Connectives beyond connecting

Converging evidence in the analysis of disjunction

Caterina Mauri – University of Bologna

caterina.mauri@unibo.it

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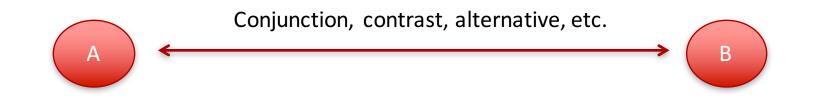
Connectives

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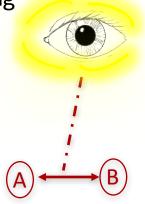
Connectives are mainly defined with respect to the **specific semantic relation** they establish between two or more entities or states of affairs.



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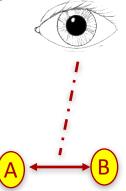
✓ The **speaker**, who establishes the specific relation



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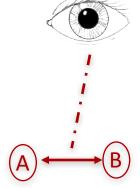
- ✓ The speaker, who establishes the specific relation
- ✓ The **elements**, which are linked through the connective

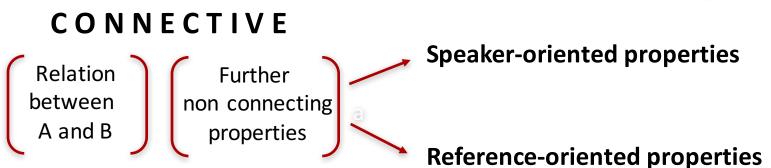


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Non connecting properties

✓ SPEAKER-ORIENTED PROPERTIES

- i) Speaker's **illocutionary aim** (e.g. interrogative vs. declarative)
- ii) Speaker's commitment towards the relation itself or towards the linked elements (e.g. the likelihood assigned to the actual occurrence of the relation, commitment towards the actual occurrence of each element)

✓ REFERENCE-ORIENTED PROPERTIES

- i) **Properties of the set** created through the relation (e.g. it can be nonexhaustive or exhaustive))
- ii) **Properties of the elements** of the set (e.g. exemplars of the category, mutual replaceability)

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- ✓ We aim to show that the NON CONNECTING PROPERTIES of connectives play a central role in explaining synchronic and diachronic patterns of variation
- ✓ We will focus on DISJUNCTIVE CONNECTIVES: given their allegedly logical meaning, the literature on OR connectives mainly concerns truth-conditional values...
 - Iittle attention has been paid on the attested variation, both across languages and within languages
 - > little empirical evidence
 - the existence of non connecting properties has hardly been recognized

- ✓ We will adopt CONVERGING EVIDENCE METHODOLOGY, integrating theoretical and empirical tools elaborated in:
 - linguistic typology: cross-linguistic variation, 130-language sample
 - diachronic typology: diachronic variation attested in the typological sample
 - corpus-based discourse analysis: intra-linguistic variation, analysis of the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English

Chierchia *et al.* 2001:

the interpretation of disjunction is governed by the same rules underlying the distribution of negative polarity items, such as *any* (i.e. *or* is interpreted inclusively in downward entailing contexts)

 \rightarrow the principles governing the correct interpretation of a disjunctive relation are *innate* and are *part of the UG*.

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→ the principles governing the correct interpretation of a disjunctive relation are *innate* and are *part of the UG*.

Crain (2008: 151):

"children draw upon a priori knowledge of the meaning of 'or'. This conclusion is reinforced by the observation that all languages adopt the same meaning of 'or' in certain structures."

✓ Inclusive P or Q \rightarrow P, Q, P&Q

✓ Exclusive P or Q \rightarrow P, Q, **not P&Q**

✓ Inclusive P or Q \rightarrow P, Q, P&Q

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Crain (2008: 151):

The ability to recognize inclusive-*or* is a "linguistic property that emerges in child language without decisive evidence from experience, and is common to all human languages", and it is "a likely candidate for **innate specification**."

"[...] why do children adopt the logical meaning of disjunction, inclusive-or, given that the majority of their experience directs them towards a different meaning of disjunction, namely an exclusive-or reading? [...] children's knowledge that disjunction is inclusive-or comes from universal grammar." (Crain 2008: 2-3)

- Discussion on the truth-conditions for the disjunctive relation, leading to
 two assumptions:
- ✓ The *exclusive* vs. *inclusive* distinction is relevant to natural languages
- ✓ The notion of inclusive-or is innate and universal.

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Are these assumptions supported by empirical evidence?

Assumptions generate expectations...

- ✓ All languages have a disjunctive connective
- ✓ The inclusive vs. exclusive distinction is relevant for speakers and will therefore have linguistic reflections in the world's languages

Some significant quotes

a) Kibrik (2004: 547-48) on Kuskokwim Athabaskan (Athabaskan, Alaska):

"there does not seem to exist any native way to express disjunction.[...] one of the UKA consultants said, after my repeated attempts to get him to translate a sentence such as *Do you want tea or coffee?*: "They did not offer you a choice in the old days""

b) Press (1975: 145, 167) on Chemehuevi (Uto-Aztecan, USA - California):

"I have been unable to obtain any obvious alternative questions in Chemehuevi (or alternative statements for that matter). In order to ask something like "Is he here or there? " in Chemehuevi, one simply asks two Yes-No questions in succession" [...] "Disjunctive coordination is even more restricted in Chemehuevi. The following examples illustrate available ways to get around thee **lack of any syntactic or morphological "or"** [...]"

