

# snippets

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- explicitly describe technical inconsistencies in a theory or in a set of frequently adopted assumptions;
- explicitly describe unnoticed assumptions that underlie a theory or assumptions that a theory needs to be supplemented with in order to make desired predictions;
- call attention to little-known or forgotten literature in which issues of immediate relevance are discussed.

We also encourage submissions that connect psycholinguistic data to theoretical issues. A proposal for a pilot experiment in language acquisition or language processing could make for an excellent snippet.

The earliest Linguistic Inquiry squibs exemplify the kind of note we would like to publish. Some of them posed unobserved puzzles. For instance, a squib by Postal and Ross in LI 1:1 ("A Problem of Adverb Preposing") noted that whether or not we can construe a sentence-initial temporal adverb with an embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb. A squib by Perlmutter and Ross in LI 1:3 ("Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents"), challenging the prevailing analyses of coordination and extraposition, noted that conjoined clauses neither of which contain a plural noun phrase can appear next to an "extraposed" relative that can only describe groups. Other squibs drew attention to particular theoretical assumptions. For instance, a squib by Bresnan in LI 1:2 ("A Grammatical Fiction") outlined an alternative account of the derivation of sentences containing believe and force, and asked whether there were principled reasons for dismissing any of the underlying assumptions (among them that semantic interpretation is sensitive to details of a syntactic derivation). A squib by Zwicky in LI 1:2 ("Class Complements in Phonology") asked to what extent phonological rules refer to complements of classes. None of these squibs was more than a couple of paragraphs; all of them limited themselves to a precise question or observation.

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## 1.

**Elissa Flagg** - (*University of Toronto*)  
*Against heterogeneous origins for n't and not*

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---

Zwicky and Pullum (1983) claim that English *n't* is an inflectional affix as opposed to a reduced form of *not* derived via cliticization. However, following through on the implications of this claim actually yields a new way to frame one of the main puzzles it purports to solve – the incompatibility of *n't* and reduced auxiliaries/modals – rather than an explanation for that puzzle.

The clitic/affix distinction is meant to explain the contrasting status of (1) and (2).

- (1) I'd've made my point by now. (*from* 'I would have made my point by now.')
- (2) \*I'dn't be so sure of that. (*from* 'I would not be so sure of that.')

According to Z&P, *'ve* comes to be attached to *'d* via cliticization in the syntax in (1); *'ve* and *'d*, reduced forms of *have* and *would*, are simple clitics. In (2), *n't* is barred from similarly attaching to *'d*; *n't* seems not to behave as a simple clitic form of *not*. The ungrammaticality of *\*I'dn't* is attributed to the proposed affixal status of *n't*. Since concatenation of inflectional affixes takes place in the lexicon, it cannot follow concatenation via syntactic cliticization in word formation.

If *n't* is indeed an inflectional affix, then on the model of the grammar Z&P assumed, negative and non-negative auxiliaries/modals should exist alongside one another in the lexicon. Take *has* and *hasn't* in (3a-b) as examples.

- (3) a. He has seen the light.
- b. He hasn't seen the light.

Note now that while *has* in (3a) can reduce to clitic *'s*, as in (4a), "*has*" in *hasn't* can't, as in (4b).

- (4) a. He's seen the light.
- b. \*He'sn't seen the light.

The contrast in (4) is rather mysterious if *has* and *hasn't* are truly counterparts, since both ought to be able to behave as simple clitics. Z&P's treatment of *n't* thus raises the following question: why can't a negative auxiliary/modal cliticize?

This question was obscured in the discussion of (2) because the only derivation considered for *\*I'dn't* involved illicit affixation of *n't* following cliticization of *would*. The ques-

tion emerges clearly once (5), with the negative modal *wouldn't*, is properly recognized as the source of (2) under an approach in which *n't* is an inflectional affix.

(5) I wouldn't be so sure of that.

Z&P's conclusion that *n't* is an affix has gained wide currency, and has become a source of support for the notion that the semantics of sentential negation can be distributed between heads and affixes in a grammar. However, at least one argument in support of heterogeneous origins for *n't* and *not* is internally inconsistent.

