The Landscape of Verbal Ellipsis in Galician

Romance Linguistics Circle

Oct 28 2025

Laura Stigliano & María Morado-Vázquez

The Ohio State University

Why verbal ellipsis in Galician?

• Verbal ellipses have been extensively analyzed in lges. like English.
(see, e.g., Sag 1976, Lobeck 1995, Johnson 2001, Goldberg 2005, Sailor 2014, van Craenenbroeck 2017, Aelbrecht & Harwood 2018, a.o.)

• But they remain largely understudied in Romance, with most research focusing on (Brazilian and European) Portuguese.
(see, e.g., Martins 1994, Cyrino & Matos 2002, Martins 2005, Cyrino & Matos 2016, Panitz 2019, a.o.)

• This project aims to start filling this gap by exhaustively examining the **landscape of verbal ellipses in Galician**.

• Goal: shed new light on the **empirical and theoretical understanding of ellipsis**, with a focus on Galician, answering broader questions about the crosslinguistic variation in ellipsis licensing mechanisms.

1. Introduction & Background

Galician

- Western Ibero-Romance language, spoken in Galicia (Spain).

- Relatively understudied (compared to other Romance languages).

- Differs from most Romance languages regarding VP-Ellipsis:

    - Only Galician and Portuguese allow (Aux-Stranding) VP-Ellipsis:

(1) A: Sonia vai   comer centolas   na   cea   de Nadal?
       Sonia go.3SG eat.INF spider.crabs in.the dinner of Christmas
       'Is Sonia going to eat spider crabs at Christmas dinner?

    B: (Si,) vai.
        yes go.3SG
       'Yes, she is.'

Some questions

• What are the **properties** of the types of verbal ellipsis available in Galician, and how do they correlate with **other properties** of the language (e.g., clitic placement, VP-frozeness, a.o.)?

• Given that verbal ellipsis of the English type is relatively untested in Romance, what can this tell us about the syntactic configurations, heads, features, and operations involved in the *licensing* of ellipsis?

• Are there any **un(der)documented elliptical phenomena** in Galician that can inform both the theory of ellipsis and the syntax of Galician?

2. Verb-Echo Answers

The phenomenon: Verb-Echo Answers

• **Verb-Echo Answers** are **answers to a polar question**, where the affirmative answer is an **'echo' of the verb in the question**, and the negative answer is an **'echo' of the verb + sentential negation** (Holmberg 2016):

(2)   A: Comeste o   bolo?   *Portuguese*
              ate   the cake
              'Did you eat the cake?'

      B1:   (Sim,) comi.   B2:   Não, não comi.
              yes   ate.I   no   no ate.I
              Lit: '(Yes,) I ate.'   Lit: 'No, I didn't eat.'

(adapted from Martins 1994, ex. (24))

• Holmberg estimates that **half of the world's languages** use Verb-Echo Answers (e.g., Finnish, Hungarian, Polish, Hebrew, Chinese, Russian).

(see, e.g., Benbaji 2022; Funakoshi 2016; Gribanova 2013, 2020; Landau 2020a, 2020b, 2023; Manetta 2019; McCloskey 1991; Panitz 2022; Portelance 2020; Rosemeyer & Schwenter 2019; Simpson 2023)

• Galician allows Verb-Echo Answers as **affirmative and negative answers** to polar questions (cf. Martins 1994):

(3) A: Comíches a   torta?
         ate.you   the cake
         'Did you eat the cake?'

    B1: (Si,) comín.   B2: Non, non comín.
          yes ate.I   no no   ate.I
          Lit: '(Yes,) I ate.'   Lit: 'No, I didn't eat.'

• The affirmative particle in affirmative answers is **optional**—common across languages that allow VEAs.

• The placement of negative and affirmative particles can be either **sentence-initially** or **sentence-finally** (Martins (2013) notes that this is not unique to Galician but also found in other Romance languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan):

(4)   A: Comíches a   torta?
          ate.you   the cake
          'Did you eat the cake?'

    B1:   Comín, si.   B2:   Non comín, non.
         ate.I   yes   no ate.I   not
        Lit: 'I ate, yes.'   Lit: 'I didn't eat, no.'

Productive phenomenon

• Verb-Echo Answers are possible with **transitive** and **ditransitive verbs**:

(5) A: Viches a Bruno?
  saw.you DOM Bruno
  'Did you see Bruno?'

