

ACTES  
DU XV<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS  
INTERNATIONAL  
DES LINGUISTES

QUÉBEC, UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL  
9-14 AOÛT 1992

Les langues menacées



Publié par  
André Crochetière,  
Jean-Claude Boulanger  
et Conrad Ouelton  
*Editors*

*Endangered Languages*

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE XV<sup>th</sup>  
INTERNATIONAL  
CONGRESS  
OF LINGUISTS

QUÉBEC, UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL  
9-14 AUGUST 1992

LES PRESSES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL  
Sainte-Foy, 1993

## VOLUME III

### TABLE DES MATIÈRES / CONTENTS

SECTION 4 : LE SENS (SÉMANTIQUE, SIGNIFICATION LEXICALE,  
SIGNIFICATION GRAMMATICALE, ETC.)

SECTION 4 : MEANING (SEMANTICS, LEXICAL MEANING,  
GRAMMATICAL MEANING, ETC.)

Pages	Auteurs / Authors	Titre / Title
3	Anwar M.S.	The Metaphor of Family Feud : Brothers at War
7	Azevedo L.F.	Inférence et cohésion
11	Bacz B.	On the Nominative-Instrumental Opposition in Polish Predicative Nominals : A Case of Case Semantics
15	Bai Z.	Psychological Foundations of Lexicons
19	Barcelona-Sánchez A.	"Romeo and Juliet's Love"
23	Bédard É.	Les onomatopées dans le processus créatif ichthyonymique
27	Bonhomme M.	Sémantique de la métonymie et théories des cas
31	Choul J.-C.	Sémantique automatique
35	Coupal L./ Bédard É./ Soldevila-Durante I.	Contribution à l'étude du lexique ichthyonymique : compte-rendu des progrès du projet LIRD en République Dominicaine
39	Cushing S.	Meanings, Functions and Parameters: Knowledge and Belief in Lexical Semantics
43	Dietrich W.	Signification et désignation : leur analyse en système, norme et parole
47	Dolinina I.B.	A Model of Sentential Semantics
51	Ejele P.E.	The Semantic Import of Serial Verb Constructions in Communication
55	Figge U.L.	Langage et mémoire
59	Fujii S.Y.	On the Idiomaticity of Conditional Constructions in Japanese
63	Gingras R.	Sur la notion de champ sémantique
67	Gorup R.J.	Historical Present Revisited
71	Grenoble L.	The Russian Future : Tense or Mood?
75	Halmoy O	Futur en RA/ Futur en VA : Distribution en contexte
79	Hofmann T.R.	The Paragraph as the Natural Domain of Semantics
83	Inchaurrealde C.	Presuppositions in a Situation-Based Semantics
87	Kanno K.	Between LIE and IRONY/METAPHOR : Similarities and Differences

- 91 Kulikov L.I. Asymmetry in Grammar  
 95 Kuteva T. Cognitive Approach Toward Grammaticalized Verb Constructions  
 99 Landeweerd R. Maintenant : Questions de perspective  
 103 Manoliu-Manea M. Discourse Iconicity : Double Compound Tenses in Romanian  
 107 Morris L. Do you "Fill it up" or " Fill her up"? The Meaning of IT/SHE Alternance in English  
 111 Moura Neves M.H. Syntaxe et sémantique dans le groupe nominal avec possessif  
 115 Peeters B. Polysémie, monosémie et axiologie conceptuelle  
 119 Pierrard M. À propos de la valeur quantitative de "ce que" en français moderne  
 123 Rouget C. Syntaxe et sémantique des formes possessives dans le cadre de l'approche pronominale  
 127 Xu L. Speech Acts and Performative Verbs : Their Language Dependency  
 131 Yamada S. La négation et l'ordre de polarisation. Expressions négatives et NPIs du japonais  
 135 Zaefferer D. 'And' and 'Or' : Meet and/or Join? A Problem in the Semantics of (Non)-Propositional Connectives

