

An Analysis of the Particle *bile*

1. Introduction

In this study, I am going to investigate one of the particles in Turkish, namely *bile*. My aim is to find out whether there is any relation between the syntactic position of this particle and its interaction with other operators in the structure. Throughout this paper, I am going to provide general information on *bile*. To present a decent analysis, I am going to refer to the studies conducted on *even* which is considered to be the English counterpart of this particle. Following Wagner's study (2015), I am going to analyze the particle *bile* while comparing it to *even* as a further step. My assumptions are going to be within the framework of Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995) in this study.

2. General Information on *bile*

Kornfilt (1997) defines *bile* as "the particle expressing emphasis" and she proposes *bile* is "free morpheme and its primary function is to modify verbs and constituents in a vague quantificational sense" (p.191). Furthermore, Göksel and Kerslake (2005) indicates that *bile* is unstressable and non-harmonic particle (p.33) which functions as "additive connective" (p.109).

- (a) Ali-Ø okul- a gel- di Ø.
 Ali-NOM school-DAT come- PAST-3SG.
 'Ali came to the school.'
- (b) Ali-Ø bile okul- a gel- di- Ø.
 Ali-NOM even school-DAT come- PAST- 3SG.
 'Even Ali came to the school.'

Following Karttunen (1977), we can indicate that both sentences express the same truth condition in which 'Ali came to the school'. However, the sentence (b) further indicates that there is at least one person who also came to the school. Moreover, Ali may be the least likely person to come to the school in that situation. These further implications are possible due to the presence of *bile* in the structure.

- (c) Ali-Ø okul- a gel- me- di- Ø.
 Ali-NOM school-DAT come- NEG- PAST-3SG.
 'Ali did not come to the school.'
- (d) Ali-Ø okul- a gel- me- di- Ø bile.¹
 Ali-NOM school-DAT come- NEG- PAST- 3SG even.
 'Ali did not even come to the school.'

We can come up with a similar conclusion for the sentences (c) and (d). In this case, the sentences express that 'Ali did not come to the school'. In the sentence (d), we further understand that Ali was

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to my classmates for pointing out the interpretation of this particle in negative sentences. I interpret the sentence as if it carried aspectual meaning which is ruled out in Standard Turkish. Moreover, this aspectual interpretation in negative form is ruled out for anyone I have consulted so far (even for my parents).

expected to do at least one activity except for coming to the school and coming to the school was the most likely activity to be realized by Ali.

On the other hand, Taylan (2001) analyzes *bile* as a temporal/aspectual adverb and indicates that the crucial difference between this particle and other temporal/aspectual adverbs is their syntactic positions with respect to their hosts. *bile* occurs in a post-VP position (p.117) while the other temporal/aspectual adverbs occur in a pre-VP position as exemplified below:

- (e) Ali-Ø okul- a şimdi gel- di- Ø.
Ali-NOM school- DAT now come- PAST- 3SG
'Ali have just come to the school.'
- (f) Ali-Ø okul- a gel- di- Ø bile.
Ali-NOM school- DAT come- PAST- 3SG already
'Ali have already come to the school.'

As can be noticed, the meaning of *bile* changes when the particle immediately follows VP in an affirmative sentence. The interpretation of *bile* is not identical in the examples (d) and (f) despite their similar syntactic positions. We observe that *bile* is interpreted in two distinct ways in a post-VP position: modal/presuppositional meaning in negative forms and aspectual/temporal meaning in affirmative forms.

Taylan (2001) indicates that there may be two homophonous morphemes for *bile* due to different interpretations of the particle (p.119) as we exemplified above. Furthermore, she claims it is also plausible to consider *bile* as one morpheme whose meaning depends on its syntactic position and its interaction with negation operator. Following Taylan's latter assumption, I argue that there is only one *bile* and its meaning is determined by its syntactic relations within the structure. Before going into a detailed analysis on this issue, we can focus on the properties of *bile* to clarify its syntactic category.

