Maintaining syntactic identity under sluicing: Pseudoclefts and voice (mis)matches

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1. Introduction

It is well-known that sluicing, which refers to clausal ellipsis that strands a *wh*-phrase, is constrained by an identity condition of some kind (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001). An example of an English sluice is provided in (1); following standard terminology, the first clause is the *antecedent*, which determines the interpretation of the elided constituent, the *wh*-phrase is the *remnant*, and the elided portion is the *sluice*, which is written in angle brackets.

(1) Johnny dropped something, but I don't know what <*Johnny dropped*>.

Many have argued that the identity condition on sluicing is at least partially syntactic (Fiengo & May 1994; Chung 2006, 2013; Merchant 2013; Ranero 2019, 2021; Rudin 2019), though the strength of this syntactic condition has been debated. Merchant's (2013) head-based syntactic identity condition in (2) represents a standard formulation, which I adopt here as a baseline.

(2) *Syntactic identity condition* (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.

As work on sluicing has expanded beyond European languages, two potential challenges to syntactic identity have arisen. The first is pseudocleft sluicing: Potsdam (2007) shows that pseudocleft *wh*-questions in Malagasy can undergo sluicing with a non-pseudocleft antecedent, even though the sluice and the antecedent are syntactically non-identical. Second, Ranero (2019, 2021) and Chung (2006, 2013) show that some voice mismatches in Kaqchikel, Malagasy, and Chamorro are grammatical under sluicing, specifically those enforced by extraction restrictions. The response to these two challenges has either been to eliminate syntactic identity, relying on a fully semantic identity condition (Potsdam 2007), or to modify the syntactic identity condition to rule in grammatical voice mismatches, while continuing to rule them out in languages like English (Ranero 2019, 2021).

In this paper, I present novel sluicing data from Nukuoro (Polynesian-Outlier; Micronesia) to demonstrate that these two challenges can be accounted for under a syntactic identity condition. First, I argue that pseudocleft sluicing involves ellipsis of a smaller antecedent, namely a relative IP (cf. Lipták 2015), which is syntactically identical to the matrix antecedent. Second, I show that apparent voice mismatches can be analyzed as ergative extraction repair under ellipsis, as has been identified for islands (Ross 1969) and *that*-trace effects (Perlmutter 1971). This latter analysis provides insight into the nature of extraction restrictions, specifically that they should be analyzed like islands or *that*-trace effects (e.g., Coon et al. 2014; Erlewine 2016), PF violations, or agreement phenomena (e.g., Pearson 2005; Stiebels 2006).

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2. Background on Nukuoro

The empirical focus of this paper is Nukuoro, an endangered Polynesian-Outlier language spoken by approximately 1,200 people in the Federated States of Micronesia. All Nukuoro data presented in this paper comes from my own fieldwork on Pohnpei, Nukuoro Atoll, and over Zoom from 2015–present.[1]

Nukuoro is a highly analytic language with basic SVO word order, as shown in (3). Core arguments are not marked for case, and there is no verbal agreement with subjects or objects.

(3) Soni ne lingi de koovee.
Johnny PFV spill DET coffee
'Johnny spilled the coffee.'

Nukuoro uses a genitive relative clause construction, where pre-verbal subjects of relative clauses appear in genitive case. Genitive is marked either with a genitive pronoun or by the particle *a* or *o* before proper and common nouns (4). No complementizer can appear in relative clauses, suggesting that they embed a clausal constituent smaller than CP—namely, IP.

(4) de nui { **aau** / **a de gauligi** } ne gage
DET coconut.tree 2SG.GEN GEN DET child PFV climb
'the coconut tree that {you / the child} climbed'

Relative clauses are subject to an ergative extraction restriction (Drummond 2021). While intransitive subjects and transitive objects can be relativized using an unmarked gap (5a), relativizing a transitive subject requires the verb to appear in passive voice, marked by an idiosyncratic verbal suffix *-Cia* (where C represents a lexically-defined consonant) plus the optional particle *ina* (5b).[2] A canonical Nukuoro passive is provided in (6): the patient is promoted to pre-verbal subject position, and the agent is demoted to an optional oblique phrase marked by the general preposition *i*.

