# Spanish stripping revisited: in favor of an elliptical analysis

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## 1 Introduction

This presentation examines the syntax of *stripping* (Hankamer & Sag 1976). Descriptively, the phenomenon involves a sentence coordinated with an XP, accompanied by a preceding adverbial element (typically *no* 'no'). The literature usually takes the connector to be optional:

(1) a. Sonia comió pizza, (pero) no ensalada.
Sonia ate pizza but not salad
'Sonia ate pizza, (but) not salad.'

b. Sonia viajó a Paris, (pero) no a Roma.
Sonia traveled to Paris but not to Rome
'Sonia traveled to Paris, (but) not to Rome.'

As pointed out by Brucart et al. (2023), there is no consensus with respect to whether stripping arises from ellipsis or not:

- some defend a clausal ellipsis analysis for stripping in Spanish (e.g., Depiante 2000),
- while others (Bosque 1984, Brucart 1987, 1999, Partida Peñalva 2017, Fernández-Sánchez 2019) contend that no ellipsis is involved in Spanish stripping.

In this presentation, we aim to do two things:

**Goals**

① We provide evidence against a non-elliptical analysis of Spanish stripping and defend the view it constitutes a **true case of ellipsis**.

② We show that instances of stripping with and without the connector *pero* 'but' are **informationally and syntactically different**.

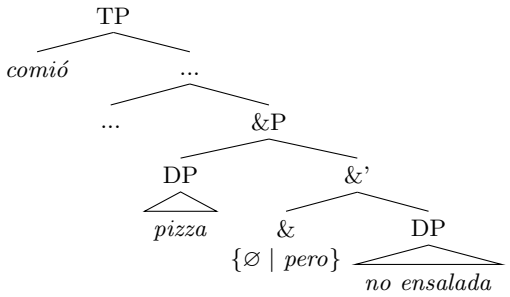
**Roadmap:**

1. Introduction
2. Evidence against a non-elliptical analysis of stripping
3. Claim: There are two 'flavors' of stripping (with and without *pero*)
   3.1 Semantic/informational differences
   3.2 Syntactic differences
4. Concluding remarks

## 2 Against a non-elliptical analysis of stripping

The non-elliptical analysis of stripping claims that sentences like (1) consist of a single clause containing a coordinate structure, where the second conjunct involves constituent negation. Thus, a sentence like (1a) would have the underlying structure in (2):

(2)




An elliptical analysis of stripping, on the other hand, claims that sentences like (1) consist of a biclausal structure, where the second clause has undergone ellipsis, which 'silences' a portion of the structure, as schematically shown in (3):

(3) Sonia comió pizza, (pero) no [$_{\text{ellipsis site}}$ ~~Sonia comió~~] ensalada.

**1.** A first and obvious reason to doubt the non-elliptical analysis is that Spanish disallows DPs and PPs of the form [$_{\text{DP}}$ no N] and [$_{\text{PP}}$ no P N], respectively:

(4) a. * Sonia comió [$_{\text{DP}}$ no ensalada].
Sonia ate not salad
'Sonia ate not salad.' *cf.* (1a)

b. * Sonia viajó [$_{\text{PP}}$ no a Roma].
Sonia traveled not to Rome
'Sonia traveled not to Rome.' *cf.* (1b)

**2.** A second reason is that the interpretation predicted by (2) doesn't correspond with the meaning of (1a). According to (2), negation scopes over *ensalada*, but it actually scopes over the entire predicate. The correct interpretation is straightforwardly derived if (3) is assumed:

(5) a. $[\![(1a)]\!] \not\approx$ Sonia ate pizza & Sonia ate non-salad
b. $[\![(1a)]\!] \approx$ Sonia ate pizza & Sonia didn't eat salad

**3.** Furthermore, it's possible to have two remnant XPs under the scope of negation (6a). Since they don't form a constituent, this suggests that *no* 'no' combines with a syntactic projection containing them both. Under standard assumptions (e.g., Laka 1990), this is a TP:

(6) a. Sonia tomó vino con Bruno, (pero) no cerveza con Ana.
Sonia drank wine with Bruno but not beer with Ana
'Sonia drank wine with Bruno, but not beer with Ana.'

b. ... (pero) no [$_{\text{TP}}$ ~~tomó~~ cerveza con Ana].