3. How to approach to *bile*

For this analysis, it is important to define the syntactic properties of *bile*. To find out a probable answer, we can investigate the constituents to which *bile* attaches and their relationship. The examples above show that *bile* functions as a modifier. However, the modifiers generally precede their related constituents in Turkish while *bile* follows its constituents as below:

- (g) Noam-Ø ekşi elma sev-er- Ø.
Noam-NOM sour apple love-AOR- 3SG
'Noam loves sour apples.'
- (h) Noam-Ø elma bile sev- er- Ø.
Noam-NOM apple even love- AOR- 3SG
'Noam even loves APPLES.'

The examples explicitly show that *bile* does not behave as an adjective. It is possible to assume that *bile* is a postposition due to their syntactic similarity; however, *bile* does not select the category of the

constituent to which it attaches while post-positions take NPs as their complements. We can conclude that *bile* is neither an adjective nor a postposition.

This particle occurs with different categories as can be seen in the examples. Interestingly, *bile* can also occur between verb and its complement indefinite direct object which is ruled out for any other constituents except for the question particle -mI and the clitic -dA. However, one should remember that there are few positions in which we do not find *bile* for the sake of grammaticality. As far as I have observed, *bile* does not immediately follow an AdjP as below:

- (i) *Ayşe-Ø güzel *bile* elbise al- dı- Ø.
Ayşe-NOM beautiful even dress buy- PAST- 3SG.
'Ayşe bought even a BEAUTIFUL dress.'

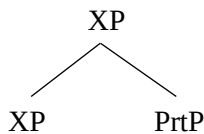
Furthermore, *bile* does not immediately follow NPs which are the complements of the postpositional phrases unlike Bayer (1996)'s claim (p.110) as in:

- (j) *Zeynep-Ø böyle bir şeyi düşman-ın- a *bile* karşı söyle-mez- Ø.
Zeynep-NOM such a thing enemy- 3SGPOSS-DAT even against tell- NEG/AOR-3SG
'Zeynep would not say such a thing even to HER ENEMY.'

(Bayer, 1996, p.110)

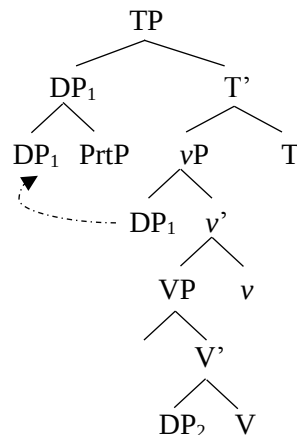
Bayer (1996) mentions that the particles such as *even* and *only* modify their targets rather than determining them (p.11) and they make an important contribution to the semantics of the sentence in a similar way as we observe for the particle *bile*. In the light of these similarities, I follow Bayer's analysis (1996) and assume *bile* is a Particle Phrase which is a minor functional head introduced by Rothstein (1991). Unlike functional heads, minor functional heads do not project categorical features as well as they do not bind theta positions since they lack theta grid. These minor functional heads subcategorize their host constituents (Bayer, 1996, p.14). The domain of the particle is a phrase c-commanded by that particle as represented below:

Representation 1:



Representation 1 indicates that phrasal level XP does not undergo any syntactic change when it "occurs" with a particle phrase. In other words, this process does not take place to satisfy any feature of XP. Therefore, we cannot consider this process as a merge process since merge applies when triggered by a feature-checking operation in Minimalist Program. As discussed above, this process functions as a modification; therefore, we can conclude that it is an adjunction process. I argue that a phrase and the particle *bile* which is included in the numeration adjoin in a higher level than the position in which the phrase is base-generated as represented below:

Representation 2:



The Even Rule proposed by Karttunen (1977) leads me to such an analysis (p.121). This rule suggests that “a sentence containing unbound pronoun replaces that pronoun with a noun phrase adding *even* to the front of it.” I have interpreted this rule as *even* adjoins to the sentence/phrase at a later stage. Furthermore, my analysis is based on the study by Stepanov (2001) in which he claims that the late adjunction proposed by Lebeaux (1988) is not an optional but a mandatory process for adjuncts (p.94). At this point, whether *bile* is an adjunct or not is open to debate. More’s the pity, this analysis is not uncontroversial since we find sentences with SOV order in which *bile* adjoins the object as below:

- (k) Ayşe Ali’yi bile seviyor.
SUB D.OB even V
‘Ayşe loves even Ali.’

The problem is that this structure gives the impression that *bile* adjoins the direct object in its base-generated position. In my analysis, many adjunction processes are required to build such a structure and it appears to be too costly. Furthermore, Öztürk (2005) indicates that NPs in Turkish check their cases in-situ; they do not need to move out their theta positions (p.13). In the light of this information, a crucial trigger must be required for such a movement proposed by my argument to take place. Although I am aware all these drawbacks, adjunction in the base-generated position of the object still sounds implausible. I leave this discussion for further studies since I cannot provide significant evidences to support one of these arguments; therefore, I focus on the interpretation of the particle *bile*.

4. How to Interpret *bile*

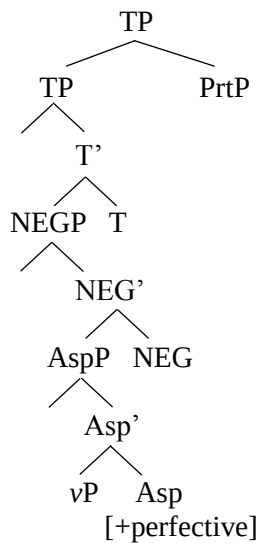
I have argued that there is one morpheme *bile* although we observe different interpretations of the particle. *bile* contributes modal/presuppositional meaning to the sentence when it follows nominals and verbs inflected with negation marker. After the verbs without negation marker, *bile* contributes temporal/aspectual meaning. Following Cinque’s universally specific order of the distinct functional heads (2001):

MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MoodP_{irrealis} > TP_{anterior}
> ModP_{alethic} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive(I)} > AspP_{frequentative(I)} > ModP_{volition} > AspP_{celerative(I)} > AspP_{terminative}
> AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{perfect} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative} > AspP_{durative} > AspP_{progressive} > AspP_{prospective}
> AspP_{inceptive(I)} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{ability} > AspP_{frustrative/success} > ModP_{permission} > AspP_{conative} >
AspP_{completive(I)} > VoiceP > AspP_{repetitive(II)} > AspP_{frequentative(II)} > AspP_{celerative(II)} > AspP_{inceptive(II)} >
AspP_{completive(II)} > V

(Cinque, 2001, p.50)

we can present such a structure for *bile* when adjoined to a post-verbal position:

Representation 3:



If the verbs inflected with negation marker and nominals share the same meaning, we can question the nature of the affirmative sentences which leads to a change in the interpretation. As can be seen in Representation 3, there is an AspP immediately dominating vP. At this point, Aygen (1998) provides beneficial information on negation and aspect phrases. Aygen (1998) claims that “negative exhibits a head property as a blocking category” (p.123) and she provides evidences to support her claim. For example, a phonological evidence comes from stress assignment: Verbal negation suffix -mA blocks the stress in Turkish. As a syntactic evidence, she shows that the negation disallows the non-verbal predicate to agree in person as below (p.124):

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------|------|--|--------------------|-----|--------|-----|
| (I) | Güçlü- | Ø- | yüm. | | Güçlü- | Ø | değil- | im. |
| | strong- | COP- | 1SG | | strong- | COP | not- | 1SG |
| | 'I am strong.' | | | | 'I am not strong.' | | | |

