

Reziprozität - Typologie & Syntax

AM6, SoSe 2008

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1. Haspelmath (2007)

semantic concept: *mutual*

all reciprocals express a situation with a mutual relation: *aRb & bRa*

grammatical form: *reciprocal*

specialized expression pattern that codes mutual situations/ events/ configurations

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(1) Humboldt's and Cuvier's articles about **each other**

→ mutual configuration

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Mutual configurations can be left implicit, but
“[i]mplicit expression of mutual situations is
apparently not common.”

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Mutual relations can be expressed by way of

- (i.) free non-specialized and fully compositional
combinations of clauses in discourse, cf. (2)

1. Haspelmath (2007)

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Mutual relations can be expressed by way of

- (i.) free non-specialized and fully compositional combinations of clauses in discourse (2).
- (ii.) specialized patterns: **reciprocal constructions** (4).

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(2) Aisha kniff Pedro, und Pedro (kniff) Aisha.

two clauses

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(2) Aisha kniff Pedro, und Pedro (kniff) Aisha.

(3) Aisha kniff Pedro, und umgekehrt.

two clauses with pro-clause

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(2) Aisha kniff Pedro, und Pedro (kniff) Aisha.

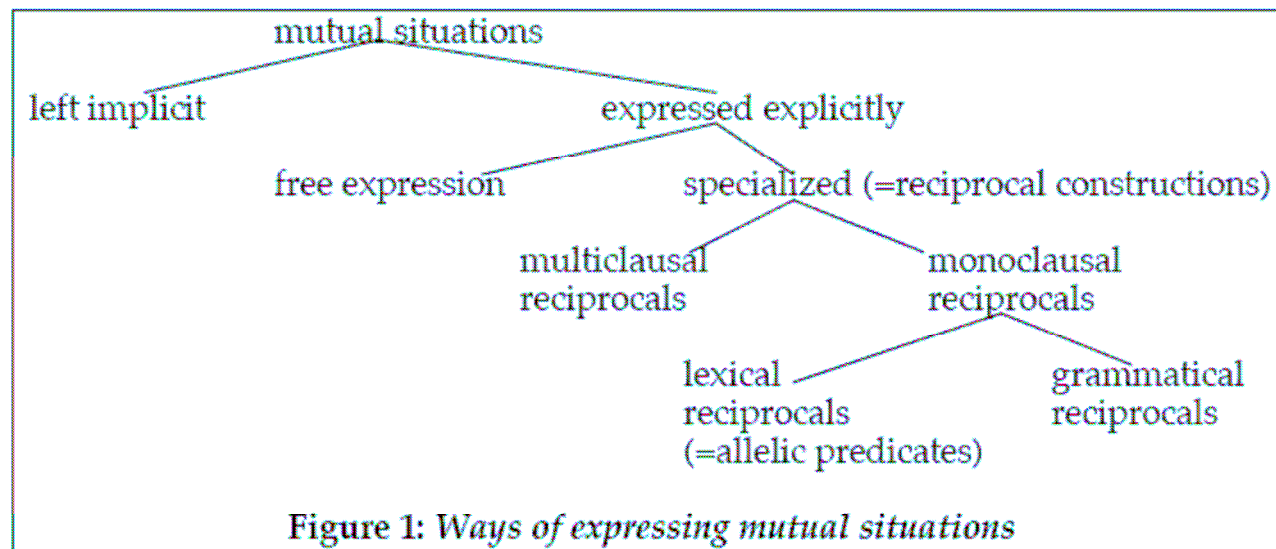
(3) Aisha kniff Pedro, und umgekehrt.

(4) Aisha und Pedro kniffen einander.
reciprocal construction

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Most reciprocal constructions are monoclausal !

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1. Haspelmath (2007)

Lexical Reciprocals (= *allelic predicates*):

Predicates that express a mutual configuration by themselves, without necessary grammatical marking. They consist of a semantically restricted set of predicates whose meanings generally fall into the class of social actions and relations, spatial relations, and relations of (non) identity.

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Lexical Reciprocals (= *allelic predicates*):

- a. verbs of competition: 'fight', 'quarrel', 'negotiate', 'argue'
- b. verbs of joint action: 'communicate', 'play chess', 'consult'
- c. verbs of connecting: 'combine', 'unite', 'acquaint', 'compare', 'mix'
- d. verbs of dividing: 'separate', 'distinguish'
- e. predicates of (non-)identity: 'same', 'similar', 'different', 'match'
- f. relationship nouns: 'friend', 'colleague', 'compatriot', 'cousin'

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Universal 17:

In all languages, all allelic predicates express uniplex mutual events. Multiplex mutual events can only be expressed by grammatical reciprocals.

