

Acknowledgments

This book is a substantially revised and extended version of my dissertation, Champollion (2010b), which introduced the framework of strata theory centered around the notion of stratified reference. It incorporates subsequent work as described here.

The story of this work begins in the summer of 2008. I had been a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania for four years, and I was just about to finish a summer internship at the Palo Alto Research Center (PARC). Partly due to its proximity to Stanford University and Silicon Valley, PARC was a great place to do research at the intersection of linguistics and computer science. Among other things, I had been trying to hack some notion of aspect into the natural-language semantic pipeline they were running at the time. I enjoyed this task: I could feel like the real computational linguist that part of me has always wanted to be, and still read semantics papers all day long. Then my supervisors, Cleo Condoravdi and Danny Bobrow, asked me if I wanted to move to the West Coast and turn my aspect project into a dissertation there. None of us knew back then what it would be about and how much computer science there would be in it. In the end, there is none in it at all. I'm deeply grateful to Cleo and Danny for the trust and enthusiasm with which they embarked on this project with me.

Cleo was the natural choice as my dissertation advisor, and I haven't regretted that choice a single time. Perhaps most importantly for me, she left me the freedom to take this enterprise in whatever direction I wanted. This is not to say that she was ever uninterested or not fully engaged, despite her many responsibilities at PARC. Cleo kept offering patient encouragement throughout the many unexpected turns this work took, and she always had the right amount of clear advice at the right time. She introduced me to the PARC and Stanford communities and, over the course of numerous hiking trips, also to the beauty of the Bay Area.

I'm deeply grateful to the chair of my dissertation, Aravind Joshi. He has been unerringly supportive as he sponsored my first stay at Penn as an exchange student, and later on as I found my way through graduate school between formal language theory and formal semantics. He selflessly supported my decision to move away from Penn and from his own research agenda.

The other members of my dissertation committee were Maribel Romero and Florian Schwarz. Maribel drew me right into semantics from the very first class I took with her at Penn in 2004. Her classes were the best I ever took. Her approach to semantics might well shape my own work more than I know. Like everyone else, I looked on in amazement as she changed jobs, moved across the ocean to Konstanz, founded a family, became department chair, and kept an eye on my dissertation all at once. I am grateful to her for her generous help. There's no way to sneak a flawed linguistic

argument past her, though I'm sure this book contains many that she has long given up on trying to correct.

Although Florian Schwarz joined Penn and the committee only shortly before the dissertation was completed, he worked his way into the project with remarkable speed and made an impact on it, especially by challenging the way I originally characterized stratified-reference constraints as presuppositions. I thank him for numerous detailed comments and for his enthusiastic approach to the enterprise. It was a great pleasure to have him on the committee.

Tony Kroch served on the dissertation committee for a good year or so. I'm grateful that he did, and I'm glad he stayed around even after he officially left. I thank him for giving me the benefit of the doubt early on, for encouraging me to be bold, and for not thinking that his efforts were lost on me. Tony never made a secret of his opinion when he thought I was headed the wrong way, and given my personality, I think he deserves credit for that.

I have a lot of people to thank for teaching me linguistics, engaging with my ideas, and making sure that writing the dissertation and this book was not a lonely business. It would be impossible to thank everyone, and if you feel unjustly omitted from what follows, you most likely are.

The late Ellen Prince took me seriously when I was still wet behind the ears, and I hear she put in a good word for me when I wanted to join Penn. I regret not having spent more time with her.

My Master's degree advisor, Mitch Marcus, has been supportive throughout my time at Penn, and it is largely thanks to his and Aravind's efforts that I could navigate the gap between linguistics and computer science.

I am grateful to my fellow graduate students at Penn from 2004 to 2010, particularly Aviad Eilam, Keelan Evanini, Eva Florencio Nieto, Jonathan Gress-Wright, Catherine Lai, Lucy Lee, Laia Mayol, Jean-François Mondon, and Josh Tauberer. They plowed through the endless coursework with me, endured my island violations, and never lost patience with my unending hunger for grammaticality judgments. It's been great living with my linguist roommates Ariel Diertani, Jonathan Gress-Wright, Laurel MacKenzie (now my colleague at NYU), Laia Mayol, and Satoshi Nambu at 4400 Spruce St. I especially thank Satoshi for helping me print and submit the dissertation while I was in Europe. I thank Yanyan Sui for being who she is, for giving me a glimpse of Chinese, and for showing me the many ways to open an orange. Jeeyoung Kim, Angela Lee, and her Highness Leslie Williams of Sansom Place helped me get away from linguistics once in a while and made sure I didn't take myself too seriously.

