

A Case of Constructional Polysemy in Japanese\*

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1 Introduction

This article will be concerned with some aspects of the theory of grammatical constructions. The theory of grammatical constructions generally concerns the pairing of form and meaning. Most, if not all, linguistic expressions are associated with one or more senses. Apart from cases of homonymy, polysemous expressions can be analyzed as networks of separate senses. Any polysemous word or morpheme has at least one sense that forms the basis for semantic extension. The original sense of an expression is connected with its extended senses, which may create the potential for further extensions, and thus lexical meanings set up a network, some of them being more central and others more peripheral (Langacker 1987, Norvig and Lakoff 1987).

The same thing holds true for linguistic units larger than words, that is, expressions at the phrasal and clausal levels. As George Lakoff argues in his voluminous work *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987), grammatical constructions are pairings of form and meaning and form radially structured categories. These assumptions are part of the basic tenets of the linguistic theory called Construction Grammar (Brugman 1988, Fillmore 1988, Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor 1988, Goldberg 1995, Lakoff 1987, among others). The present article will offer further evidence for this linguistic theory by presenting data from Japanese. More precisely, I will discuss the multiple meaning, or polysemy, of the word *yar-*.

*Yar-* is used as a main verb to mean "to give" in a ditransitive sentence like (1), whereas it functions as an auxiliary verb when it is combined with a verbal gerund (i.e. a verb followed by the affix *-te*) to derive a compound verb in the form *V-te yar-*, as shown in (2).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yat-ta.  
Nom Dat book-Acc give-Past  
'Taro gave a book to Hanako.'

- (2) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o okut-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat book-Acc send-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro sent a book to Hanako.'

The verbal gerund of the compound verb *V-te yar-* is not necessarily a ditransitive verb like *okur-*. Transitive verbs like *migak-* 'to polish' may also occur in the verbal gerund of the sentence pattern [NP-*ga* NP-*ni* NP-*o* V-*te yar*-Tns] (henceforth, the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction), as shown in (3).

- (3) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat shoe-Acc polish-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro shined the shoes for Hanako.'

But note that not all transitive verbs are equally licensed. As the sentence in (4) shows, the transitive verb *sute-* 'to dump' is excluded from the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction.

- (4) \*Taroo-ga Hanako-ni gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat garbage-Acc dump-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro put out the garbage for Hanako.'

The contrast between (3) and (4) suggests that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is semantically constrained in such a way that sentences like (3) are permitted, but sentences like (4) are automatically ruled out.

Note, however, that the compound verb *sute-te yar-* is not itself ill-formed, because (4) can be made acceptable by removing the dative NP from it, as in (5).

- (5) Taroo-ga gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.  
 Nom garbage-Acc dump-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro put out the garbage (for someone).'

This sentence, being an instance of the transitive construction (i.e. the sentence pattern [NP-*ga* NP-*o* V-Tns]) is syntactically different from the ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions in (2) and (3). Henceforth, the term "nonditransitive" is used of the *-te yar-* constructions that show different syntactic patterns from the ditransitive construction.

The ditransitive and the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction are

similar in that they all imply that the subject's referent, that is, Taro, did something for some other person. In (2) and (3), the beneficiary is denoted by the NP *Hanako*, which is marked with the dative particle *-ni*. Thus, the dative NP is understood as referring to the person who received the benefit of Taro's action. In (5), by contrast, the beneficiary NP is missing, though the benefactor is denoted by the nominative NP. Yet the sentence conveys the benefactive sense. This fact suggests that any sentence that is headed by a compound verb in the form *V-te yar-* has beneficiary and the related concepts in its meaning.<sup>2,3</sup>

The beneficiary phrase of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction in (5) can be made explicit. The compound verb *sute-te yar-* does not occur with a beneficiary NP marked by the dative particle *-ni*, as we have observed in (4), but it is compatible with a beneficiary NP that is marked by the complex particle *-no tame-ni*, which has the meaning that can be rendered approximately as 'for the benefit of', as shown by the following example:

- (6) Taroo-ga Hanako-no tame-ni gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Gen benefit-Dat garbage-Acc dump-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro put out the garbage for Hanako.'

A question arises at this point as to what gives rise to two different beneficiary NPs. In this article, I will demonstrate that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction and nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction have different semantic structures, and each of these semantic structures constitutes the relevant domain for one or the other type of beneficiary. In other words, each beneficiary must be characterized against the background of a certain contextual meaning. The essential claim to be made, however, is that the two types of *-te yar-* construction are connected with each other. More precisely, I will argue that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction creates the potential for the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction.

## 2 Inheritance Relation between the Main Verb and Auxiliary Verb

Syntactic properties of a grammatical construction, as Lakoff (1987) argues, are consequences of, or motivated by, the semantic structure

associated with it. If two grammatical constructions have the same syntactic property, then they may possibly share some semantic feature. In this section, I explicate the syntactic and semantic properties of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction. It will be made clear that this grammatical construction are similar to the construction headed by the verb of giving *yar-* both syntactically and semantically. On the basis of such similarities, I argue that the auxiliary verb *yar-* is a semantic extension of the main verb *yar-*.

### 2.1 Grammatical Valence Description

To begin with, the main verb *yar-* and the compound verb *V-te yar-* have in common a syntactic and semantic valence description. Both of the predicates are syntactically subcategorized for nominative, dative, and accusative NPs, as shown in (7).

- (7)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yat-ta.  
           Nom          -Dat book-Acc give-Past  
           'Taro gave a book to Hanako.'
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o okut-te yat-ta.  
           Nom          -Dat book-Acc send-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro sent a book to Hanako.'

The events described by these sentences are subsumed under the same type, that is, the transfer event. Thus in both (7a) and (7b), the nominative, dative, and accusative NPs are respectively interpreted as giver, recipient, and gift, in the most general sense. Moreover, the situations described by (7a, b) are construed not only as mere transfer events, but also as favor giving activities. The nominative NP is also understood as benefactor, the dative NP as beneficiary, and the accusative NP as benefit.

These similarities between (7a) and (7b) can be accounted for by assuming that these sentences are associated with a semantic structure such as (8).<sup>5</sup>

- (8) [CAUSE (<[DO ([X]<sup>α</sup>, [Z]<sup>α<sub>x</sub>)], [GO ( [ [BENEFIT]<sup>α</sup> ], [FROM [β]] )])>)]</sup>

This semantic structure represents the concept of change of location, that is, "a person X DOES something to a thing Z, which CAUSES Z to GO FROM X to

another person Y." It also represents the concept of favor giving, that is, "X DOES something to Z for the BENEFIT of Y." Benefit may very well be conceptualized as an abstract object that is transferred from one person to another. This concept is structurally the same as the concept of change of location, and therefore these two concepts can easily be superimposed on each other.

The variables X, Y, and Z here stand for the arguments linked to the nominative, dative, and accusative NPs in a ditransitive sentence like (7a) or (7b). Note that the Roman subscripts are marking links between the syntactic and semantic arguments. Thus, the correspondence of X to the nominative NP is indicated by the subscript *i*. Similarly, the indices *j* and *k* are linking the dative and accusative NPs to the semantic arguments Y and Z, respectively.

Note that the Greek letters are used here to represent binding relations between two or more arguments in a conceptual structure. The first argument of the GO function, [ $\alpha$ ], is bound to the second argument of the DO function, [ $Z$ ] <sup>$\alpha$</sup> . Thus, the thing Z is understood as undergoing a change of location after it is effected or affected. Note that the function DO is intended for the representation of the concepts of affecting and effecting. Similarly, the argument of the FROM function, [ $\beta$ ], is bound to the first argument of DO, [ $X$ ] <sup>$\beta$</sup> , and the person X is understood as effecting or affecting something that is subsequently transferred to some other person.

