



A Corpus Study of the English Negative Stripping Construction and its Theoretical Consequences

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ABSTRACT

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The so-called English negative stripping construction (e.g., *Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not Japanese*) has received little attention and previous literature has mainly focused on the position of the negation marker *not*, making use of a limited amount of data constructed on the basis of individual researchers' own introspection. In this paper, I first investigate its grammatical properties based on attested corpus data and show that a variety of intriguing real life uses of the construction challenge the previous focus movement + PF deletion analyses. I then argue that a Direct Interpretation (DI) analysis, making use of structured discourse information as well as syntactic and semantic information, can provide a better account for its authentic grammatical properties.

KEYWORDS

English negative stripping construction, focus movement + PF deletion, direct interpretation, corpus-based, construction-based

1. Introduction

Stripping is a linguistic phenomenon, where a non *wh*-remnant appears as a fragment typically accompanied with a focus adverb or a negation marker, as exemplified in the English examples below (Depiante 2000, Hankamer and Sag 1976, Konietzko 2016, McCawley 1991, Merchant 2003, 2004, 2006, Reinhart 1991, Ross 1969):

- (1) a. Lee speaks Korean fluently, and Kim, too.
b. Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not Kim.

In each of these examples, the expression *Kim*, as a remnant, receives a contrastive focus in relation to the corresponding expression in the antecedent sentence, *Lee*, called its correlate. The single non-*wh* expression is then construed as a full sentence such as “and Kim speaks Korean fluently, too” in (1a) and “but Kim does not speak Korean fluently” in (1b).

Among different types of stripping, this paper particularly focuses on the English negative stripping construction as illustrated in (1b). In general, negative stripping has been rather neglected in previous literature. For instance, the English negative stripping construction has received little attention and the emphasis has been limited to the position of the negation marker *not*, as pointed out by Merchant (2004) (see McCawley 1991, Merchant 2003, for general discussion about its position). In addition, previous literature on the English negative stripping construction has only made use of a limited amount of data constructed based on individual researchers’ own linguistic intuitions (Depiante 2000, Konietzko 2016, Merchant 2003, 2006). This calls for corpus-based research, using a large, balanced corpus data, to figure out how the construction is actually used in real life situations.

Note, at this point, that the English negative stripping construction has a certain resemblance to the so-called English negative contrastive construction. First, consider the examples of the English negative contrastive construction in (2) (Busquets 2006, Drubig 1994, Gates and Seright 1967, Konietzko 2016):¹

- (2) a. Lee, not Kim, speaks Korean fluently.
b. Lee speaks Korean fluently, not Kim.
c. Lee speaks Korean fluently, not Japanese.

Similar to the English negative stripping construction, the English negative contrastive construction contains a negation marker *not*. However, some evidence has been presented, which shows differences between the two constructions (Drubig 1994). As an illustration, observe the examples in (3):

- (3) a. John visited Texas, (but) not California.
b. John was born in Texas, (*but) not in California.

The example in (3a) is acceptable either as an instance of the English negative stripping construction or as an instance of the English negative contrastive construction and the distinction is based on the presence or absence of the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*. That is, it is taken as an instance of the English negative stripping construction when it is present whereas it is taken as an instance of the English negative contrastive construction when it is absent. On the other hand, the example in (3b) is acceptable only as an instance of the English negative

¹ See Kim (2019) for the distinction between the two in Korean.

contrastive construction when the conjunction *but* is absent. When it is present, the example is not taken to be acceptable as an instance of the English negative stripping construction. Note then that the English negative contrastive construction invokes a corrective interpretation. That is, with respect to meaning and information structure, the English negative contrastive construction only allows one single alternative; on the other hand, the English negative stripping construction is operative over a set of alternatives (Konietzko 2016: 13). This difference then explains why the example in (3b) is not taken to be acceptable as an instance of the English negative stripping construction, because one can only be born in one place, A or B. Due to such differences in meaning and information structure, in this paper I focus on the English negative stripping construction involving *but not* together, disregarding the English negative contrastive construction containing only *not* without the conjunction *but*.

The rest of this paper proceeds as follows. In section 2, I first discuss key grammatical properties of the English negative stripping construction noted in previous literature. In section 3, I briefly review the previous analyses of the English negative stripping construction, which posit focus movement + PF deletion processes. In section 4, I then report the findings of my corpus investigation to understand authentic uses of the English negative stripping construction in real life contexts and discuss data that do not support the claims made in previous literature. In section 5, I sketch a construction-based Direct Interpretation (DI) analysis of the construction with no postulation of hidden syntactic structure in the putative ellipsis site. Finally, in section 6, I summarize the main findings and conclude the paper.

2. Key Grammatical Properties of the English Negative Stripping Construction

Previous literature has noted that the English negative stripping construction shows diverse intriguing grammatical properties. In this section, I provide a brief review of its key grammatical properties discussed in previous literature. First, the English negative stripping construction needs a linguistic antecedent sentence (Depiante 2000, Hankamer and Sag 1976, Kolokonte 2008).

(4) [Mary is reading *El Quijote*] John says: #But not Hamlet?

The unacceptability of examples as in (4) shows us that in order for the English negative stripping construction to be licensed, a pragmatically-controlled antecedent is not enough.

Next, as noted earlier, the remnant-correlate pair need to be in a contrastive focus relation between each other in the English negative stripping construction (Depiante 2000, Kolokonte 2008, Merchant 2003, Winkler 2005). Consider the following ungrammatical English negative stripping construction examples:

- (5) a. *John drank BEER last night, but not BEER.
b. *John went crazy, but not to Texas.

Examples as in (5a) are ruled out because the remnant and its correlate have the same reference and thus they cannot be in a contrastive focus relation with each other. Examples as in (5b) are also ruled out due to a related but rather different reason. To be more specific, the example in (5b) is ungrammatical, since the remnant *to Texas* functions as a goal argument but its presumptive correlate *crazy* serves as a subject predicative complement, denoting its property. In this respect, they cannot be in a contrastive focus relation with each other, although each of them can function as the complement of the same verb *go*.

Another key grammatical property of the English negative stripping construction involves diverse syntactic categories and grammatical functions of the remnant, as illustrated below (Depiante 2000, Hankamer and Sag 1976):

- (6) a. John drank beer last night, but not Mary. (Subject, NP)
 b. John drank beer yesterday, but not wine. (Direct Object, NP)
 c. John gave candy to Mary, but not to Sue. (Oblique Complement, PP)
 d. John finds Mary very pretty, but not so smart. (Predicative Complement, AdjP)
 e. John seems to be present for the meeting physically, but not mentally. (Modifier, AdvP)

As shown in these examples, in the English negative stripping construction, the remnant can correspond to a subject, direct object, oblique complement, predicative complement, or modifier in terms of its grammatical function; furthermore, it can be realized as an NP, PP, AdjP, AdvP, and so on with regard to its syntactic category.

