Partitive case and association with additives (in Finnish)

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1 Introduction

1.1 In this talk

This talk is about the interaction of object case and the additive/scalar clitic KIN 'also, even'/'neither, not even' in six negative polarity item licensing contexts in Finnish:

- in negative declaratives (NEG/N),
- in (positive) polar interrogatives (Q),
- with *tuskin* 'hardly' (HARDLY/H),
- with *harva* 'few (people)' (FEW/F),
- in *ennen kuin* 'before' clauses (BEFORE/B), and
- in the antecedent of a conditional (IF/I)

I collected acceptability judgments in order to find at least preliminary answers to the following research questions:

- Q1: Do NPI-licensing contexts in general license object case alternation between accusative and partitive?
- Q2: Does the presence of *–kin* have an effect on acceptability with a given case-marking?

1.2 Roadmap

This talk is organized as follows:

- Section 2: Usual object case-marking in Finnish
- Section 3: Object case alternation
- Section 4: Additive suffix KIN
- Section 5: Acceptability judgment questionnaire
- Section 6: Results
- Section 7: Discussion
- Section 8: Conclusion

2 Usual object case-marking in Finnish

Finnish direct objects, when not marked with an inherent case, bear either accusative (ACC) or partitive (PAR): the choice between the two has been argued to be semantically conditioned by the *(un)boundedness* of the VP (Leino, 1991 [1982]; Heinämäki, 1984; Kiparsky, 1998).

(1)   General rule for object case-marking in Finnish

    i.   If the VP is bounded, the object bears accusative (ACC)

    ii. If the VP is unbounded, the object bears partitive (PAR)

For Kiparsky, the (un)boundedness of the VP can be due to the properties of either the verb or the object. Kiparsky proposes the unboundedness of a VP can be detected with the gradability test: unbounded VPs are gradable and accept adverbs of degree referring to the extent of the eventuality, such as *kauan* 'for a long time'. Bounded VPs are not gradable, and do not accept such adverbs.

(2)   Gradability test for boundedness (cf. p. 4 in Kiparsky, 1998)

    a.   Etsin   avainta kauan
         look.for.PRES.1SG key.PAR for.a.long.time
         'I looked for the key for a long time'

    b.   Löysin   avaimen #kauan
         find.PAST.1SG key.ACC for.a.long.time
         'I found the key for a long time'

2.1   The aspectual function of PAR (ASP-PAR)

When the unboundedness of the VP predicate is due to the properties of the verbal head, PAR has an *aspectual function*.[1]

(3)   Aspectual PAR (Kiparsky, 1998, p. 15)

    a.   With most atelic verbs: *rakastaa* 'to love', *paeta* 'to flee', *koskettaa* 'to touch'

       i.   Joni   rakastaa   jalkapalloa / *jalkapallon
          Joni.NOM love.PRES.3SG football.PAR   football.ACC
          'Joni loves football'

       ii.   Joni   pakenee   sadetta / *sateen
          Joni.NOM flee.PRES.3SG rain.PAR   rain.ACC
          'Joni is fleeing the rain'

       iii. Joni   koskettaa   pöytää   / *pöydän
          Joni.NOM touch.PRES.3SG table.PAR   table.ACC
          'Joni is touching the table'

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[1] Aspectual PAR is often correlated with irresultativity, although this is not necessary: there are resultative verbs that have PAR objects because the predicate is unbounded, such as *rankaista* 'to punish', and there are irresultative verbs that have ACC objects because the predicate is bounded, such as *omistaa* 'to own'.

b. With verbs of creation and destruction when they are interpreted as unbounded: *syödä* 'to eat', *leikata* 'to cut'; or verbs that denote events whose progress is mapped out into the parts of the object: *lukea* 'to read', *sekoittaa* 'to mix'

   i.   Joni   söi   perunaa   / perunan
         Joni.NOM eat.PAST.3SG potato.PAR   potato.ACC
         'Joni ate (some of) a potato/Joni was eating a potato' or 'Joni ate a potato (a whole one)'

   ii.   Joni   luki   kirjaa   / kirjan
         Joni.NOM read.PAST.3SG book.PAR   book.ACC
         'Joni read (some of) a book/Joni was reading a potato' or 'Joni read a book (a whole one)'

As the translations in (3) show, the aspectual function of PAR can be either lexical or grammatical. Huumo (2013) further distinguishes between three different aspectual functions of PAR: progressive (the event is ongoing), cessative (the event ceases without reaching its endpoint), irresultative (the event reaches an endpoint but no substantial change happens).

Objects of negative declaratives are always in PAR independently of the properties of the verb (partitive of negation, ASP-PAR). Heinämäki (1984) proposes that negative declaratives are unbounded descriptions of events, and hence assimilates partitive of negation to the aspectual function of the partitive.

Heinämäki also notes that no explicit negative morpheme must be present for the partitive of negation to be able to occur: a negative inference due to a negative-natured expression such as *tuskin* 'hardly', *harva* 'few', *turha* 'needless' or *vaikea* 'difficult' is enough (Hakulinen and Karlsson, 1979).

2.2 The NP-related function of PAR (NP-PAR)

When the unboundedness of the VP predicate is due to the properties of the object, PAR has an *NP-related function*. In this function, PAR signals that the object is *quantitatively indeterminate*: it is a mass noun or a bare plural.

(4)   NP-related PAR (Kiparsky, 1998, p. 3): best seen with telic verbs that usually have ACC objects

   a.   Löysin   perunaa   maton   alta
       find.PRES.1SG potato.PAR carpet.GEN under.ALL
       'I found (some) potato under the rug'

   b.   Löysin   perunoita   joka paikasta
       find.PRES.1SG potato.PL.PAR every place.ILL
       'I found potatoes everywhere'

3 Object case alternation

In certain contexts, object case may alternate seemingly optionally between ACC and PAR, even if in positive declaratives only ACC is allowed: this type of PAR will be called the *alternating partitive* (ALT-PAR).

(5) Object case alternation with telic *ostaa* 'to buy' in a polar interrogative

    a.   Joni   osti   pyörän
         Joni.NOM buy.PAST.3SG bike.ACC
         'Joni bought a/the bike'

    b.   * Joni   osti   pyörää
         Joni.NOM buy.PAST.3SG bike.PAR
         (Agrammatical if the reading is not progressive, or the object a mass noun)

    c.   Ostiko   Joni   pyörän?
         buy.PAST.3SG.Q Joni.NOM bike.ACC
         'Did Joni buy a/the bike?'

    d.   Ostiko   Joni   pyörää?
         buy.PAST.3SG.Q Joni.NOM bike.PAR
         'Did Joni buy a/the bike?'

