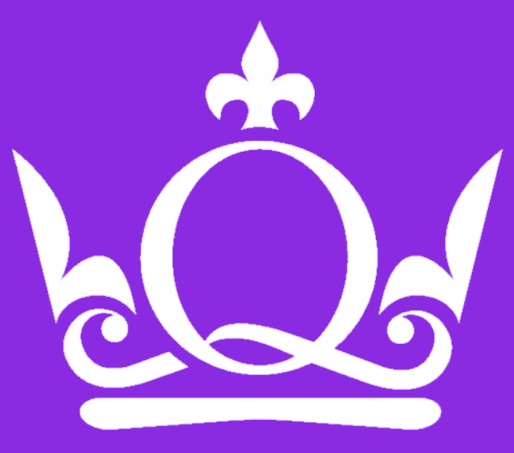




“Remind-me” presuppositions with iterated Speech Acts*

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Data and Puzzle

Data. Both (1a) & (1b) suggest Al’s age was Common Ground (**CG**) before (Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2017, now **SY17**¹).

- (1) *Jo and Al are introduced to each other at a party and spontaneously share their names. As the conversation goes by, Jo realizes they forgot Al’s name. Jo asks Al:*

- a. What’s your name **#(again)?** English
b. C’est quoi ton nom **#(déjà)?**² French

SY17 dubbed this inference “Remind-me” presupposition (**RMP**) and show that the repetitive presupposition of *again* can produce it via interactions with Speech Act operators.³

- (2) $\llbracket (1a) \rrbracket = \text{IMP}_2(\text{again}(\text{CG}(Q)))$
= Make CG again the answer to ‘what’s your age?’
∼ Age was CG before. (**RMP**)

- (3) $\llbracket \text{CG} \rrbracket^{\text{spk}} = \lambda \langle Q, e \rangle. 1 \text{ iff spk partakes in } e, \text{ and } Q\text{'s full answer is CG in } e$

- (4) $\llbracket \text{IMP}_2 \rrbracket^{\text{spk, addr}} = \lambda p. \Box \exists e. \text{addr causes } e \text{ and } p(e)$

- (5) $\llbracket \text{again} \rrbracket = \lambda \langle p, e \rangle : \exists e' < e. p(e') = 1. p(e)$

This contrasts with the asking-again reading in (6):

- (6) *again(IMP₂(CG(Q))) = Again, I’m asking your age.*
∼ I asked your age before.

Puzzle. (7) shows “standard” *déjà* doesn’t mean *again* (insight shared with Lecavelier and Wimmer 2025a, 2025c).

- (7) a. Jo a **déjà** mangé des escargots (?)
Jo has **before/ever** eaten some snails (?)
b. Tu as **déjà** fini de manger (?)
You have **already** finished to eat (?)
c. Je vais **déjà/d’abord** retirer mes chaussures.
I will **first** take-off my shoes.

None of the *déjà*s in (7) carry the desired presupposition; though (7a) (*before/ever* reading) asserts something close:

- (8) $\llbracket \text{déjà} \rrbracket = \lambda \langle p, e \rangle. \exists e' < e. p(e') = 1$

Moreover, standard and RMP-*déjà* can combine in questions (9); RMP-*déjà* if off in non-quotative embedded questions (10).

- (9) Qui a **déjà** mangé des escargots **déjà**?
Who has **before** eaten some snails **DÉJÀ**?

- (10) Jo demande à chaque invité quand il arrive **?(déjà)**.
Jo asks to each guest when he arrives **DÉJÀ**.

¹See also Sauerland (2006, 2009), Pittner (2009), Shlonsky (2022), Dayal (2025), and Lecavelier and Wimmer (2025a, 2025b, 2025c).

²(1b) can also be in the past tense, though the past only does not trigger the RMP in French. Some speakers (Mathieu Paillé, David Blunier, p.c.) find that *encore* (‘again’), which for some speakers can trigger the RMP, does not have this quality. Moreover, *encore* reportedly doesn’t come with the *pretense* of having known that *déjà* may (and for some speakers must) carry.

³This extends to specialized particles like Japanese *-kake* (SY17).

