

IN THE CASE OF SLUICING

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ABSTRACT

IN THE CASE OF SLUICING

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This thesis explores sluicing like constructions (SLCs) in Turkish. SLCs are investigated from a particular perspective: that of case connectivity between the wh-phrase in the ellipsis site (wh-remnant) and the indefinite pronoun in the antecedent clause (indefinite correlate). Case connectivity refers to the wh-remnant sharing the morphological case of its correlate, while anti-connectivity refers to the wh-remnant surfacing bare, regardless of the form of the correlate. The thesis's purpose is twofold: It aims to provide empirical data regarding which SLCs are indeed well-formed in Turkish (given controversial judgments in the literature) and to offer an appropriate analysis of SLCs compatible with the findings. Based on the judgments collected through an Acceptability Judgment Task from 216 participants, I establish that connectivity and anti-connectivity in all grammatical cases between the wh-phrase and its correlate are acceptable except when accusative object wh-remnants or genitive subject wh-remnants are affixed by a tense marker. To account for all conditions, I propose unified accounts for matrix clause and embedded clause sluicing by adopting the MD analysis for case connectivity and the *pro*-form analysis for anti-connectivity between the remnant and its correlate. I also argue that the Question particle *ki* can

occur not only in matrix interrogative clauses, but also in tensed embedded interrogative environments clause-finally. Due to this distribution of the particle *ki*, I propose that the pre-slalice can transform from a non-finite to a finite clause, and that the source of the slalice must be the minimal tensed clause where wh-phrase originates. In cases where a bigger source is forced, it must be as minimal as possible.

Keywords: ellipsis, sluicing, pseudo-sluicing, case-connectivity, Turkish

ÖZ

CÜMLECİK EKSİLTME HUSUSUNDA

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Bu tez Türkçedeki cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıları araştırmaktadır. Bu yapılar eksilti alanındaki *ne*-sözcükleri (*ne*-kalıntısı) ve öncül tümcecikteki belgisiz zamirler (belgisiz eşlenik) arasındaki hâl bağlayıcılığı perspektifinden incelenmektedir. Hâl bağlayıcılığı, eşleniğin biçimine bakılmaksızın, *ne*-kalıntısının belgisiz eşleniği ile aynı biçimbilimsel hâli paylaşması durumuna tekabül eder. Çalışmanın amacı iki yönlüdür: İlk olarak tez alanyazındaki tartışmalı yargılar düşünüldüğünde Türkçedeki hangi cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıların kurallı olduklarını keşfetmeyi ve buna uygun olarak sonuçlarla uyumlu bir cümlecik eksiltme analizi sunmayı amaçlar. Bir Dilbilgisellik Değerlendirme Testi aracılığı ile 216 katılımcıdan toplanan yargılara dayanarak, *ne*-sözcüğü ve belgisiz eşleniği arasındaki bütün dilbilgisel hâllerdeki bağlayıcılığın ve karşı-bağlayıcılığın nesne *ne*-sözcüğündeki belirtme hâlinin ya da özne *ne*-sözcüğündeki tamlayan hâlinin zaman eki ile çekimlendiği durumlar haricinde kabul edilebilir olduğu saptanmıştır. Bütün bu koşulları açıklayabilmek için, kalıntı ve eşlenik arasındaki bağlayıcılık durumunda yükselme ve eksiltme yaklaşımını ve karşı-bağlayıcılık durumunda ise *pro*-biçim yaklaşımını benimseyerek ana ve içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltmeleri için birleşik analizler öne sürmekteyim.

Üstelik *ki* soru ekinin sadece ana soru tümceciklerinde değil, ayrıca zaman ekiyle çekimlenmiş içe yerleşik soru tümceciklerinde de tümce sonunda bulunabileceklerini önermekteyim. *ki*'nin bu dağılımı sebebiyle, eksilteli cümlecik öncesinin çekimsiz cümleden çekimli bir cümleye dönüşebileceğini ve eksiltmenin kaynağının *ne-*sözcüğünün meydana geldiği zaman ekiyle çekimlenmiş en küçük tümceden oluşmak zorunda olduğunu ve daha büyük bir kaynağın zorunlu kılındığı durumlarda ise kaynağın mümkün olduğunca küçük olması gerektiğini iddia etmekteyim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: eksilti, cümlecik eksiltme, sözde-cümlecik eksiltme, hâl bağlayıcılığı, Türkçe

*to those who stand up and speak up
for themselves and others*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

??	Almost Acceptable
*	Syntactically Ill-formed
#	Intonation Break
%	Disagreement in Judgments
1	1 st Person
2	2 nd Person
3	3 rd Person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADN	Adnominal Form
AJT	Acceptability Judgment Task
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
Asp	Aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
AUX	Auxiliary
C	Complementizer
CAP	Cap(ability)
COM	Comitative
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
CP	Complementizer Phrase
D	Determiner
DAT	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
E	Ellipsis
EVI	Evidential Marker
Evid	Evidential
EvidP	Evidential Phrase

Foc	Focus
FocP	Focus Phrase
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IP	Inflectional Phrase
LF	Logical Form
LIT	Literal
LOC	Locative
MD	Movement and Deletion
NEG	Negated
Neg	Negation
NegP	Negation Phrase
NGC	Nominative-Genitive Conversion
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
∅	Phonologically Null Element
P	Preposition
PF	Phonological Form
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRT	Particle
PST	Past
Q	Question
REL	Relative
SG	Singular
SLC	Sluicing-like Construction
so	Someone
Spec	Specifier
sth	Something
SUBJ	Subject
T	Tense

TP	Tense Phrase
<i>v</i>	Little Verb
V	Verb
<i>v</i> P	Little Verb Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
YN	Yes-No

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sluicing, illustrated in (1) for English, is a phenomenon where a TP is deleted under the identity with another (*antecedent*) TP, after a wh-phrase (*remnant*) has moved out of it. The antecedent clause contains an indefinite pronoun (*correlate* of the wh-remnant) coindexed with the wh-phrase.

- 1) Harry saw something_i but I don't know what_i [~~TP Harry saw t_i~~].

Since in sluicing, a TP is elided after the extraction of the wh-phrase, it is controversial whether constructions that look like sluicing in wh-in situ languages are sluicing proper or they are a different phenomenon. Following the existent literature (Ince, 2006, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018; 2019; Şener, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b), I call those *sluicing-like constructions* (hereafter: SLCs). As to this thesis, it investigates SLCs in Turkish, paying special attention to connectivity issues (e.g., case, tense) between the wh-remnant in the sluiced clause and its indefinite correlate in the antecedent clause. In particular, the focus is on various case forms in which the wh-phrase may surface relative to the case form of the indefinite correlate. For this reason, the following four different conditions are examined in the current study:

- i. Wh-phrase appears in the same case form as its correlate (*match condition*), shown in (2a),
- ii. Wh-phrase appears in the same case form as its correlate and is attached a tense marker (*match-tense condition*), shown in (2b),

- iii. Wh-phrase appears without any morphology on it (*mismatch condition*), shown in (2c),¹
 - iv. Wh-phrase appears without any morphology on it, but it is attached a tense marker (*mismatch-tense condition*), shown in (2d).
- 2)
- a. Anıl-Ø birin-e bağır-dı-Ø ama **kim-e** bil-m-iyor-um.
A.-NOM so-DAT yell-PAST-3SG but who-DAT know-NEG-PROG-3SG²
'Anıl yelled at someone, but I don't know to whom.'
 - b. Anıl-Ø birin-e bağır-dı-Ø ama **kim-ey-di** bil-m-iyor-um.
A.-NOM so-DAT yell-PAST-3SG but who-DAT-PST know-NEG-PROG-3SG
'Anıl yelled at someone, but I don't know to whom.'
 - c. Anıl-Ø birin-e bağır-dı-Ø ama **kim** bil-m-iyor-um.
A.-NOM so-DAT yell-PAST-3SG but who know-NEG-PROG-3SG
'Anıl yelled at someone, but I don't know who.'
 - d. Anıl-Ø birin-e bağır-dı-Ø ama **kim-di** bil-m-iyor-um.
A.-NOM so-DAT yell-PAST-3SG but who-PST know-NEG-PROG-3SG
'Anıl yelled at someone, but I don't know who that was.'

The main aim of the thesis is to propose an analysis of sluicing in Turkish; one that will derive all these different possibilities. The analysis relied on the results of an experiment, an Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT), which tested acceptability of examples like (2a-d) in a sample of 216 Turkish native speakers. Experimental items in the AJT included SLCs with accusative, ablative and dative wh-remnants, whose correlates were *direct objects* of the verbs in antecedent clauses, as well as genitive wh-remnants, whose correlates were *embedded subjects* in the antecedent clause. The results of the experiment mostly, but not completely, confirmed judgments reported in previous literature (Ince, 2006, 2009; Palaz, 2018): The wh-remnants in Turkish SLCs may surface matching the case of their correlate, as well as carrying an additional tense marker. What is surprising about this result is that this emerged to be the case with genitive-marked wh-remnants as well, which have been reported as ungrammatical in

¹ Null case morphology is associated with Nominative in Turkish.

² Throughout this thesis, I will use *so* instead of *someone* and *sth* instead of *something* in glosses, for reasons of brevity.

Ince (2012). Another novel result is that accusative-marked and genitive-marked wh-remnants, resist an addition of the tense marker (an observation not discussed in the previous literature, with the exception of Zidani-Eroğlu (2019a)). Finally, as reported in the literature (Palaz, 2019), bare wh-remnants are always acceptable, regardless of the case of the correlate, and a bare wh-remnant can optionally carry tense morphology.

To account for the well-formedness of acceptable forms of SLCs, I adopt two analyses: a movement and deletion (henceforth: MD) analysis (Ince, 2006, 2009, 2012), which accounts for the grammaticality of SLCs in match and match-tense conditions, and a *pro*-form analysis (Palaz, 2019), which explains the grammaticality of SLCs in mismatch and mismatch-tense conditions. I argue that SLCs in match conditions (conditions in which the wh-remnant carries the case of its correlate, without tense morphology), arise through the ellipsis of the TP following the fronting of the wh-remnant out of the elided TP, while SLCs in match-tense conditions are derived in an analogous way, with the ellipsis of a lower projection, AspP, instead of TP (Ince, 2006). In the course of my analysis, I also revise the properties of Q particle *ki*, which has been argued to be restricted to only matrix interrogative clauses (Ince, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b). Due to the grammaticality of *ki* in the embedded clause sluicing as exemplified in (3), I show that the Q particle *ki* can occur in a clause-final position of a tensed interrogative clause in *embedded* environments as well.

- 3) Onur-Ø birin-in bayıl-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-in (ki)
 O.-NOM so-GEN faint-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-GEN PRT
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Onur said that someone fainted, but I don’t know who.’

The revised distribution of Q particle *ki* leads to several refinements of Ince’s (2012) MD analysis: first, I confine the height of the wh-remnant in SLCs to the [Spec CP] of the closest tensed clause to the position into which the wh-phrase is externally merged, and next, I propose that the source of the sluice in SLCs does not have to be identical

in size to the antecedent clause, but comprises the *minimal tensed clause from which the wh-remnant originates*.

For SLCs in mismatch and mismatch-tense conditions, I adopt Palaz's (2019) *pro*-form analysis, in which the internal structure of the sluiced clause contains only a *pro* coindexed with the indefinite pronoun in the antecedent, the *wh*-phrase and the copula (possibly, but not necessarily affixed by a tense marker).

The thesis might be a valuable contribution to the literature on Turkish sluicing both from the empirical and theoretical perspectives. Empirically, this is the first time that the acceptability of SLCs in Turkish have been experimentally examined, and this process has resulted in the refinement of judgments previously reported in the literature. Theoretically, the thesis proposes an analysis of SLCs which in a very economical way derive different guises of SLCs in Turkish.

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, I provide a summary of general approaches used in the analysis of sluicing. In Chapter 3, I review the previous studies on SLCs in Turkish, which include both movement and non-movement approaches. In Chapter 4, I present the experiment conducted to empirically test native speakers' judgments on SLCs, its results, and a brief discussion of the findings. In Chapter 5, I offer an analysis of SLCs and discuss the source of these constructions along with some novel data regarding especially the Q particle *ki*. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS SILENCE: WHAT IS SLUICING?

Initially investigated and named by Ross (1969), sluicing is a type of ellipsis where the sentential part (i.e., TP) of an interrogative clause is elided, stranding a *wh*-phrase, a so-called *wh*-remnant. The sentences in (4), in which the ellipsis site is bracketed and struck through, are provided to exemplify this phenomenon.

- 4) a. Somebody just left — guess who [~~just left~~].
b. He is writing (sth), but you can't imagine [what where why how (fast) to with for etc.] [~~he is writing~~].

(Ross, 1969, p. 252)

In sluicing, the initial sentence, which introduces the topic, is referred to as the *antecedent* where there is an indefinite pronoun as an argument or adjunct, which is often called a *correlate* (or antecedent).³ A sentence that follows the antecedent and

³ The antecedent sentence does not have to include an overt correlate for sluicing to occur. There are two types of sluicing constructions in which there might be an implicit correlate or in which there is no correlate, but an adjunct remnant in the sluice. See Chapter 3 for discussion along with some examples.

includes a wh-remnant, co-referenced with the correlate, is called *a sluice*. The sentential part of the sluice, which is missing from the pronunciation, is the *sluicing-site*. In (5), the terminology often used in sluicing constructions is demonstrated.

- 5) $\frac{\text{ANTECEDENT}}{\text{CORRELATE}}$ Somebody just left — $\frac{\text{SLUICE}}{\text{REMNANT SLUICING-SITE}}$ guess who [just left]. (Vicente, 2014, p. 4)

Two general approaches to sluicing have been offered in the literature, depending on the presence of sluiced constituents in syntax: non-structural and structural. The non-structural approach is based on the claim that sluicing does not contain any underlying syntactic structure and that the wh-phrase is exhaustively dominated by a single node (Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005; Ginzburg & Sag, 2000). The structural approach posits that sluicing is a type of ellipsis and there is unpronounced, but structurally present material in syntax (Chung, Ladusaw & McCloskey, 1995; Fox & Lasnik, 2003; Merchant, 2001; Ross, 1969 among many others). As described by Merchant (2018), evidence for structural approaches comes from the *connectivity effects*, which means that the antecedent and the sluice exhibit some similarity in structure. Case matching between the wh-phrase and the indefinite correlate, which was first argued for by Ross (1969), or correlation between preposition stranding and the shape of the wh-remnant exemplify this connectivity.⁴ As for the non-structural approaches, they depend on the

⁴ Preposition stranding (also called p-stranding) is the phenomenon in which a preposition can stand alone in the derivation without being adjacent to its object. Merchant (2001, 2018) argues that languages which have p-stranding allow the prepositions to be omitted in sluicing and vice versa, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) **English**
 a. Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know (**with**) whom.
 b. Who was he talking **with**?
- (ii) **Greek**
 a. I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero ***(me)** pjon.
 the Anna talked with someone but not I.know with who
 b. *Pjon milise **me**?
 who talked.3sg with (Merchant, 2018, p. 28)

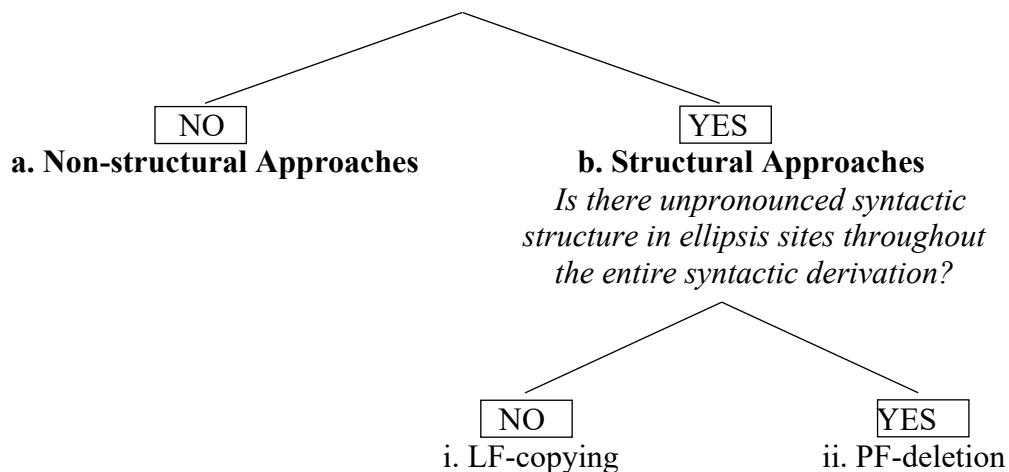
Initially identified by Ross (1969), case matching is a phenomenon where the antecedent and the correlate bear the same case even if the case is unpronounced. The well-known German sentences by Ross (1969) are provided to exemplify this condition in (iii).

- (iii) **German**
 a. Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht, {wem/ *wen}.
 he wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not who.DAT who.ACC
 'He wants to flatter someone but they don't know who.'
 b. Er will jemanden loben, aber sie wissen nicht, {*wem/ wen}.
 he wants someone.ACC praise but they know not who.DAT who.ACC
 'He wants to praise someone, but they don't know who.' (Ross, 1969, p. 253)

anti-connectivity effects, which are observed when an expected similarity between the antecedent and the sluice is absent (Merchant, 2018).⁵ As most recent research on sluicing and the analyses for sluicing in Turkish offered so far are all structural accounts, I will focus on the structural approaches and delineate the most prominent analyses.

In the structural approaches, there are two main analyses that account for the unpronounced syntactic structure (Merchant, 2018): one of them proposes that the missing structure is deleted at PF (Aelbrecht, 2010; Johnson, 2001; Merchant, 2001; Ross, 1969 among others), whereas the other proposes that the sluicing site is in syntax occupied by a null element that is at LF replaced by a copy of the antecedent (Chung, Ladusaw & McCloskey, 1995; Fiengo & May, 1994 among others). The classification of analyses of sluicing is outlined in (6).

6) **Is there unpronounced syntactic structure in ellipsis site?**



(Merchant, 2018, p. 23)⁶

In what follows, I will briefly present the aforementioned two main analyses, namely PF-deletion and LF-copying.

⁵ See Merchant (2018) for a more comprehensive overview on the differences between structural and non-structural approaches.

⁶ The schema is slightly simplified. See Merchant (2018, p. 23) for the full version.

2.1 PF-DELETION

The PF-deletion account in sluicing is based on an internal structure present both in overt and covert syntax but is elided at PF prior to the pronunciation. Following Ross (1969), who adheres to the idea that the deletion occurs under identity between the antecedent and the sluice, sluicing with a PF-deletion approach has been refined and most extensively investigated by Merchant (1998, 2001, 2005, 2008, 2018). Similar to Ross, Merchant (2001) argues that sluicing can only involve the deletion of an IP if the antecedent and the sluice are identical in meaning, and thus proposes the following two conditions, given in (7a) and (7b), to establish the boundaries of this phenomenon.⁷

7) a. *e-GIVENness*

An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting,

(i) A entails F-clo(E), and

(ii) E entails F-clo(A).

b. *Focus Condition on IP-ellipsis*

An IP α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN. (Merchant, 2001, p. 31)

c. *F-closure*

The F-closure of α , written (F-clo(α)), is the result of replacing all F-marked parts of α with \exists -bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo \exists -type shifting). (Merchant, 2001, p. 14)

F-closure is the process of replacing the focused elements in the antecedent clause with existentially bound variables in the sluicing-site. e-GIVENness, which is a semantic condition, is a bidirectional entailment between the expression E and the antecedent A. According to the Focus condition, which is the corollary of e-GIVENness, an

⁷ Merchant (2001) abandons the isomorphism condition first proposed by Fiengo and May (1994) due to sluicing constructions whose IP in the sluicing site is not isomorphic to the antecedent IP. As seen in (i) and (ii), isomorphism cannot account for structures that do not have an explicit argument in the antecedent sentence but do have a corresponding wh-remnant in the sluice.

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

(ii) Ben called — guess when!

(Merchant, 2001, p. 19)

expression cannot be elided if it does not hold the aforementioned entailment requirement, in other words, if it is not e-GIVEN. The sentence in (8) is provided to explain how these conditions on sluicing work, where the antecedent and the correlate, as shown in capital letters, must co-refer with each other.⁸

- 8) I know how MANY politicians she called an idiot, but I don't know WHICH (politicians) ~~she called an idiot~~. (Merchant, 2001, p. 32)

Modulo \exists -type shifting, the F-closure of the antecedent IP (IP_A) entails the sluiced IP (IP_E), as demonstrated in (9), and vice versa. This enables the focus condition to be satisfied, and consequently IP_E to be elided.

- 9) a. $F\text{-clo}(IP_E) = \exists x.\text{she called } x \text{ an idiot}$
 b. $IP_A' = \exists x.\text{she called } x \text{ an idiot}$ (Merchant, 2001, p. 32)

While investigating conditions on sluicing constructions, Merchant (2001, 2008) also discusses what licenses the ellipsis of an IP/TP in the sluice and proposes that the [E]llipsis feature on a head triggers deletion at PF. Merchant (2008) states that E-feature “will have exactly those syntactic, phonological and semantic effects that yield all the attested properties of the elliptical construction”. For this reason, the author assumes that E is checked by the following syntactic feature configuration [\sim [+wh], \sim [+Q]] and the location of E must be local to the head that carries these features, which in sluicing is C^0 . Phonologically, the E feature must instruct the PF not to pronounce the complement of the head on which E occurs, as shown in (10).

- 10) $[\varphi/IP] \rightarrow \emptyset/E \text{ ___}$ (Merchant, 2008, p. 134)

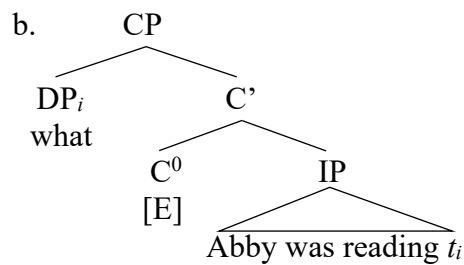
Finally, Merchant (2008) attributes the semantics of E to the *e-GIVENness* (7a) and argues that E is a “partial identity condition” and operates only if the argument to be elided is e-GIVEN, as described in (11) below.

⁸ Merchant's example in (Error! Reference source not found. is slightly revised.

- 11) $[E] = \lambda p : p \text{ is e-GIVEN} . p$ (Merchant, 2008, p. 134)

To illustrate how E feature operates in a derivation, Merchant (2008) provides the example in (12). The sluice-site of the sentence in (12a) has the structure in (12b) in which IP is the argument of the head carrying the E feature, as noted in (12c), and the complement IP is elided only if its content *Abby was reading x_2* is e-GIVEN.

- 12) a. Abby was reading, but I don't know what.



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

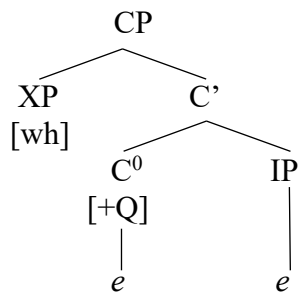
(Merchant, 2008, pp. 134-135)

In the next section, I will summarize the LF-copying analysis of sluicing.

2.2 LF-COPYING

According to the LF-copying analysis, the sluicing site is empty in syntax. The site gains internal structure only at LF, when the copy of the antecedent is inserted in the sluicing site, but not in overt syntax or PF (Sakamoto, 2017). Of all the authors adopting LF-copying, Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995) employ this approach to derive a unified analysis of sluicing constructions. The authors argue that the interrogative *wh*-phrase in sluicing is in [Spec CP] position, just like in the PF-deletion approach. However, differently from the deletion approach, the *wh*-phrase does not raise to [Spec CP], but is base-generated in this position. Moreover, the sluicing site comprises null C^0 and IP (or TP) as illustrated in (13) below.

13)

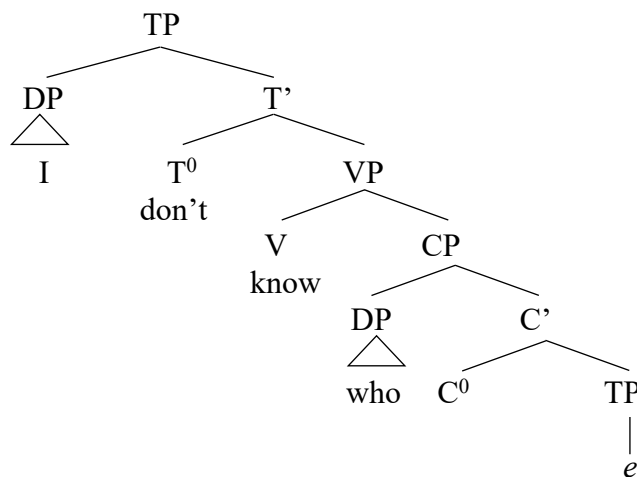


(Chung et al., 1995, p. 242)

To account for the internal structure of the sluice, present at LF, Chung and colleagues (1995) propose an operation called *recycling*, in which the content of the antecedent IP is *copied* into the IP position in the sluice, and more importantly, there has to be a co-indexation between the wh-phrase in [Spec CP] and some position in the antecedent IP. In her dissertation, Sakamoto (2017) explains the LF-copying account of Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995) with the sentence in (14), where the indefinite pronoun *someone* is the antecedent of the wh-remnant *who*, which is base-generated in [Spec CP] in overt syntax. The derivation of the sentence in (14) is shown in (15) below.⁹

14) [TP John met someone], but I don't know [CP who [TP △]]

15)



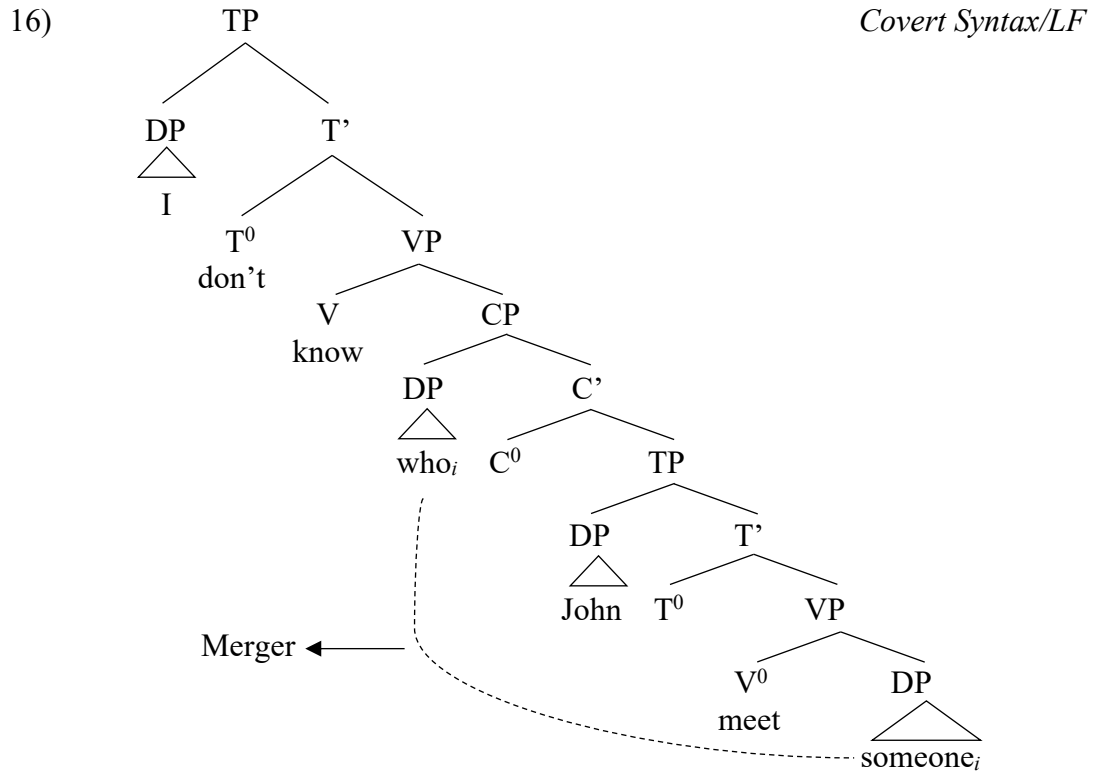
Overt Syntax

(Sakamoto, 2017, pp. 248-249)

Under LF-copying assumption of Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995), Sakamoto (2017) also shows how the structure of the sentence in (14) looks in covert syntax,

⁹ In her dissertation, Sakamoto (2017) uses TP to refer to IP, both of which are inflectional phrases.

which is LF, via the tree in (16). The TP in the antecedent is LF-copied onto the empty TP in the sluicing-site, and then the operation called *merger* enables the wh-remnant to be co-indexed with and to bind a syntactic position in the antecedent TP (Chung et al., 1995).¹⁰



(Sakamoto, 2017, p. 250)

Additionally, Chung and colleagues (1995) discuss sluicing constructions in which the remnant is co-indexed with an implicit argument (or nothing) as a correlate in the antecedent sentence. They claim that after IP recycling, these positions must be created in the copied IP via an operation they call *sprouting*.¹¹ As their analysis of such constructions are beyond the scope of this thesis, I will not elaborate more on this issue here.

¹⁰ Following Heim (1982) and Kamp (1984) among others, Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995) assume that the indefinite pronouns are ‘restricted free variables’ in LF, but not r-expressions so that the binding can hold between the wh-phrase and the indefinite correlates.

¹¹ See Chapter 3 for sprouting examples in Turkish.

2.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I outlined different approaches to the analysis of sluicing, which are categorized into two major categories, depending on the existence of the sluiced structure in syntax: non-structural and structural. As recent work on SLCs in Turkish take their lead from the structural approach, I focused on the structural approach and elaborated on the two most relevant accounts: PF-deletion, which involves movement of the *wh*-phrase to [Spec CP], followed by the deletion of the IP/TP in the sluice-site and LF copying, which involves copying of the antecedent IP/TP into the sluicing site at LF. Within the PF-copying account of sluicing, I presented Merchant's (2001, 2008) conditions on sluicing (e-GIVENness, Focus Condition on IP-ellipsis and the existence of the Ellipsis feature on C⁰). On the other hand, I presented LF-copying as based on the fact that the *wh*-phrase is base-generated in the [Spec CP] position, and the sluice-site is present only in covert syntax by referring to Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995). In Table 1, a brief comparison between these two accounts is provided to see how the sluice-site of the sentence in (12) behaves in overt syntax, LF and PF.¹²

¹² The table is adapted from Sakamoto's VP-ellipsis schema (2017, p. 10).

Table 1. *PF-deletion versus LF-copying*

	PF-deletion	LF-copying
Overt Syntax		
PF		
Covert Syntax/LF		

In the next chapter, I will present sluicing in Turkish, review existing proposals on sluicing constructions in Turkish, and address peculiarities of Turkish sluicing, briefly mentioned in the introduction.

