

Polarity Ellipsis and Negative Stripping*

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1 Introduction

There exist, in French, two particular constructions involving polarity markers, shown in (1) and (2). In each of these examples, there are two clauses. The first clause is a complete, free-standing clause that could occur in isolation. The second clause is phonologically deficient in some way - in (1) and (2) there seem to be elements missing from the second clause (most notably a verb). Still, the meaning derived from the second clause is not deficient in any way - the words “mais Marie non” somehow give the meaning “but Marie doesn’t like chocolate.” This is an example of ellipsis, in which meaning is recovered from silence via identity with some antecedent clause (in the case of (1), this antecedent is “Jean aime le chocolat.”)

- (1) Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie non.
Jean like[3sg] the chocolate but Marie no
“Jean likes chocolate, but Marie doesn’t like chocolate.”
- (2) Jean aime le chocolat, mais pas Marie.
Jean like[3sg] the chocolate but not Marie
“Jean likes chocolate, but Marie doesn’t like chocolate.”

This paper will focus on these two elliptical constructions. In section §2, I will outline the properties of these two constructions, showing that they should be treated as distinct processes. I name the first (shown in (1)) polarity ellipsis, because (as we will see in the next section), it always utilizes one of two polarity markers - oui or non. The other construction (shown in (2)) I call negative stripping, following Merchant (2006). In section §3, I give an overview of similar phenomena in Spanish, which will lead us to an analysis of French polarity ellipsis, laid out in section §4. The Spanish data also will introduce the idea of using ellipsis correctively, discussed in section §5. Section §6 will then come back to negative stripping, looking in more detail at its structure. I then end in section §7 with concluding remarks and ideas for future work.

2 Overview of French ellipsis with polarity marker

Polarity ellipsis (as in (1)) and negative stripping (as in (2)) look very similar at first glance. As I mentioned above, they both consist of an antecedent clause and an ellipsis clause. The ellipsis clause in each minimally consists of some XP remnant (in (1) and (2), the remnant is “Marie”) and some marker of polarity. In both examples shown above, the antecedent clause and ellipsis clause are coordinated with “mais” (but).

There are some superficial differences between polarity ellipsis and negative stripping we can examine now. In polarity ellipsis, the remnant precedes the polarity marker, and the ellipsis clause has order XP non, while in negative stripping the opposite order holds (pas XP). Another difference between the two processes lies in the polarity marker used. There is only one option available for negative stripping - the negative marker “pas” (not)¹. The same element is seen in French sentential negation. Before continuing, I will briefly describe the syntax of sentential negation assumed in the paper.

*Many thanks to Jorge Hankamer, Jaye Padgett, Luis Vicente, and the participants of Research Seminar 2008. Also thanks to my consultants, for reviewing countless examples, and to my family, for their unwavering support. All mistakes are my own.

I consulted 10 native French speakers over the course of this project. Unless stated otherwise, all French examples were constructed with and verified by these speakers, ranging in age from 21 to 80. Because of time and location constraints, not every example was tested on every speaker - some were only seen by 5 speakers.

¹Negative stripping is not possible with an affirmative polarity marker. An ellipsis clause consisting of “oui XP” is always ungrammatical.

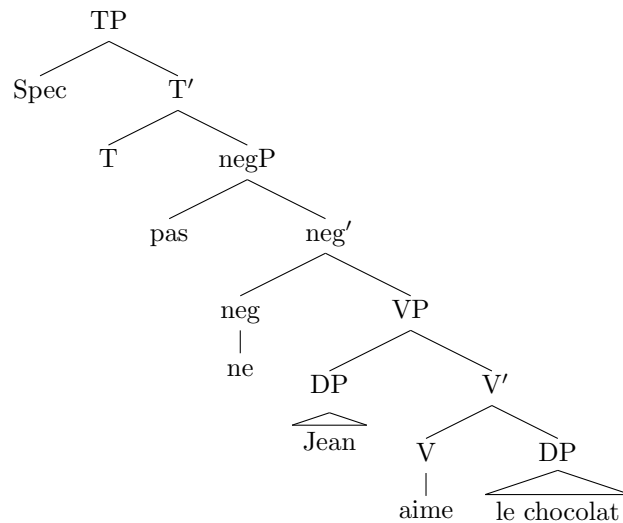
2.1 Sentential negation in French

In very formal or written French, “pas” is accompanied by the negative clitic “ne”, framing a finite verb to negate the clause :

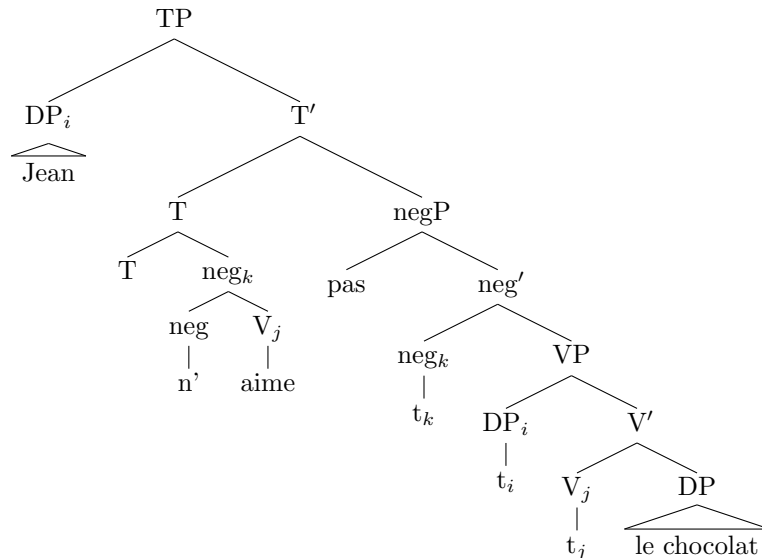
- (3) Jean n'aime pas le chocolat.
 Jean neg-like[3sg] not the chocolate
 “Jean doesn't like chocolate.”

In colloquial French, the “ne” of sentential negation has essentially disappeared - a fact which I will ignore. Pollock (1989) argues for a structure where “ne” is the head of NegP, and “pas” is generated as its specifier. The functional projection NegP is the complement of T, and VP is the complement of its head Neg. As the finite verb raises to T, “ne” cliticizes to it and is raised as well. Trees 1 and 2 show Deep Structure (DS) and Surface Structure (SS), respectively, of (3) under this analysis of negation.

Tree 1 (DS)

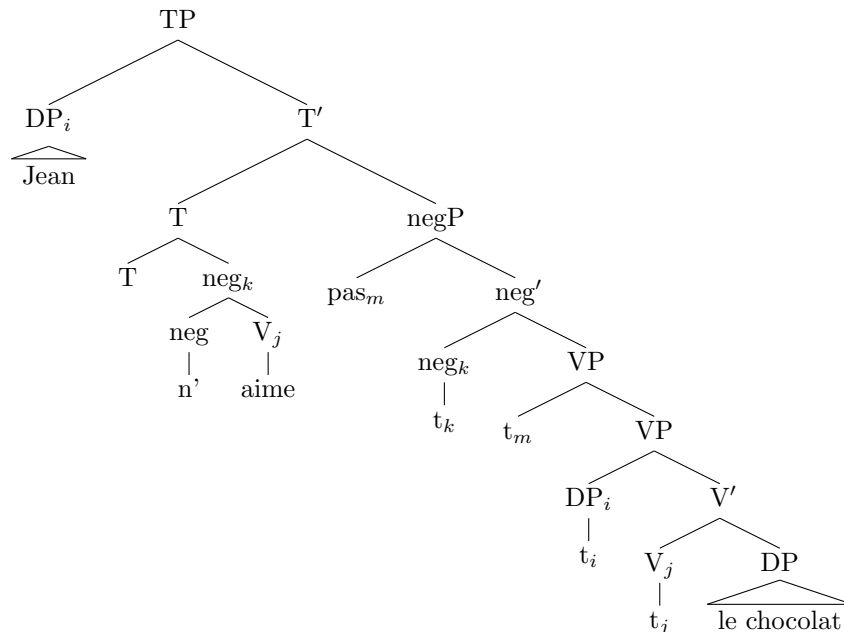


Tree 2 (SS)



Since when the verb raises it adjoins to “ne”, the correct word order results (ne V[+fin] pas).² Hankamer (p.c.) points out that “pas” is not a likely specifier, not being a maximal projection, and perhaps is not generated in this position. Rowlett (1998) agrees that “pas” is not generated in SpecNegP, but for independent reasons³. Rowlett (1998) claims that, in most cases, “pas” is generated as a VP adverb, and then raises to SpecNegP. This is shown in tree 3 below, and is the configuration I will assume in this paper⁴.

Tree 3



2.2 More on polarity markers

Unlike negative stripping, polarity ellipsis can be used with more than one polarity marker. As shown above, the marker “non” (no) is possible. Additionally, though, the marker “oui” (yes) can be used :

- (4) Jean n’aime pas le chocolat, mais Marie oui.
 Jean neg-like[3sg] not the chocolate but Marie yes
 “Jean doesn’t like chocolate, but Marie does.”

Although polarity ellipsis can be grammatical with either of the two polarity markers, the choice between them is not free - it is determined from the polarity of the antecedent clause. If the antecedent clause is negated, the polarity marker used in polarity ellipsis is always the positive “oui”. If the antecedent clause is affirmative, the negative polarity marker “non” is used. Polarity ellipsis is ungrammatical if the antecedent clause and ellipsis clause have identical polarity :

- (5) *Jean aime le chocolat, et Marie oui.
 Jean like[3sg] the chocolate and Marie yes
 to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and Marie likes chocolate too.”

²In the case of negation of a [-FIN] verb, we might say that although the [-FIN] verb must not raise, “ne” still raises to T. This would result in the observed word order “ne pas V[-FIN]”.

³See Rowlett (1998) for a detailed discussion.

⁴The particular analysis of sentential negation in French is not crucial to my analysis of polarity ellipsis or negative stripping. For concreteness, I assume the configuration described above. Such a configuration can capture the similarities between sentential negation and “ne...jamais”, “ne...rien”, “ne...personne”, etc.

Armed with an understanding of the basic components of polarity ellipsis and negative stripping, we will next examine the remnant in more detail. We will see which types of elements make acceptable remnants, and which do not.

2.3 Remnant possibilities

There is much more variety in remnants than there is in polarity markers. The remnant may be of almost any phrasal category. The following examples illustrate polarity ellipsis and negative stripping with remnants of varying category :

- (6) Jean veut visiter la Suisse, mais passer une semaine en Italie non.
 Jean want[3sg] visit[-FIN] the Switzerland but spend[-FIN] a week in Italy no
 “Jean wants to visit Switzerland, but he doesn’t want to spend a week in Italy.”
- (7) Jean veut visiter la Suisse, mais pas passer une semaine en Italie.
 “Jean wants to visit Switzerland, but he doesn’t want to spend a week in Italy.”
- (8) *Jean visite la Suisse mais passe une semaine en Italie non.
 Jean visit[3sg] the Switzerland but spend[3sg] a week in Italy no
 to mean “Jean is visiting Switzerland, but he isn’t spending a week in Italy.”
- (9) *Jean visite la Suisse mais pas passe une semaine en Italie.
 to mean “Jean is visiting Switzerland, but he isn’t spending a week in Italy.”

