

related to the left periphery of Turkish in comparison to other languages and Rizzi's (1997) theory. Section 7 is the conclusion.

1 Other Languages

Similar structures are observed also in Hungarian (this occurs in Relative Clauses in Hungarian where the wh-phrase is a RC operator) (van Craenenbroeck & Liptak, 2006), Polish and Russian (Grebenyova, 2006), though ordering of the phrases is opposite to Turkish data. In Turkish data (1-2) above, the wh-phrase is preceded by the non-wh-phrase whereas in these languages the wh-phrase precedes the non-wh-phrase:

Russian:

- (3) Speaker A: Ty ne pomniš kogda Ivan vstretil Mašu?
You not remember when Ivan_{NOM} met Maša_{ACC}
 'You don't remember when Ivan met Maša?'
 Speaker B: Net, ja ne pomnju GDE SERGEY LENU
no I not remember where Sergey_{NOM} Lena_{ACC}
 'No, I don't remember WHERE SERGEY (met) LENA'
 (Grebenyova, 2006)

Polish:

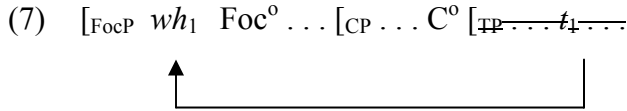
- (4) Speaker A: Nie pamietasz, kiedy Jan spotkal Marie?
not you-remember when Jan-_{NOM} met Maria-_{ACC}
 'You don't remember when Ivan met Maria?'
 Speaker B: Nie. Nie pamietam GDZIE BARBARA ZOSIE.
no not I-remember where Barbara-_{NOM} Zosia-_{ACC}
 'No. I don't remember WHERE BARBARA (met) ZOSIA'
 (Grebenyova, 2006)

Hungarian:

- (5) János meg szokta hívni azt a lányt, akit Béla [e].
John_{NOM} PV HABIT invite that_{ACC} the girl_{ACC} REL-who_{ACC} Bill_{NOM}
 'John invites the girl whom Bill invites'
 (6) János meg szokta hívni azt a lányt, akit Béla is [e].
John PV HABIT invite that_{ACC} the girl_{ACC} REL-who_{ACC} Bill also
 'John invites the girl whom Bill invites'
 (van Craenenbroeck & Liptak, 2006)

2 Sluicing in Turkish

Although Turkish is a *wh*-in-situ language, I argue that sluicing is derived as in English. I contend that the *wh*-phrase(s) focus-move(s) to clause initial position after which the complement of the relevant CP is elided:



In the remaining part of this section, I will give arguments against a possible ‘elliptical cleft’ analysis of sluicing structures (see also Ince 2006a, 2006b, to appear), argued for Japanese –another *wh*-in-situ language–independently (Kuwabara, 1997; Kizu, 1998).

The first argument against an ‘elliptical cleft’ analysis of sluicing structures in Turkish is that the pivot of a cleft structure can occur only in Nominative Case (8b), whereas the Case of a sluiced *wh*-phrase matches in Case with its correlate (8c):

- (8) a. Hasan-Ø kim-den borç al-dı-Ø?
 -NOM who-ABL debt take-PST-3S
 ‘Who did Hasan borrow money from?’
- b. Hasan-in borç al-dı-ğ-ı kim-Ø/*den?
 -GEN debt take-PST-COMP-POSS3S who-NOM/ABL
 ‘Who is it that Hasan borrowed money from?’
- c. A: Hasan-Ø biri-nden borç al-dı-Ø.
 -NOM someone-ABL debt take-PST-3S
 ‘Hasan borrowed money from someone’
 B: Kim-den?
 who-ABL
 ‘Who from?’

Example (8a) is a regular *wh*-question, with the *wh*-phrase in-situ and bearing Ablative Case. However, when the *wh*-phrase becomes pivot of a cleft structure, it cannot bear Ablative Case; on the contrary, it can bear only Nominative Case, as in (8b).

Example (8c) is a regular sluicing example, where the correlate *biri.nden* ‘from someone’ of the sluiced *wh*-phrase bears Ablative Case. Interestingly, the sluiced *wh*-phrase also bears Ablative Case.

Another difference between clefting and sluicing is that (*wh*-)adjuncts can not be clefted in Turkish, (9a-b). Adjuncts, however, can be sluiced, as in (10a-b).

