

The prosody of additives and the plurality of causation*

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Introduction: preposed and postposed *also*

- Additive particles like *also* and *too* are focus-sensitive particles. They associate with a constituent in the sentence, and convey that the prejacent holds for some distinct alternative of the associate (König 1991; Beaver and Clark 2008). In the canonical pattern, (1a), the associate of *also* carries a pitch accent:

- (1) a. [Who did you speak to at the conference?]
I spoke to John, and I also spoke to PETER_{F, associate}.
- b. [Where did Peter and Mary go?]
Peter_{CT} went to Italy_F, and Mary_{CT, associate} ALSO went to Italy.

A second well-known pattern is known in the literature as “stressed postposed additive particles”, illustrated in (1b). Here the additive particle itself carries a pitch accent. Most earlier work is on English *too* (Rullmann 2003; Sæbø 2004), and especially on German *auch* (Reis and Rosengren 1997; Krifka 1999; Féry 2009; Sudhoff 2010: §4.5).

- The associates in (1a) and (1b) differ in information-structural status: Focus (F) vs. Contrastive Topic (CT).

Contrastive Topic (CT)

(see e.g. Büring 2003; Constant 2014 for general overviews)

- Phonetic realization: rise-fall-rise contour (L+H* L- H%).
- Semantic correlate: partial answerhood.

Typical contexts for CTs: in answers to conjoined questions (see (1b)) or multiple *wh*-questions ((2)), when “subdividing a question” ((3), after a German example in van Hoof 2003), or in questions ((4), from Krifka 2014):

- (2) Which professor met which student?
/JOHN met PETER\ ...

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- (3) Which pieces did the singers perform?
The /SOPRANOS sang an ARIA\ ...
- (4) I want to know who Ed and Dan met. Let's start. Who did /ED meet?
/ED met BETH\ ...

- Two generalizations have been made regarding the prosody of additive particles, as illustrated in (1):

- (5) **Contrastive Topic Hypothesis** (Krifka 1999; Rullmann 2003)
“The associated constituent of postposed stressed additive particles is the contrastive topic of the clause in which they occur.”

- (6) **Linearity Hypothesis** (assumed in various works)¹
Additive particles carry the strongest accent if and only if they follow their associate.

- Today I will show that this picture is incomplete:
 1. there are other configurations in which additive particles may carry the main accent;
 2. in syntactically complex sentences, e.g. ones with *if*-clauses and *because*-clauses, additive particles may be accented for other reasons;
 3. finally, I will show how *because*-clauses with additive particles tell us something about covert vs. overt *why*-questions and uniqueness requirements.

Part I: two other configurations

I.1 Four configurations

- Combining linearity (precede/follow) and information-structural status (F/CT) gives four possible configurations:

- (7) *Four configurations*
- I. additive particle < associate_F
 - II. associate_F < additive particle
 - III. additive particle < associate_{CT}
 - IV. associate_{CT} < additive particle

¹See Appendix for some quotes and references.

I and IV are the two configurations from (1) that have been well studied. What about II and III?

- (8) I. [Who did you speak to?]
I spoke to John_F. And I (also) spoke to MARY_F.
- II. [Who called you up today?]
John_F called me up. And Mary_F (also/ALSO) called me up.
- III. more difficult (see below)
- IV. [Where do John and Mary live?]
John_{CT} lives in France_F. And Mary_{CT} ALSO lives in France_F.

		'also' optional?	strongest accent on 'also'?
I	pre, F	optional	not possible
II	post, F	optional	possible
III	pre, CT	?	?
IV	post, CT	obligatory	obligatory

- In configuration I, 'also' may bear a pitch accent, but it cannot be the *strongest* (nuclear) pitch accent.
- I will skip over the obligatoriness of 'also' (in Configuration IV) today (but there is a lot of literature on this; e.g. [Krifka 1999](#); [Sæbø 2004](#); [Winterstein 2011](#); [Bade 2016](#)).

Configuration II

- For configuration II, two intonation patterns are available:

- (9) a. Pattern 1: accent on 'Mary', NPA on 'also'

MARY | ALSO | called me up
H* L- H* L- L%

- b. Pattern 2: NPA on 'Mary', 'also' part of the post-nuclear deaccented material

MARY | also called me up
H* L- L%

I conducted a pilot production study, in which speakers read out short dialogues in the four configurations from (7). As for (9), Pattern 1 was more common than Pattern 2.