In the fully grammatical (6), the remnant, “passer une semaine en Italie”, is a non-finite VP. If, instead, this verbal remnant were [+FIN], as in (8), the result would be ungrammatical. The same is true of negative stripping - a non-finite remnant is grammatical ((7)), but if the verb is finite, it may not be the remnant of negative stripping ((9)). We see here that a verbal remnant must be non-finite for a grammatical polarity ellipsis and negative stripping. The analysis of polarity ellipsis we will pursue in section §4 will account for the difference in grammaticality between a [-FIN] remnant and a [+FIN] remnant.

- (10) Marie veut donner une jupe à Sophie mais à Camille non.
 Marie want[3sg] give[-FIN] a skirt to Sophie but to Camille no
 “Marie wants to give a skirt to Sophie but she doesn’t want to give a skirt to Camille.”
- (11) Marie veut donner une jupe à Sophie mais pas à Camille.
 “Marie wants to give a skirt to Sophie but she doesn’t want to give a skirt to Camille.”

Example (10) shows polarity ellipsis where the remnant is a PP, and (11) shows the same example with negative stripping. Interestingly, most speakers find (10) to be slightly worse than (11). The consensus is that while (10) is technically correct, the more natural sentence is (11). I will return to this property in section §4.3.

- (12) Jean est beau, mais intelligent non.
 Jean be[3sg] handsome but intelligent no
 “Jean is handsome, but he’s not intelligent.”
- (13) Jean est beau, mais pas intelligent.
 “Jean is handsome, but he’s not intelligent.”
- (14) Marie veut que Jean fume mais qu’il boive non.
 Marie want[3sg] that Jean smoke[3sg] but that-he drink[3sg] no
 “Marie wants Jean to smoke but she doesn’t want him to drink.”
- (15) Marie veut que Jean fume, mais pas qu’il boive.
 “Marie wants Jean to smoke, but she doesn’t want him to drink.”

The above examples show an AP remnant and a CP remnant are possible in both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping.

The choice of remnant is, as illustrated above, quite free with respect to syntactic category. Thus far the only requirement seems to be that the remnant be phrasal, and cannot be [+FIN] VP. However, a further restriction holds, regarding the relationship between antecedent clause and ellipsis clause. The remnant must correspond with some explicit element in the antecedent clause. In each of the examples given so far, the remnant contrasts with some element in the antecedent clause. In (6), the remnant “passer une semaine en Italie” corresponds with the [-FIN] VP “visiter la Suisse”. In (10), the PP remnant “à Camille” corresponds with the PP “à Sophie” in the antecedent clause. This holds for each case of polarity ellipsis and negative stripping.

This fact is not true of sluicing. In sluicing the wh-remnant often corresponds to some explicit indefinite in the antecedent, as in (16):

(16) John ate something, but I don’t know what.

Here, “what” corresponds to the indefinite “something” in the antecedent. This sentence is still grammatical without the “something”, as in (17):

(17) John ate, but I don’t know what.

Here the optional direct object of “eat” is not present in the antecedent. This argument is “sprouted” (Chung et al. (1995)) in the ellipsis clause. There is no explicit element of the antecedent that corresponds to “what”, but the result is grammatical.

A similar example with French polarity ellipsis or negative stripping is only grammatical with an explicit correspondent⁵ :

(18) Jean mange *(une pomme), mais une pamplemousse non.
 Jean eat[3sg] an apple but a grapefruit no
 “Jean is eating (an apple), but he isn’t eating a grapefruit.”

(19) Jean mange *(une pomme), mais pas une pamplemousse.
 “Jean is eating (an apple), but he isn’t eating a grapefruit.”

The above examples show that in both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping, the remnant must correspond with an element actually present in the antecedent.

So far this section has shown a lot of similarities between polarity ellipsis and negative stripping in French. Both have an ellipsis clause consisting of a remnant and some polarity marker. Additionally, the requirements on the remnant seem to be the same for both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping. The remnant for either is some phrasal category, excluding finite VP. This XP must always correspond with an explicit element in the antecedent. Given all of these similarities, a natural next step is to find the differences between the two ellipses. The syntactic properties distinguishing the two ellipses will be explored in the next section.

2.4 Properties of French polarity ellipsis and negative stripping

This section examines the (un?)boundedness and island-sensitivity of polarity ellipsis and negative stripping. The following examples show that polarity ellipsis is unbounded, while negative stripping is bounded.

(20) Jean aime le chocolat, et je crois que Pierre a dit que Marie non.
 Jean like[3sg] the chocolate, and I believe[3sg] that Pierre have[3sg] say[pp] that Marie no
 “Jean likes chocolate, and I believe that Pierre said that Marie like chocolate too.”

⁵The two examples that follow sound more natural in the past tense. However, this opens the door to the mess of clitic placement and composite tense that is beyond the scope of this work.

- (21) *Jean aime le chocolat, et je crois que Pierre a dit que pas Marie.
to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and I believe that Pierre said that Marie like chocolate too.”

In the above examples, the ellipsis clause is embedded twice. This is completely grammatical in polarity ellipsis (example (20)), but ungrammatical with negative stripping (example (21)). In theory, the ellipsis clause of polarity ellipsis can be unboundedly deeply embedded. In practice, however, more than two embeddings results in an awkward sentence. The ellipsis clause of negative stripping cannot be embedded, even once :

- (22) Anne visitera la Suisse, mais je pense que l’Espagne non.
Anne visit[3sgfut] the Switzerland but I think[1sg] that the-Spain no
“Anne will visit Switzerland but I think that she will not visit Spain.”
- (23) *Anne visitera la Suisse, mais je pense que pas l’Espagne.
to mean “Anne will visit Switzerland but I think that she will not visit Spain.”

Before we look at examples illustrating (in)sensitivity to islands, we will briefly discuss different ways in which an ellipsis can interact with islands.

2.4.1 Two types of island sensitivity

In investigating the properties of ellipsis processes, it is important to determine the behavior of the ellipsis with respect to syntactic islands. An island is a syntactic configuration out of which movement is impossible or at least degraded. If we know how an ellipsis behaves around islands, we have a clue to the underlying structure of the ellipsis.

Generally the relevant question to ask is “is this ellipsis process sensitive to islands?”. It turns out that this question is not specific enough. There is more than one way that an ellipsis process can interact with islands. One type of island-sensitivity, which I will call long-distance island sensitivity, involves a syntactic island boundary occurring between the antecedent clause and the ellipsis site :

$$[Ant.TP...XP...[Ell.TP...[Island ...YP...]]]$$

An example illustrating long-distance island insensitivity comes from VP Ellipsis in English :

- (24) Mona likes brussels sprouts, and now I see why she does [_{VP}like bussels sprouts].

Finite wh-clauses (as in “why she does like brussels sprouts”) are strong islands, since they block movement. Here, the ellipsis site (directly following “does”) is separated from the antecedent clause by a finite wh-island boundary. The ellipsis of the VP “like brussels sprouts” is perfectly grammatical within this island. We can then conclude from this example and others like it that VP Ellipsis in English is long-distance island insensitive.

Another way in which an ellipsis process can be sensitive to islands involves an island occurring in the antecedent clause. Because of this we will call this sensitivity antecedent-island sensitivity. If the antecedent of ellipsis contains a syntactic island, and the remnant of ellipsis can correspond (grammatically) with an element in this island, then the ellipsis is antecedent-island insensitive. Such a configuration would look something like this :

$$[Ant.TP ...[island ...XP...]...[Ell.TP...YP...]]$$

In such an example, let’s assume that like the antecedent clause, the ellipsis clause has an island underlyingly. The ellipsis’s antecedent-island (in)sensitivity can tell us about the origins of the remnant. The remnant (YP) has a correspondent XP, which is inside an island. The remnant itself then is in an island underlyingly.

We know already that islands block movement from within them out. If ellipsis is grammatical with such an antecedent island, we know that the remnant does not arrive at its surface position via movement out of the ellipsis island. If the remnant was moved out of an island, the result should always be ungrammatical. On the other hand, if the ellipsis process is sensitive to these antecedent-islands, then the ungrammaticality of such examples can be explained by a movement analysis. In such an example, the remnant would have to be moved out of an island, which is forbidden. Thus, a movement analysis of ellipsis makes the correct prediction that the ellipsis is antecedent-island sensitive.

Long-distance island (in)sensitivity does not offer the same movement clues. The existence of an island directly containing the remnant eliminates the possibility that the remnant has been moved (leftward) out of the island. Without this possibility of movement, long-distance island sensitivity cannot tell us much about the origin of the remnant.

2.4.2 Islands and French ellipsis

To check whether polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are antecedent-island sensitive, we need to construct an example where the antecedent clause contains a syntactic island. Additionally, the correspondent of the remnant must be in this island. The following pair of examples illustrates the behavior of polarity ellipsis and negative stripping with an adjunct antecedent-island :

- (25) Pierre est parti après avoir fermé la porte mais la fenêtre non.
 Pierre be[3sg] leave[pp] after have[-FIN] close[pp] the door but the window no
 “Pierre left after having closed the door but without closing the window.”
- (26) Pierre est parti après avoir fermé la porte mais pas la fenêtre.
 “Pierre left after having closed the door but without closing the window.”

Here both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are grammatical with an adjunct antecedent-island. This suggests that both processes are antecedent-island insensitive.

- (27) Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, mais Sophie non.
 Jean have[3sg] see[pp] the-man that Marie have[3sg] kiss[pp] but Sophie no
 “Jean saw the man that Marie kissed, but he didn’t see the man that Sophie kissed.”
- (28) Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, et pas Sophie.
 “Jean saw the man that Marie kissed, and he didn’t see the man that Sophie kissed.”

In this pair of examples, the antecedent island is a relative clause. Again, both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are grammatical under the reading where the remnant corresponds to an element in an antecedent island. It seems safe to conclude, then, that both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are antecedent-island insensitive.

We already predict that negative stripping is sensitive to long-distance islands, because it is bounded. We have already seen from example (21) that a clause boundary between the antecedent clause and ellipsis clause results in ungrammaticality. The presence of an island boundary between the clauses results in ungrammaticality as well :

- (29) *Jean a fermé la porte parce que/après que/ bien que pas Marie.
 to mean “Jean closed the door because/after/although Marie didn’t close the door.”

Interestingly, although in polarity ellipsis the ellipsis clause can be embedded, it cannot be embedded in an adjunct island :

- (30) *Jean a fermé la porte parce que/après que/ bien que Marie non.
 to mean “Jean closed the door because/after/although Marie didn’t close the door.”

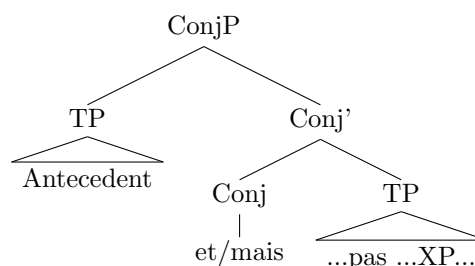
Similarly, a long-distance sentential subject island results in ungrammaticality for both ellipses:

- (31) *Jean aime le chocolat, et le fait que Marie non est surprenant.
 Jean like[3sg] the chocolate and the fact that Marie no be[3sg] surprising
 to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and the fact that Marie doesn’t like chocolate is surprising.”
- (32) *Jean aime le chocolat, et le fait que pas Marie est surprenant.
 to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and the fact that Marie doesn’t like chocolate is surprising.”

