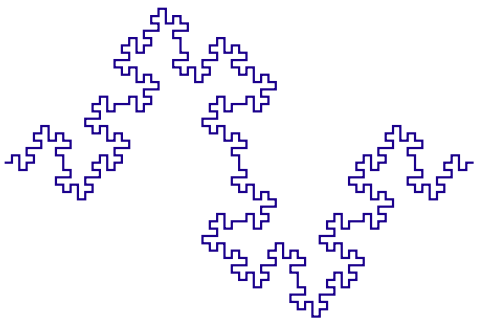
On the Dependent Character of PI Licensing

Vincent Homer
vincenthomer@gmail.com

ENS-DEC (IJN)



GLOW 34, University of Vienna. April 27th 2011

Intervention

- Intervention caused by *and, every, always, because*-clauses (facts known at least since Linebarger 1981).

(1) a. I doubt that every housemate of Sue has potatoes.
b. *I **doubt** that **every** housemate of Sue has **any** potatoes.
c. ***Doubt** . . . **every** . . . **NPI.**

(2) a. I didn't drink a cocktail and a soda.
b. *I did**n't** drink a cocktail **and** **any** soda.
c. ***Not** . . . **and** . . . **NPI.**

Intervention

- Intervention by *some*.

(3) (*Context:* Some objects are nowhere to be found…)

a. I'm **not** sure that **anyone** stole **anything.**
b. I'm **not** sure that **someone** stole **something.** ✓NEG>SOME
c. I'm **not** sure that **anyone** stole **something.** ✓NEG>SOME

d. I'm **not** sure that **someone** stole **anything.** *NEG>SOME

Important question

- There is no consensus about the exact role of DE (and AA) expressions: what is it really that licenses NPIs?
- **Operators** or **environments?**

Operator-based approach

Ladusaw 1979, Progovac 1993, von Fintel 1999, Szabolcsi 2004, Guerzoni 2006, Gajewski 2009 a.o.

- An NPI needs a DE operator;
- Once licensed, an NPI can no longer be anti-licensed (or so it seems): there can be an arbitrary number of DE expressions above an NPI:

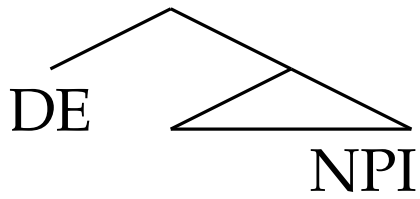
(4) It is **not** the case that John did**n't** understand **anything.**

- This is suggestive of a structural dependency between an operator and the NPI.
- **Prediction:** an even number of DE expressions cannot lead to anti-licensing.

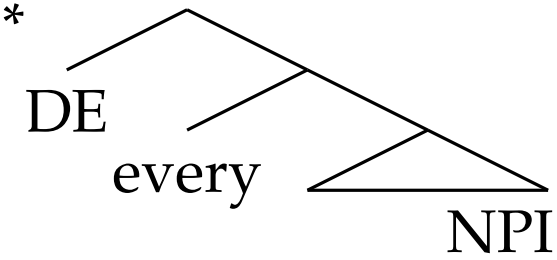
Licensing by operators

(5) An NPI π^- is licensed in sentence S only if π^- is in the **scope of an operator** α such that $[\![\alpha]\!]$ is DE (AA).

(6)



(7) *



- Claim: an NPI must be in the immediate scope of its 'licenser';
- No clear connection between monotonicity and the presence of interveners.

Environment-based approach

(8) An NPI π^- is licensed in a sentence S only if π^- is in a **constituent** A of S such that A is DE with respect to the position of π^-. Chierchia 2004, Gajewski 2005

(9) A constituent A is DE (non-DE) w.r.t. the position of α ($[\![\alpha]\!] \in D_\sigma$) iff the function $\lambda x.[\![A[\alpha/v_\sigma]]\!]^{g[v_\sigma \to x]}$ is DE (non-DE resp.). Gajewski 2005

(10) It is **not** the case that John did**n't** understand **anything.**

- The licensers are constituents, whose logical properties are what matters to the acceptability of PIs;
- The contribution to meaning of **all** the parts of the constituents that a PI finds itself in is taken into account;
- **Prediction:** an even number of DE expressions can lead to anti-licensing;
- Interveners ruin the monotonicity of environments.