- The same two patterns can be observed when the associate of 'also' is moved from a postposed to a preposed position, for example in the following passive cases:

- (10) [They claimed that the professors were at the conference. Any other claims?]
- a. Yes, the STUdents were ALSO claimed to be at the conference. [Passive, 1]
 - b. Yes, the STUdents were also claimed to be at the conference. [Passive, 2]
 - c. Yes, they also claimed that the STUdents were at the conference. [Active]
 - d. Yes, the STUdents were also claimed to be at the PARTY. [New-New]
 - e. Yes, the professors were also claimed to be at the PARTY. [Given-New]

Configuration III

- Configuration III is problematic. In most cases, the subject is the CT, but to have a ‘also’ < CT order, we need a case where the object is the CT. This was called the “AB contour” by [Jackendoff \(1972\)](#) or the “Exh-CT order” by [Constant \(2014\)](#):

- (11) Who brought the beer and the wine? ([Constant 2014](#))
- a. John_F brought the beer_{CT}, and Mary_F brought the wine_{CT}...
 - b. John_F brought the beer_{CT}, and the wine_{CT}, Mary_F brought.

- Constraint on a CT contour as a “strategy-final” move:

- (12) A sentence ending with L-H% can’t stand as the answer to the final sub-question of a strategy. ([Constant 2014](#): 136)

- [Wagner \(2012\)](#), on the other hand, reports different judgments:

- (13) A: John ate the spinach. ([Wagner 2012](#): 23)
 B: And what about the beans? Who ate those?
 A’: ?Fred_F ate the beans_{CT}.

The question mark means that (13A’) is infelicitous unless some additional insinuation is made of the sort corresponding to rise-fall-rise (RFR) contours in English (note that (13) also instantiates (12)).

- (14) A: Do you think Mary was involved in the candy store robbery?
 B: She likes sweets_{RFR}...

In general, Wagner concludes that in English contrastive topics must precede foci, similar to Italian and German.

- Remaining neutral in this debate, examples of additive particles in Configuration III would involve (putative) F-CT order, corrected for the constraint on CT contours in sentence-final position (12):

(15) Bill brought the food. But who brought all these drinks?

- John_F brought the wine_{CT}, Mary_F brought the beer_{CT}, and the whiskey_{CT}, Peter_F brought.
- John_F brought the wine_{CT}, John **also** brought the beer_{CT, associate}, and the whiskey_{CT}, Peter_F brought.

1.2 Explaining the accenting pattern

Semantic studies of additive particles have not attempted to explain the accenting pattern in an independently motivated theory of accent placement.

- I adopt a system of F-marking and G-marking (for discourse-given status), see e.g. [Selkirk \(2008\)](#) and [Büring \(2016: §2.4\)](#).

(16) [John called me up] (Configuration II)
 [[Mary]_F also [called me up]_G]_{fd}.

⇒ Question: what is the status of ‘also’? It is new (no marking), but is it also contrastive (F-marking)?

- [Féry and Samek-Lodovici \(2006\)](#): F-marking independent from pitch accents. Accents are affected by prosodic phrasing as well as discourse factors:

- (17) a. STRESS-FOCUS: A focused phrase has the highest prosodic prominence in its focus domain.
- b. DESTRESS-GIVEN: A given phrase is prosodically non-prominent.
- c. HI: Align the right boundary of every I-phrase with its head(s).

- When there is no F-marking on ‘also’, the STRESS-FOCUS constraint forces strongest prominence on ‘Mary’ in (16), and not on ‘also’ (i.e. Pattern 2).

×
×

(18) ([Mary]_F)_P (also [called me up]_G)_P

- If there is F-marking on ‘also’, we have a multiple focus situation, similar to the following (cf. [Büring 2016: §4.5.2](#)):

- (19) [John praised Mary, ...]
...but he [dissed]_F [Sue]_F.
- (20) [John deliberately misled Mary, ...]
...and [Peter]_F [unknowingly]_F did.
- (21) [John deliberately misled Mary, ...]
...and [he [unknowingly]_F misled [Peter]_F].

