THE POSITION OF THE Q-LIKE PARTICLE *Kİ* IN TURKISH AND CONSEQUENCES FOR SLUICING

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Background: The particle *ki* has various functions in Turkish (see Göksel & Kerslake, 2004; Griffiths & Güneş, 2014). It functions as a Q(uestion)-like particle which has been claimed to be banned from embedded interrogative clauses (Ince 2012; Zidani-Eroğlu 2019), as shown in (1a) and can attach to matrix interrogative clauses as in (1b)[1].

1) a. *Ali'n-in nerey-e   git-tiğ-in-i   ki gör-dü-n?
        Ali'-GEN where-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT see-PAST-2SG
        'Where did you see Ali is/was going?'

   b. Ali'n-in nerey-e   git-tiğ-in-i   gör-dü-n   (ki)?
        Ali'-GEN where-DAT go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC see-PAST-2SG PRT
        'Where did you see Ali is/was going?'

Ince (2012) points out the occurrence of the Q-like particle *ki* on the wh-remnants in sluicing i.e., *ki* surfaces with the wh-remnant after the ellipsis operation as given in the sentence in (2b) as a response to the antecedent in (2a). Given that the source of the sluiced sentence in (2b) is the sentence in (2c), Ince (2012) argues that remnants of sluicing in sentences like (2b) must raise to the highest [Spec CP], where they can be followed by *ki* located on C^0 after TP-deletion.

2) a. Ali-∅   Can'-ın birin-den para   iste-diğ-in-i   söyle-di-∅.
        Ali-NOM Can-GEN sb.-ABL   money want-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PAST-3SG
        'Ali said that Can asked someone for money.'

   b. Kim-den   ki?
        who-ABL   PRT
        'From whom, then?'

   c. [kim-den$_i$ [[Ali-∅   Can'ın t_i para   iste-diğ-in-i   söyle-di-∅-TP] ki C'] CP]?
        who-ABL   A.-NOM C.-GEN   money want-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC tell-PAST-3SG PRT
        'Who ~~did Ali say that Can asked money for~~, then?'

Proposal: I argue that the Q-like particle *ki* can indeed attach to interrogative embedded clauses when they are tensed as shown in (3). Note that in (3) the matrix subject is overt, showing that (3) does not contain two juxtaposed sentences (contra Zidani-Eroğlu, 2019). If it did, the word order would require scrambling *ben 'I'* to a different clause, which is illicit.

3) Ben Ali-∅   niye git-ti-∅   (ki) anla-ma-dı-m.
     I   Ali-NOM why go-PAST-3SG PRT understand-NEG-PAST-1SG
   'I didn't understand why Ali went.'

On the other hand, the particle *ki* is illegitimate in the sentence given in (4) in which it follows an embedded verb as in (3). However, unlike (3), the embedded clause is nominalized in (4), which must be the reason why *ki* in (4) is ruled out. I suggest that the distribution of Q-like particle is, thus, restricted to clause-final positions of *tensed interrogative* clauses.

4) *Ben Ali-'nin niye git-tiğ-in-i   ki anla-ma-dı-m.
     I   Ali-GEN why go-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC PRT understand-NEG-PAST-1SG
   'I didn't understand why Ali went.'

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[1] For the *ki* particle, Ince (2012) refers to Besler (2000), who discusses the Q particle *mI* in Turkish, not *ki* particularly.

Based on this, the sluiced sentence in (2b), which consists of a wh-remnant and the Q-like particle *ki,* can be followed by a matrix verb and would be well-formed as shown in (5).

5) Kim-den (ki)   bil-m-iyor-um.
  who-ABL PRT know-NEG-PROG-1SG
  'I don't know from whom.'

Due to the revised distribution of *ki*, I further argue that wh-remnants in embedded sluicing constructions must raise only to [Spec CP] of the closest tensed clause to precede *ki* (contra Ince, 2012). The derivation of (5), given in (6), exemplifies this case.

6)
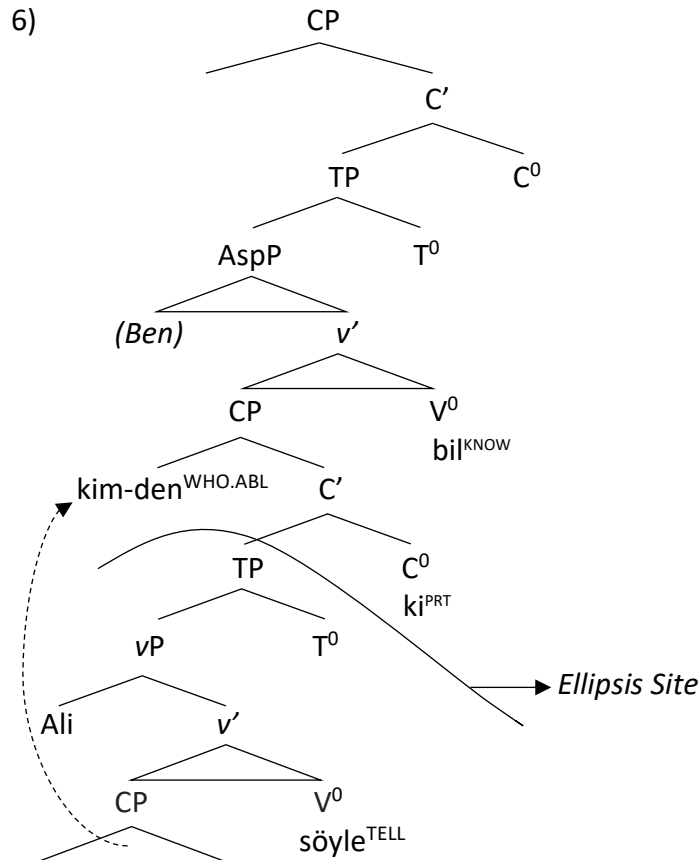
Conclusion: The Q-like particle *ki* can be found in embedded clauses as long as they are tensed, and interrogative, and the wh-remnants in embedded sluicing do not have to raise to the highest [Spec CP]. Due to the new distribution of *ki*, the possible source of the embedded sluicing structures also needs revision, which is beyond the scope of this abstract, but under discussion as a continuum of this study.

References: Besler, D. (2000). *The question particle and movement in Turkish*; Göksel, A & Kerslake, C. (2004). *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*; Griffiths, J. & Güneş, G. (2014). Chapter ki issues in Turkish. In *Parenthesis and ellipsis: Cross-linguistic and theoretical perspectives*; Ince, A. (2012). Sluicing in Turkish. In J. Merchant and A. Simpson (Eds.), *Sluicing: Cross-linguistic perspectives*; Zidani-Eroğlu, L. (2019). Turkish Sluicing or Stripping? Why not both? (in) *36th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*