## 2.2 *Yar-* as an Empathy Verb

The concept of benefit is connected with another commonality between the sentences in (7): Both the main verb *yar-* and the auxiliary verb *yar-* are inherently conditioned in terms of the speaker's empathy. As Kuno (1987) argues, the main verb *yar-*, belonging in the class of the so-called empathy verbs, is subject to the condition formulated as follows:

(9) E (Giver) > E (Recipient)

If (s)he uses the verb *yar-* to describe the giving of an object, the speaker must identify with the giver, rather than with the recipient. As a result, the subject must be higher in empathy hierarchies than any other element in a sentence, and a nominal expression referring to the first

person (e.g. *boku* or *wafasi*) is not allowed to appear in an argument position other than subject.

- (10)a. *Boku-ga Ziroo-ni hon-o yat-ta.* 'I gave a book to Jiro.'  
 b. \**Taroo-ga boku-ni hon-o yat-ta.* 'Taro gave a book to me.'

Both of these sentences are intended to describe the situation in which Taro gave a book to Jiro. Sentence (10a) is felicitous if it is uttered by Taro. Suppose that the speaker is Jiro, instead. He will never use (10b) to report that he received a book from Taro, simply because it violates the empathy constraint imposed on *yar-*. The same account can be given to the following contrast:

- (11)a. *Boku-ga Ziroo-ni hon-o okut-te yat-ta.*  
 'I sent a book to Jiro.'  
 b. \**Taroo-ga boku-ni hon-o okut-te yat-ta.*  
 'Taro sent a book to me.'

This contrast in acceptability indicates that the condition in (9) also applies to ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions.

Note that the verb *okur-* is not inherently conditioned with respect to empathy—*Taroo-ga boku-ni hon-o okut-ta* is acceptable on the intended reading of (11b). This fact indicates that the auxiliary verb *yar-* has the function of turning nonempathy verbs into empathy verbs by attaching to them.

### 2.3 *Change of Location or Change of Possession*

Masayoshi Shibatani proposes in his recent studies (1993, 1994, 1996) that the schematic meaning that is conventionally associated with the verb of giving *yar-* should serve as the sanctioning unit for ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions. His analysis copes with the fact that the auxiliary verb *yar-* derives historically from the main verb *yar-* (Martin 1975, ch. 9).<sup>4</sup>

It should be emphasized here that the semantic structure that I have set out for the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction differs from the one proposed by Shibatani (1993). Shibatani assigns this grammatical construction such a semantic structure as [X CAUSE Y TO HAVE Z], where X, Y, and Z stand for the arguments corresponding to nominative, dative, and

accusative NPs. To begin with, I prefer the GO function to the HAVE function because sentences with *yar-* seem to involve the semantic feature "change of location." This is borne out by the fact that sentences with *yar-* can be paraphrased with the verb of receiving *moraw-*. The *yar-* sentence in (7a), for example, may be used to describe the same situation as the *moraw-* sentence in (12).

- (12) Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/-kara) hon-o morat-ta.  
 Nom Dat/from book-Acc receive-Past  
 'Hanako got a book from Taro.'

In this sentence, the nominative NP is assigned the recipient role, and the dative NP the giver role. Since in the *yar-* sentence, the nominative and dative NPs are linked to these semantic roles in the opposite way, the nominative NP in one sentence can be said to correspond to the dative NP in the other. The verb *moraw-* is the converse of *yar-* (see Dixon 1973). Note that in the *moraw-* sentence, the dative particle *-ni* can be converted into another particle *-kara*, which attaches to an NP that is construed as the starting point of a path (Shibatani 1979, Washio 1995).<sup>6</sup> A *yar-* sentence, then, is diagnosed as having the concept of movement or transfer in its meaning if the nominative NP is capable to receiving the marking of *-kara* in the corresponding *moraw-* sentence.

The verb of receiving *moraw-*, like its converse *yar-*, functions as an auxiliary verb in the compound verb *V-te moraw-*. The *-te moraw-* construction is sometimes called the benefactive passive construction, since the nominative NP in this grammatical construction denotes the person who is positively affected by the action described by the verbal gerund. The *-te moraw-* construction is just the converse of the *-te yar-* construction. The *-te yar-* construction in (7b), then, can be paraphrased with *-te moraw-*, as shown in (13).

- (13) Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/-kara) hon-o okut-te morat-ta.  
 'Hanako was sent a book.'

Since the dative particle *-ni* may also be replaced with *-kara* here, the *-te yar-* constructions in question can be said to describe change in location.

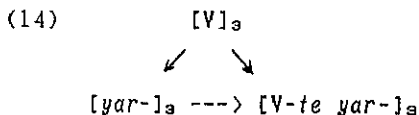
A second difference between Shibatani's analysis and ours is that in

our analysis, unlike in Shibatani's, the first argument of the CAUSE function is assumed to be occupied by a constituent of the category "event" instead of the category "person." I opt for causing event, in preference to causer, for the reason that the former is more useful than the latter for the semantic characterization of the *-te yar-* construction and its extensions. It will be shown in sections 4 and 5 that the semantic structure in (8) and its transforms enable us to give a natural account for both ditransitive and nonditransitive *-te yar-* constructions.

#### 2.4 Summary

The syntactic and semantic similarities between ditransitive sentences with *yar-* and ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions suggests that the auxiliary verb *yar-* has its semantic properties inherited from the main verb *yar-*. Since the auxiliary verb *yar-* is historically derived from the main verb *yar-*, we can safely assume that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is a semantic extension of the verb of giving *yar-*. In other words, this grammatical construction is the sentence pattern [NP-*ga* NP-*ni* NP-*o* V-*te yar-*Tns], which is motivated by the semantic properties that the auxiliary verb *yar-* has inherited from the main verb *yar-*, that is, the semantic structure in (8) and the empathy condition in (9).

The relation of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction to the main verb *yar-* can be represented as a schematic network (see Langacker 1988).



In this network model, the elements in brackets stand for the semantic structures conventionally associated with them, and that the subscript "3" indicates that the element it attaches to has a grammatical valence of three. Thus, the symbol  $[V]_3$  here stands for the semantic structure common to all ditransitive verbs. The schematic semantic structures  $[yar-]_3$  and  $[V-te yar-]_3$  are both categorized as instances of  $[V]_3$ . This categorizing relation is represented by a solid arrow in the above network:  $[A] \longrightarrow [B]$  reads as "[A] is schematic for [B]." The two schemata  $[yar-]_3$  and  $[V-te yar-]_3$ , however, do not have the same status. One of these schemata forms the basis for semantic extension and the other emerges from it; that is,



[V-*te yar-*]<sub>s</sub> is extended from, and hence sanctioned by, [*yar-*]<sub>s</sub>. The relation of extension is represented by the broken arrow: [C] ---> [D] reads as "[C] is a sanctioning unit for [D]."

### 3 The Division of Labor in the Complex Verb V-*Te Yar-*

In this section, we discuss the roles of the constituent parts of the compound verb V-*te yar-* play in the ditransitive construction. It will be argued that there is division of labor in the complex verb: *yar-* functions as a profile determinant, in the sense of Langacker (1987), and the main verb preceding the auxiliary serves to evoke a frame, which provides the knowledge structure against the background against which we figure out the meaning of the whole construction.

#### 3.1 The Role of the Main Verb

Every verb presupposes the knowledge of a typical situation in which we can observe or experience the action or state named by the verb. It would be virtually impossible to characterize verb meanings without invoking such contextual meanings. The contextual meaning that we invoke in order to understand a verb meaning is equivalent to what Fillmore (1982) terms a "frame." (See also Fillmore 1985, Lakoff 1987, Langacker 1987.)

The *-te yar-* constructions in (15) can be used to describe the same situations that are described by the simple ditransitive sentences in (16). This suggests that (15a, b) are interpreted against the background of the frames evoked by the verbs in the *-te* form (i.e. *kas-* and *osie-*).

(15)a. Taroo-ga dooryoo-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta.  
 Nom colleague-Dat money-Acc lend-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro lent money to his colleague.'

b. Taroo-ga kodomotati-ni eigo-o osie-te yat-ta.  
 Nom children-Dat English-Acc teach-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro taught English to the children.'