PPIs

- A PPI of the *some*-type cannot be in the scope of a *clausemate* **anti-additive** operator, i.e. negation, negative quantifiers, . . .

(11) a. It is **impossible** that John understood something.
✓IMPOSSIBLE>SOME
b. John did**n't** understand something. *NEG>SOME
c. **No one** understood something. *NEG>SOME
d. **At most five people** understood something.
✓AT_MOST_5>SOME

- Universally accepted idea: *some* is only anti-licensed by AA expressions.
- No complementary distribution:

(12) a. It is **impossible** that J. understood anything.
b. It is **impossible** that J. understood something. ✓IMP.>SOME

- A unified account of *some* and *any* is impossible. (Szabolcsi 2004)

Anti-additivity

- Strong NPIs, e.g. punctual *until* and *a single* require 'more negative' functions.

(13) A function f is Anti-additive (AA) iff
$f(A \vee B) \iff f(A) \wedge f(B)$ [Zwarts 1998]

- Negation and negative quantifiers (*no one, nothing, never, etc.*) are not just DE, they are AA;
- *At most five* is strictly DE.

(14) a. **No one** left **until** Friday.
b. ??**At most 5 people** left **until** Friday.

(15) a. **No one** understood **a single** thing.
b. ??**At most 5 people** understood **a single** thing.

Goals

I am going to show that a unified account is possible:

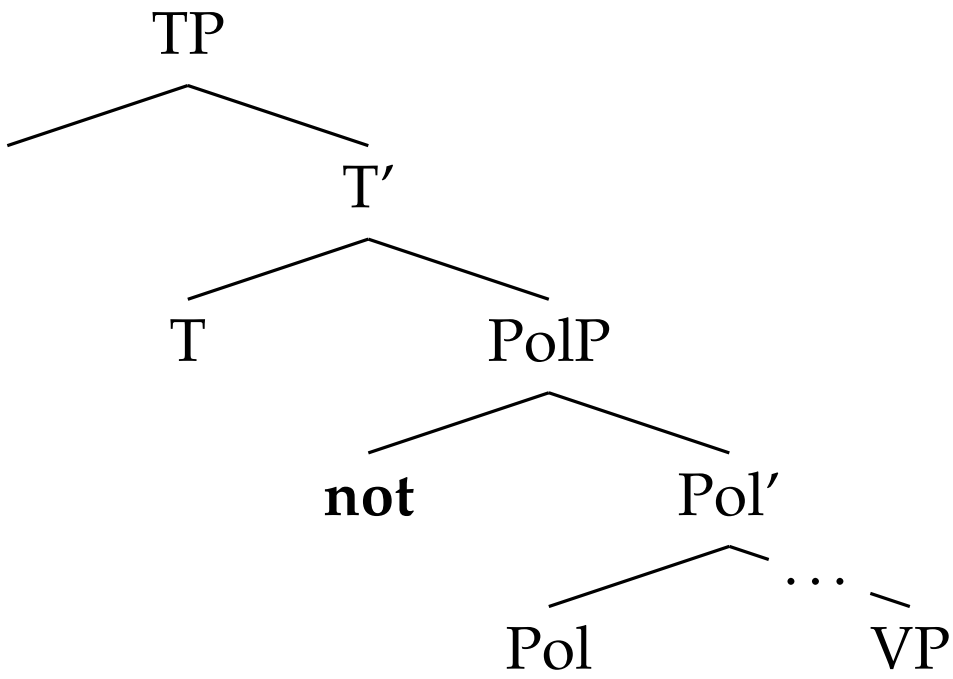
1. PIs are licensed by constituents ('domains'), which need not be maximally large;
2. Not all domains are *eligible* for checking (e.g. for certain PIs, only constituents that contain the Pol head are eligible);
3. Licensing is computed cyclically;
4. PPIs of the *some*-type are in complementary distribution **in a given constituent** with NPIs of the *any*-type (**unity** of the two phenomena).
5. Polarity clashes lead to **intervention.**

- Analogy with binding and phase theory;
- Implications for the architecture of grammar.

