Argument extraction restrictions do not constrain sluicing[1]

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1 Introduction

- Certain syntactic properties, like argument structure and voice, appear to constrain sluicing.

  - The argument structure and voice specification must be identical between the antecedent and the sluice (Chung et al. 1995; Merchant 2001, 2013; Chung 2013).

  (1) Ungrammatical argument structure mismatches   (adapted from Chung 2013:3)
      a. * They sent a silly message, but it's unclear who <they sent a silly message>.
      b. * They sent someone a silly message, but it's unclear to who <they sent a silly message>.

  (2) No voice mismatches in English   (Merchant 2013:1)
      a. * Joe was murdered, but we don't know who <murdered Joe>.
      b. * Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by who <Joe was murdered>.

- These data have been used to support a head-based syntactic identity condition on ellipsis, as in (3).

  (3) *Head-based syntactic identity* (Merchant 2013, formalized by Chung 2013)
      The heads in the verbal spine of the elided constitutent must be syntactically identical to the corresponding heads in the antecedent.

- However, not *all* syntactic properties behave this way: constrains on movement, like island restrictions, famously fail to constrain sluicing possibilities (Ross 1969; Chung et al. 1995; Merchant 2001).

  (4) English adjunct clause island
      a. * Who will John leave [if Lucy dances with t_i]?
      b.   John will leave if Lucy dances with someone, but I can't remember who.

- This talk considers the interaction between sluicing and **argument extraction restrictions**, like ergative extraction constraints, which have properties of both types of phenomena.

  - They are restrictions on movement, like islands, yet they often involve voice alternations.

  - Ergative extraction constraints, for instance, are often obviated using a different voice specification (5).

  (5) Nukuoro ergative extraction uses passive *-(C)ia*
      a. * Go ai   ne doolohi de gaagoo?
           FOC who PFV chase   DET chicken
           'Who chased the chicken?'
      b.   Go ai   ne **dolohi-a ina** de gaagoo?
           FOC who PFV chase-PASS PASS DET chicken
           'Who chased the chicken?'

- We might predict, based on the behavior of voice under ellipsis, that argument extraction restrictions would require identity between the antecedent and the sluice.

    - However, this is not always borne out: in Nukuoro, the ergative extraction restriction fails to constrain sluicing, yielding apparently grammatical voice mismatches between the antecedent and the sluice (6).

    (6)   Dahi dangada ne **tugi** au, gai au e   dee iloo be go ai   <ne **duugia (ina)** au>.
            one person PFV hit me but I NPST NEG know C FOC who tscpfv hit.CIA INA me
            'Somebody hit me, but I don't know who <hit me>.'

- ▷ Crucially, I show that this is not an idiosyncratic property of Nukuoro or any other language: argument extraction restrictions uniformly fail to constrain sluicing cross-linguistically (7).

    (7) **Sluicing-Extraction Generalization (SEG)**:
        If a language has a sluicing construction and a restriction on argument extraction, that restriction will not constrain sluicing.

- I present the results from a cross-linguistic survey of ten languages (and language families) showing that a range of argument extraction restrictions fail to constrain ellipsis:

    - Ergative extraction restrictions: Nukuoro (Polynesian), Kaqchikel (Mayan)
    - Pivot-only restrictions: Malagasy (Malayo-Polynesian), Aklanon (Philippine)
    - vP extraction restrictions: Nupe (Benue-Congo), Kaqchikel (Mayan)
    - Oblique extraction restrictions: Chamorro (Malayo-Polynesian)

- While these examples have often received language-specific treatments (e.g., Chung 2013; Ranero 2021), the SEG is cross-linguistically robust, suggesting that a uniform analysis may be more desirable.

- I tentatively suggest that the SEG can be captured by a semantic identity condition, where sluices are licensed by virtue of having an available correlate in the antecedent.

    - An LF-copying approach (Chung et al. 1995), for instance, accounts for the failure of movement to constrain sluicing across the board.
        * I show that LF-copying also provides a way to understand ungrammatical voice mismatches as lacking a proper correlate in the antecedent.
    - I argue that accounts which strategically weaken syntactic identity (e.g., Ranero 2021) struggle to capture the generality of the SEG.

2   The Sluicing-Extraction Generalization

- There is *no known argument extraction restriction* that constrains sluicing (7).

