The Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic and Communication

October 2011 Volume 6: Formal Semantics and Pragmatics: Discourse, Context, and Models DOI: 10.4148/biyclc.v6i0.1577

pages 1-39

MARIBEL ROMERO
University of Konstanz maribel.romero@uni-konstanz.de

MODAL SUPERLATIVES AND 3-PLACE VS. 2-PLACE -EST*

ABSTRACT: Superlative sentences with modal modifiers like possible give rise to the so-called ‘modal superlative reading’ (Larson 2000, Pancheva 2005). The present paper uses this reading to investigate an open issue in degree constructions: whereas two different lexical entries have been argued to exist for the comparative morpheme -er (3-place and 2-place), it is not clear whether two entries are needed for the superlative morpheme -est. The paper argues that, with 3-place -est, otherwise unmotivated syntactic material would have to be postulated and that, even with this material, not all modal superlative examples would be assigned correct truth conditions. In contrast, 2-place -est can generate the modal superlative reading in all the cases, as shown in Romero (to appear, under review). Modal superlative sentences, thus, provide evidence that 2-place -est is needed in the grammar.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with superlative predicates accompanied by certain modal adjectives, like possible, conceivable and imaginable. On the one hand, we have simple superlative constructions like (1). On the other, we have sentences like (2) where the modal adjective simply modifies a noun N, the result denoting the set of individuals that are N in some possible / conceivable / imaginable world.

(1) John is the smartest liar.
   a. “John is a liar that is smarter than any other (relevant) liar.”

(2) John is a possible / conceivable / imaginable liar.
   a. “Possibly / Conceivably / Imaginably, John is a liar.”

The two constructions are combined in (3). Sentence (3) has—expectedly—a reading that directly results from the combination of the ones in (1) and (2). This is the regular modifier reading in (3a). But, interestingly, a further reading has been noted to arise (Corver 1997, Larson 2000, Pancheva 2005): the so-called ‘modal superlative’ reading, with the (rough) paraphrase “as X as possible” given in (3b). To better get acquainted with the modal superlative reading, the reader can resort to the postnominal version in (4), which lacks the regular modifier reading and only has the modal superlative reading (Larson 2000). To see one truth-conditional difference between the two readings, note that reading (3b) entails that John is a liar in the actual world whereas (3a) does not.

(3) John is the smartest possible ( / conceivable / imaginable) liar.
   a. Regular modifier reading: “John is possibly a liar and he is smarter than any other (relevant) individual that is possibly a liar.”
   b. Modal superlative reading: “John is as smart a liar as possible for him/one to be.”

(4) John is the smartest liar possible ( / conceivable / imaginable).

The same holds for the following examples. The simple superlative sentence (5) can be understood as in (5a). In (6), the modal adjective possible acts as a modifier of the noun player. When we combine the two constructions in (7), we obtain the expected regular modifier reading in (7a) and, additionally, the modal superlative reading in (7b). Again, the reader can refine her intuitions about the latter reading with the postverbal version in (8), which only has the modal
superlative reading.

(5) Bob met the tallest player.
   a. “Bob met the player that is taller than any other (relevant) player.”

(6) Bob met a possible player.
   a. “Bob met somebody who may possibly be a player.”

(7) Bob interviewed the tallest possible player.
   a. Regular modifier reading: “Bob met the individual who may possibly be a player who is taller than any other (relevant) individual than may possibly be a player.”
   b. Modal superlative reading: “Bob met as tall a player as possible for him / one to meet.”

(8) Bob met the tallest player possible.

The same phenomenon is found with most and fewest. Most and fewest are analysed as the superlative of many and of few respectively (Hackl 2009). The simple superlative sentences (9) and (10) have the readings in (9a) and (10a) respectively. The insertion of the modal adjective in principle preserves this reading with an extra modification of the head noun, as in (11a) and (12a). And the additional modal superlative reading arises, paraphrased in (11b)–(12b). Again, to better single out this reading, the reader can use the postnominal versions in (13)–(14), which only have the modal superlative reading.

(9) John climbed the most mountains.
   a. “John climbed more mountains than anybody else (relevant) did.”

(10) John talked to the fewest guests.
    a. “John talked to fewer guests than anybody else (relevant) did.”

(11) John climbed the most possible mountains.
    a. (#) “John climbed more objects that possibly were mountains than anybody else (relevant) did.”
    b. “John climbed as many mountains as it was possible for him / one to climb.”

(12) John talked to the fewest possible guests.
    a. “John talked to fewer individuals that possibly were guests than anybody else (relevant) did.”
    b. “John talked to as few guests as it was possible for him / one to talk to.”

(13) John climbed the most mountains possible.

(14) John talked to the fewest guests possible. (modified from Pancheva 2005)

Two interconnected questions arise:

(A) How does the modal adjective syntactically and semantically combine with the rest of the elements in the sentence to yield the modal superlative reading?

(B) What can the modal superlative reading teach us about superlative constructions and degree constructions in general?

Previous analyses of the phenomenon tackle question (A). Larson (2000) and Pancheva (2005) note some important lexical and syntactic restrictions on the modal superlative reading. They mostly focus on the syntactic derivation and constituency structure of the construction. Larson (2000) does not tackle the semantic computation, and Pancheva (2005) treats the string -est possible as one single lexical entry, non-decomposable. Romero (2011, to appear) takes the observed restrictions and, combining insights from the two approaches, develops a first compositional semantic account of the modal superlative reading, separating the semantic contribution of -est from that of the modal adjective.

The present paper investigates question (B), and, in doing so, also reflects on question (A). Its general goal is to place the modal superlative reading in the bigger picture of comparative and superlative constructions. On the one hand, for the comparative morpheme, it has been recently argued that we need two lexical entries for -er crosslinguistically (Bhatt & Takahashi 2008): 3-place -er in (15) and 2-place -er in (16). The 3-place -er occurs in phrasal comparatives non-amenable to a deletion account, e.g. Hindi-Urdu (17). The 2-place -er is used inter alia for clausal comparatives like (18). That is, (15) and (16) are
not theoretical variants of each other, but each of them is empirically motivated.

\[\llbracket \text{-er}_{3\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda P_{<d,et>} \lambda y. \exists d[ P(d)(y) \& \neg(P(d)(x))]\]

\[\llbracket \text{-er}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{<d,et>} \lambda P_{<d,et>} \lambda y. \exists d[ P(d) \& \neg(Q(d)) ]\]

(Heim 2006)

(17) Atif-ne Boman-se zyaadaa kitaabe parh-i Hindi-Urdu
Atif-Erg Boman-than more books.f read-Pfv.FP1
‘Atif read more books than Boman.’ (Bhatt & Takahashi 2008)

(18) John is taller than Mary is.

On the other hand, for superlative constructions, it is not clear whether we need to distinguish between a 3-place -est and a 2-place -est. Two such lexical entries, given in (19)-(20), have been defined in the literature (Heim 1999), but they have been treated as theoretical alternatives to each other.5 Evidence for 3-place -est apparently comes from cases like (21), with the overt comparison argument among the candidates (type \(<e,t>)

The question is: Are there cases where the 2-place lexical entry for -est is empirically needed? This question has, to my knowledge, not been addressed in the literature.

\[\llbracket \text{-est}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{<d,t,e>} \lambda P_{<d,t,e>} \lambda x. \exists d[ P(d) \& \forall y \in Y \exists d[ P(d)(y) \& \neg(P(d)(x))] ]\]

\[\llbracket \text{-est}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{<d,t,e>} \lambda P_{<d,t,e>} \lambda y. \exists d[ P(d) \& \forall Q \in Q \exists d[ P(d) \& Q \neq P \rightarrow \neg Q(d))]\]

(21) John is the tallest among the candidates.