After providing evidences for negation and its blocking nature, Aygen (1998) argues that the specifier position of Tense/Aspect phrases can host semantically related adverbs (p.126) while the specifier of negation phrase can host semantically related adverbs and NPIs. This similarity between NegP and AspP leads me to establish another assumption. Negation marker -mA is considered to be an operator. If so, I claim that Asp⁰ also functions as an operator. After presenting these assumptions, I claim *bile* in

affirmative sentences c-commands Asp⁰ and their interaction leads to the perfective aspectual interpretation of *bile* following Görgülü's study (2005) on the interpretation of wh-words in Turkish. However, when the structure involves NegP, the negation operator blocks the interaction of the particle with Asp operator; hence, the interpretation will be the "ordinary" presuppositional/modal reading.

If my assumption holds, we do not need two homophonous *bile* but one which is interpreted depending on the interaction of operators within the structure. We can elaborate on this assumption by analyzing other types of TAM markers. My observations show that the perfective reading of *bile* generally occurs with verbs inflected with past tense marker -DI, which has a completely perfective meaning. When we investigate the occurrences of the other TAM markers which are not perfective, we see strong degradation in the grammaticality as in the examples below:

- (m) ??/*Hande-Ø okul- a gel- iyor- Ø bile.
Hande-NOM school- DAT come- IMP- 3SG ?
'≅ Hande is coming to school'
- (n) ??/*Hande-Ø kitab-ı oku-yacak-Ø bile.
Hande- NOM book-ACC read-FUT-Ø ?
'≅ Hande is going to read the book.'

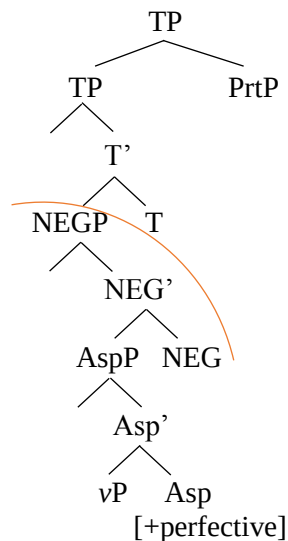
I argue that an explanation for this degradation can be related to aspectual information of the TAM markers. First, we can claim that *bile* inherently has a perfective meaning. The imperfective aspect is higher than the perfective aspect as proposed by Cinque (2001); therefore, *bile* should interact with the imperfective aspect as a first step which leads to a semantic crash due to the contraction of meanings. Based on my previous assumption, I expect to have grammaticality when the verbs inflected with imperfective aspect carry negation marker such as:

- (o) ?Hande-Ø okul- a gel- mi- yor- Ø bile.
Hande-NOM school- DAT come- NEG- IMP- 3SG even
Context: Hande always skips her classes. In a parent-teacher meeting, Hande's mother asks the teacher whether Hande does her homework or not. The teacher says "She does not even come to the school."
- (p) ?Hande-Ø okul- a gel- me- yecek- Ø bile.
Hande-NOM school- DAT come- NEG- IMP- 3SG even
Context: A: Is Hande doing her homework right now?
B: No, she will not even come to the school.

With a decent context, the native speakers tend to get the presuppositional/modal meaning of the particle whereas the affirmative forms of these structures are not favored under any circumstances. It is crucial to note that the perceived meaning is not aspectual. These examples show that the previous analysis related to the interpretation of *bile* holds. Furthermore, this assumption holds for aorist marker -Ar, which does not bear perfective aspect, in a similar way to the examples above. Therefore, we can conclude that the default interpretation for *bile* is presuppositional/modal meaning. When the particle c-commands a perfective aspectual operator, the interpretation shifts to a perfective aspectual meaning due to the interaction. The presence of the negation operator, on the other hand, prevents any interactions

of *bile* with any operators occurring lower than NegP since it creates a barrier. This blocking can be represented as below:

Representation 3:



To sum up:

- The default interpretation of *bile* is modal/presuppositional.
- If the particle c-commands perfective operator, the interpretation shifts to perfective meaning.
- If there is any negation operator which prevents the particle interacting with aspectual operator, the default meaning remains intact.
- If there is any aspectual operator other than perfective interacting with the particle, the grammaticality show a significant decrease.