In example (31), a sentential subject island intervenes between the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause of polarity ellipsis. The result is ungrammatical, and not because of the distance between the two clauses. We know already that polarity ellipsis is unbounded. Instead, example (31) is ungrammatical because of the intervening island. Similarly (and not surprisingly), negative stripping is ungrammatical with the same intervening island (example (32)).

It seems then that with respect to islands, the two ellipsis processes behave the same. Both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are antecedent-island insensitive. Additionally, both are long-distance island sensitive. The fact that negative stripping is bounded and long-distance island sensitive suggests that a locality requirement confines the syntactic configuration to directly coordinated antecedent and ellipsis clauses. The two clauses of negative stripping must be joined by “et” (and) or “mais” (but), and the ellipsis site must not be embedded⁶.

Tree 4 - Negative Stripping Sketch⁷ :



The configuration of polarity ellipsis is a little less clear. Unlike negative stripping, the ellipsis site of polarity ellipsis may be embedded. Thus the conjunction of clauses in polarity ellipsis does not have the same locality requirement that negative stripping has⁸.

⁶This is precisely the configuration required of gapping in English. The antecedent clause and ellipsis clause must be locally conjoined, and the ellipsis clause cannot be embedded. In section §6.3 I return to these similarities, and investigate a gapping analysis of French negative stripping.

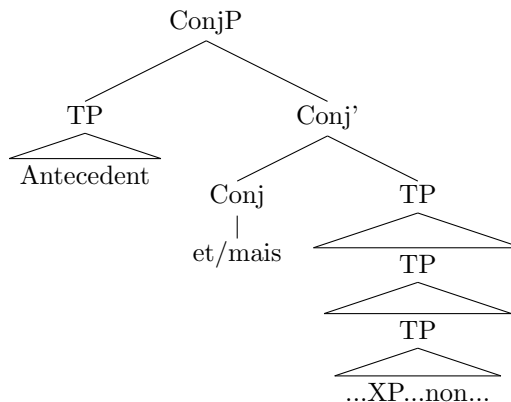
⁷The syntax of coordination is not central to this sketch of negative stripping. I assume here a Conjunction Phrase (ConjP), but do not necessarily rule out the possibility of a ternary-branching TP (with daughters TP, Conjunction, TP), or any other coordination structure.

⁸Additionally, polarity ellipsis does not always require conjunction of the two clauses the way negative stripping does. A speaker boundary may intervene between the two clauses in polarity ellipsis, but not in negative stripping :

A. Jean aime le chocolat.
 B. Marie non./*Pas Marie.

I will set this fact aside, and conclude that like negative stripping, polarity ellipsis in French requires conjunction. A big distinction between the two ellipses lies in the fact that the ellipsis clause of polarity ellipsis may be embedded, while the ellipsis clause of negative stripping may not. The ellipsis clause in negative stripping must be conjoined directly with its antecedent clause. In polarity ellipsis, the ellipsis clause may be embedded in a larger TP that is conjoined with the antecedent TP.

Tree 5 - Polarity Ellipsis Sketch :



Armed with a preliminary idea of what these ellipses look like, we look now at these ellipses in Spanish, which will lead to an analysis of French polarity ellipsis.

3 Spanish ellipses

- (33) Ana vio a Maria, pero a Susana no.
 Ana saw[3sg] to Maria but to Susana no
 “Ana saw Maria but she didn’t see Susana.”
- (34) Ana vio a Maria, pero no a Susana.
 Ana saw[3sg] to Maria but no to Susana
 “Ana saw Maria but she didn’t see Susana.”

Spanish polarity ellipsis (example (33)) and negative stripping (example (34)) have been previously investigated in Depiante (2004). The following examples from Depiante (2004) are given to illustrate the boundedness and island sensitivity of the Spanish data⁹ :

- (35) Ana vio a Maria, y creo que Juan dijo que a Susana no.
 Ana saw[3sg] to Maria and believe[1sg] that Juan said[3sg] that to Susana no
 “Ana saw Maria and I believe Juan said that she didn’t see Susana.”
- (36) *Ana vio a Maria, y creo que Juan dijo que no a Susana.
 to mean “Ana saw Maria and I believe Juan said that she didn’t see Susana.”
- (37) Ana leyó el dictamen pero Maria dijo que Juan no.
 Ana read[3sg] the opinion but Maria said[3sg] that Juan no
 “Ana read the opinion but Maria said that Juan didn’t read the opinion.”
- (38) *Ana leyó el dictamen pero Maria dijo que no Juan.
 to mean “Ana read the opinion, but Maria said that Juan didn’t read the opinion.”

The above set of examples show that the Spanish data echo the French data in terms of boundedness. Polarity ellipsis, with ellipsis clause order “XP no” (as in (35)), is unbounded. The ellipsis clause may be (in principle) embedded several times. Negative stripping, on the other hand, with ellipsis clause order “no XP”¹⁰ ((36)), is bounded. If the ellipsis clause is embedded, the result is ungrammatical. This is the exact

⁹English glosses for the Spanish examples were not provided in the 2004 paper, written in Spanish. Any error in the glosses is my own.

¹⁰One striking difference between the French negative stripping data and the Spanish data involves the negative marker used. In Spanish, the “no” (not) of sentential negation is homonymous with the “no” (no) used to answer polar questions. The facts are different in French, with two separate negative markers for “no” and “not”. So while French uses one negative marker in polarity ellipsis and a different marker in negative stripping, Spanish uses only one for both ellipsis processes. I will return to this idea in section §7.

pattern we see in French polarity ellipsis and negative stripping.

The Spanish data pattern with the French data in long-distance island sensitivity as well. Both polarity ellipsis (XP no) and negative stripping (no XP) are ungrammatical if the ellipsis clause is embedded within a syntactic island :

- (39) *A Juan le gusta el chocolate, y el hecho de que a Maria no es sorprendente.
 To Juan [3sg] like[3sg] the chocolate and the fact of that to Maria no be[3sg] surprising
 to mean “Juan likes chocolate, and the fact that Maria doesn’t like chocolate is surprising.”
- (40) *A Juan le gusta el chocolate, y el hecho de que no a Maria es sorprendente.
 to mean “Juan likes chocolate, and the fact that Maria doesn’t like chocolate is surprising.”

The above examples are analogous to (31) and (32) in French. There is a sentential subject island boundary coming between the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause. No matter what the order of elements in the ellipsis clause (either “XP no” or “no XP”), if an island boundary lies between the antecedent and ellipsis clause, the example is ungrammatical. Both Spanish polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are long-distance island sensitive.

When it comes to antecedent-island sensitivity in Spanish, things are not so cut-and-dry.

- (41) *Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a Maria y a Susana no.
 Juan have[3sg] see[pp] to-the man that have[3sg] kiss[pp] to Maria and to Susana no
 to mean : “Juan saw the man who kissed Maria and he didn’t see the man who kissed Susana.”
- (42) ✓/*Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a Maria y no a Susana.
 to mean : “Juan saw the man who kissed Maria and he didn’t see the man who kissed Susana.”

Example (41), showing Spanish polarity ellipsis with an antecedent-island, is always ungrammatical. Polarity ellipsis in Spanish is antecedent-island sensitive. Example (42), showing negative stripping, is a bit more complicated. If uttered with typical, unmarked intonation, the stripping is ungrammatical. If, however, example (42) is used correctively, and there is contrastive focus placed on “Maria”, the sentence is grammatical. The grammaticality of this example depends on the function of the example in the conversation. We will return to these facts in section §5, after giving an analysis of French polarity ellipsis.

Depiante (2004) proposes an analysis of Spanish polarity ellipsis (and not negative stripping) based on left-dislocation of the remnant. This is the analysis I will pursue for French polarity ellipsis in the following section.

4 Analysis of polarity ellipsis

French polarity ellipsis, as we have already shown, can operate over unbounded distances, is not sensitive to antecedent islands, but is long-distance island sensitive. These facts indicate that French polarity ellipsis can never be the result of movement of the remnant out of an island. Instead, I propose that the remnant is base-generated in its position, as the result of left-dislocation.

4.1 Left-dislocation in French

The following example (from DeCat (2007)) shows left-dislocation of the DP “les clitics” :

- (43) Les clitics_i, ils_i ne comptent pas pour du beurre.
 The clitics they neg count[3sg] not for of-the butter
 “Clitics do count (idiomatic).”

As its name suggests, left-dislocation requires the appearance of some XP at the left periphery of the clause, where it would not ordinarily appear. The typical position of this XP is not left empty - some element (usually a co-indexed pronoun) fills the position. In this case, the dislocated DP corresponds to the subject of the sentence, and is co-indexed with the third person plural pronoun “ils”. Crucially, though, there is no gap - what follows the dislocated XP is a fully-articulated, independent clause. De Cat cites the absence of a gap along with lack of Weak Crossover effects and parasitic gap-licensing as evidence against a movement analysis of left-dislocation. Instead of movement, she assumes the dislocated XP is base-generated in its position, adjoined above TP.

Left-dislocation in French shares properties with polarity ellipsis, which suggests that the two are related (or that left-dislocation is at work in polarity ellipsis). For example, left-dislocation can apply over unbounded distances, and is not sensitive to islands :

- (44) L'Italie_k, Pierre croit que Sophie veut la_k visiter.
 The-Italy, Pierre believe[3sg] that Sophie want[3sg] it visit[-FIN]
 “Pierre believes that Sophie wants to visit Italy.”
- (45) Les autres_i, je vais attendre [avant de les_i relire].
 The others I go[1sg] wait-for[-FIN] before of them re-read[-FIN]
 ”I will wait before reading the other ones again.”
- (46) [Le lait de vache]_i, il vaut mieux avoir un frigo pour conserver ca_i en
 The milk of cow it be-worth[3sg] better have[-FIN] a fridge for conserve[-FIN] that in
 été.
 summer
 “It’s better to have a fridge to keep cow’s milk in summer.”

In example (44), the dislocated element corresponds to the pronoun “la”, which is embedded twice. The distance between the dislocated element and its ordinarily-located correspondent may be indefinitely far. Example (45) shows an island boundary (marked with square brackets) intervening between the dislocated element and its co-indexed pronoun. Additionally, left-dislocation may be embedded within a larger phrase :

- (47) Elle pensait que des magasins_i, elle en_i trouverait à chaque coin de rue.
 She think[past3sg] that some shops she of-them find[cond3sg] at every corner of street
 “She thought she’d find shops anywhere.”

In (47), left-dislocation of “des magasins” occurs in an embedded context.