(5) Ergative extraction restriction

a. Go ai adaau ne tugi laa?
FOC who 1DU.GEN PFV hit DIST
'Who did we hit?'

b. Go ai ne *tugi / **duugia** (**ina**) Soni?
FOC who PFV hit / hit.PASS PASS Johnny
'Who hit Johnny?'

(6) Passive voice

a. Gilaadeu gu hagaduu dogu hale.
3PL INC build my house
'They built my house.'

b. Dogu hale ne **hagaduulia** (**ina**) (i de gau laa).
my house PFV build.PASS PASS PREP DET people DIST
'My house was built (by those people).'

Finally, Nukuoro *wh*-questions use a pseudocleft construction, which consists of a predicate *wh*-phrase that takes a headless relative clause as its subject (7a). The headless relative clause occupies canonical subject position, which I take to be Spec,TP. Following Potsdam (2007), I assume that the predicate *wh*-phrase fronts to the specifier of a high functional head, which I label F. Embedded *wh*-questions use the same pseudocleft structure under the complementizer *be* (7b).

[1] I follow Leipzig glossing conventions, and maintain original glossing for cited examples. Non-standard abbreviations include: A = set A agreement; AF = Agent Focus voice; AP = antipassive voice; AT = actor topic voice; B = set B agreement; C = complementizer; COM = completive; DIR = directional; INC = inchoative aspect; PERF = perfective; PREP = preposition; PRT = particle; S = singular agreement; STAT = stative; TT = theme topic voice.

[2] The *-Cia suffix has a variety of functions across Polynesian languages, and in ergative Polynesian languages in particular it is often described as a "transitivizer" or an agent defocuser, rather than a true passive (Chung 1978; Otsuka 2012). I follow Cook (1996) and assume that Nukuoro *-Cia* instantiates a passive voice head, but it is also possible under my analysis that *-Cia* is the realization of some other functional head associated with the passive.

(7) a. [$_{PredP}$ Go ai] [$_{DP}$ Ø [$_{IP}$ a Soni ne gidee]]?
FOC who GEN Johnny PFV see
'Who did Johnny see?'

b. Au e dee iloo be [$_{PredP}$ go ai] [$_{DP}$ Ø [$_{IP}$ a Soni ne gidee]].
I NPST NEG know C FOC who GEN Johnny PFV see
'I don't know who Johnny saw.'

The relative head in a pseudocleft is typically null, but it may also be overt in Nukuoro. Common "dummy" heads include demonstratives like *deelaa* 'that (one)' and nouns like *dangada* 'person' (8).

(8) Go ai { Ø / **deelaa** / **tangada** } aau ne gidee?
FOC who DEM.SG DET.person 2SG.GEN PFV see
'Who did you see?'

3. Pseudocleft sluicing

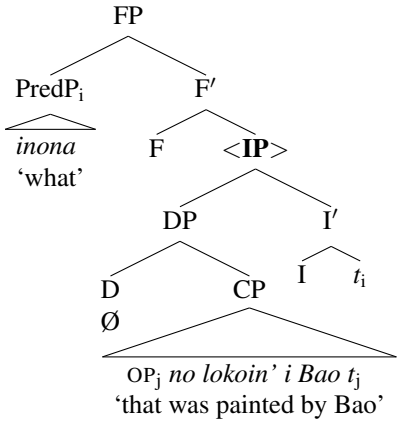
Sluicing in languages with pseudocleft *wh*-questions presents a challenge to syntactic identity: if the sluice has a pseudocleft structure but the antecedent does not, the two seem inherently non-identical in the syntax. In this section, I argue instead that pseudocleft sluicing targets a smaller, non-pseudocleft constituent, namely a relative IP (cf. Lipták 2015). Relative IP ellipsis allows the sluice to be syntactically identical to the antecedent, complying with a syntactic identity condition on ellipsis.

