

- Ladusaw, W. (1979a) On the notion "affective" in the analysis of negative polarity items. *Journal of Linguistic Research* 1.
- Ladusaw, W. (1979b) *Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations*. PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin. Reproduced (1980) by Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Ladusaw, W. (1983) Logical form and conditions on grammaticality. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6, 373-392.
- Lakoff, R. (1967) Some reasons why there can't be any *some-any* rule. *Language* 45.
- Lawler, J. (1971) *Any questions. Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Linebarger, M. (1980) *The Grammar of Negative Polarity*. PhD dissertation, MIT. Reproduced (1981) by Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Linebarger, M. (1987) Negative polarity and grammatical representation. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 10, 325-387.
- Partee, B. (1982) Belief sentences and the limitations of semantics. In Peters and Saarinen (Eds.) *Processes, Beliefs, and Questions*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Schmerling, S. (1971) A note on negative polarity. *Papers in Linguistics* 4, 200-206.
- Smith, S. (1974) *Meaning and Negation*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Sperber, B. and D. Wilson (1986) *Relevance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Williams, E. (1974) Rule ordering in syntax. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Contrastive Negation and Metalinguistic Negation

James D. McCawley
University of Chicago

Les négations contrastives, elles sont rarement analysées... (Gross 1977:39)

The only chapter of Larry Horn's (1989) informative, perceptive, and virtuosically thorough survey of negation in natural language about which I have any serious complaint is his chapter 6, "Metalinguistic negation". That chapter is actually devoted to two quite distinct topics, each worth a chapter of its own, and my complaint about chapter 6 is that Horn conflates those two notions and as a result slights the more ubiquitous but less thoroughly studied of the two types of negation that figure in the title of my paper, namely "contrastive negation", illustrated by English expressions of the form *not X but Y*. In "metalinguistic negation" (more accurately, in a metalinguistic use of negation), a negative sentence is interpreted not as the negation of the proposition expressed by the negated sentence but rather as a rejection of the way that the content of that sentence is expressed. *Not X but Y*, I will argue below, is not inherently metalinguistic, even if it is often used metalinguistically, and when no metalinguistic role is played by *not X but Y* (or by the other forms of contrastive negation that I will take up as well), it simply contrasts two ways of filling a syntactic position, one that (according to what the sentence says) results in a false proposition and one that results in a true proposition. This paper will be devoted primarily to providing the fairly basic sketch of the syntax of contrastive negative constructions in English that someone should have provided decades ago but which to my knowledge no one has until now, and secondarily to arguing that, contrary to Horn's repeated claim that "The archetypal frame for metalinguistic negation is the *not X but Y* construction...", the latter construction and the other members of the family of constructions that it exemplifies are not inherently metalinguistic, and a correlation between contrastive and metalinguistic negation exists only because contrastive negation lends itself particularly easily to metalinguistic uses.

The following selection from Horn's examples of metalinguistic negation are clearly metalinguistic:¹

- (1) a. Chris didn't manage to solve the problem—it was quite easy for him. (369)
b. It's not stewed bunny honey, it's civet de lapin. (371)
c. I'm not a Trotskyite, I'm a Trotskyist. (372)
d. No, you racist bigot, she isn't an uppity nigger broad—she's an independent-minded black woman. (372)

Each of these sentences is a response to an utterance containing the locution that it combines with *not n't*, and in uttering any of the sentences in (1) the speaker is rejecting or dissociating himself from that locution, not disagreeing

with the proposition that his interlocutor expressed in saying what he said: the disagreement between the parties to the discourse is not over matters of fact but over what words they ought to use in referring to the things that they are talking about. response

Certain putative examples of metalinguistic negation may actually be something else. For example, (2) looks like a classic case of metalinguistic negation—the speaker is using negation to correct his interlocutor's error in calling the animals in question *mongeese* :

- (2) I didn't manage to trap two mongeese—I managed to trap two mongooses. (371)

However, it could be alternatively taken as the sort of sarcasm in which one treats a linguistic error as if it simply were a different word from the 'correct' form and had its own denotation, as in (3):

- (3) a. I know you've been bothered by mongooses, but do you actually have mongeese too?
b. Do mongeese do as much damage as mongooses do?

Under that understanding of (2), the negation in (2) would have no privileged role. Thus, to be clear that a particular negative is really used metalinguistically, it will be necessary to exclude the sort of sarcasm found in (3), in which negation is only one of a huge range of devices that can be used in making the jocular suggestion that *mongeese* and *mongooses* are two different species of animals. There are of course numerous instances in which negation is used without any sarcastic intent in rejecting a disfavored locution, as in (1), especially (1b,d). An additional particularly clear example of a metalinguistic negation that was uttered without any sarcastic intent was once brought to my attention by Keith Percival. While serving in the British Army, Percival inadvertently annoyed a sergeant by referring to his unit's new commanding officer as "the new man"; the sergeant responded indignantly, "E's not a man, e's an officer!".

Before beginning any detailed discussion of contrastive negation, it will be useful if I note the different forms that contrastive negation can take in English, leaving open for the moment the question of whether these five types of sentences have anything in common syntactically.

