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

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1 Introduction

Background

- Two *give*s in Japanese, age/kure, exhibit *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.'

The Main Claim

- Empathy locus is encoded in syntax; *kure* lexically encodes the point-of-view center. (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018)

Proposal

- Age/Kure: phonological forms of Appl(icative).
  - Based on Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, and subsequent work)
- [+prox] on Voice/Appl makes Appl age/kure, causing a zero

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Abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, ANIM = animate, CLF = classifier, CON = converb, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, INANIM = inanimate, MASC = masculine, NOM = nominative, PST = past, SG = singular.

suppletion of $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$.

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:* Point-of-View = the Subj
b. *kure:* Point-of-View = the Speaker

(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 Perspective

Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018)

- Similar point-of-view restriction effects are observed crosslinguisitcally.
  - Romance (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991), Greek (Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005), a.m.o.

(9) a. Elle {te/me} le présentera. [*French*]
she 2SG/1SG 3SG.MASC.ACC will.introduce (1P/2P>3P)
'She will introduce him to you/me.'

b. * Elle {te/me} le présentera.
she 2SG/1SG 3SG.MASC.DAT will.introduce (3P>1P/2P)
'She will introduce you/me to him.'
(Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018:1294)

(10) $3P_{proximate} > 3P_{obviative}$
a. Te lo di. [*a leísta Spanish dialect*]
2SG 3SG.INANIM.ACC gave. (2P>INANIM)
'I gave it/him to you.'

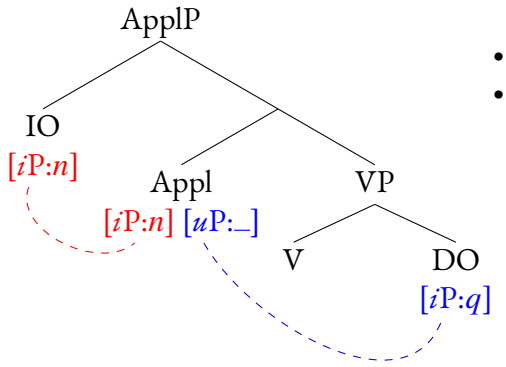
b. * Te le di.
2SG 3SG.ANIM.ACC gave. (2P>ANIM)
'I gave him to you.' (Ormazabal and Romero 2007:316)

- Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018): Perspective encoding is syntactic.

(11) *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)

- Appl bears two P-Features.
  - [*i*P:*n*] agrees with the IO
  - [*u*P:_] agrees with the DO
- IO = Perspective cen-

(12)



ter
- Appl with [*i*P:*n*] = phase
- *n*≠*q*

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

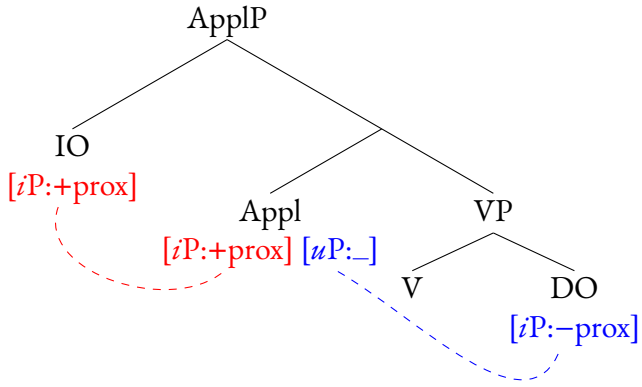
a.	1P	[+proximate],[+participant],[+author]
b.	2P	[+proximate],[+participant],[−author]
c.	$3P_{proximate}$	[+proximate],[−participant],[−author]
d.	$3P_{obviative}$	[−proximate],[−participant],[−author]

(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

(14)



- If Appl bears [*i*P:+prox], the DO must be [*i*P:−prox]. (*n*≠*q*)
- [+proximate] entails [+participant] and [+author]
  - [+participant] entails [+author], too.
- 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 ecent.