Some significant quotes

c) Kimball (1985: 450) on Koasati (Muskogean, USA - Georgia):

"Certain conjunctive ideas, such as 'but,"because,' and ' if ' are handled by means of the verbal suffixes in the Consequence slot [...]. On the other hand the idea of 'or' is most generally indicated by putting the verbs between which there is a choice together in **apposition**."

d) Post (2008: 790) on Galo (Tibeto-Burman, India):

"Disjunctive coordination of declarative clauses is **not well-coded** by Galo grammar, and generally requires a paraphrastic construction involving a linking clause with a sense like '**if that is not the case, then**''.

Unfulfilled expectations

"apposition", "not well coded" "no native way to express disjunction"

... it means languages without OR!

Unfulfilled expectations

"apposition", "not well coded" "no native way to express disjunction"

... it means languages without OR!

- ✓ No universality
- Inclusive vs. exclusive distinction does not account for variation

Need for an empirical analysis

Need to go beyond the logical distinctions

Parameters of analysis

- ✓ For cross-linguistic variation:
- **1. PRESENCE vs. ABSENCE** of overt markers specifically encoding the relation of alternative (*syndesis* vs. *asyndesis*): **is there a disjunctive connective?**

2. SEMANTIC DOMAIN of the attested markers: may the connective be used in all the contexts where we would have English or? More functions? Less functions? What functions (based on grammars...)?

✓ For diachronic variation:

LEXICAL SOURCE for the disjunctive construction – not enough information in grammars on the contexts of language change

Parameters of analysis

✓ For discourse variation, based on English:

READING OF *OR*, that is, any distinct type of explicature recurrently developed out of an utterance containing *or*: what is the speaker's intended message in using OR?

Identification of an OR reading through

Explicature test

✓ Non-explicature tests (two-tier test, indirect addition test)
 (Ariel and Mauri 2016)

Plan

- 1. Cross-linguistic picture
 - 1.1 Languages without OR
 - 1.2 Languages with different ORs
- 1. Diachronic sources out of which ORs develop
- 2. Attested readings of English OR in discourse

... How can an alternative between states of affairs, properties or entities be conveyed WITHOUT

a disjunctive connective?

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4) Wari', Chapacura-Wanam (Everett and Kern 1997: 162)

ta pa'ta' hwam ca, ta mo mo realis.future kill 1sg:realis.future fish 3sg.M realis.future COND COND ta' carawa Da Са kill 1sg:realis.future animal 3sg.M 'He will fish or he will hunt.' (lit. 'if he (says) "I will kill fish", if he (says) "I will kill animals".') 'e' 'am mi' pin b. са 'am са perhaps / live 3sg.M perhaps/ give complete 3sg.м 'Either he will live or he will die.' (lit.'perhaps he will live, perhaps he will die')

5) Wari', Chapacura-Wanam (Everett and Kern 1997: 162)

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6) Hup (Vaupés Japurá, Epps 2005: 683)

wĭh cím'-íy=cud hawk claw-DYNM=INFR 'Either the hawk clawed (it), or the dog bit (it), apparently.'

7) Aranda (Australian, Pama-Nyungan; Wilkins 1989: 385-86)

'The particle (a)peke 'maybe, might; if; or' has a wide range of related used. Common to all its uses is the sense that the speaker is saying that some proposition **is possibly the case**. It therefore commonly translates as 'might' or 'maybe' [...] peke 'maybe' can also be used to signal disjunction between co-ordinated elements.'

Kere nyente peke-rle kwele re atwe-k**e peke** are-k**e peke** animal one maybe-FOC QUOT 3sgA kill-pc maybe, see-pc maybe kwele; arrangkwe.

QUOT nothing

'Perhaps there was supposedly one animal that he killed or saw; no, nothing at all.

8) Galo (Post 2008: 312)

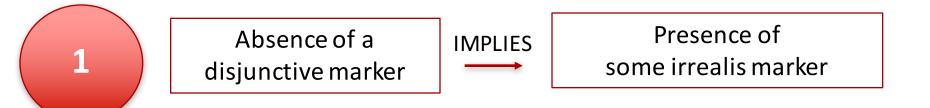
Disjunctive coordination [...] is best-attested in *uncertain* and/or *interrogative* moods. The two NPs *jakàa=go* 'black=IND' 'black one' and *japúu=go* 'white=IND' 'white one' are each marked by **Conjectural** particle *baree*.

aáa jakâa gò barè japúu gó barè? ิตล์ล [jakàa=qo]NP/ bəree [japúu=go]NP bəree white=IND HDST.SLEV black=IND CJEC CJEC 'Over there, (is it) a black one or a white one (I can't make it out)?' (MN, 22:155)



Absence of a disjunctive marker

Presence of some irrealis marker



- ✓ A proposition is said to be **REALIS** when it asserts that a SoA is an 'actualized and certain fact of reality' (Elliot 2000: 66-67).
- ✓ A proposition is said to be IRREALIS when 'it implies that a SoA belongs to the realm of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact of reality' (Elliot 2000: 66-67).

Irrealis propositions belong to the domains of imagination, possibility, wish, interrogation, necessity, obligation and so on, in which a given SoA is presented as not having taken place, or where the speaker is not sure about its occurrence

- 9) a) **Perhaps** the hawk clawed it, **maybe** the dog bit it (apparently). (irrealis coded, alternative inferred)
 - b) The hawk clawed it **or** the dog bit it (apparently). (alternative coded, irrealis implied)
 - c) **Perhaps** the hawk clawed it **or maybe** the dog bit it (apparently). (alternative coded, irrealis coded)
 - d) The hawk clawed it, the dog bit it (apparently).
 (irrealis and alternative not coded) → possible interpretations: sequence of actions, simultaneity, opposition, ??alternative??
 - If neither a disjunctive connective nor some irrealis marking occurs (12d), it is difficult to infer an alternative reading!

