

On Japanese Verbs of Giving and Receiving

Hitoko YAMADA

ABSTRACT

Japanese verbs *yaru* 'give', *morau* 'receive', *kureru* 'give', (*sashi*-)*ageru* 'give', *itadaku* 'receive', and *kudasaru* 'give' describe a physical event of giving and receiving, including actual movement of an object or transfer of possession. These verbs have auxiliary uses which describe how an event or action is perceived by participants. The image of physical transfer of a gift described by the lexical verbs produces the abstract meaning described by the auxiliary uses. This paper examines cognitive structures of these lexical verbs and auxiliary uses and their relation to investigate the process of abstraction from lexical meaning to auxiliary meaning.

0. Introduction

In Japanese lexicon, some verbs have auxiliary uses. Auxiliary use appears when a subsidiary verb comes after a main verb and a verbal suffix *-te* in a clause-linking construction. For example, there are two uses of *yaru*, lexical use and auxiliary use. Auxiliary *yaru* follows a main verb and *-te*, as in *kat'buy'-te-yaru*. The grammatical functions of corresponding lexical uses and auxiliary uses differ: lexical uses *describe* events, while auxiliary uses *interpret* events. For example, lexical *yaru* in the sentence *Taro-ga muko-gawa-ni-iru Mari-ni shio-o yaru* 'Taro passes the salt to Mari sitting on the other side' describes the movement of the salt from Taro to Mari. Auxiliary *yaru* in the sentence *Taro-ga Mari-ni sugaku-o oshie-te-yaru* 'Taro teaches mathematics to Mari' interprets Taro's act of teaching, indicating Taro's willingness to do something for Mari.

The lexical verbs *yaru*, *morau*, *kureru*, (*sashi*-)*ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru* describe events of giving and receiving, including physical movement of an object or transfer of possession. Their auxiliary uses mainly interpret the benefit of events

* I would like to thank Donald Sturge for correcting stylistic errors. The responsibility of remaining inadequacies is my own.

described by the main verb. However, there is some similarity in meaning between these lexical verbs and their auxiliary uses, and this paper examines cognitive structures in an effort to explain the similarity. Section 1 of this paper presents cognitive structures of lexical verbs of giving and receiving. Section 2 presents cognitive structures of the polite lexical verbs of giving and receiving. Section 3 presents cognitive structures of auxiliary uses of *yaru*, *morau*, *kureru* in relation to cognitive structures of corresponding lexical verbs.

1. Cognitive Structures of Lexical Verbs *Yaru*, *Morau*, and *Kureru*

Sentences (1) to (6) describe a single event: “Taro gave a flower to Mari,” but the lexical verbs of giving and receiving divide into two groups with different degrees of politeness. *Yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru* in (1), (2), and (3) are rather neutral terms; (*sashi-*)*ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru* in (4), (5), and (6) are polite forms.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>yatta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | flower-OBJ | YARU-PST |
| (2) | <i>Mari-ga</i> | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>moratta</i> |
| | Mari-SUB | Taro-from | flower-OBJ | MORAU-PST |
| (3) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>kureta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | flower-OBJ | KURERU-PST |
| (4) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>(sashi-)ageta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | flower-OBJ | (SASHI-)AGERU-PST |
| (5) | <i>Mari-ga</i> | <i>Taro-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>itadaita</i> |
| | Mari-SUB | Taro-from | flower-OBJ | ITADAKU-PST |
| (6) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>kudasatta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | flower-OBJ | KUDASARU-PST |

Figure 1, based on Langacker (p.227), represents the image schema of giving and receiving for sentences (1) to (6). The large circles are arrays of entities over which *agent* (AG) and *receiver* (RVR) exercise dominion. The double arrows (\Rightarrow) stand for emotional effect, agent’s will to act or effect on receiver’s emotion. The single arrow (\rightarrow) depicts resulting motion of gift or *mover* (MVR). The agent impels the mover from the agent’s dominion to the receiver’s dominion. In sentences (1) to (6), Taro (AG) impels the flower (MVR) from his dominion to the

dominion of Mari (RVR).

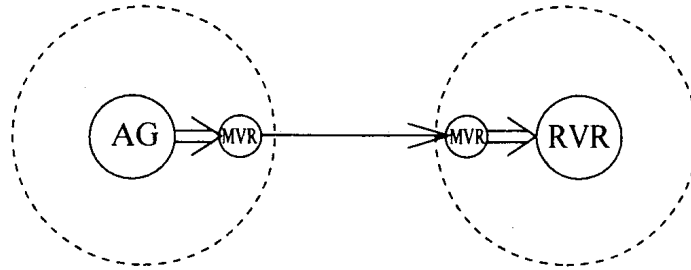


Figure 1.

Profile and *base* are crucial notions for the verbs of giving and receiving *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*. *Profile* contrasts with *base*, for it is a substructure elevated to a special level of prominence within the base (Ibid., p.5). For example, “tip” designates a profile, with the conception of an elongated object as base.