- (9) a. *Ali-nin git-tiğ-i dün / ne zaman?
 -GEN go-COMP-POSS3S yesterday what time
 ‘It’s yesterday that Ali went/When is that Ali went?’
 b. *Ali-nin git-tiğ-i Ankara-Ø.
 -GEN go-COMP-POSS3S Ankara-NOM
 ‘It’s Ankara that Ali went.’
- (10) a. Ali-Ø Ankara-ya git-ti-Ø, ama ne zaman bil-m-iyor-um.
 -NOM -DAT go-PST-3S but what time know-NEG-PRES-IS
 ‘Ali went to Ankara, but I don’t know when’
 b. Ali-Ø bir yer-e git-ti-Ø, ama nere-ye bil-mi-iyor-um.
 -NOM a place-DAT go-PST-3S but where-DAT know-NEG-PRES-IS
 ‘Ali went somewhere, but I don’t know where’ (Ince, to appear)

Lastly, as shown in (11), multiple sluicing is grammatical in Turkish, whereas, as demonstrated in (12), multiple clefting is not.

- (11) Ahmet-Ø biri-nden birşey al-mış-Ø; ama **kim-den ne**
 -NOM one-ABL thing take-HRS-3S but who-ABL what
 bil-mi-yor-um.
 know-NEG-PRES-IS
 ‘Ahmet borrowed something from someone; but I don’t know **what from whom.**’
- (12) *_{TP}[_{CP}[Ahmet-in t_i t_j al-dığı] _T [Hasan-dan_i kitap_j]].
 -GEN take-REL -ABL book-NOM
 ‘It’s a book from Hasan that Ahmet borrowed’

In conclusion, sluicing structures in Turkish cannot be reduced to ‘elliptical cleft’ structures.

3 Not Gapping

In this section, I will give arguments which show that the relevant elliptical structures –where one non-wh-phrase and one wh-phrase are pronounced- are not gapping structures (For gapping in Turkish, see Bozşahin, 2000; Hankamer, 1972, 1973; Kornfilt, 2000).

3.1 Strict Word Order Whereas the ordering of remnants in gapping need not be strict (13b from Kornfilt 2000 with slight changes in glosses) (see also Bozşahin 2000), there is a strict ordering in these sluicing structures: the non-wh-phrase has to precede the wh-phrase (14-15-16).

- (17) a. $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} \\ \text{Ali-yi}_1 & \text{Ahmet-}\emptyset & t_1 & \text{gör-müş-}\emptyset, & \text{acaba} \\ -\text{ACC} & -\text{NOM} & & \text{see-HEARSAY-3S} & \text{I-wonder} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} \\ * \text{kim-i} & \text{Hasan-}\emptyset? \\ \text{who-ACC} & -\text{NOM} \end{array}$
‘Ahmet saw Ali, I wonder whom Hasan (has seen)’
- b. $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} \\ \text{Ali-yi}_1 & \text{Ahmet-}\emptyset & t_1 & \text{gör-müş-}\emptyset, & \text{acaba} \\ -\text{ACC} & -\text{NOM} & & \text{see-HEARSAY-3S} & \text{I-wonder} \end{array}$
 $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{S} & \mathbf{O} \\ \text{Hasan-}\emptyset & \text{kim-i ?} \\ -\text{NOM} & \text{who-ACC} \end{array}$
‘Ahmet saw Ali, I wonder whom Hasan (has seen)’
- (18) $\begin{array}{ccccc} \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} & & \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} \\ \text{Kitab-1} & \text{adam-}\emptyset & \text{oku-du-}\emptyset, & \text{dergi-yi} & \text{de çocuk-}\emptyset. \\ \text{book-ACC} & \text{man-NOM} & \text{read-PST-3S} & \text{magazine-ACC} & \text{also child-NOM} \end{array}$
‘The book, the man read, and the magazine the child (read)’
(Bozşahin 2000: 96 (glosses mine))

This shows that the ordering of phrases in the elliptical clauses need not – and, in the cases above, cannot – be parallel to the ordering of correlate phrases in the antecedent clause in these sluicing structures.

Even in cases where the wh-phrase stands in a thematically-higher position, it still has to follow the non-wh-phrase:

- (19) A: $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{S} & \mathbf{O} \\ \text{Ahmet-}\emptyset & \text{Ali-yi} & \text{gör-müş-}\emptyset! \\ -\text{NOM} & -\text{ACC} & \text{see-HEARSAY-3S} \end{array}$
‘Ahmet saw Ali’
- B: $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{O} & \mathbf{S} \\ \text{Peki, Hasan-1} & \text{kim-}\emptyset? \\ \text{then} & -\text{ACC} & \text{who -NOM} \end{array}$
‘Then, Hasan who?’ (Who saw Hasan?)
- B’: $\begin{array}{cc} \mathbf{S} & \mathbf{O} \\ * \text{Peki, kim-}\emptyset & \text{Hasan-1?} \\ \text{then} & -\text{NOM} & -\text{ACC} \end{array}$
‘Then, who Hasan?’ (Who saw Hasan?)