4.2 The analysis continues

Left-dislocation cannot be the entire story behind polarity ellipsis, since the presence of the polarity marker is thus far unexplained. The polarity marker can optionally be used with left-dislocation, as the following examples show :

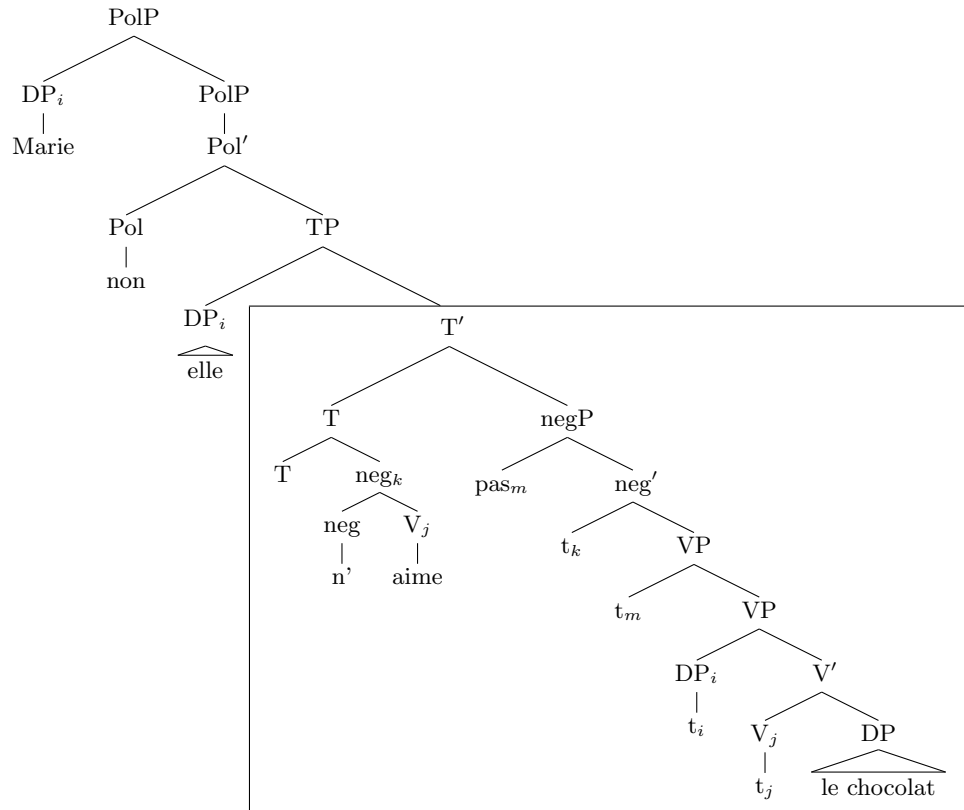
- (48) L'Italie_k, oui, Pierre croit que Sophie veut la_k visiter.
 “Pierre believes that Sophie wants to visit Italy.”
- (49) Marie_i, non, elle_i n’aime pas le chocolat.
 “Marie doesn’t like chocolate.”

Similar to polarity ellipsis, the choice of polarity marker accompanying left-dislocation is not completely free - in this case the polarity marker must match the polarity of the following clause. Since the main clause of (48) is affirmative, the polarity marker must be “oui”, and not “non”. Whether or not a polarity marker is used in a non-elliptical construction is completely optional. The polarity marker adds no new meaning

explicitly. It serves mainly to emphasize, and make very clear the polarity of the following clause.

Once a polarity marker is used following left-dislocation, what follows the polarity marker may be elided as long as an antecedent clause is present. The ellipsis of the TP following the polarity marker is completely optional - for clarity a speaker may wish to utter the full, redundant, clause. The ellipsis clause of (1) would then have the following structure :

Tree 6



Under such an analysis, polarity ellipsis always elides a constituent (TP). Additionally, we can view the polarity marker as the element that licenses the ellipsis. As said before, the ellipsis is completely optional, but without the polarity marker no ellipsis is possible. If we assume that the polarity marker is a functional head, it may straightforwardly be a licenser of the ellipsis of its complement.

Not surprisingly, these properties of French polarity ellipsis echo properties of other independent ellipsis processes, such as sluicing and VPE. Hankamer (1979) observed that over the many instances of ellipsis cross-linguistically, a general pattern emerges, dividing ellipses into one of two categories. Type A ellipses, like VPE and sluicing, all share a set of syntactic properties, while type B ellipses, like gapping, share other properties. Below is a list of properties shared by type A and type B ellipses, with ✓ indicating a property of French polarity ellipsis :

Type A ellipsis :

- ✓ can apply over unbounded distances
- ✓ isn't sensitive to islands
- ✓ elides a constituent
- ✓ requires a licensing element

Type B ellipsis :

- is bounded
- ✓ is island-sensitive
- could elide non-constituents
- doesn't require a licensing element

Polarity ellipsis gets a ✓ for island sensitivity and one for insensitivity due to the fact that it is antecedent-island insensitive, but sensitive to long-distance islands. Ignoring its long-distance island sensitivity, polarity ellipsis is overwhelmingly a type A ellipsis.

4.3 Facts left-dislocation explains

An analysis of polarity ellipsis based on left-dislocation of the remnant explains a number of facts that were previously mysterious. The first fact is that polarity ellipsis is antecedent-island insensitive. According to the analysis in DeCat (2007), which we adopt here, left-dislocation is not movement-based, and a left-dislocated element may be co-indexed with an element inside an island (see (50)a.). The emphatic polarity marker is used ((50)b.), and then the TP may be elided ((50)c.).

- (50) a. Jean est parti après avoir fermé la porte mais la fenêtre_j, il n'est pas parti après l_j'avoir fermée.
 b. Jean est parti après avoir fermé la porte mais la fenêtre_j, non, il n'est pas parti après l_j'avoir fermée.
 c. Jean est parti après avoir fermé la porte mais la fenêtre_j, non, ~~il n'est pas parti après l_j'avoir fermée.~~

Additionally, the unbounded nature of polarity ellipsis is partially explained by the fact that left-dislocation may occur in embedded contexts in French. Consider an example like (51)a. Here, the dislocated element, “Marie”, is embedded once, which is perfectly grammatical since left-dislocated elements may be embedded. The emphatic polarity marker may be used here ((51)b.). The grammaticality of ellipsis here does not follow directly from properties of left-dislocation. We need also the fact that the antecedent clause and ellipsis clause may be separated by clause boundaries. Given this property, the grammaticality of ellipsis in (51)c. is straightforward.

- (51) a. Jean aime le chocolat, mais je crois que Marie_i, elle_i n'aime pas le chocolat.
 b. Jean aime le chocolat, mais je crois que Marie_i, non, elle_i n'aime pas le chocolat.
 c. Jean aime le chocolat, mais je crois que Marie_i, non ~~elle_i n'aime pas le chocolat.~~

These two facts are not particularly surprising, since it was because left-dislocation shares these properties with polarity ellipsis that this analysis was chosen. In addition, though, three more surprising properties of polarity ellipsis are explained via left-dislocation - the possibility of ellipsis with multiple remnants, the impossibility of a finite VP remnant, and the degraded nature of PP remnants.

4.3.1 Possibility of multiple remnants

One property of French left-dislocation is that it may be applied multiple times in a given clause - more than one XP may be left-dislocated. This is to be expected if we analyze left-dislocation in French as adjunction, which can, in theory, apply over and over. DeCat (2007) gives the following examples to show the recursiveness of left-dislocation in French :

- (52) Celui-la_i, des vers_j, il_i en_j produisait cinq tous les matins.
 That-one-there some verses he of-them produced[3sg] five all the mornings
 “That guy produced five verses a day.”

Here, there are two dislocated elements - the DPs “celui-la” and “des vers”. The prediction then is that polarity ellipsis should be grammatical with more than one remnant. Two XPs may be left-dislocated, with a emphatic polarity marker :

- (53) Cet homme produit cinq chansons tous les matins, mais celui-là_i, des poèmes_j, non, il_i n'en_j produit pas cinq tous les matins.
 “This man produces five songs a day, but that guy doesn't produce five poems every morning.”

Polarity ellipsis may then apply freely, deleting the TP complement of the polarity marker “non”, under identity with the antecedent clause :

- (54) Cet homme produit cinq chansons tous les matins, mais celui-là, des poèmes,
 This man produce[3sg] five songs all the mornings, but that-one-there some poems
 non.
 no
 “This man produces five songs every morning, but that guy doesn't produce five poems every morning.”

The next example shows double-remnant polarity ellipsis where left-dislocations occur in the antecedent clause as well as the ellipsis clause :

- (55) Jean, du lait, tu en verrais dans sa maison, mais Pierre, du sucre, non.
 Jean of-the milk you of-it see[2sgcond] in his house but Pierre of-the sugar no
 “You would see milk in Jean's house, but you wouldn't see sugar in Pierre's house.”

These examples, showing polarity ellipsis with two remnants, are grammatical, although a little stilted. This is probably due to processing difficulties, and the problem understanding an ellipsis with multiple remnants. Still, a left-dislocation analysis of polarity ellipsis in French correctly predicts the pattern we see - that polarity ellipsis is at least possible with more than one remnant.

4.3.2 Nonfiniteness of VP remnants

As discussed in Section §2.3, a verbal remnant of polarity ellipsis is possible, but only if it is [-FIN] VP. A finite VP remnant is ungrammatical. This is due to the fact that finite VPs may not be left-dislocated :

- (56) *Va aux Etats-Unis, Jean veut le faire.
 Go[3sg] to-the US Jean want[3sg] it do[-FIN]
 to mean “Jean wants to go to the US.”

Since a finite VP may not be left-dislocated, there is no way for polarity ellipsis to apply. The implication holds that if XP cannot be left-dislocated, then XP cannot be a remnant of polarity ellipsis.

4.3.3 Degraded PP remnants

In section §2.3, I mentioned the strangeness of PP remnants of polarity ellipsis. This is related to left-dislocation as well. In French, there can often be a case mismatch between the dislocated XP and its co-indexed resumptive element :

- (57) (A) la campagne_i, Paul n'y_i reste jamais longtemps.
 At the countryside Paul neg-there stay[3sg] never long
 “Paul never stays long at the countryside.”
- (58) (*A) Marie_i, je connais le flic qui lui_i a retiré son permis.
 To Marie I know[1sg] the cop that to-her have[3sg] revoke[pp] her permit.
 “I know the cop who revoked Marie's permit.”

In each of the above examples (from Doetjes et al. (2002))¹¹ it is at least possible for the dislocated element to be a DP, while its co-indexed pronoun is a PP. In example (58), this case mismatch is obligatory. The sentence is ungrammatical if the left-dislocated XP is a PP. In (57), on the other hand, the preposition is optional. Students of French may be told that the preposition is typically omitted in casual speech (Ball (2000)). However, this does not explain the impossibility of a dislocated PP in (58). Another explanation is that the grammaticality of dislocating a PP depends on the type of dislocation involved - whether clitic or not.

DeCat (2007) describes two types of left-dislocation in French - clitic left dislocation (CLLD), and hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD). Superficially, the only difference between these two dislocations is the type of resumptive element coindexed with the dislocated XP. In clitic left dislocation, the resumptive element is always a clitic (as in (44) and (45)). In hanging topic left dislocation, the resumptive element could be a clitic, but also may be a possessive pronoun, a strong pronoun, or even an epithet. Example (59) shows left-dislocation where the dislocated element “Claas” is co-indexed with the possessive, non-clitic pronoun “ses”. In example (61), we see that a strong non-possessive pronoun can be co-indexed with the dislocated element, and also an epithet. All three of these are examples of HTLD.

