Deixis and implicit argument of Japanese verbs of giving

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INTRODUCTION

1. Japanese has five verbs of giving which are used as both independent and supporting verbs. It has been known that these verbs can be divided into two groups, i.e. the *kureru* and *yaru* groups[1], but what the essential element is that distinguishes the two groups has been the subject of considerable debate. The present paper examines the previous analyses of these distinguishing features of giving verbs as presented by Ooe 1975, Kuno & Kaburaki 1977, Wetzel 1985, 1988, Tokunaga 1986 and Kuno 1987, and presents a new analysis. Although it is in line with Wetzel's analysis, the current analysis sheds light on several points previous analyses fail to capture.

The existing analyses fail to notice the fact that the syntactic case, dative, of independent verbs of giving ceases to be a syntactic case but becomes an implicit semantic role, beneficiary, when the verbs of giving are used as supporting verbs. And although the use of the dative with the supporting verb would give rise to an ungrammatical sentence, it is vital to recognize the referent of the implicit argument for a complete comprehension of the sentence. Furthermore, this paper demonstrates that independent verbs of giving as well as their supporting counterparts have this implied beneficiary role as an integral element in their lexical entries in addition to the direct beneficiary referred to by the syntactic dative case. That is, this paper argues that the Japanese verbs of giving, whether used as independent or as supporting verbs, includes the implicit semantic case of beneficiary as an integral semantic element.

In addition, this paper focuses on the point that the use of two types of giving verbs, the *kureru* group and the *yaru* group depends upon where the speaker stands in the benefactive event world. This is analogous to the use of the English deictic verbs *come* and *go* in which one can be used to describe motion from one place to another but the other cannot, depending upon where the speaker (or the addressee) is. Therefore, this paper claims that these verbs of giving are deictic and terms the deixis `benefactive deixis'. While the English verbs *come* and *go* describe the motion relative to the speaker or the addressee,

Japanese verbs of giving express the benefactive relation between the speaker and the event. And the implicit argument in question is the very element signaling the speaker's position as a beneficiary or as not a beneficiary, thus presenting the deictic egocentric property of these verbs.

PREVIOUS ANALYSES

2. Although the two verbs of giving, *kureru* and *yaru*, can be used on appropriate occasions to describe the very same event of giving, it is often the case that one can be used to describe the event but the other cannot, depending upon who is the speaker. This is similar in its context dependent property to the use of *come* and *go*: one can be used to describe motion from one place to another but the other cannot, depending upon where the speaker (or the addressee) is. While much research has been conducted on Japanese verbs of giving from various points of view, special attention was paid to the difference of the lexico-semantics of the *kureru* and *yaru* groups of verbs by Ooe 1975, Kuno & Kaburaki 1977, Wetzel 1985, 1988, Tokunaga 1986 and Kuno 1987.

Ooe 1975 treats verbs of giving as verbs that indicate the speaker's subjective description of a giving event. He explains the difference between *kureru* and *yaru* by using the terms *point of view* and *intention* (1975: 61).

(1)

	giver	------>	receiver
kureru	X		(X)
	∅		@
yaru	X		(X)
	@		∅

The symbol @ denotes the locus where the speaker's point of view lies, and the letter X indicates that the referent performs the designated act intentionally. The parentheses indicate optionality. According to Ooe's analysis the speaker uses *kureru* to describe an event of giving from the point of view of the receiver while he uses *yaru* when he views the giving event in the giver's perspective. Ooe calls *kureru* a `receiver-oriented' verb and *yaru* a `giver-oriented' verb. The intention of the givers of both verbs is lexically specified while that of the receivers is ambiguous but can be evoked in an appropriate context. Therefore, although the following sentences in 2 and 3 all describe giving events, an appropriate verb of giving must be

chosen in each event according to the perspective of the speaker relative to the event.

(2) a. *Hanako-wa watashi-ni   ningyoo-o kureru.*
          -Topic I   -IO   doll -DO give
          `Hanako will give me a doll.'
     b. **Watashi-wa   Hanako-ni ningyoo-o kureru.*
          I   -Topic   -IO doll -DO give
          `I will give Hanako a doll.'

