

Data DNMs

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1 Class B effects

Danish

- (1) a. En trekant har færre en 11 sider.
A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
- b. #En trekant har højst 10 sider.
A triangle has at most 10 sides.
- c. #En trekant har op til 10 sider.
A triangle has OP TIL 10 sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'

Dutch

- (2) a. Een driehoek heeft minder dan 11 zijden.
A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
- b. #Een driehoek heeft tot 10 zijden.
A triangle has TOT 10 sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Een driehoek heeft maximaal 10 zijden.
A triangle has maximally 10 sides.

Farsi

- (3) a. Yek mosalas kamtar az 11 zel darad.
A triangle fewer than 11 sides has.
'A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.'
- b. #Yek mosalas ta 10 zel darad.
A triangle TA 10 sides has.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Yek mosalas hade aksar 10 zel darad.
A triangle at most 10 sides has.
'A triangle has at most 10 sides.'

French

- (4) a. Un triangle a moins de 11 côtés.
A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
- b. #Un triangle a jusqu'à 10 côtés.
A triangle has JUSQU'À 10 sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Un triangle a au plus 10 côtés.
A triangle has at most 10 sides.

German

- (5) a. Ein Dreieck hat weniger als 11 Seiten.
A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
- b. #Ein Dreieck hat bis zu 10 Seiten.
A triangle has BIS ZU 10 sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Ein Dreieck hat maximal 10 Seiten.
A triangle has maximally 10 sides.

Greek

- (6) a. Ena trighono ehi lighoteres apo edeka plevres.
A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
- b. #Ena trighono ehi mehri dheka plevres.
A triangle has MEHRI 10 sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Ena trighono ehi to poli dheka plevres.
A triangle has at most 10 sides.

Hebrew

- (7) a. Le-meshulash yesh paxot mi-eser tsla?ot.
To-triangle there.is less from-ten sides.
'A triangle has fewer than ten sides.'
- b. #Le-meshulash yesh ad eser tsla?ot.
To-triangle there.is AD ten sides.
'A triangle has up to 10 sides.'
- c. #Le-meshulash yesh le-xol ha-yoter eser tsla?ot.
To-triangle there.is to-all the-more ten sides.
A triangle has at most 10 sides.

Italian

- (8) a. La mia macchina fa esattamente 20km con un litro, quindi fa
The my car covers exactly 20km on a litre, so covers
meno di 30km con un litro.
less than 30km on a litre.
'My car covers exactly 20km on a litre of fuel, so it covers less than 30km
on a litre of fuel.'
- b. #La mia macchina fa esattamente 20km con un litro, quindi fa
The my car covers exactly 20km on a litre, so covers
fino a 30km con un litro.
FINO A 30km on a litre.
'My car covers exactly 20km on a litre of fuel, so it covers up to 30km on
a litre of fuel.'

- c. #La mia macchina fa esattamente 20km con un litro, quindi fa al massimo 30km con un litro.
 The my car covers exactly 20km on a litre, so covers at most 30km on a litre.
 ‘My car covers exactly 20km on a litre of fuel, so it covers at most 30km on a litre of fuel.’

Polish

- (9) a. Trojkat ma mniej niz 11 bokow.
 Triangla has fewer than 11 sides.
 ‘A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.’
 b. #Trojkat ma do 10 bokow.
 Triangle has DO 10 sides.
 ‘A triangle has up to 10 sides.’
 c. #Trojkat ma najwyzej 10 bokow.
 Triangle has at most 10 sides.
 ‘A triangle has at most 10 sides.’

Romanian

- (10) a. Un triunghi are mai puțin de 11 fețe.
 A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
 b. #Un triunghi are până la 10 fețe
 A triangle has PÂNĂ LA 10 sides.
 ‘A triangle has up to 10 sides.’
 c. #Un triunghi are cel mult 10 fețe.
 A triangle has at most 10 sides.

Russian

- (11) a. Treugol’nik imeet men’she 11 storon.
 Triangle has fewer 11 sides.
 ‘A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.’
 b. #Treugol’nik imeet do 10 storon.
 Triangle has DO 10 sides.
 ‘A triangle has up to 10 sides.’
 c. #Treugol’nik imeet ne bolee 10 stororon.
 Triangle has at most 10 sides.
 ‘A triangle has at most 10 sides.’

Spanish

- (12) a. Un triángulo tiene menos de 11 lados.
 A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.
 b. #Un triángulo tiene hasta 10 lados.
 A triangle has HASTA 10 sides.

‘A triangle has up to 10 sides.’

- c. #Un triángulo tiene como mucho 10 lados.
A triangle has at most 10 sides.

Turkish

- (13) a. Ucgenin 11 den az kenari vardır.
Triangle-GEN 11 from less sides has.
‘A triangle has fewer than 11 sides.’
b. #Ucgenin 10 kadar kenari vardır.
Triange-GEN 10 KADAR sides has.
‘A triangle has up to 10 sides.’
c. #Bir ucgenin en çok 10 kenari vardır.
A triangle at most 10 sides has.
‘A triangle has at most 10 sides.’

2 Bottom-of-the-scale effect

Danish

- (14) a. Højest én person døde ved sammenstødet.
At most one person died in the accident.
b. #Op til én person døde ved sammenstødet.
OP TIL one person died in the accident.
‘Up to one person died in the accident.’

Dutch

- (15) a. Bij het ongeluk is maximaal één persoon omgekomen.
In the addicent is maximally one person died.
‘At most one person died in the accident.’
b. #Bij het ongeluk is tot één persoon omgekomen.
In the addicent is TOT one person died.
‘Up to one person died in the accident.’

Farsi

- (16) a. Hadde aksar yek nafar dar tasadof mord.
At most one person in the crash died.
‘At most one person died in the crash.’
b. #Ta yek nafar dar tasadof mord.
TA one person in the crash died.
‘Up to one person died in the crash.’

French

- (17) a. Au plus une personne est morte dans l'accident.
At most one person is died in the accident.
'At most one person has died in the accident.'
- b. #Jusqu'à une personne est morte dans l'accident.
JUSQU'À one person is died in the accident.
'Up to one person has died in the accident.'

German

- (18) a. Maximal eine Person ist bei dem Unfall gestorben.
Maximally one person is at the accident died.
'At most one person died in the accident.'
- b. #Bis zu eine Person ist bei dem Unfall gestorben.
BIS ZU one person is at the accident died.
'Up to one person died in the accident.'

Greek

- (19) a. To poli ena atomo skotothike sto trakarisma.
At most one person died in the crash.
- b. #Mehri ena atomo skotothike sto trakarisma.
MEHRI one person died in the crash.
'Up to one person died in the crash.'

Hebrew

- (20) a. Met le-xol ha-yoter ben-adam exad b.a-hitraskut.
Died to-all the-more person one in.the-crash.
'At most one person died in the crash.'
- b. #'Ad ben-adam exad met b.a-hitraskut.
AD person one died in.the-crash.
'Up to one person died in the crash.'

Italian

- (21) a. Nello schianto potrebbe essere morta al massimo una persona.
In crash may have died at most one person.
'At most one person may have died in the crash.'
- b. #Nello schianto potrebbe essere morta fino a una persona.
In crash may have died FINO A one person.
'Up to one person may have died in the crash.'

Polish

- (22) a. Najwyzej jedna osoba zginela w wypadku.
At most one person died in crash.

- ‘At most one person died in the crash.’
 b. #Do jednej osoby zginelo w wypadku.
 DO one person died in crash.
 ‘Up to one person died in the crash.’

Romanian

- (23) a. ?Cel mult o persoană murit în accident.
 At most one person died in accident.
 ‘At most one person died in the accident.’
 b. #Până la o persoană murit în accident.
 PÂNĂ LA one person died in accident.
 ‘Up to one person died in the accident.’

Russian

- (24) a. #Ne bolee odnogo čeloveka pogiblo v avarii.
 At most one person died in crash.
 ‘At most one person died in the crash.’
 b. #Ne bolee odnogo čeloveka pogiblo v avarii.
 DO one person died in crash.
 ‘Up to one person died in the crash.’

Spanish

- (25) a. Como mucho una persona murió en el accidente.
 At most one person died in the accident.
 b. #Hasta una persona murió en el accidente.
 HASTA one person died in the accident.
 ‘Up to one person died in the accident.’

Turkish

- (26) a. Kazada en çok bir insan öldü.
 In accident at most one person died.
 ‘At most one person died in the accident.’
 b. #Kazada bir insana kadar öldü.
 In accident one person KADAR died.
 ‘Up to one person died in the accident.’

3 Asserted lower bound

Dutch

- (27) a. Er zullen vijf studenten op de bijeenkomst zijn, als er er
 There will five students at the meeting be, if there there

- al zijn.
already be.
'There will be five students at the meeting, if any.'
- b. Er zullen hoogstens vijf studenten op de bijeenkomst zijn, als er
There will at most five students at the meeting be, if there
er al zijn.
there already be.
'There will be at most five students at the meeting, if any.'
- c. #Er zullen tot vijf studenten op de bijeenkomst zijn, als er
There will TOT five students at the meeting be, if there
er al zijn.
there already be.
'There will be up to five students at the meeting, if any.'

