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**\*Ted believes to be obvious that two and two is eight.**

**Ted believes Tom to have proved to be obvious that two and two is eight.**

**Howard claims Noam to have proved to be self evident that he is a genius.**

**\*Noam proved to be self-evident that he is a genius.**

**Noam was claimed by Howard to have proved to be self-evident that S.**

**\*I took that he was a fool for granted.**

**\*Howard claims Noam to have taken that he was a fool for granted.**

**\*Howard claims Noam to have proved that he is a genius to be self-evident.**

**Ernie will eat whatever you were surprised that any/some student ate.**

**Ernie will eat more pies than you were surprised that any/some student ate**

**How large a pie were you surprised that any/some student ate?**

**Ernie discussed the largest pie that they were surprised any/some student ate**

**What a small pie they were surprised that any/some student ate!**

**I was surprised that any/\*some student ever called her.**

**THIS SHOULD BE BAD I was surprised that some student called her, still/MUCH less/NOT TO SAY dated her.**

**I was surprised that any student called her,**

**\*I WAS SURPRISED THAT SOME STUDENT CALLED HER AT ALL.**

**I WAS SURPRISED THAT ANY STUDENT CALLED HER AT ALL.**

**I WAS SURPRISED THAT SOME/ANY STUDENT CALLED HER, LET ALONE DATED HER.**

**I WAS SURPRISED THAT SOME/ANY STUDENT CALLED HER, NEVERMIND DATED HER.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT BOTHERED TO STUDY.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT HAD A RED CENT.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT SLEPT A WINK.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT LIFTED A FINGER.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT GAVE A DAMN.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT CAN STOMACH THAT PROPOSAL.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT DANCED MUCH.**

**I AM SURPRISED THAT \*SOME/?ANY STUDENT WAS EXACTLY THRILLED**

**I WOULD BE SURPRISED IF \*SOME/ANY STUDENT WAS/WERE EXACTLY THRILLED BY THE PLAN TO RAISE TUITION.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT DRANK A DROP.**

**DID \*SOME STUDENT/ANY STUDENT DANCE MUCH?**

**I AM UNSURE WHETHER \*SOME/ANY STUDENT DANCED MUCH.**

**I AM SURPRISED \*SOME/ANY STUDENT STAYED LONG.**

**DID \*SOME/ANY STUDENT STAY LONG?FF**

**EXACTLY THREE PEOPLE TOLD SOME/ANY STUDENT TO DANCE MUCH.**

**IF MIKE KNEW SQUAT, I WOULD BE HAPPY.**

**IF ANYONE HERE KNEW SQUAT, I WOULD BE HAPPY.**

**THE DOUBLE NEGATIVE HYPOTHESIS**

**Consider the sentence:**

**(1) Ernie was shocked that anyone supported the dean.**

**There is no word or morpheme in the surface form of this example which is a negative element. But, if the present paper is successful, it will have been shown that the structure of (1) involves at least two distinct negatives.**

**NPI exclusive environments.**

**NPI option environments.**

**Arguments against Ladusaw's Heimian indefinite view of any phrases:**

- (1) I am surprised that \*a Jew/any Jew at all liked Yassir**
- (2) I am surprised that \*a Jew/any Jew except Mike liked Yassir.**
- (3) \*I am surprised that any Jew liked Yassir except Mike.**
- (4) I don't believe that anyone except Mike have I met who.....**
- (5) I don't believe that anyone have I met except Mike who.....**
- (6) I don't believe that \*a/any Jew except mike have I ever met who likes Yassir.**
- (7) I am surprised that \*a Jew/any Jew, including Mike, likes Yassir.**
- (8) Every Jew/Some Jews/All Jews/Many Jews not including Mike**
- (9) \*No Jew/Not every Jew/Not many Jews/Few Jews**
- (10) \*I am surprised that any Jew likes Yassir, including Mike.**
- (11) Every/\*No Jew likes Yassir, including me.**
- (12) I am surprised that any Jew (\*not including Mike), likes Yassir.**
- (13) I am surprised that any Jew likes Yassir, not including Mike.**
- (14) Every/Any Jew, including Mike, likes Yassir.**
- (15) Every/Any Jew, not including Mike, likes Yassir.**
- (16) The people in my department, (not) including Tom,**
- (17) I am surprised any one ate a fucking thing except/\*but the pie.**
- (18) Not a fucking thing except/but the pie was eaten.**
- (19) \*She isn't tempted by a damn/fucking thing**
- (20) \*Not by a fucking thing was she tempted.**
- (21) ?Not by anything was she tempted.**
- (22) nobody except mike ate anything except wheaties**
- (23) \*EXCEPT FOR WHEATIES, NO ONE BUT MIKE ATE ANYTHING.**
- (24) Except for Mike, no one ate anything but wheaties.**
- (25) \*Except for wheaties they gave no one but Mike any food.**
- (26) Except for wheaties, they gave no one any food.**