### Reference

Zwicky, A.M. and G.K. Pullum (1983) "Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't", *Language* 59:3, 502-513.

## 2.

Danny Fox - MIT

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*VP ellipsis and the position of adverbs*

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It is well known that an elided VP can be contained in an adverbial phrase that modifies the antecedent VP:

- (1) I visited Mary before (/when/after/because) you did

The goal of this snippet is to argue that some constructions of this sort have an ACD analysis, which depends on QR of the adverbial phrase (see, also, von Stechow and Iatridou 2002):

- (2) ‘Adverbial ACD’  
 [before OP<sub>1</sub> you did <visit Mary(at) t<sub>i</sub>>]<sub>j</sub>  
 $\uparrow$  [I [VP visit Mary (at) t<sub>j</sub>]]  
 $\exists t_j (t_j < \text{the time } t_i \text{ such that you visit Mary at } t_i) \wedge (I \text{ visit Mary at } t_j)$

Consider the two versions of (3) when uttered by a hotel manager who is trying to coordinate a dinner schedule.

- (3) a. Room 1 wants to have dinner before Room 2 does <**want to have dinner**>  
 b. Room 1 wants to have dinner before Room 2 does <**have dinner**>

In both cases the adverbial phrase provides information about the time at which the occupants of room 1 ought to have dinner if their present time desires are going to be satisfied (in other words, it provides no information about the time of desiring). This means that the adverbial phrase has to be interpreted in construction with the embedded VP. However, under interpretation (3a) the antecedent VP contains the embedded clause that in turn dominates the ellipsis, hence antecedent contained deletion. To resolve this problem, one needs to resort to the general mechanism for ACD resolution, we assume QR. In other words, to derive the interpretation of (3a) one must postulate QR of the adverbial phrase yielding the structure in (4).

- (4) [before OP<sub>1</sub> Room 2 <wants to have dinner (at) t<sub>i</sub>>]<sub>j</sub>  
 $\uparrow$  [Room 1 [VP wants to have dinner (at) t<sub>j</sub>]]  
 $\exists t_j (t_j < \text{the time } t_i \text{ such Room 2 wants to have dinner at } t_i) \wedge$   
 (Room 1 wants to have dinner at t<sub>j</sub>)

This analysis predicts that the before-clause (interpreted as a quantifier over times) will outscope the verb *want* in (3a). This seems correct as the time description provided by the before-clause has to be interpreted *de-re*. That is, (3a) cannot be read as imputing a *de-dicto* desire to Room 1's occupants relating to when Room 2 wants to be served. Compare this to (3b), which easily can be read as imputing a *de-dicto* desire (in this case concerning the time Room 2 is to be served).

The ramifications are obvious. Certain adverbial phrases have to be interpreted as quantificational phrases rather than simple VP modifiers. We have to assume that they can move and that their movement has consequences for scope. One should then use caution when treating adverbs as unmovable anchors that tell us the base position of other constituents in the clause (cf. Emonds, Pollock and much subsequent work).

### **Reference**

Fintel, Kai v. and Sabine Iatridou (2002) “Since (since)”, ms. web-accessible at <http://web.mit.edu/fintel/www/since.pdf>.

### 3.

#### Naomi Harada - *ATR International* *No head raising in light verb constructions*

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Since Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) seminal work, the so-called light-verb constructions (LVC) in Japanese have drawn much attention, mainly due to the syntax-semantics mismatch that they exhibit.

- (1) Masao-ga Hanako-kara [NP hooseki-no ryakudatu ]-o si-ta (koto)  
Masao-NOM Hanako-from gems-GEN robbing-ACC do-PAST fact  
'Masao stole gem stones from Hanako.' (si- is a suppletive form of su- 'do')

(*Koto* 'fact' is added to (1) -- and to the examples that follow -- to avoid the unnaturalness of sentences without a topic phrase in Japanese.) The lack of a genitive Case marker on *Masao* and *Hanako* in (1) suggests that they are outside the domain of the verbal noun (VN) *ryakudatu* 'robbing', yet these two phrases are arguments of VN, since the dummy verb *si-* < *su-* does not select arguments.

