Non-canonical uses of *some*

Curt Anderson
Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf

NYU Semantics Group
November 7th, 2016

Slides available at

Some familiar uses of *some*

Some fairly familiar uses of *some*.

Partitive *some*:

(1) Some of the linguists are semanticists.

"Spesumptive" *some*:

(2) Some linguist is dancing on the table.

Reduced *some* (glossed as *sm*):

(3) I gave him sm chocolate.

Non-canonical uses of *some*

But, there exist other uses which are less familiar and less studied.

Exclamative *some*:

(4) a. That was some party!
b. Some doctor he is!

Post-numeral approximation:

(5) a. He's lived there twenty-some years.
b. There are three million nine hundred ninety-some page hits.

Non-canonical uses of *some*

Pre-numeral approximative *some*:

(6) We tested some fifteen children for the experiment.

Adverbial *some*:

(7) We danced some, and then we said goodnight.

As a degree word:

(8) The crowd was somewhat larger than expected.

(9) (Context: seeing a cool picture on Facebook)
Some sweet![1]

[1] Newfoundland English, p.c. Anne-Michelle Tessier

Question

How do the non-canonical uses of *some* relate to its canonical uses?

Question

What is the lexical semantics of *some*?

What this talk is about

Large theoretical picture:

1. What is the core meaning of *some*?
2. How is this core used to construct different cases of *some*?

Short-term goals:

1. Provide analysis of *some*-exclamatives
2. Provide analysis of post-numeral approximative *some*

Structure of the talk

1. *Some*-exclamatives
    - Previous theories of exclamatives
    - Connect *some* to previous theories of exclamatives.
    - Provide an analysis based on d*some*'s status as an epistemic indefinite.
    - Argue that *some*-exclamatives involve reference to kinds.
2. *Some* approximation
    - Argue for it being indefinite
    - Ignorance implicatures like *some*
    - Build on Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2010)'s analysis of *algún*
3. Discussion

Some-exclamatives

Introduction

Exclamatives comment on some extreme or unexpected property.

(10) a. What a large watermelon!
b. How beautiful the birds sing!

(11) The peppers he eats!

Most work on exclamatives in English has focused on these wh-exclamatives and nominal exclamatives.

Introduction

Israel (1999, 2011): exclamative construction making use of the determiner *some*.

(12) Boy, was she (ever) some dancer!
"She was a dancer and she was an exceptional dancer."

(13) That was some wine she brought to the party!
"She brought wine to the party and it was very good wine."

(14) Some friend she turned out to be!
"She was a friend and she was a particularly poor friend."

(15) It's going to be some party!
"We're having a party and it's going to be a great party."

Some-exclamatives

Israel (1999, 2011):

- First notes their existence
- But, sets them aside to look at other uses of *some*
- Hypothesizes that the exclamative nature is related to *some*'s nature as an attenuator.

I offer an analysis of *some*-exclamatives that's in the same spirit as Israel's intuition.

Basic data

Some-exclamatives are defined by several properties:

- Noteworthiness or scalar extremity (already noted)
- Necessity of "exclamative intonation". No exclamative reading without intonation.

  (16) a. John is some lawyer.
  b. That was some wine we brought to the party.
  c. *Gulliver's Travels* is some book.

- Typically predicative.
- Lack of an *a*(*n*)exclamative. Properties of *some* are crucial for building exclamative meaning.

Is this an exclamative?

Zanuttini & Portner (2003) note three semantic/pragmatic features of exclamatives.

- Inability to function in question/answer pairs
- Factivity
- Scalar implicature (noteworthiness)

These features are also exhibited by *some*-exclamatives.

Zanuttini & Portner (2003): Q/A Pairs

Question/Answer Pairs: *Some*-exclamatives are difficult to use in answering a question, even though they have semantic content that could in principle answer the question.

(17) A: How good of a lawyer is John?
B: *John is some lawyer!

(18) A: What does John do for a living?
B: *John is some architect!

Zanuttini & Portner (2003): Factivity

Factivity: *Some*-exclamatives are factive in that they presuppose that the NP applies to the subject.

(19) A: Man, John is some friend.
B: Hey, wait a minute! I didn't know you were friends with John.

Zanuttini & Portner (2003): Scalar implicature

Scalar Implicature: *Some*-exclamatives comment on something noteworthy or surprising.

Is this an exclamative?

Zanuttini & Portner's features are similar ones proposed by Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996).

(20) Semantico-pragmatic properties of the abstract exclamative construction

a. presupposed open proposition
b. scalar extent
c. assertion of affective stance: expectation contravention
d. identifiability of described referent
e. deixis

Previous work on exclamatives

Theories of exclamatives

Lots of analyses of exclamatives. A few styles of approaches to exclamatives (not exhaustive):

- Embedding Approach (Abels, 2005)
- Degree Approach
  (Rett, 2011; Castroviejo Miró, 2006)
- Question Approach
  (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 1996; Zanuttini & Portner, 2003)

Embedding Approach

No need for a separate theory of exclamatives, if we are able to account for examples of embedded exclamatives.

(21) It's amazing <u>how tall you are!</u>
embedded exclamative

Analyze root exclamative as deriving from application amazement predicate.

(22) amazing(how tall you are)

An issue: *Some*-exclamatives do not embed under *amazing*. Difficult to say that amazement predicate provides exclamative flavor.

(23) *It's amazing John is some friend!

Degree Approach

Exclamatives are degree constructions on par with other degree constructions like comparatives (Castroviejo Miró, 2006; Rett, 2011).

Make use of covert gradable property.

(24) a. What desserts John baked!
b. The places John visited!

(25) a. What *G* desserts John baked! (*G*=delicious)
b. The *G* places John visited! (*G*=exotic)

Degree Approach

An issue: *Some* has a scalar notion inherent to it in some cases—quantity. But, *some*-exclamatives never get a quantity interpretation.

(26) *That was some wine we drank! It would've filled buckets!

This contrasts with nominal exclamatives, which do have a quantity interpretation.

(27) The wine we drank! It would've filled buckets!

Question Approach

Gutiérrez-Rexach (1996) and Zanuttini & Portner (2003) assume a Hamblin-Karttunen style question semantics for exclamatives (Hamblin, 1973; Karttunen, 1977).

(28) Semantics of a question

$$[\![\textit{Who came to the party?}]\!] = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Mary came to the party,} \\ \text{Bill came to the party,} \\ \text{Bob came to the party,} \\ \ldots \end{array} \right\}$$

Question Approach: Exclamative Operator

Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996 assumes an exclamative operator that asserts an emotive attitude (surprise, disgust, ...) towards a proposition.