**Behaves like They gave Mike X food except wheaties**

- ( ) \*I didn't see not less than/At least 7 tigers. OK WITH WIDE SCOPE**
- ( ) \*I didn't see NOT MORE THAN/AT MOST 7 TIGERS. OK WITH WIDE SCOPE**
- ( ) I SAW NO GORILLAS AND FEW CHICKENS.**
- ( ) \*I DIDN'T SEE ANY GORILLAS AND FEW CHICKENS.**

( ) \*I DIDN'T SEE ANY GORILLAS AND MANY CHICKENS.  
 ( ) \*I didn't see any gorillas and/but many chickens.  
 Why is this bad? I saw not+any gorillas and not +many chickens.  
 AHA CAUSE OF OBLIG AND → OR IN FACE OF ATB NEG  
 LIFTING.  
 I DIDN'T SEE ANY GORILLAS OR MANY CHICKENS.  
 \*(I DIDN'T SEE SSCHWAM GORILLAS OR MANY CHICKENS.

I fed Every other gorilla  
 every other gorilla was fed.  
 ?\*Not every other gorilla was fed.  
 Everyone (else) (including Bob) was interviewed.  
 Not everyone (\*else)(\*including B) was interviewed.  
 ??I didn't see everyone else or many gorillas.  
 \*I didn't see everyone including Bob or many gorillas.  
 \*I didn't see every woman including Betty or every man including Joe.  
 Not every man (\*including Joe) and Not every woman (\*including Jane)  
 was interviewed.

Parallel to except fact as claimed by Hoeksema (1996).

Theory : <including X> goes on underlying Positive Universal.

Whata bout:

( ) ?No senator including Moynihan was arrested.  
 Not+some including  
 OKEach senator including the tallest

( ) \*I DIDN'T SEE ANY GORILLAS BUT LOTS OF CHICKENS.  
 ( ) \*Nobody saw any gorillas and few chickens.  
 ( ) \*Nobody saw any gorillas and/but all/many chickens.  
 ( ) \*Nobody saw any gorillas and/but (not) every chicken.  
 He answered no questions in the grand jury because there were none.  
 He answered zero questions in the grand jury because there were none.

Why above pattern in non-NO cases is a CSC one if we analyze  
 not any as case of negative lifting. The fact that NO---any cases  
 behave the same argues for treating e.g.

**( ) Nobody saw any gorillas**

**as:**

**( ) Nobody did NOT see NOT -any gorillas**

**If this is true of other languages, difference between Neg Concord and not could link to difference between when double NOT vanishing vs. single not and when a no NP can be under scope of surface negative.**

**Nobody saw Nothing ==non standard Nobody saw Nothing  
Nobody didn't see nothing**

**Italian Nobody telephoned It not telephoned nobody.  
John not saw nobody.**

**with same negative lifting followed by a double NOT vanishing.**

**Not everybody did NOT see NOT -any gorillas.  
Not everybody saw any gorillas.**

**Not everybody said squat.  
Joe didn't say squat. Nosquat.**

**Nobody said squat. = Nobody NOT said nosquat.  
Nobody NOT NOT said squat.**

**Principle No—is double neg deleter**

**Not every isn't. can we go further and say that  
only an anti-additive thing is a double neg deleter. Doubtful..think  
yYET**

**\*Only Mike saw any women but no men.**

**\*Only Mike saw any women and many/every men/some men**

**Most guys who met some/\*any sluts and wanted to do the same thing  
again**

**If you once/?ever bungee jump, you will want to do the same thing  
again.**

**I can't sing except in Paris  
except in a high voice**

**\*If any men and/but few women are arrested,  
\*If any men and/but many women are arrested  
\*If every man and/but any woman are arrested,**

**\*They are too disciplined to arrest any men and many women.**

**They are too disciplined to arrest any men and/or any women.**

**\*No men or some women sang**

**No men or few women sang**

**\*No men or only bob sang.**

**No men or No women**

**Not every man or not every woman can sing.**

**<Not (every man or every woman) can sing. = has reading where Not  
distributes to both every.**

**( ) Few men have left yet. not antiadditive.**

**( ) \*Only Fred has left yet.**

**( ) I didn't remember that anyone except Clinton had lied.**

**( ) I forgot that anyone except Clinton had lied.**

**( ) No one (\*except Clinton) lied, not even Hilary.**

**( ) No one, not even Hilary, (\*except Clinton) lied.**

**Joe was surprised that anyone sang and (that) anyone danced  
\*either/too.**

**Some man \*if any/in fact every**

**Every man \*if any/\*in fact some/many**

**No man \*if any/\*in fact some/few**

**Not every man \*if any/in fact, none**

**I am surprised that some, in fact every man testified.  
\*I am surprised that any, in fact every man testified.  
If some/\*any not to say/not to say every man testified,  
I am surprised that a (\*in fact every) man testified.**

