

“Sluicing” in Hmong (A-Hmao)¹

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Sluicing is the name given by Ross (1969) to the ellipsis construction illustrated in which an interrogative clause is reduced to only a *wh*-phrase. Sluicing is typically analyzed as *wh*-movement followed by IP deletion. (Lasnik 1999, Merchant 2001) If *wh*-movement is a prerequisite for sluicing, how about a *wh*-in-situ language which is generally defined as a language without overt *wh*-movement? Two competing approaches are still under hot debate. One approach assumes that ‘sluicing’ in a *wh*-in-situ language pattern the same with the sluicing of a *wh*-movement language such as English, i.e., overt movement followed by IP-deletion. The other approach proposes that a ‘sluice’ in a *wh*-in-situ language does not instantiate sluicing as found in a *wh*-movement language. The purpose of this paper is to provide empirical data from another apparent *wh*-in-situ language—Hmong, and concludes that the evidences from Hmong in favor of the second approach. What appears to be ‘sluicing’ in Hmong is in fact a pseudosluice.

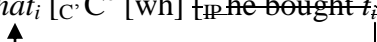
1. Introduction

1.1 Issues of Sluicing in the Literature

Sluicing is the name given by Ross (1969) to the ellipsis construction illustrated in (1a) in which an interrogative clause is reduced to only a *wh*-phrase. Sluicing is typically analyzed as *wh*-movement followed by IP deletion, as shown in (1b): (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001)

(1)a. John bought something, but I don’t know what.

b. John bought something, but I don’t know $[_{CP} \textit{what}_i [_{C'} C^0 [\textit{wh}] [_{IP} \textit{he bought } t_i]]]$



If *wh*-movement is a prerequisite for sluicing, how about a *wh*-in-situ language which is generally defined as a languages without overt *wh*-movement?

In the literature, there are two competing approaches still under hot debate. One

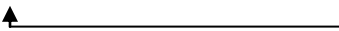
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approach assumes that 'sluicing' in a *wh*-in-situ language pattern the same with the sluicing of a *wh*-movement language such as English, i.e., overt *wh*-movement followed by IP-deletion. The other approach proposes that a 'sluice' in a *wh*-in-situ language does not instantiate sluicing as found in a *wh*-movement language like English.

In line with the first approach, sluicing in Chinese is argued to be derived from the overt movement of *wh*-phrases, called focus movement, which feed IP ellipsis. (Wang 2002, Wang and Wu 2005, Chiu 2007)

Chinese:

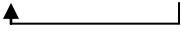
(2)a. Zhangsan maile jige dongxi, keshi wo bu zhidao shi shenme.
Zhangsan bought a thing but I not know be what
 'Zhangsan bought something, but I don't know what.'

b. ...keshi wo bu zhidao [CP shi [FOCP *shenme*_i FOC [_{IP} ~~Zhangsan maile *t*_i~~]
but I not know be what *Zhangsan bought*

 '...what Zhangsan bought.'

Likewise, Tskahashi (1993, 1994) assumes a PF-deletion approach to Japanese sluicing, and argues that 'scrambling' of a *sh*-XP to SpecCP counts as *wh*-movement.

Japanese:

(3)a. Dareka-ga sono hon-o yon-da ga, watashi-wa dare ka
someone-NOM that book-ACC read-PAST but I-TOP who Q
wakaranai.
know.not
 'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'

b. ...[CP *dare*_i [_{IP} ~~*t*_i~~ *sono hon o yon da*] *ka*]
who *that book-ACC read-PAST Q*

 '...who read that book.'

For people who are in favor of the second approach, however, argued that the equivalent sluicing structure in Chinese is a simple clause involving a null *pro* and a base-generated *wh*-remnant, i.e. [*pro* (be) *wh*-remnant]: (Adams2004, Wei 2004)

Chinese:

(4)a. Zhangsan maile jige dongxi, keshi wo bu zhidao shi shenme.
Zhangsan bought a thing but I not know be what
 'Zhangsan bought something, but I don't know what.'

- b. ..., keshi wo bu zhidao [*pro*_i shi [*shenme*]].
but I not know be what
 ‘... what it is.’

