Fragment answers in Turkish
JAMES GRIFFITHS & GÜLIZ GÜNEŞ
CLCG, Groningen
j.e.griffiths@rug, g.gunes@rug.nl

ICTL 2012
18-21 Sept 2012, METU

1. Overview

2. English and Turkish fragments:
› Two types: contrastive and non-contrastive
› Fragments and island-(in)sensitivity

3. Theoretical approaches:
› Merchant (2004)
› Griffiths & Lipták (to appear)

4. Conclusion

2. English and Turkish fragments

› *What's a fragment?*

"Syntactically non-sentential (utterances) … (that have) the same propositional content and illocutionary force as utterances that are uncontroversially fully sentential syntactic structures." (Merchant 2004:662)

› Fragments can be divided into two types: **contrastive**, and **non-contrastive**

› **Non-contrastive**: if fragment requests or provides a (singleton) set from a superset denoted by the `correlate`.

(1) A: `Someone` hit John last night.   *Declarative antecedent clause*
     B: **Who**?   *Interrogative fragment*

(2) A: `Someone` hit John last night.   *Declarative antecedent clause*
     B: Yeah, **Bill**.   *Declarative fragment*

(3) A: `Who` hit John last night?   *Wh-interrogative antecedent clause*
     B: **Bill.**   *Declarative fragment*

› **Contrastive:** if fragment requests or provides an alternative (singleton) set to the (singleton) set denoted by the `correlate`.

(4) A: John speaks Greek.   *Declarative antecedent clause*
     B: Really? And **what else**?   *Interrogative fragment*

(5) A: John kissed Mary.   *Declarative antecedent clause*
     B: No, **Lucy**.   *Declarative fragment*

(6) A: Did John kiss Mary?   *Yes/no-interrogative antecedent clause*
     B: No, **Lucy**.   *Declarative fragment*

> For Turkish…
> **Non-contrastive fragments**

(7) A: Ahmet biri-yle   sinema-ya   git-ti.
            Ahmet someone-COM theatre-DAT go-PST
            "Ahmet went to the theatre with someone'.   *Declarative antecedent clause*

     B: Gerçekten mi? **Kim-le**?
            Really   Q who-COM
            "Really? **With whom**?"   *Interrogative fragment*

(8) A: Ahmet biri-yle   sinema-ya   git-ti.
            Ahmet someone-COM theatre-DAT go-PST
            "Ahmet went to the theatre with someone".   *Declarative antecedent clause*

     B: Evet, **Ayşe-yle**.
            Yes Ayşe-COM
            'Yes, **with Ayşe**.'   *Declarative fragment*

(9) A: Ahmet kim-le sinema-ya   git-ti?
            Ahmet who-COM theatre-DAT go-PST
            "Who did Ahmet go the movies with?"   *Wh-interrogative antecedent clause*

     B: **Ayşe-yle**.
             Ayşe-com
            "**With Ayşe**."   *Declarative fragment*
                                                            ((9) from İnce 2012:181)

> **Contrastive Turkish fragments**

(10) A: Ahmet Emine-yle sinema-ya git-ti.
            Ahmet Emine-COM theatre-DAT go-PST
            "Ahmet went to the movies with Emine.'   *Declarative antecedent clause*

     B: Hayır, **Ayşe-yle**.
            No,   Ayşe-COM
            "No, **with Ayşe**."   *Declarative antecedent clause*

(11)   A: Ahmet `Emine-yle` mi sinema-ya   git-ti?
           Ahmet Emine-COM   Q theatre-DAT go-PST
           'Did Ahmet go to the movies with `Emine`?'   *Yes/no-interrogative antecedent clause*

       B: Hayır, **Ayşe-yle**.
           No,   Ayşe-COM
           "No, **with Ayşe.**"   *Declarative fragment*

> Fragments are derived by **remnant-fronting** + <PF-deletion>
> *(for English, Merchant 2001, 2004; for Hungarian, Griffiths & Lipták to appear; for Turkish, İnce 2009, 2012)*

(12)   A: `Someone` hit John last night.
       B1:   Really? [**Who**$_1$ <t_1 hit John last night>]?
       B2:   Yeah,   [**Bill**$_1$ <t_1 hit John last night>].