- (4) 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)
c'. I'm surprised at John not drinking coffee but tea.
d. John didn't drink coffee, he drank tea. (basic expanded form)
e. John drank `tea, he didn't drink coffee. (reverse expanded form)
- } 'short' forms
- } 'expanded' forms

A fact of life that must be contended with is that there is large-scale individual variation in the acceptability of many of the relevant examples. For example. a

number of speakers find sentences such as (4a), in which the contrastive negative element is within the V', less than fully acceptable; I have not investigated whether the variation in the acceptability of examples like (4a) correlates with the well-known individual variation in the acceptability of sentences in which an incorporated negation occurs internally to a V', as in (5):

- (5) % John read not many books.

For the sake of distinguishing as sharply as possible among the syntactic possibilities of the different forms, I will pay particular attention to acceptability judgements for idiolects in which examples such as (4a) are acceptable.

All five forms can be used metalinguistically, but there is nothing inherently metalinguistic about any of them. For example, the familiar quotation in (6a) is most naturally understood as a statement of what Marc Antony takes his task to be, not a statement about the appropriateness of the word *praise* to describe that task, whereas (6b), which might be uttered by an undertaker who is fed up with the usual pretensions of his profession, would be a metalinguistic use of the same syntactic form:

- (6) a. I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him. (*Julius Caesar*, III.ii.76)
b. I come to bury Caesar, not to inter him.

The former sentence implies that the speaker did not come to praise Caesar, while the latter sentence implies that the speaker did come to inter Caesar, even if he would prefer that you not say it that way. The expanded form is especially common in metalinguistic uses (it figures in all of the examples given in (1) and indeed in the vast bulk of Horn's clearly metalinguistic examples), though it is easy to deploy the other forms for metalinguistic purposes, as in (6b), where the reverse form is used.

When the contrasted expression is not final in the clause that frames it, the anchored form has a variant in which the *but Y* expression is extraposed, and the extraposition slightly raises the acceptability of the example:

- (7) a. (?) John didn't put gin but vodka in the punch.
b. John didn't put gin in the punch but vodka.

Extraposition of the *but*-phrase considerably lowers the acceptability of the basic form, while extraposition of the *not X* expression of the reverse form generally increases acceptability:

- (8) a. John put not gin but vodka in the punch.
a'. ??John put not gin in the punch but vodka.
b. (?) John put vodka, not gin, in the punch.
b'. John put vodka in the punch, not gin.

The *not X but Y* of the basic form, the *Y, not X* of the reverse form, and the *X but Y* of the anchored form all occur reasonably comfortably in the middle of a

V' and thus presumably are surface syntactic constituents (i.e. the slight oddity of (7a, 8b) is not as great as it should be if those forms involved an extraneous constituent separating the object from the goal complement). However, the difference in the relative acceptability of the extraposed and non-extraposed versions suggests that there must be some difference in syntactic structure between the basic form on the one hand and the reverse and anchored forms on the other hand, perhaps that the *not X but Y* combination of the basic form is a coordinate structure while the *X but Y* and *Y not X* sequences of the anchored and reverse forms have some sort of non-coordinate structure that favors extraposition, as in comparative sentences such as *John puts more garlic in a stew than Mary does*.²

The five forms of contrastive negation are far from interchangeable, and I will make a point of specifying which form(s) any particular observation applies to. In (4), the foci of the contrastive negation (i.e. the items that are contrasted with each other, here *coffee and tea*) are the direct objects of their clauses. All five types of contrastive negation allow considerable freedom as to the syntactic role of the focus, with some exceptions, such as that when the subject is the focus the anchored form and the reverse expanded form are of very low acceptability:

- (9) a. Not J6hn but M6ry won first prize.
 b. J6hn, not M6ry, won first prize.
 c. ??J6hn didn't win first prize but M6ry.
 c'. ??I'm surprised at J6hn not winning first prize but M6ry.
 d. J6hn didn't win first prize, M6ry did.
 e. *J6hn won first prize, M6ry didn't.

When the focus is a V or V' that is in a position that requires that it bear a tense, the acceptability of the basic and reverse forms is greatly reduced and the anchored form requires that the positive V remain marked for tense (i.e. that attachment of the *not* to the tense not apply "Across the board" as it does in (10c')):

- (10) a. *Mary not praised but denounced John.
 b. ??Mary denounced John, not praised him.
 b'. *Mary denounced John, not praised.
 c'. ??Mary didn't praise but denounce John. (acceptable only as negation of *Mary praised but denounced John*, in which case the negation is not contrastive)
 d. Mary didn't praise John, she denounced him.
 e. Mary denounced John, she didn't praise him.

Here, the expanded forms are normal, as is the anchored form when both foci are tensed, but the other forms are deviant to varying degrees. By contrast, when the focus is a non-finite V, the basic form is fine, as is the reverse form, at least if the contrasted verb is not extraposed:

- (11) a. Mary should [not praise but denounce] John.
 b. Mary should denounce, not praise John.
 b'. *Mary should denounce John, not praise.

Not all foci that are acceptable in the basic and reverse forms remain acceptable in the anchored form:

- (12) a. John has drunk a quart not of beer but of whiskey.
 b. John has drunk a quart of whiskey, not of beer.
 c. ??John hasn't drunk a quart of beer but of whiskey.

In the anchored form, the foci must be able to stand on their own, while in the basic and reverse forms, the foci can also be of forms that are acceptable as coordinate structures even if they cannot stand on their own.

