

Negative short replies in Spanish

1. Introduction

In this article, I sketch a basic analysis of a type of ellipsis in Spanish which I refer to as negative fragments. In this construction, the remnants of ellipsis are negation (*no*) and another XP. Intriguingly, both orders *no XP* and *XP no* are possible, as shown in (1).¹

- 1) What do you want to drink?
 - a. Cerveza no
beer not
 - b. No cerveza
not beer

In section 4, I develop an analysis of this word order alternation that accounts for both the similarities and the differences between (1)a and (1)b. Before that, in section 2, I lay out the main properties of this construction, especially as it pertains to its discourse properties and scopal interactions. In section 3, I offer some thoughts on the special pragmatic status of negative replies.

2. Properties of the construction

2.1. Lack of categorial restrictions

Above, I defined negative fragments as a type of ellipsis in which only negation and another XP are the remnants. This XP can be of any category. In (1), we saw that it can be a bare noun.² The data below show that the construction admits DPs, PPs,

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¹ In Depiante (2000), the *no XP* order is called *negative stripping* and the *XP no* order is *pseudo-stripping*. I subsume them both under the *negative fragments* term for expository convenience.

² Although bare nouns in *no XP* orders are not that good unless an overt contrast is provided. Thus, (b) is degraded as it stands, but it can be greatly improved by adding *sino vino*, 'but wine'

APs, adverbials, infinitival clauses, and complement CPs. In short, though some examples sound better than others (see fn. 3), there doesn't seem to be any category that cannot appear as an XP remnant in a negative fragment.

- 2) What have you been reading?
 - a. Una novela de terror no
a novel of terror not
 - b. No una novela de terror
not a novel of terror
- 3) What are you going to write your thesis about?
 - a. Sobre la concordancia no
about the agreement not
 - b. No sobre la concordancia
not about the agreement
- 4) In what state did you find the mariners?
 - a. Sobrios no
sober not
 - b. No sobrios
not sober
- 5) How often do you go to the gym?
 - a. Frecuentemente no
frequently not
 - b. No frecuentemente
not frequently
- 6) What household task do you hate most?³
 - a. Hacer la cama no
make the bed not
 - b. No hacer la cama
not make the bed

³ For reasons that I do not understand, *no XP* orders with infinitival clauses strongly favour a reading in which negation is part of the infinitival, rather than external to it (i.e., *not making the bed is what I hate most*, rather than the intended *making the bed is not what I hate most*). However, it is easy to show that the intended reading exists, since one can stack two negations, thus making one of them unambiguously external to the infinitival (this is somewhat marginal, possibly due to the difficulty to parse two negatives next to each other). Thus:

A: What does Mary want to do over summer?
 B: No [no irse de vacaciones]
 not not go of holiday
 [= not going on holiday is not what she wants to do]

- 7) What did Jesus preach to the people of Judea?
- a. Que adoraran al diablo no
that worship.3PL the devil not
 - b. No que adoraran al diablo
not that worship.3PL the devil

2.2. Connectivity effects

The first step in analysing negative fragments consists of showing that they are a consequence of ellipsis, that is, that they have a full (though silent) clausal structure. This is most easily shown by adopting the connectivity test that Morgan (1973) and Merchant (2004) apply to bare fragments. As shown below (8), the remnant XP can be an anaphor. Since the anaphor is properly bound, it must be the case that the negative fragment contains a representation of the binder. If we didn't grant this much, we would be forced to stipulate that anaphoric binding can happen across utterances in the case of fragments, but not otherwise. In contrast, under an ellipsis analysis, no amendments to binding theory are necessary.

- 8) ¿De quién habla Juan_i todo el rato?
about who talks J all the time
- a. De sí mismo_i no
about himself not
 - b. No de sí mismo_i
not about himself

The same point can be made with Condition B (9), Condition C (10), and variable binding (11).

- 9) ¿De quién habla Juan_i todo el rato?
about who talks J all the time
- a. * De él_i no
about him not
 - b. * No de él_i
not about him
- 10) ¿De quién habla Juan_i todo el rato?
about who talks J all the time
- a. * De Juan_i no
about J not
 - b. * No de Juan_i
not about J
- 11) ¿De quién está hablando todo_i hombre?
about who is talking every man
- a. De su_i mujer no
about his wife not

- 15) a. ¿Qué equipo piensa Juan que va a ganar la liga?
 which team thinks J that is going to win the championship
 b. Me parece que no el Madrid
 me.DAT seems that not the M
 [= it seems to me that he doesn't think that Real Madrid is going to win]
- 16) a. ¿Qué países ha mencionado Juan que quiere visitar?
 which countries has mentioned J that wants visit
 b. Un montón, pero no Suecia
 a lot of them but not Sweden
 [= he didn't mention that he wants to visit Sweden]

Thus, the analysis for these sentences would have the remnant XP moving all the way into the matrix left periphery into a position just below negation. We will return to this in more detail in section 3.