Farsi

- (28) a. #Paendz ta: da:neʃa:muz tuye semina:r xa:haend bud. Daer vaqe,
Five students in seminar will be. In fact
fekr nemikonaem hich kodum undza bafaen.
I not think any of them there will be.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Haede aeksaer paendz ta: da:neʃa:muz tuye semina:r xa:haend bud.
At most five students in seminar will be.
Daer vaqe, fekr nemikonaem hich kodum undza bafaen.
In fact I not think any of them there will be.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. #Ta paendz ta: da:neʃa:muz tuye semina:r xa:haend bud. Daer vaqe,
TA five students in seminar will be. In fact
fekr nemikonaem hich kodum undza bafaen.
I not think any of them there will be.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

French

Informant 1

- (29) a. ?Il y aura cinq étudiants au séminaire, si tant est que
There will be five students at the seminar, if so much is that
des étudiants viennent.
students come.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. ?Il y aura au plus cinq étudiants au séminaire, si tant est
There will be at most five students at the seminar, if so much is
que des étudiants viennent.
that students come.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'

- c. ?Il y aura jusqu'à cinq étudiants au séminaire, si tant est
 There will be JUSQU'À five students at the seminar, if so much is
 que des étudiants viennent.
 that students come.
 'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Informant 2

- (30) a. #Il y aura 5 étudiants au séminaire, s'il y en a.
 There will be five students at the seminar, if there of will be.
 'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Il y aura au plus 5 étudiants au séminaire,
 There will be at most five students at the seminar,
 s'il y en a.
 if there of will be.
 'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. Il y aura jusqu'à 5 étudiants au séminaire,
 There will be JUSQU'À five students at the seminar,
 s'il y en a.
 if there of will be.
 'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

“(a) sounds contradictory”

German

Informant 1:

- (31) a. Es werden fünf Studierende zum Seminar kommen, wenn
 There will five students to the seminar come, if
 überhaupt.
 at all.
 'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Es werden maximal fünf Studierende zum Seminar kommen,
 There will maximally five students to the seminar come,
 wenn überhaupt.
 if at all.
 'There will be maximally five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. #Es werden bis zu fünf Studierende zum Seminar kommen, wenn
 There will BIS ZU five students to the seminar come, if
 überhaupt.
 at all.
 'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Informant 2: “(2) and (3) seem more natural than (1). No contradiction in either of them.”

Greek

- (32) a. #Tha ine / erthun 5 mathites sto _____ seminario, an erthi
Will be / come 5 students at the / to the seminar if comes
(dhiladhi) kanis.
(that is) anyone.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Tha ine / erthun to poli 5 mathites sto _____ seminario, an
Will be / come at most 5 students at the / to the seminar if
erthi (dhiladhi) kanis.
comes (that is) anyone.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. #Tha ine / erthun mehri 5 mathites sto _____ seminario, an
Will be / come MEHRI 5 students at the / to the seminar if
erthi (dhiladhi) kanis.
comes (that is) anyone.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Hebrew

- (33) a. #Ihiyu xamisha student-im ba-semina, _____ im bixlal.
Will be five students in the seminar, if at all.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Ihiyu lexol ha-yoter xamisha studentim ba-seminar, _____ im bixlal.
Will be to all the-more five students in the seminar, if at all.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. Yihiyu ad le-xamisha studentim ba-seminar, _____ im bixlal.
Will be AD LE-five students in the seminar, if at all.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'
- (34) a. #Ihyu xamisha studentim ba-seminar. _____ lema?ase, ani xoshev she
Will be five students in the seminar. In fact, I think that
lo yagia af student la-seminar.
no arrive any student to the seminar
'There will be five students at the seminar. In fact, I think that there
won't be any students.'
- b. Ihyu lexol ha-yoter xamisha student-im ba-seminar. _____ lema?ase,
Will be at most five students in the seminar. In fact,
ani xoshev she lo yagia af student la-seminar.
I think that no arrive any student to the seminar
'There will be at most five students at the seminar. In fact, I think that
there won't be any students.'
- c. ?Ihyu ad le-xamisha student-im ba-seminar. _____ lema?ase, ani xoshev
Will be AD LE-five students in the seminar. In fact, I think
she lo yagia af student la-seminar.
that no arrive any student to the seminar
'There will be up to five students at the seminar. In fact, I think that

there won't be any students.'

Italian

- (35) a. Ci saranno cinque studenti al seminario, se non nessuno.
There will be five students at the seminar, if not none.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Ci saranno al massimo cinque studenti al seminario, se non nessuno.
There will be at most five students at the seminar, if not none.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. #Ci saranno fino a cinque studenti al seminario, se non nessuno.
There will be FINO A five students at the seminar, if not none.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Polish

- (36) a. ?Na seminarium będzie pięciu studentów, o ile / jeśli
At the seminar will be five students, if-CONCESSIVE / if
w ogóle ktoś przyjdzie.
at all someone comes.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Na seminarium będzie najwyżej pięciu studentów, o ile /
At the seminar will be at most five students, if-CONCESSIVE /
jeśli w ogóle ktoś przyjdzie.
if at all someone comes.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. ??Na seminarium będzie do pięciu studentów, o ile / jeśli
At the seminar will be DO five students, if-CONCESSIVE / if
w ogóle ktoś przyjdzie.
at all someone comes.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Romanian

- (37) a. ?Vor fi cinci studenți la seminar, dacă va fi vreunul.
Will be five students at seminar, if will be any.
'There will be five students at the seminar, if any.'
- b. Vor fi cel mult cinci studenți la seminar, dacă va fi vreunul.
Will be at most five students at seminar, if will be any.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. ?Vor fi până la cinci studenți la seminar, dacă va fi vreunul.
Will be PÂNĂ LA five students at seminar, if will be any.

‘There will be five students at the seminar, if any.’

Russian

Informant 1

- (38) a. ?Na seminare budet p'at' studentov, esli voobš'e skol'ko-nibud'
On seminar will be five students if in general how many-INDEF
budet.
will.be.
‘There will be five students at the seminar, if any.’
- b. ?Na seminare budet ne bolee p'at'i studentov, esli voobš'e
On seminar will be at most five students if in general
skol'ko-nibud' budet.
how many-INDEF will.be.
‘There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.’
- c. ?Na seminare budet do p'ati studentov, esli voobše
On seminar will be DO five students if in general
skol'ko-nibud' budet.
how many-INDEF will.be.
‘There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.’

Informant 2

- (39) a. ?Na seminare budet p'at' studentov, esli voobš'e skol'ko-nibud'
On seminar will be five students if in general how many-INDEF
budet.
will.be.
‘There will be five students at the seminar, if any.’
- b. Na seminare budet ne bolee p'at'i studentov, esli voobš'e
On seminar will be at most five students if in general
skol'ko-nibud' budet.
how many-INDEF will.be.
‘There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.’
- c. ?Na seminare budet do p'ati studentov, esli voobše
On seminar will be DO five students if in general
skol'ko-nibud' budet.
how many-INDEF will.be.
‘There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.’

Informant 3

- (40) a. #Na seminare budet 5 studentov, esli tam voobshe budut
On seminar will be five students if there in general will.be
studenti.
students.
‘There will be five students at the seminar, if any.’

- b. Na seminare budet maksimum 5 studentov, esli tam voodbshe
On seminar will be maximally five students if there in general
budut studenti.
will.be students.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.'
- c. #Na seminare budet do 5 studentov, esli tam voodbshe budut
On seminar will be DO five students if there in general will.be
studenti.
students.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.'

Spanish

Informant 1

- (41) a. Habran cinco estudiantes en el seminario. #De hecho no habra
Will be five students in the seminar. In fact not will be
ningun estudiante.
any student.
'There will be five students at the seminar. In fact, there won't be any
students.'
- b. Habran como mucho cinco estudiantes en el seminario. De hecho, no
Will be at most five students in the seminar. In fact not
creo que habra ningun estudiante.
I believe that will be any student.
'There will be at most five students at the seminar. In fact, I don't believe
that there will be any students.'
- c. ?Habran hasta cinco estudiantes en el seminario. #De hecho, no
Will be HASTA five students in the seminar. In fact not
creo que haya algun estudiante.
I believe that will be any student.
'There will be up to five students at the seminar. In fact, I don't believe
that there will be any students.'

Informant 2

- (42) a. ?Habrá cinco estudiantes en el seminario. De hecho, no creo que
Will be five students in the seminar. In fact, not I think that
ningún estudiante esté allí.
any student will be there.
'There will be five students at the seminar. In fact, there won't be any
students.'
- b. Habrá como mucho/a lo sumo cinco estudiantes en el seminario.
Will be at most five students in the seminar.
De hecho, no creo que ningún estudiante esté allí.
In fact, not I think that any student will be there.

‘There will be at most five students at the seminar. In fact, there won’t be any students.’

- c. ?Habr  hasta cinco estudiantes en el seminario. De hecho, no Will be HASTA five students in the seminar. In fact, not creo que ning n estudiante est  all . I think that any student will be there. ‘There will be up to five students at the seminar. In fact, there won’t be any students.’

Turkish

- (43) a. Seminere 5  ğrenci gelecek. Tabii eğer gelen
To seminar 5 students will come. Well if come-RELATIVISER
olursa.
be-CONDITIONAL.
‘There will be five students at the seminar, if any.’
- b. ?Seminere en  ok 5  ğrenci gelecek. Tabii eğer
To seminar at most 5 students will come. Well if
gelen olursa.
come-RELATIVISER be-CONDITIONAL.
‘There will be at most five students at the seminar, if any.’
- c. ??Seminere 5 tane-ye kadar  ğrenci gelecek. Tabii
To seminar 5 students KADAR will come. Well if
eğer gelen olursa.
come-RELATIVISER be-CONDITIONAL.
‘There will be up to five students at the seminar, if any.’

