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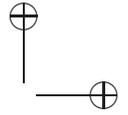
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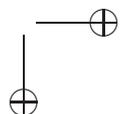
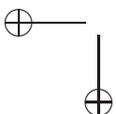
Stripping vs. VP-Ellipsis in Catalan: What is deleted and when?¹

JOAN BUSQUETS

Abstract

In the tradition of Generative Grammar, several authors have explained the impossibility of VP-Ellipsis for Romance Languages following the hypothesis that VP-Ellipsis in these languages is not licensed by the head of INFL as it is in English. It has been pointed out that in French, for instance, VP-Ellipsis is expressed by Stripping. The idea that Romance languages show TP-Ellipsis or TP-Deletion has emerged recently. In this paper I intend to demonstrate that, concerning Catalan, three related constructions, namely Stripping, negative-contrasting constructions and TP-Ellipsis are independent and clearly specified. This evidence will come from the analysis of the so-called information packaging. I'm going to argue that there are two different interpretative processes. On the one hand, Stripping and negative-contrasting constructions are under the control of focus by means of parallel foci in the former, and contrastive foci in the latter. On the other hand, TP-Ellipsis constructions are not constrained by the information packaging, although this notion might help to disambiguate the target in certain cases. Finally, we observe that the polarity particles are expressions whose function is to select the appropriate antecedent in the three cases we are concerned here.

1. This work is based on a preliminary internal research report (Busquets 2005), and earlier versions of this work were presented at the *1 Journées Romanes* at Université Toulouse Le Mirail, Toulouse, and also in talks at the Linguistics Seminar organized at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, the Signes/INRIA Futurs Seminar at LaBri, Université Bordeaux 1, and Université Bordeaux 3. I thank the audiences there for valuable remarks and comments. Special thanks go to Pascal Denis, Javier Gutiérrez Rexach, Louise McNally, Marie-Paule Pery-Woodley, Christian Retoré, Patrick Sauzet, and Enric Vallduví for their insightful suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer whose valuable comments and suggestions help me to improve the paper. Of course, the usual disclaimer applies.



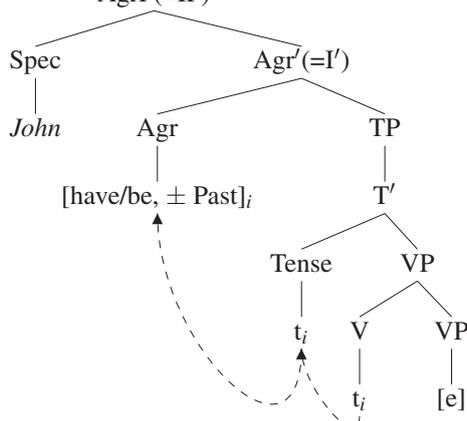
1. The problem

It has been generally assumed that Romance Languages do not have equivalent VP-Ellipsis (VPE) in English. One of the main assumptions is that INFL has to be successfully filled out with the relevant features (Tense, AGR and v) in order to identify an empty VP (Chao 1987; Lobeck 1995; Zagana 1988):

Licensing VPE:
 [VP e] is licensed by the head INFL²

According to this hypothesis, the examples in (1a,b) will be represented syntactically as in (1c) (cf. Lobeck 1995: 145):

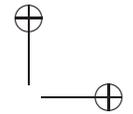
- (1) a. Mary is leaving and John is [VP e] too
 b. Mary hasn't left, and John has [VP e]
 c. AgrP(=IP)



Lobeck (1995) argues that the productivity of VPE in English follows from the interaction of Verb Raising and Generalized GTC³, both principles permitting the licensing of VPE, since the fact that the trace in Tense or v is co-indexed with AGR, leaves this projection as properly head-governing the empty complement of Tense (i.e., the VP in the target). On this approach, elided categories must be X⁰ specified for certain features. In English, VPE is thus governed by

2. In Pollock (1989), the node IP is called AgrP. In what follows, the approach in Belletti (1988) is taken, according to which AgrP is higher than TP. Even though this issue will not be addressed here, see the arguments proposed in Suñer (1995) for Spanish, and Espinal (1991) for Catalan.

3. This stands for *Generalized Government Transparency Corollary* which Lobeck (1995:146) defines as follows: An X⁰ which is co-indexed with and governs an empty head governs everything that head would govern.



INFL. Tense dominates the feature $[\pm \text{past}]$, and AGR is specified for the selection of the agreement features of Person, Number, and Gender. When INFL $[+\text{Tense}, +\text{Agr}]$ is empty, ungrammaticality results. If INFL is $[-\text{Tense}]$, then it must inherit proper government from a higher verb. Intuitively this means that only auxiliary verbs overtly raise from *v* or *tense* to *Agr*. Since the auxiliary shares the features of the VP of its antecedent, the recovery of the missing content for the ellipsis site is permitted.

The same reasoning might be used to explain the ungrammaticalities in French, Spanish and Catalan, illustrated in the following examples:

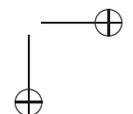
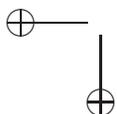
- (2) a. **Claudine est une bonne étudiante, et Marie est*
 Claudine is a good student and Mary is
 [VP e] *aussi*
 too
- b. **Juan ha salido y Pablo ha* [VP e] *también*
 John has left and Pablo has too
- c. **Bach és difícil d'interpretar, i Mozart és* [VP e]
 Bach is hard to play and Mozart is
també
 too

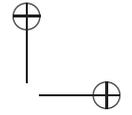
In these languages the VP complements cannot remain empty. In French, for instance, both auxiliary and main verbs overtly raise from *v* to *Tense* and *Agr*, a feature which English does not have. Moreover, it is assumed (Chomsky 1991) that in French feature checking occurs prior to or at ss level. At this level then the impossibility of VPE in French is due to the fact that INFL cannot be successfully filled out with the relevant features of $[\pm \text{past}]$, which are unavailable to identify an empty VP. Zagona (1982, 1988) explains the impossibility of VPE in Spanish in terms of the *Empty Category Principle* (ECP). According to Zagona, INFL is a lexical governor for the VP, because $[+V]$ extends to INFL the governing properties of verbs. In Spanish, however, INFL is $[-V]$, which lacks the crucial feature permitting this node to be a proper governing category.⁴

4. Zagona's argument for the ungrammaticality of (2b) is that either the auxiliary *ha* (has) moves to INFL (i), or it remains *in situ* (ii):

- (i) [INFL [INFL *ha* [VP e]]]
 (ii) [VP *ha* [VP e]]

The invalidity of (i) is due to the fact that the auxiliary does not occupy a maximal projection (X^0), and it cannot properly govern the empty VP. As a consequence, the deleted material cannot be reconstructed. In (ii), the auxiliary constitutes a maximal projection, but in such a case there's a contradiction with the feature $[-V]$ in Spanish.





Finally, regarding the French example in (2a), Chao (1987: 187) claims that in French,

[...] there is no straightforward equivalent to the English VPE and (do so) constructions. These constructions are expressed by means of either Stripping or 'do it' constructions.