**4.** Another piece of evidence against this type of analysis comes from examples in which the alleged coordinated conjuncts are phrases of different category, e.g., (7a); it is well known that asymmetric coordinations of similar type are ungrammatical in Spanish (8):

(7) a. Sonia vio a Bruno, pero no con Ana.
Sonia saw DOM Bruno but not with Ana
'Sonia saw Bruno, but not with Ana.'

b. ... [$_{\&P}$ [$_{DP}$ a Bruno] [$_{\&'}$ pero [$_{PP}$ no con Ana]]]

(8) * Sonia vio [$_{\&P}$ [$_{DP}$ a Bruno] [$_{\&'}$ y [$_{PP}$ con Ana]]].
Sonia saw DOM Bruno and with Ana
Intended: 'Sonia saw Bruno and with Ana.'

**5.** A further argument comes from the fact that stripping should allow coordination with an empty element (9a) under the analysis in (2), which is not possible (10) in other contexts:

(9) a. Sonia vino, pero no ayer.
Sonia came but not yesterday
Interpretation: 'Sonia came, but not yesterday.'

b. ... [$_{\&P}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ∅] [$_{\&'}$ pero [$_{AdvP}$ no ayer]]]

(10) * Sonia vino [$_{\&P}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ∅] [$_{\&'}$ y [$_{AdvP}$ ayer]]].
Sonia came and yesterday
Intended: 'Sonia came (at some point) and (also) yesterday'

**Side-note:** we will later analyze examples like (7a) and (9a) as instances of *sprouting* (i.e., when the remnant doesn't have a correlate). Sprouting is only possible when the connector *pero* 'but' appears in the construction. Otherwise, stripping becomes strongly deviant:

(11) a. * Sonia vio a Bruno, no con Ana.
Sonia saw DOM Bruno not with Ana
'Sonia saw Bruno, not with Ana.'

b. * Sonia vino, no ayer.
Sonia came not yesterday
'Sonia came, not yesterday.'

**6.** Stripping with *pero* allows for the occurrence of adverbs like *probablemente* 'probably' or *quizás* 'maybe' (12a), which are usually claimed to attach at the sentence level; these adverbs cannot combine with other XPs such as DPs (12b):

(12) a. Sonia comerá pizza, pero {probablemente | quizás} no ensalada.
Sonia will.eat pizza but probably maybe not salad
'Sonia will eat pizza, but {probably | quizás} not salad.'

b. * Sonia comerá [$_{DP}$ {probablemente | quizás} ensalada].
Sonia will.eat probably maybe salad
Intended: Sonia will eat (something that it's) probably salad.'

This is not possible in cases of stripping without *pero* 'but':

(13) * Sonia comerá pizza, {probablemente | quizás} no ensalada.
Sonia will.eat pizza probably maybe not salad
'Sonia will eat pizza, {probably | maybe} not salad.'

**7.** A key prediction of the non-elliptical analysis in (2) is that the alleged coordinates must be adjacent to form a &P. This is not borne out, as the correlate can surface in the left periphery:

(14) a. Ensalada comí, (pero) no pizza.
salad ate.1SG but not pizza
'I ate salad, (but) not pizza.'

b. A Paris fui, (pero) no a Roma.
to Paris went.1SG but not to Rome
'I went to Paris, (but) not to Rome.'

Under the non-elliptical approach, cases like (14) need to be analyzed as extractions out of a coordinated structure. Coordinations are usually considered islands (i.e., CSC); as we can see below, extractions out of a coordination yield an ungrammatical structure in other contexts:

(15) a. * [Ensalada]$_i$ comí [$t_i$ y pizza].
salad ate.1SG and pizza
Intended: 'I ate salad and pizza.'

b. * [A Paris]$_i$ fui [$t_i$ y a Roma].
to Paris went.1SG and to Rome
Intended: 'I went to Paris and to Rome.'