(3) a. **Hanako-wa watashi-ni   ningyoo-o yaru.*
          -Topic I   -DO   doll -DO give
          `Hanako will give me a doll.'
     b. *Watashi-wa Hanako-ni   ningyoo-o yaru.*
          I -Topic   -IO   doll -DO give
          `I will give Hanako a doll.'

Both 2a and 2b use *kureru*, but 2a is an acceptable sentence while 2b is not. Because *kureru* is a `receiver-oriented' verb, in 2a and 2b the speaker should describe the giving event in the receiver's perspective. Given only two event participants, the speaker and Hanako, 2a, having the speaker as the receiver indicates that the speaker describes the event in his perspective rather than in the other person's perspective, and therefore it is semantically an acceptable sentence. On the other hand, 2b, with Hanako as the receiver, denotes that the speaker places the other person's perspective over his, which is unnatural, and therefore it is a semantically incongruous sentence. Likewise, a similar argument applies for the explanation of the difference in acceptability of 3a and 3b. Because *yaru* is a `giver-oriented' verb, the speaker should view the events from the point of view of the giver and therefore he must be the referent of the giver, as in 3b, and he must not be the referent of the receiver of *yaru* as in 3a.

Kuno & Kaburaki 1977 and Kuno 1987 discuss verbs of giving in the framework of the theory of Empathy. According to them, Empathy is a term which refers to the `speaker's identification, with varying degrees (ranging from degree 0 to 1, with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence.' It is a technical linguistic term, distinguished from the concept of sympathy, to capture linguistic phenomena found universally. Kuno & Kaburaki formulate the Empathy relationships between the participants in the lexico-semantics of *kureru* and *yaru* as in 4.

(4) Empathy conditions on independent verbs of giving
     (a) *kureru* `give': E(subject) < E(dative)
     (b) *yaru* `give': E(subject) ≥ E(dative)

Kureru is called a `dative-centered' verb while *yaru* is called a `subject-centered' verb. According to Kuno & Kaburaki, acceptability and unacceptability of the sentences in 2 and 3 are due to conformity and violation of the Empathy conditions listed in 4: 2b above is unacceptable since the Empathy condition on the `dative-centered' verb *kureru* is E(subject) < E(dative), and the speaker, who should empathize most with himself, is instead in the subject position, whereas 3a is anomalous for the opposite reason that the Empathy condition on the `subject-centered' verb *yaru* is E(subject) ≥ E(dative), and the speaker is instead in the dative position.

    The equity sign for the Empathy condition of *yaru* (but not for that of *kureru*) is necessary because *yaru* is used to describe a giving event when the speaker places himself at a distance from the referents of both giver and receiver (cf. 5a below). Giving verbs are used not only as independent verbs, but also as supporting verbs. Kuno 1987 assumes that the Empathy conditions on the supporting verbs *yaru* and *kureru* are the same in nature as those on the independent counterparts except that the supporting verb *yaru* cannot be used for a neutral description, based on the observation of such examples as in 5 and 6.

(5) Independent verbs of giving
    a. *Toorigakari-no-hito-ga Taroo-ni   okane-o   yatta.*
       passerby   -Subj   -IO   money-DO gave
       `A passerby gave Taro money.'
    b. *Taroo-ga toorigakari-no-hito-ni   okane-o   yatta.*
       -Subj passerby   -IO   money-DO gave
       `Taro gave a passerby money.'

(6) Supporting verbs of giving
    a. *Toorigakari-no-hito-ga Taroo-ni   okane-o   kasita.*
       passerby -Subj   -IO   money-DO   lent
       `A passerby lent taro some money.'
    b. ?*Toorigakari-no-hito-ga Taroo-ni okane-o kasite-yatta.*
                                lending-gave

According to Kuno 1987 the awkwardness of 6b can be accounted for if we assume that the supporting verb *yaru* requires that E(subject) > E(dative), but does not permit the

relation that E(subject) = E(dative). That is, the use in 6b of the supporting verb *yatta*, the past form of *yaru* assumes that E(Subject) > E(Dative), and thus indicates an unnatural Empathy relation, E(a passer-by) > E(Taro). Because the speaker should be closer to Taro than to an unfamiliar passer-by, 6b is a semantically awkward sentence. This absolute subjectivity of the supporting verb *yaru* differs from the possibility of objective description by the independent verb *yaru*, as indicated in 5a and 5b by the feasibility of interchanging *Taro* and *a passer-by*. Thus Kuno 1987 proposes two sets of Empathy conditions for *yaru*, but one set for *kureru*, which denotes a subjective description whether in its use as independent or as dependent verb.