- (59) Claas_i, ses_i chaussettes ont disparu.
 Claas his socks have[3pl] disappear[pp]
 “Claas’ socks disappeared.”
- (60) Kambi_i, je me souviens du banc où je m’asseyais avec lui_i.
 Kambi I refl remember[1sg] of-the bench where I refl-sat[1sg] with him
 “I remember the bench where I sat with Kambi.”
- (61) Kambi_i, je n’ai plus jamais entendu parler de lui_i/ de ce farfleur_i.
 Kambi I neg-have[3sg] not never hear[pp] talk[-FIN] of him of this weirdo
 “I never heard anything about Kambi again.”

There is no consensus in the literature (De Cat and Doetjes are just two representatives, but I will discuss their claims in detail) about whether or not French exhibits two syntactically distinct left-dislocations. DeCat (2007) argues that the properties of CLLD and HTLD are identical, and that they pattern as one unified left-dislocation. Doetjes et al. (2002), on the other hand, claim that HTLD and CLLD have different syntactic properties, and therefore should be treated as distinct processes.

Cinque (1990) claims that, at least in Italian, the two dislocations are distinct, having different syntactic properties. One distinguishing property is that in Italian, CLLD may have a dislocated XP of a variety of phrasal categories, while HTLD is restricted to dislocated NPs (DP) only. Related to this, there can be case mismatches between the dislocated NP and the resumptive element in HTLD. A HTLD NP in Italian may be resumed by a non-NP element (as in (58), in French, where the case of the dislocated DP - presumably accusative - is distinct from the case of its resumptive pronoun - dative). An additional difference in Italian is that CLLD may dislocate more than one XP, but HTLD can dislocate at most one.

Doetjes et al. (2002) acknowledge that the French dislocations share some, but not all, properties with their Italian counterparts. Unlike De Cat, the authors claim that there are indeed two distinct types of left-dislocation in French, but some of the properties distinguishing two types of Italian dislocation do not hold for the French data. One such property is the grammaticality of dislocation of multiple XPs. This is possible of both hanging topic and clitic left dislocation in French (as shown in (52) and (62), below). In Italian, however, this is possible only with CLLD.

- (62) Le lait_i, Steph_j, il ne faut pas de ca_i dans son_j estomac.
 the milk Steph it neg must not of that in his stomach
 “Milk doesn’t go well with Steph’s stomach.”

¹¹All other examples in this section, §4.3.3, are from DeCat (2007)

Doetjes et al. (2002) claim that one property that does distinguish HTLD from CLLD is island sensitivity - a hanging topic left dislocated XP (and crucially not a clitic left dislocated XP) may correspond grammatically to a resumptive element inside an island. They cite (58) as evidence for this claim.

Example (58) is ungrammatical if the dislocated element is a PP, and grammatical if it is a DP. Doetjes attributes this to the presence of the wh-island containing the resumptive pronoun. Since CLLD, but not HTLD, may dislocate a PP, grammatical (58) must be an instance of HTLD, while ungrammatical (58) is an instance of CLLD.

One explanation we might pursue for the strangeness of PP remnants in French polarity ellipsis is that, following Doetjes et al. (2002), there are indeed two distinct left-dislocations in French. The remnant arrives at the left periphery via HTLD, and crucially not CLLD. Since HTLD cannot dislocate PPs, the result of dislocating a PP would be ungrammatical. If we then assume that polarity ellipsis is ungrammatical if the dislocation is ungrammatical, then the strangeness of (10) is explained. Since PPs cannot be dislocated by HTLD, and polarity ellipsis is parasitic on HTLD, a PP remnant of polarity ellipsis is degraded. This hypothesis is immediately problematic though, because a PP is not the only phrasal category that HTLD can't dislocate. According to Doetjes et al. (2002), this dislocation can only dislocate DPs. We would predict, under this analysis, that the many cases of polarity ellipsis involving AP remnants, CP remnants, and VP remnants be ungrammatical. This is not the case, and the grammaticality of these examples would then go unexplained. Polarity ellipsis in French, then, must not use only HTLD to dislocate the remnant prior to ellipsis. CLLD must be at play as well.

Even if we assume that the two types of dislocations are indeed distinct in French, it is very difficult to determine which is at play in each polarity ellipsis example. This is because one major characteristic that distinguishes the two dislocations is the type of resumptive element used in the TP following the dislocated XP. This element is located in the TP elided in polarity ellipsis, and thus evidence of its form is erased.

DeCat (2007) argues that these two types of left-dislocation are syntactically identical, and that each is an example of the unified phenomenon of left dislocation in French. She lays out the properties mentioned above (and others) as “properties [that] traditionally distinguish HTLD from CLLD.” However, she claims that these do not hold of spoken French, particularly island sensitivity and recursivity. She gives example (45) as evidence that CLLD is not sensitive to syntactic islands. In (45), the dislocated DP “les autres” is coindexed with the clitic pronoun “les”. This pronoun is located inside an adjunct island. Despite the fact that this island boundary separates the dislocated element and its resumptive clitic, the result is grammatical. DeCat (2007) gives (60) as evidence for the island-insensitivity of HTLD. In (60), the dislocated XP “Kambi” is resumed with the non-clitic strong pronoun “lui”. A finite wh-island boundary intervenes between the dislocated element and its co-indexed pronoun, showing HTLD’s insensitivity to islands. Additionally, she claims that both left-dislocations can apply recursively, dislocating more than one XP. She gives (52), showing CLLD, and (62) for HTLD.

Having argued convincingly that HTLD and CLLD in French should be treated as a unified phenomenon, DeCat (2007) then turns to PP remnants. She acknowledges that some examples with a PP dislocated across an island boundary are degraded. She claims that there is no general property of island sensitivity for PP dislocation, giving the following examples as evidence :

- (63) Aux autres_i, on va attendre avant de leur_i parler.
 To-the others one will[3sg] wait[-FIN] before of to-them speak[-FIN]
 “We will wait before speaking to the others.”
- (64) Aux petits_i, je (ne) sais pas ce qu'elle leur lit.
 To-the little-ones I neg know[1sg] not what that-she to-them reads
 “I don’t know what she reads to the little ones.”

In example (63), there is an adjunct island boundary between the dislocated PP and its resumptive pronoun. Similarly, in (64), there is an intervening complex NP island boundary. Both examples are judged acceptable by native speakers (although (63) is slightly less acceptable than (64)). Because these, and other examples, are grammatical with a PP dislocated across an island boundary, De Cat sticks with her initial assessment that left-dislocation is insensitive to islands, even with a dislocated PP.

The marginality of other examples with dislocated PPs, then, must be attributed to something different. DeCat (2007) claims one reason for this marginality has to do with the interpretation of Topics. A left-dislocated XP is, according to De Cat, always interpreted as a Topic. A PP dislocated across an island boundary is unlikely to be interpreted as a Topic. Additionally, a dislocated PP is somewhat marked even in simple examples, that do not contain a syntactic island. Native speakers rarely produce these examples spontaneously. As a result, a dislocated PP resumed with a pronoun inside an island will also often be marked.

There seems to be no consensus in the literature about whether there exist two types of left-dislocation in French (the claim argued in Doetjes et al. (2002)), or one unified type (argued in DeCat (2007)). De Cat's examples showing island-insensitivity of dislocation (independent of the phrasal category of the dislocated element and the type of resumptive element) are strong evidence for a unified treatment of left-dislocation in French. Under such a view of left-dislocation, there is no straightforward explanation of why some examples of dislocated PPs are island-sensitive. Instead, we must simply accept that left-dislocation of PPs in French is not as natural as left-dislocation of other phrasal categories (notably DP). If we assume this, supported with De Cat's arguments for why this might be so, we can extend this to polarity ellipsis. Polarity ellipsis in French requires first left-dislocation of the remnant. Since left-dislocation of PPs is marked in French, it follows that polarity ellipsis with a PP remnant is also marked. A DP remnant is much more natural.

5 Using French ellipses

In section §3 I noted that an utterance can have different functions in a conversation. Its more common use is to simply further the conversation by adding information, but an utterance may also be used to correct a previous utterance. In this section I will discuss these two uses as they relate to polarity ellipsis and negative stripping in both Spanish and French.

5.1 Corrective focus

A simple declarative sentence like “John likes peanut butter” can have (at least) two different functions in a discourse. It can be uttered with typical intonation, used simply to further the conversation by providing information. It can be the answer to a question (as in (65)), or simply a statement consistent with other things uttered in the conversation.

Alternatively, uttered with special intonation, a sentence like “John likes peanut butter” can be used to correct a statement previously made. This is done when speaker B objects to some assertion (in (66), speaker A's comment), and wishes to correct it. Speaker B then “fixes” speaker A's assertion, in this case by substituting in an XP, to make it true. This requires corrective focus on the corrective XP (in this case “John”). The XP is stressed, uttered louder and slower than other elements in the sentence. The corrective XP corresponds (and contrasts) with a previously uttered XP (in this case, “Mary”).

- (65) A. Who likes peanut butter?
B. John likes peanut butter.
- (66) A. I think Mary likes peanut butter.
B. No, JOHN likes peanut butter. Mary is allergic.

5.2 French ellipses and corrective focus

In a similar fashion, polarity ellipsis and negative stripping in French may be used either with typical intonation, or with corrective intonation :

- (67) Jean veut écrire un poème, mais/et un roman non.
Jean want[3sg] write[-FIN] a poem (but) a novel no
“Jean wants to write a poem, but he doesn’t want to write a novel.”
- (68) Jean veut écrire un poème, mais/et pas un roman .
“Jean wants to write a poem, but he doesn’t want to write a novel.”

With typical intonation, a sentence like (67) or (68) could simply be used to express information and further the conversation. The information expressed (that Jean wants to write a poem and doesn’t want to write a novel) is new to the conversation. Additionally, the information is consistent with what has been said so far - it doesn’t contradict a previously-made assertion. As an example, (67) could be uttered in the situation where two friends are discussing Jean’s writing ambitions. One friend simply wonders about what kind of writer he wants to become. The other friend could respond with (67), informing the other of his wishes. Here, the ellipsis clause commits the speaker to “Jean ne veut pas écrire un roman.” This is simply the antecedent TP with the remnant substituted in for its correspondent (call this clause the modified TP), negated. Both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping can be used in this way.

This first, simple type of context differs significantly from the second situation in which one might utter (67) or (68). The second function of these ellipsis processes is to correct a statement that has previously been made. If a conversation participant has asserted (or presupposed) that Jean wants to write a novel, another participant could respond with either (67) or (68). Such a response has the dual function of asserting the correct writing desires of Jean (that he wants to write a poem) and denying the false information (that he wants to write a novel).

Using (67) to deny an assertion is best accomplished by first declaring that the previous statement was incorrect. Most informants prefer to say “Non, tu te trompes,” (no, you’re wrong) before uttering (67) correctively. This has the effect of making it very clear to all parties that a correction is being made. Additionally, it is effective to emphasize the correction made (when polarity ellipsis or negative stripping is used to deny, the correction made is the XP that corresponds to the remnant.). Speakers will say “un poème” louder than everything else in the sentence.