Yaru, *morau*, and *kureru* share a single base, but profile different parts of that base. The base is the image schema of giving and receiving in Figure 1, composed of agent, receiver, mover, dominions, agent’s will to act, receiver’s emotional response to the mover, and motion of the mover. *Yaru* takes the agent (gift giver) as subject, and profiles that agent and the act of giving. *Morau* takes the receiver of the gift as subject, and profiles that receiver and the experience of receiving. *Kureru* takes the agent as subject as *yaru* does, but profiles the movement of the mover rather than the agent’s act of giving.

Because of profiling, *yaru* and *morau* require animate subjects, while *kureru* does not. *Yaru* needs a subject and agent having will to act. *Morau* needs a subject and receiver having emotion to feel. Humans like Taro and Mari can be subjects for *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru* in (7), (8), and (9). Things cannot be subjects for *yaru* and *morau*, and sentences (10) and (11) are inappropriate without personification. Things can be subjects for *kureru* as in (12), though this sentence may sound rhetorical. Inanimate subjects cannot perform a willing act profiled by *yaru*, or feel experience as profiled by *morau*. Inanimate subjects do not interfere with *kureru* profiling gift transfer.

- (7) *Taro-ga Mari-ni hana-o yatta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to flower-OBJ YARU-PST
 ‘Taro gave a flower to Mari.’

- (8) *Mari-ga Taro-ni hana-o moratta*
 Mari-SUB Taro-from flower-OBJ MORAU-PST
 'Mari got a flower from Taro.'
- (9) *Taro-ga Mari-ni hana-o kureta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to flower-OBJ KURERU-PST
 'Taro gave a flower to Mari.'
- (10) **mori-ga Mari-ni shinsenna kuuki-o yatta*
 woods-SUB Mari-to fresh air-OBJ YARU-PST
 'The woods gave fresh air to Mari.'
- (11) **hana-ga Taro-ni mizu-o moratta*
 flower-SUB Taro-from water-OBJ MORAU-PST
 'The flower got water from Taro.'
- (12) *mori-ga Mari-ni shinsenna kuuki-o kureta*
 woods-SUB Mari-to fresh air-OBJ KURERU-PST
 'The woods gave fresh air to Mari.'

Yaru and *morau* require a mover to convey an agent's will or elicit emotional response from a receiver. In sentences (13) and (14), the mover is flu. Sentence (13) with *Yaru* is inappropriate, because flu infection occurs without agent's willingness. Taro cannot control the flu. Sentence (14) is appropriate, because flu infection changes the affected person Mari, receiver of the flu.

- (13) **Taro-ga Mari-ni kaze-o yatta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to flu-OBJ YARU-PST
 'Taro gave Mari his flu.'
- (14) *Mari-ga Taro-ni kaze-o moratta*
 Mari-SUB Taro-from flu-OBJ MORAU-PST
 'Mari got a flu from Taro.'

Viewpoint is another crucial factor in the use of lexical verbs of giving and receiving. It is useful to compare sentences including *watashi* 'I' to examine viewpoint, because the first person *watashi* 'I' represents the speaker most likely to *perceive* the event.

In sentences (15) and (16), *Yaru* shows the speaker shares the viewpoint of the

agent. The speaker of (15) is an agent. Sentence (16) is inappropriate, because the speaker is a receiver who contradicts the viewpoint indicated by *yaru*. In sentences (17) and (18), *morau* shows the speaker shares the viewpoint of the receiver. The speaker of (17) is a receiver. Sentence (18) is inappropriate, because the speaker is an agent who contradicts the viewpoint indicated by *morau*. In sentences (19) and (20), *kureru* shows that the speaker shares the viewpoint of the receiver. Sentence (19) is inappropriate, because the speaker is an agent who contradicts the viewpoint indicated by *kureru*. The speaker of (20) is a receiver, in harmony with the viewpoint indicated by *kureru*.

- (15) *watashi-ga Taro-ni hana-o yatta*
 I-SUB Taro-to flower-OBJ YARU-PST
 'I gave a flower to Taro.'
- (16) **Taro-ga watashi-ni hana-o yatta*
 Taro-SUB I-to flower-OBJ YARU-PST
 'Taro gave me a flower.'
- (17) *watashi-ga Taro-ni hana-o moratta*
 I-SUB Taro-from flower-OBJ MORAU-PST
 'I got a flower from Taro.'
- (18) **Taro-ga watashi-ni hana-o moratta*
 Taro-SUB I-from flower-OBJ MORAU-PST
 'Taro got a flower from me.'
- (19) **watashi-ga Taro-ni hana-o kureta*
 I-SUB Taro-to flower-OBJ KURERU-PST
 'I gave a flower to Taro.'
- (20) *Taro-ga watashi-ni hana-o kureta*
 Taro-SUB I-to flower-OBJ KURERU-PST
 'Taro gave me a flower.'

Figure 2 shows cognitive structures of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*, with profiles and viewpoints. The bold line shows profiles, and the eye (V) shows viewpoint to perceive the event.

