# Актантные клаузы и прагматические острова в турецком языке*

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В статье рассматриваются актантные клаузы турецкого языка в перспективе изучения фактивного острова и острова отрицания. Показано, что все актантные клаузы в турецком языке демонстрируют слабые островные ограничения сложной именной группы. Снижение приемлемости при образовании частных вопросов, подчиняющихся ограничениям фактивного и отрицательного островов, предположительно имеет прагаматические причины. Обнаруживается, однако, что ограничение сложной именной группы, характерное для всех актантных клауз в турецком языке, также оказывает влияние на снижение приемлемости таких предложений.

**Ключевые слова**: генеративный синтаксис, турецкий язык, wh-конструкции, островные ограничения, асимметрия аргументов и адъюнктов.

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# COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AND PRAGMATIC ISLANDS IN TURKISH*

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The study focused on the complement clauses in Turkish by targeting at the Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint. According to the findings, all complement clauses in Turkish seem to be subject to a weak Complex DP Island Constraint. The degradation observed in the acceptability of the interrogative sentences that are subject to FIC or the NIC should stem from pragmatic reasons. As a matter of fact, the weak Complex DP Island Constraint that is assumed to hold for all complement clauses seems to be one of the reasons for the degradation observed in such sentences.

**Keywords**: generative syntax, Turkish, wh-constructions, island constraints, argument & adjunct asymmetry.

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# 1. Introduction

Syntactic islands are the constructions out of which elements cannot move. Such constructions were defined by [Ross 1967] for the first time. He proposed that complex NPs, coordinate structures and sentential subjects pose islands for the outer movement of the elements. One of such constructions is exemplified below:

(1) *[CP Who did George love [DP the place [CP where he met {who}]]]?

In this sentence, the wh-word "*who*" originates within the embedded relative clause. According to [Ross 1967], it is not possible to move anything out of a relative clause. Hence, in (1), the movement of the wh-word to sentence initial position leads to the Complex DP Island Constraint violation.

In the following years, such structures grasped the attention of several scholars and new island constraints were introduced: Wh-island Constraint, Right Roof Constraint and Factive Island Constraint etc. Island constraints are claimed to hold firmly in wh-movement languages such as English. The movement of both arguments and adjuncts out of island structures results in ungrammaticality in this language.

## 1.1. Island Constraints in Turkish

As far as island constraints on wh-movement are concerned, adjuncts and arguments behave differently in Turkish. While the operators of argument wh-phrases can move freely out of island structures, the movement of adjunct wh-operators out of such structures results in ungrammaticality. This asymmetry was first defined by [Özsoy 1996] and extended by [Arslan 1999] and [Görgülü 2006] in the following years. [Çakır 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018] carried out a series of studies to examine the status of island constraints in Turkish. First of all, [Çakır 2015] checked the validity of the argument & adjunct asymmetry in Turkish. According to him, the real asymmetry is between arguments such as *kim 'who'* and sentence level wh-adjuncts such as *neden, niye* and *nasıl 'how'*. The following sentences exemplify this asymmetry:

(2) *Tolga-nın* *kim-e* *sinirlen-me-si* *herkes-i* *üz-dü?*
Tolga-GEN who-DAT get.angry-NFN-3SG everybody-ACC make.upset-PAST
'Who did that Tolga get angry with made everybody upset?'

(3) *Tolga-nın neden sinirlen-me-si herkes-i üz-dü?
Tolga-GEN why get.angry-NFN-3SG everybody-ACC make.upset-PAST
Intended: 'Why did that Tolga get angry with made everybody upset?'

(2) and (3) are subject to Sentential Subject Constraint. While (2) is grammatical in Turkish, (3) is grammatically unacceptable. In another study, [Çakır 2016] put forward that the interpretation of wh-adjuncts in the embedded CPs is problematic even if they are not subject to any island structure:

(4) ?Kerem [DP [CP Tolga-nın neden üzgün ol-duğ-u]-nu] söyle-di?
Kerem Tolga-GEN why upset be-FN-3SG-ACC say-PAST
'Why did Kerem say [that Tolga was upset {*why*}]?'

