Numerical Any: In Favor of Viability
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NELS 51, 6-8 November 2020, UQAM

[Introduction] Without modification, any is ungrammatical under necessity modals, (1a), but licensed under possibility modals, (1b), or downward-entailing operators, (1c). Like other Universal Free Choice Items (FCIs), with a possibility modal, any makes a universal claim: (1b) conveys that every card is a possibility. In (1c), however, any can be paraphrased with a narrow scope existential: (1c) excludes J. having picked a card. When any combines with a numeral, its distribution and interpretation differs: ‘numeral any’ is licensed with necessity modals, (2) [D04]. In this case, it behaves like an Existential FCI: (2) conveys that J. is required to pick a (not every) pair of cards (and that every pair is permitted).

1) a. J. must pick any card. c. J. didn’t pick any card.
b. J. may pick any card.

[Ch13] and [D13] resolve the tension between the existential and universal components of any by assuming that any is uniformly an existential that can be strengthened by excluding alternatives, but derive (1-2) differently. We zoom in on numeral any, and present evidence, based on the behavior of numeral any with collective predicates, supporting [D13] over [Ch13].

[Numerical Any: Two Accounts] [Ch13] analyzes any as an existential (represented below with a disjunction). When the domain of cards is \{a, b\}, (3a) asserts (3-b). (3-b) determines a set of domain alternatives by restricting the domain of quantification to every possible non-empty subset (i.e. \{a\}, \{b\}). Each domain alternative is strengthened by innocently excluding the others to derive a set of ‘pre-exhaustified’ domain alternatives, (3c). Any also triggers a scalar alternative, (3d). A covert exhaustifier (O_{ALT}) strengthens (3b) with the negation of any non entailed alternative. The alternatives in (3-c,d) are all stronger than (3b) and are, therefore, excluded. The assertion, together with the exclusion of the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives, (3e), entails (3d), and so, O_{ALT} derives a contradiction. This rules out (3a).

3) a. *J. picked any card. b. P(a) ∨ P(b) c. \{P(a) ∧ ¬P(b), P(b) ∧ ¬P(a)\} d. P(a) ∧ P(b) e. P(a) ↔ P(b)

[Ch13] assumes a wide scope constraint (WSC) that forces any to outscope modals. This derives a contradiction for (1a) and (1b), parallel to (3). To account for the different status of (1a-b), the context dependent nature of modals is exploited: an interpretation constraint (‘Modal Containment’, MC) requires the modal base for the scalar alternative to be a proper subset of the modal base for the negation of the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives. In (1b), the assertion plus negated pre-exhaustified alternatives conveys (4-a). Together with MC, the scalar implicature, in (4-b), requires that in D', a proper subset of D, J. be not permitted to pick one of the cards. (4a) and (4b) are consistent (they are satisfied, for instance, in the scenario in (6) when D = \{w_1, w_2\} and D' = \{w_1\} or D' = \{w_2\}). The MC does not help with (1a) though, since the assertion plus negation of the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives (5-a) entails the scalar alternative (5-b) for any D' ⊆ D.

4) a. ⊗_D P(a) ∧ ⊗_D P(b) b. ¬(⊗_D P(a) ∧ ⊗_D P(b)) 5) a. □_D P(a) ∧ □_D P(b) b. □_D P(a) ∧ □_D P(b)

6) Permitted worlds: w_1: J. picks a and no other card, w_2: J. picks b and no other card.
To explain (1a) vs. (2), the WSC is overridden in (2). Numerical any also invokes pre-exhaustified domain alternatives and scalar alternatives (determined by considering higher numerals). When D = \{a ⊕ b, b ⊕ c, a ⊕ c, a ⊕ b ⊕ c\} (where ‘a ⊕ b’ denotes the plurality consisting of books a and b), (2) asserts (7-a) (it conveys that J. must pick at least one group of exactly two cards) and triggers the scalar alternatives that J. is required to pick at least one group of n cards, for any n > 2, (7-b). With distributive predicates, the assertion, strengthened by excluding the pre-exhaustified alternatives, (7c), conveys that for every card x, J. is required to pick x, (7d). Any higher numeral would also convey (7d) (and also derive a contradiction with the negated scalar alternative). This motivates a SCALE ECONOMY CONDITION (SEC), (8), which blocks the wide scope construal of numeral any whenever the meaning of all the scalar alternatives are equivalent.
also disconfirm the predictions of [Ch13] if the WSC were taken to be a violable constraint. In that case, the wide scope interpretation that [Ch13] predicts is true in (11b), but false in (11c). The interpretation of numeral any should not be forced to scope under the modal. This is what the exclusion of the scalar alternative(s), (12c), conveys. The counterpart of (11a) with any three drinks that he is required to mix. Since this is a different meaning, the SEC is not violated, and (ii) leads to a universal claim, rather than a contradiction. (11a) is predicted to convey (i) any different predictions when numeral any is a singleton). When any scopes under modals (since there the VC domain is distributive), (10b) is equivalent to (9a), which is true in models like (9b), where the VC is satisfied (e.g. \( \Box D P(a) \land \neg \Box D P(b) \land \Box D P(a) \lor \Box D P(b) \) when \( D' = \{ w_1 \} \)). Unlike any, numeral any introduces two existentials, (10a): one corresponding to the numeral, and the other to any (which scopes under the modal). For numeral any, the VC is checked at the smallest constituent containing the numeral, above the modal. (10a) asserts (10b). For distributive predicates, (10b) is equivalent to (9a), which is true in models like (9b), where the VC is satisfied (e.g. \( \Box D P(a) \land \neg \Box D P(b) \land \Box D P(a) \lor \Box D P(b) \) when \( D' = \{ w_1 \} \)).

