A TYPOLOGY OF NON-EXHAUSTIVITY: FOCUS ON NON-EXHAUSTIVE CONNECTIVES

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Agenda

1. What is **non-exhaustivity**?

premises

2. Non-exhaustive **connectives:**
   a) Methods for a cross-linguistic analysis
   b) Non-exhaustive connectives: definition, geographical distribution, properties

definition and methods

3. A **diachronic typology** of non-exhaustive connectives
4. Towards a **functional space** of non-exhaustivity
5. **Correlations** with the general system of connectives of the language

results

6. **Conclusions**: theoretical implications and future steps

conclusions

What is non-exhaustivity?

- ✓ **Non-exhaustivity** has been mainly referred to in the literature **as opposed to exhaustivity**, especially within formal approaches to focal particles and negative polarity items. (Chierchia 2006, Giannakidou 2016, Lin and Giannakidou 2015)

"There is something more…"

- ✓ Non-exhaustivity has been analyzed in terms of **referential vagueness** and **speaker's epistemic stance** (Giannakidou 2016)

"… and I don't know enough to be exhaustive!"

- ✓ Specific studies on **individual strategies** having to do with non-exhaustivity (e.g. *general extenders* like 'etcetera', Overstreet 1999), but **no systematic study on non-exhaustivity!**

What is non-exhaustivity? *… and where do we find it?*

We define *non-exhaustivity* as

a property operating on the set *of contextually determined elements for which the predicate of the sentence can potentially hold (cf. Kiss 2010),* **in such a way that the set is open to further, referentially vague additions**.

- Non-exhaustivity is involved in a number of different phenomena!

Non-exhaustivity may be **implied** by the semantics of the construction, as in

- ✓ exemplification constructions (*such as, for instance,* Barotto 2017, Lo Baido 2018)
- ✓ additive focus particles (*also, too,* Koenig 1991, De Cesare 2010, Ricca 2017)

What is non-exhaustivity? *… and where do we find it?*

… Or it may be **directly encoded**, as in

- ✓ general extenders (*and so on, etcetera*, Overstreet 1999, Mauri and Sansò 2018)
- ✓ associative and similative plurals (Daniel and Moravcsik 2013)
- ✓ echo-reduplication (Turkish *telefon melefon* 'telephones or suchlike', Barotto and Mattiola 2018)

- ➢ In this research, we focus on a rather under described, but well attested strategy that **encodes** non-exhaustivity: **non-exhaustive connectives.**

Object of analysis - *Non-exhaustive connectives*

We define *non-exhaustive connectives* as

connectives that link two or more items into a conjunctive or disjunctive list and further specify that the list is open to potential additions.

nEx connectives

- enumerative connectives Stassen (2000: 5)
- representative conjunction Haspelmath (2007: 24)
- open disjunction Dixon and Aikhenvald (2009: 31)
- **non-exhaustive connectives** Chino (2001), Zhang (2008), Mauri and Sansò (2018)

→ The term is well established in the literature on East Asian languages and is transparent.

Object of analysis - *Non-exhaustive connectives*

(1) Japanese (Chino 2001: 41)

Watashi-no *heya-ni* *wa,* [*konpyūtā* ***ya*** *sutereo-ga*] *oitearimasu.*

1PS-GEN room-LOC TOP computer and stereo-NOM place.STA.POL

'In my room there is a computer and a stereo.' ???

Object of analysis - *Non-exhaustive connectives*

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~~'In my room there is a computer and a stereo.'~~

'In my room there is a computer, a stereo, **AND SUCH**.'

Object of analysis - *Non-exhaustive connectives*

(1) Japanese (Chino 2001: 41)

Watashi-no heya-ni wa, [*konpyūtā* ***ya*** *sutereo-ga*] *oitearimasu.*
1PS-GEN room-LOC TOP computer and stereo-NOM place.STA.POL
~~'In my room there is a computer and a stereo.'~~
'In my room there is a computer, a stereo, **AND SUCH**.'

✓ The connective *ya* **explicitly encodes** that there are **other potential elements** beyond those mentioned → reference to further Xs, broader set of elements.

… how widespread is this phenomenon? Do we find similar connectives in other languages? Do they result from recurrent diachronic paths?

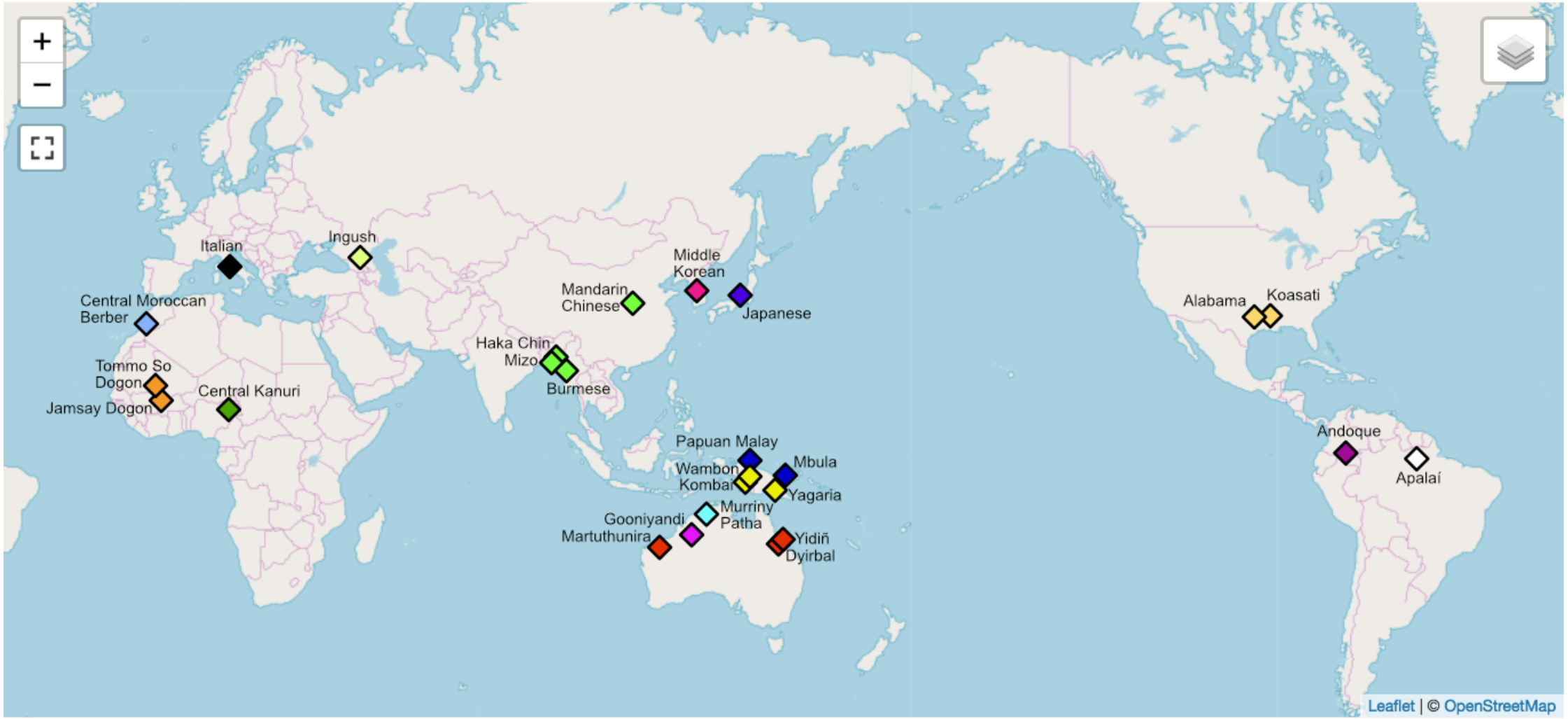
Aims and methods - *Sample*

- We aim to provide a **cross-linguistic, possibly diachronic, typology of nEx connectives**

Sample: 150 languages (from Stassen's 2013 sample).

- We were able to identify **26 languages** that exhibit at least one nEx connective.
- In some cases, the strategy is multifunctional with other strategies employed for non-exhaustivity (e.g. similative plurals). We consider a multifunctional strategy to be also a nEx connective **IF**
  - ✓ it may be used to **link at least two elements**;
  - ✓ it shows syntactic and distributional properties that are **consistent with the general system of connectives** of the language.

Aims and methods – *Languages with nEx connective*



Aims and methods – *Languages with nEx connective*

Language	Top-level family	Macro-area	Reference	Presence of a nEx connective	nEx connective
Central Moroccan Berber	Afro-Asiatic	Africa	Jonhson 1966	x	nyd: - ynd: ; ula (negative)
Papuan Malay	Austronesian	Papunesia	Kluge 2017	x	ka
Mbula	Austronesian	Papunesia	Bugenhagen 1995	x	o
Gooniyandi	Bunuban	Australia	McGregor 1990	x	mi
Apalaí	Cariban	South America	Koehn and Koehn 1986	x	tokehko
Jamsay Dogon	Dogon	Africa	Heath 2008	x	bé
Tommo So Dogon	Dogon	Africa	McPherson 2013	x	=mbe
Italian	Indo-European	Eurasia	Giacalone Ramat & Mauri 2015	x	piuttosto che; come
Andoque	Isolate	South America	Landaburu 1979	x	añe (-eñe)
Japanese	Japonic	Eurasia	Chino 2001	x	ya, toka, tari, dano, yara
Middle Korean	Koreanic	Eurasia	Rhee and Jung Koo 2015	x	-na
Alabama	Muskogean	North America	Hardy 2005	x	- óot
Koasati	Muskogean	North America	Kimball 1991	x	-o:t
Ingush	Nakh-Daghestanian	Eurasia	Nichols 2011	x	='a
Kombai	Nuclear Trans New Guinea	Papunesia	de Vries 1993	x	-o, khale
Wambon	Nuclear Trans New Guinea	Papunesia	de Vries & Wiersma 1992	x	-o
Yagaria	Nuclear Trans New Guinea	Papunesia	Haiman 1980	x	-ve
Martuthunira	Pama-Nyungan	Australia	Dench 1994	x	wii
Dyirbal	Pama-Nyungan	Australia	Dixon 1972	x	yamba
Yidiñ	Pama-Nyungan	Australia	Dixon 1977	x	-ba; gurbi
Central Kanuri	Saharan	Africa	Lukas 1937	x	-so
Mandarin Chinese	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	Zhang 2008	x	-a
Mizo	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	Chhangte 1989	x	tê (te1)
Burmese	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	Okell 1969	x	tou
Haka Chin	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	Peterson and VanBik 2004	x	teè / -poòl
Murriny Patha	Southern Daly	Australia	Walsh 1976	x	kamayya

Aims and methods – *Parameters*

i) Morphosyntactic and distributional properties

- Affix or independent morpheme
- Restricted to NPs, PPs or VPs
- Animacy restrictions

cf. Haspelmath 2007

2) Ingush (Nakh-Daghestanian, Nichols 2011: 527)

clitic ***=ˈa*** "implies open listing" and is limited to simple NPs vs. ***=ji*** which implies exhaustive listing

a)

Oaxa	gatagh='a,	kisegh='a,	dearegh='a	ju	axkan	koch
1pEX.ERG	linen.LAT=&	muslin.LAT=&	silk.LAT=&	J.make.PRS	summer.GEN	dress

We make summer dresses from linen, muslin, silk, etc.

b)

Oaxa	gatagh=ji,	kisegh=ji,	dearegh=ji	ju	axkan	koch
1pEX.ERG	linen.LAT=&	muslin.LAT=&	silk.LAT=&	J.make.PRS	summer.GEN	dress

We make summer dresses from linen, muslin, and silk (only).

