Review

# Focus Position Hosting the Stripping Remnant

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## A B S T R A C T

The current paper examines the syntactic properties of HA stripping: a type of ellipsis. Within the Minimalist framework, the paper adopts the PF-Deletion approach to show that stripping in HA is derived firstly by the movement of the remnant constituent from TP to Focus Position (FP), and, secondly, by the deletion of the TP. These two operations are licensed by the Ellipsis feature (E) located in the focus head F°. Thus, on the one hand, the paper contributes to the existing body of literature supporting the hotly-debated issues on the movement of the stripping remnants, and on the other, enriches the very minimal HA studies on ellipsis. The findings show that HA stripped constituents must move to Spec, FP, before the TP-deletion process. Two pieces of evidence in support of the focus movement to FP spring from Island sensitivity and p-stranding facts in HA.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Research on ellipsis, which features the linguistic phenomenon of unpronounced/missing categories, is still ongoing and exhibits controversial topics. Ellipsis "remains difficult to classify, as it appears to involve phonology (due to its similarity to deaccenting), syntax (by virtue of its distribution), semantics (evidenced by its apparent licensing conditions), and pragmatics (because of the cognitive load it imposes)" (Smith, 2001: 167).

The significance of this paper arises from the significance of the dialect it explores and the hotly-debated phenomenon of ellipsis and its types. Hijazi Arabic, a variety spoken in Makkah Province, including the areas of the two Holy Mosques, has been studied by several linguists since 1970s. Within the Generative framework, some studies that we are aware of include Bardeas (2005), Al Barrag (2007), Al Zahrani (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016), Al Barrag & Al Zahrani (2017), (Al Zahrani, 2018, 2020, forthcoming; Al Zahrani & Alzahrani, 2019). These studies have covered some syntactic areas such as Complementizers, Construct States,

Modals and Modalities, Tense and grammatical and lexical Aspect, and negation. However, on the one hand, HA studies on ellipsis are extremely minimal. To the best of our knowledge, there is only one study investigating HA sluicing structures in which Al Zahrani, M., and Al Thagafi, K. (2020) have explored some sluicing-related topics. On the other hand, stripping in HA, to the best of our knowledge, has never been studied; a gap that the current paper tries to fill.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the linguistic phenomenon of stripping and provides some cross-linguistic examples. Section 3 presents an overview of the two competing approaches to stripping. Sections 4, 5, and 6, which form the main thrust of the paper, explore stripping in HA and use the sensitivity to island constraints and the p-stranding phenomenon to provide two pieces evidence in support of the movement of the remnant to FP. Section 7 concludes the paper. Following the sections, two appendices list the HA consonant and vowel sounds, and the abbreviations used in the paper.

## II. STRIPPING IN LINGUISTICS

Stripping, first introduced by Ross (1969), is the linguistic phenomenon that is also known as Bare Argument Ellipsis (BAE). Hankamer and Sag (1976: 409) define stripping as a "rule that deletes everything in clause under identity with corresponding parts of the preceding clause, except for one constituent, (and sometimes a clauseinitial adverb or negative)". Stripping structures are licensed through structural parallelism between the antecedent and the clausal ellipsis. This parallelism can be focus parallelism and thus the remnant is analyzed under focus.

The derivation of stripping structures, in the adopted framework (Section 3.2), requires two syntactic operations. First, the remnant phrase moves to FP. Second, the deletion of the entire TP takes place. This entails that the movement of the remnant phrase to FP occurs before the deletion process. The implication of the latter process is that there is a hidden/unpronounced structure that undergoes some deletion operation, which, in turn, results in the presence of the elided site. Put differently, the paper assumes that there is a syntactic structure in the elided site and for this reason it follows the PF-deletion approach.

The Minimalist framework (Chomsky, 1993; 1995; 2000) obviously supports the analysis of stripping as a PF phenomenon requiring deletion. By way of illustration, Gergel (2009: 83) notes that Tancredi (1992) and Chomsky & Lasnik (1993) have presented some significantly stronger evidence in regard to the possibility of the PF component to be substantially involved in ellipsis. Tancredi (1992) argues that ellipsis shows a strong instance of deaccenting, which is a PF phenomenon that presents "the instantiation of a focus-related topic" in the ellipsis site; a focus-related topic is indeed the clause whose focus-marked constituents have been substituted by variables (Smith, 2001: 178). Similarly, Chomsky & Lasnik (1993) argue that ellipsis exhibits an extreme instance of **deaccenting**: a process of the phonological component. It is deaccenting in as much as nothing is heard (Kanakri, 2018). Deaccenting entails a relation between the linguistic phenomenon of ellipsis and the PF articulatory system. According to the principle of Economy of Articulation, expressions, when possible, are conveyed by the least amount of articulation that is determined by a rule of the PFcomponent that deletes the phonologically redundant information (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1995). Thus, a constituent is pronounced only if the context by itself does not help the hearer to recover the right interpretation (Kanakri, 2018). The PF-deletion of the remnant is also supported by evidence in Sections 5 and 6.

Stripping is a cross linguistic phenomenon as the following examples show.

English: (Aelbrecht, 2010: 212)
(1) "ANASTASIA helped me; (and) not GEORGE."

Spanish: (Depiante, 2000: 102)
(2) Juan  leyo  El  Quijote  pero  no  Hamlet
Juan  read  El  Quijote  but  not  Hamlet
"Juan read El Quijote but not Mary"

German: (Winkler, 2011:159)
(3) Peter  wurde  eingeschult  und  Anna-auch
Peter  was  sent-to-school  and  Anna too
"Peter was sent to school and Anna too."

Standard Arabic: (Al-Horais, 2008: 10)
(4) maa  raʔaitu  xalid-an  bal  zaid-an
NEG  saw-I  Khalid-ACC  but  Zaid-ACC
"I didn't see Khalid but Zaid."

Russian  (McShane, 2000: 201)
(5) Marija  ljubit  Zvonit'  Ivanu  a  ne  Petru
Maria  likes  to call  Ivan  but  not  Peter
"Maria likes to call Ivan but not Peter."

Polish (Kolokonte, 2008: 10)
(6) Maria  lubi  Marte,  a  nie  Anne
Maria  likes  Marta-ACC  but  not  Anna-ACC
"Maria likes Marta but not Anna."

