

Japanese *V-aw* constructions

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1. Introduction

- (1) The *otagai* construction and the *V-aw* construction
 - a. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga otagai-o tatai-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM each other-ACC hit-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i.”
 - b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i tataki-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM hit-AW-past
- (2) Three types of the *V-aw* construction (Tonoike 1991)
 - a. The direct reciprocal *V-aw* construction
There is a gap (e) in an argument position of the verb V.
[Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i tataki-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM hit-AW-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i.”
 - b. The indirect reciprocal *V-aw* construction
There is a gap (e) in a possessor position of an argument NP.
[Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [e_i hahaoya]_j-o home-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i praised [each other’s mothers]_j.”
 - c. The competitive *V-aw* construction: There is no gap.
[Taro to Jiro]-ga yorokobi-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM be-pleased-AW-past
“Taro and Jiro showed the joy together.”

2. Direct reciprocal *aw*

Previous analyses

- (3) Nishigauchi’s (1992) analysis (cf. Heim, Lasnik and May (1991))
Aw = the distributor, *e* = the trace of the reciprocator (syntactically active)
[_{IP} [John to Mary]_i-ga [_{IP} t_i [_{VP1} t_i [_{VP1} Op_j [_{VP2} t_i [_{V2} t_j aisi]] aw]] te-iru]]
John and Mary-NOM love-AW-prog
“[John and Mary]_i love each other_i.”
- (4) Ishii’s (1989) analysis
Aw = an affix (works as an intransitivizer)
e = an argument which is saturated by *aw* (syntactically inactive)
[_{IP} [John to Mary]_i-ga [_{VP} t_i [_V aisi-aw]] te-iru]

Supporting evidence for Ishii (1989)

Evidence 1: Distributive reading versus collective reading

- (5) *Zibun* takes an atomic individual as the antecedent.
 - a. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [_{PP} zibun_i-no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in study-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i studied in self’s room.” (distributive)

- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun-tati_i-no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in study-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i studied in their_i room.” (collective)
- (6) Inherently reciprocal intransitive verbs do not allow the distributive reading.
- a. *[Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun_i-no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in fight-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i fought in self_i's room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun-tati_i-no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in fight-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i fought in their_i room.” (collective)
- (7) The subject of the *otagai* construction allows the distributive reading.
- a. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun_i-no heya-de] otagai_i-o tatai-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i in self_i's room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun-tati_i-no heya-de] otagai_i-o tatai-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i in their_i room.” (collective)
- (8) The subject of the *V-aw* construction does not allow the distributive reading.
V-aw behaves like an inherently reciprocal intransitive verb.
- a. *[Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun_i-no heya-de] e_i tataki-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in hit-AW-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i in self_i's room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [PP zibun-tati_i-no heya-de] e_i tataki-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-tati-GEN room-in hit-AW-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i in their_i room.” (collective)

Evidence 2: Subject comparison (SC) versus object comparison (OC) readings

- (9) Chichewa reflexive morpheme: compatible with the OC reading a syntactic object
Chichewa reciprocal morpheme: not compatible with the OC reading not a syntactic object
- a. Alenje_i á·ma·dzí·nyóz·á kupósá asodzi_j
2-hunters 2SM-hab-REFL-despise-FV exceeding 2-fishermen
“The hunters_i despise themselves_i more than the fisherman_j.” (SC/OC)
- b. Alenje_i á·ma·nyóz·án·á kupósá asodzi_j
2-hunters 2SM-hab-despise-RECIP-FV exceeding 2-fishermen
“The hunters_i despise each other_i more than the fisherman_j.” (SC/*OC)
(Darlymple, Mchombo and Peters 1994: 155)
- (10) The *otagai* construction: compatible with the object comparison reading
The *V-aw* construction: not compatible with the object comparison reading
- a. Sensei-tati_i-ga seito-tati_j-yorimo sakini otagai_i-o hihansi-ta.
teacher-pl-NOM student-pl-than earlier each other-ACC criticize-past
“The teachers_i criticized each other_i earlier than the students_j.” (SC/OC)
- b. Sensei-tati_i-ga seito-tati_j-yorimo sakini e_i hihansi-aw-ta.
teacher-pl-NOM student-pl-than earlier criticize-AW-past (SC/*OC)

3. Indirect reciprocal *aw*

- (11) The indirect reciprocal *V-aw* construction as an EPC
The gap is in an argument position of the verb V.

[Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i [hahaoya]_j-o home-aw-ta. (cf. (3))
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past

Evidence 1: Comparison with the French EPC

The French EPC and IPC (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) (V&Z))

- (12) a. Le médecin a radiographié [l'estomac] aux enfants. (EPC)
The doctor has X-rayed [the-stomach] to-the children
“The doctor has X-rayed the children’s stomachs.”
b. Le médecin leur_i a radiographié [l'estomac] t_i. (EPC with cliticization)
The doctor them has X-rayed [the-stomach]
“The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.”
c. Le médecin a radiographié [leur estomac]. (IPC)
The doctor has X-rayed [their(sg) stomach]
“The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.” (V&Z: 597, 602)
- (13) Grammatical Number
a. *Le médecin a radiographié [les estomacs] aux enfants. (EPC)
The doctor has X-rayed [the(pl) stomachs] to-the children
“The doctor has X-rayed the children’s stomachs.”
b. *Le médecin leur_i a radiographié [les estomacs] t_i. (EPC with cliticization)
The doctor them has X-rayed [the(pl) stomachs]
“The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.”
c. Le médecin a radiographié [leurs estomacs]. (IPC)
The doctor has X-rayed [their stomachs]
“The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.” (V&Z: 602)
- (14) The distributivity effect
Le médecin leur_i a radiographié [l'estomac]_j t_i
The doctor them has X-rayed [the-stomacs]
et il a constaté qu'ils_j avaient des images normal.
and he has seen that they had DET images normal
“The doctor has X-rayed [their_i stomachs]_j
and he saw that they_j looked normal.” (V&Z: 599)
- (15) The restriction on modifiers
a. Pierre lui a lavé les mains (*sales). (EPC: adjective modifiers)
Pierre to-him past washed the hands dirty
“Pierre washed his dirty hands.”
b. Pierre a lavé ses mains sales. (IPC: adjective modifiers)
Pierre past washed his hands dirty
c. Il lui a bandé [les doigts gelés]. (EPC: restrictive modifiers)
He to-him/her has bandaged [the fingers frozen]
“He bandaged his/her frozen fingers.” (V&Z: 603)

Indirect reciprocal *otagai* and *aw*

- (16) Grammatical Number
a. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga otagai-no_i hahaoya_j(-tati)-o kenasi-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM each other-GEN mother(-pl)-ACC speak-ill-of-AW-past
“Taro and Jiro spoke ill of each other’s mothers.”

- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i hahaoya_j(??-tati)-o kenasi-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother(-pl)-ACC speak-ill-of-AW-past

(17) The distributivity effect

- [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i hahaoya_j-o home-aw-ta ga,
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past but
kanojo*(-ra)_j-wa sore-o kii-tei-nakat-ta.
she(-pl)-TOP that-ACC hear-prog-not-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i praised [each other’s mothers]_j, but they_j(fem) didn’t hear that.”

(18) The restriction on modifiers

- a. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga [otagai-no_i [erumesu-no yoohuku]_j]-o kenasi-ta. (*otagai*: adjective modifiers)
Taro and Jiro-NOM each other-GEN Hermes-GEN clothes-ACC speak-ill-of-past
“Taro and Jiro spoke ill of each other’s Hermes clothes.”
- b. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i [(??erumesu-no) yoohuku]_j-o kenasi-aw-ta. (*V-aw*: adjective modifiers)
Taro and Jiro-NOM Hermes-GEN clothes-ACC speak-ill-of-AW-past
- c. [Taro to Jiro]_i-ga e_i [hidari-no kata]_j-o tataki-aw-ta.
Taro and Jiro-NOM left-GEN shoulder-ACC hit-AW-past
“[Taro and Jiro]_i hit each other_i’s left shoulders_i.” (*V-aw*: restrictive modifiers)

Evidence 2: The kinds of the verbs

- (19) PDC (Possessor Dative Construction) is incompatible with non-agentive transitives.
(cf. Landau 1999: 29)

(20) Hebrew

- a. *Gil ra’a le-Rina et ha-bayit. (perception/experiencer verbs)
Gil saw to-Rina ACC the-house
“Gil saw Rina’s house.”
- b. Gil histakel le-Rina al ha-bayit. (agentive verbs)
Gil looked-at to-Rina on the-house
“Gil looked at Rina’s house.”

(Landau 1999: 25-26)

(21) French

- a. ??Je lui ai vu les chaussures. (perception/experiencer verbs)
I to-him saw the shoes.
“I saw his shoes.”
- b. Je lui ai regardé les chaussures. (agentive verbs)
I to-him looked-at the shoes.
“I looked at his shoes.”

(Landau 1999: 26)

(22) a. [Taro to Hanako]_i-ga [otagai_i-no seikaku]-o aisi-te-iru. (perception/experiencer verbs)

Taro and Hanako-NOM each other-GEN character-ACC love-prog
“Taro and Hanako love each other’s characters.”

- b. [Taro to Hanako]_i-ga [otagai_i-no seikaku]-o home-ta. (agentive verbs)
Taro and Hanako-NOM each other-GEN character-ACC praise-past
“Taro and Hanako praised each other’s characters.”

