

# Analyzing English *Only* as *Not Any More/Other Than*

Linmin Zhang (NYU Shanghai)  
zhanglinmin@gmail.com

ELSJ 17th International Spring Forum 2024  
Kyoto University, Yoshida Campus  
May 25, 2024

The version of May 12, 2024  
For more updates of this project, please see  
<https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/008130>

# The classical view of *only*

- Horn (1969): *Only* expresses **maximality (of informativeness)**
  - ▶  $\leadsto$  the prejacent of *only* is the strongest true proposition (among its alternatives) that can be uttered
  - ▶ i.e., every stronger alternative to the prejacent is false
- Both (1) and (2) has the same positive inference  $\leadsto$  presupposition

(1) **Only** Amy and Bill read poems.

- a. **Positive inference:** Amy and Bill read poems.      **Presupposition**
- b. **Negative inference:** No one else read poems.      **Assertion**

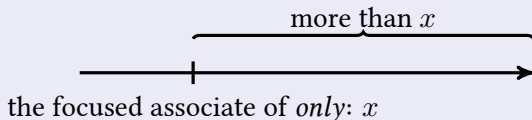
(2) **Not only** Amy and Bill read poems.

- a. **Positive inference:** Amy and Bill read poems.      **Presupposition**
- b. **Negating the negative inference:** Someone else read poems.      **Assertion**

# Today's take-home messages

*Only* means **anti-additivity** and includes three components:

1. negation, 2. NPI, 3. additivity



(3)  $[[\text{only } x]] = \underbrace{\text{not}}_{\text{Negation}} \underbrace{\text{any}}_{\text{NPI}} \underbrace{\text{more/other than } x}_{\text{an additive part}}$   
(with an additive presupposition: something other/more than  $x$  exists)

(4)  $[[\text{Only Amy and Bill read poems}]] =$   
**Not anyone other than Amy and Bill** read poems

a. **Positive inference:** Amy and Bill read poems.  $\rightsquigarrow$  (obligatory) scalar implicature

b. **Negative inference:** No one else read poems.  $\rightsquigarrow$  literal meaning

# Today's roadmap

- 1. I will present new and cross-linguistic empirical data which
  - ▶ challenges the view that the prejacent of *only* is maximally informative
  - ▶ suggests that the positive inference is more like an implicature
  - ▶ sheds light on the underlying components of *only*
- 2. I will propose a new perspective on *only*: it indicates **anti-additivity**
- 3. I will address a few welcome consequences of the proposal
  - ▶ Just like additive particles, the use of *only* is across domains
  - ▶ The positive inference of *only* is an implicature
  - ▶ The NPI (non)-licensing behavior of *only*
  - ▶ The 'diminishing' effect of *only*
- 4. I will compare the current proposal with some recent accounts

# Outline

- 1 Empirical data
- 2 Proposal: *Only* means anti-additivity
- 3 Welcome consequences of the current proposal
  - The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains
  - The positive and negative inference of *only*
  - NPI (non-)licensing
  - The component *any* and ‘diminishing’ meaning
- 4 Comparison with existing accounts
- 5 Conclusion

# 1. The classical ‘maximality’ view: good predictions

- According to the canonical view, the prejacent of *only* is the strongest (maximally informative) true one among alternatives
- Our intuition that (5)–(7) are contradictory is indeed accounted for.
  - (6) and (7) suggest that the meaning of *only* is similar to *exactly*.

(5) ?**Only**  $\underbrace{\text{Amy and Bill came.}}_{p_1}$  In fact, **only**  $\underbrace{\text{Amy came.}}_{p_2}$  **Contradiction**

$\because p_1 \models p_2, \therefore$  they cannot be both the strongest.

(6) ?**Only**  $\underbrace{3 \text{ people came.}}_{p_1}$  In fact, **only**  $\underbrace{2 \text{ people came.}}_{p_2}$  **Contradiction**

$\because p_1 \models p_2, \therefore$  they cannot be both the strongest.

(7) #**Only**  $\underbrace{3 \text{ people came.}}_{p_1}$  In fact, **only**  $\underbrace{4 \text{ people came.}}_{p_2}$  **Contradiction**

$\because p_2 \models p_1, \therefore$  they cannot be both the strongest.

## 1. The classical ‘maximality’ view: bad predictions

- However, our intuition is that (8) and (9) are NOT contradictory, and they are true and felicitous in their context.