4 Upper bound cancellation

4.1 1

Danish

- (44) a. Op til tredive personer m dte op til festen.
OP TIL thirty people showed up at the party.
- b. Jeg tror faktisk at der var toogtredive personer der.
I think actually that there were thirty-two people there.
‘I actually think there were thirty-two people there.’
- (45) a. H jest tredive personer m dte op til festen.
At most thirty people showed up at the party.
- b. ?Jeg tror faktisk at der var toogtredive personer der.
I think actually that there were thirty-two people there.
‘I actually think there were thirty-two people there.’

Dutch

- (46) a. Er waren tot dertig mensen op het feest.
There were TOT thirty people at the party.
b. Ik denk zelfs dat het er tweeëndertig waren.
I think even that it there thirty-two were.
'I think there might even have been 32 people there.'
- (47) a. Er waren maximaal dertig mensen op het feest.
There were maximally thirty people at the party.
b. ?Ik denk zelfs dat het er tweeëndertig waren.
I think even that it there thirty-two were.
'I think there might even have been 32 people there.'

Farsi

- (48) a. Ta si nafar dar mehmani hozur dashtand.
TA thirty people at the party showed up.
'Up to thirty people showed up at the party.'
b. Dar haqiqat, fekr konam si va do nafar anja budand.
In fact, I believe thirty-two people there were.
'In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.'
- (49) a. Hade aksar si nafar dar mehmani hozur dashtand.
At most thirty people at the party showed up.
'At most thirty people showed up at the party.'
b. ?Dar haqiqat, fekr konam si va do nafar anja budand.
In fact, I believe thirty-two people there were.
'In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.'

French

- (50) a. Jusqu'à 30 personnes sont venues à la fête.
JUSQU'À 30 people have come to the party.
'Up to 30 people showed up at the party.'
b. En fait, je crois qu' il y en avait 32.
In fact, I believe that there were thereof 32.
'In fact, I believe that there were 32 people.'
- (51) a. Au plus 30 personnes sont venues à la fête.
At most 30 people have come to the party.
'At most 30 people showed up at the party.'
b. ?En fait, je crois qu' il y en avait 32.
In fact, I believe that there were thereof 32.
'In fact, I believe that there were 32 people.'

German

- (52) a. Bis zu 30 Leute waren auf der Party.
BIS ZU 30 people were at the party.
'Up to 30 people showed up at the party.'
- b. Tatsächlich glaube ich, dass es sogar 32 Leute waren.
Actually believe I, that there even 32 people were.
'Actually, I believe there were even 32 people there'
- (53) a. Maximal 30 Leute waren auf der Party.
Maximally 30 people were at the party.
'At most 30 people showed up at the party.'
- b. ?Tatsächlich glaube ich, dass es sogar 32 Leute waren.
Actually believe I, that there even 32 people were.
'Actually, I believe there were even 32 people there'

Greek

- (54) a. Mehri triada atoma irthan sto parti.
MEHRI 30 people came to the party.
'Up to 30 people came to the party.'
- b. Ya tin akrivia, pistevo oti itan eki triada dhio atoma.
For the preciseness I believe that were there 30 2 people.
'In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.'
- (55) a. To poli triada atoma irthan sto parti.
At most 30 people came to the party.
- b. ?Ya tin akrivia, pistevo oti itan eki triada dhio atoma.
For the preciseness I believe that were there 30 2 people.
'In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.'

Hebrew

- (56) a. 'Ad shloshim 'ish ba'u la-mesiba.
AD 30 person came to.the-party.
'Up to 30 people came to the party.'
- b. Be'etsem, ani ma'amin she hayu sham shloshim u-shnayim
In fact/actually, I believe that were there thirty and-two
'ish.
people.
'In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.'
- (57) a. Lexol hayoter shloshim 'ish ba'u la-mesiba.
At most 30 person came to.the-party.
At most 30 people came to the party.
- b. ?Be'etsem, ani ma'amin she hayu sham shloshim u-shnayim
In fact/actually, I believe that were there thirty and-two
'ish.
people.

‘In fact, I believe there were thirty-two people there.’

Italian

- (58) a. Questa macchina percorre fino a 20 chilometri con un litro di
This car covers FINO A 20 kilometres on a litre of
carburante.
fuel.
b. Ieri con due litri ho fatto 50 chilometri.
Yesterday on two litres I drove 50 kilometres.
‘Yesterday I drove 50 kilometres on two litres.’
- (59) a. Questa macchina percorre al massimo 20 chilometri con un litro di
This car covers at most 20 kilometres on a litre of
carburante.
fuel.
b. ?Ieri con due litri ho fatto 50 chilometri.
Yesterday on two litres I drove 50 kilometres.
‘Yesterday I drove 50 kilometres on two litres.’

Polish

- (60) a. Na imprezie zjawilo sie do 30 osob.
At party showed up DO 30 people.
‘Up to 30 people showed up at the party.’
b. Wlasciwie, mysle ze bylo tam 32 osob.
Actually, I think that were there 32 people.
‘Actually, I think there were 32 people there.’
- (61) a. Najwyzej 30 osob zjawilo sie na imprezie.
At most 30 people showed up at party.
‘At most 30 people showed up at the party.’
b. ?Wlasciwie, mysle ze bylo tam 32 osob.
Actually, I think that were there 32 people.
‘Actually, I think there were 32 people there.’

Romanian

- (62) a. Până la trezeci de persoane au venit la petrecere.
PÂNĂ LA thirty of persons have come to the party.
‘Up to thirty people showed up at the party.’
b. De fapt, cred că au venit treizeci și două de persoane.
In fact, I think that have come thirty-two of persons.
‘In fact, I think that thirty-two people showed up.’
- (63) a. Cel mult trezeci de persoane au venit la petrecere.
At most thirty of persons have come to the party.
‘At most thirty people showed up at the party.’

- b. ?De fapt, cred că au venit treizeci și două de persoane.
 In fact, I think that have come thirty-two of persons.
 ‘In fact, I think that thirty-two people showed up.’

Russian

- (64) a. Do tridcati ljudej prišlo na večerinku.
 DO thirty people came on party.
 ‘Up to thirty people showed up at the party.’
 b. Na samom dele, ja dumaju čto tam bylo 32 čeloveka.
 In fact, I think that there were 32 people.
 ‘In fact, I believe there were 32 people there.’
- (65) a. Ne bolee tridcati ljudej prišlo na večerinku.
 At most thirty people came on party.
 ‘At most thirty people showed up at the party.’
 b. ?Na samom dele, ja dumaju čto tam bylo 32 čeloveka.
 In fact, I think that there were 32 people.
 ‘In fact, I believe there were 32 people there.’

Spanish

- (66) a. Hasta treinta personas vinieron a la fiesta.
 HASTA thirty people came to the party.
 b. De hecho creo que había treinta y dos personas ahí.
 In fact I believe that there were thirty and two people there.
 ‘In fact, I believe that there were thirty-two people there.’
- (67) a. Como mucho treinta personas vinieron a la fiesta.
 At most thirty people came to the party.
 b. ?De hecho creo que había treinta y dos personas ahí.
 In fact I believe that there were thirty and two people there.
 ‘In fact, I believe that there were thirty-two people there.’

Turkish

- (68) a. Partiyeye 30 kadar insan geldi.
 To party 30 KADAR person came.
 ‘Up to thirty people showed up at the party.’
 b. Sanırım 32 insan geldi.
 I think 32 person came.
 ‘I think 32 people showed up.’
- (69) a. Partiyeye en çok 30 insan geldi.
 To party at most 30 person came.
 ‘At most thirty people showed up at the party.’
 b. ?Sanırım 32 insan geldi.
 I think 32 person came.
 ‘I think 32 people showed up.’

4.2 2

Dutch

- (70) a. Er is een korting van 10% op jeans, en er is een korting van 20% op de Levi's 501 jeans.
There is a discount of 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. Er is een korting van maximaal 10% op jeans, en er is een korting van 20% op de Levi's 501 jeans.
There is a discount of maximally 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of maximally 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. Er is tot 10% korting op jeans, en er is een korting van 20% op de Levi's 501 jeans.
There is TOT 10% discount on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Farsi

- (71) a. Je taexfife daeh daersaeadi ruje dzinha: vae je taexfife bist
A discount 10 percentage on jeans and a discount 20 daersaedi ruje dzinha:je Levi's xorde.
percentage on jeans Levi's exist.
'There is a discount of 10% on jeans and a discount of 20% on Levi's jeans.'
- b. Je taexfife haede aeksaer daeh daersaeadi ruje dzinha: vae je taexfife bist daersaedi ruje dzinha:je Levi's xorde.
A discount at most 10 percentage on jeans and a discount 20 percentage on jeans Levi's exist.
bist daersaedi ruje dzinha:je Levi's xorde.
'There is a discount of at most 10% on jeans and a discount of 20% on Levi's jeans.'
- c. Ta: daeh daersaed taexfif ruje dzinha: va je taexfife bist
TA 10 percentage discount on jeans and a discount 20 daersaedi ruje dzinha:je Levi's xorde.
percentage on jeans Levi's exist.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on jeans and a discount of 20% on Levi's jeans.'

