Tagalog Sluicing Revisited

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate sluicing, a type of TP-ellipsis introduced by a wh-word, in Tagalog, an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines. The paper reconsiders the approach to Tagalog sluicing developed in Kaufman & Paul (2006) and Kaufman (2006), and puts forward an alternative proposal. I propose that out of the three possible analyses for Tagalog sluicing considered in Kaufman & Paul (2006), the two most viable approaches constitute two subcases of a single analysis. Specifically, 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. Additionally, the Tagalog data discussed here provides support for the Unconstrained Pseudosluicing Hypothesis as argued for in Barros (2014).

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 1 provides some background on previous research on sluicing and sluicing-like phenomena. Section 2 introduces the relevant facts about Tagalog grammar and summarises the approach to Tagalog sluicing put forward in Kaufman & Paul (2006) and Kaufman (2006). Section 3 provides new data that allows to shed some light on the structural properties of Tagalog sluicing. Section 4 puts forward an analysis. Section 5 concludes.

1   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:

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

Since Ross (1969), sluicing has received a considerable amount of attention from syntacticians and semanticists alike. In this paper, I will follow Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (1995), Fiengo and May (1994), Lasnik (2001), Merchant (2001, 2008), and others in assuming that there is silent structure following the wh-word in sluicing examples; cf. Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), Dalrymple, Sheiber, and Pereira (1991), Ginzburg and Sag (2000), and others for the opposite view.

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 slucing, it is followed by ellipsis of the embedded TP:

(2)   [TP *Somebody* [T *left the door open*], *but I don't know* [CP *who*i [TP *t*i ~~*left the door open*~~]]].

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)

[*Someone*	*left the door open*	[*but I don't know*	*who*	[~~*left the door open*~~]]
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. 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:

(4)   *Dareka-ga sono hon-o yon-da ga*, [*watashi-wa* [pro *dare* ~~*datta*~~ *ka*] *wakaranai*]. [2]
       someone-NOM that book-ACC read-PST but 1sg-TOP *pro* who be.PST Q know.NEG
       Someone read that book, but I don't know who.

<div align="right">(from Merchant, 1998)</div>

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*i]].

(6)   *John* [T *plays tennis on Sundays*]*, but he didn't say* [CP *where* [TP *t*i]].

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.*

<div align="right">(from Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, 1995)</div>

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.

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[2] Abbreviations used in the glosses: 1pl - 1st person plural; 1sg - 1st person singular; 2sg - 2nd person singular; 3sg - 3rd person singular; ACC - accusative; APPL - applicative; 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 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 (more on this below).

There have also been varying claims 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* [CP *which one of my friends* [TP t_i]].

(9)   **She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realise* [CP *which one of my friends*]i [TP *she kissed a man who bit t_i*]].

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 structures, 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* [CP *which one of my friends*]i [TP *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* [$_{T'}$ *left the door open*], *but I don't know who.*

(12) *Somebody* [$_{T'}$ *left the door open*], *but I don't know* [$_{CP}$ *who$_i$* [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ *left the door open*]].

(13) *Somebody* [$_{T'}$ *left the door open*], *but I don't know* [$_{CP}$ *who$_i$* [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ *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: 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 formation 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 background in mind, let us turn to Tagalog data.

2   Tagalog

2.1   Basic Facts

Tagalog is an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines. Like many Austronesian languages, Tagalog is predicate-initial (14), and allows non-verbal predicates (15-16). In the latter case, there is no overt copula.

(14) *B<um>a-basa ng diyaryo ang titser.*
     <AV>IPFV-read GEN newspaper NOM teacher
     The teacher is reading a newspaper.   (from Schachter & Otanes, 1982:69)

(15) *Artista ang babae.*
     actress NOM woman
     The woman is an actress.

