Kriz (2017) - Referentiality, Exhaustivity, and Trivalence in it-Clefts

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Gappy phenomena

Gappy phenomena: *the linguistic negation is not equivalent to its logical negation*

(1) SIs

    a. You read some of the books.

    b. I doubt that he read some of the books.

Gappy phenomena

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    a.   You read some of the books.

    b.   I doubt that he read some of the books.

(2) Homogeneity

    a.   You read the books

    b.   I doubt that you read the books.

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Gappy phenomena: *the linguistic negation is not equivalent to its logical negation*

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    a. He knows that I ate the forbidden fruit.

    b. He doesn't know that I ate the forbidden fruit.

Gappy phenomena

Gappy phenomena: *the linguistic negation is not equivalent to its logical negation*

(1) SIs

    a. You read some of the books.   ($\rightsquigarrow$*not all*)

    b. I doubt that he read some of the books.   ($\rightsquigarrow$*not all*)

(2) Homogeneity

    a. You read the books   ($\rightsquigarrow$*not just some*)

    b. I doubt that you read the books.   ($\rightsquigarrow$*not just some*)

(3) Presuppositions

    a. He knows that I ate the forbidden fruit.   ($\rightsquigarrow$*I ate it*)

    b. He doesn't know that I ate the forbidden fruit.   ($\rightsquigarrow$*I ate it*)

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Questions

- How many gappy phenomena are there?
- Can clefts be reduced to one of the previously observed gappy phenomena?

New gappy phenomena: clefts!

(4) a. It is Adelaid who is related to a Habsburg prince.
         (⇝ *not both Adelaid and someone else*)

     b. It isn't Adelaid who is related to a Habsburg prince.
         (⇝ *not both Adelaid and someone else*)

(5) It was candy that she ate.

   a. **Existence presupposition:** She ate something.

   b. **Prejacent contribution:** She ate candy.

   c. **Exhaustivity contribution:** She didn't eat anything that wasn't candy.

(5) It was candy that she ate.

    a.   **Existence presupposition:** She ate something.

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It was <u>candy</u> <u>that she ate</u>
   pivot   cleft predicate

Plan

Fact I: exhaustivity is definitely not-at-issue

Horn (1981)

(6) First, I hear that my daughter ate candy.

    a. And then, I learn that she only ate candy !

    b. And then, I learn that she ate nothing but candy !

    c. # And then, I learn that it was candy that she ate !

Fact II: exhaustivity is not (fully) presupposed

(7) It was candy that she ate.

    a. **Exhaustivity presupposition:** She didn't eat anything that wasn't candy

    b. **Existence presupposition:** She ate something

    c. **Assertion:** She ate candy

(7)a + (7)b $\Rightarrow$ (7)c

The assertion is entailed by the presupposition ; the contribution of the sentence is vacuous. . .

Fact III: clefts are "focus-sensitive"

(8) It is Rufus' ELDEST daughter who speaks Maltese.

   a. ⤳ none of the Rufus' other daughters speak Maltese.

   b. ⤱ Rufus doesn't speak Maltese.

The "*only-ness*" holds within a domain set by the focus value of the pivot.

Facts to be accounted for

- Fact I: exhaustivity is definitely not-at-issue.

- Fact II: exhaustivity is not (fully) presupposed.

- Fact III: clefts are "*focus-sensitive*"

Plan

Capitalizing on the focus-sensitivity, Velleman *et al.* try to draw connections with *only*

(9) Only Joana speaks Maltese.

    a. **Presupposed:** At least Joana speaks Maltese.

    b. **Asserted:** At most Joana speaks Maltese.

(10) It is Joana that speaks Maltese.

    a. **Presupposed:** At most Joana speaks Maltese.

    b. **Asserted:** At least Joana speaks Maltese.

(11) It is Joana that speaks Maltese.

a. **QUD:** who speaks Maltese?

b. **Presupposed:** There is no true answer to the QUD stronger than "*Joana speaks Maltese*".

c. **Asserted:** There a true answer to the QUD at least as strong as "*Joana speaks Maltese*".

(11) It is Joana that speaks Maltese.

    a. **QUD:** who speaks Maltese?

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De facto:

(12) a. **Presupposition:** It is not the case that both Joana and somebody else speak Maltese.
      ⤳ If Joana speaks Maltese, then she is the only one.

    b. **Assertion:** Joana speak Maltese.

They justify the presupposition with the following contrast:

(13) a. It wasn't Alice who laughed.
          It was Bob and Carol.

      b. ?It wasn't Alice who laughed.
          It was Alice and Carol.

Pivot ⊂ Predicate

(14) It is Rufus' ELDEST daughter who speaks Maltese.

    a.   ⤳ none of the Rufus' other daughters speak Maltese.

    b.   ↝̸ Rufus doesn't speak Maltese.