Potsdam (2007) uses sluicing data from Malagasy (Austronesian; Madagascar), a language with pseudocleft *wh*-questions, to argue against a syntactic identity condition. An example of a Malagasy sluice is provided in (9), where only the embedded *wh*-word survives sluicing.[3]

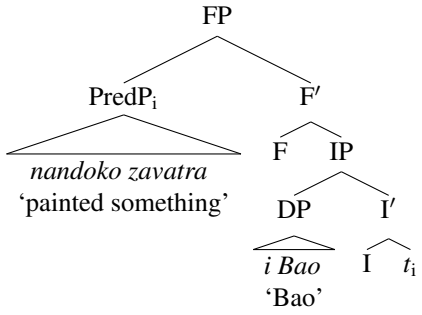
(9) nandoko zavatra i Bao fa hadinoko hoe inona <no nolokoin' i Bao>.
paint.AT thing Bao but forget.TT.1SG COMP what PRT paint.TT Bao
'Bao painted something but I forget what <*was painted by Bao*>.' (Potsdam 2007:584)

Potsdam assumes that Malagasy sluicing involves ellipsis of the clausal IP, which contains the subject relative clause DP in its specifier (10). Here, ellipsis is notated by placing the phrasal label in angle brackets (<**IP**>). Since the antecedent need not contain a pseudocleft structure (11), Potsdam concludes that pseudocleft sluicing cannot be accounted for under syntactic identity.

(10) Sluice structure (Potsdam 2007:590)



(11) Antecedent structure (Potsdam 2007:589)



However, this argument relies on the crucial assumption that it is the matrix IP which undergoes ellipsis. I show instead that pseudocleft sluicing simply targets the relative clause IP in subject position, based on evidence from Nukuoro sluicing. Like Malagasy, Nukuoro has a sluicing construction despite having pseudocleft *wh*-questions (12), where only the embedded *wh*-word survives.

[3] Malagasy features a subject-only restriction on extraction (Keenan 1976). As such, example (9) contains a grammatical voice mismatch between actor and theme topic voice; I account for such voice mismatches in Section 4.

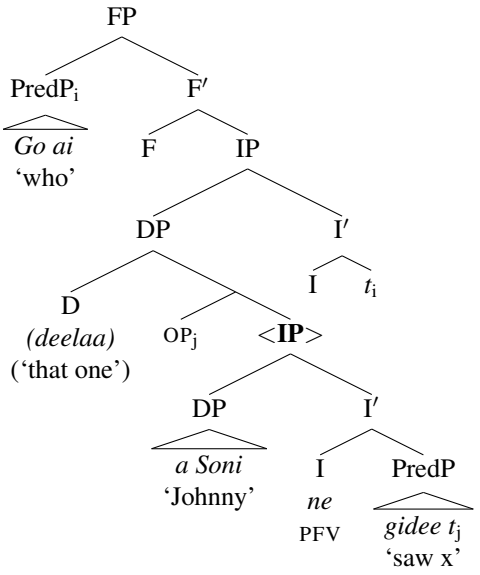
(12) Soni ne gidee dahi dangada, gai au e dee iloo be go ai <a Soni ne gidee>.
Johnny PFV see one person but I NPST NEG know C FOC who GEN Johnny PFV see
'Johnny saw someone, but I don't know who *<Johnny saw>*.'

Since pseudoclefts are biclausal, there are two possibilities for clausal ellipsis: the matrix IP or the relative IP within the subject DP.[4] When the relative head is null, as it is in (12), we cannot tell which IP is elided—all functional heads that would disambiguate are not pronounced. However, when the relative head is overt in Nukuoro, it remains outside of the sluice, as shown in (13).