According to [Çakır 2016], (4) is ill-formed because the movement of the wh-operator to matrix CP contains a weak island violation. In a further study, he proposed that this movement is, in fact, subject to weak Complex DP Island Constraint. The DP which exists in the highest functional layer of the embedded clause poses an island for the upper movement of the elements. Since the DP in (4) does not contain a lexical noun but a morpheme, it seems to cause a week island effect [Çakır 2017].

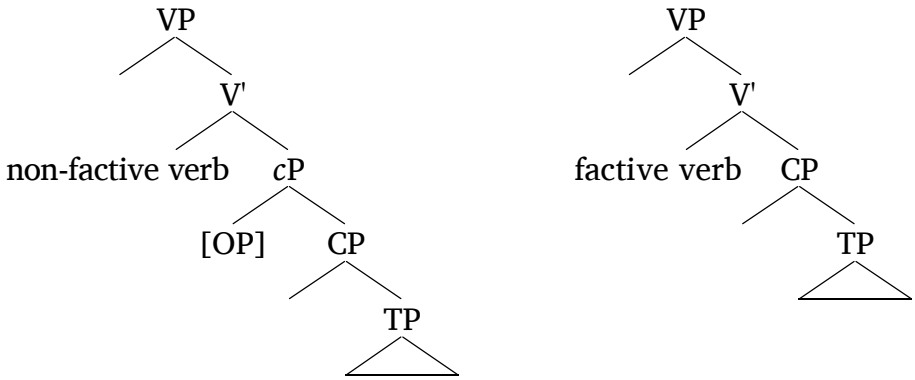
In a recent study, [Çakır 2018] focused on long distance scrambling and operator movement from embedded clauses to sentence initial position in Turkish. He proposed that the Late Adjunction Hypothesis, proposed by [Stepanov 2007], successfully explains all types of extractions out of such clauses in Turkish. Arguments, adjuncts or their operators cannot be moved out of relative clauses or adverbial clauses since these clauses adjoin to the derivation post-cyclically.

### 1.2. The Present Study

The island constraints such as the Wh-island Constraint, Complex NP Island Constraint, Adjunct Island Constraint and Sentential Subject Constraint were previously analyzed in Turkish context, e.g. [Özsoy 1996, Arslan 1999, Görgülü 2006, Çakır 2015, 2016]. The present study, on the other hand, focused on 2 island constraints that had not been studied beforehand: Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint. After combining the data of the present study with the ones obtained in the previous studies, it would be possible to have a holistic approach to "Wh-phrase" "Island Constraint" and "Adjunct & Argument Asymmetry" phenomena in Turkish.

One of the island structures that is focused on in the study is the Factive Island Constraint, which was put forward by [Kiparsky, Kiparsky 1970] and further dealt by the scholars such as [de Cuba 2006, Oshima 2007, Abrusán 2011] in the following years. According to [Kiparsky, Kiparsky 1970], complement clause of a factive predicate serves as an island environment. When the factive verbs such as *know*, *hate*, *remember*, *forget* functions as the predicate of the main verb, this island constraint is claimed to hold. For example, the sentence '#How does Max know that Alice went to Los Angeles?' is subject to Factive Island Constraint.

[De Cuba 2006] proposes a syntactic explanation for the factive island effects. According to him, there is an extra layer of syntactic structure (*c*P) in the CP-field selected by non-factive predicates as in the first tree diagram given below, but not selected by factive predicates as in given in the second. He further claims that the *c*P level is projected by a semantic operator [OP]. Syntactically, the *c*P projection opens up an escape hatch for adjunct extraction. Yet, the lack of a *c*P projection under factives leaves adjuncts stranded.




On the other hand, [Oshima 2007] argues that the factive island effect is a pragmatic phenomenon rather than a syntactic one. According to him, it follows from two independent factors: (i) the speaker's expectation about possible answers of wh-interrogatives, and (ii) presuppositions induced by factive predicates. The account he proposes illustrates a special kind of pragmatic infelicity, which can be opposed to "contingent" pragmatic infelicity such as presupposition failure, violation of Gricean maxims, etc.

