

Pieces of predicate transfer.

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Some examples of predicate transfer. (The classic reference: Nunberg 1995)

Transfer resulting in a new meaning for a VP.

- (1) a. I am parked out back. (Nunberg)
b. My friend here is parked out back.

λx : x is a vehicle. x is parked out back
 \Rightarrow_T (something like)

λx : x owns a unique (relevant) vehicle. The vehicle x owns is parked out back.

- cf. (1') a. My vehicle is parked out back.
b. I am someone whose vehicle is parked out back.

- (2) Billy's shoes were neatly tied. (Nunberg)

λx : x is capable of being tied. x is neatly tied.
 \Rightarrow_T

λx : x is a pair of shoes (or ...). x's laces (or...) are neatly tied.

- cf. (2') a. The shoelaces of Billy's shoes were neatly tied.
b. Billy's shoes are an item of clothing whose laces are neatly tied.

- (3) The hospital called.

λx : (Members of) x called.
 \Rightarrow_T (something like)

λx : x is an organization. (Members of) x's staff called.

- cf. (3') a. The hospital staff called.
b. The hospital is an organization whose staff called.

Transfer resulting in a new meaning for an NP.

- (4) The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless. (ham sandwich examples also originate with Nunberg, cf. Nunberg 1979. Sag ?)

λx . x is a ham sandwich
 \Rightarrow_T (something like)

λx . x ordered a ham sandwich.

- Cf. (4') The person who ordered a ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

Whether an example involves predicate transfer or not has to be determined on a case by case basis. Other options are in principle available.

Reasons for saying that these examples involve predicate transfer.

Reasons for saying that (1)-(3) involve an altered meaning for the VP.

- (1) a. I am parked out back. (Nunberg)
b. My friend here is parked out back.

- (1'') A red Volvo is parked out back. (red Volvos due to Asher ms. 2007)

Could it be that the VP has the same meaning in (1) and (1'')? That is,

[[parked out back]] : λx . x or a vehicle belonging to x is parked out back ?

Unlikely. The predicate *be parked ...* doesn't seem to have both people and cars in its domain.

- (5) a. ? The red Volvo and I / my friend here are parked out back.
b. ? I / my friend here and a red Volvo are parked right next to each other.

- (5') a. _The red Volvo and my friend's car are parked out back.
b. My friend's car and a red Volvo are parked right next to each other.

(If these worked, one might still wonder if this meaning was due to transfer.)

Could it be transfer of the DP subject? That is,

[[I]] : Orin \Rightarrow_T Orin's car ?

No.

Argument 1: coordination facts. (Nunberg)

Unlikely given (5). (Though there is a response: conceivably transfer could only be possible at the maximal DP level.)

Really unlikely when we consider coordination of VPs or other pieces of the main predicate. The fact is that we can conjoin with a lot of predicates that we would use to describe people but not cars:

- (6) a. ?? (I am parked out back and) my car is in a hurry to get home.
b. I am [parked out back and in a hurry to get home].

Moreover, we can't conjoin with a lot of other predicates that we would use to describe cars but not people:

- (7) a. (I am parked out back and) my car is particularly shiny.
b. ?? (I am parked out back and) I am particularly shiny.
c. ?? I am parked out back and (am) particularly shiny.

If we assume "VP transfer," then to account for these patterns it is sufficient to say that (for some reason to be determined) a predicate like *(be) particularly shiny* can't transfer to describe people. If we assume that *parked out back* remains a property of vehicles and that *I* can transfer to denote my car, an account is perhaps not impossible but would be very baroque.

Argument 2: facts involving diagnostics for quantifier domains.

The facts in (8) suggest that *I* cannot be transferred to denote my car in the context of *parked out back*. It is natural to think of examples of this form as specifying the domain of quantification of *only*. Given this assumption, if *I* could be transferred, we might expect (8a) to be all right. If *I* cannot be transferred (but the sister of *only I* can have a domain that consists of people), accounting for the contrast is straightforward.