Note that the order between the source and the goal argument cannot be reversed.

- (2) \*... hooseki-o [NP Hanako-kara-no ryakudatu]-o ...  
gems-ACC Hanako-from-GEN robbing-ACC

Based on (2), Saito and Hoshi (2000) propose an analysis of LVC that employs LF head raising. Saito and Hoshi assume that the head noun *ryakudatu* first discharges its theme role within the NP and subsequently moves up at LF, and further discharges the source and agent roles to the remaining two argument NPs. Covert head raising is thus crucial for Saito and Hoshi to account for the syntax-semantics mismatch in LVC: unless the  $\theta$ -role assigning VN raises in LF, it is not clear why NPs outside the domain of VN can be assigned a  $\theta$ -role from VN.

However, there are data that indicate the syntax-semantics mismatch of LVC should not be accounted for in terms of covert head raising. As discussed in Miyagawa (2001), focus particles such as *mo* 'also' or *sae* 'even' block verb raising in Japanese (if any) when they attach to a verb stem. In that case, *su*-support takes place in order to support the stranded tense morpheme, as shown in (3b).

- (3) a. Yumiko-ga sono hon-o yon-da. (koto)  
Yumiko-NOM that book-ACC read-PAST fact  
'Yumiko read that book.'

- b. Yumiko-ga        sono        hon-o        yomi-sae    \*(si)-ta.        (koto)  
 Yumiko-NOM    that        book-ACC    read-even    do-PAST        fact  
 'Yumiko even read that book.'

Focus particles in Japanese can follow any category, including VN. Bearing in mind that focus particles block head raising, let us examine a LVC sentence with a focus particle attaching to VN.

- (4) Taroo-ga    Hanako-kara    [<sub>NP</sub> hooseki-no    ryakudatu]-sae si-ta.    (koto)  
 Masao-NOM Hanako-from        gems-GEN    robbing-even    do-PAST    fact  
 'Masao even stole gem stones from Hanako.'

Due to the presence of *sae* 'even', the VN *ryakudatu* should not raise in LF. Yet (4) is grammatical, calling for an analysis of LVC without recourse to head raising.

### References

- Grimshaw, Jane and Armin Mester (1988) "Light verbs and theta-marking", *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 205–232.  
 Miyagawa, Shigeru (2001) "The EPP, scrambling, and wh-in-situ", in Michael Kenstowicz ed., *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 293–338.  
 Saito, Mamoru and Hiroto Hoshi (2000) "The Japanese light verb construction and the Minimalist Program", in Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka eds., *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 261-295. \

*(This research was supported in part by the Telecommunications Advancement Organization of Japan.)*

#### 4.

**Shigeto Kawahara, Makoto Kadowaki, Kazuko Yatsushiro**

*University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

#### *A gap in the interpretation of embedded tense in Japanese*

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This snippet investigates the interpretation of embedded tense in Japanese. We point out that there is one environment in which the tense of an embedded (relative) clause must be interpreted relative to the utterance time and cannot be evaluated with respect to matrix event time, while in all other environments both interpretations are available.

Tense in relative clauses in Japanese generally permits two interpretations (Ogihara 1996, Kusumoto 1999, among others). The *matrix relative* interpretation temporally orders the event time of relative clause (henceforth TE) in relation to the event time of the matrix clause (TM). The *utterance relative* interpretation orders TE in relation to the utterance time (TU). Consider examples (1) and (2):

- (1) [Hasit-tei-ru hito]-ni hanas-u. (TU=TE<TM or TU<TE=TM)  
Run-progressive-pres person-Dat talk-non.past

Utterance relative: 'I'll talk to the person who is running (at the time of uttering the whole sentence).'

Matrix relative: 'I'll talk to the person who is running (at the time of talking).'

