

The Fifteenth Amsterdam Colloquium

The 2005 edition of the Amsterdam Colloquium is the fifteenth in a series which started in 1976. Originally an initiative of the Department of Philosophy, the colloquium is now organized by the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (ILLC). This booklet provides information about the Colloquium, locations, program, and short summaries of the presentations. In the proceedings one can find six page abstracts of the contributed talks.

Program

At the Colloquium four plenary lectures are given by the invited speakers:

- Sigrid Beck
- Nissim Francez
- Manfred Krifka
- Lawrence S. Moss

and by the speaker of the 2005 Beth / Vienna Circle lecture:

- Hannes Leitgeb

The Colloquium hosts two thematic workshops, one on “Language and Learning” (organized by Pieter Adriaans, Khalil Sima’an and Robert van Rooij) the other on “Semantic Universals” (organized by Paul Dekker and Kees Hengeveld). Abstracts submitted for the general program have been selected by a program committee consisting of internal members: Johan van Benthem, Martin Stokhof (chair) and Henk Zeevat and external members: the invited speakers, David Beaver (CSLI, Stanford), Bart Geurts (Radboud University, Nijmegen), Jack Hoeksema (CLCG, Groningen), Marcus Kracht (UCLA, Los Angeles), Angelika Kratzer (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), Michael Moortgat (OTS, Utrecht University), Henriette de Swart (OTS, Utrecht University) and Ede Zimmermann (Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universitaet Frankfurt). We thank the members of the program committees for the very substantial work they did.

Venue

The Colloquium takes place in the EUCLIDES-building of the Faculty of Science of the University of Amsterdam: Plantage Muidergracht 24, NL-1018 TV Amsterdam. In view of traffic jams, parking problems and parking police, we strongly advice not to get there by car. The easiest way to reach the conference site is by means of public transport, bicycle, or ‘shanks’ mare’ (walking).

To find the EUCLIDES building by public transport proceed as follows. Take tramline 9 (coming from the Central Station) or line 14 and get off at stop ‘Plantage Badlaan’ (you can ask the driver to announce that stop). Next turn right and walk through the ‘Plantage Lepellaan’ (100 meters). The white building at the end of the street is the EUCLIDES building.

Coming from the city center, you can also take tramline 10, and get off at stop Alexanderplein (near the Muiderpoort). Turn left (over the water), and then

the first street left is the Plantage Muidergracht. EUCLIDES is the third building on your left.

Beth / Vienna Circle Lecture

The 2005 Beth / Vienna Circle Lecture takes place in the “Doelenzaal” of the University Library: Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, tel: (0)20 525 2143. The library can be reached from Centraal Station and Dam Square with tramlines 1, 2 and 5; get off at stop ‘Koningsplein’. From the Euclides building you can take tramlines 9 and 14 to ‘Muntplein’ and walk 200 meters along the Singel.

Reception

The Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Amsterdam offer the participants a reception, Monday 19, 19.00 – 20.00 in de “City Councillor Chamber” of the city hall (‘Stopera’), Amstel 1. It is on walking distance from the Euclides building, but you can as well take tramline 9 or 14 and get off at stop ‘Waterlooplein’.

Registration and Information

All participants are requested to register on Monday morning at the registration desk. In order to speed up processing, those who have registered beforehand on the website will be handled first.

Each day one of the organizers walks around as the ‘Person of the Day.’ The person of the day is appointed to act as an oracle and practical problem solver for the participants. On Monday it is Paul Dekker, on Tuesday it is Robert van Rooij, on Wednesday it is Michael Franke.

Coffee, Lunches and Dinner

Coffee and tea are served freely at the EUCLIDES building and lunches are provided in the nearby student’s restaurant ‘Agora’. Lunch tickets are included in the conference package. Restaurants are widely available around the conference venue and in the city center; they are too many to be listed here.

Financial Support

For the organization of the Fifteenth Amsterdam Colloquium financial support is received from:

- the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (KNAW)
- the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO)
- the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (ILLC)
- the NWO-funded project ‘Formal Language Games’
- Springer
- the Municipality of Amsterdam

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Further information

For any further questions, please contact:

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9.00 – 10.00	Registration (room 0.18)	
	<i>Chair: Jeroen Groenendijk (room 2.27)</i>	
10.00 – 11.00	<i>Manfred Krifka</i>	
	More on approximative number words	
<i>coffee</i>		
	<i>Chair: Theo M.V. Janssen (room 0.17)</i>	<i>Chair: Maria Aloni (room 0.19)</i>
	<i>Ido Ben-Zvi</i>	
11.15 – 11.45	Dynamic situations: accounting for Dowty's inertia notion using dynamic semantics	<i>Julie Hunter and Nicholas Asher</i> A presuppositional account of indexicals
	<i>Andreas Haida</i>	<i>Luisa Martí</i>
11.45 – 12.15	Dynamic Wh-terms	Donald Duck is back, and he speaks Spanish
	<i>Philippe Schlenker</i>	<i>Cécile Meier</i>
12.15 – 12.45	Transparency: an incremental account of presupposition projection	A compositional semantics for locatives
<i>lunch</i>		
	<i>Chair: Reinhard Blutner (room 0.17)</i>	<i>Chair: Robert van Rooij (room 0.19)</i>
	<i>Scott Grimm</i>	<i>Richard Breheny</i>
14.00 – 14.30	Agency and case: a lattice-based framework	Exhaustivity, homogeneity and definiteness
	<i>Antonia Rothmayr</i>	<i>Sivan Sabato and Yoad Winter</i>
14.30 – 15.00	The helping-effect of dative case	Against partitioned readings of reciprocals
<i>break</i>		
	<i>Reut Tsarfaty</i>	
15.30 – 16.00	Causative constructions and aspectual meanings: a case study from Semitic derivational morphology	<i>Magdalena Schwager</i> Exhaustive imperatives
	<i>Christopher Piñón</i>	<i>Sveta Krasikova and Ventsislav Zhechev</i>
16.00 – 16.30	Determiners in aspectual composition	Scalar use of <i>Only</i> in conditionals
<i>break</i>		
	<i>Chair: Frank Veltman (room 2.27)</i>	
	<i>Lawrence S. Moss</i>	
17.00 – 18.00	Natural Language, Natural Logic, Natural Deduction	

Chair: Michiel van Lambalgen (room 2.27)

Gilad Ben Avid and Nissim Francez

9.00 – 10.00

Proof-theoretic semantics for a syllogistic fragment

Chair: Jan van Eijck (room 0.17)

Chair: Henk Zeevat (room 0.19)

Friederike Moltmann

Michael Franke

10.00 – 10.30

Comparatives without degrees: a
new approach

How and how not to employ
discourse relations to account for
pseudo-imperatives

coffee

11.00 – 11.30

Rick Nouwen
Monotone amazement

Tatjana Scheffler
Syntax and semantics of causal
denn in German

11.30 – 12.00

Doris Penka
Almost: a test?

Yurie Hara
Contrastives and Gricean principle

12.00 – 12.30

*Stanley Peters and Dag
Westerståhl*
Semantics of possessive
determiners

Torgrim Solstad
Word meaning, unification and
sentence-internal pragmatics

lunch

Chair: Pieter Adriaans, Robert van Rooij and Khalil Sima'an (room 2.27)

Workshop on Language and Learning

14.00 – 14.45

James Cussens
Principles and implementation of inductive parsing

14.45 – 15.30

Jacqueline van Kampen
Locality and the order of acquisition steps

break

16.00 – 16.45

Makoto Kanazawa
Semantics-Driven Learning of Lexicalized Grammars

16.45 – 17.30

Claire Nedellec
Semantics learning from corpora and background knowledge

Beth Vienna Circle Lecture (University Library)

20.00 – 21.00

Hannes Leitgeb
The Logical Structure of Cognition.

 Chair: Martin Stokhof (room 2.27)

9.00 – 10.00

Sigrid Beck

A Second Time and Again

 Chair: Paul Dekker (room 0.17)

 Petra Hendriks, Helen de Hoop
and Monique Lamers

10.00 – 10.30

 Asymmetries in language use
reveal asymmetries in the grammar

coffee

Chair: Peter van Emde Boas (room 0.19)

Tim Fernando

 Comic relief for anankastic
conditionals

11.00 – 11.30

Daniel Hardt

Inference, ellipsis and deaccenting

Theo M.V. Janssen

 Independence friendly logic as a
strategic game

11.30 – 12.00

 Jacques Jayez and Lucia Tovenar
When ‘widening’ is too narrow

 Chris Fox and Shalom Lappin
Achieving expressive completeness
and computational efficiency for
underspecified scope
representations

12.00 – 12.30

Mats Rooth

 Scope disambiguation by ellipsis
and focus without scope economy

Reinhard Muskens

 Synonymy, common knowledge,
and the social construction of
meaning

lunch

 Chair: Paul Dekker and Kees Hengeveld (room 2.27)

Workshop Semantic Universals

14.00 – 14.45

Johan van der Auwera

Prohibitives: why two thirds of the world’s languages are unlike Dutch

14.45 – 15.30

David Gil

Association: a cross-linguistic experiment

break

16.00 – 16.45

Helen de Hoop

Case and strength

16.45 – 17.30

Ed Keenan

How much logic is built into natural language?

Abstracts

Invited Speakers

A second time and again

Sigrid Beck

This paper considers focus alternatives to presuppositional elements like again. We observe that there are empirical differences between again and its non-presuppositional counterpart a second time. A general question is raised about presuppositions in alternative sets.

Proof-theoretic semantics for a syllogistic fragment

Gilad Ben Avi and Nissim Francez

We present some prolegomena to Proof-Theoretic Semantics (PTS) for natural language (NL). The following quotation from Schroeder-Heister 2005 emphasizes the lack of applicability to NL, the original reason for PTS to start with:

Although the “meaning as use” approach has been quite prominent for half a century now and provided one of the cornerstones of philosophy of language, in particular of ordinary language philosophy, it has never become prevailing in the formal semantics of artificial and natural languages. In formal semantics, the denotational approach which starts with interpretations of singular terms and predicates, then fixes the meaning of sentences in terms of truth conditions, and finally defines logical consequence as truth preservation under all interpretations, has always dominated.

