

# Lenguas, lenguaje y lingüística

## *Contribuciones desde la Lingüística General*

Adriana Gordejuela Senosiáin

Dámaso Izquierdo Alegría

Felipe Jiménez Berrio

Alberto de Lucas Vicente

Manuel Casado Velarde

(Eds.)

Título: Lenguas, lenguaje y lingüística.

Subtítulo: Contribuciones desde la Lingüística General.

Autor: A. Gordejuela Senosiáin, D. Izquierdo Alegría, F. Jiménez Berrio, A. de Lucas Vicente, M. Casado Velarde (eds.).

Editorial: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra.

Maquetación y corrección de textos: Apiedepágina.net

ISBN: 978-84-8081-478-2

Reservados todos los derechos de edición.

Queda prohibida la reproducción total o parcial de esta obra por cualquier método o procedimiento.

*Lenguas, lenguaje y lingüística.*

*Contribuciones desde la Lingüística General*

Adriana GORDEJUELA SENOSIÁIN

Dámaso IZQUIERDO ALEGRÍA

Felipe JIMÉNEZ BERRIO

Alberto DE LUCAS VICENTE

Manuel CASADO VELARDE

(eds.)



## ÍNDICE

PRAGMÁTICA NOMINAL EN LOS SUFIJOS DERIVADOS DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA <b>Jaume Alvedra i Regàs</b> .....	9
LA DUPLICACIÓN PRONOMINAL EN LAS ORACIONES DE RELATIVO EN CATALÁN: UNA MARCA DE ESPECIFICIDAD <b>Cristina Albareda</b> .....	21
THE SYNTAX OF ELLIPSIS IN ARABIC FRAGMENT ANSWERS <b>Ali Algryani</b> .....	35
SELF-CONCEPT, EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND READING SKILL IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: IMPACT ON THE LEVEL OF ENGLISH? <b>Elena Alonso-Blanco, Manuel Soriano-Ferrer, Ángel López García-Molins</b> .....	45
THE INTERACTION OF EXTRAPOSITION FROM DP AND <i>RIGHT NODE RAISING</i> IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH <b>Marian Alves</b> .....	53
HACIA UNA SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA DE LA ESCRITURA. LA ENCUESTA <b>Leopoldo Idefonso Baliña García</b> .....	65
APORTES DEL CONCEPTO DE NORMA AL ESTUDIO DE LAS ACTITUDES LINGÜÍSTICAS <b>Rafael Alberto Barragán Gómez</b> .....	79
ANALITISMO FRENTE A LA NOMINALIDAD. ESTUDIO CONTRASTIVO POLACO-ESPAÑOL <b>Janusz Bien</b> .....	91
LA EVOLUCIÓN DE LOS VERBOS DE MOVIMIENTO EN CHUJ <b>Cristina Buenrostro</b> .....	103
LA PÉRDIDA DEL LÉXICO DIALECTAL: ALGUNOS DATOS DE CASTELLANOPARLANTES DE SAN SEBASTIÁN <b>Bruno Camus Bergareche, Sara Gómez Seibane</b> .....	117
TECHNICAL TRANSLATION, TERMINOLOGY AND THE ACCESSIBILITY OF SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE IN PORTUGUESE <b>Luis Cavaco-Cruz</b> .....	129

