What moves where under Q movement?

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1. Introduction[1]

In the present study, I would like to scrutinize the syntactic position occupied by the Turkish interrogative clitic *mI* as it occurs in main yes/no questions, *wh*-echo questions and embedded clauses. We consider Turkish yes/no questions to trigger Focus Phrases and adopt Rizzi's (1997, 2001) Split CP Hypothesis to account for the occurrence of the Q(uestion) particle *mI* both in matrix clauses and in embedded clauses. Accordingly, the C system to consists of different layers such as Force P(hrase), Foc(us) P(hrase), Top(ic) P(hrase), and Fin (iteness) P(hrase), the heads of Focus and Topic to be triggered when there is a topic and focus constituent in the structure. The Force head functions to type the clause declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative, and etc., whereas the FinP demonstrates whether the clause is finite or non-finite:

(1) ... Force ...(Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin IP

We propose the Q particle in Turkish yes/no questions occupy a position distinct from and lower than the position of a potential declarative complementizer such as *diye* or *ki* in embedded yes/no questions. We further investigate if it is possible for the Q particle *mI* to function as the Force head when it occurs at the clause periphery in main yes/no questions and in embedded clauses where *mI* types the main clause interrogative. There are certain challenges to this claim to be investigated further.

Turkish is an agglutinative SOV language with a free word order. Regarding the focus position in Turkish declarative clauses, focalized elements have to be placed to the left of the matrix verb independent of their grammatical function since post-verbal position is allocated for backgrounded elements (or for tail to borrow Vallduvi and Engdahl's (1996) terminology), which can in no way be focused (Erguvanlı 1984; Erkü 1982; Göksel, 1998; Göksel & Özsoy 2000). İşsever (2000, 2003) further differentiates between presentational focus and contrastive focus in the pre-verbal area. Accordingly, the immediate pre-verbal position may be reserved for both presentational focus and contrastive focus. However, when some other categories intervene between a focused element and the verb, it has to yield contrastive focus per se. Thus, İşsever relies on both syntactic and phonological constraints to define the focus position in Turkish:

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(2) *Ali* *OKUL-A* *git-ti.*
school-DAT go-Past-3S
'Ali went TO SCHOOL'

(3) *ALİ okula gitti.*
'ALİ, not somebody else, went to school."

In wh-questions, wh-phrases are like focalized phrases in that they are stressed and occur anywhere to the left of the verbal complex, but cannot appear in the post-verbal area. Thus, in the pre-verbal area, both focalized constituents and *wh*-phrases could be scrambled easily (Göksel 1998; Göksel and Özsoy 2000; Kural 1992):

(4a) *KİM* *okul-a* *git-ti?*
who school-DAT go-Past-3S
'Who went to school?'

(4b) *Okul-a KİM git-ti?*
'Who went to school?'

(4c) **Okul-a git-ti KİM?*
'Who went to school?'

In yes/no questions, the question particle *mI* is the stress assignor. It does not receive any stress itself, but the element in its scope receives focal stress. No overt movement of the Q particle is observed in Turkish. However, the Q particle can emerge in two distinct positions: clause internal and clause peripheral positions. In the former, the element preceding the question particle has to be stressed and is focalized.

(5a) *ALİ* *mi* *okul-a* *git-ti?*[2]
Q school-DAT go-Past-3S
'Is it ALİ who went to school?'

(5b) *Ali OKULA mı gitti?*
'Is it TO SCHOOL that Ali went?'

In the latter case, however, any element to the left of Q in the clause could be focalized, or the question could remain neutral as is the case in (6d):

(6a) ALİ okula gitti mi?
'Did ALİ go to school?'

(6b) *Ali OKULA gitti mi?*
'Did Ali go TO SCHOOL?'

(6c) *Ali okula GİTTİ mi?*
'Did Ali GO to school?'

(6d) *Ali okula gitti mi?*
'Did Ali go to school?'

