Positive and negative polarity: a matter of resumption

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It has been recently argued (Szabolcsi 2004) that the distribution of positive polarity items can be accounted for in terms of negative polarity items-licensing. I present empirical evidence in favor of the strong relation between NPIs and PPIs on the basis of two types of polarity items in Romanian: n-words and the PPI *oarecare*. I argue that these dependent elements are sensitive to the same semantic property, namely antimorphy. This generalization provides strong support for Szabolcsi's claim that positive polarity is not just a prohibition to appear in the scope of negation, but rather 'halfway licensing' of polarity sensitive items.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I present evidence in favor of a unifying account of positive and negative polarity. While negative polarity is a well-attested phenomenon and there are many different analyses that try to account for the restrictions on the distribution and interpretation of negative polarity items, positive polarity has received much less attention in the literature. Recently, however, Szabolcsi (2004) has put forth a unifying account of these two phenomena and defended the hypothesis that positive polarity is not just a prohibition to appear in the scope of negation, but rather 'halfway licensing' of polarity-sensitive items. More specifically, the positive polarity item, together with the semantic operator that normally anti-licenses it, behaves like a negative polarity item (NPI), subject to familiar constraints on NPI-licensing. On the empirical side, this study focuses on the properties of two semantically dependent types of items in Romanian: n-words and *oarecare*-indefinites. I argue that these elements are both sensitive to the same semantic property, namely antimorphy: the former are licensed only in antimorphic contexts, the latter are anti-licensed in the same antimorphic environments. The existence of such correspondences, together with the shared distributional properties, provides strong support for the relation between negative and positive polarity items, as implemented in Szabolcsi's proposal. At a more theoretical level, I argue that resumptive quantification is the semantic mechanism underlying the interpretation of both positive and negative polarity.

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2. Classification of polarity items

Polarity items are typically classified according to the negative strength of the contexts that determine their distribution: Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) need to be licensed by a 'negative' operator, whereas Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) cannot be in the scope of such an operator. One of the most influential views of negative polarity maintains that the relevant semantic property for the licensing of NPIs is downward entailingness (Ladusaw 1980). Elaborating on this proposal, subsequent research has shown that different types of polarity items are sensitive to different types of licensers (Zwarts 1993) and therefore several classes need to be distinguished. In this paper, I adopt Van der Wouden's (1997) classification of polarity items according to three types of operators: downward entailing, antiadditive and antimorphic. The definitions of these properties are given in (1):

(1) a. An operator Op is DOWNWARD ENTAILING iff:
Op (X or Y) → Op (X) and Op (Y)
b. An operator Op is ANTIADDITIVE iff:
Op (X or Y) ↔ Op (X) and Op (Y)
c. An operator Op is ANTIMORPHIC iff (i) **and** (ii):
(i) Op (X or Y) ↔ Op (X) and Op (Y) (ii) Op (X and Y) ↔ Op (X) or Op (Y)

The defining property of downward entailing contexts is that they allow inferences from sets to subsets. Thus, if *Few politicians discuss pollution* is true, we can infer that *Few politicians discuss water pollution* is also true, and therefore *few politicians* creates a downward entailing context. The classes defined by the formulas in (1b) and (1c), that is antiadditive operators like *nobody* and antimorphic functions like the sentential negation *not*, are even stronger forms of negation, relevant for the distribution of polarity items (see section 3 for further details on these semantic properties). Van der Wouden's classification of polarity-sensitive items is given in (2):

(2) (a) positive polarity items

Negation/Operators	Strong	Medium	Weak
Minimal/Downward entailing (*few*)	*	√	√
Regular/Antiadditive (*nobody*)	*	*	√
Classical/Antimorphic (*not*)	*	*	*

(b) negative polarity items

Negation/Operators	Strong	Medium	Weak
Minimal/Downward entailing (*few*)	*	*	√
Regular/Antiadditive (*nobody*)	*	√	√
Classical/Antimorphic (*not*)	√	√	√

The two tables above indicate that NPIs and PPIs are not in complementary distribution, but rather show a mirror image typology: for example, weak NPIs are licensed in all types of negative contexts, whereas strong PPIs are ruled out from the scope of downward entailing, antiadditive and antimorphic operators. Thus, each class of NPIs has a positive polarity counterpart. Take, for instance, polarity-sensitive items of medium strength, whose distribution is illustrated in (3)-(4) below:

(3) a. *__Few__ participants have paid *yet*
b. __Nobody__ has paid *yet*

(4) a. __Few__ participants *would rather* pay in advance
b. *__Nobody__ *would rather* pay in advance

NPIs like *yet* are illegitimate in the scope of a downward entailing operator (3a) and need to be licensed by an antiadditive operator like *nobody* (3b). On the other hand, the PPI *would rather* can occur in the scope of the downward entailing *few* (4a), but is anti-licensed by the antiadditive operator *nobody* (4b)[1].