Thus, the right structure for (2a) is:

- (3) *Claudine est une bonne étudiante, et Marie aussi*
Claudine is a good student and Mary too

Let's first define Stripping. According to Hankamer and Sag (1976: 409) *Stripping* is a syntactic rule that deletes everything in a clause that is identical to the corresponding parts of the preceding clause (the *correlate*), except for one constituent (the *remnant*)⁵. We could express this assumption as follows:

Condition for Stripping:

Structural parallelism between the *correlate* and the *remnant*

The examples below illustrate the Stripping phenomena (the deleted material in the remnant is distinguished with strikeouts):

- (4) a. John gave presents to Peter, but not ~~gave presents~~ to Geoff⁶
b. Jane loves to study rocks, and ~~loves study~~ geography too
c. Jane loves to study rocks, and John ~~loves to study rocks~~ too

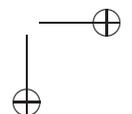
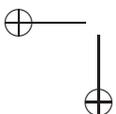
If we apply Chao's approach to Catalan, deleting the auxiliary in (2c) the construction should become grammatical. (5b) and (5c) are other Catalan realizations closely related to (5a).

- (5) a. *Bach és difícil d'interpretar, i Mozart també*
Bach is hard to play and Mozart too
b. *La Maria va anar als USA, però el seu germà no*
Mary went to USA but his brother not
c. *En Pere no vindrà a sopar, però en Carles tampoc*
Peter will come to diner but Carles neither

The examples in (5) show that obviously there is some missing material in the second conjunct. The Tense feature, which is carried by the auxiliary in English (cf. examples in 1), has been deleted, which is why these examples have recently emerged as case of TP-deletion or TP-Ellipsis instead of VP-Ellipsis (Laka, 1990) as illustrated below:

5. I'm going to follow the tradition by calling *correlate* and *remnant* the Stripping conjuncts, and *source* and *target* the antecedent clause and the elliptical clause respectively for TP-Ellipsis.

6. Examples from Lobeck (1995: 27).



$$[\text{AgrP} \dots \underbrace{[\text{TP} \dots [\text{VP} \dots]]}_{[e]}]$$

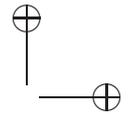
Now the question is: are examples in (5) structural realizations of *Stripping* as pointed out in Chao (1987) or TP-ellipsis or TP-Deletion as noticed by Laka (1990)? In order to find an answer we first need to be able to distinguish the syntactic constraints in both constructions. I shall demonstrate that both linguistic phenomena are clearly distinguished in Catalan. Hence the question that matters is not whether in Catalan we are dealing with vPE or *Stripping*, but rather what kind of factors distinguishes the two phenomena. We will see that there is not a single set of examples but two different subsets of syntactic constructions. The source of the confusion is that the expressions *sí, no, també, tampoc* (yes, no, also/too, neither) (henceforth *polarity particles* (Brucart 1987; Busquets 1997, 1999)) are implicated in three different types of phenomena: *Stripping* (cf. 6a), *negative-contrasting (or replacive) constructions* (Drübig 1994) (cf. 6b) and *TP-Ellipsis* (cf. 6c).

- (6) a. *En Max va donar flors a la Rosa, i també a la Zelda*
 Max gave flowers to Rosa and also to Zelda
- b. *Mozart va néixer a Salzburg, no a Vienna*
 Mozart was born in Salzburg not in Vienna
- c. *La Maria no parla l'anglès, però tinc un amic que sí*
 Mary doesn't speak the English, but I have a friend that yes
 'Mary doesn't speak English, but I have a friend who does.'

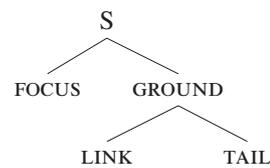
I intend to show that (6a) and (6b) are under the control of the organisation of *information packaging* (Vallduví 1990) whereas (6c) is not, although the notion of *focus* might help disambiguate the interpretation of the ellipsis in certain cases where several VP's are available as antecedents for the target. In order to do this I'm going to introduce some notions about information packaging in Catalan.

2. Notes on information packaging in Catalan

It has been traditionally assumed that svo is the canonical word order in Catalan (like other Romance languages). However, the vos view has emerged over the past years.⁷ The vos hypothesis claims that the base position of subjects is



the post-verbal position, and this means that pre-verbal subjects are oblique-adjuncts, and they don't have to appear overtly. Some authors argue that the post-verbal position of subject has to be considered as a derived position (cf. Torrego 1984). In this paper I shall assume the vos hypothesis, in particular Vallduví's (1990, 1993) approach to information packaging. According to Vallduví, sentence structure is articulated into FOCUS and GROUND, with the latter being further divided into LINK, and TAIL, as given in (1):



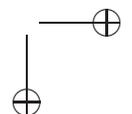
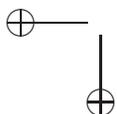
This two-level binomial structure is crucial in explaining information packaging in Catalan. According to Vallduví (1990), all non-focal elements should be left out of IP. Links left-dislocate out of the clause; tails right-dislocate out of the clause, leaving a clitic, and only the focal part remains in the core clause (i.e., in IP). Vallduví's approach – assuming the non-elidability of the focus, optionality of the ground, and initial position of the link in the sentence – establishes four realizations for a given sentence: link-focus (7a), link-focus-tail (7b), all-focus (7c) and focus-tail (7d). I'm going to use SMALL CAPITALS to indicate the focus of utterances, [F α] for the focused constituent and # indicates that the utterance is inappropriate in the given context.

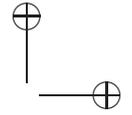
- (7)
- a. [Link el president₁] [Focus odia el joc de porcellana de DELFT t₁]
The president [F HATES] the Delft CHINA SET
 - b. [Link El president₁] [Focus l'₂ ODIA t₂ t₁,] [Tail el joc de porcellana de Delft₂]
The president [F HATES] the Delft china set
 - c. [Focus Odia el joc de porcellana de DELFT pro]
[F (He) hates the Delft CHINA SET]
 - d. [Focus l'₂ ODIA t₂ pro,] [Tail el joc de porcellana de Delft₂]
[F (He) HATES] the Delft china set

For the purposes of this paper we will need to distinguish two different syntactic environments: *Left-detachment* (or Clitic Left Dislocation (CLRD)) and *Focus-preposing* (or Focus Fronting (FF)).⁸ Both look similar because both in-

7. vos order is defended in Solà (1992), Vallduví (1990), Rosselló (1986), Bonet and Solà (1986), to name just a few.

8. I'm not going to discuss in detail the differences between these structures. This issue is examined in detail in Vallduví (1992), Cinque (1990), Caselles (1998,1999), Villalba (2000), and López (2002).





volve movement to the left, but the relevant difference between them is that whereas focus-preposed elements are intonationally prominent (i.e., they are focus), left-detached material is not (i.e., they are topics), as illustrated in (8):

- (8) a. [IP XP_i [IP ... [VP clitic_i V ... pro_i]]] XP_i NOT FOCUSED
 b. [Focus-Preposed XP_i [IP [IP ... t_i ...]]] XP_i FOCUSED

Both configurations are illustrated below :

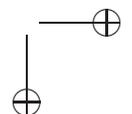
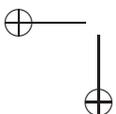
- (9) a. [A *la Priscilla*_i, [l'*Elvis* [li_i *va dedicar una*
 to the Priscilla the Elvis cl. PAST-3s-dedicate a
 CANÇÓ pro_i]]]
 song
 'To Priscilla, Elvis dedicated a song.'
 b. [L'*ELVIS*,]_i *va dedicar una cançó a la*
 the Elvis PAST-3s-dedicate a song to the
Priscilla t_i
 Priscilla
 'Elvis dedicated a song to Priscilla.'

