

Epistemic indefinites, number marking, and certainty

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Outline

Introduction

The existing picture. Challenges. A new picture.

Deriving between-item variation in the singular

Deriving between-item variation in the plural

Deriving within-item variation between the singular and the plural

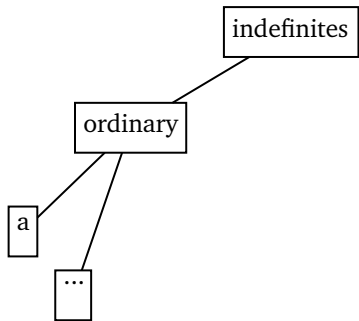
Conclusion, predictions, outlook

indefinites

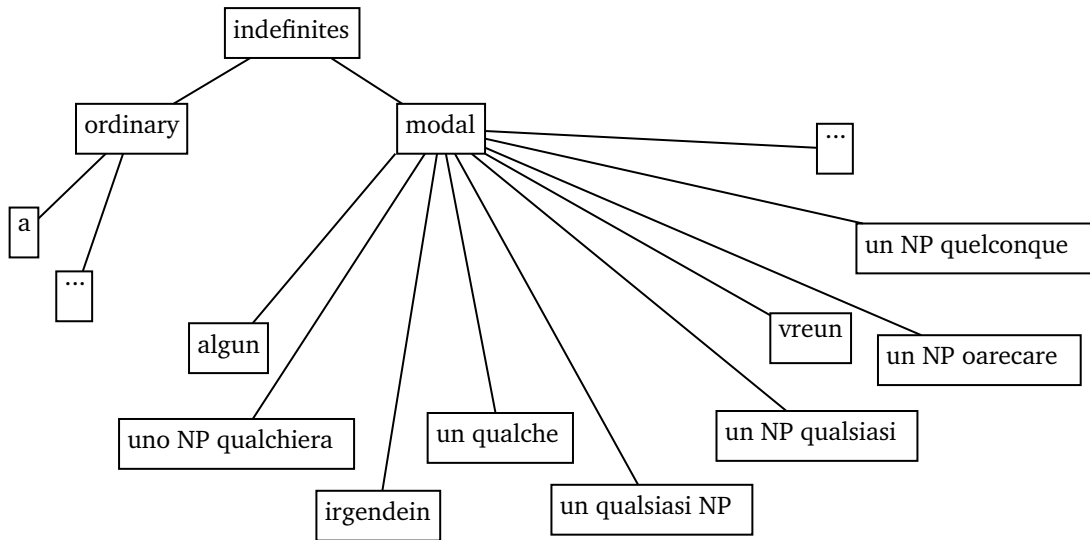
indefinites

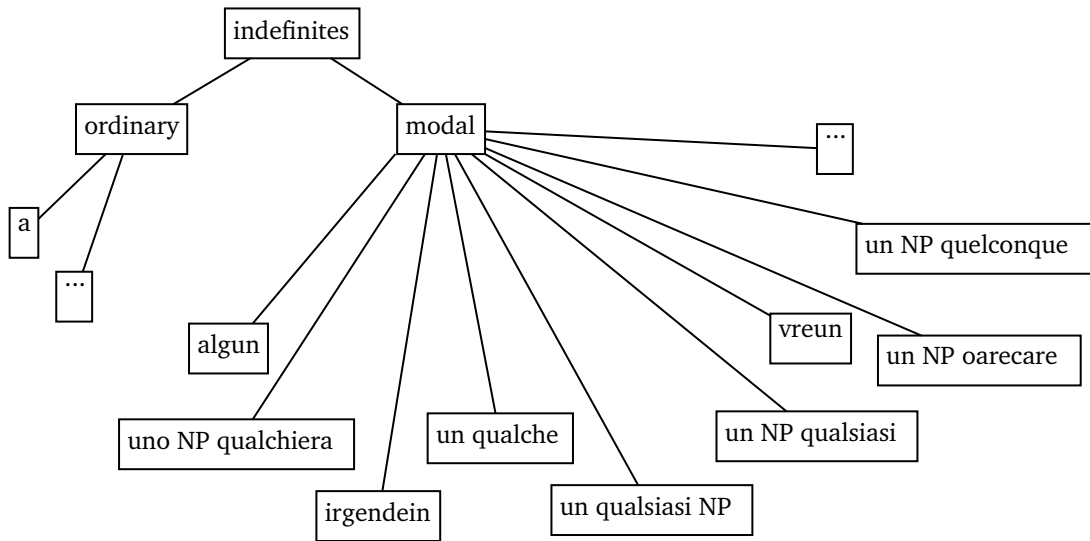
indefinites vary ...

ordinary ...