The examples in (1) to (4) reveal the following properties. First, the stripped clauses 'not George' (1), *no Hamlet* (2), *Anna-auch* (3), *zaidan* (4), *ne Petru* (5), and *nie Anne* (6) are not full independent clauses. Second, these stripped clauses must follow their antecedents in occurrence. Third, the missing constituents can be recovered and explained only through their antecedents (see Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005: 234). This said, stripping can only occur in coordinated structures, but never in subordinate embedded clauses such as the embedded clause 'because not Susan' in (7).

(7)  *Bill went to the store, because not Susan.
(Kolokonte, 2008, p. 4)

Having examined some stripping structures in different languages, the theoretical analysis of stripping is provided in Sections (3.2) and (4). The paper now shifts to shed light on the main

approaches to stripping: Non-elliptical and elliptical approaches.

## III. APPROACHES TO STRIPPING

There are two main approaches to stripping: The non-elliptical approach (3.1) that assumes no deletion operation, and the elliptical approach (3.2) that argues for deletion. Both approaches presume that stripping is an interface phenomenon that requires some type of movement (Al-Horais 2000). Despite that, the approaches differ in that while the elliptical approach argues for the presence of a fully-fledged syntactic structure deleted at PF and it is thus not pronounced, the non-elliptical approach argues for a covet movement at LF. The next subsections elaborate more on these two competing approaches.

### 3.1 Non-elliptical approach

The non-elliptical approach argues that stripping does not involve any clausal deletion, but it simply contains coordination structures of NPs (Fiengo & May, 1994; May, 1991; McCawley, 1988, 1991; Reinhart, 1991). This approach was first introduced by Reinhart (1991) who argues that there is no syntactic structure in the second clause, except the remnant, and thereupon there is no clausal ellipsis. She believes that stripping, which is mainly a Bare Argument Ellipsis phenomenon, requires two-place connectives such as *and* in (8) below. The function of connective elements requires the presence of two constituents that connectives pair together. This said, Reinhart (1991) assumes that the coordination of the two constituents is derived via a covert LF movement of the first constituent to the second constituent (Al-Horais, 2008: 4). Consider the example in (8), adopted from Kolokonte (2008: 18).

(8)     *"The critics praised your book and the public too."*

Basically, Reinhart (1991) suggests that the remnant NP '*and the public'* is basegenerated and adjoined at the IP (Kolokonte: 2008: 18) as is schematized in (9a). The resulted structure in (8) has some elements that have undergone some covert movement at LF according to Reinhart (1991), or at D-structure, according to McCawley (1991). That is, underlyingly, the correlate *the critics* in the first conjunct has moved to join the remnant *the*

*public* in the second conjunct to form a coordinated structure via LFmovement, as is shown by the schema in (9b), adopted from Kolokonte (2008:18)

(9)     a.
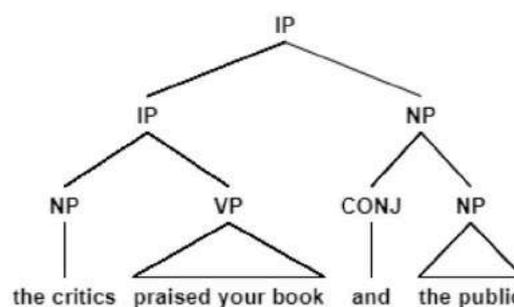


b.
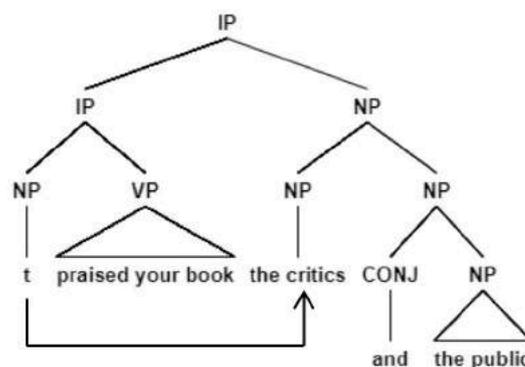


A major problem with the schema in (9a), however, is that it clearly indicates the placement of the remnant NP where it does not adjoin to the other NP, but to the IP (Kolokonte: 2008). In agreement with the derivation in (9b), the conjoined phrases do not violate the conjunction condition that requires the conjoined phrases to belong to the same category and absorb the same case (Reinhart 1991: 368). The resulting structure in (9b) has produced the conjunction of the two NPs: [*the critics* [*and the public*]].

According to Reinhart's analysis in (9b), stripping is not a type of ellipsis because no deletion is involved. Alternatively, it presents the resulting DP conjunction [*the critics* [*and the public*]] binding a trace in the original position; so basically Reinhart (1993) relates the stripped phrase to its correlate and this relation results in a conjoined DP at LF. However, this analysis cannot be without its limitations and challenges.

Another major problem of Reinhart's (1991) non-elliptical analysis is rooted in preposition stranding. Depiante (2000) claims that p-stranding criteria are obeyed across languages. Languages that ban the preposition stranding phenomenon also ban it in stripping. In conformity with this, a p-stranding language allows a fragment DP structure to have correlates insides preposition phrases, or the PP may be pied-piped as is the case in the English example in (10a). By comparison, nonpstranding languages, such as Greek, obligatorily require the preposition to be pied-piped in stripping fragments as shown in (10b).

(10) a. "I spoke with Sakis yesterday and (with) Anna."

b.
| *Milisa* | *me* | *ton* | *Saki* | *xthes* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-spoke | with | the | Sakis | yesterday |

| *kai* | *\*(me)* | *tin* | *Anna* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | with | the | Anna |

"I spoke with Saki yesterday, and (with) Anna."

c.
| *Milisa* | *me* | *ton* | *Saki* | *kai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-spoke | with | The | Sakis | and |

| *tin* | *Anna* | *xthes* |
|---|---|---|
| the | Anna | yesterday |

"I spoke with Sakis and Anna yesterday."

(Merchant, 2003: 3).

Example (10c) shows the possible case in a non-p-stranding language where the preposition stays *in situ* and coordinates the DPs [*ton Saki*] and [*tin Anna*]. Since HA is a non-p-stranding language, we re-visit the p-stranding phenomenon in Section 6. Merchant (2003, 2004) holds that the account for these facts under the non-elliptical approach seems difficult, be it adjoining one string to another at LF as argued by Reinhart (1991) or at D-structure as argued by McCawley (1991). Conversely, Merchant proposes that the stripped clause is a separate clausal ellipsis that is conjoined to the antecedent.