CHAPTER 3

SLUICING IN TURKISH

3.1 SLUICING IN TURKISH: THE PHENOMENON

Turkish, having agglutinative morphology and being a wh-in-situ language, has SLCs that are compatible with the three SLC categories proposed by Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995) (see also Fox & Lasnik, 2003). In the first category, the *displaced constituent*, which is a wh-phrase, is an adjunct and has neither an implicit nor an explicit argument. The second category occurs when the displaced constituent is an adjunct or an argument whereas the *inner antecedent* is an indefinite pronoun, such as *someone* or *something*. In the last category, the displaced constituent has an implicit antecedent not overtly expressed. The first and third groups of SLCs are sluicing constructions that require the process of *sprouting* (Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey, 1995) and the second one is assumed to be the typical sluicing construction whose interpretation requires no additional processes (Fox & Lasnik, 2003; Merchant, 2001, 2008; Ross, 1969 among others). These categories are exemplified in (17a-c) respectively.

- 17) a. Biri- \emptyset öl-müş- \emptyset ama ne zaman bil-m-iyor-um.
so-NOM die-EVI-3SG but what time know-NEG-PROG-1SG
'Someone died, but I don't know when.'
- b. Müdür- \emptyset birin-e kız-mış- \emptyset ama kim-e bil-m-iyor-um.
manager-NOM so-DAT be.angry-EVI-3SG but who-ACC know-NEG-1SG
'The manager was angry with someone, but I don't know whom.'

- c. Elif-Ø aşık olmuş-Ø ama kim-e bil-m-iyor-um.
 Elif-NOM fall.in.love-EVI-3SG but who-DAT know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Elif fell in love, but I don’t know whom.’

As can be observed in (17b) above, SLCs in Turkish are similar to English-type sluicing in that there is case connectivity between the *wh*-phrase and its antecedent (both bear the same case marking) (Merchant, 2001; Ross, 1969). However, unlike English or other *wh*-fronting languages, Turkish allows a tense marker to surface on the displaced constituent (*wh*-remnant). In (18), along with the case marking matching the case marking of its antecedent, the *wh*-remnant carries the Tense morpheme that is affixed to the verb *tartış-* ‘argue’ in the unsluiced sentence.

- 18) A: Meryem-Ø tüm gece biriy-le tartış-tı-Ø.
 Meryem-NOM all night so-COM argue-PST-3SG
 ‘Meryem argued with someone all night.’
 B: Kim-le-y-di?
 who-COMM-COP-PST
 ‘With whom?’

Turkish has the SOV word order that is preserved in the structures with *wh*-phrases, which means that the *wh*-phrases do not have to move, unlike those in English. However, considering that SLCs in Turkish is quite similar to those in English except the cases where the optional tense marking on the remnant is available, the syntactic architecture of SLCs in Turkish is a puzzle to be solved. As depicted in (19), the *wh*-phrase, a medial constituent, is pronounced, but the preceding and following positions are unpronounced, which is challenging to capture.

- 19) A: Müdür-Ø birin-i iş-e al-acak-Ø.
 manager-NOM so-ACC job-DAT take-FUT-3SG
 ‘The manager will hire someone.’
 B: Müdür-Ø kim-i iş-e al-acak-Ø?
 manager-NOM who-ACC job-DAT take-FUT-3SG
 ‘Who will the manager hire?’

Due to this puzzle and the optional existence of tense marking, Turkish and other wh-in-situ languages, such as Japanese and Chinese, have been widely investigated in the literature (Adams, 2004; Ince, 2006, 2009, 2012; Kizu, 1998; Kuwabara, 1997; Palaz, 2019; Şener, 2012; Takahashi, 1994 among many others). In the remainder of the chapter, I will present analyses of SLCs in Turkish and their solutions to the puzzle presented by sluicing in Turkish.

3.2 ACCOUNTS OF SLUICING IN TURKISH

In the following sections, I will summarize the analyses of SLCs in Turkish proposed so far.

3.2.1 Ince (2006, 2009, 2012)

Ince (2006, 2009) makes the first comprehensive exposition of sluicing in Turkish investigating both matrix clause and embedded clause sluicing (as classified by Lasnik (1999)). Ince argues against the claim that sluicing is absent in wh-in-situ languages and that SLCs should in fact be analyzed as reduced-cleft constructions (Kizu, 1998; Kuwabara, 1997). Following Merchant (2001), Ince points out three main differences between clefting and sluicing in Turkish: First, the pivot of a cleft construction bears only nominative case whereas the wh-remnant of a sluicing structure can occur in other cases (depending on the case of the indefinite correlate). The second difference is that wh-adjuncts can occur in sluicing, but not in clefting. Third, multiple sluicing is allowed in Turkish whereas multiple clefting is not, which shows that the analysis of sluicing cannot be reduced to cleft constructions.¹³ Examples (20a-b) through (22a-b) illustrate these differences respectively.¹⁴

¹³ As I do not elaborate on the evidence why clefting and sluicing are two different constructions in Turkish, I will confine the thesis to the most prominent arguments on this case. See Ince (2009, 2012) and Şener (2012) for specific examples on the topic and more discussion on why sluicing in Turkish are not reduced-cleft structures.

¹⁴ Throughout the thesis, the examples of other authors are cited without any change, but the glosses are my own.

- 20) a. [Hasan'-ın Suzan'a ver-diğ-i] kitap-Ø-tı/*ıy-dı. *Clefting*
 Hasan-GEN Suzan-DAT give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG book-NOM-PST/*ACC-PST
 'It was the book that Hasan gave to Susan.'
- b. Ahmet-Ø birin-i döv-müş-Ø ama kim-i bil-m-iyor-um. *Sluicing*
 Ahmet-Ø so-ACC beat-EVI-3SG but who-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Ahmet beat someone, but I don't know who.'
- 21) a. *Ali'n-in git-tiğ-i dün-Ø/ne zaman-Ø? *Clefting*
 Ali-GEN go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG yesterday-NOM/what time-NOM?
 'It's yesterday that Ali went./When is it that Ali went?'
- b. Ali-Ø Ankara'y-a git-ti-Ø ama ne zaman bil-m-iyor-um. *Sluicing*
 A.-NOM Ankara-DAT go-PST-3SG but what time know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Ali went to Ankara, but I don't know when.'
- 22) a. *[_{TP} [_{CP} Ahmet'in t_i t_j al-dığ-ı] [_T Hasan(-dan)_i kitap-Ø_j]]. *Clefting*
 Ahmet-GEN take-REL-3SG Hasan(-ABL) book-NOM
 LIT: 'It's a book from Hasan that Ahmet borrowed.'
- b. Ahmet-Ø birin-den bir şey-Ø al-mış-Ø ama kim-den ne-Ø
 Ahmet-NOM so-ABL sth-NOM take-PST-3SG but who-ABL what-NOM
 bil-m-iyor-um. *Sluicing*
 know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Ahmet borrowed something from someone, but I don't know what
 from whom.' (Ince, 2012, pp. 256-260)

Ince points out another property of sluicing in Turkish, which is its island-insensitivity. Although a *wh*-phrase cannot be extracted out of an island, this is not observed in sluicing, which in fact amends island violations. A sluicing example of an adjunct island is provided in (23) below.¹⁵

¹⁵ In this respect, sluicing in Turkish is similar to sluicing in other languages, where it is notorious for escaping island effects (Ross, 1969; Chung et al., 1995; Lasnik, 2001; Fox & Lasnik, 2003; Merchant, 2001, 2008 among many others). An example of island-insensitivity in English is provided in (i). For more examples on islands in sluicing, see Ince's dissertation (2009: 56-62).

- (i) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.
 b. *I don't remember *which* (Balkan language) they want to hire someone [who speaks ___].
 (Merchant, 2001, p. 87)

- 23) A: Hasan-Ø [eski arkadaş-lar-dan bir-in-i ziyaret ed-eceğ-iz diye]
 Hasan-NOM old friend-PL-ABL one-POSS-ACC visit do-FUT-3SG for
 tatlı al-mış-Ø.
 desert buy-EVI-3SG
 ‘Hasan bought desert because we will visit an old friend.’
- B: Hangi eski arkadaş-ın-ı?
 which old friend-POSS-ACC
 ‘Which old friend of his?’ (Ince, 2009, p. 58)

According to some analyses of sluicing constructions, wh-phrases are in the [Spec CP] position so that they can escape the deletion of the TP/IP, as proposed for English and other wh-fronting languages (Chung et al., 1995; Grebenyova, 2007; Merchant, 2001; Potsdam, 2007; Ross, 1969 among others). However, the puzzle in Turkish is that wh-phrases, which do not overtly move in wh-in-situ languages, are not elided along with the TP/IP. Ince (2009) argues that wh-phrases in Turkish sluicing also raise to the [Spec CP] position and motivates this explanation by the fact that the indefinite correlate and its wh-remnant must match in case, as exemplified in (24) below, where the antecedent *biri* ‘someone’ bears the Accusative Case and so does the sluiced wh-phrase, which must have been assigned case by v^0 and then moved to a higher position since Accusative is not assigned in the CP domain.

- 24) A: Ayşe-Ø sinema-da biri-ni gör-müş.
 Ayşe-NOM theatre-LOC so-ACC see-EVI
 ‘Ayşe (apparently) saw someone in the theatre.’
- B: Kim-i/*Ø/*e?¹⁶
 who-ACC/NOM/DAT
 ‘Who?’ (Ince, 2009, p. 42)

¹⁶ Ince (2009) reports that a case mismatch where the antecedent bears a case marking, and its wh-remnant is bare is ungrammatical in Turkish sluicing. However, according to the experiment conducted in this thesis, my own judgments and Palaz (2019), lack of a case marking on the wh-remnant is acceptable.

To motivate the movement of *wh*-phrases in Turkish sluicing, Ince (2009) proposes that sluiced *wh*-phrases move to the [Spec FocP] position to check focus features as they are stressed in pronunciation and are assumed to be focused in syntax. This can be observed in (25) below. Ince also notes that focus features always trigger overt movement, thus causing the focused phrase to be pronounced in the position where focus features are checked. This is different from checking *wh*-features, which trigger covert movement because they are weak (i.e., weak features are not pronounced in the moved position).

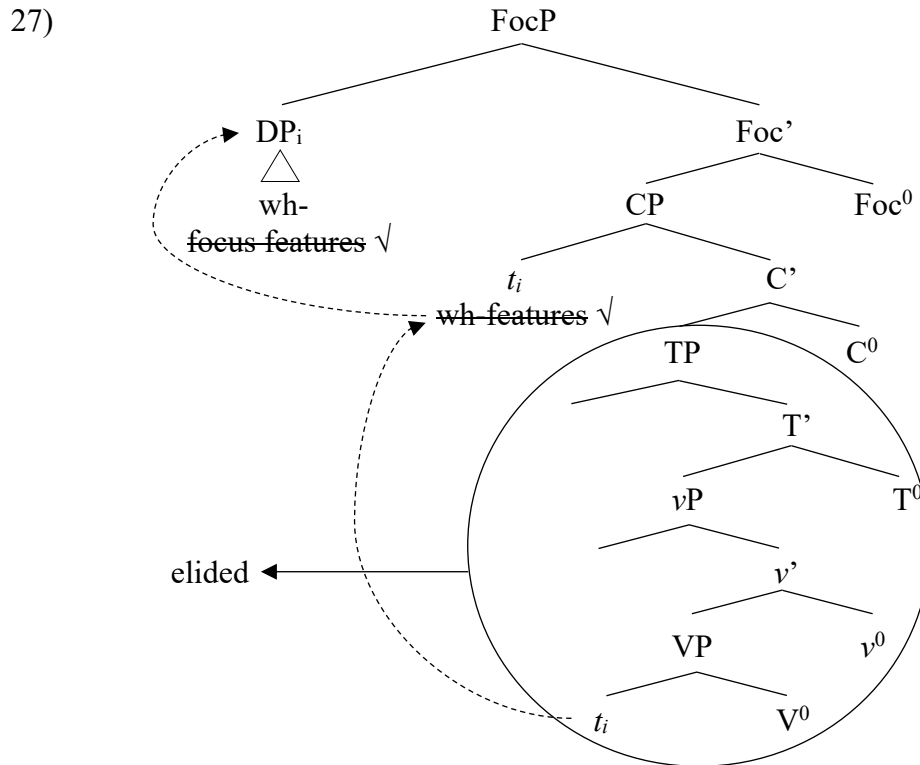
- 25) Hasan-Ø biriy-le konuş-uyor ama **kim-le** bil-m-iyor -um.
 H.-NOM so-COM talk-PROG-3SG but who-COM know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Hasan is talking with someone but I don’t know with whom.’
 (Ince, 2012, p. 253)

Differently from sluicing analyses in English (Lasnik, 1999; Merchant, 2001; Ross, 1969 among others), Ince (2009) proposes that the ellipsis site in Turkish sluicing is the complement of Foc^0 , not C^0 (he assumes that the CP is dominated by the FocP). This analysis is meant to explain why complementizers, such as the one in (26a), which are found in non-sluiced *wh*-questions and are higher than the ellipsis site, are absent in sluicing constructions as can be observed in (26b).¹⁷

- 26) *Slovene*
- a. Rad bi vedel, koga da je Peter videl. *Non-sluicing*
 glad SUBJ know whom C[-wh] AUX Peter seen
 ‘I would like to know who Peter saw.’
- b. Peter je videl nekoga in rad bi vedel, koga (*da). *Sluicing*
 Peter AUX seen someone and glad SUBJ know who that
 ‘Peter saw someone and I would like to know who.’
 (Ince, 2009, pp. 76-77)

¹⁷ See Ince (2009) for a thorough explanation along with more examples and Toosarvandani (2008) for a similar discussion of sluicing in Farsi.

Ince's analysis of Turkish sluicing is illustrated in (27).¹⁸ In the derivation below, the wh-phrase moves to [Spec CP] position to check wh-features and then raises to [Spec FocP] for focus features. The movement to FocP leads to the pronunciation of the higher copy of the wh-phrase. After the movement, the CP is elided from the construction because of the [+ELLIPSIS] feature on Foc⁰, which licenses PF-deletion.¹⁹



In addition to the typical sluicing structures, where the wh-remnant is marked only for case (matching the case of the antecedent), Ince (2006) also investigates structures that allow a Tense or an Evidential morpheme on the sluiced wh-phrase, as shown in (28) below. When the wh-phrase in a *non-elided* sentence bears verbal inflection, the sentence turns out to be ungrammatical, as in (29).

¹⁸ In his dissertation, Ince (2009) adopts the idea that verb overtly raises in Turkish (Kural, 1993; Aygen, 2002). That is, it first moves to v^0 from its original position and then raises to T^0 .

¹⁹ The analysis in Ince (2012) differs from the analysis presented in his dissertation (Ince, 2009). In Ince (2012), Ince states that the wh-phrase moves to [Spec CP] position to check wh- and focus features and the complement of CP, which is TP/IP, is elided. In Ince (2009), he proposes that it is the CP complement of the FocP that is elided. See Ince (2012) for more details.

- 28) A: Hasan-Ø her gün birin-e para ver-iyor-du.
 Hasan-NOM every day so-DAT money give-PROG-PST-3SG
 ‘Reportedly, Hasan gives money to someone every day.’
 B: Kim-e-y-di?
 who-DAT-COP-PST
 ‘To who?’
- 29) Hasan-Ø her gün kim-e-(*y-miş) para ver-iyor-muş?
 Hasan-NOM every day who-DAT-(*COP-EVI) money give-PROG-EVI-3SG
 ‘To whom does Hasan give money every day reportedly?’
 (Ince, 2006, p. 112)

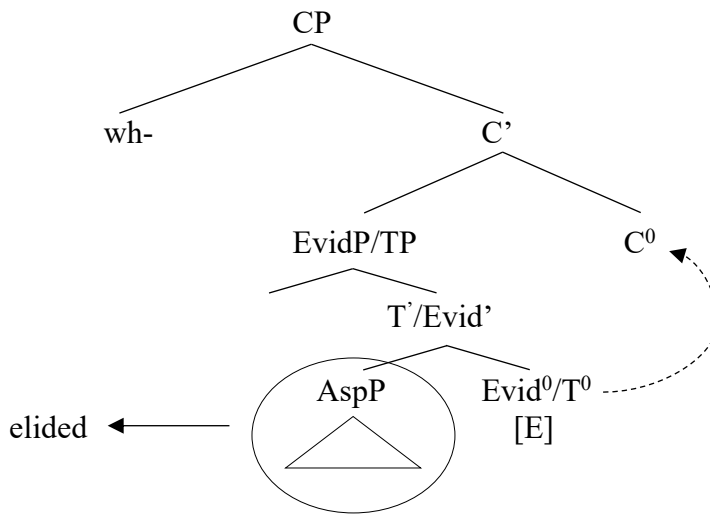
The past tense copula marker on the wh-phrases, illustrated in (28), has been perceived as support for a reduced-cleft analysis of sluicing as it also occurs in cleft structures (Kizu, 1998; 2000). However, Ince (2006) emphasizes aforementioned reasons why clefting and the structures like that in (28) require two distinct analyses and presents a further argument to this effect from preposition pied-piping. Ince shows that postposition pied-piping is not allowed in clefts whereas it is mandatory in sluicing. The examples showing this difference are given in (30).

- 30) a. Hasan-Ø bu kitab-ı birisi-Ø için al-mış-tı-Ø. *Sluicing*
 Hasan.-NOM this book-ACC so-NOM for take-EVI-PST-3SG.
 Acaba kim *(için-di)?
 I.wonder who-NOM for-PST
 ‘Hasan bought this book for someone. I wonder who for.’
- b. *Yaz-ıl-an oyun-Ø kim-Ø tarafın-dan-dı? *Clefting*
 write-PASS-REL play-NOM who-NOM by-ABL-PST
 LIT: ‘By whom was it that the play was written?’ (Ince, 2006, p. 115)

Ince defines the structure in (29) as *pseudo-sluicing* as it involves a remnant wh-phrase carrying verbal morphology along with case marking. To explain it, Ince places the ellipsis feature on T⁰/Evid⁰ in lieu of C⁰, which is line with Merchant’s argument (2008: 134) that Ellipsis feature is likely to occur on the lower heads. The explanation why in pseudo-sluicing, T⁰ or Evid⁰ are not elided along with TP/IP is that Tense or

Evidentiality morphemes are hosted by separate heads which project between CP and AspP in a derivation shown in (31) below.²⁰

31)



(Ince, 2006: p. 120)

As a piece of evidence for the analysis in (31), Ince (2006) uses the sentence in (32a), where the aspectual suffix precedes the Evidentiality morpheme, suggesting that AspP is lower than the EvidP (as predicted by Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle). He furthermore points out the independence of Tense or Evidentiality morphemes that follow the clitic Question particle *-mI* and can occur separately from the root unlike the aspectual morphemes that precede the clitic as exemplified in (32b).

32) a. Biz gid-iyor-muş-uz.
 we-NOM go-PROG-EVI-1SG
 '(It is evident/I heard that) we are going.'

b. Biz gid-iyor mu-y-muş-uz?
 we-NOM go-PROG Q-COP-EVI-1PL

'Are we supposedly going?'

(Ince, 2006, p. 116)

²⁰ Ince (2006) highlights that Evidentiality and Tense markers are different from aspectual morphemes in that only they can appear on nominal phrases as shown in (i) and (ii) below.

- (i) Öğrenci-ydi./Öğrenci-ymiş./*Öğrenci-yor./*Öğrenci-cek.
 student-PST/student-EVI/student-PROG/student-FUT
 'S/he was a student./She was supposedly a student.'
- (ii) Kim-di?/Kim-miş?/*Kim-iyor?/*Kim-ecek?
 who-PST/who-EVI/who-PROG/who-FUT
 'Who was that?/Who was supposedly that?'

Ince's proposal for the structures whose wh-remnants bear both a Case and Tense/Evidentiality marking is that T⁰/Evid⁰ in pseudo-slucing carries the Ellipsis feature, like C⁰ does in regular sluicing. Yet, unlike C⁰, which has both [+Q] and [+wh] features, T⁰/Evid⁰ head can have only one or none of them. If T⁰/Evid⁰ head had both features, then the movement of sluiced wh-phrase from T⁰/Evid⁰ to C⁰ would not be motivated. In other words, T⁰/Evid⁰ command AspP to be elided because of the Ellipsis feature and the remainders, which are the wh-phrase in [Spec CP] and EvidP/TP, have to be spelled out in the derivation of pseudo-slucing in (31). Since the morphemes hosted by T⁰/Evid⁰ cannot be spelt on their own because they are bound morphemes, they move to C⁰, which is the only landing site not deleted and the Ellipsis feature in T⁰/Evid⁰ surfaces on the wh-phrase.²¹

Ince (2012) reports that a case mismatch between the antecedent and the wh-remnant is only grammatical in embedded clause sluicing, where the indefinite correlate is the subject of the embedded clause and bears the genitive case, but the wh-phrase is bare, as exemplified in (33) below.

- 33) Ahmet-Ø [birin-in Ankara'ya git-tiğ-in]-i söyledi-Ø
 Ahmet-NOM one-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST-3SG
 ama kim bil-m-iyor-um.
 but who-NOM know-NEG-PROG.1SG
 'Ahmet said someone went to Ankara, but I don't know who.'

(Ince, 2012, p. 261)

However, unlike English-type sluicing, when the wh-remnant in the sluiced part carries the genitive case, as its antecedent does, the sentence becomes unacceptable, as shown in (34).²²

²¹ Ince (2006) suggests that the movement in (31) is motivated by the morpho-phonological link between the wh-phrase and the Tense or Evidential morphemes. See Ince (2006: 117) for more details.

²² The sentence in (34), which is assumed unacceptable by Ince (2012), is acceptable according to my own intuitions and informants, which is also supported by the results of the experiment conducted in this thesis. See Chapter 4 for more details.

34) * ... ama kim-in bil -m -iyor-um.

but who-GEN know-NEG-PROG-1SG

(Ince, 2012, p. 261)

According to Ince (2012), the mismatch between the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate in embedded sluicing clauses is an exception to the Case Matching requirement by Merchant (2001: 48).²³ He argues that the embedded sluiced wh-subject moves to a higher position, the [Spec CP] of the *matrix* clause from its position in the embedded clause. His evidence of this movement comes from the Question-like particle *ki*, which, in Turkish, can occur in matrix clauses, as in (35a), but not in embedded clauses, as shown in (35b).

35) a. Hasan-in ne ye-diğ-in-i duy-du-n ki?

Hasan-GEN what eat-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC hear-PST-2SG PRT

‘What did you hear that Hasan ate, then?’

b. *Hasan’in ne ye-diğ-in-i ki duy-du-n?

Hasan-GEN what eat-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT hear-PST-2SG

LIT: ‘What did you hear that Hasan ate, then?’ (Ince, 2012, p. 264)

The Q particle *ki* can optionally follow wh-remnants both in matrix clause sluicing and in embedded clause sluicing. The constructions are respectively exemplified in (36) and (37) below, in which the strikethrough shows the ellipsis site.²⁴ As can be observed in (37), since the position of *ki* cannot be lower than the CP-domain of the matrix clause, which is not elided along with the embedded TP/IP during the sluicing operation, Ince (2012) proposes that the embedded sluiced wh-subject raises from the most embedded [Spec CP] position to a matrix [Spec CP]. If it did not, it would be deleted and not co-occur with the Q particle.

²³ According to Ince (2012), the fact that the embedded sluiced wh-subject is bare could be viewed as a piece of evidence for the cleft analysis as the pivot of a cleft structure also bears the nominative case. However, he eliminates this possibility due to two reasons: First, building a clefting theory only on embedded wh-subjects, and sluicing theory on all the other cases may be hard and is not consistent. Second, multiple sluicing is also possible in embedded sluicing constructions, but multiple clefting is not. See Ince (2012, p. 262) for the related explanation and the exemplary sentences.

²⁴ The examples are slightly modified from Ince (2012, pp. 264-265).

- 36) A: Sen-i biri-Ø ara-dı-Ø.
 you-ACC so-NOM call-PST-3SG
 ‘Someone called you.’
 B: Kim-Ø ara-dı-Ø (ki)?
 who-NOM call-PST-3SG PRT
 ‘Who (then)?’
- 37) Hasan-Ø sen-i biri-nin ara-dıĝ-in-ı söyle-di-Ø. [_{CP₁} [Hasan-Ø
 H.-NOM you-ACC so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG H. -NOM
 sen-i [_{CP₂} [kim-in ara-dıĝ-ı]] nı söyle-di-Ø] (ki)?
 you-ACC who-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG PRT
 ‘Hasan said that someone called you. Who, (then)?’ (Ince, 2012, p. 264)

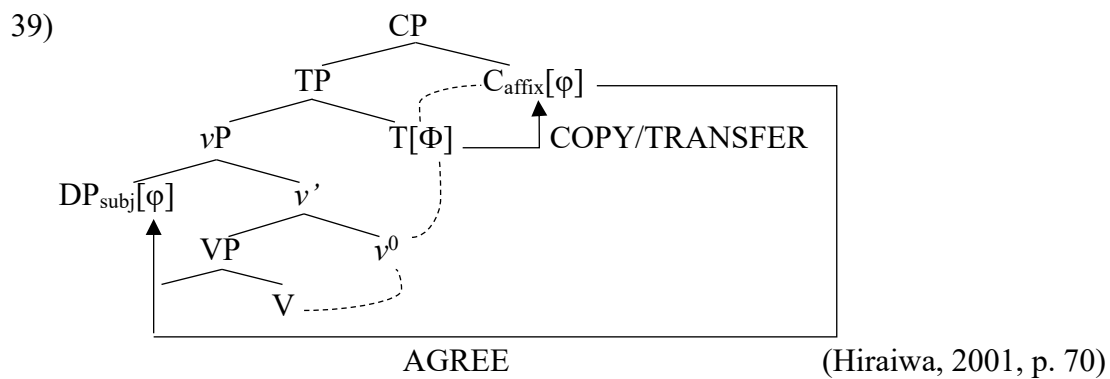
Upon establishing the position of the embedded sluiced wh-subject, Ince further assumes a Spell-out mechanism where the Spell-out operation is applied more than once (Chomsky, 2001; Chomsky & Collins, 2001; Uriagereka, 1999). In this mechanism, the domains of all phases need to be marked for deletion so that they will not be spelt out. If TP were the only domain marked for deletion in a multiple spell-out model, the domain of the first phase head vP, which is VP, would be pronounced without being elided once vP sends VP to LF and PF. When the phase head CP is merged, it would mark the element between TP and what is left from VP for deletion, which would crash the derivation. Ince also assumes the analysis of Nominative-Genitive Conversion (henceforth: NGC) by Hiraiwa (2001) in the embedded clause sluicing to offer an analysis for the mismatch between the indefinite correlate (genitive) and its wh-subject (nominative). According to NGC in Japanese, the subject in relative clauses and nominal complements can carry the nominative case or the genitive case interchangeably as observed in (38).²⁵

- 38) a. Kinoo John ga katta hon
 yesterday John-NOM buy-PST-ADN book
 ‘the book which John bought yesterday’

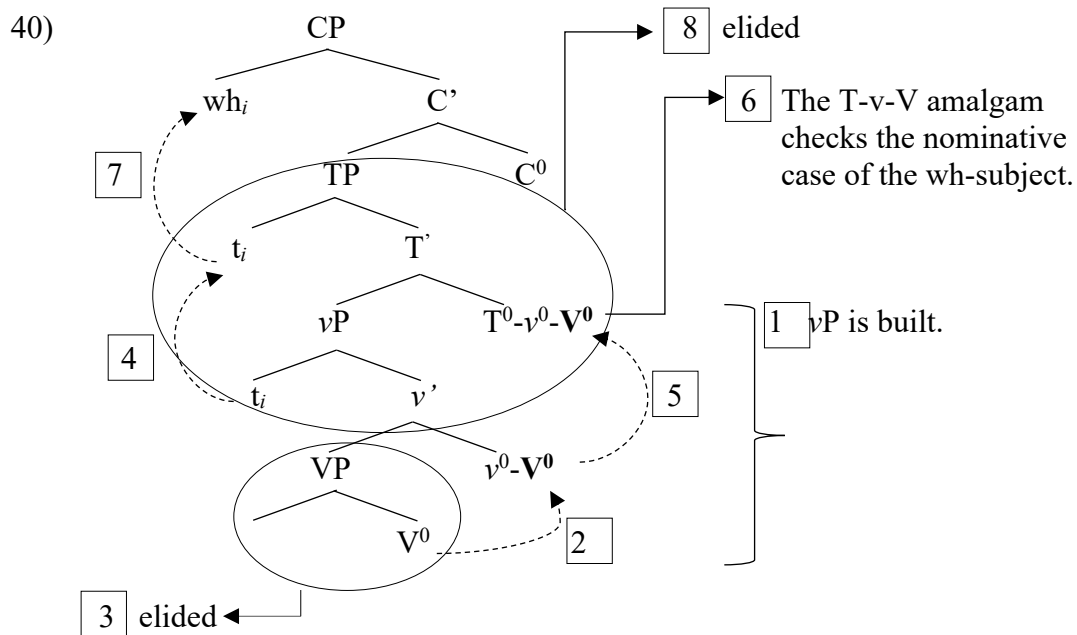
²⁵ See Hiraiwa (2001) for more Japanese data on NGC.

b. Kinoo John **no** katta hon
 yesterday John-GEN buy-PST-ADN book
 ‘the book which John bought yesterday’ (Hiraiwa, 2001, p. 68)

Hiraiwa (2001) claims that NGC occurs due to the creation of a C-T-v-V amalgam. As illustrated in (39), AGREE relation happens derivationally between T, v and V. After being merged into the derivation, C AGREES with T-v-V, forming the amalgamate C-T-v-V, and the ϕ -feature on T is copied onto C. The amalgamate consequently checks the genitive case.



Ince slightly modifies this analysis proposing that T-v-V must agree with C to check its uninterpretable features. The steps of Ince’s analysis are given in (40) below.



In the illustration above, immediately after the wh-phrase raises to [Spec CP] to check focus and wh-features (Step 7), TP is marked for deletion and transferred to the interfaces (Step 8). As the T-v-V cannot agree with C, the C-T-v-V amalgam cannot be derived prior to the Spell-out and deletion of TP. That is why, the genitive Case is never assigned to the embedded wh-subject. Also, uninterpretable genitive Case that is not checked is also deleted with the amalgam, which enables the sluicing derivation to converge.