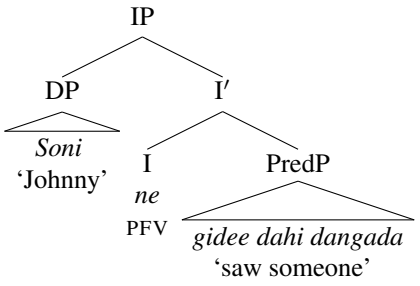
(13) Soni ne gidee dahi dangada, gai au e dee iloo be go ai **deelaa**.
Johnny PFV see one person but I NPST NEG know C FOC who DEM.SG
'Johnny saw someone, but I don't know who.'

Since the relative head is not contained within the ellipsis site, sluicing must target the relative clause IP rather than the matrix IP. Crucially, the relative clause IP has a typical clause structure—not a pseudocleft—and thus is syntactically identical to the antecedent, modulo case marking.[5] The relative clause ellipsis analysis is provided in (14), with its identical antecedent provided in (15).

(14) Nukuoro sluice structure



(15) Nukuoro antecedent structure



Before we go on, it is important to note that Nukuoro constructions like (12) and (13) do actually involve clausal ellipsis, and should not be analyzed as copular or cleft constructions (e.g., pseudosluicing or spading). Nukuoro sluices with and without *deelaa* pass diagnostics for sluicing, namely sprouting and *else*-modification (Merchant 2001:121-122). Both tests should be grammatical under sluicing, but ungrammatical if the construction involves pseudosluicing. In Nukuoro, sprouting (16) and *else*-modification (17) are permitted in constructions with or without overt relative heads, indicating that both constructions involve ellipsis of a clausal constituent.

(16) Soni gu haga-mmuni de sseene, gai au e dee iloo be go hee (deelaa).
Johnny INC CAUS-hide DET money but I NPST NEG know C FOC where DEM.SG
'Johnny hid the money, but I don't know where.' [sprouting]

[4] Although it has been claimed that ellipsis is only effected by interrogative C heads (e.g., Lobeck 1995; Merchant 2001), relative clause ellipsis has been identified in a number of languages, including Hungarian (Lipták 2015), Brazilian Portuguese (Rodrigues et al. 2009), and Gungbe (Lipták & Aboh 2013).

[5] The subject of the relative clause appears with genitive morphology, while the antecedent subject appears in unmarked case. I assume that genitive is assigned into the relative clause by the higher D^0, and that this exceptional case marking does not count as non-identical for the purposes of syntactic identity.

(17) Soni gu kave Mina gi de market, gai au e dee iloo be go ai (deelaa) angeange.
Johnny INC send Mina to DET market but I NPST NEG know C FOC who DEM.SG other
'Johnny sent Mina to the market, but I don't know who else.' [*else*-modification]

We've established that relative IP ellipsis is a viable analysis for Nukuoro pseudocleft sluicing—what about Malagasy? Potsdam (p.c.) notes that the demonstrative *izany* 'that' may survive sluicing in Malagasy (18), a construction which looks superficially like the Nukuoro construction in (13). However, more investigation is needed to determine whether this construction is true sluicing or pseudosluicing.

(18) nividy zavatra ny mpianatra fa tsy fantatro hoe inona **izany**.
bought something the student but not know.1SG COMP what that
'The student bought something but I don't know what it was.' (Potsdam, p.c.)

A prediction of the relative IP ellipsis analysis is that material in the left periphery of the relative clause might survive sluicing; this prediction is borne out in Hungarian, for instance, where the relativizer survives ellipsis (Lipták 2015). Nukuoro has no such material, since relative clauses are IPs. Malagasy, on the other hand, has a relativizer *izay* and a particle *no*, which Potsdam (2007) argues is in C. Unlike in Hungarian, these particles cannot survive sluicing in Malagasy, as shown in (19) and (20).

(19) nividy zavatra ny mpianatra fa tsy fantatro hoe inona (***izay**).
bought something the student but not know.1SG COMP what REL
'The student bought something but I don't know what.' (Potsdam, p.c.)