(29) Let a be the speaker, w a world (typically the actual world), p a proposition, and $P \in EMOT$ (the set of emotive properties). Then, $EXC \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \boldsymbol{\lambda} a \boldsymbol{\lambda} w \boldsymbol{\lambda} p_{\langle s,t\rangle} \exists P_{\langle s,\langle st,et\rangle\rangle} [P(w)(p)(a)]$

Question Approach: Widening

Zanuttini & Portner (2003) take exclamative sentences to denote set of propositions, but widening operation is responsible for exclamative meaning.

(30) What peppers he eats!

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{he eats poblanos,}\\ \text{he eats serranos,}\\ \text{he eats jalapeños}\end{array}\right\} \subset \underbrace{\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{he eats poblanos,}\\ \text{he eats serranos,}\\ \text{he eats jalapeños,}\\ \text{he eats habaneros}\end{array}\right\}}_{\text{widened set}}$$

Question Approach

A problem: These theories play on an obvious similarity between questions and exclamatives. What similarity does *some* have to a question?

Claim: *Some*-exclamatives are best analyzed with a Question Theory, based on independently motivated assumptions about indefinites and *some*.

Indefinites and *some*-exclamatives

Indefinites and alternatives

Alternative semantics.

- Semantics of questions (Hamblin, 1973; Karttunen, 1977)
- Question-theories of exclamatives (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003)

Treat indefinites as denoting sets of alternatives:

- Indeterminate pronouns in Japanese and German (Kratzer & Shimoyama, 2002)
- Spanish epistemic indefinites (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito, 2003)
- Related move made for indefinites in Inquisitive Semantics (AnderBois, 2011).

Alternative semantics for indefinites is the link between exclamatives and *some*.

Examples

(31) Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002)

a. $[\![dare]\!]^{w,g} = \{x : \textbf{human}(x)(w)\}$

b. $[\![nemutta]\!]^{w,g} = \{\lambda x \lambda w'.\textbf{slept}(x)(w')\}$

c. $[\![dare\ nemutta]\!]^{w,g} =$
$\{p : \exists x[\textbf{human}(x)(w) \wedge p = \lambda w'.\textbf{slept}(x)(w')]\}$

(32) $[\![a\ girl]\!]^{w,g} = \{x : x \text{ is a girl and } x \text{ is in } g(D)\}$
(where D is a variable ranging over sets of individuals)
(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito, 2003)

A semantics for *some*

Also model *some* as introducing a set of alternatives, a la Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002). Kratzer & Shimoyama-style analysis:

(33) $[\![\textit{some professor}]\!]^{w,g} = \{x : \textbf{professor}(x)(w)\}$

(34) $[\![\textit{some professor is dancing on the table}]\!]^{w,g}$
$= \{p : \exists x[\textbf{professor}(x)(w) \wedge p = \lambda w'.\textbf{dance}(x)(w')]\}$

Some is an epistemic indefinite

Some differs from the indefinite *a* in being an epistemic indefinite.

- Indefinites that impose restricts on the speaker regarding their knowledge of the referent.
- Contrast with other indefinites in requiring (rather than merely allowing) uncertainty

(35) A: Some cabinet minister has been shot!
B: #Who?

(36) A: A cabinet minister has been shot!
B: Who?

Need additional constraints to differentiate *some* and *a*.

Modeling the ignorance component of *some*

How to model the ignorance component of *some*?

Whatever has a similar epistemic flavor to *some* (the speaker doesn't care or know the identity of the referent).

(37) There's a lot of garlic in whatever (it is that) Arlo is cooking.

Adapt proposal from von Fintel (2000).

Modeling *some*

von Fintel (2000) reformulates Dayal (1997)'s analysis of *whatever*:

(38) whatever(w)(F)(P)(Q) (Analysis D')

a. presupposes: $\exists w', w'' \in F : \iota x.P(w')(x) \neq \iota x.P(w'')(x)$

b. asserts: $\forall w' \in F : Q(w')(\iota x.P(w')(x))$

Whatever statements:

1. Presuppose that the speaker cannot identify the referent of the free relative.
2. Assert that some property Q holds of the referent.

Some as alternative generator

Modeling *some*:

- Useful insight in semantics of *whatever*: presupposition of more than one individual satisfying a description (across worlds).
- Adapt this intuition so that *some* also constrains alternatives.

How to adapt the analysis of *whatever*:

- *Some* is constrained to always generate at least two alternatives.
- Encoded as a presupposition of *some*.
- Ignorance in the normal case of *some* arises via implicature.
- In exclamative environment, no implicature arises.

Kinds in *some*-exclamatives

Arguments for kinds in *some*-exclamatives

Some-exclamatives invoke reference to kinds at some level.

1. NPs without well-established kinds
2. Post-nominal adjectives

Argument 1: NPs without kinds

Some evidence.

- Carlson (1977) argues that reference to a kind requires an well-established kind.
- Some NPs such as *green bottle*, *person from the next room*, and *non-Methodist* do not have well-established kinds associated with them.

(39) *People in the next room are widespread.

Argument 1: NPs without kinds

It is odd to use these in *some*-exclamatives.

(40) a. ??This is some green bottle!
b. #John is some person from the next room!

(41) ??He is some non-Methodist!

Argument 2: Post-nominal adjectives

More evidence come from adjectives like *visible* and *navigable*. Only have stage-level interpretations post-nominally (Bolinger, 1967; Larson & Marušič, 2004; Leffel, 2014).

(42) a. the stars visible (stage-level only)
b. the rivers navigable (stage-level only)

(43) a. the visible stars (stage-level or individual-level)
b. the navigable rivers (stage-level or individual-level)

Argument 2: Post-nominal adjectives

Some-exclamatives resist these adjectives post-nominally, but allow them prenominally.

(44) a. This is some navigable river! (We barely made it to the river mouth alive!)
b. *This is some river navigable!

(45) a. These are some visible stars! (I can barely see them, and I know where to look!)
b. *These are some stars visible!

Also consistent with *some*-exclamatives invoking reference to a kind.

Kinds independently with *some*

Weir (2012) also independently argues for *some* involving reference to kinds.

(46) a. I saw some contraption in the copy room this morning.
b. I came home to find some plant growing through a hole in my wall.
c. Doctor, some growth appeared on my arm. Should I be worried?

Examples are argued to express ignorance about the relevant subkind.

Analysis

NP semantics

Assume that common NPs denote properties of kinds (and their subkinds) (Zamparelli, 1995; Gehrke & McNally, 2013, a.o.)

