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On English Negative Stripping:

An HPSG-based Approach

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Abstract

On English Negative Stripping:

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In English, a combination of a negative marker *not* and a single focused constituent XP can deliver a sentential negative meaning, which is called as *negative stripping*. Previously, stripping constructions have been claimed to be a remnant of ellipsis that originates from a full sentence, just as other types of fragments, for example, sluicing and fragment answers, are claimed to (Merchant 2003 among others). The present thesis, however, will demonstrate that negative stripping stands as compelling counterevidence to this elliptical approach on fragments and will argue for a non-derivational and non-elliptical analysis that can reflect the syntactic and semantic peculiarities of negative stripping, within the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).

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Syntactically, negative stripping exhibits the sentential distribution, various remnant possibilities, and categorical and structural parallelism with its correlate material in the antecedent clause. These properties are often mentioned as those that fragment constructions have in common.

Semantically, Klima's (1964) diagnostics affirms that the particular negation in negative stripping is of sentential negation. However, the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation are also observed in negative stripping, which do not usually arise in the ordinary sentential negation. These peculiarities can be explained when it is noted that the semantics of negative stripping comes from an interaction between negation and focus given on the single XP. More specifically, negation directly binds focus to result in focus-sensitive negation, which can be stated as 'It is not XP that P(roposition given in the antecedent clause)'.

Under the previous ellipsis-based analysis on negative stripping, including Merchant (2003), the focused XP in a sentence is assumed to undergo a leftward movement, followed by the clausal ellipsis. For *not*, a special projection such as NegP is posited above the focused XP, where *not* in it then scopes over the entire clause. However, the assumptions and implications of this analysis, such as the optional nature of ellipsis, a limited range of movable remnants, and structural parallelism in too strict a sense, contradict the aforesaid syntactic properties of negative stripping. Furthermore, the semantic sides are so seldom considered that wrong predictions are borne out, such that *not* should always take the widest scope.

As an adequate analysis for negative stripping, the present thesis proposes a syntactic structure where a fragment XP is modified by an adverbial functor, which is enabled by a new phrasal type constraint *adverbial-fragment-phrase*. It is posited

as a subtype of *head-functor-phrase*, which was developed mainly by Van Eynde (2003) to deal with modifiers and specifiers under one term *functor*. Owing to the type inheritances from its supertypes, the newly proposed constraint allows its head daughter to embody the relevant syntactic information and its functor daughter to carry the semantic content of the whole construction.

In the head daughter, I employ the type constraint *head-fragment-phrase* (*hd-frag-ph*) (Ginzburg and Sag 2000) for the representation of the focused XP of stripping. This constraint retrieves the sentential interpretation of a fragment by means of contextual attributes, not a syntactic derivation. That is, a fragment construction is base-generated in my analysis.

To reflect the semantics of negative stripping, I conceive a new lexical constraint for *not* in the functor daughter, which introduces *unequivalent-rel* between the index of the focused XP and the proposition that serves as the background for it, thus interpreted simply as 'XP is unequivalent to P'. In particular, I assume the latter comes from the SOA value of the MAX-QUD of the fragment. As a consequence, this constraint does not only capture the focus-sensitive negative interpretation but also account for the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation, without assuming any extra syntactic device.

The present proposal has the following significances. First, an in-depth investigation on the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping was conducted based on the corpus data. Second, a compelling counterargument to the movement and ellipsis-based approach on fragment constructions was offered. Instead, a non-elliptical manipulation on fragments succeeded. Third, a new subtype of *hd-funct-ph* was conceived that allows a composition of an adverbial functor and

a fragment construction. Consequently, other subtypes of stripping constructions such as *probably*-stripping are also expected to be described, simply by positing a different functor. Fourth, the semantics of negative stripping resulting from the interaction of negation and focus was discussed and represented in terms of HPSG.

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1. Introduction

To denote contrastive meaning, English can employ a combination of a negative marker *not* and a focused constituent XP, as italicized in (1). This was termed as *negative stripping* in Merchant (2003).

(1)   Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*.   (Merchant 2003: 1)

In (1), despite the non-sentential form, "not Ben" is conjoined with a sentence[1], which does not typically occur in ordinary coordination. Also, it delivers a full sentential meaning that the focused XP is contrasted to its categorically and semantically corresponding material, or also called as the *correlate*, in terms of the proposition given in the antecedent clause. In this case, "Ben" is contrasted to "Abby" in terms of speaking passable Dutch. The interpretation of "not Ben" has thus been suggested as in (2) (Merchant 2003 among others).

(2)   Ben does not speak passable Dutch.

The present thesis attempts to reveal how the non-sentential form [not XP] in negative stripping builds up its sentential interpretation, which has little been dealt

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[1] Nakao (2008), another study on English negative stripping, suggested an inconsistent set of data in terms of the presence of the conjunction *but*, terming it as *fragment negation*. In this study, though, I will use the term *negative stripping* and mainly deal with those examples of negative stripping with *but*, while I will also discuss how the data without *but* is differentiated from negative stripping.

with in the literature.

Previously, a number of studies (Merchant 2003, Johnson 2001, and Depiante 2000 among others) claimed that stripping is a remnant of movement and ellipsis that originates from a full sentence, just as other types of fragments, for example, sluicing and fragment answers, are claimed to. That is, the sentential meaning of stripping is syntactically driven. For the position of the negative marker *not* in negative stripping, a special projection, such as NegP, has often been assumed, where *not* then scopes over the entire proposition that follows it. This syntactic structure of negative stripping can be illustrated as (3).

(3)   …, but [$_{NegP}$ not [$_{FP}$ **Ben**$_1$ [$_{IP}$ ~~t$_1$ speaks passable Dutch~~]]]

However, this elliptical approach can be problematic to negative stripping both syntactically and semantically. First of all, negative stripping contradicts the optional nature of ellipsis that ellipsis allows a grammatical non-sentential counterpart[2]. Since *not* does not precede a sentence to result in a negative sentential meaning, the non-elliptical counterpart of negative stripping is illicit, as shown in (4)[3].

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[2] Similar arguments have been presented to Spanish negative replies in Vicente (2006) and French negative stripping in Morris (2008), but not to English negative stripping.
[3] Even if we assumed an elliptical account that does not involve a movement of a fragment, negative stripping would still remain challenging. As can be seen below, it will exhibit non-constituent ellipsis and result in a reversed form of negative stripping, which is ungrammatical in English.

i)   Abby speaks passable Dutch, *but Ben ~~does~~ not ~~speak passable Dutch~~.

This suggests us that the elliptical approach on fragment constructions that is recently prevailing in the literature may not be on the right track at least in some cases, which thus motivates the present thesis.

(4)   *Not Ben speaks passable Dutch.

Furthermore, the semantic composition of negative stripping has little been considered in this ellipsis-based analysis. Although it assumes that *not* in negative stripping behaves like a sentential adverb, thus resulting in a sentential negative meaning as (2), it is clear that there is no such occurrence in English, as suggested in (5).

(5)   *Not, Ben speaks passable Dutch.

Taken together, the ellipsis-based analysis requires special syntax and semantics for negative stripping, which does not otherwise arise in other phenomena. This calls for reexamination of the syntactic and semantic structure of negative stripping as well as its syntactic and semantic properties, which is the major interest in the present study.

Syntactically, negative stripping shares those properties that fragment constructions have in common: Though surfacing as a non-clausal unit, its distribution is that of an independent clause. When it comes to the single constituent XP inside, its form can be of almost any syntactic category, while exhibiting the categorical and structural parallelism with its correlate, in particular, some of the connectivity effects.

Semantically, Klima's (1964) diagnostics affirms that the particular negation involved in negative stripping patterns with the sentential negation. However, the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation in the presence of

other scope possessors are also observed, which do not typically arise in the ordinary sentential negation. These peculiarities are explained when it is noted that the semantics of negative stripping comes not solely from sentential negation but from an interaction between the negation and the focus given on the fragment XP. More specifically, in negative stripping, negation directly binds focus to result in a focus-sensitive negative meaning such as 'It is not XP that P(roposition given in the antecedent clause)'.

The present thesis argues that negative stripping is adequately described within the framework of the Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). For the syntactic structure of negative stripping, I propose a new phrasal type constraint, *adverbial-fragment-phrase*, which has a fragment XP modified by an adverbial functor. It is posited as a subtype of *head-functor-phrase*, which was developed by Van Eynde (2003) to deal with modifiers and specifiers under one term *functor*. This constraint allows its head daughter to embody the relevant syntactic information and its functor daughter to carry the semantic content of the whole construction, which is inherited from its supertypes.

In the head daughter, the single focused XP of negative stripping is represented as a phrasal type constraint, *head-fragment-phrase,* that Ginzburg and Sag's (2000) suggested for fragment constructions. It is a non-derivational and non-elliptical manipulation on fragments, which takes advantage of contextual information to build up its sentential meaning. In this way, the commonalities among negative stripping and other fragment constructions are well captured.

In the functor daughter, I propose a new lexical constraint for *not* that syntactically modifies a fragment XP and semantically reflects the focus-sensitive

negation of negative stripping, which is enabled by the contextual information specified in the fragment head daughter. This does not only describe the basic meaning of negative stripping but also accounts for its semantic peculiarities, both the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation.

The organization of the present thesis is as follows: In Chapter 2, I will discuss the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping, which include those properties that have rarely been noted in the literature. Previous analyses on negative stripping will then be followed in Chapter 3, including the movement-and-ellipsis approach and the coordination approach, with their arguments and potential challenges suggested. Finally, on the basis of the theoretical background of HPSG briefly introduced in Chapter 4, a new syntactic structure and adequate representations for each component of negative stripping will be proposed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will be concluding remarks.

2. Phenomenon: Negative Stripping

In this chapter, I will mainly introduce the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping. Considering that most of the previous studies on stripping had coped with so limited a size of data, larger and broader corpus data was employed in this study, which was collected from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)[4].

2.1 Syntactic Properties

Traditionally, stripping has often been mentioned as an extension of other fragment constructions such as sluicing and fragment answers, in that a single constituent XP delivers a sentential interpretation (Merchant 2003 among others). A typical stripping construction realized without a modifier, exemplified in (6), has a sentential meaning, 'Ben speaks passable Dutch, too.' In a similar manner, the *wh*-phrase *what* of sluicing in (7) delivers a full interrogative meaning, 'what John bought', and the fragment answer "John" in (8) represents a sentential meaning 'She saw John'.

(6)   Abby speaks passable Dutch, and *Ben, too*.   (Merchant 2003: 1)

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[4] COCA is a web-based corpus with 520 million words of American English, dating from 1990 to 2015. It is the largest corpus of American English, which contains more than 160,000 texts from five different genres: Spoken (SPOK), Fiction (FIC), Popular magazines (MAG), Newspapers (NEWS), and Academic Journals (ACAD). The examples excerpted from COCA will be cited in the form of "(COCA, Year, Genre)".

(7) Jack bought something, but I don't know *what*.   (Merchant 2004: 664)

(8) A: Who did she see?

B: *John*.

(Merchant 2004: 673)

In this section, I will discuss several number of syntactic properties of negative stripping that indicates it is a fragment construction. More specifically, the sentential distribution of negative stripping will be suggested. Then, those behaviors of the focused XP, also called as the *remnant*[5], will be followed, particularly concerning a wide range of categorical possibilities and parallelism with its correlate in the antecedent clause. Notably, these are also the case in other types of stripping constructions.

2.1.1 Sentential Distribution

Typically, negative stripping is conjoined to a sentence that contains its correlate material, whose example is presented as (9), repeated from (1)[6].

(9) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*.   (Merchant 2003: 1)

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[5] In the elliptical approach on fragments, the focused constituent of stripping is often called as a *remnant*, since it is believed to be left from the ellipsis. The present study will also use this term for convenience but does not assume any specific theoretical implication.
[6] Negative stripping, can sometimes be conjoined by the conjunction *and,* too, as reported by the corpus data, including the following examples.

(i) a. In February 1995, Washington made the crucial decision to support pipelines running through Turkey, and *not Russia*. (COCA 2000 ACAD)
b. I was surprised when my daughter chose to go into art history, and *not medicine*. (COCA 1999 FIC)

A coordinative conjunction occurs when the conjuncts are of the same syntactic category or of the same syntactic function[7]. Therefore, it can be suggested that the syntactic status of negative stripping approximates to a sentence.

Note, however, that it cannot precede its correlate material (Toosarvandani 2008)[8], as shown in (10).

(10) *Not Ben*, (but) Abby speaks passable Dutch.

This indicates that the context of negative stripping should be linguistically given beforehand so that it can directly help build up the semantics of the fragment.

In addition, negative stripping can occur with a sentential adverb, such as *probably/possibly/fortunately*, which scopes over a sentence. Merchant's (2003) original example as (11) is also valid in its counterpart of negative stripping as (12). This also supports the claim that stripping should count as a sentential unit.

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[7] Although it is possible that those conjuncts with different categories are conjoined, as in (i) below, this occurs only when the conjuncts serve the same function, in this case, being compatible to the selectional properties of the conjunction functor, a copula *be* or a verb *want*.

(i)   a. Jan is [a republican] and [proud of it].
        b. Jan wanted [another doughnut] and [to leave Boston by five sharp].
                                                    (Beavers and Sag 2004: 54)

[8] Gapping is also known to pattern with stripping concerning this property, as shown in (i). In contrast, some of the other elliptical constructions, such as VP ellipsis and sluicing, allow backward sluicing, where the site of ellipsis can occur before its antecedent, as in (ii).

(i)   a. *Sue meat* and John ate fish.
        b.*Because *Sue meat*, John ate fish. (Lobeck 1995)
(ii)   a. Because Sue *didn't*, John ate meat. (Lobeck 1995)
        b. I don't know *what*, but John will have something. (Coppock 2001)
                                                    (Boone 2014: 20)

(11) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and {probably/possibly/fortunately} *Ben, too*.

