

Pseudo-Sluicing in Turkish

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Abstract

In contrast to regular sluicing, pseudo-sluicing in Turkish permits a Tense/Evidential morpheme with the *wh*-phrase. In these structures, an AspP projection lower than the TP/EvidP complement of CP, is elided. Merchant (2001b) argues that C^0 has an **E** feature which triggers phonological deletion of its complement TP. In pseudo-sluicing, a lower head, $T^0/Evid^0$, bears the **E** feature. An **E** feature on a $T^0/Evid^0$ head is possible because the head is a distinct morpheme independent of the verbal root. Pseudo-sluicing displays island-sensitive properties. A *wh*-phrase in an island cannot raise to co-occur with a $T^0/Evid^0$ head in the matrix clause. The fact that sluiced *wh*-phrases do not raise out of islands, rather than running counter to, actually supports Merchant's (2001a) analysis of PF-islands in terms of *-marking of island-violating phrases.

Introduction

A puzzling property of sluicing in Turkish is that sluiced *wh*-phrases are not always bare as they are in English and in many other languages. A Tense or Evidential morpheme can optionally co-occur with the sluiced *wh*-phrase¹ in Turkish². This is interesting from a cross-linguistic perspective because in many languages only *wh*-phrases appear in sluicing structures, and not even interrogative clitics (which occur in non-sluicing cases) are permitted (see Merchant (2001a) for the relevant data). The Turkish data also supports Merchant's (2001b) presupposition that heads lower than C^0 can also bear the **E** feature which triggers the elision of IP/TP in regular sluicing structures. The Turkish data also provides insight into the clausal architecture of Turkish. In this paper, I refer to examples with sluiced *wh*-phrases that contain a Tense or Evidential morpheme as **pseudo-sluicing**. I use this term rather than "sluicing" because (i) a $T^0/Evid^0$ morpheme, a normal verbal inflection, is pronounced in the sluiced structure, and (ii) the presence of the $T^0/Evid^0$ morpheme is evidence that, rather than the complement of C^0 , a phrase lower than C^0 , i.e. the functional head $T^0/Evid^0$, has been marked for ellipsis.

¹ The tense/evidentiality morphemes are optional; when omitted, the structure is still grammatical.

² Nordlinger & Sadler (2004 a,b) show that in languages such as Kwakiutl, Potawatomi and Sirionó, among others, not only verbs but also nominals and other NP/DP constituents are inflected for TAM. Thus, TAM inflection for NPs is a phenomenon in some languages of the world. In this study, however, I do not suggest that sluiced *wh*-phrases are inflected for Tense or Evidentiality. On the contrary, I argue that T/Evid heads co-occur with sluiced *wh*-phrases as a result of an independent merge in the syntax; they are not part of a fully-inflected lexical item in the Lexicon.

In the sluiced example in (1a), a tense morpheme follows the *wh*-phrase *kim*. Note that in non-elided cases, as in (1b), this tense marker cannot follow the *wh*-phrase; it can only be suffixed to the verb.

- (1) a. Dün biri sen-i ara-mış-tı, ama
yesterday someone-NOM you-ACC call-EVID-PST-3S but
 kim-**di** hatırla-mı-yor-um.
who-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1S
 ‘Yesterday someone called you, but I don’t remember who it was.’
- b. Dün kim(*di) sen-i ara-mış-tı,
yesterday who-NOM-PST you-ACC call-EVID-PST-3S
 hatırla-mı-yor-um.
remember-NEG-PROG-1S
 ‘I don’t remember who called you yesterday.’

Similarly, in (2), the evidential morpheme *-miş* can follow the *wh*-phrase *kime*, but cannot follow the same phrase in a non-elision context, as in (3).