(13)   A: `Who` hit John last night?
       B: [**Bill**$_1$ <t_1 hit John last night>.

(14)   A: John speaks `Greek`.
       B: Really? And [**what else**$_1$ <does t_1 John speak>]?

(15)   A: John kissed `Mary`.
       B: No, [**Lucy**$_1$ <John kissed t_1>].

> **Some strong syntactic islands are phenomena of PF, and can be obviated by PF-deletion:**
> *(Ross 1967, Lasnik 2001, Merchant 2001)*

(16)   *Relative clause island*
       A: They want to hire a linguist who speaks `some Balkan language`.
       B1:   Really? [**Which**$_1$ <do they want to hire [$_{Island}$ a linguist who speaks t_1]>]?
       B2: *   Really? **Which**$_1$ do they want to hire [$_{Island}$ a linguist who speaks t_1]?

(17)   *Coordinate phrase island*
       A: Apparently, John and `someone from your class` are dating now.
       B1:   Yeah, [**Mary**$_1$ <[$_{Island}$ John and t_1] are dating now>].
       B2: *   Yeah, **Mary**$_1$ John and t_1 are dating now.

> **Contrastive fragments are island-sensitive, while non-contrastive fragments are not.**
> *(İnce 2012, Winkler, to appear, Griffiths & Lipták, to appear)*

> **Non-contrastive fragments:**

(18)   A: Apparently, they hired someone who speaks `a Balkan language` fluently.
       B: Oh yeah? **Which**$_1$ <did they hire [$_{Island}$ someone who speaks t_1 fluently]>]?

(19)   A: Apparently, they hired someone who speaks `a Balkan language` fluently.
       B: Yeah, [**Serbo-Croatian**$_1$ <they hired [$_{Island}$ someone who speaks t_1 fluently]>].

(20) A: In 1974, Manchester United purchased a player who speaks `which Balkan language fluently`?
    B: [**Serbo-Croatian**$_1$ <Manchester United purchased [$_{Island}$ a player who speaks t_1 fluently]>].

> **Contrastive fragments:**

(21) A: Abby liked the candidate who referred to `Chomsky`.
    B: * Really? And [**who else**$_1$ <did Abby like [$_{Island}$ the candidate who referred to t_1]>]?

(22) A: Did Abby like the candidate who referred to `Chomsky` all the time?
    B: * No, [**Bresnan**$_1$ <Abby liked [$_{Island}$ the candidate who referred to t_1 all the time]>].
                                                                (modified from Merchant 2004:715)

(23) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if `Bill` speaks to Mary.
    B: * No, [**Susan**$_1$ <Abby is likely to get mad [$_{Island}$ if t_1 speaks to Mary]>].
                                                                (Griffiths & Lipták, to appear)

> For Turkish…
> **Non-contrastive fragments:**

(24) A: Ahmet [$_{Island}$ `arkadaş-lar-ın-dan`   `bir-in-in`   `bak-tığ-ı`
            Ahmet   friend-pl-3s.POSS-ABL   one-POSS-GEN look.after-SR-POSS

            bi(r) köpeğ-i] tedavi   ediyor.
            one dog-ACC treatment doing
            "Ahmet is treating a dog that `one of his friends` takes care of."

      B: [**Hangi arkadaş-ın-ın**]$_1$ <Ahmet [$_{Island}$ t_1 bak-tığı
            which friend-3s.POSS-GEN   Ahmet   look.after-SR

            bi(r) köpeğ-i] tedavi   ediyor>]?
            one dog-ACC treatment doing
            "**Which friend of his**?"   (İnce 2009:57)

(25) A: Hasan [$_{Island}$ `ne-yi`   gezdir-en bir çocuk-la] konuş-tu?
            Hasan   what-ACC   walk-SR   one child-COM   talk-PST
          "Hasan talked to a child who walked `what`?"

