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"YES, HE HASN'T" AND A FEW OTHER NOT'S IN TURKISH

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Negation is marked in various ways in Turkish: with the predicate değil in sentential negation, with the suffix -mE in verbal negation, with the predicate yok in existential negation¹ and with the suffix -sIz in the so-called affixal negation². I will limit my discussion in this paper to negation with the predicate değil in verbal sentences³ and the suffix -mE. The discussion is an attempt to show that a proper analysis of negation necessitates an understanding of certain pragmatic considerations involved in the interpretation of utterances.

I will first discuss answers to negative questions, which are discourse bound in Turkish:

- (1) Ali gel-di-mi
 come-past-Q
 'Has Ali come?'
a. evet gel-di
 yes come-past
 'Yes, he has.'
b. hayır gel-me-di
 no come-NEG-past
 'No, he hasn't.'
- (2) Ali gel-me-di-mi
 come-NEG-past-Q
 'Hasn't Ali come?'
a. evet gel-di
 'Yes, he has.'
b. hayır gel-me-di
 'No, he hasn't.'
c. evet gel-me-di
 'yes, he hasn't.'
d. hayır, gel-di
 'No, he has.'

Let us consider (1) as a plain information question. All the sincerity conditions are met. The speaker does not know if Ali has come and believes that the hearer does. The hearer cooperates with the speaker and supplies the appropriate answer, either (1a) if it is the case that Ali has come or (1b) if it is the case that Ali has not come. Thus the hearer expresses mere facts, either affirmative or negative, in his answers. Both the speaker and the hearer have a neutral, unbiased attitude in the discourse. (2) is problematic in that both the question and the choice of the appropriate answer depend on the assumptions of the speaker in asking and on the intentions of the hearer in answering.

Let us again consider (2) as an information question too, uttered with the appropriate prosodic pattern. Yet, it incorporates some assumptions or expectations on the part of the speaker. Contrary to (1), the speaker does not have a neutral attitude in the discourse. Prior to the discourse, depending on background information or shared experience, or simply context, the speaker assumes that Ali will come, let us say, at a certain time. Later conversational clues or contextual inferences force him into suspecting the validity of his previous assumption. Thus in uttering (2) the speaker does not question the propositional content of the utterance, but rather questions his negative attitude, his doubt as to the validity of his prior assumption. Now the hearer in giving (2c) as the answer first signals his involvement with the speaker's negative attitude. The hearer in fact agrees with the speaker that he is right in suspecting his initial assumption or belief. Then he asserts the proposition, which is negative in this instance and which implicates that the speaker's assumption is cancelled. In giving (2d) as the answer the hearer first notifies the speaker that he is wrong in his negative attitude toward his initial expectation or feeling. He then expresses the proposition, which is, in this instance, affirmative and which implicates that the speaker's expectation is actualized. In (2a) and (2b), contrary to (2c) and (2d), the hearer disregards the speaker's biased attitude; he simply states the bare facts, affirmative and negative, respectively.

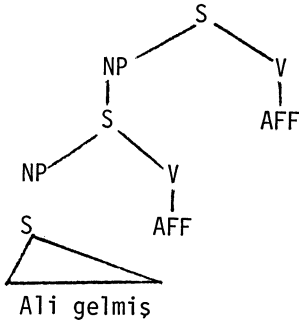
I will call the semantic function of evet 'yes' and hayır 'no' in (2a) and (2b) "forward reference" since they express polarity agreement with the following proposition and the semantic function of evet and hayır in (2c) and (2d) "backward reference" since they implicate hearer involvement with the preceding attitude. Thus (2) is a typical case of speaker-hearer interrelationship in discourse where the speaker has a biased attitude and where the hearer figures this out from the speaker's question and then indicates in his choice of utterances his involvement with or neutrality toward the speaker's biased attitude.

Now, let us consider the following utterances:

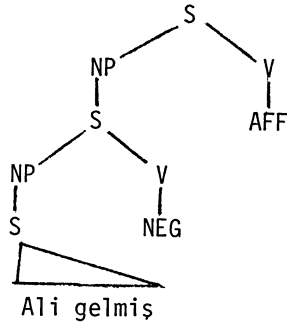
- (3) Ali gel-miş
come-past
'(It is the case that) Ali has come.'
- (4) Ali gel-me-miş
come-NEG-past
'(It is the case that) Ali has not come.'
- (5) Ali gel-miş değil
come-past NEG
'It is not the case that Ali has come.'
- (6) Ali gel-me-miş değil
come-NEG-past NEG
'It is not the case that Ali has not come.'