- ✓ In the absence of an *or* connective, the irrealis, potential status of alternatives must be overtly signalled
- → Two alternatives are conceptualized as equivalent, mutually replaceable possibilities
- → Until a choice is made or the speaker comes to know which hypothesis is realized, either alternative could be the non-occurring one and therefore both are conceptualized as irrealis.
- ✓ We are in the realm of EPISTEMIC MODALITY → Zimmermann 2001, Geurts 2005

Languages with OR

what happens in languages WITH more than one overt disjunctive connective ?



There are languages showing different strategies depending on the **AIM** of the speaker in establishing the alternative relation (see Mauri 2008b: 155-161)

Simple alternative:

an alternative relation may be established in order to present two states of affairs, properties or entities as equivalent and replaceable possibilities, without the need for any choice

Choice-aimed alternative:

an alternative relation may be established in order to elicit a choice between equivalent and replaceable possibilities, typically in interrogative sentences

10) Marathi, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European (Pandharipande 1997: 162–163)

- a. madhū āītSyā śuśruṣesāṭhī suṭṭī gheīl
 Madhu mother:GEN looking.after.for leave take:FUT:3sg
 tilā hɔspiṭalmadhe ṭthewīl
 3sg.ACC hospital:in keep:FUT:3sg
 'Madhu will leave to take care of his mother or keep her in the hospital.'
 SIMPLE ALTERNATIVE
- b. to bādzārāt gelā
 kī/*kĩwā gharī gelā?
 3sg market.LOC go:PST:3sg.M ALTNC home:LOC go:PST:3sg.M
 'Did he go to the market or did he go home?'
 CHOICE-AIMED ALTERNATIVE

11) Polish (Agnieszka Latos, p.c.)

a. Zazwyczaj piszę **lub** czytam aż do późna usually write.PRS.1sg **ALTNs** read.PRS.1sg until to late 'Usually I write or I read until late.' SIMPLE ALTERNATIVE

b. Idziemy jutro do szkoły czy zostajemy w domu? go.PRS.1pl tomorrow to school ALTNC stay.PRS.1pl at home 'Do we go to school tomorrow or do we stay at home?' CHOICE-AIMED ALTERNATIVE

Dik (1968: 276)

➤ similar distinction in terms of **manner**.

He argues that the manner in which the alternative is presented determines a basic distinction that languages seem to encode: namely, the alternative relation can be 'either A or B' or 'either A or B, which one?'.

Haspelmath (2008: 25-27)

> standard and interrogative disjunction for the simple and the choiceaimed alternative, respectively (see discussion on terminology in Mauri 2008a).

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Speaker's illouctionary AIM



Speaker-oriented property



Certain languages show specific connectives depending on the **EXHAUSTIVITY** of the set

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> Non-exhaustive connectives lead to an exemplification function

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In non-exhaustive sets, the distinction between conjunction and disjunction is in many cases neutralized!

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Haspelmath (2007: 24): 'representative conjunction'.

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According to him, in these cases "the conjuncts are taken as representative examples of a potentially larger class".

Stassen (2000: 5): 'enumerative coordinators'. The label 'non-exhaustive' is well established in the literature on East Asian languages (Chino 2001, Zhang 2008).

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Reference-oriented property

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12) Japanese (Barotto 2016)

a. Exhaustive alternative (ka)

Kōho-waOhashi-kaTaniguchitoomotteiru.Candidate-торOhashi-каTaniguchiотthink:sта"(we) are thinking about Ohashi or Taniguchi as a cadidate."

b. Non-exhaustive alternative (ya + nado) - EXEMPLIFICATION

Papurika-o $p\bar{i}man$ yaasuparagasunadonikaeruto,paprika-ACCbell pepper-vaasparagusNADODATchangeif,samazamanaarenji-ga $kan\bar{o}.$ variedarrangement-NOMpossible"if you replace paprika with things like asparagus or bell pepper, a variety ofarrangements is possible." \rightarrow *-ka

13) Japanese (Chino 2001: 41)

a. Non-exhaustive conjunction (ya + nado) - EXEMPLIFICATION

Watashi no heya ni wa, [konpyūtāya sutereo ga] oitearimasu.IDET room in TOP computerand stereo SBJplace-SUSPbe-POL.NPST'In my room there is a computer, a stereoAND OTHER SIMILAR THINGS.' \rightarrow * -to

b. Non-exhaustive alternatives (-tari) - EXEMPLIFICATION

Nichiyōbi wa taitei tomodachi to tenisu [o shi-tari eiga o mi ni it-tari] Sunday TOP usually friend with tennis OBI do-tari film OBJ see to go-tari shimasu do.POL.NPST 'On Sundays I usually play tennis with my friends **or** go to see movies, <u>OR SOMETHING</u> <u>SIMILAR</u>.' \rightarrow *-ka

14) Italian (NUNC Corpus)

c'e' il vantaggio che ti puoi customizzare la there.is DEF advantage that CLIT can.2sG customize DEF *macchina come vuoi, in relazione alle tue esigenze* machine as want.2sG in relation to.DEF your.PL need.PL

(grafica, piuttosto che
graphics piuttosto chesviluppo,
developmentpiuttosto che
piuttosto chegiochi...)
games

'[talking about desktop] there is the advantage that you may customize the machine (pc) as you prefer, depending on your needs (graphics, development, videogames or SIMILAR THINGS...')