(16) *Maganda ang babae.*
     beautiful NOM woman
     The woman is beautiful.   (from Schachter & Otanes, 1982:61)

Tagalog has a rich system of verbal voices: actor voice (AV), patient voice (PV), benefactive voice (BV), locative voice (LV) and causative voice (CAUS) (Schachter & Otanes, 1982). The choice of voice determines which argument of the verb is taken as the most salient one, the one the sentence is predicated about: the actor in AV, patient in PV, location in LV, etc. I will refer to the argument the verb selects in such a way as subject.[3] The status of the arguments of the verb is signaled by prenominal case markers: [4]

Table 1. Case markers in Tagalog

	Nominative (subject)	Genitive (non-subject)	Dative (oblique)
Common noun markers	*ang*	*ng*	*sa*
Personal noun markers	*si*	*ni*	*kay*

(from Kroeger, 1993:13)

Example (14) above shows the verb in AV, and (17) below is an example of PV. Note that the subject in Tagalog must be definite:

(17) *B<in>abasa ng titser ang diyaryo.*
     <PV>read.IPFV GEN teacher NOM newspaper
     The teacher is reading the newspaper.   (from Schachter & Otanes, 1982:69)

The choice of verbal voice does not seem to directly interact with sluicing.[5]

2.2   Wh-question Formation in Tagalog

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

[3]Also called trigger, topic, focus or pivot in the Austronesian literature; nothing hinges on the terminological choice here.

[4] Both nominative-accusative (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992), Richards (1993), Kroeger (1993), and others) and ergative-absolutive (Gerdts (1988), De Guzman (1988), Aldridge (2004), and others) analyses for Tagalog have been proposed. I am adopting the nominative-accusative analysis here; nothing hinges on this choice.

[5] The event existentials in Tagalog obligatorily embed PV forms of the verb. However, this is a property of event existentials, not sluicing *per se*.

nominal, and a headless relative clause following it; as with other non-verbal predicates, there is no overt copula:

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

b.
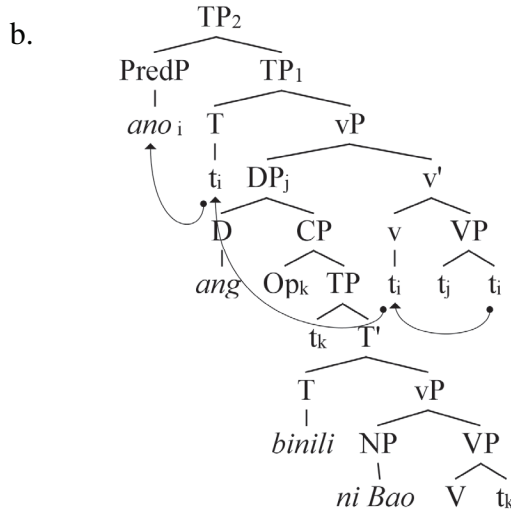
I take the topmost TP$_2$ in (18b) to be equivalent to the functional projection FP that Potsdam (2007) postulates for Malagasy sluicing. In contrast with Malagasy, however, Tagalog subjects stay in the vP; based on this, a simpler alternative to (18b) would have a single TP, TP$_1$, with *ano* sitting 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 (18b).

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:

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

b.

CP
AdvP   C'
|
kailan ᵢ   C   TP
             T   vP
             |
          binili ⱼ tᵢ   v'
             DP   v'
             \
          ni Bao ₖ   v   VP
                    |
                    tⱼ   tₖ   V'
                         V   DP
                         | \
                         tⱼ   *ang libro*
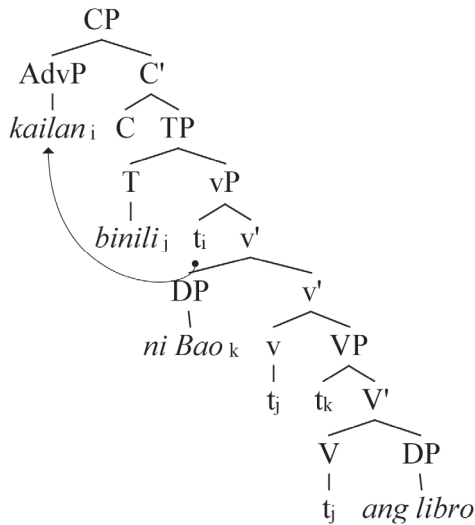
One of the main pieces of evidence supporting this distinction comes from the distribution of the case marker *ang*, which is used to mark the subject in Tagalog. In the argument wh-question in (18) *ang* cannot be omitted, which signals that the headless relative CP that *ang* takes as a complement acts as the subject of the clause, whereas *ano* 'what' acts as the predicate. In contrast with (18), in the adjunct wh-question in (19) *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:

(20)   [CP *P<um>unta=**ka** sa Maynila*], [CP *pero naka-limut-an ko*
          <PFV.AV>go 2sg.NOM DAT Manila but PFV.BV-forget-DIR 1sg

        [CP *kung kalian=**ka** p<um>unta*]][6]
         COMP when 2sg.NOM <PFV.AV>go
         You went to Manila, but I forgot when (you went).

(21)   [CP *May <g<in>a>gawa=**ka**,* [CP *pero hindi ko alam*
          EXT <RED<PV>>do 2sg.NOM but NEG 1sg know

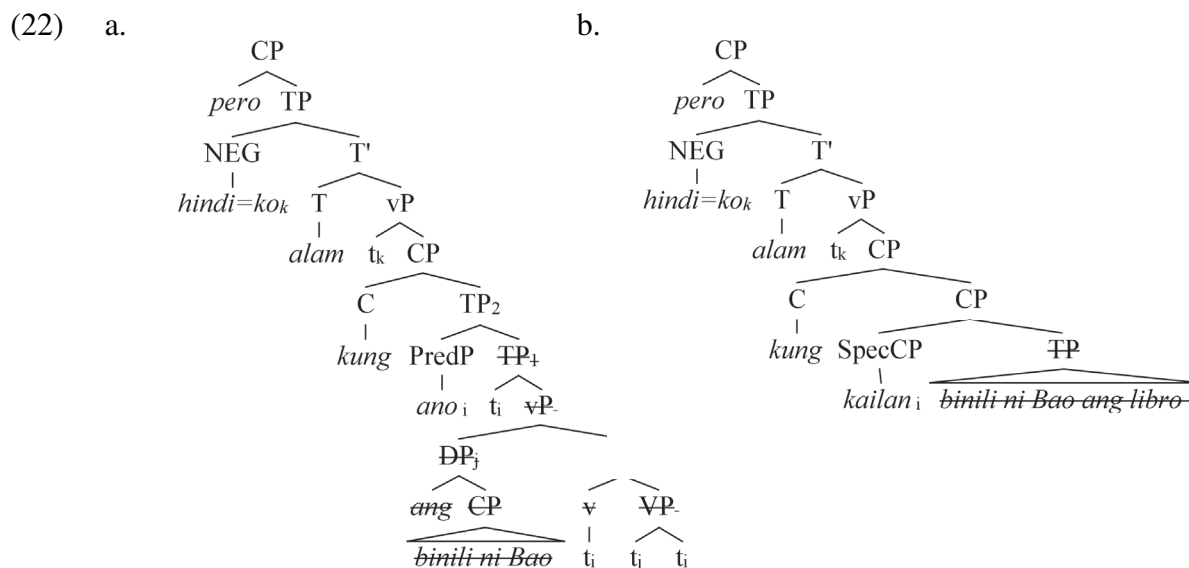   [CP *kung ano (*=**mo**)* [TP *ang (*=**mo**) <g<in>a>gawa *(=**mo**)*]]][7]
         COMP what 2sg.GEN NOM 2sg.GEN <RED<PV>>do 2sg.GEN
         You did something, but I don't know what you did.

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[6] 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.