The other island constraint targeted at in the study is the Negative Island Constraint, which was asserted by [Ross 1984] and further studied by the scholars such as [Rizzi 1990, 1992, Szabolcsi, Zwarts 1993, Abrusán 2011, Fox 2010, Gieselman et al. 2010]. According to this constraint, nothing can be extracted out of a negative structure. For instance: '#How precisely did the student not report her results?'

[Ross 1984] and [Rizzi 1990, 1992] claim that Negative Island Constraint is a syntactic constraint. According to them, the negative islands present a case of adjunct vs. argument asymmetry. Since arguments and which NP constructions are theta-governed, they leave indices behind them when they move out of the negation. On the other hand, adjuncts move without indices and the negP is a barrier for the antecedent government. This GB-based explanation seems to be problematic within minimalism since the terms such as theta-government and antecedent government have been abandoned within the minimalist framework. As a matter of fact, if such structures are really syntactic in nature, it is necessary to explain them within the minimalist terminology. The scholars such as [Szabolcsi, Zwarts 1993, Abrusán 2011], on the other hand, claim that the reason for the degradation in such structures stem from semantic factors. According to them, by denoting sets of individuals, referential arguments such as which NP expressions can be extracted over negation, rendering the sentences acceptable. The complement set cannot be computed in the case of expressions that denote partially ordered and non-individuated domains, resulting in ungrammaticality of the sentences. Other scholars such as [Gieselman et al. 2010] claim that the degradation stems from pragmatic factors such as processing cost and pragmatic demand. According to them, three factors play a role in the perception of negative island violations: the presence of negation, extraction of a wh-expression over negation and the level of referentiality of the extracted constituent (the more referential an expression is, the more acceptable the sentence will be).

Hence, the aim of the study is to examine these island constraints within the Turkish context. It aims to investigate whether such constraints really hold in Turkish and whether they should be viewed as syntactic constraints or not. Another aim of the study is to find out if any extraction out of complement clauses is also problematic in this language even when factiveness and negation are out of question. That is to say, the study also aims to investigate whether there is any degradation in the grammaticality of the complement clauses that are not subject to any of the classical island constraints.

## 2. Methodology

The data of the study were obtained from 740 participants. They are the students of Hacettepe University in Turkey. They are all native speakers of Turkish and they had no formal education on island phenomena beforehand. Their ages

ranged from 18 to 26 (mean age: 21.7). The data were collected through a Grammaticality Judgment Test, in which the participants were asked to rate the wh-questions produced from declarative sentences in $+2, -2$ Likert scale, a Missing Word Completion Test, in which the participants were required to fill in the given gaps in the target sentences and a Self-Paced Reading Test, in which the participants were asked to read the sentences in the computer screen in their own paces by using the keyboard while their response times were counted. The interrogative sentences that are used in the study vary on: what functions they have (argument or adjunct), whether they are subject to island constraints or not, and if they are subject to, what type of island constraints they are.

### 2.1. The Grammaticality Judgment Test

The Grammaticality Judgment Test consists of 64 items half of which targets at either of the 2 island constraints. The other test items are not subject to any of the island constraints. The test was given in two different applications, both of which contained 32 items. The target island constraints were not analyzed in different applications, but they were given in a mixed order in the applications. 320 participants took part in the tests. They were asked to assess the grammaticality of the test items in a $+2, -2$ Likert scale. There are basically 4 types of sentences used in the tests:

(i) The sentences that are subject to Factive Island Constraint:
*Mert Tolga'nın nereye gittiğini hatırlıyor?*
'Where does Mert remember that Tolga went?'

(ii) The sentences that are subject to Negative Island Constraint:
*Murat Ali'nin bu kitabı nasıl seçtiğini düşünmüyor?*
'How does Murat not think that Ali selected this book?'

