

# A phrasal construction for an *ex quolibet falsum* inference

Manfred Sailer  
[ˈman.fred ˈzaɪ.lɐ]  
(he)

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main  
CRC 1629 Negation in Language and Beyond

3.9.2025

# Introduction

# The Emperor-of-China construction (EoC-Cx)

Implicational/*dann* 'then' variant (*then*-EoC-Cx):

- (1) Also, wenn das stimmt, bin ich der Kaiser von China.  
thus if this is correct am I the emperor of China  
'This cannot be correct.' (lit.: 'If this is correct, I am the emperor of China.')

(deTenTen23)

Conjunctive/*und* 'and' variant (*and*-EoC-Cx):

- (2) A: "Wir verwenden die besten und teuersten Materialien für unsere T-Shirts ..."

'We use the best and most expensive materials for our t-shirts '

B: Und ich bin der Kaiser von China!  
and I am the emperor of China

'This is nonsense!' (lit.: 'And I am the emperor of China.')

(deTenTen23)

# Plan for the talk

- Syntax: Is the EoC-Cx an idiosyncratic phrasal construction?  $\Rightarrow$  Yes!
- Semantics: Does the EoC-Cx express a negation?  $\Rightarrow$  No!
- Pragmatics: How can we capture the strong rejection effect?
- Method:
  - ▶ Exploratory corpus data (deTenTen23)
  - ▶ Modeling within a constructional, constraint-based framework
  - ▶ ...with an explicit semantics-pragmatics interface

# Overview

1 Introduction

2 Syntax

3 Semantics

4 Pragmatics

5 Conclusion

# Syntax

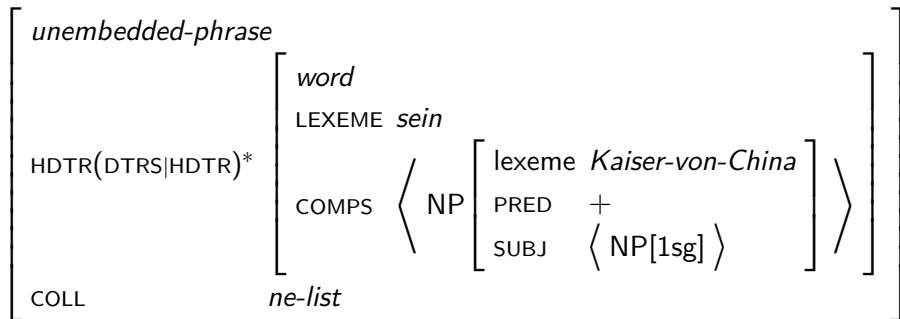
# Corpus distribution: enTenTen23

- Query 1: sein der Kaiser von China 'be the emperor of China'  
V2 – Subject-Verb: 50 hits; 20 relevant
- Query 2: sein \* der Kaiser von China  
V2 – Verb-Subject: 40 hits; 20 relevant
- Query 3: der Kaiser von China sein  
V-Final: 40 hits; 0 relevant

## Results:

- in all relevant examples: subject *ich* 'I'
- all relevant Subject-Verb examples with *und* 'and'
- all relevant Verb-Subject examples with *dann* 'then'
- Only in matrix clauses
- Antecedent typically a clause

# HPSG specification 1 (syntax)



- idiosyncratic construction: Richter & Sailer (2009): COLL value *ne-list*
- Only in matrix clauses: *unembedded-sign* (Richter, 1997; Höhle, 2019)
- Lexically required material: via LEXEME values
- Subject *ich* 'I': specified in the SUBJ feature.
- To be dealt with in the semantics:
  - ▶ all relevant Subject-Verb examples with *und* 'and'
  - ▶ all relevant Verb-Subject examples with *dann* 'then'



# Semantics

# Constructional meaning?

- Construction: idiosyncratic form-meaning pairing.
- We could put the negative meaning into the semantics of the construction.
- Remark: I use Lexical Resource Semantics (LRS, Richter & Sailer 2004), but the observations/generalizations are independent of this choice)

## Possible constructional meanings

- (3) a. Wenn Alex einen Preis gewonnen hat,  
if Alex has a price won  
bin ich der Kaiser von China!  
am I the emperor of China (*then*-EoC-Cx)
- b. Alex hat einen Preis gewonnen  
Alex has a price won  
und ich bin der Kaiser von China!  
and I am the emperor of China (*and*-EoC-Cx)