HACIA UN GLOSARIO DEL LÉXICO DE LA INFORMÁTICA Y LA INTERNET EN ESPAÑOL <b>Lirian Ciro, Neus Vila Rubio</b> .....	141
EL LINGÜISTA EN EL PARLAMENTO <b>Giovana de Sousa Rodrigues</b> .....	153
ALGUNOS MITOS SOBRE LA ADQUISICIÓN DE LA LENGUA MATERNA <b>Iván Enríquez Martínez</b> .....	161
MARCO LEGAL Y PLANIFICACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN LAS COMUNIDADES BILINGÜES DE ESPAÑA <b>Gérard Fernández Smith, Luis Escoriza Morera</b> .....	173
CORSICAN EQUIVALENTS OF <i>IT</i> -CLEFT SENTENCES IN ENGLISH: AN OVERVIEW <b>Pierre-Don Giancarli</b> .....	187
DESCOMPOSICIÓN LÉXICO-CONCEPTUAL DE LOS VERBOS PARASINTÉTICOS CON PREFIJO <i>DES-</i> <b>Elisabeth Gibert Sotelo</b> .....	203
TWO KINDS OF MINIMAL ANSWERS TO <i>YES-NO</i> QUESTIONS IN CZECH AND SPANISH <b>Hana Gruet-Skrabalova</b> .....	217
SOBRE LA NATURALEZA HÍBRIDA DE LAS RELATIVAS LIBRES INDEFINIDAS <b>Edita Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Pilar Pérez Ocón</b> .....	229
THE LEXICALIZATION OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS INTO EGYPTIAN ARABIC <b>Walaa Hassan</b> .....	243
¿ES EL CONOCIMIENTO MORFOLÓGICO UN MECANISMO DETERMINANTE EN LA RECUPERACIÓN DEL LÉXICO DISPONIBLE? <b>Natividad Hernández Muñoz</b> .....	259
TRADUCCIÓN COMO MEDIACIÓN INTERCULTURAL: DELIMITACIÓN CONCEPTUAL Y DIMENSIONES DE UNA PRÁCTICA <b>Carlos Hernández Sacristán</b> .....	269
LOS CENTROS DE CARÁCTER CULTURAL EN LOS ESTUDIOS DE DISPONIBILIDAD LÉXICA: ANÁLISIS Y NUEVA PROPUESTA <b>María Herreros Marcilla</b> .....	279
ASPECTOS ANTROPOLÓGICOS SOBRE EL FENÓMENO DEL CAMBIO DE CÓDIGO EN COMUNIDADES BILINGÜES. EL CASO DE ESTUDIO DE LA COMUNIDAD DE HABLA ALICANTINA <b>José Iborra Torregrosa</b> .....	291

LA RHINOGLOTTOPHILIA DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA TIPOLOGICA (CON UNA NOTA SOBRE LA LENGUA VASCA) <b>Iván Igartua</b> .....	303
DIRECTIONALITY IN ADVANCED TONGUE ROOT HARMONY <b>Gary Linebaugh</b> .....	315
EL BILINGÜISMO INDIVIDUAL: ENFOQUES SOBRE UN CONCEPTO <b>Lara Lorenzo Herrera</b> .....	325
LA PREPOSICIÓN EN ESPAÑOL Y EN CHINO. DIFERENCIAS CONSERVADORAS ADITIVAS <b>M<sup>a</sup> Azucena Penas Ibáñez, Jinbai Zhang</b> .....	333
LENGUA Y CULTURA EN EL EPISTOLARIO DE PEDRO DE MUGICA A ANTONI M. ALCOVER <b>Maria Pilar Perea</b> .....	345
INFLUENCIA DE LOS SONIDOS ADYACENTES Y LOS MÁRGENES DE DISPERSIÓN DE LAS VOCALES MEDIAS ANTERIORES DEL CATALÁN EN HABLA ESPONTÁNEA <b>Agnès Rius-Escudé, Francina Torras Compte</b> .....	357
LA CATEGORIZACIÓN DEL CONOCIMIENTO ESPECIALIZADO: ANÁLISIS Y CLASIFICACIÓN DE LAS RELACIONES DE SIGNIFICADO ENTRE TÉRMINOS COHIPÓNIMOS <b>Mercedes Roldán Vendrell</b> .....	369
LOS ESQUEMAS ENTONATIVOS DEL FRAGATINO: DESCRIPCIÓN Y COMPARACIÓN CON VARIEDADES ROMÁNICAS PRÓXIMAS <b>Lourdes Romera, Ana Ma. Fernández Planas, Wendy García-Elvira, Paolo Roseano, Josefina Carrera, Albert Ventayol, Eugenio Martínez Celdrán</b> .....	389
LA INFLUENCIA DEL GÉNERO TEXTUAL EN LA PRODUCCIÓN DEL ELEMENTO PROSÓDICO <b>Asier Romero, Aintzane Etxebarria, Iñaki Gaminde, Urtza Garay</b> .....	401
A VUELTAS CON EL YEÍSMO: PRODUCCIÓN FONÉTICA, PERCEPCIÓN CATEGORIAL Y CAMBIO <b>Assumpció Rost Bagudanch</b> .....	417
ESTUDIO DE DISPONIBILIDAD LÉXICA EN APRENDICES ITALIANOS DE ESPAÑOL: ANÁLISIS CUANTITATIVO <b>Roberto Rubio Sánchez</b> .....	429
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON MORPHOLOGICAL CASE IN OLD SAXON <b>Iker Salaberri</b> .....	443