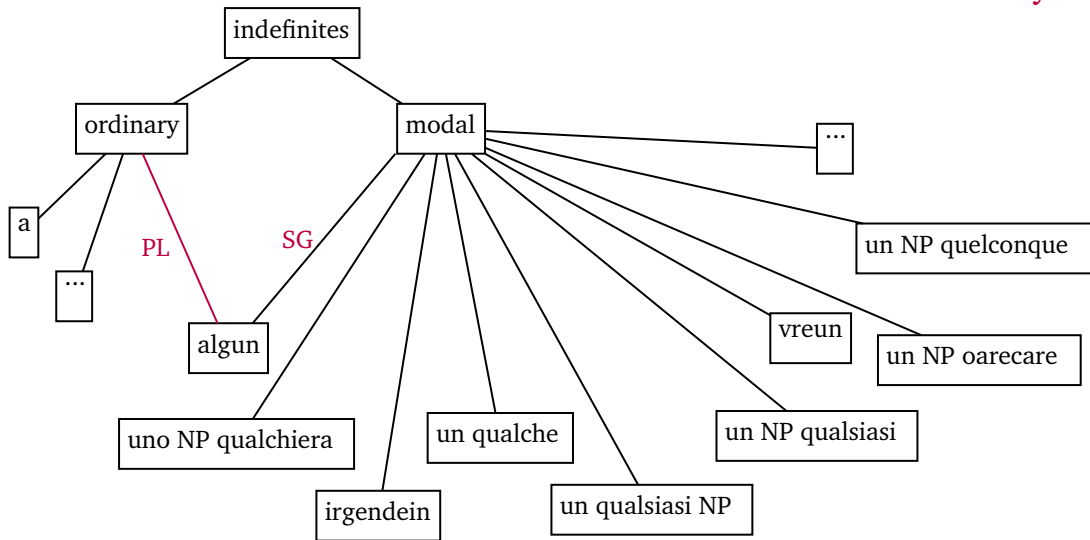


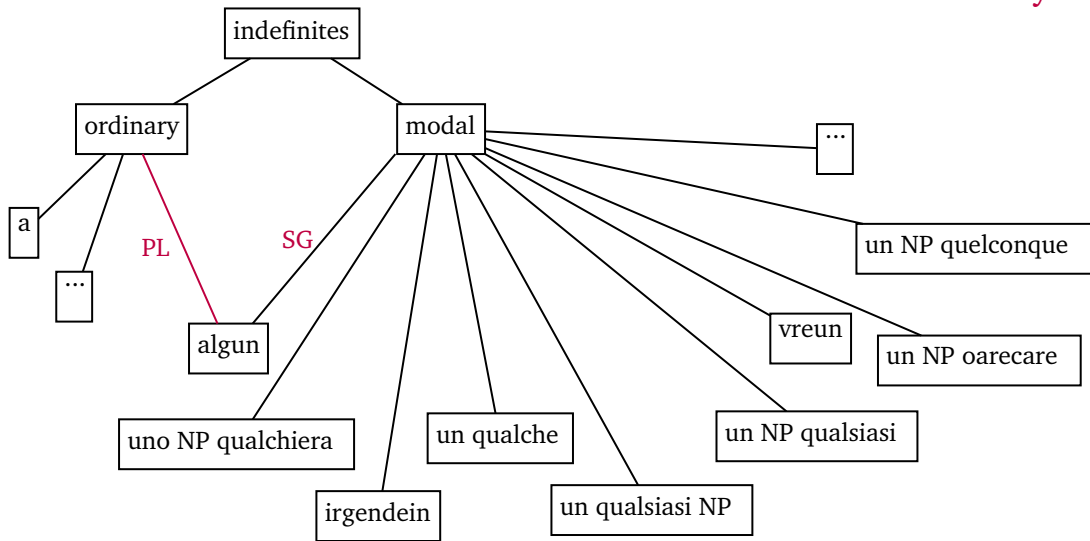
modal ...





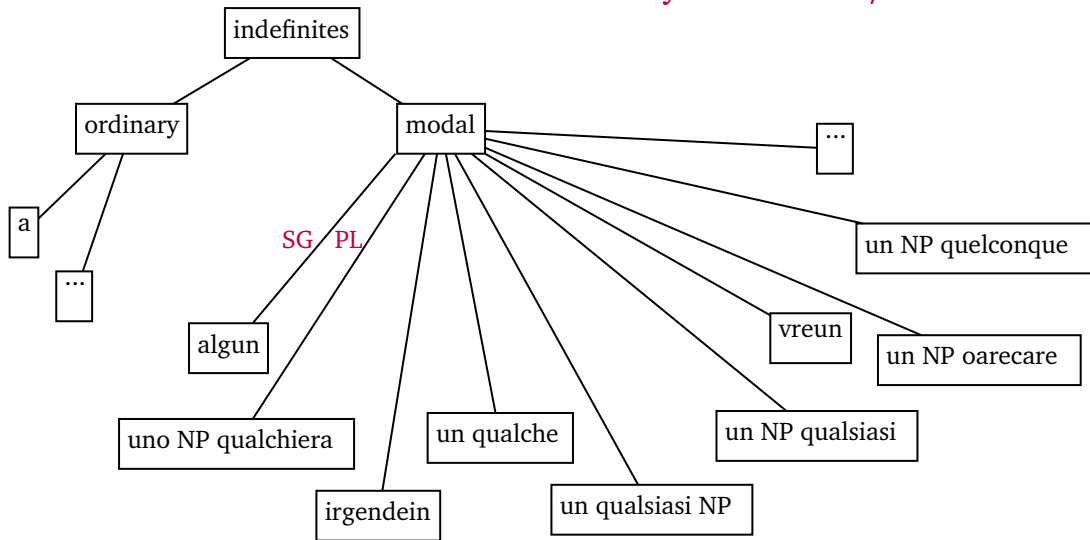
between-item variation by modal flavor, degrees of freedom, degrees of negativity [1–13]