3.2 One Non-Wh-Phrase + One Wh-Phrase

In gapping, more than two phrases can be gapped:

- (20) Hasan-Ø yarın Ankara-ya gid-ecek-Ø, Mehmet-Ø de
 -NOM tomorrow -DAT go-FUT-3S -NOM DE
 öbürsü gün İzmir-e.
 other day -DAT
 ‘Hasan will go to Ankara tomorrow, and Mehmet to Izmir the next day.’
- (21) Serap-Ø Serkan-a kitab-ı ver-ecek-Ø, Necmi-Ø de
 -NOM -DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3S -NOM also
 Meral-e dergi-yi.
 -DAT magazine-ACC
 ‘Serap will give Serkan the book, and Necmi (will give) Meral the magazine.’

However, in the relevant sluicing structures, only two elements can be pronounced:

- (22) A: Ercan-Ø Ecem-e kitab-ı ver-ecek-Ø.
 -NOM -DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3S
 ‘Ercan will give Ecem the book.’
- B: *Peki, Murat-Ø kim-e ne-yi?
 then -NOM who-DAT what-ACC
 ‘Then, who (will) Murat (give) what?’
- (23) A: Ercan-Ø Ecem-e kitab-ı ver-ecek-Ø.
 -NOM -DAT book-ACC give-FUT-3S
 ‘Ercan will give Ecem the book’
- B: *Peki, Murat-Ø Fatma-ya ne-yi?
 then -NOM -DAT what-ACC
 ‘Then, what (will) Murat (give) to Fatma?’

In (22), there are two wh-phrases in B’s utterance, and in (23), there is only one wh-phrase but two non-wh-phrases in B’s utterance. However, both cases are ungrammatical.

Under the assumption that time adverbials adjoin to TP, the ungrammaticality of the data in (24) shows that the ultimate TP projection is elided in these constructions, as well.

- (24) A: Hasan-Ø yarın Ankara-ya gid-ecek-Ø.
 -NOM tomorrow -DAT go-FUT-3S
 ‘Hasan will go to Ankara tomorrow’
- B: Peki, Mehmet-Ø (*öbürsü gün) nere-ye (*öbürsü gün)?

then -NOM other day where-DAT other day
 ‘Then, Mehmet to where the next day?’

However, the time adverb can be pronounced when it is the only non-wh-phrase that is contrasted:

- (25) A: Bugün Ali-Ø gel-iyor-Ø.
today -NOM come-PROG-3S
 ‘Today Ali is coming’
 B: Peki, yarın kim-Ø?
then tomorrow who-NOM
 ‘Then, who (will come) tomorrow?’
- (26) A: Ayşe-Ø bugün Fatma-dan borç al-dı-Ø.
-NOM today -ABL debt take-PST-3S
 ‘Ayşe borrowed money from Fatma today.’
 B: Peki, dün kim-den?
then yesterday who-ABL
 ‘Then, from whom (did she borrow money) yesterday?’

This also shows that only two phrases –one of which is a wh-phrase- can be pronounced in these sluicing structures.

The Tense of both the antecedent and ellipsis clause has to be identical, as the ungrammaticality of the following data shows:

- (27) A: Ayşe-Ø yarın Ali ile buluş-acak-Ø.
-NOM tomorrow with meet-FUT-3S
 ‘Ayşe will meet with Ali tomorrow.’
 B: *Peki, dün kim ile?
then yesterday who with
 ‘Then, with whom (did she meet) yesterday?’

So, antecedent clause and the elliptical clause need to be parallel with respect to Tense/Aspect.

Although regular sluicing in Turkish allows two or more wh-phrases to be pronounced (28 & 29), these structures interestingly allow only one wh-phrase to be pronounced:

- (28) Ahmet-Ø biri-ne bir-şey ver-miş;
 -NOM one-DAT one.thing-ACC give-HEARSAY-3S
 ama kim-e ne bil-mi-yor-um.
 but who-DAT what know-NEG-PROG-1S
 ‘Ahmet gave someone something; but I don’t know (he gave) who what.’
- (29) Adam-in biri biri-ne mutfak-tan birşey-i
 man-GEN one-POSS3S-NOM one-DAT kitchen-ABL one.thing-ACC
 ver-miş, ama kim-Ø kim-e ne-yi
 give-HEARSAY-3S but who-NOM who-DAT what-ACC
 bir bilgi-m yok.
 one information-POSS1S existential.NEG
 ‘A man gave something from the kitchen to someone. But I have no
 information who to whom what.’

