

## Japanese *V-aw* constructions

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### 1. Introduction

- (1) The *otagai* construction and the *V-aw* construction
  - a. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga *otagai*-o tatai-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM each other-ACC hit-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub>.”
  - b. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga *e<sub>i</sub>* 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]<sub>i</sub>-ga *e<sub>i</sub>* tataki-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM hit-AW-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub>.”
  - b. The indirect reciprocal *V-aw* construction  
There is a gap (e) in a possessor position of an argument NP.  
[Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [*e<sub>i</sub>* hahaoya]<sub>j</sub>-o home-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> praised [each other<sub>j</sub>’s mothers]<sub>j</sub>.”
  - 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)  
[<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>John to Mary</sub>]<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>IP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP<sub>1</sub></sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP<sub>1</sub></sub> Op<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP<sub>2</sub></sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>V<sub>2</sub></sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* aisi]]] *aw*]]] *te-iru*]]  
John and Mary-NOM love-AW-prog  
“[John and Mary]<sub>i</sub> love each other<sub>i</sub>.”
- (4) Ishii’s (1989) analysis  
*Aw* = an affix (works as an intransitivizer)  
*e* = an argument which is saturated by *aw* (syntactically inactive)  
[<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>John to Mary</sub>]<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>V</sub> 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]<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>PP</sub> *zibun<sub>i</sub>*-no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in study-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> studied in self<sub>i</sub>’s room.” (distributive)

- b. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun-tati<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in study-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> studied in their<sub>i</sub> room.” (collective)
- (6) Inherently reciprocal intransitive verbs do not allow the distributive reading.
- a. \*[Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in fight-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> fought in self<sub>i</sub>'s room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun-tati<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in fight-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> fought in their<sub>i</sub> room.” (collective)
- (7) The subject of the *otagai* construction allows the distributive reading.
- a. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] otagai<sub>i</sub>-o tatai-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub> in self<sub>i</sub>'s room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun-tati<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] otagai<sub>i</sub>-o tatai-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub> in their<sub>i</sub> 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]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] e<sub>i</sub> tataki-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in hit-AW-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub> in self<sub>i</sub>'s room.” (distributive)
- b. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [PP zibun-tati<sub>i</sub>-no heya-de] e<sub>i</sub> tataki-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM self-tati-GEN room-in hit-AW-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub> in their<sub>i</sub> 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<sub>i</sub> á-ma-*dzí*nyóz-á kupósá asodzi<sub>j</sub>  
2-hunters 2SM-hab-REFL-despise-FV exceeding 2-fishermen  
“The hunters<sub>i</sub> despise themselves<sub>i</sub> more than the fisherman<sub>j</sub>.” (SC/OC)
- b. Alenje<sub>i</sub> á-ma-nyóz-*án*-á kupósá asodzi<sub>j</sub>  
2-hunters 2SM-hab-despise-RECIP-FV exceeding 2-fishermen  
“The hunters<sub>i</sub> despise each other<sub>i</sub> more than the fisherman<sub>j</sub>.” (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<sub>i</sub>-ga seito-tati<sub>j</sub>-yorimo sakini otagai<sub>i</sub>-o hihansi-ta.  
teacher-pl-NOM student-pl-than earlier each other-ACC criticize-past  
“The teachers<sub>i</sub> criticized each other<sub>i</sub> earlier than the students<sub>j</sub>.” (SC/OC)
- b. Sensei-tati<sub>i</sub>-ga seito-tati<sub>j</sub>-yorimo sakini e<sub>i</sub> 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]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> [hahaoya]<sub>j</sub>-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<sub>i</sub> a radiographié [l'estomac] t<sub>i</sub>. (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<sub>i</sub> a radiographié [les estomacs] t<sub>i</sub>. (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<sub>i</sub> a radiographié [l'estomac]<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  
 The doctor them has X-rayed [the-stomacs]  
 et il a constaté qu'ils<sub>j</sub> avaient des images normal.  
 and he has seen that they had DET images normal  
 "The doctor has X-rayed [their<sub>i</sub> stomachs]<sub>j</sub>  
 and he saw that they<sub>j</sub> 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]<sub>i</sub>-ga otagai-no<sub>i</sub> hahaoya<sub>j</sub>(-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]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> hahaoya<sub>j</sub>(??-tati)-o kenasi-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother(-pl)-ACC speak-ill-of-AW-past