The concrete (and relatively modest) goal of the present paper is the following: to use the modal superlative reading to provide evidence that 2-place -est is empirically needed. More specifically, the first compositional approach given by Romero’s (2011, to appear) was implemented with 2-place -est. The present paper investigates whether 3-place -est could be used instead to derive the correct truth conditions. We will see that, to get close to the intended reading with 3-place -est, one would need to posit otherwise unmotivated non-overt material, and that, even with this material, incorrect truth conditions are derived for some of the cases. The correct results are obtained if we assume 2-place -est instead. The conclusion is that, under the framework for degree constructions assumed in this paper, 3-place -est is ill-suited to derive the modal superlative reading, and, thus, that a 2-place lexical entry for -est is needed in the grammar.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides background on the LF approach to degree constructions assumed here, introducing 3-place -est and 2-place -est as theoretical alternatives to each other. Section 3, the central part of the paper, carries out several attempts at deriving the modal superlative reading with 3-place -est. Section 4 summarizes Romero’s analysis based 2-place -est. Section 5 concludes.

2. BACKGROUND: LF ANALYSIS OF DEGREE CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1. Comparatives: 3-place -er and 2-place -er

Gradable predicates like tall have, besides their individual argument(s) (type e), a degree argument (type d). They are treated as downward monotonic. That is, if the height of a given individual x is exactly 170cm, x counts as 170cm tall, as 169cm tall, as 168cm tall, etc.

The comparative morpheme -er combines with the than-clause or phrase to form a Degree Phrase (DegP), which occupies the degree argument position of the gradable predicate. DegP can undergo LF movement to gain sentential scope, leaving behind a trace of type d (von Stechow 1984, Heim 2000, among many others). (22) illustrates the LF and compositional semantic derivation of the Hindu-Urdu example (17), with a than-phrase and with 3-place -er. More in more books is treated as the comparative of the gradable adjective many in (22c) (Hackl 2000):

(22a) \[\llbracket \text{LF of (17): } \lambda y. \exists x[y \neq x \rightarrow \neg(P(y))]]\]

(22b) \[\llbracket \text{Boman} \rrbracket = b\]

(22c) \[\llbracket \text{many} \rrbracket = \lambda d. \lambda x. |x| \geq d\] (Adapted from Hackl 2009)

(22d) \[\llbracket \text{Some t2-many books} \rrbracket = \lambda y. \exists z[\text{books}(z) \& |z| \geq g(2) \& \text{read}(y,z)]\]

(22e) \[\llbracket \text{2 read SOME t2-many books} \rrbracket = \lambda y. \exists z[\text{books}(z) \& \text{read}(y,z)]\]

www.thebalticyearbook.org

modal superlatives

(25) \( \text{SHIFT}_{d \rightarrow \langle d, t \rangle}^r = \left[ \left[ \text{of}^r \right] / \text{than}^r \right] = \lambda d', \lambda d. \ d' \leq d'' \)

(26) Juan es más alto de \( \left[ \text{FreeRC} \text{ lo que } \text{lo es María} \right] \). Spanish John is more tall of \( \left[ \text{FreeRC} \text{ the that}_{\text{REL-PRON}} \text{ it is Mary} \right] \).

2.2. the scope of little

It has been noted that sentences with a less comparative are ambiguous between a maximal boundary reading and a minimal boundary reading (Seuren 1973, Rullmann 1995). This ambiguity is exemplified in (27):

(27) Lucinda was driving less fast than is allowed on this highway.

(Rullmann 1995)

a. Maximal boundary reading: “She drove below the maximal speed limit”.

b. Minimal boundary reading: “She drove below the minimum speed limit”.

Heim (2006), following Rullmann (1995), decomposes less into the comparative morpheme -er and an element little, which basically amounts to negation. The ambiguity in (27) is derived by allowing little to have different scoping possibilities with respect to the modal verb in the than-clause. When little scopes over the modal, the maximal boundary reading is obtained, as in (28). When little scopes under the modal, the minimal boundary reading is generated, as in (29).

(28) Maximal boundary reading: “Lucinda drives below the maximum speed limit”.
This time, instead of the operation in (25) mapping each degree d’ into the set of degrees lower or equal to it, we will need the operation in (31), which maps each degree d” into the sets of degrees higher or equal to it.

\[(31) \quad \text{SHIFT}^{\geq}_{d \rightarrow d'} = \llbracket \text{of}^{\geq} / \text{than}^{\geq} \rrbracket = \lambda d''. \quad d'. \quad d' \geq d''\]

To see why we need (31), consider e.g. the semantic derivation of the minimum boundary reading of (30), spelled out in (32). We have the property of degrees in (32c). In a scenario where the minimum speed required is 100km/h, (32c) is the characteristic function of the set \{101km/h, 102km/h, 103km/h, 104km/h, ...\}, which goes up to infinitum. Then we have to compute the contribution of the definite article. Rather than picking the maximal of these degrees (which would be undefined), the definite article should pick the most informative degree of which its sister property P holds, that is, the degree d such that P(d)=1 and, for any other d’ such that P(d’)=1, P(d) entails P(d’) (cf. Beck & Rullmann (1996) for maximal informativity in questions). In our scenario, this gives us the degree 101km/h as the value of (32e) (since being allowed not to have 101km/h among your degrees of fastness entails being allowed not to have 102km/h among your degrees of fastness, and so on). Now, before the comparative morpheme -er can apply, we have to switch the degree 101km/h into a set of degrees, namely into the same set of degrees (29c) that we had obtained for the same reading of the English counterpart. In our scenario, this is the set \{101km/h, 102km/h, 103km/h, 104km/h, ...\} again, that is, the set of degrees of speed that one is allowed not to have. This means that we should not use the lower-or-equal shifting operation in (25), which would map the degree 101km/h to the set \{ ... 98km/h, 99km/h, 100km/h, 101km/h\}. Instead, we need to use the higher-or-equal shifting operation in (31), which maps 101km/h into the desired set 101km/h, 102km/h, 103km/h, 104km/h, ... \}.

Note that, in languages that use a definite free relative clause in the than-phrase, we will need to do some type adjustment again. Consider example (30), which display the same ambiguity as its English counterpart above:

\[(30) \quad \text{Lucía conducía menos deprisa de lo que estaba permitido} \quad \text{Lucía drove less fast of the that was allowed} \quad \text{en esa autopista.} \quad \text{on that highway}
\]

'Lucía drove less fast than what was allowed on that highway.'
We will present each account in turn.

Heim (1999) building on Heim (1985) and Szabolcsi (1986), develops two LF-based accounts of this ambiguity, one using 3-place -est and one using 2-place -est. In both cases, the main idea is that the Degree Phrase [-est C] can undergo LF movement out of its host NP, leaving behind a trace of type d. The LF position of [-est C] then determines the range of possible choices for the contextual comparison class \[\{C\}\], which in turn (partly) determines whether we obtain the absolute or the relative reading.\(^9\) We will present each account in turn.

2.3. The Absolute/Relative Ambiguity in Superlatives: 3-place -est and 2-place -est

We move now to superlative constructions. A well-known ambiguity is found in superlative sentences with a covert comparison class argument C (Szabolcsi 1986, Heim 1985, 1999). Consider sentence (33), ignoring intonation for a moment. Under the so-called ‘absolute’ reading, (33) compares mountains in terms of their heights and asserts something of the highest one, yielding the paraphrase in (33a). Under the so-called ‘relative’ reading, mountain-climbers are compared in terms of their climbing achievements, and the sentence is paraphrasable as (33b). Heim’s example (34) displays the same ambiguity, each of the answers in (34a,b) corresponding to one of the readings:

(33) John climbed the highest mountain.
   a. Absolute reading: “John climbed a mountain higher than any other (relevant) mountain”.
   b. Relative reading: “John climbed a higher mountain than anybody else (relevant) climbed”.

