C O P L

or

gt h rs on o t n g t on

on , F so ns s so || strong s, g p n t | **until** Horn , G
s .

  t to orro , t

  not | h g nt t p on   **SN**
o | h g nt t p on   **CNI**
 | h g nt t p on   **FI**

 , | n C s s, F n t **neither**

...g... ...h rs... ...o t n g t...

...o s not app... r to... h q... sq... t... o... t sort... ss... h Horn ... , ost
... n s r

B ror on... ...ng t... ss... n h t... ss s t...on, ...rs... nt...on...ng t t
... F, C ... n ... ss rt o ...or... r t r...st s, t r
not... h t r ng... ... n p rt... ... r, F n C ... n rro r... str... t...on t... n
... ss, ... o... t... st t ... p t... r t rs C ...o r ... n
H g... n ... ... ont... prop rt o... C ... n Gr n ... on... not rt p o...
... p t... ng t... h rs...on For ... p ,... n... s n s s p r
t...ns rto... q st...on... ons ... , ot C... n F... r n pt...
t r.

... ... o... t... t ... C... s
... A o n ...n,t   **SN**
... A n no ... ...o n   **CNI**
... A D... o n...   **FI**

... t C ... n F... r n pt... ... s... ns rs to ... q st...ons ...o o s... t ... ... h
... ontr... t...on... ... p t... pq... r... t ... o... nt tt port...on o... t ... r n
t... t o... ot... r... ns rt q st...on... ... **John**... st n ss r ... ... h
po...ht st t s... h t s ns o... ... ons ... t t r... ...o s ns rs to ... q st...ons
r q... ... ...o... r o... rt r... port nt... r n s t n ont on
... n n C ... n F ont... ot r...

2.3 Metalinguistic negation, denials, and reversals

F ... o... on... r... s... h ont t s... r... t s... not r sp... r, s... ss rt...on... s... n
... nt nt n... p t...... ... ss rts... s pq... r oppos... ... r p t ... ro... .

... A o n... n... ...
B ... s... n... ... st ... o s...

... nt... ... p... ... , F r s... ... s **total denial / reversing move** o... F r s Br ... .
... ... **retorts**... h ... ...or

A. ⬚o n ⬚ n⬚ ɡ

B. ⬚ ‖ ⬚ n⬚ ɡ   st ⬚ o s⬚h
   = **No he isn't (a nice guy)!**

Ho r, F ⬚ ⬚ss r⬚ prop rt⬚ s t ⬚t ⬚st⬚nɡ ⬚ ⬚ ro **like hell** n ot r r rs⬚nɡ str t ɡ⬚s

F⬚st, **like hell** t ⬚ ⬚h q s⬚ t⬚ng ⬚st⬚n ɡ t⬚on ⬚ ro s s not on t tr t or ⬚s⬚ or⬚ propos⬚on, t on t ss rt ⬚⬚ or n ⬚ r n ⬚ Horn

s ⬚so Dro n rt⬚ns F n pp r to t⬚
⬚ s s ⬚h , t, r ⬚‖, ⬚n not F n t r‖ o rs ⬚ o t ⬚n p⬚⬚ng ⬚st⬚nt nt, n ⬚ s to n⬚ n⬚p⬚ t r, n on ⬚tro t sp r, so n ⬚ r n s ⬚so ⬚n .

t, s t tr⬚ , s ⬚ to orro
[Implicature: people wear green on St. Patrick's day]

t ⬚ r ⬚r⬚ng gr n
*... t⬚ ‖ ⬚ r⬚ng gr n

on , n r⬚ t ⬚ , Dro not st t, s t p or t⬚ng ⬚st⬚n ɡ t⬚on, **like hell** ⬚s ⬚ns ns⬚⬚ to t pq r⬚ or ⬚s nt nt, n⬚ng ⬚ n t ⬚ n ɡ t⬚ ⬚ s.

A. Yo ⬚ n, t s t ⬚ s

B. ⬚ ‖ ⬚n, t
   = **It's not the case that I didn't**

Ho r, s o ⬚h t t F nnot t n ɡ t⬚ nt nt ⬚ s s to r q ⬚ r t⬚ ont nt, t r⬚p⬚ or ss rt , to p⬚ p on ⬚ , ⬚h n F ⬚ s, t n ɡ t⬚ ont t **fuck** pp rs ⬚h r q ⬚t s ⬚h rs⬚on, r s⬚ n sp rs o r⬚ s F ⬚ **fuck**, **'eck**, t r t⬚h rs⬚on ⬚ **like hell** s ⬚so Dro .