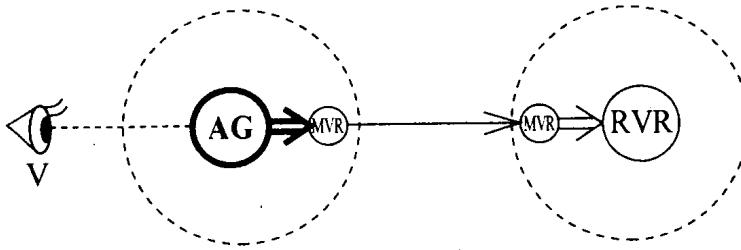
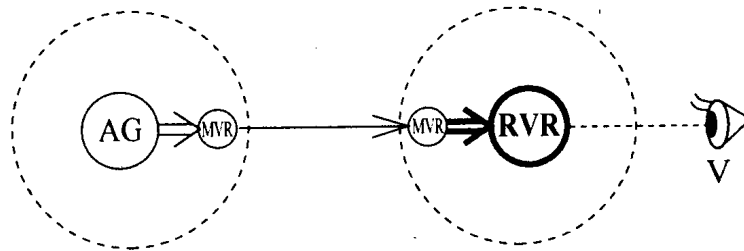
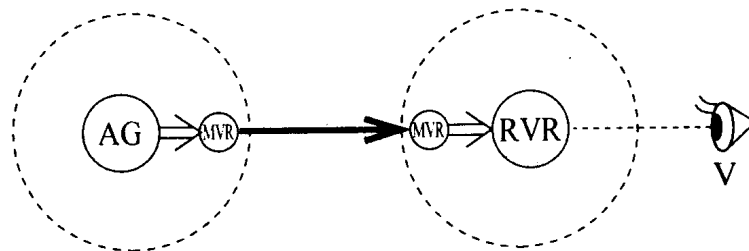
(a) *YARU*(b) *MORAU*(c) *KURERU*

Figure 2.

2. Cognitive Structures of Polite Verbs of Giving and Receiving (*Sashi-*)*Ageru*, *Itadaku*, and *Kudasaru*

Cognitive structures of polite verbs of giving and receiving (*sashi-*)*ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru* are similar to cognitive structures of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*. Profiles and viewpoints of polite verbs correspond to those of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*. (*Sashi-*)*ageru* profiles agent and willing act of giving, as *yaru* does. *Itadaku* profiles receiver and receiver's experience, as *morau* does. *Kudasaru* profiles transfer of a gift, as *kureru* does. The viewpoints of polite verbs will be discussed later in this section.

Social relationship of participants plays an important role in the use of polite verbs (*sashi-*)*ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru*. Sentences (21) to (26) express

transfer of a flower from Taro to Mari, and only status relationship is different between the two persons. Honorific *san* after a name indicates when the person is addressed with respect. In (21), social status of Taro (agent) is lower than social status of Mari (receiver). The social relationship is reversed in (22) and (23). Sentences (24), (25), and (26) are inappropriate, because the social relationship indicated by honorific *san* contradicts the social relationship indicated by (*sashi-*)*ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru*. (*Sashi-*)*ageru* has an agent of lower status and a receiver of higher status. *Itadaku* and *kudasaru* have agents of higher status and receivers of lower status.

- (21) *Taro-ga* *Mari-san-ni* *hana-o* *sashi-ageta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-san-to flower-OBJ SASHI-AGERU-PST
 'Taro gave a flower to Mari-san.'
- (22) *Mari-ga* *Taro-san-ni* *hana-o* *itadaita*
 Mari-SUB Taro-san-from flower-OBJ ITADAKU-PST
 'Mari got a flower from Taro-san.'
- (23) *Taro-san-ga* *Mari-ni* *hana-o* *kudasatta*
 Taro-san-SUB Mari-to flower-OBJ KUDASARU-PST
 'Taro-san gave a flower to Mari.'
- (24) **Taro-san-ga* *Mari-ni* *hana-o* *sashi-ageta*
 Taro-san-SUB Mari-to flower-OBJ SASHI-AGERU-PST
 'Taro-san gave a flower to Mari.'
- (25) **Mari-san-ga* *Taro-ni* *hana-o* *itadaita*
 Mari-san-SUB Taro-from flower-OBJ ITADAKU-PST
 'Mari-san got a flower from Taro.'
- (26) **Taro-ga* *Mari-san-ni* *hana-o* *kudasatta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-san-to flower-OBJ KUDASARU-PST
 'Taro gave a flower to Mari-san.'

In Figure 3, vertical direction of transfer represents social relationship indicated by the polite verbs. Positions on vertical lines indicate social positions of participants.