(iii) The complex sentences that are not subject to any of the classical island constraints:
*Kenan Merve'nin neden ağladığını söyledi?*
'Why did Kenan say that Merve cried?'

(iv) The simplex sentences that are not subject to any of the classical island constraints:
*Dün öğrenciler şehir merkezine neden gittiler?*
'Why did the students go to the city center yesterday?'

### 2.2. The Missing Word Completion Test

Similar to the Grammaticality Judgment Test, the Missing Word Completion Test was given in two different applications as well. Either of these applications contained 16 test items, which makes 32 altogether. In these applications, the participants were required to fill in the gaps in the given wh-sentences by using either wh-adverbs such as *neden* 'why' *nasıl* 'how' or which-NP constructions such as *hangi sebeple* 'for which reason' *hangi şekilde* 'in what way'. Similar to the test items in the Grammaticality Judgment Test, the wh-words in this test varies whether they are subject to any of the target island constraints or not. The test was given to 320 participants who did not take part in the Grammaticality Judgment Test. The following items exemplify this test:

Test Item 9:

*Emre Selim'in yorgun olduğu için erken yattığını fark etti.*
'Emre noticed that Selim went to bed early as he was tired.'
*Emre Selim'in* _____ *erken yattığını fark etti?*
'_____ did Emre notice that Selim went to bed early?'

Test Item 16:

*Serkan Tamer'in odasını sürekli dağınık bıraktığını söylüyor.*
'Serkan says that Tamer always leaves his room in a mess.'
*Serkan Tamer'in odasını sürekli* _____ *bıraktığını söylüyor?*
'_____ does Serkan claim that Tamer leaves his room?'

### 2.3. The Self-Paced Reading Test

The Self-Paced Reading Test was given to the participants in two applications as well. Each application contained 16 test items along with two example items. 100 participants who did not take part in the other two tests participated in these applications. In the applications, the participants read the target sentences in front of a computer screen on their own paces. After reading the test items, the participants were asked to press a predefined key on the keyboard (the [space] bar). Then, the program asked them to assess the test item as grammatically problematic or grammatically correct. The participants responded by pressing the predefined keys (left and right arrow keys). The program recorded their replies. Besides, their response times, that is, their self-paced reading speeds were recorded by the program as well. The following items exemplify this test:

Test Item 2:

*Serap + benim + bu sabah + kimi + aradığımı + sanıyor?*

'Who does Serap think that I phoned this morning?'

Test Item 15:

*Serap + benim + bu sabah + kimi + aradığımı + öğrendi?*

'Who did Serap learn that I phoned this morning?'

## 3. Data Analysis

The data obtained in the study were analyzed in detailed and presented in figures and tables. The findings for the Grammaticality Judgment Test, the Missing Word Completion Test and the Self-paced Reading Test have been demonstrated separately.

### 3.1. The Results for the Grammaticality Judgment Test

Figure 1 below demonstrated the overall findings of the Grammaticality Judgment Test. Although the tests were given in $-2, +2$ Likert scale, the findings were transformed into $-1, +1$ scale for ease of reading. In the figure, when the numbers gets closer to $-1$, it means that the participants rated them ungrammatical whereas when the numbers get closer to $+1$, it means that they assessed them grammatical.

