Against Stativizing Negation, Expletive Negation and NPI-*until* Jonathan MacDonald (Barcelona) & Barbara Ürögdi (Budapest)

In this paper we discuss the interaction between event structure (ES) and negation (as well as other operators). It has been proposed that negation stativizes eventive predicates as an aspectual operator (a.o. de Swart 1996), based primarily on data like those in (1).

- (1) a. John dropped the book #for ten minutes / #until three.
 - b. John didn't drop the book for ten minutes / until three.

The presence of negation appears to render a durative adverbial (DUR) compatible with a telic predicate. We show that a) the effect in (1) does not arise from negation operating on the ES properties of the predicate, b) the effect is limited to LF configurations where DUR outscopes negation (i.e. is outside TP), and c) other exhaustive operators in the TP domain (focus, universals) also give rise to the same compatibility patterns. We claim that DUR in this configuration is referential in the sense that it identifies a portion of the reference time about which the TP gives a complete description (which is neither a state, nor homogeneous as has been suggested in the literature, see, for example, Csirmaz (2008)). We discuss the predicative (i.e. VP-internal) vs. referential (TP-external) uses of duratives, and draw some conclusions that bear not only on the issue of "stativizing negation" but also on the "until-debate" (discussed in Mittwoch (2001), de Swart (1996) and references therein). In particular, we argue against treating *until* as an NPI, and relate the "actualization effect" attributed to "eventive *until*" to information structure.