(a) (SASHI-)AGERU

(b) ITADAKU / KUDASARU

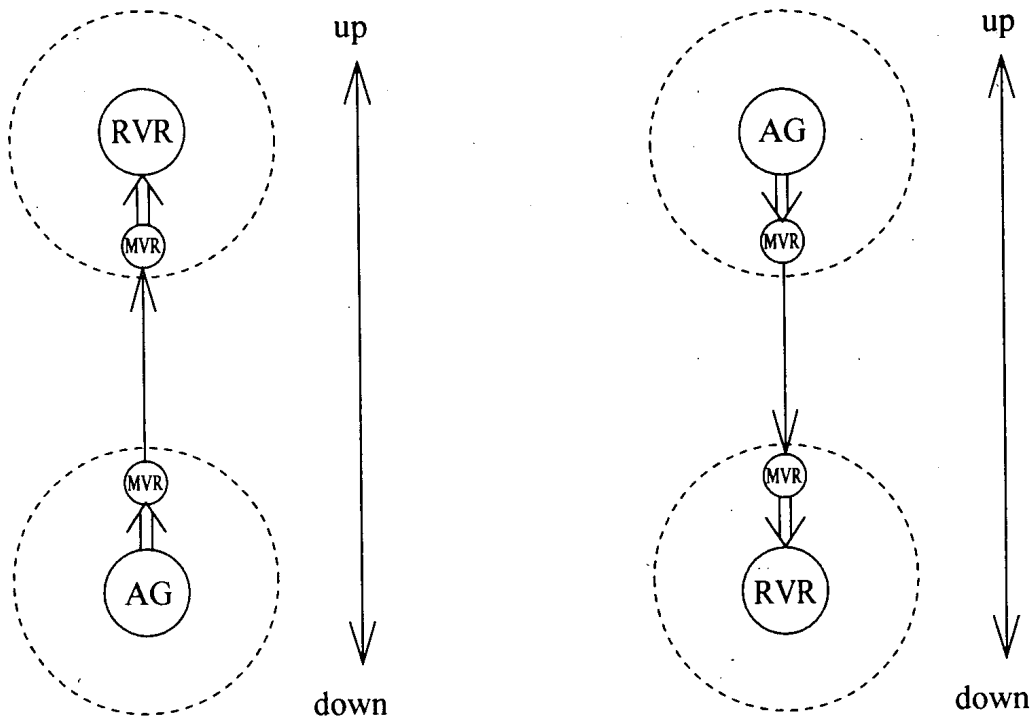


Figure 3.

Because *(sashi-)ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru* show the speaker's respect, the speaker always shares the viewpoint of a participant with lower social status. Sentence (27) is inappropriate, because *(sashi-)ageru* shows the respect for the receiver, and the speaker *watashi* 'I' is the receiver. The speaker cannot show respect to the speaker him/herself. In (28), the speaker using *(sashi-)ageru* is the agent. (27) and (28) show that the speaker of *(sashi-)ageru* must be the agent or an observer sharing the agent's viewpoint. *Itadaku* and *kudasaru* show the speaker's respect for the agent, and the speaker cannot be the agent. Sentences (29) and (32) are inappropriate, because the speakers are the agents here. In sentences (30) and (31), the speakers using *itadaku* and *kudasaru* are the receivers. *Itadaku* and *kudasaru* must be used by a receiver or an observer sharing the receiver's viewpoint.

- (27) **Taro-san-ga watashi-ni hana-o sashi-ageta*
 Taro-san-SUB I-to flower-OBJ SASHI-AGERU-PST
 'Taro-san gave me a flower.'

- (28) *watashi-ga* *Taro-san-ni* *hana-o* *sashi-ageta*
 I-SUB Taro-san-to flower-OBJ SASHI-AGERU-PST
 'I gave a flower to Taro-san.'
- (29) **Taro-san-ga* *watashi-ni* *hana-o* *itadaita*
 Taro-san-SUB I-from flower-OBJ ITADAKU-PST
 'Taro-san got a flower from me.'
- (30) *watashi-ga* *Taro-san-ni* *hana-o* *itadaita*
 I-SUB Taro-san-from flower-OBJ ITADAKU-PST
 'I got a flower from Taro.'
- (31) *Taro-san-ga* *watashi-ni* *hana-o* *kudasatta*
 Taro-san-SUB I-to flower-OBJ KUDASARU-PST
 'Taro-san gave me a flower.'
- (32) **watashi-ga* *Taro-san-ni* *hana-o* *kudasatta*
 I-SUB Taro-san-to flower-OBJ KUDASARU-PST
 'I gave a flower to Taro-san.'

Figure 4 on the next page shows cognitive structures of polite verbs of giving and receiving with profiles, participants' social relationship, and viewpoints. Viewpoints of polite verbs (*sashi-ageru*, *itadaku*, and *kudasaru*) correspond to those of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*.

3. Cognitive Process for Auxiliary Uses of *Yaru*, *Morau*, and *Kureru*

Auxiliary uses of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru* describe abstract and subjective interpretation of an event, not transfer of an object. However, these auxiliary uses have meaning similar to corresponding lexical verbs. Cognitive structures of these auxiliary uses have characteristics in common with cognitive structures of the lexical verbs.