      B: [**Köpeğ-i**$_1$ <Hasan [$_{Island}$ t_1 gezdir-en bir çocuk-la]   konuş-tu>]?
            dog-ACC Hasan   walk-SR   one child-COM   talk-PST
            "**The dog**."   (İnce 2009:134)

(26) A: Ahmet [$_{Island}$ `arkadaş-lar-ın-dan` bir-in-in   `bak-tığ-ı`
            Ahmet   friend-pl-3s.POSS-ABL   one-POSS-GEN look.after-SR-POSS

            bi(r) köpeğ-i] tedavi   ediyor.
            one   dog-ACC treatment doing
            "Ahmet is treating a dog that `one of his friends` takes care of.'

B: Evet, [**Hasan-ın**$_1$ <Ahmet [$_{Island}$ t_1 bak-tığı   bi(r) köpeğ-i]
       Yes, Hasan-GEN Ahmet   look.after-SR one dog-ACC

       tedavi   ediyor>].
       treatment doing
       "Yeah, **Hasan**.'

> **Contrastive fragments:**

(27) A: Hasan [$_{Island}$ `araba-yı` yıka-yan bir çocuk-la]   konuş-muş.
            Hasan   car-ACC   wash-SR a child-COM talked-INDIR
            "Hasan spoke to a child who was washing a `car`, I hear."

      B: ?? Hayır, [**motorsiklet-i**$_1$ <Hasan [$_{Island}$ t_1 yıka-yan   bir çocuk-la]   konuş-muş]>].
             No,   motorbike-ACC Hasan   wash-SR a child-COM talked-INDIR
             "No, a motorbike".

(28) A: Ahmet [$_{Island}$ sıkça Chomsky-den bahsed-en   aday-ı]   mı beğen-miş?
            Ahmet   often Chomsky-ABL talks.of-SR   candidate-ACC Q like-INDIR
            "Does Ahmet like the candidate who often talks of `Chomsky`?"

      B: ?? Hayır, [**Bresnan-dan**$_1$ <Ahmet [$_{Island}$ sıkça t_1 bahsed-en aday-ı]   beğen-miş>].
             No,   Bresnan-ABL   Ahmet   often t_1 talks.of-SR candidate-ACC like-INDIR
             "No, **Bresnan**."

3. Theoretical background on fragments

MERCHANT (2004, 2008)

> Merchant (2004, 2008), building on Lasnik (2001):

(i)   All copies of strong island-violating wh-movement are *-marked, except the topmost copy
(ii)   *-marked copies are uninterpretable to the PF component = they prevent convergence
(iii)   However, if all *-marked copies are contained within an ellipsis site (which is deleted at PF),
        convergence can still occur

> **Required assumption**: the remnant moves successive-cyclically by adjunction to every functional
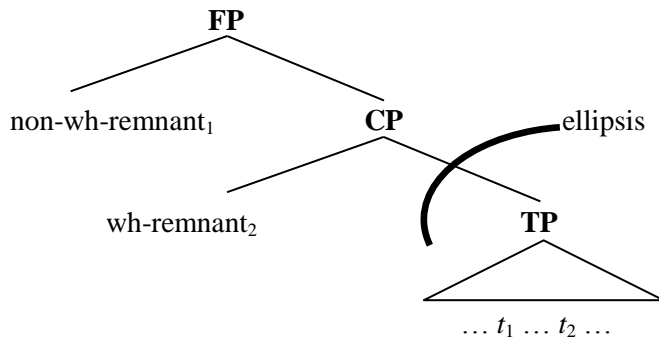 projection

(29) A: They want to hire someone who speaks `a Balkan language`.