[7] *ka/mo* alternation is due to the voice change in the existential when embedded.

Based on these facts, I argue 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: (22a) for arguments, (22b) for adjuncts.

(22) a.

```
                CP
              /    \
           pero    TP
                 /    \
              NEG      T'
               |      /  \
          hindi=kok  T    vP
                     |   /  \
                   alam tk  CP
                          /    \
                         C      TP2
                         |     /   \
                       kung PredP   TP+
                             |     /  \
                           anoi   ti  vP-
                                   |
                                  DPj
                                 /   \
                              ang     CP      v    VP-
                         binili ni Bao        |   /  \
                                             ti  tj  ti
```

b.

```
                CP
              /    \
           pero    TP
                 /    \
              NEG      T'
               |      /  \
          hindi=kok  T    vP
                     |   /  \
                   alam tk  CP
                          /    \
                         C      CP
                         |     /   \
                       kung SpecCP   TP
                             |
                          kailani  binili ni Bao ang libro
```

2.3 Sluicing in Tagalog: Kaufman & Paul (2006)

Sluicing in Tagalog has not received much attention in the literature so far. Some discussion of the sluicing facts, as well as some ideas about the possible analysis can be found in Kaufman & Paul (2006). Kaufman & 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.

To illustrate the first fact, Kaufman & Paul provide examples showing that sprouting is banned in argument sluices:

(23) *[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.

In adjunct sluices, however, sprouting is allowed:

(24) [CP *K<um>akanta si Maria*] [CP *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, (23) 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:

(25) a. *He smells something, but I don't know what.*
      b. *He smells, but I don't know what.*

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.

To illustrate the second property, sensitivity to islands, the authors show that Tagalog sluicing is sensitive to complex NP islands. They claim that this holds for both argument and adjunct sluices:

(26) *[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.*

(27) *[[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.*

<div align="right">(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)</div>

A possible independent explanation for why (26) and (27) are unacceptable might have to do with the fact that there is no overt correlate in either antecedent clause. However, it can be shown that an example minimally different from (26) but containing an overt correlate, as in (28), is judged as bad too, so the point Kaufman & Paul make still holds:

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

<div align="right">(from own data)</div>

Kaufman & Paul further show that, unlike relative clauses, coordinate structure islands do not block sluicing:

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

<div align="right">(from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)</div>

Another observation due to Kaufman & Paul is that an overt demonstrative pronoun, *iyon* 'that' can surface as the subject of the embedded clause in argument sluices. Such cases essentially constitute pseudosluicing structures with the ellipsis site spelled out in full:

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

Iyon insertion is impossible in adjunct sluices:

(31)   [CP *Na-i-pa-ayos niya ang kotse*] [CP *pero hindi ko alam* [CP *kung paano* (**iyon*).]]
       PFV-PV-CAUS-fix 3sg.GEN NOM car but NEG 1sg.GEN know COMP how (that)
       She fixed the car but I don't know how.   (from Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

Kaufman & Paul (2006) put forward three possible analyses for Tagalog sluicing, noting their advantages and disadvantages, and concluding that at present there is not enough evidence to decide between them:

Table 2. Possible analyses of Tagalog sluicing (Kaufman & Paul, 2006)

	Sluicing strategy		Advantages	Disadvantages
	Arguments	**Adjuncts**		
1.	**Wh-movement**	**Wh-movement**	possibly explains island effects	not motivated language-internally; doesn't immediately capture lack of sprouting
2.	**Pseudosluicing**	**Wh-movement**	correctly predicts that *iyon* 'that' can appear following the wh-word in argument but not adjunct sluices	predicts no island effects for adjunct sluices
3.	**Pseudoclefts**	**Wh-movement**	null hypothesis (matches wh-question formation), cross-linguistic parallels	doesn't explain lack of sprouting without additional assumptions

As shown in section 4, options 2 and 3 from Table 2 are the most likely candidates for the analysis - and also a unified one, since in Tagalog pseudosluicing and pseudoclefting are two instances of the same syntactic structure.

