

A Contrastive Study of Benefactive Constructions in Japanese and Marathi

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The goal of this paper is to make a contrastive study of benefactive expressions that are based on the GIVE schema in Japanese and Marathi. The framework used for the analysis is the cognitive analysis of benefactive constructions proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996). Benefactives, according to Shibatani, are based on the GIVE schema. A schema, on the one hand, functions as a window for construing the outside world and, on the other hand, provides a structural template for the concerned expression. The ungrammaticality of an expression is explained in terms of the mismatch between the schema and the concerned situation described. The schema-based approach transcends structural differences between languages of the world and offers a unified account for the construction in question. It is demonstrated with ample illustrations that Japanese and Marathi exhibit variation according to the type of the main verb on which the benefactive expression is based.

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this paper is to make a contrast of benefactive constructions in Japanese and Marathi. By “benefactives” or “benefactive constructions” we mean specifically those constructions in which beneficiaries are coded as arguments as in the (a) versions of (1–3), rather than as adjuncts in the (b) versions of (1–3).

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The constructions in which beneficiaries are coded as true adjuncts are excluded from our consideration and are just mentioned here for the purpose of contrasting them with the true benefactive constructions. Thus the syntactic and semantic restrictions that are discussed in the present paper do not hold for the benefactives in which beneficiaries are coded as adjuncts.

English

- (1) a. John bought Mary a book.
b. John bought a book for Mary.

Marathi

- (2) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA patra lih-Un di-l-e*
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT letter.N write-PTCPL give-PAST-N
Ram wrote a letter for Sita.
b. *rAm-ne sitA-sAthi patra lih-l-e*
Ram-ERG Sita-for letter.N write-PAST-N
Ram wrote a letter for Sita.

Japanese

- (3) a. *Tarō wa Hanako ni hon o ka-tte ya-tta*
Taro TOP Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
Taro bought Hanako a book.
b. *Tarō wa Hanako no tame ni hon o ka-tte*
Taro TOP Hanako GEN sake DAT book ACC buy-CONJ
ya-tta
give-PAST
Taro bought a book for Hanako's sake.

Thus in the benefactive constructions discussed here the beneficiary is encoded either as a primary object, like the direct object of a transitive clause, and the object transferred as a secondary, extra object (English), or as an indirect object, and the object transferred as a direct object (Marathi, Japanese).¹

The above-mentioned sentences exemplify the two major syntactic patterns that the benefactive constructions of various languages of the world exhibit. In this paper, the benefactive constructions in Marathi are analyzed in detail within the framework of cognitive analysis proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) and a contrast is drawn with their Japanese counterparts. Such a contrast of two languages belonging to different language families can offer deep insight into the structure of the respective languages in general and the benefactive constructions in particular.

¹ The so-called indirect object in a ditransitive clause is a primary object (PO) if it is treated like a direct object (DO) of a monotransitive clause; a secondary object (SO) is the other object in a ditransitive clause (Dryer, 1986).

The Framework

The cognitive analysis proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) is based on the notion of schema. According to Shibatani, a schema, on the one hand, functions as a window for construing the outside world and, on the other hand, provides a structural template for the concerned expression. The ungrammaticality of an expression is explained in terms of the mismatch between the schema and the situation described, or in terms of the difficulty native speakers encounter in construing the situation in terms of the schema upon which the construction in question is based. Benefactive constructions in general are based on the GIVE schema. The properties associated with the GIVE schema for Marathi and Japanese are as stated below.

(4) The GIVE schema

Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 GIVE}

NP1=coded as a subject

NP2=coded as an indirect object

NP3=coded as a direct object

Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3 where

NP1=human agent, NP2=human goal, NP3=object theme

NP2 exercises possessive control over NP3

NP1 creates the possessive control on behalf of NP2

As pointed out by Shibatani, the crucial factor dictating the acceptability of benefactive constructions is not the transitivity of the verb per se but the resulting possessive control of an entity on the part of the goal/beneficiary. Intransitive verbs do not yield benefactive constructions since they do not involve an entity over which someone has possessive control. This point will be discussed in detail later on.

In contrast to Japanese, the benefactive constructions in Marathi are based on two different types of schemata, viz. the GIVE schema and the SHOW schema. The criterion for selecting a particular schema is the nature of the object theme, in other words, the benefit transferred to the beneficiary as tabulated below.

(5) Benefactive Constructions Schemata for Marathi

Type of schema	Nature of the object theme
The GIVE schema	Concrete or Abstract
The SHOW schema	Audio-Visual Performance

The properties associated with the GIVE schema for Marathi are the same as those of Japanese. The majority of benefactives in Marathi are construed according to the GIVE schema. However, the situations that are construed in terms of the GIVE schema show considerable variation between Marathi and Japanese. These cross-linguistic variations are taken up the following sections.

The benefactive expressions based on the SHOW schema are mentioned

mainly for the purpose of contrasting them with those based on the GIVE schema.

The benefactives in Japanese and their corresponding counterparts in Marathi (viz. the benefactive expressions based on the GIVE schema) use a compound verbal form consisting of a main verb marked as a participle followed by GIVE. The full-fledged verb GIVE is used as an auxiliary in benefactive constructions. This change of a lexical verb into an auxiliary is an instance of grammaticalization.² Let us first see the usage of *deNe* (to give) as a main verb in Marathi.

Usage *deNe* (infinitive form: to give) as a Main Verb

As mentioned earlier, Marathi as well as Japanese use the GIVE schema as a prototype benefactive construction. The main verb spells out the activity while GIVE adds the meaning that the said activity is a benefit for the goal. The use of GIVE as an auxiliary verb in Marathi as well as in Japanese contrasts with English. In the case of English, where a composite predicate involves GIVE as an auxiliary, the main verb carries a great deal of semantic content, while GIVE seems to be semantically light and means little more than that a verbal action occurred (Cattel 1984: 2). This owes to the fact that benefactives in English exhibit a different syntactic pattern from that of Marathi and Japanese. Though Marathi and Japanese both use GIVE constructions for expressing benefactives, there are differences in the usage of GIVE as a main verb in these languages. In Marathi, *deNe* (infinitive form: to give) in its use as a main verb can take a far wider range of direct objects, as tabulated below.

² Hopper and Traugott (1993) define grammaticalization as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions. They refer the process of grammaticalization of a lexical verb as a verb-to-affix cline.