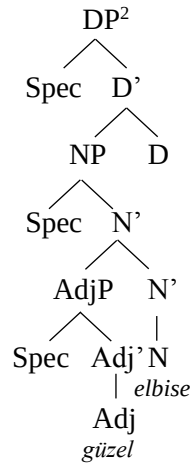
5. Can we explain the constraints on the occurrence of *bile* in a syntactic way?

As mentioned before, *bile* cannot occur after AdjP (including relative clauses) and NPs complement of postpositions. I argue that the assumed adjunction process of the particle is compatible with phases discussed in the Minimalist Project to some extent. As Boskovic (2015) mentions DPs are phases and the specifier position of a DP functions as an edge which is available for further operations. This definition sheds light on the asymmetry between the genitive structures and noun phrases modified by adjective phrases. As mentioned before, *bile* cannot occur immediately after an adjective:

- (q) *Ayşe-Ø [güzel bile] elbise] al- dı- Ø.
Ayşe-NOM beautiful even dress buy- PAST- 3SG.
'Ayşe bought even a beautiful dress.'
- (r) Ali'nin bile kuzen- in- in düğün- ün- e git-ti- k.
Ali-GEN3SG even cousin- POSS3G- GEN3SG wedding- POSS3SG-DAT go-PAST-1PL
'We even went to ALI'S cousin's wedding ceremony.'
- (s) Ali'nin kuzen- in- in bile düğün- ün- e git-ti- k.
Ali-GEN3SG cousin- POSS-3G- GEN3SG even wedding- POSS3SG-DAT go-PAST-1PL
'We even went to the Ali's COUSIN'S wedding.'

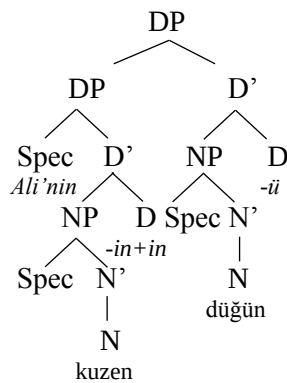
The crucial difference between the sentence (q) and the others is related to the specifier position of the phrases. The sentence (q) can be represented as below:

Representation 4:



The structure of the sentences (r) and (s) is:

Representation 5:



The representations show that the positions of the constituents within the structures are apparently different. It may be the case that semantic factors restrict the occurrence of *bile*; however, I argue that position within a structure is a crucial determinant of adjunction with *bile*. The specifier of a DP constitutes an edge for DP phase; therefore, the constituents in the specifier position can undergo any operation while the rest of the phrase must undergo Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) and no constituents are allowed to take part in further processes. As can be seen, AdjP is subject to PIC established by DP dominating it; hence, any adjunction to this adjective phrase is ruled out. On the other hand, adjunction is possible with the sentences (r) and (s).

However, my argument is not adequate to explain the restriction on *bile* immediately after the complements of the postpositions such as:

² I draw the tree as above to be consistent with the theory and to make the asymmetry clear for the reader.

- (t) sen-in (**bile*) için
you-GEN even for
'for (even) you'

Nevertheless, we can investigate further examples in this direction. I have mentioned that *bile* cannot occur immediately after relative clauses as below:

- (u) Gülşat, [[Hande'nin aldığı]_{RC} (**bile*) çilekleri]_{DP} yedi.
'Gülşat ate the [strawberries (even) which Hande bought].'

This constraint can also be explained by means of PIC since RC is an sister of D'; it is not in the specifier position of DP. The more interesting issue is related to the complement clauses which allow *bile* immediately after it as below:

- (w) Gülşat, [Hande'nin söylediklerin-i]_{CP} (*bile*) duymadı.
'Gülşat did not hear (even) [what Hande said].'

