A Distributed Morphology Analysis of Verbs of Giving in Japanese[*]

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1 Introduction

Background

- Two *gives* in Japanese, age/kure, mark *empathy locus* (or point-of-view center) (Kuno and Kaburaki 1977, Kuno 1987, Sells 1987, Oshima 2006, Ikawa 2022).
- Distribution of 1 person (1P) pronoun *watasi*:
  - *kure*: *1P is the IO. (1a) / *age*: *1P is the Subj. (1b)

(1) a. **Watasi**-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o {**age**/***kure**}-ta.
I-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'I gave Hanako a car.'

b. Taro-ga **watasi**-ni kuruma-o {***age**/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM I-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave me a car.'

- Empathy locus is encoded in syntax (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018).
- *Kure* lexically encodes the point-of-view center (*pivot* in Sells (1987)).

The Main Claim

- Empathy locus encodings of age/kure are sytactic, not lexical.
  - Based on Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, and subsequent work)

> - Age/Kure: phonological forms of Appl(icative).
> - Interpretable Person feature on Voice/Appl triggers the point-of-view effects, making Appl age/kure.

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Abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, CON = converb, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, NOM = nominative, PRT = particle, PST = past.

Roadmap

§2 Point of View Restrictions in Ditransitive Verbs

§3 *Age/Kure* as phonological forms of Appl

§4 On Phases

§5 concludes.

2 Point of View Restrictions in Ditransitive Verbs

2.1 *Give*s in Japanese

Double Object Construction (DOC) in Japanese

(1) a. **Watasi**-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o {**age**/***kure**}-ta.
I-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'I gave Hanako a car.'

b. Taro-ga **watasi**-ni kuruma-o {***age**/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM I-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave me a car.'

(2) **Observation 1:**
a. *age*: *IO=1P
b. *kure*: *Subj=1P

(3) Taro-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o {**age**/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave Hanako a car.'

(4) Taro-ga **musuko-ni** kuruma-o {**age**/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM son-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave {**his**/**my**} **son** a car.'

(5) **Observation 2:**
a. *age*: the Subj describes the event
b. *kure*: the Speaker describes the event.

(6) a. {Watasi/Anata/Taro}-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o **atae**-ta.
I/you/Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'{I/You/Taro} gave Hanako a car.'

b. Taro-ga {watasi/anata/Hanako}-ni kuruma-o **atae**-ta.
Taro-NOM I/you/Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave a car to {me/you/Hanako}.'

(7) a. {Watasi/Anata/Taro}-ga Hanako-ni tegami-o **okut**-ta.
I/you/Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT letter-ACC send-PST
'{I/You/Taro} send Hanako a letter.'

b. Taro-ga {watasi/anata/Hanako}-ni tegami-o **okut**-ta.
Taro-NOM I/you/Hanako-DAT letter-ACC send-PST
'Taro send a letter to {me/you/Hanako}.'

(8) **Observation 3:**
   a. *age*/*kure* each shows the point-of-view restriction.
   b. Other ditransitive verbs (e.g., *atae* 'give') doesn't.

2.2 Syntactic Encoding of Perspectives

Me-First PCC (Nevins 2007)

- **Person Case Constraint (PCC):** Some IO-DO orders are prohibited depending on person features. (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, 1994, a.o.)
- **Me-First PCC:** $^*\langle 2 > 1\rangle$, $^*\langle 3 > 1\rangle$ IO-DO orders

(9) a. Maria i- te- a prezentat *[Romanian]*
   Maria 3.DAT 2.ACC has introduced 3>2
   'Maria$_i$ has introduced you to her$_j$.'

   b. Maria me- te- a prezentat 1>2
   Maria 1.DAT 2.ACC has introduced
   'Maria has introduced you to me.'

   c. * Maria i- m- a prezentat *3>1
   Maria 3.DAT 1.ACC has introduced
   'Maria$_i$ has introduced me to her$_k$.'

   d. * Maria tie- m- a prezentat *2>1
   Maria 2.DAT 1.ACC has introduced
   'Maria has introduced me to you.' (Nevins 2007:297)

PCC via Agree (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018)

- Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018): Perspective encoding and PCC are syntactic.
- Appl with an interpretable person feature agrees with DP in its Spec, denoting that the DP is a perspectival center.