**8.** Saab & Zdrojewski (2021) show that asymmetric DOM does not exist in Spanish. According to them, alleged asymmetric DOM constructions in the language (16) involve coordination of a larger structure + TP-ellipsis (17):

(16) Vi una mujer y a Sonia.
saw a woman and DOM Sonia
'I saw a woman and Sonia.'

(17) [$_{\&P}$ [$_{PolP}$ ... $DP_1$ ] &$^0$ [$_{PolP}$ DOM-$DP_2$ <[$_{TP}$ ... $t_2$ ... ]> ]

Stripping displays a parallel behavior—the second (alleged) coordinate may be DOM-marked:

(18) Entrevisté una transeunte, (pero) no a Sonia.
interviewed a passerby but not DOM Sonia
'I interviewed a passerby, (but) not Sonia.'

Cases in which only the first coordinate is DOM-marked (19) do not involve asymmetric DOM, as the DOM-marker *a* has scope over the whole coordination:

(19) Entrevisté a Sonia y Bruno.
interviewed DOM Sonia and Bruno
'I interviewed Sonia and Bruno.'

Stripping is not acceptable in these scenarios, suggesting it does not involve coordinate DPs:

(20) * Entrevisté a Sonia, (pero) no Bruno.
interviewed DOM Sonia but not Bruno
'I interviewed Sonia, (but) not Bruno.'

**Interim summary**

- We provided several arguments against a non-elliptical analysis of stripping.
- We showed that while stripping most likely arises from ellipsis, there are crucial differences between stripping with and without *pero* 'but'.
- In the next section, we argue that cases with and without *pero* constitute two different 'flavors' of stripping. This is schematically shown in (21):

(21) a. [$_{CP}$ C [$_{HighNegP}$ no [... ~~Sonia~~ ~~comió~~ ENSALADA$_F$]]]
b. [$_{CP}$ C [$_{PolP}$ NO$_{CT}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Sonia~~ ~~comió~~ ENSALADA$_F$]]]

## 3 Two flavors of stripping

We will distinguish between instances of stripping with and without connectors:[1]

(22) a. Cosmo saludó a Jorge, no a Eliana.
Cosmo greeted.3SG DOM Jorge not DOM Eliana
'Cosmo greeted Jorge, not Eliana.' *NEG-XP*

b. Cosmo saludó a Jorge, pero no a Eliana.
Cosmo greeted.3SG DOM Jorge but not DOM Eliana
'Cosmo greeted Jorge, but not Eliana.' *pero-NEG-XP*

**Claim**

Whether stripping appears with or without *pero* is **not optional**. It's related to **syntactic and semantic/informational differences**, like their non-elliptical counterparts.

### 3.1 NEG-XP and *pero*-NEG-XP are informationally different

**Proposal**

Two flavors of stripping are informationally different:

- NEG-XP: *no* 'not' is **non-truth-conditional**; XP is a **contrastive focus**.
- *pero*-NEG-XP: *no* 'not' is a **contrastive topic**; XP is an **information focus**.

We follow Vicente (2006) and Kolokonte (2008), who claim that the XP in stripping structures of the NEG-XP type (22a) receive a contrastive focus interpretation.

[1] This distinction is not new in the literature. In Kolokonte (2008), the structure in (22a) is called *negative-contrast*, while the one in (22b) is called *stripping*.