In order to device a PTS for (a fragment of) NL, two steps are required:

1. Device a proof-theory (a calculus) for the fragment, satisfying criteria proposed for PTS in logic. Replace truth condition by derivability conditions (in the above calculus) as the meaning of sentences in the fragment.
2. Identify the contribution of subsentential phrases (down to words) to the PTS meaning of sentences in which they occur.

Here, we focus on the first task only.

More on approximative number words

Manfred Krifka

The phenomenon to be explained in this talk is why round number words in measure expressions, such as one thousand kilometers, are interpreted in an approximate way, whereas non-round number words such as nine hundred sixty two kilometers are interpreted in a precise way. In a previous attempt to explain this phenomenon, I have assumed that speakers prefer short expressions and approximate interpretations. I will show here that it suffices to assume just the first preference; everything else follows from considerations of strategic interpretations. I will also discuss evidence for an evolutionary adaptation of scales of different granularity. Also, it will be shown that measurement scales provide

good evidence that the expressions a language supplies to its speakers influence the way how facts about the world are represented.

Natural language, natural logic, natural deduction

Lawrence S. Moss

This talk is concerned with logical systems based on syllogistic reasoning. The overall question one should ask are whether proof theory could ever be as foundationally significant for semantics as model theory. I think the jury is still out on this question, but in order to give proof theory a chance I believe one should attempt to find logical systems for interesting linguistic phenomena which are complete. The matter is interesting also for computational semantics, and Nissim Francez' talk at our Colloquium will highlight this. There is not so much work on complete syllogistic fragments, and so I should be able to go into detail about much of the extant literature. I think that there are many interesting questions for both logic and semantics that come from the perspective of this talk, and my talk will mention those.

Beth / Vienna Circle Lecture

The logical structure of cognition. Lessons from Carnap's logical structure of the world

Hannes Leitgeb

This lecture reconsiders Rudolf Carnap's classic *Der logische Aufbau der Welt* (The Logical Structure of the World) from a modern perspective and aims at bridging the gap between early Logical Positivism and more recent developments in the logical analysis of cognition. Although the underlying programme of the *Aufbau* has failed, there are still important lessons to be learnt from it - indeed we will try to show that parts of the original *Aufbau* can actually be saved. This is going to lead us to discuss various topics in logic, epistemology, and philosophy of science that are still as exciting and important as they were in the 1920s and 1930s: (i) methods of logical abstraction; (ii) the construction of concepts on the basis of subjective similarity; (iii) the dimensionality of conceptual spaces; (iv) disposition terms and the semantics of conditionals; (v) theoretical terms, the epsilon calculus, and the relativized a priori.

Workshop Language and Learning

Principles and implementation of inductive parsing

James Cussens

I will discuss logical, statistical and practical aspects of the incremental induction of grammars from sentences. The logical framework is moulded on Shieber et al's

”Principles and Implementation of Deductive Parsing”. I propose that inductive logic programming has the potential (not yet realised!) to incorporate *semantic* constraints to help induction. As for statistics, I will consider whether recent work in what has become known as ‘Statistical Relational Learning’ is applicable.

Locality and the order of acquisition steps

Jacqueline van Kampen

Preferably, the properties of grammar can be derived from the following factors: (i) The primary linguistic data as they are offered to the child. (ii) A language acquisition procedure. Hopefully, the language acquisition procedure will be compatible with plausible assumptions about the neural abilities of human beings, but that is of no immediate concern. The interaction of the primary data and the acquisition procedure can be studied by a closer look at the order of the child's acquisition steps. What does she acquire first and why? What does she acquire later and why? My main point will be that this is empirically a promising and by no means trivial approach. At the same time, I will argue against an assumption that is quite common in computational studies and also in mere grammatical studies of child language. People from Gold (1967) to Yang (2002) assume that the acquisition procedure has simultaneous access to all data at once. My point will rather be that the acquisition procedure implies a natural selection of data. The data selection procedure must predict the actual order of the acquisition steps in the various languages.

Semantics-driven learning of lexicalized grammars

Makoto Kanazawa

Semantics learning from corpora and background knowledge

Claire Nedellec

The acquisition of semantic lexicon and ontologies in specialized domains is costly because of the lack of human experts and linguistic resources. Machine learning from annotated and unannotated corpora can contribute to speed the process up. We will illustrate this issue by two examples: learning hierarchies of semantic classes and learning semantic relations from parsed corpora and background knowledge in the domain of genomics.

Workshop Semantic Universals

Prohibitives: why two thirds of the world's languages are unlike Dutch

Johan van der Auwera

In Dutch prohibitive constructions use the imperative form of the verb and the word of most negative work *niet* 'not'. Thus combining *zing* 'sing' and *niet* 'not' yields *Zing niet!* 'Don't sing!'. In human language, this is not the preferred strategy. The most striking feature of prohibitives is a statement based on an analysis of some 500 languages that possibly two thirds of the world's languages commonly use a negative marker that is more or less dedicated to the prohibitive use. The question is why this should be so, and also why one third of the world's languages can go against this preference. The explanation will be argued to be of a semantic-pragmatic nature, most importantly referring to the static nature of declarative negation, and the dynamic nature of prohibitive negation.

