Volker Gast
FU Berlin / CGCT, U Antwerp
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(Non-)veridicality and the distribution of *even* – a comparative view

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1 Introductory remarks

- Relationship between linguistic typology and language description. Is linguistic typology parasitic on language description? Do typologists do justice to the complexities of particular languages? (the 'quarry metaphor')
- Maybe not – but: typology can also be helpful for descriptive linguistics! It structures the space of possible variation, determines patterns and limits of variation, makes one see things in a different light.
- Languages can be described with reference to, and against the background of, the space of cross-linguistic variation.
- Agenda: small topics, often neglected in grammatical descriptions: intensifiers (*the president himself*), reciprocals, etc.

- Current project: elements like *even, only, also, too*.
- Terminological problem: 'Focus particles' (König 1991)? 'Scalar particles' (Schwarz 2005)'? 'Expectation modifiers' (McConvell 1983)? Many other terms have been used.
- Relevant elements interact with a *focus* and take *scope* (placement of focus is relevant truth-conditionally).

(1) John only introduced Bill to [Mary]$_F$. (…he did not introduce Bill to *Jane*.)
(2) John only introduced [Bill]$_F$ to Mary. (…he did not introduce *Fred* to her.)

➢ terminology used in this talk: 'ADDITIVE and RESTRICTIVE FOCUS OPERATORS'

2 Typological project on 'additive and restrictive focus operators'

- Sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt-foundation, in cooperation with the *Center for Grammar, Cognition and Typology* in Antwerp (J. van der Auwera).
- Compilation of a database: http://www.philologie.fu-berlin.de/~gast/fq.
- *restrictive* operators: *only, merely, barely, not until, of all X's*, etc.
  additive operators: *also, too, as well, even, either*, etc.
- Parameters of variation: formal and semantic properties (morphology, syntax, selectional restrictions, semantic range, etc.); from a both synchronic and diachronic perspective.
- Example: formal properties of *only*-items.
- May be encoded as particles (*only*), clitics, affixes, discontinuous constructions, etc.

(3) Mitla Zapotec: suffix
Baii-tis   nadehb-ni.
rebozo-*only* be.covered-3
'S/he was only covered with a *rebozo*.' (Stubblefield & Miller 1991: 119)

(4) French: discontinuous construction *ne…que*
*Je   n'-ai   qu'-un   livre.*
I   NEG-have   but-a   book
'I only have a book.'

3 Scalar additive operators: an overview

- Engl. *even*, Germ. *sogar*, Fr. *même*, etc.

(5) This man is so powerful that [*even* the [winds]$_F$ obey him].

- Different ways of description are possible (cf. Horn 1969, Jacobs 1983, Kay 1990, König 1991, Giannakidou 2007, among others).
- *Even* is regarded as indicating a high value on a scale (presupposition, conventional implicature).
- 'High value': beyond a certain *threshold value*; threshold value can be defined as a value expected by the hearer.
- *even*: speaker presupposes that ASSERTION > THRESHOLD

scale of 'remarkability, strength'
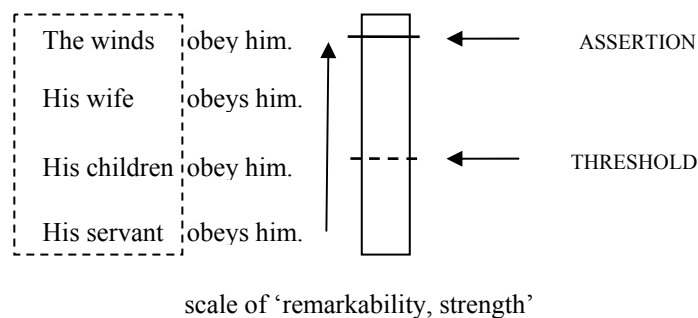
- Role of focus: determines the form of the alternative sentences forming a scale with the *even*-sentence.
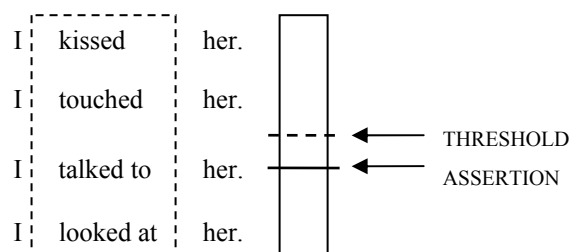- Simple representation of *even*-meanings (cf. Jacobs 1983):

(6) HIGH[The winds obey him]
HIGH: 'higher than expected on the scale of alternative sentences'

- Intimate relationship between *even* and *only*.
- *Only* indicates values *below* a certain threshold value.
  only: THRESHOLD > ASSERTION

(7) – Would you please stop bothering my wife?
    – I only [talked to]$_F$ her.