(20) nisy olona nihomehy ka nanontany ianao hoe iza (***no**).
exist person laughed and ask.AT 2SG.NOM COMP who PRT
'Someone laughed and you asked who.' (Potsdam 2007:584)

Cross-linguistically, however, C heads that immediately dominate sluices are often unexpectedly absent (Lobeck 1995; Merchant 2001:74-82), even if they are otherwise obligatory in non-sluiced constructions. For this reason, we might want to attribute the lack of overt C to phonological conditions on sluicing instead of syntactic ones. It has been noted in the literature, for instance, that remnants escaping clausal ellipsis must be able to bear stress (Sprouse 2006; Sáez 2011). Lipták (2015) shows that Hungarian relativizers may independently bear stress, which allows them to survive sluicing. It is possible, then, that Malagasy C heads may not bear stress, which prevents them from being pronounced outside of the ellipsis site. This hypothesis awaits further research.

To summarize, pseudocleft sluicing is compatible with a syntactic identity condition if ellipsis targets the relative clause IP, rather than the matrix IP. This analysis is supported by evidence from Nukuoro, and may be possible for Malagasy sluices as well.

4. Voice mismatches

Voice mismatches are ruled out under a syntactic identity condition—a welcome result for languages like English, where active-passive mismatches are ungrammatical under sluicing (21).

(21) Voice mismatches (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*>.

However, several languages *do* appear to allow voice mismatches under sluicing, particularly those that use voice to obviate an extraction restriction, like Kaqchikel (Ranero 2019, 2021). In Kaqchikel, ergative subjects may only be extracted if the verb uses Agent Focus (AF) voice (22a). If the *wh*-remnant of a sluice is an ergative subject, the implied voice of the sluice is AF, which mismatches with active voice in the antecedent (22b).

(22) Kaqchikel (Ranero 2019:5-7)
a. Achike *x-Ø-u-tej **/ x-Ø-tj-o** nu-way?
who COM-B3S-A3S-eat / COM-B3S-eat-**AF** A1S-tortilla
'Who ate my tortillas?'

b. **X-Ø-u-lōq'** jun monton kotz'i'j jun wināq, po man w-etama-n ta achike
COM-B3S-A3S-buy one bunch flower one person but NEG A1S-know-PERF NEG which
wināq <**x-Ø-loq'-o** jun monton kotz'i'j>.
person COM-B3S-buy-**AF** one bunch flowers
'Some person bought a bunch of flowers, but I don't know which person.'

These grammatical voice mismatches present a challenge for strict syntactic identity, which ought to rule them out. Accordingly, previous accounts of grammatical mismatches have weakened the syntactic identity condition to allow certain mismatches but not others (e.g., Ranero 2019, 2021).

I argue that no such weakening is necessary to account for grammatical voice mismatches; rather, I suggest that extraction restrictions are repaired by ellipsis, along the same lines as islands (Ross 1969) and *that*-trace violations (Perlmutter 1971). Under this analysis, what appear to be voice "mismatches" are actually voice *matches* plus repair under ellipsis. This type of analysis was first outlined by Chung (2006), but later rejected by Chung (2013) and Ranero (2021); I briefly outline challenges to their alternative approaches in Section 4.3.

4.1. Nukuoro voice (mis)matches

As in Kaqchikel, Nukuoro extraction restrictions allow us to infer the verb form contained within the sluice. If the *wh*-remnant is a transitive subject, the voice in the sluice is presumably passive to comply with the ergative extraction restriction (23). I will refer to these passives as *ergative extraction passives* to distinguish them from canonical passives.

(23) Go ai ne *tugi / **duugia** **ina** Soni?
FOC who PFV hit / hit.PASS PASS Johnny
'Who hit Johnny?'

Nukuoro allows the voice forced by ergative extraction to freely co-occur with any voice in the antecedent. When the *wh*-phrase of a sluice corresponds to an ergative argument, the implied voice of the sluice is passive. If there is active voice in the antecedent, this yields an apparent active-passive mismatch (24).