Aims and methods – *Parameters*

ii) Multifunctionality patterns

- Further functions related to non-exhaustivity
- Further functions unrelated to non-exhaustivity

3) Andoque (Isolate, South America, Landaburu 1979: 153-154)

affix ***–añe-*** is attached to a nominal base (making it verbal) and is followed by the nominalizer -ʌ ”*pour marquer les terms successifs d’une* ***énumeration***” (Landaburu 1979: 153)

a) ‘when it is time for the fruit party, they order every type of fruit’:

*koata**–añe**-ʌ*	*tasúmi-**ẽñe**-i*	*tami-**ẽñe**-i*	*tomi-**ẽñe**-i*
guacures-ENUM-NMLZ,	caimitos-ENUM-NMLZ,	wild.grapes-ENUM-NMLZ,	pineapple-ENUM-NMLZ

‘guacures, caimitos, wild grapes, pineapples, etc.’

it is used to designate **a random element** within the base’s denotation: **free-choice** meaning
X ***–añe**-ʌ* = ‘any X, whatever X’

b) *hí-ʌ* ‘something’ > *hí-**eñe** -ʌ* ‘whatever’ (Landaburu 1979: 154)

Aims and methods – *Parameters*

iii) **Information on their diachronic sources**, wherever available

4) Andoque (Isolate, South America, Landaburu 1979: 153, 209)

–*añe-* < **verbal progressive affix**, which may be attached to stative verbs meaning ‘still be in that state, continue’

a) *nasi–**añe**-ʌ* *baya*
Have.urticaria-PROGR-NMLZ he
‘he still has urticaria’

b) *náʌ–**añe**-ʌ* *baya*
exist-PROGR-NMLZ he
‘he still exists’

c) ‘when it is time for the fruit party, they order every type of fruit’:

*koata–**añe**-ʌ*	*tasúmi-**ẽñe**-i*	*tami-**ẽñe**-i*	*tomi-**ẽñe**-I*
guacures-ENUM-NMLZ	caimitos-ENUM-NMLZ	wild.grapes-ENUM-NMLZ	pineapples-ENUM-NMLZ

‘guacures, caimitos, wild grapes, pineapples, etc.’

Aims and methods – *Parameters*

iii) **Information on their diachronic sources**, wherever available

5) Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Okell 1969: 112)
-t̲oú < **similative plural**

a) *sauñ-**t̲oú***
Blanket-SML.PL
'Blankets and the like' (e.g. pillows, matresses, sheets, etc.)

b) *myei-au^{ʔ} -yăhtà-**t̲oú*** *ba^{ʔ}săkà-**t̲oú***
train-under-train-nEx bus-nEx
'underground trains, buses, and that sort of things'

Results (1) - *A diachronic typology of nEx connectives*

- Attested diachronic patterns:

1. Similative plural > **nEx connective**
2. Similative marker > **nEx connective**
3. Irrealis (interrogative and potential marker) > **nEx connective**
4. Free choice, distributive > **nEx connective**
5. Progressive aspect > enumeration > **nEx connective** > free-choice
6. **nEx connective** > General extender

1. Similative plural > nEx connective

Similative plural: non-homogeneous plural denoting a class of objects sharing similar features (Daniel and Moravcsik 2013)

- Attested in: Apalaí, Jamsay Dogon, Tommo So Dogon, Central Kanuri, Yidiñ, Mizo, Burmese, Haka Chin

6) Tommo-so (Dogon, McPherson 2013: 601)

a) *Árá=**mbe**.*

rice=PL

'Rice, etc.'

b) *Tùmbùtù nɛ̌m=**mbe*** *nàmá=**mbe*** *kɛ́m* *kánà-dìɲ.*

Timbuktu salt=PL meat=PL all do-IMPF.3PL

'Timbuktu salt, etc., meat etc., they would do [it] all.'

2. Similative marker > nEx connective

Similative markers: linguistic elements that codify an approximate similarity between two items (cf. Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998)

- Attested in Italian (*come*), Kombai (*khale*)

7) Kombai (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, de Vries 1993: 49-50)

a) *Kho khenoduf-o* ***khale*** *abo-n-o* *rumu*
man child-CONN like be.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
'A man who is like a child'

b) *miyo muno* ***khale*** *lã muno* ***khale*** *kho muno* ***khale*** *…*
child young or woman young or man young or
'…a young child or a young woman or a young man…'
[About the dying of a man or a woman, of a young child or a young woman or a young man, they said that they go to the place of Romalü after they have died]

3. Irrealis (interrogative and potential) > nEx connective

Irrealis: markers that codify unactualized situations (cf. Mauri & Sansò 2016).

- Attested in Papuan Malay, Goonyiandi, Middle Korean, Japanese, Yagaria, Dyirbal, Marthutunira, Murriny Patha

8) Martuthunira (Pama-Nyungan, Dench 1994: 181)

a) *Ngaliwa nhawu-layi ngurnaa kanyara-a ngartil* ***wii,*** *punga pangkira-a paju-rru*
1PL.INL see-FUT that.ACC man-ACC again if guts round-ACC REAL-NOW
'If we see him again he'll be very round in the guts.'

'wii is used as a conjunction indicating a progressive widening of the set of objects out of which something may be chosen' (Dench 1994: 182)

b) *mirnitirimarta-a* ***wii*** *tharnta-a* ***wii,*** *jankurna-a* ***wii***
goanna-ACC maybe euro-ACC maybe emu-ACC maybe
'[*My uncle left me a knife so I could cut things up*] goannas maybe, or euros maybe, or emus maybe'

4. Free choice, distributive > nEx connective

Free-choice: ‘anyone within a set’

- Attested in Italian, Japanese, Ingush.

9) Italian (Indo-European)

piuttosto che ‘rather than’ > free choice > nEx connective (Mauri and Giacalone 2015)

a) *il diritto di professare un’idea politica* ***piuttosto che*** *un’altra*
the right to profess an idea political rather than an another
‘the right to profess a political idea rather than another’ (CORIS corpus)

b) *A Bologna,* ***piuttosto che*** *a Shangai, Help Srl vi può aiutare*
In Bologna or in Shangai, Help Srl you.PL.OBL can.3SG help
‘In Bologna or in Shangai or somewhere else, Help Srl can help you’ (itTenTen16)

5. Progressive aspect > open enumeration > free-choice

Verbal imperfective > enumerative > free-choice

- Attested in Andoque

10) Andoque (Isolate, Landaburu 1979: 153-154)

a) *náʌ–**añe**-ʌ baya*
exist-PROGR-NMLZ he
'he still exists'

progressive aspect > *enumeration*
being still in the state of X > still/again/also X

b) *koata–**añe**-ʌ tasúmi-**ẽñe**-i tami-**ẽñe**-i tomi-**ẽñe**-i*
guacures-ENUM-NMLZ, caimitos-ENUM-NMLZ, wild.grapes-ENUM-NMLZ, pineapple-ENUM-NMLZ
'guacures, caimitos, wild grapes, pineapples, etc.'

c) X *–**añe**-ʌ* = 'any X, whatever X'

enumeration > *free choice*
still/again/also X > one X at random

6. nEx connective > General extender

General extender: linguistic items that indicate the existence of further members of a list or set, e.g. *et cetera* (contrary to nEx, they can be used also with only one item!)

- Attested in Japanese (*toka, tari*), Italian (*piuttosto che*)

11) Japanese (Japonic)

a) *Kinō depāto-de, sētā **toka** kutsu **toka** o katta.*
yesterday department.store-LOC sweater TOKA shoe TOKA ACC buy:PAST
'Yesterday I bought a sweater, shoes, and some other things at the department store.'
(Chino 2001: 42)

b) *Nihon-no shinbun **toka** yomu no.*
Japan-DET newspaper TOKA read Q
'Do you read Japanese newspapers and the like?' (Kaiser et al. 2001: 543)

