The Syntax of the not only ... but also ... Construction

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Abstract

This paper investigates the syntax of the English not only . . . but also . . . construction, focusing on the linearization possibilities of not only. Based on novel corpus data, I argue that the not only . . . but also . . . construction exhibits different properties from the not . . . but . . . construction or the adverbial only. I propose that a linearization-based account, along with coordinate ellipsis, can explain the various linearization possibilities of not only. I also propose that the construction as a whole is a subtype of the correlative-coord-ph, which is a novel subtype of the coord-ph. Finally, I argue that subject-auxiliary inversion triggered by the clause-initial not only is a new subtype of the negative-inversion-ph.

1 Introduction

The not only . . . but also . . . construction in (1) consists of two “correlative” elements, first of which is introduced by not only, and the latter by but also.

(1) John invited not only Mary, but also Lucy.

This construction exhibits many interesting properties, in that it is a rather special type of coordination, and also in the distribution of not only. Moreover, not only can trigger subject-auxiliary inversion in the clause-initial position, as in the bold-faced part in (2).

(2) Not only did John invite Mary, but also Lucy.

Surprisingly, however, there are not many syntactic accounts of this construction.

This paper examines the abovementioned special properties of the not only . . . but also . . . construction and argues that this construction is different from the apparently very similar not . . . but . . . construction. In section 2, I outline the basic data that previous studies discuss, focusing on the fact that they subsume the not only . . . but also . . . construction and the not . . . but . . . construction under a single construction. In sections 3 and 4, I provide novel data from corpus to show that the not only . . . but also . . . construction and the not . . . but . . . construction are indeed different. In section 3, I show that the floating positions of not only in the not only . . . but also . . . construction are freer than those of not in the not . . . but . . . construction. In section 4, I present subject-auxiliary inversion facts to show that the not only . . . but also . . . construction is clearly distinct from either the not . . . but . . . construction or from only-inversion.

In section 5, I provide an adequate analysis of such facts within the framework

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of Head-Phrase Structure Grammar. I propose that the construction as a whole is a subtype of the correlative-coord-ph, which is a novel subtype of the coord-ph. The free linearization possibilities of not only are explained via a licensing construction that enables shuffling of not only within the conjunct, a linear precedence (LP) rule that orders not only before the focused element, and coordinate ellipsis. Finally, subject-auxiliary inversion triggered by the clause-initial not only is analyzed as a subtype of the negative-inversion-ph. Here, I propose a novel subtype: negative-conjunction-ph.

2 Previous analyses: not only . . . but also . . . and not . . . but . . .

There are not many studies on the not only . . . but also . . . construction. Bianchi and Zamparelli (2004) dub (pseudo-)coordinations of two correlates “edge coordinations” and discuss English and Italian data such as non . . . ma . . . / not . . . but . . . in (3), non solo . . . ma anche . . . / not only . . . but also . . . in (4), prima . . . poi . . . / first . . . then . . . in (5), and ora . . . ora . . . in (6).

(3) a. Gianni mi ha comprato non quest’auto, ma quella.
   b. John bought me not this car, but that one.

(4) a. Gianni ha invitato alla festa non solo Maria, ma anche Lucia.
   b. John invited to the party not only Mary, but also Lucy.

(5) a. Ho venduto prima l’auto, poi la pelliccia.
   b. First I sold my car, then my fur coat.

(6) a. Gianni invita ora Maria, ora Lucia.
   b. Gianni invites now Mary now Lucy.

They analyze edge coordinations as in (7), with ellipsis in the second conjunct.

(7) a. Gianni ha invitato alla festa non solo Maria, ma (lui) ha invitato alla festa anche Lucia.
   b. John invited to the party not only Mary, but (he) invited to the party also Lucy.

In showing that edge coordinations show four different word order patterns, Bianchi and Zamparelli (2004) and Gallego (2005) discuss the following set of data. In the adjacent orders in (8), the whole coordinate structure forms a continuous string, either in the clause-final (8a) or clause-initial (8b) position. In the non-adjacent orders in (9), the coordination forms a discontinuous string. In (9a), not and the first correlate are not adjacent to each other, and in (9b), the first and the second correlate are discontinuous.

