Expletive and
covert
negation in
Finnish polar
questions

Karoliina
Lohiniva

Expletive and covert negation in Finnish polar questions: evidence from object case-marking and PIs

Karoliina Lohiniva

Université de Genève

20.01.2016

Expletive and
covert
negation in
Finnish polar
questions

Karoliina
Lohiniva

Outline

Introduction
In a nutshell
Background

Data
Positive PQs
Negative PQs
Summary

Proposal

Conclusion

- Object case alternates between accusative (ACC) and partitive (PAR) in absolutely positive and negative polar questions (PQs) with inherently bounded verbs
- ACC and PAR lead to different answer biases and response patterns independently of the absolute polarity of the PQ
  - ACC $\Rightarrow$ positive answer bias (if any)
  - PAR $\Rightarrow$ negative answer bias (if any)
  - PAR-*kAAn* $\Rightarrow$ #*kyllä* (positive bare particle response)
- The addition of polarity sensitive particles
  - clearly brings out answer biases
  - has an effect on the availability of the aspectual interpretation of PAR

The data can be accounted for by assuming that negation can be [±pronounced] and [±interpreted]

- The value of [±interpretation]
  - is detectable from object case-marking and the licensing of polarity particles
  - determines the highlighted alternative and therefore affects the polarity of answer biases
- The value of [±pronunciation]
  - determines whether PQs with/without polarity particles are marked or unmarked and therefore affects the discourse effects of the PQ

- Finnish makes use of 15 cases: objects can be marked with
  ACC, PAR or an inherent case

- Finnish PAR has been argued to have two functions:
  - An **aspectual** function, characterised in terms of
    - ⋆ resultativity (Itkonen 1976, Hakulinen and Karlsson
      1979, Larjavaara 1991)
    - ⋆ boundedness (Ikola 1961, Heinämäki 1984, Leino
      1991)
  - An **NP-related** function: quantitatively indeterminate NPs
    - ⋆ indefinite bare plurals
    - ⋆ mass nouns

Kiparsky 1998 unifies these two functions: case-marking of direct
objects in Finnish is semantically conditioned by the (un)boundedness
of the VP

- A VP is unbounded if either the head (V) or the argument
  (OBJ) is unbounded

- Objects of unbounded VPs are marked with PAR, and objects of
  bounded VPs are marked with ACC (except for when inherent
  case is involved)

ASP-PAR	NP-PAR
imperfective grammatical aspect	mass nouns
atelic lexical aspect	indefinite bare plurals
negation	
quantitatively determinate	quantitatively indeterminate

- Negation is expressed with a negative auxiliary that agrees with the subject in person and number

- The question particle -kO appears on the leftmost element of the PQ (in FocP, Holmberg 2003, 2013)

  – In neutral non-clefted PQs, it is the highest visible head of the IP/PolP that moves to FocP: either V or Neg

- Object case alternates between ACC and PAR in absolutely positive and negative PQs with a bounded predicate

(1) Ost-i-t-ko   poro-n   / poro-a?
     buy-past.2sg.kO reindeer-**ACC**   reindeer-**PAR**
     'Did you buy a/the cat?'

(2) E-t-kö   osta-nut   poro-n   / poro-a?
     neg-2sg.kO buy-pastpart reindeer-**ACC**   reindeer-**PAR**
     'Didn't you buy a/the cat?'

- The polar focus-sensitive particles -*kin* and -*kAAn* are
  - enclitic (see Holmberg 2014 for the syntax of -*kin*)
  - additive (*also, too* , *either*)
  - sometimes scalar ('even')

- Karttunen and Karttunen (1975) analyse the two as a polar pair
  and argue that their contribution in meaning is an existential
  conventional implicature/presupposition
  - Much like Rullmann (2003) for English 'too' and 'either'

- Polarity particles?
  - -*kAAn* is a negative polarity particle (Rullmann 2003,
    Levinson 2008)
  - -*kin* can appear in a negative declarative without overtly
    scoping over negation, so it seems not to be a positive
    polarity particle

Ladd (1981): negative PQs with preposed *n't* are ambiguous between

- an 'inner negation' reading where negation scopes inside the IP
    - √NPIs
    - negative answer bias:
        - ⋆ speaker has an initial belief that *p*
        - ⋆ speaker has encountered evidence against *p*
        - ⋆ speaker is doublechecking ¬*p*
- an 'outer negation' reading where negation scopes outside of the IP
    - *NPIs
    - positive answer bias:
        - ⋆ speaker has an initial belief that *p*
        - ⋆ speaker is doublechecking *p*

Han and Romero (2004) use Höhle's (1992) epistemic operator VERUM:

- VERUM > negation = inner negation
- negation > VERUM = outer negation

ACC-*kAAn* is ungrammatical: (3c)

(3)   a.   Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-n?
           buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM reindeer-**ACC**
           'Did you buy a/the reindeer?'

      b.   Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-n-kin?
           buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM reindeer-**ACC.kin**
           'Did you buy a/the reindeer too?'

      c.   * Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-n-kaan?
             buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM cat-**ACC**.**kAAn**
             'Did you buy a/the/some reindeer either?

