A scalar opposite of scalar only in Slavic
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Outline:
1. What are the contexts where the particle aż (až) is found in Polish, Czech, Slovak and Russian, and čak in Bulgarian?
2. How does it affect the interpretation of the sentence? It evokes a scale.
3. What is ordered on the scale? Focus alternatives.
4. What is its effect on the meaning? Assertion? Presupposition?

1 Aż/čak - Like even? Like only?

(1) Maria rozmawiała z menedżerem. (Po)
Maria talked with manager
‘Maria talked to the manager.’

(2) Maria rozmawiała aż z menedżerem. (Po)
Maria talked až with manager
‘Maria talked to somebody so important as the manager.’
→ the manager is a noteworthy person for Maria to talk to

(3) Govorix čak s Mary. (Bg)
I talked čak with Mary
‘I talked to somebody so important as Mary.’
→ Mary is a noteworthy person for me to talk to

(4) Maria rozmawiała nawet z menedżerem, … (Po)
Maria talked even with manager
→ the manager is a noteworthy person for Maria to talk to
#ale... #but she didn't talk to anybody else.

(5) Maria rozmawiała aż z menedżerem, … (Po)
Maria talked až with manager
#ale... #but she didn't talk to anybody else.
‘Maria talked to somebody so important as the manager, but she didn't talk to anybody else.’

(6) Wreszcie porządnie się wyspałem, bo wstałem aż o 7-mej. (Po)
finally properly self I slept because I woke up až at 7th
‘I finally had a good night’s sleep. I woke up only/#even at 7.’
→ 7 o’clock is a noteworthy time to wake-up, because it is late/#early
(7) Daneček se vzbudil až v 6 ráno.
    Little Dan woke up only/even at 6 am.

    → 6 o’clock is a noteworthy time to wake-up, because it is late/early

(8) Prepáčte, že odpisujem až teraz.
    I am sorry that I am replying only/even now.

    → ‘now’ is a noteworthy time for me to reply, because it is late/early

(9) Zašto mi kazvaš čak sega?
    Why are you telling me only/even now?

    → ‘now’ is a noteworthy time for you to tell me, because it is late/early

(10) Jan nie pojechał aż do Warszawy, ...
    Jan did not go as far as Warsaw, he went merely to Łódź/#he stayed at home.

    → Jan went as far as Łódź, but not Warsaw
    → Jan’s trip was not noteworthy, because it was not far
      o neg > aż
      o aż vs. zaledwie/merely

(11) Jan nie pojechał nawet do Łodzi, ...
    Jan did not even go to Warsaw, #he went merely to Łódź/#he stayed at home.

    → Jan did not go as far as Łódź (let alone Warsaw)
      o nawet/even > neg
Jan nie pojechał zaledwie do Łodzi, ... (Po)
Jan did not go merely to Łódź
pojechał aż do Warszawy. /#został w domu.
went aż to Warsaw stayed at home

'Jan did not go merely to Łódź, he went all the way to Warsaw /#he stayed at home.'
→ Jan went further than Łódź, Jan went as far as Warsaw
→ Jan’s trip was noteworthy, because it was far
   o neg > zaledwie/merely
   o aż vs. zaledwie/merely

2 Aż/čak – scalar interpretation

Scalar opposites:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aż/čak</th>
<th>nawet/even</th>
<th>high on the scale</th>
<th>low on the scale</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zaledwie/merely</td>
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</table>

Contrasts between aż/čak and even:

- Exclusivity vs. additivity

(13) Daneček se vzbudil až/#dokonce v 6 ráno. (Cz)
Dan refl woke-up až/even at 6 morning
‘Little Dan woke up no sooner than/only/#even at 6 am.’

(14) Maria rozmawiała až/#nawet z menedżerem, ... (Po)
Maria talked až/even with manager
   ale nie rozmawiała z nikim innym.
   but not talked with nobody else
‘Maria talked to somebody so important as the manager, but she didn’t talk to anybody else.’

(15) Ivan sega e čak/#daže văv Varšava. (Bg)
Ivan now is čak/even in Warsaw
‘Ivan is now as far as/#even in Warsaw.’