- Negation in the antecedent:  
*I am convinced that Alex did not win a price.*
- Negated or inherently negative matrix predicate:  
*I strongly doubt that Alex has won a price.*
- Exclamative meaning (just use-conditional):  
*No way has Alex won a price!*

## Diagnostic for semantic negativity: *jemals* 'ever'

- Negative Polarity Items (NPI): *jemals* 'ever', *einen Finger krumm machen* 'lift a finger ', ...
- *Jemals* 'ever' is not felicitous in simple, affirmative clauses, but require a licenser:
  - (4) a. \*Alex has **ever** helped Kim. / Nobody has **ever** helped Kim.  
b. \*Alex has **lifted a finger** to help Kim.  
/ Alex hasn't **lifted a finger** to help Kim.
- Clause-mate negation is a licenser for all NPIs (roughly)
- There is a variety of other licensers and NPIs differ with respect to their exact licensing requirements (Hoeksema, 2024)
  - (5) a. Few people have **ever** helped Kim.  
/ \*Few people have **lifted a finger** to help Kim.  
b. \*Alex might have **ever** helped Kim.  
/ Alex might have **lifted a finger** to help Kim.
- Sedivy (1990): *jemals* 'ever' requires a licenser in the semantics and cannot be licensed indirectly.

# NPI licensing in phrasal constructions

Phrasal construction can in principle license NPIs. In those cases, there meaning representation can be assumed to be (constructionally)

- *I'll be damned if S* licensed virtually any NPI in the *if* part (von Bergen & von Bergen, 1993):

(6) I'll be damned if I **ever** help you!

- The Incredulity Response Construction/ Mad Magazine sentences (Akmajian, 1984; Lambrecht, 1990)

(7) Ich und **jemals** einen eigenen Garten haben?!

I and ever an own garden have (deTenTen23)

# NPIs in the three potential meanings of the EoC-Cx

- Negation of the antecedent: NPIs should be licensed.
- Negated or inherently negative matrix predicate: NPIs should be licensed:

(8) Ich bezweifle, dass Alex jemals einen Preis gewonnen hat.  
I doubt that Alex ever a price won has  
'I doubt that Alex has ever won a Price'

- Exclamative meaning: NPIs should be licensed

(9) Als ob Alex jemals einen Preis gewonnen hat!  
as if Alex ever a price won has  
'No way Alex has ever won a price!'

*Jemals* 'ever' would be licensed in any of the potential constructional meanings.

## NPI licensing in the *then*-EoC-Cx

- NPIs can occur in the antecedent of the *then*-EoC-Cx.

(10) Wenn Alex jemals einen Preis gewonnen hat, bin ich der  
if Alex ever a price won has am I the  
Kaiser von China.  
emperor of China  
'If Alex has ever won a price, I am the emperor of China.'

- But: NPIs also ok in ordinary *if* clauses:

(11) Wenn Alex jemals einen Preis gewonnen hat, bin ich  
if Alex ever a price won has am I  
beindruckt.  
impressed  
'I am impressed if Alex has ever won a price.'

- No special constructional semantics needed to capture NPI-licensing in the *then*-EoC-Cx.

## NPI licensing in the *and*-EoC-Cx

- No NPI licensing at all in the *and*-EoC-Cx:

(12) \*Alex hat jemals einen Preis gewonnen und ich bin der  
Alex has ever a price won and I am the  
Kaiser von China!  
emperor of China

Intended: 'I doubt that Alex has ever won a price.'

- This is exactly what we find in ordinary conjunction!

(13) \*Alex hat jemals einen Preis gewonnen und ich bin  
Alex has ever a price won and I am  
beeindruckt.  
impressed

Intended: 'Alex has won a price (at least once) and I am  
impressed.'

- Constructionally introduced negative semantics would make the wrong predictions for NPI licensing in the *and*-EoC-Cx.



# NPI licensing: Summary

- No support for a special constructional meaning that includes a negation.
  - The *then*-EoC-Cx behaves like an ordinary conditional.
  - The *and*-EoC-Cx behaves like an ordinary conjunction.
- ⇒ We can just assume a literal semantics of the construction.

