Additives in 'but'-clauses: 'also' as the negation of EXH

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The Puzzle

Main Empirical Observation:

- Inserting the additive particle *also* into the second conjunct of a *but*-clause can "rescue" it from becoming otherwise infelicitous, similar to negation:

(1)   Emma dances <u>but</u> she #(**also**) [sings]$_F$.

(2)   Emma dances <u>but</u> she #(does**n't**) [sing(s)]$_F$.

➤ *not predicted by standard accounts of additives (e.g. Heim 1992, Abrusán 2016) where* too/also *simply presuppose a salient, distinct alternative to Focused constituent*

On Obligatory Additives

Is (1) related to instances of obligatory additives such as (3)?

(3)   Emma dances. She #(**also**) [sings]$_F$.

- <u>Bade's (2016) account of obligatory triggers:</u>

(i)   *sings* receives Focus since it is discourse-new

(ii) Focus triggers implicit QUD "*What does Emma do?*"

(iii) Focus triggers insertion of EXH, see (3)' and (4)

(iv) the second sentence gets interpreted as "*The only thing Emma does is singing*", yielding a contradiction

(v)* inserting *also* "consumes" the Focus and blocks EXH

(3)'   Emma dances.
        EXH [she [sings]$_F$]   QUD: *What does Emma do?*

(4)   [[EXH]](Q)(p)(w) ⇔
        p(w) & ∀q[q ∈ Q(w) & p⇏q → ¬q(w)]
        ≈ *the prejacent proposition is true and all other propositions in the question set that aren't entailed by the prejacent are false*

➤ *captures the fact that additives aren't obligatory with* and, *since LF allows high insertion of* EXH:

(5)   Emma dances and she (**also**) [sings]$_F$.
        LF: EXH[Emma dances and she sings]
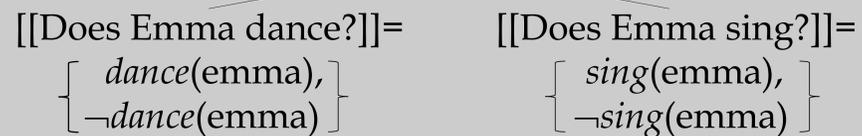   = *The only things Emma does are dancing and singing*

➤ *does <u>not</u> capture (1), since high* EXH *should be possible*

➤ *thus, infelicity of (1) w/o* also *has to be due to* but

On *but*

- <u>Toosarvandani's (2014) account of *but*:</u>

(6)   For a sentence *S* of the form φ *but* ψ, *S* must answer the QUD using a strategy of inquiry such that:
        (i) it contains a polar question {σ,¬σ} and φ ⇒ σ, and
        (ii) it contains a possibly distinct polar question {τ,¬τ} and ψ ⇒ ¬τ.
        ≈ *but-conjuncts must entail answers of opposite polarity*

➤ *correctly predicts infelicity of (1) without* also *and felicity of (2) with negation:*

(7)   What does Emma do?

[[Does Emma dance?]]=   [[Does Emma sing?]]=
$\begin{bmatrix} dance(\text{emma}), \\ \neg dance(\text{emma}) \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} sing(\text{emma}), \\ \neg sing(\text{emma}) \end{bmatrix}$
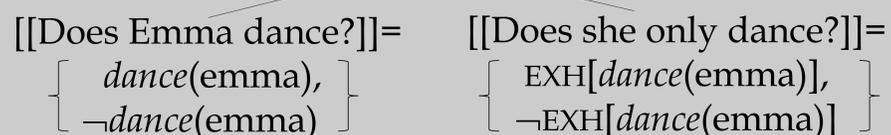
➤ *for (1), both answers positive, thus violating (6)*

➤ *for (2), first conjunct positive, second conjunct negative, thus in line with (6)*

The Solution

- <u>QUD-sensitive account of *also*:</u>

❖ *also* affects local polar question

❖ meaning of *also* corresponds to negation of EXH:

(8)   [[ALSO]](Q)(p)(w) ⇔
        ∃q[q ∈ Q(w) & p⇏q ∧ q(w)]. p(w)   (≈¬(4))
        ≈ *the prejacent proposition is true (=assertion) and there is another true proposition in the question set that isn't entailed by the prejacent (=presupposition)*

(9)   What does Emma do?

[[Does Emma dance?]]=   [[Does she only dance?]]=
$\begin{bmatrix} dance(\text{emma}), \\ \neg dance(\text{emma}) \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{EXH}[dance(\text{emma})], \\ \neg\text{EXH}[dance(\text{emma})] \end{bmatrix}$

❖ *but is licensed with* also *because it negates an exhaustive answer!*

Implicit vs Overt Questions

Open Issue

- The strategy of inquiry assumed in Toosarvandani's account captures the judgments when the respective questions are explicitly given

➤ *however, (1) w/* also *is unacceptable if only the super-Q is made explicit, but judged as felicitous out-of-the-blue*

➤ *moreover, it is judged felicitous in a context like (10):*

(10)   Ann is looking for a dancer but doesn't want the dancer to be a singer as well, since she considers singers to be uncooperative. Ann asks Beth: *Who should I cast?*

➤ *in this context, we might assume the following strategy:*

(11)   Who should I cast?
                    Should I cast Emma?   …
        Does she dance?   Does she sing?
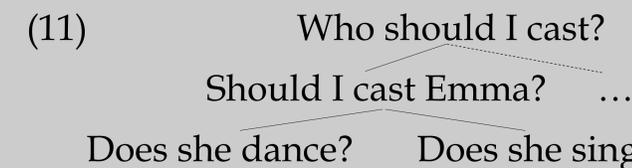
❖ the conditions in (6) predict *also* to be unnecessary here since the local questions imply answers of opposite polarity wrt the super-Q – *is that true?*

Bonus: *also* vs *too*

- *also* and *too* are standardly implicitly assumed to be semantically equivalent

➤ *however, they differ in acceptability in certain contexts:*

(12)   A: I love Hannibal, he's such a nice guy!
         B$_1$: He's **also** [a murderer]$_F$…
         B$_2$: #He's [a murderer]$_F$ **too**…

➤ *only* also *seems to be able to express incompatibility between the predicates, potentially due to interaction with prosodically indicated Contrastive Topic meaning*

References

ABRUSÁN 2016 *NLS* • BADE 2016 *PhD Thesis* • HEIM 1992 *JoS* • TOOSARVANDANI 2014 *S&P*