Following Rooth's (1992) system, this requires $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$ to hold. As shown in (23), this doesn't seem to be the case for (22a):[2]

(23) a. [$_\beta$ Cosmo saludó a Jorge], [$_\alpha$ no ~~Cosmo~~ ~~saludó~~ A ELIANA$_F$]. *cf.* (22a)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Cosmo greeted Jorge*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {Cosmo didn't greet $x \mid x \in D_e$}
= {*Cosmo didn't greet Jorge*, *Cosmo didn't greet Eliana*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

Notice, however, that the condition is satisfied if the negative particle *no* 'not' is semantically vacuous at the propositional level (24). For the moment, we will assume this is the case. We will come back to this issue in Section 3.2:

(24) a. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Cosmo greeted Jorge*
b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {Cosmo greeted $x \mid x \in D_e$}
= {*Cosmo greeted Jorge*, *Cosmo greeted Eliana*, ...}
c. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

The difference between two flavors of stripping has to do with the presuppositions associated to the use of connectors. For *pero* 'but', we follow the proposals by Sæbø (2003) for German *aber* and Umbach (2005) for English *but*, and assume it presupposes a contrastive topic:[3,4]

(25) SEMANTICS OF *pero* (adapted from Sæbø 2003: 264)
$\sigma[\![\phi \text{ pero }]\!]\tau$ *iff* $\sigma \models \neg\phi[T(\phi)/\alpha]$ for some alternative $\alpha$ and $\sigma[\![\phi]\!]\tau$

The definition in (25) requires a *pero*-sentence (i) to be contradictory with the preceding sentence when its topic is replaced by the corresponding element from that sentence, and (ii) to be informative. The latter condition explains the unacceptability of (27):

(26) a. Bailas bien, no bailás mal.
dance.2SG well not dance.2SG bad
'You dance well, you do not dance bad.'

b. Bailas bien, no mal.
dance.2SG well not bad
'You dance well, not bad.'

(27) a. # Bailas bien, pero no bailás mal.
dance.2SG well but not dance.2SG bad
'You dance well, but you do not dance bad.'

b. # Bailas bien, pero no mal.
dance.2SG well but not bad
'You dance well, but not bad.'

[2] Constituents in CAPS represent foci, while constituents in SMALL CAPS represent contrastive topics.

[3] According to (25), a sentence $\phi$ with *pero* changes the information state $\sigma$ to the information state $\tau$ if and only if (i) $\sigma$ involves a proposition contradicting $\phi$ that obtains from replacing the topic in $\phi$ for an alternative $\alpha$, and (ii) $\phi$ alone changes the information state $\sigma$ to the information state $\tau$. Within the formula, T is a function that takes a sentence and returns its topic.

[4] According to Umbach, contrastive topics appear when *but* establishes a "double contrast" between two clauses. In the cases at hand, the elements introducing this "double contrast" are the polarity item (typically *no* 'not') and the XP remnant.

Following (25), we take *no* 'not' in *pero*-NEG-XP configurations to function as a contrastive topic. As such, it evokes a set of questions (Büring 2003) with different polarity. The remnant XP is interpreted as information focus (Kolokonte 2008):

(28) a. Cosmo saludó a Jorge, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{CT}$ ~~Cosmo~~ ~~saludó~~ A ELIANA$_F$]. *cf.* (22b)
b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct}$ = {{POL(Cosmo greeted $y$) | $y \in D_e$} | POL $\in D_{\{+,-\}}$}
= {*who didn't Cosmo greet?*, *who did Cosmo greet?*}

The contrastive topic in (28) introduces a strategy to address (i) who Cosmo greeted and (ii) who Cosmo didn't greet. The whole issue is solved through both coordinated clauses.

This line of analysis allows us to account for pairs such as (29) (and their non-elliptical counterparts; examples omitted due to space restrictions):

(29) a. # Vino alguien, no Cosmo.
came somebody not Cosmo
'Somebody came, not Cosmo.'
b. Vino alguien, pero no Cosmo.
came somebody but not Cosmo
'Somebody came, but not Cosmo.'