2.3. Multiple remnants

As already observed by Bosque (1984:178), *XP no* orders allow for multiple XP remnants to the left of negation. Both orders of the remnant XPs seem to be possible –to my ear at least–, although the inverted order requires a listing intonation between the remnants, which is possible, but not required, in the non-inverted variant

- 17) a. ¿Quién confía en quién?
 who trusts in whom
 b. Juan (#) en María no
 J in M not
 c. En María *(#) Juan no
 in M J not
- 18) a. ¿Qué le ha regalado Juan a todo el mundo?
 what CL.DAT has given J to everybody
 b. Un libro (#) a María no
 a book to M not
 c. A María *(#) un libro no
 to M a book not

The situation is more complicated with *no XP* orders. Example (19)b seems to suggest that multiple remnants are also possible. Note, nonetheless, that the inverted order is not available here (19)c.

- 19) a. ¿Qué le ha regalado Juan a todo el mundo?
 what CL.DAT has given J to everybody
 b. No un libro a María
 not a book to M

- c. ?* No a María un libro
not to M a book

In fact, *no XP* orders with multiple remnants are not available in other examples.

- 20) a. ¿Quién confía en quién?
who trusts in whom
b. ?* No Juan en María
not J in M
c. * No en María Juan
not in M J

What this suggests is that the post-negation chunk in (19)a *un libro a María* ‘a book to María’ is actually one single constituent, namely, a remnant *vP*. This allows us to generalise that only one constituent can appear as remnant *XP* in *no XP* orders. In this way we can explain the ungrammaticality of (20) and the impossibility of the inverse order in (19)b, since in both cases we would be dealing with two remnant *XPs* (assuming that the inverse order in (19)b can only be derived by moving each object separately to the left periphery, rather than within a remnant *VP*).⁶

Finally, one intriguing constraint is that *XP no YP* orders are rather degraded (something which Bosque 1984 also observes). However, my suspicion is that this status is the result of independent factors. We will return to this point later.

- 21) a. ¿A dónde llegaron tarde todos tus amigos?
to where arrived late all your friends
b. ?* María no al trabajo
M not for work

In conclusion, given two remnants *XP* and *YP*, the only order in which they can appear in $\{XP YP\}$ is *no*.

2.4. Focus and presuppositions

An interesting asymmetry between *XP no* and *no XP* orders is that the latter, but not the former, create a presupposition of existence with respect to the remnant *XP*. This can be shown by adding a self-defeating continuation. Thus, the *XP no* order in (22)a is consistent with a situation in which I didn’t drink anything. In contrast, the same continuation is infelicitous in (22)b, since the order *no XP* presupposes that I did drink something –it’s just that it wasn’t beer. An additional example of this asymmetry is provided in (23).

⁶ Bosque (1984:185) contains the following grammatical example of what looks like multiple remnants in a *no XP* order (he uses it in connection to a totally different aspect of the construction).

i) Juan viajó a Bilbao y María a Madrid, no Juan a Madrid y María a Bilbao
J travelled to B and M to M not J to M and M to B

However, I believe that this example must be analysed as involving one single (very large) remnant. If so, the generalisation above is preserved.

- 22) What did you drink at the party?
- a. Cerveza no ✓ De hecho, no bebí nada
beer not As a matter of fact, I didn't drink anything
- b. No cerveza # De hecho, no bebí nada
not beer As a matter of fact, I didn't drink anything
- 23) Who did you go to the movies with?
- a. Con Susana no ✓ De hecho, fui solo
with S not As a matter of fact, I went on my own
- b. No con Susana # De hecho, fui solo
not with S As a matter of fact, I went on my own

Interestingly, the same presuppositional effect arises in regular sentences with focused constituents. In contrast, topicalisation does not create such interpretations. Thus, in a neutral sentence like (24)a, a self-defeating continuation is possible. The same holds for (24)b, where the object has been topicalised. In contrast, (24)c and (24)d –representing, respectively, focus in situ and focus fronting- do not admit such continuations.⁷

- 24) a. No he leído 1984 ✓ De hecho, no he leído nada
not have read 1984 As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything
- b. 1984, no lo he leído ✓ De hecho, no he leído nada
1984 not CL have read As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything
- c. No he leído [_{FOC} 1984] # De hecho, no he leído nada
not have read 1984 As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything
- d. [_{FOC} 1984] no he leído # De hecho, no he leído nada
1984 not have read As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything

The same effect arises in pseudo-clefts, which also involve a focus structure.

