

## Additivity, scalarity and the interactions between them: Beyond *also* and *even*

ESLLI 2021 Introductory level course  
July, 26. – 30., 2021

Yael Greenberg  
Carla Umbach

### Class 5: Final discussion, part 1

## Reopening of QUD

A: What did you do at home yesterday?

B: *Ich habe Suppe gekocht und dann noch an meinem Artikel gearbeitet.*

'I cooked soup and then NOCH worked on my paper.

--> German additive *noch* can be used to add a „piece of information“ / give an answer to the QUD, even if it has no ‚slot‘ for a degree.

Kristina, Slovenian

*Skuhala sem kosilo, potem pa sem delala še na članku.*

'I cooked lunch, then I worked *še* on an article.'

"*še* suggests a correlative interpretation: The more I did, the more successful I am."

A: What happened yesterday?

B: *Der Hund hat die Katze gebissen und dann habe ich noch telefoniert.*

'The dog chased the cat and then I NOCH answered the phone.'

... no correlative effect

## Question

Are there in your native language *still*-like particles to be used in either of the sentences corresponding to

- *It is STILL raining* giving an aspectual meaning

- *The dog chased the cat and then STILL I answered the phone.*

giving an additive meaning

- *Adam ist STILL taller than Berta.*

conveying an *even*-like effect

## Discourse content vs. discourse management

Krifka (2000) about *noch/still, schon/already*:

alternatives are propositions that

*"given the common ground and the informational interest of the interlocutors, could have been made at the current point of conversations"*

Claim:

In all of its readings (temporal/aspectual, marginality /additive)

the particle *noch* affects **discourse management**

(structure, extent of alternatives, address/ reopen QUDs, ...)

not **discourse content**, i.e. truth conditions of the assertion)

(though it does affect presupposition satisfaction)

Hypothesis:

- focus sensitive operators --> discourse / QUDs
- other alternative sensitive operators --> discourse content

## Comparing the discourse-based and the degree-based approaches

First point of comparison: *od / noch* vs. *gam / auch* with discourse time and real time:

- Remember that with *od / more<sub>add</sub>* it is easier to add 'forward' than 'backward'. With *gam / too* there is no difference between the two:
- (1) a. *Ha-boker* dani saxa 3 sha'ot. *Axar ha-caharayim* hu saxa *od / gam*  
 "This morning Dany swam for 3 hours. In the afternoon, he swam some *more<sub>add</sub>* / too
- b. *Axar ha-caharayim* dani saxa 3 sha'ot. *Ha-boker* hu saxa *od / hu gam* saxa  
 "In the afternoon Dany swam for 3 hours. *Ha-boker* he swam some *more<sub>add</sub>* / This morning he also swam"
- (2) a. *etmol* dani raa tankim. *hayom* hu raa *od* tankim/ hayom hu *gam* raa tankim.  
 "Yesterday Danny saw tanks. Today he saw (some) *more<sub>add</sub>* tanks/ Today he also saw tanks
- b. *Hayom* dani raa tankim. *etmol* hu raa *od* tankim/ *etmol* hu *gam* raa tankim.  
 "Today Danny saw tanks. Yesterday he saw (some) *more<sub>add</sub>* tanks/ Yesterday he also saw tanks
- This seems to be different from the picture we saw regarding *noch / auch* (with *dan*)

Second point of comparison: Using *od* vs. *noch* to add 'whole answers / pieces of information' :

- (1) A: What did you do at home yesterday?  
 B: I cooked soup and then also / in addition worked on my paper
- Crucially, there is no way to express this using Hebrew additive *od*:
- (2) A: ma asita etmol ba-bayit?  
 "what did you do yesterday at home?"  
*bishalti marak ve-az (#od) avadeti al ha-maamar sheli*  
 "I cooked soup and then also / in addition worked on my paper"
- There is no way to do that with *more<sub>add</sub>* either
  - Instead, *od* can only combine with measureable events, and often appears with measure expressions - And there is always a slot for a degree argument
  - When it doesn't (*dani yahsan od*), we end up with existential quantification over degrees (= *Danny selpt some more*)

Second point of comparison: Using *od* vs. *noch* to add 'whole answers / pieces of information'

- What about *noch / esche* – operating over whole answers to questions with no slot for a degree? (*My dog chased the cat and I esche / noch talked on the phone*) -?
- A preliminary suggestion within the degree-based approach (joint work with Lena Miashkur):
  - In cases where we get an incremental additive (*noch / esche*) operating over a 'whole answer' – we get incrementality as well:
    - We are enlarging the cardinality of the information added to the common ground
    - This direction is still 'work in progress' - to see how to compositionally have 'degrees of information' (e.g. operating on the speech act level)

A discourse-management vs. degree-based view of *od* / *more<sub>add</sub>* (and *noch*?)

- The degree-based view (Greenberg 2010, 2013, Thomas 2010 2018):
- *od* / *more<sub>add</sub>* is used to indicate that an event is enlarged in an additive way.
- It is not mainly a discourse management device (though it has discourse-management effects),
  - e.g. the „relevance“ of summing two events, which much be „related“ enough)
- And it has an effects on what happens in the world
  - E.g. It will be infelicitous if there is no anaphoric event that can be summed with the asserted event:  
(1) *Yesderday John didn't sleep at all. Today he slept for 3 hours (#more<sub>add</sub>)*

A discourse-management vs. degree-based view of *esch/od* / *more<sub>add</sub>* (and *noch*?)

- The 'degree-based' analysis can be applied in a wide variety of constructions:
  - When there is an explicit degree phrase: *In the morning Danny slept 3 hours. In the afternoon he slept od 2 hours / 2 hours more-*
  - When there is no such phrase: *In the morning Danny slept 3 hours. In the afternoon he slept od / some more-*
  - With combining with comparatives: *Adam is taller than Chris. Berta is noch / od / esche taller than Adam*
  - And for *esche* – operating over whole answers to questions with no slot for a degree (*My dog chased the cat and I esche / noch talked on the phone*) -

A discourse-management vs. degree-based view of *esch/od* / *more<sub>add</sub>* (and *noch*?)

- What about *noch* / *esche* – operating over whole answers to questions with no slot for a degree (*My dog chased the cat and I esche / noch talked on the phone*) -?
- A preliminary suggestion (joint work with Lena Miashkur):
  - In cases where we get an incremental additive (*noch* / Russian *esche*) operating over a 'whole answer' – we get incrementality as well:
    - We are enlarging the cardinality of the information added to the common ground
    - This direction is still 'work in progress' - to see how to compositionally have 'degrees of information' (e.g. operating on the speech act level)

Questions? / Comments?





Thank you for your  
participation!  
From Yael and Carla!