ASP-PAR is incompatible with -*kin*: (4b)

(4) a. Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-a?
        buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM reindeer-**PAR**
        'Did you buy a/the/some reindeer?'

     b. Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-a-kin?
        buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM reindeer-**PAR.kin**

        'Did you buy *a/*the/some reindeer too?'

     c. Ost-i-t-ko   sinä   poro-a-kaan?
        buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
        'Did you buy a/the/some reindeer either?'

(5) a. Ost-i-ko   Liisa   poro-n?
       buy-past.2sg.kO Liisa-NOM reindeer-**ACC**
       'Did Liisa buy a/the reindeer?'

   ACC $\Rightarrow$ neutral or positive answer bias

   b. Ost-i-ko   Liisa   poro-n-kin?
       buy-past.2sg.kO Liisa-NOM reindeer-**ACC.kin**
       'Did Liisa buy a/the reindeer too?'

   ACC-*kin* $\Rightarrow$ positive answer bias

Positive answer bias comes with a feel of **surprise**:

- initial speaker belief $\neg p$

- contextual evidence for p

- speaker is double-checking p

(6) a. Ost-i-ko   Liisa   poro-a?
        buy-past.2sg.kO Liisa-NOM reindeer-**PAR**
        'Did Liisa buy a/the/some reindeer?'

        PAR $\Rightarrow$ neutral or negative answer bias

    b. Ost-i-ko   Liisa   poro-a-kaan?
        buy-past.2sg.kO Liisa-NOM reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
        'Did Liisa buy a/the/some reindeer either?'

        PAR-*kAAn* $\Rightarrow$ negative answer bias

Negative answer bias comes with a feel of **disappointment**:

- initial speaker belief *p*
- contextual evidence for $\neg p$ or no contextual evidence for *p*
- speaker is double-checking $\neg p$

(7) Ost-i-t-ko   sinä
     buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM
     poro-n-kin?
     reindeer-**ACC.kin**
     'Did you buy a/the reindeer
     too?

     a. Ost-i-n
        buy-past.1sg
        'Yes' (= I bought a/the
        reindeer)

     b. Kyllä
        yes
        'Yes' (= I bought a/the
        reindeer)

     c. E-n
        neg-1sg
        'No' (= I did not buy a/the
        reindeer)

(8) Ost-i-t-ko   sinä
     buy-past.2sg.kO you-NOM
     poro-a-kaan?
     reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
     'Did you buy a/the reindeer ei-
     ther?'

     a. Ost-i-n
        buy-past.1sg
        'Yes' (= I bought a/the/some
        reindeer)

     b. #Kyllä
        yes
        'Yes' (= I bought a/the/some
        reindeer)

     c. E-n
        neg-1sg
        'No' (= I did not buy
        a/the/some reindeer)

Expletive and
covert
negation in
Finnish polar
questions

Karoliina
Lohiniva

Outline

Introduction
In a nutshell
Background

Data
Positive PQs
Negative PQs
Summary

Proposal

Conclusion

ACC-*kAAn* is ungrammatical: (9c)

(9) a. E-t-kö   sinä   osta-nut   poro-n?
       neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt reindeer.**ACC**
       'Didn't you buy a/the reindeer?'

   b. E-t-kö   sinä   ostanut   poro-n-kin?
      neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt reindeer-**ACC.kin**
      'Didn't you buy a/the reindeer too?'

   c. * E-t-kö   sinä   ostanut
         neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt
         poro-n-kaan?
         reindeer-**ACC.kAAn**

ASP-PAR is incompatible with *-kin*: (10b)

(10) a. E-t-kö   sinä   osta-nut   poro-a?
          neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt reindeer.**PAR**
          'Didn't you buy a/the/some reindeer?'

      b. E-t-kö   sinä   ostanut   poro-a-kin?
          neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt reindeer-**PAR.kin**
          'Didn't you buy *a/*the/some reindeer too?'

      c. E-t-kö   sinä   ostanut
          neg-2sg.kO you-NOM buy-pastprt
          poro-a-kaan?
          reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
          'Didn't you buy a/the/some reindeer either?'