Association: a cross-linguistic experiment

David Gil

In a series of publications, I have argued that Riau Indonesian exhibits a number of syntactic and semantic features that characterize it as typologically exceptional. The question arises whether Riau Indonesian is truly exceptional, or whether its apparently exceptional properties are a mere artefact of a particular descriptive approach. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to compare Riau Indonesian to other languages through the same eyes, using the same objective and rigorous yardsticks. This paper proposes one such yardstick, in the form of a psycholinguistic experiment designed to elicit truth-value judgments in different languages.

Case and strength

Helen de Hoop

In the functional-typological literature two main functions of case-marking are distinguished. One motivation for case-marking is disambiguation, i.e. the need to distinguish between the arguments of a two- or three-place relation. In order to differentiate the subject from the object it is not necessary to mark them both; a case marker on one of them serves to distinguish them. Another widely attested function of case involves the identification of specific semantic information by expressing it through case morphology. That does not only hold for lexical (or semantic) cases such as e.g., locative cases, but to a certain degree for structural cases as well. For example, dative case is associated with goal and experiencer semantics, ergative case is usually associated with agentivity, and accusative case is associated with patienthood. In this talk I will investigate the two strategies of case-marking to see where they converge and diverge with respect to the semantic features of the noun phrases that bear case. Crucially, the 'strength' of the case

bearing arguments will be shown to be of utmost importance for case-marking. The 'strength' of arguments can be viewed as a function of their 'discourse prominence' or as their degree of 'prototypicality'. In general we will see that animacy and definiteness both contribute to the strength of grammatical arguments. The similarities between animacy and definiteness will be examined to get a clearer picture of the role of argument strength for case-marking. The aim of this talk is to explore the relation between the strength of nominal arguments and the 'meaning' of case.

How much logic is built into natural language?

Ed Keenan

First Order Logic (FOL) with equality is a universal grammar for a class of languages - Elementary Arithmetic, Euclidean Geometry, Set Theory, It defines their syntax, semantics, and proofs. Learning a natural language (NL - English, Japanese, Swahili,...) entails *overt* learning of many first order structures: Function-Argument and Predicate-Argument expressions, Recursion, and Boolean Operations: finitary 'and', 'or', 'not' and unbounded 'all', 'some'. NL falls short of FOL in precision: it lacks the full equivalent of variable binding operators and it allows structural ambiguities ("John told Bill he was bleeding" - he = John? Bill? a third party? "John didn't leave because the children were crying" (That wasn't why he left, or, that's why he didn't leave). NLs exceed the expressive power of FOL with proportionality quantifiers (most, two out of three,...), cardinal comparison (more/fewer students than teachers signed the petition), and non-intersective adjectives (a tall student) as well as non-extensional expressions: 'too many', 'not enough'; 'skillful', 'good'.

Learning a NL also entails *covert* learning of logical notions as some grammaticality patterns are conditioned by logical properties of the items in the pattern. For example, which NPs license the presence of words like 'ever' and 'any' in Ss like: "No students / Fewer than five students here have ever been to Minsk", but ungrammatical is "Some students / More than four students here have ever been to Minsk". Partial answer: NPs that denote monotone decreasing functions license 'ever', etc., monotone increasing ones do not. Additional instances will be given in the lecture.

A last, deeper similarity to FOL: a NL is a closure system - a set of "words" closed under certain structure building operations. The "structure" of an expression is what is invariant under the structure preserving maps (automorphisms) induced by these operations. Speakers "know" this structure (in the sense in which they "know" the language) and treat expressions with the same structure as meaningful "in the same way". So being meaningful in different ways implies difference in structure. Example the predicates 'good to eat' and 'reluctant to eat' in "That fish is good to eat" and "That child is reluctant to eat" are understood in different ways, so they are predicted to exhibit structural differences. For example 'good to eat' may frame a noun, as in 'a good fish to eat', but 'a reluctant

child to eat' is not grammatical. A deeper example concerns the reference of the pronouns in "The juror expected to punish him / himself" versus "the judge who the juror expected to punish him / himself". 'Himself' must refer to the juror in the first case and 'him' cannot. The opposite pattern obtains in the second case.

General Program

Dynamic situations: accounting for Dowty's inertia notion using dynamic semantics

Ido Ben-Zvi

A dynamic epistemic framework is provided, for dealing with common sense inferences based on partial information. It is claimed that such inferences make use of an extended context of 'relevancy' or 'salience'. The dynamic semantics framework is extended with situation structures based on this context. The progressive aspect is then interpreted as such an epistemic inference, where the inertia set is modeled as a set of situations which are minimal in a sense. Formal semantics are given and put to the test.

Exhaustivity, homogeneity and definiteness

Richard Breheny

In this paper, it will be argued that the Homogeneity Presupposition (Fodor 1970, von Stechow 1997, Beck 2001) does not provide an adequate account of the tendency of plurals to obtain exhaustive, 'any'-interpretations in negative contexts. We argue that Krifka's (1996) rule for plural predication would do better if it were somehow restricted to arguments which are definite. We suggest an analysis which locates the optionality in plural interpretations in definite noun phrases rather than the predication.

