Abstract. Recent pragmatic accounts derive the ignorance inferences to which superlative modifiers give rise as quantity implicatures in a neo-Gricean framework. While these approaches successfully account for the interaction of at least with modals, the behavior of at most remains a puzzle. I propose that at most is composed of an antonymizing operator and at least and show how this accounts for the interaction of at most with modals and quantifiers in a neo-Gricean framework.

Keywords: superlative modifiers, ignorance inferences, decomposition, antonyms

1. Superlative modifiers and ignorance inferences

The superlative modifiers at least and at most have received a great deal of attention in the recent semantic and pragmatic literature (Geurts and Nouwen 2007, Büring 2008, Cummins and Katsos 2010, Nouwen 2010 and 2015, Schwarz 2011 and 2013, Cohen and Krifka 2014, Coppock and Brochhagen 2013, Kennedy 2015). What makes them a particularly interesting object of study is the fact that in most contexts, at least and at most imply speaker ignorance, i.e. they convey that the speaker isn’t sure about the precise value under discussion (see Geurts and Nouwen 2007, Nouwen 2010). Sentence (1), for instance, conveys that the speaker is not sure how many beers exactly John had last night. The only thing she is sure about is that the number is not less than three. But for all she knows, John might have had four or five etc. beers.

(1) John had at least three beers last night.

In certain environments, however, the implication of speaker uncertainty is absent. In particular, ignorance inferences can be suppressed in certain combinations of at least and at most with modals (see Geurts and Nouwen 2007). Sentence (2), where at least occurs under a necessity modal, has a reading which Büring (2008) calls authoritative. Under this reading, (2) doesn’t convey speaker ignorance, but rather expresses that 10 pages is the minimally required length of the paper. This reading is graphically illustrated in (2a), where ‘----’ signifies the range of permissible paper lengths — which I will also refer to as deontic range — and 10pp is its lower bound.

(2) The paper has to be at least 10 pages long.
   + at least
   a. ‘10 pages is the minimally required length of the paper’
      [------------------------]
      authoritative reading
      10pp
   b. ‘According to what the speaker knows, the minimally required length might be 10 pages or it might be more.’
      [///////////------------------------]
      speaker insecurity reading
      10pp

Sentence (2) has another reading conveying speaker ignorance, which can be brought out by
prefixing the utterance with “I don’t know exactly. But I think ...”. Under this reading, which Büring (2008) calls speaker insecurity reading, the speaker is unsure about the minimally required length of the paper. For all she knows, the lower bound of permissible paper lengths could be 10pp or more. This reading is graphically illustrated in (2b), where ‘////’ signifies the epistemic range, i.e. the values that for all the speaker knows might or might not be permissible. To bring out the difference between the two readings, consider a situation in which the regulations specify that only papers that are 15 or more pages long will be accepted. In this situation, the sentence is judged false under the authoritative reading (2a), whereas under the speaker insecurity reading (2b) one cannot blame the speaker for making a false statement.

Regarding the readings that are available for certain combinations of modals and superlative modifiers, I basically follow Geurts and Nouwen (2007), who argue that + at least and ◇ + at most have both the authoritative and the speaker insecurity reading, whereas ◇ + at least and + at most only allow for the speaker insecurity reading (but I will return to + at most in section 3.4 below). This grouping has also been confirmed in experimental studies by McNabb and Penka (2014a,b). The readings that I take to be available for the different combinations are summarized in (2) to (5).

(3) The paper can be at least 10 pages long.
   ‘According to what the speaker knows, the maximally allowed length might be 10 pages or more.’
   [////////] speaker insecurity reading only
   10pp

(4) The paper has to be at most 10 pages long.
   ‘According to what the speaker knows, the minimally required length might be 10 pages or less.’
   ///////]------- speaker insecurity reading only
   10pp

(5) The paper can be at most 10 pages long.
   a. ‘10 pages is the maximally allowed length of the paper’
      [------] authoritative reading
      10pp
   b. ‘According to what the speaker knows, the maximally allowed length might be 10 pages or less.’
      [--------//////] speaker insecurity reading
      10pp

The ignorance implications of at least and at most and their interaction with modals are currently subject to a lot of work in semantics and pragmatics. But none of the analyses proposed so far fully accounts for the interaction of at least and at most with modals. The aim of this paper is to improve on a pragmatic account that derives ignorance inferences of superlative modifiers as quantity implicatures in a neo-Gricean framework, which is conceptually attractive and empirically well motivated. As I discuss in section 2, this approach successfully accounts for the interaction of at least with modals, but fails for at most. In section 3, I propose an analysis of at
most where it is decomposed into an antonymizing operator and at least. I show that this decompositional analysis combined with a neo-Gricean account of ignorance inferences correctly predicts that at most gives rise to an authoritative reading in combination with possibility modals. At the end I show that the decompositional analysis also accounts for further patterns of interaction between at most and quantifiers.