Various works also argue that the equivalent sluicing in Japanese is actually reduced from the (pseudo-)cleft structure: (Kizu 1997, Merchant 1998, among others)

Japanese:

- (5)a. Dareka-ga sono hon-o yon-da ga, watashi-wa dare ka
someone-NOM that book-ACC read-PAST but I-TOP who Q
 wakaranai.
know.not
 ‘Someone read that book, but I don’t know who.’

- b. ...[CP [IP *pro* dare (da)] ka]
who be Q
 ‘...who it is.’

Under this analysis, the elliptical construction is actually a structure of cleft:

Japanese:

- (6)a. ...[CP [IP *__*_i sono hon-o yon-da]-no]-wa *dare*_i da
that book-ACC read-PAST NOM TOP who be
 ‘...who it is (that *__* read that book).’
- b. [CP [IP *__*_i sono hon-o yon-da]-no]-wa *John*_i da
that book-ACC read-PAST NOM TOP John be
 ‘It is John that read that book.’

The purpose of this paper is to provide empirical data from another apparent *wh*-in-situ language—Hmong (A-Hmao), and to see which analysis can best account for “sluicing” in Hmong.

1.2 “Sluicing” in Hmong (A-Hmao):

A-Hmao is a dialect of Hmong (苗Miao) spoken in the northeast of Yunnan, which is also called “northeastern dialect (滇东北次方言)”. In Hmong (A-Hmao), there exist apparent cases of ‘sluicing’ which resembles English sluicing in having a *wh*-XP as remnant:

- (7) $tsa^{55}nda^{33}$ $a^{21}pu^{22}na^{33}$ $ma^{35}tau^{33}$ i^{53} lu^{53} ηka^{35} ,
TsaDaw *last year* *bought* *one* *CL* *house*
 vie^{22} ku^{55} hi^{53} pau^{53} $(\eta gu^{22})nio^{53}q^{h}a^{55}ndy^{21}$
but *I* *not* *know* *be* *at* *where*
‘TsaDaw bought a house, but I don’t know where.’

At the first glance, ‘sluicing’ structure in Hmong seems to be assimilated English sluicing:

- (8) ...[_{CP} $nio^{53}q^{h}a^{55}ndy^{21}$]_i [_{IP} $tsa^{55}nda^{33}$ t_i $ma^{35}tau^{33}$ i^{53} lu^{53} ηka^{35}]
 at where *TsaDaw* *bought* *one* *CL* *house*
 ↑
‘...where TsaDaw bought a house.’

However, the presence of the copular ηgu^{22} makes Hmong ‘sluicing’ apparently distinct from English sluicing. The copular ηgu^{22} can appear in sluicing (as in (7)), but it is impossible in the embedded questions (as in (9)). If sluicing is derived from embedded questions by IP ellipsis, the copular ηgu^{22} should not be allowed.

- (9) ku^{55} hi^{53} pau^{53} [$(*\eta gu^{22})nio^{53}q^{h}a^{55}ndy^{21}$ ni^{33} $ma^{35}tau^{33}$ i^{53} lu^{53} ηka^{35}]
 I *not* *know* *be* *at* *where* *he* *bought* *one* *CL* *house*
‘I don’t know [where TsaDaw bought a house].’

If we analyze the sluicing-like construction in Hmong as a kind of reduced pseudocleft, the presence of the copular ηgu^{22} can easily be accounted for.

- (10) ...[_{DP} *pro*] (ηgu^{22}) $nio^{53}q^{h}a^{55}ndy^{21}$
 be *where*
‘...where it is.’

Under this analysis, the copula may show up because it originally exists in the underlying pseudocleft structure, as shown in (11):

- (11) ...[_{DP} $ti^{53}t^{h}ice^{33}$ ηgu^{22} [_{IP} $tsa^{55}nda^{33}$ $ma^{35}tau^{33}$ ηka^{35}] i^{55}] (ηgu^{22})
 place *COMP* *TsaDaw* *bought* *house* *DEF* *be*
 $nio^{53}q^{h}a^{55}ndy^{21}$
 at *where*
‘...where the place is that TsaDaw buy a house.’