**SECTION 5 : LE TEXTE PARLÉ OU ÉCRIT (PRAGMATIQUE, ANALYSE DE DISCOURS, ETC.)**

**SECTION 5 : SPOKEN AND WRITTEN TEXT (PRAGMATICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, ETC.)**

- 141 Aijmer K. Conversational Routines in English  
 145 Aravena L. Modalisation dans le discours de la recherche  
 149 Augusto Monteiro Filho H. Emotion and Discourse  
 153 Austin T.R. "Plus ça change..." The Impact of New Linguistic Models on Stylistic Analysis  
 157 Collot M./ Belmore N. The Situational Features and Textual Dimensions of Electronic Language  
 161 Coracini M.J.R.F. Discours scientifique et politique : une analyse comparative  
 165 Coracini M.J.R.F. Collor et la presse brésilienne : une approche discursive  
 169 Cushing S. Social/Cognitive Mismatch as a Source of Fatal Language Errors  
 173 Fleming I. Morphemic Evidence of Distinct Schematic, Semantic Proposition and Morpho-Syntactic Organization of a Text  
 177 Flottum K. Marqueurs de structure textuelle le cas des marqueurs d'énumération

- 181 Gauthier G. La métaphore guerrière dans la communication politique
- 185 Gregolin M.R.V. Didactic Discourse : Discursive Strategies and Production of Meanings
- 189 Grenoble L. Evidentials in Russian Reported Speech
- 193 Harvey A. The Text-Creating Process or the 'Politics' Behind a 'Hot' Issue
- 197 Hayashi R./ Hayashi T. Metaknowledge of Discourse and Metadiscourse
- 201 Hwang S.J.J. Information Flow and the Functions of Dependant Clauses in Korean and English
- 205 Levitsky Y. Parameters of Text Formation
- 209 Lieflander-Koistinen L. Asking for Information, Differences in Finnish and German Telephone Behaviour : Openings and Closings
- 213 Longacre R.E. Paul Ricoeur's Philosophy and Textlinguistic Analysis
- 217 Lotfipour-Saedi K. Variations in Textual Strategies and their Psycho-Sociological Motivations
- 221 Luz Pessao de Barros D. Texte ou conversation?
- 225 Maynard S.K. Declaring Speech Act in Conversation : A Study of Japanese Connective 'Datte'
- 229 Nazikian F.A. Japanese Conditionals 'TARA', 'BA' and 'TO'
- 233 Ostman J.-O./ Raukko J. Extending the Domain of Areal Linguistic Methodology : A Pragmatic Visit to Baltic Europe
- 237 Palacas A.L. Mentalistic Remedy for Irony Deficiency
- 241 Patry R. De la phrase au discours : le thème dans la progression thématique
- 245 Poersch J.M. Punctuation, a Link Between the Writing and Reading
- 249 Saukkonen P. Grammatical Structures as Indicators of Textual Dimensions
- 253 Simeoni D./ Fall K./ Buyck M. Tâtonnements énonciatifs et appropriation notionnelle
- 257 Stalpers J. Discourse Strategies for Avoiding Misunderstanding and Other Unwelcome Situations
- 261 Takahara P.O. Some Pragmatic Aspects of Negation and Focus in Discourse
- 265 Tebble H. Formulations and Observations in Professional Interviews : Systems Analysis
- 269 Thomsen O.N. Pronouns, Word Order and Prosody
- 273 Vincent D./Laforest M. Remarques sur la valeur argumentative du discours narratif
- 277 Yarmohammadi L. More on the Analysis of Politeness Forms in English and Persian : A Sociopragmatics Approach

- 281 Yoshimoto K. Illocution-Related Particles in Japanese and German

**SECTION 6 : LANGAGE ET SOCIÉTÉ (SOCIOLINGUISTIQUE, VARIATION LINGUISTIQUE, LANGUE ET CULTURE, ETC.)**

**SECTION 6 : LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY (SOCIOLINGUISTICS, LINGUISTIC VARIATION, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, ETC.)**