5
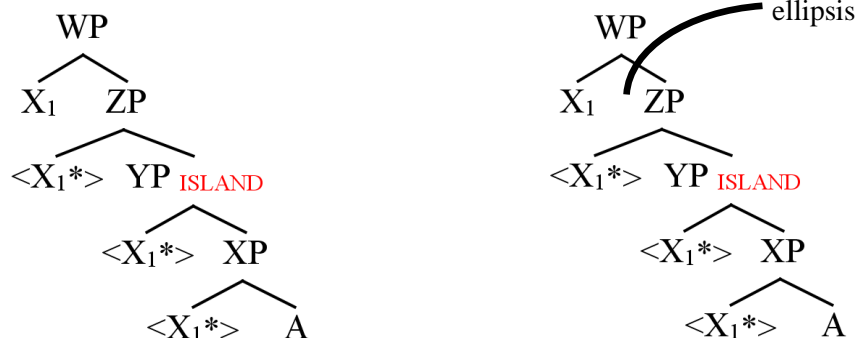
B1: * **Which Balkan language**$_1$ do t_1*
    they t_1* want to t_1* hire t_1* someone
    t_1* who t_1* speaks t_1*?

B2:   **Which Balkan language**$_1$ <do t_1*
    they t_1* want to t_1* hire t_1* someone
    t_1* who t_1* speaks t_1*>?

› Wh-remnants target the specifier of CP.
› Non-wh-remnants target the specifier of **FP**, a *sui generis* functional projection that dominates CP.
› Ellipsis targets TP[1] (in English)

› **Prediction:**
    o Fragments with wh-remnants are always island-insensitive.
    o Fragments with non-wh-remnants are always island-sensitive.
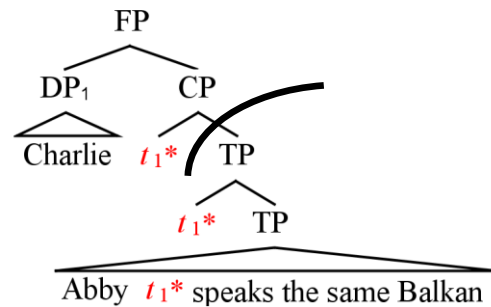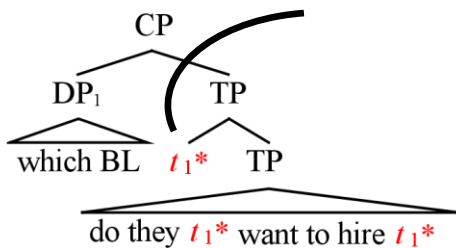
A: They want to hire someone who
    speaks `a Balkan language`.

A: Abby speaks the same Balkan
    language that `Ben` speaks.

B: **Which Balkan language** <do they t_1* want
    to hire someone t_1* who t_1* speaks t_1*>?

B: * No, **Charlie** t_1* <Abby t_1* speaks t_1* the
    same Balkan language t_1* that t_1* speaks>.

---

[1] It's more likely that 'TP-ellipsis' actually targets C^0 (see Thoms 2010:35)

> **Problem with Merchant (2004, 2008): empirically inadequate for English**

> *Fragments with wh-remnants can be island-sensitive:*

(30) A: Abby liked the candidate who referred to `Chomsky`.
B: * Really? And [**who else**$_1$ <did Abby like [$_{Island}$ the candidate who referred to t_1]>]?

> *Fragments with non-wh-remnants can be island-insensitive:*

(31) A: Apparently, they hired someone who speaks `a Balkan language` fluently.
B: Yeah, [**Serbo-Croatian**$_1$ <they hired [$_{Island}$ someone who speaks t_1 fluently]>].