Since *Cosmo* is a contrastive focus in (29a), the f-value of its clause must contain the proposition expressed in the prior sentence. This is not the case:

(30) a. [$_\beta$ Vino alguien], [$_\alpha$ no ~~vino~~ COSMO$_F$]. *cf.* (29a)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Somebody came*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {$y$ came | $y \in D_e$}
= {*Cosmo came*, *Eliana came*, *Jorge came*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

On the other hand, since *no* 'not' is a contrastive topic in (29b), it evokes a set of alternative questions. No congruence is needed with the previous sentence in these cases; the relation between both clauses is established through (25):

(31) a. Vino alguien, pero [$_\alpha$ no$_{CT}$ ~~vino~~ COSMO$_F$]. *cf.* (29b)
b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct}$ = {{POL($y$ came) | POL $\in D_{\{+,-\}}$} | $y \in D_e$}
= {*who didn't come?*, *who came?*, ...}

In this case, the contrastive topic introduces a strategy to address (i) who came and (ii) who didn't come. Notice that the issue has not been solved, i.e., it is not known who came. That is why a follow-up sentence (that could be elliptical) is expected to address this question:

(32) Vino alguien, pero no Cosmo. ~~Vino~~ Eliana.
came somebody but not Cosmo came Eliana
'Somebody came, but not Cosmo. Eliana (came).'

The same line of reasoning explains the contrast found in cases of sprouted XPs, i.e., (9a) vs. (11b). As already discussed, only *pero*-NEG-XP stripping licenses sprouting:

(33) a. [$_\beta$ Sonia vino], [$_\alpha$ no ~~Sonia~~ ~~vino~~ AYER$_F$]. *cf.* (11b)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Sonia came*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {Sonia came $x$ | $x \in D_t$}
= {*Sonia came yesterday*, *Sonia came last year*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

(34) a. Sonia vino, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{CT}$ ~~Sonia~~ ~~vino~~ AYER$_F$]. *cf.* (9a)
b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct}$ = {{POL(Sonia came $y$) | POL $\in D_{\{+,-\}}$} | $y \in D_t$}
= {*when didn't Sonia come?*, *when did Sonia come?*}

The data by Bosque (1984: 51) in (35) further shows that the XP in NEG-XP structures must be interpreted as a contrastive focus. As can be seen here, only the subject of the cleft sentence can appear in the construction and receive an exhaustive interpretation:

(35) a. JUAN$_F$ es el que confía en Luís, no MARÍA$_F$.
Juan is the that trusts.3SG in Luís not María
'Juan is the one who trusts in Luís, not Mary.'
b. * JUAN$_F$ es el que confía en Luís, no en MARÍA$_F$.
Juan is the that trusts.3SG in Luís not in María
'Juan is the one who trusts in Luís, not in Mary.'

It's worth noticing that *pero*-NEG-XP yields deviant results in a context parallel to (35a), as the exhaustive interpretation of the cleft sentence makes the *but*-clause non-informative:

(36) * JUAN$_F$ es el que confía en Luís, pero NO$_{CT}$ MARÍA$_F$.
Juan is the that trusts.3SG in Luís but not María
'Juan is the one who trusts in Luís, but not Mary.'

The following sentences, modeled after Kolokonte (2008: 46–47) further illustrate the information structure differences between NEG-XP and *pero*-NEG-XP patterns:

(37) a. # Mozart nació en Austria, no en Viena.
Mozart was.born.3SG in Austria not in Vienna
'Mozart was born in Austria, not in Vienna.'
b. Mozart nació en Austria, pero no en Viena.
Mozart was.born.3SG in Austria but not in Vienna
'Mozart was born in Austria, but not in Vienna.'