- Representation of *only*-meaning:

(8) LOW[I looked at her]
LOW: 'lower than expected on the scale of alternative sentences'

- Relationship between *only* and *even*; antonymy, sometimes near synonymy.

(9) *Only* the thought of work can spoil the day for me. (König 1991)
(10) If I *even* think of work, that can spoil the day for me.

- some parameters of variation in the expression of *even*-meanings:
  - Does a language have a specialized grammatical or lexical element for that function?
  - If there is one, what morphological properties does it have (particle, affix, pronoun, etc.)?
  - What types of meanings does it cover (patterns of polysemy)?
  - In what types of contexts is it used (distributional restrictions)?
  - What can we say about its historical development?
  - Can it be analyzed compositionally?
  - etc.

4 English and German: a contrastive view

- Amazing amount of variation even between closely related languages such as English and German; several ways of translating *even* into German (cf. König 1981, Schwarz 2005): *sogar, selbst, gar, auch nur, einmal, überhaupt, schon, noch*, etc.

(11) *Even* the winds obey him.
   Sogar/selbst die Winde gehorchen ihm.
(12) *Even* if you talk to him,…
   Selbst/*??***sogar** wenn du mit ihm sprichst,…
(13) If you want to hug or *even* kiss her, you have to be careful.
   Wenn du sie umarmen oder **gar** küssen wills, musst du vorsichtig sein.
(14) If you *even* look at her, you'll get into trouble.
   Wenn du sie **auch nur** ansiehst, bekommst du Ärger.
(15) I didn't *even* look at her.
   Ich habe sie (noch) nicht **einmal** angesehen!
(16) I knew *even* then that he was lying.
   Ich wusste **schon** zu diesem Zeitpunkt (damals), dass er log.
(17) Are you *even* listening?
   Hörst du **überhaupt** zu?
(18) That's not *even* true!
   Das stimmt doch **gar**/**überhaupt** nicht.
(19) Arnie is strong, but Georgie is *even* stronger.
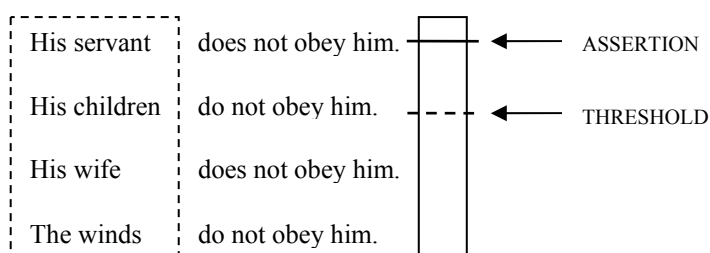   Arnie ist stark, aber Georgie ist **noch** stärker.

- The choice depends on properties of the context (e.g. polarity, mood, etc.);
  → in order to make generalizations, a classification of contexts is needed.
- Basic differences between English and German: in English, *even* is used…
  - …with both positive and negative polarity;
  - …with both assertive and non-assertive clause types (questions, conditionals);
  - …in comparatives (even taller than Arnie);
  - …with temporal foci (even then).

5 *Even* in some European languages: three major contexts

5.1 Polarity of the sentence

- *Even* is used with both positive and negative polarity. (Is this merely a difference in scope, or are there two distinct lexical items? Cf. Wilkinson 1996, Rullmann 1997, Giannakidou 2007 for discussion).

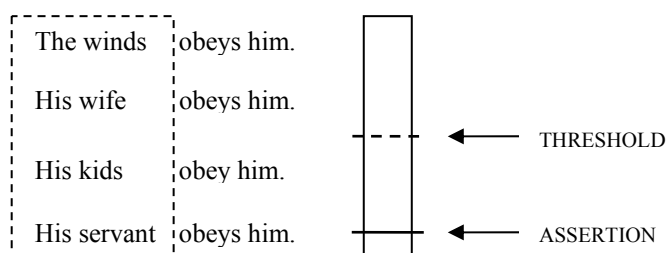(20) *Even* the winds obey him.
(21) Not *even* his servants obey him.

