

Diagnosing English style sluicing of wh-in-situ languages

Goal: Accusative marked wh-remnants and means/methods ‘how’ remnants are not possible in copular constructions and nonetheless are possible in a sluice-like construction (SLC) in a wh-in-situ language such as Turkish. Given their non-occurrence with the copula, we rule out a pseudo-sluice structure as a source. We correlate the grammatical presence of these two wh-remnants with English-style sluicing in wh-in-situ languages, though necessarily not involving overt wh-movement. We further propose that their grammatical occurrence is indicative of an ellipsis source that is isomorphic to the antecedent clause. We support our correlation by presenting the distribution of these wh-phrases in a SLC in Turkish, Korean, Japanese and Hindi.

Background: Since Ross 1969 and later Merchant 2001, a.o., it is generally assumed that sluicing involves overt wh-movement with subsequent PF-deletion of the (IP/TP) clause in which the wh-phrase originates. This M(ove overtly) & E(lide at PF) approach, satisfying syntactic and semantic identity requirements, licenses ellipsis and predicts that the deleted TP is structurally isomorphic to the antecedent clause:

1. [John saw someone_{correlate}]_{antecedent clause}, but I don’t know who_i [~~TP John saw t_i~~ ellipsis site]
Ince’s (2007, 2012) analysis of Turkish SLC exemplifies this possibility by positioning the wh-remnant clause-initially via focus movement (2), which is consistent with an English-style sluicing mechanism, *broadly-speaking*.

2. Can-Ø biri-yle konuş-uyor, ama kim-le_i [~~TP Hasan-Ø t_i konuş-uyor~~] bil-mi-yor-um.
Can-NOM one-COMM talk-PROG-3Sg but who-COMM [~~TP---~~] know-NEG-PRES-1Sg
‘Can is talking to someone, but I do not know who with.’

3. Can biri-ni seviyor ama kim-i [~~TP pro kim-i seviyor~~] bilmiyorum
Can someone-ACC loves but who-ACC [~~TP pro kim-i seviyor~~] bilmiyorum
‘Can likes someone but I don’t know who (he likes)’

Data: In addition to an isomorphic ellipsis source as in (2,3), Turkish also allows copular sources, but not if an ACC marked remnant is involved as in (6):

4. Dün biri sen-i ara-mış-tı, ama kim-di hatırla-mı-yor-um.
yesterday someone-NOM you-ACC call-EVID-PST-3S but who-PST remember-NEG-PROG-1S
‘Yesterday someone called you, but I don’t remember who it was.’ (Ince 2006 (#1))

5. *Can biri-ni seviyor, ama kim-i-y-di bilmiyorum.
Can someone-ACC likes but who-ACC-COP-PST I-don’t-know
‘Can likes someone, but I don’t know who (it is).’

Data involving *else* modification actually supports the employment of both strategies above in Turkish SLC. First, the wh-remnant is modified with *else* à la Merchant supporting an isomorphic ellipsis source:

6. Can Meryem-den hoşlanıyor, ama (daha) başka kim-den bilmiyorum.
Can Meryem-ABL likes but (else/too) other who-ABL I-don’t-know
‘Can likes Meryem, but I don’t know who else.’

Full structure of E-site:

a.ama başka kim-den [~~pro kim-den hoşlanıyor~~] bilmiyorum.
...but other/else who-ABL [pro who-ABL likes] I-don’t-know

b. *....ama başka kim-den-Ø/i-di bilmiyorum.
..... but other/else who-ABL-COP/COP-PST I-don’t-know

Second, à la Barros (2012, 2014), the *else*-modified correlate supports a non-isomorphic source:

7. Can Meryem’den hoşlanıyor ve baska birin-den daha hoşlanıyor ama
Can Meryem-ABL likes and else someone-ABL else/too likes but
a. # ..kim-den hoşlanıyor bilmiyorum b. ...kim-den-Ø/i-di bilmiyorum.
...who-ABL he likes I don’t know. ...who-ABL-COP-PST I-don’t-know

Although a copular source is possible in Turkish as shown in (4,7b), it is not with an ACC wh-remnant, and yet as (3) shows such remnant can appear in a sluice. Korean unlike Turkish disallows an ACC marked wh-remnant and allows only a non-case-marked wh-remnant in a pseudo-sluice as shown in (8) and (9), respectively:

8. *Ali-nun nwugwu-rul sarangha-ciman, nwugwu-**rul** na-nun moru-n-da
 Ali-top someone-ACC love-but who-ACC I-TOP don't.know-PRS-END
 'Ali loves someone, but I don't know who.'