This can be captured under the assumption that focus alternatives must be mutually exclusive (Wagner 2006, Katzir 2013, Goodhue 2022a). In short, since relevant alternatives to *Viena* 'Vienna' are cities, its contrastive focus interpretation in (37a) cannot be licensed by *Austria*:[5]

(38) a. [$_\beta$ Mozart nació EN AUSTRIA$_F$], [$_\alpha$ no ~~Mozart~~ ~~nació~~ EN VIENA$_F$]. cf. (37a)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Mozart was born in Austria*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {Mozart was born in $x$ | $x \in D_{cities}$}
= {*Mozart was born in Vienna*, *Mozart was born in Salzburg*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

The sentence in (37b) is acceptable because *no* 'not' functions as a contrastive topic. As such, it evokes a pair of alternative questions asking about (i) where Mozart was not born and (ii) about where Mozart was born. Since the latter was not answered, it remains as an open issue:

(39) a. Mozart nació en Austria, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{CT}$ ~~Mozart~~ ~~nació~~ EN VIENA$_F$]. cf. (22b)
b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct}$ = {{POL(Mozart was born in $y$) | POL $\in D_{\{+,-\}}$} | $y \in D_{cities}$}
= {*in which Austrian city wasn't Mozart born?*, *in which Austrian city was Mozart born?*}

If the examples involve cities instead, the NEG-XP pattern becomes acceptable (40a). The *pero*-NEG-XP pattern, however, yields an unacceptable result due to non-informativeness of the second clause (40b):

(40) a. Mozart nació en Salzburgo, no en Viena.
Mozart was.born.3SG in Salzburg not in Vienna
'Mozart was born in Salzburg, not in Vienna.'
b. # Mozart nació en Salzburgo, pero no en Viena.
Mozart was.born.3SG in Salzburg but not in Vienna
'Mozart was born in Salzburg, but not in Vienna.'

### 3.2 NEG-XP and *pero*-NEG-XP are syntactically distinct

**Proposal**

The two flavors of stripping are syntactically different:

- *no* 'not' in NEG-XP configurations is (usually) an instance of a **High Negation**.
- *no* 'not' in *pero*-NEG-XP configurations is an instance of a **Polarity head**.

Consider the dialogue in (41). While contrastive focus implicitly negates a proposition, it does not require negation to do so, i.e., that Cosmo didn't arrive is never explicitly asserted:

(41) A: Llegó Cosmo.
arrived.3SG Cosmo
'Cosmo arrived.'
B: Llegó ELIANA$_F$.
arrived.3SG Eliana
'ELIANA arrived.' ⇝ *Cosmo didn't arrive*

This contrasts with the behavior of NEG-XP stripping, which does exhibit negation (42). As discussed regarding (23) and (24), for this instance of contrastive focus to be captured in Rooth's (1992) system, *no* 'not' needs to be ignored when computing alternatives, e.g., (43):

(42) Llegó Eliana, no Cosmo.
arrived.3SG Eliana not Cosmo
'Eliana arrived, not Cosmo.'

(43) a. [$_\beta$ Llegó Eliana], [$_\alpha$ no ~~llegó~~ COSMO$_F$]. *cf.* (42)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Eliana arrived*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {$x$ arrived | $x \in D_e$}
= {*Cosmo arrived*, *Eliana arrived*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

This move seems to be on the right track. Consider the example in (44):

(44) No llegó ELIANA$_F$, no COSMO$_F$.
not arrived.3SG Eliana not Cosmo
'Eliana didn't arrive, not Cosmo' ⇝ *Cosmo did arrive*

Given the interpretation of (44), the ellipsis site must contain a negation. This creates an underlying representation containing the sequence *no no*. However, since propositional negation cannot 'stack' like this (Collins 2018), it follows that one of these *no* must be something else:

(45) a. [$_\beta$ No llegó Eliana], [$_\alpha$ no ~~no~~ ~~llegó~~ COSMO$_F$]. *cf.* (44)
b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Eliana didn't arrive*
c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {$x$ didn't arrive | $x \in D_e$}
= {*Cosmo didn't arrive*, *Eliana didn't arrive*, ...}
d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

We claim that *no* 'not' in NEG-XP stripping is an instance of so-called "high negation", a type of operator that does not affect the propositional content of the sentence but its pragmatic status (Repp 2013, Romero 2015, Goodhue 2022b):

✔ Repp (2013) and Romero (2015): this element conveys that the speaker is certain that the proposition $p$ it combines with shouldn't be added to the *Common Ground* (CG).

