be ill-formed, however, only the ones with cumulative agreement are ungrammatical, as predicted by the proposed eclectic analysis.

5.4. Conclusion

In this section, we have seen that the exclusivist analyses previously proposed for RNR constructions cannot capture all the facts mentioned in chapter 2. The proposals, especially the ones which argue that RNR is either pure ellipsis or pure multidominance, suffer from the same problem: These analyses can only explain one agreement pattern and can, consequently, derive only some of the facts observed in chapter 2.



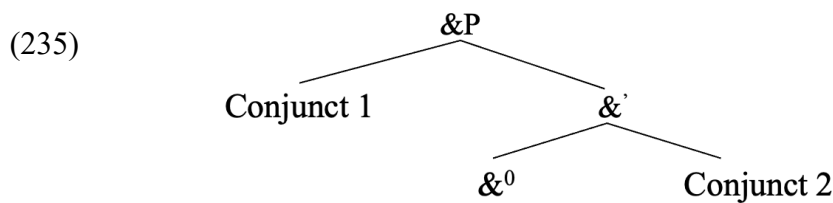
CHAPTER 6

SOME LOOSE ENDS

In this chapter, I lay out some of the remaining questions with respect to RNR in Turkish. The first question concerns the position of the coordinator. Throughout this thesis, I mostly use the additive *de* ‘and’ as it is the most natural coordinator to appear in this structure. In Turkish, the additive coordinator *de* ‘and’ follows the subject in the second conjunct, rather than preceding it, as in (234).

- (234) Ali elma, Ayşe **de** armut ye-di.
Ali apple Ayşe **and** pear eat-PST
“Ali (ate) apple and Ayşe ate pear.”

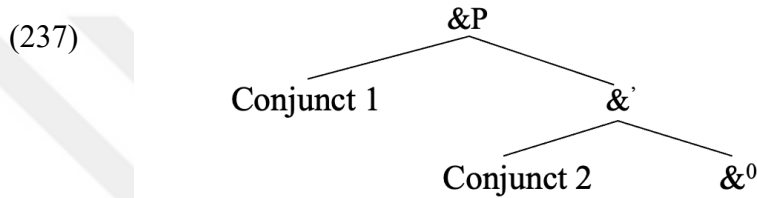
I also assume that coordination is asymmetric (Munn 1993, Progovac 1998a, Johannessen 1998), where the coordinator is a head that takes the second conjunct as its complement and the first conjunct as its specifier, allowing the first conjunct to c-command the second, as illustrated in (235).



This raises an immediate question with respect to the position of the subject of the second conjunct and the coordinator, as it is expected for the subject of the second conjunct to be contained in the second conjunct and thus, follow the coordinator, as is the case when the two conjuncts are coordinated using *ve* ‘and’, as in (236).

- (236) Ali elma, **ve** Ayşe armut ye-di.
 Ali apple **and** Ayşe pear eat-PST
 ‘Ali (ate) apple and Ayşe ate pear.’

Currently, I do not have an answer for how the subject in the second conjunct linearly precedes the coordinator in the examples constructed with *de* ‘and’. One possibility is that the coordinator is actually null, and the particle *de* is an extra element that shows up in the construction, as an indication of focus (Göksel & Özsoy 2003). Another possibility is that, unlike *ve* ‘and’, which behaves like conjunctions in head-initial languages, the coordinator *de* ‘and’ projects a head-final structure, in which case it naturally follows the second conjunct, as in (237).



A question that also needs to be addressed concerns other type of coordinators in Turkish RNR sentences, such as the adversative coordinators *ise* ‘but’ and *ama* ‘but’.³⁰ The coordinator *ise* ‘but’ can be used only in examples with non-cumulative agreement on the verb, i.e., in RNR-E, as shown in (238), but it cannot appear in examples where the shared verb bears cumulative agreement, i.e., in RNR-MD, as shown in (239).

- (238) Sen elma-y₁, ben-se armut-u ye-di-m.
 you apple-ACC I-however pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
 ‘You (ate) apple, but I ate pear.’

- (239) *Sen elma-y₁, ben-se armut-u ye-di-k.
 you apple-ACC I-however pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You (ate) apple, but I ate pear.’

An exception to this ban on the use of *-ise* ‘but’ in RNR-MD is illustrated in (240), where the verb with cumulative agreement is negated.

³⁰ *-ise* ‘but’ can appear as *-(I)se*, cliticizing to a subject, as in (i).

- (i) Sen et ye-di-n, ben-se ye-me-dim.
 You meat eat-PAST-2SG I-but eat-NEG-PAST-1SG
 ‘You ate meat, but I did not.’

- (240) Sen elma-y₁, ben-se armut-u ye-me-di-k.
 you apple-ACC I-however pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 ‘You (did not eat) apple, but I did not eat pear.’

The coordinator *ama* ‘but’ is also restricted to RNR-E, as shown in (241), in which the verb carries non-cumulative agreement. However, in contrast to *-ise* ‘but’, *ama* ‘but’ cannot coordinate examples in which the verb carries cumulative agreement (RNR-MD) regardless of whether the verb appears with or without negation. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of (242) and (243).