(12) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but {probably/possibly/unfortunately} *not Ben*.

Furthermore, negative stripping can carry an illocutionary force independently of its previous clause, which is possible only for those that involve clausality. In (13), the previous clause denotes a declarative meaning about the hearer's knowledge of Ann, but the following negative stripping serves as a question of the hearer's knowledge of Ben. Such occurrences are also observed in the corpus data, as (14).

(13) You know Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*?

(14) So you like to eat snake, but *not rat*? (COCA 2004 FIC)

With all these properties, negative stripping can stand alone as an independent utterance, being a short answer to a *wh*-question[9], as in (15), which has little been illuminated in the previous studies[10].

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[9] In case of a *yes/no* question as in (i) and a declarative statement as in (ii), negative stripping as an answer or a comment may sound odd. I suggest this is not due to syntactic factors but rather controlled by pragmatics. Thus, under a certain background information, for example, when the speakers have been talking about Ben as well as Abby, they are fine.

(i)   A: Does Abby speak passable Dutch?
      B: Yes, but *not Ben*.
(ii) A: Abby speaks passable Dutch.
      B: Yes, but *not Ben*.

[10] While those instances of negative stripping that stand alone have been discussed in a few studies on European languages, such as Vicente (2006) on Spanish negative replies, the case in English was recently mentioned in Yoo (2014) as a related phenomenon of its main topic, *why*-stripping.

(15) A: Who left?

   B: *Not Ben*.

This fragment answer congener "Not Ben" also delivers a sentential meaning that Ben did not leave in the same way that negative stripping conjoined to a sentence does[11]. This, again, confirms that the distributional properties of negative stripping are more likely those of a sentence.

Surprisingly, however, negative stripping cannot appear in the embedded context unless an entire clause is embedded, as shown from the contrast between (16)a and (16)b[12].

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[11] In this case, the correlate of the focused XP is a *wh*-indefite, not a specific material, thus not building up a strict sense of contrastive meaning. Also, negative stripping can have a covert correlate. That is, negative stripping can have an implicit element as its correlate, on which a few studies have mentioned (Hankamer & Sag (1976), Yoshida et al. (2014)).

(i)   John served dinner, but *not to his father*.   (Yoshida et al. 2014: 334)

   I will view both the cases as negative stripping as well, since they also deliver a negative sentential interpretation with a sense of contrast.

[12] Fragment answers cannot be embedded either, as in (i) (Stainton 2006). However, Morgan (1973) and some of its subsequent studies reported that speakers can have a varying degree of preferences for embedding of a fragment answer, as in (ii).

(i)   Q: Who left?
       A: *I think that *John*.

                                                              (Weir 2014: 213)

(ii)   a.   Q: How does Nixon eat his tapioca?
             A: I think *with a fork*.
       b.   Q: What does a Nazi Indo-Europeanist have on his bumper?
             A: I believe *a schwa-sticker*.

                                                              (Morgan 1973: 732-735)

   Likewise, some speakers may accept embedded negative stripping especially in the spoken register. In this study, though, I will assume that negative stripping cannot be embedded, since the presence of the complementizer *that* makes it clearly ungrammatical.

(16) a. *He talked to Peter yesterday, but I think that *not to Charlotte*.

   b. I think that [he talked to Peter yesterday, but *not to Charlotte*].

(Aelbrecht 2006: 2)

It may first seem that this case contradicts what we have examined so far since negative stripping should be possible to be embedded if it counted as a mere sentential unit[13]. Though, this rather indicates that the distribution of negative stripping patterns with that of a matrix clause.

The clausality of negative stripping becomes clearer when we compare it with other constructions that also contain the form, [not XP], and a contrastive meaning: the so-called *not ... but ...* construction, a parenthetical construction where [not XP] directly attaches to its contrasted material, and an extraposition construction where [not XP] is extraposed to the clause-final position[14]. The following examples represent each construction, respectively.

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[13] In contrast, Spanish negative replies can be embedded as in (i). This suggests us that negative stripping deserves a construction-specific analysis.

(i)   Q: Which team has Juan predicted is going to win the championship?
      A: ¡Espero que   no el Madrid!
         hope.1sg that not the M
         [= I hope that he hasn't predicted that Real Madrid is going to win]

(Vicente 2006: 204)

[14] These have been mentioned in terms of contrastive negative constructions in McCawley (1991). Indeed, he suggested five types of contrastive negation in English as in the following.

(i)   a. John drank not coffee but tea. [basic form]
      b. John drank tea, not coffee. [reverse form]
      c. John didn't drink coffee but tea. [anchored form]
      d. John didn't drink coffee, he drank coffee. [basic expanded form]
      e. John drink tea, he didn't drink coffee. [reverse expanded form]

(McCawley 1991: 190)

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(17) *Not Ben but Abby* speaks passable Dutch.

(18) Abby, *not Ben*, speaks passable Dutch.

(19) Abby speaks passable Dutch, *not Ben*.

These constructions overlap with negative stripping in several aspects, including the presence of two contrastive materials which bear focus and a wide variety of remnant possibilities. In particular, the extraposed [not XP] construction in (19) has often been regarded as negative stripping that is realized without *but*.

However, concerning the distributional properties, it becomes evident that these constructions are distinct from negative stripping. First of all, [not XP] of these constructions does not take a position where a matrix clause appears. To be more specific, [not XP] in (20) must be conjoined with the other conjunct [but XP], and [not XP] in (21) appears to be rather adverbial.

(20) a. *Not Ben but Abby* speaks passable Dutch.

   b. Abby speaks *not German but passable Dutch*.

(21) a. Abby, *not Ben*, speaks passable Dutch.

   b. Abby speaks passable Dutch, *not German*.

Furthermore, these constructions cannot take different illocutionary forces. See the following examples.

(22) *You know, *not Ben*?, *but Abby* speaks passable Dutch.

(23) *You know Abby, *not Ben*?, speaks passable Dutch.

(24) *You know Abby speaks passable Dutch, *not Ben*?

This ensures that, despite the similar form and meaning, negative stripping is syntactically distinguished from other constructions.

2.1.2 A Wide Range of Category

Just like fragment answers (Merchant 2004), negative stripping allows almost any syntactic category as its remnant, which has nonetheless been rarely noted in the literature.

Most of the previous studies on stripping only dealt with those examples with a DP, a PP, or marginally a CP remnant. Additionally, it has often been noted that a PP remnant can omit the preposition[15], as shown in (25).

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[15] The elliptical approach views this property as evidence of the leftward movement of the remnant, terming it as *p(reposition)-stranding generalization (PSG)* (Merchant 2001). This is supported by the fact that a language that allows p-stranding, such as English, exhibits p-stranding in stripping constructions, while a language that does not allow p-stranding, such as Greek, does not. See Merchant (2001) for a detailed discussion.

However, there have also been many studies that argue against this generalization, including Almeida and Yoshida (2007) and Stjepanovic (2008). For example, Yoshida et al. (2014) mentioned den Dikken's comment that in Dutch *why*-stripping, the presence of the negative marker *not* results in an exception to this generalization.

(i)　　A: Anna heft met Abel gesproken.
　　　　　Anna have with Abel spoken
　　　　　"Anna has spoken with Abel."
　　　B: Waarom *(met) Abel*　　　B: Waarom *niet *(met) Peter*
　　　　　Why　(with) Abel　　　　　Why　not　with Peter
　　　　　"Why (with) Abel?"　　　　"Why not with Peter?"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Yoshida et al. 2014: 333)

Therefore, I will do not undertake this generalization in my analysis.

(25) John was talking with Mary, but *not (with) Susan*.　　　　(Nakao 2008: 5)

That is, when there is a PP correlate, the remnant could be either a PP or a DP.

　　　On the contrary, a CP remnant, provided as in (26), does not drop its head complementizer (Morgan 1973, Merchant 2004, Nakao 2008). That is, a sentence cannot be the remnant of negative stripping.

(26) He believes that I'm tall, but *not *(that) I'm taller than I really am*.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Nakao 2008: 6)

　　　Furthermore, other categories such as an AdjP, an AdvP, and a VP can also be the remnant of negative stripping. Some of the examples from corpus data are presented as follows.

(27) In a few days, he's already found that may be a nice idea, but *not easy*. (COCA 1995 SPOK)

(28) Normally, the pancakes take center stage at this restaurant, but *not today*. (COCA 2012 SPOK)

(29) I was ready to declare victory, but *not relax my vigilance*. (COCA 1999 NEWS)

　　　In case of VP remnants, not only a VP with a base form but also other non-finite VPs can appear, as the following that were reported from the corpus data. However, finite VP remnants seem to be seldom acceptable as in (33).

(30) Within the Assembly, the document was intended to provoke discussion regarding the issues it raised, but *not to be the subject of editorial work*. (COCA 1993 MAG)

(31) How one should behave is already a matter of common knowledge, which can be brought back to the memory, but *not taught*. (COCA 2008 MAG)

(32) MISS RENO, like other mortgage militants, believes banks discriminate by such means as telling white applicants how to correct their applications so as to get loan approval, but *not telling black applicants*. (COCA 1993 MAG)

(33) *Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not reads it*[16].

Finally, it should also be noted that negative stripping allows only phrasal remnants, but not bare ones. For example, it does not allow a bare verb remnant or bare preposition remnant[17].

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[16] Interestingly, fragment answers, which is often paralleled to stripping, exhibit a finite VP remnant, as in (i). However, the counterparts of negative stripping in (ii) and (iii) do not allow such remnant.

(i)　　A: What did he do then?
　　　　B: *Left*.

(Merchant 2004: 697)

(ii)　　*He fought with his parents yesterday, but *not left*.
(iii)　　A: What did he do then?
　　　　B: **Not left*.

While the differences between negative stripping and fragment answers are out of the scope of the present thesis, I believe the fact that *not* cannot precede a finite VP seems to affect the low acceptability of a finite VP remnant in negative stripping.

[17] Another type of stripping, *why*-stripping, however, allows such bare verb remnant.

(i)　　A: John should sell his banana boat.
　　　　B: *Why/How come sell*?
(ii)　　A: Veterans are honored after death, but not before.
　　　　B: *Why/How come after*?

(Yoshida et al. 2014: 326)

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(34) *Mary recommended that John sell his banana boat, but *not lend*. (OK: … but

*not lend i*t.)

(35) *John put her name tag on the desk, but *not under*. (OK: … but *not under it*.)

To summarize, the focused constituent of negative stripping is a phrasal

remnant that consists of almost any syntactic category[18].

2.1.3 Parallelism with the Antecedent Clause

Negative stripping exhibits not only the categorical parallelism but also certain

structural parallelism with its correlate material in the antecedent clause. In fact,

what most of the previous studies on stripping focused on was connectivity matters

between the focused XP and its antecedent clause, since they have long been claimed

to be strong evidence to the presence of ellipsis in fragment constructions. That is,

they attempted to show that stripping is contingent on the structure of its antecedent

clause.

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[18] Concerning the categorical range, negative stripping can, again, be differentiated from those constructions that resemble negative stripping, suggested in the section 2.1.1. Unlike negative stripping, they can employ a bare head remnant. The examples in (i) features a bare preposition remnant, while the examples in (ii) a finite VP remnant.

(i)   a. Delphy's ambiguous proposal for "a feminism, *not against, but with Islam*" has been lauded on fundamentalist Web sites worldwide. (COCA 2006 ACAD)
       b. Scots actors like to work with, *not against*, one another (COCA 1999 NEWS)
       c. Eat before the party, *not during*. (COCA 2004 MAG)
(ii)   a. By way of adopting the focalization of two characters who can*not see but* only *hear* what has happened, … (COCA 2005 ACAD)
       b. Library services need to be such that it assists, *not hinders*, pupil achievement and progress. (COCA 2004 ACAD)
       c. You have to be really careful about lifting so it helps you, *not hurts you.* (COCA 2000 MAG)

One of the most cited properties in stripping is the presence of the sloppy identity reading in stripping, which Merchant (2003) suggested as strong counterevidence against the non-elliptical approach on stripping. Consider the following examples.

(36) a. You can keep Rosa in her room the whole day, but *not Zelda*.

   b. Her father played with Rosa the whole day, but *not Zelda*.

<div align="right">(Reinhart 1983: 152)</div>

In (36)a, the interpretation of negative stripping can be 'You cannot keep Zelda in Zelda's room.' On the contrary, (36)b does not allow the sloppy reading 'Zelda's father did not play with Zelda.' According to Merchant, this difference comes from whether the correlate of the remnant can bind an R-expression in the antecedent clause.

   Binding connectivity is found in stripping, too. The examples below show that the Binding Principle A, B, and C are all observed in negative stripping[19].

(37) He_1 likes John, but *not $himself_1$/*him_1*.   (Nakao 2008: 6)

(38) Every $linguist_1$ here recommended Chomsky's books, but *not his_1 own books*.

(39) a. *He_1 is selling some pictures, but *not these pictures of $John_1$'s*.

   b. His_1 mother is selling some pictures, but *not these pictures of $John_1$'s*.

<div align="right">(Yoshida et al. 2014: 331)</div>

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[19] However, I will present some counterevidence observed in the Binding connectivity in the section 3.1, as a challenge of the ellipsis-based analysis on negative stripping.

In (37), the remnant form should be a reflexive, but not a pronoun, to which previous studies explained that it is contingent on the presence of the co-indexed governor in the antecedent clause. Likewise, in (38), a pronoun *his* in the site of negative stripping is allowed, since it is bound by a quantifier *every* in the antecedent clause. In (39), an R-expression "John" is allowed only in case that it is bound by a DP in the antecedent clause.

In addition, when the focused constituent is a PP remnant, the preposition should be identical with that of the correlate.

(40) a. John was talking to Mary yesterday, but *not to/*of Susan*.