# HPSG specification 2 (at-issue semantics)

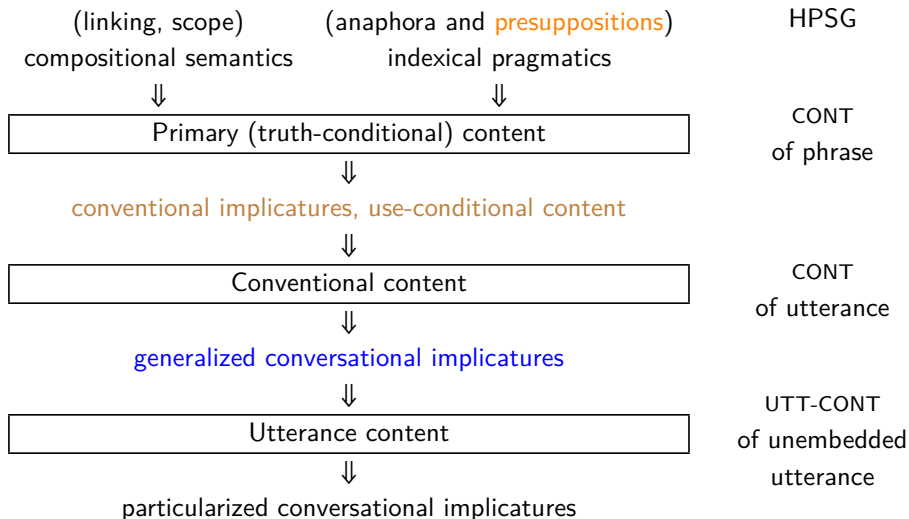
	<i>unembedded-phrase</i>	
	<div> <div>word</div> <div>LEXEME <i>sein</i></div> <div> <div>HDTR(DTRS HDTR)*</div> <div>COMPS</div> <div> <div> <div>NP</div> <div> <div>lexeme <i>Kaiser-von-China</i></div> <div>PRED +</div> <div>SUBJ <math>\langle \text{NP[1sg]} \rangle</math></div> </div> </div> </div> </div> </div>	
LRS	EXCONT $\phi \rightarrow \psi[\mathbf{EoC}(\mathbf{speaker})]$ <b>or</b> $\phi \wedge \psi[\mathbf{EoC}(\mathbf{speaker})]$	
COLL	<i>ne-list</i>	

- Semantics: Specifying the overall content (EXCONT in Lexical Resource Semantics) as:
  - ▶ either an implication: all relevant Verb-Subject examples with *dann* 'then'
  - ▶ or a conjunction: all relevant Subject-Verb examples with *und* 'and': Conjunction

# Pragmatics

# Semantics-pragmatics interface

Levinson (2000), extended in Sailer (2021, 2024)



# Preview of the analysis

## Compositional Semantics:

- (14) Wenn Alex das Rennen gewinnt, bin ich der Kaiser von China.

‘If Alex wins the race, I am the emperor of China.’

At issue: **win(alex)**  $\rightarrow$  **EoC(speaker)**

- (15) Alex gewinnt das Rennen und ich bin der Kaiser von China.

‘Alex wins the race and I am the emperor of China.’

**win(alex)  $\wedge$  EoC(speaker)**

## Pragmatics:

- **Presupposition**: The subject is not the emperor of China.
- **Generalized conversational implicatures**: Inference associated with coordination, i.e. turning a coordination into an implication.
- **Use-conditional meaning**: Speaker does not want antecedent clause to be integrated into the Common Ground.

# Presuppositions

- Presuppositions: conventionalized (arbitrary, non-calculable), cancelable, not reinforceable
- Percolate, but can be accommodated (“retrieved”) in the immediate scope of quantifiers, negation, ....
- In HPSG+LRS: Sailer & Am-David (2016):
- Introduced on a PRESUP(POSITION) list (and their subexpressions occur on the PARTS list)
- Percolation and retrieval for PRESUP (Sailer & Am-David, 2016, 653): Elements of the PRESUP list percolate until they are retrieved (accommodated) in the scope of an appropriate operator.

# Presupposition of the EoC-Cx

- Presupposition: **I am not the emperor of China**
- Conventionalized: arbitrary, special to the particular construction
- Cancelability:

(16) Wenn das stimmt, bin ich der Kaiser von China – was ich übrigens tatsächlich bin, aber du hast trotzdem nicht recht.  
'If this is correct, I am the emperor of China – which I am actually, by the way, but you are still not right.'

- Non-reinforceability:

(17) Wenn das stimmt, bin ich der Kaiser von China – ??und das bin ich nun wirklich nicht.  
'If this is correct, I am the emperor of China – which I am definitely not.'

## Deriving the negative meaning for the *then*-EoC-Cx

- At the level where the presupposition is accommodated (at an S-node in the scope of quantifiers/negation/modal/...):

(18) Wenn Alex das Rennen gewinnt, bin ich der Kaiser von China.