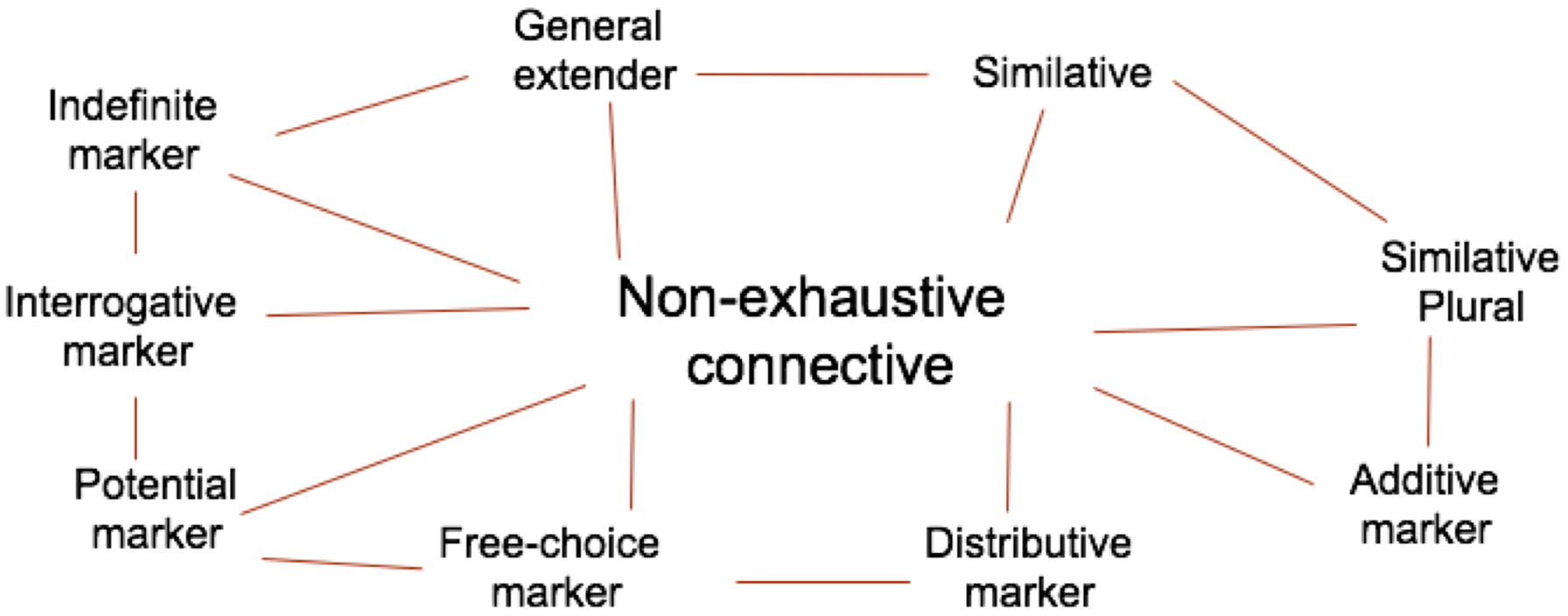
Layering and multifunctionality

Many of the diachronic paths just described are still in a **layering situation**

nEx connectives are frequently multifunctional

The attested multifunctionality patterns can be represented through a **conceptual space** (Croft 2001, 2003)

Results (2) - *Towards a conceptual space of non-exhaustivity*



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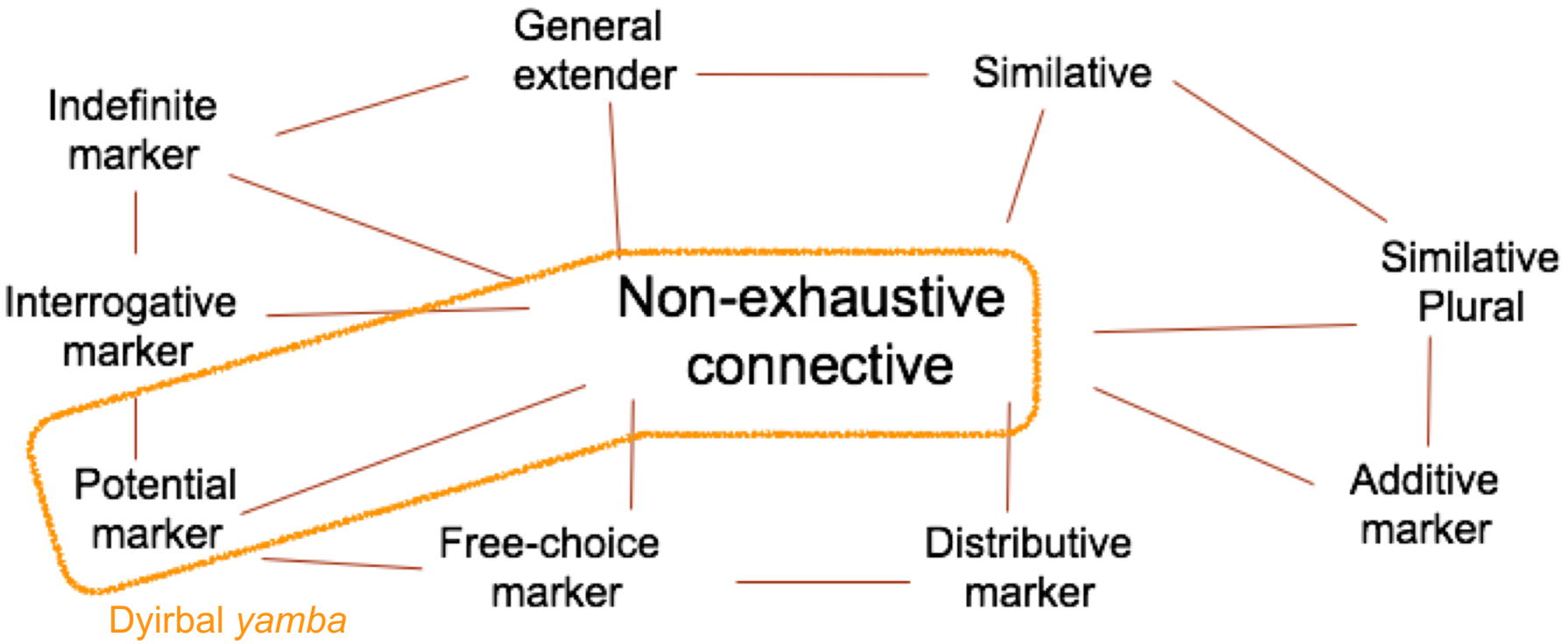

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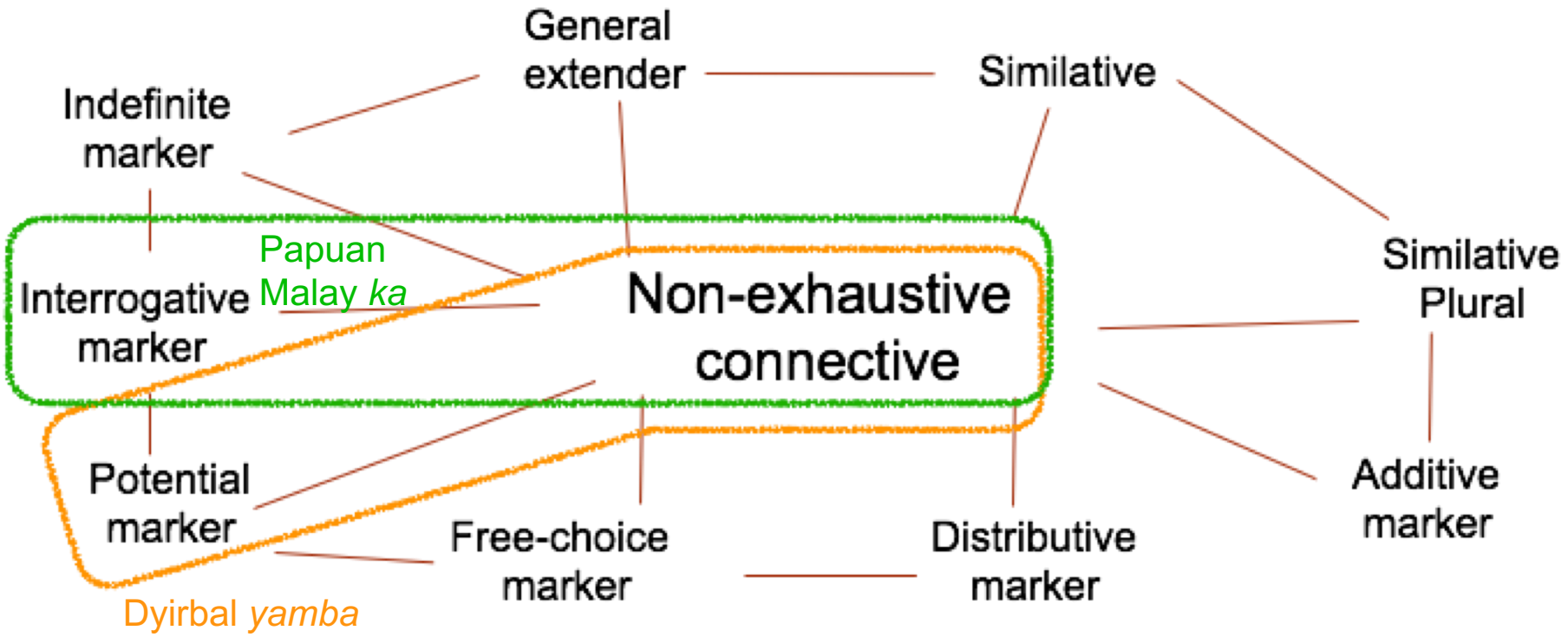

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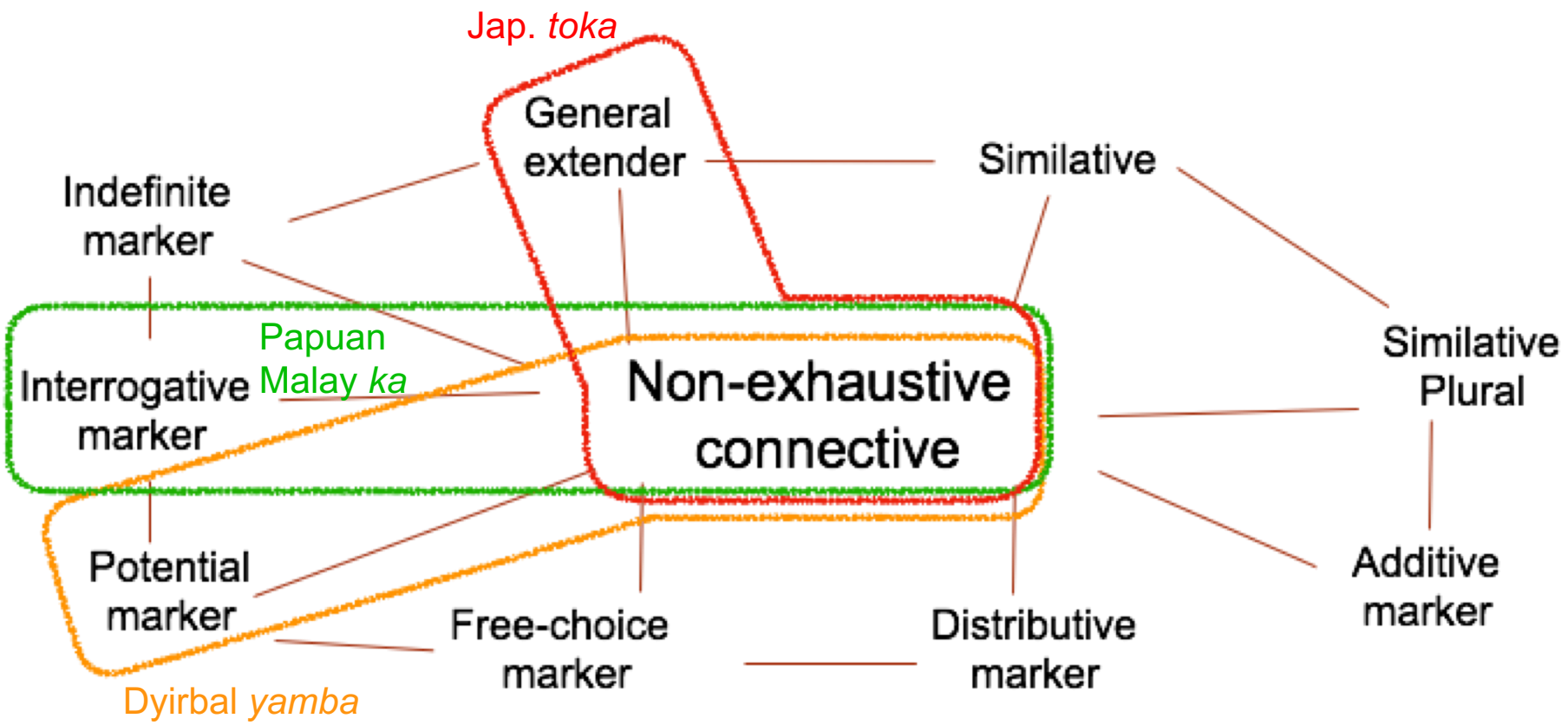

