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] hit each other.”

   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 tataki-aw-ta.
   Taro and Jiro-NOM hit-AW-past
   “[Taro and Jiro] hit each other.”

b. The indirect reciprocal V-aw construction
   There is a gap (e) in a possessor position of an argument NP.
   Taro and Jiro-NOM mother-ACC praise-AW-past
   “[Taro and Jiro] praised each other’s mothers.”

c. The competitive V-aw construction: There is no gap.
   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 [VP t1 [VP1 Op] [VP2 t1 [V2 t2 aisi]] aw]] te-iru]
   John and Mary-NOM love-AW-prog
   “[John and Mary] love each other.”

(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 [VP zibun-no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.
   Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in study-past
   “[Taro and Jiro] studied in self’s room.” (distributive)
b. [Taro to Jiro]-ga [v zibun-tati-ŋ no heya-de] benkyoosi-ta.
  Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in study-past
  “[Taro and Jiro] studied in their room.” (collective)

(6) Inherently reciprocal intransitive verbs do not allow the distributive reading.
  a. *[Taro to Jiro]-ga [v zibun-ŋ no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in fight-past
     “[Taro and Jiro] fought in self’s room.” (distributive)
  b. [Taro to Jiro]-ga [v zibun-tati-ŋ no heya-de] kenkasi-ta.
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in fight-past
     “[Taro and Jiro] fought in their room.” (collective)

(7) The subject of the otagai construction allows the distributive reading.
  a. [Taro to Jiro]-ga [v zibun-ŋ no heya-de] otagai-o tatai-ta.
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past
     “[Taro and Jiro] hit each other in self’s room.” (distributive)
  b. [Taro to Jiro]-ga [v zibun-tati-ŋ no heya-de] otagai-o tatai-ta.
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in each other-ACC hit-past
     “[Taro and Jiro] hit each other in their 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]-ga [v zibun-ŋ no heya-de] e_I tataki-aw-ta.
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-GEN room-in hit-AW-past
     “[Taro and Jiro], hit each other, in self’s room.” (distributive)
     Taro and Jiro-NOM self-pl-GEN room-in hit-AW-past
     “[Taro and Jiro], hit each other, in their 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: á-ma-dziŋyz-á kupósa asodzi
     2-hunters 2SM-hab-REFL-desp ise-FV exceeding 2-fishermen
     “The hunters despise themselves more than the fishermen.” (SC/OC)
  b. Alenje: á-mányoz-árá kupósa asodzi
     2-hunters 2SM-hab-despise-RECIP-FV exceeding 2-fishermen
     “The hunters despise each other, more than the fishermen.” (SC/OOC)

(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
     teacher-pl-NOM student-pl-than earlier each other-ACC criticize-past
     “The teachers criticized each other earlier than the students.” (SC/OC)
     teacher-pl-NOM student-pl-than earlier criticize-AW-past (SC/OOC)

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.
Evidence 1: Comparison with the French EPC

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

(12) a. Le medicine 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 medicine leur; a radiographié [l’estomac] t. (EPC with cliticization)
   The doctor them has X-rayed [the-stomach]
   “The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.”

c. Le medicine a radiographié [leurs estomacs]. (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 medicine 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 medicine leur; a radiographié [les estomacs] t. (EPC with cliticization)
      The doctor them has X-rayed [the(pl) stomachs]
      “The doctor has X-rayed their stomachs.”

   c. Le medicine 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 medicine leur; a radiographié [l’estomac], t.
   The doctor them has X-rayed [the-stomachs]
   et il a constaté qu’ils; abaint des images normal.
   and he has seen that they had DET images normal
   “The doctor has X-rayed [their, stomachs],
   and he saw that they 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 doits 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 Jirol; ga otagai-no, hahaoya,(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.”

   (V&Z: 603)
b. [Taro to Jiro]-ga e i hahaoya(-tati)-o kenasi-aw-ta.
   Taro and Jiro-NOM mother(-pl)-ACC speak-ill-of-AW-past

(17) The distributivity effect

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

(18) The restriction on modifiers

a. [Taro to Jiro]-ga [otagai-no, [erumesu-no yoo hakkaku]-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]-ga e i [(??erumesu-no) yoo hakkaku]-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]-ga e i [hidari-no kata]-o tataki-aw-ta.
   Taro and Jiro-NOM left-GEN shoulder-ACC hit-AW-past
   “[Taro and Jiro], hit each other’s left shoulders.” (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]-ga [otagai-no, 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]-ga [otagai-no, 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]-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]-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 *-selected by *aw*. (cf. (3a))

Evidence 1. Animacy constraint

(26) Inanimate NPs: not qualified as the subject of the competitive V-*aw* construction.
      tree-NOM 300-meter-at-the-interval stand-AW-pres
      “The trees (competitively/collaboratively) stand at interval 300 meters.”
      soldier-pl-NOM 300-meter-at-the-interval stand-AW-pres

(27) The direct/indirect reciprocal V-*aw* construction allows the inanimate subject.
   a. Ki-ga ei yorikakari-*aw*-te-iru.
      tree-NOM lean-AW-pres
      “The trees lean against each other.” (cf. Imani and Peters 1996: 108)
   b. Ki-ga [e i mi ki]-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*:
      (Ⅰ) the simultaneous meaning
      (Ⅱ) the collaborative meaning
      (Ⅲ) the competitive meaning
c. direct/indirect reciprocal \textit{aw}; the reciprocal meaning

(29) Reciprocal \textit{aw} came to be used in an earlier period than competitive \textit{aw}.

a. Susono utikae awane-domo... (Manyousyuu: 8c)
   hem-GEN front of the kimono AW-not-though
   “Though the front hem of the \textit{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’nakute idomi-ae-ri. (Genji 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

References


Dictionaries