Context will determine what role polarity ellipsis is playing in a conversation. If the modified TP (in this example, “Jean veut écrire un roman”) has been previously asserted, then uttering (67) will have the dual effect of asserting the antecedent clause and denying the modified TP. If, however, the modified TP has not been asserted, then it will be clear that (67) is not being used to correct. Instead, uttering (67) will commit the speaker both to the antecedent TP and to the negation of the modified TP.

5.3 Islands and corrective focus

A main difference between the French data and the Spanish data is that in Spanish there is something inherently corrective about negative stripping, which is not a property of polarity ellipsis (Vicente (2006)). An ellipsis clause of order “no XP” (negative stripping) has a corrective feel to it - it is most natural when used to correct a previous statement. An ellipsis clause of order “XP no” (polarity ellipsis) does not have the same corrective feel to it in Spanish. I now return to the puzzling Spanish examples, (41) and (42), reproduced below to illustrate the effects of corrective focus on Spanish ellipses :

- (69) a. *Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a Maria y a Susana no.
b. */# Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a MARIA y a Susana no.
to mean : “Juan saw the man who kissed Maria and he didn’t see the man who kissed Susana.”

- (70) a. *Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a Maria y no a Susana.
 b. Juan ha visto al hombre que ha besado a MARIA y no a Susana.
 to mean : “Juan saw the man who kissed Maria and he didn’t see the man who kissed Susana.”

While in French both polarity ellipsis and negative stripping can be used to correct, in Spanish only negative stripping is used. If corrective focus is placed on the remnant’s correspondent in Spanish polarity ellipsis (as in (69)b.), the result is infelicitous. An additional subtlety of Spanish is that the default use of Spanish negative stripping is corrective. Negative stripping in Spanish is more natural if the remnant’s correspondent bears corrective focus (as in(70)b). In French negative stripping can be used to correct, or not, without a systematic difference in naturalness.

I mentioned above that (41) is always ungrammatical, independent of intonation. This is shown above - the grammaticality of the example does not change with corrective focus placed on the remnant’s correspondent. Examples (69)a. and b. are both ungrammatical. On the other hand, the grammaticality of (42) depends on its use. If (70)a. is uttered, with unmarked intonation, the result is ungrammatical. If, however, corrective focus is placed on “Maria”, as in (70)b., and the sentence is uttered correctively, grammaticality dramatically improves. This suggests that there is something special about corrective focus in Spanish. It has the ability to rescue an antecedent-island violation.

That French ellipses may be used correctively is undeniable. I stated in the previous section that corrective polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are perfectly grammatical. However, I assumed that this corrective focus had no bearing on grammaticality of ellipsis. This assumption seems to be correct in the case of simple examples, as both (67) and (68) are grammatical whether used to correct or not. Given the observation that corrective focus rescues antecedent-island violations of Spanish negative stripping, the French island data merit a revisiting. The relevant examples are reproduced below, with slight grammaticality alterations¹² :

- (71) ✓ Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, mais Sophie non.
 Jean have[3sg] see[pp] the-man that Marie have[3sg] kiss[pp] but Sophie no
 “Jean saw the man that Marie kissed, but he didn’t see the man that Sophie kissed.”
- (72) ✓/* Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, pas Sophie.
 “Jean saw the man that Marie kissed, but he didn’t see the man that Sophie kissed.”

Upon further investigation, (71) is grammatical whether uttered with corrective focus or not. Without corrective focus, the most natural reading of (71) is that Sophie didn’t see the man that Marie kissed. Still, the reading indicated, illustrating antecedent-island insensitivity, may be forced by context. However, example (72) is best when uttered correctively, and ungrammatical otherwise.

Given this we may wish to revise our claims about the properties of French negative stripping and polarity ellipsis. It seems that polarity ellipsis is antecedent-island insensitive, while negative stripping is sensitive to antecedent-islands. Additionally, both are long-distance island sensitive. Corrective focus, however, has the ability to rescue negative stripping from an island violation. In negative stripping, if focus is placed on the remnant’s correspondent (in the relevant examples “Marie” or “Maria”), then ellipsis becomes grammatical.

The discrepancy between the Spanish data and the French data are the result of two facts - one is that Spanish polarity ellipsis (like Spanish negative stripping) *is* sensitive to antecedent islands. So when uttered with typical intonation, (69) is always ungrammatical. French polarity ellipsis, on the other hand, is insensitive to antecedent islands (a result of the left-dislocation of the remnant), so (71) is always grammatical, regardless of its use.

Another key difference between French and Spanish is that in Spanish, polarity ellipsis cannot be used correctively. Negative stripping, when used correctively, is not sensitive to antecedent islands. So the island

¹²Recall that (27) and (28) were previously marked as uniformly grammatical.

violation in (70)a. may be rescued with corrective focus, rendering the example grammatical (when corrective, as in b.). The same does not hold of (69) because Spanish polarity ellipsis is infelicitous when used correctively (b.). There is no way to rescue the island violation in (69). Since polarity ellipsis in Spanish is naturally antecedent-island sensitive, the example is ungrammatical, with corrective focus or without.

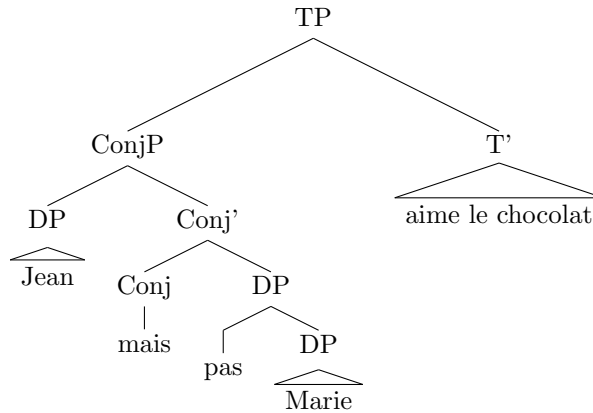
Interestingly, although corrective focus can rescue island violations for both French and Spanish, it can never affect boundedness. Examples (21) and (36), illustrating the bounded nature of negative stripping in French and Spanish, are not improved with corrective focus. This is because in negative stripping, the antecedent TP and ellipsis TP must be locally conjoined. This requirement on syntactic configuration cannot be overridden by corrective focus. Antecedent-island insensitivity, on the other hand, is not a requirement on the relationship between the antecedent and ellipsis TPs. Instead, it is a restriction on extraction. For some reason, extraction of the remnant out of an island is made possible when the remnant corresponds with an XP that bears contrastive focus.

6 Analysis of French negative stripping

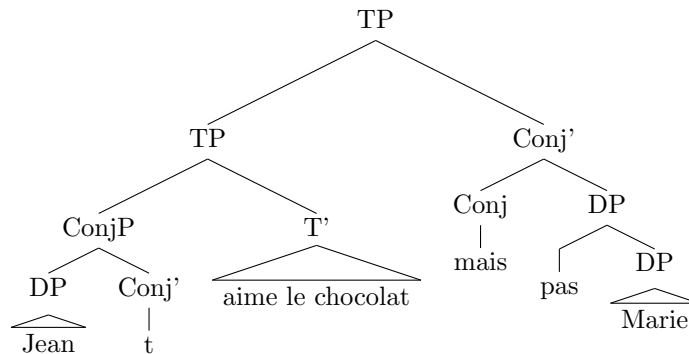
6.1 Stripping as local conjunction

One possible analysis one could propose for negative stripping is that it is not ellipsis at all. It's possible that the negated remnant originates in local conjunction with its correspondent, and moves rightward out of the clause. Under such an analysis, which I call remnant coordination, example (2) has the following derivation :

Tree 7 (DS)



Tree 8 (SS)



The negative marker here is an instance of constituent negation. Following Kim & Sag (2002), I assume that constituent negation is adjunctive¹³. The DP “remnant¹⁴”, “Marie”, is negated by constituent negation, and conjoined with its correspondent underlyingly (tree 7). The node Conj’, consisting in this case of “mais pas Marie”, is then moved and adjoined above TP (tree 8)¹⁵.

This remnant coordination analysis is immediately appealing because it accounts for the boundedness and island-sensitivity of negative stripping. Since this analysis requires movement of a constituent out of a clause, we expect that when the coordination occurs within a syntactic island, moving ConjP out of that island is ungrammatical. I use for illustration example (28), showing its derivation under remnant coordination :

Jean a vu l’homme [*island*que Marie et pas Sophie a embrassé.] → Jean a vu l’homme [*island*que Marie t a embrassé] et pas Sophie.

Additionally, the boundedness of negative stripping follows the assumption that the remnant and its correspondent are conjoined. I will assume that the left and right conjuncts of coordination must be of the same category (in the above example, both are DPs). Example (21), which illustrates the bounded nature of negative stripping, is repeated below for illustration. A coordination analysis requires the underlying coordination of the DP “Jean” and “Je crois que Pierre a dit que pas Marie”. It seems unlikely that “je crois que Pierre a dit que pas Marie” is a constituent, let alone a DP. Thus its coordination with “Jean” is ungrammatical to begin with, before movement out of the conjunction.

- (73) *Jean aime le chocolat, et je crois que Pierre a dit que pas Marie.
to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and I believe that Pierre said that Marie like chocolate too.”

As good as a remnant coordination analysis of negative stripping seems, it is not without its flaws. For one, there is the puzzle of the verb form in (2). Under remnant coordination, this example has a conjoined (plural) subject. Conjoined subjects in French (as well as English) trigger plural agreement on the verb form. If the remnant is indeed coordinated with its correspondent, we would expect the verb to be in the third person plural form. Instead, the verb is singular, suggesting a single, non-conjoined subject.

A second problem with a remnant coordination analysis is that extraction out of a coordination structure is ungrammatical. Coordination is a syntactic island, and if an XP is to be moved out of one conjunct, it must be moved out of both conjuncts or grammaticality is compromised :

- (74) a. *Which man did you invite [*coord.isl.* Mary and _]?
b. Which man did you invite [a friend of _ or a brother of _]?

If we want to maintain that French negative stripping is the result of remnant coordination, we have to explain why this coordination, unlike other coordinations, is not a syntactic island. Additionally, we must explain the strange verb agreement that occurs in negative stripping, that is unlike other instances of coordinated subjects in French. Based on these problems with the analysis, I will abandon a remnant coordination analysis of negative stripping.

¹³The particular syntax of constituent negation is not crucial to the analysis here. For explicitness, I assume the structure above.

¹⁴Under this analysis, which does not include ellipsis, there is technically no remnant. I retain the term remnant to refer to the XP following “pas”, but do not mean to imply ellipsis here.

¹⁵Recall that I said previously that the analysis of negative stripping and polarity ellipsis does not depend on the specific structure of conjunction. Under a non-ellipsis analysis, as sketched above, the ConjP structure is superior to a ternary-branching DP (with daughters DP, &, DP). With ConjP, the negative marker and the second conjunct form a constituent, Conj’. Both can be moved together, out of the coordination. Using the alternative ternary DP structure requires that the coordinator and negated DP be moved individually.

6.2 Stripping as remnant-preservation

One way of thinking about ellipsis processes is that while type A ellipses like polarity ellipsis target constituents for deletion (TP here), other ellipses like gapping target constituents for preservation, while eliding everything else. In negative stripping, then, the targeted constituents would be the remnant XP and also the “pas” of sentential negation. The following shows how example (10) would look under this analysis :

- (75) Marie veut donner une jupe à Marie, mais Marie ne veut pas donner une jupe à Camille.
Marie veut donner une jupe à Marie, mais ~~Marie ne veut pas donner une jupe~~ à Camille.