Kaiser (2002, 2003) notes that the contexts where Finnish allows case alternation often correspond to those that license negative polarity items (NPIs):

– ALT-PAR and NPIs are **grammatical** in polar interrogatives and with *tuskin*
– ALT-PAR and NPIs are **ungrammatical** in information-seeking *wh*-interrogatives, polar interrogatives with *only*, and clefted questions

(6) Interrogative contexts where ALT-PAR and NPIs are unavailable

    a.   Kuka   osti   {pyörän / *pyörää / *mitään}?
         who.NOM buy.PAST.3SG bike.ACC   bike.PAR   anything
         'Who bought a/the bike?' or 'Who bought anything?'

    b.   {Pyöränkö / *pyörääkö} {Joni   / *kukaan} osti?
         bike.ACC.Q   bike.PAR.Q   Joni.NOM   anyone   buy.PAST.3SG
         'Was it a/the bike that Joni bought?' or 'Was it a/the bike that anyone bought?'

    c.   Ostiko   Joni   vain {pyörän / *pyörää / *mitään}?
         buy.PAST.3SG.Q Joni.NOM only bike.ACC   bike.PAR   anything
         'Did Joni only buy a/the bike?' or 'Did Joni only buy anything?'

The negative expressions that allow for case alternation according to Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979) and Heinämäki (1984, 1994) also admit of NPI objects. As mentioned in Section 2.1, this partitive is assumed to be a NEG-PAR in Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979 and Heinämäki 1984.

(7) Negative expressions, PAR and NPIs

    a. Joni   tuskin ostaa   {autoa / mitään}
       Joni.NOM hardly buy.PRES.3SG car.PAR   anything
       'It's unlikely that Joni will buy a car' or 'It's unlikely that Joni will buy anything'

    b. Harva   ostaa   {autoa / mitään}
       few.NOM buy.PRES.3SG car.PAR   anything
       'Few people buy a car' or 'Few people buy anything'

    c. On   turha   ostaa {autoa / mitään}
       be.PRES.3SG needless buy.INF car.PAR   anything
       'It is needless to buy a car' or 'It is needless to buy anything'

    d. On   vaikea ostaa {autoa / mitään}
       be.PRES.3SG difficult buy.INF car.PAR   anything
       'It is hard to buy a car' or 'It is hard to buy anything'

4 Additive suffix KIN

KIN[2] is a focus-sensitive additive and/or scalar clitic. It brings with it an *additive* (ADD) and/or a *scalar* (SCAL) non-truth-conditional meaning component (conventional implicature or presupposition: Horn 1969; Karttunen and Karttunen 1976; Karttunen and Peters 1979; König 1991, a.o.). On its standard use, it can be translated to the English *too/either* and *even*, as below.

(8) An illustration of the additive and scalar meaning components of KIN

    a. [Joni]$_F$kin   lähti
       Joni.NOM.KIN leave.PAST.3SG
       '[Joni]$_F$ left, too' or 'Even [Joni]$_F$ left'

    b. [Joni]$_F$kaan   ei   lähtenyt
       Joni.NOM.KAAN NEG.3SG leave.PASTPRT
       '[Joni]$_F$ did not leave, either' or 'Even [Joni]$_F$ did not leave'

Focus-sensitive additives and scalars are generally assumed to be operators that take propositional scope and quantify over focus alternatives (Rooth, 1985, 1992). Informally, focus alternatives are built from a sentence that contains syntactic F(ocus)-marking by replacing the F-marked category with another category of the same semantic type. This set is then restricted contextually in order to avoid overgeneration.

In general, ADD is assumed to contribute an inference according to which there is some focus alternative q distinct from the prejacent p (the sentence without the particle) such that q is true. The contribution of SCAL is to say that the prejacent p is less likely than all other focus alternatives q.[3]

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[2] The small capitals KIN refers to both PF realisations of the suffix, *-kin* and *-kAAn*.

[3] In (9), the presupposition/non-truth-conditional contribution of the operator is indicated between two dots, and the assertive, truth-conditional contribution, which is unaffected by the operator, is at the end of the entry.

(9) The definitions of ADD and SCAL given an F-marked prejacent p, a set C of its focus alternatives q, and a likelihood relation $<_{prob}$:

    a. $[\![\text{ADD}_C]\!]^g$: $\lambda w \lambda p. \exists q \in C[q \neq p \wedge q(w)].p(w)$

    b. $[\![\text{SCAL}_C]\!]^g$: $\lambda w \lambda p. \forall q \in C[q \neq p \rightarrow p(w) <_{prob} q(w)].p(w)$

Karttunen and Karttunen (1976), working in a Montagovian framework, propose that KIN is syncategorematic, and appears as the result of the application of syntactic Kin- and Kaan-rules: in current terms, KIN is not in itself an operator.

The syntactic rules work in almost identical fashion:

– They require two arguments: a *focus* (the category that ends up carrying the suffix) and a *scope* (a property-denoting open formula containing an unbound subscripted pronoun such as se_0 'it')

– They replace the highest pronoun in the scope with the focus, suffix it with *-kin* or *-kAAn*, and delete all other subscripts on the remaining pronouns and replace them with *hän* '(s)he' if the focus entity is a human

– They place a requirement on the polarity of the scope argument: the Kin-rule may only apply to a positive scope, while the Kaan-rule must apply to a negative scope

(10) Karttunen and Karttunen 1976: (24)

    a. Jussi   pitää   [Marjasta]$_F$kin
       Jussi.NOM like.PRES.3SG Marja.ELA.KIN
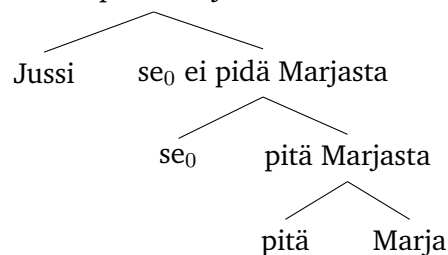   'Jussi likes [Marja]$_F$ too'

    b.

Jussi pitää Marjastakin (Kin)

Marja   Jussi pitää siitä$_0$

Jussi   pitä siitä$_0$

pitä se_0
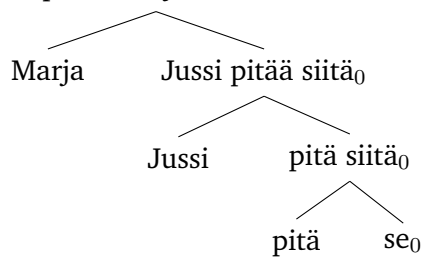
(11) a. [Jussi]$_F$kaan   ei   pidä   Marjasta
       Jussi.NOM.KAAN NEG.3SG like.PRES Marja.ELA
       '[Jussi]$_F$ doesn't like Marja either'

    b.