- (241) Sen elma-y₁, ama ben armut-u ye-di-m.
 you apple-ACC but I pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
 ‘You (ate) apple, but I ate pear.’

- (242) *Sen elma-y₁, ama ben armut-u ye-me-di-k.
 you apple-ACC but I pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You (did not eat) apple, but I did not eat pear.’

- (243) *Sen elma-y₁, ama ben armut-u ye-di-k.
 you apple-ACC but I pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
 Intended: ‘You (ate) apple, but I ate pear.’

Currently, I do not have an explanation for this pattern observed in the examples with adversative coordinators. Their incompatibility with RNR-MD (except for *-ise* ‘but’ with a negated shared verb) is particularly interesting because it suggests that the sharing of the verb between the two conjuncts, or possibly the sharing of functional projections above the verb (T, Agr) interacts with the semantics of the coordinator in a way that is not obvious. In particular, since the meaning of the RNR-E and RNR-MD sentences without any properties that force one or the other analysis (morphological mismatches, wide scope of the pivot, etc.), like the ones in (236)-(243), is indistinguishable from one another, the incompatibility of adversative coordinators with RNR-MD is unexpected. In addition, the fact that *-ise* ‘but’ is sensitive to the polarity of the predicate, while *ama* ‘but’ is not opens up a possibility that the semantics of the two coordinators is not exactly the same. These questions, while interesting, are beyond the scope of this thesis, and I leave them for further research.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to propose an analysis for RNR constructions in Turkish. I have argued that ellipsis- and multidominance-induced effects observed under RNR in other languages dovetails with the agreement morphology on the verb targeted by RNR. When the verb only agrees with the subject of the second conjunct (shows non-cumulative agreement), the structure shows signs of ellipsis, and such examples allow strict/sloppy readings of pronouns and vehicle change. This class of examples also license an NPI in the initial conjunct without the verb targeted by RNR bearing overt negation and allow the verbs in the two conjuncts to differ in meaning when they are syncretic. By contrast, when the verb agrees with the subject of both conjuncts (shows cumulative agreement), it shows signs indicative of multidominance: these examples license plurality dependent expressions such as the reciprocal *birbiri* ‘each other’ and also allow distributive readings of quantificational elements contained in the pivot, suggesting that the shared pivot c-commands both conjuncts. Crucially, I have also shown that the effects observed are in complementary distribution, multidominance-induced effects, such as availability of reciprocals and distributive readings disappear, when the verb shows non-cumulative agreement. Similarly, the ellipsis-induced effects observed in non-cumulative examples, like sloppy readings and possibility of having verbs that differ in meaning, disappear when the verb shows cumulative agreement. This asymmetry between the two agreement paradigms cannot be accounted for under previous arguments made for RNR in Turkish, including ATB-movement (Hankamer 1971, Kornfilt 2000, 2012), ellipsis (Ince 2009, Kornfilt 2010, 2019) and multidominance (Gürer & Göksel 2019).

To explain this asymmetry, I proposed an eclectic analysis following Barros and Vicente (2011). I argued that non-cumulative RNR examples are derived by ellipsis,

where each conjunct has its own direct object and verb (and relevant verbal projections), which gets elided (Ince 2009), since RNR in Turkish naturally targets the rightmost element, namely the verb. For examples that show cumulative agreement, I argued that they are the result of multidominance. For such examples, I argued that a verb is shared with its projections in a non-bulk manner (Gračanin-Yüksek 2007), which allows a shared T to agree with the subjects in both conjuncts (Grosz 2015). In cumulative agreement examples, when the object is also targeted by RNR, I argued that the object and the verb are shared as a constituent, in bulk (Gračanin-Yüksek 2007), which allows the shared material to scope over both conjuncts due to delayed spell-out (Bachrach & Katzir 2007). I argued that reciprocals such as *birbiri* ‘each other’ are also shared in the same manner, allowing both subjects to c-command the anaphor.

In line with newer proposals for RNR, such as Belk et. al (2023), I have shown that ellipsis and multidominance can interact in repeated RNR examples, where a nominalized verb is embedded. This data supports Belk et. al’s argument for the interaction of ellipsis and multidominance, which allows a pivot created through ellipsis to contain a secondary pivot created through multidominance only if the former precedes the latter. Providing further data from Turkish, I argued that this interaction is not as free as previously suggested, and that it depends on constituency instead. I argued that sharing of the verb forces the sharing of its complement, which explains why the interaction between ellipsis and multidominance is observed in repeated RNR examples, where the matrix and the embedded verb do not form a constituent, but not in regular RNR examples, where they do.

This study provides support for the eclectic hypothesis of RNR and offers some evidence with respect to the interaction between PF and syntax. However, the study is limited to the RNR of verbs. The explorations made in this thesis depended on the SOV order of Turkish, allowing the verb to be at the Right Edge. Given that the Right Edge aligns with other material across languages, it is only evident that further research in multiple languages - especially those where the target of RNR differs - is essential to deepen our understanding of the phenomenon.