(10) *P(erson) Constraint:* The DP that agrees with the interpretable feature on the phase head is a perspectival center within that phase.
(Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018:1299)

(11) Interpretable P(erson) Features (based on Nevins (2007))

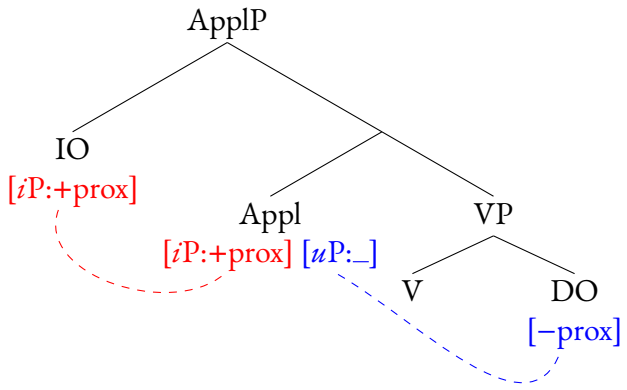
a.	1P	[+proximate],[+participant],[+author]
b.	2P	[+proximate],[+participant],[−author]
c.	$3P_{proximate}$	[+proximate],[−participant],[−author]
d.	$3P_{obviative}$	[−proximate],[−participant],[−author]

(Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018:1300)

Person	P&Z	Sells (1987)	Role
1P	[+author]	*source*	speaker
2P	[+participant]	*self*	attitude holder
$3P_{prox}$	[+proximate]	*pivot*	point-of-view center
$3P_{obv}$	[−proximate]	*	non-prominent

Table 1: Decomposed Person Features and Their Logophoric Roles

(12)



- If Appl bears [*i*P:+prox], the DO must be [−prox]. ($n \neq q$)
  - [+proximate]: $3P_{prox}$, 2P, or 1P. Hence, DO must be 3_{obv}.
- Agree is not for purposes of feature valuation (Chomsky 2000).
- Appl[*i*P:*n*] agrees to ensure that the Goal DP anchors the described event to the speech event.

3 *Age/Kure* as phonological forms of Appl

Analysis in a Nutshell

- The point-of-view restrictions of *age*/*kure* also result from the interpretable-person-feature Agree.

  cf. Hirasawa (2026), where *age*/*kure* are cases of (inverse) Me-First PCC (Nevins 2007).

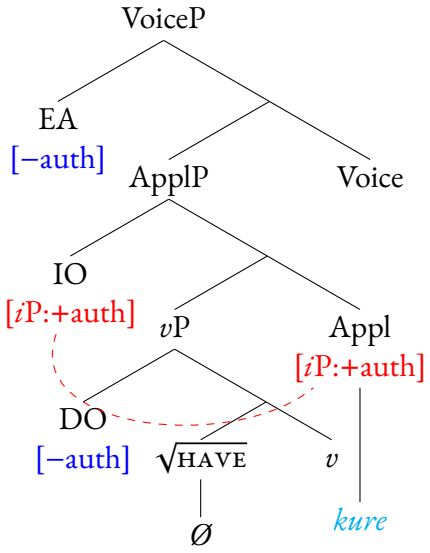
- (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018): *Kure* lexically encodes *pivot* (i.e., point-of-view center).

Proposal

- Age/Kure are phonological forms for Appl.
- I follow Hirasawa (2026) in that [+auth] triggers the PCC effects in age/kure.
- $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ + Appl + [*i*P:+auth] ⟶ age/kure
  - Appl[*i*P:+auth] ⟶ *kure*
  - Appl + Voice[*i*P:+auth] ⟶ *age*
  - $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ + [*i*P:+auth] ⟶ zero (root suppletion)

Kure

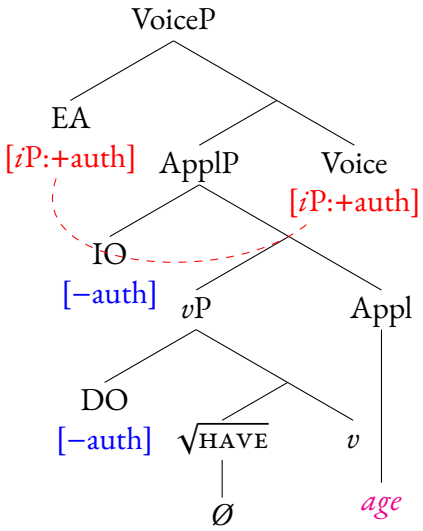
(13)



(14) a. Appl ↔ *kure* / _____[*i*P:+auth]
b. √HAVE ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+auth]

Age

(15)



(16) a. Appl ↔ *age* / _____Voice[*i*P:+auth]
b. √HAVE ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+auth]

***Age/Kure* as Appl**

- I suppose that *age*/*kure* are functional elements, not lexical verbs.
- *Age*/*Kure* both have an auxiliary usage.