(16)a. Taroo-ga dooryoo-ni okane-o kasi-ta.

b. Taroo-ga kodomotati-ni eigo-o osie-ta.

The complex verbs of the form V-*te yar-* in these sentences may have in common the schematic meaning in (8), but they evoke interpretive frames

that have nothing to do with the transfer of possession, the knowledge of which we typically invoke in the interpretation of the meaning of the verb of giving *yar-*, the original verb from which the auxiliary verb is derived.

The frame of giving that is associated with the main verb *yar-* does not play any significant role in the interpretation of the meanings of the *-te yar-* constructions in (15). This is evidenced by the fact that the accusative NPs in these sentences denote a thing that is construed as changing location, but not possession, from the subject to the dative object. Thus, they can be followed by a coordinate clause that is used to deny that Taro gave something to Hanako (e.g. *kedo yat-ta wake-de-wa nai* 'but it is not that he gave it to her'). This leads us to the conclusion that the main verb of the *-te yar-* construction evokes the frame that provides the necessary context for the understanding of the whole sentence.

Our discussion has been limited to the *-te yar-* constructions that are formed on the basis of ditransitive verbs. Note that such verbs share with *yar-* both a syntactic pattern and a meaning structure. Consequently, it remains to be shown what functions the constituent parts of the complex verb *V-te yar-* have in the grammatical construction under consideration. In section 2.2, we argued that auxiliary *yar-* has inherited the empathy constraint, as well as other lexical properties, from ditransitive *yar-*, and that it shows its effect on the *-te yar-* construction in exactly the same way as it does in a *yar-* sentence. It should be made clear what auxiliary *yar-* does except for imposing the empathy condition on the complex verb of which it is a constituent part. We now turn to this question.

### 3.2 *Yar-* as a Profile Determinant

The *-te yar-* construction has an interpretive frame provided by the main verb. The frame must involve all the entities to be realized as arguments in this construction. This may be the case if the main verb is ditransitive, as in (15), but this does not hold true of ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions such as those in (17).

- (17)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-te yat-ta.  
           Nom          Dat shoe-Acc shine-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro shined the shoes for Hanako.'

- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni razio-o naosi-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat radio-Acc repair-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro repaired the radio for Hanako.'
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kutusita-o arate-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat socks-Acc wash-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro washed the socks for Hanako.'

All of these sentences are based on a transitive verb. Note that they violate the grammatical valence of the main verb. Transitive verbs do not normally occur with a dative NP, as in (18).<sup>7</sup>

- (18)a. Taroo-ga (?\*Hanako-ni) kutu-o migai-ta.  
 'Taro shined the shoes (for Hanako).'
- b. Taroo-ga (?\*Hanako-ni) razio-o naosi-ta.  
 'Taro repaired the radio (for Hanako).'
- c. Taroo-ga (?\*Hanako-ni) kutusita-o arate-ta.  
 'Taro washed the socks (for Hanako).'

This fact clearly indicates that auxiliary *yar-*, not the main verb, is responsible for the fact that the complex verb *V-te yar-* appears as the head of the ditransitive construction. It goes without saying that the three argument NPs are designating the entities involved in the situation described by the grammatical construction as a whole. Arguments encode the entities on which the speaker focuses his/her attention in describing a situation. Langacker (1987) speaks of such entities as profiles. Auxiliary *yar-* turns out to function as a "profile determinant," in the sense of Langacker, in the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction; that is, it is a pairing of schematic structures of form and meaning. It follows that in transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions like those in (17), the interpretive frame of the main verb must be extended so that every constituent part of the grammatical construction can be elaborated in an appropriate manner. But under what condition frames are allowed to extend so as to form the domain for the interpretation of ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions?

### 3.3 Persistence Condition on the Accusative Object

The classes of transitive verbs that are licensed in the ditransitive

*-te yar-* construction are restricted. It is convincingly argued in Shibatani (1993) that a transitive verb may occur in it only if the accusative object denotes an object that is effected or affected by the nominative subject, and which is ultimately given to the dative object. We will refer to this condition as "persistence condition." In this section, we argue that the persistence condition is a by-product of auxiliary *yar-*'s inheritance of the schematic structure of meaning from the verb of giving *yar-*.

### 3.3.1 Schematicity of *yar-*

The semantic schematic in (8), repeated here as (19), sanctions ditransitive sentences with *yar-* to the extent that they accord with it. This schema is carried over to the extended use of *yar-*, that is, the auxiliary verb of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, and also serves as the sanctioning unit for specific instances of this grammatical construction.

$$(19) \text{ [CAUSE ([DO ([X]^\beta, [Z]^\alpha), [GO ( \begin{matrix} \alpha \\ \text{[BENEFIT]} \end{matrix} , \begin{matrix} \text{[FROM [}\beta\text{]} \\ \text{[TO [Y]_j} \end{matrix} ]})] ] ] ] }$$

Any ditransitive *-te yar-* construction must accord with this schema to a greater or lesser degree. Those which are based on a ditransitive verb (e.g. *okur-* 'to send' or *kas-* 'to lend') are fully sanctioned, because the meaning structures of ditransitive verbs are the same in configuration as the schema in (19); ditransitive verbs evoke interpretive frames that elaborate it in various ways. By contrast, the ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions based on a transitive verb need explication. Transitive verbs are typically used to describe an event in which someone acts on something; they evoke interpretive frames that elaborate the first argument of the CAUSE function in the semantic structure (19), but they cannot elaborate the whole semantic structure by themselves (cf. (18)). It is thus necessary to assume that transitive verbs, if they are combined with auxiliary *yar-*, have their frames extended so as to instantiate the schema in (19).

It is argued in Shibatani (1993, 1994, 1996) that in the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, the accusative NP must denote a

thing that can be made available for the person referred to by the dative NP. It may not vanish in the course of an action; nor may it cease to function as a result of the action. This is so because in the schema (19), the affectum/effectum (i.e. the second argument of DO) binds the moving object (i.e. the first argument of GO). The accusative NP of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction must refer to a thing that can be given to some other person after it is affected or effected. This is what we call the persistence condition. It follows then that only the verbs that meet this condition may be allowed to be combined with auxiliary *yar-* to form the complex predicate *V-te yar-*.

Verbs of creation, of repairing, and of improving typically satisfy what we call the persistence condition. Such verbs presuppose that the accusative object continues to exist until the end of the action. To get some idea of this condition, let us consider the transitive sentences in (20).

- (20)a. *Taroo-wa razio-o naosi-ta.* 'Taro repaired a radio.'  
           Top radio-Acc repair-Past
- b. *Taroo-wa musiba-o naosi-ta.* 'Taro had his teeth treated.'  
           Top bad teeth-Acc treat-Past

Although they are both headed by the same verb, *naos-*, the (a) sentence is considered to describe the act of repairing, but the (b) sentence the act of removing. Teeth are fixed by pulling them out or drilling them to get rid of their decayed part; once having our teeth fixed, we no longer have any bad tooth. The interpretive contrast in (20) can be borne out by the fact that the (a) sentence, but not the (b) sentence, can be conjoined with *sosite* (*Taroo-wa sore-o Hanako-ni yat-ta* 'and he gave it to Hanako'). Thus, the accusative object of *naos-* in (20a) denotes something that can be transferred to some other person subsequently, but that in (20b) something that vanishes in the course of the action.

Because of this semantic distinction, the verb *naos-* shows up in the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction if it is in combination with *razio* 'radio', but not *musiba* 'bad tooth', in the accusative object position, as demonstrated in (21).

- (21)a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni razio-o naosi-te yat-ta.*

b. \*Taroo-ga Hanako-ni musiba-o naosi-te yat-ta.

The contrast in acceptability between these two sentences is due to the fact that (21a) meets the persistence condition, while (21b) violates it. It should be noted here that reference must be made to the meaning of the accusative object in the acceptability judgment of transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions like those in (21).