B1: (Si,) vin.
  yes saw.I
  Lit: '(Yes,) I saw.'

B2: Non, non vin.
  no no saw.I
  Lit: 'No, I didn't see.'

(6) A: Décheslle o libro?
  gave.you-him the book
  'Did you give him the book?'

B1: (Si,) din.
  yes gave.I
  Lit: '(Yes,) I gave.'

B2: Non, non din.
  no no gave.I
  Lit: 'No, I didn't give.'

Verb Identity Requirement

- There is no Verb-Identity Requirement (see Gribanova 2020, among others):

(7) A: Compraches   as   accions   de Apple?
         bought.you   the stocks   of Apple
         'Did you buy Apple stocks?'

     B: Sí,   mais xa   vendín.
         yes but   already sold
         Lit: 'Yes, but I already sold.'

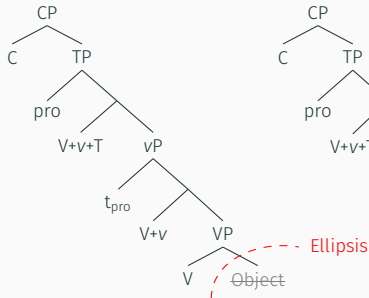(8) A: Masticache a   pastilla?
         chewed.you the pill
         'Did you chew the pill?'

     B: Non, traguéi   directamente.
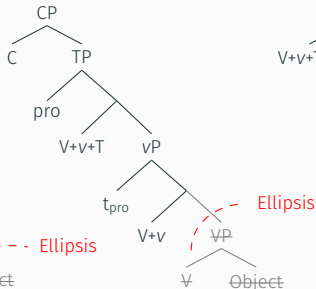   no   swallowed directly
         'No, I just swallowed.'

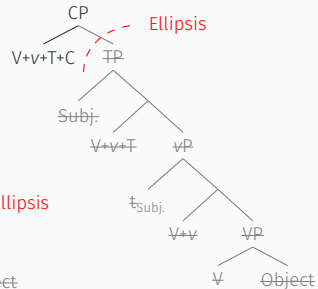● Possible analyses for sentences with object-gaps:

(9)   Argument Ellipsis:
(e.g., Hebrew)

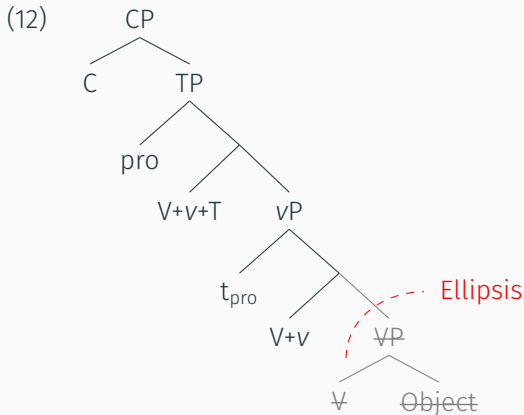(10)   V-Stranding VPE:
(e.g., Georgian)

(11)   TP-Ellipsis:
(e.g., Finnish)

● Assuming that Verb-Echo Answers are derived via ellipsis: What's the **size of the ellipsis** site? What **type of ellipsis** is it? Are these cases of *Argument Ellipsis*, *Verb-Stranding VP-Ellipsis*, or *TP-Ellipsis*?

- A V-Stranding VPE analysis has been proposed for VEAs
  (see, e.g., Gribanova 2013, Holmberg 2016, Manetta 2019, Portelance 2020, among many others.

- Landau (2020b) constrains Head-Stranding Ellipsis and headless ellipses, arguing that VSVPE is blocked in language more generally.

● How is **ellipsis licensed** in these contexts? Is this type of ellipsis only found in answers to polar questions?

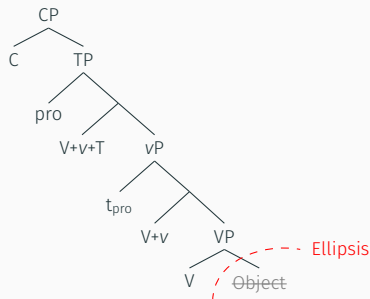• Galician Verb-Echo Answers are the result of **V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis**:

(12)

2.1 Against an *Argument Ellipsis* analysis of Galician VEAs

- It has been claimed that object gaps are better analyzed as either **Argument Ellipsis (i.e., ellipsis of only the object)**, or TP-Ellipsis.