However, I will leave it as an open issue why these sluicing structures license only one wh-phrase (and one non-wh-phrase).

3.3 Lack of –dE The particle *–dE* (called as **topic shifter** in Göksel & Kerslake (2005)) can follow the first remnant in gapping constructions (see (13a-b)). However, it cannot occur in these sluicing structures:

- (30) A: Ahmet-Ø Ali-yi gör-müş-Ø!
 -NOM -ACC see-HEARSAY-3S
 ‘Ahmet saw Ali’
- B: Hasan-Ø *da kim-i?
 -NOM DE who-ACC
 ‘Hasan also who?’ = ‘Who did Hasan see, too?’

B’s utterance is OK when it is used as an echo question in an example like (31):

- (31) A: Melek-Ø Orhan-la çık-ıyor-Ø, Serap-Ø da Onat-la
 -NOM -COMM date-PROG-3S -NOM also -COMM
 (çık-ıyor-Ø).
 date-PROG-3S
 ‘Melek dates with Orhan, and Serap (dates) with Onat’
- B: Serap-Ø da kim-le?
 -NOM also who-COMM
 ‘Serap with who?’

I assume that B’s utterance in (31) is a gapping-like structure more than

sluicing since the wh-phrase does not have interrogative function.

In summary, these structures cannot be gapping structures. So, I suggest that these structures are sluicing structures with a remnant.

3.4 Why Gapping Cannot Occur Another important question is why these sluicing structures cannot be gapping –i.e., deletion of a site lower than TP- after all.¹ I will suggest that wh-dependencies in elliptical structures in Turkish are realized in CP –though it is a wh-in-situ language-. Also, since the wh-phrase and the non-wh-phrase are in the CP-domain, under MaxElide (Merchant, 2001) which requires that ‘if ellipsis applies in a structure with a wh-trace, ellipsis should target the largest constituent possible:

- (32) MaxElide [DEFINITION]
Let XP be an elided constituent containing an A'-trace
Let YP be a possible target for deletion
YP must not properly contain XP ($XP \not\subset YP$)

Under this condition, TP rather than vP/VP is elided in these structures.

4 Ordering of Remnants

4.1 Contrastive Topic Phrase, Focus Phrase In this section, I will argue that the non-wh-phrase moves to Contrastive Topic Phrase, and the wh-phrase moves to a Focus Phrase in the CP-domain.

FocP

As to the observation that the wh-phrase has to follow the non-wh-phrase in these constructions, I contend that there is a specific position for the wh-phrase: Spec, FocP. The high pitch on the wh-phrase also shows that it is focused.

Contrastive TopP

However, the non-wh-phrase does not bear focal stress although Turkish allows more than one phrase to bear focal stress and also all wh-phrases bear focal stress in multiple sluicing contexts in Turkish.

So, concluding that the non-wh-phrase in these structures is not in a Focus position, I will assume that it occurs in a Contrastive Topic position. It cannot be non-Contrastive Topic because it is part of a set of Topics.

In (1) (repeated as (33) below), B can utter the elliptical expression on

¹ I am indebted to Danny Fox for raising this question.

- O** **S**
- B: Peki, Hasan-_i kim-Ø?
- then* -ACC -NOM
- ‘Then, Hasan who?’ (Who saw Hasan?)
- S** **O**
- B’: *Peki, kim-Ø Hasan-_i?
- then* -NOM -ACC
- ‘Then, who Hasan?’ (Who saw Hasan?)


5 An Anti-reconstruction Effect

In these structures, interestingly, the non-wh-phrase does not reconstruct.

Under scrambling/topicalization in languages, binding effects are preserved with possessor pronouns:

- (36) a. His_i paycheck, everyone_i should give me. (Culicover 1992)
 b. About himself, John always talks to Rosa. (Takano 1998)


The observed binding effects support a movement-based analysis of topicalization:

- (37) [His₁ paycheck]₂, everyone₁ . . . [~~his₁ paycheck~~]₂ . . .
- 

The same binding effects are also observed in Turkish:

- (38) Anne-sin-e, herkes-Ø çiçek al-ır-Ø.
mother-POSS3S-DAT everybody-NOM flower take-AOR-3S
 ‘Everybody buys flowers for his mother’

In (38) as shown in (39), the null possessive pronoun in the lower copy is bound by *herkes*, and gets bound variable reading:

- (39) [*pro*₁ anne-sin]-e₂, herkes₁-Ø [*pro*₁ anne-sin]-e₂ çiçek
mother-POSS3S-DAT everybody-NOM *flower*
 al-ır-Ø.
take-AOR-3S
 ‘For his mother, everybody buys flowers’
- 