    (7) **Sluicing-Extraction Generalization (SEG)**:
        If a language has a sluicing construction and a restriction on argument extraction, that restriction will not constrain sluicing.

- This generalization is based on a survey of the sluicing literature, with the prerequisites that a language must have (i) a demonstrated sluicing construction; and (ii) a demonstrated argument extraction restriction.

    – There are six resulting languages where this phenomenon is testable: Nukuoro (Polynesian), Kaqchikel (Mayan), Nupe (Benue-Congo), Malagasy, Chamorro, and Aklanon (Malayo-Polynesian).

	Language	Source
Testable languages	Nukuoro	Drummond (to appear); primary fieldwork
	Kaqchikel	Ranero (2021)
	Malagasy	Potsdam (2007)
	Nupe	Mendes & Kandybowicz (2021)
	Chamorro	Chung (2006, 2013)
	Aklanon	Zach Wellstood (p.c.)
No confirmed sluicing construction	Malay	Wong (2020)
	Tagalog	Kaufman & Paul (2006), Borise (2016)
	Salishan languages	Henry Davis (p.c.)
No restriction in *wh*-movement	Eskimo-Aleut languages	Michelle Yuan (p.c.)

Table 1: Languages surveyed for the SEG

- The SEG is not limited to particular languages or particular restrictions:

    – Ergative extraction restrictions

    – Pivot-only restrictions

    – *v*P extraction restrictions

    – Oblique argument extraction restrictions

2.1   Ergative extraction restrictions

▷ Restrictions on the Ā-movement of ergative arguments do not constrain sluicing possibilities.

    – Nukuoro (Drummond to appear)

    – Kaqchikel (Ranero 2021)

- In Nukuoro, ergative arguments are unable to undergo unmarked Ā-movement (8a).

    – Instead, the verb must appear with a verbal suffix *-(C)ia* plus an optional post-verbal particle *ina*, morphology which also appears in passive constructions (8b).

(8) a. * Go ai   ne doolohi de gaagoo?
          FOC who PFV chase   DET chicken
          'Who chased the chicken?'   (A)

     b.   Go ai   ne **dolohia** (**ina**) de   gaagoo?
           FOC who PFV chase.CIA INA   DET chicken
           'Who chased the chicken?'   (A)

- In Kaqchikel, ergative arguments are unable to Ā-move from active voice clauses (9a).

    – To extract an ergative argument, the verb must appear with Agent Focus (AF) morphology, a type of voice that only appears in ergative extraction contexts (9b).

3

(9) a. * Achike x-Ø-u-tïj   nu-way?
       who   COM-B3S-A3S-eat A1S-tortilla
       Intended: 'Who ate my tortillas?'

    b.   Achike x-Ø-tj-**o**   nu-way?
       who   COM-B3S-eat-AF A1S-tortilla
       'Who ate my tortillas?'   (Ranero 2021: 50)

- These ergative extraction restrictions in Nukuoro and Kaqchikel fail to constrain sluicing, as observed by Drummond (to appear) and Ranero (2021).

(10) Dahi dangada ne **tugi** au, gai au e   dee iloo be go ai   <ne **duugia** (**ina**) au>.
     one person PFV hit me but I NPST NEG know C FOC who PFV hit.CIA INA me
     'Somebody hit me, but I don't know who <hit me>.'   (Drummond to appear:6)

(11) Yïn x-Ø-in-tz'ët   chi jun ixöq **x-Ø-u-chöy**   la che' la'. Man x-Ø-in-tz'ët   ta
     1S COM-B3S-A1S-see COMP one woman COM-B3S-A3S-cut DEM tree DEM NEG COM-B3S-A1S-see NEG
     jab'ël achike ixöq   <**x-Ø-chöy-o** la   che' la'>.
     well what   woman COM-B3S-cut-AF DEM tree DEM
     'I saw that a woman cut that tree. I didn't see clearly which woman <cut that tree>.' (Ranero 2021:72)

2.2 Pivot-only restrictions

▷ In languages that have Philippine-type voice systems, pivot-only (or "subject-only") extraction restrictions do not constrain sluicing.

  – Malagasy (Potsdam 2007)

  – Aklanon (Wellstood, p.c.)