Jussikaan ei pidä Marjasta (Kaan)

Jussi se_0 ei pidä Marjasta

se_0 pitä Marjasta

pitä   Marja

Karttunen and Karttunen propose that both syntactic rules are paired with the same interpretational rule which states that the focus argument is not the only one that instantiates the scope property. They allow the negation-introducing rule to apply after the Kin-rule, accounting for the grammaticality and interpretation of sentences such as (12b):

(12) a. Joni   ei   puhunut   [Marille]$_F$kaan
          Joni.NOM NEG.3SG speak.PASTPRT Mari.ALL.KAAN
          'Joni did not speak to [Mari]$_F$ either' (= there is someone else he did not speak to)

      b. Joni   ei   puhunut   [Marille]$_F$kin
          Joni.NOM NEG.3SG speak.PASTPRT Mari.ALL.KIN
          'Joni did not speak to [Mari]$_F$ too' (= there is someone else he spoke to)

It should be noted that while in English, the additive *too* or the scalar *even* cannot associate with F-marked NPIs, Finnish routinely shows traces of KIN in its NPI-morphology.

(13) Association with an NPI

      a. # I did not talk to [anybody]$_F$ either

      b. # I did not even talk to [anybody]$_F$

(14) Some Finnish *wh*+KIN NPIs

      a. ku-kaan
          who.KAAN
          'anybody'

      b. mi-kään
          what.KAAN
          'anything'

      c. kenelle-kään
          who.ALL.KAAN
          'to anybody'

      d. milloin-kaan
          when.KAAN
          'ever'

Summary:

– Finnish object case-marking is normally conditioned by the unboundedness of the VP;
– Finnish has a partitive of negation (NEG-PAR);
– In some NPI-licensing contexts, object case alternation is allowed;
– KIN is an additive/scalar focus-sensitive clitic;
– Additive/scalar focus particles do not normally associate with NPIs

5 Acceptability judgment questionnaire

5.1 Research questions

To repeat, the research questions that I hope to provide preliminary answers for are:

– Q1: Do NPI-licensing contexts in general license object case alternation between accusative and partitive?
– Q2: Does the presence of *–kin* have an effect on acceptability with a given case-marking?

5.2 Methodology

In order to answer the research questions, I collected acceptability judgments from 12 native speakers of Finnish. All participants except two are originally from Oulu or the Oulu region, and between 25-55 years old.

Each participant rated 24 test sentences on Likert scale from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable). The test items were preceded by a context-setting sentence. The participants received explicit instructions in the beginning to specifically concentrate on object case-marking and the presence of the particle. They were moreover encouraged to compare the sentences inside groupings that were based on the context-variable (see below), and note down any comments they had.

Each of the 24 test items was a unique combination of three variables:

– context (6 levels: NEG, Q, HARDLY, FEW, BEFORE, IF)
– case (2 levels: ACC, PAR)
– presence of *–kin* (2 levels: present, absent)

NEG, Q, HARDLY and FEW are known NPI-licensing contexts, of which Q, HARDLY and FEW are argued to be case alternation contexts. BEFORE- and IF-contexts were added, as they admit NPIS in Finnish.

The lexical material was kept constant inside each context type. The chosen verb normally takes ACC-objects in positive declaratives, and the objects were singular count nouns, so as to exclude an NP-related reading of PAR. In the context of the preceding context-setting sentence, a progressive reading is disfavoured.

The items were (by context):

(15) Test items (N=24)

    a. Jenna   kaatoi   jo   pihaltaan   kuusen.   Ei
    Jenna.NOM fell.PAST.3SG already yard.ABL.PX/3SG spruce.ACC NEG.3SG
    hän   {mäntyä   / mäntyäkin   / männyn   /
    she.NOM pine.tree.PAR   pine.tree.PAR.KIN   pine.tree.ACC
    männynkin}   kaada
    pine.tree.ACC.KIN fell.PRES
    'Jenna already felled a spruce on her yard. She won't fell a pine tree (too)'

b. Villen vanhemmat ostivat   hänelle asunnon.
Ville.GEN parents.NOM buy.PAST.3PL he.ALL apartment.ACC
Ostavatkohan   he   hänelle {autoa / autoakin / auton /
buy.PRES.3PL.Q.HAN they.NOM he.ALL car.PAR car.PAR.KIN car.ACC
autonkin}?
car.ACC.KIN
'Ville's parents bought him an apartment. I wonder if they will buy him a car
(too)?'

c. Markku suoritti   ylioppilaskirjoituksissa   lyhyen
Markku.NOM do.PAST.3SG matriculation.examination.PL.INE short.ACC
matematiikan, joten hän tuskin suoritti {fysiikkaa /
maths.ACC so he.NOM hardly do.PAST.3SG physics.PAR
fysiikkaakin / fysiikan / fysiikankin}
physics.PAR.KIN physics.ACC physics.ACC.KIN
'In his matriculation examination, Markku did the exam for the short program
of mathematics, so it is unlikely that he did the physics exam (too)'

d. Moni   istuttaa   pihalleen   marjapensaan. Harva
many.NOM plant.PRES.3SG yard.ALL.PX/3SG berry.bush.ACC few.NOM
istuttaa   {hedelmäpuuta / hedelmäpuutakin / hedelmäpuun /
plant.PRES.3SG fruit.tree.PAR fruit.tree.PAR.KIN fruit.tree.ACC
hedelmäpuunkin}
fruit.tree.ACC.KIN
'Many plant a berry bush on their yard. Few plant a fruit tree (too)'

e. Eduskunta hyväksyi   ministerin ehdotuksen
parliament.NOM accept.PAST.3SG minister.GEN proposition.ACC
lainmuutoksen valmistelusta. Jonkun   täytyy   puuttua
law.change.GEN preparation.ELA somebody.GEN must.PRES.3SG intervene.INF
asiaan ennen kuin he   hyväksyvät itse {lainmuutosta /
affair.ILL before than they.NOM accept.PRES.3PL self law.change.PAR
lainmuutostakin / lainmuutoksen / lainmuutoksenkin}
law.change.PAR.KIN law.change.ACC law.change.ACC.KIN
'The parliament accepted the minister's proposition for preparing an amend-
ment to the law. Somebody must intervene before they accept the amendment
itself (too)'

f. Maija mainitsi   jo Soinin. Heljällä menee
Maija.NOM mention.PAST.3SG already Soini.ACC Heljä.ADE go.PRES.3SG
varmasti hermot jos Maija   mainitsee   {Hakkaraista /
surely nerves.NOM if Maija.NOM mention.PRES.3SG Hakkarainen.PAR
Hakkaraistakin / Hakkaraisen / Hakkaraisenkin}
Hakkarainen.PAR.KIN Hakkarainen.ACC Hakkarainen.ACC.KIN
'Maija already mentioned Soini. Heljä will surely lose her temper if Heljä men-
tions Hakkarainen (too)'

5.3 Predictions

A few predictions based on previous literature:

- In NEG-contexts, PAR and PAR.*kin* should be acceptable, while both ACC- and ACC.*kin*-conditions should be unacceptable (partitive of negation)
- In Q-, HARDLY-, and FEW-contexts, both ACC and PAR should be acceptable (case alternation contexts)
- In BEFORE- and IF-contexts, at least ACC and ACC.*kin* should be acceptable

The most interesting predictions are based on Kaiser 2002, 2003, who proposes that ALT-PAR has an NPI-like behaviour, and the observation that additives/scalars cannot associate with F-marked NPIs:

- If PAR is an instance of NEG-PAR/ASP-PAR, an object carrying it should be able to associate with –*kin*, producing an acceptable result (cf. Karttunen and Karttunen 1976)
- If PAR is an instance of ALT-PAR (an NPI-like element), an object carrying it should not be able to associate with –*kin*, producing an unacceptable result

6 Results

The results of the acceptability questionnaire are first shown per context (for 24 * 12 = 288 datapoints). The statistical analyses were done using a two-tailed Wilcoxon signed rank test, significance level 0.05.