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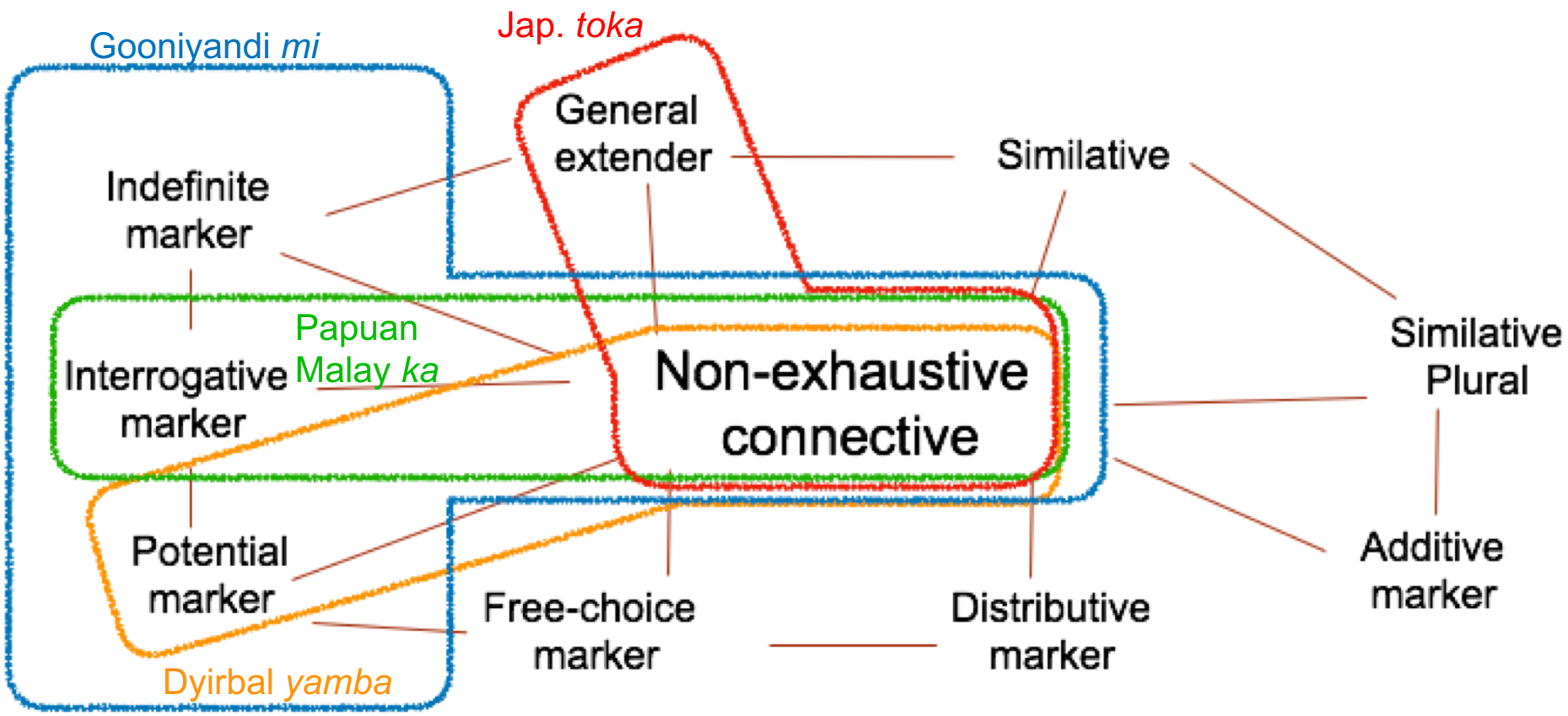

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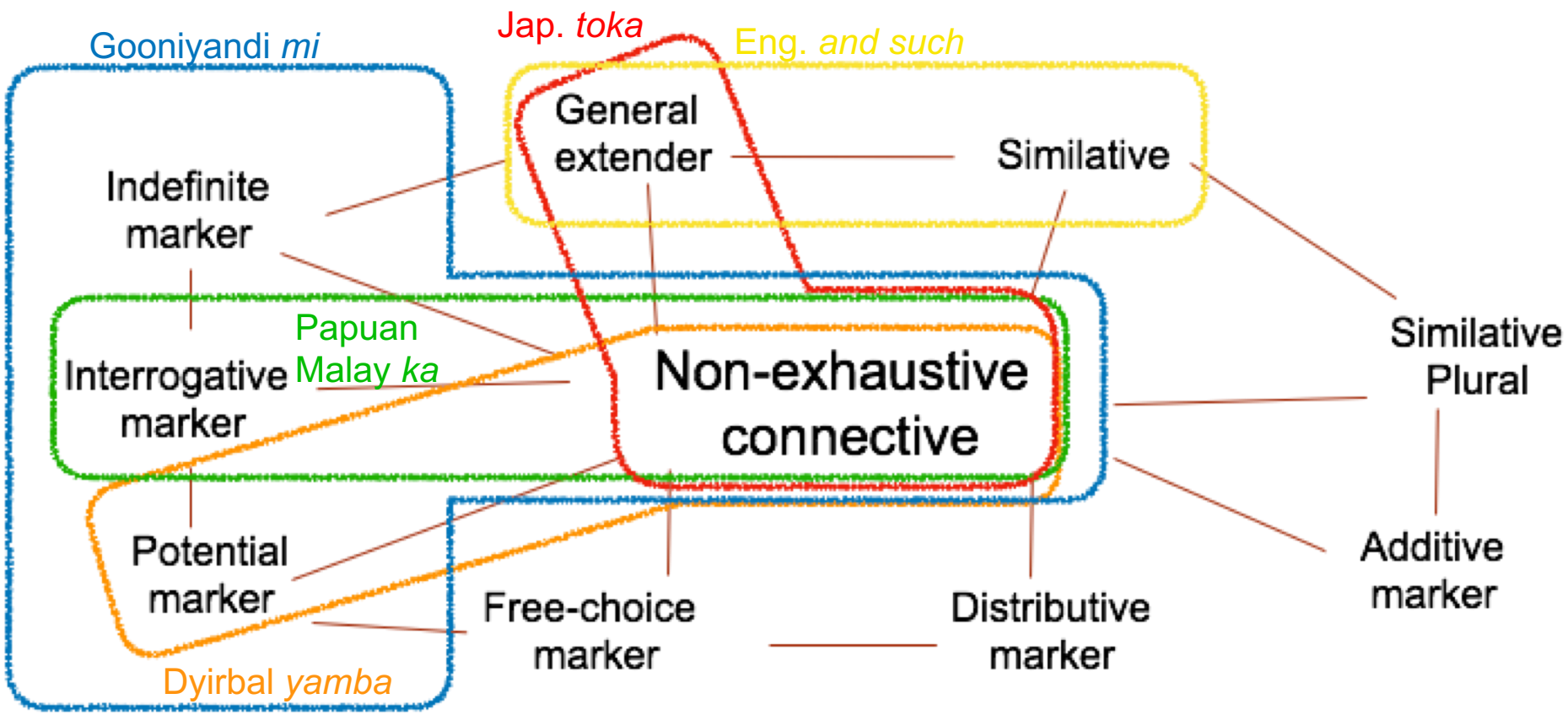