- (8) a. ?? Of all these cars, only I am parked out back.
cf. a'. Of all these cars, only mine is parked out back.
b. Of all these people, only I am parked out back.

Parallel arguments for the other examples:

(2) Billy's shoes were neatly tied.

(2'') Billy's shoelaces were neatly tied.

λx . x or the laces belonging to x (or...) are neatly tied ? Unlikely:

- (9) ? Billy's shoes and Mary's hair ribbon were neatly tied.
(10) Billy's shoelaces and Mary's hair ribbon were neatly tied.

[[Billy's shoes]]: Billy's shoes \Rightarrow_T the shoelaces belonging to Billy's shoes ? No:

- (11) a. ?? (Billy's shoes were neatly tied but) his shoelaces were too wide for his feet.
b. Billy's shoes were neatly tied but too wide for his feet.
(12) a. (Billy's shoes were neatly tied but) his shoelaces were frayed.
b. ?? (Billy's shoes were neatly tied but) they were frayed.
c. ?? Billy's shoes were neatly tied but frayed. (Nunberg)

(3) The hospital called.

(3'') The hospital staff called.

λx . (members of) x or the staff of x (or...) called ? Unlikely:

- (13) ? The hospital and your aunt called.
(14) The hospital and the real estate agency called.

[[the hospital]]: the hospital \Rightarrow_T the hospital staff ? No:

- (15) a. ?? (The hospital called and) their staff closed for the holiday just afterwards.
b. The hospital called and closed for the holiday just afterwards.
(16) a. (The hospital called and) their staff was pleased that you were feeling better.
b. ?? (The hospital called and) it was pleased that you were feeling better.
c. ?? The hospital called and was pleased that you were feeling better.

Reasons for saying that (4) involves an altered meaning for the NP.

(4) The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

Basic argument. The fact that no sandwiches need to *be* at Table 7 in order for the sentence to be true makes it unlikely that *ham sandwich at Table 7* contributes its “natural” denotation; rather, *ham sandwich at Table 7* seems to contribute a property of people. But then, assuming that *at Table 7* functions as a modifier, *ham sandwich* must contribute a property of people.

Note that there is a variety of further evidence that the DP denotes a person (and not a sandwich) -- as opposed to what happens in (1)-(3).

Coordination.

We *can't* conjoin the VP with predicates that we would use to describe sandwiches but not people:

(17) ?? The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless and tastes funny.

Domain of quantification.

- (18) a. ?? Of all the sandwiches here, only the one at Table 7 is getting restless.
b. Of all the customers here, only the ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

Agreement. (Nunberg and others, but their arguments as a whole can be improved on)

In general, in cases where a DP is underdetermined with respect to features, pronominal agreement apparently depends on the DP's meaning:

- (19) a. My friend here is proud of himself/ herself.
b. My friend here, who is very proud of himself/ herself, is Norwegian.
c. My task organizer is very efficient but has a problem with his/ her/ its screen/ finger.
d. My task organizer, who/ which is very efficient, has a problem with his/ her/ its screen.

We can account in this way for the agreement that we find in examples like (4), if the DP denotes the person being referred to and not a sandwich:

(20) (Only) the ham sandwich at Table 7 is still waiting for his/ her/ *its bill

(Note that the pronominal agreement facts in (20) *together with* facts like those in (21) provide further support for the idea that the DP does *not* transfer in examples like (1). Given that (20) provides evidence that transferred DPs determine agreement according to their transferred meaning, the examples in (21) show that the subject does not transfer to denote a car.

- (21) a. My friend here is parked out back and has a problem with her/ *its wheels.
b. My friend here, who/ *which has a problem with her/ *its wheels, is parked out back.
cf. c. This car, which has a problem with its wheels, is parked out back.

As a whole, these facts suggest that we can use agreement data as a diagnostic for whether transfer of a DP meaning has taken place -- at least in cases where the DP is underdetermined with respect to its features).

