

Why exhaustivity is sometimes (but not always) part of what is meant

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(1) John was at the party, or Mary. (L%)

(2) Was John at the party, or Mary? (L%)



Logic puzzle!



1. Cut all the dashed lines.
2. Rearrange the pieces to form *two logical derivations*, one for each example (1),(2).



Hint: Some pieces are easy to start with.



Legend of assumptions:




Assert/implicate all (and only) relevant information you consider true.



Draw attention to all (and only) relevant propositions you consider possible. (Westera '17)



QUDs are closed under conjunction (e.g., Schulz & Van Rooij 2006) as far as  allows.



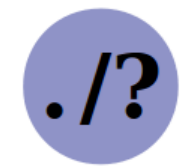
If p is relevant to some QUD, then $\neg p$ is also relevant to *some* QUD.



Accents on the disjuncts (intended in (1)/(2)) mean that both disjuncts are relevant to a single QUD.



L%: the speaker takes the utterance to comply with all the maxims wrt. the main QUD. (Westera '17)



Interrogatives normally introduce a new QUD. Declaratives typically address an existing QUD.





One who introduces a new QUD to the discourse should consider all its propositions possible (e.g., Roberts '96).



Hence their conjunction 'both' is relevant. (given , this doesn't conflict with .)



So if the speaker had considered 'both' possible, then 'both' would have been relevant too (, ).



Since 'not both' is relevant and believed to be true, 'not both' must be part of what is meant in (1).



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



L%: the maxims are complied with wrt. the main QUD.



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So (2) must draw attention to all relevant possibilities. It doesn't to 'both', so *if* 'both' is relevant, the speaker must not consider it possible, hence believe 'not both'.



So (1) must draw attention to all relevant possibilities. It doesn't to 'both', so *if* 'both' is relevant, the speaker must not consider it possible, hence believe 'not both'.



The main QUD of (2) is newly introduced.



So if 'both' is relevant, speaker must deem 'both' possible.



Given the accents, both disjuncts are relevant.



Given the accents, each disjunct is relevant.



Since 'both' is relevant, so is 'not both'.



Since 'both' isn't relevant, 'not both' can't be either.



It follows that the speaker believes 'not both'.

'Both' isn't relevant, so the speaker must believe 'not both'. Accordingly, 'both' cannot be relevant.