“The cline has a lexical verb as its starting point which develops into an auxiliary and eventually an affix. Some points on this cline are as follows (the parenthetical line indicates that the position on the cline is optional in many languages):

full verb > (vector verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

The category vector verb represents one of several intermediate stages that can be posited between full verb and auxiliary. The term is due to Hook (1974, 1991), who presents data from Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages where a clause may contain a complex of two verbs known as a compound verb. One of these verbs, the main or primary verb, carries the main semantic verbal meaning of the clause, and is non-finite. The other, the vector verb, is a quasi-auxiliary which is finite, and therefore carries markers of tense, aspect and mood. Semantically, it also adds nuances of aspect, direction, and benefaction to the clause. . . . In modern Indo-Aryan languages, vector verbs include: GO, GIVE, TAKE, THROW, STRIKE, LET GO, GET UP, COME, SIT, FALL, and others (Hook, 1991). The size and diversity of the set is one factor that points to the need to think of them as intermediate stages between full verbs and auxiliaries. Hindi being a verb final language, the order of the verbs in the compound construction is main-vector.” (Hopper and Traugott, 1993: 109)

(6) A. Concrete and Abstract objects

Kind of object	Concrete	Abstract
Favorable	<i>paise</i> (money) <i>pustak</i> (book)	<i>kalpanA</i> (idea) <i>mAn</i> (respect)
Unfavorable	<i>thappaD</i> (slap) <i>bukki</i> (punch)	<i>trAs</i> (harassment) <i>phAshi</i> (hanging)

B. Metaphorical usage

prAN deNe: to sacrifice one's life

life give

baLI deNe: to make a scapegoat of

victim give

Firstly, *deNe* in Marathican take a wide range of direct objects including abstract ones. Further, these objects may or may not be favorable to the recipient. Objects such as cursing, abuse, etc., are unfavorable to the recipient, while objects such as advice, suggestion, present, etc., are favorable to the recipient. In contrast to this, the Japanese verbs of giving generally do not take objects which are abstract or which are unfavorable to the recipient:

(7) Marathi

- a. *mI rAm-lA AmbA di-l-A*
1SG Ram-DAT mango.M give-PAST-M

I gave a mango to Ram.

- b. *rAm-ne ma-lA shiwI di-l-I*
Ram-ERG 1SG-DAT abuse.F give-PAST-F
Ram abused me. (Lit. Ram gave me abuses)

Japanese

- c. *Boku wa Hanako ni ame o ya-tta*
1SG TOP Hanako DAT candy ACC give-PAST

I gave Hanako a candy.

- d. **Boku wa Hanako ni waruguchi o ya-tta*
1SG TOP Hanako DAT abuse ACC give-PAST

I abused Hanako.

Secondly, Japanese employs two verbs for expressing the notion of giving viz. *yaru* and *kureru*, and the relation between the goal and the agent determines the choice between the two. The verb *yaru* takes a non-speaker as a recipient, while *kureru* takes the speaker or those belonging to his in-group as a recipient. In contrast to this, Marathi employs only one verb viz. *deNe* which is neutral to both the speaker and the non-speaker, as shown in (8).

(8) Marathi

- a. *mI rAm-lA pustak di-l-e*
1SG Ram-DAT book.N give-PAST-N

I gave Ram a book.

- b. *rAm-ne ma-lA pustak di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG 1SG-DAT book.N give-PAST-N
 Ram gave me a book.

Japanese

- c. *Boku wa Hanako ni hon o ya-tta/*kure-ta*
 1SG TOP Hanako DAT book ACC give-PAST
 I gave Hanako a book.
- d. *Hanako wa boku ni hon o kure-ta/*ya-tta*
 Hanako TOP 1SG DAT book ACC give-PAST
 Hanako gave me a book.

The above data reveals that there are many differences between the usage of GIVE as a main verb in Japanese and Marathi.

Usage of *deNe* as an Auxiliary Verb

In Marathi, the verb *deNe* is used as an auxiliary in two types of constructions, viz. benefactive constructions and permissive constructions, as exemplified below in (9).

(9) Benefactive Construction

- a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA kholI zAD-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram swept/cleaned the room for Sita.

Permissive Construction

- b. *rAm-ne sitA-lA kholI zaD-U di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram let Sita sweep the room.

The permissive constructions are beyond the scope of the present study and hence are not discussed here. We will discuss the benefactive construction in detail in the following sections.

Benefactive Constructions

As mentioned earlier, Marathi as well as Japanese make use of verbs of giving in their benefactive constructions. To be more precise, benefactives in Marathi as well as in Japanese make use of compound verbal forms with the main verb inflected as a participle or as a conjoining form as exemplified below:

(10) Marathi

- a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA pustak (wik-at) ghe-Un*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT book.N (sell-MAN) take-PTCPL
di-l-e
 give-PAST-N
 Ram bought Sita a book.

Japanese

- b. *Tarō wa Hanako ni hon o ka-tte ya-tta*
 Taro TOP Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro bought Hanako a book.

Benefactive constructions in Japanese and Marathi are structurally identical and take the form of a direct object-indirect object configuration.

It is interesting to note that even though *deNe* in its usage as a main verb can take objects which are unfavorable on the part the recipient, it can not take such objects in its usage as an auxiliary verb in benefactives. In Marathi, a theme nominal which exerts an unfavorable effect on the recipient cannot be construed as a benefit as shown in (11).

- (11) **rAm-ne sitA-lA gADI moD-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT vehicle.F destroy-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram destroyed the vehicle for Sita.

It is noteworthy that this situation can be construed as benefactive only if the beneficiary, viz. Sita, wants the vehicle to be destroyed.

The GIVE Schema in Marathi

Let us take a closer look at the GIVE schema in Marathi. The benefactive constructions based on the GIVE schema can be broadly classified into two categories on the basis of the nature of the object theme (i.e. NP3=benefit).

A. Benefit: Concrete object

When the theme nominal, viz. NP3, is a concrete object, the benefactive construction involves physical transfer of it from NP1 (Agent) to NP2 (Goal). In this case possessive control is interpreted as a physical possession of the object theme by the goal nominal.

- (12) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA sAykal ghe-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT bicycle.F take-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram bought Sita a bicycle.
 b. *mI tyA-lA patra lih-Un di-l-e*
 1SG he-DAT letter.N write-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 I wrote a letter for him.

B. Benefit: a favorable effect

The benefit transferred to NP2 is in the form of a favorable effect constituted by {theme+main verb} created by the agent, viz. NP1. This can be considered as a case of metaphorical extension where, for example, a clean garden or a lit lamp represents a favorable effect transferred to the goal.