219
(8) Adjacent orders
   a. He invited not (only) Mary, but (also) Lucy. (adjacent final)
   b. Not (only) MARY, but (also) LUCY he decided to invite. (adjacent initial)

(9) Non-adjacent orders
   a. I didn’t invite (only) Mary, but (also) Lucy. (non-adjacent final)
   b. Not (only) Mary did I invite, but (also) Lucy. (non-adjacent initial)

   In these studies, only and also are treated as optional adverbials, and thus, the not only . . . but also . . . construction is subsumed with the not . . . but . . . construction. They actually refer to it as the not (only) . . . but (also) . . . construction. However, these studies are limited in that they do not discuss the full range of data. For example, they only discuss data in which the correlates are DPs (not only DP but also DP). In the following sections, I present data not discussed in previous studies (Bianchi & Zamparelli 2004; Gallego 2005) such as various positional (“floating”) possibilities of not only, mainly to argue that the not only . . . but also . . . construction and the not . . . but . . . construction are indeed different.

3 Positional Possibilities of not only

This section discusses the various word order possibilities in the not only . . . but also . . . construction, with regards to the various positional possibilities of not only. Not only can appear in positions not directly adjacent to the focused constituent. For example, it can appear at a position higher than its “original” position, as in (10). Sentences in (10) are from the Corpus of Contemporary American English. In each example, the correlates are underlined.

(10) Not only too high cases
   a. Note that you can use this tool not only to upgrade Windows 7 or Windows 8.1 PCs, but also Windows 10 PCs. (COCA 2015 MAG PCWorld)
   b. And that was not only for people he knew were allies and friends, but also people who were in... (COCA 2011 MAG NatlParks)
   c. . . . usually in the mountain foothills that are the prime winter range not only for mule deer but also elk. (COCA 1997 MAG FieldStream)
   d. As a professional golfer, he became an international celebrity, known not only for his accomplishments on the golf course, but his extravagant lifestyle. (COCA 1997 MAG GolfMag)
   e. Yet somehow I managed not only to rope myself into a ski trip, but a ski trip with my boss. (COCA 2015 FIC Bk:SlayedOnSlopes)
   f. I was able not only to cross the street but make it down Fruit Street to Mass General. (COCA 2015 FIC FantasySciFi)
Not only can also appear at a position lower than its “original” position, as in (11).

(11) *Not only* too low cases

a. It makes a huge difference to *not only* the students *but* to us as teachers because it took a weight off of us as to how we can supply our kids with the things that they need to be successful in school. (COCA 2015 SPOK NBC)

b. they are here to poke and prod and asphyxiate me with the obligation to not only understand, to *not only* come to grips, *but also* to stand up there and explain... and in this case, explain what? (COCA 2015 FIC WarLitArts)

c. So definitely, my view of *not only* my parents, *but* of myself, has changed from, you know, having this son and my two daughters, too. (COCA 2014 SPOK NPR)

d. It is reasonable to suggest that the higher transmission risk that is clearly associated with such horses is a consequence of *not only* increased viral load *but also* of the illness itself. (COCA 2014 ACAD EmergingInfectious)

Such “floating” possibilities of *not only* are strongly reminiscent of those of *not in the not . . . but . . .* construction. Examples in (12)-(13) are from Song (2012).

(12) *Not* too high cases

a. America’s expectation lies *not* in its successes *but* its failures.

b. She seems to have a political heart aching *not* for forgiveness *but* position.

c. He removed a folded piece of paper from his pocket and rattled off a series of numbers that made clear how he wanted the election to be seen: *not* as a squeaker *but* a rout.

d. . . . and sat with him till one o’clock in the morning — *not* drinking wine, *but* tea and talking metaphysics and morality.

e. And you learn a good lesson in *not* to trust anyone *but* yourself.

f. I come *not* to bring peace *but* a sword.

g. . . . you have to *not* look at age *but* the situation.