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

Assumption: each clause contains a Pol head.

(16)



1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

=Checking of licensing is done on constituents, but not all constituents are eligible for this procedure.

NPI

*[$_{TP}$ [$_{PolP}$ **DE DE** ... π^{-}

(17) a. *It is[**n't impossible** that John understood a single thing.
b. It is **impossible** that John understood a single thing.

PPI

*[$_{TP}$ [$_{PolP}$ **DE**... π^{+}

(18) a. John did[**n't** understand something. *NEG>SOME
b. John understood something.

2. Entanglement and cyclicity

- Entanglement:

*$[_{TP}$ **DE**$\ldots[_{CP}$ $\pi^{+}\ldots[_{PolP}$ π^{-}

(19) It's **impossible** that someone understood anything.

*IMPOS.>SOME

- Source of 'new' intervention.
  - Cyclicity:

✓$[_{TP}$ **DE**$\ldots[_{CP}$ $\pi^{-}\ldots[_{PolP}$ π^{+}

(20) It's **impossible** that anyone understood something.

✓IMPOS.>SOME

3. Licensing is liberal

- One appropriate constituent is sufficient.

NPI

✓[$_{\text{TP}}$ **DE**. . . [$_{\text{CP}}$ **DE**. . . π^{-}

(21) It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand a single thing.

PPI

✓[$_{\text{TP}}$ **DE** . . . [$_{\text{PolP}}$ **DE**. . . π^{+}

(22) It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something.

4. Complementarity

- In any given constituent:

(23) $[_{XP} \ldots \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ \text{XOR} \\ \text{some} \end{array} \right\}$

(24) a. John did**n't** understand anything.
b. John did**n't** understand something. *NEG>SOME

- Apparent non-complementarity:

(25) It's **impossible** that John understood anything.

(26) It's **impossible** that John understood something. ✓IMP.>SOME

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

=Checking of licensing is done on constituents, but not all constituents are eligible for this procedure.

NPI

- The strong NPI *a single* is sensitive to the relative position of DE expressions above it.

(27)
a. It's **impossible** that John understood a single thing.
b. *It's **not impossible** that John understood a single thing.
c. **Not** that it's **impossible** that John understood a single thing.

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

- Intuition: in (28b), licensing has to take into account both *not* and *impossible;*
- 'Flip-flop' is directly observable with certain NPIs (cf. also Schmerling 1971).

(28) a. It's [**impossible** that John understood a single thing.
b. *It's [**not impossible** that John understood a single thing.
c. **Not** that it's [**impossible** that John understood a single thing.

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

- The distance between two DE expressions matters.
- In each clause C, the PolP (or NegP) of C is the smallest constituent eligible for the checking of the licensing of *a single*.
- **Licensing domain of π:** a constituent upon which the licensing of π is checked.
- **Minimal licensing domain of π:** the smallest constituent containing π upon which the licensing of π can be checked.
- Minimal domains are PI specific.

(28a) It's **impossible** that John understood a single thing.

$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **impossible** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↗1] **[a single]$_1$**

(28b) *It's **not impossible** that John understood a single thing.

*$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1] **not impossible** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↗1] **[a single]$_1$**

(28c) **Not** that it's **impossible** that John understood a single thing.

$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1] **not** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1] **impossible** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↗1] **[a single]$_1$**

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

- Two English dialects w.r.t. *any*-type NPIs.
  - Dialect A:

(29) a. *It's **not impossible** that John understood anything.
b. *I do**n't doubt** that John understood anything.

  - Dialect B:

(30) a. It's **not impossible** that John understood anything.
b. I do**n't doubt** that John understood anything.