- 25) a. Lo que no he leído es [_{FOC} 1984]
the that not have read is 1984
De hecho, no he leído nada
As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything
- b. [_{FOC} 1984] es lo que no he leído
1984 is the that not have read
De hecho, no he leído nada
As a matter of fact, I haven't read anything

Thus, it seems like *no XP* replies involve association of the remnant XP with a focus position, whereas this is not the case for their *XP no* counterparts. The latter might simply involve (contrastive) topicalisation of some sort. This is also confirmed by the following paradigm (Bosque 1984:187), where we can see that postverbal

⁷ For reference: topics can be doubled by a clitic, but foci can't; topics need not be left-adjacent to the verb, but foci must.

(focalised) subjects prefer a *no XP* continuation, whereas preverbal (non-focalised) ones prefer an *XP no* continuation. (example (26)d is my own).

- 26) a. Vino Juan, pero no Pedro
 came.3SG J but not P
 b. # Juan vino, pero no Pedro
 J came.3SG but not P
 c. Juan vino, pero Pedro no
 J came.3SG but P not
 d. # Vino Juan, pero Pedro no
 came.3SG J but P not

2.5. Scope interactions

2.5.1. Many

In cases in which the remnant XP is a quantificational element, it is possible to observe some variations in the scope it takes with respect to negation. Let us start with *muchos* ‘many’. In negative replies, this quantifier and negation always take only linear scope.

- 27) How many books have you read?
 a. Muchos no [*many* > 5 / * 5 > *many*]
 many not
 b. # No muchos [* *many* > 5 / 5 > *many*]
 not many

These readings can be made more salient if we add affirmative continuations. Thus, (28)a is a consistent statement. It means that, while there is a large number of books that I haven’t read, there is also an equally large number that I have read. In contrast, (28)b comes out as a contradiction. Since [*5* > *many*] is logically equivalent to *few*, it states at the same time that I have read few books and that I have read many books.

- 28) How many books have you read?
 a. Muchos no, pero muchos sí [valid statement]
 many not but many yes
 b. # No muchos, pero muchos sí [contradiction]
 not many but many yes

Interestingly, topicalisation and focalisation (whether fronting or in situ) also derive the wide scope reading of *many*, which is impossible under a neutral interpretation of the sentence.⁸

- 29) a. No he leído muchos libros [** many > 5 / 5 > many*]
 not have read many books
 b. Muchos libros, no los he leído [*many > 5 / * 5 > many*]
 many books not CL have read
 c. No he leído MUCHOS LIBROS [*many > 5 / * 5 > many*]
 not have read many books
 d. MUCHOS LIBROS no los he leído [*many > 5 / * 5 > many*]
 many books not have read

Let us assume that foci in situ (29)c are actually moving at LF to a left-peripheral position (e.g., Chomsky 1995, Jackendoff 1972). If so, we can generalise, on the basis of (29), that *many* may scope over negation only if it sits in a higher structural position, either in narrow syntax or at LF. Extending this generalisation to the examples in (27), we can conclude that, in *XP no* orders, the remnant XP moves over negation, whereas this is not the case in *no XP* orders. In particular, the strongest conclusion would be that it doesn't move over negation at any level of representation, since that would license the [*many > 5*] reading. Thus, a tentative conclusion is that the *no* we see in negative fragments might be a different element from the *no* in full negative clauses.

2.5.2. All

The universal quantifier *todos* 'all' shows a slightly different behaviour. As can be seen, it always takes scope below negation, in spite of the linear order.

- 30) How many books have you read?
 a. Todos no [** ∀ > 5 / 5 > ∀*]
 all not
 b. No todos [** ∀ > 5 / 5 > ∀*]
 not all

Nonetheless, I think this can be safely attributed to the general tendency of universal quantifiers not to outscope negation. As (31)b shows, a topicalised universal object is preferably interpreted below negation.

- 31) a. No he leído todos los libros [** ∀ > 5 / 5 > ∀*]
 not have read all the books
 b. Todos los libros, no los he leído [*?? ∀ > 5 / 5 > ∀*]
 all the books not CL have read

⁸ This doesn't hold for subjects. Given that TP is higher than NegP, regular A movement to SpecTP can derive the wide scope reading without resorting to any topic/focus effects. To control for this, I only consider object quantifiers.

In (32)a and (32)b, where focalisation seems to force a wide scope interpretation of the object, we get degraded sentences.

- 32) a. ?? No he leído TODOS LOS LIBROS
 not have read all the books
 b. ?? TODOS LOS LIBROS no he leído
 all the books not have read

This is also an effect present in A movement. As shown in (33), there is also a tendency for a universal subject to scope below negation. To the (rather marginal) extent that the subject can take wide scope, it must be from a preverbal position.

- 33) a. Todos los estudiantes no aprobaron el examen
 all the students not passed the exam
 [?? $\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]
 b. No aprobaron todos los estudiantes el examen
 not passed all the students the exam
 [* $\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]

I think that, even in the light of these data, we can maintain our previous generalisation that wide scope over negation can only be derived by movement to a higher position. Example (30)b does not challenge it since, as we have seen here, wide scope of a universal quantifier over negation is generally quite degraded. This conclusion is confirmed by the following data. As shown in (34) for topic and focus, and in (35) for A movement, wide scope of the universal is possible if the QP picks up a subset of a larger set.