(47) $[\![car]\!] = \lambda x_k.\mathbf{car}(x_k)$

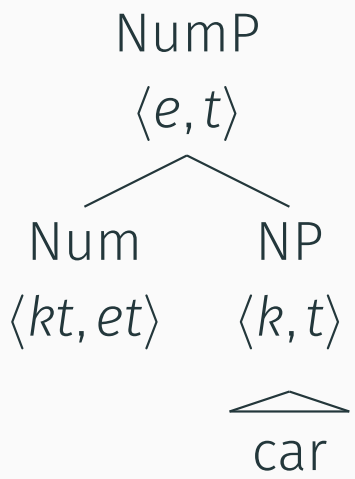
For instance, *car* is a property of the CAR kind, as well as subkinds such as SPORTSCAR, BMW, CLOWN CAR and so on.

NP semantics

Articulated DP structure with a NumP dominating NP.

Num is the locus for shifting kinds to individuals (Gehrke & McNally, 2013; Déprez, 2005).

(48)



NP semantics

Lexical items of category Num (such as the singular indefinite article and *some*) minimally do the following:

- Provide existential closure over kinds
- Relate kind to instantiating individual (R relation; cf. Carlson 1977).
- Singular indefinite as well as *some* are of the category Num.

(49) $[\![[_{NumP}\ [_{NP}\ car]]]\!] = \lambda y \exists x_k\, [\mathbf{car}(x_k) \wedge R(y, x_k)]$

What do the alternatives range over?

Analyze alternatives in *some*-exclamatives as ranging over subkinds of the kind denoted by the NP.

(50) $[\![\textit{John is some lawyer}]\!]$
$= \{p' : \exists x_k \text{ s.t. } p' = [R(\mathbf{j}, x_k) \wedge \mathbf{lawyer}(x_k)]\}$

Number of alternatives

Some is constrained so that sentences using *some* include at least two alternatives.

(51) Anti-singleton condition: The set of alternatives for a sentence containing ⟦*some NP*⟧ must have at least two members.

- This condition is used by *some* in the canonical use to derive ignorance.
- Used here to generate more than one alternative.

These alternatives feed to an exclamative operator.

Exclamative operator

Exclamative operator is the difference between an ordinary assertion using *some* and *some*-exclamative.

- Scalar extremeness comes from exclamative operator.
- Orders the alternatives the sentence denotes using some salient ordering (noteworthiness, unlikeliness, surprise, ...)
- Expresses attitude towards extreme proposition; other propositions backgrounded.

(52) $$[\![\textit{Ex-Op}]\!] = \lambda P \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{there is a salient ordering} \\ \text{among the propositions in } P \text{ and} \\ \textsc{attitude}(\textbf{speaker})(\textsc{max}(P)) \end{array} \right]$$

Presence of exclamative operator marked with exclamative intonation.

Taking stock

What does the picture look like now?

- *Some*-exclamatives have in common with other exclamatives an alternative semantics.
- Alternatives come from independently motivated constraints to model ignorance requirements of *some*.
- Argued that kinds play a role in *some*-exclamatives.
- Analyzed *some*-exclamatives as involving an attitude to the particular subkind that the subject is instantiating.

Interlude

- Proposed to treat *some* as generating multiple alternatives.
- Analysis based on its behavior as an epistemic indefinite.
- Turn now to the approximating *some* (*twenty-some*).
- Approximating *some* also has an epistemic indefinite flavor.
- Retain a similar sort of analysis.

Some-approximation

Approximation

Various ways to signal approximation in English. Signal uncertainty.

(53) a. around ten people
b. between ten and twenty people
c. close to ten people

Also signal approximation using *some*.

(54) a. Twenty-some people arrived.
b. His forty-some years of experience were devoted to human resources.
c. I could have it entirely full of small icons and fit a hundred some icons on one screen.

Bounded interpretations

Numerals modified by *some* have bounded interpretations.

- Lower bound at modified numeral
- Upper bound determined by syntax of numeral

(55) a. twenty-some
$\rightsquigarrow 21, 22, \ldots, 28, 29$

b. forty-some
$\rightsquigarrow 41, 42, \ldots, 49, 49$

c. hundred-some
$\rightsquigarrow 101, 102, \ldots, 198, 199$

Restrictions on *some*

Some can't modify all numerals.

(56) a. *ten-some
b. *five-some

(57) a. *ten-five (expected: 15)
b. *five-one (expected: 6)

Only numerals that combine additively with another numeral are possible targets.

Questions, and the plan of action

Questions:

1. How do we capture the fact that *some* only modifies certain numerals?
2. How do we capture the sense that *some* is what allows for an approximate interpretation?

The plan:

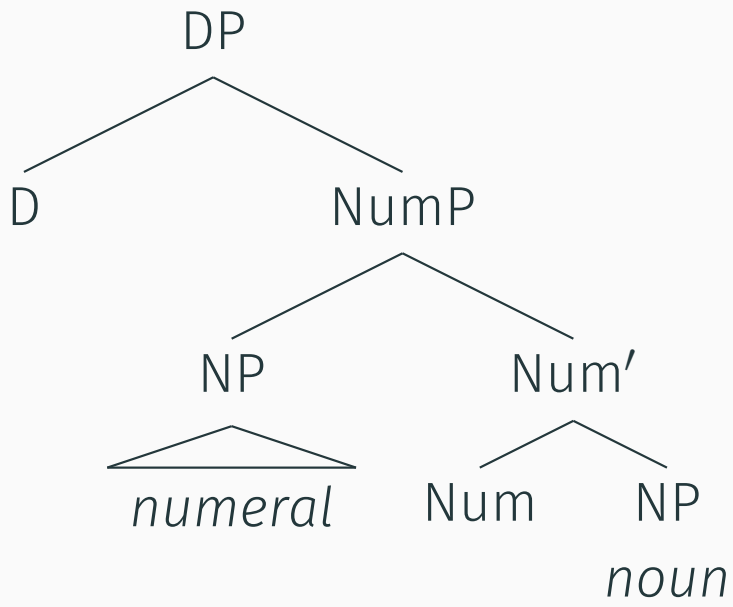
- Propose a syntax and semantics for approximative structures using *some*
- Analyze *some* as a type of epistemic indefinite
- Approximation comes from epistemic indefinite nature of *some*

Syntax and semantics of numerals

Cardinal numbers

I assume cardinal numbers are merged in Spec,NumP (Solt, 2009).

(58)



Num measures the cardinality of an individual and compares it to the numeral.