This type of analysis seems to work well for any remnant that is not a subject. However, if the remnant is subject of the ellipsis clause, then word order does not come out right (here example (2) is shown) :

- (76) Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie n’aime pas le chocolat.
Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie ~~n’aime pas le chocolat~~.

The “pas” of sentential negation follows the subject in (76). If we preserve the remnant “Marie” and “pas”, and delete all other material, we arrive at an ellipsis clause of order “Marie pas”, which is completely ungrammatical.

This type of analysis is also problematic because it cannot straightforwardly explain the island-sensitivity of negative stripping in French. Recall example (72), reproduced below, which is ungrammatical (unless corrective focus is placed on “Marie”) :

- (77) Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, mais Jean n’a pas vu l’homme que Sophie a embrassé.
*Jean a vu l’homme que Marie a embrassé, mais ~~Jean n’a pas l’homme que Sophie a embrassé~~.

Since in this analysis the remnant is not moved out of its base position, there is no account for why (72) is ungrammatical. We would have to say that our remnant-preservation cannot target a remnant located inside a syntactic island. This seems quite stipulative. In light of the island sensitivity of negative stripping, and the possibility of a subject remnant, I reject this analysis.

6.3 Stripping as gapping

Another possible analysis of negative stripping in French is to treat it as French gapping. Gapping is an ellipsis process with an ellipsis clause consisting of exactly two remnants, each of which has a correspondent in the antecedent. The order of the remnants is fixed - it echoes the order of their correspondents in the antecedent clause. Example (78) shows gapping in English.

- (78) John ordered the lasagna for dinner, and Mary ~~ordered~~ the boeuf bourguignon ~~for dinner~~.
(79) *John ordered the lasagna for dinner, and I think that Mary the boeuf bourguignon.
(80) *John ordered the lasagna for dinner, because/after/although Mary the boeuf bourguignon.

Gapping is bounded, as shown in example (79). It is also sensitive to long-distance islands. Example (80) shows an ungrammatical gapping with a long-distance adjunct island. Additionally, there seems to be no functional element licensing the ellipsis. All of these properties are shared between gapping and French negative stripping, and indicate that each is a type B ellipsis process.

These type B ellipsis properties are not the only properties in common between these two ellipses. They also are restricted to the same syntactic configuration - local conjunction. Gapping, like negative stripping, is ungrammatical if the antecedent and ellipsis clause are not directly conjoined. Because gapping and negative stripping share many properties, we might think that they are in fact the same process. The two remnants that make up gapping’s ellipsis clause would be the remnant XP of negative stripping and the negative

marker “pas”. However, there are some crucial arguments against this hypothesis.

One argument for why French negative stripping is not gapping is that “pas” has no audible correspondent in the antecedent. In gapping, each remnant of the ellipsis clause must correspond and contrast with some element in the antecedent clause. The gapping is ungrammatical if a remnant has no correspondent :

(81) David ate *(a muffin) and Antonia a bagel.

In example (81), the first remnant “Antonia” corresponds with the DP “David” in the antecedent clause. The example is ungrammatical if the second remnant “a bagel” has no syntactic correspondent. It is not enough for a remnant to have an implicit semantic correspondent (something is always eaten, even if it is not expressed syntactically). The correspondent must be explicitly uttered.

Gapping’s requirement that its remnants have a correspondent is not immediately problematic. Recall example (19) from section §2, showing ungrammatical negative stripping if the XP has no correspondent. The problem is with the other “remnant” in negative stripping - the negative marker “pas”. This remnant has no explicit correspondent in the antecedent, which could be an indication that negative stripping is not gapping.

Since “pas” has no correspondent in the antecedent clause, the antecedent clause gives no indication of the relative order of the two remnants in the ellipsis clause. We might then think that either “pas XP” or “XP pas” constitutes a grammatical ellipsis clause of negative stripping, but this is not the case.

(82) Jean aime le chocolat, mais pas la vanille.
*Jean aime le chocolat, mais la vanille pas.

As seen above, the only grammatical order of the ellipsis clause is “pas XP”. One way of guaranteeing the correct order in the ellipsis clause is to abandon the idea that the relative order of the remnants comes from the order of their correspondents. Instead, we might think that their order is determined by the ellipsis clause, prior to ellipsis.

(83) Jean aime le chocolat mais ~~Jean n’aime~~ pas la vanille.

In (83), prior to ellipsis, the negative marker “pas” precedes the DP “la vanille”. After ellipsis, then, the same order remains. This account predicts the correct word order in the ellipsis clause. But, as shown in section §6.2 of a remnant-preserving analysis, such a view fails when the remnant XP is a subject. The “pas” of sentential negation follows that clause’s subject, predicting the wrong order in an ellipsis clause. The relevant example, (76), is repeated below :

(84) Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie n’aime pas le chocolat.
Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie ~~n’aime pas le chocolat~~.

These facts indicate that negative stripping is not simply French gapping. The following section turns to a different type of analysis, based on the analysis of Spanish negative stripping and polarity ellipsis proposed in Vicente (2006).

6.4 Extending a Spanish analysis

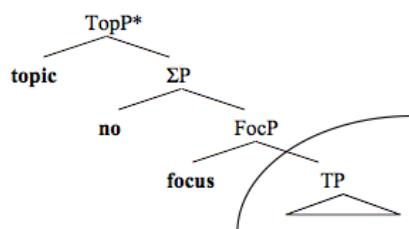
Vicente (2006) provides an analysis of short negative replies in Spanish, which look remarkably like the ellipsis clause in either polarity ellipsis or negative stripping¹⁶ :

¹⁶I make a crucial assumption here, and assume that the analysis Vicente proposes of short negative replies in Spanish can be extended in a straightforward manner to polarity ellipsis and negative stripping in Spanish.

- (85) a. Which film do you want to see tonight?
 b. Match Point no
 Match Point not
 c. No Match Point
 not Match Point
- Vicente (2006)

Vicente argues that like negative stripping and polarity ellipsis, which look superficially similar modulo word order, these 2 types of short negative replies are syntactically distinct processes, with different discourse functions. A response of b. above just establishes Match Point as a film the speaker does not wish to see. A response of c. (now unsurprisingly) is typically corrective, and has the function of correcting a previous claim (or presupposition) that the speaker wants to see Match Point.

The difference in use, Vicente claims, comes from whether the remnant is a Topic or a Focus. Negative replies where the remnant follows the polarity marker (as in (85) c.) are corrective because the remnant has contrastive focus. In the case where the remnant precedes the polarity marker (as in (85) b.), the remnant sits higher up, in Topic position. In the proposed analysis, the polarity marker “no” is base-generated in Σ P (analogous to PolP)¹⁷. The remnant, on the other hand, arrives in its Focus or Topic position via movement. What follows is TP ellipsis :



Tree 9

Vicente (2006)

Extending this analysis to all examples of negative stripping in Spanish is a task beyond the scope of this paper. What is manageable is exploring the possibility of using this analysis for the French polarity ellipsis examples. The data look very similar, but there are key differences to point out and discuss.

One important difference between French and Spanish is that French has more than one element that can be considered a “negative polarity marker”, while Spanish only has one. In Spanish, the word for “no” and the word for “not” are identical - “no”. It is not clear at first glance whether the “no” of negative stripping is sentential negation or “not” (or perhaps neither). French, however, has two distinct negative elements. There is the word “non” (no), used primarily to answer polar questions, and to begin denial utterances. But there exists also “pas” (not), used in sentential negation and constituent negation. The polarity marker “non” can be used in polarity ellipsis, just following the remnant. The marker “pas”, however, can only be used preceding the remnant, and not following it :

- (86) a. *Jean aime le chocolat, mais Marie pas.
 Jean like[3sg] the chocolate but Marie not
 b. Jean aime le chocolat, pas Marie
 “Jean likes chocolate, but Marie doesn’t.”

Vicente (2006) provides a single unified account for the Spanish data. The account gives the derivation both for the “XP no” cases and for the “no XP” cases. A unifying account of the French data would have to explain why two different polarity markers are used, and why substituting one for the other often changes grammaticality.

¹⁷Vicente distinguishes the marker “no” from the homonymous “no” of sentential negation. The evidence he gives for this distinction comes from the fact that negative polarity items are not licensed in short negative replies, while they are licensed in the domain of sentential negation.

Additionally, Vicente’s analysis of the Spanish data involves movement of the remnant to either Focus or Topic position. Spanish polarity ellipsis and negative stripping are both antecedent-island sensitive (when not used correctively). Movement out of an island is, by definition, ungrammatical. An account of polarity ellipsis and negative stripping in which the remnant is moved is consistent with the antecedent-island sensitivity of the processes. This movement analysis works well with the Spanish data, since polarity ellipsis in Spanish is always sensitive to antecedent-islands. We can view negative stripping in Spanish as inherently antecedent-island-sensitive, realizing that corrective focus rescues these violations. Because negative stripping and polarity ellipsis in Spanish have the same antecedent-island sensitivity, a unified movement account of the remnant is possible.

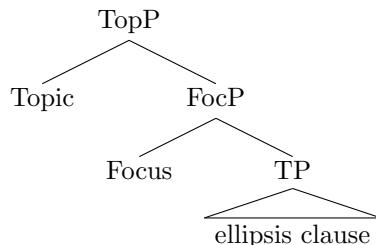
In French, however, polarity ellipsis is not antecedent-island sensitive (while negative stripping is). The extension of a Vicente-style analysis to French assumes the movement of the remnant of polarity ellipsis. If the remnant in an example like (71) is in fact moved, we expect the example to be ungrammatical, since the remnant would have to be moved over an island boundary. Instead, example (71) is perfectly grammatical, which indicates a non-movement analysis of the remnant as we proposed above, and not a movement-based approach.

French negative stripping, like Spanish negative stripping, is antecedent-island sensitive. The analysis we pursue must account for this sensitivity. A simple way of ensuring this is to follow Vicente’s analysis of negative stripping in Spanish, and assume that the remnant arrives at its surface position via movement.

6.5 French negative stripping

We can use inspiration from the analysis in Vicente (2006) for negative stripping in French. The remnant of negative stripping moves out of the ellipsis clause, to either Topic or Focus position (depending on whether it is corrective or not, following Vicente).

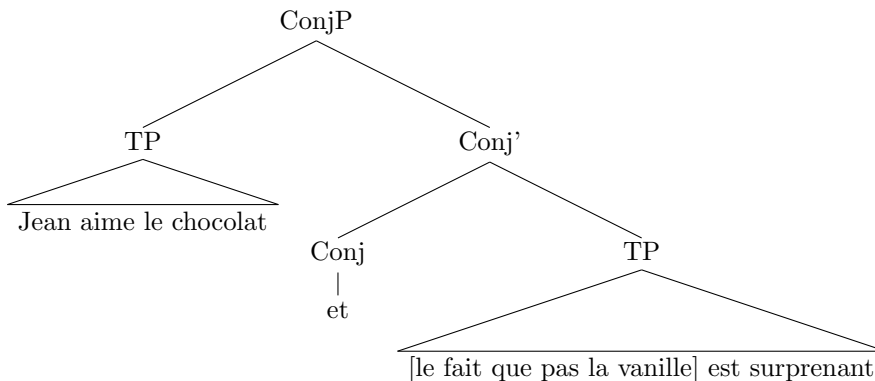
Tree 10



Since the remnant arrives at its surface position via movement out of the TP, the antecedent-island sensitivity of negative stripping is explained. Long-distance island sensitivity, on the other hand, cannot be explained by the movement of the remnant in negative stripping, since in its travels the remnant never crosses an island boundary. The following example illustrates the long-distance island sensitivity of negative stripping.

