

Alternating conj/disjunctions: the case of Japanese *-toka* and *-tari*

Ryan Walter Smith & Ryoichiro Kobayashi

University of Arizona Sophia University/JSPS

Introduction: The Japanese particles *-toka* and *-tari* are used in declaratives to express non-exhaustive conjunctions of individuals and predicates, respectively. However, in many other environments, including questions, modals, and the antecedent of a conditional, these particles receive a disjunctive interpretation. We analyze *-toka* and *-tari* as items that introduce alternatives, which, once they expand into propositions, are universally quantified or unmodified depending on their environment.

Data: *-toka* and *-tari* are used in veridical environments to denote non-exhaustive conjunctions of individuals and predicates, respectively. To illustrate, (1a) is true if Taro, Hanako, *and* someone else comes, and (1b) is true if Taro cleaned his room, studied English, *and* did something else.

- 1) a. Taro-toka Hanako-toka-ga kita b. Taro-wa heya-o soojisi-tari eigo-o benkyoosi-tari sita
T-toka H-toka -Nom came T-Top room-Acc clean-tari English-Acc study-tari did
'Taro, Hanako, and others came' 'Taro cleaned his room, studied English, etc.'

Although often encountered in coordinating constructions, both *-toka* and *-tari* can be used as stand-alone particles, as in (2).

- 2) a. John-wa Nihongo-toka-o benkyoosita. b. Taro-wa Eigo-o benkyoosi-tari suru.
J-Top Japanese-toka-Acc studied T-Top English-Acc study-tari does
'John studied Japanese and other things.' 'Taro studies English and does other things'

However, in other environments, such as the antecedent of a conditional (3), questions (4), imperatives (5), and possibility modals (6), *-toka* and *-tari* receive an inclusive disjunctive interpretation.

3) Antecedent of a conditional

- a. Taro-toka Hanako-ga ki-tara, Yosuke-wa ocha-o dasu.
T-toka H-nom come-if Y-Top tea-Acc serve
'If Taro or Hanako (or someone else) comes to the party, Ryo serves tea.'
- b. Taro-ga burokkori-o tabe-tari gyuunyuu-o non-dari su-reba, mama-wa yorokobu.
T-Nom broccoli-Acc eat-tari milk-Acc drink-tari do-if mom-Top become.happy
'If Taro eats broccoli or drinks milk (or does something else) his mom becomes happy.'

4) Polar Questions

- a. Taro-toka Hanako-toka-ga kita no? b. Taro-wa heya-o sooji-si-tari sentaku-sitari sita no?
T toka H-toka-Nom came Q T-Top room-Acc clean-do-tari laundry-do-tari did Q
'Did Taro or Hanako (or someone else) come?' 'Did Taro clean the room or do laundry, etc.?'

5) Imperatives

- a. Tabemono-toka (nomimono-toka) motteko-i! b. Tsumaranai. Odot-tari (utat-tari) sir-o!
food -toka drink -toka bring-Imp boring dance-tari sing-tari do-Imp
'Bring me food (or drink or something else)! 'I'm bored. Dance (or sing or do something else)!'

6) Possibility Modals

- a. (Ganbare-ba), shoosin-toka kaigaikimmu-toka-ga ari-u/e-ru
work.hard-if promotion-toka overseas.assignment-toka-Nom be-modal-Pres
'There is a possibility that you attain promotion or work abroad, (if you work hard).'
- b. Godzilla-wa machi-o hakaisi-tari, teki-o taosi-tari si-u-ru
G -Top town-Acc destroy-tari, enemy-Acc defeat-tari do-modal-Pres
'Godzilla may destroy the town or defeat his enemies (or do something else)'

Conclusion: This paper proposes an analysis of *-toka* and *-tari* as introducing alternatives, which are then manipulated by propositional operators higher in the structure, giving rise to their varying interpretations as conjunctions or disjunctions depending on their environment. The analysis captures their use as independent particles and in coordinating constructions, and derives their interpretation from the independently motivated semantic properties of the environments in which they appear.

Selected References: Aloni, Maria. (2007). Free choice, modals, and imperatives. *Natural Language Semantics*, 15(1), 65-94. Alonso-Ovalle, Luis. 2006. Disjunction in alternative semantics. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst. Menéndez-Benito, Paula. 2005. The grammar of choice. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst. Mitrović, Moreno., and Uli Sauerland. 2014. Decomposing coordination. *NELS*, 44, 39-52. [8] Rawlins, Kyle. 2008. (Un)Conditionals; an investigation in the syntax and semantics of conditional structures. Doctoral dissertation, University of California Santa Cruz.