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A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

HER BOŞLUK BİR BOŞLUK DEĞİLDİR: TÜRKÇE SAĞ BUDAK YÜKSELTME VE SÖZDİZİM-SESBİLİMSEL BİÇİM ARAKESİTİ

Giriş

Bu çalışma, (1) ve (2) numaralı örnekte verilmiş olan Türkçe Sağ Budak Yükseltme (*Right Node Raising – RNR*) yapılarını ele almaktadır. Sağ Budak Yükseltme sonucunda sağ kalan fiil (1) örneğinde olduğu gibi son tümcenin öznesi ile uyuma girebilir (kümülatif olmayan uyum). Alternatif olarak, fiil (2) örneğinde olduğu gibi iki ayrı tümcede bulunan özneler ile aynı anda uyuma girebilir (kümülatif uyum).

(1) Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-**m**.
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1SG
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

(2) Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-**k**.
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'

Fiil üzerindeki uyum Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapıları üzerinde farklı etkiler göstermektedir ve bu etkilerden bazıları *çoklu-başatlık* (multidominance) ile bağdaşmaktayken, bazıları ise *eksilti* (ellipsis) ile bağdaşmaktadır.

Kümülatif Olmayan Örneklerle Uyumlu Durumlar

Kümülatif olmayan örneklerde gözlemlenen ilk etki *biçimbirimsel uyumsuzluk*lardır (morphological mismatch). Kümülatif olmayan (3) örneğinde fiil sadece ikinci tümcenin öznesi ile *uyuma* (agreement) girmektedir. Tümcelerdeki öznelerin yerleri (4) örneğinde olduğu gibi değiştirildiğinde gözlenen uyum da değişmektedir.

(3) Sen ev-e, ben de okul-a git-ti-m.
you home-DAT I and school-DAT go-PAST-1SG
'You (went) home, and I went to school.'

(4) Ben ev-e, sen de okul-a git-ti-n.
I home-DAT you and school-DAT go-PAST-1SG
'I (went) home, and you went to school.'

Aynı durum kümülatif örneklerde gözlemlenmemektedir. Kümülatif (5) örneğindeki öznelerin yeri değiştirilse dahi ((6) örneğinde olduğu gibi) uyumda herhangi bir değişim gözlenmemektedir.

(5) Sen ev-e, ben de okul-a git-ti-k.
you home-DAT I and school-DAT go-PAST-1PL
'You (went) home, and I went to school.'

(6) ?Ben ev-e, sen de okul-a git-ti-k.
I home-DAT you and school-DAT go-PAST-1PL
'I (went) home, and you went to school.'

Başka bir fark ise *kutuplanma uyumsuzluklarında* (polarity mismatch) gözlemlenmektedir. (7) örneğinde olduğu gibi hem kümülatif hem de kümülatif olmayan uyum ikinci tümcede bulunan *olumsuz kutuplanma ögesine* (*Negative Polarity Item – NPI*) izin vermektedir. (8) örneğinde olduğu üzere tümcelerin yeri değiştirildiğinde ise ilk tümcede bulunan olumsuz kutuplanma ögesine olumlu fiil kümülatif olmadığında izin verilmektedir. Olumlu bir fiil (9) örneğindeki gibi kümülatif uyum gösterdiğinde ise olumsuz kutuplanma ögesine izin verilmemektedir.

(7) Sen makale-ler-in hepsi-ni, ben-se dosya-lar-ın hiçbiri-ni
you article-PL-GEN all of-ACC, I-but file-PL-GEN none of-ACC
imzala-ma-dı-m/-k.
sign-NEG-PAST-1SG/-1PL
'You did not sign all of the articles, and I signed none of the files.'

(8) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbiri-ni, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsi-ni
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC
imzala-dı-m.
sign-PST-1SG
'You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.'

- (9) *Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbiri-ni, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsini imzala-dı-k.
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-PST-1PL
Intended: ‘You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles’

Kümülatif olmayan örneklerde gözlemlenen bir diğer durum ise nesnelere *değişken* (sloppy) olarak yorumlanabilmesidir (Ross 1967, Partee 1978). Kümülatif olmayan (10) örneğinin ekseninde bulunan nesne *babamı* değişken olarak yorumlanabilmektedir. Buna kıyasla kümülatif olan (11) örneğinin *ekseninde* (pivot) bulunan nesne *babamı* sadece *değişmez* (strict) bir okumaya sahiptir.

- (10) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-m.
you yesterday I and today father-1P.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
%Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
=Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

- (11) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-k.
you yesterday I and today father-1P.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
=Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’

Gözlemlenen son efekt ise *aynılaşmış* (syncretic) fiillere sadece kümülatif olmayan yapıların izin vermesidir. Kümülatif olmayan (12) ve kümülatif (13) örneklerinde iki tümce de içilebilen, sıvı bir nesneye sahiptir (*su* ve *soda*), *içmek* fiili iki nesne ile uyumludur ve sonuç olarak iki örnek de dilbilgisi kurallarına uygundur.

- (12) Sen su-y-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-m.
you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

- (13) Sen su-y-u, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-k.
you water-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
‘You (drank) the water, and I drank the soda’

Ancak *içmek* fiili Türkçede sıvı tüketmek ve solumak/tüketmek anlamları arasında aynılaşmıştır. (14) gibi kümülatif olmayan örneklerde tümcelerden birinin nesnesi *sigara* (solunan) diğeri ise *soda* (sıvı olarak tüketilen) olabilir. Aynı durum kümülatif olan örnekler için geçerli değildir. (15) örneğinin (14) örneğinden tek farkı fiil üzerindeki uyum olmasına rağmen (15) örneği dilbilgisi kurallarına aykırıdır.

