A NOTE ON NEGATIVES: THE NOT-POPPING PROBLEM

Kroch and Lasnik

1. a. John may not go out to play (without asking Mary first).
   b. John can't swim very well.

2. a. (If he is tired), John may not finish the job until tomorrow.
   b. (When it is to his advantage to be polite), John cannot misbehave for hours.

3. a. (If he feels like staying home), John must not come to work.
   b. (If John doesn't like Bill), he should not help him out with the job.

4. a. John must not sign that lease without his family's approval.
   b. John should not resent helpful criticism.

5. a. John can't do the work now after having agreed to it.
   b. *Soldiers can't not obey some orders.

6. a. John can't tell lies to protect himself from criticism.
   b. John may not tell lies to protect himself from criticism.

7. a. John must tell lies to protect himself from criticism
   b. John mustn't tell lies to protect himself from criticism

11. John can't not pay his share of the costs at this late date.
12. John must not not pay his share of the costs at this late date.

16. *John must NOT not sign the agreement.

19. Can John swim well?

20. Can't John swim well?

21. Is it the case that John can swim well?

22. a. Isn't it the case that John can swim well?
   b. Is it the case that John can't swim well?

23. a. Mustn't John Jones go to New York for a while?
   b. Shouldn't John Jones go to New York for a while?

24. a. Must John Jones not go to New York?
   b. Can John Jones not go to New York?
25. Is it the case that John Jones \( \text{can} \) \( \text{must} \) not-go to New York?

26. Isn't it the case that John Jones \( \text{can} \) \( \text{must} \) go to New York?

PART II

1. a. John doesn't think that Bill didn't go. (Jackendoff, 1968)
   b. I don't think capitalists don't lie.

2. Doesn't John think lexicalism is valid?

3. I don't suppose the Yankees will win, will they? (R. Lakoff, 1969)

4. a. I don't think the Yankees will win, will they?
   b. The Yankees won't win, I don't think.
   c. The Yankees won't, I don't think, win the pennant.
   d. *The Yankees will, I don't think, win the pennant.
   e. *The Yankees, I don't think, won't win the pennant.

* John can't leave until 3

syntactically out