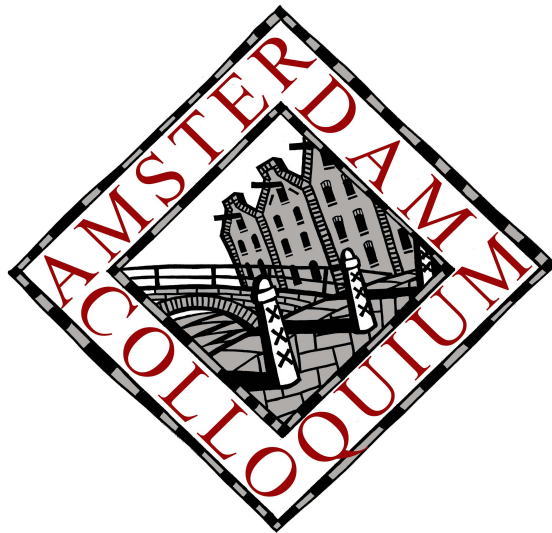


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19th Amsterdam Colloquium  
18 – 20 December 2013

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Information, Programme and Abstracts



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ILLC/Department of Philosophy  
University of Amsterdam



## The 19th Amsterdam Colloquium

The 2013 edition of the Amsterdam Colloquium is the nineteenth in a series which started in 1976. Originally an initiative of the Department of Philosophy, the colloquium is now organised by the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (ILLC). This booklet provides information about the Colloquium, locations, programme, and short summaries of the presentations.

### Programme

The programme of the 19th AC includes four **invited lectures** by renowned experts in the field:

- Paul Egre (CNRS, Paris)
- Kit Fine (New York University)
- Anna Szabolcsi (New York University)
- Yoad Winter (Utrecht University)

The colloquium also hosts a **special session**, jointly organized with SemDial, and two **thematic workshops** featuring the following invited lectures:

*Special Session on semantics and pragmatics of dialogue*

- Matthew Stone (Rutgers University)

*Workshop: Scaling up - Quantitative data in formal semantics and pragmatics*

- Adrian Brasoveanu (UC Santa Cruz)
- Noah Goodman (Stanford University)

*Workshop: More on modals - New empirical and theoretical perspectives*

- Valentine Hacquard (University of Maryland)
- Angelika Kratzer (University of Massachusetts at Amherst)

In addition, on Thursday 19 December the E.W. Beth Foundation organises an evening lecture and on Friday 20 December SMART CS organises a debate on the Future of Semantics:

*Beth/Vienna Circle Lecture*

- John Horty (University of Maryland)

*SMART CS Debate on the Future of Semantics*

- Noah Goodman, Angelika Kratzer, Matthew Stone and Martin Stokhof

### Special event in honor of Jeroen Groenendijk, Martin Stokhof, and Frank Veltman

On Wednesday, December 18 (the last day of SemDial and the first day of the Amsterdam Colloquium), a special event in honor of Jeroen Groenendijk, Martin Stokhof and Frank Veltman will be held. All participants of the Amsterdam Colloquium and SemDial are warmly welcome to attend.

## Main Venue

The main venue of the Colloquium is the EUCLIDES-building of the Faculty of Science of the University of Amsterdam.

EUCLIDES-building  
Plantage Muidergracht 24  
1018 TV  
Amsterdam

In view of traffic jams, parking problems and parking police, we strongly advise not to get there by car. The easiest way to reach the conference site is by means of public transport, bicycle, or ‘shanks’ mare’ (walking).

**Directions** To reach the EUCLIDES building by public transport proceed as follows. Take tramline 9 (coming from the Central Station) or line 14 and get off at stop ‘Plantage Badlaan’ (you can ask the driver to announce that stop). Next turn right and walk through the ‘Plantage Lepellaan’ (100 meters). The white building at the end of the street is the EUCLIDES building.

Coming from the city center, you can also take tramline 10, and get off at stop Alexanderplein (near the Muiderpoort). Turn left (over the water), and then the first street left is the Plantage Muidergracht. EUCLIDES is the third building on your left.

We have also prepared a map which shows all locations that are relevant for the Colloquium (see last page).

## Social Programme

On Wednesday 18 December there will be a **welcome reception** as part of the special event in honor of Jeroen Groenendijk, Martin Stokhof, and Frank Veltman.

On Friday 20 December there will be a **farewell reception** partially sponsored by Brill on occasion of the launch of the book “Meaning and the Dynamics of Interpretation. Selected Papers of Hans Kamp”.

A ticket for a one hour **boat trip** departing from the city centre is included in the conference package.

## Registration and Information

All participants are requested to register on Wednesday morning at the registration desk at the EUCLIDES-building. In order to speed up processing, those who have registered beforehand on the website will be handled first.

## Lunches and Dinner

Lunches will be served freely at the conference venue. The following website has dinner suggestions and reviews:

<http://www.iens.nl/english/restaurantsIn/Amsterdam/>

Dinner in the Netherlands is usually served around 6:00 pm - 8:00 pm; many restaurants might not serve meals after 9:00 pm; also keep in mind that eating out in Amsterdam is relatively expensive. In the following, we give a number of recommendations. The restaurants are roughly ordered by distance from the conference location: the restaurants from (1) to (7) are within 5 minutes walking distance; those from (8) to (10) within 15 minutes, the others within half an hour.

- (1). **Plancius**  
Plantage Kerklaan 61  
Nice place to sit down opposite the Artis zoo.
- (2). **Café Koosje**  
Plantage Middenlaan 37  
From sandwiches to more complete meals. Open for lunch and dinner. Reasonably priced.
- (3). **Meneer Nilsson**  
Plantage Kerklaan 41  
Mediterranean café open for lunch and dinner.
- (4). **De Groene Olifant**  
Sarphatistraat 510  
Quite a nice pub. Serves pub meals.
- (5). **Burgermeester**  
Plantage Kerklaan 37  
Very nice burgerrestaurant. Also vegetarian burger are served.
- (6). **Kerklaan** (Indian / Surinamese), Plantage Muidergrecht 69, Phone (020) 421 49 39  
Mostly a take-out and delivery place, but has a number of tables and decent food.
- (7). **Taman Sari** (Indonesian), Plantage Kerklaan 32, Phone (020) 623 71 30  
Small and very unpretentious Indonesian restaurant.
- (8). **Koffiehuis van de Volksbond** (International)  
Kadiksplein 4, Phone (020) 622 12 09, kitchen open 18.00-22.00  
Simple and good restaurant without pretence. Warm atmosphere. Reasonably priced.
- (9). **Asmara** (African), Jonas Daniël Meijerplein 8, Phone (020) 627 10 02  
East African cuisine without cutlery.
- (10). **Bird** (Thai), Zeedijk 77, Amsterdam, Phone (020) 420 62 89, kitchen open 3.00pm-10.00pm  
Good Thai food on the street parallel to the Red Light District.
- (11). **Oriental City** (Chinese), Oudezijds Voorburgwal 177-179, Phone (020) 626 83 52, kitchen open 11.30am-10.30pm  
Don't let the 'touristy' exterior discourage you. Good for larger groups. If feeling adventurous, ask the waiter/waitress to recommend dishes from the

- Chinese menu
- (12). **Koh-I-Noor** (Indian), Rokin 18, Phone (020) 627 21 18, kitchen open 5.00pm-11.30pm  
Very good Indian food.
- (13). **De Bolhoed** (Vegetarian), Prinsengracht 60, Phone (020) 626 18 03, kitchen open noon-10.00pm  
Good vegetarian food in a beautiful neighborhood

### Internet information

*The short version* At the registration desk you have received a login with an SSID and a password. Use this to log on to the wireless network.