(34) Who wrote the largest prime number on the blackboard? (Heim 1999)
   a. Nobody, of course! There is no largest prime number! Absolute reading
   b. John did. He was the only one above 100. Relative reading

Furthermore, the type of comparison carried out in the relative reading depends on the focus structure of the sentence. The placement of focus shapes the comparison class. To see this, consider the examples in (35), where two different relative readings arise correlating with focus: (35a) compares recipients of John’s letters (in terms of the lengths of the letters they received from John), whereas (35b) compares senders of letters to Mary (in terms of the lengths of the letters they sent to Mary).\(^9\)

(35) a. John wrote the longest letter to MARY.
   b. JOHN wrote the longest letter to Mary.

Heim (1999), building on Heim (1985) and Szabolcsi (1986), develops two LF-based accounts of this ambiguity, one using 3-place -est and one using 2-place -est. In both cases, the main idea is that the Degree Phrase [-est C] can undergo LF movement out of its host NP, leaving behind a trace of type d. The LF position of [-est C] then determines the range of possible choices for the contextual comparison class \[\{C\}\], which in turn (partly) determines whether we obtain the absolute or the relative reading.\(^10\) We will present each account in turn.

2.3.1. Analysis of the Absolute/Relative Ambiguity using 3-place -est

Heim’s (1999) lexical entry for 3-place -est including presuppositions is given in (36):

(36) 3-place lexical entry and presuppositions:
   \[\text{[-est]} = \lambda Y_{<d,>}. \lambda P_{<d,>}. \lambda x.. \exists d [ P(d)(x) \& \forall y \in Y \{y \neq x \rightarrow \neg (P(d)(y))\} ]\]  

Presuppositions:
(a) the third argument, x, is a member of the comparison class,
all members of the comparison class \( Y \) have the property \( P \) to some degree.

The **absolute** reading is derived by scoping the \( \text{-est} \) \( C \) within its host NP, as in (37). The LF sister of \( \text{-est} \) \( C \) is the constituent \( \lceil 1 \text{ t}_1\text{-high mountain}\rceil \), which expresses a \( \langle d, c, e, t \rangle \)-property relating mountains to their degrees of height. Note that the presupposition (36b) requires that all members of the comparison class \( C \) have the sister property to some degree. This boils down to requiring that \( C \) be a set of mountains. If \( C \) equals e.g. \( \{z: z \text{ is a mountain on earth}\} \), the absolute reading obtains with the highest mountain referring to Mount Everest.

(37) John climbed the highest mountain.

The **relative** reading arises from scoping \( \text{-est} \) \( C \) outside its host NP and adjoining it under the term to be compared, as in (38). Now the sister constituent, \( \lceil 1 \text{ climbed A t}_1\text{-high mountain}\rceil \), expresses a \( \langle d, c, e, t \rangle \)-property relating mountain climbers to their achievements in terms of heights of mountains climbed. Thus, by the presupposition in (36b), all members of the comparison class \( C \) are mountain climbers that have climbed some mountain of some height. The result is comparison among mountain climbers.

(38) John climbed the highest mountain.

(38) is Heim's (1999) analysis of the relative reading with 3-place -est, disregarding focus (Heim 1999:§6). Szabolcsi's (1986:§2) idea is similar, except that she factors focus into the account: the term to be compared in the relative reading (MARY in (35a), JOHN in (35b) and focused John in (38)) bears focus and undergoes focus movement. With this focus, 3-place -est can be regarded as a schönfinke-lized version of the GB-style structured meaning approach to focus sensitivity (Jacobs 1983, von Stechow 1990; see also Krifka 2006), where focus sensitive particles combine with the elements of a triple like (39). For the relative reading of the sentence JOHN climbed the highest mountain, the triple needed is (40). The syntactic tree needed with focus movement of JOHN looks like (41) (cf. Heim (1999:(42)). Note that one needs to allow for the moved DegP to land between the focus-moved subject JOHN and its movement index \( I \). With this assumption, the tree provides the three elements of the desired triple, one at a time.

(39) \( \langle F, C, R, > \), where \( F \) is the meaning of the focused element, \( C \) is the comparison class or set of alternatives to \( F \), and \( R \) is the background relation.

(40) \( \langle \text{john}, C, \lambda d.\lambda x.\exists z[\text{mount}(z) \& \text{high}(z,d) \& \text{climb}(x,z)] \rangle \), where \( C \) is resolved to a set of relevant mountain climbers (due to the presupposition (36b)).

(41) JOHN climbed the highest mountain.
2.3.2. Analysis of the Absolute / Relative Ambiguity using 2-place -est

Heim’s (1999) 2-place lexical entry for -est is spelled out in (42). As before, the LF position of [-est C] delimits the range of possible comparison classes C. The extra “shaping” of C induced by focus is achieved via Rooth’s (1985) squiggle operator ∼ in (43): C must be a subset of the focus semantic value of its sister constituent α.\(^\ddagger\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\llbracket -est \rrbracket &= \lambda Q_{Q<\ell_{c,d,r}} \cdot \lambda P_{P<\ell_{c,d,r}} \cdot \exists d \left[ P(d) \& \forall Q \in Q \left[ Q \neq P \rightarrow \neg (Q(d)) \right] \right] \\
\llbracket \alpha \sim C \rrbracket &\text{ is felicitous only if } C \text{ is a subset of the focus semantic value of } \alpha.
\end{align*}
\]

The Relative reading results when [-est C] moves out of the host NP and attains sentential scope, as in (44a). Given (43), C must be constrained so as to fulfill the condition in (44b). The final truth conditions are spelled out in (44c), yielding the relative reading.

\[
\text{(44)} \quad \text{JOHN climbed the highest mountain.}
\]

\[\begin{align*}
a. & \quad \text{LF: } [-est C] [1[JOHN_f \text{ climbed } A \ t_1\text{-high mountain}]] \sim C \\
b. & \quad C \subseteq [1[JOHN_f \text{ climbed } A \ t_1\text{-high mountain}]]/ \\
c. & \quad \exists d [3z[\text{mount(z)} \& \text{high(z,d)} \& \text{climb}(j,z)] \& \forall Q \in C [Q \neq (\lambda d'. \text{John climbed } A \ d'\text{-high mountain})] \\
\end{align*}
\]

2.4. Wrapping up

For comparative constructions, we have seen that some comparatives sentences employ 3-place -er and some others use 2-place -er. Furthermore, for some examples with 2-place -er, some type adjustment is empirically needed: SHIFT\(^\ddagger\) in (25) for positive predicates and SHIFT\(^\ddagger\) in (31) for negatives predicates.

For superlative constructions, the situation with respect to the lexical entries for -est is different. On the one hand, superlative sentences
with an explicit comparison class argument, like the ones in (48), provide evidence that 3-place -est is needed in the grammar (see e.g. Heim 1985 p. 19). The phrases among the candidates and of all my friends (type <e,t>) are taken to express the comparison class and thus fill up the $\lambda Y_{<e,t>}$ argument of -est in (36).

(48)  
\begin{enumerate}  
\item a. John is the tallest among the candidates. \hfill (= (21))  
\item b. Of all my friends, he sang the loudest. \hfill (Heim 1985)  
\end{enumerate}

On the other hand, superlative sentences without an explicit comparison class argument can be analyzed with 3-place -est or with 2-place -est. Each of the two lexical entries can be used to derive both the absolute and the relative reading. In fact, with the additional assumptions on each side noted above, the choice between 3-place -est and 2-place -est basically boils down to the choice between the structured meaning approach to focus (Jacobs 1983, von Stechow 1990) and the alternative semantics approach (Rooth 1985 for the relative reading. The 3-place -est analysis and the 2-place -est analysis are, thus, theoretical alternatives to each other.