- (2) Speaker A: Hasan hergün biri-ne para
H.-NOM everyday someone-DAT money
 ver-iyor-muş.
give-PROG-EVID-3S
 ‘Reportedly, Hasan gives money to someone everyday.’
- Speaker B: Kim-ey-miş?
who-DAT-EVID
 ‘Who to?’
- (3) Hasan hergün kim-e>(*ymiş) para ver-iyor-muş?
H.-NOM everyday who-DAT-EVID money give-PROG-EVID-3S

This paper is organized as follows: In section 1, I argue against the view that the examples above are reduced cleft structures; rather, I suggest that these are, in fact, sluicing structures. In Section 2, I suggest a derivation for these structures. In Section 3, I show that pseudo-sluicing is island-sensitive. Recently, Merchant (2001a) contends that sluicing is island-insensitive because the islands in sluicing structures are PF-islands such that when ellipsis is applied, the (PF)-island is elided. Elision of a PF-island has an ameliorating effect on violations of movement out of islands. We would thus expect that the island-sensitivity of pseudo-sluicing would be problematic for Merchant (2001a), but in section 4, I will offer an account that will bring the island-sensitive properties of pseudo-sluicing in line with Merchant (2001b). I conclude with a summary and discuss implications for current theories of sluicing.

1 Sluicing or reduced cleft structures?

Kizu (1997, 2000) argues that so-called sluicing structures in Turkish, as in (4), as well as in Japanese and Korean, are in fact (reduced) cleft constructions because the past tense ‘copula’ occurs in both sluicing and cleft constructions.

- (4) a. Mehmet birşey söyle-di ama, ne-y-**di**
M-NOM one thing told but what-bePAST
 hatırla -mı -yor -um.
remember-NEG-PROG-1s
 ‘Mehmet said something, but I don’t remember what (it) was.’
- b. Mehmet-in kır -dığ-ı bir vazo-y-**du**.
M.-GEN break-NM-POSS one vase-bePAST
 ‘What Mehmet broke was a vase.’ (Kizu 1997: 235)

Contra Kizu, I argue that these pseudo-sluicing structures in Turkish are not reduced cleft structures. As we will see, there are differences between pseudo-sluicing structures and reduced cleft heads followed by T⁰/Evid⁰ morphemes. We saw that a Tense or Evidential morpheme can optionally follow a sluiced *wh*-phrase in Turkish. These morphemes can follow the head of cleft constructions, as well, as shown in bold in (5).

- (5) a. Bu-nu yap-an **kim-Ø-di** hatırlı-yor-mu-sun?
this-ACC do-SR who-NOM-PST remember-PROG-Q-2S
 ‘Do you remember who it was who did this?’
- b. Bu-nu yap-an kim-Ø-miş, bili-yor-mu-sun?
this-ACC do-SR who-NOM-EVID know-PROG-Q-2S
 ‘Do you know who it is who did this?’

Note that, (as demonstrated in Ince (in progress)) the head of a cleft construction must function as an argument and can occur only in Nominative case, which is null in Turkish. Thus, I have posited the Ø morpheme for nominative in the Turkish sentences in (5).

As demonstrated in (2) (repeated as (6)) and in examples (7) and (8), the Tense morpheme *-(y)DI* and the Evidential modality morpheme *-miş* can follow *wh*-phrases that bear any case marking. In (6), the sluiced *wh*-phrase bears Dative Case. In (7) and (8), it bears Ablative Case. These morphemes can also attach onto adjunct *wh*-phrases that are sluiced, as shown in (9) and (10).

- (6) Speaker A: Hasan hergün biri-ne para
H.-NOM everyday someone-DAT money
 ver-iyor-muş.
give-PROG-EVID-3S
 ‘Reportedly, Hasan gives money to someone everyday.’
 Speaker B: Kim-ey-miş?
who-DAT-EVID
 ‘Who to?’
- (7) Speaker A: Sen bir paket ala-cak-mış-sın.
you one packet take-FUT-EVID-2S
 ‘(I heard that) you will receive a packet.’
 Speaker B: Kim-den-miş?
who-ABL-EVID
 ‘who from?’
- (8) Birin-den aşk mektup-lar-ı alı-yor-dun, ama
someone-ABL love letter-PLU-POSS take-PROG-PST2S but
 kim-den-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1S
 ‘You used to receive love letters from someone, but I don’t remember
 who from.’
- (9) Ali ve Ayşe geçen yıl bir yer-e git-miş-ti,
A.-NOM and A-NOM last year one place-DAT go-EVID-PST3S
 ama nere-yey-di hatırla-mı-yor-um
but where-DAT-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1S
 ‘Ali and Ayşe went somewhere last year, but I don’t remember where it
 was to.’
- (10) Speaker A: Başbakan yarın bir konuşma
prime.minister-NOM tomorrow one talk
 yap-a-cak-mış.
do-FUT-EVID-3S-
 ‘Reportedly, the prime minister will give a talk tomorrow.’
 Speaker B: Ne zaman-mış?
what time-EVID
 ‘When (is it supposed to be)?’