(13) *Not* too low cases

a. . . . Andrea Dornbracht, the managing director of Dornbracht, a German faucet company, reportedly declared that the future was *in not* just selling products *but* in selling rituals.

b. Recently, publishers have starting to wring revenue out of their traffic *by selling not* ads, *but* by selling data about the people trolling their sites.
c. This may sound like an odd notion to a publisher, but you can achieve the most success by not selling your book, but by selling the benefits potential customers will get from your book’s content.

d. Your role in working with your prospect is to sell not your product or service, but to sell yourself by finding out what it is your prospect really wants.

e. An option is to not sell the embargoed quantities to other foreign markets, i.e. to C, but to sell domestically.

f. . . . his boss told him to not come into the office for the next week but to come by the boss’s house every night so the two men could talk.

g. That’s the persecution, a mentality that tells us to buy not because we need, but to buy for the prestige of owning something bigger and more shiny than our neighbor’s.

On a closer examination, however, the floating positions of not only and not are actually different. (14) shows possible positions of not in the not . . . but . . . construction, and (15) shows possible positions of not only in the not only . . . but also . . . construction.

(14) Positions of not in the not . . . but . . . construction
Joe succeeded ⟨not⟩ by ⟨not⟩ selling ⟨* not⟩ books ⟨* not⟩, but by buying shoes. (Song 2012, p. 54)

(15) Positions of not only in the not only . . . but also . . . construction
⟨not only (with subj-aux inversion)⟩ Joe succeeded ⟨not only⟩ by ⟨not only⟩ selling ⟨not only⟩ books ⟨* not only⟩, but (also) by selling shoes.

The contrast between (14) and (15) shows that not is more restricted in its positional possibilities than not only. The shaded positions in (15) are ungrammatical in (14). This is the main reason why the not only . . . but also . . . construction and the not . . . but . . . construction are different. Actually, the positions of not only are rather similar to either in disjunction constructions, which exhibits rather free linear possibilities (Hofmeister 2010), as in (16)-(19).

(16) ⟨Either⟩ Thomas ⟨either⟩ will ⟨either⟩ write ⟨either⟩ a mystery or he’ll write a romance.

(17) ⟨Either⟩ You’ll ⟨either⟩ need to ⟨either⟩ bring ⟨either⟩ a passport or a birth certificate.

(18) ⟨Either⟩ Congress ⟨either⟩ will ⟨either⟩ pass the legislation or lose our confidence.

(19) ⟨Either⟩ You ⟨either⟩ can ⟨either⟩ have ⟨either⟩ tea ⟨either⟩ from ⟨either⟩ China or from Tibet.
Particularly interesting is that unlike in the \textit{not \ldots but \ldots} construction, \textit{not only} (like \textit{either}) can appear at the clause-initial position, in which case subject-auxiliary inversion is obligatorily triggered. Such inversion phenomena will be further described in the following section.

\section{Negative Inversion}

When \textit{not only} appears at the clause-initial position, subject-auxiliary inversion is obligatorily triggered, as in (20) and (21). Sentences in (21) are from corpus.

(20) \textbf{Not only} did Joe succeed by selling books, but by buying books.

(21) a. \textbf{Not only} was Stephens estranged from his English wife, he also had memorable confrontations with several notable women. (COCA 2015 ACAD GeorgiaHisQ)

b. \textbf{Not only} are high rates of teacher turnover disruptive to students and the school, teachers with low organizational commitment often reduce their job performance before they quit. (COCA 2014 ACAD AmericanSecondary)

c. \textbf{Not only} does the bridge attract tourists and playful dog owners; it also intrigues scientists. (COCA 2013 MAG NaturalHist)

d. \textbf{Not only} does SanDisk’s $50 digital music player have twice the storage of the 2 GB Apple iPod shuffle, it has a 1.1-inch color display for viewing album track titles and art work. (COCA 2013 MAG SatEvenPost)

e. \textbf{Not only} were Django’s mom and dad gone forever; the Django who lived in Beverly Hills was gone too. (COCA 2012 FIC Bk:LittleGirlGone)

f. \textbf{Not only} does QOOQ ($399) teach you how to cook, it is designed—unlike any other tablet—to be spill- and slip-proof so it can withstand anything (literally) you throw at it. (COCA 2012 MAG USA Today)

g. \textbf{Not only} did Bonnie’s life shift, her school made Annual Yearly Progress for special education students, which Bonnie’s teacher attributes to her sequential focus on the WM list. (COCA 2012 ACAD ReadingTeacher)

