

C-Negation is not Constituent Negation but CP-Negation: Evidence from Modern Greek

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Since Klima's (1964) seminal work, the negation in (1) is considered to be Constituent negation (*Phrasal-NEG*) as opposed to Sentential negation (*Sent-NEG*) (Lasnik 1972, Horn 1989, McCawley 1991):

- (1) C-Negation
- I saw [_F Peter] and/but not [_F Paul].
 - I saw [_F Peter]. Not [_F Paul].
 - I saw not [_F Paul] but [_F Peter].

However, an analysis of the Negation in (1) as Phrasal-NEG fails to account for the obligatory association with Focus (1) and the restriction in the distribution of *not* (2):

- (2) I read the long book and (*the) not *(the) short one.

I argue that C-negation is not Constituent but CP-negation (henceforth *CP-NEG*) base generated at CP-level (cf. McCawley 1991). Under this view *not* in (1) is analysed as NEG associated with a Focus Phrase (FocP) involving TP-deletion (4), similarly to what have been argued for Fragment Answers and Sluicing (Merchant 2003):

- (3) [_{NegP} not [_{FocP} Peter_i [_{TP} I saw t_i]]]

Such an analysis finds support in i) the behavior of bound pronouns and ii) the scope of C-NEG over modal and attitude verbs in these constructions.

Further evidence is provided from Standard Modern Greek (SMG) which differentiates among the various types of negation by using four distinct negative particles (Veloudis 1982, Giannakidou 1998); *ohi* for C-NEG, *den* for *Sent-NEG*, *min* for VP-NEG and *mi* for Predicate-NEG. The distribution of the four NEG-forms in SMG provides a solid ground for the examination of the properties of C-NEG.

I show that *ohi* appears in a variety of environments aside from (1) and that in all these environments *ohi* can be best analyzed as CP-Negation with TP-ellipsis involved. These environments include the following:

- (4) Evaluative Negation (Klima 1964, Horn 1989)
Diavasa ena **ohi** poli endiaferon arthro.
read.1Sg a not very interesting article
'I read a not very interesting article.'
- (5) Resumptive Negation/Sprouting (Dowty 2008)
Den tha ertho sto parti... **ohi** me afta ta ruha!
not Fut come to-the party not with these the close
'I will not come to the party... Not with these clothes!!'
- (6) if not/why not (Merchant 2006)
An ehi ilio, tha ertho. An **ohi**, tha mino spiti.
If has sun Fut come if not will stay home
'If it is sunny, I will come. If not, I will stay home.'

Having shown that C-NEG is an instance of Propositional Negation, I raise the question of whether, C-NEG has any pragmatic difference from *Sent-NEG* (*den*) (cf. Borschev et. al. 2005). I will argue that it doesn't and that there are only two types of Negation in language:

- i. Predicate Negation (combining with verbal & adjectival predicates)
- ii. Propositional Negation (which is realized as *den* when associated with Tense and as *ohi* when associated with a constituent via Focus or when there is no T in the sentence)

A closer examination of negative constructions in languages that have distinct negative particles can shed more light into the properties of C-Negation cross-linguistically as well as to the morphosyntax of Negation as a whole.

Selected References

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