✔ On this view, the clause $\alpha$ in (45a) should be interpreted as a CG-management move (Krifka 2008) such as *do not add that Cosmo didn't arrive to the CG*.

In all accounts, "high negation" occupies a position in the left periphery of the sentence, way higher than standard propositional negation. We illustrate this schematically in (46):

[5] True alternatives allow to describe a possible world by conjoining the asserted proposition with negated propositions based on the alternatives. Thus, for instance, there are worlds in which Mozart was born in Vienna and not in Salzburg.

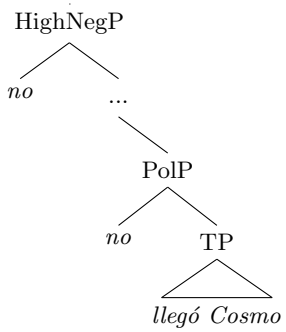
(i) $\bigcap$ {Mozart was born in Vienna, Mozart was not born in Salzburg, ...} $\neq \varnothing$

However, there are no worlds in which Mozart was born in Viena but not in Austria.

(ii) $\bigcap$ {Mozart was born in Vienna, Mozart was not born in Austria, ...} $= \varnothing$

See Goodhue (2022a) for relevant discussion.

(46)



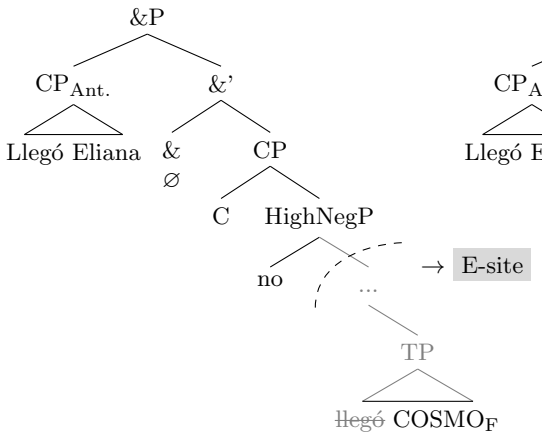

The NEG-XP pattern in (44) contrasts with the *pero*-NEG-XP example in (47) because the latter involves propositional negation:

(47) * No llegó Eliana, pero no Cosmo.
not arrived.3SG Eliana but not Cosmo
'Eliana didn't arrive, but not Cosmo'

Our proposal can be schematically illustrated as follows for the two structures:

(48) [$_{\text{Antecedent}}$ Llegó Eliana], ...

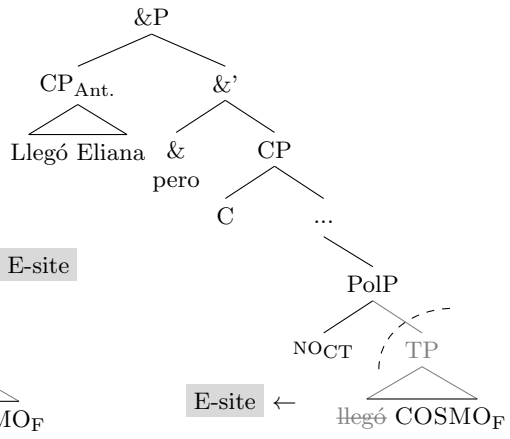
a. NEG-XP:
... no ~~llegó~~ $\text{COSMO}_{\text{F}}$.




→ E-site

- remnant → contrastive focus
- *no* = High Negation

b. *pero*-NEG-XP:
... pero $\text{NO}_{\text{CT}}$ ~~llegó~~ $\text{COSMO}_{\text{F}}$.