(16) a. Karetki zawiozły pacjentów aż do szpitala w Elmhurst.
   ambulances drove patients aż to hospital in Elmhurst
   ‘Ambulances transported patients so far as the hospital in Elmhurst and not closer.’

   b. Karetki zawiozły pacjentów nawet do szpitala w Elmhurst.
   ambulances drove patients even to hospital in Elmhurst
   ‘Ambulances transported patients even to the hospital in Elmhurst (and to closer hospitals).

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1 Cf. “... ambulances have nowhere closer than Elmhurst Hospital to transport patients.” (Google)
→ aż/čak is not additive, tests for presuppositions show it’s an exclusive

- **Evaluativity:** Contextually determined dimension (+standard) vs. likelihood

(17) Baldwin has **as many as** [300]DVds. (Rett 2008:118)
(18) Baldwin has **aż** [300] DVD.
Baldwin has **aż** 300 disks DVD
(19) Baldwin has **zaledwie** [3] disks DVD

(20) Janek **spędza urlop aż** Dolinie Róż.
Janek spends vacation **aż** in Valley Roses
‘Janek is on vacation in a significantly distant location which is the Rose Valley.’

(21) Janek **spędza urlop aż** Dolinie Śmierci.
Janek spends vacation **aż** in Valley Death
‘Janek is on vacation in a significantly hot/unusual/distant location which is Death Valley.’

(22) **Given that Janek wanted to spend his vacation in extreme conditions, I am not surprised that ...**
Janek pojechał **aż/#nawet** do Doliny Śmierci.
Janek went **aż/even** to Death Valley
‘Janek went to such a hot place as Death Valley.’

(23) Petr jezdil **na kole aż/#dokonce** do setmění, .... (Cz)
Petr rode **on bike aż/even** until dusk
which nobody surprised because he does everyday
‘Petr rode his bike until dusk, which didn’t surprise anyone because he does it everyday.’

→ **the scalar dimension cannot be subsumed under the general notion of likelihood**

(24) Potrzebujemy sobowtórą głównego aktora. Zatrudnimy **nawet/#aż** nieprofesjonalistę (Po)
‘We need a double of the main actor. We will even hire a non-professional.’

(25) Maria nikogda ne doedaet ves’ obed, no segodnja ona s”ela (Ru)
Maria never not eats-up all dinner, but today she ate
**daže/#až** kartošku.
**even/#až** potatoes
‘Maria never eats all of her dinner, but today she even ate up the potatoes.’

→ **our expectations are exceeded but a contextual standard is not – aż/čak is not felicitous**
→ contextual scale + standard
3 A scale of alternatives

3.1 Focus association – syntax

(26) Govorix čak [PP s Mary].
I talked čak with Mary
‘I talked to somebody so important as Mary.’

(27) Ivan čak [VP se zaduxa]\ ot vulnenie.
Ivan čak refl breathed-heavily from emotion
‘Ivan as much as started breathing heavily, being so emotional.’

(28) Hanka poprosila o pomoc až [DP prezydenta].
Hanka asked for help až president
‘Hanka asked for help such an important person as the president.’

(29) Hanka až [VP [V poprosila o pomoc] [DP prezydenta]].
Hanka až asked for help president
‘What Hanka did wrt. the president was ask him for help.’
#‘Hanka asked for help such an important person as the president.’

(30) Anna pela tak ploxo, čto až [IP [DP Maria] ej skazala ostanovit'sja].
Anna sang so badly that až Maria her said stop.inf
‘Anna sang so badly that out of all things that could happen Maria told her to stop.’
‘Anna sang so badly that out of all people Maria told her to stop.’

→ The syntactic associate determines the implicit comparison with alternatives of the same type.

(31) [Večerta] čak vidjax [nego].
evening čak I.saw him
‘In the evening I saw him as opposed to other less important people.’
‘In the evening, as opposed to any other time, I saw him.’

(32) [Večerta] čak [ go vidjax].
evening čak him.clitic I.saw
‘In the evening I saw him as opposed to only hearing him.’
‘In the evening, as opposed to any other time, I saw him.’
*‘In the evening I saw him as opposed to other less important people.’

→ Association with focus = Scale of what? Focus alternatives.

(33) Ivan mnogo [VP počervenja] ot sram.
Ivan very reddened from shame
‘Ashamed, Ivan blushed very much.’