With the exception of the reverse expanded form, all five types of contrastive negative sentence can be embedded in complement positions:

- (13) a. Lucy told me that John drinks not coffee but tea.
 b. Lucy told me that John drinks tea, not coffee.
 c. Lucy told me that John doesn't drink coffee but tea.
 d. Lucy told me that John doesn't drink coffee, he drinks tea.
 e. ??Lucy told me that John drinks tea, he doesn't drink coffee.

I conjecture that at least one reason for this combinatoric difference between the basic expanded and reverse expanded forms lies in the intonational difference between them: the basic expanded form is intonationally like an ordinary declarative sentence, with primary stress on the last stressed constituent and no obligatory intonational break between its two parts, while the reverse expanded form has to be pronounced as two separate intonational clauses, with the primary stress on the end of the first of them. More generally, I conjecture that syntactic forms that require marked intonations can't be embedded in anything that calls for a different intonation and that it is because of a conflict between the intonational demands of the main and embedded Ss that embeddings of reverse expanded forms as in (13e) are of low acceptability.

The three short forms can also be embedded in constructions such as relative clauses, where the embedded S undergoes an extraction or a deletion:

- (14) a. We were arguing about the money that John is giving not to the Red Cross but to the Trench Mouth Foundation.
 b. We were arguing about the money that John is giving to the Trench Mouth Foundation, not to the Red Cross.
 c. We were arguing about the money that John isn't giving to the Red Cross but to the Trench Mouth Foundation.
 d. *We were arguing about the money that John isn't giving to the Red Cross, he's giving (it) to the Trench Mouth Foundation.

The unacceptability of (14d: it) provides evidence against the most obvious guess as to the syntactic structure of the expanded form—it isn't a coordinate structure, since it doesn't allow Right-Node-Raising (15a) or across-the-boards extractions (15b):

- (15) a. *John doesn't collect pictures of, he collects records by, Elvis Presley.
 b. *Which rock star did Betty say that John doesn't collect pictures of, he collects records by?
 b'. *Which author did Betty say that John isn't working on a biography of, he's working on a novel?
 b''. *Which author did Betty say that John isn't working on a novel, he's working on a biography of?

It should be noted, though, that it excludes not only across-the-board extractions but extractions in general (15b', b''). There are relatively few syntactic constructions that allow no extractions at all. One such construction that might think of assimilating the expanded form to is the sort of paratactic combination of two sentences found in such examples as *Rodney is English, therefore he is brave*. However, that suggestion can be immediately rejected, since the latter construction cannot be embedded (and thus probably is not even a S; cf. McCawley 1988:284-5) whereas the expanded contrastive negative construction can be embedded, as was noted above:

- (16) a. *Mary told me that [Rodney is English, therefore he is brave].
 b. Lucy told me that John doesn't drink coffee, he drinks tea. (= (13d))

A more viable possibility for a non-coordinate structure to which the expanded form might be assimilated is what Haj Ross once dubbed the 'colon' construction, as in (17):

- (17) Senator Claghorn isn't eligible to run for President: he was born in Brazil.

This construction can be embedded as a complement (18a-b)—it thus is not simply a paratactic combination of two Ss into some kind of non-S like *Rodney is English, therefore he is brave*—and it likewise allows neither across-the-board extraction nor extraction from either of its parts:

- (18) a. Lucy told me that Senator Claghorn isn't eligible to run for President: he was born in Brazil.
 b. Bill told me that Mary is an expert on Monteverdi: she wrote a book about him.
 b'. *What composer did Bill tell you that Mary is an expert on Ø: she wrote a book about Ø?
 b''. ??What composer did Bill tell you that Mary is an expert on Ø: she wrote a book about him?
 b'''. *How many books did Bill tell you that Mary is a well-known author:

Moreover, the expanded form fits the meaning of the colon construction: the second part provides an 'elaboration' of the first part, e.g. in (4d), *he drank tea* provides more specific information about what John drank than the first part (*John didn't drink coffee*) provides. (Note that this observation does not apply to the reverse expanded form). I will tentatively adopt this suggestion in the absence of any alternative I can think of that is worth taking seriously.

Like ordinary negation, contrastive negation has a scope, and contrastive negative sentences can be ambiguous with regard to scope. The basic form and the reverse form, indeed, typically are ambiguous, allowing in principle any dominating S as the scope of the negation:

- (19) a. The doctor recommended that John drink not coffee but tea.
 b. The doctor recommended that John drink tea, not coffee.

In these sentences the scope of the contrastive negation can be either the main clause (= the doctor didn't recommend that John drink coffee; rather he recommended that John drink tea) or the complement clause (= the doctor's recommendation was: don't drink coffee, drink tea). The anchored form is usually unambiguous with regard to scope, the scope being the S whose V' the negative element introduces, as in the following two unambiguous ways of expressing the different interpretations of (19):

- (20) a. The doctor didn't recommend that John drink coffee but tea.
 a'. The doctor recommended that John not drink coffee but tea.

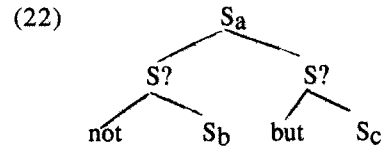
It is this anchoring of the negative element to the S that is its scope that has led me to adopt the term 'anchored form' for this form of contrastive negation. The two expanded forms are unambiguous for a trivial reason, namely that one of the two parts of the sentence must be a full negative sentence that is the scope of its negation, and the reverse expanded form is unambiguous for an additional and even more trivial reason, namely that it can't be embedded in anything that could provide a higher S to serve as its scope.