The focus pattern evokes not the question "*who speaks Maltese?*" but the question "*which of Joana's daughters speak Maltese?*"

Velleman et al.

- **Fact I:** exhaustivity is not at issue.
- **Fact II:** exhaustivity is not fully presupposed.
  $\rightsquigarrow$ exhaustivity is partly presupposed: *if x V-ed, then x is/are the only ones that V-ed*
- **Fact III:** clefts are focus-sensitive. $\rightsquigarrow$ alternatives are provided by a focus-determined QUD

Clefts are identity statements between two pluralities: the pivot and a definite correponding to the cleft predicate

(15) a. It is the boys who speak Maltese.

 b. The ones who speak Maltese are the boys

 c. ιx : Cleft Predicate(x) is Pivot

Idea: BE is subject to homogeneity

Homogeneity

Kriz assumes a theory of homogeneity where homogeneity is an independent gappy phenomenon ; sentences can be true, false or undefined

(16) **Homogeneous predicates**
     I read the books

     a. *true* if I read all the books

     b. *false* if I read none of them

Homogeneity

Kriz assumes a theory of homogeneity where homogeneity is an independent gappy phenomenon ; sentences can be true, false or undefined

(16) **Homogeneous predicates**
   I read the books

   a. *true* if I read all the books

   b. *false* if I read none of them

(17) **Homogeneous relations**
   The parents talked to the children

   a. *true* if
      every parent talked to a child every child talked to a parent

   b. *false* if
      no child talked to any parent

Mutatis mutandis, we obtain truth/falsity for identity statements in natural language:

(18)   A is B

      a.   *true* if
         every member of A is equal to a member of B every member
         of B is equal to a member of A

      b.   *false* if
         no part of A is equal to no part of B

In other words:

(19)   A is B

      a.   *true* if A=B

      b.   *false* if A does not overlap with B

(20)   It is the boys who speak Maltese.

     a.   *true* if the set of boys is equal to the set of Maltese speakers (=exhaustivity)

     b.   *false* if the set of boys does not overlap with the set of Maltese speakers

(20) It is the boys who speak Maltese.

    a. *true* if the set of boys is equal to the set of Maltese speakers (=exhaustivity)

    b. *false* if the set of boys does not overlap with the set of Maltese speakers

(21) It isn't the boys who speak Maltese.

    a. *true* if the set of boys does not overlap with the set of Maltese speaker ($\neg$ homogeneity)

Any time the pivot overlaps with the predicate without being equal to it:

(22) a. **Context:***both the boys and the girls speak Maltese*

    b. ?It is the boys who speak Maltese.
       ?It isn't the boys who speak Maltese.

Pivot ⊂ Predicate

(23)   a.   **Context:** *only the boys speak Maltese*

b.   ?It is the children who speak Maltese.
?It isn't the children who speak Mal-
tese.

Pivot ⊃ Predicate

(23) a. **Context:** *only the boys speak Maltese*

b. ?It is the children who speak Maltese.
?It isn't the children who speak Maltese.

Not predicted by Velleman *et al.*

Pivot ⊃ Predicate

(24)   a.   **Context:**_some of the boys and some of the girls speak Maltese_

         b.   ?It is the boys who speak Maltese.   Pivot ∩ Predicate ≠ ∅
              ?It isn't the boys who speak Maltese.

Focus-sensitivity

Kriz starts by denying the claim that clefts are *semantically* focus-sensitive. He has two pieces of evidence:

Focus-sensitivity

Kriz starts by denying the claim that clefts are *semantically* focus-sensitive. He has two pieces of evidence:

(25) No problem with extraction of the foci

    a.   # Who did Joana even/only call?

    b.   Who is that Joana called?

The need for focus in this construction has an independent source:

(26)   a.   It is **them** that Joana called.

        b.   # It is 'em that Joana called.

(27)   a.   The people Joana called are them

        b.   # The people Joana called are 'em

If it is not semantic focus association, it is pragmatic. The focus help fix a covert domain restriction on the cleft predicate:

(28) It is Rufus's ELDEST daughter that speaks Maltese

  a. **Cleft predicate:** $\lambda x : x \in C.\ x$ speaks Maltese

  b. $C \subset \{$Rufus's P daughter $\mid P \in D_{et}\}$

Claim: the same happens with definites

(29)   The one who speaks Maltese is Rufus's eldest daughter.

Kriz

- **Fact I:** exhaustivity is not at issue.
- **Fact II:** exhaustivity is not fully presupposed.
  ⤳ exhaustivity is a result of homogeneity, a gappy phenomenon wholly independent from presuppositions.
- **Fact III:** clefts are focus-sensitive. ⤳ focus constrains domain restriction

Plan

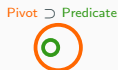We've seen that Velleman *et al.* predict the following to be odd:

(30) ?It wasn't the girls who speak Maltese. It was the children.