French

Informant 1

- (72) a. Il y a une réduction de 10% sur les jeans, et il y a une réduction
There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
de 20% sur les jeans 501 de Levi's.
of 20% on the jeans 501 of Levi's.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. Il y a une réduction de 10% maximum sur les jeans, et il y a
There is a discount of 10% maximum on the jeans, and there is
une réduction de 20% sur les jeans 501 de Levi's.
a discount of 20% on the jeans 501 of Levi's.
'There is a discount of maximally 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. Il y a une réduction qui va jusqu'à 10% sur les jeans, et
There is a discount that goes JUSQU'À 10% on the jeans, and
il y a une réduction de 20% sur les jeans 501 de Levi's.
there is a discount of 20% on the jeans 501 of Levi's.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Informant 2

- (73) a. ?Il y a une remise de 10% sur les jeans, et il y a une remise
There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
de 20% sur les jeans Levi's 501.
of 20% on the jeans Levi's 501.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. ??Il y a une remise d'au plus 10% sur les jeans, et il y a une
There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a
remise de 20% sur les jeans Levi's 501.
discount of 20% on the jeans Levi's 501.
'There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. ???Il y a une remise de jusqu'à 10% sur les jeans, et il y a une
There is a discount of JUSQU'À 10% on the jeans, and there is a
remise de 20% sur les jeans Levi's 501.
discount of 20% on the jeans Levi's 501.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

German

- (74) a. ?Es gibt eine Ermäßigung von 10% auf Jeans, und einen Ermäßigung
There is a discount of 10% on jeans, and a discount
von 20% auf Levis 501 Jeans.
of 20% on Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. ??Es gibt eine Ermäßigung von maximal 10% auf Jeans, und eine
There is a discount of maximally 10% on jeans, and a
Ermäßigung von 20% auf Levis 501 Jeans.
discount of 20% on Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of maximally 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. ??Es gibt eine Ermäßigung von bis zu 10% auf Jeans, und eine
There is a discount of BIS ZU 10% on jeans, and a
Ermäßigung von 20% auf Levis 501 Jeans.
discount of 20% on Levi's 501 jeans.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Greek

- (75) a. #Ta jeans ehun ekptosi 10% ke ta Levi's 501 (ehun) 20%.
The jeans have discount 10% and the Levi's 501 (have) 20%.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. #Ta jeans ehun ekptosi to poli 10% ke ta Levi's 501 (ehun) 20%.
The jeans have discount at most 10% and the Levi's 501 (have) 20%.
'There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. ?Ta jeans ehun ekptosi mehri 10% ke ta Levi's 501 (ehun) 20%.
The jeans have discount UP TO 10% and the Levi's 501 (have) 20%.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Hebrew

- (76) a. #Yesh hanaxa shel 10% al jinsim, ve hanaxa shel 20% al
There is discount of 10% on jeans, and discount of 20% on
ha-Levis 501.
the-Levis 501.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. #Yesh hanaxa shel le-xol ha-yoter 10% al jinsim, ve hanaxa shel
There is discount of at most 10% on jeans, and discount of

20% al ha-Levis 501.

20% on the-Levis 501.

‘There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

- c. Yesh hanaxa shel ad le-10% al jinsim, ve hanaxa shel 20% al
There is discount of AD LE-10% on jeans, and discount of 20% on
ha-Levis 501.

the-Levis 501.

‘There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

Italian

- (77) a. C’è uno sconto del 10% sui jeans, e c’è uno sconto del
There is a discount of 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of
20% sui Levi’s 501.

20% on Levi’s 501.

‘There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

- b. #C’è uno sconto del 10% al massimo sui jeans, e c’è uno
There is a discount of 10% maximally on jeans, and there is a
sconto del 20% sui Levi’s 501.

discount of 20% on Levi’s 501.

‘There is a discount of maximally 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

- c. ?C’è uno sconto fino al 10% sui jeans, e c’è uno sconto
There is a discount FINO A 10% on jeans, and there is a discount
del 20% sui Levi’s 501.

of 20% on Levi’s 501.

‘There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

Polish

No translation with ‘do’ possible.

Romanian

- (78) a. ?Blugii au o reducere de 10% și Levi 501 au o reducere de
The jeans have a discount of 10% and Levi 501 have a discount of
20%.

20%.

‘There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

- b. ?Blugii au o reducere de cel mult 10% și Levi 501 au o
The jeans have a discount of at most 10% and Levi 501 have a
reducere de 20%.
discount of 20%.
'There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. Blugii au o reducere de până la 10% și Levi 501 au o
The jeans have a discount of PÂNĂ LA 10% and Levi 501 have a
reducere de 20%.
discount of 20%.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Russian

Informant 1

- (79) a. ?Na džinsy skidka 10%, a na džinsy Levi's 501 skidka
On jeans discount 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi's 501 discount
20%.
20%
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. ?Na džinsy skidka ne bolee 10%, a na džinsy Levi's 501
On jeans discount at most 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi's 501
skidka 20%.
discount 20%
'There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. ?Na džinsy skidka do 10%, a na džinsy Levi's 501 skidka
On jeans discount DO 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi's 501 discount
20%.
20%
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

Informant 2

- (80) a. (?)Na džinsy skidka 10%, i na džinsy Levi's 501 skidka 20%.
On jeans discount 10% and on jeans Levi's 501 discount 20%
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. ?Na džinsy skidka ne bolee 10%, i na džinsy Levi's 501 skidka
On jeans discount at most 10% and on jeans Levi's 501 discount
20%.
20%

‘There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

- c. ?Na džinsy skidka do 10%, i na džinsy Levi’s 501 skidka 20%.
On jeans discount DO 10% and on jeans Levi’s 501 discount 20%
‘There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

Informant 3

- (81) a. Skidka na džinsi 10%, a na džinsi Levis 501 20%.
Discount on jeans 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi’s 501 20%
‘There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’
- b. #Skidka na džinsi maksimum 10%, a na džinsi Levis 501 20%.
Discount on jeans maximally 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi’s 501 20%.
‘There is a discount of maximally 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’
- c. ?Skidka na džinsi do 10%, a na džinsi Levis 501 20%.
Discount on jeans DO 10% and-CONTR on jeans Levi’s 501 20%
‘There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

Spanish

- (82) a. (?)Hay un descuento de 10% en jeans, y hay un descuento de 20% en los jeans Levi’s 501.
There is a discount of 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the jeans Levi’s 501.
‘There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’
- b. (?)Hay un descuento de como mucho 10% en jeans, y hay un descuento de 20% en los jeans Levi’s 501.
There is a discount of at most 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the jeans Levi’s 501.
‘There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’
- c. Hay un descuento de hasta 10% en jeans, y hay un descuento de 20% en los jeans Levi’s 501.
There is a discount of HASTA 10% on jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the jeans Levi’s 501.
‘There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20% on the Levi’s 501 jeans.’

Turkish

- (83) a. Kot pantolonlarda yüzde on indirim var ve Levi 501
On jeans percent ten discount is and Levi's 501
kot pantolonlarında yüzde yirmi indirim var.
on jeans percent twenty discount is.
'There is a discount of 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of 20%
on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- b. (?)Kot pantolonlarda en çok yüzde on indirim var ve Levi 501
On jeans at most percent ten discount is and Levi's 501
kot pantolonlarında yüzde yirmi indirim var.
on jeans percent twenty discount is.
'There is a discount of at most 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount
of 20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'
- c. (?)Kot pantolonlarda yüzde ona kadar indirim var ve Levi 501
On jeans percent ten KADAR discount is and Levi's 501
kot pantolonlarında yüzde yirmi indirim var.
on jeans percent twenty discount is.
'There is a discount of up to 10% on the jeans, and there is a discount of
20% on the Levi's 501 jeans.'

5 Monotonicity

5.1 1

Danish

- (84) a. Højst tre elever ryger. \models
At most three students smoke.
- b. Højst tre elever ryger cigaretter.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (85) a. Op til tre elever ryger. $\not\models$
OP TIL three students smoke.
- b. Op til tre elever ryger cigaretter.
OP TIL three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Dutch

- (86) a. Er roken maximaal drie studenten. \models
There smoke maximally three students.
'At most three students smoke.'
- b. Er roken maximaal drie studenten sigaren.
There smoke maximally three students cigars.
'At most three students smoke cigars.'

- (87) a. Er roken tot drie studenten. ??|=
 There smoke TOT three students.
 ‘Up to three students smoke.’
- b. Er roken tot drie studenten sigaren.
 There smoke TOT three students cigars.
 ‘Up to three students smoke cigars.’

Farsi

- (88) a. Hadde aksar se daneshamooz minevisand. |=
 At most three students write.
- b. Hadde aksar se daneshamooz dastan minevisand.
 At most three students stories write.
 ‘At most three students write stories.’
- (89) a. Ta se (ta) daneshamooz minevisand. ≠
 TA three (TA) students write.
- b. Ta se (ta) daneshamooz dastan minevisand.
 TA three (TA) students stories write.
 ‘At most three students write stories.’

French

- (90) a. John a mangé au plus 3 fruits. |=
 John has eaten at most 3 pieces of fruit.
- b. John a mangé au plus 3 pommes.
 John has eaten at most 3 apples.
- (91) a. John a mangé jusqu’à trois fruits. ?? |=
 John has eaten JUSQU’À three pieces of fruit.
 ‘John has eaten up to three pieces of fruit.’
- b. John a mangé jusqu’à trois pommes.
 John has eaten JUSQU’À three apples.
 ‘John has eaten up to three apples.’

German

- (92) a. John hat maximal drei Früchte gegessen. |=
 John has maximally three pieces of fruit eaten.
 ‘John has eaten at most three pieces of fruit.’
- b. John hat maximal drei Äpfel gegessen.
 John has maximally three apples eaten.
 ‘John has eaten at most three apples.’
- (93) a. John hat bis zu drei Früchte gegessen. ?? |=
 John has BIS ZU three pieces of fruit eaten.
 ‘John has eaten up to three pieces of fruit.’

- b. John hat bis zu drei Äpfel gegessen.
John has BIS ZU three apples eaten.
'John has eaten up to three apples.'