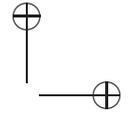
Moreover, as is pointed out in Vallduví (1993: 14), the difference between left-detachment and right-detachment becomes evident in contrastive contexts.

- (10) a. *On són el coberts?*
 'Where's the flatware?'
 b. *Les forquilles són a l'armari, però ...*
 'The forks are in the cupboard, but ...'
 (i) ... *els ganivets*₁ *els*₁ *vaig ficar* t₁ *al CALAIX*.
 the knives obj 1s-pst-put in the drawer
 (ii) ... #*vaig ficar els ganivets al CALAIX*
 (iii) ... # *els*₁ *vaig ficar* t₁ *al CALAIX, els ganivets*₁.
 '...the knives I put in the drawer'

Only links are compatible with contrastive contexts as illustrated in (10b) above. That is, left-detachment of the link (*els ganivets*) is required in order for the context to be felicitous. This is an interesting test though, to reveal the syntactic location of the deleted material which has to be recovered from the context for the elided version of (10), ([e] indicates the position of the deleted material).

- (11) a. *On són el coberts?*
 'Where's the flatware?'
 b. *Les forquilles són a l'armari, però*
 (i) #...[e] *al CALAIX els ganivets*₁





- (ii) #... *els ganivets*₁ *al CALAIX* [e]
- (iii) ... *els ganivets*₁ [e] *al CALAIX*
'The forks are in the cupboard, but the knives in the drawer'

We will see that these two configurations become useful when considering the constructions we are interested in in this paper. More specifically, Stripping constructions in English might be translated in Catalan according to either Focus-preposing or Left-detachment.

3. What is deleted and when?

As I have already said, we are dealing with three kinds of constructions in which the *polarity particles* occur, namely, Negative-contrasting constructions, Stripping and TP-Ellipsis. I intend to show how these constructions are licensed in Catalan in contrast to English. In order to do so, I will proceed as follows: first, I'm going to analyze the distinctions between negative-contrasting and Stripping, on the one hand, and negative-contrasting and TP-Ellipsis on the other hand. Secondly, a comparison between Stripping in English and Catalan will be presented. I will argue that Stripping in Catalan is constrained by the information packaging. Thirdly, I'm going to show that Catalan versions of Reinhart's *Bare-Argument Conjunctions* are controlled by the position of the focus.

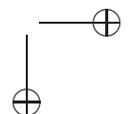
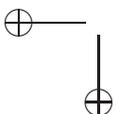
3.1. Negative-contrasting constructions

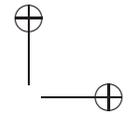
Consider the following sentences (from Drübig 1994):

- (12) a. *John doesn't (only) write books about syntax, but (also) about semantics.*
- b. *John doesn't (only) love Mary, but (also) Anne.*

According to Drübig (1994), the sentence following *not* must be interpreted as a contrastive focus; that is, as a focus which is related to a closed set of context-construable alternatives. The correlation 'about syntax, but about semantics', due to the presence of the contrastive particle *but*, requires a negative antecedent and must be contained in the scope domain of negation. Contrary to Reinhart (1991), who proposes the TP-adjunction for the replacive negation, Drübig suggests that they occupy the SPEC-position of an appropriate functional projection called *Polarity Phrase*. I'll return later to syntactic representation in Section 4.

Let us now take a closer look at the constructions below:





- (13) a. *La Marta* [_{VP} *va venir al cinema*], *però*
Marta came to the movies but Miquel
en Miquel no [_{VP} e]
not
- b. *Va venir al cinema* [*la MARTA*], *no* [_{EN MIQUEL}]
it came MARTA to the movies, not MIQUEL
- c. *Va venir al cinema* [*la MARTA*], *però no* [_{EN MIQUEL}]
it came MARTA to the movies, but
not MIQUEL

In (13a) we are dealing with a case of TP-ellipsis. In (13b) with a negative-contrasting construction, and finally in (13c) with Stripping. Let's discuss first the differences between (13a) and (13b). As it has been pointed out (Bosque 1984, Brucart 1987) the second conjunct in (13a) is a sentence, whereas in (13b) it is not. That which demonstrates the sentence character of the target in (13a) is it cannot appear within the source (cf. 14a), whereas the remnant in (13b) for instance, can appear following its correlate (cf. 14b):

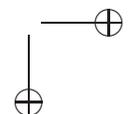
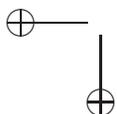
- (14) a. **La Marta, però en Miquel no, ha vingut al cinema*
Marta but Miquel not came to the movies
- b. *La Marta, no en Miquel, va venir al cinema*
Marta not Miquel came to the movies

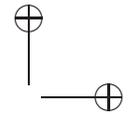
Moreover, Bosque (1984) gives two more arguments to prove the existence of an elliptical process in (13a) but not in (13b). Consider the following example:

- (15) *En Joan va anar a Madrid, i la Maria* [e] *a Barcelona,*
Joan went to Madrid and Maria to Barcelona
i no en Joan a Barcelona i la Maria a Madrid
and not Joan to Barcelona and Maria to Madrid

In (15) we have one ellipsis, and not three elliptical processes (Bosque 1984: 185). Remember that if we assume three elliptical processes, we obtain a sentence which is clearly ungrammatical (in brackets the reconstructed material in the elided sites):

- (16) **En Joan va anar a Madrid, i la Maria* [*va anar*] *a*
Joan went to Madrid and Maria [went] to
Barcelona, i no [*va anar*] *en Joan a Barcelona i*
Barcelona and not [went] Joan to Barcelona and
la Maria [*va anar*] *a Madrid*
Maria [went] to Madrid





The second argument comes from Speech Act Theory. The examples in (17) confirm the non-derivational character of examples like (13b).

- (17) a. *Et prometo que ajudaré la Maria, i no ajudaré*
I promise you I'll help Maria and I won't help
el Pere
Pere
- b. *Et prometo que ajudaré la Maria, no el Pere*
I promise you I'll help Maria not Pere

We observe that in (17a) we are promising twice, whereas in (17b) we accomplish the act of promising once. As Bosque points out, if (17b) were the elided version of (17a), there wouldn't be any difference between both constructions, which is not the case. What about the differences between (13b) and (13c)? As Drübig (1994) shows in the examples below, when the conjunction *but* occurs, they are interpreted as Stripping. When it does not, they are interpreted as negative-contrasting constructions (from Drübig 1994: 29, Note 40):⁹

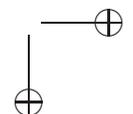
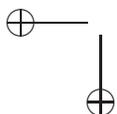
- (18) a. *Mozart visited Vienna, (but) not Moscow*
b. *Mozart was born in Salzburg, (*but) not in Vienna*

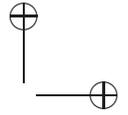
It is important to note that in Catalan there is a distinction between the 'adversative' *sinó* (but), a phrasal conjunction, and *però* (but) which is the sentential conjunction. The examples with sentential conjunction are Stripping, while those without or with a phrasal conjunction are negative-contrasting.

In the light of these examples and observations, the immediate idea that comes to mind is the alternative semantics theory of focus; in particular the requirements of parallel contrastive foci, such as proposed by Rooth (1992a, 1992b). According to Rooth's alternative semantics, the focused expression constructs a set of alternatives or focus semantic value of the sentence containing it ($[[\Phi]]^f$). The alternatives are the maximal set C of ordinary semantic values ($[[\Phi]]^0$)¹⁰. The basic idea is illustrated below.