Pivot ⊃ Predicate

We've seen that Velleman *et al.* predict the following to be odd:

(30) ?It wasn't the girls who speak Maltese. It was the children.

Pivot ⊃ Predicate

But Kriz shows that actually all the following cases are odd:

(31)   a. ?It wasn't the children who speak Maltese. It was the girls.

      b. ?It wasn't the girls who speak Maltese. It was some boys and
         some girls.

Pivot ⊂ Predicate   Pivot ⊃ Predicate   Pivot ∩ Predicate ≠ ∅

Focus-sensitive within focus-sensitive
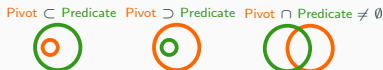
also, *only* and *among others* can all occur in clefts

(32) It was, among others, the students that like Paul.

(33) It was only Adam that came

(34) It's not just imagination, it's *also* the character of men and the actions of men that Im interested in.

Focus-sensitive within focus-sensitive

This deals a fatal blow[1] to Velleman *et al.*, as the corresponding *only* sentences are not ok:

(35)   # Only the students, among others, like Paul.

(36)   # Only only Adam came

(37)   # I'm only interested in the character of men also

---

[1]Covert evidential to be inserted

Focus-sensitive within focus-sensitive

But the referential analysis of Kriz can exhibit similar copular cases:

(38)   a.   Pauls supporters were, among others, the students.

     b.   The guests were only Adam and Miles

     c.   Aside from motivational speaking my interests are also the things I describe here in my page and lots of other things.

Focus-sensitive within focus-sensitive

Under Kriz, *among others* removes homogeneity

(39) The ones who like Paul were, among others, the students.

(40) $\llbracket$be, among others the students$\rrbracket = \lambda y.y \prec \iota\text{students}'$

How the other operators are supposed to work is unclear.

Plan

We will see a number of cases where existences or exhausitivity is missing. Kriz's strategy will always be the same: construct similar examples with definites, says that they raise the same issue, and leave it to future research.

(41)   I know that Adam and Nina spoke. But who called who?
       It was ADAM that called NINA.

(41)   I know that Adam and Nina spoke. But who called who?
          It was ADAM that called NINA.
No existence presupposition with respect to the cleft predicate.

Velleman *et al.*'s theory is particularly suited to deal with this cases:

(42)   QUD = who called whom?

On Kriz's account it is more difficult. Kriz's suggested paraphrase does not seem to work:

(43) I know that Adam and Nina spoke. But who called who?

    a. It was ADAM that called NINA.

    b. # The one that called ADAM was NINA.

On Kriz's account it is more difficult. Kriz's suggested paraphrase does not seem to work:

(43)   I know that Adam and Nina spoke. But who called who?

      a.   It was ADAM that called NINA.

      b.   # The one that called ADAM was NINA.

But Kriz notes the following:

(44)   a.   I know that Adam and Nina spoke. But who called who?

      b.   ADAM was the one who called NINA

(45) a. # The one that called ADAM was NINA.

b. ADAM was the one who called NINA

Why is (45)a good and (45)b bad?

(45) a. # The one that called ADAM was NINA.

     b. ADAM was the one who called NINA

Why is (45)a good and (45)b bad?

- (45)b good: existence presupposition with respect to the focus value of the definite

  the λx. [... X ...] defined iff there exists a y in the denotation of any of the [... Y ...]

(45) a. # The one that called ADAM was NINA.

b. ADAM was the one who called NINA

Why is (45)a good and (45)b bad?

- (45)b good: existence presupposition with respect to the focus value
  of the definite

  *the λx. [. . . X . . .] defined iff there exists a y in the denotation of
  any of the [. . . Y . . .]*

- (45)a bad: focus in pre-copular position is bad

(46) Wasn't one of these people involved in the construction of the
      building?
      a.?? Yes, the ARCHITECT was JOANA
      b. Yes, JOANA was the ARCHITECT
      c. Yes, JOANA was the one who DESIGNED it

A disanalogy to copular sentences

(47) a. It wasn't **Adam** who called Nina, but the other way around.

    b. **Adam** wasn't the one who called Nina, but the other way around.

But the scope of negation must be controlled to get its focus-sensitive interpretation (cf German):

(48) a. ? Adam didn't come, but Miles

    b. She didn't see Adam, but Miles

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       b.   She didn't see Adam, but Miles

(Interesting. But why does it matter?)

Beaver & Onea (2015) presents a cleft that's impossible to exhaustify:

(49)   After all, one of the main characters in the book is Marten and its
       his struggle for survival that's one of the main components of the
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(49)   After all, one of the main characters in the book is Marten and its
        his struggle for survival that's one of the main components of the
        book.

To which Kriz replies:

(50)   Jackson Breyer introduced you and said that there is a basic irony
        that the man who is one of the most influential critics of American
        drama is an Englishman