This classification suggests that the connection between positive and negative polarity cannot be accidental: the fact that negative polarity items are licensed in exactly the same contexts that anti-license positive polarity items should be taken as a starting point for developing a unifying theory of polarity. This is precisely the line of argumentation pursued by Szabolcsi (2004). On the basis of the distributional properties of *someone*-like PPIs, she puts forth a theory of positive polarity which is shown not to be just a prohibition to appear in the scope of negation, but rather 'halfway licensing' of polarity-sensitive items. Specifically, Szabolcsi shows that PPIs - together with the semantic operator that normally anti-licenses them - form a non-lexical NPI, subject to familiar constraints on NPI-licensing.

(5)	Unlicensed NPIs	Licensed NPIs
	a. *He applied [*anywhere*].	a'. I do**n't** think he applied [*anywhere*].
	b. *He [did**n't** apply *somewhere*].	b'. I do**n't** think he [did**n't** apply *somewhere*].

As illustrated in (5), the PPI *somewhere* is anti-licensed by negation (5b), i.e. can only be interpreted with wide scope with respect to negation. However, when further embedded in an NPI-licensing context, as in (5b'), *somewhere* can take scope below negation. The distribution of the cluster *NOT + somewhere* is in fact parallel to that of typical NPIs like *any*, which are only licensed in the scope of a negative operator (5a-a').

Szabolcsi's discussion of the distributional properties of *some(thing)*-PPIs shows that negative and positive polarity are not independent phenomena and therefore a unifying theory is desirable. Furthermore, once we adopt Van der Wouden's typology of polarity items, Szabolcsi's proposal leads to the expectation that '*whatever property is desired by some NPI will turn out to be detested by some PPI and/or to function as a rescuer thereof*' (Szabolcsi 2004 : 430)

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[1] The sentence in (4b) is acceptable in the context of denial or metalinguistic negation. In this paper, I set aside the issue of metalinguistic negation, which behaves differently from (regular) negation with respect to polarity items: it does not license NPIs and it does not anti-license PPIs (Van der Wouden 1997:149-151).

In the following sections, I show that this prediction is borne out in Romanian by discussing the distribution of two types of polarity-sensitive items: n-words and PPIs *un N oarecare* ('whatsoever'), whose respective distribution I argue to be sensitive to **antimorphy**.

3. N-words as NPIs in Romanian

N-words are morphologically negative elements that need to be licensed by negation. In this respect, Romanian qualifies as a strict negative concord [NC] language, in which n-words obligatorily co-occur with sentential negation, regardless of whether they appear in preverbal (6a) or postverbal position (6b):

(6) a. Nimeni *(**nu**) mananca sushi. [NC]
nobody NEG eat.3SG sushi
'Nobody eats sushi.'
b. Mircea *(**nu**) vorbeste nicio limba straina.
Mircea NEG speak.3SG no language foreign
'Mircea doesn't speak any foreign language.'

(7) *Nu am stiut ca ai cerut nicio bursa.
NEG have.1 SG known that have.2 SG asked for no grant
'I didn't know you had asked for any grant. '

The sentences in (6) show that n-words need to be licensed by negation. In this respect, they are just like NPIs, which are also semantically deficient expressions and are grammatical only in he scope of an appropriate licensor. The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (7) indicates that the licensing relation is subject to locality constraints: n-words need to co-occur with *clausemate* sentential negation, i.e. the matrix negation cannot license an n-word in a subordinate clause. Furthermore, just like in the case of typical NPIs (8b), the licensing of n-words is subject to intervention effects (Linebarger 1987), as illustrated in (8a) below, where the universal quantifier *always* intervenes between the sentential negation and the n-word:

(8) a. *Nu am participat intotdeauna la nicio competitie.
NEG have.1SG partcipated always to no competition
b. *I did**n't** *always* trust *anyone.*

These facts show that n-words are similar to NPIs with respect to their licensing condition. However, the distribution of Romanian n-words is much more restricted than that of typical NPIs, like *any* in English. More specifically, they cannot occur in other polarity contexts, such as the scope of a downward entailing operator (9), scope of negative predicates (10a), the antecedent of conditionals, restriction of a universal quantifier (10b) or *before*-clauses (10c):

(9) ***Putini** politicieni au nicio propunere.
Few politicians have.3PL no proposal
'Few politicians have any proposal.'

(10) a. *Cosmin **refuza** sa faca niciun compromis.
Cosmin refuse.3SG SUBJ make.3SG no compromise
'Cosmin refuses to make any compromise.'

b. ***Toti** cei care au participat la nicio conferinta sunt prezenti la
All those who have.3PL participated to no conference be.3PL present at
sedinta.
meeting
'All those who have attended any conference are present at the meeting.'

c. *Paul a demisionat **înainte** sa vorbeasca cu niciunul din
Paul have.3SG resigned before SUBJ talk.3SG with none of
colegi.
colleagues
'Paul has resigned before talking to any of his colleagues.'