- (2) [(kinoo/asita) Hasit-ta hito]-ni (raisyyu) hanas-u.  
(yesterday/tomorrow) Run-past person-Dat (next week) talk-non.past  
(TU<TE<TM or TE<TU<TM)

Utterance relative: 'Next week I'll talk to the person who ran (yesterday).'

Matrix relative: 'Next week I'll talk to the person who will run (tomorrow).'

As we see in (1) and (2), then, Japanese seems to generally allow both matrix relative and utterance relative readings.

Example (3), however, allows only an utterance relative interpretation. Consider the following scenario: I've decided to talk to someone tomorrow, but I don't know who to talk to at this point. If I see anybody running by tomorrow, that's who I'll talk to. In this scenario, (3) is infelicitous. On the other hand, (3) is felicitous in the following scenario: I saw a person who was running yesterday and I've now decided to talk to him tomorrow. That is, this construction allows only utterance relative interpretation of the embedded tense.

- (3) [Hasi-tte-ita hito]-ni hanas-u.  
run-prog-past person-Dat talk-non.past  
Utterance relative: 'I'll talk to the person who was running.'  
\*Matrix relative: 'I'll talk to the person who will be running.'

In (3) the tense in the relative clause is past progressive and the matrix tense is non-past. (3) contrasts minimally with (1) where the embedded tense is present progressive and with (2) where the embedded tense is non-progressive past .

That the reading in which TE is evaluated relative to TM is missing can be confirmed in (4), where the insertion of a temporal adverbial *asita* 'tomorrow' causes a mismatch in tense interpretations.

- (4) \*[Asita hasi-tte-ita hito]-ni hanas-u.  
Tomorrow run-prog-past person-Dat talk-pres

We have shown that though Japanese generally allows both matrix relative and utterance relative readings, when past progressive is embedded in non-past, only utterance relative interpretation is possible. The question, then, is: Why is the utterance relative interpretation forced?

### References

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# 1.

**Daniel Büring - UCLA**

***2 x Singular ≠ Plural***

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It is commonly assumed that coordinated singular NPs have the same distribution as proper plural NPs, as illustrated by the following examples from German and English: Coordinated singular NPs, just like plural NPs, and unlike singular proper and singular collective nouns, trigger plural agreement, can occur with inherently collective predicates, and can antecede inherently plural anaphora:

- |        |  |  |                                       |
|--------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| (1) a. | {<br>die Kommissare<br>Schimansky und Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*Die Streife<br>} | nahmen<br>took-PLURAL                    | die Verfolgung auf.<br>the pursuit on |
| b.     | {<br>The detectives<br>Schimansky and Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*The patrol<br>}  | were in pursuit.                         |                                       |
| (2) a. | {<br>die Kommissare<br>Schimansky und Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*Die Streife<br>} | wurde(n) getrennt.<br>was/were separated |                                       |
| b.     | {<br>The detectives<br>Schimansky and Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*The patrol<br>}  | were/*was separated.                     |                                       |
| (3) a. | {<br>die Kommissare<br>Schimansky und Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*Die Streife<br>} | kannte(n) einander.<br>knew each other   |                                       |
| b.     | {<br>The detectives<br>Schimansky and Tanner<br>*Schimansky<br>*The patrol<br>}  | knew each other.                         |                                       |

Many current theories thus agree that coordinated singular NPs and inherent plural NPs are of the same syntactic category and denote semantic objects of the same type.