NON-EXHAUSTIVE SET OF ALTERNATIVES

Synchronic analysis

Summing up...

- I. There are languages without an overt OR
- II. In languages lacking an overt OR, the use of markers encoding the irrealis status of the linked elements is obligatory
- III. We find many languages having more than one OR
- IV. The distribution of different ORs is accounted for by non connecting properties such as the speaker's illouctionary aim and the (non-)exhaustivity of the set (not by truth-conditions...)

Diachronic analysis

Some of the connectives attested are very recent, or on their way to grammaticalization...

Diachronic analysis

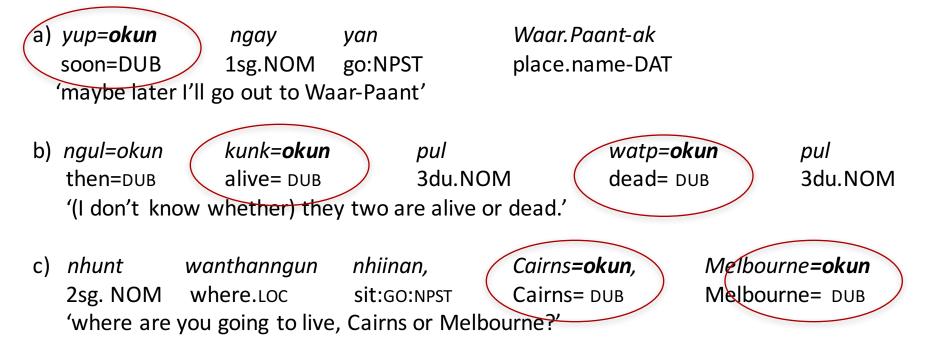
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A set of **recurrent sources for disjunctive markers** can be identified:

- (1) dubitative/hypothetical>alternative
- (2) negated hypothesis > alternative
- (3) negation > alternative
- (4) polar question > choice-aimed alternative
- (5) free choice verbs > alternative
- (6) distal meaning 'that/other' > alternative

Dubitative/hypothetical > disjunctive

15) Kuuk Thaayorre (Pama-Nyungan, Gaby 2006: 323-324) The dubitative particle is regularly used to convey alternative and is on the way to acquiring the functional properties of connectives.



Negated hypothesis > disjunction

16) Hakha Lai, Tibeto-Burman (Peterson and VanBik 2004: 339)

-làw-leè < negation *-làw* and the ancient conditional suffix *-leè*.

At present, Hakha Lai uses a new form for the conditional construction, and this quite complicated way of expressing an alternative relation is on the way to grammaticalization as a disjunctive connective.

làwthlawpaa falaám 'a-kal-làw-leè haàkhaà-'a' 'a-'ùm farmer Falam 3sg.SBJ-go-NEG-COND Hakha-LOC 3sg.SBJ-exist 'The farmer goes to Falam or he stays in Hakha.' (lit. 'The farmer, if he doesn't go to Falam, he stays in Hakha')

Negated hypothesis > disjunction

17) Cavineña (Tacanan, Guillaume 2004: 114)

'Disjunction in Cavineña is normally realised by the word *jadyaamajuatsu* 'or' which comes from the lexicalisation of the same subject temporal clause *jadya=ama ju-atsu* 'thus=NEG **be-SS**' (lit. being not thus).

It may be shortened to jadyamajuatsu, jadyamaatsu or even amaatsu.'

Tuekedya =pa ekanastere-yakwejipa=ekejadyaamajuatsue-tiki=ekethen =REP3PLfinish-IMPFVstrong.wind=PERLorNPF-fire=PERL'(When the world was new, our ancestors) would die (lit. finish) from the strong winds orfrom the fire.'

Negation > disjunction

18) Galo (Post 2008: 312-13, 789)

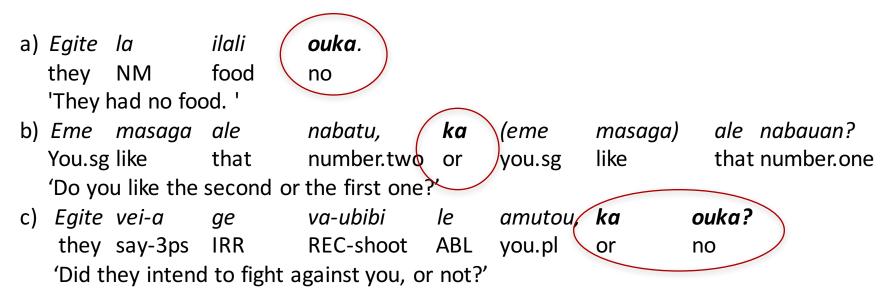
'máa 'DSJ' is homophonous with the Copula negator/Negative interjection **máa 'NEG'**, and probably derives from the latter historically' (2008: 312). 'In the main a Negative polarity particle, and basically homophonous with the Negative polarity predicate suffix -máa (§4659H12.2) and the Negative interjection máa ~ má? 'no', in disjunctive function máa marks a polar (closed) alternation between two coordinated interrogative clauses (2008: 789). The two functions are synchronically distinct (2008: 312).

rəkên jâarə diimá (...) rənêk jaarà dii.[rá-kèn-jàa-rádii]=máa[rá-nèk-jàa-rádii]live/exist-good/east-more-IRRWOND=DISJlive/exist-bad-more-IRRWOND'Will (life in the future) be better or (...) will it be worse?'WONDWOND

Negation > disjunction

(19) Nakanai, (Austronesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic, Johnston 1980: 239)

'The disjunct coordinator is *(ou)ka* 'or' (literally 'no'). It indicates the option of a negative conditional presuposition *Possibly X; NO, then Y*. In its connective function, it most often appears shortened to *ka* and is developing the functional and distributional character of a conjunction.'