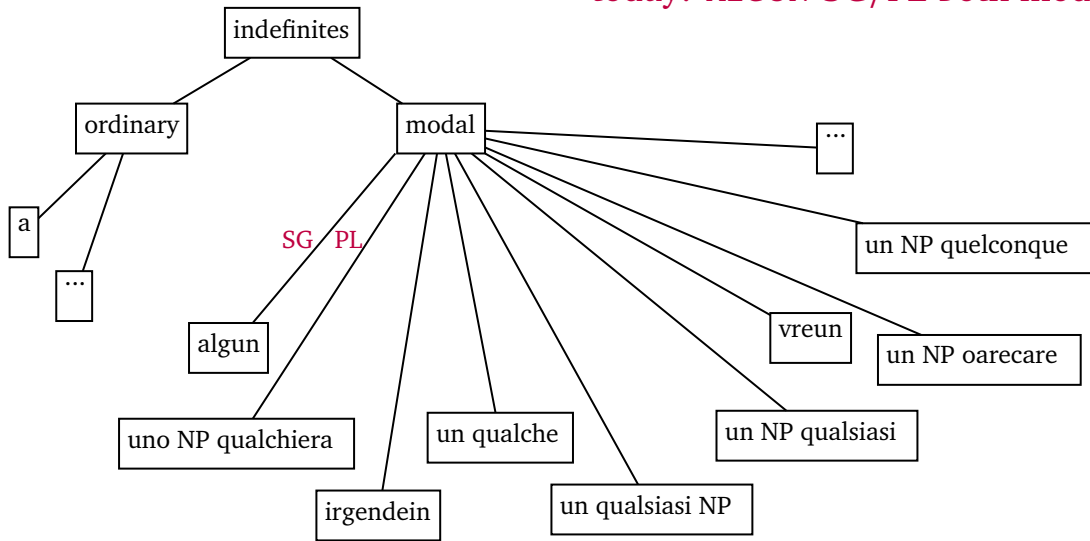


within-item variation by number [14–16]

today: ALGUN-SG/PL both modal

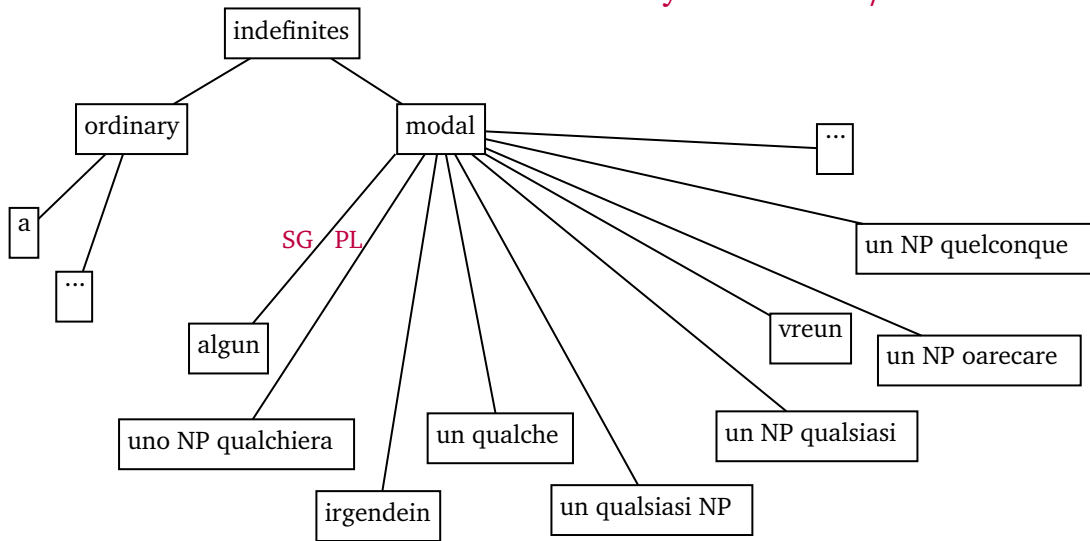


today: ALGUN-SG/PL both modal



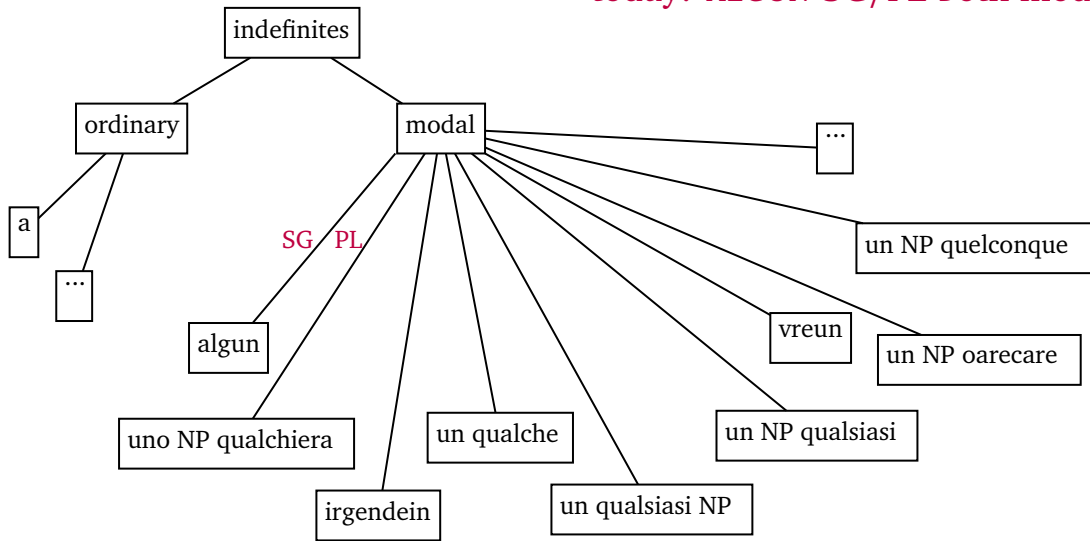
Across modal indefinites, variation by number is variation *within* number:
Both SG and PL can be compatible with specific *positive* certainty.

today: ALGUN-SG/PL both modal



In both SG and PL this arises in the same way: From exhaustification with just NonSgDA.

today: ALGUN-SG/PL both modal



Within-item variation comes from an indefinite number filter on specific positive certainty:
SG epistemic indefinites make it mean no free choice. PL do not. Hence the occasional contrast.