The account at a glance

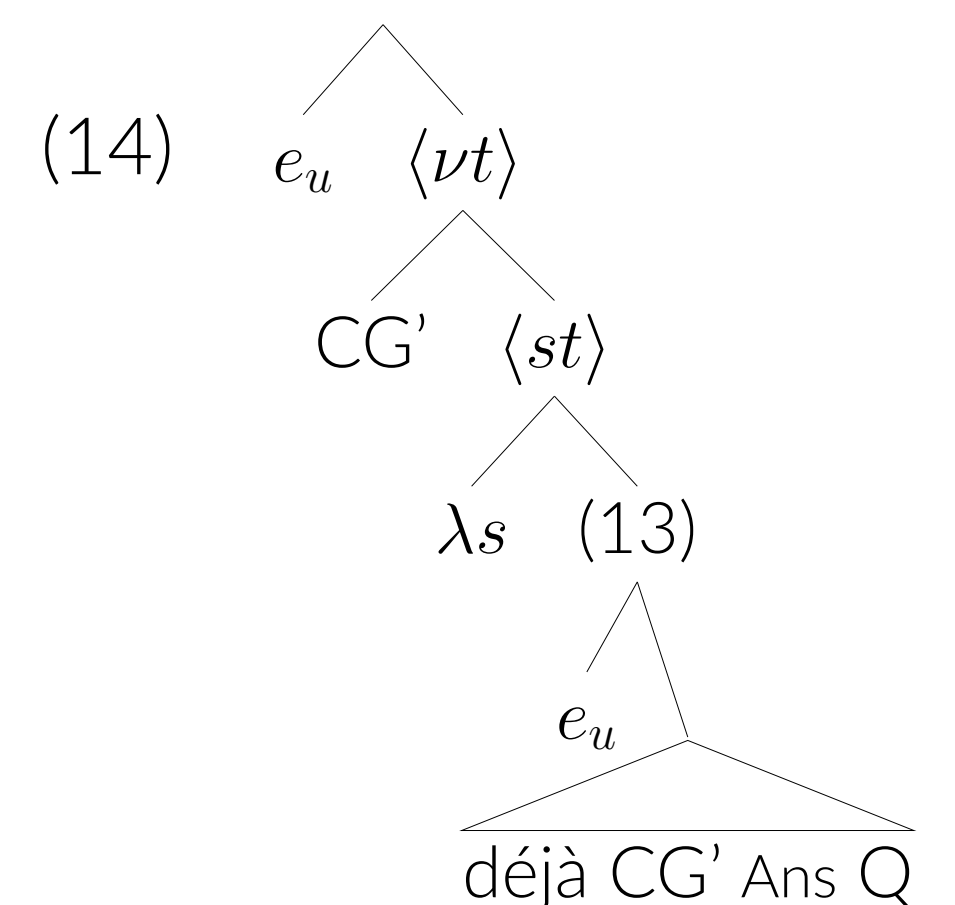
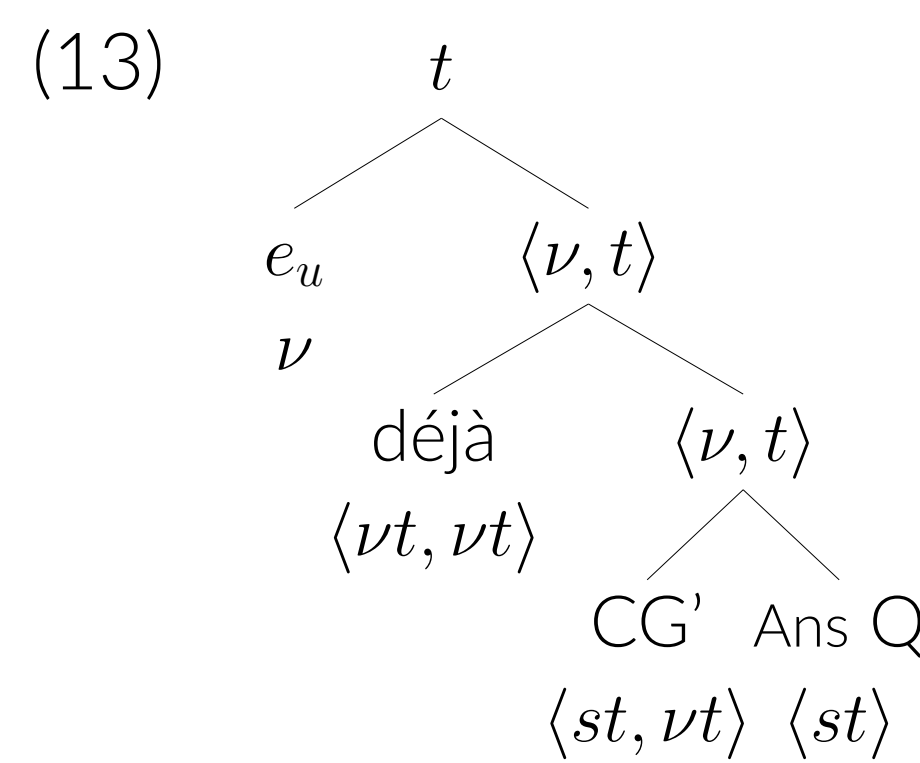
Upshot. The reading of *déjà* in (8) interacts with 2 CG operators. The lower one plays the role of SY17’s CG, while the upper one effectively **backgrounds the assertion that the answer was CG before**. This “emulates” the RMP in the syntax.