2. A neo-Gricean account of ignorance inferences of superlative modifiers

2.1. Ignorance inferences as quantity implicatures

Büring (2008), Cummins and Katsos (2010), Schwarz (2011, 2013) and Kennedy (2015) propose that the ignorance inferences triggered by at least and at most arise as quantity implicatures. This approach is supported by the fact that ignorance inferences of superlative modifiers show one of the hallmarks of conversational implicatures and are absent in downward entailing contexts.† Thus, the examples in (6), where a superlative modifier occurs in the restrictor of a universal quantifier and the antecedent of a conditional, don’t convey speaker ignorance.

(6) a. Everyone who has at least three children is eligible for child benefits.
   b. You’ll loose weight if you take in at most 1500 calories per day.

This approach builds on a parallel to ignorance inferences arising with disjunction, which are generally taken to be derived via Gricean reasoning. While the accounts of Büring (2008) and Cummins and Katsos (2010) take the parallel to disjunction at face value and assume that at least n is semantically equivalent to ‘exactly n or more than n’, Schwarz (2011, 2013) and Kennedy (2015) spell out an analysis of superlative modifiers as degree operators in a neo-Gricean framework. Here I follow Schwarz (2011), who shows that ignorance inferences of at least and at most can be derived in the same way as the ignorance implications of or in Sauerland’s (2004) neo-Gricean system.‡ The essential ingredients of Schwarz’ analysis are the following: In the semantics, at least and at most are analyzed as degree operators expressing non-strict comparison:

(7) a. \([\text{at least}] = \lambda d_d. \lambda D_{dt}. \max(D) \geq d\)
   b. \([\text{at most}] = \lambda d_d. \lambda D_{dt}. \max(D) \leq d\)

In the pragmatics, utterances with at least or at most trigger scalar alternatives which are the

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† While superlative modifiers seem to be banned from the scope of negation and other negative expressions, they are more acceptable in some non-strictly negative downward entailing contexts. What causes the polarity sensitivity of superlative modifiers is an open question.

‡ Mayr (2013) and Schwarz (2013) note that Sauerland’s algorithm needs to be revised and based on the notion of Innocent Exclusion (Fox 2007) in order to prevent the generation of unattested scalar implicatures for scalar modifiers. I neglect this issue for the purpose of this paper and circumvent the problem for Sauerland’s basic algorithm by considering just those scalar alternatives that asymmetrically entail the assertion and where the number is closest to the modified numeral.
cross-product of substituting (i) the modified number by other numerals or measure phrases and (ii) at least and at most by each other and exactly.

(8) \[ [\text{exactly}] = \lambda d_d. \lambda D_d. \max(D) = d \]

With these assumptions ignorance inferences are generated for unembedded occurrences of at least and at most in Sauerland’s system, where scalar implicatures and ignorance inferences are two sides of the same coin. Scalar implicatures arise if primary implicatures of the form “the speaker is not certain that \( \varphi \)”, where \( \varphi \) is a stronger scalar alternative, can be strengthened to secondary or scalar implicatures of the form “the speaker is certain that not \( \varphi \)”. Ignorance inferences arise if the stronger alternatives are symmetric, which means that they cannot simultaneously be false while the assertion is true, or putting it differently, the assertion is equivalent to the disjunction of the stronger alternatives. This is illustrated in the following for example (9), which has the LF and the truth-conditions shown in (10).

(9) The paper is at least 10 pages long.

(10) a. \([\text{at least 10pp}] [\lambda d \ [\text{the paper is d long}]]\]
    b. \(\max\{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \geq 10\text{pp}\)
       ‘The length of the paper is 10pp or more.’

The scalar alternatives of (9) correspond to the cross-product of substituting at least by exactly or at most and by substituting 10pp by other paper lengths. Out of these, the alternatives that are more informative, i.e. asymmetrically entail the assertion, are the ones formed by substituting either at least by exactly or 10pp by 11pp.

(11) Scalar alternatives to (9):
    The paper is \(\text{NumMod} n\) pages long.
    where \(\text{NumMod} \in \{\text{at least, exactly, at most}\}\)
    \(n \in \{\ldots, 9, 10, 11, \ldots\}\)

(12) Stronger scalar alternatives:
    a. The paper is exactly 10 pages long.
       \(\max\{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp}\)
    b. The paper is at least 11 pages long.
       \(\max\{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \geq 11\text{pp}\)
       \(10\text{pp} \Rightarrow 11\text{pp}\)

Because the stronger alternatives in (12) are symmetric, i.e. one of them has to be true for the assertion to be true, none of the primary implicatures can be strengthened to secondary/scalar implicatures, because this would contradict the conjunction of the assertion and all the primary implicatures. Instead, the assertion and the primary implicatures taken together entail possibility implicatures. This is shown in (13), where using Gazdar’s (1979) notation, \(K\varphi\) corresponds to ‘the speaker knows/believes \(\varphi\)’ and \(P\varphi\) to ‘the speaker considers \(\varphi\) possible’.

\[<==>\]

The symbol \(<==>\#\) is used when the equivalence is based on the simplifying assumption that the relevant scale is discrete, i.e. that only full-page lengths are considered, which I make for ease of exposition.