- (87) a. Le fait que Jean n’aime pas la vanille est surprenant.
 “The fact that Jean doesn’t like vanilla is surprising.”
 b. *Jean aime le chocolat, et le fait que pas la vanille est surprenant.
 to mean “Jean likes chocolate, and the fact that he doesn’t like vanilla is surprising.”

Tree 11



A sentential-subject island is perfectly grammatical in a non-elliptical, non-movement based example like a. The b. example, however, is ungrammatical. In the simplified tree below, one should note that the surface position of the remnant is still within the subject island - it has not crossed the island boundary. Thus we cannot account for the ungrammaticality of b. by the movement of the remnant.

Instead, the ungrammaticality of b. can be explained by a requirement on the syntactic configuration of negative stripping. The antecedent clause and ellipsis clause must be locally conjoined - the ellipsis clause cannot be embedded within a CP.

Vicente (2006) posits the polarity marker “no” as residing in Σ P (or PolP) for both negative stripping and polarity ellipsis in Spanish. This seems plausible because the same negative marker “no” is used for both ellipsis processes. Additionally, negative stripping is possible in Spanish replacing the negative marker “no” with the affirmative marker “si” (I will call this positive stripping, for symmetry). In other words, “si XP” can form a grammatical ellipsis clause in Spanish. In French, however, as mentioned above, two different polarity markers are used for French polarity ellipsis and for negative stripping (“non” for polarity ellipsis, “pas” for negative stripping). Using the other polarity marker results in ungrammaticality. Also, French does not exhibit positive stripping - an ellipsis clause with the order “oui XP” is ungrammatical. For these two reasons, I claim that, unlike polarity ellipsis, the negative marker of negative stripping is not in PolP. Instead, it is an instance of constituent negation, negating the remnant.

Crucial to an analysis of negative stripping in French is an understanding of the structure of an example like (88) immediately before ellipsis. One property of ellipsis cross-linguistically (whether type A or type B) is that it’s an optional process - a grammatical example of ellipsis is grammatical without ellipsis. In the case of negative stripping, though, it seems as though ellipsis is not optional. Once the remnant is moved to TopP or FocP and negated, the example is ungrammatical unless TP ellipsis occurs :

- (88) a. Jean parle le français mais pas l’italien.
 “Jean speaks French but he doesn’t speak Italian.”
 b. *Jean parle le français mais pas l’italien Jean parle.
 c. *Jean parle le français mais pas l’italien Jean ne parle (pas).
 d. *Jean parle le français mais pas l’italien_i Jean ne le_i parle pas.

Example (88)a is perfectly grammatical - it is simply a case of negative stripping with DP remnant. However, none of the above (b-d) intermediate stages (prior to TP deletion) are grammatical. Example (88)b assumes movement of negation plus the remnant, leaving just “Jean parle” in the TP. This is ungrammatical. Example (88)c, also ungrammatical, assumes movement only of the remnant, leaving negation in the TP. Example (88)d shows movement of the remnant, resumed with a clitic pronoun. Each of these examples is ungrammatical.

We have a choice to make here - we can either abandon this movement analysis of negative stripping, while

cleaving to the generalization that ellipsis is always optional. Alternatively, we can stick with our analysis of French negative stripping, while conceding that this particular ellipsis is not optional.

The ideal situation is to abandon this analysis in favor of an analysis that preserves the optionality of ellipsis. As appealing as this is, it is not clear that such an analysis exists. Sections §6.1, §6.2, and §6.3 each described and then rejected an alternative analysis of negative stripping in French. Vicente (2006) acknowledges this difficulty as well for Spanish negative stripping, and the non-optionality of ellipsis. He says, in a footnote :

”I appreciate the problem (which for the time being I can only solve by stipulating that ellipsis is required to apply in the structure in 20 (figure X), but I believe it is independent of the specifics of my analysis.”

I will follow Vicente, and acknowledge the messiness of ungrammatical non-elliptical counterparts to French negative stripping, while pursuing a movement account of the remnant. Still, we must account for the difference in grammaticality that can occur between corrective negative stripping and non-corrective negative stripping.

Recall that while negative stripping is usually antecedent-island sensitive, the island violation is much improved when the ellipsis is used correctively. Assume, following Vicente, that when used correctively, the remnant is a Focus, and when not used correctively, the remnant is a Topic. This seems to suggest a difference in derivation between Topics and Foci. Negative stripping is antecedent-island sensitive when the remnant is a Focus, which indicates that an XP arrives in FocP via movement. Since movement out of an island is ungrammatical, we expect non-corrective negative stripping to be ungrammatical with an antecedent island.

Corrective negative stripping, on the other hand, is not sensitive to antecedent islands. Assuming the remnant of corrective stripping resides in FocusP, it must arrive there without movement, following Rooth (1985), possibly by left-dislocation. This will account for the difference in antecedent-island sensitivity between corrective and non-corrective negative stripping.

Corrective negative stripping is insensitive to antecedent-islands, but it is still bounded. This is because the boundedness of (non-corrective) negative stripping is not due to movement of the remnant to TopicP. Its boundedness is simply a syntactic requirement - that the ellipsis clause may not be embedded. The antecedent and ellipsis clause are locally conjoined. Although corrective negative stripping is the result of left-dislocation of the remnant, thus rendering it antecedent-island insensitive, it is still bounded. This is a general property of negative stripping.

6.5.1 Negative stripping and type A/type B ellipsis

We saw above that French polarity ellipsis patterns nicely as a type A ellipsis, according to the properties laid out in Hankamer (1979). We can now turn to the properties of negative stripping in French, to see how it fits into the paradigm.

Negative stripping, as we have seen, is bounded and sensitive to both antecedent islands and long-distance islands. Only when used correctively is negative stripping antecedent-island insensitive. Additionally, there seems to be no overt element that licenses ellipsis, as there was for polarity ellipsis. The negative element “pas” here is not the head of a functional projection, and as such cannot license ellipsis. Additionally, though, the gap of ellipsis (if there exists only one) does not directly follow “pas”.

Type A ellipsis :	Type B ellipsis :
can apply over unbounded distances	✓ is bounded
isn't sensitive to islands	✓ is island-sensitive
elides a constituent	✓ could elide non-constituents
requires a licensing element	✓ doesn't require a licensing element

The question of whether negative stripping always elides a constituent is a tricky one if we are not absolutely sure about the underlying syntax of an example like (2). Under a remnant-preservation analysis sketched above, negative stripping can elide non-constituents. The material that is elided does not always form a single constituent, as seen in (83). Recall however that this analysis was rejected.

Under a movement analysis of the remnant, if the remnant is moved up and out of its original TP, then the TP can be elided. We could view this as ellipsis of a constituent, because the ellipsis targets one node (TP) and deletes everything it dominates. If we say then that negative stripping always elides a constituent, we encounter a strange characterization of the ellipsis. Negative stripping is then an ellipsis process with three type B properties (boundedness, island sensitivity, and lack of licensing element), and one property of type A ellipsis (eliding a constituent). This is unappealing from a typological standpoint. Additionally, though, there is a way in which the constituent elided in negative stripping is very different from the constituent elided in polarity ellipsis. In polarity ellipsis, the TP that is elided is in some sense whole. It can be used as a freestanding TP, and is fully grammatical. The TP that is elided in negative stripping, as we have seen in (88), is not a full TP - it has a gap corresponding to the remnant, and as a result, the TP is ungrammatical. What is elided in negative stripping can be dominated by a single node, and in that sense might be considered a constituent. However, when we compare this “constituent” to the constituent elided in polarity ellipsis, we see this striking difference in grammaticality and completeness of TP. I claim that in this sense, the TP elided in negative stripping is not a full constituent, and thus negative stripping patterns beautifully as a type B ellipsis.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have introduced two elliptical constructions in French - polarity ellipsis and negative stripping. Polarity ellipsis fits neatly into the type A/type B paradigm of ellipsis, having all and only the properties of type A ellipsis. It is unbounded and antecedent-island insensitive. Additionally, under the left-dislocation analysis proposed in section §4, polarity ellipsis requires a licensing element (the polarity marker) to license ellipsis of a constituent (TP). Left-dislocation predicts several properties of polarity ellipsis, including restrictions on the remnant and the possibility of multiple remnants.

Negative stripping, on the other hand, seems to pattern as a type B ellipsis process. It is bounded and antecedent-island sensitive. And while polarity ellipsis elides a fully grammatical, free-standing TP, the same cannot be said for negative stripping. Under a movement analysis of the remnant (with constituent negation), negative stripping does elide a TP. However, this TP cannot be a freestanding TP - it is ungrammatical. In this sense, negative stripping does not always elide a TP. Additionally, under this movement analysis, there is no audible functional head to license ellipsis of this TP. For all these reasons, negative stripping is type B.

One difficulty with negative stripping is that unlike polarity ellipsis, there is no obvious analysis that accounts for all its properties. Left-dislocation of the remnant of polarity ellipsis provides a neat analysis, with no glaring problems. The movement analysis of negative stripping proposed here has the benefit of accounting for several of the type B properties. However, it has a drawback - that once the remnant is

moved and negated, ellipsis is obligatory¹⁸. A non-ellipsis account of negative stripping, which treats the remnant as coordinated with its correspondent, is problematic because it requires movement of the remnant out of coordination. A non-movement analysis of the remnant of negative stripping fails to account for the antecedent-island insensitivity of negative stripping. None of these analyses is perfect, a fact that suggests that an alternative analysis not yet considered may be best.

Ideas for future work involve, of course, finding a less problematic analysis of negative stripping in French. In addition, further investigation of the polarity markers involved in these ellipsis processes would be enlightening. In French, the negative marker used in polarity ellipsis (“non”) and the marker used in negative stripping (“pas”) are distinct. This suggests that perhaps the “no” of Spanish polarity ellipsis is not the same lexical item as the “no” of Spanish negative stripping. The “no” of polarity ellipsis means “no”, while that of negative stripping is “not”. Additionally, recall from section §6.4 that according to Vicente (2006), the “no” of these Spanish ellipses is not the “no” of sentential negation in Spanish. This could indicate that the “pas” of French negative stripping is distinct from the “pas” of sentential negation. Future work could try to tease apart the many negative markers in French, by exploring the use of NPIs with French polarity ellipsis and negative stripping. If NPIs are not licensed by “pas” in negative stripping, we should conclude that French has (at least) three different negative markers - the “non” of polarity ellipsis, and then two different lexical items “pas”.

¹⁸Hankamer (p.c.) points out to me that this problem is not restricted to negative stripping in French and Spanish. Gapping in English has similar problems.

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