Greek

Informant 1

- (94) a. I Skandhinavi trone psari to poli tris fores ti mera. |=
The Scandinavians eat fish at most three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat fish at most three times a day.'
- b. I Skandhinavi trone solomo to poli tris fores ti mera.
The Scandinavians eat salmon at most three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat salmon at most three times a day.'
- (95) a. I Skandhinavi trone psari mehri tris fores ti mera. ≠
The Scandinavians eat fish MEHRI three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat fish up to three times a day.'
- b. I Skandhinavi trone solomo mehri tris fores ti mera.
The Scandinavians eat salmon MEHRI three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat salmon up to three times a day.'

Informant 2

- (96) a. I Skandhinavi trone psari to poli tris fores ti mera. |=
The Scandinavians eat fish at most three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat fish at most three times a day.'
- b. I Skandhinavi trone solomo to poli tris fores ti mera.
The Scandinavians eat salmon at most three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat salmon at most three times a day.'
- (97) a. I Skandhinavi trone psari mehri tris fores ti mera. ?|=
The Scandinavians eat fish MEHRI three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat fish up to three times a day.'
- b. I Skandhinavi trone solomo mehri tris fores ti mera.
The Scandinavians eat salmon MEHRI three times the day.
'Scandinavians eat salmon up to three times a day.'

Hebrew

- (98) a. Lexol hayoter shloscha student-im me'ashnim. |=
At most three student-s smoke.
'At most three students smoke.'
- b. Lexol ha-yoter shloscha student-im ma'ashnim sigarim.
At most three student-s smoke cigars.
'At most three students smoke cigars.'
- (99) a. 'Ad shloscha student-im me'ashnim. ?|=
AD three student-s smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'

- b. 'Ad shlosa studentim me'ashnim sigarim.
AD three student-s smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Italian

- (100) a. I danesi mangiano pesce al massimo tre volte al giorno. \models
The Danish eat fish at most three times a day.
'The Danish eat fish at most three times a day.'
- b. I danesi mangiano salmone al massimo tre volte al giorno.
The Danish eat salmon at most three times a day.
'The Danish eat salmon at most three times a day.'
- (101) a. I danesi mangiano pesce fino a tre volte al giorno. $\not\models$
The Danish eat fish FINO A three times a day.
'The Danish eat fish up to three times a day.'
- b. I danesi mangiano salmone fino a tre volte al giorno.
The Danish eat salmon FINO A three times a day.
'The Danish eat salmon up to three times a day.'

Polish

- (102) a. Najwyżej trzy studenci pala. \models
At most three students smoke.
- b. Najwyżej trzy studenci pala cygara.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (103) a. Do trzech studentów pali. $\not\models$
DO three students smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'
- b. Do trzech studentów pali cygara.
DO three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Romanian

- (104) a. Cel mult trei studenți fumează. \models
At most three students smoke.
- b. Cel mult trei studenți fumează trabuc.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (105) a. Până la trei studenți fumează. $??\models$
PÂNĂ LA three students smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'
- b. Până la trei studenți fumează trabuc.
PÂNĂ LA three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Russian

- (106) a. Ne bolee treh studentov kurjat. \models
At most three students smoke.
b. Ne bolee treh studentov kurjat sigary.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (107) a. Do treh studentov kurjat. \nVdash
DO three students smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'
b. Do treh studentov kurjat sigary.
DO three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Spanish

Informant 1

- (108) a. Como mucho tres estudiantes fumaron. \models
At most three students smoke.
b. Como mucho tres estudiantes fumaron puros.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (109) a. Hasta tres estudiantes fumaron. $?\models$
HASTA three students smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'
b. Hasta tres estudiantes fumaron puros.
HASTA three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Informant 2

- (110) a. Como mucho tres estudiantes fumaron. \models
At most three students smoke.
b. Como mucho tres estudiantes fumaron puros.
At most three students smoke cigars.
- (111) a. Hasta tres estudiantes fumaron. \nVdash
HASTA three students smoke.
'Up to three students smoke.'
b. Hasta tres estudiantes fumaron puros.
HASTA three students smoke cigars.
'Up to three students smoke cigars.'

Turkish

- (112) a. En cok uc sigara icilmesine izin veriliyor. \models
At most three cigarette being smoked permission is given.
'It is allowed to smoke at most three cigarettes.'

- b. En çok üç Küba sigarası icilmesine izin veriliyor.
At most three cigarette Cumab being smoked permission is given.
'It is allowed to smoke at most three Cuban cigarettes.'
- (113) a. Üç sigaraya kadar icilmesine izin veriliyor. ≠
Three cigarettes KADAR being smoked permission is given.
'It is allowed to smoke up to three cigarettes.'
- b. Üç Küba sigarasına kadar icilmesine izin veriliyor.
Three Cuban cigarettes KADAR being smoked permission is given.
'It is allowed to smoke up to three Cuban cigarettes.'

5.2 2

Dutch

- (114) a. Tussen de vijf en tien studenten roken sigaren. |=
Between the five and ten students smoke cigars
'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. Tussen de vijf en tien studenten roken.
Between the five and ten students smoke
'Between five and ten students smoke.'
- (115) a. Hoogstens 10 studenten roken. |=
At most 10 students smoke
- b. Hoogstens tien studenten roken sigaren.
At most ten students smoke cigars
- (116) a. Tot tien studenten roken. |=
TOT ten students smoke
'Up to ten students smoke.'
- b. Tot tien studenten roken sigaren.
TOT ten students smoke cigars
'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Farsi

- (117) a. Bejne paendʒ ta: daeh da:nɛʃɑ:muz sigɑ:r mikeʃɑen. |=
Between 5 to 10 students cigar smoke
'Between five and ten students smoke.'
- b. Bejne paendʒ ta: daeh da:nɛʃɑ:muz doxa:nija:t mikeʃɑen.
Between 5 to 10 students smoke
'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- (118) a. Haede aeksaer daeh da:nɛʃɑ:muz doxa:nija:t mikeʃɑen. |=
At most 10 students smoke
'At most 10 students smoke.'
- b. Haede aeksaer daeh da:nɛʃɑ:muz sigɑ:r mikeʃɑen.
At most 10 students cigar smoke
'At most 10 students smoke cigars.'

- (119) a. Ta: daeh da:nefa:muz sigɑ:r mikefaen. |=
 TA 10 students cigar smoke
 ‘Up to 10 students smoke cigars.’
- b. Ta: daeh da:nefa:muz doxa:nija:t mikefaen.
 TA ten students smoke.
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’

French

Informant 1

- (120) a. Entre cinq et dix étudiants fument le cigare. |=
 Between five and ten students smoke the cigar
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke cigars’
- b. Entre cinq et dix étudiants fument.
 Between five and ten students smoke
- (121) a. Dix étudiants au plus fument le cigare. |=
 Ten students at most smoke the cigar
 ‘At most ten students smoke cigars.’
- b. Dix étudiants au plus fument.
 Ten students at most smoke
 ‘At most ten students smoke.’
- (122) a. Jusqu’à dix étudiants fument le cigare. |=
 JUSQU’À ten students smoke the cigar
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’
- b. Jusqu’à dix étudiants fument.
 JUSQU’À ten students smoke
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’

Informant 2

- (123) a. Entre cinq et dix étudiants fument le cigare. |=
 Between five and ten students smoke the cigar
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke cigars’
- b. Entre cinq et dix étudiants fument.
 Between five and ten students smoke
- (124) a. Dix étudiants au plus fument le cigare. |=
 Ten students at most smoke the cigar
 ‘At most ten students smoke cigars.’
- b. Dix étudiants au plus fument.
 Ten students at most smoke
 ‘At most ten students smoke.’
- (125) a. Jusqu’à dix étudiants fument le cigare. ? |=
 JUSQU’À ten students smoke the cigar
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’

- b. Jusqu'à dix étudiants fument.
 JUSQU'À ten students smoke
 'Up to ten students smoke.'

German

Informant 1

- (126) a. Zwischen fünf und zehn Studierende rauchen. ≠
 Between five and ten students smoke
 b. Zwischen fünf und zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren.
 Between five and ten students smoke cigars
- (127) a. Maximal zehn Studierende rauchen. |=
 Maximally ten students smoke
 b. Maximal zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren.
 Maximally ten students smoke cigars
- (128) a. Bis zu zehn Studierende rauchen. ≠
 BIS ZU ten students smoke
 'Up to ten students smoke.'
 b. Bis zu zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren.
 BIS ZU ten students smoke cigars
 'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Informant 2

- (129) a. Zwischen fünf und zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren. |=
 Between five and ten students smoke cigars
 b. Zwischen fünf und zehn Studierende rauchen.
 Between five and ten students smoke
- (130) a. Maximal zehn Studierende rauchen. |=
 Maximally ten students smoke
 b. Maximal zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren.
 Maximally ten students smoke cigars
- (131) a. Bis zu zehn Studierende rauchen. ?|=
 BIS ZU ten students smoke
 'Up to ten students smoke.'
 b. Bis zu zehn Studierende rauchen Zigarren.
 BIS ZU ten students smoke cigars
 'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Greek

- (132) a. Metaksi / anamesa se 5 ke 10 ine i mathites pu kapnizun. ≠
 Between / between in 5 and 10 are the students that smoke
 'Between five and ten students smoke.'

