

**BEYOND RECIPIENTS:  
TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF DATIVE USES**

by

Silke Lambert  
June 3, 2010

A dissertation submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of  
the University at Buffalo, State University of New York  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

Copyright by

Silke Lambert

2010

*To the memory of my grandmother,  
Hildegard Lambert  
(1916–2008)*

## Acknowledgments

Many, many people deserve thanks in contributing to the writing and completion of this dissertation in one way or another. In such a list of acknowledgments, it is customary to mention one's primary advisor first. But even if this weren't the case, Jürgen Bohnemeyer would deserve the most prominent place here, since his help and support in both the research and writing process have exceeded anything one would legitimately expect from a dissertation advisor. From the very start of this project, he provided me not only with the time for regular meetings despite his busy schedule, but also, and perhaps more importantly, with the right mixture of pressure and encouragement to keep me motivated. His willingness to supervise this research on a topic that does not even feature among his own primary interests, his ever-positive attitude towards it (while I wasn't always able to maintain such an attitude), his proficiency in a vast range of contents and methods and profound knowledge of the literature, and his meticulous edits and comments during the writing process all have benefited me and my work immeasurably. And without Jürgen's regular, exhaustive, and encouraging feedback on Skype and by e-mail during the last, particularly stressful months of writing, while he was on sabbatical and not even obliged to supervise any students, I would probably have died ... or, at the very least, missed my deadline. I thank him for making this dissertation possible.

The other three members of my thesis committee played important parts in the development of this work as well. David Zubin is the one who first got me interested in non-argument functions of dative case – back in my first year at UB, perhaps unaware that this topic would then 'haunt' me all the way to graduation. Since then, his unprejudiced way of thinking and unconventional ideas have often inspired me, and he has helped me at various stages of my studies with advice, encouragement, and sympathy on a professional as well as personal level. Matthew

Dryer, although less of a constant presence in this work due to his long-term commitments in the field, provided valuable critique on the first outlines as well as in-depth comments on the write-up – the latter under extreme time pressure, which I cannot appreciate enough. Prior to this, the classes I took with him were among the most memorable experiences during my studies at UB because they truly opened my eyes to an unbiased approach to linguistic diversity, and I am happy to have benefited from his immense knowledge and expertise in the field of typology. Last but by no means least, thanks are due to Robert Van Valin – among other things, for first recruiting me to UB, thus preparing the ground for a thorough and enriching graduate education that widened my linguistic horizons quite drastically. Throughout my time in Buffalo, he has been a positive influence as a great classroom instructor and encouraging mentor.

Besides my committee, other faculty members and staff at the Department of Linguistics at UB helped make my life as a graduate student easier in various ways. I would like to thank Karin Michelson, Department Chair, and Jean-Pierre Koenig, Director of Graduate Studies, for providing an atmosphere of general supportiveness, and for personal encouragement as well. Thanks to David Fertig, the most wonderful German program coordinator I can imagine, for helping me develop as an instructor; and also to him and his wife, Sigrid Fertig, for their friendship. And thanks to Tsan Huang, who was always willing to listen in spite of her own hardships; my best wishes go to her. I would also like to thank Ann Marie Tobin, Patti Wieclaw, and Jodi Reiner, Department Secretaries (at different times), and Carole Orsolits and Sharon Sell, Assistants to Chair, for their invaluable help with all sorts of forms, deadlines, signatures, photocopies and other administrative tasks, and for always having a smile for me when I entered their offices. Particularly heartfelt thanks go to Carole and Ann Marie for being there for me in a very difficult situation. Their selfless support meant, and still means, a lot to me.

Outside of the UB Linguistics Department, Laurence Horn deserves thanks for his interest in my work, his time, and very inspiring comments. I would also like to express my gratitude to Leonard Talmy, who, sadly, left UB before I even started on this dissertation, for words of encouragement in critical moments.

This research crucially depended on the help of my language consultants, to whom I extend sincere thanks as well: Sohan Das, Liisa Melendez, Wonjeong Ryou, and two further consultants who prefer to remain anonymous. I am indebted to them for their time, for the data discussed on the following pages (and many more, which did not make it into this dissertation) and for many fascinating insights into their languages.

My fellow students and friends in the department have been an important source of support throughout my Buffalo years. For their empathy in school-related and personal matters and for many great memories, I thank Andreas Brocher, Jeruen Dery, Kate Donelson, Michael Frank, Paul Heider, Cristin Kalinowsky, So-Jeon Jessie Kim, Kirsta Mahonen, Vitaly Nikolaev, Carolyn O'Meara, Roelant Ossewaarde, Robert Painter, Nyurguyana Petrova, Shakthi Poornima, Daniel Reynolds, Fabian Rodriguez, Rodrigo Romero, Colette Sheffer, Ashley Shinn, Vanessa Wei, Andy Wetta, Shinhyun Yeom, and Ji Young Yoon. In particular, I would like to thank Nyurguyana and Poornima for the good times we had as roommates for several years, as well as Andreas and Andy for being the coolest office-mates ever (I kind of miss those days in 446 Baldy). Special thanks, also, to Michael and his wife Nadia, Roelant and his wife Elfride, and Rob and his wife Anna for providing me with a home when I needed one for one reason or other.

On the purely material side, my graduate studies and this research could not have been carried out without financial support, and I gratefully acknowledge funding from various sources. Thanks to the German division of the UB Linguistics Department for employing me as a German

instructor for many years, not only allowing me to pay my rent but also providing me with invaluable teaching experience; to the Department of Linguistics for a summer research grant in 2008, and for allowing me to teach two summer courses in linguistics; to the Mark Diamond Research Fund of the UB Graduate Student Association for a grant in 2008-2009; to the Hazel and John Wilson Scholarship Fund in Modern Languages for a generous stipend in 2009; and to the Linguistics Department and the Graduate Student Association at UB for various travel grants.

Back in Europe (and elsewhere), there are a number of people who have been and will be constants in my life, and whose friendship, love and understanding have given me a lot of strength during all those years in Buffalo. Thanks to my wonderful friends Cynthia Cox, Pinelopi, Sascha, and Johanna Küppers, Anja Latrouite, Guido Lützeler, Alexandra de Moffarts, Janine Pickardt, Horst Riemenschneider, and Yi-Chun Yang – I would not have been able to do this without you. Thanks to Jelena Krivokapić and Olga Lovick, friends and fellow linguists, for the proof that friendship survives long distances in space and time. And the most heartfelt thanks to my family, my parents Ursula Lambert-Brahms and Detlef Lambert and my sisters Anne and Ingeborg, for their unwavering support and encouragement – and for their visits to Buffalo, which allowed me to share some of the experience with them. Also, I'd like to say very special thanks to my late grandmother Hildegard Lambert, to whom I dedicate this dissertation. She always believed I could do this, and if she were still around to see its completion, she would be the proudest of all.

Lastly, thanks to Charles for the music. And much more.

# Contents

Acknowledgments.....	iv
List of figures .....	xii
List of glosses .....	xiii
Abstract .....	xv
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Why dative?.....	1
1.2 Basic terms and definitions .....	2
<i>1.2.1 The recipient role .....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.2.2 Ditransitivity, indirect object alignment and dative.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>1.2.3 Dative types .....</i>	<i>13</i>
1.3 Methods .....	15
<i>1.3.1 Data elicitation: procedure and limitations.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>1.3.2 Literature-based survey.....</i>	<i>18</i>
1.4 Outline of the dissertation .....	19
<b>2. Indirect affectedness .....</b>	<b>22</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	22
2.2 Affectedness and events .....	23
<i>2.2.1 To be affected or not to be affected.....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>2.2.2 Two approaches to affectedness.....</i>	<i>25</i>
2.3 Affectedness in force-dynamic models of event semantics .....	36
<i>2.3.1 Croft's subsequent roles.....</i>	<i>36</i>



2.3.2 Jackendoff's affectedness function .....	40
2.4 A model of indirect affectedness .....	49
2.4.1 Affectedness tests revisited .....	49
2.4.2 Happen, affectedness, and intentionality .....	55
2.4.3 The affectedness of the recipient .....	66
2.4.4 Implications of the definition of indirect affectedness .....	75
2.5 Summary .....	85
<b>3. Case study A: German – indirect affectedness dative .....</b>	<b>87</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	87
3.2 An affectedness test for German .....	89
3.2.1 Passieren 'happen' as a paraphrase of affectedness .....	90
3.2.2 Inanimate affectees, value, and depersonalization .....	97
3.3 Testing the affectedness of dative-marked participant roles .....	102
3.3.1 Recipients and goals .....	102
3.3.2 Free datives as expressions of indirect affectedness .....	108
3.3.3 Excursus: A note on spatial and verbally governed datives .....	136
3.4 Summary .....	140
<b>4. External possessor datives cross-linguistically .....</b>	<b>141</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	141
4.2 Basic concepts and definitions .....	143
4.2.1 Syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of the EP .....	143
4.2.2 Typological considerations .....	146
4.3 Case studies .....	148

4.3.1 <i>EP datives in German</i> .....	149
4.3.2 <i>EP datives in Sidaama (Cushitic)</i> .....	157
4.3.3 <i>EP datives in Hdi (Chadic)</i> .....	164
4.3.4 <i>EP datives in Yimas (Sepik-Ramu)</i> .....	174
4.3.5 <i>EP datives in Creek (and other Muskogean languages)</i> .....	178
4.4 Summary and conclusion .....	187
4.4.1 <i>Summarizing the discussion</i> .....	187
4.4.2 <i>Typological implications</i> .....	191
<b>5. Case study B: Korean – spatial dative</b> .....	<b>197</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	197
5.2 The dative in Korean: The basics .....	199
5.3 Spatial uses.....	203
5.4 Dative under argument-structural operations .....	213
5.4.1 <i>Passive</i> .....	213
5.4.2 <i>Causative</i> .....	217
5.5 Indirect affectedness constructions involving the dative .....	223
5.5.1 <i>Benefactive</i> .....	223
5.5.2 <i>Adversative passive</i> .....	232
5.6 Conclusion.....	235
<b>6. Case study C: Estonian – landmark expressions</b> .....	<b>238</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	238
6.2 Adessive and allative in their spatial uses .....	239
6.3 Extended uses.....	242

6.3.1 <i>The landmark adessive</i> .....	243
6.3.2 <i>The recipient allative</i> .....	255
6.4 Summary .....	261
<b>7. Concluding remarks</b> .....	<b>263</b>
7.1 Summary: What it means to “fall asleep to someone” .....	263
7.2 Implications and future research .....	270
<b>References</b> .....	<b>273</b>

## List of figures

Figure 1: Venn diagram illustrating the relationships between recipient and various other participant roles	72
Figure 2: Object alignment in ditransitive constructions (WALS Online, Haspelmath <i>et al.</i> 2008)	193
Figure 3: Extensions of the German and Korean dative, Estonian allative, and Estonian adessive	264
Figure 4: Semantic map of typical dative functions and the boundaries of English <i>to</i>	271

## List of glosses

1	first person	DS	different subject
2	second person	DU	dual
3	third person	DUR	durative
I, II, III	agreement affix class (Muskogean languages)	ELAT	elative
		EMPH	emphasis
I, II, III, IV ...	noun class (Yimas)	EU	euphonic vowel or glide
A	A argument of transitive verb	F	feminine
ABL	ablative	FGR	falling tone grade
ACC	accusative	GEN	genitive
ADESS	adessive	GER	gerund
ALL	allative	GOAL	goal
ATTR	attributive (forming non-finite verb forms)	HGR	h-grade
		HON	honorific
AWAY	movement away	IMP	imperative
CAUS	causative	IMPERS	impersonal
CMPL	completive	IND	indicative
COM	comitative	INDEF	indefinite
COMP	complementizer	INF	infinitive
DAT	dative	INST	instrumental
DECL	declarative	INTIM	intimate (verbal suffix)
DEF	definite	IRR	irrealis
DEM	demonstrative	LGR	lengthened grade
DER	derivational affix	LOC	locative
DIM	diminutive		

M	masculine	PRED	predicate
MOD	modified	PRES	present tense
N	neuter	PRON	for pronouns
NEG	negation	PROP	for proper nouns
NEG.ABIL	adverb expressing negative ability	PROX	proximate
NOM	nominative	PTCPL	participle
NOML	nominalizer	REF	refential marker
NONFIN	non-finite	REFL	reflexive
NPC	noun phrase clitic	REM.FUT	remote future
O, o	(transitive) object	S	subject
OBJ	object marker	SG	singular
OBL	oblique	SO	point of view: source
OUT	movement out of an enclosure	SRC	source
P	present	SUBJ	subject
PART	partitive <i>or</i> particle	SUF	suffix
PAST	past tense	SV	stem vowel
PAUC	paucal	TNS	default tense
PERF	perfect	TOP	topic
PL	plural	TRANS	translative
POL	polite		
POSS	possessive		

## Abstract

This dissertation is a semantically oriented study of the functions of dative case, defined here as a dependent marking strategy that is the prototypical exponent of the recipient in a ‘give’ construction. The starting point is the observation that the languages of Eurasia, many of which have an identifiable dative case, show a typological split in the range of functions in which their datives can appear. Notably, the use of dative in external possessor constructions is attested for the European languages, but not for the Asian languages with a dative.

The crucial semantic property of dative in European languages, here exemplified by German, is identified as indirect affectedness. This concept is elucidated in Chapter 2 and defined in force-dynamic terms. Chapter 3 studies the dative in German, with an emphasis on its ‘free’ (non-argument) uses, and shows that the various functions of this dative can be accounted for by force dynamics and its correlate, affective value. Chapter 4 deals specifically with the external possessor dative construction, which has often been claimed to be an exclusively European phenomenon. The chapter demonstrates that the use of recipient expressions to encode external possessors can be found all over the world, but the European construction is distinguished by being uniquely dependent-marking.

Subsequently, Chapter 5 discusses the Asian type of dative, exemplified by Korean. It is shown that this dative has spatial functions and extends metaphorically to the force-dynamic domain; however, it marks force-dynamic effectors rather than affectees, as the European dative does.

Chapter 6 discusses Estonian, a language without a dative case but with a spatial case (adessive) that has been claimed to fulfill many of the functions of a European indirect affected-

ness dative. This claim is refuted, showing that these uses are in fact spatial metaphors, while the European dative expresses indirect affectedness genuinely.

The study reaches the conclusion that, while indirect affectedness is a notion that is expressed in many languages, only the European languages seem to have a dative case with indirect affectedness as its basic function. In the rest of Eurasia, it seems like dative (or more generally, recipient case) has a basic spatial meaning. This finding explains why external possessor dative constructions, which are here argued to be based on indirect affectedness, are not found in all languages with a dative case.



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 *Why dative?*

This dissertation examines dative case from a typological perspective to the meanings associated with dative case in different languages. The starting point is the observation that the languages of Eurasia, many of which have an identifiable dative case, show a typological split in the range of functions in which their datives can appear. Many European languages have similar ‘affectedness datives’ that express the positive or negative affectedness of their referents, whereas such functions are not found in the datives of Asian languages. The questions that this study seeks to explore are thus: What semantic factors are the basis for this split? Is the European ‘affectedness dative’ really as unique as it is often claimed to be? What exactly are its properties? And do the non-European dative constructions form a homogeneous set in terms of their semantics, or are there further subtypes?

Dative case has been researched extensively and in depth, but with a heavy focus on Indo-European and, in particular, Central European languages. Even edited volumes that cover a larger variety of languages and make general statements about dative or “dativity” center predominantly around the languages of Europe (e.g., van Belle and van Langendonck 1996a, van Langendonck and van Belle 1998, Hole *et al.* 2006). For non-European languages, few studies are available that focus specifically on dative constructions (Japanese: Sadakane and Koizumi 1995, Hansen 2009; Korean: Park and Lee 2007). One of the contributions to the research on dative and related constructions that this study provides is to place all this work with its diverse descriptive and theoretical foci in a common, typologically-oriented context, examine the diversity of

uses of case markers identified as datives, and point out semantic motivations for the frequent cooccurrence of some of these uses.

## **1.2 Basic terms and definitions**

When comparing a “dative” morpheme in language A to a “dative” morpheme in an unrelated language B, where the two morphemes called “dative” may show a very different range of uses, there must be a good motivation to use the same term for both. Cross-linguistic work often draws on one of two concepts to identify a dative: the semantic notion of ‘recipient’ and the syntactic notion of ‘indirect object.’ Consider the three dative definitions given in (1). Definition (1a) is used in a study of ‘give’ verbs, based on the semantically oriented framework of Cognitive Grammar. Accordingly, the author invokes the semantic notion of recipient. The definition in (1b) comes from a textbook on case that focuses on its function in relating elements of the sentence to each other; it thus takes a syntactic angle, and the definition draws on the grammatical relation of indirect object. Only (1c), a definition taken from a general glossary, incorporates both markers of the semantic category of recipient and markers of the syntactic category of indirect object in a disjunctive list of conditions.

- (1)
- a. One speaks of a dative case where the case is used prototypically to mark a RECIPIENT phrase in GIVE constructions [...]. Newman (1996: 82)
  - b. dative case. The case that encodes the indirect object. Blake (2001: 199)
  - c. Dative case is a case that marks any of the following:
    - Indirect objects (for languages in which they are held to exist)

- Nouns having the role of
  - recipient (as of things given)
  - beneficiary of an action, or
  - possessor of an item

SIL website  
(<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsDativeCase.htm>,  
accessed April 30, 2010)

In this study, dative case is heuristically identified by the semantic notion of recipient, rather than by the syntactic notion of indirect object; that is, dative is understood to be a case category that includes recipients in its semantic extension (see for more detail subsection 1.2.2 below). This is not only due to the semantic nature of the questions asked here, but also because the relation of indirect object is generally not assumed to be universal, as the dative definition in (1c) also indicates. In contrast, we can safely assume that speakers of all languages have some way of conceptualizing events of giving and transfer of possession in general, so it makes sense in every language to ask how the recipient of transfer events is expressed and what other meanings are expressed in the same way in that language.

### 1.2.1 The recipient role

A **recipient**, in the most basic sense of the word, is a participant in an event of transfer of possession. More specifically, it is the participant who is caused by some agent or actor to become the possessor of another entity, which we can call the patient or theme, in the same event. Such labels as ‘recipient,’ ‘actor,’ ‘patient,’ or ‘theme’ are used in this study to refer to participant roles that entities have in events or thematic roles of nominal phrases in clauses, without considering a strict terminological distinction between these two levels necessary (I will thus talk about the recipient in an event of giving, referring to the participant role, but also about verbs requiring

a recipient argument, implying the thematic role) and without postulating any formal theory of thematic roles. It should be noted, however, that these labels are necessarily generalizations over event-specific/lexeme-specific roles – e.g., the label ‘agent’ generalizes over such specific roles as ‘giver,’ ‘seller,’ ‘murderer,’ etc. And since this study aims at a further level of generalization, looking for broader conceptual categories in which the recipient role may be construed, the participant/thematic roles can be considered intermediate-level roles (J. Bohnemeyer, pers. comm.).<sup>1</sup>

It is important to emphasize at this point that I am not aiming at a formal definition of the recipient role in this study. The label is applied in an entirely descriptive manner to indicate a particular participant in a particular kind of event – that of transfer of possession, or more narrowly, of giving. The question of what other participants in different kinds of events may be identified as recipients is of course legitimate, and would be an important research question in an approach to defining thematic roles; but it is not a crucial one in the present context, since this study identifies recipient expressions uniformly on the basis of the verb *give* and its translation equivalents (as motivated in more detail in subsection 1.2.2 below), before the range of distinctly non-recipient-denoting functions of these expressions is explored. Thus, the narrow understanding of the recipient as the participant who is given something is, in principle, all we need.

It is nevertheless useful to investigate a little further the issue of what other participants, beyond an actual giving event, should ‘count’ as recipients<sup>2</sup> and which ones should not, as it helps elucidating the particular conceptual properties of a transfer-of-possession event and also

---

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 113) for another approach in which thematic roles occupy an intermediate level, the most generalized level being the ‘macroroles’ of Role and Reference Grammar. However, RRG’s macroroles are elements of the syntax/semantics interface, as their purpose is to enable argument linking. The general level in the present study, in contrast, consists of construal options for event participants and is entirely conceptual.

<sup>2</sup> I refrain here from exploring the questions of whether metaphor and metonymy are necessary semantic processes in establishing the recipient status of the participant roles discussed in the following, and whether their classification as recipients is language-specific. While these questions are important, the discussion merely serves to illustrate intuitively the way in which the label ‘recipient’ is used in this study.

establishes the semantic domains that are relevant to the following discussion. Consider the English event descriptions in (2). In each of the events described here, Greg can be considered a recipient, but only in (2a) does an actual transfer of a physical, concrete entity take place. The sentences in (b)–(e) depict transfers of a more abstract nature: in (b), the transferred entity may be said to be a conceptual representation of the speaker’s bike, which Greg did not possess prior to being shown the bike; in (c) as well as (e), it is information; and in (d), knowledge of the material taught.

- (2)    a.    *I gave/sent/mailed Greg a book.*  
         b.    *I showed Greg my new bike.*  
         c.    *I told Greg a secret.*  
         d.    *I taught Greg German.*  
         e.    *I whispered Greg the password.*

The abstract themes in examples (2b–e) are, of course, not acted upon or manipulated by the actor in the same way concrete entities can be in an act of actual giving, but they can be said to gradually be brought into existence as representations in Greg’s mind. In this sense, the actor causes Greg to possess them. Events of conveying information or knowledge are thus assumed to involve a recipient, and accordingly, the verbs describing them, such as those illustrated in (2b–e), are capable of expressing a recipient argument.

Note that in English, all these verbs allow the syntactic alternation often called the ‘dative alternation,’ i.e. they can occur with a double-object construction (as exemplified in the sentences in (2b)–(e)) and a construction in which the ‘recipient’-denoting NP is prepositionally

marked.<sup>3</sup> With verbs of abstract transfer such as those in (2b)–(e), the double-object construction, but not the prepositional construction is generally said to imply or even entail that the transfer of knowledge or information is successful, that is, to imply the actual ‘possession’ of the knowledge/information by the recipient (cf., among many others, Krifka 1999, Harley 2002). This is shown in (3) for *teach* by negating that the students actually learned anything, which is reported to result in a contradiction for the double-object construction (3a) but not the prepositional construction (3b) (both the examples and the acceptability judgments are quoted from Van Valin 2002: 73):

- (3) a. *The teacher taught the students Pashto (\*but they didn’t learn any).*
- b. *The teacher taught Pashto to the students (but they didn’t learn any).*

However, Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) provide numerous examples (for *teach* as well as other alternating verbs) demonstrating that the double-object construction is in fact compatible with an unsuccessful or incomplete transfer. The ‘possession’ of the conveyed mental representation is thus not an entailment; and I have been careful to avoid the postulation that the entailment of possession is a definitional criterion of the recipient role. In fact, in some languages including Korean (cf. Chapter 5, example (142a)), not even the telic use of the verb *give*

---

<sup>3</sup> For more detailed studies of the association between the presence of a recipient in an event and the availability of the double-object construction for the verbs describing such events, see, among others, Pinker (1989), Goldberg (1995: Chapter 6), Krifka (1999).

itself entails actual receipt of the thing given. The recipient should thus be defined as the *intended* possessor of the concrete or abstract transferred entity, implying the presence of an intentional actor.

On the other hand, if active creation of a possessive relationship – where the entity possessed may be concrete or abstract – is not a component present in an event, we can infer that there is no recipient either. Considering the following sentences in (4), Greg (in (a)–(d)) and the table (in (e)) are not understood to be recipients in this study. Note that none of the verbs used in these examples participates in the dative alternation, which can be taken to corroborate the close association of this phenomenon with the presence of a recipient.

- (4)    a.    *Greg received a book.*  
      b.    *I talked to Greg.*  
      c.    *I asked Greg a question.*  
      d.    *I convinced Greg of my theory.*  
      e.    *I put the book on the table.*

In the case of (4a), the assumption that Greg is not a recipient appears counterfactual – one would think that the property of being a recipient could not be made more explicit than by using the actual verb *receive*. However, what is lacking is an actor participant who brings about Greg's coming into possession of the book. This, of course, is normally implied in a description like (4a); indeed, that sentence could very well refer to the exact same events as the ones in (2a) above, for which Greg has been identified as a recipient. Note, though, that the verb *receive* does not entail that any actor initiates the transfer of possession; and the presence of such an actor or

initiator has been postulated at the beginning of this section to be a condition for the recipient role. On the thematic level, *receive* thus does not select a recipient as defined here – even though, of course, it can describe events in which a recipient is present.

The cases in (4b–e) are somewhat clearer. Talking to Greg, as described in (4b), or asking him a question, as in (c), are communication events, which do contain an actor, but do not (or not straightforwardly) involve the transfer of information or the creation of a mental representation in Greg, which Greg can be said to ‘possess’ as a likely result of the event.<sup>4</sup> Convincing Greg of something, as in (4d), means to instill a belief or intention in Greg, which could be viewed as something he comes to possess; yet, verbs like *convince* focus the manipulation of the person rather than that of the belief/intent that is ‘transferred’ to them, so that the person is presented as a patient, rather than as a recipient.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, with placement verbs such as *put* in (4e), the item placed somewhere is concrete and actually physically manipulated; but since the goal, the table, lacks the semantic component of coming to possess the theme, it is not considered a recipient either.

In sum, the recipient as understood in the further course of this study is characterized by being made the possessor of something by some actor, possibly in an abstract sense, but prototypically in an event of giving. It has been pointed out that the recipient role is of particular conceptual complexity, owing to the fact that such an event can be construed in various conceptual

---

<sup>4</sup> M. Dryer (pers. comm.) suggests the term ‘quasi-recipient’ for Greg in (4b) and (c), accounting for the fact that the linguistic encoding of this participant is identical to that of the recipient in many languages. Under the approach taken here, which aims precisely at identifying and explaining such extensions of recipient-marking expressions, ‘quasi-recipients’ might fall in the category of ‘indirectly affected’ participant, to be defined in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.3) and studied in more detail in Chapter 3 (cf. esp. the definitions in (36) and (77)).

<sup>5</sup> J. Bohnemeyer (pers. comm.) argues that the theme in a metaphorical transfer must be a proto-patient in the sense of Dowty (1991). Communication and knowledge transfer are incremental, and incrementality is a proto-patient property in Dowty’s approach. Instilling intentions and believes in others, on the other hand, does not have this property: believing and intending are binary notions – either I believe/intend something or I don’t, but I can’t believe/intend something only a little. As a consequence, the person convinced or persuaded outcompetes the intention or belief for the proto-patient role and is therefore not treated as a recipient.



domains. Newman (1996: 37–52) lists the following domains that may play a role in the conceptualization of transfer events:

- Control/possession
- Spatio-temporal (construal as caused motion)
- Force-dynamic (construal as energy potential/transfer)
- Human interest (construal as benefiting someone)

For the recipient, this implies that it may be construed as a spatial goal, as a possessor, a target of a force vector, or a beneficiary. These construals, Newman argues, are reflected in the various ways languages encode recipients. If a language does not possess a unique recipient case (if such a case exists at all), but instead a case category that groups the recipient together with other participant roles, the resulting polysemy follows cross-linguistically recurrent patterns: among other things, the semantic extension of such a category may include goals, possessors, and benefactives, but not, for example, instruments. This systematic polysemy of recipient-marking elements has also been pointed out by Croft (1991), who interprets it purely in terms of force dynamics (as modeled in Talmy 1976 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). In particular, Croft views the recipient, and the roles associated with it, as indirectly involved in the overall force-dynamic pattern that constitutes the event: the recipient is not acted upon directly by an agent or actor, but, rather, its role in the event hinges upon the direct manipulation of the theme that enters its possession. The notion of indirectness is crucial to the treatment of the recipient role in this dissertation; Chapter 2 is exclusively devoted to elucidating this notion and modeling it in a refined force-dynamic approach.

### 1.2.2 Ditransitivity, indirect object alignment and dative

On the level of linguistic encoding, several structural notions deserve further attention which are closely associated with the presence of a recipient in an event that is described. One of these notions is **ditransitivity**. I adopt here the use of this term by Haspelmath (2005: 1, fn. 1; see also Haspelmath 2008), who applies it in a rather general sense to ‘clauses with a recipient-like and a theme-like argument.’ It is thus not restricted to constructions with two unmarked objects, such as (5a) below (which is the way the term ‘ditransitive’ is used, e.g., by Goldberg 1995), but includes structures in which the theme and the recipient bear different marking, as in (5b) – as long as the criteria identifying the recipient role, as outlined in the previous subsection, are met. In contrast, the description of a caused location event in (6) is not a ditransitive clause, regardless of its structural similarity to (5b): even though the prepositional expression *on the table* is a syntactic argument of the verb *put*, *the table* is not a recipient, as outlined in 1.2.1.

- (5) a. *Greg gave Lisa the book.*  
b. *Greg gave the book to Lisa.*

- (6) *Greg put the book on the table.*

This broad understanding of ditransitivity implies that it is the verb and its entailed arguments that determine whether a clause is ditransitive, rather than the way the arguments are expressed. In particular, if a clause contains a polysemous expression that can also encode, say, spatial goals, the clause will be considered ditransitive if that marker expresses a recipient, as in the English example (5b) (but not if the polysemous expression is used in its spatial sense, e.g.,

in *Greg drove Lisa to the store*). In this dissertation, the term ‘ditransitive construction’ is thus used to signify any construction that contains a verb of transfer with an overt theme and recipient argument, regardless of how either of these two arguments is marked.

Thus far, we have approached a definition of dative case via the recipient role in ditransitive clauses. This approach, however, is not very useful as yet: if applied cross-linguistically, it will encompass ditransitive constructions in a much wider range of languages than those for which dative or dative-like cases are generally assumed to exist. Since such cases have the marking of recipients as one of their *prototypical* functions, the notion of indirect object, which we encountered in (1) as a criterion invoked in some dative definitions, becomes relevant in addition to the semantic criterion of recipient marking.

In this dissertation, the term ‘indirect object’ is used with reference to structural alignment types (Haspelmath 2005, 2008). Alignment here means identical coding: languages can align the encoding of either the recipient or the theme argument in ditransitive constructions with that of a monotransitive theme, quite analogous to the alignment of either the transitive actor or theme argument with the sole argument of intransitive verbs (resulting in the distinction between nominative/accusative and ergative/absolutive systems), as first pointed out by Dryer (1986). If object alignment follows the primary/secondary pattern, that is, if the recipient in a ditransitive construction is treated like a monotransitive theme but the ditransitive theme bears distinct marking, then ‘recipient marking’ is in fact primary object marking, whose extension comprises a wide range of participant roles in addition to the recipient. It is only in languages that treat the ditransitive recipient differently, that is, languages with **direct/indirect object alignment**, that the recipient role is singled out to receive a semantically specific form of expression. The present re-

search thus focuses on expressions for recipients that are encoded as indirect objects, in the sense of alignment type.

No theoretical implications are to be drawn from this terminology: I do not commit to the existence of a grammatical relation of indirect object, nor do I claim that it is necessarily an oblique relation. Where the term is used in this study, it refers to a particular kind of ditransitive construction, and thus serves descriptive and classificatory purposes.

On the basis of the definitions made thus far, we can now define the object of study, the dative, as follows:

- (7) **Dative** is a case form (i.e., a non-adpositional dependent-marking strategy) whose function, or one of whose functions, is to mark the recipient in a language with indirect object alignment.

The definition in (7) specifies a comparative concept, in the sense of Haspelmath (to appear; cf. p. 4 of the article for a similar definition), rather than a descriptive linguistic category. This is to say that it does not treat dative as a grammar-internal category, but, rather, as a sort of conceptually based meta-category that can be used to compare similar case categories across languages, but is not equated with any of them. When I talk about ‘dative’ generically in the following, it will generally be with reference to this comparative concept. In contrast, reference to ‘datives,’ ‘a dative (in a given language)’ or ‘the Korean, German, etc. dative’ indicates descriptive linguistic categories, which are similar by virtue of the fact that the comparative concept of dative defined in (7) applies to them.

As outlined in the previous subsection 1.2.1, verbs that have a recipient argument are verbs of literal or metaphorical transfer, including *give*, *send*, *bring* or *show*, *tell*, *teach*. If a language

has a case to which the comparative concept of dative in (7) applies, then one of these verbs can be used as a diagnostic to identify this language-specific dative category. In the present study, translation equivalents of *give* are used for this purpose. The verb *give* has been observed to be a ‘canonical’ ditransitive verb: that is, even if a given language has a closed class of ditransitive verbs, *give* will belong to this class (Malchukov *et al.* ms.: 41; see also Kittilä 2006, who, however, restricts this observation to the class of verbs allowing a double-object construction). In addition, *give* is ‘probably the most frequent ditransitive verb in all languages,’ as stated by Haspelmath (2008), who likewise chooses *give* as a representative ditransitive verb in a cross-linguistic survey. Following his example, the present study identifies the descriptive linguistic category ‘dative case’ as the case on the recipient in an event described by the verb *give*.

### **1.2.3 Dative types**

As stated earlier, a given dative marker may be polysemous and encode further participant roles in addition to the recipient. This implies that the diagnosis suggested above has the potential of identifying a variety of case markers with different polysemies. But how great is this variety – can the polysemies perhaps be grouped into categories to yield a small number of dative types?

In subsection 1.2.1 above, it was mentioned that the polysemy of dative markers is systematic, determined by the semantic domains in which a transfer event can be construed. In fact, claims have been made that there are essentially two ways in which dative functions may be grouped, implying two basic types of datives. This is reflected in the quote in (8), a statement made on the basis of a survey of several western Indo-European and one eastern Indo-European language (Pashto).

- (8) On the semantic level, it is obvious that dative structures do not constitute a uniform concept. A range of submeanings is discerned. However, we may distinguish two basic meanings in the notion of dativity. In terms of thematic roles, the ‘dative’ seems to exhibit two logically independent roles, a Goal [...] and an Interested Party. When the two are united, we can speak of a Recipient, figuring in the dative of ‘giving’ [...].

van Belle and van Langendonck (1996b: xvi)

From the quote in (8), a kind of semantic duality of the recipient role may be implied: it seems to incorporate, in the broadest sense, a spatial and a non-spatial component. Languages can be assumed to base their dative expressions on either one of these semantic components, giving rise to a distinction between spatially-based datives and non-spatial datives. It has indeed been shown that many dative markers have grammaticalized from allatives or other spatial expressions (cf., e.g., Blansitt 1988, Rice and Kabata 2007), while other datives, notably the Central European ones like the German dative, have been traced back to a proto-dative without spatial uses, but with person-related functions (cf., e.g., Wegener 1985: 4). The split between spatial and non-spatial datives thus appears well founded.

The present research is essentially a comparison between representatives of both types, but it also aims to elucidate the nature of the non-spatial semantic component of ‘dativity,’ as van Belle and van Langendonck (1996b) put it in the quote in (8). This non-spatial component, to date, has only been described in relatively vague terms, such as van Belle and van Langendonck’s (1996b) notion of ‘interested party.’ Therefore, the following three chapters of this dissertation are dedicated to the semantic description and modeling of the non-spatial aspects of the recipient role and the various dative functions that arise from it, while the subsequent chapters 5 and 6 are concerned with spatially based dative marking. The discussion starts from the assumption that non-spatial datives are based on a force-dynamic notion, which is here termed ‘indirect

affectedness.’ The indirect affectedness dative is illustrated in Chapter 3 with data from German and serves as the baseline for the further discussion, in that the spatial datives presented in the later chapters are contrasted with it.

### **1.3 Methods**

Data collection for this study followed a double approach: empirical and literature-based. For the empirical part, a data set was devised to elicit possible dative functions. This data set was roughly based on the Dahl (1985) questionnaire on time, aspect, and mood categories and informed by the literature on dative in individual languages. It comprised 150 stimulus sentences in English, each containing one target noun phrase for which the acceptability of dative marking was tested, and was run on four languages (German, Hindi, Korean, and Estonian) in its entirety with two consultants each, except for Estonian, for which only one consultant was available. However, only German, Korean, and Estonian are included in this dissertation because the Hindi data proved inconclusive. Subsection 1.3.1 describes the data set and elicitation process in more detail.

The literature-based survey served to widen the database beyond the Eurasian region. It yielded data from 18 more languages, some of which are discussed in Chapter 4 on external possessor dative constructions. Subsection 1.3.2 below discusses it briefly.

#### **1.3.1 Data elicitation: procedure and limitations**

The data set used for elicitation was developed with the aim to make it universally applicable, that is, capable of identifying any dative function along with the semantic parameters that govern

it. This aim was not reached, as even the very limited application of the set in the context of the present research revealed all too clearly; many open questions remain due to the data set covering the relevant semantic factors insufficiently. However, the results presented in this dissertation will help improve it and take it a step closer to its goal.

The entire data set follows a storyline revolving around a boy pursuing a girl, giving her things, and doing things for her, while she does not treat him well at first but does eventually end up as his girlfriend. The first consultant for each language was asked to provide the names for the two protagonists of the story. Obviously, cultural differences in courtship rituals limit the cross-cultural applicability of this theme, so, for a more general use, the theme (which was designed primarily with the consultants' entertainment in mind, so as to prevent them from getting bored) would have to be abandoned. During elicitation, I asked the consultant to pretend that she/he and I were gossiping about the two protagonists, with the intention of obtaining natural data in a casual register. However, this created complications in the elicitation from Korean, which, given the gossiping scenario, resulted in the presence of various hearsay and other discourse markers in the verb forms and in-depth discussions about the precise circumstances that were 'gossiped' about.

Regarding the organization of the stimuli in terms of the possible dative targets, the following participant roles and constructional functions are distinguished in the data set:

- Recipient (starting with the verb 'give' for the identification of the dative marker, as motivated in 1.2.2 above)
- Spatial roles (goal, location, source)
- Benefactive
- Malefactive
- Possessor in possessive predication



- External (i.e., adverbally rather than adnominally encoded) possessor
- Agent in passive construction
- Causee in causative construction
- Experiencer

Each of these categories contains between 10 and 18 sentences, varying semantic parameters of the target noun phrase that potentially influence the acceptability of dative marking for the target. For instance, the recipient category varies specificity, pronominal vs. full NP expression, and focus; the possessor category varies the degree of alienability, animacy of the referent, and – for the external possessor targets – event type; the beneficiary category tests the influence of the presence of a theme that is transferred to constitute the benefaction, as well as various degrees of concreteness of that theme. As an example, the stimuli for the beneficiary category are provided in (9), with the target boldfaced in each sentence.

- (9) [You know what [MALE\_NAME] did for [FEMALE\_NAME] yesterday?]
- [43] He bought chocolates **for her** (he bought **her** chocolates).
  - [44] He picked flowers **for her** (he picked **her** flowers).
  - [45] He cooked dinner **for her** (he cooked **her** dinner).
  - [46a] He chopped the vegetables into pieces **for her** [*when they were cooking together*].
  - [46b] He cut the vegetables **for her**.
  - [47a] He cleaned her house **for her**.
  - [47b] He cleaned **for her**.
  - [48a] He sang a song **for her** (he sang **her** a song).
  - [48b] He sang **for her**.
  - [49] He got up early **for her**.  
[*He doesn't normally get up early, but he did it for her sake because she gets up early, too.*]
  - [50] He read the paper **for her**.  
[*He normally never bothers to read the paper but he did it for her sake, to make her happy.*]
  - [51] He ate spinach **for her**.  
[*He hates spinach but he nevertheless ate it to please her.*]

- [52] He slept **for her**.  
[*He normally would not have slept at that time but he wanted to be fit later on to do things with her, so he slept for her sake.*]

During the data elicitation, ample context was provided even beyond the contextual specifications given in (9) in square brackets and italic font, so as to ensure that the consultant had sufficient information on the intended participant role of the target. If no dative marking was provided for the target, I would regularly ask whether a dative expression would be possible as an alternative, and acceptability judgments and deviant readings for the resulting sentence were recorded.

### 1.3.2 Literature-based survey

The literature survey was specifically aimed at collecting data from non-Eurasian languages, and in the course of this process I realized that the most important finding was the presence of dative(-like) constructions expressing external possessors in languages outside Europe. The external possessor (EP) dative, as discussed in Chapter 4, has been thoroughly studied in the European languages in which it exists and is generally assumed to be limited to these languages (cf., e.g., Haspelmath 1999). Since the data emerging from the literature survey challenge this assumption to a certain extent, the presentation of the results of this survey is couched in the context of EP datives in Chapter 4.

Of the 18 languages from which data were collected, four are discussed in Chapter 4 in detail, all of them non-Eurasian: Sidaama (Cushitic) and Hdi (Chadic), spoken in Africa; Yimas (Sepik), spoken in Papua New Guinea; and Creek (Muskogean), spoken in North America. In

addition, data from four more languages from the Chadic and Muskogean families contribute complementary information.

## **1.4 Outline of the dissertation**

The discussion is structured as follows. The first part, consisting of Chapters 2–4, focuses on non-spatial datives. Chapter 2 establishes the basic concepts in which the meaning of such datives can be modeled; in particular, it motivates the notion of indirect affectedness as the central component of this meaning. As indicated earlier, this term is not an innovation; it has been suggested before as an appropriate description of certain meaning components of datives in some languages. However, in Chapter 2, it is formally defined as a force-dynamic notion, thus providing the relatively vague idea of ‘affectedness’ with a theoretical foundation and empirical diagnostics. Various indirectly affected participant roles are identified besides the recipient: beneficiary, maleficiary, and possessor of a directly affected entity.

Chapter 3 is the first case study, dealing with the dative in German, a clear case of non-spatial and, as established here, indirect affectedness dative. The chapter adapts an affectedness test commonly used in the literature, the sentence frame *What happened to X was ...*, for German and proceeds to discuss the various uses of the German dative in terms of indirect affectedness. The outcome of this chapter is that the German dative does not merely express force-dynamic indirect affectedness, but has also been extended to affective value – feeling good or bad about a state of affairs – which, according to Jackendoff (2007), is a default correlate of affectedness in general.