(7) Empathy conditions on giving verbs
      a. *kureru* `give': independently and for supporting verb
$$E(\text{subject}) < E(\text{dative})$$
      b. *yaru* `give': independently
$$E(\text{subject}) \geq E(\text{dative})$$
                supporting verb
$$E(\text{subject}) > E(\text{dative})$$

Wetzel 1985 `broadly' defines *kureru* and *yaru* as in 8.

(8)   *kureru* :   give to in-group
      yaru :   give to out-group

This definition seems to be intended for both independent and supporting verbs of giving, because the previous examples include both. Wetzel claims that the following Empathy relation holds.

(9) $E(\text{in-group}) > E(\text{out-group})$

She lists as in-group a group of friends, playmates, a family, and the speaker himself, who is the ultimate in-group, noting the observation by Lebra 1976 that `the in-group/out-group distinction is drawn by constantly varying situations.' This means that an individual regarded as in-group in a situation can be regarded as out-group in another situation. Take the following situations in 10 for example: the speaker's father is regarded as in-group in 10a, but as out-group in 10b.

(10) a. *Tomodachi-ga   chichi-ni   sore-o   oshiete-kureta.*
     friend   -Subj. my father-IO that-DO informing-gave
      `My friend informed my father about it (and I am grateful.)

  b. *Chichi-ga   tomodachi-ni   sore-o oshiete-kureta.*
     my father   friend
      `My father informed my friend about it (and I am grateful.)

10a shows that the speaker has placed himself closer to his father than to his friend, which is justified by the fact that his father is a family member. 10b indicates that the speaker has placed himself closer to his friend than to his father and that he and his friend share a common interest. Although the situations in 10 illustrate the flexibility of the in-group/out-group distinction, it is highly predictable in most cases who the speaker considers closer to himself, because the judgment on intimacy is in essence based on (a) a general concept of the socially recognized in-group hierarchy or (b) shared interests in a specific context.

    Tokunaga 1986 studies the independent verb *kureru* and treats it as `affective deixis'.  According to her, affective deixis indicates `the speaker's personal or emotional relation with a particular participant in the speech-act.' In 11, for example, the use of *kureru* suggests the speaker's `personal and emotional relation' with Mary. (This is somewhat similar to Kuno & Kaburaki's Empathy interpretation that 11 indicates that the speaker feels closer to Mary than to Tom.)

(11) *Tom-wa   Mary-ni   hon-o   kureta.*
     -Top   -IO   book-DO   gave
     `Tom gave a book to Mary.'

In Tokunaga's analysis, *kureru* and *yaru* belong to different classes: respectively as a `speaker-oriented inward directional' verb (which indicates that the inherent directionality of giving is toward the speaker) and as a `subject-oriented outward directional' verb (which denotes that the inherent directionality is toward someone other than the speaker).

    The table below gives a general picture of the differences among the analyses reviewed above.

(12)

		GIVER	RECEIVER
Ooe	*kureru*	+intention	±intention
		-point of view	+point of view

(called the receiver-oriented verb)

	yaru	+intention	±intention
		+point of view	-point of view

(called the giver-oriented verb)

		SUBJECT	DATIVE
Kuno & Kaburaki			
	kureru	E(mpathy) <	E

(called the dative-centered verb)

	yaru	E ≥*	E

(called the subject-centered verb; *the equity sign is required only for the independent verb.)

			RECEIVER
Wetzel			
	kureru		in-group
	yaru		out-group

		SUBJECT	IO
Tokunaga			
	kureru	giver≠speaker	receiver=speaker or speaker-in-law (personally & emotionally related with the speaker)

(called the speaker-oriented verb)

	yaru	giver=anyone	receiver≠speaker

(called the subject-oriented verb)

THE PROBLEM

3. In all the above analyses except for Kuno's, which makes a slight distinction between the independent and supporting verbs of giving by adding the equity sign to the independent verb *yaru*, the implications are that the lexico-semantic descriptions for the independent verbs of giving are generally applicable for the supporting verbs as well, because example sentences used for their analyses include supporting verbs of giving.[2] However, there are several syntactic and semantic differences between them.