### 3.3.2 *Ditransitive- and transitive-based -te yar- constructions*

The persistence condition seems to be automatically satisfied in the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction that are based on a ditransitive construction, while it may or may not be satisfied in the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction that are based on a transitive construction. These two grammatical constructions should be distinguished semantically, because they convey slightly different meanings, as illustrated by an ambiguous sentence like (22).

(22) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tegami-o kai-te yat-ta.  
 Nom                    Dat letter-Acc write-Ger give-Past

This sentence can be assigned both of the readings in (23).

- (23)a. Taro wrote a letter to Hanako.  
 b. Taro wrote a letter for Hanako.

In reading (23a), Hanako is understood as the recipient of the letter Taro wrote. We are somehow prompted to read the sense of benefit into this event, so that Hanako is construed as a beneficiary as well. In reading (23b), on the other hand, Hanako is understood as, again, a beneficiary, that is, the person who receives some benefit from Taro's writing of a letter. It is most likely that Taro deputized for Hanako in the letter writing, that is, he wrote it on her behalf.

Note that the verb *kak-* 'to write' denotes the action of writing, taking two participants—the writer and the product of writing—as the arguments; it is in essence transitive. Thus, the verb cannot normally occur with the dative NP of recipient, as in (24a). But it can select the dative object in addition if the accusative object denotes something to be given to others like letters, as in (24b).

- (24)a. Taroo-ga (?\*Hanako-ni) hon-o kai-ta.  
       'Taro wrote a book (?\*to Hanako).'  
 b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tegami-o kai-ta.  
       'Taro wrote Hanako a letter.'

It must be kept in mind that (24b) has only the reading in which a letter is sent to Hanako, in contrast to the ambiguous sentence in (24). The point is that the verb *kak-* has two separate usages: If it describes the creation of letters, books, articles, and the like, it is used transitively; and if it also involves giving the products of writing to a third participant, it is used ditransitively.

The ambiguity of the *-te yar-* construction in (22), then, comes from these two verb meanings: Reading (23a) results from construing the complex verb *kai-te yar-* on the basis of the ditransitive use of *kak-*, while reading (23b) results from construing it on the basis of the transitive use. By replacing the name *Hanako* in (22) with a phrase like *yomikaki-no deki-nai oziisan* 'illiterate old man', as in (25a), the sense of letter sending (shown in the nonsensical (25b)) is suppressed, so that (25a) unambiguously receives the interpretation of letter writing.

- (25)a. Taroo-ga yomikaki-no                      deki-nai oziisan-ni  
           Nom reading and writing-Gen can-not old man-Dat  
           tegami-o kai-te yat-ta.  
           letter-Acc write-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro wrote a letter on behalf of the illiterate old man.'  
 b. Taroo-ga yomikaki-no deki-nai oziisan-ni tegami-o kai-ta.  
           'Taro wrote a letter to the illiterate old man.'

The facts observed in (22)-(25) cannot be accounted for without making reference to the transitive/ditransitive distinction of the main verb of the *-te yar-* construction.

#### 4 Further Extension of the Ditransitive *-Te Yar-* Construction

It argued in Shibatani (1993, 1994, 1996) that there should be one semantic structure that is schematic for all instances of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction. In this section, I argue that ditransitive *-te yar-*

constructions are not necessarily sanctioned by one and the same schema. It will be shown that the semantic structure in (19) is transformed into a different schema by semanticization.

#### 4.1 Semanticization of an Inferred Meaning

We have seen so far that ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions, transitive-based or ditransitive-based, are to be sanctioned by the schematic structure of meaning that auxiliary *yar-* inherited from its original verb. This schema, by its very nature, has something to do with the change of location or possession. Note, however, that there are a number of instances of the grammatical construction that have nothing to do with the change of location/possession. In the following sentences, for example, the nominative subject is not required to do more than cause the dative object to have the accusative object at his/her disposal:

- (26)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni futon-o sii-te yat-ta.  
           Nom          Dat futon-Acc lay out-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro laid out bedding for Hanako.'
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni huro-o wakasi-te yat-ta.  
           Nom          Dat bath-Acc heat-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro prepared a bath for Hanako.'
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni mado-o ake-te yat-ta.  
           Nom          Dat window-Acc open-Ger give-Past  
           'Taro opened the window for Hanako.'

We have observed in section 2 that in the *-te moraw-* construction, the dative particle *-ni* can be converted into another particle, *-kara*, if the NP to which the particle is attached is also construed as source. A *-te yar-* construction, then, is diagnosed as having the concept of movement or transfer in its meaning if the benefactor NP is capable of receiving the marking of *-kara* in the *-te moraw-* construction that paraphrases it.

Now let us consider the following paradigms:

- (27)a. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/-kara) okane-o kasi-te morat-ta.  
           Nom          Dat/from money-Acc lend-Ger receive-Past  
           'Hanako borrowed money from Taro.'



- b. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/?-kara) kutu-o migai-te morat-ta.  
 Nom Dat/from shoe-Acc shine-Ger receive-Past  
 'Hanako had her shoes shined by Taro.'
- c. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/\*-kara) mado-o ake-te morat-ta.  
 Nom Dat/from window-Acc open-Ger receive-Past  
 'Hanako had the window opened by Taro.'

Sentence (27a) shows that *-ni* can be replaced by *-kara* in the *-te moraw-* construction that functions as a paraphrase of *Taroo-wa Hanako-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta* 'Taro lent money to Hanako', which is an instance of the ditransitive-based *-te yar-* construction. The *-ni/-kara* conversion, as (27b) shows, may also apply to the *-te moraw-* construction that is semantically related to *Taroo-wa Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-te yat-ta* 'Taro shined the shoes for Hanako', an instance of the transitive-based *-te yar-* construction. Even though (27b) sounds slightly odd with the phrase *Taroo-kara*, it should be counted as an acceptable sentence in comparison with (27c), which is only acceptable with *-ni*, not *-kara*. Note that *-ni/-kara* conversion does not apply when the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction in (26c)—*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni mado-o ake-te yat-ta* 'Taro opened the window for Hanako'—is paraphrased with *-te moraw-*. It follows, then, that neither (26c) nor (27c) has anything to do with the transfer of objects.

So far we have considered any instance of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction to be sanctioned by the semantic schema that auxiliary *yar-* inherited from the original verb. The facts observed in (26)-(27), however, suggest that there are sentences that deviate from the schematic structure that would have been inherited from the original verb and yet may be categorized as grammatical instances of the construction in question. How are these facts to be explained?

Ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions (26a-c), I propose, involve a slightly different schema from the one discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2. It seems that the schematic structure that serves as the sanctioning unit for these sentences is derived from the one associated with the verb of giving *yar-* through a linguistic process called "semanticization" (Hopper and Traugott 1993, ch. 4). Auxiliary *yar-* in (26) has conceivably

semanticized (made part of its semantic structure) a pragmatically inferred meaning associated with the main verb *yar-*.