(8) Context: I have a juice bar. Only kids below 14 came to my juice bar. I told a friend who came to my juice bar:

‘Only kids below 18 came to my juice bar.’

In fact,  $\underbrace{\text{only kids below 14 came to my juice bar.}}_{p_2}$   $p_2 \models p_1$

(9) Context: a company only hires people with a PhD degree in linguistics. During an interview, when asked who they hire, they said:

‘We only hire people with a PhD degree.’

In fact, we  $\underbrace{\text{only hire people with a PhD degree in linguistics.}}_{p_2}$   $p_2 \models p_1$

## 2. Parallelism (i): positive inference of *only* vs. implicature

### Incremental informativeness

- Both can be cancelled by continuing with a stronger alternative.<sup>1</sup>

(8) Context: I have a juice bar. Only kids below 14 came to my juice bar. I told a friend who came to my juice bar:

‘Only kids below 18 came to my juice bar.’

$p_1$

In fact, only kids below 14 came to my juice bar.’  $p_2 \models p_1$

$p_2$

(10) Context: At the entrance of a bar, somebody asked me whether I’m 21, and I answered:

‘Of course I’m 21. In fact I’m 40.’  $p_2 \models p_1$

$p_1$   $p_2$

<sup>1</sup>I thank Paul-André Mellies for imagining the juice bar scenario, which makes me see the parallelism between (8) and (10).



## 2. Parallelism (i): positive inference of *only* vs. implicature

### Incremental informativeness

- Both can be cancelled by continuing with a stronger alternative.

(9) Context: a company *only* hires people with a PhD degree in linguistics. During an interview, they said:

‘We *only* hire people with a PhD degree.’

$p_1$

In fact, we *only* hire people with a PhD degree in linguistics.’  $p_2 \models p_1$

$p_2$

(10) Context: At the entrance of a bar, somebody asked me whether I’m 21, and I answered:

‘Of course I’m 21. In fact I’m 40.’  $p_2 \models p_1$

$p_1$                        $p_2$

## 2. Parallelism (ii): positive inference of *only* vs. implicature Asymmetry

- There can be an asymmetry between a positive and negative sentence:  
(i) cancellable in one and (ii) uncancellable (i.e., obligatory) in the other

(11) (see also e.g., [Van Rooij and Schulz 2007](#), [Crnič 2022](#))

a. **Only** kids below 18 came to my juice bar,  
and perhaps even they didn't.

~> **weak, cancellable** positive inference

b. **Not only** kids below 18 came to my juice bar,  
# but perhaps they didn't.

~> **strong, uncancellable** positive inference

(12) (see also e.g., [Sauerland et al. 2005](#), [Spector 2007](#))

a. The kids flew kites in the park.

~> **uncancellable** plural inference

b. The kids didn't fly kites in the park.

~> **cancellable** plural inference

### 3. Inspiration from cross-linguistic expressions of ONLY

- In some languages, the expression of ONLY already contains a negation: an NPI + a negation

(13) Korean construction *pakk-ey* + NEG  
NPI

30-pwun pakk-ey an ca-ss-ta  
30-min. outside-to NEG sleep-PST-DEC

‘I only slept for 30 minutes.’

Literal translation: ‘**Outside** of 30 minutes, I did **not** sleep.’

# Interim summary

- I have shown new and cross-linguistic empirical data which
  - ▶ challenges the ‘maximality (of informativeness)’ view of *only*
  - ▶ suggests the parallelism between the positive inference and implicature
  - ▶ sheds light on the underlying components of *only*
- These empirical data suggest that
  - ▶ *Only* includes some hidden negation and NPI
  - ▶ The use of *only* shows a sensitivity to scalarity (see also e.g., [Alxatib 2020](#))

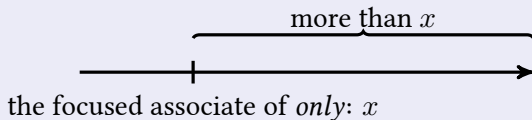
# Outline

- 1 Empirical data
- 2 Proposal: *Only* means anti-additivity
- 3 Welcome consequences of the current proposal
  - The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains
  - The positive and negative inference of *only*
  - NPI (non-)licensing
  - The component *any* and ‘diminishing’ meaning
- 4 Comparison with existing accounts
- 5 Conclusion

# Proposal

*Only* means **anti-additivity** and includes three components:

1. negation, 2. NPI, 3. additivity



(3)  $[[\text{only } x]] = \underbrace{\text{not}}_{\text{Negation}} \underbrace{\text{any}}_{\text{NPI}} \underbrace{\text{more/other than } x}_{\text{an additive part}}$

(with an additive presupposition: something other/more than  $x$  exists)

# Additivity and anti-additivity: Anaphoricity to a QUD

- The components of negation and NPI reflect what is overt in Korean ONLY.
- The component of additivity captures scalarity (in addressing a QUD)
  - **Additivity** addresses an increase anaphoric to a base item, that is a partial answer to a relevant Current Question (CQ, see [Beaver and Clark 2009](#), [Thomas 2011](#), [Zhang and Ling 2021](#), [Zhang and Zhang 2024](#)).
    - ★ Additivity: leading to a more informative answer to the CQ
  - **Anti-additivity** still assumes the existence of items / values above the base item, but indicates that this increase part cannot lead to a more informative true answer to the CQ
    - ★ Anti-additivity does not itself guarantee maximal informativeness in addressing the CQ (see examples like (8) and (9))

(14) Current question: Who came?

a. ( Amy came). Another girl also came.

base item

increase

b. Not anyone other than Amy came.

no increase

base item

## Accounting for some of the above examples

- In these examples, the overall discourse shows an incremental informativeness in addressing their relevant CQ:

(8) CQ of the juice-bar scenario: who came to my juice bar?

‘ **Only** kids below 18 came to my juice bar .

Not anyone other than kids below 18 came to my juice bar

In fact, **only** kids below 14 came to my juice bar .’

Not anyone other than kids below 14 came to my juice bar

(9) CQ of the the hiring scenario: who do we hire?

‘ We **only** hire people with a PhD degree .

We do not hire anyone other than those with a PhD degree

In fact, we **only** hire people with a PhD degree in linguistics.’

We do not hire anyone other than those with a PhD degree in linguistics

(10) CQ of the bar scenario: how old am I?

‘Of course I’m 21. In fact I’m 40.’



# Outline

- 1 Empirical data
- 2 Proposal: *Only* means anti-additivity
- 3 Welcome consequences of the current proposal
  - The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains
  - The positive and negative inference of *only*
  - NPI (non-)licensing
  - The component *any* and ‘diminishing’ meaning
- 4 Comparison with existing accounts
- 5 Conclusion

## 1. The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains

- (Anti-)additivity is about addressing a QUD and can be based on
  - a part-whole relation in a domain of entities
  - lower and higher values along a totally ordered scale (i.e., in a domain of scalar values)

(15) I ate two bars of chocolate. Then I ate a bit **more**.

Additivity in a domain of entities

(16) Amy is intelligent. Sophie is **more** intelligent.

Additivity in a domain of scalar values  
(here a scale of intelligence)

(17) **Only** Amy and Bill bought books.

= Not anyone other than Amy and Bill bought books.

Anti-additivity in a domain of entities

(18) Bill is **only** 17 years old.

= Bill is not any older than 17.

Anti-additivity in a domain of scalar values

◀ ◻ (here a scale of height) ↻

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*

- (4) [[Only Amy and Bill read poems]] =  
Not anyone other than Amy and Bill read poems
- a. **Positive inference:** Amy and Bill read poems.  
     $\rightsquigarrow$  (obligatory) scalar implicature
  - b. **Negative inference:** No one else read poems.  $\rightsquigarrow$  literal meaning

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*

### Deriving the positive inference as scalar implicature

- (17) **Only** Amy and Bill bought books.  
= Not anyone other than A and B bought books. (literal meaning)  
 $\wedge \neg$ [Not anyone other than A bought books] (negating a stronger claim)  
 $\wedge \neg$ [Not anyone other than B bought books] (negating a stronger claim)  
 $\leadsto$  Amy and Bill bought books
- (18) Bill is **only** 17 years old.  
= Bill is not any older than 17. (literal meaning)  
 $\wedge \neg$ [Bill is not any older than  $n$ ] (here  $n < 17$ ) (negating a stronger one)  
 $\leadsto$  Bill is 17 years old

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*:

### When an *only*-sentence is negated

- Negating anti-additivity results in additivity
- Thus the positive inference of an *only*-sentence now becomes the **literal meaning**, serving as the base of additivity.
- This explains why the positive inference is actually strong and uncancellable in a negated *only*-sentence.

