Spanish stripping as ellipsis: evidence for a two-source analysis*

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1   Introduction

We will discuss the syntax and semantics of *stripping* (Hankamer & Sag 1976). Descriptively, the construction involves a sentence coordinated with an XP, which is preceded by an adverbial element. The literature usually takes the connector to be optional:

(1)   a.   Abby speaks passable Dutch, (but) not French.
       b.   Cosmo bought a book, (but) not a magazine.

We will examine this phenomenon in Spanish. In particular We focus on cases in which the adverbial element is *no* 'not' and the (apparently) optional conjunction is *pero* 'but'.

(2)   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 Spanish 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 there are **two structural sources** for ellipsis in stripping clauses such as (2), which correlate with the presence/absence of the conjunction *pero*.
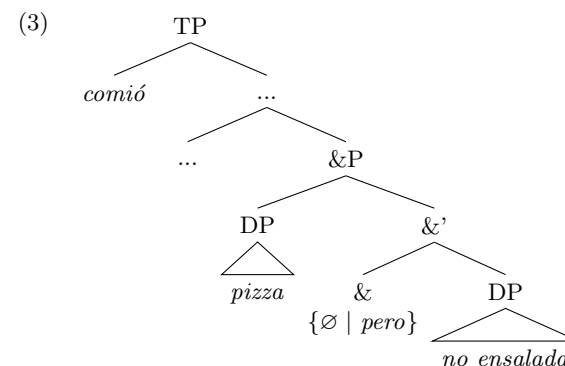
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2   Against a non-elliptical analysis of stripping

The non-elliptical analysis of stripping claims that sentences like (2) consist of a single clause containing a coordinate structure, where the second conjunct involves constituent negation. Thus, a sentence like (2a) would have the underlying structure in (3):

(3)

An elliptical analysis of stripping, on the other hand, claims that sentences like (2) consist of a biclausal structure, where the second clause has undergone ellipsis, which 'silences' a portion of the structure, as schematically shown in (4):

(4)   Sonia comió pizza, (pero) no [ellipsis site ~~Sonia comió~~] ensalada.

There are several points against an analysis along the lines of (3), and in favor to (4) instead.

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

(5)   a.   * Sonia comió [DP no ensalada].
             Sonia ate   not salad
             'Sonia ate not salad.'   cf. (2a)
       b.   * Sonia viajó   [PP no a Roma].
             Sonia traveled   not to Rome
             'Sonia traveled not to Rome.'   cf. (2b)

2. A second reason is that the interpretation predicted by (3) doesn't correspond with the meaning of (2a). According to (3), negation scopes over *ensalada*, but it actually scopes over the entire predicate. The correct interpretation is straightforwardly derived if (4) is assumed:

(6) a. $[\![(2a)]\!] \not\approx$ Sonia ate pizza & Sonia ate non-salad
     b. $[\![(2a)]\!] \approx$ Sonia ate pizza & Sonia didn't eat salad

3. Furthermore, it's possible to have two remnant XPs under the scope of negation (7a). Since they don't form a constituent, this suggests that *no* 'not' combines with a syntactic projection containing them both. Under standard assumptions (e.g., Laka 1990), this is a TP:

(7) 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 [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.

(8) 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]]]

It is well known that asymmetric coordinations of similar type are ungrammatical in Spanish:

(9)   * 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 (10a) under the analysis in (3).

(10) a.   Sonia vino, pero no ayer.
           Sonia came but   not yesterday
           Interpretation: 'Sonia came, but not yesterday.'
      b.   ... [&P [AdvP ∅] [&' pero [AdvP no ayer]]]

As is known, this is not possible in other contexts:

(11) * 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 (8a) and (10a) 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:

(12) 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. A key prediction of the non-elliptical analysis in (3) 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:

(13) 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 (13) need to be analyzed as extractions out of a coordinated structure. Coordinations are usually considered islands (Ross 1967); extractions out of a coordination yield an ungrammatical structure in any other context:

(14) 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.'