1.3 Organization

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents two types of question formation in

Hmong and provides evidences to show that Hmong is a genuine *wh*-in-situ language. Section 3 turns to the sluicing-like construction and is in favor against an account in which Hmong sluicing involves overt *wh*-movement. In Section 4 we provide evidences to argue that Hmong ‘sluicing’ is in fact pseudosluicing. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Hmong as a *wh*-in-situ Language

Wh-question in Hmong uses either an in-situ or pseudocleft strategy.

2.1 *wh*-in-situ

Hmong has two strategies for forming *wh*-questions. As shown in (12)-(15), *wh*-phrases may stay in-situ:

(12) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ṅau²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³ qa²¹ndy²² ?
TsaDaw yesterday met who

‘Who did TsaDaw meet yesterday?’

ANS: ni³³ a²¹ṅau²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³ tsa⁵⁵zau²¹
he yesterday met TsaZaw

‘He met TsaZaw yesterday.’

(13) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ṅau²¹ ṁa³⁵ qa²²ɕɿ²² ?
TsaDaw yesterday bought what

‘What did TsaDaw buy yesterday?’

ANS: ni³³ a²¹ṅau²¹ ṁa³⁵ zy⁵⁵zy²²
he yesterday bought potatoes

‘He bought potatoes yesterday.’

(14) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ qa³³dau⁵⁵ndy²¹ ṅau³⁵ zy⁵⁵zy²² ?
TsaDaw when eat potatoes

‘When did Tsadaw eat potatoes?’

ANS: ni³³ a²¹ṅau²¹ ṅau³⁵ zy⁵⁵zy²²
he yesterday eat potatoes

‘He ate potatoes yesterday.’

(15) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ nio⁵³ q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ ṅau³⁵ zy⁵⁵zy²² ?
TsaDaw at where eat potatoes

‘Where did Tsadaw eat potatoes?’

ANS: ni³³ nio⁵³ ṅka³⁵ ṅau³⁵ zy⁵⁵zy²²
he at home eat potatoes

‘He ate potatoes at home.’

There is no evidence of *wh*-movement in such examples. In Hmong, the *wh*-words can

occur within islands and be interpreted as having scope outside the islands i.e., island violations are possible with Hmong *wh*-words:

Insensitive to complex-NP islands:

(16) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ ai⁵³ ntɕ^hæ³³ ɲau³⁵ [*complex-NP island* zau⁵³ ɲgu²² qa²¹ndy³³ hau³³ i⁵⁵]?
TsaDaw most like eat vegetable COMP who cook DEF

‘Who is the person *x* such that TsaDaw like to eat [the vegetable which *x* cook]?’

ANS: zau⁵³ ɲgu²² a⁵⁵ɲie⁵³ hau³³ i⁵⁵
vegetable COMP mother cook DEF
 ‘The vegetable which (his) mother cooks.’

(17) [*complex-NP island* zau⁵³ ɲgu²² qa²¹ndy³³ dei²¹ i⁵⁵] ja⁵⁵ ɲgu³³ɕɿ⁵³ ?
vegetable COMP who sell DEF most cheap

‘Who is the person *x* such that [the vegetable *x* sell] is the cheapest?’

ANS: tsa⁵⁵nda³³ bie²¹ ja⁵⁵ ɲgu³³ɕɿ⁵³
TsaDaw belong most cheap
 ‘TsaDaw’s is the cheapest.’

(18) [*complex-NP island* zau⁵³ ɲgu²² tsa⁵⁵nda³³ qa²¹dau⁵⁵ndy³³ dei²¹ i⁵⁵]
vegetable COMP TsaDaw when sell DEF
 ja⁵⁵ ɲgu³³ɕɿ⁵³ ?
most cheap

‘When is the time *x* such that [the vegetable TsaDaw sell *x*] is the cheapest?’

ANS: ɕœ⁵⁵ntso⁵⁵ dei²¹ i⁵⁵
morning sell DEF
 ‘The one sold in the morning.’

(19) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ ai⁵³ ntɕ^hæ³³ ɲau³⁵ [*complex-NP island* zau⁵³ ɲgu²² a⁵⁵ɲie⁵³
TsaDaw most like eat vegetable COMP mother
 ɲio⁵³ q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ ɲa³⁵ i⁵⁵] ?
at where buy DEF

‘Where is the place *x* such that TsaDaw like to eat [the vegetable which his mother buy at *x*]?’