- 287 Argente J.A./ Lorenzo A.M. Formal Reorganization and Social Function in a Receding Language
- 291 Baccouche T. Bilinguisme, niveaux de langues et dynamique de l'arabe
- 295 Blinco P.M.A. The Sociolinguistics Aspects of the Japanese Language
- 299 Brewer J.P. Creating Ways to Share : Community and Audience in the Discourse of the Elderly
- 303 Charnet C. Le français en Égypte, une langue délicate et féminine?
- 307 Cichocki W./ Babitch R.M./ Péronnet L. Principales étapes dans l'analyse dialectométrique du lexique maritime acadien
- 311 Condon S. /Pittman P. Language Attitudes in Southern Louisiana
- × 315 Coulmas F. The Conceptual Interface of Linguistics and Economics
- 319 De Wolf C. Caractéristiques de la langue littéraire japonaise
- 323 De Wolf G.D. Social and Areal Roles in Speech
- 327 DeChicchis J. Q'eqchi'(Kekchi Mayan) Semivowels
- 331 Dubois S./ Horvath B.M. Interactional Influences on Descriptive Style
- 335 Falzon-Santucci L. A Sociolinguistic View of Maltese
- 339 Ferreras C. R. Consistent Versus Purposeful Speech by Bilingual Speakers
- 343 Haase M. Basque and Gascon Language Contact
- 347 Herring S. Men's Language : A Study of the Discourse of the Linguist List
- 351 Impériale L. Contaminations linguistiques : actes d'anéantissement ou d'enrichissement d'une langue?
- 355 Inoue F. Word-Accent Change in Progress in Japanese : Multi-Variate Analysis of Socio-Linguistic Groups
- 359 Kassab-Charfi S. Le français à la dérive : Contribution à un réajustement de la didactique du français en Tunisie
- 363 Kok Escalle M.-C. L'engagement des intellectuels : une langue menacée par les pouvoirs
- 367 Lesage R./Gagnon S. Futur simple et futur périphrastique dans la presse québécoise

- 371 Long D. The Role of Linguistic Features in Perceptual Dialect Regions
- 375 Mackenzie M. Language Choice by Women in a Rural Fijian Village
- 379 Maeda H. On Four Pragmatically Motivated Asymmetries in the Linguistic System of Japanese Honorifics
- 383 Medina Casado C. A Statistic Research About the Social Status and the Persistence of Certain Linguistic Varieties in Andalusian
- 387 Mehrotra R.R. How to be Polite in Indian English
- 391 Miseska-Tomic O. Contact Conditioned Variation
- 395 Narkar M. Duxina Prize Committee : An Exercise in Translation and Ideology
- 399 Net M. On Language, Archaisms and Clichés
- 403 Paradis Cl./ Brousseau M./ Dolbec J.  
Intelligibilité du message : étude de l'influence de la variété de français utilisée
- 407 Pellicer D. Espagnol-Mazahua et espagnol langue maternelle : cohésion et cohérence du récit conversationnel
- 411 Prideaux G.D./ Hogan J.T./ Stanford L.M.  
Talking to Friends: An Experimental Study of Gender Differences in Oral Narratives
- 415 Rahimpour M. Culture and Language Learning
- 419 Sekirin P. The Outlines of the Effective Language Policy in Toponymy
- 423 Skik H. La pronunciation de /r/ français en Tunisie
- 427 Takahashi K. Use and Non-Use of "Konnitwa!": A Correlative Aspect of Topic-Prominence and Context-Dependence in Japanese
- 431 Thomas A. La survie d'un accent menacé : "e" muet dans la région de Nice
- 435 Tsuda A./Lobo F. Acculturation in Language Behaviour and Patterns of Behaviour : The Case of Japanese Returnee Students
- 439 Ujiie Y. Development in Ways of Expression and the Role of Society Through Diachronical Study of Characteristic Expressions in Japanese
- 443 Venas K. Pronominal Reference in Norwegian
- 447 Widell J.-E. Language as a Coercive Institution. Social Characterization in a Saussurean Textus Receptus-Tradition
- 451 Younoszai B. From "Chairman" to "Chair"