The discussion in Chapter 3 leaves aside the use of the German dative to encode external possessors, which is taken up in the general discussion of the EP dative in Chapter 4. This chapter shows that EP constructions very similar to the German EP dative, all extending the morpho-syntactic marking of the language-specific recipient category to the EP, are found on all continents and share very similar semantic restrictions – such as a bias towards human possessors. These facts are interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that EPs, just like recipients, are indirect affectees, and that the non-spatial type of recipient marking is a marker of indirect affectedness. Typological observations are made on the special role of the European EP dative: it is found to be unique not as a recipient expression used for EPs, but, rather, as an exclusively dependent-marking construction to do so, as all other languages surveyed show head-marking characteristics exclusively or in addition to dependent marking.

In Chapter 5, the discussion moves toward the spatially based datives, the sample for the case study being the dative in Korean. This dative encodes a wide range of spatial relations, but, on the other hand, it is also associated with agentivity if the referent is human: it marks the agent in passive constructions and, in causative constructions, shows a bias toward agentive causees. It can thus be said to extend from the spatial to the force-dynamic domain, but, interestingly, the force-dynamic configuration it encodes, the (oblique) agent, is entirely distinct from the configuration of indirect affectedness. It is also demonstrated that the notion of indirect affectedness can be expressed in Korean by verbal means, rather than through case.

The subsequent Chapter 6 presents a second case study of spatial marking, namely Estonian. Estonian has multiple spatial cases, including one that is used to express the recipient role, but it differs from Korean in that two of these spatial cases seem to have extended to indirect affectedness functions. Closer study of the data and a comparison with the ‘true’ indirect affect-

edness datives in German, however, reveal that this is not the case: the Estonian cases simply express spatial contiguity, but have no affectedness or value entailments.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions. It answers the research questions posed initially as follows:

- The typological split observed in the datives of Eurasia is a split between indirect affectedness datives and spatial datives.
- Only indirect affectedness datives can be used in external possessor (EP) dative constructions, spatial datives cannot. This explains why the EP dative construction is not found in the languages of Asia, such as Korean or Japanese.
- The European indirect affectedness dative is unique in being a case marker expressing indirect affectedness. However, other languages of the world exhibit recipient-marking constructions based on indirect affectedness as well.
- The datives in the non-European languages of Eurasia encode non-spatial functions only as spatial metaphors. In this respect, they are similar, although the case systems of Korean and Estonian, the two languages under discussion, are structurally very different.

## 2. Indirect affectedness

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, one of the basic conceptual components of the recipient, indirect affectedness, is defined as a property of event participants in a specific force-dynamic configuration. First, I will pose the question what it means for an event participant to be affected, and present a heuristic to determine the set of relevant data that can intuitively be described by this term (2.2.1). The available approaches to event semantics are then discussed in a non-exhaustive review of the relevant literature (2.2.2), with an emphasis of how ‘affectedness’ is represented in each of them. In section 2.3, I review in more detail the two approaches on which my own model is based: Croft (1991 *et seq.*) and Jackendoff (1990). Both authors view the transmission of force between event participants as a crucial component of event conceptualization (an approach initiated by Talmy 1976), and this will likewise be a central aspect of the model of indirect affectedness proposed here.

After a thorough revision of the affectedness heuristic to scrutinize whether it identifies recipients as affected (sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), section 2.4.3 presents a slightly modified force-dynamic model of event conceptualization. Like the other approaches discussed, it models affectedness as the property of receiving force; but it introduces the notion of indirect affectedness, which is defined as entailing the affectedness of another event participant.

## 2.2 Affectedness and events

### 2.2.1 To be affected or not to be affected

What does it mean to be affected? As a starting point, we should note that the word *affected* itself is polysemous. Among the definitions offered by the American Heritage Dictionary (2000) are the following:

- (10) affected
  - a. Acted upon, influenced, or changed.
  - b. Emotionally stirred or moved.

The fact that the two properties listed in (10) are independent of each other is evident in an event description like *Greg was hit by a rotten tomato during his speech* [affectedness in the sense of (10a)], *but it didn't affect him* [no affectedness in the sense of (10b)].

In linguistic description and analysis, the polysemy apparent in (10) manifests itself in two distinct uses of the term *affectedness*, both of which are relevant to the present study. First, in line with (10a), affectedness is taken to be the property of an event participant that undergoes a change as integral part of the event; it is thus frequently invoked as a defining criterion for the thematic role of patient or comparable notions (cf. Gruber 1965, Fillmore 1968, Jackendoff 1987, Dowty 1991, Beavers 2006, and others). In (11a) below, *Lisa's car* can be said to be affected in this sense. Second, similar to the sense described by (10b), linguists have more recently used the term 'affectedness' to signify a more peripheral involvement in an event, for instance, if the event is evaluated as good or bad for the participant in question (Wierzbicka 1986, T. Smith 2005, and others). The prepositional phrase *on her* in (11b) expresses this kind of affectedness for Lisa rather than her car.

- (11) a. *Greg wrecked **Lisa's car**.*  
 b. *Greg wrecked Lisa's car **on her**.*

These two senses of affectedness are not contradictory. What they have in common is that a participant described as affected in either sense is involved in a causal chain, but not as the instigator of the event; it is thus passive rather than active. In addition, both senses can conceivably be true of the same participant in the same event: an event participant may undergo a change and at the same time experience or evaluate this as good or bad. However, it is also possible that an event participant is attributed affectedness in the first but not the second sense, or vice versa – as is the case for the participants expressed by the boldfaced phrases in (11).

As a diagnostic of affectedness, Jackendoff (1990: 125ff.) suggests the frame in (12), which goes back to earlier ideas by Cruse (1973: 13) and Halliday (1968: 196):<sup>6</sup> if a NP can take the position of *X* in (12), then the participant this NP refers to is understood to be affected by the event described by the embedded clause or infinitival verb phrase following *was*.

- (12) What happened to *X*/What *Y* did to *X* was ...

The frame in (12) functions as an anomaly test. Its matrix clause, which affirms that something happened or was done to *X*, is simply a paraphrase of the statement ‘*X* was affected.’ As a consequence, if, in the embedded clause, the argument coreferent with *X* is assigned a non-

---

<sup>6</sup> Cruse (1973) and Halliday (1968), being concerned primarily with agentivity and degrees of transitivity, only present the *happen* frame (*What happened to X was ...*) as an identifier for the absence of agentivity; both use the *do* frame (*What Y did [to X] was ...*) to identify the agent, rather than the affected. Jackendoff (1990) suggests both frames in (12) as a diagnostic for the patient role (see section 2.3.2 below), but does not make explicit reference to the earlier literature.



affected role, this will result in anomaly due to a semantic conflict: the referent of *X* is portrayed as affected in the matrix clause, but, at the same time, as non-affected in the embedded clause.

Even though Jackendoff introduces this diagnostic to identify the thematic role of patient (which is held by *Lisa's car* in (11a), but presumably not by *Lisa* as part of the *on* phrase in (11b)), it captures both types of affectedness discussed above. This is shown in (13a) and (b) for the two affected participants in (11a) and (b), respectively:

- (13) a. *What happened to (What Greg did to) Lisa's car was that he wrecked it.*  
b. *What happened to (What Greg did to) Lisa was that he wrecked her car (on her).*

The compatibility of the *What happened to X/What Y did to X* frame with both senses of affectedness defined in (10) is due to the paraphrasing nature of the matrix clause, as mentioned earlier: to affect something or someone, whether changing it/them (10a) or affecting it/them internally, cognitively, or emotionally (10b), means to *do something to* it or to them; and if something or someone is changed or affected in these ways, this means that something *happens to* it/them. Jackendoff's heuristic is thus indifferent to the various senses of affectedness, and we can use it without committing to either definition. In section 2.4.1 below, it is discussed in more detail in order to obtain a definitional basis for affectedness.

## 2.2.2 Two approaches to affectedness

The heuristic in (12) tells us that to be affected means to have something “happen to” oneself or “done to” oneself; but this paraphrase does not reveal much of the actual semantic nature of af-

affectedness. In fact, as noted by Beavers (in press), this nature is rarely ever elucidated, nor is the notion of affectedness defined in more than a merely intuitive manner, in the linguistic literature.

As affectedness is a property of event participants and, therefore, part of the conceptualization of events, any formal definition must depend on general assumptions about event semantics and participant roles. Between different approaches to event semantics, we will also find differences in how affectedness is conceived. Essentially, the notions of affectedness fall into two broad categories, depending on what conceptual domain is considered to be basic in the construal of events: (i) spatio-temporal: affectedness is change; (ii) force dynamic: affectedness is received force. These two approaches are now outlined in more detail.

In spatio-temporal approaches, change – either of location or of state, where the latter can be viewed as a metaphorical extension from the former<sup>7</sup> – is one of the basic quantities of event construal. Accordingly, linguists often associate affectedness closely with the property of undergoing a change, which is in line with the informal observations stated in the previous subsection 2.2.1 (see, e.g., Dowty 1991: 572 – both ‘change of state’ and ‘causally affected’ are among his proto-patient properties; Gropen *et al.* 1991 *passim*; Næss 2007: 113). Indeed, many axiomatically equate the two notions (e.g., M. Anderson 1979: 44; Tenny 1994; Beavers in press: 1), to the extent that linguists are quoted by others as having made statements about affectedness, while what they were really referring to is change.<sup>8</sup> In particular, due to the understanding of

---

<sup>7</sup> This is the explicit assumption of localist semantics, as introduced into modern linguistics by Gruber (1965) and adopted and developed, among others, by J. Anderson (1971, 1977). Jackendoff (1990 *et seq.*), whose event semantics is discussed in more detail in 2.3.2 below, is also a localist in that he models state changes as (abstract) motion.

<sup>8</sup> Consider, for example, Beavers (in press: 1–2). In his introduction, he quotes, among others, Krifka (1998) as linking ‘affectedness [...] to lexical aspect, especially as a determinant of telicity,’ as well as Fillmore (1970) as defining affectedness ‘intuitively [...] as the property of having undergone some change.’ However, neither of the two authors actually refers to affectedness in the quoted studies. In Krifka (1998), whose aim is to build an algebraic model of telicity via a mereology of events, the crucial determinant of telicity is quantizedness of an object in combination with a predicate that has the property of object-to-event mapping (*ibid.*: 211–14). Of course, predicates that express a change have this property; so the factor that Beavers refers to as affectedness is, in fact, change, whereas the term ‘affected’ is not used by Krifka at all. Regarding Fillmore’s (1970) alleged intuitive definition of affected-

affectedness as being identical to completed change, some studies – the first being Tenny (1992, 1994) – take affectedness to be a correlate of telicity, since telicity of an event description can be achieved by the portrayal of an event participant as completing a change. Under this perspective, the affected argument becomes the element ‘which measures out and delimits the event described by the verb’ (Tenny 1992: 8). To be sure, the property of measuring out is identified in research on lexical and grammatical aspect as a determinant of telicity – a prominent example being Krifka (1998), who provides a solid algebraic foundation to model the mapping relations between arguments and events that constitute telicity, but, notably, does not use the term ‘affectedness’ in this context at all (see footnote 8).

Indeed, it seems misguided to treat ‘affectedness’ as synonymous with ‘completed change’ and derive aspectual correlations from this definition, since this contradicts the findings obtained by means of the *What happened to X/What Y did to X* diagnostic. Consider the description of an event of tickling, as shown in (14a).

- (14) a. *Lisa tickled Greg.*  
       b. *What Lisa did to Greg was tickle him.*  
       c. *Lisa tickled Greg for five minutes / \*in five minutes.*

In (14b), we can see that the person undergoing the tickling is in fact affected, since no semantic conflict with the diagnostic frame arises. But, as (14c) demonstrates, the description is

---

ness as change, Fillmore does not refer to ‘affectedness’ explicitly either; he merely states that, with verbs of destruction such as *break*, ‘the [object] is understood as undergoing some kind of change of state. That is, [it] is understood as essentially different after the event symbolized by the verb has “happened” to it’ (*ibid.*: 125). Here, Beavers apparently reads Fillmore’s notion of affectedness from his use of the ‘happen’ phrasing, which suggests that the *What happened to X* diagnostic, which Beavers also discusses, is applicable. But even then, it is not obvious to me that Fillmore’s statement amounts to an, even informal, definition.

atelic (it is compatible with a durational *for* adverbial, but not with an *in* adverbial) and thus does not entail that any change was completed. This indicates that the portrayal of an event participant as affected is independent of change in this participant, and thus, likewise, of any aspectual phenomena that may be accounted for in terms of change.

In spite of this dilemma, the equation ‘affectedness = change’ is still widely assumed, notably in the work of Beavers (2006, in press). Like many others before him, Beavers (2006) assumes affectedness to be a determining factor for objecthood, using the term as an umbrella to cover various criteria for object selection postulated by other scholars: change of state, change of location, coming into existence or ceasing to exist, traversal (of a path), being impinged upon, etc. (Beavers 2006: 45), most of which involve some kind of change. He proceeds defining this general notion as (abstract) movement of the respective participant on a scale that measures the progress of the event (ibid: 77). This is reminiscent of Tenny’s account, discussed above, and indeed Beavers quotes her work as a major cornerstone of his own model. The difference is that Beavers allows for affectedness to be gradual, rather than dichotomic. In Beavers (2006), he distinguishes two degrees of affectedness, depending on whether or not a predicate entails a precise beginning and endpoint for the change:

- (i) ‘Total affectedness,’ a change affecting the entirety of the object. This notion is formally defined to hold of a participant role for which the predicate of the event description defines an initial and final point on the scale (see Beavers 2006: 103, 124) and thus describes it to undergo a state change between two specific points: e.g., for *eat the apple up*, the apple transitions the scale of “eatenness” from beginning to end. Total affectedness roughly corresponds to Tenny’s idea of affected-

ness, which covers only completed change (in her words, measuring and delimiting).

- (ii) ‘Affectedness’ or ‘simple affectedness,’ which is less specific than total affectedness in that the beginning and endpoint of the transition are entailed to exist, but unspecified by the predicate (Beavers 2006: 103, 124). E.g., for *cut the apple*, the apple transitions some part of the scale of “being cut” – it is necessarily changed in some way – but the exact starting and ending points are not specified.

In Beavers (in press), this model is refined due to the observation that, as pointed out earlier, the *What happened to X* test (which is not discussed in Beavers 2006) identifies a larger set of event participants than just those undergoing specified or unspecified change. This leads Beavers to introduce further, lower degrees of affectedness. He thus accounts for the distinction between *see the apple*, which does not satisfy the test (*#What happened to the apple was that I saw it*), and *wipe the apple*, which does (*What happened to the apple was that I wiped it*). The type of affectedness associated with *wipe*, and presumably also with *tickle* (see (14) above), is characterized by Beavers as

- (iii) Affectedness by ‘potential for change,’ which is defined as an entailment of the existence of a transition scale, but without the entailment of an actually occurring transition (Beavers in press: 24). The transition can, however, be expressed by a resultative constructions, as *I wiped the apple clean* (cf. Beavers in press: 26–27), or bounded by an *until* clause such as *Lisa tickled Greg until he promised to do the dishes*.

At the lowest point of the hierarchy Beavers locates predicates for which change is not even a potential implication (that is, which do not entail even the existence of a transition scale),

such as *see*; such predicates are not associated with affectedness. Overall, his hierarchy thus comprises three degrees of affectedness, all of which are captured by the *What happened to X* diagnostic: potential change (iii), actual change with unspecified result (ii), and actual change with specified result (i).

The idea that affectedness is more than just actually occurring change, but may include the potential for change as well, is novel and highly relevant to the present endeavor. As has been demonstrated, it accounts for the intuitive understanding that a person who is tickled or an apple that is wiped is affected, even if no change occurs: the crucial factor is that change is not excluded. However, Beavers still limits the notion of affectedness strictly to themes/objects. When integrating ditransitive constructions into his model (Beavers ms.), he only allows to the recipient argument the status of an endpoint of the transition scale for the thing given (where this scale can be either a literal, spatial path or the scale of “being possessed”); the recipient is not viewed as affected in any way by coming into possession of something. And for the portrayal of a non-argument participant as affected, as in (11b) (repeated below), Beavers does not offer an analysis at all:

(11b) *Greg wrecked Lisa’s car **on her**.*

In (11b), it is of course the car that is affected, portrayed as undergoing a specified change and, thus, as ‘totally affected’ in the sense of (i) above. But by virtue of being the car’s owner, Lisa undergoes a change in her economic status, and world knowledge suggests that she is likely affected psychologically as well. So the high degree of affectedness in the theme argument appears to open up, in Beavers’ terms, a second scale of potential change, a lower degree of affect-

edness, in a participant associated with the car – a possible extension of his model that, to my knowledge, is not addressed in his work. Of course, this potential change is of an entirely different nature than the material change of state undergone by the car. This in itself would not pose a problem for Beavers' account, however, since the nature of the transition scale is independent of the entailment of its existence, or more specifically, the degree of affectedness (cf. Beavers in press: 25). The option of two affected entities in one event, and thus of two coexistent, and possibly interrelated, transition scales has, to my knowledge, not been explored in spatio-temporal frameworks. To conclude, we can thus observe that explicit accounts of affectedness in the spatio-temporal mindset exclude recipients, which, essentially, are treated as a literal or metaphorical goal.

The second basic type of approaches to event semantics uses force as the primary conceptual component of events. These frameworks use of a cognitive model of force relations known as **force dynamics**, which has its origins in the work of Talmy (1976) and underlies the event models of Croft (1991 *et seq.*) and Jackendoff (1990), among many others; it has been shown to be a veridical representation of the way humans recognize and conceptualize causal relations (Wolff 2007). Force is a physical concept that can be described as a vector quantity, comprising a magnitude and a direction. Both these elements play a part in force dynamics in describing the conceptualization and linguistic encoding of event participants: an event with two participants typically involves one participant acting on the other in some way, which, in force-dynamic terms, is conceived as a magnitude difference in the inherent force tendencies of the participants, resulting in a net force in which the tendencies of the 'stronger' participant are dominant. This interaction is perceived as a transfer of force from the stronger participant to the other, although, strictly speaking, it is rather a kind of force exchange (cf. Wolff 2007: 85). In the following, I

will use the term ‘force transfer,’ somewhat imprecisely. Each participant’s inherent tendency can be toward motion or toward rest; thus, the basic conceptual domain of force dynamics is the spatial domain and the basic event types it accounts for are events of caused or prevented motion, while other event types are metaphorical extensions thereof (cf. Talmy 2000: 413–14, Wolff 2007: 86).

As hinted in the above, one particular instance of force transfer is causation. A causal relation between two events is characterized in terms of truth value semantics by the property that the caused event would not have happened without the causing event; in terms of force interaction, a causal relation entails that the force recipient – i.e., the entity whose intrinsic force tendency is weaker in magnitude – ends up in a state of motion or rest that is opposed to its intrinsic tendencies (cf. Talmy 2000: 418).<sup>9</sup> Although, of course, not all force interactions have this property, causal relations are generally treated as a kind of prototype of force transfer, and event models that make use of force-dynamic approaches have become known as ‘causal’ (cf., e.g., the overview of event models in Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005: Chapter 4). The array of entities between which force transfers occur is accordingly termed the ‘causal chain’; this chain is ordered, due to the fact that the transfer of force is conceived as unidirectional – from the ‘stronger’ to the ‘weaker’ entity – and event descriptions single out certain segments of the chain (cf., e.g., Croft 1991). Such a segment, then, always has an initial point, the entity which sets off the force transmission and thus initiates the event.

---

<sup>9</sup> Wolff (2007) treats these two definitions of causation as conflicting with each other, because he claims that both of them strive to account for how humans recognize causation in the world – while this explanatory power can only be attributed to the force-dynamic model, as his empirical studies demonstrate. But the two models really only explain causation on different levels: the truth value approach assesses properties of statements or propositions, rather than making claims about the cognitive representation of causation. They are thus complimentary rather than contradictory (J. Bohnemeyer, pers. comm.).



In the context of this study, the attractiveness of this kind of approach lies in the fact that affectedness is straightforwardly defined as “being a recipient of force.” In fact, Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001: 787) suggest that this description appropriately delineates the set of all those participants that satisfy the *What happened to X/What Y did to X* diagnostic in (12). This implies that, in an event that covers multiple links on the causal chain, *every* participant on this chain is affected except the initial one, since the causal chain is defined via force transfer and thus every participant except the initial one must receive force. In other words, ‘affectedness’ in this sense simply means the property of participating in, but not initiating, an event. In contrast to the spatio-temporal approaches discussed above, force-dynamic affectedness is thus not directly associated with change; it is, however, certainly compatible with both actual and potential change, and therefore can be assumed to cover the same range of participant roles that are captured by Beavers’ (in press) three degrees of mereologically defined affectedness, as outlined above.

However, as also seen above, in Beavers’ model, certain predicates such as perception verbs are not associated with affectedness at all, and since the participant roles encoded by their object do not pass the *What happened to X* test, these participant roles should not be treated as force recipients in a force-dynamic model either. In fact, perception verbs like *see* represent the atypical case of symmetrical force transfer: the perceived stimulus can be said to exert an influence on the perceiver by causing a change in mental state, while, on the other hand, the perceiver must direct his/her attention to the stimulus (cf. Croft 1993). Thus, there is indeed no uniquely identifiable force recipient in perception events and, accordingly, no unique affected participant, which renders these events problematic for force dynamics-based models. In fact, Jackendoff, who embraces force dynamics in his 1990 analysis of event semantics, no longer makes refer-

ence to it in his most recent version, which seems to be motivated implicitly by his discussion of perception verbs to introduce the formerly force-dynamic component of his model (Jackendoff 2007, Chapter 6). His account is discussed in more detail in 2.3.2 below.

For now, let it suffice to say that perception does not involve affectedness under either approach, which is in line with commonsense judgments and with the affectedness diagnostic adopted here. As for the recipient role, which is the prime interest of this study, it is less problematic to integrate into the causal chain: considering that an agent imparts force to a thing, which is thereby transferred into the recipient's possession, one could say that the recipient, in turn, has force imparted to it by the thing entering his or her possession and thus occupies the last position on the causal chain. This implies that the recipient is force-dynamically affected, rather than solely being the spatial goal of the thing's movement. For the purpose of the present study, in which the affectedness of recipients and similar participant roles plays an important part, this implication is essential. It will be elaborated further in the following section 2.3 with reference to particular event semantics models in the force-dynamic spirit.

Summing up the discussion of spatio-temporal vs. force-dynamic approaches to event semantics, we can observe that they converge to a certain extent: both can effectively define the same sets of participants as affected, albeit by rather different definitional criteria. In addition, both are based essentially on spatial notions: under the spatio-temporal perspective, affectedness means change, which is represented as the (either entailed or potential) transition of a scale; in its conceptually most basic sense, this scale is a spatial path on which the affected participant moves. In the force-dynamic view, affectedness means being subject to force, which can be represented as a vector in space – and may result in change, which in its conceptually most basic variant is, again, a change of location. However, there is one crucial difference between the two

types of approaches. While in the spatio-temporal framework affectedness can be reduced entirely to spatial concepts and truth conditions, this is not true for force dynamics, since the very concept of force is not in itself a spatial quantity; rather, it must be treated as a semantic primitive.

The present study adopts a force-dynamic model of event semantics, first and foremost because this approach enables the treatment of recipients as affected in a straightforward way, as outlined above and motivated in more detail in section 2.4 below. Even if a spatio-temporal model like Beavers' was extended to allow for recipients to be modeled as affected, this affectedness would still have to be based on change and, thus, on the isomorphism between the mereology of the event and that of the recipient (or some property of the recipient). It would presumably be possible to characterize the change in the recipient as a transition on a scale of "coming into possession" of something – analogous to the thing given transitioning the scale of "being possessed," as mentioned earlier, which Beavers (ms.: 20) defines as a simplex scale since possession is a binary notion. But this would be entirely redundant, given that the change in the possessive relationship is already associated with the thing given. If anything, the affectedness scale for the recipient should in some way be connected with or dependent on that of the thing, but this would require additional definitions – whereas in the force-dynamic causal chain model, the 'secondary' nature of the recipient's affectedness as opposed to that of the thing falls out without further stipulation from the properties of the chain, that is, the fact that the causal chain is ordered and unidirectional.

In the remainder of this chapter, the particular way in which a recipient is affected is elucidated and defined in force-dynamic terms, leading to the notion of **indirect affectedness** (section 2.4.3). The model used for this purpose is loosely based on the work of Croft (1991 *et seq.*) and

Jackendoff (1990), which is reviewed in more detail in the next section, focusing on their treatment of recipients.

## **2.3 Affectedness in force-dynamic models of event semantics**

### **2.3.1 Croft's subsequent roles**

Croft's (1991 *et seq.*) causal chain model is based on force-dynamic notions, describing non-spatial relations between event participants as force transfers. The most recent version of this model (Croft ms.) is expanded by dimensions of time and change to incorporate aspectual/*Aktionsart* phenomena, thus attempting to bridge the gap between force dynamics and the spatio-temporal perspective; however, since the notion of causality and the definitions based upon it remain essentially the same, reference will be made here to the original proposal in Croft (1991). Affectedness can be viewed within this model as the property of being a force recipient, as motivated in the previous section (even though Croft himself only uses the term 'affectedness' with reference to event participants that undergo change, in line with the prevalent intuitive understanding of the term, as discussed in 2.2.2 above; see Croft 1991: 154f.). This entails that all participants of an event are affected except the initial one on the causal chain that constitutes an event.

Recipients are not included in typical or conceptually basic events, but have oblique status in Croft's account. According to Croft, the part of a causal chain that prototypically gets singled out by a verb – in other words, the prototypical event – consists of two entities, one of which transmits force to the other and induces a change of state in it (Croft 1991: 173). What this description outlines is, of course, the set of events denoted by basic transitive verbs such as *kill*.

The prototypical event has thus two participants, one of which causally precedes the other. Croft (*ibid.*) terms the former participant ‘initiator,’ the latter ‘endpoint,’ since they delimit the event from the larger, potentially infinite network of causal relations that exist in the world. In terms of thematic roles, the initiator corresponds to an agent or causer and the endpoint to a patient or theme;<sup>10</sup> in terms of grammatical relations, the initiator is associated with the subject and the endpoint with the object relation.

The existence of event descriptions in which more than two participants are expressed – among which are transfer events that include a recipient in addition to the theme – necessitates the extension of this event model by additional participant roles, which are not generally encoded as subject or object and are, therefore, oblique. Among the oblique participant roles, Croft (1991: 177ff.) distinguishes two types, depending on their position on the causal chain relative to the endpoint (or object): antecedent obliques, which causally precede the endpoint, and subsequent obliques, which follow it. Various thematic roles are subsumed under either type. An instrument, for instance, is an antecedent oblique, as it transmits force to the endpoint (e.g., the hammer in the event described by *I hit the nail with a hammer* transmits force to the nail) and thus causally precedes it. Among the subsequent roles, Croft (1991: 179, 185) includes first and foremost the beneficiary – or benefactive, in his terminology. Obviously, there is no physical force involved in benefitting from an event or situation; but there certainly is causation, in the sense that a situation brings about a change in the mental or emotional state of a sentient being, prototypically a person. A force transfer can thus be assumed to occur on a non-physical level,

---

<sup>10</sup> As briefly hinted in the Introduction (section 1.2.1), the model presented in this study is agnostic to the existence of thematic roles. Thematic role labels such as ‘agent’ or ‘patient’ are used for descriptive purposes, but do not bear any theoretical significance.

targeting a person's mental state. Croft (1991: 166) calls this type of non-physical causation 'affective causation,' invoking Talmy's (1976) classification of causation types.<sup>11</sup>

The other subsequent roles that are relevant to the present study, recipient and spatial goal (allative in Croft's terminology), are not in a causal relation with any other subevents, but must be integrated into the causal chain by means of conceptual transfer. For the goal, this transfer is based on a metaphorical connection between causality and motion in space, in that causality can be conceptualized as directional (Croft 1991: 193). This conceptual metaphor can be described as 'causation as motion' (see also Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 73f. for a more detailed analysis) and enables spatial goal markers to extend to the marking of beneficiaries. In the case of the recipient, the target domain of the metaphorical transfer, according to Croft, is possession. Possession is non-causal, but, similarly to spatial relations, can be construed as such by virtue of what Croft (1991: 207) calls the 'possessed-first coercion,' which maps the possessor onto a causally subsequent position with respect to the possessum. If the possessum is now conceptualized as a force recipient and, accordingly, is the endpoint of a causal chain – say, as the direct object of a transfer verb such as *give* – the possessor naturally ends up as a subsequent oblique. This allows for the marking of the benefactive, a genuinely force-dynamically subsequent role, to extend to recipients. On the whole, the metaphoric transfers among these causal and non-causal roles provide a cognitive motivation for the cross-linguistically similar syncretisms found in dative markers, as mentioned in Chapter 1 and as studied by Croft (1991: 187f., 237–239) himself.

Interestingly, this account excludes certain extension patterns. In Croft's (1991: 211) own words, 'The [spatial] metaphor permits the syncretism between the allative and the benefactive case marking, and the possessed-first coercion permits the syncretism between the alla-

---

<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, Talmy himself seems to have abandoned the notion of affective causation in his 2000 revised version of the 1976 paper, treating the affectedness of mental states as non-causal instead.

tive/benefactive case marking and the recipient case marking.’ Put slightly differently, spatial goal marking can extend to benefactive marking, which in turn can extend to recipients, but not vice versa. As a consequence, the beneficiary role, as the only genuine causal role among the three discussed here, plays a pivotal part in the syncretism among subsequent roles, and there is no direct metaphorical connection between recipient and goal. This is one of the implications from Croft’s account that the present study aims to counter.

To summarize, the distinction between antecedent and subsequent oblique roles is a very reasonable classification of peripheral participants (as opposed to the two central ones, the ‘initiator’ and the ‘endpoint’) in terms of causal/force-dynamic relations. It also provides a coherent category for recipients and related roles. However, there is something slightly unsatisfactory about the fact that the recipient in a transfer event can only be integrated into the causal chain through a conceptual analogy with the beneficiary role. The recipient, as with ditransitive transfer verbs such as *give*, can be a genuine verbal argument, in the sense that the presence of the respective participant is entailed by the verb’s meaning: there is no giving without a receiver. If the causal chain models the conceptual basis of event construal – events being those parts of the causal chain that verbs and their arguments describe – we should therefore expect the argument-like recipient role to be an *a priori* part of the chain, rather than having to be coerced into it.

Croft does not disregard the argument status of recipients in the context of transfer verbs; but he accounts for it by postulating that the thing given and the recipient share the same position on the causal chain (Croft ms.: Ch. 6, p. 8), indicating that the initiator transmits force to both the thing given and the recipient at the same time. This representation is suitable to account for the encoding of such events by double-object constructions, as they occur in English (*Greg gave Lisa the book*), in which both the thing given and the recipient are realized as causal endpoints.

But the asymmetrical encoding of the two non-initiator participants by means of either indirect-object or secondary-object structures in ditransitive constructions is treated as a conceptual derivative; these constructions, as explained above, are based on the conceptual transfer from the possessive into the causal domain.

Under the perspective on ditransitive constructions taken in this study, asymmetrical causal construal of the non-initiator participants in transfer events is just as conceptually basic as the symmetrical one with a branching causal chain. The basic idea is that the various causally subsequent roles in Croft's model can be captured under the single conceptual category of indirect affectedness, which may include the recipient as well as the beneficiary role. The event conceptualization model of Jackendoff (1990), which also assumes a force-dynamic framework, offers valuable insights in this regard. It is the subject of the following subsection.

### **2.3.2 Jackendoff's affectedness function**

Jackendoff's (1990, 2007) model of semantics, which he equates with conceptual structure, is a two-tier system, which interfaces with further tiers of syntactic, phonological, and spatial representation. Roughly, it consists of a tier of spatial – including metaphorically spatial – and causal representations (called the thematic tier) and a tier of force-dynamically motivated representations (the action tier, renamed 'macrorole tier' in Jackendoff 2007; I will refer to it as the action/macrorole tier in my discussion to account for both the older, more familiar term and Jackendoff's motivation for changing it, which is the fact that not all relations encoded on this tier necessarily involve activity or 'action'). The information of each tier is formalized in a function-argument notation, composed of terms that Jackendoff considers atomic conceptual categories (Jackendoff 1990: 22). On both tiers, specific argument positions in the conceptual structure



define the various thematic roles (*ibid.*: 55); these are thus no semantic primitives, and the tier representations can be considered a formalization of a theory of thematic roles.

Affectedness is a relation of the action/macrorole tier. It is modeled as a two-place function “affect” (abbreviated as *AFF*), which defines the thematic roles of actor and patient and, in the 1990 framework, is explained as a relation of force transmission: the actor is the first, the patient the second argument of the “affect” function (*ibid.*: 127; either one of the two argument slots may be empty, to account for events with an actor but no patient and vice versa). The 2007 version of the model still makes use of this function and the thematic roles it defines, but abandons its force-dynamic foundation. Instead, the validity of the actor and patient roles is now merely asserted through the diagnostic frames *What X did was ...* for the actor and the familiar *What happened to X was ...* for the patient (Jackendoff 2007: 198); affectedness, as expressed by the function, now apparently has the status of a semantic primitive.<sup>12</sup>

According to both versions of the model, affectedness is first and foremost a definitional feature of the patient – recall that this role is defined structurally as being the second argument of the “affect” function. In Jackendoff (1990), however, the fact that the affectedness diagnostic *What happened to X* identifies non-patient roles as well is recognized and discussed. Particularly

---

<sup>12</sup> As indicated in section 2.2.2 above, the reason for Jackendoff (2007) to no longer characterize the action/macrorole tier in force-dynamic terms is the analysis of perception verbs such as *see*, which clearly cannot be associated with force or affectedness. To account for these, Jackendoff (2007: 204) introduces a new function on the action/macrorole tier, “experience” (*EXP*), which defines the thematic roles of experiencer and stimulus. This function is in principle independent of the “affect” function; and, to my understanding, there is in fact no compelling reason why the two functions must be located on the same tier of the semantic representation, thereby enforcing such a tier to be non-force-dynamic in nature. Therefore, even though force dynamics is not mentioned in the context of affectedness at all in Jackendoff (2007), it is not entirely incompatible with this modified framework. Anticipating here the criticism to which I subject the 2007 approach in the further course of this subsection, based on the fact that it is inaccurate in its treatment of the recipient role, I would like to mitigate this judgment by suggesting that the assumption of force-dynamic affectedness in the 2007 model would enable Jackendoff to have the cake and eat it too: specifically, it would allow for a force-dynamically based and accurate analysis of the recipient, while at the same time doing justice to the non-force-dynamic thematic roles associated with perception verbs as well. However, in an attempt not to misrepresent Jackendoff’s ideas, I will, in the following, go with what he states explicitly in the 2007 account – and this does not include force dynamics.

relevant in this context is Jackendoff's account of three-participant configurations, in which the "affect" function plays an important part in modeling the construal of recipients and similar participant roles. To account for these, Jackendoff (1990: 133ff.) introduces the role of beneficiary. A parallel with Croft (1991) is apparent here, in that both seem to consider the notion of benefaction pivotal in the construal of three-participant events (a perspective that the present study does not share). Jackendoff's (*ibid.*: 133–34) reasoning is that beneficiary and patient are closely related in force-dynamic terms in that both have force applied to them. But while a patient's natural tendency is to resist that force, a beneficiary is not in opposition to it but strives for the same result, to the effect that the received force supports its natural tendency. This difference in the patient and beneficiary's relationships to the force they receive – opposition vs. support – is captured in Jackendoff's formal model by two subcategories of the affectedness function: negative affectedness ( $AFF^-$ ), which characterizes the patient, is force transmission with the receiving participant opposing this force, whereas positive affectedness ( $AFF^+$ ), the feature that defines the beneficiary, means identical directedness of the affecting force and the participant's inherent tendencies.

In the case of positive affectedness, Jackendoff applies the affectedness diagnostic in (12) with a slight modification – the benefactive preposition 'for' takes the place of 'to.' (15a) shows an example in which the beneficiary is, in fact, a verbal argument, subcategorized for by a verb that expresses support. The test is applied in (15b), identifying the argument *Sam* as positively affected.

- (15) a. *Harry helped Sam wash the dishes.*  
           (Jackendoff 1990: 134)
- b. *What Harry did for Sam was help him wash the dishes.*

According to the 2007 model, which no longer makes explicit use of force dynamics, the definition of the two ‘values’ of affectedness relies solely on the diagnostic test. It is thus the compatibility of an affected role with either *What Y did **for** X* or *What Y did **to** X* that motivates the distinction between patient and beneficiary (Jackendoff 2007: 202).

In both versions of the model, the positive affectedness function – more precisely, its second argument slot – defines not only the beneficiary in an event of support or help, as in (15), but also the recipient participant in a transfer event, as expressed by *give* and exemplified in (16a) below. Jackendoff’s justification for this modeling of the recipient as positively affected on the action/macrorole tier is the applicability of the *for* version of the affectedness test, demonstrated in (16b). The caused motion component of the transfer event is encoded on Jackendoff’s thematic tier, which models the spatial aspects of events, including possession as an extension of spatial configurations. The double-tier account is formalized in (16c), with the functional representation of the thematic tier in the first and the action/macrorole tier in the second line; by virtue of his respective position in each of these formulae, the recipient participant, Sam, bears the role of goal on the thematic tier and the role of beneficiary on the action/macrorole tier, and is thus a merger of goal and beneficiary.<sup>13</sup>

- (16) a. *Harry gave Sam a book.*  
       b. *What Harry did for Sam was give him a book.*

---

<sup>13</sup> The entire example (16) is quoted from Jackendoff (1990: 135), which minor modifications to the formula in (16c); Jackendoff represents ‘*CAUSE*’ on the thematic tier in a more differentiated way, which does not concern the issues at hand. In the 2007 representation of a ‘give’ event, however, he simply uses ‘*CAUSE*.’

- c. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE} ([\text{HARRY}], [\text{GO}_{\text{Poss}} ([\text{BOOK}], [\text{FROM } [\text{HARRY}] \\ \text{TO } [\text{SAM}]]))] \\ \text{AFF}^+ ([\text{HARRY}], [\text{SAM}]) \end{array} \right]$$

Jackendoff's modeling of recipients as illustrated in (16) deserves some further attention. One issue that renders his analysis problematic is the fact that the *What Harry did for Sam* test in (16b) is not as straightforwardly applicable to the recipient as Jackendoff (1990: 135, 2007: 202) claims, nor is the sentence equally acceptable to all speakers in the given context. According to native speaker judgments, (16b), although grammatical, sounds funny with the verb *give*. Specifically and most importantly, it is not entailed by (16a): if Harry gives Sam a book, this does not necessarily mean that Sam benefits from this.<sup>14</sup> For instance, we can picture a situation in which Sam is a library assistant and Harry a patron who is checking out a book, handing it to Sam so that Sam can scan its barcode. This scenario can be described by (16a), *Harry gave Sam a book*; but we would not want to say that Harry did this *for* Sam, because neither does Sam benefit from the transfer in any way, nor does Harry intend any benefit for Sam. Thus, it seems that benefaction as suggested by the test in (16b) requires at least an intended benefit for the respective participant, which, however, need not be present in a transfer event.

On the other hand, according to Jackendoff's (1990) own force-dynamic definition of affectedness, the concept of benefaction/positive affectedness as schematized by the *AFF*<sup>+</sup> functor in (16c) does not involve any intended or actual positive consequences for the beneficiary either. It only entails that his/her inherent tendencies are not in opposition to the force exerted by the affector (the giver, in this case). This implies that Jackendoff's *What Y did for X* test for positive affectedness is actually not in line with his own force-dynamic definition, but too specific. While

---

<sup>14</sup> Thanks to Jürgen Bohnemeyer for bringing this to my attention, and to the members of the Semantic Typology Lab at UB for volunteering their intuitions.

it captures one possible instantiation of the  $AFF^+$  function, that of intended benefaction, others – including, in general, the role of recipient in a transfer event – elude it because they lack the intended benefaction entailment. These observations lead to the conclusion that the more recent modification of the framework (Jackendoff 2007), which abandons force dynamics and invokes as the sole definitional criterion to identify the affectedness of the recipient role the very test that was just recognized to be insufficient, takes a step in the wrong direction: it makes incorrect predictions about the entailments of the recipient role and thus fails to account for its semantics.

The issue of a more appropriate affectedness test for recipients will be taken up in the following section 2.4.1. Ignoring for now the *What Y did for X* test, and only considering Jackendoff's (1990) formal representation of the transfer event in (16c) – particularly the positions of the recipient, Sam, in this representation – we obtain a clearer idea of what Jackendoff means by his claim that the recipient is 'construed as a [b]eneficiary' (1990: 135). The action/macrorole tier representation of this role, the second line of (16c), can be read as 'Sam is acted upon by Harry (the interpretation of the  $AFF$  function) and cooperates (the interpretation of the plus sign)'. This is reminiscent of Croft's notion of affectedness in a transfer event – recall his branching causal chain, which likewise represents the giver as acting directly on the recipient, as well as on the thing. At the same time, the thematic tier, the first line in (16c), tells us that Sam is the goal in a caused motion event, again initiated by Harry, in which the moving object is a book. This spatial/motion facet of transfer events is something that Croft, who treats these events purely in terms of possession, does not consider.

In sum, Jackendoff (1990) assigns to the recipient a rather complex semantic representation, characterized by both spatial and force-dynamic components – that is, as a goal and cooperative affectee – and, accordingly, encoded on both tiers simultaneously. This is in line with the

observations on the dual nature of ‘dativity’ described in the Introduction (section 1.2.3). More so than Croft’s causal model (in which spatial relations are not encoded on a separate tier of representation), Jackendoff’s (1990) force-dynamic approach to event semantics adequately accounts for the conceptual complexity of the recipient role. (As argued above, the same cannot be said of the 2007 version.)