3 The symbol \(<==>\#\) is used when the equivalence is based on the simplifying assumption that the relevant scale is discrete, i.e. that only full-page lengths are considered, which I make for ease of exposition.
a. Assertion: \( K \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \geq 10\text{pp} \)  

b. Primary implicatures:
   \[ \neg K \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \quad \text{PiI1} \]
   \[ \neg K \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 10\text{pp} \quad \text{PiI2} \]

c. Possibility implicatures:
   \[ P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \quad \text{PoI1 (follows from A + PiI2)} \]
   \[ P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 10\text{pp} \quad \text{PoI2 (follows from A + PiI1)} \]

The primary and possibility implicatures together correspond to ignorance inferences, which are of the form \( P\varphi & P\neg\varphi \) (note that \( \neg K\varphi \) is equivalent to \( P\neg\varphi \)). According to them, the speaker doesn’t know whether the paper is exactly 10pp long or whether the paper is more than 10pp long. Together with the assertion, this correctly reflects the meaning of sentence (9).

Ignorance inferences for unembedded occurrences of \textit{at most} are generated in the same way, the only difference being that now the alternative with a lower numeral is symmetric to the alternative where \textit{at most} is substituted by \textit{exactly}.

The paper is \textbf{at most} 10 pages long.
\[ \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 10\text{pp} \]

Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. The paper is \textbf{exactly} 10 pages long.
\[ \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \]

b. The paper is at most 9 pages long.
\[ \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 9\text{pp} \]
\[ \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \]

\[ at \ most \iff exactly \]

\[ at \ most \Rightarrow 9\text{pp} \]

\[ \neg at \ most \Rightarrow 9pp \]

\[ \neg at \ most \Rightarrow * \]

\[ \text{at least} \]

Ignorance implicatures generated:

a. \( P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} & P \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \)

b. \( P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} & P \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \)

‘The speaker doesn’t know whether the paper is exactly 10pp long or whether the paper is less than 10pp long.’

The neo-Gricean analysis thus accounts for the fact that unembedded occurrences of \textit{at least} and \textit{at most} give rise to ignorance inferences. It also explains why numerals modified by superlative modifiers don’t give rise to scalar implicatures, in contrast to bare numerals. Moreover, it makes certain predictions for the interaction of superlative modifiers with modals, which are discussed in the following sections.

2.2. Interaction with necessity modals

Since superlative modifiers are analyzed as degree operators, two different scope orders are possible when they interact with modals. If a superlative modifier is interpreted in the scope of a necessity modal, the stronger scalar alternatives in (20) are not symmetric. They can simultaneously be false while the assertion is true, namely in case of (18) if the permissible
paper length corresponds to a range including 10 and more pages. Because these alternatives are not symmetric, they give rise to the scalar implicatures in (21).

(18) The paper **has to be at least** 10 pages long.

(19) a. has to [[at least 10pp] [λd [the paper be d long]]] > at least

b. max {d: long(p,d)} ≥ 10pp

‘In all the acceptable worlds, the length of the paper is 10pp or more.’

(20) Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. max {d: long(p,d)} = 10 pp

‘In all the acceptable worlds, the length of the paper is exactly 10pp.’

b. max {d: long(p,d)} ≥ 11 pp <==> max {d: long(p,d)} > 10 pp

‘In all the acceptable worlds, the paper is longer than 10pp.’

(21) Scalar implicatures generated:

a. K™ max {d: long(p,d)} = 10 pp

b. K™ max {d: long(p,d)} > 10 pp

According to these scalar implicatures, the speaker is sure that the paper doesn’t have to be exactly 10pp long and that the paper doesn’t have to be more than 10pp long. Together with the asserted content this is true iff the permissible paper lengths correspond to a range of values whose lower bound is 10pp. This corresponds to the authoritative reading in (22).

(22) [----------- authoritative reading

10pp

If a superlative modifier takes wide scope over a necessity modal, the speaker insecurity reading results. Although the scope order *at least >* is truth-conditionally equivalent to * > at least* (see Heim 2000), the pragmatic reasoning is different. Because wide scope of *at least* and *exactly* in the alternatives leads to symmetric alternatives – just as in the case of unembedded occurrences, ignorance inferences rather than scalar implicatures are generated.

(23) a. [at least 10pp] [λd [ has to [the paper be d long]]]] at least >

b. max {d: long(p,d)} ≥ 10pp

‘The minimally required length of the paper is 10pp or more.’

(24) Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. max {d: long(p,d)} = 10 pp

‘The minimally required length of the paper is exactly 10pp.’

b. max {d: long(p,d)} ≥ 11 pp <==> max {d: long(p,d)} > 10 pp

‘The minimally required length of the paper is more than 10pp.’

(25) Ignorance implicatures generated:
a. \( P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp \) & \( P \not\rightarrow \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp \)

b. \( P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 10pp \) & \( P \not\rightarrow \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 10pp \)

These ignorance implicatures express that the speaker is unsure about the minimally required length of the paper; she doesn’t know whether it is exactly 10pp or more than 10pp. Together with the asserted content, this corresponds to the speaker insecurity reading.

(26) [/////////---------] speaker insecurity reading

10pp

Under the neo-Gricean account the two readings of sentences with a necessity modal and at least come down to a difference in scope: The authoritative reading arises if the superlative modifier is interpreted in scope of the necessity modal, and the speaker insecurity reading results from wide scope of the superlative modifier. As evidence for this scopal ambiguity, Büring (2008) observes that only the authoritative reading is available if movement of at least over the modal is blocked for independent reasons, in particular if at least is contained within a finite clause. Sentence (27) only has the authoritative reading (22), and the speaker insecurity reading (26) is absent. It thus contrasts with the minimally different (18), where at least occurs in an infinitival and both readings are available.