*The long version* Try to connect to the network with the SSID which was given to you using the default options and the password.

- (1). If you are using Vista you may get an error message saying that the connection failed. If you are connecting to the network for the first time, tick the box marked 'save this network'. Close the error message and open a web browser; try to load a page. If this fails, wait 30 seconds and try again. The network should work now. The error message may persist each time you reboot and reconnect to the network; in that case, wait 30 seconds and the network should work.
- (2). If you are using on your laptop and you are having trouble connecting, go to the registration desk for a more detailed manual.
- (3). If you are using a Mac laptop, connecting using the default options should work; you may have wait 30 seconds after connecting before the network works. If not, try the 'WEP 40/128 bit hex' security option.
- (4). On Linux, use the default WEP options or something resembling 'WEP 40/128 bit key'.

### Programme committees

- General Programme: Robert van Rooij (chair), Paul Dekker & Rick Nouwen
- Workshop on Quantitative Data: Michael Franke
- Workshop on modals: Ben Rodenhäuser, Frank Veltman & Hedde Zeijlstra
- Special Session on Dialogue: SemDial programme committee

### Reviewers

Dorit Abusch	Cornell University
Maria Aloni	University of Amsterdam
Luis Alonso-Ovalle	McGill University
Scott Anderbois	Brown University
Anton Benz	ZAS Berlin

Adrian Brasoveanu	UC Santa Cruz
Richard Breheny	University College London
Seth Cable	University of Massachusetts
Ivano Caponigro	University of California, San Diego
Lucas Champollion	New York University
Emmanuel Chemla	LSCP, Paris
Gennaro Chierchia	Harvard University
Ivano Ciardelli	University of Amsterdam
Charles Clifton	University of Massachusetts
Ariel Cohen	Ben-Gurion University
Chris Cummins	Universität Bielefeld
Henriette De Swart	Utrecht University
Judith Degen	University of Rochester
Paul Dekker	University of Amsterdam
Donka Farkas	UC Santa Cruz
Kit Fine	New York University
Michael Franke	University of Amsterdam
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Jon Gajewski	University of Connecticut
Bart Geurts	University of Nijmegen
Thony Gillies	Rutgers University
Noah Goodman	Stanford University
Jeroen Groenendijk	University of Amsterdam
Atle Grønn	University of Oslo
Valentine Hacquard	University of Maryland
Jeff Horty	University of Maryland
Julie Hunter	l'Institut Jean-Nicod, l'EHESS, Paris
Gerhard Jaeger	University of Tuebingen
Napoleon Katsos	University of Cambridge, RCEAL
Magdalena Kaufmann	University of Connecticut
Stefan Kaufmann	University of Connecticut
Nathan Klinedinst	University College London
Angelika Kratzer	University of Massachusetts at Amherst
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Stephanie Solt	ZAS, Berlin
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Jakub Szymanik	University of Amsterdam
Kjell Sæbø	University of Oslo
Robert Van Rooij	University of Amsterdam
Frank Veltman	University of Amsterdam
Kai Von Fintel	Department of Linguistics & Philosophy, MIT
Klaus Von Heusinger	Universität zu Köln
Galit W. Sassoon	Bar-Ilan University
Yoad Winter	Utrecht University
Henk Zeevat	University of Amsterdam
Hedde Zeijlstra	Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Ede Zimmermann	Goethe Universität Frankfurt

We thank the members of the programme committees and reviewers for the very substantial work they did.

### **Acknowledgments**

For the organisation of the 19th Amsterdam Colloquium financial support is received from the following organisations, which are gratefully acknowledged:

- the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (ILLC)
- the Municipality of Amsterdam

### **Organisation**

The Amsterdam Colloquia are organised by the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (ILLC) of the University of Amsterdam. The organising committee of the 19th Amsterdam Colloquium consists of Maria Aloni, Ivano Ciardelli, Michael Franke, Michele Herbstritt, Maša Močnik, Peter van Ormondt, Ben Rodenhäuser, Floris Roelofsen, Ben Sparkes, Frank Veltman, Hedde Zeijlstra.



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# Programme

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8.30 – 9.20	Registration & coffee (room 0.14)	
9.20 – 9.30	Opening (room 2.27)	
	Chair: Paul Dekker (room 2.27)	
9.30 – 10.30	Anna Szabolcsi Quantifier particles and compositionality	
break		
	Chair: Paul Dekker (room 0.20) Susan Rothstein	Chair: Ivano Ciardelli (room 0.17) Lucas Champollion
10.45 – 11.15	A Fregean semantics for number words Bernhard Schwarz	Man and woman: the last obstacle for boolean coordination Luis Alonso-Ovalle and Paula Menendez-Benito
11.15 – 11.45	At least and quantity implicature: choices and consequences Harris Constantinou	Epistemic Indefinites and Evidential Constraints: Spanish <i>Algún</i> Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin
11.45 – 12.15	On the meaning of Intensifiers	Most: the View from Mass Quantification
12.30 – 14.00	Lunch with SemDial at the Amsterdam Business School (ABS)	
	Chair: Raquel Fernandez (ABS, M1.02) Matthew Stone	
14.00 – 15.00	Coherence and Meaning in Situated Dialogue	
break		
	<u>Special Session on Dialogue with SemDial</u>	
	Chair: Raquel Fernandez (ABS, M1.02) Robin Cooper	Chair: Peter van Ormondt (ABS, M1.03) Anastasia Giannakidou and Alda Mari
15.15– 15.45	Update conditions and intensionality in a type-theoretic approach to dialogue semantics Daniel Goodhue, James Pickett and Michael Wagner	The ingredients of prediction: epistemic and metaphysical dimensions Daniel Altshuler and Roger Schwarzschild
15.45 – 16.15	English reverse prosody in responses to yes-no questions Matthijs Westera	Correlating cessation with double access Tim Fernando
16.15 – 16.45	‘Attention, I’m violating a maxim!’ A unifying account of the final rise	Dowty’s aspect hypothesis segmented
break		
	<u>Special event in honor of Jeroen Groenendijk, Martin Stokhof and Frank Veltman</u>	
	Chair: Floris Roelofsen (ABS, M1.02)	
17.00 – 18.00	Speeches by Barbara Partee, Hans Kamp and Johan van Benthem	
20.00 – 24.00	Reception at Hotel Arena	

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 Chair: Rick Nouwen (room 2.27)

9.00 – 10.00

Yoad Winter

Reciprocal Quantifiers and Concept-Sensitive Reasoning

break

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 Chair: Robert van Rooij (room 2.27)

10.15 – 11.15

Paul Egge

Indicative Conditionals and their Negation

break

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 Chair: Jeroen Groenendijk (room 2.27)

11.30 – 12.30

Kit Fine

Truth-Conditional Content

lunch

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 Chair: Michael Franke (room 2.27)

Adrian Brasoveanu

14.00 – 15.00

What a Rational Interpreter Would Do: Building, Ranking, and Updating  
Quantifier Scope Representations in Discourse

break

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**Workshop: Quantitative data**

Chair: Michael Franke (room 2.27)

Chair: Matthijs Westera (room 0.17)