Another argument against the non-elliptical analysis springs from Theta-Criterion as illustrated by the set of examples in (11) and (12), adopted from Depiante (2000: 137).

(11)   "Philby and Burgess met in Cambridge."
       *"Philby met in Cambridge, and Burgess too."

(12)    "The pigs and the cows filled the barn to capacity."
       "The pigs filled the barn to capacity, and the cows too."

May (1991), supporting the non-elliptical approach, claims that (11b) and (12b) are both ungrammatical examples. However, Depiante (2000: 115-139) disagrees with him and uses the theta-criterion to account for this disagreement. (11a) is grammatical since the predicate *meet* requires "two theta roles, or one plural subject theta-role" (Depiante: 2000: 138); this also accounts for the ungrammaticality of (11b) where the predicate *meet* assigns one singular subject theta-role. Hence, (11a) can only accept a collective reading, but not a distributive reading. That is, the conjoined nouns in (11) and (12) are plurals; plurals can receive two readings: "the collective reading is obtained if the plural directly refers, and the distributive when the plural is under the scope of a distributor" (Heim *et al.*, 1991, cited in Depiante 2000: 115).

The assumption under the collective reading is what has pushed May (1991) to predict the ungrammaticality of (12b). May (1991) argues that the predicate *filled to capacity* in (12a) interprets a collective reading only, and accordingly (12b) is ungrammatical, which is not the case as argued by Depiante (2000). Depiante (2000: 138) argues that "nothing forces *the pigs and the cows* to form one unit" and thus the plural reading is not forced. The first conjunct has *the pigs* as its subject and the second conjunct has *the cows* as its subject (see next section for the theoretical account). These facts cannot be accounted for by the non-elliptical approach that does not assume the deletion of TP.

One further argument against the non-elliptical analysis is supported by the casemarking phenomenon. Merchant (2001) points out that the remnant in the elliptical clause must bear the same case as its non-elliptical counterpart, as illustrated by Standard Arabic (13).

(13)
| *ʔaʕṭaitu* | *zaid-an* | *l-kitab-a* |
|---|---|---|
| gave-I | Zaid-ACC | the-book-ACC |
| *laysa* | *xalid-an/\*xalid-un* | |
| NEG | Khalid-ACC/Khalid-NOM | |

"I gave Zaid the book not Khalid."

(Al-Horais, 2008: 7)

Example (13) illustrates that the remnant *xalid-an* must bear the same accusative case as *zaidan* (its correlate). This explains the ungrammaticality of the nominative form *\*xalid-un*. If there is Case-marking in the remnant clause, there must be a syntactic structure that accounts for the accusative-

case assignment. In consequence with this analysis, case-marking provides evidence against the nonstructural approach that claims that there is no syntactic structure in the elided site.

This section has shed light on the non-elliptical approach and provided clear evidence about its failure to account for stripping/Bare Argument Ellipsis phenomena. The next section briefly presents an overview of the elliptical approach.

## 3.2 The elliptical approach

The elliptical approach is widely referred to as the PF deletion approach. It argues that BAE/stripping is derived via a fully-fledged syntactic structure that is deleted at PF. This derivation involves two syntactic processes, namely, movement and deletion. The claim that there is a syntactic structure in the remnant site is one of the main fundamental axioms of Generative Grammar (Transformational Grammar, Government and Binding Theory (GB), Principles and Parameters Theory (P&P), and the Minimalist Program (MP). This fundamental axiom outlines the assumption of syntactocentrism, which is that the sole generative component of language is syntax whereas phonology and semantics are interpretive (Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005: 56).

In view of the fact that stripping can only occur in coordinated structures, it is rather important to recall Lasnik's (1972:74, cited in Depiante (2008: 100)) Parallel Principle about coordinated structures represented in (14).

(14) "Coordinate structures receive parallel interpretations."

To illustrate the Parallel Principle, consider the examples in (15), adopted from Depiante (2008: 100).

(15)   a. "John wants to catch a fish."
  b. "John wants to catch a fish and Bill wants to catch a fish too."

According to Lasnik (1972:74), the NP *a fish* (15a) can be interpreted either as specific or non-specific. In (15b), both instances of the NP *a fish* must only receive one interpretation at a time: specific or non-specific. Put differently, they cannot simultaneously have different interpretations: one specific and one nonspecific at one reading. Thus, there exists

parallelism between the antecedent and the clausal ellipsis as evidenced by the fact that the coordinated structures in (15b) obtain parallel interpretations.

Parallelism between the antecedent and the clausal ellipsis in stripping, such as those clauses in (1) to (4), (8), (12b) and (13), should cover semantic, syntactic, and focus (Kolokonte, 2008; Rooth, 1992).

Syntactically, parallelism should be present between the antecedent and the elided material. Thereby, the remnant should have the same function as the antecedent, as in the examples above.

Semantically, Umbach (2004: 9) claims that parallelism requires the two important conditions represented in (16) and (17), and illustrated in (18).

(16) "The coordinated elements should be semantically independent in that both should not subsume each other."

(17) "The coordinated elements should be commonly integrated."

(18) a. John had a beer and/but Mary had a martini.
   b. #John had a drink and/but Mary had a martini.
           (Umbach, 2004: 9)

In (18a), both coordinated structures (with *and/but*) are acceptable as they meet the requirements of the two conditions. In contrast, (18b) violates the semantic condition because *a martini* is a kind of alcoholic drink, so the coordinated elements subsume each other.

In relation to focus, the parallelism requirement emerges from the information structure of the remnant (Kolokonte, 2000) as the examples in (19) show.

(19) a. JOHN bought the books but not Peter.
   b. #John bought the BOOKS but not Peter.
         (Kolokonte, 2008: 34)

Considering the focus parallelism, (19a) has the focused subject 'John', and the remnant 'Peter' constitutes an alternative to it. By way of contrast, the focus parallelism is absent in (19b) because the remnant 'Peter' does not constitute a mutual alternative to the focused constituent 'BOOKS'. The relation between focus and stripping forms the core argument of the derivation of the latter as is shown next.