To understand abstract meaning of an event, people compare that event to some earlier experience that seems less abstract. Events so compared must have similarities. Such comparison of events combines events together, producing a new blended event with characteristics derived from the original events. This mechanism is *blending* (Fauconnier).

When a person benefits from an event, that event compares to the image schema of giving and receiving. The person who benefits corresponds to receiver;

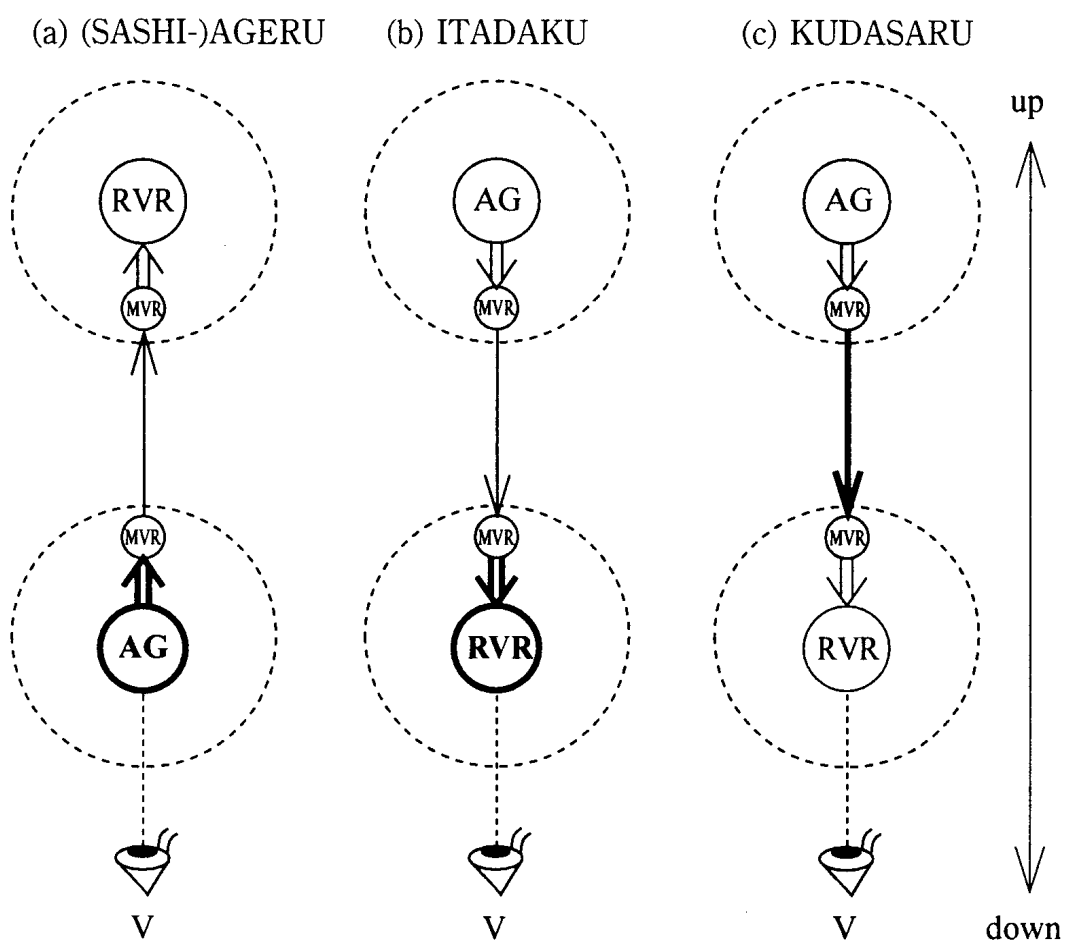


Figure 4.

the person who causes that event corresponds to agent; the benefit from the event corresponds to mover. These correspondences lead to comparison and blending of the event with benefit and the image schema of giving and receiving.

Auxiliary uses of *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru* blend cognitive structures of lexical verbs and cognitive structures of main verbs. Sentences (33) to (36) describe that Taro showed Mari the way. However, sentence (33) describes a physical happening, while (34), (35), and (36) describe an event with physical and emotional factors blended. The participants physically do something, while carrying out intention to do that or emotionally getting affected.

- (33) *Taro-ga Mari-ni miti-o oshie-ta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to way-OBJ show-PST
 'Taro showed Mari the way.'
- (34) *Taro-ga Mari-ni miti-o oshie-te-yatta*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to way-OBJ show-TE-YARU-PST
 'Taro showed Mari the way.'
- (35) *Mari-ga Taro-ni miti-o oshie-te-moratta.*
 Mari-SUB Taro-from way-OBJ show-TE-MORAU-PST
 'Mari learned the way from Taro.'
- (36) *Taro-ga Mari-ni miti-o oshie-te-kureta.*
 Taro-SUB Mari-to way-OBJ show-TE-KURERU-PST
 'Taro showed Mari the way.'