(Yoshida et al. 2014: 332)

More specifically, in (40), the preposition in the site of negative stripping should be the one that was selected by the matrix verb in the antecedent clause. In other words, negative stripping is affected by the semantic properties of an element in the antecedent clause as well.

2.2 Semantic Properties

In this section, I will investigate the semantic sides of negative stripping, negation and focus, neither of which has been the central issue in the literature of stripping. I will begin with what type of negation negative stripping features, which is tested by Klima's (1964) diagnostics. Then, some peculiar properties of this

particular negation, namely, the long-distance reading and the scope interaction with other scope possessors, will be presented. Finally, I will demonstrate that the focus in negative stripping interacts with negation in negative stripping, resulting in a focus-sensitive negative meaning, which can then account for the aforesaid peculiarities. This will have a direct consequence that how the composition [not XP] results in sentential meaning is explicated.

2.2.1 Type of Negation

It is well known that there are mainly two types of negation, *sentential negation* and *constituent negation.* Sentential (or clausal) negation is the ordinary type of negation that negates a whole proposition, thus also called as wide scope negation. It is usually "expressed by *not*, with the support of an auxiliary (*do*, *have*), or a modal (*can*, *may*), which it follows" (Repp 2009). In constituent negation, on the other hand, though not fully understood yet, *not* directly attaches to a constituent it negates, negating only a portion that is denoted by the constituent.

Previously, negative stripping has often been assumed to involve sentential negation that scopes over the sentential interpretation of the focused constituent (Merchant 2003 among others), without the status of *not* being thoroughly examined. However, some might also speculate that the negative marker in negative stripping is of contrastive negation, since the form of negative stripping resembles that of constituent negation, [not XP.]

When defining the type of negation, Klima's (1964) classic set of diagnostics is often employed, on which the present study will also rely. He defined sentential

negation as a type of negation that maintains the characteristics of the ordinary pre-verbal negative marker. In a nutshell, it should allow the occurrences of the *either*-clause, *not even*, the positive tag question, and the *neither*-conjunction, all of which appear only when the sentence appended to these elements contains sentential negation. Now, see the following examples.

(41) a. Publishers will not reject suggestions, and writers will *not* accept them, **either**.[20]

b. The writer will *not* accept suggestions, **not even** reasonable ones.

c. Writers will *never* accept suggestions, **will they?**

d. Writers wo*n't* be accepting suggestions, and **neither** will publishers.

(Klima 1964:261-265)

The sentences in (41) all include *not* or a sentential negative adverb such as *never* and permit the occurrences of the test items, which means that the negation denoted by this negative marker scopes over the sentence.

On the contrary, the following examples of constituent negation in (42) show the opposite consequences, even though they also contain seemingly the same marker *not*.

---

[20] In fact, the *either*-conjoining can also occur as in (i), where the antecedent clause does not denote a negative proposition. That is, it can take place as long as the sentence appended to *either* delivers sentential negation; if not, not *either* but *too* should occur, as in (ii).

(i)   Writers   will   usually/always   reject   suggestions,   and   writers   will
        not/scarcely/hardly/never/seldom/rarely accept them, **either**.
(ii)   Writers will never accept suggestions, and publishers will always reject them, **too**.

(Klima 1964: 261-262)

(42) a. He married a [*not* unattractive] girl, and you did **too**.

b. There was some rain [*not* long ago], **even** in the desert.

c. [*Not* a few] authors criticized him severely, **didn't they**?

d. Writers [*not* infrequently] reject suggestions, and **so** do publishers.

(Klima 1964: 305)

Each test indicates that the polarity of the entire sentence is positive, which means this *not* does not affect an entire proposition.

To clarify the type of negation involved in negative stripping, therefore, I applied Klima's diagnostics to examples of negative stripping[21]. In case of the *either-*conjoining test, however, a typical example of negative stripping cannot be tested, since the semantic condition for *too/either* is not fulfilled. That is, the contrastive semantics of negative stripping does not permit the occurrence of *too/either* that can appear only when two clauses are of the same polarity. However, we can see that negative stripping with a conjunction *and*, preceded by a negative clause, is undoubtedly preferred with *either*, as shown in (43). Corpus data also reported a number of such occurrences, including those in (44).

(43) Abby does not speak passable Dutch, and *not Ben*, ***too/either**.

(44) a. He was sometimes not exactly the last person to know, but *not the first* **either**.
(COCA 2004 SPOK)

b.   A: Mr. Hartshorn's reaction is not atypical.

B: But *not typical* **either**, I'm guessing. (COCA 1998 FIC)

---

[21] I consulted 8 native speakers of English for the tests.

The other tests also clearly show that the particular negation involved in negative stripping is the sentential negation, as can be seen below.

(45) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*, **not even** 'Hello.'[22]

(46) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*, **does he**?[23]

(47) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*, and **neither** does John.[24]

Suppose if the negation in negative stripping were merely of constituent negation that does not affect the polarity of a sentence. Then, the results of these tests would be the opposite[25].

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[22] The acceptability of this sentence might diverge by person. However, when negative stripping stands alone as (i), it sounds better.

(i)   Abby speaks passable Dutch. But *not Ben*, **not even** 'Hello.'

[23] Consider the following examples in (i), where a tag question on the first clause is attached at the utterance-final position, which I find a little awkward. I suggest this is another piece of supporting evidence to the clausality of negative stripping, since a similar degree of awkwardness is also observed in the example (ii) where a full sentential negation appears.

(i)   ??Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*, doesn't she?
(ii)   ??Abby speaks passable Dutch, but Ben does not speak it, doesn't she?

[24] In particular, all the English native speaker consultants accepted the occurrence of *neither*-conjunction, which is, according to Klima (1964), evidence of the "strong" type of negation.
[25] McCawley (1991) used the same diagnostics to contrastive negative constructions including the *not ... but ...* construction, which showed that they are indeed of constituent negation. Some of the examples are suggested below.

(i)   a. They gave Alice a prize, and they gave *not Bert but Cindy* a prize **too/*either**.
       b. They gave Alice a prize, and they gave Cindy a prize, *not Bert*, **too/*either**.
(ii)   a. John gave *not Karen but Linda* the money, **didn't he**? (*did he?)
       b. John gave Linda the money, *not Karen*, **didn't he**? (*did he?)

<div align="right">(McCawley 1991: 199)</div>

2.2.2 Long-distance Reading of Negation

It is remarkable negative stripping exhibits some peculiar behaviors that is not typically observed in the ordinary sentential negation. One of them is that it allows not only the local reading but also the long-distance reading of negation.

The long-distance reading of negation occurs when negation scopes over the clausal boundary that contains it. In some predicates, called as Neg-Raising predicates, including *think, expect,* etc., this non-local reading of negation is possible, on which a number of studies have already noted (Horn 1989 and Gajewski 2007 among others). For example, the sentence (48)a can be interpreted as (48)b[26].

(48) a. Bill doesn't think that Mary is here.

b. Bill thinks that Mary is not here.

(Gajewski 2007: 289)

On the other hand, in non-Neg-Raising predicates, such as *say,* such reading does not occur. That is, the reading in (49)b does not follow from the reading in (49)a. Negation in this case must be locally interpreted in its position.

(49) a. Bill didn't say that Mary is here.

b. Bill said that Mary isn't here.

(Gajewski 2007: 290)

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[26] Traditional approaches on Neg-Raising, including Fillmore (1963), assumed a syntactic account where *not* in (49)b is raised to result in (49)a.

However, negative stripping allows the long-distance reading even in such non-Neg-Raising predicates[27]. For example, negative stripping in (50) carries not only the local reading as in (51)a but also the non-local reading as in (51)b.

(50) Beth said she wanted to take Spanish, when we asked her, but *not French*.

<div align="right">(Merchant 2003: 5)</div>

(51) a. Beth said she didn't want to take Spanish. [local reading]

b. Beth didn't say she wanted to take French. [long-distance reading]

In negative stripping, the local reading of negation occurs when *not* negates a predicate which contains the correlate as its argument, whereas the long-distance reading arises when *not* negates a predicate that embeds a clause that contains the correlate. In (50), *not* negates the verbal predicate denoted by *want* in the local reading, while it negates the verbal predicate *say* in the long-distance reading.

The presence of the long-distance reading of negation is also supported by a number of corpus data, including what follows.

(52) I do agree that something has to be done, but *not a whole-out war where there's going to be numerous losses on both sides*. (COCA 2003 NEWS)

(The intended reading: … but I do not agree that a whole-out war has to be done.)

---

[27] In fact, whether the long-distance reading can arise in stripping has been the matter of controversy among many scholars. For instance, while Lobeck (1995) argued that it is ungrammatical, Depiante (2000) claimed that it is grammatical.

(53) For all ages, she suggests that a parent answer the question, but *not share all the gory details unless the child specifically asks*. (COCA 2000 MAG)

(The intended reading: … but she didn't suggest that a parent share all the gory details unless the child specifically asks.)

2.2.3 Scope Interaction

It is a well-known fact that negation exhibits adverbial-like behaviors[28] in terms of scope relation. Another peculiarity of negative stripping comes from the scope interaction of negative stripping.

Generally, the scope of sentential negation depends on the relative position of *not* with other scope possessors. However, it can also take wide scope over its preceding scope possessor, thus resulting in scope ambiguities, as can be seen in (54)

(54) Everyone did not agree to his new idea.   (every > not, not > every)

i. every > not : No one agreed to the idea.

ii. not > every : Not everyone agreed to the idea; some students disagreed.

On the other hand, constituent negation scopes over the constituent it negates,

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[28] The negative marker *not* used as sentential negation can be paralleled to other negative adverbs including *never*, *seldom,* and so on, in many respects (Klima 1964). Therefore, the fact that negative adverbs can also build up a negative stripping construction as below also suggests us that negation involved in negative stripping is sentential negation.

(i)   Mustard and mayonnaise go on the bun, but *never ketchup*. (COCA 1998 NEWS)
(ii)   Gwendolyn smokes marijuana, but *seldom in her own apartments*.

<div align="right">(Hankamer & Sag 1976: 409)</div>

thus resulting in only the wide scope reading over the following scope possessor, as in (55). When the scope possessor is outside the constituent as in (56), it does not evoke any scope interaction.

(55) [Not everyone] agreed to his new idea. (*every > not, not > every)

    i. *every > not : No one agreed to the idea.

    ii. not > every : Not everyone agreed to the idea; some students disagreed.

(56) Everyone agreed to his [not new] idea.

    i. *every > not : No one agreed to his new idea.

    ii. *not > every : Not everyone agreed to his new idea; some students disagreed.

Then, a prediction arises that the negation in negative stripping, which was tested to be sentential negation in the section 2.2.1, should have the scopability of sentential negation. Surprisingly, however, negative stripping in (57), behaves differently from either type of negation in terms of scope, which Yoo (2014) also noted as one of the arguments against the previous elliptical approach on stripping constructions.

(57) Everyone agreed to her idea, but *not to his new idea*. (every > not, *not > every)

    i. every > not : No one agreed to his new idea.

    ii. *not > every : Not everyone agreed to his new idea; some students disagreed.

The particular negation involved in negative stripping permits only the narrow scope reading, but not the wide scope reading. This is puzzling to the perspective

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that views negative stripping as sentential negation, as well as the one that sees it as constituent negation.

2.2.4 Focus Sensitivity

It has long been noted that the single constituent XP in stripping is focused (Merchant 2003 among others)[29]. Negative stripping is also usually separated by a comma and phonologically features focal stress on the single XP.

Notably, Winkler (2005) demonstrated that in negative stripping, the correlate, the negative marker *not*, and the following bare XP receive the pitch accent, as in (58)a, where the phonologically prominent materials are capitalized. She then argued that this contour corresponds to the interpretation of negative stripping as (58)b that contrasts the focused XP in negative stripping with the focused correlate in terms of the given proposition, which serves as the background of the focus.

(58) a. He gave the FLOWERS to Linda, but (maybe) NOT the LOVE-letter.

b. Of all possible things that he could have given to Linda, he gave her the flowers but not the love-letter.

(Winkler 2005: 16-17)

The focus assignment leads to the focus-sensitive reading in negative stripping. That is, depending on where the speaker assigns focus in the antecedent clause,

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[29] Under the elliptical approach on stripping such as Merchant (2003), the single constituent XP is assumed to undergo focus movement to FP.

different instances of negative stripping can appear. See the examples in (59) and (60), with their interpretations suggested. (Instead of the capitalization on the phonologically prominent part employed above, I will mark the focused elements with a squared bracket []$_F$, henceforth, to simplify the representation.)

(59) a. [Abby]$_F$ speaks passable Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]$_F$.

b. Of all possible persons that speaks passable Dutch, Abby speaks passable Dutch, but not Ben.

(60) a. Abby speaks [passable Dutch]$_F$, but *not* [*Korean*]$_F$.

b. Of all possible languages that Abby speaks, Abby speaks passable Dutch, but not German.

In contrast, when focus is assigned to a not semantically corresponding material as in (61), the entire utterance is not acceptable.

(61) a. #[Abby]$_F$ speaks passable Dutch, but not [*Korean*]$_F$.

b. #Of all possible persons that speaks passable Dutch, Abby speaks passable Dutch, but not German.

When it comes to the negation, it has long been assumed to serve as a focus-sensitive operator, not a focused element. Indeed, Partee (1992) and its subsequent works have defined that negation is an element that creates ambiguity in the presence of a focused phrase, as a result of scope interaction between negation and focus. For example, a sentence in (62) has ambiguous readings.

(62) [Ben]_F doesn't speak passable Dutch.

    a. It is not Ben who speaks passable Dutch. [bound]

    b. It is Ben who doesn't speak passable Dutch. [free]

    c. It is not the case that there is an event of Ben's speaking Dutch. [wide]

<div align="right">(Kawamura 2007: 75)</div>

In the first reading, called the *bound reading*, the negation directly associates with focus, in this case, "Ben", whereas in the second reading, called the *free reading*, the negation does not. The third reading, the least salient reading observed by Herburger (2000), called the *wide reading*, is a result of negation's scoping over the main event.