Thus far, only Jackendoff’s treatment of verbal arguments with the semantic property of negative or positive affectedness has been considered. To account for adjuncts, Jackendoff introduces subordinating functions, which convert a state or event into a modifier and thus can be used to expand simple event representations (Jackendoff 1990: section 5.4, 95ff.). The argument of such a subordinating function can, of course, be an event of positive or negative affectedness as outlined above; this is how benefactive and adversative adjuncts enter the picture. Jackendoff explicitly accounts for English adversative adjunct phrases with *on* along these lines. An example has already been discussed above (see example (11b)), and we saw in this context that the *What happened to X/What Y did to X* test identifies such *on* adversatives as affected. (17a) is a similar example taken from Jackendoff (1990: 187). (17b) spells out the formal representation of this event in Jackendoff’s model (*ibid.*).

- (17) a. *My car broke down on me.*  
 b. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{BREAK-DOWN ([MY CAR])} \\ \text{[WITH [AFF}^- \text{ ( , [ME])]} \end{array} \right]$$

The conceptual structure representation in (17b) is the result of modifying the representation of the core event (my car breaking down) in the first line by means of a subordinating func-

tion *WITH*, which encodes accompaniment (Jackendoff 1990: 97, 187). The argument of this function is a proposition containing as its main predicate the negative affectedness function. Read in prose (following the definitions of the 1990 model), (17b) expresses that an event of my car breaking down is accompanied by an event of me being negatively affected, i.e., subjected to a force that is opposed to my inherent tendencies.<sup>15</sup> Since this force does not have a physical effect, we can assume that, just like in Croft's model, it applies on a mental or emotional level. Benefactive adjuncts are accounted for analogously, with a subordinating function *FOR* to introduce a proposition containing the function of positive affectedness, *AFF*<sup>+</sup> (Jackendoff 1990: 186).

As a summary of the discussion on various affected participants and their representation in Jackendoff's model, we can state as an important similarity between his and Croft's approach that being affected is modeled by both as receiving force (although Jackendoff 2007 no longer seems to maintain this assumption). However, Jackendoff deviates from Croft in making a crucial distinction between positive and negative affectedness – alignment with the affecting force vs. opposition to it – which we do not find in Croft. A distinction he does not make, on the other hand, is that between causally antecedent and subsequent (oblique) roles. Instruments, the core antecedent oblique role in Croft's account, are integrated into the Jackendovian event representation by means of a subordinating function, in exactly the same way as beneficiaries and adversely affected participants (Jackendoff 1990: 142f.). Thus, although he does state that 'the [a]ctor acts on the [i]nstrument; [...] the [i]nstrument acts on the [p]atient' (*ibid.*: 142), Jackendoff does not translate this informal description of the force transmission patterns into a causal chain with ordered subevents. The distinction between various oblique roles is instead made by

---

<sup>15</sup> As an alternative to *WITH*, Jackendoff (1990: 187) offers the subordinating function *RESULTING-IN*. This would explicitly encode the causal relationship between both subevents, which, in the case of *WITH*, must be inferred.

using different subordinating functions (*WITH* and *FOR*, as we have seen, are examples; in the case of the instrument, the corresponding subordinating function is *BY*), and the fact that all oblique roles are introduced into the conceptual representation in the same fashion mirrors their parallel syntactic status as adjuncts to the verb (or a verbal projection).<sup>16</sup>

The only affected entities that Jackendoff represents as parts of a basic event structure – i.e., without subordinating functions – are thus the patient in a two-participant event such as hitting, the beneficiary in a two-participant event such as helping (see (15)), and the recipient in a transfer event such as giving (see (16)). This is another deviation from Croft, who only allows two basic participants and views recipients as oblique; and it accounts for the existence of asymmetrical ditransitive constructions, which, as discussed above, are analyzed as the result of conceptual shift in Croft’s approach, not as conceptually basic. However, as we have also seen, recipients are ‘special’ in Jackendoff’s model too in that they are of particular conceptual complexity, unifying the roles of spatial goal and force-dynamic affectee.

For the purposes of the present study, which focuses on the recipient role, its expression across languages, and the semantic properties of these expressions, the possibility of direct integration of the recipient role in the model of event conceptualization – rather than the necessity of some kind of conceptual transfer – is desirable. This is thus a feature that will be borrowed from Jackendoff’s approach. On the other hand, Croft’s distinction between antecedent and subsequent roles is another feature that present model adopts, as it emphasizes the force-dynamic

---

<sup>16</sup> Jackendoff (1990: 22–25) explicitly states his intention to model conceptual categories in analogy with syntactic categories and, accordingly, assumes syntactic structures to map into conceptual ones. He refers to this approach to semantics as ‘X-bar semantics.’



properties of recipients as opposed to other participant roles and is less concerned with a homomorphic relation between conceptual and syntactic structures (Jackendoff's reason for neglecting this distinction).

## **2.4 A model of indirect affectedness**

### **2.4.1 Affectedness tests revisited**

The goal of this section is to develop a model of affectedness that does justice to the conceptual complexity of the recipient role and motivates the range of possible extensions of its markers, which will be studied in more detail in the remainder of this dissertation. Such a model requires determining how exactly a recipient is affected. To this end, in this and the following subsection, we will take a closer look at the affectedness tests introduced at the beginning of this chapter and used, in particular, by Jackendoff (1990, 2007) as definitional criteria; examine more closely what classes of participant roles they identify; and whether the recipient is one of these roles. The formal definition of the specific nature of the recipient's affectedness is the topic of the subsequent subsection 2.4.3.

In the context of Jackendoff's modeling of recipients, we saw in the previous section that the *What Y did for X* frame, suggested to identify positive affectedness (i.e., in force-dynamic terms, receiving of force without opposition to this force), does not quite get the job done because it implies the intention of benefaction on the part of the actor, which is not necessarily present in a transfer situation. On the other hand, Jackendoff rejects the alternative frame *What Y did to X was ...* as a diagnosis of this kind of affectedness for good reasons, as it implies the opposite

– some sort of negative consequence of the action to participant *X*, or *Y*’s intention thereof. For true beneficiaries, such as (18a), the *to* frame is decidedly inapplicable, as illustrated in (18b).

- (18) a. *Greg baked Lisa a cake.*  
b. #*What Greg did to Lisa was bake her a cake.*

The majority of my native speaker consultants rejected (18b) for being contradictory. The use of the construction ‘do something to someone’ implies something negative or even intentionally malicious, and, in (18b), this expectation is not met by the following description of something favorable. In the case of recipients, a similar phenomenon can be observed: the sentence *What Greg did to Lisa was give her flowers* was rejected for the same reasons.

Data found on the internet support this impression gained from judgments of artificially constructed sentences. A Google search yields quite a few instances of sentences containing the frame *What Y did to X was give ...*,<sup>17</sup> but, first of all, very few of these are about literal giving ((19a) below is the only example from the first few pages of search results). The majority contains the verb *give* in some metaphorical sense. Moreover and more importantly, the thing given, literally or metaphorically, is generally something undesirable, as in examples (19a–d). Being given these things – drugs, bad advice, an injection, a battering – is generally considered disagreeable or unpleasant, or is known to have negative consequences; this seems to license the *to*

---

<sup>17</sup> The search was conducted on Jan. 30, 2010, for the string “what \* did to \* was give.” Due to the fact that the wildcards can be filled by more than one word and, in addition, material may be inserted even between the non-wildcard parts of the string, many results were not instances of the frame (e.g., *what those victories did, according to Polar Bears coach Stacy Wilson, was give her team confidence*; <http://www.timesrecord.com/articles/2009/11/20/sports/doc4b06d85290ef7180160490.txt>). Therefore, no exact number of results can be provided.

expression. In those cases where the thing (metaphorically) given does not have such negative connotations, interestingly, the recipient is an inanimate entity, as in (19e–f).<sup>18</sup>

- (19) a. *What Byron did to Mike was give him drugs ...*  
([www.sff.net/people/Krad/modern.htm](http://www.sff.net/people/Krad/modern.htm))
- b. *What he did to Crabtree was give him bad advice.*  
([http://espn.go.com/sportsnation/chat/\\_/id/29115/radio-ryen-russillo](http://espn.go.com/sportsnation/chat/_/id/29115/radio-ryen-russillo))
- c. *What they did to me was give me an injection to numb it, ...*  
([answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090823121046AAwaIzg](http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090823121046AAwaIzg))
- d. *What Joe did to Lacy was to give him the biggest battering of his life.*  
([http://www.walesonline.co.uk/sports/sports-news-round-up/tm\\_objectid=16829992&method=full&siteid=50082&headline=boxing--power-behind-the-throne-name\\_page.html](http://www.walesonline.co.uk/sports/sports-news-round-up/tm_objectid=16829992&method=full&siteid=50082&headline=boxing--power-behind-the-throne-name_page.html))
- e. *So what I did to the drum was give it more power ...*  
([www.niceup.com/articles/slyght\\_of\\_hand](http://www.niceup.com/articles/slyght_of_hand))
- f. *... though Donne must have felt something very intense at one time, what he did to this thought was give it an intricate sculpture, ...*  
([www.aestheticrealism.net/poetry/tro1326-donne-esc.html](http://www.aestheticrealism.net/poetry/tro1326-donne-esc.html))

These findings confirm my consultants' intuition that the *What Y did to X* frame is generally associated with negative consequences, at least when humans are concerned – analogous to the implication of positive consequences associated with *for*. This means that *What Y did to X* is not a general affectedness test. Rather, it identifies genuine patients – the exact purpose it has in Jackendoff's (1990, 2007) approach.

---

<sup>18</sup> There was one exception to these tendencies: an excerpt from an interview with the conductor Herbert von Karajan, in which Karajan is quoted as saying *But what they did to me was give me a metronome and a theme which you play in quicker and quicker note values ...* (<http://www.nytimes.com/1990/04/08/arts/music-karajan-on-conducting-we-learn-from-each-other.html?pagewanted=1>). Here, *give* is used in its (quasi-)literal sense, with an animate recipient and no clear negative connotation associated with the transfer (the context in which this utterance was made describes a scientific test of the conductor's impressive rhythmic accuracy). However, Karajan was Austrian, and the quote is thus either a non-native-speaker utterance or the translation of an utterance made in German. For this reason, I do not consider it a strong counterexample.

As outlined earlier at various points, though, an alternative frame to test affectedness is available: *What happened to X was ...* This frame contains an intransitive and non-active dummy verb rather than *do*, and therefore does not specify an agent or action. Thus, it can be used to identify affectedness that is not actively brought about, but merely comes about without an external source, as in *What happened to Greg was that he caught a cold*. This makes the *happen* frame more generally applicable than the *do* frame. Moreover, it seems that the *happen* frame does not carry the exact same negative connotations as *What Y did to X*. Even though not all speakers agree in this regard, some of my consultants judged (20a), in which the *happen* frame is combined with a beneficiary action, to be more acceptable than (20b) (repeated from above), which combines such an action with the *do to* frame:<sup>19</sup>

- (20) a. (#) *What happened to Lisa was that Greg baked her a cake.*  
 b. # *What Greg did to Lisa was bake her a cake.*

This rather slight acceptability contrast becomes more pronounced if the frames are placed in a discourse context. While (21a) is a perfectly natural discourse opener, this is not true for (b) because of the negative connotations associated with the *do* frame.

- (21) a. *Did you hear what happened to Lisa? Greg baked her a cake!*  
 b. # *Did you hear what Greg did to Lisa? He baked her a cake!*

---

<sup>19</sup> Speaker judgments varied considerably, to the extent that they contradicted each other: one consultant found (20b) better than (20a) and attributed the negative connotations to the *happen* frame only, rather than the *do to* frame. However, the speakers who preferred (20a) were in the majority, even though most of them still found this sentence ‘slightly odd.’

The fact that the *What happened to X* test, in contrast to the *What Y did to/for X* frames, is less strongly associated with specifically negative or positive effects renders it the most suitable for the identification of any kind of force recipients, rather than patients alone. This distinction has not been recognized in previous studies; Jackendoff (1990, 2007) himself, as well as other linguists who invoke his tests (such as Beavers [in press]), treats the two frames, the *happen* frame and the *do to* frame, as interchangeable with respect to the affected participant. The acceptability difference between the two frames when used with beneficiaries (see (20) and especially (21)), however, disproves this.

Again, a similar observation can be made with regard to recipients in transfer events. As far as the *What Y did to X* test is concerned, the internet data in (19) above illustrate the tendency that, if it is used for a recipient, the thing he or she receives is perceived as something negative. The *What happened to X* test, on the other hand, does not show this tendency to the same extent, and we should expect it to be compatible with recipients regardless of any positive or negative evaluation of the transfer. However, in this case, the results obtained from the internet are rather scarce: among the mere handful of relevant examples found for the verb *give*, only one, (22a), represents the literal use of the verb in natural (written) speech. (22b) and (c) are metaphorical uses with an inanimate ‘actor,’ and, in addition, both describe a life-changing or at least significant event – which apparently facilitates the use of the *happen* construction. The last example (22d), somewhat ironically, comes from a linguistic dissertation, in which it is provided without context and claimed to be acceptable.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> The search strings for this query, carried out on Jan. 31, 2010, was “what happened to \* was|is that \* gave him|her|me.” The query produced 12 results. Among these, 5 were relevant (4 of these are quoted in (22); the fifth one was not actually contained in the website Google linked to and therefore could not be confirmed). Attempts to vary the tense of the verb, e.g. “what will happen ...,” yielded no relevant results at all.

- (22) a. *What happened to me is that this girl, [sic!] gave me this link.*  
(<http://www.gaiaonline.com/forum/questions-assistance/hacking/t.40868205/>)
- b. *... what happened to me was that the collection actually gave me a center to my existence that had never previously existed.*  
(<http://www.milehighcomics.com/tales/cbg27.html>)
- c. *What I think happened to Jill is that her stroke gave her access to the perceptions of her own Daemon.*  
([cheatingtheferryman.blogspot.com/2008\\_03\\_01\\_archive.html](http://cheatingtheferryman.blogspot.com/2008_03_01_archive.html))
- d. *What happened to Sebastian was that Belle gave him the key.*  
(Neale 2002: 141)

These data indicate that the *What happened to X* frame is not very frequent with recipients and needs to be contextually licensed by a particularly strong kind of affectedness that is not entailed by the recipient role itself, as (22b–c) show. Still, it is noteworthy that the recipient role is at least compatible with such strong affectedness. The constructed example (22d) shows that the *happen* frame has, in fact, already been suggested in the linguistic discourse to diagnose the affectedness of recipients, in spite of the limited natural-data evidence. Furthermore, just like in the case of beneficiaries, the *happen* frame as a discourse opener is more acceptable with a recipient than the *do to* frame is, as illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. *Did you hear what happened to Lisa? Greg gave her flowers.*
- b. # *Did you hear what Greg did to Lisa? He gave her flowers.*

The discussion thus far points to a broader range of applicability of the *What happened to X* frame as an affectedness test, mainly because the alternative frame *What Y did to X* is more fraught with negative connotations. In a natural discourse context, as simulated in (21) and (23),

the *What happened to* construction can target a beneficiary or recipient, while *What Y did to X* is less acceptable in this function. I interpret these findings as a justification for applying the *What happened to X* frame as a general diagnostic of affectedness that captures a wider range of participant roles than just patients.

#### **2.4.2 Happen, affectedness, and intentionality**

Jackendoff (1990: 294, note 1 to Chapter 7) raises a potential problem for the use of the *happen* test beyond participant roles that are by definition affected, i.e., patients. He points out that ‘the [*What happened to X*] test for [*p*]atients is sometimes clouded by the possibility of *discourse* [*p*]atients – elements that are considered “affected” by virtue of some surrounding context. [...] By contrast, what I will call *grammatical* [*p*]atients [...] require no surrounding story in order to be acceptable’ (emphasis original). The data seen in (22b) and (c) above seem to fall under Jackendoff’s notion of ‘discourse patient’: in these sentences, the combination of the *What happened to X* construction with an event description containing a recipient coreferent with *X* appears to be licensed, or at least favored, by the ‘surrounding story’ of a life-altering event – whereas without such context, the *What happened to X* construction with recipients or beneficiaries is not generally found acceptable by all speakers, as discussed above in 2.4.1. Put differently, the combination of *What happened to X* with recipients requires interpretation by pragmatic implicature, with explicit contextual cues supporting the construal of the recipient as affected. Jackendoff’s demur can thus be rephrased in terms of semantic entailment vs. pragmatic implicature: the affectedness identified by the *What happened to X* test is entailed in the following discourse only if *X* is coreferent with a NP in the patient role, but merely pragmatically construed otherwise. The question that must be asked of the approach taken here, which is precisely to ex-

tend the test to non-patients, is whether or not this distinction is relevant – more specifically, whether or not affectedness that is pragmatically implicated rather than entailed might only be a side effect of other, underlying factors, and, thus, whether the test is reliable in these cases. This is the problem that the present subsection aims to solve.

To this end, it is advisable to examine the test further in terms of the participant roles – beyond the patient – it can identify as affected, and under what circumstances. If being affected means to receive force, as suggested by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001) (see subsection 2.2.2 above), then the fact that recipients and beneficiaries, as force-dynamically non-initial participant roles, are compatible with the *What happened to X* frame does not come as a surprise; but we would expect force-dynamic initiators – actors – and other non-force-receiving roles to be excluded. This, however, holds true only up to a point. At first sight, we do seem to find that the *What happened to X* frame, used as a discourse opener (and thus precluding the influence of any unexpressed common ground), leads to anomaly when the NP coreferent with *X* in the following discourse denotes an intentional and voluntary actor, as illustrated in (24).

- (24) # *Guess what happened to Greg: he gave Lisa flowers/bought a new car/threw a party.*

Of course, the discourse openers in (24) are fine if they are followed by further description of things that happened to Greg: e.g., ... *he gave Lisa flowers but she threw them right back in his face*. But in this case, the fact that Greg gave Lisa flowers merely serves as background for the focused information: the answer to the question of what happened to Greg is that he got flowers thrown at him, not that he gave them to Lisa. The *What happened to X* frame in this extended discourse thus identifies Greg as affected in the event of Lisa throwing flowers at him. If the only



specification of what happened to Greg consists in one of the following clauses provided in (24), however, the discourse is incoherent. Giving someone flowers, buying a new car and throwing a party is not something that happens to one, but something that one does voluntarily and intentionally. This seems to distinguish the actor from recipients and beneficiaries: the latter two *can* be described as ‘having something happen to them’ in certain contexts and can thus be construed as affected, whereas actors, apparently, cannot.

However, this is not the whole story. Consider the data in (25). In both discourses in (25a) and (b), the opener containing the *What happened to* frame identifies a participant – in this case, the speaker – who, in the subsequent sentence, bears the role of actor in an event described by a transitive verb: *smash* in (a), *sell* in (b). On the basis of the unacceptability of (24) above, we might expect both discourses to be incoherent; yet (25a) is a coherent discourse, while (25b) is anomalous without context.

- (25) a. *You know what happened to me? I smashed grandpa’s expensive vase.*  
 b. *You know what happened to me? #I sold grandpa’s expensive vase.*

The acceptability of (25a) rests on the interpretation that the actor of the smashing is non-volitional and the event itself unintended: according to (25a), the speaker cannot have taken the vase deliberately and flung it to the floor, but the entire event must have been an accident. This is illustrated by the modification in (25a’) below, in which intention is explicitly asserted in the elaboration following the frame, rendering the discourse infelicitous.

- (25) a.’ *You know what happened to me? #I intentionally smashed grandpa’s expensive vase.*

As a consequence, the phrasing of the event description as an elaboration of the *happen* frame gives the discourse the character of an excuse: the speaker portrays him/herself as carrying no responsibility for the destruction of the vase. For (25b), it is more difficult to achieve such an “accident” reading, as the action of selling something can hardly be carried out accidentally, but presupposes intentional planning. This accounts for the fact that (25b) is less acceptable without accompanying context information than (25a).<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, even an event description containing the verb *sell* becomes inconspicuous as an elaboration of the *What happened to X* frame if the common ground provides sufficient evidence that, even though the action as such must have been carried out deliberately, the particular item that was sold was picked by mistake – as in (25b’):

- (25) b.’ *Grandpa asked me to sell off all his old and worthless junk at a garage sale. And you know what happened to me? I sold his expensive vase (by mistake).*

It thus looks like causal instigators or effectors, and even intentional actors as in (25b’), can be portrayed as ‘having something happen to them’; in other words, as long as some aspect of the action is involuntary, affectedness can be implicated pragmatically. This phenomenon is widely ignored by the literature that makes use of affectedness tests like the one discussed here. It is therefore worthwhile to elucidate the semantic and pragmatic mechanisms that enable the *What happened to X* frame, a description of *X* as affected, to combine with subsequent elaboration in which the affectedness of *X* is not entailed, so as to understand whether this disqualifies the

---

<sup>21</sup> This, however, seems to depend on how quickly a reader/hearer comes up with the pragmatic interpretation made explicit in (25b’) below. M. Dryer (pers. comm.) finds (25b) fine at first sight, and the insights on “accidental” selling discussed in the following are owed to him.

frame as an affectedness test. I will use Jackendovian (1990) notations for illustrating the semantic structures involved, since his two-tier approach, as discussed previously, provides a way to tease affectedness apart from other semantic notions and consider it separately.

Let us first look at the semantics of the *happen* frame itself. Under the perspective of Jackendoff (1990), this frame simply expresses affectedness without any further specification of causal or spatial configurations associated with it. Its semantic or, in Jackendoff's terms, conceptual representation should therefore consist of an action/macrorole tier only, containing the bivalent affectedness function *AFF*. Since no actor is expressed or implicit, though, the first argument slot of this function supposedly remains empty (cf. *ibid.*: 128), while the second is occupied by the affectee.

- (26) a. *something happens to X*  
 b. [Event *AFF*( , X)]

In (26a), *something* refers to the affecting entity, an event. While Jackendoff (2007: 246) acknowledges that 'events are things that *happen*' (emphasis original), as (26a) explicitly states, and uses descriptions of events happening *to* something or someone to identify the role of patient/undergoer, as discussed previously at length, he does not allow for an event itself to occupy an argument slot in the corresponding conceptual structure. The first argument of the *AFF* function, the actor, must – if present – be of the category 'Thing' (cf., e.g., Jackendoff 1990: 43; general semantic theory would use the term 'individual') and is targeted by the action verb *do*, as in *What Y did was ...* This does not mean, however, that events do not form a conceptual category in Jackendoff's model (Jackendoff 1990: 43). He also recognizes the linguistic phenomena that

support the status of events as referents of linguistic expressions, such as pronominal reference to or quantification of events (Jackendoff 1990: 48, 2007: 245f.). As a consequence, his model incorporates something similar to an event variable: an index to conceptual structures that refer to events, as seen above in the representation in (26b). But in Jackendoff (1990) and especially (2007), this index is intended to specify the ontological type of the situation a conceptual structure denotes, rather than that denotatum itself. To allow for coreference between event-denoting (as well as individual-denoting) expressions, Jackendoff introduces additional binding indices (Jackendoff 1990: 63, 2007: 259).

I adhere to these notational principles in presenting a revised analysis of the *happen* frame and the way it identifies affectedness. The crucial assumption taken here is that eventive conceptual structures, not just individuals, can take the first argument position of the affectedness function, which is to say that events, just like individuals, can affect someone or something. The Jackendovian semantic representation of the ‘vase smashing’ discourse in (25a), repeated in (27a), is thus the combined conceptual structure in (27b). The first structure represents the statement that something happened to the speaker, which is presupposed by the framing question (illocutionary features are ignored here). As argued above, this ‘something’ must be an event; so the first argument of the *AFF* function is the conceptual structure of some event  $\beta$ . The second conceptual structure, representing the elaborating description of smashing the vase, is the binder of  $\beta$ , as indicated by the superscript index to the entire structure. Note that, in this second structure, the speaker now occupies the first argument slot of *AFF* on the action/macrorole tier and is thus identified as the actor of the smashing event.

- (27) a. *You know what happened to me? I smashed grandpa's expensive vase.*

$$b. \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Event AFF}([\text{Event } \beta], [I]) \\ \text{CAUSE}([I], [\text{SMASH}([VASE]))] \\ \text{Event AFF}([I], [VASE]) \end{array} \right]^\beta$$

The binding relationship in (27b) leads to a semantic conflict, since the speaker is the actor – that is, the affector – in an event which, at the same time, affects him/her. Nevertheless, the discourse can be interpreted and is coherent by virtue of the available reading that the actor in this event is not acting volitionally. Pragmatics thus provides a way to resolve the semantic discrepancy: in trying to make sense of the portrayal of an event as affecting its own actor, we construe the action as being carried out accidentally. If this construal is not available because the action is specified as volitional, its actor cannot be construed as affected, as illustrated by the infelicitous discourse in (25a') above. In other words, affectedness entails the lack of volitionality and intention in the affected participant with respect to the affecting event (or any parts thereof, as in the case of *sell*; see the discussion below). This entailment can be formulated as (28) (based on Jackendoff's [2007: 263] modeling of intentional action, with the function *COM* representing the attitude of being committed to an action; Jackendoff himself does not use the symbol '¬' for negation, so (28) is a somewhat eclectic adaptation).

$$(28) \quad [\text{AFF}([\beta], [X])] \Rightarrow [\neg \text{COM}([X], [\beta])]^\beta$$

According to (28), if, in the conceptual structure of  $\beta$  – the event that happens to  $X$  –  $X$  is specified as intentional ( $\text{COM}([X], [\beta])$ ), incoherence ensues. Therefore, if  $X$  bears the role of actor in  $\beta$ , it must be a nonintentional actor. The entailment in (28) thus provides a way to interpret the combined conceptual structure in (27b) and explains the acceptability of (27a).

The remaining question is whether it also explains the possibility of an intentionally performed action, such as that of selling, affecting its actor because some part of it, such as the selection of the item on which it is performed, is nonintentional (cf. the acceptable “accidental vase selling” discourse in (25b’)). To answer this question, a closer look at what it actually means to do something intentionally is in order. Jackendoff (2007: 262ff.) helpfully includes this issue in his discussion of intentionality, reviewing an argument first outlined by Searle (1983: 94ff.): for an action to be intentional, not only must a prior intention to perform it exist, but, also, there must be an ‘intention in action,’ meaning that the action must be carried out with the intention of fulfilling the prior intention. In the example of selling a valuable vase accidentally (25b’), the overall prior intention is to sell off all kinds of old junk. However, the sub-action of selling the expensive vase is motivated by an intention-in-action that does not match the overall prior intention, because it is based on the erroneous belief that the vase is junk. The prior intention (to sell junk) and the intention-in-action (to sell the particular valuable vase), thus, do not align, leading to an unintended result. In this sense, the actor can be described as not committed to the action ( $\neg COM$ ) in Jackendoff’s sense, because, although he/she is committed to carrying out the action itself, he/she certainly is not committed to the outcome. An intentionally performed action with an unintended result, then, provides another viable construal for an affected actor – in addition to the involuntary action, as seen in the “vase smashing” example.

Thus far, we have arrived at the observation that, by pragmatic implicature, the *What happened to X* frame appears to identify a wide range of participant roles as affected, including actors, who must be understood as nonintentional (with regard to the entire action or some part of it) to be compatible with the frame. This raises the question hinted at in the beginning of this subsection: whether, in fact, the frame identifies the lack of intention or volition, rather than af-

affectedness. If this was the case, it would be problematic in the context of the present study because it would render the frame unsuitable as an affectedness test. It is thus imperative to examine, and hopefully rule out, the possibility that nonintentionality in the absence of affectedness is compatible with the *happen* frame.

Let us consider a participant role for which intentionality is excluded: the experiencer of a participation verb such as *see*. This verb links the experiencer as its subject. Subjects can be intentional actors, and adverbs like *intentionally* are generally subject-oriented; however, we see in (29a) that, with *see*, the use of this adverb is ungrammatical, indicating that its experiencer subject cannot have the semantic property of intentionality. On the other hand, (29b) shows that, without context, the *happen* frame is perfectly compatible with the experiencer. Experiencers, as mentioned above in section 2.2.2, are not generally viewed as force-dynamically affected; but participants without intentionality, as seen above with nonvolitional actors and actors in an event with an unintended result, are easily construed as affected, and many situations come to mind which would naturally and straightforwardly be described by (29b) – for instance, the speaker had not seen Lisa for a while and was pleasantly surprised by seeing her; or the speaker saw Lisa under circumstances under which he/she would not have expected to see her.

- (29) a. *I saw Lisa (\*intentionally).*  
b. *You know what happened to me? I saw Lisa.*

If we now find a way to ban affectedness of the experiencer contextually so that only the feature of nonintentionality remains, we should be able to determine whether or not (29b) is still a felicitous utterance. The desirable outcome would be that it is not: this would allow the conclu-

sion that the *happen* test does not identify the lack of intentionality alone, but requires affectedness in the participant it applies to. A context that positively excludes affectedness of the experiencer requires some elaboration, however. Consider the narrative in (30a), which establishes that Greg sees Lisa every day of the week – and Andy knows this. Thus, all characters in the story are aware that the event of Greg seeing Lisa on one particular day of the week is nothing special, unexpected, disturbing or exciting, and therefore does not affect Greg in any way. In this scenario, the discourse in (30b) is uninterpretable: it simply does not make sense for Greg to tell Andy that seeing Lisa was something that ‘happened to him,’ when the common ground that Greg and Andy share rules out Greg’s affectedness by this event.

- (30) a. Lisa, Greg and Andy are first-year PhD students in the linguistics department and good friends. They are all taking the same classes, Semantics I, Syntax I, and Phonetics, so they see each other every day of the week. One Wednesday Andy stays home sick. Greg talks to him on the phone that night and tells him about everything that happened to him during the day, and finally says:
- b. # *You know what also happened to me today? I saw Lisa.*

In contrast, consider an analogous context for a different participant role – one that does involve affectedness regardless of context, such as a patient, for which affectedness is semantically entailed. If an event in which Greg is a patient, such as his wife hitting him, occurs every single day, Greg is physically and presumably also emotionally affected in each of these occurrences. Accordingly, the discourse in (31b), in which Greg uses the *happen* frame to relate such an event even though his interlocutor knows that it occurs all the time, is acceptable.



- (31) a. Greg and Andy are friends and share many of their troubles. As Andy very well knows, Greg's wife is physically abusive and hits Greg every single day. One night the two talk on the phone, and Greg tells Andy about everything that happened to him during that day, concluding by saying:
- b. *You know what also happened to me today? My wife hit me.*

Of course, Andy could reply to Greg's utterance (31b) by saying, 'But that happens to you every day.' But this is not in conflict with (31b), since Greg, as motivated above, is certainly affected every single time he is abused by his wife – whereas this is not a valid construal for (30b), where Greg is the experiencer. The contrast between (30b) and (31b), both characterized by lack of intentionality in the participant the *happen* frame is intended to identify, but differing in its affectedness, shows that it is indeed affectedness that determines whether or not the frame is applicable.

Summing up the discussion of the *What happened to X* frame, we can state the following. Lack of intentionality is not a sufficient criterion for a NP in the embedded clause to be coreferent with *X* and yield a coherent discourse; the participant that the NP refers to needs to be construed as affected, which renders the frame a valid affectedness test. While the frame itself entails affectedness, this need not be the case for the description of the affecting event, in which affectedness may arise merely as a pragmatic implicature. The only participant role that is decidedly incompatible with the frame is the intentional agent – the one role for which affectedness cannot be construed under any circumstances.

In force-dynamic terms, intentional agents are by necessity the first link in the chain of force transmission relations that constitutes an event. Since it is their intention that initiates the event, it is not possible to conceptualize them as receiving force in the same event. On the other hand, all nonintentional participant roles are at least compatible with a force-dynamically non-

initial position on the chain, and thus with the property of being a force recipient. Even if I make a mistake in an otherwise intentional action, such as selling the wrong vase (see (25b')), the mistake does not come about by virtue of my intrinsic force tendencies but, rather, can be viewed as caused by circumstances external to the event (for instance, my ignorance), so that the result of the event is not caused by me and my intentions alone. Thus, if it can be said of a participant that something happens to him, her, or it, that participant is portrayed as a force recipient.

We can therefore formulate the following equation: something happens to X = X is a force recipient = X is affected. In the following subsection, this new notion of affectedness is subcategorized into direct and indirect affectedness.

### **2.4.3 The affectedness of the recipient**

Thus far, in this chapter, motivation and evidence have been collected for the claim that recipients are affected participants. We have seen that the *What happened to X* heuristic identifies the recipient as affected, although this affectedness is not entailed by the recipient relation alone and requires more contextual support than in the case of the prototypical and necessarily affected participant role, the patient. This merely potential affectedness, as seen in 2.2.2, has been addressed under a spatio-temporal perspective on event semantics by modeling affectedness as a hierarchy of various degrees of change entailments (as is done by Beavers in press), but is not generally accounted for in force-dynamic models. This is what the present subsection aims to do.

To briefly review the perspective on the recipient's affectedness taken in the two force-dynamically oriented models developed by Croft (1991) and Jackendoff (1990), as discussed in section 2.3, we noticed some differences but also one important similarity. To Jackendoff, the affectedness of the recipient is force-dynamically characterized as being 'positive,' that is, not in

opposition to the force received. According to Croft, who does not make the positive/negative distinction, it is construed as causally subsequent to the thing given. Both, however, view the recipient's affectedness as coming directly from the actor or agent, the giver; in other words, they postulate any event of giving to contain a subevent in which the giver transmits force to the recipient. The fact that the event necessarily contains a third participant, namely, the thing given, is represented by Jackendoff as a separate subevent of (actual or abstract) motion, captured on a different tier (the thematic tier), and by Croft as a separate subevent of the giver acting on the thing, captured by the branching of the causal chain so that the giver transmits force to both the thing and the recipient.

I would like to argue that this picture is inadequate. It is, of course, true that the affectedness of the recipient can be traced back force-dynamically to the giver, as the giver is the entity initiating the entire event; however, the recipient is in fact affected *by virtue of the thing given* being affected, rather than by being acted upon by the giver directly. The giver transmits force only to the thing given, bringing it into the recipient's possession; accordingly, the recipient's affectedness consists in the thing's entering his or her possession. The recipient is thus affected secondarily or conditionally, through another entity to which force is applied directly by the initiator.

This conditional nature of the recipient's affectedness is grammatically reflected in the fact that no verbs select for a recipient argument only, that is, without the possibility of expressing the transferred item. Arguments bearing the recipient role only occur in ditransitive constructions, not in monotransitive ones; and if they do appear as the only participant that is actually portrayed as affected, the other participant, the transferred item, is always implied. Indeed, in English, true monotransitive constructions with the object expressing a recipient are hard to find,

as the recipient generally has to be encoded by the preposition *to* when the thing transferred is not expressed (see (32a)) below); in addition, with such verbs, the thing is interpreted existentially and can always be expressed overtly, as in (32b). Example (33) is a possible exception with the only and unmarked object expressing the recipient in a communication event; but the theme here is likewise implied, although it is interpreted anaphorically rather than existentially.

(32) a. *Greg donates to a charity every month.*  
(implied: money)

b. *Greg donates \$50 to a charity every month.*

(33) *Greg told Lisa. = Greg told it to Lisa.*

German, on the other hand, allows a wide range of monotransitive constructions with the object bearing the recipient role (see (34a)). But in these cases, the presence of the item given is always implied as well, and it can be expressed as a prepositional adjunct phrase (34b).<sup>22</sup>

(34) a. *Greg      be-schenk-te                  die                  Kinder.*  
Greg.NOM   DER-give\_as\_present-PAST   DEF.PL.ACC   children  
'Greg gave (implied: presents) to the children.'

---

<sup>22</sup> It should also be pointed out that such verbs, in German, are never morphologically simplex. The verb *beschenken* in (34), for instance, is a derivation from *schenken* 'give as a present,' a regular ditransitive verb. The derivational prefix *be-* here functions like an applicative, changing the argument structure in such a way that the recipient is realized as the direct object, while the thing given, encoded as the direct object with the simplex verb, becomes oblique. Note that, as seen in (34b), it is marked by *mit* 'with,' an instrumental preposition and thus, according to Croft's (1991) causal dichotomy of oblique roles, an antecedent marker – which is directly predicted by Croft's model, as the causally subsequent role, the recipient, is now the object.

- b. *Greg be-schenk-te die Kinder mit Süßigkeiten.*  
 Greg.NOM DER-give\_as\_present-PAST DEF.PL.ACC children with candy  
 ‘Greg gave candy to the children.’

Moreover, in the presence of a recipient participant, the item ending up in the recipient’s possession is *necessarily* portrayed as affected as well; it cannot be the initial link in the causal chain constituting the event. The reason is that the recipient role is only identifiable in the context of a transfer event, which includes a giver as its causal origin: things can only be given *by* someone, a person or, in an extended sense, an abstract force or institution, but never of their own accord. This is illustrated by the contrast between (35a) and the unacceptable sentence in (35b), where *give* cannot mean ‘give oneself to someone.’ If a different verb is substituted for *give* that does not entail the presence of a giver, no receiving is entailed either – in (35c), *Lisa* is simply the point in space to which the dog moves, but the sentence does not entail that she ends up ‘having’ the dog in any sense. (Of course, it *can* be understood that way. But under this optional reading, the old owner is, again, implied and can be expressed in a *from* phrase.)

- (35) a. *Greg gave Lisa a dog.*  
 b. \**The dog gave to Lisa.*  
 (in the intended meaning ‘The dog put itself into Lisa’s possession’)  
 c. *The dog went to Lisa.*

The entailments arising from the presence of a recipient, an affected participant according to the findings in 2.4.1 above, can be summarized as follows: first, an event with a recipient necessarily contains another participant in the role of the thing that is transferred. Second, this thing, if overtly mentioned, is necessarily portrayed as itself affected, never as the causal initiator. Con-

sequently, the presence of a recipient in an event description can be said to entail the affectedness of another participant of the same event. This characteristic is what I identify as indirect affectedness, as defined in (36).

- (36) An event participant is portrayed as **indirectly affected** iff
- (i) it is portrayed as affected (i.e., as a force recipient), and
  - (ii) its affectedness unilaterally<sup>23</sup> entails the affectedness of another participant of the same event.

An event participant is portrayed as **directly affected** iff it is portrayed as affected and there is no such unilateral entailment.

This definition demands some closer attention. First of all, the role of indirectly affected participant or **indirect affectee** as defined in (36) looks like it is essentially the same concept as Croft's causally subsequent roles, discussed in section 2.3.1, since the latter, too, depend on the affectedness of another event participant (Croft's 'endpoint'). However, the difference is not just a terminological one. The crucial distinction between 'causally subsequent' in Croft's sense and 'indirectly affected' in my sense consists in the respective treatment of the recipient role. Croft, as seen above in 2.3.1, considers recipients as *not* force-dynamically affected, but as being represented as possessors; accordingly, he treats their integration in the causal chain as metaphoric. Under the perspective taken here, however, the recipient *is* force-dynamically affected because, as motivated in the preceding subsection, it can be described as 'having something happen to it/them.' And since, as the first part of the present subsection argues, its presence entails the af-

---

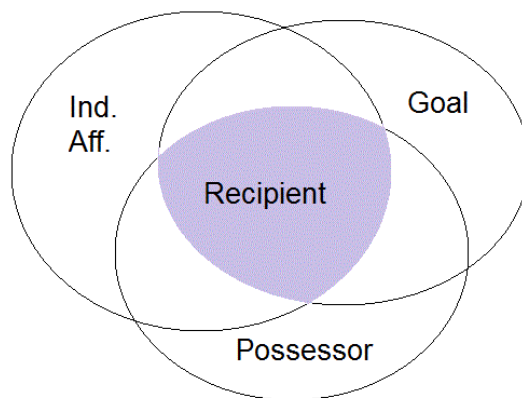
<sup>23</sup> If bilateral entailment was permitted (i.e., if the other participant's affectedness could likewise entail that of the participant defined here as indirectly affected), then reciprocal actions would be included in this definition. E.g. in the event description *Greg and Lisa tickled each other*, Greg and Lisa are both portrayed as affected, and each one's affectedness entails the affectedness of the other. Yet, we would not want to say that either of them is indirectly affected; hence the definition in (36) excludes these cases.

affectedness of another event participant, the recipient role fits the definition in (36) without any kind of semantic transfer being required. Thus, the recipient role is one possible instantiation of the broader category of indirect affectee.

A second point worth mentioning in the context of the models introduced previously is that, although the notion of indirect affectedness builds on force-dynamic principles, no distinction is made between the indirect affectee's opposition to the affecting force and their alignment with it – in other words, between Jackendovian negative vs. positive affectedness. This implies that the indirect affectee is underspecified with respect to the relation between the affecting force and its own inherent tendencies. Such underspecification is desirable in light of the phenomena this study aims to account for, the extensions of recipient marking. If the indirect affectee role were specified for positive affectedness in the Jackendovian sense (which according to Jackendoff is a semantic feature of the more narrowly defined recipient role, as outlined above in 2.3.2), it would exclude such participants that are indirectly affected by virtue of entailing another participant's affectedness, but whose inherent force tendencies are opposed to the force applied to them. That is, it would include beneficiaries, but exclude malefactors of any kind. This, in turn, would imply that indirect affectedness marking (such as a dative case) would not straightforwardly extend to such 'negative indirect affectees,' which contradicts the fact that, in many languages, the dative case does just that – marking positive and negative indirect affectedness alike – as discussed in depth in Chapter 3. For the notion of indirect affectedness that underlies the analyses put forward in the present study, the positive/negative distinction made by Jackendoff (1990) is thus irrelevant.

Beyond comparison of the present approach with related literature, several other aspects of the definition in (36) require clarification. One of them concerns logical relations between the

semantic categories of indirect affectee and recipient, as the latter has been recognized to be complex and comprise many more semantic components than just affectedness; see Chapter 1. In the present section, it has been argued that the recipient role is one possible instantiation of the indirect affectee; in other words, one could say that recipients form a subset of the larger set of indirectly affected participants. However, there are other possible construals of the recipient – as a goal, a possessor (to be), etc. To continue the set-theoretical illustration, the recipient role can thus be described as the intersection (or perhaps part thereof) of the indirect affectee with these various other participant roles that provide construal options, and its semantic complexity is accounted for by the rather large number of intersecting sets. This is visualized by the Venn diagram in Figure 1.