7. Authors like Kalin & Weisser (2019) have argued that Spanish displays asymmetric DOM.

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

Saab & Zdrojewski (2021) show this structure does not exist in Spanish. According to them, alleged asymmetric DOM patterns like (15) involve coordination of a biclausal configuration and TP-ellipsis (16):

(16) [&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:

(17) 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 (18) do not involve asymmetric DOM, as the DOM-marker *a* has scope over the whole coordination:

(18) 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:

(19) *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, arising from two alternative syntactic configurations.
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3 Two elliptical sources for Spanish stripping

As mentioned, the literature usually takes the coordinating conjunction *pero* 'but' to be optional. We refer to the two resulting surface patterns as *pero*-NEG-XP and NEG-XP:
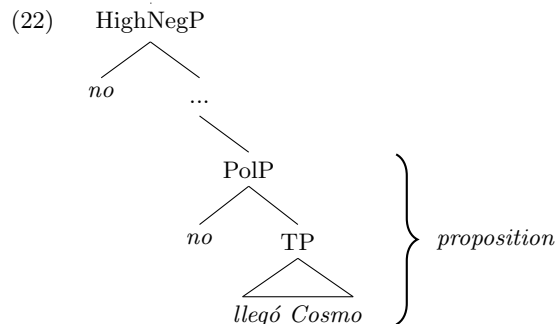
(20) Llegó   Sonia, pero no Bruno.
      arrived Sonia but not Bruno
      'Sonia arrived, but not Bruno.'   ***pero*-NEG-XP**

(21) Llegó   Sonia, no Bruno.
      arrived Sonia not Bruno
      'Sonia arrived, not Bruno.'   **NEG-XP**

We challenge the assumption that the conjunction is optional, and instead argue that examples such as (20) and (21) instantiate two distinct syntactic structures with different types of negation: (a) standard propositional negation, and (b) so-called *high negation*:

(22) HighNegP

We show that this distinction determines differences at the information-structural level, which in turn explain the distribution of the conjunction. A key prediction of our analysis is that high negation is incompatible with the conjunction *pero* in (20):

(23) GENERALIZATION ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF *pero*
      In sequences of the form *pero no* 'but not' in Spanish stripping clauses, *no* 'not' is always an instance of (low) propositional negation.

3.1 High negations in Spanish stripping

If *pero* 'but' were truly optional (i.e., if it could appear or be omitted within a single syntactic structure), acceptability contrasts like the one in (24) vs. (25) would be unexpected:

(24) No llegó   Sonia, no Bruno.
      not arrived.3SG Sonia not Bruno
      Literal: 'Sonia didn't arrive, not Bruno.'
      Interpretation: *Sonia didn't arrive, Bruno did.*

(25) *No llegó   Sonia, pero no Bruno.
      not arrived Sonia but not Bruno
      Literal: 'Sonia didn't arrive, but not Bruno.'

The interpretation in (24) requires an underlying representation containing two negations, as schematically shown in (26):

(26) No llegó   Sonia, no ~~no llegó~~   Bruno.
      not arrived Sonia not not arrived Bruno

Since propositional negation cannot iterate or 'stack' in this manner (Collins 2018), one of these negative elements must be of a different type. We claim that the overt *no* in Spanish NEG-XP configurations realizes *high negation*:

- ✔ This is an operator that affects the pragmatic status of the sentence rather than its propositional content (Repp 2013, Romero 2015, Goodhue 2022b).
- ✔ In all accounts, high negation occupies a position in the left periphery of the sentence and has scope over the whole proposition.