9. There is moreover an interesting issue concerning the use of the conjunctions 'and' and 'but' in negative-contrasting constructions. It has been noted by Hurford (1974) that if the second conjunct is a negation of the first member of the coordinated construction, we use 'but', otherwise the correct particle is 'and':

- (i) a. *Gaudí va néixer a Reus { *però, i } no a Barcelona*
'Gaudí was born in Reus { *but, and } not in Barcelona'
- b. *Gaudí va néixer a Catalunya { *però, i } no a Madrid*
'Gaudí was born in Catalonia { *but, and } not in Madrid'
- c. *Gaudí va néixer a Catalunya { però, *i } no a Barcelona*
'Gaudí was born in Catalonia { but, *and } not in Barcelona'





- (19) a. $[[\text{John likes } [\text{Mary}]_F]]^f = \{\lambda x \text{ like}(j, x) \mid x \in E\}$ Where E is the domain of individuals
 b. C = the set of propositions of the form ‘John likes x ’
 c. {John likes Mary, John likes Sylvia, John likes Annie ...}

The contrastive negation in these constructions has a semantic property which is reflected in syntax. That is, these structures are appropriate if the second conjunct is the focus-counterpart¹¹ with respect to the first conjunct (Reinhart 1991, Drübig 1994); otherwise the continuation is pragmatically infelicitous.¹²

- (20) a. *en Joan no llegeix NOVEL.LES, sinó POEMES /#*
 Joan doesn't read novels but poems /#
*en Pere*¹³
 Pere
 b. *en Joan llegeix NOVEL.LES, no POEMES /# compra*
 Joan reads novels not poems /# buy
 c. *en Joan llegeix NOVEL.LES, però no POEMES / però*
 Joan reads novels but not poems / but
poemes no
 poems not

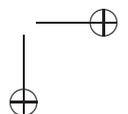
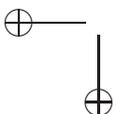
10. More specifically, Rooth (1985, 1992) defines a recursive focus-sensitive function as indicated below:

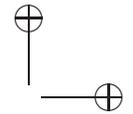
- (i) a. $[[\alpha]]_F = \{[[\alpha]]\}$
 b. $[[\alpha_F]]_F = \{u \in D_\tau : \tau = \text{type}(\alpha)\}$
 c. $[[[\alpha\beta]]_F] = \{u \mid \exists a \in [[\alpha]] \wedge \exists b \in [[\beta]] \wedge u = a(b) \vee u = b(a)\}$

In the first case, since α is not focused, it does not introduce alternatives (cf. ia). In such a case, its focus semantic value is the unit set of its ordinary semantic value. However, if α is F-marked it does introduce alternatives. The alternative set in this case is the domain corresponding to α 's logical type (the set of possible denotations of type α) or a contextually restricted subset (cf. ib). The third definition corresponds to all well-formed function-argument combinations.

11. Kiss (1998: 245) defines the semantics of contrastive focus (IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS) as bearing a semantic communicative role in a sentence which represents: “a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set which the predicate phrase actually holds”.
12. In Bonet (1990) it is argued that in Catalan all subjects are base-generated in [SPEC,IP]. In this position all subjects receive an obligatory contrastive focus interpretation, even though no intonational prominence is associated with them.
13. In Hernanz and Bruccart (1987) it is assumed that in examples like (20a) the correlate and the remnant constitute a single constituent at LF which is under the scope of the negation:

$$[_O'[_{\text{COMP}} \text{no}_i [_{\text{NP}} \text{novel.les, sinó poemes}]_j] [_{\text{en Joan llegeix}} t_j]].$$





Finally, as noted in Drübig (1994), if the focus is contained in a syntactic island, then the Focus Phrase coincides with the island. Thus, it is the Focus Phrase, and not the focus which determines the constituency of the replacive conjunct. A similar situation is also found in the following example in Catalan:

- (21) *De fet, el que a mi m'agradaria saber*
 actually that what to me pro-1prs-sg-Past-like to
d'aquesta entrevista, no és el que diu el Sr.
 know of this interview not is that what say the Mr.
 BARGALLÓ (*ho llegeixo i ho sento moltes*
 Bargalló (it 1prs-sing-read and it 1prs-sing-heard many
vegades), sinó el que diu i el que
 times) but that what Past-3prs-sg-say and that what
pensa EL PARE ABAT, d'aquests temes.
 3prs-sg-think the father Abat of these subjects
 'Actually, what I would like to know about this interview is not what
 Mr. BARGALLÓ said (I read it and I heard it many times), but what it
 says and what it thinks FATHER ABAT' (*Avui*, August 2005)

Based on this observation, Drübig (1994) argues that the island itself functions as the Focus Phrase and moves at LF.

I have explored the differences which characterize negative-contrasting phenomena with respect to TP-ellipsis and Stripping. Now I'm going to look at the differences between TP-ellipsis and Stripping (cf. (13a) and (13c)). Using the properties of Stripping in English outlined in Lobeck (1995), I shall give a Catalan version in order to show that in Catalan this phenomenon is constrained by the realization of the focus. Next, I'm going to use Reinhart's data to show that licensing and identification of Stripping and TP-ellipsis, even though they might appear to be related phenomena in Catalan, are distinct and clearly defined. I'm going to conclude this section with some important issues regarding the possibilities of TP-ellipsis in Catalan as opposed to Stripping.

3.2. Major properties of Stripping

The fundamental properties of Stripping in English are the following:

1. Unlike VP-ellipsis, Stripping is not allowed in subordinate clauses.

- (22) a. **John studied rocks even though not Jane*
 b. **En Joan estudiava les roques tot i que no la Jane*
 c. **The critics praised your book, and someone told me that the poem too*

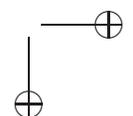
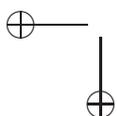


Table 1. Stripping in English and Catalan

	Subordinate clauses	Utterance boundaries	Full phrasal constituents	Obeys CNPC	Conforms to the bac
English	N	Y	N	Y	N
Catalan	N/??	Y	N	Y	N

d. ??*Els crítics van lloar el teu llibre, i algú em va dir que el poema també*

2. Like VP-ellipsis, Stripping can appear across utterance boundaries.

- (23) a. A: I heard Jane likes to study rocks
He sentit a dir que a la Jane li agrada estudiar LES ROQUES
 b. B: Yeah, and geography too
Sí, i LA GEOGRAFIA també

3. Unlike VP-ellipsis, Stripping does not always involve a full phrasal constituent.

- (24) Jane knows lots of people who play the piano, but not very well /
 *but I know a man who not very well
La Jane coneix molta gent que toca el piano, però no massa bé /
 **però jo en conec un que no massa bé.*

4. Stripping obeys Complex NP Constraint.

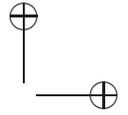
- (25) This is the place where we grow flowers, and sometimes herbs / *
 and that is the place where sometimes herbs
*Aquí és on cultivem les flors, i algunes vegades herbes / * i aquí és*
on algunes vegades cultivem herbes

5. Unlike VP-ellipsis, Stripping does not appear to conform to the *backwards anaphora constraint* (BAC) (i.e., the remnant cannot precede the correlate).

- (26) *Although not Jane, John studied rocks
 **Tot i que no la Jane, en John estudiava les roques*

According to these criteria, we might say that Stripping in Catalan is, like in English, well-delimited and structurally constrained. A summary is given in Table 1.