The English negative stripping construction allows a sentential adverb along with the remnant as well, as in (7) (Depiante 2000, Merchant 2003):

- (7) a. John drank my beer, but fortunately not my wine.
 b. Samples may survive for several years, but certainly not for centuries.

Expressions such as *fortunately* and *certainly* are sentential adverbs (Bellert 1977, Jackendoff 1972). Examples like (7), thus, indicate that the English negative stripping construction gives rise to a sentential interpretation, even though there is only one non-sentential constituent remnant.

In addition, the English negative stripping construction allows for a preposition drop on the remnant (Depiante 2000, Merchant 2003).²

- (8) a. John talked about stripping, but not (about) gapping.
 b. John gave flowers to Mary, but not (to) Sue.

In these English negative stripping construction examples, the remnant can optionally retain a preposition, which is identical to the preposition of the correlate in the antecedent sentence.

Moreover, the English negative stripping construction has been known for the impossibility to occur in an embedded environment and island sensitivity, as shown below (Depiante 2000, Johnson 2018, Kolokonte 2008, Konietzko 2016, Reinhart 1991):

- (9) a. *Lee speaks Korean fluently, but I think that not Kim.
 b. *John drank beer last night, but I am certain that not wine.

- (10) *The news that John has resigned is shocking, but not Mary.

² Needless to say, the presence of the preposition makes the meaning of the English negative stripping construction examples clearer and causes no ambiguity. For example, with the absence of the preposition in (8b), the example can have another meaning, "John gave flowers to Mary but Sue did not".

In (9), the remnant is embedded by a matrix clause and the result becomes ungrammatical. In (10), the remnant has a correlate which occurs within a complex NP in the antecedent sentence and the ungrammaticality of examples as in (10) shows us that the English negative stripping construction obeys island constraints.

Lastly, the English negative stripping construction cannot have a negative antecedent sentence, as demonstrated in the following (Kolokonte 2008, Veloudis 1982):

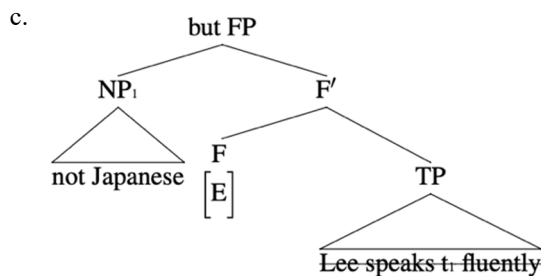
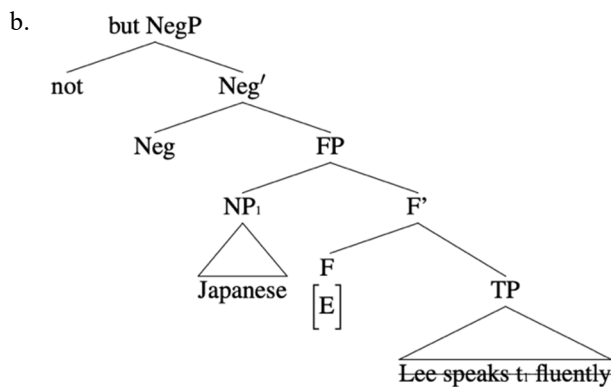
- (11) a. *John didn't pass the exam, but not Mary.
- b. *John doesn't like semantics, but not syntax.

As shown here, the English negative stripping construction is not licensed with a positive interpretation in the context where it has a negative antecedent sentence (i.e., *but Mary passed the exam* for (11a); *but John likes syntax* for (11b)).

3. Previous Analyses of the English Negative Stripping Construction

In the previous literature, it has been argued that the English negative stripping construction is generated by focus movement + PF deletion, although there have been different views on whether the negation maker involves sentential negation or constituent negation (Depiante 2000, McCawley 1991, Merchant 2003). According to their analyses, the English negative stripping construction example in (12a) can be generated as shown in the representations in (12b) or (12c):

- (12) a. Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not Japanese.



In the analysis represented in (12b), the negation marker *not* appears in the specifier position of a functional projection NegP and the remnant moves to the specifier position of another functional projection FP (Focus Phrase). The remaining material is then elided under identity with the antecedent sentence. Note that in this representation, the negation marker *not* involves sentential negation and it does not form a constituent with the focused remnant. On the other hand, in the analysis represented in (12c), the negation marker *not* forms a single constituent with the focused expression and thus involves constituent negation. Here, the constituent as a whole moves to the specifier position of the FP and then the remaining material is elided under identity with the antecedent sentence.

One potential theoretical problem that these focus movement + PF deletion analyses encounter is that their putative source examples are ungrammatical. Consider the derivational processes below:

- (13) a. *Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not he speaks Japanese fluently.
b. *Lee speaks Korean fluently, but he speaks not Japanese fluently.

As shown here, regardless of whether we posit sentential negation as in (13a) or constituent negation as in (13b), their putative source examples before the deletion takes place are ungrammatical.

An additional problem with the focus movement + PF deletion analyses concerns the restriction on the conjunction in the English negative stripping construction. As can be seen below, two sentences can be conjoined by a variety of coordinating conjunctions but the English negative stripping construction only allows the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*:³

- (14) a. Lee speaks Korean fluently, {but/and/or} he does not speak Japanese fluently.
b. Lee speaks Korean fluently, {but/*and/*or} not Japanese.

As illustrated in (14a), coordinating conjunctions like *but*, *and*, and *or* can combine two sentences together; however, as in (14b), only *but*, but not the other two, can introduce the English negative stripping construction. Even putting aside the issue of the position of the negation marker *not*, the focus movement + PF deletion analyses cannot provide an explanation for this difference.

³ Previous literature shows that even some subordinating conjunctions expressing contrast can also introduce the English negative stripping construction (Merchant 2003, Wurmbrand 2017):

- (i) a. Abby speaks passable Dutch, (al)though not Ben. (Merchant 2003: 7, 38c)

The English negative stripping construction example here is introduced by a subordinating conjunction *although* or *though*, indicating that some speakers use such subordinating conjunctions as well as the coordinating conjunction *but* for the English negative stripping construction.