This analysis is supported by the interaction of necessity modals and negation in these constructions. In Spanish, unlike English, the combination of negation + modal as in the sequence *no debe* 'not must' can be interpreted as either $\neg > \Box$ or $\Box > \neg$:

(27) Bruno no debe subir de peso.
      Bruno not must go.up of weight
      Literal: 'Bruno must not gain weight.'
      Interpretation: $\neg > \Box, \Box > \neg$

Stripping structures of the *pero*-NEG-XP type display this ambiguity—e.g., (28):

(28) Sonia debe subir de peso,   pero no Bruno.
      Sonia must go.up of weight but not Bruno
      Literal: 'Sonia must gain weight, but not Bruno.'
      Interpretation: $\neg > \Box, \Box > \neg$

However, NEG-XP patterns are unambiguously interpreted with negation taking scope over the modal—e.g., (29). This follows if *no* 'not' in (29) is an instance of high negation and thus occupies a structural position that scopes over the entire proposition:

(29) Sonia debe subir de peso, no Bruno.
 Sonia must go.up of weight not Bruno
 Literal: 'Sonia must gain weight, not Bruno.'
 Interpretation: $\neg > \Box$, *$\Box > \neg$

The fact that NEG-XP patterns recruit high negation will allow us to explain a number of contrasts with *pero*-NEG-XP configurations.

3.2 A split in information structure and the distribution of *pero*

We follow Vicente (2006) and Kolokonte (2008), who claim that the remnant XP in the NEG-XP type of stripping is interpreted as a contrastive focus:

(30) Llegó Sonia, no BRUNO_F.
 arrived.3SG Sonia not Bruno
 'Sonia arrived, not Bruno.' *cf.* (21)

The data by Bosque (1984: 51) in (31) further shows that the XP in NEG-XP structures must be interpreted as a focus. As can be seen here, only the subject of the cleft sentence can appear in the construction and receive an exhaustive interpretation:

(31) a. Juan 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 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.'

In contrast, *pero*-NEG-XP yields deviant results in a context parallel to (31a), as the exhaustive interpretation of the cleft sentence makes the *but*-clause non-informative:

(32) * Juan es el que confía en Luís, pero no MARÍA_F.
 Juan is the that trusts.3SG in Luís but not María
 'Juan is the one who trusts in Luís, but not Mary.'

In Rooth's (1992) system, a contrastive focus interpretation arises when the set of focus alternatives (*f-value*) of an expression α contains a previously uttered proposition β, i.e., contrastive foci require $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$:

➥ For a NEG-XP stripping example like (30), this condition is satisfied only if negation is not part of the propositional content.
➥ This follows straightforwardly if *no* 'not' is high negation in NEG-XP patterns.

As can be seen in (33), the contrastive focus interpretation is not predicted if *no* 'not' is considered for the computation of alternatives:

(33) a. [$_\beta$ Llegó Sonia], [$_\alpha$ no ~~llegó~~ BRUNO_F]. =(21)
 b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Sonia arrived*
 c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {x didn't arrive | $x \in D_e$}
  = {*Sonia didn't arrive, Cosmo didn't arrive, Elaine didn't arrive, ...*}
 d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

However, the analysis works if *no* 'not' is not taken to be part of the proposition.

(34) a. [$_\beta$ Llegó Sonia], no [$_\alpha$ ~~llegó~~ BRUNO_F]. =(21)
 b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o$ = *Sonia arrived*
 c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f$ = {x arrived | $x \in D_e$}
  = {*Sonia arrived, Cosmo arrived, Elaine arrived, ...*}
 d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

The distribution of *pero* 'but' follows from its information structural requirements.

➥ The conjunction *pero* needs to link two clauses, each containing a pair of constituents that contrast with their counterparts in the other clause: a contrastive topic and an information focus.[1]

The examples in (35) illustrate these requirements for Spanish:

(35) a. Eliana compró un libro, **pero** [$_\alpha$ COSMO_CT compró UNA REVISTA_F].
 Eliana bought.3SG a book but Cosmo bought.3SG a magazine
 'Eliana bought a book, but Cosmo bought a magazine.'
 b. * Eliana compró un libro, **pero** [$_\alpha$ Eliana compró UNA REVISTA_F].
 Eliana bought.3SG a book but Eliana bought.3SG a magazine
 'Eliana bought a book, but Eliana bought a magazine.'
 c. * Eliana compró un libro, **pero** [$_\alpha$ COSMO_CT compró un libro].
 Eliana bought.3SG a book but Cosmo bought.3SG a book
 'Eliana bought a book, but Cosmo bought a book.'