- Two options:
  - The licensing of *any* in dialect B is not environment-based;
  - It is environment based but the minimal domain of this item is smaller than PolP.
- Minimal domain of French weak NPIs: PolP.

▸ French

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

PPI (of the *some*-type)

(31) a. John did**n't** understand something. *NEG>SOME
b. **No one** understood something. *NEG>SOME

c. It's **impossible** that John understood something.
✓IMPOS.>SOME
d. **At most five people** understood something.
✓AT_MOST_5>SOME

- In (31a) and (31b), it is not possible to check the licensing upon a constituent that doesn't contain the clausemate negation (the licensing domain must be at least as large as PolP).
- In (31c) as well as in (31d), the smallest PolP is UE w.r.t. the position of *some*.

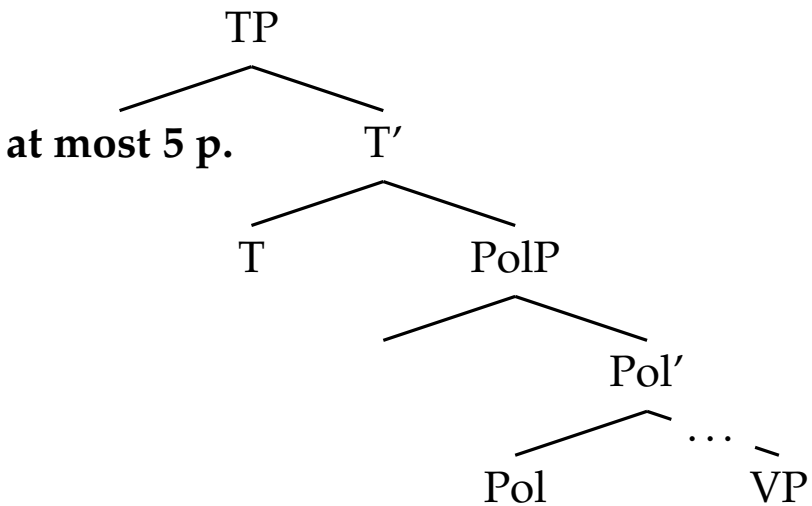
(31a) John did**n't** understand something.

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not** **something$_1$**

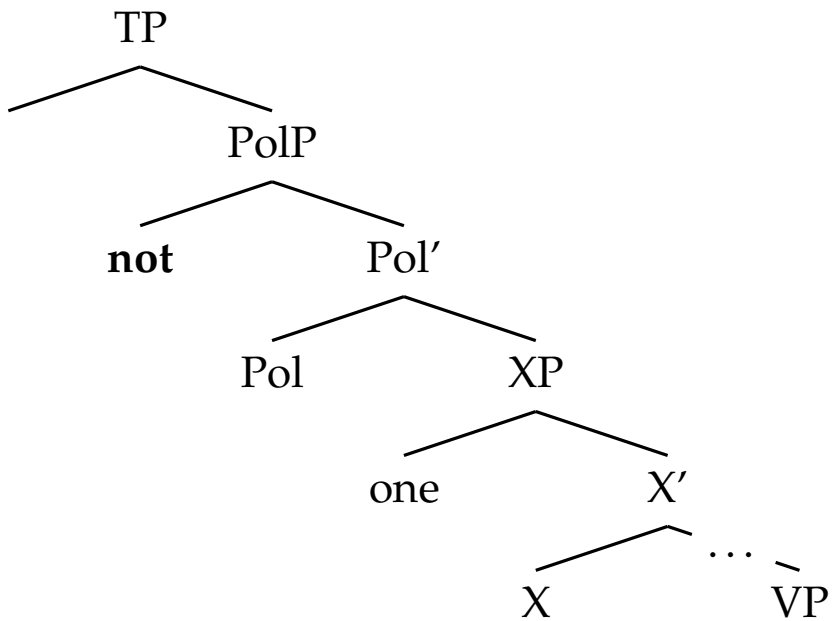
(31c) It's **impossible** that John understood something.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **impossible** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↗1] **something$_1$**

(32) At most five people didn't come. AT_MOST_5>NEG



'At most five people understood something.'