However, in sluicing with non-wh remnant structures, binding does not hold in the same configurations:

- (40) A: Ahmet₁-Ø [*pro*₁ anne-sin]-e çiçek ver-di-Ø.
 -NOM mother-POSS3S-DAT flower give-PST-3S
 ‘Ahmet gave flowers to his mother’
 B: Peki, [*pro**_{2/1} baba-sin]-a kim₂-Ø?
 then father-POSS3S-DAT who-NOM
 ‘And, who (gave flowers) to his father?’
 B: Peki, kim₂-Ø [*pro**_{2/1} baba-sin]-a ?
 then who-NOM father-POSS3S-DAT
 ‘And, who (gave flowers) to his father?’

In (40B), the Subject *wh*-phrase *kim* ‘who’ cannot bind the possessor *pro*. (40B’) is also ungrammatical because a *wh*-phrase cannot precede a DP in these structures. However, we see reconstruction effects in regular sluicing cases in Turkish:

- (41) Herkes-Ø çocuk-lar-in-dan bir-in-i diğer-ler-in-den
 everyone-NOM child-PLU-POSS-ABL one-POSS-ACC other-PLU-POSS-ABL
 daha çok sev-er-Ø, ama **hangi çocuğ-un-u** bil-me-m.
 more much like-AOR-3S but which child-POSS-ACC know-NEG-IS
 ‘Everyone loves one of his kids more than others, but I don’t know which one.’

The *wh*-phrase ‘which one’ above gives bound variable reading, which shows that there is syntactic structure in the ellipsis site and that the *wh*-phrase undergoes reconstruction in(to) the ellipsis site:

- (42) Wh-phrase₁ <Quantifier . . . wh-phrase₁ . . . >

Then, the question is why a DP cannot reconstruct and get bound reading below a *wh*-phrase in the sluicing structure in (40).

I will argue that the crucial difference between (40) vs. (41)&(38) is whether the binder itself is an intervener that blocks reconstruction. In other words, I will argue that if the binder is in an A-position, it does not block reconstruction of the phrase that includes a bindee; and, if the binder is in an A'-position, it blocks reconstruction of the bindee, as schematized below:

In the non-elliptical version of (40B), binding of the possessor null pronoun by the wh-phrase is possible because the scrambled phrase *babasını* ‘his father’ can reconstruct since the binder *kim* ‘who’ is in an A-position:

- (48) A: Ahmet₁-Ø [*pro*₁ anne-sin]-e çiçek ver-di-Ø.
 -NOM mother-POSS3S-DAT flower give-PST-3S
 ‘Ahmet gave flowers to his mother’
 B: Peki, [*pro*_{?2/1} baba-sın]-a kim₂-Ø çiçek ver-di-Ø.
 then father-POSS3S-DAT who-NOM flower give-PST-3S
 ‘And, who gave flowers to his father?’

If that is the case, then we expect the same anti-reconstruction effects in other cases where both binder and bindee undergo A'-movement in non-elliptical cases.

In (49), we see a ditransitive structure in Turkish. The Dative complement precedes the Accusative complement (Let’s also assume that the base-generated ordering of ditransitives in Turkish is IO-DO-V) (see Öztürk, 2005):

- (49) *pro* Ayşe-ye kitab-ın-ı geri ver-miş-siniz.
 -DAT book-POSS3S-ACC back give-HEARSAY-2S
 ‘You gave back Ayşe her book’

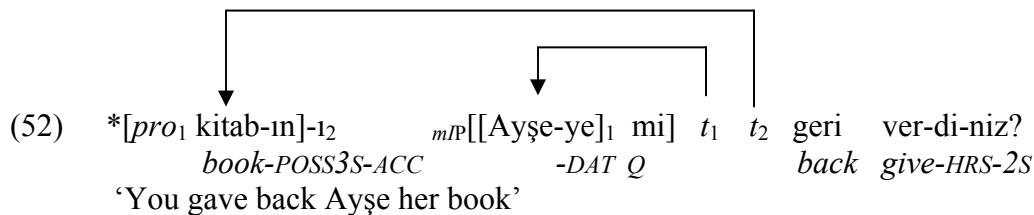
There is null possessor pronoun within the Accusative complement bound by the Dative Complement, as shown in (50):

- (50) *pro* Ayşe₁-ye [*pro*₁ kitab-ın]-ı geri vermişsiniz.
 -DAT book-POSS3S-ACC back give-HEARSAY-2S
 ‘You gave back Ayşe her book’