4. Corpus Findings and Discussion

4.1 Corpus Used and Search Methods

In order to examine real life uses and grammatical properties of the English negative stripping construction, I performed a corpus investigation using COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) (Davies 2008).⁴ To extract examples of the English negative stripping construction from COCA, I first searched for all instances of *but not* from COCA. This simple string search provided 53,900 instances of *but not*. I then made use of the built-in sample extraction function in COCA to draw 1,000 random sample examples from them. After a sample extraction of 1,000 instances of *but not* from COCA, I manually filtered out irrelevant examples as in (15):

- (15) a. KATHIE-LEE-GIFFORD: You are one. DEAN-CAIN: I am a bachelor but not the – (COCA 2017 SPOK)
 b. First, all signals of fictionality must be traceable to characteristics of fiction, but not the other way around. (COCA 2004 ACAD)
 c. Trump’s face stares from a poster in a storefront window in DeWitt, but not everyone in town is a fan. (COCA 2017 NEWS)

The example in (15a) involves an incomplete sentence while the example in (15b) contains a fixed expression *but not the other way around*. In the meantime, the example in (15c) does not involve ellipsis. Examples as in (15) are irrelevant to the English negative stripping construction and after filtering out such irrelevant examples manually, I have collected 924 instances of the English negative stripping construction, for which I have performed a quantitative and qualitative analysis, as discussed in what follows.

4.2 Authentic Properties of the English Negative Stripping Construction

4.2.1 Types of the remnant and its relation to its correlate

As for the identified English negative stripping construction examples, I first checked the syntactic categories of the remnant, and Table 1 below shows the uses of the construction by the syntactic categories of the remnant.

⁴ COCA is freely available at <https://www.english-corpora.org/co.coca/> and it is the largest, balanced corpus of Contemporary American English. When the corpus search was made for this research in 2019, the corpus was composed of 600 million words of text from 1990 to 2019 and it contained data from five different registers (i.e., spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic).

**Table 1. Frequencies of the English Negative Stripping Construction Examples in COCA
by the Syntactic Categories of the Remnant**

Remnant category	Frequency	Remnant category	Frequency
AdjP	168	NP	274
AdjP + PP	1	NP + PP	2
AdvP	85	Particle	1
AdvP + AdvP	1	PP	203
AdvP + PP	4	V	3
Clause	38	VP	123
Det	19		
		Total	924

As seen from Table 1 here, the most frequent syntactic category of the remnant in the English negative stripping construction is NP, followed by PP, AdjP, VP, AdvP, and clause. This means that major phrasal syntactic categories serve as the remnant in the construction, as shown in (16):⁵

- (16) a. Williams looked kind of awkward, but not [DiMaggio]. (COCA 1999 SPOK) (NP remnant)
 b. Today, the plant could still manufacture a flower bud because day is longer than night, but not [after next Wednesday]. (COCA 1991 NEWS) (PP remnant)
 c. It should be aromatic, with a sour-fruity smell, but not [too vinegary]. (COCA 2013 MAG) (AdjP remnant)
 d. They have been criticized for rescuing a building, but not [looking after people in need]. (COCA 2019 SPOK) (VP remnant)
 e. Either way, collar bells can reduce their hunting effectiveness a little bit, but not [that much]. (COCA 2010 NEWS) (AdvP remnant)
 f. She lowered her gaze to her lap, but not [before Gia glimpsed the pain in her eyes]. (COCA 2017 FIC) (Clause remnant)

In addition to these phrasal category remnants, some examples have a simple word-level category remnant and even two remnants as in (17) and (18):

⁵ An anonymous reviewer points out that it is not clear whether some attested examples are instances of the English negative stripping construction or those of the pure coordinating conjunction construction. In fact, previous literature provides examples like the following:

- (i) a. Jane gave presents to John, but not to Geoff. (Lobeck 1995: 27, 66a)
 b. Mozart was born in Salzburg, but not in Vienna. (Drubig 2006: 1994, fn. 40)
 c. This article appeared in the NY Times but not the Daily Telegraph. (Johnson 2018: 570, 33b)
 d. John likes swimming but not surfing. (Kolokonte 2008: 8, 1)

In these examples, there is no linguistic element between the remnant and its correlate and they are still classified as instances of the English negative stripping construction. These examples can then be regarded as involving either sentential negation or constituent negation, depending on the context. In either way, they can be formally represented in the present analysis, as will be discussed in section 5.

- (17) a. Teachers', but not [parents'], reports of children's positive emotionality were predictive of children's dispositional sympathy. (COCA 1998 ACAD) (Determiner remnant)
 b. "You mean the manifold has become randomized? Nexus surfaces are forming between any two doors?" "If that means people can get in but not [out], then, yeah." (COCA 2019 FIC) (Particle remnant)
 c. However, a Chapter 7 bankruptcy - the most typical bankruptcy protection filed by individuals - will at best delay, but not [prevent], a foreclosure. (COCA 2013 NEWS) (Verb remnant)
- (18) a. He was one of those reporters, unique in our time here, but not [so unique] [in the time when we were all young in the 1950s and 60s], reporters who cared greatly about getting the facts right. (COCA 2007 SPOK) (AdjP + PP remnants)
 b. And then the other – and this is more the case of the British bombers and I think more generally the case – upwardly mobile people, doing quite well economically and – but not [very well] [culturally]. (COCA 2005 SPOK) (AdvP + AdvP remnants)
 c. During television interviews, for example, secular parties focused on Al Nahda's predicted policies of gender discrimination, but not [as much] [on the substance of their own platforms]. (COCA 2001 NEWS) (AdvP + PP remnants)
 d. Reminds me of when Barbra Streisand, when "Yentl" got nominated for best picture, but not [Barbra] [for best director]. (COCA 2015 SPOK) (NP + PP remnants)

The distribution of the identified English negative stripping construction examples by the categories of the remnant shows that a variety of word- and phrase-level categories and even multiple constituents can serve as remnants in the construction, although major phrase-level categories are frequently used as single remnants.

I also looked into category matches and mismatches between the remnant and its correlate. Observe Table 2 for the distribution of the identified English negative stripping construction examples by remnant-correlate category matches and mismatches:

Table 2. Frequencies of the English Negative Stripping Construction Examples in COCA by Remnant-Correlate Category Matches/Mismatches

Remnant cat.	Match freq.	Mismatch freq.	Remnant cat.	Match freq.	Mismatch freq.
AdjP	149	19	NP	254	20
AdjP + PP	1	0	NP + PP	2	0
AdvP	30	55	Particle	1	0
AdvP + AdvP	1	0	PP	101	102
AdvP + PP	0	4	V	3	0
Clause	5	33	VP	106	19
Det	18	1			
			Total	671	253

The results here first show that the category match between the remnant and its correlate is not required, but strongly preferred. Note, in addition, that there are two different types of English negative stripping construction examples involving category mismatches, as demonstrated below:

- (19) a. Today, the plant could still manufacture a flower bud because day is longer than night, but not [after next Wednesday]. (COCA 1991 NEWS)
 b. It seemed at the time a cute gesture, but not [that significant]. (COCA 2011 SPOK)
- (20) a. As the nation turns to cheaper imported foods, smart farmers are selling their land to developers, but not [happily]. (COCA 1999 MAG)
 b. I've heard it a lot of times from Democrats, but not [when there's a war going on]. (COCA 2003 SPOK)

In examples as in (19), the remnant has an overt correlate in the antecedent sentence. For instance, in (19a) the PP remnant *after next Wednesday* has an NP correlate *today* and in (19b) the AdjP remnant *that significant* has an NP correlate *a cute gesture*. On the other hand, in examples as in (20), the remnant has no overt correlate. For example, in (20a) the AdvP remnant *happily* does not have a manner-denoting constituent in the antecedent sentence and in (20b) the *when*-clause remnant does not have a time-denoting constituent in the antecedent sentence.

