

## **Re-Quantity judgment: All mass DPs can count, all count DPs must**

Barner and Snedeker (2005) show that at least some mass nouns can 'count' in the sense that participants use number of items when asked to compare quantities, and they propose that object mass nouns, which favor number comparison, are lexically specified as individuated.

In the present work, it is argued that all DPs with a mass structure, when given certain biases, allow number comparison. But that despite biases, number is used for judgment for DPs with count syntax. To show this, we revisit Barner and Snedeker's (2005) quantity judgment results, with two changes:

1. Uniform perspective: Rather than comparing objects of drastically different sizes, speakers are invited to compare items of relatively similar sizes, all sized for human perspective.
2. Biasing contexts: We introduce biasing contexts that favor using number for judging quantity and ones that favor using overall volume (or function) to judge quantity, testing the same sentences in both contexts.

As it turns out, depending on the bias provided by the context, given a DP with a mass structure, speakers use either number or overall volume for judging quantity. This sensitivity to context is true for syntactically mass DPs regardless of whether the noun is a substance mass noun (e.g. ketchup, water), an object mass noun (e.g. furniture, luggage), or a flexible nouns (e.g. stone, rope). Syntactically count DPs (books, stones), in contrast, are not susceptible to context biases, and number is always used in quantity judgment for syntactically count DPs.

It is therefore claimed that nouns in syntactically mass DPs are not semantically restricted. Rather, in using a mass DP, a speaker simply provides less information that may be completed by the context and world knowledge. Syntactically count DPs, however, are semantically individuated. With individuation hardwired into the semantics, DPs with count structure only allow number to guide quantity judgment.