- STRESS-FOCUS wants both foci to be most prominent in their domain, so some other constraint will determine which of the two foci is more prominent than the other. Assuming that HI is a gradient constraint, it leads to an accent

	SF	DG	HI
× × × (([Mary] _F) _P ([also] _F) _P ([called me up] _G) _P) _I	*		**!
× × ☞ (([Mary] _F) _P ([also] _F) _P ([called me up] _G) _P) _I	*		*
× × × × (([Mary] _F) _P ([also] _F) _P ([called me up] _G) _P) _I	**!		**

- What could motivate F-marking on ‘also’? [Krifka \(1999\)](#): additive particles contrast with a (covert) affirmative element AFF. Recall that in Configuration I there can be a secondary accent on ‘also’ to “emphasize additivity” (cf. [Reis and Rosengren 1997](#)).
- Note that in the same configuration, other particles such as *only* and *even* cannot be accented:

- (22) [John called me up]
[Mary]_F even [called me up]_G.
⇒ only Pattern 2, not Pattern 1

This can be explained by assuming that *only* and *even* do not contrast with affirmative elements in the same way (cf. the idea of ‘free foci’ in [Féry 2012](#): §2.2).

Earlier accounts

- [Krifka \(1999\)](#): the associate and the postposed additive form a Topic-Focus structure (CT Hypothesis). After the first conjunct, the presumed QUD is a polar question:

(23) What did John and Mary eat?

John_{CT} ate a pizza_F.

[QUD: Did John and Mary eat a pizza?]

⇐ (presumed) QUD

Mary_{CT} {DIDN't, CERTAINly, ALSO_F} ate a pizza.

Krifka assumes postposed additives are accented “because they realize an affirmative element explicitly” (p. 124). But this explanation doesn't hold for Configuration II:

(24) Who ate a pizza?

John_F ate a pizza.

[QUD: Who ate a pizza?]

⇐ readdressing the same QUD

and Mary ALSO ate a pizza.

- Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006) and Féry (2009) consider cases in which the preaccent of 'also' is all given:²

(25) A: Peter said the semantics professor will be fired.

B: And what did John say about the phonology professor?

A: He said that [she will ALSO be fired].

(26) A: Jack said the American president drinks. What did Gilles say about the French president?

B: He said [the French president drinks TOO].

They conclude that an additive particle is sometimes accented because it is the only material that is non-given.

Interim conclusions

- Talking about 'stressed' vs. 'unstressed' additive particles is too simple. We are interested in when they carry the strongest accent. Additives can have a secondary accent, and can be accented to emphasize additive parallelism.
- The data discussed in the literature have been too limited: there are additional configurations to be considered. Additive particles may follow an associate that is not a CT (Configuration II).
- Additive particles may be contrastively focused, giving rise to a multiple focus construction.
- Possibly, a *tendency* that CTs are sentence-initial (for independent reasons) has led to the impression that there is a relation between postposed additive particles and CT-marked associates. However their associates are not always CTs.

²(25) is adapted from a German example in Féry (2009), (26) is from Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006: 146).

Part II: biclausal data

- The Contrastive Topic Hypothesis (5) talks about the “contrastive topic *of the clause in which they occur*”. What happens if there is more than one clause?
- When a sentence has a (clausal) adjunct, it is possible that the additive particle is in the main clause and its associate in the adjunct clause:

(27) [Adjunct If you have more than 100 points], you will go to the next round. And
 [Adjunct, associate if you have a recommendAtion], you will ALSO go to the next round.

- Adjunct clauses are relatively free with respect to their syntactic position: *if*-clauses and other clausal adjuncts can typically be reordered with respect to the main clause.

(28) a. [[Adjunct clause ...Associate ...] [Main clause ...Additive particle ...]]
 b. [[Main clause ...Additive particle ...] [Adjunct clause ...Associate ...]]

How does this affect the prosody of the additive particle?

2.1 Conditionals

- Consider the following all-new context:

(29) [Context: explaining a card game]
 a. If you draw a queen of spades, you win five points.
 And if you draw three CLUBS in a row, you ALSO win five points.
 b. You win five points if you draw a queen of spades. And you ALSO win five points if you draw three CLUBS in a row.