SECTION 7 : LA LANGUE ET L'INDIVIDU (PSYCHOLINGUISTIQUE,  
 NEUROLINGUISTIQUE, ACQUISITION, ETC.)  
 SECTION 7 : LANGUAGE AND THE INDIVIDUAL  
 (PSYCHOLINGUISTICS, NEUROLINGUISTICS, LANGUAGE  
 ACQUISITION, ETC.).

- 457 Baron N. Language Orienteering : Strategies for Learning to Talk
- 461 Bennett-Kastor T./ Hickey T. Narrative Development in Irish : The Noun Phrase
- 465 Bhatt P. Morphological Categories Following Unilateral Left or Right Temporal Lobe Lesion
- 469 Boucher V.J./ Heisler T. Mean Length of Utterances as an Index of Language Development : Preliminary Findings of Correlations Between "MLU" and Breathing Capacities
- 473 Dewaele J.-M. Les pauses dans deux styles oraux d'interlangue française
- 477 Giacalone-Ramat A. The Acquisition of Grammatical Means to Express Semantic Relations
- 481 Hummel K.M. Bilingual Processing
- 485 Katoh M. Errors of Use of 'THE' and of 'WA'
- 489 Koivuselka-Sallinen P./ Niemi J./ Tesak J. Word Order in Simple Structures in Finnish and German
- 493 Kuure O. Successive Bilingualism
- 497 Lapierre S. Correction phonétique et thérapie myofonctionnelle : une étude de cas en orthodontie
- 501 Mikes M. The Creative Construction Process in the Early Acquisition of Two or More Languages
- 505 Myers M.J. Language and the Individual: Interdisciplinary Explorations
- 509 Palou de Carranza E. Incidence de la systématisation de stratégies verbalo-textuelles sur la production et compréhension des textes
- 513 Parasnis I. Can the Magnitude of the Stroop Effect Predict English Reading Skills in Congenitally Deaf People?
- 517 Poersch J.M. Is the Ratio of Syntactic Information Links Language Maturity Readability
- 521 Reznik M. and colls. Spanish Agrammatism: A Neurolinguistic Analysis of a Case of Cross Aphasia
- 525 Rojo R.H.R. Du dialogue au monologue: parole lettrée et la lecture des livres enfantins dans les interactions scolaires

- 529 Samar V.J./Berent G.P. Is "BE" a Raising Verb in the Mental English Grammars of Congenitally Deaf Adults?
- 533 Sarabasa A. Perception Before Production, Suprasegmentals Before Segmentals
- 537 Index général / General Index



**And AND or: MEET AND/OR JOIN?  
A PROBLEM IN THE SEMANTICS OF  
(NON-)PROPOSITIONAL CONNECTIVES\***

Dietmar Zaefferer

University of Munich, GERMANY

## 1. THE PROBLEM

In their role as propositional connectives, the English particles *and* and *or* and their counterparts in other languages<sup>1</sup> are traditionally and successfully modeled by meet (infimum) and join (supremum) operations<sup>2</sup>, respectively, on the constituent propositions. If the latter are modeled by sets, for instance sets of possible worlds, the relevant ordering is set inclusion and therefore meet amounts to intersection and join to union. The same particles, however, in English and in quite a few other languages serve also as connectives of referring expressions, and as such, they seem to need a different treatment: *John and Mary* can only denote the join of John and Mary (or a pair set, the union of their singletons), since their meet (or the intersection of their singletons) is empty (provided they are not Siamese twins).<sup>3</sup>