- 34) a. Which books have you read?
 b. Todos los libros con una marca azul, no los he leído
 all the books with a mark blue not CL have read
 [$\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]
 c. TODOS LOS LIBROS CON UNA MARCA AZUL no he leído
 all the books with a mark blue not have read
 [$\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]
 d. No he leído TODOS LOS LIBROS CON UNA MARCA AZUL
 not have read all the books with a mark blue
 [$\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]
- 35) a. Who failed the exam?
 b. Todos los que estudian historia no han suspendido el examen
 all the that study history not have failed the exam
 [$\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]
 c. No han suspendido todos los que estudian historia el examen
 not have failed all the that study history the exam
 [* $\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall$]

Unsurprisingly, in this case it is also possible to get a $[\forall > 5]$ reading in an *XP no* reply, though not in a *no XP* reply.

- 36) a. Which books have you read?
 b. Todos los libros con una marca azul no $[\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall]$
 all the books with a mark blue not
 c. No todos los libros con una marca azul $[*\forall > 5 / 5 > \forall]$
 not all the books with a mark blue

In short, we keep the same conclusion as in the previous subsection: scope of the quantifier over negation is only possible if the quantifier moves to a higher position than negation.

2.5.3. Elided circumstantial *must*

Consider a full sentence like (37), and the interaction between negation and the necessity modal *deber* ‘must’ (–).⁹ Although this type of sentences are scopally ambiguous, there is a preference for the reading with wide (inverse) scope of the modal. To my ear, the direct scope reading is the secondary one, even in scenarios that, in principle, should bring it out. This is evident in the dialogue in (38), where we have a contextual bias in favour of the $[5 > \sim]$ reading. Even in spite of this, the inverse scope reading is still preferred. Similarly, the primary reading of (39) is the improbable one in which Juan will not get his degree if he takes any more courses.¹⁰

- 37) a. Juan no debe llevar corbata
 J not must wear tie
 b. ✓ $\sim > 5$ (there is an obligation for him not to wear a tie)
 c. ? $5 > \sim$ (it is not required that he wears a tie)
- 38) a. Si vamos a salir, me pondré otra ropa mejor
 if we are going out, I’ll change into fancier clothes

⁹ The counterpart of this example in German(ic) has been described as being ambiguous, and even with a preference for negation taking wide scope (cf. Penka & Zeijlstra 2005). The difference could come from the fact that, in the German example, negation is part of an indefinite object, rather than sentential negation. This also complicates the example, in that *kein* consists of negation plus an existential quantifier, which can take scope independently of each other. Thus, (i) is three-way ambiguous. This complication does not arise in the Spanish examples, where I avoid using quantificational objects.

i) Du musst [keine Krawatte] anziehen $[\sim > 5 > \exists / 5 > \sim > \exists / 5 > \exists > \sim]$
 you must no tie wear

¹⁰ For completeness, here is the one example I’ve been able to construct with where the $[5 > \sim]$ reading comes out with reasonable ease. Still, the $[\sim > 5]$ reading is just as prominent as above.

i) Si algo es gratis, significa que no debes pagar
 if something is for free means that not must.2SG pay

- b. Sólo vamos al bar de la esquina a tomar unas cañas
 we are just going to the bar around the corner for a few beers
 No debes ponerte corbata
 not must.2SG put on tie
 [~ > 5 / ? 5 > ~]
- 39) a. Juan ya tiene todos los créditos que necesita.
 Juan has already done all required coursework
 b. Para sacarse el título, no debe coger más clases
 so as to receive the degree not must take more courses
 [~ > 5 / ? 5 > ~]

Now consider what happens under ellipsis. In (40)b, the [5 > ~] reading is perfectly fine, alongside the original [~ > 5].

- 40) a. ¿Qué tipo de ropa debe llevar Juan en su boda?
 what kind of garments must wear J at his wedding
 b. Corbata no
 tie not
 [~ > 5 / 5 > ~]

This is also the case for *no XP* orders. Compare the two examples below. Example (41)b is consistent with a situation in which, to get the scholarship, it is not required for Juan to say that he wants to write a thesis about participles. Note that this is an example of matrix negation, so it is not possible to say that *no XP* starts off as a constituent downstairs (cf. Depiante 2000:IV).