We find that ‘also’ bears an accent, even when it precedes the associate in (29b). Is this a counterexample to the Linearity Hypothesis?

- I suggest that the accent on ‘also’ is the free focus/secondary accent from Configuration I, that has been ‘promoted’ to a primary accent because the associate is a full clause. Compare:

(29b') You win five points if you draw a queen of spades, and also if you draw three CLUBS in a row.

- [Diessel \(2005: 462\)](#) points out that focus particles such as ‘only’ can be used in spoken discourse to signal that a sentence-final adverbial clause is coming up, as in (30a) (a variant of his (31)).

- (30) a. You can ONLY get your money back if you fill out these FORMS.
 b. You can EVEN get your money back if you lost the original receipt but made a PICTure of it.

Crucially, ‘only’ and ‘even’ can be accented here, but they are normally not subject to the Linearity Hypothesis.

- However, *because*-clauses do not allow postposed additive particles:

- (31) a. Because it’s really warm today, we’re going to the swimming pool. And we’re also going to the swimming pool because we need some EXercise.
 b. #Because it’s really warm today, we’re going to the swimming pool. And because we need some exercise, we are ALSO going to the swimming pool.

⇒ why do *if* and *because* behave differently?

	IF	BECAUSE
POST	(29a) if X, Y. And if X' , also Y.	#(31b) Because X, Y. And because X' also Y.
PRE	(29b) Y, if X. And also Y if X' .	(31a) Y because X. And also Y because X' .

2.2 *Because*-clauses vs. *if*-clauses

- *If*-clauses have often been claimed to be topics ([Haiman 1978](#); [Schiffrin 1992](#), and more recently in [Ebert, Ebert, and Hinterwimmer 2014](#)). However, *if*-clauses are focal when they are answers to so-called ‘when-*q*’ questions (cf. [von Stechow 1994](#); [Biezma 2011](#); [Farr 2011](#)):

- (32) Under what conditions will you come to the party?
 I’ll come [if I finish my work]_F.

- The information-structural status of the *if*-clause affects the ordering. The following data are discussed by [von Stechow \(1994: 81\)](#), originally from [Givón \(1982\)](#):

- (33) What will you do if I give you the money? [what-if-*p* question]
 a. [If you give me the money]_T, [I’ll buy this house]_F.
 b. (#) [I’ll buy this house]_F [if you give me the money]_T.

- (34) Under what conditions will you buy this house? [when-*q* question]
- a. [I'll buy this house]_T [if you give me the money]_F.
 - b. # [If you give me the money]_F [I'll buy this house]_T.

Von Stechow (1994) claims that (33b) is acceptable with “intonational manipulation”: an accent on ‘house’, and no intonational break between consequent and antecedent. At the same time, this manipulation is claimed to be harder for (34b).

- Whereas *if*-clauses tend to be topical, *because*-clauses tend to be focal. Similar ordering data show that topical/given material is preferred in an initial position in questions involving *because*-clauses (Givón 1982):

- (35) Why are you going to the swimming pool?
- a. [We are going to the swimming pool] [because it's really HOT today]_F.
 - b. # [Because it's really hot today]_F [we are going to the swimming pool].

- (36) (?)What are you doing because of the heat today?
- a. # [We are going to the swimming pool]_F [because it's really hot today].
 - b. [Because it's so hot today], [we are going to the SWIMMING pool]_F.

- There is a cross-linguistic tendency that causal adverbial clauses are sentence-final (e.g. Chafe 1984; Diessel 2001, 2005; Diessel and Hetterle 2011). However, when both the main clause and the adverbial clause present new information, both orders are possible.

- (37) [What's happening?]
- a. Because it's really WARM today, we are going to the SWIMMING pool.
 - b. We are going to the SWIMMING pool because it's really WARM today.

- In a parallel additive context, the main clause presents given information, just like in an answer to a *why*-question. The lack of postposed ‘also’ with *because*-clauses can be explained by the general constraint against initial *because*-clauses in contexts that are not all-new.

2.3 Enumerating causes

Various arguments have been made in earlier literature that *why*-questions can only have a ‘single answer’.