The ungrammaticality of Romanian n-words in polarity contexts indicates that their licensing condition is much stricter than that governing the distribution of NPIs like *any*. Besides clausemate negation, the only other context which licenses Romanian n-words is the operator *fără* ('without'):

(11) Anca a luat aceasta decizie **fără** nicio ezitare.
Anca have.3SG made this decision without no hesitation
'Anca has made this decision without any hesitation.'

The question that arises at this point is what is the common semantic property of sentential negation and the operator *without* that is relevant for the licensing of n-words. I argue that the semantic feature responsible for the licensing of n-words in Romanian is antimorphy, the strongest form of negation. The validity of the inferences in (12) illustrates the antimorphy of sentential negation. For reasons of convenience, I use English examples, but the same conclusion holds for Romanian:

(12) a. John does**n't** smoke *or* drink. ↔ John does**n't** smoke *and* does**n't** drink.
b. John does**n't** smoke *and* drink. ↔ John does**n't** smoke *or* does**n't** drink.

The following inferences show that *fără* ('without') is also an antimorphic operator (Giannakidou 1997, Błaszczak 2002, Pereltsvaig 2004):

(13) a. Paul a plecat **fără** să doarmă sau să mănânce. ↔
'Paul left **without** sleeping *or* **without** eating.'
Paul a plecat **fără** să doarmă si **fără** să mănânce.
'Paul left **without** sleeping *and* eating.'

b. Paul a plecat **fără** să doarmă *si* să mănânce. ↔
'Paul left **without** sleeping *and* eating.'
Paul a plecat **fără** să doarmă *sau* **fără** să mănânce.
'Paul left **without** sleeping *or* **without** eating.'

Both the inferences in (12a-13a) and (12b-13b) need to be valid in order for an operator to create an antimorphic context. The only operators that meet this condition are sentential negation and *without*. The contexts in which n-words are ungrammatical are either merely downward entailing, as in (9) or antiadditive (10), as illustrated below for the scope of negative predicates (14), *before*-clauses (15) or the restriction of a universal quantifier (16):

(14) a. He **refuses** to eat *or* sleep. ↔ He **refuses** to eat *and* **refuses** to sleep.
b. He **refuses** to eat *and* sleep. ←/→ He **refuses** to eat *or* **refuses** to sleep.

(15) a. He left **before** eating *or* sleeping. ↔ He left **before** eating *and* **before** sleeping.
b. He left **before** eating *and* sleeping. ←/→ He left **before** eating *or* **before** sleeping.

(16) a. **Every** student who smokes or drinks will be punished. ↔
Every student who smokes and **every** student who drinks will be punished.
b. **Every** student who smokes and drinks will be punished. ←/→
Every student who smokes or **every** student who drinks will be punished.

The fact that the inferences in (b) are not valid clearly shows that these contexts are not antimorphic. The same conclusion holds for *if*-antecedents or other polarity contexts where n-words are ungrammatical. The antiadditivity of these contexts, together with the antimorphy of sentential negation and *without*, indicate that n-words are subject to the licensing condition in (17):

(17) Romanian n-words are only licensed in the immediate scope of an antimorphic operator.

Van der Wouden discusses other NPIs whose distribution is sensitive to antimorphy, such as the Dutch items *ook maar* 'at all' and *mals* 'tender' (in its idiomatic reading), who can only occur in the scope of a (local) antimorphic operator, i.e. sentential negation or the antimorphic adverb *allerminst* 'not-at-all', as illustrated in (18) (examples taken from Van der Wouden 1997:125-128):

(18) a. Zijn oordeel was **allerminst** mals.
His judgement was not-at-all tender
'He was pretty harsh in his judgement.'
b. De kritiek zal **niet** mals zijn.
the criticism will not tender be
'The criticism will be harsh.'
c. *Ik denk niet dat de kritiek mals zal zijn.
I think not that the criticism tender will be

These facts lead Van der Wouden to postulate the existence of the class of *strong NPIs* who need to be in the immediate scope of an antimorphic operator.[2] Given their sensitivity to antimorphy, I argue that Romanian n-words are strong NPIs, subject to the licensing condition in (17). This generalization captures the restricted distribution of n-words in Romanian and provides support for a typological view of NPIs, which are shown to be sensitive to different semantic operators. Although there are certain differences between negative concord and NPI-licensing,[3] I defend the claim that the integration of n-words into a typological approach has the advantage of establishing a connection with the rest of the polarity-sensitive items and thus constitutes a step forward to a unitary analysis.[4]

4. Positive polarity in Romanian

We have identified one class of NPIs whose distribution is governed by antimorphic operators. On Szabolcsi's proposal, we expect to find a positive polarity class which is also sensitive to this type of operator. In this section, I show that this prediction is borne out. I discuss the distribution of *un N oarecare* in Romanian and I argue that this type of indefinite is also sensitive to antimorphy.

4.1. ***Un N oarecare****-indefinites*

As discussed in Savescu-Ciucivara (2005), the indefinite *un NP oarecare* contains the indefinite article *un* (masculine)*/o* (feminine) and the morphological complex determiner

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[2] The notion of *strong* NPI is misleading in the literature. The classification adopted here should be distinguished from the one given by Zwarts (1993), where strong NPIs are those licensed by antiadditive operators (for a recent discussion of these NPIs, see Gajewski 2008). In this latter typology, Romanian n-words would correspond to so-called *superstrong NPIs*.