3.1. SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES. An important syntactic difference between the independent verbs and supporting verbs of giving is that while the independent verbs of giving

subcategorize for the dative NP, the supporting counterparts do not, as shown below.

(13) a. *(Anata-ga)*　　　　　　　　*soko-e*　　　　*itte-kureru?*
　　　　　you-Subj　　　　　　　　　　　there-TO　　going-give
　　　　　`Can (you) go there (for me)?'
　　　b. *(Anata-ga) watashi-ni　soko-e itte-kureru?*
　　　　　　　　　　　　I-IO
　　　　　`Can (you) go there (for me)?'

(14) a. *(Boku-ga)*　　　　　　　　*soko-e　itte-yaru.*
　　　　　　I-Subj　　　　　　　　　there-TO going-give
　　　　　`(I'll) go there (for you).'
　　　b. *(Boku-ga) kimi-ni　　　soko-e itte-yaru.*
　　　　　　　　　　　you-IO
　　　　　`(I'll) go there (for you).'

Because the supporting verb *kureru* does not subcategorize for the dative NP, an addition of the dative NP *watashi-ni* `to me' to 13a gives rise to an unacceptable sentence 13b, even though the identification of the referent of the beneficiary of the event is an integral part of the understanding of the sentence. The same is true of the supporting verb *yaru*, as shown in 14a and 14b. The insertion of the dative in 14a results in an unacceptable sentence 14b, but nonetheless the identification of the referent of the beneficiary of the event is of vital importance.

　　　When a dative NP appears in a sentence with the supporting verb *kureru* or *yaru*, it is the one that is subcategorized for by the main verb, as is the case with the following example.

(15) *Chichi　　-ga　　(boku-o)　　　kaisha-no-shachoo-ni*
　　　my father-Subj.　I-Obj.　　　　company-OF-president-IO
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　shookaishite-kureru.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　introducing-give
　　　`My father will introduce (me) to a company president (and I am happy about it).'

The overt dative NP *kaisha-no-shachoo-ni* `to a company president' is subcategorized for by the verb *shookaisuru* `introduce', but not by *kureru*. As a result, because the Empathy conditions refer to the syntactic category dative, they often predict wrong Empathy relationships. Take 15 for example. The Empathy condition on the supporting verb *kureru*, E(subject) < E(dative) suggests the Empathy relationship of 15 that E(subject=my father) < E(dative=a company

president), which is a wrong interpretation of 15.[3] Thus, as shown above, reference to the syntactic category dative is misleading, but yet for a complete comprehension of the sentence it is vital to identify the referent of the beneficiary of the event even though it is not syntactically present. That is, the dative of the independent verb of giving ceases to be a syntactic case but becomes an implicit semantic argument, beneficiary, when it is used as supporting verb.

3.2. SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES. The difference in subcategorization of the dative NP between the supporting and independent verbs of giving seems to be due to a significant semantic difference between them. Although the semantics of the dative NP of an independent verb of giving denotes a recipient of a given object, that of the implicit argument of a supporting verb no longer indicates such a recipient, but instead denotes a beneficiary. This point is demonstrated by the default interpretation of the speaker as the beneficiary in 16a in the absence of prior context or an overt beneficial phrase, and by the default interpretation of the addressee as the beneficiary in 16b in the same situation.

(16) a. *(Anata-ga)*   *soko-e*   *itte-kureru?*
      you-Subj   there-TO   going-give
         `Can (you) go there (for me)?'
    b. *(Boku-ga)*   *soko-e*   *itte-yaru.*
        I-Subj   there-TO   going-give
        `(I'll) go there (for you).'

Likewise, as indicated by the expression in parentheses in the gloss of 17 below, the independent verb of giving also implies that the speaker thinks that the giving in question is beneficial not only to his child but also to him by membership in the same group.

(17) *Mary-san-ga*   *uchi-no-ko-ni okane-o*   *kureta.*
       -Subj.   my child-IO   money-Obj.   gave
      `Mary gave my child money (and I am grateful to her).'

The verb *kureru* not only enables the speaker to express the speaker's position as a beneficiary, but also to imply his gratitude. Even in the case in which the direct beneficiary is someone other than the speaker, the use of *kureru* entails the

speaker's expression of gratitude, as is shown in the gloss of 18 below, unless otherwise specified.