Surprisingly, however, negative stripping that has been assumed to have a sentential negative proposition allows only one reading. In the following examples in (63) and (64), where a focused constituent stands as a subject and as an object respectively, only the bound reading is possible.

(63) [Abby]_F speaks passable Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]_F.

    a. It is not Ben who speaks passable Dutch. [bound]

    b. #It is Ben who doesn't speak passable Dutch. [free]

    c. #It is not the case that there is an event of Ben's speaking passable Dutch. [wide]

(64) John buttered [the white bread]_F yesterday, but *not* [*the bagel*]_F.

    a. It is not Ben who speaks passable Dutch. [bound]

b. #It is Ben who speaks passable Dutch. [free]

c. #It is not the case that there was an event of Ben's buttering the bagel yesterday. [wide]

These judgments are further supported by the following question-answer pairs, where negative stripping stands alone. Each of the readings must arise in the environments as (65), (66), and (67), respectively, though the free reading and the wide reading do not.

(65) A: What did John butter yesterday?

B: *Not* [*the bagel*]F. He buttered [the white bread]F.

(66) A: What didn't John butter yesterday?

B: # *Not* [*the bagel*]F. (cf. [The bagel]F.)

(67) A: John buttered [the bagel]F yesterday.

B: #No, *not* [*the bagel*]F. He said that he could not find any butter.

In a word, the negation in negative stripping can only directly associate with the focus in the focused XP. It cannot associate with the verbal predicate which contributes to the sentential interpretation of negative stripping. That is, the meaning of negative stripping is not a mere sentential negative proposition but rather the one that reflects the interaction between negation and focus. With this regard, I will follow Kawamura's (2007) cleft-like paraphrase for the bound reading, 'It is not XP that P.'

This interpretation can account for what we have examined through the

discussion on the semantics of negative stripping. First, the negation in this focus-sensitive negative interpretation is sentential negation, as affirmed by Klima's (1964) diagnostics as in (68).

(68) Ben didn't butter the flatbread, and it was not the bagel that Ben buttered yesterday, **either**.

Second, this can explain both the local reading and the long-distance reading in such example as (69), repeated from (50), as the interpretation in (70) can provoke both readings.

(69) Beth said she wanted to take Spanish, when we asked her, but *not French*.

(Merchant 2003: 5)

(70) It was not French that Beth said she wanted to take.

To be more specific, when a speaker puts more focus on the verbal predicate *want*, the local reading is derived, while when he or she intends to emphasize whether Beth did say or not, the long-distance reading is attained.

Third, it can resolve the narrow scope reading of negation in negative stripping, which was not predicted by positing *not* merely as the ordinary sentential negative marker. The example in (71), repeated from (57), now has an interpretation as (72).

(71) Everyone agreed [to her idea]$_F$, but *not* [*to his new idea*]$_F$.

(72) It is not to his new idea that everyone agreed.

The focus-sensitive interpretation in (72) is not distinct from the meaning when *not* is scoped over by *every*. That is, by determining the semantics of negative stripping as a focus-sensitive negative meaning, we do not need to strive to account for why negative stripping has the narrow scope reading of negation only.

In sum, negative stripping consists of a focus-sensitive operator *not* and a focused XP that evokes a focus-sensitive reading with its focused correlate. Then, this negation and focus interact with each other to build up a specific interpretation of negative stripping, where negation directly associates with focus. This newly attested focus-sensitive negative interpretation can account for all the semantic peculiarities examined in this chapter.

3. Previous Analyses and Challenges

In this chapter, I will introduce previous analyses of negative stripping (or stripping in general) suggested in the previous literature, the movement-and-ellipsis-based analysis and the coordination-based analysis. Their theoretical merits will be examined, followed by the potential problems when it comes to the syntactic and semantic properties discussed in the last chapter

3.1 Movement and Ellipsis-based Analysis

The most prevailing approach on stripping is the clausal ellipsis-based analysis, argued from Hankamer and Sag (1976), Depiante (2000), Johnson (2001), and Merchant (2003). Among them, I will introduce those analyses suggested from Merchant (2003) and Depiante (2000), which involve clausal ellipsis but take advantage of different treatments on how the negation is involved in negative stripping.

Merchant (2003) argues not only the presence of a hidden structure but also the focus movement of the remnant XP. On the basis of Merchant (2001) that posited E feature as the licensing condition of ellipsis [30], Merchant (2003) proposed the

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[30] Following Lobeck's (1995) theory on licensing requirements of ellipsis, Merchant (2001) proposed E feature, which contains all relevant properties that distinguish elliptical constructions from non-elliptical constructions. He then further elaborated that to license sluicing, local feature matching takes place in a head-head relation, not in a spec-head relation; thus in sluicing, E feature that contains the uninterpretable [$u$wh*, uQ*] is checked by a [+wh, +Q] on C head, triggering the clausal ellipsis. In fragment answers, on the other hand, the relevant E feature is [uF*], which assumes basically the same derivation with that of sluicing, but features different remnant, landing site, and featural requirements on the E trigger.

syntactic structure of stripping in (73) as in (74) and the lexical specification of E

feature as in (75).

(73) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and *Ben, too*.

(74)
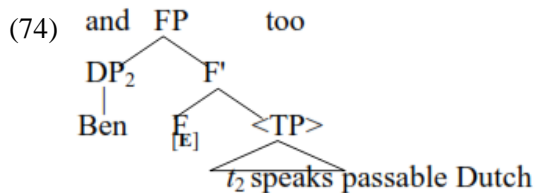
(75) E$_{stripping}$ [uF*, uConj]

According to (73), the remnant "Ben" is moved out of TP to the clause-peripheral

specifier position of FP (equivalent to FocusP of Rizzi (1997)). Then, a clausal

ellipsis of the TP, which is licensed by E feature in the head of FP, follows.

Concerning the E feature illustrated in (75), in addition to uF*, he posited

another lexical specification uConj that licenses stripping to specify that stripping

should always involve the local presence of conjunction. In other words, he

employed a stripping-particular specification to distinguish those conjunctions that

appear in stripping from other clausal connectives that do not, such as (76) below.

(76) Abby wanted to take Dutch,

a. *because Ben*.

b. *only while Ben, too*.

c. *after not Ben*.

For negative stripping as in (77), Merchant (2003) suggested two different options, one that views the negative marker *not* as a sort of sentential adverb that is adjoined to FP or as the specifier of a NegP which takes FP as its complement, and the other that posits *not* to form a constituent with the remnant of stripping, thus building up a constituent negation. The following structures in (78) represent each possibility respectively.

(77) Abby speaks passable Dutch, but *not Ben*.

(78) a.

b.
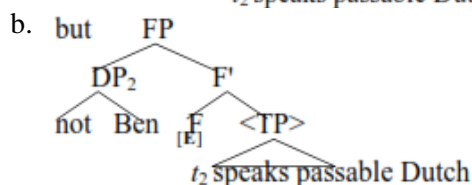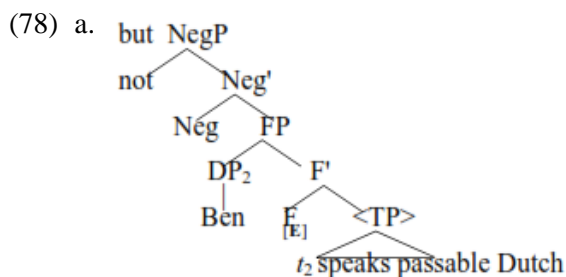
(Merchant 2003: 5)

Among these two options, Merchant argued for the former structure, in that the English negator should be phrasal, either as a specifier or as an XP adjunct, which is supported by cross-linguistic data (Merchant 2006)[31]. Under this structure, then, the

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[31] Merchant (2006) suggested that in languages which have an adverbial or phrasal negation marker, for example, *not* in English, this marker should be used in a certain group of constructions including negative stripping, negative reduced protases of conditionals, negative *why*-sluices, 'whether/if TP of not' constructions, and in standard 'constituent negation' contexts. On the other hand, in languages which have head negation, for example, *no* in Italian, this head negator is used in such constructions. See Merchant (2003) and Merchant (2006) for a more detailed account.

negative marker in the specifier of NegP is adjoined to the focused constituent that has escaped clausal ellipsis, serving as a one-place propositional function, that is, sentential negation.

On the other hand, Depiante (2000) supported the latter structure, where the negative marker *not* and a focused constituent move together to FP, building up constituent negation[32]. Under this analysis, *not* is rather treated as the marker of constituent negation.

This movement-and-ellipsis approach has theoretical advantages in capturing the similarities among stripping and other fragment constructions, especially among the behaviors of the focused XP[33]. In particular, the connectivity effects and the PSG observation between stripping and its antecedent clause are well explained by the operation of ellipsis and movement, respectively. Moreover, the A´-movement has an effect of restricting the remnant possibilities to phrasal remnants.

However, this movement-and-ellipsis approach cannot account for some critical properties of negative stripping. First of all, under this derivational approach, focus movement of the bare XP is posited, which does not arise overtly in English.

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[32] For the non-negative stripping constructions, Depiante (2000) employed the same treatment with that of Merchant (2003). That is, the focused constituent moves alone to FP, followed by the clausal ellipsis of the rest of the materials.

[33] Following Merchant's (2003) proposal, Nakao (2008) discussed the derivational affinities between negative stripping, fragment answers and *why*-XP fragments (Yoshida 2008) (*why*-stripping henceforth, a term suggested by Nakao et al. (2012)). She proposed the structure of negative stripping (i) as (ii).

(i)   John ate an apple, not *an orange*.
(ii)   [$_{CP}$ not [$_{FP}$ **an orange**$_1$ [$_{IP}$ ~~John ate t$_1$~~]]]

(Nakao 2008: 1)

Nakao employed the focus movement of a remnant that Merchant (2003) proposed but posited the negative marker as being base-generated in the specifier position of CP, following Klima (1964) that negation can be base-generated.

In addition, negative stripping contradicts the optional nature of ellipsis, since it cannot be reconstructed to its non-elliptical counterpart, as we have seen in (4), repeated here as (79).

(79) Abby speaks passable Dutch, *but not Ben speaks passable Dutch.

This indicates that it requires a special syntax for negative stripping, which will then pose a challenge to not only the theoretical background but also the learnability issue[34].

In addition, even if the focus movement is to be on the right track, a wide range of remnant possibilities is hard to explain since remnants such as an AdjP or a VP are rarely the target of movement under this line of approach.

Furthermore, the connectivity effects, which have been usually regarded as strong evidence in favor of the ellipsis, are not as clear-cut as they should. For instance, some corpus data of negative stripping raises a question to how the Binding Connectivity operates. Consider the example in (80), where negative stripping has a subject correlate "Bill Gates", and its full sentential counterpart in (81).

(80) Well, he$_1$ thinks that Bill Gates$_2$, the computer-software billionaire, might be an exception to his rule, but *not himself*$_1$. (COCA 1998 MAG)

(81) He$_1$ thinks that *himself$_1$/he$_1$ might be an exception to his rule.

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[34] See Ott (2016) for a more detailed discussion on the challenges of the movement-and-ellipsis approach.

The full sentence in (81) is ungrammatical since a reflexive DP cannot stand as a subject. Nevertheless, the remnant of negative stripping in (80) is still possible as the reflexive[35]. This suggests us that the Binding Connectivity observed in negative stripping might not be due to the presence of a hidden structure but rather function as a sort of matching condition.

Semantic properties of negative stripping are even more challenging. In particular, the scope interaction of negative stripping cannot be predicted by this approach, since the proposed structure has the negation take wide scope over a whole, hidden, clause (Yoo 2014). For example, according to Merchant (2003), the sentence in (82)a will be analyzed as (82)b, where *not* takes wide scope over the universal quantifier. This then results in such interpretation as 'It is not the case that every student stayed in the classroom,' which is not the case.

(82) a. Every student stayed in the cafeteria, not *in the classroom*.

b. . . . [NegP not [FocP [F in the classroom [TP every student stayed ⎯]]]]

That is, while the interpretation of negative stripping should be the narrow scope reading of negation, as we have examined in the section 2.2.3, the previous movement-and-ellipsis approach bears a consequence of predicting the opposite.

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[35] Ginzburg & Sag (2000) made the same point with fragment answers and denied the elliptical account on fragment answers (cf. Merchant (2004) did not accept this judgement.)

(i)   A: Who will punish Bill if he fails?
        B: *Himself*. (*Himself will punish Bill if he fails.)
(ii)   A: What caused the computer to break down?
        B: A power surge?
        A: Perhaps, but the most intriguing answer is: *itself*.
        (*Itself caused the computer to break down.)

(Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 297)

3.2 Coordination-based Analysis

Another influential approach is the coordination-based analysis, suggested by some of the early works[36], including Hudson (1976), Reinhart (1983) and McCawley (1998). These studies view stripping as basically originating from a coordinate structure with its correlate material. For example, a sentence in (83)a is analyzed as having an underlying structure as (83)b.

(83) a. John sends letters to India by airmail, but *not parcels*.

     b. John sends [letters but not parcels] to India by airmail.

<div align="right">(Depiante 2000: 122)</div>

More specifically, Hudson (1976) argued for the presence of a rightward movement of the string "but not parcels", while McCawley (1998) suggested that the remnant of stripping does not move but is somehow connected with its correlate. In addition, the type of negation is assumed to be the constituent negation.