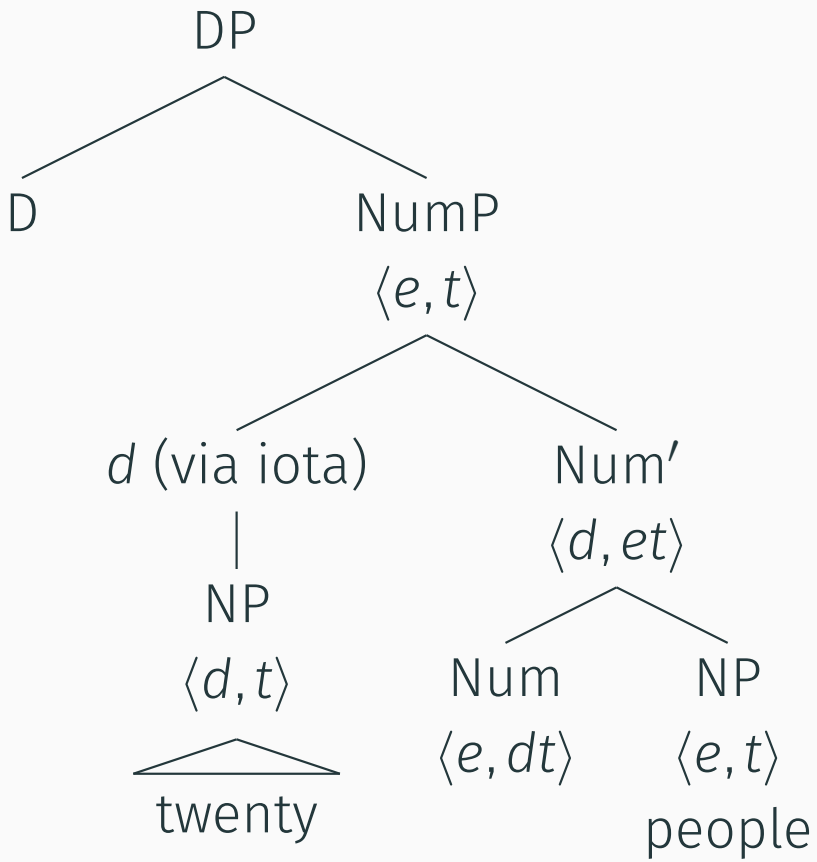
(59) $[\![\text{Num}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda d\,[|x| = d]$

Simple cardinal numbers

Treat numerals as properties of degrees ($\langle d, t \rangle$).

(60) $[\![\textit{twenty}]\!] = \lambda d\,[d = 20]$

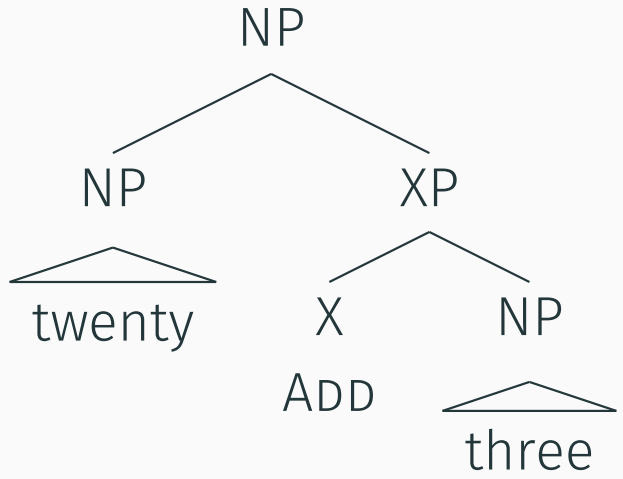
(61)



Complex cardinal numbers

Complex cardinal numbers use a coordinative head ADD (adapted from Ionin & Matushansky 2006).

(62) Structure of an additive numeral:



(63) $[\![\text{ADD}]\!] = \lambda D \lambda D' \lambda d \exists d', d'' [d = d' + d'' \wedge D(d') \wedge D'(d'')]$

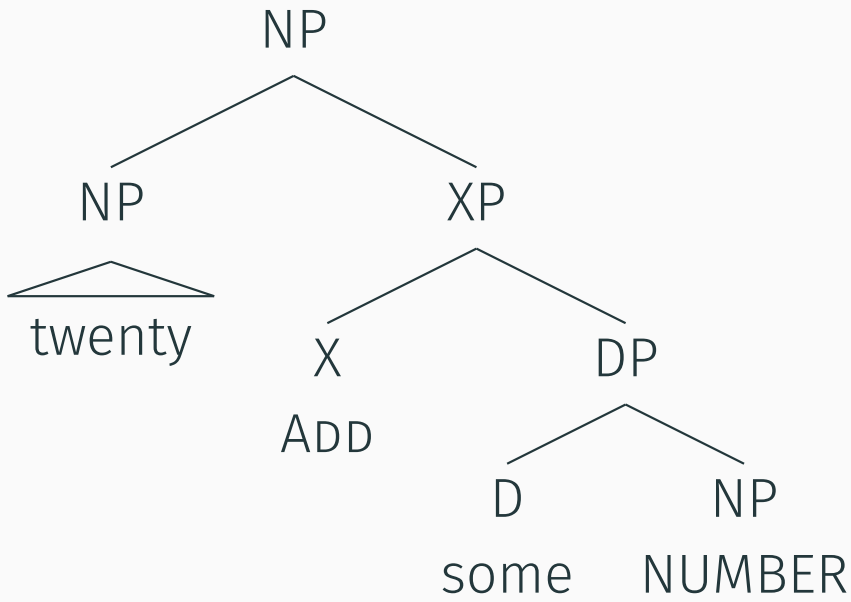
(64) $[\![\textit{twenty ADD three}]\!] =$
$\lambda d \exists d', d'' [d = d' + d'' \wedge [\![\textit{three}]\!](d') \wedge [\![\textit{twenty}]\!](d'')]$

Adding *some* to the picture

Null noun NUMBER

Some combines with a null noun NUMBER (Zweig, 2005; Kayne, 2005).

(65)



I propose a weak semantics for NUMBER: domain of degrees D_d

Consider approximative *some* as an epistemic indefinite

Consider the approximative *some* as an epistemic indefinite.

- Like *some* generally, it requires the speaker not have complete knowledge.
- This will not be a lack of knowledge regarding an individual's identity, however.
- Rather, lack of knowledge regarding precisely which number would make the sentence true.
- Post-numeral *some* raises issue of what number is true.

One theory of epistemic indefinites

Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2010) provide an account of Spanish epistemic indefinite determiner *algún*.

- Quantificational.
- *Algún* has a presupposition that the NP argument of *algún* must always denote a set of at least two individuals.
- Competition with *un*, which has no presupposition.
- Speaker forced to consider multiple alternatives.
- Ignorance generated as an implicature.

