

# **On the strengthening of non-scalar predicates and the syntactic distribution of exhaustivity**

Mathieu Paillé

Non-scalar content vocabulary taken from a particular conceptual domain is usually interpreted as mutually exclusive, as seen in examples like #*This comedy is a tragedy* or #*Some animated films are live-action*. This has been variously dealt with as a fact about the structure of the lexicon (de Saussure 1916) or of conceptual space (Gärdenfors 2000). In contrast, I claim that the mutual exclusivity is in fact a product of grammar, specifically the effect of a grammatical Exh(aust) operator (Chierchia et al. 2012). However, the Exh found with these predicates displays novel behaviour. Not only is it obligatory, but it also (at first approximation) necessarily has the predicate it exhaustifies in its immediate scope. I propose that Exh's unusual behaviour with content vocabulary is due to derivational morphemes requiring an Exh operator in their immediate vicinity; this is formalized as an Agree relation between derivational morphemes and Exh. The upshot is that, in effect, derivational morphemes 'clean up' underlyingly non-partitioned conceptual spaces by requiring the roots they select to be exhaustified.