Related to the property described above, in terms of the correlate/antecedent type, the English negative stripping construction can be classified into two different types with respect to the status of the correlate: merger and sprouting.⁶ In the merger type of the English negative stripping construction, the remnant has an overt correlate in the antecedent sentence whereas in the sprouting type of the English negative stripping construction, there is no overt correlate. Out of the identified 924 English negative stripping construction examples, 742 involve the merger type while the remaining 182 involve the sprouting type. Their distribution by the two types and the categories of the remnant is given in Table 3:

Table 3. Frequencies of the English Negative Stripping Construction Examples in COCA by the Categories of the Remnant and Merger/Sprouting Types

Remnant cat.	Merger freq.	Sprouting freq.	Remnant cat.	Merger freq.	Sprouting freq.
AdjP	165	3	NP	261	13
AdjP + PP	1	0	NP + PP	2	0
AdvP	41	44	Particle	1	0
AdvP + AdvP	1	0	PP	117	86
AdvP + PP	2	2	V	3	0
Clause	8	30	VP	122	3
Det	18	1			
			Total	742	182

A subset of the identified English negative stripping construction examples with remnant-correlate category mismatches are of the sprouting type. In most of the sprouting examples, the remnant functions as a modifier/adjunct as in (21), but in a few examples the remnant functions as an argument as in (22):

- (21) a. I do yoga, but not [every day]. (COCA 2003 MAG)
 b. You can run Win 95 on 4MB, but not [satisfactorily]. (COCA 1996 MAG)
 c. This makes the Christmas tree come to life, but not [with lights]. (COCA 1992 FIC)
 d. I leaned heavily upon my desk, but not [before my right knee almost touched the floor]. (COCA 2008 FIC)

⁶ Originally, the terms merger and sprouting were introduced in Chung et al. (1995) as two different types of sluicing.

- (22) a. MORRISON: Do you know how many injuries they've had? Mr-STEARNs: Injuries they might have, but not [of a nature that it's crippling for life]. (COCA 2001 SPOK)
- b. SEN-HATCH: Just indicted two people this week. REP-FRANK: Excuse me. But not [of the Clinton administration doing anything wrong since the Clinton administration was in]. (COCA 1998 SPOK)

As noted above, the previous literature on (negative) stripping in general has mainly focused on the merger type, where the remnant and its correlate are overtly expressed and they are in a contrastive focus relation, disregarding the sprouting type. However, the distribution in Table 3 and examples as in (21)-(22) indicate that the English negative stripping construction, in fact, involves the two types in real life uses, although the merger type is more dominant than the sprouting type.

In sum, authentic uses of the English negative stripping construction show that a variety of syntactic categories (both word- and phrase-level categories) can appear as the remnant and in some cases multiple remnants are possible. In addition, in many attested examples the remnant does not have the same syntactic category as its correlate and it does not even have an overt correlate, involving the sprouting type. All of these observations have not been discussed in previous literature which has basically taken the introspection-based perspective and posited the focus movement + PF deletion processes.

4.2.2 Anti-connectivity effects

As we noted earlier, previous analyses of the English negative stripping construction positing focus movement + PF deletion face problems in that their putative source sentences are ungrammatical. Note also that according to the focus movement + PF deletion analyses, regardless of whether they assume sentential or constituent negation, connectivity effects are predicted. However, corpus data indicate that connectivity effects can be overridden in authentic uses of the English negative stripping construction. For instance, within the focus movement + PF deletion analyses, the preposition identity between the PP remnant and its overt correlate is expected. Nonetheless, there are cases which violate this type of morphosyntactic valency identity constraint as in (23) (for similar reasoning, see Miller 2014 for pseudogapping and Kim and Abeillé 2019 for *why*-stripping):

- (23) a. The education group receives information on diet, managing medications and other health-related matters, but not [about physical exercise]. (COCA 2012 NEWS)
- b. As crowds built up, we used the new-to-me Fastpass system, which allows you to book appointments on favorite rides. Fastpass got us easily into Splash Mountain, but not, alas, [onto Space Mountain], which is closed until 2005, and not onto Indiana Jones Adventure, which on the day we visited seemed booked until 2006. (COCA 2004 MAG)

Here, the PP remnant has a PP correlate which serves as a complement whose P form is determined by a lexical item (i.e., *information* for (23a) and *got* for (23b)). However, the P form of the remnant and that of its correlate are not identical. These examples suggest that complete syntactic identity is not required in forming the putative source sentence for the English negative stripping construction and that semantic or pragmatic information instead plays an important role.

In addition, case matching is expected between the remnant and its correlate. However, the identified English negative stripping construction examples include cases where case matching is not observed as in (24):⁷

- (24) a. I play the Pink Panther Christmas record, the Raggedy Ann one, Bing Crosby's one, all the goofy stuff
– I love it. Everyone gets sick of it, but not [me]. (COCA 1990 NEWS)
b. Some teams get paid a little bit, but not [us]. (COCA 2018 FIC)

In these examples, the remnant has an accusative case but its correlate functions as a subject requiring a nominative case. This reflects the general constraint that when a pronoun alone functions as a fragment subject, it is required to take an accusative case (Ginzburg and Sag 2000: 299). This then implies that we cannot resort solely to syntactic identity in constructing a putative source sentence for the remnant in the English negative stripping construction.

The focus movement + PF deletion analyses also predict that the English negative stripping construction is subject to a certain set of syntactic movement operations such as island constraints.⁸ However, a variety of attested English negative stripping construction examples display insensitivity to island constraints (for a similar point, see Miller 2014 for pseudogapping and Yoshida et al. 2015 and Kim and Abeillé 2019 for *why*-stripping).

- (25) a. I'm known around here as a fast worker, but not [this fast]. (COCA 1992 FIC)
b. That's what a white conservative who's rich would say, but not [someone in a poor neighborhood].
(COCA 2000 MAG)
c. Leibniz could form a clear and distinct idea of substances but not [of anything passing between them].
(COCA 1998 ACAD)

Examples like (25a) would violate the left branch constraint. For instance, the AdjP remnant in (25a) *this fast* has a correlate *fast* within an NP in the antecedent sentence. Examples such as (25b) would involve a violation of the *wh*-island constraint. The NP remnant in (25b) *someone in a poor neighborhood* has a correlate *a white conservative who's rich* within a free relative clause introduced by *what* in the antecedent sentence. Examples like (25c) would result in a violation of the complex NP constraint. The PP remnant in (25c) has a correlate *of substances*, which functions as a complement of a noun *idea*, so that it is within a complex NP. These examples imply that syntax-based focus movement + PF deletion analyses are not satisfactory in accounting for real life uses of the English negative stripping construction.