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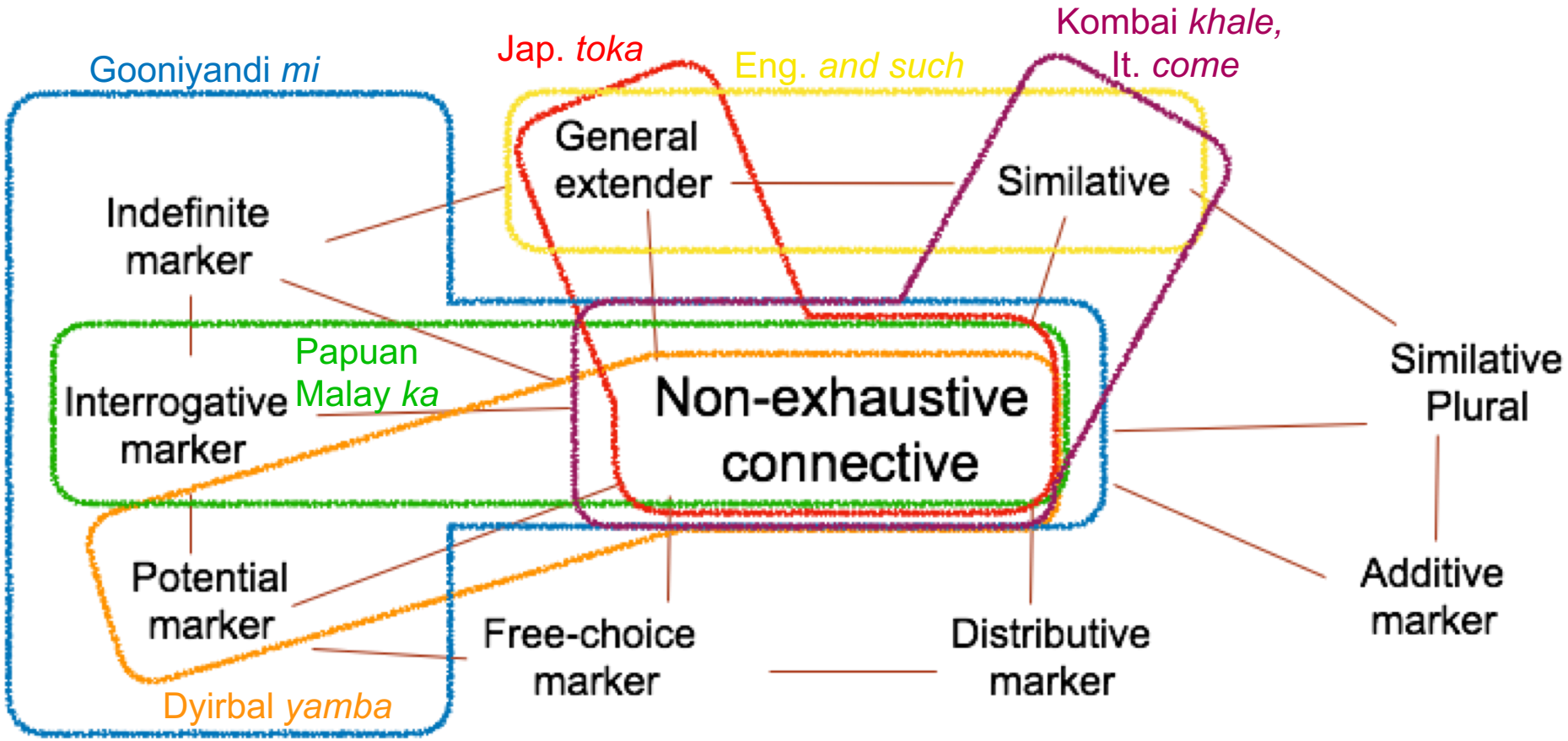

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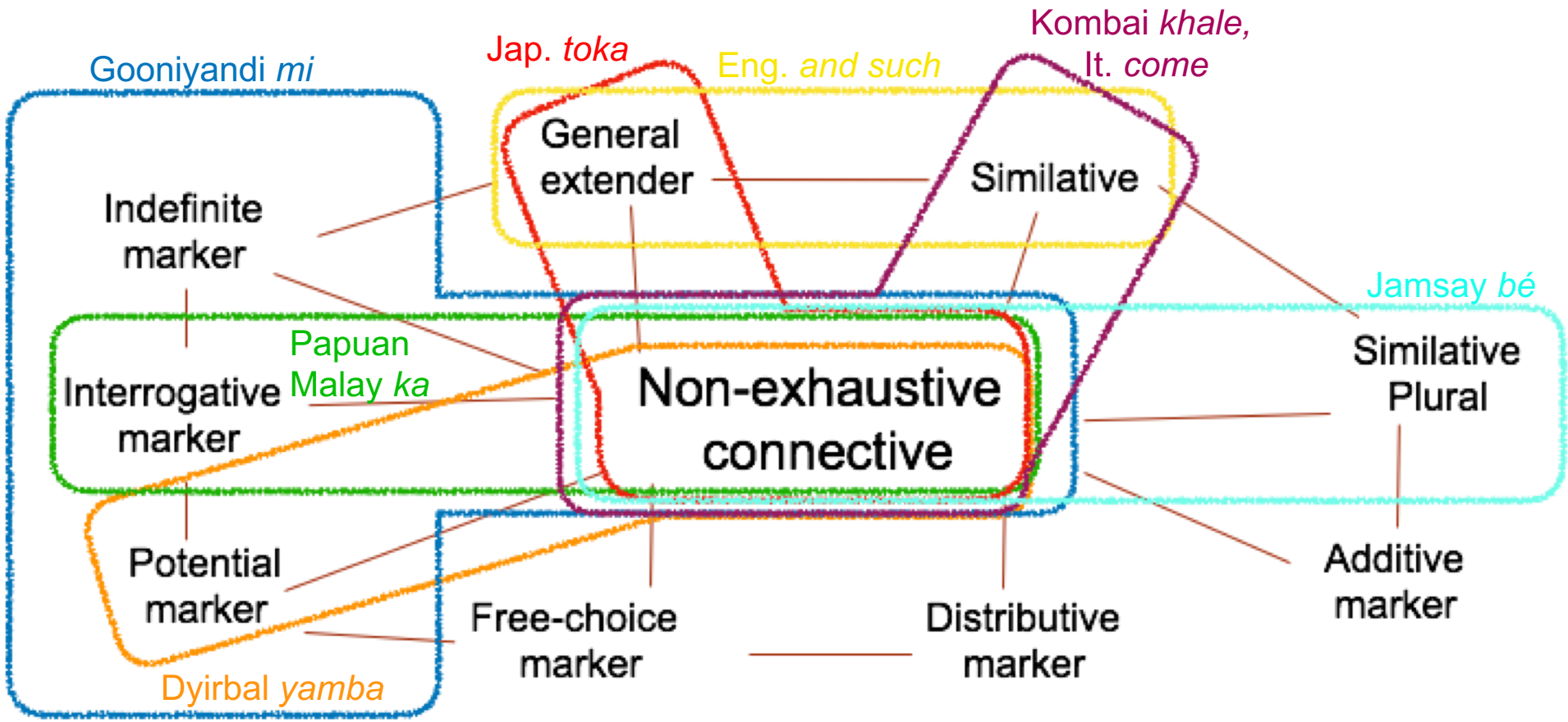

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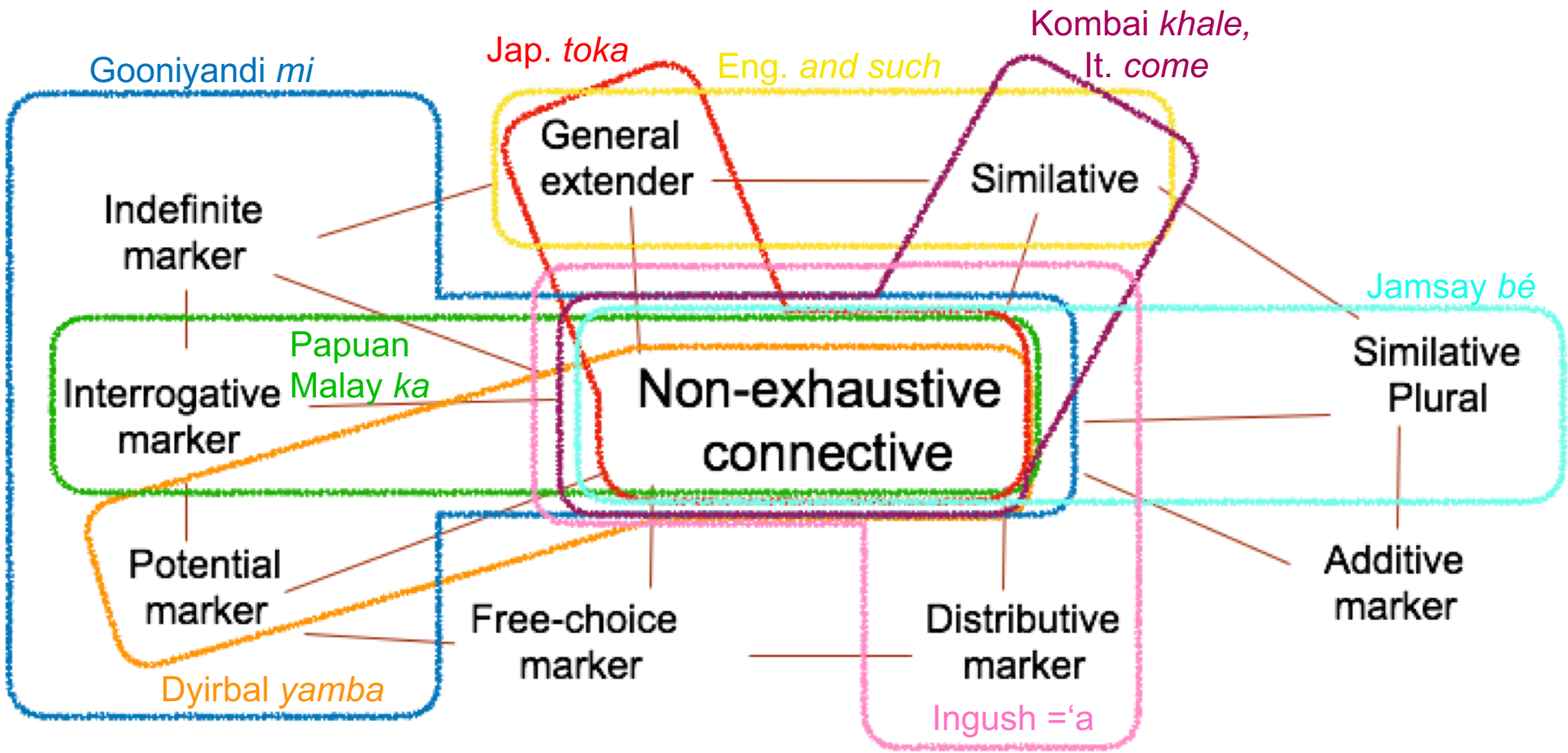