- Important: scales are *reversed* under negation.

His servant	does not obey him.	←— ASSERTION
His children	do not obey him.	- - ←— THRESHOLD
His wife	does not obey him.	
The winds	do not obey him.	

- Again, *even* indicates that a proposition is particularly remarkable (beyond the threshold value).
- German: *einmal* indicates a particularly low, perhaps even minimal, value (*einmal* is in the scope of negation.)

(22) *Sogar/selbst* [die Winde   gehorchen ihm].
     even   the   winds   obey   him
(23) Nicht [*einmal* seine Diener   gehorchen ihm].
     not   once   his   servants obey   him

The winds	obeys him.	
His wife	obeys him.	- - ←— THRESHOLD
His kids	obey him.	
His servant	obeys him.	←— ASSERTION

- Difference in meaning composition:

(24) English:
     Not even his servant obeys him.
     HIGH[NOT[His servant obeys him]].
     'I'm telling you that [his servant does not obey him], and I assume that this is a stronger statement than you would have expected.'
(25) German:
     Nicht einmal sein Diener gehorcht ihm.
     NOT[LOW[His servant obeys him]].
     'I'm telling you that the proposition "His servant does not obey him", which I think is a very weak statement, is not true.'

- Note: both alternative strategies (HIGH > NOT, NOT > LOW) exist in each language, but are not equally common.
- German: *selbst* (more marginally also *sogar*) can be used when it is *syntactically* outside the scope of negation:

(26) **Selbst**/?**sogar** seine Diener gehorchen ihm nicht. 'Even his servants do not obey him.'

- English: *so much as* is always in the scope of negation

(27) They did not *so much as* consider that their physical safety could be at risk. [BNC]

4

- comparison of English and German

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
even	
sogar/selbst	*einmal*

Table 1

- scalar operators of other European languages:
  - polarity-sensitive: Mex. Spanish *hasta* vs. *siquiera*, Dutch *zelfs* vs. (*niet*) *eens*, Swedish *till och med* vs. (*inte*) *ens*, It. *perfino* (also *persino*) vs. *nemmeno* (also *neanche*), Fin. *jota* vs. *edes*, Gr. *akomi ke* vs. *oute* (cf. Giannakidou 2007), etc.
  - like English: French *même*, Turk. *bile*, Russian *dazhe*, Ib. Span. *aun*, Hebrew *afilu*, etc.
- pairs of polarity-sensitive particles:

(28) Dutch
  a. **Zelfs** de wind en het water doen wat Hij zegt! [Luke 8, 25]
  b. Er is niet **eens** drinkwater. [Numeri 20, 5]
(29) Mex. Spanish
  a. ¿Quién es éste, que manda **hasta** a los vientos y al agua, y le obedecen?
  b. Y ni **siquiera** hay agua!
(30) Swedish
  a. Vem är han, eftersom **till och med** vinden och vågorna lyder honom?
  b. Här finns ju inte **ens** tillräckligt med vatten att dricka!
(31) Italian
  a. Ma chi è quest'uomo, che **perfino** le acque e i venti ubbidiscono ai suoi ordini?
  b.… io vi dico che **nemmeno** Salomone in tutta la sua gloria fu vestito come uno di loro
  … I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendour was dressed like one of these.
  [Mt. 6, 29]
  c. …nessuno più riusciva a tenerlo legato **neanche** con catene, …
  … no-one could bind him any more, not even with (a) chain(s). [Mk. 5, 3]

- polarity-insensitive operators

(32) French
  a. Voyez: il commande **même** aux vents et aux vagues, et il s'en fait obéir!
  b. Il n'y a **même** pas d'eau à boire!
(33) Ib. Spanish
  a. ¿Quién es éste, que manda **aun** a los vientos y al agua, y le obedecen?
  b. Ni **aun** de noche su corazón descansa.
(34) Russian
  a. Он   **даже** ветрам   и   воде   приказывает,
     he   even   wind.DAT.PL and   water.DAT.SG gives.orders
     и   они   слушаются   Его.
     and   they   obey   him
  b. Здесь **даже** нет   воды   для   питья!
     here even   not   water.GEN   for   drink
(35) Turkish
  a. Bu   adam   kim ki,   rüzgar-a, su-ya   **bile** buyruk   veriyor,
     this   man   who that wind-DAT, water-DAT even   order   gives
     onlar da   sözünü   dinliyor.
     they   CONJ   words   obey
  b. kimse   zincir-le   **bile** bağlı   tut-am-ıyor-du.
     no one chain-INST even   bound   hold-NEG-PROG-PRET