And even if the meet is not empty, as with *Americans and Germans*, the conjoined construction doesn't denote the set of individuals that happen to have both nationalities, the intersection of the corresponding sets, but their union. So one part of the problem is: Why does non-propositional *and* denote what propositional *or* denotes, namely join (union)? One could resolve this by simply stipulating that *and* is homophonous. But this is not a very attractive solution for linguists, since there is no indication that the two readings share shape by accident, and above all, it does not resolve the other part of the problem: If *John and Mary* denotes the join of John and Mary, what does *John or Mary* denote? The homophony assumption for *and* would not only entail that *or* is homophonous as well, but also that propositional *or* is the dual of propositional *and*, whereas non-propositional *or* is not only different from the dual of non-propositional *and*, but bears to it a rather mysterious relation. So the chief criterion of adequacy for an acceptable solution is that in *a and b* the connective denotes basically the same operation, whatever the denotation of *a* and *b*, and similarly for *a or b*.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. OUTLINE OF A SOLUTION

The way out of the problem proposed and discussed in this paper is to have the cake and to eat it too, treating both propositional and non-propositional *and* uniformly as denoting union as well as intersection, and keeping the role of dual counterpart for all kinds of *or*. The price that has to be paid is that two different levels of representation are needed. The more basic level of representation is a powerset algebra of urelements where individuals are modeled by sets: singular individuals by singletons, and plural individuals by non-singletons.

The second level of representation is a powpowerset algebra, namely the powerset of the powerset used on the first level. Here, individuals are modeled by

sets of sets of urelements, namely for each first-level individual by the set of its supersets, also called the principal filter generated by it.<sup>5</sup> Intuitively, this corresponds to the set of individuals the given individual is a constituent of. The difference between singular and plural individuals is reflected on this level by the difference between principal ultrafilters and other principal filters. Accordingly, *John and Mary* denotes the principal filter that is the intersection of the principal ultrafilters generated by the singletons of John and of Mary; it coincides with the principal filter generated by the pair set of John and Mary.

If we represent propositions analogously, namely each proposition by the set of propositions that contain or entail it, the first problem is solved and the unity of propositional and non-propositional *and* is saved. But the second problem is solved as well, provided we let *John or Mary* denote the union of the denotations of its constituents, i.e., of the principal ultrafilters generated by the singletons of John and of Mary. This union is not a principal filter anymore, since it has two minimal elements. If we decide to let sets with several minimal elements represent indeterminate objects, this is exactly what we want: *John or Mary* denotes an indeterminate object that may be specified either as John or as Mary.

### 3. AN ELABORATION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

#### 3.1. Propositions and their truth

The ontology presupposed here for the elaboration of the basic idea is a rather simple one. It consists of a very broadly conceived set of entities, called cases, with a proper subset, called concepts, and a relation between the cases and the concepts called 'instantiation'; its converse is called 'characterization'. (This motivates the terminological choice: If some  $x$  instantiates some concept  $y$ , or conversely  $y$  characterizes  $x$ , we also say:  $x$  is a case of  $y$ . Intuitively, cases are everything that can be characterized, individuals, events, propositions, etc.) Cases that can only be characterized but cannot characterize themselves are called proper cases. So the concepts are just the improper cases or the possible characterizers. Cases are partially ordered by constituency. If a case contains another case as a constituent, we call the former a supercase of the latter and the latter a subcase of the former. Since stronger concepts are constituted by weaker ones, their superconcepts, this means that if  $x$  is a superconcept of  $y$ , or, equivalently, if  $y$  is a subconcept of  $x$ , then  $x$  is a subcase of  $y$ , or, equivalently,  $y$  is a supercase of  $x$ . So the concept *hemlock* is a supercase of the concept *tree* since it contains this concept (one of its superconcepts) as a notional constituent.

This basic ontology is modeled on the first level of representation by sets, with set inclusion modeling constituency. Note that the setup is strongly intensional in that concepts are not modeled by sets of cases and therefore the instantiation relation cannot be modeled by set membership. So we have to postulate that *ins*, our first level instantiation relation, is right downward monotonous since if some case  $x$  instantiates some concept  $y$ , it is an analytical truth that it instantiates all superconcepts or subcases of  $y$  as well.

