Compositional Treatment of Quantification

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Outscoping and ambiguity

(1) a. Every student received a paper to read.
Scope interaction congruent with syntax

$$\forall x\,(Sx \rightarrow \exists y\,(Py \wedge Rxy))$$

b. Each newcommer has to take an exam.
Scope ambiguity

$$\forall x\,(Nx \rightarrow \exists y\,(Ey \wedge Txy))$$
$$\exists y\,(Ey \wedge \forall x\,(Nx \rightarrow Txy))$$

c. There is a label next to each plate.
Incongruent scope interaction

$$\forall y\,(Py \rightarrow \exists x\,(Lx \wedge Nxy))$$

$\rightarrow$ The Syntax/semantic interface has to account for this

Interaction with negation

(2) a. All my guests didn't come. *in situ* : $\forall\neg$
b. Tous mes invités ne sont pas venus *inverse scope* : $\neg\forall$

(3) a. All that glitters is not gold.
b. Tout ce qui brille n'est pas or.

(4) a. Nicht alles, was glänzt, ist Gold.
b. Alle politiker sind nicht korrupt. *(Büring 1997)*

(5) a. Chaque âge n'a pas son Homère. *(Diderot)*

Other ($\approx$ inverse) phenomenon : neg-raising *(Klima, Prince)*

(6) a. Tu ne dois pas jouer avec la porte.
~~It is not the case that you must play with the door~~
You must (not play with the door)
b. I don't think it will rain today.
I think it will not rain today.

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Donkey sentences

(7) a. If Suzie has an accountant, she is rich.
b. If a women has an accountant, she is rich.
c. Every women who has an accountant is rich.

(8) a. If Pedro owns a donkey, he beats it.
b. If a farmer owns a donkey, they beat it.
c. Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it.