'If Alex wins the race, I am the emperor of China.'

At issue: **win(alex) → EoC(speaker)**

Presupposition: **¬EoC(speaker)**

Primary content:

**(win(alex) → EoC(speaker)) ∧ ¬EoC(speaker)**

- The primary content is only true when **win(alex)** is false.
- The speaker does not assert the falsehood of **win(alex)**, but says something that is only true in that case!



(19) Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.

‘Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China’

At issue: **win(alex)** und **EoC(speaker)**

Presupposition: ...  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$

Primary content: **win(alex)**  $\wedge$  (**EoC(speaker)**  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$ )

This formula is always false, independently of the truth value of **win(alex)**

# Generalized conversational implicatures (GCI)

- GCIs: cancellable (optional), non-detachable (non-conventionalized, universal /derivable from Gricean maxims), largely context-independent.
- Evidence for their relevance for truth-conditional meaning (Levinson, 2000; Carston & Hall, 2012)

- (20)
- a. It is better to [drive and drink] than to [drink and drive].
  - b. She didn't write three books, she wrote four books (or maybe even more).

# Generalized conversational implicatures in HPSG

- Proposal in Sailer (2021)
- GCI:  $\alpha \mapsto_{GCI} \beta$
- Integration only at the utterance content

(21) Sailer (2021, 355)

Given two formulæ  $\alpha, \beta$ , a rewriting rule for a generalized conversational implicature has the form  $\alpha \mapsto_{GCI} \beta$ .

Such a rule means: If  $\alpha$  occurs in the conventional content, it can optionally be replaced with  $(\alpha \wedge \beta)$  in the utterance content.

- Status of GCIs: Analogous to post-lexical rules in phonology (Höhle, 2019)

# GCI for conjunction

- Horn (2004)

(22) a. They got a baby and married.

$\mapsto_{GCI}$  They got a baby and **then/therefore** married.

b. The earth rotates and we experience night and day.

$\mapsto_{GCI}$  The earth rotates and **therefore** we experience night and day.

- Suggested GCI:  $(\phi \wedge \psi) \mapsto_{GCI} (\phi \rightarrow (\phi \wedge \psi))$

- Required change in the theory:

- ▶ GCI:  $\alpha \mapsto_{GCI} \beta$ , where  $\alpha$  is a subexpression of  $\beta$ .
- ▶ Such a rule means: If  $\alpha$  occurs in the conventional content, it can optionally be replaced with  $\beta$  in the utterance content.

## Deriving the negativity of the *and*-EoC-Cx

(23) Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.

‘Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China’

At issue: **win(alex)** und **EoC(speaker)**

Presupposition: ...  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$

Primary content: **win(alex)**  $\wedge$  (**EoC(speaker)**  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$ )

GCI:  $(\phi \wedge \psi) \mapsto_{GCI} (\phi \rightarrow (\phi \wedge \psi))$

Utterance content:

**win(alex)**  $\rightarrow$  (**win(alex)**  $\wedge$  (**EoC(speaker)**  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$ ))

- This formula is only true if **win(alex)** is false.
- Just as in the *then*-EoC-Cx, the falsehood of **win(alex)** follows indirectly.

## Deriving the negativity of the *and*-EoC-Cx

(23) Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.

‘Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China’

At issue: **win(alex)** und **EoC(speaker)**

Presupposition: ...  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$

Primary content: **win(alex)**  $\wedge$  (**EoC(speaker)**  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$ )

GCI:  $(\phi \wedge \psi) \mapsto_{GCI} (\phi \rightarrow (\phi \wedge \psi))$

Utterance content:

**win(alex)**  $\rightarrow$  (**win(alex)**  $\wedge$  (**EoC(speaker)**  $\wedge \neg \text{EoC(speaker)}$ ))

- This formula is only true if **win(alex)** is false.
- Just as in the *then*-EoC-Cx, the falsehood of **win(alex)** follows indirectly.

**But isn't this an odd way of expressing things ...?**

## Use-conditional meaning / Conventional Implicatures

- Special used conditions of the EoC-Cx
- Grice (1975); Bach (1994); Gutzmann (2013), ...
- Conventional Implicatures: conventionalized (arbitrary, not derivable from maxims, ...), cannot be cancelled, percolate to a level of an independent utterance
- In HPSG: Sailer & Am-David (2016), Rizea & Sailer (2020):
  - ▶ Introduced on a CI list (and their subexpressions occur on the PARTS list).
  - ▶ Retrieved in the immediate scope of some speech act operator.