Undoubtedly, what has been said so far is not enough to convince us that Stripping is well defined in Catalan. I'm going to claim that Stripping in Catalan is constrained by the realization of information packaging, in particular by



the position of the focus. However, since focus in Catalan, contrary to English, is attained by means of syntactic movements, we might expect that in order to match Catalan and English Stripping constructions, some syntactic operations are necessary. Let's illustrate this with a simple example:

- (27)
- a. *John studied rocks, but not Jane*
 - b. #*En Joan estudiava LES ROQUES, però no la Jane*
'John studied ROCKS, but not Jane'
 - c. *Les roques_i les_i estudiava t_i EN JOAN, però*
the rocks them-Fem-pl. studied Joan but
no la Jane
not the Jane
'Rocks studied JOAN, but not Jane'
 - d. [_F EN JOAN_i], *estudiava les roques t_i, però no la*
Joan studied the rocks but not the
Jane
Jane
'JOAN studied rocks, but not Jane'

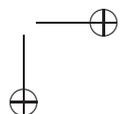
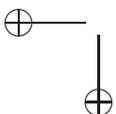
As we can see there are two different strategies to obtain the Catalan version of the English construction (27): either by means of left-detachment (27b) or by focus-preposed (27c). In both cases, the remnant has to be an alternative to the focus expression in the correlate. Now, following Rooth's alternative semantics sketched above, we can express this as follows:¹⁴

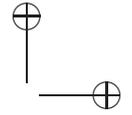
- (28)
- a. $[[\text{Les roques}_i \text{ les}_i \text{ estudiava } t_i \text{ [EN JOAN]}_F]^F = \{ \lambda x \mid \text{estudiar}(x, r) \mid x \in E \}$
 - b. $C =$ the set of propositions of the form 'les roques les estudiava x'
 - c. $C \subseteq [[\text{les roques les estudiava en Joan}]^F$

If the remnant does not have the same logical type as the focus in the correlate the result is infelicitous as in (cf. 27b).¹⁵

14. Notice however that the representations in (28) do not imply that left-detached and focus-preposed constituents have the same semantics. Their purpose is just to illustrate situations of parallel foci for Stripping phenomena. Because of this, they are closely related to symmetric contrasts in that both constructions evoke a set of alternatives. Furthermore, as it is argued in Villalba (2000) and López (2002), Clitic Left Dislocation and Focus Fronting are [+p(resuppositional) +c(contrast)] and [-p(resuppositional) +c(contrast)] respectively. That's why they are most natural in symmetric contrast contexts.

15. This fact has been also pointed out by Fox (1999) and captured by means of the parallelism requirement as a consequence of focus theory.





In the next section I'm going to provide support for the claim that Stripping in Catalan must follow the constraints imposed by the information packaging. In order to do so, I shall take Reinhart's examples in English first, and then I'm going to give their corresponding version in Catalan. We need to concentrate on the syntactic constraints that Catalan imposes on these structures in order for them to be a "mirror" of English sentences.

3.3. Reinhart's Bare-Argument Conjunctions

Reinhart (1991) analyzes the so-called *Elliptic Conjunctions*, a set which includes *Exception Conjunctions*, *Comparative Ellipsis*, and *Bare-Argument Conjunctions* (BA-conjunctions), the latter subset being what we are referring to in this paper, since they are Stripping-constructions.

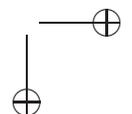
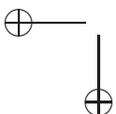
- (29) a. Max gave Rosa flowers, and Zelda too
 b. *En Max va donar flors a la Rosa, i la Zelda també* [e]
 'Max gave flowers to Rosa, and Zelda too'
 [e] = *Zelda va donar flors a la Rosa* (= Z. gave flowers to R.)
 [e] = **Max va donar flors a la Zelda* (= M. gave flowers to Z.)
 c. *En Max va donar flors A LA ROSA, i a la Zelda també/ i també a la Zelda*
 'Max gave flowers to Rosa, and to Zelda too/and also to Zelda'

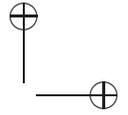
Notice that whereas in (29a) it is the VP that is deleted, (29b) corresponds to the Stripping construction in which the remnant and its correlate have *parallel foci*. That is, (29b) is felicitous because the correlate constructs a set of alternatives, C, and the value of C in such a case is the following:

- (30) a. $[[\textit{en Max va donar flors [A LA ROSA]}_F]^F = \{ \lambda x \mid \textit{donar}(x,y,r) \mid r \in E \}$
 b. C = the set of propositions of the form 'donar flors a x'

Considering this example we might believe that the position of the *polarity particle* determines the category of the remnants. Nevertheless, switching the syntactic position of *also/too* is not a sufficient condition to ensure coherence (structural parallelism between focus expressions). Moreover, it is not possible to change the discourse expectations or *contextual alternatives* (Rooth 1985) created by the focus in the correlate:

Every sentence S requires that the discourse will contain an antecedent sentence A, which belongs to the focus value of S ($A \in F(s)$)





294 Joan Busquets

- (31) a. #*en Max va donar flors A LA ROSA, i BOMBONS també*
 ‘Max gave flowers to ROSA, and CANDIES too’
 b. #*en Max va donar flors A LA ROSA, i també BOMBONS*
 ‘Max gave flowers to ROSA, and also CANDIES’

Consider another example from Reinhart (1991):

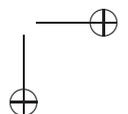
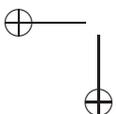
- (32) a. Ben talked to Linda about his problems, and Rosa too
 b. *en Ben va parlar a la Linda DELS SEUS PROBLEMES, i la Rosa també [e]*
 [e] = *Rosa va parlar a la Linda dels seus problemes* (R. talked to L. about his/her problems)
 [e] = **Ben va parlar a la Rosa dels seus problemes* (B. talked to R. about his problems)
 c. **en Ben va parlar a la Rosa dels seus problemes, i a la Linda també/i també a la Linda*
 ‘Ben talked to Rosa about his problems, and to Linda too/and also to Linda’

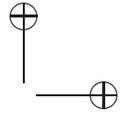
Notice that (32b) is a case of TP-Ellipsis, and not a Stripping construction. That’s why the interpretation of the ellipsis is not constrained by the focused expression (*dels seus problemes* (his/her problems)), and we can reconstruct the whole VP in the target. If our hypothesis is correct, to obtain the Catalan version of (32a) we need to make some syntactic movements in order to focalize the correlate (*a la Rosa* (to the Rosa)) and license its parallel focus in the remnant (*a la Linda* (to the Linda)):

- (33) *en Ben [F en_i va parlar A LA LINDA], dels seus problemes,*
 Ben talked to LINDA about his problems
i a la Rosa també / i també a la Rosa / (però)
 and to Rosa too / and also to Rosa / (but)
no a la Maria / (però) a la Maria no
 not to Maria / (but) to Maria not

Finally, consider the following examples, where in English there is an interpretation according to which the subject of the correlate is identical to the remnant.