This coordination-based approach can be theoretically attractive in that it can explain in an intuitive way the reason why stripping has a sentential interpretation that does not accidentally refer to the interpretation of its antecedent clause. In addition, it can easily capture the categorical parallelism between negative stripping and its correlate material, as well as a wide variety of syntactic categories in the

---

[36] There are also some recent studies that consider stripping as similar to or a subtype of those fragment constructions that involve conjunction, such as Gapping (Schwarz 1999, Boone 2014).

remnant possibilities, since coordination holds for any syntactic category.

However, many scholars including Merchant (2003) have already suggested a number of counterarguments against this approach. It cannot account for why those cases where a conjoined DP subject appears do not permit stripping. For example, according to this line of analysis, a sentence in (84)a should result in a stripping construction as (84)b, which is an illicit form, though.

(84) a. Abby AND Beth emigrated from their (respective) countries at young ages.

b. *Abby emigrated from their (respective) countries at young ages, AND Beth.

(Merchant 2003: 1)

Also, it should also be explained why group predicates like *meet* that employ a DP conjunction as the subject do not allow stripping to occur, as seen in (85).

(85) a. The minister and the president met in Geneva last weekend.

b. *The minister met in Geneva last weekend, and *the president*.

(Merchant 2003: 2)

Moreover, this approach cannot explain why a bare head remnant cannot appear in negative stripping, as well as those properties concerning the connectivity effects.

Neither the semantic sides nor the focus-sensitivity can be explicated as well. In particular, as shown from (83), the negation involved in negative stripping is treated as constituent negation in this analysis, which then cannot account for the

semantic properties suggested in the section 2.2.

4. Theoretical Background: HPSG

In the previous chapters, I examined the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping and demonstrated that they cannot be fully accounted for in the previous analyses. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will propose a non-derivational and non-elliptical analysis on negative stripping, based on the Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG).

HPSG is a constraint-based and surface-oriented grammar, which was developed mainly in Pollard and Sag (1987), Pollard and Sag (1994), and Sag et al. (2003). One crucial peculiarity in HPSG is that in contrast to the transformation grammar which employs syntactic operations such as Move-α to derive all syntactic structures, it rejects the notion of both transformation and movement. Instead, this grammar is rather lexicalized, *sign*-based, and takes advantage of typed feature structures and multiple inheritances among the types. In particular, the typed feature structures are a basic unit that is used in representing lexical entries, phrases, and principles.

At first, utterances are described in the form of *sign*-based feature structure, which consists of PHON(OLOGY), SYMSEM, and CONTEXT. To be specific, words and phrases are governed by the following feature declarations.

(86)

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPE	IST
sign	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PHONOLOGY} & list(speech-sound) \\ \text{SYNSEM} & canon-ss \\ \text{CONTEXT} & conx-obj \end{bmatrix}$	*feat-struc*
phrase	$[\text{DTRS} \quad nelist(sign)]$	*sign*
hd-ph	$[\text{HD}-\text{DTR} \quad sign]$	*phrase*

(Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 32)

HPSG employs this multi-dimensional description for a certain construction to yield a typed feature structure, by which it can attain increased precision and analytic uniformity over the grammar of a language.

Concerning the CONTEXT attribute, Ginzburg and Sag (2000) further added new attributes, MAX(imal)-Q(uestion)U(nder)D(iscussion) [37] and SAL(ient)-UTT(erance), following what Roberts (1996) suggested as how a dialogue is comprised. MAX-QUD is the maximal element of QUD which represents the current topic of discussion, and SAL-UTT corresponds to the most focal (sub)utterance receiving the widest scope, thus associated with the value of the parameters. Their proposal on contextual features can be summarized as follows.

---

[37] The notion of Questions-Under-Discussion (QUD) (Roberts 1996) was first suggested as an update from the framework of KOS (Ginzburg 1996), which takes into account each conversation participant's view of the common ground. Its concept was originally defined as a partially ordered set of questions, which constantly changes by nature.

(87) *Contextual Features:*

TYPE	FEATURES/VALUE TYPE		IST
conx-obj	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{C} - \text{INDICES} \\ \text{SAL} - \text{UTT} \\ \text{MAX} - \text{QUD} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{matrix} c - inds \\ set(local) \\ question \end{matrix}$	*feat-struc*

(Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 302)

Once typed feature structures are established, they are ordered by hierarchy, which features family resemblances. That is, capturing commonalities and discrepancies of a number of phrases and setting supertypes and subtypes among them, HPSG generates high-level generalizations that are inherited downward in the hierarchy and idiosyncratic constructional properties that are retained in certain types. This is especially useful when we describe a group of different clausal types uniformly, since we can now account for general, 'core' constructions to more 'peripheral' constructions by stating their idiosyncrasy out of a hierarchy.

In case of phrases, each maximal phrasal type inherits from two dimensions – HEADEDNESS and CLAUSALITY, in which the notion of *multiple inheritance hierarchy* arises: Every phrasal type has to follow the constraints inherited from both HEADEDNESS and CLAUSALITY and all their subtypes should inherit constraints imposed to their supertypes.

HEADEDNESS stands for the way every head daughter builds up a certain type of phrases, including if they are headed or not and what kind of daughter they have. As in (88), a head daughter is related to other non-head daughters in various ways.

44

(88)

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │ HEADEDNESS  │
                    └─────────────┘
           ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
      non-hd-ph                        hd-ph
                          ┌────┬────┬───┼───┬────┬────┐
                    hd-comp-ph hd-subj-ph hd-spr-ph sai-ph hd-adj-ph hd-fill-ph hd-only-ph
```
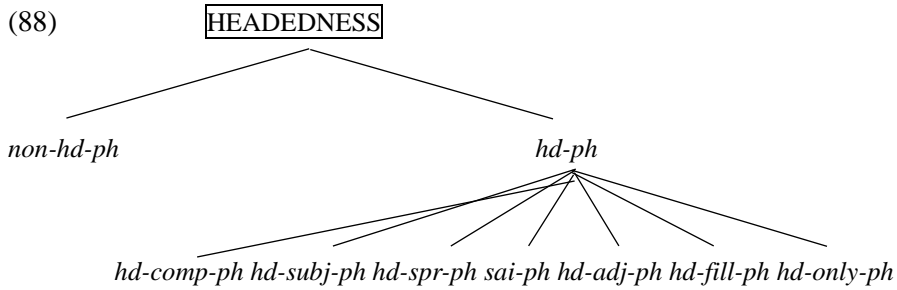
<div align="right">(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 32)</div>

CLAUSALITY represents a clausal type of a construction. A distinction between clauses and non-clauses is made in advance, and then various subtypes of clauses are illustrated, as in (89).

(89)

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │ CLAUSALITY  │
                    └─────────────┘
              ┌────────────┴────────────┐
           clause                    non-clause
        ┌─────┴─────┐
     core-cl       rel-cl
   ┌───┬──┴──┬───┐
imp-cl dec-cl inter-cl excl-cl
```
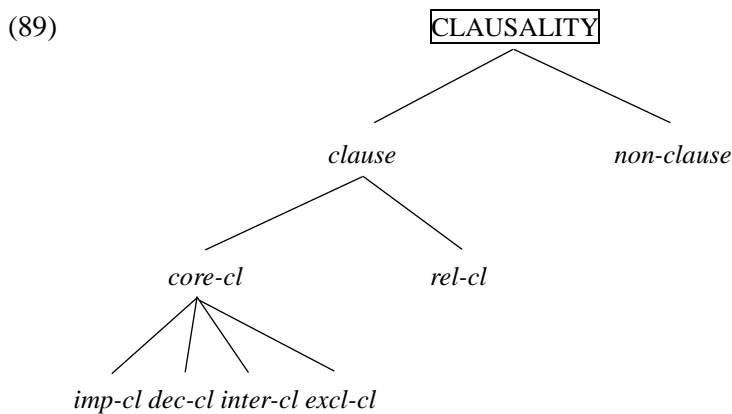
<div align="right">(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 39)</div>

Then, each type of each dimension can be cross-classified into a new subtype, inheriting those properties of its supertypes. With this operation, HPSG generates no invisible functional categories in the grammar. For example, a sentence "Leslie likes Bo," which consists of a combination of a finite VP and its subject NP, can now be analyzed in HPSG as follows:

(90)

```
              phrase
              /     \
    CLAUSALITY    HEADEDNESS
         /             |
      clause         hd-ph
         /             |
     core-cl       hd-subj-ph
         /           /
      decl-cl      /
           \     /
            \  /
         decl-hd-su-cl
```
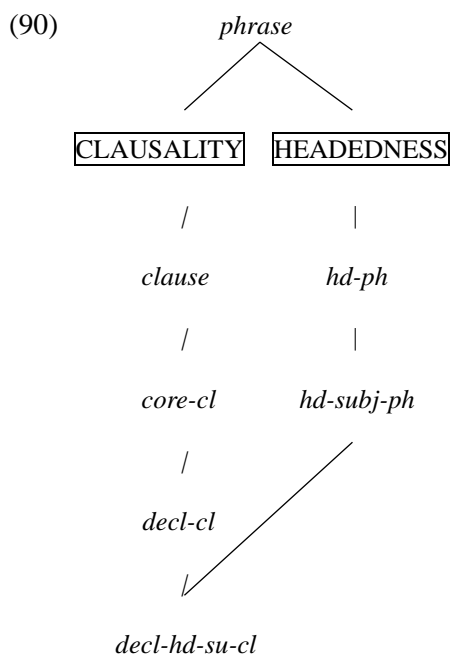
(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 42)

In terms of HEADEDNESS, its sentential structure is reflected as *head-subject-phrase* (*hd-subj-ph*), while in terms of CLAUSALITY, it is a declarative clause, thus inheriting those type constraints of *declarative-clause (decl-cl)*. Then, their resulting type constraint arises as a new subtype *declarative-head-subject-clause (decl-hd-su-cl)*. This does not only inherit those constraints applied to its hyper-type clauses by means of multiple inheritance hierarchy, but it can also have its own constraints.

Finally, type constraints are subject to the following general principles.

(91) a. *The Empty COMPS Constraint (ECC)*:

phrase:

[CAT   [COMPS   < >]]

A constraint that guarantees all phrases have the empty list as the value of the

feature COMPS.

b. *The Generalized Head Feature Principle (GHFP)*:

hd-ph:

[SYNSEM   /[1]]   → . . . **H**[SYNSEM   /[1]]

A default constraint that requires the SYNSEM value of the mother of a headed

phrase and that of its head-daughter be identical

(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 33)

Along with these default constraints, specific type constraints may override,

thus creating different type constraints for a wide variety of constructions.

5. Proposal

In this chapter, I argue for a non-derivational and non-elliptical approach as an adequate analysis of negative stripping. I propose a new phrasal type, termed as *adverbial-fragment-phrase*, that can handle the composition of an adverbial *not* and a focused fragment XP. As a subtype of *head-functor-phrase*, which is under the *head-adjunct* schema, it allows its head daughter to carry the relevant syntactic information and its functor daughter to deliver the semantic information of the construction.

In the head daughter, a fragment construction is posited, following Ginzburg and Sag's (2000) type *head-fragment-phrase*. This type captures the syntactic properties that negative stripping shares with other fragment constructions, without assuming any movement nor ellipsis. For the sentential meaning of a fragment, it takes advantage of the contextual information.

In the functor daughter, a new lexical constraint for *not* in negative stripping is presented. This constraint can reflect the focus-sensitive meaning of negative stripping suggested in the section 2.2.4, by introducing a new semantic relation between the focused XP and its background proposition derived from the contextual information that a fragment specifies in itself. Consequently, the semantic peculiarities of negative stripping, as well as its basic meaning, are explicated.

5.1 Phrasal Type for Negative Stripping

When it comes to the composition [not XP] in negative stripping, various

strategies can be utilized, indeed. One of the options was presented by Yoo (2014). In the discussion of *why*-stripping and other related constructions, she proposed that a fragment construction that involves a modifier such as *why, not,* and *probably* be analyzed under *head-modifier-fragment-phrase* (*hd-mod-frag-ph*), which is a subtype of *head-modifier-phrase* (*hd-mod-ph*). This new constraint was illustrated as in (92).

(92) *hd-mod-frag-ph:*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} v \\ \text{VFORM} & fin \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SUBJ} & <\ > \\
\text{SPR} & <\ > \\
\text{CTXT|SAL} - \text{UTT} & \{\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT|IND} & [2] \end{bmatrix}\}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\rightarrow [\text{HEAD} \quad adv], \mathbf{H}\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT|IND} & [2] \end{bmatrix}
$$

(Yoo 2014: 932)

That is, an adverbial modifier *not* and a bare XP together builds up one fragment construction under this type constraint.

Another option, on which the present study depends, is to posit the focused bare XP as a fragment construction and treat *not* as an adverbial. In other words, negative stripping can be described as a composition of an adverbial modifier and a fragment that is clausal by itself.

This approach has the following merits over the former option. First, it can attain a unified view on fragment constructions. In the former view, the XP in negative stripping does not make up a fragment construction but stands as a mere

word until it combines with a modifier. In the present view, however, by positing the XP as a fragment construction, it suggests that the focused XP of negative stripping is not really different from those bare XPs in other stripping constructions, thus accounting for the syntactic properties of negative stripping as a fragment.

Second, the fact that sentential adverbs can arise as a modifier also leads us to positing the modified phrase as a sentence, not a word. The relevant examle in (11) is repeated here as (93).

(93) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and {probably/possibly/fortunately} *Ben, too*.

<div align="right">(Merchant 2003: 2)</div>

Finally, the interpretation of stripping with more than one modifier can also be easily captured. Consider the following examples and their interpretations in (94).

(94) a. John buttered the white bread yesterday, but *probably not the bagel*.

      = It is probable that it is not the bagel that John buttered yesterday.

      b. John buttered the white bread, but *not probably the bagel*.

      = It is not the case that it is probably the bagel that John buttered yesterday.

As shown above, the interpretation of stripping in such case is determined by the linear order of modifiers. As is widely known, scope among adverbials is also determined by their linear order. Therefore, positing the modifiers *not* and *probably* as adverbials that do not participate in consisting of a fragment, simply as in (95), is more intuitive in deriving the desired meaning.