Comic relief for anankastic conditionals

Tim Fernando

Purpose clauses implicated in the semantics of anankastic conditionals are analyzed in an event semantics where events are conceived as sequences of snapshots – that is comics. The account generalizes to other types of conditionals, avoiding certain well-known problems that beset possible worlds treatments, such as logical omniscience.

Achieving expressive completeness and computational efficiency for underspecified scope representations

Chris Fox and Shalom Lappin

Ebert (2005) points out that most current theories of underspecified semantic representation either suffer from expressive incompleteness or do not avoid generating the full set of possible scope readings in the course of disambiguation.

In previous work we have presented an account of underspecified scope representations within an intensional first-order property theory enriched with Curry Typing for natural language semantics. Here we show how filters applied to the underspecified scope terms of this theory permit both expressive completeness and the reduction of the search space of possible scope interpretations.

How and how not to employ discourse relations to account for pseudo-imperatives

Michael Franke

Pseudo-imperatives (PIs) are conjoined sentences where an imperative clause is conjoined or disjoined with a declarative clause ("Do X and/or Y will happen/be the case/be done."). There is an intriguing pragmatic asymmetry between PIs with conjunction and PIs with disjunction which this paper elaborates. Recently, some authors (Lascarides and Asher 2004, Gomez-Txurruka 2002) have made use of discourse relations to account for the pragmatics of PIs. This paper rectifies these proposals and takes a stand towards general possibilities and limits of explanations based on ascriptions of discourse relations.

Agency and case: a lattice-based framework

Scott Grimm

The typological literature has demonstrated that parameters such as agency, affectedness, and object individuation affect the realization of case-marking. The proposed analysis captures the specific contribution of such parameters, resulting in a model capable of explaining case alternations. A feature-based representation of agency properties is proposed, loosely based on Dowty's proto-role theory, but reformulated in terms of privative opposition and hierarchically organized via a lattice. Theoretical gains include wider empirical reach and greater simplicity, while practical results include a detailed analysis of the genitive/accusative alternation in Russian occurring with certain scope-ambiguous verbs, e.g. 'seek'.

Dynamic Wh-terms

Andreas Haida

The grammatical analysis of wh-questions in Groenendijk and Stokhof (1982) is unsatisfactory in that wh-terms are not treated in the same way as indefinites (although conceptually desirable and typologically suggested). In G&S (1992), it is pointed out that this unification can be achieved if existential quantification is dynamic. I will spell out this proposal: The question denotations of G&S (1982) are reproduced in a dynamic semantic framework in which wh-terms translate as existential GQs. The syntactic and semantic consequences for explaining various intervention effects are explored.

Contrastives and Gricean principle

Yurie Hara

It has been observed that contrastive-markings in various languages are associated with uncertainty implicatures. However, a sentence can be contrastive-marked even when the speaker has a complete answer to the question, as long as one of the alternatives have an opposite value from the rest. Following the analyses by Spector (2003) and Schulz and van Rooij (2004) on exhaustivity and the Gricean Principle, this paper claims that Contrastive-marking presupposes that the speaker's knowledge is not maximal.

Inference, ellipsis and deaccenting

Daniel Hardt

While it has frequently been observed that inference is available for the interpretation of ellipsis and the licensing of deaccenting, it has not previously been observed that certain inferences are systematically unavailable, both for deaccenting and ellipsis. Sluicing is subject to a case-matching requirement, even in cases involving symmetric predicates, where an inference ought to allow case matching to be violated. Deaccented material is subject to a scope parallelism constraint, even in cases where the two possible scopes are inferentially related. I propose a theory of minimal inference, in which inference is restricted to a search among minimal submodels.

Asymmetries in language use reveal asymmetries in the grammar

Petra Hendriks, Helen de Hoop and Monique Lamers

How can it be that children know the linguistic rules necessary to produce a sentence, but show no knowledge of these rules when comprehending the same sentence? According to the classical view, the nature of the grammar is independent of its use. A puzzle for this view are cases where correct production precedes correct comprehension. For example, children who use grammatical function to determine word order in production not necessarily use word order to determine grammatical function in comprehension (Chapman and Miller, 1975). We show that the role of grammar in production is different from the role of grammar in comprehension. As a result, the grammar must be bidirectional.

A presuppositional account of indexicals

Julie Hunter and Nicholas Asher

Abstract: Many indexicals can pick out referents from a context other than the context of use, contrary to David Kaplan's predictions. English 'actual', 'here', and 'now', along with Amharic 'I' and Chinese 'ziji' can shift contexts. We propose that indexicals should be understood anaphorically. Indexicals trigger presuppositions which search for antecedents. Using DRT, we show that they search the global context first (the outermost DRS), but when binding in the global context

leads to inconsistency, they will search within a local context. If binding fails entirely, accommodation will often produce an antecedent. This account is simpler than Philippe Schlenker's in that it relies entirely on existing mechanisms in dynamic semantics and DRT to explain the behavior of shifting indexicals.