(27) It is required that the paper be at least 10 pages long.

The derivations for at most are again parallel to those for at least, as the reader may verify for herself. If at most takes narrow scope under a necessity modal the stronger scalar alternatives, generated by substituting the modified number by lower values and at most by exactly, are not symmetric and the authoritative reading is derived. If at most takes wide scope, the stronger scalar alternatives are symmetric and the speaker insecurity reading results.

In general, ignorance inferences are obviated if a superlative modifier is interpreted in the scope of an operator that breaks symmetry. This arguably also accounts for other cases of ignorance obviation, e.g. under universal quantifiers (Schwarz, 2011) and generics (Nouwen 2010). However, we will see in the next section that a possibility modal does not break symmetry.

2.3. Interaction with possibility modals

While we just saw that a necessity modal breaks symmetry if a superlative modifier is interpreted in its scope and scalar rather than ignorance implicatures arise, a possibility modal does not break symmetry. Even if the possibility modal takes wide scope over a superlative modifier the stronger scalar alternatives cannot simultaneously be false while the assertion is true. Therefore ignorance inferences are generated. This is illustrated in the following for at most (the case for at least is again parallel).

(28) The paper can be at most 10 pages long.

(29) a. can [[at most 10pp] [\( \lambda d \) [the paper be d long]]]

b. \( \Diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 10pp \) \( \Diamond > \text{at most} \)
‘There is an acceptable world where the length of the paper is 10pp or less.’

(30) Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. \[ \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \]
   ‘There is an acceptable world where the length of the paper is exactly 10pp.’

b. \[ \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 9 \text{pp} \]
   \[ \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \]
   ‘There is an acceptable world where the length of the paper is less than 10pp.’

(31) Ignorance inferences generated:

a. \[ P \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \land P \neg \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \]

b. \[ P \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \land P \neg \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \]

If \textit{at most} is interpreted in the scope of the modal as in (29) to (31) above, a reading results which is weak for several reasons. For one thing the truth conditions merely say that there is an acceptable world where the length of the paper is 10pp or less. In addition, strong ignorance inferences are generated according to which the speaker doesn’t know whether the paper can be exactly 10pp long or whether the paper can be less than 10pp long. Thus for all the speaker knows, the maximally allowed length might be 5pp or the minimally required length might be 10pp. This reading might not be detectable because there is another reading with stronger truth conditions and sensible ignorance inferences, derived from an LF where the superlative modifier takes wide scope, as shown in (32) to (35).

(32) a. \[ \text{[at most 10pp]} \lambda d \text{[allowed [the paper be d long]]} \]
   \[ \text{at most} > \diamond \]
   ‘The maximally allowed length of the paper is 10pp or less.’

b. \[ \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 10\text{pp} \]
   ‘The maximally allowed length of the paper is 10pp or less.’

(33) Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. \[ \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \]
   ‘The maximally allowed length of the paper is exactly 10pp.’

b. \[ \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} \leq 9\text{pp} \]
   \[ \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \]
   ‘The maximally allowed length of the paper is less than 10pp.’

(34) Ignorance implicatures generated:

a. \[ P \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \land P \neg \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10\text{pp} \]

b. \[ P \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \land P \neg \max \{d: \diamond \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10\text{pp} \]

According to these ignorance inferences the speaker isn’t sure whether the maximally allowed length of the paper is exactly 10pp or whether the maximally allowed length is less than 10pp. Together with the asserted content, this corresponds to the attested speaker insecurity reading illustrated in (35).

(35) \[ \text{----------///////}] \]
     \[ \text{10pp} \]
     speaker insecurity reading

In sum, the neo-Gricean account of ignorance inferences makes the following predictions regarding the interaction of superlative modifiers with modals: If \textit{at least} or \textit{at most} are
interpreted with wide scope over a necessity or possibility modal, the speaker insecurity reading is derived. The authoritative reading results from interpreting \textit{at least} or \textit{at most} in the scope of a necessity modal. Narrow scope under a possibility modal leads to a reading with strong ignorance inferences.

This correctly accounts for the readings observed for \textit{at least}. As discussed in section 1, \textit{at least} gives rise to an authoritative reading in combination with a necessity modal, but not in combination with a possibility modal. But the pattern is different for \textit{at most}, where the authoritative reading is available in combination with a possibility modal, but doesn\'t seem to be available in combination with a necessity modal. Therefore the neo-Gricean analysis, while successful for \textit{at least}, doesn\'t account for the interaction of \textit{at most} and modals.

