

A note on Exceptive *ʔilla* as a Strong Negative Polarity Item

I. Domain Broadening Effect. In Levantine and standard Arabic, exceptive *ʔilla* which typically modifies universally (quantified) NPs with a restricted domain of discourse D behaves like a negative polarity item (NPI) when it comes with a broader domain D+, where $D \subseteq D+$. Consider the following paradigm of the non-polarity and negative polarity occurrences of exceptive *ʔilla* which are glossed as *ʔilla_D* and *ʔilla_{D+}*, respectively.

- (1) a. *kull tʕaalib ħadʕar ʔilla_D Khalid* b. *wala tʕaalib ħadʕar ʔilla_D Khalid*
 every student came except Khalid no student came except Khalid
 ‘Every student came except Khalid.’ ‘No student came except Khalid.’
- (2) a. **ħatʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid* b. *ma ħatʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid*
 came except Khalid not came except Khalid
 ‘Anyone came except Khaled.’ ‘Nobody came except Khaled.’

While *ʔilla_D* is fine in plain positive environments, *ʔilla_{D+}* should occur in the local scope of negative. This brings up the question of how to justify the non-polarity and negative polarity occurrences of exceptive *ʔilla* based on the notion of *domain broadening* and what theoretical implications it has for the general theory of NPI licensing (Kadmon and Landman 1993, Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998).

II. The distribution of *ʔilla_{D+}*. Although exceptive *ʔilla_{D+}* is licensed in the local scope of the negative, other NPI licensors may not license *ʔilla_{D+}* like the presupposition triggers in (3) and the left argument of the universals in (4).

- (3) a. **bas/faqatʕ ħadʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid*
 only came except Khalid
 ‘Only they came except Khalid’
- b. **ʔiðā ħadʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid, maʕnaha raħ tixrab l-ħafla.*
 If came except Khalid, meaning will spoil the-party
 ‘If anyone came except Khalid, then the party will be spoiled.’
- (4) a. **kull ʔilli ħadʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid rawwaħu*
 every who came except Khalid left
 ‘Everyone who came except Khaled left.’
- b. **wala ʔilli ħadʕar ʔilla_{D+} Khalid rawwaħu*
 no who came except Khalid left
 ‘No one who came except Khaled left.’

III. The observation. Exceptive *ʔilla_{D+}* is a strong negative polarity item with the following distributional facts: (i) Exceptive *ʔilla_{D+}* is licensed in the local scope of the negative operator. (ii) Exceptive *ʔilla_{D+}* is not licensed by Strawson-downward entailing operators (e.g., presupposition triggers). (iii) Exceptive *ʔilla_{D+}* does not require its licensor to be anti-additive (e.g., the left argument of universal quantifiers).

IV. A presupposition account. Following a proposal which was first formalized in Gajewski (2011) and was fully implemented within an exhaustification-based framework in Chierchia (2013), we assume that strong NPIs activate sub-domain alternatives which undergo exhaustification at all dimensions of meaning: the truth-conditional as well as the non-truth-conditional dimension based on whatever presuppositions or implicatures the strong NPI may have.

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Modification by the negative. Consistent truth conditions through exhaustifying the assertive meaning only.

(5) a. LF of (2.b): [exh [¬ [a [D+ except Khalid] came]]]

b. Lexical entries

(i) [exh_c (p)(w)] is true if and only if p(w) is true and for all q in C, if p ⊄ q then q(w) is false.

(ii) C_{assert} = {¬ [a [D+ except Khalid] came]; ¬ [a [D except Khalid] came]]}

(iii) [?illa_{D+}] is true if and only if Q (p \ x) (q) & for all x', if x ⊄ x' then ¬ Q (p \ x') (q)

c. Truth conditions: (D+ \ {Khalid} ∩ came = ∅) & ∀X: {Khalid} ⊄ X →

¬ (Khalid \ X ∩ came = ∅)

Plain upward entailing environment. Contradictory truth conditions by exhaustifying the assertive and presuppositional meanings (Note that the universal triggers an existential presupposition).

(6) a. LF of (2.a): [exh [every_x [D+ except Khalid] came]]]

b. Lexical entries:

(i) C_{presuppose+assert} = {Some_x D+ except Khalid & every_x D+ except Khalid came; Some_x D except Khalid & every_x D except Khalid came such that D ⊆ D+}

c. Truth Conditions: [2.a] =: [Some_x D+ except Khalid & every_x D+ except Khalid came] & ¬ [Some_x D except Khalid & every_x D except Khalid came] (**contradiction!**)

Modification by presupposition triggers. Contradictory truth conditions by exhaustifying the assertion and the presupposition of the presuppositional meaning 'secondary presupposition'.

Take only as a representative case.

(7) (3.a) is true if and only if

(i) **Assertion**

∀y. y ⊄ ∩[D + \ {Khalid}] → ¬ [y came]

(ii) **Primary Presupposition**

every_x D+ except Khalid came

(iii) **Secondary Presupposition**

Some_x D+ except Khalid

If we let exceptive *?illa_{D+}* to attend to the non-truth conditional meaning of the secondary presupposition of the only operator, then the fact that *only* cannot license *?illa_{D+}* is well-predicted. Since the presupposition itself is a case of unembedded exceptive *?illa_{D+}* whose exhaustified presupposition-enriched meaning gives rise to inconsistent truth conditions, the occurrence of *?illa_{D+}* which is embedded under the presupposition trigger of *only* is ungrammatical.

V. References. Chierchia, G (2013). Logic in Grammar: Polarity, Free Choice, and Intervention. Oxford University Press. Gajewski, J. (2011). Licensing strong NPIs. Natural Language Semantics 19.2: 109–48. Kadmon, N and F. Landman (1993). Any. Linguistics and Philosophy 15: 353–422. Krifka, M. (1995). The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items. Linguistic Analysis 25: 209–57. Lahiri, U. (1998). Focus and Negative Polarity in Hindi. Natural Language Semantics 6: 57–125.