Recall that ditransitive *yar-* is used to describe the transfer of possession. The giving of an object, as a matter of course, brings about the situation in which the object is in the possession of the recipient. Consequently, any statement of a transfer event implies its resultant state of possession. This pragmatic inference is schematically represented as in (28).

$$(28) \text{ [GO ([Z], [FROM [X] TO [Y]])] } \longrightarrow \text{ [BE ([Z], [AT [Y]])] }$$

The conceptual structure on the left-hand side of the arrow represents the thing Z changing location from the person X to the person Y; the conceptual structure on the right-hand side represents the state of affair that results from the change of location, that is, Z's being at the place contiguous to Y. Previous studies of semantic schemata have revealed that the relation of possessor and possessed is conceptualized as a metaphorical extension of the location/located relation, and that these two relations are schematized by the same structure (Jackendoff 1983).<sup>6</sup>

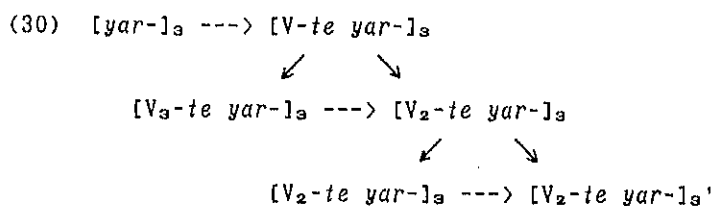
Auxiliary *yar-* in (26) may have semanticized the inferred meaning in (28); that is, it may have made it a part of its semantic structure. Ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions like those in (26) would then have the schematic semantic structure given in (29), which reads as "the person X effects/affects the thing Z so as to make it contiguous to the person Y."

$$(29) \text{ [CAUSE ([DO ([X]^{e_1}, [Z]^{a_k})], [INCH [BE ( [BENEFIT]^{a_1}], [AT [Y]_j )]])] ] }$$

The second argument of the function CAUSE, that is, the conception of a caused event, is not filled with the event argument [GO ( . . . )], but with the event argument [INCH [BE ( . . . )]], which represents the concept of an inchoative situation, that is, a situation that is starting to develop. A contiguous relationship between Y and Z comes to exist as a result of X's action. The contiguous relation is, as has already been mentioned, schematic for possession. Moreover, the things which are mostly located in the place contiguous to a person count as what (s)he is able to

exercise dominion over. In the ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions elaborating the schema in (29), then, the accusative NP is understood as something that is at the disposal of the person referred to by the dative NP (e.g. a futon, bath, or window in (26)).

The ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, as we have repeatedly said, can be characterized as a semantic extension of the verb of giving *yar-*. We have also argued that this grammatical construction should be divided into two subtypes: those which are based on a ditransitive verb and those which are based on a transitive verb. The two constructions are represented as  $[V_3\text{-te yar-}]_3$  and  $[V_2\text{-te yar-}]_3$  below. The transitive-based construction turns out to be a form-meaning pairing emerging from the ditransitive-based one; that is, the former is a semantic extension of the latter. It has been shown that while most transitive-based constructions are sanctioned by the same schema as ditransitive-based constructions, some are sanctioned by a slightly different schema, which results from the semanticization of an inferred meaning of the main verb *yar-*. Thus, the first type of transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions can be said to create the potential for the second type, which is represented at the bottom of the schematic network in (30) as  $[V_2\text{-te yar-}]_3'$ .



In the next section, we will show that the transitive-based construction  $[V_2\text{-te yar-}]_3'$  forms the basis for still further semantic extension.

#### 4.2 Transitivity Condition

The transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, as Shibatani (1979) correctly points out, may have a noun phrase denoting a body part in the position for accusative object. This is illustrated in (31).

- (31)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kata-o mon-de yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat shoulder-Acc message-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro massaged Hanako's shoulders.'

- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni atama-o nade-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat head-Acc stroke-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro stroked Hanako's hair.'
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kami-o kit-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat hair-Acc cut-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro cut Hanako's hair.'

In these sentences, the accusative NPs denote parts of Hanako's body. It is important to keep in mind that these body parts are the points of contact of Taro with Hanako. Because of this fact, Hanako is understood as being favorably affected by Taro.

The *-te yar-* construction exemplified in (31) seems to be a semantic extension from the type of the *-te yar-* construction that we have described in (17), repeated here as (32).

- (32)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kutu-o migai-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat shoe-Acc shine-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro shined the shoes for Hanako.'
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni razio-o naosi-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat radio-Acc repair-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro repaired the radio for Hanako.'
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kutusita-o arate-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat socks-Acc wash-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro washed the socks for Hanako.'

In the most natural interpretation of these sentences, the accusative NPs are understood as Hanako's possessions. That is, each sentence describes a situation in which Taro repairs or improves something owned by Hanako, and she benefits from his action. It is noticeable that the *-te yar-* constructions in (31) are semantically parallel to those in (32). The only difference between them is that the accusative object designates an inalienable possession of the dative object in the former and an alienable possession in the latter.

The *-te yar-* construction exemplified in (32) is turned into the one exemplified in (31) through a change of interpretive mode from alienable possession to inalienable possession. The relation of a person to his/her body parts may be captured as a special case of the possessor/possessed

relation. This process of extension can be schematically represented as in (33), where the italicized items are to be taken to be in the pragmatic relation discussed just above.

(33)a. X-ga Y-ni *Possession*-o [V<sub>2</sub>-te yar-Tns]<sub>3</sub>.



b. X-ga Y-ni *Body Part*-o [V<sub>2</sub>-te yar-Tns]<sub>3</sub>.

Note that sentences of type (33b) like those in (31) do not describe change in location/possession, the accusative objects being inalienably possessed by the dative objects. This is borne out by the fact that in the following *-te moraw-* constructions, which can be used to describe the same situations described by the sentences in (31), the particle *-ni* may not be replaced by the particle *-kara* (cf. sections 2.3 and 4.1):

(34)a. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/\*-kara) kata-o mon-de morat-ta.

'Hanako had her shoulders massaged by Taro.'

b. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/?-kara) atama-o nade-te morat-ta.<sup>9</sup>

'Hanako had her hair stroked by Taro.'

c. Hanako-ga Taroo(-ni/\*-kara) kami-o kit-te morat-ta.

'Hanako had her hair cut by Taro.'

The meaning of the *-te yar-* construction in (33b) is schematized by the semantic structure in (29), which does not involve the feature of change of location/possession. This suggests that (33b), though an extension from (33a), is conditioned in the same way as other semantic extensions of the original grammatical construction.

It is not always the case, however, that *-te yar-* constructions of type (33b) can be accepted as well-formed sentences. The sentences in (35), though not unintelligible, sound quite odd.

(35)a. ?\*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni te-o arat-te yat-ta.

Nom Dat hand-Acc wash-Ger give-Past

'Taro washed Hanako's hands.'

b. ?\*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni ha-o migai-te yat-ta.

Nom Dat tooth-Acc brush-Ger give-Past

'Taro brushed Hanako's teeth.'

- c.?\*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni kami-o tokasi-te yat-ta.  
 Nom Dat hair-Acc comb-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro combed Hanako's hair.'

What is puzzling us here is the fact that these sentences become acceptable when the dative particle *-ni* is replaced by the genitive particle *-no*, as shown in (36).

- (36)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-no te-o arat-te yat-ta.  
 b. Taroo-ga Hanako-no ha-o migai-te yat-ta.  
 c. Taroo-ga Hanako-no kami-o tokasi-te yat-ta.

As these sentences can be used to convey the same meanings that the sentences in (35) are intended to, it is not at all clear why only the latter are judged unacceptable. It also remains to be seen how the contrast between (31) and (35) is to be accounted for. In the remainder of this section, we explore these problems, reserving full treatment of *-te yar-* constructions like those in (36) for section 5.

The *-te yar-* constructions in (35) make a clear contrast with those in (31). This may possibly be ascribed to a difference in transitivity (see Jacobsen (1991) for this distinction). The verb phrase *kata-o mom-* 'to massage someone's shoulders' describes a transitive action in which the agent and patient are different entities, whereas the verb phrase *te-o araw-* 'to wash one's hands' describes a stereotypically reflexive action. This gives rise to a difference in interpretation regarding the semantic relation of the accusative object to the nominative subject in the sentences in (37).

- (37)a. Taroo-ga kata-o mon-da.  
 'Taro massaged (someone else's) shoulders.'  
 b. Taroo-ga te-o arat-ta.  
 'Taro washed (his own) hands.'

In (37a), the shoulders that the noun *kata* refers to are interpreted as belonging to a person other than Taro; but in (37b), the hands that the noun *te* refers to are interpreted as Taro's. Thus, Taro affects some other person by giving him/her a massage, while he affects himself by washing his hands. In this sense, shoulder massaging and hand washing may be said to

be transitive and reflexive, respectively. The distinction between transitive and reflexive actions is also reflected in the meaning of the sentences in (38).

- (38)a. *Kata-o mon-de kudasai.* 'Please massage my shoulders.'  
 b. *Te-o arat-te kudasai.* 'Please wash your hands.'