5.2 A third type of context: 'nonveridical' contexts

- *Veridical*[1] statements (positive): propositions for which the speaker assumes responsibility.
- *Averidical* statements (negative): propositions for whose falsity the speaker assumes responsibility, i.e. propositions that are in the scope of negation.
- *Nonveridical* statements (neutral): the speaker does not assume responsibility for either truth or falsity.
- Typical contexts: conditionals, non-finite sentences; no differentiation between different *even*-items in English:

(36) If you *even* look at me, you'll get into trouble.

(37) For it is shameful *even* to mention what the disobedient do in secret. [Ephesians 5, 12]

- German: *sogar* vs. *auch nur* (cf. König 1981, Schwarz 2005)

(38) Denn   man   muss   sich schämen,
      for   one   must   be.ashamed
      von   dem,   was   sie   heimlich   tun, **auch   nur** zu reden.
      about that   which   they secretly   do   also   only   to speak

- veridical vs. nonveridical vs. averidical contexts: Engl. and German

	veridical (positive)	nonveridical (neutral)	averidical (negative)
English		*even*	
German	*selbst, sogar*	*auch nur*	*einmal*

Table 2

- In English, *so much as* and (more rarely) *only* may be used alternatively (often with subtle differences in meaning).

(39) She said to herself, If I *only* touch his cloak, I will be healed. [Mt. 9, 21]

(40) If he *so much as* bruises a finger without good reason, I'll come for you. [BNC]

- *Even*-items specialized to nonveridical contexts can also be found in other languages that also have an all-purpose *even*-item, e.g. French *ne fût-ce que*.

(41) Vous êtes un peuple rebelle; si je marchais au milieu de vous, **ne fût-ce qu'un** seul instant, je vous exterminerais.
      'You are a stiff-necked people. If I were to go with you *even* for a moment, I might destroy you.' [Ex. 33, 5]

(42) Ils ne doivent jamais entrer seuls pour regarder le sanctuaire, **ne fût-ce qu'un** instant, car ils mourraient.
      'But they must not go in to look at the holy things, *even* for a moment, or they will die.' [Num. 4, 20]

(43) Quand détourneras-tu enfin tes yeux de moi? Ne lâcheras-tu pas un instant ton étreinte, **ne fût-ce que** le temps d'avaler ma salive?
      'When will you look away from me? Will you not loosen your embrace, even for the time to swallow my saliva?' [Hiob 7, 19]

- What kind of meaning is signalled by *auch nur / ne fût-ce que*, etc. in nonveridical contexts?
- *Auch nur*-sentences indicate a *range* on a scale; the focus value corresponds to the bottom of that range, which is lower than the (expected) threshold value.

(44) If you *so much as* talk to my wife, you'll get into trouble.

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[1] Cf. Giannakidou (2007) for this terminology.
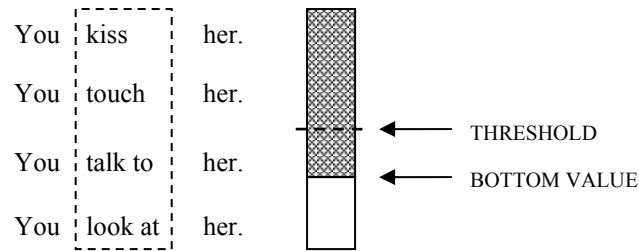
- Similar to *only*-sentences, from which they differ in that they do not assert a specific value, but indicate (the bottom of) a range of values.
- Parallel differentiations made in other European languages: Dutch *zelfs* vs. *zelfs maar* (also *ook maar, alleen maar*; cf. Rullmann & Hoeksema 1997), Italian *perfino* vs. *anche solo* (also *anche soltanto, già soltanto*; marginally also *perfino*?), Norwegian *til og med* vs. *bare*, Span. *hasta* vs. *siquiera*, Gr. *akomi ke* vs. *esto ke*, etc.