2 Turkish Q particle *mI* has four allomorphs: *mı, mi, mu,* and *mü.*

In the light of the aforementioned data, the questions we seek to answer in the rest of the study are as follows: (i) How is Force head filled in Turkish declarative and interrogative sentences? And in cases where there is no apparent Force head, is it phonologically null, or is it non-existing at all? (ii) What is the function of *mI* in terms of clause typing? (iii) What is the function of *mI* when its focus features are considered? (iv) Where is *mI* base generated? Does it move covertly? If yes, where? (the syntactic location of the Q particle) (v) Does its function (in terms of both clause typing – since it does not always type the clause interrogative- and assigning focus to the elements in its scope) change according to the position it occupies in embedded questions, in yes/no questions, and in *wh*-echo questions?

2. Q particle in different languages and its movement

The syntactic constraints limiting the occurrence and movement of the Q particle vary in different languages. In languages such as English or Spanish, the structure gains interrogative Force through movement of a certain element and intonation respectively. It is well known in the relevant literature that the movement of a category (that of the auxiliary in English, for example) types the clause interrogative in languages with movement. Thus, such languages need not have a Q particle. On the other hand, in languages where there is no movement, the question feature in CP is checked through a Q particle in the structure (Cheng 1991; Cheng and Rooryck 2000). Accordingly, movement and the existence of a Q particle seem to be in complementary distribution in natural languages.

It is also possible to observe some variations regarding the distribution of the Q particle in languages which possess a Q particle. In some languages like Turkish and Tibetan, for example, Q particle is observed only in yes/no questions and *wh*- echo questions. In some other languages like Japanese, Sinhala, and Tlingit, the Q particle occurs in yes/no questions, *wh*- questions, and *wh*- echo questions. In Sinhala and Japanese, an overt movement of a *wh*-word similar to the one in English cannot be observed because of the Q particle in the structure (Hagstrom 1998, 1999). Interestingly, in Tlingit, which is similar to Sinhala and Japanese in that it also possesses a Q particle, the Q particle moves overtly together with the *wh*-word in *wh*- questions as will be discussed in further detail in the following sections. There are also languages which lack both Q particles and overt movement of the *wh*-word as is the case with yes/no questions in Turkish and Tibetan. These languages are claimed to have a null-Q particle (see Cable 2007, 2008 for Tibetan and Aygen 1999, 2007 for Turkish).

2.1. Sinhalese and Japanese

In Sinhala (Sri Lanka) language, Q particle *də* occurs in both yes/no questions and *wh*-questions. In cases where the Q particle is clause internal, the verb is marked with the suffix *-e*:

(7a) *Chitra* ***mokak*** ***də*** *gatte?* *Sinhalese*
Chitra **what** **Q** bought-**E**
'What did Chitra buy?' (Hagstrom 1999: 5)

(7b) *Chitra ee potə kieuwa də?*
Chitra that book read-A Q
Did Chitra read that book? (Kishimoto 2005: 11)

Just like the Q particle in Turkish, Sinhalese Q particle could also function to focalise the preceding element. In both languages, the Q particle at the end of the sentence triggers neutral yes/no question, whereas the one that occurs clause internally assigns focus to the preceding element (Kishimoto 1997:16, qtd in Hagstrom 1998: 21):

(8a) *Chitra ee potə kieuwa* ***də****?* *Sinhalese*
Chitra that book read **Q**
'Did Chitra read that book?'

(8b) b. *Chitra* ***də*** *ee potə kieuwe?*
Chitra **Q** that book read-**E**
'Did *Chitra* read that book?'

Hagstrom (1998, 1999) suggests the Q particle in Sinhalese moves covertly to the C head. Accordingly, the Agree relation claimed to exist between the *wh*-word and the C head in *wh*- fronting languages exists between Q and the C head in *wh*-in-situ languages. In such *wh*-in-situ languages, there is an *Agree* relation between the C head and the Q particle where the former carries an uninterpretable Q-feature and the latter an interpretable Q-feature. As a result of this Agree relation, the Q particle moves covertly to the C head and the *wh*-word remains in-situ. Hagstrom proposes this covert movement analysis on the basis of structures such as Complex Noun Phrase Islands and Adjunct Islands. As is well known, such structures block the movement of a category, and the fact that Q particles cannot appear in Complex Noun Phrases and Adjunct Islands in Sinhalese proves there is a covert movement of the Q particle from the position it is base generated to the CP even when it occurs clause internally.