This contrasts with cleft constructions which are unacceptable when they bear any case other than Nominative (11b) or when the head is an adjunct (12b). We can thus assume that the *wh*-phrases above are not the heads of reduced clefts.

- (11) a. Ali kim-den borç al-dı?
A.-NOM who-ABL debt take-PST-3S
 ‘Who did Ali borrow money from?’
 b. Ali-nin borç al-dıĝ-ı kim-Ø/*den?
A.-GEN debt take-NSR-POSS3S who-NOM/ABL
 ‘Who is it that Ali borrowed money from?’
- (12) a. Ali ne zaman gel-di?
A.-NOM what.time come-PST-3S
 ‘When did Ali come?’
 b. *Ali-nin gel-diĝ-i ne zaman?
A.-GEN come-NSR-POSS3S what.time
 ‘When is it that Ali came?’

As further evidence, that pseudo-slucing is not a cleft construction, note that whereas *postposition pied-piping* is obligatory in (pseudo-)slucing, it is barred in clefts, regardless of the presence of a T^0 /Evid 0 morpheme or not, (13a-b, respectively).³

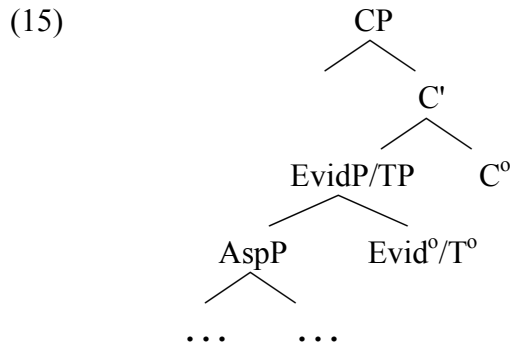
- (13) a. Hasan bu kitab-ı birisi için al-mış-tı-Ø.
Hasan-NOM this book-ACC one-NOM for buy-HEARSAY-PST-3S
 Acaba kim *(için-di).
I.wonder who-NOM for-PST
 ‘Hasan bought this book for someone. I wonder who for.’
 b. *Yazılan oyun kim tarafın-dan-dı?
write-PASS-SR play-NOM who-NOM by-ABL-PST
 ‘**By whom** was it that the play was written’

Since slucing is assumed to be IP-deletion–IP being the complement of C^0 —the question is, how is it possible that these Tense/Evidentiality morphemes which belong to the IP-domain are not elided but co-occur with the sluiced *wh*-phrase? In English, for example, a past tense marker *-ed* cannot be suffixed to a sluiced *wh*-phrase.

- (14) *Someone came. Guess who-ed.

³ A reviewer asks whether the pseudo-slucing structures are elliptical specificational pseudo-clefts. However, I observe a very sharp contrast between (pseudo-)slucing and any type of (reduced) cleft constructions. So, I conclude that pseudo-slucing structures cannot be reduced to any type of reduced/elliptical (pseudo-)cleft construction. See Ince (in progress) for further differences between slucing and elliptical clefts.

Note that these particles are Tense or Evidentiality morphemes and not aspectual morphemes. Furthermore, they are independent, bound morphemes and not part of fully-inflected lexical items in the lexicon.⁴ Furthermore, these (and only these verbal) morphemes can co-occur with nominal constituents as well. I suggest that these particles are heads that merge in a position between CP and AspP, heading their own phrasal projection⁵, as in (15).



In (15), EvidP/TP is higher than AspP, giving us the correct word order where Evidentiality or Tense follows an aspectual marker, as in the sentences in (16).

