

## SLUICING IN TAGALOG: STRATEGIES AND IMPLICATIONS\*

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This paper reconsiders the approach to Tagalog sluicing developed in Kaufman & Paul (2006) and Kaufman (2006), and puts forward an alternative analysis. I propose that Tagalog has two distinct strategies for sluicing that follow the two wh-question formation strategies available in the language: pseudoclefts for argument wh-questions, and wh-movement for adjunct wh-questions. Such a bifurcation is problematic for the traditional approaches to sluicing. I therefore propose that the Tagalog data discussed here provides support for the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis as argued for in Barros (2014).

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate sluicing—a type of TP-ellipsis introduced by a wh-word—in Tagalog. It is generally accepted that in English and other languages that have wh-movement, sluicing relies on the embedded wh-question formation strategy (Ross, 1969). Tagalog, however, has two distinct wh-question formation strategies. Therefore, better understanding of the nature of sluicing in a language like Tagalog is essential for the theory of sluicing.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 summarises previous research on sluicing and sluicing-like phenomena. Section 3 shows that the approach to Tagalog sluicing put forward in Kaufman & Paul (2006) and Kaufman (2006) is not supported by data. Section 4 introduces an alternative analysis. Section 5 concludes.

### 2. Sluicing: Theoretical Background

The notion ‘sluicing’ goes back to the seminal paper by Ross (1969), and has since been used as a cover term for the type of TP-ellipsis with a wh-remnant in an embedded clause, as in (1):

- (1) *Somebody left the door open, but I don't know who.*

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\* I would like to thank Maria Polinsky, Brooke Larson, Adam Szczegielniak, and Daniel Kaufman for their advice on this project, as well as the audiences at Polinsky Lab, BLS 41 and AFLA 22 for their most helpful feedback. Special thanks are due to the Tagalog speakers that provided the data used in this paper: Beverly Ho, Henrison Hsieh, Jennifer Tan, and two other informants who chose to remain anonymous.

The original analysis proposed by Ross (1969) and widely adopted afterwards states that in English sluicing formation parallels embedded wh-question formation. Namely, in both, the wh-word in the embedded clause is raised to Spec-CP; in sluicing, it is followed by ellipsis of the embedded TP:

- (2) [TP *Somebody* [T' *sneezed*], but I don't know [CP *who*<sub>i</sub> [TP *t*<sub>i</sub> *sneezed*]].

There are certain structural parts that all sluicing examples have in common: the correlate in the antecedent clause is matched by the wh-word remnant in the sluice, and the combination of remnant and ellipsis site, under Ross (1969) approach, is structurally parallel to the antecedent clause:

- |     |                   |  |                |  |                           |  |               |  |                     |
|-----|-------------------|--|----------------|--|---------------------------|--|---------------|--|---------------------|
| (3) | [ <i>Someone</i>  |  | <i>sneezed</i> |  | [ <i>but I don't know</i> |  | <i>who</i>    |  | [ <i>sneezed</i> ]] |
|     | correlate         |  |                |  | remnant                   |  | ellipsis site |  |                     |
|     | antecedent clause |  |                |  | sluice                    |  |               |  |                     |

Sluicing is often contrasted with pseudosluicing, the notion introduced in Merchant (1998) to describe the sluicing-like construction such as the one in Japanese shown below:

- (4) Dareka-ga sono hon-o yon-da ga, [watashi-wa [pro dare  
 someone-NOM that book-ACC read-PST but 1sg-TOP pro who  
 datta ka] wakaranai].<sup>1</sup>  
 be.PST Q know.NEG  
 Someone read that book, but I don't know who.

(from Merchant, 1998)

The main difference between the two phenomena lies in the fact that in pseudosluicing the ellipsis site contains a copular clause. In a copular clause, the predicate is a non-verbal category, such as a DP, and there may or may not be an overt copula introducing the predicate. In pseudosluicing, therefore, the ellipsis site is not syntactically parallel to the antecedent clause.

Instances of sluicing in which there is no overt correlate in the antecedent clause have been dubbed 'sprouting' (Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, 1995). In English, sprouting is possible both with argument and adjunct sluices:

- (5) Mary [T' is eating], but I don't know [CP what [TP *t*<sub>i</sub>]].
- (6) John [T' plays tennis on Sundays], but he didn't say [CP where [TP *t*<sub>i</sub>]].