3. A decompositional analysis of \textit{at most}

3.1. Decomposing \textit{at most}

Following the idea that negative antonyms are generally decomposed in the syntax into an antonymizing operator and the corresponding positive antonym (Heim 2006, 2008, Büring 2007, Alxatib 2013), I propose that \textit{at most} \( n \) is decomposed into an antonymizing operator \( \text{ANT} \) and \textit{at least} \( n \):

\[
(36) \quad \text{at most } n = ([n-\text{ANT}]_{\text{dt}})\text{-at least}_{\text{dt}}
\]

As meaning for \textit{at least} I adopt the degree operator semantics proposed by Schwarz (2011) and Kennedy (2015), and repeated as (37).

\[
(37) \quad \llbracket \text{at least} \rrbracket = \lambda d. \lambda D. \max(D) \geq d
\]

For the semantics of the antonymizing operator \( \text{ANT} \), it suggests itself to use Heim\’s (2006) operator \textit{little}, defined in (38) and expressing degree negation (see also Alxatib 2013).

\[
(38) \quad \llbracket \text{little} \rrbracket = \lambda d. \lambda D. \neg D(d)
\]

With this meaning of \textit{little}, however, \textit{at most} \( n \) cannot be decomposed into \textit{little} plus \textit{at least} \( n \), but would rather correspond to \textit{little} plus \textit{more than} \( n \). But there is in fact independent evidence that a revision of Heim\’s definition of \textit{little} is needed (see also Beck 2012). This comes from sentences like (39), where \textit{that} serves as direct degree argument of \textit{weigh} and anaphorically picks up the measure phrase 40kg. With the definition of \textit{little} in (38) the truth conditions in (40b) are derived, according to which Sue weighs less than 40kg. Since (39) is intuitively perfectly compatible with Sue weighing exactly 40kg, this is not what the sentence means.

\[
(39) \quad [\text{Mary only weighs 40kg.}] \text{ Sue weighs that little too.}
\]

\[
(40) \quad \text{a. [that little] } [\lambda d [\text{Sue weighs } d\text{-much}]]
\]
In order to derive the correct meaning for sentence (39), we need a definition of *little* in which only higher degrees are negated, but not the degree contributed by the first argument:

(41) \[ \langle \text{little}_2 \rangle = \lambda d. \lambda D_{dt}. \forall d' > d: \neg D(d') \]

With this we derive the meaning (42b), according to which Sue doesn’t weigh more than 40kg. This can then be strengthened by scalar implicature to mean that Sue’s weight is exactly 40kg, just as for the sentence *Sue weighs 40kg*. This correctly captures the meaning of (39).

(42) a. \[ \langle \text{that little}_2 \rangle [\lambda d [\text{Sue weighs } d\text{-much}]] \]

b. \[ \forall d' > 40kg: \neg[\text{WEIGHT}(s) \geq d'] = \neg[\text{WEIGHT}(s) > 40kg] \]

I thus use this revised definition of *little* as the meaning of the antonymizing operator \( \text{ANT} \). As noted by Beck (2012), this renders the antonymizing operator \( \text{ANT} \) equivalent to the straightforward definition of *at most* repeated from (7b) above.

(43) \[ \langle \text{ANT} \rangle = \lambda d_d. \lambda D_{dt}. \forall d' > d: \neg D(d') \]

(7b) \[ \langle \text{at most} \rangle = \lambda d_d. \lambda D_{dt}. \max(D) \leq d \]

### 3.2. Alternatives and ignorance inferences of *at most*

With these assumptions about the syntax-semantics interface, let us now turn to the question what consequences the decompositional analysis of *at most* has for the pragmatics. In particular the question needs to be addressed what the scalar alternatives are for an utterance with *at most*. In this respect I follow Katzir (2007) and Fox & Katzir (2011), who argue that alternatives are structurally defined and generated by substitution of lexical categories and deletion. In particular, I assume that the scalar alternatives for an utterance with *at most* are generated by (i) substituting numerals or measure phrases by each other; (ii) substituting *at least* by *exactly* (see Schwarz 2011) and (iii) deleting \( \text{ANT} \) (see Alxatib 2013). In addition, I adopt the common assumption that (iv) modals are substituted in the alternatives.

With these assumptions about the meaning of *at most* and scalar alternatives, ignorance inferences for unembedded occurrences of *at most* are generated in the same way as in the neo-Gricean account: the stronger scalar alternatives (47) are the same as under Schwarz’ (2011) analysis. Since these are symmetric, ignorance inferences are generated.

(44) The paper is *at most* 10 pages long.

(45) a. \( \text{ANT-10pp} [\lambda d_2 [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper is } d_1\text{-long}]]]] \]

b. \[ \forall d' > 10pp: \neg[\max\{d: \text{long}(p,d) \geq d\}] \Leftrightarrow \neg\max\{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 10pp \]
(46) Scalar alternatives:
The paper is $Pol \text{ NumMod } n$ pages long. 
where $Pol \in \{ \text{ANT, } \emptyset \}$ 
$\text{NumMod} \in \{ \text{at least, exactly } \}$ 
$n \in \{ \ldots, 9, 10, 11, \ldots \}$

(47) Stronger scalar alternatives:
a. The paper is exactly 10 pages long. 
$\text{ANT, at least } \Rightarrow \text{ exactly}$ 
$max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp$

b. The paper is at most 9 pages long. 
$10pp \Rightarrow 9pp$
$\neg \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} > 9pp$
$max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10pp$

(48) Ignorance inferences generated:
a. $P \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp \& P \neg \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp$

b. $P \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10pp \& P \neg \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)\} < 10pp$

‘The speaker isn’t sure whether the paper is exactly 10pp long or whether the paper is less than 10pp long.’