- (16) a. Biz gid-iyor-muş-uz.
we-NOM go-PROG-EVID-IS
 ‘(It is evident/I heard that) we are going.’
- b. Biz gid-iyor-du-k.
we-NOM go-PROG-TENSE-IP
 ‘We were going.’

In contrast to aspectual suffixes, the Tense/Evidentiality morphemes follow the clitic Question particle *-mI*, as shown in (17). Thus, these morphemes display clitic-like behavior (or at least are separable from a verbal root), as non-clitic morphemes cannot follow clitics.⁶

⁴ This is contra the lexicalist view of Chomsky (1995) where items enter a derivation from the lexicon fully inflected.

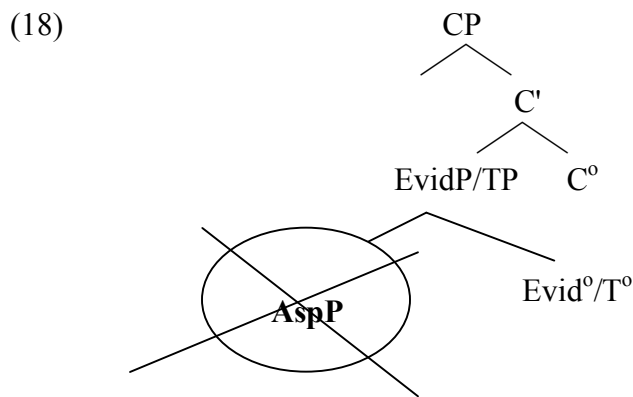
⁵ It is possible that these particles attach to a null copula head, and that that Cop plus the Tense/Evidential morpheme cliticizes to a phrase. The exact nature of the projection of these clitics is not germane to what is being argued here.

⁶ The example in (ii) demonstrates that a clitic cannot appear between a root and an affix.

- (i) Kitap-lar mI?
book-pl Q-clitic
 ‘(Are they) books?’
- (ii) *Kitap-mI-lar?
book-Q-pl

- (17) a. Biz gid-iyor-**mu**-y-muş-uz?
we-NOM go-PROG-Q-COP-EVID-IPLU
 ‘Are we supposedly going?’
 b. Biz gid-iyor-**mu**-y-du-k?
we-NOM go-PROG-Q-COP-PST-IPLU
 ‘Were we going?’

In sum, these Tense/Evidentiality morphemes are clitic-like independent elements with their own projections above AspP. This would explain why, when AspP is deleted, they remain in the structure, as in (18).



In (18), when AspP is deleted, the elements above AspP escape elision: we have a *wh*-phrase and an Evid° or T° head to be spelt-out. These heads, being suffixes, cannot be spelt-out by themselves in phonology. They need to be suffixed/cliticized onto a phrase or head. The only option in (18) is the *wh*-phrase. The verbal amalgamation γ -V cannot raise to Evid°/T° because that amalgamation has already been elided together with the AspP. So, the Evid°/T° head raises to C° for syntactic reasons to be discussed below.

There is a morpho-phonological relationship between the Evid°/T° head and the *wh*-phrase it attaches to. In (19a), the vowel preceding the Evidential syllable, the Dative [-e], is [-back], and so the underlying [i] vowel of the Evidential head surfaces as [-back]. In (19b), the preceding vowel [a] is [+back], and now the vowel in the Evidential head surfaces as the [+back] [ɪ]. The fact that these morphemes undergo vowel harmony with the element they follow is evidence that a phonological relation is established between the *wh*-phrase and the morpheme.

- (19) a. Kim-e-y-miş b. Ne zaman-mış
who-DAT-EVID *what.time-EVID*

2 The Derivation of Pseudo-Sluicing Structures

I have argued that for pseudo-sluicing structures in Turkish, a phrase lower than the complement of C^0 can be elided. It now behooves me to motivate this proposal. First, let us discuss what licenses the elision of TP/IP in regular sluicing cases. Merchant (2001b) assumes that PF deletion is triggered by the feature **E** which:

“will have exactly those syntactic, phonological, and semantic effects that yield all the attested properties of the elliptical construction at hand” (p. 2)

The feature **E**, whose syntactic featural nature is $[\sim[+wh], \sim[+Q]]$, can be checked by a $+wh, +Q$ element. The feature **E**, Merchant contends, instructs PF not to parse its complement. It is “like a *suprasegmental* . . . parsing its complement IP into a prosodically unrealized category”. Its context and function is as in (20).