Scott Grimm and Louise McNally

Hedde Zeijlstra

15.15 – 15.45

No ordered arguments needed for  
nouns

Universal Quantifier PPIs

Claudia Poschmann

Dylan Bumford

15.45 – 16.15

Does position really matter? Testing  
plural anaphora by non-restrictive  
relative clauses with quantified headsUniversal quantification as iterated  
dynamic conjunction

Torgir Solstad and Oliver Bott

Ralf Naumann and Wiebke Petersen

16.15 – 16.45

Towards a formal theory of  
explanatory biases in discourseAn Analysis of Quantifier Scope  
Restrictions in Dependence Logic

break

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 Chair: Michael Franke (room 2.27)

17.00 – 18.00

Noah Goodman

Probabilistic models of language understanding

20.00 – 21.00

Beth Lecture (Doelenzaal)

John Horty

Common Law Reasoning

9.00 – 9.30	<p><i>Chair: Maria Aloni (room 0.20)</i>  <i>Makoto Kanazawa</i>            Monadic Quantifiers Recognized by Deterministic Pushdown Automata</p>	<p><i>Chair: Anamaria Fălăuș (room 0.17)</i>  <i>Barbara Tomaszewicz</i>            Focus association in superlatives and the semantics of -est</p>
9.30 – 10.00	<p><i>Jakub Szymanik and Marcin Zajenkowski</i>            Monotonicity has only a relative effect on the complexity of quantifier verification</p>	<p><i>Lisa Bylinina and Yuri Lander</i>            Than = More + Exhaustivity: Evidence from Circassian</p>
<i>break</i>		
<b>Workshop: More on Modals</b>		
10.15 – 10.45	<p><i>Chair: Hedde Zeijlstra (room 0.20)</i>  <i>Satoru Suzuki</i>            Epistemic Modals, Qualitative Probability, and Nonstandard Probability</p>	<p><i>Chair: Floris Roelofsen (room 0.17)</i>  <i>Hadas Kotek and Martin Hackl</i>            An experimental investigation of interrogative syntax/semantics</p>
10.45 – 11.15	<p><i>Malte Willer</i>            Indicative Scorekeeping</p>	<p><i>Andreas Haida and Sophie Repp</i>            Intervention effects: focus alternatives or indefinite alternatives? Experimental evidence</p>
<i>break</i>		
11.30 – 12.00	<p><i>Elizabeth Bogal-Allbritten</i>            Subsentential modal modification as reduced Transparent Free Relatives</p>	<p><i>Galit W. Sassoon</i>            The type of adjectives</p>
12.00 – 12.30	<p><i>Hanna de Vries</i>            Distributivity and agreement: new evidence for groups as sets</p>	<p><i>Mengxi Yuan and Yurie Hara</i>            Questioning and Asserting at the same time: the L% tone in A-not-A questions</p>
<b>lunch</b>		
13.30 – 14.30	<p><i>Chair: Hedde Zeijlstra (room 2.27)</i>  <i>Valentine Hacquard</i>            The grammatical category of modality</p>	
<i>break</i>		
14.45 – 15.45	<p><i>Chair: Frank Veltman (room 2.27)</i>  <i>Angelika Kratzer</i>            Modality and the Semantics of Embedding</p>	
<i>break</i>		
16.00– 17.30	<p><i>Chair: Jelle Zuidema (room 2.27)</i>            SMART Cognitive Debate on the Future of Semantics            Discussants: <i>Noah Goodman, Angelika Kratzer, Matthew Stone and Martin Stokhof</i></p>	
17.30– 18.00	Presentation of the book “Meaning and the Dynamics of Interpretation. Selected Papers of Hans Kamp”	
18.00– 19.00	Reception sponsored by Brill	

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# Abstracts

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## **Invited Speakers (general programme)**

### **Indicative Conditionals and their Negation**

*Paul Egré*

A debated aspect of the analysis of indicative conditionals of the form “if A then C” concerns whether they have as their negation the conjunction “A and not C” or the conditional negation “if A then not C”. Several experiments have been conducted in recent years by psychologists of reasoning to advance this debate (viz. [Handley et al., 2006]; [Khemlani et al., 2012]; [Espino and Byrne, 2012]), indicating a preference for conditional negation, but with systematic exceptions. This paper argues that the opposition between those two forms of negations is unduly restrictive, and defends a version of Kratzer’s analysis of conditionals on which the default negation of an indicative conditional is a modal negation (“possibly A and not C” / “if A, possibly not C”) weaker than the other two. Specifically, the claim is that both conjunctive negation and conditional negation can be pragmatically retrieved from this weaker negation, depending on the information available to the contradictor of a conditional regarding both the status of the antecedent and the degree to which the antecedent can be seen to favor the occurrence of the consequent. Empirical evidence will be presented in favor of this assumption, based on two studies carried out in joint work with Guy Politzer, in which negations of conditional sentences were elicited relative to different informational backgrounds, by manipulating two variables taken to be accessible to the contradictor, namely the probability of the antecedent and the conditional probability of the consequent. This is joint work with Guy Politzer.

### **Truth-Conditional Content**

*Kit Fine*

I will outline a theory of truth-conditional content, based upon the idea of ‘exact’ or ‘wholly relevant’ verification.

### **Quantifier particles and compositionality**

*Anna Szabolcsi*

In Hungarian, Russian, Japanese, Sinhala, Malayalam, and many other languages, the same particles build quantifier words and serve as connectives, additive and scalar particles, question markers, existential verbs, and so on. Do the roles of each particle form a natural class with a stable semantics? Are the particles aided by additional elements, overt or covert, in fulfilling their varied roles? I propose a unified analysis, according to which the particles impose partial ordering requirements (greatest lower bound and least upper bound) on the interpretations of their hosts and the immediate larger contexts, but they do not embody algebraic operations themselves. If this analysis is correct, then the data under consideration offer a general insight into how fundamental semantic operations are mapped to morphosyntactic form in (some and possibly all) natural languages.

## Reciprocal Quantifiers and Concept-Sensitive Reasoning

*Yoad Winter*

For many years now, the various interpretations of reciprocal expressions have kept formal semanticists busy. The problem can be illustrated by the following examples, with their different intuitive truth-conditions.

- (1) A, B and C know each other.  
= each member of the set A,B,C knows each of the other members
- (2) A, B and C are biting each other.  
= each member of the set A,B,C is biting one of the other members
- (3) A, B and C are standing on each other.  
= the stand-on relation describes a directed path on the set A,B,C

Most works on the topic assume that meanings of reciprocals must be parameterized somehow to allow contextual influences on truth-conditions. Notably, Dalrymple et al. (1994, 1998) proposed an explicit principle that governs this context-sensitive variation. In the talk I will first give a brief historical review of three of the main approaches to the problem:

- weakest meaning + a principle of context-sensitive strengthening (straw man theory);
- many meanings + a principle of context-sensitive selection (Dalrymple et al.);
- one adaptive context-sensitive meaning (Sabato and Winter 2012 and further work modifying Dalrymple et al.'s proposal).

