

## *p-set 1*

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**Deadline:** 02.13 (i.e., before next class)

### 1 Warming up

(1) A philosopher has criticized most linguists.  $\exists > \text{most}$

(2) Most linguists have read a paper by every German semanticist.  
 $\text{most} > \exists > \forall$

Give a derivation of the indicated readings of the examples above using:

- Quantifier raising and predicate abstraction.<sup>3</sup>
- Continuation semantics with *flat lambda expressions*.<sup>4</sup>
- Continuation semantics with *towers*.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., in-line with Heim & Kratzer (1998) – you should have covered this in semantics 101. Don't worry about trace conversion, just treat traces of movement as variables.

<sup>4</sup> No towers allowed! Make sure to be explicit about types, as well as any  $\beta$ -reductions and  $\alpha$ -conversions necessary.

#### Bonus round

Can you come up with a general *translation procedure* for going from a derivation using continuations to a derivation which makes use of quantifier raising? It might help to think about the role of LOWER in continuation semantics.

#### Bonus round

We haven't had a chance to cover inverse scope yet, but read chapter 4 of Barker & Shan 2014, and the relevant section of my handout, and try deriving the following readings of the previous examples:

- (3)  $\text{most} > \exists$
- (4)  $\forall > \exists > \text{most}$

## 2 *Split scope*

Non upward-monotonic quantifiers give rise to so-called *split scope* readings across intensional verbs (Heim 2001).

- (5) The company need fire no employees.  
*It is not the case that the company is obligated to fire employees* (Potts 2000)

The split scope reading – the one we’re interested in – entails a lack of obligation for the company. It seems to involve a noun-phrase *no employees* scoping in two different places at once.

- Analyze this phenomenon using continuation semantics.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hint: think the possibility of a meaning of type  $\kappa_t$  ( $\kappa_t a$ ). Read chapter 4 of [Barker & Shan 2014](#).