



## Overview

- **Observation:** Lebanese Arabic (LA) allows P-stranding under sluicing (1), but not in non-elliptical wh-questions.
  - (1) Adam ḥaka maḥ ḥada, bas ma baḥref meen.  
*Adam talked to someone but not know who*  
'Adam talked to someone, but I don't know who.'
- This is an apparent violation of Merchant's (2001) Preposition Stranding Generalization (PSG):
  - (2) A language *L* will allow P-stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows P-stranding under regular wh-movement.
- **Claim:** sluicing with P-stranding in LA is derived from a cleft (pseudo-sluicing; Merchant 1998).
- Pivots of clefts are not headed by a preposition, so ellipsis does not involve P-stranding, and the PSG is not violated.

## Background

- Sluicing: ellipsis construction with the surface form of an interrogative phrase.
- Merchant's (2001) approach: sluicing is derived by wh-movement followed by TP deletion at PF.
  - (3) bas ma baḥref meen [ Adam ḥaka — maḥ ].  
*but not know who Adam talked to*  
'but I don't know who.'
- Semantic isomorphism: semantic mutual entailment between the elided clause (E) and its antecedent (A).
- Types of sluicing (Chung et al. 1995): *merger* with overt correlate, *sprouting* with implicit correlate.
  - (4) Adam ḥam yeḥra, bas ma baḥref shu.  
*Adam PROG read but not know what*  
'Adam is reading, but I don't know what.'
- Pseudo-sluicing: semantically equivalent cleft sources (Algryani 2012; Rodrigues et al. 2009).
  - (5) bas ma baḥref meen (huwwe) illi Adam ḥaka maḥ-o.  
*but not know who he.COP that Adam talked to-him*  
'but I don't know who it is that Adam talked to.'

## Sluicing in LA

- Wh-questions in LA: wh-fronting (6a) vs. wh-clefts (6b).
  - (6) a. shu<sub>i</sub> jebet t<sub>i</sub>?      b. shu<sub>i</sub> (huwwe) illi jebet-o<sub>i</sub>?  
*what got*                      *what it.COP that got-it*  
'What did you get?'      'What is it that you got?'
- P-stranding in questions: resumptive pronouns appear in wh-clefts (7), cannot be used in wh-fronting (8).
  - (7) meen illi raḥas Adam maḥ-o?  
*who that danced Adam with-him*  
'Who is it that Adam danced with?'
  - (8) \*meen raḥas Adam maḥ-o?  
*who danced Adam with-him*  
'Who did Adam dance with?'
- **Proposal:** P-stranding sluices derive from cleft sources (9a), not sources with wh-fronting (9b).
  - (9) sh-shabeb ḥako maḥ ḥada, bas ma baḥref meen.  
*the-guys talked to someone but not know who*  
'The guys talked to someone, but I don't know who.'  
 a. bas ma baḥref meen (huwwe) illi ḥako maḥ-o.  
*but not know who he.COP that talked to-him*  
'but I don't know who it is that they talked to.'  
 b. \*bas ma baḥref meen ḥako maḥ-o.  
*but not know who talked to-him*  
intended: 'but I don't know who they talked to.'
- Semantic parallelism is satisfied without actual P-stranding.

## Predictions of the Proposal

- **Prediction:** when cleft sources are ruled out by some independent factor, P-less remnants become impossible.
- **Else-modification:** if P-less remnants derive from a cleft, they cannot combine with *else*-modification.
  - (10) Adam dahar maḥ Tala, bas ma baḥref \*(maḥ) meen kamen.  
*Adam went with Tala but not know with who also*  
'Adam went out with Tala, but I don't know with who else.'
  - (11) \*meen kamen (hiyye) l-bint illi Adam dahar maḥ-a.  
*who also she the-girl that Adam went with-her*  
'who else is the girl that Adam went out with.'

- **Stripping:** P-less remnants are not allowed (12) because cleft sources are not possible (13).
  - (12) Adam ḥaka maḥ Tala, mish \*(maḥ) Rami.  
*Adam talked with Tala not with Rami*  
'Adam talked with Tala, not with Rami.'
  - (13) \*mish Rami (huwwe) illi Adam ḥaka maḥ-o.  
*not Rami he.COP that Adam talked with-him*  
intended: 'Rami is not the one that Adam talked with.'
- **Multiple sluicing:** P-stranding is not allowed (14), and there is no meaning-identical cleft source (15).
  - (14) Adam ḥaka ḥan shi la ḥada, bas ma baḥref  
*Adam talked about sth. to s.o. but not know*  
\*(ḥan) shou w \*(la) meen.  
*about what and to who*  
'Adam talked about something to someone, but I don't know about what and to whom.'
  - (15) ...shou (huwwe) illi Adam ḥaka ḥan-o w meen  
*what it.COP that Adam talked about-it and who*  
(huwwe) illi Adam ḥaka il-o.  
*he.COP that Adam talked to-him*  
'...what it is that Adam talked about, and who it is that Adam talked to.'
- A meaning-identical cleft source does not allow P-stranding in the second wh-phrase (16).
  - (16) ...shou (huwwe) illi Adam ḥaka ḥan-o w la meen.  
*what it.COP that Adam talked about-it and to who*  
'what it is that Adam talked about, and to whom.'
- **Contrast sluicing:** P-less remnants are not allowed (17), and a cleft source is ruled out (18).
  - (17) Adam ḥaka maḥ khams banet, bas ma baḥref \*(maḥ)  
*Adam talked with five girls but not know with*  
kam sabe.  
*how.many boy*  
'Adam talked with five girls, but I don't know with how many boys.'
  - (18) \*...kam sabe (henne) illi ḥaka maḥ-on.  
*how.many boy they.COP that talked with-them*  
'...how many boys it is that he talked with.'
- **Split questions:** when the question is a regular wh-question, P-omission is not allowed in the tag.
  - (19) maḥ meen dahar Adam, \*(maḥ) Tala?  
*with who went Adam with Tala*  
'Who did Adam go out with, Tala?'