→ Intensifiers like very or so indicate that the degree of a gradable property has significantly exceeded the standard of comparison
(34) Ivan čak [VP počervenja] ot sram.
Ivan čak reddened from shame
‘Ivan was so ashamed that he blushed.’

(Bg)

(35) Chlapec v zeleném overalu se překvapením až začervenal. (Čapek, 1991) (Cz)
boy in green jumpsuit self with surprise až reddened
‘The boy in a green jumpsuit as much as blushed with surprise.’

→ The alternatives are not different degrees of blushing, but e.g., other things that could result from Ivan’s being ashamed.

3.2 Focus association – semantics

(36) a. Maria talked to [John] _F_.
   b. {Maria talked to Jim, Maria talked to John, Maria talked to Joan, Maria talked to Jane, …}

→ focus evokes a contrast set
→ propositional alternatives, i.e. a set of propositions obtained by substituting the focus-marked expression with alternatives of the same semantic type
→ no ordering among the alternatives

(37) a. Dan is [sixteen] _F_. He’s too old to play this game./He’s too young to drink alcohol.
   b. {Dan is 1, …, Dan is 14, Dan is 15, Dan is 16, …, Dan is 60, …}

→ a focused scalar item lexically introduces a scale, but not a direction of the ordering

- Scalar focus associating adverbs:
  o introduce an ranking among the alternatives
  o indicate whether the position of the prejacent proposition on the scale is high or low

(38)

Maria is the president
Maria is a vice president
…
Maria is a senior manager
Maria is a manager
Maria is an assistant manager
Maris is an assistant manager
…
Maria is an employee

à The alternatives are not different degrees of blushing, but e.g., other things that could result from Ivan’s being ashamed.
4 Semantics

4.1 Tests for projective meaning (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet, 1990)

4.1.1 The meaning components of only/merely

(39) Maria jest zaledwie menedżerem.
    Maria is merely manager
    ‘Maria is merely a manager.’
    ∼ (a) Maria is no more than a manager. [assertion]
    ∼ (b) Maria is at least a manager. [presupposition-1]
    ∼ (c) Maria’s being a manager is not significant. [presupposition-2]

Assertion: exclusion of all alternatives higher on the scale = ‘no more than’
→ targeted by the question operator, (40) and by negation (41)

(40) Czy Maria jest zaledwie menedżerem?
    Q Maria is merely manager
    ‘Is Maria merely a manager?’
    ∼ (a) Is Maria more than a manager?
    ∼ (b) Maria is at least a manager. [presupposition-1]
    ∼ (c) Maria’s being a manager is not significant. [presupposition-2]

(41) Maria nie jest zaledwie menedżerem.
    Maria not is merely manager
    ‘Maria is not merely a manager.’
    ∼ (a) Maria is more than a manager.
    ∼ (b) Maria is at least a manager. [presupposition-1]
    ∼ (c) Maria’s being a manager is not significant.[presupposition-2]

Presuppositions project: (Klinedienst 2005, Beaver and Clark 2008, a.o)
Presupposition-1: we consider alternatives at least as high as p (e.g. in (38) we’re not considering anything lower than manager)
Presupposition-2: p is low on the contextual scale (p is less than we expected)

4.1.2 The meaning components of even

(42) Maria jest Nawet menedżerem.
    Maria is even manager
    ‘Maria is even a manager.’
    ∼ (a) Maria is a manager. [assertion]
    ∼ (b) Maria’s being a manager is unlikely/significant. [presupposition-1]
    ∼ (c) Maria holds a position other than being a manager. [presupposition-2]

→ Nawet/even does not contribute at the level of asserted content.
(43) Czy Maria jest nawet menedżerem?
  Q Maria is even manager
  ‘Is Maria even a manager?’
  \(\sim\) (a) Is Maria a manager?
  \(\sim\) (b) Maria’s being a manager is unlikely/significant/quite likely/not significant. [presupposition-1]
  \(\sim\) (c) Maria holds a position other than being a manager. [presupposition-2]

