

Preface

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Quantifier Scope in German

Jürgen Pafel

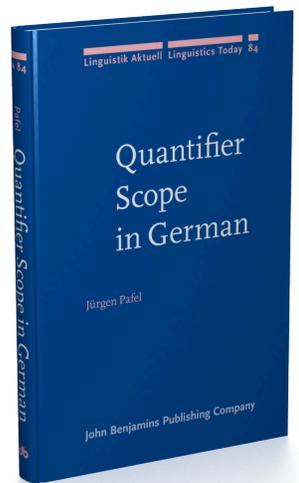
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Preface

This monograph is the revised version of my Habilitationsschrift *Skopus und logische Struktur. Studien zum Quantorenskopis im Deutschen* (1997), Universität Tübingen. It delivers a quite comprehensive account of quantifier scope in German. The scope behavior both of ordinary quantifiers and negative, adverbial, interrogative, relative and particle quantifiers is investigated. The empirical results are compared to what is known of quantifier scope in other languages.

Quantifier scope is a challenge to linguistic theory as it is a phenomenon which is determined by the interplay of different factors. Such interactions have not been studied in depth and the theoretical frameworks are not well prepared to cope with true interactions. More than once, one tried to rely on the tools current frameworks delivered, using c-command relations in syntax, quantifier raising on logical form, reconstruction on diverse levels, and the like in order to cope with quantifier scope – in vain as I fear. Quantifier scope as an outcome of the interaction of diverse syntactic and semantic factors cannot be dismissed as an epiphenomenon. We cannot but develop tools to model such interactions and integrate them into our grammar frameworks.

Quantifier scope is basically a semantic phenomenon, it is, however, an interface phenomenon par excellence too, as the interaction of the factors determining quantifier scope is part of the constraints relating syntax and semantics, more precisely, part of the constraints connecting syntactic and semantic structure. Quantifier scope strongly presupposes a level of semantic structure, a level of analysis where the meaning-compositional aspects of the readings of a sentence and its parts are represented. This level is a genuine semantic level of analysis which should neither be identified with a syntactic level of analysis nor with a translation into the language of predicate logic. This, at least, is what I will argue for in this book.

In Chapter 1 (*Preliminaries*), I give an introduction to the empirical and theoretical aspects of quantifier scope and present the syntactic and semantic assumptions that enter into the investigation. I will, as the first step of the in-

vestigation, delimit the domain of inquiry by identifying quantifiers with the help of three criteria: sensitivity to negation, coordination and quantification.

In order to find out which factors determine the occurrence of relative scope readings, I vary, in Chapter 2 (*Relative scope*), systematically several aspects of simple sample sentences and observe how intuitions concerning scope readings change as a consequence. We will see that relative scope is determined by a variety of syntactic and semantic properties. As these properties interact in a weighted and cumulative way, I propose a linear model with linear equations at its center which predicts the observed scope readings and their degree of preference quite accurately. Then the linear model is built into a grammar framework where syntax and semantics are considered to be relatively autonomous, parallel levels connected by an interface of correspondence constraints. I argue that relative scope is configurationally represented on a level of representation which is not a syntactic, but a genuine semantic, level (dubbed “semantic structure”). It is correspondence constraints between the syntactic and the semantic structure which determine the possible relative scope readings and their degree of preference – the linear model mentioned above being part of these correspondence constraints. This approach limits the structural complexity of both syntactic and semantic structure: everything that is needed for scope reasons has an independent justification.

Broadening the perspective in Chapter 3 (*Absolute scope*), I investigate quantifier scope in complex sentences and the phenomenon of clause-boundedness. An integrated model of absolute and relative scope determination is introduced. After generalizing clause-boundedness in a suitable way to phrase-boundedness, I analyze the absolute scope constraints in German as correspondence constraints relating syntactic and semantic structure, i.e., they are analyzed in a similar vein as the relative scope constraints. The phenomenon of inverse linking is taken to be primarily a phenomenon of absolute scope.

Indefinite noun phrases are generally regarded as noun phrases with very peculiar scope behavior. In Chapter 4 (*Indefinites and quantifiers*), different types of indefinite noun phrases are distinguished: quantificational and non-quantificational ones, and, among the non-quantificational ones, non-specific, (weakly and strongly) specific and generic indefinite noun phrases. Quantificational indefinite noun phrases behave, with respect to scope, exactly as the quantifiers investigated in the first three chapters. But non-quantificational indefinite noun phrases, “indefinites” in a narrow sense, have a strikingly different behavior in many respects. These indefinites are uniformly analyzed as names (of a kind), which, in semantic structure, may lead to, or trigger,

the introduction of a quantifier which ranges over the instances of the kind (the quantifier can be an existential one or some variety of a generic quantifier). Such a quantifier is implicit in the sense that it shows up in semantic structure, but has no counterpart in syntactic structure, and differs from explicit quantifiers (which show up in syntactic and semantic structure) in its scope behavior.

Chapter 5 (*Interrogative quantifiers*) completes the investigation of the major areas of quantifier scope in German. In the previous chapters it turned out that *wh*-phrases are quantifiers which are subject to the same regularities as non-interrogative quantifiers. The investigation of the so-called pair-list or distributive reading in sentences with interrogative quantifiers (*What did everyone buy for Max?*) shows a perfect fit between the factors which determine scope interaction between non-interrogative quantifiers and the factors which determine the interaction between interrogative and non-interrogative quantifiers. In Chapter 5, I will, firstly, take up this issue and, secondly, explore the semantic consequences of this insight and propose a particular semantics of *wh*-phrases and *wh*-interrogatives.

Chapter 6 (*Alternative scope accounts*) delivers a survey of the different accounts which have been proposed for quantifier scope (configurational theories, semantically and pragmatically based theories as well as multi-factor theories).

As I will argue that scope is representend on a geniune semantic level of representation, in Chapter 7 (*Towards a theory of semantic structure*) the form, construction and interpretation of the level of semantic structure is investigated. I try to show that it is possible to sketch a uniform process of scope determination which encompasses the scope of explicit as well as implicit quantifiers without neglecting their differences, i.e., the differences between explicit and implicit quantifiers in general and the differences among explicit quantifiers and among implicit quantifiers themselves. Chapter 8 (*Concluding remarks*) delivers a résumé and an outlook.

For the quick reader I propose the following road map: §1.1, §1.2, §2.1, §2.2 (browse only), §2.3.1, §2.3.2 (browse only), §2.4.1.1, §2.4.2. This journey will give you a feeling for the facts and the theoretical account proposed.

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This book is dedicated to Eva, to my mother and to the memory of my father and Gabriel Falkenberg, teacher and friend.