- (13) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA bAg zAD-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT garden.F sweep-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram swept the garden for Sita.
 b. *rAm-ne sitA-lA lAiT lAw-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT lamp.F switch on-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram switched on the light for Sita.

In Marathi, the syntactic features of main verb *deNe* are thus partially carried over to its usages as a auxiliary verb in benefactive constructions. Like the main verb, the auxiliary verb takes abstract objects. However, it cannot take objects exerting an adverse effect on the recipient. This fact reveals that extralinguistic or pragmatic information plays an important role in the construal of the benefactive construction. In this regard, Japanese appears to be even more restricted compared to Marathi. Many of the benefactives in Marathi mentioned earlier turn out to be ungrammatical in Japanese. These kinds of cross-linguistic variation are taken up later on. Let us now discuss the other kind of schema peculiar to Marathi, viz. the SHOW schema.

The SHOW Schema in Marathi

As stated earlier, in Marathi, situations involving audio-visual performance as a benefit are construed in terms of the SHOW schema. The properties associated with the SHOW schema are as follows.

(14) The SHOW schema

Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 SHOW}

NP1=coded as a subject

NP2=coded as a indirect object

NP3=coded as a direct object

Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO PERCEIVE NP3 BY PERFORMING NP3

NP1=human agent

NP2=human experiencer

NP3=object theme constituting audio-visual performance

Let us first examine the basic usage of *dAkhawNe* (to infinitive: show form) as a main verb, and then its usage as an auxiliary verb in benefactive constructions.

(15) Usage of *dAkhawNe* as a main verb

mI ti-lA phoTo dAkhaw-l-A
1SG 3SG-DAT photo.M show-PAST-M

I showed her the photograph.

(16) Usage of *dAkhawNe* as an auxiliary verb: the SHOW schema

Audio Performance

a. *mI tyA-lA gANe mhaN-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
1SG 3SG-DAT song.N sing-PTCPL show-PAST-N

I sang a song for him.

b. *mI tyA-lA patra wAc-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
1SG 3SG-DAT letter.N read-PTCPL show-PAST-N

I read out a letter for him.

Visual Performance

- c. *mI tyA-lA nAc kar-Un dAkhaw-l-A*
 1SG 3SG-DAT dance.M do-PTCPL show-PAST-M
 I performed a dance for him.
- d. *mI tyA-lA nakkal kar-Un dAkhaw-l-I*
 1SG 3SG-DAT mimicry.F do-PTCPL show-PAST-F
 I performed mimicry for him.

Japanese also has a compound form using the verb *miseru* (to show) as in (17), but a sentence like this does not convey the benefactive meaning.

- (17) *Tarō wa Hanako ni uta o uta-tte mise-ta*
 Taro TOP Hanako DAT song ACC sing-CONJ show-PAST
 Taro showed off to Hanako by singing a song.

Conventionalized Benefactive Constructions

In Marathi, situations involving an exchange of presents on auspicious occasions are construed as benefactives. Such conventionalized benefactives are very few in number. The properties associated with them are as follows:

Structure: {NP1 NP2 NP3 V}

NP1=coded as a subject

NP2=coded as a indirect object

NP3=coded as a direct object

Semantics: NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3 AS A PRESENT ON AN AUSPICIOUS OCCASION

NP1=human agent

NP2=human goal

NP3=benefit: present on an auspicious occasion

These benefactives are different from those based on the GIVE schema or the SHOW schema in that they do not use a compound verbal form. In other words, the absence of an auxiliary verb is the salient feature of such benefactives as exemplified in (18).

- (18) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA dAginē ke-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelry.N do-PAST-N
 Ram got the jewelry made and presented it to Sita.
- b. *sitA-ne rAm-lA sharT shiw-l-A*
 Sita-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-PAST-M
 Sita got the shirt stitched and presented it to Ram.

These expressions have a latent meaning whereby NP1 and NP2 are either in a blood relationship or have an intimate relationship which forms the basis for the exchange of presents. If such a relationship does not exist between the agent and the goal, these expressions turn out to be ungrammatical as exemplified in (19).

- (19) a. **sonArA-ne sitA-lA dAginē ke-l-e*
 goldsmith-ERG Sita-DAT jewelry.N do-PAST-N
 The goldsmith made and presented jewelry to Sita.

- b. **shimpyA-ne rAm-LA sharT shiw-l-A*
 tailor-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-PAST-M
 The tailor stitched and presented a shirt to Ram.

It is interesting to note that such conventionalized benefactives can also be construed in terms of the GIVE schema. In case of such a construal, the erst-while restriction on the specific relationship between the agent and the goal is lifted as exemplified in (20).

- (20) a. *sonArA-ne sitA-LA dAginē kar-Un*
 goldsmith-ERG Sita-DAT jewelry.N do-PTCPL
di-l-e
 give-PAST-N

The goldsmith made jewelry for Sita.

- b. *shimpyA-ne rAm-LA sharT shiw-Un di-l-A*
 tailor-ERG Ram-DAT shirt.M stitch-PTCPL give-PAST-M
 The tailor stitched a shirt for Ram.

These sentences are interpreted as benefactives on the following reading: The goal nominal NP2 was in urgent need of NP3 and in response to this request the agent NP1 obliged him by fulfilling his request. The favor done by the agent yields benefit to the goal nominal. Further, if the agent and the goal are in a blood relationship or have an intimate relationship, then in addition to the benefactive reading, the nuance is added that the agent has the professional skill to perform the activity spelled out by {theme+main verb}. Note the following contrast:

- (21) a. *rAm-ne sitA-LA dAginē ke-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelry.N do-PAST-N
 Ram got the jewelry made and presented it to Sita.
- b. *rAm-ne sitA-LA dAginē kar-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT jewelry.N do-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Ram made the jewelry himself and presented it to Sita.

The Syntax of the Benefactive Construction

Marathi as well as Japanese benefactives share the GIVE schema. In this section the syntax of these benefactive constructions based on the GIVE schema is explored. As mentioned earlier, in English the beneficiary (i.e., NP2) is encoded as a primary object, while in Marathi and Japanese it is encoded as an indirect object.