An especially clear reason why contrastive negations need not be metalinguistic is that their scopes need not be Ss that specify what is "said". Perhaps the best way to show that something is inherently metalinguistic would be to show that its scope has to be the complement of a "verb of saying". However, contrastive negation appears to allow any S as its scope, irrespective of whether that S is the complement of a verb of saying:

- (21) a. Mary prevented John from not drinking coffee but tea.
 b. Circumstances compelled John to not drink coffee but tea.
 c. That John doesn't drink coffee but tea is quite likely.
 d. Ann's father disowned her when she didn't vote for Reagan but for Mondale.

Let me now try to work out a proposal for the deep structure and

aside for the moment the two expanded forms. I will start with the hypothesis that the three short forms have the same deep structure and then see whether that hypothesis leads to any undesirable conclusions that might force me to distinguish among them in deep structure. The structure that by hypothesis underlies these three constructions has to be one that will specify the scope of the construction, since the different constructions differ with regard to the scope possibilities and thus the rules that differentiate the anchored form from the basic and derived forms will have to be sensitive to scope. The most obvious proposal is to have a deep structure in which two Ss combine into a larger S, since the latter S can then be embedded in other constructions to one's heart's content and the level at which one embeds it specifies the scope of the contrastive negative construction. I will represent such a combination as in (22):



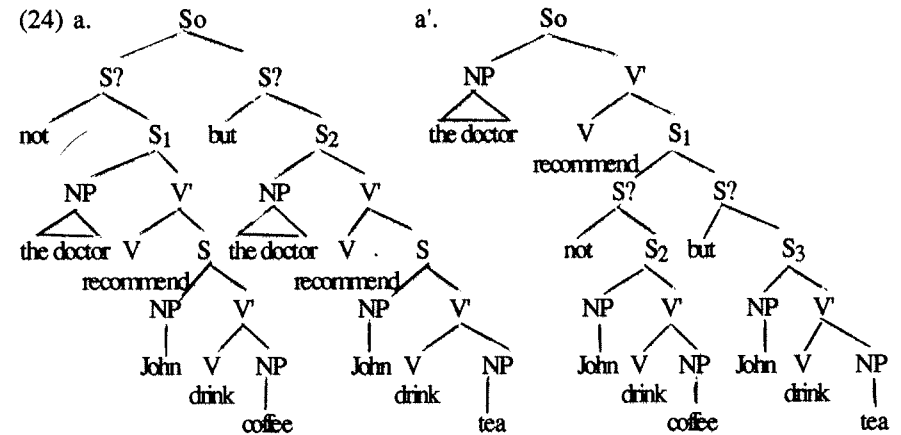
I emphasize that (22) is to be understood as a coordination of two positive Ss, with *not... but* as a coordinating conjunction, not as a negative S conjoined by *but* with another S. I assume that the semantics for (22) will be set up in such a way that Sa implies both $\sim S_b$ and S_c , though Sa probably cannot simply be identified semantically with $\sim S_b \wedge S_c$, since some restriction needs to be imposed that requires that S_b and S_c be "pragmatic alternatives" to one another, which they would not be in most cases where a negative S is conjoined with another S:

- (23) a. John didn't pass his exams, and he was evicted by his landlord.
 b. *John didn't pass his exams but was evicted by his landlord.

A conjoined sentence such as (23a) would be a perfectly ordinary way of reporting that both misfortunes had befallen John. However, his passing his exams doesn't normally count as an alternative to his being evicted by his landlord, and thus a corresponding contrastive negative sentence such as (23b) is deviant unless it is used in a context that makes being evicted count as an alternative to failing one's exams (e.g. a situation in John's passing the exams and his being evicted can be regarded as alternative explanations for why there are no lights on in his apartment at 2AM).

If (22) is regarded as a coordinate structure, with *not... but* functioning as a coordinating conjunction, Conjunction-Reduction will suffice to derive the basic form: CR will be applicable to a structure as in (22) if the two lower Ss are identical except in one constituent in which they contrast. This is enough to account for the ambiguity of such sentences as (19a). The two structures in

(24), simplified to the extent of omitting tenses and complementizers, will underlie (19a):



With the deep structure (24a), CR will apply on the S_0 cycle, and with the deep structure (24a'), it will apply on the S_1 cycle. In either case, CR can treat the S to which it applies as having conjuncts that are identical except for one having *coffee* where the other has *tea*, and thus in either case it can apply so as to yield the derived conjoined NP *not coffee but tea*.³

According to the assumptions that I have made so far, the ambiguous reverse form (19b) would have to have the same two deep structures (24a, a'). For the moment, let me simply add to the evolving analysis an ad-hoc rule to derive the reverse form from the basic form by reversing the order of the conjuncts and deleting the *but* of what then becomes the first conjunct. The most direct way to extend the analysis given so far to the anchored form seems to be to allow the option of detaching the *not* from the first conjunct and reattaching it as a sister of the whole coordinate structure.⁴ Assuming that the *not* of (22) is the same *not* that appears in ordinary negative sentences, it would then be subject to the rules that *not* is normally subject to (thus, being incorporated into the tensed auxiliary verb if it is combined with a finite S and being turned into an adjunct to the predicate phrase if it is combined with a non-finite S). Under this proposal, the *not* would appear in the V' of the S that is the scope of the contrastive negative construction, since that is the S that it is left as an adjunct to in the step that detaches it from the coordinate structure, and consequently the anchored form does not share the ambiguity of scope that is found in the basic and reverse forms.