The question to be addressed in this paper is whether the modal superlative reading can provide any evidence that 2-place -est is needed in the grammar as well.

We go back now to our modal superlative examples. Section 3 develops three attempts at deriving this reading using the 3-place lexical entry for -est, evaluating the results. Section 4 presents Romero’s (2011, to appear) proposal, which uses 2-place -est. In both cases, the modal adjective will not be syntactically parsed as a modifier of the head noun. Rather, it will form a syntactic constituent with the superlative morpheme -est, filling up the $\lambda C$ slot of -est (following Romero (2011)) together with some elliptical material marked as ▲ (corresponding to the infinitival complement of possible, as in Larson (2000)).

3. ATTEMPTS WITH THE 3-PLACE LEXICAL ENTRY -EST

We have seen that, when we insert certain modal adjectives next to a predicate in the superlative, e.g. highest, most and fewest, we obtain, besides the expected regular modifier reading, an additional reading:

the modal superlative reading given in (49a)–(51a).

(49)  
\begin{enumerate}  
\item a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as high a mountain as it was possible for him to climb.”  
\item b. Of all my friends, he sang the loudest. \hfill (Heim 1985)  
\end{enumerate}

(50)  
\begin{enumerate}  
\item a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as many mountains as it was possible for him to climb.”  
\end{enumerate}

(51)  
\begin{enumerate}  
\item a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as few mountains as it was possible for him to climb.”  
\end{enumerate}

The question to be addressed in this section is whether one can derive the correct truth-conditions for this reading using Heim’s 3-place lexical entry for -est, repeated below:

(52)  
\begin{align}  
\llbracket \text{est} \rrbracket & = \lambda Y_{<e,t>} \ldots \lambda P_{<e,t>} \ldots \lambda X_e \ldots. \exists d [P(d)(x) \wedge \forall y \in Y (y \neq x \rightarrow \neg P(d)(y))] \\
\end{align}

I will present in three successive attempts what one would need to do to get close to the modal superlative reading with 3-place -est. I will start with a simple syntactic tree (attempt 1), a “straw man” representation that fails to derive the reading. To redeem the structure, the syntactic LF representation will be enriched with considerable non-overt material (attempt 2). This representation will generate the correct truth conditions for complex examples with most, but not with few. This will lead us to modify the scope of little in the enriched syntactic structure (attempt 3). The change will bring us closer to the correct truth conditions of examples with fewest, but not entirely there. The conclusion will be that, even if we allow for this particular (and otherwise unwarranted) syntactic enrichment, not all the modal superlative examples will be assigned correct truth conditions.

3.1. Scoping 3-place -est inside the host NP

Consider again example (50) with most, repeated below as (53). The intuition is that the sentence does not compare mountain climbers and

www.thebalticyearbook.org

their achievements, as the relative reading did. Thus, we will start not with the relative LF but with the absolute LF. That is, we will use the overt ingredients that we have and build a syntactic structure parallel to that for the absolute reading with 3-place -est in §2.3.1, where the DegP moves within the host NP. This gives us the tree under (53), where most is decomposed into many + -est (Hackl 2009). The semantic computation is sketched in (54).

(53) John climbed the most possible mountains.

(54) a. \([possible ▲] = \lambda y. 3d'[mounds(y) \& |y| \geq d' \& \Diamond{climb}(j,y)]\)
b. \([t_{1}, many\ mountains] = \lambda x. mounds(x) \& |x| \geq g(1)\)
c. \([t_1, many\ mountains] = \lambda d. \lambda x. mounds(x) \& |x| \geq d\)
d. \([[-est\ possible ▲] t_{1}, many\ mountains] = \lambda x. 3d [mounds(x) \& |x| \geq d \& \forall y [(y \neq x \& 3d'[mounds(y) \& |y| \geq d'] \& \Diamond{climb}(j,y)] \rightarrow \neg |y| \geq d]]\)
e. \([John\ climbed\ SOME [[-est\ possible ▲] t_{1}, many\ mountains]] = 1 \text{ iff } 3x [\Diamond{climb}(j,x) \& 3d [mounds(x) \& |x| \geq d \& \forall y [(y \neq x \& 3d'[mounds(y) \& |y| \geq d'] \& \Diamond{climb}(j,y)] \rightarrow \neg |y| \geq d]]\]

Note that (54e) includes the predication \(y \neq x\) over the variables \(y\) and \(x\) ranging over mountain sums. Following Hackl (2009), this clause is interpreted as requiring that the values of \(x\) and \(y\) do not overlap. With this in mind, (54e) can be paraphrased as (55):

(55) Paraphrase of (54e):

“Out of the set of mountain-sums \(y\) that is possible for John to climb, the cardinality of the sum \(x\) that John actually climbed is greater than the cardinality of any sum \(y\) non-overlapping with \(x\).”

This compares certain mountain sums—the ones that were allowed—and picks the sum that has the relevant property—being numerous—to the highest degree. This produces the reading “more than half of the allowed mountains”, that is, the reading we would obtain if \([possible ▲]\) was a regular modifier of \(mountains\). This is not the modal superlative reading.

3.2. Adding ingredients for an amount reading

Instead of selecting a mountain sum out of the comparison class of allowed mountain sums, we need to pick an amount out of the comparison class of allowed amounts. That is, we need to generate an amount reading. This type of reading is exemplified in (56), where the champagne is understood as “the amount of champagne” (Heim 1987, Grosu & Landman 1998). Similarly, in its modal superlative reading, (57) is understood as “John climbed mountains in the largest amount out of the amounts allowed”.

(56) It will take us the rest of our lives to drink the champagne they spilled that evening.

(Heim 1987)

(57) John climbed the most possible mountains.

Hence, we have to single an amount out of a comparison class. Since we are using 3-place -est in (52), we need a property \(P_{c,d, et} >\) which the to-be-selected amount \(x\) has to a degree that no other \(y\) in the comparison class has. \(^{19}\) This property will be expressed by a covert LF predicate, which I will write as LARGE. The DegP \([-est\ 4\ possible ▲]\) moves out of the d-complement position of LARGE (cf. \([-est\ C]\) moving out of the d-complement position of high in (37)). When combined with its syntactic sister, \([-est\ 4\ possible ▲]\) will distill a singleton out of the comparison class. The unique element in that singleton—namely, the amount \(n\) that has a degree of largeness that no other \(n'\) in the comparison class has—is the denotation of DegP*, i.e., the moved degree phrase of the gradable predicate many. The resulting tree is given in
Once ellipsis is resolved to the indicated IP, we obtain the LF representation in (59). The crucial steps of the semantic derivation are given in (60).

(58): John climbed the most possible mountains.

(59) LF: [ [ A [-est 4 possible < John climbed SOME t₄-many mountains > ] 2 t₄-LARGE ] 1 John climbed SOME t₁-many mountains ]

(60) a. $[[1 \text{ John climbed SOME } t₁-many mountains]]$
   \[= λn. \exists x [\text{mounts}(x) \& |x| \geq n \& \text{climb}(j,x)]\]

b. $[[4 \text{ possible } < \text{John climbed SOME } t₄-many mountains}>]]$
   \[= λn'. \bigvee \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)]\]

c. $[[2 t₂-LARGE]] = λd.λn. \text{large}(n,d)$

d. $[\text{-est } [4 \text{ possible } < \text{John climbed SOME } t₄-many mountains}>]]$
   \[= λn. \exists d [\text{large}(n,d) \& \forall n' [ (n' \neq n \& \bigvee \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)]) \rightarrow \neg \text{large}(n,d) ] ]\]

e. $[[(59)] = 1 \text{ iff } \exists n [ \exists x [\text{mounts}(x) \& |x| \geq n \& \text{climb}(j,x)]$
   \& \exists d [\text{large}(n,d) \& \forall n' [ (n' \neq n \& \bigvee \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)]) \rightarrow \neg \text{large}(n,d) ] ]\]

The final truth conditions can be paraphrased as in (61). This boils down to the reading “John climbed as many mountains as possible”, which is the modal superlative reading.