How does predicate transfer happen? (General remarks.)

“What is conventionalized is not the mechanism involved, but only the particular semantic domains the mechanism is allowed to operate on.” (Nunberg 1995: 119)

Probably there is some syntax involved.

We can't associate transfer with a simple change in the meaning of a single “lexical entry”: cf. *parked out back*, *ham sandwich (with mustard)*. If we want to maintain that there is a simple change in meaning, then we have to say that the change sometimes applies to a complex constituent or to a trace.

(22) a. I am parked out back.

b. [[parked out back]] : λx : x is a vehicle. x is parked out back
 \Rightarrow_T

λx : x owns a unique (relevant) vehicle. The vehicle x owns is parked out back.

**P \Rightarrow_T λx : There is a unique (relevant) object in dom(P) that x owns.
P(the unique object in dom(P) that x owns) = 1.**

c. [[t₁]]^g : g(1) \Rightarrow_T the unique (relevant) vehicle that g(1) owns (undefined if there is none)

z \Rightarrow_T the unique (relevant) vehicle that z owns

[[^Tt₁ parked out back]]^g (XP-internal subject)

is defined only if there is a unique (relevant) vehicle that g(1) owns.

Where defined: 1 iff the unique (relevant) vehicle that g(1) owns is parked out back

[[1 ^Tt₁ parked out back]]^g

= λx : There is a unique (relevant) vehicle that x owns.

The unique (relevant) vehicle that x owns is parked out back

(23) a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

b. [[ham sandwich]] : λx . x is a ham sandwich \Rightarrow_T λx . x ordered a ham sandwich.

P \Rightarrow_T λx . There is some y such that x ordered y and P(y) = 1.

c. [[t₁]]^g : g(1) \Rightarrow_T λP . There is some y such that g(1) ordered y and P(y) = 1.

z \Rightarrow_T λP . There is some y such that z ordered y and P(y) = 1.

[[^Tt₁ ham sandwich]]^g (NP-internal subject)

1 iff there is some y such that z ordered y and y is a ham sandwich

[[1 ^Tt₁ ham sandwich]]^g (full NP)

= λx . There is some y such that x ordered y and y is a ham sandwich.

c'. $g(1) \Rightarrow_T$ the (relevant) item that $g(1)$ ordered (? More about this later.)

$z \Rightarrow_T$ the (relevant) item that z ordered

[[$^T t_1$ ham sandwich]]^g

1 iff the (relevant) item that $g(1)$ ordered is a ham sandwich

[[1 $^T t_1$ ham sandwich]]^g (full NP)

= λx . The (relevant) item that x ordered is a ham sandwich

Some cases where it seems that transfer applies to a trace or to another assignment-dependent constituent:

(24) a. Everyone is parked next to his house.

λx : x owns a unique (relevant) vehicle. the vehicle x owns is parked next to x 's house

b. Everyone [1 $^T t_1$ parked next to his₁ house] *Transfer as in (22c).*

c. Everyone [1 t_1 T [**parked next to his₁ house**]] *Transfer as in (22b).*

d. Problematic:

Everyone T [1 t_1 **parked next to his₁ house**]

λx : x is ... ?. x is parked next to x 's house (could we even generate something here?)

\Rightarrow_T

λx : x owns a unique (relevant) vehicle. the vehicle x owns is parked next to x 's house.

$P \Rightarrow_T \dots P \dots$???

(25) a. Ringo (/ Everyone) squeezed himself into a narrow space. (Jackendoff)

λx : x owns a unique (relevant) vehicle. x squeezes the vehicle x owns into...

b. Everyone [1 t_1 squeezed T **himself₁** into ...] *Transfer as in (22c).*

c. Everyone [1 himself₁ T [**2 t_1 squeezed t_2 into ...**]] *Transfer as in (22b).*

d. Problematic for similar reasons:

Everyone T [1 t_1 **squeezed himself₁ into ...**]

(26) Norman Mailer (/Everyone here) likes to read himself before going to sleep. (Fauconnier)

λx : x is an author. x likes to read x 's work before going to sleep.