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It is therefore genuinely unexpected and, within the realm of such theories inexplicable, to find a construction in which one, but not the other, can occur. This, however, is the case in the *one of*, German *einer von*, construction. The complement of *one of* can be a plural NP, but not two coordinated singular NPs (it also can't be a singular NP, collective or not):

- |        |                      |  |   |
|--------|----------------------|--|---|
| (4) a. | Einer von<br>One of  | {<br>uns<br>den Kommissaren<br>}               | fing den Bösewicht.<br>caught the villain                   |
| b.     | One of               | {<br>us<br>the detectives<br>}                 | caught the villain.   |
| (5) a. | *Einer von<br>One of | {<br>dir und mir<br>Schimansky und Tanner<br>} | hat die Currywurst gegessen.<br>has the curry-sausage eaten |
| b.     | *One of              | {<br>you and me<br>Schimansky and Tanner<br>}  | ate the curry spiced sausage.                               |

Two coordinated plural NPs in this position seem to be better. While I am not sure about the proper interpretation of the conjoined NPs, the disjoint NPs sound perfect:

- (6) a. Einer von den Kommissaren oder /<sup>?</sup>und den Streifenpolizisten bestellte ein Bier.  
 b. One of the detectives or /<sup>?</sup>and the street cops ordered a beer.

The existence of this contrast appears to pose a genuine challenge to the idea that coordinated singular NPs are in all relevant respects identical to plural NPs. It also raises the question what about the *one of* construction sets it apart from contexts like (1)-(3), and whether there are other constructions where the coordinated singular/plural distinction yields grammaticality differences.

## 2.

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***A subject must scope***

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Wurmbrand (1998) proposes that the semantic contrast between subject-directed (henceforth simply **directed**) and non-subject-directed (**non-directed**) deontic modals, illustrated in (1), derives from the scope-taking position of the subject.

- (1) a. Students must submit their application forms by next week. (directed)  
b. The application forms must arrive by next week. (non-directed)

In (1a), *must* indicates obligation on the part of the students; in (1b), the modal is still deontic, but the obligation is not assigned to its syntactic subject. According to Wurmbrand (1998: 275), “if the subject is interpreted in the surface position [SpecIP] (in terms of scope), we get the directed root interpretation. If the subject is interpreted in its base position, it is in the scope of the modal verb and we get the non-directed root interpretation.” The relevant structures are in (2).

- (2) a. Directed: SUBJECT > MODAL    b. Non-directed: MODAL > SUBJECT



The predicted correlation between scope and directedness is found in sentences like (3).

- (3) Most of the students must pass the exam...  
a. ... in order to pass the course. (directed)  
b. ... or else the instructor will be disciplined. (non-directed)

(3a) can be paraphrased as ‘For most *s*, *s* a student, *s* is obliged to pass the exam.’ The subject takes wide scope and bears the obligation indicated by the modal. (3b) means ‘It is required that for most *s*, *s* a student, *s* passes the exam.’ The subject

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takes narrow scope, and the modal is non-directed.

However, counterexamples to Wurmbrand's prediction exist:

- (4)
- a. *Most of the students must pass the exam* because their parents are major donors to the university, but there are a few whom the instructor may safely flunk.
  - b. On the journey from Radom to Bialystok, *three rivers must be crossed*, namely the Vistula, the Bug, and the Narew.
  - c. *One squib in this issue can exceed the length limit* because its author has special permission.
  - d. [...] the judge has no choice, *A singer must die* for the lie in his voice. (Cohen 1974)

In (4a), *most of the students* refers to a specific set; however, the deontic *must* is non-directed: 'For most *s*, *s* a student, it is required (of the instructor) that *s* pass the exam'. In (4b), the three rivers can be listed, and in (4c), there is one specific squib whose author has permission to be verbose; in these examples, the inanimate subjects preclude directed readings. Finally, there is a reading of (4d) in which *a singer* is specific, but the obligation belongs to the judge. These data indicate that subjects must be able to take scope independently of whatever structural configuration encodes the difference between directed and non-directed modality.

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### 3.

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#### *Secondary predication in control sentences*

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Depictives are standardly assumed to be part of the verbal phrase, as right-adjunction to V' node or something similar (Larson 1989, Jackendoff 1990, Rapoport 1993, Baylin 2001). The following Slovenian data suggests that such an analysis cannot be maintained.

As seen in (1), depictives can modify the subject. They always agree with their host. There is no restriction on the grammatical case of the host or the adjective.