'No one understood something.'
(*n.s. of *some*)

Negative quantifiers

- Evidence for analyzing them as made up of negation and an existential quantifier in its scope (Geurts 1996, Zeijlstra & Penka 2005, Iatridou & Sichel 2008, a.o.):
  - Reconstruction impossible (33a).

(33)

a.	No doctor can be present.	*CAN>NO_DOCTOR
b.	John cannot be present.	*CAN>NOT
c.	At most five people can be present.	CAN>AT_MOST_5

  - Split scope possible (34).

(34) No doctor has to be present.
There is no doctor x such that x has to be present. (wide scope)
It is not required that a doctor be present. (split scope)

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

(31b) **No one** understood something. *NEG>SOME

*[TP ↘1 [PolP ↘1 **not** one **something**$_1$

(31d) **At most five people** understood something.

✓[TP ↘1 **at most five** [PolP ↗1 **something**$_1$

1. Licensing by constituents and Granularity

PPI

- Composition of DE functions ('rescuing') in (35b):

(35) a. **Few people** did**n't** understand something. ✓NEG>SOME

b. It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something. ✓NEG>SOME

c. It's **not impossible** that John did**n't** understand something. *NEG>SOME

d. **Not** that it's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something. ✓NEG>SOME

- In fact, this is just 'flip-flop' applied to PPIs.

(35a) **Few people** did**n't** understand something.

✓[

few people [

not **something**$_1$

(35b) It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something.

✓[$_{TP}$ [

impossible [$_{CP}$ [

not **something**$_1$

(35c) It's **not impossible** that John did**n't** understand something.

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not impossible** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not something**$_1$

(35d) **Not** that it's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↗1] **imposs.** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not someth.**$_1$

Intervention

- Disruption of NPI licensing (**'intervention'**) caused by the presence of certain expressions, e.g. *every, always, and. . .*;
- The very same expressions **'shield'** PPIs.

(36) a. *__Not__ everyone understood anything.
b. __Not__ everyone understood something. ✓NEG>SOME

- Monotonicity disruption.

N.B.: Split scope:

(37) Not everyone can be on the Board. NOT>CAN>EVERY

Intervention

- According to Chierchia (2004), the interveners form a natural class: they are all **strong scalar terms.** Ex.: <**every**, most, some>, <**and**, or>.
- Scalar implicatures triggered by a DE function like *not* outscoping a strong scalar term disrupt NPI licensing.

(38) a. It is **not** the case that **everybody** has roses.
b. *Scalar implicature:* Somebody has roses.

Intervention

- Grammar provides **two** meanings: plain and strong.
- The notion of meaning which is relevant for NPI licensing is the notion of **strong meaning:** the strong meaning of sentence ϕ noted $[\![\phi]\!]^s$ is the **conjunction** of the **plain meaning** (truth conditions) of ϕ and its **implicatures.**

- Indirect implicatures triggered by a DE expression like *not* outscoping a strong scalar term disrupt NPI licensing.

Example

(39) *It is **not** the case that **everybody** has any roses.

(40) $[\![\text{blue roses}]\!] \subseteq [\![\text{roses}]\!]$

(41) a. It is not the case that everybody has **roses.**
Scalar Implicature: Somebody has roses.
b. It is not the case that everybody has **blue roses.**
Scalar Implicature: Somebody has blue roses.

(42) $[\![(41a)]\!]^s = \neg[\forall x\ \text{some}_D'(\text{roses}')(\lambda y.\ x \text{ has } y)]$
$\wedge\ \exists x\ \text{some}_D'(\text{roses}')(\lambda y.\ x \text{ has } y)$

(43) $[\![(41b)]\!]^s = \neg[\forall x\ \text{some}_D'(\text{blue roses}')(\lambda y.\ x \text{ has } y)]$
$\wedge\ \exists x\ \text{some}_D'(\text{blue roses}')(\lambda y.\ x \text{ has } y)$

$$[\![(41a)]\!]^s \not\Rightarrow [\![(41b)]\!]^s$$

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: a PPI and an NPI

NPI & PPI

- We witness a **polarity clash,** which shows that the licensing of a PI in a given constituent A depends on the licensing of all other PIs in A.