And there is some evidence that constituents with the original meaning are present as well.

*Ellipsis.*¹

Elided VPs /APs have the meanings of constituents elsewhere. (Not Asher's view.)

(27) I was parked out back and that red Volvo was too. (based on Asher)

I was [T [parked out back]]

E-type anaphora.

Anaphora of the kind in (28) seems to require a syntactic "antecedent." Plausibly (see Elbourne 2005 for more sophistication), the anaphor spells out a definite description one of whose components is a predicate with the same meaning as a local constituent. (Not Ward's view.)

If it is correct to see sentences with transferred NPs like (30) as containing this kind of anaphora, then, given that the anaphor describes a steak and not a person, there must be a constituent with the untransferred meaning.

(28) a. Every man who is married to a woman thinks initially that **she** is the best woman he is going to find.

b. # Every husband thinks initially that **she** is the best woman he is going to find.

(29) A copying analysis: (roughly Heim 1990)

[Every [man [(who) 1 [a woman [2 t₁ is married to t₂]]]]]

[1 t₁ thinks that [the [a woman [2 t₁ is married to t₂]]] is ...]

(30) Every **filet mignon** I've waited on tonight has said **it** was the best steak they had ever eaten. (Ward 2004)

(Note that it is not obvious that *it* in (30) is, like *she* in (28), the "agreement form" that corresponds to the fully spelled out DP. We could have the same kind of anaphora that we have in (28'). But evidently this kind of anaphora requires a syntactic antecedent too.)

(28') a. Every man who is married to a woman thinks initially that **it** is the best woman he is going to find.

b. ?? Every husband thinks initially that **it** is the best woman he is going to find.

How does predicate transfer happen? Two options that present themselves.

(31) a. I am parked out back.

b. [1 [t₁ 'S-VEHICLE] parked out back] *Option 1.*

c. [BE-SOMEONE-WHOSE-VEHICLE-IS-A-THING-THAT [parked out back]] *Option 2.*

¹ To the extent that sentences like (5) are acceptable, one might speculate that this too is due to a more complicated structure with ellipsis.

How does predicate transfer happen? A first attempt.

An analysis along *Option 1* lines might posit a structure like (32), where F is an element whose semantic value is a function “supplied by the context.”²

(32) [1 [F t₁] parked out back]

[[F]] = λz : z is the owner of a unique (relevant) vehicle. the unique (relevant) vehicle z owns

Doubts relating to the syntax.

One might expect what attaches to the subject’s trace equally to be able to move together with the subject as in (33). But we have seen that DP transfer is impossible. (Note that *Option 2*, by contrast, does not allow for the possibility of DP transfer.)

(33) * [F I] [1 t₁ am parked out back]

Doubts relating to the predicted interpretation: minor doubts regarding VP transfer.

The “F” analysis seems to be appropriate for our examples of VP transfer in the sense that, in each case, there is a “natural” function that seems to do the work necessary: there is a clear criterion for identifying the objects in the domain and range (e.g. the people at the party who came by car, the cars that people at the party came in), and there is a clear way of describing how the function relates them.

(32) a. I am parked out back b. [1 [F t₁] parked out back]

[[F]]: John → the car of John’s that he took to get to the party
Mary → the car of Mary’s that she took to get to the party

...

**λz : z came to the party in a vehicle that z owns.
the vehicle z owns in which z came to the party**

(34) a. Billy’s shoes are neatly tied b. 1 [[F t₁] neatly tied]

[[F]]: Billy’s shoes → the laces of Billy’s shoes
Ilea’s shoes → the laces of Ilea’s shoes

...

λz : z is a pair of shoes with laces. the laces of x

(35) a. The hospital phoned. b. 1 [[F t₁] phoned]

[[F]]: The hospital → the staff of the hospital
The real estate agency → the staff of the real estate agency

...