The analysis developed up to here implies that the *not X but Y*, *Y not X*, and *X but Y* combinations in the three short contrastive negative constructions are coordinate structures. To verify that prediction, let us look at examples in which Right-Node-Raising (RNR) is applied to the various forms (corresponding examples of the expanded and reverse expanded forms are

included for comparison) and examples in which they undergo an across-the-board extraction:

- (25) a. ?John collects not books about but pictures of Elvis Presley.
 b. ?John collects pictures of, not books about, Elvis Presley.
 c. ?John doesn't collect books about but pictures of Elvis Presley.
 d. *John doesn't collect books about, he collects pictures of, Elvis Presley.
 e. **John collects pictures of, he doesn't collect books about, Elvis Presley.
- (26) a. the singer who John collects not books about \emptyset but pictures of \emptyset
 b. the singer who John collects pictures of \emptyset , not books about \emptyset
 c. the singer who John doesn't collect books about \emptyset but pictures of \emptyset
 d. *the singer who John doesn't collect books about \emptyset , he collects pictures of \emptyset
 e. **the singer who John collects pictures of \emptyset , he doesn't collect books about \emptyset

When RNR or across-the-board relativization is applied to the three short contrastive negative forms, the results are sufficiently acceptable that the structures presumably must be coordinate. However, the acceptability of the two expanded forms is lowered so drastically that they cannot plausibly be classed as coordinate structures. This contrast confirms my proposal that the three 'short' contrastive negative forms have a deep structure like that proposed in (19) and that the expanded form does not have such a deep structure, and it provides some evidence that the reverse expanded form does not have such a deep structure either, though the restrictions imposed on the reverse expanded form by its intonation make it difficult to establish any firm conclusions about its syntactic structure.

Recall the fact noted above ((7)-(8)) that anchored and reverse contrastive negative constructions not only allow but favor extraposition of their second part. When I made that observation, I conjectured that the *not X but Y* of the basic form was a coordinate structure while the *X but Y* of the anchored form and the *Y, not X* of the reverse form had some non-coordinate structure of a sort that favored extraposition. However, all three combinations do in fact behave like coordinate structures: all three yield reasonably good RNR sentences (25) and across-the-board extractions (26). The best that I can offer as a conjecture that might resolve this apparent contradiction is that while the basic form retains its pristine coordinate shape (with *not* and *but* filling the conjunction position in both conjuncts), the derivations of both the anchored and the reverse forms involve steps that distort that pristine form in various ways (in the one case the *not* is extracted from the conjunction position and in the other case the order of the conjuncts is reversed) and perhaps that renders those two forms less prototypically coordinate and thus more amenable to a syntactic process that treats one of the two parts as if it were subordinate to rather than coordinate with the other (cf. note 2). It would

forms allowed coordinate-like treatment, e.g. RNR, but I have found the differences among them in that regard too slight to take seriously.

In the derivation that I proposed above for the anchored form, there was an intermediate stage in which the *not* appeared in the same position (sister of a S) that an ordinary negation would appear in in underlying structures. I should accordingly check whether that type of contrastive negative sentences shares the characteristics that are peculiar to ordinary combinations of *not* and S. With regard to the form of reversal tag questions, the basic form of contrastive negation behaves like a positive clause (i.e. it takes a tag that is negative in form), as does the reverse form; the anchored form does not combine comfortably with either form of the tag, though the form in which it is treated as negative is slightly more acceptable:

- (27) 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?)
 c. ??John didn't give Karen the money but Linda, `did he? (*... `didn't he?)

The choice between *too* and *either* works similarly: the basic and reverse forms behave like positive expressions (i.e. they allow *too* and disallow *either*), and the anchored form does not combine comfortably with either *too* or *either*, though higher acceptability results if it is treated as positive, i.e. if *too* is used.⁵

- (28) a. Alice won a prize, and not Bert but Cindy won a prize *too*/**either*.
 b. 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*.
 c. They gave Alice a prize, and they didn't give Bert a prize but Cindy ??*too*/**either*.

The proposed derivations provide a rationale for this behavior, though it will take a more detailed analysis of reversal tags and the choice between *too* and *either* to turn that rationale into a real explanation: in both the basic and the reverse forms, the whole S is not in the scope of a negation at any stage of the derivation (only one of the two conjuncts is in the scope of a negation); the anchored form likewise has a deep structure in which only one conjunct is in the scope of a negation, but it has an intermediate stage in which the negative element c-commands the whole rest of the structure and a surface structure in which the auxiliary verb into which that negative element is incorporated c-commands the whole predicate constituent, and thus some stages of its derivation are parallel to 'positive' sentences and other stages to 'negative' sentences.