Figure 5 on the next page shows the process of blending for the cognitive structure of auxiliary *yaru* used with a transitive verb affecting a human *patient* (PNT). In the example *Taro-ga Mari-ni miti-o oshie-te-yatta* 'Taro showed Mari the way', (a) and (b) blend to produce (c). Common features combine the structure of transitive *oshieru* 'to show' (a) and the structure of lexical *yaru* 'to give' (b) into the blended structure of auxiliary *yaru* (c). The agent and receiver (or patient) are the same, Taro and Mari, and the direction of agent's energy or emotional effect is the same, from Taro to Mari. This blending draws profiles and viewpoint from the structure of the lexical verb *yaru* (b), but dominions and mover are discarded.

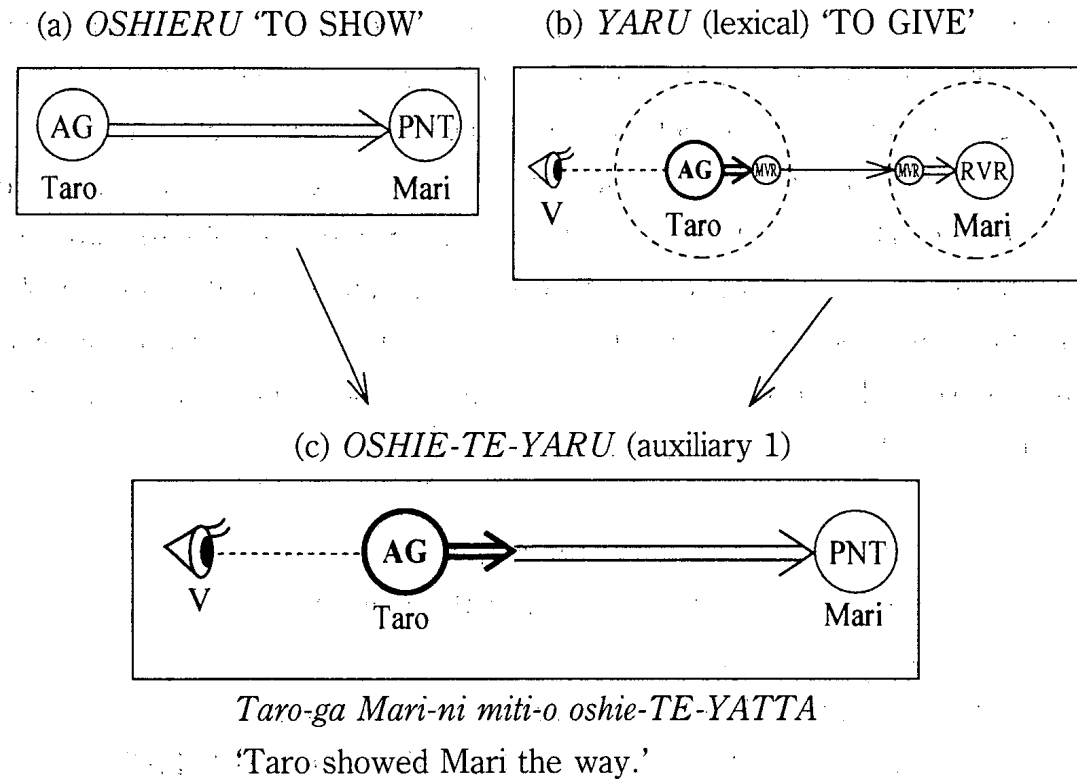
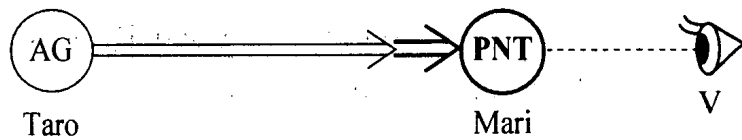


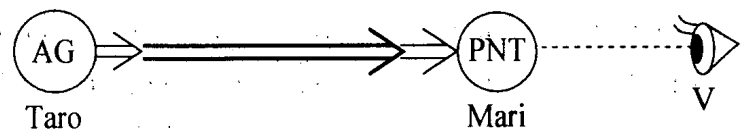
Figure 5.

(a) *OSHIE* 'TO SHOW'-*TE-MORAU*



Mari-ga Taro-ni miti-o oshie-TE-MORATTA
 'Mari learned the way from Taro.'

(b) *OSHIE* 'TO SHOW'-*TE-KURERU*



Taro-ga Mari-ni miti-o oshie-TE-KURETA
 'Taro showed Mari the way.'

Figure 6.

Figure 6 shows the structures of auxiliary *morau* and *kureru* blended with the structure of transitive verb. These blended structures inherit profiles and viewpoints from corresponding lexical verbs.

Auxiliary uses with intransitive verbs have different blended structures. Intransitive verbs do not correspond as closely to the image schema of giving and receiving as transitive verbs do. Intransitive verbs do not take patients, while in sentences with transitive verbs, patients usually benefit from events, corresponding to receivers in the image schema of giving and receiving.

