

Cumulative attitude reports with mixed construals

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Current research on cumulative attitude reports has only focused on cases where the construals (wrt. the embedded plural) are uniform, i.e., uniformly *de dicto* (Pasternak 2018; Schmitt 2020) as in (1), or uniformly *de re* (Harada 2022; Palucci 2024), as in (2).

- (1) SCENARIO: Sam owns a construction company and has six clients, none of whom know of the others' existence. She has convinced each client that she would build a house for him. In reality, she is a con artist and built no houses at all. (Pasternak 2018)

✓ (*In total,*) *Sam's six clients think she built six houses for them.* [de dicto]

- (2) SCENARIO: There are only three philosophers in our department: Adam, Ben, Carl. Ann and Bea mistakenly think that they are all linguists. Ann thinks that Adam and Carl are crazy. Bea thinks that Ben is crazy.

✓ *Ann and Bea think that the philosophers are crazy.* [de re]

In this talk, I will present novel data showing that in cumulative reports different construals can be “mixed”, illustrated below (the same judgement is obtained for German, Mandarin Chinese, and Russian):

- (3) SCENARIO: We are having an Oberseminar. The rule is that the OS will be cancelled if two or more people are late. Ann hasn't seen Adam, the newly-hired semanticist. She mistakenly thinks that he is a philosopher and he is late. Bea knows Adam and his occupation. She simply thinks that a syntactician in the department is late, not having anyone specific in mind. In fact, there is no syntactician in the department. There is a discussion on whether the colloquium is to be cancelled.

a. ✓ *Ann thinks that a linguist is late.* [de re]

b. ✓ *Bea thinks that a linguist is late.* [de dicto]

c. ✓ *Ann and Bea/the organizers think that two linguists are late.* [de re + de dicto]

Additional data involving other kinds of construals and noun phrases will also be provided to show that mixing is a general phenomenon, sensitive to the QUD. I take this to suggest that various construals should be made available at the same time, and can form a plurality of some sort to stand in a cumulative relation with the attitude holders. This challenges the mainstream theories of attitude reports that attributes different construals to dedicated LFs and ambiguity, speaking for the those based on replacement (Schwager 2009; Percus 2020; Benbaji-Elhadad 2023; Mayr & Schmitt 2024; Mayr 2025), where the embedded nominal is replaced by alternative concepts so that the resulting embedded proposition is entailed by the agent's beliefs.

Focusing on the case of mixing *de dicto* and *de re*, I will explore the possibilities of implementing replacement within the framework of plural projection (Haslinger & Schmitt 2018; Schmitt 2019) to capture the data. It will then be demonstrated that other two inference-based approaches to cumulative reports (Pasternak; Harada), even with their own issues aside, cannot achieve this. Finally, possible extensions to, e.g., *de se*, the Hob-Nob problem (Geach 1967; Edelberg 1986; et seq.), summative readings of numerals (Szabó 2010; Francez 2018; Nouwen 2022) will be briefly discussed.

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