Extending Kolokonte's (2008) characterization of *pero*-NEG-XP configurations, we contend that the remnant XP in these structures functions as the information focus, while (propositional) negation can be analyzed as the contrastive topic:

(36) Llegó Sonia, pero NO_CT BRUNO_F.
 arrived Sonia but not Bruno
 'Sonia arrived, but not Bruno.' *cf.* (20)

Given that *no* 'not' in *pero*-NEG-XP configurations receives a topic interpretation, it is required to be part of the proposition:

➥ This derives the generalization in (23).

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[1] See Sæbø (2003) on German *aber*, and Umbach (2005) on English *but* for discussion of this analysis

We formalize the proposal in terms of Büring (2003), who maintains that contrastive topics evoke sets of alternative questions. As shown in (37), the elements bearing information focus and contrastive topic are part of α, and the interpretation of the utterance is captured:

(37) a. Llegó Sonia, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{\text{CT}}$ ~~llegó~~ BRUNO$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \{\{\text{POL}(x \text{ arrived}) \mid x \in \text{D}_e\} \mid \text{POL} \in \text{D}_{\{+,-\}}\}$
         $= \{who\ arrived?,\ who\ didn't\ arrive?\}$

On the contrary, if *no* were an instance of high negation, it would not be part of the proposition expressed by α and, as a consequence, it would not be able to function as a contrastive topic:

(38) a. Llegó Sonia, pero no [$_\alpha$ ~~llegó~~ BRUNO$_{\text{F}}$]. =(20)
    b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \emptyset$

The analyses in (33) and (37), which hinge on whether negation is part of the proposition, account for several contrasts between NEG-XP and *pero*-NEG-XP configurations. For instance, consider the contrast in (39) and (40):[2]

(39)   Nací   en Japón, ***(pero)** no en Tokio.
        born.1SG in Japan   but   not in Tokyo
        'I was born in Japan, but not in Tokyo.'

(40)   Nací   en Kioto, **(*pero)** no en Tokio.
        born.1SG in Kyoto   but   not in Tokyo
        'I was born in Kyoto, not in Tokyo.'

In the *pero*-NEG-XP configuration in (39), *no* is an instance of propositional negation and functions as a contrastive topic. From the evoked alternative questions, one is addressed by the stripping clause, while the other—underlined in (47b)— remains unresolved:

(41) a. Nací en Japón, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{\text{CT}}$ ~~nací~~ EN TOKIO$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \{\{\text{POL}(I \text{ was born in } x) \mid x \in \text{D}_{cities}\} \mid \text{POL} \in \text{D}_{\{+,-\}}\}$
         $= \{\underline{in\ which\ city\ was\ I\ born?},\ in\ which\ city\ wasn't\ I\ born?\}$

The unacceptability of (39) as a NEG-XP configuration follows from a structure that should license a contrastive focus interpretation of the remnant XP, but fails at it because the remnant and its correlate are not alternatives under *innocent exclusion* (Fox 2007):[3]

(42) a. [$_\beta$ Nací en Japón], no [$_\alpha$ ~~nací~~ EN TOKIO$_{\text{F}}$].

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[2]These examples replicate similar contrasts by Drübig (1994) and Kolokonte (2008).

[3]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.

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    b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o = I\ was\ born\ in\ Japan$
    c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f = \{I \text{ was born in } x \mid x \in \text{D}_{cities}\}$
         $= \{I\ was\ born\ in\ Tokyo,\ I\ was\ born\ in\ Kyoto,\ I\ was\ born\ in\ Osaka,\ ...\}$
    d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

In (40), the *pero*-NEG-XP pattern is unacceptable because the antecedent renders the contrastive topic in the stripping clause infelicitous: the implicit question the stripping clause addresses—underlined in (43b)—is uninformative in this context:

(43) a. Nací en Kioto, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{\text{CT}}$ ~~nací~~ EN TOKIO$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \{\{\text{POL}(I \text{ was born in } x) \mid x \in \text{D}_{cities}\} \mid \text{POL} \in \text{D}_{\{+,-\}}\}$
         $= \{in\ which\ city\ was\ I\ born?,\ \underline{\#in\ which\ city\ wasn't\ I\ born?}\}$

