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CONTRASTIVE NEGATION

CONSTRUCTIONAL VARIATION WITHIN AND ACROSS
LANGUAGES

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines contrastive negation. Contrastive negation is a cover term for constructions that combine a negated and affirmed element that refer to the same state of affairs (e.g. *not today but tomorrow*). There are many ways to express contrastive negation across languages and even within one language. In my dissertation, I ask what the functions of contrastive negation are, what forms it takes, and what explains the variation between these forms. I investigate these questions both within one language – English – and cross-linguistically.

Previous research on contrastive negation has mostly resorted to introspectively constructed examples and its main focus has been on metalinguistic negation (e.g. *not good but excellent*). The main method used in this dissertation is corpus linguistics, i.e. the qualitative and quantitative study of electronically stored collections of naturally occurring texts. My aim has been to study contrastive negation as it actually appears in language use rather than focusing on artificially created ideal cases. I complement the corpus-linguistic perspective with interactional linguistics. In other words, I study how contrastive negation is used in casual conversation to create various socially relevant actions. The theoretical framework of the study is construction grammar, which starts with the assumption that language consists of constructions, i.e. pairings of form and function that language users learn from usage by using domain-general cognitive mechanisms.

According to the corpus analysis, contrastive negation favours argumentative and interactive genres, such as newspaper editorials and conversation. There are gradient and sometimes quite subtle functional differences among the constructional schemas that are used to express contrastive negation in English newspaper discourse. In conversation, a difference emerges between English and Finnish constructional strategies: English favours asyndetic combinations of a negative and an affirmative clause while in Finnish, constructions that employ corrective conjunctions are used relatively frequently. In both languages, the forms that contrastive negation takes are adapted to the interactional context and function, especially to whether the construction is used reactively or not. In the last study of the dissertation, a comparison of 11 European languages reveals differences especially in the extent to which corrective conjunctions are used in the languages studied.

The dissertation extends our understanding of contrastive negation. Instead of metalinguistic negation, which has dominated previous studies on the constructions, the central questions for this dissertation are whether the contrast is additive (*not only Finland but also Sweden*) or restrictive (*not every day but merely at weekends*), and whether the construction is used reactively or not.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä väitöskirja käsittelee kontrastiivista kieltoa. Kontrastiivisella kiellolla tarkoitetaan rakenteita, joissa yhdistyy samaa asiaintilaa kuvaava myönteinen ja kielteinen osa (esimerkiksi *ei tänään vaan huomenna; ravistettuna, ei sekoitettuna*). Kontrastiivisella kiellolla on monia ilmenemismuotoja eri kielissä ja myös saman kielen sisällä. Väitöskirjassani kysyn, mihin kontrastiivista kieltoa käytetään, mitä eri muotoja sillä on ja mikä niiden välistä vaihtelua selittää. Tutkin kontrastiivista kieltoa sekä yhdessä kielessä – englannissa – että kieltenvälisesti.

Aiempi tutkimus kontrastiivisesta kiellosta on painottanut keksittyjä lause-esimerkkejä ja erityisesti niin sanottua metalingvististä kieltoa (esimerkiksi *ei hyvä vaan loistava*). Tämän tutkimuksen metodina on korpuslingvistiikka eli sähköisessä muodossa tallennettujen aitojen tekstien kokoelmien analysointi sekä laadullisesti että määrällisesti. Tarkoituksena on kuvata kontrastiivista kieltoa sellaisena kuin sitä käytetään idealisoitujen esimerkkien sijaan. Täydennän analyysia vuorovaikutuslingvistiikalla eli tutkin myös, miten kontrastiivista kieltoa käytetään arkikeskustelussa luomaan erilaisia sosiaalisesti merkityksellisiä toimintoja. Tutkimuksen teoreettisena viitekehystenä käytän konstruktioikielioppia, jonka mukaan kieli koostuu muodon ja merkityksen yhteenliittymistä eli konstruktioista, joita kielen puhujat oppivat yleisten kognitiivisten mekanismien perusteella kielenkäytön pohjalta.

Korpusanalyysin perusteella kontrastiivinen kiello on tyypillinen kielen piirre argumentatiivisissa ja vuorovaikutteisissa tekstilajeissa kuten pääkirjoituksissa ja arkikeskustelussa. Englanninkielisessä sanomalehtiaineistossa kontrastiivisen kiellon eri muotojen välillä on jatkumomaisia ja joskus hienovaraisiakin funktionaalisia eroja. Keskusteluaineistojen osalta englantia ja suomea eroavat toisistaan siinä, millaisia strategioita niiden puhujat käyttävät kontrastiivisen kiellon ilmaisemiseen: englannissa kontrastiivinen kiello ilmaistaan keskustelussa tyypillisesti kielteisen ja myönteisen lauseen asyndeettisenä rinnastuksena, kun taas suomessa myös korrektiivisten konjunktioiden (*vaan ja kun*) käyttö on suhteellisen tavallista. Kummassakin kielessä kontrastiivisen kiellon muoto motivoituu vuorovaikutustilanteesta ja -funktioista, erityisesti siitä, käytetäänkö konstruktioita reaktiivisesti vai ei. Väitöskirjan viimeisessä osatutkimuksessa 11 kielen vertailu paljastaa kieltenvälisiä eroja erityisesti korrektiivisten konjunktioiden käyttöalassa.

Väitöskirjan tulokset laajentavat kuvaa kontrastiivisesta kiellosta. Aiemppaa tutkimusta hallinneen metalingvistiksisyyden sijaan keskeiseksi nousee kysymys siitä, onko kontrasti korvaava (*ei tänään vaan huomenna*), lisäävä (*ei vain Suomi vaan myös Ruotsi*) vai rajaava (*ei joka päivä vaan ainoastaan viikonloppuisin*), sekä siitä, onko konstruktion käyttö reaktiivista vai ei.

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They say it takes a village to raise a child. If that is true, then it feels like it has taken at least a small town to raise this doctoral student. It has been wonderful to get to know the alleyways and squares, the cathedrals and the cafés but above all the various interlocking communities of people that make up my town. Words will never fully express my gratitude for the townfolk, but I will try.

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In a small town on autumn equinox,

O.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

*	grammatically incorrect
✓	grammatically correct (in minimal pairs)
#	pragmatically incorrect
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
ADE	adessive case
CNG	connegative
FOC	focus marker
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INST	instructive case
INT	interjective
M	masculine
NEG	negative, negator
PART	particle
PL	plural
PRT	partitive case
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SG	singular
but _{ADV}	adversative <i>but</i>
but _{CORR}	corrective <i>but</i>
they _{SG}	gender-neutral third person singular
FOC[...]	focus
SMALL CAPS	sentence stress
overstrike	elided material

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

Article I

Olli O. Silvennoinen. 2017. Not only apples but also oranges: Contrastive negation and register. In Turo Hiltunen, Joseph McVeigh & Tanja Säily, eds. *Big and Rich Data in English Corpus Linguistics: Methods and Explorations*. (Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 19.) Helsinki: VARIENG. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/19/silvennoinen/>.

Article II

Olli O. Silvennoinen. 2018. Constructional schemas in variation: Modelling contrastive negation. *Constructions and Frames* 10(1): 1–37.

Article III

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Article IV

Olli O. Silvennoinen. Accepted for publication, b. Comparing corrective constructions: Contrastive negation in parallel and monolingual data. In Renata Enghels, Marlies Jansegers & Bart Defrancq, eds. *New Approaches to Contrastive Linguistics: Empirical and Methodological Challenges*. (Trends in Linguistics – Studies and Monographs.) Berlin & Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.

Mark: Is it always but? Can it be and?

Miles: Yeah, but the thing I particularly like about the word but, now that I think about it, is that it always takes you off to the side, and where it takes you is always interesting.

(Ali Smith, *There but for the*. London: Penguin Books. P. 175.)

PART I. BACKGROUND

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 CHARTING THE TERRAIN

Let us begin at a bar, where a fictional agent is ordering a drink:

- (1) Dry martini. Shaken, not stirred

Why does he order his drink in this way? After all, there are several other ways in which he could make his request, some of which are listed in (2):

- (2) a. Shaken and not stirred
b. I want my martini shaken, I don't want it stirred.
c. Not stirred but shaken
d. Not stirred – shaken.
e. I don't want my martini stirred, I want it shaken.

This dissertation is a compilation of studies having to do with expressions like those in (1)–(2) and why we choose one of them over the others. Following McCawley (1991), I call expressions like these contrastive negation. A more detailed definition will be given in chapter 2, but for now we may define contrastive negation as expressions that combine an affirmed and a negated part that concern the same element in the discourse universe so that what is negated stands as an alternative to what is affirmed. In (1), for example, *shaken* and *stirred* are alternative ways of mixing a martini (shaking, as the more vigorous method, undoes the effect of stirring, so a drink must be either one or the other), and *stirred* is negated, to be replaced by *shaken*.

When considering the alternatives to (1), one notices that while their truth conditions may be identical, most of them do not work as part of the fictional agent's request. In (2)c, for instance, the [*not X but Y*] construction seems to suggest that a participant of the exchange has actually entertained the possibility of stirring rather than shaking the drink (see Givón 1978), which seems unlikely given that our agent has just arrived at the bar and has not spoken to the bartender before.

There is another factor constraining the form that the agent's utterance takes. We have tacitly assumed that our agent works for the British Secret Intelligence Service, and thus that he has the constructional affordances of English at his disposal. But other languages have other constructional options. Consider (3) and (4), which compare English with Spanish:

- (3) a. *No es francés pero habl-a francés.*
NEG be.3SG French but_{ADV} speak-3SG French

b. He is not French **but** he speaks French.

- (4) a. *No es francés sino alemán.*
NEG be.3SG French but_{CORR} German

b. He is not French **but** German.

In (3), there is an **adversative** coordination between not being French and nevertheless speaking French. The members of this coordinated pair have different argumentative orientations: our experience of the world tells us that being French and speaking French are correlated. Thus, not being French nudges us towards the conclusion of not speaking French either. The adversative conjunctions *pero* (in Spanish, (3)a) and *but* (in English, (3)b) cancel this expectation.

In (4), there is a **corrective** coordination between not being French and being German. This time, the members of the coordinated pair are different altogether. Their argumentative orientations are in fact the same: not being French is compatible with being German. They are construed as alternatives to one another, but only one of these alternatives is left standing. This is done by using the corrective conjunctions *sino* (in Spanish, (4)a) and *but* (in English, (4)b).

In English, *but* is used in both (3) and (4), while in Spanish, *pero* is used in the adversative case (3) but *sino* in the corrective case (4) (Anscombe & Ducrot 1977). Spanish thus makes a finer distinction in this domain than English does. Only the corrective falls under the definition of contrastive negation: in (3), being French and speaking French are not mutually exclusive and one does not replace the other. Although this distinction has less applicability outside of western Europe (Jasinskaja 2012; Malchukov 2004; Mauri 2009), it is crucial for the research presented in this dissertation, especially in Articles III and IV. It is the corrective case that will be discussed in this dissertation, whether it is expressed through a dedicated conjunction (as in Spanish) or not (as in English). However, as shown in (1)–(2), constructions using a corrective coordinator are only one type of contrastive negation.

Contrastive negation is a flexible domain of grammar. One dimension of this flexibility concerns the relationship between the contrasted items. We may distinguish between three classes of contrast, based on Dik et al. (1981):

- (5) Savoy is **not an archaeologist but an explorer**. (BNC)
- (6) It is particularly illogical that this kind of argument should be coming from politicians who, in other contexts, would be the first to argue, and rightly, that Vietnam is **not some kind of monster State, but merely a ramshackle and inefficient one that has lost its way**. (BNC)
- (7) 'There is a moral crisis in sport, **not only in Canada but on a worldwide scale**,' he said. (BNC)

In (5), we have a **replacive** contrast: the contrasted items are simple alternatives to one another and no scalarity is construed between them, at least not overtly. In (6), we have a **restrictive** contrast, caused by the word *merely* in the affirmative part of the construction: the affirmed item is construed as less extreme a value on a pragmatically created scale than the negated one. In (7), we have an **additive** contrast, caused by the word *only* under the scope of the negation: the affirmed item is construed as more extreme on a scale than the negated one.

These three kinds of contrast correspond to three semantic classes of contrastive negation constructions. In principle, each of the semantic types is compatible with each of the constructions in (1)–(2). In practice, some combinations are more entrenched than others. There are other parameters by which we may characterise contrastive negation constructions, but a key finding of this dissertation is that the three semantic types explain a lot of the constructional variation that we find in the data, both within and across languages. In particular, the additive type is attracted to constructions with some kind of corrective conjunction, whether that conjunction is specialised for contrastive negation or not.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS

This dissertation is about constructional variation in the domain of contrastive negation – the various forms for expressing it both in English and across languages, and reasons for choosing a particular form at a given time. On a more general level, my dissertation has three kinds of aims: empirical, methodological and theoretical.

Empirically, my main aim is to find out how contrastive negation behaves in various kinds of corpus data. There is a surprising dearth of corpus-based studies on contrastive negation, most of the literature being based on introspective, anecdotal or experimental data. While the literature often concentrates on specific constructions of contrastive negation, thus implying that these constructions are more canonical than the others, the status of the various constructions *vis à vis* one another has not been put to the test of corpus-linguistic investigation until now.

In terms of the languages covered, I start with only one language in Articles I and II: English. In Article III, I move on to a contrastive approach, comparing English with Finnish. In Article IV, I extend the number of languages further, considering 11 European languages through a parallel corpus study. The order is not random: I argue that to be able to do a cross-linguistic corpus study, we need to know how the phenomenon being studied behaves in monolingual corpus data. The monolingual and bilingual corpus studies in Articles I, II and III pave the way for the more broadly cross-linguistic study in Article IV. Sections 2.2. and 3.3. of this introductory part discuss the matter of cross-linguistic and language-internal comparability.

Methodologically, then, my aim is to show what is needed for a cross-linguistic corpus study. Cross-linguistic studies typically move from function to form (Haspelmath 2010). While this can be done in corpus linguistics, too, it requires careful consideration because of the nature and amount of the data and the way in which it is handled. This issue is particularly thorny in the case of contrastive negation because of the extreme variability in the forms it may take.

I also hope to show how contrastive negation can be studied using empirical data in a bottom-up fashion, without too strict pre-determined categories. The picture that emerges is in some ways radically different from previous, less data-driven studies.

Theoretically, my work is part of the usage-based paradigm in linguistics (e.g. Bybee 2006; 2010; see also papers in Barlow & Kemmer 2000). The usage-based paradigm starts with the observation that the structure of language is motivated to a large extent by patterns

of use. Meaning is seen as an integral part of grammatical description, and grammar is often described as a network of pairings of form and function, i.e. constructions (Goldberg 2006).

Some parts of this network are denser than others: the constructions in these parts of the network are similar in terms of form, function or both. In other words, they are related: we may say that they form a family. Construction families are an established topic in the usage-based tradition, an issue to which I shall return in chapter 3. In this dissertation, I approach contrastive negation as a construction family. I aim to contribute a basic description of a construction family that has not received the attention it deserves, and that is considerably less neat and more unruly than the pet topics in the literature, such as the dative alternation (e.g. Bresnan et al. 2007), the genitive alternation (e.g. Szmrecsanyi 2006; 2010; Grafmiller 2014) and the verb particle alternation (e.g. Gries 2003; Szmrecsanyi 2006). On the one hand, as will become clear later on, contrastive negation comes in a great number of formal arrangements, and many of these are quite similar to one another. On the other, some of the forms that can be attested in corpus data do not seem to be very highly conventionalised. In Articles I and III, I shall argue on this basis that contrastive negation is at least partly emergent (in the sense of Hopper 1987), arising piece by piece rather than following a pre-determined grammatical template.

Studies on construction families usually aim to establish a division of labour between the family members. Most functionalist theories of language assume that complete synonymy is avoided, a sentiment expressed as the ‘Principle of No Synonymy’ by Goldberg (1995: 67; see also Bolinger 1977). Because of the abstract nature of contrastive negation and the large number of constructions, contrastive negation is much more prone to constructional synonymy than other construction families with more contentful semantics.

The broad research questions of this dissertation are as follows:

- (i) What are the different forms of contrastive negation?
- (ii) What factors are associated with the use of which forms?
- (iii) What pragmatic functions does contrastive negation have?

For each of these questions, answers are sought from both monolingual and cross-linguistic corpus data.

1.3 OUTLINE

This dissertation is divided into three parts. Part I presents the background to the studies. Part II of the dissertation is a reprint of four previously published or soon-to-be published studies on contrastive negation. Part III presents concluding remarks.

Part I is further divided into four chapters, of which this introduction is the first. Chapter 2 reviews the previous studies on contrastive negation and presents the way in which it is defined in this dissertation and how this definition differs from those of the literature in certain respects. Chapter 3 is about the theoretical approach taken in this dissertation: contrastive negation is seen as a cluster of form-function pairings of various levels of schematicity, productivity and entrenchment that compete against one another in one language and which can be analysed as instantiations of cross-linguistic strategies of expressing the function. Chapter 4, in turn, is about the methodological approach of the four case studies: contrastive negation is looked at in language use.

Part II presents the actual substance of the dissertation. In it, chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 correspond to Articles I, II, III and IV, respectively. Article I (**‘Not only apples but also oranges: Contrastive negation and register’**) is a corpus-driven study of contrastive negation in spoken and written English. The aim of the article is two-fold: on the one hand, it uncovers in a bottom-up fashion the various forms of contrastive negation in English data, and on the other, it examines the distribution of the forms in various newspaper registers as well as casual conversation. The main result of the study is that spoken and written English differ quite extensively as to how contrastive negation is expressed: in line with previous studies on clause combining, speech favours expressions without conjunctions, while in writing, constructions with the corrective conjunction *but* are also common.

Article II (**‘Constructional schemas in variation: Modelling contrastive negation’**) continues with the English data, examining the functional division of labour between the six constructions in (1)–(2). Based on a statistical analysis of several variables, I show that there is functional specialisation among the constructions but also substantial overlap. The [*not X but Y*] schema is associated with additive semantics, as stated above, whereas the [*not X, Y*] schema favours restrictive semantics. The latter tendency may be related to the well-known grammaticalisation path from exclusive focus particles (*‘only’*, *‘just’*) to adversative and corrective conjunctions (König 1991: 110–111).

Article III (**‘From constructions to functions and back: Contrastive negation in English and Finnish’**) contrasts English with Finnish, using casual conversation data and the methodological toolkit of interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018). Like Spanish and German, Finnish makes a distinction between adversative and corrective conjunctions. The expression of contrastive negation is different in the two languages: Finnish makes more use of conjunctions than English, in which the corrective conjunction *but* seems to be almost completely restricted to written or formal contexts. Contrastive negation appears to be a domain of grammar whose expression is partially emergent and positionally sensitive: interactional contingencies have an effect on the formatting of contrastive negation so that a given example may be recognisably reactive, for instance.

Article IV (**‘Comparing corrective constructions: Contrastive negation in parallel and monolingual data’**) takes the contrastive approach one step further, examining 11 European languages from three language families (Finnic, Germanic and Romance) using parallel corpus data. The analysis uncovers both remarkable similarity and differentiation, suggesting an areal-genealogical core of Charlemagne Sprachbund (van der Auwera 1998) and Germanic languages, from which the other Romance and the Finnic languages of the study differ. In the core languages, corrective coordination is predominantly used for additive cases in the dataset. Outside of the core, corrective coordination may have further distinctions either morphosyntactically (*sino* vs. *sino que* in Spanish) or functionally (*ma* vs. *bensí* in Italian; *mas* (*sim*) vs. *como* in Portuguese) or it may be more weakly associated with additive semantics (*void* in Estonian; *vaan* in Finnish).

Part III concludes the dissertation. In chapter 9, I discuss the research questions and answers as well as point out limitations to the studies in Part II. In chapter 10, I draw conclusions and suggest avenues for further research.

2 CONTRASTIVE NEGATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will review the existing studies on contrastive negation and present my approach to it. Contrary to much previous research, my definition of contrastive negation is essentially functional. That is, I do not start with a pre-selected list of syntactic configurations but with semantic and pragmatic notions against which I have analysed the corpus data. The approach is thus onomasiological, going from function to form.

Before reviewing the literature, I shall make a few remarks on terminology. I have already given a preliminary definition of **contrastive negation**, the central concept in this study. A more precise definition will be given later on in this chapter. On occasion, I shall also use the term **contrastive negation constructions** or **negative-contrastive constructions** to refer to entrenched pairings of form and function in this domain (see Goldberg 2006: 3 and chapter 3 in this dissertation for the definition of construction).¹ There are several grammatical domains that are relevant for contrastive negation. The most obvious of them is **polarity**, which consists in the choice between affirmation and negation. The other domain that figures prominently in the literature on contrastive negation is **corrective coordination**. The literature on corrective coordination usually only considers syndetic negative-first forms of contrastive negation (e.g. *not stirred but shaken*). The conjunctions in such constructions are called **corrective conjunctions**. The conjunctions used in cases of semantic opposition or denial of expectation (e.g. *Mike is a Republican but he's honest*) are called **adversative conjunctions**. This is also the hyperonym for both adversative and corrective conjunctions. As I stated in the introduction, European languages differ as to the coding of adversativity and correctivity. Following the terminology set out by Anscombe and Ducrot (1977), conjunctions specialised for adversative functions to the exclusion of correctivity are called **PA-conjunctions** (based on Spanish *pero* and German *aber*), and conjunctions whose primary meaning is corrective are **SN-conjunctions** (based on Spanish *sino* and German *sondern*). If a conjunction is standardly used for both adversativity and correctivity, it is here called a **PA/SN-conjunction**.^{2 3}

¹ The existence of several terms for the same phenomenon might be regarded as unfortunate. Among the seminal previous studies, the term 'negative-contrastive constructions' is used by Gates and Seright (1967), while 'contrastive negation' is chosen by McCawley (1991; 1998: 612–622). Sometimes, other terms have been suggested as well, such as 'replacive negation' (Jacobs 1991; cited in e.g. Repp 2009).

² The word *standardly* needs some unpacking. In Finnish, *mutta* is generally considered the PA-conjunction and *vaan* the SN-conjunction. However, in dialects, the distinction seems to be recent (cf. Hakulinen 1955). In addition, even in standard language, *vaan* is sometimes used as a stylised PA-conjunction:

(i) *Gandhi-n valta taipu-u vaan ei taitu.*

Gandhi-GEN power bend-3SG *vaan* NEG.3SG fold.CNG

'Gandhi's power bends but_{ADV} does not break.' (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1106)

Since this is only a minor usage, *vaan* is considered an SN-conjunction in this dissertation.

³ I sidestep the question of what to call the conjunction in constructs like *shaken and not stirred*. In western European languages, the conjunction that can appear in negative-second contrastive negation is additive, such as *and* (in Finnish, an

In addition to denoting a semantic sub-domain of coordination, **correction** is also a pragmatic notion. Used mainly in formalist studies, it denotes a speech act that picks up something to be amended in the discourse universe and suggests a replacement (e.g. van Leusen 2004). It thus comes close to what in the conversation-analytic literature is called **repair** (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977), although for repair, the existence of an element to be amended is not a prerequisite. Correction and repair are indeed possible functions for contrastive negation but they are not the only or even the most frequent ones, as Article III shows. This is one reason why I prefer to use the pragmatically more neutral term ‘contrastive negation’. Another sense of correction is merely the affirmative part of a contrastive negation construct (e.g. Dik et al. 1981).

In rhetoric, contrastive negation is a subtype of **antithesis**, a relation between two elements that construes one of them as preferred over the other (e.g. Thompson & Mann 1987a). Other expressions that can express antithesis are indicated in (8), taken from Thompson and Mann (1987a: 374), but an antithetical relation may also be more implicit, as in (9), in which it is created lexically:

- (8) Rather than THESIS, ANTITHESIS
 Instead of THESIS, ANTITHESIS.
 THESIS. However, ANTITHESIS.
 THESIS. Yet, ANTITHESIS.
 ANTITHESIS <part a>, more than THESIS, ANTITHESIS <part b>.
 ANTITHESIS without THESIS.
- (9) I recently purchased a text that purported to be a guide to Pascal to engineers. It totally ignored the subtleties of the language and made no bones about it.
 (Thompson & Mann 1987b: 91)

A glaring omission in the terminological discussion above is **contrast**. Contrast has several definitions in linguistics. Here I use it to refer to the difference between two overtly expressed elements, which are construed as somehow incompatible (Thompson & Mann 1987b: 91). This usage, whose motivation has not always been made explicit in the literature on contrastive negation (e.g. Gates Jr. & Seright 1967; McCawley 1991), is related to the notion of **contrastive focus**.⁴ Definitions differ, but here I assume a focus is contrastive if it is explicitly paired with another focal element, with which it stands in an alternative relation (cf. Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor 1988: 516–517). All constructs of contrastive negation exhibit contrastive focus thus defined.

In section 2.2., I present my own functional definition of contrastive negation, along with a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characterisation of the kinds of constructions to which this definition corresponds. In section 2.3., I present the research background: the various phenomena that relate to contrastive negation and in whose context it has been discussed,

analogous construction is formed by appending an additive clitic *-kä* to the negator *e-*, as in *ravistettuna eikä sekoitettuna* ‘shaken and not stirred’). By contrast, in some Slavonic languages such as Russian, the equivalents of both ‘but’ in ‘not X but Y’ and ‘and’ in ‘Y and not X’ are corrective conjunctions (Jasinskaja 2010; 2012)

⁴ Not all agree on this, though. Umbach (2004: 156) explicitly states that the [*not X but Y*] construction is not an instance of contrastive focus.

such as negation, corrective coordination and subordination. In section 2.4., I summarise the chapter.

2.2 WHAT IS CONTRASTIVE NEGATION?

2.2.1 CONTRASTIVE NEGATION AS A FUNCTION

As I wrote in the introduction, contrastive negation presents itself in various forms, not only in English but also in other languages. Since there have been few studies concentrating on contrastive negation specifically and these studies tended to disagree with one another on the exact list of constructions (see below), it was not really clear to me which constructions should be counted and which should not. Furthermore, it seemed (and Article I confirmed) that the set of constructions that are available for contrastive negation is somewhat open-ended and partially emergent (see also following chapter).

For these reasons, I decided to approach contrastive negation explicitly as a function. In other words, I have defined it in functional terms, with as little stipulation about its possible forms as possible. My approach is thus onomasiological: it maps forms onto function. Contrastive negation is what Haspelmath (2010) has called a ‘comparative concept’, a concept that is designed to be applicable to cross-linguistic comparison by being primarily based on functional notions. In addition, a comparative concept may be based on formal notions that are language-independent, such as combination. However, contrastive negation also denotes ‘descriptive categories’ in Haspelmath’s terms, i.e. it delimits a class of expressions in given languages. Contrastive negation is thus both a set of constructions in a given language and a concept that has cross-linguistic applicability. In the former case, we may speak of English or Italian Contrastive Negation,⁵ for example.

The comparative concept definition of contrastive negation is in (10):

- (10) Contrastive negation refers to expressions which are combinations of affirmation and negation in which the focus of negation is replaced in the affirmative part of the expression. The relationship between the affirmed and the negated part of the expression is not causal, concessive or conditional, and the negation must have overt scope.

Article IV contains a more detailed discussion of this definition. This formulation first appears in Article III. These two articles, which were the last ones to be written, are the culmination of how my understanding of contrastive negation has developed over the course

⁵ I follow the practice whereby language-specific categories are proper names and thus capitalised (e.g. English Contrastive Negation), whereas cross-linguistic concepts are common nouns and not capitalised (e.g. contrastive negation). The exception to this is language-specific categories that are referred to by their form (e.g. *not*); in case such categories have multiple words, they may be placed inside square brackets (e.g. the [*not X but Y*] construction). My approach to the variable parts of the constructions has evolved during the process of writing this dissertation: In Articles I and II, *X* is first and *Y* second regardless of which one is affirmative and which one negative (e.g. [*X not Y*]). In Articles III and IV, I switched to keeping *X* negative and *Y* affirmative (e.g. [*Y not X*]) as this is clearer when discussing multiple languages in the same article.

of writing this dissertation. However, a similar understanding has guided the process of writing Articles I and II as well.

Following Haspelmath, this definition relies mostly on functional terms: *affirmation*, *negation*, *scope of negation*, *focus of negation*, *causal*, *concessive*, *conditional*. These terms are not defined here; they have been defined as comparative concepts elsewhere in the literature (see below). In addition, there is a formal notion in the definition, *combination*, whose precise meaning is characterised as *replacement*.

I shall now consider the definition in more detail, focusing on how it demarcates contrastive negation. The first element of the definition is that contrastive negation is a **combination of affirmation and negation**. This captures the core constructions in (1) and (2). What this formulation does not say is what kind of combination there is. In practice, I have omitted coordination from the definition, and therefore the definition is open to both coordination and subordination as well as constructions that are not easily classified as either. The reasons for this will be addressed below.

I have not mentioned how many affirmations and negations there may be in a construct that meets the definition in (10). This is because I also wished to include tripartite constructs, which I have sometimes found in my data. Such cases highlight the fact that contrastive negation is somewhat open-ended as a category. (11) is a case in point.

(11) Number nine is gold earrings. **Stud type not drop type, studs.** (BNC)

By not restricting the number of contrasted elements, I also include cases in which either the negated or the affirmed element is itself coordinate, such as (12):

(12) In attempting to influence political developments in Poland, the West was reduced to using precisely those instruments that the Bonn government (and Social Democratic opposition) is now belatedly attempting to apply to the GDR: first, a symbolic politics recognising the Church and opposition as partners no less important than the communist authorities who claim to be, but are not, identical with 'the state' and, second, the conditional offer of economic help (politely called 'co-operation') as a goad to political change – **neither pure 'carrot' nor simple 'stick', but a carrot-cum-stick.** (BNC)

The second component of my definition is that **the focus of negation replaces the affirmation**. This is a semantic-pragmatic characterisation of the combination. The notion of replacement is not meant procedurally; it simply means that the negation and the affirmation characterise the same state of affairs and they are construed as mutually exclusive in this context. Similar formulations abound in the literature on contrastive negation and correctivity (see e.g. Izutsu 2008 on the cognitive-functional side; and van Leusen 2004 on the formalist side)

At this point, let us note the distinction between the scope and the focus of negation. Quirk et al. (1985: 787) define the scope of negation as 'the stretch of language over which the negative item has a semantic influence'. The focus of negation is the exact part of a clause that is negated (Quirk et al. 1985: 789). The focus is inside the scope, but the scope may also include elements that are not in focus and which may therefore be left unnegated. Consider (13), from Quirk et al. (1985: 789, slightly modified):

- (13)
- a. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – I forgot to do so.
 - b. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – It was Mary.
 - c. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today – just to see it.
 - d. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – I took her to the seaside.
 - e. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – It was last week that I did so.
 - f. I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – It was my brother who took her.