**If you think you mean anything to her you are \*right.  
If you think you mean anything but money to her you are wrong.**

**You are wrong to think that anyone but Bob sang.  
You are wrong to think that anyone but Bob sang loudly.**

**Has exactly entailment property of Nobody but entailment fails for  
bob, e.g. it implies ..think that anyone sang loudly, but fails for  
think that Bob sang loudly.**

**Quasi DE.**

**Neither Bob nor Nora screamed = Not Bob and Not Nora screamed**

**Neither nor indicates phrase internal coordination of negative  
constituents.**

**(Either) Bob or Nora screamed = Not [(Not Bob and Not Nora)  
screamed]**

**either or indicates phrase internal coordination of negative  
constituents, plus**

**ATB neg lifting, followed by NOT NOT → Null**

**I didn't see (either) any gorilla or every chimp =**

**I saw not any gorilla and not every chimp.**

**I didn't see any gorilla and every chimp.**

**Joe or even Bob could do it.**

**Neither Joe nor even Bob could do it.**

**The men have, all (of them) except Rodney, gone sailing.**

[all of the men except Rodney

Neither of those men have ever tried to help me.

Those men have neither of them ever tried to help me.

Zero or more questions were (\*ever) answered by those students.  
Zero or more students may care to participate.

Zero students long to be martyrs.

( ) a. \*No students long to be martyrs.  
B None of our students long to be martyrs.

Contrast must link to veridical/referential aspect of latter e.g.:

b. but not a. entails there are some students. Thus long to could be said to require a referential subject, but then 'zero students' must be referential.

He answered no questions in the grand jury because there were none.  
He answered zero questions in the grand jury because there were none.

There are no/zero round squares.

\*Zero of our students

\*Not only you will they arrest.

\*Not only you, they will arrest.

?Not only you and not only me will they arrest. Suggests following but phrase.

?Not only you will they arrest but Bob also.

No one asserted that everyone screamed.

No one asserted that a woman hated every man including Bob.

No one asserted that any woman hated every man including Bob.

Not to every man (\*including Bob] did she speak.

**She didn't assert that every man including Bob was rotten.**

**She hated not every man but every cruel man.**

**She hated not every philosopher (\*including Bob] but some linguist.  
She didn't hate every philosopher (\*including Bob) but some linguist.  
She hated not every philo. (?\*except Bob] but some linguist.  
She didn't hate every philo )?\*except Bob] but some linguist.  
OK She didn't hate every philo. Except You.**

**This last case must be sentence negation, not lifted every negation.  
\*She didn't hate every philo. Except you but Bob.**

**Every linguist, not excluding/including you, is in danger.  
Not every linguist, (\*not excludin/including you] is in danger.  
She hated not every linguist (\*not excluding/including you] but Bob.  
She didn't hate every linguist (\*not excluding/including you] but Bob.**

**She hated either every linguist (not) including/not excluding you or every philo.  
She hated neither every linguist (\*(not) including you) nor every philo.**

**Principle: inclusives don't go with logical Not every**

**STUFF THAT ARGUES FOR NEG LIFTING OUT OF CONJOINED NPS**

**exceptives**

**inclusives**

**CONJUNCT COORDINATION CONSTRAINTS.**

**( )A.I SAW EVERY MAN BUT FEW WOMEN.**

**B.\*I DIDN'T SEE EVERY MAN BUT FEW WOMEN.**

**C I SAW NOT EVERY MAN BUT FEW WOMEN.**

**C VIOLATES STANDARD CONDITIONS WHATEVER THEY ARE ON CONJOINING WITH BUT..BUT THEN SO WILL b UNDER NON-atb NEG LIFTING LINKED TO FIRST CONJUNCT RAISING.**

**( )A. He saw the oldest linguist in the world except you.**

**B. \*I am surprised he saw the oldest linguist in the world except you.**

**C He didn't see the oldest linguist in world except you.**

**\*No woman saw the oldest linguist in the world except Harry.  
They believe you to be the oldest linguist in the world except Harry.  
\*Nobody believes you to be the oldest l. in the w. except Harry.  
OK Not everyone “””””**

**STILL CLEARER:**

**EXCEPT FOR HARRY, NO ONE BELIEVES YOU TO BE THE  
OLDEST L. IN THE W.  
EXCEPT CAN ONLY GO WITH NO ONE.  
EXCEPT FOR HARRY, I BELIEVE YOU TO BE THE OLDEST L IN  
THE W.**