(17) Taro-ga **musuko-ni** kuruma-o kat-te {**age**/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM son-DAT car-ACC buy-CON give-PST
'Taro bought {**his**/**my**} **son** a car.'

- Even in the auxiliary usage, *age*/*kure* show the same pov restrictions as their lexical usages. (cf. Tomioka and Kim (2017))

(18) a. Taro-ga **watasi-ni** kuruma-o kat-te {*age/**kure**}-ta.
Taro-NOM I-DAT car-ACC buy-CON give-PST
'Taro bought a car for me.'

b. **Watasi**-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o kat-te {**age**/*kure}-ta.
I-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC buy-CON give-PST
'I bought a car for Hanako.'

- *Atae* (neutral *give*) does not have the pov restriction.

(6) a. {Watasi/Anata/Taro}-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o **atae**-ta.
I/you/Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'{I/You/Taro} gave Hanako a car.'

b. Taro-ga {watasi/anata/Hanako}-ni kuruma-o **atae**-ta.
Taro-NOM I/you/Hanako-DAT car-ACC give-PST
'Taro gave a car to {me/you/Hanako}.'

- *Atae* also doesn't show the auxiliary usage.

(19) *Taro-ga Hanako-ni kuruma-o kat-te **atae**-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT car-ACC buy-CON give-PST
'Taro bought a car for me.'

- I regard *age*/*kure* as functional elements that denotes perspective center (can be High-Appl).
- I assume the following Vocabulary items for Appl and $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$.

(20) a. Appl ↔ *age* / _____Voice[*i*P:+auth]
b. Appl ↔ *kure* / _____[*i*P:+auth]
c. Appl ↔ Ø

(21) a. $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+auth]
b. $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ ↔ *atae* / _____Appl

4 On Phases

Phase

- There is no strict consensus on what element defines a phase (Bošković 2014, 2016, etc.).
  - CP, *v**P define a phase. (Chomsky 2000, 2001)
    - *v*P also defines a phase. (Legate 2003)
  - High ApplP defines a phase but Low ApplP doesn't (McGinnis 2005).
  - ϕ-feature is the locus of phasehood. (Chomsky 2008, Saito 2017)
- Zubizarreta and Pancheva (2017:1165):
  Functional heads with EA and/or [*i*P:*n*] define a phase.

- Based on the assumption that [*i*P:*n*] is the locus of phasehood, the following possibilities are predicted:
  - *Age:* Voice defines a phase (Appl doesn't).
  - *kure:* Appl defines a phase.
- However, I discuss a possibility that [*i*P:*n*] is not necessarily the sole factor of phasehood.

→ **ApplP and VoiceP define a phase regardless of the presence/absence of [*i*P:*n*].**

Intermediate trace/reconstruction

- Escape Hatch (cf. Chomsky (2004)): Obj undergoing A'-mvt firstly goes up to *v*P Edge.
- Intermediate trace of *v*P (Fox 1998, 2000, Legate 2003):

(22) a. [Which of the papers that **he**$_i$ gave **Mary**$_j$]$_k$ did **every student**$_i$ ✓t_k ask **her**$_j$ to read ✗t_k carefully?

b. *[Which of the papers that **he**$_i$ gave **Mary**$_j$]$_k$ did **she**$_j$ ✗t_k ask **every student**$_i$ to revise ✗t_k? (Fox 1998:157)

- ✓t_k satisfies...
  1. *he* is bound by Subj *every student* (Condition B)
  2. *Mary* is free, not bound by IO *her* (Condition C).

(23) a. [**Zibun**$_i$-to **Taro**$_j$-no tuu-syotto syasin]-o **dono-kyouzyu**$_i$**-mo** **kare**$_j$-ni age-ta.
self-and Taro-GEN two-shot photo-ACC every professor-PRT he-DAT give-PST

b. [**Zibun**$_i$-to **watasi-no** **musuko**$_j$-no tuu-syotto syasin]-o **dono-kyouzyu**$_i$**-mo** **kare**$_j$-ni kure-ta.
self-and I-GEN son-GEN two-shot photo-ACC every- professor-PRT he-DAT give-PST
'Every professor$_i$ gave a photo of himself$_i$ and {Taro/my son}$_j$ to him$_j$.'

(24) [*Zibun*$_i$...R-exp$_j$...]$_{DO}$ ... $\forall_{i,Subj}$ [ApplP t_{DO} he$_{j,IO}$ [$_{vP}$ t_{DO}...]]