In English, the scope of the negation is generally everything that follows the negation. In other words, in (13), everything that follows *didn't* is in principle in the scope of negation and is thus potentially the focus. In practice, the focus is usually more restricted: in (13)a, it is the whole VP, but in (13)b, it is only *Joan*, and the rest of the clause stands: the speaker did take someone to swim in the pool on the day in question. In (13)c, *swim* is in focus and replaced by *see*. In (13)d, the location of the swimming is in focus, and thus *pool* is replaced by *seaside*. And in (13)e, it is *today* that is replaced by *last week*. The only exception is (13)f. Here, it is the subject that is in focus, and therefore also in scope. Thus, the rule that the scope follows the negation in English is only a tendency that can be overridden.⁶

My understanding of focus stems from Lambrecht (1994). According to him, the focus of a clause is the element that brings new information. Since in Lambrecht's (1994: 206) view, all clauses contain new information, all clauses obligatorily have a focus. Foci come in three types, which Lambrecht calls 'focus structures': narrow focus, predicate focus and sentence focus.⁷ These three types are intended as a general classification of foci in language. A narrow focus targets an argument, an adjunct or a smaller constituent, as in (14). A predicate focus targets a finite verb phrase, as in (15). A sentence focus targets the whole sentence, as in (16). (Examples from Lambrecht 1994: 223.)

- (14) NARROW FOCUS STRUCTURE:
A: I heard your motorcycle broke down?
B: My car broke down.

- (15) PREDICATE FOCUS STRUCTURE:
A: What happened to your car?
B: My car/It broke down.

- (16) SENTENCE FOCUS STRUCTURE:
A: What happened?
B: My car broke down.

Examples (17)–(19) illustrate contrastive negation with narrow, predicate and sentence focus, respectively:

⁶ I simplify Quirk and colleagues' account somewhat. In their view, focusing may change the scope of negation to become narrower. Thus, the scope may also become discontinuous. My account is closer to Huddleston and Pullum's (2002: 790–799).

⁷ In fact, Lambrecht uses the term 'argument focus' for what I have chosen to call 'narrow focus', following Van Valin (2005: 71) because also adjuncts can be focused in the same way.

- (17) The suffering of God is not _{FOC}[eternal and infinite]; it is _{FOC}[human and limited and the same kind of suffering as that of Auschwitz or of cerebral meningitis]. (BNC)
- (18) 'I'm voting for John Major because he is a great Prime Minister. Because he doesn't _{FOC}[punish success], he _{FOC}[promotes it],' she purred. (BNC)
- (19) AN OLD maxim of British politics states that _{FOC}[oppositions do not win elections], _{FOC}[governments lose them]. (BNC)

According to Lambrecht, predicate focus is the unmarked type. In contrastive negation, however, narrow foci are more common, as shown in Article II. In addition, there is cross-linguistic variation: Finnish Contrastive Negation seems to be more amenable to predicate and sentence focus, as Article IV shows.

From the perspective of the present dissertation, it is interesting that in (13), Quirk and colleagues use contrastive negation to clarify the differences in scope and focus in otherwise identical clauses, even though the original passage is not directly related to contrastive negation. The affirmative parts in (13) also show various ways of structuring: there are *it*-clefts ((13)e and (13)f), regular clauses with *it* ((13)b) but also plain clauses ((13)a and (13)d) or phrases ((13)c). There are thus also many ways in which the focus of affirmation may be realised, but the important point for contrastive negation is that the foci of negation and affirmation are paired (on paired foci, see especially (on paired foci, see especially Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988).

The third component of the definition of contrastive negation is that **the negation must have overt scope**. Thus, (20) is included as even an elliptical Verb Phrase is something that is not the negation itself but is under its scope, while (21) is excluded, since the negation is expressed with a response particle and therefore does not form part of the clause structure proper (the examples will be repeated in Article IV):

- (20) A: Do you go to the gym often?
B: I don't [go to the gym often], I go running instead.
- (21) A: Do you go to the gym often?
B: No, I go running instead.

The fourth and final component of the definition delimits the semantics of contrastive negation: **the relationship between the affirmed and the negated elements must not be causal, concessive or conditional**. Previous research has found that combinations of negation and affirmation may have several semantic relations. Contrast and correction are sometimes considered in conjunction with other relations such as cause, concession and condition (see Couper-Kuhlen & Kortmann 2000). The reason for excluding these relations separately is that they may sometimes pragmatically implicate replacement, which is the criterion for a combination of negation and affirmation to be contrastive negation. Consider (22):

- (22) Smoking (Gohl 2000: 85)

1 Maria: <<h>>> uwele ma:gsch no (.) ↑guck da hat=s no
knöch[ele zum abnage.]
2 Erik: [nix kriegt er me: mir müsset rauche. (.)
3 ?Erik: zum wohl. ((Anstoßen von Gläsern))
4 ?: [(4 Silben)]
5 Anna: [da kommt me tota:l unterernährt kommt mer hoim,
6 bloß weil die rauche wollet.]

‘1 Maria: uwe dear do you want anything else (.) look there’re
bo[nes to pick].
2 Erik: [he’ll get nothing more we have to smoke. (.)
3 ?Erik: cheers. ((clinking of glasses))
4 ?: [(4 syllables)]
5 Anna: [we’ll come home totally undernourished,
6 just because these guys want to smoke.]’

In line 2 of this excerpt, Erik produces two clauses, ‘he’ll get nothing more’ and ‘we have to smoke’. Together they form a clause combination or, in Gohl’s (2000: 85) terms, a ‘construction’, bound together by the semantics: the latter clause is a cause for the former. Even though the first clause is negative and the latter affirmative, this combination is not an instance of contrastive negation, firstly because of the nature of the semantic link and secondly because the two clauses do not pertain to the same state of affairs.

One way in which this part of the definition breaks ranks with previous research is that it does not include the [*Y but not X*] construction (e.g. *John speaks French but not Spanish*), which is explicitly marked for concession by *but*. In Article I, I actually do consider this construction, since it is frequently discussed alongside contrastive negation and seems to share a lot of its syntax and semantics with [*Y not X*] and [*Y and not X*]. In later articles, I have not done so since it does not follow the definition that I have given: in addition to replacement, the construction expresses concession. Because of this, the contrasted elements must be compatible in principle. Thus, in (23), the [*Y but not X*] construction is not allowed because one can only be born in one year and thus the two birth years are not compatible in this context. Note that the *but* in this construction is adversative rather than corrective, as shown by the German in (24), which includes the PA conjunction *aber*.

- (23) a. They died in 1984, not 1983.
b. *They died in 1984 but not 1983.
(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1313)

- (24) *Sandy spielt fussball, aber nicht tennis.*
‘Sandy plays soccer but not tennis.’ (Konietzko & Winkler 2010: 1437)

Other constructions that could have been studied but were not include the [*Y if not X*] construction, which also seems to be motivated by negative-second forms of contrastive negation. In addition, a conditional relation may also be expressed asyndetically. Such cases were naturally not included, similarly to the causal cases discussed above.

In the following three sub-sections, I look at the kinds of expressions my definition designates in more detail. In 2.2.2., the focus is on the syntactic patterns. In 2.2.3., I zoom into the three semantic types of contrastive negation. In 2.3.4., I move to pragmatics and motivate my perspective of contrastive negation as an intersubjective construction type.

2.2.2 CONTRASTIVE NEGATION AS A FAMILY OF CONSTRUCTIONS

The previous section defined contrastive negation intensionally, i.e. on the basis of necessary and sufficient conditions. We may also define contrastive negation extensionally, as the set of entities that fall under the definition. This is what I shall do in this section. Thus, I move from contrastive negation as a comparative concept to contrastive negation as a descriptive category (or descriptive categories in different languages). Under this conception, contrastive negation is a class of expressions that is bound together by family resemblances. This implies that language is a network of constructions that are linked to one another and therefore foreshadows chapter 3, which addresses this theoretical perspective in more detail.

I shall begin by describing contrastive negation in English, the main focus of Articles I and II. I then make some comparative remarks on other languages studied in Articles III and IV.

As noted above, contrastive negation is prototypically but not necessarily bipartite. Constructs with more than two parts are very rare and probably not very conventionalised, and therefore I shall focus on the bipartite forms. In English, as in other languages that I have studied, a basic distinction runs between negative-first and negative-second forms of contrastive negation (McCawley 1991: 190; Tottie 1991: 163–164):^[1] *shaken, not stirred* vs. *not stirred but shaken*. These may be further divided on the basis of whether the coordination/subordination in them is syndetic or asyndetic and whether the conjoined elements are both clausal, both sub-clausal or mixed. Furthermore, all these can be semantically replacive, additive or restrictive. In Article I, the replacive negative-first constructions look like (25)–(28):

- (25) [not X but Y]:
Within the Tory Party, what ultimately matters is **not how many friends you have, but rather the power and strength of your enemies**. (BNC: A5K)
- (26) [not X, Y]:
It is as enjoyable as feeling gently hungry or amorous. No, **not amorous: randy** – we have a word for that. (BNC: A3C)
- (27) EXPANDED NEGATIVE-FIRST:
The suffering of God is **not** eternal and infinite; it is human and limited and the same kind of suffering as that of Auschwitz or of cerebral meningitis. (BNC: A3F)

[1] Tottie calls negative-first and negative-second forms ‘neg-first’ and ‘neg-second’, respectively, while McCawley opts for ‘basic’ and ‘reverse’. Both nomenclatures have problems, which is why I have not followed either of them. See note 1 in Article I for discussion.

- (28) PREFACED NEGATIVE-FIRST:
The rebels left Makati after negotiations with military officers and marched back to their barracks with rifles, bazookas, and machine-guns, chanting: '**No surrender, the fight goes on.**' (BNC: A9E)

(25) is a typical instance of the [*not X but Y*] construction. (26) is similar but without the corrective conjunction; in it, both of the contrasted elements are phrases. (27), on the other hand, contrasts finite clauses. In Articles I and II, I retained McCawley's (1991) term 'expanded' for such constructions. (28) exhibits a case where the contrasted elements have different syntactic ranks: the negative element is phrasal and appended to a full affirmative clause. Because of the dependence of the negative on the affirmative, I called such constructions prefaced. Constructions like (25)–(28) are considered in all four articles in Part II. In addition, in Article I, I noted the configurations in (29)–(30):

- (29) [*not so much X as/but Y*]:
The influence of all three is perceptible in Nicholas Shakespeare's first novel, though it is **not so much the magical flights of Marquez as Greene's Catholic mysticism** which I found the most intriguing. (BNC: A4G)

- (30) OTHER NEGATIVE-FIRST:
THE fact that Mickey Mouse did **not** turn up in London for the announcement of Eurodisney's share price, preferring to battle it out with anti-Disney demonstrators in Paris, shows where the focus of the Europe-wide issue is. (BNC: A5G)

(29) illustrates the [*not so much X as Y*] construction that sometimes comes with a corrective *but* instead of *as*, suggesting its close semantic association with contrastive negation. (30) shows a rare case of contrastive negation with a full negative clause preceding a non-finite affirmative. This pattern is by no means conventionalised as a contrastive negation construction but the negated and affirmed parts are mutually exclusive alternatives in this context.

The replacive negative-second constructions identified in Article I are listed in (31)–(33):

- (31) [*Y not X*]:
They appeared to have suffered only one or two shots **to the head, not to the rest of the body**, as might be expected in a gun battle. (BNC: A3N)

- (32) [*Y and not X*]:
This particular police officer does and wants Superintendent Mhoira Robertson to be remembered for **a glittering career and not a weary struggle as recorded by Joan Burnie**. (BNC: A3V)

- (33) EXPANDED NEGATIVE-SECOND:
Her uncle, Mr Eustace Saddoo, of Ayton Grove, Manchester, condemned the bombers for callous lack of 'consideration for their own humanity and flesh'. '**They are animals; they are not human,**' he said. (BNC: AKH)

(31) illustrates the [Y not X] construction, the most condensed and most frequent of the negative-second constructions. (32) shows its syndetic variant that includes the additive conjunction *and*. (33) illustrates the expanded negative-second pattern. It is much rarer than the corresponding negative-first pattern. Interestingly, these three negative-second constructions seem to be used in very similar ways at least in newspaper discourse, as discussed in Article II from the point of view of constructional synonymy. The three patterns in (31)–(33) were regarded as central for contrastive negation and they are thus considered in all four articles of Part II in some way. In addition to them, there are more marginal negative-second patterns, such as (34):

- (34) OTHER NEGATIVE-SECOND:
A London elocution teacher, Edwina Pickett (inundated with demands for lessons), adds, ‘I get girls **who want to marry well, who don’t want to marry a lorry driver.**’ (BNC: AKB)

(34) shows two relative clauses that characterise the same state of affairs, the first one affirmatively, the second one by negating a mutually exclusive scenario.

Each of the previously illustrated constructional schemas can be used replacively, additively or restrictively, depending on the presence or absence of an exclusive element in either the negative or the affirmative part. In addition, Article I discusses the construction in (35):

- (35) [Y but not X]:
In a career spanning half a century Davis appeared in **numerous major films but practically no great ones**, a distinction that, in truth, may have been irrelevant to an actress for whom the role, rather than the film encompassing it, was primordial. (BNC: A3V)

(35) shows the [Y but not X] construction. In Article I, it is listed under restrictive constructions, implying that (35) would be roughly synonymous with, for example, *The films that Davis appeared in were not great, only numerous*. The [Y but not X] construction is often associated with contrastive negation, as seen in section 2.3 below. It is for this reason that it was discussed in Article I. However, the construction contains an adversative *but*, which violates the definition in (10) as it is concessive in meaning.

Another way in which Article I defies my ultimate definition of contrastive negation is by accepting cases like (36)–(37):

- (36) **Not** only will it not be like its parents, it probably won’t want to be. (BNC: A7Y)

- (37) Yet he did **not** oppose all toxic waste movement (after all, the same union represents workers at Rechem itself); he simply didn’t like the idea that big industrial nations like Canada could dump their dirty problems on this country and his members. (BNC: A1U)

Both cases are undeniably contrastive. Yet, they violate the definition in one small but important respect: both of the contrasted elements are negative.

Another type of case which was included in Article I but not subsequently is in (38):

- (38) Well **some estates, not many of course, but some estates** have got a no go area for caravans parked don't they? (BNC: KBP)

(38) looks like an amalgam of contrastive negation and general adversativity or concessivity. Because it includes an adversative *but*, a concessive marker, it was not included in the other articles. Without the part following and including *but*, it would be a case of [Y, *not X*]. However, the *not* seems to start the construction anew, repair-like. Thus, it arguably cancels the first part of the construction rather than contrasting with it, and therefore it was not counted as a case of contrastive negation in Article III.

The forms of English Contrastive Negation are summarised in Table 1, along with forms that are not considered contrastive negation in this dissertation.

Table 1. *Contrastive negation vs. other construction types*

Forms of contrastive negation in English	Example
[<i>not X but Y</i>]	not once but twice
[<i>not X, Y</i>]	not once, twice
EXPANDED NEGATIVE-FIRST	It didn't happen once, it happened twice.
PREFACED NEGATIVE-FIRST	Not once, it happened twice.
[<i>not so much X as/but Y</i>]	not so much once as/but twice
[<i>Y not X</i>]	twice, not once
[<i>Y and not X</i>]	twice and not once
EXPANDED NEGATIVE-SECOND	It happened twice, it didn't happen once.
Forms not counted as contrastive negation in English after Article I	Example
[<i>Y but not X</i>]	numerous major films but practically no great ones
cases involving adversative coordination	some estates, not many of course, but some estates

The English constructions are just one example of how the domain of contrastive negation may be organised. Finnish, the other language studied in Article III, has two specialised corrective conjunctions: *vaan* and *kun*. *Vaan* is acceptable in both speech and writing, from the most informal to the most formal registers. By contrast, *kun* in its corrective sense is colloquial and rather rare. In Article III, its few occurrences as a corrective conjunction are mostly reactive, which suggests that the two conjunctions differ functionally, not just stylistically. Contrastive negation may also become lexicalised in other form classes than conjunctions; we will see some examples of this in the literature review in section 2.3.

2.2.3 CONTRASTIVE NEGATION AS REPLACEMENT, ADDITION OR RESTRICTION

As alluded to in the introduction, contrastive negation has three semantic types, based on the way in which the contrast between the affirmative and negative elements is construed. Adapting Dik et al.'s (1981) terminology, I have called these types replacive, additive and restrictive. This division is central to the analyses developed in this dissertation: later on, I shall argue that contrastive negation in English is a construction family that is organised as a network. Horizontally, the network consists of the various constructions identified by e.g. Gates and Seright (1967) and McCawley (1991). Vertically, these constructions have sub-constructions, and an important reason for forming these sub-constructions in English is to express one of the three semantic types.

Dik and his colleagues discuss the three semantic types along with other types of focus. Their semantic classification is shown in Figure 1.

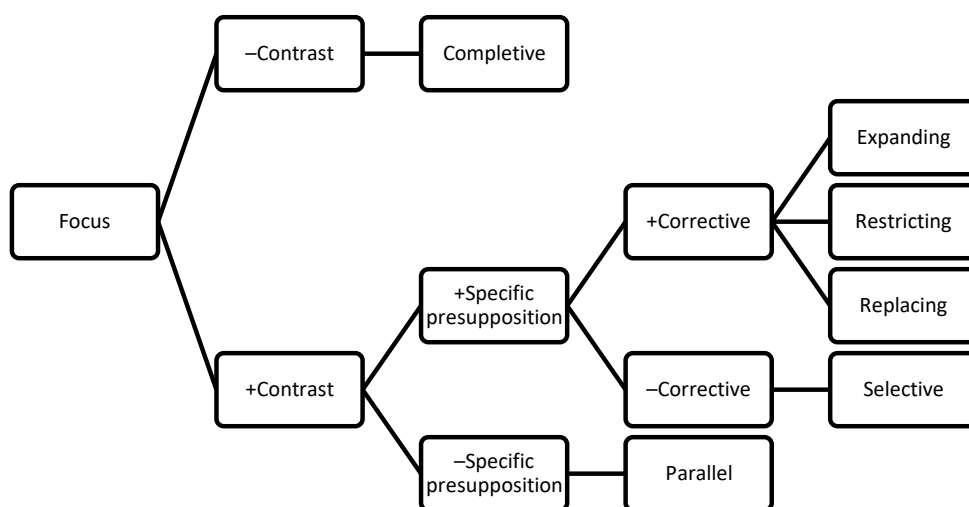


Figure 1 The typology of focus phenomena (Dik et al. 1981:60)

The first distinction cuts between foci that are +Contrast and –Contrast.⁸ The feature +Contrast means that a piece of information is part of a set of alternatives, to which it is compared implicitly or explicitly (Dik et al. 1981: 58). This is different from the notion of contrast adopted in this dissertation, in which contrast refers only to explicitly mentioned alternative sets. The only type of focus that is –Contrast in Dik et al.'s typology is Completive Focus, exemplified in (39):

⁸ While Dik et al. do use + and – in their exposition of their theory, they probably do not claim that these are semantic features in the formalist (e.g. Montagovian) sense. I have chosen to discuss +Contrast and –Contrast consistently as Montagovian features to separate this notion of contrast from other definitions that are more pertinent for my dissertation. In a previous study (Silvennoinen 2013), I have used the feature ±CONTRAST, originally from Murphy (2006), in describing contrastive negation constructions using the attribute-value matrices of Berkeley Construction Grammar; this feature should not be confused with Dik et al.'s ±Contrast.

- (39) A: What did John buy?
B: John bought coffee. (Dik et al. 1981: 60–61)

This example is –Contrast, because the presupposition is only that something was bought, there is no presupposed item that is suggested. Note that Dik et al. do not assume that all clauses have focus (1981: 51). As noted, this runs counter to Lambrecht (1994: 206), who claims the opposite: that every clause has a focus.

Thus, fusing these two accounts of focus, we may assume that there are non-contrastive foci that are non-completive – indeed, many if not most foci in naturally occurring discourse are probably like this.

Most of what Dik et al. discuss under the rubric of Focus has the feature +Contrast. +Contrast is possible without a specific presupposition (in which case it is –Specific Presupposition). In this case, the clause has a Parallel Focus, shown in (40):

- (40) John bought a bike, but Peter a car. (Dik et al. 1981: 66)

The rest of +Contrast foci are +Specific Presupposition. These kinds of focus are further divided into those that are corrective (+Corrective) against those that are not (–Corrective). Corrective cases are further divided into replacing, expanding and restricting, which correspond to my replacive, additive and restrictive. Replacing focus is defined as ‘cases in which a specific item in the pragmatic information of the addressee is removed and replaced by another, correct item’ (Dik et al. 1981: 63). There are thus two parts to replacing focus: rejection (the negative part) and correction (the affirmative part). However, it is not the case that Dik et al.’s replacing foci correspond exactly to replacive cases of contrastive negation, for example. Consider (41):

- (41) A: John went to London.
a. B: No, he didn’t go to London, he went to New York.
b. B: No, he went to New York, not to London.
c. B: No, he didn’t go to London.
d. B: No, he went to New York. (Dik et al. 1981: 63, slightly modified)

(41)a and (41)b are straight-forward cases of contrastive negation: as A has said that John went to London, it is reasonable to posit this information as part of their ‘pragmatic information’ and as B thinks that John went to New York instead, this information acts as a corrective to A’s misguided view. However, Dik et al. consider (41)c and (41)d to have a similar replacing focus. (41)c only contains the rejection and (41)d only the correction. Still, they are both cases of replacing foci: the negated focus in (41)c manages to convey the fact that something is amiss in A’s discourse universe and locates this, and the affirmed focus in (41)d succeeds in removing ‘London’ and replacing it with ‘New York’ as they are construed as mutually exclusive in this particular case. Thus, replacing focus and replacive contrastive negation are not the same, although the latter is probably the archetypal form of the former.

Expanding focus means ‘cases in which the Focus information is meant to be added to the antecedently given presupposed information’ (Dik et al. 1981: 65). Similarly to replacing focus, it does not exactly correspond with additive contrastive negation, as shown in (42):

- (42) presupposition of A:
 John bought x; x = coffee
 a. B: John not only bought coffee, he also bought rice.
 b. B: Yes, but he also bought rice. (Dik et al. 1981: 65)

As in (41), we can have two kinds of expanding focus constructions: (42)a has a complete contrastive negation construction, (42)b only has a correction, from which the rejection must be inferred. Dik et al. note that A's presupposition is not actually rejected as such – only the implicature that it is an exhaustive description of what John has bought. Because of this, the authors admit that the label +Corrective is less applicable to expanding focus than to the other types.

The third type of +Corrective focus is restricting focus, 'a type of Focus by which an antecedently given presupposed set is restricted to one or more correct values' (Dik et al. 1981: 66). Again, Dik and colleagues note both a case of contrastive negation and a case with only the correction part, in (43):

- (43) presupposition of A:
 John bought x; x = coffee and rice
 a. B: No, he didn't buy rice, he only bought coffee.
 b. B: No, he only bought coffee. (Dik et al. 1981: 66)

Dik et al. also note cases in which there is a specific presupposition but it is not corrected. These are cases of selective focus, which is used 'when the Focus information selects one item from among a presupposed set of possible values' (Dik et al. 1981: 62). Interestingly, even here, we get the possibility of using contrastive negation, as (44) shows:

- (44) A: Did John buy coffee or rice?
 a. B: He bought coffee.
 b. B: He bought coffee, not rice. (Dik et al. 1981: 62, presentation slightly modified)

(44) is not corrective since nothing that A believes is rejected; rather, a selection is made among a set of alternatives that they propose. As (44)b shows, it is at least theoretically possible that this may be done using contrastive negation. This is another way in which Dik et al.'s classification does not fully match my three semantic types.

Dik and his colleagues are concerned with focus. I am concerned with a specific type of constructions. For this reason, my classification of semantic types should be understood as types of form–function pairings. My classification leans on the presence or absence of an exclusive element such as *only* or *just* in either the affirmative or the negative part of the construction: if there is an exclusive in the negative (e.g. [*not only X but also Y*], the construction is additive, and if there is an exclusive in the affirmative (e.g. [*not X just Y*], the construction is restrictive. Of course, as the literature on metalinguistic negation amply shows, additive meaning can also be implicit, and in fact the same is true of restrictive contrast. However, these are pragmatic enrichments on constructions whose semantic meanings are probably best described as vague on this point. As I argue in Article I, this is

further grounds for considering replacive contrast the unmarked type not only in terms of formal coding but also in terms of meaning.

There is also patterning below the semantic types. Exclusive adverbs and other expressions differ semantically, and this shows also in contrastive negation. The difference between *just* and *only* is particularly interesting. Generally, *just* and *only* are considered synonymous, and this extends to *not just* and *not only*. But consider (45):

(45) Tax evasion is not {just/#only} a misdemeanour, it's a felony. (Horn 2000: 149)

Criminal offences form a rank, with *felony* being more serious than *misdemeanour*. A criminal offence can be either (or neither) but not both. According to Horn (2000: 149–151), what makes *only* infelicitous in this context is its presuppositional character: *S is not only P* entails 'S is P'. Since tax evasion can only be either a misdemeanour or a felony, the variant with *only* is infelicitous. By contrast, *just* does not carry this presupposition: *S is not just P* merely presupposes that 'S is at least P', thus allowing for cases in which S is above that level.

There is also a syntactic difference between *not just* and *not only* that can be observed in (46):

- (46) a. He doesn't {only/just/merely/simplely} like her (—he loves her).
b. He not {only/*just/*merely/*simply} likes her, he loves her.
c. Not {only/*just/*merely/*simply} does he like her, he loves her.
d. He {doesn't only like/*not only likes} her.
e. *Not only [does he like her]. (Horn 2000: 151, slightly modified)

The canonical place of negation is available for all combinations of [*not* + exclusive adverb] in English, as (46)a shows. However, *not only* deviates from the rest by also being available for appearing before the finite element as in (46)b or clause-initially with obligatory inversion as in (46)c. These word order variants are only possible in contrastive negation, though, as (46)d–e demonstrate. Quirk et al. (1985: 941) argue that [*not only X but (also) Y*] constructions are surprising and that the affirmative part is more surprising than the negative one, which is given. Building on this analysis, Horn (2000: 153) suggests that the givenness gives rise to the inversion in (46)c.

Interesting as it is, this kind of patterning below the level of constructional schemas and semantic types is not explored in this dissertation. There also seem to be few if any other corpus studies focusing on any of the semantic types or associated constructions specifically. One of the few exceptions is Tottie (1986: 101), who briefly notes that the [*not only X but (also) Y*] construction is more common in writing than in speech. Understandably given the time of writing, her dataset is small, however, and does not allow conclusions regarding statistical significance. (Article I corroborates her finding.) The exact conditions that lead to the choice of (46)a, (46)b and (46)c are therefore left for future studies.⁹

This sub-section has reviewed the three semantic types of contrastive negation. They have been reworked from the Functional Grammar tradition, in which they were noted as

⁹ Horn (2000: 184) suggests that inversion is less likely when the negated content has low salience. He also states that 'the rhetorical effect of presupposing a weaker, non-controversial **A** as a springboard for the assertion of a stronger **B** is a manoeuvre particularly exploited by those writing letters to the editor' (Horn 2000: 183).

information-structural categories. There is a lot of constructional variation related to the semantic types both within and across languages, and only part of this variation can be addressed in this dissertation. In particular, the additive type has been shown to interact with the type of exclusive adverb that appears in the construction. The restrictive type is connected to the emergence of corrective elements, many of which are transparently based on exclusive elements (e.g. the Finnish SN conjunction *vaan* and even English *but*).

2.2.4 CONTRASTIVE NEGATION AS INTERSUBJECTIVITY

Negation is often used to correct previously or potentially held beliefs. Thus, it aids language users as they try to align their perspectives at least broadly so that the interaction (either spoken, written or signed) can progress. They tailor their messages in a way that makes them understandable to the recipients, which entails taking into account their perspective, or at least what that perspective is presumed to be.

This orientation to shared perspective has come to be known as intersubjectivity. As regards negation, intersubjectivity has mainly been invoked as a property of interaction between speakers and hearers that the negation safeguards or otherwise supports. Contrary to modality, for instance, negation has seldom been considered from the point of view of expressing stances that are construed by the speaker as intersubjectively shared among many conceptualisers (cf. Nuyts 2001; 2006; but see Verhagen 2005 for a proposal that comes close to this). Negation appears to be a device for guiding the addressee towards a correct interpretation of the speaker's words or actions in interaction (Deppermann 2014). It may be used for conversational repair, though it is rare in this function (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977; Schegloff 1992). Given that negation generally evokes also its affirmative counterpart, it functions as a marker of alternativity (Hidalgo-Downing 2000; Dancygier 2010; 2012). As it targets views that are construed as being entertained by discourse participants at the time of utterance, it contributes to a shared vantage point between speaker and hearer (Verhagen 2005).

The previous points were made for negation in general, and they hold for contrastive negation as well. However, contrastive negation does intersubjectivity in a way that goes beyond repairing incorrect beliefs. In my data, contrastive negation is even used to seek alignment through the creation of a joint stance (cf. Du Bois 2007). In (47), taken from Article III, we see an example of alignment-creating contrastive negation:

(47) Conversation Analysis Archive: Sg396, 8:53

1 Akseli: mitä se siis mitä (.) oliko se oikeesti huono.
2 (0.2) vai.

'what, he I mean what, was he really bad? or?'