(24) 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.PASS PASS me
'Somebody hit me, but I don't know who <hit me>.'

Furthermore, an ergative extraction passive may co-occur with a passive antecedent (25). Although this may be somewhat surprising, given that these types of examples are ungrammatical in English, note that these examples actually constitute a voice *match* in Nukuoro: passive voice is found in both the antecedent and the sluice.

(25) Dahi mee gu **gaiaadia**, gai au e dee iloo be go ai <gu **gaiaadia**>.
one thing INC steal.PASS but I NPST NEG know C FOC who INC steal.PASS
'Something was stolen, but I don't know who <stole (it)>.'

Finally, while Nukuoro allows voice mismatches, other valence-altering morphology cannot mismatch. The sluice cannot contain a causativized form of the antecedent (26), and a stative verb in the antecedent cannot mismatch with its corresponding active transitive form (27).

(26) * De hadu gu dige, gai au e dee iloo be go ai <gu **haga-digelia** ina>.
DET stone INC roll but 1SG NPST DET know C FOC who INC CAUS-roll.PASS PASS
Intended: 'The stone rolled, but I don't know who <rolled it>.'

(27) * Denga kaba gu **ma-oha**, gai au e dee iloo be go ai <gu **oha** ina>.
DET.PL cup INC STAT-break but I NPST NEG know C FOC who INC break PASS
Intended: 'The cups broke, but I don't know who <broke them>.'

The Nukuoro pattern is similar to Ranero's (2019) findings for Kaqchikel, where the voice forced by ergative extraction, namely Agent Focus, can freely co-occur with active and passive voices (Ranero 2019:8). Other voice mismatches, such as antipassive-active, are ungrammatical (28).

(28) * Yïn **x-i-loq'-on**=pe pa k'ayib'äl. Ta-wla achike <**x-Ø-in-löq'**=pe>!
1SG COM-B1S-buy-**AP**=DIR PREP market IMP-guess what COM-B3S-A3S-buy=DIR
Intended: 'I bought (something) at the market. Guess what!' (Ranero 2019:7)

The generalization that emerges from both languages is that verbal inflection due to extraction can freely mismatch, while other verbal inflection cannot. In the next section, I propose that this pattern arises because extraction restrictions can be repaired by sluicing, in a manner akin to island repair.

4.2. Repair under ellipsis

It is well known that ellipsis repairs certain types of syntactic violations, including islands (Ross 1969) and *that*-trace effect violations (Perlmutter 1971), among others.[6] For instance, sluicing repairs a number of islands in Nukuoro, including adjunct clause islands, coordinate islands, and complex NP islands. Here, I demonstrate Nukuoro island repair using an adjunct clause island (29).

(29) Adjunct clause island in Nukuoro

a. * Go ai a Mina e hano noo Soni e tugi?
FOC who GEN Mina NPST go if Johnny NPST hit
Intended: 'Who will Mina leave if Johnny hits?'

b. Mina e hano noo Soni e tugi dahi dangada. Koe e iloo be go ai?
Mina NPST leave if Johnny NPST hit one person you NPST know C FOC who
'Mina will leave if Johnny hits someone. Do you know who?'

A prominent analysis of island repair suggests that islands are PF violations, rather than narrowly syntactic ones, which allows them to be repaired by non-pronunciation (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013; Lasnik & Funakoshi 2018). For simplicity, I will represent island violations with a star ✯ (Chomsky 1971, 1972): ungrammaticality arises if this diacritic survives the derivation, but if the diacritic is deleted by ellipsis, the derivation converges. For instance, (29b) is grammatical because the movement violation ✯ is contained within the ellipsis site (30).

(30) Koe e iloo be go ai <*a Mina e hano* [✯ *noo Soni e tugi*]>?
2SG NPST know C FOC who GEN Mina NPST go if Johnny NPST hit
Do you know who <*Mina will leave if Johnny hits*>?'