Furthermore, the focus movement + PF deletion analyses are problematic for English negative stripping construction examples whose antecedents are not sentence-level expressions, but just fragments.

⁷ Corpus searches yield no English negative stripping construction examples with a nominative pronominal NP remnant (i.e., *but not I/we/he/she/they*) in COCA.

⁸ An anonymous reviewer points out that English negative stripping construction examples as in (25) can still be explained by the focus movement + PF deletion analyses, mentioning that previous focus movement + PF deletion analyses have shown that island violations are repaired by ellipsis at PF in certain contexts (e.g., Fox and Lasnik 2003, Merchant 2001, 2004). Note, however, that even such previous focus movement + PF deletion analyses argue that in English sluicing is insensitive to island constraints while (negative) stripping and fragments are sensitive to them (Kolokonte 2008, Merchant 2004, Reinhart 1991).

- (26) a. “Wouldn’t you like to see California?” He shrugged. “Maybe someday, but not [right now].” (COCA 2011 FIC)
- b. They waited as well. Very polite, but not [Jap polite]. (COCA 1996 FIC)
- c. We are led over to an open area in front of the Evacuation Site sign. “Everybody spread out,” a man with a bullhorn commands. “An arm’s length apart from the person in front of you and behind you.” A crowd, but not [too crowded]. (COCA 1996 NEWS)

Examples like these involve a remnant whose correlate is just a fragment, not a sentence-level expression. For instance, in (26a) the remnant *right now* has a fragment correlate *someday*. Note here that the fragment correlate can get a sentential interpretation on the basis of the preceding linguistic context *Wouldn’t you like to see California?* so that it can be construed as *Maybe I would like to see California someday*. This in turn then allows the English negative stripping construction example to be understood as *but I would not like to see California right now*. In (26b) the remnant *Jap polite* also has a fragment correlate *polite* but unlike (26a) the meaning of the English negative stripping construction example here cannot be directly retrieved from the preceding linguistic context *They waited as well*; rather, its intended meaning is something like “Their behavior was very polite but it was not Jap polite”. In (26c) the remnant *too crowded* has a fragment correlate *a crowd* and the two have different syntactic categories (i.e., AdjP remnant and NP correlate). The meaning of the English negative stripping construction example cannot be understood from the preceding linguistic context *Everybody spread out. An arm’s length apart from the person in front of you and behind you*; instead, it describes the situation and can be construed as “There was a crowd, but it was not too crowded”. Examples as in (26) provide further support for the idea that syntax-based analyses of the English negative stripping construction are not satisfactory.

In sum, real life uses of the English negative stripping construction indicate that there need not be a morphosyntactic identity between the remnant and its correlate, that the construction does not have to observe the island constraints, and that the meaning resolution does not entirely depend on the preceding linguistic context. The focus movement + PF deletion analyses, requiring tight syntactic relations with the preceding linguistic context, encounter problems in accounting for these authentic uses of the construction.

5. A Direction for a Direct Interpretation (DI) Analysis

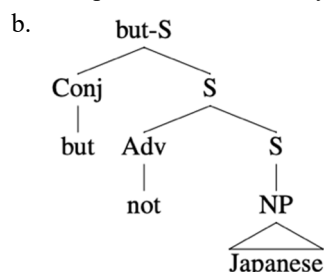
We have seen above that attested corpus examples of the English negative stripping construction present serious challenges to the focus movement + PF deletion analyses. This in turn indicates that the complex sentential syntactic structure is not required for the English negative stripping construction and instead that the remnant is just the categorial projection of the remnant itself. The direct interpretation (DI) approach directly generates ellipsis with no sentential source structure and it allows the meaning resolution of the elided part by structured discourse (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Jacobson 2016, Kim 2015a, 2015b, Kim and Abeillé 2019, Kim and Kim 2020, Kim and Nykiel 2020, Nykiel 2013, Sag and Nykiel 2011) According to the DI perspective, there is no syntactic structure in the ellipsis site and a fragment itself is the sole daughter of an S-node, directly generated from the Head-Fragment Construction stated below (Ginzburg and Sag 2000):

(27) Head-Fragment Construction:

Any category can be projected into a NSU (non-sentential utterance) when it functions as a salient utterance (SAL-UTT).

All the attested NSUs in the English negative stripping construction belong to this Head-Fragment Construction, as can be seen from the following structure:

(28) a. Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not Japanese.



The negation maker *not* combines with a sentential expression directly generated from the NP remnant *Japanese* and the resulting negative sentential expression combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* to form an English negative stripping construction example as a whole.

For the resolution of a fragment into a propositional meaning, the DI approach relies on the structured discourse information rather than the syntactically putative source sentence. In particular, the interpretation of a fragment depends on the notion of Question Under Discussion (QUD) in the dialogue. This means that the meaning of the NSU is resolved by means of discourse-based machinery. To be more specific, dialogues are stored and described in DGB (Discourse Game Board), where the contextual parameters are anchored and where information on who said what to whom and who/what they refer to, etc. is recorded (See Ginzburg 2012). DGB monitors which questions are under discussion, what answers have been provided, and so on. The conversational events are tracked by a variety of conversational ‘moves’ that have specific preconditions and effects. The main tenet is that NSUs, functioning as salient utterances, are resolved to the contextual parameters of the DGB. Note also that the value of QUD is constantly being updated as the dialogue progresses, and thus the relevant context provides the basis for the interpretation of a fragment. In this discourse-based DI system, DGB is part of the contextual information and has at least the features MAX-QUD (maximal question under discussion) and SAL-UTT (salient utterance), given in (29):

$$(29) \left[\text{DGB} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MAX-QUD ...} \\ \text{SAL-UTT ...} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

The feature MAX-QUD takes *questions* as its value and represents the question currently under discussion. In the meantime, the feature SAL-UTT takes syntactic and semantic information as its values and represents the utterance which receives the widest scope within MAX-QUD.