(66) $[\![algún]\!] = \lambda f_{\langle et,et\rangle} \lambda P \lambda Q : \textbf{anti-singleton}(f).\exists x [f(P)(x) \wedge Q(x)]$

Meaning of *some*

How to adapt Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito's proposal to *some*:

- *Some NUMBER* will need to be a property of degrees in order to combine with ADD
- Strip existential force from *some*
- Existential force will come from ADD

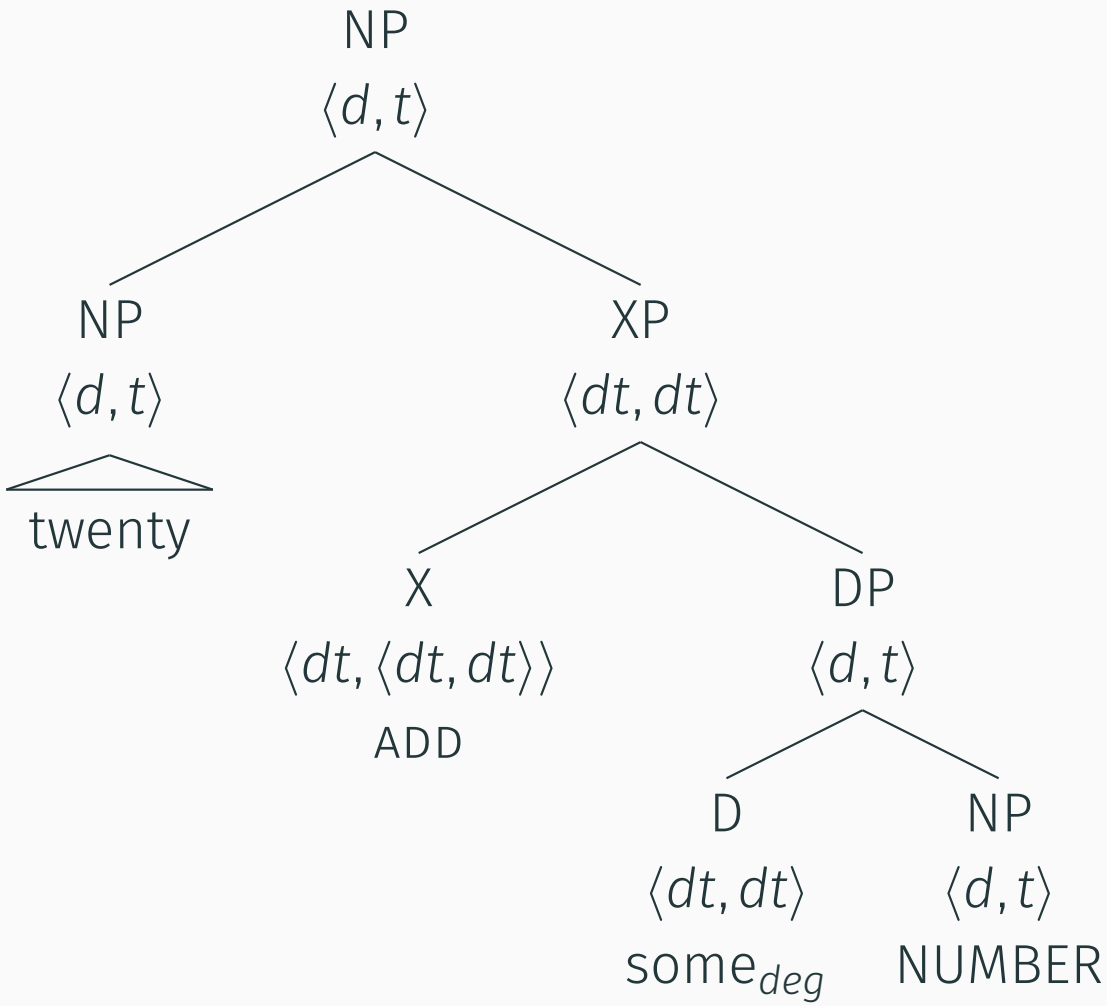
(67) $[\![some_{deg}]\!] = \lambda f_{\langle dt,dt\rangle} \lambda D \lambda d : \textbf{anti-singleton}(f)\,[f(D)(d)]$

Some NUMBER is a non-singleton subset of the domain of degrees.

(68) $[\![some_{deg}\ NUMBER]\!] = \lambda d : \textbf{anti-singleton}(f)\,[f(D_d)(d)]$

Twenty-some

(69)



Result

(70) $[\![twenty\ [add\ [some_{deg}\ NUMBER]]]\!] =$
$\lambda d \exists d', d''\left[d = d' + d'' \wedge [\![twenty]\!](d') \wedge [\![some_{deg}\ NUMBER]\!](d'')\right]$

A set of numbers such that each is of the form $20 + d''$.

Type clash and QR!

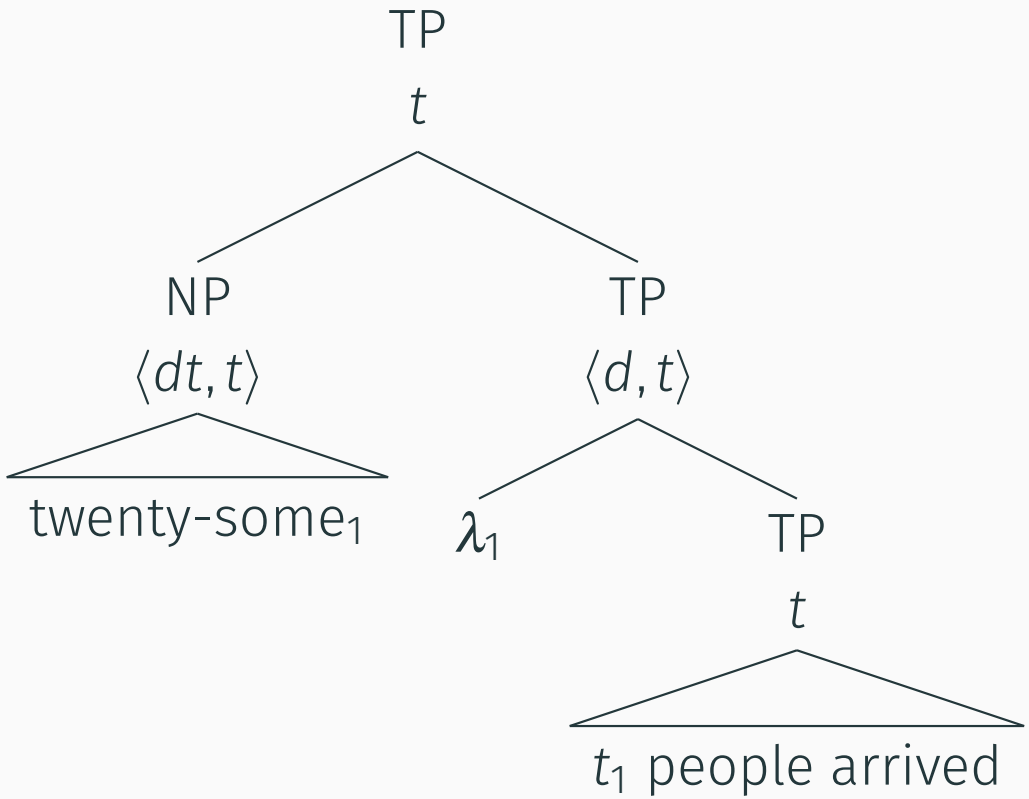
Issue: *twenty-some* is a property of degrees, and Num's argument is a degree rather than a property of degrees.