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Grammatical Reciprocals:

- i. Anaphoric Reciprocals (each other, einander)

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Grammatical Reciprocals:

- i. Anaphoric Reciprocals (each other, einander)
- ii. Verb-marked reciprocals

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Universal 1:

In all languages, monoclausal reciprocal constructions are at least as complex formally as the corresponding non-reciprocal constructions denoting simple events.

- (5)a. Peter and Mary kissed the boys.
b. Peter and Mary kissed **each other**.

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Universal 2:

In all languages with reciprocal constructions, there are constructions in which the mutnants are expressed in a single (nonsingular) argument of the predicate.

- (6)a. Hans und Paul schlagen sich / einander.
- b. Hans schlägt sich / *einander mit Paul.

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Question: What about (6c)?

(6)c. Hans und Paul schlagen **sich miteinander**.

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Universal 3:

No language has a reciprocal construction in which there are two mutant-expressing arguments that are coded like the A (most agent-like argument) and the P (most patient-like argument) of a typical transitive clause.

(7) *A V-Recip B = ARB & BRA

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Universal 3:

No language has a reciprocal construction in which there are two mutuant-expressing arguments that are coded like the A (most agent-like argument) and the P (most patient-like argument) of a typical transitive clause.

What languages typically do instead is to express the set of mutuants as a single argument occupying one of the two syntactic positions in which the mutuants are in the corresponding non-reciprocal clause pair. This argument will be called the **reciprocator** here. The other syntactic position will be called the **reciprocee**

1. Haspelmath (2007)

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(8) reciprocator V reciprocee

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Question: What is the meaning of (9ab)?

(9)a. Max ähnelt seinem Vater. vs.

Max und sein Vater ähneln sich/ *einander.

b. Peter heiratete Maria. vs.

Peter und Maria heirateten.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Question: What is the meaning of (9ab)?

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→ asymmetric/ non-mutual relationships?

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Universal 4:

Only verb-marked reciprocals allow a discontinuous reciprocal construction.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Universal 4:

Only verb-marked reciprocals allow a discontinuous reciprocal construction.

→ *sich* in (6b) is analyzed as a verbal marker

(6)b. Hans schlägt sich mit Paul.

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Anaphoric Reciprocals (p.8 ff.):

The anaphoric expression can be a *bipartite quantifier* (in English and many other European languages), a *non-quantifier bipartite expression* (in Lezgian), a *single-part element that looks like a noun* (in Bamana), or a *single-part element that looks like a pronoun* (in Polish).

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Universal 5:

All reciprocal constructions with two arguments that both refer to the set of mutnants are anaphoric reciprocal constructions.

(10) *Taro and Jiro phoned Taro and Jiro.

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Universal 6:

In all languages, there are prominence-related restrictions and locality-related restrictions on the relation between an antecedent and a reciprocal anaphor.

→ the main interest in generative grammar has been on such prominence-related restrictions !

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A. *prominence-related restrictions:*

In canonical reciprocals, the antecedent must be the (more prominent) subject and the anaphor must be the (less prominent) object.

(11)*Each other pinched Pedro and Aisha.

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A. *prominence-related restrictions:*

thematic role >> grammatical function

(11)*Pedro and Aisha were pinched by each other.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

A. *prominence-related restrictions:*

Question: What is the difference between (12ab)?

(12)a.?Aisha und Pedro wurden von dem jeweils
anderen geküsst.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

A. *prominence-related restrictions:*

Question: What is the difference between (12ab)?

(12)b.*Aisha und Pedro wurden von **einander**
geküsst.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

A. *prominence-related restrictions:*

Question: What is the difference between (12ab)?

→ einander ≠ der jeweils andere

1. Haspelmath (2007)

B. *locality-related restrictions:*

Universal 8:

If the antecedent and the reciprocal anaphor are coarguments of the same predicate, all languages with reciprocal anaphors allow the construction (unless it is pre-empted by some even more grammaticalized construction). The less local the relationship between the antecedent and the recipient is, the less likely it is that it is acceptable.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

B. *locality-related restrictions:*

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- (13)a. Aisha und Pedro telefonierten miteinander.
b. Aisha und Pedro telefonierten mit *einanders
Müttern/ ??den Müttern voneinander.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

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- (14) coargument > possessor of coargument >
subject of complement clause > nonsubject
of complement clause

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B. *locality-related restrictions:*

non-local dependencies in English:

- (15) **Bush and Dukakis₁** charged [that General Noriega had secretly contributed to [**each other's₁** campaign]]. (Pollard & Sag 1992)

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B. *locality-related restrictions:*

When the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with a main-clause argument, a long-domain interpretation can be found even for languages that are otherwise much more restrictive:

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B. *locality-related restrictions:*

(16) a. *John and Mary think they like **each other**.*

(Heim et al. 1991:65)

'John thinks that he likes Mary, and Mary thinks that she likes John.'