On the second level of representation, cases are modeled by sets of first-level cases, hence by sets of sets; consequently, subcases are modeled by supersets, and subconcepts by subsets. Whereas on the first level there are only determinate cases and determinate concepts, on the second level indeterminate cases and indeterminate concepts are allowed for, and therefore we must say something about how to lift the instantiation relation to the second level. A necessary condition for this relation *Ins* seems to be that at least one minimal element of the case first-level instantiates at least one minimal element of the concept.

But now we have to think about possible uses of the third Boolean operation, complementation, and here contrastive negation like *not Máry*, meaning *somebody else but not Mary*, seems a plausible candidate. If we define *lnot A1* as  $!A1 - \{\emptyset\}$ , *lnobody* as  $\{\emptyset\}$ , *lsomebody* as *lnot nobody*, *lonly A1* as the set of minimal

elements of *!A!*, and *!somebody else than A!* as *!not only A!*, then we get the desired equivalence of *!Not Máry camel* and *!Somebody else but not Mary camel*.

If we now compare *!John!* and *!John and not Mary!*, we see that the truth conditions are different, so the maximal elements have to enter the definition of *!ns* as well. It therefore reads as follows: A proposition  $x \text{ !ns } y$  is true iff there are  $x'$  and  $y'$  such that (i)  $x'$  is a minimal element of  $x$ , (ii)  $y'$  is a minimal element of  $y$ , and (iii)  $x'$  instantiates  $y'$ , and there are no  $x''$  and  $y''$  such that (i)  $x''$  is a proper superset of a maximal element of  $x$ , (ii)  $y''$  is a proper superset of a maximal element of  $y$ , and (iii)  $x''$  instantiates  $y''$ . In other words, second level cases instantiate second level concepts iff at least a minimal element and at most a maximal element of the case instantiates at least a minimal element and at most a maximal element of the concept.

### 3.2. The problem of lost structure

Consider the following sentences:

- (1) John or John and Mary will be able to do the job.
- (2) John will be able to do the job.

Sentence (1) does not have the same truth conditions as (2), since if the job turns out to require two people, (1) may still be true, but (2) is clearly false. Our Boolean approach, however, by the so-called principle of absorption, cannot distinguish between the denotations of the noun phrases in (1) and in (2). The solution advocated here is in the spirit of Grice. It states that if a literal reading of what people say is obviously redundant, then what they mean is probably some other reading. So in one reading, (3) below is equivalent with (4), but what people mean is most often something like (5), and similarly, so I claim, for (1), (2), and (6).

- (3) It's raining and raining and raining.
- (4) It's raining.
- (5) It's raining on and on.
- (6) John will be able to do the job or John and Mary will.

On the narrow scope reading of *or*, (1) exhibits redundancy compared to (2), so what is meant by an utterance of (1) is probably a wide scope reading with a zero cataphora of the verb phrase after the first word, a reading paraphrased by (6). And there is no unnecessary redundancy in (6), since its second conjunct does not entail the first one. The reason is that *be able to do the job* is not inherently distributive.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.3. The problems of plurality

Keenan and Faltz (cf. fn. 4) do not treat plurals, but they would have problems with properties like *gather*, which apply only to plural objects. By contrast, in the present approach non-distributivity is taken care of automatically: *John and Mary met* does not entail *John met and Mary met*. On the other hand, what we have a problem with is inherent distributivity. A plausible solution seems to require for inherently distributive concepts that they can only characterize singular cases, thus *John and Mary sneezed* can only be true with wide scope *and* and consequently entails *John sneezed and Mary sneezed*. In order to interpret a proposition where a concept is used to characterize a non-fitting case one has to break up the latter into its subcases until they fit. This is similar to the strategy required for interpreting seemingly inconsistent characterizations.

