

Observation (folklore): Non-restrictive relative clauses don't go well with quantifiers.

Fritz, den du ja gestern Abend getroffen hast, schreibt eine Klausur.
Fritz, who you met last night, is taking an exam.

Jeder Student, den du ja gestern Abend getroffen hast, schreibt eine Klausur.

Every student, who you met last night, is taking an exam.

Kein Student, den du ja gestern Abend getroffen hast, schreibt eine Klausur.

No student, who you met last night, is taking an exam.

Explanation (folklore): A non-restrictive relative expresses a proposition about the referent of its head.

Still, NRRs are compatible with plural quantifiers:

Die meisten Studenten, die du ja gestern Abend kennengelernt hast, schreiben eine Klausur.

Most students, who you met last night, are taking an exam.

Restrictor reading: You met the students last night.

Ich habe die meisten Studenten angerufen, die sich [dafür] bedankt haben.

I called most students, who thanked me [for this].

Scope reading: The students I called thanked me [for calling].

Restricted availability (Nouwen 2007): only in sentence-final position; similar to E-type pronouns:

Ich habe die meisten Studenten angerufen. Sie haben sich [dafür] bedankt.

I called most students. They thanked me [for this].

Few lawyers hired a secretary who they had discussed.

'*they* cannot refer to the (small) set of lawyers each of whom hired a secretary' (Kamp & Reyle 1993, p. 354)

Underlying intuition (to be confirmed): incomplete constituents are not available for reference

Neither are future constituents (my reconstruction of Nouwen's analogy).

But they are (Poschmann, t.a.):

Das Lego-Set City umfasst über 300 Steine verschiedener Farben und Größen, unter anderem für eine Poststelle und eine Polizeistation. Die meisten Steine, die natürlich alle rot sind, gehören zu einem Feuerwehrhaus.

The Lego Set City includes more than 400 bricks of different colour and size, for example for a post office and a police station. Most bricks, which are of course all red, belong to a fire station.

Acceptance rate of 83% for *die meisten N*
(*die wenigsten: 89%, ein Drittel > 90%*)

3 possibilities:

- Acceptance due to charitable re-interpretation or repair.
- Even internal NRRs need to be interpreted after their matrix.
- More sophisticated compositional mechanisms are called for.

... based on Brasoveanu (2008); cf. Reinert (in prep.).

References

Brasoveanu, Adrian (2008): ‘Donkey pluralities: plural information states versus non-atomic individuals’. *Linguistics and Philosophy* **31**, 129-209.

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