Note that the speaker, by uttering these sentences, is requesting or ordering the hearer to do something. In (38a), the noun *kata* is understood as the speaker's shoulders, but the noun *te* in (38b) is understood as the hearer's hands, and this asymmetry, as is the case in (37), can be ascribed to the difference in transitivity between the respective verb phrases.

Moreover, this difference gives rise to a subtle contrast like the one between the following sentences:

- (39)a. *Kata-o o-momi-si-masyoo.* 'I will massage your shoulders.'  
 b. *?Te-o o-arai-si-masyoo.* 'I will wash your hands.'

The non-subject honorific *o-V(i)-s-* "humbly expresses the speaker's politeness to someone when describing the speaker's action or state that involves or affects that person" (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 360), and the ending following it, that is, *-masyoo*, "indicates the first person's volition or invitation in formal speech" (ibid., 240). Thus, the speaker is declaring his/her intention to do something for some other person. Sentence (39a), describing a transitive action, fits this description, and hence is judged acceptable; but (39b) sounds fairly odd as it stands. It violates the semantic condition imposed on the non-subject honorific construction, since it describes a reflexive, and hence intransitive-like, event. Note that prototypically intransitive verbs are excluded from this construction (e.g. *\*watasi-ga o-aruki si-masu* 'I will walk' (ibid., 361)).

I hasten to add that the transitive/reflexive distinction is semantically/pragmatically implied rather than made overt through grammatical marking. It is, of course, possible for someone to massage their own shoulders by themselves, or to wash someone else's hands (for example, imagine a situation such that a mother helps her young son to wash his hands). In such cases, the genitive NP *zibun-no* 'self-Gen' or *kodomo-no* 'child-Gen' should be placed before the accusative NP that it modifies

(e.g. *zibun-no kata-o mon-da* 'I massaged my shoulders'; *kodomo-no te-o arat-ta* 'I washed my child's hands').

It is this transitive/reflexive distinction between the actions named by verb phrases that is responsible for the difference between the sentences in (31) and those in (35). All of these sentences are conditioned by the grammatical properties that auxiliary *yar-* inherited from the main verb, insofar as they are instances of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction. The empathy constraint (sec. 2.2) and the persistence condition (sec. 3.3) count as such properties. Also included is what we call here the "transitivity condition": the nominative and dative NPs must denote separate persons. This condition is motivated by the fact that no one can play the roles of giver and recipient at the same time. The contrast between (31) and (35) is then self-evident. For example, (31a) meets the transitivity condition, because the nominative and dative NPs denote different persons (i.e. Taro and Hanako), as required by the verb phrase *kata-o mom-* 'to massage (someone's) shoulders', with the result that the sentence is judged acceptable. In (35a), by contrast, the accusative NP *te* is understood as referring to Hanako's hands by virtue of the transitivity condition on the auxiliary *yar-*, but this is in conflict with the fact that in the verb phrase *te-o araw-* 'to wash one's hands', *te* is interpreted as the subject's hands. As a result, the sentence as a whole is judged semantically anomalous.

We have made out a case for the existence of a ditransitive *-te yar-* construction in which the accusative NP denotes a part of the body and the dative NP denotes the person who (inalienably) possesses the body part. This grammatical construction has been characterized as a semantic extension of the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, and is therefore represented as  $[V_2-te yar-]_3$  below. It has also been shown that this construction is to be sanctioned by the same schema as is another extension of the same grammatical construction (i.e.  $[V_2-te yar-]_3'$ ). These relationships among transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions are depicted in the following network, where  $[A] \langle \text{---} \rangle [B]$  indicates the mutual similarity.





*tame-ni* in the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction.

### 5.1 Beneficiary Defocusing

The grammatical behavior of the beneficiary phrase in the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction is reminiscent of the defocused, or suppressed, agent of the passive construction. The agent is implied in almost all passive sentences, but dissociated from the position for subject. The same thing seems to be true of the beneficiary phrase. I argue on the basis of this parallelism that the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction is derived from the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction by the defocusing of the beneficiary role. As the beneficiary role is defocused, it is syntactically demoted from argument to adjunct.

This analysis can give an account for the fact that the external beneficiary of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction cannot become the head noun of a relative clause, just like the agent of the passive construction. Compare the examples in (43) with the one in (44).

- (43)a. \*Taroo-ga gomi-o sute-te yat-ta hito  
       'the person for whom Taro put out the garbage'  
 b. \*Taroo-ga hatarai-te yat-ta hito  
       'the person for whom Taro put out the garbage'
- (44) \*Taroo-ga home-rare-ta hito  
       Nom praise-Pass-Past person  
       'the person by whom Taro was praised'

By contrast, the internal beneficiary of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction can undergo relative clause formation. The complex noun phrase in (45) is acceptable in the intended reading, which makes a striking contrast with those given in (43).

- (45) Taroo-ga kutu-o migai-te yat-ta hito  
       Nom shoe-Acc polish-Ger give-Past person  
       'the person for whom Taro shined the shoes'

The defocused beneficiary forms a class with the demoted agent in the passive construction. Both the phrases are backgrounded.

The semantic structure of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction is derived from that of the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction by defocusing

the beneficiary argument. Note that the beneficiary argument is identical with the recipient argument. If the recipient argument is demoted to an adjunct by beneficiary defocusing, then the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is transformed into a different grammatical construction, namely, the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction. Note that the defocused beneficiary is dissociated from the dative object position.

As a consequence of beneficiary defocusing, the persistence condition, which is originally imposed on the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, becomes ineffective in the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction: Since there is no recipient in the scope of predication, it does not matter whether or not there is something that the agent makes available to some other person. This is the reason why (41a)—*Taroo-ga Hanako-no tame-ni gomi-o sute-te yat-ta* 'Taro put out the garbage for Hanako'—is acceptable even though it violates this condition, which is not forced in nonditransitive *-te yar-* constructions.

Similarly, the transitivity condition does not apply to the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction, either, for the simple reason that there does not exist any individual who is construed as being affected by the subject's action in the scope of predication. Note that the dative object in the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is understood as referring to the patient as well. Sentence (41b)—*Taroo-ga Hanako-no tame-ni hatarai-te yat-ta* 'Taro worked for Hanako'—is judged acceptable, because it does not have to meet the transitivity condition. In this grammatical construction, the action performed by the subject is not restricted to transitive actions but generalized to intentional actions of any kind.

The way that the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction emerges from the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction can be schematically represented as in (46).

(46)a. [CAUSE ([DO ([X]<sup>θ</sup><sub>1</sub>, [Z]<sup>α</sup><sub>x</sub>)], [GO ([<sup>α</sup>BENEFIT], [FROM [β] TO [Y]<sub>j</sub>])])]

↓

b. [CAUSE ([DO ([X]<sup>θ</sup><sub>1</sub>, [Z]<sub>x</sub>)], [GO ([BENEFIT], [FROM [β] TO [Y]])])]

↓

- c. [CAUSE ([DO ([X]<sup>1</sup>, . . . )], [GO ([BENEFIT], [FROM [β]]  
TO [Y]])])] ]

Structure (46a) represents the schematic semantic structure paired with the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction. This schema is transformed into another schema (46b) via the defocusing of beneficiary. This derived schema is paired with the transitive *-te yar-* construction (e.g. *Taroo-wa kodomo-no te-o arat-te yat-ta* 'Taro washed his child's hands'). The beneficiary defocusing is carried out by removing the subscript *j* from the recipient argument (i.e. *Y*). Recall that Roman subscripts indicate the arguments linked to syntactic positions. As a consequence of the beneficiary defocusing, the affectum/effectum *Z* stops binding the moving object *a*. Schema (46b) represents the conceptualization of the person *X*'s affecting/effecting the thing *Z* for the benefit of some other person. This schema is further transformed into (46c) by generalizing the subject's action to volitional actions. It is the semantic structure in (46c) that is associated with nonditransitive *-te yar-* constructions in general.