(95) a.

```
           S
          / \
   probably   S
             / \
          not    S
                 /\
                /  \
              the bagel
```

b.

```
           S
          / \
       not    S
             / \
       probably  S
                 /\
                /  \
              the bagel
```
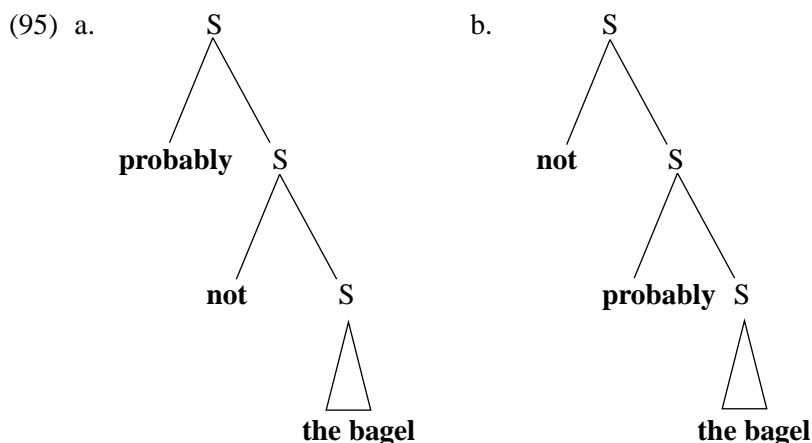
Therefore, the composition of *not* and the focused XP in negative stripping will be licensed through the latter option in my analysis.

Specifically, this is enabled by a newly proposed phrasal type constraint *adverbial-fragment-phrase* (*adv-frag-ph*, henceforth). The relevant type hierarchy is proposed as (96), which is based on the basic type hierarchy suggested in Ginzburg and Sag (2000), repeated from (88).

(96)

```
                              hd-ph
          _____/___|_____
         /         /        |        |        \        \
   hd-comp-ph hd-subj-ph hd-spr-ph sai-ph hd-adj-ph hd-fill-ph hd-only-ph
                                            /    \
                                      hd-funct-ph   ...
                                        /    \
                                 adv-frag-ph    ...
```
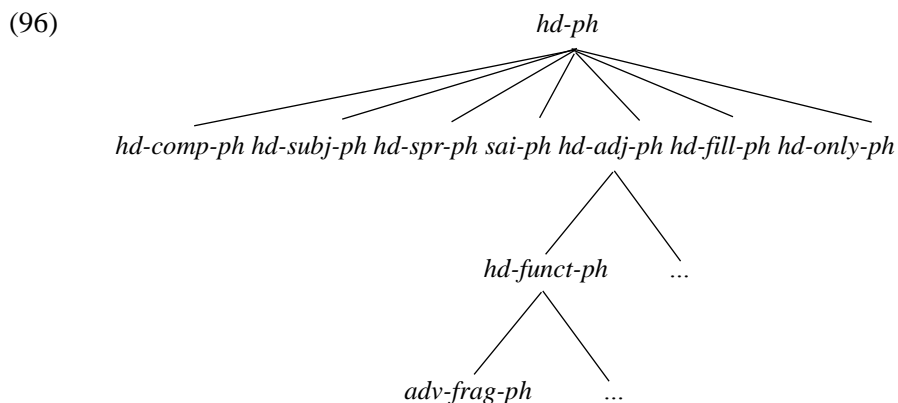
In this hierarchy, *adv-frag-ph* is posited as a subtype of *head-functor-phrase*

51

(*hd-funct-ph*) [38] which is a subtype of *head-adjunct-phrase* (*hd-adj-ph*). Consequently, it inherits all those properties that its supertypes have.

The type *hd-adj-ph* is represented as in (97)[39], where the content is token-identical to that of the adjunct daughter, not the head daughter.

(97) *hd-adj-ph*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
& \text{SYNSEM} & [\text{CONT} \quad [1]] \\
\text{ADJ} - \text{DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CONT} & [1]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(Pollard and Sag 1994: 56)

Its subtype *hd-funct-ph*, which is a supertype of *adv-frag-ph*, was conceived in Allegranza (1998) and Van Eynde (2003). To uniformly treat adnominals, they refused the distinction between modifiers and specifiers and conflated them under one term *functor*. It has the following representation as (98).

(98) *hd-funct-ph*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HD} - \text{DTR|SYNSEM} & [1]synsem \\
\text{ADJ} - \text{DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD|SELECT} & [1]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(Van Eynde 2007: 420)

Indeed, the most distinctive property in this constraint is the SELECT feature.

---

[38] In some studies including Van Eynde (2006, 2007), the abbreviation of *head-functor-phrase* is as *head-functor-phr*, while in other studies including Maekawa (2013), it is as *hd-funct-ph*. For convenience, I will make use of the latter, which has no further theoretical implication.

[39] Since *hd-adj-ph* was not discussed in Ginzburg and Sag (2000), I will follow the representation presented in Pollard and Sag (1994), which Ginzburg and Sag is based on.

In contrast to the valence features such as COMPS and SUBJ, which capture the constraints which a head imposes on its dependents, the SELECT feature captures the constraints which a non-head daughter imposes on its head sister. More specifically, a functor can impose certain requirements on the syntactic and semantic properties of the head daughter[40]. For example, by means of this type, a determiner *every* can require its head to be nominal, singular, and count.

Taken together, the new phrasal type *adv-frag-ph* can have its functor daughter carry the content of the construction and specify what its head sister is like, which is enabled by the type inheritance from its supertypes. I propose that *adv-frag-ph* be illustrated as in (99).

(99) *adv-frag-ph*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HD} - \text{DTR|SYNSEM} & [1] \\
\text{ADJ} - \text{DTR|SYNSEM|HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} adv \\ \text{SELECT} & [1]\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{IC} & + \\ \text{FRAG} & + \end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

In this type, it is ensured that the adjunct, functor, daughter, which is an adverb, selects as its head sister a fragment construction that stands as an independent clause.

Notably, a new specification for fragment constructions, FRAG, is introduced here. This is added as one of the features for the type *verb*, whose feature specifications are suggested in (100), and will allow us to distinguish fragment constructions from other VPs, when required.

---

[40] In fact, it serves as a replacement of the features MOD and SPEC of Pollard and Sag (1994) and Ginzburg and Sag (2000).

$$(100) \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ \text{AUX(ILIARY)} & bool \\ \text{POL(ARIZED)} & bool \\ \text{FRAG(MENT)} & bool \end{bmatrix}$$

Now, with the new phrasal type constraint, the syntactic structure of a typical example of negative stripping in (101) can be simply illustrated as (102).

(101)[Abby]$_F$ speaks Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]$_F$.

(102)

```
                          S
                        /   \
                      /       \
                    /           \
                 ADV             S

    [SELECT  [1]]  [1][HEAD [ IC    + ]]
                            [ FRAG  + ]
                  |              |
                 not            Ben
```
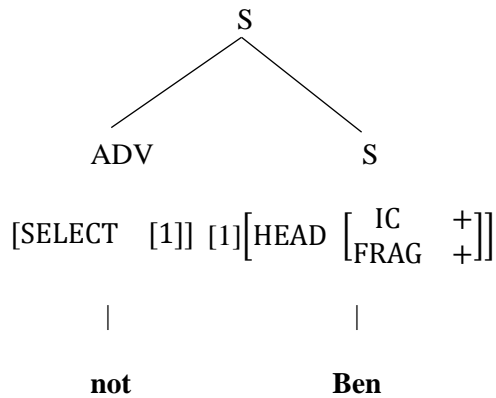
In the next two sections, I will propose how each component of negative stripping, the focused XP and the functor *not*, should be represented.

5.2 Focused XP

In the head daughter of *adv-frag-ph* that represents the focused XP in negative stripping, I employ Ginzburg and Sag's (2000) notion on fragments, a phrasal type constraint termed as *head-fragment-phrase* (*hd-frag-ph*). This was posited as a subtype of *head-only-phrase* (*hd-only-ph*) and used to represent sluicing and short

answers.

In my analysis, however, I will revise the original constraint that restricted its head daughter to *nominal* into the one where such restriction does not exist. This will permit a fragment to be realized as any syntactic category. In addition, the newly added feature FRAG will also be specified as one of the features of the type *verb*. The revised version of *hd-frag-ph* can then be illustrated as (103)

(103)*hd-frag-ph*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} & fin \\ \text{FRAG} & + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SUBJ} & <\ > \\
\text{SPR} & <\ > \\
\text{CTXT | SAL} - \text{UTT} & \{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT | IND} & [2] \end{bmatrix} \}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\rightarrow \quad \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT | IND} & [2] \end{bmatrix}
$$

In this type, regardless of the category of the head daughter, the category of the construction is always a finite VP, which indicates that a fragment stands as a sentence. Note also that the category and the index of the head daughter are identical with those of the SAL-UTT. This has the effect of interpreting the head daughter with regard to a contextually provided content.

Then, the focused XP of negative stripping which is used as a declarative meaning will be represented by the constraint *declarative-fragment-clause* (*decl-frag-cl*)[41], which inherits from *hd-frag-ph* and *declarative-clause* (*decl-cl*)[42]. This

---

[41] It follows that in negative stripping used as an interrogative, the type of the focused fragment will be such as *int-frag-cl*, a subtype of *hd-frag-ph* and *int-cl.*
[42] The clausal constraint, *decl-cl*, specifies information such that in the headed clauses, the

constraint has the follwoing representation as (104), according to Ginzburg and Sag (2000).

(104) *decl-frag-cl:*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & [\text{IC} \quad +] \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} proposition \\ \text{SIT} \qquad\qquad s \\ \text{SOA} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & order([\textstyle\sum 3]) + [A] \\ \text{NUCL} & [5] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{STORE} & [\textstyle\sum 1] set(param) \\
\text{MAX}-\text{QUD} & \begin{bmatrix} question \\ \text{PARAMS} \qquad\qquad neset \\ \text{PROP} \quad \begin{bmatrix} proposition \\ \text{SIT} \qquad\qquad s \\ \text{SOA} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & [A] \\ \text{NUCL} & [5] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$\rightarrow$ **H**[STORE $\quad[\textstyle\sum 3]$ U $[\textstyle\sum 1]$]]
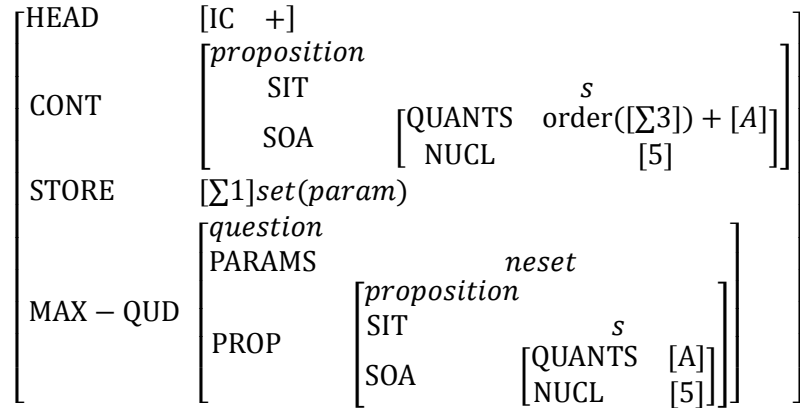
(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 304)

One of the most important properties of this type is that the content of a fragment is derived from the proposition in the MAX-QUD. This ensures that the sentential interpretation of fragment constructions is constructed from the contextually most salient background. In other words, fragments are treated as being base-generated in my analysis.

Consequently, the focused XP in the following examples of negative stripping in (105) and (106) can be represented as (107).

---

message content is primarily derived from the head daughter.

(i) *decl-cl:*
$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} austinian \\ \text{SOA} \qquad /[1] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \ldots \mathbf{H}[\text{CONT} \quad /[1]] \ldots
$$

(Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 42)

(105) [Abby]_F speaks Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]_F.[43]

(106) A: Who speaks Dutch?

B: *Not* [*Ben*]_F.

(107)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\left[
\begin{array}{ll}
decl-frag-cl \\
\text{HEAD} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{IC} & + \\ \text{FRAG} & + \end{array}\right] \\
\text{CONT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{QUANTS} & <> \\ \text{NUCL} & [3] \end{array}\right] \\
\text{STORE} & \{\,\} \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\Sigma 1]\{named([2],\text{Ben})\} \\
\text{MAX}-\text{QUD} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PARAMS} & \{\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{INDEX} & [2] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([2])\}\end{array}\right]\} \\ \text{PROP|SOA} & \left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{QUANTS} & <> \\ \text{NUCL} & [3]\left[\begin{array}{ll} speak-rel \\ \text{SPEAKER} & [2] \\ \text{SPOKEN} & [6]\end{array}\right]\end{array}\right]\end{array}\right] \\
\text{SAL}-\text{UTT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{CAT} & [5] \\ \text{CONT|INDEX} & [2]\end{array}\right] \\
\text{INFO}-\text{STRUC} & [\text{FOCUS} \quad [4]]
\end{array}
\right] \\
| \\
[4]\left[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{PHON} & accented \\
\text{CAT} & [5]\text{NP} \\
\text{CONT | IND} & [2] \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\Sigma 1] \\
\text{INFO}-\text{STRUC|FOCUS} & [4]
\end{array}\right] \\
| \\
\textbf{Ben}
\end{array}
$$

---

[43] In this case, the MAX-QUD of the negative stripping is a unary *wh*-question 'Who speaks passable Dutch?', which is enabled by the presence of focus on the correlate. According to Krifka (1991) and many other studies on focus interpretation, focus introduces a new predicate-argument structure, such as (i), that maps a variable that replaces the focused element to the rest of the sentence, which is similar with the meaning of a *wh*-question.