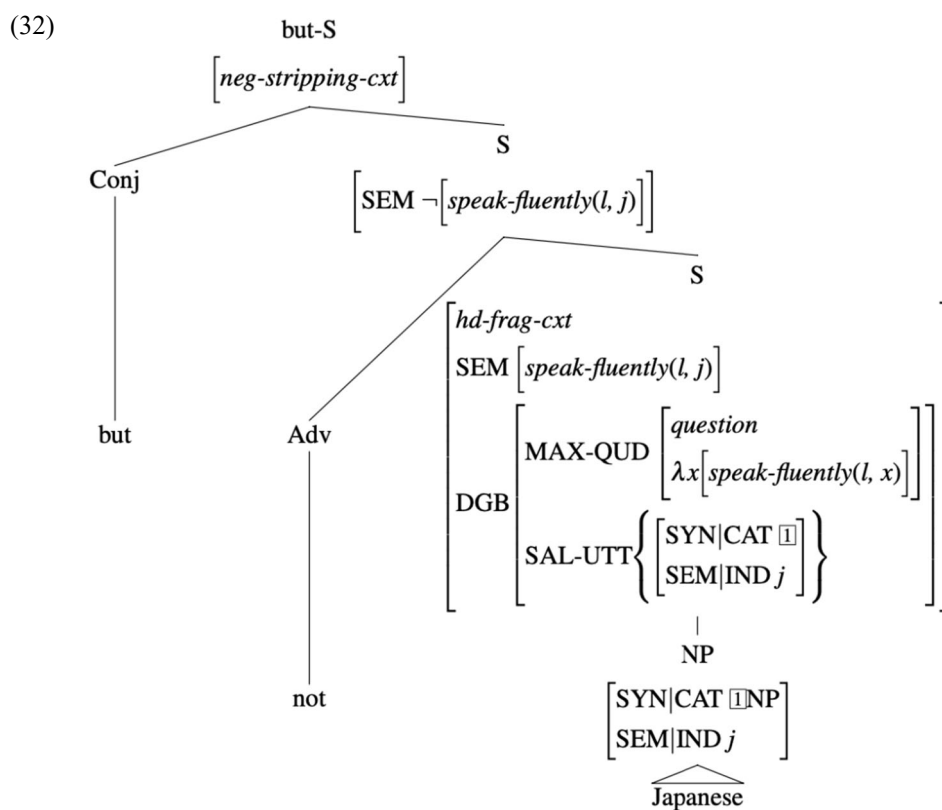
To see how this system works out, first consider a typical merger English negative stripping construction example again:

(30) Lee speaks Korean fluently, but not Japanese.

When the antecedent declarative sentence *Lee speaks Korean fluently* is uttered, it can introduce a QUD, activating the proper DGB information, as given in the following:

$$(31) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{DGB} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MAX-QUD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{question} \\ \lambda x [\text{ speak-fluently}(l, x)] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SAL-UTT} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [\text{SYN|CAT NP}] \\ [\text{SEM|IND } x] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

As represented here, the antecedent declarative sentence can introduce a QUD asking for which language Lee speaks fluently. The negative stripping construction example *but not Japanese* basically provides a value for the variable *x* and negates the proposition with a contrastive focus in relation to the correlate *Korean* in the antecedent sentence. Since the Head-Fragment Construction permits any salient utterance (SAL-UTT) or focal utterance to be projected into a sentential expression and the SAL-UTT is associated with the remnant, the negative stripping construction example in (30) can have a structure like the one below:



As shown here, the fragment NSU is projected into a stand-alone sentence, following the Head-Fragment Construction. This fragment NSU functions as the SAL-UTT value and thus refers to the QUD introduced by the antecedent declarative sentence *Lee speaks Korean fluently*. The evoked QUD is that there is a certain language such that Lee speaks it fluently. The fragment NSU provides a value for it and the negation marker *not*, combining the stand-alone sentence projected from the NSU, negates its propositional meaning (i.e., *Lee does not speak Japanese fluently*). The resulting S, in turn, combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, forming a legitimate English negative stripping construction example as a whole.

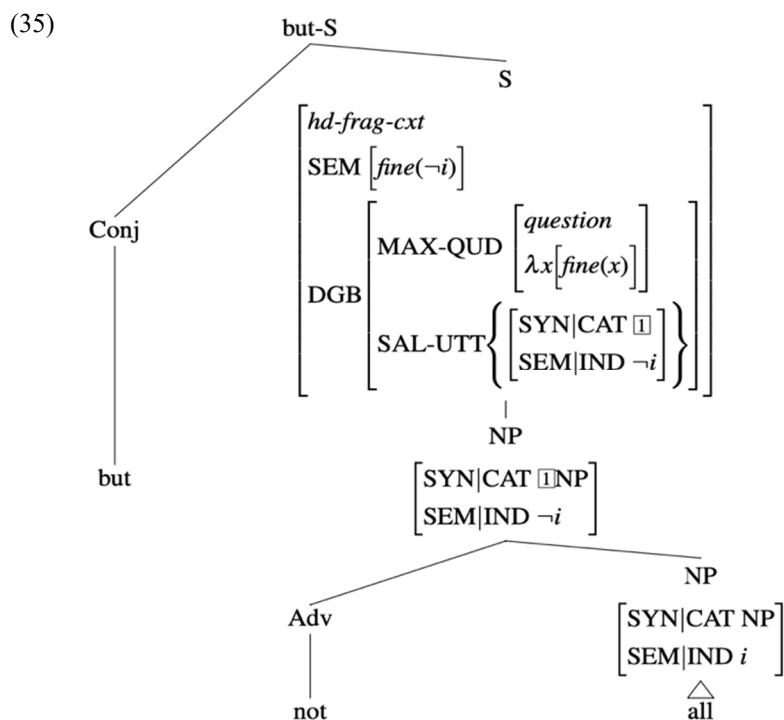
Note, at this juncture, that the English negative stripping construction example in (30) is naturally understood as involving sentential negation with the paraphrase “but Lee does not speak Japanese fluently” instead of involving constituent negation with the paraphrase “but Lee speaks not Japanese fluently”. However, there are also cases where the English negative stripping construction is best construed as involving constituent negation. For instance, consider the attested example in (33):

(33) Some foreign nations are fine, but not all. (COCA 2015 MAG)

The English negative stripping construction example here is understood as “but not all foreign nations are fine” with constituent negation rather than “but all foreign are not fine” with sentential negation. The existence of examples as in (30) and (33) explains why there have been two different views on the position of the negation marker *not* in the previous focus movement + PF deletion analyses. As we discussed above in section 3, examples as in (30) pose a problem for the focus movement + PF deletion analysis only positing constituent negation as represented in (12c) while examples as in (33) present a challenge for the focus movement + PF deletion analysis only postulating sentential negation as represented in (12b). However, the present analysis can license English negative stripping construction examples with constituent negation with structured discourse information as well. For example, the antecedent declarative sentence *Some foreign countries are fine* in (33) can introduce a QUD, activating the appropriate DGB information, as given in (34):

(34)
$$\left[\text{DGB} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MAX-QUD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{question} \\ \lambda x[\text{fine}(x)] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SAL-UTT} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{SYN|CAT} \quad \text{NP}] \\ [\text{SEM|IND} \quad x] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

As shown here, the antecedent declarative sentence can introduce a QUD questioning what are fine. The English negative stripping construction example *but not all* provides a value for the variable x and puts it in a contrastive focus relation to the correlate *some foreign countries*. Note here that the negation marker *not* does not negate the proposition but it negates the fragment NSU directly. This can be represented in the following structure:



As represented here, the fragment NSU is first modified by the negation marker *not*, forming a bigger fragment NSU, and then it is projected into a stand-alone sentence, in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction. The negated fragment NSU serves as the SAL-UTT value and refers to the QUD introduced by the antecedent declarative sentence *Some foreign countries are fine*. The evoked QUD is that there are certain foreign countries such that they are fine. The negated fragment NSU provides a value for it and yields the propositional meaning of the stand-alone sentence projected from it (i.e., *not all foreign countries are fine*). The resulting S, then, combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, forming a well-formed English negative stripping construction example.