E-site ←

- remnant → information focus
- *no* = Polarity

## 4 Concluding remarks

In this presentation we:

- ✔ examined the syntax and semantics of Spanish stripping providing new empirical data
- ✔ offered several arguments against a non-elliptical analysis of stripping
- ✔ argued for an elliptical account of this construction
- ✔ showed that there are crucial differences between cases with and without *pero* 'but'
- ✔ proposed that there are at least two 'flavors' of stripping in Spanish:
  - semantic/informational differences:
    - NEG-XP: *no* is **non-truth-conditional**; XP is a **contrastive focus**.
    - *pero*-NEG-XP: *no* is a **contrastive topic**; XP is an **information focus**.
  - syntactic differences:
    - *no* in NEG-XP configurations is (usually) an instance of a **High Negation**.
    - *no* in *pero*-NEG-XP configurations is an instance of a **Polarity head**.

**Thanks!** **¡Gracias!** **Obrigados!**

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## 5 Appendix A: An elliptical account of Spanish stripping

Our preliminary proposal:[6]

**1.** Ellipsis site of *pero*-NEG-XP is smaller than ellipsis site of NEG-XP (see (48)):

Evidence: *pero*-NEG-XP allows for the occurrence of adverbs like *probablemente* 'probably' or *quizás* 'maybe' (49a) that attach at the sentence level. This is not possible in NEG-XP:

(49) a. Sonia comerá pizza, pero {probablemente | quizás} no ensalada. = (12a)
Sonia will.eat pizza but probably maybe not salad
'Sonia will eat pizza, but {probably | quizás} not salad.'

b. * Sonia comerá pizza, {probablemente | quizás} no ensalada.
Sonia will.eat pizza probably maybe not salad
'Sonia will eat pizza, {probably | maybe} not salad.'

**2.** Remnants are in-situ:

**i.** To derive the order (*pero*-)NEG-XP, we propose that the remnant XP does not move but stays *in-situ* within the TP. A straightforward argument for this claim is that neither focus fronting nor CLLD (topicalization) target positions below negation in Spanish:

(50) a. A ELIANA no vi ayer.
DOM Eliana not saw.1SG yesterday
'ELIANA I didn't see yesterday.'

b. * No A ELIANA vi ayer.
not DOM Eliana saw.1SG yesterday

(51) a. A Eliana no la vi ayer.
DOM Eliana not 3SG.F.ACC saw.1SG yesterday
'Eliana, I didn't see her yesterday.'

b. * No a Eliana la vi ayer.
not DOM Eliana 3SG.F.ACC saw.1SG yesterday

**ii.** We follow Stigliano (2022) in proposing that remnants do not need to move to escape deletion, and survive deletion in virtue of being F- or Top-marked elements.

**3.** Licensing of Ellipsis

**i.** Polarity likely plays a role in licensing ellipsis (see Saab & Stigliano 2023, i.a.).

Evidence: affirmative cases require overt (affirmative) Polarity, like *sí*:

(52) a. Sonia no comió pizza, (pero) sí ensalada.
Sonia not ate pizza but yes salad
Literal: 'Sonia didn't eat pizza, but yes salad.'
Interpretation: 'Sonia didn't eat pizza, but she did eat salad.'

b. * Sonia no comió pizza, (pero) ensalada.
Sonia not ate pizza but salad
Intended: 'Sonia didn't eat pizza, but she ate salad.'

(53) Sonia no comió pizza, (pero) comió ensalada.
Sonia not ate pizza pero ate salad
'Sonia didn't eat pizza, (but) she ate salad.'

**ii.** Cases with and without *pero* involve Polarity (that is, there is no 'high affirmation').

Prediction: unlike negative cases, there are no *sí no* 'yes no' sequences:

(54) No llegó Sonia, sí Bruno.
not arrived Sonia yes Bruno
Literal: 'Sonia didn't arrive, yes Bruno.' *cf.* (44)

a. = sí ~~llegó~~ Bruno.
yes arrived Bruno

b. ≠ sí ~~no llegó~~ Bruno
yes not arrived Bruno

[6] A number of authors have already proposed or suggested analyses for Spanish stripping in terms of ellipsis, e.g., Depiante (2000), Vicente (2006), Kolokonte (2008), Saab (2008).