I will show experimental and theoretical results that lend support to the third option. The notion of “context” will be held restrictive by appealing to testable conceptual properties of transitive verbs like *know*, *bite* and *stand on* in (1-3), and their sentential tense/aspect. If this view is correct, it may shed some light on the way quantification interacts with fuzzier aspects of human reasoning, specifically concept composition as in Osherson & Smith (1982) and Kamp & Partee (1995). This is joint work with Naama Friedmann, Nir Kerem, Choonkyu Lee, Eva Poortman, Sivan Sabato and Marijn Struiksmā

## Beth/Vienna Circle Lecture

### Common Law Reasoning

*John Horty*

The aim of this talk to offer a formal understanding of common law reasoning – especially the nature of this reasoning, but also its point, or justification, in terms of social coordination. I will present two, possibly three, formal models of the common law, and argue for one according to which courts are best thought of, not as creating and modifying rules, but as generating a priority ordering

on reasons. The work draws on bits of logic, and also on research in artificial intelligence and law; it contributes to legal theory, and also, possibly, to applied ethics.

## **Special Session on Dialogue**

### **Coherence and Meaning in Situated Dialogue**

*Matthew Stone (invited speaker)*

In face-to-face conversation, speakers use all the means at their disposal to get their ideas across. They talk, they gesture, but they also carry out practical actions in the world. These diverse actions seem to advance the communicative enterprise through common principles of discourse coherence. In this talk, I review the empirical and philosophical underpinnings of this expansive understanding of discourse coherence, and sketch a number of formal case studies analyzing situated dialogue using this approach.

Intuitions about coherence, I suggest, tap into the conventions interlocutors follow to work effectively and meaningfully with one another in conversation. These conventions establish implicit connections among communicative actions, and trigger appropriate changes to interlocutors' information and attention. Accordingly, to formalize coherence, we need representations in logical form that capture what information the speaker is committed to and what entities are at the center of attention in the discourse. Both dimensions are key to model deictic reference in situated utterances, to capture the relationship of gesture and speech, and to track how practical demonstrations update the conversational record. This is joint work with Alex Lascarides (Edinburgh) and Ernie Lepore and Una Stojnic (Rutgers).

### **Update conditions and intensionality in a type-theoretic approach to dialogue semantics**

*Robin Cooper*

We consider the interaction of update conditions for dialogue gameboards, compositional semantics and intensionality. We will concentrate on the update conditions associated with proper names and definite descriptions. It is well-known from the literature that proper names require the dialogue partner being addressed to be able to identify an individual with the appropriate name or at least a role for an individual of that name in the content of the dialogue. Slightly more controversially we will take standard uses of definite descriptions to require the dialogue partner to be able to identify (a role for) a unique individual of that description. A puzzling example from this perspective is:

- (4) (opening presents on Christmas morning – A and B have failed to get a trainset for Sam)



A: Sam is looking for the trainset  
B: What trainset?  
A: The one he was promised for Christmas

We will present an analysis of this in which B is required to accommodate a type of a situation in which there is a unique trainset.

### **English reverse prosody in responses to yes-no questions**

*Daniel Goodhue, James Pickett & Michael Wagner*

Negative neutralization (NN) is the English phenomenon in which polar particles yes and no are ambiguous when used to respond to negative declaratives and interrogatives. This paper reports on a production experiment that elicited the intonation contours speakers use when responding in NN contexts. We found that speakers most frequently use the Contradiction Contour when reversing, and they use declarative intonation when confirming, regardless of the particular polar particle used. Therefore prosody could disambiguate what is an otherwise ambiguous move in a dialogue.

### **‘Attention, I’m violating a maxim!’ A unifying account of the final rise**

*Matthijs Westera*

Declarative sentences that end with a rising pitch in English (among other languages) have many uses. We single out several prominent uses that the literature so far has treated mostly independently. We present a compositional, unifying analysis, where the final rising pitch marks the violation of a conversational maxim, and its steepness indicates the speaker’s emotional activation. Existing theories are reproduced from these basic assumptions. We believe it contributes to a general, solid theoretical foundation for future experimental work on the semantics and pragmatics of intonation.

## **Workshop on Quantitative Data**

### **What a Rational Interpreter Would Do: Building, Ranking, and Updating Quantifier Scope Representations in Discourse**

*Adrian Brasoveanu (invited speaker)*

We begin by framing the general problem of ‘rationally’ (in the sense of Anderson et al’s ACT-R framework) integrating formal semantic theories and processing and indicate how the relation between semantic theories and the processor could be explicitly formalized. An explicit formalization would enable us to empirically evaluate the integrated theory of semantics and processing both qualitatively and quantitatively. We then introduce the problem of quantifier scope, in particular the processing difficulty of inverse scope, introduce two types of theories of

scope and their predictions, and discuss the results of an eye-tracking and a self-paced reading experiment and their consequences for the two types of theories of scope. We end by outlining how probabilities for LF construction rules could be computed based on the experimental results, thereby enabling our theories to make quantitative, not only qualitative, predictions. This is joint work with Jakub Dotlacil.

### **Probabilistic models of language understanding**

*Noah Goodman (invited speaker)*

Probabilistic models of human cognition have been widely successful at providing a quantitative account of human reasoning with uncertain knowledge. In this talk I will describe how this probabilistic approach can be brought to bare on natural language pragmatics and semantics. I will first describe a mathematical system, stochastic lambda calculus, that encompasses probabilistic uncertainty and compositional structure. Using this tool I will present a framework for language understanding that views literal meaning as probabilistic conditioning and pragmatic enrichment as recursive social reasoning. I'll show that this framework leads to models that predict experimental data from signaling games, scalar implicature under uncertainty, numerical hyperbole and halo, and reasoning with gradable adjectives.

### **No ordered arguments needed for nouns**

*Scott Grimm & Louise McNally*

Syntacticians have widely assumed since Grimshaw 1990 that there is a fundamental difference between so-called argument structure nominals (hereafter, AS-nominals, also called complex event nominals), e.g. nominalizations like ‘destruction’, and non-AS-nominals like ‘book’ (Alexiadou 2001, Borer 2003, Roeper 2005, Harley, 2009, i.a.; see also Anderson 1983, Higginbotham 1983 for related earlier work). Grimshaw provided a list of properties characterizing AS-nominals, most notably that they have obligatory arguments (e.g. ‘the destruction \*(of Carthage) by the Romans’). Grimshaw and others associate having argument structure with having event structure, but it has never been clear in this literature what having or lacking such structures amounts to semantically. In this paper we address precisely this issue. We begin by presenting extensive corpus evidence that AS-nominals do not in fact exist as a distinct class. This result, we argue, removes an important challenge to Dowty’s 1989 hypothesis that eventuality-denoting nouns systematically lack an ordered-argument semantics.

### **Does position really matter? Testing plural anaphora by non-restrictive relative clauses with quantified heads**

*Claudia Poschmann*

Standard assumptions about plural anaphora presume that the intersection of restriction and scope of a quantifier is available for anaphoric reference only after

the quantification is evaluated (Kamp & Reyle 1993, Nouwen 2003). The data presented in this talk challenges this view. It presents the results of two experiments in German investigating the acceptability and interpretation of (plural) non-restrictive relative clauses (NRCs) with quantified heads. Contrary to standard assumptions (Del Gobbo 2003, Nouwen 2007), the position of a NRC does not significantly affect its acceptability or its anaphoric possibilities. As we will argue this observation does not only give interesting insights into the nature of NRCs, but might have far reaching consequences for existing dynamic approaches to plural anaphora in discourse.