(14) Sen sigara-yı, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-m.
you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
'You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda'

(15) *Sen sigara-yı, ben de soda-yı iç-ti-k.
you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
'You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda'

Kümülatif Olan Örneklerle Uyumlu Durumlar

Kümülatif örneklerde gözlenen ilk efekt niceliksel nesnelere *dağılımlı okumalarına* (distributive reading) izin vermesidir. Eksilti içermeyen (16) örneğindeki tek okuma iki öznenin toplam 200 dolar ödediği, yani *dağıtımsız okumadır* (non-distributive reading). Küümülatif olmayan (17) örneğinde de yalnızca dağıtımsız bir okuma mümkündür. Buna karşın, küümülatif olan (18) örneği dağıtımsız bir okumaya ek olarak, iki öznenin ödediği miktarın toplam 100 dolara eşit olduğu dağıtımlı bir okumaya izin vermektedir. Bu durum niceliksel nesnenin iki özneyi de *açısı* (scope) altına aldığına işaret etmektedir.

(16) Sen banka-ya 100 dolar öde-di-n, ben de okul-a
you bank-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-2SG I and school-DAT

100 dolar öde-di-m.

100 dollars pay-PAST-1SG

Reading 1: 'You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).'

#Reading 2: 'You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).'

(17) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-m.
you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-1SG

Reading 1: 'You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).'

#Reading 2: 'You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).'

(18) Sen banka-ya, ben de okul-a 100 dolar öde-di-k.
you bank-DAT I and school-DAT 100 dollars pay-PAST-1PL

Reading 1: 'You (paid) 100\$ to bank, and I paid 100\$ to school (total:200\$).'

Reading 2: 'You (paid) 50\$ to bank, and I paid 50\$ to school (total:100\$).'

Kümülatif örneklerde mümkün olan diğer durum ise *çoğulluğa bağlı ifadeler* (plurality dependent expression) izin verilmesidir. *Birbiri* gibi *karşılıklı artgönderimler* (reciprocal anaphor) çoğul öznelerle ihtiyaç duymaktadır (Brisson

1998; Champollion 2020; Chung 2004; Dowty 1987). Gürer ve Göksel (2019), (19) örneğinde olduğu gibi Türkçe Sağ Budak Taşıma yapılarında karşılıklı artgönderimlere izin verildiğini göstermektedir.

(19) Sen şiir-le-rin-i ben de hikaye-ler-im-i
you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC

birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-uz.
each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1PL

‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(Gürer & Göksel 2019: 247)

Ancak kümülatif olan (19) örneğinin aksine, kümülatif olmayan (20) örneğinde karşılıklı artgönderime izin verilmemektedir. Kümülatif olmayan (20) örneğinden karşılıklı artgönderim çıkarıldığında ise ((21) örneğinde olduğu gibi) cümle dilbilgisi kurallarına uygundur.

(20) *Sen şiir-le-rin-i ben de hikaye-ler-im-i
you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC

birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um.
each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

(21) Sen şiir-le-rin-i, ben de hikaye-ler-im-i
you poem-PL-2SG-ACC I and story-PL-1SG-ACC

zevkle oku-yor-um.
with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG

‘You (read with pleasure) your poems, and I read my stories with pleasure.’

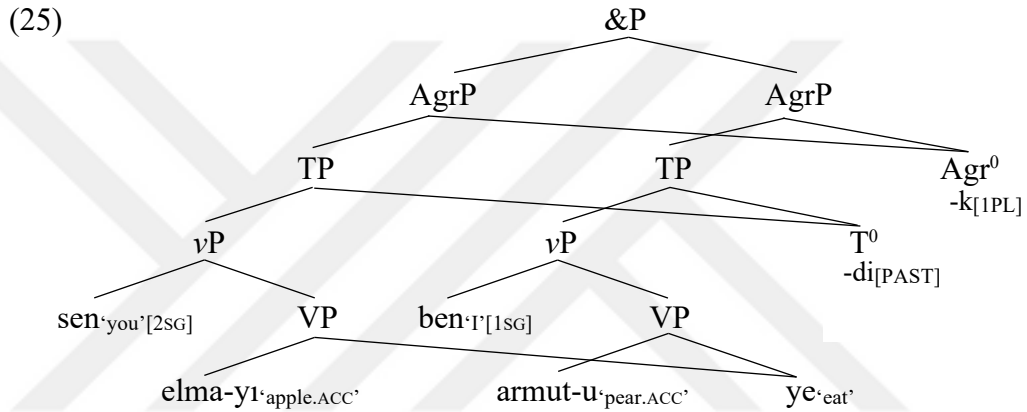
Analiz

Kümülatif ve kümülatif olmayan örneklerde bulunan farklılıkları açıklamak adına, Barros ve Vicente (2011) çalışmasını takip ederek, Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarının hem eksilti hem de çoklu-başatlık gerektirdiğini ileri sürüyorum.