The interpretation of *bile* in the sentence (w) is crucial since it may shed light on the issues related to the position of the particle in a post-verbal situation. In (w), *bile* immediately follows the verbal constituent of the embedded clause. Moreover, the interpretation shows that *bile* is not adjoined only to verbal constituent of the embedded clause but to the whole embedded structure. *bile* contributes presuppositional meaning which is expected to occur with nominals. These evidences lead us to conclude that what is adjoined with *bile* is embedded CP not TP. Further evidence comes from Miyagawa (2011). In his study, he mentions C⁰ in Turkish complement clauses is nominalized and this head percolates its nominal feature to T; therefore, the verbal constituent of the embedded clause agrees with T and it behaves as a nominal in the syntactic structure (p.20). Based on this information, I argue that if *bile* adjoined to TP we would have a constituent behaving as a verb; therefore, we would have a perfective reading since *bile* would occur lower than nominal CP, blocking the percolation of the required features. Moreover, this scenario would not take place since we would already violate the PIC of CP and the structure would crash. In the light of this analysis, I revisit my previous assumption in which I claim *bile* adjoins to TP and further claim that *bile* adjoins CP in an environment with verbal constituents for generalization.

It seems DP and CP phases explain some constraint on the structures to some extent. I am aware that it is highly possible to come across with counterexamples. There is one more phase in the literature, namely vP, which seems to trouble my assumptions. However, I will not deal with this issue in this study. Besides, I would like to indicate that Öztürk (2005) argues there is no motivation for vP in Turkish since T⁰ appears to be responsible for case checking processes. If so, my argumentation holds for now.

6. Semantics of *bile* in a Nutshell

Gürer (2015) indicates that "the presence of the particle *bile* evokes a set of alternatives" of the constituent which hosts this particle (p.70) following Rooth's analysis (1985) of *even*. Throughout my study, I argue that there are two distinct interpretations of *bile*; presuppositional /modal and perfective

aspectual. Now we can focus on the interpretations related to “the set of alternatives (p-sets).” As a subcategory of presuppositional/modal meaning, *bile* can contribute additive meaning to the sentence. For example; while preparing the dinner, Ayşe asks Ali “Have you cooked the meals?” Ali answers “Even salad I have prepared.”

(x) Salata bile yaptım. (*There are also pasta and soup in addition to the salad.*)

Furthermore, this particle can add a comparative meaning which may also include an additive reading. For example; Ali is wealthier than Ahmet but Ali cannot afford a flat while Ahmet has bought one. On the other hand, there is a group of people including Ahmet who have bought flats; however, Ahmet is the least likely to afford one since he is broke:

(y) Ahmet bile ev almış. (Ali hasn’t bought any yet or Nobody expect him to buy one but he did.)

The particle *bile* may contribute scalar meaning to the sentence. For example; Ali graduates from the university with a certificate of honor. His mother shares her feelings with her friends:

(z) Ali onur belgesi bile aldı. (He has graduated. To crown it all, he has received the certificate.)

These interpretations fall under the presuppositional/modal reading of the particle. There may be other interpretation of *bile* unmentioned in this study; a more detailed analysis may reveal if there is any other.

The semantic property of *bile* also determines the constituents to which this particle can attach. For instance; *bile* cannot occur with quantifiers which do not denote a set of alternatives. ‘Kimse’ (nobody/anybody) which is NPI and ‘herkes’ (everybody) are respectively an empty set and a full set; therefore, it is impossible to extract a subset from these quantifiers. Since these quantifiers conflict with the meaning of *bile*, they cannot occur in an immediately following position. On the other hand, quantifiers which inherently denote a p-set can be immediately followed by the particle:

(ç) *Herkes bile okula gitti.
‘Even everybody went to the school.’

(ğ) *Kimse bile okula gitmedi.
‘Even nobody went to the school.’