[3] As pointed out by a reviewer, the most important difference is in terms of c-command : whereas n-words even when they precede sentential negation, typical NPIs cannot occur in subject position of a negated clause. In previous work (Fălăuş 2007), I discuss various differences between negative concord and NPI-licensing in Romanian and argue they should be analyzed as two different phenomena. Consequently, the only claim that is relevant for the unitary approach to polarity pursued in this paper is that Romanian n-words have the licensing condition of strong NPIs. With respect to the semantics of n-words, I defend the hypothesis they are negative quantifiers, unlike typical NPIs (see section 5 for more details on the analysis of Romanian negative concord).

[4] The licensing condition of n-words is subject to variation across languages. As far as Romanian negative concord is concerned, I argue that the relevant semantic property is antimorphy. However, it has been claimed (Giannakidou 1997 a.o.) that a monotonicity-based typology is not appropriate for other negative concord languages (Greek, Slavic) and that it should be replaced with a system based on the notion of *veridicality*. A reasonable question that arises in view of these facts is whether all these different cases could be subsumed under a unitary (semantic) system. In spite of the impressive amount of work on polarity items, the existence of such a system still constitutes a theoretical and empirical challenge.

oarecare, which is made up from the interrogative pronoun *care* ('which') and the (interrogative) particle *oare*. It is generally used to indicate lack of knowledge or indifference with respect to the identity of the individual variable introduced by the noun it modifies:

(19) A : Cu cine vorbeai la telefon ?
with who talk.PAST.2SG at phone
'Who were you talking to on the phone?'
B : O femeie **oarecare**, gresise numarul.
A woman whatsoever mistake.PAST.3SG number
'Some woman, she had the wrong number.'

(20) Fiecare poveste contine o morala **oarecare**.
Every story contain.3SG a moral whatsoever
'Every story contains some moral.'

The sentence with *oarecare* in (19) conveys that the speaker does not know the identity of the individual on the phone. In (20), the use of *oarecare* indicates indifference with respect to the exact nature of the moral contained by every story. An important property of this item is that in modal contexts, *un N oarecare* acquires a free-choice reading, as in (21)-(22):

(21) Contacteaza o secretara **oarecare** si cere-i lista studentilor.
Contact.2SG a secretary whatsoever and ask-her list-the students.GEN
'Contact a secretary whatsoever and ask her the list of students.'

(22) Maria poate să rezolve o problemă **oarecare**.
Maria can.3SG SUBJ solve a problem whatsoever
'Mary can solve any problem whatsoever.'

The use of *oarecare* in (21) indicates that any secretary in the relevant domain of quantification is a good option. As shown in Savescu-Ciucivara, the sentence in (22) is ambiguous between two possible readings: either it means *There is a certain problem that Mary can solve; the speaker does not know which problem it is* or, under the free-choice reading, the sentence gets interpreted as *No matter what problem Mary is faced with, she is able to solve it.* Adopting Kratzer and Shimoyama's (2002) analysis of German *irgendein*, the free-choice flavor of *oarecare*-indefinites can be derived *via* Gricean resoning. As a domain widening indefinite, the use of *un N oarecare* indicates the existence of a set of individual alternatives without any further restriction on the domain of quantification. It follows that *o problema oarecare* denotes the set of all problems. On hearing the sentence in (22), one can infer there is no subset of problems that Mary cannot solve and consequently, that she can solve any problem in the domain.[5] Although in modal contexts the use of *oarecare* signals that any individual in the domain of discourse can satisfy the existential claim, it cannot be argued to be simply a free-choice item, as it freely occurs in episodic contexts (unlike FC *any*,

[5] This way of presenting the derivation of the free-choice flavor is a simplification. As far as its interpretation is concerned, I believe that *un N oarecare* is best qualified as 'a free-choice existential', a label that Chierchia (2006) puts forth for the Italian item *un N qualsiasi*. Since the main focus of this paper is the (anti)licensing condition governing the distribution of certain items, I abstract away from the implicatures involved in their interpretation. The analysis I'm pursuing here if fully compatible with the implementation of further pragmatic constraints.

which can appear in an episodic sentence only in *subtrigging* contexts, as discussed in Dayal 1998):

(23) Acum doi ani s-a urcat intr-un tren **oarecare** si nu
Now two years REFL-have.3SG climbed in a train whatsoever and NEG
s-a mai uitat inapoi.
REFL-have.3SG more looked back
'Two years ago, he got on some train and didn't look back anymore'

Elaborating on Savescu-Ciucivara's proposal, I argue that the distribution of *oarecare*-indefinites is that of a positive polarity item and I show that the semantic property that they are sensitive to is antimorphy. In this sense, they constitute the positive polarity counterpart of n-words, whose distribution is restricted to the scope of antimorphic operators.