3 *Age/Kure* as phonological forms of Appl

Analysis in a Nutshell

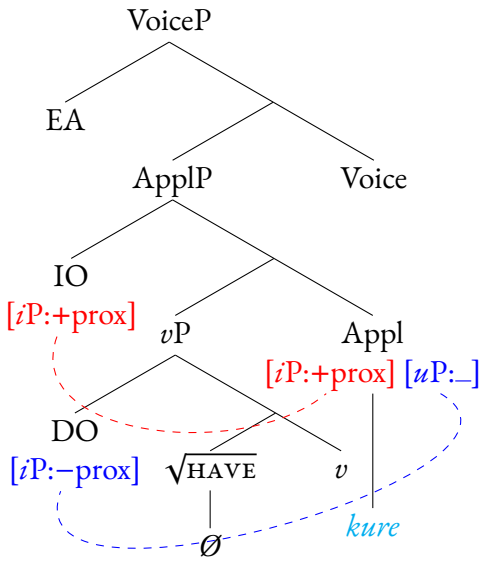
- The point-of-view restrictions of *age*/*kure* also result from the interpretable-person-feature Agree.
  - cf. Hirasawa (2026), where *age*/*kure* are cases of (inverse) Me-First PCC (Nevins 2007).
- (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018): *Kure* lexically encodes *pivot* (i.e., point-of-view center).

Proposal

- I propose that age/kure are phonological forms for Appl.
- $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ + Appl → age/kure
  - Appl + [*i*P:+prox] → *kure*
  - Appl + Voice[*i*P:+prox] → *age*
  - $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ + [*i*P:+prox] → zero suppletion
- [*i*P:+prox] on Appl/Voice ensures that its Spec is the *pivot*.

Kure

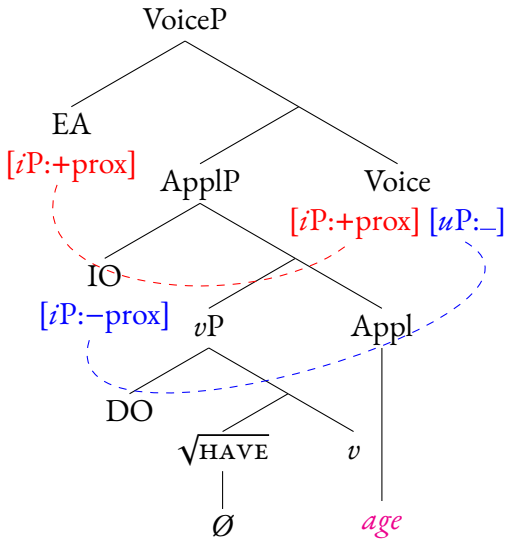
(15)



(16) a. Appl ↔ *kure* / _____[*i*P:+prox]
b. $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+prox]

Age

(17)



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

Age/Kure as Appl

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

(19) 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))

(20) 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.

(21) *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.
- I assume the following Vocabulary items for Appl and $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$.

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

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

4 On Phases

Phase

- There is no strict consensus on what element defines a phase.
  - CP, *v**P define a phase. (Chomsky 2000, 2001)
    - *v*P also defines a phase. (Legate 2003, Bošković 2016)
  - In DM, functional categorizing heads (e.g, *a*, *n*, *v*) are cyclic heads (define phase). (Marantz 1997, Arad 2003)
  - ϕ-feature is the locus of phasehood. (Chomsky 2008, Saito 2017)
- Zubizarreta and Pancheva (2017:1165): [A] functional (or semi-functional) head that introduces an external argument and/or an interpretable person feature defines a phase.
- If my analysis is on the right track, the following possibilities are predicted:
  - *Age:* Voice defines a phase (Appl doesn't).
  - *kure:* Appl (and Voice) defines a phase.

Morphological locality

(24) 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 "cyclic node" (Bobaljik 2012).