Polar question > disjunction

(20) Polish

the interrogative marker *czy* was originally the instrumental form of Common Slavic **ch'to* 'what' > Cz. Pol. *czy*, Bel. *ci*

a. Czypandużopodróżuje?Qyoumuchtravel'Do you travel a lot?'

b. *Idziemy jutro do szkoły czy zostajemy w domu?* go.PRS.1pl tomorrow to school **ALTNC** stay.PRS.1pl at home 'Do we go to school tomorrow or do we stay at home?'

Polar question > disjunction

21) Golin (Trans-New Guinea, Chimbu, Evans 2005: 127, 48)

In single-clause polar questions such as (c), a second clause is absent, though probably implied.

- a. Dibe kare-ne-ra-bin bisnis ere ne-ra-bin mo mo qaan business (TP) boat see-eat-IRR-IPL DISJ do eat-IRR-1PL DISJ child sule di-ra-n-q-w-a school (TP) be-IRR-3-AS-3-DIST '(We) are wasting our time buying cars or making business or (sending) our kids to school...'
- b. *u-ra-n-mo u-k-ra-n?*come-IRR-2-PQ come-NEG-IRR-2
 'Are you going to come or not?'
- c. *i nibil pa-n-mo*?
 2SG sickness be-2-PQ
 'Do you have a disease?'

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choice-aimed alternative >
polar question marker
(Heine & Kuteva 2002: 226-
227)
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Other sources

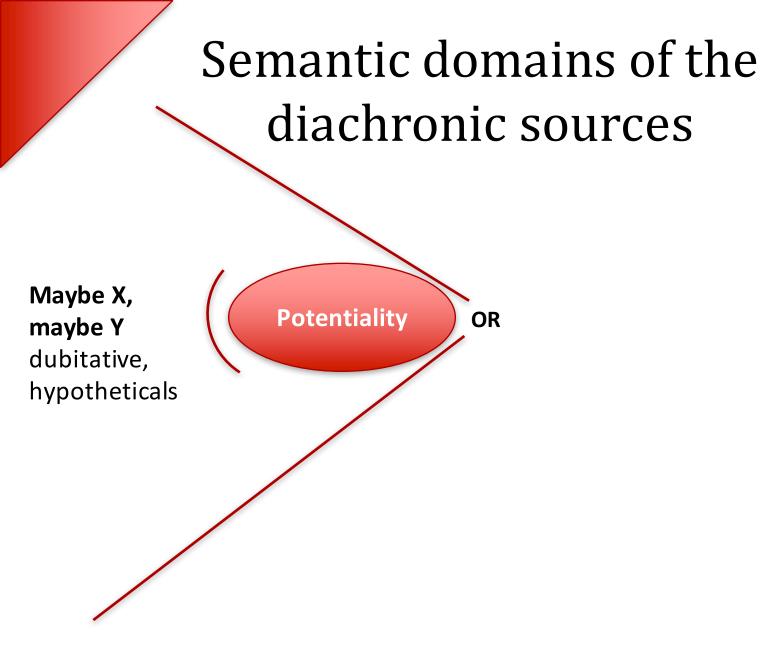
✓ Free choice verbs

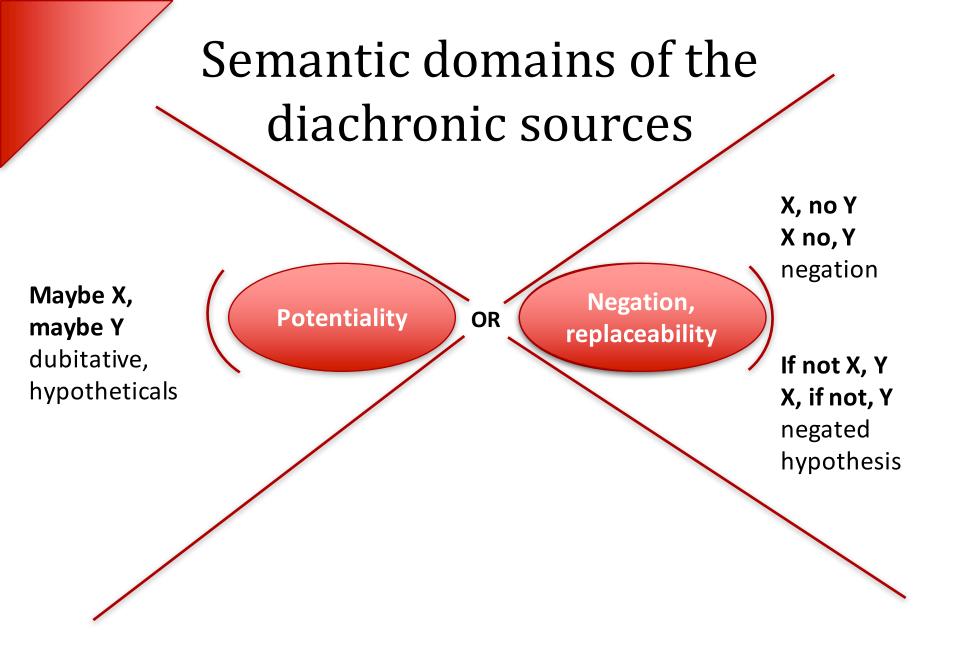
Lat. vel 'want'> 'simple or', Fr. soit...soit 'be it' > 'either ...or'