Tree representations of these four utterances are given below to facilitate explanation:

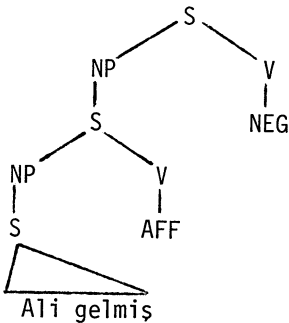
(3) Ali gelmiş.



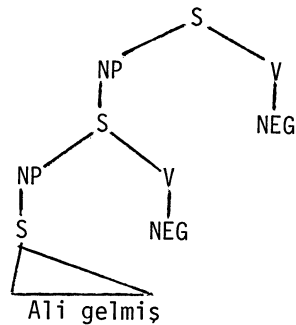
(4) Ali gelmemiş.



(5) Ali gelmiş değil.



(6) Ali gelmemiş değil.



In order to satisfactorily account for these four utterances (3-6), in our predicate analysis of Turkish, we have to posit an abstract affirmative operator (AFF) as well as an abstract negative operator (NEG) in the semantic representation or logical structure of utterances: AFF, reading as 'it is the case that S' and NEG, reading as 'it is not the case that S', plus other logical structures resulting from the interplay between these two polarities either as the higher, external operator or the lower, internal operator. (3) and (4) are neutral affirmative and negative propositions, respectively: (3), with AFF as both the external and the internal operator, which, being the unmarked polarity, is lexicalized as zero in both cases; (4), with AFF as the external operator, again lexicalized as zero, and NEG as the internal operator, which is lowered into the verbal predicate of the embedded sentence and actualized as the suffix *-me*⁴. (5) and (6) are again problematic and may be accounted for in terms of discourse features, such as the preceding speaker's affirmative or negative assertions, claims,

beliefs or implications and the present speaker's rejections to or denials of these, which may be re-represented or copied in the form of embedded sentences.

I have mentioned the processing of (3) and (4) briefly. In the processing of (5), AFF, the internal operator, will again be lexicalized as zero, but NEG, being the external operator, will be lexicalized as the predicate değil. In the processing of (6), the internal NEG will be lowered and actualized as the suffix -mE as in (4), and the external NEG will again be lexicalized as the predicate değil, as in (5). This explanation shows that while AFF has no surface reflexes, NEG has two surface reflexes: değil, the external negative marker⁵ and -mE, the internal negative marker.

Both (3) and (4) may normally be used as discourse initial or unbound utterances: they may not pragmatically implicate backward reference. (5) and (6), on the contrary, may not normally be used as discourse initial utterances. They may often occur in discourse as contradictions, rejections or refutations of prior utterances, assumptions or beliefs. They may connect utterances to prior discourse: they have backward reference. (5) carries with it the implication that prior to its utterance, one of the participants in the discourse utters or implies (3). The speaker of (5) negates this, using the external negative marker değil⁶. He may continue with (4), thus making his rejection to the preceding affirmative assertion or implication stronger:

- (7) Ali gel-miş değil gel-me-miş
 come-past NEG come-NEG-past
 'It is not the case that Ali has come;
 (on the contrary) it is the case that
 he has not come.'

In a similar fashion, (6) implicates that prior to its utterance, the preceding speaker utters, claims or implies (4). The present speaker refutes this by using değil. He may continue with (3), thus making his denial of the preceding negative assertion or implication more explicit:

- (8) Ali gel-me-miş değil gel-miş
 come-NEG-past NEG come-past
 'It is not the case that Ali has not come;
 (on the contrary) it is the case that
 he has come.'

In a casual speech situation, discourse participants, in their hurry to get the message across as briefly as possible, may delete parts of utterances, compensating for those, in return, prosodically, lexically, etc. This may syntactically disguise the distinction between utterances which are negative propositions and utterances which are contradictions or denials of affirmative propositions, making them look alike superficially. This may cause ambiguity or misinterpretation in discourse. Yet, on demand or when

necessary, the speaker may furnish the full form to clarify the distinction.