(44) It's **impossible** that someone understood anything. *IMP.>SOME

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1 ↘2] **imposs.** [CP ↗1 ↗2] **someone**$_2$ [$_{PolP}$ **anything**$_1$

(45) a. It's **impossible** that someone understood you.
b. It's **impossible** that someone understood something.
c. It's **impossible** that anyone understood anything.

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: a PPI and an NPI

NPI & PPI

(46) It's **impossible** that anyone understood something.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1 ↘2] **imposs.** [$_{CP}$ **anyone**$_2$ [PolP ↗1] **something**$_1$

- The PPI is licensed at a previous stage of a **cycle.**
- Direct evidence that the licensing of *any* is checked on constituents.
- Reminder:

(47) I do**n't doubt** that John understood anything. Dialect B

- Two options:
  - The licensing of *any* is dialect B is not environment-based;
  - It is environment based but the minimal domain of this item is smaller than PolP.

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: a PPI and an NPI

NPI & PPI

- Abstractly:

$$*\mathbf{DE} \ldots [_{\mathrm{CP}} \ \pi^{+} \ldots \pi^{-} \ \ldots$$

$$\checkmark \mathbf{DE} \ldots [_{\mathrm{CP}} \ \pi^{-} \ \ldots [_{\mathrm{PolP}} \ \ldots \pi^{+} \ \ldots$$

Licensing Condition

(48) Licensing Condition of PIs: A PI π is licensed in a sentence S only if π is contained in at least one eligible constituent A of S which has the right monotonicity w.r.t. the position of π, and all other PIs in A are licensed within A.

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: two PPIs

2 PPIs

- Abstractly:

$$*[_{\mathrm{CP}}\ \mathbf{DE} \ldots [_{\mathrm{CP}}\ \pi_k^+ \ldots [_{\mathrm{PolP}}\ \mathbf{DE} \ldots \pi_l^+ \ldots$$

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: two PPIs

(49) —A: No one is hiding.
—#B: That's exactly true, someone is**n't** hiding.

(50) —A: Someone is hiding.
—B: That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that someone is**n't** hiding.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1] **impossible** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1] **not** someone$_1$

(51) —A: Everyone is hiding.
—B: That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that someone is**n't** hiding.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↘1] **impossible** [CP ↗1] someone$_1$ [$_{PolP}$ **not**

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: two PPIs

(52) —A: Someone is hiding.
—B: That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that someone is**n't** hiding somewhere.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↗2] **impossible** [$_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1 ↘2] **not** someone$_2$ somewh.$_1$

(53) —A: Everyone is hiding.
—B: #That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that someone is**n't** hiding somewhere.

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↘2] **impossible** [CP ↘1 ↗2] so$_2$ [PolP ↘1] **not** somewh.$_1$

—B′: That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that anyone is**n't** hiding somewhere.

[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↘2] **impossible** [CP ↘1 ↗2] anyo$_2$ [PolP ↘1] **not** somewh.$_1$

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: two PPIs

- Let's add one level of embedding: the missing reading reappears.

(54) a. —A: Everyone is trying to hide.
b. —B: That's exactly true, it's **impossible** that someone is**n't** trying to hide somewhere.

✓[$_{TP3}$ [PolP3 ↗1 ↘2] **impossible** [CP ↘1 ↗2] **someone$_2$** [PolP2 ↘1] **not** [$_{TP1}$ [PolP1 ↗1] **somewhere$_1$**

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity: two PPIs

(55) a. You ca**n't** convince me that someone has**n't** already solved this problem. [Ladusaw 1979, McCawley 1998]
*NEG>SOME>NEG; NEG>NEG>SOME

b. You ca**n't** convince me that someone has**n't** solved this problem. NEG>SOME>NEG; NEG>NEG>SOME

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↘2 **n't** [CP ↘1 ↗2 **so**$_2$ [PolP ↘1 **not already**$_1$