When the same Accusative complement precedes the Dative complement, binding of the possessor null pronoun by the Dative complement is still possible:

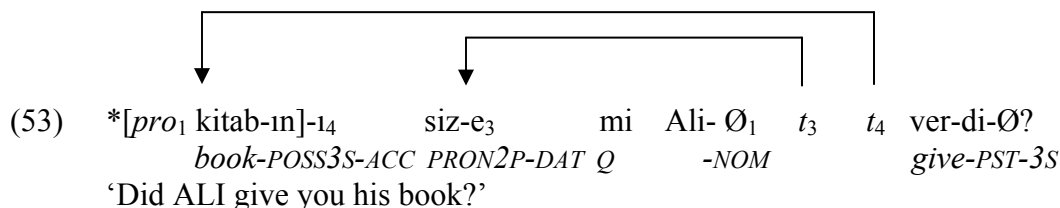
- (51) ?[*pro*₁ kitab-ın-]ı₁₂ Ayşe₁-ye t₂ geri vermişsiniz.
 book-POSS3S-ACC -DAT back give-HEARSAY-2S
 ‘You gave back Ayşe her book’

Now, let us put the Dative complement into an A'-position –namely –*mI*-phrase, where it is still preceded by the Accusative complement:

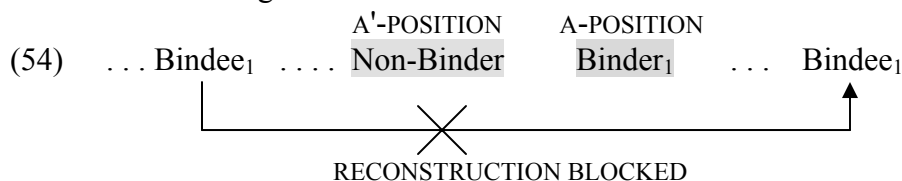


In this case, the possessive null pronoun is not bound by the Dative complement because the Accusative complement cannot reconstruct into its Case position since the Dative complement being in an A'-position acts as an intervener and blocks reconstruction.

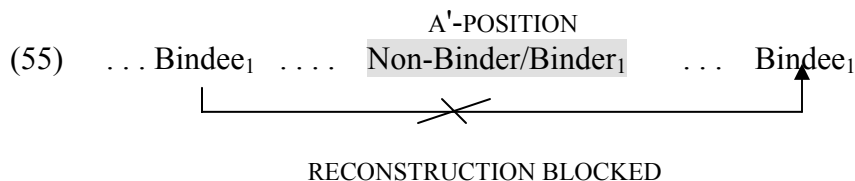
Another point to check is whether a non-binder phrase in A'-position also blocks reconstruction:



In (53), both DO and IO are in pre-Subject position, and DO precedes IO in their A'-positions. DO includes a possessor null pronoun *pro*. However, the co-indexed reading of the null pronoun with the *Ali* in Subject position is bad (Ilknur Oded (p.c.)). This also shows that a phrase in an A'-position also blocks reconstruction though it is not the binder:



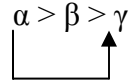
Let's see the schema of antireconstruction again:



When we take the mirror image of this picture, we see that it is basically

Defective Intervention Constraint effect:

(56) *The Defective Intervention Constraint* (cf. Chomsky, 2000)



(*AGREE (α, γ), α is a probe and β is a matching goal, and β is inactive due to a prior Agree with some other probe.)

If reconstruction were related to presence/activation of a lower copy, whether the binder is in A/A'-position would not matter because in movement structures a lower copy is assumed to be present *mutatis mutandis*.

So, I conclude that reconstruction is a movement (lowering) operation at LF (for lowering in overt syntax, May, 1985; Richards, 2004). So, *DIC effects* are observed not only in Narrow Syntax, but also at LF.

5.1 The Non-Wh-Phrase Not Base-Generated Based upon the observation above, one might argue that the non-wh-phrase *pro babasina* in (40B) is base-generated in its spell-out position. As to Case-marking and theta-role properties of the phrase, one might again argue that it inherits those features from a *resumptive* element downstairs ((57) vs. (58)):

(57) [CP non-whP₁ [TP . . . t₁ . . .



(58) [CP non-whP₁ [TP . . . RESUMPTIVE₁ . . .



BASE-GENERATED

So, the question to ask is what blocks movement of the Topicalized phrase in these contexts? In other words, what is it that bars movement of phrases from an A-position to the Spec of Contrastive TopicP in these elliptical structures?