(20) $[\varphi IP] \rightarrow \emptyset / \mathbf{E} _ _$

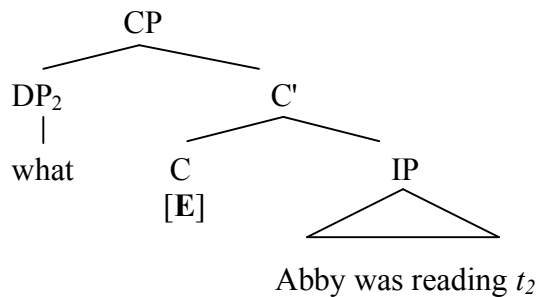
The semantics of the feature **E** also identifies the category to be elided. There is a semantic identity condition on the phrase to be elided: e-GIVENNESS. An XP α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN. Then, the semantics of **E** is a “partial identity function on propositions”:

(21) $[\mathbf{E}] = \lambda p : p \text{ is e-GIVEN} . p$

According to Merchant (2001b), the sluiced segment in example in (22) has the structure shown in (23), where C^0 has an **E** feature, and IP as its complement.

(22) Abby was reading, but I don't know what.

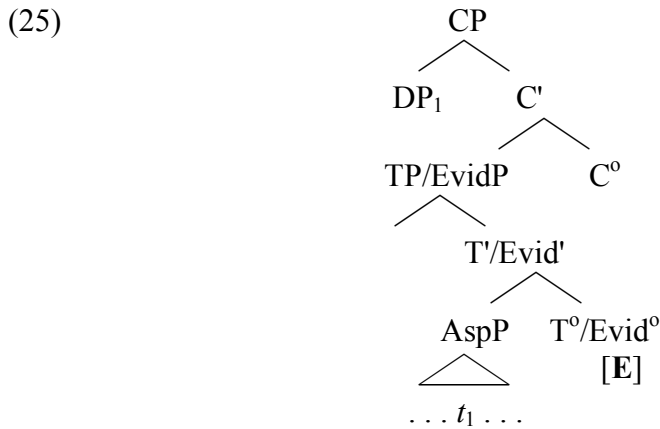
(23) but I don't know



The feature **E** takes IP as its argument as in the formalism in (24). (24) returns the value “Abby was reading x_2 ” only if *Abby was reading x_2* is e-GIVEN.

$$(24) \quad [\mathbf{E}] ([\text{IP}]) \\ = \lambda p : p \text{ is e-GIVEN} . p (\text{Abby was reading } x_2)$$

I propose that not only C^0 but also the T^0/Evid^0 head can have the feature **E**. However, in contrast to the **E** feature of C^0 , the **E** feature of the Evid^0/T^0 head lacks one or both of the $[\sim[+\text{wh}], \sim[+\text{Q}]]$ featural specifications. If it had both these features, the sluiced *wh*-phrase would not need to raise to $[\text{Spec}, \text{CP}]$. Seeing as how the *wh*-phrase is, in fact, in $[\text{Spec}, \text{CP}]$, the Evid^0/T^0 head must raise to C^0 . In this way, it gets the $[\sim[+\text{wh}], \sim[+\text{Q}]]$ features and enters an AGREE relation with the *wh*-phrase. Crucially, it is only when the T^0/Evid^0 head has the **E** feature that its complement AspP can be elided, as in (25).