(13) Argument Ellipsis:

- Evidence/Tests: Do VEAs allow for an ellipsis site that's larger than an just object (i.e., NP/DP)?

  - Coordination inside the ellipsis site
  - Adjuncts/focus particles inside the ellipsis site

• Are VEAs possible when the antecedent involves the conjunction (disjunction or coordination) of two VP-sized constituents? (e.g., Gribanova 2013)

- Argument Ellipsis: **no**
  → ellipsis only deletes the object (DP/NP)

- Predicate Ellipsis: **yes**
  → ellipsis elides a bigger constituent (VP/TP)

(14) A: Ana puxo [o lapis na mesa e o libro na cadeira]?
      Ana put the pen on.the table and the book on.the chair
      'Did Ana put the pen on the table and the book on the chair?'

    B1: Si, puxo.
        yes put.she
        Lit: 'Yes, she put.'

    B2: Non, non puxo.
        no no put.she
        Lit: 'No, she didn't put.'

→ ellipsis deletes portions of the sentence composed of **multiple constituents**, including the conjunction (i.e., bigger than just a DP).

- Landau (2021): negation of a conjunction leads to a weak reading, given that ¬[P ∧ Q] = [¬P ∨ ¬Q]

  - Argument Ellipsis: weak reading **impossible**

  - Predicate Ellipsis: weak reading **possible**
    → continuation that indicates that the subject did only one of the two actions

(15) A: *Did Ana put the pen on the table and the book on the chair?*
     B: Non, non puxo. Só   puxo o   lapis na   mesa.
        no   not put only put the pen on.the table
        'No, she didn't. She only put the pen on the table.'

→ negative responses give rise to weak readings, which means that **ellipsis targets larger constituents** than just a DP.

Note: continuation compatible with weak readings is not acceptable in Hebrew.

The Adjunct Test

• Are adjuncts included in the ellipsis site?

(see, e.g., Park 1997; Oku 1998; Landau 2020; among others)

- Argument Ellipsis: **no**
    → ellipsis only deletes the object (DP/NP)

- Predicate Ellipsis: **yes**
    → ellipsis elides object + adjunct(s)

(16) He baked **a cake with baking powder**, but I didn't bake ____.
      That's why it came out flat.
   a. AE → #I didn't bake *the cake*. That's why it came out flat
   b. PE → I didn't bake *the cake with baking powder*. That's why it came out flat.

The Adjunct Test

• Are adjuncts included in the ellipsis site?

(see, e.g., Park 1997; Oku 1998; Landau 2020; among others)

- Argument Ellipsis: **no**
  → ellipsis only deletes the
     object (DP/NP)

- Predicate Ellipsis: **yes**
  → ellipsis elides object
     + adjunct(s)

(17) A: Fixeches a torta con fermento en po?
         made.you the cake with baking   in powder
         'Did you bake the cake with baking powder?'

   B1: Non, non fixen. Por iso saíu   sen   levedar.
        no   no made.I that's why came.out.it without leaven
       Lit: 'No, I didn't bake. That's why it came out flat.'

   (B2: Non, non fixen a torta. #Por iso saíu sen levedar.)

→ if we were only eliding the object, we wouldn't be able to refer back
to it. Since we can, **the ellipsis site must include the adjunct**.

Argument Ellipsis not attested in Galicia

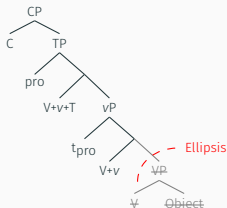• Argument Ellipsis is not independently allowed in the language:

(18) A: Mercaches a empanada no Gadis?
       bought.you the empanada at Gadis
       'Did you buy the empanada at Gadis?'

   B: *Non, merquéi na panadería.
        no bought.I at.the bakery
       Intended: 'No, I bought (it) at the bakery.

(19) A: Viches esta película no cine?
       watched.you this movie at.the cinema
       'Did you watch this movie at the cinema?'

   B: *Non, vin na casa.
        no watched.I at home
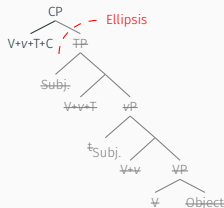   Intended: 'No, I watched (it) at home.'

- Verb-Echo Answers in Galician **are not derived via Argument Ellipsis:**

  - Coordination: the ellipsis site can contain a coordination of DP+PP.