  – Potentially Tagalog (Kaufman & Paul 2006; Borise 2016)

- In Philippine-type voice systems, voice-like verbal morphology indicates the role of the DP in pivot (or topic, or subject) position.

- These languages also show a pivot-only extraction restriction, whereby only pivot/topic/subject arguments may undergo Ā-movement, shown in (12) for Malagasy and (13) for Aklanon.

  – The extracted argument and voice marking must "match" (AV = 'agent voice' and PV = 'patient voice').[2]

(12) Malagasy extraction restriction
    a.   iza no mividy ny osy?
       who PRT buy.AV the goat
       'Who is buying the goat?'

    b. * iza no vidina ny osy?
       who PRT buy.PV the goat
       Intended: 'Who is buying the goat?'   (Potsdam 2007: 581–583)

(13) Aklanon extraction restriction
    a.   náno ro ha-káʔon ni   Huwán?
       what TOP PV.PFV-eat UNM Juan
       'What did Juan eat?'

    b. * náno ro nag-káʔon ni   Huwán?
       what TOP AV.PFV-eat UNM Juan
       Intended: 'What did Juan eat?'   (Wellstood, p.c.)

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[2]I've changed Potsdam's original glosses for consistency here; he labels them 'agent topic' and 'theme topic', respectively.

- However, under sluicing, the extraction of non-pivots appears to be grammatical, both in Malagasy...

(14)   a. **nandoko** zavatra i Bao fa hadinoko   hoe inona <no nolokoin' i Bao>.
        paint.av thing Bao but forget.pv.1sg comp what prt paint.pv Bao
        'Bao painted something but I forget what <Bao painted>.'   (Potsdam 2007: 584)

- ...and in Aklanon.

(15)   **nag-pínta** ʔimáw ʔit díŋdiŋ, pero halipát akó   kuŋ díŋdiŋ ʔit náno <ro
        av.pfv-paint 3sg.top unm wall   but forget 1sg.top comp wall   unm what top
        gin-píntah-an   nána>.
        lv.pfv-paint-lv.pfv 3sg.unm
        'He painted on a wall, but I forget what wall <he painted on>.'   (Wellstood, p.c.)

2.3   *v*P extraction restrictions

▷ Restrictions on extraction from *v*P do not constrain sluicing.

- Nupe: extraction from *v*P in perfect clauses (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021)
- Kaqchikel: extraction of objects and low adjuncts from AF clauses (Ranero 2021)

- Nupe shows an extraction restriction in perfect clauses, where any material contained within the *v*P cannot be extracted (Kandybowicz 2009).

- Material at the edge of the *v*P domain, like subjects, may freely extract from perfect clauses (16a).
- Extraction of lower material, such as direct and indirect objects and low adjuncts, is impossible (16b-d).

(16)   a.   Zě á eci pa   o?
            who prf yam pound.pst foc
            'Who has pounded the yam?'
        b. *Ké Musa á pa   o?
            what Musa prf pound.pst foc
            Intended: 'What has Musa pounded?'
        c. *Zě Musa á yà   èwò   o?
            who Musa prf give.pst garment foc
            Intended: 'Who has Musa given the garment to?'
        d. *Bà-bo   Musa á le   o?
            where-loc Musa prf sleep.pst foc
            Intended: 'Where has Musa slept?'   (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021:7)

- Extraction of these elements from perfect clauses is, however, permitted under sluicing.

(17)   A: Musa á ejan ndoci pa.
           Musa prf thing certain pound.pst
           'Musa has pounded something.'
        B: Ké <Musa á pa>   o?
           what Musa   prf pound.pst foc
           'What?'   (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021:10)

(18)   A: Musa á eza   ndoci yà   èwò.
           Musa prf person certain give.pst garment
           'Musa has given the garment to someone.'
        B: Zě <Musa á yà   èwò> o?
           who Musa   prf give.pst garment foc
           'Who?'   (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021:11)

(19) A: Musa á   le   ebà   ndoci   o.
       Musa PRF sleep.PST place certain LOC
       'Musa has slept somewhere.'

   B: Bà-bo   <Musa á   le>   o?
       where-LOC Musa PRF sleep.PST FOC
       'Where?'   (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021:11)

- Kaqchikel shows a restriction on extraction out of Agent Focus clauses: in clauses with AF voice, internal arguments (20a) and adjuncts (20b) are inaccessible for Ā-movement.

