Contents

Ack	knowledgments	7
Inti	roduction]
1	Preliminaries 1.1 Semantics and Pragmatics 1.2 Conversational Implicatures 1.3 Metalinguistic Negation 1.4 Contexts and Common Grounds 1.5 Presuppositions 1.6 Presuppositions and Context-Dependent Interpretation 1.7 Accommodation	3 3 4 8 8 10 15
	Part One Dynamic Semantics, Definites, and Indefinites	
2	Discourse Representation Theory and File Change Semantics 2.1 Introduction to DRT and FCS 2.1.1 Motivation 2.1.2 Summary of Main Features 2.1.3 Kamp's DRT 2.1.4 Heim's FCS 2.2 DRT and FCS 2.3 The Formal Theory 2.3.1 The Formal Language DRL 2.3.2 Contexts and Context Change Potentials 2.3.3 Adding Discourse Referents Representing Sets into DRL	25 25 25 27 28 40 51 63 63 65 67
3	NPs with Numeral Determiners 3.1 NPs with Numeral Determiners 3.2 About the Notion of "The Pragmatic Wastebasket" Semantics and Pragmatics with Definite NPs 4.1 The Existential Presupposition of Definite NPs: Definites as Anaphoric	68 68 75 77
	4.2 The Uniqueness of Definite NPs	79

	4.2.1 The Uniqueness/Maximality of Definite NPs	79
	4.2.2 Opposition to Uniqueness	80
	4.2.3 Realistic Uniqueness: Data	83
	4.2.4 Cooper's Analysis and Remaining Challenges	86
	4.2.5 The Proposed Analysis 4.2.6 Uniqueness is Presupposed	88
	1	95
	as a representation of the Context of Cherance	97
	and the Geography of the Context of Otterance	98
	Salience	102
		103
	4.5.2 Analysis 4.5.3 Formulation	104
	1.3.3 Formulation	108
	Part Two Presupposition	
5	The Basic Allarysis	115
	5.1 Data	115
	5.2 The Stalnaker–Karttunen Analysis	119
	5.3 Things Missing in the Stalnaker-Karttunen Analysis	123
	5.4 Some Remarks on Karttunen and Peters 1979	125
	5.5 Heim's Analysis (Part 1): "Content" and "Heritage" Combined	127
6	Presupposition Projection: Filtering vs. Cancellation	132
	6.1 The Cancellation Approach to ps Projection	
	6.2 Critique of the Cancellation Approach	133
	6.3 On the Filtering + Cancellation Synthesis	136 139
7	Presupposition Projection: Interlude	143
8	Presupposition Projection: Negation, Shifts in Contextual	
	Assumptions, and Metalinguistic Operators	145
	8.1 Shifts in Contextual Assumptions	145
	8.2 Lexical "Hole" vs. "Plug" Ambiguities?	145
	8.3 Presupposition and Metalinguistic Operators	146
0		149
9	Presupposition Projection and Accommodation	151
	9.1 "Linguistic" vs. "Cognitive" Presupposition	151
	9.2 Local Accommodation as Responsible for ps "Disappearance"	152
	9.2.1 Heim's Analysis (Part 2): negation with global and local accommodation ps "Disappearance" and Local Accommodation: a compound sentence	152
	with conflicting pss, and further cases	1.00
	9.3 Modal Subordination: ps Satisfaction in Intensional Contexts	156
	9.3.1 Preliminaries: quantification over possible worlds	158
	9.3.2 Preliminaries: satisfaction of ps	158
	9.3.3 The Problem	161
	9.3.4 Entailment-based Account?	163 164
	9.3.5 Roberts' Analysis: local accommodation of restrictions	166
	9.3.6 Appendix: restrictions accommodated in further examples	169
	9.4 On the Status of Accommodation, Local and Global	171

10	More	e on ps	Projection and Accommodation: ps Projection Below	
	the I	Level of	the Clause	175
	10.1	Introdu	action	175
	10.2	Existen	tial Statements	176
		10.2.1	Some Unproblematic Existential Statements	176
		10.2.2	Our Problem in Existential Statements	178
		10.2.3	Intuitions	179
		10.2.4	Heim's Analysis (Part 3): existential statements	181
		10.2.5	Beaver: Existential Statements Without Accommodation which is Local in Sense #1?	183
	10.3	Quanti	fied Statements	190
		10.3.1	Some Unproblematic Quantified Statements	190
		10.3.2	Our Problem in Quantified Statements	191
		10.3.3	Intuitions	192
		10.3.4	Heim's Analysis (Part 4): quantified statements	196
		10.3.5	Beaver: quantified statements without local accommodation?	202
	10.4	Conclus	ion	204
11	Presu	appositi	on Triggering and the Behavior of Presuppositions	205
	11.1		tional Triggering vs. Conversational Triggering	205
	11.2		Cairly Clear Examples of Conversationally-Triggered pss	209
	11.3		gering and ps Projection	212
	11.4		gering and the "ps Property"	217
	11.5	Factive		218
	11.6		appearance" in Simple Affirmative Examples	220
	11.7			222
			The same of the same production	
			Part Three Focus	
12			of the Phonology of Prosody	227
	12.1	Stress		227
	12.2	Intonat		230
			Separate Existence of Stress Patterns	241
	12.4	Intonat	ion and Stress	243
13	Focus	c and E	ocus Identification	250
13				250
	13.1		tion of "Focus" to be Discussed in this Book	250
	13.2		thenomena: Pragmatic and Semantic Effects of Focus	253
		13.2.1	Discourse Congruence	253
		13.2.2	The Focal Presupposition	254
		13.2.3	Focusing Adverbs	256
		13.2.4	Modals, Adverbs of Quantification, Generics: focus-sensitive	255
		13.2.5	quantification Reasons	257
		13.2.6	Negation	258
		13.2.7	Superlatives	259 260
		13.2.8	Bare Remnant Ellipsis and VP Anaphora	260
		13.2.9	Scalar Implicatures	260
		13.2.10	Sentence-Internal Contrasting Phrases	261
	13.3		nd Question-Answer Pairs	261
	13.4		nd Pitch Accents	263