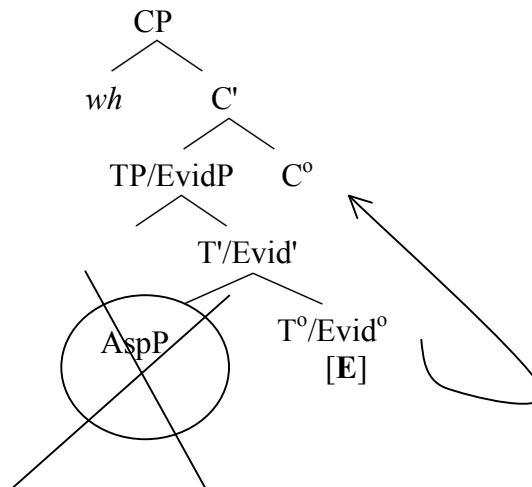


Notice the feature **E** in the T^0/Evid^0 head must agree with a *wh*-phrase. This will ensure that only would-be-focused phrases move above the head that bears the feature **E**. Sluicing is a result of focus movement in Turkish (see Ince (in progress) for the relevant discussion). It elides everything within its complement. Aside from the focused *wh*-phrase, only heads that have merged above the complement marked for elision are pronounced. Thus, the Evid^0/T^0 head which includes the feature **E** is not elided either.

As shown in (26), after AspP is elided, the T^0/Evid^0 head raises to C^0 . The **E** feature must move to a (non-yes-no) interrogative C^0 where the $C^0\text{-}T^0/\text{Evid}^0$ amalgam agrees with the *wh*-phrase. Consequently, the feature **E** is satisfied.⁷

⁷ One may argue, based on the vowel and consonant harmonic relationship between the *wh*-phrase and Evid^0/T^0 head, that the $C\text{-}\text{Evid}^0/T^0$ amalgam undergoes Head-to-Spec movement and cliticizes to

(26)



3 Is Pseudo-Sluicing Island-Sensitive?

Is Turkish pseudo-sluicing island-sensitive? Merchant (2001a) argues that sluicing is island-insensitive in the sense that the islands at issue are PF-islands. Ellipsis in sluicing structures saves the derivation by deleting the material that contained a PF violation. If it can be shown that pseudo-sluicing structures are island-sensitive, this will serve as an argument against Merchant's (2001a) PF-islands model. However, we will see that Merchant's (2001b) analysis of islandhood in terms of *-marking of island-violating phrases also accounts for the island-sensitive properties of pseudo-sluicing in Turkish.

The diagnostic for island-sensitivity will be based on whether the sluiced *wh*-phrase can host the T°/Evid° morpheme of the matrix verb of the antecedent. If pseudo-sluicing is island-insensitive, a sluiced *wh*-phrase raised out of an island must be able to co-occur with a matrix T° or Evid° head. If a matrix T° or Evid° head cannot cliticize to a sluiced *wh*-phrase raised out of an island, it will mean that the sluiced *wh*-phrase could not escape the island, and thus, pseudo-sluicing would be island-sensitive. Let us start with embedded complement clauses. In (27), the embedded clause has past tense morphology, the matrix verb has both aspectual and tense morphology. Sluicing in this case is grammatical with the sluiced *wh*-phrase bearing the past tense morphology of the matrix clause.

the *wh*-phrase, or that these phonological relationships are established at a post-syntactic level. These issues, however, are irrelevant for my purposes here.

- (27) Ahmet [biri-nden borç al-dı-ğ-ı]-nı söyle-miş-ti.
A.-NOM someone-ABL debt take-PST-COMP-POSS3S-ACC say-EVID-PST3S
 Ama kim-den-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
but who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-IS
 ‘Ahmet had said that he borrowed money from someone. But I don’t
 remember who from.’

Even when the embedded complement clause has future tense morphology, the sluiced *wh*-phrase can be hosted by a past tense morpheme, as in (28).

- (28) Ahmet [biri-nden borç al-aca-ğ-ı]-nı söyle-miş-ti.
A.-NOM someone-ABL debt take-FUT-COMP-POSS3S-ACC say-PRF-PST3S
 Ama kim-den-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
but who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-IS
 ‘Ahmet had said that he was going to borrow money from someone. But
 don’t remember who from.’

The examples in (27) and (28) demonstrate that it is acceptable for a *wh*-phrase to raise out of an embedded complement clauses, the tense marker *-(y)DI* preceded by the *wh*-phrase.

Now let us look at Relative Clause islands. Pseudo-sluicing out of relative clauses is ungrammatical.