(20) a. * Achike x-Ø-tj-**o**   ma Juan?
          what   COM-B3s-eat-AF CLF Juan
          Intended: 'What did Juan eat?'

   b. * Ankuchi x-Ø-loq'-**o**   (wi) ri   kotz'i'j?
          where   COM-B3s-buy-AF FP   DET flower
          Intended: 'Where did s/he buy the flowers?'   (Ranero 2021:51)

- Under sluicing, however, the extraction of these elements from an Agent Focus clause appears to be possible.

(21) A: Xa   xe   ri   ma Juan x-Ø-loq'-**o**   kotz'i'j.
       EMPH only DET CLF Juan COM-B3s-buy-AF flower
       'Only Juan bought flowers.'

   B: Kan qitzij? Ta-b'ij pe chwe   achike kotz'i'j!
       INT truth   IMP-say DIR PREP.A1s.RN what   flower
       'Really? Tell me which flowers!'   (Ranero 2021:73)

(22) K'o   jun x-Ø-loq'-**o**   ri aq. Aw-etama-n   achike ru-ma?
     EXIST one COM-B3s-buy-AF DET pig A2s-know-PERF what   A3s-RN
     'Someone bought the pig. Do you know why?'   (Ranero 2021:73–74)

2.4   Oblique extraction restrictions

▷ Restrictions on oblique argument extraction do not constrain sluicing.

  – Chamorro: antipassive object extraction (Chung 2006, 2013)

- In Chamorro antipassive clauses, where the verb is formally intransitive and the theme is oblique, there is a restriction on extraction: the oblique argument of an antipassive cannot undergo *wh*-movement.

(23) a. * Håfa na klåsi-n månnuk mam-omoksai   gui'?
          what L sort-L chicken AGR.AP-raise.PROG he
          Intended: 'What sort of chickens is he raising?'

   b. * Håyi mang-guaiya hao?
          who? AGR.AP-love you
          Intended: 'Who do you love?'   (Chung 2013:35)

- However, the oblique argument of an antipassive is able to serve as the *wh*-remnant of a sluice.

(24) a. Mam-omoksai månnuk, lao ti   ta tungu' håfa na klåsi.
         AGR.AP-raise chicken but not AGR know what L sort
         'He is raising chickens, but we don't know what kind.' (Chung 2006:78)

   b. Mang-guaiya si   Julia, lao ti hu tungu' håyi.
         AGR.AP-love UNM Julia but not AGR know   who
         'Julia loves (someone), but I don't know who.'   (Chung 2013:35)

2.5   Interim summary

∗ **The upshot:** Argument extraction restrictions of all kinds fail to constrain sluicing, which is unexpected if they involve changes to voice and/or argument structure.

- Why is this generalization important?

    - These data are not novel, but they are usually treated as unusual or language-specific; the SEG shows that these restrictions behave more uniformly than previously acknowledged.

    - These examples may be more promising than islands to examine the behavior of movement under ellipsis.

        ∗ For example, the availability of short sources (25) has been used to explain why island effects seem to disappear under sluicing (e.g., Barros 2014; Barros et al. 2014).

    (25)   They hired a guy who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which <he speaks>.

        ∗ Yet unlike islands, it is difficult to construct short sources for argument extraction contexts (26).

    (26)   Dahi dangada ne   tugi au, gai au e   dee iloo   be go ai   <???>.
           one   person PFV hit   me but I NPST NEG know C   FOC who
           'Someone hit me, but I don't know who <???>.'

        ∗ If we can't appeal to short sources to explain the disappearance of argument extraction restrictions under sluicing, we need to find other explanations.

3   Reconsidering syntactic identity

- The SEG requires us to reconsider a traditional head-based syntactic identity condition: voice mismatches under argument extraction restrictions need another explanation.[3]

- There are two ways that we could go about this:

    - We could weaken syntactic identity to allow mismatches in just these environments (e.g., featural non-distinctness; Ranero 2021).

    - We could eliminate syntactic identity altogether, instead adopting a fully semantic identity condition (e.g., LF-copying; Chung et al. 1995).