Positive polarity items such as *already* combine comfortably with both the basic and the reverse form but are as bad with the anchored form or with either of the expanded forms as they are with non-contrastive negation.⁶

- (29) a. John has already read not *Finegan's Wake* but *Lectures on Government and Binding* .
 b. John has already read *Lectures on Government and Binding* , not *Finegan's Wake* .
 c. ??John hasn't already read *Finegan's Wake* but *Lectures on Government and Binding* .
 d. ??John hasn't already read *Finegan's Wake*, he's already read *Lectures on Government and Binding* .
 e. ??John has already read *Lectures on Government and Binding*, he hasn't already read *Finegan's Wake* .

The *already* of (29c) is c-commanded by a negative word throughout most of the derivation, and one of the *already*'s of (29d,e) is c-commanded by a negative word throughout the entire derivation. By contrast, *already* in (29a,b) is not c-commanded by a negative in surface structure, and only one of the underlying occurrences of *already* that is fused in the single surface occurrence of *already* is c-commanded by a negation in deep structure. Again, this provides a rationale for the acceptability judgements, though an explanation will have to await a more precise statement of the restriction on the occurrence of positive polarity items; in any event, if the restriction is on positive polarity items c-commanded by negatives, any version of the constraint that would be violated by (29a,b) would also be violated by (29c,d,e), but not vice versa.

Consider next the conversion of *some* into *any*. For once, the three short forms behave alike:

- (30) a. John wants to borrow money not from any of his business associates but from his relatives.
 a'. *John wants to obtain not money but favors from any of his business associates.
 b. John wants to borrow money from his relatives, not from any of his business associates.
 b'. *John wants to obtain favors, not money, from any of his business associates.
 c. John doesn't want to borrow money from any of his business associates but from his relatives.
 c'. *John doesn't want to obtain money but favors from any of his business associates.

Specifically, *any* can be licensed by the *not* of any of these three forms if it is within the focus that is marked with the negative but not otherwise. But note that the case in which *any* is allowed is precisely the case in which it is c-commanded by the negative throughout the derivation: the non-focus constituents are fusions of constituents in the two conjuncts, and thus one of the two constituents that are fused in it is outside the scope of the negation; only within the negative focused constituent itself are there constituents that are not outside the scope of the negation anywhere in the derivation.

A similar explanation can be given of the fact that contrastive negation never causes inversion when the contrasted constituent is in the position (before the subject) where negatives normally cause inversion:

- (31) a. Not on Monday but on Tuesday we're having a visiting lecturer.
 a'. *Not on Monday but on Tuesday are we having a visiting lecturer.

Here the whole constituent is not negative, since only its first constituent is in the scope of the negation in deep structure.

Tom Bever (p. c.) has pointed out to me that according to my treatment of contrastive negation, it should in principle be possible for a contrastive negative to be embedded within a contrastive negative construction. Such sentences do indeed appear to be possible, though the difficulty of interpreting them makes their occurrence extremely rare:

- (32) a. ?It isn't not gin but vodka but not bourbon but scotch that Agnes drinks.
 b. No, Miss Brown, the boss isn't not a wop but a spic, he's not an Italian but a Cuban.
 c. No, you shit-headed wimp, I'm not not a nigger but a colored person, I'm not a nigger but an African-American, and I don't need you to tell people what to call me!

Such combinations seem to be most plausible when one (32b) or both (32c) of the contrastive negative constructions is used metalinguistically.

The negative element of the anchored form cannot be incorporated into indefinite pronouns, a fact for which I can offer only a highly conjectural and sketchy account:

- (33) a. John borrows money not from anyone in his office but from his relatives.
 a'. *John borrows money from no one in his office but from his relatives.
 b. John borrows money from his relatives, not from anyone in his office.
 b'. **John borrows money from his relatives, from no one in his office.

In the treatment of negative incorporation that I develop in McCawley (1988:552-61, 606-9), which exploits underlying structures in which quantified expressions are deep structure adjuncts to their host Ss, negative incorporation must apply at a stage of the derivation at which the negative element and the existential NP into which it is to be incorporated are still outside their host S. In the case of such examples as those in (33), that means that the domain to which negative incorporation applies would have to be the constituent consisting of *not* and S_B in (22); but that means that on the S_A cycle, the input to CR would not be of the form *not S but S* . If I can justify a version of the fine details of my analysis in which that discrepancy from the canonical form inhibits the application of the relevant rules, there would then be no possible derivation of (33a',b'); at the moment, though, I have not yet found any way of doing that that rises above the level of sheer brute force.

I will conclude my overview of contrastive negation in English by simply mentioning one additional fact for which I cannot offer even the sort of fragmentary sketch of an account that I offered for the last set of facts. I thus simply note here that the negative element of contrastive negative constructions cannot undergo Negative-Raising:

- (34) a. I suppose John won't put gin in the punch but vodka.
 a'. ??I don't suppose John will put gin in the punch but vodka.
 b. Bill thinks Mary didn't praise but denounced him.
 b'. ??Bill doesn't think Mary praised but denounced him.