In Japanese, there is more than one Q particle: *-ka*, *-na*, and *-ndai*, which is used only with *wh*- questions. In Japanese, the Q particle can be dropped both in yes/no questions and in *wh*-questions, whereby the structure has interrogative Force through intonation. It is obligatory to place the Q particle sentence peripherally in *wh*- questions, but could be placed either sentence internally or peripherally in yes/no questions:

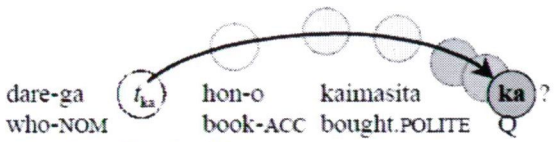
(9a) *John-ga* ***nani****-o* *kaimasita* ***ka****?* *Japanese*
John-NOM **what**-ACC bought.polite **Q**
'What did John buy?' (Hagstrom 1998: 15)

(9b) *Gohan tabe-ta (no)?*
meal eat-Past Q
Did you have a meal? (Kuwabara 2001: 1)

In Japanese, the Q particle is base generated next to the *wh*- word and moves to sentence periphery. However, Q is not pronounced in the position it is base generated;

rather, it is pronounced at the sentence peripheral position (cf. (9a)):

(10) *Japanese*



(Hagstrom 1999: 1)

At this point, the question is how to explain the existence of an unpronounced Q particle in the clause internal position. Basing his analysis on Intervention Effects in Japanese interrogatives, Hagstrom (1998, 1999) suggests words including the Q particle *ka* such as *dare-ka* (meaning *somebody*) cannot interfere between the *wh-* word and the CP and renders the sentence ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality occurs because in such a case *dare-ka* but not the *wh-* word itself would be the category to be attracted by the C head because of its minimal distance to the C head. In such an analysis, there is only one difference to be noted between Sinhalese and Japanese in terms of movement: the Q particle moves covertly in the former, but overtly in the latter (see (7a) and (9a)).

2.2. Tlingit

Tlingit is similar to Turkish in certain respects: (i) It is a head final language. (ii) It has free word order where the most frequent word order is SOV. (iii) The *wh*-word in interrogatives has to be placed pre-verbally.

Two different Q particles are employed in Tlingit: *sá* (in *wh-* questions) and *gé* (in yes/no questions). Note that the typical word order in Tlingit is SVO, and the structure is ungrammatical when the *wh*-word is not sentence initial:

(11a) *Daa sá kéet axá?* *Tlingit*
what Q killerwhale he.eats.it
What do killerwhales eat? (Cable 2008:114)

(11b) *Héen gé i jeewú?*
"Do you have water?"[3]

According to Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (qtd. in Cable 2008: 111), the Q particle *sá* could combine with one of the focus particles *áwé, áyá, áyú* and *áhé* yielding particles such as *sáwé, sáyá, sáyú,* and *sáhé,* which in turn could function both to type the clause interrogative and to focus a certain element in the structure.

3 Data is retrieved from *http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/programs/tlingit_phrase_of_week.htm*

(12a) *Waa sá sh tudinookw i éesh?* *Tlingit*
how Q he.feels your father
How is your father feeling?

(12b) *Daa sáwé i éesh al'óon?*
what Q.foc-part your father he.hunts.it
What is your father hunting?

One distinctive feature of the Q particle in Tlingit is that Q moves to the left periphery along with the *wh*-word. Thus, Cable (2008) suggests Q is a syntactic head and has the *wh*-word as its complement. When the Q particle checks the uninterpretable Q-feature of CP, Q moves to CP as a phrasal category and so does the *wh*-word:

(13)
η_P^2

To summarize the points made so far, Hagstrom suggests there is an Agree relation between *wh*-word and the C head in wh-fronting languages and this relation occurs between Q and the C head in *wh*-in-situ languages. In the former, *wh*-word moves; in the latter, Q moves either overtly (Japanese) or covertly (Sinhalese). This analysis is somehow in line with Cheng (1991) in that both analyses are based on the claim that a language has either *wh*-movement or Q particle, not both simultaneously. However, based on data from Tlingit, Cable (2008) shows a language may employ both *wh*-movement and Q. He suggests *wh*-questions in both *wh*-fronting languages and *wh*-in-situ languages should be explained on the basis of the Agree relation between Q and C. Accordingly, in all languages, there exists a Q particle (though sometimes null as is the case with English). The only difference between a *wh*-fronting and *wh*-in-situ language is that in *wh*-fronting languages Q is the syntactic head and takes the *wh*-word as its complement. When the Q particle moves as a result of the Agree relation between Q and C, the *wh*-word moves along with the Q particle. To conclude, Cable's analysis covers not only languages which employ either movement (English) or Q (Japanese) but also languages which employ (i) both movement and Q (Tlingit) (ii) neither movement nor Q (Turkish, Tibetan).

In the following section, we lay out data from Turkish supporting Cable's analysis.

3. LF movement of the Turkish Q particle

Q in Turkish could occur clause internally and peripherally both in main and embedded clauses. It is not possible for a constituent outside the scope of *mI* to be focused when *mI* occurs clause internally. In such cases, only the constituents to the left of Q can be focused:

(14) **Ali mi KIZ ARKADAŞINA çiçeği verdi?*
'Did Ali give the flower TO HIS GIRLFRIEND?'

However, when *mI* occurs in the verb complex, any constituent in the same clause can be focused (cf. (6a-c)). We can refer to two analyses to explain the occurrence of *mI* both

clause internally and clause peripherally: (i) Besler (2000a, 2000b) and (ii) Aygen (1999, 2007).

According to Besler, when *mI* occurs at the clause periphery, it can be surrounded by z-paradigm morphology and functions like a suffix. Thus, Besler claims *mI* cannot have generated in C° even when it occurs in the verbal complex. In such cases, as Besler (2000: 69, 70) puts it, *mI* is base generated as a sister to the V head. In these structures, any element within the clause can be focused, which shows that *mI* must move to the C head along with the verb and the tense/aspect and agreement markers in order to take the preceding elements into its scope. Thus, Besler concludes there is an LF pied-piping from the verbal complex to the C head in Turkish yes/no questions when *mI* occurs clause peripherally. However, when *mI* occurs clause internally, it is base generated as a sister to a maximal projection such as an NP or a PP. Only the element to the left of Q can be focused (cf. (14)), which shows the movement of Q to the C head is not in question. Thus, it is regarded as a lexical item and remains in-situ in LF when it is clause internal.

Aygen (2007) also maintains that the Q particle moves to C together with the verbal complex it takes place in, but her analysis diverges from Besler's in one point: Aygen considers the covert movement of Q particle to the C position to be also valid for the Q particle that appears clause internally in main clauses. Thus, the only difference between the two occurrences of *mI* is in the focus features it motivates in the two distinct positions. When *mI* occurs at the clause periphery, it does not focus any constituent (neutral questions). On the other hand, if the Q particle occurs clause internally, it means it functions to focus the constituent preceding it. However, this analysis does not explain the difference between the two structures below:

(15a) *ALİ okula gitti mi?*
'Did ALİ go to school?'

(15b) *ALİ mi okula gitti?*
'Did ALİ go to school?'

To be able to propose a unified analysis, we suggest Q should move in the LF structure irrespective of the syntactic position it is base generated. The covert movement of Q should be valid whenever the clause has an interrogative force. As will be discussed in further detail in the following section, we suggest the Question particle in both sentences above should move covertly to the head of the FocusP in split CP thus, in a way, side by Aygen (1999, 2007).

In this connection, the difference between the two clauses could be explained on the basis of focus properties the two clauses trigger. Sentence (a) includes a presentational focus, whereas sentence (b) includes a contrastive focus with the following interpretation: "Did Ali, not someone else, go to school?" Maybe, this could be explained with a similar approach to İşsever's (2003). Focused elements that are located sentence initially (the distance between the focused element and the verb-if we consider the verb to be the focus assignor) in declarative clauses activate contrastive focus. If we adopt the same analysis for interrogative clauses we could say the focused elements in the clause initial position in interrogative clauses trigger contrastive focus (the distance between the focused element and the Q particle).