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in the glosses: 1pl—1<sup>st</sup> person plural; 1sg—1<sup>st</sup> person singular; 2sg—2<sup>nd</sup> person singular; 3sg—3<sup>rd</sup> person singular; ACC—accusative; AV—actor voice; CAUS—causative; COMP—complementiser; DAT—dative; DIR—directive; EXCL—exclusive; EXT—existential; GEN—genitive; INT—intensive; IPFV—imperfective; IRR—irrealis; LNK—linker; LV—locative voice; NEG—negation; NOM—nominative; PFV—perfective; PST—past; PV—patient voice; RED—reduplication; Q—question particle; TOP—topic.

As you can see, *what* in (5) and *where* in (6) have no overt correlate in the antecedent clause. A salient property of sprouting is its island sensitivity - sprouting within an island leads to ungrammaticality:

- (7) \*Sandy is very anxious to see which students will be able to solve the homework problem, but she won't say how.

(from Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, 1995)

In the literature on sluicing, discussion revolves around three large issues: (i) sluicing-licensing conditions, (ii) interaction of sluicing with island constraints, and (iii) distinction between sluicing and pseudosluicing. In the remainder of this section, I will briefly introduce each of these questions.

As a type of ellipsis, sluicing should be licensed by some sort of identity between the antecedent clause and the ellipsis site (cf. Lasnik, 2001; Merchant, 2001, 2005). There is a debate in the literature as to whether sluicing is licensed by syntactic or semantic identity between the sluice and the antecedent clause. Under the syntactic view, advocated by Ross (1969), Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (1995), Merchant (2008), and others, sluicing is licensed if the antecedent clause and the sluice have matching syntactic structure. Under the semantic approach, put forward in Baker and Brame (1972), Merchant (2001), Abels (2011), and others, it is mutual entailment between the antecedent clause and the sluice that licenses sluicing. There are also hybrid syntax-semantics proposals, like Barros (2014) and Chung (2014). Since the Tagalog data discussed in this paper suggests that there are two sluicing strategies in Tagalog, it also suggests that neither exclusively syntactic nor exclusively semantic sluicing-licensing condition is sufficient on its own, in line with the hybrid proposals.

Various claims have been made about the nature of interaction between sluicing and island constraints. Ross (1969) points out that sluicing has the property of ameliorating islands, based on examples like (8) and (9) below. While (8), a sluicing construction, is judged as acceptable, the non-elided version involving wh-movement from an island in (9) is not:

- (8) She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realise  
[<sub>CP</sub> which one of my friends [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]].
- (9) \*She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realise  
[<sub>CP</sub> which one of my friends]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> she kissed a man who bit t<sub>i</sub> ]].

In more recent work the hypothesis that sluicing ameliorates islands has been challenged. Specifically, it has been proposed (e.g., Abels, 2011; Barros, 2014) that sluicing evades islands instead of ameliorating them, by resorting to a non-isomorphic structure in the ellipsis site. The only exception to this is presented by cases of contrast sluicing (Abels, 2011), which will not be discussed here.

Finally, the relationship between sluicing and pseudosluicing has been a matter of debate. In Merchant's (1998) original proposal for Japanese the defining

difference between sluicing and pseudosluicing is that pseudosluicing is taken to be an instance of copula drop combined with pronoun drop. Both of these phenomena are independently available in languages like Japanese, and a combination of the two on the surface produces a result similar to sluicing. However, since pseudosluicing, unlike sluicing, is not derived by TP-ellipsis, it has properties different from sluicing - for instance, Japanese pseudosluicing is sensitive to islands. Based on this and other facts, Merchant (1998) argues that pseudosluicing does not exist in English.

However, the notion of pseudosluicing has since evolved to apply to a broader set of constructions, including cases when the ellipsis site in English sluicing is analysed as a copular clause, and not as ellipsis of a TP that is syntactically isomorphic to the antecedent clause (e.g., Rodrigues et al., 2009). Subsequently it has been argued that a non-isomorphic structure of the sluice is employed in cases where the isomorphic one incurs an island violation - as already discussed above in the context of interaction between sluicing and island constraints. Under this view, the underlying structure of (8) is not (9) but (10) below:

- (10) She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realise  
[<sub>CP</sub> which one of my friends]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> that was ]].

Under this approach, pseudosluicing exists in English but has a rather restricted distribution - it is only employed in cases in which sluicing would yield an ungrammatical structure. Such an approach was dubbed Constrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis by Barros (2014).

