





















positional presented here should carry over to these underlyingly existential operators, and so we should predict that free choice *any* will be licensed in the scope of *want* and in the consequent of bare conditionals. As demonstrated in (31), however, this prediction does not appear to be borne out.

- (31) a. #Sam wants to read any book.  
 b. #If the library was open, Sam read any book yesterday.

I do not know why *any* is not licensed in these environments, but this suggests that there are more puzzles to be worked out in this corner of the grammar. I leave the task of investigating them to future work.

## References

- Aloni, M. (2007). Free choice, modals, and imperatives. *Natural Language Semantics* 15, 65–94.
- Bar-Lev, M. and D. Margulis (2014). Hebrew *kol*: a universal quantifier as an undercover existential. In U. Etxeberria, A. Fălăuș, A. Irurtzun, and B. Leferman (Eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 18, pp. 60–76.
- Bar-Lev, M. E. and D. Fox (2017). Universal free choice and innocent inclusion. In *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)* 27, pp. 95–115.
- Bassi, I. and M. E. Bar-Lev (2016). A unified existential semantics for bare conditionals. In R. Truswell, C. Cummins, C. Heycock, B. Rabern, and H. Rohde (Eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 21, pp. 125–142.
- Chierchia, G. (2013). *Logic in Grammar: Polarity, Free Choice, and Intervention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crnič, L. (2017). Free choice under ellipsis. *The Linguistic Review* 34, 249–294.
- Dayal, V. (1998). *Any* as inherently modal. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21, 433–476.
- Fox, D. (2007). Free choice and the theory of scalar implicatures. In U. Sauerland and P. Stateva (Eds.), *Presupposition and implicature in compositional semantics*, pp. 71–120. London: Palgrave MacMillan, UK.
- Giannakidou, A. (2001). The meaning of free choice. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24, 659–735.
- Grosz, P. (2011). German particles, modality, and the semantics of imperatives. In S. Lima, K. Mullin, and B. Smith (Eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS)* 39, Amherst, MA, pp. 323–336. GLSA.
- Haspelmath, M. (1997). *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hausser, R. R. (1980). Surface compositionality and the semantics of mood. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer, and M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics*, Volume 10 of *Texts and Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy*, pp. 71–95. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.
- Kadmon, N. and F. Landman (1993). *Any*. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16(4), 353–422.
- Kaufmann, M. (2012). *Interpreting imperatives*. Berlin: Springer.
- Lahiri, U. (1998). Focus and negative polarity in Hindi. *Natural Language Semantics* 6(1), 57–123.
- Oikonomou, D. (2016). Imperatives are existential modals: Deriving the strong reading as an

---

whenever it is possible. It remains to be seen whether there are other operators that are like imperatives in allowing optional strengthening.

- implicature. In M. Moroney, C.-R. Little, J. Collard, and D. Burgdorf (Eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory 26*, pp. 1043–1062. LSA and CLC Publications.
- Portner, P. (2007). Imperatives and modals. *Natural Language Semantics* 15(4), 351–383.
- Schwager, M. (2005). Exhaustive imperatives. In P. Dekker and M. Frank (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 15th Amsterdam Colloquium*, Amsterdam, pp. 233–238. ILLC.
- Schwager, M. (2006). *Interpreting imperatives*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Frankfurt, Frankfurt.
- Spector, B. and Y. Sudo (2017). Presupposed ignorance and exhaustification: how scalar implicatures and presuppositions interact. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 40(5), 473–517.
- Staniszewski, F. (2019). Wanting, acquiescing, and neg-raising. In M. Baird, D. Göksu, and J. Pesetsky (Eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS) 49*, Volume 2, Amherst, MA, pp. 173–182. GLSA.
- Strickland, M. (1982). À propos de *any* et la valeur ‘n’importe quel’ en anglais. *Bulletin de linguistique appliquée et générale* 9, 17–48. Travaux du Département de Linguistique Générale et Appliquée, Université de Besançon.
- von Stechow, P. and S. Iatridou (2017). A modest proposal for the meaning of imperatives. In A. Arregui, M. Rivero, and A. P. Salanova (Eds.), *Modality across syntactic categories*, pp. 288–319. Oxford: Oxford University Press.