(8) a. \( \Box P(a \oplus b) \lor \Box P(b \oplus c) \lor \Box P(a \oplus c) \) b. \( \Box P(a \oplus b) \land \Box P(b \oplus c) \land \Box P(a \oplus c) \) c. \( \Box P(a \oplus b) \leftrightarrow \Box P(b \oplus c) \leftrightarrow \Box P(a \oplus c) \) d. \( \Box P(a) \land \Box P(b) \land \Box P(c) \) (because P is distributive.)

The SEC is satisfied when numeral any scopes under the modal. In that case, the assertion plus the negation of the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives (9-a) is compatible with the negation of the scalar alternatives: (9) is satisfied in models like (9-b), where J. cannot pick more than two cards. Higher numerals would convey that J. is required to pick more cards, and are then not equivalent.

(9) a. \( \Box P(a \oplus b) \leftrightarrow \Box P(a \oplus b) \leftrightarrow \Box P(a \oplus b) \) b. \( \Box P(a \oplus b) \land \neg P(c) \land \Box P(b \oplus c) \land \neg P(c), w_2: P(a \oplus c) \land \neg P(b), w_3: P(b \oplus c) \land \neg P(a) \) [D13] also treats any as an existential that triggers and excludes pre-exhaustified domain alternatives, but a single ‘Viability Constraint’ (VC) replaces the WSC, the MC, and the SEC. The VC requires each pre-exhaustified domain alternative to be true in some world in a set (the domain of modals or, in episodic environments and under modals, the singleton containing the world of evaluation). The VC is evaluated at the smallest constituent containing any. Because the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives are mutually incompatible, the VC is violated in (3a) and when any scopes under modals (since there the VC domain is a singleton). When any outscopes a necessity modal, the assertion, strengthened by excluding the pre-exhaustified alternatives, conveys, again, (5a). If (5a) is true, all non-exhaustified domain alternatives are true in all accessible worlds, and the VC is not satisfied. When any outscopes a possibility modal, the VC can be satisfied in models like (6), where each pre-exhaustified alternative is true in some world (e.g. \( \Box P(a) \land \neg \Box P(b) \land \Box P(b) \) when \( D' = \{ w_1 \} \)). Unlike any, numeral any introduces two existentials, (10a): one corresponding to the numeral, and the other to any (which scopes under the modal). For numeral any, the VC is checked at the smallest constituent containing the numeral, above the modal. (10a) asserts (10b).

For [Ch13], a wide scope construal of numeral any with a collective predicate, like mix, (11a), (i) satisfies the SEC, and (ii) leads to a universal claim, rather than a contradiction. (11a) is predicted to convey (i) that J. is required to mix all pairs of drinks—this is what the assertion, in (12a), together with the exclusion of the pre-exhaustified alternatives (12b) conveys—and (ii) that he is not required to mix a larger group of drinks—this is what the exclusion of the scalar alternative(s), (12c), conveys. The counterpart of (11a) with any three is predicted to convey that J. is required to mix all groups of three drinks and that there is no larger group of drinks that he is required to mix. Since this is a different meaning, the SEC is not violated, and numeral any should not be forced to scope under the modal.

(10) a. two \( \lambda J \exists n [n = 2 \land \Box P(J, x)] \) b. \( \lambda J \exists n [n = 2 \land \Box P(J, x)] \) [Collective Predicates] While both [Ch13] and [D13] cover the contrasts in (1-2), these two analyses make different predictions when numeral any combines with collective predicates.

(11) a. J. must mix any two drinks. b. Bar tender contest. There is coke, whiskey, and gin. J. is required to mix coke and whiskey, coke and gin, and whiskey and gin. c. Same drinks. J. is permitted to mix any couple of drinks. He is required to mix at least one pair, but not required to mix any particular pair.

(12) a. \( \Box M(a \oplus b) \lor \Box M(b \oplus c) \lor \Box M(a \oplus c) \) b. \( \Box M(a \oplus b) \leftrightarrow \Box M(b \oplus c) \leftrightarrow \Box M(a \oplus c) \) c. \( \neg \Box M(a \oplus b \oplus c) \) [D13] predicts (11a) to assert (13a). As for [Ch13], the strengthened assertion will be true both in (11b) and (11c): the predicted interpretation will be true when all terms of the biconditional are false (11c) and when they are all true (11b). However, VC blocks the second possibility.

(13) a. \( \Box [M(a \oplus b) \lor M(b \oplus c) \lor M(a \oplus c)] \) b. \( \Box [M(a \oplus b) \leftrightarrow M(b \oplus c) \leftrightarrow M(a \oplus c)] \) c. \( \neg \Box M(a \oplus b \oplus c) \) The wide scope interpretation that [Ch13] predicts is true in (11b), but false in (11c). The interpretation that [D13] predicts is true in (11c), but false in (11b). Our informants side with [D13], rather than [Ch13], confirming the unavailability of a universal reading in contexts like (11). Note that these judgements would also disconfirm the predictions of [Ch13] if the WSC were taken to be a violable constraint. In that case,
numeral *any* could also have a narrow scope interpretation, and (11a) could also assert (13a). The negation of the pre-exhaustified domain alternatives (13b), together with (13a), and the negation of the scalar alternative (13c), would predict (11a) to be true both in (11b) and (11c). 