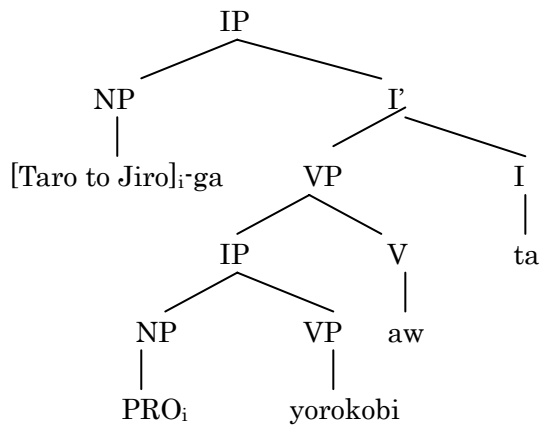
- c. *[Taro to Hanako]_i-ga e_i seikaku-o aisi-aw-te-iru. (perception/experiencer verbs)
Taro and Hanako-NOM character-ACC love-AW-prog

- d. [Taro to Hanako]_i-ga e_i seikaku-o home-aw-ta. (agentive verbs)
Taro and Hanako-NOM character-ACC praise-AW-past

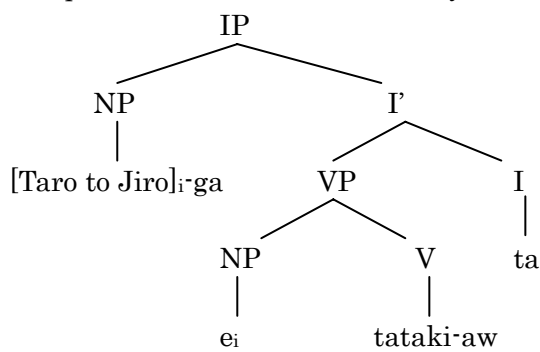
(23) Direct reciprocal *aw* and indirect reciprocal *aw* = the same affix (cf. (1), (15))

4. Competitive *aw*

(24) Competitive *aw* as a verb: The subject is \bar{a} -selected by *aw*. (cf. (3a))



(25) Reciprocal *aw* as an affix: The subject is not \bar{a} -selected by *aw*. (cf. (1a))



Evidence 1. Animacy constraint

(26) Inanimate NPs: not qualified as the subject of the competitive *V-aw* construction.

- a. *Ki-ga 300-meter-okini tat(*i-aw)-te-iru.*
 tree-NOM 300-meter-at-the-interval stand-AW-pres
 “The trees (competitively/collaboratively) stand at interval 300 meters.”
- b. *Heisi-tati-ga 300-meter-okini tat(i-aw)-te-iru.*
 soldier-pl-NOM 300-meter-at-the-interval stand-AW-pres
 “The soldiers stand at interval 300 meters.” (cf. Imani and Peters 1996: 108)

(27) The direct/indirect reciprocal *V-aw* construction allows the inanimate subject.

- a. *Ki_i-ga e_i yorikakari-aw-te-iru.*
 tree-NOM lean-AW-pres
 “The trees lean against each other.” (cf. Imani and Peters 1996: 108)
- b. *Ki_i-ga [e_i miki]-ni yorikakari-aw-te-iru.*
 tree-NOM trunk-DAT lean-AW-pres
 “The trees lean against each other’s trunks.”

Evidence 2. Historical data

(28) Various meanings of *aw*

- a. main verb *aw*: meet, match, agree, etc.
- b. competitive *aw*:
 - () the simultaneous meaning
 - () the collaborative meaning
 - () the competitive meaning

- c. direct/indirect reciprocal *aw*; the reciprocal meaning
- (29) Reciprocal *aw* came to be used in an earlier period than competitive *aw*.
- a. Suso-no utikae awa-ne-domo... (Manyousyuu; 8c)
hem-GEN front of the kimono AW-not-though
“Though the front hem of the *kimono* does not fit well, ...”
- b. Himo-no o-no itugari-ai-te... (Manyousyuu; 8c)
string-GEN life-NOM be linked-AW-te
“The strings of life were linked together, and...”
- c. Dainagon-o sosiri-ai-tari. (Taketori Monogatari; 10c)
Dainagon-ACC speak ill of-AW-complete
“(They) spoke ill of Dainagon collaboratively.”
- d. Kakemono-domo nado ni-naku-te idomi-ae-ri. (Genzi Monogatari; 11c)
prize-pl euphemistic two-not-te challenge-AW-complete
“The prizes were peerless and (they) competitively challenged (for them).”
- e. Tada ko-wa oya-o sute kiri-ai... (Taiheiki; 14c)
just child-TOP parent-ACC abandon slay-AW
“The child just abandoned the parent and (they) slew each other...”

5. Conclusion

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