(18) *Kodomo-no-tame-ni   soko-e   itte-kureta .*
      child -OF-SAKE-FOR   there-TO going-gave
      `(He) went there for my child (and I am grateful to him).'

Thus it can be said that while the meaning of an independent verb of giving includes both the recipient of a given object and the implied beneficiary, a supporting verb of giving implies only the beneficiary. In other words, the role of beneficiary is implicitly present in both independent and supporting verbs of giving, but the role of recipient is lexically specified only in independent verbs of giving. Therefore, not only is the reference to the dative of the supporting verb of giving misleading, but the reference to the beneficiary as the recipient, as in Ooe and Wetzel, is as well.

BENEFACTIVE DEIXIS

4. Observations made above suggest that in Japanese, giving events are viewed from the perspective of benefactive effects on the speaker and that other events are also screened for benefactive effects on the speaker. In particular, the semantics of the implicit argument of the supporting verb *kureru* denotes that the speaker views himself as a beneficiary, whereas that of the supporting verb *yaru* indicates that the speaker thinks that he is not a beneficiary but someone he does not share interest with. And this implicit expression of his position as a beneficiary or as not a beneficiary is the very reason why Japanese has two sets of verbs of giving. An event is filtered through the speaker's perception for benefactive effects of the event, and when he perceives himself as a beneficiary, whether directly or indirectly through shared interests with the direct beneficiary, he uses *kureru*, but when he does not consider himself a beneficiary, he uses *yaru*. That is, both verbs denote benefactive events, but differ in implication of the speaker's role as a beneficiary. This usage is analogous to that of *come* and *go* , which both denote motion from one place to another, but differ in implication of the speaker's location: that is, *come* denotes motion toward where the speaker (or the addressee) is and *go* , motion toward where the speaker (or the addressee) is not (Fillmore 1966; Batari 1982). If deixis refers to that egocentric aspect of language with which `a human being establishes a relation between what may be generally called his "ego" and the "non-ego"' (Rauh 1983:

230), *kureru* and *yaru* are deictic verbs as *come* and *go* are. In the use of *kureru* or *yaru*, the speaker establishes a benefactive relation between himself and the event, whereas in the use of *come* or *go* the speaker establishes the direction of motion relative to his own location (or the location of the addressee). Because benefactive effects on the speaker is the central issue in the deictic property of *kureru* and *yaru*, I call this deixis benefactive deixis.

Based on the deictic property of these verbs discussed above, I call *kureru* the beneficial-to-self verb and *yaru*, the beneficial-to-other verb. The term *self* here refers to several non-mutually exclusive dimensions of self. One dimension of self is represented by the `empathetic self' defined in Lebra 1992 as `the intimacy-seeking, empathetic self, the second orientation of the interactional self.' Lebra states that `(i)nvolved here is the awareness of self as an insider of a group or network, or as a partner to a relationship.' Another dimension of self is the `subjective, experiencing, internal self', and yet another is the `objective, observing, external self' (Lyons 1982). The speaker who expresses his own feelings of gratitude is the experiencing self. The speaker who expresses acknowledgment of a favor granted to his in-group as a customary convention expected by a social norm is represented by the external as well as the empathetic self. In this regard the use of *kureru* denotes the speaker's acknowledgment of the `collectively shared *on*' incurred from the event he perceives to be beneficial for his in-group and himself. According to Lebra 1976 *on* is a culture-bound notion of reciprocity for the Japanese. It is `a relational concept combining a benefit or benevolence given with a debt or obligation thus incurred: it refers to a social debt from the viewpoint of the beneficiary, and a social credit from the perspective of the benefactor.

The term *other* employed here denotes someone with whom the speaker does not have shared interests. As self is a variable, so is other. In a given context a speaker may view his own family member as other, and his friend, as an insider out of shared interests, and in another context the relationship may be reversed, as discussed in 10 above. The following examples give a clear picture of the deictic property of these verbs.

(19) Supporting verbs of giving
    a. *Soko-e   itte-kureru*?
       there-TO   going-give
          `(Can you) go there (for me)?'

    b. *Soko-e*   *itte-yaru.*
       there-TO   going-give
       `(I'll) go there (for you).'

