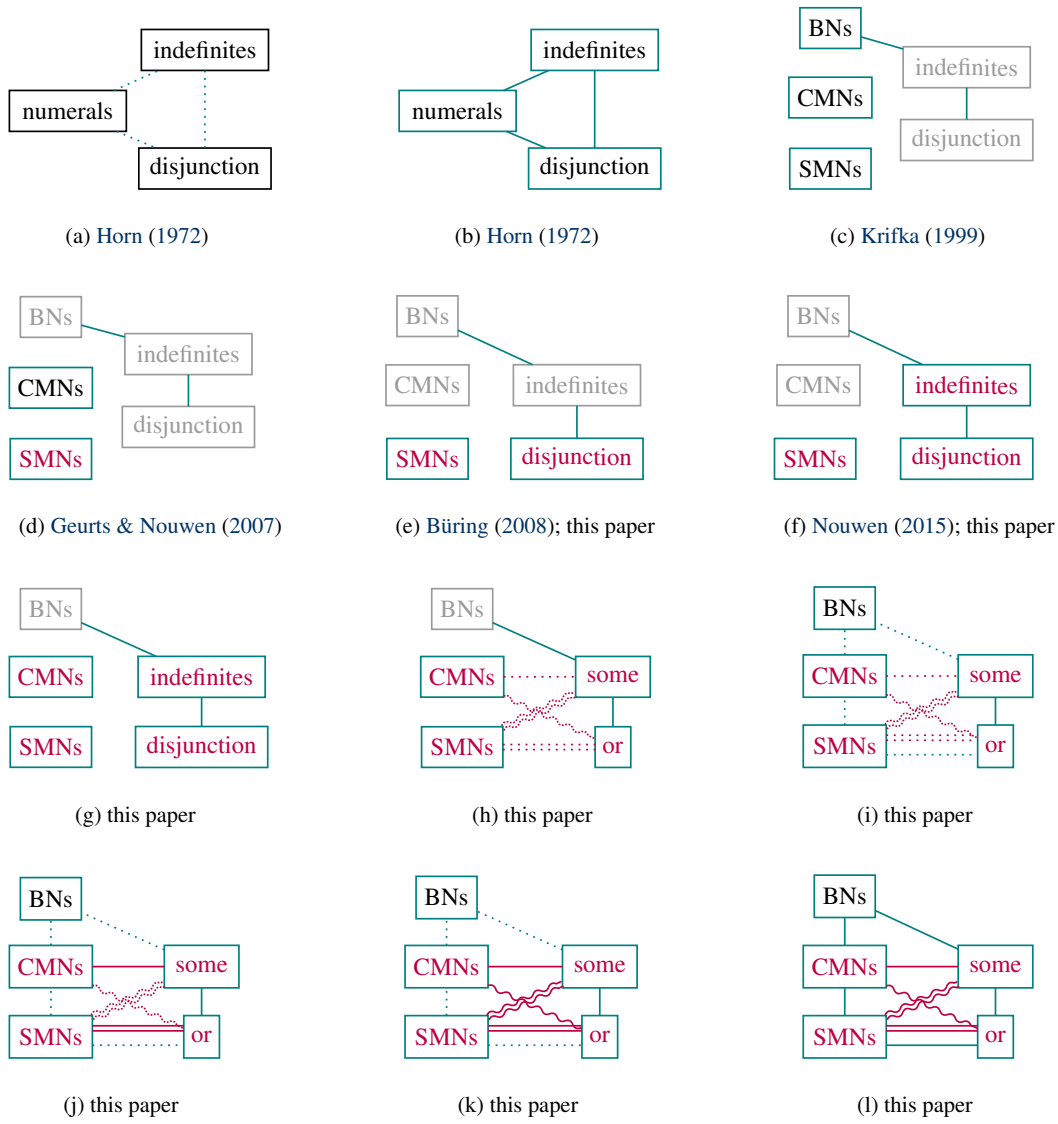

(a) Horn (1972) (b) Horn (1972) (c) Krifka (1999)

(d) Geurts & Nouwen (2007) (e) Büring (2008); this paper (f) Nouwen (2015); this paper

(g) this paper (h) this paper (i) this paper

(j) this paper (k) this paper (l) this paper

negative inferences about stronger scalar alternative(s) / O_{SA}

x items have property that gives rise to negative inferences about stronger scalar alternatives / SA

x items have property that gives rise to ignorance and/or polarity sensitivity / DA

ignorance + compatibility with specific certainty / O_{ExhDA}, $O_{ExhSgDA}$, $O_{ExhNonSgDA}$

ignorance − compatibility with specific certainty / O_{ExhDA}

ability to embed under DE operators + negation/strongly negative operators / O_{ExhDA}

ability to embed under DE operators − negation/strongly negative operators / O^{PS}_{ExhDA}

Dotted/solid line = parallel facts/account. Black/faded text = items in/not in focus.

Figure 1 Scalar implicatures, ignorance, and positive polarity in numerals, disjunction, and indefinites: a visual representation of the stages of the debate.