**Figure 1: Venn diagram illustrating the relationships between recipient and various other participant roles**

The diagram in Figure 1, technically, defines seven participant roles. Three of these are represented by the non-intersecting parts of the circles for each of the general categories of (spatial) goal, possessor, and indirect affectee, as illustrated by (37a–c), respectively.



- (37) a. *Greg went **to Lisa**.*  
 b. *Greg saw **Lisa's** house.*  
 c. *Greg repaired Lisa's car **for her**/wrecked Lisa's car **on her**.*

In (37a), Lisa is the spatial goal of Greg's motion; in (b), she is the possessor of the house; and in (c), she is a positively (*for*) or negatively (*on*) indirectly affected participant, a beneficiary or maleficiary. (Although she is also the possessor of the car, the boldfaced prepositional phrases only express her affectedness, not the possession.)

Three further possible participant roles are represented in Figure 1 as the intersections of only two of the more general categories, respectively; no claims are made here, however, about the nature or even existence of all these roles. As an example, the intersection of the possessor and indirect affectee roles (excluding the goal role) can be identified as what is expressed in many languages as external possessors, to be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. On the other hand, the intersection between goal and indirect affectee would be an affected goal, an entity that is both the goal of a motion event and affected by this event – which might be said of Lisa in the event described by *Greg threw rotten tomatoes at Lisa*. Whether or not this role is actually encoded in any language as different from a 'pure' spatial goal is an open question, which remains unexplored here. The relevant statement that Figure 1 makes in the present context is that the recipient role, depicted as the intersection of three sets, in principle allows the conceptual construal and, as a consequence, the linguistic encoding in terms of each of the three roles these sets represent.

The fact that the recipient can be construed in a number of different ways, and is thus semantically complex, is modeled by Jackendoff (1990) by positing a two-tier representation for

the recipient role, as seen in 2.3.2 above. The thematic tier contributes the components of spatial or metaphoric location/motion, including possession as a spatial metaphor; the action/macrorole tier represents the affectedness component (see example (16c) in subsection 2.3.2 above). In this study, I remain agnostic as to the precise modeling of semantic structure. However, treading in the footsteps of Jackendoff, I assume two levels of representation, one of which encodes force-dynamic and the other, spatial relations. Indirect affectedness, obviously, pertains to the former rather than the latter. The present approach to affectedness is thus non-localist.

This separation of spatial and force-dynamic representation gives rise to a possible objection, which concerns the notion of possession. As just mentioned, possession can be modeled as extension of a spatial relation, as done by Jackendoff. And as outlined earlier in the beginning of this subsection, the indirect affectedness of the recipient consists in something being brought into his/her possession. Consequently, if the definitional criterion for the recipient's indirect affectedness is possession, which can be defined on the spatial level of semantic representation, the postulation of an additional force-dynamic level appears superfluous if argued for on the basis on the recipient role alone.

As suggested by Figure 1 above, however (and as indicated by example (37c)), indirect affectedness is in fact independent of possession: the set of indirect affectees merely intersects with that of possessors, and recipients are contained in this intersection, but according to the diagram there exists a part of the indirect affectee set that does not intersect with possessors. This means that, beyond recipients, we should be able to identify further types of indirectly affected participant roles that meet the force-dynamic definition in (36) without possession being necessarily involved. Example (37c) identifies such 'pure' indirect affectees as beneficiaries and maleficiaries; more will be said on these roles in the next subsection. The following two chapters then pro-

vide evidence that, in languages that use a dative case to encode such indirect affectees, this dative does indeed not generally entail possession.

#### **2.4.4 Implications of the definition of indirect affectedness**

Quite obviously, according to the definition in (36), indirect affectedness is not only a property of recipients. Rather, any kind of indirect involvement in an event where the profiled force-dynamic relation holds between two central participants, but has some effect on a third, more peripheral one, meets the definition. Two further general types of indirectly affected participant roles can be identified in addition to the recipient role: beneficiaries and maleficiaries on the one hand, and possessors of a directly affected possessum on the other. These two types are discussed below in separate subsections. A further subsection (2.4.4.3) addresses human reference as a correlate, but not entailment, of indirect affectedness.

##### 2.4.4.1 Beneficiaries and maleficiaries

Beneficiaries and maleficiaries – participants for whom an event has positive or negative consequences – meet the definition if the event itself involves another participant being directly affected. In English, these can be expressed by means of different prepositions, *for* in the case of benefactive involvement and *on* for malefaction, as illustrated below by (38a) and (b), respectively (and see also (37c) in the previous section). These examples from the internet contain the same transitive verb, *break*. The entity that is portrayed as directly affected is thus the thing that is broken, while, by virtue of successful culmination of this breaking event, the speaker/writer is indirectly affected: positively in (38a) because the breaking is a desired result, negatively in (38b) because it is detrimental to the speaker/writer.

- (38) a. *I tried to break the pair to the broken link [of the bicycle chain] by bending it [...] Until a friend came with a hammer and broke it **for me** after like 30 blows.*  
 (<http://www.vitalbmx.com/product/guide/Chains,45/The-Shadow-Conspiracy/Interlock-v2,484>)
- b. *i am puting videos on her[e] as soon as i get my cell fix[ed] my boy-friends brother broke it **on me** lol*  
 (<http://www.youtube.com/user/suggababe12>)

Positive and negative indirect affectedness, in English, thus require different linguistic expressions. Interestingly, however, the search revealed that for some speakers, the benefactive preposition *for* can also signal negative affectedness, as shown by the data in (39). In (39a), for instance, the event of a CD with a newly-bought computer game being broken was most likely perceived as negative by the speaker/writer, yet he uses the phrase *for me* to express his involvement. While this phrasing might have been chosen to express sarcasm, a number of similar examples are found, such as those shown in (b) and (c).

- (39) a. *I bought [B]attlefield 1942 (at retail price) when it came out. My toddler got ahold [sic] of the disk and broke it **for me**.*  
 (<http://www.hardwareanalysis.com/content/topic/69558/>)
- b. *After the 2.0.1 update, which was supposed to \*fix\* the Entourage two-way sync, it actually broke it **for me**.*  
 (<http://www.versiontracker.com/dyn/moreinfo/macosx/34000&mode=feedback>)
- c. *It was just like the "electro-shot", same exact targets and shooting range encased in plastic with the little legs and it was made by Marx [...] As with a number of my favorite toys, my cousins broke it **for me**.*  
 (<http://www.feelingretro.com/toys/Boy-Toys/electro-shot.php>)

In light of these data, we can hypothesize that *for* may be developing from a benefactive preposition into a more general indirect affectedness marker. It would certainly be worthwhile to observe the further evolution of this presumed change; at present, the non-benefactive uses of *for* seem to be marginal. The fact that they do occur, however, provides supporting evidence for the category of indirect affectedness, unspecified for positive or negative value.

Note that neither benefactive nor malefactive relations are necessarily associated with possession. In the context of (38a) above, for example, the bicycle chain that the speaker/writer refers to need not belong to his own bicycle; the statement only entails that he benefits from someone else breaking it – for instance, it may help him repair the chain, while the bike belongs to someone else. The issue here is, however, that even though possession in the sense of ownership is not entailed, what *is* certainly entailed is *some* kind of relationship between the speaker/writer and the bike chain to license the benefaction. If someone breaks a bicycle chain and I have nothing whatsoever to do with the chain, it would be difficult or even impossible to construe a way in which I could benefit from (or be adversely affected by) this event. More generally, whenever someone acts on something for someone else's benefit or detriment, there must be some connection between the beneficiary/maleficiary and the thing acted upon or the result of this action. This connection may be viewed as an extended or metaphorical possessive relationship. For benefactives, it has indeed been claimed that benefaction is always a 'coming into possession' of something, however abstract (cf., e.g., Pinker 1989: 117, Goldberg 1995: 150). This view, however, is problematic in cases that involve benefaction through the *termination* of a possessive relationship. In the little narrative in (40), Greg is bothered by the presence of too much spaghetti in his possession, so Lisa's depriving him of the spaghetti is what constitutes the benefaction:<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Thanks to Jürgen Bohnemeyer for this much-wanted example.

- (40) *Greg had cooked way too much spaghetti for the dinner party two days ago and had lived on leftovers since then, to the point that the mere sight of spaghetti made him slightly nauseous. Luckily, Lisa stopped by and finished the spaghetti **for him**.*

Even though, for cases like (40), it would still be possible to say that the benefaction involves the metaphoric possession of a desirable, spaghetti-free state, this newly established abstract possessive relationship runs contrary to the actual possessive relationship being disestablished. For this reason, I consider the analysis of benefaction as metaphorical possession unsuitable and maintain that benefaction and possession, although often correlated, are independent notions.

This being said, for English, it must be pointed out that there does exist a benefactive construction for which possession plays a crucial role – the double-object construction, which has briefly been discussed in Chapter 1 (subsection 1.2.1) in the context of the recipient role. The double-object construction, argued in Chapter 1 to be available only for verbs with a recipient argument, is not only available for verbs that express a transfer, such as *give*, but extends to verbs of creation, such as *bake* in (41a), and other non-transfer verbs that are compatible with a beneficiary, such as *open* in (41b).

- (41) a. *Greg baked Lisa a pie.*  
b. *Greg opened Lisa a bottle of beer.*  
c. \**Greg opened Lisa the door.*  
d. \**Lisa finished Greg the spaghetti.*

However, the generalization made in Chapter 1 still holds: the construction can only be used if the theme argument of such a verb denotes a concrete entity that is actually transferred into the beneficiary's possession – that is, if the beneficiary is also a recipient. This is demonstrated by the acceptability contrast between (41b) and (c) with the same verb *open*: an opened bottle can be given to someone, while an opened door cannot. Finally, (41d) illustrates that, unsurprisingly, the construction is not acceptable in the scenario from (40) above, in which the benefaction consists in taking something away from the beneficiary rather than giving him/her something. With respect to this specific construction, benefaction and transfer of possession are thus inseparable. This, however, does not hold true for benefactive markers or constructions in general, and, in particular, does not hold for the English benefactive preposition *for* as outlined above.

As a final note on benefaction and malefaction, it is in order to address a possible objection to the claim that beneficiaries and maleficiaries are instantiations of the same, more general indirect affectedness category. Recent research (T. Smith 2005, Radetzky and Smith 2010) on thematic relations that fall under the rubric of indirect affectedness, as defined here, provides evidence that these relations do not form a coherent category in many languages; rather, these languages distinguish positive from negative affectedness, using separate markers or constructions for benefaction on the one hand and adversative affectedness on the other. Specifically, T. Smith (2005) and Radetzky and Smith (2010)<sup>25</sup> present a wide range of data from South and East Asian languages in which the benefactive and malefactive constructions are distinct. These data seem to suggest that a positive/negative opposition is more fundamental to event construal than the

---

<sup>25</sup> Further typologically oriented research on benefactive and malefactive constructions in a wide range of languages is presented in a recent collection of articles edited by Zúñiga and Kittilä (2010), in which the paper by Radetzky and Smith (2010) appeared. However, since this volume only became available to me at the time of submission of this dissertation, I was unable to consult all the work published therein.

contrast between the semantically much less specific categories of direct and indirect affectedness.

Clearly, however, these two dimensions – positive/negative and direct/indirect – are not in opposition, but rather orthogonal to each other; and languages may choose one or the other to be relevant to event construal. Radetzky and Smith (2010), in fact, note a typological split between Asia and Europe, the former exhibiting a bias for specific, separate benefactive and malefactive expressions and the latter tending towards more abstract ‘affectedness constructions,’ as they call them. Such constructions are discussed in the next two chapters of this dissertation; Chapter 4 shows, furthermore, that they are not restricted to Europe. The absence of indirect affectedness as a grammatically marked category from a large region of the world is thus by no means an indicator of its irrelevance.

#### 2.4.4.2 Possessors of a directly affected entity

The second type of indirect affectedness, in contrast to benefactives and malefactives (as discussed above), does crucially involve possession: the possessor of an item that is directly affected can itself be construed as indirectly affected. Similarly to the case of the recipient, the indirect affectedness here results from the presence of a possessive relation. English does not have a construction or marker that specifically encodes the indirect affectedness of possessors mediated by the direct affectedness of their possessa; as (42a) – repeated from above – shows, a possessor in non-predicative possession must be expressed in an adnominal genitive construction, and any affectedness of the possessor is inferred from the context. However, addition of a malefactive *on* phrase whose argument NP is coreferent with the possessor can make indirect affectedness explicit, as in (42b).



- (42) a. *Greg wrecked **Lisa's** car.*  
 b. *Greg wrecked Lisa's car **on her**.*

The fact that possessors are indirectly affected in an event that affects the possessum directly is particularly clear if the possessive relationship is a part/whole relation: if a part of an entity undergoes change, this change, at the same time, affects the whole thing. For human possessors in particular, something being done to a body-part means doing something to the person herself – if someone breaks my arm, they are not just doing something to my arm in isolation, they are doing something *to me*. Thus, while beneficiaries and maleficiaries are optional indirect affectees, in that their affectedness is not a necessary or entailed part of the event (which is syntactically reflected in their adjunct status), a human possessor of an affected body-part is an obligatory indirect affectee: his or her affectedness is entailed by the affectedness of the body-part. Evidence comes from an anomaly test. An event description that asserts doing something to a body-part and, at the same time, negates affectedness of the person is unacceptable, as shown in (43a) below. For other types of possessive relationships, on the other hand, this type of description is inconspicuous, see (43b).

- (43) a. # *In the accident my arm was broken, but I wasn't affected.*<sup>26</sup>  
 b. *In the accident my bike was broken, but I wasn't affected  
 (luckily, I didn't get hurt).*

---

<sup>26</sup> M. Dryer (pers. comm.) points out that (43a) is more acceptable if *affected* is used in the sense of 'emotionally/mentally affected,' as discussed in the beginning of Chapter 2. Consider the modification in (43a'):

(43a') *My arm was broken, but it didn't affect me; I just got up and ignored the pain.*

In the original example (43a), however, the most straightforward reading is that of a contrast between the physical affectedness of the arm and a lack of the same type of affectedness of the person, which is contradictory.

The fact that possessors of affected body-parts are entailed indirect affectees suggests a typological prediction: if a language has a specific indirect affectedness construction or marker, in addition to the construction expressing adnominal possession, the indirect affectedness construction should be the most likely to occur in event descriptions involving affected body-parts (compared to other affected possessa). Chapter 4 shows that this is exactly what we find in many languages that can encode possessors (aside from the adnominal construction that is also available in English) by means of recipient marking, which, in these languages, can be analyzed as an indirect affectedness construction. In some languages, such as German, this kind of marking is actually obligatory in the body-part contexts, and the use of the adnominal genitive for the possessor may give rise to the implicature that the body-part is separated from the body. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

#### 2.4.4.3 Human reference as a correlate of indirect affectedness

As a final point arising from the definition of the indirect affectee category, I would like to address a property that all indirectly affected participant roles seem to have in common: their tendency of human reference. A recipient is actively involved in the transfer to a certain extent, and therefore must be a sentient being; you cannot give anything to, say, a piece of furniture, except in a metaphorical sense. A beneficiary or maleficiary is portrayed as capable of experiencing a state of affairs as good or bad, so it must be a creature to which such experience can be attributed; to use the same example, you cannot do anything for a piece of furniture, unless it is viewed as the potential experiencer of a benefit and, thus, personified. As far as possessors are concerned, it was shown above that human possessors of directly affected body-parts are entailed

indirect affectees; for other types of possessive relations, the possessor's affectedness is not necessary, as illustrated by (43b) above. And if we consider inanimate possessors, their construal as indirectly affected may not even be possible at all. The affectedness diagnostic *What happened to X was ...* shows that a bike as possessor can be conceptualized as affected if its directly affected possessum is a proper part, as illustrated in (44a): if a part of a bike is damaged, the bike as a whole is damaged. But this is not true with an alienable possessive relation – if the directly affected entity is the rider of the bike, as in (44b), the bike itself cannot be construed as affected, which is seen by the fact that the *What happened* construction is infelicitous (44b').

- (44) a. *The rear wheel of this bike was completely deformed in the accident.*  
       a.' *What happened to this bike was that its rear wheel was completely deformed.*  
       b. *The rider of this bike got injured in the accident.*  
       b.' #*What happened to this bike was that its rider got injured.*

From the tests applied in (43) and (44), we can generalize that human possessors of an affected possessum always can, and in some contexts even have to, be construed as indirectly affected, while inanimate possessors sometimes cannot. Thus, an indirectly affected possessor is most likely to be human, just like a recipient or beneficiary/maleficiary.

Why should this be so? Even though from a commonsense viewpoint, it makes sense that affectedness can be understood as psychological or emotional (recall the dictionary definitions in (10)), this intuition is not directly implied in the force-dynamic definition of indirect affectedness proposed in (36) and, therefore, needs to be explained. I would like to argue that such an expla-

nation can be found in pragmatic factors, first and foremost implicatures of relevance (Grice 1975). If an indirect affectee is expressed in an event description, there must be a reason for its being mentioned, it must be relevant in some way – which is to say that some sort of relationship must exist between the indirect affectee and the event or a component thereof. This relationship may or may not consist in a possessive relation between the indirect affectee and another event participant, and its nature determines whether the affectedness is physical (the first alternative of the dictionary-based affectedness definition in (10)) or not. If a possessive relation is indeed implicated and the indirect affectee is a possessor, then there are various possible possessive construals: (i) possession of meronyms, that is, parts of a whole; (ii) non-mereological possession, such as kinship or other social relations; (iii) legal or economic ownership. The part-whole relationship (i) is the only construal in which the indirect affectee, the whole, can be physically affected, and this affectedness is independent of human reference (which accounts for (44a)). But the two alternative possessive construals (ii) and (iii) are based on socio-cultural notions: interpersonal or emotional relations and economic concepts of ownership, respectively. As a consequence, these construals entail a human indirect affectee, since the possession relations in question are simply not defined for inanimates. They also entail that the affectedness of the indirect affectee is non-physical, since the possessum is not a part of it. Rather, this type of affectedness can be described in terms of the various types of **values** introduced by Jackendoff (2007: 280): affective value (feeling good or bad), utility value (being good/useful or bad/useless), resource (i.e., economic) value, and others. Indeed, the notion of value will play an important role in the discussion of the German dative in Chapter 3.

If, on the other hand, no possessive relationship can be construed between the event participant portrayed as indirectly affected and any other event participant, then, again, physical

affectedness is excluded because it would require that the indirect affectee be in a part-whole relationship with the directly affected entity. Thus, this configuration likewise leaves only the value-related kind of affectedness.

In sum, indirect affectedness shows a bias for human reference because it can be construed as physical affectedness only in one special case – that of a mereological relation between direct and indirect affectee. All other feasible construals enforce non-physical affectedness, which can only be attributed to humans (or perhaps, more generally, animates) in terms of psychologically, socially, or economically defined values. Both human reference and possession are thus frequent implicatures, but not entailments of indirect affectedness.

## **2.5 Summary**

This chapter established the theoretical basis for the further discussion, the notion of indirect affectedness. To this end, the concept of affectedness in general was examined from different perspectives: in terms of its treatment in the linguistic literature, in terms of how it can be identified and under what conditions, and, most importantly for the present study, with regard to its applicability to the recipient role. The widely accepted diagnosis for affectedness, the sentence frame *What happened to X was ...*, which asserts affectedness of *X* and identifies the referent of the expression coreferent with *X* in the embedded clause as affected if no semantic anomaly ensues, was adapted for this purpose in the form of a discourse opener (*You know what happened to X?*). The diagnostic identifies recipients – along with all other force-dynamically non-initial participant roles – as affected. This affectedness is indirect, because the presence of a recipient in an event entails the presence of another affected participant. Indirect affectedness was defined in

force-dynamic terms, based on the ideas of Talmy (1976) and building on the event models of Jackendoff (1990) and Croft (1991), which likewise use force-dynamic notions. Being a semantic property of the recipient role, indirect affectedness is assumed to be generally available as a construal option for the recipient.

The category of indirect affectee was shown to include, aside from recipients, beneficiaries/maleficiaries and possessors of an affected possessum, all of which have a bias towards human reference. This is not a coincidence, since indirect affectedness itself is strongly associated with humans: there is only one configuration in which it can apply to inanimates in a straightforward way, namely, as physical affectedness, in which case the directly affected theme must be a meronym of the indirect affectee. Non-physical affectedness, on the other hand, is more difficult to construe for inanimate objects, and is most readily construed as ‘affective.’ While both human reference and possession are thus closely associated with indirect affectedness, they are not entailed by it, and an important aim of this study is to elucidate their correlations and interrelations.

### **3. Case study A: German – indirect affectedness dative**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

After setting the stage in the previous chapter by defining indirect affectedness in force-dynamic terms, the present chapter is concerned with the use of dative case as an indirect affectedness marker. The discussion is based on German, whose case system and, in particular, issues of case meaning have been a prominent topic in linguistic and philological discussion since the early days of modern linguistic inquiry (for historical overviews cf., e.g., Wegener 1985: Chapter 1, 2–27; Dürscheid 1999: Chapter 3.1, 119–127). The list of linguistic publications from the last three decades includes various monographs and numerous articles on the German dative, bearing witness to the continuing interest in and relevance of this topic to grammatical description and analysis. Certainly the most exhaustive and detailed survey to date is Wegener (1985); other book-length studies are Schmid (1988), who focuses on datives in adjunct functions or ‘free’ datives, Schöfer (1992), and Willems and Van Pottelberge (1998), who provide a systematic overview of dative-governing verbs. Many more have discussed German dative constructions in a cross-linguistic context, among them Draye (1996), Ogawa (1997), Haspelmath (1999), Hole (2005, 2006, 2008), McIntyre (2006). Their insights have been influential to the present work and especially the discussion in this and the following chapter.

In light of the plethora of research on the German dative, the present chapter can hardly claim to uncover any truths hitherto unknown, but simply approaches the phenomenon of the German dative from a slightly different angle. The discussion starts out from the notion of affectedness as defined in Chapter 2 above, which is applied to the various dative contexts and constructions that have already been described so thoroughly. Essentially – and on a much

smaller scale – the basic claim made here is similar to that made by Roman Jakobson as early as 1936: the various functions of (adverbial) dative can be characterized as sharing the common signified of *Betroffener*, roughly, ‘affected or concerned participant.’ The notion of affectedness to characterize the German dative has since then been invoked by many other linguists, an example being Wegener (1985); however, she considers the notion of possession a crucial semantic element of many dative uses, a position that is refuted in this chapter.

In the affectedness discussion of the previous chapter, a test frame was employed to identify affectedness for English. In German, an analogous diagnostic has not been proposed, so the first aim of the present chapter is to establish an equivalent German diagnostic. This is the topic of the next subsection 3.2. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, various types of German datives are examined with regard to their indirect affectedness properties, with an emphasis on the so-called ‘free’ datives – that is, datives that are not governed by the verb or any other element. Among these, external possessor datives (datives that encode the possessor of a theme argument adverbally rather than adnominally) are left out; this topic is postponed to Chapter 4, where the phenomenon of external possessor dative constructions is discussed on a cross-linguistic basis.

What is not considered in this study is the entire range of verbally governed dative, in particular, dative that occurs as the object case with bivalent verbs. German has a large number of such verbs that assign dative to their objects rather than the default case accusative, two of which, *helfen* ‘help’ and *zuhören* ‘listen (to),’ are illustrated in (45).

- (45) a. *Greg hilft mir.*  
           Greg.NOM help.3SG 1SG.DAT  
           ‘Greg is helping me.’



- b. *Greg hört mir zu.*  
 Greg.NOM hear.3SG 1SG.DAT PART  
 ‘Greg is listening to me.’

The reason why I refrain from discussing these datives, in favor of the free (ungoverned) datives that are the topic of the majority of section 3.3, is twofold. First, if any semantic content of the dative is to be determined, it will emerge the most clearly in dative-marked NPs that are syntactically and semantically optional, as verbally governed dative necessarily fulfills semantic and thematic requirements of the verb; therefore not only its occurrence, but also its interpretation can be assumed to depend to a large extent on the verb meaning. A second, related point is the fact that many dative-governing verbs are morphologically complex, containing a prefix or prefixal particle that is often morphologically related to a preposition; *zuhören* ‘listen’ in (45b) above is an example. In such cases, I assume the dative to be assigned by the particle or prefix. A brief excursus on verbally governed dative at the end of this chapter (subsection 3.3.3) elaborates on this topic a little further; for an exhaustive study of verbally governed dative, the reader is referred to Willems and Van Pottelberge (1998).

### **3.2 An affectedness test for German**

The previous chapter introduced the notion of indirect affectedness as a semantic feature of the recipient role which may or may not be relevant for the encoding of the recipient in a given language. In the case of German, the dative has since long been characterized as an ‘indirect case,’ as opposed to the accusative, which encodes a ‘direct’ involvement of the participant in the event (e.g. J. Chr. Adelung 1872, *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der deutschen Sprache*, quoted in

Dürscheid 1999: 122), or as a ‘personal case’ (cf. e.g. Wegener 1985: 4). This study argues that both these descriptions can be captured in characterizing the German dative as a marker of indirect affectedness as defined in Chapter 2. Its diverse (non-prepositionally governed) uses are accounted for with reference to indirect affectedness.

### 3.2.1 *Passieren* ‘happen’ as a paraphrase of affectedness

To identify dative referents as affected in any way, we need an affectedness diagnostic or test – analogous to the English frame *What happened to X was ...*, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, captures indirect affectedness in appropriate contexts (whereas it is incompatible with force-dynamically initial participant roles). The purpose of this subsection is to examine German counterparts of this frame, such as the one provided in (46), for their suitability to serve as affectedness diagnostics in German. The verb involved is *passieren* ‘happen,’ which can be accompanied by a dative expressing the participant to whom or what something happens.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> *Passieren* ‘happen’ is one of the many so-called dative verbs, which are semantically bivalent but encode the non-subject argument in the dative case rather than the default object case, accusative. Just like with English *happen*, the subject of *passieren* refers to the event; the dative (in English, the *to* phrase) encodes the ‘undergoer’ of this event. In spite of these argument-structural similarities, the two words have rather different etymologies: *happen* descends from the Norse noun *happ* ‘hap, chance, good luck’ (OED), while *passieren* is a comparatively recent loan from French *passer* ‘pass,’ which in turn can be traced back to the Latin noun *passus* ‘step’ (Kluge 2002). The German word was thus originally a verb of motion, meaning ‘to pass (by).’ This sense is still present in modern German, although with a different case frame: the location that is passed is encoded in the accusative.

In their discussion of dative-governing verbs, Willems and Van Pottelberge (1998: 547) mention *passieren* in the context of Latinate derivatives with prefixed (Latin) prepositions, which govern the dative as a relic of the spatial case originally governed by the Latin preposition; however, *passieren* is the only verb in this list that does in fact not contain a prefixed preposition, so their explanation does not hold. It is thus not clear whether the dative goes back to a spatial expression – the fact that the still-present spatial use of the verb governs the accusative, as mentioned above, seems to refute this assumption. Willems and Van Pottelberge (1998: 546) further claim that the verbs in this group are rarely used with a dative-marked NP, implying that, for *passieren*, the alternative marking by the preposition *mit* ‘with’ (which is discussed in subsection 3.2.3 below) is the dominant or default construal. The following discussion in this chapter provides evidence that this description is not quite adequate, especially since both alternatives have rather different entailments.

- (46) *Was X passiert-te, war, dass ...*  
 what X.DAT happen-PAST was that  
 ‘What happened to X was that ...’

The description  $X_{\text{DAT}}$  *passierte etwas* ‘something happened to  $X$ ’ can be considered a paraphrase of ‘ $X$  was affected,’ as outlined in Chapter 2 with respect to the English *happen* frame. Thus, coreference of  $X$  with a NP encoding an affected participant role in the subordinate clause should render the sentence acceptable, while coreference with arguments referring to unaffected participants should lead to a semantic conflict.

To my knowledge, (46) has never been suggested as an affectedness test for German – nor have any affectedness tests for German data been proposed, for that matter. Therefore, before employing it to examine dative-marked, putatively indirectly affected participant roles, this subsection attempts to elucidate the question whether (46) indeed identifies clear cases of affectedness but is not compatible with non-affected participant roles, on the basis of the insights from Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.2) on the close connection between affectedness and nonintentionality. Let us first consider the description of an event with unambiguous force relations. Example (47) contains a transitive verb, *verhauen* ‘beat up, give s.o. a thrashing’ (see (47a)), a model case of an expression of force transmission: the hitter imparts force but does not receive any, while the person who is thrashed is a force recipient and thus affected. Furthermore, the actor of *verhauen* is most likely intentional. In order to ensure contextual relevance as well as render the data as natural as possible, the frame presented in (46) is modified in (47) and the subsequent examples to function as a discourse opener, as motivated in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.1) for the corresponding English frame. (47b) shows the application of this discourse opener to the patient of the thrashing, Greg, resulting in an inconspicuous discourse; direct affectedness such as that of a

patient is thus perfectly compatible with the *passieren* ‘happen’ frame. (47c) shows the same for the agent, with an incoherent result.<sup>28</sup>

- (47) a. *Lisa hat Greg verhauen.*  
 Lisa.NOM has Greg.ACC thrash.PTCPL  
 ‘Lisa gave Greg a thrashing.’
- b. *Weißt du, was Greg passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Greg.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
  
*Lisa hat ihn verhauen.*  
 Lisa.NOM has 3SG.M.ACC thrash.PTCPL  
  
 ‘You know what happened to Greg? Lisa gave him a thrashing.’
- c. *Weißt du, was Lisa passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Lisa.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
  
*#Sie hat Greg verhauen.*  
 3SG.F.NOM has Greg.ACC thrash.PTCPL  
  
 ‘You know what happened to Lisa? # She gave Greg a thrashing.’

The data in (47) are compatible with the hypothesis that a frame containing *passieren* ‘happen’ with a dative target can be used as an affectedness test in German, but on the basis of (47) alone, not much can be said for certain. After all, it might very well be the case that, for instance, the test distinguishes subjects from objects, rather than affected from unaffected participant roles. Further evidence for the latter hypothesis, however, comes from the fact that the frame is not

<sup>28</sup> As outlined in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.2) for English, (47c) is acceptable under the interpretation that some aspect of Lisa’s thrashing Greg was unintended. While it is hard to imagine that the action itself was unintentional (except with heavy contextual support, such as, perhaps, that Lisa was on drugs and not in control of her actions – which is not given in the discourse presented here, since the *passieren* frame is used as a discourse opener without any presupposed common ground), the most likely way such a reading would come about is that Lisa beat up the wrong guy, as also discussed in 2.4.2. This would require the NP *Greg* to be focussed and therefore stressed in spoken discourse, while the stress pattern in (47b) is neutral.

compatible with the object of a perception verb that expresses the stimulus, a participant role which, e.g., Beavers (in press) and Jackendoff (2007: Chapter 6) reasonably argue to be unaffected, as mentioned in Chapter 2. This is shown in (48) for a description containing the perception verb *sehen* ‘see,’ whose stimulus is linked to the direct object.<sup>29</sup>

- (48) a. *Lisa hat Greg gesehen.*  
           Lisa.NOM has Greg.ACC see.PTCPL  
           ‘Lisa saw Greg.’
- b. *Weißt du, was Greg passiert ist?*  
       know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Greg.DAT happen.PTCPL is
- # *Lisa hat ihn gesehen.*  
       Lisa.NOM has 3SG.M.ACC see.PTCPL
- ‘You know what happened to Greg? # Lisa saw him.’

The acceptability contrast between (47b) and (48b) demonstrates that what the *passieren* frame identifies is not the grammatical relation of direct object – otherwise both (47b) and (48b), in which it is applied to the direct objects of *verhauen* ‘give a thrashing’ and *sehen* ‘see’ respectively, should be equally acceptable. Rather, only the patient of *verhauen*, a clearly affected participant, is compatible with the frame; so it looks like it can indeed be used as an affectedness test. Note, furthermore, that a discourse like the one in (47b) portrays the affected participant, Greg, as assigning an affective value to the event: positive or – more likely in the given case – negative. The *passieren* frame, thus, does not merely introduce an affected entity into a discourse, but implies that this entity has the ability to evaluate. This is in line with Jackendoff’s

---

<sup>29</sup> (48b) may be acceptable if it is part of the common ground that being seen by Lisa has negative consequences for Greg – for instance because he has been hiding from her. However, as stated in the previous footnote, the discourse is to be understood as having no presupposed common ground and is infelicitous in this situation.

(2007: Chapter 9) theory of values, in which affective value – feeling good or bad about a state of affairs – is argued to arise from affectedness as a default inference (*ibid.*: 284). And since the *passieren* frame does not explicitly differentiate between positive and negative affectedness, this specification is contributed by the subsequent event description via pragmatic implicature.

Before moving on to the application of the *passieren* test to dative-marked participant roles, some of the phenomena discussed in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.2) for the English *happen* frame should be addressed, to ensure that the German *passieren* test does identify affectedness rather than another participant feature, such as nonintentionality. To this end, the remainder of the present subsection adapts the examples from section 2.4.2 to German. First, we can observe in (49a) that the test works perfectly with involuntary actors, just like in English; adding an explicit description of the action as voluntary or intentional, however, renders the discourse unacceptable, as in (49b).

- (49) a. *Weißt du, was mir passiert ist? Ich habe*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT happen.PTCPL is 1SG.NOM have  
*(aus Versehen) Opa-s teure Vase zerdeppert.*  
 out\_of mistake grandpa-GEN expensive vase smash.PTCPL  
 ‘You know what happened to me? I smashed grandpa’s expensive vase  
 (by mistake).’
- b. *Weißt du, was mir passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
 # *Ich habe absichtlich Opa-s teure Vase zerdeppert.*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG intentionally grandpa-GEN expensive vase smash.PTCPL  
 ‘You know what happened to me? # I intentionally smashed grandpa’s  
 expensive vase.’

Let us now turn to the data that distinguish between nonintentionality with affectedness and nonintentionality without affectedness, to examine whether the *passieren* test is still applicable to a participant that is nonintentional, but not affected. As seen for English in 2.4.2 above, this differentiation is somewhat tricky – in general, lack of intentionality is closely related to affectedness – and requires exhaustive contextual specification. As a participant role that is not intentional under any circumstances, we will consider the experiencer of the perception verb *sehen* ‘see,’ analogously to the discussion on English in 2.4.2. This participant role can never be targeted by the adverb *absichtlich* ‘intentionally’ (see (50a)); but, under normal circumstances, it is compatible with the *passieren* frame, indicating that it can be construed as affected, as shown in (50b).

- (50) a. *Ich habe Lisa (\*absichtlich) gesehen.*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG Lisa.ACC intentionally sehen.PTCPL  
 ‘I saw Lisa (\*intentionally).’
- b. *Weißt du, was mir passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
  
*Ich habe Lisa gesehen.*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG Lisa.ACC see.PTCPL  
 ‘You know what happened to me? I saw Lisa.’

Let us use the same constructed scenario as in 2.4.2 for English (see example (30)) to ban affectedness for the experiencer of *sehen*. (51a) below repeats the relevant context, which provides the information that seeing Lisa on a given day is nothing unexpected, and nothing that has the potential to be emotionally stirring or might be evaluated by the “seer” as particularly good

or bad. Given this context, presenting the event of seeing Lisa as something that ‘happened’ to the speaker, as in (51b), is nonsensical.

- (51) a. Lisa, Greg and Andy are first-year PhD students in the linguistics department and good friends. They are all taking the same classes, Semantics I, Syntax I, and Phonetics, so they see each other every day of the week. One Wednesday Andy stays home sick. Greg talks to him on the phone that night and tells him about everything that happened to him during the day, and finally says:

b. *Weißt du, was mir heute noch passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT today also happen.PTCPL is

# *Ich habe Lisa gesehen.*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG Lisa.ACC see.PTCPL

‘You know what also happened to me today? I saw Lisa.’

In contrast, if a similar scenario of regular occurrence is construed for a nonintentional and clearly affected participant role such as the patient, a discourse in which this role is identified by the *passieren* frame is coherent, as also observed in 2.4.2 for English. Example (52) uses the patient of the verb *schlagen* ‘hit’; the context description is, again, repeated from the analogous English example (31) in 2.4.2 above.

- (52) a. Greg and Andy are friends and share many of their troubles. As Andy very well knows, Greg’s wife is physically abusive and hits Greg every single day. One night the two talk on the phone, and Greg tells Andy about everything that happened to him during that day, concluding by saying:

b. *Weißt du, was mir heute noch passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT today also happen.PTCPL is

*Meine Frau hat mich geschlagen.*  
 my.F.SG.NOM wife has 1SG.ACC hit.PTCPL

‘You know what also happened to me today? My wife hit me.’



As argued for the corresponding English data in section 2.4.2, the patient in (52) is affected physically and emotionally in every occurrence of the event; the experiencer in (51), on the other hand, is nonintentional but not affected. The acceptability contrast observed in applying the *passieren* frame to these two nonintentional participant roles indicates that it is indeed not nonintentionality that governs the acceptability of the frame, but, rather, that the frame really does describe the status of being affected. The construction of *passieren* with a dative-marked NP can thus be ascribed the same semantics as to *happen* in English, rendered in Jackendovian notation – repeated from section 2.4.2 – in (53b).

- (53) a.  $X_{\text{DAT}}$  *passiert etwas* ‘something happens to X’  
 b.  $[_{\text{Event}} \text{AFF}( \text{ } , X)]$

In sum, the German *passieren* frame shows the same range of application and can be assumed to have the same semantics as the English *happen* test. We can thus adopt it as an affectedness test for German.

### 3.2.2 Inanimate affectees, value, and depersonalization

As a last point to address before finally discussing dative and recipients, I would like to return to the topic of value, which was briefly touched in 3.2.1 in the context of example (47b). It was observed there that the *passieren* frame with the dative-marked affectee, as presented and discussed thus far, portrays the affectee as assigning affective value to the affecting event – that is, as having an emotional reaction to it, at least potentially. This implies that the frame is largely constrained to human or at least animate referents, to which the discussion has hitherto been limited. If we now consider affectedness in combination with inanimate reference, as in (54a) be-

low, the *passieren* frame with the dative construction does indeed not result in a perfectly normal discourse. This anomaly does not arise from an inconsistency between the *passieren* frame and the subsequent event description, as is the case in the earlier examples, but is due to the frame itself being pragmatically marked when the dative phrase it contains refers to an inanimate object. Example (54b) shows an alternative construction: instead of the dative, *passieren* is accompanied by a prepositional phrase headed by *mit* ‘with’ to express the undergoer of the event.

- (54) a. # *Weißt du, was der Vase passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what DEF.F.SG.DAT vase happen.PTCPL is  
 intended: ‘You know what happened to the vase?’
- b. *Weißt du, was mit der Vase passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what with DEF.F.SG.DAT vase happen.PTCPL is  
 ‘You know what happened to (lit. with) the vase?’
- c. *Ich habe sie zerdeppert.*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG 3SG.F.ACC smash.PTCPL  
 ‘I smashed it.’

The difference between (54a) and (54b) can be accounted for by postulating that affective value is in fact an entailment, not merely a default implicature, of the *passieren* construction with the dative. The dative construction in (54a) entails not just affectedness (otherwise it would be unproblematic and perfectly compatible with the event description in (54c)), but also the dative referent’s ability to assign a positive or negative value to the event – as mentioned earlier in the context of the ‘thrashing’ example (47) in subsection 3.2.1. With an inanimate referent, this entailment coerces a personifying interpretation, which in most contexts serves no communicative purpose and is thus inappropriate.

The only circumstances under which the dative construction with *passieren* is acceptable with an inanimate referent seem to be situations in which a human owner of the affected object is involved; this is not unexpected, as the owner can be said to evaluate the event affecting his/her property vicariously, as it were. The internet provides examples of the dative construction with referents like cars or houses – items that play an important part in people’s daily life, so that something happening to them also has a rather severe impact on their owner – but none with less essential objects, say, vases or chairs. The sentence in (55) is a telling example from a forum discussion. The writer comments on another discussant’s car having been damaged in an accident; and while the car was the affected participant in the accident and is portrayed as such in the first sentence, the writer then expresses his empathy with the car’s owner, rather than with the car itself.

- (55) *schade was dem Auto passiert ist - kann ich gut*  
 too\_bad what DEF.N.SG.DAT car happen.PTCPL is can 1SG.NOM well  
*nachfühlen.*  
 empathize.INF

‘Too bad what happened to the car – I empathize.’

([http://www.doppel-wobber.de/wbb2/thread\\_25348\\_UNFALL-bye-bye-Golf....html](http://www.doppel-wobber.de/wbb2/thread_25348_UNFALL-bye-bye-Golf....html))

The alternative *passieren* frame in which the preposition *mit* ‘with’ expresses the affectee instead of the bare dative, and which can be used for inanimate referents without the limitations imposed by the dative, as illustrated above in (54b), is the only available expression of general affectedness for inanimates. However, there are significant differences between the two constructions. First, the *passieren* + *mit* frame seems to be closer to a true patient test than the *passieren* + dative frame, in that the former entails change. This can be tested by coordinating an

assertion that contains the *passieren* + *mit* frame with a statement that denies change for the same participant, which results in a contradiction (cf. Beavers in press: 8). Indeed, the first clause of (56) would straightforwardly be uttered as a comment on the fact that something *has* changed about the vase (and the speaker cannot quite remember or figure out what exactly).

- (56) *Irgend etwas ist mit der Vase passiert,*  
 something\_or\_other is with DEF.F.SG.DAT vase happen.PTCPL  
 # *aber nichts an ihr hat sich verändert.*  
 but nothing at 3SG.F.DAT has REFL.3SG.ACC change.PTCPL  
 ‘Something happened to (lit. with) the vase, # but nothing about it has changed.’