(i) $\lambda x[\text{SPEAK(PASSABLE-DUTCH)}(x)]$

In (107), I posited additional attributes to mark the presence of focus in the XP of negative stripping: New attributes, [PHON *accented*] and [CTXT|INFO − STRUC|FOCUS *sign*] are added in the head daughter. In particular, the latter attribute indicates that the bare NP "Ben" is focused. (See [4].) Then, it is also structure-shared to its mother phrase, which means that the fragment construction itself is focused, too[44].

The structure (107) tells us that the content of the fragment "Ben" is not merely 'Ben' but 'Ben speaks Dutch', which can be seen from the CONT of the mother phrase. Note that this meaning is contextually driven, in that its index is structure-shared with that of the proposition involved in the MAX-QUD, that someone speaks Dutch. (See [3].)

In addition, this representation can also account for the syntactic properties of negative stripping as a fragment, discussed in the section 2.1. First, its distribution as a matrix clause is represented by the feature [IC +], which indicates that only the main-clause phenomena are observed in a fragment construction[45]. Then, as the

---

[44] This manipulation is reminscent of Engdahl and Vallduvi's (1996) information structural constraints. To resolve the focus projection, they suggested the following principles on how focus is interpreted in different syntactic structures.

(i)   Either (a) If a daughter's INFO-STRUC value is instantiated, then the mother inherits this instantiation (*narrow focus*)
        or (b) if the FOCUS value of the rightmost domain object is instantiated, then the FOCUS value of the mother is identified with its CONTENT value (*wide focus*).
                                                        (Engdahl and Vallduvi 1996: 12)

Though I do not pursue an in-depth investigation on focus interpretation in a fragment construction, according to the constraint (a) above, it seems not impossible to posit the INFO-STRUC value of the mother phrase to inherit that of its head daughter in a fragment construction.

[45] Currently, I assume that IC(INDEPENDENT CLAUSE) represents those properties of an independent clause, in a literal sense. In fact, however, the main-clause phenomena discussed

HEAD value of the focused fragment will be inherited over its mother phrase, negative stripping will also be specified to be an independent clause.

Second, the wide range of categorical possibilities is accounted for by the underspecification of the category value of the head daughter in *hd-frag-ph*. That is, it is ensured that any syntactic category can be the XP in principle, including an AdjP and a VP.

Third, the categorical and structural parallelism between the focused XP and its antecedent clause is resolved by the relationship between the head daughter and the SAL-UTT. The categorical parallelism among them is easily captured by the same categorical value in the head daughter and the SAL-UTT. (See [5].) The structural parallelism, that is, connectivity effects, follows from the co-indexation of the CAT and the IND (See [2] also.) since Case[46] and ϕ-features are often considered to be subtypes of CAT and CONT respectively[47].

5.3 Negation

As mentioned above, the type *adv-frag-ph* enables us to project the content of the functor daughter into the mother phrase. Consequently, in negative stripping, the functor *not* serves to deliver the content of the entire construction.

---

in Ginzburg and Sag (2000) could not rule out the embedded context. That is, [IC +] did not ensure that the sign cannot be embedded.

[46] Although we did not discuss the Case connectivity in negative stripping since English is not strictly Case-marked, such languages as German is claimed to exhibit the Case connectivity in negative stripping (Nakao 2008 among others).

[47] More specifically, the Binding connectivity can be explained through those supplements added by Barton (1990). She revised the Binding theory's level of application to account for the Binding connectivity observed in non-sentential units.

While concluding the section 2.2.4, I demonstrated how negative stripping results in its sentential interpretation by investigating the interaction between negation and focus. Then, I determined the interpretation of negative stripping as the form of a negated specificational cleft construction[48], 'It is not XP that P.'[49] That is, the semantic interpretation of negative stripping in (108) can be stated as (109).

(108) [Abby]F speaks Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]F.

(109) It is not Ben who speaks Dutch.

A typical specificational cleft construction, 'It is XP that P', is often considered as an equative construction between the clefted XP that receives identificational focus and the cleft sentence which denotes the pragmatic presupposition P (Hedberg

---

[48] There are two types of cleft constructions, specificational cleft and predicational cleft. Specificational cleft constructions identify a value for a variable, exemplified as in (i), in which the cleft clause specifies the conditions of the variable's interpretation. On the contrary, in predicational cleft constructions, the lexical material of the head of the clefted constituent is interpreted predicationally.

(i)   It is food for the dog that I don't eat.
(ii)   It is such an idiot who says that that you should not pay any attention to him.

                                                        (Declerck 1983: 11, 39)

[49] Yoo (2014) also noted such focus-sensitive interpretation for *not*-stripping and other related stripping constructions, as suggested below. To represent this meaning, she employed the Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS), suggested by Copestake et al. (2006). This can represent scope relations by a flat structure of elementary predications and underspecification mechanism.

(i)   a.   A: What (dance) is Jane learning?
                B: *Not tango*.
       b. It is not tango that Jane is learning.

                                                         (Yoo 2014: 937)
(ii)   a.   A: John is learning tango.
                B: *Why tango*?
       b. Why is it tango that John is learning?

                                                          (Yoo 2014: 935)

1990, 2000, Han and Hedberg 2008). In case of the interpretation of negative stripping, however, *not* is involved to indicate that the equative relationship does not hold. Hence, I will propose that this negation introduces a relation such that the XP and the P is not any longer equivalent to each other, termed as *unequivalent-rel*. The CONT value of *not* can thus be illustrated as (110).

$$(110)\begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & <\,> \\ \text{NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [1] \\ \text{ARG2} & \lambda[0]([2]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

In other words, the negative marker *not* in negative stripping acts like *be not* in a copular construction. It takes two arguments, the index of the focused XP and the proposition that serves as the background of the focused XP, and tells that the former is not equivalent to the latter.

I will further elaborate on these two arguments. The ARG1 should take as its value the index of the focused XP, often being the referential index of a DP or a PP remnant. For the manipulation of other remnants such as an AdjP remnant or a VP remnant, I assume that predicates can also introduce an index in the same way that referential categories do (Badia and Saurí 2013 among others)[50].

The ARG2 should take the variable for the proposition P to which the focused

---

[50] This has an implication that non-DP remnants are indeed considered as referential, which is not surprising to various phenomena. For example, consider some of the specificational cleft contructions where those categories appear that cannot generally be clefted, as in (i). Delahunty (1984) argued in all cases where a clefted element seems to be clausal, it is indeed referential, that is, a DP or a PP.

(i)   It is [that Bob left without a word] that surprised me.   (Dékány 2010: 44)

XP is unequivalent, which is not overtly realized in negative stripping. Under the present analysis, however, it is encoded as a contextual background of a fragment in the form of MAX-QUD. Therefore, the SOA value of the MAX-QUD of the fragment becomes the value of the ARG2. This process can be challenging in the ellipsis-based analysis, which assumes only the syntactic derivation and ellipsis as a resolution of the syntax and semantics of a fragment.

Taken together, I propose the lexical constraint for the functor *not* as (111). Note that the selectional properties of *not* are represented under the feature SELECT, while the semantic properties of *not* are introduced by a relation that reflects the interaction between negation and focus in negative stripping.

(111) *not*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & <\text{not}> \\
\text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{SELECT} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{IC} & + \\ \text{FRAG} & + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & [\text{NUCL} \quad [2]] \\
\text{CTXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX}-\text{QUD} & [\text{PROP|SOA} \quad [3][\text{NUCL} \quad [2]]] \\ \text{SAL}-\text{UTT} & [\text{IND} \quad [1]] \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{QUANTS} & <> \\
\text{NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} \quad [1] \\ \text{ARG2} \quad \lambda[0]([3]) \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Now, by means of the phrasal type constraint *adv-frag-ph*, the composition of the functor *not* and the focused fragment XP in (112) can be represented as (113).

(112) [Abby]_F speaks Dutch, but *not* [*Ben*]_F.

(113)   S

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & [3]\begin{bmatrix} \text{IC} & + \\ \text{FRAG} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & [4]\begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & & <> \\ \\ \text{NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [7] \\ \text{ARG2} & \lambda[0]([5]) \\ & (=\lambda x[x\ speaks\ Dutch]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6]\{named([7],\text{Ben})\} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD|SELECT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT|SOA} & [4] \end{bmatrix}$$

|

not   [1]S

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & [3] \\ \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & & <> \\ \\ \text{NUCL} & [8]\begin{bmatrix} speak-rel \\ \text{SPEAKER} & [7] \\ \text{SPOKEN} & [10] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6] \\ \\ \text{CTXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX}-\text{QUD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PARAMS} & \{\begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & [7] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([7])\} \end{bmatrix}\} \\ \\ \text{PROP} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & [5]\begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & <> \\ \text{NUCL} & [8] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{SAL}-\text{UTT} & \{\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [9] \\ \text{CONT|INDEX} & [7] \end{bmatrix}\} \\ \text{INFO}-\text{STRUC} & [\text{FOCUS} \quad [2]] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

|

$$[2]\begin{bmatrix} \text{SS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} & accented \\ \text{CAT} & [9]\text{NP} \\ \text{CONT|INDEX} & [7] \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{INFO}-\text{STRUC} & [\text{FOCUS} \quad [2]] \\ \text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6] \end{bmatrix}$$

|

Ben

63

In terms of syntax, the functor *not* selects as its head a fragment construction which is also focused. (See [1] and [2].) The relevant specifications for a fragment construction are [FRAG +] in the HEAD and the NUCL value in the CONT that is shared with that in the MAX-QUD. (See [8].)

In terms of semantics, this functor delivers a content that the instance of focused fragment([7]) is unequivalent to the variable for the function introduced by the contextual background of the fragment, which is represented as the SOA of the MAX-QUD([5]). This can be stated as 'Ben is unequivalent to x in λx[x speaks passable Dutch].'

Then, the HEAD value of the construction is inherited from its head daughter (See [3].), while the CONT value is inherited from its functor daughter (See [4].) Then, it follows that the syntax of negative stripping is fragmental and the semantics of negative stripping is a focus-sensitive negative reading, 'It is not Ben that speaks Dutch.' This means that without assuming any extra syntactic or semantic device, the newly proposed phrasal type *adv-frag-ph* and the lexical constraint for the functor *not* can successfully represent the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping within HPSG.

In addition, I will show that the proposed structure can also resolve the semantic peculiarities, the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation. In particular, the treatment of *not*'s taking the SOA value of the MAX-QUD as its argument is the key to the resolution of both phenomena.

I will first deal with the sentence in (50), repeated as (114), which permits not only the local reading but also the long-distance reading of negation.

(114)a. Beth said she wanted to take [Spanish]$_F$, when we asked her, but *not*
[*French*]$_F$.

(Merchant 2003: 5)

What I noted in the section 2.2.2 was that the long-distance reading is derived only when it is contextually supported. For example, when every dialogue participants wants to know about whether Beth did say what she wanted to take, negative stripping will have the long-distance reading.

I propose that this context-sensitivity be specified in the MAX-QUD. More specifically, since the MAX-QUD is dependent on the dialogue participant's intentions, its NUCL value can change depending on the situation. Therefore, when the contextually salient content is of the embedded verb *want-rel,* the meaning of negative stripping will be the local reading of negation, while when it is of the matrix verb *say-rel*, the resulting interpretation will exhibit the long-distance reading.

The following structures in (115) and (116) represent the local reading and the long-distance reading of (114), respectively. (I will, henceforth, specify the relevant features only.)

(115)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\left[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{CONT} & \left[\text{SOA} \quad [4]\left[\text{NUCL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{ll} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [7] \\ \text{ARG2} & \lambda[0]([5]) \end{array}\right]\right]\right] \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6]\{named([9],\text{Beth})
\end{array}
\right]
\end{array}
$$

$$
\left[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{HEAD|SELECT} & [1] \\
\text{CONT|SOA} & [4]
\end{array}
\right]
$$

|

not   [1]S

$$
\left[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{CONT} & \left[\text{SOA} \left[\text{NUCL} \quad [8]\left[\begin{array}{ll} want-rel \\ \text{EXPERIENCER} & \left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{INDEX} & [9] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([9])\}\end{array}\right] \\ \text{SOA}-\text{ARG|NUCL} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} take-rel \\ \text{TAKER} & [9] \\ \text{TAKEN} & [7] \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right]\right]\right] \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6]\{named([9],\text{Beth}) \\
\text{CTXT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{MAX}-\text{QUD} & \left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{PARAMS} & \{\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{INDEX} & [7] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{thing([7])\}\end{array}\right]\} \\ \text{PROP} & \left[\text{SOA} \quad [5]\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text{QUANTS} & <\,> \\ \text{NUCL} & [8]\end{array}\right]\right]\end{array}\right] \\ \text{SAL}-\text{UTT} & [\text{CONT|IND} \quad [7]]\end{array}\right]
\end{array}
\right]
$$

△

French

In (115), the nucleus of the MAX-QUD of "French" (See [8].) is specified as *want*-rel. Therefore, the content of the construction can be stated as 'It is not French that Beth wanted to take.' (See [4].)

66

(116)

S

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & [4] & \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & < \, > \\ \text{NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [7] \\ \text{ARG2} & \lambda[0]([5]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\Sigma 6]\{named([9], \text{Beth})
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD|SELECT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT|SOA} & [4] \end{bmatrix}
$$

not   [1]S

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & < \, > \\ \text{NUCL} & [8] \begin{bmatrix} say-rel \\ \text{SAYER} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & [9] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([9])\} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{PROP-ARG|NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} want-rel \\ \text{EXPERIENCER} & [9] \\ \text{SOA-ARG|NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} take-rel \\ \text{TAKER} & [9] \\ \text{TAKEN} & [7] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{BCKGRD}[\Sigma 6]\{named([8], \text{Beth}) \\
\text{CTXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX-QUD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PARAMS} & \{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & [7] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{thing([7])\} \end{bmatrix} \} \\ \text{PROP} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & [5] \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & < \, > \\ \text{NUCL} & [8] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SAL-UTT} & [\text{CONT|IND} \quad [7]] \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

French

In (116), on the other hand, the nucleus of the MAX-QUD (See [8].) is *say*-rel that takes a propositional argument. As a consequence, the content of the construction can be stated as 'It is not French that Beth said as one that she wanted to take.' (See [4].)