- (19) **Not only** Amy and Bill bought books. (the negation of (17))  
= Someone other than Amy and Bill bought books.  
⊨ Amy and Bill bought books. base of additivity
- (20) Bill is **not only** 17 years old. (the negation of (18))  
= Bill is older than 17.  
⊨ Bill is 17 years old. base of additivity

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*: the weakening of the positive inference

- Some naturally occurring examples online:

(21) How can human beings balance their bodies on **only two legs** (sometimes even on one) when it is not possible for other animals and non-living things on only two legs?

<https://www.quora.com/How-can-human-beings-balance-their-bodies-on-only-two-legs-sometimes-even-on-one-when-it-is-not-possible-for-other-animals-and-non-living-things-on-only-two-legs>

(22) Flower that blooms **only once a year** sometimes even once in two years.

<https://www.alamy.com/flower-that-blooms-only-once-a-year-sometimes-even-once-in-two-years-flower-in-the-garden-image312105296.html>

(23) Flat warts may be round or oval-shaped. They're **only very slightly raised**, sometimes not even noticeable.

<https://my.clevelandclinic.org/health/diseases/24337-flat-warts>

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*: the weakening of the positive inference

- Examples from the literature: Crnič (2022), von Stechow and Iatridou (2007)

(24) Tali has to only dance with Gali<sub>F</sub> (Crnič 2022: (11))  
... and she doesn't have to dance with her either

(25) To get good cheese, you only have to go to the North End.  
(von Stechow and Iatridou 2007: (11))

- Under the current proposal,
  - ▶ (24) means that Tali does not have to dance with anyone other than Gali.
  - ▶ (25) means that you don't have to go to anywhere other than the North End.

## 2. The positive and negative inference of *only*: the weakening of the positive inference

- Van Rooij and Schulz (2007): Material implication

(26) Only if  $[A]_F$ , then  $C$ .  
 $\neq$  if  $[A]_F$ , then  $C$ .

(27) I will read a book only if its reviews are good.  
 $\rightsquigarrow$  Intuitively, 'its reviews are good' is a necessary but not sufficient condition for me to read a book.



### 3. NPI (non)-licensing

- By containing a negation operator, *only* naturally licenses NPI.
  - *Only* naturally provides a downward-entailing (DE) environment.
  - There is no need to assume Strawson DE-ness (cf. [Von Stechow 1999](#))

(28) *Only* Mary ate *any* vegetables.  
= Not anyone other than Mary ate *any* vegetables.

(29) *Only* provides DE-ness

- Only Mary read books  
= Not anyone other than Mary read books
- Only Mary read linguistics books  
= Not anyone other than Mary read linguistics books

- Given that  $\lambda x.\text{linguistics-book}(x) \subseteq \lambda x.\text{book}(x)$ , while  $[[\text{(29a)}]] \models [[\text{(29b)}]]$ , *not anyone other than Mary*, i.e., *only Mary*, is a DE environment.

### 3. NPI (non)-licensing

- The focused associate part of *only* is upward-entailing (UE) and cannot license an NPI (see also [Xiang 2017](#)).

- (30) a. Only [some kids]<sub>F</sub> came.  
b. \*Only [any kids]<sub>F</sub> came.

(31) The focused associate of *only* is an UE environment

- a. Only dogs are cute  
= Not anything other than dogs are cute
- b. Only poodles are cute  
= Not anything other than poodles are cute

- Given that  $\lambda x.\text{poodle}(x) \subseteq \lambda x.\text{dog}(x)$ , while  $\llbracket (31b) \rrbracket \neq \llbracket (31a) \rrbracket$ , the focused associate of *only* is a UE environment.

## 4. The component *any* and the ‘diminishing’ meaning

- As illustrated by the contrast between (18) and (32), the ‘diminishing’ impression in interpreting an *only*-sentence comes from the contribution of *any*.

- (18) Bill is only 17 years old.       $\rightsquigarrow$  17 is below the threshold of being old  
= Bill is not any older than 17.      ‘diminishing’ meaning
- (32) Bill is not older than 17.      No ‘diminishing’ meaning

# Outline

- 1 Empirical data
- 2 Proposal: *Only* means anti-additivity
- 3 Welcome consequences of the current proposal
  - The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains
  - The positive and negative inference of *only*
  - NPI (non-)licensing
  - The component *any* and ‘diminishing’ meaning
- 4 Comparison with existing accounts
- 5 Conclusion

# 1. Compared with Van Rooij and Schulz (2007)

- Van Rooij and Schulz (2007): a background alternative approach.
  - ▶ E.g., in (33),  $[[\text{only Mary}]]$  is a GQ of type  $\langle \langle et \rangle, t \rangle$ ,
  - ▶ and  $[[\text{John introduced to Sue}]]$  is of type  $\langle et \rangle$
  - ▶ and the latter is a smallest element of the former, i.e., the latter is equal to  $\{\text{Mary}\}$
- Van Rooij and Schulz (2007) considers the positive inference of an *only*-sentence an implicature

(33) John only introduced Mary<sub>F</sub> to Sue.

