

I assume that syntactic structure can be scopally ambiguous and that the interpretation of a structure can be a set of meanings. The interpretation of the pre-movement structure in (3) has two meanings, one in which the quantificational subject scopes over negation and the other in which negation scopes over the quantifier, whereas the interpretation of the post-movement structure (4) contains only the latter meaning.

Structures containing non-quantificational subjects, as in (6), do not have inverted counterparts, as in (7), because derivations containing movement which does not derive a change in meaning are ruled out by economy principles.

(6) *Jack can't beat them.* (WTE)

(7) **Can't Jack beat them.* (WTE)

Subjects which are not definite but which do not interact scopally with negation, *few* (8) and *some* (9), are not ruled out in previous analyses but they are in the present analysis. Because the pre-movement structure for these sentences is unambiguous, negative inversion is ruled out by the principle of scope economy.

(8) **Didn't few people live there then.* (WTE)

(9) **Didn't some people come.* (WTE)

I argue for a movement analysis of negative inversion which resolves scopal ambiguity. Adopting a principle of scope economy provides a uniform account of the properties of negative inversion. Negative inversion is licit when negation interacts scopally with a quantificational subject because the resulting structure is less ambiguous whereas movement in sentences lacking ambiguity is ruled out by economy principles.

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