It is in contrast with Barros' own Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis. As the name suggests, under this latter hypothesis, not only does pseudosluicing exist in languages like English, but it also has much broader distribution. Specifically, Barros (2014) argues that in cases where the ellipsis site in sluicing might legitimately contain a sluicing as well as a pseudosluicing structure, both are possible. According to the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis, both (12) and (13) are examples of possible underlying structures for (11):

- (11) Somebody [<sub>T'</sub> left the door open], but I don't know who.  
(12) Somebody [<sub>T'</sub> left the door open], but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> left the door open]].  
(13) Somebody [<sub>T'</sub> left the door open], but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> that was]].

The Tagalog data presented in this paper lends additional support to the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis, due to the facts that: (i) Tagalog can have pseudosluicing even when there is no island in the antecedent clause, and (ii) there is substantial structural similarity between sluicing and pseudosluicing in Tagalog.

Note that in this paper, the term pseudosluicing is used in the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis sense rather than in Merchant's original sense: it is taken to be a type of TP-ellipsis in a copular clause, not an instance of copula drop combined with pronoun drop.

More recently, sluicing-like phenomena in languages other than English have received increasing attention. Since it is generally agreed that sluicing in English relies on the embedded *wh*-question strategy, it raises the question of whether languages that do not have *wh*-movement of the English type have sluicing. Sluicing-like structures exist in most languages, and for many it is argued that the sluicing strategy relies on the *wh*-question formation strategy. Specifically, it has been proposed for Persian (Toosarvandani, 2008) and Georgian (Erschler, 2015), in which *wh*-movement targets the focus projection below CP, that sluicing is derived in the same way. For languages with *wh*-in-situ, like Japanese (Merchant, 1998) and Mandarin Chinese (Adams and Tomioka, 2012), a pseudosluicing analysis has been proposed. For languages that employ pseudoclefts to form *wh*-questions, like Malagasy (Potsdam, 2007), it is argued that the pseudocleft strategy is also used to form sluicing. With this in mind, let us turn to Tagalog data.

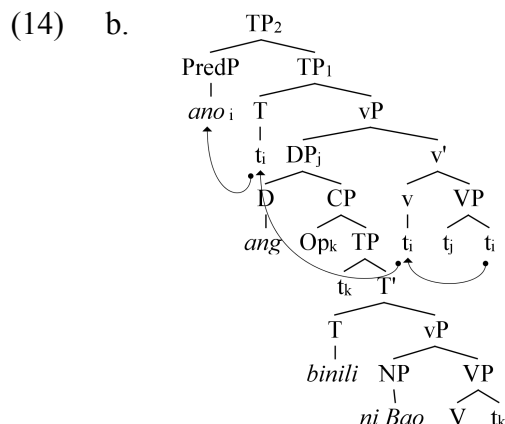
### 3. Tagalog

#### 3.1. Wh-question Formation in Tagalog

As already mentioned, it is generally agreed that sluicing utilises the language-specific *wh*-question formation strategy. Tagalog has two distinct *wh*-question formation strategies: pseudoclefts for argument *wh*-questions, and *wh*-movement of the English type for adjunct *wh*-questions (Aldridge, 2002). Argument *wh*-questions therefore consist of a clause-initial *wh*-word that acts as a predicate nominal, and a headless relative clause following it; as with other non-verbal predicates, there is no overt copula:

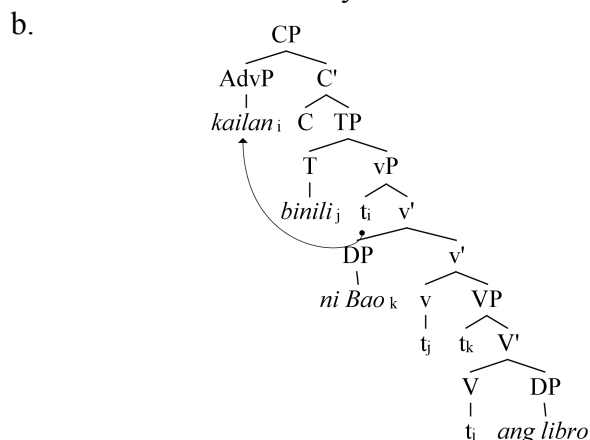
- (14) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Ano [<sub>DP</sub> \*(ang) [<sub>CP</sub> b<in>ili ni Bao?]]]  
          what NOM <PV.PFV>buy GEN Bao  
          What did Bao buy?