(61) Paraphrase of (60e):
   “Out of the amounts such that it is possible for John to climb that amount of mountains, take the largest one. John climbed mountains in that amount.”

But what would happen if we applied this analysis to a negative gradable adjective, e.g. few in (62)?

(62) John climbed the fewest possible mountains.

We have seen that most is underlyingly many + -est. Fewest is analyzed as little + many + -est (Hackl 2009). The question is, what the scope of little should be in the LF tree. In this attempt, we will locate little as scoping just above the predicated LARGE, as depicted in (63). The LF representation after ellipsis resolution is (64). The semantic derivation is sketched in (65):

(63) John climbed the fewest possible mountains.

(64) LF: [ [ A [-est 4 possible < John climbed SOME t₄-many mountains > ] 3[[t₃ LITTLE] 2 t₂-LARGE] 1 John climbed SOME t₁-many mountains ]

(65) a. $[[1 \text{ John climbed SOME } t₁-many mountains]]$
Modal Superlatives

\[ = \lambda n. \exists x [\text{mounts}(x) \& |x| \geq n \& \text{climb}(j,x)] \]

\[ = \lambda n'. \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)] \]

\[ 2^n \text{-LARGE} = \lambda d. \lambda n_n. \text{large}(n,d) \]

\[ \text{LITTLE} = \lambda d. \lambda P_{<e,>,=,\neg P}(d)(n) \]

\[ 3 \left( [T_3 \text{ LITTLE}] \left( 2 \text{-LARGE} \right) \right) = \lambda d. \lambda n. \text{~large}(n,d) \]

\[ \text{est} [4 \text{ possible <John climbed SOME } t_j \text{-many mountains}>] \]

\[ 3 \left( [T_3 \text{ LITTLE}] \left( 2 \text{-LARGE} \right) \right) = \lambda n. \exists d \left[ \text{~large}(n,d) \& \forall n' \left( (n' \neq n \& \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)]) \rightarrow \text{large}(n,d) \right) \right] \]

\[ \text{Paraphrase of (66)}: \]

"Out of the amounts \( n' \) such that it is possible for John to climb that amount of mountains, there is a mountain-sum that John climbed whose cardinality equals the smallest of those amounts."

Unfortunately, these modified truth conditions are still too weak. Consider again the scenario described above, where the minimum requirement is 3 mountains, the maximum is 7 and John happens to climb exactly 5 mountains. We saw that sentence (62) is intuitively false in this scenario, since John climbed more than the minimum. But the truth conditions in (66) predict it to be true, due to distributivity: if John climbed the mountain sum \( A+B+C+D+E \), he certainly climbed the mountain (sub-)sum \( A+B+C \). Hence, there exists a mountain-sum \((A+B+C)\) of cardinality \(3\) climbed by John, that is, a mountain-sum climbed by John whose cardinality equals the minimum required.\(^{21, 22}\)

3.3. Relocating LITTLE

To avoid these riddles, the next and final attempt changes the location of LITTLE. The treatment of the positive version with most remains the same, as in (68). But the case with fewest is revised. In attempt 2, we assumed that LITTLE modifies the LF predicate LARGE, rendering the paraphrase in (69a). In attempt 3, we will treat LITTLE as a modifier of many, as the paraphrase in (69b) suggests:

\[ \text{John climbed the } \text{most possible mountains.} \]

a. Attempt 2 / 3: "John climbed mountains in the largest amount out of the amounts allowed".

\[ \text{John climbed the fewest possible mountains.} \]

a. Attempt 2: "John climbed mountains in the \underline{smallest} amount out of the amounts allowed".

b. Attempt 3: "John climbed mountains in the largest \underline{LITTLE}...."
of-amount out of the lacks-of-amount allowed”.

With this modification, we let little scope over the matrix IP spine, crucially out of the host NP [SOME $t_1$-many mountains]. This gives us the tree in (70):

(70) John climbed the fewest possible mountains.

Once ellipsis is resolved, we obtain the LF representation in (71). The semantic computation is sketched in (72):

(71) LF: $[[A \text{ [-est 4 possible }<[t_4 \text{ little]} 5 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_2 \text{-many mountains }>]] 3 \text{ } t_3 \text{-LARGE }[2 [t_2 \text{ little}] 1 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_1 \text{-many mountains }]]$

(72) a. $[[1 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_1 \text{-many mountains}]]$

b. $[[\text{little}]] = \lambda n. \lambda P. \langle P, n, \neg P, n \rangle$

c. $[[2 [t_2 \text{ little}] 1 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_1 \text{-many mountains }]] = \lambda n. \neg \exists x [\text{mounts}(x) \& |x| \geq n \& \text{climb}(j,x)]$

d. $[[4 \text{ possible }<[t_4 \text{ little]} 5 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_2 \text{-many mountains }>]]$

$= \lambda n'. \neg \exists y [\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)]$

e. $[[3 t_3 \text{-LARGE }]] = \lambda d. \lambda n. \lambda P. \langle P, n, d, \neg P, n \rangle$

f. $[[\text{est } 4 \text{ possible }<[t_4 \text{ little]} 5 \text{ John climbed SOME } t_3 \text{-many mountains }>]] 2 t_3 \text{-LARGE }$ 

$= \lambda n. \exists d \lambda n. \exists d [\text{large}(n,d) \& \forall n' [\langle n' \neq n \& \neg \exists y[\text{mounts}(y) \& |y| \geq n' \& \text{climb}(j,y)] \rightarrow \neg \text{large}(n,d)]]$
A first try would be to assume that, in the modal superlative examples, fewest actually involves two occurrences of little. Note that, in the desired paraphrase (75), there are semantically two negations: one corresponding to “fail” and one corresponding to “small”, i.e., “little/not large”. Then, one occurrence of little would scope over the matrix IP spine, as in the current attempt 3, and give us the predication with “fail” in the semantic paraphrase. The other occurrence would negate large, as in attempt 2, and give us the predicate “small” in the semantic paraphrase. However, under this approach, it would be completely obscure why negative predicates involve one instance of little in other degree constructions (e.g. in less comparatives in §2.2) but two in modal superlative cases.

A second try would be to have, instead of the covert predicate large, something vague, a predicate that sometimes compares the amounts in the comparison class in terms of their largeness, as in (60e)–(61), and sometimes in terms of their smallness, as in (74)–(75). The problem here is that it is totally unclear what would ensure that the correct property is chosen. In the case of (70) with fewest, we could perhaps justify the right choice in the following way. Resolving the vague predicate to the property “large” automatically yields a presupposition failure, whereas resolving it to the property “small” does not. Since speakers are cooperative, they try to avoid presupposition failures in production and comprehension. Hence, resolution to “large” will be dismissed in favor of resolution to “small”. But now consider example (58) with most. Here we would also have a vague predicate to be resolved to the property “large” or to the property “small”. If we chose “large”, the correct truth conditions are derived. But, as the reader can check for herself, if we choose “small”, we end up with the problematic weak truth conditions in (66)–(67) that we discussed in §3.2. This is certainly not a possible reading of the sentence John climbed the most possible mountains.