ANS: ɲio⁵³ ɲau⁵³a²¹la³⁵lie⁵³ ɲa³⁵ i⁵⁵
at MauALaLie buy DEF
 ‘The one bought at MauALaLie.’

Insensitive to wh-islands:

(20) ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ [*wh-island* qa²¹ndy³³ m̩a³⁵ qa⁵⁵ɣ̥³³ tau³³ tsa⁵⁵ndaw³³]?
he want know who buy what to TsaDaw

- ① ‘He wonders [who is the person *x* such that *x* bought what to TsaDaw]?’
 ② ‘He wonders [what is the thing *y* such that who bought *y* to TsaDaw]?’

ANS: ① qa²¹ndy³³ ‘*who*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ a⁵⁵ɲie⁵³ m̩a³⁵ qa⁵⁵ɣ̥³³ tau³³ tsa⁵⁵ndaw³³
he want know mother buy what to TsaDaw

‘He wonders what his mother bought to TsaDaw’

② qa⁵⁵ɣ̥³³ ‘*what*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ qa²¹ndy³³ m̩a³⁵ ɰy⁵⁵ɰy²² tau³³ tsa⁵⁵ndaw³³
he want know who buy potatoes to TsaDaw

‘He wonders who bought potatoes to TsaDaw’

(21) ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ [*wh-island* qa²¹ndy³³ qa³³ndaw⁵⁵ndy²¹ hau³³ zau⁵³]?
he want know who when cook vegetable

- ① ‘He wonders [who is the person *x* such that *x* cooked food when]?’
 ② ‘He wonders [when is the time *y* such that who cooked food]?’

ANS: ① qa²¹ndy³³ ‘*who*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ tsa⁵⁵ndaw³³ qa³³ndaw⁵⁵ndy²¹ hau³³ zau⁵³
he want know TsaDaw when cook vegetable

‘He wonders when TsaDaw cooked the food.’

② qa²¹daw⁵⁵ndy³³ ‘*when*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ qa²¹ndy³³ a²¹ŋaw²¹ hau³³ zau⁵³
he want know who yesterday cook vegetable

‘He wonders who cooked the food yesterday.’

(22) ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ [*wh-island* qa²¹ndy³³ nio⁵³q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ hau³³ zau⁵³]?
he want know who at where cook vegetable

- ① ‘He wonders [who is the person *x* such that *x* cooked food when]?’
 ② ‘He wonders [where is the place *y* such that who cooked food]?’

ANS: ① qa²¹ndy³³ ‘*who*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ tsa⁵⁵ndaw³³ nio⁵³q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ hau³³ zau⁵³
he want know TsaDaw at where cook vegetable

‘He wonders where TsaDaw cooked the food.’

② nio⁵³q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ ‘*where*’ takes wide scope:
 ni³³ ntɕ^hæ³³ pau⁵³ qa²¹ndy³³ nio⁵³ŋga³⁵ hau³³ zau⁵³
he want know who at home cook vegetable

‘He wonders who cooked the food at home.’

2.2 *Wh*-clefts

The second strategy is pseudoclefting. As shown in (23)-(26), the *wh*-phrase appears at the end of the clause with the presence of copular *ŋgu*²²:

- (23) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ŋa²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³ i⁵⁵ ŋgu²² qa²¹ndy²² ?
TsaDaw yesterday met DEF be who
 ‘Who is the person whom TsaDaw met yesterday?’
- (24) tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ŋa²¹ k^hiæ²²tau²² ŋgu²² du²¹ qa²²ɕɿ²² ?
TsaDaw yesterday picked up be thing what
 ‘What is the thing that TsaDaw picked up yesterday?’
- (25) tsa⁵⁵daw³³ ŋa³⁵ ɕy⁵⁵ ŋgu²² qa³³daw⁵⁵ndy²¹ ?
TsaDaw eat potatoes be when
 ‘When is the time that TsaDaw eat potatoes?’
- (26) tsa⁵⁵daw³³ ŋa³⁵ ɕy⁵⁵ɕy²² ŋgu²² nio⁵³ q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³ ?
TsaDaw eat potatoes be at where
 ‘Where is the place that TsaDaw eat potatoes?’

The structures of such examples is an equational sentences [DP be *wh*-pivot], where the first DP is taken as a presupposition, realized as a headed or headless relative clause.