  - Adjunct Test: adjuncts are included inside the ellipsis site.

  - Additional evidence:

    - *Only* test: *only* is included inside the ellipsis site.

    - Argument Ellipsis is not attested in the language.

$\rightarrow$ Are VEAs in Galician derived via **V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis** or **TP-Ellipsis**?

(20) V-Stranding VPE:

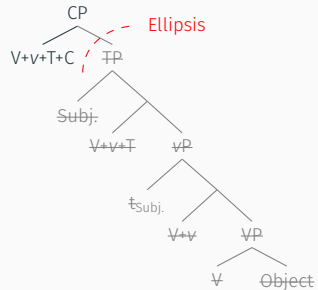(21) TP-Ellipsis:

2.2 Against a *TP Ellipsis* analysis of Galician VEAs

● It has been claimed that object gaps are better analyzed as either Argument Ellipsis, or **TP-Ellipsis**.

(22) TP-Ellipsis:

● Evidence/Tests: Do we have evidence that the subject gets deleted?

- Indefinite subjects: if allowed, they cannot be *pro*.

- Overt subjects: if allowed, the e-site should be smaller than a TP.

- Basic facts: 3SG null subjects can only be interpreted as definite:

(23) a. Trouxo   azucre á   festa.
        brought3SG sugar   to.the party
        Possible: 'He/She/You$_{formal}$ brought sugar to the party.'
        Impossible: 'Someone brought sugar to the party.'

   b. Trouxeron azucre á festa.
      brought.3PL sugar to.the party

      '{They | Someone} brought sugar to the party.'

- Are VEAs possible with indefinite subjects? (Holmberg 2016)

   - *pro* + VSVPE: **no**
     → 3sg indefinite subjects
        can't be *pro*

   - TP-Ellipsis: **yes**
     → an NP/DP subject is
        deleted

Indefinite Subjects

• Are VEAs possible with indefinite subjects? (Holmberg 2016)

   - *pro* + VSVPE: **no**   - TP-Ellipsis: **yes**

(24)   *Context: There is a potluck, where people are meant to bring vari-*
       ous food items so that a complete meal can be prepared.

     A: Trouxo alguén o azucre?
          brought someone the sugar
         'Did anyone bring the sugar?'

     B1: *Si, trouxo.
          yes brought.3sg
        Int: 'Yes, someone brought it.'

    (B2: Si, trouxoo alguén. / Si, alguén o trouxo.)

→ Galician VEAs don't allow indefinite subjects, which means that the
null subject must be *pro*, and not an elided NP/DP.

- Are VEAs possible with overt subjects?

  - VSVPE: **yes**
    $\rightarrow$ the subject is outside the
       ellipsis site

  - TP-Ellipsis: **no**
    $\rightarrow$ the subject is inside the
       ellipsis site

(25) A: Comiches a   torta?   B: Non, non comín, pero Ana comeu.
        ate.you the cake   no   no ate.I   but Ana ate
        'Did you eat the cake?'   'No, I didn't eat, but Ana ate.'

$\rightarrow$ Galician VEAs allow for an overt subject; this means that **the size of the ellipsis should exclude the subject**, which is in Spec, TP.
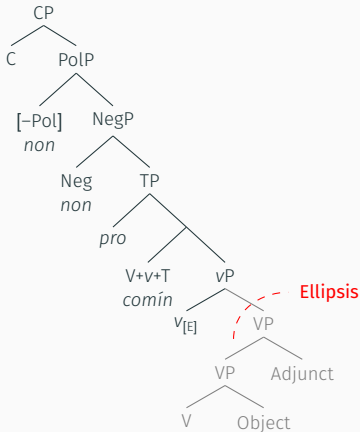
- Verb-Echo Answers in Galician **are not derived via TP-Ellipsis:**

  - Indefinite subjects: indefinite subjects are not allowed in VEAs, which suggests that null subjects might be *pro*.

  - Overt Subjects: overt subjects are possible, which suggests that the size of the e-site should be small enough to exclude them.

$\rightarrow$ Conclusion: **VEAs in Galician are derived via V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis.**

2.3 A *V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis* analysis of Galician VEAs

Our proposal

• Verb-Echo Answers = null subject (*pro*) + V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis

B2:   Non, non comín.
      no   no   ate.I

• Ellipsis is triggered by an [E]-feature (Merchant 2001, et. seq.) on *v*, which elides its complement (i.e., the VP—including the object, but also any adjuncts.