- 41) Para que le den la beca...
 so as to get the scholarship...
 Juan no debe decir que quiere escribir una tesis sobre los participios
 J not must write that wants write a thesis about the participles
 [~ > 5 / ??? 5 > ~]
- 42) a. Para que le den la beca...
 so as to get the scholarship...
 ¿Sobre qué tema debe decir Juan que quiere escribir su tesis?
 about what topic must say J that wants write his thesis
 b. No sobre los participios
 not about the participles
 [~ > 5 / 5 > ~]

At this point, I'm not really sure about what the exact analysis of this paradigm should be. Nonetheless, here is a possible direction. Following the hypothesis of the two previous subsections, we can say that, in full sentences, *deber* appears in a higher position than negation at LF. Whether this happens by covert movement of the modal or by reconstruction of negation, that is something I don't have anything to say about as of now. The point, though, is that this will result in the modal

outsourcing negation in full sentences. The wide scope reading of negation would then be a consequence of such process (modal raising/negation reconstruction) failing to happen.

Now, suppose –as mentioned at the end of section 2.5.1- that the negation that appears in negative fragments is not the same one as the one in regular sentences. Rather, it is a head high in the left periphery (whereas regular negation is somewhere in the inflectional domain). If so, one can explain why the [5 > ~] reading comes out so much more easily in negative fragments. Being that high, it can c-command the modal and take wide scope over the modal. However, this raises the question of how to derive the [~ > 5] reading, which is also available in fragments.

3. Topics, foci, questions, and answers

In the previous section I argued that the remnant XP in [*XP no*] replies sits in a topic position. This is a rather strange conclusion at first sight, since replies to questions are usually taken to be foci, not topics. As a matter of fact, short negative replies, in and of themselves, are a strange construction in pragmatic terms. An answer consists essentially of a proposition containing a variable corresponding to the *wh*- word in the question. The act of answering boils down to choosing a specific value for the variable out of all possible alternatives. In negative replies, however, what one does is to select a value and state that that value does not yield a true sentence. The value that returns a true sentence cannot be inferred from a negative reply. So, in a sense, a negative reply is not a proper answer to a question.

In this section, I want to tie this observation to another property of short negative replies not mentioned so far, namely, the impossibility of uttering them out of context. Suppose that a friend calls asking me (43)a. In this situation, (43)b and (43)c are not felicitous answers. In fact, for this paradigm, one gets the strong impression that it has been already established in some way (i.e., by common background, a previous conversation, or similar) that *Match Point* is one of the films that are showing this evening.¹¹ For instance, the same replies are fully felicitous in the context of (44).

- 43) a. Do you want to go and see a film in the evening?
 b. # *Match Point no*
 M P not
 c. # *No Match Point*
 not M P

- 44) a. This evening they are showing *Match Point*, *Broken Flowers*, and *Jarhead*.
 Do you want to see any of them?
 b. *Match Point no*
 M P not

¹¹ This holds for all short negative replies in this article.

- c. No Match Point
not M P

This effect is not exclusive of short replies, though. Erteschik-Shir (1998:III) argues in fact that it holds for all negative predicates. She points out that (45)b is not a possible answer to (45)a unless it is already established that going to the movies is one of the things that Joan might have done the previous night.

- 45) a. What did Joan do last night?
b. # She didn't go to the movies.

Given how negative predicates behave in discourse, it is possible to understand why short negative replies target a topic position. Since what is being negated has necessarily been mentioned previously, referring back to it qualifies as marking it as a topic (understood as old/known information that is given discourse prominence). Hence, when moving to the left periphery, it targets a topic position.

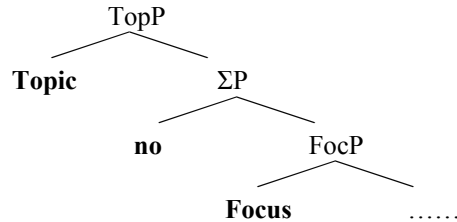
Now, the careful reader might have noticed that this analysis raises the opposite question. That is, if the remnant XP in a short reply is a topic, what is one to do with [*no XP*] replies, which I have argued target a focus position? For one, recall that they are also infelicitous if uttered out of context, so they are clearly not instances of new-information focus. Rather, it seems like they are cases of contrastive focalisation, in which the remnant XP is opposed to something else. This is a plausible option, I believe, as it would tie in with the presuppositional effects discussed in section 2.4. Since the remnant XP is being contrasted with something else, it follows that one cannot deny the existence of that something else, as in (22)b and (23)b. In fact, given that this effect also arises in the full sentences in (24) and (25), it can also be considered a general property of negative predicates, not just of negative replies.

4. Towards an analysis

4.1. A simple analysis

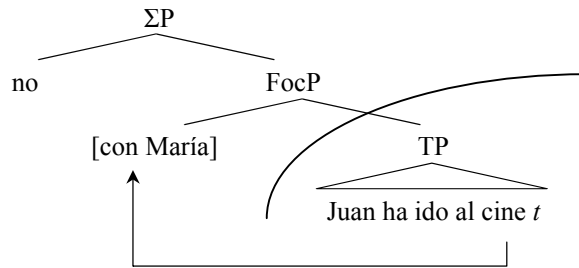
Recall that, from the presupposition of existence effects (section 2.4) we concluded that remnant XPs occupy a focus position in *no XP* orders and a topic position in *XP no* orders. That gives us a structure with a topic projection dominating a focus projection, with negation sandwiched in between. The latter, I will call ΣP , after Laka's (1990) projection for polarity.