In his investigations on SLCs in Turkish, Ince (2006, 2009, 2012) adapts Merchant's analysis of English-type sluicing and proposes that the wh-phrases move to [Spec FocP] (or CP) position, which in a wh-in-situ language like Turkish exceptionally happens in sluicing. He argues that the deletion happens in the complement of FocP (or CP) if the wh-remnant matches its antecedent in case, and the complement of TP (or EvidP) is deleted if the remnant bears a tense marking along with the case. Ince (2012) further claims that the lack of case connectivity between the wh-subject and its antecedent in embedded clause sluicing is only an exception, which is explained with Hiraiwa's Nominative-Genitive Conversion (2001). However, he does not discuss the lack of case connectivity between the wh-remnants and their antecedents in matrix clause sluicing and the possibility of a tense marker appearing on these remnants since he finds them ungrammatical.

2.2.2 Şener (2012)

Like Ince (2009), Şener (2012) maintains that SLCs cannot be analyzed as cleft constructions and refers to Ince's aforementioned arguments to support this claim. However, contra Ince (2006, 2009, 2012), who proposes a movement and deletion (MD) analysis for SLCs in Turkish, Şener (2012) offers a non-movement analysis based on his argument that focus in Turkish does not trigger any movement (Şener, 2010). Şener's analysis (2012) originates from a revised version of Maximality Condition on Ellipsis proposed by Dikken, Meinunger and Wilder (2000), stated in (41) below.

41) *Maximality Condition on Ellipsis*

If A undergoes ellipsis, ellipsis must be maximal (all the way down to, but not into XP) [where ‘A’ is the answer to a question/counterweight/*indirect question* (with an antecedent); and ‘XP’ is the focused constituent in A].

(Şener, 2012, p. 318)

The condition has been initially proposed for a type of pseudo-clefts in English, which is claimed to include a question and its answer (Dikken et al., 2000). An example is provided in (42).

42) $[_{TopP} [_{CP} \text{What Mary didn't buy}] [_{Top'} Top^0 \text{ is/was } [_{IP} \text{she didn't buy any wine}]]]$

Question
Answer

(Şener, 2012, p. 316)

Dikken, Meinunger and Wilder (2000) argue that there is a topic-comment function in these pseudo-cleft sentences in which the CP containing the wh-phrase (the question) is base-generated in [Spec TopP] and the elided IP (or TP) (the answer) becomes the *comment* by functioning as a complement to Top⁰. In line with the condition in (41), the deletion happens down to the focused phrase.

Şener argues that the Maximality Condition can be applied not only in pseudo-clefts but also in other ellipsis structures in Turkish unlike in English, so he amended it so as to add “*question/counterweight/indirect question with an antecedent*” to the condition to capture sluicing structures. Şener (2012) argues that sluicing structures also contain a question with an antecedent and its answer along with the remnant, which is at the same time the focused constituent, as shown in (43).

43) $\frac{\text{Question}}{\text{Pelin-}\emptyset_i \text{ birisin-e ders ver-iyor-}\emptyset \text{ ama } \text{Answer}}{\text{antecedent} \quad \text{focused constituent (remnant)}}$

²⁶ The sentence in (43) is adapted from Şener’s example in (44) See (44) for its intended meaning and gloss.

According to Şener’s approach, matrix sluicing in (44) is derived as in (45). The focused phrase *kime* ‘to whom’ is preceded by *pro*, which is co-indexed with the subject DP in the non-sluced sentence. Since the *pro* is null, it does not need to be elided, so the deletion applies all the way down to the focused element, wh-remnant *kime* ‘to whom’.²⁷

44) A: *Pelin-∅ birisin-e ders ver-iyor-∅.*
 Pelin-NOM so-DAT lesson give-PROG-3SG
 ‘Pelin tutors someone privately.’

B: *Kim-e?*
 who-dat
 ‘To whom?’

45) [_{IP=A} *pro* [_{XP} *kim-e*] ~~*ders ver-iyor-∅*~~]
 who-DAT lesson give-PROG-3SG (Şener, 2012, pp. 318-319)

Şener (2012) emphasizes that the derivation crashes if any constituent which is not focused such as *ders* ‘lesson’ in (45) is not deleted, which violates the Maximality Condition on Ellipsis as shown in (46a). Another possible violation could be the existence of an overt subject in the sluiced sentence instead of a *pro* since it is outside the application domain of the condition as in (46b). Şener justifies the legitimacy of *pro* and the ungrammaticality of overt subject with the claim that the topics introduced in the previous clause must be null and cannot be repeated.²⁸

46) a. [_{IP=A} *pro* [_{XP} *kim-e*] *ders* ~~*ver-iyor-∅*~~]
 who-DAT lesson give-PROG-3SG
 b. [_{IP=A} *Pelin* [_{XP} *kim-e*] *ders* ~~*ver-iyor-∅*~~]
 who-DAT lesson give-PROG-3SG (Şener, 2012, p. 319)

²⁷ Şener (2012) also applies the condition on the ellipsis in the constructions with non-wh-remnants. Since the thesis does not focus on those structures, I will not discuss them in the chapter. See Şener (2012, pp. 319-322) for the related part.

²⁸ Based on the *Avoid Pronoun Principle* by Chomsky (1981), Kornfilt (1984, p. 24) also states that “overt pronouns cannot be too close to their antecedent”, and it should be replaced by PRO when possible. Şener’s claim on *pro* due to the redundancy of the pronoun is compatible with this argument.

Unlike Ince (2006, 2009, 2012), Şener (2012) analyzes SLCs in Turkish with a non-movement approach, where the deletion happens downwards, governed by the Maximality Condition on Ellipsis and the sluice contains a *pro* instead of an overt subject. His proposal is based on the typical matrix sluicing structures, and he refers to neither case mismatches between remnants and antecedents nor the possibility of tense marker on the remnants.

3.2.3 Palaz (2018, 2019)

Following Şener (2012), Palaz (2018) regards three types of clausal ellipsis: sluicing, stripping and (embedded) fragment answers, as unified mechanisms, and contends that they are derived via an in-situ analysis.²⁹ Her analysis rests on three characteristics that these constructions have in common. First, the remnant in all three types of ellipsis has a focus feature. Second, the antecedent and the remnant bear the same case, which Palaz (2018) calls “case-connectivity”. Third, there are no island effects observed in any of them.

Palaz (2018) agrees with Ince (2009, 2012) and Şener (2012) in that clausal ellipsis is not a type of cleft construction and needs to be analyzed separately. Like Şener (2012), she proposes an in-situ approach. In her paper, she presents challenges to the MD approach of Merchant’s (2001, 2005), which has also been adapted to Turkish (Ince, 2009, 2012).

The very first problem the MD approach faces originates from the location of the complementizer *diye* ‘that’. If the *wh*-phrase raises to [Spec FocP] to check focus feature after which the complement of FocP, the CP, is elided, as Ince (2009) argues in his dissertation, the complementizer, which can optionally be pronounced after the *wh*-remnant, should not be able to survive ellipsis since it is located in C⁰. Palaz exemplifies this with the sentence in (47).³⁰

²⁹ I will not consider stripping and (embedded) fragment answers further as they are outside the scope of the current study.

³⁰ Palaz (2018) states that a projection above CP, into whose head the complementizer *diye* might merge into the derivation could be a solution, but she refutes it due to other challenges of the MD approach.

- 47) Cem-Ø biri-ni ara-mış ama kim-i **diye** sor-ma-dı-m.
 Cem-NOM so-ACC call-EVI but who-ACC **that** ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem called someone, but I didn’t ask who.’ (Palaz, 2018, p. 5)

The second problem with the MD approach is that Foci do not move in Turkish, as opposed to what Ince (2009) claims and in line with Şener’s (2010) proposal. Palaz (2018) maintains that any phrase to the left of the verb in Turkish can be focused without raising to some specific position (Göksel and Özsoy, 2000). The phrases located to the right of the verb do not introduce new information, so they are claimed not to be focused.³¹ Based on this discussion on focused constituents, Palaz (2018) argues that wh-phrases and Foci remain in situ, and shows the scope relations in sluicing as a piece of evidence that the remnants must not move. As support for this statement, Palaz refers to the ambiguity that occurs when an indefinite phrase marked accusative is located below a universal quantifier (Kelepir, 2001). As can be seen in (48), the sentence has two meanings: First, “There is a specific thing such that every student read that thing”, which is the narrow-scope reading and second, “For every student, there is a thing (x) such that every student read (x)”, which is the wide-scope reading (Palaz, 2018).

- 48) Her öğrenci-Ø NEY-İ oku-muş-Ø? $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
 every student-NOM what-ACC read-EVI-3SG
 ‘What did every student read?’ (Palaz, 2018, p. 6)

However, when the Accusative marked wh-phrase precedes the universal quantifier, as in (49), the wide-scope reading does not arise and the sentence only has the reading: “There is a specific thing such that every student read that thing”.

- 49) NEY-İ_i her öğrenci-Ø *t_i* oku-muş-Ø? $*\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
 what-ACC every student-NOM read-EVI-3SG
 ‘What did every student read?’ (Palaz, 2018, p. 6)

³¹ See Palaz (2018, p. 6) for examples.

Sluicing constructions are also ambiguous. As demonstrated in (50), the sentence induces two readings: the speaker does not know the one particular thing read by every student or different things every student read. This suggests that the sentence has the wide-scope reading, in which the *wh*-phrase is interpreted in the scope of the universal quantifier. However, if sluicing was analyzed according to the MD approach, where the *wh*-phrases move to [Spec CP] (or FocP), the ambiguous scope would disappear, and the sentence would only have a wide-scope reading. For this reason, Palaz (2018) maintains that the MD approach cannot derive the sluicing constructions in Turkish (stripping and fragment answers, as well).

- 50) Her öğrenci-Ø bir şey-i oku-muş-Ø ama ney-i bil-m-iyor-um.
 every student-Ø sth-ACC read-EVI-3SG but what-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Every student read something, but I don’t know what.’ (Palaz, 2018, p. 6)

Although Palaz (2018) agrees with Şener (2012) that a non-movement approach is necessary for sluicing in Turkish, she detects a major problem in Şener’s proposal for that. Recall that in Şener’s analysis, there is no overt subject to be elided in the ellipsis site, but there is a *pro* coindexed with the subject in the non-sluced sentence. Palaz (2018) shows that there are cases where the overt *pro* leads to ungrammaticality in sluiced clauses as in (51a), but not when the sentence is non-sluced as in (51b), which has not been established in Şener’s paper.

- 51) a. *Cem_i-Ø birin-i ara-mış-Ø ama Ece-Ø o_i kim-i bil-m
 Cem-NOM so-ACC call-EVI-3SG but Ece-NOM he who-ACC know-NEG
 -iyor-Ø.
 -PROG-3SG
 LIT: ‘Cem called someone, but Ece doesn’t know who.’
 b. ... ama Ece-Ø o_i kim-i ara-mış-Ø bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but Ece-NOM he who-ACC call-EVI-3SG know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 ‘...but Ece doesn’t know who he called.’ (Palaz, 2018, pp. 8-9)

Due to the problems of the previous analyses, Palaz (2018) follows a different non-movement approach, in which Merchant’s Ellipsis feature is adopted. According to

her proposal, the syntax of E is an uninterpretable feature $E_{[uF]}$ and it checks the uninterpretable focus feature in situ.³² As for the ellipsis, Palaz (2018) proposes the following condition in (52).

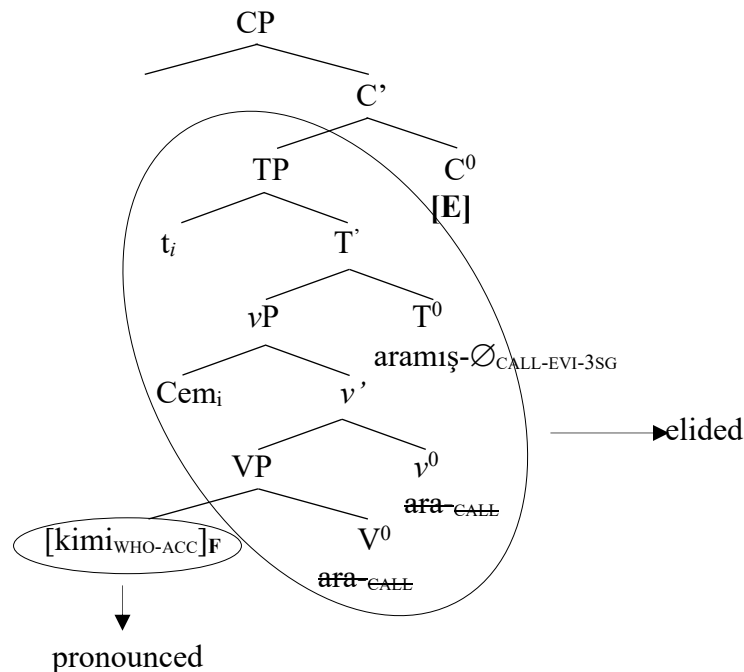
(52) Ellipsis Condition

In an XP with head X bearing an E(llipsis) feature, leave unpronounced all elements of the complement of X that are not F-marked (focused).

(Palaz, 2018, p. 9)

The condition ensures that the [E] feature on C^0 elides the complement of C^0 at PF except the constituents which are F-marked. Palaz (2018) notes that given constituents are not F-marked as they are deaccented and further argues that F-marking depends on a high pitch accent and unifies two types of focus: corrective and presentational, as suggested in Schwarzschild (1999). Corrective focus refers to the focused constituent that is assumed as a rejection to the previous context and found in stripping in Turkish. Presentational focus represents new information and describes a property of sluiced wh-remnants, which survive the deletion due to their prosodic focus and high pitch accent. Palaz's analysis can be seen in (53) below.

53)



³² In Palaz's (2018) system, interestingly it is an uninterpretable feature that checks focus.

Palaz (2018) discusses the possibility of secondary remnants that, along with the wh-remnants, must not be deleted. Based on Merchant’s P-stranding generalization (2001) in the MD approach, prepositions (Ps) that can be stranded are elided, whereas those unable to strand need to be pronounced. This is the case in Turkish, according to Ince (2009). Conversely, Palaz maintains that Ps in Turkish, which can normally be stranded, as in (54a), in sluicing lead to ungrammaticality if non-pronounced, as (54b) shows.³³ The opposite case, where stranding is unlikely, but sluicing is legitimate, is also possible, as can be seen in (55a) and (55b).

- 54) a. Kim-in_i Cem-Ø *t_i* hakkında konuş-tu-Ø?
 who-GEN Cem-NOM about talk-PST-3SG
 ‘Who did Cem talk about?’
- b. Cem-Ø birisi-Ø hakkında konuş-tu-Ø ama [kim-in] ***(hakkında)**
 Cem-NOM so-NOM about talk-PST-3SG but who-GEN ***(about)**
 hatırla-m-iyor-um.³⁴
 remember-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem talked about someone, but I don’t remember about who.’
- 55) a. *Kim-e_i Cem-Ø *t_i* doğru koş-uyor-Ø-du-Ø?
 who-dat Cem-nom towards run-prog-cop-pst-3sg
 LIT: ‘Who was Cem running towards?’
- b. Cem-Ø birisi-ne doğru koş-uyor-Ø-du-Ø ama [kim-e]
 Cem-NOM so-DAT towards run-PROG-COP-PST-3SG but who-DAT
(doğru) bil-m-iyor-um.
(towards) know-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem was running towards someone, but I don’t know who.’

(Palaz, 2018, pp. 12-13)

Since the MD approach cannot explain this behavior, Palaz proposes that the syntactic identity can account for it. If there is case connectivity between the wh-remnant that

³³ See Palaz (2018, pp. 12-13) for more examples.

³⁴ The reporting judgments are from Palaz (2018), but according to my own intuitions, the preposition *hakkında* ‘about’ can be omitted both when there is a case marking on the wh-remnant, and when there is not.

precedes the postposition and its antecedent, as in (55b) above, Ps can be deleted. However, if there is *anti-connectivity* between them, as in (54b), deletion is not feasible since Ps must check the genitive case on the wh-phrases. In other words, Palaz concludes that non-F-marked secondary remnants consist of heads whose complements must be assigned a different case from the case that their antecedents bear. Ps that assign the same case to the antecedent (indefinite pronoun) and its correlate (wh-remnant), is optionally F-marked through their complements.

As for the copula and tense/evidential morphemes, so called non-F-marked secondary remnants, unlike Ince (2006), who calls structures in which they appear pseudo-sludging, Palaz (2018) includes them in typical sluicing examples since they share common properties with other clausal ellipsis constructions. Palaz emphasizes that the presence of the tense/evidential morphemes is completely optional, causes no change in meaning and is specific to sluicing. Based on Enç's (2004) hierarchy of functional categories, in which tense and evidential morphemes take place above the others (in Zone 3), Palaz suggests that these markers can be preceded by the copula due to the non-verbal nature of the wh-phrases and can raise to C, which has an uninterpretable wh-feature and is outside the ellipsis site (E-site). They are pronounced with the remnants as in the example of the complementizer *diye* 'that' in (47). As the markers are no longer in the domain of TP, Palaz does not identify them as secondary remnants.³⁵

Ince (2006, 2009, 2012) and Palaz (2019) both distinguish between sluicing and pseudo-sludging but use these terms to describe different phenomena. For Ince, sluicing occurs when the antecedent and the bare wh-remnants match in case,³⁶ whereas the attachment of a tense or an evidential marker to the case-marked wh-remnant results in pseudo-sludging. On the other hand, Palaz discusses three facets to describe the

³⁵ Palaz (2018) highlights that the C⁰ in the other two types of clausal ellipsis does not have an uninterpretable wh-feature, which explains why only in sluicing, Tense or Evidential morphemes can survive the ellipsis.

³⁶ With the exception of embedded subject remnants.

differences between sluicing and pseudo-sluicing.³⁷ First, in sluicing, the *wh*-remnant and its antecedent bear the same case marking, as in (56a), while pseudo-sluicing lacks case-connectivity, as exemplified in (56b). Case connectivity, states Palaz, may be absent for any case in Turkish. Second, pseudo-sluicing constructions carry the copula marker regardless of a tense or an evidential marker to show that *wh*-phrases are non-verbal predicates as in (56b).³⁸ When the copula is overt, it can be realized as the allomorph *-y* according to the previous sound, as exemplified in (57), or as *-i* if it is not attached to the predicate, as in (57b) (Kelepir, 2001).³⁹

56)

Sluicing

- a. Cem-Ø biri-ne kız-mış-Ø ama kim-e sor-ma-dı-m.
 Cem-NOM so-DAT get.angry-EVI-3SG but who-DAT ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem got angry at someone, but I didn’t ask who.’

Pseudo-sluicing

- b. Cem-Ø birin-e kız-mış-Ø ama kim-Ø(-di) sor-ma-dı-m.
 C.-NOM so-DAT get.angry-EVI-3SG but who-COP(-PST) ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem got angry at someone, but I didn’t ask who (that was).’

³⁷ Palaz (2019) also discusses the island insensitivity as a difference, but I do not think it differentiates between pseudo-sluicing and sluicing constructions as both are insensitive to islands. A relative clause island in sluicing in (ia) and a complex NP island in (ib) are provided to exemplify this insensitivity.

- (i) a. Cem-Ø Pelin-e birin-den hoşlan-an kız-ı göster-miş-Ø ama
 Cem-NOM Pelin-DAT so-ABL like-REL girl-ACC show-EVI-3SG but
 kim-den hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 who-ABL remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Cem showed Pelin the girl that likes someone, but I don’t remember who.’
 (Palaz, 2018, p. 3)
- b. Cem-Ø Pelin-in birin-den hoşlan-dığı-ı söylentisi-ni duy-muş-Ø
 Cem-NOM Pelin-GEN so-ABL like-NMLZ-POSS.3SG rumor-ACC hear-EVI-3SG
 ama kim-Ø bil-m-iyor-um.
 but who-COP know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Cem heard the rumor that Pelin likes someone, but I don’t know who (that is)’
 (Palaz, 2019, p. 66)

³⁸ Palaz (2018, 2019) claims that copula is always present on *wh*-phrases in pseudo-sluicing whereas it optionally occurs when a tense marker is attached in sluicing.

³⁹ In this respect, Turkish is similar to Chinese (see Adams, 2004; Adams and Tomioka, 2012)). Japanese also allows copula on *wh*-remnants, but it is optional (Kizu, 1998).

- 57) a. Ece-Ø bir şey-den çekin-iyor-du-Ø ama ne-y-di
 Ece-NOM sth-ABL abstain-PROG-PST-3SG but what-COP-PST
 sor-ma-dı-m.
 ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Ece was abstaining from something, but I didn’t ask what (that was).’
- b. Ece-Ø birin-den çekin-iyor-du-Ø ama kim i-di
 Ece-NOM so-ABL abstain-PROG-PST-3SG but what COP-PST
 sor-ma-dı-m.
 ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Ece was abstaining from someone, but I didn’t ask who (that was).’
 (Palaz, 2019, pp. 64-65)

The last property is that *sprouting* is allowed in Turkish sluicing constructions, as shown in (58a), but not in pseudo-sluicing as in (58b), where the case of the remnant wh-phrase does not match the antecedent.^{40 41}

- 58) *Sluicing*
- a. Cem-Ø tüm gece oda-sın-da çalış-tı-Ø ama ne-ye
 Cem-NOM all night room-POSS.3SG-LOC study-PST-3SG but what-DAT
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG.1SG
 ‘Cem studied all night in his room, but I don’t know what (that is).’
- Pseudo-sluicing*
- b. *Cem-Ø tüm gece oda-sın-da çalış-tı-Ø ama ne-Ø
 Cem-NOM all night room-POSS.3SG-LOC study-PST-3SG but what-COP
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG.1SG
 LIT: ‘Cem studied all night in his room, but I don’t know what (that is).’
 (Palaz, 2019, p. 67)

⁴⁰ See 3.1 for more details on sprouting.

⁴¹ Other island-containing examples with pseudo-sluicing can be found in Palaz (2019, pp. 66-67).

Upon establishing the distinction between sluicing and pseudo-sluicing, Palaz also maintains that the analysis of pseudo-sluicing cannot be restricted to that of clefting because both island effects, as in (59a), and sprouting, as in (59b), are observed in clefts as opposed to pseudo-sluicing.

- 59) a. *Cem-in Pelin-in e_i hoşlan-dıĝ-ı söylentisin-i duy-duĝ-u
 Cem-GEN Pelin-GEN like-NMLZ-POSS.3SG rumor-ACC hear-Rel-poss.3sg
 kim_i-Ø-Ø?
 who-NOM-COP
 LIT: ‘Who is it that Cem heard the rumor that Pelin likes?’
- b. *Cem-Ø tüm gece oda-sın-da çalış-tı-Ø ama [CP Cem’in tüm
 C.-NOM all night room-POSS.3SG-LOC study-PST-3SG but C.-GEN all
 gece oda-sın-da e_i çalış-tıĝ-ı] ne-Ø bil-m-iyor-um.
 night room-POSS.3SG-LOC study-REL-3SG what-COP know-NEG-PROG.1SG
 LIT: ‘Cem studied all night in his room, but I don’t know what is it that
 Cem studied all night in his room.’ (Palaz, 2019, pp. 68-69)

In order to account for the properties of pseudo-sluicing, Palaz adapts the *pro*-form analysis, initially proposed for pseudo-sluicing in Mandarin Chinese (Adams, 2004; Adams & Tomioka, 2012). Palaz (2019) abandons an ellipsis approach for pseudo-sluicing and suggests that a *pro*, which is co-indexed with the indefinite correlate, precedes the wh-phrase. The pronoun coindexed with the antecedent can be realized or not in Turkish, as presented in (60), and it is called an E-type pronoun since it is not bound by the indefinite antecedent.

- 60) Cem-Ø birin-den_i kaç-ıyor-du-Ø ama [*pro*/ o_i kim-Ø(-di)]
 Cem-NOM so-ABL escape-PROG-PST-3SG but [who-COP(-PST)]
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Cem was escaping from someone, but I don’t know who (that was).’
 (Palaz, 2019, p. 70)

Palaz (2019) suggests that a *pro*-form analysis is advantageous with regard to island insensitivity and ungrammaticality of sprouting in pseudo-sludging. The former needs no further explanation, and the latter follows from the property of *pro* that it cannot be co-indexed with implicit arguments (Adams, 2004; Adams & Tomioka, 2012).

Palaz's analyses have a greater data coverage when compared to Ince's (2006, 2009, 2012) and Şener's (2012). Contra Ince, Palaz proposes a non-movement approach to Turkish sludging and claims that all constituents are elided except the F-marked *wh*-remnant, which survives due to the Ellipsis Condition. This analysis derives sludging with both case-connected remnants, and remnants that carry a tense marker following the case marking. Differently from previous proposals, Palaz also analyzes the remnants with no case marking regardless of the tense marker and argues that the *wh*-phrases are preceded by a *pro*, and the Ellipsis Conditions is not applicable in these structures. However, like Şener, Palaz does not capture embedded clause sludging structures with *wh*-subjects.

3.2.4 Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b)

Like all the aforementioned proposals in this chapter, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) rejects the idea that the source of SLCs is the same as that of cleft constructions. However, instead of offering a new analysis, she argues that the E-site of SLCs in Turkish can be analyzed as either stripping or sludging. The sludging account she adopts is Ince's (2006, 2009, 2012) MD approach, in which the source is an embedded clause, and the stripping account is that of Hankamer (2012), who suggests that in sludging there are two independent clauses separated by an intonation break as in (61). The intonation break is shown with # below.

- 61) Ali-Ø birisin-i azarlamış-Ø, ama kim-i? # [bil-m-iyor-um].
 Ali-NOM so-ACC scold-EVI-3SG but who-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Ali scolded someone, but I don't know who.'

(Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 351)

Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) presents three pieces of evidence to show that the sources for SLCs may be both stripping and sluicing. First, she argues that Ince’s argument that relies on the Q particle *ki* to argue for the matrix [Spec CP] position of the wh-remnant is problematic. Recall that Ince (2012) argues that the wh-remnant in the embedded CP raises to [Spec CP] of the matrix clause so that the wh-remnant can be followed by the matrix interrogative particle *ki* when sluiced. However, Zidani-Eroğlu claims that in such cases, the Q particle would be semantically linked with the matrix verb, but instead, it is associated with the embedded verb. This is shown in (62), where the Q particle *ki* is associated with the verb *ver* ‘give’, not *söyle* ‘tell’.

- 62) A: Hasan-Ø Ahmet’in birisin-e kitap ver-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø.
H.-NOM A.-GEN so-DAT book give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
‘Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book.’
B: Kim-e (ki)?
who-DAT PRT
‘Who, (then)?’ (Ince, 2012, p. 264 as cited in Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

Zidani-Eroğlu accounts for this by proposing that the E-site of the sluiced sentence is smaller than Ince proposed. Ince’s proposal is illustrated in (63a), and Zidani-Eroğlu’s proposal in (63b), which accounts for the fact that *ki* is restricted to matrix interrogative clauses and it obviates the need for extra movement of the wh-phrase.

- 63) a. [kim-e_i CP [C’ [TP Hasan Ahmet’in *t_i* kitap verdiğini söyledi] ki]]
b. [kim-e_i CP [Ahmet *t_i* kitap verdi] ki] (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

Hankamer’s view (2012) is compatible with Zidani-Eroğlu’s analysis in (63b) above as the clause with the Q particle *ki* would be in a separate sentence, followed by another sentence, as in (64).

- 64) Hasan-Ø [Ahmet'in birin-e kitap ver-diğ-in-i] söyledi-Ø
 Hasan-NOM [Ahmet-GEN so-DAT book give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama kim-e ki. # Bilmiyorum.
 but who-DAT then. # know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book, but who then. I don't know.'
 (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

A second piece of evidence for the possible sources of sluicing in Turkish comes from backward sluicing. Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) notes that backward sluicing in Turkish is grammatical, as shown in (65). However, Hankamer's stripping analysis of sluicing, although advantageous in terms of explaining the distribution of the Q particle *ki*, predicts it to be ungrammatical. If the stripping analysis were the only analysis of Turkish SLCs, the grammaticality of (65) would remain mysterious. Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) refutes Hankamer's claim that backward sluicing is not possible in Turkish and proposes that its grammaticality is explained by an alternative, MD sluicing source for SLCs.⁴²

- 65) (Henüz) Kim-i bil-me-diğ-im halde, Ali-Ø birisin-i
 (as of now) who-ACC know-NEG-NMLZ-POSS.1SG although, Ali-NOM so-ACC
 iş-e al-acak-mış-Ø.
 job-DAT take-FUT-EVI-3SG
 'Although I don't know who, Ali, supposedly, is going to hire someone.'
 (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 353)

Finally, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) argues that the Negative Polarity Item (NPI) adverbs also support the MD approach (Ince, 2012) in the embedded sentences in SLCs. Adverbs such as *hâlâ* 'still' and *asla* 'never' must be in the domain of the negation. In (66a), the NPI adverb precedes the negated verb in the same domain, which is licit, whereas (66b) is ungrammatical since there is no negation that precedes or follows the adverb.

⁴² See Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b: p. 353) for Hankamer's example and other well-formed backward sluicing instances.

- 66) a. Ali-Ø hâlâ gel-me-di-Ø.
 Ali-NOM still come-NEG-PST-3SG
 ‘Ali still hasn’t come yet.’
 b. *Ali-Ø hâlâ gel-di-Ø.
 Ali-NOM (still) come-PST-3SG (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 353)

When these NPI adverbs occur next to the wh-remnant, sluiced (or stripped) without negation, they lead to ungrammaticality, as observed in (67).

- 67) a. Ali-Ø birisin-i davet et-miş-Ø, *[ama asla kim-i?]
 Ali-NOM so-ACC invitation do-EVI-3SG but never who-ACC
 ‘Ali supposedly invited someone, but (never) who (never)?’
 b. Ali-Ø birisin-i davet et-miş-Ø, [ama kim-i?]
 Ali-NOM so-ACC invitation do-EVI-3SG but who-ACC
 ‘Ali supposedly invited someone, but who?’ (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 353)

However, when there is a negated matrix verb following the wh-remnant, the sentence becomes legitimate with the NPI adverb as in (68). Also, the adverb can precede or follow the remnant in this environment.

- 68) Ali-Ø birisin-i davet et-miş-Ø, ama (asla) kim-i (asla)
 Ali-NOM so-ACC invitation do-EVI-3SG but (never) who-ACC (never)
 bil-e-mey-eceğ-im.
 know-CAP-NEG-FUT-1SG
 ‘Ali invited someone, but I will never be able to know who.’
 (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 354)

Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) concludes that Ince’s view can account for the sentences like the one in (68), in which the NPI adverb’s position can change relative to the wh-remnant. However, the stripping analysis only predicts the sentences where the NPI adverb *follows* the remnant, not the ones in which the adverb *precedes* the wh-phrase since in that case, the NPI is not in the scope of the negation. This is shown by the contrast in (69).

- 69) a. *Ali birisin-den borç al-mış ama (hala) kim-den. # öğren-e-me-di-m.
 b. Ali birisin-den borç al-mış ama kim-den. # (hala) öğren-e-me-di-m.

(Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 354)

Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) briefly compares two different analyses of SLCs in Turkish: a stripping account, on which embedded sluicing is analyzed as two independent sentences (Hankamer, 2012) and the MD account adopted by Ince (2012). As there are environments where one account can be applied when the other is not licit, she concludes that both accounts have their own advantages and only one analysis is not sufficient to capture SLCs in Turkish.

3.3 CONCLUSION

Among the proposals mentioned in this chapter, only Ince (2012) focuses on the genitive case connectivity problem between the *wh*-remnant and its antecedent in the embedded clause sluicing. Ince (2012) finds a mismatch, repeated here from (33a) above grammatical and a match, repeated from (33b), ungrammatical.

- 70) a. Ahmet-Ø [birin-in Ankara'ya git-tiğ-in]-i söyledi-Ø
 Ahmet-NOM one-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC say-PST-3SG
 ama kim bil-m-iyor-um.
 but who-NOM know-NEG-PROG.1SG

‘Ahmet said someone went to Ankara, but I don’t know who.’

- b. * ... ama kim-in bil-m-iyor-um.
 but who-GEN know-NEG-PROG-1SG (Ince, 2012, p. 261)

Ince (2009, 2012) also states that the absence of case connectivity between the remnants and their antecedents, shown in (71), is ungrammatical, while Palaz (2019) reports that such examples are acceptable and proposes a *pro* analysis to account for their well-formedness.

- 71) %Cem-Ø birin-e kız-mış-Ø ama kim-Ø(-di) sor-ma-dı-m.
 C.-NOM so-DAT get.angry-EVI-3SG but who-COP(-PST) ask-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Cem got angry at someone, but I didn’t ask who (that was).’
 (Palaz, 2019, p. 64)

Also, none of the analyses reported here explains why sentences are ill-formed when the *wh*-remnant bears the accusative or genitive case along with a tense marker, but well-formed with other cases. The contrast is illustrated in (72). The example with a dative case on the remnant and correlate in (72a) repeated from (28).

- 72) a. Hasan-Ø her gün birin-e para ver-iyor-du. Kim-e-ydi?
 Hasan-NOM every day so-DAT money give-PROG-PST-3SG who-DAT-PST
 ‘Reportedly, Hasan gives money to someone every day. To who?’
 (Ince, 2006, p. 112)

- b. *Fatih-Ø birin-i gör-dü-Ø ama kim-iy-di
 F.-NOM so-ACC see-PAST-3SG but who-ACC-PAST
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember -NEG-PROG-1SG
 LIT: ‘Fatih broke something but I don’t remember what.’
- c. *Fatih-Ø birin-in ara-dı-ğ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-in-di
 F.-NOM so-GEN call-NML-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PAST-3SG but who-GEN-PST
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 LIT: ‘Fatih said that someone called, but I don’t remember who.’

Ince (2006) and Palaz (2019) analyze these structures, the former using an MD approach as in Merchant (2001, 2005) and the latter a non-movement *pro*-analysis. However, neither analysis accounts for the reason why the tense marker cannot be attached to the accusative (in *wh*-objects) and genitive (in *wh*-subjects) when sluiced.

In my proposal, which will be discussed in Chapter 5, I will adopt Ince’s (2006, 2009) MD analysis and Palaz’s (2019) *pro*-form analysis to unify the matrix clause sluicing and embedded clause sluicing. Contra Ince, I will also argue for some refinements

regarding the position of *wh*-subjects in embedded clause sluicing and the source of the sluice based on the revision on the distribution of question particle *ki*. Prior to all these arguments, in the following chapter, I will first present the experiment conducted on the acceptability of SLCs in Turkish to establish a solid analysis reaching reliable judgments.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIMENT

This chapter comprises four sections: The first section briefly introduces the purpose of the study, the research questions and the predicted outcomes. The second section describes the tool, participants, design and analysis of the study, and is followed by the third section that reports the results of the experiment. Finally, the last section discusses the findings with regard to the former theoretical studies on sluicing in Turkish.

4.1 AIM

Existing analyses of sluicing in Turkish defend the idea that wh-in-situ languages do not have bona fide sluicing constructions that exist in English (Ince, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018, 2019; Şener, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b).⁴³ However, in most if not all of these analyses, the Turkish sentences under investigation are reported as grammatical or ungrammatical based on informal native speakers' judgments and because of the informal way in which these judgments are collected, they are potentially questionable. To amend this weakness in the existing literature on sluicing in Turkish, this chapter reports an experiment in which speakers' judgments were gathered formally, in an experiment designed in order to test the acceptability of possible sluicing constructions in Turkish, which would inform an analysis of sluicing. In particular, this experiment tests the acceptability of sluicing in Turkish depending on two parameters: first, the

⁴³ See Chapter 3 for the summary of the sluicing analyses in Turkish proposed so far.

grammatical function of the wh-remnant of the sluiced clause (object of the matrix clause, subject of the embedded clause) and second, the case marking on the wh-remnant of sluicing relative to the case on its non-sluiced indefinite correlate. This case marking may be identical on the two phrases (the case on the wh-remnant is identical to the case on the indefinite correlate), in which case we have a *match*-condition, or the two may carry be different case markings, in which case we have a *mismatch*-condition. In addition, the acceptability of wh-remnants in both match and mismatch condition was tested depending on whether they do or do not carry a tense marker, which is a possibility in Turkish (Ince, 2006; Palaz, 2019).

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PREDICTIONS

The following research questions are addressed in this experiment:⁴⁴

1. How do native speakers of Turkish judge the (mis)match conditions (match, match-tense, mismatch, mismatch-tense) of object and embedded subject wh-remnants of sluicing in Turkish?
 - 1.1. Do participants accept a case mismatch between object wh-remnants and their antecedents in sluicing constructions?
 - 1.2. Do participants accept a case match between embedded subject wh-remnants and their antecedents in sluicing constructions (which, in the previous analyses, is assumed to be ungrammatical (Ince, 2012))?
 - 1.3. Do participants accept the presence of a tense marker on both object and subject wh-remnants and how does this preference interact with the (mis)match conditions?

⁴⁴ The variables manipulated in this experiment are as follows: The case type refers to the kind of case marking (namely accusative, dative, ablative and genitive) that the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate bear. The match type corresponds to the four (mis)match conditions between the antecedent and its remnant, which is listed as follows: match where both carry the same case, match-tense in which the remnant has both the case and the tense markers, mismatch where the wh-phrase is bare, and lastly mismatch-tense in which the remnant has only the tense marker. The last variable is wh-type that comprises two kinds of wh-phrases (*kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’) either of which occurs in the sentences. See 4.3.2 for more details on materials and design.

2. Does any particular case type (accusative, dative, ablative, genitive) on the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate make a sluiced sentence more likely to be judged as acceptable or unacceptable in any mis(match) condition?
3. Does the wh-type (animate/inanimate) affect the acceptability ratings of any (mis)match conditions in object or subject wh-remnants?
4. Does the wh-type affect the acceptability ratings of the case type on the wh-remnants in object or subject positions?

Based on the informal acceptability judgments collected prior to the experiment, I expect the following predictions to be confirmed by the results:

- A case mismatch between object wh-remnants and their correlates will be acceptable. This contradicts the judgment reported by Ince (2009, 2012) and supports that reported by Palaz (2019).
- A case match between embedded subject wh-remnants and their antecedents, which is claimed to be ungrammatical in Ince (2012), will be rated acceptable. If the findings support this prediction, a new analysis will be required for Turkish sluicing constructions with embedded subject wh-remnants.
- A case match when a tense marker is present on object wh-remnants with dative and ablative cases will be evaluated well-formed, whereas those on object wh-remnants with accusative and the ones on embedded subject wh-remnants will not be preferred by the participants.
- Due to the different predictions for a case match and a tense marker on object wh-remnants depending on the cases, an interaction between cases and (mis)matching conditions is expected to occur.
- It is also predicted that wh-type will not affect any conditions.

4.3 METHOD

4.3.1 Acceptability Judgment Task

Introduced and first discussed by Chomsky (1965), the notion *acceptability* is a degree of “the extent to which an utterance sounds ‘good’ or ‘bad’ to the speaker” (Schütze

& Sprouse, 2013, pp. 27-28). It is different from *grammaticality* in the sense that the acceptability is germane to linguistic performance and grammaticality to linguistic competence (Chomsky, 1965). Grammaticality is comprised of “constructs” in human mind that cannot be observed directly, whereas acceptability can be measured (Bross, 2019, pp. 5-6). However, the latter might give linguists ideas about the internal grammar of population samples who perform Acceptability Judgment Tasks (AJTs) and ultimately help them build theories on grammar insofar as the tested samples are generalizable. Given these considerations, the acceptability was employed in the current study.

AJTs can be either informal, through asking some laypeople’s opinions, generally acquaintances, or formal, performed in a quasi-experimental research design. There is no general consensus among researchers on which way is better. There are studies reporting that neither surpasses the other in terms of methodology or statistical power, and both have their advantages and pitfalls (Culicover & Jackendoff, 2010; Featherston, 2009; Phillips, 2009; Sprouse & Almeida, 2011, 2013). On the other hand, some researchers claim that informal acceptability judgments might pose problems in theory building because of three main reasons: inadequate number of stimuli, insufficient number of participants and cognitive biases of the researchers or the participants, the former of which may occur due to the need of a researcher to confirm his or hers own hypotheses, and the latter due to the participants’ awareness of research questions or hypotheses (Edelman & Christiansen, 2003; Ferreira, 2005, Gibson & Fedorenko, 2010, 2013; Gibson, Piantadosi & Fedorenko, 2013; Wasow & Arnold, 2005). Moreover, informal judgments have been reported to be faulty or deficient, which led to spurious theoretical assumptions (Gibson & Fedorenko, 2013; Hitz & Francis, 2016). Turkish sluicing so far has not been investigated through formal AJTs, so one of the aims of the present study is to complement the findings of the existing research with the results of a more formally designed and conducted AJT. The results of this formal AJT were used to inform the analysis of sluicing in Turkish.

4.3.2 Materials and Design

A rating task including 128 experimental items was designed to answer the research questions (see Appendix C for a full list of experimental items). All experimental items contained a sluiced clause introduced by a wh-phrase (*kim* ‘who’ or *ne* ‘what’). There were two kinds of experimental items (also analyzed separately), depending on the grammatical function of the wh-remnant of sluicing: in one kind of items, wh-remnants were grammatical objects of an embedded clause (case marked accusative, dative, or ablative) and in the other kind of items, wh-remnants were grammatical subjects of an embedded clause (case marked genitive). In what follows, I will first describe the critical items involving wh-objects and then those involving wh-subjects.

All wh-object critical items consisted of two parts (an antecedent clause and a sluice) conjoined by the coordinating conjunction *ama* ‘but’. They all started with female and male proper names, equal in number, and continued with transitive verbs taking an indefinite object *biri* ‘somebody’ (so) or *bir şey* ‘something’ (sth). Indefinite objects varied in their case marking: accusative (*-I*), dative (*-E*), or ablative (*-DEn*). In each case condition (x3), there were 8 different verbs, yielding 24 verbs in total. In both dative and ablative conditions, 4 of the verbs were psych verbs (Cetinoglu & Butt, 2008; İbe, 2004; Göksel & Kerslake, 2004). The sluice, which followed the conjunction *ama* ‘but’, began with a wh-remnant of sluicing: *kim* ‘who’ or *ne* ‘what’. The wh-remnant either carried the same case marking as the indefinite object in the antecedent clause (the match condition) or did not carry any case morphology (the mismatch condition). Wh-remnants also varied along another dimension: the presence versus the absence of tense marking (perfective *-DI*). This yielded the following four experimental conditions:

- i. Match
- ii. Match-Tense
- iii. Mismatch (Bare)
- iv. Mismatch-Tense

Given the three cases under consideration (accusative, dative, ablative), there were 12 experimental conditions for *kim* ‘who’ and the same number of experimental conditions for *ne* ‘what’. The sentence ended with the negated verb *hatırla-* ‘remember’ inflected with the perfective morpheme *-DI*. The length of the sentences and the types of the words used in the items were aimed to be similar, so that there could be as little variation as possible amongst conditions. The design of the critical items in Experiment 1 is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. *Design of the Critical Items 1*

OBJECT WH-REMNANT CONDITIONS			
i. <i>birin-i/e/den</i> so-ACC/DAT/ABL		ama	hatırla-m-iyor-um. remember-NEG-PROG.1SG
Figen-Ø Figen-NOM	V-DI-Ø V-PST-3SG	but	
ii. <i>bir şey-i/e/den</i> sth-ACC/DAT/ABL		ama	hatırla-m-iyor-um. remember-NEG-PROG.1SG
		but	

The embedded wh-subject critical items, namely genitive conditions, were also created with a similar design, by manipulating the match type (x4) and wh-type (x2) as shown in Table 2 below. These items, however, included *embedded* sluicing structures, that is, the wh-remnants were *subjects* of embedded clauses, used with 2 optionally transitive, 2 unergative and 6 unaccusative verbs (all of which require only one argument) (Acartürk & Zeyrek, 2010; Kurtoğlu, 2006; Nakipoğlu, 2009). All items started with a matrix subject (a female or male name, equal in number), followed by the embedded clause introduced by a genitive indefinite subject *birinin* ‘someone.gen’ or *bir şeyin* ‘something.gen’, an optionally transitive, unergative and unaccusative embedded verb and the matrix verb *söyle-* ‘tell’ which was marked with the perfective

tense morpheme *-DI*. Then followed the conjunction *ama* ‘but’ and the sluice introduced by a wh-remnant *kim* ‘who’ or *ne* ‘what’. The remnant either carried the genitive case morpheme *-In* or not. Also, sluice remnants were either affixed by a tense suffix or not, like the wh-remnants in the wh-object conditions. The final element in the experimental items was the negated verb *hatırla* ‘remember’ in 1st person singular agreement. The experimental manipulations in the subject wh-remnant items are shown in Table 3.⁴⁵

Table 3. *Design of the Critical Items 2*

SUBJECT WH-REMNANT CONDITIONS				
i. biri-nin so-GEN		a. kim-in who-GEN b. kim-in-di who-GEN-PST c. kim who d. kim-di who-PST		
Ali-Ø Ali-NOM	V-DIk-InI V-NMLZ-3SG-ACC	söyledi-Ø tell-PAST-3SG	ama but	hatırla-m-ıyor-um. remember-NEG-PROG.1SG
ii. bir şey-in sth-GEN		e. ne-yin what-GEN f. ne-yin-di what-GEN-PST g. ne what h. ne-ydi what-PST		

Thirty-six filler items were created to conceal the purpose of the experiment and to avoid the mere exposure effect (see Bross, 2019, p. 33). There were three types of filler items, equal in number: items featuring Forward Gapping, items featuring Backward Gapping and items that were Questions. Gapping formed two-thirds of the filler items because as a type of ellipsis, it could provide homogeneity among critical and filler

⁴⁵ Originally, there was a fourth variable manipulated in the experiment, and it was the tense type: alongside the perfective morpheme *-DI*, the evidential morpheme *-miş* was used on the matrix verb in the non-slucied clause. However, this manipulation was excluded from the data analysis because the analysis was too difficult to run with four variables. Thus, half of the collected data, where the Evidential marker was used in the critical items, is reserved for further research.

items. All fillers had 1:2 ratio of grammatical to ungrammatical structures, which yielded 12 well-formed and 24 ill-formed items in total.⁴⁶ Fillers containing gapping had a 1:1 ratio of declarative and interrogative sentences, whereas questions had an equal number of YN and wh-questions. All filler items contained an embedded clause and a matrix clause in which the verbs used were either transitive or intransitive, equal in number. The sentences started with a name which was used only once (like in the critical items, and the same verb was repeated not more than twice across sentences. Sample filler items are given in Table 4 below (see Appendix D for a full list of filler items).

⁴⁶ The reason why ungrammatical fillers outnumbered grammatical ones was that at least three-fourths of critical items were expected to be grammatical based on the informal acceptability judgments elicited prior to the formal data collection, so the number of grammatical and ungrammatical items in the experiment were almost evened.

Table 4. Sample Filler Items

		FORWARD GAPPING
Grammatical	<i>DECL</i>	a. Müge'-nin okul-dan gel-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-um, Onur'-un ise iş-ten. Müge-GEN school-ABL come-NMLZ-POSS. 3SG-ACC know-PROG-1SG Onur-GEN as for work-ABL 'I know that Müge came from school and Onur (came) from work.'
	<i>Q</i>	b. Oğuz'-un mu çukur-a atla-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-sun, Ahu'-nun mu? Oğuz-GEN Q pit-DAT jump-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG-2SG Ahu-GEN Q 'Do you know whether Oğuz jumped into the pit or Ahu (jumped into the pit)?'
Ungrammatical	<i>DECL</i>	c. *Giray'-in ev-de dur-duğ-un-u, Nur'un ise bahçe-de bil-iyor-um. Giray-GEN home-LOC stop-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC Nur-GEN as for garden-LOC know-PROG-1SG LIT: 'I know that Giray stayed at home and Nur (stayed) in the garden.'
	<i>Q</i>	d. *Saime'-nin top mu oyna-diğ-in-i, Bekir'in ise ip bil-iyor-sun? Saime-GEN ball Q play-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC Bekir-GEN as for rope know-PROG-2SG LIT: 'Do you know that Saime played with the ball and Şenay (played) with the rope?'
		BACKWARD GAPPING
Grammatical	<i>DECL</i>	a. Pelin'-in ev-e, Hale'-nin ise market-e git-tiğ-in-i bil-iyor-um. Pelin-GEN home-DAT Hale-GEN as for market-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG-1SG 'I know that Pelin went home and Hale (went) to the market.'
	<i>Q</i>	b. Fatma'-nin iyi, Beyza'-nın ise kötü yüz-düğ -ün-ü bil-iyor mu-sun? Fatma-GEN good Beyza-GEN as for bad swim-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG Q-2SG 'Do you know that Beyza swims well and Fatma (swims) badly?'

Table 4. Sample Filler Items (cont' d)

Ungrammatical	DECL	c. *Soner'-in ise diziyi, Bengü'-nün film-i izle-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-um. Soner-GEN as for series-ACC Bengü-GEN movie-ACC watch-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG-1SG LIT: 'I know that Soner watched the series and Bengü (watched) the movie.'
	Q	d. *Çağan'-in geç mi, Sevim'-in ise erken uyan-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-sun? Çağan-GEN late Q Sevim-GEN as for early wake.up-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG-2SG LIT: 'Do you know whether Çağan woke up late and Sevim (woke up) early?'
QUESTIONS		
Grammatical	DECL	a. Belma'-nın kim-e köpeğ-in havla-diğ-in-i söyle-diğ-in-i bil-iyor mu-sun? Belma-GEN who-DAT dog-GEN bark-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG Q-2SG 'Do you know to whom Belma told that the dog was barking?'
	Q	b. Umur'-un kim-e cam-in çatla-diğ-in-i söyle-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-sun? Umur-GEN who-DAT glass-GEN crack-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-PROG-2SG 'Whom do you know Umur told that the glass cracked?'
Ungrammatical	DECL	c. *Feyza'-nın sürekli esne-diğ-in-i söyle-diğ-in-i kim-in bil-iyor mu-sun? Feyza-GEN constantly yawn-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-NMLZ-3SG-ACC who-GEN know-PROG Q-2SG LIT: 'Do you know who Feyza said constantly yawned?'
	Q	d. *Tekin'-in manav-a git-tiğ-in-i söyle-diğ-in-i kim-in bil-iyor-sun? Tekin-GEN grocery-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC who-GEN know-PROG-2SG LIT: 'Who do you know told that Tekin went to the grocery?'

Each item in the experiment was followed by a five-point Likert response format, which was preferred over a seven-point one because it leads to shorter tails and less skewness of the data distribution (De Winter & Dodou., 2010). The Likert options representing the responses were as follows: 1 = definitely unacceptable, 2 = unacceptable, 3 = neutral, 4 = acceptable, 5 = definitely acceptable. The acceptability of the four match types (match, match-tense, mismatch, mismatch-tense) were tested by manipulating case type (accusative, dative, ablative, genitive) and wh-type (*kim* ‘who’, *ne* ‘what’). These manipulations generated 32 experimental conditions in total. There were 4 items per condition, leading to a total of 128 critical items that were counterbalanced using the Latin square procedure across 4 lists to avoid the carryover effects (Bross, 2019, p. 34). In other words, each list included one token per experimental condition and consequently consisted of 32 critical items. Each verb was used only once in each list so that the type of the verb could not influence the judgments. All proper names used for matrix subjects were used only once per list. All lists were also reversed to mitigate the fatigue effects among participants, which yielded 8 lists in total. The lists were pseudo-randomized, so that items in the same condition were not presented consecutively, to prevent a possible effect of the order on the ratings (see Greenbaum & Quirk, 1970).

4.3.3 Participants

A total of 216 participants, whose ages ranged from 18 to 39 ($M = 20.94$, $SD = 2.97$), completed the experiment. There were 143 females ($age: M = 20.64$, $SD = 2.029$) and 70 males ($age: M = 21.53$, $SD = 4.289$) whereas 3 participants ($age: M = 21.33$, $SD = 1.528$) identified themselves as neither. All lists in the experiment had an equal number of participants, 27 each. As the experiment required an understanding of Likert response formats and items, the participants were chosen among university students through purposive sampling. They were undergraduates at a state university in Turkey at the time of data collection and native speakers of Turkish without any other mother tongue. Those who were simultaneous and early consecutive bilinguals were not included in the experiment as the knowledge of another language might have affected their judgments in Turkish. They also had neither language, nor vision impairments reported that could impede their performance in the study. All students

consented to take part in the experiment, half of whom earned extra course credits for their participation, and the rest volunteered out of interest (see Appendix E for the Consent Form).

4.3.4 Procedure

The experiment was conducted on desktop computers with 17-inch monitors using the online survey software LimeSurvey, version 3.22.12 (LimeSurvey Project Team et al., 2012). One item, along with the Likert-response box below it, was presented on the screen per page in the 24-point black Arial font and all items were mandatory to answer, so proceeding without rating a sentence was not possible. There were two main reasons to program the experiment on an online tool. Firstly, LimeSurvey distributes the lists to the participants randomly through one URL, which is a more practical way of randomization. Secondly, the responses of the participants can be exported from the software, which eliminates the need for the data entry and saves time. Although LimeSurvey can be run on any browser regardless of the device, the reason why computers were used instead of participants' smartphones was to keep the amount of distraction to a minimum.

The data collection procedure took place in the same computer laboratory with a capacity of 30 people and lasted two months to complete. Due to the limited number of computers, different time slots were allocated to the participants in accordance with their schedules. On their appointed days, they came to the laboratory at least five minutes before the time of the experiment for the necessary arrangements to be made. At the beginning of each session, participants were first informed about the anonymity of their participation, the electronic consent form in the survey and the duration of the experiment. Then, they were told that a demographic information form needed to be filled for scientific purposes upon the confirmation of their participation (see Appendix B for the demographic questions). After the brief information part, the URL to the experiment was emailed to the participants each of whom was assigned a computer in the laboratory. They were asked to sign into their emails on the same web browser and wait for the instructions from the researcher, who ensured that all participants received the email including the experiment's URL. The task and the notion of the acceptability

were explained without the aim of the study being revealed. The participants were instructed to rate the sentences based on how natural they sound, ask themselves whether they would use them in any situation and not to judge the content of the items.⁴⁷ They were not provided with any trial items as they were familiar with the type of the task. There was no time constraint during the sessions; the experiment took not more than 30 minutes to complete. Once everybody finished the task in a session, the questions about the study were answered by the researcher and the participants who did not have any questions were allowed to leave the laboratory. The method, design and the items of the experiment were reviewed and approved by METU Ethics Committee prior to the data collection period (see Appendix A for the Approval of METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee).

4.3.5 Data Analysis

Two separate analyses, one for object wh-remnants and one for subject wh-remnants, were conducted in this study. The former was analyzed through a three-way ANOVA, and the latter a two-way ANOVA. In the wh-object analysis, the independent variables were: case type with 3 levels (accusative, dative, ablative), match type with 4 levels (match, match-tense, mismatch, mismatch-tense) and wh-type with 2 levels (*kim* ‘who’, *ne* ‘what’), whereas in the wh-subject analysis, independent variables were match type and wh-type with the same levels as before, but there was no case type since all the wh-remnants in the match condition were genitive. In both analyses, the dependent variable was the ratings of the AJT.

The analysis of Likert data has long been debated in regard to the type of the test that needs to be applied. Researchers have maintained the idea that Likert-type data should be analyzed using non-parametric tests as they are ordinal scales, that is, the order of values is important and the distance between them cannot be measured (Kuzon et al., 1996; Jamieson, 2004). On the other hand, there have been claims that assuming Likert scales are intervals, parametric tests can be performed on them because of their robustness and practicality (Bross, 2019, p. 47; Pell, 2005; Stevens, 1951, p. 26;

⁴⁷ The participants were not given instructions on prosody.

Sullivan & Artino Jr, 2013 among many others). Moreover, studies comparing parametric and non-parametric tests on ordinal data have shown that the differences in statistical power and error rates between them are minor and both are appropriate for Likert scales (Endresen & Janda, 2017; Winter et al., 2010). Based on the findings of aforementioned studies and the design of the study that is most conveniently analyzed by ANOVA, parametric statistics was preferred in the analyses. The same data screening procedures were applied for both object and subject wh-remnant data. Prior to the analyses, participants who did not complete the experiment were removed. This resulted in the loss of 12 participants. Z scores of the data were used to detect outliers. Extreme ratings with 3 standard deviations above and below the mean in each condition were excluded and the missing values were replaced by the mean including outliers per condition. The discarded responses led to a total of 0.58% data loss.⁴⁸ The data was not transformed for normalization due to three reasons.⁴⁹ First, it is suggested that the Likert data should be transformed when participants do not use the full range of the values on Likert scales (i.e., in the presence of the scale bias) (Bross, 2019, p. 59; Schütze & Sprouse, 2013, p. 43). However, only 3.7% of the participants did not use the full range of the scale in the current study, which is quite a minority. Second, the severely skewed conditions were very few and outnumbered by the normal ones. Third, there is a lot of evidence that parametric statistics, especially ANOVAs, are robust against the normality assumption, so they yield feasible findings (Bross, 2019; Norman, 2010; Pearson, 1931 among others).

The data was submitted to Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and analyzed both by participants (F_1 analysis) and by items (F_2 analysis). In F_1 analyses, there were three within-subject variables (case type, match type, wh-type) in object wh-remnants, whereas there were two (match type, wh-type) in subject wh-remnants. In F_2 analyses, wh-type was the between-subject variable for both sets of data. In the analysis of object wh-remnants, case type and match type were within-subject

⁴⁸ Inter-quartile Range (IQR) and Median Absolute Deviation (MAD) were also used to detect outliers. However, the amount of extreme data detected through the visual outlier detection and these two methods did not match, which was likely to be erroneous, so IQR and MAD were abandoned.

⁴⁹ In addition, one reason why the transformed data was not employed in the analyses was that there were no differences between the results of the raw and log-transformed data.

variables, while only match type was the within-subjects variable in the analysis of subject wh-remnants.

4.4 RESULTS

Below, the results of the Acceptability Judgment Task are reported separately for object wh-remnants and subject wh-remnants. For both, the data set without extreme values was used in both descriptive statistics and inferential statistics since the results did not differ regardless of whether they were calculated on raw or transformed data.

4.4.1 Findings of Object Wh-remnants

The descriptive statistics of each condition with object wh-remnants are shown in Table 4 below. The first half of the table presents the mean scores by participants and the second half by items.

Table 5. *Descriptive Statistics for Object Wh-remnant Conditions*

		Accusative		Dative		Ablative		
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
by-participant	Match	<i>Kim</i>	4.79	.44	4.83	.37	4.75	.51
		<i>Ne</i>	4.8	.45	4.75	.48	4.67	.52
	Match-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	2.46	1.31	4.27	.91	4.09	1.17
		<i>Ne</i>	3.1	1.3	4.14	1.07	4.41	.79
	Mismatch	<i>Kim</i>	3.4	1.28	3.2	1.4	3.47	1.27
		<i>Ne</i>	3.43	1.3	3.11	1.2	3.44	1.18
Mismatch-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	4.16	1.09	3.96	1.24	3.88	1.24	
	<i>Ne</i>	4.35	.84	4.01	1.1	3.75	1.3	
		Accusative		Dative		Ablative		
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
by-item	Match	<i>Kim</i>	4.79	.05	4.83	.04	4.76	.09
		<i>Ne</i>	4.82	.09	4.77	.03	4.59	.22
	Match-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	2.46	.28	4.19	.16	4.13	.51
		<i>Ne</i>	3.1	.23	4.2	.3	4.43	.17
	Mismatch	<i>Kim</i>	3.4	.07	3.2	.35	3.47	.17
		<i>Ne</i>	3.43	.29	3.11	.23	3.44	.32
Mismatch-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	4.19	.27	3.96	.17	3.88	.45	
	<i>Ne</i>	4.29	.28	4.04	.12	3.78	.48	

* M. = mean, S.D.= standard deviation

To analyze the AJT for object wh-remnant items, a 3x4x2 Repeated Measures ANOVA was conducted on the ratings with the factors case type (accusative, dative, ablative), match type (match, match-tense, mismatch, mismatch-tense) and wh-type (*kim* ‘who’, *ne* ‘what’) respectively. While reporting the results of ANOVA, Mauchly’s test was used when the sphericity assumption was met whereas Greenhouse-Geisser and Huynh–Feldt corrections were employed when it was violated.⁵⁰

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of case type ($F_1(2, 430) = 56.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .209$; $F_2(2, 36) = 6.94, p = .003, \eta^2 = .278$). Ratings in accusative conditions were lower than those in dative (by-participant $p < .001$; by-item $p = .012$) and ablative conditions (by-participant: $p < .001$; by-item: $p = .006$) according to the Bonferroni post-hoc test results, but no significant differences were found between the ratings of dative and ablative conditions (in both analyses: $p > .05$).

There was also a significant main effect of match type ($F_1(2.42, 519.79) = 238.47, p < .001, \eta^2 = .526$; $F_2(3, 36) = 96.1, p < .001, \eta^2 = .889$) and Bonferroni adjusted pairwise comparisons revealed that ratings in all match type conditions were significantly different from one another (in both analyses for each comparison: $p < .001$ except between match-tense and mismatch-tense in by-item analysis: $p = .019$). The ratings for dative and ablative in match type from highest to lowest were as follows: match > mismatch-tense > match-tense > mismatch. In other words, given that each sentence through (73b-e) was preceded with (73a), the rating of (73b) was the highest, followed by (73c), which was rated higher than (73d), and finally (73e) had the lowest ratings.