The basic argument about the derivation of stripping is that the remnant is considered as a focused constituent exhibiting an overt movement to the specifier (Spec) position of the Focus Phrase (FP) followed by PF deletion of TP (Depiante, 2000; Gengel, 2007; Kolokonte, 2008; Merchant, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2016). Furthermore, Merchant (2001) proposes the Ellipsis feature [E] in sluicing. He then extends its use to other elliptical structures such as stripping (Merchant 2003: 4). The Ellipsis feature [E] contains an uninterpretable strong Focus feature ($u$F*) that occupies the head of FP, and a lexical Conjunction feature (Conj) that distinguishes coordinative conjunctions such as *and*/*but* from subordinative conjunctions such as *because*/*after*. Thus, the [E] feature in stripping derives the following specification given in (20).

(20) E$_{stripping}$ [$u$F*, Conj]

The Ellipsis feature [E] enforces the syntactic, phonological and semantic requirements of stripping. In other words, it licenses the movement of the remnant and the deletion of the entire TP. For illustration, example (21) and its representation in (22), adopted from Merchant (2003: 1), show the derivation of the remnant *Ben* within the elliptical approach.

21    *Abby* speaks passable Dutch, and *Ben*, too.

22. a. and [Ben speaks passable Dutch] too

    b.  and        FP         too
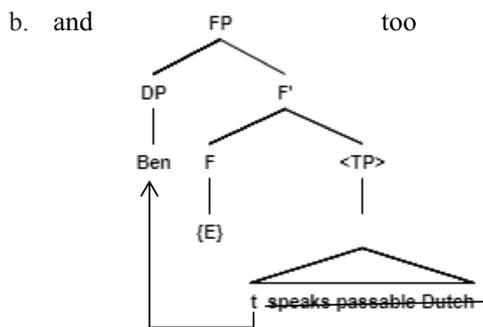


Theoretically, the remnant *Ben* is extracted before the deletion process has taken place, i.e., the DP subject *Ben* has moved to a position higher than TP, which is Spec, FP. The head position of FP contains the abstract [E] feature which licenses for the deletion of the entire TP after attracting the remnant to move to Spec, FP.

Now we shift to account for example (12b) above, repeated here for convenience as (23), which May

(1991) considers ungrammatical according to his non-elliptical analysis.

(23) "The pigs filled the barn to capacity, and the cows too."

In light of Merchant's (2003) analysis in (22), and Depiante's (2000: 138) argument that "nothing forces *the pigs and the cows* to form one unit" so that the plural reading is not forced, the remnant *the cows* must move to Spec, FP before the deletion of lower TP [*filled the barn to capacity*]. This analysis is shown in the linear representation in (24), adopted from Depiante's (2000: 138); note that in this linear analysis, IP is used instead of TP, but this does not alter the analysis.

(24) [**The pigs** filled the barn to capacity], and [$_{FP}$ [**the cows**]$_i$ too [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ filled the barn to capacity]]

Note that the analyses in (22a-b) and (24) do not include the conjunction element 'and' or the adverbial element 'too'; this suggests that they are out of the boundaries of the stripping syntactic structure. The conjunction element forms a clausal conjunction (Merchant, 2003: 2).

Contrary to the non-elliptical approach, the elliptical approach shows that stripping contains a syntactic structure from which the remnant escapes to Spec, FP before the TP-deletion. The next section explores HA stripping structures in light of the elliptical approach.

## IV. THE SYNTAX OF STRIPPING IN HIJAZI ARABIC

As discussed above, stripping is licensed by focus parallelism and the remnant is considered a type of information focus. That is, in (25), the second clause *wa Ali kama:n* introduces new information focus linked to the antecedent clause.

(25)   *Sami  yisa:fir  bistimra:r,   wa   Ali,   kama:n*
       Sami   travel    always,     and  Ali,  too
       "Sami always travels, and Ali, too."

The remnant site contains [*wa Ali, kama:n*] 'and Ali, too' forms a part of the entire clause in (25); this suggests that the remnant subject *Ali* has its syntactic features that are identical to that of the subject *Sami* in the antecedent clause. The PF deletion approach proposes that the stripped clause in (25) has undergone two cyclic syntactic processes: movement and deletion (more

elaboration on movement is given in sections 5 and 6). Before both operations have taken place, the underlying structure of the clause in (25) is represented in (26a). Then, the syntactic operations are applied cyclically as shown in (26b-c).

(26) a. [TP *Sami yisa:fir bistimra:r*],
        *wa* [TP Ali *yisa:fir bistimra:r*], *kama:n*

    b. [TP *Sami yisa:fir bistimra:r*],
        *wa* [FP Ali*i* [TP *ti yisa:fir bistimra:r*], *kama:n*

    c. [TP *Sami yisa:fir bistimra:r*],
        *wa* [FP Ali*i* [TP *ti ~~yisa:fir bistimra:r~~*], *kama:n*

In (26b) the DP *Ali* has moved to the specifier position of FP (Spec, FP), so it has escaped the deletion process that the TP [*yisa:fir bistimra:r*] has undergone in (26c). The resulting structure in (25) has the linear representation in (26c) and the hierarchical representation in (27).
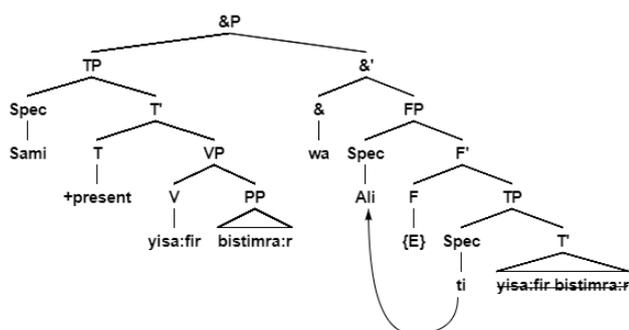


The schema in (27) shows the antecedent TP, the FP projection whose specifier is filled by the DP *Ali* that has moved from the lower Spec, TP, and the elided TP. The hierarchical representation indicates that the FP projection dominates the elided TP. The head F° contains the abstract [E] feature that has the uninterpretable focus feature (*u*F*) that attracts the movement of the remnant and then licenses the deletion of the remaining elements in TP. The antecedent phrase shows that the imperfective verb form *yisa:fir* stays in V°, and that T° is morphologically empty because, unlike HA past tense, the present tense properties do not require a morphological form in T° (Al Zahrani, 2013, 2016, 2018; Al Zahrani & Alzahrani, 2019).