(71) $[\![\text{Num}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda d\,[|x| = d]$

- Can't lower the type using iota.
- Iota requires a unique degree, but no single degree is true of *twenty-some*.
- Raise the type to $\langle dt, t\rangle$ (using a variant of the Generalized Quantifier typeshift from Partee 1987) and QR.

QRing *twenty-some*

(72)



(73) $[\![\textit{twenty-some people arrived}]\!]$

$$= \exists d, d', d'' \left[\begin{array}{c} d = d' + d'' \wedge [\![\textit{twenty}]\!](d'') \wedge \\ f(D)(d') \wedge \exists x \left[\begin{array}{c} |x| = d \wedge \textbf{people}(x) \wedge \\ \textbf{arrived}(x) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Capturing the epistemic component

The ignorance implicature

Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2010) argue for the epistemic component of *algún* to be generated via implicature.

The ignorance implicature

Sentences with post-numeral *some* will have the follow assertion and presupposition.

(74) Twenty-some people arrived.

a. Assertion: $\Box \left[\exists d, d' \left[\begin{array}{c} d = d' + 20 \wedge f(D)(d') \\ \wedge \exists x \left[\begin{array}{c} |x| = d \wedge \textbf{people}(x) \wedge \\ \textbf{arrived}(x) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$

b. Anti-singleton presupposition: $|f(D)| > 1$

The anti-singleton presupposition forces the hearer to consider degrees from D.

The ignorance implicature

(75) Alternatives under consideration by the hearer

a. $\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{1\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

b. $\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{2\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

c. $\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{3\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

None of these alternatives are uttered by the speaker: the speaker utters the weaker sentence with *some*.

The ignorance implicature

Since none of the alternatives were uttered, the hearer is forced to conclude the speaker isn't committed to any of them.

(76) Implicatures

a. $\neg\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{1\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

b. $\neg\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{2\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

c. $\neg\Box[\exists d, d'[d = d' + 20 \wedge d' \in \{3\} \wedge d\text{-people arrived}]]$

Ignorance comes from conjunction of the assertion and the implicatures.

Overgeneration issues

Issue: Nothing here rules out *twenty-some* from meaning 31 (or 92, or 147...)

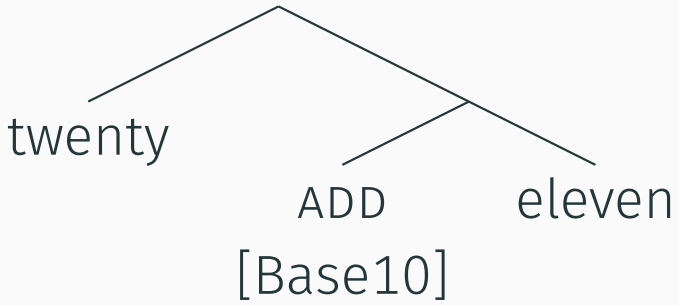
- Related to problems with theories of cardinal numbers generally
- Need additional mechanisms in all theories to prevent overgeneration
- Ideally, these mechanisms should also help constrain interpretation of *some NUMBER*

Encode as presupposition?

Sense of wrongness with numerals like **twenty-eleven* isn't that of falsity. Makes it difficult to rule out malformed numbers on semantic grounds.

Encode via a syntactic feature.

(77)



Encode as a presupposition?

Feature is interpreted as a simple property.

(78) $[\![[\text{Base10}]]\!] = \lambda y.y < 10$

Added as a presupposition to the head it's on.

(79) If [F] is a feature of type $\langle e, t\rangle$ and X is a head of type $\langle e, \gamma\rangle$, where γ is an arbitrary type, then $[\![[F]X]\!] = \lambda x : \underline{[\![[F]]\!](x)}\,[[\![X]\!](x)]$

Conclusion

Conclusions:

- Showed how *some* functions as an approximator
- Depends on epistemic indefinite nature of *some*
- Raises issue of which of at least two numbers hold
- Lower-bounded by numeral it combines with
- Upper-bounded is syntactically conditioned, but how this conditioning occurs is tricky.

Back to *some*

What's at the core of *some*?

Collecting alternatives

Conclusion

Conclusion

Future work

Problems for the future:

- How to fully unify the two notions of *some* in this talk
- *Some*-exclamatives:
  - Why a pejorative interpretation is obligatory in a certain configuration.
  - How to more precisely state the alternatives invoked and how they are ordered.
- Post-numeral *some*:
  - Constraining the alternatives more satisfactorily
  - How does *twenty-some* differ from *some twenty*?

Thank you!

Acknowledgements: Marcin Morzycki, Alan Munn, Cristina Schmitt, Alan Beretta, Kyle Rawlins, Nick Fleischer, Stephanie Solt, Ezra Keshet, Greg Johnson, Ai Kubota, Ai Taniguchi, the semantics group at Michigan State University, and audiences at SuB 19 and 21, WECOL 2013, SWAMP 2015, and LSA 2016.

Email: andersc@hhu.de, curtanderson@gmail.com
Website: curtanderson.github.io

References I

Abels, Klaus. 2005. Remarks on Grimshaw's clausal typology. *Sinn und Bedeutung* 9.

Alonso-Ovalle, L. & P. Menéndez-Benito. 2003. Some epistemic indefinites. In Shigeto Kawahara & Makoto Kadowaki (eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society*, vol. 33, .

Alonso-Ovalle, Luis & Paula Menéndez-Benito. 2010. Modal indefinites. *Natural Language Semantics* 18. 1–31.

AnderBois, Scott. 2011. Sluicing as anaphora to issues. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory 20*, 451–470.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1967. Adjectives in English: attribution and predication. *Lingua* 18. 1–34.

Carlson, G. 1977. *Reference to kinds in English*: University of Massachusetts, Amherst dissertation.

Castroviejo Miró, Elena. 2006. Wh-*exclamatives in Catalan*: Universitat de Barcelona dissertation.

References II

d'Avis, Franz. 2016. Perjoration, normalcy conceptions and generic sentences. In Rita Finkbeiner, Jörg Meibauer & Heike Wiese (eds.), *Pejoration*, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Dayal, Veneeta. 1997. Free relatives and "ever": Identity and free choice readings. In Aaron Lawson (ed.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, vol. 7, 99–116.