• The subject is outside of the ellipsis site (allowing for overt subjects); when the subject is omitted, it's a *pro*.

VSVPE in other contexts

- VSVPE is found in **contrastive environments more generally**:

(26) Quixen   comer a   empanada, pero, ao   final, non, non comín.
      wanted.I   to.eat the pie   but   in-the end   no   no ate.I
      'I wanted to eat the pie but, in the end, I didn't eat.'

- When such contrastivity/focus is **absent**, VSVPE is **ungrammatical**:

(27) *Sonia comeu a   empanada e   Bruno tamén comeu.
       Sonia ate   the pie   and Bruno also   ate
       Intended: 'Sonia ate the pie, and Bruno did too.'

- It's also attested in cases of **'emphatic disagreement'**:

(28) A: Non lle   deches o   libro!   B: Din, sí!
         not to.him gave   the book   gave.I yes
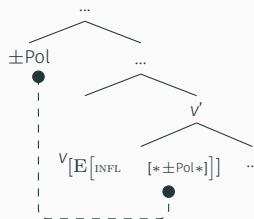   A: 'You didn't give him the book   B: 'I did!'

• The [E] feature that triggers this type of ellipsis is endowed with an **unvalued polarity focus feature** that requires **licensing through Agree** with a Pol feature present in the structure.

(see, e.g., Aelbrecht 2010; Saab and Stigliano 2023; Stigliano 2022, 2025; for similar proposals)

(29) Formal composition of [E]:

$$E \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [\text{E}] \\ \text{INFL} & [*\pm\text{Pol}*] \\ \text{SEL} & [v] \end{bmatrix}$$

(30)

$\rightarrow$ the Agree dependency between [E] and Pol ensures that the distribution of VSVPE is restricted to those environments in which **polarity is syntactically active** (i.e., polar questions and contrastive cases).

Stigliano & Morado-Vázquez (OSU)

Interim Summary

- Verb-Echo Answers—and V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis more generally—
  - is a type of ellipsis triggered by an **[E]-feature on *v***, which elides its complement (i.e., the VP), and
  - is **licensed through Agree** between the [E]-feature and a Pol feature higher in the structure

3. The landscape of verbal ellipsis in Galician

Aux-Stranding VP-Ellipsis

• Aux-Stranding VP-Ellipsis is a type of ellipsis where an **entire predicate**—including the lexical verb, its arguments, and adjuncts—**is omitted**, while the **auxiliary remains overt** (and sometimes the subject).

• Aux-Stranding VPE in Galician also seems to require some type of **polarity or contrastive focus** to be licensed:

(31) A: Sonia ten comido centolas   na   cea   de Nadal?
          Sonia has eaten spider.crabs in.the dinner of Christmas
          'Has Sonia eaten spider crabs for Christmas?'

      B: (Si,) ten.
           yes have.3SG
          'Yes, she has.'

(32) *Sonia ten comido centolas no   Nadal   e   Ana tamén ten.
        Sonia has eaten crab   in.the Christmas and Ana too   has
        Int.: 'Sonia has eaten spider crabs at Christmas and Ana has too.'

• More generally, any context that involves polarity or contrastive focus can license VP-Ellipsis:

(33) A: Sonia ten comido centolas   no   Nadal.
          Sonia has eaten spider.crabs in.the Christmas
          'Sonia has eaten spider crabs at the Christmas dinner.'

      B: Non, non ten, non... é vexetariana.
          no   not has no   is vegetarian
          'No, she has not... she is vegetarian.'

(34) Sonia non ten comido moitas centolas, pero Bruno (si que) TEN.
      Sonia not has eaten many crabs   but Bruno yes that has
      'Sonia has not eaten many spider crabs but Bruno HAS.'

(35) *Generalization on the licensing of VP-Ellipsis in Galician*
      VP-Ellipses in Galician are licensed only when the [E]-feature that
      triggers it enters into an Agree relation with a (polarity or con-
      trastive) focus feature in the structure.

Interim Summary

• Galician stands out as being the only Romance language (with Portuguese) that allows **both Aux-Stranding and V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis**.

• Aux-Stranding VPE in Galician also requires the presence of a **contrastive or focus feature** in the structure.