One can easily notice that the interpretations of the stripping examples in (26) and (27) are "fuller than their surface syntactic struture would permit" (Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005: 234); the implication of this is that such examples must contain underlying structures that derive the full interpretations. In other words, the analysis given

in (26) and (27) implies that the syntactic structure of the remnant is fully projected and that the remnant *Ali* forms a part of a full TP clause whose elements [*yisa:fir bistimra:r*] lack the phonological realization. Hence, HA stripping entails clausal ellipsis. This analysis is based on the PF deletion approach that suggests that there is an underlying structure in the remnant site.

In addition to the PF deletion approach, the underlying structure of the clause in (25) is further supported by both the Structural Uniformity (SU) Principle in (28) and the Interface Uniformity (IU) assumption in (29), both adopted from Culicover & Jackendoff (2005: 6-7) respectively.

(28) "an apparently defective or misordered structure is regular in underlying structure and becomes a distorted in the course of the derivation"

(29) "The syntax–semantics interface is maximally simple, in that meaning maps transparently into syntactic structure; and it is maximally uniform, so that the same meaning always maps onto the same syntactic structure."

The Interface Uniformity assumption implies that "uniform factors in interpretation must stem from uniform syntactic sources" Culicover & Jackendoff (2005: 234). Put it differently, the Interface Uniformity in combination with the syntactocentrism assumptions imply that the perfect interpretation of an utternecance can only be achieved from both the meanings of its lexical items and its syntactic struture. Hence, the IU assumption and the syntactocentrism assumptions support the presence of the hidden stripping strtucre in (25) whose full structure is represented in (26a).

So far, this discussion has shown that the HA example in (25) contains a hidden structure as outlined in the hierarchical and linear analyses. Notice that example (25a) shows a case of a remnant subject. Example (30) shows a remnant object.

(30) a. *Sami   yiʃtari   kutub,*
        *Sami   buy      books,*
        *wa     agla:m,  kama:n*
        and    pens,    too
        "Sami buys books, and pens, too."

    b. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        *wa* [TP *Sami yiʃtari agla:m*], *kama:n*

    c. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        *wa* [FP *agla:m i* [TP *Sami yiʃtari ti*], *kama:n*

    d. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        *wa* [FP *agla:m i* [TP *~~Sami yiʃtari~~ ti*], *kama:n*

In (30a) the stripping structure shows the remnant object *agla:m* 'pens'. The underlying fuller structure is given in (30b). The movement of the remnant object to Spec, FP and then the deletion of TP are shown in (30c-d) respectively.

Furthermore, HA allows modal elements in stripping as shown in (31).

(31) a. Sami        yiʃtari        kutub,        wa
        Sami        buy            books,        and
        mumkin      agla:m,        kama:n
        probably    pens,          too
        "Sami buys books, and probably pens, too."

     b. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], wa mumkin
        [TP *Sami yiʃtari agla:m*], kama:n

     c. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], wa mumkin
        [FP *agla:m* ᵢ [TP *Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ], kama:n

     d. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], wa mumkin
        [FP *agla:m* ᵢ [TP ~~*Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ~~], kama:n

According to Al Zahrani (2013, 2018, 2020), the epistemic modal *mumkin* is base generated in EModP (Epistemic Modal Phrase) that dominates TP. This explains why the modal is outside of the TP boundaries as shown in (31b-d). Needless to say that the derivation of the remnant object undergoes the syntactic processes discussed in (28).

Stripping can also occur in more complex structures such as negatives. The literature shows two different analyses to the placement of the negative elements when they occur in stripping. Consider the example in (32) containing the HA negative *muu*.

(32) a. Sami      yiʃtari      kutub,      muu      agla:m
        Sami      buy          books,      NEG      pens
        "Sami buys books, not pens."

     b. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], muu [TP *Sami yiʃtari agla:m*]

     c. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], [FP *muu agla:m* ᵢ [TP *Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ]

     d. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*], [FP *muu agla:m* ᵢ [TP ~~*Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ~~]

Al Zahrani (2014; 2019) argues that the HA negative *muu* occupies the head of NegP and can only select for a non-verbal predicative phrase (PredP) where it only scopes over the predicative structure that is basically adjectival or nominal. The function of the negative *muu* in stripping has never been addressed in HA literature (see Section 7). It is obvious that it behaves differently in stripping as it does not scope over non-verbal predicates. Rather, it functions as a sentential negative particle where it shows contrastive negation: the information following the negative is contrary to the information before it. Besides, the literature shows that negatives in

BAE/ellipsis structures are not head negatives, (see Al-Horais, 2008). With this function in mind, I assume that HA *muu* functions as an adverbial negative in stripping and occupies Spec, NegP.

If this is the case, *muu* in stripping structures, as in (32), selects for a FP to which the object *agla:m* moves. After the movement has taken place, the TP is deleted. This is illustrated in (33).

(33) a. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        muu [TP *Sami yiʃtari agla:m*]

     b. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        [NegP [muu [FP *agla:m* ᵢ [TP *Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ]

     c. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        [NegP [muu [FP *agla:m* ᵢ [TP ~~*Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ~~]

What is particular to the negative *muu* in this function is that it selects for a FP that dominates a TP structure that contains a verbal predicate; this makes it different from the main use of the HA non-verbal predicative negative *muu* investigated in Al Zahrani (2014; 2019). This analysis of *muu* in stripping is compatible with Merchant's (2003: 5) analysis that shows the English *not* occupying Spec, NegP: an argument that is widely accepted for the English negative *not* (see Radford, 2009, for another position of the English negative *not*).

Another analysis for negatives in stripping is advocated by Depiante (2000), McCawley (1991), and Al-Horais (2008) where both the negator and the remnant form a complex structure. Under this view, the negator is base-generated in Spec, FP and the remnant subject/object also moves to Spec, FP to adjoin to the negative, as linearly represented in (34c).

(34) a. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        [FP [Spec *muu* [TP *Sami yiʃtari agla:m*]

     b. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        [FP [Spec *muu agla:m*ᵢ [TP *Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ]

     c. [TP *Sami yiʃtari kutub*],
        [FP [Spec *muu-agla:m*ᵢ [TP ~~*Sami yiʃtari t*ᵢ~~]

What is important to our discussion here is that the two negative stripping analyses require phrasal/sentential negation, i.e., the negator should be phrasal (Merchant: 2003: 7), and that the different placement of the negative does not change the main argument on the derivation of the stripped clause: the movement of the remnant and the deletion of the TP. While both analyses are complex, the first

one is more complex as it entails the projection of NegP; its benefit, however, is that the semantics of negation is completely normal and clear: "negation being a one-place propositional function" (Merchant: 2003: 7). The benefit of the second analysis is that it presents a costless analysis that reduces the functional projections (Al-Horais, 2008: 20).