- (34) a. Max gave Mary a rose, and Sonya too (= M. gave S. a rose too)
 b. *en Max va donar una rosa a la Maria, i la Sonya també [e]*
 Max gave a rose to Maria and Sonya too





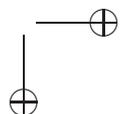
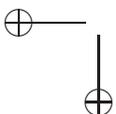
- [e] = *Sonya va donar una rosa a la Maria*
(= S. gave a rose to M. too)
[e] = **Max va donar una rosa a la Sonya*
(= M. gave a rose to S. too)
- c. *en Max va donar una rosa A LA MARIA, i a*
Max gave a rose to MARIA and to
la Sonya també / i també a la Sonia
Sonya too / and also to Sonia

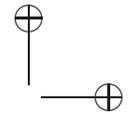
This set of examples illustrates how two different interpretative processes hold, namely, Stripping and negative-contrasting constructions on the one hand, and TP-Ellipsis on the other. In the former cases we expect the remnant to be a focus counterpart of the focus expression in the correlate. However, in the latter the target can be reconstructed independently from the focus expression in the target. Zagona (1982, 1988) observes that *polarity particles* can have scope over NP, VP or s, as the following examples illustrate (Zagona's examples are in Spanish but I give their translation in Catalan):

- (35) a. *En Joan no llegeix novel·les, però poemes sí.*
Joan not read novels but poems yes
'Joan doesn't read novels, but he does poems.'
- b. *En Pau no parla anglès, però francès sí.*
Pau not 3p.sg-speak English but French yes
'Pau doesn't speak English, but he does French.'
- c. *El Rafel el va convidar al cinema, però a sopar*
Rafel him past-invite to movies but to dinner
no.
not
'Rafel invited him to the movies, but he didn't to dinner.'

We will see that these constructions pattern exactly like Reinhart's BA-Ellipsis. Hence, they are closely related to associated focus phrases with parallel foci. Consider the following asymmetries:

- (36) *Joan no llegeix [F NOVEL·LES], sinó poemes /*
Joan doesn't read NOVELS but poems /
però sí poemes / però poemes sí / #sinó en Pere
but yes poems / but poems yes / *but Pere
/ #però sí en Pere.
/ *but yes Pere



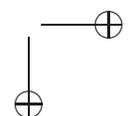
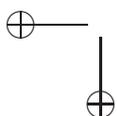


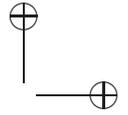
- a. *Joan* [_F *no* *llegeix* NOVEL.LES], *però en Pere sí*
Joan doesn't read NOVELS but Pere yes
/ *però poemes sí.*
/ but poems yes

As expected, syntactic configuration is causally responsible for the alternative-set in certain contexts. The infelicity of some continuations in the remnant result from the unexpected expression, which is not an alternative to the focus of the correlate. The situation is quite different from the continuation in (36b) above, where it is possible to delete both the subject and the object NP. If the polarity particles have scope over the subject NPS, why do the ungrammaticalities in (36a) occur? This fact provides yet another argument concerning the categorial status of the remnants in Stripping constructions. The remnant of Stripping does not have the category *s* (Reinhart 1991; Drübig 1994). In the examples where the VP is missing, the target is indeed a sentence. Finally consider the following examples:

- (37) a. *Joan* [_F *no ha guanyat* *mai* UN CONCURS],
Joan not 3pers.sg-have-win never a competition
*en canvi l'Anna sí (*en canvi sí l'Anna), i n'està*
(although yes Anna), and cl-is
molt orgullosa.
very proud
'Joan has never won A COMPETITION, although Anna has, and she is very proud of it.'
- b. *Als crítics* [_F *els agradà* LA TEVA NOVEL.LA],
to the critics them-Masc-Pl det your novel,
i algu m'ha dit que al públic també
and someone me-3per-sg-have say that to public too
(??*també al públic*).
(also to public)
'The critics liked YOUR NOVEL, and someone told me that to the public too (??also to the public).'

Compare (22d) the Stripping version and (37b) its TP-Ellipsis counterpart. As it has been mentioned (cf. Section 3.2), Stripping fails in certain subordinate clauses. However this possibility exists for TP-Ellipsis cases, which shows that we are dealing with two different interpretative mechanisms. The basic idea I'm arguing in is a generalization of focus-ground partition: Stripping and negative-contrasting constructions are controlled by focus, either by parallel foci or contrasting focus. If this is true, there's a contrast between Catalan and English. As pointed out in Reinhart (1991) and Drübig (1997), only negative-contrasting constructions require parallel foci, whereas Stripping or





BA-Conjunctions do not necessarily have this constraint. We have seen that it is not the case in Catalan, since both constructions are under the control of focus. If the analysis of Stripping in Catalan is on the right track, we can express the condition for Stripping in the following way:

Condition for Stripping in Catalan

Structural parallelism between the focused expression in the *correlate* and its focus counterpart in the *remnant*.

The focused expression constructs a set of alternatives *C*; if the remnant does not belong to *C*, then the sentence is infelicitous. By contrast, the position of focus in TP-Ellipsis is not a necessary condition in order to recover the missing VP. We can list three strong arguments in favor of making a distinction between Stripping and TP-Ellipsis in Catalan:

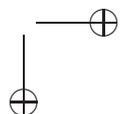
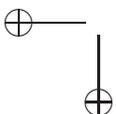
1. TP-Ellipsis can, in certain cases, appear in subordinate clauses (cf.37b)
2. Under certain constraints, TP-Ellipsis allows for cataphoric references violating the BAC, as illustrated in (38a) below. As pointed out in Bosque (1984), some kind of verbs have a blocking effect on such constructions. Factive verbs do not permit cataphoric ellipsis (cf. 38b), whereas propositional verbs do.¹⁶

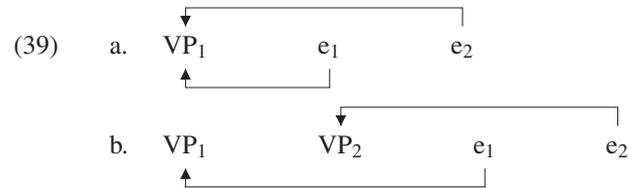
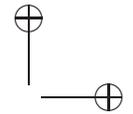
- (38) a. *En Pau diu que no [e_i], però jo dic que*
Pau says that not but I say that
la Maria [va visitar la seva mare]_i
Maria visited her mother
'Pau didn't say, but I say that Maria visited her mother'
- b. **En Pau sap que no [e_i], però jo dic que*
Pau knows that not but I say that
la Maria [va visitar la seva mare]_i
Maria visited her mother
'Paul doesn't know, but I say that Maria visited her mother'

3. Unlike Stripping, in some TP-Ellipsis cases, the polarity particles are able to find their appropriate antecedent in the discourse.¹⁷ In (39a) for instance, two ellipsis sites are linked to the same target. In (39b) the first target has to skip across the intervening VP₂ before reaching its appropriate source (VP₁):

16. This is an observation which has also been raised in the discussion of NPI-licensing and Association with Focus (AwF). Complements of propositional verbs are transparent to AwF, whereas complements of factive verbs are opaque. I'm not going into a deep analysis of this issue here, but see Drübrig (1994) for AwF and factive island interactions.

17. Crossing and nested dependencies in English have been discussed in Klein and Stainton-Ellis (1989). Even though Catalan does not match with English patterns, these examples show that, like English, the strategy *Resolve Nearest Antecedent* is also inadequate for Catalan TP-Ellipsis.