Note that the incoherence of the discourse in (56) is independent of animacy. If we replace *mit der Vase* ‘with the vase’ by *mit Greg* ‘with Greg,’ quite analogously, the first sentence conveys that something or other has changed about Greg – which is contradicted by the subsequent part of the discourse, leading to anomaly.

Second, when used with animate referents and thus competing with the *passieren* + dative frame, the *passieren* + *mit* frame produces a depersonalizing implicature – the mirror image, as it were, of the personification effect that the dative frame imposes on inanimate referents. When asking someone what happened to them, the speaker has the choice between the two frames, but they would be used in slightly different circumstances and express different foci of interest: by couching the question in the *passieren* + *mit* frame as in (57a), the speaker focuses on a change objectively observed in the addressee, but less on the addressee as a person – he/she wants to know the cold and hard facts of what happened, not how the addressee is doing as a result. In contrast, the *passieren* + dative frame in (57b) places less emphasis on the objective facts and

more on the addressee's subjective experience, including his or her emotional reaction to what happened – in Jackendoff's (2007) terms, the affective value.

- (57) a. *Was ist denn mit dir passiert?*  
 what is EMPH with 2SG.DAT happen.PTCPL  
 'What happened to (lit. with) you?'  
 b. *Was ist dir denn passiert?*  
 what is 2SG.DAT EMPH happen.PTCPL  
 'What happened to you?'

Similarly, in assertions of something happening to oneself or others, one would use the *passieren* + *mit* construction only in very specific contexts due to its factual, rather than personal, connotations. If it is used, it emphasizes that a change was undergone, but defocuses the personal experience, as illustrated by the nonliteral translation of (58a). The unmarked and most natural way to generically express a person's affectedness by an event is (58b), the *passieren* + dative construction.

- (58) a. *Mit Greg ist etwas Komisches passiert.*  
 with Greg.DAT is something weird happen.PTCPL  
 'Greg underwent some weird change.'  
 b. *Greg ist etwas Komisches passiert.*  
 Greg.DAT is something weird happen.PTCPL  
 'Something weird happened to Greg.'

The data in (56)–(58) show that German distinguishes between the property of undergoing a change and another, more person-oriented kind of affectedness, both identified by the different constructions containing the verb *passieren*. In Jackendoff's terms, one could say that the *pas-*

*sieren* + *mit* construction accesses the thematic tier, where change is encoded (as literal or metaphorical motion), while the *passieren* + dative construction is linked to the action/macrorole tier. The data also confirm Jackendoff's (2007: 284) claim that affective value is a default inference arising from (action/macrorole tier-encoded) affectedness, since the interpretation that the referent has some emotional or mental reaction to the affecting event is not just optional but entailed by the *passieren* + dative frame.

### 3.3 Testing the affectedness of dative-marked participant roles

#### 3.3.1 Recipients and goals

Let us now turn to testing the affectedness of dative-marked participant roles, starting with the recipient in ditransitive constructions, specifically the verb *geben* 'give.' In (59b), we see that the expression of the affected participant in the *passieren* frame can be coreferent with a recipient expression in the subsequent clause. This suggests that the recipient, in German, is portrayed as affected.

- (59) a. *Greg hat Lisa Blumen gegeben.*  
 Greg.NOM has Lisa.DAT flowers.ACC give.PTCPL  
 'Greg gave Lisa flowers.'
- b. *Weißt du, was Lisa passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Lisa.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
  
*Greg hat ihr Blumen gegeben.*  
 Greg.NOM has 3SG.F.DAT flowers.ACC see.PTCPL  
 'You know what happened to Lisa? Greg gave her flowers.'

In line with this observation – and the close connection between affectedness and affective value, as discussed in the previous subsection – the recipient is usually animate, mostly human, but generally not an inanimate object. While (60a), where the recipient is nonhuman but animate, is acceptable, (60b), with an inanimate recipient, is an inadequate description of an event in which Greg puts a new inner tube on the bike.

- (60) a. *Greg hat den Blumen Wasser gegeben.*  
 Greg.NOM has DEF.PL.DAT flowers water give.PTCPL  
 ‘Greg gave water to the flowers.’
- b. # *Greg hat dem Fahrrad ein-en*  
 Greg.NOM has DEF.N.SG.DAT bicycle INDEF-M.SG.ACC  
*neu-en Schlauch gegeben.*  
 new-M.SG.ACC tube give.PTCPL  
 intended: ‘Greg gave the bicycle a new inner tube.’

Of course, one might argue that the problem in (60b) is the use of the verb *geben* ‘give,’ rather than the construal of an inanimate object as recipient *per se*. As discussed in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.4.3), one cannot give something to an object; the very action of giving requires a cooperative participant who actively receives the given item. Let us therefore consider a different verb that does not carry this requirement. A good candidate is *bringen* ‘bring, take,’ which merely needs the endpoint of the transfer to be expressed (or implied), without specifying any referential traits of this endpoint. There are two options for expressing the endpoint of the transfer described by *bringen*: a bare dative NP (61a) and a prepositional phrase (61b). In the former case, just like with *geben* ‘give,’ only a human referent is possible, whereas the latter can encode an inanimate goal.

- (61) a. *Ich bring-e das Buch mein-em Freund /*  
 1SG.NOM bring-1SG DEF.N.SG.ACC book POSS.1SG-M.SG.DAT friend  
*\* dem Tisch.*  
 DEF.M.SG.DAT table  
 ‘I’m taking the book to my friend / \*to the table.’
- b. *Ich bring-e das Buch zu mein-em Freund /*  
 1SG.NOM bring-1SG DEF.N.SG.ACC book to POSS.1SG-M.SG.DAT friend  
*zum Tisch.*  
 to.DEF.M.SG.DAT table  
 ‘I’m taking the book to my friend (or: to my friend’s place) /  
 to the table.’

The dative-marked participant, but not the one marked by a preposition, is, again, understood as a recipient who is actively and consciously involved in the process. Example (61a) would therefore be slightly infelicitous as the description of a scenario in which, for instance, my friend is in a coma and therefore unaware of my action, so that he cannot receive the book. The prepositional counterpart in (61b), in contrast, would be perfectly acceptable under these circumstances. All these properties indicate that the dative encodes more than just a spatial endpoint, but, in addition to fulfilling the lexical requirement of the verb for this endpoint to be expressed, specifies it to be affected. And indeed, the affectedness test is applicable. If the friend I provided with the book were to describe the event from his perspective, he could perfectly well introduce his narrative with the *passieren* + dative frame (62a) and follow it up by referring to himself with a dative-marked recipient argument (62b), thereby conveying his affective evaluation of the event as something that made him feel good. But it would be odd for him to use the prepositional alternative instead (62b’) because the *zu* phrase merely expresses a spatial region, but no affectedness whatsoever.



- (62) a. *Weißt du, was mir heute passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT today happen.PTCPL is  
 ‘You know what happened to me today?’
- b. *Meine Freundin hat mir ein Buch gebracht.*  
 my.F.SG.NOM girlfriend has 1SG.DAT INDEF.N.SG.ACC book bring.PTCPL  
 ‘My girlfriend brought me a book.’
- b.’# *Meine Freundin hat ein Buch zu mir gebracht.*  
 my.F.SG.NOM girlfriend has INDEF.N.SG.ACC book to 1SG.DAT bring.PTCPL  
 ‘My girlfriend brought a book to me.’

Moreover, the dative marking, but not the prepositional marking, entails that the book actually arrives at its destination. This is shown in (63), which conjoins a statement about Lisa taking a book to the principal with the assertion that the actual recipient was the secretary, not the principal himself.<sup>30</sup> If, in this coordinative structure, the principal is encoded in the dative, he is understood as being in possession of the book as a result of the event; so the second assertion is contradictory and the discourse is thus incoherent, as seen in (63a). On the other hand, if the principal is expressed by means of the prepositional phrase, he is not necessarily understood as the resulting possessor, but merely defines the spatial region in which the book ends up. In this case, the assertion that the secretary receives the book is unproblematic (see (63b)), because she can be assumed to be part of this region.

<sup>30</sup> In the example, *der Schulleiter* ‘the principal’ is specifically male, hence the politically incorrect but grammatically appropriate use of the masculine pronouns. The gender distribution between principals and secretaries as illustrated in the example is a regrettable reality in German secondary schools. – Thanks for this example are due to Detlef Lambert.

(63) a. *Lisa brachte dem Schulleiter ein Buch.*  
 Lisa.NOM bring.PAST DEF.M.SG.DAT principal INDEF.N.SG.ACC book

# *Sie gab es seiner Sekretärin.*  
 3SG.F.NOM give.PAST 3SG.N.ACC his.F.SG.DAT secretary

‘Lisa took a book to the principal. # She gave it to his secretary.’

b. *Lisa brachte ein Buch zum Schulleiter.*  
 Lisa.NOM bring.PAST INDEF.N.SG.ACC book to.DEF.M.SG.DAT principal

*Sie gab es seiner Sekretärin.*  
 3SG.F.NOM give.PAST 3SG.N.ACC his.F.SG.DAT secretary

‘Lisa took a book to the principal(’s office). She gave it to his secretary.’

The data in (62) and (63) seem to indicate that there are two entailments arising from the use of the dative to encode a transfer recipient: affectedness and possession.<sup>31</sup> Quite obviously, possession is an integral semantic component of the recipient role, so it is hard to see whether the two putative entailments of the dative marking are independent of each other or condition each other somehow. The next subsection 3.3.2, in particular 3.3.2.2, scrutinizes this question in more detail.

Thus far, we have looked at two types of argument structure associated with dative marking – one that necessarily involves a recipient (*geben* ‘give,’ see (59)–(60)) and one that involves a less specific notion of goal, which may or may not be an active recipient (*bringen* ‘bring, take,’ see (61)–(63)).<sup>32</sup> A third type of verb worth considering in this context is motion verbs, which

<sup>31</sup> Wegener (1985: 43), discussing the same contrast between *bringen* with the dative vs. the prepositional phrase, interprets it to indicate personal involvement as an entailment of the dative. I assume that this can be broken down into the two components of affectedness and possession, as stated here.

<sup>32</sup> Incidentally, this distinction lends support to Levin (2008) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin’s (2008) analysis of English *give* as expressing only caused possession but not caused motion, in contrast to, e.g., *send* (analogous to German *bringen* ‘bring, take,’ used here), which is compatible with both event schemas. In English, both verb types allow the so-called dative alternation between a double-object construction and prepositional encoding of the goal/recipient (see section 1.2.1 in the Introduction of this dissertation). Hence, it is not immediately obvious that

may entail a goal but, lacking the transfer-of-possession component, exclude the possibility of this goal being a recipient. Under the indirect affectedness hypothesis, the prediction is that dative is not applicable for encoding such a purely spatial goal, but prepositional marking, as with *bringen* for the goal option, must be used; and this is indeed the case. Spatial notions such as goals cannot be expressed by a bare dative; this construal is simply ungrammatical in spatial contexts, whether the referent is human or not. This is shown in (64a) with a human and in (b) with an inanimate goal.

- (64) a. *Ich geh-e / fahr-e / lauf-e \* dir / zu dir.*  
 1SG.NOM go-1SG / drive-1SG / run-1SG 2SG.DAT / to 2SG.DAT  
 ‘I’m going/driving/running to you.’
- b. *Ich geh-e \*der Stadt / in die Stadt.*  
 1SG.NOM go-1SG DEF.F.SG.DAT city / in(to) DEF.F.SG.ACC city  
 ‘I’m going to town.’

In the context of spatial relations, it should also be pointed out that a basic locative description will never contain a bare dative. Like the spatial goal, the location requires prepositional encoding, as illustrated in (65). Some spatial prepositions are case-alternating and express direction when combined with the accusative, location with the dative case; *in* ‘in(to),’ as seen in (64b) and (65), is an example.

---

they should be classified as belonging to different semantic types. This differs from the situation in German, where *geben* ‘give’ requires dative and accusative marking for recipient and theme, respectively, and is not generally used with a prepositional construction, whereas *bringen* permits an alternation that is superficially similar to the English dative alternation, see (61); here, the analysis that the two verbs exemplify two distinct semantic types is thus entirely straightforward. Levin (2008) presents similar data from Russian, which exhibits the same distribution of syntactic patterns (dative only vs. dative/prepositional alternation) as German does.

- (65) *Ich bin \*der Stadt / in der Stadt.*  
 1SG.NOM be.1SG DEF.F.SG.DAT city / in DEF.F.SG.DAT city  
 ‘I’m in town (or: downtown).’

Data like (64) and (65) show that, even though the dative does appear in spatial expressions, it is unable to encode spatial information on its own. Within the goals set for this study, spatial dative expressions are thus only of peripheral interest: what we want to examine here is what kind of meaning a dative-marked NP by itself – rather than a prepositional phrase containing a dative-marked NP – can contribute to the proposition expressed by a clause or sentence; and, as the discussion hitherto indicates, this contribution will never be of a spatial nature. If it is at all possible to identify a coherent meaning of dative case in German, this meaning will surface in syntactically and, to some extent, semantically optional bare dative phrases, known as ‘free datives.’ These can be assumed to make their own semantic contribution to the sentence interpretation if they are not entailed or strongly implicated by the verb. Such free datives are the topic of the following subsection 3.3.2, which subjects the various free dative types identified in German to the *passieren* test and discusses possible other entailments they may have.

### 3.3.2 Free datives as expressions of indirect affectedness

#### 3.3.2.1 The free dative vs. argument dative distinction

Rather than as a dichotomic argument/non-argument opposition, the classification of dative phrases according to their argument status can be thought of as a scale of decreasing syntactic and semantic dependence on the verb. While some datives are both semantically entailed by the verb and syntactically required by it, others may be syntactically optional and not entailed semantically, but merely strongly implicated; and yet others may not even be implicated and thus

completely optional syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. As an illustration, consider examples (66)–(68) below. The sentences in (66) contain the verb *geben* ‘give,’ which, in general, requires the presence of a dative phrase expressing the recipient: (66b), in which the dative is left out, is ungrammatical. Furthermore, all possible all events described by *geben* necessarily involve a recipient, whose existence is thus lexically entailed. These two properties render the dative-marked recipient with *geben* a syntactic and semantic argument of the verb.

- (66) a. *Die Studenten haben ihm die Hausaufgaben gegeben.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 3SG.M.DAT DEF.PL.ACC homework.PL  
 give.PTCPL  
 ‘The students gave him the homework assignments.’

- b. \* *Die Studenten haben die Hausaufgaben gegeben.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have DEF.PL.ACC homework.PL give.PTCPL

In (67a), we see a dative with the verb *backen* ‘bake,’ which does not require it syntactically ((67b), without the dative, is still grammatical) nor entail the involvement of the dative-marked participant – a beneficiary – semantically, as a baking event does not necessarily involve a participant for whom the baking is done. However, as the event entails a result – the cake – which generally serves as food for humans, this use and the associated user are at least pragmatically implied by the verb, so the expression of the user by the dative in (67a) is not unexpected.

- (67) a. *Die Studenten haben ihm einen Kuchen gebacken.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 3SG.M.DAT INDEF.M.SG.ACC cake bake.PTCPL  
 ‘The students baked him a cake.’

- b. *Die Studenten haben einen Kuchen gebacken.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have INDEF.M.SG.ACC cake bake.PTCPL  
 ‘The students baked a cake.’

On the other end of the necessity/expectedness scale, we can find a dative with an intransitive verb like *einschlafen* ‘fall asleep,’ as in (68a). This dative is not syntactically necessary (the sentence is fine without it (68b)) and, moreover, not even semantically expected, since events of people falling asleep do not typically involve any other participants at all. However, this unexpected dative *can* be used to integrate an additional participant in the description, expressing the idea that the event is of some relevance to them or affects them – in the case of (68), most likely in a negative way.

- (68) a. *Die Studenten sind ihm während der Vorlesung eingeschlafen.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students are 3SG.M.DAT during DEF.F.SG.GEN lecture  
 fall\_asleep.PTCPL  
 ‘The students fell asleep on him during the lecture.’<sup>33</sup>
- b. *Die Studenten sind während der Vorlesung eingeschlafen.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students are during DEF.F.SG.GEN lecture  
 fall\_asleep.PTCPL  
 ‘The students fell asleep during the lecture.’

The first linguist to study these various levels of syntactic and semantic necessity of German dative phrases systematically was Behaghel (1924), who coined the term ‘free dative’

---

<sup>33</sup> This example is adapted from Dąbrowska (1997: 66).

(*freier Dativ*) for non-argument datives like the ones in (67a) and (68a) and categorized them according to their degrees of ‘expectedness.’ Modern studies of free datives tend to translate these degrees in terms of argumenthood and cast them as such in the respective model of syntax they use, albeit with conflicting results. Wegener (1985), for instance, basing her study on an extended version of Tesnière’s (1959) verb-centric dependency grammar, analyzes benefactive datives like the one with *backen* ‘bake’ in (67a) as verb arguments, because they only occur with verbs of creation, destruction, or change and are thus verb-(type-)specific. She is contradicted by Schmid (1988), who emphasizes that such datives are not part of the verb’s extension but, rather, establish a relationship between the entire proposition and the dative referent (*ibid.*: 156f.). In descriptions couched in formal syntactic models of the Chomskyan tradition, all dative-marked elements are generally viewed as applied arguments, with applicatives at different levels of syntactic structure accounting for the various degrees of ‘closeness’ to the verb (Pylkkänen 2002, McFadden 2006; see also Cuervo 2003 for Spanish). From this theoretical viewpoint, the main difference between the datives with *geben* ‘give’ in (66a), *backen* ‘bake’ in (67a), and *einschlafen* ‘fall asleep’ in (68a) is the adjunction site of the applicative head that licenses them, whereas the lexical requirements of the verb play a lesser role: the only ‘true’ syntactic argument, in this family of frameworks, is the one realized as direct object. This miniature literature review illustrates that the determination of the argument status of ‘free’ datives depends to a large extent on the theoretical model used and the criteria on which the notion of argumenthood is based.

As a heuristic, I adopt the notion of semantic argument suggested by Koenig *et al.* (2003; see also Hole 2008: 8). Under this approach, a semantic argument is defined by the two properties of (i) semantic obligatoriness (i.e., lexical entailment) and (ii) semantic specificity (i.e., restriction to a small class of verbs). The role of recipient that accompanies the verb *geben* ‘give,’

as in (66a), meets both criteria and can thus be assumed to be an argument role; beneficiaries, on the other hand, as encoded by the dative with *backen* ‘bake’ in (67a), are generally not entailed and can be present in a much wider range of event types – and thus cooccur with a wider range of verbs – than recipients, which renders them non-obligatory and non-specific (cf. Koenig *et al.* 2003: 73). The same holds for the participant expressed by the dative with *einschlafen* ‘fall asleep’ in (68a), which may be called a malefactive as it expresses a negative effect for its referent. On the basis of these considerations, I consider beneficiary datives, maleficiary datives, and also possessor datives ‘free.’

### 3.3.2.2 Benefactives and malefactives: indirect affectedness vs. possession

As motivated in Chapter 2, subsection 2.4.4.1, the participant roles of benefactive and malefactive can be modeled as indirectly affected under a force-dynamic perspective, since benefaction and malefaction typically involves someone or something else being directly affected, and the benefaction/malefaction arises from this core event as a side effect. If someone bakes me a cake, the cake is directly affected by being made to come into existence, and I benefit from this. If my students fall asleep on me during my lecture, the students are directly affected – there is no force-dynamically initial actor in the latter event, but the students dozing off certainly have something happen to them rather than performing an action on their own initiative; and this, in turn, has a detrimental effect on me. As expected, both the benefactive and the malefactive pass the *passieren* test for affectedness, as shown in (69) and (70) respectively for the aforementioned examples.



- (69) *Weißt du, was mir passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
*Die Studenten haben mir einen Kuchen gebacken.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 1SG.DAT INDEF.M.SG.ACC cake bake.PTCPL  
 ‘You know what happened to me? The students baked me a cake.’
- (70) *Weißt du, was mir passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what 1SG.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
*Die Studenten sind mir eingeschlafen.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students are 1SG.DAT fall\_asleep.PTCPL  
 ‘You know what happened to me? The students fell asleep on me.’

The fact that the benefactive/malefactive is accompanied by a directly affected participant in the event is in fact crucial for the acceptability of dative marking. In principle, nothing excludes events in which someone benefits from or is adversely affected by someone else carrying out an action without an undergoer participant – laughing, singing, or dancing, for instance. However, German does not allow dative marking in these instances, as illustrated in (71a) and (b). The results of combining a dative with an activity verb like *lachen* ‘laugh’ or *singen* ‘sing’ are not generally acceptable – in spite of the straightforward interpretations that it has a bad effect on me if students laugh during my lecture (71a) or that it is nice for me if they sing to me (71b).<sup>34</sup> As the modification in (71b’) shows, on the other hand, the addition of a directly affected – in this case, effected – participant expression renders the sentence acceptable.

<sup>34</sup> Note that (71b) becomes acceptable if a satellite particle is added to the verb: *Die Studenten haben mir vorgesungen* ‘the students sang to me.’ Verbal particles and prefixes have argument-structural functions and often enhance the valence of the base verb. I attribute the dative-licensing property of the particle *vor* in *vorsingen* ‘sing to’ to the fact that it is related to the preposition *vor* ‘in front of, before,’ which can govern the dative. The specifics of dative government by verbal satellites are a research topic in its own right, which cannot be explored in depth here; but see the excursus on verbally governed dative at the end of this chapter (subsection 3.3.3) for some general assumptions the present analysis maintains about this issue.

- (71) a. \**Die Studenten haben mir in der Vorlesung gelacht.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 1SG.DAT in DEF.F.SG.dat lecture laugh.PTCPL  
 intended: ‘The students laughed during my lecture and I was (adversely) affected.’
- b. \**Die Studenten haben mir gesungen.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 1SG.DAT sing.PTCPL  
 intended: ‘The students sang for me.’
- b.’ *Die Studenten haben mir ein Ständchen gesungen.*  
 DEF.PL.NOM students have 1SG.DAT INDEF.N.SG.ACC serenade sing.PTCPL  
 ‘The students sang me a birthday song.’

Data such as those in (71) are interpreted by Wegener (1985: 72f.) as indicating that the presence of a dative favors resultativity as a semantic feature of the verb or verbal construction. Resultativity presupposes a change, the result of which is the end state; undergoing change, in turn, is one way of being (directly) affected, as outlined in Chapter 2. The observation of resultative preference is thus appropriately captured by the force-dynamic account taken here: the dative as a marker of indirect affectedness, as assumed here, cannot appear without direct affectedness of another participant. But Wegener goes further and claims that all benefactive and malefactive relationships can be reduced to a change of possession or a change in a possessed item, with the dative referent being the possessor and the possessum potentially abstract. Under this perspective, (71b’) would be explained as an abstract transaction (cf. *ibid.*: 263f.): the speaker is the metaphorical recipient of the song. Similarly, a malefactive dative like the one associated with the description of students falling asleep ((68a), (70)) would be analyzed as involving a possessive relationship between the dative referent and the students, which undergoes a change by virtue of the possessum’s – the students’ – change of state (*ibid.*: 269).

The idea that free datives are generally licensed by a possessive relation, which is introduced into the verbal complex by some kind of argument extension, is not uncommon among researchers, syntacticians and semanticists alike (cf. Wunderlich 1996 for a lexical, McIntyre 2006 for a syntactic approach in this spirit). The advantage of this analysis is that it provides a common semantic denominator for all participant roles that can, in German, be expressed by the dative and are not verbal arguments, under the definition of semantic argument given above. It is thus a rival for the indirect affectedness approach, which is why it needs to be considered in some more detail here.

The question whether indirect affectedness and, in particular, the notions of benefaction and malefaction depend on possession was already discussed in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.4.1). It was observed there that positing the notion of ‘coming into possession’ as a definitional criterion for the beneficiary role, in particular, leads to a semantic clash if the benefaction actually consists in the termination of a possessive relationship, because the actual, concrete possessive relationship changes in the opposite direction to the assumed abstract possession of the benefaction. In German, a benefactive dative can likewise express a person benefiting from having something removed from his/her possession, as shown in (72a). However, from a sentence like (72a) alone, it is not clear whether having Lisa finish the spaghetti is good or bad for Greg – the dative is vague with regard to the distinction between malefaction and benefaction. Context resolves this ambiguity, as the subsequent internet examples, both found on cooking websites, illustrate: in (72b) the dative receives a benefactive interpretation, as the likely effect that the children’s finishing their food has on their parent is a positive one; in (c) the dative is understood as a maleficiary, since the speaker precedes it by the information that she did not have her share of the food.

- (72) a. *Lisa hat Greg die Spaghetti aufgegessen.*  
 Lisa.NOM has Greg.DAT DEF.PL.ACC spaghetti eat\_up.PTCPL  
 ‘Lisa finished the spaghetti for/on Greg.’
- b. *Habe mich mit den Oliven [...] zurückgehalten und*  
 have.1SG REFL.1SG.ACC with DEF.PL.DAT olives hold\_back.PTCPL and  
*meine Kinder haben mir alles aufgegessen :-))*  
 my.PL.NOM children have.3PL 1SG.DAT everything eat\_up.PTCPL  
 ‘I used less olives and my kids finished everything for me’  
 (<http://www.chefkoch.de/rezepte/278391105753874/Putenkeule-auf-Tagliatelle-mit-Moehren.html>)
- c. *ich hab aber nicht so viel davon abbekommen,*  
 1SG.NOM have.1SG but NEG so much of\_it have\_one’s\_share.PTCPL  
*meine fam[ilie] hat mir alles aufgegessen ...*  
 my.F.SG.NOM family has 1SG.DAT everything eat\_up.PTCPL  
 ‘I didn’t have that much of it though, my family finished it all on me’  
 ([http://www.rezeptwiese.de/rezepte/16537-lahmacun-tuerkische\\_pizza](http://www.rezeptwiese.de/rezepte/16537-lahmacun-tuerkische_pizza))

As far as changes in a possessive relationship are concerned, all three sentences in (72) follow the same pattern: prior to the event the dative referent has the food, which is consumed by someone else during the event, thus being removed from the dative referent’s possession and transferred into that of the other person. In Wegener’s (1985: 263–68) semantic classification of verbs that allow a ditransitive dative construction, which is based on the various possessive configurations these verbs can express, this type of event is categorized as loss (‘group 8,’ p. 267–68); it is exemplified almost exclusively with data in which the evaluation on the part of the dative referent is negative (that is, descriptions of events of stealing, robbing and the like). But Wegener does not consider evaluation a crucial criterion in the interpretation of this event type; under her view, the particular change in possession, conditioned by the lexical-semantic proper-

ties of the verb (specifically, the component of consumption/removal), is the decisive semantic feature of the construction composed of *aufessen* ‘eat up, finish’ and the dative.

This analysis in terms of verb classes, however, implies that every construction in which *aufessen* cooccurs with a dative-marked NP expresses that the dative referent is the former possessor (in a more or less abstract interpretation of the possession relation) of the food being eaten – in other words, that the construction entails possession. It seems that this is an inaccurate generalization. Certainly, the event of food being finished may be of positive or negative relevance for someone without that person being in any kind of possessive relationship, however vague or abstract, with the food; this renders the inference of possession a cancellable implicature, rather than an entailment. Consider an eating competition at which the spectators place bets on the competitors, for instance. I placed my bet on the competitive eater John D. Vour, who is known to be capable of finishing 35 hot dogs in 10 minutes. He comes in first, eating an unbeatable 37 hot dogs in this amount of time and winning me a nice amount of money. When I brag to my friends later about my good instinct regarding the bet, I can say (73):

- (73) *Auf John kann ich mich verlassen.*  
 On John can.1SG 1SG.NOM REFL.1SG.ACC rely  
*Heute hat er mir 37 Hot Dogs aufgeessen.*  
 today has 3SG.M.NOM 1SG.DAT 37 hot dogs eat\_up.PTCPL  
 ‘John never fails me. Today he finished 37 hot dogs (for me, for my benefit).’

Quite obviously, in the event described by (73), I have no possessive relationship whatsoever with the food that was consumed. Possession therefore cannot be said to be an entailment of the dative construction. And while cases like (73) are certainly marginal, they show that the dative is not excluded as an expression of my involvement in an event when no possessive relation

holds between me and any of the other event participants, so the reasons why the dative can encode this involvement must lie beyond what possession can account for.

Let us consider another example, that of the dative in a description of someone falling asleep, to elucidate the shortcomings of the possession analysis further. The relevant example (68a) is repeated here as (74).

(74) *Die Studenten sind ihm während der Vorlesung*  
DEF.PL.NOM students are 3SG.M.DAT during DEF.F.SG.GEN lecture

*eingeschlafen.*

fall\_asleep.PTCPL

‘The students fell asleep on him during the lecture.’

According to Wegener’s (1985) classification, *einschlafen* ‘fall asleep’ is an intransitive verb that, when accompanied by a dative, forms a construction meaning ‘C [the theme] is with B [the dative referent], B has C; as a result of the event, B has C and C is in worse condition than before’ (*ibid.*: 269). This analysis, however, is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, just like in the case of *aufessen* ‘eat up,’ the possessive relation between the dative referent and the students is an implicature but not an entailment: while the most straightforward interpretation of (74) without context would be that the dative referent is the lecturer (and thus the ‘possessor’ of the students), the possessive inference can be cancelled – for instance, again, in a betting scenario. Assume that Greg and Lisa have a disagreement about undergraduate students’ work ethic and morale. Lisa has a particularly negative opinion and is convinced that most undergrads are disinterested, badly prepared, and fall asleep during lectures all the time. Greg is more optimistic and willing to bet that, in a randomly selected lecture that the two decide to sit in, nobody will fall asleep. Unfortunately for him, most students in that lecture do end up falling asleep, so he loses

the bet. Example (74), with Greg as the dative referent, would be an appropriate description for this event, without any possessive relation holding between Greg and the students; the dative expresses pure negative affectedness.

The second problematic point about Wegener's semantic analysis of this dative construction is its focus on the condition of the theme undergoing a change – in (74), the students. Due to the dative-marked participant being modeled as a possessor, the negative evaluation that (74) conveys is attributed to the 'worse condition' of the students as a result of the event. While academic teaching faculty would probably not deny the claim that students who are asleep in lectures are in a worse condition than wide-awake students, this evaluation of the state of its undergoer participant is not actually entailed by the verb *einschlafen* 'fall asleep,' nor by the construction that – under Wegener's analysis – the verb forms with the dative. Rather, the evaluation is made from the perspective of the dative referent on the basis of the effect the event has on him/her in a given context. Thus, (74) does not state that the *students* are in worse condition, as Wegener has it, but that what happens to them puts the *dative referent* in a, presumably, worse condition. Wegener's analysis, thus, does not capture the affectedness of the dative referent, which, on the other hand, the indirect affectedness account advocated here proposes to be the very core of the dative's function.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that affectedness and evaluation are distinct notions, and the fact that the benefactive and malefactive datives in (67)–(74) express positive or negative evaluation is viewed here as a side effect of the dative's function as indirect affectedness marker, not as its primary function. As mentioned repeatedly in this chapter, though, evaluation as good or bad – Jackendoff's (2007) affective value – is a concomitant effect of being affected if the affectee is a sentient being, and arises from affectedness as a default inference. In this respect,

the present approach differs subtly from other descriptions of dative case as an affectedness marker. For instance, Frajzyngier and Shay (2003: Chapter 9) make explicit reference to indirect affectedness when describing the function of the dative in Polish and some other languages, but subsume the positive or negative evaluation under this notion. According to them, indirect affectedness ‘may be physical, mental or emotional’ (*ibid.*: 215). The present approach would treat the emotional component as affective value, rather than as affectedness proper. Similarly, T. Smith’s (2005) analysis of affectedness expressions in various languages, including the dative, is based on the definition that these ‘indicate positive and negative events,’ as stated in the title of her dissertation; again, in the present research, the evaluation as positive and negative is considered a consequence of indirect affectedness, rather than an integral part. The present study is the first to distinguish between indirect affectedness and the evaluation that – frequently, but not necessarily – goes along with it.

### 3.3.2.3 Datives with stative verbs: indirect affectedness vs. spatial contiguity

The fact that free datives do not necessarily convey evaluation also plays an important role in Hole’s (2006, 2008, 2010) account, according to which dative-marked arguments are licensed by a voice operation in the spirit of Kratzer (1996). Hole’s detailed discussion includes datives in state descriptions, which have not been considered here so far and are the topic of the present subsection. In Hole’s model, two types of dative are distinguished: one that presupposes the capability of perception in its referent, which he terms ‘p-experiencer’ or potential experiencer dative (Hole 2008: 184, 188ff.), and one that presupposes the spatial notion of contiguity, dubbed ‘landmark dative’ (Hole 2006: 413, 2008: Chapter 10). The latter type is illustrated by the two sentences in (75). In (75a), indeed, the dative referent, Lisa, appears to define or specify the loca-



tion of the chewing gum.<sup>35</sup> Example (75b) shows that this type of dative is possible with inanimate referents without evoking personification, although Hole (2008: *passim*) admits that such sentences are not acceptable to all German speakers alike.

- (75) a. *Der Lisa klebt ein Kaugummi*  
 DEF.F.SG.DAT Lisa be\_stuck.3SG INDEF.N.SG.NOM chewing\_gum  
*an der Schuhsohle.*  
 at DEF.F.SG.DAT shoe\_sole  
 ‘Lisa has a piece of gum stuck to her sole.’  
 (cf. Hole 2010)
- b. *Dem Sessel klebt ein Preisschild*  
 DEF.M.SG.DAT armchair be\_stuck.3SG INDEF.N.SG.NOM price\_tag  
*am Fuß.*  
 at.DEF.M.SG.DAT foot  
 ‘The easy chair has a price tag stuck to its foot.’

According to Hole’s analysis, (75a) entails a locative relationship with recursive figure-ground relations, in which the dative referent – Lisa – defines a region in which an intermediate figure (the sole) functions as ground for the primary figure, the gum. Due to this alleged spatial entailment, he claims (75a) to be a feasible description of a situation in which Lisa is wearing the shoe that has the gum stuck to its sole or, at least, has the shoe somewhere in her immediate proximity, but not for any other scenarios. Likewise, (75b) cannot describe a situation in which the easy chair is disassembled and the price tag is stuck to one of its feet, which is a separate

<sup>35</sup> The definite article is here added to the uninflected proper name, as is possible in spoken, colloquial German, to ensure the dative interpretation. Without it, the sentence would lead the hearer/listener down a garden path, with *Lisa* being interpreted as nominative by default and its referent, the person Lisa, understood to be performing the action of sticking a piece of gum somewhere.

object in this scenario; inanimate referents of landmark datives are always in a meronymic relation with their figures, in that they are wholes of which the intermediate figure, the foot in (75b), must be a proper part (cf. Hole 2008: 205ff.; 2010). This meronym condition renders them possessor datives, in the sense examined in more detail in Chapter 4. However, Hole (2010) emphasizes that possession is not part of the dative's semantics, but only the landmark relation is.

The landmark account is straightforward for the standard readings of data like (75), but, similarly to the possession component that was shown to be a cancellable implicature of benefactive and malefactive datives in the previous section, we have to ask if the location relation Hole postulates for his 'landmark' datives really is entailed. I would like to claim that it is not; rather, just like the possessive interpretation of benefactives or malefactives, it is a stereotypical implicature that can be cancelled by appropriate contextual information. Consider the dialogue in (76). The question in (76a) establishes the common ground that the addressee did not ride her bike to the location where the conversation takes place, so the addressee and her bike are not in spatial proximity to each other. In her answer (76b),<sup>36</sup> the addressee explains that her bike has a flat tire due to a piece of broken glass being stuck in the tire, and she uses the dative to encode herself in this scenario – entirely analogous to Hole's landmark example (75a).

- (76) a. Q: *Warum bist du denn nicht mit dem Fahrrad gekommen?*  
           why     are 2SG.NOM EMPH NEG with DEF.N.SG.DAT bicycle come.PTCPL  
           'Why didn't you ride your bike here?'

---

<sup>36</sup> I had to resist the temptation to insert *mal wieder* 'once again' into (76b). The scenario that the conversation describes occurred multiple times during the writing of this dissertation, and I am convinced that I uttered the second sentence in (76b) at some point or other.

- b. A: *Weil ich einen Platten habe.*  
 because 1SG.NOM INDEF.M.SG.ACC flat\_tire have.1SG
- Mir steckt ein Glassplitter im Reifen.*  
 1SG.DAT stick.3SG INDEF.M.SG.NOM glass\_splinter in.DEF.M.SG.DAT tire
- ‘Because I have a flat tire. A piece of broken glass is stuck in my tire.’

The crucial difference between (76) and Hole’s example (75a) is that in (76), the dative referent cannot define a spatial region for the location of the bike, its tire, and the glass shard in it, because it is part of the common ground for (76b) that the dative referent is in a different location. The spatial contiguity relation can thus not be an entailment of the dative.

Hole’s landmark analysis could potentially be saved if the notion of spatial contiguity is taken to include metaphorical figure-ground relations. The dative in (76b) would then define a ‘region’ of possession, metaphorically construed as spatial proximity – a very common spatial metaphor (cf. Seiler 1983, Heine 1997, Stassen 2008, and see the discussion of possessive predication in Korean and Estonian in Chapters 5 and 6, respectively). However, Hole (2008: 198, fn. 129) explicitly excludes metaphoric spatial relations from his analysis. He therefore has no explanation for the phenomenon illustrated by (76).

The indirect affectedness analysis proposed here does not necessitate two distinct dative types, one entailing sentience and the other spatial contiguity. Both these notions are viewed as components of possible construals of indirect affectedness. Admittedly, in the context of states, affectedness is not diagnosable by the *passieren* + dative test, since states just aren’t things that happen. Nevertheless, a stative force-dynamic relationship can hold between two entities. For instance, in the case of a piece of gum and the shoe sole it is stuck to, forces of adhesion prevent the gum – or perhaps even the shoe – from moving freely (cf. Talmy 2000: Chapter 7 for the various types of force-dynamic relationships).

The force-dynamic analysis, thus, does not exclude affectedness by means of another entity being in a certain state. However, this affectedness is not, strictly speaking, indirect as defined by (36) in Chapter 2, since the affecting entity is not force-dynamically directly affected. To account for states, the notion of indirect affectedness needs to be extended along the lines of (77):

- (77) Any participant that is force-dynamically affected by a non-instigator/effector participant is indirectly affected.

This extended definition still has all the implications that have been discussed previously: in the case of inanimate entities, indirect affectedness is possible only if the direct affectee – or, in the extended case, the entity of which the state is predicated – is a meronym of the referent, because only in this case does the affectedness of the part extend physically to the whole. This accounts for data like (75b). Without such a meronymic relation, indirect affectedness of inanimates is entirely excluded and the indirect affectee must be animate, because the affectedness must be construed in terms of values. Under this approach, Hole's distinction between landmark and potential experiencer datives is no more than an artifact of the natural ontological distinction between animates and inanimates.

As a last point in the discussion of the possible spatial properties of datives with state descriptions, I would like to direct attention to the comparison in (78) below. All three sentences (78a–c) express essentially the same state of affairs, namely, that there is a piece of gum stuck to Lisa's shoe sole. Example (78a) is a repetition of (75a) above, with Lisa marked by the dative. In (78b), Lisa is encoded by a spatial preposition ('at/on Lisa') instead of the dative; and (78c) is a different construction with the possessive verb *haben* 'have' and the infinitive of *kleben* 'be stuck,' which is very similar to the English translation chosen for these examples. Under Hole's

analysis of the ‘landmark’ dative, (78a) and (b) should be synonymous – the dative would be expected to convey the same meaning as the spatial preposition; (78c), on the other hand, should be slightly different in meaning, since the verb *haben* adds a notion of possession that is not present in the two other sentences.

- (78) a. *Der Lisa klebt ein Kaugummi*  
DEF.F.SG.DAT Lisa be\_stuck.3SG INDEF.N.SG.NOM chewing\_gum  
*an der Schuhsohle.*  
at DEF.F.SG.DAT shoe\_sole  
 ‘Lisa has a piece of gum stuck to her sole.’
- b. *Bei Lisa klebt ein Kaugummi an der*  
at Lisa.DAT be\_stuck.3SG INDEF.N.SG.NOM chewing\_gum at DEF.F.SG.DAT  
*Schuhsohle.*  
shoe\_sole  
 ‘Lisa has a piece of gum stuck to her sole.’
- c. *Lisa hat ein Kaugummi an der Schuhsohle*  
Lisa.DAT has INDEF.N.SG.NOM chewing\_gum at DEF.F.SG.DAT shoe\_sole  
*kleben.*  
be\_stuck.INF  
 ‘Lisa has a piece of gum stuck to her sole.’

As a matter of fact, however, when asked to pick the two sentences most similar in meaning from (78a–c), my consultants chose (78a) and (c), the dative variant and the *haben* variant. Even though this is not an airtight proof (consultants were not asked about the criteria of ‘similarity in meaning’ that they applied, so it is possible that factors not considered here influenced their choice), this judgment indicates that the bare dative does not express a spatial relation, but something that is more appropriately paraphrased by – although not necessarily identical to – a pos-

sessive relation. This observation is in line with McIntyre (2006), who reasons that German free datives have the same semantics as the English ‘have something happen/be the case’ construction, which is used as a translation for (78).

#### 3.3.2.4 Judgment datives: pure value

In the context of free datives with states, we should also include the so-called judgment datives, which often occur in copular predications but also in other types of constructions that express a comparison with a standard or norm. The dative renders this comparison subjective, in that it encodes the judger who defines the norm. Two examples are provided in (79): (a) with a stative predication and the evaluation that the state exceeds the subjective norm, and (b) with a property of an activity being evaluated as complying with the norm.

- (79) a. *Die Musik ist mir zu laut.*  
 DEF.F.SG.NOM music is 1SG.DAT too loud  
 ‘I find the music too loud.’
- b. *Greg sang Lisa endlich laut genug.*  
 Greg sing.PAST Lisa.DAT finally loud enough  
 ‘Greg finally sang loudly enough for Lisa/to Lisa’s liking.’

