

snippets

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The exhaustive relevance of complex conjunctions

Andreea C. Nicolae · Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Yasutada Sudo · University College London

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In typologically diverse languages the same particle used to express an additive meaning is also used to express a conjunctive meaning, e.g., Japanese *-mo*, Romanian *și*, Greek *ke*, Hungarian *is*, Russian *i* (Mitrović and Sauerland 2014, 2016; Brașoveanu and Szabolcsi 2013). For example, in Japanese, *guriinpiisu-mo* means ‘peas too’, while *guriinpiisu-mo burokkorii-mo* means ‘(both) peas and broccoli’.

Given the cross-linguistic prevalence of the additive-conjunctive duality, it is desirable to give a uniform analysis to these two uses of the same particle, something that Kobuchi-Philip (2009) and Brașoveanu and Szabolcsi (2013) do in their analyses. In their additive use these particles introduce an additive presupposition that there is an alternative which is true. For the conjunctive use, the above two studies have suggested that the additive presupposition of each occurrence of *-mo* gets satisfied by the other conjunct. Consequently, the conjunction *A-mo B-mo* carries no additive presupposition.

We point out a serious challenge for a uniform analysis along these lines, which seems to have gone unnoticed in the literature. In a nutshell, *A-mo B-mo* conjunctions, and their cross-linguistic counterparts, presuppose that there is nothing else that is contextually relevant, which we refer to as ‘exhaustive relevance’. To illustrate, consider the following Japanese and Romanian sentences.

- (1) Guriinpiisu-mo burokkorii-mo iru yo.
peas-MO broccoli-MO necessary PRT
‘Both peas and broccoli are necessary.’
- (2) Îmi trebuie și fasole și broccoli.
REFL.1 need ȘI peas ȘI broccoli
‘I need both peas and broccoli.’

We observe that while these sentences are perfectly natural answers to *Which of peas and broccoli do you need to make the soup?*, (3), they are slightly degraded as answers to *Which of peas, broccoli and carrots do you need to make the soup?*, (4). Intuitively, the reason for this degradation is because these sentences do not seem to directly say anything about carrots, and thus fail to be complete answers, unlike the corresponding sentences with a simple conjunction which would be interpreted as implying that carrots are not necessary. Or to put it differently, the above sentences seem to require a Question under Discussion that only concerns peas and broccoli, and as answer to *Which of peas, broccoli and carrots do you need to make the soup?*, they seem to require accommodation of a more specific question *Which of peas and broccoli do you need*, which results in oddness.

- (3) a. Suupu-ni-wa guriinpiisu-to buroccorii-no docchi-ga iru no?
soup-for-TOP peas-and broccoli-GEN which-NOM need Q

- ‘Which of peas and broccoli do you need for the soup?’
- b. *Avem fasole și broccoli. Ce îți trebuie pentru supă?*
 have.1PL peas and broccoli what REFL.2SG need for soup
 ‘We have peas and broccoli. What do you need for the soup?’
- (4) a. *Suupu-ni-wa guriinpiisu-to buroccorii-to ninjin-no dore-ga iru no?*
 soup-for-TOP peas-and broccoli-and carrot-GEN which-NOM need Q
 ‘Which of peas, broccoli, and carrots do you need for the soup?’
- b. *Avem fasole, broccoli și morcovi. Ce îți trebuie pentru supă?*
 have.1PL peas broccoli and carrots. what REFL.2SG need for soup
 ‘We have peas, broccoli and carrots. What do you need for the soup?’

This observation poses an issue for an analysis that aims at reducing the conjunctive use to the additive use, since the additive use does not put a comparable requirement on the set of contextually relevant alternatives. Specifically, the additive presupposition only requires there to be an alternative that is true, independently of what is asserted. If the conjunctive use involves satisfying this additive presupposition within the conjunction, the conjunction should have no presupposition.

We would like to note that *both A and B* in English shows a similar contrast with the simple conjunction *A and B* in terms of its acceptability as an answer to the question *Which of A, B and C?*. Since these construction do not involve an additive particle, the perceived exhaustive relevance cannot be attributed to additivity. This might be suggesting that the exhaustive relevance of *A-mo B-mo* should be attributed to something other than additivity, but it remains unclear what that might be.

- (5) We have peas, broccoli and carrots. What do you need for the soup?
- (6) I need (?both) peas and broccoli.

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Andreea C. Nicolae
nicolae@leibniz-zas.de
 Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Schützenstr. 18
10117 Berlin
Germany

Yasutada Sudo
y.sudo@ucl.ac.uk
Chandler House, Room 115H
2 Wakefield Street
London WC1N 1PF
UK