- b. Metaksi / anamesa se 5 k 10 ine i mathites pu kapnizun puro.
Between / between in 5 and 10 are the students that smoke cigar
'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- (133) a. To poli 10 mathites kapnizun. \models
At most 10 students smoke
- b. To poli 10 mathites kapnizun puro.
At most 10 students smoke cigar
'At most 10 students smoke cigars.'
- (134) a. Mehri 10 mathites kapnizun. \models
MEHRI 10 students smoke
'Up to ten students smoke.'
- b. Mehri 10 mathites kapnizun puro.
MEHRI 10 students smoke cigar
'Up to 10 students smoke cigars.'
'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Hebrew

- (135) a. Ben xamisha le-asara studentim me'ashnim sigar. \models
Between five to-ten students smoke cigar.
'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. Ben xamisha le-asara studentim me'ashnim.
Between five to-ten students smoke.
'Between five and ten students smoke.'
- (136) a. Le-xol hayoter asara studentim me'ashnim. \models
At most ten students smoke
- b. Le-xol hayoter asara studentim me'ashnim sigar.
At most ten students smoke cigar
'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- (137) a. Ad le asara studentim me'ashnim. \models
AD LE ten students smoke.
'Up to ten students smoke.'
- b. Ad le asara studentim me'ashnim sigar
AD LE ten students smoke cigar.
'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Italian

- (138) a. Tra i cinque e i dieci studenti fumano. $\not\models$
Between the five and the ten students smoke.
'Between five and ten students smoke.'
- b. Tra i cinque e i dieci studenti fumano sigari.
Between the five and the ten students smoke cigars.
'Between five and ten students smoke.'

- (139) a. Al massimo dieci studenti fumano. \models
 At most ten students smoke.
 b. Al massimo dieci studenti fumano sigari.
 At most ten students smoke cigars.
- (140) a. Fino a dieci studenti fumano. $?\models$
 FINO A ten students smoke.
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’
 b. Fino a dieci studenti fumano sigari.
 FINO A ten students smoke cigars.
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’

Polish

- (141) a. Od pięciu do dziesięciu studentów pali cygara. \models
 From five to ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke cigars.’
 b. Od pięciu do dziesięciu studentów pali.
 From five to ten students smoke
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke.’
- (142) a. Najwyżej dziesięciu studentów pali cygara. \models
 At most ten students smoke cigars
 b. Najwyżej dziesięciu studentów pali.
 At most ten students smoke
- (143) a. ?Do dziesięciu studentów pali cygara. \models
 DO ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’
 b. ?Do dziesięciu studentów pali.
 DO ten students smoke
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’

Romanian

Informant 1

- (144) a. Trabucuri fumează între cinci și zece studenți. \models
 Cigars smoke between five and ten students
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke.’
 b. Fumează între cinci și zece studenți.
 Smoke between five and ten students
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke cigars.’
- (145) a. Cel mult zece studenți fumează trabucuri. \models
 At most ten students smoke cigars
 b. Cel mult zece studenți fumează.
 At most ten students smoke

- (146) a. **Până în** zece studenți fumează trabucuri. \models
 PÂNĂ ÎN ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’
 b. Fumează **până în** zece studenți.
 Smoke PÂNĂ ÎN ten students
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’

Informant 2

- (147) a. Între cinci și zece studenți fumează. $\not\models$
 Between five and ten students smoke
 b. Între cinci și zece studenți fumează trabucuri.
 Between five and ten students smoke cigars
- (148) a. Cel mult zece studenți fumează. \models
 At most ten students smoke
 b. Cel mult zece studenți fumează trabucuri.
 At most ten students smoke cigars
- (149) a. Până la zece studenți fumează. $?\models$
 PÂNĂ LA ten students smoke
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’
 b. Până la zece studenți fumează trabucuri.
 PÂNĂ LA ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’

Russian

Informant 1

- (150) a. Ot p’at’i do d’es’ati studentov kur’at. $\not\models$
 From five before ten students smoke
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke.’
 b. Ot p’at’i do des’at’i studentov kur’at sigary.
 From five before ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Between five and ten students smoke cigars.’
- (151) a. Ne bolee des’at’i studentov kur’at. \models
 At most ten students smoke
 b. Ne bolee des’at’i studentov kur’at sigary.
 At most ten students smoke cigars
- (152) a. Do des’at’i studentov kur’at. \models
 DO ten students smoke
 ‘Up to ten students smoke.’
 b. Do des’at’i studentov kur’at sigary.
 DO ten students smoke cigars
 ‘Up to ten students smoke cigars.’

Informant 2

- (153) a. P'at-d'es'at studentov kur'at sigary. ⊨
 Five-to-ten students smoke cigars
 'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. P'at-d'es'at studentov kur'at.
 Five-to-ten students smoke
 'Between five and ten students smoke'
- (154) a. Ne bolee des'at'i studentov kur'at. ⊭
 At most ten students smoke
- b. Ne bolee des'at'i studentov kur'at sigary.
 At most ten students smoke cigars
- (155) a. ?Do des'at'i studentov kur'at. ⊭
 DO ten students smoke
 'Up to ten students smoke.'
- b. ?Do des'at'i studentov kur'at sigary.
 DO ten students smoke cigars
 'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'

Informant 3

- (156) a. Ot p'at'i do des'at'i studentov kur'at sigary. ⊨
 From five before ten students smoke cigars
 'Between five and ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. Ot p'at'i do d'es'ati studentov kur'at.
 From five before ten students smoke
 'Between five and ten students smoke.'
- (157) a. Ne bolee / maksimum des'at'i studentov kur'at. ⊨
 At most / maximally ten students smoke
- b. Ne bolee / maksimum des'at'i studentov kur'at sigary.
 At most / maximally ten students smoke cigars
- (158) a. Do des'at'i studentov kur'at sigary. ⊨
 DO ten students smoke cigars
 'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. Do des'at'i studentov kur'at.
 DO ten students smoke
 'Up to ten students smoke.'

Spanish

- (159) a. Entre cinco y diez estudiantes fuman cigarros. ⊨
 Between five and ten students smoke cigars
- b. Entre cinco y diez estudiantes fuman.
 Between five and ten students smoke
- (160) a. Como mucho diez estudiantes fuman cigarros. ⊨
 At most ten students smoke cigars

- b. Como mucho diez estudiantes fuman.
At most ten students smoke
- (161) a. Hasta diez estudiantes fuman cigarros. |=
HASTA ten students smoke cigars
'Up to ten students smoke cigars.'
- b. Hasta diez estudiantes fuman.
HASTA ten students smoke
'Up to ten students smoke.'

Turkish

- (162) a. 5 ile 10 arasında öğrenci araba kullanıyor. ≠
5 and 10 between students car use
'Between 5 and 10 students drive a car.'
- b. 5 ile 10 arasında öğrenci Ferrari kullanıyor.
5 and 10 between students Ferrari use.
'Between 5 and 10 students drive a Ferrari.'
- (163) a. En çok 10 öğrenci araba kullanıyor. |=
At most 10 students car use.
'At most ten students drive a car.'
- b. En çok 10 öğrenci Ferrari kullanıyor.
At most 10 students Ferrari use.
'At most 10 students drive a Ferrari.'
- (164) a. ?10 taneye kadar öğrenci araba kullanıyor. |=
10 to KADAR students car use.
'Up to ten students drive a car.'
- b. ?10 taneye kadar öğrenci Ferrari kullanıyor.
10 to KADAR students Ferrari use
'Up to ten students drive a Ferrari'

6 NPI licensing

Danish

NPI: *nogensinde*

- (165) a. Højest fem personer har nogensinde været her.
At most five people have ever been here.
- b. *Op til fem personer har nogensinde været her.
OP TIL five people have ever been here.
'Up to five people have ever been here.'

Dutch

NPI: *hoeven*

- (166) a. Er hoeven maximaal vijf studenten te komen.
 There must maximally five students to come.
 ‘At most five students have to show up.’
 b. *Er hoeven tot vijf studenten te komen.
 There must TOT five students to come.
 ‘Up to five students have to show up.’

Farsi

NPI: *hichkas*

- (167) a. *Hadeaksar panj nafar hichkas ra dideand.
 At most five persons anyone have seen.
 ‘At most five people have seen anyone.’
 b. *Ta panj nafar hichkas ra dideand.
 TA five persons anyone have seen.
 ‘Up to five people have seen anyone.’

French

NPI: *qui que ce soit*

- (168) a. ?Trois personnes au plus ont vu qui que ce soit.
 Three persons maximally have seen anyone.
 ‘At most three people have seen anyone.’
 b. *Jusqu’à trois personnes ont vu qui que ce soit.
 JUSQU’À three persons have seen anyone.
 ‘Up to three people have seen anyone.’

German

NPI: *jemals*

- (169) a. Maximal fünf Leute waren jemals hier.
 Maximally five people were ever here.
 At most five people have ever been here.
 b. *Bis zu fünf Leute waren jemals hier.
 BIS ZU five people were ever here.
 ‘Up to five people have ever been here.’

Greek

NPI: *kanena*

- (170) a. To poli pede atoma dhen ehun fai kanena milo.
 At most five people NEG have eaten any apples.
 ‘At most five people have eaten any apples.’

- b. *Mehri pede atoma dhen ehun fai kanena milo.
 MEHRI five people NEG have eaten any apples.
 ‘Up to five people have eaten any apples.’

Hebrew

NPI: *ey pa'am*

- (171) a. Lexol hayoter 'asara 'anashim hayu ba-me'ara ha-zot ey-pa'am.
 At most ten people were in.the-cave the-this N-time.
 ‘At most ten people have ever been in this cave.’
 b. *'Ad 'asara 'anashim hayu ba-me'ara ha-zot ey-pa'am.
 AD ten people were in.the-cave the-this N-time.
 ‘Up to ten people have ever been in this cave.’