λz : z is an agency. the staff of z

² An analysis along *Option 2* lines could obtain the same result by positing an element \mathcal{R} that takes F and the predicate as its arguments, as in (32’) below. \mathcal{R} would create a second predicate that holds of x when the first predicate holds of F(x): [[\mathcal{R}]] = $\lambda f. \lambda P. \lambda x: x \in \text{dom}(f) \text{ and } f(x) \in \text{dom}(P). P(f(x))$.

(32’) [[$\mathcal{R}F$] [parked out back]] (or [[$\mathcal{R}F$] [1 t₁ parked out back]])

The doubts relate to the impression that the functions here might have to be one-to-one; this is left unaccounted for. (If my wife and I own the same car and came to the party in that car, I wouldn't use *I am parked out back* and *My wife is parked out back* interchangeably to express that the car is parked out back -- and probably wouldn't use either one as there is no natural way of circumscribing the domain that includes one of us and excludes the other. I would use *We are parked out back*, invoking a domain whose members are groups of people who together came in a car.)

Doubts relating to the predicted interpretation: more doubts regarding NP transfer.

The cases of NP transfer look different, at least at first glance: it is harder to see how to describe the range and (hence) the nature of the mapping we would use. Moreover, the same mapping looks suitable for some sentences but not for others. (These remarks crucially assume that, in each example below, we would use the same value of F for all instances of NP transfer.)

Table 7: John	ham sandwich Coca-Cola	$1 [[F t_1] \text{ ham s./ mango l. }]$ $[[F_a]] : \text{John} \rightarrow \text{h.s.}$ $\text{Bill} \rightarrow \text{h.s.}$ $\text{Sally} \rightarrow \text{C.S.}$
Table 8: Bill	ham sandwich extra-large mango lassi	
Table 9: Sally	roast beef with french fries Cabernet Sauvignon	

- (36) a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is a lot more restless than the one at Table 8, or, for that matter, the Cabernet Sauvignon.
 a'. Every ham sandwich is delighted with his order.
- b. The mango lassi is getting restless. So is the ham sandwich at Table 7, and the roast beef with french fries is threatening to leave without paying.
- c. ?? ... So is the ham sandwich.

Note also that the analysis does not really reflect our original paraphrase:

- (37) a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.
- b. Our original paraphrase: $\lambda x. x$ ordered a ham sandwich.
- c. $[[1 [[F t_1] \text{ ham sandwich }]]]$
 $= \lambda x. x \in \text{dom}([[F]]). [[F]](x)$ is a ham sandwich.

For this to approach the paraphrase, we must be limited in our choice of $[[F]]$ when we use the sentence: we must be obliged to choose an $[[F]]$ such that, for any x in its domain, if x ordered a ham sandwich, then $[[F]]$ yields for x a ham sandwich that x ordered. It is unclear why this should be.

Overall conclusion:
 Predicate transfer happens via adjustments to a predicate (*Option 2*), not to a trace (*Option 1*).
 And it happens in a way that does not yield results equivalent to those of our first attempt.

The semantics of predicate transfer. (Nunberg)

I will assume that we do (as Nunberg thought) want an analysis of NP transfer that reflects our original paraphrase. In that case, we can still view transfer as making reference to a salient function F . But when we transfer a predicate P , we don't create a predicate that holds of x if F maps x to something satisfying P . Rather, we are creating a predicate that holds of x if F maps something satisfying P to x .

(38) a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

b. What we had before:

[[^Tham sandwich]] describes x if a certain salient function F maps x to something that [[ham sandwich]] describes.

c. An alternative that also makes reference to a salient function:

[[^Tham sandwich]] describes x if a certain salient function F maps something that [[ham sandwich]] describes to x .

F : λz : z is an item that a customer ordered. the customer who ordered z .