		13.4.1 Focus is Marked by the Presence of Pitch Accents in it	261		
		13.4.2 The Right-End Hypothesis	263 266		
		13.4.3 Focus Identification and the Role(s) of Pitch Accents	268		
		13.4.4 Specific Hypotheses about Marking by Pitch Accents	273		
		13.4.4.1 Ladd: accentability and "deaccenting"	273		
		13.4.4.2 Selkirk: accenting and argument structure	276		
		13.4.5 The Emerging Picture	282		
	13.5	Focus, Prosodic Phrasing, and Peripheral Tones	286		
14	Foci	us: Focus-Induced Interpretations			
	14.1	Focus-Induced Interpretations	288		
	14.2	Structured Meanings	288		
	14.3	Alternative Semantics	290		
	14.4	Deriving Focus-Induced Interpretations	291		
	14.5	Formalization	292		
		14.5.1 Some Assumptions and some Desiderata	293		
		14.5.2 The Language L	293		
		14.5.3 Focus Interpretation – a Start	295		
		14.5.4 Alternative Semantics	297 298		
		14.5.5 Structured Meanings	300		
	14.6	What is Needed Next?	302		
		And the second of the second o	302		
15	Prob	ems with Focus-Induced Interpretations	303		
	15.1	The Usual (Limited) Success with Intensionality	303		
	15.2	Things That Only Should Not Exclude	305		
	15.3	Schwarzschild's General Problem with Defining Sets of Alternatives in	303		
	,	Terms of Full Semantic Domains	307		
	15.4	Conclusions re Choice of Focus-Induced Interpretation?	309		
16	Assoc	ciation with Focus: The "Domain Selection"/"Free			
	Paran	neter" Analysis	311		
		and the second of the second o	311		
17	Focus	:: The More Complete Analysis	315		
	17.1	Introduction			
	17.2	The Optionality of Focus Effects	315		
	17.3	The Focus Interpretation Principle (Rooth 1992)	316		
	17.4	Some Related Issues	317		
		17.4.1 The FIP and the Focal ps	326		
		17.4.2 The "Strong Hypothesis" Regarding Focus Effects	326		
	17.5	Minimize Focused Material	328		
	17.6	Focus as a Discourse-Regulating Device: Introduction	329		
	17.7	The Obligatoriness of Focus Effects	330		
	17.8	Focus as a Discourse-Regulating Device: The Contrast Constraint	331		
		(Schwarzschild 1994, 1997)	224		
	17.9	Questions and Information Structure in Discourse (Roberts 1996b)	334 339		
	17.10	Focus as a Discourse-Regulating Device:	339		
		The Question-Under-Discussion Constraint (Roberts 1996b)	343		
	17.11	Conclusion	250		

18	Focus-Induced Interpretations: Some Theoretical Choices to		
	be Made	356	
	18.1 Focus-Induced Interpretations of Constituents Other Than a Clause?	356	
	18.1.1 Only as an NP or VP Modifier	356	
	18.1.2 Sentence-Internal Contrasting Phrases	362	
	18.2 Recursive Definition of Focus-Induced Interpretations?	363	
	18.3 Co-Variation in Focus Positions?	365	
19	Focus and Scope	367	
	19.1 The "Pure Scope" Theory of Focus	367	
	19.2 The "Focus-Induced Interpretations + Scope" Theory	369	
	19.2.1 From "Pure Scope" to "Focus-Induced Interpretations + Scope"	369	
	19.2.2 Crossover Effects	371	
	19.2.3 Absence of Island Effects	373	
	19.3 Do Foci Take Wide Scope? (Part 1)	374	
20	Complex Focal Structures with "Contrastive Topics"		
	20.1 TOPIC-Focus and FOCUS-Focus	380 380	
	20.2 Recent Accounts	382	
	20.2.1 Roberts 1996b	382	
	20.2.2 Büring 1999	384	
	20.3 My Account	388	
	20.4 Do Foci Take Wide Scope? (Part 2)	397	
21	Focus and Presupposition: The Focal Presupposition and its		
	Interaction with Other Presuppositions	402	
	21.1 The Focal Presupposition	402	
	21.1.1 Summary of the View Presented Above	402	
	21.1.2 Further Considerations	403	
	21.2 Focus and the "Disappearance" of Presuppositions	406	
	21.3 Focus and "Altered" Presuppositions	408	
Refe	erences	415	
Inde	ex	423	
		14.1	