- While both of these routes have their challenges, I argue that an LF-copying approach may capture the SEG with fewer stipulations, and can be extended to capture ungrammatical voice mismatches as well.

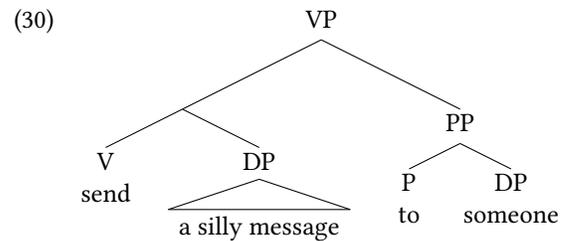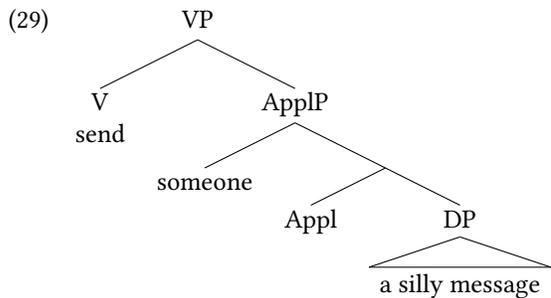## 3.1   Weakened syntactic identity

- To rule out some voice mismatches but not others, Ranero proposes a weakened syntactic identity condition, which evaluates featural non-distinctness (27).

    - Crucially, if a head is present in one clause but not the other, it does not count as a mismatch.

    (27)   *Syntactic non-distinctness condition* (Ranero 2021)
           Antecedent and material properly contained within the ellipsis site must be featurally non-distinct.

- This alone does not capture the behavior of ergative extraction restrictions under ellipsis: Ranero also proposes a particular theory of ergative extraction constructions in Kaqchikel as *lacking Voice altogether*.

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[3]Following Mendes (2020), Mendes & Kandybowicz (2021), and Drummond (to appear), we could maintain syntactic identity if extraction restrictions are *salvaged by deletion*. On this view, ungrammaticality of argument extraction would arise at spell-out; if ellipsis prevented spell-out of the ungrammatical string, however, the derivation would be salvaged. There are a number of reasons this analysis is intractable to account for the SEG: first, it is unclear how a linearization approach to movement restrictions would apply to Nukuoro, where ergative subjects are regularly linearized before objects; second, a salvation by deletion account fails to account for certain mismatches in Kaqchikel (Ranero 2021:102–122), such as Passive-AF mismatches.

- He argues ergative extraction in Kaqchikel involves Exfoliation (i.e., deletion) of the VoiceP layer.

  - The AF morpheme realizes *v* when adjacent to Aspect (i.e., when Voice is missing).
  - AF counts as "non-distinct" for any Voice specification, because Voice is simply absent.

▷ Though this account captures the Kaqchikel pattern, I argue that it is empirically and theoretically undesirable to account for the SEG and structural mismatches in general.

- First, a weakened identity condition may be *too permissive* about the presence or absence of structure.

  - Ranero's analysis rules in any cases where structure is present in one clause but not the other.
  - This falsely rules in argument structure mismatches like (28), where the antecedent contains an applicative structure while the sluice contains a prepositional phrase.

  (28)   * They sent someone a silly message, but it's unclear to who(m) <they sent a silly message>.

    (adapted from Chung 2013:3)

(29)
```
            VP
          /    \
        V       ApplP
       send    /     \
           someone    \
                  /       \
               Appl        DP
                         /    \
                   a silly message
```

(30)
```
                VP
              /     \
            /         \
          /             PP
        /   \          /   \
       V     DP       P     DP
      send  /   \     to   someone
       a silly message
```

- Second, a weakened identity condition only works if we adopt an Exfoliation account of argument extraction restrictions, which is highly specific to Kaqchikel.

  - It is not clear that this account can capture the same pattern in other languages covered by the SEG.
  - In Nukuoro, for instance, ergative extraction contexts don't seem to lack Voice.
    * These verbs show more morphology than bare active verbs, which is identical to the morphology in the context of passive Voice.
    * It seems highly counterintuitive to say that *-(C)ia + ina* is a morphological default that appears in the context of passive Voice and no Voice, while a null affix is the specified realization of active Voice.