3 Taavi: oli. (0.3) se ## Melis sano siin vaan että (.)
4 et meiän kanssa on raskasta työskennellä #ja
5 mth mth ja että kun kaikki pitää vääntää
6 rautalangasta ja#

'he was. he only said that it's tough working with us and that
he has to spell everything out and'

- 7 Akseli: vaikka (0.3) siis toisin sanoen
 although so other.INST say.INF.INST
 ‘although, so in other words’
- 8 → **ei** **puffannut** **vaan** **haukku**.
 NEG.3SG publicise.PTCP but criticise.PST
 ‘he didn’t publicise but criticised (us)’
- 9 Taavi: niin toisin sanoen.
 ‘yeah, in other words’

In (47), Akseli and Taavi are discussing the leader of a choir in which they both are members. The choir leader has given an interview to a local newspaper, the content of which does not please Taavi, who has read the interview and is now relating its content to Akseli. In lines 3–6, Taavi summarises the contents of the interview and the choir leader’s criticism of the choir members. In lines 7–8, Akseli shows that he aligns with the stance expressed by Taavi. He construes his turn as a reformulation of the previous turn (‘so, in other words’) and the reformulation itself, shown in line 8, is a contrastive negation (‘he didn’t publicise us, he criticised us’). Taavi then concurs with this reformulation in line 9. The expectation that is negated is itself construed as shared, and thus its negation and the stance created by it is, too.

As Article III shows, the intersubjective nature of contrastive negation also has formal correlates. This shows in particular in cases in which contrastive negation is used reactively. The forms that contrastive negation takes in interaction are thus evidence of its use as a dialogical feature of language use (Du Bois 2014; Linell 2009).

2.3 PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS

There have been relatively few studies that have focused on contrastive negation as such. By contrast, there have been many that have mentioned it in passing as part of an investigation into some other phenomenon. In this section, I shall review the previous studies and situate my own work in the literature.

My definition of contrastive negation states that it is a combination of an affirmative and a negative. As this suggests, contrastive negation presents itself as a relevant topic for at least two discussions. On the one hand, contrastive negation is obviously related to polarity. The literature on contrastive negation that takes negation and polarity as its starting point is discussed in section 2.3.1. On the other hand, contrastive negation is a kind of combination. As such, it has been discussed in the literature on coordination, although some forms of it have also been considered subordinating or even not clearly either coordinating or subordinating. Rather than contrastive negation, these studies have used the term ‘corrective coordination’, and their focus has largely been on conjunctions like English *but* in *not once but twice* as well as its equivalents in other languages, particularly the SN conjunctions. This literature is addressed in section 2.3.2. The discussions on polarity and corrective coordination sometimes meet, but they have different concerns and thus do not

always see eye to eye. A third discussion relates to ellipsis, which is viewed as relevant to some contrastive negation constructions. Ellipsis is the topic of section 2.3.3. Section 2.3.4. is devoted to contrast, a term that crops up in several sub-fields of linguistics. In that section, I present work on contrast in information structure and lexical semantics, to the extent that this relates to contrastive negation.

Contrastive negation has mostly been discussed in the vast literature on metalinguistic negation. This gets its own section in 2.3.5., where I shall argue that a study of contrastive negation should not (only) be about metalinguistic negation, and that there may be more to metalinguistic negation than contrastive cases.

2.3.1 NEGATION

Negation refers to an expression that turns the truth value of the corresponding affirmative. For instance, when *My wife is not pregnant* is true, *My wife is pregnant* is false, and *vice versa*. Negation is one of the few exceptionless language universals: all attested natural languages have a grammaticalised way of negating a clause (Miestamo 2005: 169, among others).¹⁰

Negation may seem conceptually simple, but in linguistics, its nature as a grammatical category has been surprisingly hard to pin down. Israel (2004: 701) notes that

[d]epending on who you ask, negation may be a logical operator or a type of speech act, a basic element of semantic representation or a pragmatically loaded form of communicative interaction. Each of these answers tells only part of the story.

The upshot of this is that despite its simplicity in logic, in language negation stands in an asymmetric relation to affirmation. In the domain of polarity, negation is virtually always formally marked and affirmation is unmarked. In the simplest terms, this means that a negative contains a negative marker of some sort, but the same is not true for the affirmative (but see Miestamo 2010 on the expression of negation without an overt negator). Cognitively, all other things being equal, negation requires more processing time than affirmation (e.g. Kaup, Lüdtké & Zwaan 2006).¹¹

Affirmation and negation are asymmetric also in discourse. Givón (1978) noted that negation is pragmatically presuppositional: analysing negation as a speech act, he argues that negation is only felicitous if the content that is negated is pragmatically presupposed. To return to the earlier example (which is originally Givón's), saying *Oh, my wife's not pregnant* is highly incongruous in the absence of a pragmatic presupposition that the affirmative might be the case. Note that this presupposition need not be the result of a prior mention: it is enough that the idea can be accommodated by the hearer (see Tottie 1991: 21–22). In cognitive linguistics, this pragmatic complexity has been interpreted in terms of mental spaces (Sweetser 2006; Dancygier 2010; 2012; for a general account, see Fauconnier 1985): negation activates two mental spaces where affirmation activates only one. In the

¹⁰ It is possible to have a logical language that lacks a negative operator but is functionally complete, i.e. it can express all possible truth value combinations.

¹¹ See chapter 3 in Horn (1989) for an extensive treatment of the asymmetry of affirmation and negation. See also Giora (2006) for a recent challenge to the asymmetry thesis.

example of the pregnant wife, one of these spaces represents a pregnant wife, the other a wife who is not pregnant. Verhagen cites another example:

- (48) This time, there was no such communication [about the plans]. It's a pity because it could have resulted in greater participation by employers.

Verhagen (2005: 29–30) points out that the two tokens of anaphoric *it* refer to different things: the first *it* refers to the negative clause ('-[there was communication]'), the second *it* to its affirmative counter-part ('there was communication'). Thus, both the negation and the corresponding affirmation are activated as they can both be referred to anaphorically in the same clause complex. Verhagen's analysis is illustrated in Figure 2. This account gets support from psycholinguistic experiments that suggest that negation is processed in two steps (e.g. Kaup, Lüdtke & Zwaan 2006).

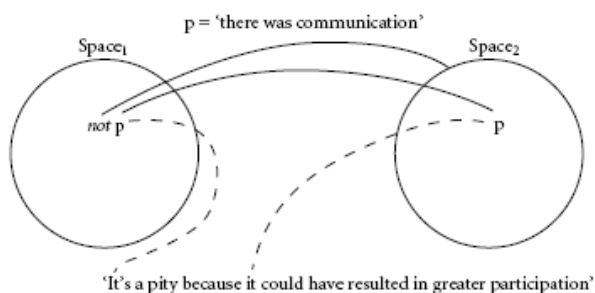


Figure 2 Two mental spaces evoked by sentential negation (Verhagen 2005:30)

While negation as a category is marked when compared to affirmation, there is often considerable heterogeneity within negative constructions. In typology, the starting point for studying negation has usually been standard negation, i.e. constructions that turn the truth value of a verbal declarative main clause (Miestamo 2005: 41–42; see also Dahl 1979). In addition to standard negation, languages typically have constructions specialised for certain kinds of negative contexts such as negative existentials (Croft 1991; Veselinova 2013) and negative imperatives or prohibitives (van der Auwera, Lejeune & Goussev 2013); following Veselinova (2013: 111), I use the term 'special negator' for negative constructions that differ from standard negation.

While no typological study that I know of looks into this matter specifically, contrastive negation seems to be another domain that can obtain its own special negations. Such constructions have been identified at least in French, some varieties of Arabic (Mughazy 2003; Chatar-Moumni 2008), Malay/Indonesian (Kroeger 2014) and Mandarin Chinese (Yeh 1995). What separates these special negations from those in other domains is their optionality: contrastive negation constructions allow both standard negation and the contrastive special negation. Consider the Mandarin Chinese examples in (49). Mandarin has two standard negation constructions *bu* and *mei*. However, Mandarin also has a special contrastive negation, *bushi*, which is a combination of *bu* and the focus marker *shi*. Both standard and special contrastive negation can appear in contrastive negation, whether negative-first or negative-second:

- (49) a. *Ta bu he kafei er he cha.*
 he NEG drink coffee but drink tea
 ‘He didn’t drink coffee but tea.’
- b. *Ta he cha, bu he kafei.*
 he drink tea NEG drink coffee
 ‘He drank tea, not coffee.’
- c. *Ta bushi he kafei, ta shi he cha.*
 he NEG.FOC drink coffee he FOC drink tea
 ‘He didn’t drink coffee—he drank tea.’
- d. *Ta shi he cha, ta bushi he kafei.*
 he FOC drink tea heNEG.FOC drink coffee
 ‘He drank tea—he didn’t drink coffee.’ (Yeh 1995: 57, glossing modified)

(49)a has the standard negator *bu* in a negative-first construction with the conjunction *er* ‘but’. (49)b has the standard negator in a negative-second construction. (49)c has the special contrastive negator *bushi* in an expanded negative-first construction; the contrastive interpretation is further aided by the focus particle *shi* in the affirmative part of the construction. (49)d has the special contrastive negator in an expanded negative-second construction.

Perhaps surprisingly, contrastive negation was late to attract any great interest in studies on negation and polarity. It figures only a few times in Otto Jespersen’s *Negation in English and Other Languages* (1917). Jespersen (1917: 44) notes the propensity of negation to be attached to the finite verb in a clause; he calls this ‘nexal negation’, since the finite verb is a nexus that combines two notions (e.g. in *He doesn’t smoke cigars* the two notions are ‘he’ and ‘smoking cigars’). Contrastive constructions deviate from this pattern, as (50), from Oscar Wilde, shows:

- (50) a. My ruin came not from too great individualism of life, but from too little.
 (Jespersen 1917: 45)
- b. My ruin didn’t come from too great individualism of life, but from too little.

Contrastive negation is special since it allows negation to be removed from the nexus, as in (50)a. However, Jespersen notes that nexal variants of contrastive constructions (such as (50)b) are also possible.

For Jespersen, the [*not X but Y*] construction serves as an illustration of multiple forces that affect the expression of negation. In a remarkably modern vein, Jespersen notes two principles that compete against one another in negative constructions: the first is the preference for nexal negation, the second for negation to be attached to ‘any word that can easily be made negative’ (Jespersen 1917: 56). Presumably, the variation between nexal and non-nexal negation in contrastive constructions is due to the competition between these two principles: by default, negation is nexal, but in contrastive constructions, it is useful to attach the negation to its focus to make the contrast more explicit. However, Jespersen stops short of spelling this connection out as explicitly as this. Jespersen is also frequently credited for uncovering a third principle, neg-first or the preference for negation to come early in a clause

(Jespersen 1917: 5). In Article I of this dissertation, this principle is invoked to explain why negative-first forms of contrastive negation (e.g. *not stirred but shaken*) are more frequent than negative-second forms (e.g. *shaken and not stirred*) in English. This tendency can be related to the pragmatic presupposition of negation introduced above: if an idea is entertained and the speaker wishes to counter it, it is better to do the countering before offering the alternative in its stead. In cognitivist terms, if the mental space of stirring a martini already exists, replacing it with a mental space of shaking requires less cognitive work from the hearer if the negation of stirring precedes the affirmation of shaking.

The occasional failure of the English [*not X but Y*] construction to have normal sentential negation proved vexing also to another classic treatment, Klima (1964). In Klima's account, sentential negation in English belongs in the Aux(iliary) constituent, a reflex of which is the obligatoriness of *do*-support in simple tense negations of lexical verbs (*she goes* vs. *she doesn't go*). For this generalisation, Klima notes that (51) would be a seeming counterexample (Klima 1964: 302):

(51) Not John but Mary supports the family.

Klima explains this as an elliptical clause in which tense-bearing elements, including Aux, have been omitted. Thus, the negator has nowhere else to go except to be by its focus.¹² See section 2.3.3. for more on ellipsis and contrastive negation.

Soon after Klima, Gates and Seright (1967) wrote what to my knowledge is the first study fully committed to English contrastive negation in several of its guises. Only five and a half pages long, this paper considers the proper syntactic analysis of certain forms of contrastive negation, notably [*Y not X*] and [*not X but Y*] as well as [*Y but not X*]. Using various syntactic tests, Gates and Seright conclude that the negative part in these constructions is subordinate to the affirmative. I return to their paper in section 2.3.2.

Most of what has been written about contrastive negation in the past three decades concerns metalinguistic negation, on the impetus of Laurence R. Horn's seminal paper (Horn 1985) and its subsequent revised version in the sixth chapter of his *A Natural History of Negation* (Horn 1989). Horn draws a distinction between descriptive and metalinguistic

¹² In the more recent generative literature, Vicente (2010: 402) considers such cases to have underlying clausal structures but he claims that the procedure that yields the resulting clause is 'qualitatively different from ellipsis' (Vicente 2010: 403). He backs this up with (ii):

(ii) Not a boy but a girl {*are/√is} sunbathing on the lawn. (Vicente 2010: 402)

Vicente's argument is that since the Subject-Verb agreement is singular, *a boy* and *a girl* must be the subjects of different clauses, presumably because *and*-coordination works in this way:

(iii) A boy and a girl {√are/*is} sunbathing on the lawn.

However, *or* is also generally considered a coordinator, but it only allows singular agreement in the parallel case:

(iv) A boy or a girl {*are/√is} sunbathing on the lawn.

I find that Subject-Verb agreement in coordinate constructions is largely a semantic matter (and, given the porousness of the boundary between singular and plural, a potentially variable one at that). Since only the affirmative conjoin in (ii) does any sunbathing, it is natural for the verb to be in the singular as this is what the affirmative conjoin is. Because his set of examples only has singular conjoins in this context, Vicente's argumentation has no bearing on which of the conjoins agrees with the verb. Toosarvandani (2013) argues against Vicente's claim from a generative perspective, suggesting that a large number of corrective coordinations with *but* do not need to be derived from underlying clauses.

negation. Descriptive negation is the default case: negation is descriptive if it reverses the truth-value of the corresponding affirmative. Thus, *My t-shirt is not white* is true only in the case that *My t-shirt is white* is false, and *vice versa*. On the other hand, metalinguistic negation targets the appropriateness of an utterance rather than propositional content. Classic examples of metalinguistic negation are (52)–(55) (Horn 1989: 130–131):

- (52) I didn't manage to trap two MONGEES—I managed to trap two MONGOOSES.
- (53) Grandma isn't 'feeling lousy', Johnny, she's indisposed.
- (54) I'm not his daughter—he's my father.
- (55) SOME men aren't chauvinists—ALL men are chauvinists.

Rather than the propositional content, Horn argues, these examples deny linguistic form, the social or stylistic appropriateness of an utterance or a scalar implicature. However, as we will see in section 2.3.5. below, the vagueness of Horn's formulation seems to linger in some later accounts, blurring the lines between metalinguistic negation and contrastive negation on the one hand, and corrective coordination on the other.

At least in the western literature on negation, there is a time before Horn (1985) and after it. Since his study, it has been almost impossible to study contrastive negation in particular without accounting for metalinguistic negation in some way. The debate on metalinguistic negation is complex; I shall address the particulars below in section 2.3.5. For present purposes, the most interesting of the responses to Horn is McCawley (1991). The starting point in McCawley's paper is the observation that contrastive negation and metalinguistic negation are separate; he writes that 'my complaint about chapter 6 [in Horn (1989)] 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 [...], namely "contrastive negation"' (McCawley 1991: 189). He illustrates this point with (56) (McCawley 1991: 191):

- (56) 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.

Both of these examples are contrastive. However, (56)a is about a propositional difference whereas (56)b is about lexical choice. The former is thus descriptive, the latter metalinguistic. Contrastive negation is thus not metalinguistic as such, though according to McCawley, it 'lends itself particularly easily to metalinguistic uses' (1991: 189).

The bulk of McCawley's paper is about contrastive negation as a family of constructions in English, analysed from a revisionist transformational-generative perspective (see McCawley 1980). Thus, the topic of the paper is related to that of Gates and Seright, though McCawley does not seem to have been aware of that study. McCawley (1991: 190) identifies five 'forms' of contrastive negation, listed in (57):

- (57) 'SHORT' FORMS
- 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.

'EXPANDED' FORMS

- d. John didn't drink coffee, he drank tea. (basic expanded form)
- e. John drank `tea, he didn't drink √ coffee. (reverse expanded form)

McCawley seems to regard this list as exhaustive. He considers the [*not X but Y*] construction to be basic (see (57)a). The [*Y not X*] construction in (57)b is derived from it: in this derivation, the conjunction *but* is lost and the order is reversed, which gives the construction its name in McCawley's system, the 'reverse form'. The basic and reverse forms are 'short' forms, which means that they operate on phrases. Forms of contrastive negation that operate on clauses are called 'expanded' (examples (57)d and (57)e). Of the expanded forms, neither the basic nor the reverse form have a conjunction of any kind.

The basic short form only includes cases in which the negation is attached to its focus. When it is not (i.e. when it is 'nexal' in Jespersen's terminology), we have an 'anchored' form – so called because the negation is anchored to the clause under its scope (McCawley 1991: 195). (57)c shows anchoring to a finite clause, (57)c' to a non-finite one.

McCawley's classification informs my work, although I have reworked it quite heavily based on my data. My version does not deal with anchored forms as a special category. The difference between negations that are attached to their focus and negations that are not may translate into two different constructions that unify with one and the same [*not X but Y*] construction in English (cf. Fried & Östman 2004: 33–40). In addition, the anchored forms are difficult to treat empirically since many cases are ambiguous between McCawley's anchored and basic forms. This is particularly the case with copular clauses, such as (58), where the form does not show whether the negation is attached to the verb or to its focus:

- (58) He is not French but German.

This is not to discount the distinction between anchored and non-anchored forms completely. Many of the languages studied in Articles III and IV of this dissertation differ in terms of their preference or lack thereof for negation to be attached to the verb phrase (Jespersen's nexal negation). In Germanic languages, for instance, negation is frequently expressed through a negative determiner such as English *no* (e.g. *This is no problem*) and Swedish *ingen*. In French, a special contrastive negator (*non* or *non pas*) may optionally be used in contrastive negation (Plantin 1978; see also Anscombe & Ducrot 1977: 37); consider (59)a which contains the special contrastive negator *non pas* and (59)b in which the standard negation construction *ne...pas* is used:

- (59) a. *À Vienne, le Danube est non pas bleu, mais jaune.*
 'In Vienna, the Danube is not blue but yellow.' (constructed)
- b. *À Vienne, le Danube n'est pas bleu, mais jaune.*
 'In Vienna, the Danube isn't blue but yellow.' (Plantin 1978: 89)

The relationship between various types of negation and contrastive negation constructions is an interesting one, but it will have to wait for future studies.

Moreover, McCawley's scheme is not as complete as he presents it to be. The [*Y and not X*] and [*not X, Y*] constructions are missing. There are also two more fundamental differences between McCawley's approach and mine. The first is that I reject the idea that there is a derivational relationship between any of the forms that he identified – indeed, the theory of grammar adopted in this thesis rejects all such derivations (Goldberg 2006). As a corollary, I reject the notion that the [*not X but Y*] construction in (57)a and (57)c or the Expanded negative-first construction in (57)d are in any way 'basic' in relation to other constructions in the contrastive negation family. However, this does not mean that my approach rejects the possibility of links between constructions. On the contrary, it posits that there are links between formally analogous and functionally similar constructions. This idea will be elaborated in chapter 3.

The second difference between McCawley's approach and mine concerns the nature of the set of contrastive negation constructions. For McCawley, English Contrastive Negation is a fixed set. For me, it is partially open-ended: in addition to the entrenched constructional schemas in (57), I also claim that there exist more minor schemas that may not be entrenched as constructions at all but are emergent in the temporal flow of speaking and writing. The details of this for English are spelled out in Article I along with examples of what these emergent constructions or simply patterns look like.

Independently of Horn and McCawley, Tottie authored several corpus-based and sociolinguistic studies on English negation in the 1980s, culminating in *Negation in English Speech and Writing: A Study in Variation* (1991). Tottie's main aim is to describe the variation between *not*-negation and *no*-negation. To her, *not*-negation refers to *not* and its contracted form *n't*, and *no*-negation to all other non-affixal forms of negation in English such as *no*, *never*, *neither* and so on (Tottie 1991: 8). Working in a variationist framework, she considers several variables, one of them being contrastive constructions (Tottie 1991: 161–170). Her definition of contrastive construction differs somewhat from the definition of contrastive negation adopted in most of the studies in this dissertation, including as it does the [*Y but not X*] construction (Tottie 1991: 161, 163). Nevertheless, to my knowledge, Tottie's is the only corpus-based study to address contrastive negation constructions before Article I, and even though her focus is on the variation between *not*-negation and *no*-negation, as a by-product of that analysis, she discovers interesting patterns in her data on contrastive constructions.

Tottie starts with the assumption that contrastive negation favours *not*-negation, following LaBrum's (1982) historical claim that *not*-negation was entrenched in English through its use in contrastive constructions.^{13 14} The assumed synchronic connection between *not*-negation and contrastive negation is confirmed in both Tottie's study and my Article I. Tottie divides contrastive constructions into two groups, which she calls 'neg-first'

¹³ Tottie also cites Jespersen (1917: 45) in this context as supporting the idea that contrastive constructions are associated with *not*-negation rather than *no*-negation. However, the relevant passage in Jespersen concerns the distinction between special and nexal negation which is not identical with the *not/no* distinction.

¹⁴ LaBrum's study is based on a very small dataset. Working with more data, Wallage (2017: 80–84) finds that while contrastive negation has favoured *not* since the Old English period, this probably was not enough to explain why *not* replaced the earlier negator *ne*.

and ‘neg-second’; because of the former’s association with Jespersen’s (1917) neg-first principle, I have used the terms ‘negative-first’ and ‘negative-second’ instead. According to Tottie (1991: 163), the two types are ‘distinguished by the locus of the contrastive negative focus either before or after *but* (which need not be explicit in the utterance)’. She presents the difference as in (60) (Tottie 1991: 163):

- (60) a. NEG X BUT Y I did not need money but friends.
b. X BUT NEG Y I needed friends but not money.

Tottie does not make a distinction between adversative and corrective *but*. Thus defined, contrastive constructions account for 5% of the negations in her spoken and 4% of her written data (Tottie 1991: 164–166). Of these, *no*-negation accounted for only 7% of the spoken cases and 14% of the written ones; these percentages need to be taken with a grain of salt since the raw numbers are small – there are only 14 cases of contrastive negation in her spoken data overall, one of which has *no*-negation. She attests *no*-negation only in negative-second constructions, and even these are either cases of the [*Y but not X*] construction, like (61), or other examples which are not contrastive negation as I have defined the term here, like (62)–(63).

(61) this is - David Simons # ... # gives his address # - but no date

(62) The administration is striving to persuade Congress that a turn-round in business does not obviate the need for ... pension liberalisation—scheduled for April 1 by the President but so far given no attention by Congress

(63) But there were three deaths from diphtheria—none in the previous period.
(Tottie 1991: 169–170)

Interestingly, in Tottie’s data, negative-second constructions are somewhat more common in speech, contrary to mine. It may be that this is in part due to the different definitions of contrastive construction in these studies. In both Tottie’s study and mine, negative-first constructions predominate in writing.

Of the other corpus-based studies into present-day English negation (Anderwald 2002; Pitts 2011a; Childs 2017), none looks specifically into contrastive negation. By contrast, some historical studies have looked into contrastive negation in Old and Middle English. They show that the constructions used for contrastive negation in English have been remarkably similar since the middle ages (LaBrum 1982; Mönkkönen 2018; Wallage 2017). As to languages other than English, corpus-based studies in general and corpus studies of negation in particular have been rarer.

To summarise, I have tried to show the place of contrastive negation in the more general literature on negation and polarity. Negation is sensitive to context: it frequently responds to something in the context. There are at least two ways in which a given aspect of the discourse universe could be, and one of these needs to be excluded from consideration. This seems to be a major function of negative constructions, and contrastive negation is a particularly precise way of doing it. This shows in the fact that it allows negation to be overtly focusing either through its position (as in English) or through its form (as in French). There

are various arrangements of affirmation and negation that can do contrastiveness, and they seem to have been quite stable at least in English. The number of these constructions suggests that there are many functional pressures at work in influencing the choice of one form over the others.

2.3.2 CORRECTIVE COORDINATION (OR SUBORDINATION)

I have emphasised that contrastive negation is a combination of (at least) two things. There are many ways of combining two elements, such as phrases or clauses, but the most basic distinction cuts across coordination and subordination. Coordination refers to a combination of two equally ranked elements, and subordination to a combination of two elements of which one is dependent on the other. Cross-linguistically the most typical way to mark coordination is by a marker that sits between the coordinated elements (e.g. the conjunction *and* in *Kim and Lee*) (Stassen 2000: 10), and especially in European languages, the same strategy is available for subordination (e.g. *before* in *I'll eat before she arrives*). In addition, we may distinguish correlation to refer to combinations in which both elements are marked somehow, and juxtaposition to refer to combinations in which neither is marked.¹⁵ These four are exemplified in (64):

- (64)
- a. John is a Republican **but** he's honest.
 - b. John is a Republican **although** he's honest.
 - c. John is **both** a Republican **and** an honest man.
 - d. John is a Republican, he's also an honest man.

My definition of contrastive negation does not specify whether the constructions are coordinate, subordinate, correlative or something else. There are several reasons for this. First, it is not obvious that all of the core constructions are coordination. Especially in the cognitive and functionalist traditions, many scholars have noted that there is no clear cut-off point between coordination and subordination (Lehmann 1988; Langacker 1991: 417–419; Croft 2001: 320–328; Van Valin 2005: 183–188, to name just a few). In particular, many contrastive negation constructions occupy the grey area between unequivocal coordination and subordination. Gates and Seright (1967) adduce several arguments to this effect on English contrastive negation constructions [*Y not X*] and [*not X but Y*] as well as [*Y but not X*], which they discuss in the same context. The most important argument concerns subject-verb agreement. The relevant cases are (65)–(69) (Gates Jr. & Seright 1967: 137; I have modified (63) slightly):

- (65)
- a. Both those books and this one are acceptable.
 - b. Both this book and those are acceptable.
- (66)
- a. Either those books or this one is acceptable.
 - b. Either this book or those ones are acceptable.

¹⁵ This distinction makes most sense for languages that exhibit all four possibilities.

- (67) a. Not only those books but (also) this one is acceptable.
 b. Not only this book but (also) those are acceptable.
- (68) a. Not this book, but those, are acceptable.
 b. Not those books, but this one, is acceptable.
- (69) a. Those books, not this one, are acceptable.
 b. This book, not those, is acceptable.

(65) shows a typical case of subject-verb agreement in coordination: the subjects in both versions are plural and therefore the verb is as well. (66) illustrates a parallel disjunctive case: the subject is a disjunction of singular and plural, and the verb agrees with what happens to be nearer to it, i.e. the singular in (66)a and the plural in (66)b. By contrast, (67), (68) and (69) do not follow these principles. Rather, in them, subject-verb agreement is with the affirmed element: the verb is singular when *this book* or *this one* is affirmed, and plural when *these books* or *these* is. This is even the case for (67), which is semantically quite similar to (65).

These are subtle judgements, and to my knowledge they have not been subjected to rigorous testing. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, there are disagreements. Indeed, Vicente presents exactly the opposite judgements in Spanish (2010: 392, slightly modified):

- (70) a. *No se* {✓*presentó* / * *presentaron* *un pianista*
 NEG REFL show.up.3SG.PST show.up.3PL.PST a pianist
sino tres trombonistas.
 butCORR three trombone.player.PL
 ‘A pianist didn’t show up but three trombone players did.’
- b. *No se* {* *presentó* / ✓ *presentaron* *un pianista*
 NEG REFL show.up.3SG.PST show.up.3PL.PST a pianist
y tres trombonistas.
 and three trombone.player.PL
 ‘A pianist and three trombone players didn’t show up.’

In (70), the verb agrees with the negated and not the affirmed element. Vicente uses this judgement to argue that corrective *but* is a coordinator that always conjoins full clauses (that are then subject to ellipsis) and never merely constituents (see Toosarvandani 2013 for an opposing view). In principle, it could be that [*not X but Y*] is subordinate and [*no X sino Y*] coordinate, but this is not what Vicente claims.¹⁶ Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 811) note [*Y not X*] and its close sibling [*Y and not X*] as examples of ‘*not* in coordination’. McCawley considers the basic form of [*not X but Y*] coordinate but the anchored form and the [*Y not X*] construction ‘perhaps [...] less than prototypically coordinate’ (McCawley 1991: 198). Also in the functionalist literature, *but* and its equivalents are generally considered coordinating conjunctions even when they are used correctively (e.g. Rudolph 1996; Mauri 2009).

¹⁶ While Vicente discusses both English *but*_{CORR} and Spanish *sino*, for some reason, he does not cover Subject-Verb agreement in English.

The foregoing might be explained away using a suitable theoretical definition of coordination. A more serious argument against restricting contrastive negation only to coordinate constructions comes from examples like (71) and (72), which are from Articles I and IV, respectively:

- (71) The influence of all three is perceptible in Nicholas Shakespeare's first novel, though it is **not so much the magical flights of Marquez as Greene's Catholic mysticism** which I found the most intriguing. (BNC)
- (72) *Graças aos intercâmbios de estudantes, como sucede no programa Erasmus,*
 'Thanks to student exchanges, such as Erasmus,'
os nossos jovens não apenas aprofundam
 the.PL.M our.PL.M young.PL NEG only deepen.3PL
os seus conhecimentos em domínios específicos
 the.PL.M their knowledge.PL in domain.PL specific.PL.M
como também alargam os seus horizontes.
 as also broaden.3PL the.PL.M their horizon.PL
 'our young people are not only furthering their knowledge in specific subject areas, but are also broadening their horizons.' (Europarl)

(71) exhibits the [*not so much X as Y*] construction, which was mentioned in passing in section 2.2.2. above. In it, contrastive negation appears with *as*, a similitive subordinator. The closeness of this construction to contrastive negation is evidenced by the fact that *as* may be replaced by *but* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1317); in my BNC data, this happens in every six cases. (72) in turn displays the Portuguese additive-contrastive construction [*não apenas/só X como (também) Y*] '(lit.) not only X as (also) Y', in which the adversative conjunction *mas* 'but' is replaced by the similitive subordinator *como* 'as'. This is possibly a result of contamination from the construction [*tanto X como Y*] 'both X and Y'. Similitive subordinators make very occasional appearances in other languages too in the Article IV dataset, but these two constructions are the most recurrent ones that I have found. I find it useful to include both of these in my definition of contrastive negation, and therefore I do not exclude subordination from it.