A. ⬚o n ⬚ n⬚ ɡ

B. s r ⬚ n⬚ ɡ
B. *H ⬚ r ⬚ n⬚ ɡ
B. % ⬚ ‖ ⬚ ⬚ n⬚ ɡ
B. ⬚ ‖ ⬚ ⬚ n⬚ ɡ

⬚ ɡ ⬚h s ɡɡ sts t ⬚t F ⬚ s ⬚ ⬚ r nt st t st ⬚ n **like hell** t⬚ Ho r, ⬚ st ⬚ nt r on ⬚h ⬚t s, so sp rs o pt ⬚h rs⬚on ⬚ pr ss⬚ons s ⬚ s **like hell**, ⬚h⬚ ⬚h ɡ t s ⬚ n t r‖ o rr⬚ng ⬚ ⬚ s.

E ⬚ n or or t n on r son n p rt⬚ ⬚ r⬚ n sp rs ⬚n **like hell** ⬚ nt ⬚ s ⬚ pp rs⬚h o s not ont ⬚h ‖

tr g tr on g r t on, n r   p   r H

, 쟀or

pq⎕r⎕ pro t⎕n q , ⎕ , ⎕⎕o ⎕g⎕ , Z⎕n ⎕⎕⎕ , n , n
ot rs,⎕ o⎕ t st ⎕o⎕ ⎕h Eng⎕

F rt r, ⎕ ⎕h⎕g on t ⎕og⎕or , n ⎕, oo rg st ts s ntn s
r ⎕so r tr⎕ t prsn or ro s p rt⎕ p rt⎕ rto t pq r⎕
o⎕t ⎕ s ⎕ pp rs⎕h s ro s p rt⎕ s r g n r t ⎕o to pq r⎕, ⎕h
t sp⎕ ro⎕ ⎕o Fo s pro t⎕ns⎕ t q tt ⎕⎕ g o t r ⎕
o⎕ ⎕h s s ⎕ n n B ⎕⎕ s, ⎕h t r t⎕ s ⎕
so⎕ ⎕h rs⎕n t pq r⎕ op r tor⎕ **so**, n ⎕s q p n ⎕h g ro s p rt⎕ ⎕ **too**
⎕ n non o rt s oo For ⎕s n g t⎕ o nt rp rt, oo
t s q or pos⎕⎕n ⎕ ppro to **neither**, rg ⎕h t t **either** ⎕s t n g t⎕
ro s p rt⎕ n ⎕og or **too**, ⎕ ⎕h g n- st pq r⎕ op r tor, n ⎕og o s to **so**
A ro g st o t n r ⎕h g str t r ror **so/neither** ⎕h rs⎕n s ntn s ⎕
⎕o ⎕ ⎕h g s⎕ rt ⎕h t ⎕s or oo ,s n ⎕ s⎕ t t ⎕ not r⎕⎕ to
t pr s nt ⎕ ss⎕n

```
              John
                   q
             will
                OP[ o ]      q    Fo
                  ⎰so⎱
                  ⎱n-⎰
                          ⎰ too ⎱
                          ⎱either⎰   Fo    V
```
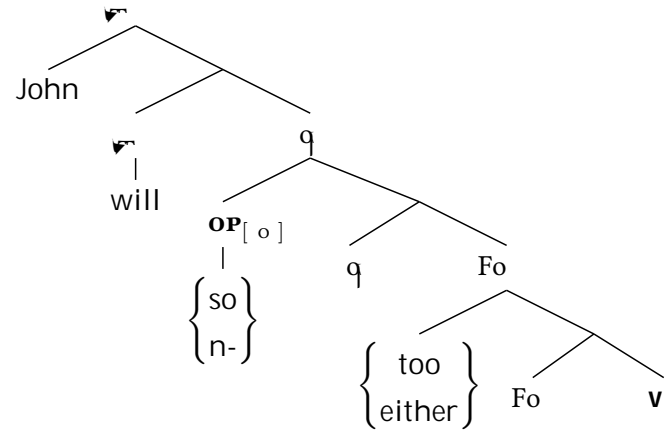
For oo ⎕, ,t pq r⎕ op r tor n t ro s p rt⎕ to g t r r⎕
t s nt n ⎕ p t⎕ ⎕ht r p r t⎕n o⎕ **so/neither** ⎕h rs⎕n ⎕ s s
nt n ts t⎕n, t n t o propos⎕s ror ot C n **so/neither**
⎕h rs⎕n to F