- (22) a. English: John gave Mary a book.
 NP1 gave NP2 NP3
 NP2=Mary=primary object
- b. Marathi: *sitA-ne rAm-LA pustak wikat gheUn dile*
 NP1 NP2 NP3 V-PTCPL GIVE
 NP2=Ram=indirect object
 NP3=*pustak* (book)=direct object

- c. Japanese: *Tarō ga Hanako ni hon o katte yatta*
 NP1 NP2 NP3 V-CONJ GIVE
 NP2=Hanako=indirect object
 NP3=*hon* (book)=direct object

Japanese has two verbs for giving, viz. *yarū*, which takes the non-speaker as recipient, and *kureru*, which takes the speaker or those belonging to his in-group as recipient. In contrast to this, Marathi has only one verb for giving, viz. *deNe*. The syntax of GIVE in its usage as a main verb is carried over to its usage as an auxiliary verb in the benefactives. In the case of *kureru* (give me/us) the recipient can be omitted because it is speaker-oriented by nature and therefore the speaker is uniquely recoverable. However, it is not so in the case of *deNe* and *yAru* as exemplified below.

(23) Japanese

- a. *Kyō Tarō ga Hanako ni hon o ka-tte*
 today Taro NOM Hanako DAT book ACC buy-CONJ
ya-tta.
 give-PAST
 Today, Taro bought Hanako a book.
- b. **Kyō Tarō ga hon o ka-tte ya-tta.*
 today Taro NOM book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
 (Lit.) Today, Taro bought and gave a book.
- c. *Kyō Tarō ga boku ni hon o ka-tte*
 today Taro NOM 1SG DAT book ACC buy-CONJ
kure-ta.
 give-PAST
 Today, Taro bought me a book.
- d. *Kyō Tarō ga hon o ka-tte kure-ta.*
 today Taro NOM book ACC buy-CONJ give-PAST
 Today, Taro bought me a book.

Marathi

- e. *Aj rAm-ne sitA-lA patra lih-Un*
 today Ram-ERG Sita-DAT letter.N write-PTCPL
di-l-e
 give-PAST-N
 Today, Ram wrote a letter for Sita.
- f. **Aj rAm-ne patra lih-Un di-l-e*
 today Ram-ERG letter.N write-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 (Lit.) Today, Ram wrote a letter for.

The Semantics of the Benefactive Constructions

As mentioned in (4), the semantics of the benefactive construction based on the GIVE schema is as follows.

NP1 CAUSES NP2 TO HAVE NP3

NP1=human agent, NP2=human goal, NP3=object theme

NP2 exercises possessive control over NP3

NP1 creates the possessive control on behalf of NP2

First, the NP2 of the GIVE construction is typically human and this property is carried over to the benefactives in Marathi as well as Japanese. The beneficiary has to be a human being or human-like entity, as illustrated in the following examples:

(24) Marathi

- a. *roTarI klab-ne rAm-lA madat miLaw-Un*
 Rotary club-ERG Ram-DAT aid.F obtain-PTCPL
di-l-I
 give-PAST-F
 Rotary club organized aid for Ram.
- b. *rAm-ne roTarI klab-lA madat milaw-Un*
 Ran-ERG Rotary club-DAT aid.F obtain-PTCPL
di-l-I
 give-PAST-F
 Ram organized aid for the Rotary club.
- c. **rAm-ne ImArati-lA madat miLaw-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG building-DAT aid.F obtain-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram organized aid for the building.

In Japanese, the concept of humanness of the agent and the goal is extended to living beings, such as flowers, pets, etc. In this regard, Marathi seems to be more restricted, and does not allow the agent and the goal to be other than human beings or personified objects. Owing to this fact, the following benefactives in (25) are well formed in Japanese but are unacceptable in Marathi.

(25) Japanese

- a. *Tarō ga hana ni mizu o kake-te ya-tta*
 Taro NOM flowers DAT water ACC pour-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro watered the flowers.
- b. *Tarō ga hatō ni esa o mai-te ya-tta*
 Taro NOM pigeons DAT food ACC throw-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro fed the pigeons.

Marathi

- c. **rAm-ne phul-An-nA pANi Tak-Un*
 Ram-ERG flower-PL-DAT water.N throw-PTCPL
di-l-e
 give-PAST-N
 Ram watered the flowers.
- d. **rAm-ne kabutar-An-nA dANe Tak-Un*
 Ram-ERG pigeon-PL-DAT food.N throw-PTCPL

di-l-e
 give-PAST-N
 Ram fed the pigeons.

Secondly, the change of possessive control from NP1 to NP2 is the salient feature of benefactives, since the notion of possession is basically associated with the verb GIVE. This is the most important semantic property that determines the well-formedness of benefactive constructions. In the case of intransitive verbs the object theme (NP3) over which the beneficiary can exercise possessive control is absent and hence intransitive-based benefactives are debarred in many languages including Marathi and Japanese. Transitivity is a necessary condition for the well-formedness of the benefactives but it is not the ultimate decisive factor. There are transitive events such as killing a cockroach for someone's sake, studying for someone's sake, tasting wine for someone's sake, which do not result in possession of a theme object or imply a conventionalized favorable effect for the beneficiary. Thus they can not be construed as benefactives as exemplified in (26).

(26) Marathi

- a. **rAm-ne sitA-lA zuraL mAr-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT cockroach.N kill-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Ram killed the cockroach for Sita.
- b. **rAm-ne sitA-lA abhyAs kar-Un di-l-A*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT study.M do-PTCPL give-PAST-M
 Ram studied for Sita.
- c. **rAm-ne sitA-lA wAIIn-cI caW ghe-Un*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT wine-GEN taste.F take-PTCPL
di-l-I
 give-PAST-F
 Ram tasted the wine for Sita.

Japanese

- d. **Tarō ga Hanako ni gokiburi o koroshi-te*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT cockroach ACC kill-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro killed the cockroach for Hanako.
- e. **Tarō ga Hanako ni benkyō o shi-te ya-tta*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT study ACC do-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro studied for Hanako.
- f. **Tarō ga Hanako ni wain o ajimi shi-te*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT wine ACC taste do-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro tasted the wine for Hanako.

In Marathi, the act of killing a cockroach for someone cannot be construed as benefactive. However, the act of killing a chicken or a goat for someone can be construed as benefactive.

- (27) a. *rAm ne sitA lA kombaDI mAr-Un di-l-I*
 Ram ERG Sita DAT chicken.F kill-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram killed a chicken for Sita.
- b. *rAm ne sitA lA bokaD mAr-Un di-l-A*
 Ram ERG Sita DAT goat.M kill-PTCPL give-PAST-M
 Ram killed a goat for Sita.

In these examples the resultant possession of meat on the part of the beneficiary is conventionally assumed.

In the case of a situation like reading out a letter to someone, possessive control is construed as the contents of the letter, while in a case of performing a dance for someone, possessive control is construed as visual perception. In Marathi, both situations are construed in the SHOW schema since they involve audio-visual performance.