Independence friendly logic as a strategic game

Theo M.V. Janssen

The traditional game interpretation of IF logic has sometimes been criticized. Here we propose an alternative: IF logic as a strategic game. The game is played by two teams, the A-team that tries to refute the formula, and the E-team that tries to confirm the formula. We base our semantics on two assumptions: (1) the players are 'rational': they do not play a strategy if there is a better one (2) the players know that the others are rational. A formula is true if there is a Nash-equilibrium with value 1 (true). In this semantics signalling is not possible. The semantics has consequences for the linguistic applications.

When 'widening' is too narrow

Jacques Jayez and Lucia Tovenà

Current proposals that characterize the widening effect of F(ree) C(hoice) items as an implicature all require additional stipulations and leave a number of observations unexplained. We propose instead that Free-choiceness results from ensuring that every member of the restriction CAN satisfy the scope but none MUST, via a constraint that applies to all FC items. Differences among items can then be traced back to (i) the interaction of the consequences of this general instruction with the particular modal profile of each item (ii) its universal vs. existential nature and (iii) the defeasible or non-defeasible nature of its modal profile, thus keeping a strong unity for the class of FC items while making room for variation.

Scalar use of *Only* in conditionals

Sveta Krasikova and Ventsislav Zhechev

We argue that sentences of the kind "You only have to go to the North End to get good cheese" are ambiguous and employ a scalar version of 'only' on one of their readings. So do the exceptive constructions – the cross-linguistic counterparts of 'only have to' sentences. 'Only' is treated as inducing a 'comparative possibility' scale on propositions. The properties of scale explain the absence of the prejacent presupposition that is usually associated with 'only'. The sufficiency meaning component is argued to be a pragmatic inference, not part of the truth conditions. We also discuss the selectional properties of scalar 'only' with respect to the embedded modal.

Donald Duck is back, and he speaks Spanish

Luisa Martí

This abstract argues that the elegant solution to the "Donald Duck" problem put forth in Schwarzschild (2002) is, unfortunately, not viable. The argument is as follows. Schwarzschild's solution to the problem involves the idea that the domain restriction of indefinites can be a singleton set. This assumption not only solves the "Donald Duck" problem, it also explains why indefinites can take scope outside of syntactic islands in many languages. I show with data from Spanish, however, that there are indefinites whose wide scope is sensitive to islands. If wide scope readings are analyzed using the singleton-set idea, however, their sensitivity to the syntactic environment in Spanish is not expected. This suggests that we should reject the singletonness assumption. But if so, we no longer have a general solution to the "Donald Duck" problem.

A compositional semantics for locatives

Cécile Meier

Spatial expressions are usually interpreted as relations between two individuals (see e.g. Bierwisch 1996). I am going to argue that a smoother picture of the semantics of locatives arises if we assume that locative prepositional phrases express properties of locations. This move necessitates the introduction of variables for locations into the formal language. I am going to show in detail that an analogous linguistic system underlies the reference to locations and the reference to times. Locative modifiers may play the role of frame-setters restricting the reference location. They may set the location of the speech or the location of an event, state or an individual (in analogy to the so-called event time and speech time). Furthermore, expressions as everywhere and nowhere act as locative quantifiers. In my view, the overall architecture of locative semantics mirrors the properties of other quantificational domains and this view fits nicely into the program of ontological symmetry that Philippe Schlenker recently started to develop.

Comparatives without degrees: a new approach

Friederike Moltmann

In this talk I will pursue an approach to the semantics of comparatives without making central use of degrees, an approach that is based on the notion of a 'particularized property' or what philosophers nowadays call a trope.

Synonymy, common knowledge, and the social construction of meaning

Reinhard Muskens

In this paper it is shown how a formal theory of interpretation in Montague's style can be reconciled with a view on meaning as a social construct. We sketch a formal theory in which agents can have their own theory of interpretation and in

which groups can have common theories of interpretation. Frege's problem how a proposition can be grasped is no longer solved by placing the proposition in some Platonic realm, but by making use of the common knowledge of language participants.

Monotone amazement

Rick Nouwen

This paper investigates how evaluative predicates (like 'amazing', 'surprising' etc.) combine with monotone and non-monotone statements. I argue that although these predicates give rise to different interpretations in different positions, they always licence the same polar orientation effects. Additionally, I argue that these effects are solely due to the monotonicity of evaluative predicates which preserves (or reverses) the entailments that are licensed by the structure to which the predicate applies. Finally, the different ways in which evaluative predicates convey their emotive content differ with respect to factivity. As I will show, adverbs like 'amazingly' can modify operators that convey a standard of comparison on the basis of intensions. When this is the case, factivity is lost.

Almost: a test?

Doris Penka

Modifiability by 'almost' has often been used as a test for the quantificational nature of a DP. The aim of this paper is to give a semantics for 'almost' as a cross-categorial modifier. It is argued that 'almost' introduces alternatives in which the modified expression is replaced by a value close by on the corresponding Horn-scale. It is shown that such a semantics derives the correct truth conditions for 'almost' applying across categories and explains restrictions on its distribution. At the same time, taking the semantics of 'almost' seriously invalidates the 'almost'-test as diagnostic for the nature of quantifiers.