Turkish, like any other natural language, contains utterances which are superficially affirmative and yet demand or necessitate a negative interpretation, or vice versa. Such utterances are more commonly used in casual or informal speech situations. Discourse participants seem to prefer them to render the illocutionary force of the propositional content of their utterances more striking, to make the discourse more effective, more vivid, to break monotony of expression, to arouse surprise, interest in the discourse participants, and some other similar important communicational details. Notice that all the (a) sentences below will be interpreted as the (b) sentences:

- (9) a. Bunu senin yanına koyarım ben!
'I'll let you get away with this!'
b. Bunu senin yanına koymam ben!
'I'll not let you get away with this!'
- (10) a. Böyle b \bar{i} r adama gel de g \bar{u} ven!
'Come and trust such a man!'
b. Böyle bir adama g \bar{u} venemezsin.
'You cannot trust such a man.'
- (11) a. Bekle sen daha. Gelir o!
'Wait a little longer. He'll come.'
b. (Boşuna) bekleme. Gelmez o!
'Don't wait (in vain). He won't come.'
- (12) a. Bun \bar{u} ben mi demişim?
'Have I said that?'
b. Ben böyle şey demedim.
'I have not said such a thing.'
- (13) a. O böyle işlere girer mi hiç?
'Would he ever get involved in such things?'
b. O böyle işlere girmez hiç.
'He never gets involved in such things.'
- (14) a. Bilseyd \bar{i} m anlatır mıydım ona?
'If I knew, would I have told him?'
b. Bilseydim anlatmazdım ona.
'If I knew, I wouldn't tell him.'

These superficially affirmative utterances (9-14) are all implicitly negative. None of them possess any negative markers in their surface structure. Yet, each one must have a negative operator in its logical structure for the assignment of the appropriate interpretation. (9a), for instance, when uttered with necessary prosodic reading, will have the illocutionary force of a threat. (12a), which is in the form of an affirmative question, is neither an affirmative proposition nor a question in the logical structure. When uttered with the appropriate exclamatory intonation and stress, it will have the illocutionary force of a refusal or denial of a prior accusation.

Now, let us consider the following superficially negative utterances, where all the (a) sentences will be interpreted as the (b) sentences:

- (15) a. Boşuna bu kitabı okumadık!
'We didn't read this book in vain!'
b. Bu kitabı bir amaçla okuduk.
'We read this book with a purpose.'
- (16) a. Sen sanki gülmedin!
'As if you didn't laugh!'
b. Sen de güldün.
'You laughed too.'
- (17) a. Başıma çok işler açmadım!
'I didn't get myself into a mess!'
b. Başıma çok işler açtım.
'I got myself into a mess.'
- (18) a. Düşene kim gülmez ki!
'Who won't laugh at someone falling down.'
b. Düşene herkes güler.
'Everybody laughs at someone falling down.'
- (19) a. Onlar da selam vermez mi?
'Won't they also salute?'
b. Onlar da selam verdi.
'They saluted too.'
- (20) a. Aldırmasam ya!
'I shouldn't care!'
b. Aldırmıyorum.
'I do care.'

In all of these utterances (15-20)⁷, there is a surface negative marker. Yet, they are all implicitly affirmative, which means that none of them has a negative operator in its logical structure. (17a), for instance, whose implication is (17b), has the illocutionary force of self-accusation or self-criticism. Presenting this illocutionary force in a negative construction helps to make the illocutionary force more effective and to impress the hearer more strikingly. (18a) is a rhetorical question actually. In the original text, it was immediately followed by Herkes güler! Everybody laughs!, thus revealing the illocutionary force of (18a) explicit, which is, as given in (18b), an assertion.

In spite of certain peripheral lexical or syntactic clues and prosodic properties present in the utterance, when deprived of context, such deep negatives and affirmatives become difficult to analyze. Because of the opaque or idiomatic nature of constructions in most cases, we have to refer to pragmatic considerations or conversational implicatures to understand their real meanings.