- (29) Ahmet [_{RC}[biri-nden borç al-an] kız-ı-na] çok
A.-NOM someone-ABL debt take-RC girl-POSS3S-DAT very
 kız-mış-ti.
get.angry-PERF-PST
 *Ama kim-den-di hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
but who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-IS
 ‘Ahmet had gotten angry with his daughter who borrowed money from
 someone. But I don’t remember who from.’

Pseudo-sluicing out of CNPs is also ungrammatical.

- (30) Ahmet [_{CNP}[Hasan-in biri-nden borç al-dı-ğ-ı]
A.-NOM H.-GEN someone-ABL debt take-DİK-POSS3S
 söylenti-ler-i]-ni duy-muş-tu.
rumor-PLU-ACC hear-ASP-PST
 *Ama kim-den-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
but who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-IS
 ‘Ahmet had heard the rumors that Hasan borrowed money from someone.
 But I don’t remember who from.’

Adjunct clauses do not allow pseudo-sludging either.

- (31) Ahmet [Hasan biri-nden borç al-dı-ğ-ı için] çok üzül-müş-tü.
A.-NOM H.-NOM someone-ABL debt take-DİK for very feel.sorry-ASP-PST
 *Ama kim-den-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
but who-ABL-PST remember-NEG-PROG-IS
 ‘Ahmet had felt very sorry because Hasan borrowed money from
 someone. But I don’t remember who from.’

In sum, pseudo-sludging is grammatical out of embedded complement clauses because the $T^0/Evid^0$ morpheme in the matrix verb amalgam of the antecedent clause can co-occur with the sluiced *wh*-phrase. However, pseudo-sludging out of RCs, CNPs and adjunct clauses is ungrammatical because the $T^0/Evid^0$ morpheme in the matrix verb cannot co-occur with the sluiced *wh*-phrase. We can conclude that pseudo-sludging is island-sensitive in Turkish.

4 An Explanation

Merchant (2001a) argues that sludging is island-insensitive such that when ellipsis is applied, the (PF-)island is elided. In this way, elision of a PF-island repairs the violation created by movement out of an island. I suggest that the island-sensitivity of pseudo-sludging structures are in line with Merchant’s (2001b) proposal.

Chomsky (1972) proposes that crossed islands are marked with a PF-uninterpretable *-feature as in the data in (32) from (Merchant 2001b: 4).

- (32) * I don’t remember which (Balkan language) they want to hire someone
 [who speaks ___].

The structure in (32) is ungrammatical due to an island violation. However, when the matrix IP with the *-marked island is elided, the structure is saved as in (33).

- (33) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

Example (34), however, runs counter to Chomsky's (1972) proposal. In matrix VP-ellipsis cases, the structure is still ungrammatical even though the *-marked island has been elided along with the matrix VP.

- (34) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which they do. (Merchant 2001b: 6)

We can see that *-marking of crossed islands is not sufficient in accounting for the unacceptability of the VP-ellipsis structure above. Merchant (2001b) proposes that *-marking is not a property of a crossed island but rather of the phrase itself that crosses an island⁸. According to Merchant, once a phrase is *-marked as a result of crossing an island, all its subsequent copies are also *-marked.

- (35) *XP₁ [*t₁" [*t₁' island[t₁]]]
-

In (35), only the copy in the island (t_1)⁹ is not *-marked; all the other subsequent copies are *-marked. In a case such as this, according to Merchant (2001b), only a [+wh, +Q] C⁰ can erase the *-feature of a *-marked *wh*-phrase in its Spec. The *-feature of lower phrases cannot be erased in any way other than phonological elision. In sluicing out of examples such as (33) repeated as (36) below, all the lower *-marked copies are elided and the *-feature of the topmost copy is erased as a consequence of AGREE with a [+wh, +Q] C. In this way, the island violation is ameliorated, and the structure is saved, as in (37).