The NEG-XP pattern (44), on the other hand, is acceptable according to the proposed analysis, as the remnant and its correlate are indeed alternatives:

(44) a. [$_\beta$ Nací en Kioto], no [$_\alpha$ ~~nací~~ EN TOKIO$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o = I\ was\ born\ in\ Kyoto$
    c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f = \{I \text{ was born in } x \mid x \in \text{D}_{cities}\}$
         $= \{I\ was\ born\ in\ Tokyo,\ I\ was\ born\ in\ Kyoto,\ I\ was\ born\ in\ Osaka,\ ...\}$
    d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

Similar analyses account for otherwise unexpected contrasts like the one (45).

(45)   Vino alguien,   ***(pero)** no Sonia.
        came somebody   but   not Sonia
        'Somebody came, *(but) not Sonia.'

In the unacceptable NEG-XP configuration, the condition on contrastive focus—$[\![\beta]\!]^o \in [\![\alpha]\!]^f$— is not satisfied.

(46) a. [$_\beta$ Vino alguien], no [$_\alpha$ ~~vino~~ SONIA$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o = Somebody\ came$
    c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f = \{x \text{ came} \mid x \in \text{D}_e\}$
         $= \{Cosmo\ came,\ Eliana\ came,\ Jorge\ came,\ ...\}$
    d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

As a *pero*-NEG-XP configuration, on the other hand, the negative element *no* is a contrastive topic, allowing α to evoke the set of questions *who came?* and *who didn't come?*, the first of which remains as <u>an open issue</u> much in the same way as in (47) above:

(47) a. Vino alguien, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{\text{CT}}$ ~~vino~~ SONIA$_{\text{F}}$].
    b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \{\{\text{POL}(x \text{ came}) \mid x \in \text{D}_e\} \mid \text{POL} \in \text{D}_{\{+,-\}}\}$
         $= \{\underline{who\ came?},\ who\ didn't\ come?\}$

The same line of analysis allows to account for the problematic examples in (8a), (10a), (12a) and (12b), repeated for convenience in (48) and (49). As discussed, NEG-XP examples do not license sprouting.

(48) a. Sonia vio a   Bruno, pero no con Ana.
          Sonia saw DOM Bruno but   not with Ana
          'Sonia saw Bruno, but not with Ana.'   *cf.* (8a)

      b. *Sonia vio a   Bruno, no con Ana.
          Sonia saw DOM Bruno not with Ana
          'Sonia saw Bruno, not with Ana.'   *cf.* (12a)

(49) a. Sonia vino, pero no ayer.
          Sonia came but   not yesterday
          Interpretation: 'Sonia came, but not yesterday.'   *cf.* (10a)

      b. *Sonia vino, no ayer.
          Sonia came not yesterday
          'Sonia came, not yesterday.'   *cf.* (12b)

The restriction follows from the treatment advanced so far. Take the contrast in (48) as an example. The *pero*-NEG-XP pattern in (48a) is predicted to admit sprouting based on its information structure.

(50) a. Sonia vio a Bruno, pero [$_\alpha$ NO$_{CT}$ ~~Sonia vio a Bruno~~ CON ANA$_F$].
      b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{ct} = \{\{\text{POL(Sonia saw Bruno with } x) \mid x \in D_e\} \mid \text{POL} \in D_{\{+,-\}}\}$
          $= \{with\ whom\ did\ Sonia\ see\ Bruno?,\ with\ whom\ didn't\ Sonia\ see\ Bruno?\}$

On the other hand, the proposed analysis for NEG-XP patterns predicts that (48b) should not work as an utterance with a contrastive focus interpretation.