Notice that the utterances below will demand different readings depending on syntactic, semantic or pragmatic properties:

- (21) Bunu senin yanına bırakırım ben.
 a. 'I'll put this near you.'
 b. 'I'll not let you get away with this!'
- (22) Bekle, bekle. Gelir o.
 a. 'Keep waiting. He'll come.'
 b. 'Don't wait. He won't come.'
- (23) İsterse gelmesin.
 a. 'If he feels like, he shouldn't come.'
 b. 'How dare he not come!'
- (24) Ne göreyim! Kız bulaşıklarını yıkamamış mı?
 a. 'What shall I see? The maid has washed the dishes.'
 b. 'What shall I see? The maid hasn't washed the dishes.'
- (25) Hiçbirşeyim kalmadı.
 a. 'I got recovered totally.'
 b. 'I have nothing left.'

Each of these utterances may have both an affirmative reading and a negative reading. The interpretation will be based on available clues from the construction itself and the discourse. (21), for instance, will be assigned the analytic reading (21a) if the speaker has some concrete object in his hand and has a neutral attitude toward the proposition and the hearer. (21) will be assigned the idiomatic reading (21b) if the speaker has an emotionally negative or angry attitude toward the hearer concerning some prior unpleasant act or discourse. (24) is interesting in that the same negative question will be assigned an affirmative-assertion interpretation when uttered with surprise and pleasure, as in (24a), and a negative-assertion interpretation when uttered with disappointment and complaint, as in (24b). If the speaker used *kızım* 'my daughter' instead of *kız* 'the maid' in the utterance of (24), it would be interpreted only affirmatively because of the implication of endearment in the word kızım, which sounds incompatible with anger.

Obviously, prosodic features reflecting anger, sarcasm, challenge, etc. play a very important part in the appropriate interpretation of such utterances.

As previously mentioned, structural ambiguities resulting from deletions in embedded constructions with external and internal negation add to the complexities:

- (26) Aliyle zengin olduğu için evlenmemişti.
 a. 'It was not because he was rich that she married Ali.'
 b. 'It was because he was rich that she didn't marry Ali.'
- (27) Çocuklar şehre kadar gidip ekmek almamışlar.
 a. 'The children didn't go downtown and they didn't buy bread.'
 b. 'The children went downtown but they didn't buy bread.'
- (28) Kütüphaneye gitmeden sana sordum.
 a. 'Rather than go to the library, I asked you.'
 b. 'Before I went to the library, I asked you.'

If we restore the deleted fragments of the utterances, we will cancel the ambiguities implied by (26-28). (26), for instance, will have two full forms as (26a) and (26b):

- (26) a. Aliyle evlenmesinin nedeni (Alinin) zengin oluşu değildi.
'It was not the case that it was because he was rich that she married Ali.'
b. Aliyle evlenmemesinin nedeni (Alinin) zengin oluşuydu.
'It was the case that it was because he was rich that she didn't marry Ali.'

In (26a) we have an actualized reading: she did marry Ali; the reason was not his being rich but was something else. In (26b), on the contrary, we get a non-actualized reading: she did not marry Ali; the reason was his being rich. In the logical structure of these constructions, both of which obviously contain embedded sentences, the sentential constituent o Aliyle evlenmiş 'she married Ali' is immediately commanded by the internal AFF and the top-most sentence has the external NEG as its predicate in (26a) while in (26b) it is the other way around: o Aliyle evlenmiş 'she married Ali' is immediately commanded by the internal NEG and the top-most sentence has the external AFF as its operator. In both (26a) and (26b) the embedded clause zengin olduğu için 'because he was rich' has AFF as its commanding operator.

Now while the wide scope of negation (26a) will be realized as değil in the surface structure the narrow scope of negation (26b) WİTİ be reflected as -mE in the surface structure. Of course, when NEG in (26a) is lowered from its external position to an internal position replacing AFF, (26a) and (26b) become exactly alike in the surface structure and hence, the ambiguity of (26). The ambiguity in (27) will be resolved if external negation is restored as the commanding operator of both of the conjuncts, as in (27a):

- (27) a. Çocuklar şehre kadar gidip ekmek almış değiller.
'It is not the case that the children went downtown and bought bread.'
b. Çocuklar şehre kadar gittiler, ekmek almadılar.
'It is the case that the children went downtown but they didn't buy bread.'