REPRESENTACIONES SOCIALES EN TORNO AL PROCESO DE EVALUACIÓN: ALUMNOS DE ELE EN LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO <b>Yuritzky de la Paz Sánchez López</b> .....	455
ESTRATEGIAS LINGÜÍSTICAS PARA LA CODIFICACIÓN DE LA CAUSALIDAD EN TEXTOS ESCRITOS POR ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS <b>Paola Sánchez Portilla, Celia Díaz Argüero</b> .....	463
LA INFLUENCIA DEL CONOCIMIENTO DE VARIAS LENGUAS EXTRANJERAS EN EL LÉXICO DISPONIBLE <b>Inmaculada Clotilde Santos Díaz</b> .....	477
EN BUSCA DE LA IDENTIDAD LINGÜÍSTICA. EL ESPAÑOL CARA A CARA CON EL CROATA <b>Anita Skelin Horvat, Maša Musulin</b> .....	485
CARACTERÍSTICAS ACÚSTICAS DE LA ASPIRACIÓN DE /-S/ IMPLOSIVA EN EL ESPAÑOL HABLADO EN MÁLAGA. HACIA LA RESILABIFICACIÓN PRESTIGIOSA DE UN SEGMENTO SUBYACENTE ENTRE LOS JÓVENES UNIVERSITARIOS <b>Matilde Vida-Castro</b> .....	495
MICROINFORMÁTICA. MODELOS DE VARIACIÓN INFORMATIVA MICROPARAMÉTRICA <b>Xavier Villalba, Sílvia Planas-Morales</b> .....	507
AINDA AS ‘REFLEXÕES’ SOBRE A <i>PRONUNCIACÃO</i> NO SÉC. XVIII PORTUGUÊS <b>Ana Paula Banza</b> .....	517
ASPECTOS DE LA MORFOLOGÍA PORTUGUESA EN EL SIGLO XVIII: LAS <i>REFLEXÕES</i> (1768/1842) DE FRANCISCO JOSÉ FREIRE <b>Maria Filomena Gonçalves</b> .....	529
DIDASCALIAS E IMPLICATURAS: UN ESTUDIO LINGÜÍSTICO-PRAGMÁTICO DEL LENGUAJE FEMENINO EN EL SIGLO XVII <b>M<sup>a</sup> José Rodríguez Campillo</b> .....	539
EL CONTACTO LINGÜÍSTICO EN LA LITERATURA ALJAMIADA: ¿DÓNDE ESTÁ DIOS? <b>Juan Antonio Thomas</b> .....	551
PRESENTACIÓN DE LIBRO: <i>LA LINGÜÍSTICA EN ESPAÑA: 24 AUTOBIOGRAFÍAS INTELLECTUALES</i> <b>Xavier Laborda, Lourdes Romera, Ana Ma. Fernández Planas</b> .....	563



## THE SYNTAX OF ELLIPSIS IN ARABIC FRAGMENT ANSWERS<sup>1</sup>

ALI ALGRYANI  
*The Libyan Academy*

### 1. ELLIPSIS IN SYNTACTIC THEORY

Ellipsis is an interdisciplinary topic that may involve the interfaces of syntax, phonology, semantics and/or pragmatics. Lobeck (1995: 20) defines ellipsis as the “omission of a syntactic constituent under identity with an antecedent in the preceding discourse”. The phenomenon of ellipsis, as put by Smith (2001: 176), cannot be easily classified as it involves “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)”.