F_a: the h.s. that John ordered	\rightarrow John	}	the ham sandwich orderers
the Coca-Cola that John ordered	\rightarrow John		
the h.s. that Bill ordered	\rightarrow Bill		
the mango lassi that Bill ordered	\rightarrow Bill		
the roast beef that Sally ordered	\rightarrow Sally		
the Cabernet that Sally ordered	\rightarrow Sally		

(Is this cheating? John and Bill both said, "One ham sandwich, please." Is it correct to say that "the ham sandwich that John ordered" is distinct from "the ham sandwich that Bill ordered"? Do we really have a function here?)

It's not cheating. There is a sense in which we can say that different people ordered different ham sandwiches if they all simply ordered a ham sandwich. I can say in this kind of situation a sentence like (39a) or (39b). Things are different if the people in question both pointed to the same prepared ham sandwich and said "I want that one.")

- (39) a. The ham sandwich I ordered is different from the one you ordered.
 b. The ham sandwich John ordered never came, and neither did the one that Bill ordered.

(40) First sketch of NP transfer

a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

b. [... F ...] [ham sandwich]]

c. [[$\mathcal{R}F$] [ham sandwich]]

[[\mathcal{R}]] = $\lambda f. \lambda P. \lambda x. \text{There is some } y \text{ such that } f(y) = x \text{ and } P(y) = 1.$

d. [[(40c)]] = $\lambda x. \text{There is some } y \text{ such that } [[F]](y) = x \text{ and } y \text{ is a ham sandwich.}$

We can think about our VP transfer examples along similar lines. And there, maybe we also have something that insures that F is one-to-one.

(This parallel way of conceptualizing the VP transfer cases, on which the transferred predicate describes the *value* of the salient function rather than the *argument*, requires us to imagine as salient the inverse functions of those we considered before. These exist, of course, as the functions were one-to-one).

(41) First sketch of “VP” transfer

a. I am parked out back.

b. [... F ...] [parked out back]]

c. [[\mathcal{R}' F] [parked out back]]

[[\mathcal{R}']] = λf : f is one-to-one. λP . λx . $P(\text{the unique } y \text{ s.t. } f(y) = x) = 1$.

d. [[(41c)]] = λx . The unique y s.t. [[F]](y) = x is parked out back.

[[F]]: λz : z is a vehicle driven to the party by its owner. the owner of z .

the car of John's that he took to get to the party \rightarrow John

the car of Bill's that he took to get to the party \rightarrow Bill

...

c'. variant:

[[\mathcal{R}']] = λf . λP . λx : There is a unique y such that $f(y) = x$. $P(\text{the unique } y \text{ s.t. } f(y) = x) = 1$.

d'. [[(41c')]] = λx : There is a unique y such that [[F]](y) = x .
The unique y s.t. [[F]](y) = x is parked out back.

(The variant doesn't require the function to be one-to-one but insures that we will only be concerned with the part of it that is one-to-one.)

Summary of the point of view we (and Nunberg) have arrived at.

A transferred predicate invokes a salient function.

To say that something satisfies the transferred predicate

is

to imagine this thing as the *value* of that function

and

to say that the original predicate applies to elements that the function maps to that value.

The syntax of predicate transfer (?)

“What is conventionalized is not the mechanism involved...”

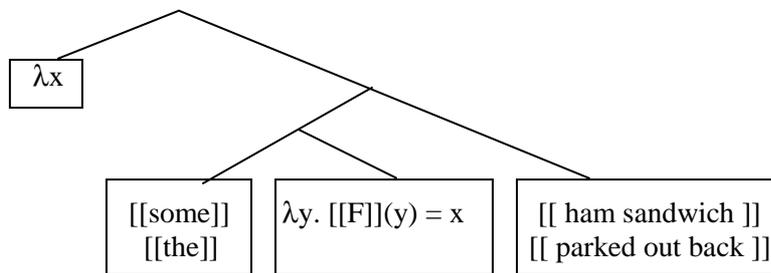
A first guess.