Çoklu-başatlık Temelli Sağ Budak Yükseltme

Kümülatif olan Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarının ise çoklu-başatlıktan kaynaklandığını ileri sürmekteyim. (24) gibi kümülatif örneklerde herhangi bir silinme yoktur, bunun aksine, tek bir fiil ve çekimleri, iki tümce tarafından eş zamanlı olarak *ayrık* (non-bulk) bir biçimde paylaşılmaktadır (Gracanin-Yuksekk 2007). Bu durum (25)de örneklenmiştir.

- (24) Sen elma-yı, ben de armut-u ye-di-k.
you apple-ACC I and pear-ACC eat-PST-1PL
'You (ate) apple, and I ate pear.'



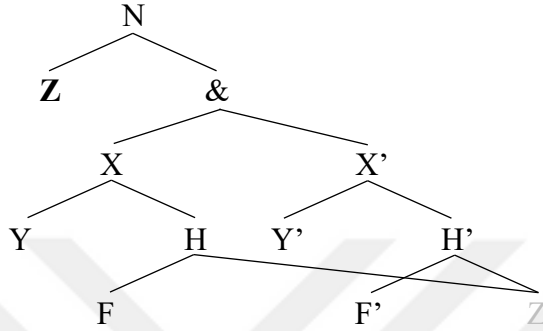
Gözlemlenen kümülatif uyumu açıklamak için Grosz (2015) çalışmasını takip ediyorum. Grosz'a göre çoklu-başatlık temelli Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapılarında gözlemlenen kümülatif uyum paylaşılan bir başın (Grosz için T) birden fazla tekil özne ile uyuma girmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Türkçe Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapıları için de bu analizi takip ediyor, ve gözlemlenen kümülatif uyumun paylaşılan bir uyum başından kaynaklandığını öne sürüyorum.

Dağıtım Okumalar

Sağ Budak Yükseltme örneklerinde beklenmedik açı okumaları çoklu-başatlığa atfedilmektedir. Niceliksel nesnelere iki özneyi nasıl açısı altına aldığını açıklamak için Bacrach ve Katzir (2009) çalışmasını takip etmekteyim. Bacrach ve Katzir çoklu-başatlık içeren yapılarda paylaşılan kurucuların *dağıtımının* (spell-out) ertelendiğini

öne sürmektedir. Bachrach ve Katzir'e göre, paylaşılan kurucuların dağıtımı bağlaç öbeği oluşturulduktan sonra gerçekleşmektedir. Yani, (27) örneğinde paylaşılan Z kurucusunun dağıtımı ancak bağlaç öbeği oluşturulduğunda gerçekleşecektir, ve Z kurucusu bağlaç öbeğinden yukarıda dağıtılacaktır. Ertelemiş dağıtım (delayed spell-out) Z kurucusunun her iki bağlaç öbeğini de k-buyurmasına olanak verir. Bu sayede Z kurucusu her iki bağlaç öbeğini de açısı altına alabilir.

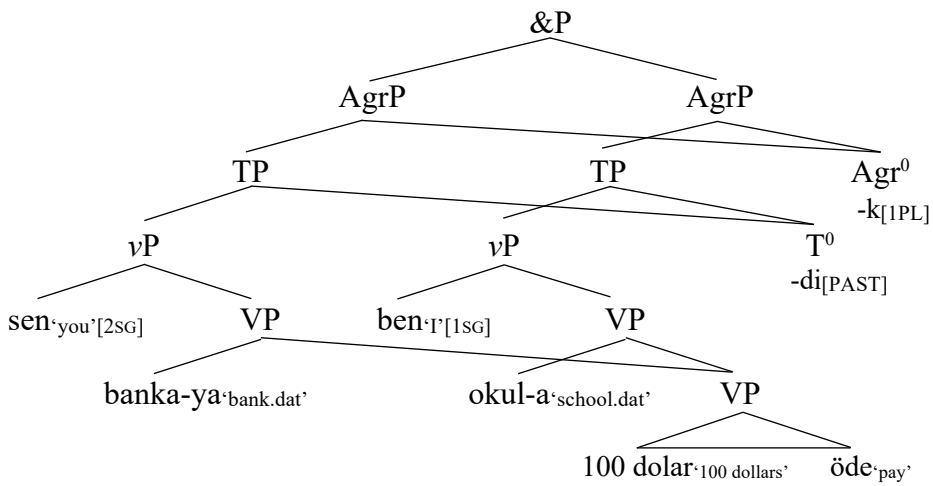
(26)



(Bachrach & Katzir 2007: 73)

Bachrach ve Katzir tarafından sunulan sistemde dağıtımı ertelenen kurucunun paylaşılması gerektiği için, Türkçe Sağ Budak Taşıma yapılarını açıklamak adına niceliksel nesnelere de fiil ile birlikte *toplu* bir biçimde (bulk) paylaşıldığını öne sürüyorum (Gracanin-Yuksekk 2007). (28) örneğinde gösterildiği üzere, fiil ve nesne toplu bir biçimde (kurucu olarak) paylaşılmaktadır.