(i) Bazı öğrenciler bile konferansa gitti.
‘Even some students went to the conference.’

The examples show that the denotation of the quantifiers plays a crucial role in determining their adjunction with this particle while the direct interaction of these quantifiers with the particle *bile* leads to the ungrammaticality. However, we observe that *bile* can occur in a sentence which involves the quantifiers in the examples (ç) and (ğ) as long as it does not immediately follow the quantifiers as in:

(ğ’) Kimse okula bile gitmedi.
‘Nobody even went to THE SCHOOL.’

(ğ’) Kimse okula gitmedi bile.
‘Nobody even WENT TO THE SCHOOL.’

7. *bile* vs *even*

In his study, Wagner (2015) investigates the additive function of *even*. Following his work, I am going to find out further properties of *bile* and figure out the similarities and differences between two particles.

Wagner argues that *even* is a two-place operator which takes two arguments as in:

- Even John read Moby Dick.
- *even* (John) ($\lambda x. x$ read Moby Dick).

I argue that *bile* fits this description and we can define the structure as below:

- Ali *bile* kitabı okudu. $\rightarrow$ (Ali)*bile* ($\lambda x. x$ kitabı okudu).
'Even Ali read the book.'

Furthermore, Wagner mentions two interpretations of *even*, namely unlikelyhood presupposition and additive presupposition which can be observed for the particle *bile* as follows:

Ali *bile* kitabı okudu.

- Unlikelyhood presupposition: For all alternatives to Ali, 'Ali read the book' is less likely than 'everyone in the group apart from Ali read the book.'
- Additive Presupposition: There is an alternative 'everyone in the group apart from Ali' to Ali, and it is the case that everyone in the group apart from Ali read the book.

These interpretations show the semantic similarity of the particles when they adjoin to NPs. Another similarity is that NP-particles cannot occur with the universal quantifiers (such as everybody, nobody, etc.) in both languages while VP-particles can occur with these quantifiers without any problem.

The difference becomes apparent when Wagner discusses NP-*even* and VP-*even*. NP-*even* is additive as NP-*bile* in Turkish. However, VP-*even* is not additive in English while post-verbal *bile* in negative sentences may have presuppositional additive meaning. Therefore, we can claim that operators function differently in these languages.

Wagner investigates the previous assumption by other linguists and tries to figure out the nature of *even* as I try to do in this paper. He concludes that there is one *even* which is not always additive. This result is also consistent with my analysis although there are some differences as I mentioned above.

I argue that the most crucial difference between *even* and *bile* is related to their scope properties. As Wagner indicates, *even* is an operator which must have propositional scope. For example, Karttunen (1977) presents these examples in his study (p.124):

- George *even* likes OLD Cadillacs.
- George *even* likes old CADILLACS.

These two sentences can be interpreted in different ways despite their identical structure. This shows that *even* can associate with the focused constituent regardless of the intervening elements and contributes to the meaning of that focused element. Due to its ability to associate with the focused

constituent, *even* is considered as a focus sensitive particle. By now, we have not discussed any scope property of *bile* in this paper; moreover, we do not come across with this kind of examples. Therefore, I argue that *bile* can attach to any constituent in a relatively free way and it does not need to take scope over the other constituents as follows:

(ö) Ali [okula bile] gelmedi.

Context: We expected Ali to come to the restaurant but he did not. Surprisingly, he did not come the school which was the most likely place for him to go.

As can be understood from the context, ‘Ali’ is not under the scope of *bile*, the particle targets only the indirect object of the sentence.

(ü) Ali okula gelmedi bile.

In this example, on the other hand, *bile* takes every constituent under its scope; however, it does not target one of the constituents as *even* does in English. When we visualized the structural trees, we can conclude that *bile* can take scope over any constituents which it c-commands. We do not observe focus-scope relations in a way we have in English. However, based on the examples by Krifka³, I question whether *bile* can take wide scope to associate with the focused elements in the structures as below so that they are semantically identical:

- [[Ali’nin bile] kuzenin düğününe] gittim.
- [[Ali’nin]_F kuzenin düğününe] bile] gittim.