Thirdly, the semantic characteristics of GIVE, viz. creation of possessive situation by someone other than the possessor, gives rise to a general benefactive reading in which a possessive situation is created as a “favor” to the beneficiary associated with the construction, or a specific “on behalf of” reading that does not result in the possession of the object by the beneficiary. In the case of Marathi, the latter reading is more conspicuous than the former, as exemplified below:

(28) Marathi

- a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA Ambe wik-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT mango.N sell-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Ram sold mangoes on behalf of Sita.

Japanese

- b. *Tarō ga Hanako ni mango o u-tte*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT mango ACC sell-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro did Hanako a favor by selling mangoes to her.

In Marathi (28a) is interpreted as follows: Sita was selling mangoes but could not sell them, hence Ram helped her. The benefit for Sita is the money made out of the sale. In contrast to this, in Japanese (28b) is interpreted as follows: Hanako was very keen on buying those mangoes and Taro obliged her by selling them to her.

To summarize, Japanese has only a “favor” reading for interpreting the benefactives while Marathi has two readings viz. the “favor” reading and the “on behalf of reading.” These facts are tabulated in (29).

(29)

Benefit interpretation	Japanese	Marathi
a. arising out of favor by NP1	Acceptable	Acceptable
b. arising out of inability of NP2	Unacceptable	Acceptable

Japanese does not permit the interpretation in (29b) and hence to that extent it is more restricted compared to Marathi. Consequently, the benefactives in (30) are well formed in Marathi, but the Japanese equivalents are unacceptable. Possessive control in these cases is interpreted as a favorable effect created by the event constituted by {theme+the main verb}.

(30) Marathi

- a. *mI ti-lA dAr banda kar-Un di-l-e*
 1SG 3SG-DAT door.N close do-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 I closed the door for her.
- b. *mI ti-lA diwA wizaw-Un di-l-A*
 1SG 3SG-DAT lamp.M switch off-PTCPL give-PAST-M
 I switched off the lamp for her.

Japanese

- c. **Tarō ga Hanako ni doa o shime-te ya-tta*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT door ACC close-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro closed the door for Hanako.
- d. **Tarō ga Hanako ni denki o keshi-te ya-tta*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT light ACC switch off-CONJ
 give-PAST
 Taro switched off the light for Hanako.

Cross-Linguistic Variations

In this section, the variations in the construal of benefactive constructions pertaining to Marathi and Japanese are examined in order to make a contrast. Let us first consider the cross-linguistic variations with the help of the following English examples which are arranged according to the degree of ease of benefactive formation (Shibatani 1996: 170).

Verb class	Examples	English	Japanese	Marathi
Monotransitive	a. I bought Sita a book.	O.K.	O.K.	O.K.
	b. I opened Sita the door.	N.G.	O.K.	O.K.
	c. I closed Sita the door.	N.G.	N.G.	O.K.
	d. I tasted Sita the wine.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Ditransitive	e. I taught Sita English.	O.K.	O.K.	N.G.
	f. I danced Sita.	N.G.	N.G.	O.K.
Intransitive with cognate obj.	g. I sang Sita.	N.G.	N.G.	O.K.
	h. I went Sita to the market.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.

This data reveals that, as for benefactives, English is the most restrictive language, while Marathi and Japanese are less constrained. The transition from the most restrictive language to a less constrained one is observed at different cut-off points. English draws the line between (a) and (b), while Japanese draws the line between (b) and (c) and Marathi between (c) and (d). In Marathi, “closing someone the door” is a viable expression while “tasting someone the wine” is not. This is because the former is conventionalized as a favorable effect, while the latter is not. Marathi also yields acceptable benefactives based on intransitive verbs with cognate objects, as these verbs are semantically transitive and thus satisfy the semantics of the relevant schema. Since the present inquiry is concerned with Marathi and Japanese, the following generalizations on cross-linguistic variation apply primarily to them. With regards to benefactives, Marathi and Japanese exhibit the following variations.

- a) Intransitive verbs: Marathi as well as Japanese do not permit benefactives based on true intransitive verbs, i.e., intransitive verb without cognate objects. However, in the case of Japanese, if the goal is omitted construal is not forced, thus yielding well-formed benefactives.
- b) Intransitive verbs with potential cognate objects: In the case of Marathi, benefactives based on verbs like SING and DANCE yield well-formed benefactives while SEW does not. In contrast to this, in Japanese, intransitive verbs with cognate object do not yield well-formed benefactives at all.
- c) Transitive verbs: In the case of benefactives based on transitive verbs, situations like closing the door for someone’s sake or switching off the light for someone are construed in terms of the GIVE schema in Marathi while the construal fails in Japanese.
- d) Ditransitive verbs: In the case of benefactives based on ditransitive verbs like TEACH, ASK, TELL, etc., Japanese yields well-formed benefactives while Marathi does not.

Having summarized the variations let us now turn to an account of them. As pointed out by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996), transitivity is a necessary condition for construal as benefactive but it is not sufficient. What is more important is the notion of possession of the theme on the part of the beneficiary.

True intransitive verbs do not involve an object which can be possessed by the beneficiary, and thus intransitive events fail to yield benefactives in Marathi as well as Japanese as exemplified in (31).

(31) Marathi

- a. **rAm-ne sitA-lA bAjArA-t jA-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT market-to go-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Ram went to the market for Sita.

Japanese

- b. **Tarō ga Hanako ni ichiba e i-tte ya-tta*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT market to go-CONJ give-PAST
 Taro went to the market for Hanako.

However, if the goal nominal is not overtly expressed, even intransitive verbs yield well-formed benefactives in Japanese, but this is not the case in Marathi as exemplified in (32).

(32) Japanese

- a. *Hanako ni tanom-are-ta node, boku wa ichiba e*
 Hanako DAT ask-PASS-PAST since 1SG TOP market to
i-tte ya-tta
 go-CONJ give-PAST
 Because I was asked to by Hanako, I went to the market for her.

Marathi

- b. **sitA-ne winantI ke-II mhaNun, mI bAjArA-t*
 Sita-ERG request do-PAST because 1SG market-to
jA-Un di-l-e
 go-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Because I was asked to by Sita, I went to the market for her.

The omission of a goal nominal is possible in Japanese since the verb of giving inherently has the feature of directionality, viz. *yarū* takes a non-speaker as the recipient, while *kureru* takes a speaker or someone belonging to his in-group as the recipient. In contrast to this, *deNe* does not have such a directionality feature. Marathi does not allow benefactives based on intransitive verbs as they neither involve a concrete theme which can be possessed by the beneficiary nor can they be construed to impart any favorable effect on the beneficiary. The presence of a concrete theme is obligatory for construal in Marathi while in the case of Japanese it is optional if the goal is not overtly expressed. The circumstances under which construal by the concerned schema becomes optional may be language specific.