46) *The left periphery in negative replies*



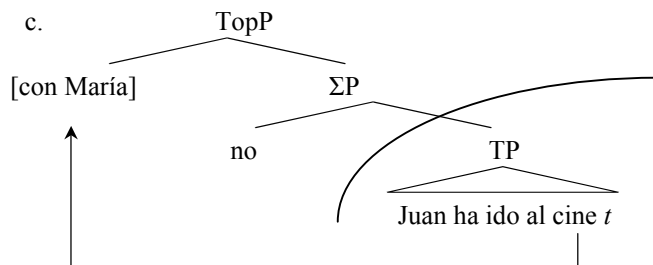
This captures the basics of the construction. In *no XP* orders, the remnant XP moves to the focus position and negation is base generated above it. This captures the observations that, in these replies, the remnant XP gives rise to presuppositions. Also, since negation is base generated so high, we derive that it must have widest scope reading. Finally, the impossibility of multiple remnants can be linked to there being a unique focus position in the clause. Thus, we get the structure in (47)c, where the curved line marks the domain of ellipsis.

- 47) a. ¿Con quién ha ido Juan al cine?
with who has gone J to the movies
- b. No con María
not with M
- c.



In contrast, in *XP no* replies, the remnant XP moves to a topic position above ΣP. Since, as shown in 2.4, topics do not create presuppositions, we derive the fact that *XP no* replies do not either. Moreover, we can also account for the fact that the remnant XP takes scope over negation, while negation still scopes over the elided material (section 2.5). Finally, since one clause may have multiple topic positions, we derive the possibility of multiple remnants (and their relatively free ordering) in *XP no* replies. Thus, we get the derivation in (48)c.

- 48) a. ¿Con quién ha ido Juan al cine?
with who has gone J to the movies
- b. Con María no
with M not
- c.



However, this analysis, as it is, doesn't predict the ungrammaticality of *XP no YP* fragments, as in (21), repeated below.

- 21) a. ¿A dónde llegaron tarde todos tus amigos?
 to where arrived late all your friends
 b. ?* María no al trabajo
 M not for work

Nonetheless, this example might be excluded for independent reasons. For one, note that the following two variants are grammatical.

- 49) a. ✓ María no sólo al trabajo
 M not only for work
 b. María ni siquiera al trabajo
 M not even for work

When the post-negation XP is associated with focal elements like *only* or *even*, the examples become acceptable. One way to interpret this is by capitalising in the hypothesis that the post-negation position is a focus position. Now, suppose that the type of question in (21)a requires an answer where both the subject and the object are topical. If so, the ungrammaticality of (21)b can be reduced to trying to stick a topic in a focus position. Support for this hypothesis comes from the observation that another possible answer involves both remnant XPs in pre-negation (i.e., topic) position.

- 50) María al trabajo no
 M for work not

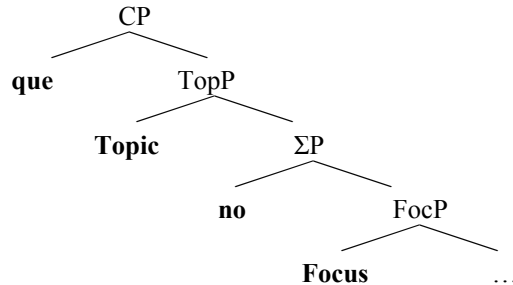
In fact, even (21)b seems to become more acceptable if heavy stress is placed in the negation and the post-negation remnant. This example seems to require a contrastive continuation to be acceptable, but in any event, this seems to be a consequence of the same presuppositional effect reviewed in section 2.4.

- 51) ? María, # NO AL TRABAJO (sino al cine)
 M not for work but for the movies

Finally, note that these replies are possible in embedded clauses, in all cases following the complementiser *que* ‘that’. This suggests that the structure in (46) must be below the C head hosting that complementiser.

- 52) a. Who do you think that Juan has gone to the movies with?
- b. Me parece que no con María
 me.DAT seems that not with M
- c. Me parece que con María no
 me.DAT seems that with M not

53) *A slightly expanded left periphery*



4.2. Extra thoughts on fragments and constituent negation

My analysis, as sketched above, assumes that all *no XP* replies have the same form, namely, movement of the remnant XP to a focus position and base generation of negation in ΣP. The alternative, as proposed by Depiante (2000), is that *no XP* starts off like that in the base position and simply moves to the left periphery as a unit. Now, it is clear that this cannot be the whole story, and that the type of derivation I have proposed is necessary to account for cases, like (15) and (16), where negation and the remnant XP originate in different clauses, hence they cannot form a constituent. The question remains, though, as to whether all *no XP* replies can be formed in the way I have suggested, or whether one needs a mixed system, in which some of these fragments are formed according to Depiante’s hypothesis.