Of course it is possible for a person to benefit from the event described by intransitive verbs. But lack of structural correspondence leads to loose attachment of main clause to the participant who benefits. The benefit receiver of an event is presented with particle *ni* or with explanatory particle *no-tame-ni*. *Ni* suggests the main clause's closeness with the receiver, and *no-tame-ni* suggests a loose connection between the main clause and the receiver. *Ni* is attached to the name of the gift receiver of lexical *yaru* as in (37), and usually to the name of the benefit receiver of a transitive verb as in (38), with exceptions as in sentence (41). Sentence (39) is inappropriate, because *ni* is attached to the name of the benefit receiver from an event described by an intransitive verb. *No-tame-ni* is attached to the name of the benefit receiver of an intransitive verb as in (40).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (37) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>hana-o</i> | <i>yatta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | hana-OBJ | YARU-PST |
| | 'Taro gave a flower to Mari.' | | | |
| (38) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>miti-o</i> | <i>oshie-te-yatta</i> |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | way-OBJ | show-TE-YARU-PST |
| | 'Taro showed the way to Mari.' | | | |
| (39) | * <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-ni</i> | <i>shin-de-yatta</i> | |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-to | die-TE-YARU-PST | |
| | 'Taro died for Mari.' | | | |
| (40) | <i>Taro-ga</i> | <i>Mari-no-tame-ni</i> | <i>shin-de-yatta</i> | |
| | Taro-SUB | Mari-for-the-benefit-of | die-TE-YARU-PST | |
| | 'Taro died for Mari.' | | | |

Figure 7 shows the cognitive structure of auxiliary *yaru* with intransitive verb

shinu 'to die'. The wavy line represents the participant's change of state from being alive to being dead. The rectangle represents the event of dying.

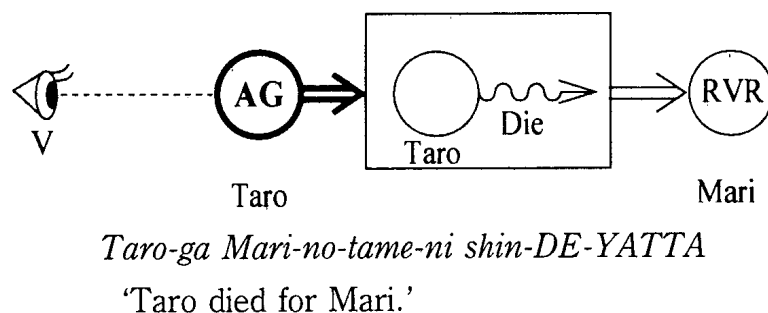


Figure 7.

Even with transitive verbs, if the patient is not identical to the benefit receiver, *no-tame-ni* identifies the benefit receiver, indicating loose attachment of main clause and benefit receiver. Figure 8 shows the cognitive structure for such a case, sentence (41).

- (41) *Taro-ga Mari-no-tame-ni Mari-no kodomo-ni*
 Taro-SUB Mari-for-the-benefit-of Mari's child-OBJ
oshie-te-yatta
 teach-TE-YARU-PST
 'Taro taught Mari's child for Mari.'

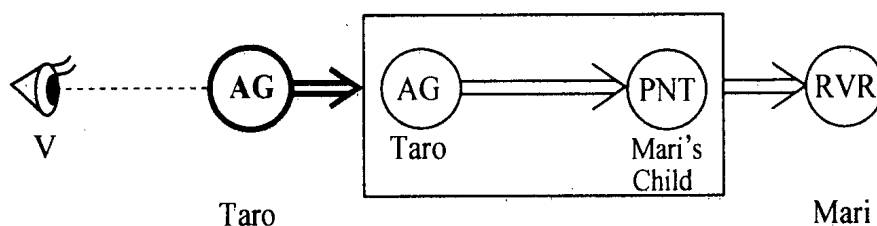


Figure 8.

One interesting usage of *yaru* occurs when *yaru* has no benefit receiver. *Yaru* sometimes has no patient, or receiver to benefit from the event (Toyoda, p.85). Then, *yaru* expresses the speaker's strong will to make the event happen, as in (42):

- (42) *isso-no-koto shin-de-yaru*
 would rather (I-SUB) die-TE-YARU-FTR
 'I would rather and will die.'

Figure 9 shows the process of blending for *yaru* identified in sentence (42). The cognitive structure of *yaru* blended with an intransitive verb shows the speaker's will to act with no receiver affected. This structure of auxiliary *yaru* differs from that in Figure 5, Figure 7, or Figure 8. The profile of the agent and the agent's emittance of energy, deriving from the cognitive structure of lexical *yaru*, enables the speaker to express strong will to cause action. In this blending, only profiles and viewpoint project from the cognitive structure of lexical *yaru* onto the blended cognitive structure of auxiliary *yaru*, with the other parts discarded.