The following examples illustrate both patterns:

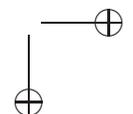
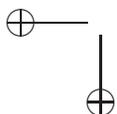
- (40) a. *Em sembla que el jersei que et*
 it seems to me that the sweater to-you 1pers-sg-buy
vaig comprar [t'agradarà]₁, si no [e₁]
 3pers-sg-Fut-like if not you can give
el pots retornar; però estic segur que sí [e₂]
 it back but I'm sure you yes
 'The sweater that I have bought you will like, if you don't, you
 can give it back, but I'm sure you will'
- b. *Si en Pere [diu que puc venir]₁, [vindré]₂,*
 if Pere say that I can come 1pers-sg-Fut-come
però si no [e₁], no [e₂]
 but if not not
 'If Pere tells me that I can come, I'll come, but if he doesn't I
 won't'

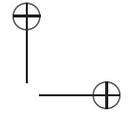
Closely related to discourse, like vPE in English, the polarity particles can have 'split' antecedents in elliptical constructions:

- (41) a. I can [walk]₁, and I can [chew gum]₂. Gerry can [e_{1,2}] too, but
 not at the same time. (Webber 1978)
Puc [caminar]₁ i puc [menjar xiclet]₂. En Gerry també [e_{1,2}],
però no al mateix temps.
- b. So I say to the conspiracy fans: [leave him alone]₁. [Leave us
 alone]₂. But they don't [e_{1,2}]. (cited in Hardt 1993: 30)
Així que vaig dir als conspiradors: [deixeu-lo sol]₁. [Deixeu-nos
sols]₂. Però no [e_{1,2}] ('but not')¹⁸

These observations supports the view that vPE in Catalan, by means of the polarity particles discussed here, is an empty *pro-form*, and this will means that there is no syntactic copy or reconstruction of an unpronounced antecedent in these cases.¹⁹

18. This is a special case of vPE in Catalan, and also in Spanish, where the source is only composed by a conjunction and the negation.





4. Syntactic representation

In order to account for syntactic representations of focussed and topicalized constituents, it has been proposed that these expressions occupy the position of Spec of functional categories. In Rizzi (1997), the head of the CP is split in two heads, Fin(ite) (mood and finiteness) and Force (illocutionary force), in which Top(ic) Phrases and Foc(us) Phrases appear. Brody (1990) assumes there is a functional projection, F(ocus) P(hrase), different from CP. Others suggest that FP is hosted below CP but above IP. Other approaches (Laka 1990; Culicover 1991; Drübig 1994, 2000), stipulate that the head of FP or Σ Phrase, is the sentential polarity element ([± neg]). I shall assume this syntactic choice, especially since it allows us to represent uniformly the polarity particles involved in the constructions we are interested in here. Drübig (1994, 2000) postulates two types of polarity Phrases: *contrastive focus* and *presentational focus* (Kiss 1998). The first type is located between IP and CP (42a) and the second between VP and IP (42b):

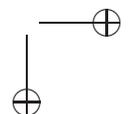
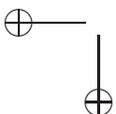
- (42) a. *Contrastive Focus*:
 [... Pol₁P [Pol'_{1i} [VP [... FP_i ...]]]]
 b. *Presentational Focus*:
 [Pol₂P [[Foc/Top]_i [Pol'₂ [Pol₂ [VP ... t_i ...]]]]]

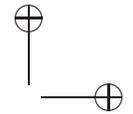
According to the hierarchical structure in (42a), the contrastive focus moves at LF to [SPEC, Pol₂P]. A second type of Polarity Phrase is illustrated in (42b), where focus is licensed in situ by the head of Pol₁ which functions as a scope marker at SS, and is always [+F]. In this representation, the head of Pol₁P (sentential polarity element, with particles like *only*, *even*, ...) licenses a maximal projection of focus. In the same line of argumentation, López (1994, 1999), Winkler (2000), and López and Winkler (2000), assume that focus is a functional category, and that it attracts a constituent with contrastive focus forming a syntactic chain at LF, in the following manner:

- (43) [FP ... [TP ... [ΣP ... [VP]]]]

Let's turn to negative-contrasting constructions in Catalan. As we have already said, they show two contrastively focused expressions. Assuming that the

19. The *pro-form* view of vPE in English has been defended, on the grounds of semantic conditions, in Hardt (1993, 1997, 1999). López and Winkler (1999), using data from English and Spanish, propose that vPE is an empty *pro-form* lacking internal structure, and Winkler (2000) that vPE falls under an Economy Condition-Silent Copy, operating over PF representations. Obviously, if the assumption that vPE is a *pro-form*, some questions arise: what are the consequences of this view regarding the principles of Binding Theory? Are vPE constructions subject to the same principles as pronouns are? I leave this issue for future research.

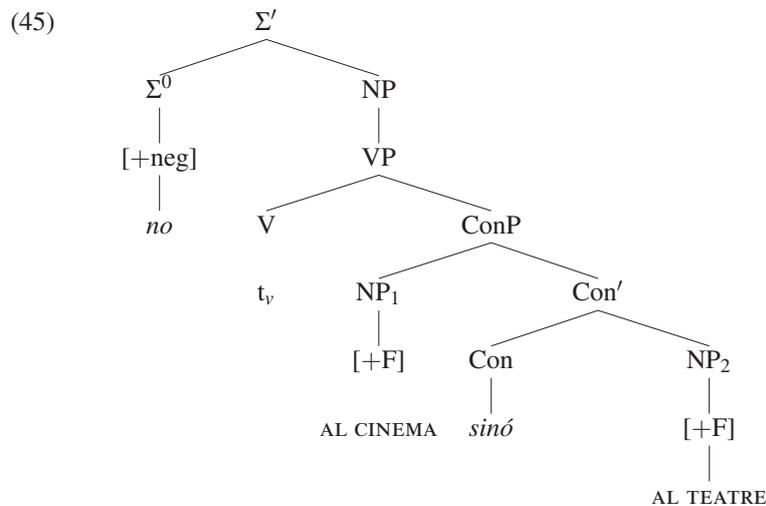




correlate and the remnant are contained in a single constituent (Hernanz and Brucart 1987) or a discontinuous Focus Phrase which seems to undergo movement at LF (Reinhart 1991; Drübig 1994, 2000), negative-contrasting structures are phrasal coordinations, in which the first conjunct is not always adjacent to the first (cf. Drübig 1997: 28). In such a case then, we have a Contrast Phrase (CONP), or a similar category (López 2002). Now, if we apply this approach to our examples, in a sentence like (44)

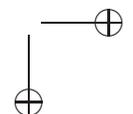
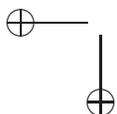
- (44) *En Joan [F no em convidà AL CINEMA], sinó*
 Joan didn't invite me to THE MOVIES, but to
 AL TEATRE
 THE THEATER

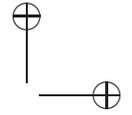
The focused expression in the first conjunct (CINEMA (movies)) has to be replaced by TEATRE (theater), its focus counterpart in the second conjunct. This situation might be represented by means of the following simplified syntactic structure (for the sake of simplicity and in order to show scope-marking of the focussed elements, I'm neglecting LF-movements, and discontinuous configurations):²⁰



Notice that the same may be applied to Stripping as well. The main difference will be the presence of the sentential conjunction, and more polarity particles, and not just the negation *no* and the adversative or the phrasal conjunction (*sinó* 'but').

20. See Drübig (1997, 2000) for a detailed analysis.





What about TP-Ellipsis with *sí/no/també/tampoc*? Again we may assume following Laka (1990), López (1994, 1999) and López and Winkler (2000), that the head of ΣP , Σ , governs the TP complement in those cases, and moreover that Σ' takes both values $[\pm\text{neg}]$ or unspecified features. This fact allows for elliptical constructions where the particles *sí/no* have scope over the content of the missing VP in TP-Ellipsis.