2.3.1 Constant: *because*-clauses don't make good CTs

- Constant (2014: §6.3.6): *because*-clauses don't make good contrastive topics, hypothetical *if*-clauses do.
 - “Considering one hypothetical possibility almost inevitably leads to questions about contrasting possibilities” (p. 321). On the other hand, *because*-clauses are factive, and “there is no corresponding option of contrasting polar opposite *because*-clauses” (p. 323).
- (38) a. Because it is raining, we'll have to cancel the picnic. #And because it is not? (p. 324)
- b. If it is raining, we'll have to cancel the picnic. And if it is not?
- “it is difficult in general to conceive of a coherent larger issue made up of sub-questions about contrasting *because*-clauses”.

2.3.2 Uniqueness of causation and factive islands

- In literature on the extraction from factive islands, there is discussion on the ‘uniqueness’ of *why*-questions (Oshima 2007; Abrusán 2011; Schwarz and Simonenko 2018):

- (39) a. Who does John know that Mary will invite *t*?
- b. *Why does John know that Mary will invite Peter *t*?

- Oshima (2007): “an interrogative with WHY is always a unique wh-interrogative”; “a proposition can have only one reason in a given context” (p. 154)

- (40) Why does John live in a bachelor apartment? (p. 154)
John lives in a bachelor apartment...
- a. because he is single.
- b. because he doesn't like having roommates.
- c. because he cannot afford to buy a house.
- ⋮

Oshima argues that only one of (a)–(c) can function as a reason for why John lives in a bachelor apartment in a given context, because a reason has to be “contextually most relevant”.

- Schwarz and Simonenko (2018) present a number of diagnostics for the “pairwise inconsistency” of *why*-questions.³

- (41) a. #Who else has the longest beard?
 b. #How else did Ben open that coconut?
 c. #Why else did the lights go out at midnight?

(42) #John enumerated why he went to the swimming pool.

- Another argument comes from the *wh* + *all* construction that is possible in various dialects of English (McCloskey 2000, see also <http://ygdp.yale.edu/phenomena/what-all>). It requests and exhaustive answer:

- (43) a. Who all did you see? [some English dialects]
 b. What all did you do?

However, McCloskey points out that ‘why all’ is impossible (2000: 58n).⁴ This also holds for the comparable Dutch construction with *allemaal* ‘all’ (cf. Koopman 2010):

- (44) a. Wie heb je allemaal uitgenodigd?
 who have you all invited
 ‘Who all did you invite?’ [asks for an exhaustive answer]
- b. Wat heb je allemaal gedaan?
 what have you all done
 ‘What all did you do?’ [asks for an exhaustive answer]
- c. Waar ben je allemaal geweest?
 where are you all been
 ‘Where all have you been?’ [asks for an exhaustive answer]
- d. *Waarom heb je allemaal een auto gekocht?
 why have you all a car bought
 intended reading: Why did you buy a car, give me all the reasons.

³Note that these are fine in counterfactual contexts, e.g. “Why else would someone go up there at night in the middle of a hailstorm?” [iWeb corpus]. Schwarz and Simonenko point this out, but I am not sure that the meaning of ‘else’ here is additive.

⁴See the Yale page linked above for some possible exceptions.

2.3.3 Adding causes with *also*

- Despite the above considerations, *because*-clauses are compatible with additives. There are many corpus hits on ‘but/and also because’ [iWeb, ‘but also because’ 24354, ‘and also because’ 8874].

- (45) a. ... **in part because** the nearest town, Oracabessa, means “golden head,” **and also because** it was the code name for plans to defend Gibraltar during World War II.
- b. **For these reasons, and also because** I didn’t want to spend the time to put all the extension names right ...
- c. **Because** of the Times, **because** it’s a transitional album **and also because** it’s not particularly interesting or fun to talk about.
- d. “OK” is used, **partly** to save time **but also because** what is being written isn’t formal or even a little formal.
- e. I think you should consider the rounded columns **not only because** of the curves in your doors, **but also because** you have those half columns in the kitchen.
- f. **Not just because** they were leaving me, **but also because** it was yet another reminder that I was alone ...

