

DP-internal *only* in English and Russian

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1 Anti-uniqueness effects

From Coppock and Beaver (2015):

- (1) Anna didn't score the only goal.

In Russian (note: some speakers find such sentences ungrammatical):

- (2) Anna zabila ne edinstvennyj gol. On byl otlichnyj udar.
Anna scored not only goal he was excellent strike
'Anna didn't score the only goal. It [her goal] was an excellent strike.'

The puzzle: how can the sentence entail multiple goals, but refer to a single one?

- (3) $\exists x[\text{GOAL}(x) \wedge \text{SCORED}(a, x) \wedge \forall y[y \in \text{ALT}(x) \rightarrow \neg \text{SCORED}(a, y)]]$
where a stands for *Anna* and $\text{ALT}(x)$ for the set of alternatives to x .

2 DP-internal *only* and NPIs

DP-internal *only* licenses negative polarity items:

- (4) The only car he **ever** owned was a Subaru Legacy.
- (5) Ivan vzjal edinstvennuju knigu, kotoruju **kto-libo** xotel.
Ivan took only book which anybody wanted
'Ivan took the only book that anybody wanted.'

Does DP-internal *only* create a downward-entailing environment? (California has about 39 million inhabitants.)

- (6) The only state with more than 30 million inhabitants is California.
- (7) The only state with more than 40 million inhabitants is California.

Generalization: Downward entailment for DP-internal *only* holds, subject to the existence presupposition of the definite article.

References

Coppock, Elizabeth, and David Beaver. 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38:377–435.