In (14b), I take the topmost TP<sub>2</sub> to be equivalent to the functional projection FP that Potsdam (2007) postulates for Malagasy sluicing. In contrast with Malagasy, however, Tagalog subjects stay in the vP; based on this, a simpler alternative to (14b) would have a single TP, TP<sub>1</sub>, with *ano* sitting in its specifier. In that case, however, we would have to say that sluicing elides the vP. This contradicts what we know about ellipsis in general (the parts of the tree that can undergo ellipsis are TP, VP and NP), and about sluicing in particular (sluicing elides the TP). Therefore, I take there to be two TPs in (14b):



In contrast with argument wh-questions, adjunct wh-questions are formed by fronting to Spec-CP of the wh-word that does not act as a nominal predicate:

- (15) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Kailan (\*ang) b<in>ili ni Bao ang libro?]  
 when NOM <PV>buy GEN Bao NOM book?  
 When did Bao buy the book?



One of the main pieces of evidence supporting this distinction comes from the distribution of the case marker *ang*, which is used to mark the subject in Tagalog. In the argument wh-question in (14) *ang* cannot be omitted, which signals that the headless relative CP that *ang* takes as a complement acts as the subject of the clause, whereas *ano* ‘what’ acts as the predicate. In contrast with (14), in the adjunct wh-question in (15) *ang* cannot appear.

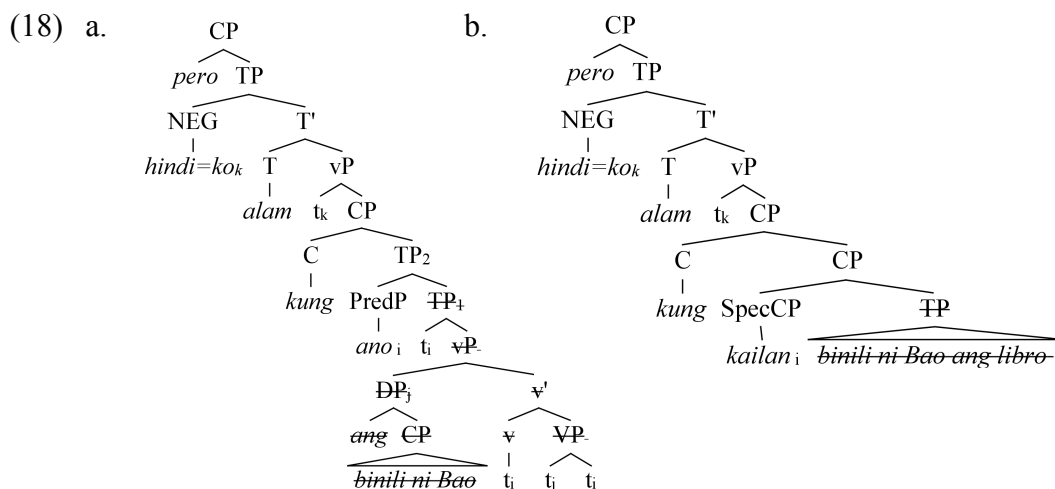
These facts suggest that argument and adjunct wh-questions in Tagalog have different structures: argument wh-questions are biclausal, with the wh-word acting as a nominal predicate and taking a headless relative clause as a subject; adjunct wh-questions, on the other hand, are monoclausal structures involving wh-movement.

The distinction between the two structures is also confirmed by clitic placement. Aldridge (2002) notes that certain personal pronoun clitics (as well as

some aspectual clitics - Richards, p.c.) can only attach to wh-words that undergo wh-movement. Since argument wh-words undergo head-raising, clitics are predicted to be housed only by adjunct wh-words. This is confirmed both for wh-questions (see Aldridge, 2002) and sluicing:

- (16) [CP P<um>unta =ka sa Maynila], [CP pero naka-limut-an  
 <PFV.AV>go 2sg.NOM DAT Manila but PFV.BV-forget-DIR  
 ko [CP kung kalian =ka p<um>unta]]<sup>2</sup>  
 1sg COMP when 2sg.NOM <PFV.AV>go  
 You went to Manila, but I forgot when (you went).
- (17) [CP May <g<in>a>gawa =ka, [CP pero hindi ko alam  
 EXT <RED<PV>>do 2sg.NOM but NEG 1sg know  
 [CP kung ano (\*=mo) [TP ang (\*=mo) <g<in>a>gawa \*(=mo)]]]]<sup>3</sup>  
 COMP what 2sg.GEN NOM 2sg.GEN <RED<PV>>do 2sg.GEN  
 You did something, but I don't know what you did.