(42) Some meanings we have seen for transferred predicates

- a. λx . Some y such that $[[F]](y) = x$ is a ham sandwich.
- b. λx : ...The unique y such that $[[F]](y) = x$ is parked out back.

A natural way of seeing their construction ...

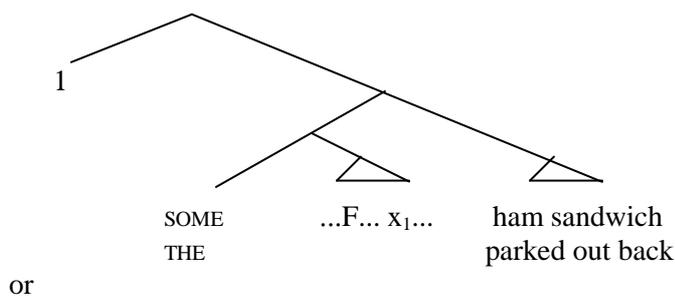
(43)



λx . Some y such that $[[F]](y) = x$ is a ham sandwich.
 λx :... The y such that $[[F]](y) = x$ is parked out back.

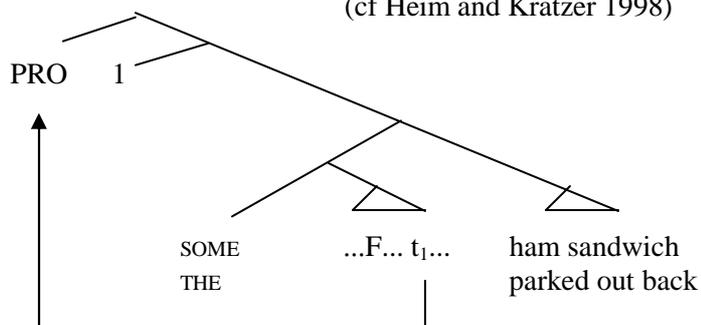
...suggests a structure like the following:

(44) a.

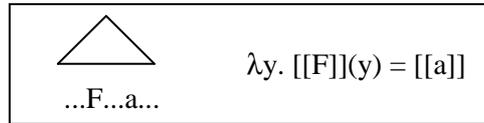


b.

(cf Heim and Kratzer 1998)

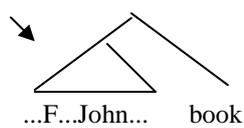


What is the middle item? Some connections.



(45) Predicative genitives

- a. That's *John's* book!
- b. That book is John's!
- c. John's book



$[[\text{John's book}]] = \lambda y. y \text{ is a book and } [[F]](y) = \text{John}$

$\lambda y. [[F]](y) = \text{John}$ $\lambda y. y \text{ is a book}$

(46) For-phrases in "Boolos sentences" (Rothstein 1995)

- a. For every drop of rain that falls, there is a flower that blooms.

Paraphrase: There are at least as many flowers that bloom as there are drops of rain that fall.

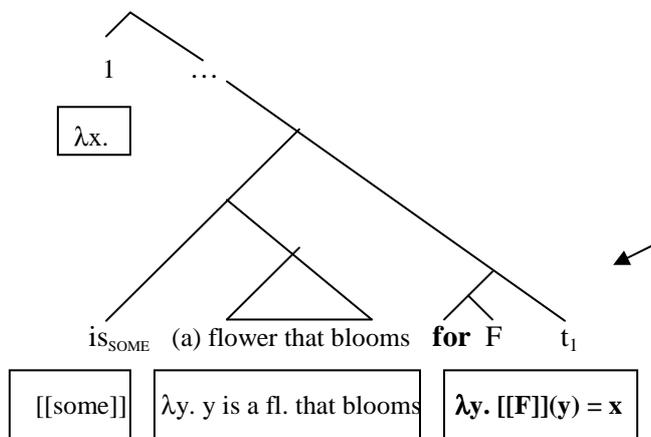
- b. For every Likud voter, there was one who voted Labour. (Rothstein 1995: 29)

Paraphrase: There were at least as many Labour voters as there were Likud voters.