I am grateful to the faculty and administrators at the linguistics department at Penn, particularly to Gene Buckley and Amy Forsyth, for their support and for making it possible for me to spend time at PARC and Stanford. I also thank Penn for supporting me through a Benjamin Franklin fellowship, a Dissertation Completion fellowship, and various travel grants.

Coming to Penn in the first place wasn't easy, and many people prepared and supported me on the way. I thank my teachers, especially my elementary school teacher, Dieter Hellmann (†), and my high school English teacher, Peter Schneider. At the University of Freiburg, Udo Hahn introduced me to computational linguistics, recommended Penn to me, and helped me get there. I'm grateful to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for financing my first year of studies at Penn. I thank the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes for their support.

Moving on to California, I gratefully acknowledge PARC for providing me with a stipend and an office. Many thanks to the linguists who were working at PARC while I was there, especially to Danny Bobrow, Cleo Condoravdi, Ji Fang, Lauri Karttunen, John Maxwell, and Annie Zaenen.

I met Liz Coppock at PARC when she was working on spatial aspect. Through working with her, I was eventually led to the ideas in Chapter 6. I'm grateful to her for her comments on that chapter and for many conversations on semantics. Scott Grimm was also at PARC and at the Stanford linguistics department when I was there, and offered comments and generous help on pseudopartitives (Chapter 7) and other topics. Also at Stanford, I thank the faculty, especially Johan van Benthem, Paul Kiparsky, Beth Levin, and Chris Potts, for giving me opportunities to sit in their classes and to present my work. I'm grateful to Eric Acton, David Clausen, Alex Djalali, Jason Grafmiller, Chigusa Kurumada, Sven Lauer, Jack Tomlinson, and my other friends at the linguistics department for many fun and thoughtful conversations. I thank Penn and Stanford for letting me take part in the exchange scholar program, which was highly beneficial to this work.

I finished the dissertation in 2010 as a postdoc at the university of Tübingen, where Sigrid Beck, Fritz Hamm, and Gerhard Jäger have been fostering a lively research environment with help from their wonderful administrators, Sonja Haas-Gruber and Beate Starke. I am grateful to all of them and to the linguist friends I made there, particularly Nadine Bade, Vera Hohaus, Anna Howell, and Sonja Tiemann. Sveta Krasikova had unfortunately already left Tübingen by the time I arrived, but she was still there often enough to give me valuable comments.

I applied for my current position at NYU with a research program based on the dissertation. I have pursued it since I joined the department in 2012. This book summarizes its current state, and I believe it is a stable foundation for future theory-building. I am grateful to the remarkably talented students here and to my semanticist colleagues, Chris Barker, Philippe Schlenker, and Anna Szabolcsi, for the vibrant research environment they have created and for many conversations involving various aspects of this work. For helping me in many ways, I am also grateful to the staff, particularly Aura Holguin, Mike Kennedy, Teresa Leung, and Eddie Quiles. Among my nonsemanticist colleagues, I owe special thanks to Chris Collins for his encouragement and for his detailed comments on Chapters 8 and 9. Among the students, I am especially grateful to Hanna Muller and Linmin Zhang for helping me run web surveys

that I occasionally used to confirm (or in one case, as described four paragraphs ahead, to disconfirm) assumptions I had made in 2010 about the meaning and acceptability of various sentences. In this connection, I thank Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine and Hadas Kotek for providing the open-source software package *Turktools* to the semantics community (Erlewine & Kotek 2016).