Based on these distributional facts, and also taking into account the crosslinguistic evidence, I propose that Tagalog has two sluicing strategies too, corresponding to the argument-adjunct distinction found in wh-questions. The corresponding sluicing structures then look the following way: (18a) for arguments, (18b) for adjuncts.



### 3.2. Sluicing in Tagalog

Sluicing in Tagalog has not received much attention in the literature so far. Some ideas about the possible analysis can be found in Kaufman & Paul (2006). Kaufman

<sup>2</sup> The clitic cannot be final in a clause, so in cases of sluicing with clitics, the verb following the clitic needs to be spelled-out.

<sup>3</sup> *ka/mo* alternation is due to the voice change in the existential when embedded.

and Paul observe that sluicing in Tagalog has two cross-linguistically unusual properties: (i) ban on sprouting in argument sluices, and (ii) sensitivity to certain types of islands. However, neither of these turn out to be supported by data.

### 3.2.1. Sprouting with argument sluices

Kaufman & Paul (2006) provide examples showing that sprouting is banned in argument sluices:

- (19) \*<sub>[CP</sub> K<um>akanta si Maria] <sub>[CP</sub> pero hindi ko alam kung ano].  
<AV>sing.IPFV NOM Maria but NEG 1sg know COMP what  
Intended: Maria was singing but I don't know what.

In adjunct sluices, however, sprouting is allowed:

- (20) <sub>[CP</sub> K<um>akanta si Maria] <sub>[CP</sub> pero hindi ko alam kung saan].  
<AV>sing.IPFV NOM Maria but NEG 1sg know COMP where  
Maria was singing but I don't know where.

(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

Kaufman (2006) accounts for the lack of sprouting in argument sluicing by proposing that Tagalog verbs are ambitransitive: that is, unless the internal argument of the verb is introduced overtly, the verb is intransitive. Under this hypothesis, (19) is degraded because of the transitivity mismatch between the matrix verb and the verb within the elided part of the embedded clause, much like it is with certain English verbs:

- (21) a. She bathed someone, but I'm not sure whom.  
b. \*She bathed, but I'm not sure whom.

Kaufman's (2006) approach also accounts for the fact that sprouting is allowed with adjuncts, since adjuncts do not interact with the transitivity of the verb.

However, judgments vary in cases like (19), which was noticed both by Kaufman (p.c.) and myself. Specifically, there is a division among speakers when it comes to sluices with indefinite argument correlates, as in (19).

While marked as unacceptable in Kaufman & Paul (2006), and as marginal in Kaufman (2006), (19) is in fact accepted and even preferred by some Tagalog speakers. Specifically, out of the four informants I checked (19) and similar examples with, two allow it, and one prefers it to the alternative (the fourth informant does not accept (19) in either Tagalog or English). The alternative to (19) introduces the indefinite argument correlate by means of the existential construction with *may*, an impersonal predicate used to introduce indefinite arguments (Keenan, 2009; Aldridge, 2012):



- (22) [CP May k<in>anta si Kim sa handaan] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
EXT <PV>sing NOM Kim DAT party but NEG 1sg know  
[CP kung ano.]]  
COMP what  
Kim sang something at the party, but I don't know what.

Moreover, for the two speakers that allow both (19) and (22), the two variants are distinct in terms of their information structure. For these speakers, (19) bears broad focus - that is, it is a suitable reply to a question 'What happened?', while (22) is a structure with narrow focus on the object - i.e., it is a suitable reply to a question 'What did Kim sing?'

The hypothesis that the existential construction brings the correlate in focus is supported by the speakers' intuition that (23) feels 'disjointed', similarly to its English counterpart:

- (23) # [CP May in-inom si Kim sa handaan] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
EXT PV-drink NOM Kim DAT party but NEG 1sg know  
kung kailan.]  
COMP when  
#There was something that Kim drank at the party, but I don't know when.

The focal properties of both Tagalog constructions require further investigation. The overall conclusion, however, is that, at least for some Tagalog speakers, sprouting with arguments does not pose any problems.

### 3.2.2. Island sensitivity

To illustrate that Tagalog sluicing is sensitive to islands, Kaufman & Paul (2006) use an example of a relative clause island. They claim that both argument and adjunct sluices are sensitive to island constraints:

- (24) \*[CP Kilala ni Kim ang tao [TP -ng may b<in>abasa]]  
know GEN Kim NOM person-LNK EXT <PV>read.IPFV  
[CP pero hindi niya sasabih-in [CP kung ano.]]  
but NEG 3sg say.IRR-PV COMP what  
Intended: Kim knows the person who was reading (something) but she won't say what.