I argue that these two sentences share the same semantic information as we observe in the English examples when proper focus is put on the constituents which indicates *bile* in Turkish may also be a focus sensitive operator as *even*. However, we observe the specific scope features of *bile* in a restricted area since this particle can adjoin almost any constituent adjacently as I have discussed above. Further examples will help to strengthen this idea related to the focus sensitive property of the particle.

8. Conclusion

In this study, I have tried to investigate the particle *bile* to understand whether there is any relation between the syntactic position of this particle and its interaction with other operators such as negation, aspect, etc. My analysis has revealed that syntactic structure is as crucial as the semantic structure in determining the interpretation of this particle.

The study indicates that the default interpretation of *bile* is modal/presuppositional meaning. However, if the particle c-commands a perfective operator, the interpretation shifts to aspectual meaning. The negation operator -mA, on the other hand, functions as a barrier; therefore, the interpretation remains as modal/presuppositional meaning. Furthermore, I argue that syntactic phases may also play a crucial role in the determining of the adjunction position of *bile* and its constituents.

³The presence of [even [the Dalai Lama]] is required in the ceremony. ⇔ Even the presence of [the Dalai Lama]_F is required in the ceremony.

The comparison between *bile* and *even* shows that these particles are not identical with respect to their properties. However, they share a similar semantic meaning as well as they are both focus sensitive operators which take two arguments. The basic difference between *bile* and *even* is that *even* can take scope over any constituent while *bile* targets its adjacent constituents in most cases.

Unfortunately, I do not focus on the question forms with post-verbal *bile* within the scope of this study since I have received conflicting judgements from the native speakers. However, I suppose that any decent data will enable us to understand the actual adjunction position of *bile*.

References

- Aygen, G. (1998). Specifier Position of Functional Phrases in Turkish. In Göksel et al. (Eds.) *Studies on Turkish and Turkic Languages*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. pp: 123-131
- Bayer, J. (1996). *Directionality and Logical Form: On the Scope of Focusing Particles and Wh-in-situ*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Boskovic, Z. (2016). Getting Really Edgy: on the Edge of the Edge. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 47,1 . pp:1-33.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. (2001). A Note on Mood, Modality, Tense and Aspect Affixes in Turkish. In Taylan (ed.). *The Verb in Turkish*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. pp: 47-59.
- Göksel, A. and Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Görgülü, E. (2006). Variable wh-words in Turkish. (Master's Thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.
- Karttunen, L. and Karttunen, F. (1977). Even Questions. *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press. pp: 115.134.
- Kornfilt, J. (1997). *Turkish*. New York: Routledge.
- Krifka, M. Topik und Fokus. Humboldt-Universität, Wintersemester 2001/2002.
- Miyagawa, S. (2011). Genitive Subjects in Altaic and Specifications of the Phase. *Lingua* 21.
- Öztürk, B. (2005). *Case, Referentiality and Phrase Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing.
- Rothstein, S. (1991). Heads, Projections, and Category Determination. In Leffel et al. (Eds.). *Views on Phrase Structure*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Stepanov, A. (2001). Late Adjunction and Minimalist Phrase Structure. *Syntax*. Vol: 4. pp: 94-125.
- Taylan, E. (2001). On the relation Between Temporal/Aspectual Adverbs and the Verb Form in Turkish. In Taylan (Ed.). *Verbs in Turkish*. The Netherlands: John Benjamin Publishing. pp: 97-128.
- Wagner, M. (2015). Additivity and Syntax of Even. Unpublished Manuscript. *Linguistics Colloquium*. University of Chicago. Retrieved from: <http://prosodylab.org/~chael/www/papers/wagner15chicago.pdf>.