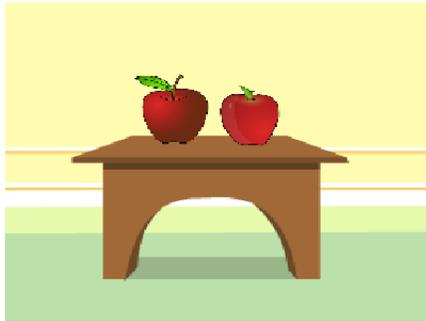


Obligatory Trigger condition, the alternatives were contextually equivalent sentences that varied only in presuppositional content. In order to reliably assess children's knowledge of obligatory trigger effects, we included a Comprehension condition, which tested children's knowledge of the presupposition triggered by the expression in question. In these trials, the presupposition of the trigger was not met and therefore the adult-like choice was the sentence *not* containing the trigger. Finally, as an absolute baseline, we included Filler items, in which one of the alternatives was blatantly false. The conditions and example trials are provided in Table 1. As controls, we test adults on the same items in a written variant of the experiment.

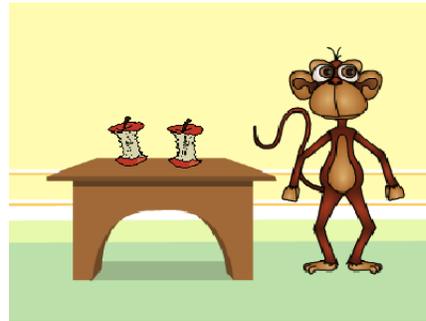
Results: Children: 44 children ages 4-6 participated in the study. Since knowledge of presuppositionality of the trigger is a prerequisite to sensitivity to obligatory trigger effects, we excluded from the analysis those children whose performance on the Comprehension trials were lower than 75%. This resulted in the exclusion of 3 children tested on *both* and 7 children tested on *too*). Accuracy rates from the remaining 34 children are summarized in Figure 2. With *both*, children performed at near-ceiling rates on the Comprehension trials, but were not significantly different from chance on the Obligatory Trigger trials. With *too*, while performance was overall a bit lower, performance on the Obligatory Trigger trials were above chance and did not differ significantly from the Comprehension trials or Fillers. Adults: 32 adult participants, recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk, participated in the control study. While their accuracy rates were at ceiling across-the-board, their reaction times mirror the child accuracy rates. As shown in Figure 3, adults took longer on the Obligatory Trigger condition with *both* compared to Fillers, which matched in length. In contrast, they did not take longer to respond to Obligatory Trigger trials with *too* compared to the length-matched Fillers, suggesting that they recognize the deviance of the infelicitous items just as quickly as they do with false items.

Discussion: Results from both children and adults suggest that obligatory trigger effects with *both* and *too* show different behavioral signatures. The ability to detect the oddity of sentences without the requisite trigger develops earlier in children for *too* than for *both*. In obligatory trigger contexts, adults are faster at detecting the oddity of sentences without the trigger with *too* than with *both*. Taken at face value, these patterns are surprising on accounts that take obligatory insertion of *both* and *too* to be governed by the same underlying pragmatic principle. On the other hand, these findings receive a more straightforward explanation under analyses that take the two to be different effects. A question that emerges at this point is what accounts for the difference in the developmental trajectory and processing ease between obligatory trigger effects with *too* and *both*. A possible explanation emerges if we take obligatory trigger effects with *both* to be genuine MP-effects and *too* as a counter for unwanted exhaustive inferences. If this is the case, then choosing the *both*-alternative over *all* involves at least two steps. First, one must compare the two alternatives to determine which sentence carries the strongest presupposition supported by the context. Then, an anti-presupposition must be calculated for the *all*-sentence, giving rise to the inference that the domain contains more than two individuals, an inference that is not supported in the context. In the case of *too*, however, a single step would suffice. If e.g. the second sentence in (2b) is, by default, interpreted exhaustively, then it is possible to immediately reject the sentence by virtue of it contradicting the context established by the previous sentence. On this view, the strength of the pragmatic deviance of the two is also importantly different: whereas comparisons of *both* vs. *all* sentences involve discerning the adequacy of two true sentences relative to a context, comparisons of sentences with and without *too* involve comparing a true versus a contradictory statement.

Figure 1: Example trial, *Both* Obligatory Trigger Condition



Look, two apples!



*The monkey ate both of the apples
The monkey ate all of the apples*

Table 1: Conditions

	FELICITY	BOTH	TOO
OBLIGATORY TRIGGER	Felicitous	The monkey ate both of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant did, too.
	Infelicitous	The monkey ate all of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant did.
COMPREHENSION	Felicitous	The monkey ate two of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant ate a banana.
	Infelicitous	The monkey ate both of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant ate a banana, too.
FILLER	Felicitous	The monkey ate one of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant didn't.
	Infelicitous	The monkey ate both of the apples.	The monkey ate an apple. The elephant did, too.

Figure 2: Child Accuracy by Condition

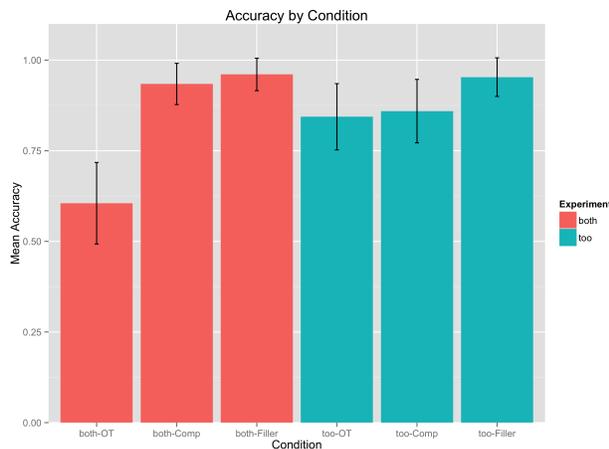


Figure 3: Adults' Reaction Times, Obligatory Trigger vs. Fillers