Both 1) clause-initial position of the conjunction and 2) subject-auxiliary inversion are clearly impossible in the \textit{not \ldots but \ldots} construction, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (22).

(22) a. *\textbf{Not} did Joe succeed by selling books, but by buying shoes.

b. *\textbf{Not} was Joe stupid, but lazy.

223
Note, also, that (23) should be clearly distinguished from the “floating” cases of not only or not because in (23), the whole constituent (not (only) along with the focused constituent, e.g. not (only) in its success) is fronted.

(23) [Not (only) in its success] does America’s expectation lie but its failures.

One may intuitively think that the subject-auxiliary inversion triggered by clause-initial not only simply follows from properties of only-inversion (Huddleston & Pullum 2002). Although only-inversion has not been discussed much in the literature, many scholars (e.g. Haegeman 1995; Maekawa 2012) analyze only as a weak negator, and therefore only-inversion in (24) as a negative inversion phenomenon.

(24) a. Only his mother will he obey.
     b. Only on Sundays do they eat with their children.

However, the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (25) shows that only-inversion and not only-inversion cannot be treated as the same phenomena because only by itself cannot float to the clause-initial position.

     b. *Only was Joe stupid.

Therefore, I propose that the “floating very high” possibility of not only is an idiosyncratic property of the not only . . . but also . . . construction, which is exhibited neither in the not . . . but . . . construction nor with only.

5 Analysis

5.1 A new subtype of the coord-ph: correlative-coord-ph

I analyze the whole not only . . . but also . . . construction as a coordination structure, in which each conjunct is marked by a conjunction, similar to Mouret’s (2004) analysis of French conjunction doubling (et ‘and’ . . . et ‘and’ . . . , soit ‘either’ . . . soit ‘or’). First, the constraints imposed on coord-ph are shown in (26).

(26) \[
\text{coord-ph} \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{CONJ} & \quad \text{null} \\
\text{HEAD} & \quad \downarrow \\
\text{VALENCE} & \quad 2 \\
\text{SLASH} & \quad \uparrow \\
\text{NON-HD-DTRS} & \quad \{ \begin{align*}
\text{HEAD} & \quad \downarrow 1 \\
\text{VALENCE} & \quad 2 \\
\text{SLASH} & \quad \uparrow 3 \\
\end{align*}, \ldots, \begin{align*}
\text{HEAD} & \quad \downarrow 1 \\
\text{VALENCE} & \quad 2 \\
\text{SLASH} & \quad \uparrow 3 \\
\end{align*} \} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that “the location of not only simply reflects the range of positions available to focusing adverbs like only. (p. 1314)”
Mouret (2004) cross-classifies (French) coordinations according to the distribution of conjunctions as in (27).

(27) Mouret's (2004) cross-classification of (French) coordinations

Constraints imposed on each of these subtypes are in (28).

(28) a. basic-coord-ph →

b. iterative-coord-ph →

c. asyndetic-coord-ph →

d. doubling-coord-ph →

I suggest that, at least for English, we need a new subtype of the coord-ph to account for correlative coordination structures such as not only . . . but also . . . . I assume that other types of “edge coordinations” such as first . . . then . . . can be explained via this phrase type as well. In (29) are constraints put on this subtype.

(29) correlative-coord-ph →

I propose that not only but also-ph ((30)) is a subtype of the correlative-coord-ph.

(30) not only but also-ph →

The above constraint in (30) can adequately account for the following facts. First, conjuncts headed by not only can appear multiple times, as in (31).
(31) they are here to poke and prod and asphyxiate me with the obligation to not only understand, to not only come to grips, but also to stand up there and explain... and in this case, explain what? (COCA 2015 FIC WarLitArts)

Also, the second conjunct is optional, as can be seen in (32).