(56) a. You ca**n't** convince me that someone is**n't** still holed up in this cave. [Baker 1970, McCawley 1998]
*NEG>SOME>NEG; NEG>NEG>SOME

b. You ca**n't** convince me that someone is**n't** holed up in this cave. NEG>SOME>NEG; NEG>NEG>SOME

*[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↘2 **n't** [CP ↘1 ↗2 **so**$_2$ [PolP ↘1 **not still**$_1$

2. Entanglement and Cyclicity

- Evidence for cyclicity from NPIs:

(57) It's **impossible** that anyone did**n't** understand anything.

✓[$_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↘2] **imposs.** [CP ↘1 ↗2] **anyo**$_2$ [PolP ↘1] **not anyth.**$_1$

3. Licensing is liberal

NPI

(58) It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand a single thing.

$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1] **impossible** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↖1] **not [a single]$_1$**

PPI

(59) It's **impossible** that John did**n't** understand something.

$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1] **impossible** $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↖1] **not something$_1$**

- This freedom is restricted by the limited eligibility of domains (granularity).

4. Complementarity

- *Some* is anti-licensed by downward-entailingness:

(60) I'm **not** sure that someone understood anything. *NOT>SOME

▸ Not sure

(61) **At most five people** sold someone anything. *NOT>SOME

- But not by non-monotonicity (while *any* is):

(62) a. **No** salesclerk sold exactly 42 people *anything/something.
b. It is **not** the case that everybody has *any/some roses.

- The monotonicity properties that license *some* are the complement of the monotonicity properties that license *any* and vice versa.

4. Complementarity

- **In a given licensing constituent,** *some* and *any* are in **complementary distribution.**

(63) $[_{XP} \ldots \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ \text{XOR} \\ \text{some} \end{array} \right\}$

(64) a. John did**n't** understand anything.
b. John did**n't** understand something. *NOT>SOME

(65) a. It's **impossible** that someone understood something.
b. It's **impossible** that anyone understood anything.

c. It's **impossible** that someone understood anything.
*IMPOS.>SOME

Some doesn't Interrupt a Syntactic Relation

(66) **At most five people** sold someone anything.

*[TP ↘1 ↘2 **at most 5 p.** T [PolP ↗1 ↗2 **someo**$_2$ **anyth.**$_1$ sell t_2 t_1

(67) **At most five people** sold anyone something.

*[TP ↘1 ↘2 **at most 5 p.** T [PolP ↗1 ↗2 **anyo**$_2$ **someth.**$_1$ sell t_2 t_1

(68) a. **At most five people** told anyone that someone had come.
AT_MOST_5>SOME

b. **At most five people** told someone that anyone had come.
*AT_MOST_5>SOME

Some doesn't Interrupt a Syntactic Relation

- The problem is general with PPIs:

(69) a. He would rather be in Montpelier.
b. *He wouldn't rather be in Montpelier.

(70) There isn't anyone here who wouldn't rather do something downtown.

$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↗2 ↘3] **not anyone**$_3$ $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1 ↘2] **not [would rather]**$_2$ **something**$_1$ do t_1

(71) *There isn't anyone here who wouldn't rather do anything downtown.

*$[_{TP}$ [PolP ↗1 ↗2 ↘3] **not anyo.**$_3$ $[_{CP}$ [PolP ↘1 ↘2] **not [would rather]**$_2$ **anything**$_1$ do t_1

Some doesn't Interrupt a Syntactic Relation

- Difference between the two kinds of intervention:

(72) a. If someone stole a camera, we're in trouble.
b. If John stole anything, we're in trouble.
c. If someone stole anything, we're in trouble. ?IF>SOME

(73) *If everyone stole anything, we're in trouble.

- The difference is expected: *if*-clauses are not in fact DE (they are only DE given background assumptions).
- Narrow scope of the PPI is not perfect though. I propose that this is due to the tension placed on the system (constituent both DE and pseudo-DE).