Regarding the issue whether the Q particle in Turkish could be a syntactic head or not, we would not expect a complement head relation between the Q particle and the wh-word unlike Tlingit. First, Turkish is a *wh*-in-situ language with no overt Q in *wh*-questions (cf. (4a-c)). Second, When *mI* is located in the verbal complex, it could be free of agreement and tense/aspect markers (with k-paradigm morphemes); it could alternatively occur between agreement and tense/aspect markers (with z-paradigm morphemes) (see also Good and Yu; Aygen 2007; Sezer 2001):

(16a) *Sınav-ı geç-ti-k mi?* *k-paradigm*
exam-Acc. pass-Past-1PL Q
"Did we pass the exam?"

(16b) *Sinema-ya gid-iyor mu-y-uz?* *z-paradigm*
cinema-Dat. go-Prog. Q-aux-1PL
'Are we going to the cinema?'

(17a) *Ekmek al-mış mı-y-dı-k?* *Combined Tenses*
bread buy-Perf. Q-aux-Past-1PL
'Have we bought bread?'

(18a) *Ali nereli-y-di?*
Where-aux-Past3S
'Where is Ali from?'

(18b) *Ali nereli mi-y-di?*
where Q-aux-Past3S
'Did you ask where Ali is from?'

The fact that Turkish Q particle could be surrounded by tense/aspect markers makes it hard to claim Turkish Q particle is a syntactic head. Besides, the Q particle in *wh*- echo questions may or may not occur next to the *wh*-word:

(19a) *Ali mi hangi okul-a git-ti?*
Q which school-Dat go-Past3S
'Did you ask which school Ali went to?'

(19b) *Ali hangi okul-a mı git-ti?*
'Did you ask which school Ali went to?'

(19c) *Ali hangi okul-a git-ti mi?*
'Did you ask which school Ali went to?'

In this case, we cannot claim Turkish Q particle takes the *wh*-word as its complement or moves to the CP together with the *wh*- word. Thus, if we are to suppose the movement of the Q particle, we could at best suppose a covert movement of the Q particle per se (as is offered by Aygen 1999, 2007). Hence, in the case of *wh*- questions, we are to presume the existence of a null Q particle moving covertly since Turkish *wh*- questions normally do not include a Q particle.

In the following section, we investigate the possible landing site of the Q particle in Turkish following Rizzi (1997) and data from Italian.

4. The landing site of the Turkish Q particle in Split CP

Embedded yes/no questions in Italian are headed by *se* (what corresponds to *if* in English). The difference between Italian and Turkish is that while the former uses *se* only to introduce embedded yes/no questions, the latter uses Q particle *mI* both in matrix and embedded yes/no questions.

As sentence (20) also illustrates, *se* can be followed by a focused phrase resulting in contrastive focus – since contrastive focus can only be realized in the left peripheral focus position in Italian as is the case in Turkish.

(20) *Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos'altro)*
'I wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him, not something else'
Rizzi (2001: 288)

In Italian, *se* could be both followed and preceded by a topic constituent. However, it is not possible for a focused constituent to precede *se*; focalised phrases, if any, have to follow it. Thus, considering this distribution of *se*, Rizzi proposes that the C system including an embedded interrogative clause introduced by *se* should be as follows:

(21) FORCE (TOP*) INT (TOP*) FOC (TOP*) FIN IP

In this system, complementizers such as *che* and *that* fill the FORCE head position. But since this position is not filled in clauses with embedded questions, the Force head is considered to be filled by a phonologically null element. On the other hand, *se*, which introduces interrogative embedded questions, fills a lower position than the Force head, that is, INT(errogative). The INT position should be higher than the FOC in the structure since it cannot be preceded by a focused element. Nonetheless, it can be both followed and preceded by TOP. The brackets show that TopPs are optional while the asterisks show that TopPs are recursive.

Adopting this analysis for Turkish, now we try to determine the landing site for Turkish Q. There are two positions *mI* could potentially occupy: (i) the INT position (similar to *se* in Italian) or (ii) the Force head position (since Q could type the clause INT). In order to solve this problem, we need to consider all occurrences of *mI*, that is, yes/no questions, embedded clauses, and *wh*-echo questions. We start with a comparison of main yes/no questions and embedded clauses marked by *mI*:

(22a) *Ayşe okula gel-di mi?*
school-Dat. come-Past-3S Q
'Did Ayşe come to school?'