(45) Dutch
    a. Als je **zelfs maar** naar haar kijkt, krijg je problemen.
    b. (?) Als je **ook maar** naar haar kijkt, krijg je problemen.
      'If you even look at her, you'll get into trouble.'
    c. Ik hoef **alleen maar** Zijn mantel aan te raken, dan ben ik genezen.
      'If I only touch his cloak, I will be healed.' [Mt. 9, 21]
    d. Het is een schande om **zelfs maar** te bedenken wat de ongehoorzamen in het geheim doen. [Janneke Diepeveen, p.c.]
      'It is shameful *even* to think of what the disobedient do in secret.'

(46) Italian
    a. Se riesco **anche solo/soltanto** a toccare il suo vestito, saro guarita. [Mt. 9, 21]
    b. Infatti, è una vergogna **già soltanto** (**anche solo**) parlare delle cose che certa gente fa di nascosto!
    c. …poiché di quanto viene fatto da costoro in segreto è vergognoso **perfino** parlare. [Eph. 5, 12]

(47) Norwegian
    Det som slike folk driver med i det skjulte, er det en skam **bare** å nevne. [Eph. 5, 12]

(48) Spanish
    Pues da verguenza **siquiera** hablar de lo que ellos hacen en secreto. [Eph. 5, 12]
    Tan solo con que llegue yo a tocar su ropa, quedaré sana. [Mt. 9, 21]

- generic *even*-items:

(49) French
    Car tout ce que ces gens-là font en cachette est si honteux qu'on n'ose **même** pas en parler. [Eph. 5, 12]

(50) Russian
    О том, чем такие люди занимаются втайне, **даже** стыдно говорить. [Eph. 5, 12]

(51) Turkish
    Karanlıktakilerin gizlice yaptıklarından öz etmek **bile** yıptır. [Eph. 5, 12]

(52) Spanish *aun*
    Porque vergonzoso es **aun** hablar de lo que ellos hacen en secreto. [Eph. 5, 12]

5.3 Summary

- widely attested patterns

veridical	nonveridical	averidical
Germ. *sogar* Dt. *zelfs* It. *perfino* (?) Span. *hasta* Swed. *till och med* Norw. *till og med* Gr. *akomi ke*	Germ. *auch nur* Dt. *ook/zelfs/allen maar* It. *già/anche soltanto/solo* Span. *tan solo* Swed. *bara* Norw. *bare* Gr. *esto ke*	Germ. *einmal* Dt. *eens* It. *neanche / nemmeno* Swed. *ens* Gr. *oute*
	Span. *siquiera* Engl. *so much as* Swed. *så mycket som*	
Engl. *even* Fr. *même* Russ. *dazhe* Turk. *bile* Span. *aun*		

- rarely attested pattern (restricted to infinitives?):

veridical	non-veridical	averidical
It. *perfino* (?)		It. *nemmeno*

(53) a. …poiché di quanto viene fatto da costoro in segreto è vergognoso **perfino** parlare. [Eph. 5, 12]
b. Ma chi è quest'uomo, che **perfino** le acque e i venti ubbidiscono ai suoi ordini? [Lk. 8, 25]

- distributional patterns:

	veridical	nonveridical	averidical	ex.
√	■			Germ. *sogar*
√		■		Germ. *auch nur*
√			■	Germ. *einmal*
√		■	■	Span. *siquiera*
√	■	■		Engl. *even*
(√)	■	■		(It. *perfino*)
*	■		■	*

- Possible explanation for this pattern: direction of the scales; both negative scales and scales in nonveridical contexts are reversed (downward entailing, monotone decreasing).

5.4 Some observations concerning the underlying semantics

- only positive:
  1. spatial or temporal metaphor: Span. *hasta* 'as far as', Swed. *till och med*
  2. some intensifiers: Germ. *selbst*, Dan. *selv*
  3. 'emphatic assertion of identity': Icel. *javnvel* ('even-well')

- only negative:
    1. 'one', 'once': Germ. *einmal*, Dutch *eens*, etc.
    2. 'not less': It. *nemmeno*
- only neutral/negative and neutral:
    1. reduced concessive clause: Span. *siquiera*, Fr. *ne fût-ce que*
    2. comparative: Engl. *so much as*, Swed. *så mycket som*
    3. combinations of additive and restrictive operators:
        o 'also only': Germ. *auch nur*, Dt. *ook maar*, It. *anche solo*
        o 'even only': Dt. *zelfs maar*
        o 'already only': It. *già soltanto*
        o 'so only': Span. *tan solo*
        o etc.