- (1) Vid<sub>i</sub> je sklenil kupčijo pijan<sub>i</sub>.  
Vid-NOM AUX made a deal-ACC drunk-NOM  
"Vid made a deal drunk"

Depictives also occur in control sentences. They still show agreement with their host argument. In (2), the depictive cannot be associated with the matrix predicate because of its meaning. In (3), although meaning allows it, the depictive cannot be associated with the matrix predicate.

- (2) Vid<sub>i</sub> je sklenil Petri zapustiti hišo mrtev<sub>i</sub>.  
Vid-NOM AUX decided Petra-DAT bequeath-INF house-ACC dead-NOM  
"Vid decided to leave the house to Petra after he dies."
- (3) Vid<sub>i</sub> ji je sklenil zadevo razložiti trezen<sub>i</sub>.  
Vid-NOM her-DAT AUX decided matter-ACC explain-INF sober-NOM  
"Vid decided to present the matter to her when he is sober"  
*✓present sober/ \*decide sober*

The depictive can thus only be interpreted as referring to the infinitival but not to the matrix clause. Only if the depictive comes before the infinitival verb, as in (4), can the matrix predicate be understood as having occurred while Vid was sober.

- (4) Vid<sub>i</sub> ji je trezen<sub>i</sub> sklenil azložiti zadevo.  
Vid-NOM her-DAT AUX sober-NOM decided explain-INF matter-ACC  
*✓decide sober/ ?present sober (\*with neutral intonation)*
-

A right-adjunction analysis predicts the availability of the reading where the depictive is associated with the matrix predicate, but this prediction is not borne out. This is corroborated by (5), which is bad because the depictive cannot be associated with the matrix clause, while an association with the embedded infinitival is infelicitous simply because of its duplicate meaning.

- (5) #??Vid<sub>i</sub> se ga je odločil napiti pijan;  
Vid REFL it AUX decided get-drunkINF drunk  
"Vid decided to get drunk when he is drunk"

It is worth noting that this phenomenon raises the puzzle – familiar from the literature on Icelandic control subjects (Sigurdhsson 1991) – of how the depictive adjective receives case. Specifically, how can the depictive adjective get nominative case if it is actually in agreement with the subject of the embedded infinitival clause, with a PRO in Spec TP? PRO does not have NOM case, rather it has a null-case feature checked by the defective T<sup>0</sup>. It seems reasonable that the depictive cannot get null case, but it is unclear how it gets NOM. We refer the reader to Hornstein 2001 for a promising approach to control structures that might address this problem.

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#### 4.

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*The present tense is vacuous*

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This note seeks to argue that the English present tense is itself semantically vacuous and its interpretive effect is characterized entirely by pragmatic competition with other English tense morphemes, notably the past tense.

Assume for the following that I didn't eat on any Tuesday of this month so far, and I've committed not to eat on any Tuesday of this month still coming up. Consider the sentences in (1) in this scenario (Magda Scheiner first pointed out such sentences to me).

- (1) a. Every Tuesday this month, I fast.  
b. Every Tuesday this month, I fasted.

The choice between (1a) and (1b) would be determined by the utterance time: Assume that the 26th is the last Tuesday of this month. From the 1st until and including the 26th, I would use the present tense (1a). From the 27th until the last day of the month, I would use the past tense (1b). How can we account for this distribution?

Consider first the meaning of present and past tense in (2) which Abusch (1997) proposes.

- (2) PRESENT(t): presupposes that t isn't before time of utterance  
PAST(t): presupposes that t is before the time of utterance

There are two ways (2) could be applied in (1): Since the sentences in (1) involve quantification over subintervals (the Tuesdays) of a bigger interval (this month), we could apply the tense to either the subintervals or the containing interval. Neither way, however, will yield the correct result.

The latter possibility incorrectly predicts that the past tense (1b) should never be possible, and (1a) should always be used because "this month" contains the utterance time.

The former possibility, application to the subinterval, yields the correct result for (1b): (1b) presupposes that every Tuesday of this month is before the utterance time. However for (1a), application to the subinterval of the present tense predicts the presupposition that no Tuesday of this month be before the utterance time.