The central question with respect to ellipsis is its linguistic representation. There are two lines of thought regarding the linguistic representation of ellipsis: deletion and non-deletion theories. The deletion account argues that ellipsis is syntactically represented but deleted at the PF interface, that is, it has syntax but not a phonological representation (Hankamer & Sag 1976; Merchant 2001, 2006; van Craenenbroeck 2010). On the other hand, the non-deletion approach considers ellipsis as a null category (devoid of syntactic structure) that can be interpreted either as a regular pronoun (Lobeck 1995) or by copying the semantic component of the antecedent into the ellipsis site (Chung et al. 1995; Fortin 2007).

Elliptical structures can be sub-categorised into different types, depending on the category targeted by deletion. Below are examples on different elliptical constructions, namely sluicing (1), VP ellipsis (2), gapping (3), stripping (4), and fragment answers (5).

(1) Jane met someone, but I can't remember who.

(2) Yasin bought a new house, and Ali did too.

(3) John read a novel and Mary a magazine.

(4) Jane likes watching TV, and Mary too.

(5) A: who did she meet?

B: John.

---

<sup>1</sup> The results of this paper were presented in the *11th International Conference on General Linguistics* held at the University of Navarra (Pamplona, Spain, 21-23 May 2014). I'm indebted to The Libyan Academy for their conference support award that enabled me to participate in that conference.

The variety of Arabic used in this study is Modern Standard Arabic, referred to henceforth as Arabic.

The present study provides an overview of the syntax of ellipsis in Arabic fragment answers from a generative perspective. It is organised as follows: section 1 introduces ellipsis in syntactic theory with special focus on ellipsis in fragment answers; section 2 presents fragment answers in standard Arabic, whereas section 3 discusses the interaction between ellipsis and information structure. Section 4 puts forward an analysis for fragment answers in Arabic. Finally, section 5 presents the conclusion.

### 1.1. The syntax of ellipsis in fragment answers

Fragment answers are short answers to questions consisting of non-sentential XPs. Such XPs, however, convey the same propositional content as full sentential answers (Merchant 2004). Fragmentary utterances, such as (6), have been analysed according to non-structural and structural approaches. While the former argues against positing a structure in ellipsis at any level of representation, that is, there is no more structure than what is pronounced (Progovac 2006, Casielles 2006), the latter assumes that ellipsis in such utterances contains invisible syntactic structure (Merchant 2004, 2006; Krifka 2006; van Craenenbroeck 2010).

(6) A: Who did she see?

B: John.

The non-structural approach argues against positing a structure in ellipsis at any level of representation. In other words, there is no more structure than what is pronounced. There are several arguments in favour of this non-elliptical approach. For instance, the short answers in (7) are argued to involve no ellipsis.

(7) Who ate the cake?

A. Me/him/them.

B. \*I/he/they.

The pronouns in (7A) surface in the accusative case although they correspond to subject pronouns. The absence of structural nominative case, which is assigned in T, is taken by Progovac (2006) as an indication that such a fragment answer is not a TP. Therefore, the short answer in (7A) is analysed as a phrasal projection smaller than a TP. The fact that the NPs ‘me/him/them’ surface in the (default) accusative case is ascribed to the lack of a tense projection in the structure. The argument is that these pronouns are selected with the default case feature; therefore, they are legitimate objects and they do not contain any uninterpretable feature. The ungrammaticality of (7B) is because the pronouns ‘I/he/they’ contain unchecked nominative case features. In contrast, the fact that a subject pronoun in an answer such as ‘I did’ surfaces in the nominative case is expected given that nominative case assignment requires a tensed element (see Progovac 2006 and Casielles 2006 for further discussion).

In addition, Progovac (2006) considers verbal utterances such as the short answer in (8) as base-generated phrases. The verb in the answer is in the bare infinitive form, which is not expected if the short answer is an elliptical structure derived from a non-elliptical sentential source, as in shown (9).