This might have repercussions for the analysis of constituent negation. Consider, for instance, the following examples. In (54)a, we can see that the *no con Susana* ‘not with Susana’ fragment does not allow a high reading of negation –i.e., there is only one event of saying, not two. Further, this fragment does not allow the *XP no* order (55)a.¹² The addition of *pero* ‘but’ changes the entire situation. Suddenly, the high reading of negation emerges (54)b, and the *XP no* order becomes possible (55)b. A straightforward way to interpret this paradigm is to say that the fragment in (54)a/(55)a is not the result of ellipsis. Rather, it is a simple PP with negation attached on top, and nothing else. Thus, no high reading of negation and no *XP no* orders, since both require higher structure that wouldn’t be present here. In

¹² It is possible to force this example into grammaticality, but then I get the feeling that there are with two separate sentences, the second one, then, being a regular elliptical *XP no* fragment.

contrast, the use of *pero* allows for coordination at the clausal level, which entails that the fragments in (55)a and (55)b are elliptical.

- 54) a. Dijiste que ibas a ir al cine con María, no con Susana
 said.2SG that were going to the movies with M not with S
 [≠ you didn't say that you were going with Susana]
 b. Dijiste que ibas a ir al cine con María,
 said.2SG that were going to the movies with M
 pero no con Susana
 but not with S
 [= you didn't say that you were going with Susana]
- 55) a. * Dijiste que ibas a ir al cine con María, con Susana no
 said.2SG that were going to the movies with M with S not
 b. Dijiste que ibas a ir al cine con María,
 said.2SG that were going to the movies with M
 pero con Susana no
 but with S no

So, suppose there is a possibility of adjoining negation to any given constituent and then using it as a fragment (as Depiante proposes) is generally available. Then, it could be the case that *no XP* fragments can be formed in two ways, i.e., Depiante-style and in the way I have proposed in (46). Whenever a high reading of negation is necessary, that would force the use of my analysis, but otherwise, either one would do. This seems to be supported by Bianchi & Zamparelli's (2003) observation that it is possible to form the [no XP] fragment and its associate together as a constituent.

- 56) a. He invited not Mary, but Lucy
 b. [Not Mary, but Lucy], he decided to invite.

In Spanish, such fronting is only possible with [*no XP*] orders. This confirms that replies like (54)a consist of a coordination of just the negative fragment and its associate, without ellipsis. In contrast, the ungrammaticality of (57)b follows if [*XP no*] fragments require full clausal coordination plus ellipsis. Under such a structure, [*con María*] and [*con Susana no*] wouldn't form a constituent, hence it would be impossible to front them together.

- 57) a. ? [Con María, (y) no con Susana] dijiste que fuiste al cine
 with M and not with S said.2SG that went.2SG to the movies
 b. * [Con María, con Susana no] dijiste que fuiste al cine
 with M with S not said.2SG that went.2SG to the movies

Note also that (57)a is quite degraded if *pero* 'but' is added. This shows that *pero* forces clausal coordination, as suggested above.

- 58) ?* [Con María, pero no con Susana] dijiste que fuiste al cine
 with M but not with S said.2SG that went.2SG to the movies

For constituent negation, the question is what the relation is between the fragment and its associate. I propose that they form a coordinate structure, since it is possible to include *y* ‘and’ between the two of them. Unlike *pero*, the addition of *and* does not license the high reading of negation, or *XP no* orders.

- 59) a. Juan ha dicho que ha leído un libro, (y) no una revista
 J has said that hasread a book and not a magazine
 [= he hasn’t said he has read a magazine]
 b. * Juan ha dicho que ha leído un libro, (y) una revista no
 J has said that hasread a book and a magazine not

A related issue comes from the example like the one below, where the fragment is extraposed (note that this example requires stress on *al cine* ‘to the movies’ to mark that this is the phrase the fragment is associating with).

- 60) Juan ha ido AL CINE con María, (y) no al teatro
 J has gone to the movies with M and not to the theatre

This would be an example of a non-elliptical fragment, since, for instance, it doesn’t allow the *XP no* order. Note also the optional presence of *y* ‘and’ (which is also possible in (54)a and (55)a above, so the discussion here is extensible to those examples). On the basis of this coordinator, we may suppose that constituent negations like this are always instances of coordination, with the quirk that the coordinator need not be overt. If so, then the question arises as to how to analyse (61). One cannot simply say that the fragment is dislocated, since then that should result in a CSC violation. So, the one possibility left is to say that there is a small ellipsis inside the fragment, e.g.,

- 61) Juan ha ido [[AL CINE con María], (y) [no al teatro ~~con María~~]]
 J has gone to the movies with M and not to the theatre with M

However, since the associate of the fragment can itself be dislocated as well, that would force us into larger and larger ellipses within the fragment. Since at a certain point we would have to start resorting to dislocation of the remnant *XP*, this suggests that constituent negation as well can derive from two sources. In fact, such derivations are also defended by Bianchi & Zamparelli (2003).