As for the intransitive verbs with cognate objects, Marathi exhibits a dramatic revelation of the transitivity effect in the construal of benefactives. In Marathi, intransitive verbs with cognate objects yield well-formed benefactives, while in Japanese they do not as exemplified in (33).

(33) Marathi

- a. *sitA-ne rAm-lA gANe gA-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
 Sita-ERG Ram-DAT song.N sing-PTCPL show-PAST-N
 Sita sang a song for Ram.
- b. *sitA-ne rAm-lA gA-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
 Sita-ERG Ram-DAT sing-PTCPL show-PAST-N
 Sita sang for Ram.

Japanese

- c. *Hanako wa boku ni uta o uta-tte kure-ta*
 Hanako TOP 1SG DAT song ACC sing-CONJ give-PAST

Hanako sang a song for me.

- d. **Hanako wa boku ni uta-tte kure-ta*
 Hanako TOP 1SG DAT sing-CONJ give-PAST
 Hanako sang for me.

It should be noted that, in Marathi, not all intransitive cognate object verbs yield benefactives. Intransitive cognate object verbs like SING and DANCE yield well-formed benefactives while SEW does not. This may be because of conflation of the theme nominal into the verb in the case of SING and DANCE [Cf. *nAc* “dance”—*nAcNe* “to dance” and *gANa* “song”—*gANe* “to sing”].

Let us now turn to the variation observed in the case of transitive events with extra thematic arguments. Transitive events involve a theme. Hence the first prerequisite for construal is satisfied. When the theme is a concrete object it passes on from the agent to the goal. In this case possessive control is construed as physical possession of the theme by the beneficiary. This is the prototypical notion of possession. Further, the possession of a theme by the goal is construed as a benefit. This notion of possession can be stretched so as to construe even abstract effects as benefit. In Marathi as well as Japanese the situation portraying a transitive event such as opening a door for someone can be construed as beneficial, while in the case of a event such as opening a window for someone, Japanese and Marathi exhibit variation. Marathi yields well-formed benefactive while in Japanese it is not unequivocally accepted. Further, in case of events like closing a door for someone or switching off a light for someone, Marathi yields well-formed benefactives while Japanese does not [Cf. (30)]. This is due to a difference in the extent to which a language permits extension of the notion of possession and the notion of conventionalization of abstract effects. Each culture has its own limit of the extent to which metaphorical interpretation or metonymic construal is permitted (Shibatani 1996: 184). The reason then that Marathi surpasses the cut-off point of Japanese on the continuum of benefactive constructions based on transitive verbs is the difference in the degree of extension of the notion of possession and the notion of conventionalization of abstract effects for the construal of benefactives. Further, in Japanese, in the case of benefactives based on transitive verbs, the goal nominal can be optionally deleted while in Marathi, presence of the goal nominal is obligatory. Note the following contrast.

(34) Japanese

- a. *Tarō ni tanomareta node, boku wa kare-ni mango*
 Taro by asked because 1SG TOP 2SG-DAT mangoes
o takusan ka-tte ya-tta
 ACC many buy-CONJ give-PAST

Because I was asked to by Taro, I bought him a lot of mangoes.

[*Because I was asked to by Taro, I bought a lot of mangoes but didn't give him.]

- b. *Tarō ni tanomareta node, boku wa mango o*
 Taro by asked because 1SG TOP mangoes ACC
takusan ka-tte ya-tta
 many buy-CONJ give-PAST
 Because I was asked to by Taro, I bought a lot of mangoes.

Marathi

- c. *rAm-ne winantI kelI mhaNun, mI tyA-lA khUp*
 Ram-ERG request did because 1SG 2SG-DAT many
Ambe ghe-Un di-l-e
 mangoes take-PTCPL give-PAST
 Because I was saked to by Ram, I bought him a lot of mangoes.
 [*Because I was asked to by Ram, I bought a lot of mangoes but
 didn't give him.]
- d. **rAm-ne winantI kelI mhaNun, mI khUp Ambe*
 Ram-ERG request did because 1SG many mangoes
ghe-Un di-l-e
 take-PTCPL give-PAST
 Because I was asked to by Ram, I bought a lot of mangoes.

This is because, in the case of Japanese, when the goal NP is not overtly expressed, the construal by the GIVE schema is lifted while, in the case of Marathi, it does not. Thus in the case of Marathi a mismatch between the construction and the schema occurs, yielding an ungrammatical expression. As mentioned earlier, the circumstances under which construal by the concerned schema becomes optional may be a language-specific feature. To sum up, as for benefactives based on monotransitive verbs, Marathi is less constrained than Japanese.

Finally, in the case of benefactives based on ditransitive verbs, Japanese yields well-formed benefactives while in Marathi, construal by the GIVE schema depends on the nature of the theme nominal. If the theme nominal is a concrete object, then the construal goes through. If not, then the notion of transfer becomes redundant, and construal fails, as exemplified in (35).

(35) Japanese

- a. *Tarō ga Hanako ni Furansugo o oshie-te*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT French ACC teach-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro taught Hanako French.
- b. *Tarō ga Hanako ni sonokoto o hanashi-te*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT that thing ACC tell-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro gave someone the benefit of telling Hanako that.

- c. *Tarō ga Hanako ni shashin o mise-te*
 Taro NOM Hanako DAT photo ACC show-CONJ
ya-tta
 give-PAST
 Taro showed Hanako the photograph.

Marathi

- d. **rAm-ne sitA-lA phrenc bhAshA shikaw-Un*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT French language.F teach-PTCPL
di-l-I
 give-PAST-F
 Ram taught Sita French language.
- e. **rAm-ne sitA-lA tI goshTa sAng-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT that thing.F tell-PTCPL give-PAST-F
 Ram gave someone the benefit of telling Sita that.
- f. *rAm-ne sitA-lA paise pAthaw-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT money.N send-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 Ram sent money to Sita.

As pointed out by Hook (1991)³ Marathi is at a less advanced stage of grammaticalization of verbs evolving into auxiliary verbs and there is a preference for an auxiliary verb to be used only when the main verb is inherently unspecified according to "completeness." In other words, auxiliaries add aspectual information. Also in Marathi, as the grammaticalization process is at a less advanced stage, the semantic range of grammatical morphemes is not generalized as much. Three place predicates like TEACH, TELL, SEND, SHOW, etc., in and of themselves imply conceptual completeness of the concerned action. They have inherent meaning of transfer from agent to goal nominal, hence the addition of GIVE is redundant.