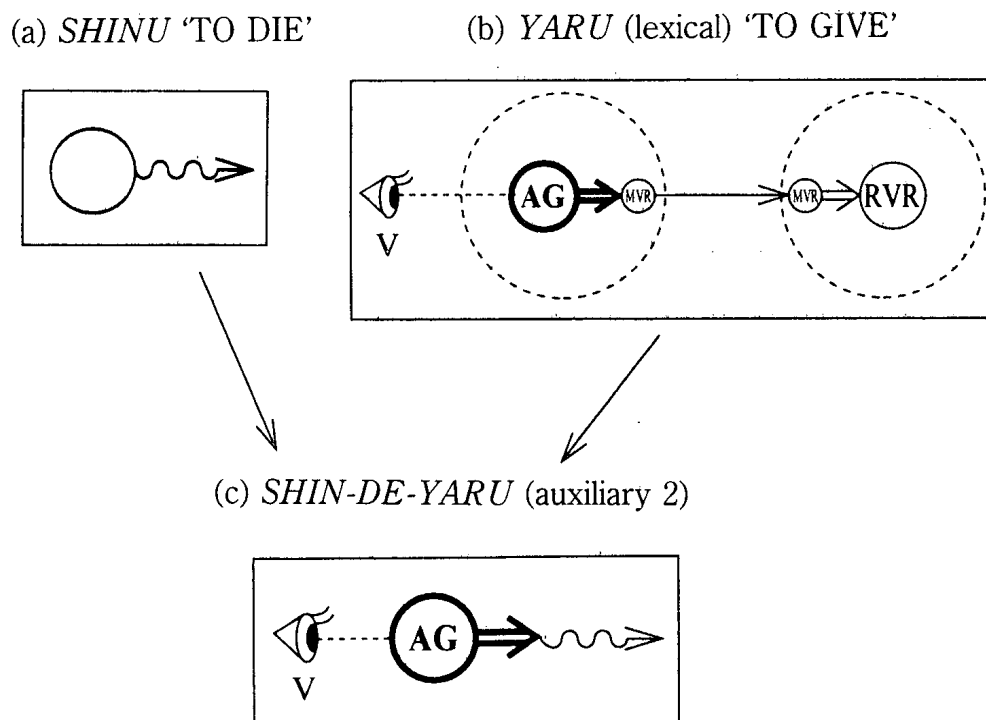


Figure 9.

CONCLUSION

Cognitive structures of Japanese verbs of giving and receiving share a single base structure, the image schema of gift transfer. But *profiles*, *viewpoint*, and social relationship among participants differ.

Profiles remain in *blending*, while elements not profiled in the base structure are easily discarded. After a main verb and a verbal suffix *-te* in a clause-linking construction, the structure of a verb of giving and receiving blends with the structure of the main verb. This blending produces a new cognitive structure of auxiliary use for the verb of giving and receiving, with profiles from the lexical verb. Elements not profiled do not always remain in blended structures. For example, receiver in the structure of lexical *yaru* is not profiled. Such a receiver remains when blended with a transitive verb, but may be discarded when blended with an intransitive verb. Blending produces some different structures for a single verb.

When elements are discarded in blending, meaning becomes more abstract. This study on the process of blending in Japanese verbs of giving and receiving sheds some light on the mechanism of abstraction, though more study is needed to clarify the whole mechanism.

REFERENCES

- Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner (1994) *Conceptual Projection and Middle Spaces*. ms. University of California, San Diego.
- Kuno, Susumu (1978) *Danwa no Bunpoo* [Grammar of Context]. Taishuu-kan.
- Lakoff, George (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1991) *Concept, Image, and Symbol: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Miyaji, Yutaka (1965) *yaru, kureru, morau* o jyutugo to suru bun-no kozo ni tuite [On the structures of sentences with predicates including *yaru, kureru, morau*]. *Kokugogaku* 63, pp. 21-33
- Ohye, Saburo (1975) *Niti-Eigo no Hikaku Kenkyu — Shukansei-o Megutte* [A Comparative Study of Japanese and English: On Subjectivity]. Nanun-do.
- Ono, Tsuyoshi (1992) The grammaticization of the Japanese verbs *oku* and *shimau*. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3-4, pp. 367-390. Walter de Gruyter.
- Teramura, Hideo (1982) *Nihongo no Sintakusu to Imi I* [Syntax and Meaning of Japanese 1]. Kuroshio-shuppan.
- Toyoda, Toyoko (1974) On Auxiliary Verbs, 'Yaru', 'Kureru', and 'Morau'. *Collected*

- Papers of the Japanese Language School 1*, pp. 77-96. The Japanese Language School Attached to the Department of Foreign Language, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Watanabe, Hiroshi (1991) The Direction of Giving and Receiving in Giving and Receiving Expression. *Nihongogakko Ronshu* [Bulletin of Japanese Language School] 18, pp. 35-48. Japanese Language School, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Fuchu Campus.
- Yamanashi, Masaaki (1995) *Ninchi Bunpoo Ron* [Theory of Cognitive Grammar]. Hituji-Shobo.