- (27) [DP (tsai⁵³ ŋgu²²) [IP tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ŋa²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³] i⁵⁵] ŋgu²² [qa²¹ndy²²] ?
person COMP TsaDaw yesterday met DEF be who
 ‘Who is the person whom TsaDaw met yesterday?’
- (28) [DP (di³⁵ ŋgu²²) [IP tsa⁵⁵nda³³ a²¹ŋa²¹ ŋa³⁵] i⁵⁵] ŋgu²² [qa²¹ɕɿ³³] ?
thing COMP TsaDaw yesterday eat DEF be what
 ‘What is the thing which TsaDaw ate yesterday?’

Wh-questions like (23)-(26) are base-generated pseudocleft structures, not derived by *wh*-movement. Therefore, we can conclude that Hmong is a genuine *wh*-in-situ language, and no *wh*-movement is involved in the derivation of interrogative sentences.

3. „Sluicing“ in Hmong

3.1 The Existence of the copular *ŋgu*²²

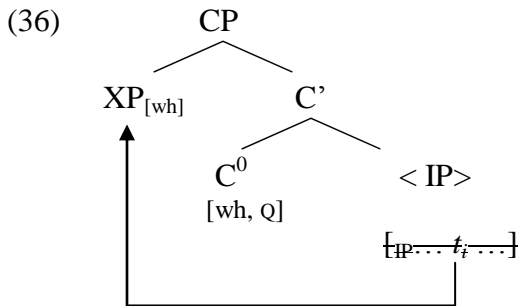
On the first glimpse, ‘sluicing’ sentences in Hmong exhibit great similarities with English ones, except for the striking behavior of the copular *ŋgu*²² with respect to *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts. While *ŋgu*²² is obligatory for ‘sluicing’ with *wh*-argument as in (29)-(30), it is optional for ‘sluicing’ with *wh*-adjunct as in (31)-(35):

- (29) tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ a²¹na^u²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³ i⁵³ lu⁵³ tu⁵⁵nu⁵³/ qa²¹ndy²²,
TsaDaw yesterday meet one CL person who(=someone)
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ *(ŋgu²²) qa²¹ndy²² /lu⁵³ li³³ntɕiaw³³ /tu⁵⁵nu⁵³ nqa³³ɕɿ³³
but I not know be who one which person what
 ‘TsaDaw met someone yesterday, but I don’t know who/ which one/ what person.’
- (30) tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ a²¹na^u²¹ k^hiæ²²tau²² i⁵³ zau⁵³ ttau³³nu⁵³/ qa²²ɕɿ²²,
TsaDaw yesterday picked up one CL thing what(=something)
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ *(ŋgu²²) qa²²ɕɿ²²/ du²¹ qa²²ɕɿ²²
but I not know be what thing what
 ‘TsaDaw picked up something yesterday, but I don’t know what.’
- (31) tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ a²¹pu²²na³³ m̩a³⁵tau³³ i⁵³ lu⁵³ ŋka³⁵,
TsaDaw last year bought one CL house
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ (ŋgu²²)nio⁵³ q^ho⁵⁵ndy³³
but I not know be at where
 ‘TsaDaw bought a house, but I don’t know where.’
- (32) tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ m̩au³³l̩a³³ a⁵⁵nie²¹lau²¹ lœ²²,
TsaDaw went Kunming go
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ (ŋgu²²)qa³³tau⁵⁵ndy³³
but I not know be when
 ‘TsaDaw went to Kunming, but I don’t know when.’
- (33) tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ ntau³³ ŋa⁵⁵jau³³,
TsaDaw beat child
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ (ŋgu²²)ŋu²¹ qa⁵⁵ɕi³³/ a³³li³³ntɕiaw³³na⁵⁵
but I not know be for what why
 ‘TsaDaw beat his child, but I don’t know for what purpose/ why.’
- (34)a. tsa⁵⁵nda^u³³ ntau³³ ŋa⁵⁵jau³³,
TsaDaw beat child
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ (ŋgu²²)a³³li³³ntɕiaw³³ (causal/ method)
but I not know be how
 ‘TsaDaw beat his child, but I don’t know how come/ how.’