Conclusion

- What (anti)-licenses PIs? Licensing is done by constituents, which must have the right monotonicity w.r.t. PIs;
- What evidence? Flip-flop (with NPIs and PPIs) and entanglement (one NPI and one PPI; 2 PPIs). Existence of minimal domains (PI specific);
- Why do we observe NPIs available under an even number of DE expressions? Licensing is computed cyclically and it is liberal. New perspective on architecture;
- Link between NPIs and PPIs? Unified theory: deep unity between the negative and the positive polarity phenomena (mirror image of each other).

Acknowledgments

Thank you!

- Dominique Sportiche, Philippe Schlenker, Jessica Rett, Tim Stowell, Hilda Koopman, Benjamin Spector, Benjamin George;
- My consultants, in particular Heather Burnett and Susan Schweitzer.

Common argument against licensing by constituents

- The licensing of PPIs of the *some*-type cannot be constituent-based, according to almost all researchers, because the logical composition of an increasing function and an anti-additive function is decreasing;
- It is assumed that *some* is not vulnerable to downward-entailingness, and should as such be salvaged by the composition of the two functions.

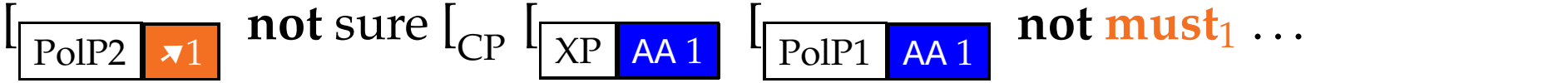
(74) More than three people do**n't** understand something.
*NEG>SOME

- But *some* **is** vulnerable to DEness.

Liberality

- Evaluation can take place in two different domains of 'mobile PPIs' (PPIs that raise to avoid being in a DE (AA?) environment, e.g. *must, should, ought, supposed…*)

(75) (Speaking about a five-year-old boy, whose parents are very demanding.)
–This poor kid does so many chores: he must$_{deon}$ empty the dishwasher, feed the dog, clean his bedroom, make his bed…
–Yes, you're right, and I'm **not** sure that he must$_{deon}$**n't** rake the leaves too. NEG > NEG > MUST$_{deon}$



Liberality

(76) I know that John's condition imposes drastic precautions, but even then I'm **not** sure that he must$_{deon}$**n't** rake the leaves.

NEG > MUST$_{deon}$ >NEG

[PolP2 ↘1] **not** sure [$_{CP}$ [XP ↘1] **must**$_1$ [$_{PolP1}$ **not** t$_1$

Identity

- In French, NPIs are productively derived from PPIs:

(77) a. Jean a compris **quelque chose.**
b. Jean n'a **pas** compris **quelque chose que ce soit.**

- Hypothesis: (certain) NPIs are **protected** PPIs in disguise (PPIs can be shielded, rescued, but also salvaged by modification, i.e. subtrigging).

French

- Granularity:

(78)
a. Il est **impossible** que Jean ait compris quoi que ce soit.
b. *Il n'est **pas impossible** que Jean ait compris quoi que ce soit.
c. **Non** pas qu'il soit **impossible** que Jean ait compris quoi que ce soit.

- Entanglement and cyclicity:

(79)
a. Je ne pense **pas** que quelqu'un ait volé quoi que ce soit.
*PAS>QUELQUE
b. Je ne pense **pas** que qui que ce soit ait volé quelque chose.
c. Je ne pense **pas** que quelqu'un n'ait **pas** répondu quelque chose.(=$\exists x \exists y$[répondre'(x,y)]; $\neq \forall x \exists y$[répondre'(x,y)])

Return

Not sure

(80) I'm not sure that Mary read a book $\Rightarrow$ I'm not sure that Mary read a novel. (DE)

(81) a. I'm not sure that Mary drinks or smokes $\Rightarrow$ I'm not sure that Mary drinks and I'm not sure that Mary smokes.

b. I'm not sure that Mary drinks and I'm not sure that Mary smokes $\not\Rightarrow$ I'm not sure that Mary drinks or smokes. (not AA)

◂ Return