- (25) \*[[CP Kilala ni Kim ang tao [TP -ng may b<in>abasa]]  
know GEN Kim NOM person-LNK EXT <PV>read.IPFV  
[CP pero hindi niya sasabih-in [CP kung saan.]]]  
but NEG 3sg say.IRR<PV> COMP where  
Intended: Kim knows the person who was reading (something) but she won't say where.

(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

Unlike relative clauses, coordinate structure islands, adjunct islands, and complex NP islands do not block sluicing - as shown in (26), (27), and (28), respectively. This data brings Tagalog sluicing in line with cross-linguistic evidence.

- (26) [<sub>CP</sub> Nag-luto si Ben ng menudo at ng isa pa-ng  
<PFV.AV>cook NOM Ben GEN menudo and GEN one still-LNK  
putahe] [<sub>CP</sub> pero hindi ko alam [<sub>CP</sub> kung alin.]]  
dish but NEG 1sg know COMP which  
Ben cooked menudo and another dish, but I don't know which.

(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

- (27) [<sub>CP</sub> Um-uwi si Kim [<sub>CP</sub> dahil may kailangan siya-ng gaw-in]],  
AV-go.home NOM Kim because EXT must 3sg-LNK do-PV  
[<sub>CP</sub> pero hindi ko alam [<sub>CP</sub> kung ano.]]  
but NEG 1sg know COMP what  
Kim went home because she needed to do something, but I don't know what.

- (28) [<sub>CP</sub> Na-rinig ni Kim ang balita [<sub>CP</sub> na in-ayos ni Fred  
PFV.PV-hear GEN Kim NOM news LNK PV-sort.PFV GEN Fred  
ang problema]], [<sub>CP</sub> pero hindi niya alam [<sub>CP</sub> kung alin]].  
NOM problem but NEG 3sg know COMP which  
Kim heard the news that Fred solved a problem, but she doesn't know which.

At first glance, these facts suggest that the only type of islands that interacts with sluicing in Tagalog is a relative clause island, as shown in (24) and (25) above. However, it can easily be shown that a relative clause on its own is not an obstacle for sluicing:

- (29) [<sub>CP</sub> Alam ni Bao ang babae [<sub>TP</sub> -ng nag-susulat ng libro],  
know GEN Bao NOM woman-LNK INT-write.AV GEN book  
[<sub>CP</sub> pero hindi niya maalala [<sub>CP</sub> kung bakit.]]  
but NEG 3sg remember.PV COMP why  
Bao knows a woman that was writing a book, but he doesn't remember why.<sup>4</sup>

Another plausible hypothesis is that it is the existential construction embedded in the relative clause that interferes with sluicing, but, surprisingly, other examples of the same structure (relative clause embedding the existential) do not

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<sup>4</sup> It has been noted (Szczegielniak, p.c.) that (29) is an example of sprouting within an island, and as such, should be ungrammatical, as shown in (7). Manipulating the lexical items - specifically, introducing a different subject in the 'but...' clause indeed degrades the acceptability both in English and Tagalog - cf. *Bao knows a woman that was writing a book, but Fred doesn't remember why*. For now, I am leaving this question open.

block sluicing, as shown in (30). It should be noted that, due to the overall complexity of (30), caused by multiple embeddings, the speakers find it easier to process when the ellipsis site is spelled out.

- (30) [CP Naka-salubong ko ang isa-ng babae [CP na [TP may  
PRF.AV-run\_into 1sg NOM one-LNK girl LNK EXT  
h<in>ahanap sa kanya-ng pitaka]]] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
<IPRF.PV>look\_for DAT her-LNK purse but NEG 1sg know  
[CP kung ano (ang h<in>ahanap niya)]]  
COMP what NOM <IPRF.PV>look\_for 3sg  
I ran into a girl that was looking for something in her purse, but I don't  
know what (she was looking for).

Overall, as we have seen, there is no compelling evidence that Tagalog sluicing is sensitive to island constraints. As for the unacceptable examples (24-25), which none of my consultants accepted either, it seems that the reason for degraded judgments has to do with the difficulty of establishing pronominal reference, and not sluicing as such.

