

“Yes, but...” - Exhaustivity and at-issueness across languages.

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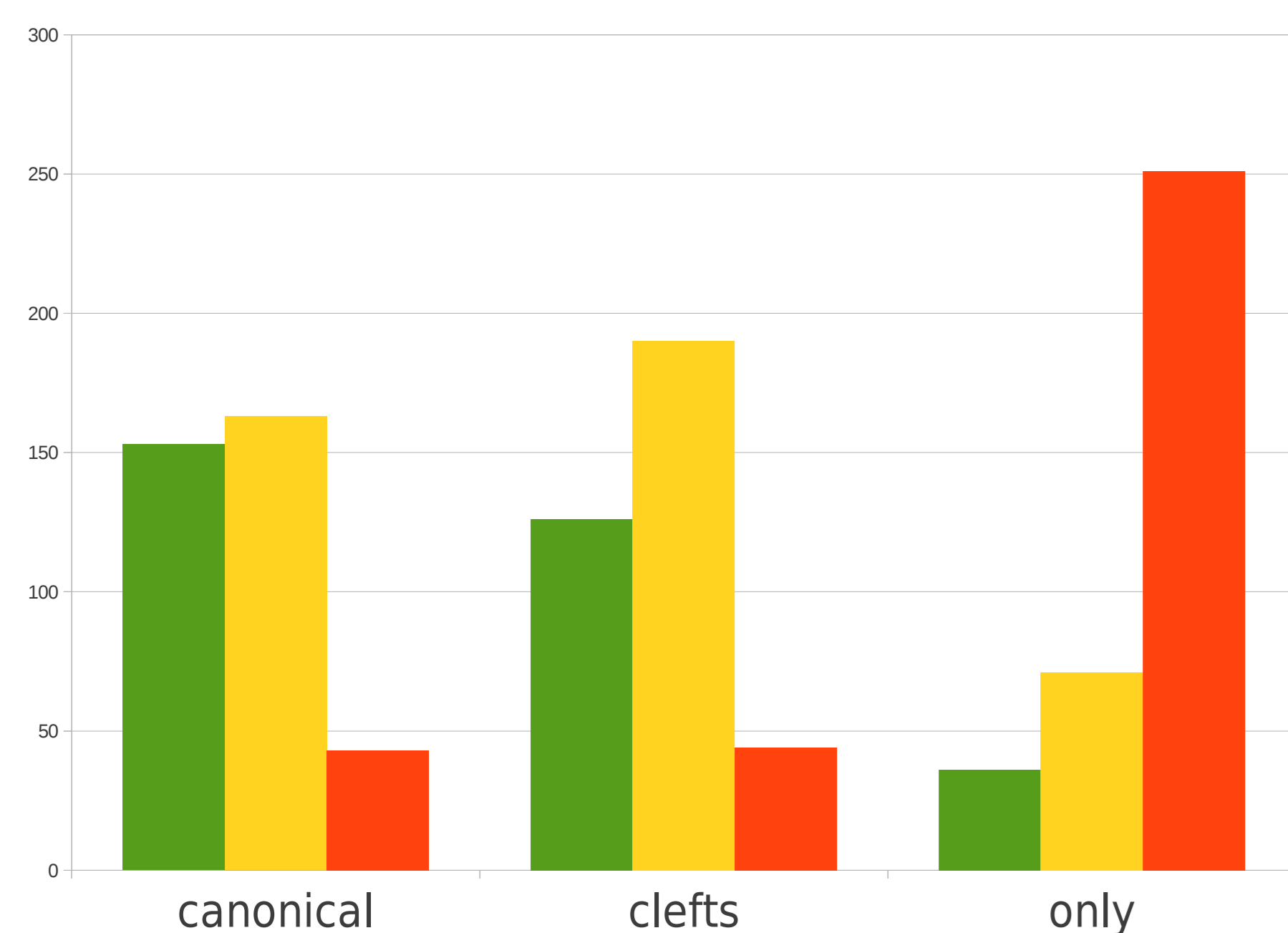
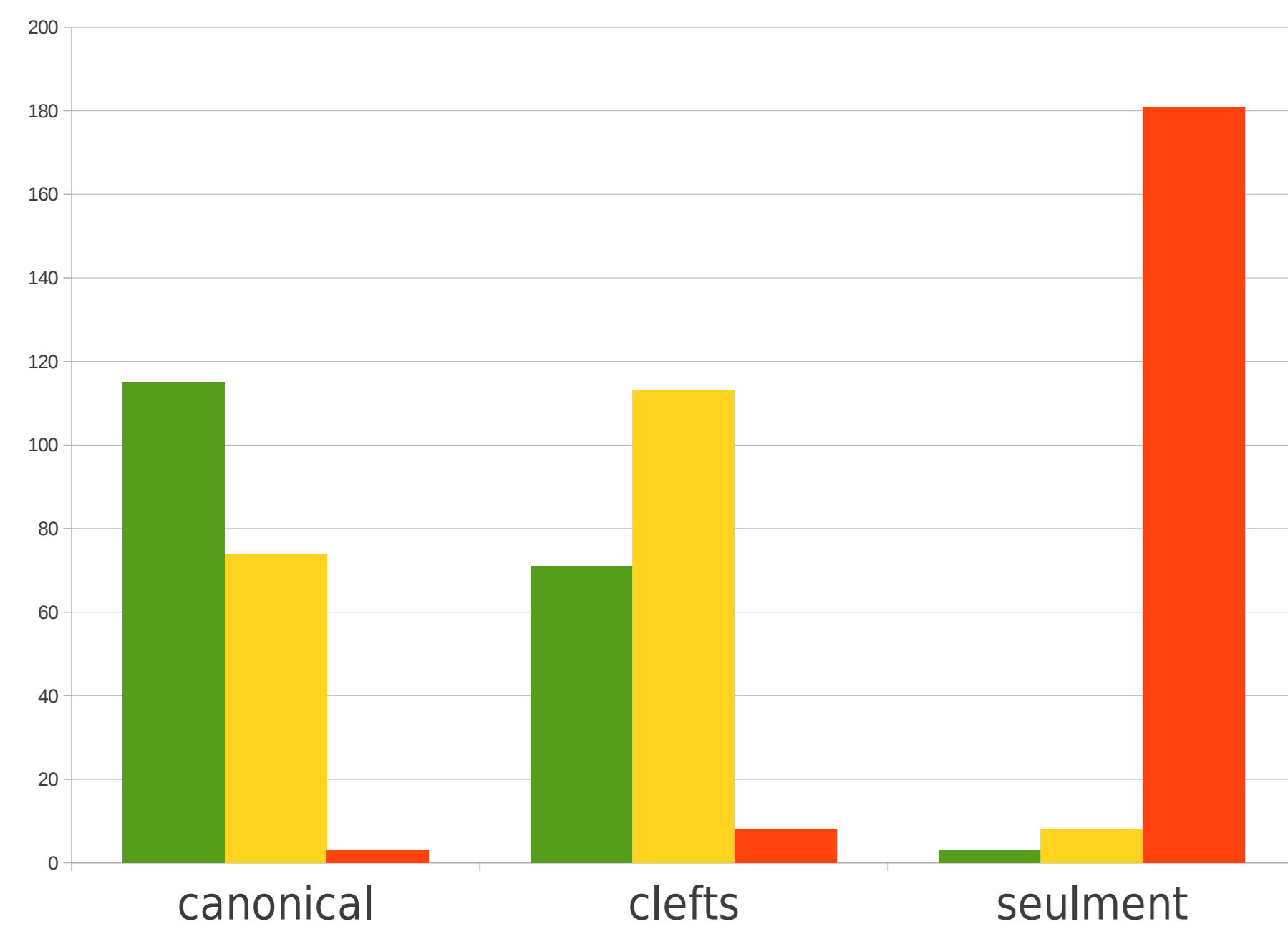
Clefts in English and French