Italian

NPI: *mai*

- (172) a. ?Al massimo 10 persone hanno mai scalato questa montagna.
 At most 10 persons have ever climbed this mountain.
 ‘At most 10 people have ever climbed this mountain.’
 b. *In questo luogo possono mai entrare fino a cinque persone.
 In this place can ever enter FINO A five persons.
 ‘Up to five people can ever enter this place.’

Polish

NPI: *zadny*

- (173) a. *Najwyzej piec osob ma zadnej.
 At most five people have anything.
 b. *Do piecu osob ma zadnej.
 DO five people have anything.
 ‘Up to five people have anything.’

Russian

NPI: *niskol'ko*

- (174) a. *Ne bolee pjati čelovek imejut niskol'ko jablok.
 At most five people have any apples.
 b. *Do pjati čelovek imejut niskol'ko jablok.
 DO five people have any apples.
 ‘Up to five people have any apples.’

Spanish

NPI: *ningún*

- (175) a. *Como mucho cinco personas no tienen ninguna manzana.
At most five persons NEG have any apples.
'At most five people have any apples.'
- b. *Hasta cinco personas no tienen ninguna manzana.
HASTA five persons NEG have any apples.
'Up to five people have any apples.'

Turkish

NPI: *hicbir*

- (176) a. *En çok 5 kişinin hiçbir elması var.
At most 5 people any apples have.
'At most five people have any apples'
- b. *5 kadar kişinin hiçbir elması var.
5 KADAR people any apples have.
'Up to five people have any apples.'

7 Embedding under negation

Dutch

- (177) a. Ik denk niet dat er kortingen zijn van tot 70%.
I think not that there discounts are of TOT 70%.
'I don't think there are discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. Ik denk niet dat er kortingen zijn van maximaal 70%.
I think not that there discounts are of maximally 70%.
'I don't think there are discounts of maximally 70%.'

Both sentences mean the highest discount is under 70% or 70%.

Farsi

- (178) a. Fekr nemikonaem ta: haefta:d daersaed taexfif ba:ʃe.
'I think not TA 70 percent discounts are.'
'I don't think there are discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. ?Fekr nemikonaem taexfif ha haede aeksaer haefta:d daersaed
I think not discounts of at most 70 percent
ba:ʃe.
are.
'I don't think there are discounts of maximally 70%.'

a-sentence: 'It means that I do not think the discount would reach 70%; it means the discounts would be less than 70%.'

b-sentence: ‘To me , this sentence is like the speaker is saying that there will be the discounts higher than 70%. I cannot interpret sentence 19 easily. the sentence is weird.’

French

Informant 1

- (179) a. Je ne pense pas qu’il y aura des réductions jusqu’à 70%.
I not think not that there will be discounts JUSQU’À 70%.
‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Je ne pense pas qu’il y aura des réductions de 70% maximum.
I not think not that there will be discounts of 70% maximally.
‘I don’t think there will be discounts of maximally 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘(S)he means that the highest discount will be lower than 70%.’

b-sentence: ‘I would say that (s)he means that the highest discount will be higher than 70%, but this interpretation (the only one I guess) is pretty hard to get, maybe because of my world knowledge. (same remark for the a-sentence).’

Informant 2

- (180) a. Je ne pense pas qu’il y aura des réductions jusqu’à 70%.
I not think not that there will be discounts JUSQU’À 70%.
‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Je ne pense pas qu’il y aura des réductions d’au plus 70%.
I not think not that there will be discounts of at most 70%.
‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘She means that the highest discount will be lower than 70%.’

b-sentence: ‘She means that the highest discount will be higher than 70%.’

German

Informant 1

- (181) a. Ich glaube nicht, dass es Ermäßigungen von bis zu 70% gibt.
I believe not, that there discounts of BIS ZU 70% gives.
‘I don’t think that there are discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. ?Ich glaube nicht, dass es Ermäßigungen von maximal 70% gibt.
I believe not, that there discounts of maximally 70% gives.
‘I don’t think that there are discounts maximally 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘Speaker believes the highest discount lower than 70%.’

b-sentence: ‘This would say speaker believes that there are higher discounts, but I’m not so sure, the sentence is a bit odd (if you add ”nur” (only) the meaning becomes clear: speaker expects discounts of more than 70%).’

Informant 2

- (182) a. Ich glaube nicht dass es Rabatte von bis zu 70% geben wird.
I believe not that there discounts of BIS ZU 70% given are.
'I don't think that there are discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. Ich glaube nicht, dass es Rabatte von maximal 70% geben wird.
I believe not that there discounts of maximally 70% given are.
'I don't think that there are discounts of maximally 70%.'

a-sentence: 'She thinks that the highest discount will be lower than 70%.'

b-sentence: 'She thinks that the highest discount will a percentage different from 70% (could be lower or higher, I think).'

Greek

- (183) a. Dhen pistevo oti tha ehi ekptosis mehri 70%.
Not I think that will be discounts MEHRI 70%.
'I don't think there will be discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. #Dhen pistevo oti tha ehi ekptosis to poli 70%.
Not I think that will be discounts at most 70%.
'I don't think there will be discounts of at most 70%.'

a-sentence: 'The first and most dominant reading I get is that I don't believe that the discounts of that particular store reach 70%. But on second thought, I would accept this sentence when followed by another one saying: *pistevo oti tha ehi/ftasun mehri k 80%*; 'I believe/ think that they will even reach 80%' or *sighura tha iparhi ekptosi 80%* 'there will certainly be a discount of 80%'.

b-sentence: 'Negation is really bad with *to poli*. I find the sentence unacceptable, even ungrammatical.'

Hebrew

- (184) a. 'Ani lo xoshev she-ihyu hanaxot (shel) ad shiv'im axuz.
I no think that-will.be discounts (of) AD seventy percent.
'I don't think there will be discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. #'Ani lo xoshev she-ihyu hanaxot shel lexol ha-yoter shiv'im
I no think that-will.be discounts (of) at most seventy
axuz.
percent.
'I don't think there will be discounts of at most 70%.'

a-sentence: 'the speaker believes discounts are going to be lower than 70%'

b-sentence: 'the sentence is ill-formed'

Italian

- (185) a. Non credo che ci saranno sconti fino al 70%.
Not I believe that there will be discounts FINO A 70%.

- ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Non credo che ci saranno sconti del 70% al massimo.
 Not I believe that there will be discounts of 70% at most.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

‘This time, the intuition is clear: the speaker of the a-sentence thinks that the highest discount will be less than 70%, while the speaker of the b-sentence thinks that the highest discount will be higher than 70%.’

Polish

- (186) a. Nie wydaje mi się, żeby były zniżki aż do 70
 Not seems to me REFL, that would be discounts as high DO 70
 procent.
 per cent
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Nie wydaje mi się, żeby były zniżki najwyżej 70
 Not seems to me REFL that would be discounts at most 70
 procentowe.
 per cent.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘I need to use the intensifying scalar particle here ”aż”. This means that the highest possible discount under consideration is 70%.’

b-sentence: ‘The speaker expects discounts higher than 70%.’

Romanian

- (187) a. Nu cred că vor fi reduceri de până la 70%.
 Not I think that will be discounts of PÂNĂ LA 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. ?Nu cred că vor fi reduceri de cel mult 70%.
 Not I think that will be discounts of at most 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘I don’t think there will be discounts as high as 70%; maybe 50-60%, but not as much as 70.’

b-sentence: ‘Makes no sense. Literally it says: I don’t think there will be discounts of a maximum of 70%. It might be intended to mean I think there will be discounts of more than 70%, but I would express that another way, because (19) sounds weird and I’d never use it like that.’

Russian

Informant 1

- (188) a. Ya ne dumaju cto budut skidki do 70%.
 I not think that will be discounts DO 70%.

- ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Ya ne dumaju cto budut skidki ne bolee 70%.
 I not think that will be discounts at most 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘The speaker means that the highest discount will be lower than 70%.’
 b-sentence: ‘The speaker means that the highest discount will be higher than 70%.’

Informant 2

- (189) a. Ne dumaju, to tam budut skidki do 70%.
 Not I think that will be there discounts DO 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Ne dumaju, to tam budut skidki ne bolee 70%.
 Not I think that will be there discounts at most 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘Here the speaker means that the highest discount will be lower than 70%, literally that the discounts won’t reach the threshold of 70%.’
 b-sentence: ‘Hard to interpret, but it seems that in this case the speaker expects the discounts to go higher than 70%.’

Informant 3

- (190) a. Ne dumaju, to tam budut skidki do 70%.
 Not I think that will be there discounts DO 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Ne dumaju, to tam budut skidki ne bolee / maksimum 70%.
 Not I think that will be there discounts at most / maximally 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there will be discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘I think the discounts will be less if there will be discounts at all.’
 b-sentence: ‘I think that 70% is the wrong estimation of the maximum. Most probably maximum will be higher (or lower).’

Spanish

- (191) a. Yo no creo que haya descuentos de hasta 70%.
 I not believe that are discounts of HASTA 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there are discounts of up to 70%.’
- b. Yo no creo que haya descuentos de como mucho 70%.
 I not believe that are discounts of at most 70%.
 ‘I don’t think there are discounts of at most 70%.’

a-sentence: ‘I think the speaker means that the highest discount is lower than 70%. I also think this sentence is more natural as a reply to a question or a comment that explicitly introduces that quantity.’
 b-sentence: ‘I think the speaker means that the discounts could be either lower or

higher than 70%. Maybe she could mean that the discount quantity is different from 70% and she utters 19 when the previous discourse states that the discounts are exactly of 70%.’