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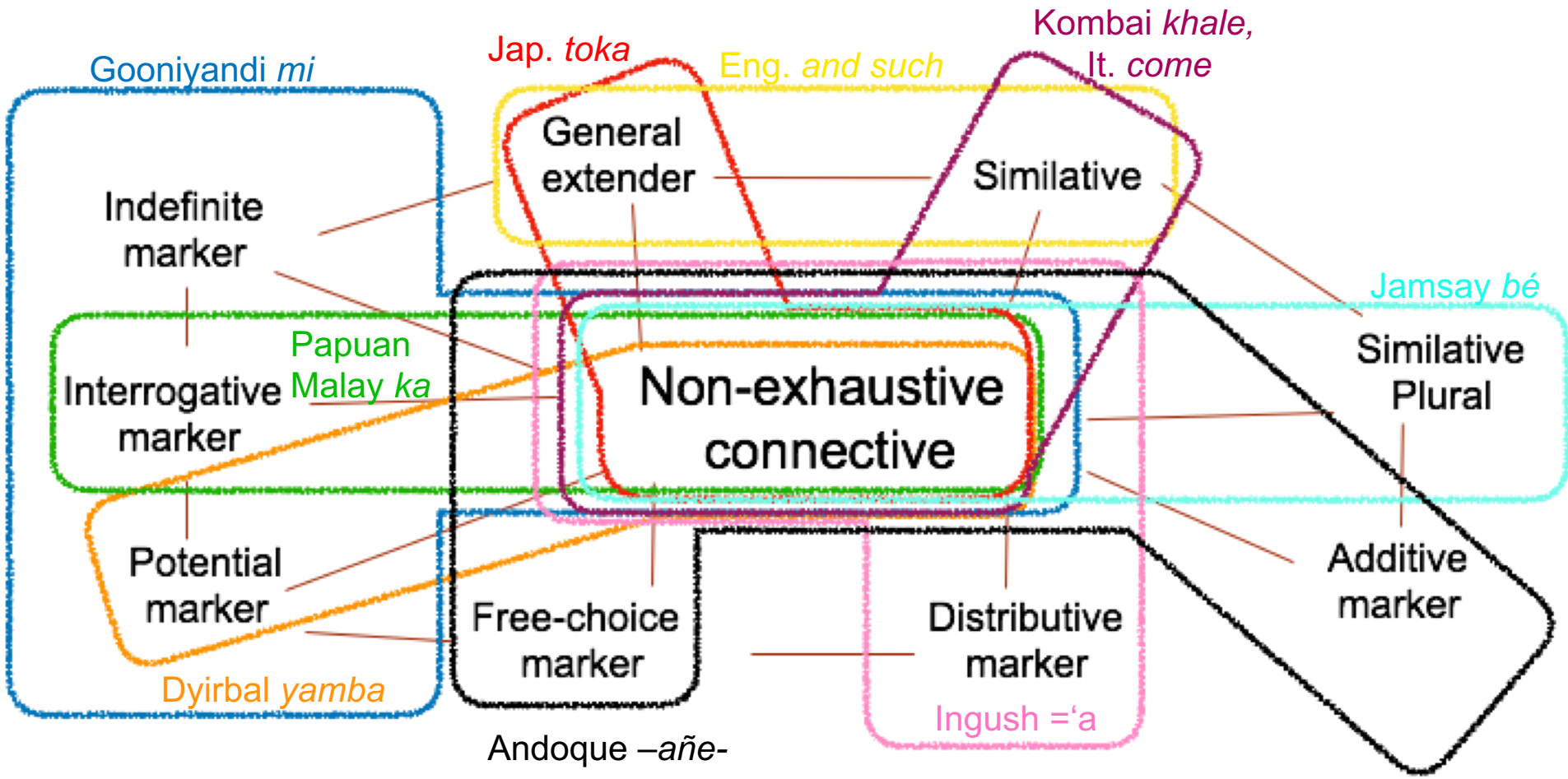

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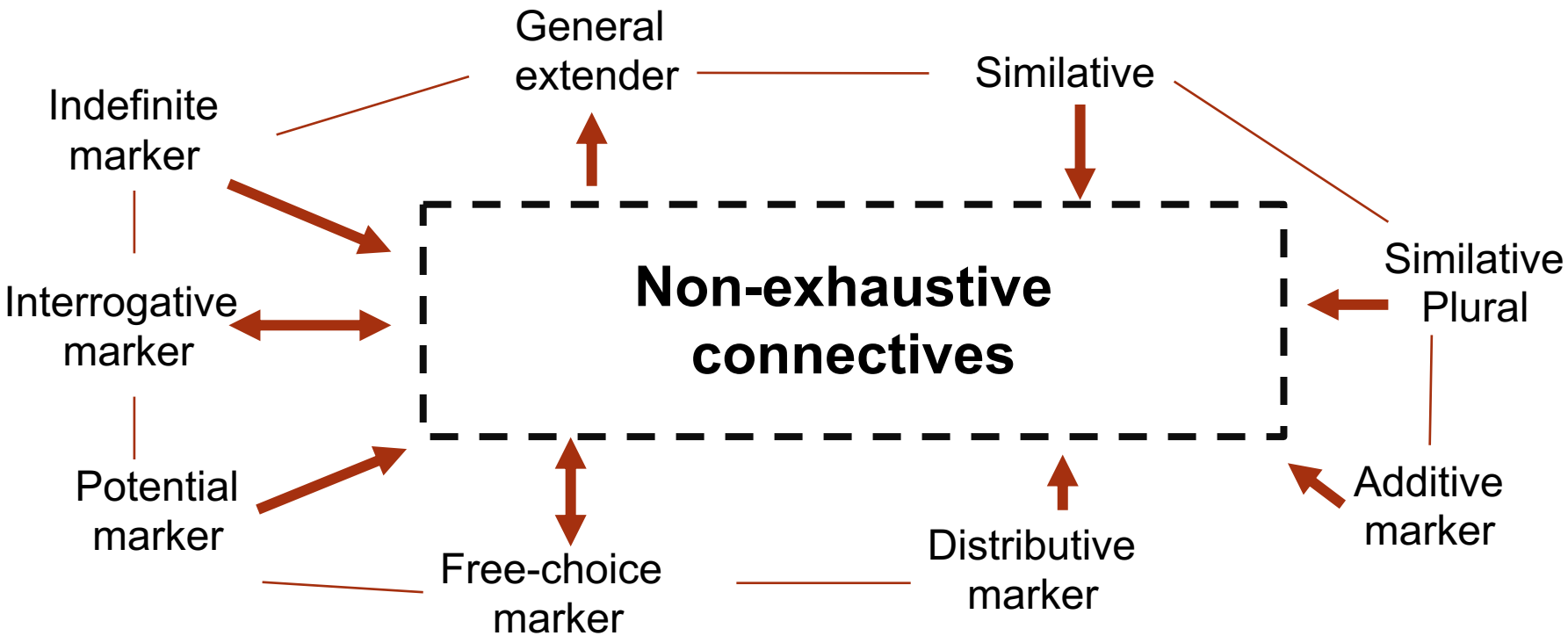
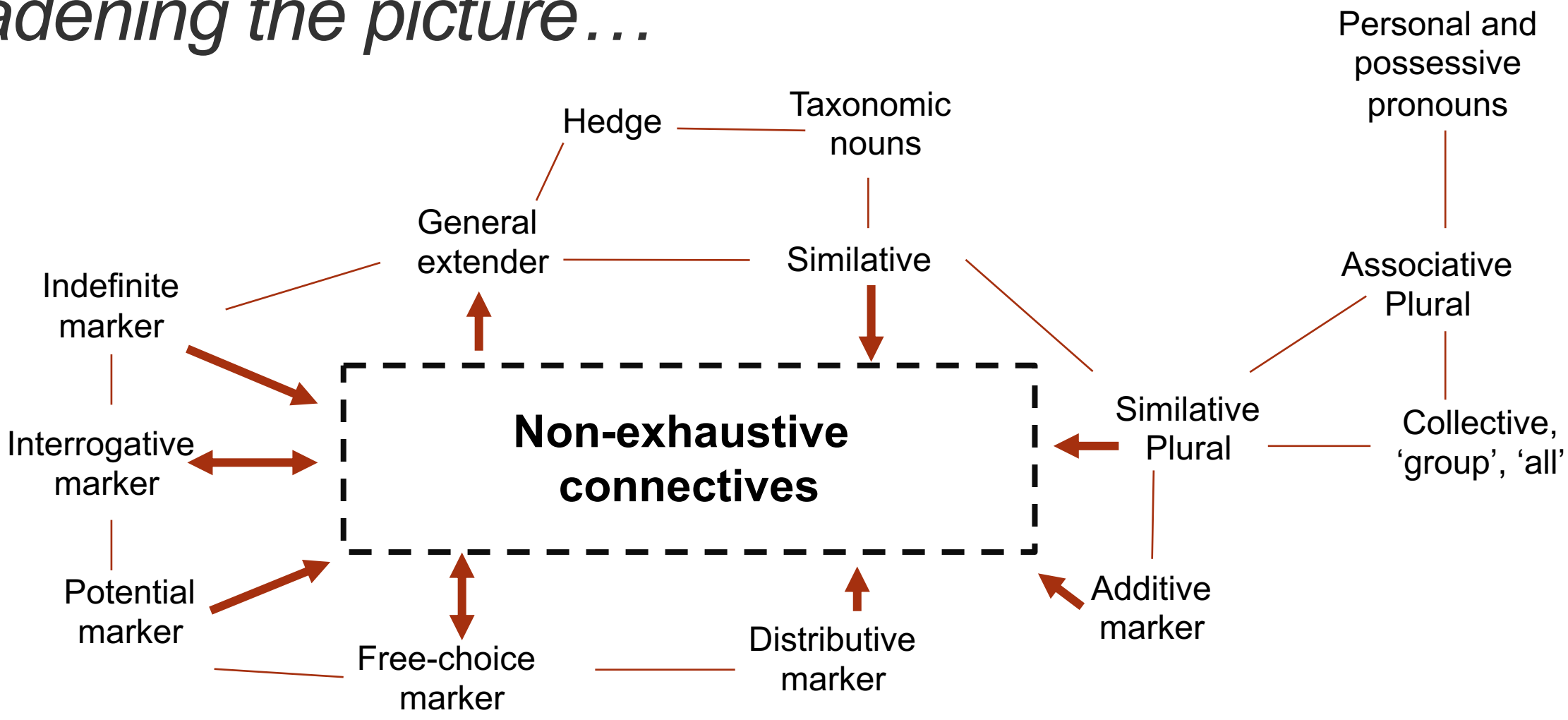
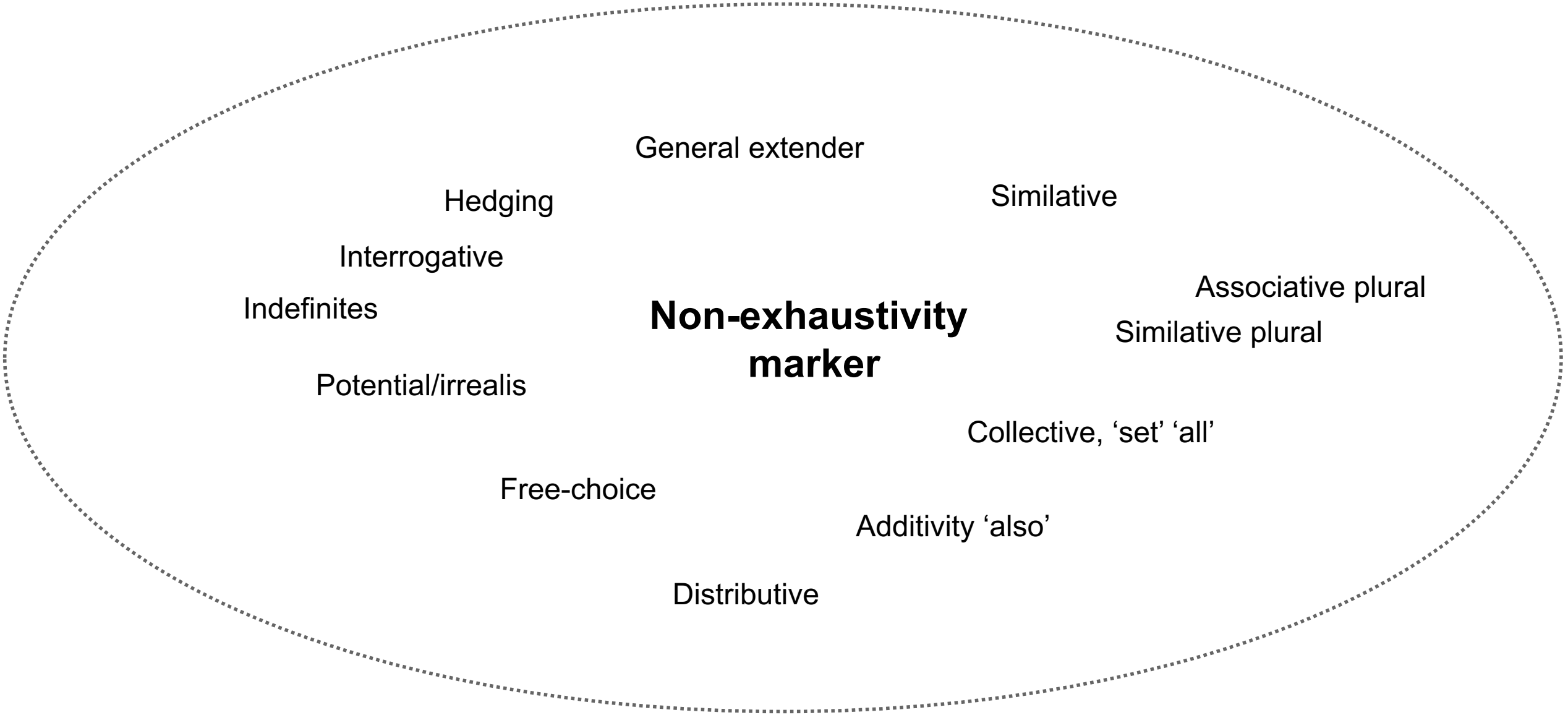