### **Towards a formal theory of explanatory biases in discourse**

*Torggrim Solstad & Oliver Bott*

In psycholinguistics, implicit causality verbs (transitive verbs with two animate arguments) have been shown to trigger expectations for particular explanations. These expectations have been exploited in online studies of e.g. anaphora resolution. Although such discourse biases offer an interesting window into the interaction between verb semantics and discourse relations, semantic and pragmatic theory has largely ignored them. Consequently, the precise nature of IC is poorly understood. We propose a (DRT) semantic theory of IC which incorporates the discourse coherence and reference resolution properties of IC verbs. The phenomenon is explained in terms of causal content left underspecified by the verb which has to be elaborated on in upcoming discourse. We also present comprehensive cross-linguistic experimental evidence in favour of the theory with important implications for future experimental research.

### **Witness sets, polarity reversal and the processing of multiply quantified sentences**

*Oliver Bott, Udo Klein & Fabian Schlotterbeck*

Downward entailing (DE) quantifiers are more difficult to verify and draw inferences from than upward entailing (UE) ones. Typically, these results were limited to sentences containing only one quantifier. We report evidence about the online comprehension and verification of doubly quantified sentences with UE vs. DE quantifiers. In the combined self-paced reading plus truth-value judgment task experiment, participants first read a doubly quantified sentence. Then, they inspected a set diagram and provided a truth-value judgment. We found that, during online comprehension, sentences containing DE quantifiers are more demanding than sentences which only contain UE quantifiers. Furthermore, monotonicity of the first and second quantifier additively increased processing difficulty during verification. We propose a processing theory of quantification which accounts for monotonicity effects during reading and verification in terms of polarity reversal.

## **Workshop on Modals**

### **The grammatical category of modality**

*Valentine Hacquard (invited speaker)*

In many languages, the same modal words are used to express epistemic and root modality. These modals further tend to interact with tense and aspect in systematic ways, based on their interpretation: In general, epistemics scope above tense and aspect, while roots scope below. Is this pattern accidental, or a consequence of grammar or meaning? This talk addresses this question through three avenues: (i) by comparing ‘grammatical’ modals to verbs and adjectives that share meanings with these modals, but not the same scope constraints; (ii) by examining patterns of grammaticalization from ‘lexical’ to ‘grammatical’ modality; (iii) by comparing modals’ scope interactions in languages where modals are ‘polysemous’ and in those where they are fully specified for flavor.

### **Modality and the Semantics of Embedding**

*Angelika Kratzer (invited speaker)*

The standard analysis for attitude verbs and verbs of speaking treats them as modal operators - quantifiers over possible worlds, that is. I want to question this analysis. I want to suggest that the modal quantification characteristic for attitude and speech reports does not come from the embedding verbs, but originates in the embedded complements: it is carried by mood, complementizers, and apparently redundant embedded modal auxiliaries or particles. The embedding verbs themselves have a run-of-the-mill Davidsonian semantics like any other verbs. They don’t take propositional arguments. Maybe no verb, or even no open-class lexical item, ever takes propositional arguments. Maybe only closed-class items can take such arguments.

### **Subsentential modal modification as reduced Transparent Free Relatives**

*Elizabeth Bogal-Allbritten*

This paper provides an analysis of subsentential modal modifiers (SMMs), defined as modal adverbs and verbs that modify nouns, numerals, and adjectives. The analysis focuses on sentences containing SMM-modified nouns, e.g. ‘Alice ate yesterday [possibly the best pizza in New Haven].’ I first show that ‘possibly’ is not an approximator or displaced clausal modal. I propose that SMM-modified nouns are reduced counterparts of Transparent Free Relatives (TFRs), e.g. ‘Alice ate yesterday [what is possibly the best pizza in New Haven].’ The analysis correctly predicts sentences with TFRs and SMMs to have the same truth conditions. I show that the reduced TFR analysis can be extended to account for SMM-modified numerals and adjectives.

## **Tense and aspect in swing conditionals**

*Fabienne Martin (canceled)*

The paper focuses on past subjunctive conditionals (PSCs) in French, whose antecedent does not contain the imperfective morphology as in standard PSCs. It is shown that these conditionals are (i) true subjunctive conditionals (ii) but differ from standard PSCs in several respects, among other the fact that they require the antecedent to be undecided relative to the current context, and (iii) differ from standard past indicative conditionals, too. The absence of the imperfective morphology is analysed as a case of agreement failure and signals, we propose, that subjunctivehood is obtained in other way than through the counterfactuality of the antecedent.

## **Epistemic Modals, Qualitative Probability, and Nonstandard Probability**

*Satoru Suzuki*

Yalcin (2010) shows that Kratzer's model (1991) does not validate some intuitively valid inferences and validates some intuitively invalid ones. He adopts a model based directly on probability measures. However, as Kratzer (2012) says, 'Our semantic knowledge alone does not give us the precise quantitative notions of probability and desirability that mathematicians and scientists work with', his model seems to be unnatural as a model for comparative epistemic modals. The aim of this paper is to propose a new version of complete logic-modal-qualitative-probability logic (MQPL)–the model of the language of which has the following four merits: (i) The model reflects Kratzer's intuition above in the sense that the model is not based directly on probability measures, but based on qualitative probability orderings. (ii) The model does not cause Yalcin's problem. (iii) The model has no limitation of the size of the domain. (iv) The model can deal with the two-dimensional geometric probability that Kolmogorov probability theory cannot.

## **Indicative Scorekeeping**

*Malte Willer*

Folklore has it that counterfactual Sobel sequences favor a variably strict analysis of conditionals over its plainly strict alternative. Recent discussions of the lore focus on the question whether data about reverse counterfactual sequences actually speak in favor of a dynamic revival of the strict analysis. This paper takes the discussion into a new direction by looking at straight indicative Sobel sequences. The observation is that a variably strict analysis fails to predict the felicity of these sequences given minimal semantic and pragmatic assumptions. A properly elaborated dynamic analysis of indicatives, in contrast, handles the data with grace.

## Deontic scope restrictions beyond polarity

Igor Yanovich

Deontic modals often have restricted scope with respect to clausemate negation. [Iatridou and Zeijlstra, 2013] have recently attempted to reduce deontic scope restrictions to polarity-item properties of modals. I introduce more data on French *devoir* than I&Z considered, and novel data on Russian deontics, and show that, first, I&Z's own system is incapable of accounting for the full range of observed scope restrictions, and second, that it seems that no fully syntactic account would be able to do better. Having thus established negatively the need for non-syntactic sources of deontic scope restrictions, on the positive side I argue that some scope restrictions belong to semantics. Specifically, I propose that there exist semantic filters on representations which directly rule out certain scope configurations. I justify the introduction of such a powerful theoretical mechanism by two case studies that demonstrate how semantic filters on modal scope may rise historically, using Russian modal *stoit* 'should', taking wide scope, and English deontic *have to*, taking narrow scope with respect to negation. The following perspective on modal scope restrictions emerges: the grammatical system proper provides different scopal construals for deontics, subject to syntactic constraints; then some of those construals may be filtered out by semantic convention, further restricting the scopal behavior of a modal.

## General Programme

### Epistemic Indefinites and Evidential Constraints: Spanish 'Algún'

Luis Alonso-Ovalle & Paula Menéndez-Benito

Epistemic indefinites like English *some* or Spanish *algún* signal that the speaker does not know which individual satisfies the existential claim (see, e.g., Farkas (2002), Aloni & Port (forthcoming), Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2010), Faloutsos (2009), a.o.). Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito (2003) noted that epistemic indefinites are sensitive to different types of evidence. Aloni and Port (forthcoming) developed a theory of epistemic indefinites that explicitly targets this property, which they relate to the contextual dependence of *knowing who* (Aloni 2001). We present a challenge for Aloni and Port's proposal and put forward an account for *algún* that builds on Kratzer's (2011) analysis of the evidential constraints of epistemic *must*. By making an explicit link between the semantics of epistemic modals and epistemic indefinites, this proposal paves the way for a cross-categorical analysis of epistemic modality.

