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EXHAUSTIVE INTERPRETATION: NEITHER *ONLY* NOR SCALAR IMPLICATURE

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We want to propose a novel empirical generalization for exhaustive interpretation which clearly sets apart exhaustive interpretation from both the semantics of *only*, and scalar effects like those to be found in scalar implicatures. The talk is content with presenting the empirical arguments and leaves an explanatory pragmatic theory of exhaustive interpretation to future work.

Like Jeroen Groenendijk and Martin Stokhof's *Exh operator*, our empirical generalization can be formulated as an extensional operator over generalized quantifiers. We compare the empirical predictions of our formalization with various alternative proposals. A particular interesting case is the following:

- (i) Who died?
- (ii) Three soldiers died!

where our proposal predicts a rather weak exhaustivity effect, i.e. *no non-Soldiers died*. We claim that the additional inference to *not more than three soldiers* is due to an independent scalar implicature.

We finally want to draw a picture of the empirical domain where a clear-cut division obtains between (a) exhaustive interpretation, a speech-act-related effect, (b) scalar implicatures, which, according to standard thinking, rely on metalinguistic scales over lexical items, and (c) the lexical meaning of "only", which, as we believe, always presupposes a scale in the object domain.

Referenzen

Groenendijk, J. & Stokhof, M. (1990), 'Partitioning Logical Space', Leuven, Annotated handout, Second European Summerschool on Logic, Language and Information, unpublished paper.