It can be noticed that the HA stripping examples discussed so far exhibit the same syntactic, semantic and focus properties discussed in Section (3.2). They show that the remnants in the second conjuncts introduce new informational focus that does not contradict any existing information in the first conjuncts.

In addition, HA stripping occurs in coordinative structures, but never in subordinative/embedded structures. This explains the ungrammaticality of (35).

(35) *Sami  yisa:fir  bistimra:r,  l-inn  Ali,  kama:n
      Sami   travel    always,     P-C    Ali,   too
      "*Sami always travels, because (it's) Ali, too."

Also, being in coordinative structures implies that they obey the Parallel Principle, represented in (14). That is, the coordinate structures receive parallel interpretations as in (36a) where the interpretation of the underlying full structure shows the object *kutub* 'books' in the first and second conjuncts as non-specific.

(36) a. *Sami  yiftari  kutub,  wa  Ali,  kama:n*
        *Sami* buy      books,  and  Ali,   too
        "Sami buys books, and Ali [buys books], too."
        [TP Sami yiftari kutub], wa [FP Ali ᵢ [TP tᵢ yiftari kutub], kama:n]

     b. *wa  Ali,    kama:n  Sami   yiftari   kutub,
        and  Ali,     too     Sami   buy       books,
        "*And Ali too, Sami buys books."

In (36a), the second conjunct cannot have the object *kutub* specific (cf. *al-kutub* 'the books').

Another property of HA stripping is shown by the ungrammaticality of (36b) that is accounted for by the fact that antecedents in stripping must precede the elided material.

Furthermore, the semantic parallelism requirements are also witnessed in the HA stripping examples. They obey the two conditions in (16) and (17) as they show that the coordinated elements are semantically independent and commonly integrated. For instance, in (36a) the second conjunct cannot

be interpreted as "*and Ali buys cars, too*".

Having explored the HA stripping structure and its properties within the PF deletion approach, the next two sections provide two pieces of evidence supporting the movement hypothesis of the remnant to the left periphery of its clause.

## V. HA STRIPPING AND SENSITIVITY

So far, we have shown that the remnant must move to FP in a position higher than TP. Given that there is movement, locality effects and island constraints must be obeyed. Recall Ross' (1969) claim that some types of ellipsis, such as sluicing, exhibit island violation. However, this is not the case in HA stripping since its derivation does not violate island constraints, but obeys them. To show this, the paper assumes Merchant's (2004) conclusions that fragment answers are sensitive to islands. His conclusions, according to him, are extended to stripping because the analysis of stripping and fragment answers "appears to have much in common" and provides evidence that stripping shows "a locality effect between the correlate and the bare argument" (Merchant, 2016: 9). In light of this, the paper argues that sensitivity arises in both HA fragment answers and stripping and that their derivation obeys island constraints. Eventually, the argument showing sensitivity in fragment answers and stripping provides evidence in support of the movement of the remnant to the left edge of its clause, i.e., to Spec, FP. With the accented constituents in bold, consider the English examples in (37) and the HA examples in (38).

(37) a  Does Abby speak the same Balkan
        language that **Ben** speaks?
     b  *No, **Charlie**.
     c  No, she speaks the same Balkan
        language that **Charlie** speaks.
                                    (Merchant, 2004: 688)

(38) a  *Sami   iftara    al-kita:b   illi*
        *Sami*  bought    D-book      C
        *fa:f-uh*          *maʕa* **Ali**
        saw-3SG.M          with **Ali**
        "Did Sami buy the book that he saw with Ali?"

     b  *laa, **Malik***
        *No, **Malik***

     c  *laa,   Sami   iftara   al-kita:b   illi*
        NEG     Sami   bought   D-book      C
        *fa:f-uh*           *maʕa* **Malik**
        saw-3SG.M           with **Malik**
        "No, Sami bought the book that he saw with **Malik**"

Merchant (2004) considers the fragment answer in (37b) unacceptable as an answer to a yes/no question since the correlate *Ben* is contained within a relative clause island. Merchant argues that only a sentential answer is acceptable, since in fragments, the movement out of the island is banned. Merchant's argument is applicable to HA. Example (38b) is unacceptable whereas the full structure in (38c) is. It is important to note that this analysis considers the fragments in (b) derived from the fuller structures in (c).

By contrast, when the fragment answer does not relate to a constituent within an island, both the fragment answer and the sentential answer are acceptable, as the examples in (39) and (40) show.

(39)  A  Does Abby speak *Greek* fluently?
      B  No, *Albanian*.
      C  No, she speaks *Albanian* fluently.
                              (Merchant, 2004: 688)

(40)  A  *Sami*   *iftara*   *al-kita:b*   **al-aswad**
         *Sami*   bought   D-book   C-book
         "Did Sami buy the black book?"
      B  *laa*, **al-azrag**
         No, D-blue
      C  *laa*,   *Sami*   *iftara*   *al-kita:b*   **al-azrag**
         NEG   *Sami*   bought   D-book   C-blue
         "No, Sami bought **the blue** book."

Note that in (39) the fragment *Albanian* relates to the constituent *Greek* that is not within an island. In like fashion, *al-azrag* 'the blue' in (40) relates to *al-aswad* 'the black' that is not within an island. This suggests that the respective complementizers *that* and *illi* occupying C° block the movement in (37) and (38) above.

The conclusion to be drawn from the English and HA examples in (37) through to (40) is that each fragment DP is embedded in an island and its movement out of the island domain to a higher position renders the fragment answer ungrammatical. Hence, the fragment answers in (39b) and (40b) are sensitive to islands and have obeyed the island constraints; they have undergone A'-movement that is followed by clausal deletion (Merchant, 2004: 687). This, in turn, suggests that the remnants in stripping move to FP via A'-movement and they obey the island constraints. Furthermore, (41) shows that a grammatical

stripping example cannot be derived if the remnant is extracted out of an island domain.