Of particular interest for the study of contrastive negation is the conjunction *but* in its corrective sense and its equivalents in different languages. *But* is a highly multifunctional word: the *Oxford English Dictionary* lists 30 different sub-senses in the history of English for the conjunctive use alone (OED: s.v. *but*, prep., adv., conj., n.3, adj., and pron.; see also Nevalainen 1991: 124–127; 1999). The literature contains various classifications, and the terminologies of different studies are inconsistent to the point of near unintelligibility (Izutsu 2008: 647): 'adversative' is sometimes used for 'corrective' (e.g. Birkelund 2009), sometimes for 'concessive' (e.g. Traugott 1995), and sometimes as a general term encompassing both correctives and concessives (e.g. here).¹⁷ The terms that I have chosen

¹⁷ To illustrate further, Izutsu (2008) and Mauri (2009), two of the most comprehensive and terminologically considered studies on the subject, disagree almost completely on what to call the different semantic classes. Izutsu uses 'opposition' as the superordinate category that is divided into 'contrast', 'concessive' and 'corrective'. Mauri uses 'contrast' as the superordinate, divided into 'oppositive' (Izutsu's contrast), 'counterexpectative' (Izutsu's concessive) and 'corrective' (mercifully in line with Izutsu). R. Lakoff's seminal study (1971: 133) uses the terms 'semantic opposition *but*' and 'denial

to use here are ones that I hope have wider currency in the literature. Here, *but* is classified into three types (Foolen 1991a): semantic opposition, denial of expectation and correction. Semantic opposition refers to cases where the coordinated elements refer to different states of affairs so that their truth values (as construed by the speaker) do not depend on one another, as in (73). Denial of expectation refers to cases in which a relationship between the two states of affairs is presupposed and *but* is used to cancel it, as in (74). Correction refers to cases in which one state of affairs being negated and then substituted by another, as in (75); needless to say, this is the type that is of interest to us.

(73) John is tall but Bill is short. (Lakoff 1971: 131)

(74) John is tall but he's no good at basketball. (Lakoff 1971: 133)

(75) John is not American but British. (Izutsu 2008: 649)

The difference between semantic opposition and denial of expectation is not very central to this dissertation and hence I shall lump them together and call them simply 'adversative'. The tripartite classification receives support from the fact that some languages lexicalise these distinctions. In addition to languages that make a distinction between PA- and SN-conjunctions, Romanian makes a further distinction in the PA domain between semantic opposition and denial of expectation, as shown in (76) (Izutsu 2008: 651):

(76) a. *Ion nu e prost, iar Marin e leneș.*
'Ion is not stupid, but/and Marin is lazy.'

b. *Ion nu e prost, dar/însă e leneș.*
'Ion is not stupid, but he is nevertheless lazy.'

c. *Ion nu e prost, ci leneș.*
'Ion is not stupid, but lazy.'

In (76)a, *iar* construes the relation between the two clauses as semantic opposition; in (76)b, *dar* and *însă* create a denial of expectation; and in (76)c, *ci* effects a corrective coordination.

Corrective coordination has been mentioned in early grammars and dictionaries, especially on those languages that make a distinction between PA and SN coordination.¹⁸ However, this attention was mostly descriptive and historical. By contrast, up until the late 1970s, corrective coordination was seldom addressed in the theoretical literature on conjunctions (e.g. Lakoff 1971; see Mauri 2009: 119), possibly because English does not

of expectation *but*' for Izutsu's 'contrast' and 'concessive', respectively, but she does not address correction (i.e. contrastive negation) at all. I have chosen to use Lakoff's terms for the two meanings she does discuss because of the seminal position of her study and 'correction' for the third subtype, which is most relevant to us.

¹⁸ See Rudolph (1996: 57–127) for an extensive survey of adversativity in grammars of English, German, Latin, Portuguese and Spanish.

make a distinction between adversative and corrective *but*.¹⁹ Izutsu (2008: 647) points out that the literature on *but* and its meanings and equivalents can be divided in two: on the one hand, there are studies that focus on the difference between semantic opposition and denial of expectation, ignoring correction (e.g. Lakoff 1971), and on the other hand, there are studies focusing on the contrast between the adversative meanings and correction. In very broad terms, this is a distinction between American studies largely focusing on English and European studies largely focusing on the major continental European languages. I now turn to this latter group of studies.

The classic study on corrective conjunctions is Anscombe and Ducrot (1977), which discusses the distinction between adversative and corrective coordination in a number of European languages, with a particular focus on French, which does not make a distinction between PA and SN. The illustration for this distinction is repeated here for convenience as (77)–(78):

(77) a. *No es francés pero habl-a francés.*
 NEG be.3SG French but_{ADV} speak-3SG French

b. He is not French **but** he speaks French.

(78) a. *No es francés sino alemán.*
 NEG be.3SG French but_{CORR} German

b. He is not French **but** German.

Anscombe and Ducrot's paper appeared at the same time as Dascal and Katriel's (1977) article on the same phenomenon in Hebrew.²⁰ Since then, the distinction between PA and SN coordination has been studied in at least Finnish (Korhonen-Kusch 1988; Korhonen 1993), French (Birkelund 2009), German (Abraham 1979; Koenig & Benndorf 1998; Kasimir 2006), Russian (Jasinskaja 2010; 2012) and Spanish (Schwenter 2002; Vicente 2010; Fábregas 2017). There has also been some cross-linguistic work on the topic (Foolen 1991a; Rudolph 1996; Malchukov 2004; Izutsu 2008; Mauri 2009), even that mostly focusing on European languages. The areal emphasis is partly explained by the fact that conjunctions seem to be a strategy favoured in languages that are used for literary and official purposes, for which explicit links between ideas are expected (see Mithun 1988: 352–353, 356–357).

The three types of *but* shown above have dominated the discussion. Much of the debate has concentrated on the number of senses that *but* has, with certain authors willing to collapse the boundary between semantic opposition and denial of expectation. However, Foolen (1991a) argues that the picture is at the same time simpler and more complicated

¹⁹ In Abraham's (1979: 89) words, '[f]rom the scarce literature on the semantics of clausal conjunctions in general and *but* in particular it is probably right to conclude that the topic has intrigued linguists to the extent that they rather kept their hands off it.'

²⁰ In the German literature, the distinction of *aber* and *sondern* attracted theoretical interest even before Anscombe and Ducrot's paper (e.g. Abraham 1979; Lang 1984, which are based on the authors' previous work written in German). Possibly because English-speaking linguists are generally less fluent in German than French, Anscombe and Ducrot's paper is the standard reference.

than the simple tripartition displayed above. On the one hand, he accepts that in English the distinction between semantic opposition and denial of expectation is untenable: denial of expectation subsumes semantic opposition. However, he shows that for Russian the distinction must be accepted since Russian has lexicalised the distinction into *a* (semantic opposition, correction and other functions not discussed by Foolen) and *no* (denial of expectation). (79) exhibits semantic opposition, expressed with *a*; (80) denial of expectation, with *no*; and (81) correction, again with *a*.

(79) *Oleg ljubit futbol a Roma ne ljubit*
 Oleg likes football but Roma not likes
 ‘Oleg likes football, but Roma doesn’t.’ (Jasinskaja & Zeevat 2009: 234)

(80) *Vanja prostudilsja, no poshel v shkolu*
 Vanja caught.cold but went to school
 ‘Vanja caught cold, but went to school’ (Malchukov 2004: 180)

(81) *Oleg ezdil ne v Pariž, a v Berlin*
 Oleg went not to Paris but to Berlin
 ‘Oleg didn’t go to Paris but to Berlin.’ (Jasinskaja 2010: 433)

Therefore, according to Foolen, English recruits its corrective conjunction from denial of expectation but Russian from semantic opposition.

On the other hand, Foolen demonstrates that the three meanings of *but* are not enough. One language that is frequently mentioned as making the PA/SN distinction is Hebrew, with *aval* as the adversative and *ela* the corrective (Dascal & Katriel 1977). Drawing on Tobin’s (1986) data, however, Foolen (1991a: 89) points out that *ela* can be used in contexts in which it is not an SN conjunction (examples from Tobin 1986: 68; cited in Foolen 1991a: 89):²¹

(82) She is a student like me, but (*ela*) I am here and she is continuing her studies.

(83) And even Gita is listening to her, and so am I, but (*ela*) I am zealously writing down every word since I have a mission.

Foolen argues that in cases like (82)–(83), *ela* functions as a marker of exception and that this is its primary meaning. Foolen points out that *but* also has the meaning of exception as in *everything but the girl*. Foolen further argues that exception is closely related to restriction, citing data from Germanic languages and Old Greek. For instance in English, the exclusive focus particle *only* may sometimes be used in a way that approaches conjunction: *The weather was nice, only it rained now and then* (see also König 1991: 110–111). We may also note that in Finnish, the SN conjunction *vaan* is near-homonymous with the exclusive adverb *vain* ‘only’, to which it is etymologically related; in casual speech, they are completely homophonous. On the basis of such observations, Foolen concludes that

²¹ Tobin presents this part of his data in English translation only.

languages differ as to the basis of which the correction construction is modeled: in modern English it is the adversative denial of expectation conjunction, in Russian the [semantic opposition] conjunction and in German and Hebrew the basis is the notion of exception. (Foolen 1991a: 89–90)

The literature on corrective conjunctions is relatively silent on the semantic types, with a few exceptions. However, the corpus analyses in Articles I, II and IV show that corrective conjunctions (both PA/SN and SN conjunctions) are highly prevalent especially in additive constructions. One of the few exceptions is Svensson (2011), who compares the French [*non seulement X mais aussi Y*] ‘not only X but also Y’ with its Swedish counterpart [*inte bara X utan också Y*], finding subtle differences between them. Foolen (1991a: 88) states that in Russian *no* and *not a* is used in additive constructions, unlike in other types of corrective coordination.

There is also another well-known grammaticalisation path for correctives which may appear opposite to the restrictive > corrective path. Many Romance languages have PA/SN conjunctions that stem from the Latin comparative marker *magis* ‘more’: French *mais*, Italian *ma*, Portuguese *mas* (Ducrot & Vogt 1979). Ducrot and Vogt argue that this grammaticalisation path is motivated for correctives because of the implicit (in their terms ‘argumentative’) negativity of comparison. Consider (84), originally from Cicero, in which the comparison of ‘eloquent’ and ‘wise’ seems to negate the latter:

- (84) *Disertus magis est quam sapiens*
‘He is more eloquent than wise’ (Ducrot & Vogt 1979: 323)

Given the existence of many grammaticalisation paths to correctivity, we should not be surprised if contrastive negation shows combination through means other than conjunction. This is indeed what we find. In addition to conjunctions, languages may express correctivity through adverbs and discourse markers, for instance. In Article II, I find that English uses exclusive adverbs such as *just* in restrictive constructions much like conjunctions. Article II notes that the exclusive adverbs such as *just* and *only* sometimes function akin to a conjunction in restrictive constructions without *but*, as in (85). However, because of the syntactic restrictions of this construction, I argue that none of the exclusive adverbs in question has fully grammaticalised into a corrective conjunction.

- (85) ‘It’s **not hard** work,’ she says, ‘**just constant.**’ (BNC)

Discourse markers display similar semantics as conjunctions. In Spanish, discourse markers pattern following the PA/SN distinction (Schwenter 2002). In English and French, markers such as *on the contrary* and its equivalent *au contraire* have specialised in contrastive negation, especially expanded constructions (Lewis 2006). Discourse markers may interact with corrective conjunctions: for instance, when English *but* was acquiring its corrective use, it frequently appeared in the collocation *but rather* (Rissanen 2008). While discourse markers are not the focus of this dissertation, a complete account of contrastive negation covers them as well.

To summarise, in this section, I have reviewed the burgeoning literature on corrective coordination as well as other strategies for expressing correctivity. In addition to

constructions of the type [*not X but Y*] in English or [*no X sino Y*] in Spanish, there are several other alternatives for marking the corrective relationship overtly, such as exclusive adverbs (e.g. *only*), similatives (e.g. *as*) and discourse markers. Furthermore, the distinction between languages with and without the PA/SN distinction masks other differences between languages, especially in the broader division of labour in the domains of adversativity, correctivity, exceptivity and restriction.

2.3.3 CONTRAST

Correctivity builds on a contrast between two elements. In linguistics, contrast exists as a theoretical notion in information structure, discourse structure and lexical semantics (Umbach 2004; Murphy 2003).²² For my purposes, information structure and lexical semantics are relevant.²³ The notion of contrast always relies on a combination of similarity and difference: for two elements to be in contrast with one another, they need to have a common denominator but they also need to have at least one thing that separates them. This poses constraints on the kinds of elements that can be contrasted, as we will see below.

In European languages, the relationship between contrastive negation constructions and information structure is less conspicuous than that of polarity and corrective clause combining. However, it also merits discussion since information structure is arguably a motivating factor in the form and use of the constructions. Information structure, or information packaging, denotes ‘the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver’ (Prince 1981: 224). The same propositional content may be packaged in different ways, for instance by presenting a constituent as given, as topicalised or as contrastive with another constituent. It is the last one of these that will be our main concern in this section.

Information structure takes many forms in different languages: in some, it takes precedence to syntactic clause elements so that we may speak of topic-prominent rather than subject-prominent languages (Li & Thompson 1976). Perhaps because of this, the notions used to describe information structure vary, and contrast appears to be particularly contentious. The literature does not agree on whether contrast is an independent notion in information structure (whatever that might entail) or whether it can be reduced to other notions that are regarded as more primitive, especially focus. I regard this disagreement as largely definitional rather than substantial. There are constructions that do contrast, whether or not we think contrast is conceptually independent of focus.

According to Chafe (1976: 33–35), contrastiveness consists of three factors. First, there is a background against which the contrast shows. Contrast is thus focal. Second, there is a set of candidate elements. Third, one of the candidates is shown to be the preferred one. In *Rónald made the hamburgers*, the subject *Ronald* is contrastive (as shown by the sentence stress) since there is a shared background assumption that someone made the hamburgers, we have knowledge of several candidates for who that someone is (e.g. either Ronald or Sally), and through this utterance the speaker shows that Ronald is to be preferred among these candidates. Notice that on this definition, the contrastive set need not be explicitly

²² I am ignoring the use of the term in fields like phonology, where we may talk about contrasting phonemes.

²³ Discourse structure was the topic of section 2.3.2. As noted above, in discourse structure, the term *contrast* may be used instead of *adversative*.

mentioned in discourse. Alternatively, we may delimit contrast to those cases in which the contrasted elements are present in the linguistic form. This is the intended sense of contrast in the term ‘contrastive negation’.

Regardless of which definition we prefer, it is evident that contrastive negation is a particularly clear example of the contrastiveness that Chafe has in mind. Negation typically reacts to previously entertained views or views that can at least be accommodated (Givón 1978; Tottie 1991); thus, there is a common background. The set of candidate elements is the negated element and the affirmed element, both of them focal, and the element that we choose as appropriate is of course the affirmative one. Naturally, contrastive negation is not the only construction type that expresses contrastiveness: various cleft constructions as well as word order and prosody can have contrastive meanings (Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1994; Molnár 2002; Molnár & Winkler 2010; Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998). On the other hand, contrastive negation frequently co-occurs with these constructions: many of the examples in Article III have contrastive intonation, and while I have not counted them, it seems that there are also quite a few clefted contrastive negations in my data in all the articles. In particular, Delahunty (2001: 519) notes that contrastive negation often co-occurs with inferential (or sentential-focus cleft) constructions (e.g. *It’s that women in Ireland are not a form of prayer*; Delahunty 2001: 517).

In some languages, markers of information structure may grammaticalise into markers of contrastive negation, akin to special negators and SN conjunctions. In fact, we have already seen one instance of this: the Mandarin special negator *bushi*, which fuses together the standard negator *bu* and the focus marker *shi*. This is another argument for the importance of information structure for contrastive negation.

Information structural considerations thus seem to motivate the use of contrastive negation, and this also has an effect on the inventory of constructions. In Article II, I show that English Contrastive Negation constructions are to some extent specialised for certain kinds of focus constructions (see Lambrecht 1994).

So far, I have discussed contrasts in general terms. However, we may also wish to characterise the contrasted elements in a more substantive way. One way to do this is lexical semantics. This dissertation is predicated on the view that lexical items and larger constructions co-select one another. This places a restriction on what can be contrasted in a contrastive negation construction: to pick up on the definition of contrast above, the elements must be similar but different. They must be part of the same set, however construed (see Giora et al. 2005 for experimental support).

This interplay of lexical and grammatical elements has recently been explored in corpus-based studies on lexical relations, such as antonymy and hyponymy. These studies have achieved an understanding of contrast that is similar to the information-structural notion, yet covers a wider range of constructions. Consider (86)–(89):

(86) Kennedy **dead** is more interesting than Clinton **alive**. (Jones et al. 2012: 28)

(87) ‘We helped a landbound frog, **rightly** or **wrongly**, back to the water’s edge.
(Jones et al. 2012: 30)

(88) It used to be **daytime**, now it’s getting **nighttime**. (Jones et al. 2012: 32,
modified slightly for clarity)

(89) That's not making it **clean**, that's making it **dirty**. (Jones et al. 2012: 33)

These examples are an incomplete list of the kinds of syntactic contexts in which pairs of canonical antonyms may appear not only in English (see Justeson & Katz 1991; Mettinger 1994; Jones 2002; Jones et al. 2012) but also other languages (e.g. Kostić 2015; Murphy et al. 2009). In fact, sometimes the contrastiveness goes beyond syntax, as in (86), in which the contrast of *dead* and *alive* supports another between *Kennedy* and *Clinton*. In (87), the contrast takes place in a [*X or Y*] construction, and in (88) it is based on the parallelism between two clauses. (89) is an instance of contrastive negation. Working in a constructional framework, Murphy (2006; see also Jones et al. 2012: 102–126) calls all these expressions contrastive constructions and posits that they all share a feature contrast, thus accounting for their propensity to attract antonym pairs. A subset of these constructions is grouped under the label 'negated antonymy', which mostly consists of contrastive negation. If we consider the feature contrast to be something beyond a representational convention, this understanding of contrastiveness departs from information structure-based definitions in that it does not rely on focus.

In conclusion, contrast takes many forms in language, and it might be more useful to consider it a name for various different phenomena that may, however, be related. Contrastive negation seems to be a particularly clear kind of contrast. Contrast is not merely a matter of grammatical patterning: the notion also picks up the fact that the lexical elements that enter into contrastive constructions need to be compatible with being contrasted to one another.

Until now, I have reviewed the literatures on negation, correctivity and contrast as they are relevant for contrastive negation. I now turn to two substantial bodies of literature that have been influential in previous scholarship but which play a significantly lesser role in this dissertation: ellipsis and metalinguistic negation.

2.3.4 ELLIPSIS

Ellipsis refers to constructions in which a syntactic structure contains less material than its semantics. Several contrastive negation constructions have been or can be argued to contain ellipses of various kinds. However, ellipsis as a phenomenon is bound to the theoretical framework in which its appearance is posited. Ellipsis tends to be viewed favourably in mainstream generative grammar, where it is regarded as evidence for the existence of silent constituents, a central tenet of the approach (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013). By contrast, frameworks that make do with fewer or no underlying representations may be quite critical of the very existence of ellipsis or at least seek to minimise it (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005; Goldberg & Perek 2018). The literature on ellipsis is vast: it is probably the connection in which some contrastive negation constructions have appeared most frequently in syntax, which is why I shall review it here. Here, I shall briefly review the kinds of ellipsis that have been discussed in the literature in connection with contrastive negation. Some of the analyses that pertain to putative ellipsis in contrastive negation constructions have been questioned by authors who are otherwise sympathetic to ellipsis accounts. I shall also briefly explain why I shall not use ellipsis as a descriptive device in the studies in Part II.

Ellipsis constructions have three main types, depending on the nature of the elided material (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013). In clausal ellipsis, the elided material is an entire clause, usually with the exception of one of its constituents, which is called the remnant. In predicate ellipsis, the elided material is the main predicate, possibly along with some of its arguments. In nominal ellipsis, the elided material is the nominal head of a noun phrase. This listing is not exhaustive. Here, I shall be concerned mainly with clausal and predicate ellipsis.

Contrastive negation is most relevant for clausal ellipsis. Examples of clausal ellipsis are adduced in (90) (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013: 718).

- (90) a. SLUICING: Ed killed someone, but I don't know who.
 b. SPROUTING: Ed is eating, but I don't know what.
 c. GAPPING: John likes sandals and Mary stiletto heels.
 d. STRIPPING: Ed likes stiletto heels and Maggy too.

Sluicing is the best-known type of clausal ellipsis. In it, a constituent *wh*-question is elided, save for the *wh*-word itself. A sub-type of sluicing is sprouting, where the elided material does not have an antecedent. In gapping, the latter member of a coordinate clause consists of two or more remnant constituents, while in stripping (also known as bare argument ellipsis or BAE) there is only one remnant along with a polarity item.

Gapping and stripping are frequently invoked for contrastive negation.²⁴ More specifically, the [*not X but Y*] construction is considered to involve gapping, the [*Y not X*], [*Y and not X*] and [*Y but not X*] constructions stripping. Examples (91)–(92) show the putative deletions ((92) would require an additional movement operation, the details of which need not concern us here):

(91) John drank not coffee but John drank tea.

(92) John drank tea, not John drank coffee.

The gapping in [*not X but Y*] is sometimes assumed to be cross-linguistically valid more or less tacitly. Thus, Horn (1989: 568) claims that the equivalent Finnish construction, [*ei X vaan Y*] would involve gapping and that this would be 'characteristic' of it, citing (93) (from Whitney 1956: 187; here, glosses have been added and an incorrect gender assignment amended):

²⁴ See Repp (2009) for an extensive study of negation and gapping from a generative perspective, including but not limited to contrastive and metalinguistic negation.

- (93) a. *Hän ei ole sairas, mutta heikko hän on.*
 3SG NEG.3SG be.CNG sick but_{ADV} weak 3SG be.3SG
 ‘They_{SG} are not sick, but they_{SG} are weak.’
- b. *Hän ei ole sairas, vaan aivan terve.*
 3SG NEG.3SG be.CNG sick but_{CORR} completely healthy
 ‘They_{SG} are not sick but quite well.’

This claim is questioned by my data in Article III, in which around half of the cases coordinate clauses:

- (94) *mutta siis s- se ei oo suinkaan sillon*
 but_{ADV} so 3SG NEG.3SG be.CNG at.all then
enää illalla vaan se on päivällä jo
 anymore night.ADE but_{CORR} 3SG be.3SG day.ADE already
 ‘but I mean, it is not by any means at night anymore, it’s already by day’
 (Conversation Analysis Archive: Sg435; simplified)

A potential counterargument for this is that Finnish makes a distinction between PA *mutta* and SN *vaan*, and therefore does not need gapping to make the distinction between adversatives and correctives explicit. However, there is also evidence that gapping is not obligatory even in languages that do not make this distinction. LaBrum (1982: 40) finds the following example, which she regards as contrastive, in her Old English data; in Old English, *ac* ‘but’ was used for both adversativity and correctivity.

- (95) *þeos godcundnyss ne ongan naefre, ac heo waes*
 and this divinity not began never but it was
aefre wunigende on soðie annysse
 always dwelling in true unity

Mazzon (2004: 47) also states that, in its corrective use, Old English *ac* may precede clauses, although she does not cite any examples. In addition, additive [*not X but Y*] constructions in present-day English are frequently ungapped, as in (96):

- (96) It emerged that **not only was there no reliable evidence of guilt, but, on the contrary, there was considerable proof of innocence.** (BNC: A1G)

The nature of gapping and stripping is somewhat in doubt. Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) argue that stripping (BAE in their terminology) is not a case of ellipsis. To see their argument for this, consider (97):

- (97) a. A: Has Harriet been drinking scotch again?
 B: i. No, bourbon.
 ii. Yeah, bourbon too.
- b. A: I hear there’s been some serious drinking going on around here.
 B: i. Not Sam, I hope.
 ii. Not my favorite bottle of scotch, I hope.

(97)a is of the kind frequently cited in favour of ellipsis analyses: the remnant offered in both of B's responses ties in neatly with the antecedent. By contrast, in (97)b, the connection is harder to see. While both of B's responses are incomplete from the point of view of clausal syntax and tied to the antecedent clause in order to be interpretable, it is unclear what the syntactic relationship is between B's response and the antecedent produced by A. Rather, the drinker being (or not being) Sam is related to the drinking inferentially, and the same goes for the latter response in which the identity of the drunk liquid is queried. For these cases, this kind of pragmatic account fares better than one positing an underlying syntactic structure. This same pragmatic account can be extended to the former case: we can simply infer that bourbon has been drunk either in lieu of or in addition to scotch in (97)a. This begs the question of why we need the syntactic analysis in the first place, given that a more general and independently motivated pragmatic account is also available.

This argument extends to the contrastive negation cases of gapping and stripping. In (91)–(92), it can simply be inferred pragmatically that John is intended as the drinker of both coffee and tea. Contrastive negation constructions would thus be conventionalised inferences of this kind.

This dissertation adopts a constructional perspective to contrastive negation. While I defer the discussion of the various strands of construction grammar to chapter 3, it may be interesting to note that gapping and stripping in particular can be analysed in two rather different ways even within construction grammar. The difference hinges on whether we accept the existence of constructions without meaning or not. Usually construction grammarians state that language consists of constructions, and that constructions are combinations of form and meaning (Croft 2001; Goldberg 1995; 2006). Others working in constructional frameworks are happy to accept the existence of semantics-free syntax (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005: 42; Fillmore, Lee-Goldman & Rhomieux 2012: 325–328). One argument that Fillmore, Lee-Goldman and Rhomieux cite in favour of their position is that gapping and stripping (as well as Shared-completion: *He is clearly familiar with and fond of that cat*) do not have semantic content that would apply to all sub-types of these constructions, apart from information structure.

Hilpert (2014: 57) notes that cases such as this are an important testing ground for construction grammar, challenging as they seem to do the central tenet of meaningful constructions. One way out for a usage-based construction grammarian committed to the idea of symbolic constructions is to take the criticisms of ellipsis to their logical conclusion and state that gapping, stripping and the other categories of ellipsis do not exist as such. Rather, on this view, they would be categories created by linguists that group together separate phenomena. There would not be a Stripping Construction that would be instantiated in both (90)d and (92).

Claims like this are hard to verify on independent grounds. However, I find the evidence against ellipsis in gapping and stripping constructions sufficiently compelling to not invoke these notions in Part II of this dissertation.

The other kind of ellipsis that I shall briefly discuss is predicate ellipsis. The best-known type of predicate ellipsis is verb phrase ellipsis (VPE), illustrated in (98) (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013: 702):

(98) John likes candy, but Bill doesn't ____

VPE is arguably present in the kinds of contrastive negation exemplified in (99) and (100):

(99) [...] thought she was gonna stab me with screwdriver and **she weren't, she were looking for a pencil so she could rub it out** (BNC: KCX, simplified)

(100) CAA: Sg437

1 Tuula: onks ne, (.) eihän ne teini-ikäsi enää [°oo°,
 'are they, they aren't teenagers anymore?'

2 Jaana:→ [↑ei ne
 NEG.3SG they

3 →enää oo
 anymore be.CNG
 'they aren't anymore'

4 →ne on tota, .mpthhhh (0.2)
 they be.3PL PART
 'they are, umm'

5 →ne on semmassii; (1.2) parikymppisii
 they be.3PL such.PL.PRT twenty.something.PL.PRT
 'they are such (1.2) twenty-somethings'

6 →pikkasen päälle kah°denkympin°.
 a.bit.GEN over twenty.GEN
 'a bit over twenty'

Both (99) and (100) consist of two consecutive clauses, of which the first is negative and the second affirmative, and in both, the negative clause seems to have VPE, with an immediately prior antecedent either in the same turn or a previous one. Again, pragmatics allows us to interpret the meaning of the constructs without positing an underlying full clause structure (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005: 289–292). Following Schegloff's (1996a) notion of 'positionally sensitive grammar', Thompson, Couper-Kuhlen and Fox (2015) have pointed out that cases like the negatives in (99)–(100), which they term minimal clauses, are not pragmatically equivalent to their 'full' counterparts. From this perspective, they contend that the notion of ellipsis is not useful in analysing the interactional use of such constructions. (See Article III for more discussion.)

To summarise, in this section, I have noted that contrastive negation is relevant to the traditional generative notion of ellipsis in both its clausal and predicate form. I reviewed evidence against regarding certain kinds of contrastive negation as elliptical. Because of those reasons, the notion of ellipsis is not used as an analytic device in Part II.

2.3.5 A DIGRESSION: METALINGUISTIC NEGATION

In this section, I return to the question of descriptive and metalinguistic negation. As I said in section 2.2.1., metalinguistic negation has dominated the discussion of contrastive negation, in spite of McCawley's protestations to the contrary. Here I shall begin by noting the history of term. I then argue for the separateness of contrastive negation and

metalinguistic negation. Finally, I move to some details of Horn's analysis and its uptake in the literature.

The term 'metalinguistic negation' originally comes from Ducrot (1972), though his meaning was different, and he later switched to the term 'polemic negation' instead (see below). According to Horn's definition, metalinguistic negation is 'a device for objecting to a previous utterance on any grounds whatever, including the conventional or conversational implicate it potentially induces, its morphology, its style or register, or its phonetic realization' (Horn 1989: 363). If taken literally, Horn's definition of metalinguistic negation has the unfortunate property of including all negations with contextual antecedents – it is after all 'a device for objecting to a previous utterance *on any grounds whatever*' (emphasis mine). Understood in this way, metalinguistic negation would subsume much of descriptive negation. In practice, this is not what Horn means: rather, it is the list of the kinds of metalinguistic negation that has been the basis for the subsequent discussion.²⁵

Most studies on metalinguistic negation revolve around cases that include contrastive negation. Typical examples were given in section 2.2.1, and they are repeated here for convenience:

(101) I didn't manage to trap two monGEESE—I managed to trap two monGOOSES.

(102) Grandma isn't 'feeling lousy', Johnny, she's indisposed.

(103) I'm not his daughter—he's my father.