At this early stage in my study of contrastive negative constructions, I am in no position to make conjectures as to how much of my proposed analysis of English might be universal. Let me, though, simply mention some points on which some other languages are like English and some other points on which they differ from English or from each other. Spanish has analogs to the anchored and the reverse forms but not, except marginally in subject position, an analog to the basic form:

- (35) a. Juan no pintó retratos sino paisajes. 'Juan didn't paint portraits but landscapes'
 a'. Juan pintó paisajes, no retratos.
 a". *Juan pintó no retratos sino paisajes.
 b. ??No Juan sino Pedro pintó el cuadro. 'Not Juan but Pedro painted the painting'
 (cf. No fue Juan sino Pedro que pintó el cuadro. 'It wasn't Juan but Pedro who painted the painting')

The analogs to English *any-* words are licensed by a contrastive negation only when inside the negative focus, as in English:

- (36) a. *Juan no compró sino vendió nada. '*Juan didn't buy but sold anything'
 b. Juan no pinta retratos de nadie sino solamente paisajes. 'Juan doesn't paint portraits of anyone but only landscapes'

As in English, the negative element in the anchored form unambiguously specifies the scope of the negation and can be structurally distant from the focus (37a-a'), but it appears to be harder than in English to interpret the reverse form in corresponding examples as having wide scope (37b):

- (37) a. El médico no recomendó que Juan tomara café sino té. 'The doctor didn't recommend that Juan drink coffee but tea'
 a'. El médico recomendó que Juan no tomara café sino té. 'The doctor recommended that Juan not drink coffee but tea'
 b. El médico recomendó que Juan tomara té, no café. 'The doctor recommended that Juan drink tea, not coffee' (=a', only with difficulty=a)

In one respect, Russian is the opposite of Spanish. It allows an analog to the basic form with great freedom but appears to have no analog to the English anchored form, i.e. ungrammaticality results when the negative morpheme is removed from the focus and put in the normal preverbal position for negation:

- (38) a. Ivan pil ne vodu_{acc}/*vody_{gen} a čaj. 'Ivan drank not water but tea'
 a'. Ivan ne pil vody/vodu. 'Ivan didn't drink water'
 b. *Ivan ne pil vodu/vody a čaj.

Russian also alternate word orders in which the negative focus appears in other positions than that of the 'basic' word order, separated from its positive counterpart:

- (39) a. Ivan ne vodu pil a čaj.
 b. Ne vodu Ivan pil a čaj.

In Malay (Lewis 1947:104-6), Acehnese (Durie 1985:227), and some other Malayo-Polynesian languages, there is a separate morpheme for contrastive negation: Malay *bukan*, as opposed to *tidak* or *ta'* for ordinary negation:

- (40) a. Buju-nya bukan merah, hijau. 'His coat isn't red, it's green'
 coat-his not_C red green
 b. Bukan dia yang datang, abang-nya. 'It wasn't he who came, it was his brother'
 not_C he REL come brother-his
 c. Bukan-nya saya ta' sedar. 'It wasn't that I didn't realize it'
 not_C-its I not realize

Plato's theory (discussed in Horn 1989:50-54) that negation can be reduced to difference, e.g. that saying that my coat is not red is equivalent to saying that it is some color other than red, might have been formulated by a Malay Platonist as a theory that *tidak* can be reduced to *bukan*, except that Malay analogs to the examples used by Greek- and English-speaking Platonists would be irrelevant to the issue, since those examples would require *bukan* to begin with: *bukan* is required not only for negations that are explicitly contrastive but for those that are implicitly contrastive in the sense that e.g. if something could meaningfully be said to be green, the only way that it could fail to be green would be by being some other color.

To return finally to the coordinate expression that I have used as the title of this paper, I have surveyed in detail the terrain of contrastive negation in English and have illustrated the various characteristics of the form and interpretation of the different contrastive negative constructions with examples that do not require or even allow a metalinguistic interpretation. Contrastive negative constructions can of course be used for metalinguistic purposes, and

one of them, the expanded form, is particularly common in such a use, but noncontrastive negative constructions can be used metalinguistically too, e.g.

- (41) a. There are no niggers in this town, Mr. Smith—my neighbors both black and white are respected members of our community, and I'll thank you to treat them that way.
 b. The United States has never had any peasants; our fields have always been tilled and our crops harvested by farmers and sharecroppers, however miserable their lives may have been.

Note the metalinguistic use here of incorporated negation, which is not possible in cases of contrastive negation. 'Metalinguistic' is not a form of negation but a function that negative constructions may fulfill, and the only relation between contrastive negation and metalinguistic use of negation is the naturalness of employing the former constructions when one has the latter goal.⁷

Notes

* I am grateful to Elisa Steinberg and Fabiola Varela-García for information about Spanish and to Olga Beloded for information about Russian, to Bill Darden, Paule Deane, Thorstein Fretheim, Larry Horn, and Michael Schmidt for comments on the version of this paper that I read at the CLS meeting, and to Tom Bever and Susan Fischer for comments on a version that I presented at the University of Rochester.

1. I will indicate intonation in those examples where a marked intonation is essential for the understanding that I intend. The notational system that I use is taken from Cruttenden (1986) and involves diacritics preceding the word on whose stressed syllable the intonation is localized; ´ indicates rising pitch and ` falling pitch, and relative heights of the diacritics indicate relative heights of the pitches; thus the \checkmark of (1a) is a fall-rise contour localized on the first syllable of managed.