> **İnce (2009, 2012)**: ellipsis targets CP in Turkish both *wh*-remnants and non-*wh*-remnants occupy SpecFP
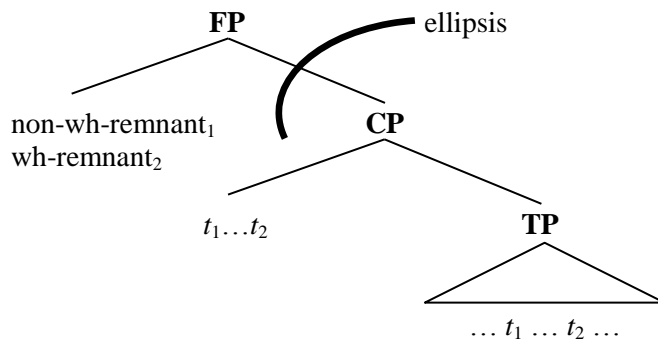
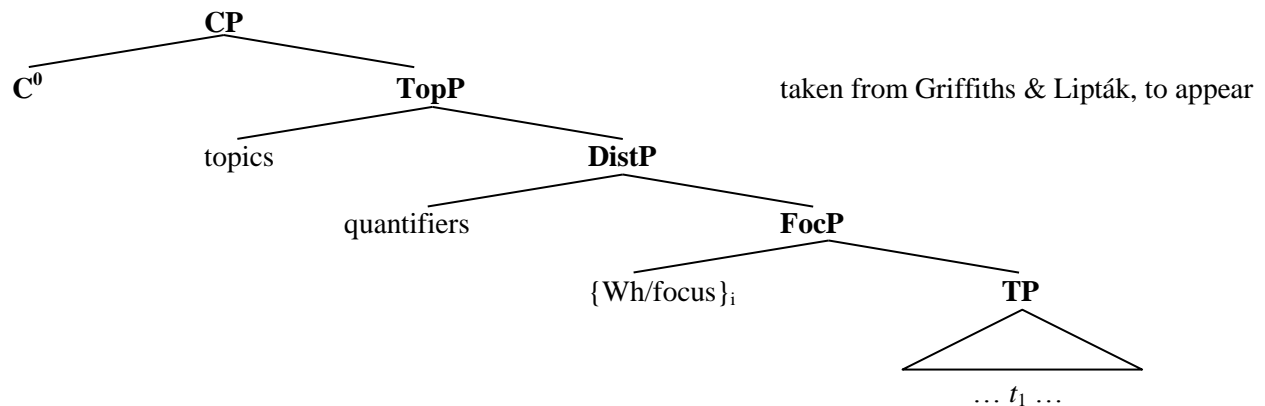> **Problem with İnce (2009, 2012): empirically inadequate for Turkish**

> *Fragments can be island-sensitive:*

(32) A: Hasan [$_{Island}$ `araba-yı` yıka-yan bir çocuk-la]   konuş-muş.
Hasan   car-ACC   wash-SR a child-COM   talked-INDIR
"Hasan spoke to a child who was washing a car, I hear."

B: ?? Hayır, [**motorsiklet-i$_1$** <Hasan [$_{Island}$ t_1 yıka-yan bir çocuk-la] konuş-muş]>].
No,   motorbike-ACC Hasan   wash-SR a child-COM talked-INDIR
"No, a motorbike".

NB: With additional stipulations about the role contrastively plays in island-obviation in fragments, İnce's (2009, 2012) account can still be maintained.

Hungarian Fragments

> › In Hungarian, wh-phrases and focused XPs occupy the same functional projection in the CP-domain; typically labelled 'FocP' *(Horvath 1986, Bródy 1995, Szabolsci 1997)*

> › Focused elements must move to FocP prior to 'spell-out'
> (*unlike in English and Turkish, where focus is in-situ*) *(for Turkish, Kural 1992:50-65)*

```
                         CP
                        /  \
        C⁰                  TopP                    taken from Griffiths & Lipták, to appear
                           /    \
                      topics     DistP
                                /     \
                        quantifiers    FocP
                                      /    \
                            {Wh/focus}ᵢ      TP
                                            /  \
                                           / … t₁ … \
```

> › Contrastive elements can move out of islands to SpecFocP only if they **pied-pipe the island that contains them**:

(33) * János (csak) [$_{FocP}$ **Juli**$_1$ [$_{TP}$ mutatta   be Zsuzsának [$_{Island}$ azt a   férfit   akit t_1 csodál]]]
        János (only)   **Juli**   introduced PV Zsuzsa.DAT   that.ACC the man.ACC who.ACC admires
        "János only introduced the man who **Juli** admires to Zsuzsa."