- 73) a. Mine-Ø biri-ne kız-d1-Ø,
 Mine-NOM so-DAT get.angry-PST-3SG
 ‘Mine got angry with someone,’

⁵⁰ When Greenhouse-Geisser Epsilon (ϵ) estimated less than .75, Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used. When ϵ was greater than .75, Huynh–Feldt correction was reported.

- b. ...ama **kim-e** hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match*
 but who-DAT remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who.’
- c. ...ama **kim-di** hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch-Tense*
 but who-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who that was.’
- d. ...ama **kim-e-ydi** hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match-Tense*
 but who-DAT-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who.’
- e. ...ama **kim** hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch*
 but who remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who that is.’

As for the ratings of accusative, they were ordered from highest to lowest as follows: match > mismatch-tense > mismatch > match-tense, and through (74b-e) in the following examples.

- 74) a. Fatih-Ø birin-i gör-dü-Ø,
 Fatih-NOM so-ACC see-PST-3SG
 ‘Fatih saw someone,’
- b. ...ama kim-i hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match*
 but who-ACC remember -NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who.’
- c. ...ama kim-di hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch-Tense*
 but who-PST remember -NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who that was.’
- d. ...ama kim hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch*
 but who remember -NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who that is.’
- e. ??...ama kim-i-ydi hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match-Tense*
 but who-ACC-PST remember -NEG-PROG-1SG
 LIT: ‘...but I don’t know who.’

The last significant main effect was of wh-type ($F_1(1, 215) = 7.61, p = .006, \eta^2 = .034$), where wh-phrase *ne* ‘what’ was slightly more acceptable than *kim* ‘who’ in accusative and ablative, and vice versa in dative. However, this effect was not observed in the by-item analysis ($F_2(1, 36) = 1.96, p = .17, \eta^2 = .052$).

Furthermore, by-participant analysis showed that there were significant interactions between case type and match type ($F_1(4.19, 901.58) = 149.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .409$); case type and wh-type ($F_1(2, 430) = 15.42, p < .001, \eta^2 = .067$); match type and wh-type ($F_1(2.64, 567.55) = 11.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .051$); and case type, match type and wh-type ($F_1(5.19, 1115.44) = 6.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .030$). However, by-item analysis revealed only one significant interaction, that between case type and match type ($F_2(6, 36) = 21.21, p < .001, \eta^2 = .779$) and there were no further significant interactions. The significant interaction between case type and match type in both by-participant and by-item analyses is shown in Figure 1 below.

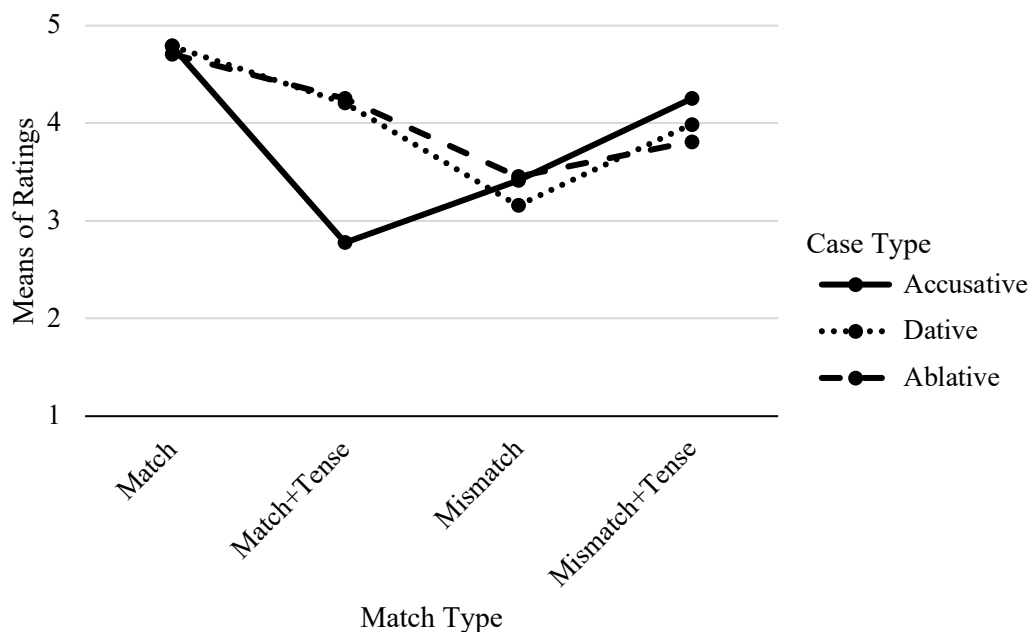


Figure 1. Interaction between Case Type and Match Type

Two paired-samples t-tests were conducted in the match type to compare the effects of case type. In the match condition, there was a significant difference between accusative and ablative with the wh-phrase *ne* ‘what’ ($T_1(215) = 3.58, p < .001$) and

between dative and ablative with the wh-phrase *kim* ‘who’ in the by-participant data ($T_1(215) = 2.62, p = .01$) and in both cases, the former (accusative and dative) was found more acceptable than the latter (ablative), but there were no differences at all in the by-item data. In the match-tense condition, both analyses showed that accusative was rated significantly lower than dative ($T_1(215) = -17.75, p < .001, T_2(3) = -18.69, p < .001; T_1(215) = -10.71, p < .001, T_2(3) = -5.64, p = .011$) and ablative ($T_1(215) = -15.81, p < .001, T_2(3) = -8.1, p = .004; T_1(215) = -13.71, p < .001, T_2(3) = -7.02, p = .006$) for the wh-phrase *kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’. The by-participant analysis also revealed that there was a significant difference between dative and ablative for both *kim* ‘who’ ($T_1(215) = 2.13, p = .034$) and *ne* ‘what’ ($T_1(215) = -4.28, p < .001$), however, this significance did not occur in the by-item data. In the mismatch condition, there was a significant difference between accusative and dative ($T_1(215) = 2.45, p = .015; T_1(215) = 4.45, p < .001$) for *kim* ‘who’, and between dative and ablative ($T_1(215) = -2.98, p = .003; T_1(215) = -4.01, p < .001$) for *ne* ‘what’ in the by-participant data, whereas the by-item data yielded no significant differences between any of the cases. In the mismatch-tense condition, the by-participant data showed that accusative in both wh-types was rated significantly higher than dative ($T_1(215) = 2.79, p = .006; T_1(215) = 4.78, p < .001$) and ablative ($T_1(215) = 4.08, p < .001; T_1(215) = 7.27, p < .001$) both for *kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’. A significant difference was also found between dative and ablative only in the *kim* ‘who’ condition ($T_1(215) = 3.08, p = .002$). None of these differences were significant in the by-item data except for the one between accusative and dative with the wh-phrase *kim* ‘who’ condition ($T_1(3) = 4.45, p = .021$), and no further significant main effects were found.

4.4.2 Results of Subject Wh-remnants

The descriptive statistics of conditions with subject wh-remnants are presented in Table 5 below. The first part of the table displays the mean ratings by participants whereas the second part shows the means by items.

Table 6. *Descriptive Statistics for Subject Wh-remnant Conditions*

		by-participant		by-item	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Match	<i>Kim</i>	3.92	1.25	3.92	.26
	<i>Ne</i>	3.99	1.23	3.99	.15
Match-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	2.54	1.3	2.54	.22
	<i>Ne</i>	2.82	1.44	2.82	.38
Mismatch	<i>Kim</i>	3.78	1.2	3.78	.21
	<i>Ne</i>	3.63	1.19	3.63	.22
Mismatch-Tense	<i>Kim</i>	4.16	1.11	4.22	.39
	<i>Ne</i>	4.31	.83	4.32	.21

* M. = mean, S.D.= standard deviation

A 4x2 Repeated Measures ANOVA was conducted to analyze subject wh-remnant conditions with the factors match type (match, match-tense, mismatch, mismatch-tense) and wh-type (*kim* ‘who’, *ne* ‘what’). As in object wh-remnants, Greenhouse-Geiser and Huynh-Feldt corrected results were reported where Sphericity Assumption was not met.

The analysis showed a significant main effect of match type on ratings ($F_1 (2.75, 591.14) = 128.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .374$; $F_2 (3, 12) = 36.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .900$). However, the Bonferroni post-hoc tests yielded different results in by-participant and by-item analyses. Similar to the object wh-remnant results, pairwise comparisons in by-participant analysis displayed that ratings in all conditions of match type were significantly different from one another (in all cases: $p < .05$) and mean ratings of each condition from highest to lowest were as follows: mismatch-tense > match > mismatch > match-tense. The conditions are exemplified through (75b-e) in the order of acceptance given that each was preceded by the sentence in (75a).

- 75) a. Fatih-Ø biri-nin ara-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø,
F.-NOM so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
‘Fatih said that someone called,’

- b. ...ama kim-di hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch-Tense*
 but who-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘but I don’t remember who that was.’
- c. ...ama kim-in hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match*
 but who-GEN remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘but I don’t remember who.’
- d. ...ama kim hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Mismatch*
 but who remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘but I don’t remember who.’
- e. ??...ama kim-in-di hatırla-m-ıyör-um. *Match-Tense*
 but who-GEN-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘but I don’t remember who that was.’

On the other hand, the post-hoc test in by-item analysis revealed that the ratings of match-tense condition were lower than the others ($p < .001$) and the items in mismatch-tense condition were rated higher than the ones in mismatch ($p < .05$).

Another significant main effect was of wh-type ($F_1(1, 215) = 4.42, p = .037, \eta^2 = .020$) due to the slightly lower rating of items with *kim* ‘who’ than that of *ne* ‘what’ ($p < .05$) according to the Bonferroni post-hoc test. By-participant analysis also revealed a significant interaction between match type and wh-type ($F_1(2.92, 628.47) = 4.51, p = .004, \eta^2 = .021$) as demonstrated in Figure 2 below. However, neither a significant main effect of wh-type nor a significant interaction between match type and wh-type was observed in the by-item analysis. The reason why statistical effects and interactions in by participant analysis did not appear to be significant by items in both analyses (object wh-remnants and subject wh-remnants) might be the low statistical power, which is a limitation in the present study.

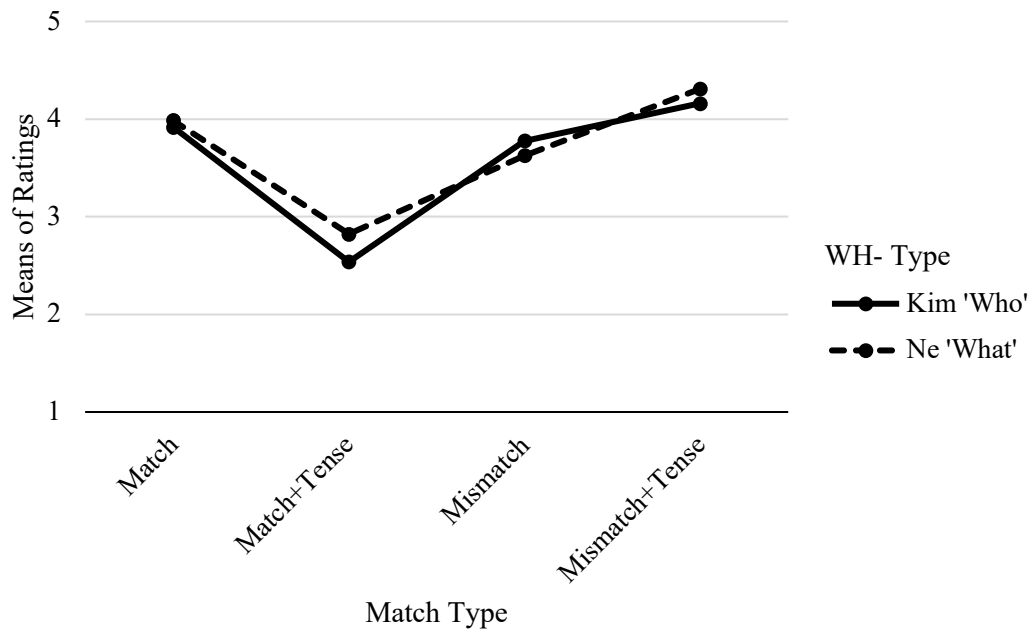


Figure 2. Interaction between Match Type and Wh-type with Subject Wh-remnant

4.4.3 Summary of the Results

The main findings of the analyses performed were as follows: In object wh-remnants, there was a main effect of match type ($F_1(2.42, 519.79) = 238.47, p < .001, \eta^2 = .526$; $F_2(3, 36) = 96.1, p < .001, \eta^2 = .889$), and a main effect of case type ($F_1(2, 430) = 56.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .209$; $F_2(2, 36) = 6.94, p = .003, \eta^2 = .278$). There was also a significant interaction between case type and match type ($F_1(4.19, 901.58) = 149.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .409$; $F_2(6, 36) = 21.21, p < .001, \eta^2 = .779$). Both by-participant and by-item analysis unpacked this interaction and showed that in the match-tense condition, accusative was rated significantly lower than dative ($T_1(215) = -17.75, p < .001, T_2(3) = -18.69, p < .001$; $T_1(215) = -10.71, p < .001, T_2(3) = -5.64, p = .011$) and ablative ($T_1(215) = -15.81, p < .001, T_2(3) = -8.1, p = .004$; $T_1(215) = -13.71, p < .001, T_2(3) = -7.02, p = .006$) for the wh-phrase *kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’. As for the subject wh-remnants, the results yielded a significant main effect of match type ($F_1(2.75, 591.14) = 128.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .374$; $F_2(3, 12) = 36.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .900$).

To ensure that the analysis of sluicing is proposed on a solid ground, the aforementioned significant results obtained by both by-participant and by-item

analyses will be discussed in the next section with a focus on the following: how acceptable the conditions in match type were in wh-subjects and wh-objects and how differently they were rated across cases.

4.5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the experiment was to examine the judgments of native speakers of Turkish on sluicing constructions in Turkish in order to obtain a solid foundation for the theoretical analysis. The fact that most of the results seem to be robust even with the low statistical power of the analysis suggests that such a reliable foundation has indeed been obtained. However, since the main purpose of this thesis is to refine the analysis of sluicing in Turkish, some of the findings obtained in the AJT will remain unexplained for the time being, and I will only focus on those that are the most salient and informative for my proposal.

First, I will focus on the participants' ratings of the sluicing structures with wh-remnants as grammatical objects and then I will discuss how the ratings of the embedded sluicing constructions with genitive subject wh-remnants fit into the existing theoretical studies on sluicing in Turkish.

4.5.1 Object Wh-remnants

The investigation of object wh-remnant items showed that the mean ratings differed according to the match type in the object wh-remnants. The participants rated the match conditions of all cases as in (76) highest, which was expected as those were typical sluicing instances in Turkish (Ince, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018; Şener, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b).⁵¹

⁵¹ There were also significant differences between cases in the match condition where the indefinite correlate and the wh-remnant bear the same case, but they did not display any consistent pattern, so the differences might be due to the individual differences or experimental items.

76)

Accusative, Match

Fatih-Ø biri-ni gör-dü-Ø ama kim-i hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-ACC see-PST-3SG but who-ACC remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

‘Fatih saw someone but I don’t remember who.’

There follows the ratings of mismatch-tense conditions, shown in (77), which were previously discussed as pseudo-sluicing in Turkish (Palaz, 2019), so the high ratings of these structures were not surprising. However, participants found mismatch-tense condition with dative and ablative more acceptable than those with the accusative case, which is supported only by the by-participant data, so more research where power is adequate may be necessary to see if there is a real phenomenon here.

77)

Accusative, Mismatch-Tense

Fatih-Ø biri-ni gör-dü-Ø ama kim-di hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-ACC see-PST-3SG but who-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

‘...but I don’t remember who that was.’

In addition, the sentences where the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate display a case mismatch have been reported ill-formed by Ince (2009, 2012) and well-formed by Palaz (2019) who calls them pseudo-sluicing. The present study showed that the mismatch conditions in all cases, illustrated in (78) for accusative, were the least preferred. However, unlike the match-tense condition in the accusative case, they were rated better than the reports the literature would lead us to believe since their mean rating was 3.4 and 3.43 for accusative, 3.2 and 3.11 for dative, and 3.47 and 3.44 for ablative in the sentences with the wh-phrase *kim* ‘what’ and *ne* ‘what’ respectively. Although the participants seemed to dislike the mismatch condition relative to other conditions, it might be a matter of preference instead of grammaticality.⁵²

⁵² Similar to the previous conditions, the by-participant analysis demonstrated that accusative and ablative were almost equally rated whereas dative was significantly less acceptable, which remains to be solved and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

78)

Accusative, Mismatch

Fatih-Ø biri-ni gör-dü-Ø ama kim hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-ACC see-PST-3SG but who remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

‘Fatih saw someone but I don’t remember who.’

What underlies the interaction between case type and match type is participants did not favor the match-tense conditions with accusative whereas they considered those with dative and ablative acceptable. Respectively for *kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’, sentences with accusative as in (79a), were assigned the mean rating of 2.46 and 3.1. However, the mean ratings were 4.27 (for *kim* ‘who’) and 4.14 (for *ne* ‘what’) in dative such as in (79b), and 4.09 (for *kim* ‘who’) and 4.41 (for *ne* ‘what’) in ablative as in (79c).⁵³

79)

a.

Accusative, Match-Tense

??Fatih-Ø biri-ni gör-dü-Ø ama kim-i-ydi hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-ACC see-PST-3SG but who-ACC-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

LIT: ‘Fatih saw someone but I don’t remember who.’

b.

Dative, Match-Tense

Fatih-Ø biri-ne bak-tı-Ø ama kim-e-y-di hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-DAT look-PST-3SG but who-DAT-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

‘Fatih looked at someone but I don’t remember who.’

c.

Ablative, Match-Tense

Fatih-Ø biri-nden kork-tu-Ø ama kim-den-di hatırla-m-ıyor-um.

F.-NOM so-ABL fear-PST-3SG but who-DAT-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1SG

‘Fatih looked at someone but I don’t remember who.’

In other words, it is striking that accusative behaves differently in the match-tense condition of sluicing considering all these three cases marked the same grammatical function of wh-remnants, i.e., all were grammatical direct objects of the verb. Since,

⁵³ The by-participant data showed that dative and ablative also differed in the match-tense condition, but dative was rated slightly better in the sentences with *kim* ‘who’ whereas ablative was accepted more with *ne* ‘what’, which does not present a pattern considering the absence of the main effect of the wh-type in the current study.

to the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies that investigate possible case differences of wh-remnants of sluicing, this finding is important for the sluicing analysis in Turkish.

4.5.2 Subject Wh-remnants

In this study, subject wh-remnants whose indefinite correlates in the antecedent clause are assigned the genitive case were the grammatical subjects of the sluiced embedded clauses. In contrast to what has been proposed for object wh-remnants, a morphological case mismatch on the embedded subject wh-remnants, exemplified in (80a), has been claimed to be grammatical and a case match, shown in (80b), has been regarded as ill-formed (Ince, 2012).

- 80) a. *Genitive, Mismatch*
 Fatih-Ø biri-nin ara-dıĝ-m-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim
 F.-NOM so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone called, but I don’t remember who that is.’
- b. *Genitive, Match*
 Fatih-Ø biri-nin ara-dıĝ-m-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-in
 F.-NOM so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-GEN
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone called, but I don’t remember who.’

However, the findings of this study unveiled a partially opposite pattern, where the match conditions were found acceptable and were even rated better than the mismatch conditions, which is in line with the results of the informal data collection that preceded the experiment itself and on which the predictions of the study were based. Moreover, whereas the mismatch-tense condition was the most preferred one as shown in (81a), the match-tense condition was favored the least and was given a mean rating

of 2.54 for the wh-phrase *kim* ‘who’ and 2.82 for *ne* ‘what’ such as in (81b). These ratings were similar to the ratings of the accusative wh-remnants.

- 81) a. *Genitive, Mismatch-Tense*
 Fatih-Ø biri-nin ara-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-di
 F.-NOM so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-PST
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone called, but I don’t remember who that was.’
- b. *Genitive, Match-Tense*
 ??Fatih-Ø biri-nin ara-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-in-di
 F.-NOM so-GEN call-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-GEN-PST
 hatırla-m-ıyor-um.
 remember-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone called, but I don’t remember who.’

Overall, this study was conducted to investigate to what extent native speakers of Turkish accept sluicing constructions in Turkish. Although there is a consensus that a case match between the object wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate in Turkish is acceptable, as is the case in the English-type sluicing (Ince, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018; Şener, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b), there are different stances on whether a case mismatch between the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate is grammatical or not. Whereas Ince (2009, 2012) claims that the lack of case marking on object wh-remnant is ungrammatical regardless of a tense marker, Palaz (2019) finds it acceptable and offers an analysis for mismatch structures (mismatch, mismatch-tense).⁵⁴ On the other hand, the only analysis of subject wh-remnants has been proposed by Ince (2012), who finds a case mismatch grammatical, but reports that a case match between the wh-phrase and its antecedent is ungrammatical as an exception to the sluicing theory.⁵⁵ Due to the conflicting claims on object wh-remnants and different informal judgments

⁵⁴ See Chapter 3.2.3 for Palaz’s analysis.

⁵⁵ Ince only discusses bare match in embedded subject wh-remnants and does not explicitly extend his analysis to match-tense condition.

that I obtained on subject wh-remnants from those of Ince (2012), a formal acceptability judgment task was needed to elucidate the grammaticality of sluicing structures in Turkish.

The experiment, in sum, led to the following most notable findings related to direct object and subject wh-remnants of sluicing in Turkish:

- The lack of a case marking on object wh-remnants was mostly acceptable although less so than case match, which supports Palaz's analysis (2012) and refutes that of Ince (2009, 2012).
- A case match between subject wh-remnants and their indefinite correlates was highly accepted, even more so than the mismatch condition, which contradicts with the judgments reported by Ince (2012).
- A case and tense marker (match-tense) on both object wh-remnants with dative and ablative were rated acceptable while the ones on accusative and subject wh-remnants (case marked genitive) received low ratings, which is not addressed in the literature.
- The addition of a tense marker on a wh-remnant makes the ratings of the match condition worse, but those of the mismatch condition better, especially in the accusative case.

None of the aforementioned analyses show why a tense marker is unacceptable when attached to an accusative object or genitive subject wh-remnant, but not when attached to other cases, and they do not explain why both a case match and mismatch on the subject wh-remnant are acceptable. For this reason, in the following chapter, I will offer an analysis for the sluicing structures in Turkish (including subject wh-remnants) and of why the tense marking cannot attach to the accusative object and genitive subject wh-remnants.

CHAPTER 5

THE ANALYSIS

Recall that the aim of the experiment described in Chapter 4 was to detect to what extent SLCs that have been reported to be ungrammatical or controversial, are acceptable. The research questions focused on the acceptability of case connectivity and anti-connectivity between the *wh*-phrases and the indefinite pronouns, with or without the optional occurrence of a tense marker on the *wh*-remnants. In addition, the theoretical analysis provided in the current chapter is not entailed by the results of the experiment but is compatible with them. That is, the experiment was conducted solely to determine the admissible or inadmissible structures. If a different approach is considered for the analysis of SLCs in Turkish, it can still rely on the results of the experiment.

Based on previous literature and the results of the experiment conducted in this thesis, SLCs in Turkish have the following properties in both matrix and embedded clause sluicing: The *wh*-remnant can bear the same case as its antecedent, which is called a *match* between the *wh*-phrase and the indefinite pronoun, and this is assumed to be an instance of a typical Turkish sluicing structure, similar to those in English. An example is provided in (82).

- 82) Mine-Ø dün **biri-ne** yardım et-miş-Ø ama **kim-e**?
Mine-NOM yesterday so-DAT help do-EVI-3SG but who-DAT
'Mine helped someone yesterday, but who?'

The wh-remnant can be bare without the case of its antecedent or any other morphological marking, which is identified as a *mismatch*, illustrated in (83).

- 83) Nil-Ø **bir şey-den** çok korktu-Ø ama **ne**?
 Nil-NOM sth-ABL very fear-PST-3SG but what
 ‘Nil was scared of something, but what?’

In both match and mismatch structures, the wh-remnant can carry tense marking, which comes from the tense of the sluiced clause as in (84). However, the tense marking is not legitimate with a wh-remnant that carries the accusative case in the object position and genitive case in the embedded subject position. This can be seen in (85).

- 84) a. Mine-Ø dün **biri-ne** yardım et-miş-Ø ama **kim-e-ymiş**?
 Mine-NOM yesterday so-DAT help do-EVI-3SG but who-DAT-EVI
 ‘Mine helped someone yesterday, but who?’
 b. Nil-Ø **bir şey-den** çok korktu-Ø ama **ne-ydi**?
 Nil-NOM sth-ABL very fear-PST-3SG but what-PST
 ‘Nil was scared of something, but what?’
- 85) a. *Halil-Ø tüm gün biri-ni bekle-di-Ø ama kim-i-ydi?
 Halil-NOM all day so-ACC wait-PST-3SG but who-ACC-PST
 ‘Halil waited for someone all day, but who?’
 b. *Onur-Ø biri-nin bayıl-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø ama kim-in-di?
 O.-NOM so-GEN faint-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-GEN-PST
 ‘Onur said that someone fainted, but who?’

Although previous proposals offer different analyses for the typical sluicing structure in (82) (Ince, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018; Şener, 2012) and the mismatch between the remnant and the antecedent (Palaz, 2019), they do not account for why sentences like (85a) and (85b) are judged ungrammatical and how embedded sluicing clauses are derived, given that a match between the wh-remnant in subject position and its antecedent is acceptable, contra Ince (2012). My proposal unifies the analysis of matrix clause sluicing and embedded clause sluicing irrespective of the position of the

wh-phrase as I will employ, with some modifications, the movement and deletion (MD) analysis of Ince (2006, 2009, 2012) for the match conditions. For the mismatch conditions, I will adopt the *pro*-form analysis of Palaz (2019). In the course of presenting my proposal, I will discuss the position of the Q particle *ki* to decide the height of the wh-phrase originating in an embedded clause and also, what restrictions hold of the source of the sluice.

What I will argue for in the subsequent sections is mainly based on embedded clause sluicing, which is the only structure that I tested in my experiment. Assuming that the same judgments hold (which nevertheless should be checked experimentally), the analysis can, to the best of my knowledge, be extended to matrix clause sluicing.

5.1 THE POSITION OF THE PARTICLE *Kİ*

Recall from Chapter 3.2.1 that the Q particle *ki* in Turkish occurs in interrogative environments and attaches only to matrix clauses as claimed by both Ince (2012) and Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b). When this particle appears in non-interrogative clauses, it is claimed to be ungrammatical, as in (86). As observed in (87), when *ki* is on the embedded clause, the sentence is also ill-formed, but turns out to be well-formed when it attaches to the matrix verb.

86) *Ali-Ø koş-tu-Ø ki.

Ali-NOM run-PST-3SG PRT (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

87) a. Hasan'-in ne ye-diğ-in-i (*ki) duy-du-n?

Hasan-GEN what eat-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT hear-PAST-2SG

‘What did you hear that Hasan ate, then?’

b. Hasan'-in ne ye-diğ-in-i duy-du-n (ki)?

Hasan-GEN what eat-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC hear-PAST-2SG PRT

‘What did you hear that Hasan ate, then?’ (Ince, 2012, p. 264)

Ince (2012) points out the occurrence of the Q particle *ki* on the wh-remnants. In (88), *ki* can follow the wh-phrase in the sluiced sentence, which means that it surfaces with the wh-remnant of sluicing after the ellipsis operation.

- 88) Hasan-Ø Ahmet'-in birisi-ne kitap-Ø ver-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø.
 H.-NOM A.-GEN so-DAT book-NOM give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 Kim-e (ki)?
 who-DAT PRT
 'Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book. To whom, (then)?'
 (Ince, 2012, p. 264)

Considering that the wh-remnant can precede the Q particle, and assuming that *ki* occupies a C⁰ position (Ince, 2012), Ince proposes that the source of the sluiced sentence in (88) includes the entire antecedent clause given that embedded verbs cannot be followed by the *ki* particle. That is, *ki* must be attached to the matrix verb *söyle-* 'tell' as illustrated in (89). Due to the attachment of the particle to the matrix verb, Ince argues that the wh-phrase raises to the highest [Spec CP], that of matrix clause, in the embedded clause sluicing.

- 89) [CP₁ [Hasan-Ø [CP₂ [Ahmet'-in kim-e kitap-Ø ver-diğ-i]]
 H.-NOM A.-GEN who-DAT book-NOM give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG
 -ni söyle-di-Ø] ki]?
 -ACC tell-PST-3SG PRT (Ince, 2012, p. 265)

As noted in Chapter 3.2.4, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) claims (contra Ince (2012)), that the E-site of the sentence in (88) is smaller and that the Q particle follows the embedded verb *ver-* 'give', not the matrix verb *söyle-* 'tell'. If indeed embedded clause sluicing operates on a smaller pre-sluice source, as shown in (90), Zidani-Eroğlu argues that the embedded wh-phrase does occupy the matrix [Spec CP], but she also argues that it undergoes local, rather than long-distance movement.

- 90) [CP kim-e_i [Ahmet-Ø t_i kitap-Ø verdi-Ø] ki]
 who-DAT Ahmet-NOM book-NOM give-PST-3SG PRT
 (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

Furthermore, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) argues for a stripping analysis by Hankamer (2012) to justify the cases where the sluiced wh-phrase is followed by Q particle *ki*

and a matrix verb. According to the stripping analysis, the sluiced sentence in (88) is a sentence fragment and the following matrix verb is an independent clause separated by an intonation break. The structure is exemplified in (91), in which the symbol # shows the break between clauses.

- 91) Hasan-Ø [Ahmet'-in biri-ne kitap-Ø ver-diğ-in-i] söyle-di-Ø
 H.-NOM [A.-GEN so-DAT book-NOM give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama kim-e ki. # Bilmiyorum.
 but who-DAT then. # know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 'Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book, but who then. I don't know.'
 (Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b, p. 352)

I believe there are reasons to disagree with this line of reasoning. Unlike Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b), I am not convinced that a smaller pre-slucice source necessarily supports the stripping analysis. In (91), the matrix clause (*Bilmiyorum*. 'I don't know.') contains a null subject pronoun, which makes it easier to analyze the sluice (*kime ki?* 'to whom then?') and the following matrix verb as two independent clauses. However, if an overt pronoun or r-expression is included in the subject position of the matrix clause in (91), we would expect it to *follow* the wh-remnant, so that the clauses could be separated correctly, as shown in (92a). Importantly, although Turkish is a scrambling language (Erguvanli, 1984), it is impossible for parts of one sentence to scramble into a different one. This would be needed to account for the grammaticality of (92a) on the stripping analysis of sluicing: the subject of the matrix verb *bilmiyor* 'doesn't know', *Fatih*, would have to scramble to a position preceding the wh-remnant, which is, on this analysis, *in a different clause*. Given that this is impossible, the stripping analysis seems to make incorrect predictions for Turkish SLCs: (92b) is perfectly grammatical, it does not even feature an intonation break, but *ki* is nevertheless licit. This suggests that *ki* can follow the wh-remnant even when it is not followed by a sentence break, i.e., that *ki* does not necessarily have to occupy the matrix C⁰ position. Instead, the data in (92b) suggest that *ki* can legitimately occupy the final position of an embedded clause.