2. In a prototypic coordinate construction, the syntactic relations among the conjuncts are symmetric, whereas extraposition processes affect a syntactic unit that is subordinate in relation to the rest of the structure that contains it. Only in peripheral types of coordinating conjunction (e.g. *Tom as well as Mary; Alice rather than Bill*) is there the sort of asymmetry among the conjuncts that makes one of them eligible for extraposition (McCawley 1988: 280-84):

I invited Tom to dinner as well as Mary.
 They gave Alice the prize rather than Bill.

3. This is not the only possibility for CR, e.g. with the deep structure (17a), it could apply so as to derive (i), and with either deep structure, it could apply so as to derive (ii):

- i. The doctor recommended not that John drink coffee but that he drink tea.
 ii. The doctor recommended that John not drink coffee but drink tea.

4. If the derivations that I envision here are not to violate the principle of strict cyclicity, the raising of *not* (to the position of an adjunct to S_A in (22)) will have to apply simultaneously with CR; I see no obstacle to adopting a principle (cf. Koutsoudas et al. 1974) whereby rules applying to the same domain whose conditions for application are met simultaneously apply simultaneously. I have dodged in this paragraph the question of how to impose the restrictions alluded to in connection with (9)-(10). The analysis given here does not exclude derivations in which S_B and S_C do not have the sort of localized contrast that provides the conditioning factor for CR and thus does not distinguish between cases in which such a localized contrast is required and those in which it is not:

??The White Sox didn't lose but the game was rained out. (??on contrastive interpretation)

A lot of people lost their bets as a result of the White Sox not losing but the game being rained out.

5. See McCawley (1988:581-82) for a demonstration that the choice between *too* and *either* depends on the positive or negative character of its *host*, not of its antecedent, i.e. what is relevant to the acceptability of *too* in (28a) is not the status of *Alice won a prize* as positive or negative but that of *not Bert but Cindy won a prize*.

6. I note here as a historical curiosity that cooccurrence with positive polarity items such as *still* was used as a test for positive/negative character of clauses by Jespersen (1917:49).

7. There are, though, some limitations on the use of negative elements for metalinguistic purposes. As Larry Horn has pointed out, 'prefixal' negatives cannot be used metalinguistically:

It isn't polite to give your seat to a pregnant woman—it's just common decency.

??It's impolite to give your seat to a pregnant woman—it's just common decency.

Not all of the 'echoes' (McCawley 1988:720-26) that serve to express disagreement can be used metalinguistically:

Nigger broad, my ass! (can be negative reaction to the interlocutor's choice of words)

In a pig's eye she's a nigger broad! (can only plausibly be interpreted as meaning that the person in question isn't a black woman)

REFERENCES

- Babby, Leonard H. 1980. *Existential Sentences and Negation in Russian*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Cruttenden, Alan. 1986. *Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Durie, Mark. 1985. *A Grammar of Acehnese*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Gross, Maurice. 1977. Une analyse non présuppositionnelle de l'effet contrastif. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 1.39-61.
- Horn, Laurence R. 1989. *A Natural History of Negation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1917. Negation in English and other languages. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst. Reprinted 1949 in *Otto Jespersen, Selected Writings*, 3-151.
- Koutsoudas, Andreas, Gerald Sanders, and Craig Noll. 1974. The application of phonological rules. *Language* 50.1-28.
- Lewis, M. B. 1947. *Teach Yourself Malay*. London: English Universities Press.
- McCawley, James D. 1988. *The Syntactic Phenomena of English*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Negation in English, an Autolexical account of the historical changes¹

Barbara Need
University of Chicago

English has gone through four patterns of explicit negation in its recorded history. The first stage, that of Old English (ca. 450-1100) is that of preverbal negation with multiple negation allowed (1a). The second stage, which began in Late Old English and extended through Early Modern English (i.e., from ca. 1100 through the time of Shakespeare) and which is best exemplified in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, was one of split negation (1b). Like Standard Modern French (2), English at this time had a two part negative: *ne* and *nāht* (variously spelled). The third stage, roughly Middle English (1100-1500) through Early Modern English (1500-1750), was one where the negative particle followed the finite verb (1c). The latest stage, solidified only in the last two hundred years, is the auxiliated negation, which requires the auxiliary *do* when the finite verb is not a member of a list of words which have been lexically marked as [Auxiliary] (1d). Sentences of this surface form were possible even in Middle English, but, as I will argue, they did not have the same syntax then that they do now.

- 1) a) Ne com se here.
NEG come-3-s-pret-ind the-mNs army-mNs
'The army did not come'
(Mitchell and Robinson 64)
- b) Sume he iaf up, and sume ne
some-A he-mN give-3-s-pret-ind up and some-A NEG
iaf he noht
give-3-s-pret-ind he-3mN NEG
'Some [castles] he gave up and some he did not'
(Peterborough 1140 [41-2])
- c) I know not what
(*"The Translation of Boethius by I.T."* [1609] [12-3] (Farnham, 113-5))
- d) I do not drive trucks
- 2) Je ne sais pas
I-N not know-1-s-pres-ind not
'I do not know'

There has been some overlap between the stages and there are differences among dialects (so for instance I could today say (1c), but it would be marked as archaic or as very formal), but the ranges covered are roughly as above.²

There are two issues here: how to best analyze each of the stages and how to best characterize the mechanisms of the change between stages. It has been suggested (Gazdar et al 1985, and Sadock 1991: 191) that one way to treat the Modern English *not* is as a verb in the syntax: like *to*, it takes a non-finite verb phrase as a complement and