Note, at this point, that in the English negative stripping construction the combination of the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* and the S directly generated from the fragment NSU in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction is a construction-specific constraint. As we discussed in (14), no other conjunctions are allowed and this holds true regardless of whether the negation marker *not* in the English negative stripping construction involves sentential negation or constituent negation.

- (36) a. *Lee speaks Korean fluently, and/or/while/whereas not Japanese.
- b. *Some foreign countries are fine, and/or/while/whereas not all.

As we noted earlier, the English negative stripping construction involves the operation over a set of alternatives, not a single alternative with a corrective interpretation. This property in terms of meaning and information structure is attributed to the coordination conjunction *but* in the construction as well.

In addition, as observed in (9a) and (9b) the negative remnant part cannot occur in an embedded environment. With this in mind, consider the contrast below:

- (37) a. And I don't think he's thinking about anything politically in the future yet. I'm sure he will, but I think (*that) not now. (COCA 2001 SPOK)
 b. He is angry, but I think (*that) not impetuous. (COCA 1990 SPOK)
 c. It is a little setback, but I hope (*that) not that much (COCA 2003 NEWS)

The presence of an overt complementizer *that* renders English negative stripping construction examples ungrammatical; however, the absence of it ameliorates the ungrammaticality as shown in these attested corpus examples (Wurmbrand 2017). Note here that in these examples expressions like *I think/guess/hope* function as adverbial parentheticals. Their property as adverbial parentheticals can be seen in examples as in (38) as well:

- (38) a. She was in her nineties but somehow lived alone. But not anymore, Nayma thought. (COCA 2018 FIC)
 b. Almost everything, I dare to think, eyeing those squiggling earthworms at my shovel's end with distaste; but not much, I finally hope. (COCA 1994 FIC)

Here, expressions like *Nayma thought* and *I finally hope* occur at the sentence-final position in the English negative stripping construction examples, showing their property as adverbial parentheticals.

As a way to capture these peculiarities about the form, meaning, and information structure, I suggest that English employs the following independent construction:⁹

(39) Negative Stripping Construction (\uparrow *hd-functor-cxt*)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{neg-stripping-cxt} \\ \text{CAT } \textit{but-S} \\ \text{INFO-STR/CONTR-FOC } \langle \text{1} \rangle \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{but} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{word} & \\ \text{CAT} & \text{Conj} \\ \text{MKG} & \textit{but} \\ \text{SEL} & \langle \text{2} \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right], \text{ } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{hd-frag-cxt} & \\ \text{CAT} & \text{S} \\ \text{NEG} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SAL-UTT } \langle \text{1} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

This construction rule licenses the combinations of the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* and an S. The S, in turn, is an instance generated from the fragment NSU in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction, involving the negation marker *not*. Note then that the Negative Stripping Construction is a *but-S* in terms of its syntactic category and it bears the contrastive focus on the SAL-UTT (i.e., the fragment NSU). Note also that the contrastive coordinating conjunction is a functor that combines with an S via the feature SEL in accordance with

⁹ As noted in fn. 3, some English speakers also use subordinating conjunctions like *though* and *although* to introduce the negative stripping construction in addition to the coordinating conjunction *but*, and some authentic examples from COCA are given below:

- (i) a. Margaret, the eldest sister, agrees with the governess enough to force Ethel to give up her classical scholarship, though not Cocks Moor. (COCA 2007 ACAD)
 b. And the kids were delightful, though not without their quirks. (COCA 2016 FIC)
 c. A 386 machine can use Windows, although not Windows 95. (COCA 1995 MEWS)
 d. There are four siblings in our family and I am the only one who would even entertain the idea of going to this wedding, and even my parents are complaining, although not to her face. (COCA 2019 MAG)

For such English speakers, the functor can also be realized as one of these contrastive subordinating conjunctions as well in (39).

the Head-Functor Construction, which is independently motivated to treat specifiers, modifiers, complementizers, and conjunctions in a uniform manner (see among others, Chaves 2012, Kay and Sag 2012, Kim and Sells 2011, Van Eynde 2007).¹⁰

In the construction, the functor is specified to the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, which rules out examples as in (36). Since the construction is a combination of the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* and an S and the fragment NSU which functions as the SAL-UTT value receives a contrastive focus in the information structure, it also offers a neat explanation for its different behavior from the English negative contrastive construction.

The constructional rule in (39) can also license examples like the following:

- (40) a. He often photographed Senegalese women semi-nude, but certainly not European women. (COCA 1991 ACAD)
 b. That kind of premise can earn a writer a new house, but not necessarily admiration. (COCA 2002 NEWS)

These English negative stripping construction examples contain a sentential adverb but they differ in terms of the position of the sentential adverb. In (40a), the sentential adverb *certainly* appears between the conjunction *but* and the negation marker *not*. In this case, the stand-alone sentence directly projected from the fragment NSU *European women* in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction first combines with the negation marker *not*, forming a negative sentence, and this negative sentence in turn is modified by the sentential modifier, constructing a bigger negative sentence. The resulting sentence then combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, forming an English negative stripping construction example with the intended meaning “but certainly he did not often photograph European women semi-nude”. On the other hand, in (40b), the sentential adverb *necessarily* appears between the negation marker *not* and the remnant. Here, the stand-alone sentence directly generated from the fragment NSU *admiration* is first modified by the sentential adverb and this bigger sentence combines with the negation marker *not*, forming a negative sentence. The resulting sentence combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* as an instance of the English negative stripping construction with the desired meaning “but that kind of premise cannot necessarily earn a writer admiration”.

The present analysis can account for sprouting English negative stripping construction examples as noted in (21) and (22) as well.¹¹ For instance, consider the following attested example:

- (41) He can walk, but not easily. (COCA 2002 NEWS)

Here, when uttering the antecedent declarative sentence *He can walk*, the DGB, where the discourse is structured, can introduce the following information:

¹⁰ The Head-Functor Construction, therefore, licenses the combinations in predeterminer constructions (*all my students, both these computers*), comparative correlative constructions (e.g., *The more I think about it, the more sense it makes*), big mess construction (e.g., *so big a mess, too serious a problem*), left-subordinating *and/or* constructions (e.g., *You drink one more can of beer and I'm leaving*), and so on.