- 92) a. ...ama kim-e (ki) # Fatih-Ø bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but who-DAT PRT Fatih-NOM know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 ‘...but to whom (then)? Fatih doesn’t know.’
- b. ...ama Fatih-Ø kim-e (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.⁵⁶
 but Fatih-NOM who-DAT PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 ‘...but Fatih doesn’t know to whom (then).’

If this is correct, the question arises as to what rules out (87a). I suggest that the reason why (87a) is ungrammatical is because here, *ki* attaches to a nominalized, non-tensed clause. Taking this into consideration, the restriction on the distribution of *ki* seems to be that it has to occupy a clause-final position of a tensed interrogative clause.

One may question whether *ki* in (92b) is indeed a Q particle or some other type of *ki* as it does not appear in a matrix clause. However, there is evidence that this *ki* is indeed an interrogative particle, and it comes from sentences whose remnants are non-wh-phrases. In (93a), the antecedent sentence has a DP as a correlate of the non-wh remnants in (93b) and (93c), either of which can be its continuation.⁵⁷ Unlike the wh-remnant in sluicing in (92b), the DP remnant in the E-site cannot be followed by *ki* regardless of the presence or the absence of the negation on the matrix verb, as shown in (93a) and (93b).⁵⁸ Examples in (93), which are in all respects parallel to examples in (92b) except that the embedded clause in (93) is declarative, rather than interrogative, show that the *ki* in question is indeed an interrogative particle, and not an instance of some other *ki*. Taken together, sentences in (92b) and (93) show that the distribution of the Q particle *ki* is not confined to matrix clauses, but that it can also mark the edge of an embedded clause, provided that this clause is a question.

⁵⁶ There are native speakers who find the sentence in (92b) unacceptable due to the position of Q particle *ki*. It seems that *ki* has different properties for different speakers, which also affects the analysis of SLCs in Turkish.

⁵⁷ The sentence has been adapted from Ince (2012, p. 264).

⁵⁸ For more sentences like (93) see Palaz (2018), who claims that they are stripping constructions.

- 93) a. Hasan-Ø Ahmet'-in Ali'ye kitap ver-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø,
 H.-NOM A.-GEN Ali-DAT book give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 'Hasan said that Ahmet gave Ali a book,'
- b. ...ama Fatih-Ø Murat'-a (*ki) san-ıyor-Ø.
 but Fatih-NOM Murat-DAT PRT think-PROG-3SG
 '...but Fatih thinks that it was to Murat.'
- c. ...ve Fatih-Ø Murat'-a (*ki) san-m-ıyor-Ø.
 and Fatih-NOM Murat-DAT PRT think-NEG-PROG-3SG
 '...and Fatih does not think it was to Murat.'

If this is correct, in contrast to previous claims, (Ince, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b), we need to revisit the analysis of Turkish sluicing that relies on the particle's properties. Ince's example (88), which is a matrix question that embeds a nominalized clause, shows that the particle cannot attach to a nominalized clause, but has to attach to a tensed question. These conditions are compatible with what I proposed the distribution of *ki* is.

The next question is what the source of the grammatical (92b) is. Possible structures that satisfy the conditions on the distribution of *ki* are exemplified in (94b) and (94c), both of which are the possible continuations of (94a) and possible non-slued versions of the sentence in (92b).

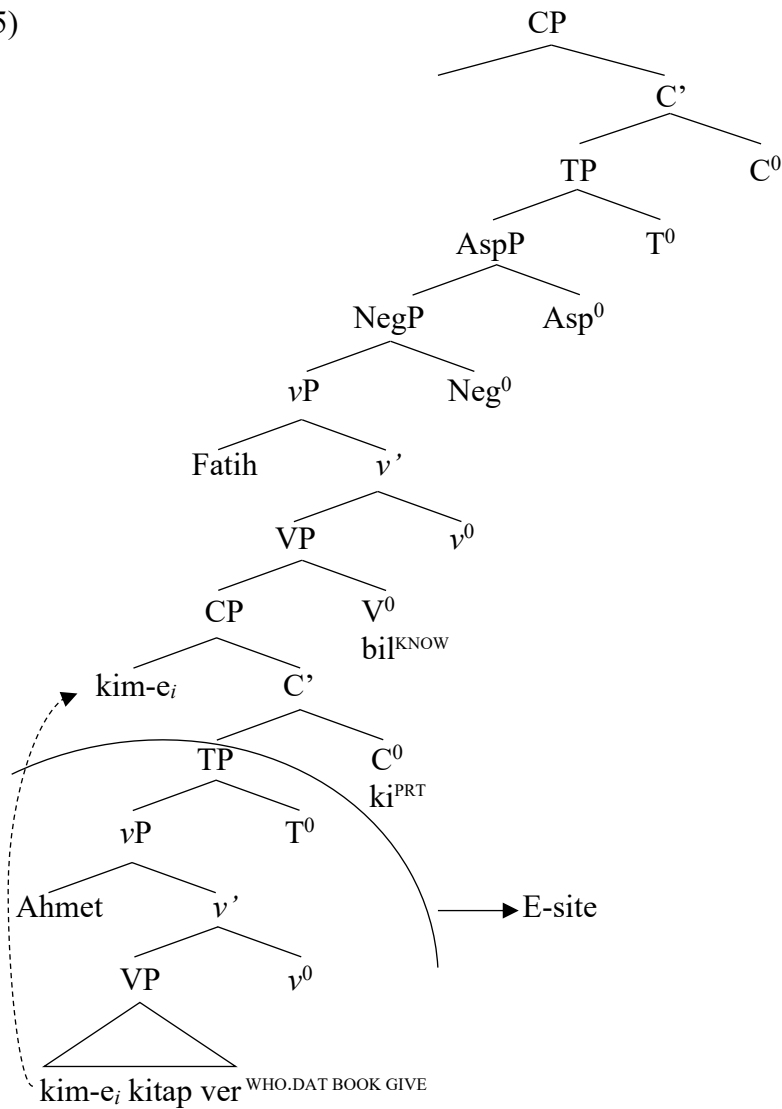
- 94) a. Hasan-Ø [Ahmet'-in biri-ne kitap-Ø ver-diğ-i]-ni
 H.-NOM [A.-GEN so-DAT book-NOM give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
 söyle-di-Ø...
 tell-PST-3SG...
 'Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book...'
- b. ... ama Fatih-Ø Ahmet-Ø kim-e kitap-Ø **ver-di-Ø** (ki)
 but F.-NOM A.-NOM who-DAT book-NOM give-PST-3SG PRT
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 '...but Fatih doesn't know who Ahmet gave a book to.'

- c. ... ama Fatih-Ø Hasan-Ø Ahmet'-in kim-e kitap-Ø
 but F.-NOM H.-NOM A.-GEN so-DAT book-NOM
 ver-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 ‘...but Fatih doesn’t know who Hasan said that Ahmet gave a book to.’

As pointed out back in Chapter 3.2.1, Ince (2012) proposes that the *wh*-phrase in embedded clause sluicing moves to the highest [Spec CP] because he assumes the position of the Q particle to necessarily be the matrix clause. This requires the E-site of the sluiced sentence in (88) to be the biggest source in (89). However, now that the properties of *ki* have been revisited, it seems that in embedded sluicing the *wh*-phrase need not raise to the [Spec CP] of the matrix clause, but only to the [Spec CP] of the closest tensed clause in order to precede the Q particle. The derivation of (94b) is exemplified in (95).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ I assume that subjects in Turkish occupy [Spec vP] position (Gračanin-Yüksek & İşsever, 2011; Öztürk, 2002, 2005). This allows subjects to be deleted during sluicing operation except when they are remnants.

95)



In the next section, I will investigate what the underlying source is in the embedded clause sluicing utilizing the revised properties of the Q particle *ki*.

5.2 THE SOURCE OF THE SLUICE

There have been two different views on the source of the sluice in embedded clause sluicing. Depending on the position of the *ki* particle, Ince (2012) argues for a bigger, biclausal source, whereas Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) strictly assumes the smaller one. This was shown in the previous section, in (89) and (90) respectively. However, the fact that the Q particle *ki* can occur in *embedded* interrogative tensed clauses might shed new light on the source of the sluice, which will be discussed below.

I agree with Zidani-Eroğlu (2019b) in that the source is likely to be smaller. Here, I present why. First, the sluice that Ince (2012) presents in (88), repeated here in (96a), as an argument for the matrix [Spec CP] position of the *wh*-phrase is ambiguous between two readings, given in (96b) and (96c). These readings arise because both the embedded verb *ver-* ‘give’ and the matrix verb *söyle-* ‘tell’ take DPs that are assigned dative case. It is thus non-trivial to determine the source of the sluice from this example.

- 96) a. Hasan-Ø Ahmet’-in birisi-ne kitap-Ø ver-diğ-in-i
 H.-NOM A.-GEN so-DAT book-NOM give-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
 söyle-di-Ø. Kim-e (ki)?
 tell-PST-3SG who-DAT PRT
 ‘Hasan said that Ahmet gave someone a book. Who, (then)?’
 (Ince, 2012, p. 264)
- b. ‘Who is it that Hasan said to ___ that Ahmet gave a book?’
- c. ‘Who is it that Hasan said that Ahmet gave a book to ___?’

An unambiguous sentence, with an ablative *wh*-remnant, is provided in (97), where the part after *ama* ‘but’ is sluiced the same way as in (88) and the particle *ki* optionally follows the remnant.

- 97) Özge-Ø Mesut’-un birin-den kaç-tığ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø
 Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama Seray-Ø kim-den (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but Seray-NOM who-ABL PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 ‘Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn’t know who.’

The question is which verb/clause in the pre-sluice source this particle is attached to. Possible pre-sluice sources are presented through (98b-d).

- 98) a. Özge-Ø Mesut'-un birin-den kaç-tıĝ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø
 Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama Seray-Ø kim-den (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but Seray-NOM who-ABL PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 'Ö. said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn't know who.'
- b. *...ama Seray-Ø kim-den söyle-di-Ø (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but Seray-NOM who-ABL tell-PST-3SG PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
- c. *...ama Seray-Ø kim-den (ki) söyle-di-Ø bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but Seray-NOM who-ABL PRT tell-PST-3SG know-NEG-PROG-3SG
- d. ...ama Seray-Ø [CP kim-den_i [Mesut-Ø kaç-tı-Ø] (ki)]
 but S.-NOM who-ABL M.-NOM escape-PST-3SG PRT
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG

If the source of this sluice were the full structure in the antecedent, as in (98b), the occurrence of the particle *ki* with the verb in (98b) would be grammatical, but it is not. The next option is for *ki* to be attached to the embedded verb *kaç-* 'escape'. However, the verb *kaç-* 'escape' is nominalized, and we know from (87a) above that interrogative *ki* cannot attach to nominalized clauses. This is corroborated by the ungrammaticality of (98c), which would arise if ellipsis targeted the most embedded clause, and also by the ungrammaticality of (99).

- 99) *Seray-Ø [CP kim-den_i [Mesut'-un kaç-tıĝ-ı-nı] ki]
 S.-nom who-ABL M.-GEN escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG -ACC PRT
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG

This leaves the option that the ellipsis site of the sluiced sentence in (97)/(98a) is (98d), which is grammatical prior to sluicing. However, this pre-sluice source in (98d) is not faithful to the antecedent in two respects: first, it is mono-clausal, while the antecedent is biclausal, and second, the verb *kaç-* 'escape' is non-finite in the antecedent, but it is finite in the pre-sluice. However, evidence seems to suggest that the source of the sluice does not have to hinge on the antecedent sentence completely; in particular,

under sluicing a non-finite clause can transform into a finite one. This change is not outrageous because mismatches between the antecedent and the ellipsis site (e.g., in inflection) are a commonly observed phenomenon in ellipsis. One example comes from VP ellipsis examples, such as (100), in which the verbs in the antecedent and in the E-site are inflected differently.

100) Alice has slept in her office, but Bob will not [~~sleep in his office~~].

(Barros & Vicente, 2011, p. 3)

A more radical, but well-formed transformation observed in the ellipsis site is the *vehicle change* (Fiengo & May, 1994), which leads to the replacement of an r-expression with a pronoun, and thus obviates the Principle C violation.⁶⁰ The sentences in (101) are provided to exemplify this effect.

101) a. *I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will fire Alice_i.

b. I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will [_____]

c. ... but she_i fears that he will [fire her_i]. (Barros & Vicente, 2011, p. 3)

Given these well-documented mismatches between the antecedent and the ellipsis site, I conclude that the fact that SLCs in Turkish require a non-finite-to-finite transformation is not a killer argument against the proposal that the pre-sluice source of Turkish embedded sluicing is (at least sometimes) smaller than the antecedent would lead us to believe. If this line of reasoning is correct, a question arises as to why (98c), repeated here as (102), is ungrammatical.

102) *Özge-Ø Mesut'-un biri-nden kaç-tığ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø

Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG

ama Seray-Ø kim-den (ki) söyle-di-Ø bil-m-iyor-Ø.

but Seray-NOM who-ABL PRT tell-PST-3SG know-NEG-PROG-3SG

'Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn't know who.'

⁶⁰ According to Principle C of the Binding Theory, an r-expression must be free.

The pre-sluiice structure of (102) is presumably the one in (103a), in which the particle *ki* is placed on the embedded verb *kaç-* ‘escape’. Above, I dismissed this as a pre-sluiice because it required *ki* to be placed on the embedded nominalized verb, but with non-finite clauses being transformed into finite clauses under sluiicing, a possibility presents itself that the ellipsis site might be as in (103b), in which case the outcome should be grammatical, contrary to fact.

- 103) a. *Özge-Ø Mesut’-un biri-nden kaç-tığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø
 Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama Seray-Ø kim-den Mesut’-un kaç-tığ-ı-nı (ki)
 but S.-NOM who-ABL M.-GEN escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT
 söyle-di-Ø bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 tell-PST-3SG know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 LIT: ‘Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn’t know who she said Mesut escaped from.’
- b. *Özge-Ø Mesut’-un birin-den kaç-tığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø
 Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama Seray-Ø kim-den Mesut-Ø kaç-tı-Ø (ki) söyle-di-Ø
 but S.-NOM who-ABL M.-NOM escape-PST-3SG PRT tell-PST-3SG
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 LIT: ‘Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn’t know who she said Mesut escaped from.’

The fact that (103b) is ungrammatical, however, seems to suggest that the verb *söyle-* ‘tell’ is not part of the pre-slucice at all.⁶¹ This would be compatible with the analysis on which the pre-slucice source is *the minimal clause from which the wh-remnant originates* (which may be transformed from being non-finite into being finite).

One consideration which suggests that the pre-slucice may not always be minimal, however, comes from embedded sluicing constructions whose remnants are wh-subjects. Embedded subject sluicing offers additional insight into the size of the pre-slucice source because of the observable genitive case morphology that embedded subjects carry whenever their predicates are nominalized/non-finite. Given that the case of the embedded subject co-varies with the form of the predicate: genitive with nominalized predicates, nominative with tensed predicates, it is reasonable to assume that the transformation of the verb in the pre-slucice from being nominalized into being tensed also affects the form of the subject from being genitive case-marked to being nominative case-marked. Thus, in the proposal that the pre-slucice source for the sentence in (97), repeated here as (104a), is only the smallest embedded clause in which the verb is tensed (unlike in the antecedent), as shown in (104b), this change also presumably affects the subject in the pre-slucice, changing it from genitive into nominative. This change, however, remains hidden given that the subject of the most embedded clause is deleted in sluicing.

⁶¹ Note that if the verb *söyle-* ‘tell’ survives ellipsis, the implication is that its subject, Özge, also survives it. Addition of the overt subject to examples in (104) does not change their grammatical status, as shown in (i). The subject phrase is omitted from the examples in the main text because I assume that it can be (and preferably is) pro-dropped in this configuration.

- i) a. *Özge-Ø Mesut’-un biri-nden kaç-tığ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø ama
 Ö.-NOM M.-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but
 Seray-Ø Özge-Ø kim-den Mesut’-un kaç-tığ-ı-nı (ki) söyle-di-Ø
 S.-NOM Ö.-NOM who-ABL M.-GEN escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT tell-PST-3SG
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 LIT: ‘Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn’t know who she said Mesut escaped from.’
- b. *Özge-Ø Mesut’-un biri-nden kaç-tığ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø ama
 Ö.-NOM M.-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but
 Seray-Ø Özge-Ø kim-den Mesut-Ø kaç-tı-Ø (ki) söyle-di-Ø
 S.-NOM Ö.-NOM who-ABL M.-NOM escape-PST-3SG PRT tell-PST-3SG
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG
 LIT: ‘Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone, but Seray doesn’t know who she said Mesut escaped from.’

- 104) a. Özge-Ø **Mesut'-un** biri-nden kaç-tığ-ın-ı söyle-di-Ø
 Ö.-NOM **Mesut-GEN** so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 ama Seray-Ø kim-den (ki) bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 but S.-NOM who-ABL PRT know-NEG-PROG-3SG
- b. ...ama Seray-Ø [CP kim-den_i [**Mesut**-Ø—kaç-tı-Ø] (ki)]
 but S.-NOM who-ABL **Mesut-NOM** escape-PST-3SG PRT
 bil-m-iyor-Ø.
 know-NEG-PROG-3SG

In embedded subject sluicing, however, the subject remains pronounced and its case morphology (genitive/nominative) can be used as an indication of the form of the elided predicate. Recall that a case match between genitive wh-subjects in embedded clauses and their indefinite correlates, illustrated in (105), have been found acceptable in my experiment (cf. Ince, 2012).

- 105) Fatih-Ø biri-nin gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø, ama kim-in
 F.-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who-GEN
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but I don’t know who.’

In (105), the wh-remnant is marked genitive, forcing its predicate to remain nominalized. This excludes (106), which features the non-finite-to-finite transformation of the predicate as a possible source of the sluice in (105) even though I argued above that such a transformation is in principle possible.

- 106) *...ama kim gel-di bil-m-iyor-um.
 but who come-PST know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who came.’

This leaves two possible sources for the sluiced sentence in (105): the first option is the bigger source in (107a) and the second one is the smaller E-site in (107b).

- 107) a. ...ama kim-in ~~Fatih-Ø gel-diğ-in-i~~ söyle-di-Ø
 but so-GEN Fatih-NOM come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 bil-m-iyor-um.
 know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who Fatih said came (then).’
- b. ...ama kim-in gel-diğ-in-i bil-m-iyor-um.
 but so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘...but I don’t know who came.’

Note that the wh-remnant in (105) can appear with the Q particle *ki*, as shown in (108).

- 108) Fatih-Ø biri-nin gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø, ama
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but
 kim-in ki bil-m-iyor-um.
 who-GEN PRT know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but I don’t know who then.’

Taking into consideration that the particle *ki* is restricted to tensed clauses, as argued in the previous section, and also the fact that the wh-remnant bears genitive case, suggesting that the minimal clause where the wh-phrase originated is nominalized, the only possible source for (108) is the bigger pre-slucice in (109).

- 109) Fatih-Ø birin-in gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø, ama kim-in
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but so-GEN
~~Fatih-Ø gel-diğ-in-i~~ söyle-di-Ø ki bilmiyorum.
 F.-NOM come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG PRT know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but I don’t know who, then.’

The smaller source, corresponding to the minimal clause in which the wh-phrase originated, shown in (110), is not a possible pre-slucice source because *ki* cannot attach to a nominalized verb, and the genitive wh-remnant prevents the conversion of the non-finite, nominalized predicate into a finite, tensed one.

- 110) *Fatih-Ø biri-nin gel-diğ-i-ni söyle-di-Ø, ama kim-in
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but so-GEN
 gel-diğ-i-ni ki bil-m-iyor-um.
 come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but I don’t know who, then.’

When the particle *ki* does not occur in the sluiced sentence, both sources are in principle available. For that reason, I argue that the E-site of the embedded clause sluicing constructions comprises the smallest *possible* source. If there is a *ki* following the remnant, the source must be bigger to accommodate the distribution of the Q particle, but if there is no element forcing a bigger source, the E-site must be as minimal as possible.

I will next illustrate how embedded and matrix clause sluicing are unified under the same analyses, namely the MD approach for the cases in which the wh-remnant and its indefinite correlate show case connectivity and the *pro*-form analysis for the cases where they don’t.

5.3 THE DERIVATION OF SLUICING-LIKE CONSTRUCTIONS

As summarized in Chapter 3.2.1, Ince (2012) argues for an exception to the Case Matching requirement and claims that a case mismatch between the wh-remnant in the subject position and its antecedent in the embedded clause is grammatical, while a match between the two is ungrammatical. However, the results of the experiment reported in Chapter 4 showed that my participants favored a case match between the remnant and the antecedent even more than a mismatch. That is, the sluiced sentence in (111) is acceptable both when the remnant bears the case marking of the antecedent (genitive) and when it is bare (nominative), which makes the Nominative-Genitive Conversion analysis of Ince (2012) obsolete.⁶²

⁶² Ince (2012) adopts Hiraiwa’s Nominative-Genitive Conversion (2001) in which T-v-V agrees with C to assign the genitive case to the wh-phrase and assumes the Multiple Spell-out model where the phase heads command the deletion of their complements. His analysis derives the mismatch between the remnant and the antecedent because TP is spelt out before the amalgam can check the genitive case. See Chapter 3.2.1 for a detailed summary.

- 111) A: Fatih-Ø biri-nin gel-diğ-i-ni söyle-di-Ø ama
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but
 kim-in/kim bil-m-iyor-um.
 who-GEN/who know-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but I don’t know who/who that is.’

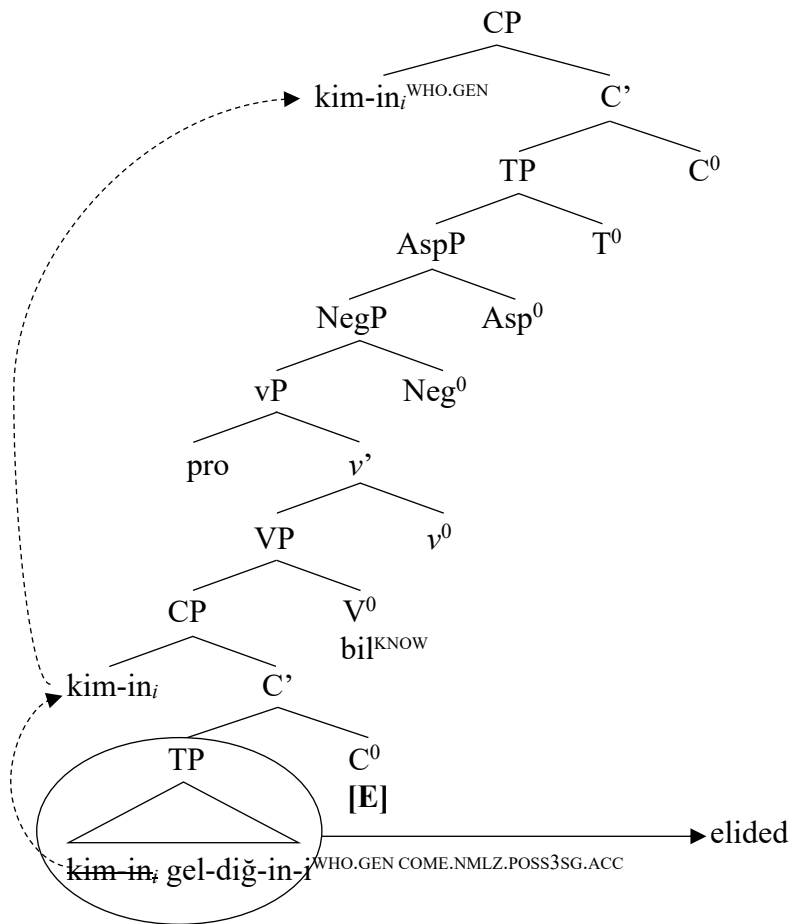
Given this result, I argue that embedded sluicing constructions with wh-subjects are no different than other SLCs, and that the movement approach is applicable for the match condition regardless of the grammatical function/case of the wh-remnant. That is, I extend Ince’s MD analysis, which derives the matrix SLCs, to the wh-remnants in the subject position of embedded clause environments. More precisely, for the sluiced sentence in (111), when the remnant bears the genitive case, the smallest possible source is (112a), as argued previously. The source in (112b), with a bigger pre-sluice source would also derive the same sluice, but, as argued above, I assume that the bigger source is excluded if the smaller source is legitimate.

- 112) a. kim-in gel-diğ-in-i?
 who-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC
 b. kim-in Fatih-Ø gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø
 who-GEN Fatih-NOM come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG

The derivation of the source in (112a) is depicted in (113) below. The wh-phrase first moves to the most embedded [Spec CP] to check focus and wh-features. Then, it raises to the [Spec CP] of the closest tensed clause as argued in Chapter 5.2. After the movement, TP of the matrix clause is elided because of the E feature on C⁰ similar to the derivation of the matrix sluicing structures (Ince, 2009, 2012).⁶³

⁶³ I will not discuss whether wh-phrases raise to [Spec FocP] or [Spec CP] since it is beyond the scope of the thesis. I assume [Spec CP] as the moved position for simplicity. See Ince (2009) for relevant discussion.

113)



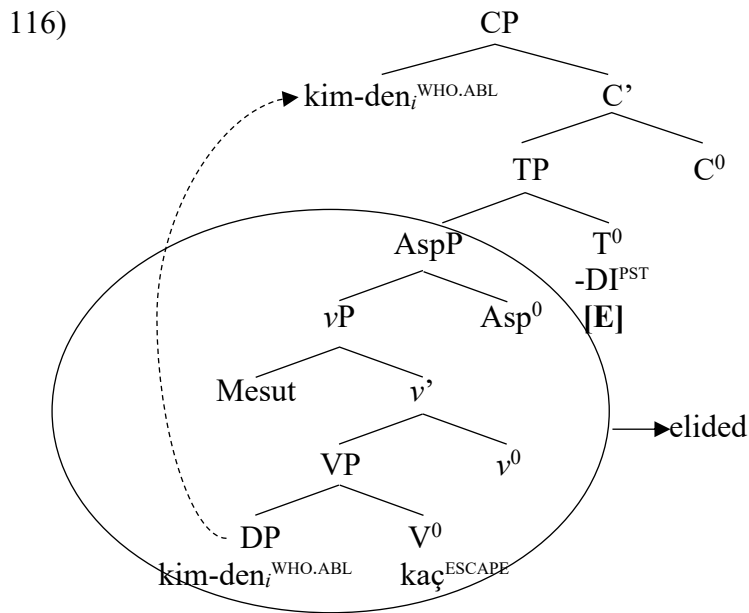
As for the structures where the remnant carries not only the case but also a tense marker as exemplified in (114), I also adopt the MD approach, in which the complement AspP of TP is elided and the tense marker survives the deletion (Ince, 2006).⁶⁴ As established in the previous section, the non-slucied version of the sentence in (114) is given in (115). Its derivation presented in (116): The wh-phrase raises to [Spec CP] for feature-checking and then the E feature on T assigns deletion to AspP. The tense marker is not elided and attaches to the wh-phrase as it cannot survive on its own.

⁶⁴ If Ince (2012) was correct in claiming that a match between wh-subject and the antecedent is ungrammatical, but a mismatch is well-formed in embedded sluicing constructions, his analysis of AspP deletion would derive the wh-subjects that do not bear case but carry tense marking. However, according to his Multiple Spell-out model in which only phase heads assign deletion, T⁰/Evid⁰ are not phase heads and they cannot command their complement AspP to be deleted.

114) A: Özge-Ø Mesut'-un biri-nden kaç-tığ-ı-nı söyle-di-Ø.
 Özge-NOM Mesut-GEN so-ABL escape-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
 'Özge said that Mesut escaped from someone.'

B: Kim-den-di?
 who-ABL-PST
 'Who?'

115) Mesut-Ø kim-den kaç-tı-Ø?
 Mesut-NOM who-ABL escape-PST-3SG
 'Who did Mesut escape from?'



The deletion of AspP is compatible with all cases in Turkish except the accusative case and the genitive case, when genitive attaches to wh-subjects. It is noted in Chapter 4 that wh-remnants that bear accusative case are ill-formed when followed by a tense marker, which has been acknowledged by Zidani-Eroğlu (2019a) as well. The ungrammaticality of the structure is exemplified in (117).

117) A: Halil-Ø tüm gün biri-ni bekle-di-Ø.
 Halil-NOM all day so-ACC wait-PST-3SG
 'Halil waited for someone all day.'

B: *Kim-i-ydi?
 who-ACC-PST
 LIT: 'Who?'

The same problem is observed with the genitive case assigned to *wh*-subjects, which means that the sentence becomes ill-formed when the remnant carries both the case and the tense. Yet, interestingly, the *possessive* genitive can legitimately be affixed with a tense marker. The two conditions are demonstrated in (118) and (119) respectively.

118) A: Fatih-Ø birin-in gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø.
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG

‘Fatih said that someone came.’

B: *Kim-in-di?

who-GEN-PST

LIT: ‘Who?’

119) Fatih-Ø biri-nin adres-in-i kaybet-miş-Ø ama kim-in-di?
 F.-NOM so-GEN address-POSS.3SG-ACC lose-EVI-3SG but who-GEN-PST

‘Fatih lost someone’s address, but whose address?’

There has been no analysis that accounts for the ungrammaticality of structures like (117) and (118), and eliding the AspP rather than the TP cannot derive them, either. I suspect that this ungrammaticality might arise due to two reasons: First, it might be related to the height of the position where the *wh*-phrase is case marked. Structural accusative may be assigned in a position (perhaps [Spec vP]) higher than the positions where other, inherent cases are assigned (probably in situ, by the theta-marking elements). Genitive subjects have also been argued to be case marked in a position higher than the nominative case ([Spec CP]) (Kornfilt & Whitman, 2011). Also, genitive, like accusative, has been argued to be a structural case in Turkish, which may be relevant in deriving the ungrammaticality of (117) and (118). For the moment, I do not have a specific proposal on how to exclude tense marking on accusative and genitive, so I have to leave this problem for further research.