*4.2. PPI properties of **oarecare**-indefinites*

Several distributional properties show that *un N oarecare* is a PPI in Romanian. First, just like *someone*-PPIs discussed in Szabolcsi (2004), *un N oarecare* cannot be in the scope of negation**:** [6]

(24) I did**n't** call *someone*. * not > some
Nu m- am inscris la un curs oarecare. * not > oarecare
NEG REFL-have.1SG registered to a course whatsoever
'I didn't register for any course.'

The ban to appear in the scope of negation only holds for clausemate negation: as illustrated in (25), both s*omeone*-PPIs and *un N oarecare* can scope below **superordinate** negation:

(25) I do**n't** think that you will invite *someone*. √ not > [$_{CP/IP}$ some
Nu cred ca s-a inscris la un curs oarecare.
NEG think.1SG that REFL-have.3SG registered to a course whatsoever
'I don't think that he has registered for any course.' √ not >[$_{CP/IP}$ oarecare

[6] *Un N oarecare* can appear in the immediate scope of clausemate negation if focused, acquiring a *not-just-any* reading. As mentioned by Szabolcsi, the properties of *someone* are also different in denial/contrastive contexts. In this paper, I set aside the issue of the relation between focus and PPIs and abstract away from the *not-just-any*–reading of *un N oarecare* (see Savescu-Ciucivara 2005 for a possible account of this interpretation). The asterisks thus only mark the non-focused reading of *someone/oarecare* in the scope of negation.

Furthermore, both *someone*-PPIs and *un N oarecare* can take scope below merely downward entailing operators like *few*, as in the sentences in (26) below:

(26) **Few** of us knew *someone* in Patagonia. √ few > some
Puțini participanti castigasera un premiu oarecare inainte de aceasta
few participants win.PAST.3PL a prize whatsoever before of this
competitie.
competition
'Few participants had won a prize whatsoever before this competition.'
√ few > oarecare

So far, it seems that both these types of items are anti-licensed only by clausemate negation. However, there are two more properties that support the analysis of *oarecare* as a genuine PPI - an item that is not simply prohibited from appearing in the scope of negation. First, the relation between *oarecare* and the negation is subject to intervention effects: both *someone*-PPIs and *un N oarecare* can scope below negation if there is another operator intervening (the phenomenon is also known as *shielding*):

(27) I do**n't always** call *someone* before my arrival. √ not > always >some
Mircea **nu** a plecat de la fiecare sedinta sub un pretext oarecare.
Mircea NEG have.3SG left from every meeting under a pretext whatsoever
'Mircea hasn't left every meeting under some pretext.' √ not>every>oarecare

These facts lead to the conclusion that PPIs like *someone* and *oarecare* avoid being in the *immediate* scope of clausemate negation. However, this conclusion cannot account for so-called *rescuing* effects. Consider the examples in (28)-(29):

(28) a. He **rarely** did**n't** write back to *someone*. √rarely >not >someone
b. **If** we do**n't** ask *someone*, we'll never know. √if >not >someone

(29) a. **Putini** studenti **nu** au scris un articol oarecare inainte de
Few students NEG have.3PL written an article whatsoever before of
sustinere.
defense
'Few students didn't write some paper before their defense.' √few>not>oarecare
b. **Daca nu** ai o ipoteza oarecare, nu poti critica alte
If NEG have.2SG a hypothesis whatsoever NEG can.2SG criticize other
analize.
analyses
'If you don't have a hypothesis whatsoever, you can't criticize other analyses.'
√if>not>oarecare

In all of these sentences, the PPI can be in the immediate scope of clausemate negation when further embedded in an NPI-licensing context (downward entailing like the scope of *rarely* or *few*, as in (28a) and (29a) or antiadditive like *if*-antecedents, in (28b) and (29b)). The rescuing effects constitute a strong argument in favor of an analysis of positive polarity as a more complex phenomenon. Although the facts have been known ever since Jespersen (1939) and

later mentioned in Baker (1970), Szabolcsi was the first to discuss them in detail and to propose a full-fledged theory of positive polarity.

In the following subsection, I introduce Szabolcsi's proposal for positive polarity and show that the relevant property for the distribution of *oarecare* is antimorphy.

4.3. ***Oarecare****-indefinites are weak PPIs*

The sentences with *someone* and *oarecare* above show that reducing the distribution of PPIs to a prohibition to appear in the scope of negation is a simplistic view. More specifically, PPIs are ruled out in the immediate scope of *clausemate* negation only (super-ordinate negation and *intervention/shielding* effects), and, moreover, they can happily scope below a clausemate negation if further embedded in an NPI-licensing context (*rescuing*). On the other hand, we have seen (section 3) that there are classes of NPIs that need precisely the type of licenser that PPIs avoid: clausemate negation without intervention. All of these distributional properties indicate a strong connection between positive and negative polarity.

In view of these similarities, Szabolcsi (2004:419) argues that *someone*-PPIs are double NPIs, whose distribution is governed by the following licensing condition:

(30) PPIs do not occur in the immediate scope of a clausemate antiadditive operator AA-Op, **unless** [AA-Op > PPI] itself is in a (weak) NPI-licensing context.