(104) SOME men aren't chauvinists—ALL men are chauvinists.

Examples like (101)–(104) are only a subset of what goes under the umbrella of metalinguistic negation, however. Indeed, probably the most famous case of metalinguistic negation, with which Horn himself opens his paper, is (105):

(105) The King of France is not bald, because there is no King of France.

The negation in the first clause of (105) is taken to be metalinguistic because it denies an aspect of the content that is extraneous to its literal meaning: the presupposition that there is a King of France. Recall that under normal circumstances, presuppositions survive negation. I shall return to the issue of presupposition denials below.

All the cases of metalinguistic negation seen so far involve a correction, either through contrastive negation or through a *because*-clause. However, Foolen (1991b: 222) and Carston (1996: 314) point out that negation may be metalinguistic even without a correction; Carston cites (106) as an example:

²⁵ That this is what Horn intended is also confirmed by his subsequent publications (e.g. Horn 2000), in which he draws the line more clearly.

- (106) [context: A and B have an ongoing disagreement about the correct plural of ‘mongoose’, A advocating ‘mongeese’ and B ‘mongooses’.]
A: We saw two mongeese at the zoo.
B: Now, come on, you didn’t see two MONGEESE.

Carston argues that the context allows A to interpret B’s utterance as metalinguistic even without a correction.

In spite of the fact that contrastive negation need not be metalinguistic and *vice versa*, much if not most of the literature on contrastive negation builds on or otherwise engages with Horn’s work, and for this reason, the details of his original account are worth revisiting. There are four key points to Horn’s analysis: (i) all negations are either descriptive or metalinguistic, (ii) descriptive negation is truth-functional while metalinguistic negation is non-truth-functional, (iii) the ability of negative operators to function both descriptively and metalinguistically is a pragmatic ambiguity, and (iv) metalinguistic negation may be disambiguated on the basis of optional but diagnostically reliable formal contexts. All four points have been the subject of lively debates.

First, Horn’s basic division into descriptive and metalinguistic negation is not without its critics. On this point, the discussion has split into two main camps. The first camp is the Anglo-Saxon one (e.g. Horn 1985; 1989; McCawley 1991; Carston 1996; Geurts 1998; Pitts 2011b), whose defining feature is that it starts with Horn’s dichotomy between descriptive and metalinguistic negation. This does not mean uncritical acceptance of Horn’s views. Indeed, soon after Horn published his book, several authors pointed out that the standard examples of metalinguistic negation are alarmingly heterogenous (e.g. Foolen 1991b; Dancygier 1992; Geurts 1998). Geurts, for instance, contends that, rather than divide negations into descriptive and metalinguistic, we should distinguish between four ‘mechanisms of denial’. Proposition denials would correspond to descriptive negation, while metalinguistic negation would be broken up into three classes: presupposition denial, implicature denial and form denial. (107) illustrates all four classes (Geurts 1998: 280, 287):

- (107) a. PROPOSITION DENIAL
If Ramon hadn’t been Spanish but French, he would still beat his donkey.
- b. PRESUPPOSITION DENIAL
Barney didn’t take his wife to Acapulco—he isn’t even married—but his GIRLfriend.
- c. IMPLICATURE DENIAL
A: Julius had six beers.
B: He didn’t have six beers: he had at least seven.
- d. FORM DENIAL
A: Kurt swallowed a whole to[ma:]to.
B: He didn’t swallow a to[ma:]to but a to[mei]to.

Yet, despite criticising Horn’s dichotomy, Geurts retains it in latent form in his four-fold classification: proposition denial is descriptive and the other denials metalinguistic negation.

The second camp has its home in French linguistics (e.g. Moeschler 1996; Albu 2017; Larrivée 2018). Many researchers in this camp make a tripartite distinction between descriptive negation, denial and metalinguistic negation (but see Moeschler 2015). The three types are exemplified in (108) (Larrivée 2018: 2):

- (108)
- a. METALINGUISTIC NEGATION:
They don't have KIDS, they have CHILDREN.
 - b. DENIAL:
That's not true! They do not have kids.
 - c. DESCRIPTIVE NEGATION:
At least, they don't have kids.

In this tradition, denial and metalinguistic negation are grouped together since both are in some way responses to a prior utterance or thought. In the French terminology, such negations are 'polemic' (Ducrot 1972). Descriptive negation is then only those negations that are not responsive. In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, denial would be a form of descriptive negation. The French tradition thus makes the strong claim that metalinguistic negation is always responsive (or 'polemic'). The French tradition is presented schematically in Figure 3.

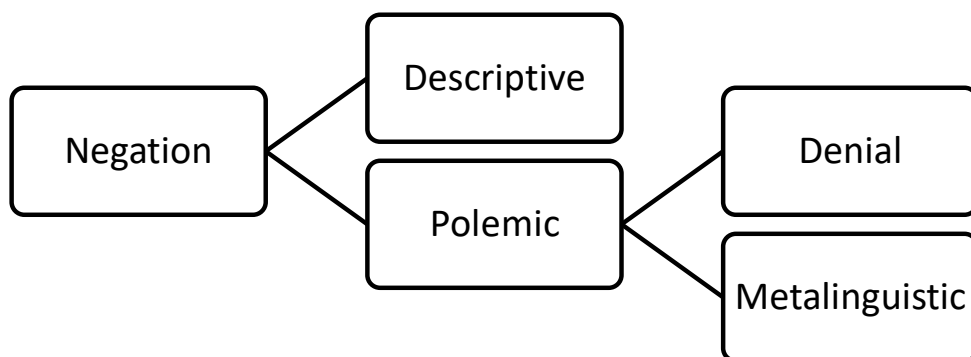


Figure 3 Types of negation in the French tradition

An advantage of this is that it is obviously true for all the examples usually cited for metalinguistic negation. A disadvantage is that once one ventures outside of the stock of familiar cases, clear instances of arguably non-responsive metalinguistic negation emerge. Geurts's form denials in particular do not seem to require prior mention when they relate to 'linguistic practices of (groups of) speakers', as Larrivée (2018: 12) admits. (109) is a case from my Finnish conversation data. In this extract, several people have gathered around a

table to recognise people in old photographs. Maija, who has called the meeting, is introducing the provenance of the photographs. At this stage of a lengthy narrative turn, she is relating the story of a woman who migrated from the Ukraine to Finland during the Russian Revolution or in its aftermath.

(109) Conversation Analysis Archive: SG435

Maija: [...] hän oli niin pah- huonon /näkönen (.) että häm pääsi
(.) hyvin.hhhh ä:::: rajan /yli .hhh e:: #ö:# ö:: eikä
/kukaan tarkastanut häntä ehkä hän osasi sanoa .h @kyllä.@
'she looked so bad that she got across the border well and no one checked her,
maybe she could say yes'

Jouni: nff

Maija: **eikä** @kyllä@ [...]
'and not yes'

The crucial element is the contrastive negation on both sides of Jouni's non-verbal turn, translatable as 'yes and not yes'. The word for 'yes' is *kyllä* ['kyl.læ] in Finnish. Maija contrasts two ways of pronouncing the word at border control, the first observing Finnish vowel harmony, the second violating it (both variants are also voiced in an otherwise stylised way, as shown in the transcript). Crucially for the argument presented here, the word 'yes' has not been mentioned (or even used) in the previous discourse. Thus, the example cannot be responsive or polemic. Yet, the contrast here is clearly metalinguistic. On the other hand, the contrast is preceded by a communication verb (*sanoa* 'say'). There is thus no ambiguity (pragmatic or otherwise) about the metalinguistic nature of the contrasted elements. For this reason, it is not clear if such cases represent metalinguistic negation as Horn understood the term (or Ducrot for that matter).²⁶

Given examples like this, a better solution might be to treat polemicity and metalinguisticity as independent from one another (this is foreshadowed in von Klopp 1994: 2–5). Figure 4 shows this. In it, I retain descriptive negation as the opposite of metalinguistic negation since this is the better-known usage. I use non-polemic as the opposite of polemic.²⁷

²⁶ Cappelle (2018) has noted similar cases that seem to hover between descriptive and metalinguistic negation, such as (v):

(v) The snow-wolf does exist, its correct name is 'arctic wolf'.

The negative part of this example is seemingly metalinguistic in Horn's sense, but the latter part makes the metalinguistic nature of the speaker's intent explicit (*its correct name is*) and thus the ambiguity is removed. As Cappelle notes, cases such as this blend use and mention; metalinguistic negation in its proper sense is only mention.

²⁷ Here, I diverge not only from the French tradition but also from Horn (1989: 423) and Foolen (1991b: 220).

Descriptive vs. metalinguistic (Horn)

		Descriptive	Metalinguistic
Non-polemic vs. polemic (Ducrot)	Non-polemic	Negation that targets truth-functional content but is not responsive	Negation that targets implicatures, presuppositions or forms but is not responsive
	Polemic	Negation that targets truth-functional content and is responsive	Negation that targets implicatures, presuppositions and forms in reaction to a prior utterance (= metalinguistic negation proper)

Figure 4 Types of negation, revised

The French tradition has also recognised the heterogeneity of traditional examples of metalinguistic negation, particularly the difference between presupposition-denying cases and the rest (Moeschler 1992; Zuo 2017).

The second area of disagreement in the literature is the question of truth-functionality. Horn argued that descriptive negation is truth-functional and metalinguistic negation non-truth-functional. However, not everyone agrees. Especially the implicature- and presupposition-denying cases do have truth-functional import, and the same is true even of some form-denials. Carston (1996) goes so far as to say that even metalinguistic negation is a truth-functional operator, the only difference between descriptive and metalinguistic negation being whether the target of the negation is a state of affairs or a representation. In other words, the difference is in the content being negated, not in the negation itself. Similarly, Moeschler (2015) and Larrivé (2018) have argued that the defining feature of metalinguistic negation cannot be truth-functionality. I agree with this view. I would also point out that in the usage-based framework that I adopt in this thesis, truth conditions are not viewed as sufficient for describing the semantics of an expression (Lakoff 1987). Thus, to return to Larrivé's example above, the contrast between *kids* and *children* is certainly metalinguistic but the words may also evoke subtly different construals (e.g. *kids* might more easily refer to young humans that behave in an unruly way, while *children* could convey the opposite).

Horn's third point is related to the second and concerns the theoretical status of metalinguistic negation: is it a separate entity or is there only one negative operator that merely behaves differently in different contexts? We know that there are metalinguistic uses of negation and these uses do not seem to function in the same way as ordinary, descriptive negation in that their function is not truth-functional but oriented to the appropriateness of an utterance. The question then is whether there are actually two negative operators, one of them mainly truth-functional and the other mainly utterance-focused? Those who wish to consider negation a unitary operator are monogusts, and those who think the two functions correspond with two operators are ambigusts, to use Horn's terminology.

Horn's own position on this is somewhat complex. He argues that metalinguistic negation uses the same negative operator as descriptive negation but this operator is

‘pragmatically ambiguous’ between the two readings. The notion of pragmatic ambiguity has proved elusive and is seldom invoked for other phenomena (see Foolen 1991b for a critique). Like metalinguistic negation, pragmatic ambiguity is introduced through examples rather than a water-tight definition. One might wonder if all sentences are in some way pragmatically ambiguous (e.g. *Can you pass the salt?* might be said to be pragmatically ambiguous between at least two illocutionary forces: request and question). If this is the case, the conclusion that negation is pragmatically ambiguous between descriptive and metalinguistic readings becomes rather weak, even trivial.

For ambiguists, the difference between ordinary and special uses of negation is semantic. For Horn, the difference lies in pragmatics, which he regards as separate. Negation is by default descriptive, but if a descriptive reading fails, a metalinguistic reading is attempted instead. Underlying Horn’s view is a strict separation between semantics and pragmatics, coupled with regarding semantics as essentially truth-conditional (Foolen 1991b: 233–234). If one disbelieves either of these assumptions, Horn’s position becomes difficult to maintain. One option, suggested by Foolen, is to recast the pragmatic ambiguity as vagueness. This means that negation has one meaning that is sufficiently inspecific as to cover both descriptive and metalinguistic uses; Foolen’s suggestion is ‘signifying inadequacy’. Negation is interpreted pragmatically to undergo either truth-functional or metalinguistic interpretation: the inadequacy is thus either related primarily to content or primarily to the appropriateness of an utterance, and the hearer infers pragmatically which one it is. To me, this would come close to Carston’s (e.g. 1996) monogist view that negation is always truth-functional but that the truth on which it functions is the appropriateness of a representation, although Foolen (1991b: 228) distances himself from this view.

The fourth debate relates to Horn’s claim that there are diagnostic tests by which we can recognise metalinguistic negation. Horn (1989: 392–413) mentions three. First, metalinguistic negation cannot be prefixal:

- (110) a. The king of France is {not happy / # unhappy}—there isn’t any king of France.
b. The queen of England is {not happy / # unhappy}—she’s ecstatic. (Horn 1989: 392)

(110)a contains a causal elaboration, (110)b a corrective one. In both, only an unincorporated negation is successfully metalinguistic. However, it is unclear whether this is a property of metalinguistic negation as such: (110)b is equally unsuccessful as a descriptive contrastive negation (Verhagen 2005: 31):

- (111) The queen of England is {not happy / # unhappy}—she’s sad.

Second, metalinguistic negation does not disallow positive-polarity items (PPIs) in its scope. PPIs are items that only appear in positive contexts (e.g. *some*, *rather*). Conversely, negative-polarity items (NPIs) only appear in negative contexts (e.g. *any*, *at all*).²⁸ In metalinguistic negation, these generalisations do not hold. Consider (112):

²⁸ See e.g. Israel (2004) for a review of polarity items.

we saw above, Horn's gloss does not correspond with Anscombe and Ducrot's own understanding of polemic negation.

(114) Spanish:
Eso {no es consciente / # es inconsciente}, sino totalmente automático.

German:
Das ist {nicht bewusst / # unbewusst}, sondern ganz automatisch.

French:
{Ce n'est pas conscient / # c'est inconscient}, mais totalement automatique.

English:
'It's {not conscious / # unconscious} but (rather) totally automatic.'
(Horn 1989: 407, modified slightly)

Conscious and *automatic* do not form a scale but can in fact be construed as opposites, thus precluding an implicature-denying reading. I would therefore analyse this example as descriptive (and most likely polemic, though that would require more context). Most of Horn's other examples are clearly metalinguistic as the term is now regularly understood. While Horn does not explicitly equate contrastive negation with metalinguistic negation (in fact, on the contrary), the section on SN conjunctions as a diagnostic for metalinguistic negation has probably caused more confusion than enlightenment.

Metalinguistic negation makes relatively few appearances in Part II of this dissertation. One reason for this is that metalinguistic negation makes relatively (even extremely) few appearances in the empirical datasets on which the studies in Part II are based. Indeed, it sometimes feels like metalinguistic negation is a phenomenon that is most at home on the pages of linguistics journals. The tokens of metalinguistic negation are so few and far between that it was not used as a variable in its own right in Articles II and IV. Rather, it was pooled together with scalar additives such as (115):

(115) Le Monde is not just a newspaper but an institution. (BNC)

(115) cannot be metalinguistic since it is literally true, as the exclusive adverb *just* is in the scope of the negation. Most scalar cases are in additive constructions (though additives may also be non-scalar).²⁹

In this section, I revisited the complex interplay of contrastive and metalinguistic negation. As McCawley noted, contrastive negation has played the role of the Ugly Duckling, struggling to make its presence seen against its more fashionable metalinguistic cousin. Broadly speaking, this has had two outcomes. On the one hand, metalinguistic negation is often portrayed as more central to contrastive negation than it actually is. On the other, properties of contrastive negation are treated as if they belong to metalinguistic negation. Furthermore, metalinguistic negation has been confused with polemic negation. A better

²⁹ It is also marginally possible to have an additive case that is metalinguistic, provided that the exclusive adverb is part of the quoted or echoic material:

(vi) They're NOT 'only engaged', they're MARRIED! (Horn 2000: 150)

approach in my view would be to regard contrastive, metalinguistic and polemic negation as conceptually independent of one another. In other words, all combinations are possible and indeed attested: in particular for the purposes of this study, both metalinguistic and polemic negation may be either contrastive or non-contrastive.

2.4 SUMMARY

Contrastive negation displays the interaction of several functional domains. At a general level, it consists of polarity, combining (whether clause combining or phrase combining) and information structure (in particular, contrast or contrastive focus). There are at least loci where a special contrastive negation construction may grammaticalise: the negator, the conjunction and the focus marking. However, contrastive negation is broader than just the specialised constructions. Consistently with a functionalist outlook on language, I have considered all combinations of affirmation and negation to be contrastive negation, provided that there is a substitutive relation between them. At a lower level of generality, contrastive negation interfaces with exclusive adverbs such as *just* and *only* and other markers of exclusivity to produce the three semantic types.

From a pragmatic point of view, contrastive negation has an obvious connection to metalinguistic negation. Equally important, however, is its relationship to intersubjectivity, both from an interactional and a grammatical perspective. Contrastive negation behaves much like other intersubjective constructions: it provides opportunities both for directing the addressee and for seeking alignment with them. This is compatible with the overall semantic and pragmatic value of negation as a construction type that allows for the negotiation of alternative standpoints.

3 CONSTRUCTIONAL VARIATION WITHIN AND ACROSS LANGUAGES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I showed how contrastive negation can be seen as a functional category. I noted its associations with the domains of negation, correctivity and information structure and showed how it is motivated by various kinds of intersubjectivities in discourse. In this chapter, I turn to issues of more general theoretical interest.

The view of contrastive negation adopted in this dissertation stems from the usage-based tradition in linguistics. In this chapter, I aim to elucidate the kind of usage-based theory that I wish to propose about contrastive negation. The part of the usage-based paradigm to which I am most indebted is construction grammar. The following section will introduce this approach and the way in which it helps us to understand contrastive negation – the kinds of theoretical tools, concepts and claims that it enables us to make (section 3.2.). After that, I shall look at constructional variation both within and across languages (section 3.3.). Within languages, I regard constructional variation in the context of the literature on syntactic alternations and on constructions with various degrees of entrenchment. Across languages, I regard constructional variation as instantiating different constructional strategies.

3.2 CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR AND USAGE-BASED LINGUISTICS

3.2.1 CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR(S)

In this dissertation, I study contrastive negation in the framework of construction grammar (CxG). CxG is a loose group of theories that share the view that grammar can be described as a set of constructions, learned pairings of form and meaning. This view contrasts with theories that consider grammar to consist of rules in addition to or instead of constructions. Thus, in construction grammar, grammatical constructions are seen as meaningful elements in their own right. In other words, they are symbolic. Figure 5 shows the symbolic structure of constructions. Note that ‘meaning’ is understood broadly to include not only semantics but also pragmatics and the discourse-functional properties of a construction.

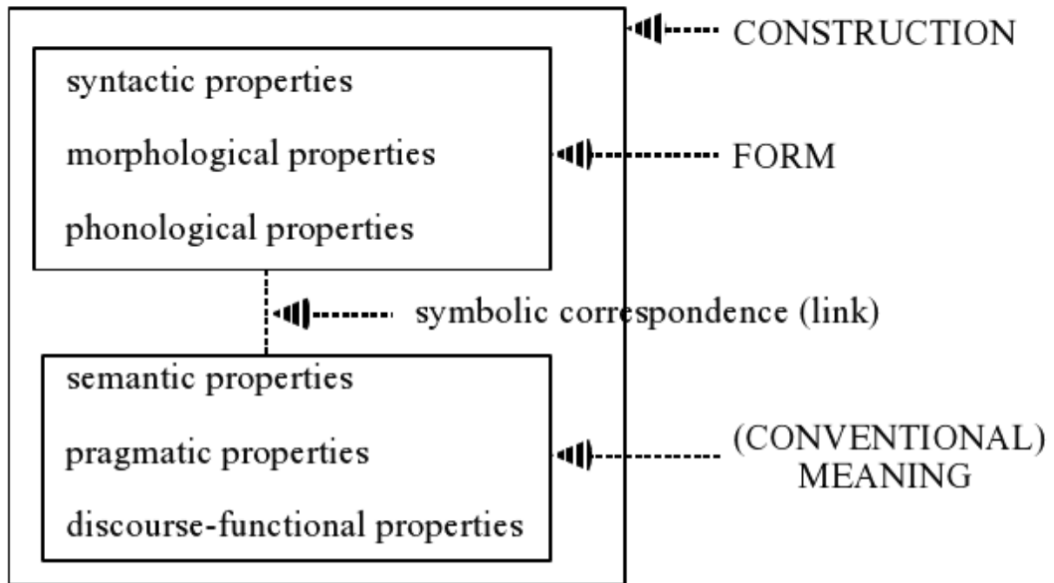


Figure 5 The symbolic structure of constructions in CxG (Croft & Cruse 2004: 258)

I contend that the various forms of contrastive negation can be seen as grammatical constructions in this sense. In terms of form, I focus on syntactic properties in this dissertation. In terms of meaning, I have already discussed the semantic and pragmatic properties of contrastive negation in the previous chapter. A discourse-functional property would be the tendency of some contrastive negation constructions to favour reactive contexts, as Article III shows.

Most construction grammarians agree on the following (Goldberg 2006: 215): Language consists of learned (or entrenched) form–meaning pairings. They form a network, which we may call the ‘construct-i-con’ (analogously to ‘lexicon’), and they have inheritance relations among themselves: in other words, some constructions are more specific examples of other, more general constructions. In other words, grammar is ‘a structured inventory of conventional linguistic units’ (Langacker 1987: 57). Furthermore, constructions are conceptualised as holistic entities that have an independent existence: they are not derived from other constructions. CxG is thus a surface-oriented, monostratal theory of grammar (Goldberg 2003).

CxG is a family of approaches, ranging from explicitly formalist models such as Berkeley Construction Grammar (Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor 1988; Fillmore & Kay 1995; Fried & Östman 2004), Sign-based Construction Grammar (Boas & Sag 2012) and Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Sag, Wasow & Bender 2003) to functionalist approaches that eschew most if not all formalisms (Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987; 1991; Goldberg 1995; 2006; Croft 2001; Croft & Cruse 2004; Hilpert 2014). All of these approaches are to varying degrees part of the more general usaga-based approach to linguistics (Barlow & Kemmer 2000; Bybee 2006; 2010). In particular, this dissertation draws from four sub-traditions of constructional research, which are summarised in Figure 6. Two of these approaches are mostly theoretical (Cognitive construction grammar and Radical construction grammar),

while the other two are chiefly methodological (interactional construction grammar and corpus-based studies on constructions).

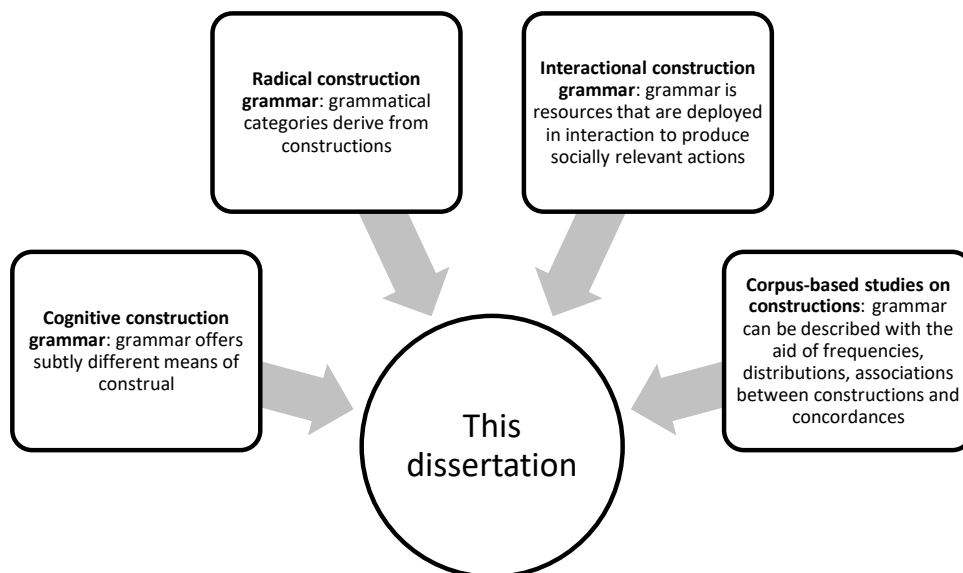


Figure 6 Construction grammar and this dissertation

The first one is Cognitive Construction Grammar (Lakoff 1987; Goldberg 1995; 2006). Although the earliest publication in this tradition is usually considered to be the case study on *there*-constructions in George Lakoff's *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987), Cognitive Construction Grammar is most strongly associated with the work of Adele E. Goldberg (e.g. 1995; 2003; 2006; 2013), and it also has strong ties to Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (e.g. 1987; 1991). Following the tenets of cognitive linguistics, this tradition emphasises the subtle semantic and pragmatic differences that closely related constructions exhibit. It employs concepts such as construal, conceptual metaphor and mental spaces to characterise these differences. Importantly, Cognitive Construction Grammar posits constructions as cognitively real. This is implicit in the Goldbergian definition of constructions as *entrenched* rather than *conventional* pairings of form and function: entrenchment is a matter of an individual, convention that of the community. This view is not without support: several psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic experiments show that speakers draw on constructional meanings and store constructional patterns as such (e.g. Bencini & Goldberg 2000; Gurevich, Johnson & Goldberg 2010).

The second tradition, which is closely aligned with the previous one, is William Croft's Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001; Croft & Cruse 2004). Radical Construction Grammar takes its lead from typology and aims to be a framework for describing the morphosyntactic variation of the world's languages in a construction-based way. A key point of emphasis is that grammatical categories such as lexical categories and clause relations emerge out of constructions, not the other way around. Thus, the category of Noun, for instance, is not a theoretical primitive unlike in some other approaches: being a Noun depends on a word being able to appear in certain constructions, and these definitional

constructions are language-specific. Therefore, nouns in different languages are different animals, and are only grouped together under this heading for the sake of analytic convenience or as a cross-linguistic generalisation.

The third tradition that informs this dissertation is interactional construction grammar. This is less of a self-conscious movement, though the phrase does appear in the literature (e.g. Wide 2009). Interactional construction grammar marries constructionist grammatical theory with interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018), the field of linguistics that studies linguistic structures as resources for performing actions in social interaction. While not all interactional linguistics has an overtly constructionist orientation, most work in this area works in a way that is compatible with construction grammar as it approaches grammar as a set of conventionalised practices (i.e. constructions) that have recurrent functions. In addition, interactionally oriented studies on grammatical constructions draw on Emergent Grammar (Hopper 1987; 2011; Auer & Pfänder 2011).

The fourth tradition is corpus-based studies on grammatical constructions. In addition to its theoretical tenets, usage-based linguistics has come to entail a commitment to quantitative corpus linguistics as a methodology (Gries 2009). Around the same time as Langacker's Cognitive Grammar was developing into a fully-fledged model of linguistic structure, corpus linguistics was becoming a self-conscious enterprise. Especially after the turn of the millennium, usage-based theory has been increasingly connected to usage-based methodology.

CxG is largely compatible with many branches of corpus linguistics, including Sinclair's (1991; 2004) unit of meaning model and Pattern Grammar. Frequency has been another common denominator as it is easy to measure in corpora and theoretically interesting for usage-based linguists. Corpus linguists' focus on collocation has been combined with CxG in collocation analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003), which also has obvious links to Cognitive Construction Grammar. I would argue, however, that much of the corpus-linguistic work in CxG employs the concepts of cognitive linguistics with a light touch. Indeed, while cognitive construction grammarians aspire towards a cognitively realistic account of an individual speaker's knowledge of language, many corpus linguists working within construction grammar express reservations and ambivalence towards the cognitive reality of their analytic constructs – at least in private.³⁰

There are good reasons for this reticence. Cognition is not directly observable. In addition, linguistic knowledge is variable across individuals (e.g. Dąbrowska & Street 2006; Street & Dąbrowska 2010) and the nature of individual linguistic knowledge may be quite different from what the speech community as a whole is doing (Divjak, Dąbrowska & Arppe

³⁰ In addition, certain researchers make the self-conscious methodological choice to adopt an analytic procedure that does not aspire towards cognitive reality. Budts (2018), for instance, studies the English periphrastic *do* entirely in terms of its connections to other constructions. Like Cognitive Construction Grammar, she assumes that the knowledge of language is a network that consists of nodes (i.e. constructions) and links between them. Unlike Cognitive Construction Grammar, she posits that the nodes are empty. This breaks with the definition of construction as a form–function pairing with rich syntactic and semantic content. All the content in Budts's model is in the links of the network, particularly in the association strengths between nodes. For example, some forms of *do* became associated with auxiliary-like functions such as interrogation and negation more quickly than others, i.e. their links to these constructions became strong earlier than for other forms. Ultimately, this kind of methodological exercise may help us characterise the role that network links play in a cognitively realistic network of constructions.

2016). Thus, in corpus studies, it is better not to make strong claims about what the linguistic knowledge of individual speakers is like, unless the corpus is specifically designed for studying the language of individuals.

3.2.2 A NETWORK OF CONSTRUCTIONS

The definition adopted in the previous chapter captures an extensive class of expressions. It is the variation among the members of this class that this dissertation focuses on. Treating a group of expressions as members of the same set is not trivial, and for this reason this section attempts to clarify some of the background assumptions involved as well as the consequences this has for the analysis of contrastive negation.

The usage-based paradigm in linguistics revolves around a few founding principles (Kemmer & Barlow 2000; Bybee 2006; 2010; Goldberg 2006; Croft & Cruse 2004). The central claim is that language structure follows to a large extent from language use. A speaker's mental grammar (i.e. the construct-i-con, to use CxG terminology) contains abstractions based on usage events. In the usage-based paradigm, linguistic representations are assumed to be rich in encyclopaedic, embodied and interactional content. Language acquisition does not differ much from other kinds of learning, and language itself is seen as an integrated part of cognition rather than a separate module.

Because of the large number of forms for expressing contrastive negation, the idea of grammar as a network of constructions is possibly the most fundamental assumption of usage-based linguistics for this dissertation. Taken to an extreme, this view entails that grammar contains two kinds of entities: constructions and links between them. In other words, grammar is a structured collection of entrenched pairings of form and function (Goldberg 1995: 5; Langacker 1987: 57) and this structure is provided by the links between the constructions. In practice, then, my claim that contrastive negation constructions are a family entails that they form a cluster in the network of constructions in a given language.