Semantics of possessive determiners

Stanley Peters and Dag Westerstål

We give a uniform account of a wide range of possessive determiners, including simple (John's), quantified (few doctors'), and partitive (each of most students'), focusing on certain (to our mind) important but frequently neglected features of their semantics. One is the mode of quantification over the 'possessed' objects: often universal, but other modes are allowed too. Another is what [Barker 1995] calls narrowing: we agree it belongs to the semantics of possessives but note a methodological problem that seems to ensue. A third is the role of definiteness for possessives: we compare in detail our account to the 'definiteness accounts' common in the literature. Fourth, we study the monotonicity behavior of possessives.

Determiners in aspectual composition

Christopher Piñón

A difficulty with leading theories of aspectual composition (Krifka 1992, Verkuyl 1993) is that they make incorrect predictions when verbs of gradual change combine with DPs containing determiners such as 'at least (three)', 'at most (three)', 'less than (three)', 'many', and the like. The problem is that such determiners form DPs that are not (in Krifka's terms) quantized and some of which are even cumulative, and yet they all yield accomplishments in aspectual composition, contrary to expectations. I discuss the details and review a solution to this problem due to Zucchi and White (1999), arguing that it is not convincing. I then propose a new approach to the constitution of accomplishments that appeals to the focus meaning (in the sense of Rooth 1992) of the determiners of internal argument DPs in aspectual composition. In brief, a VP or sentence may be an accomplishment either by virtue of its ordinary meaning being quantized or by virtue of a compatible alternative derived from the focus meaning of the determiner of the internal object DP that is quantized. I show that this approach is more successful than the others in accounting for the problematic data.

Scope disambiguation by ellipsis and focus without scope economy

Mats Rooth

This paper reanalyzes data on disambiguation of quantifier scope by ellipsis and focus which in Fox (1999) were attributed to an interaction between focus interpretation and a scope economy principle. It is shown that a more thorough development of the effect of focus structure allows the disambiguation to be analyzed purely in focus theory, without appeal to economy principles. The analysis has a simple formal character, in which scope representations are generated combinatorially, and filtered by focus constraints. As in Fox, the link to ellipsis is provided by the assumption that focus is involved in licensing ellipsis.

The helping-effect of dative case

Antonia Rothmayr

German 'helfen' (help) + DAT cannot be captured by standard applicative analyses. Employing a post-Davidsonian view, the paper derives the different stative/eventive readings of 'helfen'. Eventiveness is tied to DO and BECOME, but not to CAUSE. 'helfen' is related to other uses of dative in German via Brandt 2003.

Against partitioned readings of reciprocals

Sivan Sabato and Yoad Winter

Sentences with reciprocal expressions can often have what we call a "partitioned" interpretation. For example, the sentence 'The men are hitting each other' can be true in case there are different groups of men, and the hitting only goes

within the groups, and not between men of different groups. In the literature on reciprocals, some works attribute such partitioning effects to a special reading of the reciprocal, while other works assume distribution of the antecedent set into disjoint subsets independently of the reciprocal’s meaning. In this paper we study the availability of partitioned readings with definite subjects and proper name conjunctions. This shows new evidence that partitioned interpretations of simple reciprocal sentences are independent of the semantics of the reciprocal expression, and are exclusively determined by the interpretation of the subject.

Syntax and semantics of causal *denn* in German

Tatjana Scheffler

This paper presents a new analysis of *denn* (because) in German. In addition to causal links between propositions, *denn* can express the causation of epistemically judged propositions or of speech acts. *Denn*’s behavior is explained by two properties: On the semantics side, I show that *denn* is a conventional implicature item. Syntactically, *denn* is a coordinating conjunction of CPs. These facts explain two things. (1) Why *denn* can be used to express a wider range of causal relations than the related *weil*: *denn* can target the coerced variables over assertions as an argument, while these variables are too high for *weil*. (2) At the same time, the restrictions on the use of *denn* also follow from *denn*’s status as a coordinating conjunction and conventional implicature.

Transparency: an incremental account of presupposition projection

Philippe Schlenker

Heim 1983 claimed that the Context Change Potential of a connective could be derived from its truth-conditional contribution. Following Soames 1989, however, this claim was retracted in Heim 1992: if the ‘real’ conjunction and has a CCP defined by $C[p \text{ and } q] = C[p][q]$, one can just as well define a ‘deviant’ conjunction and* which has the same truth-conditional contribution but the opposite presuppositional behavior (just set $C[p \text{ and }^* q] = C[q][p]$). Heim’s theory was thus insufficiently explanatory and could not extend to connectives whose CCP was not known to begin with. We provide an alternative derivation of Heim’s results which does not suffer from these drawbacks. The idea, which is implemented in a fully classical framework, is that a clause $\{p\}p'$ with presupposition p and assertion p' must satisfy a condition of Transparency, which is checked as soon the clause is pronounced. Given a set of assumptions C , if $\{p\}p^*$ is pronounced after a string a , Transparency requires that, for any sentence completion b , and no matter what the content of p^* is, p should be eliminable, in the sense that $C \models \forall p'(a[p \text{ and } p']b \Leftrightarrow ap'b)$.

Exhaustive imperatives

Magdalena Schwager

Imperatives are often taken to encode necessity. An ambiguity arising with 'for example' provides evidence in favour of interpreting imperatives as containing a possibility operator. A default process of exhaustification turns it into necessity operators, unless overtly blocked by 'for example'. 'for example' can also apply after exhaustification, thereby giving rise to a reading of non-exhaustive necessity. The observed ambiguity is accounted for in a compositional way.