On the basis of the striking distributional similarities between *someone* and *un N oarecare* illustrated in the previous section, we could conclude that this generalization also applies to Romanian *oarecare*-indefinites. However, the sentences in (31)-(32) show that *un N oarecare* can take scope below an antiadditive operator, such as the scope of a negative predicate or the scope of *before*:

(31) Am refuzat o bursa oarecare fără sa stiu de ce.
have.1SG refused a grant whatsoever without SUBJ know.1SG why
'I refused some grant without knowing why.' √ Refuse > oarecare

(32) Inaintea unei competitii oarecare, trebuie sa dormi bine.
before a.GEN competition whatsoever must SUBJ sleep.2SG well
'Before any competition whatsoever, you must sleep well.' √ Before > oarecare

The fact that *oarecare* can occur in the scope of these operators indicates that these PPIs are subject to a stronger licensing requirement than *someone*-PPIs. The licensing condition of *un N oarecare* must therefore be reformulated. I propose the following generalization:

(33) *oarecare*-PPIs do not occur in the immediate scope of a clausemate antimorphic operator AM-Op, **unless** [AM-Op > PPI] itself is in a (weak) NPI-licensing context.

We have already seen that *un N oarecare* is anti-licensed by the antimorphic sentential negation. As expected under this condition, the only other operator that anti-licenses Romanian *un N oarecare* is *without*, which I have argued to be an antimorphic operator.

(34) *Am venit la petrecere **fără** un cadou oarecare. *without>oarecare
Have.1SG come to party without a present whatsoever
'I came to the party without any present whatsoever.'

The analysis of *oarecare* as a PPI subject to the licensing condition in (33) also predicts that this configuration can be rescued when further embedded in an NPI-licensing context. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated in (35), where the presence of the negation *nu* allows *oarecare* to take scope below *fără* ('without'):

(35) Am ajuns cunoscut **nu** **fără** un merit oarecare.
Have.1SG became famous NEG without a merit whatsoever
'I have become famous not without some merit.' √ not>without>oarecare

These facts support the conclusion that the semantic property that *oarecare*-indefinites are sensitive to is antimorphy. In this respect, they constitute the positive polarity counterpart of n-words, which I have shown to be strong NPIs, that is NPIs that need to be licensed by antimorphic operators (see (17)). The existence of this type of PPIs provides further empirical support for a fine-grained typology of polarity items (Van der Wouden 1997), as well as for Szabolcsi's account of positive polarity as halfway-NPI-licensing.

5. Interpreting negative and positive polarity - resumptive quantification

In the previous sections, I have shown that there are two classes of semantically dependent items in Romanian that are sensitive to antimorphy: on the one hand, n-words need to be in the immediate scope of an antimorphic operator (sentential negation and the operator *without*) and on the other hand, *oarecare*-indefinites are PPIs that are excluded from the immediate scope of this type of operator, unless further embedded in an NPI-licensing context.

I now adopt Szabolcsi's analysis of PPIs and defend the hypothesis that the relevant semantic mechanism of interpretation for polarity, both positive and negative, is resumptive quantification.

5.1. Resumptive quantification and negative concord

The hypothesis that resumptive quantification is the relevant mode of composition for negative concord has already been defended in the literature (Zanuttini 1991, Deprez 2000, de Swart & Sag 2002). The basic intuition underlying these approaches is that n-words are negation-containing elements and through resumption, they combine and form one polyadic negative quantifier. The basic property of resumptive quantification that makes it relevant for polarity is that it involves quantification over pairs of variables.

In Fălăuş (2007), I have adopted the approach developed by de Swart & Sag (2002) and argued that resumption is responsible for the interpretation of strict negative concord in

Romanian. The derivation in (36) (using de Swart and Sag's notation) illustrates this for a sentence with two n-words:

(36) a. Niciun copil nu stie nicio poveste.
No child neg knows no story
b. $No_{x,y}$ (Child *x*, Story *y*, Know)
c. $\neg\exists x, x$: child, $\exists y, y$: story, Know (x,y)
d. It is not the case that there is a pair *x*: child, *y*: story, such that *x* knows *y*

Under one of the two possible readings of (36a),[7] the two n-words combine and are reinterpreted as only one complex negative quantifier that ranges over pairs, as in (36b). The resumptive negative quantifier thus binds the sum of all the variables of the composing monadic quantifiers, in this case the two n-words. The sentence ends up having an interpretation with only one negation, also called the negative concord reading, paraphrased in (36c).

Szabolcsi argues that NPI-licensing also involves the formation of a resumptive quantifier. Thus, the same mechanism as in (36) is responsible for interpretation of the sentence in (37), where weak NPIs like *any* are involved:[8]

(37) Nobody talked to any man about any woman on any day.