- t_{DO} satisfies...
  1. *zibun* is bound by Subj *every professor*
  2. *Taro/my son* is free, not bound by IO *kare* 'he'.

DO between EA and IO

- DO escapes from Condition C violation if scrambled above the IO (Nemoto 1993).

(25) a. *Ken-ga soko$_i$-no sotugyoosei-ni mittu-izyoo-no
Ken-NOM it-GEN graduate-DAT three-or.more-GEN
dasigaku$_i$-o susume-ta.
university-ACC recommend-PST

b. Ken-ga mittu-izyoo-no dasigaku$_i$-o soko$_i$-no
Ken-NOM three-or.more-GEN university-ACC it-GEN
sotugyoosei-ni susume-ta.
graduate-DAT recommend-PST
'Ken recommended to their$_i$ graduates three or more universities$_i$.'
(Yoshimoto 2012:193)

- Clause-internal (or short) scrambling changes the binding relation; A-movement.
- Even after DO undergoes topicalization (A'-movement), the intermediate copy between EA and IO is active.

(26) Mittu-izyoo-no dasigaku$_i$-o Ken-ga soko$_i$-no
three-or.more-GEN university-ACC Ken-NOM it-GEN
sotugyoosei-ni susume-ta.
graduate-DAT recommend-PST
'Three or more universities$_i$, Ken recommended to their$_i$ graduates.' (Yoshimoto 2012:193)

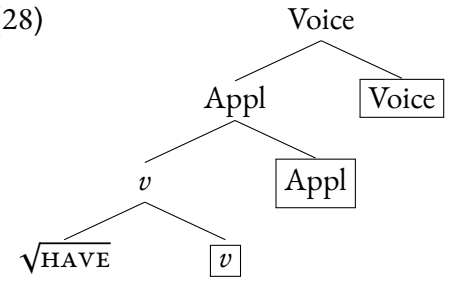
- Scrambling, as well as topicalization, is a movement operation to the edge of a phase (Hiraiwa 2010:143).
- If this is true, there is an edge position between EA and IO for DO, which is likely to be ApplP.
  - Appl can define a phase without [*i*P:*n*].

Implications for Morphological Boundary

(27) β may condition α iff there is no X, such that:
$\alpha \ldots X \ldots \beta$
a. X is overt or a (cyclic) node dominating a cyclic node (Embick 2010).
b. X is a maximum projection (Bobaljik 2012).

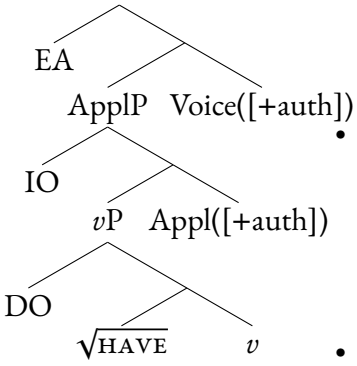
- Embick (2010): As soon as a phase head merges, its complement is spelled out and undergoes Vocabulary Insertion.

(28)



- *v*(erbelizer) defines a phase (Marantz 1997, Arad 2003).
- Appl and Voice are possible to be cyclic, too.
- Since [*i*P:*n*] itself triggers Spell-Out, √HAVE can't be conditioned by [*i*P:+auth].

(29)



(30) a. $\alpha \ldots]_{X^0} \ldots \beta$
b. $^*\alpha \ldots]_{XP} \ldots \beta$
(Bobaljik 2012:138)

- Terminal nodes can also undergo Escape Hatch (Head-Head).
  - Before Spell-Out, Head Movement happens.
  - *Contra* Chomsky et al. (2023)
- If so, √HAVE can be conditioned by [+auth] across phase boundaries.

- Syntactic phase heads might not always define a morphological boundary.

5 Summary

Summary

- *Age*/*Kure* 'give' in Japanese are phonologically realized Appl.
- An interpretable person feature [+auth] supplies Appl with *age*/*kure* and makes √HAVE phonologically null:

(20) a. Appl ↔ *age* / _____Voice[*i*P:+auth]
b. Appl ↔ *kure* / _____[*i*P:+auth]

(21) a. √HAVE ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+auth]

- As a consequence of my analysis, I suggest that...
  1. Appl can define a phase in the absence of [*i*P:*n*].
     - A-position for DO between EA and IO.
  2. Head Movement before Spell-Out
     - Morphological boundary ≠ Syntactic locality

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