Turkish

- (192) a. Yüzde 70e kadar indirimlerin olacağını zannetmiyorum.
70 per cent KADAR discounts will be I don't think
'I don't think there will be discounts of up to 70%.'
- b. En çok yüzde 70 indirim olacağını sanmıyorum.
At most 70 per cent discount will be I don't think
'I don't think there will be discounts of at most 70%.'

a-sentence: 'The discount will be lower than 70 percent.'

b-sentence: 'The discount will be higher than 70 percent.'

8 Evaluative adverbs

Danish

- (193) a. Heldigvis kan jeg få fri fra arbejde i op til fem dage.
Fortunately can I get free from work for OP TIL five days.
'Fortunately, I can get up to five days off work.'
- b. ?Heldigvis vil den skrækkelige sanger synge op til fem sange.
Fortunately will that horrible singer sing OP TIL five songs.
'Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing up to five songs.'
- (194) a. ?Heldigvis kan jeg højst få fri fra arbejde i fem dage.
Fortunately can I at most get free from work for five days.
'Fortunately, I can get at most five days off work.'
- b. Heldigvis vil den skrækkelige sanger synge højst fem sange.
Fortunately will that horrible singer sing at most five songs.
'Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.'

Dutch

- (195) a. Gelukkig kan ik tot vijf dagen vrij krijgen.
Fortunately can I TOT five days off get.
'Fortunately, I can get up to five days off.'
- b. ?Gelukkig zal die vreselijke zanger tot vijf liedjes zingen.
Fortunately will that horrible singer TOT five songs sing.
'Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing up to five songs.'
- (196) a. ?Gelukkig kan ik maximaal vijf dagen vrij krijgen.
Fortunately can I maximally five days off get.
'Fortunately, I can get at most five days off.'
- b. Gelukkig zal die vreselijke zanger maximaal vijf liedjes zingen.
Fortunately will that horrible singer maximally five songs sing.

‘Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.’

Farsi

- (197) a. Khoshbakhtane mitoonam ta 5 rooz morakhasi begiram.
Fortunately I can TA five days get time off work.
b. ?Khoshbakhtane un khanandeye eftezah ta 5 (ta) ahang mixanad.
Fortunately that singer horrible TA 5 (TA) songs sing.
‘Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing up to five songs.’
- (198) a. ?Khoshbakhtane mitoonam hade aksar panj rooz morakhasi begiram.
Fortunately I can at most five days get time off work.
b. Khoshbakhtane un khanandeye eftezah hade aksar 5 ta ahang
Fortunately that singer horrible at most 5 to songs
mixanad.
sing.
‘Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.’

French

- (199) a. Heureusement, je peux obtenir jusqu’à 5 jours de congé.
Fortunately, I can get JUSQU’À 5 days of time off work.
‘Fortunately, I can get up to 5 days off work.’
b. ?Heureusement, ce mauvais chanteur va chanter jusqu’à 5
Fortunately, that bad singer will sing JUSQU’À 5
chansons.
songs.
- (200) a. ?Heureusement, je peux obtenir au plus 5 jours de congé.
Fortunately, I can get at most 5 days of time off work.
‘Fortunately, I can get up to 5 days off work.’
b. Heureusement, ce mauvais chanteur va chanter au plus 5
Fortunately, that bad singer will sing at most 5
chansons.
songs.

German

- (201) a. Glücklicherweise kann ich bis zu fünf Tage frei kriegen.
Fortunately can I BIS ZU five days off get.
‘Fortunately, I can get up to five days off.’
b. ?Glücklicherweise singt dieser schlechte Sänger bis zu fünf Songs.
Fortunately sings that bad singer BIS ZU five songs.
‘Fortunately, that bad singer will sing up to five songs.’
- (202) a. ?Glücklicherweise kann ich maximal fünf Tage frei kriegen.
Fortunately can I maximally five days off get.
‘Fortunately, I can get at most five days off.’

- b. Glücklicherweise singt dieser schlechte Sänger maximal fünf Songs.
 Fortunately sings that bad singer maximally five songs.
 ‘Fortunately, that bad singer will sing at most five songs.’

Greek

- (203) a. Eftihos, boro na paro mehri pede meres adhia.
 Fortunately I can get MEHRI five days off.
 b. ?Eftihos, aftos o traghikos traghudistis tha pi mehri pede
 Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing MEHRI five
 traghudhia.
 songs.
- (204) a. ?Eftihos, boro na paro to poli pede meres adhia.
 Fortunately I can get at most five days off.
 b. Eftihos, aftos o traghikos traghudistis tha pi to poli pede
 Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five
 traghudhia.
 songs.

Hebrew

- (205) a. Lemarbe ha-simxa / le-mazal-i, ani yaxol le-kabel ad xamisha
 To much the joy / to luck my, I can receive AD five
 yemey xofesh.
 days of vacation.
 ‘Fortunately, I can get up to five days off.’
 b. ?Lemarbe ha-simxa / le-mazal-i, ha-zamar ha-nora’i yashir ad
 To much the joy / to luck my, the singer the terrible will sing AD
 xamisha shirim.
 five songs.
 ‘Fortunately, that terrible singer will sing up to five songs’
- (206) a. ?Lemarbe ha-simxa / le-mazal-i, ani yaxol le-kabel lexol ha-yoter
 To much the joy / to luck my, I can receive at most
 xamisha yemey xofesh.
 five days of vacation.
 ‘Fortunately, I can get at most five days off.’
 b. Lemarbe ha-simxa / le-mazal-i, ha-zamar ha-nora’i yashir
 To much the joy / to luck my, the singer the terrible will sing
 lexol ha-yoter xamisha shirim.
 at most five songs.
 ‘Fortunately, that terrible singer will sing at most five songs.’

Italian

- (207) a. Fortunatamente, posso prendere fino a cinque giorni di ferie.
Fortunately, I can take FINO A five days of time off.
'Fortunately, I can get up to five days off.'
- b. ?Fortunatamente, quel pessimo cantante canterà fino a cinque
Fortunately, that bad singer will sing FINO A five
canzoni.
songs.
- (208) a. ?Fortunatamente, posso prendere al massimo cinque giorni di ferie.
Fortunately, I can take at most five days of time off.
'Fortunately, I can get at most five days off.'
- b. Fortunatamente, quel pessimo cantante canterà at most cinque
Fortunately, that bad singer will sing at most five
canzoni.
songs.

Polish

- (209) a. Na szczescie, moge dostac do pieciu dni wolnego.
Fortunately, I can get DO five days off.
- b. ?Na szczescie, ten okropny wokalista bedzie spiewac do pieciu
Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing DO five
piosenek.
songs.
- (210) a. ?Na szczescie, moge dostac najwyzej piec dni wolnego.
Fortunately, I can get at most five days off.
- b. Na szczescie, ten okropny wokalista zaspiewa najwyzej piec piosenek.
Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.

Romanian

- (211) a. Din fericire, pot lua pâna la cinci zile libere.
Fortunately, I can take PÂNĂ LA five days off.
- b. ?Din fericire, acel cântăreț groaznic va cânta pâna la cinci melodii.
Fortunately, that singer awful will sing PÂNĂ LA five songs.
'Fortunately, that awful singer will sing up to five songs.'
- (212) a. ?Din fericire, pot să iau cel mult cinci zile libere.
Fortunately, I can take at most five days off.
- b. Din fericire, acel cântăreț groaznic va cânta cel mult cinci melodii.
Fortunately, that singer awful will sing at most five songs.
'Fortunately, that awful singer will sing at most five songs.'

Russian

- (213) a. K sčast'ju, ja mogu vzjat' do pjati vyhodnyh.
To happiness I can take DO five days off.
'Fortunately, I can take up to five days off.'
- b. ?K sčast'ju, tot užasnyj pevec spoet do pjati pesen.
To happiness, that horrible singer will sing DO five songs.
'Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing up to five songs.'
- (214) a. ?K sčast'ju, ja mogu vzjat' ne bolee pjati vyhodnyh.
To happiness I can take at most five days off.
'Fortunately, I can take at most five days off.'
- b. K sčast'ju, tot užasnyj pevec spoet ne bolee pjati pesen.
To happiness, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.
'Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.'

Spanish

- (215) a. Afortunadamente, puedo coger hasta cinco días libres (del trabajo).
Fortunately, I can take HASTA five days free (of work).
'Fortunately, I can get up to five days off work.'
- b. ?Afortunadamente, este horrible cantante cantará hasta cinco
Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing HASTA five
canciones.
songs.
- (216) a. ?Afortunadamente, puedo coger como mucho cinco días libres (del
Fortunately, I can take at most five days free (of
trabajo).
work).
'Fortunately, I can get at most five days off work.'
- b. Afortunadamente, este horrible cantante cantará como mucho cinco
Fortunately, that horrible singer will sing at most five
canciones.
songs.

Turkish

- (217) a. Sansliyim ki isten 5 gun kadar izin alabiliyorum.
I am lucky that from work 5 day KADAR days off I can take.
'I am lucky that I can take up to five days off from work.'
- b. ?Sanliyim ki o berbat sarkici 5 sarki kadar soyleyecek.
I am lucky that that horrible singer 5 songs KADAR he will sing.
'I am lucky that that horrible singer will sing up to five songs.'
- (218) a. ?Sanliyim ki isten en cok 5 gun izin alabiliyorum.
I am lucky that from work at most 5 day days off I can take.
'I am lucky that I can take at most five days off from work.'

- b. Sanliyim ki o berbat sarkici en cok 5 sarki soyleyecek.
I am lucky that that horrible singer at most 5 songs he will sing.
'I am lucky that that horrible singer will sing at most five songs.'