Note that the Wilcoxon signed rank test compares the sums of the signed differences between value pairs in two dependent samples. Under the null hypothesis, these sums are expected to be symmetrically situated around 0. If one of the sums is zero, this means that all non-tied pairs in the sample differ in the same direction. A significant difference can therefore be found even when half of the sample agrees: if the other half disagrees in the same direction (even to a small extent), the result will be significant (as 0 is always at least as small as the critical value for W).

As the Wilcoxon was always ran so that the values that make up the boxplot on the right were deduced from the values of the boxplot on the left, the sum of positive ranks indicates by how much the the boxplot on the left won over the boxplot on the right, while the sum of the negative ranks indicates by how much the boxplot on the right won over the boxplot on the left.

NEG (N)

Q

HARDLY (H)

FEW (F)

BEFORE (B)

IF (I)
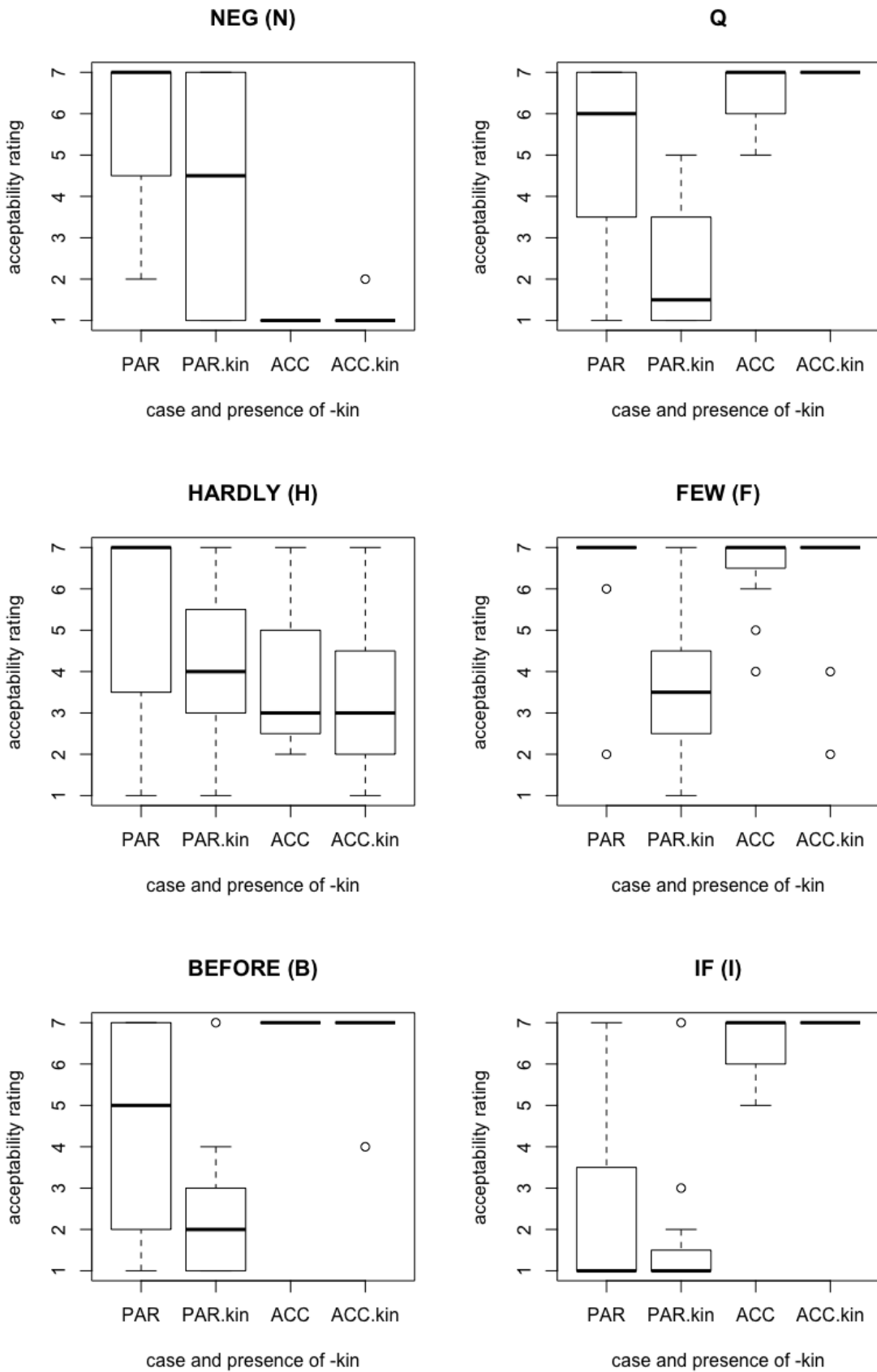
6.1 Q1: Do NPI-licensing contexts license case alternation?

Pairwise comparison of ACC-PAR in each context, without –*kin*.

– As expected, negative declaratives are not a case alternation context: all 12 participants rated N.acc as 1

– Polar interrogatives, which are argued to license case alternation, do not get systematically good ratings with PAR, although most of the ratings are high: no participant ranks Q.par higher than Q.acc

– In HARDLY-contexts (*tuskin*), PAR is most often rated as highly acceptable, while ACC-objects tend to get lower scores. In some sense, HARDLY-contexts seem to favour PAR-objects, just like NEG. The differences in ratings go in both directions, however

– In FEW-contexts (*harva*), both PAR and ACC seem to lead to high acceptability, with some outliers getting low scores. FEW-contexts therefore seem to allow case alternation, as has been argued before

– BEFORE-contexts (*ennen kuin*) show consistently high acceptability ratings for ACC-objects, but a much more spread distribution of ratings for PAR. This seems to indicate that for some participants, BEFORE is a case alternation context, while for others, it is not. The sum of positive ranks reveals that no participant rated B.par higher than B.acc