  (31)   a. Dahi dangada ne unu   denga vai.
              one person   PFV drink DET.PL water
              'Someone drank the water.'
          b. Go ai   ne unu-**mia ina** denga vai?
              FOC who PFV drink-CIA INA DET.PL water
              'Who drank the water?'

- Finally, a weakened identity analysis makes no connection between the behavior of argument extraction and island extraction under sluicing.

  - Ranero (2021) appeals to salvation by deletion to account for the behavior of islands under sluicing, which do not adhere to his non-distinctness condition.
  - We can unify the generalization to include both islands and argument extraction restrictions, thus minimizing the amount of machinery we need.

3.2 Revisiting LF-copying

- Syntactic approaches do not easily capture the general behavior of movement restrictions under sluicing.

- If we revisit an LF-copying approach (Chao 1987; Lobeck 1995; Chung et al. 1995; Fortin 2011), however, we may have a better shot at accounting for the SEG in the same way that islands are accounted for.

  - We can also capture the ungrammaticality of mismatches in voice and argument structure.

- On this view, the *wh*-remnant is base-generated in Spec,CP and IP is simply an empty category in the syntax.

  (32) Someone danced, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ who [$_{IP}$ *e*]].

- The syntactic constituent of the antecedent IP is then copied into the empty IP at LF (33).

  - The indefinite and the *wh*-element undergo what they call "merger" (represented here by a superscript), allowing them to be co-construed (34).

  (33) Someone danced, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ who [$_{IP}$ someone danced]].
  (34) Someone danced, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ who^x [$_{IP}$ someone^x danced]].

- Implementations of LF-copying vary; see Fortin (2011) for a Minimalist update, including how to capture case-matching and P-stranding effects on this view.

- Sluicing is licit if and only if there is an unbound variable in the antecedent IP (i.e., an appropriate correlate).

  - Since there is **no *wh*-movement** in this derivation, which allows LF-copying to naturally explain why islands are not obeyed under ellipsis.

  (35) John will leave if Lucy dances with someone, but I can't remember [$_{CP}$ **who^x** [$_{IP}$ John will leave [$_{CP}$ if Lucy dances with **someone^x**]]].

- The same is true of argument extraction restrictions: as long as there is an indefinite correlate in the antecedent, movement restrictions will have no effect on the grammaticality of sluicing.

  (36) Dahi dangada ne **tugi** au, gai au e   dee iloo be [$_{CP}$ **go ai^x** [$_{IP}$ **dahi dangada^x** ne tugi au]].
        one person PFV hit me but I NPST NEG know C   FOC who   one   person   PFV hit me
        'Somebody hit me, but I don't know who.'

- I show that an LF-copying approach also successfully captures why voice mismatches are typically ungrammatical if they are not related to extraction restrictions.

  - Recall, for instance, that active-passive mismatches are ruled out in English (37).
  - Ranero (2021) also notes that antipassive-active mismatches are ruled out in Kaqchikel (38).

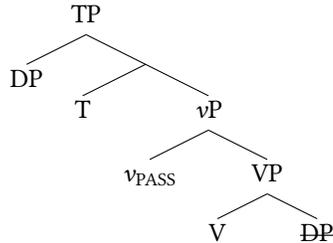 (37) No active-passive voice mismatches in English   (Merchant 2013:1)
        a. * Joe was murdered, but we don't know who <murdered Joe>.
        b. * Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by who <Joe was murdered>.
 (38) No antipassive-active voice mismatches in Kaqchikel   (Ranero 2021:70)
        a. Yïn **x-i-loq'-on**=pe   pa k'ayib'äl.
            1SG COM-B1S-buy-AP=DIR PREP market
            'I bought at the market.'
        b. * Ta-wla   achike <**x-Ø-in-löq'**=pe>!
            IMP-guess what   COM-B3S-A1S-buy=DIR
            Intended: 'Guess what <I bought at the market>!'

9

- Under LF-copying, the sluices in (37) and (38) can be ruled out if the antecedents fail to introduce a correlate that can associate with the *wh*-remnant.

  – In other words, English passives and Kaqchikel antipassives do not introduce a nominal argument in subject and object position, respectively.