- b. $tsa^{55}ndaw^{33}$ $m\grave{a}u^{33}$ $\eta\alpha^{22}$ $mo^{53}ntsaw^{53}$,
TsaDaw *go* *see* *sickness*
 vie^{22} ku^{55} hi^{53} pau^{53} $(\eta gu^{22})\alpha^{33}li^{33}nt\check{c}iaw^{33}$ *(resultative)*
but *I* *not* *know* *be* *how*
 ‘TsaDaw has seen a doctor, but I don’t know how.’

- (35) zau^{53} hue^{55} $ngu^{33}ta^{55}$,
vegetable *very* *expansive*
 vie^{33} ku^{55} hi^{53} pau^{53} $(\eta gu^{22})ngu^{33}ta^{55}$ $li^{33}nt\check{c}iaw^{33}$
but *I* *not* *know* *be* *expansive* *how*
 ‘The price for vegetables is very expensive, but I don’t know how expensive.’

The distribution of the copular ηgu^{22} in Hmong immediately encounters a difficulty if we attempt to assimilate Hmong sluicing to English sluicing, i.e., overt *wh*-movement and deletion analysis. If the sluicing in Hmong is derived from the way as in (36), the copular should not appear because there is no copular in the underlying IP-structure:



3.2 No Sloppy Readings Available

‘Sluicing’ in Hmong also differs from English sluicing in that no sloppy reading is available for Hmong.

- (37) John knows why he gets married, Marry also knows why.
 a. *Strict Reading:* Marry also knows why he (=John) gets married.
 b. *Sloppy Reading:* Marry also knows why she (=Marry) gets married.

- (38) tsa⁵⁵ndau³³ pau⁵³ ni³³/zio²² a³³li³³tɕiauw³³na⁵⁵ ndzau je³³su³³,
TsaDaw know he/self why believe Jesus
 tsa⁵⁵zau²¹ ɭa²² pau⁵³ *(ɲgu²²) a³³li³³tɕiauw³³na⁵⁵
TsaZaw also know be why
 “TsaDaw knows why he believes in Jesus, TsaZaw also knows why.”
 a. *Strict Reading:* TsaZaw also knows why he (=TsaDaw) believes in Jesus.
 b. *#Sloppy Reading:* TsaZaw also knows why he (=TsaZaw) believes in Jesus.
- (39) tsa⁵⁵ndau³³ pau⁵³ ɲgu²² ni³³/zio²² tɕau³³ qa²¹ndy²²,
TsaDaw know COMP he/self invite who
 tsa⁵⁵zau²¹ ɭa²² pau⁵³ *(ɲgu²²) qa²¹ndy²²
TsaZaw also know be who
 “TsaDaw knows whom he invited, TsaZaw also knows whom.”
 a. *Strict Reading:* TsaZaw also knows whom he (=TsaDaw) invited.
 b. *#Sloppy Reading:* TsaZaw also knows whom he (=TsaZaw) invited.

The strict and sloppy ambiguity is a typical argument for deletion approach to sluicing structure (Ross 1969, Takahashi 1994, Wang and Wu1996). The lack of sloppy readings in Hmong shows that the assimilation to English sluicing is not applicable.

However, the observations we have seen so far can be nicely captured if analyzing ‘sluicing’ in Hmong as a kind of reduced clefts.

4. „Sluicing“in Hmong as Pseudosluicing

Pseudosluicing is defined by Merchant (1998) as an elliptical construction that resembles as true sluice in having only a *wh*-XP as remnant, but has the structure of a (pseudo-)cleft, not of a regular embedded question. It is the property of *pro*-drop (or null-subject/null-expletive) that leads to the confusion of true sluicing with pseudosluicing (Merchant 1998). As a result, it is plausible to assume that the sluicing-like structures in Hmao are actually derived from null subject, and *wh*-in-situ *wh*-pivot, which is taken as a predicate.

- (40) ...[*pro* copular*wh*-pivot]

Under this approach, the main prediction is that the restrictions on a *wh*-pivot of a pseudocleft will be the same as on the *wh*-XP in Hmong ‘sluice’, i.e., pseudosluice. The prediction is evidenced to be correct.