(51) a. [$_\beta$ Sonia vio a Bruno], no [$_\alpha$ ~~Sonia vio a Bruno~~ CON ANA$_F$].
      b. $[\![\beta]\!]^o = Sonia\ saw\ Bruno$
      c. $[\![\alpha]\!]^f = \{\text{Sonia saw Bruno with } x \mid x \in D_e\}$
          $= \{Sonia\ saw\ Bruno\ with\ Ana,\ Sonia\ saw\ Bruno\ with\ Susana,\ ...\}$
      d. $[\![\beta]\!]^o \notin [\![\alpha]\!]^f$

Interim summary

- We argue that there are two different underlying structures that can give rise to Spanish stripping: one with high negation and one with propositional negation.

- High negation is not taken into consideration for the computation of focus alternatives, so it enables a contrastive focus interpretation of the XP.

- The adversative conjunction *pero* 'but' requires propositional negation to function as a contrastive topic.

- This predicts that high negation cannot co-occur with *pero*.
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4 A provisional analysis

As argued throughout section 2, we contend that Spanish stripping involves ellipsis.[4] Although some aspects of the analysis still require further development, we can outline a general picture.

i. We contend that both stripping structures involve the coordination of two sentential structures, where the second one undergoes clausal ellipsis. As in other cases of clausal ellipsis, we claim that the C head bears and [E]-feature that triggers deletion of its complement.

ii. 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:

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

      b. *No A   ELIANA vi   ayer.
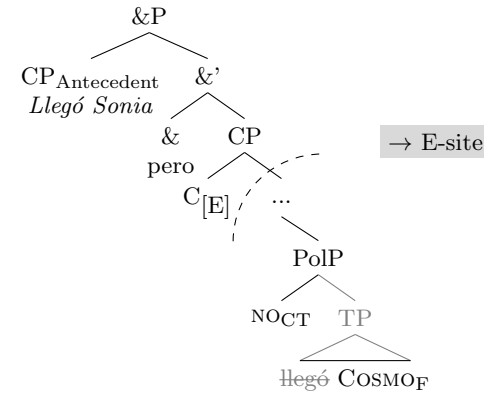   not DOM Eliana   saw.1SG yesterday
                                                        vs. (*pero*) *no a Eliana*

(53) 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
                                                        vs. (*pero*) *no a Eliana*
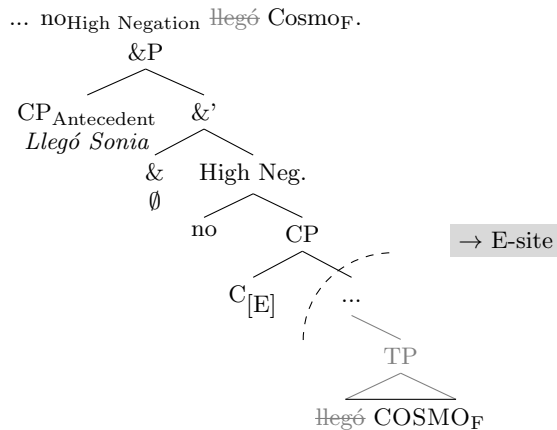
iii. We argue that remnants do not need to move to escape ellipsis (contra the original proposal in Merchant 2001), and survive deletion in virtue of being F- or Top-marked (Stigliano 2022):

(54) *pero*-NEG-XP:
      ... pero NO$_{CT}$ ~~llegó~~ COSMO$_F$.

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(55) NEG-XP:

… no[High Negation] ~~llegó~~ Cosmo$_F$.

5   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,

- ✔ proposed that there are at least two 'flavors' of stripping in Spanish:
  - one with high non-truth conditional negation, and
  - one with low propositional negation.

- ✔ These differences correlate with information-structural distinctions:
  - the remnant XP in stripping structures with high negation receives a contrastive focus interpretation, while
  - propositional negation is able to evoke alternatives and to function as a contrastive topic.
  - The latter allows propositional negation to combine with the adversative conjunction *pero* 'but'

- ✔ Finally, we offered a preliminary syntactic account of stripping in which both alternative configurations are a product of clausal ellipsis.
  - C bears an [E]-feature that triggers deletion of its complement.
  - Contrastive topics and foci survive phonological deletion in situ.
  - This accounts for the NEG < XP order.

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