With this mechanism established, we can apply the same logic to the voice mismatch data. For the Nukuoro sluices in section 4.1, we assumed that the voice in the elided constituent was faithful to the extraction restriction. In (24), reproduced below, this assumption led us to posit passive voice in the sluice, in accordance with ergative extraction of the *wh*-phrase. With passive voice in the sluice, (24) appears to have a grammatical voice mismatch between the antecedent and the ellipsis site.

(24) 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.PASS PASS me
'Somebody hit me, but I don't know who <hit me>.'

With the repair analysis available, however, an alternative analysis of (24) without a voice mismatch presents itself. Let us assume that illicit A'-movement—namely, movement prohibited by an extraction

[6] Barros (2014) and Barros et al. (2014) argue that there is no island repair under ellipsis; instead, they argue that sluices may be non-isomorphic with the antecedent. However, they do not constrain possible non-isomorphic sources in syntactic terms, so it is unclear how to allow some voice mismatches but rule out others. Furthermore, the non-isomorphic sources they discuss do not seem to be available for the extraction voice sluices. I argue above that Nukuoro sluices do not permit cleft sources, and it is unclear to me how short sources or predicational sources could be applied to the voice mismatch examples.

restriction—creates the same diacritic that island-violating movement does. If the sluice in (24) actually contains active voice, a diacritic is generated by extraction of the ergative *wh*-phrase; however, it is deleted by sluicing, as illustrated in (24′), yielding grammaticality.

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

Under this analysis, (24′) actually has the same voice specification in the antecedent and the sluice, satisfying a syntactic identity condition. What appears to be a voice mismatch is instead an instance of a movement violation repaired by ellipsis.

How, then, do we account for data like (25), where an ergative extraction passive can match with a true passive in the antecedent? There are effectively two options for what structure is in the sluice—it could be the grammatical structure, where the verb appears in passive voice, or the ungrammatical structure, where the ergative is extracted from an active voice clause. I propose that in examples like (25), the voice in the sluice is actually passive, unlike in (24′).

(25) Dahi mee gu **gaiaadia**, gai au e dee iloo be go ai <gu **gaiaadia**>.
one thing INC steal.PASS but I NPST NEG know C FOC who INC steal.PASS
'Something was stolen, but I don't know who <stole (it)>.'

The availability of two derivations under sluicing—one with grammatical movement and one with illicit movement—gives rise to the appearance that extraction voice can match with any voice in the antecedent.

Finally, an island repair analysis explains why other valence-altering mismatches, such as causatives and statives, are ruled out. Since these alternations do not involve illicit movement, they cannot be repaired under ellipsis. Instead, they are simply ruled out by syntactic identity.

4.3. Alternative analyses

Chung (2013) and Ranero (2019, 2021) do not adopt an island repair analysis, and instead account for voice mismatches in Chamorro and Kaqchikel by weakening the syntactic identity condition on ellipsis. However, their alternative approaches run into some challenges, which I briefly describe here.

Chung (2013) allows grammatical antipassive-active mismatches in Chamorro by reducing syntactic identity to argument structure isomorphism and a Case-licensing requirement—namely, that the remnant must be Case-licensed by the same head that licenses the corresponding argument in the antecedent. However, as Ranero (2021) points out, the Case component of Chung's proposal has been met with substantial counterarguments (see, e.g., Barros 2014; Thoms 2015; Rudin 2019), which show that some Case-licensing mismatches are in fact permitted. For this reason, I set aside Chung's (2013) analysis and adopt her earlier island repair analysis of Chamorro mismatches (Chung 2006).

To account for Kaqchikel mismatches, Ranero (2019, 2021) proposes a modified syntactic identity condition which evaluates *featural non-distinctness* rather than true identity (31). He argues that Agent Focus morphology in Kaqchikel actually realizes the *absence* of Voice^0, which is considered non-distinct from a Voice head in the antecedent.