3.3. Interaction of at most with possibility modals

In the discussion of the interaction of at most with modals, let us start with possibility modals, which were problematic for the basic neo-Gricean account. Under the decompositional analysis of at most, three different scope orders are possible when at most is combined with a modal.

(49) The paper can be at most 10 pages long.

(50) a. $\text{can } [\text{ANT}-10pp [\lambda d_2 [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be } d_1\text{-long}]}}}]]] \diamond > \text{ANT} > \text{at least}$
b. $\text{ANT}-10pp [\lambda d_2 [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{can } \text{the paper be } d_1\text{-long}]}}}]]] \text{ANT} > \text{at least} > \diamond$
c. $\text{ANT}-10pp [\lambda d_2 [\text{can } [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be } d_1\text{-long}]}}}]]] \text{ANT} > \diamond > \text{at least}$

Crucially, the decompositional analysis makes available the LF (50c) where ANT takes wide and at least takes narrow scope with respect to the modal. Under this scope order the alternatives are not symmetric and thus scalar implicatures are generated resulting in the authoritative reading, as shown in detail in (51) to (54).

(51) a. $\text{ANT}-10pp [\lambda d_2 [\text{can } [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be } d_1\text{-long}]}}}]]] \text{ANT} > \diamond > \text{at least}$
b. $\forall d’ > 10pp: \neg \diamond \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)d’ \} \geq d$ $\Leftarrow\Rightarrow$
$\neg \diamond \max \{d : \text{long}(p,d)d’ \} > 10pp$

‘There is no acceptable world where the length of the paper is more than 10pp.’

The LF (51a) already looks promising in terms of its truth conditions: (51b) says that the paper isn’t allowed to be longer than 10pp. This is definitely part of the meaning intuitively conveyed by sentence (49). In addition, pragmatic inferences arise by considering the following scalar alternatives:
We now have to consider eight scalar alternatives. It turns out that out of these, only the two shown in (53) asymmetrically entail the assertion.\(^4\) Crucially, the alternative (53a), generated by substituting the measure phrase with a lower value, doesn’t have a symmetric counterpart. This is due to the fact that \textit{ANT}, which has the semantics attributed by Schwarz (2011) to \textit{at most}, can be deleted in the alternatives but not substituted by \textit{exactly}. The alternative (53a) thus leads to a scalar implicature (54a), according to which the speaker is sure that the paper can be more than 9pp long. In addition, the alternative (53b) also leads to a scalar implicature (54b), according to which the speaker is sure that the paper doesn’t have to be exactly 10pp long.

\begin{equation}
\text{(53) Stronger scalar alternatives:}
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & -\Diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 9pp & 10pp \Rightarrow 9pp \\
\text{b. } & \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp & \text{\textit{ANT}, } \Diamond \Rightarrow \text{, \textit{at least} } \Rightarrow \text{\textit{exactly}}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\text{(54) Scalar implicatures generated:}
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \mathcal{K} \Diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} > 9pp \\
\text{b. } & \mathcal{K} \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d)\} = 10pp
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

Taken together, the assertion and the scalar implicatures express that the permissible paper lengths correspond to a range of values whose upper bound is 10pp. This corresponds to the authoritative reading (55), which is in fact the most salient interpretation for sentence (49).

\begin{equation}
\text{(55) } \begin{array}{c}
\text{authoritative reading} \\
\text{----------} \\
\text{10pp}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

The decompositional analysis can thus derive the authoritative reading for the combination of \textit{at most} with a possibility modal, which other analyses fail to account for. In addition to the authoritative reading, the other two readings that the basic neo-Gricean approach discussed in section 2 derives are also generated from the other two available LFs (50a) and (50b). In general, if \textit{ANT} and \textit{at least} take adjacent scope, the same truth conditions and ignorance inferences are derived as under the non-decompositional analysis of Schwarz (2011). If both \textit{ANT} and \textit{at least} are interpreted in the scope of the possibility modal as in (50a), strong ignorance inferences are derived. The speaker insecurity reading is derived from the LF (50b), where both \textit{ANT} and \textit{at least} take scope under the possibility modal.

3.4. Interaction of \textit{at most} with necessity modals

To complete the discussion of the predictions of the decompositional analysis, we also need to reconsider the interaction of \textit{at most} with a necessity modal, as in (56). Again, the three scope

\(^4\) In fact, the alternative derived by substituting \textit{at least} by \textit{exactly} and 10pp by 9pp is equivalent to (53a). In case of equivalent alternatives, I only consider the one requiring the fewest changes from the utterance.
orders in (57) have to be considered.

(56) The paper **has to be at most** 10 pages long.

(57) a. has to [\text{\textsc{ant-10} [\lambda d_2 [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be d}_1\text{-long}]])]]) > \text{\textsc{ant}} > \text{\textit{at least}} >

b. \text{\textsc{ant-10} [\lambda d_2 [\text{at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{has to [the paper be d}_1\text{-long}]])]])}

c. \text{\textsc{ant-10} [\lambda d_2 [\text{has to [ at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be d}_1\text{-long}]])]])}

In the LF (57c), which is available in the decompositional, but not the basic neo-Gricean analysis, the necessity modal takes scope in between \text{\textsc{ant}} and \text{\textit{at least}}. This scope order leads to the symmetric alternatives (59a) and (59b), and thus to strong ignorance inferences. As before, I assume that the strong ignorance reading is masked by the existence of the speaker insecurity reading with sensible ignorance inferences.