(41)  *\*shift*   *al-walad*   *illi*   *iftra*   **al-kita:b**
       saw-I   D-boy   C   bought   **D-book**
       *bʕd*                        *muwa:fagat*
       after                        permission
       *abu-h*,   *muu*   **al-gala:m**
       father-his,   NEG   **D-pens**
       "*\*I saw the boy who bought **the book** after his father's permission, not **the pens**.*"

In (41) the correlate DP object (**al-kita:b**) and the remnant (**al-agla:m**) are in bold. The clause (41) is ungrammatical as the remnant has moved across an island domain to the left edge (Spec, FP). This analysis is on a par with other analyses of some Arabic varieties including Libyan Arabic (Algryani, 2012), Standard Arabic (Kanakri, 2018), and Omani Arabic (Algryani, 2019). The next section explores HA preposition stranding, which also supports the focus movement of the remnant to the left periphery.

## VI. PREPOSITION STRANDING AND STRIPPING

This section uses the p-stranding phenomenon to provide another piece of evidence supporting our argument that HA stripping requires the movement of the remnant to the left periphery. Pstranding is a linguistic phenomenon in which the preposition surfaces without its object; it is also known as preposition deferring (see, Takami, 1992). According to Merchant (2003, 2004), Jones (2004) and Depiante (2000), the basic assumption is that non-p-stranding languages, which do not allow p-stranding under *wh*-movement, do not allow p-stranding under fragment answers and stripping. For instance, because English allows p-stranding under *wh*-movement, as in (42), it allows it under stripping as in (43); examples are adopted from Depiante (2000: 107).

(42)  a. "Who did you talk to?"
      b. "Mary, John talked to."

(43)  a. "John talked about Mary, but not (about) Susan."
      b. "This article appeared in the NY Times, but not (in) the Daily Telegraph."

The English clauses in (42) show that the preposition *to* is dangling/stranded under *wh*movement, so in (43), the English prepositions *about* and *in* can

be stranded and have the structures represented in (44).

(44) a. John talked about Mary,
but not about Susan [John talked].

b. John talked about Mary,
but not Susan [John talked about].

c. This article appeared in the NY Times,
but not in the Daily Telegraph [this article appeared.]

d. This article appeared in the NY Times,
but not the Daily Telegraph [this article appeared in.]

Other P-stranding languages include Frisian and the Scandinavian languages (see examples in Merchant (2004: 666). Contrary to this, some languages do not allow a preposition to be stranded, as shown in Greek (10) above, repeated here for convenience in (45).

(45) a. *milisa*   *me*    *ton*   *Saki*   *xthes*
I-spoke   with    the     Sakis    yesterday
*kai*   *\*(me)*   *tin*   *Anna*
and     with      the     Anna
"I spoke with Sakis yesterday, and (with) Anna."

b. *milisa*   *me*    *ton*   *Saki*   *kai*
I-spoke   with    The     Sakis    and
*tin*   *Anna*   *xthes*
the     Anna      yesterday
"I spoke with Sakis and Anna yesterday."

(Merchant, 2003: 3).

Recall the argument under (10) above that nonpstranding languages, such as Greek, obligatorily require the preposition to be pied-piped in stripping fragments. This is further supported by fragment answers, too. That is, while non-p-stranding languages do not allow fragment answers without their preposition in cases such as those in (46) and (47), p-stranding languages do so, as in (48), (49) and (50), adopted from Merchant (2005: 685-686).

Greek
(46) a. *me*   *pjon*   *milise*   *i*   *Anna*
with   whom     spoke      the   Anna

b. "*me ton Kosta*"
"with the Kosta"

c. *\*ton Kosta*
*\*the Kosta*

German
(47) a. *mit*   *wem*   *hat*   *Anna*   *gesprochen*
with   whom     has     Anna     spoken

b. "*mit dem Hans*"
"with the Hans"

c. *\*dem Hans*
*\*the Hans*

In (46c) and (47c) the fragment answers to the question "*with whom has Anna spoken?*" in (46a) and (47a) are ungrammatical as they appear without their prepositions. This suggests that they have been

extracted out of their domains while the prepositions are left stranded. In contrast, the fragment answers in (46b) and (47b) are grammatical since the prepositions have been pied-piped along with their complements. This obligatory pied-piping is not the case in p-stranding languages as shown in (48), (49) and (50).

English:
(48) "Who was Peter talking with?"
"(with) Mary."

Norwegian:
(49) *Hvem har Per snakket med*?
who  has  Per  talked  with?
"(*med*) Mary."

Swedish:
(50) *Vem har Peter talat med*?
who  has  Per   talked  with?
"(*med*) Mary."

The examples in (48) - (50) show that p-stranding language allow fragment answers with and without their prepositions; this, in turn, suggests that they allow p-stranding in fragments and full answers.

HA is a non-p-stranding language, so it behaves, in this respect, similar to Greek and German as examples (51) and (52) illustrate.

(51) a. *maʕa*   *mi:n*   *sa:far*   *Sami*?
P       whom     travelled  Sami
"With whom did Sami travel?"

b. *maʕa Ali.*
"with Ali."

c. *\*Ali*

(52) a. *ʕala*   *aiʃ*   *tarakt*   *al-kita:b*
what    left.3SG.  D-book
P       M

b. "On what did you put the book?"
*ʕala al-ta:wilah*

c. "On the table."
*\* al-ta:wilah*
*\**"the table"

In (51c) and (52c) the fragment answers '*Ali*' and *al-ta:wilah 'the table'* are ungrammatical as they appear without their prepositions *maʕ* and *ʕala*. In light of this, we assume that their full answers cannot appear with the prepositions stranded *in situ* as shown in (53b) and (54b).

(53) a. "[PP *maʕa Aliᵢ*] [TP *sa:far Sami tᵢ*]"
"with Ali Sami travelled"

b. "*\*Ali Sami sa:far maʕa*"
"*\*Ali Sami travelled with*"

(54) a. [PP *ʕala al-ta:wilah*] [TP *tarakt al-kita:b tᵢ*]
"On the table [I left the book]."

b. *\* "al-ta:wilah tarakt al-kita:b ʕala*"
*\**"the table I left the book on"

The full answers in (53a) and (54a) suggest that the prepositions have been extracted out of their domains along with their complements and preposed, i.e., moved to the left edge of the clause (focus position). Now consider the examples in (55).