I have benefited from many discussions in graduate seminars about this work that I taught at NYU in 2013 and 2014, and in summer school courses that I taught at ESSLI 2012 and at the 2015 LSA summer institute. Teaching these courses was incredibly inspiring, and I am very grateful to the students who took part in them. Some of the changes in this book originated in discussions in these courses. I owe special thanks to Jeremy Kuhn, who took part in the second NYU seminar and who subsequently presented his work on the word *all* as Kuhn (2014). Jeremy's influence is reflected and acknowledged throughout Chapter 10.

I published an overview of strata theory as a target article in the open peer review journal *Theoretical Linguistics* (Champollion 2015c). I thank Manfred Krifka for encouraging me to write that article, and I am indebted to him and to Hans-Martin Gärtner for their help as editors. I am grateful to the authors of the responses to that article (Corver 2015, Doetjes 2015, Link 2015, Piñón 2015, Schwarzschild 2015, Syrett 2015). These responses prompted me to introduce a number of refinements to the theory, as described in detail in my reply article (Champollion 2015b). This book has been updated to reflect these refinements.

A precursor of Chapter 4 was published as Champollion (2009). Two handbook articles, Champollion (to appear) and Champollion & Krifka (2016), are based in part on the dissertation. While preparing them, I have drawn primarily on the background material in Chapters 2 and 4. This has led to revisions to the text, some of which I have incorporated back into this book. The presentation in Chapter 7 draws in part on section 4 of Champollion (2015b) and on section 3 of Champollion (2015c).

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 have been only lightly changed, mostly to improve presentation. Chapter 5 has been partly rewritten. I have removed discussion of frequency adverbs that was tangential to its main subject, and of a generalization (labeled the “sufficiently-many events” observation) based on subtle gradient judgments that I have since then tried and failed to reproduce experimentally in collaboration with Hanna Muller and Linmin Zhang. I have also expanded the section describing my account.

Chapter 8 has undergone significant expansion and changes compared with the dissertation, leading to its publication as an article in the open-access journal *Semantics and Pragmatics* (Champollion 2016a), which is reprinted here with slight modifications. A closely related proceedings paper, Champollion (2013), is not included in this book, but its contents are referenced at the appropriate places.

Chapter 9 is based on work I carried out at the University of Tübingen and at NYU after the dissertation was completed. Its main ideas have appeared as a short proceedings paper (Champollion 2012). Just like the previous one, this chapter has

been published in its current form as a *Semantics and Pragmatics* article (Champollion 2016c) and is reprinted here with slight modifications. For their help with the text of Chapters 8 and 9, I am grateful to the journal editors, particularly Kai von Stechow and Kjell Johan Sæbø, and to the journal reviewers, particularly Malte Zimmermann.

Chapter 10 is based on Chapter 9 of the dissertation. It has undergone substantial revisions and expansions, described in the main text. A part of this chapter overlaps with Champollion (2015c); another part has appeared as a short proceedings paper, Champollion (2016b). Significant parts of the chapter are new and not included anywhere else. The original chapter contained an extensive discussion of dependent plurals, most of which has been cut from this book because it is only marginally related to strata theory.

Chapter 11, the conclusion, has been rewritten from scratch and substantially expanded to include a chapter-by-chapter summary of the book. Some of the suggestions for future work have previously appeared in Champollion (2015c).