(44) Maria nie jest nawet menedżerem.
  María not is even manager
  ‘Maria is not even a manager.’
  \(\sim\) (a) Maria is not a manager.
  \(\sim\) (b) Maria’s being a manager is quite likely/not significant. [presupposition-1]
  \(\sim\) (c) Maria holds a position other than being a manager. [presupposition-2]

Presuppositions project:  (Horn 1969, Karttunen and Peters 1979, Rooth 1985, 1992, a.o.)
Presupposition-1:  **p is the least likely** among the alternatives, (42),
  BUT under negation:  **p is the least likely** among the alternatives (44)
Presupposition-2:  **existential** presupposition: some scalar alternative is true

4.1.3  The meaning components of aż/čak

(45) Maria jest aż menedżerem.
  María is aż manager

– Does aż/čak only contribute presuppositions like even does?

– Negation test:

(46) Maria nie jest aż menedżerem.
  María not is aż manager
  ‘Maria did not get as far as being the manager.’
  \(\sim\) (a) Maria **is less** than a manager.
  \(\sim\) (b) Maria is at most a manager. [presupposition-1]
  \(\sim\) (c) Maria’s being a manager is significant. [presupposition-2]
  \(\rightarrow\) Assertion in (46a): not simply that Maria is not a manager, but that her position is lower = exclusion of higher alternatives asserted

– Question test:

(47) Czy Maria jest aż menedżerem?
  Q María is aż manager
  ‘Has Maria got as far as being the manger?’
  \(\sim\) (a) Is Maria anything less than a manager?
  \(\sim\) (b) Maria is at most a manager. [presupposition-1]
  \(\sim\) (c) Maria’s being a manager is significant. [presupposition-2]
  \(\rightarrow\) Question (47a): is a lower alternative true?
Presuppositions that project in (46)-(47):

Presupposition-1: we consider alternatives at most as high as p (e.g. in (38) we’re not considering anything higher than manager)

Presupposition-2: p is high on the contextual scale (p is more than we expected)

(48) Maria jest aż menedżerem.
    Maria is až manager
    ‘Maria got as far as being the manager.’
    $\sim$ (a) Maria is no less than a manager. [assertion] $\Rightarrow$ exclusivity asserted
    $\sim$ (b) Maria is at most a manager. [presupposition-1] $\Rightarrow$ scalarity presupposed
    $\sim$ (c) Maria’s being a manager is significant. [presupposition-2] $\Rightarrow$ high-on-the-scale presupposed

The asserted exclusive component

o Emotive factive verbs target asserted content (Beaver & Clark 2008, Coppock & Beaver 2010, Dretske 1972)

(49) Janek jest zawiedziony, że Maria jest zaledwie menedżerem.
    Janek is disappointed that Maria is merely manager
    ‘Janek is disappointed that Maria is merely a manager.’
    Janek is disappointed that ...
    $\sim$ (a) Maria is no more than a manager. [assertion]
    $\Rightarrow$ (b) Maria is at least a manager. [presupposition-1]
    $\Rightarrow$ (c) Maria’s being a manager is not significant. [presupposition-2]

(50) Janek cieszy się, że Maria nie jest zaledwie menedżerem.
    Janek is happy that Maria not is merely manager
    ‘Janek is happy that Maria is not merely a manager.’
    Janek is happy that ...
    $\sim$ (a) Maria is more than a manager. [assertion]
    $\Rightarrow$ (b) Maria is at least a manager. [presupposition-1]
    $\Rightarrow$ (c) Maria’s being a manager is not significant. [presupposition-2]

(51) Janek cieszy się, że Maria jest aż menedżerem.
    Janek is happy that Maria is až manager
    ‘Janek is happy that Maria got as far as being the manager.’
    Janek is happy that ...
    $\sim$ (a) Maria is no less than a manager. [assertion]
    $\Rightarrow$ (b) Maria is at most a manager. [presupposition-1]
    $\Rightarrow$ (c) Maria’s being a manager is significant. [presupposition-2] $\Rightarrow$ Cf. (52c)

(52) Janek cieszy się, że Maria nie jest až menedżerem.
    Janek happy self that Maria not is až manager
    ‘Janek is happy that Maria did not get as far as being the manager.’
    Janek is happy that ...
\(\sim (a)\) Maria is less than a manager. [assertion]
\(\rightarrow (b)\) Maria is at most a manager. [presupposition-1]
\(\rightarrow (c)\) Maria’s being a manager is significant. [presupposition-2]

- **Cancellation test**

(53) Maria nie jest u nich (#aż/#zaledwie) menedżerem. ...
Maria not is with them aż/merely manager
  
Ona wcale dla nich nie pracuje.
  she at-all for them not works

‘Maria does not (#merely/#as much as) work for them as a manager. She doesn’t work for them at all.’

