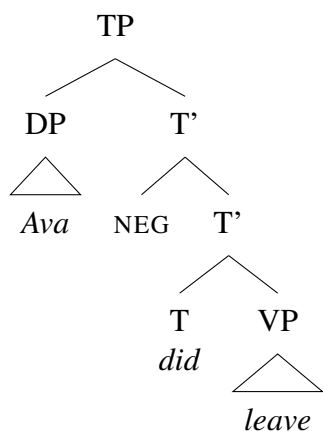


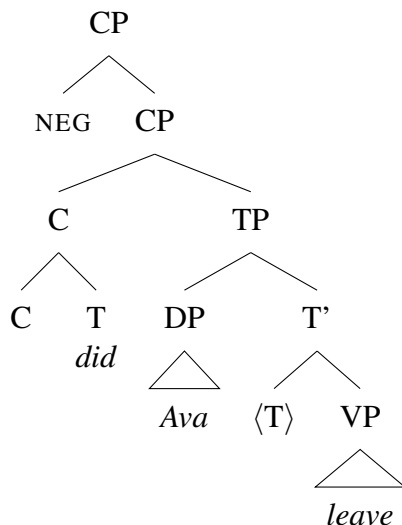
A lowering analysis of English negation

I propose a novel analysis of English negation in which *not* and *-n't* are spellouts of a single negative operator, NEG, which itself is an adjunct. If NEG c-commands a clausemate T, it undergoes a postsyntactic lowering operation to affix to a suitable host (akin to the PF operations proposed in Distributed Morphology). When this occurs, NEG is realised as *-n't*. Elsewhere, it is realised as *not*. The base-generated position for *-n't* on uninverted and inverted auxiliaries respectively is illustrated below:

- (1) a. Ava didn't leave.



- b. Didn't Ava leave?



Treating negation like this derives the generalisation that *not* may never c-command a clausemate Tense head, as in these contexts, NEG must lower and be realised as *-n't*, blocking the realisation of *not*. It further explains the inability of *-n't* to take scope below Tense, as *-n't* can only be realised if NEG has lowered onto T:

- (2) a. Ava didn't help. $\neg > T$; $*T > \neg$
 b. Ava did not help. $\neg > T$; $T > \neg$

The proposal is also shown to account for English allowing *not* to appear left-peripherally only in contexts of clausal ellipsis:

- (3) a. Ava helped, but not Sally. *Stripping*
 b. Who helped? – Not Sally. *Fragment answers*
 c. *Not Sally helped.

Since NEG composes with its host postsyntactically, ellipsis is argued to bleed the application of the lowering rule. This means NEG adjoined outside the ellipsis site is able to survive and be realised in its elsewhere form, *not*. Under the standard assumption that clausal ellipsis is elision of TP, this leads to the conclusion that left-peripheral *not* and *-n't* on inverted auxiliaries are instances of NEG in the same position. Scopal data supports this, as both obligatorily take highest scope in their clause:

- (4) a. Everyone hasn't boarded. $\neg > \text{every}; \text{every} > \neg$
 b. Hasn't everyone boarded? $\neg > \text{every}; * \text{every} > \neg$
- (5) Who does everyone love? – Not the boss. $\neg > \text{every}; * \text{every} > \neg$

Further support for high *-n't* and left-peripheral *not* having a high origin comes from the fact that high *-n't* in the antecedent for clausal ellipsis is not interpreted in the remnant:

- (6) Can't someone help? – Not Sally.

The above conveys that Sally is not able to help. Compare this to *-n't* on an uninverted auxiliary:

- (7) Who can't help? – Not Sally.

The above conveys that it is not Sally who is not able to help. This contrast is predicted on the lowering analysis, as only (7) features an instance of NEG within TP. This is problematic, however, under the standard assumption that *-n't* is generated in a NegP below TP.

Existing analyses of English negation exclusively focus on its distribution in either elliptical, or non-elliptical contexts. The facts here suggest this is the wrong approach, and I argue the lowering analysis successfully unifies them.