snippets

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Contents

7.

Philippe Schlenker – *Institut Jean-Nicod (CNRS) / New York University*
Restrictor set readings across ontological domains in ASL

philippe.schlenker@gmail.com

It was shown in Schlenker 2011, 2013 that in ASL nominal, temporal and modal generalized quantifiers can introduce loci (= positions in signing space) that denote the 'maximal set,' i.e. the maximal set of objects that satisfy both the restrictor and the nuclear scope. Here we call attention to a strategy used (in one informant's ASL) to represent *restrictors* of generalized quantifiers. Interestingly, this strategy can establish a separate locus for a restrictor set that is disjoint from the locus for a maximal set – despite the fact that their denotations are in a subset-superset relation (by contrast, nominal examples with the same property discussed by Schlenker et al., to appear, involved loci that were embedded within each other).
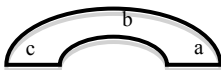
The **nominal case** is illustrated in (1). It involves three loci, whose positions are represented in (2) (boxed ratings are on a 7-point scale, with 7 = best; inferences were obtained by way of multiple choice questions; numbers such as *(14, 162; 163)* are references to the original video, followed by the video(s) with ratings).

(1) 7 POSS-1 STUDENT [SOME AMERICAN]$_a$. BUT [HAVE FOREIGN]$_c$. IX-arc-a LAZY. IX-arc-c WORK-WORK. UNDERSTAND-UNDERSTAND, **IX-arc-c [SOME SHORT]$_b$. IX-arc-b GENIUS.**
'[Some of my students]$_a$ are American. But I also have [foreign students]$_c$. They$_a$ [= my American students] are lazy, while they$_c$ [= my foreign students] are hard-working. See, among them$_c$, some$_b$ are short. They$_b$ [= the short foreign students] are geniuses.' (14, 162; 163)
Inferences: (i) The speaker's students who are geniuses are those that are foreigners and are short. (ii) The speaker's students who are hard-working are those who are foreigners (whether short or not).
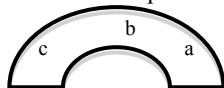
(2) Approximate areas associated with the loci in (1) (from the signer's perspective)

Locus *a* refers to the speaker's American students, and locus *c* to the speaker's foreign students. Both are introduced by way of existential constructions, and retrieved by the plural pronouns *IX-arc-a* and *IX-arc-c* respectively. In addition, *IX-arc-c* serves as the restrictor of the existential construction *[SOME SHORT]$_b$*, which ends up meaning 'some of my foreign students are short' (since *c* denotes the set of the speaker's foreign students), and introduces a maximal set locus *b* denoting the speaker's short foreign students. As is clear in the boldfaced part of (1), restrictor set and maximal set loci are clearly distinguished and are not embedded within each other, despite the fact that their denotations are in a subset-superset relation. It is this anaphoric strategy that we now investigate in the temporal and modal domains.

It is a traditional idea that *when*- and *if*-clauses can function as restrictors of temporal and modal generalized quantifiers respectively (e.g. Kratzer 1986, de Swart 1995). Significantly, we find the same effect where these constructions are concerned. The **temporal case** is illustrated in (3), with the loci as shown (see Schlenker, to appear, ex. (21b) for a preliminary example with inferential data). Three temporal loci are introduced in (3), with a contrast between times at which the speaker plays with other people – denoted by locus *a* – and times at which he plays with the addressee – denoted by locus *c*, which is explicitly introduced by a *when*-clause. A third locus, *b*, is introduced by a main clause with the temporal adverb *SOMETIMES*. An inferential task shows that the pronoun indexing locus *c* yields a 'restrictor set' reading, and ends up denoting the times at which the speaker and addressee play together; while the locus indexing locus *b* yields a 'maximal set' reading, and denote the times at which it is both the case that the speaker and addressee play together, and the speaker loses. The **modal case** appears in (4) and, again, the main facts are as in (1): *IX-b* yields a 'maximal set' reading, and ends up referring to *those accessible worlds in which the speaker and addressee play together and the speaker loses*; while *IX-c* yields a 'restrictor set' reading, and refers to the set of *all accessible worlds in which the speaker and the addressee play together*.

(3) *Context:* I often compete with you or with others.

6.3 [SOMETIMES IX-1 PLAY WITH OTHER PEOPLE]$_a$. BUT [WHEN THE-TWO-1,2 PLAY TOGETHER]$_c$ [SOMETIMES IX-1 LOSE]$_b$. IX-b IX-1 NOT HAPPY BUT IX-c GET-PILE MUCH MONEY, IX-a LITTLE MONEY.
'Sometimes$_a$ I play with other people. But [when you and I play together]$_c$, sometimes$_b$ I lose. Then$_b$ [= when you and I play together and I lose] I am not happy, but then$_c$ [= whenever you and I play together] I make a lot of money; then$_a$ [= when I play with other people] I just make a little money.' (12, 161; 12, 162; 12, 167; 14, 15)
Inferences: (i) The speaker gets lots of money under the following condition: the speaker and addressee play together.
(ii) The speaker is unhappy under the following condition: the speaker and addressee play together and the speaker loses.

(4) 6.5 [TOMORROW POSSIBLE IX-1 PLAY WITH OTHER PEOPLE]$_a$. BUT [IF THE-TWO-1,2 PLAY TOGETHER TOMORROW]$_c$ [POSSIBLE IX-1 LOSE]$_b$. IX-b IX-1 NOT HAPPY BUT IX-c MUCH MONEY, IX-a LITTLE MONEY.
'Tomorrow I might$_a$ play with other people. But [if you and I play together tomorrow]$_c$, I might$_b$ lose. Then$_b$ [= if you and I play together and I lose] I won't be happy, but then$_c$ [= if you and I play together] I will make a lot of money; then$_a$ [= if I play with other people] I will just make a little money.' (12, 150; 12, 151; 12, 152; 12, 166; 14, 14)
Inferences: (i) The speaker gets lots of money under the following condition: the speaker and addressee play together. (ii) The speaker is unhappy under the following condition: the speaker and addressee play together and the speaker loses.

We have thus seen that in the nominal, temporal and modal domains alike, loci can be established by restrictors in general, and by *if*- and *when*-clauses in particular – and indexing these loci gives rise to truth conditions that are clearly distinct from 'maximal set' readings. Finally, the fact that the same quantificational and anaphoric resources are available in the nominal, temporal and modal domains further strengthens the case for a uniform grammatical approach to individual, temporal and modal reference, as suggested in Schlenker 2006 and Bittner 2001, among others.

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