What about *també/tampoc*? The distribution of *tampoc*(neither) in Catalan can be represented schematically as follows:

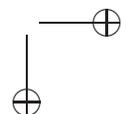
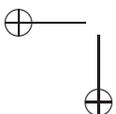
- (46) a. ... [*tampoc* ($[\text{neg } no]$) v ...]
 b. ... [$[\text{neg } no]$] v ... *tampoc*]

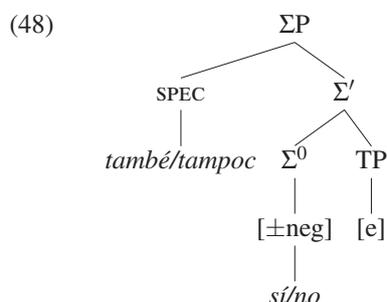
That is, when the n-word *tampoc* occupies a preverbal position, the negator *no* should be overtly realized. When it is post-verbal, the presence of *no* is obligatory.²¹ The examples below illustrate this distribution:

- (47) a. *La Maria no vindrà tampoc a sopar*
 Mary not will come neither to dinner
 b. *Tampoc la Maria (no) vindrà a sopar*
 Neither Mary (not) will come to dinner
 c. *La Maria *(no) vindrà a sopar tampoc*
 Mary *(not) will come to dinner neither
 d. **(no) tampoc vindrà a sopar la Maria*
 *(not) neither will come to dinner Mary

Suñer (1995) and Laka (1990), for instance, treat the Spanish *tampoco* as a negative polarity item. Vallduví (1994) defines the Catalan *tampoc* as a *n-word*. All these approaches share the view that this particle occupies the position [SPEC, ΣP]. On the other hand it has been argued that *tampoc* and *també* in TP-Ellipsis constructions are in complementary distribution (Brucart 1987; Busquets 1999). Hence, why should we analyze them in a different way in those cases? The consequence of this assumption would then give the following tree for TP-Ellipsis in Catalan where [e] corresponds to the missing material which has to be recovered from the VP denotation in the source.

21. It is worth noting that in colloquial speech the negation is usually neglected when *tampoc* appears in preverbal position.





In the tree above, *també/tampoc* are specifiers which select the kind of categories they combine with. More specifically, they are markers that select the kind of category they mark. These expressions allow for a substitution of a pro-constituent in the phrase and they are needed in order to guarantee the reconstruction of a higher category. For TP-ellipsis, the category will be the VP, whereas for Stripping and negative-contrasting constructions the selected expression will be determined by the realization of focus.

5. Focus and ambiguity in TP-Ellipsis

There is yet another interesting interaction between VP-Ellipsis and focus where there are more than one VP in the context. Consider the following examples:

- (49)
- John SAID that Mary won the competition, and she DID [e]*
 - John SAID that Mary won the competition, but she DIDN'T [e]*
[e] = win the competition
 - JOHN doubted that Mary won the competition, but SHE didn't [e]*
[e] = doubt that Mary won the competition

The examples in (49a, b) show that the focal stress on the verb in the source, and the AUX in the target, imply the lower VP (i.e., *win the competition*) as a recovered material for the ellipsis site. By contrast, in (49c), when the focal stress falls over both subjects, the higher VP is preferred as a source (i.e., *doubt that Mary won the competition*). Now, let's see how information packaging affects these choices in Catalan.

- (50)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Joan</i> | <i>va dir</i> | <i>que en Pere</i> | <i>havia guanyat</i> | <i>la carrera,</i> |
| Joan | said | that Peter | won | the competition, |
| <i>però la Núria</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>[e]</i> | | |
| but Nuria | not | | | |

The Catalan translation is also ambiguous, depending on which VP is used to recover the missing material in the target, either picking up the lower VP or the

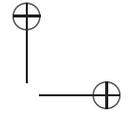
higher VP (i.e., *no va dir que P(x)* or *no P(x)*). Through syntactic movements, focus gives us the right VP in a natural and revealing way, as the examples below illustrate.

- (51) a. *Joan* [_{focus} *ho_i va DIR*], [_{tail} *que en Pere havia guanyat la carrera*], *però la Núria no* [e]
 Joan SAID Pere won the competition, but
 Nuria didn't
 [e] = [ho va dir (did say)]
- b. *En Joan va dir que en Pere* [_{focus} *l_i'havia*
 Joan said Pere WON the competition,
 GUANYADA], [_{tail} *la carrera*], *però la Núria no*
 but Nuria didn't
 [e]
 [e] = [l'havia guanyada (it won)]

Although the source in (50) can get two readings, the position of the focused elements in VP-ellipsis disambiguate both conjuncts, which seems a consequence of the parallelism constraints in these constructions.²² Remember that Stripping-like operations do not permit such constructions since, as I have already noted, the *remnant* cannot be the NP+particle, but rather something which is parallel to the focus:

- (52) a. #*En Joan* [_F *ho_i va DIR*], [*que en Pere havia guanyat*
 Joan SAID Pere won
la carrera], *però no la Núria*
 the competition but not Núria
- b. #*En Joan va dir que en Pere* [_F *l_i'havia GUANYADA*], [*la*
 Joan said Pere won the
carrera], *però no la Núria*
 competition but not Núria
- c. *En Joan* [_F *ho_i va DIR*], [*que en Pere havia guanyat la*
 Joan SAID Pere won the
carrera], *però no PUBLICAR*
 competition but not PUBLISH it
- d. *En Joan va dir que en Pere* [_F *l_i'havia GUANYADA*], [*la*
 Joan said Pere WON the
carrera_i], *però no ABANDONADA*
 competition but not ABANDONED

22. As pointed out in Sag (1976), Fiengo and May (1994) or Fox (1995), ambiguity does not multiply in VPE.



As expected only (52c–d) are appropriate (parallel foci = Stripping), however (52a–b) are not, since they do not satisfy the focus expectations created by the *correlate* (i.e., the NP's do not belong to the *contextual alternatives* of the correlate), a constraint which does not show up when the VP is missing.

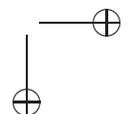
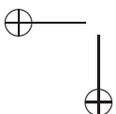
6. Conclusions

In this paper I have presented evidence that in Catalan, as in English, there is a distinction between Stripping and TP-Ellipsis, two syntactic phenomena exhibiting different constraints. Stripping, like negative-contrasting constructions, is constrained by the *information packaging* of the sentence (i.e., under the control of focus). We have seen that the *remnant* has to be the parallel focus to the focus expression in the *correlate*. Following Rooth (1985) we might say that the *remnant* belongs to the *contextual alternatives* of the *correlate*. According to Reinhart (1991) and Drübig (1994) only negative-contrasting constructions are constructions with parallel foci. Stripping does not necessarily have parallel foci. I have argued that this is not the case for Catalan: *també X / X també* or *tampoc* (no) *X / X tampoc* (no) present parallel foci between the correlate and the remnant. Following Vallduví's approach (1990) in negative-contrasting constructions the speaker assumes that the hearer has an entry which must be replaced (*Retrieve-Substitute* instruction). TP-Ellipsis does not present this constraint with respect to information packaging. However, the position of the focus may give us a clue for interpreting the target when two or more VPs are present in the same context. Finally, I have suggested that an unified analysis of the *polarity particles* is possible, defining them as expressions whose function is to select and reconstruct the appropriate category in each case.

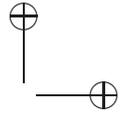
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