(11) a. E-i-kö   Liisa   osta-nut   poro-n?
        neg-2sg.kO Liisa-NOM buy-pastpart reindeer-**ACC**
        'Didn't Liisa buy a/the reindeer?'

   b. E-i-kö   Liisa   osta-nut
      neg-2sg.kO Liisa-NOM buy-pastpart
      poro-n-kin?
      reindeer-**ACC.kin**
      'Didn't Liisa buy a/the reindeer too?'

      ACC(-*kin*) $\Rightarrow$ positive answer bias

Positive answer bias comes with a feel of **confidence**:

- initial speaker belief p

- contextual evidence for $\neg p$ or no contextual evidence for p

- speaker is double-checking p

(12) a. E-i-kö   Liisa   osta-nut   poro-a?
        neg-2sg.kO Liisa-NOM buy-pastpart reindeer-**PAR**
        'Didn't Liisa buy a/the/some reindeer?'

     b. E-i-kö   Liisa   osta-nut
        neg-2sg.kO Liisa-NOM buy-pastpart
        poro-a-kaan?
        reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
        'Didn't Liisa buy a/the/some reindeer either?'

        PAR(-*kAAn*) ⇒ negative answer bias

Negative answer bias comes with a feel of **disappointment**:

- initial speaker belief p
- contextual evidence for $\neg p$ or no contextual evidence for p
- speaker is double-checking $\neg p$

Expletive and
covert
negation in
Finnish polar
questions

Karoliina
Lohiniva

Outline

Introduction
In a nutshell
Background

Data
Positive PQs
Negative PQs
Summary

Proposal

Conclusion

(13) E-t-kö   sinä
     neg-2sg.kO you-NOM
     osta-nut
     buy-pastpart
     poro-n-kin?
     reindeer-**ACC.kin**
     'Didn't you buy a/the reindeer-kin?'

  a. Ost-i-n
     buy-past.1sg
     'Yes' (= I bought a/the reindeer)

  b. Kyllä
     yes
     'Yes' (= I bought a/the reindeer)

  c. E-n
     neg-1sg
     'No' (= I did not buy a/the reindeer)

(14) E-t-kö   sinä
     neg-2sg.kO you-NOM
     osta-nut
     buy-pastpart
     poro-a-kaan?
     reindeer-**PAR.kAAn**
     'Didn't you buy a/the/some reindeer-kAAn?'

  a. Ost-i-n
     buy-past.1sg
     'Yes' (= I bought a/the/some reindeer)

  b. #Kyllä
     yes
     'Yes' (= I bought a/the/some reindeer)

  c. E-n
     neg-1sg
     'No' (= I did not buy a/the/some reindeer)

	POS		NEG	
	ACC	PAR	ACC	PAR
no PP	**neutral**/ **positive** bias	**neutral**/ **negative** bias	**positive** bias	**negative** bias
-*kin*	**positive** bias surprised	**positive** bias surprised *ASP-PAR	**positive** bias confident	**positive** bias confident *ASP-PAR
-*kAAn*	*	**negative** bias disappointed **#kyllä**	*	**negative** bias disappointed **#kyllä**

- What is the source of the object case alternation in absolutely positive and negative PQs?
  - Why is ASP-PAR lost in absolutely positive and negative PQs with -kin, and why is ACC-kAAn ungrammatical?
- What is the source of the answer biases of absolutely positive and negative PQs?
  - Why can object case alone determine answer biases in absolutely negative PQs?
  - Why do polarity particles clearly bring out the same case-linked biases in absolutely positive PQs?
- Why is the bare particle response kyllä 'yes' not felicitous with absolutely positive and negative PQs with PAR-kAAn?

Romero and Han 2001, 2002, 2004, Romero 2006

(15) a. Isn't Jane coming either?
         [$_{CP}$ Q VERUM [not [$_{IP}$ Jane is coming] either]]
      b. Isn't Jane coming too?
         [$_{CP}$ Q not [VERUM [$_{IP}$ Jane is coming] too]]
      c. Did Jorge really bring a present?
         [$_{CP}$ Q [VERUM [$_{IP}$ Jorge brought a present]]]

Finnish:

- negation > VERUM should line with ACC-kin

- VERUM > negation should line with PAR-kAAn

Accounting for the across-polarity parallel?