The structural status of these datives is relatively uncontroversial; although their occurrence depends on the presence of an adjective (which may be used adverbially, as in (79b)), the participant they encode, the origin of perspective for the evaluation, is neither entailed by the adjective, nor is its presence restricted to a limited class of adjectives. Judgment datives thus fulfill the definition of ‘free dative’ given in subsection 3.3.2.1. And since there is no question of verbal argumenthood, most authors regard these datives as clear cases of free datives – in the sense of

non-argument datives – as well (Wegener 1985: 53–60, 130; Dürscheid 1999: 40; Hole 2008: 9, among others). The only exception is Schmid (1988: Chapter 2, 53–105), who treats them as adjectivally governed.

Those accounts that consider possession an essential part of the dative meaning do not cover judgment datives (cf. Wegener 1985: 261 and McIntyre 2006: 206, who explicitly exclude them from their analyses). On the other hand, presupposing an animate entity capable of judgment, these datives are a core part of the evidence supporting ‘personal dative’ analyses, such as that of Hole (2008), who includes them in his category of potential experiencer datives. Evidence for this classification is that personification is a necessary, not just optional, effect of the attempt to use judgment datives with inanimate referents, as illustrated in (80) (taken from Wegener 1985: 55, where this sentence is marked as ungrammatical).

- (80) # *Ich bin dem Mantel groß genug.*  
 1SG.NOM am DEF.M.SG.DAT coat big enough  
 intended: ‘I am tall enough for the coat, to wear the coat’;  
 actual reading: #‘The coat finds that I am tall enough’

If the datives in (79) were analyzed as expressing the person to whose perspective the statement is relativized, as many authors do, it would not be straightforward how, in the present approach, indirect affectedness could account for this; a person evaluating a situation is certainly not necessarily force-dynamically affected by it. However, this semantic analysis would in fact not be appropriate. Note that judgment dative constructions are generally not acceptable with plain adjectival predications, without *zu* ‘too’ or *genug* ‘enough’ specifying the (potential) diver-

gence from the norm – at least in spoken colloquial German, where (81) would be ungrammatical.<sup>37</sup>

- (81) \**Die Musik ist mir laut.*  
 DEF.F.SG.NOM music is 1SG.DAT loud  
 intended: ‘I find the music loud.’

If the dative could generally express an origin of perspective, it is not clear why it cannot be used in (81); after all, loudness can be perceived subjectively. But on closer scrutiny, the judgment datives in (79) do more than just encoding the person who makes the comparison with his or her subjective norm. They also convey that the deviation from the norm matters to the dative referent, in that his or her subjective well-being is impaired by the deviation (79a) whereas it adds to his/her well-being when the norm is complied with (79b). This can be shown by negating the effect on the dative referent’s subjective status, which leads to semantic anomaly.

- (82) a. *Greg war die Musik zu laut, # aber er*  
 Greg.DAT was DEF.F.SG.NOM music too loud but 3SG.M.NOM  
*fand das überhaupt nicht schlimm.*  
 find.PAST that at\_all NEG bad  
 ‘Greg found the music too loud, # but he didn’t mind at all.’

---

<sup>37</sup> Admittedly, constructions like (81) are acceptable in poetic style. My explanation for this phenomenon is that affective value (see below) is extended in these cases to the experience of states.



- b. *Greg sang Lisa laut genug, # aber das war*  
 Greg sing.PAST Lisa.DAT loud enough but that was  
*Lisa egal.*  
 Lisa.DAT not\_mattering

‘Greg sang loudly enough for Lisa, # but Lisa didn’t care.’

(82a) shows that, if a state or quality is not in line with the norm defined by the dative referent, that referent is also affected: if Greg finds the music too loud, he will have some emotional reaction to this, such as annoyance, but will not remain indifferent. Likewise, as seen in (82b), if the norm is met, the dative referent will react by being pleased or perhaps relieved, if previous attempts at meeting her standards have been unsuccessful. These entailments are clear cases of Jackendovian affective value. It looks like the judgment dative is first and foremost an indicator of affective value, rather than of point of view or perspective; this accounts for its unacceptability in descriptions of judgments without affective value, as in (81). Affective value, in turn, has been shown to be a correlate of affectedness. My account of German judgment datives is thus that, although they do not express indirect affectedness proper, the basic function of the dative as an indirect affectedness marker enables it to encode pure affective value as well, by virtue of the strong correlation that holds between indirect affectedness and affective value.

It must be noted at this point that Hole (2008: 136f.) comes to a similar conclusion, but restricts the observation of (what is here called) affective value to a certain type of adjectives that lexically relate to physical or psychological well-being, of which *laut* ‘loud’ would be an example. For other adjectives, this interpretation is optional, since they can describe an objectively observable state of which the person it holds for does not have to be aware. Consider the contrast in (83) (based on Hole, *ibid.*):

- (83) a. *Greg war die Musik zu laut, # aber er*  
 Greg.DAT was DEF.F.SG.NOM music too loud but 3SG.M.NOM  
*merk-te es nicht.*  
 notice-PAST 3SG.N.ACC NEG  
 ‘Greg found the music too loud, # but he didn’t notice.’
- b. *Greg war die Hose zu weit, aber er*  
 Greg.DAT was DEF.F.SG.NOM pants too wide but 3SG.M.NOM  
*merk-te es nicht.*  
 notice-PAST 3SG.N.ACC NEG  
 ‘Greg’s pants were too wide, but he didn’t notice.’

Example (83a), similarly to the data in (82), demonstrates that the dative referent experiences the deviation of the music from the norm of loudness in a certain way; moreover, this experience must be conscious. An adjective that describes a spatial extension such as *weit* ‘wide,’ on the other hand, as illustrated in (83b), can be used in the same construction without the dative entailing conscious experience. Hole’s interpretation of these data is that the dative in (83b) is a landmark dative, as discussed in the previous subsection 3.3.2.3. My alternative explanation is the same as the one outlined in that subsection: Greg and the pants he is wearing are in a force-dynamic relationship and the pants are not a force-dynamic effector, so Greg is an indirect affectee according to the revised definition in (77).

Of course, a construal in terms of value would be possible in this case as well, if the pants are too wide and Greg is in fact aware of it. Example (84) is thus ambiguous: according to reading (i), which is the only available one for (83b) above where awareness is negated, Greg is wearing the pants and the fact that they are too wide need not be something that he knows or that affects him. Reading (ii), in contrast, involves the dative interpretation that we also saw in the context of *zu laut* ‘too loud’: that of affective value. In this scenario, Greg need not be wearing

the pants – they may not even be his, but he could be evaluating someone else’s pants or even a pair of pants exhibited in a store window.

- (84) *Greg war die Hose zu weit.*  
Greg.DAT was DEF.F.SG.NOM pants too wide  
i. ‘Greg’s pants were too wide.’ (see (83b))  
ii. ‘Greg found the pants (his own or others) too wide.’

For Hole (2006, 2008: 137f.), the ambiguity of (84) serves as proof of the distinction between the two dative types he postulates: reading (i) instantiates the landmark dative, reading (ii) the potential experiencer dative. In contrast, under the present approach, the ambiguity simply results from the fact that (84) can either be a stative affectedness description or a judgment dative construction, which expresses pure value without affectedness.

An important implication that arises from the present analysis is that *any* conscious experience involves an affective reaction. What the present approach maintains is that the category ‘judger,’ or in other words, an unaffected origin of perspective or objective evaluation, does not exist, at least not as a relevant notion in the use of the German dative; rather, whenever a state of affairs is presented as relativized to somebody’s subjective experience, that experiencer is necessarily portrayed as having a reaction in terms of affective (positive or negative) value. A strong indicator supporting this analysis is the fact that the dative is not generally applicable in a pure ‘origin of perspective’ configuration, as observed in the ungrammatical example (81). Further evidence comes from a small class of German adjectives that can actually cooccur with a dative, without the necessity of a *zu* ‘too (much)’ or *genug* ‘enough’ phrase to specify deviance from or compliance with a norm, as illustrated in (85a).

- (85) a. *Mir ist kalt / warm / langweilig / schlecht.*  
 1SG.DAT is cold / warm / boring / bad  
 ‘I feel cold/warm/bored/nauseous.’
- b. *Ich bin kalt / langweilig / schlecht.*  
 1SG.NOM am cold / boring / bad  
 ‘I am a cold/boring/bad person.’

As (85b) shows, copular predication is also available for these adjectives, expressing an intrinsic property if the subject argument denotes a person. But it is not sufficient to describe the semantic difference between (85a) and (b) in terms of stage-level vs. individual-level predication, since other stage-level predicates are perfectly compatible with copular predication but do not permit the dative construction, as shown in (86).

- (86) a. \**Mir ist hungrig / wütend / krank / pleite.*  
 1SG.DAT is hungry / angry / sick / broke  
 intended: ‘I’m hungry/angry/sick/broke.’
- b. *Ich bin hungrig / wütend / krank / pleite.*  
 1SG.NOM am hungry / angry / sick / broke

Furthermore, the dative constructions in (85a) do not exactly describe a temporary property holding of or experienced by a person, as the adjectival predications in (86b) do. Rather, they present a state holding of a person’s external environment as having an impact on that person’s well-being, as affecting his or her personal comfort. With these adjectives, the dative thus expresses affective value, rather than experience alone.

To sum up the discussion of the dative in adjectival constructions, it can be stated that if no force-dynamic affectedness along the lines of (77) is involved, the dative always conveys an af-

fective evaluation of the state that the adjective denotes, or the extent to which this state holds. There are, therefore, no ‘pure’ judgment or experiencer datives in German. Rather, the conclusion to draw from these dative uses is that judgment and experience *necessarily* involve a positive or negative affective reaction.

### 3.3.2.5 Ethical datives – are they really a separate category?

The last group of free datives that is briefly considered here consists in the so-called ethical datives, for which non-argument status is uncontroversial because they have pragmatic rather than semantic or argument-structural functions. Ethical datives are unstressable pronominal dative forms that enhance the illocutionary force of certain speech acts, such as commands. They occur mainly in the first person, emphasizing the speaker’s personal interest in the perlocutionary effect of the speech act, as illustrated in (87).

- (87) *Komm mir nicht zu spät.*  
 come.IMPER 1SG.DAT NEG too late  
 ‘Don’t you be late on me.’

In terms of their communicative function, ethical datives are thus speech act modifiers, and as such they elude the scope of most descriptions that aim to capture dative functions on the basis of compositional semantics. As a consequence, they are generally treated as a phenomenon in its own right, rather than as directly related to other dative uses (exceptions are the dative studies in the spirit of cognitive grammar, which advocate a holistic view of interrelated dative meanings; cf. Janda 1993 for Czech, Dąbrowska 1997 for Polish). Wegener (1989) assigns the ethical dative the status of a modal particle, a view that has been criticized as overly radical, given that

the ethical is still a pronoun with inflectional and referential properties (e.g., Gutzmann 2007). Accordingly, Gutzmann (2007) analyzes ethical datives as carriers of a conventional implicature: they do not contribute to the propositional meaning of the sentence they appear in, but, independently, express the speaker's attitude – that of personal interest – towards the proposition made by this sentence. The conventional implicature account is also evoked by Horn (2008), who characterizes the content of the implicature as 'subject affect.'

Certainly, the ethical dative is the most removed from what is here assumed to be the core or prototype of the German dative, a marker of force-dynamically defined indirect affectedness. However, it has been argued in this chapter that this prototype motivates various uses of the dative through the correlation between indirect affectedness and affective value, to the extent that the dative can function as an exponent of value alone in the absence of actual affectedness. What the ethical dative conveys – the importance of the perlocutionary effect to the speaker – can be viewed as another, even more abstract instantiation of this expression of value: the dative in (87) does not entail affective value for its referent, as the judgment dative does, but conveys that this value is conditioned by the perlocutionary effect. It is this dependence of affective value on the addressee's compliance or noncompliance with the speech act that makes the contribution of the dative an implicature rather than an entailment.

I would like to argue, however, that this is in fact a function of the speech act, rather than of the dative itself. As a matter of fact, the imperative examples generally discussed in the context of ethical datives can easily be rephrased as statements, in which case the dative does entail affective value for its referent. Consider (88a), another classic example of the ethical dative in a command. In (88b), the same state of affairs that the imperative in (a) portrays as undesired is described as a fact, with the dative still expressing the speaker's negative affective evaluation –

but now as an entailment, as can be shown by the contradictory effect that arises when conjoining the sentence with the denial of such evaluation, as in (88c).

- (88) a. *Werde mir nicht krank!*  
 become.IMPER 1SG.DAT NEG sick  
 ‘Don’t get sick on me!’
- b. *Und dann ist das Kind mir krank geworden.*  
 and then is DEF.N.SG.NOM child 1SG.DAT sick become.PTCPL  
 ‘And then the child fell sick on me.’
- c. *Das Kind ist mir krank geworden,*  
 DEF.N.SG.NOM child is 1SG.DAT sick become.PTCPL  
 # *aber das war mir egal.*  
 but that was 1SG.DAT not\_mattering  
 ‘The child fell sick on me, # but I didn’t care.’

The dative in (88b) may be classified as a malefactive, analogously to the dative with *einschlafen* ‘fall asleep,’ discussed earlier in this chapter. It portrays its referent as strongly emotionally involved, so the affective value component is very prominent; this is favored by the context, which suggests an emotional bond between the dative referent, the speaker, and the child falling sick. It thus seems that the context influences the extent to which the affective value implicature that arises from indirect affectedness is profiled. And this value, we may reason, also licenses the ‘ethical’ use of the dative: (88a) would be uttered by someone who is emotionally close to the addressee, for instance a parent, but much less likely by someone without an emotional bond, such as a teacher. Thus, the conventional implicature of personal interest that has been attributed to the ethical dative can be seen as a secondary effect of affective value – which, in turn, is a default implicature of indirect affectedness. This might answer Gutzmann’s

(2007: 297) open question regarding the possible link between the speaker attitude implicated by the ethical dative and the semantics of the dative case in general.

### **3.3.3 Excursus: A note on spatial and verbally governed datives**

The discussion of free datives in the preceding sections has been interpreted to refute the hypothesis that the German adverbial dative has a spatial component to it. The most important piece of evidence for this assumption is the inability of the dative case to signify spatial location on its own, and the fact that it can only do so as part of a larger construction in which other elements – viz. prepositions – contribute to the spatial information as well and condition the presence of the dative (see subsection 3.3.1, examples (64) and (65)). As a prepositional case, the dative exhibits different properties than it does as an adverbial case; most notably, it is not biased towards human reference. In light of these facts, my take here has been that the prepositional and the adverbial dative are two distinct grammatical phenomena and that, when studying the latter, the former can be ignored. Diachronic research supports this distinction: it is commonly argued that the prepositional dative is descended from several semantic cases of Proto-Indo-European – instrumental, ablative, and locative – while the adverbial dative existed as a separate case in the protolanguage, already with the human reference bias (Wegener 1985: 4, Hentschel and Weydt 2003: 168; see also Behaghel 1904: 317).

However, many verbs with spatial meanings govern the dative as exponent of some spatial relation. This has led to the development of localist descriptions of the dative, diametrically opposed to such approaches as proposed here that argue along the lines of non-spatial notions like affectedness. Among recent accounts of the dative in German and related languages that assume a basically spatial perspective are those couched in the framework of cognitive grammar, which



generally attribute to the dative the highly abstract function of expressing a kind of – often metaphorical – spatial reference point (M. Smith 1985 and Draye 1996 for German, Dąbrowska 1997 for Polish; the latter two include prepositional dative in their descriptions).

The present study takes the viewpoint that many cases of adverbial dative with inanimate reference and spatial function, which seemingly conflict with the hypothesis advocated in this chapter that adverbial dative signals indirect affectedness, can be accounted for as being, in fact, prepositional rather than adverbial. German verb derivation is highly prolific, in particular with prepositional elements that behave as particles in conjugation, but form a lexical unit with the verb stem. We notice that spatial datives only occur with such morphologically complex verbs, but not with simplex verbs. The two following examples (89) and (90) are adapted from Wegener (1985: 95). Both (a) sentences in these examples contain a dative with an inanimate referent (a house and a letter, respectively); but they also contain a particle verb: *an+bauen* ‘attach (to a building)’ and *hinzu+fügen* ‘add,’ respectively. The (b) sentences are attempts to express the same state of affairs in the same manner, including the inanimate-reference dative, by using a simplex verb, which results in anomalous sentences: in both cases, the dative referent would have to be understood as an animate beneficiary or recipient – in other words, as personified. As I argue, the acceptability of the (a) variants depends crucially on the presence of the verbal particle, which is based on a preposition. For illustration, the (c) sentences show that this preposition, indeed, governs the dative when used in a basic locative description or description of a motion event.

- (89) a. *Er            bau-t      dem            Haus    einen            Balkon an.*  
           3SG.M.NOM build-3SG DEF.N.SG.DAT house INDEF.M.SG.ACC balcony PART  
           ‘He’s attaching a balcony to the house.’  
           (*an+bauen* ‘attach (to a building)’)

b. #*Er bau-t dem Haus einen Balkon.*  
 3SG.M.NOM build-3SG DEF.N.SG.DAT house INDEF.M.SG.ACC balcony  
 interpreted as: ‘He’s building a balcony for the house./He’s building the house a balcony.’

c. *An dem Haus ist ein Balkon.*  
 at DEF.N.SG.DAT house is INDEF.M.SG.NOM balcony  
 ‘There is a balcony on the house.’

(90) a. *Sie füg-t dem Brief einen Satz hinzu.*  
 3SG.F.NOM join-3SG DEF.M.SG.DAT letter INDEF.M.SG.ACC sentence PART  
 ‘She’s adding a sentence to the letter.’  
 (*hinzu*+*fügen* ‘add’)

b. #*Sie schreib-t dem Brief einen Satz.*  
 3SG.F.NOM write-3SG DEF.M.SG.DAT letter INDEF.M.SG.ACC sentence  
 interpreted as: ‘She’s writing a sentence to/for the letter.’

c. *Zu dem Brief komm-t ein Satz hinzu.*  
 to DEF.M.SG.DAT letter come-3SG INDEF.M.SG.NOM sentence PART  
 ‘One sentence is added to the letter (lit.: comes to the letter).’

Wegener (1985: *ibid. et passim*, and see also subsection 3.3.2.2 above) interprets the data in (89) and (90) as illustrating the influence of verb semantics on the possibility of an inanimate dative: the (a) verbs are strongly resultative, they express creation or transfer with a specific endpoint; verbs of unspecific change, in contrast (such as the ones in (89b)/(90b)), require animate dative referents. While this observation is adequate, it must also be noted that resultativity is frequently introduced by verbal satellites in German, such as the preposition-turned-particle elements in (89a) and (90a). I consider the resultativity of the complex verbs in these examples a side effect of their derivational properties and not causally relevant to the occurrence of an inanimate dative referent, which, under my analysis, is in fact licensed by the case-governing

properties of the satellites: as free prepositions, these elements govern the (spatial) dative, and the complex verbs in which they occur inherit this capacity. This approach also accounts for notorious idiomatic verbs that *require* a dative with inanimate reference, such as *unterziehen* ‘subject to’ and *aussetzen* ‘expose to,’ where the inanimate participant marked by ‘to’ in the English counterparts bears dative in German: both *unter* and *aus* are prepositions governing the dative, *unter* in alternation with accusative and *aus* exclusively.

The view that adverbial dative in German is an affectedness marker, rather than expressing any spatial notions, can thus be maintained: first, because its ungoverned occurrences never exhibit any spatial meaning at all; and second, because the governed datives that do show spatial meaning can be analyzed as prepositional datives – which can be treated as a distinct phenomenon, with different historical roots than the other dative uses in modern German. As a last point, it should be noted that verbally governed datives without spatial meaning, and with verbs that do not contain a prefixed prepositional element, also exist. While a full examination of this matter cannot be carried out here, I posit that these, just like the free datives discussed in the previous section 3.2, can be described on the basis of indirect affectedness. A classic example like *helfen* ‘help,’ illustrated in the introduction to this chapter (see example (45a)), certainly meets this claim, as it can be viewed as an abstract transfer verb – ‘give help’ – so that the participant expressed by the dative can be analyzed as a recipient, that is, an indirect affectee.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> For Jackendoff (1990: 134), the person helped is a beneficiary. Since the beneficiary is likewise an indirectly affected participant role, though, this analysis does not refute the present approach but, rather, supports it.

### 3.4 Summary

This chapter motivated an affectedness test for German, based on the verb *passieren* in combination with a dative NP to express the affectee. It was shown that this test identifies force-dynamically indirect as well as direct affectedness (as defined in Chapter 2), but at the same time suggests affective value for the affectee, which restricts it largely to human referents. The test applies to the core participant roles that were argued to be indirectly affected in Chapter 2: recipients, beneficiaries, and maleficiaries, all of which are encoded by dative case in German. This allows the conclusion that the German dative's basic function is to express force-dynamic indirect affectedness, a function that it can also have in stative descriptions that the *passieren* test does not capture.

Further participant roles that the dative can encode, which are not force-dynamically affected in any way, were shown to be related to indirect affectedness via the default implicature of affective value. Notably, judgment datives (and, in general, datives in adjectival constructions) were analyzed as expressing 'pure' affective value. This abstraction from force dynamics to affective value was also identified as the main factor to license ethical datives in certain speech acts. In sum, even though not all datives in German express indirect affectedness proper, all of them can be said to be related to indirect affectedness through a chain of correlations.

The next chapter discusses the one participant role that has not been addressed here in detail: that of possessor.

## 4. External possessor datives cross-linguistically

### 4.1 Introduction

The German data discussed in the previous chapter have shown that possession is a frequent, although not necessary and thus not entailed, semantic component of free datives. The present chapter delves into the topic of such possessor-marking datives in more detail, complementing the relevant facts from German by cross-linguistic data. The main goal is to show that the uses of dative case – or more generally, recipient-marking expressions – that we find in German occur across continents and language families. This renders indirect affectedness, argued here to be the semantic basis for such dative uses, a universally relevant grammatical category and a necessary condition for the emergence of the constructions discussed in this chapter, whereas possession is likewise necessary but not sufficient.

In this chapter, to refer to constructions in which a possessor is expressed adverbally, rather than adnominally as part of a NP headed by the possessum nominal, I will use the well-established term **external possession** (cf. Payne and Barshi 1999b: 3). Although this term was not coined until the 1990s, gaining prominence through Payne and Barshi's (1999a) collection of papers presented at the first conference dedicated to this topic, the phenomenon itself has been widely studied for decades, under alternative – and highly theory-colored – terms like 'possessor raising' or 'possessor ascension.' It certainly challenges syntactic theories that assume strict lexical projection of syntactic arguments, as formulated in GB's theta criterion (Chomsky 1981: 36) to name one prominent example, since external possessors (in the following: EPs) appear as verbal arguments without being part of the verb's argument structure.

External possession is first and foremost a structural phenomenon; the term, thus, does not entail any semantic properties of the constructions it encompasses. EPs can appear in any grammatical relation, as an applied object, or as a syntactic adjunct (for typological overviews cf. Payne and Barshi 1999b: 8ff., König 2001; and see also König and Haspelmath 1998 as well as Haspelmath 1999 for the languages of Europe). The use of dative case or, more generally, recipient marking to encode the EP is the particular kind of EP construction that is of interest in the context of this dissertation.

While EP constructions in general are found throughout the world, EP datives have been observed to be largely restricted to the languages of Central Europe, and to be infrequent, if not nonexistent, in other parts of the world (cf. König and Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999, König 2001).<sup>39</sup> With its cross-linguistic approach to the phenomenon, the present chapter aims at a revision of this claim, relating it to other typological factors that set the European languages apart. It will be shown that EP datives do exist in non-European languages, and, in fact, with quite similar properties as those found in German and other, familiar languages of Europe. In conclusion, it will be argued that the lower frequency of EP datives outside Europe is a side effect of two more general typological factors: the preference in Eurasian languages for indirect object alignment in ditransitive constructions, in combination with a relatively low frequency of said alignment type outside this geographical area; and, among languages with indirect object alignment, the distinction between indirect affectedness vs. spatially based recipient marking. Specifically, the presence of an indirect object marker that expresses indirect affectedness is as-

---

<sup>39</sup> König and Haspelmath, in fact, in their various publications on the subject, name quite different languages in each as the ‘only’ or one of the very few non-European languages with a construction similar to an EP dative: Yimas (see section 4.3.4 below) in König and Haspelmath (1998) and Haspelmath (1999: 121), Chickasaw in Haspelmath (1999: *ibid.*), and Ewe in Haspelmath (2001: 1498). This seems to indicate that their focus lies on setting the specific construction encountered in the European languages apart, rather than searching for the similarities between EP datives in those languages and the allegedly rare non-European instances of EP-dative-like constructions, which is the aim of the present study.

sumed to be the crucial factor that permits EP dative constructions. This factor is present in German-like datives, but, as the discussion in this chapter shows, it is not limited to Europe.

## 4.2 Basic concepts and definitions

### 4.2.1 Syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of the EP

Segueing from the previous chapter, the phenomenon of EP dative is illustrated in (91) with an example from German. It showcases the contrast between a genitive-marked internal possessor (IP) in (a), that is, a possessor expression within the NP headed by the possessum noun, and a dative-marked external possessor in (b).

- (91) a. *Die Mutter wäscht die Hände*  
 DEF.F.SG.NOM mother wash.3SG DEF.PL.ACC hands  
*des Jungen.*  
 DEF.M.SG.GEN boy.GEN

‘The mother is washing the boy’s hands.’

- b. *Die Mutter wäscht dem Jungen*  
 DEF.F.SG.NOM mother wash.3SG DEF.M.SG.DAT boy.DAT  
*die Hände.*  
 DEF.PL.ACC hands

‘The mother is washing the boy’s hands,’ lit.: ‘... is washing the hands to the boy.’

Even though the two sentences in (91) express the same relations between the involved participants – in particular, the same inalienable possessive relation between the boy and his hands –

their pragmatic properties are not identical, and the factors that determine the choice of one or the other construction are manifold and intricate. For the specific event described in (91), a grooming activity carried out on someone's hands, the EP dative construction in (b) is in fact preferred over the adnominal genitive construction, and the use of the genitive possessor construction in (a) gives rise to the implicature that the hands are viewed as separate objects rather than body parts. This is in line with the observation made in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.4.2) that human possessors of affected body parts are necessarily indirect affectees, and with the discussion of Chapter 3, which showed that the German dative can be seen as a marker of indirect affectedness. Other types of events may reduce or reverse the preference for the EP construction, as the subsequent discussion (for German, cf. subsection 4.3.1) will examine in more detail. What is important here is that external possession in general, and the EP dative in particular, has syntactic as well as semantic and pragmatic characteristics and cannot be accounted for in terms of syntax alone.

Syntactically, adnominal possession (or more generally, to include EP constructions, attributive in contrast to predicative possession) can be defined as a relation between two nominal expressions that is not mediated by a verb (Seiler 1983: 4). However, the syntax of an EP configuration is more complex than this, since each of the two nominal expressions, independently from each other and from the relation between them, also bears a syntactic relation to the main verb in the clause. An EP dative like *dem Jungen* 'the<sub>DAT</sub> boy' in (91b) is thus characterized by 'syntactic duality' (Bally 1996[1926]: 42): it is syntactically linked to the possessum NP (*die Hände* 'the hands' in (91b)), but also to the verb (*wäscht* 'is washing') in an indirect-object-like relation.



Semantically, we observe an analogous duality in the EP, as the referent of the EP phrase is not only in some kind of relation with the possessum, but also a participant in the event denoted by the verb (cf. Croft 2003: 211); specifically, as outlined in subsection 2.4.4.2 of Chapter 2, it is an indirect affectee in this event. This renders EP datives indirect affectedness constructions. The particular characteristics of the semantic relations involved (between EP and possessum noun, and between EP and verb) may be important to the use and acceptability of the construction. For instance, for German and other European languages with similar dative constructions, it has been argued that the acceptability of the dative hinges on relationality of the possessum noun (a semantic property that links the two nominals) as well as event properties like telicity (cf. König and Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999, and section 4.3.1 below).

Pragmatics is relevant to EP constructions in accessing the discourse factors that lead to the choice of EP or IP construction, assuming that both have similar or even identical denotational properties. It is also relevant from the opposite perspective, that of interpretation, since the possessive relation must be inferred from an EP construction, rather than being explicitly encoded. This accounts for the higher acceptability of the construction for possessa that are inalienably possessed, such as body-parts, as seen in (91) for German and discussed in more detail for other languages below: if the semantics of the noun entails a possessive relation, the inference is more easily made than with nouns that do not entail any such relation. In the former case, the use of the more explicit IP construction may give rise to relevance implicatures, as hinted above for (91a). On the other hand, if an EP construction is used with a non-relational possessum noun, the hearer may draw the implicature that some other meaning beyond mere possession is conveyed, which the more explicit adnominal possessive construction does not entail (cf. Grice 1975).

These interplays between semantic entailments of a construction and pragmatic inferences evoked by its use or avoidance will be discussed in the following as well.

#### **4.2.2 Typological considerations**

When looking at a particular type of construction cross-linguistically, the proper delineation of what to look for is essential. This was outlined in the Introduction (Chapter 1) with regard to the notion of ‘dative’ in general and is even more important here, where a larger range of languages is to be considered. In the Introduction, dative was defined as a dependent-marking strategy that prototypically expresses the recipient argument in ditransitive constructions, and it was motivated that the verb ‘give’ provides a cross-linguistically available heuristic to identify this strategy. It is very important to point out, though, that neither the definition nor the heuristic should be taken to imply any thematic priority of the recipient role over other roles that a given recipient-marking expression may encode. Although the recipient expression in the description of a giving event is the starting point in the case studies carried out in this research, with the goal of examining the range of uses it can have, this approach does not presuppose that the recipient expression thus identified has the marking of recipients as its major, prototypical, or otherwise dominant function; rather, the focus of interest lies on the more general conceptual categories that a given recipient expression may be found to encode, such as indirect affectedness. The arguments made in this chapter are thus not to be understood on the level of thematic or participant roles in the first place, but on the broader level of these conceptual categories. Specifically, indirect affectedness is the category that is relevant here, as it has been argued in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.4.2) that the possessor of a directly affected possessum is an indirect affectee. Therefore, if the recipient is construed as an indirect affectee in a given language and the notion of indirect

affectedness is thus grammaticalized in the recipient expression, that language is likely to encode EPs by means of the same expression; and, vice versa, if a language is observed to encode both recipients and EPs by the same construction or marker, the overall conclusion is that the expression in question must be an indirect affectedness marker. This is the reasoning that guides the argument of the present chapter.

Another issue associated with the definition of dative as used here – that is, as a dependent-marking strategy with the prototypical function of recipient marking – is that it excludes a wide array of languages from the outset, as briefly noted in the Introduction: those that have primary/secondary object alignment in ditransitive constructions or double-object constructions only, and those that are exclusively head-marking. In order to widen the range of data considered, head-marking languages are considered in this chapter as well. The inquiry thus concerns not only EP datives in the strict sense of case marking, but, more generally, EP marking that is identical to indirect-object marking – or EP/IO constructions for short: EP constructions in which the EP is expressed by the same morphosyntactic strategy that is also used for recipients.

Languages that exhibit primary/secondary object alignment, on the other hand, are not considered. As indicated in Chapter 1, the simple reason is that these languages do not single out the recipient in ditransitive constructions, but, rather, employ a specific kind of marking for the theme (the transferred object) while the recipient bears the same marking as a monotransitive theme. The fact that this study investigates recipient-marking expressions removes primary/secondary object languages from its focus, as it were, since in these languages, the participant role of recipient does not have a prominent grammatical correlate. ‘Recipient marking’ would simply be the marking used for the primary object in these languages, which subsumes a wide range of other participant roles in addition to the recipient. Certainly, such languages may

have EP constructions in which the EP is expressed by this marking. But such data would not tell us much about the semantic interrelations between the recipient role and the EP, whereas EP/IO constructions in direct/indirect object languages, with their specific encoding for the recipient in ditransitive constructions, may allow conclusions about such interrelations if this specific type of marking is extended to possessors.

### **4.3 Case studies**

This main section of the present chapter discusses selected data on EP dative constructions – or more appropriately, under the definitions of the previous section, EP/IO constructions. As a starting point, the EP dative in European languages will be represented by German data in subsection 4.3.1, continuing the discussion of the previous chapter. This discussion came to the conclusion that all free dative uses in German can be accounted for by analyzing the dative as an indirect affectedness marker, as it encodes force-dynamically indirect affectedness (as identified in Chapter 2) and, by virtue of semantic extension, affective value, a default correlate of indirect affectedness. Possessors of directly affected participants were argued in Chapter 2 to be indirect affectees as well. It is thus no surprise that the dative marks EPs in German.

On this basis, the discussion proceeds to data from other, unrelated languages in which recipient marking and EP marking overlap. It is guided in part by the list of EP/IO languages in Gerds (1999) and focuses on the question whether the EP/IO constructions in these languages show indirect affectedness effects as well – which would be expected, given the hypothesis stated in 4.1 that the feature of indirect affectedness as a semantic component of recipient marking enables such marking to extend to EPs. The languages under discussion are Sidaama, a

Cushitic language of Ethiopia (subsection 4.3.2), for which extensive documentation is available; Hdi, a Chadic language of Cameroon, as well as some other Chadic languages (subsection 4.3.3); Yimas, a Sepik language of Papua New Guinea (subsection 4.3.4); and Creek, a Muskogean language (subsection 4.3.5). The data will show that some kind of indirect affectedness is indeed relevant to all EP/IO constructions discussed, and thus, in this regard, the German EP dative – as a representative of the European EP dative construction – is by no means unique.

### 4.3.1 EP datives in German

As seen in the previous chapter, the German dative in general, including the EP dative construction in particular, has been under discussion for a long time and in countless publications. The semantic and pragmatic restrictions that govern the ability of the dative to express an EP are well described. Most authors (among them Seiler 1983: 43, König and Haspelmath 1998: 530ff., Haspelmath 1999: 113f., König 2001; cf. also Schmid 1988: 106f. on the characteristics of *Pertinenzdativ* and the verb types compatible with it) agree, explicitly or implicitly, that three major semantic parameters favor the use of the EP dative construction:

- (i) An inalienable possessive relationship. Possessed items: body parts, items close to the possessor, kin.
- (ii) An animate possessor.
- (iii) A dynamic event that involves a change of state in the possessum.

These three parameters indicate that indirect affectedness of the possessor, as defined and outlined in the previous chapters, can be singled out as the overall factor determining the use of the EP dative. Criterion (iii) can be paraphrased as direct, physical affectedness of the possessum. The other two criteria (i) and (ii) point to the factors that were identified to explain the hu-

man reference bias of indirect affectees in subsection 2.4.4.3 of Chapter 2: if the relationship between possessor and directly affected possessum is mereological, that is, a part-whole relationship – which falls under inalienable possession, criterion (i) – then the possessor is affected by virtue of having the affected possessum as its part. In other kinds of relationship, however, the possessor's affectedness can only be construed in terms of emotional, social, or economic notions, which, for the most part, only apply to human referents. This accounts for criterion (ii), the animate possessor preference.

In a general sense, (i)–(iii) have been recognized in the literature as amounting to the overall condition of possessor affectedness. Haspelmath (1999: 111), for instance, treats them as subparameters of a 'strict affectedness condition,' which he views as characteristic of the European EP dative construction and elaborates as follows: '[E]xternal possessors are only possible if the possessor is thought of as being mentally affected by the described situation' (*ibid.*). While this analysis describes the data appropriately up to a point (but cf. example (83b) in Chapter 3 for a dative with inanimate reference in a state description, which can nevertheless be considered an EP dative), I argue that it approaches the phenomenon from the wrong angle. Under the viewpoint taken here, the condition apparently governing the acceptability of the EP dative is in fact a mere artifact of the referential conditions under which indirect affectedness can be conceptualized.

However, Chapter 3 has also shown that, in German, the use of the dative is not restricted to clearly force-dynamic indirect affectees, but extends to the marking of affective value, a default correlate of indirect affectedness. In these extended uses, the close association of the dative with human reference is a fact, since affective value presupposes sentience. Scholars tend to focus on these datives when attributing to the dative itself the capability of activating its referent's

personal domain, a notion often invoked in the context of EP datives (Bally 1996[1926], Seiler 1983: 13f., König and Haspelmath 1998: 531f.) or even taken to be part of the overall meaning of dative case (e.g., Dąbrowska 1997 for the Polish dative).

Let us consider some more German data. Example (92) below is another instance of the body-part possessum configuration, which has already been mentioned to favor the EP dative construction over the IP genitive construction. As also indicated previously, this bias can be said to be a requirement in unmarked contexts, as the use of the IP construction gives rise to relevance implicatures. (92a) is thus the only available way to describe an event of Greg stepping on Lisa's foot without either sounding non-native or provoking non-standard interpretations. The alternative IP construction shown in (92b), although grammatical, is marked and requires additional context to be entirely appropriate. For instance, it could be uttered to focus the body part, if the speaker wishes to indicate that Greg stepped on Lisa's foot rather than her hand. Or the foot could be an object – such as the separated foot of a doll – that Lisa owns, rather than her body part.<sup>40</sup>

- (92) a. *Greg trat Lisa auf den Fuß.*  
 Greg.NOM step.PAST Lisa.DAT on DEF.M.SG.ACC foot  
 'Greg stepped on Lisa's foot (lit.: stepped to Lisa on the foot).'
- b. *Greg trat auf Lisas Fuß.*  
 Greg.NOM step.PAST on Lisa.GEN foot  
 'Greg stepped on Lisa's foot.'

---

<sup>40</sup> Fried (1999: 482f.) discusses analogous examples from Czech, stating that the IP variants are 'pragmatically very odd' and force the construal of the body part as alienable entity. In German, this implicature seems to be weaker, since (92b) does not absolutely necessitate the alienable construal.

The contrast in (92) is described adequately both by indirect affectedness and by the personal domain account, given that Bally (1996[1926]: 33) describes items within the personal domain to be regarded ‘not as a simple property, but as an integral part of the person.’ This is trivially true for body parts, so, under the assumption that the EP dative construction activates or evokes the personal domain and the IP construction does not, the implicatures arising from the latter are accounted for. In discussing the following examples, it will be apparent that indirect affectedness and the personal domain analysis account for the acceptability phenomena with EP datives in a very similar way for the most part, so, at first sight, these two notions might be considered equivalent in handling the EP data. But ultimately, the personal domain (unless understood metaphorically, in which case it is hardly empirically testable) as a basis for the explanation of EP phenomena has the same shortcomings as the ‘landmark dative’ account of Hole (2006, 2008; see Chapter 3), since it is a spatial notion based on spatial contiguity.

Consider the three-way contrast in (93): an alienable possessive relation with a dynamic, resultative event (a), the same possessive relationship with a non-affecting event (b), and a body-part possessum with a non-affecting event (c). According to the personal domain approach, (93a) is acceptable because an object in Lisa’s personal domain is destroyed, which impinges upon the personal domain itself, whereas (b) is odd because the object in her personal domain is not affected. Analogously, the indirect affectedness analysis describes Lisa as indirectly affected through the direct affectedness of her possession in (93a) (and, per default implicature, also as assigning affective value to the event), but as unaffected in (b) because her possession, being the stimulus in a perception event, is not directly affected. (93c) is somewhat less straightforward. Here, the personal domain stance is that certain body parts are associated with a taboo, and therefore the personal domain is impaired if they are the focus of another person’s attention, even



though nothing in the domain is physically affected. Similarly, the indirect affectedness analysis cannot account for the dative by force-dynamic indirect affectedness, but must describe the dative as an exponent of affective value that the dative referent (potentially) assigns to the situation due to a taboo being infringed.

- (93) a. *Greg mach-te Lisa die Sandburg kaputt.*  
 Greg.NOM make-PAST Lisa.DAT DEF.F.SG.ACC sandcastle broken  
 ‘Greg destroyed Lisa’s sandcastle (lit.: destroyed to Lisa the sandcastle).’
- b. \**Greg schau-te Lisa auf die Sandburg.*  
 Greg.NOM look-PAST Lisa.DAT at DEF.F.SG.ACC sandcastle  
 intended: ‘Greg looked at Lisa’s sandcastle (lit.: looked to Lisa at the sandcastle).’
- c. *Greg schau-te Lisa auf den Hintern.*  
 Greg.NOM look-PAST Lisa.DAT at DEF.M.SG.ACC butt  
 ‘Greg was ogling Lisa’s butt (lit.: looked to Lisa at the butt).’

Note that the two acceptable dative constructions, (93a) and (93c), do not yield neutral descriptions, but appear to entail the affectedness of the dative-marked possessor. In fact, the domain of external possession is interesting in the context of the dative’s semantic contribution to the sentence because it provides us with a control element, the corresponding IP construction, that has the same extensional properties as the EP dative construction. We can thus apply the *passieren* test, as outlined in the previous chapter, to the EP as well as the IP construction and see whether both are compatible with it. This is done in (94) and (95) for the sentences in (93a) and (c), respectively.

In the case of destroying someone’s sandcastle, the test does not reveal much: both the EP construction (94b) and the IP construction, with the possessor encoded by a possessive pronoun

(94b'), are inconspicuous descriptions of the affecting event targeted by the *passieren* opener. We would like to assume that, in the case of the EP construction (94b), this is due to an entailment of the dative, but for the IP construction (94b'), due to accommodation; but of course, this cannot be proven on the basis of this example.

- (94) a. *Weißt du, was Lisa passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Lisa.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
 'You know what happened to Lisa?'
- b. *Greg hat ihr die Sandburg kaputtgemacht.*  
 Greg.NOM has 3SG.F.DAT DEF.F.SG.ACC sandcastle make\_broken.PTCPL  
 'Greg destroyed her sandcastle (on her).'
- b.' *Greg hat ihre Sandburg kaputtgemacht.*  
 Greg.NOM has her.F.SG.ACC sandcastle make\_broken.PTCPL  
 'Greg destroyed her sandcastle.'