Turning to the peculiar scope interpretation of negative stripping, it is also explained by the proposed lexical constraint. When the functor *not* combines with a
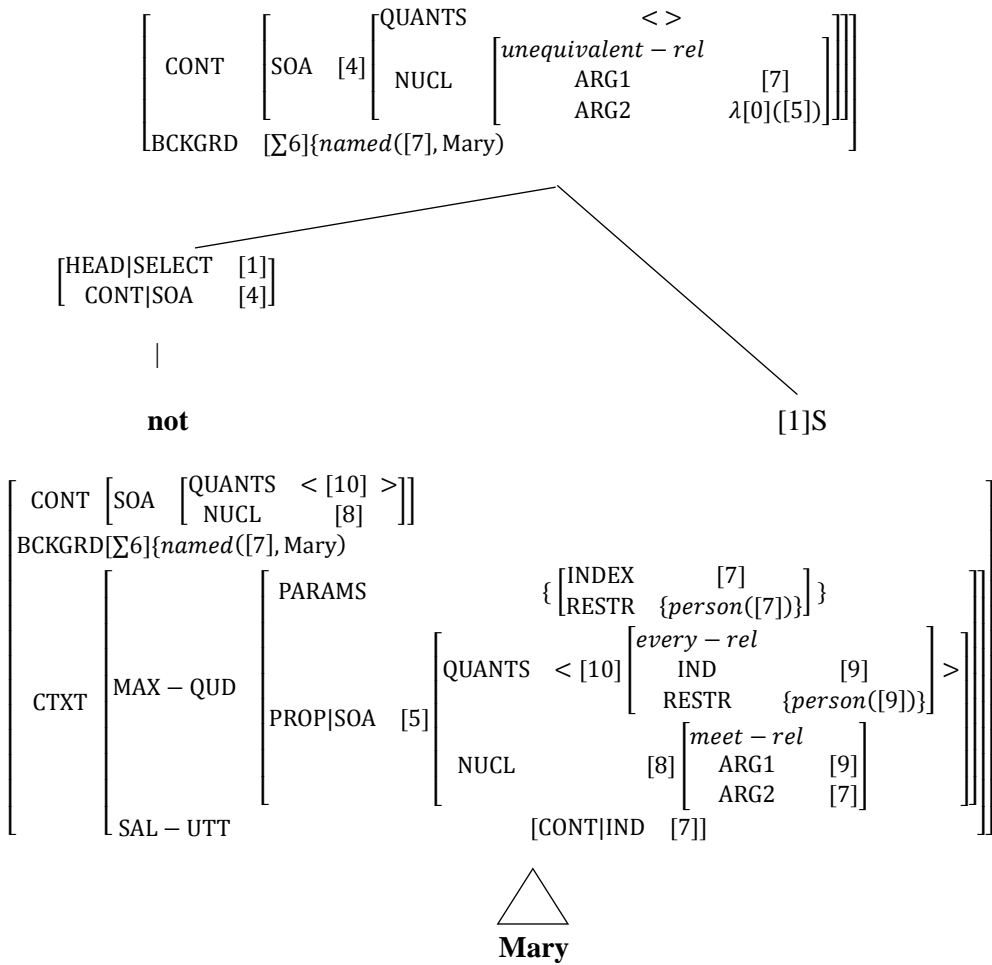
fragment, the QUANTS list of the MAX-QUD of the fragment is also incorporated into the value of the ARG2 of the functor, since the value of the ARG2 includes not only the NUCL value but also the QUANTS list. Therefore, those cases of negative stripping that are preceded by a clause that contains a quantifier will have its MAX-QUD store the quantifier in the QUANTS list, which then results in the desired meaning.

I will represent the meaning of the following sentence in (117) as (118).

(117) Everyone met [John]_F, but *not* [*Mary*]_F.

(118)   S

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & [4] \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & <\ > \\ \text{NUCL} & \begin{bmatrix} unequivalent-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [7] \\ \text{ARG2} & \lambda[0]([5]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{BCKGRD} & [\textstyle\sum 6]\{named([7], \text{Mary})
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD|SELECT} & [1] \\ \text{CONT|SOA} & [4] \end{bmatrix}
$$

|

not   [1]S

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SOA} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & < [10] > \\ \text{NUCL} & [8] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{BCKGRD}[\textstyle\sum 6]\{named([7], \text{Mary}) \\
\text{CTXT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX} - \text{QUD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PARAMS} & \{ \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & [7] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([7])\} \end{bmatrix} \} \\ \text{PROP|SOA} & [5] \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & < [10] \begin{bmatrix} every-rel \\ \text{IND} & [9] \\ \text{RESTR} & \{person([9])\} \end{bmatrix} > \\ \text{NUCL} & [8] \begin{bmatrix} meet-rel \\ \text{ARG1} & [9] \\ \text{ARG2} & [7] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{SAL} - \text{UTT} & [\text{CONT|IND} \quad [7]] \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

△
Mary

In this structure, we can see that both the QUANTS list and the NUCL value of the MAX-QUD of the fragment construction participate in the content of the mother phrase (See [5]), thus embodying the relevant quantifier scope into the meaning of negative stripping. The content, then, can be stated as 'Mary is unequivalent to x in $\lambda x[\forall y \in D, y$ meets x].' This is paraphrased as 'Mary is not the one that everyone met,' which is the desired reading of the given sentence.

6. Conclusion

The present thesis was aimed to determine the syntactic and semantic structure of negative stripping. More specifically, I demonstrated that negative stripping is challenging to the prevailing elliptical approach on fragments and proposed a non-elliptical analysis within the framework of HPSG.

Syntactically, negative stripping exhibits those properties that a fragment construction has, which includes the sentential interpretation, a wide range of remnant possibilities, and the categorical and structural parallelism with its correlate. These properties hold in other fragment constructions as well, supported by a number of previous studies including Merchant (2004).

Semantically, however, negative stripping features its own peculiarities that are not observed in other fragments. The negation involved in negative stripping is tested to be sentential negation through Klima's (1964) diagnostics, whereas the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation in the presence of other scope possessors also exist, which do not typically arise in the ordinary sentential negation. These peculiarities are resolved when it is noted that the semantics of negative stripping comes from the interaction between negation and focus, in which negation directly binds focus to result in such meaning that it is not XP that P.

The previous elliptical approach clearly had difficulty dealing with the peculiarities of negative stripping. Its theoretical implication including the optional nature of ellipsis, a limited range of movable remnants, and structural parallelism in too strict a sense fail to account for the aforesaid syntactic properties of negative stripping. Furthermore, the semantic aspects of negative stripping had been so

seldom considered that wrong predictions are borne out, such that *not* should always take the widest scope.

As an adequate analysis of negative stripping, I proposed a new syntactic structure that accounts for the composition of *not* and the focused XP, as *adverbial-fragment-phrase*, a subtype of *head-functor-phrase*. This type constraint allows its adverbial functor daughter to select a fragment construction and carry the meaning of the whole construction.

Concerning the representation of the focused fragment, I drew on the concept of fragments suggested by Ginzburg and Sag (2000), which is a non-derivational and non-elliptical manipulation on fragments that takes advantage of contextual information to build up the sentential meaning. This permits us to reflect the commonalities underlying in fragment constructions.

For the functor *not,* I conceived a new lexical constraint that introduces a relation called *unequivalent-rel*, which represents an unequative relation between two arguments, the index of focused XP and its background proposition. Not only is this an adequate semantic analysis for a typical example of negative stripping, but it also suffices to account for the semantic peculiarities, the long-distance reading and the narrow scope reading of negation.

Taken together, the present thesis has the following significances. First, an in-depth investigation on the syntactic and semantic properties of negative stripping was conducted based on the corpus data. Second, a compelling counterargument to the movement and ellipsis-based approach on fragment constructions was provided. Instead of that, it was shown that the base-generated approach on fragments succeed in negative stripping. Third, a new subtype of *hd-funct-ph* was conceived that allows

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a composition of an adverbial functor and a fragment construction. Consequently, other subtypes of stripping constructions such as *probably*-stripping can also be described, by simply positing a different lexical constraint for each functor. Fourth, the semantics of negative stripping resulting from the interaction of negation and focus was discussed and represented in terms of HPSG.

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국문초록

영어의 부정 조각문에 대한
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영어의 부정 조각문(negative stripping)이란, 부정어 not과 단일 조각문(fragment) XP로 이루어진 비문장적(non-sentential) 조합이 문장적 의미를 가지는 현상을 일컫는다. 대부분의 이전 연구에서 스트리핑 구문(stripping)은 수문(sluicing), 조각 답문(fragment answer) 등과 함께, 원래 문장에서 나머지 부분들이 생략되면서 생성되는 조각문으로 간주되어왔다. 하지만 본 연구는 부정 조각문이 사실상 조각문에 대한 생략분석의 반례가 된다는 것을 밝히면서, 이에 대해 비생략분석에 기초한 새로운 통사·의미 구조를 제시하고자 한다.

통사적으로, 부정 조각문은 문장적 분포, 다양한 통사 범주, 그리고 범주 및 구조에 있어서 직전 문장의 상관 성분(correlate material)과의 유사성(parallelism)을 특징으로 한다. 이것들은 조각문의 일반적인 특성으로 여겨지는 것이기도 하다.

의미적으로는, Klima (1964)가 제시했던 부정 유형 진단을 통해 부정 조각문의 not이 구성소 부정(constituent negation)이 아니라 문장

부정(sentential negation)을 나타낸다는 것을 확인할 수 있다. 하지만 부정 조각문에서는 not의 장거리 해석(long-distance reading), 그리고 다른 양화사가 존재할 경우 not의 협의의 영향권 해석(narrow scope reading) 또한 관찰되는데, 이는 일반적인 문장 부정에서는 발생하지 않는 현상들이다. 이를 설명하기 위해서 본 연구는 부정 조각문에서 일어나는 부정과 초점(focus) 간의 상호작용에 주목한다. 문장 부정은 초점이 존재할 때 이를 직접 결속(bind)할 수 있고, 그 결과 'It is not XP that P(직전 문장에서 주어진 명제)'와 같은 초점에 민감한(focus-sensitive) 부정의 의미가 도출된다. 이는 부정 조각문의 기본적인 문장 부정적 해석뿐 아니라, 장거리 해석과 협의의 영향권 해석 등 의미적 특수성까지 설명할 수 있다.

Merchant (2003)로 대표되는 기존의 생략분석에서는, 완전한 문장에서 초점이 주어진 XP가 좌측 이동을 한 후 나머지 부분이 생략되고, 부정어 not이 그 상위의 NegP에 위치해서 전체 문장에 의미영역을 영향권으로 취하게 된 것을 부정 조각문으로 본다. 하지만 이 분석에서 가정되는 생략의 수의성, 좌측 이동 가능한 범주의 한정성, 그리고 엄격한 연결성 조건은 부정 조각문의 통사적 특징을 적절하게 설명하지 못한다. 또한 not이 단순히 문장적 의미영역을 취한다는 가정은 초점에 민감하다는 기본적 의미조차 나타낼 수 없으며, not의 광의의 영향권 해석(wide scope reading) 등 잘못된 예측을 생성하는 과오를 범한다.

따라서 본 연구는 유형화된 자질 구조(typed feature structure)를

통해 통사, 의미, 맥락 등 다층적인 정보를 운용할 수 있는 핵중심구구조문법(Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar)에 근거하여, 부정 조각문에 대한 비생략적 분석을 제안한다. 구체적으로, 부정 조각문은 조각문 XP가 부사어의 수식을 받는 구조를 나타내는 adverbial-fragment-phrase라는 새로운 구문 유형 제약에 의해 설명될 수 있다. 이는 Van Eynde (2003)가 수식어와 지정어의 구분을 없애고자 만든 제약인 head-functor-phrase의 하위 유형으로서, 통사 정보는 핵 딸어(head daughter)가, 의미 정보는 기능어 딸어(functor daughter)가 전달할 수 있기 때문에 부정 조각문의 구문특수적 특징을 잘 반영할 수 있다.

핵 딸어로는 Ginzburg and Sag (2000)가 제시한 제약인 head-fragment-phrase를 이용해서, 조각문의 문장적 의미가 MAX-QUD 등의 맥락적 특질로부터 도출되는 것으로 분석한다. 기능어 딸어로는 not에 대한 새로운 어휘 제약을 제시한다, 이 제약은, 부정 조각문에 사용되는 not이 초점화된 요소와 배경이 되는 명제 간에 unequivalent-rel이라는 의미 관계를 도입함으로써, 초점에 민감한 부정 해석을 표현하도록 해준다.

본 연구는 다음과 같은 의의를 지닌다. 첫째, 단독적으로 연구된 바 없는 부정 조각문의 통사·의미적 특성에 대해 코퍼스 자료에 근거해 심도 있게 조사하였다. 둘째, 조각문에 대한 기존의 생략분석에 대해 강력한 반례를 제시하였다. 셋째, 명사에 대한 수식어 위주로 연구됐던 head-functor-phrase에 대해 부사어가 조각문과 결합하는 새로운

하위 유형을 제시하여, 부정 조각문 외에 다른 기능어가 관여하는 조각문도 같은 구조 하에 설명될 수 있게 하였다. 넷째, 부정과 초점의 상호작용에 의한 부정 조각문의 의미를 탐구하고, 초점에 민감한 부정 해석을 핵중심구구조문법 내에서 구현하였다.