- Absolutely positive PQs could introduce VERUM

- **But** no licensing of NPIs/NPPs is predicted:
  {VERUM p, ¬VERUM p}

- The answer bias data is systematic, but could be argued
  to be due to the presence of the PPs: when no PPs are
  present, the judgments are not as clear
- The most stable data comes from the loss of ASP-PAR
  with *-kin*
  - If *-kin* can be shown to be a PPP (a positive polarity
    particle), the loss of ASP-PAR can be attributed to
    the loss of negation

Rullmann 2003: If the presuppositions of 'too' are satisfied, it can appear in the scope of negation:

(16) a. Ost-i-n   hirve-n. E-n   osta poro-a-kin
     buy-past.1sg elk-ACC **neg**-1sg buy reindeer-**PAR**.**kin**

     'I bought an/the elk. I won't buy a/the/some reindeer too'

   b. E-n   osta-nut   hirve-ä. ?*E-n   osta
      neg-1sg buy-pastpart elk-PAR **neg**-1sg buy
      poro-a-kin
      reindeer-**PAR**.**kin**

      'I didn't buy an/the elk. ?*I won't buy a/the/some reindeer too'

In PQs, this contextual manipulation has no effect: ASP-PAR is non-recoverable (in both positive and negative PQs)

(17) a. Liisa   ost-i   hirve-n. E-i-kö   hän
   Liisa-NOM buy-past.3sg elk-ACC **neg**-3sg.kO she-NOM
   osta-nut   poro-a-kin?
   buy-pastpart reindeer-**PAR**.kin

   'Liisa bought an/the elk. Didn't she buy *a/*the/some
   reindeer too?'

   ⇒ The stars indicate impossible readings of the Finnish
   example: the English sentence with a/the is fine

   b. Liisa   e-i   osta-nut   hirve-ä. ?*E-i-kö
   Liisa-NOM neg-3sg buy-pastpart elk-PAR **neg**-3sg.kO
   hän   osta-nut   poro-a-kin?
   she-NOM buy-pastpart reindeer-**PAR**.kin
   'Liisa didn't buy an/the elk. Didn't she buy *a/*the/?*some
   reindeer too?'

-kin is

- **incompatible** with ASP-PAR in PQs with inherently bounded verbs in spite of contextual manipulation
- **compatible** with ASP-PAR in declaratives and PQs with inherently unbounded verbs

  (18) Ets-i-n   tä-tä   poro-a-kin
       seek-past.1sg this-PAR reindeer-**PAR**.**kin**
       'I was looking for this reindeer too'

  (19) Ets-i-t-kö   tä-tä   poro-a-kin?
       seek-2sg.kO this-PAR reindeer-**PAR**.**kin**
       'Were you looking for this reindeer too?'

- **compatible** with ASP-PAR in declaratives and PQs where PAR marks imperfective aspect

  (20) Lu-i-n   tä-tä   kirja-a-kin
       read-past.1sg this-PAR book-**PAR**.**kin**
       'I was reading this book too' (imperfective)

  (21) Lu-i-t-ko   tä-tä   kirja-a-kin?
       love-2sg.kO this-PAR book-**PAR**.**kin**
       'Were you reading this book too?' (imperfective)

ASP-PAR on the object in PQs could be due to

- unboundedness unrelated to negation
  - *ASP-PAR-*kin* not expected (cf. previous slide)

- unboundedness due to negation
  - *ASP-PAR-*kin* expected **if** -*kin* is a PPP
    (a positive polarity particle)
    ⋆ Possible evidence for the PPP-ness of -*kin*:
      in PQs with a bounded V, ASP-PAR is absent
      regardless of contextual manipulation (cf. (17a))
    ⋆ Further work on -*kin* is needed
  - **But** *ASP-PAR-*kin* in both absolutely positive and
    negative PQs...

Proposal:

[±pron]	[±int]	"real" polarity	case / -kAAn	negation
+	+	NEG	PAR , ✓-kAAn	"optimal"
+	−	POS	ACC , *-kAAn	expletive
−	+	NEG	PAR , ✓-kAAn	covert
−	−	POS	ACC , *-kAAn	none

- ASP-PAR is lost when negation is [−**interpreted**] regardless of whether it is pronounced or not

- -kAAn is ungrammatical when negation is [−**interpreted**] regardless of whether it is pronounced or not: *ACC-kAAn

Expletive and covert negation in Finnish polar questions

Karoliina Lohiniva

Outline

Introduction
In a nutshell
Background

Data
Positive PQs
Negative PQs
Summary

Proposal

Conclusion

The inquisitive semantics of interrogatives involves **highlighting** (Roelofsen and van Gool 2010, Farkas 2011, Roelofsen and Farkas 2015, Farkas and Roelofsen submitted):

- Although the partition of worlds is the same with absolutely positive and negative PQs,

    - absolutely **positive** PQs highlight the **positive** alt.
    - absolutely **negative** PQs highlight the **negative** alt.

