# Stripping in Spanish. Focalized PP remnants

Virgilio Partida-Peñalva
*University of Toronto*

Stripping has been defined as a type of gapping where most of the elements in a second conjunct of a coordinate construction are deleted, except for one argumental NP —the remnant— and one polarity particle (Ex. John read *Crime and Punishment*, but not Mary) (Depiante, 2000; Yoshida, Nakao and Ortega-Santos, 2012, 2015, among others). Previous work on this phenomenon (Kim 1998, Depiante 2000) has proposed that stripping involves focalization (movement to FocusP) of an argumental NP and the polarity particle followed by a deletion of TP. In this work, I show that in Spanish the single remnant of an elided phrase can also correspond to a smaller phrase: PPs introduced by the preposition *de* 'of' that would normally be located in the sister position of the N head (1).

(1)

    a.  No  trajo   **helado**    de chocolate,  pero  sí  [$_{NP}$ [**e**]   [$_{PP}$ de    fresa]].
        not  brought  ice-cream  of chocolate,  but   yes   [e]   of       strawberry
        '(S/he) didn't brought chocolate ice-cream, but (s/he bought a) strawberry (one)'
        (lit. S/he didn't brought ice-cream of chocolate, but s/he brought of strawberry)

    b.  No trajo **helado** de chocolate, pero [**e**] de fresa sí.

    Examples like this seem as cases of NP-ellipsis where the N head is deleted but the PP is left stranded. In fact, work on NP-ellipsis in Spanish (Ticio, 2003, 2005, 2010) has previously analyzed similar examples where N heads, but not their determiners and PP modifiers, are deleted. Such work proposes the existence of a PF elision rule that targets an NP within a DP, eliding all the elements inside the elision site, but not the ones base-generated outside. PPs generated inside the elision site can move covertly outside of the site —to an adjunct position of NP— before the ellipsis operation takes place, avoiding being deleted. In this work, however, I argue that the structures in (1) involve a stripping elision process, but not an NP-ellipsis. Following Kim (1998) and Depiante (2000), I propose that the remnant PP moves overtly to FocusP to contrast the information in the antecedent. However, contrary to these authors, I argue that the polarity particle doesn't rise to FocP, but to a higher projection (TopP) (building on Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2008)), where it licenses the stripping rule that deletes TP, as shown in (2).

(2)    No trajo helado de chocolate, pero [$_{Top}$ sí$_j$ [$_{FocP}$ de fresa$_i$ [$_{\Sigma P}$ s~~í~~$_j$ [~~$_{TP}$~~ [~~$_T$~~ ~~trajo~~ [~~$_{NP}$~~ ~~helado~~ [~~$_{PP}$~~ ~~t$_i$~~

    This approach has the advantage of requiring only one elision rule (deletion of TP) and a movement that occurs during the derivation for focalization purposes, but not a covert operation. In contrast, analyzing (1) as a case of NP-ellipsis would require several operations. First, the PP would need to move covertly to a position within DP in order to avoid being deleted by the N-ellipsis that targets NP. Then, it would have to rise again to a higher position before the operation that deletes the verb applies. Moreover, the movement of a PP to FocusP in stripping is motivated by a focalization process that creates a contrast with the information introduced in the antecedent, and which is highly attested in this language, even in contexts that don't involve ellipsis.

## References

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