However, when the possessum is not actually physically affected and the affectedness of the EP is of a more abstract nature, as is the case with the scenario of looking at someone's butt in (93c), a contrast emerges. While (95b) attests the compatibility of the EP construction with the *passieren* frame, (95b') shows incoherence of the discourse for the IP construction. This sentence, as reflected by its English translation, is simply a description of a factual event of looking, without the implications of inappropriateness conveyed by the dative; it could refer, for instance, to an event in which Greg is a doctor examining Lisa.

- (95) a. *Weißt du, was Lisa passiert ist?*  
 know.2SG 2SG.NOM what Lisa.DAT happen.PTCPL is  
 'You know what happened to Lisa?'

- b. *Greg hat ihr auf den Hintern geschaut.*  
 Greg.NOM has 3SG.F.DAT at DEF.M.SG.ACC butt look.PTCPL  
 ‘Greg checked out her butt.’
- b.’ #*Greg hat auf ihren Hintern geschaut.*  
 Greg.NOM has at her.M.SG.ACC butt look.PTCPL  
 ‘Greg looked at her butt.’

(95b’) demonstrates clearly that the IP construction does not convey affectedness without the appropriate context, whereas the EP dative does. This supports the general consensus that affectedness, rather than possession alone, is the crucial factor in the use of EP datives.

Still, these conclusions do not refute the personal domain perspective: affectedness as identified by the *passieren* test, after all, is not incompatible with it, especially considering that the discussion of Chapter 3 (subsection 3.2.2) showed that the *passieren* + dative test itself is largely limited to human referents. Moreover, EP datives, like many other datives (as also hinted in the previous chapter), generally personify inanimate referents, which can be interpreted as activating a personal domain for them – as is done by Bally (1996[1926]: 33). The following example (96) illustrates this. It is actually marked by its author, Heide Wegener, as ungrammatical, but she also reports her consultants’ amused reactions to this and similar examples, which indicates that the example was perfectly interpretable to them – except that its interpretation of the table as a suffering creature is nonsensical without context.

- (96) *Er tritt dem Tisch gegen das Bein.*  
 he.NOM kicks DEF.M.SG.DAT table against DEF.N.SG.ACC leg  
 intended: ‘He is kicking the leg of the table (lit.: to the table against the leg).’  
 (Wegener 1985: 286)

However, it is not just the dative in (96) that supports the personifying interpretation: note that the sentence has a human actor, who is easily understood as intentional (cf. Jackendoff 2007: 265 on intentionality as a default inference); moreover, the action it describes is of a kind that usually inflicts pain when administered to humans. The depiction of a human actor intentionally performing an aggressive act on a part of the dative referent may very well contribute to and enhance the tendency to personify this referent.

When such additional cues are lacking, we do find EP dative constructions with inanimate referents that are not personified. An example can be seen in (97) (Hole [2006, 2008] would call this a ‘landmark dative,’ as discussed in the previous chapter). Under the view that EP datives entail the presence of a personal domain for their referent, its acceptability without (necessary) personification is not expected.

- (97) *Dem Fahrrad ist ein Reifen geplatzt.*  
 DEF.N.SG.DAT bicycle is INDEF.M.SG.NOM tire burst.PTCPL  
 ‘(Lit.: To) the bike has burst a tire.’

Although such data are infrequent – and, in fact, not acceptable to all speakers in the non-personifying reading – they certainly disprove the assumption of personal sphere entailment. From the point of view of the indirect affectedness analysis, however, (97) is unproblematic – it is simply an example of indirect affectedness through a meronym, as outlined at various points in the preceding chapters.

Having found support for the indirect affectedness account of the German dative in EP dative constructions, further data are now discussed, with the indirect affectedness assumption in mind. The next subsection discusses the non-European language for which the most detailed de-

scription of its EP dative constructions is available. The data will be complemented with some German examples covering configurations not yet discussed, to point out the differences and similarities between the ranges of applicability of the two languages' EP datives.

#### **4.3.2 EP datives in Sidaama (Cushitic)<sup>41</sup>**

Sidaama or Sidamo, a Cushitic (Afro-Asiatic) language spoken in Central and South Ethiopia, has been documented exhaustively in Kawachi (2007), including a detailed description of its EP dative constructions. It represents an important counterexample to Haspelmath's (1999) hypothesis that EP datives are an areal phenomenon of Central Europe, and in spite of the typological differences, the similarities between the Sidaama EP dative constructions and the European-type ones with respect to their use and their semantic properties are rather striking.

The data presented in this section are taken from Kawachi's (2007) grammar. First, the coding strategy referred to as 'dative' in the subsequent discussion of the data is identified: according to the definition in the Introduction of this dissertation, it is the strategy marking the recipient in the description of a 'give'-type event, an example of which is given in (98a). This marking is rather complex, since Sidaama is head-marking as well as dependent-marking on the clause level, and the two coding mechanisms do not align. Dependent marking, or case (marked by nominal suffixes), singles out the indirect object by a form that does not occur with a monotransitive verb (shown for comparison in (98b)) and can be identified as dative, as the theme of a ditransitive construction is marked identically to the theme in a monotransitive construction (cf. the identical forms of the word for 'mirror' in (98a) and (b)). The verbal object

---

<sup>41</sup> In this and the following subsections, the transcription and glossing of the examples follows the sources from which they are quoted.

affix, on the other hand, cross-references the theme in a monotransitive (see (98c)) and the recipient in a ditransitive construction, thus exhibiting a primary/secondary object pattern. The object affixes can only be used for human referents. They are optional if the coreferent NP is overt, as is the case in (98a), but obligatory otherwise.

- (98) a. *mančo-te hinč'ilalló o-o-mm-o(-se).*  
 person-DAT.F mirror.ACC give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M(-3SG.F)  
 'I (masc.) gave the mirror to the woman.'  
 (Kawachi 2007: 488)
- b. *ma-i hinč'ilalló hiikk'-Ø-i?*  
 what-NOM.PRON.M mirror.ACC break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M  
 'What broke the mirror?'  
 (Kawachi 2007: 224)
- c. *isi isé k'aakk'ó-te-gede ass-Ø-i-se.*  
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC baby-GEN.F-like treat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F  
 'He treated her like a baby girl.'  
 (Kawachi 2007: 446)

Even though the marking of recipients, as seen in (98a), is thus a mix of IO and primary/secondary object alignment, we can identify it as a dative construction by virtue of the case marking. As Kawachi (Chapter 5.3) exhaustively shows, this exact strategy can also be used for the marking of possessors, realizing them as EPs. An example is (99a), contrasted with the equally possible NP-internal possessor construction with the possessor in the genitive in (b). In (99a), the possessor bears a dative case suffix (specified for masculine gender and therefore not identical in form to the suffix in (98a)) and is optionally marked on the verb with an object suffix *-si*, which cannot appear with the internal possessor construction in (b).

- (99) a. *beett-u wosinčo-ho lekká haišš-Ø-ino(-si).*  
 child-NOM.M guest-DAT.M foot.ACC wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)  
 ‘The boy washed the guest’s (masc.) feet (lit.: The boy washed the feet  
 to the guest).’  
 (Kawachi 2007: 537)
- b. *beett-u wosinč-ú lekká haišš-Ø-ino(\*-si).*  
 child-NOM.M guest-GEN.M foot.ACC wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(\*-3SG.M)  
 ‘The boy washed the guest’s (masc.) feet.’  
 (Kawachi 2007: 537)

When comparing the Sidaama EP dative construction with the German one in terms of constraints to their use, we find that the Sidaama EP dative is less restricted. While the German EP dative, as seen above, has a strong (although not unbreakable) association with human reference, this does not hold for Sidaama. Moreover, Sidaama allows the construction not only for alienable possessa in the description of a nonstative event (100), but also freely with state descriptions (101) and inanimate possessors (102).

The Sidaama data are contrasted in the following examples with their German translation equivalents, or near-equivalents. Example (100) shows the EP dative construction with an alienable possessive relation, the possessum being an artifact, a table. The Sidaama sentence in (100a) has two distinct possible readings: according to the first – the actual EP interpretation – the table belongs to the dative referent (or he is in some way in charge of it) and becomes dirty; according to the second, the table becomes dirty only in the dative referent’s judgment (judgment dative interpretation) but no possession is involved. The German counterpart in (100b), on the other hand, while grammatical, is not a clear example of an EP dative construction. It is ambiguous

between an anticausative reading (the dative referent made the table dirty by accident) and a malefactive one, neither of which strongly suggest possession of the table.<sup>42</sup>

(100) a. Sidaama:

*isí-ra t'arap'ees-u t'ur-Ø-i.*  
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON table-NOM.M become\_dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M  
 (i) 'His table became/is dirty.'  
 (ii) 'The table became/is dirty for him.'  
 (Kawachi 2007: 550)

b. German:

*Der Tisch ist ihm schmutzig geworden.*  
 DEF.M.SG.NOM table is 3SG.M.DAT dirty become.PTCPL  
 (i) 'He got the table dirty by accident.'  
 (ii) 'The table became dirty on him.'

With respect to states, we saw in the previous chapter (subsection 3.3.2.3) that German allows datives in stative descriptions that can be understood as EP datives – such as the situation of gum being stuck to someone's shoe sole. However, it turns out that this is only possible with stage-level descriptions, expressing a temporary situation that may have some effect on the dative referent. This implies that an EP dative cannot be combined with an individual-level predication expressing a constant, unchangeable state, such as a description of someone's physical features. In Sidaama, however, EP dative constructions are also possible with an individual-level predication describing such an unchangeable state, such as characteristics of someone's physical features (101a). The corresponding German EP construction is ungrammatical, as seen in (b).

<sup>42</sup> As a matter of fact, the two senses cannot be strictly separated, since the only thing that (100b) entails is the affectedness of the dative referent. The underspecification between the anticausative and the malefactive reading might thus be better accounted for in terms of vagueness.



(101) a. Sidaama:

*isi-ra lekka seeda = te.*  
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON leg.NOM.F long\_or\_tall=NP.C.F.PRED  
 ‘His legs are long (lit.: The legs are long to him).’  
 (Kawachi 2007: 545)

b. German:

\**Ihm sind die Beine lang.*  
 3SG.M.DAT are DEF.PL.NOM legs long

Finally and perhaps most remarkably, the Sidaama EP dative is widely compatible with inanimate possessors. In German, as discussed in the previous section (see example (96)), this use often leads to a personifying interpretation. In contrast, in Sidaama, this is never the case (K. Kawachi, pers. comm.); an EP dative construction like (102a) is just as natural and non-personifying as the corresponding adnominal possessor structure.

(102) a. Sidaama:

*ise hakkó t’arap’ees-i-ra lekká mur-t-u.*  
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg.ACC cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F  
 ‘She cut the leg of [sic!] that table.’  
 (Kawachi 2007: 552)

b. German:

#*Sie hat dem Tisch ins Bein geschnitten.*  
 3SG.F.NOM has DEF.M.SG.DAT table into.the leg cut.PTCP  
 ‘She cut into the table’s leg (implication: hurting the table).’

The data in (100)–(102) show clearly that the crucial semantic difference between the EP datives in Sidaama and German lies in the association with human reference, which is very strong in the latter but not the former language. Nevertheless, there are considerable commonal-

ities as well. The most important one is the fact that the EP dative expresses a judgment on the part of the speaker. By using an EP dative construction in both Sidaama and German – rather than the adnominal genitive construction – the speaker portrays the possessor as positively or negatively affected by the event in which the possessum is involved (cf. Kawachi 2007: 568). In Sidaama, this affectedness extends to inanimate entities: an utterance like (102a) is made only when the speaker believes that the table is adversely affected by its leg being cut, for instance, in its functionality as a piece of furniture (*ibid.*: 597). Thus, the subjective speaker judgment of the possessor’s affectedness plays a central role in the use of EP datives in Sidaama as well as German.

In addition, both languages have similar other non-recipient dative uses to which indirect affectedness is relevant: benefactive datives and judgment datives (although the latter were shown in the previous chapter, section 3.3.2.4, to express affective value rather than judgment). In both cases, just like in regard to the EP datives, we observe Sidaama to be more flexible, allowing a larger range of entities to be referred to by those dative expressions; while German shows the animacy preference for these non-EP datives as well, Sidaama does not (cf. (103a), where the beneficiary is inanimate – or at least, not a person). Nevertheless, the benefactive datives in (103) and the judgment datives in (104) seem similar in the two languages.

(103) a. Sidaama:

*geerč-u                      hakkó      k’ark’ar-í-ra                      loos-Ø-ino.*  
 elderly\_person-NOM.M    that.M.GEN    village-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD    work-3SG.M-P.PRF.3  
 ‘The elderly man worked for the benefit of that village.’  
 (Kawachi 2007: 578)

b. German:

*Ich schäl-e dem Kind einen Apfel.*  
1SG.NOM peel-1SG DEF.N.SG.DAT child INDEF.M.SG.ACC apple  
'I'm peeling an apple for the child.'

(104) a. Sidaama:

*bulé rodo damboow-í-ra biif-f-ino.*  
Bule.GEN.F sibling.NOM.F Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP become\_beautiful-3SG.F-P.PRF.3  
'Bule's sister became/is beautiful in Damboowa's judgment.'  
(Kawachi 2007: 579)

b. German:

*Das Wasser war dem Kind zu kalt.*  
DEF.N.SG.NOM water was DEF.N.SG.DAT child too cold  
'The water was too cold for the child/to the child's liking.'

Beneficiaries (the village/the child in (103)) were motivated in Chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.4.1) to be force-dynamically indirect affectees. As for judgment datives, which can be accounted for through affective value in German, they seem to lack this necessary value reading in Sidaama: (104a) does not express any kind of impact on the dative referent's personal comfort, so the affective evaluation on the part of the dative referent is not necessarily present. However, since, in general, the dative in Sidaama does not exhibit a bias toward human reference, it looks like affective value is not a semantic category relevant to its use. Instead, regardless of whether indirect affectedness is the underlying semantic notion or not, the judgment dative might just be a metaphorical recipient, with the proposition that is relativized to his/her point of view being construed as an abstract entity coming to be possessed by him/her.

In sum, the dative in Sidaama appears to cover many indirectly affected participant roles, starting with the recipient and extending to EPs, beneficiaries, and judges; but it lacks the hu-

man reference bias that is characteristic of the European dative, here represented by German. The interpretation I would like to put forth for this difference is that, in Sidaama, the affective value that Jackendoff (2007) postulates to be a default inference from affectedness, and which helps account for the phenomena in German, is not a driving force in the use of the Sidaama dative. The data clearly show, however, that EP datives exist outside Europe – bearing witness to a semantic link between the recipient and the possessor role, which is here hypothesized to be the notion of indirect affectedness. Turning to data from other languages, we find at least the existence of this connection confirmed.

#### **4.3.3 EP datives in Hdi (Chadic)**

The Central Chadic language Hdi, spoken in Cameroon and Nigeria, belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family like Sidaama; however, the two languages are not part of the same subfamily and spoken at a considerable distance from each other. Hdi is documented extensively in the monograph by Zygmunt Frajzyngier with Erin Shay (2002), from which the examples presented here are taken. Like Sidaama, Hdi has rich verbal morphology, including agreement for up to two arguments; and, likewise similar to Sidaama, agreement for non-subjects shows a primary/secondary object pattern. However, a particular feature of Hdi verbs is that tonal marking on many verbs determines the cross-reference properties of the object affix: if the verb (or more precisely, the morpheme preceding the object affix in the verbal complex) bears high tone, the object affix marks a recipient, or more generally ‘indirect affectedness of an argument,’ as Frajzyngier and Shay (2003: 228) explicitly put it. Without the high tone, the affix marks a theme or directly affected argument. Dependent marking is identical for all non-subject arguments, so that, in a ditransitive clause, both the theme and the recipient NP (if overt) are preceded by the object preposition *tá*.

This has led Haspelmath 2008 to classify Hdi ditransitive constructions as double object structures, while, in fact, they exhibit all three major alignment types at once: double-object in the dependent marking, primary/secondary in the verbal affixation, and direct/indirect in the tonal marking.

Example (105a) shows how Hdi realizes the arguments of the verb meaning ‘give.’ Recipients are marked by the combination of high tone on the verb, the object affix *-n-*, and the object preposition *tá*. The contrast with a monotransitive verb carrying identical affixes, but bearing low tone rather than high tone – thus identifying the referent of the object affix as the theme – is shown in (105b). Since, in (105a), both non-subject arguments are 3<sup>rd</sup> person and so the object affix could refer to either of them, a further ‘give’ example with unambiguous person marking is provided in (105c) for clarity; here the theme is 3<sup>rd</sup> person, so the 1<sup>st</sup> person object affix can only indicate the recipient. In all examples, the verb root is reduplicated, which has aspectual functions (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 298ff.).

- (105) a. *vlá-n-vl-í tá xən tá kóδù.*  
 give-3-give-1SG OBJ 3PL OBJ money  
 ‘I gave them money.’  
 (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 182)

- b. *nghà-n-ngh-í tá krì.*  
 see-3-see-1SG OBJ dog  
 ‘I saw a dog.’  
 (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 180)

- c. *vl-ú-ú-vlá tá kóδù.*  
 give-SO-1DU-give OBJ money  
 ‘He gave the two of us money.’  
 (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 210)

As indicated above, many verbs alternate between a high-tone and a low-tone variant, the former allowing the expression of indirectly affected participants as arguments. In most examples in the source, these are beneficiaries – as in (106), where (a) is the low-tone, monotransitive variant and (b) the high-tone variant, with the 1<sup>st</sup> person object affix marking the beneficiary rather than the theme, which remains unexpressed.

- (106) a. *pd-ìxà-pdâ.*  
 leave-1SG-leave  
 ‘I was abandoned.’ / ‘He left me.’
- b. *pd-íxà-pdǎ.*  
 leave-1SG-leave  
 ‘He left it for me.’

(Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 183)

Furthermore, and crucially in the context of this chapter, the dative construction can mark the possessor of an overt theme NP. This is shown in (107) for a body part theme, and in (108) – with the same verb ‘break’ – for an alienably possessed item.

- (107) *blá-ghà-p-blá tá dzvú.*  
 break-2SG-OUT-break OBJ hand  
 ‘He broke your hand.’  
 (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 193)

- (108) *bl-i-ǎ-blá tá pítsákw.*<sup>43</sup>  
 break-AWAY-1SG-break OBJ hoe  
 ‘He broke my hoe.’  
 (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 189)

In a more recent study, Frajzyngier and Shay (2003: 229) stress that the possessive relationship is not actually encoded by the construction, but is merely evoked by the fact that the dative referent would not be affected if he/she weren’t the possessor. They thus analyze the possessive interpretation as a default implicature that arises whenever the construction, which expresses indirect affectedness of the ‘dative’-marked participant, has an additional theme argument. In fact, they make the same argument for Polish (*ibid.*: 223ff.), which has a German-type dative construction.

This analysis is very much in line with the approach advocated here, although the notion of affectedness is only defined informally and intuitively by Frajzyngier and Shay. Their observations, however, lend support not only to the assumption that EP dative constructions are based on a more general semantic notion than possession that is also present in other dative uses, but also to the claim that they are not an exclusively European phenomenon.

#### 4.3.3.1 Other Chadic languages

In African languages, the existence of an indirect object relation is much less common overall than in Europe. However, among African languages, the Afro-Asiatic phylum and the Chadic family in particular show the highest density of indirect object constructions and, accordingly,

---

<sup>43</sup> The difference between the two 1<sup>st</sup> person singular affixes, *-ixa-* in (106b) and *-ǎ(i)-* in (108), is due to the morphological environment; the latter is used if the verb has spatial extensions, such as the ‘movement away’ extension in (108) (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002: 189).

dative constructions (cf. Creissels *et al.* 2008: 102). Indeed, several other languages of the Chadic family have been reported to show EP/IO constructions; but since the documented examples are relatively scarce, I discuss them all within one section.

Moloko is a language that, like Hdi, belongs to the Biu-Mandara subfamily of Chadic and is spoken in Cameroon. It shares many grammatical characteristics with Hdi, among them the use of tone to mark grammatical distinctions, reduplication of verb roots to indicate aspect, and the presence of maximally two pronominal affixes on the verb (cf. Friesen and Mamalis 2008). While the subject is always marked by a prefix, the object suffixes basically mark recipients in transfer configurations as well as beneficiaries, but they can also encode patients of monotransitive verbs. Friesen and Mamalis (2008: 19 *et passim*) refer to these suffixes as IO affixes. The authors are not specific about the conditions governing their use for patient-marking, but the examples provided in the text seem to indicate that they can only mark animate patients. Whether the language has direct/indirect or primary/secondary object alignment is thus not entirely clear.

Examples (109a) and (b) illustrate ditransitive and monotransitive configurations in Moloko, respectively. As (109c) shows, an inanimate theme or patient (presumably previously mentioned in the discourse and, therefore, definite) is not marked on the verb with the same 3<sup>rd</sup> person suffix that occurs in (a) for the recipient, and in (b) for the animate patient.

- (109) a. *a-vəl-an*.  
3SG.S-give-3SG.O  
'he gave to him'  
(Friesen and Mamalis 2008: 21)



b. *na-b-aə*.

1SG.S-hit-3SG.O

‘I hit him.’

(Friesen and Mamalis 2008: 22)

c. *nù-skòm nə mí-skwùm-è*.

1SG.S-buy with INF-buy-SUF

‘I actually bought it (lit. bought it by buying; i.e., I didn’t steal it and nobody gave it to me).’

(Friesen and Mamalis 2008: 25)

Apart from these argument-marking uses, the object suffixes can appear with reference to an adjoined beneficiary or possessor of the theme. The authors classify (110) as a benefactive construction, and (111) as an EP construction.

(110) *ka-t-an awak*.

2SG.S-kill-3SG.O goat

‘You kill the goat for him.’

(Friesen and Mamalis 2008: 22)

(111) *awak a-zəəm-aw na haj = va*.

goat 3SG.S-eat-1SG.O TOP millet=PERF

‘The goat ate my millet (lit.: ate the millet to/for me).’

(Friesen and Mamalis 2008: 23)

Since these two sentences are structurally similar, it would be interesting to know if each allows the other one’s type of interpretation as well (‘You kill his goat’/‘The goat ate the millet for me’). Unfortunately, this question is not addressed in the source and cannot be answered here. We can observe, however, that the same forms that express recipients and beneficiaries can

also encode EPs; we can thus include Moloko in the group of non-European languages that have an EP/IO construction, according to the definitions of section 4.2 above.

Another Chadic language exhibiting what can be described as an EP dative is Lele, belonging to the East Chadic branch and spoken in Chad. In contrast to Hdi and Moloko, its morphology is widely isolating, and grammatical relations are encoded by position. The verb ‘give’ realizes its arguments in a double-object construction, as shown in (112).

- (112) *bè      dí      làlì      cànìgé.*  
give   3M    money   Canige  
‘He gave Canige money.’  
(Frajzyngier 2001: 130)

This construction with two unmarked objects, however, is only available for a few other verbs that inherently indicate benefaction or malefaction for a human, such as ‘feed’ (Frajzyngier 2001: 131). It cannot generally be used to add beneficiaries or other indirectly affected participants as arguments. For this purpose, Lele uses a prepositional element *bé*, which is clearly related to the verb *bè* ‘give’ as it appears in (112). Frajzyngier (2001: 36) refers to this element as a dative marker that developed from the verb in a grammaticalization process, and classifies it as a preposition (*ibid.*: 132ff.) – although, given that the language makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (*ibid.*: 4, 118ff.), it could alternatively be identified as a semantically bleached variant of the verb *bè*. (Note especially that pronominal arguments suffix to *bé*, analogous to pronominal verbal arguments, whereas other prepositions do not carry person marking; cf. Frajzyngier 2001: 132, 149.)

Even though the *bé* construction is not a dative construction in the exact sense of the definition on which this survey is based, I would like to include it in the discussion because it displays a very similar range of uses as other benefactive/recipient markers, including the encoding of abstract recipients such as addressees (see (113)). I feel that this inclusion is justified by the fact that the construction involves the actual verb ‘give,’ albeit in a semantically bleached and phonologically altered form: just like the verb *bè* takes a recipient as its morphologically unmarked argument, the preposition/light verb *bé* takes beneficiaries, addressees etc. as its unmarked argument.

Example (113) shows the addressee use of *bé* and (114) two examples of its benefactive use. In (114a), the beneficiary is also a recipient since the benefaction consists of being given the meal; in (114b) this is not the case, as there is no actual transfer.

- (113) *yàá dí bé-ŋ kolo-ŋ go éywa.*  
 say 3M DAT-1SG word-DEF REF sweet  
 ‘He told me an interesting thing.’  
 (Frajzyngier 2001: 135)

- (114) a. *síndè wéy wò bé toron-do.*  
 Sinde cook mush DAT daughter-3F  
 ‘Sinde cooked mush for her daughter.’  
 (Frajzyngier 2001: 133)

- b. *tàglí gé bé-ŋ kúní kuléŋ-dí.*  
 sweep 3PL DAT-1SG room interior-3M  
 ‘They swept the room for me.’  
 (Frajzyngier 2001: 134)

Finally, the *bé* construction can encode the possessor of the theme NP. Note that internal possession is marked by possessive suffixes on the possessum head, as can be seen in (114a) and (b) ('her daughter' and 'the room's interior' respectively; see also Frajzyngier 2001: 61–66). The *bé* construction is thus not used in adnominal possession. In (115), it expresses an adversely affected EP.

- (115) *lòr gé bé-ŋ kàsà.*  
 burn 3PL DAT-1SG corn  
 'They burned my corn (lit.: burned corn to me).'  
 (Frajzyngier 2001: 135)

Frajzyngier (2001: 135) takes (115) to indicate that *bé* has 'fully grammaticalized as the dative marker, i.e. the marker of an affected argument, whether positively or adversely.' He thus takes (115) to be an affectedness construction in the first place, not entailing possession but implicating it by virtue of relevance. The data are insufficient to test this claim; however, it is interesting enough that the functions of recipient, beneficiary, and EP marking are united in one form in Lele.

A last language to consider is Hausa, from the West Chadic branch and spoken predominantly in Nigeria. Hausa resembles Lele in that the verb 'give' realizes its arguments in a double-object construction, whereas other ditransitive structures, including other transfer verbs, mark the recipient argument with a preposition. This preposition takes the forms *wa* before full NPs and *mV* (with *V* representing an underspecified vowel) before pronouns. Examples with 'give' and the double-object construction, and 'bring' in a direct/indirect object structure, respectively, are given in (116).

- (116) a. *yaa baà audù àbinci.*  
 3SG.M.PERF give Audu food  
 ‘He gave food to Audu.’
- b. *yaa kaawoo wa audù àbinci.*  
 3SG.M.PERF bring DAT Audu food  
 ‘He brought food to Audu.’

(Creissels *et al.* 2008: 99)

If we accept the prepositional marking for the recipient, which occurs with transfer verbs in general though not with ‘give’ itself, as dative marking, then we find our previous observations on the range of dative uses paralleled in Hausa – including cases in which the dative phrase can be interpreted as an EP. In (117), it expresses an adversely affected participant, who at the same time is the inalienable possessor in a kin relation; in (118), we find a beneficiary in an alienable possessive relation still giving rise (although optionally, judging from the alternative translations provided by the authors) to an EP interpretation.

- (117) *kàaka taa macèe ma-nà.*  
 grandma 3SG.F.PERF die DAT-1PL  
 ‘Grandma died on us.’  
 (Frajzyngier and Shay 2003: 227)

- (118) *sun gyaràa wà Muusaa mootàa.*  
 3PL:PERF repair DAT Muusa car  
 ‘They repaired the car for Muusa.’ / ‘They repaired Muusa’s car.’  
 (Frajzyngier and Shay 2003: 227)

#### 4.3.4 EP datives in Yimas (Sepik-Ramu)

The data for the Papuan language Yimas are taken from Foley's (1991) grammar. Yimas is head-marking on the clause level and allows up to three arguments to be cross-referenced by verbal affixes. As a matter of fact, distinct indirect object marking only occurs in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person affixes; the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons follow a nominative/accusative pattern in which the affixes that cross-reference recipients are identical to the P (i.e., transitive patient) affixes. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, we find ergative/absolutive alignment and a distinct set of recipient affixes, which Foley calls 'dative affixes' (a label that I adopt here, in spite of the fact that it attaches to verbs rather than nominal dependents). These are suffixes, while all other cross-reference morphology is prefixal.

The presence of the distinct 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative suffixes, in combination with the fact that three arguments can be marked, certainly shows that the recipient relation is of some relevance in Yimas. Although there are only four lexically ditransitive verbs, one of them is 'give,' which allows us to identify the dative forms in the same way as has been done previously. A relevant example is (119), where the morphologically unmarked recipient expression *panmal* 'man' is cross-referenced on the verb by the special 3<sup>rd</sup> person suffix.

- (119) *ɲaykum makaw panmal wa-mpu-ŋa-r-akn.*  
woman.II.PL makau\_fish.IX.SG man.I.SG IX.SG.O-3PL.A-give-PERF-3SG.DAT  
'The women gave the man makau.'  
(Foley 1991: 228)

Foley (1991: 208) states that '[t]he range of this third affix [i.e. the dative affix] in Yimas is much wider than simply the indirect object in English and corresponds to many uses of the dative case in classical languages like Latin [...].' However, in many cases, valence-increasing verbal

extensions are required to realize a third argument. A few examples will be discussed below (see (124) and (126b)). Interestingly, though, the only widely applicable way for monotransitive as well as intransitive verbs to add a dative-marked argument is inalienable external possession: if the theme is a body part, a personal characteristic (such as name or voice) or some item close to the body, its human possessor can be cross-referenced by a dative affix. As the following examples show, there is no restriction on event types: while only the event described in (120) is a caused change of state, (121) exemplifies an activity and (122) a state. This independence from event properties makes the Yimas EP dative construction reminiscent of the one in Sidaama, in which event parameters likewise do not play a role (see, e.g., example (101) for a Sidaama EP dative construction in a state description). Furthermore, (122), where the verb is intransitive, shows that the EP is realized as a dative regardless of the transitivity of the base verb.

- (120) *kuran na-ka-tu-r-akn.*

louse.V.SG V.SG.O-1SG.A-kill-3SG.DAT

‘I killed his lice (lit.: killed the lice to him).’ (= the lice on his head)

(Foley 1991: 302)

- (121) *kikamtan pu-ŋa-kwanan-tay-kt.*

armpit.VI.SG 3PL.A-1SG.DAT-badly-see-REM.FUT

‘It’s bad if they see my armpits (lit.: see the armpits to me).’

(Foley 1991: 302)

- (122) *wampun mama-k-n na-ti-k-nakn.*

heart.V.SG bad-IRR-V.SG V.SG.S-feel-IRR-3SG.DAT

‘His heart felt bad (lit.: the heart was bad to him).’ (= He was angry.)

(Foley 1991: 301)

As mentioned previously, except for the small number of ditransitive verbs and the inalienable EP construction, any dative marking generally requires the addition of a valence-increasing affix to the verb (Foley refers to these affixes as ‘extensions’; I will use the term ‘applicative [affix]’) that enables it to realize a dative argument. Such applicatives allow alienable possessors to be realized as datives as well, and some examples are discussed below.

Yimas has multiple applicative markers, assigning different roles to the applied argument. The applicative marker relevant to alienable EP constructions is an affix *-taŋ* with comitative meaning (‘with’). It is, in fact, also used in possessive predication, which in Yimas takes the form ‘be/sit with something.’

- (123) *tawra*            *impa-na-taŋ-taw-n.*  
           money.IX.SG    3DU.S-DEF-COM-sit-PRES  
           ‘Those two have money (lit.: are sitting with money).’  
           (Foley 1991: 306)

If the comitative applicative is affixed to a verb other than ‘sit,’ it enables a possessor to be realized in the dative. This construction is interpreted as the event having a positive or negative impact on the dative referent; it is thus a benefactive or malefactive construction, depending on whether the possessive relationship comes into or remains in existence or is terminated, respectively (Foley 1991: 307).

- (124) a. *uraŋ*            *k-ka-taŋ-yawra-t-akn.*  
           coconut.VI.SG    VI.SG.O-1SG.A-COM-pick\_up-PERF-3SG.DAT  
           ‘I picked up a coconut for him.’  
           (Foley 1991: 307)



- b. *patn mama-k-n na-mpu-ŋa-taŋ-tal-ci-t.*  
 betelnut.V.SG bad-IRR-V.SG 3SG.O-3PL.A-1SG.DAT-COM-CAUS-become-PERF  
 ‘They ruined my betelnut.’  
 (Foley 1991: 299)

An example of this construction with an intransitive base verb can be found as well. The sentence in (125) is taken from a narrative, and it features a proper name to refer to the theme of the verb occurring in the construction, ‘sink.’ It is not clear how the possessive relationship plays a role here, but there certainly is a sense of adversity to the dative referent, the group of people in the boat.

- (125) *tay mpa mamaŋ-tul-c-ŋkt-ŋan Wakuntapnŋ mnta*  
 then now slowly-cross-NONFIN-PAUC-OBL (name) then  
*na-taŋ-awŋkwi-k-ŋkan.*  
 3SG-COM-sink-IRR-3PAUC.DAT  
 ‘And while they were slowly crossing (the lake), Wakuntapnŋ fell over-board.’ [lit.: sank on them?]  
 (Foley 1991: 464)

With inalienable possessa, the comitative EP construction is possible as well; it adds a notion of benefaction, compared to the ‘regular’ inalienable EP construction without the comitative affix. Slight differences in meaning can thus be made explicit, as in the pair in (126).

- (126) a. *narm p-ka-warapak-r-akn.*  
 skin.VII.SG VII.SG.O-1SG.A-cut\_skin-PERF-3SG.DAT  
 ‘I cut his skin (lit.: cut the skin to him).’ (e.g., as a treatment for a cold)

- b. *narm*      *p-ka-taŋ-warapak-r-akn*.  
 skin.VII.SG   VII.SG.O-1SG.A-COM-cut\_skin-PERF-3SG.DAT  
 ‘I cut his skin for him.’ (e.g., in an initiation rite)

(Foley 1991: 308)

The contrast in (126) shows that the ‘bare’ EP dative construction without applicative (126a) is neutral with regard to positive or negative affectedness of the possessor; however, some kind of affectedness is still involved, since the construction can only be used with body-part and quasi-body-part possessa – in other words, meronyms of the respective possessor, through the affectedness of which the possessor him/herself is affected as well. The referent of the EP dative is thus always indirectly affected by virtue of being a whole whose part is affected. On the other hand, the comitative applicative in (126b) not only makes the possessive relation explicit (since it is the same form that characterizes possessive predication), thereby allowing the EP dative to be used with a wider range of possessed items, but, furthermore, brings in a positive evaluation of this affectedness as well – which can perhaps be accounted for in terms of affective value. The ‘bare’ EP dative construction, without the applicative affix, can thus be viewed as a genuine indirect affectedness construction, since it is based on a meronymic relation. The comitative applicative, on the other hand, provides a strategy to portray non-meronym possessors as affected as well, and, in interaction with the verbal semantics, adds a specification of the evaluation of this affectedness.

#### 4.3.5 EP datives in Creek (and other Muskogean languages)

A last language (or rather, group of languages) I would like to consider in this study is Creek, also known as Muskogee, an Eastern Muskogean language spoken in Oklahoma and Alabama.

Muskogean languages have been observed to exhibit related constructions that can be classified as EP constructions and involve structures described as ‘dative marking.’ While this section focuses on Creek due to the wealth of relevant examples in J. Martin (1999), Choctaw, a Western Muskogean language, will be considered briefly as well.

Creek is both head- and dependent-marking on the clause level, with case for nominal arguments (which, however, seems to be optional) following a nominative/accusative pattern, and agreement morphology on the verb following an active/inactive pattern. (Following the sources, these affixes will be glossed as ‘I’ for active and ‘II’ for inactive in the examples.) There seem to be few basic ditransitive verbs; however, transitivity is not easy to diagnose in this language, as the ‘accusative’ case that is used for non-subjects marks not only semantically entailed undergoer participants but also optional, non-entailed information, such as time or location (cf. J. Martin 2000). The sentences in (127) contain forms of the verb *im* ‘give.’ The theme argument always bears the non-subject case, which is here glossed as ‘oblique’ rather than ‘accusative’ due to its flexibility to encode non-arguments. The recipient argument is marked on the verb with a prefixed morpheme that fuses with the verb itself, thus yielding the stem *am* for a first-person recipient in (127b). The third-person recipient affix is zero, as seen in (a); the second-person one, shown in (c), adds the sound *c*.

- (127) a. *hopoywa-t ifa foni-n iim-is.*  
 child-NOM dog bone-OBL give.LGR-IND  
 ‘The child is giving a bone to the dog.’  
 (J. Martin 1991: 215)

- b. *moom-in hatam is-wanaa-k-oci-n hatam amis, keyc-in [...]*  
 be\_so.LGR-DS again INST-tie-GER-DIM-OBL again 1SG.DAT:give.IMP tell.LGR-DS  
 ‘And again he said, “Give me some rope” [...].’  
 (Gouge 2004: part 1)
- c. [...] *koha-motk-i-n ciim-ey-n.*  
 cane-cropped-I-OBL 2SG.DAT:give.LGR-1SG.I-DS  
 ‘I’ll give you a reed whistle.’  
 (Gouge 2004: part 1)

Note that the recipient-encoding morphemes in (127) are not identical to the inactive affixes that mark transitive patients: (128) shows two examples for comparison in which the inactive or undergoer participant is first person, and the respective verbal affix, which appears in the forms *ac-* and *ca-* in (128a) and (b) respectively, differs from the recipient-encoding first-person affix in (127b) in that the latter lacks the sound *c*. Recipient marking in ditransitive clauses is thus not identical to theme marking in monotransitive constructions – in other words, Creek has indirect-object rather than secondary-object alignment.

- (128) a. *istoci ac-afank-ipe-yc-ey-s.*  
 baby 1SG.II-kiss-IND-CAUS.LGR-1SG.I-IND  
 ‘I’m making the baby kiss me.’  
 (J. Martin 1991: 217)
- b. *ca-hiic-is*  
 1SG.II-see-IND  
 ‘S/he sees me.’  
 (J. Martin 2000: 379)

If some indirectly involved participant argument is to be realized with other verbs, Creek uses a voice affix *im-*, which is homophonous with the verb root ‘give,’ as a kind of applicative. The cross-referencing affixes encoding the indirectly affected argument then fuse with this affix in the same way as seen in (127) above, and the fused affixes are generally glossed as ‘dative’ (cf., e.g., J. Martin 2000), a convention which I follow here. We thus see a very similar phenomenon as in Lele, discussed in section 4.3.3.1 above, where the verb ‘give’ grammaticalized as a dative marker for non-basic ditransitive configurations.<sup>44</sup> In Creek, this applicative affix is used to add a recipient participant to transfer verbs other than ‘give’ itself (see (129)). It also encodes addressees, beneficiaries (130), and adversely affected participants (131).

- (129) *catoknaawa cokpi-hamk-in paal-i-cahkiip-in cin-fiik-aali-s.*  
 money            hundred-one-OBL    ten-I-five.FGR-OBL    **2SG.DAT-pay-1SG.I.FUT-IND**  
 ‘I will pay you one hundred and fifty dollars.’  
 (Gouge 2004: part 1)

- (130) *caani-t cimi-n istahaakoci-n in-haay-is.*  
 John-NOM    Jim-OBL    doll-OBL            **DAT-make.LGR-IND**  
 ‘John is making a doll for Jim.’  
 (J. Martin 1999: 390)

- (131) *im-akilh-ita*  
**DAT-cheat-INF**  
 ‘to cheat on someone, deceive’  
 (J. Martin 2000: 390)

<sup>44</sup> Of course, grammaticalization of ‘give’ into a kind of dative marker is a widespread and well-described phenomenon. A prominent example is Mandarin Chinese, which uses the verb *gěi* ‘give’ as a marker for recipients with other verbs than ‘give’ itself, beneficiaries, purposes, and other roles (cf., e.g., Newman 1996: *passim*). The point here is that in Lele and Creek, it is used to encode EPs without any obvious notion of (abstract) giving or benefaction, as seen in (115) above for Lele and (132b)–(135) below for Creek.

In addition, the dative-indexed participant can be the possessor of the theme. Example (132) below contrasts adnominal possession (a) with an EP construction (b), the latter featuring the dative prefix on the verb. The same prefix, however, appears in the IP construction in (a) as well, though on the noun rather than on the verb – due to the fact that, for nouns, it functions as a relationalizer and marks the noun as alienably possessed.

- (132) a. *am-ifa-t*            *iil-is*.  
           1SG.DAT-dog-NOM   die.SG.SUBJ.FGR-IND  
           ‘My dog died.’
- b. *ifa-t*            ***am-iil-is***.  
      dog-NOM    1SG.DAT-die.SG.SUBJ.FGR-IND  
      ‘My dog died (on me) (lit.: the/a dog died to me).’

(J. Martin 1999: 230)

Inalienably possessed nouns can, of course, appear in the EP construction as well; in fact, for affected body parts, it is the ‘automatic choice’ (J. Martin 1999: 240). Once again, this may be taken to point to the crucial role of indirect affectedness, since body part terms are meronyms and the referents of their possessors are both indirectly affected by mereological relation and sentient (indirect affectedness by possible value inference); as such, they are the prototype of the indirectly affected possessor. Those body part nouns, however, remain in their possessed form, that is, the possessor is marked adnominally as well when the EP construction is used, resulting in double marking.

- (133) a. *ca-sakpa-n    an-kahc-is.*  
 1SG.II-arm-OBL    1SG.DAT-break.HGR-IND  
 ‘S/he broke my arm (lit. to me).’  
 (J. Martin 1999: 238)
- b. *ca-keyssi-t    am-itiyokc-ii-s.*  
 1SG.II-hair-NOM    1SG.DAT-tangled-DUR-IND  
 ‘My hair is tangled up (lit. to me).’  
 (J. Martin 1999: 240)

The sentence in (133b), which is a state description, shows that the EP construction is not restricted to change-of-state events. However, in fact, the majority of examples in the sources feature state changes or activities.