• This **parallel** between V-Stranding and Aux-Stranding VP-Ellipsis suggests that verbal ellipses in Galician are governed by a **unified licensing mechanism**: in both cases, ellipsis is contingent on an Agree relation between the [E]-feature triggering deletion and a (polarity or contrastive) focus feature higher in the structure.

4. Conclusions

Conclusions

• New data from Verb-Echo Answers in Galician (partially) challenging previous claims (cf. Martins 1994).

• Evidence against an Argument Ellipsis and a TP-Ellipsis analyses:
  · Coordination, Adjunct & *Only* Tests → incompatible with Arg. Ellipsis
  · Unavailable indefinite subjects → compatible with a *pro*-based analysis
  · Available overt subjects → incompatible with 'big' ellipsis (i.e., TP-Ellipsis)

• Analysis based on *pro* + Verb-Stranding VP-Ellipsis:
  · Ellipsis triggered by an [E]-feature on *v*
  · Licensing of [E] through agreement with Pol

• Contribution to the debate: data from Galician contributes to our discussion of how to analyze cases of object gaps, and the overall availability (and existence) of VSVPE in language (see, e.g., Landau 2020b).

Conclusions

• New data from Aux-Stranding VP-Ellipsis in Galician aligned with the findings and analysis proposed for V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis.

• Generalization on the licensing of VP-Ellipsis in Galician
  $\rightarrow$ Licensing of [E] through agreement with Pol

• Contribution to the theory of ellipsis: support to the proposal that the licensing of ellipsis is mediated by a specific syntactic configuration that involves Agree between [E] and another feature in the structure, in line with Aaelbrecht's (2010) approach.

• Examining whether this licensing strategy extends to other types of verbal ellipsis in Galician—such as PredP-Ellipsis (Saab & Stigliano 2023)—and how these patterns compare with the broader Romance landscape.

The Big Picture

• Our findings shed new light on the empirical and theoretical understanding of ellipsis in Galician and help answer broader questions about the crosslinguistic variation in ellipsis licensing mechanisms.

• Galician offers a particularly revealing case: it diverges from most of Romance languages in permitting (Aux-Stranding and V-Stranding) VPE, while still patterning with them in permitting Modal Ellipsis. This asymmetry highlights the need to differentiate among types of ellipsis.

• By showing that verbal ellipses in Galician are licensed via an Agree relation, our findings reinforce the view that the ellipsis operation cannot be reduced to the mere presence of an [E]-feature.

• Overall, we hope that the empirical and theoretical contributions offered here will provide a foundation for further comparative work on ellipsis, both within the Romance family and beyond.

Selected References

Aelbrecht, L. 2010. The syntactic licensing of ellipsis. *The Syntactic Licensing of Ellipsis.*

Benbaji, I. 2022. Focus particles in verb-echo answers: An argument for argument ellipsis. In *North East Linguistic Society* 52.

Funakoshi, K. 2016. Verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics 25* (2).

Gribanova, V. 2013. A new argument for verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44 (1).

Gribanova, V. 2020. Predicate formation and verb-stranding ellipsis in Uzbek. Glossa 5.124.

Holmberg, A. 2016. *The syntax of yes and no.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Landau, I. 2020a. Constraining head-stranding ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry 51* (2).

Landau, I. 2020b. On the nonexistence of verb-stranding VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry 51* (2).

Landau, I. 2023.. More doubts on verb-stranding VP ellipsis: Reply to Simpson 2023. *Syntax 26*(4).

Manetta, E. 2019. Verb-phrase ellipsis and complex predicates in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 37* (3).

Martins, AM. 1994. Enclisis, VP-deletion and the nature of Sigma. *Probus 6* (2).

Martins, AM. 2013. Emphatic polarity in European Portuguese and beyond. *Lingua* 128.

McCloskey, J. 1991. Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85.

Merchant, J. 2001. The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis. *Oxford University Press.*

Oku, S. 1998. *A theory of selection and reconstruction in the Minimalist perspective.* Doctoral dissertation. University of Connecticut.

Panitz, EJ. 2022. Reassessing the existence of verb-stranding vP-ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese. *Revista Linguística 18* (1).

Park, MK. 1997. The syntax of VP ellipsis in Korean. *Language Research 33.*

Portelance, E. 2020. Genuine verb stranding vP-ellipsis in Lithuanian. North East Linguistic Society 50.