It is interesting to note that, in Marathi, in the case of a three-place predicate like SEND, despite the fact that it implies conceptual completeness of the concerned action, the addition of GIVE as a benefactive auxiliary is permitted as exemplified in (36).

³ Hindi and Marathi differ considerably along the parameter of degree of grammaticalization of lexical verbs. The following data of the relative textual frequency of simple versus compound verbs in Hindi and some of the related languages (Hook 1991: 65) is prima facie evidence of degree of grammaticalization.

Shina (Gilgit)	0	Bengali	7
Kashmiri	1	Marwari	8
Marathi	3	Hindi-Urdu	9
Gujarati	6		

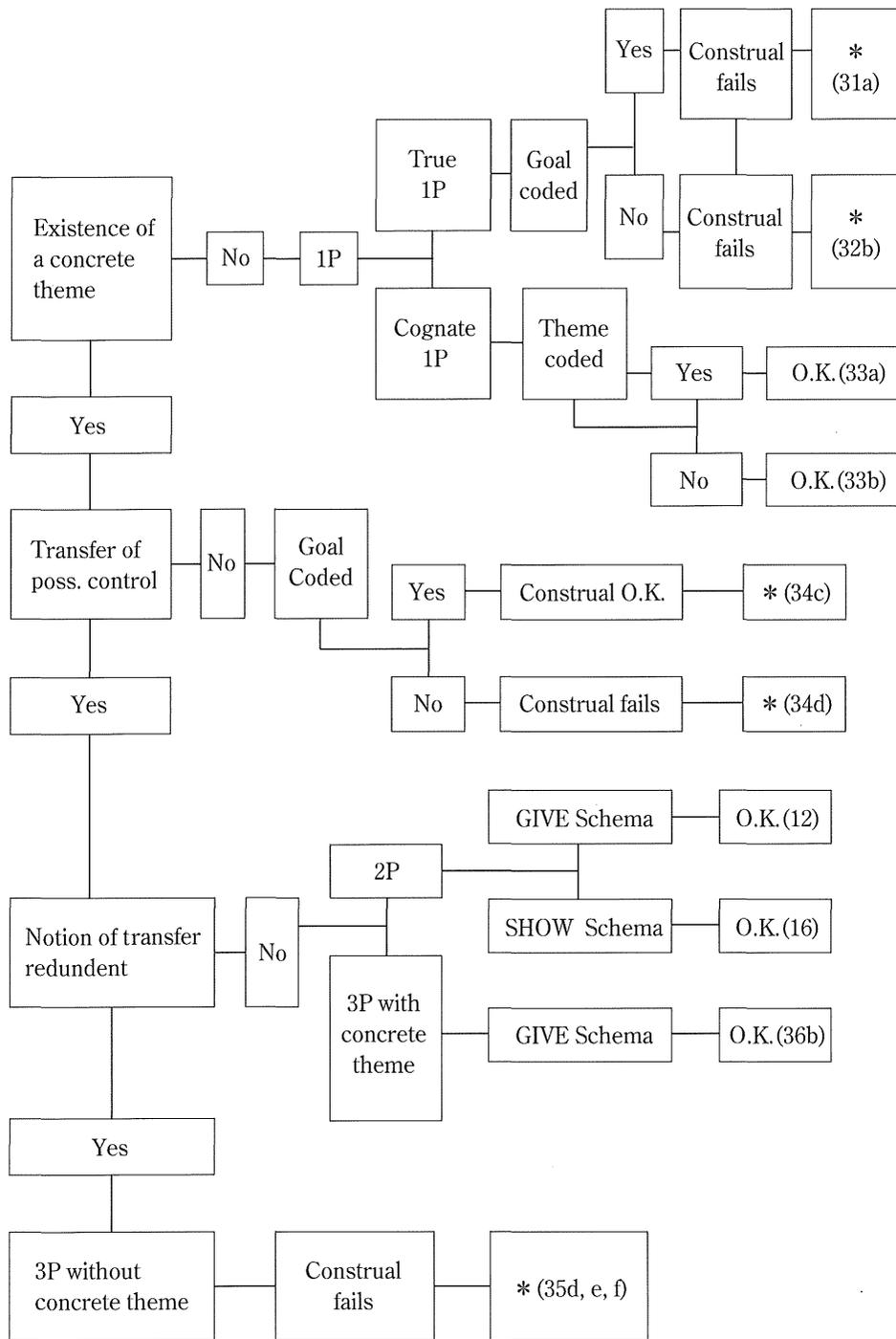
Textual frequency is accompanied by differences in the kind of main verbs which may be accompanied by one of the vector verbs. In Marathi, which represents a less advanced stage vis-à-vis grammaticalization of vector verbs as auxiliaries, there is a preference for a vector verb to be used only when the main verb is inherently unspecified according to completeness; in other words, they add aspectual information.

- (36) a. *rAm-ne sitA-lA paise pAthaw-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT money.N send-PAST-N
 Ram sent money to Sita.
- b. *rAm-ne sitA-lA paise pAthaw-Un di-l-e*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT money.N send-PTCPL give-PAST-N
 A. Ram sent money to Sita.
 B. Ram did Sita a favor by sending her money.