An *exhaustivity inference* is triggered by clefts in English (Bolinger 1972) and French (Lambrecht 1994). An explicit exclusive (*only*; *seulement*) has a similar effect.

Claim: The exhaustivity of *only/seulement* is **at-issue**.
The exhaustivity triggered by a cleft is **not at-issue**.

Test: How do speakers contradict the exhaustivity inference?

- It was pizza that Mary ate. / Mary only ate pizza.
 - “**Yes, and** she also had a salad.”
 - “**Yes, but** she also had a salad.”
 - “**No**, she also had a salad.”



For **clefts**, the preferred response is “**yes, but....**”

For **only/seulement**, the preferred response is “**no...**”

Though, note the asymmetry:

2) # It's Bill that ate chocolate and Fred did too.

3) A: It's Bill that ate chocolate
B: Yes, and/but Fred did too.

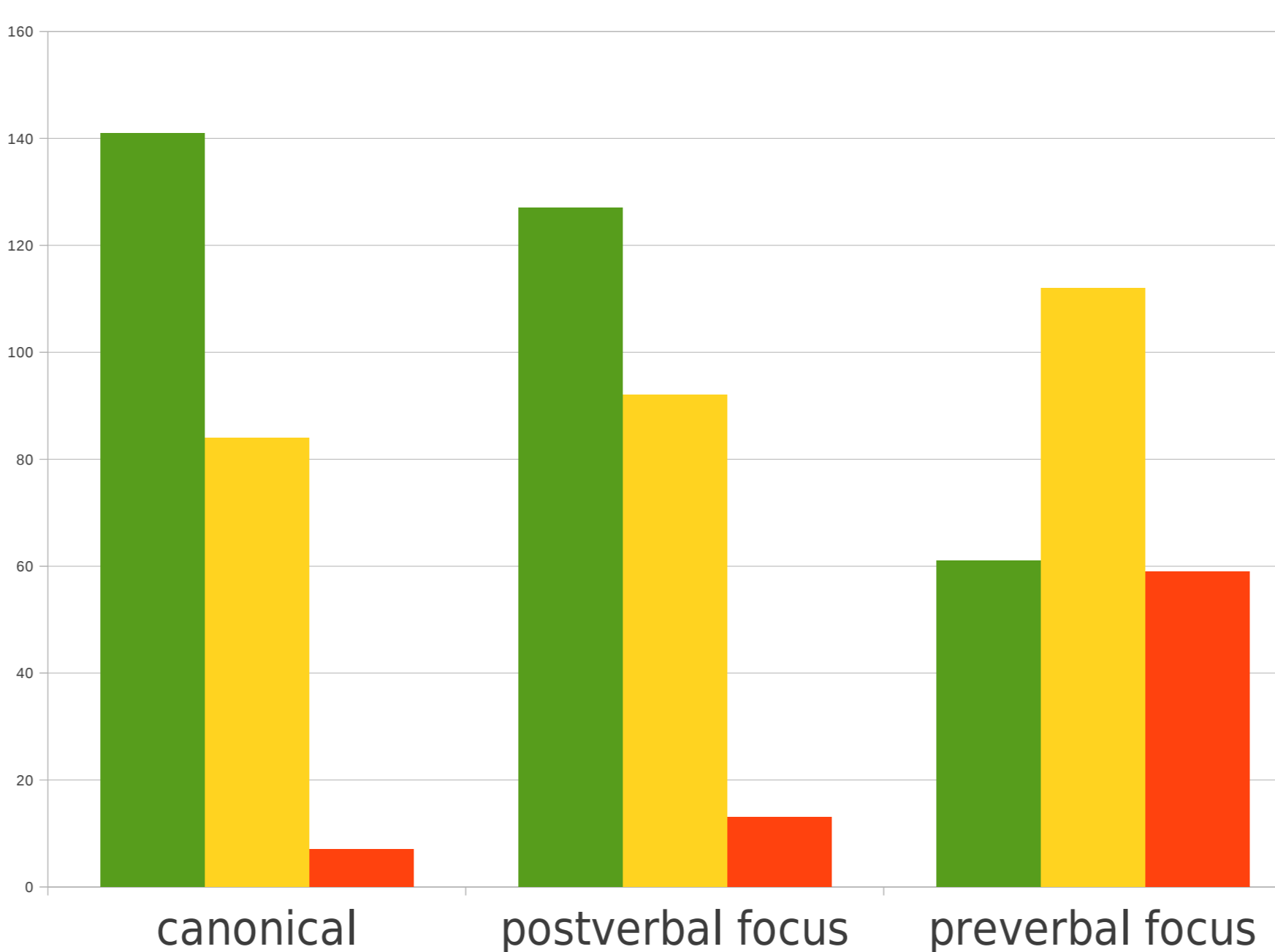
Hungarian preverbal focus

Kiss (1996): Hungarian preverbal focus triggers a similar exhaustivity inference.

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| PÉTER | szereti | Marit. |
| PETER | loves | Mary |
| a. Igen, és | Misi is szereti | Marit. |
| | yes and Misi also loves | Mary |
| b. Igen, de | Misi is szereti | Marit. |
| | yes but Misi also loves | Mary |
| c. No, | Misi is szereti | Marit. |
| | No Misi also loves | Mary |

Onea and Beaver 2009: preverbal focus **doesn't** pattern with **csak** “only.”

Current study: preverbal focus **does** pattern with English and French **clefts**.



We believe that “no” is being used to contradict **at-issue** content.

This suggests that:

- The exhaustivity of *only/seulement/czak/nur* is **at-issue**.
- The exhaustivity triggered by a cleft (English, French, German) or by Hungarian preverbal focus is **not at-issue**.

The German pilot data supports a connection between **projection and at-issueness**.

Next: Can we confirm this connection for more constructions, in more languages?

Bolinger, D. (1972) Accent is predictable (If you are a mind reader). *Language*48, 633-644.