In (27b), the external operator commanding both conjuncts is affirmative. While the internal operator commanding the left conjunct is still affirmative the internal operator commanding the right conjunct is negative. In (27a) neither of the conjuncts is actualized; in (27b) only the left conjunct is actualized. (28) is ambiguous again, depending on the actualization or the non-actualization of the proposition in the subordinate clause; that is, if there is no internal negative operator commanding the subordinate clause, this will produce (28a). If on the contrary there is an internal negative operator commanding the subordinate clause, this

will yield (28b). When producing these utterances, in order not to create ambiguities in discourse, the speaker may resort to prosodic features such as pause or intonation in addition to other surface structure phenomena.

As a conclusion, I would like to stress the fact that without bringing in pragmatic principles to the analysis, the study of the syntactic and semantic properties of negation seems impossible. All kinds of linguistic and contextual phenomena have to be incorporated in the analysis in order to arrive at valid conclusions.

FOOTNOTES

¹ In Turkish, existential sentences behave differently as to negation. In affirmative existential constructions we use the predicate var 'there be, have, exist', which is replaced with yok in negative existential constructions.

- (1) a. Ali-nin para-sı var
 Gen money-Poss have
 'Ali has money.'
 b. Ali-nin para-sı yok
 Gen money-Poss have-not
 'Ali doesn't have money.'

Yok is also used like hayır 'no' in sentence initial position as a negative sentence connector.

- (2) yok iste-me-m
 no want-NEG-1sg
 'No, I don't want (any).'
 (3) yok henüz hiç-bir haber yok
 no yet none-a news there-be-not
 'No, there's no news yet.'

Notice also the use of double negatives in (3).

² In affixal negation, the suffix -sİz is normally added to nouns or adjectives to form negative words. In some adjectives, it replaces the suffix -li to render them negative.

- (4) imkansız gid-e-mez-sin
 impossible go-can-NEG-2sg
 'Impossible, you can't go.'
 (5) insan-lar mut-suz
 human-pl happy-NEG
 'People are unhappy.'

- 3 Since the negative suffix -mE can only be used with verbal predicates, in order to negate sentences with non-verbal predicates, we can use only değil. Thus Turkish exhibits a distinction in the negation of sentences with verbal versus non-verbal predicates, as it does in the negation of existential constructions.

- (6) a. Ali okul-da
 school-Loc
 'Ali is at school.'
 b. Ali okul-da değil
 school-Loc NEG
 'Ali isn't at school.'
- (7) a. Ali gel-di
 come-past
 'Ali has come.'
 b. Ali gel-me-di
 come-NEG-past
 'Ali hasn't come.'

- 4 The verbal negative marker -mE has phonologically conditioned variants, such as -me, -ma, etc.

- 5 The external negative marker değil also functions as the negative connector in coordinated constructions.

- (8) Ali değil Can gel-di
 NEG come-past
 'Not Ali but Can came.'
- (9) Aile-ye Ali değil Can bak-ıyor
 family-Dat NEG support-Asp
 'Not Ali but Can is supporting the family.'

Notice that the logical structure of both (8) and (9) contains two coordinated sentences, the left conjunct being negative and the right one being affirmative. After the deletion of identical constituents, we obtain the given surface constructions.

- (8) a. ((Ali geldi değil)(Can geldi))
 (9) a. ((Aileye Ali bakıyor değil)(Aileye Can bakıyor))

- 6 Negative utterances with the external predicate değil also seem to implicate the speaker's reverse-decisions, after-thoughts, self-corrections, etc. in the form of embedded sentences, with slight change in the prosodic pattern.

- (10) Sana hiç inanmamış değilim; sadece biraz şüphe ettim.
 Hepsi o kadar.
 'It is not true that I didn't believe you at all; I was only a little suspicious. That's all.'

- (11) Seni yalnızca seviyor değilim; beğeniyorum da. İnan buna.
'It is not such that I only love you; I also appreciate you. You must believe this.'
- (12) Bundan sonra hikayelerinizi bile okuyacak değilim.
'I don't believe I will read even your stories any longer.'

7 Some of the utterances above (9-20) contain polarity items, those expressions or words which are normally restricted in their distribution in affirmative and negative constructions. Yet, in such superficially affirmative and negative utterances their distribution seems to be reversed. For instance, the expression in (9), bir şeyi bir kimsenin yanına koymak 'to let someone get away with something' is a negative polarity expression, but used here in an affirmative utterance.

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