(58) a. \text{\textsc{ant-10pp} [\lambda d_2 [\text{has to [ at least-d}_2 [\lambda d_1 [\text{the paper be d}_1\text{-long}]])]]) \text{\textsc{ant}} > > \text{\textit{at least}}>

b. \forall d’ > 10pp: \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \geq d \} \iff \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) > 10pp

‘The paper doesn’t have to be more than 10pp long.’

(59) Stronger scalar alternatives:

a. \neg \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 9pp \quad 10pp \Rightarrow 9pp

b. \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} = 10pp \quad \text{\textsc{ant}}, \Rightarrow \diamond, \text{\textit{at least}} \Rightarrow \text{\textit{exactly}}

c. \neg \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 10pp

(60) Ignorance inferences generated:

a. P \neg \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 9pp \& P \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 9pp

b. P \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} = 10pp \& P \neg \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} = 10pp

‘The speaker isn’t sure whether the paper is required to be longer than 9pp and she isn’t sure whether the paper is allowed to be exactly 10pp long.’

(61) Scalar implicature generated:

K \diamond \max \{d: \text{long}(p,d) \} > 10pp

‘The speaker is sure that the paper is allowed to be longer than 10pp.’

The readings derived for the two LFs (57a) and (57b) where \text{\textsc{ant}} and \text{\textit{at least}} take adjacent scope over or under the modal are again equivalent to the ones for non-decomposed \textit{at most}. Wide scope of \text{\textsc{ant}} and \text{\textit{at least}} results in the speaker insecurity reading, and the authoritative reading is derived if both \text{\textsc{ant}} and \text{\textit{at least}} are interpreted in the scope of the necessity modal.

The decompositional analysis inherits from the neo-Gricean account the prediction that for the combination of \textit{at most} with a necessity modal both the speaker insecurity and the authoritative reading is available. As discussed in section 1, however, only the speaker insecurity reading seems to be possible for sentence (56). Note however, that the authoritative reading is readily available if \textit{at most} is embedded in a finite clause under a necessity modal. The naturally occurring sentences in (62) don’t express speaker ignorance, but rather report or set the upper
bound of the range of permissible values:

(62)  
a. [I am looking for suggestions for a dorm room microwave for my son.]
   The college requires that it be at most 1 cu feet in volume and at most 800 Watts.⁵
   ‘1 cu feet is the maximally allowed volume and 800 Watts is the maximally allowed power.’

   b. This algorithm requires that variables be used at most once.⁶
   ‘The maximally allowed number of variable uses is one.’

Data like (62) suggest that the authoritative reading is in fact available (and the only reading possible) if there is no choice but to interpret the modal with widest scope. Thus, I take it to be a welcome prediction that wide scope of a necessity modal results in the authoritative reading. The question remains, however, why the authoritative reading doesn’t seem to be available when at most is contained within an infinitival complement of a necessity modal as in (56). A way to explain this could be to relate the scopal interaction of modals vis-à-vis the antonymizing operator to the one they show vis-à-vis negation. The modal verb have to in (56) is known to take narrow scope with respect to negation (see Iatrídou and Zeijlstra 2013). This would also predict that it takes narrow scope with respect to ANT, making the authoritative reading unavailable. In order to see whether this explanation is on the right track, further types of modals and other constructions arguably involving ANT or little would have to be considered.⁷ I leave this issue for future research and discuss in the remainder of the paper further aspects of the interaction of at most with possibility modals and quantifiers.

4. Further predictions of the analysis

4.1. Scope trapping

In the analysis I propose, the authoritative reading of at most plus possibility modal is derived from an LF where ANT takes wide scope. This leads to the prediction that the authoritative reading shouldn’t be available if movement out of the scope of the modal is blocked for independent reasons. Evidence that this prediction is borne out comes from sentences like (63) where at most is embedded in a finite clause. While the sentence is less than perfect and hard to interpret, it seems clear that it doesn’t have the authoritative reading, according to which 10pp is the maximally allowed length of the paper.

(63) It is permitted that the paper is at most 10 pages long.

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⁷ One prediction would be that at most should readily combine with must, which takes wide scope with respect to negation, to yield the authoritative reading. But while the authoritative reading seems to be more easily available when at most is combined with must than when it is combined with have to, the combination doesn’t seem to be particularly natural. This might have to do with the fact that the authoritative reading is the same as expressed by the combination of at most with a possibility modal. Since both possibility modals and at most are naturally used to express an upper bound, this combination might seem more natural than combing at most with necessity modals, which naturally express lower bounds (see Breheny 2008).
The absence of the authoritative reading if wide scope of the modal is enforced also provides an argument against attributing obviation of ignorance inferences under possibility modals to a Free Choice effect (see Coppock & Brochhagen (2013) and Nouwen (2015) for proposals in this direction). Current analyses of Free Choice effects arising with disjunction and indefinites (Fox 2007 among others) derive Free Choice permission readings from an LF where the possibility modal takes wide scope. If the authoritative reading of *at most* was due to a Free Choice effect, then the fact that (63) doesn’t have the authoritative reading is unexpected. In the next subsection, I present further evidence for the assumption that the authoritative reading of *at most* with an existential operator is due to some meaning component of *at most* taking wide scope.