(34)   János (csak) [$_{FocP}$ [$_{Island}$ azt a   férfit   akit   **Juli** csodál]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ mutatta   be Zsuzsának t_1]]
        János (only)   that.ACC the man.ACC who.ACC **Juli** admires   introduced PV Zsuzsa.DAT
        "János only introduced the man who **Juli** admires to Zsusza."

From the observations in (33) and (34), Griffiths & Lipták (to appear) propose that:

> › LF-parallelism between elided clause and its antecedent determines island-sensitivity.
> (following Fiengo & May 1994, Fox 2000, Merchant 2001, Fox & Lasnik 2003, Fox & Takahashi 2005)

> › The scope of contrastively-focused items is upper-bound by syntactic islands at LF.
> (Drubig 1994, Rooth 1997, Krifka 2006)

> › Otherwise, strong islands are PF-phenomena: they are islands only when pronounced.
> (Lasnik 2001, Merchant 2001)

> › Focused XPs – or perhaps a focus-operator contained within such XPs (Lasnik & Stowell 1991) – raise to a TP-external position, binding a variable in the base-generated position.
> (Chomsky 1971, 1976; Jackendoff 1972)

> **All non-contrastive fragments observe parallelism:**

(35) A: They want to hire someone who speaks `a Balkan Language`.
      B: Oh yeah? **Which**?

       LF(A): [a Balkan language$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ they want to hire someone who speaks x_1])
       LF(B): [**which**$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ they want to hire someone who speaks x_1])

(36) A: Apparently, they hired someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently.
      B: Yeah, **Serbo-Croatian**.

       LF(A): [a Balkan language$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ they want to hire someone who speaks x_1])
       LF(B): [**Serbo-Croatian**$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ they want to hire someone who speaks x_1])

> **Contrastive fragments only observe parallelism if the entire island is _pied-piped_:**

(37) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if `Bill` speaks to Mary.
      B: * No, **Susan**.

       LF(A): [[$_{Island}$ if Bill speaks to Mary]$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ Abby is likely to get mad x_1]).
       LF(B): [Susan$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ Abby is likely to get mad [$_{Island}$ if x_1 speaks to Mary]])

(38) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if `Bill` speaks to Mary.
      B: No, if **Susan** speaks to Mary.

       LF(A): [[$_{Island}$ if `Bill` speaks to Mary]$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ Abby is likely to get mad x_1]).
       LF(B): [[$_{Island}$ if **Susan** speaks to Mary]$_1$ λx ([$_{TP}$ Abby is likely to get mad x_1]).

For Turkish…

> We have already seen that Turkish fragments pattern similarly to English and Hungarian fragments in two important respects:

    - **Turkish non-contrastive fragments are island-insensitive**
    - **Turkish contrastive fragments are island-sensitive**

  > This behaviour can be accounted for if one extends Griffiths & Lipták's analysis to Turkish.

  > Griffiths & Lipták's approach also predicts another pattern: contrastive fragments are acceptable if the whole island in which the fragment is contained is the remnant.

  > If Griffiths & Liptak's analysis is on the right track for Turkish, then Turkish contrastive fragments should be acceptable if the whole island is uttered.

This is borne out…

(39) A: Hasan [$_{\text{Island}}$ Ali-ye bar-ar-ken] uyuya-kal-mış
Hasan Ali-DAT look-AOR-while sleep-stay-INDIR
"Hasan fell asleep while looking at Ali, I hear."

B: Hayır, [[$_{\text{Island}}$ **Ahmet-e** bar-ar-ken]$_1$ <Hasan t_1 uyuya-kal-mış>]
No, Ahmet-DAT look-AOR-while <Hasan t_1 sleep-stay-INDIR>
"No, while looking at **Ahmet**."