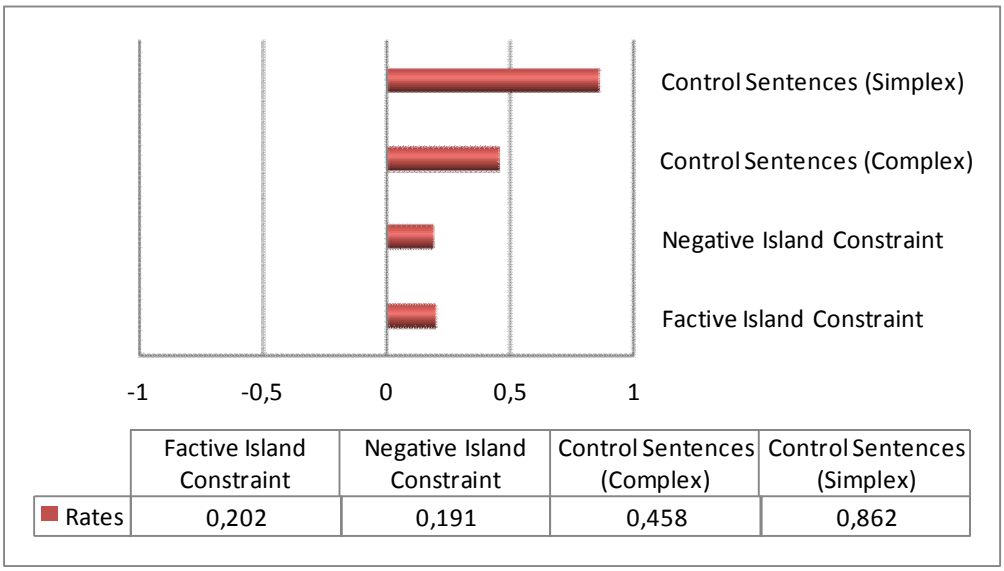



Figure 1. The overall results for the GJT

As the Figure 1 indicates, none of the groups of sentences are in the negative side of the correlation. Though their ratings vary, they are all closer to +1. As this finding indicates, none of the groups targeted at in the study were considered to be totally ungrammatical in overall results. The sentences that are subject to Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint were assessed to be less grammatical compared to the control sentences. Yet, since their ratings are not at the negative side of the correlation, it would not be right to view them as strong islands. The factive verbs and negations that exist in these sentences seem to cause weak island effects.

It is also noteworthy in the figure that the complex control sentences were considered to be far less grammatical compared to simplex control sentences. Such complex sentences are the ones that contain embedded complement clauses which are not subject to any of the island constraints. Since they are not subject to any island structures, they would be expected to be rated grammatical similar to the simplex sentences. Yet, it seems that they are still considered to be degraded by the participants. That is to say, even the complement clauses that are not subject to any of the island constraints are degraded in this language. This result is consistent with [Çakır 2017], who claims that all embedded clauses in Turkish are subject to weak or strong islands. The complement clauses in question here should be subject to a weak Complex DP Island Constraint. That is to say, the DP that exists at the upmost layer of the complement clause should pose a weak island during the extraction of the wh-operator out of the complement clause to the matrix spec CP position. The following sentence exemplifies this situation:

(5) ??*Burcu* [DP [CP *Ahmet-in* *toplantı-ya* *neden* *katıl-dığ-ı*]*-nı*] *söyle-di?*
Burcu Ahmet-GEN meeting-DAT why attend-FN-3SG-ACC say-PAST
'Why did Burcu say [that Ahmet attended the meeting {*why*}]?'

As a matter of fact, when the DP contains a lexical noun, the interrogative sentence becomes more degraded:

(6) **Burcu* [DP [CP *Ahmet-in* *toplantı-ya* *neden* *katıl-dığ-ı*]
Burcu Ahmet-GEN meeting-DAT why attend-FN-3SG

*iddia-ları-nı*] *yalanla-dı?*
claim-3PL-ACC deny-PAST
Intended: 'Why did Burcu deny [the claims [that Ahmet attended the meeting {*why*}]]?'

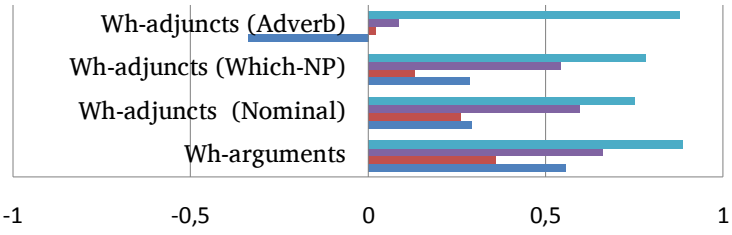
(6) is subject to classical Complex NP island violation. Hence, it is possible to deduce that even the complement clauses in Turkish are subject to weak or strong islands. When the DP that exists over the embedded complement clause contains a lexical word, it poses a strong DP island for the outer movement of the elements. In the same vein, when it contains only the accusative morpheme, it poses a weak DP island for any movement out of the complement clause.