This extension from negative concord to NPI-licensing relies on the crucial assumption that NPIs also contain negation (abstracting away from the issue of the strength of this negation), just like n-words. Whether or not this is indeed the case is a controversial matter, but note that Postal (2005) provides convincing evidence that an approach to NPIs as negation-containing expressions accounts for many of their otherwise 'mysterious properties' (Postal 2005:3).

Note that once we assume resumptive quantification for NPI-licensing, we can account for intervention effects. Since resumption factors out the negative component of the NPI, the presence of an intervening operator separates the negation from its restriction (Linebarger 1987). Consequently, no operator can intervene between the licenser and the licensee, as they both need to end up forming one (binary) quantifier over pairs of variables.

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[7] The other possible reading is the double negation one, equivalent to 'Every child knows (at least) a story.', where each negation is interpreted separately. Note that more syntactic approaches to NC (e.g. Zeijlstra 2008) cannot derive this second interpretation of a sentence with two n-words.

[8] The question of whether negative concord and typical NPI-licensing are different phenomena is a complex issue. Szabolcsi distinguishes NPI-licensing as involving binary quantification from negative concord, which (adopting de Swart and Sag's analysis) is assumed to be n-ary resumption. Note however, than (strict) negative concord also involves a licensing step – n-words are strong NPIs than need an antimorphphic operator. Although there are several distinctions (e.g locality, quantificational properties) between *any*-NPIs and n-words, this does not invalidate the hypothesis that the same interpretation mechanism is relevant for the two types of NPIs. I believe a unifying account is possible, but I will have to leave the details of this issue for further research.

The configuration relevant for both (strict) negative concord and NPI-licensing is given in (38): (taken from Szabolcsi 2004:435)

(38) $[[_{\text{licenser}}$ **neg** ...] ... $[_{\text{NPI}}$ **neg** ...]] → **no<x,y>** …$[[_{\text{licenser}}$ ... x ...] ... $[_{\text{NPI}}$ ... y ...]]

At this stage of the discussion, we have reached two important conclusions. On the one hand, we have seen that resumptive quantification can derive the interpretation of sentences involving NPIs, either strong (Romanian n-words) or weak (like *any*). On the other hand, the distributional properties of the two classes of polarity-sensitive items in Romanian (n-words and *oarecare*-indefinites) provide support in favor of a unifying account of negative and positive polarity, such as the one defended in Szabolcsi (2004). The next step is to extend the analysis to PPIs and to show how they can be analyzed against this general background.

5.2. Resumptive quantification and positive polarity

In order to derive the distribution of *someone*-PPIs, and to derive the connection between positive and negative polarity, Szabolcsi analyzes the PPI as a double NPI, more specifically as containing two negations or NPI-features. Consequently, the underlying representation of a PPI is ¬¬∃.[9] Once we assume this lexical semantics for PPIs like *un N oarecare*, we can account for its distribution, subject to the licensing condition established in section 4.3 and repeated below as (39):

(39) *oarecare*-PPIs do not occur in the immediate scope of a clausemate antimorphic operator AM-Op, **unless** [AM-Op > PPI] itself is in a (weak) NPI-licensing context.

In a positive context like (40) or in the scope of downward-entailing operator (41), the two negations in the representation of *oarecare* stay *in situ*, cancel each other out semantically and the PPI gets an existential interpretation:

(40) Am intalnit un prieten oarecare
'I met some friend.'
¬¬∃x [friend(x) & I met(x)]

(41) Putini studenti au scris un articol oarecare.
'Few students wrote some article or other.'
Few x[student(x)]&[¬¬∃y[article(y) & wrote(y)(x)]]

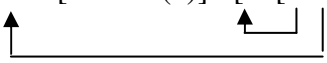
[9] Adopting the system developed in Postal (2000), Szabolcsi assumes that *some* is just one of the possible Spell-out forms of the configuration ¬¬∃. In this respect, *some-any-no* form a paradigm and the way it gets spelled out will depend on the context where this occurs. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on PPIs, but I think the proposal can be extended to different types of polarity items (n-words, *vreun*) in Romanian (for details, see Fălăuş (in preparation)). This does by no means imply that *un N oarecare* is part of the same (morphological) paradigm as n-words. The only property that is relevant for the present discussion is their sensitivity to the same semantic property, but a full-fledged account of polarity items in Romanian also needs to take into account further constraints on their lexical representations.

Szabolcsi identifies the two negations in contexts like (40)-(41) with semantically negative features,[10] and assumes that in these contexts, the features are 'inactive'. Something different happens when the negative features in the representation of the PPI are in the immediate scope of a clausemate antiadditive (in the case of *someone*) or antimorphic (for *un N oarecare*) operator, as in (42). In this case, the features get activated and need to be licensed. And for Szabolcsi, this licensing relation is achieved through binary resumption.