(40) A: Hasan [$_{\text{Island}}$ Ali-yi gör-eceğ-iz diye] mi bir ekmek daha al-mış?
Hasan Ali-ACC see-FUT-1pl COMP Q one bread more buy-INDIR
"Did Hasan buy one more loaf of bread because we will see Ali?"

B: Evet, [[$_{\text{Island}}$ **Ahmet-i** gör-eceğ-iz diye]$_1$ <Hasan t_1 bir ekmek daha al-mış>]
Yes, Ahmet-ACC see-FUT-1pl COMP <Hasan t_1 one bread more buy-INDIR>
"No, while looking at **Ahmet**."

In sum: it seems that Turkish fragment answers receive a more explanatory treatment under Griffiths & Lipták's account than Merchant's.

4. Conclusion

› Turkish fragment answers, like English and Hungarian fragments, can be divided into two groups w.r.t. island-(in)sensitivity:

▪ Non-contrastive fragments are island-insensitive   *(in-line with İnce 2009, 2012)*

▪ Contrastive fragments are island-sensitive   *(in-line with Griffiths & Lipták, to appear)*

▪ LF island-sensitivity is less-pronounced then in English and Hungarian, but an LF-island violation still results in degradation in acceptability.

References

Bródy, M. 1995. Focus and Checking Theory. In *Approaches to Hungarian* 5 ed. by Kenesei, I., 29-44. Szeged: JATE Press.

Chomsky, N. 1971. Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation. In *Semantics* ed. by Steinburg, D. & Jacobovits, L. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Chomsky, N. 1976. Conditions on Rules of Grammar. Linguistic Analysis 2:303-351.

Drubig, H.B. 1994. Islands Constraints and the Nature of Focus and Association with Focus, Technical Report, *Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschunsbereichs*, 340, IMS Stuttgart.

Fiengo, R. & May, R. 1994. *Indices and identity*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Fox, D. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Fox, D. & H. Lasnik. 2003. Successive-cyclic movement and island repair: the difference between sluicing and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 143-154.

Fox, D. & S. Takahashi. 2005. MaxElide and the Re-binding Problem. In, *Proceedings of SALT 15* ed. by Georgala, E. & Howell, J., 223-240. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.

Griffiths, J. & Lipták, A. to appear. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax*.

Horvath, J. 1986. *Focus in the Theory of Grammar and the Structure of Hungarian*. Dordrecht: Foris.

İnce, A. 2012. Fragment answers and Islands. *Syntax* 15(2):181–214

İnce, A. 2009. Dimensions of ellipsis: investigations in Turkish. PhD thesis, University of Maryland.

Jackendoff, R. 1972. Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Krifka, M. 2006. Association with focus phrases. In *The architecture of focus: Studies in generative grammar 82*, ed. by Molnár, V. & Winkler, S., 105-135. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kural, M. 1992. *Properties of scrambling in Turkish*. Ms., UCLA

Lasnik, H. 2001. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 31 ed. by Kim, M. & Strauss, U., 301-320. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Lasnik, H. & Stowell, T. 1991. Weakest Crossover. Linguistic Inquiry. 22:687-720.

Merchant, J. 2001. *The syntax of silence. Oxford studies in theoretical linguistics 1*. Oxford: OUP.

Merchant, J. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, 661-738.

Merchant, J. 2008. Variable island repair under ellipsis. In *Topics in ellipsis* ed. by Johnson, K. Cambridge: CUP.

Rooth, M. 1997. Focus. In *Handbook of contemporary semantic theory* ed. by Lappin, S., 271–297. Oxford, Blackwell.

Ross, J.-R. 1967. *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. PhD thesis, MIT.

Szabolcsi, A. 1997. *Ways of Scope Taking*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Thoms, G. 2010. Verb-floating and VPE: towards a movement account of ellipsis licensing. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 10* ed. by Craenenbroeck, J. van., 252–297. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Winkler, S. to appear. Syntactic Diagnostics for Extraction of Focus from Ellipsis Sites. In *Diagnosing Syntax*, ed. by Cheng L.-L. & Corver, N. Cambridge: MIT Press.