This incorrectly predicts that (1a) could only be used until the first Tuesday of this month.

To get the correct result, I propose the (non-)meaning of the present tense in (3), while adopting Abusch's proposal for PAST. Assuming (3), (1a) is predicted to not carry any inherent presupposition about the utterance time.

- (3)      PRESENT(t): no presupposition

So far, the new account doesn't seem to predict the presupposition observed above, that (1a) cannot be used after the 26th. However, this follows from Heim's (1991) proposal that a discourse maxim "maximize presupposition" creates scalar implicatures amongst presuppositions. More precisely, I assume the formulation in (4) (cf. Ippolito 2001).

- (4)      Implicated presupposition: If a scalar alternative Y of X has more or stronger inherent presuppositions than X, X presupposes that the inherent presuppositions of Y aren't satisfied.

For the case at hand, assume that <PRESENT, PAST> is a scale. Because (1b) is a scalar alternative of (1a) with more inherent presuppositions, (1a) is predicted to have the implicated presupposition that the inherent presupposition of (1b) be false. This precisely predicts that complementarity we observed above.

It's worth noting that analogous reasoning shows the feature plural in (5a) and the features masculine and 3rd person in (5b) to be semantically vacuous.

- (5)      a.   For each paper, all errors are blamed on its authors (vs. author).  
          b.   Every one of us should admit his (vs. her/my) errors.

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## 5.

### **Chung-chieh Shan - Harvard University** ***Temporal versus non-temporal "when"***

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It has been claimed that subordinate "when"-clauses can express non-temporal relations ((1)) as well as temporal ones. In this snippet I will suggest that there is a syntactic contrast between "when"-clauses that express temporal relations and "when"-clauses that do not.

- (1) When they built the 39th Street bridge...
- a. a local architect drew up the plans.
  - b. they used the best materials.
  - c. they solved most of their traffic problems.
- (Moens and Steedman 1987)

As background, bear in mind Geis's (1970) observation that sentences such as (2) are ambiguous: Alice's arrival may coincide with either Beatrice's telling or Charlie's (suggested) leaving. In this discussion, I will assume that the latter, 'long-distance,' reading for sentences like (2) can only arise via extraction of "when" from the lower clause.

- (2) Alice arrived when Beatrice told Charlie that he should leave.

Now consider the following scenario: The speaker is a consultant for a mobile phone company that introduced several new pricing plans last month and is now re-evaluating its marketing strategy. One idea the company came up with and implemented was reducing charges for weekend calls. Poring over network usage statistics, the consultant noted that weekend call volume increased significantly since last month.

- (3) a. Customers make more calls when rates are cheaper – that is, on weekends.  
b. Customers make more calls when we decided (last month) (that) rates would be cheaper – that is, on weekends.

Another innovation of the company was to offer student discounts. The consultant noted that student call volume also increased quite a bit.

- (4) a. Customers make more calls when rates are cheaper – that is, for students.  
b. \*Customers make more calls when we decided (last month) (that) rates would be cheaper – that is, for students.

Why is (4b) bad compared to (3b)? (The judgments are robust if subtle.) I suggest that it is bad because "for students" forces us to construe "when" as non-temporal "when," but at the same time only temporal uses of "when" involve extraction. Potential support for the latter idea comes from the contrast many speakers find between the sentences in (5).

- (5) a. Alice arrived when Beatrice left at midnight.  
b. \*When did Beatrice leave at midnight?

It is interesting to note in this connection that "when"-clauses do not admit long-distance readings when preposed (Sabine Iatridou, p.c.): in (6), Alice's arrival must coincide with Beatrice's telling, and (7) is incompatible with the scenario above. Still assuming that long-distance readings arise from extraction of "when," we might conclude that temporal "when"-clauses are forbidden from preposing. It remains to be explained why.

- (6) When Beatrice told Charlie that he should leave, Alice arrived.  
(7) \* When we decided (last month) (that) rates would be cheaper -  
that is, on weekends – customers make more calls.

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