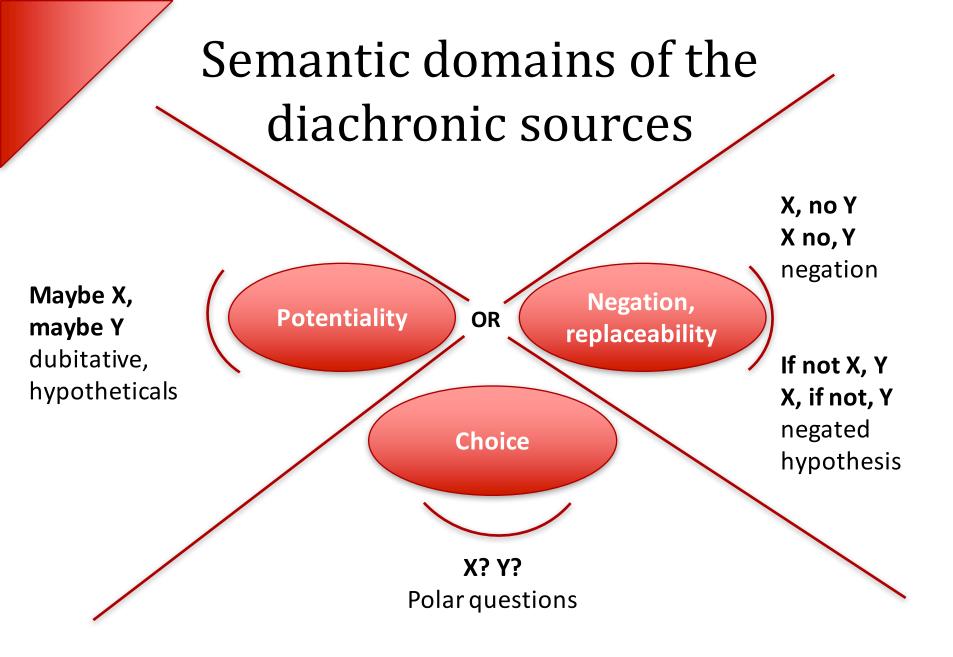
✓ Distal 'that/other'

Dan. Nor. Swe. eller 'or' < Proto-Germanic *alja-, *aljis- 'other' (Falk and Torp 1910: 187); I.E. *au- 'other, that' > Lat. aut (*auti)'or', autem 'but' > It. Sp. Cat. o, Fr. Port. ou;

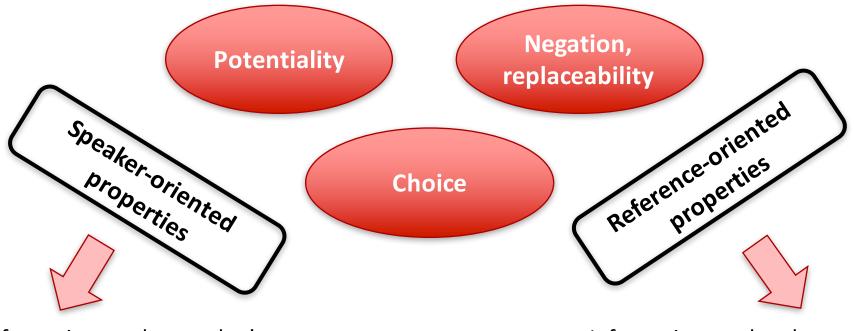
Semantic domains of the diachronic sources





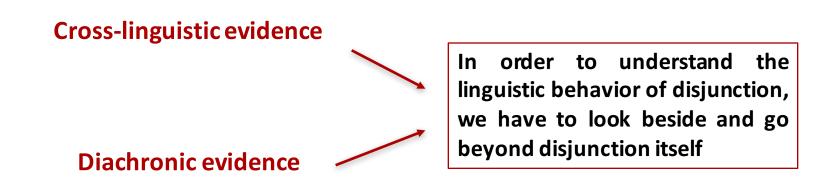


Non connecting properties of alternative



Information on the speaker's illocutionary aims, knowledge, expectations, hypotheses

Information on the elements and the set they constitute



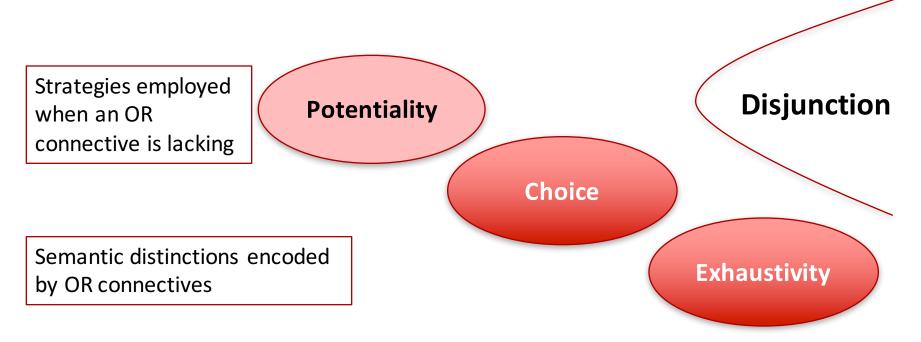
- We have to take into account the mutual relations between alternativity and other semantic dimensions having to do with
 - the speaker establishing the alternativity and
 - the set of alternatives