Broadening the picture…



Including data from Mauri and Sansò (2018a, 2018b) on the diachronic typology of general extenders, associative and similative plurals.

The functional space of non-exhaustivity



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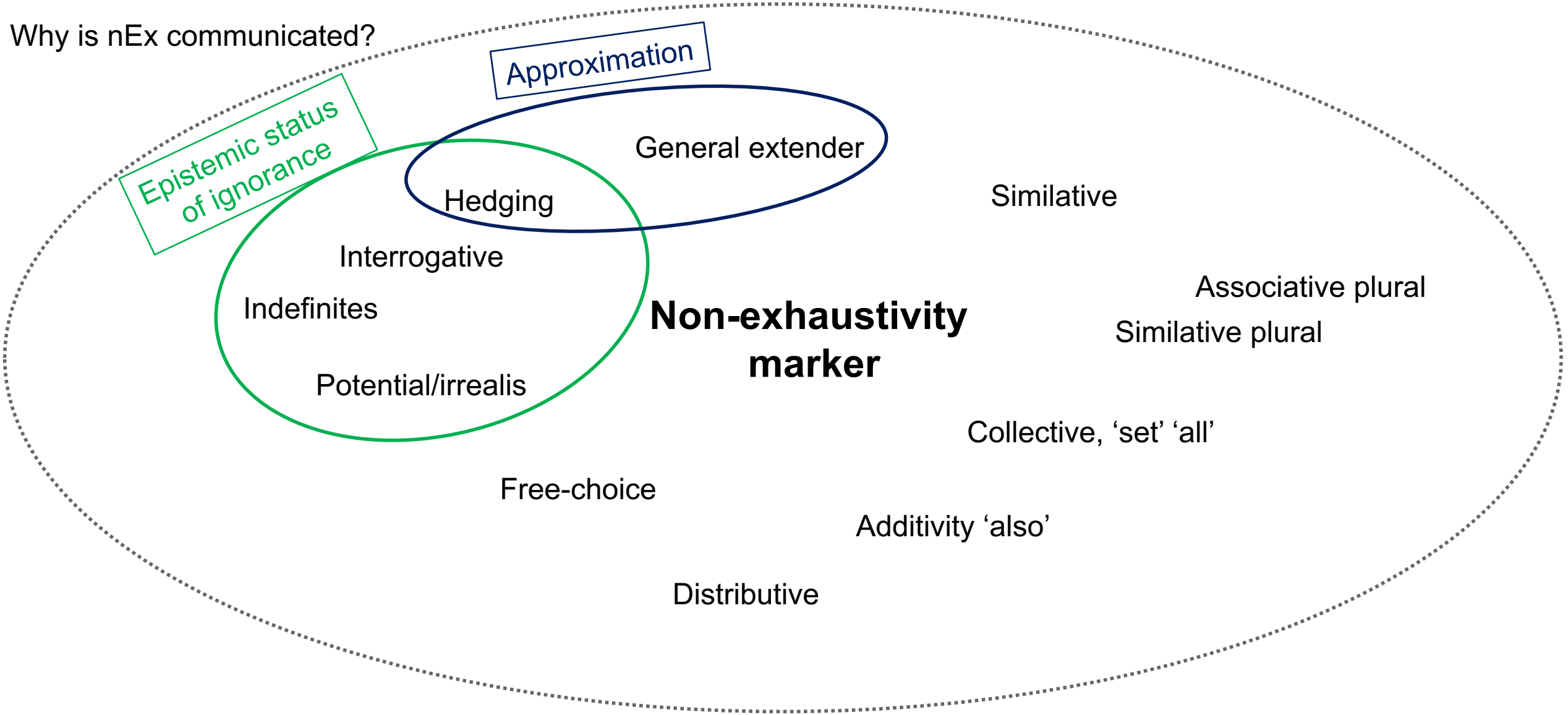

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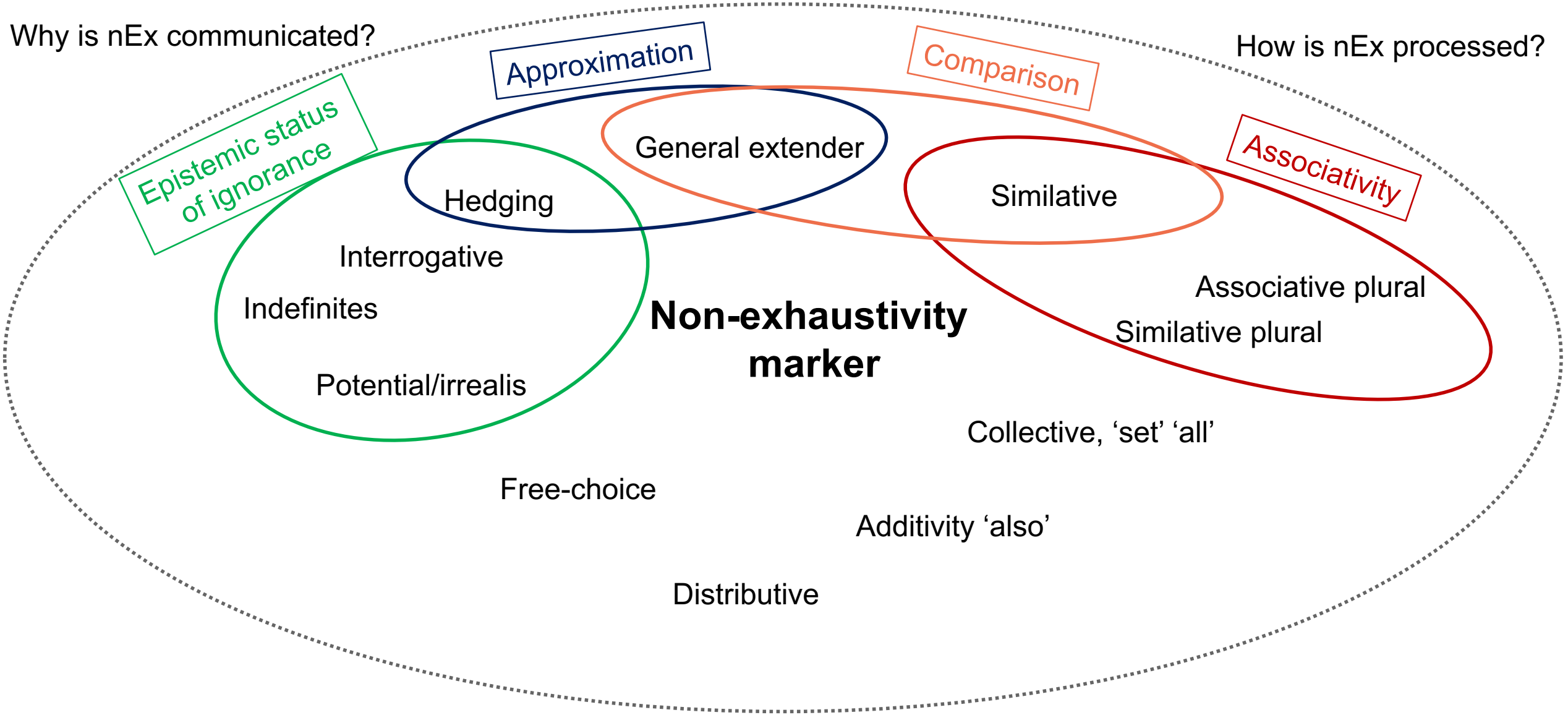