#### 4. An Alternative Analysis

##### 4.1. Sluicing and Pseudosluicing

Another observation due to Kaufman & Paul (2006) is that an overt demonstrative pronoun, *iyon* 'that' can surface as the subject of the embedded clause in argument sluices. Such cases constitute pseudosluicing structures with the ellipsis site spelled out in full (31). *Iyon*-insertion is impossible in adjunct sluices (32), similarly to the impossibility of the English counterpart to be followed by *that was*:

- (31) [CP May binigy-an ng pera], [CP pero hindi namin alam  
EXT give.PFV-LV GEN money but NEG 1pl.EXCL.GEN know  
[CP kung sino [TP iyon.]]]  
COMP who that

Someone was given money but we don't know who it was.

- (32) [CP Na-i-pa-ayos niya ang kotse] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
PFV-PV-CAUS-fix 3sg.GEN NOM car but NEG 1sg know  
[CP kung paano (\*iyon).]]  
COMP how (that)

She fixed the car but I don't know how (\*that was).

(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

Recall that argument sluices have a pseudocleft structure, as shown in (18a). Pseudosluicing with arguments, as in (31), is a copular clause. In the remainder of this section I show that in Tagalog pseudoclefting and pseudosluicing are minimally different implementations of the same structure.

Let us recall the relevant examples, spelling out the ellipsis sites in full. An example of pseudosluicing - a copular clause headed by the *wh*-word - is (31), repeated below:

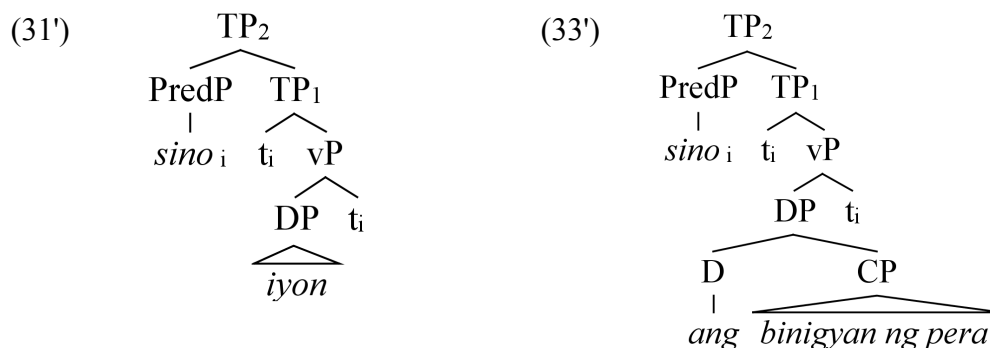
- (31) [CP *May binigy-an ng pera*], [CP *pero hindi namin alam*  
EXT give.PFV-LV GEN money but NEG 1pl.EXCL.GEN know  
[CP *kung sino [TP *iyon.*]]]*
- COMP who that
- Someone was given money but we don't know who it was.

As a pseudocleft, the ellipsis site of the same example looks the following way:

- (33) [CP *May binigy-an ng pera*], [CP *pero hindi namin alam*  
EXT give.PFV-LV GEN money but NEG 1pl.EXCL.GEN know  
[CP *kung sino [TP *ang binigy-an ng pera.*]]]*
- COMP who NOM give.PFV-LV GEN money
- Someone was given money but we don't know who it was that was given the money.

Since I take pseudosluicing to be a type of TP-ellipsis in a copular clause, like Rodrigues et al. (2009) and Barros (2014), and unlike Merchant (1998), the structural difference between (31) and (33) boils down to the internal structure of the subject DP, embedded in the complement that the predicate *sino* takes.

Specifically, in the pseudosluicing example in (31), the subject DP is represented by a single demonstrative pronoun, *iyon*. In contrast, in (33), the subject DP is a complex one, headed by the nominalizing case marker *ang* and containing a nominalized clause *binigyan ng pera*. Nevertheless, in both cases the overall configuration is the same: the *wh*-predicate *sino* takes as its subject a DP; what varies is only the internal complexity of the subject DP, as shown in (31') and (33'):



This is a cross-linguistically rare case of structural syncretism between sluicing and pseudosluicing. In Tagalog, it stems from the fact that argument sluices

<sup>5</sup> Note that *may* does not surface in the embedded clause when the ellipsis site is spelled out in full. The reason for this is likely to be related to the properties of the existential construction when embedded (cf. also ft. 3 on the clitic case alternation when in an embedded existential). I intend to investigate the properties of embedded existentials in Tagalog in future work.

employ the pseudoclefting strategy, which is also what is used in copular clauses in pseudosluicing.

Adopting such an analysis and differentiating argument and adjunct sluices also allows to account for the fact that *iyon* can only appear in argument sluices: since adjunct wh-words do not act as nominal predicates, they cannot take *iyon* as the subject.