Déprez, Viviane. 2005. Morphological number, semantic number and bare nouns. *Lingua* 115(6). 857–883.

Gehrke, Berit & Louise McNally. 2013. Distributional modification: The case of frequency adjectives. Submitted to *Language*.

Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier. 1996. The semantics of exclamatives. In E. Garrett & F. Lee (eds.), *Syntax at sunset: UCLA working papers in linguistics*, 146–162.

Hamblin, Charles. 1973. Questions in Montague English. *Foundations of Language* 10(1). 41–53.

Hurford, James R. 1975. *The linguistic theory of numerals*. Cambridge University Press.

Ionin, Tania & Ora Matushansky. 2006. The composition of complex cardinals. *Journal of Semantics* 23. 315–360.

References III

Israel, Michael. 1999. *Some* and the pragmatics of indefinite construal. In Steve S. Chang, Lilly Liaw & Josef Ruppenhofer (eds.), *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, vol. 25, 169–182.

Israel, Michael. 2011. *The grammar of polarity: Pragmatics, sensitivity, and the logic of scales*. Cambridge University Press.

Karttunen, Lauri. 1977. Syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1(1). 3–44.

Kayne, Richard S. 2005. A note on the syntax of quantity in English. In Richard S. Kayne (ed.), *Movement and silence*, 176–214. Oxford University Press.

Kratzer, Angelika & Junko Shimoyama. 2002. Indeterminate pronouns: The view from Japanese. In Yukio Otsu (ed.), *Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*, 1–25. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

Larson, Richard K & Franc Marušič. 2004. On indefinite pronoun structures with APs: Reply to Kishimoto. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(2). 268–287.

Leffel, Timothy James. 2014. *The semantics of modification: Adjectives, nouns, and order*: New York University dissertation.

References IV

Michaelis, Laura A. & Knud Lambrecht. 1996. Toward a construction-based theory of language function: The case of nominal extraposition. *Language* 215–247.

Partee, B. 1987. Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. In Jeroen Groenendijk, Dick de Jongh & Martin Stokhof (eds.), *Studies in Discourse Representation Theory and the theory of generalized quantifiers*, 115–143. Foris Publications.

Rett, Jessica. 2011. Exclamatives, degrees and speech acts. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 34(5). 411–442.

Solt, Stephanie. 2009. *The semantics of adjectives of quantity*: CUNY Graduate Center dissertation.

Solt, Stephanie. 2015. Q-adjectives and the semantics of quantity. *Journal of Semantics* 32. 221–273.

von Fintel, Kai. 2000. 'Whatever'. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory 10*, 27–39.

Weir, Andrew. 2012. *Some*, speaker knowledge, and subkinds. In Rasmus K. Rendsvig & Sophia Katrenko (eds.), *Proceedings of the ESSLLI 2012 student session*, 180–190.

Zamparelli, Roberto. 1995. *Layers in the determiner phrase*: University of Rochester dissertation.

References V

Zanuttini, Raffaella & Paul Portner. 2003. Exclamative clauses: At the syntax-semantics interface. *Language* 39–81.

Zweig, Eytan. 2005. Nouns and adjectives in numeral NPs. In Leah Bateman & Cherlon Ussery (eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society*, vol. 35, 663–675.

Appendix

Appendix: Obligatory pejorativity

In-situ variant allows neutral (a) or pejorative (b) interpretation.

(80) John is some lawyer!

a. He always wins his cases and does lots of pro bono work.
b. He loses every case and still charges a lot.

Preposed variant only allows pejorative (b) interpretation.

(81) Some lawyer John is!

a. #He always wins his cases and does lots of pro bono work.
b. He loses every case and still charges a lot.

Appendix: *Some*-exclamatives in argument position

Some-exclamatives can sometimes be used in argument position.

(82) John picked some book to read!

One analysis: raise type of *some* from $\langle e, t\rangle$ to $\langle\langle e, t\rangle, t\rangle$ using typeshift from Partee 1987.

However, some impossible cases are still predicted to be good.

(83) *Some book is sitting on the table!

Appendix: What kinds of kinds?

Assume that kinds are involved, but caveat: doesn't correspond to intuitive notion of kind.

(84) (*Background: John is a pet insurance lawyer.*)
#Wow, John is some lawyer!

Cannot exclaim about subtype of lawyer. Rather, one must exclaim about John's behavior as a lawyer (loses cases often, doesn't know the law).

Possibility: *Some*-exclamative is an expression of what the speaker considers normal members of the kind to be like (cf. d'Avis 2016).

Appendix: Lexical differences among NPs

Lexical semantics of the NP matters for interpretation.

(85) John is some lawyer! (behavior-based)

(86) This is some cake! (quality-based)

(87) This is some knife! (quality-based or behavior-based)

Appendix: Plurality and *some*

Issue: Ignorance implicature only arises when *some*-NP is singular.

(88) Some professors are dancing on the table, namely Prof. Jones and Prof. Smith!

Appendix: Japanese approximation

(89) Juu -nan -nin -ka -ga kita.
ten -what -cl(people) -ka -nom came
'10 plus *x* people came.'

(90) Nan -juu -nin -ka -ga kita.
what -ten -cl(people) -ka -nom came.
'*x* multiple 10 people came.'

Appendix: Degree Argument Introduction

(91) Degree Argument Introduction (DAI): (Solt, 2015)
If α is a branching node, $\{\beta, \gamma\}$ are the set of α's daughters, and $[\![\beta]\!] = \lambda x_e.P(x)$, $[\![\gamma]\!] = \lambda x_e \lambda d_d.Q(d)(x)$, then $[\![\alpha]\!] = \lambda d_d \lambda x_e.P(x) \wedge Q(d)(x)$.

Appendix: Box and ASSERT

(92) $[\![\text{ASSERT}]\!]^c = \lambda p \lambda w \forall w' \in \text{Epistemic}_{\text{speaker of } c}[p(w')]$

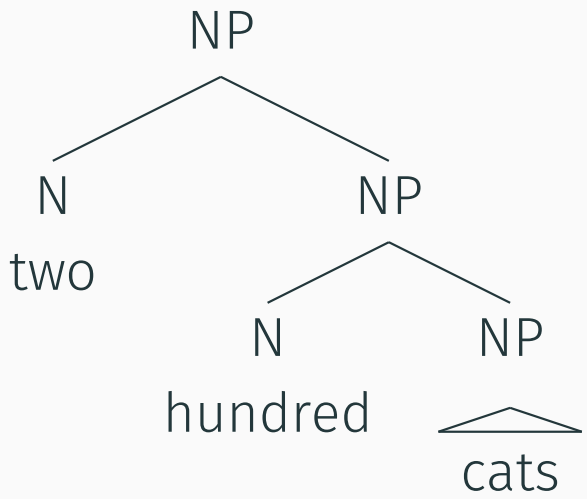
Ionin and Matushansky

Appendix: Ionin & Matushansky (2006)

Ionin & Matushansky (2006):

- Complex numerals are not always constituents.
- Multiplicative numerals are constructed through complementation (as in (93)).
- Additive numerals are underlyingly conjunctive.