The defocusing of beneficiary seems to be motivated by the fact that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction has inherited the empathy constraint from the main verb *yar-*.

(47)a. *Boku-wa Hanako-no tame-ni gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.*

'I put out the garbage for Hanako.'

b. \**Taroo-wa boku-no tame-ni gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.*

'Taro put out the garbage for me.'

Since the speaker must identify with the person referred to by the subject, that is, the benefactor, and since the beneficiary is automatically understood as a person who is different from the speaker/subject, the beneficiary may be left implicit.

Having established the semantic structure of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction, we are now in a position to account for the contrast between the sentences in (35) and (36). The question is why an unacceptable sentence like \**Taroo-ga Hanako-ni te-o arat-te yat-ta* (= (35a)) is improved by replacing the dative particle *-ni* with the genitive particle *-no*. Thus, *Taroo-ga Hanako-no te-o arat-te yat-ta* (= (36a)) is perfectly

acceptable with the same meaning "Taro washed Hanako's hands" as is intended in the former sentence. Notice that the latter sentence has a different syntactic pattern, so it cannot be regarded any longer as a ditransitive *-te yar-* construction. It is rather an instance of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction. As already mentioned, this grammatical construction is free from the conditions that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction must meet.

### 5.2 Default Value of the Defocused Beneficiary

One might say that the sentences in (41) differ from those given in (48) in grammatical judgment.

- (48)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni at-te yat-ta  
'Taro saw Hanako'
- b. Taroo-ga ototo-to ason-de yat-ta  
'Taro played with his younger brother'

These sentences can be easily accepted, whereas sentences *Taroo-ga gomi-o sute-te yat-ta* 'Taro put out the garbage for someone' (= (41a)) and *Taroo-ga hatarai-te yat-ta* 'Taro worked for someone' (= (41d)) sound slightly odd. I do share this linguistic intuition. The reason for the difference between these groups of sentences seems to lie in the fact that in the former, the beneficiary is explicitly mentioned (i.e. Hanako in (48a) and Taro's younger brother in (48b)), but in the latter, it is left implicit. We have analyzed the beneficiary role of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction as defocused, and said that it is demoted to adjunct syntactically. This claim clearly runs counter to (48a), where the beneficiary is embodied by a dative object. In this section, it will be shown that this does not pose a serious problem for our analysis.

In the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction, the beneficiary role is backgrounded, and this results in focusing the speaker's attention on the initial phase of a transfer event, which is represented by [DO ([X]<sup>P</sup><sub>1</sub>, [Z]<sub>k</sub>)] in (46b) or [DO ([X]<sup>P</sup><sub>1</sub>, . . .)] in (46c). At the same time, the beneficiary defocusing brings the beneficiary role to the outside of the scope of predication. Thus the defocused beneficiary is demoted to

adjunct, and therefore it is expressed by an adjunct phrase like NP-*no tame-ni*, as shown in (49).

- (49)a. Taroo-ga *tuma-no tame-ni* gomi-o sute-te yat-ta.  
 Nom wife-Gen benefit-Dat garbage-Acc dump-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro put out the garbage for his wife.'
- b. Taroo-ga *ryoosin-no tame-ni* Hanako-ni at-te yat-ta.  
 Nom parents-Gen benefit-Dat Dat meet-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro met Hanako for his parents.'
- c. Taroo-ga *okaasan-no tame-ni* ootoo-to ason-de  
 Nom mother-Gen benefit-Dat brother-with play-Ger  
 yat-ta.  
 give-Past  
 'Taro played with his younger brother for his mother.'
- d. Taroo-ga *imoototati-no tame-ni* hatarai-te yat-ta.  
 Nom sisters-Gen benefit-Dat work-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro worked for his younger sisters.'

The *-no tame-ni* phrases in (49a, d) are used to elaborate the beneficiary in the background. Notice that in (49b, c), the adjunct phrases are also construed as beneficiary, and the nominals *Hanako* and *otooto* are no longer assigned this semantic role.

The asymmetry in the interpretation of the defocused beneficiary between (49b, c) and (49c, c) suggests that in case there is some participant other than the agent in the event/action described by the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction, then that participant is identified as a beneficiary by default. This condition may very well be a relic of the transitivity condition, which is imposed on the original grammatical construction from which the one in question emerged.

### 5.3 Systematic Ambiguity of the Ditransitive *-Te Yar-* Construction

Since the beneficiary role is demoted to adjunct in the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction, the number of arguments is determined solely by the verbal gerund. In other words, the compound verb of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction inherits the grammatical valence from the verbal gerund. Thus, if a verb *V* has a grammatical valence of *n*, the complex verb *V-te yar-* is also a *n*-tuple predicate.

Thus, the transitive *-te yar-* construction is headed by  $[V_2\text{-}te\ yar-]_2$ , and the intransitive *-te yar-* construction by  $[V_1\text{-}te\ yar-]_1$ . One might ask at this point: What about the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction?

The ditransitive *-te yar-* construction based on a ditransitive verb, that is,  $[V_3\text{-}te\ yar-]_3$ , is by definition an instance of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction. This somewhat paradoxical statement is borne out by the fact that a *-no tame-ni* phrase can be added to a ditransitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction:

- (50) Taroo-wa *byooki-de yasun-de i-ru dooryoo-no tame-ni*  
 Top sickness-Loc rest-Ger be-Pres colleague-Gen benefit-Dat  
*kokyaku-ni katarogu-o okut-te yat-ta.*  
 client-Dat catalog-Acc send-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro sent a catalog to the client on behalf of the his colleague  
 who was absent on account of illness.'

This fact indicates that the complex verb  $[V_3\text{-}te\ yar-]_3$  is systematically ambiguous between the ditransitive and the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction.

The systematic ambiguity of  $[V_3\text{-}te\ yar-]_3$  does not mean that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction can be dispensed with. This grammatical construction, as demonstrated in section 4, has syntactic and semantic properties inherent in it, and so it should be distinguished from other *-te yar-* constructions. In particular, the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is considerably different in grammatical behavior from the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction. For example, no transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction can occur with a *-no tame-ni* phrase (Shibatani 1979):

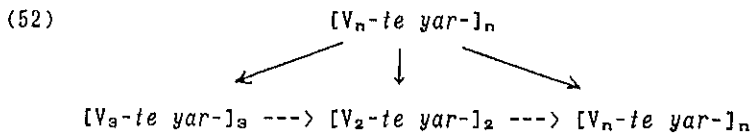
- (51) \*Taroo-wa *okaasan-no tame-ni otoosan-ni kata-o*  
 Top mother-Gen benefit-Dat father-Dat shoulder-Acc  
*mon-de yat-ta.*  
 massage-Ger give-Past  
 'Taro massaged his father's shoulders for his mother.'

The contrast between (50) and (51) can be accounted for as follows:  
 The ditransitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction ( $[V_3\text{-}te\ yar-]_3$ )

may be categorized as an instance of the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction ( $[V_n-te yar-]_n$ ), whereas the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction ( $[V_2-te yar-]_2$ ) cannot. In other words, the schematic structure  $[V_n-te yar-]_n$  can be extracted from  $[V_3-te yar-]_3$ , but not from  $[V_2-te yar-]_2$ .

#### 5.4 Summary

To sum up, we have demonstrated that the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction represented as  $[V_3-te yar-]_3$  is converted into the transitive *-te yar-* construction,  $[V_2-te yar-]_2$ , through the application of beneficiary defocusing. The derived grammatical construction is further extended to the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction,  $[V_n-te yar-]_n$ . The categorizing relation among these grammatical constructions can be represented by using a network model like  $[V_3-te yar-]_3 \dashrightarrow [V_2-te yar-]_2 \dashrightarrow [V_n-te yar-]_n$ . Notice, however, that  $[V_n-te yar-]_n$  is schematic for both  $[V_3-te yar-]_3$  and  $[V_2-te yar-]_2$ . So the network is likely to be extended upward as in (52).