Over the last eight years, many linguists have taken the time to converse or correspond with me about various aspects of this book. Many thanks to Alan Bale, Justin Bledin, Adrian Brasoveanu, Benjamin Bruening, Dylan Bumford, Seth Cable, Gennaro Chierchia, Ivano Ciardelli, Chris Collins, Ashwini Deo, Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin, Jean Mark Gawron, Justyna Grudzinska, Zsófia Gyarmathy, Robert Henderson, Petra Hendriks, Paul Hovda, Sonia Kasyanenko, Chris Kennedy, Manuel Križ, Manfred Krifka, Daniel Lassiter, Chris LaTerza, Lisa Matthewson, Jon Ander Mendia, Alice ter Meulen, Friederike Moltmann, Oleg Neroslavsky, David Nicolas, Hazel Pearson, Maria Mercedes Piñango, Chris Piñón, Jim Pryor, Adam Przepiórkowski, Floris Roelofsen, Uli Sauerland, Remko Scha (†), Roger Schwarzschild, Chung-chieh Shan, Alexander Williams, Yoad Winter, Kata Wohlmuth, Linmin Zhang, Ziren Zhou, Thomas Ede Zimmermann, and Eytan Zweig. Likewise, I thank audiences at the 2009 workshop on Construction of Meaning at Stanford, at the 2009 CHRONOS conference on tense, aspect, and modality in Paris, at the 2010 Penn Linguistics Colloquium, at the 2011 workshop on distributivity in Stuttgart, at the 2011 Amsterdam Colloquium, at the 2013 conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory at UC Santa Cruz, at the 2014 Cornell workshop in linguistics and philosophy, at the 2015 North Eastern Linguistic Society conference at Concordia University, at the ZAS Berlin, and at the Universities of Connecticut, Dublin (Trinity College), Frankfurt, Göttingen, Konstanz, Los Angeles (UCLA), Maryland, Munich (Center for Mathematical Philosophy), Paris 7, Potsdam, Toruń, Tübingen, Utrecht, Warsaw, and Yale, for their feedback.

For native speaker judgments, I thank Meike Baumann, Renée Blake, Isaac Bleaman, Heather Burnett, WooJin Chung, Ivano Ciardelli, Chris Collins, Liz Coppock, Masha Esipova, Hana Filip, Stephanie Harves, Daði Hafþór Helgason, Hildur Hrólfsdóttir, Gianina Iordăchioaia, Zack Jagers, Sonia Kasyanenko, Mike Kennedy, Songhee Kim, Sverrir Kristinsson, Jeremy Kuhn, Chigusa Kurumada, Luciana

Meinking Guimarães, Yohei Oseki, Roumyana Pancheva, Adam Przepiórkowski, Leonor Remédio, Floris Roelofsen, Bujar Rushiti, Kjell Johan Sæbø, Todd Snider, and Gunnar Ingi Valdimarsson.

At Oxford University Press, I thank Lisa Eaton, Julia Steer, and Vicki Sunter for their help throughout the process, as well as the series editors, David Adger and Hagit Borer. I am grateful for the detailed reviews of the manuscript by Stefan Hinterwimmer and by an anonymous reviewer. I have benefited from them while preparing this book.

I have also greatly benefited from Vera Hohaus' many knowledgeable comments on Chapters 1 through 7, and from Sarah Barrett's, Anna Howell's, Ian Pickett's, and Todd Snider's careful proofreading of the entire manuscript at various stages. I thank Vera Zu for her help with the bibliography, and Philip Shushurin for preparing the index. I gratefully acknowledge a Grant-in-Aid by the NYU Center for the Humanities in support of the publication of this book. I also thank Scott Collard, Jill Conte, April Hathcock, Monica McCormick, and Michael Stoller at the NYU libraries for assisting me in the publishing process.

For their hospitality and much more over the last eight years as this work took me around the world, I'm grateful to many friends of mine: in Philadelphia, Julia Deák, Aviad Eilam, Catherine Lai, and Michela Tincani; in Austin, Liz Coppock; in Berlin, Uli Sauerland and Kazuko Yatsushiro; in Paris, Catherine Collin and my aunts and uncles from the Champollion family, Elisabeth, Ginou, and Hervé; in Portland, Svitlana Antonyuk-Yudina and Vadym Yudin; in Vienna, Gregor and Monika Rot; in Tübingen, Anke and Frank Tochtermann; in Neuchâtel, Sveta Krasikova and Ventsislav Zhechev; in Amsterdam, Galit and Adar Weidman Sassoon; in Warsaw, Justyna Grudzinska; in Moscow, Nadia Antonova, Petya Volyak, Masha Tsyurupa, Nick Gribakin, Natasha Korotkova, Vanya Kapitonov, and Ania Grashchenkova. At an early stage in the development of this project, Arnim von Stechow provided generous advice and a chance to take a step back and examine my ideas from the ultimate bird's-eye perspective, in his mountain hut high up in the snow-covered Swiss alps.

And most of all: meine Mutter, mon père, Tuğbacım. I don't know how to thank you. But still: thank you.