To recapitulate, the modal superlative reading intuitively involves an amount reading where possible degrees or amounts (of height, of cardinality, etc.) are being compared. Since we are using the 3-place lexical entry for -est, repeated below, we need to set up: (i) a comparison class of degrees or amounts (for the λy<τ,τ> slot); (ii) the “winning” degree or amount (for the λx slot); and (iii) a property to measure the competing degrees or amounts of type e using degrees of type d (for the λP<EXT,EXT> slot). Basically, the 3-place lexical entry forces us to artificially use degrees in two different ways (as the measured objects and as the measuring units) and to come up with a covert measuring predicate in the syntactic tree whose varying content causes problems.

\begin{equation}
[-\text{est}] = \lambda\forall y\in Y. \forall \forall Q \in Q. \exists d [P(d)(x) \& \forall y\in Y \{y\not= x \rightarrow \neg(P(d)(y)))]
\end{equation}

As we will see in §4, the need to use degrees or amounts in two different ways and to insert a covert syntactic predicate disappears if we use 2-place -est.

4. Romero’s Analysis Using the 2-Place Lexical Entry -EST

Romero (2011), who develops in detail the analysis sketched in Romero (to appear), derives the modal superlative reading using Heim’s (1999) 2-place -est in (77). She takes [1 possible ▲ACD] to overtly express the comparison class argument of -est, thus directly filling up its λQ<DT,DT> slot.

\begin{equation}
[-\text{est}] = \lambda\forall y\in Y. \forall \forall Q \in Q. \exists d [P(d)(x) \& \forall y\in Y \{y\not= x \rightarrow \neg(P(d)(y)))]
\end{equation}

Let us begin with the simple example (78) first. The LF she proposes is below. The Degree Phrase consists of -est plus its comparison class complement [1 possible ▲ACD], which, following Larson (2000), is a reduced relative clause (1 possible for him to climb a t<sub>1</sub>-high mountain) with antecedent-contained IP-deletion (1 possible ▲). DegP moves out of the host NP to gain sentential scope, as in the relative LF in §2.3.2. Finally, the ACD gap is resolved. This gives us the LF structure (79), which is fed to semantic interpretation.

(78) John climbed the highest possible mountain.

(79) LF: [-est [1 possible <John climb A t<sub>1</sub>-high mountain>] [2 John climbed A t<sub>2</sub>-high mountain]]
The semantic computation is spelled out in (81). Recall that, for comparative constructions, we sometimes needed the type-shifter $\text{SHIFT}^<_{d \rightarrow <d,t}>$ (25) turning a degree point into the set of degrees lower or equal to it. Parallel to that shifter, a shifter $\text{SHIFT}^<_{d \rightarrow <d,t>}$ is defined in (80) turning a set of degree points into the set of corresponding lower-or-equal degree sets. The final truth conditions of the sentence are given in (81g).

$$(80) \quad \text{SHIFT}^<_{d \rightarrow <d,t>} = \lambda D_{<d,t>} . \lambda D'_{<d,t>} . \exists d' [D(d') & D' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d']$$

$$(81) \quad \text{a.} \quad \llbracket 2 \text{ John climbed A } t_2\text{-high mountain} \rrbracket = \lambda d. \exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,d)]$$

b. $\llbracket <\text{John climbed A } t_1\text{-high mountain}> \rrbracket = 1 \text{ iff } \exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,g(1))]$

c. $\llbracket \text{possible } <\text{John climbed A } t_1\text{-high mountain}> \rrbracket = 1 \text{ iff } \exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,g(1))]$

d. $\llbracket 1 \text{ possible } <\text{John climbed A } t_1\text{-high mountain}> \rrbracket = \lambda d. \exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,d)]$

e. $\text{SHIFT}^<_{<d,t> \rightarrow <d,t>} = \lambda D_{<d,t>} . \lambda D'_{<d,t>} . \exists d' [D(d') & D' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d']$

f. $\text{SHIFT}^<_{<d,t> \rightarrow <d,t>} ([\llbracket 1 \text{ possible } <\text{John climbed A } t_1\text{-high mountain}> \rrbracket]) = \lambda D'_{<d,t>} . 3d' [\exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,d) & \text{high}(x,d') & D' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d'] \& D'' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d'$$

g. $\llbracket (80) \rrbracket = 1 \text{ iff } \lambda d. \exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,d)] & \forall d' (\exists x [\text{mount}(x) & \text{climb}(j,x) & \text{high}(x,d) & \text{high}(x,d') & D' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d' & D'' = \lambda d'' . d'' \leq d'] \rightarrow \neg \text{D}(d))$

To show more intuitively what the computation says, Romero (2011) considers a scenario where John is allowed to climb mountains that are 3000m high or less, but no higher than that. The set of allowed degree sets will be $\{ \lambda d'' . d'' \leq 1m, \lambda d'' . d'' \leq 2m, \ldots, \lambda d'' . d'' \leq 1000m, \ldots, \lambda d'' . d'' \leq 2000m, \ldots, \lambda d'' . d'' \leq 3000m \}$. This is the comparison class in (81f). Now consider the set corresponding to the maximal mountain-height that John climbed in the actual world. This is John’s actual set in (81a). The sentence asserts that John’s actual set contains a degree point that no other set in the comparison class contains. Hence, John climbed as high a mountain as possible (or allowed).23

Romero (2011) further shows how complex examples with most and fewest can be treated in a parallel way. Let us see each case in turn.

In example (82) with most, after the DegP moves out of the host NP to the top of the clause and ACD is resolved, we have the LF (83) and the abridged semantic derivation in (84).

$$(82) \quad \text{John climbed the most possible mountains.}$$
& climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d
b. [[1 possible <John climbed t1-many mountains>]] = λd. ∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]
c. SHIFTt<e₃,τ₂>→<e₄,τ₉> = λD≡<τ₂,λD'>≡<τ₉,∃d' [D'(d') & D' = λd''d'' ≤ d']
   (= (81e))
d. SHIFTt<e₃,τ₂>→<e₄,τ₉> ([[1 possible <John climbed t1-many mountains>]]) =
   λD≡<τ₂,λD'. ∃d' [∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d] &
   D' = λd''d'' ≤ d']
   & D' ≠ λd.∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]) → ¬D'(d')
e. [[(83)]] = 1 iff
   ∃d [∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d] & ∀D' [∃d' [∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d] &
   D' = λd''d'' ≤ d'] & D' ≠ λd.∃x [mount(x) & climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]) → ¬D'(d')]

The result is that the sentence asserts that the set of mountain-
amounts (84a) that John actually climbed contains a degree that no
other allowed set in the comparison class (84d) contains. Hence, John
climbed as many mountains as possible (as he was allowed to).

For example (85) with fewest, we add little and give it sentential
scope. Once the ellipsis is resolved, we obtain the LF in (86):

(85) John climbed the fewest possible mountains.

(86) [-est [3 possible [<t₃ little] 1 John climbed t₁-many mountains>]] [4 [t₄ little] 2 John climbed t₂-many mountains]

The semantic computation is given under (88). Recall that, for less
comparatives, we sometimes needed the shifting operation (31) turn-
ing a degree into the set of degrees higher or equal to it. We define its
sister operation for superlatives in (87): we map a set of degrees into
the set of the corresponding higher-or-equal degree sets. The rest of
the computation proceeds as before. As a result, the sentence asserts
that John’s actual set of unclimbed mountain-amounts contains a de-
gree that no other allowed set of unclimbed mountain-amounts in the
comparison class contains. Hence, the total amount of mountains John
climbed is as low as possible/permitted. That is, John climbed as few
mountains as possible.