**They are too sophisticated to insult every professor. Missing NOT is not  
linked to every. = NOT possible/NOT fut for x to insult every professor.**

**They are too sophisticated for everyone to dismiss. Missing NOT is not  
linked to every. = NOT possible for everyone to dismiss x**

**He is too poor to afford everything. Missing NOT**

**Like He loves everyone.  
like he loves anyone but himself.  
like anyone loves everyone = not the case that anyone loves everyone  
= ‘I deny that he loves anyone but himself’**

**He refused to believe that (\*ever) had I seen her.  
contrast: He did not believe that (ever) had I seen her.**

**He is too cynical to believe that (\*ever) had I dated Madonna.**

**I didn’t meet Greta on the top of any mountain**

**\*I met Greta on the top of no mountain.**

**Not on the top of any mountain did I meet Greta.**

**Mike threw in the towel/\*the towel in.  
\*The towel was thrown in/is hard to throw in.  
Mike threw in the towel after 3 rounds in Berlin and Lou after 4 rounds  
in Munich.**

**Mike threw in the towel after 3 rounds in B. and after 4 rounds in M.**

**Not after 3 rounds in B but after 4 rounds in M did Mike throw in the towel.**

**Herb rents/ apartments to (and/but) not from --students.**

**\*Herb buys apartments to (and/but) not from –students.**

**Herb obtains apartments from (and/but) not for students**

**Herb rents apartments to students and not from students]**

**To students but not to teachers, Herb might rent apartments.**

**\*To students but not from students, Herb might rent apartments.**

**Herb rents/\*buys apartments to (students) and from students.**

**It is graduate students that Herb rents apartments to .. and from.**

**Herb used to rent/\*buy and he may still rent/\*buy apartments to students but not from students.**

**Herb used to rent apartments and he may still rent apartments to students but not from students.**

**This program may have been produced and probably was produced**

**by students (and) for students.**

**Herb sold to Joan condoms on Friday**

**Herb sold to Joan condoms and on Friday.**

**Herb sold to Joan not condoms and not on Friday.**

**Herb (may have) sold stuff to Joan but 1<not condoms>, 2<not in New York>, and 3<not on Friday>.**

**Herb sold 1 to Joan**

**Herb sold stuff to Joan 2**

**Herb sold stuff to Joan 3**

**Herb inspires fear/loathing/confidence/disgust/hatred**

**\*Fear is inspired by Herb.**

**\*Fear is hard for wimps to inspire.**

**\*Fear is too strong for a wimp to inspire.**

**\*What Herb felt shortly after inspiring (in Joan) was fear.**

**It was fear that everyone who felt pg wanted to discuss/\*inspire.**

**They pulled the rug out from under him.**

**The rug doesn't easily pull out from under such people/sofas.**

**kill an audience = strongly amuse\kill an evening spend**

**kill a bottle = finish**

**kill sports opponent = defeat badly**

**kill any chance of x = eliminate**

**The whole weekend was killed in drinking**

**During the vacation several days were killed partying**

**During the vacation were killed partying several lovely days**

**During the vacation were killed partying several lovely coeds**

**Such coeds/lovely days/strong teams don't kill easily/frequently.**

**\*Long winter evenings don't kill easily.**

**Long poisonous snakes don't kill easily.**

**The yankees defeat sev. wes. teams in a way analogous to x kill y**

**annihilate/destroy/kill/massacre/crush/smash/obliterate**

**\*At that time were killed by the Yankees several highly capable western teams.**

**okAt that time were badly beaten by the Yankees several highly capable western teams**

**The doctor really fucked/screw that patient. = had sex/did something rotten.**

**Such patients don't fuck/screw easily. = had sex/\*rotten**

**At that conference were fucked/screwed by doctors several innocent patients.**

**= had sex/?rotten**

**That killed his chances of getting the job.**

**\*Her chances of getting that job were killed by that/Tom.**

**\*Her chances...were impossible to kill.**

**\*Whose chances of getting the job did he discuss just before killing**

**At that party several bottles were killed immediately.**

**At that party were immediately killed several old cats/\*bottles.**

**That bottle got killed last night.**

**The train was/\*got blown up to prevent the colonel from reaching the capital.**

**The train was/\*got blown up deliberately.**

**At that conference were fucked by diplomats several secretaries/millions of American workers.**

**added 9/20/2000 I don't believe that every protestor can we interview.**

**not too bad.**

**\*That every protestor can we interview, I don't believe.**

**\*That any protestor can we interview, I don't believe.**

**\*That ever will we reach heaven, I don't believe.**