I next turn to the analysis of the mismatch between the *wh*-remnant and its antecedent in embedded sluicing. I argue that sluicing which lack case connectivity can be analyzed without a TP or AspP deletion, regardless of the grammatical function and/or case. In Chapter 4, the results of the study have shown acceptability of “mismatched”

sluicing both with bare *wh*-remnants and with *wh*-remnants affixed with a tense morpheme. To account for this, I adopt Palaz’s *pro*-form analysis (2019) that can account for the mismatch conditions with and without a tense marking.⁶⁵ In this analysis, as can be seen in (120), the *wh*-phrase is preceded by a null *pro* that is co-indexed with the indefinite pronoun in the antecedent sentence, which derives the bare mismatch structure. Additionally, the copula marker always occurs with the *wh*-phrase. The copula is usually null, but if a tense marker attaches to the *wh*-phrase, the copula might be overt.⁶⁶ This analysis explains how the mismatch with a tense marking on the *wh*-phrases is derived. Moreover, as Palaz (2019) shows for matrix sluicing, *pro* can also be overt in the embedded clause SLCs, as shown in (120).

- 120) A: Fatih-Ø birin-in_i gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di-Ø.
Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG
‘Fatih said that someone came.’
B: **pro**/**o**_i Kim-Ø(-di)?
who-COP(-PST)
‘Who (was that)?’

We have by now seen a unified MD analysis of all sluicing in Turkish where case connectivity between the *wh*-remnant and its indefinite correlate holds and a unified *pro*-form analysis of all SLCs where it does not. These analyses can account for *wh*-remnants with or without case marking, irrespective of the position or grammatical function of *wh*-phrases.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See Chapter 3.2.3 for a detailed presentation of Palaz’s analysis and more examples (2019).

⁶⁶ The form of the copula depends on the preceding sound. When the preceding sound is a vowel, copula is overtly realized as *-y*. If it is a consonant, it is not overtly realized and becomes null when attached to the predicate (Kelepir, 2001; Kornfilt, 1996).

⁶⁷ There is a case drop argument in Japanese in which the case marking can be omitted under certain conditions (Yatabe, 1999; Sato & Lok, 2012). If the mismatch condition between the *wh*-remnant and its correlate is explained via case drop as in Japanese, the match and mismatch forms of the remnant would be indistinguishable. This would lead to difficulty in explaining why the mismatch form is legitimate with the tense marker (licit for all cases regardless of position) and the match form is not as in the remnants with accusative and subject genitive.

Note that *bare* wh-remnants with both nominative and genitive subject correlates can be derived by both analyses. That is, they conform both with the MD and the *pro*-form approaches. The two possible analyses are presented in (121a-b): (121b) shows the MD analysis and (121c) the *pro*-form analysis.

- 121) a. Biri- \emptyset gel-di- \emptyset ama kim ~~gel-di- \emptyset~~ ? *MD Analysis*
 so-NOM come-PST-3SG but who come-PST-3SG
 ‘Someone came, but who came?’
- b. Biri- \emptyset gel-di- \emptyset ama **pro_i** kim- \emptyset (-di)? *Pro-form Analysis*
 so-NOM come-PST-3SG but who-NOM(-PST)
 ‘Someone came, but who (was that)?’

Moreover, given the antecedent sentence in (120), repeated here as (122a), the sluice can be derived either by the *pro*-form analysis in the (122b) example, or by the MD analysis in the (122c) example, where the non-finite predicate *geldiğini* ‘coming’ is transformed into a finite *geldi* ‘came’.

- 122) a. Fatih- \emptyset biri-nin_i gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di- \emptyset ,
 F.-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG,
 ‘Fatih said that someone came but who?’
- b. ... ama **pro_{i/o}** Kim- \emptyset (-di)?
 but who-COP(-PST)
- c. ...ama kim ~~geldi- \emptyset~~ ?
 but who come-PST-3SG

The availability of the analysis in (122c) is suggested also by the fact that the Q particle *ki* can legitimately follow the wh-remnant, as shown in (123).

- 123) Fatih- \emptyset birin-in gel-diğ-in-i söyle-di- \emptyset ama kim ki?
 Fatih-NOM so-GEN come-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PST-3SG but who PRT
 ‘Fatih said that someone came, but who, then?’

5.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I offered an analysis for matrix and embedded close sluicing constructions by assuming that case connectivity between the remnant and antecedent is analyzed via the MD approach by Ince (2006, 2009, 2012), and anti-connectivity between them is derived through the *pro*-form analysis by Palaz (2019), regardless of the presence or the absence of the optional tense marker in both conditions. I first showed that the Q particle *ki* is legitimate when it follows the wh-remnant in the embedded clause (cf. Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019b). Then, I argued that the Q particle *ki* is not restricted to matrix interrogative clauses and can also occur in embedded interrogative clauses only if the embedded predicate is tensed. These revised properties of the particle provided insight into the position of embedded wh-subjects in sluicing (cf. Ince, 2012). I argued that the wh-phrase raises to the [Spec CP] of the closest tensed clause in the embedded clause sluicing to be able to precede the Q particle. Another issue that the Q particle *ki* shed light on is the source of the embedded clause sluicing constructions, which has been previously discussed by Ince (2012) and Zidani-Eroğlu, (2019b). Ince (2012) argued for a bigger E-site where Zidani-Eroğlu, (2019b) for a smaller one, which leads to no consensus on the source. I proposed that the source of the sluice must be as minimal as possible instead of arguing for one particular source for all SLCs. This would be erroneous considering that the Q particle is likely to force a bigger source in the structures where a smaller source is otherwise possible.

I next argued that the grammaticality of a match on wh-subjects in embedded clause sluicing is explained with TP deletion (Ince, 2009, 2012) and a mismatch on them is derived via the *pro*-form analysis (Palaz, 2019), which is applicable to all cases in both types of sluicing. In addition, I showed the ambiguity in the conditions in which the antecedent bears the nominative case or the subject genitive case, but their wh-remnants are bare since they can be analyzed through both approaches. Finally, I adopted the MD approach, more clearly Ince's AspP deletion (2006), for all types of remnants that bear the case of their antecedent along with a tense marker. However, I pointed out the fact that neither this approach nor the previous proposals are adequate to derive why accusative and subject genitive cannot be followed by a tense marker. I

discussed some reasons why that might be the case, but its exploration in the derivation remains to be solved in further research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I offered an analysis of sluicing that unified matrix clause sluicing and embedded clause sluicing. It is based on case connectivity conditions between wh-remnants and their correlates and on the possibility of a tense morpheme appearing on the (non)-case-marked wh-remnant. To base my arguments on reliable judgments, I conducted an experiment in which a formal Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT) was used to test whether sluicing like constructions (SLCs) in Turkish, whose grammaticality has so far been controversial, are acceptable. The results show that native speakers of Turkish find acceptable both SLCs in which the wh-remnant and its correlate share morphological case and SLCs in which they do not (instead, wh-remnants surface with no morphology whatsoever). Moreover, the addition of a tense marker to the wh-remnant was also found acceptable. The only exceptions were SLCs in which a tense marker was attached to the object wh-remnants with the accusative case and the subject wh-remnant with the genitive case. Interestingly, the results showed that the genitive case on wh-subject remnant in the embedded clause sluicing is in fact well-formed (cf. Ince, 2012) and that the pattern of connectivity which the wh-subject shows with its correlate is similar to that shown by other cases. This judgment allowed me to treat wh-object and wh-subject remnants on a par in the development of my analysis. For SLCs in which case connectivity between wh-remnants and their correlates holds, I adapted Ince's (2006, 2009, 2012) MD approach, and for those in which case connectivity does not hold, I adopted Palaz's pro-form analysis. Both analyses allow for an optional tense marker on the wh-remnants.

In the course of my analysis, I discussed the distribution of the Q particle *ki* in Turkish and argued that in addition to appearing clause-finally in matrix clauses, it can also occur clause-finally in tensed embedded interrogative environments. Thanks to the revised distribution of the Q particle, I proposed that under sluicing, non-finite clauses may become finite and that the source of a sluice is the minimal clause where the wh-phrase originates. I further proposed that the source can be bigger than this only if some element in the sentence forces this analysis.

What remains to be discovered is the reason why accusative wh-object remnants and genitive wh-subject remnants are ill-formed when followed by a tense marker. Although I offered some speculation about their unacceptability, I have not been able to offer an analysis of this phenomenon. It should also be noted that examining the role of the copula marker in wh-remnants (when they are affixed by a tense marker) might bring further insights into the analysis of Turkish SLCs in the sense that the copula attachment may be the reason why tense marker cannot be attached to all wh-remnant cases. Besides, a thorough investigation (corroborated by judgments obtained from experiments) on other types of ellipsis such as *stripping*, *embedded fragment answers*, or *gapping* may shed light on a more unified analysis of ellipsis in Turkish. All of these topics are left for further research.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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02 Ocak 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Martina GRACANİN YÜKSEK

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Sebahat Yağmur KİPER**'in "**Sluicing or Clefing?**" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **519 ODTU 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız


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Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu


Sayın Prof.Dr. Martina GRACANİN YÜKSEK

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Sebahat Yağmur KİPER**'in "In the Case of Sluicing" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **519 ODTU 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

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Üye

B. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

NO	QUESTIONS
1.	Adınız nedir? <input type="text"/>
2.	Kaç yaşındasınız? <input type="text"/>
3.	Cinsiyetiniz nedir? <input type="checkbox"/> Kadın <input type="checkbox"/> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer
4.	Ana diliniz/dilleriniz nedir/nelerdir? <input type="text"/>

C. EXPERIMENTAL ITEMS

OBJECT WH- REMNANTS		
<i>I. ACCUSATIVE (CASE TYPE)</i>		
<i>a. KİM (WH- TYPE)</i>		
NO		<i>MATCH TYPE</i>
1.	Dilara birini bekledi ama kimi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
2.	Dilara birini bekledi ama kimiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
3.	Dilara birini bekledi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
4.	Dilara birini bekledi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
5.	Özge birini gördü ama kimi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
6.	Özge birini gördü ama kimiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
7.	Özge birini gördü ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
8.	Özge birini gördü ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
9.	Nedim birini uyardı ama kimi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
10.	Nedim birini uyardı ama kimiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
11.	Nedim birini uyardı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
12.	Nedim birini uyardı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
13.	Cenk birini kınadı ama kimi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
14.	Cenk birini kınadı ama kimiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
15.	Cenk birini kınadı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
16.	Cenk birini kınadı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
<i>b. NE (WH- TYPE)</i>		
17.	Ferhat bir şeyi kırdı ama neyi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
18.	Ferhat bir şeyi kırdı ama neyiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
19.	Ferhat bir şeyi kırdı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
20.	Ferhat bir şeyi kırdı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
21.	Osman bir şeyi tekmeledi ama neyi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
22.	Osman bir şeyi tekmeledi ama neyiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
23.	Osman bir şeyi tekmeledi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
24.	Osman bir şeyi tekmeledi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
25.	Rana bir şeyi devirdi ama neyi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
26.	Rana bir şeyi devirdi ama neyiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
27.	Rana bir şeyi devirdi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
28.	Rana bir şeyi devirdi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
29.	Yeliz bir şeyi onardı ama neyi hatırlamıyorum.	Match
30.	Yeliz bir şeyi onardı ama neyiydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
31.	Yeliz bir şeyi onardı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
32.	Yeliz bir şeyi onardı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
<i>II. DATIVE (CASE TYPE)</i>		
<i>a. KİM (WH- TYPE)</i>		
33.	Anıl birine bağırdı ama kime hatırlamıyorum.	Match
34.	Anıl birine bağırdı ama kimeydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
35.	Anıl birine bağırdı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch

36.	Anıl birine bağırdı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
37.	Birol birine danıştı ama kime hatırlamıyorum.	Match
38.	Birol birine danıştı ama kimeydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
39.	Birol birine danıştı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
40.	Birol birine danıştı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
41.	Ayşe birine darıldı ama kime hatırlamıyorum.	Match
42.	Ayşe birine darıldı ama kimeydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
43.	Ayşe birine darıldı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
44.	Ayşe birine darıldı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
45.	Mine birine kızdı ama kime hatırlamıyorum.	Match
46.	Mine birine kızdı ama kimeydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
47.	Mine birine kızdı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
48.	Mine birine kızdı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
<i>b. NE (WH- TYPE)</i>		
49.	Gülce bir şeye dokundu ama neye hatırlamıyorum.	Match
50.	Gülce bir şeye dokundu ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
51.	Gülce bir şeye dokundu ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
52.	Gülce bir şeye dokundu ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
53.	Elif bir şeye baktı ama neye hatırlamıyorum.	Match
54.	Elif bir şeye baktı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
55.	Elif bir şeye baktı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
56.	Elif bir şeye baktı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
57.	Can bir şeye güvendi ama neye hatırlamıyorum.	Match
58.	Can bir şeye güvendi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
59.	Can bir şeye güvendi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
60.	Can bir şeye güvendi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
61.	Ahmet bir şeye hüznünlendi ama neye hatırlamıyorum.	Match
62.	Ahmet bir şeye hüznünlendi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
63.	Ahmet bir şeye hüznünlendi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
64.	Ahmet bir şeye hüznünlendi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
<i>III. ABLATIVE (CASE TYPE)</i>		
<i>a. KİM (WH- TYPE)</i>		
65.	Zehra birinden saklandı ama kimden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
66.	Zehra birinden saklandı ama kimdendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
67.	Zehra birinden saklandı ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
68.	Zehra birinden saklandı ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
69.	Azra birinden bahsetti ama kimden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
70.	Azra birinden bahsetti ama kimdendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
71.	Azra birinden bahsetti ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
72.	Azra birinden bahsetti ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
73.	Yasin birinden çekindi ama kimden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
74.	Yasin birinden çekindi ama kimdendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
75.	Yasin birinden çekindi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
76.	Yasin birinden çekindi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense

77.	Azat birinden tiksindi ama kimden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
78.	Azat birinden tiksindi ama kimdendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
79.	Azat birinden tiksindi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
80.	Azat birinden tiksindi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense

b. NE (WH- TYPE)

81.	Eren bir şeyden yararlandı ama neyden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
82.	Eren bir şeyden yararlandı ama neydendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
83.	Eren bir şeyden yararlandı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
84.	Eren bir şeyden yararlandı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
85.	Melih bir şeyden sakındı ama neyden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
86.	Melih bir şeyden sakındı ama neydendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
87.	Melih bir şeyden sakındı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
88.	Melih bir şeyden sakındı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
89.	Betül bir şeyden utandı ama neyden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
90.	Betül bir şeyden utandı ama neydendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
91.	Betül bir şeyden utandı ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
92.	Betül bir şeyden utandı ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
93.	Emel bir şeyden şüphelendi ama neyden hatırlamıyorum.	Match
94.	Emel bir şeyden şüphelendi ama neydendi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
95.	Emel bir şeyden şüphelendi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
96.	Emel bir şeyden şüphelendi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense

SUBJECT WH- REMNANTS

GENITIVE

a. KİM (WH- TYPE)

97.	Nuran birinin aradığını söyledi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Match
98.	Nuran birinin aradığını söyledi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
99.	Nuran birinin aradığını söyledi ama kimin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
100.	Nuran birinin aradığını söyledi ama kimindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
101.	Gizem birinin hapşırıldığını söyledi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Match
102.	Gizem birinin hapşırıldığını söyledi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
103.	Gizem birinin hapşırıldığını söyledi ama kimin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
104.	Gizem birinin hapşırıldığını söyledi ama kimindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
105.	Caner birinin bunadığını söyledi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Match
106.	Caner birinin bunadığını söyledi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
107.	Caner birinin bunadığını söyledi ama kimin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
108.	Caner birinin bunadığını söyledi ama kimindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
109.	Burak birinin koştuğunu söyledi ama kim hatırlamıyorum.	Match
110.	Burak birinin koştuğunu söyledi ama kimdi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
111.	Burak birinin koştuğunu söyledi ama kimin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
112.	Burak birinin koştuğunu söyledi kimindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense

b. NE (WH- TYPE)

113.	Mert bir şeyin düştüğünü söyledi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Match
114.	Mert bir şeyin düştüğünü söyledi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
115.	Mert bir şeyin düştüğünü söyledi ama neyin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch

116.	Mert bir şeyin düştüğünü söyledi ama neyindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
117.	Asya bir şeyin koktuğunu söyledi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Match
118.	Asya bir şeyin koktuğunu söyledi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
119.	Asya bir şeyin koktuğunu söyledi ama neyin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
120.	Asya bir şeyin koktuğunu söyledi ama neyindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
121.	Zeynep bir şeyin yandığını söyledi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Match
122.	Zeynep bir şeyin yandığını söyledi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
123.	Zeynep bir şeyin yandığını söyledi ama neyin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
124.	Zeynep bir şeyin yandığını söyledi ama neyindi hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch-Tense
125.	Furkan bir şeyin çürüdüğünü söyledi ama ne hatırlamıyorum.	Match
126.	Furkan bir şeyin çürüdüğünü söyledi ama neydi hatırlamıyorum.	Match-Tense
127.	Furkan bir şeyin çürüdüğünü söyledi ama neyin hatırlamıyorum.	Mismatch
128.	Furkan bir şeyin çürüdüğünü söyledi ama neyindi hatırlamıyorum	Mismatch-Tense

D. FILLER ITEMS

FORWARD GAPPING

<i>GRAMMATICAL</i>	
NO	
1.	Müge'nin okuldan geldiğini biliyorum, Onur'un ise işten.
2.	Orhan'ın annesini işlettiğini biliyorum, Nil'in ise babasını.
3.	Dila'nın erken uyduğunu hatırlıyorum, Tuna'nın ise geç.
4.	Basri'nin kapıyı açtığını hatırlıyorum, Esin'in ise pencereyi.
5.	Oğuz'un mu çukura atladığını biliyorsun, Ahu'nun mu?
6.	Nalan'ın mı arabasını sattığını biliyorsun, İlker'in mi?
7.	Berfe'nin mi çok terlediğini hatırlıyorsun, Alpay'ın mı?
8.	Taner'in mi kitabı yırttığını hatırlıyorsun, Ajda'nın mı?
<i>UNGRAMMATICAL</i>	
9.	Giray'ın evde durduğunu, Nur'un ise bahçede biliyorum.
10.	Ayşin'in amcasında kaldığını, Ilgaz'ın ise halasında biliyorum.
11.	İlayda'nın kuşu beslediğini, Yusuf'un ise balığı biliyorum.
12.	Yavuz'un ödevi bitirdiğini, Aynur'un ise projeyi biliyorum.
13.	Şerife'nin çok söylendiğini, Behlül'ün ise az hatırlıyorum.
14.	Kadir'in denizde eğlendiğini, Cansu'nun ise gölde hatırlıyorum.
15.	Engin'in ocağı ovduğunu, İzel'in ise dolabı hatırlıyorum.
16.	Kevser'in fareyi yakaladığını, Kağan'ın ise böceği hatırlıyorum.
17.	Saime'nin top mu oynadığını, Bekir'in ise ip biliyorsun?
18.	Seval'in liseye mi geçtiğini, İlhan'ın ise ilkokula biliyorsun?
19.	Cihan'ın motoru mu bozduğunu, Suna'nın ise freni biliyorsun?
20.	Tamer'in duvarı mı çizdiğini, Şenay'ın ise kapıyı biliyorsun?
21.	Sima'nın kadına mı fısıldadığını, Cem'in ise adama hatırlıyorsun?
22.	Selim'in çok mu hıçkırıldığını, Tuğçe'nin ise az hatırlıyorsun?
23.	Ecem'in zili mi çaldığını, Halil'in ise kapıyı hatırlıyorsun?
24.	Baran'ın şişeyi mi doldurduğunu, Helin'in ise bardağı hatırlıyorsun?
BACKWARD GAPPING	
<i>GRAMMATICAL</i>	
25.	Pelin'in eve, Hale'nin ise markete gittiğini biliyorum.
26.	Murat'ın oğlunu, Şevket'in ise kızını övdüğünü biliyorum.
27.	Büşra'nın akıcı, Doğan'ın ise tutuk konuştuğunu hatırlıyorum.
28.	Recep'in tabağı, Melis'in ise kaşığı aldığını hatırlıyorum.
29.	Fatma'nın iyi, Beyza'nın ise kötü yüzdüğünü biliyor musun?
30.	Yeşim'in bavulu, Alper'in ise kutuyu çektiğini biliyor musun?
31.	Mete'nin okulda, Selen'in ise ofiste bayıldığını hatırlıyor musun?
32.	Uğur'un maviyi, Batu'nun ise beyazı seçtiğini hatırlıyor musun?
<i>UNGRAMMATICAL</i>	
33.	Ekin'in ise yavaş, Berkay'ın hızlı okuduğunu biliyorum.

34.	Samet'in ise bahçede, Kübra'nın çarşıda gezdiğini biliyorum.
35.	Hazal'ın ise kazağı, Fırat'ın gömleği beğendiğini biliyorum.
36.	Soner'in ise diziyi, Bengü'nün filmi izlediğini biliyorum.
37.	Tolga'nın ise muzunu, Bade'nin kirazı sevdiğini hatırlıyorum.
38.	Ayhan'ın ise kalın, Zuhâl'in ince giyindiğini hatırlıyorum.
39.	Şeyma'nın ise kitapları, Emrah'ın dosyaları derlediğini hatırlıyorum.
40.	İhsan'ın soruyu, Hacer'in ise cevabı açıkladığını hatırlıyorum.
41.	Tülay'ın az mı, Buğra'nın ise çok çalıştığını biliyorsun?
42.	Çağan'ın geç mi, Sevim'in ise erken uyandığını biliyorsun?
43.	Leman'ın ipi mi, Enver'in ise kumaşı kestiğini biliyorsun?
44.	Taylan'ın sigarayı mı, Nisa'nın ise kahveyi bıraktığını biliyorsun?
45.	Rabia'nın ormanda mı, Eray'ın ise sahilde yürüdüğünü hatırlıyorsun?
46.	Ekrem'in yerde mi, Selin'in ise koltukta uzandığını hatırlıyorsun?
47.	Tuğba'nın salonu mu, Sezer'in ise mutfağı topladığını hatırlıyorsun?
48.	Gülây'ın çok mu, Hakan'ın ise az acıktığını hatırlıyorsun?

QUESTIONS

GRAMMATICAL

49.	Nihal'in neyin saatlerdir vızıldadığını söylediğini biliyor musun?
50.	Umur'un kime camın çatladığını söylediğini biliyorsun?
51.	İrem'in kime çiçeğin solduğunu söylediğini hatırlıyor musun?
52.	Sezgin'in neyin dünden beri sızdığını söylediğini hatırlıyorsun?
53.	Belma'nın kime köpeğin havladığını söylediğini biliyor musun?
54.	Timur'un neyin birden kükrediğini söylediğini biliyorsun?
55.	İdil'in neyin sıcakken sıçradığını söylediğini hatırlıyor musun?
56.	Sinan'ın kime kedinin miyavladığını söylediğini hatırlıyorsun?

UNGRAMMATICAL

57.	Polat'ın hızlıca geçtiğini söylediğini neyin biliyor musun?
58.	Feyza'nın sürekli esnediğini söylediğini kimin biliyor musun?
59.	Tekin'in manava gittiğini söylediğini kimin biliyorsun?
60.	Melda'nın duvara tırmandığını söylediğini neyin biliyorsun?
61.	Doğuş'un hep öksürdüğünü söylediğini kimin hatırlıyor musun?
62.	Gözde'nin sesli çalıştığını söylediğini neyin hatırlıyor musun?
63.	Faruk'un spordan geldiğini söylediğini kimin hatırlıyorsun?
64.	Canan'ın yolda durduğunu söylediğini neyin hatırlıyorsun?
65.	Kerem'in birden gümbürdediğini söylediğini neyin biliyor musun?
66.	Selma'nın çabucak donduğunu söylediğini kimin biliyor musun?
67.	Olca'yın çok yaşlandığını söylediğini kimin biliyorsun?
68.	Ayça'nın hızlıca battığını söylediğini neyin biliyorsun?
69.	İsmail'in çok büyüdüğünü söylediğini kimin hatırlıyor musun?
70.	Burcu'nun az önce başladığını söylediğini neyin hatırlıyor musun?
71.	Hakkı'nın dün gece yıkıldığını söylediğini neyin hatırlıyorsun?
72.	Gökçe'nin hastalıktan öldüğünü söylediğini kimin hatırlıyorsun?

E. CONSENT FORM

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili Öğretimi programı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Sebahat Yağmur Kiper tarafından Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Türkçe anadil konuşucularının bir dilbilgisellik değerlendirme testi aracılığıyla bazı Türkçe tümceleri önsözlerine göre nasıl derecelendireceğini keşfederek elde edilen bulgular üzerine birtakım sözdizimsel analizler yapmaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırma İngilizce Öğretmenliği bölüm laboratuvarında yapılacaktır. Üniversite öğrencileri öğretim üyeleri aracılığı ile çalışmaya katılımcı olarak davet edilecek ve katılmak isteyenler yaklaşık 20-25 dakika sürecek olan anket niteliğinde bir testi LimeSurvey anket servisi ile bilgisayar üzerinde uygulayacaklardır. Çalışmada sizden 120 adet Türkçe tümcenin dilbilgiselliğini 5'li ölçek üzerinden (1 kabul edilemez, 5 kabul edilebilir olmak üzere) derecelendirmeniz beklenmektedir.

Katılımla İlgili Bilmeniz Gerekenler:

Bu araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma veya cezaya maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Test esnasında çalışmayı terk etmeye karar verirseniz araştırmacıyı bilgilendirmeniz yeterlidir.

Elde edilen veriler yalnızca araştırmacıların ulaşabilmesi koşulu ile tamamen gizli tutulacak, veriler ve kimlik bilgileri herhangi bir şekilde eşleştirilmeyecektir. Katılımcıların isimleri bağımsız bir listede toplanacaktır. Ayrıca toplanan verilerin anonim bir biçimde (katılımcı numarası atanarak) elektronik olarak işlenmesi ve bilimsel amaçlar için kullanılması; değerlendirilmek ve arşivlenmek üzere kaydedilmesi ve üniversite derslerinde, araştırma kongrelerinde ve bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılabilmesi mümkün olacaktır.

Araştırmayla İlgili Daha Fazla Bilgi Almak İsterseniz:

Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Test bitiminde çalışmanın amacına yönelik sorularınız araştırmacı tarafından cevaplanacaktır. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için ODTÜ Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Martina Gračanin Yüksek (e-posta: martina@metu.edu.tr) ya da yüksek lisans öğrencisi Sebahat Yağmur Kiper (e-posta: ykipper@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve şartları kabul ederek bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

Ad-Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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F. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

CÜMLECİK EKŞİLTME HUSUSUNDA

1. GİRİŞ

Bu tez Türkçedeki cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıları, eksilti alanındaki *ne*-sözcükleri (*ne*-kalıntısı) ve öncül tümcecikteki belgisiz zamirler (belgisiz eşlenik) arasındaki hâl bağlayıcılığı perspektifinden incelemektedir.

Cümlecik eksiltme öncül bir tümcecik ile özdeşlik gösteren bir diğer tümcecğin *ne*-sözcüğü o tümceden çıkarıldıktan sonra silinmesi durumudur. (1)'de gözlemlenen İngilizce örnekteki gibi, öncül tümce *ne*-sözcüğü ile eşdizinenmiş bir belgisiz zamir, yani *ne*-kalıntısının eşleniğini içerir.

- 1) Harry saw something_i but I don't know what_i [~~TP Harry saw t_i~~].

Tez *ne*-sözcüğünün belgisiz eşleniğinin hâl ekine göre alabileceği aşağıda sıralanan dört durumu incelemektedir:

- 2) *Uyum Durumu*: *ne*-sözcüğü eşleniği ile aynı hâl ekini taşır.
a. Anıl **birine** bağırdı ama **kime** hatırlamıyorum.
- 3) *Uyum-Zaman Durumu*: *ne*-sözcüğü hem hâl ekini hem de zaman ekini taşır.
b. Anıl **birine** bağırdı ama **kimeydi** hatırlamıyorum.
- 4) *Uyumsuzluk Durumu*: *ne*-sözcüğü hiçbir ek taşımaz.
c. Anıl **birine** bağırdı ama **kim** hatırlamıyorum.
- 5) *Uyumsuzluk-Zaman Durumu*: *ne*-sözcüğü yalnızca zaman eki taşır.
d. Anıl **birine** bağırdı ama **kimdi** hatırlamıyorum.

Türkçede cümlecik eksiltmeye dair çetrefilli olan durum ise orta öbek olan ne-sözcüğünün telaffuz edilirken, ondan önce gelen ve onu takip eden öbeklerin telaffuz edilmemesidir. Bu durum (6)'daki cümlede gösterilmiştir.

- 6) A: Meryem tüm gece biriyle tartıştı.
B: ~~Meryem tüm gece~~ kimle tartıştı?

Türkçenin bu sorunu için alanyazında farklı incelemeler öne sürülmüştür (İnce, 2006, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018, 2019; Şener, 2012, Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019). İngilizcenin cümlecik eksiltme analizinden esinlenen İnce (2009, 2012) uyum durumu için ne-sözcüğünün vurgulu olmasından ötürü tümleyici öbeğinin göstericisine (Spec CP) yükseldiğini ve sonrasında ise zaman öbeğinin (TP) silindiğini iddia eder. Uyum-zaman durumu için ise, ne-sözcüğünün yükselmesinin ardından görünüş öbeğinin (AspP) silindiğini öne sürer (İnce, 2006). İnce'nin ne-yükselme yaklaşımına karşıt olarak, Şener (2012) ve Palaz (2018, 2019) Türkçede ne-sözcüğünün yükselmemesinden ötürü bir ne-koruma yaklaşımının benimsenmesi gerektiğini savunurlar. Palaz (2018) uyum ve uyum-zaman durumlarının *Eksilti Şartı* sayesinde oluştuğunu ve bu şartın vurgulu olan öbekler hariç her şeyi sildiğini iddia eder ve bu sebepten vurgu barındıran ne-sözcüğü telaffuz edilir. Öte yandan, uyumsuzluk ve uyumsuzluk-zaman durumunun cümlecik eksiltme analiziyle oluşturulamayacağını ve bu yapıların *pro*-biçim analiziyle oluştuğunu gösterir (Palaz, 2019). Son olarak, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019) İnce'nin (2012) iddiasının aksine içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme tümcelerinin kaynaklarının daha küçük olduğunu savunur.

Önceki incelemelere ek olarak, bu tezde resmi bir deney aracılığı ile cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapılar hakkındaki değerlendirmelerin sağlam bir zemine oturtulması ve bu değerlendirmelere bağlı olarak hem ana cümle hem de içe yerleşik cümleler için geçerli olacak birleşmiş analizler sunulması amaçlanmaktadır.

2. DENEY

Bahsi geçen çalışmaların bazılarında aynı türden cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıların farklı şekillerde değerlendirilmesinden ötürü, bu deney bir Dilbilgisellik

Değerlendirme Testi aracılığı ile Türkçedeki hangi cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıların kurallı olduklarını keşfetmeyi ve sonuçlar sayesinde teorik bir cümlecik eksiltme analizine zemin hazırlamayı amaçlar.

