The use of TOO in gapping in Catalan Sign Language

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Introduction
Too and also are considered focus additive particles (Krifka 1998) and they are used to extend a predication to at least another alternative with respect to the element in focus.

In English, too and also can be found in different types of ellipsis (i.e., stripping, VPE), but not in gapping.

In Catalan Sign Language (LSC), the sign TAMBÉ has the function of:
• a conjunction in additive coordination (and/and also)
• a focus particle (too/also) found in ellipsis

Surprisingly, in LSC, TAMBÉ with the function of too can be found in gapping.

Also vs too in English

Too
(1) Context sentence: Michael works on semantics and psycholinguistics.
FLORIAN works on semantics TOO.
☞ Presupposition: ⇒ someone else other than Florian works on semantics.
☞ Too indicates focus on the subject and it is related to contrastive topic (Krifka 1998, Mayol & Castroviejo 2013).

DISTRIBUTION IN ELLIPSIS

(3) a. John ate an apple and Mary ate an apple, too.
   Stropping: too
   = John ate both an apple and Mary.
   = John ate an apple and Mary ate an apple.
   = Also John ate an apple and Mary ate an apple.

b. *John ate an apple and Mary ate a pear, too.
   Gapping: *too with anaphoric function
   = (Mary ate both a pear and an apple)
   = Also Mary ate a pear.

TAMBÉ in LSC: ALSO vs TOO

(4) a. MARC CAKE CL: bake, MARINA TAMBÉ.
   ‘Marc baked a cake and Marina, too.’
   Stripping (TAMBÉ = TOO)
   a’. MARC CAKE THROW-TRASH, MARINA TAMBÉ, BUT PIZZA.
   ‘Marc threw away a cake and Marina did so, too, but a pizza.’
   Stripping + adversative coord. (TAMBÉ = TOO)
   b. MARC CAKE CL: bake (TAMBÉ = MARINA).
   ‘Marc baked a cake and (also) Marina.’
   NP coordination (TAMBÉ = AND/AND ALSO)
   c. JORDINA CAKE BUY, JORDI FRUIT TAMBÉ.
   ‘Jordina bought a cake and Jordi some fruit.’
   Gapping (TAMBÉ = TOO)
   c’. ??MARCA CAKE THROW-TRASH, TAMBÉ MARINA PIZZA.

Presuppositions and scope of too vs TOO in gapping

‘Marc baked a cake and Marina, too.’
• The subject is focalized: ⇒ somebody other than Marina baked a cake.

(6) JORDINA CAKE BUY, JORDI FRUIT BUY (TOO).
‘Jordina bought a cake and Jordi some fruit.’
• The subject is focalized but the presupposition includes only the verb, not the whole TP:
   ⇒ Somebody other than Jordi bought something.
VS English *Jordina bought a cake and Jordi some fruit, too.
• ⇒ Somebody other than Jordi bought something.

Conclusions
TAMBÉ in LSC can have the function of the additive conjunction and/or also and of the focus particles also and too.

The felicity of TOO in LSC in gapping, unlike in English, might be explained by the syntactic position: TOO in LSC scopes over the deleted material in TP vs too in English scopes over the whole second conjunct.

References
• Góbel, A. 2016. Dividing Additives: On too, also and German auch. Talk at SNEWS2016 @Brown University, November 2016.

Goals
• Look at the distribution of TAMBÉ in ellipsis in LSC by making a comparison with those of too and also in English.
• Determine the functions of TAMBÉ looking at cases of ellipsis in coordination in LSC.
• Propose a syntactic account that explains the availability of TAMBÉ with the function of too in LSC and the ungrammaticality of too in gapping in English.