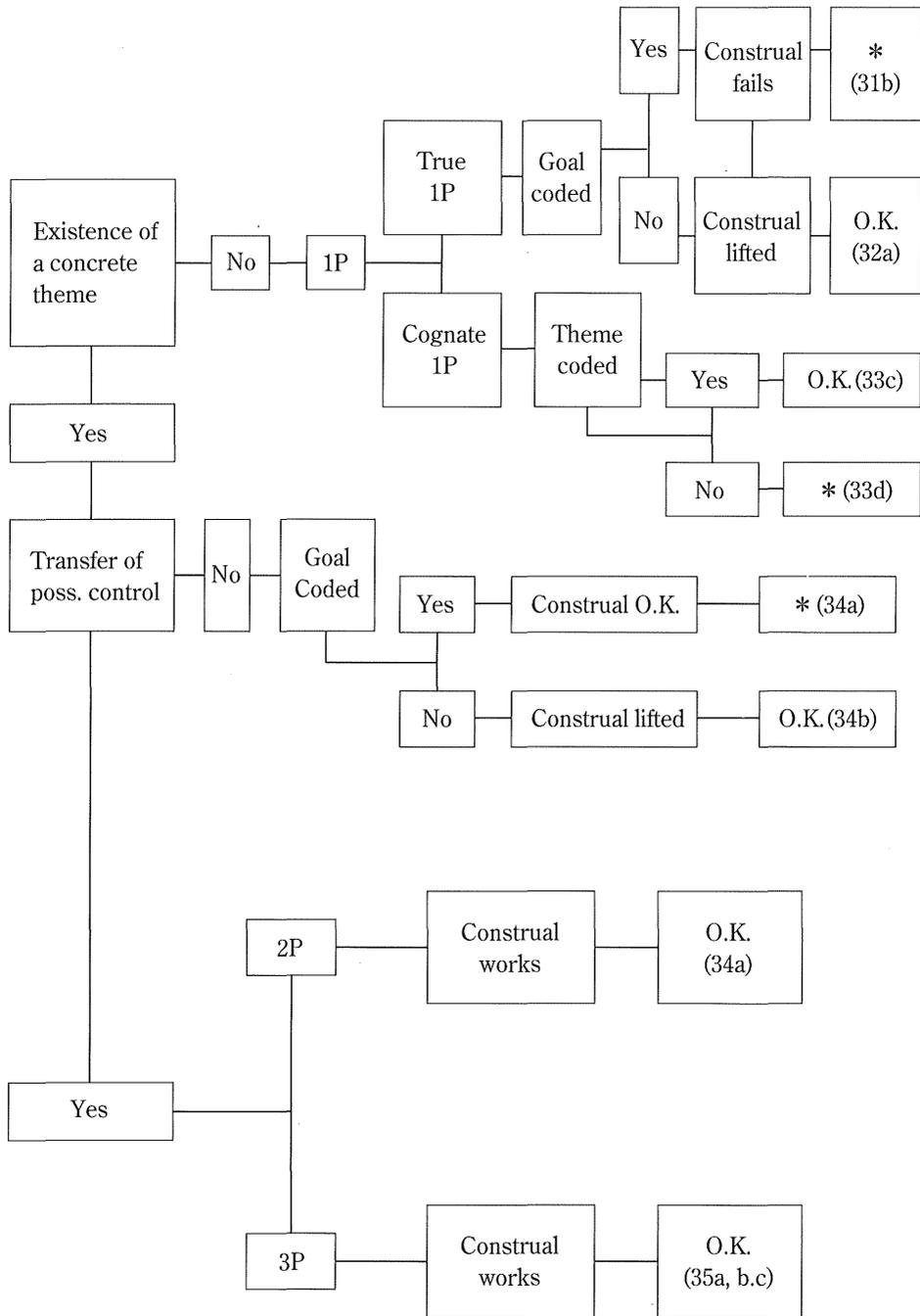
As mentioned above, (36b) is ambiguous between the readings, viz. A and B. Interpretation A expresses a completeness of the concerned activity while interpretation B has a benefactive reading. This is an indication of the fact that the lexical verb *deNe* in Marathi has advanced a little further on the path of grammaticalization, which correlates with a process of semantic “bleaching.” Among three place predicates, SEND is treated preferentially in yielding benefactives. This may be due to the concreteness or specificity of the theme nominal. At this juncture, it would be fitting to speculate a future scenario of development of benefactives in Marathi. Eventually all ditransitive verbs should permit benefactive expressions with the advancement of grammaticalization of *deNe*.

In contrast to this, the process of grammaticalization of a lexical verb into an auxiliary is at an advanced stage in Japanese, and hence the grammaticalized auxiliaries have a more general meaning than that of their Marathi counterparts. Thus, owing to the difference in the degree of grammaticalization of lexical verbs into auxiliaries, Marathi and Japanese exhibit variation in the acceptability of benefactives based on three-place predicates. The above discussion on cross-linguistic variation is schematically summarized in (37) and (38).

(37) Marathi



(38) Japanese



Concluding Remarks

The analysis of benefactives in Marathi within the framework of cognitive analysis proposed by Shibatani (1994a, 1994b, 1996) confirms the following claims:

- a. benefactive constructions are based on the GIVE schema
- b. transfer of possessive control from the agent to the goal is obligatory in the construal of benefactives.

This contrast also proves that the cognitive analysis provides a unified account for benefactives which, unlike formal analyses, applies cross-linguistically.

In cases of intransitive events, Japanese yields well-formed benefactives if the goal nominal is omitted, while Marathi does not permit such benefactives. This is because, in the case of Japanese, the construal gets lifted under such circumstances while, in the case of Marathi, irrespective of presence or absence of the goal nominal, construal fails. The circumstances under which construal by the concerned schema becomes optional may be language specific.

In the case of certain intransitive verbs with cognate objects like SING and DANCE, Marathi yields benefactives while Japanese does not. This owes to the fact that, in Marathi, these verbs conflate the theme nominal into the verb and thus imply a unique theme. However, cognate object verb like SEW does not yield well-formed benefactives as it does not imply a unique theme.

In the case of mono-transitive events, Marathi is less-constrained than Japanese due to the difference in the extent to which a language permits extension of the notion of possession, and the notion of conventionalization of abstract effects. Owing to this difference, unlike Japanese, the events like cleaning a garden for someone, switching off a light for someone, etc., can be construed as benefactives in Marathi.

In the case of three-place predicates, Japanese yields well-formed benefactives, while in the case of Marathi, well-formedness is subject to the concreteness of the theme nominal. This owes to the fact that Marathi is at a less-advanced stage of grammaticalization of lexical verbs into auxiliaries, as compared to Japanese. Thus the semantic range of the grammaticalized verbs is less generalized in the case of Marathi than in Japanese. As a result, in Marathi, the addition of *deNe* to a lexical verb is possible only when the action or the state described in the main verb is "conceptually incomplete." However, in Marathi, a three-place predicate like SEND yields well-formed benefactive despite the conceptual completeness of the concerned action. This fact, in our opinion, is a precursor to change which indicates that the lexical verb GIVE has advanced a little further on the path of grammaticalization.

To sum up, as for benefactives, Japanese and Marathi exhibit variation according to the type of the verb on which benefactive expression is based.

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List of Abbreviations

ABS: absolutive	N: neuter	TOP: topic
ACC: accusative	NOM: nominative	V: verb
CONJ: conjunction	MAN: manner	1P: one place predicate
DAT: dative	NP: noun phrase	2P: two place predicate
ERG: ergative	N.G.=*=unacceptable	3P: three place predicate
F: feminine	O.K.=acceptable	1SG: first person singular
GEN: genitive	PAST: past tense	2SG: second person singular
M: masculine	PTCPL: participle	3SG: third person singular