As a matter of fact, when the results displayed for the Negative Island Constraint and Factive Island Constraint in Figure 1 are re-analyzed from this perspective, it would be possible to assert that the degradation observed in such structures might partially stem from the weak DP island constraint hypothesis mentioned here. It should be noted that the complex sentences that are subject to either Negative Island Constraint or Factive Island Constraint are also complement clauses that possess a DP node at the highest layer. Hence, the degradation that is observed here might be related to the fact that the DP poses a weak island for the extraction of the wh-operators out of complement clauses. Besides, the degradation might also stem from the fact that the factive verbs and negation add a further processing load for the interpretation of the sentence. In other words, the factive verbs and negation used in such sentences might be confusing for the participants since interrogative sentences generally contain non-factive verbs which are not negated. Leaning on these assertions it might be possible to put forward that Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint are not syntactic islands in Turkish. Rather, the degradation observed in such structures stem from the fact that the DP that exists in the highest layer of the embedded clause poses a weak DP island for the extractions. Besides, the factiveness and negation place a further processing burden to the interpretation of the sentence.

Figure 2 provides further information for the target groups of sentences. It demonstrates the findings for different types of wh-words that are tested in the target groups.

What is striking in the figure is that simplex control sentences are assessed differently compared to other groups of target sentences. That is to say, while there exists the following sequence for the acceptability of wh-elements for other groups: wh-arguments > nominal wh-adjuncts > which NP constructions > wh-adverbials, all wh-elements got almost similar ratings within the simplex control sentences. The reason for this difference should be related to being exposed to island constraints or not. As a matter of fact, the wh-elements in Turkish do not behave similarly within the island structures such as the Adjunct

Island Constraint or the Complex DP Island Constraint. While wh-arguments are assessed to be more acceptable than other types, wh-adverbials are the ones which are rated to be the least acceptable. Nominal wh-adjuncts and which NP constructions are rated in between. Hence, the sequence of acceptability observed for the three target sentence groups in the present study indicates that these sentences are in fact, subject to island structures as well; namely, the weak DP Island Constraint that is proposed by [Çakır 2017] and further supported in the present study. On the other hand, the acceptability of different wh-elements does not differ radically when they are used within simplex control sentences. Since such sentences are not subject to any island constraints, what applies for island phenomena in Turkish is not valid for them.




| | Wh-arguments | Wh-adjuncts (Nominal) | Wh-adjuncts (Which-NP) | Wh-adjuncts (Adverb) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Control Sentences (Simplex) | 0,886 | 0,751 | 0,782 | 0,878 |
| Control Sentences (Complex) | 0,661 | 0,598 | 0,54 | 0,087 |
| Negative Island | 0,359 | 0,261 | 0,132 | 0,023 |
| Factive Island | 0,558 | 0,292 | 0,286 | -0,34 |

Figure 2. The findings for Different Types of Wh-items in the GJT

When these three groups of sentences are compared with one another, it is noticed that complex control sentences were assessed to be more acceptable compared to other two groups which are subject to Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint. This result is also consistent with the main assertions of the study. Since factiveness and negation add a further processing load to the interpretation of the sentence along with the weak DP Island, it is rather foreseeable that they got lower rating compared to the sentences which are only subject to this island constraint.