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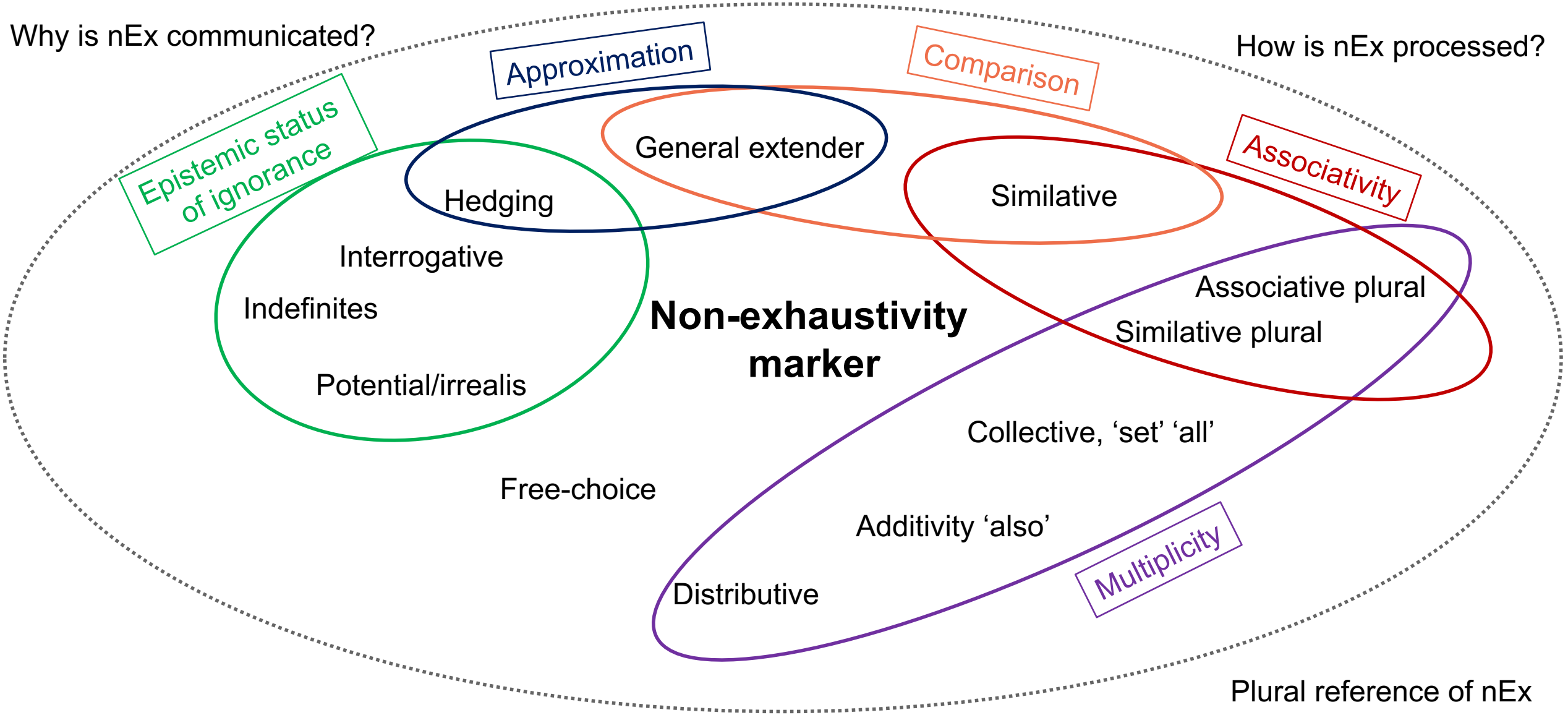

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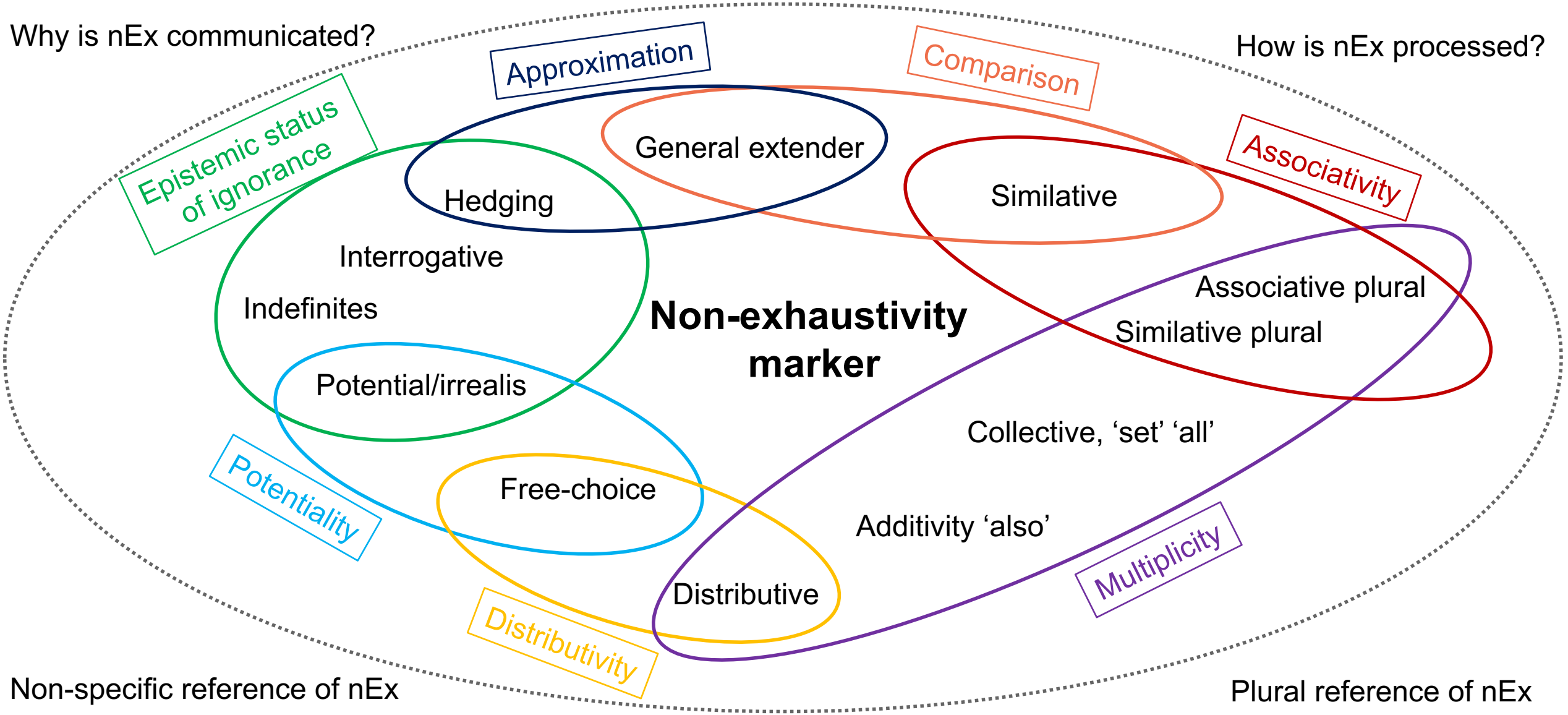

Results (3): Correlations with logical connectives

In some cases, nEx connectives **cross over** the classical Boolean distinction between 'and' and 'or' suggesting that in non-exhaustive contexts the distinction between conjunction and disjunction is somehow **neutralized**, or at least backgrounded.

12) Kombai (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, de Vries 1993: 50)

*Ay-**o***	*duwoy-**o***	*rül-**o***	*el-**o***
pig-**or/and**	fish-**or/and**	banana-**and/or**	bird-**and/or**

'[You have to bring] pig, fish, bananas and birds...'

13) Japanese (Japonic, Kaiser et al. 2001: 594)

a. *chiiki funsō wa [**ōshū ya afurika**] de tsuzuku*
   'Regional conflicts continue in [**Europe and Africa (among others)**]'
b. *[**gomu ya purasuchikku**] no yakeru yō na nioi ga shita to iu*
   'He says there was a smell like burning [**rubber or plastic**]'

Results (3): Correlations with logical connectives

In two languages located in Papua New Guinea, Mbula and Kombai, the nEx *o* is likely to be **borrowed** from Tok Pisin o (< English *or*). Interestingly,

- ✓In Tok Pisin, *o* is **not** a dedicated nEx connective;
- ✓Both Mblula and Kombai **already have native disjunctive markers**, which cover a smaller functional space and seem to be **incompatible** with non-exhaustivity, possibly due to their diachronic development (Mbula *som* < negative marker, Kombai *kheje* < interrogative clitic + focus marker).

➢ In such contexts, a disjunctive *o* is borrowed and it specializes for non-exhaustivity!

➢ **BUT** see Murriny Patha (Southern Daly): ***kamayya*** *is* nEx connective, while ***a*** is exhaustive ‘or’, borrowed from English *or* and specialized for exhaustive disjunction.

Results (3): Correlations with logical connectives

Preliminary data suggest that nEx connectives seem to occur more frequently in languages that fall outside the so-called 'And-But-Or' language type (cf. Mauri 2008: ch. 7).

In our sample, 21 languages out of 26 show at least one of the following features:

- ✓ Have a system of logical connectives with functions that are **more specific** than the Boolean distinction AND vs. OR
- ✓ **Multifunctionality** patterns: AND/WITH and/or OR/Irrealis
- ✓ **Different** AND and OR connectives for NPs, VPs, clauses
- ✓ Recent **grammaticalization** processes or **borrowing phenomena** for AND and OR connectives
- ✓ Do **not** have dedicated connectives for AND and OR

Conclusions

- **nEx connectives are not rare**
  - ✓ they are attested in different linguistic families and different geographical regions
  - ✓ they emerge in discourse (cf. Chinese *-a*, Italian *piuttosto che, come*)
  - ✓ but they are under described in grammars!

- **nEx connectives are diachronically and synchronically connected to a number of further grammatical phenomena**, such as plurality, similatives, epistemic modality, interrogatives, indefinites, free choice, distributive, list markers (general extenders, conjunctions)
  - ✓ non-exhaustivity is a relevant semantic dimension in grammar

Conclusions

- The attested patterns of variation allow us to sketch a **conceptual space for non-exhaustivity,** based on a **diachronic typology** of nEx connectives, general extenders, associative and similative plurals

- **nEx connectives** show **non-random correlations** with the system of logical connectives, e.g. neutralization of AND vs. OR distinction, preference for non-Boolean systems

Future steps

- ✓ Widen the language sample: we aim at 300 languages
- ✓ Corpus-based analysis of spoken varieties, looking for emerging nEx connectives

Thank you!

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