- (36) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

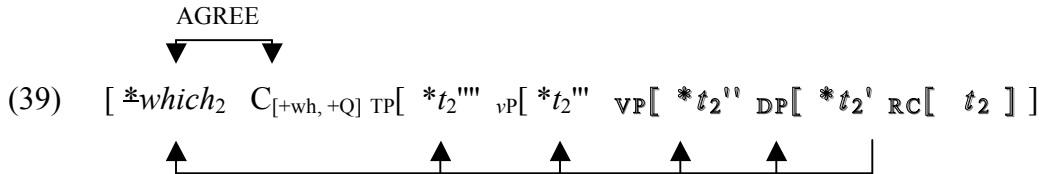
- (37) [*which₂ C_[+wh, +Q] TP [*t₂"_{VP} vP [*t₂"_{VP} VP [*t₂"_{DP} DP [*t₂'_{RC} RC [t₂]]]]]
-

⁸ For a different analysis of the same phenomena, see Fox & Lasnik (2003).

⁹ I use traces (*t*) for expository purposes only.

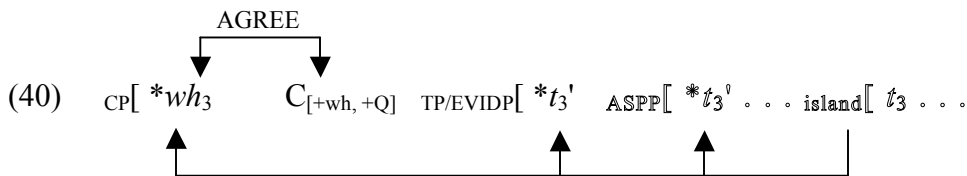
VP-ellipsis structures like (34) repeated as (38) are island-sensitive because *-marked copies of the *wh*-phrase adjoined to *v*P and TP remain in the structure after the elision of the matrix VP; so, they cause a **PF-crash**.

- (38) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which they do.



In (39) the *-marked copies adjoined to VP and DP are elided within the phonological elision-site. The topmost copy in [Spec, CP] agrees with the C head, and its *-feature is erased. However, the *-marked copies adjoined to *v*P and TP are not erased, and they cause a PF crash.

How does the island-sensitivity of pseudo-slucing constructions in Turkish accord to the model proposed by Merchant (2001b)? As we saw above, in pseudo-slucing, the phrase undergoing elision is AspP. The TP/EvidP above the AspP and the CP is not elided. Since movement is successive-cyclic, the moving phrase is adjoined to every maximal projection.¹⁰ So, there is a copy of the *wh*-phrase adjoined to TP/EvidP. This copy is also *-marked because it has crossed an island.



Since the *-feature of the copy of the *wh*-phrase adjoined to TP/EvidP is not deleted, a PF-violation occurs. This explains why PF-deletion does not have the island-violation ameliorating effect in pseudo-slucing constructions in Turkish, as we saw in English.

5 Conclusion

We saw that a sluiced *wh*-phrase can co-occur with a Tense or Evidential morpheme. I argued that these structures should rightly be seen as **pseudo-slucing** rather than cleft constructions. These structures show that, as suggested

¹⁰ This is contra Takahashi 1994.

by Merchant (2001b), a head lower than C° can have the E(llipsis) feature, and where the complement of the relevant head that has the E feature is elided. In Turkish, a T°/Evid° can bear the E feature, which results in the elision of its complement AspP. The general assumption is that sluicing is island-insensitive. However, pseudo-sluicing in Turkish is island-sensitive. This would seem to argue against the island-insensitivity property of sluicing. On the contrary, I have argued that the island-sensitivity of pseudo-sluicing in Turkish can be accounted for, and is actually in line with Merchant (2001b).

On the other hand, the pseudo-sluicing structures we saw are problematic for Chung, Ladusaw & McCloskey (1995) who propose that these elements are base-generated in [Spec, CP]. It is unclear in their framework how to formulate a theory that would allow co-occurrence of a Tense/Evidential morpheme with a sluiced *wh*-phrase, but not, for example, an Aspectual morpheme. How would the difference between these types of morphemes be coded, and how would they be base-generated in [Spec, CP]?

In conclusion, pseudo-sluicing provides support for a phonological-deletion model of sluicing as put forward in Chomsky & Lasnik (1993), Merchant (2001a, b), and Lasnik (2001, 2002).

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