(8)A: What did John do?

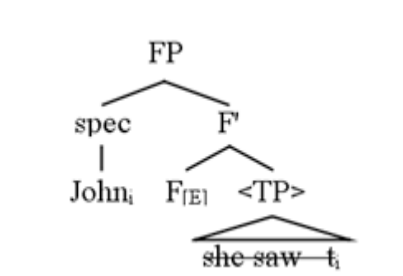
B: Play basketball.

(9)\*John play basketball.

The structure in (8B) is not a full TP as it lacks a tense node. The absence of tense and verbal agreement suggests that such utterances do not derive from full sentences by ellipsis; therefore, the answer in (8B) is analysed as a base-generated VP.

However, for the structural approach, utterances like (6) are analysed as a deletion process. Merchant (2004), for instance, provides an analysis of fragment answers in which the fragment answer is fronted to a clause-peripheral position and the remainder of the sentence is deleted. Accordingly, the fragment answer in (6), i.e. John, originates as an object of the verb *saw* and it moves to a clause initial position while the rest of the clause is elided, that is, not pronounced. This is illustrated in the tree diagram in (10).

(10)



There is evidence for such an analysis based on morphological case marking, preposition stranding, and binding effects. For instance, in languages where case is marked morphologically, it is argued that the remnant in short answers bears only the same case that it would display in full answers, as shown in (11) and (12) from Greek. The short answer in (11a) can be explained as follow: the remnant DP fragment answer starts as a subject bearing the nominative case which is expected in full answers prior to movement and ellipsis.

(11) Q: Pjos idhe tin Maria  
 who-nom saw the *Maria?*

‘Who saw Maria?’

a. A: O Giannis.  
 The Giannis-nom

b. A: \*Ton Gianni.  
 The Gianni-acc

(12) a. A: O Giannis idhe tin Maria.  
 The Giannis-nom saw the *Maria-acc*

‘Giannis saw Maria’.

- b. A: \*Ton Gianni idhe tin Maria.  
 The Giannis-acc saw the Maria-acc  
 ‘Giannis saw Maria’.

(Merchant 2006: 75).

The p-stranding phenomenon also supports the movement and ellipsis analysis. P-stranding is permitted in fragment answers only if it is permitted in full answers. In (13), stranding a preposition is unacceptable since German is a non-p-stranding language; the preposition in such cases has to be pied-piped. In p-stranding languages such as Swedish, both options are available, as in (14). This shows that only constituents that are independently observed to move in a language can be fragment answers in that language.

(13) German

- a. Mit wem hat Anna gesprochen?  
 with who has Anna spoken?  
 b. Mit dem Hans.  
 c. \*Dem Hans.  
 the Hans

(14) Swedish

- a. Vem har Peter talat med?  
 who has Peter talked with?  
 b. Mary.

(Merchant 2004: 685-686).

Finally, fragment answers display binding effects, which supports the analysis that they are derived from focus movement followed by TP ellipsis. DP fragments show the distribution regulated by the Binding Theory just like their sentential counterparts. The anaphor in the fragment answer is acceptable despite the absence of any antecedent. The grammaticality of (15a) can be explained under the assumption that there is a clausal structure in the ellipsis site hosting the antecedent, which in such a case leads to satisfying Condition A of the binding theory, which stipulates that an anaphor has to be bound in its governing category (Merchant 2004, 2006).

(15) Who does Alex like?

- a. Himself.  
 b. Alex<sub>i</sub> likes himself<sub>i</sub>.

## 2. FRAGMENT ANSWERS IN ARABIC

Fragment answers exist in Arabic. Speakers of the language often answer a question with a phrase, a fragment of a sentence, rather than with a full sentence. Fragment answers can be DPS, PPS or VP, as in (16)-(18).

