Contents

List of figures  xi
List of tables  xii
Acknowledgments  xiii
List of abbreviations  xiv

1 Trivium pursuits  1
1.1 As above, so below  1
1.2 A quirk of grammar or a trick of thought?  2
1.3 The hypothesis: sensitivity as lexical pragmatics  7
1.4 Putting pragmatics in its place  10
1.5 Pragmatics in a usage-based grammar  14

2 Ex nihilo: the grammar of polarity  20
2.1 The simplicity of negation  20
2.2 The complexity of polarity  21
2.3 The phenomenon of polarity sensitivity  26
2.4 Basic mysteries: three problems of polarity sensitivity  30
2.5 Varieties of polarity sensitivity  37
2.6 The Scalar Model of polarity sensitivity  47

3 Licensing and the logic of scalar models  48
3.1 What is a polarity context?  48
3.2 Fauconnier’s insight  49
3.3 The natural logic of scalar models  51
3.4 Affectivity as a mode of scalar construal  61
3.5 Syntactic constraints on scalar contruals  70
3.6 Polarity contexts are mental spaces  78

4 Sensitivity as inherent scalar semantics  79
4.1 Scalar operators  79
4.2 Two scalar properties  81
## Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Four sorts of polarity items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Sensitivity and the square of oppositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>The conspiracy theory of polarity licensing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>The anomaly of inverted polarity items</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5. The elements of sensitivity
- 5.1 The Informativity Hypothesis | 104 |
- 5.2 Quantitative semantics | 105 |
- 5.3 The pragmatics of informativity | 109 |
- 5.4 Assessing informativity | 116 |
- 5.5 Rhetorical coherence in polarity contexts | 120 |
- 5.6 Compositional sensitivities | 121 |

### 6. The scalar lexicon
- 6.1 Paradigmatic predictions of the Scalar Model | 126 |
- 6.2 Modal polarity items | 127 |
- 6.3 Connective polarity items | 142 |
- 6.4 Aspectual polarity items | 151 |
- 6.5 The limits of diversity | 161 |

### 7. The family of English indefinite polarity items
- 7.1 The many splendors of *any* | 163 |
- 7.2 Indefinite family resemblances | 164 |
- 7.3 Emphatic construals of indefinite *any* | 168 |
- 7.4 The effects of phantom reference | 180 |
- 7.5 Some uses of *some* | 188 |
- 7.6 The limits of free choice | 196 |
- 7.7 Indefinite conclusions | 200 |

### 8. Polarity and the architecture of grammar
- 8.1 High stakes grammar | 202 |
- 8.2 Terms of the debate | 203 |
- 8.3 The syntactic approach | 206 |
- 8.4 Semantic approaches | 212 |
- 8.5 Toward a more pragmatic approach | 227 |

### 9. The pragmatics of polarity licensing
- 9.1 Affectivity reconsidered | 233 |
- 9.2 Scalar construal | 235 |
- 9.3 Logical conditions are not sufficient | 237 |
- 9.4 Logical conditions are not necessary | 243 |
## Contents

9.5 Rhetorical coherence 250  
9.6 Affectivity reclaimed 254  

10 Visions and revisions 256  

Appendix: A catalogue of English polarity items 258  
Notes 267  
References 270  
General index 285  
Person index 290