(27)



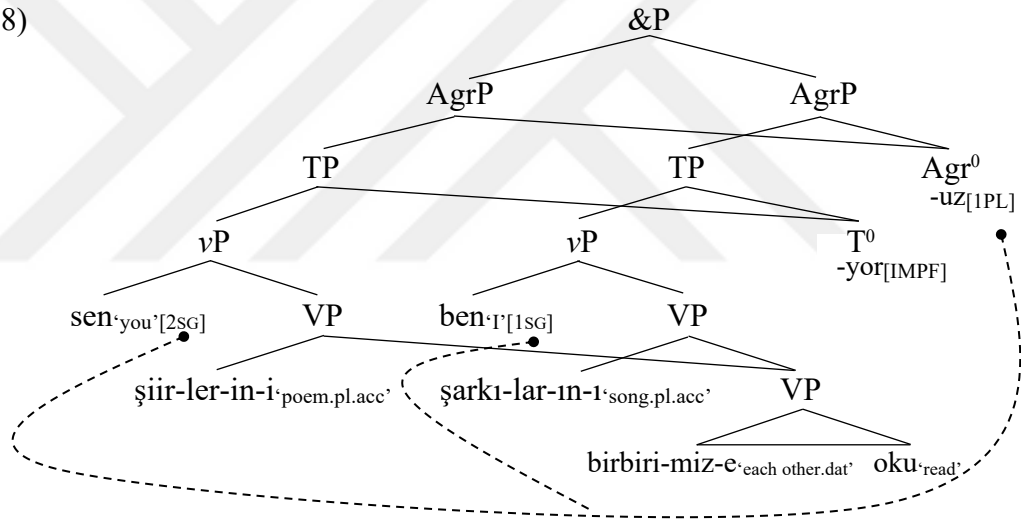
Nesnenin dağıtımı bağlaç öbeğinin oluşumundan sonra gerçekleşeceği için, dağıtımlı okumalar mümkündür. Kümülatif olmayan eksilteli cümlelerde dağıtımlı okumaların

gözlenmemesi de sunulan analiz tarafından beklenmektedir. Eksiltili cümlelerin eksiltili olmayan versiyonları ile eş anlamlı olmaları beklendiğinden (Kornfilt 2010), eksilti içeren cümlelerin sadece dağıtımsız okuma vermesi beklenmektedir.

Çoğulluğa Bağlı İfadelere İzin Verilmesi

Karşılıklı artgönderimlere kümülatif yapılarda izin verilmesinin sebebini açıklamak için, karşılıklı artgönderimin fiil ile birlikte toplu bir biçimde paylaşıldığını öne sürüyorum. (28) örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, paylaşılan karşılıklı artgönderimin ihtiyaç duyduğu çoğulluk koşulu tümcelerdeki ayrı tekil özneler tarafından sağlanmıştır. Artgönderimin fiil ile birlikte kurucu olarak toplu bir biçimde paylaşılması ise Bağlama Kuramının A ilkesine uygundur.

(28)



Eksilti temelli örneklerde ise karşılıklı artgönderimlere izin verilmemektedir. Bunun sebebi eksiltili cümlelerin eksiltisiz bir kaynaktan sağlanıyor olmasıdır; ve eksiltisiz kaynak cümlede de karşılıklı bir artgönderim bulunması dilbilgisine aykırıdır, (29)da görüldüğü gibi.

(29) *[Sen şiirlerin-i zevkle oku-yor-sun]
 you poem-PL-2SG-ACC with pleasure read-IMPF-2SG

[ben de hikayelerim-i birbirimiz-e zevkle oku-yor-um/(-uz)].
 I and story-PL-1SG-ACC each other-DAT with pleasure read-IMPF-1SG/(1PL)
 ‘You (read) your poems, and I read my stories to each other with pleasure.’

Kutuplanma Uyuşmazlıkları

Kümülatif uyum gösteren olumlu fiillerin ilk tümcede bulunan olumsuz kutuplanma ögelerine izin vermemesinin sebebinin çoklu-başatlıktan kaynaklandığını öne sürüyorum. (30) örneğinde fiil iki tümce arasında paylaşıldığı için, olumsuz kutuplanma ögesini k-buyuran bir olumsuzluk başı bulunmamaktadır, ve cümle dilbilgisi dışıdır. Paylaşılan fiil olumsuz çekimlendiğinde ise cümle dilbilgisine uygundur, (31) örneğinde olduğu gibi.

(30) *Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini, ben-se makale-ler-in hepsi-ni imzala-dı-k.
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN all-ACC sign-PST-1PL
'You signed none of the files, but I signed all articles.'

(31) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini, ben-se makale-ler-in
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC, I-but article-PL-GEN
hepsi-ni imzala-ma-dı-k.
all-acc sign-PST-NEG-1PL
'You did not sign any files, and I did not sign all articles.'

Bu durum eksilti temelli Sağ Budak Yükseltme yapıları için geçerli değildir. Bunun sebebinin, (33) örneğinde görüldüğü gibi ilk tümcede bulunan olumsuz bir fiilin silinmesinden kaynaklı olduğunu öne sürüyorum.