2.1 Araştırma Soruları

Çalışmada cevaplanması amaçlanan araştırma sonuçları aşağıda sıralanmaktadır:

1. Türkçe anadil konuşucuları nesne ne-kalıntısının ve içe yerleşik cümlelerdeki özne ne-kalıntısının uyum(suzluk) durumlarını nasıl değerlendirmektedir?
 - 1.1. Katılımcılar hâl uyumsuzluğunu pozisyon fark etmeksizin kabul etmekte midir?
 - 1.2. Katılımcılar önceki analizlerde kurallı kabul edilmeyen (İnce, 2012) içe yerleşik cümlelerdeki özne ne-kalıntısındaki hâl uyumunu kurallı bulmakta mıdır?
 - 1.3. Katılımcılar zaman ekinin pozisyon ve uyum(suzluk) durumu fark etmeksizin ne-kalıntılarına iliştilmesini kabul etmekte midir?
2. Nesne konumundaki ne-kalıntısının aldığı hâl eki çeşidi (belirtme hâli, bulunma hâli, ayrılma hâli) cümlecik eksiltme yapılarının kabul edilebilirliğini etkilemekte midir?
3. Ne-sözcüğünün türü cümlecik eksiltme yapılarının kabul edilebilirliğini uyum(suzluk) durumu ya da hâl eki çeşidi yönünden etkilemekte midir?

2.2 Veri Toplama Araçları

Deneyde toplamda 128 adet test tümcesi kullanılmıştır. Bütün test tümceleri *ama* bağlacı ile ayrılan öncül bir cümlecik ve *kim* ya da *ne* ne-sözcükleri içeren eksiltmiş bir cümlecikten oluşturulmuştur. Test tümceleri cümlecik eksiltme kısımlarında bulunan ne-kalıntısının dilbilgisel fonksiyonlarına göre ikiye ayrılmıştır: İlkinde, ne-kalıntısı içe yerleşik tümceciğin nesnesidir. İkincisinde ise, ne-kalıntısı içe yerleşik tümceciğin öznesi konumundadır. Nesne ne-kalıntıları belirtme hâli (-I), yönelme hâli (-E) ve ayrılma hâli (-DEN) olmak üzere üç farklı hâl eki ile, özne ne-kalıntıları tanımlayan hâli (-In) ile çekimlenmiştir. Bütün test maddeleri -DI zaman eki eklenmiş *hatırla-* fiili ile sonlandırılmıştır. Hâl eki ve ne-sözcüğü çeşidinin yanı sıra, ne-kalıntısı

ve eşleniği arasındaki uyum(suzluk) durumu da deneyde bir değişkendir. Örnek test maddeleri (7) ve (8)'de sağlanmıştır.

7) *Nesne Ne-kalıntısı Test Cümleleri*

Fatih birini gördü ama...

a. ...kimi hatırlamıyorum.

Uyum Durumu

b. ...kimiydi hatırlamıyorum.

Uyum-Zaman Durumu

c. ...kim hatırlamıyorum.

Uyumsuzluk Durumu

d. ...kimdi hatırlamıyorum.

Uyumsuzluk-Zaman Durumu

8) *Özne Ne-kalıntısı Test Cümleleri*

Fatih birinin aradığını söyledi ama...

a. ...kimin hatırlamıyorum.

Uyum Durumu

b. ...kimindi hatırlamıyorum.

Uyum-Zaman Durumu

c. ...kim hatırlamıyorum.

Uyumsuzluk Durumu

d. ...kimdi hatırlamıyorum.

Uyumsuzluk-Zaman Durumu

Test tümcelerine ek olarak deneyin amacını saklamak için geriye doğru boşaltma, öne boşaltma ve soru cümlelerinden oluşan 36 adet tümce kullanılmıştır. Deneydeki bütün tümceler beşli likert ölçeği ile puanlandırılmıştır. Ölçekteki puanlama şu şekildedir: 1 = kesinlikle kabul edilemez, 2 = kabul edilemez, 3 = nötr, 4 = kabul edilebilir, 5 = kesinlikle kabul edilir. Ayrıca tüm deney maddeleri Latin karesi düzeni kullanılarak dört listeye dağıtılmış ve bu dört listedeki maddeler ters çevrilerek dört yeni liste daha oluşturulmuştur. Böylece toplamda sekiz liste elde edilmiştir.

2.3 Katılımcılar

Araştırmaya toplamda 143'ü kadın, 70'i erkek ve 3'ü cinsiyetini ikisi olarak da tanımlamayan 216 kişi katılım göstermiştir. Deney listelerine eşit sayıda rastgele atanan katılımcıların yaş ortalaması 20,94'tür. Testin yapıldığı dönemde, katılımcılar bir devlet üniversitesindeki lisans programında okumaktaydılar. Hepsisi anadilleri yalnızca Türkçe olan konuşuculardan seçilmiştir. Üstelik hiçbir katılımcı dil ya da görme bozukluğuna sahip olduğunu belirtmemiştir.

2.4 Veri Toplama Yöntemi

Deney çevrim içi anket servisi LimeSurvey'in 3.22.12 versiyonu kullanılarak 17 inç ekran masaüstü bilgisayarlarda yürütülmüştür (LimeSurvey Project Team et al., 2012). Her tümce kendisinin altında bir likert ölçeği kutusu ile ayrı bir sayfada 24 punto ve Arial yazı tipi kullanılarak sunulmuştur. Bütün tümceler işaretlemesi zorunlu maddeler olarak belirlendiği için katılımcıların tümceleri yanıtı bırakma olasılığı engellenmiştir.

Veri iki ay boyunca 30 kişi kapasiteli bir bilgisayar laboratuvarında toplanmış ve kısıtlı sayıda bilgisayardan ötürü, katılımcılar randevu sistemiyle araştırmaya katılım sağlamıştır. Deney esnasında, katılımcılara ilk önce rıza formu dağıtılmış ve konu içeriği ele verilmeden Dilbilgisellik Değerlendirme Testinin ne olduğu açıklanmıştır. Sonraki adımda ise demografik bilgi formunu doldurarak en fazla 30 dakika içerisinde deneyi tamamlamışlardır.

2.5 Veri Analizi

Bütün tümceler tek bir deney üzerinde sunulmasına rağmen bu araştırmada nesne ne-kalıntısı ve özne ne-kalıntısı için iki ayrı analiz yürütülmüştür. Nesne konumunda bulunan ne-kalıntısının analizinde, bağımsız değişkenler hâl eki türü (belirtme, yönelme, ayrılma), uyum türü (uyum, uyum-zaman, uyumsuzluk, uyumsuzluk-zaman) ve ne-sözcüğü türüdür (kim, ne). Özne konumundaki ne-kalıntısında ise uyum türü ve ne-sözcüğü türü bağımsız değişken olarak analiz edilmiştir. İki analizde de bağımlı değişken cümlelere verilen puanlardır.

İlk olarak deneyi tamamlamayan katılımcılar analizden çıkarılmıştır ve bu da 12 katılımcı verisinin kaybına sebep olmuştur. Bunu takiben 3 standart sapma değeri aşağısında ve yukarısında olan uç değerler veriden çıkarılmış ve bu değerlerin yerine ortalama değer yazılmıştır. Uç değerlerin temizlenmesi verinin %0.58'inin kaybına yol açmıştır.

2.6 Sonuçların Özeti

Bu araştırma birleştirilmiş bir cümlecik eksiltme analizine sağlam bir zaman hazırlayabilmek için Türkçe anadil konuşucularının farklı değişkenlerle manipüle edilmiş eksiltme benzeri yapıları nasıl değerlendirdiğini ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla yürütülmüştür. İki analizden de elde edilen en önemli sonuçlar aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilir:

- Ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşlenik arasındaki uyum durumu hâl eki fark etmeksizin (belirtme, yönelme, ayrılma) nesne konumundaki ne-sözcüğü içeren içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapılarında en çok kabul edilen durum olmuştur. Çıkan sonuç Türkçede yapılan önceki çalışmaları destekler niteliktedir (İnce, 2009, 2012; Palaz, 2018; Şener, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019).
- Ne-kalıntısı üzerindeki hâl eki eksikliği, yani ne-kalıntısının eşleniğinin ekini taşıyor olması, çoğunlukla kabul edilebilir bulunmuştur. Bu durum Palaz'ın (2019) pro-biçim analizini destekler ancak İnce'nin (2009, 2012) yargılarının aksini gösterir.
- (8a)'dan alınan ve (9)'da tekrar edilen örnekte gösterildiği gibi, özne ne-kalıntısı içeren cümlecik eksiltme yapılarında uyum durumu katılımcılar tarafından yüksek oranla kabul edilebilir olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bulgu İnce'nin (2012) iddiasıyla ters düşmektedir.
9) Fatih **birinin** aradığını söyledi ama **kimin** hatırlamıyorum.
- Zaman eki yönelme veya ayrılma hâl ekini taşıyan ne-kalıntısını takip ettiğinde kurallı bulunmuştur (örn.: kimeydi, kimdendi). Ancak zaman eki belirtme hâli ve özne konumunda tamlayan hâli ekinin ardından geldiğinde kuralsız olarak değerlendirilmişlerdir. Belirtme ve tamlayan hâllerinin cümlecik eksiltme yapılarında neden zaman ekinin önüne gelemediği alanyazında daha önce tartışılmamıştır.

3. TEORİK ANALİZ

Alanyazında yapılmış çalışmalara ve deneyin bulgularına dayanarak, Türkçede cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapıların genel özellikleri aşağıdaki gibi sıralanabilir ve bu

özellikler hem ana tümcelerde hem de içe yerleşik tümcelerde bulunan eksiltme yapıları için geçerlidir:

- Tümce türü fark etmeksizin ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşleniği arasında hâl bağlayıcılığı mümkündür (örn: birine-**kime**, birinin-**kimin**).
- Ne-kalıntısı hiçbir ek taşımadan yalın bir şekilde var olabilir (birine-**kim**, birinin-**kim**).
- Ne-kalıntısı ve eşleniği arasındaki hâl bağlayıcılığı ve karşı-bağlayıcılık durumlarında, ne-kalıntısı zaman eki taşıyabilir (birine-**kimeydi**, birine-**kimdi**, birinin-**kimdi**)
- İstisnai olarak, ne-kalıntısının nesne konumunda belirtme ve özne konumunda tamlayan hâli eki taşıdığı durumlarda zaman eki cümlelerin kuralsız olmasına yol açar (birini-***kimiydi**, birinin-***kimindi**).

Bahsi geçen özelliklere dair asıl cevaplanması gereken soru dört uyum(suzluk) durumunun da (örn.: kime, kimeydi, kim, kimdi) cümlecik eksiltme yapısı olup olmadığı, yani aynı kaynağa sahip olup olmadıklarıdır. Cümlecik eksiltmede eksilti alanındaki zaman öbeğinin silindiğini teklif eden önceki çalışmalar (Merchant, 2001; Ince, 2006, 2009, 2012) varsayıldığında, Türkçedeki ne-eklentisi ve belgisiz ilişik arasındaki uyum durumlarını (örn.: birine-kime, birine-kimeydi, birinin-kimin) zaman öbeğinin cümleden silinmesiyle türetilir. Ancak uyumsuzluk durumlarında ne-eklentisi hâl eki taşımadığı için (örn.: birine-kim, birine-kimdi, birinin-kim, birinin-kimdi) bu yapıları yükselme ve eksiltme yaklaşımıyla türetmek daha zordur. Uyum ve uyumsuzluk durumları arasındaki bu bariz fark nedeniyle, iki yapı bu tezde farklı şekillerde analiz edilmektedir.

3.1 Uyum Durumlarının Türemesi

İnce (2006, 2009, 2012) ve Merchant (2001) analizlerini benimseyerek Türkçedeki içe yerleşik tümcelerdeki cümlecik eksiltme yapılarının da ana cümlelerdeki gibi yükselme-eksiltme yaklaşımıyla türetildiğini savunmaktayım. Yani, hem içe yerleşik cümlelerin öznesi olan ne-kalıntıları hem de diğer bütün pozisyon ve cümle türünde bulunan ne-kalıntıları belgisiz eşleniklerinin hâl ekini taşıdıklarında ne-sözcüğü

tümleyici öbeğinin göstericisine yükselir ve zaman öbeği telaffuz edilmeden önce silinir. Ne-kalıntısına opsiyonel olarak zaman eki -DI iliştilirdiğinde ise silinen eksilti alanı görünüş öbeği olur.

Öte yandan, görünüş öbeğinin eksiltildiği analiz sırasıyla (9) ve (10)'da örneklendirildiği gibi ne-eklentisi belirtme hâli ve (özne) tamlayan hâli alıp ardından zaman eki geldiğinde oluşan kuralsız cümleleri türetmek konusunda başarısız kalmaktadır. İlginç olansa sahiplik belirten tamlayan hâlinin ardından zaman eki gelebilmesidir. Bu durum da (11)'deki cümlede gösterilmiştir.

- 9) *Halil tüm gün birini bekledi ama kimiydi?
- 10) *Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama kimindi?
- 11) Fatih birinin adresini kaybetmiş ama kimindi?

Daha önce Zidani-Eroğlu (2019) ne-eklentisinde belirtme hâline zaman eki iliştilirdiğinde kuralsız olduğuna değinmiştir fakat alanyazında bu iki yapıyı açıklayan bir analiz halen yoktur. Zaman ekinin belirtme hali ve tamlayan halini takip edememesinin iki sebepten kaynaklanıyor olabilir: İlki, ne-sözcüğünün bulunduğu pozisyonun yüksekliğidir. Yani, yapısal belirtme hâlinin diğerlerine göre daha yüksek bir pozisyonda (örn.: hafif eylem öbeğinin göstericisinde) ancak doğal hâl eklerinin (ayrılma, yönelme gibi) oldukları konumda atanmaları (9)'daki cümlelerin kuralsızlığına neden olmuş olabilir. Aynı sebep (10)'daki cümleyi de açıklayabilir çünkü belirtme hâli gibi tamlayan hâlinin de yalın hâl ekinden daha yüksek bir konumda atandığı daha önce tartışılmıştır (Kornfilt & Whitman, 2011). İkincisi sebep ise, tamlayan ve belirtme hâl eklerinin yapısal hâl ekleri ancak diğerlerinin doğal hâl ekleri olmasıdır. Bahse geçen sebepler yukarıda verilen cümlelerin kuralsızlığına açıklama getirebilir ancak tezde bu kuralsızlığın yapısal olarak nasıl türetildiğini tartışmamaktayım.

Ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşleniği arasındaki uyum ve uyum-zaman durumlarının yükselme-eksiltme yaklaşımıyla türediği farz edersek, cevaplanması gereken bir başka soru cümlecik eksiltme yapılarının eksilti alanlarındaki kaynağın ne olduğudur. (12a) ve (13a)'daki örneklerde görüldüğü gibi kaynak ya büyük ya da (12b) ve (13b)'deki

gibi küçük olabilir. Kaynağın hangisi olduğunu belirlemek için *ki* soru ekinin pozisyonu eksilti alanındaki kaynağa dair kanıt sunmaktadır.

- 12) Özge Mesut'un birinden kaçtığını söyledi ama Seray kimden bilmiyor.
a. ama Seray Özge Mesut'un kimden kaçtığını söyledi bilmiyor.
b. ama Seray Mesut'un kimden kaçtığını bilmiyor.
- 13) Fatih birinin aradığını söyledi ama kimin hatırlamıyorum.
a. ama Fatih kimin aradığını söyledi hatırlamıyorum.
b. ama kimin aradığını hatırlamıyorum.

3.2 *ki* Soru Ekinin Pozisyonu

Örnek (14)'te verildiği gibi daha önce alanyazında *ki* ekinin soru bağlamlarında ana tümcelerin sonunda yer aldığı ve (15)'te görüldüğü gibi *ki*'nin ne-eklentisinin ardından gelebileceği iddia edilmiştir (İnce, 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019). *ki*'nin bu pozisyonu yüzünden İnce (2012) (15)'teki cümlecik eksiltme örneğinin kaynağının büyük olduğunu, Zidani-Eroğlu (2019) ise küçük olduğu savunur. İki yazarın varsaydığı kaynaklar sırasıyla (16a)'da ve (16b)'de gösterilmiştir.

- 14) Hasan'ın ne yediğini (**ki*) duydun (*ki*)?
- 15) Hasan Ahmet'in birisine kitap verdiğini söyledi. Kime (*ki*)?
- 16) a. [kim-e_i TümÖ [[Hasan Ahmet'in *t_i* kitap verdiğini söyledi zö] *ki* Tüm']
b. [kim-e_i TümÖ [Ahmet *t_i* kitap verdi] *ki*]. (# Bilmiyorum.)

ki'nin özelliklerine dair İnce (2012) ile aynı gözlemlerde bulunan Zidani-Eroğlu (2019), İnce'ye ek olarak ne-eklentisi ve *ki*'nin ardına başka bir eylem (*bilmiyorum*) ekleyerek cümleyi içe yerleşik hale getirir ve (16b)'deki küçük eksiltme kaynağının bir cümle, bilmiyorum kısmının diğer bir cümle olduğunu ve bu iki bağımsız tümcenin birbirlerinden tonlama boşluğu ile ayrıldığını iddia eder. Zidani-Eroğlu'nun Hankamer'den (2012) esinlendiği sıyrıma analizi sayesinde (16b)'deki *ki* kurallı bir şekilde ne-eklentisini takip edebilir. Ayrıca Zidani-Eroğlu'nun bu analizde benimsediği küçük eksiltme kaynağındaki fiilin isimleştirilmiş fiilden eyleme

dönüştüğü ve içe yerleşik öznenin hâl ekinin tamlayandan yalın hâle dönüştüğü de not edilmelidir.

Diğer bir yandan, Zidani-Eroğlu'nun (2019) (16b)'deki sıyrılma analizine zıt düşen kanıt (17a)'daki gibi cümlelerden gelmektedir. (16b)'deki gizli öznenin aksine cümlede açık özne olduğunda ayrılma analizini elde edebilmek için özneyi diğer bağımsız cümleye çalkalamak gerekir ancak iki bağımsız cümle arasında çalkalama yapmak Türkçede kuralsızdır. Bu yüzden (17b)'deki cümle sıyrılma analizinin Türkçe için yanlış tahminler yaptığını ve üstelik tonlama boşluğu olmamasına rağmen *ki*'nin ne-kalıntısından sonra ve *bilmiyorum* eyleminden önce gelebildiğini göstermektedir. Yani *ki* soru eki ana cümledeki Tüm⁰ pozisyonunda bulunmak zorunda değildir ve içe yerleşik tümcenin son pozisyonunda da bulunabilir.

- 17) a. ...ama kime (ki) # Fatih bilmiyor.
b. ...ama Fatih kime (ki) bilmiyor.

Peki (14)'te verilen ve (18)'de tekrar edilen cümle neden kurallı değildir? Çünkü *ki* isimleştirilmiş ve zaman eki almamış bir fiilin ardından gelmiştir. Bu kısıtlamayı göz önünde bulundurarak *ki*'nin ana cümle ya da içe yerleşik cümle fark etmeksizin zaman ekiyle çekimlenmiş bir soru cümlesinin son pozisyonunda bulunması gerektiğini iddia etmekteyim.

- 18) *Hasan'ın ne yediğini ki duydun?

ki'nin yeni dağılımına dayanarak Zidani-Eroğlu (2019) gibi eksiltme kaynağının küçük olduğunu savunmaktayım. Bu argümanın temeli (19a)'daki cümlecik eksiltme örneğinin (19b) ve (19c) arasında sıralanmış mümkün kaynaklarına dayanmaktadır. (19d)'deki cümle eksiltme kaynağı olabilmek için kurallıdır ve opsiyonel olarak *ki*'yi barındırabilir. İçe yerleşmiş eylemin silindiği orta boyuttaki bir kaynağı içeren (19b) ise kuralsız bir cümledir. (19b)'de kaynağın küçük olması gerektiği iddiası ve *ki*'nin *söyledi* eylemini takip edememesi sebebiyle, *söyledi* eylemi kaynağın bir parçası dahi değildir. (19c)'nin dilbilgisi kurallarına aykırı olmasının nedeni ise *ki*'nin isimleştirilmiş cümlecikleri takip edememesidir. Tüm bu veriye dayanarak, eksiltme

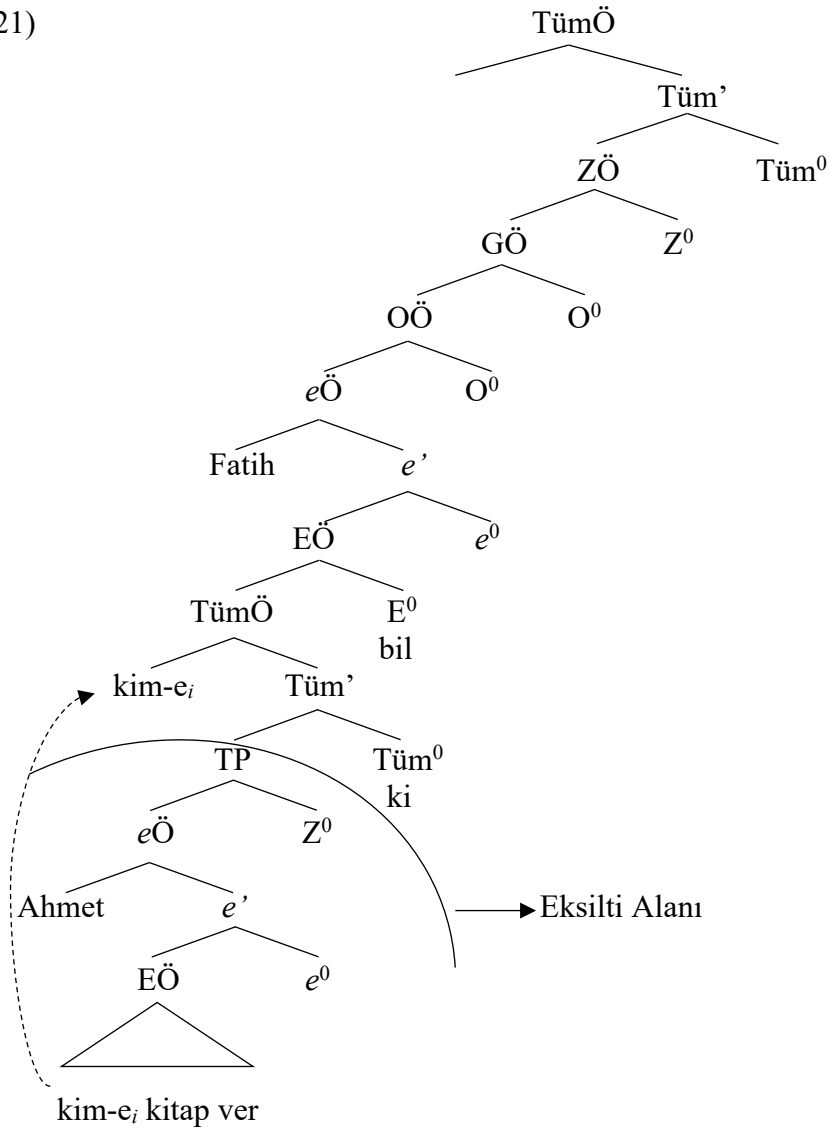
öncesi kaynağın ne-kalıntısının meydana geldiği en küçük cümle olduğunu öne sürmekteyim.

- 19) a. Özge Mesut'un birinden kaçtığını söyledi ama Seray kimden (ki) bilmiyor.
b. *ama Seray kimden söyledi (ki) bilmiyor.
c. *ama Seray kimden (ki) söyledi bilmiyor.
d. ama Seray kimden Mesut kaçtı (ki) bilmiyor.

Tüm bu iddialar neticesinde, Türkçenin *ki*'nin özelliklerine dayanan cümlecik eksiltme benzeri yapılarının analizinin yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. (20a)'daki cümlenin eksilti alanının muhtemel iki kaynağı (20b) ve (20c)'de verilmiştir. Ne-sözcüğünün en yüksek TümÖ göstericisine yükselmesi gerektiğini savunan İnce'nin (2012) aksine, içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme tümcelerindeki ne-sözcüğü ana tümcenin TümÖ göstericisine değil, *ki* soru ekinin önüne gelebilmek için en yakın zaman eki almış tümcenin TümÖ göstericisine yükselmek zorundadır. Bu durumu örneklemek için (20b)'deki kaynak (21)'deki ağaçta gösterilmiştir.

- 20) a. Hasan Ahmet'in birine kitap verdiğini söyledi ama kime bilmiyor.
b. ...ama Fatih Ahmet kime kitap **verdi** ki bilmiyor.
c. ...ama Fatih Hasan Ahmet'in kime kitap verdiğini **söyledi** ki bilmiyor.

21)



Göz önünde bulundurulması gereken başka bir husus ise eksiltme öncesi kaynağın her zaman küçük olmayabileceği durumlardır ve kanıt olarak ne-kalıntısının özne konumunda olduğu içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapıları gösterilebilir. Özne olan ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşleniği arasındaki uyum durumunun içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapılarında kurallı olmaları, yani (22)'de gösterildiği gibi ne-kalıntısının tamlayan hâli eki alması eksiltme kaynağının (23) olmasını imkânsız kılmaktadır.

22) Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama kimin bilmiyorum.

23) ama kim geldi bilmiyorum.

Bu nedenden ötürü (22)'deki eksilti alanının muhtemel kaynakları (24a)'daki büyük kaynak ve (24b)'deki küçük kaynak olmak üzere iki tanedir.

- 24) a. ...ama kimin Fatih geldiğini söyledi...
b. ...ama kimin geldiğini...

ki'nin (22)'deki ne-kalıntısını takip edebiliyor olması ve ne-kalıntısının tamlayan hâli taşıması en küçük mümkün cümlelerin (26)'daki büyük eksiltme kaynağı olduğunu göstermektedir. Çünkü ne-sözcüğünün meydana geldiği en küçük cümle isimleştirilmiştir ve *ki* isimleştirilmiş eylemleri takip edemez. Kullanımı opsiyonel olan *ki* soru eki cümlede bulunmadığında hem küçük hem de büyük kaynak (22)'deki cümlecik eksiltme yapısı için uygundur. Buna dayanarak içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapılarındaki eksilti alanının en küçük muhtemel kaynaktan oluştuğunu iddia etmekteyim. Eğer *ki* kalıntıyı takip ederse, kaynak *ki*'nin dağılım kısıtlamalarını ihlal etmemek için büyük olmalıdır ancak eğer cümlede büyük kaynağı zorlayan bir unsur yoksa, eksilti alanı mümkün olduğunca küçük olmalıdır.

- 25) Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama kimin ki bilmiyorum.
26) ...ama kimin Fatih geldiğini söyledi ki bilmiyorum.

3.3 Uyumsuzluk Durumlarının Türemesi

Deney bulgularına dayanarak, cümlecik eksiltme yapılarındaki ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşleniği arasındaki uyumsuzluk durumlarının hâl eki ya da dilbilgisel pozisyon fark etmeksizin zaman öbeği ya da görünüş öbeği silinmesi olmadan türeyebileceğini ve Palaz'ın (2019) yaklaşımını benimseyerek zaman eki taşıyan ve taşımayan bütün uyumsuzluk durumlarının *pro*-biçim analizi ile açıklanabileceğini ileri sürmekteyim. (45)'teki cümlede gözlenebildiği gibi, öncül cümledeki belgisiz zamir ile eşdizinlenmiş boş bir *pro* ne-sözcüğünün önüne gelir. Ek olarak, koşaç eki her zaman ne-sözcüğü ile meydana gelir ve genel olarak boş görünür. Ancak ne-kalıntısının ardından zaman eki geldiğinde koşaç eki açık bir şekilde fark edilir.

- 27) Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama **pro**/**o**i kim-Ø(-di)?

Son olarak, hiçbir ek taşımayan ne-kalıntılarının yalın hâli ya da tamlayan hâli aldığı durumlar hem Palaz'ın *pro*-biçim analizi hem de İnce'nin yükselme-eksiltme analizi ile türeyebilir. Örnekler yalın hâli için (28)'de ve tamlayan hâli için (29)'da verilmiştir.

- 28) a. Biri geldi ama kim geldi? *Yükselme-Eksiltme Analizi*
b. Biri geldi ama **pro_i** kim-Ø(-di)? *Pro-biçim Analizi*
- 29) a. Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama kim geldi? *Yükselme-Eksiltme Analizi*
b. Fatih birinin geldiğini söyledi ama **pro_i/o_i** kim-Ø(-di)? *Pro-biçim Analizi*

4. DEĞERLENDİRME

Bu tezin amacı ana cümlecik eksiltme ve içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapılarını birleştiren ve ne-kalıntısı ve belgisiz eşlenik arasındaki hâl bağlayıcılığı ve karşı-bağlayıcılık durumlarına dayanan bir eksiltme analizi öne sürmektir. Bu bağlamda tartıştığım argümanları bir Dilbilgisellik Değerlendirme Testi aracılığı ile sağlam bir zemine oturarak alanyazında tartışılmış iki analizden faydalandım: Uyum durumları için İnce'nin (2006, 2009, 2012) yükselme-eksiltme yaklaşımını kullanarak içe yerleşik cümlecik eksiltme yapılarının da ana cümlecik eksiltme yapılarıyla aynı şekilde türediğini öne sürdüm. Uyumsuzluk durumları için ise Palaz'ın (2019) *pro*-biçim yaklaşımını benimsedim. Bununla birlikte, *ki* soru ekinin cümledeki dağılımını yeniden değerlendirerek *ki*'nin sadece ana cümle sonlarında değil, zaman ekiyle çekimlenmiş içe yerleşik cümle sonlarında da bulunabileceğini iddia ettim. *ki*'nin bu dağılımı neticesinde, eksiltme kaynağının ne-sözcüğünün meydana geldiği en küçük cümle olduğunu ve kaynağın yalnızca başka bir unsur zorladığı zaman daha büyük olabileceğini ileri sürdüm.

Keşfedilmesi için daha sonraki araştırmalara bırakılan konu ise belirtme hâli ya da özne konumunda tamlayan hâli taşıyan ne-kalıntısının aynı anda neden zaman eki de alamadığıdır. Tez boyunca neden bu yapıların kuralsız olduğu hakkında bazı spekülasyonlarda bulunsam da nasıl türedikleri konusu hâlâ bir gizemdir. Ayrıca hâl ve zaman ekleri arasında bulunan koşaç ekini incelemek de bu meseleye bir açıklama getirebilir. Tüm bunların yanı sıra, daha birleşmiş bir eksiltme analizinin mümkün olup

olmadığını keşfetmek için Türkçedeki diğer eksiltme türleri de başka çalışmalarda araştırılabilir.

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