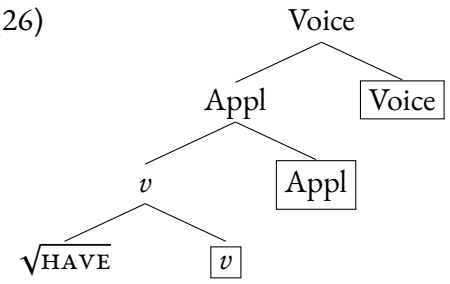
(25) $\mathbb{C}_1$-LIN Theory (Embick 2010)
$\ldots \beta \boxed{[_{\text{YP}}\ \text{Y}\ [_{\alpha\text{P}}\ \alpha\ \boxed{[_{\text{XP}}\ \text{X} \ldots}}$

a. A cyclic head β spells out its complement YP when it merges with YP. Then, the terminal node(s) in YP (i.e., Y, α) undergo(es) Vocabulary Insertion.

b. In Vocabulary Insertion, Y can refer to non-cyclic X if and iff Y is non-cyclic and cyclic α is phonologically null.

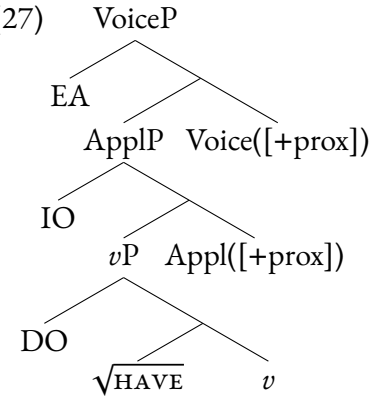
c. If Y is a cyclic head, it itself triggers Spell-Out of αP and is unable to refer to X even if α is null.

(26)



- *v*, Appl, and Voice are all possible to be cyclic.
- If we adopt $\mathbb{C}_1$-LIN Theory, the zero suppletion of $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ never happens because $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ can't see [+prox] on the cyclic heads (Appl/Voice).

(27)



- In my analysis, I adopt the version of the phase theory in Chomsky (2001), where Comp of a phase head is transferred when the next higher phase is completed.
- If so, the Vocabulary Insertion of $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ conditioned by [+prox].
- It is also predicted that Appl doesn't define a phase in the absence of [*i*P:*n*].

5 Summary

Summary

- I argue that *age*/*kure* 'give' in Japanese are phonologically realized Appl.
  - Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018): Perspective encoding is syntactic.
- [+prox] supplies Appl with *age*/*kure* and makes $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ phonologically null:

(22) a. Appl ↔ *age* / _____Voice[*i*P:+prox]

b. Appl ↔ *kure* / _____[*i*P:+prox]

(23) a. $\sqrt{\text{HAVE}}$ ↔ Ø / _____[*i*P:+prox]

- As a consequence of my analysis, I suggest that morphological locality is defined as the phase theory in Chomsky (2001).

6 Appendix

Intermediate trace

(28) a. [**Otagai**$_i$-no gakusei-ga **Taro**$_j$-nituite kai-ta
each.other-GEN student-NOM Taro-about write-PST
hon]-o **[huta-ri-no kyouzyu]**$_i$-ga **kare**$_j$-ni
book-ACC two-CLF-GEN professor-NOM he-DAT
age-ta.
give-PST
'The book that each other$_i$'s students wrote about Taro$_j$, the two professors$_i$ gave to him$_j$.'

b. [**Otagai**$_i$-no gakusei-ga **watasi-no musuko**$_j$-nituite
each.other-GEN student-NOM I.GEN son-about
kai-ta hon]-o **[huta-ri-no kyouzyu]**$_i$-ga
write-PST book-ACC two-CLF-GEN professor-NOM
kare$_j$-ni **kure**-ta.
he-DAT give-PST
'The book that each other$_i$'s students wrote about my son$_j$, the two professors$_i$ gave to him$_j$.'

(29) [each other$_i$. . .musuko$_j$. . .]$_k$ . . . [two professors]$_i$ [ApplP t_k
he$_j$ [$_{vP}$ . . .t_k. . .]]

- In (28), the DO scrambles across the subject.
- Its highest copy cannot license *otagai* 'each other,' while its lowest copy places the R-expression *Taro* in the c-command domain of coreferential *kare* 'he,' violating Condition C.
- An intermediate copy between the EA and IO satisfies both requirements, as in (29).
- This is the position expected at the ApplP edge under successive-cyclic movement through a phase edge Fox (2000), Legate (2003).
- The interpretation therefore provides independent evidence that person-bearing Appl defines a phase.

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