### Correlating cessation with double access

Daniel Altshuler & Roger Schwarzschild

This talk aims to explain why stative past tensed clauses sometimes lead to an inference that no state of the kind described currently holds. This inference, which

we call “cessation”, is argued to be dependent on whether a salient time interval –  $i$  within which the described state is understood to hold – overlaps both the speech time and a time prior to it. In cases where  $i$  has this property, the present tense is a viable alternative to past and the choice of using a past over present triggers cessation in the form of a scalar implicature. Evidence for this comes from matrix clauses and complements under attitudes. With respect to the latter, we show that the surfacing of cessation in a past-under-past attitude report is dependent on the availability of the so-called “double access” reading, found with present-under-past. This correlation leads us to following conjecture: intuitions about so-called “simultaneous” readings in past-under-past, which motivate Sequence of Tense rules, are really intuitions about the absence of cessation.

### **Universal quantification as iterated dynamic conjunction**

*Dylan Bumford*

I analyze distributive universal quantifiers like ‘each’ and ‘every’ in terms of iterated dynamic update. I argue that this minor adjustment to standard dynamic setups has at least two empirical advantages. First, because information flows forward through the universal computation, anaphoric elements can assume “quantifier-internal” interpretations (Brasoveanu 2011). Second, because conjunction is usually analyzed as relation composition over input and output structures, the emerging representations are in a sort of disjunctive normal form that facilitates “functional” readings of indefinites. Following Solomon (2011), I suggest that these two phenomena are closely related, and argue that the current approach which generates the two readings via the same compositional mechanism is simpler, more general, and more empirically adequate than the alternatives.

### **‘Than’ = ‘More’ + Exhaustivity: Evidence from Circassian**

*Lisa Bylina & Yuri Lander*

The goal of this work is twofold: first, it brings in new facts on comparative constructions in Circassian languages (a branch of Northwest Caucasian consisting of Kabardian and Adyghe); second, it contributes to a theoretical debate about the semantics of comparative constructions. We will argue that Circassian comparatives provide the direct evidence that has been missing so far for the combination of two recent insights into comparative semantics: the theory of ‘two loci of degree quantification’ in such constructions and theories postulating ‘exhaustivity’ or ‘maximisation’ at the edge of the standard clause, hypothetically associated with the standard morpheme ‘than’ and its analogues in other languages.

As these insights have been introduced independently of each other, an extra step is needed to glue the two analyses together. The proposal presented here solves this task and sheds light on the morphological make-up of Circassian comparatives that otherwise would have remained a mystery.

## **Man and woman: the last obstacle for boolean coordination**

*Lucas Champollion*

The word “and” can be used both for “boolean” intersection (“John lies and cheats”) and for “non-boolean” collective formation (“John and Mary met in the park”). A major theme in the literature on coordination is the quest for a unified lexical entry. This paper argues that the boolean option is basic, focusing on conjunction in the English DP (“That liar and cheat can not be trusted”, “A man and woman met in the park”). The boolean account immediately delivers the intersective behavior of “and”. I argue that the collective behavior falls out of its interaction with independently motivated type shifters.

## **On the meaning of Intensifiers**

*Harris Constantinou*

The intensifier is an information-structurally marked and anaphorically dependent element like ‘himself’ as in ‘The director himself will attend the meeting’. It can be adjoined to its antecedent or to some clausal projection. Depending on its position, the intensifier may take up to three radically different meanings; adnominal, exclusive or inclusive. In this talk I suggest that their common characteristic is the requirement for a central antecedent. Their different meaning is due to the fact that each one of them requires the antecedent to be central in a different way. I then suggest that the adnominal reading may be derived by assuming that it denotes the identity function  $ID(x)$ , whose alternative is always the peripherality function  $PER(x)$ . The clausal and manner adverbial variants of these two functions deliver the inclusive and exclusive readings respectively.

## **Most: the view from Mass Quantification**

*Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin*

It is currently assumed that *most* can quantify over mass domains (Gillon 92, Higginbotham 94). I will argue that this is true of entity (type  $e$ )-restrictor *most* but not of property (type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ )-restrictor *most*, as indicated by pairs such as *Most of the milk in this fridge is sour* vs *\*Most milk in this fridge is sour*. Examples of the type *Most milk from old goats is sour* are only apparent counterexamples, because *milk from old goats* can be analyzed as a kind-referring (type  $e$ ) restrictor. The generalization will be shown to hold crosslinguistically, in Romanian and Hungarian. The proposed semantic explanation assumes Higginbotham’s 94 view that mass quantifiers denote relations between objects rather than relations between sets.

## **Dowty’s aspect hypothesis segmented**

*Tim Fernando*

This paper revisits the hypothesis from Dowty 1979 that “the different aspectual properties of the various kinds of verbs can be explained by postulating a single



homogeneous class of predicates – stative predicates – plus three or four sentential operators and connectives.” Dowty’s operators are reinterpreted by chaining segments incrementally, in a twist between segmental and incremental axes in Landman 2008 (used in Landman and Rothstein 2012 for a dynamic notion of homogeneity for eventive predicates). The basic claim is that segmenting an interval brings out a notion of event that is already implicit in the conception of a stative predicate as a homogeneous set of interval-world pairs.

### **The ingredients of prediction: epistemic and metaphysical dimensions**

*Anastasia Giannakidou & Alda Mari*

Whether future morphemes in languages are temporal or modal operators is a central question in the semantics of the future. Most analyses (with the exception of Kissine 2008; see its rebuttal in Broekhuis and Verkuyl 2013) agree that future morphemes do convey modality, and the modality, for the predictive use (e.g. John will arrive tomorrow), is often assumed to be purely metaphysical (e.g. Kaufmann 2005, Kaufmann et al. 2006). Based on Greek and Italian data, we argue that prediction involves both a metaphysical and an epistemic dimension, and we offer an analysis that relies on knowledge of the speaker at the utterance time  $t_0$ . This knowledge restricts the set of the futures (metaphysical branches) quantified over only to reasonable ones (in the sense of Mari 2013). At the same time, we argue that when predicting, the speaker has a degree of confidence that the actual world-to-come at  $t_0$  will be reasonable. This confidence, though by default relatively high, is in fact variable, from very strong to relatively weak—as is evidenced by the previously unexplored use of modal adverbs of variable quantificational force.

### **Intervention effects: focus alternatives or indefinite alternatives?**

#### **Experimental evidence**

*Andreas Haida & Sophie Repp*

In a variety of languages, the occurrence of quantificational and focussing elements between an in-situ wh-phrase and the interrogative complementizer by which it is licensed results in deviance. There are two semantic approaches to account for this so-called intervention effect. According to the first approach, all focus-sensitive operators are interveners (and vice versa). According to the second approach, some focus operators are interveners, viz. “only” and “even”, but the focus particle “also” is not. We present evidence from two speeded-acceptability experiments and a self-paced reading study in German which tested the acceptability and online processing of intervention sentences with “only” and “also” with regard to the predictions of the two theories. The results of the three experiments converge in showing that “also” is not an intervener in German. We argue that this can be taken as evidence for theories where focus is not the key property in the emergence of the intervention effect, at least for German.

