

Implying or implicating ‘not both’ in declaratives and interrogatives

Matthijs Westera
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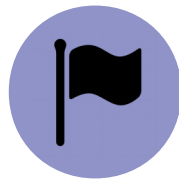
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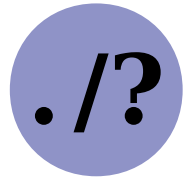
- e.g., “No, both.” fine in (1), strange in (2). (cf. Destruel et al. '15)
- Not clear how existing accounts may explain this.

Ingredients



Declaratives vs. interrogatives

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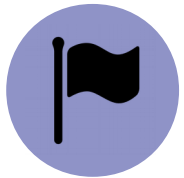
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Declaratives typically address an existing QUD.

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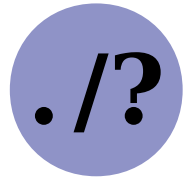


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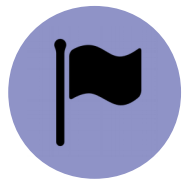


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– i.e., set only goals that are potentially achievable.

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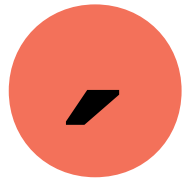
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- Building on Gazdar '79'; Schulz & Van Rooij '06; Groenendijk & Roelofsen '08; Biezma & Rawlins '12.

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- Expanding previous characterizations: 'completeness', 'finishedness', etc.

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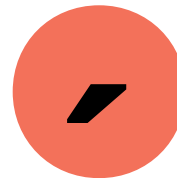
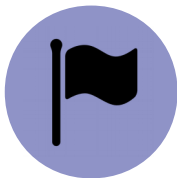
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If p is relevant to some QUD, then $\neg p$ is also relevant to *some* QUD.

- Motivation: if a goal is unachievable, say so.
- This is typically not the main point (cf. Horn '89); $\neg p$ is relevant to a *secondary* QUD (Westera '19).

Summing up



Solving the puzzle

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(given ./? , this doesn't conflict with |.)

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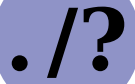
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Accordingly, 'both' cannot be relevant.

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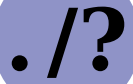
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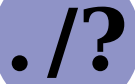


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Hence, although 'not both' is considered true, since it isn't relevant it *cannot* be part of what is meant in (2).

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- For interrogatives, exhaustivity is **the exclusion of *irrelevant alternatives*** that *would have been relevant* had they been considered possible.
 - And since these are irrelevant, so is their exclusion.
- And the reason for this difference is that *interrogatives introduce new QUDs*.

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If '*some/most*' is relevant, so is '*all*', insofar as this is compatible with .

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- Other challenges too (Schulz & Van Rooij '06, Chierchia et al. '12, Fox '14, Westera '17).

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- Explore the interactions of general pragmatic principles before trying anything else.

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