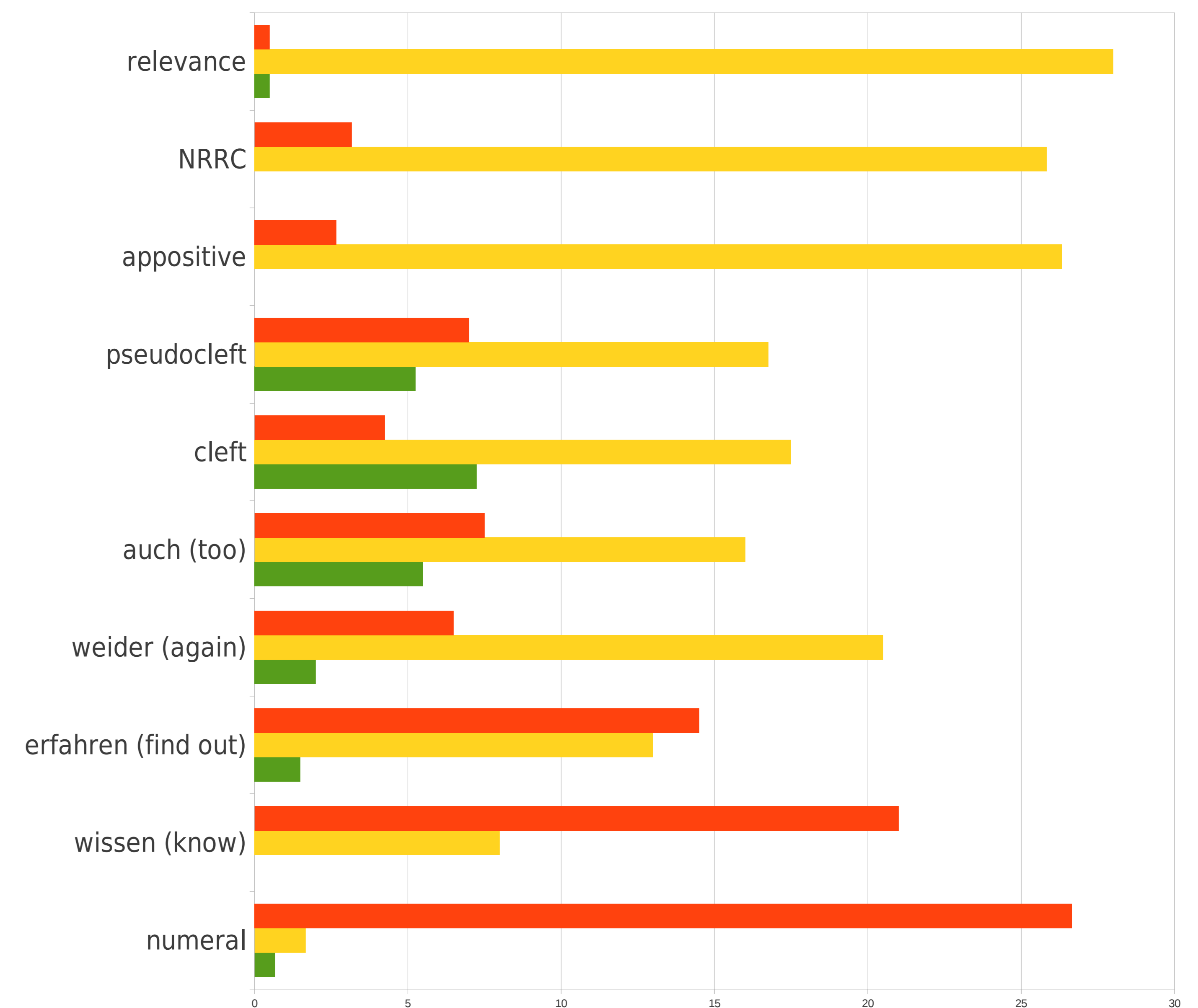
Kiss, K. (1998) Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74(2), 245-273.

Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representation of discourse referents*. Cambridge.

Onea, E. and D. Beaver (2009). Hungarian focus is not exhausted. Presented at *International Conference on the Structure of Hungarian* in Debrecen, Hungary.

“Yes, but” and projection in German

How do German speakers contradict various kinds of presupposition and implicature?



The factive inference from *wissen* (“know”) and *erfahren* (“discover,” “find out”) behaves unexpectedly here.

Pilot data based on projection tests: many speakers treat the factive inference from *wissen* and *erfahren* as **non-projective**.

5) Wenn Sarah weiß, dass Markus Hunger hat, kocht sie viel.
If Sarah knows that Mark is hungry she cooks a lot
Ist es Möglich, dass Markus keinen Hunger hat?
Is it possible that Mark is not hungry

6) Wenn auch Ina eine Torte für Daniel backt, freut sich Daniel.
If Ina, too, a cake for Daniel bakes Daniel is glad
Ist es Möglich, dass niemand außer Ine eine Tortebackt?
Is it possible that nobody but Ine a cake bakes?

Percentage “no” answers (indicating projection)