3   Revisiting the Tagalog Facts

3.1   Sprouting

As pointed out above, Kaufman & Paul (2006) and Kaufman (2006) argue that sprouting is not possible with argument sluices. However, judgments are subtle and rather variable in such cases, 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 (23), repeated here:

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

While it is marked as unacceptable in Kaufman & Paul (2006), and as marginal in Kaufman (2006), (23) is in fact accepted and even preferred by some Tagalog speakers. Specifically, out of the four informants I checked (23) with, two allow it, and one prefers it to the alternative (the fourth informant does not accept (23) in either Tagalog or English). The alternative to (23) 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):

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

Moreover, for the two speakers that allow both (23) and (32), the two variants are distinct in terms of their information structure. For these speakers, (23) bears broad focus - that is, it is a suitable reply to a question *What happened*?, while (32) 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 (33) feels 'disjointed', similarly to its English counterpart:

(33) #[CP *May in-inom si Kim sa handaan*] [CP *pero hindi ko alam* [CP *kung saan.*]]
EXT PV-drink NOM Kim DAT party but NEG 1sg know 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   Sluicing and Island Constraints

Additional data from my consultants supports the idea that most types of islands do not block sluicing in Tagalog, thus bringing Tagalog sluicing in line with cross-linguistic evidence:

Adjunct islands:

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

Complex NP islands:

(35) [CP *Na-rinig ni Kim ang balita* [CP *na in-ayos ni Fred ang problema*]],
PFV.PV-hear GEN Kim NOM news LNK PV-sort.PFV GEN Fred NOM problem
[CP *pero hindi niya alam* [CP *kung alin*]].
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 the examples from Kaufman & Paul (2006) in (26) and (27) show. However, it can easily be shown that a relative clause on its own is not an obstacle for sluicing:

(36) [CP *Alam ni Bao ang babae* [TP *-ng nag-susulat ng libro*],
      know GEN Bao NOM woman-LNK INT-write.AV GEN book
      [CP *pero hindi niya maalala* [CP *kung bakit.*]]
      but NEG 3sg remember.PV COMP why
      Bao knows a woman that was writing a book, but he doesn't remember why. [8]

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 exsistential) do not block sluicing, as shown in (37). It should be noted though that, due to the overall complexity of (37), caused by multiple embeddings, the speakers find it easier to process when the ellipsis site is spelled out.

(37) [CP *Naka-salubong ko ang isa-ng babae* [CP *na* [TP *may h<in>ahanap*
      PRF.AV-run_into 1sg NOM one-LNK girl LNK EXT <IPRF.PV>look_for

      sa kanya-ng pitaka]]] [CP *pero hindi ko alam* [CP *kung ano (ang h<in>ahanap niya)*]]
      DAT her-LNK purse but NEG 1sg know 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 (26) and (27), 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.

A possible explanation for the lower acceptability of sluicing with the existential construction embedded within a relative clause is the cumulative effect that the two islands, one embedded within the other, have on processing. Ungrammaticality is a relative rather than absolute notion, as Ross (1987:310) points out: "losses in viability are cumulative, and only when there have been enough of them for a certain threshold value to be exceeded will the speakers of the language perceive that the sentence is less than perfect". If so, the lower acceptability of sluicing examples involving an existential construction within a relative clause may follow from a particularly heavy processing load, a proposal which has been offered for at least some apparent island violations (Kluender 1998, 2004). The properties of the existential construction embedded within an island need to be further investigated.

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[8] It has been noted (Szczegielniak, p.c.) that (36) 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, this matter is outside the scope of this work.

4 An Alternative Analysis

Let us now return to the three possible analyses for Tagalog sluicing that Kaufman & Paul consider: (i) wh-movement for both arguments and adjuncts; (ii) pseudosluicing for arguments, wh-movement for adjuncts; (iii) pseudoclefts for arguments, wh-movement for adjuncts.