(87) SHIFTt<e₃,τ₂>→<e₄,τ₉> = λD≡<τ₂,λD'. ∃d' [D'(d') &
   D' = λd''d'' ≥ d']
(88) a. [[little]] = λd.λP≡<τ₂,¬P(d)
b. [[2 John climbed t₂-many mountains]] = λd. ∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]
c. [[4 [t₄ little] 2 John climbed t₂-many mountains]] = λd. ∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]
d. [[3 possible [<t₃ little] 1 John climbed t₁-many mountains>]] = λd'. ∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d']
e. SHIFTt<e₃,τ₂>→<e₄,τ₉> = λD≡<τ₂,λD'. ∃d' [D'(d') &
   D' = λd''d'' ≥ d']
f. SHIFTt<e₃,τ₂>→<e₄,τ₉> ([[3 possible [<t₃ little] 1 John climbed t₁-many mountains>]]) =
   λD≡<τ₂,λD'. ∃d' [∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d'] &
   D' = λd''d'' ≥ d']
g. [[(86)]] = 1 iff
   ∃d [¬∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d] & ∀D' [¬∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d'] &
   D' = λd''d'' ≥ d'] &
   D' ≠ λd.¬∃x [mount(x) &
   climb(j,x) & |x| ≥ d]) → ¬D'(d')]

Before concluding this section, an important question remains to
be addressed. A key ingredient of the analysis is the shifting opera-
tions (80) and (87). These are just the shifting operations motivated
for comparatives (see §2.1 and §2.2) adapted now to superlative con-
structions. But, both for comparative and for superlative constructions,
the question arises, what guarantees the choice of the right shifter—
\text{SHIFT}^\text{E} \text{ vs. } \text{SHIFT}^\text{F}—\text{in the appropriate configuration. Within the current framework, the intuitive answer is this: The correct choice is secured by whatever principle prohibits comparison between cross-polar degree sets in sentences like (89). Sentence (89) asks us to compare an upper-bound set of degrees (namely, \(\lambda d\).\text{tall}(carmen,d')) with a lower-bound set of degrees (namely, \(\lambda d\).\text{¬tall}(alice,d')\)), which renders the sentence odd. This idea can be implemented by adding a presupposition to the lexical entries of 2-place -er and 2-place -est to ensure that the degree sets to be compared are all bound in the same direction. A way to achieve this effect is formulated in (90) and (91). 

(90) \[
\llbracket -\text{er}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X \llbracket Q_{c,d,t} \rrbracket \cdot \lambda P_{c,d,t} : Q \subseteq P \lor Q \supseteq P. \exists d \ [ P(d) \land \forall Q \in Q [ Q \subseteq P \lor Q \supseteq P]. \exists d \ [ P(d) \land \forall Q \in Q [ Q \neq P \rightarrow \neg (Q(d))] ]
\]

(91) \[
\llbracket -\text{est}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X \llbracket Q_{c,d,t} \rrbracket \cdot \lambda P_{c,d,t} : \forall Q \in Q [ Q \subseteq P \lor Q \supseteq P]. \exists d \ [ P(d) \land \forall Q \in Q [ Q \neq P \rightarrow \neg (Q(d))] ]
\]

In sum, using Heim's 2-place lexical entry for -est, one can derive the modal superlative reading “as X as possible” in simple examples like (78), as well as in complex examples involving many, like (82) and (85).

5. CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that superlative sentences with certain modal adjectives give rise to the so-called modal superlative reading, exemplified with the core examples in (92)–(94). The present paper has investigated whether this reading can be derived using the 3-place lexical entry for -est. We have seen that otherwise unmotivated covert syntactic material would need to be posited, and that, even with this material, some complex examples are assigned incorrect truth conditions. In contrast, the 2-place lexical entry for -est can derive the correct truth conditions for all the cases at hand, as shown in Romero (2011, to appear).

(92) John climbed the highest possible mountain.
   a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as high a mountain as possible”.

(93) John climbed the most possible mountains.
   a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as many mountains as possible”.

(94) John climbed the fewest possible mountains.
   a. Modal superlative reading: “John climbed as few mountains as possible”.

In the bigger picture, this brings superlative and comparative morphemes closer. As we saw in §2, two lexical entries for comparative -er have been recently motivated using crosslinguistic data: 3-place -er and 2-place -est in (95)–(96). As for superlatives, the 3-place lexical entry for -est in (97) has been argued for on the basis of examples with an explicit comparison class argument of type \(<e,t>\). The question remained, whether we needed the 2-place lexical entry for -est in (98) as well. The present paper has argued that we need 2-place -est in the grammar.

(95) \[
\llbracket -\text{er}_{3\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X \llbracket Q_{c,d,t} \rrbracket \cdot \lambda Y_{c,d,t} : \exists d [ P(d)(y) \land \neg (P(d)(x))] 
\]

(96) \[
\llbracket -\text{er}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X \llbracket Q_{c,d,t} \rrbracket \cdot \lambda Y_{c,d,t} : \exists d [ P(d) \land \neg (Q(d))] 
\]

(97) \[
\llbracket -\text{est}_{3\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X_{c,d,t} \cdot \lambda Y_{c,d,t} : \exists d [ P(d)(x) \land \forall y \in Y [ y \neq x \rightarrow \neg (P(d)(y))] ] 
\]

(98) \[
\llbracket -\text{est}_{2\text{-place}} \rrbracket = \lambda X_{c,d,t} \cdot \lambda Y_{c,d,t} : \exists d [ P(d) \land \forall Q \in Q [ Q \neq P \rightarrow \neg (Q(d))] ] 
\]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Lisa Bylinina, Irene Heim and, very specially, Barbara H. Partee for their generous comments and fruitful discussion. Many thanks to the audiences of the Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main (Graduirtenkolleg, 2009), Journées Sémantique et Modélisation 2009, SWIGG 2009, NELS 41 and the 6th International Symposium of Cognition, Logic and Communication. All remaining errors are mine.
The attentive reader may have noticed a subtle difference between the simple superlative sentences used so far: (9) and (10) require focus stress on the subject John while (1) and (5) do not, and the resulting paraphrases differ. (In fact, (5) also has a paraphrase parallel to (9)–(10) when the subject is focussed, as in (i) below.) As we will see below (§2.3), even simple superlative sentences give rise to different readings, known as absolute and relative. For the time being, what is important is that, besides the reading(s) shared with the corresponding simple superlative sentence, modal modification adds the indicated modal superlative reading.

(i) BOB met the tallest player.

Barbara H. Partee (p.c.) points out to me that (11)–(12) seem slightly odd on the modal superlative reading and that the postnominal versions are preferred. I do not have an explanation for this preference. Although the alternative analyses to be discussed in this paper will be illustrated for the prenominal versions, they are aimed at the postnominal versions as well, modu lo overt syntactic movement of the possible phrase.

We are mostly interested in the part of the modal superlative reading correspond ing to the paraphrase ‘as X as possible’. The following two further aspects will not be addressed. First, we leave open whether the correct paraphrase corresponds to the structure [possible for PRO_{gb} to buy], with a generic PRO_{gb}, or to the structure [possible for him, to buy], with a pronoun coindexed with the matrix subject. A possible way to distinguish between the two, suggested to me by Barbara H. Partee (p.c.), is the following. If the implicit restrictor in (i) corresponds to a generic PRO_{gb}, then the host and I must have talked to the same number of guests. But, if the implicit restrictor in (i) corresponds to a coindexed pronoun, a sloppy reading where the host and I talked to a different number of guests should be available (since it is likely that the host’s minimum is higher).

(i) I talked to the fewest possible guests, and so did the host.

My judgement is that a sloppy reading is available in (i), arguing that the coindexed pronoun reading is at least possible. See Larson (2000:§3.4) for an argument that the generic PRO_{gb} interpretation is not possible (though he acknowledges that judgments are subtle). See also endnote 20 below. Second, we will not investigate the range and distribution of potential modal bases for the modal adjectives. Though metaphysical possibility is often conveyed, deontic possibility also seems to be found in some examples (understanding possible as “allowed”, e.g. in (11b), (12b), (13) and (14)). We will simply choose one modal base when illustrating alternative analyses.