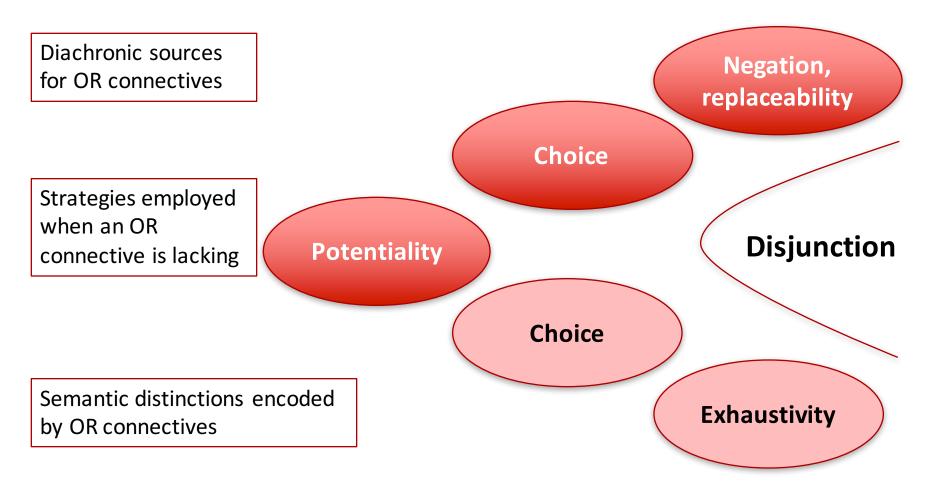
Strategies employed when an OR connective is lacking



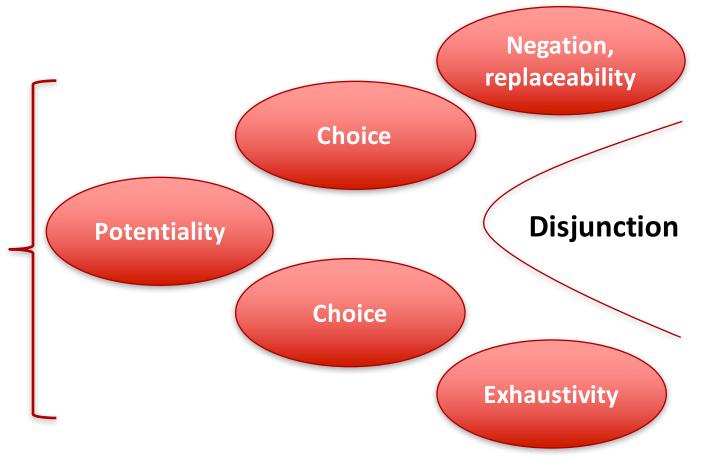
Disjunction

2nd UBL Conference - Tel Aviv 16/06/2016





Functional dimensions to which speakers are sensitive in verbalizing the notion of alternative



The use of disjunction in discourse

- Do the functional domains identified, and in general speaker-oriented and reference-oriented properties, play a role in explaining the use of disjunction in discourse?
- Why do speakers choose to use the connective OR in discourse?

The use of disjunction in discourse

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- Why do speakers choose to use the connective OR in discourse?

- Corpus-based evidence from English
- discourse-relevant readings of English or (Ariel and Mauri 2016)
- Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken american English (SBC) (<u>Du Bois et al., 2000-2005</u>).

Six main readings of OR

Ariel and Mauri 2016: each reading is characterized in terms of the explicature it expresses and in terms of the number of alternatives the speaker commits to

Reading	MEANING	COMMITTED ALTERNATIVES
Raised Options	Possibly X, possibly Y	0
Higher-Level Category	Higher-level Category Z (comprising members such as X and Y)	0
Conjunctive	Both/any of X and Y	2
Narrowed	One of X and Y	1
Choice	Unresolved choice between X and Y	1
Exhaustive	Only X and Y (other options ruled out)	1/2

Raised options OR 'possibly X, possibly Y'

22) He's like twenty five **or** twenty six, **maybe** twenty seven but married to this lady who could be his mother.(LSAC)

Raised options OR 'possibly X, possibly Y'

22) He's like twenty five **or** twenty six, **maybe** twenty seven but married to this lady who could be his mother.(LSAC)

✓ Speaker undertakes **no commitment** to the set of alternatives

✓ Speaker's **epistemic attitude**: ignorance

✓ Speaker's **aim**: making hypotheses

Non exhaustive set of alternatives

Higher-level category OR 'Category abstracted from X and Y'

23) ROY: saving the whale,or saving uh ... the .. polar bea[r,

Higher-level category [saving endangered animals]

- PETE: [Right.
 - .. Pandas],
- ROY: **or** making sure there's enough] grizzly bears, that's fine. (SBC: 003)

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 - PETE: [Right.
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Higher-level category [saving endangered animals]

- ROY: **or** making sure there's enough] grizzly bears, that's fine. (SBC: 003)
- ✓ Speaker undertakes **no commitment** to the set of alternatives
- ✓ Speaker's **aim:** representing a higher-level category, not the specific alternatives
- Non-exhaustive set of alternatives

Separative conjunction OR 'Both X and Y'

24) JIM: But for mathematics or for science, ((1 LINE OMITTED)) it's an opportunity for them ((3 LINES OMITTED)) to get closer to,
(H) to the chaos, (SBC: 017)

Separative conjunction OR 'Both X and Y'

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✓ Speaker commits to both alternatives being the case

- ✓ **Speaker's aim**: to represent a set of occurring alternatives
- ✓ Alternatives occur independently of each other
- ✓ Exhaustive set of alternatives

Free alternative OR 'Anyone of X and Y'

25) ALICE: You know if you ... put a situation like that to ~Tim **or** ~Mandy, ((4 LINES OMITTED))

... They ... hem and haw around, (SBC: 007).