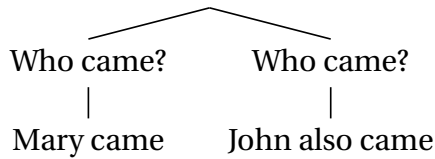
A variety of expressions is used to convey multiple causation: ‘partly’, ‘in part’, ‘not only because’, ‘not just’, ‘for these reasons ... and also’.

“uniqueness” of causation	“additivity” of causation
Constant (2014): <i>because</i> no CT	conjunction of <i>because</i> -clauses
Oshima (2007): uniqueness of <i>why</i> -questions	additive particles with <i>because</i>
Schwarz and Simonenko’s (2018) arguments	corpus findings
Unger (1977): uniqueness of causation	
* <i>why all/ waarom allemaal</i>	

2.3.4 Additives and questions

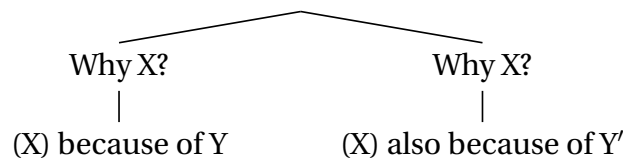
- ‘Else’ functions as an additive particle in *wh*-questions (Theiler 2018). *Why*-questions do not allow additives, but *because*-answers do.
- Additives indicate that the QUD has been ‘partially answered’ (Beaver and Clark 2008: 73), or that a previous question is being ‘readdressed’ (Jasinskaja and Zeevat 2009), ‘re-

opened' (Grubic 2016), or 'extended' (Umbach 2012).



⇒ something has to be said about exhaustivity, and about 'adding up' answers

- Overt WHY-questions have the uniqueness restrictions from section 2.3.2. But the covert QUD-structure that additive particles make visible, is different.



Overt	Covert
Who came? John. Who else came? Mary.	John came. [Who came?] and Mary also came.
Why X? Because Y. *Why else X? Because Z.	X because Y. [Why X?] and also because Z.

⇒ do additive particles indicate that a question is reopened, or that an answer is reopened?

2.4 Conclusions

1. Status of CT hypothesis.
Counterexamples: Configuration II, postposed additive particles in biclausal sentences
⇒ additives may associate with topic (not always association-with-focus). There is a tendency that CT precedes F, so additives that associate with a CT typically follow it. However, additives may also follow foci.
2. Status of Linearity hypothesis
⇒ Linearity Hypothesis holds in simple sentences: multiple focus construction, and rightward stress assignment (HI).

⇒ There are various reasons for an accent on additives: free focus (Configuration I), when the prejacent is all given (Féry), in biclausal sentences as the main accent in a sentence-initial adverbial clause.

3. Status of ‘uniqueness of causation’.

Overt WHY-questions have a number of uniqueness restrictions, but these are not related to some extralinguistic constraint against multiple reasons. *Because*-clauses with conjunction and additive particles indicate that they can be added.

Appendix

Some quotes on the ‘Linearity Hypothesis’.

Krifka (1999: 111):

“While exclusive and scalar particles typically precede their focus, additive particles may follow it, in which case they are stressed.”

Rullmann (2003: 371):

“*Also* can precede or follow its associate; when it precedes, it is unstressed, and its associate has a falling pitch accent. When it follows its associate, the associate bears a rising pitch accent and *also* itself is marked by a falling pitch accent”

Reis and Rosengren (1997: 238):

“if to the left of the RC [= associate, JT] the RC bears main stress and the additive particle does not; if to its right it is the other way around, main stressed additive particles being no more contrastive or marked than their unstressed counterparts. In other words, unstressed vs. stressed additive particles are in complementary distribution with respect to position and stress of the RC: whichever comes later, the additive particle or the RC, will bear the nuclear accent.”

Their paper is about German *auch*, but they state (p. 239):

“the main regularity [i.e. between accent and linearity, JT] holds in English, too: unstressed *also* and stressed occurrences of particles (*ALso*, *TOO*, *EITHer*) are in complementary distribution with respect to position and stress of the RC [=associate, JT]”

Their regularity (Linearity Hypothesis in my terminology) is succinctly formulated as follows (their (11), p. 243):

“The last element in the *Auch/AC* [=associate, JT] pair must carry the NA [=nuclear accent, JT], the first element may carry a secondary accent”

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