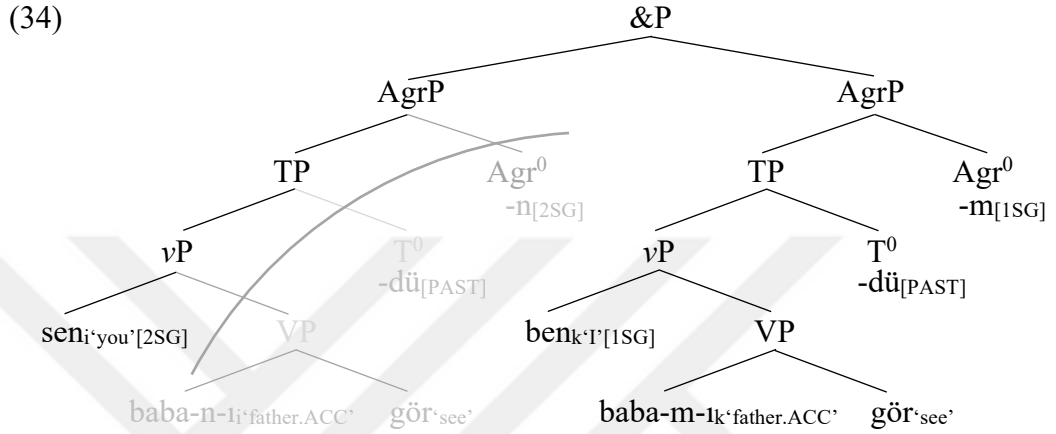
(32) Sen dosya-lar-ın hiçbirini ~~imzala-ma-dın~~, ben-se makale-ler-in
you file-PL-GEN none-ACC ~~sign-NEG-PST-1SG~~, I-but article-PL-GEN
hepsi-ni imzala-ma-dı-m.
all-ACC sign-PST-NEG-1SG
'You did not sign any files, and I did not sign all articles.'

Nesnelerin Değişken Okumaları

Kümülatif olmayan örneklerde eksende bulunan nesnelerin değişken okumalarına izin verilmektedir. (33) örneğinde bulunan *babamı* nesnesi de, ilk öznenin kendi babasını ikinci öznenin ise kendi babasını gördüğü (birden fazla babanın görüldüğü) değişken bir okumaya sahiptir. Bunun sebebinin de eksilti kaynaklı olduğunu öne sürüyorum.

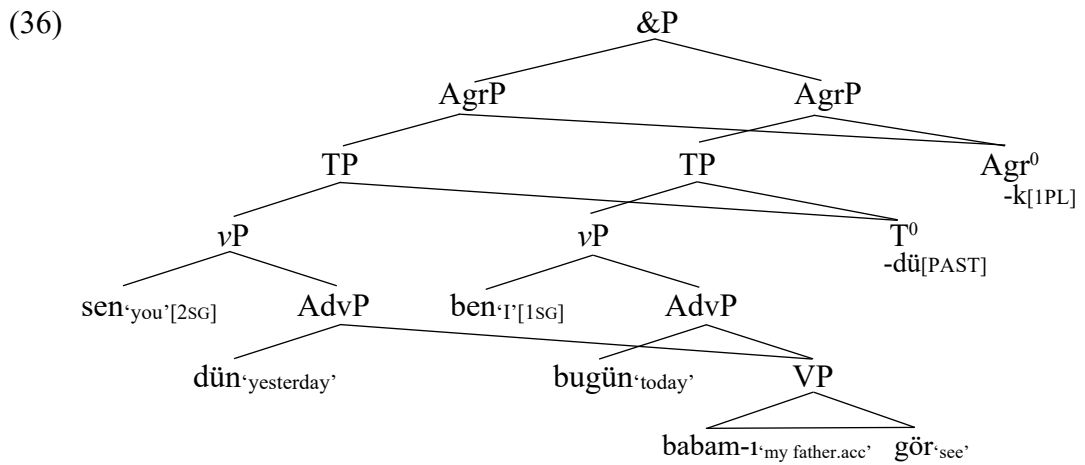
(34)de örneklendiği gibi, iki tümcede de birer nesne bulunmaktadır, ve bu nesnelere farklı bireylerle ilişkilendirilir.

- (33) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-m.
 you yesterday I and today father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 %Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 =Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’



Çoklu-başatlık kaynaklı kümülatif örneklerde ise, nesne (36)da görüldüğü gibi fiil ile birlikte toplu bir biçimde paylaşıldığı için, nesne sadece tek bir bireyle ilişkilendirilebilir.

- (35) Sen dün, ben de bugün baba-m-ı gör-dü-k.
 you yesterday I and today father-1POSS-ACC see-PAST-1PL
 =Strict: ‘You saw *my father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’
 ≠Sloppy: ‘You saw *your father* yesterday, and I saw *my father* today.’



Aynılařmıř Fiiller

Eksilteli yapılar aynılařmıř fiillere izin verirken, çoklu-bařatlık ieren kmlatif yapılar buna izin vermemektedir. Bunun sebebinin de iki yapı arasındaki farktan kaynaklandığını ne sryorum. (37) rneğinde ilk tmcede bulunan ve solumak anlamında kullanılan *imek* fiili sıvı tketmek anlamına gelen *imek* fiili ile aynılařmıř olduėundan dolayı silinilebilir. Ancak çoklu-bařatlıkta tek bir fiil bulunduėu iin, bu fiil sadece sıvı tketmek yada solumak anlamına gelebilir, (38) rneğindeki tmcelerdeki nesnelere farklı iki fiile ihtiya duyduėu iin, cmle dilbilgisine aykırıdır.