Rosemeyer, M., & Schwenter, SA. 2019. Echoic and non-echoic confirming affirmative responses in spoken BP. *Journal of Pragmatics 141.*

Saab, A., & Stigliano, L. 2023. On an undocumented type of predicate ellipsis in Spanish [...]. *Isogloss 9*(4).

Simpson, A. 2023. In defense of verb-stranding VP ellipsis. *Syntax 26* (4).

Stigliano, L. 2022. *The Silence of Syntax: A theory of ellipsis licensing and identity.* Doctoral dissertation. The University of Chicago.

Stigliano, L. 2024. Mixed-identity requirements in ellipsis. The case of Topic-Remnant Elided Questions in Spanish. Ms., OSU.
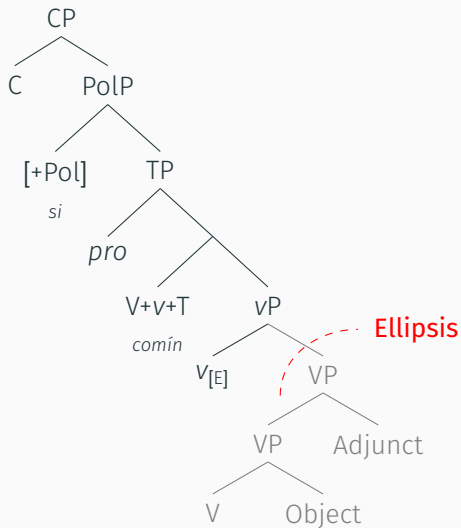
Thanks! Graciñas! ¡Gracias!

Questions?

Laura Stigliano – stigliano.4@osu.edu
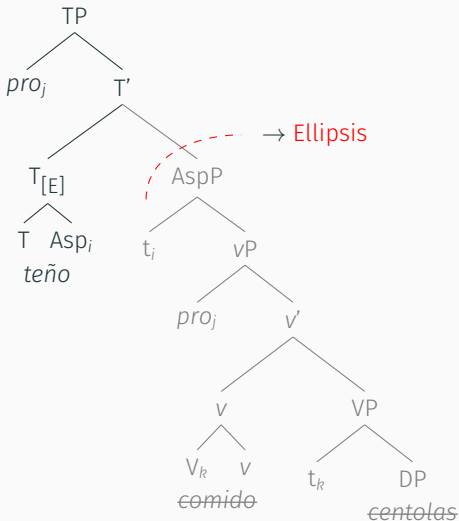
María Morado-Vázquez – moradovazquez.1@osu.edu

B1: (Si,) común.

Our proposal for Aux-Stranding VPE

B: (Si,) teño ⟨ellipsis site ~~comido centolas~~⟩.
    yes have   eaten spider.crabs

- Can *only* be contained inside the ellipsis site? (see Benbaji 2022)

  - Argument Ellipsis: **no**   - Predicate Ellipsis: **yes**

(36) A: So mercou   viño?
         only bought.he wine
         'Did he only buy wine?'

   B1: Mercou,   si. (*Pero tamén cervexa).
          bought.he yes   but also   beer
        Intended: 'Yes, he bought, but also beer.'

   (B2: Mercou viño, si. Pero tamén cervexa.)

→ if *only* is not included inside the e-site, we should be able to follow
up with *But he also bought beer*. Since we can't, it means that **the el-
lipsis site must include the only particle** (i.e. *He bought only wine*).

• In Galician, proclisis is the default, except for negative (and other contexts, which trigger enclisis:

(37) A: Pagaches os impostos nos   ultimos anos?
          paid.you   the taxes   in.the last   years
          'Did you pay the taxes the past years?'

      B: O   ano pasado, pagueinos, pero o   anterior máis non os
          the year past   paid.them but the previous more not them
          paguei non.
          paid   not
          'Last year, I paid them, but the year before, I didn't pay them.'

• In Galician VEAs, any clitic gets deleted, no matter its surface position in the non-elliptical counterpart:

(38) B: O ano pasado, paguei, si, pero o anterior máis non
       the year past   paid   yes but the previous more not
       paguei non.
       paid   not
       Lit: 'Last year, I paid, but the year before, I didn't pay.'

• For a V-Stranding TP-Ellipsis analysis to work, the V+v+T complex head needs to moved to C (to escape deletion), if this where the case, Head Movement would have occurred after the the complex verbal head adjoining to the clitic, which means we would never find a clitic-less case as in (38).