9. ku-nun nwukwunka-lul talm-ass-nuntey, nwukwu-i-nci molu-keyss-ta
 he-TOP someone-ACC resemble-PST-but who-COP-QUE not.know-PRES-DECL
 'He resembled someone, but I do not know who'. (Jong-Bok Kim, 2015, p. 261 # (3a).

Given our correlation, we predict that broadly speaking English-style sluicing is not possible in Korean in contrast to Turkish although both languages are wh-in-situ. The prediction our correlation makes is consistent with the pseudo-sluice analysis advanced for Korean (Sohn 2000 Jo 2005, Choi 2012, Nishiyama, Whitman and Li (1996)). We show that Hindi like Turkish allows ACC-marked wh-remnant predicting *broad-style sluicing*, a prediction that is consistent with the move and elide analysis presented in Manetta (2013) and Gribanova and Manetta (2016):

10. māī=ne yahāā kisi=ko dekh-aa par mujhe nahī pataa kis=ko
 1SG=ERG here someone-OBL=ACC see-PFV.M.SG but. 1SG.DAT not know who-OBL=ACC
 'I saw someone there, but I don't know who.' (Manetta 2013: (1) p. 3)

Hindi and Turkish pattern alike in allowing a move and elide approach in the broad sense and hence give rise to isomorphic ellipsis sites in SLC while Korean does not. Our data converges with the mixed grammaticality judgements reported in the literature for Japanese (see Merchant 1998 for a brief overview). Our correlation contextualizes the variability among Japanese native speakers by predicting a split in deriving SLCs in Japanese: some take to be like Turkish and others like Korean. Wh-in-situ languages are not homogeneous in the strategies deriving SLCs despite the fact that most analyses for SLCs in wh-in-situ languages advance a pseudo-sluice one involving copular structures (see Merchant (1998), Fukaya and Hoji (1999), Kuwabara (1996), Kizu (1997, 2000)). Our correlational diagnostics predicts that SLCs are not limited to pseudo-sluice structures in wh-in-situ languages.

We show that only an isomorphic source of the E-site supports the presence of the adverbial 'how' in Turkish, similar Chinese *zenme(yang)* in Adams & Tomioka (2012, p 224 # 15a,b). Manners/methods *nasıl* 'how' as a remnant in a pseudo sluice is not possible (11) but can still appear in a SLC in Turkish (12):

11. Can araba-yı tamir etti, ama nasıl/ *nasıl-dı bilmiyorum.
 Can car-ACC fixed but how/ how-COP-PST I-don't-know
 'Can fixed the car but I don't know how.'

Due to space, the Korean, Hindi, Japanese and Uzbek data is not reported here.

Conclusion: Turkish patterns with other wh-in-situ languages in occasioning the copula in SLCs while at the same time exhibiting broadly English-style sluicing involving an isomorphic ellipsis site. We claim that the correlation above holds for Turkish and makes correct predictions with respect to other wh-in-situ languages mentioned above.

Selected references: Ince, A. 2006. Pseudo-Sluicing in Turkish. *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics 14*, ed. N. Nina Kazanina, Utako Minai, Philip J. Monahan and Heather L. Taylor, pp. 111-126.; Ince, A. 2012. Sluicing in Turkish. In *Sluicing: Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, eds. J. Merchant and A. Simpson, 248-269. Oxford: University Press.; Merchant, J. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Ross, John Robert. 1969. Guess who? In *Papers from the 5th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, eds. R. Binnick, A. Davison, G. Green, and J. Morgan, 252-286. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.