## 2. Compared with von Stechow and Iatridou (2007)

- von Stechow and Iatridou (2007): (i) *only* expresses **exception**, and (ii) there is a weakened, existential presupposition.

(34) *only*  $x$  = NEGATION + other than  $x$  (von Stechow and Iatridou 2007)  
(with an existential presupposition)

(25) To get good cheese, you *only* have to go to the North End.  
= You do not have to go to places other than the North End  
(Presupposition: You have to go to somewhere)

- This analysis makes a wrong prediction wrt Crnič (2022)'s data:  
Intuitively, (24) does not entail that Tali has to dance with someone.

(24) Tali has to *only* dance with Gali<sub>F</sub> (Crnič 2022: (11))

- This analysis attributes the 'diminishing' effect to world knowledge:

(18) Bill is *only* 17 years old.  
 $\rightsquigarrow$  predicted to be equivalent to 'Bill is not older than 17'

### 3. Compared with Coppock and Beaver (2014)

- **Coppock and Beaver (2014)**: exclusive expressions
  - ▶ **an at-issue ‘at most’ component**: there is no answer to the Current Question under discussion that is stronger than the prejacent
  - ▶ **a presupposed ‘at least’ component**: there is some answer to the Current Question under discussion that is at least as strong as the prejacent
- The ‘juice-bar’ example and the ‘hire’ example challenge this view:

- (8) CQ of the juice-bar scenario: who came to my juice bar?  
‘**Only** kids below 18 came to my juice bar. In fact, **only** kids below 14 came to my juice bar.’
- (9) CQ of the the hiring scenario: who do we hire?  
‘We **only** hire people with a PhD degree.  
In fact, we **only** hire people with a PhD degree in linguistics.’

## 4. Compared with Alonso-Ovalle and Hirsch (2022)

- Alonso-Ovalle and Hirsch (2022) proposes that an *only*-sentence presupposes the truth of the prejacent
- To account for (25), Alonso-Ovalle and Hirsch (2022) proposes the insertion of a silent *at least*
  - This optional insertion is problematic wrt (24)
  - It is also at odds with adding an overt *at least* in an *only* sentence.

(25) To get good cheese, you only have to go to the North End.

(35) Alonso-Ovalle and Hirsch (2022)'s analysis of (25):  
you have to go to the North End or somewhere else

(24) Tali has to only dance with Gali<sub>F</sub> (Crnič 2022: (11))

- (36)
- a. Only two people came.
  - b. \*Only at least two people came.



## 5. Compared with Crnić (2022)

- Crnić (2022) adopts a distributed analysis

(37) *only x* = no one but *x*

[ MIN [ only Gali<sub>F</sub> arrived on time ] ]

**negative inference:** No one *distinct from Gali* arrived on time

**positive inference:** Gali arrived on time

# Summary

|                                 | Theory components |                                     |               | how are empirical data explained |                                       |                      |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
|                                 | NEG               | exception                           | NPI           | cross-domain use                 | positive inference                    | 'diminishing' effect |
| Van Rooij and Schulz (2007)     | /                 | /                                   | /             | not discussed                    | <b>implicature</b>                    | not discussed        |
| von Stechow and Iatridou (2007) | ✓                 | unclear on whether it's scale-based | <b>hinted</b> | not discussed                    | a weakened existential presupposition | world knowledge      |
| Coppock and Beaver (2014)       | /                 | <b>scale-based</b>                  | /             | <b>QUD-related</b>               | a weakened existential presupposition | not discussed        |
| Alonso-Ovalle and Hirsch (2022) | /                 | /                                   | /             | not discussed                    | presupposition                        | not discussed        |
| Crnič (2022)                    | ✓                 | not-scale-based                     | /             | not discussed                    | a weakened existential presupposition | not discussed        |
| Current proposal                | ✓                 | scale-based                         | ✓             | anti-additivity                  | implicature                           | the NPI component    |