- possible patterns of generalization: positive → neutral (*even*?; *perfino*?)
- neutral → negative (*even*?; *så mycket som*?)

- *even*-items deriving from concessive conditionals and free choice items (*ne fût-ce que, ni siquiera*); result of clause reduction?

(54) Reduced concessive clause (*ne fût-ce que*)
You must not enter at any time, NOT-WERE-IT-BUT an instant.
⇒ You must not enter ~~at any time,~~ NOT-WERE-IT-BUT an instant.

(55) Reduced free choice clause
You'll get into trouble if you do WHATEVER to her, even if you LOOK AT her.
⇒ You'll get into trouble if you ~~do~~ WHATEVER ~~to her, even if you~~ LOOK AT her.

6 A glance at some Mesoamerican languages

- Data have been taken from the bible for: (Tetelcingo) Nahuatl, (Mezquital) Otomí, Tarascan, Mitla Zapotec, Copainalá Zoque (from four different families, but areally related)

6.1 Tetelcingo Nahuatl

- Tetelcingo Nahuatl has borrowed *hasta* and *nion* (or *niɔn*?; < 'ni aun' or 'ni un'?) from Spanish.
- *Nion* may have been generalized to nonveridical contexts (this may be a matter of negative concord.)
- A native nonveridical operator has been formed on the basis of a concessive conditional + *only* (*mɔs sa* 'though only').

(56) Positive

Pos **hasta** yehyekatl hua ɔtsintlı tie-neltoka.
well even wind   and water 3OBJ.HON-obey
'Even the winds and the water obey him.'
[Mk. 4, 41]

(57) Neutral

tlɔ nekmɔtokas **mɔs sa** tietlake, nepahtes.
if I.will.touch.it though only his.clothes I.will.be.healed
'If I only touch his clothes, I will be healed.'
[Mk. 5, 28]

(58) pero abelı moniencuepas **nion** sente lietra
but impossible delete.PSV.FUT *even* one letter
de tli tlahkuılulpanka ipa inu ley.
of what is.written(?) PREP DET law
'but it is impossible for even one letter to be deleted from what is written in the law.'
[Luke 16, 17]

(59) Negative

pero nionɔkı abelı kılpıɔya **nion** ka kariena
but nobody not.possible bind not.even PREP chain
'but nobody could hold him, not even with a chain.' [Mk. 5, 3]

6.2 Tarascan

- Tarascan has borrowed *asta* from Spanish, but sometimes combines it with the native word *hamberi* ('even this, as far as, including, therefore')

(60) Ne-ski i eŋga **asta** taɹiata ka haponda **hamberi** haŋaŋaɹihka?
who-Q DEM REL even wind and sea as.far.as obey.him
'Who is the one whom even the wind and the sea obeys?' [Mk. 4, 41]

- For nonveridical and averidical contexts, *siquiera* (*sikiera*) has been borrowed; it sometimes combines with *himbo* 'as far as, therefore' ('hasta por allí, por ello/eso')

(61) eka-ni hi p'aɹiaka **sikiera** imëri aŋaŋikuani, uakani ambakintani.
if-1SG I touch even his clothes I.will.make.it get.well
'If I only touch his clothes, I will be healed.' [Mk. 5, 28]

(62) ka no nema usʌramti hotani **ni** **sikiera** kadenechani **himbo**
and noone can hold not even (with.)chains as.far.as
'and no one can hold him, not even with a chain.' [Mk. 5, 3]

6.3 Mezquital Otomí

- Mezquital Otomí has borrowed *asta* from Spanish. For neutral and negative contexts it uses a concessive marker *maske* 'although' in combination with an *only*-element (*hønsɛ*).