Of these, option (i) is the least viable one, since it postulates wh-movement for arguments in sluicing, but not in wh-questions. This is not motivated language-internally, and also goes against the evidence from other languages that sluicing formation matches the language-specific wh-question formation strategy.

Turning to options (ii) and (iii), note that they assume the same underlying structure for adjunct sluices, wh-movement, and differ only in the analysis of argument sluices - pseudosluicing vs. pseudoclefting. In the remainder of this section I show that in Tagalog pseudosluicing and pseudoclefting 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 (30), repeated below:

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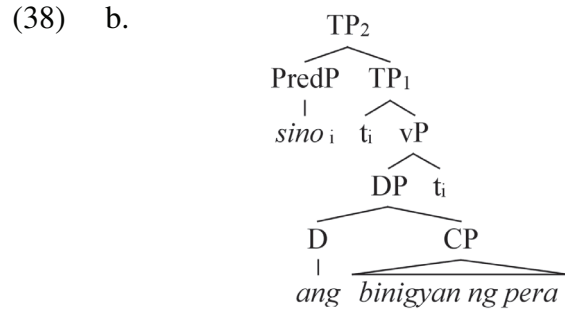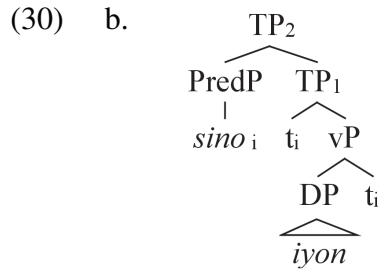　　　　　　　*Someone was given money but we don't know who it was.*

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

(38)　　a.　　[CP *May binigy-an ng pera*],
　　　　　　　EXT give.PFV-LV GEN money
　　　　　　　[CP *pero hindi namin alam* [CP *kung sino* [TP ***ang binigy-an ng pera*.**]]] [9]
　　　　　　　but NEG 1pl.EXCL.GEN know 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 (30) and (38) 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 (30), the subject DP is represented by a single demonstrative pronoun, *iyon*. In contrast, in (38), the subject DP is a complex one, headed by the nominalising case marker *ang* and containing a nominalised 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. The two structures are shown in (30b) and (38b), respectively:

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[9] 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. 7 on the clitic case alternation when in an embedded existential). I intend to investigate the properties of embedded existentials in Tagalog in future work.

(30) b.

```
          TP₂
         /    \
     PredP    TP₁
       |      /  \
    sino ᵢ  tᵢ   vP
                /  \
              DP   tᵢ
               |
             iyon
```

(38) b.

```
          TP₂
         /    \
     PredP    TP₁
       |      /  \
    sino ᵢ  tᵢ   vP
                /  \
              DP   tᵢ
             /   \
            D     CP
            |
           ang  binigyan ng pera
```

This is a cross-linguistically rare case of structural syncretism between sluicing and pseudoslucing. In Tagalog, it stems from the fact that argument wh-questions and sluices 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 (30) and (38) 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 (30) and (38) 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.

Let us now address the disadvantages of both the pseudosluicing and pseudoclefting analyses that Kaufman & Paul (2006) point out, as summarised in Table 2. To recapitulate, they are: (i) prediction that adjunct sluices are not island-sensitive, and (ii) no explanation for lack of sprouting in argument sluices.

As far as island-sensitivity with adjunct sluices goes, the prediction holds: adjunct (as well as argument) sluices in Tagalog are not island-sensitive - cf. (36), repeated here:

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

As for the possibility of sprouting in argument sluices, as in (23) repeated below, at least for some speakers it poses no difficulty:

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

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 - there is some inter-speaker variation, but at least for some speakers sprouting with arguments is possible, along with introducing the indefinite correlate by means of the existential *may*. The hypothesis put forward in this paper is that sprouting in argument sluices is possible, and 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 the future.

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