\(\rightarrow\) There is no assertion in (53) that ‘Maria is not a manager’, in contrast to (54):

(54) Maria nie jest u nich nawet menedżerem. Ona wcale dla nich nie pracuje.
  Maria not is with them even manager she at-all for them not works

‘Maria does not even work for them as a manager. She doesn’t work for them at all.’

- **Asserted exclusive component also emerges in utterances of “dissent with a positive continuation”**
  (Simons et al. 2010, Roberts 2011)

(55) Maria jest aż menedżerem.
Maria is aż manager

‘Maria got as far as being the manager.’ \(\rightarrow\) Asserts: Maria is no less than a manager.
  
a. Nie prawda. Maria jest zastępcą menedżera.
Not true. Maria is assistant manager

  ‘That’s not true. Maria is an assistant manager.’ \(\rightarrow\) Asserts: Maria is less than a manager.
  
b. Nie prawda. Maria jest zaledwie pracownikiem.
Not true. Maria is merely employee

  ‘That’s not true. Maria is merely an employee.’ \(\rightarrow\) Asserts: Maria is much less than a manager.
  
c. Nie prawda. Maria jest aż prezesem.
Not true. Maria is aż president

  ‘That’s not true. Maria is as much as the president.’ \(\rightarrow\) resetting the scale + contextual standard

\section{5 Conclusions:}

(56) The meaning of aż/čak:
  
no lower alternative is true (assertion)
the prejacent or an alternative at most as strong is true (presupposition-1)
the prejacent is high on the scale (presupposition-2)

(57) The meaning of only:
  
no higher alternative is true (assertion)
the prejacent or an alternative at least as strong is true (presupposition-1)
the prejacent is low on the scale (presupposition-2)
## 5.1 A family of possible presuppositions of EVEN (Giannakidou 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Dimension</th>
<th>akomi ke</th>
<th>oute</th>
<th>esto</th>
<th>kan</th>
<th>aż/čak</th>
<th>merely</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood</td>
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Predictions for the distribution in polarity contexts:

- **Low-on-the-scale presupposition** + the asserted content under negation:
  - Problem for EVENs:
    
    *e.g.*
    
    (58) ?Maria dhen efaje akomi ke to pagoto.
    
    the Maria didn’t eat even the ice-cream.
    
    = *it is unlikely that Maria ate ice-cream + she didn’t eat ice-cream = CLASH, unless
    
    → akomi ke is a PPI (has to scope over negation)
    
    → esto is bad with negation
    
  - Not a problem for Exclusives, where negation reverses the assertion:
    
    *e.g.*
    
    (59) Maria nie zjadła zaledwie lodów.
    
    Maria not ate merely ice-cream
    
    Not > merely
    
    = *it is unlikely that Maria ate ice-cream + she ate more than ice-cream
    
    (60) Maria nie zjadła aż lodów.
    
    Maria not ate aż ice-cream
    
    Not > aż
    
    = *it is likely that Maria ate ice-cream + she ate less than ice-cream

- **Low-on-the-scale presupposition** + ONE (‘most likely’ cardinality):
  - Problem for EVENs:
    
    = it is unlikely that Maria ate an apple + she ate the most likely cardinality = CLASH
  - Not a problem for Exclusives:
    
    Maria only ate one apple. → OK: she didn’t eat more than the most likely cardinality
    
    Maria ate aż one apple. → OK: she didn’t stop at less than one apple IF smaller amounts of apple are considered
    
    Maria bought aż one apple. → NOT OK
- **Negative condition on alternatives:**
  - As a presupposition ("there are y other than x that not P"):  
    - High-on-the-scale **oute** only in negative contexts  
    - Low-on-the-scale **esto** bad in negative contexts  
  - As an assertion ("nobody other than x P"):  
    - Scale reversal

6 References


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