4.1 Necessity and Optionality of the Copular *ngu*²²

The restrictions on the presence of the copular *ngu*²² on the pivot of regular pseudocleft constructions are operative in pseudosluicing structures as well. Comparing (41)-(42) to (43)-(47), *ngu*²² is obligatory for argument-pivot of pseudocleft, but optional for adjunct-pivot of pseudocleft:

- (41) [DP (tsai⁵³ ngu²²) [RC ni³³ a²¹ nau²¹ ntɕɿ⁵³] i⁵⁵] *(ngu²²) tsa⁵⁵ ndaw³³
one COMP he yesterday meet DEF be TsaDaw
 ‘The one that he met yesterday is TsaDaw.’
- (42) [DP (di³⁵ ngu²²) [RC tsa⁵⁵ ndaw³³ a²¹ nau²¹ nau³⁵] i⁵⁵] *(ngu²²) ɕy⁵⁵ ɕy²²
thing COMP TsaDaw yesterday eat DEF be potatoes
 ‘The thing that TsaDaw ate yesterday is potatoes.’
- (43) [DP (ti⁵³ tɕ^hie³³ ngu²²) [RC ni³³ nau³⁵ ɕy⁵⁵ ɕy²²] i⁵⁵] (ngu²²) nio⁵³ ŋka³⁵
place COMP he eat potatoes DEF be at home
 ‘The place that he ate potatoes is home.’
- (44) [DP (ntɕie³⁵ ni³³ nau³³ ngu²²) [RC ni³³ nau³⁵ ɕy⁵⁵ ɕy²²] i⁵⁵] (ngu²²) a²¹ nau²¹
time COMP he eat potatoes DEF be yesterday
 ‘The time that he ate potatoes was yesterday.’
- (45) [DP (k^hau³³ k^hau⁵⁵ ngu²²) [RC [ni³³ nau³³ tɕa³³ a⁵⁵ nie²¹ lau²¹]] (ngu²²) t^ha³³ tɕe³³ nau³³
Method COMP he go to Kunming be use foot walk
 ‘The method that he went to Kunming is on foot.’
- (46) [DP (tɕe⁵³ ngu²²) [RC [ni³³ nau³⁵ mei⁵³ zau⁵³] ni⁵⁵] (ngu²²) pu⁵³ tɕi⁵³ tɕe
money COMP he buy PL vegetable the be five CL money
 ‘The price that he bought these vegetables is five dollars.’
- (47) [DP (nu³³ ngu²²) [RC [tsa⁵⁵ ndaw³³ ntau³³ ŋa⁵⁵ jau²²] i⁵⁵] (ngu²²) hi⁵³ nau lu³⁵ na⁵⁵
thing COMP TsaDaw hit child DEF be not listen word reason
 ‘The reason why TsaDaw spanked his child is for his disobedience.’

4.2 Island Insensitivity

Pseudocleft constructions in Hmong are insensitive to islands:

- (48) [DP [_{complex-NP island} zau⁵³ ngu²² hau³³ hue⁵⁵ qau⁵³] i⁵⁵] ngu²² tsa⁵⁵ ndaw³³
vegetable COMP cook very delicious DEF be TsaDaw
 ‘TsaDaw is the person x such that the food that x cook is delicious.’

- (49) [DP[*complex-NP island* va³³ ngu²² ni³³ nu²² ngu²² tso³³ n̄ia⁵³ na hau³³] i⁵⁵]
rice COMP he for COMP marry wife reason cook DEF
 ngu²² t̄ciau⁵³ li³³ ni³³
be many such
 ‘The amount of the rice that he cooked for wedding is a lot.’

Similarly, the property of island insensitivity is equally attested in pseudosluicing in Hmong:

- (50) tsa⁵⁵ ndau³³ ai⁵³ nt̄œ^hœ³³ n̄au³³ [*complex-NP island* zau⁵³ ngu²² i⁵³ lu⁵³ tu⁵⁵ nu⁵³ hau³³ i⁵⁵],
TsaDaw very like eat vegetable COMP one CL person cook DEF
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ ngu²² qa²¹ ndy²²
but I not know be who
 ‘TsaDaw like to eat the food that someone cooked, but I don’t know who.’
- (51) [*complex-NP island* n̄u³³ ngu²² tsa⁵⁵ ndau³³ n̄tau³³ nda²¹ i⁵³ lu⁵³ tu⁵⁵ nu⁵³]
thing COMP TsaDaw beat death one CL person
 n̄i³³ n̄tsau³³ i⁵³ zo²¹ ly²¹ ly²¹, x^hu⁵⁵ mpw²¹ ts^hœ⁵⁵ ngu²² qa²¹ ndy³³
say through one village whole people guess be who
 ‘The news that TsaDaw killed someone spread through the whole village, and people are guessing who.’
- (52) ku⁵⁵ n̄o⁵⁵ tau³³ [*complex-NP island* mau³³ ngu²² tsa⁵⁵ ndau³³ la⁵⁵ tso³³ n̄iau⁵³,
I heard message COMP TsaDaw will marry wife
 vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ ngu²² qa²¹ ndy³³
but I not know be who
 ‘I heard the news that TsaDaw will marry to some woman, but I don’t know who.’

Under the pseudosluicing approach advocated here, the grammaticality of these examples can be reduced to the fact that pseudocleft in Hmong does not exhibit Subjacency effects.

4.3 Multiple Sluicing

In Hmong, multiple sluicing is rather prevalent:

- (53) m̄a³⁵ tu⁵⁵ nu⁵³ n̄au³⁵ gi²¹ n̄tau³⁵ qu⁵⁵ n̄au³⁵ sau³³, vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau
have person eat table food PERF but I not know
⁵³* (ngu²²) qa²¹ ndy³³, * (ngu²²) qa⁵⁵ s̄ɿ³³, (ngu²²) qa³³ tau⁵⁵ ndy³³
be who be what be when
 ‘??Someone ate the food on the table, but I don’t know who what when.’

- (54) tsa⁵⁵ndaaw³³ ni³³q^{hə}³³ ku⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵zau²¹ tso³³ niau⁵³, vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³
TsaDaw tell I TsaZaw marry wife but I not know
*(ng²²) qa²¹ndy³³, (ng²²) qa³³tau⁵⁵ndy³³, (ng²²) nio⁵³q^{hə}⁵⁵ndy³³
be who be when be at where
 ‘??TsaDaw told me that TsaZaw got married, but I don’t know who when where.’

As show in (55), multiple sluicing in Hmong is also insensitive to islands:

- (55) [*complex-NP island* nu³³ ng²² tsa⁵⁵ndaaw³³ ntau³³ nda²¹ i⁵³ lu⁵³ tu⁵⁵nu⁵³]
thing COMP TsaDaw beat death one CL person
 ni³³ ntsau³³ i⁵³ zo²¹ ly²¹ly²¹, x^hu⁵⁵mpu²¹ ts^hœ⁵⁵ *(ng²²) qa²¹ndy³³,
say through one village whole people guess be who
(ng²²) a³³li³³ntɕiauw³³, (ng²²) nu²¹qa⁵⁵ɕi³³
be how be for what
 ‘??The news that TsaDaw killed someone spread through the whole village, and people are guessing who, how and why.’

It is worthy to note that the *wh*-remnants in multiple sluicing can be scrambled when the copular *ng²²* occurs obligatorily:

- (56) sa⁵⁵ndaaw³³ ni³³q^{hə}³³ ku⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵zau²¹ tso³³ niau⁵³,
TsaDaw tell I TsaZaw marry wife
 a. ..., vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ *(ng²²) qa³³tau⁵⁵ndy³³, *(ng²²) qa²¹ndy³³,
but I not know be when be who
*(ng²²) nio⁵³q^{hə}⁵⁵ndy³³
be at where
 b. ..., vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ *(ng²²) nio⁵³q^{hə}⁵⁵ndy³³, *(ng²²) qa³³tau⁵⁵ndy³³,
but I not know be at where be when
*(ng²²) qa²¹ndy³³
be who
 c. ..., vie²² ku⁵⁵ hi⁵³ pau⁵³ *(ng²²) a³³li³³ntɕiauw³³, *(ng²²) qa³³tau⁵⁵ndy³³,
but I not know be how be when
*(ng²²) qa²¹ndy³³
be who

If we adopt pseudosluicing analysis, multiple sluicing of such examples is easy to obtain. Each *wh*-remnant represents a simple clause [*pro* be *wh*-remnant]. The multiple *wh*-remnants are in fact conjoined clauses:

