

# Polarity and *wh*-constructions

## Topics

As the title suggests, in this class we are going to look at a number of related issues having to do with either polarity or *wh*-constructions, or both. The class will have the following macro-structure.

Part 1: Issues in the analysis of negative and positive polarity items and negative concord.

Part 2: Intervention effects in polarity licensing and *wh*-constructions.

Part 3: Polarity in questions, free relative clauses, free choice interpretations.

This is a fairly wide range of topics, concerning issues in both syntax and semantics of the phenomena in question. In fact, many of these phenomena have competing syntactic and semantic accounts, raising the interesting question how these may be told apart.

## Prerequisites

Syntax I and Semantics I.

## Requirements

Active class participation, several group presentations, term paper.

## Presentations

Participants will be asked to form groups of up to three students. In each class session, one group will give a 20 minute presentation. Here are some of the things you can do in your presentations:

- Bring up your own questions or comments concerning the lectures or readings.
- Collect and present questions or comments from other seminar participants.
- Introduce additional relevant material, including readings you'd like to discuss.
- Present possible term paper topics or discuss various stages of your term paper.

## Readings

For each session, one or two obligatory readings will be assigned. These will be made available online or in the Hill library for copying. Additional recommended readings will be made available as well.

## Some references

### 1. State-of-the-art readings

- Guerzoni, Elena: 2003, Why Even Ask? On the Pragmatics of Questions and the Semantics of Answers, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT. [sec. 2.6 & 2.7 on *even*]
- Herburger, Elena: 2001, 'The negative concord puzzle revisited', Natural Language Semantics **9**, 289-333.
- Krifka, Manfred: 1992, 'Some remarks on polarity items, in D. Zaefferer (ed.), Semantic universals and universal semantics, Foris, Berlin, pp. 150-189. [sec. 1 and 2]
- Krifka, Manfred: 1995, 'The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items', Linguistic Analysis **25**, 209-257. [sec. 1].
- Ladusaw, William. A.: 1996, 'Negation and polarity', in S. Lappin(ed.), The handbook of contemporary semantic theory, Blackwell, Oxford. [negative polarity]
- Rullmann, Hotze: 1997, '*Even*, polarity, and scope', in M. Gibson, G. Wiebe, and G. Libben (eds.), Papers in experimental and theoretical linguistics, vol. 4, Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Edmonton, pp. 40-64.

### 2. Classic readings on polarity items

- Baker, C. Lee.: 1970a, 'Double Negatives'. Linguistic Inquiry **1**, 169-187.
- Fauconnier, Gilles: 1975, 'Pragmatic scales and logical structures', Linguistic Inquiry **6**, 353-375.
- Klima, Edward, 1964, 'Negation in English', in J. Fodor and J. Katz (eds.), The Structure of Language, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, pp. 246-323.
- Ladusaw, William. A.: 1979, Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin. [Published 1980 by Garland, New York.]
- Ladusaw, William. A.: 1980, 'On the notion *affective* in the analysis of negative-polarity items', Journal of Linguistic Research **1**, 1-16. [Reprinted in P. Portner and B. Partee (eds.), Formal Semantics: The Essential Readings, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002.]
- Linebarger, Martia: 1980: The grammar of negative polarity, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Linebarger, Marcia: 1987, 'Negative polarity and grammatical representation', Linguistics and Philosophy **10**, 387-437.

### 3. Studies of particular polarity items

- den Dikken, Marcel and Anastasia Giannakidou: 2002, 'From hell to polarity: "Aggressively non-D-linked" *wh*-phrases as polarity items', Linguistic Inquiry **33**, 31-61.

- Giannakidou, Anastasia: 1999, 'Affective dependencies', Linguistics and Philosophy **22**, 367-421.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia: 2002, "UNTIL, aspect, and negation: A novel argument for two Untils", in Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory XII, CLC Publication, Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia: 2003, 'Polarity and the presupposition of EVEN', unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago.
- Haspelmath, Martin: 1997, Indefinite Pronouns, Oxford University Press, Oxford. [A cross-linguistic study of indefinite pronouns, including negative polarity items]
- Horn, Laurence: 2000a, 'Pick a Theory (Not just *Any* theory): Indiscriminatives and the Free-Choice Indefinite', in L. Horn and Y. Kato (eds.), Negation and Polarity, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 147-192.
- Kadmon, Nirit and Fred Landman: 1993, '*Any*', Linguistics and Philosophy **16**, 353-422.
- Krifka, Manfred: 1992, 'Some remarks on polarity items, in D. Zaefferer (ed.), Semantic universals and universal semantics, Foris, Berlin, pp. 150-189.
- Krifka, Manfred: 1995, 'The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items', Linguistic Analysis **25**, 209-257.
- Lahiri, Utpal: 1998, 'Focus and Negative Polarity in Hindi', Natural Language Semantics **6**, 57-123.
- Lin, Jo-Wang: 1996, Polarity Licensing and *wh*-phrase Quantification in Chinese, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. [ch. 4]
- Lin, Jo-Wang: 1998, 'On Existential Polarity *wh*-phrases in Chinese', Journal of East Asian Linguistics **7**: 219-255.
- Merchant, Jason: 2000, 'Antecedent-contained deletion in negative polarity items', Syntax **3**, 144-150.
- Sells, Peter: 2001, 'Negative Polarity Licensing and Interpretation', in S. Kuno et al. (eds.), Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics **9**, 2001. [Talks about negative polarity items in Korean.]
- De Swart, Henriette: 1996, "Meaning and use of *not ... until*", Journal of Semantics **13**, 221-263.
- Yamashita, Hideaki: 2002, 'On the Distribution and Licensing of Negative Polarity Items in Japanese and the Phase-Impenetrability Condition', in Proceedings of the Fourth Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics, Hituzi Syobo Publishing Company.

#### 4. Negative polarity items and *even*

- Barker, Laura and Elena Herburger: 2000 'Even *even* can be an NPI: Facts from Spanish', GUWTPL.

- Heim, Irene: 1984, 'A Note on Negative Polarity and Downward Entailingness', in C. Jones and P. Sells (eds.), Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society 14, pp. 98-107.
- Fauconnier, Gilles: 1975, 'Pragmatic scales and logical structures', Linguistic Inquiry 6, 353-375.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia: 2003, 'Polarity and the presupposition of EVEN', unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago.
- Guerzoni, Elena: 2003, Why Even Ask? On the Pragmatics of Questions and the Semantics of Answers, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Herburger, Elena: 2000, What counts: Focus and Quantification, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Kay, Paul: 1990, *Even*, Linguistics and Philosophy 13, 59-111.
- Lahiri, Utpal: 1998, 'Focus and Negative Polarity in Hindi', Natural Language Semantics 6, 57-123.
- Lee, Young-Suk and Laurence Horn: 1995, '*Any* as Indefinite plus *Even*', unpublished manuscript, Yale University.
- Rullmann, Hotze: 1997, '*Even*, polarity, and scope', in M. Gibson, G. Wiebe, and G. Libben (eds.), Papers in experimental and theoretical linguistics, vol. 4, Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Edmonton, pp. 40-64.
- Schwarz, Bernhard: 2003, 'Scalar additive particles in negative contexts', unpublished manuscript, University of Texas at Austin.
- Wilkinson, Karina: 1996, 'The scope of *even*', Natural Language Semantics 4, 193-215.

### 5. Negative Concord

- Giannakidou, Anastasia: 2000, 'Negative ... Concord?', Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 18, 457-523.
- Haegeman, Liliane: 1995, The syntax of negation, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Herburger, Elena: 2001, 'The negative concord puzzle revisited', Natural Language Semantics 9, 289-333.
- De Swart, Henriette and Ivan Sag: 2002, 'Negation and negative concord in Romance', Linguistics and Philosophy 25, 373-417.

### 6. Positive polarity items

- Baker, C. Lee.: 1970a, 'Double Negatives'. Linguistic Inquiry 1, 169-187;

- Baker, C. Lee: 1970b, 'Problems of Polarity in Counterfactuals', in J. Sadock and A. Vanek (eds.) Studies presented to Robert B. Lees by his Students, Linguistics Research Inc., Edmonton.
- Karttunen, Lauri: 1971, 'Subjunctive conditionals and polarity reversal', Papers in Linguistics **4**, 279-298.
- Krifka, Manfred: 1992, 'Some remarks on polarity items, in D. Zaefferer (ed.), Semantic universals and universal semantics, Foris, Berlin, pp. 150-189.
- Krifka, Manfred: 1995, 'The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items', Linguistic Analysis **25**, 209-257.
- Ladusaw, William. A.: 1979, Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin. [Published 1980 by Garland, New York.]
- Reinhart, Tanya: 1976, 'Polarity Reversal: Logic or Pragmatics?' Linguistic Inquiry **7**, 687-705.
- Szabolcsi, Anna: to appear, "Negative Polarity – Positive Polarity", Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.  
[<http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/jUwM2UwN>]

#### 7. Studies of particular negative polarity contexts

- Atlas, Jay D.: 1996, 'Only noun phrases, pseudo-negative generalized quantifiers, negative polarity items, and monotonicity', Journal of Semantics **13**, 265-328.
- Beaver, David and Brady Clark: 2002, 'Monotonicity and focus sensitivity', in B. Jackson (ed.), Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory XII, pp. 40-58.
- von Stechow, Kai: 1999, 'NPI-licensing, Strawson-Entailment, and context dependency', Journal of Semantics **16**, 97-148.
- Heim, Irene: 1984, 'A Note on Negative Polarity and Downward Entailingness', in C. Jones and P. Sells (eds.), Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society 14, pp. 98-107.
- Horn, Laurence: 1992, 'The said and the unsaid', in C. Barker and D. Dowty (eds.), Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory II, Ohio State University, Columbus, pp. 163-192.
- Zwarts, Frans: 1998, 'Three types of polarity', in: F. Hamman E. Hinrichs (eds.), Plurality and Quantification, Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 177-238.

#### 8. Polarity items in questions

- Guerzoni, Elena: 2003, Why Even Ask? On the Pragmatics of Questions and the Semantics of Answers, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

Krifka, Manfred: 1995, 'The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items', Linguistic Analysis **25**, 209-257.

Van Rooy, Robert: to appear, 'Negative Polarity Items in Questions: Strength as Relevance', Journal of Semantics.

### 9. Negative dependencies and surface structure

Haegeman, Liliane: 1995, The syntax of negation, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Linebarger, Martia: 1980: The grammar of negative polarity, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

Sells, Peter: 2001, 'Negative Polarity Licensing and Interpretation', in S. Kuno et al. (eds.), Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics **9**, 2001. [Talks about negative polarity licensing in Korean.]

Uribe-Etxebarria, Myriam: 1995, 'Negative Polarity Licensing, Indefinites, and Complex Predicates', in M. Simons and T. Galloway (eds.), Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistics Theory V, Cornell University, Ithaca.

Yamashita, Hideaki: 2002, 'On the Distribution and Licensing of Negative Polarity Items in Japanese and the Phase-Impenetrability Condition', in Proceedings of the Fourth Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics, Hituzi Syobo Publishing Company.

### 10. Intervention effects and negative islands

Beck, Sigrid and Shin-Sook Kim: 1997, 'On *Wh*- and operator scope in Korean', Journal of East Asian Linguistics **6**, 339-384.

Chierchia, Gennaro: to appear, 'Scalar Implicatures, Polarity Phenomena, and the Syntax/Pragmatics Interface', in A. Beletti (ed.), Structures and Beyond, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Beck, Sigrid: 1996, 'Quantified structures as barriers for LF-movement', Natural Language Semantics **4**, 1-56.

Beck, Sigrid and Hotze Rullmann: 1999, 'A flexible approach to exhaustivity in questions', Natural Language Semantics **7**, 249-298.

Guerzoni, Elena: 2003, 'Intervention effects on NPIs and feature movement: Towards a unified account of intervention', unpublished manuscript, MIT.

Kratzer, Angelika and Junko Shimoyama: 2002, "Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese, in: Proceedings of the 3rd Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics. [Longer version available at <http://semanticsarchive.net/>]

Krifka, Manfred: 1995, 'The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items', Linguistic Analysis **25**, 209-257.

- Ko, Heejeong: 2003, 'Syntax of why-in-situ: Merge into [Spec,CP] in the overt syntax', unpublished manuscript, MIT.
- Linebarger, Marcia: 1987, 'Negative polarity and grammatical representation', Linguistics and Philosophy **10**, 387-437.
- Pesetsky, David: 2000, 'Phrasal Movement and its Kin', MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Progovac, Ljiljane: 1994, Negative and positive polarity: A binding approach, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Rullmann, Hotze: 1995, Maximality in the semantics of wh-constructions, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Shimoyama, Junko: 2001, Wh-constructions in Japanese, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

#### 11. Syntax and semantics of free relative clauses

- Bhatt, Rajesh: 2003, 'Locality in correlatives', Natural Language and Linguistic Theory **21**, 485-541.
- Citko, Barbara: 2002, "(Anti)Reconstruction Effects in Free Relatives: A New Argument against the Comp Account", Linguistic Inquiry **33**, 507-511.
- Dayal, Veneeta: 1995, "Quantification in Correlatives", in E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer, and B. Partee (eds), Quantification in Natural Language, Kluwer Dordrecht, pp. 179-205.
- Dayal, Veneeta: 1996, Locality in Wh-Quantification, Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Dayal, Veneeta: 1997, 'Free Relatives and *ever*: Identity and Free Choice Readings', in Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory VII, CLC Publication, Cornell University, Ithaca.  
[<http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~dayal/ever.pdf>]
- von Stechow, Kai: 2000, "Whatever", in Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory X, CLC Publication, Cornell University, Ithaca.  
[<http://web.mit.edu/fintel/www/whatever.pdf>]
- Horn, Laurence: 2000b, "*any* and (-)ever: Free choice and free relatives", in A. Wyner (ed.), IATL 15 (Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Israeli Association for Theoretical Linguistics), 71-111.  
[[http://www.yale.edu/linguist/faculty/IATL\\_paper\\_for\\_publication\\_RTF.rtf](http://www.yale.edu/linguist/faculty/IATL_paper_for_publication_RTF.rtf)]
- Iatridou, Sabine and Spyridoula Varlakosta: 1998, "Pseudo-Clefts Crosslinguistically", Natural Language Semantics **6**, 3-28.
- Jacobson, Pauline: 1995: "On the quantificational force of English free relatives", in E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer, and B. Partee (eds), Quantification in Natural Language, Kluwer Dordrecht, pp. 451-486.

van Riemsdijk, Henk: (to appear), "Free Relatives: A Syntactic Case Study", to be included in the Syntax Companion (SynCom), an (electronic) encyclopaedia of syntactic case studies, LingComp Foundation.  
[<http://cwis.uvt.nl/~fdl/general/people/riemsdh/FR.PDF>]

Schlenker, Philippe: 2003, "Clausal Equations (A note on the connectivity problem)", Natural Language and Linguistic Theory **21**, 157-214.

## 12. Free choice interpretations

Dayal, Veneeta: 1997, 'Free Relatives and *ever*: *Identity and Free Choice Readings*', in Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory VII, CLC Publication, Cornell University, Ithaca.  
[<http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~dayal/ever.pdf>]

Dayal, Veneeta: 1998, '*Any* as inherently modal', Linguistics and Philosophy **21**, 433-476.

von Stechow, Kai: 2000, "Whatever", in Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory X, CLC Publication, Cornell University, Ithaca.  
[<http://web.mit.edu/fintel/www/whatever.pdf>]

Giannakidou, Anastasia: 2001, 'The meaning of free choice', Linguistics and Philosophy **24**, 659-735.

Haspelmath, Martin: 1997, Indefinite Pronouns, Oxford University Press, Oxford. [A cross-linguistic study of indefinite pronouns, including free choice items]

Horn, Laurence: 2000a, 'Pick a Theory (Not just *Any* theory): Indiscriminatives and the Free-Choice Indefinite', in L. Horn and Y. Kato (eds.), Negation and Polarity, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 147-192.

Horn, Laurence: 2000b, "*any* and (-)*ever*: Free choice and free relatives", in A. Wyner (ed.), IATL 15 (Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Israeli Association for Theoretical Linguistics), 71-111.  
[[http://www.yale.edu/linguist/faculty/IATL\\_paper\\_for\\_publication\\_RTF.rtf](http://www.yale.edu/linguist/faculty/IATL_paper_for_publication_RTF.rtf)]

Kadmon, Nirit and Fred Landman: 1993, '*Any*', Linguistics and Philosophy **16**, 353-422.

Kratzer, Angelika and Junko Shimoyama: 2002, "Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese, in: Proceedings of the 3rd Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics. [Longer version available at <http://semanticsarchive.net/>]

Krifka, Manfred: 1992, 'Some remarks on polarity items, in D. Zaefferer (ed.), Semantic universals and universal semantics, Foris, Berlin, pp. 150-189.

Lahiri, Utpal: 1998, 'Focus and Negative Polarity in Hindi', Natural Language Semantics **6**, 57-123.

Saebø, Kjell Johan: 2001, 'The Semantics of Scandinavian Free Choice Items', Linguistics and Philosophy **24**, 737-787.