- (16) A:    maḏa    ištara            Zayd-un?  
          what    bought.3MS    Zayd-NOM  
      B:    kitaab-an.  
          book-ACC
- (17) A:    mafa    man    ḏahaba            Zayd-un?  
          with    whom    went.3MS        Zayd-NOM  
      B:    mafa    Omar-en.  
          with    Omar-GEN
- (18) A:    maḏa    faʕala            Zayd-un        b-ssayyarat-i?  
          what    bought.3ms    Zayd-nom       with-the-car-gen  
      B:    baʕa-ha.  
          sold.3ms-it

The interpretation of fragment answers is constrained by information structure since the remnant in such structures is interpreted as a focused element (Brunetti 2003, Merchant 2004, Kolokonte 2008).

## 3. ELLIPSIS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Information structure refers to “the linguistic encoding of notions such as focus versus background and topic versus comment, which are used to describe the information flow” (Schwabe & Winkler 2007: 1). Focus and topic are expressed by syntactic or phonological means such as word order and pitch accent respectively (Richter & Mehlhorn 2006: 247-248).

Ellipsis, e.g. fragment answers, stripping, etc. is linked to information structure, since the remnant in such constructions is interpreted in terms of focus (Brunetti 2003, Busquets 2006, Kolokonte 2008). Focus is classified into two types of foci: informational focus and identificational (contrastive focus). Informational focus conveys new, non-presupposed information which is assumed not to be shared by the speaker and the hearer (Kiss 1998, Kenesei 2006), as in (19), where the constituent ‘Zayd’ carries new informational focus.

- (19) Standard Arabic  
      Q: Who did Omar call?  
      A1: Omar called *Zayd*.  
      A2:# *Omar* called Zayd.

Contrastive focus does not only convey an identificational reading, but also “requires a limited number of contextually given alternatives” (Molnár 2006: 204); it operates on a closed set of entities whose members are known by participants to which the focused element is identified and contrasted (Kenesei 2006). Focus in Arabic is realised by different means depending on the type of focus in question; a focused constituent can appear in situ or in a left peripheral position, as in (20) (Moutaouakil 1989, Aoun et al. 2010). The former is perceived as new informational focus, while the latter is normally interpreted as contrastive focus.

(20) Standard Arabic

- a. šariba                      zayd-un ŠAY-AN.  
       drank.3ms              zayd-nom              tea-acc  
       ‘Zayd drank TEA’.
- b. ŠAY-AN                    šariba                    zayd-un.  
       tea-acc                    drank.3ms              zayd-nom  
       ‘It was tea that Zayd drank’.

(Aoun et al. 2010: 202).

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF ARABIC FRAGMENT ANSWERS

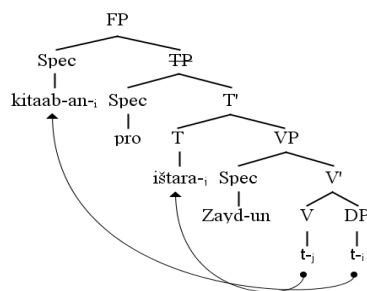
Fragment answers, as discussed in 1.1., are analysed as clausal ellipsis derived by movement of the remnant to the left periphery followed by deletion of the clause which constitutes the background information. Based on ellipsis data, Brunetti (2003) proposes that new informational focus in Italian can appear in the left periphery. Kolokonte (2008) supports this view, claiming that there are two focus projections in the left periphery; one, the lower, is occupied by new focus, while the other is designated for contrastive focus. I adopt this view and assume that new information focus can also appear in the left periphery in Arabic in the context of ellipsis.

Fragment answers in Arabic display some morphosyntactic effects just like their full counterparts, e.g. case-marking, preposition stranding, island effects. This suggests that such utterances can be analysed as a deletion process at PF preceded by focus movement of the remnant. For instance, the morphological case-marking effect is evident in Arabic as in (21), where the fragment answer can only bear accusative case it would bear in a sentential answer (21c).