(24) Alex, a linguist, speaks Portuguese.

Primary content: **speak-port(alex)**

CI: ...  **$\wedge$ linguist(alex)**

Conventional content: **speak-port(alex)  $\wedge$ linguist(alex)**

# Use-conditional content of the EoC-Cx

VERUM focus: Gutzmann et al. (2020), Sailer (2022):

(25) Alex HAT das Rennen gewonnen.

Alex HAS the race won

at issue: Alex won the race

Contextually salient: Alex did not win the race.

Use-conditional meaning (VERUM): Do not integrate “Alex did not win the race” into the common ground.



## Use conditional content of the EoC-Cx

- Claim: The use conditions of the EoC-Cx are similar to those of VERUM focus.
- Antecedent proposition is contextually salient.
- EoC-Cx's use conditions say that the antecedent should not be integrated into the common ground.

(26) Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.  
Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China

Contextually salient: **win(alex)**

Use-conditional content: **prevent-CG-integration(^win(alex))**

# Truth conditions and use conditions of the EoC-Cx

- (27) a. Wenn Alex das Rennen gewinnt, bin ich der Kaiser von China.  
‘If Alex wins the race wins, I am the emperor of China’  
b. Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.  
‘Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China.’

Truth conditions: The utterance is only true if **win(alex)** is false.

Use conditions: **prevent-CG-integration**(<sup>^</sup>**win(alex)**)

## In detail:

- (28) Alex gewinnt das Rennen – und ich bin der Kaiser von China.  
'Alex wins the race – and I am the emperor of China.'

a. At issue:

**win(alex  $\wedge$  EoC(speaker))**

b. Primary content (+ Presuppositions):

**(win(alex  $\wedge$  (EoC(speaker  $\wedge$   $\neg$  EoC(speaker)))))**

c. Conventional content (+ use conditions):

**(win(alex  $\wedge$  (EoC(speaker  $\wedge$   $\neg$  EoC(speaker)))))**  
 **$\wedge$ prevent-CG-integration( $\wedge$ win(alex))**

d. Utterance content (+ generalized conversational implicatures):

**(win(alex)  $\rightarrow$**   
**(win(alex  $\wedge$  (EoC(speaker  $\wedge$   $\neg$  EoC(speaker)))))**  
 **$\wedge$ prevent-CG-integration( $\wedge$ win(alex))**

# HPSG specification 3 (pragmatics)

<i>unembedded-phrase</i>	
HDTR(DTRS HDTR)*	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{LEXEME } \textit{sein} \\ \text{COMPS } \left\langle \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{lexeme } \textit{Kaiser-von-China} \\ \text{PRED } + \\ \text{SUBJ } \left\langle \text{NP[1sg]} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$
	EXCONT $\phi \rightarrow \psi[\mathbf{EoC}(\textit{speaker})]$ $\text{or } \phi \wedge \psi[\mathbf{EoC}(\textit{speaker})]$
LRS	PRES $\left\langle \dots \wedge \neg \mathbf{EoC}(\textit{speaker}) \right\rangle$
	CI $\left\langle \dots \wedge \mathbf{prevent-CG-integration}(\wedge \phi) \right\rangle$
COLL	<i>ne-list</i>

# Conclusion

# Conclusion

- Neither syntax nor semantics irregular!
- But still: construction with idiosyncratic properties:
  - ▶ unembedded sign, first person subject, fixed syntax
  - ▶ presupposition and use-conditional meaning
- The interaction of the various meaning components trigger conversational inferences that lead to the negation-like effect of the construction.
- Criteria and analytical space for similar expressions:

(29) wenn Ostern und Weihnachten auf denselben Tag fallen  
'when Easter and Christmas are on the same day'  
am Sankt Nimmerleinstag 'on Saint-Never-Day'  
dann fress ich 'nen Besen 'then will I eat a broom'  
and I am the pope of Rome  
van Eynce (pc): (nl) en Napoleon is mijn tante 'and Napoleon  
is my aunt'

# Thank you for your attention!

Manfred Sailer, [sailer@em.uni-frankfurt.de](mailto:sailer@em.uni-frankfurt.de)

# References I

- Akmajian, Adrian. 1984. Sentence types and the form-function fit. *NLLT* 2(1). 1–23.
- Bach, Kent. 1994. Conversational implicature. *Language and Mind* 9(2). 124–162.
- von Bergen, Anke & Klaus von Bergen. 1993. *Negative Polarität im Englischen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Carston, Robyn & Alison Hall. 2012. Implicature and explicature. In Hans-Jörg Schmid, Wolfram Bublitz & Andreas H. Jucker (eds.), *Cognitive pragmatics*, vol. 4 Handbooks of Pragmatics, 47–84. Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter.
- Grice, Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.