## **Monadic Quantifiers Recognized by Deterministic Pushdown Automata**

*Makoto Kanazawa*

I characterize the class of type  $\langle 1 \rangle$  quantifiers (or, equivalently, type  $\langle 1, 1 \rangle$  quantifiers satisfying Conservativity and Extension) that are recognized by deterministic pushdown automata (by arbitrary stack) in terms of the associated semilinear sets of vectors in  $N^2$ . These semilinear sets are unions of linear sets with at most two generators each, which are taken from a common three-element set of the form  $\{(k, 0), (0, l), (m, n)\}$ . This answers a question left open by Marcin Mostowski (1998), who gave a characterization of those type  $\langle 1 \rangle$  quantifiers that are accepted by deterministic pushdown automata by empty stack, which form a proper subclass of the class under consideration. A consequence of my characterization is that the type  $\langle 1 \rangle$  quantifiers recognized by deterministic pushdown automata are already recognized by deterministic one-counter machines with zero tests, i.e., deterministic pushdown automata whose stack alphabet contains just one symbol (besides the bottom-of-stack symbol).

## **An experimental investigation of interrogative syntax/semantics**

*Hadas Kotek & Martin Hackl*

Recent theories of interrogative syntax/semantics adopt two strategies for the interpretation of *wh*-in-situ: Covert Movement (CM, Karttunen 1977, a.o.) and Focus-Alternatives computation (FA, Hamblin 1973, a.o.). The CM strategy is traditionally assumed to be all-or-nothing: the *wh*-phrase covertly moves to  $\bar{C}$  or else stays in-situ at LF and is interpreted via FA. We argue that this assumption cannot be maintained. We present evidence from two studies of real-time processing of English multiple *wh*-questions and show that *wh*-phrases require both CM and FA: “in-situ” *wh*-phrases partially move covertly, and are then interpreted through FA. Current theories of interrogative semantics are not equipped to deal with the syntax we motivate, and we instead propose an alternative approach to interrogative semantics.

## **An Analysis of Quantifier Scope Restrictions in Dependence Logic**

*Ralf Naumann & Wiebke Petersen*

In our contribution we will present an alternative approach to the phenomenon of “upward unboundedness” of indefinites (Szabolsci 2010) which is not based on type-shifting rules (Hendriks 1993, Barker & Shan 2006) or Skolem functions (Winter 2001, Steedman 2012). Scopal ambiguities of indefinites are not encoded in (linear) syntactic configurations but rather in terms of dependence relations in the sense of (Dynamic) Dependence Logic (DL) (Väänänen 2007, Galliani 2011, 2013, Grädel & Väänänen 2013) and Database Theory (Abiteboul et al. 1995). Formulas are interpreted dynamically as context change potentials. Following DL, context change potentials are relations between sets of contexts (or

sets of assignments). Using sets of assignments makes it possible to distinguish between global constraints, which are defined relative to all elements of the context, and local (or distributive) constraints, which apply at the level of single contexts (assignments). Indefinites not only add a new element to the context (Dynamic Predicate Logic, Incremental Dynamics Van Eijck 2001), but they also impose a (global) dependence relation on the output context. Scopal ambiguities are analyzed as a form of non-determinism: processing a formula in an input context  $X$  can lead to different output contexts  $Y$ . Each output corresponds to a possible reading of the formula. On this view, indefinites provide alternative strategies (in the sense of game theory) of how a formula can be semantically processed.

### **“At least” and quantity implicature: choices and consequences**

*Bernhard Schwarz*

Numerals modified by “at least” introduce uncertainty implications (Krifka 1999). Bring (2007) proposes to view these as quantity implicatures, but without implementing the idea in a general theory of quantity implicature. Adapting and extending a proposal in Schwarz and Shimoyama (2010), this paper examines a Neo-Gricean implementation of Büring’s suggestion. The account correctly predicts the obviation of uncertainty implications under universal operators, a signature of quantity implicatures of uncertainty (Fox 2007). But a Neo-Gricean analysis of “at least” turns out to have a surprising, potentially far-reaching, consequence: to preclude unwanted scalar implicatures based on the classic Horn scale of numerals, the calculation of quantity implicatures would need to be constrained in a way reminiscent of the semantics of the exhaustive operator in the grammatical theory of scalar implicature (Fox 2007). An alternative approach that avoids this need, under which “at least” suppresses alternatives to its argument (Krifka 1999), is argued to be insufficient.

### **Semantics of the DP wh-island**

*Alexandra Simonenko (cancelled)*

This paper provides a semantic analysis of the ban on wh-subextraction out of “strong” definite DPs in Austro-Bavarian German and directly referential DPs in general. The effect is claimed to be due to the denotation of such DPs not co-varying with the wh-bound variable. Wh-subextraction out of a strong-DP is shown to give rise to a question whose possible answers have the same asserted content, which, given question’s existential presupposition, has to be part of the Common Ground when the question is asked. Such questions thus can only have uninformative answers. This contrasts with the licit wh-subextraction out of DPs headed by “weak” definite articles. The analysis relies on Schwarz’s (2009) proposal for the articles’ semantics. The paper thus brings together two recent research strands: it provides additional support for Schwarz (2009) and Elbourne

(2008) whereby German strong (but not weak) articles and English demonstratives (but not ‘the’) involve a free individual pronoun and thus refer directly; it also aligns with a series of recent analyses of wh-islands in terms of pragmatic ill-formedness of the answer-set (Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993, Fox & Hackl 2006, Oshima 2007, Abrusán 2008, Schwarz & Shimoyama 2011, Abrusán & Spector 2011), identifying a new type of semantic/pragmatic pathology of wh-question formation.

### **Monotonicity has only a relative effect on the complexity of quantifier verification**

*Jakub Szymanik & Marcin Zajenkowski*

Monotonicity is considered to be one of the key properties of languages both in logic and linguistics. There are good reasons to believe that it is a crucial feature for processing natural language quantifiers. In the paper we present experimental data showing that there is \*no effect of monotonicity\* on the verification but \*only the interaction of monotonicity and sentential truth-values\*.

### **A Fregean semantics for number words**

*Susan Rothstein*

This paper proposes a Fregean semantics for cardinal numbers, analysing them as properties (Chierchia 1985). A cardinal numeral can occur at the predicative type denoting a set, and at an argument type denoting the individual correlate of a set. Lexical powers like hundred and thousand denote multiplicands and are of a different type from other cardinals.

### **Focus association in superlatives and the semantics of -est**

*Barbara Tomaszewicz*

The semantics of the superlative morpheme has been an outstanding question. Here we provide new evidence from Polish that two lexical entries are needed in the grammar of a single language: 3-place -est on which individuals are compared, 2-place -est comparing sets of degrees, (Heim 1999, Romero 2011). Unlike what is suggested in Heim (1999) we argue that -2-place -est does not associate with focus, but is used in cases of explicit comparison between degrees, e.g. in the presence of a degree relative clause in Polish. We show that focus association with 2-place -est makes wrong predictions for the range of superlative interpretations available cross-linguistically as identified in Pancheva & Tomaszewicz (2012). Only 3-place -est together with focus and independent facts about the structure of the DP (definiteness as proposed by P&T 2012) can determine compositionally which superlative readings are (un)available. We conclude that the grammar uses 3-place -est for the readings derived by focus (the so-called ‘relative’ readings) and that it can scope inside and outside the DP. The grammar makes use of 2-place -est when comparison between sets of degrees is required, e.g. for relative readings

with degree relative clauses (cf. Howard 2013), for modal superlatives as shown by Romero (2011). Our conclusion is in line with Szabolcsi’s (2012) proposal that different ways for building superlatives “may coexist in (varieties of) the same language”.