Notes

1 The attentive reader may have noticed a subtle difference between the simple superlative sentences used so far: (9) and (10) require focus stress on the subject John while (1) and (5) do not, and the resulting paraphrases differ. (In fact, (5) also has a paraphrase parallel to (9)–(10) when the subject is focussed, as in (i) below.) As we will see below (§2.3), even simple superlative sentences give rise to different readings, known as absolute and relative. For the time being, what is important is that, besides the reading(s) shared with the corresponding simple superlative sentence, modal modification adds the indicated modal superlative reading.

2 Barbara H. Partee (p.c.) points out to me that (11)–(12) seem slightly odd on the modal superlative reading and that the postnominal versions are preferred. I do not have an explanation for this preference. Although the alternative analyses to be discussed in this paper will be illustrated for the prenominal versions, they are aimed at the postnominal versions as well, modu lo overt syntactic movement of the possible phrase.

3 We are mostly interested in the part of the modal superlative reading correspond ing to the paraphrase ‘as X as possible’. The following two further aspects will not be addressed. First, we leave open whether the correct paraphrase corresponds to the structure [possible for PRO_{gb} to buy], with a generic PRO_{gb}, or to the structure [possible for him, to buy], with a pronoun coindexed with the matrix subject. A possible way to distinguish between the two, suggested to me by Barbara H. Partee (p.c.), is the following. If the implicit restrictor in (i) corresponds to a generic PRO_{gb}, then the host and I must have talked to the same number of guests. But, if the implicit restrictor in (i) corresponds to a coindexed pronoun, a sloppy reading where the host and I talked to a different number of guests should be available (since it is likely that the host’s minimum is higher).

4 I talked to the fewest possible guests, and so did the host.

5 My judgement is that a sloppy reading is available in (i), arguing that the coindexed pronoun reading is at least possible. See Larson (2000:§3.4) for an argument that the generic PRO_{gb} interpretation is not possible (though he acknowledges that judgments are subtle). See also endnote 20 below. Second, we will not investigate the range and distribution of potential modal bases for the modal adjectives. Though metaphysical possibility is often conveyed, deontic possibility also seems to be found in some examples (understanding possible as “allowed”, e.g. in (11b), (12b), (13) and (14)). We will simply choose one modal base when illustrating alternative analyses.

6 Thanks to Irene Heim (p.c.) for pointing out the relevance of the comparative data.

7 Both alternatives assume that the is semantically vacuous, with an abstract THE or A / SOME instead.

8 The semantic derivation in (37) also allows for the relative reading. See Heim (1999), Shavit & Stateva (2002) and Büring (2007) among others for extensive discussion.

9 In fact, in Szabolcsi’s analysis, what is crucial for the relative reading is that the term focus seems to be necessary for the relative reading to arise. In discussing the two relative readings of (i), Heim (1985) notes that “apparently, the correlate is always marked by focus, so that the sentence is actually never ambiguous in spoken language” (p. 20). Szabolcsi (1986) notes that in Hungarian, where focused phrases not only receive pitch accent but are also moved to preverbal position, focus accent and movement are necessary conditions for the relative reading (p. 246ff). She also discusses English, with no focus movement and where the pitch accent may not always be salient, and argues for the same conclusion (pp. 4ff).

10 Of these three men, John hates Bill the most.

11 Thanks to Irene Heim (p.c.) for pointing out the relevance of the comparative data.

12 The recursive definition of focus semantic value [⟦⟧]₈ based on the ordinary semantic value [⟦⟧]₇ is spelled out in (i) (Rooth 1985):

(i) Focus semantic value [⟦⟧]₈: a. If α is a terminal node, then [α]₈ = [⟦α⟧₇].

b. If α is a non-branching node with single daughter β, then [α]₈ = [⟦β⟧₇].

c. If α is a branching node with daughters β and γ (Focus feature), then [α]₈ = D₈, where σ is the type of [⟦⟧]₇.

d. If α is a branching node with daughters β and γ (order irrelevant), and there are types σ and τ such that [α]₈ = D₈, and [γ]₈ = D₈, then [α]₈ = D₈, where [α]₈ = [κ ∈ D₈ : 3y ∈ [γ]₈ & e ∈ [γ]₈ & x = y(κ)]

13 Heim (1999) does not spell out absolute LFs with 2-place -est. (47a) is Romero’s (to appear) implementation of her ideas. The required trace 1₂ could be obtained by positing an N’-internal PRO that moves and then deletes (see Heim & Kratzer (1998) on PRO, von Stechow (to appear) on a similar use of PRO for tense).

14 The trees in attempts 1-3 retain the idea from Romero (to appear) that [possible Δ] is the explicit complement of -est. But the same results would obtain in attempts 2 and 3 if -est took a contextual variable C as its complement while [possible Δ] was the sister of [D₈ t LARGE] to the right.

15 In the LF trees in §3 and §4, the direct object [SOME X-est possible mountains] is left in situ for perspicacity rather than QRed.

16 For the sake of the argument, let us assume that the ellipsis in [possible Δ] can be resolved so that something like (54a) obtains.

17 Note that attempt 1 also fails for simple examples like (i). The type of structure in

www.thebalticyearbook.org
For readability, I will treat amounts as a particular sort of individuals (type e), keeping the types \( C_{d,2}, P_{d,2}, x_d \), as they are in the lexical entry (52) and using the variables \( n, n' \) to range over individuals of the sort amount. This is not crucial for the analysis. One could have taken amounts to be of type d, and then rewrite (52) with the types \( C_{d,2}, P_{d,2}, x_d \).

The truth conditions in (81g) equal those that Schwarz’ non-decomposable lexical entry \( \ldots \) as it is the corresponding to the paraphrase \( \ldots \) as it was possible for him to climb\( ^{17} \). If we wanted to generate the paraphrase \( \ldots \) as it was possible for one to climb\( ^{18} \), we would have to allow for ‘vehicle change’ between a proper name and PRO, in the sense of Fiengo & May (1994). Note that instances of vehicle change between proper names and other empty categories—e.g. a trace—are attested, as exemplified in (i):

(i) John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did <\textit{Lisa}>.

(Fiengo & May 1994:219, attributed to Wyngaerd-Zwart)

(ii) This type of problem is sometimes referred to as ‘van Benthem’s problem’. See e.g. Hackl (2000) on this problem in comparatives. In fact, distributivity also has an impact on the comparison class. That is, even if we re-write the logical expression in (65b) using \( \forall y = \text{\textit{e}} \), we end up with the same allowed set \( \{n: 15 \leq\text{\textit{n}} \leq 77\} \). Take an allowed world where John climbs A+B+C, whose cardinality is 3. In that same world, it is also true that John climbs A, whose cardinality is 1. Hence, amount 1 is one of the allowed amounts. This means, again, that the final truth conditions are satisfied as long as John climbed at least one mountain.

The truth conditions in (81g) equal those that Schwarz’ non-composable lexical entry \( \text{\textit{[\textit{est possible}]} \} \) would derive, namely the “at least as X as possible” reading in (i). See Romero (2011) for discussion on the “exactly as X as possible” reading in (ii).

(i) “John climbed as high a mountain as possible/allowed and possibly higher.”

(ii) “John climbed as high a mountain as possible/allowed and no higher.”

See Kennedy (2001) for an approach to cross-polar anomaly within a different framework, where degrees are viewed not as points but as intervals and where two complementary sorts of degrees—positive and negative—are distinguished.

References


Bhatt, R. & Takahashi, S. 2008. ‘When to reduce and when not to: crosslinguistic variation in phrasal comparatives.’ Paper presented at GLOW XXII.