Diessel (2015) distinguishes between four kinds of links between constructions: taxonomic, horizontal, syntactic and lexical.³¹ The first kind of link is taxonomic links, which obtain between constructions at different levels of abstractness. In usage-based models, grammatical constructions are learned as abstractions over concrete instances, from the bottom up. Constructionist studies on child language acquisition suggest that children's constructions become more schematic bit by bit (e.g. Tomasello 2006). Nothing forces the child to abandon previous, more concrete representations as they acquire more abstract versions of the same schema. Thus, constructions exist at various levels of schematicity and they may well be redundant (Langacker 1987: 28–29). Figure 7 illustrates taxonomic links.

³¹ Diessel (2019) extends and elaborates this classification of the links that there may be between constructions as well as the network model of grammatical knowledge more generally. As Diessel's book was published when this dissertation was already going to print, I have not been able to apply the more recent version of his model here. Similarly to Goldberg (2019), Diessel has emphasised the similarities in the psycholinguistic properties between lexical items and more schematic constructions but, at variance with her, he maintains a conceptual distinction between words and constructions (on this latter point, Diessel is thus closer to more formalist variants of construction grammar, which define constructions as 'the rules that license "new" linguistic signs based on other linguistic signs' (Fillmore, Lee-Goldman & Rhomeux 2012: 321).

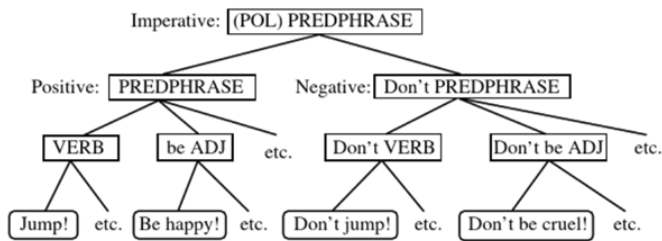


Figure 7 Taxonomic links (Croft & Cruse 2004: 321)

The second kind of link is horizontal. Horizontal links obtain between constructions of the same level of abstractness. The construct-i-con is assumed to work very similarly to the mental lexicon. It is well known that there are various associative links between lexical items based on both formal and semantic similarity, and these links manifest themselves as priming effects in psycholinguistic experiments as well as above-chance co-occurrence frequencies in corpus studies. Similar effects have been found for grammatical constructions, for instance locative and passive *by*-phrases:

- (116) a. The 747 was landing by the airport's control tower. [locative *by*-phrase]
 b. The 747 was alerted by the airport's control tower. [passive *by*-phrase]
 (Bock & Loebell 1990: 18; cited in Diessel 2015)

The third kind of link is syntactic links, which connect constructions to syntactic categories such as grammatical relations, phrase types and word classes. Since such categories are typically also postulated as constructions (e.g. the English Noun Phrase Construction), we might think of syntactic links as links between two constructions that differ from taxonomic links by the fact that neither construction is an instance of the other. For example, the English Ditransitive Construction (e.g. *Pat faxed Bill the letter*) can be schematised as [Subj V Obj Obj₂] (Goldberg 1995: 3). The slots in it have links to phrase type constructions so that the Subject, for instance, is typically filled by an NP.

The fourth kind of link is lexical links, i.e. links between grammatical constructions and their lexical fillers. Continuing with the example of the English Ditransitive Construction, it has probabilistic lexical links to a number of verbs, such as *give*, *tell*, *send*, *offer* and *show* (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003: 229).

The most important type of link for this dissertation is taxonomic. I expect that contrastive negation construction exist at various levels of the constructional hierarchy. I also study syntactic links between contrastive negation constructions and different types of focus structure. I do not explore horizontal links or the lexical links of contrastive negation, although the latter kind of links has been a popular topic in other corpus-based studies on grammatical constructions.

3.2.3 CONSTRUCTIONAL PRAGMATICS

Construction grammar is frequently associated with cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics in turn usually tends to minimise the distinction between semantics and

pragmatics, arguing instead for a view of linguistic meaning that is embodied, encyclopaedic and based on exemplars encountered in actual usage events. Semantic representations are thus assumed to include the context in which tokens of those representations have been encountered. Drawing a line between coded and inferred meaning can seem unnecessary under this view.

While I think that the argument from the encyclopaedic nature of meaning is sound, I still regard the notion of pragmatics useful as one end of a cline ranging from coded (semantic) to inferential (pragmatic) meaning. This is especially true for a topic such as contrastive negation. Contrastive negation constructions are highly schematic. They have no frame-semantic content of their own: unlike argument structure constructions, they cannot be said to ‘encode [...] event types that are basic to human experience’ (Goldberg 1995: 39). By the same token, while there is an obvious relationship between [*Y, not X*] and [*Y, not just X*] for instance, saying that this relationship is a surface generalisation (in the sense of Goldberg 2006: 22–25) is not enough to describe the meaning of contrastive negation constructions. On the other hand, contrastive negation is clearly related to the intersubjective management of the cognitive states of the hearer. In the absence of frame-semantic meaning and in the presence of intersubjective and information-structural function, we need to consider constructional pragmatics as the factor that motivates the existence of contrastive negation and its various forms.

Cappelle (2017) notes that construction grammarians actually include pragmatics in their analyses quite frequently but there does not seem to be a common framework that would unite them. Cappelle suggests the schema in Figure 8 for constructional representations that would include pragmatics as a separate level (see also Östman 2005: 135–136; Östman & Trousdale 2013: 486–489). This can be seen as an elaboration of Croft and Cruse’s more general schema in Figure 5.

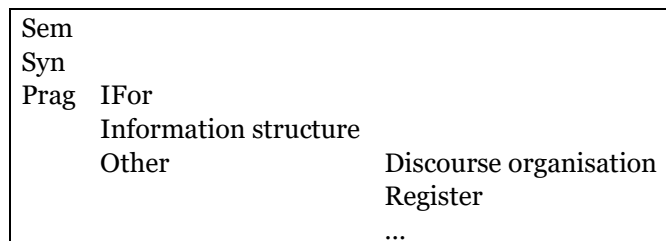


Figure 8 A template of pragmatics in constructional organisation (Cappelle 2017: 145)

Of the pragmatic specifications in Cappelle’s schema, I have been concerned with Information structure, Discourse organisation and Register. Thus, in Information structure, the negative-first constructions prefer affirmative parts that are heavier than the negative parts, while in negative-second constructions, the preference is the reverse. Also, the fact that the negative element generally needs to be given or at least accessible/accommodated is part of Information structure (though contrastive negation constructions probably inherit this property from a more general negative construction). The preference of negative-second constructions for non-reactiveness would be a matter of Discourse organisation, as would the need for minimal clauses to be reactive. Finally, the English [*not X but Y*] schema should be marked for formal registers. However, I should note that many aspects of the pragmatics

of contrastive negation represent statistical tendencies rather than hard-and-fast constructional parameters. The extent to which a statistical tendency should be posited as part of a construction's conventional meaning is unclear and possibly a matter of personal taste.

There are also aspects of the constructional pragmatics of contrastive negation that are not readily captured by Cappelle's schema (though they are not specifically antagonistic to it, either). Contrastive negation, as well as negation more generally, is a dialogical and intersubjectively oriented construction type that in some ways happens between speaker and hearer (Linell 2009; Verhagen 2005), and this was seen to have repercussions for its forms in Article III.

Issues of formalisation will not be central in Part II of this dissertation. In future constructionally oriented work, it might still make sense to account for the issues of features that are not compulsory but strongly favoured and that are related to the communicative situation from a dialogical point of view. In the articles of Part II, I hope to show that the former exist and the latter affect language structure.

3.3 VARIATION

The previous section showed how contrastive negation can be seen as a family of constructions. This naturally leads us to ask why language users choose one of the various contrastive negation constructions over the others. This is the central question in this dissertation. On the one hand, one speaker has several constructional options at their disposal: this is the question of variation within a language, and it is the topic of Articles I and II. On the other, different languages offer slightly (or not so slightly) different constructions to their speakers to choose from: this is the question of variation across languages, and it is addressed in Articles III and IV. Variation within a language manifests itself as an alternation between different constructions and as the emergence of constructions under interactional constraints. Variation across languages manifests itself as various constructional strategies that are variously adopted in different speech communities. I now discuss these perspectives in turn.

3.3.1 VARIATION WITHIN A LANGUAGE: SYNTACTIC ALTERNATIONS

Over the 20th century, alternations of various kinds held increasing importance for many sub-fields of linguistics. While this dissertation does not focus on the social variation of contrastive negation, the methodology in most of the case studies owes much to variationist sociolinguistics, especially in the use of multivariate statistical analysis. In variationist sociolinguistics, the prototypical cases of interest have been phonological variables, such as non-pre-vocalic (r) in English, i.e. the difference between [ka] and [kaɪ] for *car*. Such variables have been ideal since they are semantically maximally empty: the social variation that they exhibit can be observed directly, without the researcher having to exclude confounds such as different meanings.

The situation is less easy at other linguistic levels where a difference in form usually entails a difference in function. This is also the case of syntactic alternations, of which

contrastive negation is an instance.³² A syntactic alternation comprises ‘structurally and/or lexically different ways of saying to say functionally very similar things’ (Gries 2017: 8). In the case of contrastive negation, the ‘very similar thing’ is the functional definition given in chapter 2.

In alternation research, we typically identify several variables (or predictors) that have two or more levels. The variable gender, for instance, might have the levels male, female and non-binary. Variables come in two types: language-internal and language-external variables. Because we expect the variation between the various contrastive negation constructions to exhibit not only social but also functional variation, my study has attempted to accommodate both language-internal and language-external variables, though my emphasis has been squarely on the former. In Article II, I consider seven variables. Three of them are related to the meaning and form of the construct: the semantic type, the choice between *not*-negation and *no*-negation, and the target of negation, which makes a distinction between proposition denial and all other denials (implicature, presupposition, form), following Geurts (1998). These variables are specific to the domain of contrastive negation. A further three are related to information structure: the length of the contrasted elements, the focus structure (Lambrecht 1994) and activation. These variables follow from previous research on other variables, which has repeatedly found that such predictors have an effect on a wide range of syntactic alternations.

In Article IV, I use a modified version of this set, to go with the cross-linguistic nature of that study. The variables in that study are: semantic type, the target of negation, length, the type of structural difference (roughly comparable to the focus structure in Article II) and deontic modality. The last variable is included because the dataset of Article IV, proceedings of the European parliament, contains a lot of politically and morally charged discourse, and it is often coupled with expressions of contrastive negation. Activation was not considered in Article IV for two reasons. First, it did not correlate with any of the constructional schemas in Article II. Second, it is quite difficult to operationalise for contrastive negation because of the flexible nature of the constructions.

In this dissertation, multivariate analysis of constructional variation is conducted using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). MCA is an exploratory dimensionality reduction technique that attempts to find correlations among the predictors (Glynn 2014; Greenacre 2017). These correlations are then visualised so that the more two observations correlate, the closer they are located in a biplot of the data. These locations may in turn be used to gauge the average locations of the various constructional schemas. Thus, we see which constructions are close to one another and whether there is overlap in their core uses. In Article II, this methodology shows that especially the negative-second constructions in English are somewhat poorly differentiated. The negative-first constructions, in turn, occupy distinct areas in the biplot, suggesting that the [*not X but Y*] and [*not X, Y*] schemas in particular have specialised for different uses: [*not X but Y*] for additive contexts, [*not X, Y*] for restrictive ones. On the other hand, there is a lot of overlap among the constructional schemas, which suggests that much of the relevant variation happens at lower levels of the construction network. In Article IV, a similar methodology is used to produce a probabilistic semantic map of contrastive negation (Croft & Poole 2008; van der Auwera 2013), following

³² Levin (1993) is an extensive treatment of syntactic alternations in English, focusing mainly on voice and argument structure alternations.

the methodology laid out by e.g. Wälchli and Cysouw (2012) as well as Levshina (2015; 2016a; 2016b). This allows us to see that there are several minor constructions in some of the languages studied, which cover relatively small areas on the map, which suggests a high degree of functional specialisation.

The status of alternations has been in dispute among construction grammarians. In early generative grammar, alternations were seen as realisations of the same underlying form, which lent their study some theoretical coherence. But if grammar is a network of constructions and no derivational relationships are allowed into the theory, what is the theoretical status of alternations, especially since as a rule two constructions are taken to have different meanings? Goldberg has argued that instead of characterising constructions ‘in relation to a particular rough paraphrase’ (2006: 19; see also Goldberg 2002), it is advisable to look at each construction in its own terms. This view is formulated as the ‘Surface Generalisation Hypothesis’:

there are typically broader syntactic and semantic generalizations associated with a surface argument structure form than exist between the same surface form and a distinct form that it is hypothesized to be syntactically or semantically derived from (Goldberg 2006: 25)

Goldberg illustrates the Surface Generalisation Hypothesis with several examples, of which I will mention one: the ditransitive alternation. The traditional view is that the English Ditransitive Construction participates in two alternations: one is with the Prepositional Dative Construction and the other with the Benefactive Construction (Goldberg 2006: 26):

(117) Mina bought a book for Mel. → Mina bought Mel a book.

(118) Mina sent a book to Mel. → Mina sent Mel a book.

In (117) and (118), the Prepositional Dative and Benefactive constructions are on the left and their ditransitive counterparts on the right. Since these are two different alternations, many accounts treat the two ditransitives as two different constructions. However, the two ditransitive variants behave in very similar ways while the prepositional variants differ from them while also being more alike to one another in certain respects: for example, both prepositional variants allow questioning the recipient argument while the ditransitive variants do not, and the ditransitives are associated with ‘giving’ whereas for the prepositional variants this association is less clear (Goldberg 2006: 26–27), as shown in Table 2. For this reason, according to Goldberg, it makes sense to treat the two ditransitives as instances of one and the same English Ditransitive Construction.

Table 2. *Ditransitives and their prepositional paraphrases (Goldberg 2006: 27, modified)*

Ditransitives: Subj V Obj₁ Obj₂ (paraphrasable with ‘to’ or ‘for’)	Paraphrases
??Who did Mina buy a book? ??Who did Mina send a book?	Who did Mina buy a book for? Who did Mina send a book to?
*Mina bought Mel yesterday a book. *Mina sent Mel yesterday a book.	Mina bought a book yesterday for Mel. Mina sent a book yesterday to Mel.
??Mina bought Mel it. ??Mina sent Mel it.	Mina bought it for Mel. Mina sent it to Mel.
??Mina bought that place a box. ??Mina sent that place a box.	Mina bought a box for that place. Mina sent a box to that place.
Mina bought Mel a book. (Mina intends to give Mel the book) Mina sent Mel a book. (Mina intends to give Mel the book)	Mina bought a book for Mel. (the book could be intended for Mel’s mother, bought by Mina because Mel was too busy to buy it) Mina sent a book to storage.

This view of syntactic alternations has always found a counterpoint in the numerous studies that have looked at two (or more) semantically similar constructions, both within the constructionist literature and without. Lambrecht (1994: 6; citing Daneš 1966), for instance, adopts the structuralist term ‘allosentence’ for ‘semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs such as active vs. passive, canonical vs. topicalized, canonical vs. clefted or dislocated, subject-accented vs. predicate-accented sentences, etc.’ Sometimes this has been a matter of convenience rather than argued from a theoretical or empirical point of view: it simply is a practical way of characterising the meaning and use of a construction (cf. Davidse 2011). On a pre-theoretical level, it is clear that even if there is no formal relationship between two constructions that mean the same thing, they are still competing against one another in use. Hence, the dative alternation can be and has been studied without positing a direct relationship between the Ditransitive Construction and the Prepositional Dative Construction (e.g. Bresnan et al. 2007). From a classically structuralist point of view, it can be argued that the existence of alternatives is by itself a functional pressure on the meaning of a construction, leading to specialisation (see Davidse 2011).

There have also been attempts to capture the semantic links between constructions as theoretical entities in the constructional paradigm. Cappelle (2006) argues that the English verb particle alternation is most profitably analysed as one general construction with two surface realisations, as in (119). Crucially, his account does not require a derivational relationship between the two constructions that can thus be seen as instances of the more general schema.

- (119) a. She turned off the TV.
b. She turned the TV off. (Cappelle 2006: 4)

Cappelle's account contrasts with the classical constructional analysis by Gries, who eschews any notion of verb particle constructions forming a single class in grammar (Gries 2003: 140). Gries points out that the choice between the two options is highly constrained: his logistic regression achieves a prediction accuracy of 83.9%. The differences would thus seem to outweigh the similarities. Cappelle counters this with two arguments. First, verb particle constructions are often idiomatic, and while the idioms might show a preference for one option or the other, they may still vary. For instance, *roll up one's sleeves* is probably more common than *roll one's sleeves up*, but both are possible, and it would seem far-fetched to claim that the two variants have nothing in common. Second, given that variability exists between the two constructions, it is unclear how children could acquire those verb particle constructions that do not show it. For instance, *drum up support* is virtually the only alternative, even though *drum support up* conforms to the syntax of English. Acquisition studies have shown that children make the leap from absence of evidence to evidence of absence fairly quickly: if there is a choice between two patterns, and only one of these options is systematically used in the input that a child receives, they will stick to that choice (see Goldberg 2006: 96). However, the ability to keep the two constructions separate crucially presupposes the ability to identify their relatedness.

The rehabilitation of alternations in construction grammar is taken further by Perek (2012; 2015), who used a sorting task experiment to tap into the semantic information to which speakers have access. Drawing on previous work that suggests speakers sort sentences according to constructional and not merely lexical meaning (Bencini & Goldberg 2000), Perek (2012) shows that alternations are also a possible sorting strategy. This provides psycholinguistic support for the claim that the alternation between two (or more) ways of saying the same thing is in itself stored in the construct-i-con. In other words, we need to posit also semantic generalisations that are weakly if at all formally specified.

Coming back to contrastive negation, we may note that the various contrastive negation constructions have a high degree of semantic similarity that seems to be apparent to speakers. One piece of evidence for this is pairs of examples like (120)–(121), taken from Article I:

- (120) You don't go to the opera to hear the music but to be bundled together with similar people. (BNC)
- (121) You don't go to the opera primarily to hear the music, you go to be bundled together with people similar to yourself, or people that you think you're like. (BNC)

Both examples probably come from the same source, but the former uses the [*not X but Y*] construction, the latter the Expanded [*not X, Y*] construction. That the exact same content can be expressed using two different constructions suggests that there is a semantic generalisation covering both of them (if not more constructions) that speakers have access to.

Article II is close in spirit to the idea of semantic generalisations. However, I leave it as an open question whether all of the constructions studied there are part of the same generalisation. In particular, the negative-second schemas pattern very similarly in Article II, which may suggest that they form a generalisation of their own, at least to some speakers.

3.3.2 VARIATION WITHIN A LANGUAGE: EMERGENT CONSTRUCTIONS

The idea of syntactic alternations suggests that the options are relatively well entrenched: the Ditransitive Construction and the Prepositional Dative Construction, for example, are very stable parts of English grammar. Other parts of grammar show the dynamicity of the network of constructions more fully.

The dynamicity of constructions becomes manifest in at least three ways. The first is diachronic: constructions and their relationships change over time. The second is developmental: children acquire constructions especially in their early years. This section deals with the third aspect of dynamicity which is interactional: the specific form that a construction takes is subject to and shapes the progression of the interaction in which it takes place, be it spoken, written or signed.

Extract (122) illustrates the interactional emergence of constructions. It is part of the dataset of Article III. In this example, the participants are discussing photographs left by a deceased co-worker. In this extract, Jussi has recognised the German silent-era film actress Dorothea Wiech in one of the photographs.

(122) Conversation Analysis Archive: SG435, 60_70, 06:41

- 1 Jussi: .hhh tää on Do[rothea V:::::iik.]
.hhh this be.3SG Dorothea Viik
'hhh this is Dorothea Viik'
- 2 Liisa: [(-) ketä nää on.]
who these be.3PL
'(-) who are these'
- 3 tää on se [raita.]
this be.3SG that stripe
'this is the stripe'
- 4 Jussi: → [ja siis] V- V-
and so
'and I mean V- V-'
- 5 Päivi: nii.
yeah
'yeah'
- 6 Jussi: →Viek. (.) siis ei Viik. (.) [Vik] (.) v:aan:. Viek.
Viek so NEG Viik Vik vaan Viek
'Viek (.) I mean not Viik. (.) Vik (.) but Viek'
- 7 Päivi: [°joo°]
yeah
'yeah'
- 8 Jussi: →.hh Viik.
.hh Viik
'hh Viik'

In line 1, Jussi utters the name of the actress. In line 4, he starts self-repairing his pronunciation of the name, and in line 6 he produces four versions of it: [viek], [vi:k], [vik] and again [viek]. This is followed by a fifth version in line 8: [vi:k]. Presumably, [viek] is the

preferred alternative, although admittedly this is not entirely clear. When we look at this sequence from a syntactic point of view, it seems that Jussi perceives his original metalinguistic self-repair as too weak since it is only signalled by the particle *siis* ‘so’ (here: ‘I mean’). At this point, what he has produced could be regarded as a $[Y, ei X]$ ‘Y not X’ construct. Then, he self-repairs his self-repair, which has by now become problematic, by adding an incremental $[vaan Y]$ to it. Thus, the $[ei X]$ that originally looked like it was part of $[Y, ei X]$ is now part of $[ei X vaan Y]$. The entire project seems to present challenges to him since in addition to the unclarity of the syntactic structure, there are hesitations and several pauses. However, despite its deviance from more canonical formats, the example shows the role that contrastive negation can play in explicating repair.

This example supports the view that contrastive negation is at least partially an emergent phenomenon in Finnish grammar (Hopper 1987; 2011): the forms that are attested in actual language use are not always stored as such in the construct-i-con. Rather, speakers may build them in a piece-meal fashion to respond to the situation at hand. Thus, rather than producing a neat $[ei X vaan Y]$ or $[Y, ei X]$, Jussi ends up building a rather complex construct by incrementally adding parts to his utterance. The final product probably does not look very much like any entrenched contrastive negation construction, but it does incorporate parts of or even entire such constructions as part of a larger whole.

Some of the forms may sediment into stable parts of the construct-i-con of an individual or a community but others remain ephemeral. Contrastive negation is particularly apt for displaying this since the parts which it is typically made up of are in themselves stable parts of the grammar: affirmative clause, negative clause, adversative conjunction, exclusive adverb. Even a person who has never encountered contrastive negation before can probably figure it out.

There are also other ways in which contrastive negation is formatted in ways that take the interactional context into account. In Article III, I discuss many instances in which contrastive negation is tailored to show that the context is reactive (cf. Linell 2009). As discussed in section 2.3.3. on ellipsis as well as Article III, contrastive negation is thus positionally sensitive (Schegloff 1996a).

3.3.3 VARIATION ACROSS LANGUAGES: CONSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

In this dissertation, I assume that constructions are language-specific. We can call this view categorial particularism, as opposed to categorial universalism, which holds that the categories of language have a universal base (Haspelmath 2010). Categorial particularism receives support from cross-linguistic studies that find subtle differences between constructions that are related either historically or functionally. Even if two languages are closely related and express a similar function using cognate forms, the particulars of the use of those forms will differ. Articles III and IV illustrate this tendency: there are no two languages among those studied for this dissertation that would organise the field of contrastive negation in exactly the same way. Such findings are more difficult to explain using a framework that expects grammatical categories to be innately specified entities.

Since constructions are psychological entities, we need other terms to characterise cross-linguistic tendencies, which by definition transcend individual speakers. To this end, I use the term strategy, defined as a way of expressing a function (following Keenan & Comrie 1977: 64). Croft states that strategies come in three types. First, they may be defined through

‘crosslinguistically valid properties of grammatical structure’ (Croft 2016: 381). Such strategies may refer to the ordering or presence of elements. Second, strategies may also be characterised by ‘how categories are defined in a language’. These kinds of strategies can be exemplified by accusative and ergative alignment: in languages aligned accusatively, the S and A arguments are one category and the P argument another, and this constellation is the accusative alignment strategy. Third, we may ‘define a construction in terms of the form also used for another construction’. An example that Croft cites on this is the use of a locative construction for expressing possession.

The notion of strategy is thus relatively loose, and it can be applied in many different and partially overlapping ways even within one grammatical domain. In the domain of contrastive negation, we may note a number of distinctions in the strategies used. The first distinction is **the number of contrasted elements**: minimally it is two, but as Articles I and III show, there are also cases of contrastive negation that are tripartite. The second distinction is **the ordering of the contrasted elements**. The basic types are negative-first and negative-second, but for the tripartite constructions we also need affirmative-negative-affirmative as well as negative-affirmative-negative. The third distinction is **the grammatical rank of the contrasted elements**. Both of the contrasted elements may be clauses, as in the English Expanded constructions; both of them may be sub-clausal, as in the other entrenched constructions that were studied in Article II; and one of them may be sub-clausal and the other clausal, as in what I call the Prefaced Negative-First Construction in Article I. The fourth distinction is **the linking between the contrasted elements**, which cuts between syndetic and asyndetic linking, i.e. whether there is any kind of conjunction between the contrasted elements or not.

These four distinctions fall under Croft’s first type of strategy: number of elements, ordering, grammatical rank and the presence of linking are ‘crosslinguistically valid properties of grammatical structure’. There are also distinctions related to the third type. These concern syndetic linking. The fifth distinction is **the domain from which the corrective conjunction is recruited** in negative-first constructions. This relates to the familiar distinction between languages that make a PA/SN distinction and those that do not, but it also captures the use of adverbial subordinators in contrastive negation constructions, as in the Portuguese [*não só X como também Y*]. A potential sixth distinction would be **the domain from which the corrective conjunction is recruited in negative-second constructions**; this is subject to cross-linguistic variation that is not addressed in the case studies of this dissertation as the languages that I examine display little variation in this regard (but see Jasinskaja 2012).

I make use of these distinctions in various ways in the four articles of this dissertation. In Articles III, in which the notion of strategy is used most explicitly, I characterise my data in terms of the number and ordering of the contrasted elements, the nature of the linking between them and the syntactic rank of the contrasted elements. In Article IV, which compares more languages with one another, I make do with a more coarse-grained approach, considering only the ordering of the contrasted elements and the linking between them, the latter sometimes subsuming the domain from which the corrective conjunction is recruited in negative-first constructions. At times, I refer to individual constructions in the languages concerned.

Changing the level of granularity at which I look at the strategies in Article IV was useful since it allowed me to uncover patterns that were evident in one strategy distinction without

being manifest in another. For example, the way in which European languages handle the PA/SN distinction does not follow a clear areal pattern, but the way they use a conjunction in negative-first constructions does: in the core standard average European languages, the main corrective conjunction is reliably used in additive as well as replacive contexts, whether it is a dedicated SN conjunction (as in German) or a general adversative (as in Dutch and French). The further we stray from this core, the more varied the expression of additives becomes: Finnish and Estonian frequently opt out of contrastive negation altogether, while Portuguese often uses a subordinator and Italian usually uses the PA alternative, which is also more common in replacives but less so than in additives.

3.4 SUMMARY

Usage-based construction grammar is a theory that claims that a language user's knowledge of language consists entirely of form–function pairings that arise from their previous experiences with analogous pairings. These pairings form a large network or a construct-i-con. Certain nodes in the construct-i-con cluster together because of their similar meaning or function. These nodes or construction show variation among themselves and are thus an alternation. They may exhibit different cross-linguistically relevant constructional strategies. In addition, sometimes language users produce strings that do not adhere strictly to an entrenched pattern in the construct-i-con. In these cases, the construct is emergent.

I noted that there is a tension in usage-based construction grammar between accounting for corpus data and striving for psychological realism. I will return to this tension in Part III of the dissertation. While statistical methods may offer a partial remedy (Gries 2015), most corpus studies are about the conventional rather than the entrenched. I would argue that there is nothing wrong with this. Conventions are real for individual language users as social facts through their exposure to them and they are an interesting and revealing object of study in their own right.

Another way to approach this issue is to treat convention not as what a language user thinks but as what they can think. A corpus study may be useful in characterising the kinds of parameters that a community as a whole exhibits, and these may then be studied in more detail on studies focused on individual usage patterns. This dissertation represents an attempt at the first part of this process. The data and methods that I have used to do that are the topic of the following chapter.

4 DATA AND METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

We have now seen an overview of contrastive negation as a phenomenon (chapter 2) and an introduction to the theoretical approach taken to it in this dissertation (chapter 3). This chapter surveys briefly the methodological approaches and choices of this dissertation. Following from the usage-based conception of language that drives my work, my methodology is also founded on the analysis of usage data.

In addition to finding out things about contrastive negation in English and other European languages, I have tried to reflect on ways in which this examination can and, perhaps, should be carried out. Contrastive negation is highly variable, yet remarkably difficult to extract using automated queries. This has led me to explore both quantitative and qualitative techniques to arrive at a reasonably well-rounded picture of what contrastive negation actually is like.

Previous studies on contrastive negation have mainly been based on introspective, anecdotal or experimental data. By contrast, this dissertation relies on corpus data. As mentioned, this is in line with the usage-based theoretical position adopted in this thesis. However, there are other reasons for adopting an empiricist methodology. As Articles I and III will show, the category of contrastive negation is to some extent open-ended and the inventory of constructional forms is very rich. When trying to study contrastive negation as a whole in one or two languages, this kind of richness is difficult if not impossible to capture without corpus data. When we move to cross-linguistic data, a further difficulty is the fact that contrastive negation seldom has a unique marker, except for languages with dedicated SN conjunctions, although even these may be polyfunctional. Furthermore, only a small minority of contrastive negation constructs have a corrective conjunction, at least in the datasets studied in this dissertation. Thus, when we try to form a picture of the cross-linguistic behaviour of contrastive negation, reference grammars are unlikely to give a satisfying account, and indeed they seldom discuss contrastive negation as a topic in its own right. On the whole, any kind of linguistic variation needs to be studied in actual usage data, and variation may be an interesting piece of evidence even for cross-linguistic generalisations (e.g. Croft 2001: 107). As intra-linguistic variability is hypothesised to be an important part of contrastive negation at least in major European languages, even the more broadly contrastive Article IV is based on corpus data.