### 3.2. Results for the Missing Word Completion Test

The results obtained in the Missing Word Completion Test is presented in Figure 3:

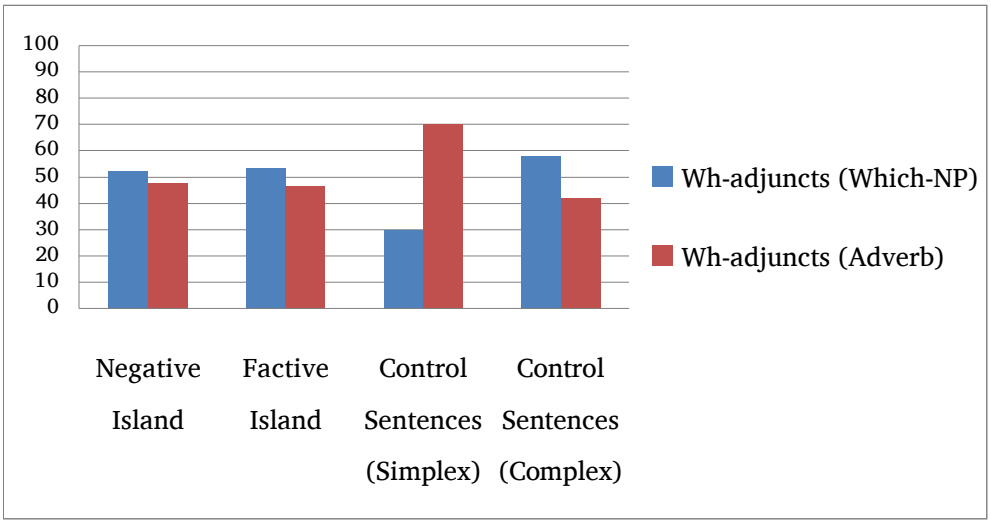



Figure 3. The results for the Missing Word Completion Test

The Missing Word Completion Test focused on only Which-NP constructions and Wh-adverbials. The nominals that function as wh-adjuncts and the wh-arguments were not targeted at in this test. Since wh-adverbials and Which-NP constructions can be used interchangeably in many contexts, the researcher wanted to find out which wh-type is preferred by the participants in the target groups of sentences.

The results are consistent with the ones obtained in the Grammaticality Judgment Test. Simplex control sentences behave differently compared to other groups of sentences. Since such sentences are not subject to any island structures, wh-adverbials became more preferable for the participants compared to which-NP constructions. The question that arises at the point might be why they did not get equal ratings but wh-adverbials became more preferable. The most plausible answer for this question may be that wh-adverbials are structurally less complex and more salient than which-NP constructions.

As for other groups of sentences, however, the situation is quite the opposite. Consistent with the sequence of acceptability proposed previously, Which-NP constructions were more preferable for the participants compared to wh-adverbials. These results provide a further support for the weak DP Island Constraint hypothesis. That is to say, such sentences should indeed be subject to an island constraint, which can only be the weak Complex DP Island Constraint.

### 3.3. The Results for the Self-paced Reading Test

The results obtained for the Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint in the Self-paced Reading Test were demonstrated separately. Both constraints were compared with complex control sentences that contain complement clauses that are only subject to the weak Complex DP Island Constraint. The data obtained for the Factive Island Constraint is displayed in Table 1:

Table 1. Results for the Factive Island Constraint

| Sentence Type | Reading Time (Seconds) | First Option (Grammatical) | Second Option (Ungrammatical) | Reply Time (Seconds) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sentences subject to the FIC | 2921.32 | 229 | 171 | 271.04 |
| Control Sentences (Complex) | 2558.82 | 277 | 123 | 254.10 |

The table clearly shows that the participants needed more time to assess the sentences that are subject to Factive Island Constraint compared to the complex control sentences. In total numbers, the participants read the first group of sentences in 2921.32 seconds while they needed only 2558.82 seconds to read the second group. These results are consistent with the findings obtained at the Grammaticality Judgment Test and Missing Word Completion Test. Both groups of sentences contain complement clauses which are subject to weak Complex DP Island Constraint. Yet, the factive verbs used in the first group make the interpretation of these sentences more difficult since such verbs add an extra processing load to the interpretation of the sentence. Therefore, the participants needed more time to assess such sentences compared to the ones that contain non-factive verbs.

