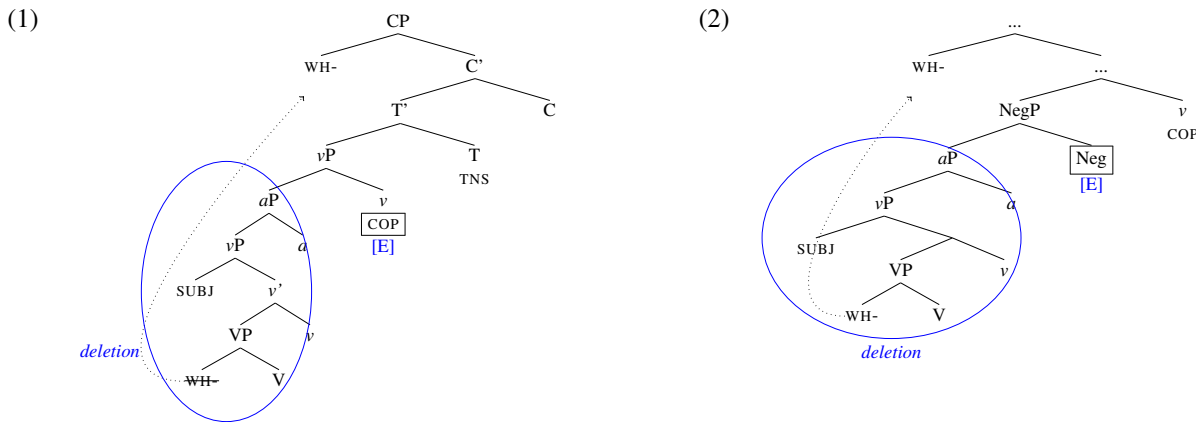


## Low sluicing in Turkish is VPE

Under a movement and deletion approach of sluicing (Merchant, 2001), an important question is how identical the deleted constituent must be to its antecedent. Some recent proposals posit syntactic non-isomorphism, allowing various cleft sources (full and truncated) besides a full clausal source (Barros, 2014; Merchant, 2001; Van Craenenbroeck, 2010). In this talk, I investigate an understudied ellipsis type in Turkish, in which the wh-remnants bear case, copula and tense markers (cf. those that only bear case). This ellipsis – *low sluicing* as in (3B) – is easily assumed to have cleft sources due to the occurrence of copula. However, I argue that the source of low sluicing cannot only be (full or truncated) clefts contra Kizu (1997) unlike languages such as Uzbek (Gribanova, 2013) or Japanese (Hiraiwa and Ishihara, 2012; Saito, 2004). I instead propose that it also must be analyzed as the deletion of a deverbal projection licensed by a verbal functional head under a full clausal source. This head could be realized as the copula or the so-called ‘higher’ negation, which thus makes low sluicing in Turkish as more akin to verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) in languages like English (cf. Ince, 2006). It raises the question of why deletion of smaller verbal constituents is restricted in Turkish to constituent questions, while VPE in English can occur with or without wh-movement (Schuyler, 2001).

**Evidence:** Copula occurs more pervasively in Turkish so it cannot be considered simply as a support for clefts. It attaches to all non-verbal stems when followed by past tense. These non-verbal stems either bear aspect as in (4) or are non-verbs as in low sluicing. I present three arguments why a truncated cleft (or a copular clause) which contains a null pronoun and a wh-phrase (Mikkelsen, 2007), cannot be the only source of low sluicing despite copula and case on its predicate as in (5). First, low sluicing is island-sensitive (also noted in Ince, 2006) whereas truncated clefts do not contain islands at all as in (6). Second, remnants of low sluicing can be adjuncts, but predicates of truncated clefts cannot be as in (7). Third, low sluicing can have multiple wh-remnants as in (8). However, truncated clauses contain only one available position for a predicate.

**Preliminary analysis:** I propose that copula is hosted by a functional head *v* higher than non-verbal suffixes (i.e. aspect, mood & modality) and occurs whenever there is an *aP* layer as a *verbalizer* for tense to be stacked (in line with Sağ, 2013). Based on a movement and deletion account of sluicing (i.e. PF-deletion) (Merchant, 2001), I assume that wh-phrases of sluicing in Turkish is scrambled to left-periphery for focus (Ince, 2006; Toosarvandani, 2008). Building on Ince (2006) and Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2008), I argue that the [E]llipsis feature on copula triggers the deletion of *aP* leading to the survival of the wh-remnant, copula and tense as shown in (1). However, differently, I claim that the [E]-feature, which is subject to a locality requirement (Merchant, 2001), can also occur on the Neg head in low sluicing. When there is an antecedent including the higher negation *değil* ‘not’, the remnant must surface with the negation as seen in (9). In this case, the verbal head hosting the negation licenses the deletion of the non-verbal projection *aP* as in (2). Low sluicing seems to have different verbal licensers depending on the antecedent just as VPE does.



**Conclusion:** I have argued that tense-marked remnants in Turkish are VPE (cf. Ince, 2006). Although copula in low sluicing does not always indicate (truncated) cleft sources, it plays a crucial role in licensing the ellipsis.

### Examples

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(3) A: Ali <b>birin-e<sub>i</sub></b> çok sinirlen-di.<br/>         Ali sb-DAT very get.mad-PAST<br/>         ‘Ali got very mad at someone.’</p>                                   | <p>B: <b>Kim-e-y-di<sub>i</sub>?</b><br/>         who-DAT-COP-PAST<br/>         LIT. ‘At whom/At whom was it?’</p> |
| <p>(4) Ali birin-e sinirlen-miş i-di.<br/>         Ali sb-DAT get.mad-PERF COP-PAST<br/>         ‘Ali had got mad at someone.’</p>  | <p>(5) Bu Ali-ye-y-di.<br/>         this Ali-DAT-COP-PAST<br/>         LIT. ‘This was to Ali.’</p>                 |
| <p>(6) A: Ali [biri-ne şeker ver-en çocuğ]-u gör-dü-Ø.<br/>         Ali someone-DAT candy give-REL child-ACC see-PAST<br/>         ‘Ali saw the kid who gave candies to someone.’</p> |  |

- B: \*Kim-e-y-di?  
who-DAT-COP-PAST  
INT. ‘Who was it to?’
- B’: Fatih-e-y-di.  
Fatih-DAT-COP-PAST  
‘It was to Fatih’
- (7) A: Ali bir yer-de Fatih-i gör-dü.  
Ali one place-LOC Fatih-ACC see-PAST  
‘Ali saw Fatih at some place.’
- B: Nere-de-y-di?  
where-LOC-COP-PAST  
INT. ‘Where was it?’
- B’: #Okul-da-y-di.  
school-LOC-COP-PAST  
INT. ‘It was at the school.’
- (8) A: Ali biri-nden bir şey al-dı.  
Ali someone-ABL one thing take-PST  
‘Ali took something from someone.’
- B: Kim-den ne-y-di?  
who-ABL what-COP-PST  
INT. ‘From whom what?’
- (9) A: Ali birin-e<sub>i</sub> kız-mış değil-Ø-di.  
Ali somebody-DAT get.mad-PERF not-COP-PST  
‘It is not the case that Ali got mad at someone.’
- B: Kim-e<sub>i</sub> değil-Ø-di?  
who-DAT not-COP-PST  
INT. ‘Who wasn’t it?’
- B’: \*Kim-e<sub>i</sub>-y-di?  
who-DAT-COP-PST  
INT. ‘Who was it to?’

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