(17) The distributivity effect

- [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> hahaoya<sub>j</sub>-o home-aw-ta ga,  
Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past but  
kanojo\*(-ra)<sub>j</sub>-wa sore-o kii-tei-nakat-ta.  
she(-pl)-TOP that-ACC hear-prog-not-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> praised [each other’s mothers]<sub>j</sub>, but they<sub>j</sub>(fem) didn’t hear that.”

(18) The restriction on modifiers

- a. [Taro to Jiro]<sub>i</sub>-ga [otagai-no<sub>i</sub> [erumesu-no yoohuku]<sub>j</sub>]-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]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> [(??erumesu-no) yoohuku]<sub>j</sub>-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]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> [hidari-no kata]<sub>j</sub>-o tataki-aw-ta.  
Taro and Jiro-NOM left-GEN shoulder-ACC hit-AW-past  
“[Taro and Jiro]<sub>i</sub> hit each other<sub>i</sub>’s left shoulders<sub>i</sub>.” (*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)

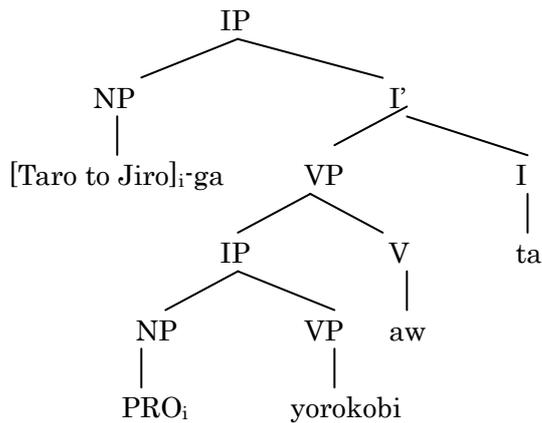
(22) a. [Taro to Hanako]<sub>i</sub>-ga [otagai<sub>i</sub>-no seikaku]-o aisi-te-iru. (perception/experiencer verbs)

- Taro and Hanako-NOM each other-GEN character-ACC love-prog  
“Taro and Hanako love each other’s characters.”
- b. [Taro to Hanako]<sub>i</sub>-ga [otagai<sub>i</sub>-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]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> seikaku-o aisi-aw-te-iru. (perception/experiencer verbs)  
Taro and Hanako-NOM character-ACC love-AW-prog
- d. [Taro to Hanako]<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> seikaku-o home-aw-ta. (agentive verbs)  
Taro and Hanako-NOM character-ACC praise-AW-past

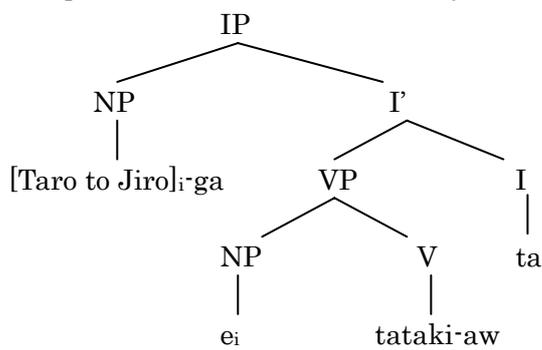
- (23) Direct reciprocal *aw* and indirect reciprocal *aw* = the same affix (cf. (1), (15))

#### 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<sub>i</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> yorikakari-aw-te-iru.*  
 tree-NOM lean-AW-pres  
 “The trees lean against each other.” (cf. Imani and Peters 1996: 108)
- b. *Ki<sub>i</sub>-ga [e<sub>i</sub> 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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