– Finally, IF-contexts (*jos*) show high acceptability ratings for ACC, and most of the participants rated PAR-objects very low. That some participants rated PAR-objects as highly acceptable indicates again that for some speakers, IF is a case alternation context. However, even those participants did not rate I.acc as lower than I.par, as shown by the sum of positive ranks

W-value: 0
Mean Difference: 4.75
Sum of pos. ranks: 78
Sum of neg. ranks: 0
Z-value: -3.0594
Mean (W): 39
Standard Deviation (W): 12.75
Sample Size (N): 12

The Z-value is -3.0594. The p-value is 0.00222. The result is significant at $p \leq 0.05$. The W-value is 0. The critical value of W for N=12 at $p \leq 0.05$ is 13. Therefore, the result is significant at $p \leq 0.05$.
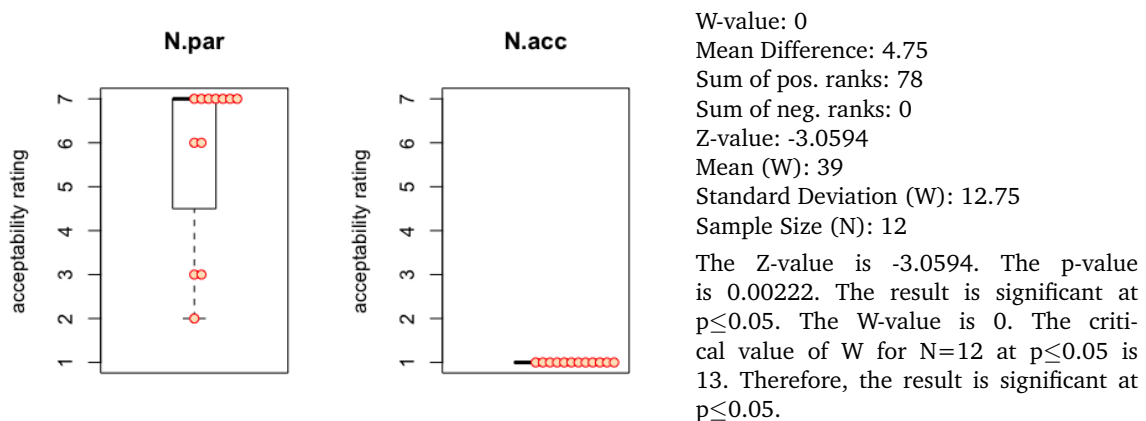
Fig. 1. Significant difference between NEG.par and NEG.acc
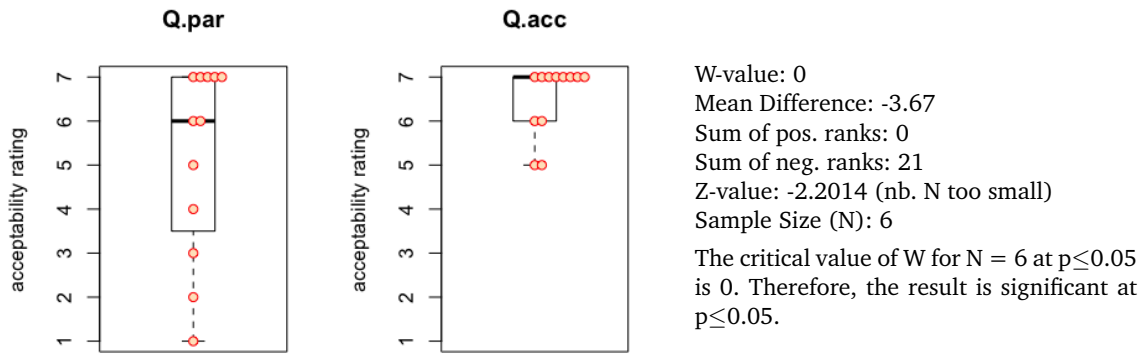
Fig. 2. Significant difference between Q.par and Q.acc

W-value: 0
Mean Difference: -3.67
Sum of pos. ranks: 0
Sum of neg. ranks: 21
Z-value: -2.2014 (nb. N too small)
Sample Size (N): 6

The critical value of W for N = 6 at p≤0.05 is 0. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
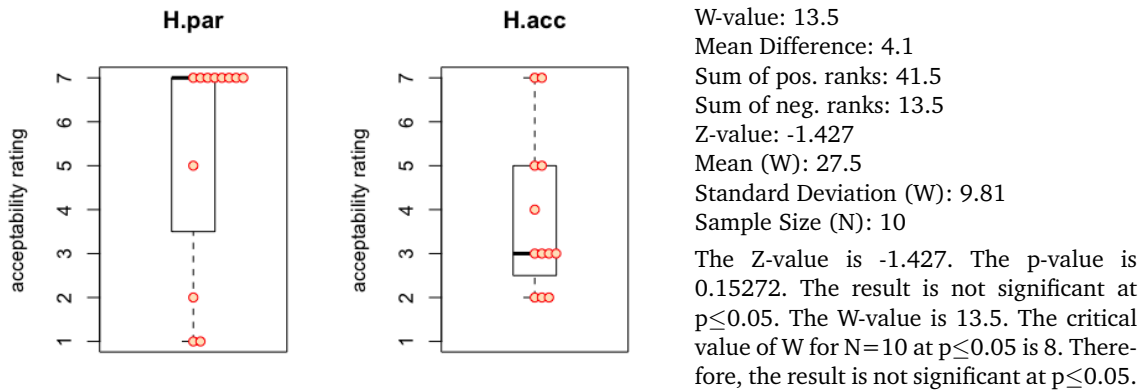
Fig. 3. Non-significant difference between HARDLY.par and HARDLY.acc

W-value: 13.5
Mean Difference: 4.1
Sum of pos. ranks: 41.5
Sum of neg. ranks: 13.5
Z-value: -1.427
Mean (W): 27.5
Standard Deviation (W): 9.81
Sample Size (N): 10

The Z-value is -1.427. The p-value is 0.15272. The result is not significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 13.5. The critical value of W for N=10 at p≤0.05 is 8. Therefore, the result is not significant at p≤0.05.
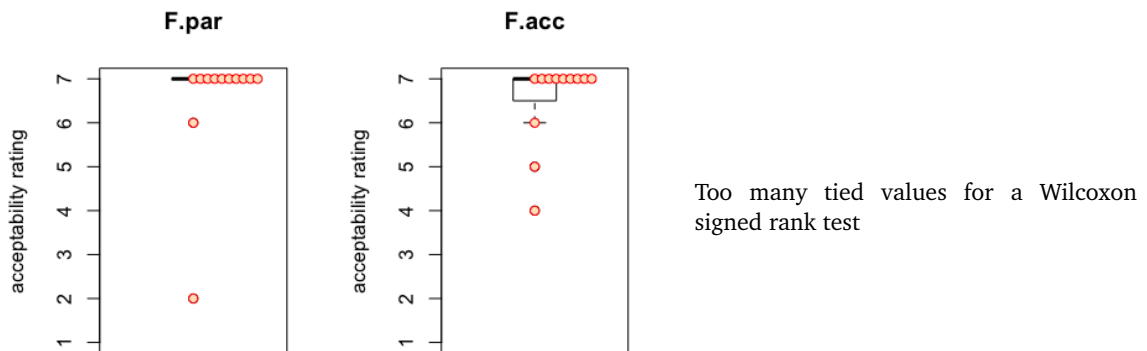
Fig. 4. Non-significant difference between FEW.par and FEW.acc