4.2. Interaction with quantifiers

Interestingly, the difference in readings between *at least* and *at most* observed in section 1 is restricted to the interaction with modals. In their interaction with non-modal existential and universal operators, *at least* and *at most* behave parallel. Both *at least* and *at most* obviate ignorance inferences under universal quantifiers. The sentences in (64) and (65) don’t convey that the speaker is uncertain about the length of the papers on the reading list, but rather express that the papers are of different length with the shortest (or longest in case of *at most*) paper being exactly 10pp long. This reading is parallel to the authoritative reading arising for the combination of a superlative modifier and a universal modal, the difference being that now the distribution of values is across individual papers rather than worlds.

(64) **Every** paper on the reading list is *at least* 10 pages long.
     *=> Some paper(s) on the reading list are exactly 10 pages long.
     *=> Some paper(s) on the reading list are more than 10 pages long.

(65) **Every** paper on the reading list is *at most* 10 pages long.
     *=> Some paper(s) on the reading list are exactly 10 pages long.
     *=> Some paper(s) on the reading list are less than 10 pages long.

Under (singular) existential quantifiers, neither at *at least* nor at *at most* can be used to specify a range of values. Instead, both superlative modifiers lead to a reading with strong ignorance inferences as illustrated in (66) and (67).

(66) **Some** paper on the reading list is *at least* 10 pages long.
     *=> The speaker doesn’t know whether some paper is exactly 10 pages long.
     *=> The speaker doesn’t know whether some paper is more than 10 pages long.

(67) **Some** paper on the reading list is *at most* 10 pages long.
     *=> The speaker doesn’t know whether some paper is exactly 10 pages long.
     *=> The speaker doesn’t know whether some paper is less than 10 pages long.

Under the decompositional analysis of *at most* this difference in the interaction with modals and quantifiers is in fact predicted. It follows from the Heim-Kennedy-generalization (Heim 2000), according to which degree operators can QR over modals, but not quantifiers. Thus *at
least as well as ANT obligatorily take narrow scope in (64) to (67). As predicted by the neo-Gricean account, narrow scope under a universal quantifier (or modal) results in scalar implicatures expressing a range of values, while narrow scope under an existential quantifier (or modal) leads to strong ignorance inferences. (68) summarizes the pattern of readings predicted by the neo-Gricean account augmented with the decompositional analysis of at most.

(68)  a. \( \forall > (\text{ANT}>) \) at least: authoritative/range reading
    b. \( \lozenge / \exists > (\text{ANT}>) \) at least: strong ignorance reading
    c. \( (\text{ANT}>) \) at least > /\lozenge: speaker insecurity reading
    d. \( (\text{ANT}>) \) at least > \( \forall / \exists: -- \)
    e. \( \text{ANT} > \forall / \exists > \text{at least}: -- \)
    f. \( \text{ANT} > \lozenge > \text{at least}: \) authoritative/range reading
    g. \( \text{ANT} > > \text{at least}: \) strong ignorance reading

The fact that at most gives rise to an authoritative or range reading in combination with a possibility modal but not an existential quantifier provides further support for the assumption that this reading is due to some meaning component of at most taking wide scope. Moreover, the fact that at most readily gives rise to a range reading in combination with a universal quantifier further supports the assumption that wide scope of a universal quantifier or modal obviates ignorance inferences, but that this reading may only surface if wide scope is enforced.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper started from the neo-Gricean approach to ignorance inferences of superlative modifiers, which successfully accounts for the interaction of at least with modals, but fails for at most. Crucially, at most gives rise to an authoritative reading in combination with a possibility modal, which the analyses of Schwarz (2011, 2013) and Kennedy (2015) cannot account for. I argued that the authoritative reading can be derived if the neo-Gricean approach is supplemented with the assumption that at most is decomposed into an antonymizing operator and at least. I also argued that this analysis explains the otherwise puzzling fact that at least and at most behave parallel in their interaction with quantifiers, but not modals.

The fact that decomposing at most successfully accounts for the interaction of at most with possibility modals and quantifiers can be taken as further support for the idea that negative antonyms are generally decomposed in the syntax (Büring 2007). But the analysis also raises the question what triggers this decomposition, or putting it differently, which element of a pair of antonyms should be analysed as the negative one. For the antonym pair at least — at most it seems that semantic rather than morphological properties are decisive. The evidence from the interaction with modals suggests that it is at most which is more complex and composed of the antonymizing operator, rather than at least, although the former is morphologically based on the positive form much and the latter on the negative form little. It might seem that at least is the more likely candidate for decomposition, since it already contains little, which is semantically equivalent to the antonymizing operator. Instead, in the analysis I propose to account for the readings of superlative modifiers, it is the downward monotonic modifier at most that involves the antonymizing operator.
References