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- (1) María se casó con **algún** médico, # en concreto con el doctor Smith.
María SE married with ALGUN-SG doctor namely with the doctor Smith
- (2) María se casó con **algún** médico, ✓ pero no con el doctor Smith.
María SE married with ALGUN-SG doctor, but not with the doctor Smith
- (3) María vive con **algunos** estudiantes, ✓ en concreto con Pedro y con Juan.
María lives with ALGUN-PL students, namely with Pedro and with Juan

- ▶ **ALGUN-SG is an indefinite based on a domain that cannot be a singleton.**
 - ▶ It competes with alternatives based on singleton subsets of the domain (SgDA).
⇒ partial free choice ✓
- ▶ **ALGUN-PL additionally has a plurality requirement.**
 - ▶ Illicit atom-based SgDA are contradictory. Illicit plurality-based SgDA are equivalent to licit non-singleton propositions. No actual SgDA competitors.
⇒ no free choice ✓

Challenge to the existing picture:

German IRGEND-SG/PL

[9, 12]

- (4) Maria hat **irgendeinen** Arzt geheiratet, # und zwar Dr. Smith.
Maria has IRGEND-SG doctor married and namely Dr. Smith
- (5) Maria hat **irgendeinen** Arzt geheiratet, ✓ aber nicht Dr. Smith.
Maria has IRGEND-SG doctor married but not Dr. Smith
- (6) Maria wohnt mit **irgendwelchen** Studenten zusammen, # und zwar mit Pedro und Juan.
Maria lives with IRGEND-PL students together, namely with Pedro and Juan

- ▶ IRGEND-SG is an indefinite based on a domain that cannot be a singleton.
 - ▶ It competes with alternatives based on singleton subsets of the domain (SgDA).
⇒ partial free choice ✓
- ▶ IRGEND-PL additionally has a plurality requirement.
 - ▶ Illicit atom-based SgDA are contradictory. Illicit plurality-based SgDA are equivalent to licit non-singleton propositions. No actual SgDA competitors.
⇒ no free choice ✗ ← we need partial free choice here as well!

Challenge to the existing picture:

English SOME-SG/PL

[1–3]; Marty, Picat, and Mascarenhas (work in progress, p.c.)

- (7) a. Mary married **some** doctor, ?? namely Dr. Smith.
b. **Some** agent stole the documents from the office. ✓ His name is Albert, and he's done this before.
c. Arnold, a physicist, is cooking. ✓ Therefore, **some** physicist is cooking.
- (8) Mary married some doctor, ✓ but not Dr. Smith.
- (9) Mary lives with some students, ? namely with Pedro and Juan.

- ▶ **SOME-SG is an indefinite based on a domain that cannot be a singleton.**
 - ▶ It competes with alternatives based on singleton subsets of the domain (SgDA).
⇒ partial free choice ✓/✗ ← yes but not quite...
We need compatibility with not just specific *negative* but also specific *positive* certainty!
- ▶ **SOME-PL additionally has a plurality requirement.**
 - ▶ Illicit atom-based SgDA are contradictory. Illicit plurality-based SgDA are equivalent to licit non-singleton propositions. No actual SgDA competitors.
⇒ no free choice ✓/✗ ← yes but not quite...
Without the continuation, this also suggests speaker ignorance or indifference!

Taking stock...

indefinite number	
ALGUN	SG PL
IRGEND	SG PL
SOME	SG PL

Taking stock...

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty
		'one loser'
ALGUN	SG	✓
	PL	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓
	PL	✓
SOME	SG	✓
	PL	✓

Taking stock...

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty 'one loser'	spec. pos. certainty 'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

Taking stock...

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty 'one loser'	spec. pos. certainty 'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

There is between-item variation in the SG. How do we derive it?

Taking stock...

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty 'one loser'	spec. pos. certainty 'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

There is between-item variation in the SG. How do we derive it?

There is between-item variation in the PL. How do we derive it?

Taking stock...

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty 'one loser'	spec. pos. certainty 'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

There is between-item variation in the SG. How do we derive it?

There is between-item variation in the PL. How do we derive it?

There is sometimes within-item variation between SG & PL. How do we explain it?

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indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty	spec. pos. certainty
		'one loser'	'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

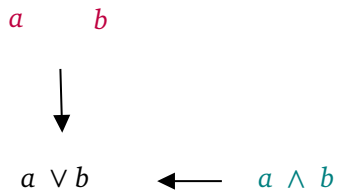
How do we derive between-item variation in the SG?

Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives

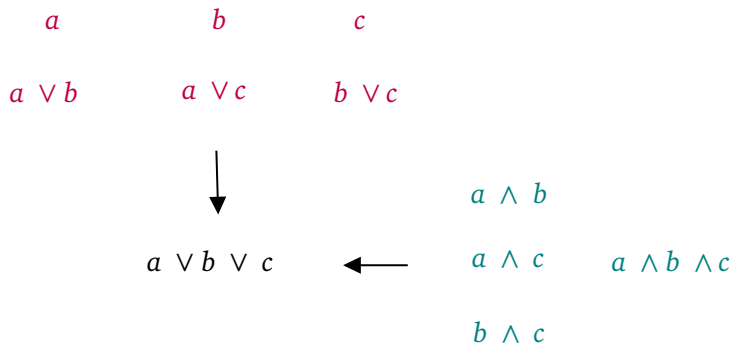
(10) Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student.

- a. $\exists x \in \llbracket \text{SG} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket) [C(j, x)]$ (SG picks out the atoms) (assertion)
- b. $\{\exists x \in D' [C(j, x)] \mid D' \subset \llbracket \text{SG} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket)\}$ (DA)
- c. $\{\forall x \in \llbracket \text{SG} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket) [C(j, x)]\}$ (SA)
- $\{\forall x \in D' [C(j, x)] \mid D' \subset \llbracket \text{SG} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket)\}$ –DA (DSA)

Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives



Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives



Assumptions: Exhaustification [9]

- Alternatives factored in via the silent \perp -based exhaustivity operator O :

$$\text{E.g., } O_{\text{DA}}(a \vee b) = (a \vee b) \wedge \neg a \wedge \neg b, = \perp \quad (\text{G-trivial})$$

$$\text{E.g., } O_{\text{SA}}(a \vee b) = (a \vee b) \wedge \neg(a \wedge b) \quad (\rightsquigarrow \text{traditional scalar implicature})$$

Assumptions: Exhaustification [9]

- For epistemic indefinites, O_{DA} is actually O_{ExhDA} :

- ExhDA are obtained by prefixing a fully-grown DA with O:

$$\text{E.g., } (a \vee b)^{ExhDA} = \{Oa, Ob\}$$

- O for ExhDA happens relative to DA of the same size or smaller and in a \perp -free way:

$$\text{E.g., for } O_{ExhDA} \Diamond(a \vee b \vee c):$$

$$O \Diamond a = \Diamond a \wedge \neg \Diamond b \wedge \neg \Diamond c$$

$$O \Diamond(a \vee b) = \Diamond(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Diamond(a \vee c) \wedge \neg \Diamond(b \vee c) \wedge \neg a \wedge \neg b \wedge \neg \Diamond c$$

$$\text{E.g., } O_{ExhDA}(a \vee b) = (a \vee b) \wedge \underbrace{\neg O(a)}_{a \wedge \neg b} \wedge \underbrace{\neg O(b)}_{b \wedge \neg a}, = (a \wedge b)$$

$$\underbrace{a \wedge \neg b}_{a \rightarrow b} \quad \underbrace{b \wedge \neg a}_{b \rightarrow a}$$

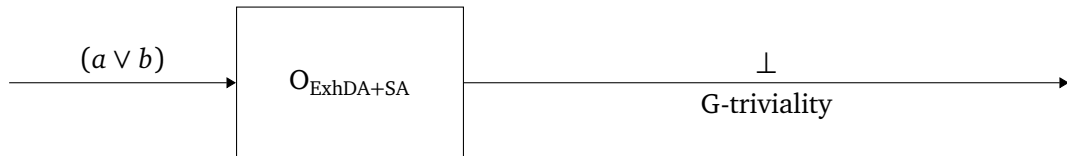
Assumptions: Exhaustification [9]

- For epistemic indefinites, both the ExhDA and the SA are used by default:

$$\text{E.g., } O_{\text{ExhDA+SA}}(a \vee b) = \underbrace{(a \vee b) \wedge \neg O(a) \wedge \neg O(b)}_{(a \wedge b)} \wedge \neg(a \wedge b), = \perp$$

Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b}.

(first try)

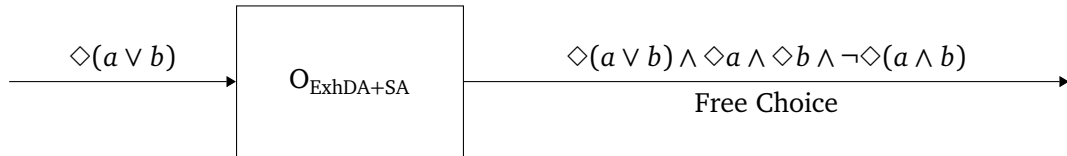


Why is this grammatical, and how does it give rise to ignorance?

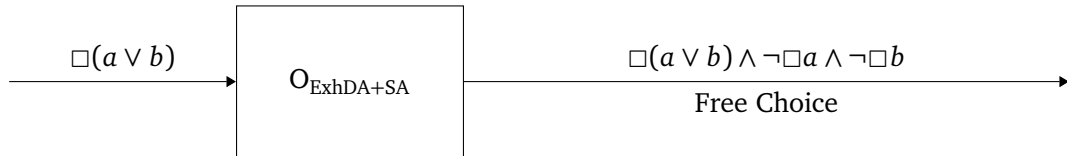
Ignorance is a silent modal effect.

Let's look at some sentences with modals ...

Jo may call [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b}.



Jo must call [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b}.



Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b}.

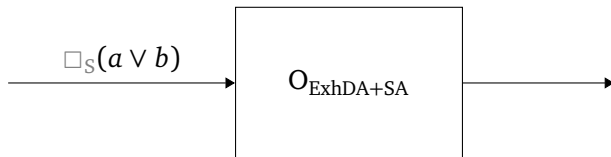
The literature says: Silent speaker-oriented epistemic necessity modal.



