

Much of this relates to den Dikken & Giannakidou (2002).

- (1) a. Who bought that book?
b. Who the hell bought that book?
c. Who in the world bought that book?
- (2) Who would buy that book?
- (3) Who the hell would buy that book?
- (4) Who could sleep a wink with that racket?
- (5) a. I know who would buy that book.
b. * I know who the hell would buy that book
- (6) a. I don't know who would buy that book.
b. I don't know who the hell would buy that book
- (7) a. * John knew that Martha bought any books.
b. John didn't know Martha bought any books.
- (8) a. I am wondering who the hell bought that book.
b. I am wondering if anyone bought that book.

Environments for polarity items are pretty complicated.

- (9) a. I'm surprised she has any friends.
b. * I'm glad she has any friends.
- (10) a. (Even) JOHN knows who the hell wrote this report.
b. NOW I know who the hell stole my car.
- (11) a. Which students talked to Ariadne?
b. Which of the books did Ariadne buy?
- (12) Someone_i bought that book.
a. John knows who_i.
b. * John knows who the hell_j.

Negative attitude and domain extension.

- (13) a. Who the hell bought that book?
b. * I know who the hell bought that book.

(14) Does anybody here speak Kurdish?

Topics, focus, embedding. *Wh*-words go higher in embedded clauses. TopP, FocP?

(15) a. ? A book like this, why should I buy?

b. ? Bill doesn't know why a book like this, he should buy.

Embedded inversion as focus

(16) a. Under no circumstances would he do that.

b. * Under no circumstances he would do that.

(17) a. John said that under no circumstances would he do that.

b. * John said that under no circumstances he would do that.

(18) a. What would he do?

b. * What he would do?

(19) a. * I wonder what would he do.

b. I wonder what he would do.

(20) a. Who bought what?

b. Who the hell bought what?

c. * Who bought what the hell?

d. * Who the hell bought what the hell?

(21) a. Ki mi a fenét vett?
who what the hell-ACC bought

b. * Ki a fene mit vett?
who the hell what-ACC bought

(22) a. Mit ki a fene vett?
what-ACC who the hell bought

b. * Mi a fenét ki vett?
what the hell-ACC who bought

Possible intervention effects:

(23) What did everyone buy for Max?

Ambiguous

(24) What the hell did everyone buy for Max?

Unambiguous

And den Dikken (2005).

- (25) * Who bought what the hell?
- (26) ? Who gave what the hell to who?
- (27) a. ? Who gave what the hell to who?
b. * Who gave what to who the hell?
- (28) a. ? Who bought what the hell where?
b. * Who bought what where the hell?
- (29) a. ? What did who the hell give to who?
b. * What did who give to who the hell?
- (30) a. ? What did who the hell buy where?
b. * What did who buy where the hell?

References

- den Dikken, Marcel. 2005. Back to hell: Further thoughts on wh-the-hell and its repercussions for the syntax of wh-questions. In *WH-fest: Maryland Mayfest on wh-constructions*. University of Maryland, College Park.
- den Dikken, Marcel & Anastasia Giannakidou. 2002. From hell to polarity: “aggressively non-d-linked” wh-phrases as polarity items. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 31–61.