Ingredients. (11) is a proposition-taking variant of (3), which can combine with Dayal’s Ans (s.t. $\text{CG}(Q) \equiv \text{CG}'(\text{Ans}(Q))$).

- (11) $\llbracket \text{CG}' \rrbracket^{\text{spk}} = \lambda \langle p, e \rangle. 1 \text{ iff spk partakes in } e \text{ and } p \text{ is CG in } e$

- (12) $\llbracket \text{Ans} \rrbracket = \lambda Q. \text{the most informative true member of } Q$

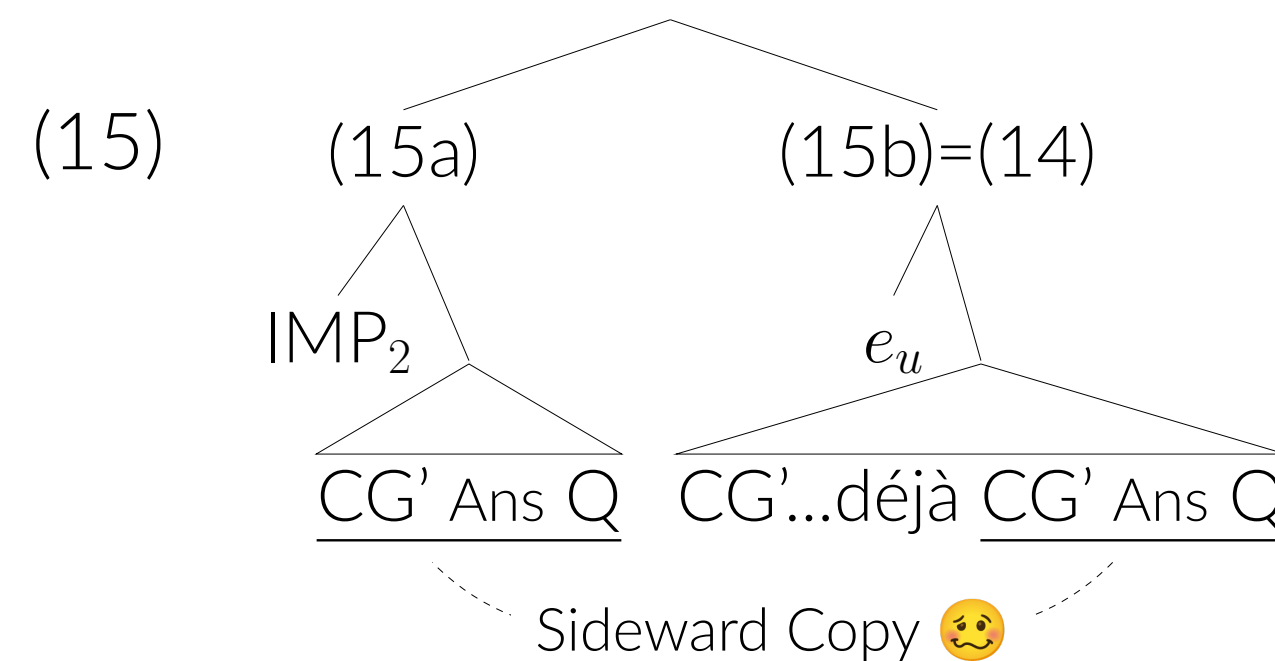
“Emulating” the RMP.



$\llbracket (13) \rrbracket \simeq$ there is a past event where the age is CG.

$\llbracket (14) \rrbracket \simeq$ it’s currently CG that the age was CG before (=RMP).

Getting the question itself right.



$\llbracket (15a) \rrbracket =$ Make the age CG (=core question).

Discussion

A “meta”-presupposition? The above derivation *asserts* that the current CG includes the fact the age was CG before. It’s not a genuine presupposition—more like the description of one. This may explain why RMP-*déjà* can be used politely to *pretend* the answer used to be CG.¹ French *encore* (‘again’), which for some speakers can trigger the RMP, does not have this quality.

Further questions. The fact RMP-*déjà* can be used in self-addressed questions and when there is no past CG between spk and addr suggests the lower CG’ should be replaced by a speaker-oriented operator (Lecavelier & Wimmer, 2025a). Also, when exactly are such operators allowed to combine in the manner sketched above? And why not simply use French *again*?

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¹If spk was never in a position to know the age and addr knows that (etc.), (14) is *purposely* false—leading one to suspend the assumption that spk believes what they are saying.

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