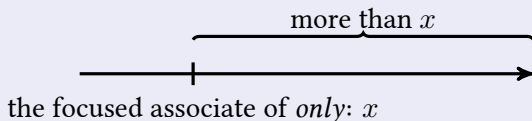
# Outline

- 1 Empirical data
- 2 Proposal: *Only* means anti-additivity
- 3 Welcome consequences of the current proposal
  - The notion of (anti-)additivity is across domains
  - The positive and negative inference of *only*
  - NPI (non-)licensing
  - The component *any* and ‘diminishing’ meaning
- 4 Comparison with existing accounts
- 5 Conclusion

## Take-home messages

*Only* means **anti-additivity** and includes three components:

1. negation, 2. NPI, 3. additivity



(3)  $[[\text{only } x]] = \underbrace{\text{not}}_{\text{Negation}} \underbrace{\text{any}}_{\text{NPI}} \underbrace{\text{more/other than } x}_{\text{an additive part}}$   
(with an additive presupposition: something other/more than  $x$  exists)

(4)  $[[\text{Only Amy and Bill read poems}]] =$   
**Not anyone other than Amy and Bill** read poems

a. **Positive inference:** Amy and Bill read poems.  $\rightsquigarrow$  (obligatory) scalar implicature

b. **Negative inference:** No one else read poems.  $\rightsquigarrow$  literal meaning

# Thank you!

zhanglinmin@gmail.com

The version of May 12, 2024

For more updates of this project, please see

<https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/008130>

# Selected references I

- Alonso-Ovalle, Luis, and Aron Hirsch. 2022. Keep only strong. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 15(6):1–47. <https://doi.org/10.3765/sp.15.6>.
- Alxatib, Sam. 2020. *Focus, evaluativity, and antonymy: a study in the semantics of only and its interaction with gradable antonyms*. Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37806-6>.
- Beaver, David I., and Brady Z. Clark. 2009. *Sense and sensitivity: How focus determines meaning*. John Wiley & Sons. [https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444304176open\\_in\\_new](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444304176open_in_new).
- Coppock, Elizabeth, and David I Beaver. 2014. Principles of the exclusive muddle. *Journal of Semantics* 31:371–432. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/fft007>.
- Crnič, Luka. 2022. A distributed analysis of *only*. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/006645>.
- von Stechow, Kai, and Sabine Iatridou. 2007. Anatomy of a modal construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38:445–483. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40071397.pdf>.
- Horn, Laurence R. 1969. A presuppositional analysis of *only* and *even*. In *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, volume 5, 98–107. Chicago Linguistic Society. [https://ling.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/horn/Horn1969\\_CLS5.pdf](https://ling.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/horn/Horn1969_CLS5.pdf).
- Sauerland, Uli, Jan Anderssen, and Kazuko Yatsushiro. 2005. The plural is semantically unmarked. In *Linguistic Evidence: Empirical, Theoretical and Computational Perspectives*, ed. Stephan Kepser and Marga Reis, 413–434. <https://semantics.uchicago.edu/kennedy/classes/f11/na/docs/sauerlandetal05.pdf>.
- Spector, Benjamin. 2007. Aspects of the pragmatics of plural morphology: On higher-order implicatures. In *Presupposition and Implicature in Compositional Semantics*, ed. Uli Sauerland and Penka Stateva, 243–281. [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230210752\\_9](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230210752_9).

## Selected references II

- Thomas, Guillaume. 2011. Another additive particle. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, volume 21, 634–651.
- Van Rooij, Robert, and Katrin Schulz. 2007. Only: Meaning and Implicatures. In *Questions in dynamic semantics*, 193–223. Brill. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/9780080470993\\_010](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/9780080470993_010).
- Von Stechow, Kai. 1999. NPI licensing, Strawson entailment, and context dependency. *Journal of semantics* 16:97–148. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/16.2.97>.
- Xiang, Yimei. 2017. ONLY: An NPI-licenser and NPI-unlicenser. *Journal of Semantics* 34:447–481. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/ffx006>.
- Zhang, Linmin, and Jia Ling. 2021. The semantics of comparatives: A difference-based approach. *Journal of Semantics* 38:249–303.
- Zhang, Linmin, and Florence Zhang. 2024. Comparative morphemes are additive particles English *-er/more* vs. Chinese *gèng*. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/008122>, submitted manuscript.