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I have addressed the issue of how this syntactic structure expresses the fact in (3)-(4) that SCs may contain the contrastive NOT but may not contain the non-contrastive not, except for some cases of partial negation like John considers Mary not smart enough to do linguistics. As Jane Grimshaw (personal communication) notes:

(3) John considers Mary NOT smart.
(4) *John considers Mary not smart.

I have suggested several possibilities to deal with this fact by examining some syntactic and semantic properties of SCs. One of the possibilities is to adopt Chomsky's (1988) phrase structure like (5):
In this configuration, the fact that the non-contrastive not does not appear in SC follows by assuming that the projection of SC stops at AGRP as in (5), and thus it has no place to 'host' the negative element not:

(6)  

V'  
/ \  
\     
\   1  
\ \  \  1  
\  \  \  \  consider Mary smart 

On the other hand, the contrastive NOT appears in SC because it is adjoined to the SC predicate as in (7) below:

(7)  

SC  
/ \  
\     
\ NF A  
\ \  \  
\ \  \  Mary A  
\ \  \ NOT smart
This view is supported by the fact that the contrastive NOT moves along with the SC predicate as is shown in (8) below:

(8)[NOT smart] though John considers Mary, he loved her.

See Endo (forthcoming) for the discussion of this point.

I have also discussed how Miyagawa's framework handles what Stowell (1981) calls selectional problems by the main verb, which concerns a contrast like (8):

(9)a. John considered the island off the route.
    b. *John considered the man off the ship by midnight.

I have examined this problem by referring to some facts related to Japanese Ajective Nouns and English Though Movement. See Endo (1991) for the discussion of this point.

References