(47) a. Every drop of rain [1 there is a flower that blooms for t_1]

- b. $\lambda x.$ There is some y such that y is a flower that blooms **and** $f(y) = x$. (Rothstein)

c.



Silent *for*-phrases are not uncommon:

(48) a. Mary opens the door every time the bell rings. (Rothstein 1995: 21)

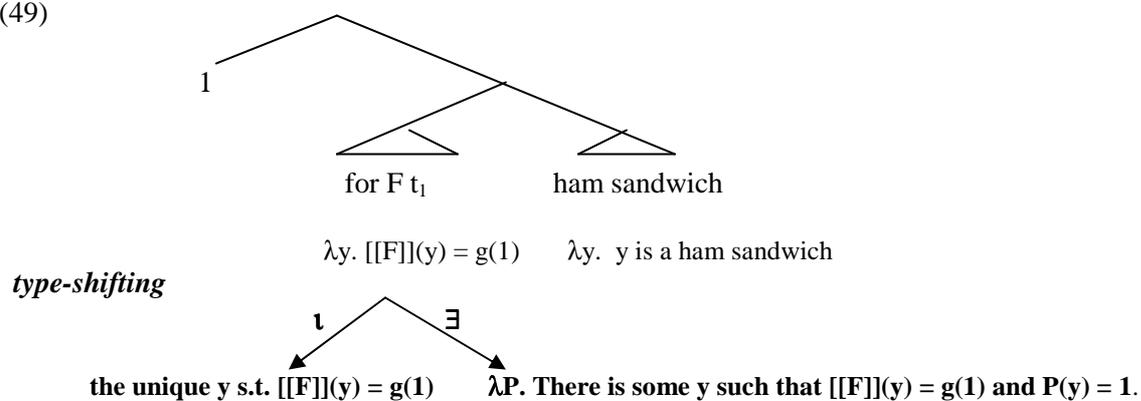
b. Every time the bell rings [1 Mary opens the door **for t_1**]

c. λe . There is some e' such that e' is an event of Mary opening the door and $f(e') = e$.

A better guess? A language with and without articles.

To the extent that syntactic objects that contribute definiteness and indefiniteness are determiners and couldn't find their place in this structure, the following variant suggests itself.

(49)



An account for the anaphora example:

(50) a. Every **filet mignon** I've waited on tonight has said **it** was the best steak they had ever eaten.

b. every [[1 [α [**for F t_1**] [**filet mignon**]]] ...]

c. [1 t_1 has said that **the α** was the best steak they₁ had ever eaten]

d. λx :... x has said that **the unique y s.t. $[[F]](y) = x$ and y is a filet mignon** was the best steak x had ever eaten.

e. λx :... x has said that **the unique filet mignon that x ordered** was the best steak x had ever eaten.

(Note that we don't obviously have an argument here for the type-shifting analysis if we are willing to entertain analyses like (29): copying a determiner and leaving it uninterpreted would yield the same result.)

Syntactic constraints on predicate transfer (?)

(51) a. ?? I am parked out back and particularly shiny. (= (7c))

b. * I am ^T[parked out back and particularly shiny]

(52) a. The ham sandwich at Table 7 is getting restless.

(?? Situation: There are different kinds of ham sandwiches on different tables. John comes in and says, “I would like one of the ham sandwiches at Table 7.” He waits for it at the counter.)

b. * The ^T[ham sandwich at Table 7] is getting restless.

Impression (pace Nunberg): We (often?) don’t adjust larger constituents when we could apply the same adjustment to their subconstituents. This needs further study.

(53) I am parked on the second floor of the garage. # I am also parked on the third floor.

Impression (pace Nunberg): The existential “determiner” is excluded in the case of VP transfer. Why should this be?

(54) a. I am in the Whitney. (Nunberg’s existential example)

b. My work is in the Whitney.

c. Water is on the table.

d. Water freezes at zero degrees.

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