4 ⎕ N O N ⎕ O**N**

As s r⎕ o ,t n ⎕ t⎕ ⎕h t ⎕⎕n ⎕h t N⎕C r⎕ r⎕n n t pq r⎕
⎕ s ⎕h rs⎕n p n o⎕ n t to ⎕⎕s t tt r⎕ n o p r tor t⎕ o s to
t ⎕ s o p pos⎕⎕n ⎕h t ⎕ s, ⎕ ⎕ s or q ⎕⎕n g⎕ r ⎕o ⎕ g r ⎕ nt
r ⎕t⎕ns ⎕p ⎕ ⎕ p rt⎕ r sso ⎕t ⎕ pq r⎕ ⎕h t ⎕ s Do st ⎕
st t or ⎕ ⎕s ⎕ n pp ⎕ ⎕⎕⎕ to F
rg ⎕o t t⎕ o s p ⎕⎕, s gg st t tt r⎕ t⎕n o r F ⎕h q s
s⎕ nt o nt rp rt o r t o rt n g t⎕ op r tors n ⎕h C pro ⎕ ⎕ p⎕⎕
⎕ rg ⎕ nts ror s n op r tor ⎕h F ⎕ s s rst t n, s r⎕ o F ⎕ts
⎕h to t ⎕ t pq⎕o g o r op r tor ⎕h ⎕h rs⎕n p n o n A ⎕ r p t ⎕n ⎕ s⎕

4.1 Overt and non-overt polarity operators in the le edge

(SN)

NEG > B/C:

B/C > NEG:

(CNI)

NEG > B/C

B/C > NEG

In contrast to ... s ts, ... on ...
> Nᴾᶜ interpretation Hornst...

E r o n,t r gr n   SN
= **Everybody is such that they didn't wear green**

or

port nt , t   t p r   s   st ng ss pt ons t   r t r r g r
ng q st n op r tors Fo o ng , H g n   . rg s
t

	estion clause	Neg[FOC] clause	A [FOC] clause
Overt OP	_ q st⊠n	C	q₌ r |₌₌ t⊠ s Eng
Non-overt OP	pq₌ r q st⊠n	F	q₌ r |₌₌ t⊠ s D t

no ₌ ₌n₌ o nt ⌐or₌₌ n o⌐ t prop rt⊠s o⌐ F s r⊠ t ro g_ o t t ⊠p p r₌ n ⌐or ⊠s s⊠ ⊠ r⊠ to C ⊠h p rt⊠ \|₌ r Ho r₌ n ⊠ port₌nt q st⊠n₌ o t F r₌₌ ⊠hs. ₌ t,s t **fuck**

4.3 Polarity-sensitive focus particles and the derivation of ⌐ -inversion

See Jayaseelan (2001) and Belle i (2004) for extensive justi cation of these low-peripheral positions (and Benincà & Pole o 2004 on TopP > FocP order in particular).

5 O N ∪ O N

I have a empted here to lay out some of the basic descriptive properties of fuck-inversion, a novel inversion phenomenon in Englishes of the British Isles characterized by an emphatic negative interpretation despite the absence of overt negative morphology.

A er situating it within a broader typology of inversion phenomena involving emphatic polarity, I argued that fuck-inversion involves a non-overt negative operator in a high scope position within the clausal le periphery, triggering inversion of T in satisfaction of the N ᴇ C-criterion. is puts fuck-inversion on par with canonical negative inversion, the main di erence between the two being whether the negative operator is overt or non-overt.

Finally, I argued that the taboo component of the phenomenon, e.g. fuck, is a polarity-sensitive focus particle akin to too and either in another polarity-based inversion phenomenon, namely so/neither-inversion. us, fuck

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