- Non-default conventional discourse effects depend on highlighting: any bias will be in favour of the highlighted alternative in the proposition expressed by the PQ

Finnish highlighting depends on the [±interpretation] of negation (not [±pronunciation]):

- bounded V + ACC -object PQs highlight the **positive** alt.

- bounded V + PAR -object PQs highlight the **negative** alt.

[±pron, ±int]	PP	bias	init.	cont. ev.	db-checks	feel
[+, +]	*-kAAn*	NEG	p	$\neg p$ / $\varnothing p$	$\neg p$	disappointed
[+, −]	*-kin*	POS	p	$\neg p$ / $\varnothing p$	p	confident
[−, +]	*-kAAn*	NEG	p	$\neg p$ / $\varnothing p$	$\neg p$	disappointed
[−, −]	*-kin*	POS	$\neg p$	p	p	surprised

Answer biases **without polarity particles**:

- Clearly present with [+pronounced] negation
- Can be absent with [−pronounced] negation
  - If present, concern the highlighted alternative (defined by the value of [±interpretation])

Farkas and Roelofsen (submitted):

- Bias is modelled as a speaker's **conditional commitment** to the highlighted alternative: it becomes actual after the addressee's ratification

- Conditional commitment is a non-default conventional discourse effect

- Only **marked** PQs can give rise to non-default discourse effects

    - If [+**pronounced**] negation PQs in Finnish are **marked**, they can give rise to non-default discourse effects
    - If [−**pronounced**] negation PQs in Finnish are **unmarked**, they cannot give rise to non-default discourse effects
    - If the addition of a polarity particle to a [−pronounced] negation PQ yields markedness, non-default discourse effects are possible

- Additional discourse effects may arise pragmatically

- Bare particle responses to negative polar questions are
  considerably less felicitous than responses with an explicit
  prejacent (Kramer and Rawlins 2012, Roelofsen and
  Farkas 2015)

  – Whatever the reason behind it, the infelicity of bare
    kyllä in PQs with PAR-*kAAn* conforms to the picture
    as long as it is the [±interpretation] of negation that
    matters

The Finnish data was accounted for by assuming that negation
can be [±pronounced] and [±interpreted]

- The value of [±interpretation] defines which alternative is
  highlighted: object case alternation in PQs reveals a
  difference in highlighting
- The value of [±pronunciation] contributes to markedness,
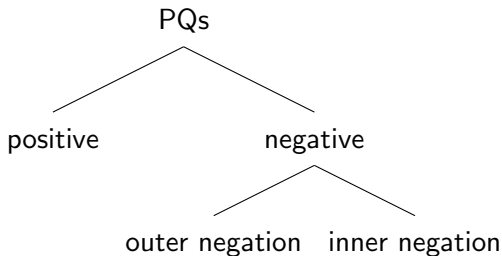 and therefore to the availability of conventionally derived
  bias

Theoretical implications

- NPI-licensing in Finnish PQs
- Typology of PQs...

Conclusion

The typology of polar questions (Büring and Gunlogson 2000):

PQs
positive   negative
outer negation   inner negation

If the proposal is correct, inner and outer negation PQs do not
form a natural class:
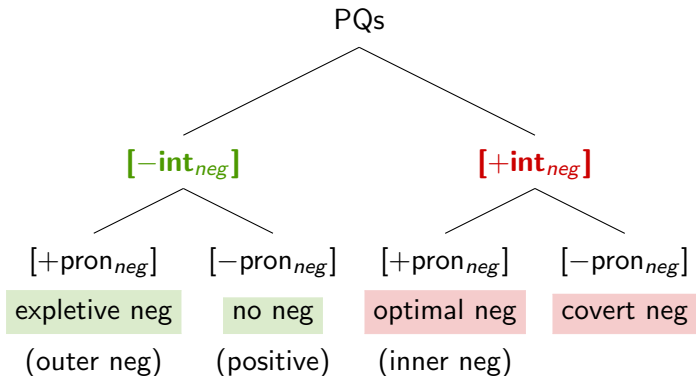
PQs

$[-\mathbf{int}_{neg}]$ $[+\mathbf{int}_{neg}]$

$[+\mathrm{pron}_{neg}]$ $[-\mathrm{pron}_{neg}]$ $[+\mathrm{pron}_{neg}]$ $[-\mathrm{pron}_{neg}]$

expletive neg   no neg   optimal neg   covert neg

(outer neg)   (positive)   (inner neg)

Thank you for your attention!

karoliina.lohiniva at unige.ch