(39) English passive

```
              TP
             /  \
           DP    \
                / \
               T   vP
                  /  \
              v_PASS  VP
                     /  \
                    V    D̶P̶
```

(40) Kaqchikel antipassive

```
           vP
          /  \
        DP    \
             / \
            v   vP
               /  \
            v_AP   VP
                    |
                    V
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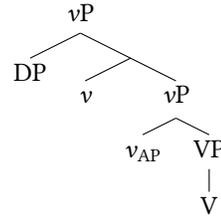
- Interestingly, this behavior of passives and antipassives under sluicing is not universal across languages:

  – The equivalent of English (37) is grammatical in Nukuoro (41).
  – The equivalent of Kaqchikel (38) is grammatical in Chamorro (42).

(41) Soni   gu **boogia ina** mai, gai au e   dee iloo be go ai.
      Johnny INC catch.CIA INA DIR but 1SG NPST NEG know c FOC who
      'Johnny was caught, but I don't know who.'

(42) **Mang-guaiya** si   Julia, lao ti   hu tungu' håyi.
      AGR.AP-love   UNM Julia but not AGR know   who
      'Julia loves (someone), but I don't know who.'   (Chung 2013:35)

- I attribute this contrast to the ability of these structures to introduce an implicit argument in Nukuoro and Chamorro, a tack also taken by Chung (2013).

  – Chung (2013) argues that antipassive constructions in Chamorro have implicit objects (e.g., Baker 1988), which can optionally be modified by an overt PP argument.
  – The antipassive morpheme *maN-* realizes *v* in the context of an implicit argument.

(43) a. Mang-guaiya si   Julia Ø_DP.
         AGR.AP-love   UNM Julia
         'Julia loves (someone).'
      b. Mang-guaiya hao [Ø_DP [PP as   Pedro]].
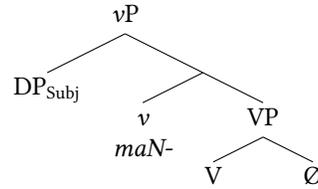   AGR.AP-love   you   OBL Pedro
         'You love Pedro.'

  – I propose that the same is true of Nukuoro constructions with *-(C)ia*: they introduce an implicit subject argument, a claim that has also been made of so-called "passives" in Tongan (Otsuka 2012).

- The proposed structures of Nukuoro passives and Chamorro antipassives are provided in (44) and (45).

(44) Nukuoro passive

```
           vP
          /  \
         Ø    \
              / \
          v_PASS  VP
         -(C)ia + ina  / \
                      V   DP_Obj
```
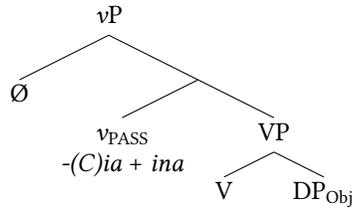
(45) Chamorro antipassive

```
           vP
          /  \
     DP_Subj  \
              / \
             v   VP
           maN-  / \
                V   Ø
```

- These implicit arguments provide an available correlate for the *wh*-remnant, unlike in English and Kaqchikel, which allows sluicing to be licit.

▷ In short, while ungrammatical voice mismatches have been taken as evidence for syntactic identity, they can also be ruled out under a theory that requires an available indefinite correlate.

    – On this view, we expect to find languages where voice mismatches are permitted in cases where correlates are available, which is exactly what we find in SEG languages.

4 Conclusions

- **Empirical claim:** Cross-linguistically, Ā-movement shows fewer restrictions under ellipsis: not just for islands, but also for argument extraction restrictions (7).

    (7) **Sluicing-extraction generalization (SEG)**:
        If a language has a sluicing construction and a restriction on Ā-extraction, that restriction will not constrain sluicing.

- **Theoretical claim:** Apparent syntactic mismatches that arise due to argument extraction restrictions should be accounted for in a unified way.

    – I've attempted to outline how one approach, namely LF-copying (Chung et al. 1995), can capture the lack of movement restrictions under sluicing across the board.

    – This account makes testable predictions about the (non-)existence of implicit arguments in voice constructions cross-linguistically, which should correlate with the ability to sluice on those arguments.

- Detailed work on argument extraction restrictions under sluicing has previously been limited to Kaqchikel (Ranero 2021) and Nupe (Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021).

    – Exploring this behavior in more languages, including diagnostics of sluicing and pseudosluicing, is crucial to understanding the breath of the SEG.

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