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B. *locality-related restrictions:*

(16) b. *Dan ve-Ron ?amru še-hem nicxu eħad ?et*

Dan and-Ron said that-they defeated one ACC

ha-šeni b-a-gmar. [Hebrew]

the-second in-the-finale

'Dan and Ron said that they defeated each other in the finale.'

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Verb-Marked Reciprocals:

Verb-marked reciprocals have a verbal marker that is closely associated with the verb but is not a reciprocal anaphor, i.e. does not behave like an argument of the verb in any way.

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Verb-Marked Reciprocals:

(17) *Taroo to Akiko wa aisi-**at**-te-iru.* [Japanese]

Taro and Akiko TOP love-**REC**-CONT-NPAST

'Taro and Akiko love each other.'

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Verb-Marked Reciprocals:

Since the reciprocatee is generally omitted in verb-marked reciprocal constructions, it would be helpful if there were some other way of identifying it, e.g. by different reciprocal markers for different syntactic functions or semantic roles of the reciprocatee.

Surprisingly, this does not ever seem to be found.

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Universal 9:

Different reciprocal markers are never used for different diathesis types.

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Verb-Marked Reciprocals:

There are no verbal reciprocals in which the subject is reciprocalized or a non-subject becomes the reciprocator:

- (18) I love you. You love me. → *Ø Love-REC us.
(OK: We love-REC Ø.)

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Universal 11:

In verbal reciprocals, the reciprocator is always the subject, and the reciprocatee can only be the direct object, the indirect object, the possessor of a co-argument, or an adverbial.

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→ How are reciprocal dependencies with non-subjects expressed in verb-marking reciprocal languages ?

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Verb-Marked Reciprocals:

Verb-marked reciprocals also show very rigid locality constraints: They are completely impossible with a non-local reciprocatee:

- (19) I think that you are wrong. You think that I am wrong.
→ *We think-REC that Ø be wrong.

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Verbal markers that are not affixes and that vary for person are found in Romance, Germanic and Slavonic languages, e.g. German *sich*, Polish *się*, and French *se*. Although these *se*-type elements are usually called "reflexive pronouns", the view is widespread that combinations such as German *sich schlagen* 'hit each other', Polish *bronić się* 'defend oneself/each other', French *s'aimer* 'love oneself/each other' should be regarded as reciprocal verbs rather than as anaphoric reciprocal constructions.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Problem: *sich* as a verbal marker ?

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 haben.

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- (20) a. **Peter und Johann** behaupten, dass sie **sich** besiegt haben. → Widerspruch ?
- b. **Peter und Johann** behaupten, dass sie **einander** besiegt haben

1. Haspelmath (2007)

Problem: *sich* as a verbal marker ?

- + local binding accounted for
- + local construal accounted for

BUT: For German, the tests mentioned here are either not applicable or seem to point to an anaphoric status of *sich*.

1. Haspelmath (2007)

zero-explicit reciprocal verbs:

verbs whose direct object is normally obligatory,
but that can omit it with a reciprocal
interpretation.

(20) Peter and Mary **kissed**.

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→ Interestingly, English seems to have few other verbs that are like *kiss*: *court*, *embrace*, *hug*, *pet*

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- Interestingly, English seems to have few other verbs that are like *kiss*: *court*, *embrace*, *hug*, *pet*
- Typologically rare: **West Greenlandic**, **Twi**

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

The big question:

Why are reciprocal/mutual situations often expressed by means of reflexive markers?

- (21) a. Die Männer winkten **einander** zu.
b. Die Männer winkten **sich** zu.

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Maslova's (2007) answer:

All reciprocal constructions derive historically from reflexive constructions:

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- ii. Reflexive-based reciprocals:

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Maslova's (2007) answer:

All reciprocal constructions derive historically from reflexive constructions:

- i. Pure reflexives, cf. (21b).
- ii. Reflexive-based reciprocals:

- (22) a. Die Kinder haben **sich miteinander** geschlagen.
b. Die Frauen haben **sich voneinander** verabschiedet.

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Maslova's (2007) answer:

All reciprocal constructions derive historically from reflexive constructions:

- i. Pure reflexives, cf. (21b).
- ii. Reflexive-based reciprocals: **sich P + einander**

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2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Maslova's (2007) answer:

All reciprocal constructions derive historically from reflexive constructions:

- i. Pure reflexives, cf. (21b).
- ii. Reflexive-based reciprocals
- iii. Pure reciprocals: derive from reflexive-based reciprocals by omission of reflexive marker

refl + recip → ∅ recip

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Next question:

Why is reflexive construction a good candidate for expressing reciprocity?