### **Questioning and Asserting at the same time: the L%- tone in A-not-A questions**

*Mengxi Yuan & Yurie Hara*

We show how the syntactic and prosodic features of Mandarin A-not-A questions derive the neutrality requirement. A-not-A questions have the same question meaning as /ma/ questions (i.e., an update in the Question Under Discussion (QUD; Roberts, 1996)) AND the meaning of an assertion of  $p$  or not  $p$ . The special Q feature of A-not-A questions introduces an independent proposition  $p$  or not  $p$ , and the final L%- tone represents the ASSERT morpheme. The assertion of  $p$  or not  $p$  indicates the speaker’s ignorance about  $p$  or not  $p$  and thus requires that the context be neutral.

### **Universal Quantifier PPIs**

*Hedde Zeijlstra*

Why have Positive Polarity Items that are universal quantifiers only been attested in the domain of modal auxiliaries (cf. Homer t.a., Iatridou & Zeijlstra t.a.) and never in the domain of quantifiers over individuals? No PPI meaning everybody or everything has ever been reported. In this paper, I argue that universal quantifier PPIs actually do exist, both in the domain of quantifiers over individuals and in the domain of quantifiers over possible worlds, as is predicted by the Kadman & Landman (1993) – Krifka (1995) – Chierchia (2006) approach to NPI-hood. However, since the covert exhaustifier that according to Chierchia (2006) is induced by these PPIs (and responsible for their PPI-hood) can act as an intervener between the PPI and its anti-licenser, universal quantifier PPIs often appear in disguise; their PPI-like behaviour only becomes visible once they morpho-syntactically precede their anti-licenser. A further conclusion of this paper is that Dutch *iedereen* (‘everybody’), opposite to English *everybody*, is actually a PPI.

### **The type of adjectives**

*Galit W. Sassoon*

This paper proposes that adjectives denote sets of generalized quantifiers; e.g., *healthy*  $\Leftrightarrow \lambda GQ. c\text{-many}(\lambda F.F$  is a dimension of *healthy*,  $GQ)$ , where *many* denotes a cardinality function and  $c$  sets up a standard. This new type renders adjectives compatible with a variety of linguistic contexts, including both predicate and modifier positions, and comparison constructions. Comparison morphemes either set the standard of *many* or of the dimensions.

## **Distributivity and agreement: new evidence for groups as sets**

*Hanna De Vries*

It is a well-known fact that singular group NPs in British English can occur with either a singular or a plural VP, but it has rarely been investigated whether the choice of agreement has any semantic consequences. Using the availability of quantificational distributivity as a diagnostic for semantic plurality, we show that morphologically singular group NPs in British English behave like atoms when they occur with a singular VP, but like sets when they occur with a plural VP. We propose to analyse group NPs as basically set-denoting, and show how, under this assumption, their behaviour with different kinds of agreement follows from existing assumptions about the semantics of number morphology.

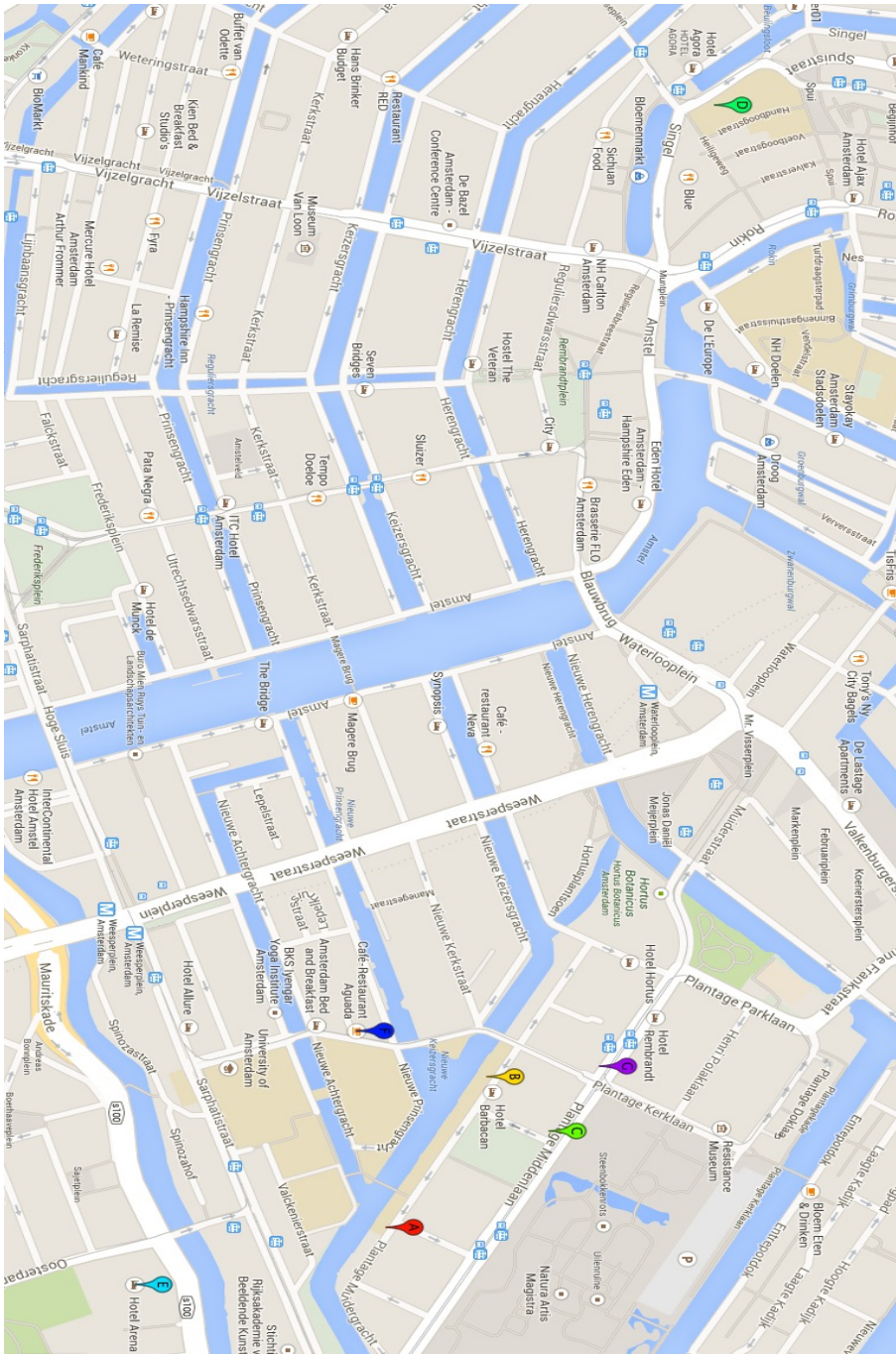
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## Map



- A. Euclides building (main conference venue)
- B. AC venue for Wednesday afternoon
- C. Lancaster/Hampshire hotel
- D. Venue Beth lecture
- E. Venue for Wednesday night reception

- F. Copyshop printerette
- G. ATM machine