Epistemic states of interest

total ignorance	partial ignorance		no ignorance
'no winner'	'one loser'	'one winner'	'all winners'
e.g.,	e.g.,	e.g.,	e.g.,
$w_1: x \neq y z$	$w_1: x \neq y z$	$w_1: x y z$	$w_1: x y z$
$w_2: x \neq y z$	$w_2: x \neq y z$	$w_2: x \neq y z$	$w_2: x y z$
$w_3: x \neq y z$	$w_3: x y z$	$w_3: x y z$	$w_3: x y z$

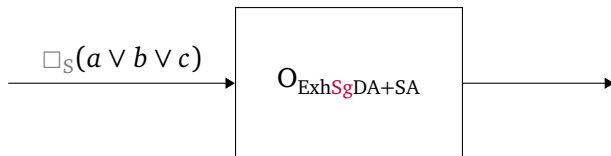
Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b}.



'no winner' ✓	'one loser' ✗	'one winner' ✗	'all winners' ✗*
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Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b,c}, but not Alice.

The literature, e.g., [7, 9]: ‘One loser’ comes from just SgDA!



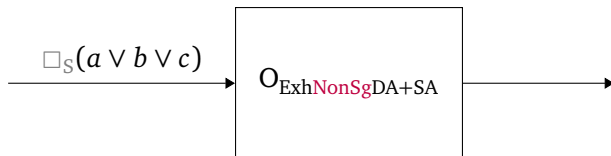
‘no winner’ ✓	‘one loser’ ✓	‘one winner’ ✗	‘all winners’ ✗*
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SG epistemic indefinites that can use just SgDA: OK with ‘one loser’ scenarios.

(to appendix »)

Jo called Alice. So, she called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b,c}.

Proposal: 'One winner' comes from just NonSgDA!



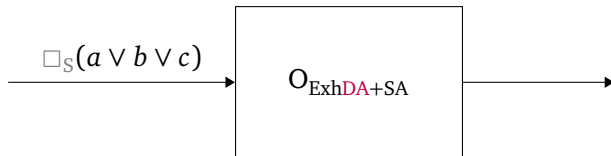
'no winner' ✓	'one loser' ✗	'one winner' ✓	'all winners' ✗*
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SG epistemic indefinites that can use just NonSgDA: OK with 'one winner' scenarios.

(to appendix »)

Jo called [epistemic indefinite] student_{a,b,c}.

Proposal: Just total ignorance comes from all the DA.



'no winner' ✓

'one loser' ✗

'one winner' ✗

'all winners' ✗*

SG epistemic indefinites that must use all DA: OK only with total ignorance.

Answer:

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty	spec. pos. certainty
		'one loser'	'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

How do we derive between-item variation in the SG?

Ability to prune DA!

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		'one loser'	'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

How do we derive between-item variation in the PL?

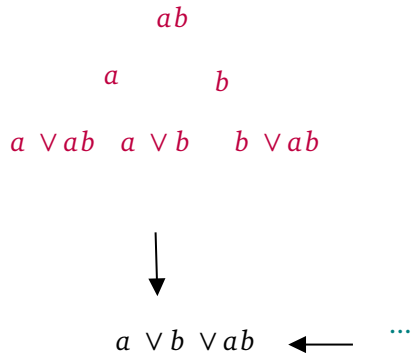
Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives

(11) Jo called [epistemic indefinite] students.

- a. $\exists x \in \llbracket \text{PL} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket) [C(j, x)]$ (PL picks out atoms & pluralities) (assertion)
- b. $\{\exists x \in D' [C(j, x)] \mid D' \subset \llbracket \text{PL} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket)\}$ (DA)
- c. $\{\forall x \in \llbracket \text{PL} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket) [C(j, x)]\}$ (SA)
 $\{\forall x \in D' [C(j, x)] \mid D' \subset \llbracket \text{PL} \rrbracket (\llbracket * \text{student} \rrbracket)\} - \text{DA}$ (DSA)

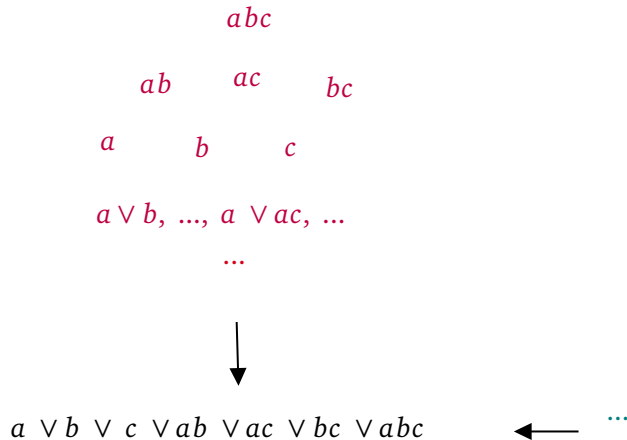
Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives

$$|D| = 2^{|AT|} - 1; |DA| = 2^{|D|} - 2; |\text{SgDA}| = |D|; |\text{NonSgDA}| = |DA| - |\text{SgDA}|$$

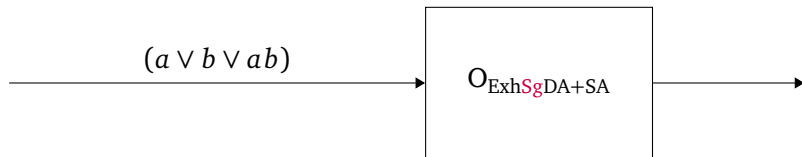


Assumptions: Truth conditions and alternatives

$$|D| = 2^{|AT|} - 1; |DA| = 2^{|D|} - 2; |\text{SgDA}| = |D|; |\text{NonSgDA}| = |DA| - |\text{SgDA}|$$



Jo called [epistemic indefinite] students_{a,b,ab}, but not Alice and Bob.