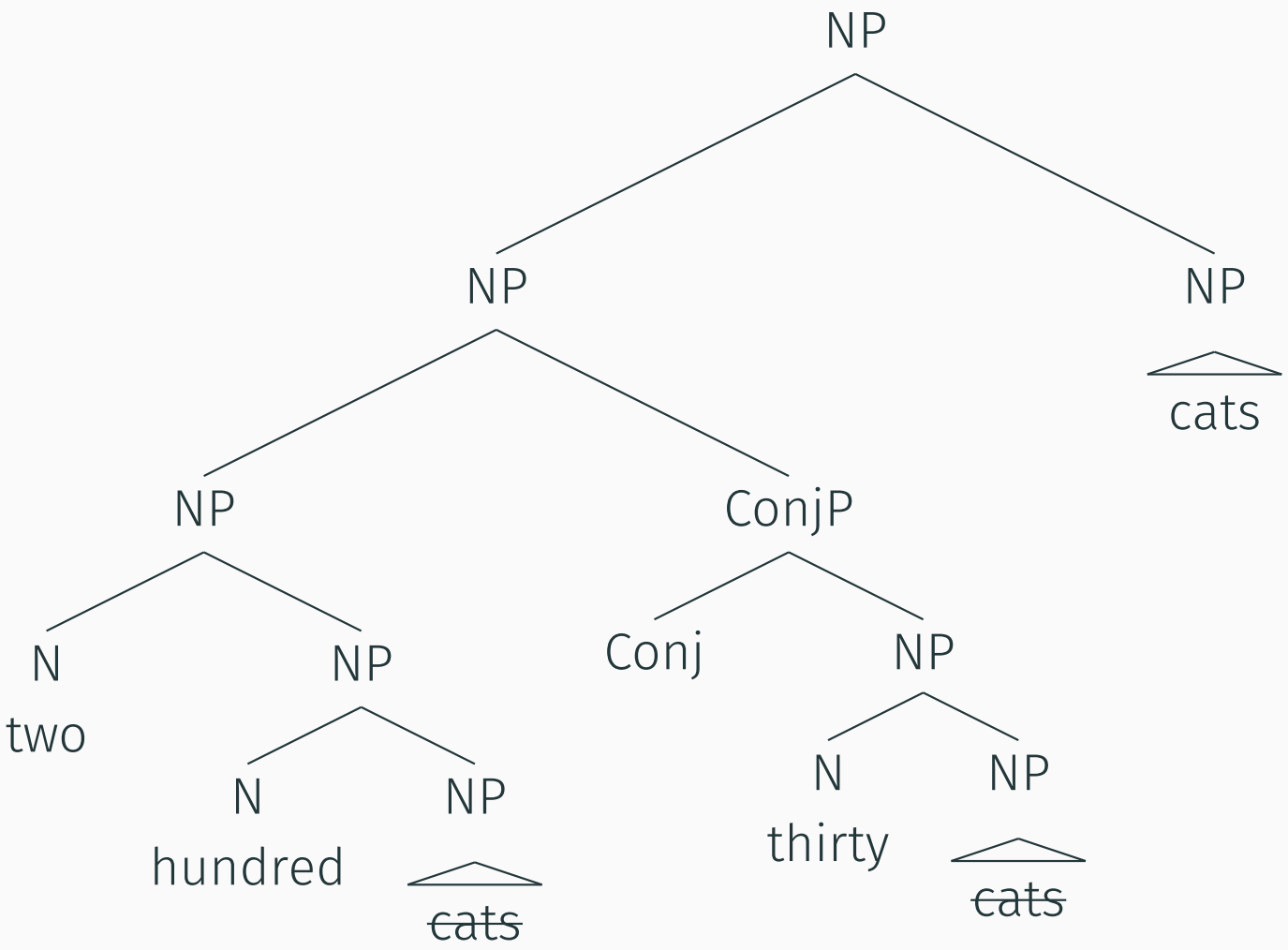
(93)



Appendix: Ionin & Matushansky (2006) and additive numerals

The NP is not pronounced in both conjuncts. Analyzed as right-node raising or ellipsis.

(94)



Appendix: Hurford's analysis of numerals

Syntax of cardinal numbers

Need a way of representing cardinal numbers. Hurford (1975) is an early proposal.

- Phrase structure rules to generate numerals.
- Rules themselves are interpreted.
  - NUMBER is interpreted additively
  - PHRASE is interpreted multiplicatively
- Complex numerals can be constructed with these rules.

(95) a. $\text{NUMBER} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{/ (NUMBER)} \\ \text{PHRASE (NUMBER)} \end{array} \right\}$

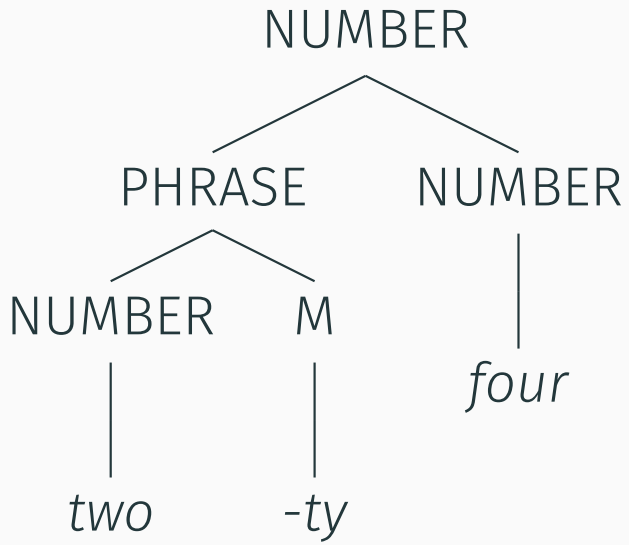
b. $\text{PHRASE} \rightarrow \text{NUMBER } M$

c. $M \rightarrow \text{NUMBER } M$

Hurford (1975) Example

For instance, *twenty-four* is constructed in the following way.

(96)



Packing Strategy

Hurford (1975):

- Solves overgeneration problems by an independent constraint on the relationship between numeral form and meaning.
- Packing Strategy: numerals denote numbers, so maximize the number denoted by the non-additive portion of the numeral.

(97) Number: 31

a. *twenty-eleven* (Not optimal)
b. *thirty-one* (Optimal)

An independent constraint of this form could also apply to *some NUMBER* in order to fix its value.