## References II

- Gutzmann, Daniel. 2013. Expressives and beyond. In Daniel Gutzmann & Hans-Martin Gärtner (eds.), *Beyond expressives* (Current Research in the Semantics Pragmatics-Interface (CRiSPI) 28), 1–58. Brill.  
doi:10.1163/9789004183988\_002.  
danielgutzmann.com/work/expressives-and-beyond.
- Gutzmann, Daniel, Katharina Hartmann & Lisa Matthewson. 2020. Verum focus is verum, not focus: Cross-linguistic evidence. *Glossa* 5(1). 51. 1–48. doi:https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.347.
- Hoeksema, Jack. 2024. *De negatiief-polaire uitdrukkingen van het Nederlands*. Groningen: University of Groningen Press.  
doi:10.21827/656dea670d2ba.
- Höhle, Tilman N. 2019. An architecture for phonology. In Stefan Müller, Marga Reis & Frank Richter (eds.), *Beiträge zur deutschen Grammatik. Gesammelte Schriften von Tilman N. Höhle*, 571–607. Berlin: Language Science Press 2nd edn. doi:10.5281/zenodo.2588381. Originally published 1998.

## References III

- Horn, Laurence R. 2004. Implicature. In Laurence R. Horn & Gregory Ward (eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics*, 3–28. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1990. “what, me worry?– ‘Mad Magazine sentences’ revisited. In Kira Hall, Jean-Pierre Koenig, Michael Meacham, Sondra Reinman & Laurel A. Sutton (eds.), *Proceedings of the 16th annual meeting of the berkeley linguistics society*, 215–228. Berkeley, USA: BLS.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. London: MIT Press.

## References IV

- Richter, Frank. 1997. Die Satzstruktur des Deutschen und die Behandlung langer Abhängigkeiten in einer Linearisierungsgrammatik. Formale Grundlagen und Implementierung in einem HPSG-Fragment. In Erhard Hinrichs, Walt Detmar Meurers, Frank Richter, Manfred Sailer & Heike Winhart (eds.), *Ein hpsg-fragment des deutschen. teil 1: Theorie* Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340, Nr. 95, 13–187. Universität Stuttgart and Universität Tübingen.
- Richter, Frank & Manfred Sailer. 2004. Basic concepts of Lexical Resource Semantics. In Arne Beckmann & Norbert Preining (eds.), *ESSLLI 2003: Course material I*, vol. 5 Collegium Logicum, 87–143. Vienna: Kurt Gödel Society.
- Richter, Frank & Manfred Sailer. 2009. Phraseological clauses in constructional HPSG. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Göttingen 2009*, 297–317. Stanford: CSLI Publications.  
doi:10.21248/hpsg.2009.15.

## References V

- Rizea, Monica-Mihaela & Manfred Sailer. 2020. A constraint-based modeling of negative polarity items in result clause constructions in Romanian. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 43(1). 129–168.  
doi:10.1075/li.00042.riz.
- Sailer, Manfred. 2021. Minimizer negative polarity items in non-negative contexts. In Stefan Müller & Nurit Melnik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 348–368. Frankfurt/Main: University Library.  
doi:10.21248/hpsg.2021.19.
- Sailer, Manfred. 2022. Use-conditional licensing of strong Negative Polarity Items. In Daniel Gutzmann & Sophie Repp (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 26, 734–752. University of Cologne. <https://ojs.ub.uni-konstanz.de/sub/index.php/sub/issue/view/30>.
- Sailer, Manfred. 2024. Horn clauses and strict NPIs under negated matrix clauses, 152–172. Frankfurt/Main: University Library.  
doi:10.21248/hpsg.2024.10.

## References VI

- Sailer, Manfred & Assif Am-David. 2016. Definite meaning and definite marking. In Doug Arnold, Miriam Butt, Berthold Crysmann, Tracy Holloway King & Stefan Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the Joint 2016 Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland*, 641–661. Frankfurt/Main: University Library.  
doi:10.21248/hpsg.2016.33.
- Sedivy, Julie. 1990. Against a unified analysis of negative polarity licensing. *Cahiers Linguistiques D'Ottawa* 18. 95–105.