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Answer (Maslova 2007):

Semantic reasons:

- i. Both reflexives and reciprocals link two argument positions/ thematic roles to the same referent:

- (23) a. Peter rasiert sich. \rightarrow rasieren(peter, peter)
b. Die Männer rasieren einander. \rightarrow rasieren(M, M)

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Answer (Maslova 2007):

Semantic reasons:

- i. Both reflexives and reciprocals link two argument positions/ thematic roles to the same referent:
- ii. Plural reflexives give rise to interpretations that are close to weak reciprocal readings – due to plurality.

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

(24) Die Frauen rasierten die Männer.

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

(24) Die Frauen rasierten die Männer.

(25) Die Männer rasierten sich.

→ s. Schaubild

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

(24) Die Frauen rasierten die Männer.

(25) Die Männer rasierten **sich**. *uneindeutig*

→ Die Männer rasierten **sich gegenseitig**. *eindeutig*

Die Männer rasierten **sich selbst**. *eindeutig*

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Prediction:

Specific reciprocal markers should have the same distribution as reflexive markers, or they should occur in a subset of licit reflexive environments (e.g. only plural antecedents!)

- (26) a. The women congratulated **themselves**.
b. The women congratulated **each other**.

2. Reflexives & Reciprocals

Prediction for English:

each other should occur in a subset of the positions in which the plural reflexive pronoun *themselves* is licensed.

3. Reciprocals and GB

Standard generative approaches, e.g. GB:
also assume a tight link between reflexive and reciprocal anaphors

- Both expressions are subject to principle A of binding theory and must be locally bound.

(Chomsky 1981)

3. Reciprocals and GB

Standard generative approaches, e.g. GB:
also assume a tight link between reflexive and reciprocal anaphors

- (1) a. John and Mary like themselves/each other.
- b. John and Mary's opinion of themselves/each other
- c. John and Mary knew that there were some pictures
 of themselves/each other on sale.
- d. John and Mary believe themselves/each other to
 be quite wonderful.

3. Reciprocals and GB

Standard generative approaches, e.g. GB:
also assume a tight link between reflexive and reciprocal anaphors

→ Both expressions are subject to principle A of binding theory and must be locally bound.

- (27) a. *Peter and Mary think that Bill likes **themselves**.
b. *Peter and Mary think that Bill likes **each other**.

3. Reciprocals and GB

but:

reciprocals have a wider distribution than reflexives (Lebeaux 1983)

- (28) a. John and Mary brought some friends for **each other** to meet.
b. ??John brought some books for **himself** to read.

3. Reciprocals and GB

but:

reciprocals have a wider distribution than reflexives (Lebeaux 1983)

- (29) a. John and Mary didn't know what **each other** had done.
b. *John didn't know what **himself** had done.

3. Reciprocals and GB

but:

reciprocals have a wider distribution than reflexives (Lebeaux 1983)

- (30) a. John and Mary like **each other**'s parents.
b. *John likes **himself**'s parents.

3. Reciprocals and GB

Lebeaux's analysis:

each other: Principle A

reflexives: Principle A + ECP,
reflexives must be properly
governed !

3. Reciprocals and GB

Lebeaux's analysis:

- (31) a. The boys like each other.
b.LF: The boys **each₁** like [e₁ other].

→ trace of each properly governed by *other* !

3. Reciprocals and GB

Lebeaux's analysis:

(31) a. The boys like each other.

b.LF: The boys **each**₁ like [e₁ other].

(32) a. The boys like themselves.

b.LF: The boys₁ (**self**₁) like **e**₁.

→ trace of each only properly governed by antecedent!

3. Reciprocals and GB

Lebeaux's analysis:

(31) a. The boys like each other.

b.LF: The boys **each**₁ like [e₁ other].

(32) a. The boys like themselves.

b.LF: The boys₁ (**self**₁) like **e**₁.

→ The analysis in (32b) converges with Haspelmath's (2007) analysis of reflexives as verbal markers !

3. Reciprocals and GB

Lebeaux's analysis:

the analysis of *each other* as involving LF-movement of *each* is supported by the existence of scope effects.

(20) John and Mary knew that they liked each other.

a. John and Mary knew that $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John liked Mary} \\ \text{Mary liked John} \end{array} \right\}$.

(narrow scope *each*)

b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John knew that John liked Mary.} \\ \text{Mary knew that Mary liked John.} \end{array} \right\}$ (wide
scope *each*)

(interpretation: John and Mary each knew that
self liked the other.)