My central contention is that before doing corpus linguistics on several languages, we need to know in detail how the phenomenon in question behaves in one language. This line of thinking is not exactly new: it seems that most corpus-based contrastive or typological studies are predicated on a previous detailed study of individual languages. For this reason, my dissertation proceeds from one language to an extended comparison of 11 languages. One of the foci in this chapter is the way in which the studies build onto one another methodologically.

Corpus data come in three types, shown in Figure 9. A monolingual corpus only contains texts in one language. Complementing monolingual corpora, multilingual corpora have two types: comparable and parallel corpora. Comparable corpora are corpora that are in

different languages but that are similar according to some extralinguistic dimension. They would thus function as monolingual corpora of the respective languages in their own right. Parallel corpora are corpora that consist of texts that are translated into other languages and aligned computationally at the level of words or sentences, for instance (on defining comparable and parallel corpora, see Teubert 1996; Aijmer 2008; Mikhailov & Cooper 2016). This dissertation makes use of all three kinds of data.

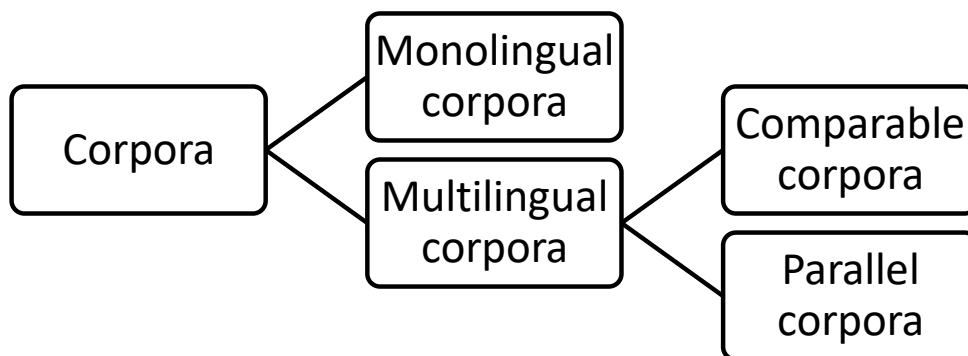


Figure 9 Types of corpora

The merits and dismerits of comparable and parallel corpora are one of the most fiercely debated topics in the methodology of cross-linguistic studies; I shall revisit the rationale of my methodological choices below.

I shall present my data and methodology study by study, starting by the English-only studies in Articles I and II (section 4.2), moving on to the contrastive study of English and Finnish in Article III (section 4.3), ending with the corpus-based comparative study of 11 European languages in Article IV (section 4.4.). Details on the methodology of each study can be found in the articles themselves; here I aim to present an overall picture of my methodological choices and how the different studies relate to one another.

4.2 ARTICLES I AND II: QUANTITATIVE ENGLISH CORPUS LINGUISTICS

Contrastive negation has been the subject of several studies, from many perspectives and in various frameworks, as chapter 2 attests. However, a comprehensive corpus-based analysis has thus far been lacking. Articles I and II fill this gap in the literature.

The methodological backbone of these two articles is thus corpus linguistics. Biber and colleagues list four ‘essential characteristics’ of corpus linguistics:

- it is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;

- it utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a “corpus,” as the basis for analysis;
- it makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
- it depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques. (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998: 4)

Corpus linguistics is not just any kind of linguistic study with, say, anecdotal use of examples from authentic texts. Rather, the research process is built around the corpus. In this dissertation, corpus linguistic methods are particularly important when I make generalisations about the patterns in the data. Since I aim to make generalisations, my study falls under quantitative corpus linguistics (e.g. Gries 2009). This is especially true of Article II, in which I use multiple correspondence analysis, an exploratory multivariate dimensionality-reduction technique to uncover the ways in which the various constructional schemas on contrastive negation behave in the data.

Corpus linguistic studies may be divided into corpus-based and corpus-driven. A corpus-based study takes existing theory and applies it to corpus data, while a corpus-driven study starts with the data and formulates a theory on the basis of it (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65, 84). The corpus-based perspective is largely deductive, the corpus-driven perspective inductive. Originally, the distinction captured two different schools of thought in corpus linguistics (McEnery & Hardie 2011: 122–164), but since then, the difference between them has largely faded, with researchers associated with the corpus-driven position adopting notions from more theoretical research (e.g. Hunston & Su Forthcoming), and *vice versa*. In practice, there are many shades of both kinds of research, as well as intermediate positions.

In my dissertation, I combine both corpus-driven and corpus-based linguistics. In Article I, my approach is largely corpus-driven: I tried to have an open-ended definition of contrastive negation, thus allowing non-standard, previously unidentified construct types into my data. In Article II, on the other hand, I am largely corpus-based: I study the six most entrenched construction types that have also had the most attention in previous literature and classify the tokens according to theoretically motivated variables. Another way of expressing the difference between Articles I and II is to say that Article I proceeds from function to form, whereas Article II goes from form to function.

The data for both articles comes from the British National Corpus (BNC). The BNC is a multi-genre corpus of British English that consists of 90 million words of written and 10 million words of spoken language. Most of the material is from the early 1990s.³³ There are many ways to access the BNC; I have mostly used the BNCweb interface (Berglund et al. 2002; Hoffmann et al. 2008).³⁴

In this dissertation, I have only used two parts of the BNC: the national broadsheet component and a small sub-part of the conversation component. The national broadsheet component is about 3 million words, divided into eight sub-registers in Lee’s (2001)

³³ In this dissertation, I have not been able to use the newer BNC2014, whose spoken part was only released after I had completed work on the spoken corpora for my studies.

³⁴ I thank Turo Hiltunen and the Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in the English Language (VARIENG) for giving me access to BNCweb.

classification. The eight sub-registers allowed me to conduct a natural experiment of sorts: given that they consist of texts that have been published together as part of the same newspapers, they enabled me to see variation according to text types such as narration and argumentation in Article I. The sub-part of the conversation component is a 250,000-word slice of the bigger conversation component. This extract consists of a pre-release of the audio files of the spoken BNC. The reason for selecting this sub-part of the corpus was that it offered easy access to the sound files of the corpus, which were used to support the analysis.

The motivation for studying many kinds of texts is that register has been argued to be the most important predictor of grammatical variation in English (Biber 2012). Many if not most grammatical constructions show register variation (Biber et al. 1999). Knowledge of a register is knowledge of the grammatical choices that are appropriate for that register, and knowledge of a construction entails knowing when it is appropriate to use that construction. This fits the usage-based approach to language: since we keep track of individual usage events, it is likely that contextual features of the event itself are part of those representations, thereby colouring the resulting more abstract constructions. To give a simple example, if I encounter the English Imperative Construction mostly in recipes, I start to associate this construction with this context. In addition, the Imperative begins to be a part of my schema for a recipe (cf. Östman 2005). Returning to contrastive negation, I expected contrastive negation to favour argumentative genres such as letters to the editor, and this was indeed what I found. Conversely, the sports pages of a newspaper contain little contrastive negation, possibly because sports news is not focused on presenting multiple competing viewpoints but a narrative account of a competition. In addition, I found that speech and writing differ quite substantially in how contrastive negation is expressed: the written data displays a rather wide array of constructions, while in speech, the replacive Expanded negative-first schema is dominant.

Annotation is one of the features that distinguishes the corpus-driven approach from the corpus-based one (see Archer 2012). Article I is corpus-driven in that the categories that are postulated arise out of the data and contravene earlier categorisations of contrastive negation constructions. It also exhibits a relatively light-touch approach to annotating the dataset: I looked at the construction type, the semantic type and the kind of negator, as well as the register, which was part of the corpus metadata. In Article II, I move to the corpus-based side by annotating part of Article I's data based on theoretical considerations. The dataset is restricted in three ways: I also consider the written part of the data, I only consider the six most conventionalised constructional schemas (see (123)), and I only consider cases that correspond to McCawley's definition of contrastive negation, which means that the negated and affirmative parts offer different ways of filling a syntactic position.

- (123)
- a. [*not X but Y*]
Not stirred but shaken.
 - b. [*not X, Y*]
Not stirred, shaken.
 - c. EXPANDED [*not X, Y*]
The drink is not stirred – it is shaken.
 - d. [*Y not X*]
Shaken, not stirred.
 - e. [*Y and not X*]
Shaken and not stirred.
 - f. EXPANDED [*Y not X*]
The drink is shaken. It is not stirred.

My annotations follow the usual practice in syntactic alternation research: they are a mixture of information-structural, semantic and extralinguistic variables, mostly based on previous research (see Gries 2017). Another corpus-based feature of Article II is that it tries to address a larger theoretical question, that of constructional synonymy.

4.3 ARTICLE III: CONTRASTIVE INTERACTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Corpus linguistics may be criticised for having a rather static view of language. Corpus linguists typically analyse language as a finished product, but they may still try to explain these findings procedurally, for instance as the results of processing costs. Usage data can also be studied from a more dynamic perspective that considers language as a temporally unfolding process. This is the perspective taken in interactional linguistics (e.g. Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018). It is the foundation of Article III, although some insights from it were already used in Article I. Interactional linguistics studies language in face-to-face interaction to uncover the ways in which linguistic structures are deployed to produce socially relevant actions. It combines conversation analysis (CA), contextualisation theory and linguistic anthropology with a largely functionalist outlook into the structures of language (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 3–12). In other words, interactional linguists typically regard the form of language as a result of adapting to its functions in language use.

Conversation analysis probably exerts the strongest influence on the practice of interactional linguistics, and this is also evident in the terminology of the field. Following CA, we may approach interaction as actions and practices. Action can be defined informally as the ‘main job’ of a turn (Levinson 2013: 107). Actions are socially relevant – they perform something in the real world (Schegloff 1996b: 172) and frequently have vernacular names such as greeting, telling or requesting. Actions consist of practices, which may be linguistic or non-linguistic. For this dissertation, interactional linguistics allows a view into contrastive negation as a set of linguistic resources that can be used as practices for doing various kinds of actions. Contrastive negation typically takes the form of a complex construct that takes time to unfold. The canonical forms of the constructions identified in previous literature and in Articles I and II are not always realised fully in interaction. Another way in which Article III differs from the two previous ones is that it contrasts two languages: English and Finnish. Thus, the comparative concept of contrastive negation is used to

capture comparable phenomena in the two languages. I used the spoken part of Article I's BNC data for English and the Arkisyn corpus for Finnish.

Arkisyn is a corpus of conversational Finnish. It consists of roughly 250,000 words. It contains data from two previously existing archives of spoken Finnish: the Conversation Analysis Archive housed at the University of Helsinki and the Syntax Archive housed at the University of Turku. I used a beta version of the corpus, which has sound files associated with the corpus texts. In addition, I could use some sound and video files stored in the Conversation Analysis Archive.³⁵ As I was writing Article III, the corpus was still in progress and some sound files were unavailable to me. Because of this, Article III utilises only part of the corpus.

I used the spoken data from BNC and Arkisyn as comparable corpora. The two corpora do differ in certain respects, however: The BNC was collected as one corpus, which means that the methods of collection and transcription were standardised from the outset, while Arkisyn is made up of several different datasets.³⁶ The BNC was collected using a tape recorder, which the informants used by themselves, whereas the Arkisyn recordings are mostly handled by an external researcher who set up the recording device (often, a video camera), then left the room. As a result, the Arkisyn recordings are often longer than the BNC ones, though the same BNC informant may have recorded several tapes. The BNC informants were picked randomly from British public records, whereas Arkisyn informants have been recruited using various means, though presumably most datasets are based on the personal networks of the students/researchers who collected the data in the first place. In addition, Arkisyn contains some telephone conversations.

In spite of these differences, I assume that my subset of the spoken BNC and Arkisyn are reasonably comparable: they both represent casual, unscripted conversation in relatively intimate settings among people who know each other either as friends or family members. In Article III, I hope to have shown that the construct-i-cons of contrastive negation are organised rather differently in English and Finnish conversation: Finnish allows syndetic coordination, whereas English heavily favours asyndetic, expanded constructions. Neither dataset has been balanced for sociolinguistic variables and therefore no claims are made regarding how contrastive negation is used in the speech of certain social groups. This kind of variation is left for future studies to address.

4.4 ARTICLE IV: CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS USING PARALLEL CORPUS DATA

Article III showed that even in datasets that are comparable in terms of register, English and Finnish contrastive negation differ especially in the combining strategy that is used. Article IV set out to investigate this further in an expanded sample of languages. The final language sample is 11 languages spoken in Europe. Two of them are Uralic (Estonian and Finnish,

³⁵ I thank Marja-Liisa Helasvuo (University of Turku) and Mari Siirainen (University of Helsinki) for granting me access to these materials.

³⁶ The Conversation Analysis Archive is actually an informal collection of various datasets that are mainly based on thesis work by students of Finnish Language at the University of Helsinki. It therefore does not meet the criteria of a corpus since it is not a principled collection.

both from the Finnic branch), the rest Indo-European (Danish, Dutch, English, German and Swedish from the Germanic branch; French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish from the Romance branch).

A sample of even this size is difficult to study using comparable corpora. For one thing, it is difficult to find extra-linguistically comparable contexts in a large number of cultures. Registers are cultural entities: to illustrate, parliamentary speeches might seem comparable across cultures, yet they may in fact occupy rather different niches, depending on political and rhetorical cultures, for instance. When the number of languages increases, these sorts of contingencies increase.

Another problem is the resource-intensiveness of comparable corpus studies. Typically, comparable corpora are used when the number of languages is low, usually at most three. The few studies that go beyond that (e.g. Stivers et al. 2009) are team efforts, which was not a possibility for my dissertation.

A comparable corpus study of contrastive negation will shed light on the possible contexts of use for such constructions. It may be, for instance, that certain languages shy away from contrastive negation because of its potentially face-threatening nature, or they may particularly favour it because it permits the direct expression of disagreements. Such questions were not the focus of Article IV. Because of this, I found that a parallel corpus offered a suitable methodological basis.

As my dataset, I use the Europarl corpus (Koehn 2005), which represents proceedings of the European Parliament. All proceedings are translated into all official European Union languages, and as official documents, all these translations are freely available. I accessed the corpus through the OPUS interface (Tiedemann 2012);³⁷ a supplementary search was made through the Language Bank of Finland's Korp interface.

In practice, I reiterated the search for raw data that I had done for Article I on a random subset of the English Europarl data. This was used as a starting point for getting to the contrastive negation constructions of the other languages in the study (cf. Gast 2015). The resulting dataset was then annotated similarly to Article II, although the final set of codes was modified to some extent. Again, multiple correspondence analysis was used to produce a graphical representation of the dataset, and the constructs of the individual languages were plotted on this. This graphical representation functioned as a kind of probabilistic semantic map of contrastive negation as it is used in the European Parliament (Croft & Poole 2008; van der Auwera 2013). This map allowed me to see fine-grained differences in the use of analogous or otherwise closely related constructions across languages.

Article IV sets the findings of this dissertation in a broader cross-linguistic context in two ways. On the one hand, I relate my findings to what we know about the domains of negation and correctiveness from a typological point of view. On the other hand, I look at my data from an areal perspective. European languages have repeatedly been found to form a linguistic area or *Sprachbund* called Standard Average European (Haspelmath 2001; van der Auwera 2011). The core of this *Sprachbund* is in what van der Auwera (1998: 824–825; cited in van der Auwera 2011: 297) has called the Charlemagne *Sprachbund*, a linguistic area within a linguistic area comprising French and German. The origin of Standard Average European is probably in the great migrations in Western Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, but the political, social, cultural, economic and, by extension, linguistic contacts in

³⁷ I thank Jörg Tiedemann for his generous technical assistance.

the area have remained strong ever since, giving rise to further shared features. One shared cultural and linguistic influence that may have played a role in the formation of contrastive negation constructions is Latin translations.

4.5 SUMMARY

This dissertation considers contrastive negation both in one language and cross-linguistically. The methodological approaches that I employ are corpus linguistics and interactional linguistics. Both of these methods are compatible with the usage-based theoretical stance of the dissertation, though they highlight different aspects of it: Corpus linguistics is prototypically quantitative, interactional linguistics qualitative. Corpus linguistics approaches language as a product, interactional linguistics as a process. Both of these claims are broad generalisations: just as there is qualitative and process-oriented corpus linguistics, there is also quantitative and product-oriented interactional linguistics.

The articles of this dissertation build on one another. Article I is corpus-driven: it explores the domain of contrastive negation with as few pre-conceptions as possible. Based on the understanding it provided me with, I chose six constructional schemas as the empirical focus for Article II, which is corpus-based, combining as it does corpus methods with theoretical concerns. Article III also builds on Article I in that it develops the analysis of spoken language started in it. Through a comparison with Finnish, it shows that the results of Article I are specific to English: the two languages organise their contrastive negation construct-i-cons quite differently. In particular, the strategy used in combining the affirmative and negative parts of the constructs is a locus of cross-linguistic (as well as intra-linguistic) variation. Because of this observation, I built the larger cross-linguistic study in Article IV around the combination strategies, which turned out to show quite a lot of variation, sometimes in unexpected ways. Article IV also builds on Article II since it uses a similar quantitative methodology.

This is the end of Part I, in which I set out to state my research questions and aims, describe contrastive negation as a phenomenon as the previous literature has described it, argued for my own theoretical position towards it, and characterised my methodological choices. This paves the way for Part II, which is the meat of this dissertation: the four original studies on contrastive negation.

PART II. STUDIES

PART III. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9 DISCUSSION

At the beginning of this dissertation, I set out to answer the following research questions:

- (i) What are the different forms of contrastive negation?
- (ii) What factors are associated with the use of which forms?
- (iii) What pragmatic functions does contrastive negation have?

I shall now summarise the answers to the questions, proceeding by article. I shall also comment on the articles from a methodological and theoretical point of view.

9.1 SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND EVALUATION OF ARTICLES

9.1.1 ARTICLE I

Article I investigated English Contrastive Negation in newspaper discourse and casual conversation. It had a double goal: first, to explore the forms of contrastive negation in these two datasets, and second, to find out if and how these registers and, in the case of newspapers, their sub-registers differ. The first of these goals relates to research question 1 (on the forms of contrastive negation). The second goal relates to research question 2 (on factors affecting construction choice) to the extent that there are register differences in the usage of contrastive negation. It also contributes to research question 3 (on pragmatic functions) in that the differences in the relative frequency of contrastive negation in different sub-corpora can be related to functional differences among the genres.

I have already summarised the answers that Article I provides to research question 1 in section 2.2.2. and thus will not repeat them here in full. What I did not focus on in that section is the relationship between the semantic types of contrastive negation and the constructions that appear in the data. All combinations of constructional schema and semantic type appear in either of the datasets, even if some of those combinations were shown to be likelier than others. These findings foreshadowed Article II.

As to research question 2, Article I's main finding is that casual conversation has a very different way of doing contrastive negation than newspaper writing in English. The combination of two full clauses (McCawley's 'expanded' construction) with the negative before the affirmative is prevalent in conversation. While this is in line with the overall preference for asyndetic coordination in spoken English as well as other languages, it is somewhat surprising as the conjunction *but* is actually not that uncommon in speech (Biber et al. 1999: 81–83). Therefore, it is the [*not X but Y*] schema that bears a rather formal style, not merely the conjunction itself.³⁸ In addition, in Article I, I found that the semantic types are unequally represented in speech writing: the spoken data mostly contains replacives, while also additives and restrictives are common in writing. Of course, English has a plethora of other constructions to express additivity and restriction, many of which are

³⁸ Interestingly, the reverse is true for the subordinator *kun* in the [*ei X kun Y*] construction in Finnish, which was investigated in Article III: as noted in that article, *kun* is a very frequent and semantically versatile conjunction in all registers of Finnish but its corrective use is exclusive to very informal contexts.

common in speech. In all likelihood, contrastive negation constructions compete not just among themselves but also against other constructions, a fact that also came up in Article IV.

Article I also contributes towards answering research question 3 by showing that contrastive negation is unequally distributed among the sub-registers of newspaper discourse. The sub-corpus that includes editorials and letters-to-the-editor contains the highest proportion of contrastive negation constructions, while such sub-registers as sports writing contain much less of it. On the basis of this, I argued in Article I that, perhaps unsurprisingly, contrastive negation is an argumentative construction type: it can be used to establish the writer's or speaker's stance. In Article I as well as in section 2.3.1. in Part I, I have argued that contrastive negation is emblematic of the generally contrasting nature of negation, which can be described in terms of the two mental spaces that negation creates (Hidalgo-Downing 2000; Verhagen 2005; Sweetser 2006). The fact that it can express stance is also not surprising, since this has also been shown to be the case for sentential negation in general (Dancygier 2012).

Evaluation. Article I was the first that I wrote for this dissertation. While my focus on contrastive negation has remained constant, my understanding of the domain has evolved somewhat over the process of writing. In addition, there are some methodological choices as well as analytical decisions that I changed when using the same dataset in Article III.

I have already discussed the changes in what I have included in the descriptive category of contrastive negation along the way in section 2.1.2. Methodologically, I strove for total accountability of the data that I had collected. In other words, I aimed to describe the corpus as it appeared to me, without omissions (cf. e.g. Sinclair 2004). However, there were some cases that could have been left out without sacrificing the corpus-linguistic accountability of the study. For example, there is a small subset of spoken data in Article I that includes a person reading aloud a textbook. In writing Article III, I discarded such instances as they do not represent the topic of interest, the grammar of casual conversation. The differences in data collection and analysis notwithstanding, the English datasets in Articles I and III have very similar proportions of the kinds of constructions.

9.1.2 ARTICLE II

Article II took the newspaper data of Article I to look more deeply into the reasons for choosing one constructional schema over the other alternatives. It is thus about research question 2, i.e. the factors that affect construction choice. The notion of 'constructional schema' rather than simply 'construction' was preferred since these are abstract patterns and it is not clear if they are so abstract as to not be directly represented in a language user's mental construct-i-con as such. The article focused on the six most frequent schemas. The dataset was further constrained by only allowing cases in which the contrast was at constituent level. This was to only consider cases in which all of the schemas were in principle usable.

Article II considered seven variables (semantic type, target of negation, negator, weight, focus structure, activation, genre/sub-register). These variables were ones that previous research on either contrastive negation or other similar construction families has argued to affect construction choice. These were used in two kinds of analysis. First, I considered them

individually. Second, I employed multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to see whether the patterning of these variables could show the differences and similarities among the constructional schemas. When considered individually, the variables showed skewing, much of which was expected. The constructional schemas followed the end-weight principle: negative-first schemas had heavier affirmative parts while the situation was reverse for negative-second schemas. In addition, the [*Y not X*] schema favoured balanced contrasts with no weight difference. The ‘expanded’ schemas as well as [*not X but Y*] allowed predicate foci to be contrasted, while the other constructional schemas did not. Additivity preferred the [*not X but Y*] schema, restrictiveness the [*not X, Y*] schema. The only unexpected result at this stage was that activation was not a statistically significant predictor; this runs somewhat counter to results obtained in Article III.

When considered in MCA, the schemas differ in terms of their centroids: in other words, the prototypes of the schemas are mostly apart, with the exception of the negative-second schemas, which patterned in very similar ways. However, a multinomial logistic regression analysis showed that the dimensions of MCA were not very good predictors of construction choice. Thus, the schemas overlap even if their centroids might differ (and especially if the centroids do not differ). There are tendencies for certain kinds of cases to receive a particular kind of constructional coding, but these tendencies are partly overlapping and do not explain constructional choice fully.

Evaluation. How can we interpret the results of the study? First, let us note that by constraining the dataset by only considering constituent-size contrasts, I omitted a potentially significant predictor of construction choice. This choice was made to avoid ‘knock-outs’ in the analysis (i.e. cells with zero). While avoiding such cases is desirable in some statistical methods, it was not strictly necessary here, and indeed this was not done in Article IV, in which a similar research design was also used. While including the non-constituent-level contrast cases would probably have bolstered the statistical modelling somewhat, I do not really think it solves the issue: the overlap among the schemas is still there, even if we take in cases that do not have it.

A multivariate study is only as good as the set of variables that it considers. I have considered those variables that the literature suggests might be relevant for contrastive negation, either because they are mentioned in the literature on contrastive negation itself or because studies on similar construction types have used them. A challenge in this has been the relative lack of literature on the differences among the constructions. It may be that there are variables that I have not considered and which would help explain the variation among contrastive negation constructions better than the ones that I have considered. This is a matter for future research to resolve.

An issue not discussed in Article II is the explicitness of the connection between the negative and affirmative parts of a construction. According to Rohdenburg’s (1996: 151) Complexity Principle, ‘[i]n the case of more or less complex grammatical options the more explicit one(s) will tend to be favoured in cognitively more complex environments’. The English Finite Object Complement Clause construction, for instance, has two variants: with and without the complementiser *that* (*We know (that) cats are quite burdensome*). The variant with *that* is the more explicit one and, in agreement with the Complexity Principle, it is associated with more complex environments, such as cases in which an adverb intervenes between the main clause and the complement (*He told me yesterday (that) John*

had gone away; Rohdenburg 1996: 160–161). In the case of contrastive negation, the Complexity Principle would predict that the [*not X but Y*] and [*Y and not X*] schemas would be favoured over their asyndetic rivals in complex environments, such as when at least one of the conjoins is very long. I find this hypothesis plausible but testing it is left for future studies.³⁹

The findings in this article concern macro-level constructions. This contrasts with much constructional research that suggests that constructions are mostly stored at low levels of generalisation, and the higher-level macro-constructions may not be psychologically real entities at all. Indeed, in Article II, some of the variation among the constructional schemas is unaccounted for. We still know relatively little about the lower levels of the constructional hierarchy in contrastive negation in any language. I hope that future studies will consider lower-level patternings in this domain. My own interpretation is that the constructional schemas are semantically very abstract, if they exist in language users' mental construct-i-cons at all. I expect that there are more robust differences at lower levels of the contrastive negation construct-i-con. This view is based on other studies on contrastive negation and related constructions (Horn 2000; see also Articles I and III) as well as research on other construction types (Boas 2003; Perek 2014; 2015).

9.1.3 ARTICLE III

Article III compared contrastive negation in English and Finnish casual conversation. The languages were chosen on the basis of, first, the author's language skills and, second, their position on opposite sides of the divide between languages that do and do not make a distinction between PA (adversative) and SN (corrective) conjunctions. Rather than consider contrastive negation constructions holistically, I opted for a decompositional approach in Article III by employing the notion of constructional strategy. I also related the strategies to various discourse functions found in the two datasets. Article III thus contributes to all three research questions.

As to research question 1, Article III deepened the description of the contrastive negation constructions of English, and it provided a comparable analysis of Finnish, an unrelated and typologically different language. Many of the details have been discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of the introductory Part I and thus will not be revisited at this stage. Let us note, however, that English and Finnish can be described along broadly analogous lines: the same constructional parameters work for both of them. However, the usage patterns differ, as Finnish is more accepting of syndetic forms of contrastive negation even in speech.

Research questions 2 and 3 need to be handled in reverse order since in Article III it was shown that pragmatic functions partially motivate the choice of the constructional strategies. Following Linell (2009), I made a distinction between reactive and non-reactive uses of contrastive negation. Especially the reactive uses could be divided into several action types, most of which are familiar from previous literature in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics. Reactively, contrastive negation can do repair and disagreement, of course, but also rhetorically loaded re-orientation and plain question-answering. Non-reactively, it may be used to aid the hearer to understand a statement from a scalar point of view or to seek alignment with them.

³⁹ I thank Martin Hilpert for pointing out the connection between Complexity Principle and contrastive negation.

The fact that the same construction is used for both disagreement and alignment-seeking might seem paradoxical. However, this is perfectly typical for intersubjective construction types, of which contrastive negation is one. For example, Hilpert and Bourgeois (2018) find similar leeway in the use of what they call the ‘sarcastic *much?*’ construction in English, which can be used for both confrontation and solidarity with the hearer (see also Hilpert 2017: 227–234).

I showed that the constructions are often formatted to show whether they are used reactively or not. Thus, contrastive negation was shown to be a locus of ‘positionally sensitive grammar’ (Schegloff 1996a) in which sequential position and grammatical formatting are intertwined. Factors associated with reactivity include minimal negative clauses as part of a negative-first clause combination as well as sub-clausal negation in the first part of a bipartite contrastive negation construct. Factors associated with non-reactiveness include the construct being negative-second as well as fully clausal in both of its parts. Such findings can be explained through processing factors (Hawkins 2004) and, along with the frequency information on the various strategies of contrastive negation expression, they in turn help explain cross-linguistic regularities in the marking of contrastive negation, in particular the preference of corrective conjunctions for the negative-first rather than the negative-second strategy.

Evaluation. Article III operates on a smaller scale than the previous two studies. This enabled me to conduct a more micro-level analysis, which was necessary to uncover the forms and functions of contrastive negation. At the same time, the schematicity of contrastive negation poses for some problems for such analysis. Schematicity entails semantic and pragmatic generality, which shows in the rather large number of actions that contrastive negation can do as well as in the number of cases in which a specific action type is difficult to recognise. The former problem concerned particularly the reactive category, the latter the non-reactive one. In addition, some of the formal categories were quite rare, especially in the comparatively small Finnish dataset.

Reactivity is also not an exhaustive explanatory factor for strategy choice in either language. For example, the choice between an asyndetic clause combination and the [*ei X vaan Y*] construction is not accounted for by it.

9.1.4 ARTICLE IV

In Article IV, I took elements from the previous three studies and used them to extend the cross-linguistic coverage of my dissertation into 11 Western European languages. I performed a similar data collection procedure to Article I but this time on Europarl, I conducted a statistical analysis similar to Article II, and I focused on the nature of clause combining following the results of Article III. Article IV answers questions 1 and 2, on forms and the factors that explain them.

For research question 1, the most important findings in Article IV concerned corrective conjunctions. Correctives turned out to be a varied group even among western European literary languages. In addition to the distinction between dedicated SN (e.g. German *sondern*, Finnish *vaan*) and more general PA/SN conjunctions (e.g. English *but*, French *mais*), we may make further distinctions. For example, while most corrective conjunctions are used in a broad range of contrastive negation cases, others are functionally restricted

(e.g. Italian *bensì* for replatives, Portuguese *como* for additives; at this point, we may note Finnish *kun* for reactives from Article III). Article IV also brought to the fore ways of expressing contrastive negation that had not been examined systematically in the earlier articles, chief among them the use of a discourse particle to reinforce a correctively used adversative conjunction (as in Portuguese *mas sim*). In addition, Article IV showed that contrastive negation competes with other domains and that some languages have constructions that are closely related to it, such as the [*paitsi X myös Y*] ‘except X also Y’ construction in Finnish.