(20) Independent verbs of giving
    a. *Kureru* ?
      give
       `(Can) (you) give (it) (to me)?
    b. *Yaru* .
      give
       `(I'll) give (it) (to you).'

Given only two discourse participants, the speaker and addressee, in 19a and 20a, the beneficial-to-self verb *kureru* implies the speaker as the beneficiary and the addressee as the benefactor, even though the referents are not explicitly mentioned. Similarly, in 19b and 20b, the beneficial-to-other verb *yaru* implies the addressee as the beneficiary and the speaker as the benefactor.

CONCLUSION

5. The current analysis focuses on the benefactive aspect of the verbs of giving since the role of beneficiary is implied in the lexico-semantics of both independent and supporting verbs of giving while the role of recipient, a primary focus of previous analyses, is lacking in the lexico-semantics of the supporting verbs of giving. Kuno & Kaburaki's analysis centers on the interaction between the syntax and the Empathy principles. However, as discussed above, because of absence of subcategorization of the dative NP of the supporting verbs of giving, reference to the syntactic category in the Empathy conditions often results in wrong interpretations of sentences with a supporting verb of giving. For general explication of the lexico-semantics of both independent and supporting verbs of giving, reference to a semantic role is called for. The terms *receiver* or *recipient* would be correct if we specify that independent verbs of giving have an (implicit) recipient semantically equivalent to a beneficiary in addition to the recipient denoted by the dative argument. But to avoid ambiguity and confusion I call the role of the implicit argument *beneficiary*. The synopsis of the present analysis can be shown as follows.

(21)

                                             BENEFICIARY
kureru   self
    (called the beneficial-to-self verb)
yaru   other
    (called the beneficial-to-other verb)

The research of giving verbs mentioned above refers to a special relationship the speaker holds with the referent of the dative NP or the receiver argument of *kureru*: the speaker takes his point of view rather than that of the giver (Ooe); the speaker identifies himself more with him than with the referent of the subject NP (Kuno & Kaburaki); the speaker has a personal and emotional relation with him (Tokunaga). Wetzel's analysis in terms of the in-group/out-group division offers an explanation for a special relationship between the speaker and the referent of the receiver in question. In this respect the present analysis is in line with Wetzel's analysis. According to the current analysis, the use of *kureru* indicates that the speaker considers himself a beneficiary directly or indirectly through his in-group or those with whom he shares interest.

A supporting verb of giving denotes the speaker's viewpoint of an event (i.e. modality) while the main verb indicates the propositional content of the event. The following diagram shows the relationship of the two functions.

(22)   Sentence contents consisting of
       EVENT   +   SPEAKER'S VIEWPOINT
       (expressed   (expressed by a supporting
       by the main verb)   verb of giving)

       EX.   *Soko-e*   *itte-*   *kureru*?
           there-TO   going   give
           `going there' (= Event)  `is beneficial to me'
                                             (= Viewpoint)