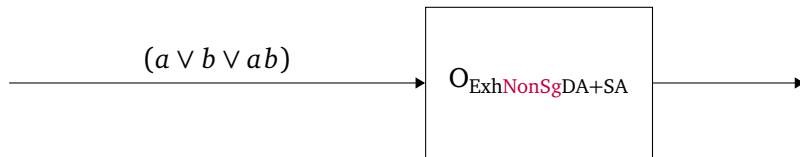


'no winner' ✓	'one loser' ✗	'one winner' ✗	'all winners' ✗*
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We don't get compatibility with specific negative certainty / 'one loser'...

(to appendix »)

Jo called Alice and Bob. So, she called [epistemic indefinite] students $_{\{a,b,ab\}}$.

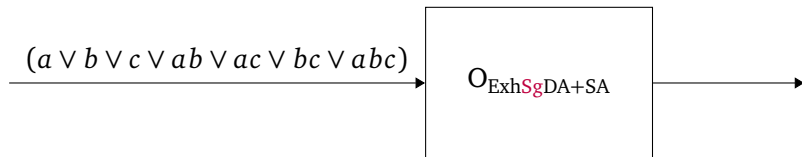


'no winner' ✓	'one loser' ✗	'one winner' ✗	'all winners' ✗*
---------------	---------------	----------------	------------------

We don't get compatibility with specific positive certainty / 'one winner'...

(to appendix »)

Jo called [epistemic indefinite] students_{a,b,c,ab,ac,bc,abc}, but not Alice and Bob.



'no winner' ✓	'one loser' ✗	'one winner' ✗	'all winners' ✗*
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We don't get compatibility with specific negative certainty / 'one loser'...

(to appendix »)

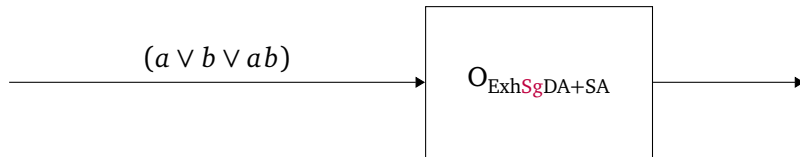
What is happening?

Are SG and PL after all fundamentally different?

I think not. . .

If we make the elements in the previous domains logically independent, we get the same results as for SG.

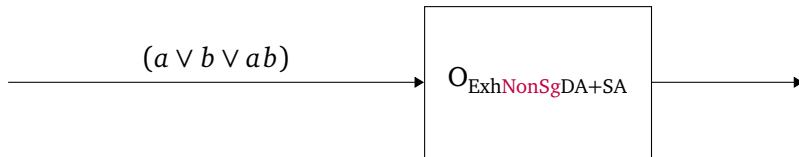
[epistemic indefinite] students_{a,b,ab} lifted a piano, but not Alice and Bob.



‘no winner’ ✓ ‘one loser’ ✓ ‘one winner’ ✗ ‘all winners’ ✗*

Now we can get compatibility with specific negative certainty / ‘one loser’ scenario!

Alice and Bob lifted a piano. So, [epistemic indefinite] students_{a,b,ab} lifted a piano.



‘no winner’ ✓ ‘one loser’ ✗ ‘one winner’ ✓ ‘all winners’ ✗*

Now we can get compatibility with specific positive certainty / ‘one winner’ scenario!

Thus, SG and PL are *not* fundamentally different...

We should be able to see this even without making the elements of the domain independent, but ...we'd have to compute the results for larger domains ...which would be difficult to do manually ...unless we can find hacks.

Answer:

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty	spec. pos. certainty
		'one loser'	'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

How do we derive between-item variation in the PL?

Ability to prune DA!

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ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

How do we explain occasional within-item variation between SG & PL?

Compatibility with specific positive certainty / ‘one winner’ comes in two shapes...

total ignorance	partial ignorance		no ignorance / total certainty	
‘no winner’	‘one loser’	‘one winner’-1	‘one winner’-2	‘all winners’
e.g.,	e.g.,	e.g.,	e.g.,	e.g.,
$w_1: x \nprec z$	$w_1: x \succ y \succ z$	$w_1: x \succ y \succ z$	$w_1: x \nprec z$	$w_1: x \succ y \succ z$
$w_2: x \succ y \succ z$	$w_2: x \nprec z$	$w_2: x \nprec z$	$w_2: x \nprec z$	$w_2: x \succ y \succ z$
$w_3: x \nprec z$	$w_3: x \succ y \succ z$	$w_3: x \succ y \succ z$	$w_3: x \nprec z$	$w_3: x \succ y \succ z$

For SG, ‘one winner’ is always ‘one winner’-2 – a no free choice scenario.

For PL, ‘one winner’ can be either ‘one winner’-1 or ‘one winner’-2.

In SG, ‘one winner’ removes free choice. In PL, it does not.

?Some SG epistemic indefinites require that the *intended referent* is not plural.