Furthermore, if (31) and (33) are interchangeable subtypes of the same predicate-subject structure, they lend support to the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis, as opposed to the Constrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis. Recall that according to the latter, pseudosluicing can only be employed in cases where regular sluicing would run into an island constraint. The Tagalog data, however, shows that both sluicing and pseudosluicing employ a pseudocleft structure. Therefore, they can be used interchangeably, even in cases where no island is involved. This is predicted to be impossible by the Constrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis, and therefore supports the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis.

Moreover, the very fact that the two structures in (31) and (33) are so similar structurally (much more so than the respective English sluicing and pseudosluicing counterparts) is consistent with the intuition that they should be treated as two instances of the same construction.

#### 4.2. The Existential Construction and Sprouting

Recall that sprouting within an island has been argued to lead to ungrammaticality (Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, 1995), as shown for English in (7), repeated below:

- (7) \*Sandy is very anxious to see which students will be able to solve the homework problem, but she won't say how.

It is therefore surprising that examples like (30), as repeated below, are judged as acceptable. Since there is no overt correlate for the wh-word *ano* in the matrix clause, they also constitute examples of sprouting within an island.

- (30) [CP Naka-salubong ko ang isa-ng babae [CP na [TP may  
PRF.AV-run\_into 1sg NOM one-LNK girl LNK EXT  
h<in>ahanap sa kanya-ng pitaka]]] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
<IPRF.PV>look for DAT her-LNK purse but NEG 1sg know  
[CP kung ano (ang h<in>ahanap niya)]]  
COMP what NOM <IPRF.PV>look\_for 3sg  
I ran into a girl that was looking for something in her purse, but I don't  
know what (she was looking for).

The reason for the fact that there is no overt correlate in (30) is that in Tagalog, indefinite arguments like *something* or *someone* must be introduced by means of the existential *may*. Tagalog speakers have a strong intuition that *may* is a

counterpart of *something*, like in cases with argument sprouting, discussed in Section 3.2.1. Compare (22) with (19):

- (22) [CP *May* k<in>anta si Kim sa handaan] [CP pero hindi ko alam  
EXT <PV>sing NOM Kim DAT party but NEG 1sg know  
[CP kung ano.]]  
COMP what  
Kim sang *something* at the party, but I don't know what.
- (19) \*[CP K<um>akanta si Maria] [CP pero hindi ko alam kung ano].  
<AV>sing.IPFV NOM Maria but NEG 1sg know COMP what  
\*Maria was singing but I don't know what.

It seems therefore that in examples like (30) and (22) there is no sprouting - instead, the existential verb *may* plays the role of the non-nominal correlate for the wh-remnant. To the best of my knowledge, there are no instances of non-nominal correlates discussed in the literature. The Tagalog case, therefore, requires further investigation.

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude, this paper argued that out of the three possible analyses for Tagalog sluicing that have been previously considered in the literature, the most promising one is that there are two sluicing strategies in Tagalog: wh-movement for adjunct sluices, and a pseudocleft structure for argument sluices. In this way, Tagalog evidence is in line with the cross-linguistic generalisation that sluicing formation utilises the language-specific wh-question formation strategy.

Also, I have shown that Tagalog is cross-linguistically unusual in that the sluicing and pseudosluicing constructions in the language are instances of the same underlying pseudocleft structure. The difference between sluicing and pseudosluicing lies only in the complexity of the subject DP. These facts also support the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis.

Like sluicing in other languages, Tagalog sluicing is not sensitive to island constraints. As for the sprouting asymmetry that has been reported before—sprouting being possible with adjunct but not argument sluices—it has not been confirmed by the data, though there is some inter-speaker variation. The hypothesis put forward in this paper is that sprouting in argument sluices differs from the alternative construction headed by the existential *may* in terms of its discourse properties: the former has broad focus, and the latter bears narrow focus.

Since this paper proposes that there are two sluicing strategies in Tagalog, it also suggests that neither exclusively syntactic nor exclusively semantic sluicing-licensing condition is sufficient on its own. Because argument sluices have pseudocleft structure, there is no syntactic parallelism between the sluice and the antecedent clause. This is problematic for the syntactic condition. As for the semantic

condition, it does not allow to incorporate the generalisation that argument and adjunct sluices in Tagalog have different structures, because the semantic condition does not take syntax into account. Therefore, the Tagalog sluicing data calls for a hybrid syntax-semantic condition. Determining its nature is a task for future work.

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