(63) **asta** ra ndã̃hi ne ra dehe øtua rá noya.
even DET wind and DET water obey his word
'Even the wind and the water obey him.' [Mt. 8, 27]

(64) ŋe-ʔã̃ mi bensɛ-ʔã̃ gue **maske** **hønse** rá he da dambabi,
PRO₁-3 IMPF.3SG think-3 that though only his clothes FUT.3SG touch
nu-ʔã̃ da ñã̃ni.
PRO₂-3 FUT.3SG get.well
'He thought (that) if he only touched his clothes, he would be healed.' [Mk. 5, 28]

(65) ne hinto mi tsa da zãmi **maske** dra thã̃tʔi co ya cadena
and no one PAST.3SG can 3.FUT hold although 3.PROG bind with PL chain
'and no one could hold him, not even bind him with a chain.' [Mk. 5, 3]

6.4 Mitla Zapotec

- Native element for positive contexts: *luxh* 'and then'. Its distribution is, however, more restricted than that of comparable *even*-items of European languages.

- For neutral contexts, an *only*-element is used (*-tis*), and in negative contexts there is a particle *nikla*, which probably includes negative conjunction *ni* 'and not'.

(66) Chu-cha dee ni rnibee beh con nis **luxh** rusoobreni xtiidxni?
who-Q DET REL give.orders wind and water even obey.PL his.word
'Who is that, who gives orders and the wind and the water obey him?' [Mt. 8, 27]

(67) palga sahk kanä-**tis** roʔ xhahbni, siakä
if.(it so happens) can tempt-only edge his.clothes I.will.get.well
'If I can only touch his clothes, I will be healed.' [Mt. 9, 21]

(68) luxh rut rahk-di rukuaduuni, **nikla** kon kaden-giib.
and.then no one can-NEG bind not.even with chain-iron
'and then, no one could bind him, not even with an iron chain.' [Mk. 5, 3]

6.5 Copainalá Zoque

- *Hasta* has been borrowed from Spanish; in nonveridical contexts, there is an *only*-element (*naʔ*); in averidical ones, a clitic *=ʔa* may be used.

(69) **hasta** wa'y sawa's y ma'ris wa'y myato'ngohayahu
even AUX wind.ERG and sea.ERG AUX the.obey.him
'even the wind and the sea obey him.' [Mk. 4, 41]

(70) juca **naʔ** mbiʔkishapyatiʔʌs teʔ pyama, tzokpa-ʔʌh
if only I.touch DET his.clothes healthy-PRO1
'if I only touch his clothes, I will be healed.' [Mk. 5, 28]

(71) y pʌʔnistaʔm **jaʔn=a** inʌk musi šiʔñahu kadena-pit
and men NEG=already PAST could bind.him chain-with
'and the men could not even bind him with a chain.' [Mk. 5, 3]

6.6 Summary

	positive	non-veridical	averidical
Tarascan	*asta*	*sikiera*	
Nahuatl	*asta*	(*mɔs*) *sa*	*nion*
Zapotec	*luxh*	*nikla*	
Otomí	*asta*	*maske hønsɛ*	*maske*
Zoque	*hasta*	*naʔ*	NEG *=a*

7 Conclusions, outlook

- *Even*-items as an areal feature? Also very rare in Australian languages:

"The English terms 'even' and 'already' often would not have any gloss in a Gurindij translation; Gurindij is not the only language to lack a direct equivalent for these concepts. In some cases *-rni* may be the appropriate translation for them." (McConvell 1983: 14)

- More widespread in Asia (e.g. Mandarin, Japanese; what about Africa?)
- Speculation: *only*-items are much more widespread in the languages of the world than *even*-items.

- Note also: while there are many languages with affixal *only*-elements, there seem to be hardly any languages with a corresponding *even*-element. The tendency to become grammatical is much stronger for *only*-items than it is for *even*-items (though some languages have affixal non-scalar additive operator which may also be used in scalar contexts, e.g. Abkhaz *–g'ə*).

(72) à-jʁab-g'ə
DET-girl-too/even
'even the girl/the girl, too' (Hewitt 1989: 58)

- Possible explanation for the preponderance of 'restrictive (scalar) operators' in comparison to additive ones: discourse is usually additive, in the sense that information is added to the hearer's knowledge. Restrictive operators, in a way, 'reduce' the hearers (presumed) knowledge. This operation needs to be marked overtly, whereas additive information can be added without any further marking, or with intonational means:

(73) He could sell reFRIDgerators to Eskimos!

(74) Not only did you look at my daughter – you (even) KISSED her!
(scalar presupposition in either case)
(75) I didn't KISS her! I only TALKED to her! (scalar presupposition)
(76) I didn't KISS her! I TALKED to her! (no scalar presupposition)

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