### 3.4. The problem of inconsistent characterizations

Incompatible concepts are mutually exclusive: If  $x$  is a husband,  $x$  is not a wife, if  $y$  is a boy,  $y$  is not a girl, if this is black, it is not white. Therefore, the conjunction of incompatible concepts should yield inconsistent characterizations, truthfully applicable only to the empty case as in (7), but we are nonetheless used to interpreting (8)-(10) also as contingent and not as contradictory sentences:

- (7) Nothing is black and white.

- (8) This is black and white.  
 (9) They are five boys and girls.  
 (10) John and Mary are husband and wife.

The least transparent case is (8), which shows no grammatical hints at an internal structure of the case to be characterized. The situation is less opaque with propositions like (9), where the internal structure of the case is indicated by the plural. The key to a solution of the seeming paradox is most conspicuous in cases like (10), where the internal structure not only of the concept but also of the case is clearly visible. In order to truthfully characterize non-empty cases by inconsistent concepts, one has to reanalyze the latter as consistent ones that are somehow related to the structure of their instantiations. We can do this by interpreting them as resulting not from concept but from case conjunction via concept abstraction.

Let us stipulate that for any proposition  $p$  open in  $x$ ,  $[x | p]$  is a concept that characterizes exactly those cases that satisfy  $p$ . Then the consistent readings of (8) and (9) are (8') and (9'):

(8')  $\{This\} Ins [x | \exists y \exists z [x = y \cap z \ \& \ y \ Ins \ |black| \ \& \ z \ Ins \ |white|]]$

(9')  $\{They\} Ins \ |five| \cap [x | \exists y \exists z [x = y \cap z \ \& \ y \ Ins \ |boy| \ \& \ z \ Ins \ |girl|]]$

These can be paraphrased as *This is partially black and partially white* and *They are five and part of them are boys and part of them are girls*, respectively.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to support the view that it is both possible and adequate to model the rather unrestricted applicability of natural language connectives like *and* and *or* with the corresponding Boolean operators even where plurals, which seem to require a join interpretation of *and*, and other phenomena not discussed in (Keenan/Faltz 1985) enter the stage. For lack of space, however, the details will have to be spelled out elsewhere.

#### 5. NOTES

\* I am indebted to Godehard Link for helpful comments and criticism.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the question of the universality of *and* see (Gil 1991).

<sup>2</sup> The meet or infimum of some given elements of an ordered set is the highest element on the ordering which is below all the given elements (their highest common subordinate); dually, the join or supremum of some elements of an ordered set is the lowest element on the ordering which is above all the given elements (their lowest common superordinate). Cf. Davey/Priestley 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Link's (1991) plural semantics with joins modeling plural individuals.

<sup>4</sup> This desideratum and the spirit of the approach is shared with (Keenan/Faltz 1985); the solution, however, differs in that it treats plurals and that it shares with Situation Semantics the strongly intensional setup.

<sup>5</sup> The same idea can be found in (Barwise/Cooper 1981:166); the difference is that they don't treat plural individuals and therefore model individuals only with principal ultrafilters.

<sup>6</sup> Even with an inherently distributive predicate such as *catch the flue*, a sentence like *John or John and Mary will catch the flue* may be non-equivalent with *John will catch the flue*, namely where ... *and nobody else* is understood, as in complete answers to constituent questions.

#### 6. REFERENCES

- Barwise, J., and R. Cooper (1981), Generalized Quantifiers and Natural Language, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 4, 159-219.  
 Davey, B.A., and Priestley, H.A. (1990), *Introduction to Lattices and Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 248p.  
 Gil, D. (1991), Aristotle Goes to Arizona, And Finds a Language without 'And', D. Zaefferer (ed.), *Semantic Universals and Universal Semantics*, Berlin: Foris, 96-130.  
 Keenan, E.L., and Faltz, L. (1985), *Boolean Semantics for Natural Language*, Dordrecht: Reidel.  
 Link, G. (1991), Plural, A. von Stechow and D. Wunderlich (eds.), *Semantik/Semantics*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 418-440.