(32) a. There he kept his vegetable garden huge, but not only for the purpose of feeding everyone living at Monticello and his many visitors. Rather it was an experimental garden, with 330 cultivars representing 99 species of vegetables and herbs, tried out over his 50-some years of gardening and always with the goal of finding the few best among each species. (COCA 2015 MAG Horticulture)

b. What the new study shows is how evenly numbers are dropping for fish species across the spectrum, for the whole marine ecosystem, and not only for a handful of commercially fished species. (COCA 2015 NEWS OrangeCR)

Moreover, the second conjunct’s CONJ value can either be but also, but, or also. In (33), the second conjunct is headed by but, and in (34), by also.

(33) a. Driver’s Ed programs are enforced not only to educate, but to give supervised experience to teens so that they have a chance of getting to school and back without getting hit–or hitting something or someone. (COCA 2015 MAG USAToday)

b. This article examines qualitative evaluations of three works of young adult literature that are not only textually complex as defined by authors of the CCSS, but appropriate and engaging for adolescent identity and development. (COCA 2015 ACAD JAdolAdultLiteracy)

(34) Play is not only for children, it is also important for adults. (COCA 2014 ACAD StudiesInEducation)

In (35), the structure of not only Mary but also Lucy is shown.
5.2 Linearization of not only

In sections 3 and 4, the various "floating" positions of not only in the not only . . . but also . . . construction were shown. In this section, I explain these facts via a licensing construction that enables shuffling of not only within the conjunct, a linear precedence (LP) rule that orders not only before the focused element, and coordinate ellipsis.

This analysis is an extension of Hofmeister’s (2010) linearization analysis of either in disjunction structures. In section 3, I mentioned that the distributional possibilities of not only are very much like those of either in either . . . or . . . constructions.

5.2.1 Not only floating too low

Hofmeister accounts for “floating low” cases of either through a licensing construction that allows shuffling of either within the first disjunct. I extend this analysis to not only phrases as well. In (36) are the constraints on the not only-ph.

(36) not-only-ph →

MOTHER

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CONJ} \quad \text{not only} \\
\text{HEAD} \quad 2 \\
\text{DOM} \quad \langle \text{DOM} \circ \delta_2 \rangle \\
\text{PHON} \quad \langle \text{not only} \rangle \\
\text{CONJ} \quad \text{not only} \\
\text{SYN} \quad \text{VAL} \\
\text{COMPS} \quad 11 \\
\text{HEAD} \quad 2 \\
\text{DOM} \quad \delta_2
\end{array}
\]

DTRS

\[
\langle \text{not only} \quad \text{DOM} \quad \delta_1 \rangle
\]

The following linear precedence (LP) rule in (37) ensures that not only always precedes the focused element in the left conjunct, thereby blocking ungrammatical
(38) *by selling books not only

(39) shows how the licensing construction for combining not only with its complement and the linear precedence rule work.

(39) Not only floating too low

The possible linear orders resulting from (39) and the LP rule (37) are as desired ((40)).

(40) (not only) by (not only) selling (not only) books (not only)

5.2.2 Not only floating too high

Hofmeister assumes that either always attaches at the left edge of the disjunction. He argues that in apparent either “too high” cases, coordinate ellipsis occurs in the second disjunct. When coordinates combine, shared material at the beginning of non-initial coordinates can be elided, as in (41) and (42).

(41) You’ll either [need to bring a passport] or [need to bring a birth certificate].
(42) Either [Congress will pass the legislation] or [Congress will lose our confidence].

I assume the same for the not only . . . but also . . . construction. Not only always attaches at the left edge of the second conjunct, without actual “floating”. Shared material at the non-initial conjunct(s) may undergo deletion, as in (43), resulting in what seems like upward floating of not only (which is, in fact, only an illusion).

(43) a. You can use this tool not only [to upgrade Windows 7 or Windows 8.1 PCs], but also [to upgrade Windows 10 PCs].

b. I was able not only [to cross the street] but [to make it down Fruit Street to Mass General].

c. He is known not only [for his accomplishments on the golf course], but [for his extravagant lifestyle].

Note that such an ellipsis analysis is also in line with the minimalist analyses of Bianchi & Zamparelli (2004) and of Gallego (2005), although the details differ.
5.3 Negative Inversion

I suggest that the subject-auxiliary inversion that occurs when not only floats to the clause-initial position is a negative inversion phenomenon. Maekawa (2012) provides a detailed analysis of negative inversions within the HPSG framework. In (44) are constraints imposed on Maekawa’s (2012) negative-inversion-ph.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SUBJ} & \langle \rangle \\
\text{SLASH} & \langle \text{word} \rangle \\
\text{INV} & + \\
\text{AUX} & + \\
\text{SUBJ} & \langle \text{HIP} \rangle \\
\text{COMPS} & \langle \text{2VP[SLASH {\{\text{1}\}, \ldots \}}] \rangle \\
\end{align*}
\]

The feature INVERTED (INV) has + values for verbs heading inverted phrases (Ginzburg and Sag 2000), and auxiliaries that head inverted constructions are specified as [AUX +]. The SLASH feature specification accommodates the fact that negative inversion constructions may have a non-negative dislocated element.

In Maekawa (2012), it is assumed that there are at least two subtypes of the negative-inversion-ph: negative-filler-ph and negative-adjunct-ph, as in (45).

(45) Constructional hierarchy of the negative-inversion-ph (Maekawa 2012)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{negative-inversion-ph} & \\
\text{negative-filler-ph} & \quad \text{negative-adjunct-ph}
\end{align*}
\]

However, neither of these phrase types can adequately account for the behavior of the not only … but also … construction because not only in the not only … but also … construction is neither a filler constituent nor an adjunct. Clause-initial not only is not a dislocated element because (as was explained in the previous subsection, not only in seemingly “too high” positions are actually not dislocated. Rather, they always attach to the leftmost position of the conjunct, and the apparent “floating high” phenomenon is an illusion due to ellipsis in the second conjunct.

Neither is clause-initial not only an adjunct, because I analyzed not only-phrases as a subtype of the head-complement phrase in section 5.1 (see (35)).

Therefore, I propose that there is a third subtype of the negative-inversion-ph: negative-conj-ph. Now, there would be three subtypes of the negative-inversion-ph, as in (46).
I also modify constraints imposed on negative-inversion-ph, as in (47).

In (48) are constraints imposed on the new phrase type. Here, the head daughter is the negative conjunction (e.g. not only), which takes as its complement the entire following clause. The complement clause of the conjunct is headed by the inverted verb.

The tree in (49) shows the structure for the first conjunct in Not only does John smoke, but he also drinks.
Not only does John smoke, but he also drinks.

This new subtype—negative-conj-ph—can possibly account for other subject-auxiliary inversion phenomena with an initial negative conjunction such as nor. For example, the italicized second conjunct headed by nor in (50) can be analyzed in the same manner as in (49).

John does not drink, nor does he smoke.

6 Conclusion

In this study, the syntactic properties of the not only . . . but also . . . construction were examined and analyzed. This is an idiosyncratic construction which differs from the not . . . but . . . construction in that the position of not only is freer than the position of not. Also, not only, but not not or only, triggers negative inversion in the clause-initial position. Therefore, the not only . . . but also . . . construction should be treated as a construction separate from not . . . but . . . or only.

Specifically, I analyzed the not only . . . but also . . . construction as a new subtype of the coord-ph: correlative-coord-ph, in which each conjunct is headed by a conjunction. Within the first conjunct headed by not only, shuffling of not only is possible in the word order domain, as long as it precedes the focused element. And the second conjunct headed by but also can undergo deletion of shared materials. When not only in the first conjunct appears in the clause-initial position, negative inversion occurs. I analyze this as a new subtype of negative-inversion-ph: negative-conj-ph.

References