The shape of a lexical network, as discussed in Langacker (1988), differs from speaker to speaker. We do not know how far upward and downward such networks are extended through the processes of abstraction and elaboration.

One interesting fact about the *-te yar-* construction is that there are quite a few speakers who are reluctant to accept transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions (e.g. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni huro-o wakasi-te yat-ta* 'Taro prepared a bath for Hanako', *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kata-o mon-de yat-ta* 'Taro massaged Hanako's shoulders for her', and the like). Such speakers do accept their nonditransitive counterparts (i.e. *Taroo-ga Hanako-no tame-ni huro-o wakasi-te yat-ta* and *Taroo-ga Hanako-no kata-o mon-de yat-ta* here). The transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is nearing obsolescence in the Present-Day Japanese, and the nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction is taking the place of it. This linguistic change could be accounted for by the network model. Since in



the transitive-based ditransitive *-te yar-* construction, the grammatical valence of the verbal gerund is changed from two to three, unlike in other types of *-te yar-* construction, it is more complex than the others. Because of its complexity, the grammatical construction in question would become obsolete in the near future.

## 6 Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have argued that the word *yar-* forms a radially structured category. In short, it should be characterized as a polysemous word. It has been shown that the *-te yar-* construction is a semantic extension of the verb of giving *yar-*. Instances of this grammatical construction are divided into two classes: Those which have the syntactic pattern of ditransitive sentences and those which have other sentence patterns. The ditransitive *-te yar-* construction is directly derived from the main verb *yar-*, and forms a basis for further semantic extension. The nonditransitive *-te yar-* construction is one of the grammatical constructions extended from the ditransitive *-te yar-* construction.

The discussion was confined to the lexical network of an individual word *yar-*. But some of the grammatical properties discussed in this paper are not specific to this word. The verbs of giving *age-*, *kure-*, and *kudasar-*, for example, are grammaticalized to benefactive auxiliaries like *yar-*. But not all verbs of giving can be used as auxiliaries. Note that the verb *atae-* is not combined with a verbal gerund to form a compound verb. There does not exist a compound verb in the form *\*V-te atae-*. It remains to be seen why only a limited set of verbs are extended in the way that *yar-* is. Moreover, other languages also have the grammatical constructions similar to the *-te yar-* construction, and such grammatical constructions, as pointed out in Shibatani (1994, 1996), are governed by the same schema as serves as the sanctioning unit for *-te yar-* constructions. So the network model proposed in this study must be examined in a much wider context.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

Nom = nominative case	Tns = tense
Dat = dative case	Past = past tense
Acc = accusative case	Pass = passive
Gen = genitive case	Ger = gerundive
Loc = locative case	

Note in passing that I will call the *-te* form of a verb a "verbal gerund," following Martin (1975, sec. 9.2.4). In the Modern Japanese, this suffix, which is originally an inflectional form of the perfective aspect marker, is mainly used for what Jakobsen (1991, ch. 7) calls "clause union" and "verb union.;" it is used to link two clauses or verbs. (See also Hasegawa 1996.) The compound verb *V-te yar-*, which we are concerned with, is a case of verb union.

<sup>2</sup> This is why the term "benefactive" is often used of sentences like (2). This term, however, is not adopted in this study, however. For one thing, there are a number of grammatical constructions other than the *-te yar-* construction that can be called "benefactive"—the benefactive sense is also involved in a simple ditransitive sentence with the main verb *yar-* like the one given in (1). Moreover, most instances of the *-te yar-* construction may convey the benefactive sense, but some have nothing to do with the notion of benefit (e.g. *aitu-o izime-te yar-oo* "I will tease that guy"). For the malefactive readings of *-te yar-* constructions, see Tonoike

(1979, 355-358). Thus, we opt for the term based on structural characteristics of the grammatical construction.

<sup>3</sup> The examples given in (5) sound somewhat odd if they are uttered out of the blue. The sentences are felicitous only in the situation in which it is clear who receives the benefit of Taro's action.

<sup>4</sup> The linguistic process in which a content word comes to assume the grammatical characteristics of a function word is called "grammaticalization" (Hopper and Traugott 1993). The verb *yar-* is thus said to be grammaticalized into an auxiliary in the position following a verbal gerund, that is, [V-*te* \_\_\_\_]. In Japanese, other verbs of giving (e.g. *age-*, *kure-*, *kudasar-*, and others) also have undergone the same shift, so the language has more than one benefactive auxiliary that are coexistent with their original verbs. The shift from verbs of giving to benefactive morphemes is not specific to Japanese, but is attested in various languages (Lord 1993, Shibatani 1994, Shibatani 1996).

<sup>5</sup> The predicate-argument notation is used here to represent semantic schemata, as in Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Jackendoff (1983). In fact, I am following the Jackendoffian notation. This does not mean, however, that I claim that semantic structures be decomposable into primitive categories, as Jackendoff does. Within our present theoretical framework, that is, Construction Grammar, the meanings of linguistic expressions are assumed to be analyzable into constituent parts, but they are not required to be algorithmically computable from those parts. The semantic structures presented in the text are only intended to represent schematic structures of meaning that are shared by linguistic expressions. It is only that I have adopted the notation that is most useful for present purposes.

<sup>6</sup> One might say that the paraphrase relation between *yar-* and *moraw-* sentences does not necessarily justify the idea that both of these verbs describe a change of location. It may be possible that they are construed in different ways. But I believe that any analysis based on this position can hardly account for the fact that the subject of the verb of giving is capable of receiving the marking of *-kara*, as in *Kore-wa boku-kara Taro-ni yat-ta hon-da* 'This is the book that I gave Taro'.

<sup>7</sup> One might say that some transitive verbs can occur with a dative NP. Transitive verbs that can be used to describe creation will be licensed in

the ditransitive construction even if they are not accompanied with the auxiliary verb *yar-*. Thus, the verb of creation *am-* 'to knit' sounds much better than the verb of preparation *muk-* 'to peel' in this grammatical construction, as shown by the following sentences:

- (i)a. ?Hanako-ga otto-ni seetaa-o an-da.  
 Nom husband-Dat sweater-Acc knit-Past  
 'Hanako knitted a sweater for her husband.'
- b. ?\*Hanako-ga otto-ni ringo-o mui-ta.  
 Nom husband-Dat apple-Acc peel-Past  
 'Hanako peeled an apple for her husband.'

In my intuition, both of these sentences are slightly odd, in comparison with ditransitive *-te yar-* constructions *Hanako-ga otto-ni seetaa-o an-de yat-ta* and *Hanako-ga otto-ni ringo-o mui-te yat-ta*, which can easily be accepted on the readings intended in (ia) and (ib). Example (ib) is slightly better than (10), that is, a ditransitive sentence headed by the verb *migak-* 'to polish'. These facts are reminiscent of the cline of acceptability that Allerton (1978) discussed of English ditransitive constructions: In English, a transitive verb is licensed to occur in the ditransitive construction if the verb takes on the meaning of creation or preparation; otherwise, the sentence as a whole will be judged less acceptable (Jackendoff 1990, ch. 9; Wierzbicka 1988, ch. 6). In Japanese, by contrast, even verbs of preparation must be followed by auxiliary *yar-* when they appear in the head of the ditransitive construction. In this respect, Japanese is more restrictive than English. In general, languages (as well as speakers) differ in the range of verbs that are licensed in the relevant constructions (see Shibatani 1996, Green 1974). All of these issues deserve a fuller treatment than is given here.

\* It should be noted that I do not hold that the concepts "existence" and "possession" are structured in the same way in every language. It may possibly be the case that in English, the existential *there* construction differs from the possessive *have* construction in schematic meaning. The essential point here is that in Japanese, these two concepts are expressed by the same syntactic pattern.

\* One might say that this example sounds much better than the other

two, with the particle *-kara* marking the benefactor NP *Taroo*. I cannot be specific about the reason for this asymmetry. Clearly, however, we must explore the semantics of the *-te moraw-* construction before going into details about it.

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