Too many tied values for a Wilcoxon signed rank test

13

B.par   **B.acc**

W-value: 0
Mean Difference: -3.75
Sum of pos. ranks: 0
Sum of neg. ranks: 36
Z-value: -2.5205 (nb. N too small)
Sample Size (N): 8

The critical value of W for N = 8 at p≤0.05 is 3. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
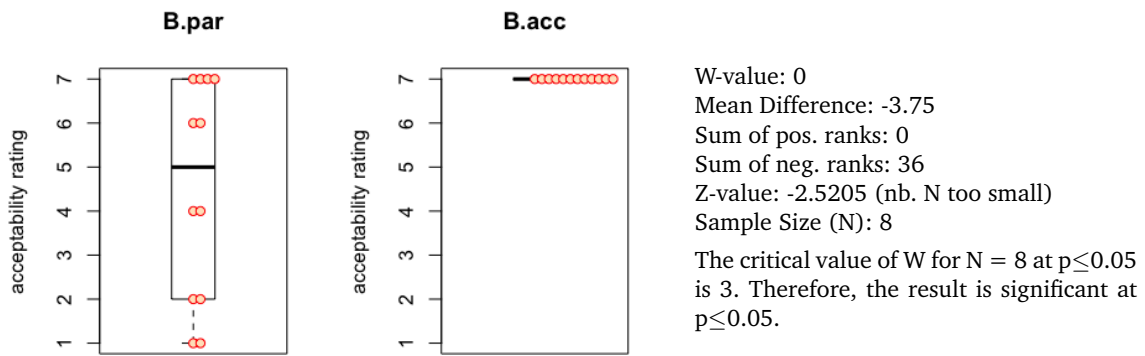
Fig. 5. Significant difference between BEFORE.par and BEFORE.acc

I.par   **I.acc**

W-value: 0
Mean Difference: -5.5
Sum of pos. ranks: 0
Sum of neg. ranks: 55
Z-value: -2.8031
Mean (W): 27.5
Standard Deviation (W): 9.81
Sample Size (N): 10

The Z-value is -2.8031. The p-value is 0.00512. The result is significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 0. The critical value of W for N=10 at p≤0.05 is 8. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
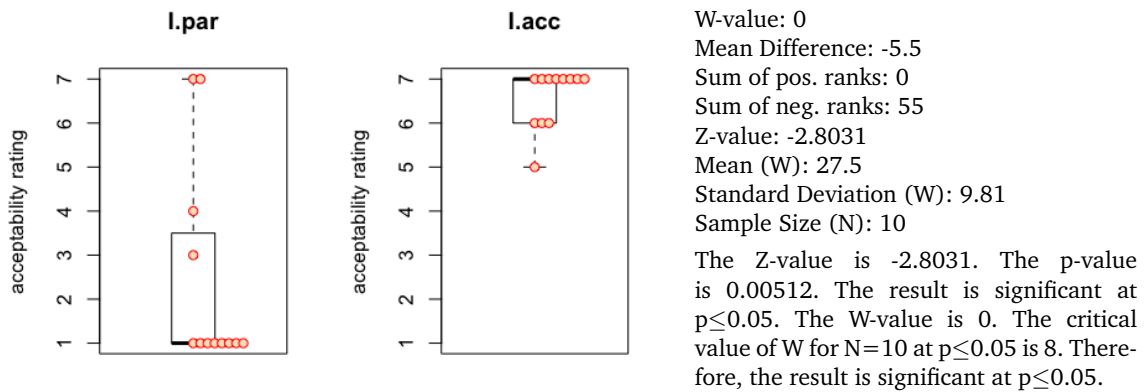
Fig. 6. Significant difference between IF.par and IF.acc

6.2 Q2: Does the presence of *–kin* have an effect on acceptability with a given case-marking?

As none of the differences ACC-ACC.*kin* inside contexts are significant, I will only look at pairwise comparisons of PAR-PAR.*kin* in each context.

– In negative declaratives, adding *–kin* creates dispersion, but the difference is not statistically significant. As the median shows, the ratings are divided in two: one group accepts *–kin*, and the other does not. The sums show that the tendency is to rate N.par higher than N.par.kin

– In polar interrogatives, most participants give very low ratings when *–kin* is present: no participant ranks Q.par lower than Q.par.kin

– In HARDLY-contexts, the presence of *–kin* again lowers the median and creates more variability, but there is no statistically significant difference between the two types of PAR-objects: there are difference in both directions, as the sums show

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- In FEW-contexts, the presence of *–kin* leads to lower scores and more variability. However, the difference between the two types of PAR-objects is not significant, and the overwhelming majority ranks F.par higher than F.par.kin
- BEFORE-contexts show a clear drop of the median for *–kin*-marked PAR-objects, with a significant difference between the two types: B.par is almost always ranked higher than B.par.kin
- In IF-contexts, PAR-objects mostly get very low ratings, independently of the presence of *–kin*, although there are some exceptions
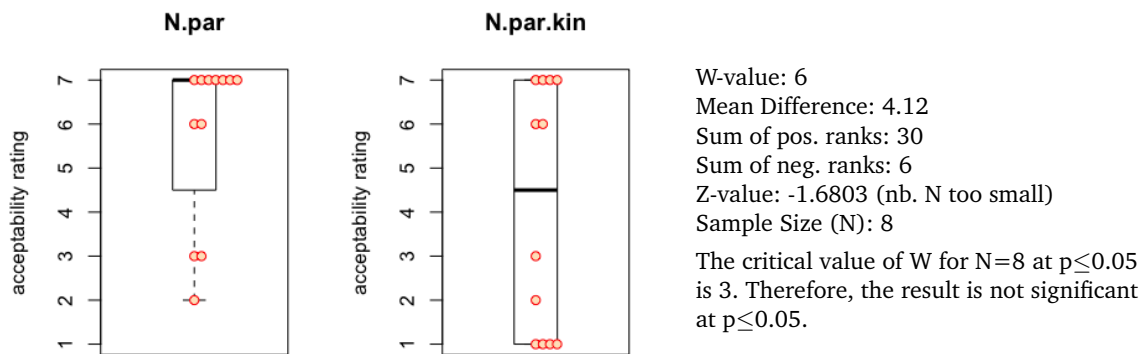

W-value: 6
Mean Difference: 4.12
Sum of pos. ranks: 30
Sum of neg. ranks: 6
Z-value: -1.6803 (nb. N too small)
Sample Size (N): 8

The critical value of W for N=8 at p≤0.05 is 3. Therefore, the result is not significant at p≤0.05.