- 62) [[AL CINE ha dicho Juan que ha ido con María]
 to the movies has said J that has gone with M
 [(y) no al teatro [~~ha dicho Juan que ha ido t con María~~]]
 and not to the theatre has said J that has gone with M

5. Affirmative short replies

So far, I have only considered short replies with negation in them. However, it is also possible to substitute negation for the affirmative particle *sí* ‘yes’.¹³ The interpretation of such examples is similar to that of English VP ellipsis.

- 63) a. Apparently, no student managed to pass the exam
 b. Juan *sí*
 J yes
 “Juan did (manage to pass the exam)”

Affirmative replies are different from bare replies, which have just a remnant XP, without any polarity-related element. For one, only bare replies can be used as answers to *wh*- questions, as shown below. The [*XP sí*] reply can only be used if it is contrasted with a negative predicate/reply.

- 64) a. Who managed to pass the exam?
 b. Juan
 J
 c. * Juan *sí*
 J yes
 d. Juan *sí*; Pedro no
 J yes P not

In contrast, both types of replies are fine as answers to yes-no questions. Note, however, that [*XP sí*] replies are only felicitous in case (a) they cancel an existent presupposition or (b) they are used in contrast to something. In this sense, they parallel to (63)b. Example (63)b is not restricted in this way, and it is the unmarked way of answering such a question.

- 65) a. Did anybody come to the party?
 b. Juan
 J
 c. Juan *sí*
 Juan yes (even though it seemed like he wasn’t going to)
 d. Juan *sí*; Pedro no
 J yes P not

In this respect, it seems like affirmative replies pattern together with negative replies in that they can only be uttered in specific contexts, i.e., whenever the remnant XP is part of the common discourse background. Now, an intriguing difference between affirmative and negative short replies is that the former, in contrast with the latter, do not seem to allow a [*sí XP*] order –or, at least, only very marginally. Thus, (66)a

¹³ Not to be confused with *si* ‘if’ –there is no accent mark in the latter. This is a bit of a nuisance for internet searches, since Google does not recognise accent marks, and lumps *sí* and *si* together.

by itself is not a possible reply to (65)a, although it is much better if there is a negative predicate to establish a contrast with.

- 66) a. *? Sí Juan
 yes J
 “Juan did (come to the party)”
 b. ? No ha venido Pedro, pero sí Juan
 not has come P but yes J

In fact, the [*sí XP*] order is acceptable only when used as a contrast with a previous negative statement. Consider the following examples, taken from a Google search for exact *sí con* ‘yes with’ strings.

- 67) a. No me deja navegar con Firefox, pero **sí con Konqueror**
 Not me.DAT lets browse with F but yes with K
 “(My computer) doesn’t let me surf the net with Firefox, but it does with Konqueror”¹⁴
 b. Quien comete un delito tipificado con excomuni3n se
 who commits a crime punished with excommunication SE
 coloca fuera de la Iglesia, no con las palabras, pero
 places outside of the church not with the words but
 sí con los hechos
 yes with the facts
 “Whoever commits a crime punished with excommunication is no longer within the (Catholic) Church, not just nominally, but for all intents and purposes”¹⁵
 c. Algunos pacientes inician la enfermedad sin temblor,
 some patients start the disease without shaking
 pero **sí con depresi3n**
 but yes with depression
 “‘At the early stages of the disease (Parkinson), some patients don’t suffer yet from shaking hands, but still they feel depressed”¹⁶
 d. A mi no me gustar3a [encamarme] con una marciana,
 to me not me.DAT like sleep with a martian.FEM
 pero a ellos **sí con una mujer**
 but to them yes with a woman
 “‘I wouldn’t like to sleep with a Martian woman, but I bet Martians would like to sleep with an Earth woman”¹⁷

We conclude, then, that [*XP no*] and [*XP sí*] replies are similar in that they both require the remnant XP to be part of the common discourse background. In the phrase structure developed here, this is implemented by positing a topic position above ΣP. In contrast, the [*no XP*] and [*sí XP*] orders both require the existence of a

¹⁴ <http://www.kdehispano.org/node/2377>

¹⁵ <http://www.iuscanonicum.org/articulos/art187.html>

¹⁶ <http://www.sinapsis.org/neuropsiquiatria.html>

¹⁷ <http://axxon.com.ar/rev/122/c-122LasMujeres.htm>. Argentinians are like this.

contrast for the remnant XP. The difference, which I don't understand yet, is that affirmative replies seem to have a much stronger preference for the contrast to be explicit, in contrast to their negative counterparts, where the contrast can be left implicit with greater frequency.

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