- (21) A:      maða    ištara                      Zayd-un?  
               what    bought.3MS                      Zayd-NOM  
               ‘What did Zayd buy?’
- B:      kitaab-**an**.              /                      \*kitaab-un  
               book-ACC    book-NOM
- C:      Zayd-un                      ištara                      kitaab-**an**.  
               Zayd-NOM                      bought.3MS                      book-ACC

The remnant in (21) bears the accusative case, indicating that it originates as an object of the verb *ištara* ‘buy’, where it is assigned accusative case. The remnant undergoes focus movement to a left peripheral position followed by TP deletion at PF, as illustrated in the tree diagram in (22)<sup>2</sup>. As for the interpretation of the remnant, it is interpreted as new informational focus given that it is not in contrast with any existing information but rather it expresses new information that is not shared by the speaker and the addressee.

(22)



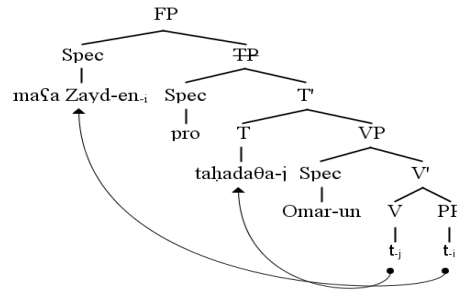
The preposition stranding argument can also be extended to Arabic. Arabic is a non-p-stranding language; p-stranding is not permitted in fragment/short answers, as in (23) or in full answers (A3). The p-stranding effect can be accounted for by the movement-plus-deletion analysis, according to which the remnant PP ‘with Zayd’ starts as a complement of the verb *talk* and moves up to the left periphery before the entire TP gets deleted, as shown in (24). The ungrammaticality of (A1) can be ascribed to the ban on p-stranding in the language.

- (23) Q:   maʕa   man   taḥadaθ-a   Omar-un?  
          with   who   talked.3MS   Omar-NOM  
          ‘With whom did Omar talk?’
- A1:   \*Zayd.
- A2:   √maʕa           Zayd-en.  
          ‘With           Zayd’.
- A3:   taḥadaθ-a   Omar-un   maʕa   Zayd-en  
          talked.3MS   Omar-NOM   with   Zayd-GEN

<sup>2</sup> The assumption that the remnant, e.g. in (21) can be in situ, that is, in the TP, and that all of the TP except for the constituent that surfaces as a remnant, as in (i), elides is unacceptable since it would entail that a syntactic operation can apply to a string of words that do not make up a constituent.

(i)   ištara           Zayd-un   kitab-an  
      bought.3MS   Zayd-NOM   book-ACC

(24)



Finally, the third argument in favour of the assumption that the remnant undergoes A'-movement to the left periphery is the fact that the remnant in fragment answers is sensitive to island domains (see Merchant 2004 for further discussion). Thus, if the correlate to a fragment answer is within an island, then only the sentential answer is possible.

(25) Adjunct island

A: hal      žaša                      liʔana                      Musa lam      yadʕu      Omarʔ

Q      came.3MS                      because Musa      NEG      invited.3MS      Omar

‘Did he come because Musa didn’t invite Omar?’

B: \*la,      Essa.

no,      Essa.

C: la,      lam      yaʕti                      liʔana      Musa      lam      yadʕu                      Essa.

no      NEG      came.3MS                      because Musa      NEG      invited.3MS      Essa

‘No, he came because Musa didn’t invite Essa’.

(26) Relative clause island

A: hal      istalamta                      al-ressalat-a      allati      kataba-ha                      li-Zaynabʔ

Q      recieved.3MS      the-letter-acc      that      wrote.3MS-it      for-Zaynab

‘Did you receive the letter that he wrote for Zaynab?’

B: \*la,      li-Asma.

no      for-Asma.

C: la,      istalamtu                      al-ressalat-a      allati      kataba-ha                      li-zayd-enʔ

no      recieved.1M      the-letter-acc      that      wrote.3MS-it      for-Zayd-GEN

‘No, I received that the letter that he wrote for Zayd’.

The ungrammaticality of (25B) and (26B) is expected if we assume that the fragment DPS derive from the structures in (C) and that they have moved across island domains to the left periphery.