Fig. 7. Non-significant difference between NEG.par and NEG.par.kin

W-value: 0
Mean Difference: 5
Sum of pos. ranks: 55
Sum of neg. ranks: 0
Z-value: -2.8031
Mean (W): 27.5
Standard Deviation (W): 9.81
Sample Size (N): 10

The Z-value is -2.8031. The p-value is 0.00512. The result is significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 0. The critical value of W for N=10 at p≤0.05 is 8. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
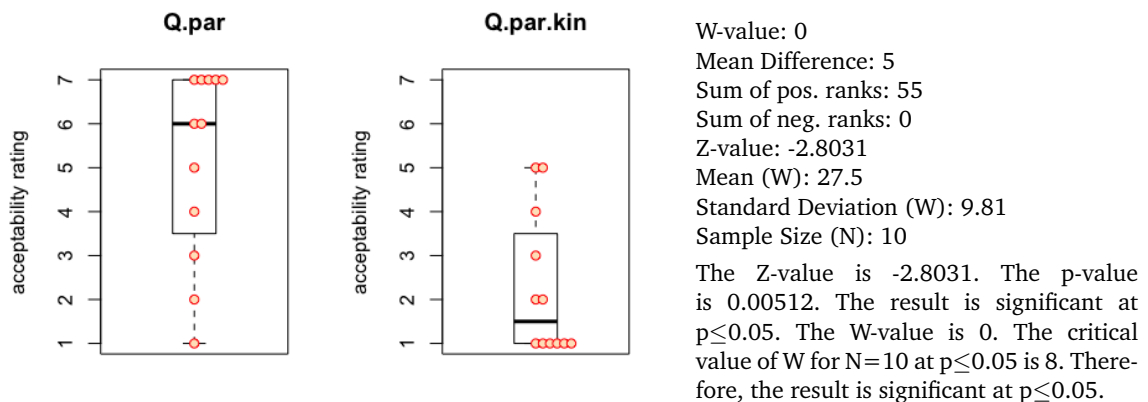
Fig. 8. Significant difference between Q.par and Q.par.kin

W-value: 17.5
Mean Difference: -1.73
Sum of pos. ranks: 48.5
Sum of neg. ranks: 17.5
Z-value: -1.3781
Mean (W): 33
Standard Deviation (W): 11.25
Sample Size (N): 11

The Z-value is -1.3781. The p-value is 0.16758. The result is not significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 17.5. The critical value of W for N=11 at p≤0.05 is 10. Therefore, the result is not significant at p≤0.05.
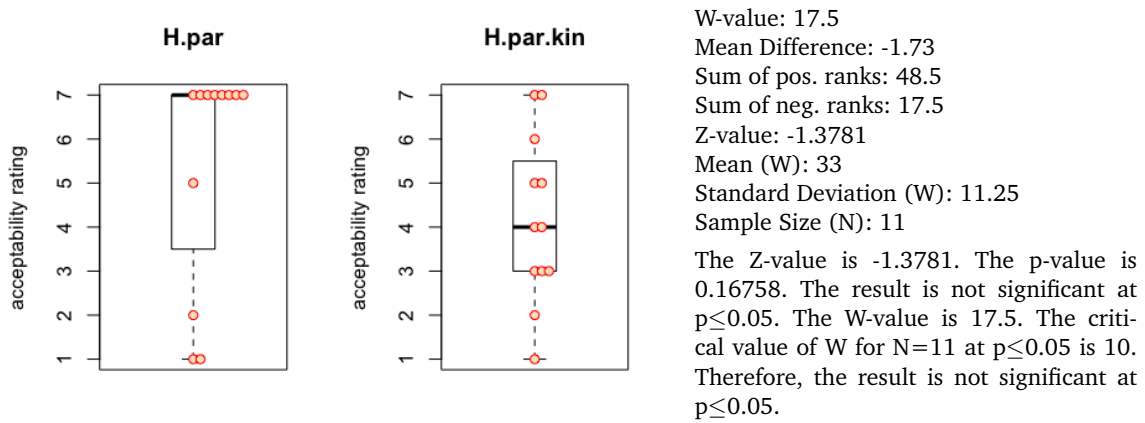
Fig. 9. Non-significant difference between HARDLY.par and HARDLY.par.kin

W-value: 2
Mean Difference: 3.82
Sum of pos. ranks: 64
Sum of neg. ranks: 2
Z-value: -2.7562
Mean (W): 33
Standard Deviation (W): 11.25
Sample Size (N): 11

The Z-value is -2.7562. The p-value is 0.00578. The result is significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 2. The critical value of W for N=11 at p≤0.05 is 10. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
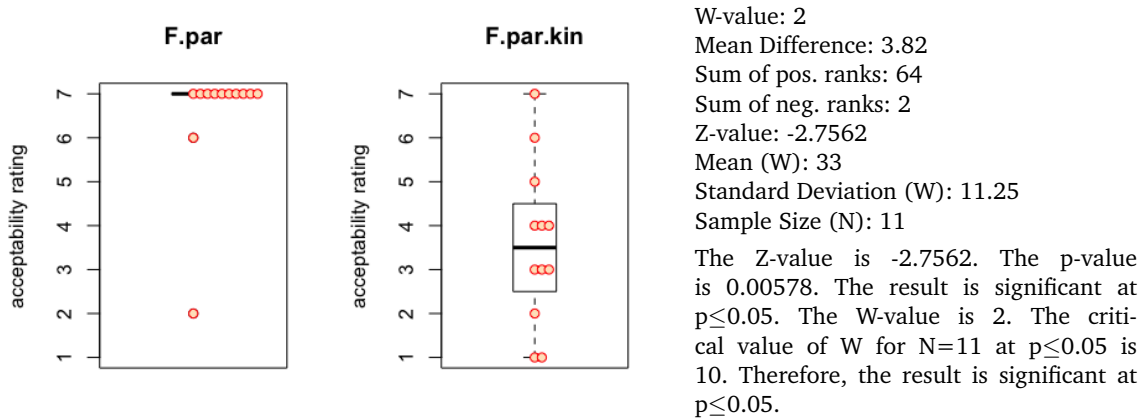
Fig. 10. Significant difference between FEW.par and FEW.par.kin

W-value: 5
Mean Difference: 1.8
Sum of pos. ranks: 50
Sum of neg. ranks: 5
Z-value: -2.2934
Mean (W): 27.5
Standard Deviation (W): 9.81
Sample Size (N): 10

