

Incremental constructions within and across languages: where degrees, eventualities and discourse dynamics interact

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This workshop intends to discuss the semantics and pragmatics of incremental constructions. Incrementality differs from mere additivity (expressed, e.g., by English *also/too* and German *auch*) in adding up items to a *larger whole* (König 1991). In (1), for example, by using incremental *more* the dancing event of three kids complements the previously mentioned singing event yielding an overall event, say, a stage show, of singing and dancing performed by six kids all in all. This has been argued to differ from merely adding information as in (2) in various respects. For example, incremental *more* requires distinct items of the same type – singers and dancers must not overlap – which is not required by *also*:

- (1) (Three kids sang on the stage.) Later three *more_{incr}* kids danced.
- (2) (Three kids sang on the stage.) Then three kids also danced.
- (3) (Drei Kinder haben auf der Bühne gesungen.) Später haben noch_{incr} drei Kinder getanzt.
- (4) (The dean gave a moving speech.) Dann sang der Chor noch_{incr} ein Abschiedslied.
'Then the choir sang [furthermore] a farewell song.'

There are various forms of incremental expressions within and across languages. In English, in addition to the degree adverb *more* there are, e.g., adjectives like *additional* and *further*. In German there are corresponding adjectives (*zusätzlich* 'additional' and *weiter* 'further'), but, as in many other languages (e.g. Hebrew, Russian, Mandarin Chinese, Hungarian) the preferred option of expressing incrementality is an originally temporal adverb, namely *noch* ('still'). Interestingly, incremental *noch* seems more flexible than incremental *more*: Like the latter, it can be used in adding items to a larger whole – (3) is equivalent to (1) yielding an overall event of singing and dancing performed by six kids. However, unlike incremental *more*, incremental *noch* is not restricted to quantifiable items. In the example in (4), for instance, the event of the choir singing a farewell song extends the event of the dean giving a speech resulting in an overall event, say, a farewell ceremony. This is incremental, but at the same time close to the continuative reading of *noch* (as in *Es regnet noch* 'It is still raining'). Incremental *more* cannot be used to express this kind of incrementality.

Possibly due to the distinct behavior of incremental expressions, two main types of approaches are currently being pursued in the analysis of incrementality. First, there are degree-based accounts, focusing on English incremental *more* and similar expressions (e.g. Greenberg 2010, Thomas 2011), which take incrementality to encode event-summing and their additive measurements. The summed eventualities are made of a presupposed initial salient eventuality, plus an asserted one, and they are measured along scales like spatial path (as in *I ran 2 more kilometers*), temporal length (*I ran for 2 more hours*), cardinality eventualities (*I ran three more times*) or measuring participants (*3 more children danced / I drank 2 more liters of water*). The resulting effect is an increased degree resulting from measuring the summed eventuality, relative to its presupposed and asserted subparts.

Second, there are discourse-oriented accounts, starting from originally temporal adverbs like German *noch* focusing on the progression of discourse. Incrementality consists in a progress along the dimension of time (event or discourse time) or on a scale aligned to time (like marginality). Progress is made by one event complementing the previous one forming a larger whole, like the farewell ceremony in (4). Progress may also be given when smaller units constitute temporally aligned sequences, like the first-mentioned group of kids in the singing event and the second mentioned group in the subsequent dancing event. Discourse-oriented accounts (Eckardt 2007, Umbach 2012, Grubic 2018, Grubic & Wierzba 2019), tend to use the concept of alternatives (Krifka 2000) and of question-under-discussion (QUD), (Roberts 2012), as it represents the course of the discourse, with incrementality reflected by further (or remaining) sub-questions.

Thomas (2018) takes a cross-linguistic view on what he calls *incremental additive particles*, including *more* and *noch*. He observes that there are, on the one hand, incrementals like *more* which also have a comparative reading, but no continuative reading. On the other hand, there are incrementals like *noch* which do have a continuative reading but lack a comparative one.¹ Thomas considers the different readings as being homophones, commonly involving rising scale segment (in the sense of Schwarzschild 2013), and classifies languages with respect to their patterns of homophony by employing a distributive semantics analysis. Even though this idea may be susceptible to criticism in some respects, it is an important step towards understanding the nature of incrementality.

The examination of incrementals is still limited in scope and in systematicity, especially relative to vast body of research on additives, continuatives or comparatives, with which incrementals have been often compared. This results in significant gaps in characterizing intra- and inter-linguistic variations among incrementals, in answering (and even asking) theoretical question about them, and in solving (and even raising) empirical puzzles regarding them. The workshop aims at filling these gaps and draw implications to wider topics, such as the linguistic reality of degrees and scales across constructions, accentuation patterns, QUD-based operations, alternative- (vs. focus-) sensitivity, etc. Research topics that we would like to be discussed in the workshop include (but are not limited to) the following, which we grouped here into two related lines of examination:

Variations in the family of incrementals:

- Variations across languages: Although individual theories did look at incrementals in different languages (e.g. English, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Russian and Mandarin Chinese), Thomas (2018) seems to be the only attempt to compare properties of incrementals across languages and highlight similarities and differences between them. We invite contributions comparing the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of incrementals in different spoken languages as well as in other modalities (e.g. sign languages)
- Variations within languages: Research on incrementals has mostly concentrated on one lexical item per language, and there has been no attempt to compare incrementals within a language. We invite contributions investigating syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between incrementals within a language and the way they interact (as, for example, German *noch* and *mehr* 'more', English *more* vs. *another*, *plus*, and *furthermore*, Russian, *ešče* and *ešče i*, etc.)

A unified semantics for incrementality?

Except for sporadic attempts the approaches to incrementals (degree-based vs. discourse-oriented) have not yet 'spoken' with each other. We believe these two lines of thought each captures important insights concerning the semantics and pragmatics of incrementality, and we invite contributions which attempt to integrate them in order to make progress in capturing the core of incrementality. Examples of relevant questions are the following: Does the semantics of incremental expressions generally involve degrees? Or a discourse-progression

¹¹The use of *noch* in comparatives investigated in Umbach (2009) is not a comparative reading in this sense.

component? Both? Which presuppositions and implicatures are triggered by incremental expressions? Do these differ depending on whether *more*-like or *noch*-like incrementals are considered? How precisely do incrementals differ from general additives in terms of discourse management, accentuation patterns, etc?

Selected references Greenberg 2010. Additivity in the domain of eventualities. *Proceedings of SuB 14* • Grubic 2018 Two strategies of reopening QUD - evidence from German *auch* & *noch*. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 21* • Krifka 2000 Alternatives for aspectual particles: semantics of *still* and *already*. Berkeley Linguistics Society Meeting 26 • Roberts 2012 Information Structure: Towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 5 • Thomas 2011 Incremental 'more'. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 8 • Thomas 2018 Underspecification in Degree Operators. *Journal of Semantics* 35 • Umbach 2012 Strategies of additivity: German additive *noch* compared to *auch*. *Lingua* 122.