(42) Nu am scris un articol oarecare. *not > oarecare
'I didn't write some article'

In (42), both negative features in the representation of the PPI get activated, but, crucially, only one can be licensed by resumption with the higher operator *not*. The only way to rescue this illegitimate configuration is to embed it in a context where there is another NPI-licenser, as in (43):[11]

(43) a. Putini studenti nu au scris un articol oarecare
'Few students didn't write any article whatsoever'
b. Few x[student(x)]&[¬ [¬¬∃y[article(y) & wrote(y)(x)]]]



The downward-entailing operator *few* in (43) can check the negative feature which remained unlicensed in a sentence like (42). This is the mechanism responsible for the 'rescuing' of positive polarity items.

Thus, the mechanism that allows the rescuing of a PPI is the same as the one at work for NPI-licensing/negative concord, as represented in (44) below:

(44) NPI-licensing [[$_{\text{licenser}}$ **neg** ...] ... [$_{\text{NPI}}$ **neg** ...]]
no<x,y> …[[$_{\text{licenser}}$ ... x ...] ... [$_{\text{NPI}}$ ... y ...]]
PPI-rescuing [[$_{\text{licenser}}$ **neg** ….] [$_{\text{licenser}}$ **neg** …[$_{\text{PPI}}$ **neg neg**…]]]
no<x,y>…[$_{\text{licenser}}$ …x … **no<z,w>** [$_{\text{licenser}}$ z…w...y]]

The analysis of PPI-rescuing as NPI-licensing is further supported by the fact that rescuing is subject to familiar intervention effects (see example (8), section 3), as illustrated by the

[10] Szabolcsi shows that in the case of PPIs like *someone*, the first negative feature needs to be checked by an antiadditive operator, whereas the second negative feature can be checked by a merely downward entailing licenser. *Oarecare*-indefinites have the same underlying representation ¬¬∃, but the first feature needs to be checked by an antimorphphic operator.

[11] For ease of exposition, I simply represent licensing as negation cancellation, but recall that licensing is binary resumption: each negation in the PPI forms a binary resumptive quantifier with its licenser.

ungrammaticality of (45), where the universal quantifier *every* intervenes between the licenser *few* and the negative feature in the PPI:

(45) *Putini studenti din fiecare universitate nu au scris un articol
few students from every university NEG have.3PL written an article
oarecare.
whatsoever
'Few students from every university didn't write any paper whatsoever'

We can conclude that positing the existence of two negative features in the semantic representation of PPIs accounts for their distribution and their similarities with NPIs[12].

6. Conclusions and further issues

In this study, I have provided empirical support for Szabolcsi's analysis of positive polarity as halfway-licensing, by discussing the licensing conditions of two classes of polarity-sensitive items in Romanian: n-words and *un N oarecare*, which are both shown to be sensitive to antimorphy. Thus, Romanian provides further empirical arguments for the link between positive and negative polarity, which cannot be viewed as accidental. Consequently, I defend the claim that an analysis that postulates the same mechanism of interpretation for both negative and positive polarity is empirically and theoretically superior[13].

One of the most important points of Szabolcsi's analysis (elaborating on a proposal put forth in Postal 2000) is the assumption that positive and negative polarity are both interpreted through resumptive quantification. While this has been an influential position in the literature on negative concord (NPI-licensing), the extension to positive polarity is a recent move and constitutes an important step towards a unifying account of the polarity phenomenon. A further implication of this account is that any analysis of NPI-licensing and/or negative concord also should be extended to positive polarity facts.

Another important advantage is that polarity-sensitive negation-containing expressions approach is neutral as to how additional lexical properties of the polarity item may result in scalar implicatures. This is a welcome result for NPIs that denote scale-endpoints, such as *any* or *a bit*, as it has already been shown that the computation of ordered alternatives plays a crucial role in the interpretation of these items. Moreover, the free-choice reading of a PPI like *un N oarecare* is not surprising and can be derived through Gricean reasoning without necessarily extending the scalar implicature approach to all polarity-sensitive items.

There are several questions that still need to be answered under this type of approach. An important one is why do PPIs behave like *weak* NPIs, i.e. why does the first negation need to

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[12] With respect to the well-known cross-linguistic variation in the licensing of polarity-sensitive items, Szabolcsi suggests that it can be implemented by positing semantically different negative features in their syntactic representations. As for any other unifying account, variation is a complex issue whose details still need to be worked out.

[13] A reviewer points out to me that a more convincing way to make this argument would be to discuss other approaches to negative concord and see how they would integrate the connection with the positive polarity facts. Such a discussion is beyond the scope of this paper (but see Fălăuş 2007 for more arguments in favor of the NC approach adopted here), especially since most analyses of negative concord don't have anything to say about positive polarity. As far as I can tell, an approach to negative polarity that could successfully be extended to positive polarity (and also account some further lexical constraints on their interpretation) is the one put forth in Chierchia (2006), but I will leave this issue for future research.

be deleted by a strong (antiadditive or antimorphic) kind of licensor, whereas the second licensing step is satisfied by merely downward entailing contexts. Also, the issue of wide variation among polarity items cross-linguistically remains open for any attempt to find a unitary account. However, I believe that this way of connecting positive and negative polarity on the one hand, and positive polarity and free-choice effects, on the other, is a step further in the understanding of the distribution and interpretation of semantically dependent items.

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