(22b) [*Ayşe okula geldi mi*] *bil-mi-yor-um.*
school-Dat. come-Past-3S Q know-Neg-Prog-1S
'I don't know if Ayşe came to school.'

On the surface, both sentence (a) and the embedded clause in sentence (b) exhibit the same clausal structure, but only the Q in sentence (a) has an interrogative Force. Thus, we could suggest only Q in main clauses occupy the Force head position. Regarding the Q in sentence (b) we could propose it occupies the INT position just like *se* in Italian.

However, if we can prove that a constituent can appear higher than *mI* within in the same CP, then it will not be possible to place the Q particle in the Force head position. Indeed, this is the case with both main and embedded clauses; it is possible to use the Q particle with declarative complementizers *diye* or *ki*:

(23a) *Ali* [pro *okul-a gel-di-k mi diye*] *sor-du.*
school-Dat. come-Past-1PL Q diye ask-Past3S
'Ali asked if we came to school.'

(23b) pro [*Ali kız arkadaş-ı-na çiçeğ-i ver-di mi diye*] *merak et-ti-m.*
girlfriend-Poss-Dat. give-Past3S Q diye worry LVC-Past-1S
'I was worried if Ali gave his girlfriend the flower.'

(24a) *Ali ders çalış-tı mı ki sınıf-ı geç-sin!*
lesson study-Past3S Q ki class-Acc. pass-Imp3S
'As if Ali studied his lesson to pass the course!'

(24b) *Ayşe okul-a gel-di mi ki?/!*
school-Dat. come-Past3S Q ki
'Has Ayşe ever come to school?'
'I wonder if she has ever come to school!'

This further shows *mI* does not always have an interrogative force. A matrix clause like (24b) could be both a genuine question or a rhetorical question (with an exclamative force). The existence of *ki* in this sentence arouses suspicion about the Q particle occupying the Force head position in a matrix clause.[4]

There are also some languages which utilize a separate complementizer along with a Q morpheme just like *mI diye* or *mI ki* pairings in yes/no questions. Abun (West Papuan; Indonesia) is one of these languages. In Abun, there are two distinct question particles, one at the clause initial position and another one at the clause final position. The initial Q particle is optional, whereas the final Q particle is obligatory. Consider the following example from Berry and Berry (1999: 102) (quoted from Dryer 2005: 374):

(25)

(*te*)	*nan*	*nai*	*nan*	*bi*	*suk*	*it*	*e*
(Q)	2sg	get	2sg	poss	thing	COMP	Q

'Have you got your things?'

The existence of a complementizer together with the Q particle further implies that the Force head cannot be filled by *mI* even if there is no apparent complementizer in the structure in Turkish if we are to reach a unified analysis. This supports the claim that the Force head should be null in embedded and main clauses with [+ declarative Force, +Q, - declarative Complementiser] features in Turkish. However, at this point we need to figure

4 Furthermore, below examples from Aygen (2007: 5) show that the only function of *mI* is not to make questions:
(i) *Kedi mi ne almış.*
cat Q what took
'He took a cat or something.'

out what motivates the movement of Q in clauses with [+ Interrogative Force, + Q, - Interrogative Complementiser] features.

Aygen explains how *wh*-questions in Turkish gain interrogative Force on the basis of the Q particle per se. Aygen (1997, 2007) suggests there is also a null Q in wh- questions which moves covertly to the C head:

(26a) *Ahmet kim-in gel-diğ-i-ni bil-iyor.* No null Q
who-Gen come-Nom-Poss-Acc know-Prog3S
'Ahmet knows who came.'

(26b) *Ahmet kimin geldiğini biliyor?* Null Q
'Who does Ahmet know to have come?'

However, the existence of a Null or pronounced Q particle is not enough on its own since this does not explain the difference between the minimal pairs given below as both the clauses possess an overt Q in the structure.

(27a) *Ali mi okul-a git-ti bil-iyor-sun?*
Q school-dat go-Past know-Prog2S
'Do you think Ali went to school?'