Word meaning, unification and sentence-internal pragmatics

Torgrim Solstad

Important developments within Discourse Representation Theory in recent years include a more elaborate formalisation and account of presuppositional phenomena, as well as the integration into the theory of unification as a mode of composition. Focusing on these two issues, the following claims will be made: (i) the varying compositional impact of some adverbials, ranging from merely constraining the properties of a predicate to radically altering them, is most suitably modeled applying unification, and (ii) pragmatic mechanisms such as bridging, presupposition verification and accommodation can be plausibly applied also solely sentence-internally in describing the semantics of lexical items. To substantiate these claims, the analysis will centre around the German causal preposition 'durch' ('by', 'through', 'with'), with some excursions to other languages.

Causative constructions and aspectual meanings: a case study from Semitic derivational morphology

Reut Tsarfaty

This work aims at identifying aspectual properties of events denoted by morphological causatives in Modern Hebrew (MH). The main purpose of this investigation is to elucidate the kind of connection that can be drawn between causative constructions and aspectual meanings, two notions that are not so easily equated (Levin 2000). A secondary goal is to provide a further argument in favor of the systematic aspectual contribution of Semitic derivational morphology. Our theory is inspired by Smith's causal chain (Smith 1991) and builds on a thematic account of Semitic morphology presented by (Doron 2003). Combining a formal and empirical investigation we argue that the MH causative template shifts the viewpoint of the event onto its initiation and development phases, making it more appropriate for describing imperfective situations.

Alternates

Focus and negative concord in Hungarian

Ágnes Bende-Farkas

This paper presents a newly discovered exception to Negative Concord in Hungarian that does not involve double negation. Rather, it is like English *it*-clefts that contain two negative particles that correspond to two instances of negation, in two independent formulae. The paper extends a DRT-based analysis of Hungarian Focus to the simplest cases, mentions some implications for the division of labor between syntax and semantics and suggests a possible method of presupposition accommodation that is required by the more complex cases.

Complex anaphors — ontology and resolution

Manfred Consten and Mareile Knees

Complex anaphors are nominal expressions referring to propositional structured referents (such as propositions, states, facts and events) while introducing them as unified entities into a discourse representation. In our paper, we will describe anaphoric complexation processes and their constraints in terms of ontological categories. Furthermore, we will provide a resolution model for complex anaphors based on semantic as well as conceptual structures, thus integrating DRT and cognitive approaches. An example of an ambiguous complex anaphor will be discussed in order to show the role of ontological constraints in complex anaphora processing.

Polarity items in *before* clauses

Francesca Panzeri

The aim of this paper is to propose a re-formulation of the uniform definition Beaver and Condoravdi (2003) proposed to account for the meaning of *before* and *after*, such that it can account also for the polarity items licensing behavior of the two temporal connectives.

The role of lists in a categorial analysis of coordination

Michael Schiehlen

The paper proposes categorial analyses for coordination with multiple conjuncts, correlative coordination, and respectively coordination. It argues that in a categorial setting these phenomena can only be adequately analysed if a data structure of lists is introduced. To this purpose the Lambek Calculus is extended with the Kleene star, a connective that has already been explored in other substructural logics. Correspondingly, the calculus is extended with list-forming operators as motivated by the analysis of the coordination phenomena.

Contents

General Information	1
Program	4
Abstracts	7
Invited Speakers	8
Sigrid Beck	8
Gilad Ben Avi and Nissim Francez	8
Manfred Krifka	8
Lawrence S. Moss	9
Beth / Vienna Circle	9
Hannes Leitgeb	9
Language and Learning	9
James Cussens	9
Jacqueline van Kampen	10
Makoto Kanazawa	10
Claire Nedellec	10
Semantic Universals	11
Johan van der Auwera	11
David Gil	11
Helen de Hoop	11
Ed Keenan	12
General Program	13
Ido Ben-Zvi	13
Richard Breheny	13
Tim Fernando	13
Chris Fox and Shalom Lappin	13
Michael Franke	14
Scott Grimm	14
Andreas Haida	14
Yurie Hara	15
Daniel Hardt	15
Petra Hendriks, Helen de Hoop and Monique Lamers	15
Julie Hunter and Nicholas Asher	15
Theo M.V. Janssen	16
Jacques Jayez and Lucia Tovenca	16
Sveta Krasikova and Ventsislav Zhechev	16
Luisa Martí	17
Cécile Meier	17
Friederike Moltmann	17
Reinhard Muskens	17
Rick Nouwen	18
Doris Penka	18

Stanley Peters and Dag Westerstål	18
Christopher Piñón	19
Mats Rooth	19
Antonia Rothmayr	19
Sivan Sabato and Yoad Winter	19
Tatjana Scheffler	20
Philippe Schlenker	20
Magdalena Schwager	21
Torgrim Solstad	21
Reut Tsarfaty	21
Alternates	22
Ágnes Bende-Farkas	22
Manfred Consten and Mareile Knees	22
Francesca Panzeri	22
Michael Schiehlen	22