When their responses are analyzed, it is noticed that the majority of the participants assessed that both groups of sentences are grammatical rather than ungrammatical: 229 & 171 and 277 & 123. It is also consistent with the other findings of the study that complex control sentences were rated to be more grammatical compared to the sentences that are subject to Factive Island Constraint. The participants reply times are also consistent with these findings. The second group of sentences which contain non-factive verbs were replied faster compared to the sentences that contain factive verbs. All these findings indicate that factiveness add an extra processing load to the interpretation of the sentences.

Table 2 below demonstrates the findings of the study on the Negative Island Constraint. Similar the test items on the Factive Island Constraint, the test items on the Negative Island Constraint were compared to complex control sentences that contain complement clauses which are only subject to the weak Complex DP Island Constraint proposed in this paper.

Table 2. Results for the Negative Island Constraint

| Tümce Türü | Reading Time (Seconds) | First Option (Grammatical) | Second Option (Ungrammatical) | Reply Time (Seconds) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sentences subject to the NIC | 2802.08 | 189 | 211 | 297.16 |
| Control Sentences (Complex) | 2631.54 | 289 | 111 | 264.15 |

The data obtained for the Negative Island Constraint are rather similar to the data obtained for the Factive Island Constraint. The participants both read and answered the complex interrogative sentences that contain negation slower compared to the complex affirmative sentences: 2802.08 & 2631.54 and 297.16 & 264.15 seconds respectively. Hence, similar to factiveness, negation seems to add extra processing load to the interpretation of the sentences. As for the replies of the participants, the sentences that are subject to the Negative Island Constraint were assessed to be more ungrammatical than grammatical while it is vice versa for the other group. The reason for this situation might be that the negation used in the interrogative sentences made their interpretation harder for the participants. That is to say, the hearers usually expect to be addressed a question which seeks for a positive answer rather than a negative. To be more precise, a question such as “Where was John yesterday?” is far more expactable for a hearer compared to a question such as “ Where was not John yesterday?”

## 4. Concluding Remarks

The study focused on the functionality of the Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint in Turkish. Besides, it aimed to analyze if extraction out of complement clauses are also problematic in Turkish when factiveness and negation are out of question. According to the findings of the study:

(1) The results emphasize that all movements out of subordinate clauses in Turkish are subject to weak or strong islands. To be more precise, along with the extractions out of subjects and adjuncts, the extractions out of complement clauses in Turkish are also problematic in Turkish. Such structures are subject to a weak Complex DP Island Constraint. That is to say, the DP which exists above the subordinate complement clause constitutes an island for the upper movement of the elements.

(2) Different types of wh-adjuncts behave differently within the islands. The acceptability of wh-adverbials, which NP constructions and nominal wh-adjuncts differs from one another. As a matter of fact, there exists the following sequence for the acceptability of wh-elements in Turkish: wh-arguments > nominal wh-adjuncts > which NP constructions > wh-adverbials. The reason for this situation should be the merging points of these elements and their (non)nominal characteristics. That is, while the operators of the wh-arguments merge to the derivation directly in the matrix CP as asserted by the Unselective Binding Approach [Aoun, Li 1993], the operators of the wh-adjuncts merge to the derivation along with the wh-item and move upwards. This movement, however, is subject to island effects. As for nominal wh-adjuncts and which NP constructions, they seem to be using the spec DP position as an escape hatch to escape island violation.

(3) Factive Island Constraint and Negative Island Constraint should not be considered as syntactic islands in Turkish. Rather, the degradation observed in the acceptability of the interrogative sentences in the existence of these islands should stem from pragmatic reasons such as processing load and pragmatic demands. Besides, the weak Complex DP Island Constraint that is assumed to hold for all complement clauses in this language seems to be one of the reasons for the degradation in such structures. That is to say, while such structures are usually semantically confusing for the hearers, they are, in fact, syntactically similar to other complement clause structures which are subject to weak Complex DP Island Constraint.

## Abbreviations

3 — 3rd person; ACC — accusative; DAT — dative; FN — factive nominalizer; GEN — genitive; NFN — nonfactive nominalizer; PAST — past tense; PL — plural; SG — singular.

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