Also, since the non-wh-phrase is base-generated and is co-indexed with a resumptive, one would expect to observe island-insensitivity effects. However, that is not the case:

(59) A: Ahmet-Ø [Ali-Ø Ankara-ya gid-eceğ-i için]
 -NOM -NOM -DAT go-FUT-POSS3S for
 çok kızgın-dı-Ø.
 very angry-PST-3S

‘Ahmet was very angry because Ali was going to go to Ankara’

B: *Peki, Murat-Ø nere-ye?
then -NOM where-DAT
 ‘Then, Murat to where?’
 ... Murat₁ nereye₂ <Ahmet ... [_{island} t₁ ... t₂ ...] ... >
 (intended meaning: “*Where₁ was Ahmet angry because Murat was going to go t₁?”)

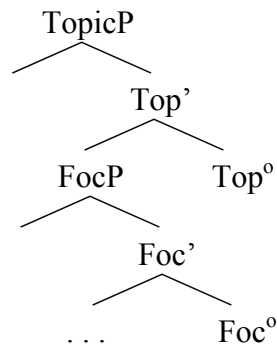
So, the idea of base-generation does not work for these structures.

6 Left Periphery of Turkish

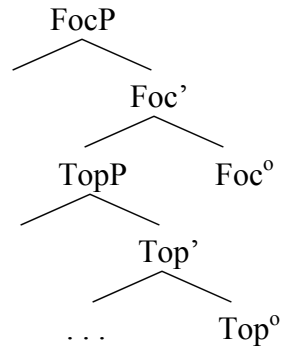
These structures also tells us about the left periphery of the clausal structure of Turkish: There is a Contrastive TopicP above FocP in Turkish. This is in line with previous studies which argue that Topic domain/position precedes/is higher than focus domain/position in Turkish (see Göksel & Kerlake, 2005; and references therein).

However, in similar sluicing structures in Russian, Polish (Grebenyova, 2006) and Hungarian (van Craenenbroeck & Liptak, 2006), a wh-phrase precedes non-wh-phrases –. This shows that in those languages FocP is above Contrastive TopP in contrast to Turkish (Hiraiwa & Ishihara, 2002) also suggests the same architecture in Turkish for Japanese):

(60) *Turkish*

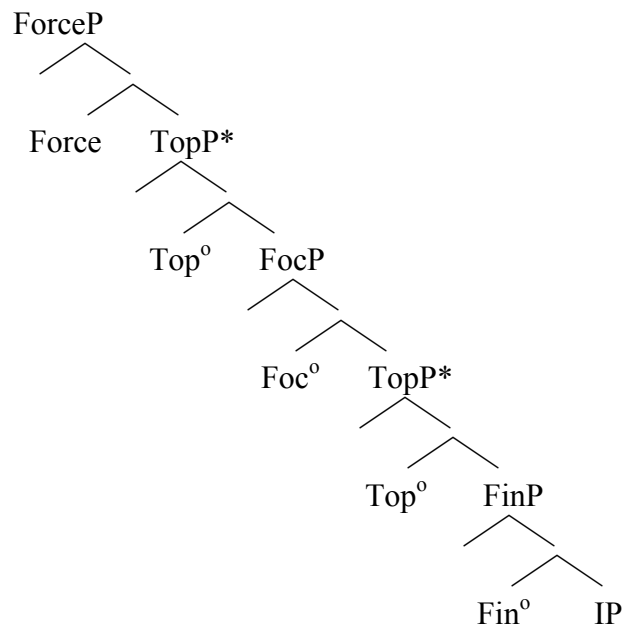


(61) *Hungarian/Polish/Russian*



Rizzi (1997), on the other hand, contends the following architecture for the complementizer system:

(62)



So far, I am not aware of any study on Turkish which argues that there is another TopP projection below FocP. That might be one reason why Contrastive Topic has to precede FocP: in our case, a DP preceding a wh-phrase. As to Hungarian, Polish and Russian, the wh-phrase seems to move to FocP and the DP to the TopP below FocP.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have given an analysis of sluicing structures in Turkish, which consist of one wh-phrase and one non-wh-phrase. We have seen that these structures are not gapping structures, and that the non-wh-phrase is a contrastive topic and the wh-phrase is focused. The fact that the non-wh-phrase cannot reconstruct is because the wh-phrase, being focused, blocks reconstruction. In other words, it is an intervener for the non-wh-phrase on its way back to its A-position. This argues against copy theory of movement in that reconstruction cannot be activation of lower copies and in that if reconstruction is lowering –as argued for in this paper– A'-movement does not leave copy either. Also, we have seen that in Turkish –and in Japanese–, (Contrastive) Topic Phrase precedes/is higher than Focus Phrase, in contrast to Hungarian, Polish and Russian.