Correctives were also found to have a strong bond with additive constructions, a fact that is often overlooked or at the very least downplayed in studies on corrective coordination. This is the key finding as to research question 2 in Article IV. Although the set of variables was not entirely identical to that used in Article II, the MCA analyses in Article IV showed a rather similar picture: additivity is related to syndetic negative-first coordination and negative-second cases form a group in which the syndetic and asyndetic variants are not very distinct.

Another factor that affects the choice of a constructional strategy might appear trivial: the language being investigated. Article IV’s findings suggest that there is areal and/or genealogical patterning in contrastive negation which is consistent with the idea of Standard Average European and the Charlemagne Sprachbund.

Evaluation. Because of its cross-linguistic focus, Article IV necessarily has a narrower focus than the other studies reported here. On the other hand, the cross-linguistic coverage is restricted to languages that the author speaks or whose structures he can understand with the aid of parallel data. For these reasons, Article IV merely scratches the surface of the typological variability of contrastive negation constructions. It does not consider parameters of constructional strategies beyond the nature of linking and the order of the contrasted elements. I hope that future studies will be able to consider a wider range of languages, including (but not limited to) the Slavonic languages that cut up the domain of additive, adversative and corrective coordination differently from the languages of Western Europe.

Furthermore, Article IV is limited by the register that it considers. Contrastive studies of register variation are an important and interesting topic especially in a domain like contrastive negation, which Article I showed to be sensitive to register effects. Thus, in addition to its empirical observations, Article IV functions as a proof of concept for the corpus-based cross-linguistic study of contrastive negation and similar pragmatic construction types.

9.2 DISCUSSION

9.2.1 EMPIRICAL DISCUSSION

In the introduction, I set myself the empirical aim of finding out how contrastive negation behaves in various kinds of corpus data. This meant finding out about the forms that exist in each language variety as well as about their distribution and patterning with other variables. In this section on empirical conclusions, I shall discuss the factors shaping the grammars of contrastive negation.

Genre and mode. I have looked at contrastive negation in writing (newspaper discourse in Articles I and II), speech (English conversation in Articles I and III, and Finnish conversation in Article III) and written-to-be-spoken discourse (parliamentary speeches in Article IV). One of the most striking aspects of the results is how much the grammars of informal speech and writing seem to differ. These differences do not only pertain to the constructions or constructional strategies used but extend to the motivating factors behind language users' choices. In the analysis of the written data in Article II, the one variable that did not have a significant effect on construction choice was givenness: contrastive negation does not seem to be responsive to whether the negated element is mentioned in the immediately prior discourse context or not. By contrast, in Article III, I found that in both English and Finnish, there are constructional strategies that show specialisation for reactive contexts, in which contrastive negation is used to repeat words mentioned previously and take a stand against them. This of course is an environment where the negated element is highly given.

In one of the early seminal studies on information structure, Prince (1981) notes that it is far easier to analyse the givenness of referents in speech than in writing. This may be connected to the different temporalities of these two modes. Spoken communication is ephemeral and does not allow the hearer to go back and forth. This means that the speaker may need to make a more active effort to keep the hearer on track with what or who is being referred to at any given moment. Written communication can afford to make less explicit connections as the reader can in most cases work out the relations between text segments and the extralinguistic context at their own leisure.

A second difference between speech and writing concerns the semantic types. In newspaper writing and written-to-be-spoken political speeches, the additive and restrictive types accounted for much of the variation (with the exception of restrictives in political speeches, as they were extremely infrequent in them). In conversation, the vast majority of the cases were replacive. This suggests that the semantic types differ in terms of their interactivity: at least additives may be related to a monological style that is concerned with an internally coherent argumentation favoured in the relatively solemn and informative political discourse of the European parliament. This is a major use of corrective conjunctions, but despite the name of this class of conjunctions, true correctivity seems to be almost absent from additives: the viewpoint that is negated in a typical instance of the [*not only X but also Y*] construction is often not explicitly espoused by anyone in the discourse context or perhaps even in the discourse-external world. Such textual functions were only touched upon in this dissertation, but they may prove to be an interesting avenue of research in the future.

On the methodological plane, I hope to have shown the usefulness of considering contrastive negation in various types of discourse. Casual conversation allows the analyst to consider the sociality of language use, which motivates many of the constructional choices made by my speakers. Newspaper discourse enabled me to look at language used for various related functions, from evaluation (art reviews) and argumentation (letters to the editor) to narrative (sport news). Parliamentary discourse provided me with a wealth of translated data, a point to which I will return below. This plurality of data sources allows us to see more clearly the way in which grammar adapts to and helps create the social context of language users.

Synchrony and diachrony. In the European languages that I studied in this dissertation, the set of contrastive negation constructions is rather similar. To some extent, this follows from shared ancestry. In particular, Germanic languages were very similar to one another in the parallel corpus study of Article IV, and French, the most Germanic of the Romance languages, also patterned in the same way. At the same time, findings from this dissertation as well as from previous research suggest that more is at play.

Matthiessen and Thompson defend the hypothesis that ‘[c]lause combining in grammar has evolved as a grammaticalization of the rhetorical units in discourse defined by rhetorical relations’ (1988: 301). While I would not describe all forms of contrastive negation as clause combining as they do not involve clauses, I think that the hypothesis is apt for contrastive negation and the rhetorical relation of antithesis. Contrastive negation is antithesis by negation. The more frequent kinds of contrastive negation, the negative-first ones, are more likely to develop their own, corrective, conjunctions, as I argue in Article III.

An important part of the cross-linguistic similarity concerns the additive constructions with a correctively used conjunction, such as [*not only X but also Y*]. This class of expressions seems to go back to at least Latin. That it should be so widespread in European languages, with even the relatively remote and unrelated Estonian and Finnish having an analogous form, testifies to the fact that language is a product of cultural evolution: a fragment of Latin rhetoric has spread across Europe and survives in variously modified language-specific constructions even today. On the other hand, given that even closely related languages (e.g. Dutch and German, Portuguese and Spanish) differ in terms of their conjunction inventories, the historical processes related to the emergence and propagation of corrective conjunctions are interesting and surprisingly badly known. From a diachronic perspective, perhaps the most widely studied case is the French corrective *ains*, which disappeared from the language quite rapidly by early 17th century (e.g. Melander 1916; Antoine 1952; see also Horn 1989: 406–407 and the references cited therein). Its fall may have been precipitated by its competition with *mais* ‘but’ on one hand, *plutôt* ‘rather’ on the other (cf. Hansen 2018).

Another rapid development that has been noted in the languages studied in this dissertation is the case of *vaan* in Finnish. In the early 19th century, Finnish dialects generally did not make a functional distinction between *mutta* ‘but_{ADV}’ and *vaan* ‘but_{CORR}’. Rather, the conjunctions were in what Ikola, Palomäki and Koitto (1989: 54–55) characterise as ‘free variation’ but with the meaning of present-day *mutta*. Western dialects preferred *mutta*, some eastern dialects *vaan*. Those dialects that did make a PA/SN distinction had *kun* as the SN conjunction. By the end of the 19th century, the standard language had adopted the current distinction between *mutta* and *vaan* as a result of language contact, though the distinction did not enter all dialects at that time (Hakulinen 1955: 309; Ikola, Palomäki & Koitto 1989: 57). Some Finnish speakers still find the distinction challenging: the Finnish Language Office of the Institute for the Languages of Finland occasionally receives questions about it from the general public (Riitta Korhonen, personal communication).

Returning to findings made in this dissertation, I hope that the differences and similarities found among the languages that I have studied will inspire future research on the trajectories of change in corrective conjunctions and contrastive negation more

generally. In particular, we know little about [*not only X but also Y*] and its analogues both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective.

9.2.2 METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

The methodological aims of this dissertation were to see how contrastive negation could be studied inductively, without strictly pre-determined syntactic categories and how this approach could be extended from one language to a cross-linguistic corpus-based study of constructional variation.

It has become relatively widely accepted that language-internal variation and typological variation follow the same principles (e.g. Du Bois 1985; Hawkins 2004). This principle is accepted across the formalism/functionalist divide, although the theoretical conclusions drawn from it differ, sometimes drastically. Especially in the domain of negation, it has been frequently noted that dialect variation follows typological variation patterns both in English (Anderwald 2002; 2003; Anderwald & Kortmann 2002; Bresnan, Deo & Sharma 2007) and in other languages (Miestamo 2011; van der Auwera, De Cuypere & Neuckermans 2006). Conversely, dialects offer typology a source of data that may be more representative than standardised varieties, which may have common features caused by standardisation itself. Anderwald and Kortmann (2002: 159) argue that taking such inter-relationships between various types of variation into account would further ‘the ideal of a unified approach to the study of variation in language, be it historical, cross-linguistic or language-internal’. I would like to argue that even other kinds of language-internal variation than dialectology can be usefully added to the approach advocated by Anderwald and Kortmann. From this perspective, even Article I is cross-varietal, although the different varieties do not come from different areas but from different modalities used in the same speech community: the article shows that the constructional means for expressing contrastive negation in casual conversation and newspaper writing are different in a way that in a cross-linguistic study would be called a typological difference between a variety that uses syndesis to express correctivity and one that does not (Lehmann 1988: 210–213).

The cross-linguistic work reported in Articles III and IV was in many ways dependent on the language-specific work of Articles I and II. Article III used partly the same dataset as Article I. Article IV used the same approach to data collection as Article I and the same approach to data analysis as Article II. In Article IV, English was used as an ‘anchor’ language (to use a metaphor from Gast 2015): while this incurs the cost of Anglocentricity, it also means that the research design is transparent and controlled.

The analysis of cross-linguistic patterns was also supported by the language-specific studies. The notion of strategy, which is explicitly employed in Articles III and IV, is an outgrowth of Articles I and II. It developed from my wish to describe the constructional patterns of English in a data-driven way. Being confronted with a cross-linguistic dataset forced me to be even more data-driven than I had been in my earlier articles about English. In fact, I wish I had employed the parameters and strategies of Article III already in Article I. Especially the analysis of the English [*not X but Y*] construction would have benefited from a separation into clausal and sub-clausal coordination. Now, an analysis along these lines must wait for future research.

Constructional variation can be studied both at the micro-level of very specific constructions or constructional strategies and at the macro-level of constructional schemas.

In this dissertation, I have combined the micro and the macro, finding generalisations on constructional variation from both. I recommend such an approach for future studies of schematic construction types.

9.2.3 THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

From a theoretical point of view, my aim was to account for contrastive negation from a usage-based, constructional perspective. On one hand, this tested construction grammar, a theory sometimes accused of sticking to a comfort zone consisting of a few pet phenomena. On the other hand, contrastive negation may have something to give to the theory. In this section, I discuss the relationship between construction grammar and contrastive negation. I also discuss the metalinguistic negation and its role in the theoretical understanding of contrastive negation.

Contrastive negation and construction grammar. My starting point has been that contrastive negation is a group of conventionalised form/meaning pairings. While these pairings are schematic and probably do not have frame-semantic content of their own, I have sought to find differences among the forms, assuming that natural language avoids full synonymy between different forms. Such differences were to be found not only at the level of information structure and discourse pragmatics but also semantic type.

Construction grammar is best known for the analysis of argument structure constructions (Goldberg 1995; 2006; Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004; Boas 2003; Perek 2015). Many of the theoretical and even methodological debates centre around the English Ditransitive or Resultative constructions or the *way*-construction. While the CxG picture of argument structure is by no means complete (e.g. Müller 2018; Rostila 2018), such constructions form a comfort zone for the approach, which may limit theoretical progress (Hilpert 2014).⁴⁰

Contrary to the study of idiomatic expressions that makes up much if not most of the CxG literature, contrastive negation represents the kind of constructions that have traditionally been considered quite amenable to rule-based treatments: negation is a very regular construction, as is coordination, and the more special patterns (e.g. [*not X but Y*] and [*Y not X*]) can be accounted for by mechanisms like gapping and focusing.

When I began this investigation, I assumed that the contrastive negation construct-i-con would be essentially an extended version of McCawley's (1991: 190) list. The reality turned out to be more complicated. As my work progressed, I became increasingly reluctant to posit constructions of contrastive negation, preferring to state the generalisations in my data in terms of strategies, which are intended as language-independent and not psychologically real, and which are therefore comparative concepts (see Croft 2016 for discussion). What is clear is that there is an intricate construction network below such general schemas as [*not X but Y*].

⁴⁰ Perennial favourites outside of argument structure include prepositional object constructions (Gries 2003; Cappelle 2006) and the English Comparative Correlative Construction (Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988; Culicover & Jackendoff 1999).

One example of the difficulty of determining the correct grain size in contrastive negation constructions is the responsive use of minimal negative clauses as the first part of a contrastive negation construct. This pattern is exemplified in English and Finnish:

(124) she weren't, she were looking for a pencil so she could rub it out (BNC: KCX)

(125) *ei ne enää oo, ne on tota, ne on semmossii*
 NEG.3SG they anymore be.CNG they be.3SG PART they be.3SG such.PL.PRT
parikymppisiä
 twenty.something.PL.PRT
 'they aren't ((teenagers)) anymore, they are, like, they are twenty-somethings'
 (CAA: SG437_050_060)

Such constructs appear very regularly in my spoken data when the case is reactive, in particular other than Self-repair. They would thus be a good candidate for a relatively micro-level member of the contrastive negation family. On the other hand, minimal clauses are established constructions in their own right. Construction grammar does not directly help me to solve the question of whether such constructs are a separate construction or a unification of a clause+clause combination and a minimal clausal reaction. On the other hand, it does at least show the potential ways in which language users may come to entrench such patterns. It is thus an empirical matter to which way language users swing, and not all of them necessarily swing the same way. The theory thus does not preclude either option, but it does allow for a description of both.

I have mostly shied away from making very concrete proposals about the precise shape of the network of contrastive negation constructions in English, Finnish or any of the other languages studied in this dissertation. A full picture of the network must await in-depth studies of the more micro-level parts of the network, such as the class of additives (see Silvennoinen 2019 for an initial attempt at this). One difficulty in making claims about the nodes in the network is that many of the constructions are quite compositional. For instance, the restrictive variant of the [*not X but Y*] schema, [*not X but only Y*], would seem to unify the semantics of the schema and the exclusive particle. A possible counterargument might come from lexical links between the constructional schema and the specific exclusive particle: in the preliminary corpus study reported in Silvennoinen (2019), it is noted that the [*not EXCL X but Y*] construction is attracted to *only*, which in turns contributes a meaning that is not entirely compositional and syntactic behaviour that is quite idiosyncratic (see also Horn 2000).

Not all the constructional schemas of contrastive negation are psychologically real, at least for all constructs that would theoretically instantiate them. A particularly likely example of this is the English sub-clausal [*not X, Y*] schema. Two relatively representative examples of the schema are given in (126) and (127):

(126) 'It's **not hard** work,' she says, '**just constant**.' (BNC)

(127) [...] But then she said you get erm ... you put it on and you get a brush and er **not a brush, a roller**. (BNC)

Example (126) includes a restrictive construct that seems to be quite typical. In it, the restrictive adverb *just* functions much like a conjunction although, as pointed out in Article II, it does not seem to have fully grammaticalized into a conjunction. Another typical case is given in (127), which is replacive and functions as Self-repair in conversational data. While both of these may be said to instantiate the sub-clausal [*not X, Y*] strategy, I am doubtful that this strategy is actually psychologically real in the sense of being a cognitive representation that would cover both (126) and (127). Thus, in this case, I would posit two lower-level constructions without a parent schema.

Metalinguistic negation. Contrastive negation has often been treated as almost synonymous with metalinguistic negation. Closer to the mark have been accounts that have sought to divide cases of contrastive negation into descriptive and metalinguistic ones, as well as those that have been clear about the conceptual independence of contrastive and metalinguistic negation from one another. Yet, the assumption that underlies most of the discussion is that, in the domain of negation and polarity, there is a special relationship between the contrastive and metalinguistic kinds.

From the data studied in this dissertation, we may conclude that the special relationship of contrastive negation and metalinguistic negation is special only for metalinguistic negation. Very few cases in my data are metalinguistic. The act of recycling a previous utterance's words, negating them and offering a truth-conditionally equivalent affirmative in their stead is simply not something speakers and writers engage in very often. Without wishing to question the widespread interest in metalinguistic negation nor its potential for shedding light on the semantics/pragmatics divide, I submit that in order to understand contrastive negation, we need to look elsewhere.

My understanding of the pragmatics of contrastive negation is based on the notion of intersubjectivity. I see contrastive negation constructions as more or less conventionalised ways of managing, seeking and creating common ground with the interlocutor(s). However, intersubjectivity is a broad notion and thus I have broken it down in my analysis to reactive and non-reactive ways to use contrastive negation. These uses were in turn shown to correlate with the constructional strategies of expressing contrastive negation in ways that are in line with previous research on reactive and other responsive actions. This allows us to see contrastive negation in its proper context, among the constructional affordances of reactivity and intersubjectivity.

My approach might be seen as a return to Ducrot's polemic negation. However, I would be wary of equating polemic negation with reactive negation. Polemic negation is a wide notion that also includes the denial of accessible but not expressed ideas. Thus, it comes closer to Givón's and Tottie's conceptions of negation as a pragmatically presuppositional construction type that may target explicitly expressed ideas but does not need to. The notion of reactivity, in turn, is related to a conversation-analytic methodology: a construct is reactive if it explicitly *reacts to* something in the discourse context. Accordingly, reactivity is uncovered through sequential analysis.

Metalinguistic negation has been a central issue in attempts to draw a clear line between semantics and pragmatics. My approach has been to naturalise the pragmatic analysis of contrastive negation: I have tried to use notions that have relatively wide applicability in constructional pragmatics, such as reactivity, alignment and intersubjectivity. By not treating contrastive negation as a special, 'metalinguistic' case, I have tried to see what is

really special about it and its various forms. I think that there are advantages to not starting from metalinguistic negation when characterising contrastive negation, and perhaps the chief among them is that this avoids placing a hard-and-fast boundary between semantics and pragmatics, where the reality is more likely to be a continuum between the fully conventional and the entirely contextual. This is the view taken in cognitive linguistics and many other branches of usage-based linguistics. I now try to evaluate my dissertation in terms of how it succeeds as a part of these approaches.

9.3 EVALUATION OF THE DISSERTATION: ‘COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS’S SEVEN DEADLY SINS’

This dissertation falls under cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics is a part of the usage-based paradigm that emphasises the description of semantics and the role of language as one part of cognition rather than a separate module (Croft & Cruse 2004). Dąbrowska (2016) has argued that cognitive linguists routinely commit ‘seven deadly sins’. To evaluate this dissertation, I shall look into Dąbrowska’s list of sins to see how my studies stack up against them.

The first sin, ‘**excessive reliance on introspection**’, refers to the practice of basing entire studies on the intuitions of the author (or an indeterminate number of colleagues or friends) rather than corpus or experimental data. The practice is particularly notable within the first generation of cognitive linguists (Langacker 1986; 1987; 1991; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1980). While common in many other parts of linguistics as well, this practice does not sit well with the usage-based thesis which cognitive linguistics is supposed to follow. It does not work well for those aspects of cognition that are below the level of conscious attention, and even for those that are above it, introspection may produce results that are unreliable, or which may not be representative of the speech community (Dąbrowska 2016: 481). In short, introspection is seldom good for uncovering the kinds of phenomena in which cognitive linguists are interested.

Previous research on contrastive negation has suffered from the problems Dąbrowska mentions. Many studies are based on introspective or anecdotal data, and the judgements are frequently uncertain or even demonstrably false. This dissertation has tried to ameliorate this situation by anchoring all four studies on corpus data. In some respects, this has allowed me to go beyond what the previous studies have been able to, in particular as to the division of labour among the various constructions in the languages studied.

The second sin, ‘**not treating the Cognitive Commitment seriously**’ refers to Lakoff’s commitment to make cognitive linguistics compatible with what we know about cognition from other disciplines. In practice, few cognitive linguists refer to the literature on cognitive psychology, for instance, and even fewer conduct psycholinguistic experiments to support their claims.⁴¹ Notably, claims about how and from what vantage point speakers construe scenes are often made without independent evidence, leading to circular argumentation: ‘Construction X has properties Y because [it] involves construal Z. How do we know that it involves construal Z? Because it has properties Y.’ (Dąbrowska 2016: 482.)

⁴¹ In some ways, this mirrors the situation in early sociolinguistics, which has been faulted for not taking sociological research results, methodology and theorising seriously enough.

This dissertation falls for this second sin insofar as it includes no psycholinguistic experimentation and admittedly few references to psycholinguistics (and none to cognitive psychology). I do, however, relate my claims about the behaviour of contrastive negation to psycholinguistic studies on negatives (e.g. Giora et al. 2005; Kaup, Lüdtke & Zwaan 2006) and on the nature of the construct-i-con (e.g. Bencini & Goldberg 2000; Perek 2012). This has helped me to explain some of my findings and to relate them to what we know about other construction types. Thus, I would argue that while I do not practise the virtue of psycholinguistic experimentation, I do not actively commit sins against it either. In the future, psycholinguistic and other kinds of experimentation might be beneficial in studying some of the fine details of contrastive negation constructions.

The third sin, '**not enough serious hypothesis testing**', is connected to the previous one: cognitive linguists treat the cognitive reality of their claims as hypotheses to be confirmed by others but neglect to formulate those claims in sufficient detail for that testing to take place. This sin is connected to wider issues in the use of quantitative methods in linguistics. The statistical analysis in this dissertation is either descriptive or exploratory. I have not formulated strictly testable hypotheses, although some informal hypotheses guided the choice of variables in Article II. Exploratory and confirmatory analysis are different stages of inquiry. Because of the paucity of previous empirical studies on contrastive negation, I have opted for exploratory analysis in much of this thesis. Some of my results are amenable for controlled experiments (e.g. does the acceptability of the constructions change if we make either the negated or the affirmed part longer?), some admittedly require more work.

The fourth sin, '**ignoring individual differences**', refers to cognitive and other linguists' preference to study language at the collective level while making claims about individual speakers' minds. As discussed in chapter 3, however, it has been shown that individuals differ in the way in which they represent what is ostensibly the 'same' linguistic category: the English Passive may be a schematic and fully productive construction for one speaker but a set of fixed expressions for another, for example (Dąbrowska & Street 2006; Street & Dąbrowska 2010).

This dissertation does not study individual differences. I have tried to only make claims about speaker's mental construct-i-cons in probabilistic terms, with the expectation that what is frequently attested at the community level is presumably well entrenched at the individual level. The community level acts as a sort of baseline against which later studies can then relate individual contrastive negation construct-i-cons. My focus on the community level was one of the motivations for using the term 'constructional schema' in Article II and the term '(constructional) strategy' in Articles III and IV: the notion of 'construction' is usually seen as mentalistic, following Goldberg (2006), while schemas and strategies are analytic constructs that may or may not correspond to cognitively real entities. This notwithstanding, I hope future research will consider individual variation in contrastive negation constructions, an area of inquiry which I expect to be rich. This would make up for my present committing of Dąbrowska's fourth sin.

The fifth sin, '**neglecting the social aspect of language**', refers to the paucity of sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies in cognitive linguistics. The structure of a language reflects the social structure of the community that uses it, although this effect varies by grammatical domain (Sinnemäki & Di Garbo 2018). It is also widely accepted that the shapes of individual constructions can be related to their usage in discourse (e.g. Du Bois 1985;

2014). While these observations are accepted in cognitive linguistics, Dąbrowska notes that a framework that would fully take them into account, which she terms ‘Social Cognitive Linguistics’, ‘is not yet mainstream Cognitive Linguistics’ (2016: 486). This may lead cognitive linguists to underestimate the sociality of our cognitive processes (to the extent that these cognitive processes themselves are addressed in an adequate way; see above) and of their linguistic outputs.

Similar points have been raised about construction grammar in particular. When comparing the frameworks of construction grammar and historical sociolinguistics, Hilpert (2017) notes that the former has retained theoretical syntax’s focus on a decontextualised monolingual speaker. This is at odds with reality and with the usage-based, maximalist nature of the theory. On the same token, Hilpert (2017: 222–223) notes that construction grammar has neglected interactional linguistics and has mainly addressed the social context of language use through multivariate quantitative studies in which context features are annotated and abstracted away in statistical analysis.

This dissertation has placed the social aspect of language at the centre of the investigation. Article I studied contrastive negation in various newspaper registers as well as conversational speech. This design allowed me to relate the constructions as well as the whole domain of contrastive negation to their argumentative potential, which was evidenced in their high frequency in letters to the editor and editorials. The finding that contrastive negation is frequent in argumentative discourse was part of the motivation to concentrate on parliamentary discourse in Article IV. However, it is Article III which most fully answers Dąbrowska’s call for considering the pragmatics of constructions in cognitive linguistic studies. In Article III, I looked at the interactional functions of contrastive negation and related these to the constructional strategies in the data.

According to Dąbrowska, sins one through five plague linguistics at large. The last two sins, Dąbrowska claims, are specific to cognitive linguistics, particularly cognitive corpus linguistics. The sixth sin, **‘assuming that we can deduce mental representations from patterns of use’**, is the confusion of the collective and the individual level of analysis. It is related to the fourth sin and can be seen as a methodological variant of it. Corpus data typically represents language at the collective, speech community level. By contrast, at least if the name of the movement is anything to go by, cognitive linguists want to say something about the cognition of individual language users. Already from a conceptual point of view, using collective-level data to probe individual-level phenomena is problematic (see Blumenthal-Dramé 2012). Furthermore, a statistical model of corpus data may (and typically does) present constructional variation as highly multifactorial but in actual usage events, speakers may resort to far fewer cues to decide which of two or more alternating variants they choose to use (Divjak, Dąbrowska & Arppe 2016). As stated above, I have tried to be prudent in positing mental representations by talking about them in probabilistic terms.

The seventh sin, **‘assuming that distribution equals meaning’**, relates to the methodological practice of operationalising meaning through contextual features. This methodology is often supported by Firth’s (1957: 11) remark that ‘[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps!’ In the usage-based spirit, cognitive corpus linguists have adopted such methods as logistic regression, collocation analysis and vector spaces to describe the semantics of words and constructions. The use of multiple correspondence analysis in this dissertation is also part of this trend. This may raise issues of correlation and causation,

especially if used without triangulation through other methods, such as elicitation. In practice, most studies using distributional semantic methods include a component of researcher-led interpretation. On the other hand, such methods have proved particularly useful in diachronic studies, in which it is simply not possible to conduct psycholinguistic studies on the users of the varieties concerned. For example, studying the changes in vector spaces over a period of time can be complemented with a more grounded investigation of what those changes look like in terms of actual corpus examples.⁴²

In this dissertation, there is only a light component of distributional semantics. One reason for this is that I found it difficult to look at my data from a distributional semantic perspective because of the formal variability of the constructions that I have studied. However, the central result of this dissertation, that the constructional schemas or strategies of contrastive negation often vary according to the semantic type of the construct, is distributional: it concerns the co-occurrence of contrastive negation with an exclusive element. This is best understood as several constructions at lower levels of the construction network, with varying degrees of conventionalisation at the community level (and, possibly, entrenchment at the individual level). Thus, the fact that the [*not X but Y*] schema often appears with additive semantics as in [*not only X but also Y*] does not mean that the schema itself would be more additive than, say, [*Y, not X*]. Rather, it means that this schema instantiates a frequent lower-level schema with an additive meaning.

Table 3 summarises the above discussion.

Table 3. *Cognitive Linguistics' seven deadly sins and this dissertation (Dąbrowska 2016)*

Sin	This dissertation
Excessive reliance on introspection	virtuous
Not treating the Cognitive Commitment seriously	not sinful but not virtuous either
Not enough serious hypothesis testing	sinful
Ignoring individual differences	sinful
Neglecting the social aspect of language	virtuous
Assuming that we can deduce mental representations from patterns of use	not sinful but not virtuous either
Assuming that distribution equals meaning	not sinful but not virtuous either

Table 3 gives us a summary of the kinds of things that we know and do not know about contrastive negation on the basis of this dissertation. We now have a good idea of how contrastive negation behaves in corpus data both in English and across languages of western Europe. We also know its pragmatic uses and how those motivate the forms that it takes. What we do not know yet is the precise form of speakers' mental construct-i-cons in this domain.

⁴² One may wish to question Dąbrowska here on whether the seventh sin is really specific to cognitive linguists: many other schools of linguistics are equally invested in the idea that distribution may be used as a proxy for meaning – quoting Firth is by no means the preserve of cognitive linguists.

10 CONCLUSION

This dissertation has investigated constructional variation in an area of grammar where this variation has remained mostly unstudied. The topic turned out to be much more complex than I initially thought, and I think it is safe to say that most of what can be known about contrastive negation is left for future studies. To conclude this dissertation, I shall offer a few thoughts on where to go next.

My focus has largely been on conjunctions, at the expense of other formal means for expressing and explicitating contrastive negation. The latter include negators, focusing devices of various kinds and their combinations. Especially if and when contrastive negation is addressed from a wider cross-linguistic basis, such factors need to be taken into account. Furthermore, the polysemy patterns and grammaticalisation paths of the various kinds of formal means could be investigated more systematically than they have been so far.

There are reasons to believe that contrastive negation forms a relatively extended network of its own in the construct-i-con. In language-specific studies, a fruitful avenue of further research would be to investigate the lower-level members of this network. Because these networks are likely to be somewhat person-specific, it would make sense to study them either in the language use of individuals or at least from a sociolinguistic perspective. Furthermore, a network of this size and complexity is unlikely to remain completely stable over time, so a diachronic study of it might be in order, especially given the exclusively synchronic focus of this dissertation.

Finally, the pragmatics of contrastive negation is a field that is far from exhausted. One issue that this study has not been able to address is the relationship between contrastive negation and power differentials between discourse participants. On a related note, I would expect there to be cultural variation in the appropriateness of contrastive negation in various contexts.

In sum, I hope that we now know more about the words of the fictional agent that we met at the beginning of this dissertation. The study of the constructional variation of contrastive negation is beginning, not ending.

Conclusion

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