When events denote giving, independent verbs of giving alone are used to indicate both events and the speaker's viewpoints, as exhibited below.
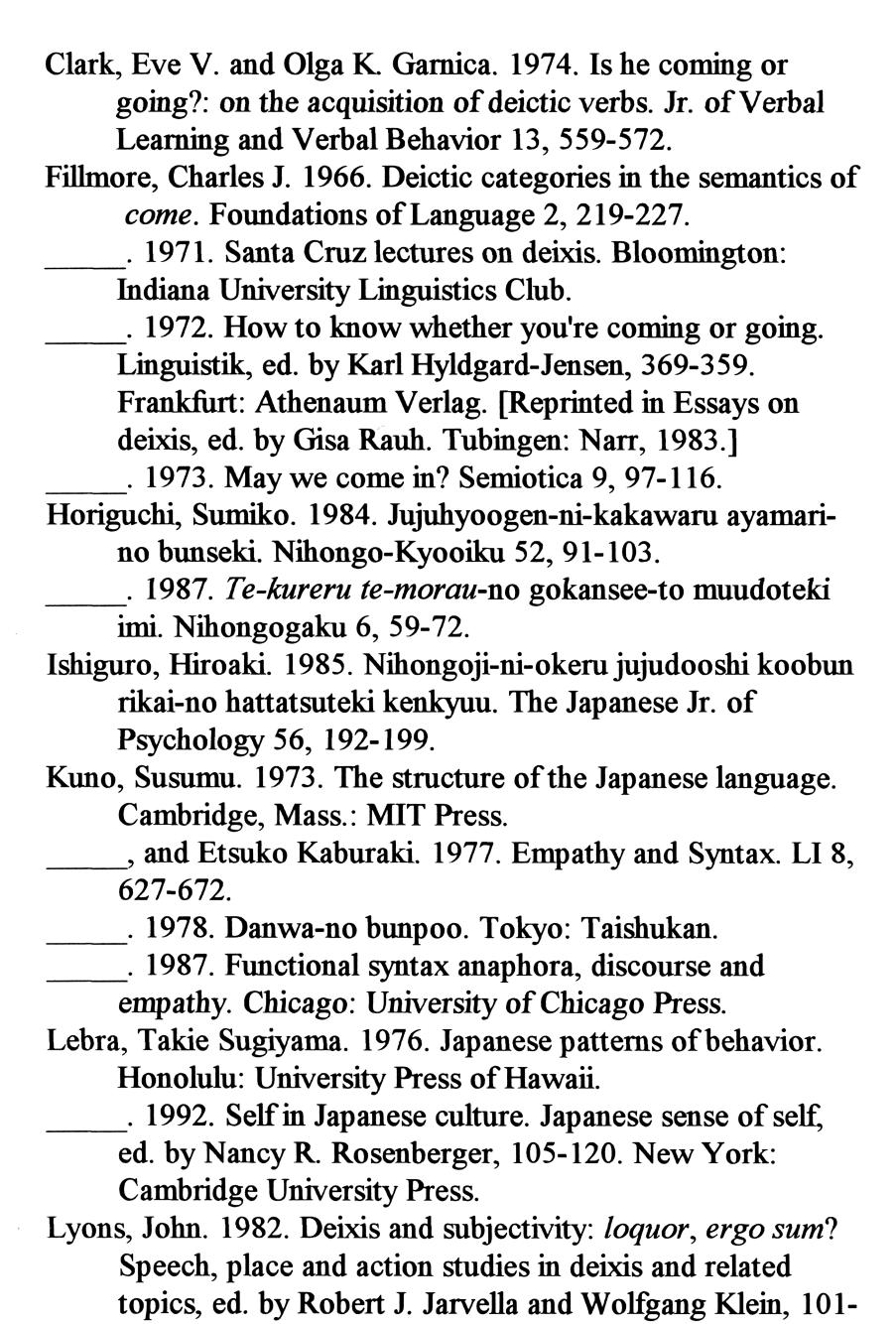
(23)   GIVING EVENT
       SPEAKER'S VIEWPOINT
       (expressed only by independent verbs of giving)

The current analysis is able to account for the fact that the lexico-semantics of *kureru* often expands to imply the speaker's gratitude in an appropriate context, because the present analysis in essence claims that a supporting verb of giving denotes the `effect' part of the chain `cause and effect' while the main verb is the `cause' part. For the feeling of gratitude is a natural effect resultant from the recognition of one's position as beneficiary. The use of the Japanese verb of giving enables the speaker to express implicitly and economically gratitude resultant from the perception of self as beneficiary, as structures by social and cultural norms of Japanese society.

NOTES

[1] The *kureru* group consists of *kureru* and *kudasaru*, and the *yaru* group constitutes *yaru*, *ageru* and *sashiageru*. In addition to this division, these five verbs can be categorized according to their honorific levels. This paper will not touch on this dimension, but focuses on features distinguishing between the *kureru* and *yaru* groups. Another point of note is that in present Japanese, among *yaru*, *ageru* and *sashiageru*, *ageru* is replacing many uses of *yaru*. *Ageru* rather than *yaru* might be more appropriate to represent this group, but this paper follows the predominant practice of use of *yaru* in previous literature under discussion of this paper.

[2] In reality the use of giving verbs as supporting verbs is much more pervasive than the use of giving verbs as independent verbs. Weztel reports that there were found 29 of giving and receiving verbs in a spoken discourse text of approximately 1950 words and that all 29 were used as supporting verbs (1985:146).

[3] Kuno (1978:152-154) uses the terms *nonsubject* instead of *dative*. As understood from (15) above, this term is ambiguous and difficult to identify the referent in question without considering the semantic role of beneficiary.

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