(31) *Syntactic identity condition* (Ranero 2019, 2021)
Antecedent and material properly contained within the ellipsis site must be featurally non-distinct.

Under this view, syntactic identity only rules out heads which are present in both clauses but with distinct featural specifications—for instance, active and passive voice in English. However, if a head is present in one clause but absent in another, syntactic identity is satisfied because the two clauses are non-distinct. This allows AF clauses, which have no Voice^0 head, to co-occur with any other Voice specification, while ruling out combinations of featurally-specified voices like antipassive and active.

I see two major issues with a non-distinctness analysis, one specific to Nukuoro and one more broad. First, it seems unlikely that Nukuoro passive morphology—a verbal suffix and a distinct particle *ina*—would realize the absence of Voice^0, and there is no independent evidence that ergative extraction clauses

in Nukuoro lack a Voice^0 head. Second, featural non-distinctness seems too permissive in that it allows functional structure to lack a correlate in the other clause. For instance, it incorrectly predicts that stative and causative mismatches should be grammatical, since the only difference between the two clauses is the presence of a stative or causative head. However, as we've already seen in this paper, these types of mismatches are ruled out in Nukuoro and other languages, including English (Rudin 2019). In short, non-distinctness seems to overgenerate and cannot account for the Nukuoro data at hand.

5. Conclusion and implications

Using novel sluicing data from Nukuoro, a language with non-canonical *wh*-movement and an extraction restriction, I have shown that we can maintain syntactic identity in light of pseudocleft sluicing and voice mismatches. Pseudocleft sluices may elide a smaller, non-pseudocleft constituent, namely the relative IP, which allows them to be syntactically identical to their antecedent. Furthermore, apparent voice "mismatches" can be analyzed as voice matches plus repair under ellipsis. In this way, these two challenges can be understood without discarding or modifying a syntactic identity condition.

If we accept that extraction restrictions can be repaired under sluicing, sluicing data may be used to discriminate between different analyses of extraction restrictions. For instance, the analysis presented here dovetails nicely with analyses that derive extraction restrictions with the same mechanism used to capture islands (Coon et al. 2014) or *that*-trace effects (Erlewine 2016). Alternatively, we might propose that extraction restrictions are a different type of PF phenomena, such that they may be repaired by non-pronunciation (see also Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021). One potential analysis that fits this bill is developed by Tollan & Clemens (2021), who argue that syntactic ergativity can be attributed to a processing constraint on crossed dependencies (e.g., Fodor 1978). If the offending dependencies were to go unpronounced, the processing constraint might be alleviated. Finally, the mismatch data is also compatible with a view of extraction restrictions as *wh*-agreement (e.g., Pearson 2005; Stiebels 2006), since agreement can mismatch more broadly under ellipsis. This account has been fruitfully applied to voice mismatches in languages with a Philippine-type voice system, such as Malagasy (Chung 2006).

However, there are some analyses of extraction restrictions that seem to be incompatible with a repair-under-ellipsis analysis. Polinsky (2016), for instance, argues that ergative extraction restrictions can be derived by positing a semantically light adposition which case-licenses ergative subjects. If both P-stranding and pied-piping of that light P are disallowed in such a language, the result is a ban on ergative extraction. However, sluicing famously does not repair P-stranding or pied-piping violations (Merchant 2001): if a preposition must pied-pipe under typical *wh*-movement, it must also pied-pipe under sluicing (32).

(32) Greek (Merchant 2001: 94–100)

a. * Pjon milise me?
who she.spoke with
'Who did she speak with?'

b. I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero *(me) pjon.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know with who
'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know with whom.'

If extraction restrictions are to be attributed to a combination of P-stranding and pied-piping violations, we do not expect that those restrictions would be repaired under sluicing. The availability of voice mismatches under sluicing thus constitutes an argument against a prepositional analysis of ergative extraction in a particular language. In this way, sluicing provides a new lens though which to evaluate extraction restrictions cross-linguistically.

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