¹¹ For more detailed discussion on the DGB information activation for sprouting type examples and the motivation for it, see Johnson and Fillmore (2000), Lyngfelt (2012), Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (2014), Kim (2015b), and Kim and Kim (2020).

$$(42) \left[\text{DGB} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MAX-QUD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{question} \\ \lambda x [\text{walk}(i, x)] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SAL-UTT} \left\{ \left[\text{SEM|IND } x \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

As represented in (42), the antecedent declarative sentence can introduce a QUD and the evoked QUD is that there is a certain manner such that he can walk in that manner. The fragment NSU *easily*, projected into a stand-alone sentence on its own in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction, functions as the SAL-UTT value, referring to the evoked QUD. The negation marker *not* combines with the stand-alone sentence and this combination gives rise to a negative propositional meaning (i.e., *he cannot walk easily*). The combination of the resulting sentence and the contrastive coordination conjunction *but* licenses a well-formed English negative stripping construction example.

The DI analysis put forward here has other welcoming consequences. For example, as we noted above in (18), authentic uses of the English negative stripping construction allow multiple remnants. Consider again the example in (18d), repeated in (43) below:

(43) Reminds me of when Barbra Streisand, when “Yentl” got nominated for best picture, but not Barbra for best director. (COCA 2015 SPOK)

This English negative stripping construction example involves an NP remnant and a PP remnant at the same time. The first NP remnant functions as the subject and the second as the oblique complement with the intended meaning “but Barbra did not get nominated for best director”. Note then that the focus movement + PF deletion analyses cannot account for examples like this, because movement operations of multiple focused phrases are generally banned as demonstrated in the following cleft construction example with two pivots:

(44) *It was not Barbra for best director that got nominated.

The cleft construction example here is taken to be derived from the putative source sentence for the English negative stripping construction example in (43). The ungrammaticality of examples like (44) thus weakens the focus movement + PF deletion analyses.

In contrast, the DI analysis can offer an explanation for English negative stripping construction examples with multiple remnants. For instance, when the antecedent declarative sentence “*Yentl*” got nominated for best picture is produced in (43), the DGB can introduce a QUD, in which there are two variables (i.e., one for the subject and the other for the oblique complement). The two fragment NSUs, functioning as SAL-UTT values, are combined together to form a stand-alone sentence. The negation marker *not* then modifies this stand-alone sentence to yield its negative propositional meaning (i.e., *Barbra did not get nominated for best director*). Finally, the resulting negative sentence combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, forming a legitimate English negative stripping construction example with the desired meaning in the given context.

The DI analysis can also account for authentic English negative stripping construction examples exhibiting island insensitivity as in (25). The occurrences of such examples challenge the focus movement + PF deletion analyses. To illustrate, observe the example in (25a), again, which I repeat in the following:

(45) I'm known around here as a fast worker, but not this fast. (COCA 1992 FIC)

In this English negative stripping construction example, the remnant is an AdjP *this fast* whose correlate is an attributive AdjP *fast* in the antecedent. The focus movement + PF deletion analyses predict that this should be ungrammatical, violating the Left Branch Constraint (LBC). However, according to the DI analysis, we can assume that producing the antecedent declarative sentence *I'm known around here as a fast worker* in (45) can introduce a QUD in the DGB, questioning the degree of fastness as a worker in the proposition. The fragment NSU, projected into a stand-alone sentence in accordance with the Head-Fragment Construction, provides its value. The negation marker *not* modifies this stand-alone sentence, inducing a negative propositional meaning (i.e., *I am not known around here as this fast a man*). The resulting S finally combines with the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but*, producing a well-formed English negative stripping construction example.

In addition, the DI analysis can provide an explanation for the cases where the preposition identity requirement is overridden, as in (23). See the example in (23a) again, repeated in (46) below:

(46) The education group receives information on diet, managing medications and other health-related matters, but not about physical exercise. (COCA 2012 NEWS)

In this example, the PP remnant is introduced by *about* but its PP correlate is introduced by *on*, showing the P form mismatches. According to the present discourse-based DI analysis, the evoked QUD by the antecedent declarative sentence is something like “The education group receives information related to *x*”. In this respect, the QUD introduces a variable in the discourse. The fragment NSU provides a value for the variable, although the P form does not exactly match with that of its correlate, given that the noun *information* can take either an *on*-PP or an *about*-PP as its complement. Of course, the negation marker *not* negates the propositional meaning and the combination of the contrastive coordinating conjunction *but* with the negative sentence licenses a well-formed English negative stripping construction example.

In a similar manner, the present DI analysis can explain the cases where the accusative-marked remnant has a correlate whose grammatical function is the subject in the antecedent sentence, as in (24). See the example in (24a), repeated below:

(47) Everyone gets sick of it, but not me. (COCA 1990 NEWS)

The present analysis does not postulate putative source sentences for English negative stripping construction examples, permitting this type of case mismatches. The unacceptability of nominative-marked remnants in the construction is simply attributed to the general constraint in English that the nominative case is only assigned to the subject by a finite verb (Kim 2015b).

A further advantage of the present DI analysis can be seen from cases with no sentence-level antecedent, as we noted in (26). Consider, for instance, the example in (26b) again, given below:

(48) They waited as well. Very polite, but not Jap polite. (COCA 1996 FIC)

In examples like this, the sentence-level antecedent cannot be found from the preceding linguistic context, although the remnant has a fragment correlate. The English negative stripping construction example along with its correlate is then understood as “Their behavior of waiting was very polite, but not Jap polite”. The present DI

system, not resorting to the putative linguistic sentential source structure, allows for the meaning resolution of this kind of English negative stripping construction examples by referring to the structured discourse that tells us what is currently under discussion and what is a salient-utterance in the given context.

6. Conclusion

The English negative stripping construction is a rather under-studied linguistic phenomenon which involves a form-function mismatch between a sentential form on the surface and a propositional meaning. I first reviewed key grammatical properties of the construction discussed in previous literature and noted that previous literature has just tried to account for its key grammatical properties, resorting to some type of focus movement + PF deletion processes. I then examined authentic grammatical properties of the construction based on attested corpus data from COCA. The data revealed diverse intriguing real life uses of the construction with respect to remnant categories, remnant-correlate category matches/mismatches, the availability of merger and sprouting types, and anti-connectivity effects.

Noting that the previous focus movement + PF deletion analyses encounter nontrivial theoretical problems and they are further challenged by authentic uses of the construction found from attested corpus data, I then showed that the Direct Interpretation (DI) analysis, making use of structured discourse information in addition to syntactic and semantic information, can offer a streamlined explanation for the grammatical properties of the construction in real life contexts.

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Examples in: English

Applicable Languages: English

Applicable Level: Tertiary