(27b) *Ali mi okula gitti bilmiyorum.*
'I don't know if Ali went to school.'

An attempt to figure out what motivates the movement in interrogative clauses is that of Hagstrom's. Hagstrom claims the existence of the Q particle is not enough on its own for a clause to have an interrogative Force. There must be something else in the structure to trigger the covert movement of the Q particle. The element to trigger Q movement as Hagstrom puts it is the *-E* morphology that appears at the end of the verb in Sinhalese.

> This movement [covert movement of the Q particle] is driven by an element which is generated at the clause periphery, which we have taken to be the head (perhaps an interrogative complementizer) which contributes the interrogative force to the utterance. This element (or some feature of this element) is responsible for the surfacing clause peripheral morphology in the languages which do not move Q overtly (e.g., the 'E' in Sinhala, the adnominal *musubi* form in premodern Japanese, the *musubi -ra* in Okinawan) (Hagstrom 1998: 63).

Turkish does not have such a morpheme, nor does it utilize strategies such as movement and use of interrogative complementizers. Thus, we need to figure out what moti-

(ii) *Hasan gel-di mi, herkesi gül-dür-ür.*
Hasan come-Past Q everybody-Acc. laugh- CAUS-IMP-3S
'Whenever Hasan comes, he makes everybody laugh.'

Regarding the above examples, Aygen (2007) underlies that *mI* appears as half of an indefinite formed on a *wh*-word meaning 'one or other' in sentence (a) and behaves as a universal quantifier in sentence (b). As a result, in such cases, it is not possible for *mI* to function as the head of the ForceP; if it were, the sentence would have an interrogative force, but it does not.

vates the movement of the Q particle. A possible solution could be the analysis offered by Cheng and Rooryck (2000),where an intonation morpheme is claimed to exist in the C to check the Q feature. For example, in languages where there is no overt movement of the Q particle or the *wh*-word, the Q feature in C is checked through the intonation morpheme here (See Göksel, Kelepir, and Üntak-Tarhan 2008 for a similar analysis.

So the difference between (27a) and (27b) could be explained as follows: (43a) has an interrogative force because the Force head is filled by the intonation morpheme and the intonation morpheme checks the Q feature and motivates the Q particle to move. On the other hand (43b) has no interrogative Force because the Force head is filled by an empty complementizer and Q feature is not checked and thus there is no movement in the LF.

Conclusion

In this study, we have analysed the co-occurrence of the Q particle *mI* with complementizers such as *diye* or *ki* in embedded and matrix yes/no questions following the split CP Hypothesis offered by Rizzi (1997, 2001). In Turkish, declarative complementizers, serving as the Force head of the embedded yes/no questions, have to be placed in a higher position than the Q particle in order to type the clause.

We argue that Q particle in both embedded clauses and matrix clauses may or may not type the main clause interrogative, which makes it harder to propose a unified LF movement to CP for the occurrence of Q in both embedded and main clauses.

When the Force head or the complementiser head is filled by a declarative complementiser such as *diye/ki*, the sentence has a declarative Force in spite of the existence of Q. There are also cases where there are no overt complementisers and the sentence still has a declarative Force despite the Q particle in the structure. In such cases, we suggest the Force head is occupied by a null complementiser. Finally there are cases the clause has an interrogative Force. In such cases, we suggest the Force head is filled by an intonation morpheme, which checks the Q feature and motivates the Q particle movement. Regarding the position Q particle moves to, we suggest this position should be lower than a potential complementiser or the intonation morpheme. Considering the focus features of the Q particle in Turkish we could suggest it moves to the projection of the Focus Phrase.

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The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: TopP (Topic Phrase), FocP (Focus Phrase), INT (Interrogative), Q (Question), Dat. (Dative), Loc. (Locative), Acc. (Accusative), Past (Past), Poss (Possessive), Perf. (Perfective), Prog. (Progressive), Fut (Future), Neg (Negation), aux (Auxiliary), Aor (Aorist), CON (Conditional), IMP (Imperative), CAUS (Causative), 1S (first person singular), 1PL (first person plural), 3S (third person singular).