Answer:

indefinite	number	spec. neg. certainty	spec. pos. certainty
		'one loser'	'one winner'
ALGUN	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	✓
IRGEND	SG	✓	#
	PL	✓	#
SOME	SG	✓	✓
	PL	✓	✓

How do we explain occasional within-item variation between SG & PL?

PL better preserves FC!

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Conclusion

- ▶ Partial free choice includes both specific *negative* and specific *positive* certainty.
- ▶ Epistemic indefinites vary with respect to both.
- ▶ This variation is present in both their SG and their PL variants.
- ▶ The literature has argued that specific negative certainty comes from just SgDA.
- ▶ I have argued specific positive certainty comes from just NonSgDA.
- ▶ This arises the same in SG and in PL epistemic indefinites.
- ▶ In SG, however, specific positive certainty may induce no free choice.
- ▶ An item that has specific positive certainty in PL but not SG may be simply an item that always wants at least a little bit of free choice.

Predictions

- ▶ On this analysis SOME-SG/PL and ALGUN-PL are not ordinary indefinites.
- ▶ In particular, they all obligatorily activate DA.
- ▶ This helps us derive another interesting fact about them, their PPIhood:

(12) Nobody read # some book.

(13) Nadie leyo # algunos libros.
nobody read ALGUN-PL books.

Outlook

- ▶ Condoravdi [17] reports that the ignorance or indifference effect of *wh-ever* phrases is always present with the singular but can disappear with the plural.
- ▶ Crnič [18] notes that Free Choice *any* can't be plural:
(14) # *Mary is allowed to read any books*
- ▶ Chierchia (p.c.) notes that some epistemic indefinites lack a plural form (e.g., Italian *qualsiasi*).

Where do these all fit?

Thanks to Andreea Nicolae, Gennaro Chierchia, Anamaria Fălăuş.

Thank you!

$$\begin{aligned}
 (15) \quad & O_{\text{ExhSgDA}} \Box_S (a \vee b \vee c) \\
 = & \Box_S (a \vee b \vee c) \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S a}_{\underbrace{\Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S b \wedge \neg \Box_S c}_{\Box_S a \rightarrow \Box_S b \vee \Box_S c}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S b}_{\underbrace{\Box_S b \wedge \neg \Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S c}_{\Box_S b \rightarrow \Box_S a \vee \Box_S c}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S c}_{\underbrace{\Box_S c \wedge \neg \Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S b}_{\Box_S c \rightarrow \Box_S a \vee \Box_S b}} \\
 & \underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_{\text{verified, e.g., by } \Box_S \neg a \wedge \neg \Box_S b \wedge \neg \Box_S c}
 \end{aligned}$$

$$(16) O_{\text{ExhNonSgDA}} \Box_S(a \vee b \vee c)$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \Box_S(a \vee b \vee c) \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(a \vee b)}_{\substack{\Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee c) \wedge \neg \Box_S(b \vee c) \\ \Box_S(a \vee b) \rightarrow \Box_S(a \vee c) \vee \Box_S(b \vee c)}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(a \vee c)}_{\substack{\Box_S(a \vee c) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(b \vee c) \\ \Box_S(a \vee c) \rightarrow \Box_S(a \vee b) \vee \Box_S(b \vee c)}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(b \vee c)}_{\substack{\Box_S(b \vee c) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee c) \\ \Box_S(b \vee c) \rightarrow \Box_S(a \vee b) \vee \Box_S(a \vee c)}} \\
 &\quad \underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_{\text{verified, e.g., by } \Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S / \Box_S \neg b \wedge \neg \Box_S / \Box_S \neg c}
 \end{aligned}$$

$$(17) O_{\text{ExhSgDA}} \Box_S (a \vee b \vee ab)$$

$$= \Box_S (a \vee b \vee ab) \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S a}_{\underbrace{\Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S b \wedge \neg \Box_S ab}_{\Box_S a \rightarrow \Box_S b \vee \Box_S ab}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S b}_{\underbrace{\Box_S b \wedge \neg \Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S ab}_{\Box_S b \rightarrow \Box_S a \vee \Box_S ab}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O \Box_S ab}_{\underbrace{\Box_S ab \wedge \neg \Box_S a \wedge \neg \Box_S b}_{\neg \Box_S ab}}$$

not compatible with 'one loser' scenario, only with 'no winner' ✗

$$(18) O_{\text{ExhNonSgDA}} \Box_S(a \vee b \vee ab)$$

$$= \Box_S(a \vee b \vee ab) \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(a \vee b)}_{\underbrace{\Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee ab) \wedge \neg \Box_S(b \vee ab)}_{\Box_S(a \vee b) \rightarrow \Box_S(a \vee ab) \vee \Box_S(b \vee ab)}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(a \vee ab)}_{\underbrace{\Box_S(a \vee ab) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(b \vee ab)}_{\Box_S(a \vee ab) \rightarrow \Box_S(b \vee ab)}} \wedge \neg \underbrace{O\Box_S(b \vee ab)}_{\underbrace{\Box_S(b \vee ab) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee b) \wedge \neg \Box_S(a \vee ab)}_{\Box_S(b \vee ab) \rightarrow \Box_S(b \vee ab)}}$$

not compatible with 'one winner' scenario, only with 'no winner' ✗

Appendix: SG: specific negative certainty: 3 atom-domain (to main »)

Similar to PL: specific negative certainty: 2 atom-domain, just a lot more work, because there are 7 SgDA, each of which must be pre-exhaustified relative to the other SgDA.

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