Acknowledgements

I thank Gülşat Aygen, İlhan Cagri, Norbert Hornstein, Jaklin Kornfilt, Howard Lasnik, Jason Merchant, Juan Uriagereka and the anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and criticisms, and İlknur Oded for her judgments. I am especially grateful to Howard Lasnik for spending so much time to help me develop the ideas in this paper. I am also indebted to the editors Akira Omaki, Ivan Ortega-Santos, Jon Sprouse and Matt Wagers; especially to Ivan Ortega-Santos for his help, patience and guidance.

References

- Arregi, K. 2003. Clausal pied-piping. *Natural Language Semantics* 11/2: 115-143.
- Bozşahin, C. 2000. Gapping and word order in Turkish. In A.S. Özsoy, *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Turkish Linguistics: Proceedings of the X. International Conference in Turkish Linguistics*, Boğaziçi University Press, Istanbul, pp. 95-104.
- Bruening, B. 2001. QR obeys Superiority: Frozen Scope and ACD. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32/2: pp. 233-273.
- van Craenenbroeck, J. & Liptak, A. 2006. Silence in the left periphery: the cross-linguistic syntax of sluicing. Paper presented at 'Edges in Syntax', Cyprus College, Cyprus.
- Culicover, P. W. 1992. A note on Quantifier Binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: pp. 659-663.
- Enç, M. 1986. Topic switching and pronominal subjects in Turkish. In D. I. Slobin & K. Zimmer, *Studies in Turkish Linguistics*. John Benjamins Publishing Co., pp. 195–208.
- Göksel, A. & Kerslake, C. 2005. *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Göksel, A. & Özsoy, A.S. 2003. *da*: a focus/topic associated clitic in Turkish.

- Lingua* 113: pp. 1143-1167.
- Grebenyova, L. 2006. *Multiple interrogatives: syntax, semantics, and learnability*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.
- Hankamer, J. 1972. On the Nonexistence of Mirror Image Rules in Syntax. In J. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 1; New York and London: Seminar Press; pp. 199–212.
- Hankamer, J. 1973. Unacceptable ambiguity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4/1: pp. 17-68.
- Hiraiwa, K. & Ishihara, S.-I. 2002. Missing links: Cleft, sluicing, and "no da" construction in Japanese. In T. Ionin, H. Ko & A. Nevins (eds.), *Proceedings of HUMIT 2001: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 43*, Cambridge, MA: MITWPL, pp. 35–54.
- Hornstein, N. & Uriagereka, J. 2002. Reprojections. In S.D. Epstein & T.D. Seely (eds.), *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*. Blackwell Publishing: Malden, MA, pp. 106-132..
- Johnson, K. (to appear). Gapping isn't (VP) ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Kornfilt, J. 2000. Directionality of identical verb deletion in Turkish Coordination. In *Jorge Hankamer WebFest*, <http://ling.ucsc.edu/Jorge/kornfilt.html>.
- Kornfilt, J. 2003. Unmasking the sentential subject constraint in Turkish. In A. S. Özsoy, D. Akar, M. Nakipoglu-Demiralp, E. Erguvanlı- Taylan, A. Aksu-Koç (eds.), *Studies in Turkish Linguistics: Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference in Turkish Linguistics*,; Istanbul: Bogaziçi University Press, pp. 121-130.
- Lee, C. 2003. Contrastive Topic and proposition structure. In A. M.Di Sciullo (ed.), *Asymmetry in Grammar, Volume 1: Syntax and Semantics*; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 345-371.
- May, R. 1985. *Logical Form: Its Structure and Derivation*. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Merchant, J. 2001. Variable island repair under ellipsis. To appear in K. Johnson (ed.), to appear, *Topics in Ellipsis*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Nash, R. 1973. *Turkish Intonation: An instrumental study*. Mouton: The Hague.
- Öztürk, B. 2005. *Case, Referentiality, and Phrase Structure*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia : J. Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Reinhart, T. 1983. *Anaphora and Semantic Interpretation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Richards, N. 2004. Against Bans on Lowering. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35/3: pp. 453-463.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegemann (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 281-337.
- Sauerland, U. 2004. The interpretation of traces. *Natural Language Semantics* 12: pp. 63-127.

- Sauerland, U. & Elbourne, P. 2002. Total reconstruction, PF movement, and derivational order. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33/2: pp. 283-319.
- Steedman, M. 2000. Information Structure and the Syntax-Phonology Interface. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31/4: pp. 649-689.
- Takano, Y. 1998. Object Shift and Scrambling. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: pp. 817-889.
- Yatsushiro, K. 2003. VP internal scrambling. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 12: pp. 141-170.