## 5. CONCLUSION

The paper has discussed the syntax of fragment answers in Arabic. The paper argues that ellipsis in Arabic fragment answer contains syntactic structure and therefore can be derived by focus movement of the remnant to the left periphery followed by IP ellipsis. Such movement-plus-deletion analysis is based on empirical evidence from morphological case-matching, preposition-stranding as well as island effects. The remnant is interpreted as new informational focus, indicating that new information focus can appear in the left periphery in the context of ellipsis.

## REFERENCES

- AOUN, E.J., BENMAMOUN, E., CHOUËIRI, L. (2010): *The Syntax of Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BRUNETTI, L. (2003): "Information focus movement in Italian and contextual constraints on Ellipsis", in Tsujimura, M., Garding, G. (eds.): *Proceedings of 22<sup>nd</sup> West Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 95-108.
- BUSQUETS, J. (2006): "Stripping vs. VP-ellipsis in Catalan: what is deleted and when?", *Probus*, 18, 159-187.
- CARLSON, K.C. (2002): *Parallelism and Prosody in the Processing of Ellipsis*. New York: Routledge.
- CASIELLES, E. (2006): "Big questions, small answers", in L. Progovac, K. Paesani, E. Casielles, E. Barton, (eds.): *The Syntax of Non-sententials: multidisciplinary perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 118-145.
- CHUNG, S., LADUSAW, W.A., McCLOSKEY, J. (1995): "Sluicing and logical form", *Natural Language Semantics*, 3, 239-282.
- CRAENENBROECK, J. VAN (2010): *The Syntax of Ellipsis: Evidence from Dutch Dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FORTIN, C. (2007): *Indonesian Sluicing and Verb Phrase Ellipsis*. PhD dissertation. University of Michigan.
- HANKAMER, J., SAG, I. (1976): "Deep and surface anaphora", *Linguistic Inquiry*, 7/3, 391-426.
- KENESEI, I. (2006): "Focus as identification", in V. Molnár, S. Winkler (eds.): *The Architecture of Focus*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 137-168.
- KISS, K.E. (1998): "Identificational focus versus information focus", *Language*, 74, 245-273.
- KOLOKONTE, M. (2008): *Bare Argument Ellipsis & Information Structure*. PhD dissertation. UK: Newcastle University.
- KRIFKA, M. (2006): "Association with focus phrases", in V. Molnár, S. Winkler (eds.): *The Architecture of Focus*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 105-136.
- LOBECK, A. (1995): *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing, and identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- MERCHANT, J. (2001): *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- (2004): “Fragments and Ellipsis”, *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 27, 661-738.
- (2006): “Small structures: a sententialist perspective”, in L. Progovac, K. Paesani, E. Casielles, E. Barton, (eds.): *The Syntax of Non-sententials: multidisciplinary perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 73-91.
- MOLNÁR, V. (2006): “On different kinds of contrast”, in V. Molnár, S. Winkler (eds.): *The Architecture of Focus*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 197-233.
- MOUTAOUAKIL, A. (1989): *Pragmatic Functions in a Functional Grammar of Arabic*. Dordrecht: Faris Publications.
- PROGOVAC, L. (2006): “The syntax of nonsententials: Small clauses and phrases at the Root”, in L. Progovac, K. Paesani, E. Casielles, E. Barton, (eds.): *The Syntax of Non-sententials: multidisciplinary perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 33-71.
- RICHTER, N., MEHLHORN, G. (2006): “Focus on contrast and emphasis: evidence from Prosody”, in V. Molnár, S. Winkler (eds.): *The Architecture of Focus*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 247-272.
- SCHWABE, K., WINKLER, S. (2007): “Introduction to ‘On information structure, meaning and form: Generalizations across languages’”, in K. Schwabe, S. Winkler (eds.): *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form: Generalizations across languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-32.
- SMITH, N. (2001): “Ellipsis happens, and deletion is how”, *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics*, 11, 176-191.
- WINKLER, S. (2005): *Ellipsis and Focus in Generative Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.