

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
1.0	Preview . . . . .	4
1.1	Background on conditionals . . . . .	8
1.2	Counterfactuality: $\text{CF}_p$ and $\text{CF}_q$ . . . . .	11
1.2.1	Strong and weak counterfactuality . . . . .	12
1.2.2	Cancellation of $\text{CF}_p$ . . . . .	14
1.3	Main questions and motivation . . . . .	16
1.4	Outline of the dissertation . . . . .	18
<b>2</b>	<b>Data: cancellation of <math>\text{CF}_q</math></b>	<b>22</b>
<b>3</b>	<b><math>\text{CF}_q</math>-cancellation with ‘also’</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1	Local and non-local ‘also’ . . . . .	27
3.2	The syntax of local and non-local ‘also’ . . . . .	33
3.3	Derivation of local ‘also’: presupposition projection . . . . .	39
3.3.1	The proviso problem . . . . .	41
3.3.2	Projection and $\text{CF}_q$ . . . . .	47
<b>4</b>	<b>Discourse structure and multiple cause contexts</b>	<b>49</b>
4.1	Introduction . . . . .	50
4.2	Background: discourse, questions, and contrastive topic . . . . .	51
4.3	Postposed stressed additive particles . . . . .	56
4.4	Conditionals, CT and questions . . . . .	58
4.5	Multiple cause contexts . . . . .	60
4.6	Obligatory additive particles . . . . .	64
4.7	Obligatoriness of ‘too’: Krifka and Sæbø . . . . .	66
4.8	Back to conditionals . . . . .	68
4.A	Appendix: <i>Also</i> and <i>too</i> . . . . .	72
4.B	Appendix: linearity and stress on ‘also’ . . . . .	73
<b>5</b>	<b>Source of <math>\text{CF}_q</math></b>	<b>76</b>
5.1	Introduction . . . . .	76
5.2	Theories of $\text{CF}_p$ and extension to the consequent . . . . .	77
5.2.1	Non-compositional theories . . . . .	78
5.2.2	Iatridou (2000): modal interpretation of past tense . . . . .	79
5.2.3	Ippolito’s real tense theory . . . . .	84
5.3	Karttunen’s schema . . . . .	88
<b>6</b>	<b>Conditional Perfection and <math>\text{CF}_q</math></b>	<b>89</b>
6.1	Introduction . . . . .	90
6.2	Conditional perfection and subjunctives . . . . .	93
6.3	Conditional perfection and multiple cause contexts . . . . .	96

6.3.1	Experimental evidence and earlier literature . . . . .	96
6.3.2	Theories of conditional perfection . . . . .	98
6.3.3	Exhaustivity and multiple cause contexts . . . . .	104
6.4	Predictions: cancellation of $\text{CF}_q$ . . . . .	105
<b>7</b>	<b><math>\text{CF}_q</math>-cancellation with ‘still’</b>	<b>110</b>
7.1	Uses of ‘still’ . . . . .	112
7.2	Consequent-internal ‘still’ . . . . .	113
7.2.1	Event-based accounts of aspectual ‘still’ . . . . .	114
7.2.2	Review of Ippolito’s (2006) theory . . . . .	118
7.2.3	Deriving aspectual consequent-internal ‘still’ . . . . .	121
7.3	Consequent-external ‘still’ . . . . .	122
7.3.1	Concessive ‘still’ and semifactuals . . . . .	123
7.4	‘Still’ and modality . . . . .	125
7.4.1	Counterfactual readings of modals . . . . .	126
7.4.2	Modal subordination . . . . .	130
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>Experiment on the differences between ‘also’ and ‘still’</b>	<b>141</b>
A.1	Experiment 1: testing Truth . . . . .	143
A.2	Experiment 2: testing Compatibility . . . . .	146
A.3	General experimental remarks . . . . .	148
A.4	Stimuli for Experiment 1 . . . . .	150
A.5	Stimuli for Experiment 2 . . . . .	157
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Recordings from production experiment</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>References</b>		<b>169</b>