(37) Sen sigara-yı i-ti-n, ben de soda-yı i-ti-m.
you cigarette-ACC drink-PST-2SG I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1SG
'You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda'

(38) *Sen sigara-yı, ben de soda-yı i-ti-k.
you cigarette-ACC I and soda-ACC drink-PST-1PL
'You (smoked) the cigarette, and I drank the soda'

oklu-bařatlık ve Silinmenin Etkileřimi

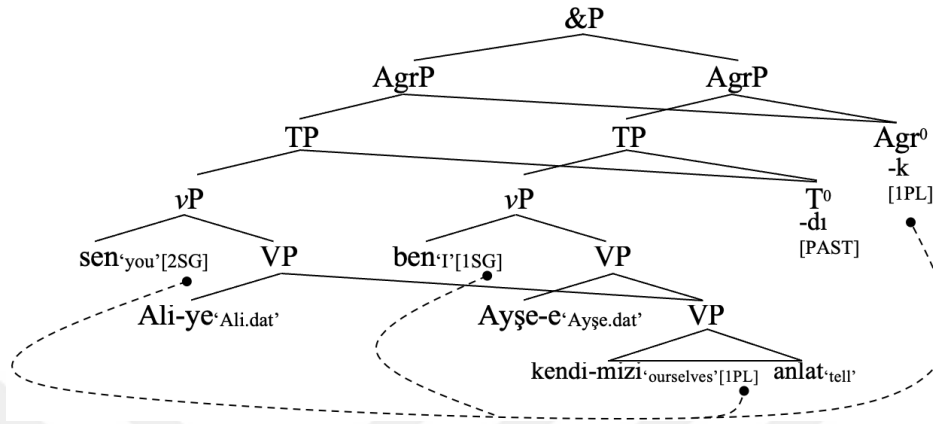
Bu alıřmada oklu-bařatlık ve silinmenin aynı yapıda etkileřime girebileceğini ne sryorum. Belk vd. (2023) oklu-bařatlık ve silinmenin aynı yapıda olabileceğini, ancak bunun sadece oklu-bařatlığın silinmeyi izgisel olarak takip ettiėi durumlarda mmkn olduėunu iddia etmektedir. Trke veri ise bu kısıtın bu kadar da basit olmadığına iřaret etmektedir.

Kmlatif uyum oklu-bařatlığa, kmlatif olmayan uyum ise silinmeye baėlı olduėundan, Trkede mmkn olan tekrarlı Saė Budak Ykseltme rneklere bu hipotezi test etmek iin iyi bir fırsat sunmaktadır. (39) rneğinde hem ie yerleřik fiil (*gelmemize*) hem de ana fiil (*sevindiniz*) paylařılmaktadır.

(39) Sen Ali'nin, Ayře de benim gel-me-miz-e sevin-di-niz.
you Ali-GEN Ayře and I-GEN come-mA-1PL-DAT be happy-PAST-2PL
'You are happy that Ali, and Ayře is happy that I came.'

- (43) Sen_k Ali'ye, ben_k de Ayşe'ye kendi-miz-i_k anlat-tı-k.
 You Ali-DAT I and Ayşe-DAT self-1PL-ACC tell-PAST-1PL
 R1: You talked to Ali about yourself, and I talked to Ayşe about myself.
 R2: You talked to Ali about us, and I talked to Ayşe about me and you.

(44)



(41) ve (43) arasındaki fark çoklu-başatlığın eksiltiye tercih edildiğine işaret etmektedir. Ancak bu durum (40) örneğinde görülen durumla uyuşmamaktadır. Bunun sebebinin (41) örneğindeki artgönderim ve fiilin bir kurucu oluşturmasından kaynaklandığını öne sürmekteyim. (40) örneğindeki içe yerleşik fiil ve ana fiil bir kurucu oluşturmadığı için, cümle dilbilgisi kurallarına uygundur.

Aynı zamanda, (41) örneğinin ekonomi prensipleri sebebiyle dilbilgisi dışı olduğunu öne sürmekteyim. Citko ve Gracanin-Yüksek (yayınlanmak üzere) çoklu-başatlığın daha az operasyon içermesi sebebiyle eksiltiye tercih edildiğini tartışmaktadır. Eksilti, daha fazla *birleştirme* (merge) ve uyum operasyonuna ihtiyaç duyar. Aynı zamanda, eksilti, çoklu-başatlık ile aynı çizgisel yapıyı oluşturmak için silinme operasyonuna ihtiyaç duyar. Citko ve Gracanin-Yüksek'e göre eksilti ve çoklu-başatlığın ekonomi prensipleri açısından karşılaştırılmaları için iki yapının da aynı dizgiyi oluşturmaları gerektiğini tartışmaktadır. (41) ve (43), artgönderimler üzerindeki uyum farkı nedeniyle aynı dizgiyi oluşturmamaktadır. Bu sebeple, çoklu-başatlık ve eksiltinin birebir aynı dizgiyi oluşturmasalar dahi ekonomi prensiplerince karşılaştırıldığını öne sürmekteyim.

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