(55)  a.  *Sami      sa:far      maʕa      Ali*
          Sami      travelled   P         Ali
          ***wa      Malik      kama:n***
          CONJ      Malik      too
          "Sami travelled with Ali, and Malik, too."

      b.  *Sami      sa:far      maʕa      Ali*
          Sami      travelled   P         Ali
          ***wa      maʕa      Malik      kama:n***
          CONJ      P         Malik      too
          "Sami travelled with Ali, and with Malik, too."

Given that HA is a non-p-stranding language, (55a) can only be grammatical if the DP *Malik* is a Subject so that the stripped clause [*wa Malik kama:n*] 'and Malik too' satisfies the semantic identity in the ellipsis site. This explains why the stripped remnant *Malik* must be identical in structure to the antecedent – the Subject DP Sami. Furthermore, in conformity with the Parallel Principle stated in (14) above, which is, "coordinate structures receive parallel interpretations", the elided material in (55a)  must receive its appropriate subject-reading in which it is parallel to the correlate: Subject DP Sami. Against this background, the stripped clause in (55a) satisfies the ellipsis conditions of recoverability (semantics) and licensing (syntax) suggested by McShane (2005: 10-15). Recoverability indicates that the stripped clause has received the appropriate interpretation, i.e., the meaning of the unpronounced constituents is recoverable (understandable) from the context. Licensing indicates that the structural properties of the clause in (55a) have allowed for the stripping phenomenon. So far, this analysis accounts for why example (55a) cannot be grammatical if we consider the DP *Malik* an object. This is further supported by the fuller form of the stripped clause in (56a). In regard to (55b), the remnant *Malik* is the object of the preposition; the entire PP '*maʕa Malik'* 'with Malik' has been pied-piped to FP before the entire TP has been deleted, as illustrated in (56b).

The illustrations in (56) conclude that the prepositions in HA stripping structures must be

(56)  a.  [TP *Sami sa:far maʕa Ali*] *wa*
          [FP *Malik*][TP *ti̱  sa:far ~~maʕa Ali~~*] *kama:n*
          "Sami travelled with Ali,
          and Malik ~~travelled with Ali~~, too."

      b.  [TP *Sami sa:far maʕa Ali*] *wa*
          [FP *maʕa Malik ti̱*] [TP ~~*Sami  sa:far ti̱*~~] *kama:n*
          "Sami travelled with Ali, and
          ~~Sami travelled~~ with Malik, too."

pied-piped with the remnant to the left periphery due to the fact that HA is a nonpstranding. This analysis is on a par with Merchant's (2003) argument that a preposition must be piedpiped in stripping in non-p-stranding languages.

In summary, given that HA is a non-p-stranding language, the remnants preceded by prepositions in stripping clauses cannot move to FP without the prepositions piedpiped with them to the left periphery.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Adopting the PF elliptical approach, the current paper has explored stripping in Hijazi Arabic. It has shown that HA stripping can be explained through a focus movement of the remnant to FP that is higher than TP. This movement is followed by deletion of the entire TP. These two operations are motivated by the abstract [E] feature of the head of FP. The paper has also briefly explored some island sensitivity and pstranding issues to provide evidence in support of the movement operation of the remnant to FP.

However, future research is needed to deeply investigate island sensitivity and pstranding in sluicing and in stripping as well. Also, while the paper has shown some instances of negative and modalized stripping structures, more investigations of negatives as well as different modals (epistemic, deontic and dynamic) in stripping structure is lacking in HA. More specifically, the sentential negation of *muu* occupying Spec, Neg, if this is the correct analysis, and selecting for complements containing verbal predicates requires deeper investigation.

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## Appendix 1: HA Consonants and Vowels (adopted from Al Zahrani (2013)

### Consonants

| IPA | Description |
|---|---|
| [ʔ] | Glottal stop |
| [b] | Bilabial stop |
| [t] | Voiceless dental stop |
| [θ] | Voiceless emphatic dental fricative |
| [ʤ] | Voiceless retroflex fricative |
| [ħ] | Voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| [x] | Voiceless velar fricative |
| [d] | Voiced dental fricative |
| [ð] | Voiced emphatic dental fricative |
| [r] | Dental trill |
| [z] | Voiced dental fricative |
| [s] | Voiceless dental fricative |
| [ʃ] | Voiceless palatal fricative |
| [sˤ] | Voiceless emphatic dental fricative |
| [dˤ] | Voiced emphatic stop |
| [tˤ] | Voiceless emphatic dental stop |
| [ðˤ] | Voiced emphatic interdental fricative |
| [ʕ] | Voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| [ɣ] | Voiced velar fricative |
| [f] | Voiceless labiodental fricative |
| [q] | Voiceless uvular stop |
| [k] | Voiceless velar stop |
| [l] | Lateral dental |
| [m] | Bilabial nasal |
| [n] | Dental nasal |
| [h] | Voiceless laryngeal fricative |
| [w] | Bilabial glide |
| [j] | Palatal glide |

### Vowels

| IPA | Description |
|---|---|
| [a] | Short low front |
| [a:] | Long low front |
| [i] | Short high front |
| [i:] | Long high front |
| [u] | Short high back |
| [u:] | Long high back |

## Appendix 2: Abbreviations and Conventions used in examples and glosses

| # | Example is not acceptable. |
|---|---|
| 1 | First person |
| 2 | Second person |
| 3 | Third person |
| (A) | A is optional |
| *(A) | A is obligatory |
| ACC | Accusative Case |
| bold | Boldface highlights important material |
| C | Complementizer: The head position of CP |
| Conj | Conjunction feature/element |
| CP | Complementizer Phrase (Projection) |
| D | Determinative |
| [E] | Ellipsis feature |
| F | Feminine |
| FP | Focus Position |
| GEN | Genitive case |
| HA | Hijazi Arabic |
| LF | Logical Form |
| M | Masculine |
| NEG | Negative |
| NOM | Nominative case |
| P | Preposition |
| PF | Phonological Form |
| PL | Plural |
| PredP | Predicative Phrase (non-verbal projection) |
| SA | Standard Arabic |
| SG | Singular |
| Spec | Specifier position of XP |
| strikethrough | Strikethrough indicates deletion/non-pronunciation |
| T | The head position of TP |
| TP | Tense Phrase (Projection) |
| uF* | uninterpretable Focus feature |
| VP | Verb Phrase (Projection) |