The Z-value is -2.2934. The p-value is 0.02202. The result is significant at p≤0.05. The W-value is 5. The critical value of W for N=10 at p≤0.05 is 8. Therefore, the result is significant at p≤0.05.
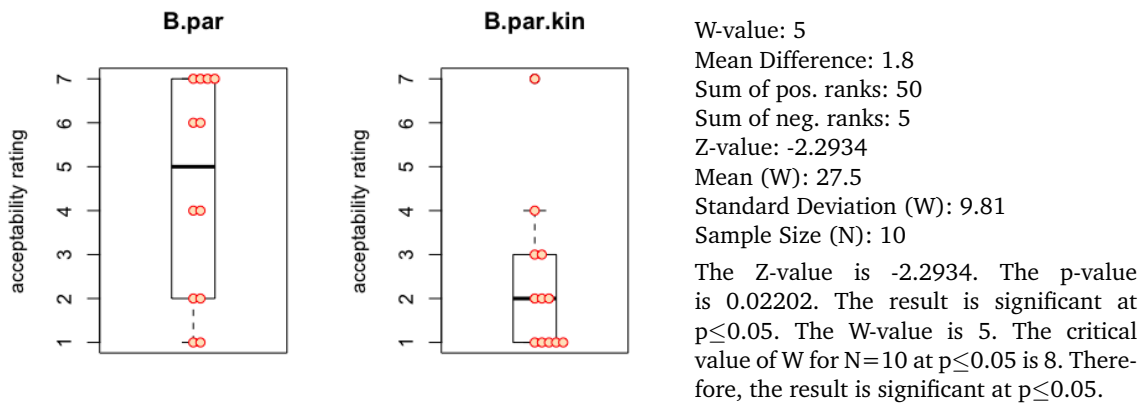
Fig. 11. Significant difference between BEFORE.par and BEFORE.par.kin

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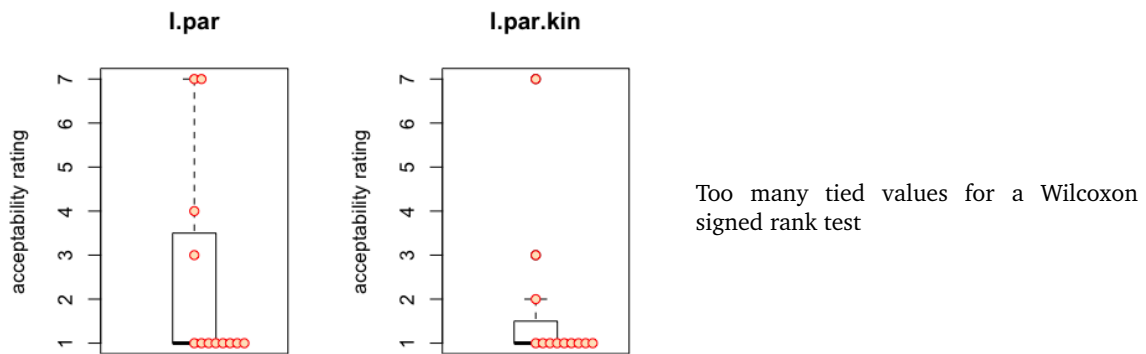Too many tied values for a Wilcoxon signed rank test

Fig. 12. Non-significant difference between IF.par and IF.par..kin

7 Discussion

7.1 Q1: Do NPI-licensing contexts license case alternation?

Based on the results of the acceptability judgment questionnaire, it seems that there are four profiles with respect to object case alternation:

– No alternation:
  ◇ PAR is much better than ACC: NEG (MDs 7 vs. 1), HARDLY (MDs 7 vs. 3)
  ◇ ACC is much better than PAR: IF (MDs 7 vs. 1)
– Alternation:
  ◇ PAR and ACC are equally good: FEW (MDs 7 vs. 7)
  ◇ PAR leads to dispersion and has a slightly lower median than ACC: Q (MDs 6 vs. 7), BEFORE (MDs 5 vs. 7)

The statistical analyses show a significant difference between the two bare object cases only in NEG, Q, BEFORE and IF, while the difference in FEW and HARDLY does not reach significance. However, as was discussed in Section 6, this lack of significance should be interpreted as a lack of disagreement in the direction of the difference.

It is interesting to note that these profiles do not directly match with the "negative strength" of these contexts as NPI-licensors (Van der Wouden, 1994, 1997; Zwarts, 1996; Giannakidou, 1998): from the strongest to the weakest properties that seem to matter for NPI-licensing, NEG is anti-morphic, BEFORE is anti-additive, FEW and HARDLY are downward-entailing, and Q and IF are (although this is debated) non-veridical. If Q and IF are of the same class, why does Q allow case alternation, while IF seems not to?

7.2 Q2: Does the presence of *–kin* have an effect on acceptability with a given case-marking?

Based on the results of the questionnaire, it seems that whenever *–kin* is present, it mainly has a negative effect on the rating when the object is in PAR. Only in the HARDLY-context

were there a significant amount of participants that rated H.par.kin higher than H.par. For NEG, it is rather surprising that N.par.kin also received ratings around 0: as the context-setting sentence satisfied the presupposition of –*kin*, the test item was predicted to give rise to high ratings. Perhaps this is a sign of poor test item design: indeed, even N.par gets ratings as low as 2, although this case marking is the only available option.

If the PAR of case alternation contexts is an NPI (*pace*, more or less, Kaiser 2002, 2003), it makes sense that the ratings for items with –*kin* are worse. This seems to be the case for Q, FEW, and BEFORE. However, the case of HARDLY and NEG is trickier. Compared to FEW (with which it belongs to the same class of NPI-licensors), HARDLY has a much harder time with ACC-objects: however, F.par.kin and H.par.kin are not very different. In terms of PAR-objects, then, HARDLY seems to behave like a mixture of Q and FEW, but for ACC-objects, it behaves more like NEG.

8 Conclusion

In this talk, we saw that in Finnish,

- ALT-PAR with a telic verb is allowed in the following NPI-licensing contexts: Q, FEW, BEFORE, out of which BEFORE has not, to my knowledge, been previously discussed as a case alternation context
- As expected, NEG does not allow ACC-objects, and HARDLY has a tendency to disprefer them as well
- IF-contexts allow PAR for only a small part of the speakers
- The presence of –*kin* has a general worsening effect in the ratings of PAR-object-containing items

Further research:

- The sample was small, and some items that were expected to have ceiling ratings did not: much work should be done to make sure that the differences were not due to other properties than object case and presence of –*kin*
- A corpus study, at least for case alternation contexts (might be harder for the effect of –*kin*)
- Answers to questions:
  ◇ Why are additives incompatible with NPIs/ALT-PAR?
  ◇ What is the status of the PAR in HARDLY? Why is ACC so strongly dispreferred in this context?
  ◇ What is the link between the hierarchy of NPI-licensing contexts and the acceptability of ALT-PAR?

Thank you!

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