Free alternative OR 'Anyone of X and Y'

25) ALICE: You know if you ... put a situation like that to ~Tim **or** ~Mandy, ((4 LINES OMITTED))

... They ... hem and haw around, (SBC: 007).

✓ Speaker commits to the possibility of each of the alternatives to be realized

- ✓ Speaker's aim: to represent a set of equivalent possibilities
- ✓ Speaker expects only one alternative to actually be realized, but she is impartial as which one
- ✓ Exhaustive set of alternatives

Narrowed OR 'One of X and Y'

26) When people come to SAC, Jan **or** another P A will be there to explain the system (LSAC).

Narrowed OR 'One of X and Y'

26) When people come to SAC, Jan **or** another P A will be there to explain the system (LSAC).

- ✓ Speaker **commits to one** of the alternatives being the case
- ✓ Speaker's aim is to narrow down the set of alternatives
- ✓ Exhaustive set of alternatives

Choice OR 'Unresolved choice between X and Y'

27) ROY: Shall I do something civilized, ((1 LINE OMITTED)) like clear the table, ((1 LINE OMITTED))
or are we just gonna barbarian it out. (SBC: 003)

Choice OR 'Unresolved choice between X and Y'

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 like clear the table, ((1 LINE OMITTED))
 or are we just gonna barbarian it out. (SBC: 003)

✓ Speaker **commits to one** of the alternatives being the case

 Speaker's aim is to elicit a choice, or assert the need for a choice (interrogative contexts)

✓ Exhaustive set of alternatives

Exhaustive OR 'Only X and Y'

- 28) a. JULIE: .. It's a it's sport for either the brave **or** the stupid. (SBC: 056).
 - b. FRANK: But apparently it was either a heart attack **or** an aneurysm (SBC: 019)

Exhaustive OR 'Only X and Y'

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 - b. FRANK: But apparently it was either a heart attack **or** an aneurysm (SBC: 019)

- ✓ Speaker commits to the set of alternatives
- ✓ Speaker's **aim** is to exclude any other options
- ✓ Exhaustive set of alternatives

Do non connecting properties play a role in explaining the use of disjunction in discourse?

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YES

The readings we discussed can be fuitfully described in terms of explicated information concerning:

- ✓ the speaker
- ✓ the set of linked elements

Speaker's commitment to:

Speaker's expectations concerning:

✓ the existence of the elements
 ✓ the existence of the set itself
 ✓ the delimitation of the set

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Speaker's expectations construction

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- Speaker's illocutionary aim:
- ✓ eliciting a choice
- ✓ raising hypotheses
- ✓ representing a set
- **Reference to:**
 - ✓ exhaustive vs. non exhaustive set
 - ✓ elements vs. higher-level category
 - ✓ Independent occurrence of the elements

Speaker-oriented

- eaker's commitment to:✓the existence of the elementsSpeaker's expectations concerning:✓the existence of the set itself✓the delimitation of the set

 - Speaker's illocutionary aim:
- ✓ eliciting a choice
- ✓ raising hypotheses
- ✓ representing a set



Reference to:

- ✓ exhaustive vs. non exhaustive set
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By integrating different methods and data, we showed that **NON CONNECTING PROPERTIES** play a central role in explaining synchronic and diachronic patterns of variation for disjunctive connectives

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✓ In particular, the speaker's illocutionary aim (es. Choice), the speaker's epistemic status (in terms of knowledge, commitment and expectations) and the properties of the set emerge as functional dimensions that are relevant both for the development of disjunctive connectives and for their use in discourse

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> Modal and referential functions of disjunctive connectives!

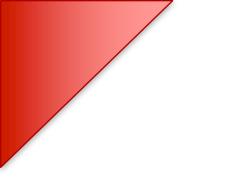
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> Modal and referential functions of disjunctive connectives!

NEXT STEP: Psycholinguistic evidence

Do these semantic properties play a role in the processing and acquisition of disjunction?



Thank you!

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Abbreviations

A=agent; ABL=ablative; ACC=accusative; ALTNc=choice-aimed disjunction; ALTNs=simple alternative; AS=assertion; CJEC=conjectural; COND=condictional; DAT=dative; DEM=demonstrative; DISJ=disjunctive marker; du=dual; DIST=distal; DUB=dubitative; DYNM=dynamic; FOC=focus;

FUT=future; GEN=genitive; HDST= hyperdistal; IND=individuator; INT= interrogative; **INFR**=inferential evidential; IRR=irrealis; LOC=locative; M=masculine; NEG= negative; NM=noun marker; NOM=nominative; NPF=(dummy) noun prefix; NPST=nonpast; pc=past completive; PERL=perlative;

PERMISS=permissive; PL=plural; POL=polite; PRS= present; PST=past; TOP=topic; Q=question; QUOT=quotative; REC=reciprocal; REP=reportative; SBJ=subject; SG=singular; SLEV= same topographic level; WOND=wonder;

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