In his paper dedicated to Creek EP constructions, J. Martin (1999: 239) presents examples like those in (133), with a part-whole relation between possessor and possessum as well as a sentient possessor, as typical – which, as noted above, may be viewed to point to indirect affectedness. Moreover, a sentient possessor alone can license the EP construction with alienable possessa in Creek as well, resulting in a negative or positive evaluation of the state of affairs on the possessor’s part: a clear case of affective value. In (134a), which is an utterance made by a radio announcer encouraging quilt makers to participate in a competition, the experience is one of embarrassment; in (134b) it is one of joy.

- (134) a. *naakitilomha    naak    an-hic-iphoy-at-ii-s*  
 quilt                                    thing    1SG.DAT-see-CMPL.IMPERS-FUT-DUR-IND  
*kon-cc-in    oow-aat ...*  
 think-2SG.I-DS    be.LGR-when  
 ‘... if you’re thinking, “They’ll see my quilts and things (lit. to me) ...”’  
 (J. Martin 1999: 241)

b. *an-pakpak-ii-s.*

1SG.DAT-bloom-DUR-IND

‘Mine [my flowers] have bloomed (lit.: They bloomed to me)!’

(J. Martin 1999: 241)

The data discussed thus far bear a striking reminiscence of the situation in German and suggest that the notion of indirect affectedness is crucial to the use of the Creek EP/IO construction. Indeed, this impression is confirmed when considering that nonhuman possessors allow the EP construction if the possessum is a proper part – in other words, if indirectly affected through the mereological relation. This is shown in (135).

(135) *atakla-n liim-ita-n koom-eyss issi talk-osi-n in-cahw-in ...*

weed-OBL pluck-INF-OBL want.LGR-though leaf only-DIM-OBL DAT-take.PL.OBJ.HGR-DS

‘[He] tried to pull up the weed, but he took off only the leaves (lit. to it) ...’

(J. Martin 1999: 242)

From these and similar data, J. Martin (1999: 242) draws the conclusion that the two conditions that license the EP construction, part-whole relation and experience of affectedness, are independent of each other (although they can both be met at the same time, as in the body part examples). Under the viewpoint taken by the present study, however, these two notions are in fact related, in that both are possible conditions for indirect affectedness. The Creek data thus provide particularly clear evidence in favor of the indirect affectedness account, and the fact that the range of applicability of its EP/IO construction is so very similar to that of the German EP dative disproves the hypothesis that the particular characteristics of the German construction are an areal phenomenon.



To extend the perspective to more members of the Muskogean family, let us consider a few further examples from Choctaw, a Western Muskogean language. The verbal ‘dative’ affixes in Choctaw, which are glossed as ‘(class) III’ in addition to the other classes I and II familiar from Creek, are obviously related to the corresponding Creek affixes; but the difference is that, in Choctaw, they are not morphologically related to the verb ‘give,’ which is identified in (136a) and (b) as a clearly distinguishable verb root *-aa-*. The affixes thus mark the recipient with ‘give’ (see (136)) in the same way as recipients with other verbs, as well as beneficiaries (137) and external possessors (138).

- (136) a. *John im-aa-li-tok.*

John III-give-1SGI-PAST

‘I gave it to John.’

(Broadwell 2006: 154)

- b. *holisso chim-aa-li-tok.*

book 2SGIII-give-1SGI-PAST

‘I gave the book to you.’

(Davies 1984: 386)

- (137) *Mary ṛ-taloowa-tok.*

Mary III-sing-PAST

‘They sang for (lit. to) Mary.’

(Broadwell 2006: 154)

- (138) *John-at ofi’ im-illi-h.*

John-NOM dog III-die-TNS

‘John’s dog died (lit.: To John the/a dog died).’

(Broadwell 2006: 303)

One difference between the EP/IO constructions in the two Muskogean languages seems to be that Choctaw is more flexible with regard to their use – more specifically, the indirect affectedness conditions identified by J. Martin (1999) for Creek, part-whole and sentient possessor, do not seem to govern the EP construction in Choctaw. This can be seen from (139), where the EP construction appears in a stative predication that does not readily imply any kind of affectedness for the possessor. However, the possessor is human and the relationship between possessor and possessum is that of kinship, which perhaps play a role in the acceptability of this example.

- (139) *alla:-t*            *chĩ-cha:ha-h.*  
 child.DET-NOM    2DAT-tall-PRED  
 ‘Your child is tall (lit.: The/a child is tall to you).’  
 (Davies 1984: 391, fn. 10)

Unfortunately, the sources available to me do not provide any information on the semantic properties of the Choctaw EP construction, whether or not it differs semantically or pragmatically from its IP counterpart, and if it portrays the possessor as affected in any way. No claim can thus be made as to whether indirect affectedness might be relevant here too. Interestingly, however, no example was found with an inanimate possessor, which, at least, suggests that it might indeed be a relevant factor.

## **4.4 Summary and conclusion**

### **4.4.1 Summarizing the discussion**

By widening the perspective on EP datives to recipient marking in general rather than case marking alone, the preceding discussion has shown that the use of recipient marking to encode external possessors is not restricted to the languages of Europe. Rather, it occurs across languages and language families and throughout the world. We thus observe that, if a language has IO alignment in ditransitive constructions and the recipient is construed as an indirect affectee in that language, the coding strategy expressing the recipient is generally available for the marking of EPs – not merely as a particular feature of some language group or family.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that, in quite a few languages that have an EP/IO construction, we find similar restrictions on the use of this construction as have been discussed thoroughly for German and other European languages. Notably, the criteria of a sentient possessor and of a part-whole relationship between possessor and possessum govern the applicability of the construction to a greater or lesser extent in all the instances discussed – and these two criteria have been identified in Chapter 2 of this dissertation as alternative preconditions of indirect affectedness. The fact that EP constructions are often associated with an adversative or beneficial effect on the possessor can, moreover, be accounted for by the notion of affective value, which, according to Jackendoff (2007), is a default inference arising from affectedness. These considerations lead to the result that is also advocated by Frajzyngier and Shay (2003) in an informal manner: EP/IO constructions are indirect affectedness constructions – they do not entail possession, but, rather, presuppose certain semantic relations between the direct and indirect affectee that can be subsumed under the label of possessive relations.



- b. *hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra lekka seeda = te.*  
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg.NOM.F long\_or\_tall=NPC.F.PRED  
 'The legs of that table are long (lit.: The legs are long to that table).'  
 (Kawachi 2007: 554)

Kawachi (2007: 596) explains data like (140) by the speaker's assignment of a value assessment to the dative referent: for a person or a table to have long legs 'can be beneficial or adversative to the possessor depending on the context' (*ibid.*). In other words, it looks like Sidaama abstracts away from literal force-dynamic indirect affectedness to a maximal degree. In Chapter 3, we saw a similar, although not quite as extended, phenomenon in German: the German dative can express affective evaluation on the part of its referent alone, abstracting away from actual indirect affectedness, as was argued to be the case for judgment datives. This was explained through the default inference from affectedness to affective evaluation – if an entity, specifically a sentient entity, is affected, the default assumption is that it will end up feeling good or bad. In German, thus, the dative still expresses the evaluator, the person who has the affective reaction. Sidaama, on the other hand, seems to expand its dative to the *bearer* of the value: if a table is negatively or positively affected, it does not make this evaluation itself, but is evaluated by a sentient observer. Thus, while the presence of a sentient evaluator is presupposed by the dative in data like (140b), it is *not* presupposed that this evaluator must be the dative referent.

Although Kawachi does not specify how exactly the beneficial or adversative effect for a table or other inanimate object is conceptualized, several of the Jackendovian value categories can be assumed to be applicable here, for instance, utility or resource value (Jackendoff 2007: 280) in addition to affective value. A table with long legs may be particularly valuable (high resource value) and thus the length of its legs is beneficial; or it may be less useful than a

table with normal legs (low utility value) or particularly ugly (low affective value) and therefore adversatively affected. In contrast, for German as well as the languages with similar EP/IO phenomena, such as Creek and Yimas, affective value seems to be the most prominent.

A further indicator of the relevance of indirect affectedness is that, in most of the languages discussed here, it was shown that the relevant coding strategy can also be used to mark beneficiaries when the clause does not contain a transfer verb. This fact indicates that the markers in question do not have to be licensed by a verb entailing a recipient, but make their own semantic contribution, independently from actual transfer of possession. Relevant examples in which a benefactive event does not involve transfer of possession (and is thus not simply an instance of giving) are (103a) from Sidaama, (110) from Moloko, and (137) from Choctaw. As motivated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, benefactives and malefactives are indirect affectees like recipients and possessors of affected possessa; and the fact that the recipient expressions surveyed in this chapter extend to both EPs and (non-recipient) beneficiaries supports the semantic and conceptual links between these participant roles.

To be sure, these links have not gone unnoticed previously. For instance, Lichtenberk (2002) and Margetts (2004) observed beneficiary/possessor polysemies in the Oceanic languages and explored the conceptual connections between the two roles, drawing the conclusion that possession is the underlying notion that unites them. Since the possessor expressions they studied are attributive and predicative, however, and thus no affected possessum is involved (in contrast to the adverbally or externally encoded possessors considered here, which generally do have an affected possessum), these findings do not refute the claim made here that indirect affectedness can likewise play a role in connecting the beneficiary and possessor roles.

#### 4.4.2 Typological implications

If indirect affectedness is the notion that unites recipients and EPs, and if we assume that languages with IO alignment can generally develop an EP/IO construction on the basis of this conceptual similarity, the question remains why this type of construction is so common in the languages spoken in Central Europe, but comparatively infrequent elsewhere. In other words, we need to account for the apparent areal restriction of the EP/IO construction, as attested by König and Haspelmath (1998), Haspelmath (1999), and others. I argue, using data collected and analyzed by various linguists in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS; online version, Haspelmath *et al.* 2008), that the solution can be found in more general typological and areal tendencies.

As shown by Haspelmath (2008) in the WALS chapter on ditransitive constructions, there is a correlation between object alignment and locus of marking: languages that are dependent marking on the clause level, especially involving morphological case, tend to exhibit IO alignment in ditransitive constructions. This correlation suggests that, in an area where languages are predominantly dependent marking on the clause level, we can expect IO alignment – the key ingredient of EP/IO constructions – to be prevalent as well. Indeed, in the WALS chapter ‘Locus of marking in the clause,’ Nichols and Bickel (2008) show that dependent marking is most common in the Eurasian area and Africa; on the basis of the aforementioned correlation, this indicates that IO alignment and therefore also the EP/IO construction should be most likely to be found in this large geographical area. But, of course, this areal bias does not yet account for the much smaller area of South and Central Europe, as identified by Haspelmath (1999), in which

the EP/IO construction – in its more specific form as EP dative – is ubiquitous, even across language families.<sup>45</sup>

A more general look at the similarities holding among the languages of Central Europe reveals that the presence of EP/IO constructions is, in fact, only one facet of a remarkable structural homogeneity among the languages spoken within a relatively small area in Europe. As Haspelmath (2001) and Heine and Kuteva (2006), among others, have recently argued, the European languages can be viewed as a *sprachbund*, as they share a number of structural characteristics that are significantly less frequent in other parts of the world. Haspelmath (2001), one of the first studies to solidify this hypothesis by means of typologically representative data, lists the presence of dative-marked EPs as one of twelve morphosyntactic features defining this *sprachbund* (which he calls SAE or Standard Average European, a label that goes back to Whorf; cf. Haspelmath 2001: 1492). However, his claim that ‘dative external possessors seem to be very rare outside Europe [...] so this is a very robust example of an SAE feature’ (*ibid.*: 1498) has been relativized to some extent in the previous discussion. Accordingly, I would like to argue that, rather than being by itself an indicator of linguistic homogeneity within Europe, the prevalence of the EP dative in this region is in fact a symptom of homogeneity with regard to more general typological parameters. And while these parameters may not be specific to the area but occur in languages of other regions as well, there is greater variation in those other regions.

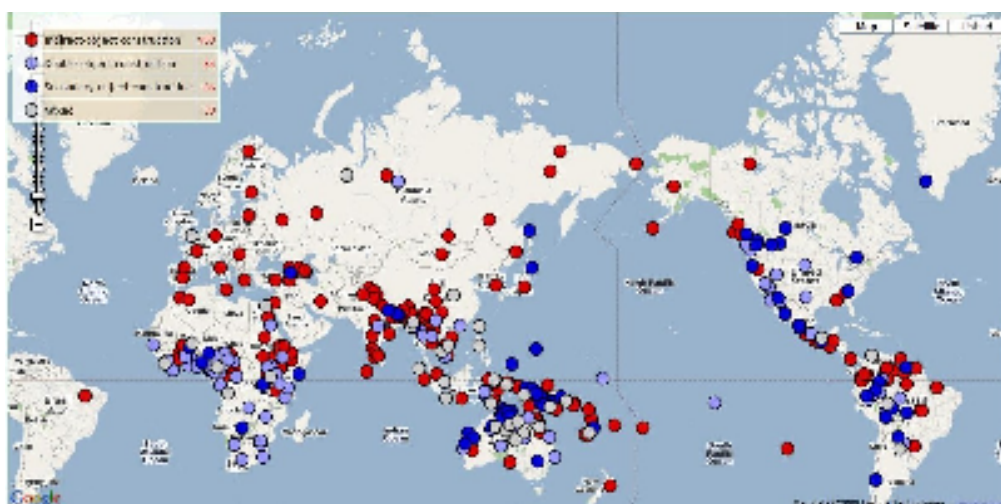
For those features identified by Haspelmath (2001) as being characteristic of the *sprachbund* in that they are rare in other regions of the world, but also for other structural properties less specific to the area, many of the WALS maps provide vivid illustrations of the homogeneity of the European languages. One such property, which is directly related to the presence of

---

<sup>45</sup> To be sure, the vast majority of European languages with an EP dative are Indo-European. However, the construction is also attested in Hungarian, Basque, and Maltese (Haspelmath 1999: 117).



EP/IO constructions, is indirect object alignment. Judging from the data presented in Haspelmath's (2008) WALS chapter on 'give' constructions, Central Europe is the only densely populated area in the world which shows almost exclusively IO alignment – the only exception being English, which is part of SAE as identified by Haspelmath (2001), but not one of its nuclear members.<sup>46</sup> In Figure 2, which displays the results of Haspelmath (2008), all other regions show some diversity in object alignment, indicated by differently colored dots; Europe is the only one containing only the red dots signifying languages with IO alignment.



**Figure 2: Object alignment in ditransitive constructions (WALS Online, Haspelmath *et al.* 2008)**

In terms of object alignment, thus, European languages show less diversity than the rest of the world; all Central European languages, even the non-IE ones (Hungarian, Basque, and Mal-

<sup>46</sup> English is listed as having mixed alignment, due to the availability of the double-object construction (e.g., *I gave Peter the chocolate*) that a number of ditransitive verbs allow as an alternative to the indirect-object construction with the preposition *to*. – Degree of membership in the SAE *sprachbund* is determined in Haspelmath (2001) by tallying the structural features specific to SAE that any given language exhibits. The nuclear members, possessing all nine features used in this calculation, are German and French. English has seven features; however, all Scandinavian, Slavic and Baltic languages have even less. This might raise the question whether the quantitative criteria of SAE membership should really be restricted to those features that are scarce elsewhere, or if they should also include such structural properties that might exist in other parts of the world but are particularly common in SAE.

these are represented among the red dots), have IO alignment. This typological homogeneity is part of the general *sprachbund* phenomenon that can be observed in this region, and it also accounts for the prevalence of the EP/IO construction within it: the structural similarities among the languages in the area, most importantly with regard to those properties that condition the EP/IO construction, allow the construction to spread even to genetically unrelated languages. Not the construction itself is thus an areal phenomenon, but, rather, the prevalence of the structural features underlying and favoring it.

This homogeneity notwithstanding, Figure 2 does show large numbers of IO languages accumulated in regions outside Europe, specifically in South and East Asia, where dependent marking is also frequent as pointed out above. In Japanese, Korean, or Hindi, dative case is attested, but none of them has an EP dative, as the next chapter of this dissertation discusses. If IO alignment is sufficient to promote the development and spread of an EP/IO construction, why is it not prevalent in Asia as well? The answer that I propose to this question, and that is corroborated by the data discussed in the following chapter, is the semantic feature of indirect affectedness as an available construal option for the recipient. As outlined in Chapter 2 and the Introduction, the conceptual complexity of the recipient role allows a range of construals – with the indirect affectee construal being the one option that we find realized in the languages of Europe, as well as the non-European languages discussed in the present chapter that have an EP/IO construction. But the recipient does not necessarily have to be construed as an indirect affectee; other available construal options, as mentioned in Chapter 2, are the spatial construal as a goal or construal as a (future) possessor. A dative, therefore, is not necessarily an indirect affectedness marker. If it is not – which, as Chapter 5 shows, is the case in Korean and regionally related languages – then the EP/IO construction is not available, since it is based on indirect affectedness as

a common conceptual component in the recipient and the possessor of an affected possessum. This conceptual link is void if a dative in a given language does not involve indirect affectedness.

In sum, Haspelmath's (2001) claim that the EP dative construction is an SAE feature has been revised: recipient marking that encodes external possessors, as shown in this chapter, is not unique to Europe. All instances of EP/IO constructions discussed here show certain similarities in their applicability and meaning, and these similarities cannot be accounted for by possession alone; instead, the force-dynamically based notion of indirect affectedness is postulated here to be the relevant factor. I thus propose that the presence of an indirect affectedness dative (rather than the presence of an EP dative) can be considered a *sprachbund* feature of European languages.

With regard to its locus of marking, this construction common in Europe is indeed unique: it is, as stressed in Haspelmath (1999: 121), an exclusively dependent-marking construction, in contrast to most of the non-European EP/IO constructions discussed in this chapter (Sidaama being the only language with a genuine dative, but even here, additional elements cross-referencing the object appear on the verbal head). This concentration of dependent-marking EP/IO constructions in Europe is unsurprising, however, given the geographical concentration of dependent marking in the Eurasian area, as attested by Nichols and Bickel (2008). The claim of the singularity of the European indirect affectedness dative can thus only be maintained in the sense that most other languages with indirect-affectedness recipient marking do not have a dative case for this purpose, but use some other morphosyntactic strategy.

In some cases, as the data discussed in this chapter suggest, the EP/IO construction is shared among areally or genetically related languages, similarly to the situation in Europe: the

Chadic and Muskogean families are examples. Although, as just pointed out, these do not have a dative case in the strict sense but employ head-marking or mixed strategies in their EP/IO constructions, the semantic properties of these constructions have been shown to be similar to those of the SAE EP dative. Therefore, I consider these properties counterevidence to the claim that the phenomenon of recipient marking extending to EPs is unique to the languages of Europe.

## 5. Case study B: Korean – spatial dative

### 5.1 Introduction

Geographically, Eurasia is the heartland of dependent marking (cf. Nichols and Bickel 2008) and, accordingly, the region where we find the most languages in which a morphological dative case has been attested. The previous chapter has shown that a subset of the dative languages spoken here, namely, languages belonging to the SAE *sprachbund*, can be said to have an indirect affectedness dative, which, in addition to indirect objects, can mark external possessors and other indirectly affected participant expressions in the sense outlined in Chapter 2. However, we do not find such datives outside this region in the rest of Eurasia – most conspicuously, the rest of Eurasia lacks an external possessor (EP) dative. Neither the Indo-European languages spoken outside the European core area, such as Persian, Kurdish, or Hindi, nor the non-Indo-European ones such as Turkish, Korean, Japanese, or the Dravidian languages of India have the EP dative construction (cf. Haspelmath 1999: 118f.), although all of them are described as having indirect objects marked by a dative case.

Haspelmath (1999) ascribes this striking dichotomy to the areal distribution of the EP dative as a feature of SAE, a claim that has been contested in the previous chapter. He also acknowledges (*ibid.*: 124) that it would be desirable to ‘understand[...] the precise typological conditions of the EP construction.’ The present study is an attempt to advance this understanding. In Chapter 4, it was argued that the areal phenomenon is an artifact of the more general *sprachbund* uniformity in terms of (i) indirect object alignment and (ii) indirect affectedness datives. In the following, a type of dative case that marks indirect objects, but lacks indirect affectedness semantics, is examined.

The language on which the discussion is based is Korean, which represents the non-Indo-European Asian group. Data from Japanese, which often shows similar phenomena, but also illuminating differences, are sometimes discussed as well. Evidently, this choice does not allow typological conclusions of the kind made in the previous chapter, but it may lay the foundations for future research.

The discussion of the Korean dative shows that, although the language shares the feature of indirect object alignment with the European and non-European languages considered previously, its dative case is of an entirely different nature semantically. In particular, it fits a localist description, in that all its uses can essentially be traced back to a basic spatial meaning. I argue that this is the crucial criterion that prevents languages like Korean and Japanese, which have an identifiable dative case, from developing indirect affectedness constructions such as the EP dative: their datives do not involve indirect affectedness as a semantic component at all. Rather, it is motivated, on the basis of Hansen's (2009) analysis of the Japanese dative, that its spatial semantics enables it to extend to oblique agent marking, which is a rather different force-dynamic configuration than the indirect affectee role.

This chapter discusses the most important functions the Korean dative can fulfill, guided by the discussions in Hansen (2009) and Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) on the Japanese dative. These functions comprise the marking of the recipient in ditransitive constructions (the criterion for identifying it as dative), the spatial notions of goal and location, and several types of oblique or syntactically demoted agents. Furthermore, the role of dative marking in the benefactive construction and the adversative passive, the two constructions that express indirect affectedness in Korean and Japanese, is briefly considered. The conclusion is that the Korean dative is essentially a spatial marker and extends metaphorically to force-dynamic configurations as well.

However, in the force-dynamic domain, it expresses antecedent rather than subsequent roles, which renders it a counterexample to Croft's (1991) claim that dative is necessarily a subsequent marker.

## **5.2 The dative in Korean: The basics**

Korean will serve here as the primary representative of the non-Indo-European Eurasian languages. Although it is genetically classified as an isolate (Gordon 2005, Haspelmath *et al.* 2008), it bears structural similarities with many other languages within the same geographic area, most notably its left-branching, verb-final structure, which it shares with Japanese, the Turkic languages, and also the Indo-Iranian languages; in the immediate geographic vicinity, on the other hand – notably the European languages forming the SAE *sprachbund* – these structural features are outnumbered by SVO structures. Korean has agglutinating morphology with suffixing structures and exhibits a rich system of verbal categories, among them moods, evidentials, and honorifics, but no agreement or cross-reference marking. The locus of marking for verbal arguments is thus exclusively the dependent. The marking pattern is nominative-accusative – with the unusual feature of an overtly marked nominative – and object alignment in ditransitive clauses follows the direct/indirect pattern.

The ditransitive construction is illustrated in (141). In (141a), the case morphemes<sup>47</sup> that can encode the recipient are *hanthey* and *eykey* – the latter slightly more formal than the former, but otherwise synonymous with it. As (141b) shows, these markers are restricted to animate referents (i.e., humans and animals) while the indirect object relation is expressed by *ey* if the referent is inanimate;<sup>48</sup> but aside from their referential properties, the three markers have the same distribution, as is shown by the examples to follow. In the description of this chapter, I refer to *hanthey* and *eykey* as ‘animate dative’ and to *ey* as ‘inanimate dative,’ although, as will be discussed shortly, these morphemes encode a wide range of relations beyond their use in ditransitive constructions.<sup>49</sup>

- (141) a. *Yengco-ka yuna-hanthey/-eykey kkoch-ul cwu-te-la.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT/DAT.FORM flower-ACC give-RETR-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo gave Yuna flowers.’
- b. *Minca-nun namwu-ey mwul-ul cwu-ess-e.*  
 Minca-TOP tree-DAT.INAN water-ACC give-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Minca gave water to the trees.’  
 (Sohn 1994: 238)

<sup>47</sup> The morphosyntactic status of the case markers as either suffixes or free elements is not discussed here in depth, as it is of no relevance to the present study. In my transliteration of the Korean data, I choose not to represent them as separate words; this conflicts to some extent with the standard term ‘particles’ used for the case morphemes in many descriptive grammars (e.g. S. Martin 1992, Sohn 1994), which suggests word status and is justified by the fact that the markers can bear stress. On the other hand, Sohn (1994: 229) points out that ‘[a]lthough traditionally [...] particles are treated as constituting an independent word class, their grammatical behavior is somewhat similar to that of [...] suffixes’ – in particular, they undergo morphophonemic alternations conditioned by the phonological shape of the host noun (*ibid.*: 230, and see the varying shapes of the case markers in the data presented here). The case morphemes thus appear to form a hybrid category between word and suffix, which renders either representation plausible. In this study, I simply refer to them as case markers or morphemes to avoid commitment to either view.

<sup>48</sup> A fourth marker can be added to this group, *kkey*, which has an honorific function, conveying the speaker’s deferential attitude towards the referent. Since I only collected data in an informal register, this morpheme does not play a role in the present discussion; it only appears in one example, (169c).

<sup>49</sup> Transliteration of the Korean data follows the Yale system.



Several crucial differences between the use of Korean *hanthey/eykey/ey* and the dative case in a language like German require closer attention. First, the Korean sentences in (141) do not entail that the (intended) recipient actually received the object. Accordingly, for instance, for (141a), ‘... but Yuna never got the flowers’ would be a feasible continuation, as illustrated in (142a). For the corresponding ‘give’ construction in German, which is provided for comparison in (142b), such a statement would be contradictory:

(142) a. Korean:

*Yengco-ka yuna-hanthey/-eykey kkoch-ul cwu-te-la*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT/DAT.FORM flower-ACC give-RETR-DECL  
*kuleh-ci-man yena-ka kkoch-ul pat-ci an-hay-ss-ta.*  
 be\_so-NOML-but Yuna-NOM flower-ACC receive-NOML NEG-do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo gave Yuna flowers, but Yuna did not get the flowers.’

b. German:

*Greg gab Lisa einen Blumenstrauß,*  
 Greg.NOM give.PAST Lisa.DAT INDEF.M.SG.ACC flower\_bouquet  
*#aber Lisa bekam die Blumen nicht.*  
 but Lisa.NOM receive.PAST DEF.PL.ACC flowers NEG  
 intended: ‘Greg gave Lisa a bouquet of flowers, but Lisa didn’t receive the flowers.’

In German, the only way to express unsuccessful giving without a completed change of possession (apart from a multiclausal construction involving a verb of trying) would be the substitution of the dative by a directional preposition, which, however, is very unusual with the verb *geben* ‘give’ and would be unacceptable without contextual support (recall the discussion on argumenthood in Chapter 3, where it was argued that the recipient is a semantic argument of

German *geben*). Possible differences in the lexical semantics of the Korean and German ‘give’ verbs notwithstanding,<sup>50</sup> it appears that the semantics of the Korean dative marker in the ditransitive construction is closer to that of a directional expression than to the meaning of the German dative, which entails actual receipt of the theme – as is predicted by the indirect affectedness account advocated here for German, since unsuccessful giving, without the intended recipient coming into possession of the theme, would not affect him/her. Another fact that points in the same direction is the reported instability of dative marking for recipients: some descriptions (e.g., Sohn 1994: 83) attest a double object construction, in which the recipient argument, like the theme argument, bears accusative case marking, as an alternative ‘give’ construction. This is reminiscent of the English directional preposition *to*, which likewise alternates with a double-object structure in the context of *give* and other ditransitive verbs (cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008 and references therein). No such alternation, however, is found with ‘give’ verbs in the languages that have an indirect affectedness dative (cf. Siewierska 1998, Levin 2008). I need to point out, however, that my Korean consultants judged the double accusative construction with *cwuta* ‘give’ ungrammatical.

Second, case marking on verbal arguments is not obligatory in Korean when defocused, and is, in fact, often omitted in casual spoken Korean (S. Martin 1992: 286, Sohn 1994: 231). As Sohn (1994: 230) explains, ‘When such a particle is not present, the function of the noun phrase involved may be discerned by such other means as word order, the nature of the verb in question,

---

<sup>50</sup> Park (1993) demonstrates the same phenomenon in causatives: e.g., causative ‘freeze’ in Korean does not entail that the substance ends up frozen.

(i) *Chelswu-nun muul-ul el-li-ess-una, mwul-i an-el-ess-ta.*  
 Chelswu-TOP water-ACC freeze-CAUS-PAST-but water-NOM NEG-freeze-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Chelswu froze the water, but the water did not freeze.’  
 (Park 1993: 21))

Thus, rather than a feature of the lexical semantics of *cwuta* ‘give,’ it appears to be a general pattern in Korean resultative verbs or verbal expressions that they do not actually entail the result they express.

the kind of [verbal] inflectional suffixes used, and relevant pragmatic or sociolinguistic information, as well as the knowledge of the world.’ It is evident, thus, that case in Korean does not have the same functional status as it does in German and other languages with obligatory case marking: its semantic function in a given context is determined or at least strongly influenced by other elements and features of a clause, with which it forms a complex system, rather than being the sole exponent of a particular meaning or grammatical function.

Third – and this is another strong indicator for their spatial semantics – the markers *hanthey*, *eykey*, and *ey* encode a variety of spatial relations in addition to the thematic relation of recipient. These spatial uses are discussed in more detail in the following subsection 5.3. In fact, they render the classification of the markers as ‘dative’ quite controversial, and not all linguists favor this description: Lee and Ramsey (2000) use the term ‘locative,’ treating the spatial functions as basic and implying that the description as ‘dative’ would only be appropriate for the animate reference markers *hanthey* and *eykey* (*ibid.*: 152), while Sohn (1994) settles for the all-inclusive label ‘locative-dative-goal’ (*ibid.*: 238f.). In this study, as outlined in Chapter 1, the term ‘dative’ is used on the basis of the ditransitive recipient configuration.

### **5.3 Spatial uses**

This subsection focuses on the spatial uses of the Korean dative and illustrates that they are available for the animate and the inanimate dative alike. The sentences in (143) and (144), showcasing the animate and inanimate dative respectively, exemplify the configuration commonly described as goal (cf., e.g., Sohn’s [1994] inclusion of the term ‘goal’ in his label for the case marker). However, this description is not accurate, since a clause in which the endpoint of a mo-

tion is marked with one of the dative morphemes (as in (143a)) does not entail that this endpoint is actually reached, as shown in (143b) – just as we saw in (142a) above for a ‘give’ construction. This spatial use of the dative is thus more appropriately described as directional. As an alternative to the inanimate dative *ey* illustrated in (144a), (144b) illustrates the use of the goal marker *lo*, which does entail actual completion of the path – in contrast to the dative *ey*.

- (143) a. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey ka-ss-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT go-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo went to(wards) Yuna.’
- b. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey ka-ss-ci-man*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT go-PAST-NOML-but  
*manna-ci mos-hay-ss-ta.*  
 meet-NOML NEG.ABIL-do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo went to(wards) Yuna, but he did not reach (lit. meet) her.’
- (144) a. *Yengco-ka phyenci-lul pephallo-ey ponay-ss-e.*  
 Youngjo-NOM letter-ACC Buffalo-DAT.INAN send-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Youngjo sent a letter to Buffalo.’ (the letter may not have arrived there)
- b. *Yengco-ka phyenci-lul pephallo-lo ponay-ss-e.*  
 Youngjo-NOM letter-ACC Buffalo-GOAL send-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Youngjo sent a letter to Buffalo.’ (the letter arrived there)

The examples to follow illustrate the use of the dative to express stative location. In the conceptualization of a spatial relation or figure-ground relationship, the ground is typically stationary, implying inanimacy (cf. Talmy 2000: 312); for Korean, this suggests that the inanimate dative *ey* should be the general locative marker. This is indeed the case, as (145a) shows for a place name as ground. When more specific information is to be given about the locative relation, *ey* attaches to a relational noun to form a postpositional expression, as in (b). This construction

can, in principle, cover all kinds of spatial relations and is therefore the primary case marker found in basic locative constructions.

- (145) a. *Yena-ka sewul-ey iss-e.*  
 Yuna-NOM Seoul-DAT.INAN be-INTIM  
 ‘Yuna is in Seoul.’
- b. *Kay-ka kay-cip yeph-ey iss-ta.*  
 dog-NOM dog-house side-DAT.INAN be-DECL  
 ‘The dog is next to the doghouse.’

As can be seen from (145), the copula *issta* ‘be, exist’ is used in locative descriptions. The same kind of construction can also be used with the animate dative, in which case it can express a less typical spatial description with a human ground. This is exemplified in (146a) (with the copula in the past tense), where the figure’s posture is specified by a non-finite verb form ‘sitting.’ According to my consultants, this sentence is grammatical but not natural; it would be interpreted as describing Yuna sitting on Youngjo’s lap, but this information would most naturally be specified explicitly by using a different construction. This attests to the markedness of human spatial grounds. (146b), however, is a more natural sentence: it depicts a person as ground for someone else’s falling asleep. (Recall from Chapter 3 that, in German, the analogous structure would convey the meaning that Youngjo is negatively affected by Yuna’s falling asleep. Thus, this example demonstrates the spatial function of the Korean dative very clearly.)

- (146) a. *Yena-ka yengco-hanthey anc-a iss-ess-ta.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT sit-INF be-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna was sitting on Youngjo (inferred: on Youngjo’s lap).’

- b. *Yena-ka yengco-eykey camtul-ess-ta.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT fall\_asleep-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna fell asleep in Youngjo’s arms/on Youngjo’s chest.’

With an inanimate figure, the animate dative combined with a copula is a way to express predicative possession. The encoding of possession as location is cross-linguistically frequent (cf., e.g., Seiler 1983: 56, Heine 1997: 50–53, *passim*, Stassen 2008), so, given the locative functions of the dative, this does not come as a surprise. However, it appears that the dative + copula construction is not the unmarked way to express that someone has something; in my data, the dative marker on the possessor is always followed by a topic marker or – preferably – left out altogether, leaving the possessor topic-marked only, as shown in (147a). If the dative is used without the topic marker, the sentence must be interpreted as focusing the possessor – for instance, in answering the question “Who has the money?” or “Where is the money?” (see (147b)). The answer to a *where* question is a locative description, of course, so the spatial function of the dative is very obvious from these data as well.

- (147) a. *Yena(-hanthey)-nun ton-i iss-e.*  
 Yuna-DAT-TOP money-NOM be-INTIM  
 ‘Yuna has money.’
- b. *Yena-hanthey ton-i iss-e.*  
 Yuna-DAT money-NOM be-INTIM  
 ‘YUNA has the money.’/‘The money is with Yuna.’

Unsurprisingly, with inalienably possessed items such as body parts, the construction is pragmatically marked. This holds even when the possessum is further specified by an attributive description. Thus, while it would be perfectly acceptable in English to say *Yuna has brown eyes*

(but not #*Yuna has eyes*, except under the alienable reading that the eyes are not Yuna’s body parts), the Korean counterpart with the dative + copula construction in (148) is grammatical but unusual. In light of the interpretation of (147b) above, it is likely to be understood as ‘Black eyes are with Yuna.’

- (148) #*Yena-hanthey kkama-n mwun-i iss-e.*  
           Yuna-DAT       be\_black-ATTR eye-NOM be-INTIM  
           intended: ‘Yuna has black eyes.’

It is important to point out that, in all the sentences in (143)–(148), the specific interpretation of the dative phrase is determined by the syntactic and pragmatic context. With verbs that express motion, a directional interpretation arises, as is the case with the verbs *kata* ‘go’ and *po-nayta* ‘send’ in (143) and (144); stative verbs, on the other hand, trigger a locative reading. The latter is particularly common with the copula to yield a locative predication, as in (145)–(148). Even the recipient use of the dative can be accounted for along the same lines, considering that one possible conceptualization of a transfer of possession event is motion to a goal, as discussed in Chapter 1.

In addition to direction and location, the animate dative *hanthey* can also encode a (human) source. Grammars such as Sohn (1994) list a group of morphologically complex particles, composed of either one of the dative markers plus a suffixed element *-se*, as source markers. However, Sohn (*ibid.*: 244) acknowledges that *-se* can be omitted ‘[w]hen the animate source particle *eykeyse* or *hantheyse* occurs with a “receiving” or “suffering” verb’ – in other words, if the source is also an actor. A straightforward example with *patta* ‘receive,’ which as the mirror image of giving entails a giver, is shown in (149a); but the human source need not be entailed by

the verb, as with *tullita* ‘hear’ in (149b), which is here construed as meaning ‘receiving information’ but does not necessarily have this meaning.

- (149) a. *Na yencgo-hanthey(-se) kkoch pat-ass-e.*  
 1SG Youngjo-DAT(-SRC) flower receive-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘I got flowers from Youngjo.’
- b. *Na yencgo-hanthey(-se) pimil hana tul-ess-e.*  
 1SG Youngjo-DAT(-SRC) secret one hear-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘I heard a secret from Youngjo.’

Example (150) shows the obligatory source marking *-se* for inactive human sources (a) as well as for inanimate sources (b).

- (150) a. *Nwu-ka yengco-eykey-se ton-ul hwumch-ess-tay.*  
 who-NOM Youngjo-DAT-SRC money-ACC steal-PAST-REP  
 ‘I hear that someone stole money from Youngjo.’
- b. *Nwu-ka chaykcang-ey-se chayk-ul kacye-ss-e.*  
 who-NOM bookshelf-DAT.INAN-SRC book-ACC take-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Someone took a book from the bookshelf.’

While the discussion of the directional and locational uses has given rise to the impression that the Korean dative is a purely spatial case, the examples in (149) and (150) relativize this assumption to a certain extent. It seems that agentivity is a relevant feature to the use of the dative as well, in that it permits the dative to encode human agentive sources in addition to the more general spatial notions of direction and location; and as will become apparent in the next subsections of this chapter, this is not the only context in which agentivity plays a role in dative



marking. What is more, the dative – rather than the source marker *eyse* – can also encode inanimate instigators and causers, as shown in (151).

- (151) *Phato-ey molayseng-i muneci-ess-ta.*  
 waves-DAT.INAN sandcastle-NOM collapse-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The sandcastle collapsed in/from the waves.’

(Ahn and Lee 1994: 199)

At this point, let us consider Hansen’s (2009) thorough analysis of the Japanese dative marker *ni*, which shows a very similar distribution as the dative in Korean. Consider the following examples, the Japanese counterparts to the Korean data in (149) and (150). Example (152) illustrates the human source use of *ni*, whereas (153) shows that non-agentive sources, such as a person who has something taken away without her will (153a), are expressed with the source postposition *kara* like the inanimate source in (b).

- (152) Japanese

[...] *amerika-no hito-ni kiita no ne.*  
 America-GEN person-DAT heard.PAST NOML EMPH  
 ‘[I] heard [that] from an American.’

(Hinds 1986: 200)

- (153) Japanese

a. *John-ga Mary-kara okane-o nusun-da.*  
 John-NOM Mary-ABL money-ACC steal-PAST  
 ‘John stole money from Mary.’

- b. *John-ga kinko-kara okane-o nusun-da.*  
 John-NOM safe-ABL money-ACC steal-PAST  
 ‘John stole money from the safe.’

(Hansen 2009: 117)

For Japanese *ni*, Hansen provides a localist description, assuming the dative marker to have two basic spatial meanings: location and goal. She postulates a chain of semantic extensions, in which the goal meaning is first extended to humans by virtue of the fact that transfer events, in her view, are (more or less abstract) events of caused motion. According to her, the recipient role in Japanese – and, as the present data indicate, also in Korean – is thus encoded as a spatial relation by virtue of semantic extension. Such human goals, however, are not mere points in space but active and potentially agentive participants, which licenses further extensions to other roles that involve agency but are distinct from the actual agent, the force-dynamic initiator of the event (Hansen 2009: 108f.). Hansen thus accounts for the human source uses of the Japanese dative as ‘secondary’ or ‘intermediary agents’ – based on her assumption that the recipient is construed as a secondary agentive entity with whose help the actual agent accomplishes his or her intended action (Hansen 2009: 275). With animate reference, the Japanese/Korean dative thus encodes a notion of ‘with the aid of’ – rather than a mere spatial ‘from’ relation, as the label ‘human source’ would suggest.

I adopt the basic assumptions of Hansen’s localist viewpoints here for the further description of the Korean dative. The agent or causer function that is manifest in the ‘human source’ configuration is treated as spatial metaphor, a semantic extension from the spatial into the force-dynamic domain. However, I do not assume that this extension necessarily takes the detour via the recipient role, but rather pose the hypothesis that the core meaning of the Korean dative is a

very general spatial relation: the dative markers *hanthey*, *eykey*, and *ey* relate an event or situation to a reference point in space, with the specific nature of the spatial relation being determined by the context. For stative situations, the reference point is thus construed as a location, and for dynamic events, as a point of direction or origin, the latter being the basis for the spatial metaphor we are concerned with here. The assumption that there are two meanings to the dative, as Hansen (2009) posits for Japanese, is thus not necessary.

The extension of source expressions to some kind of oblique agent marking is not unusual, and in many other languages, we find source expressions grammaticalized into agent markers in passive constructions – among them German (preposition *von* ‘from’)<sup>51</sup> or Rumanian (preposition *de* ‘from’; Croft 1991: 196) – which, as the next subsection 5.4.1 demonstrates, is included in the functions of the Korean dative. This extension follows a common grammaticalization pathway, based on the conceptualization of the agent as origin of an event or source of energy (cf., e.g., Croft 1991: 193–97). The assumption that the source function of the Korean dative is the basis for metaphorical extension to agentive participant roles is thus typologically well motivated.

However, as seen in the above examples, the (spatial, non-agentive) source relation happens *not* to be included in the functions of the Korean dative. How does this fact fit in with the hypothesis about the dative marker’s metaphorical extension? The answer may lie in the morphological relatedness of the non-agentive source marker with the dative marker. Recall from examples (149) and (150) that the non-agentive source markers consist of the dative elements with the additional suffix *-se*. This morphological complexity attests to the general spatial function of the dative markers, seeing that Sohn (1994: 244) attributes to the added suffix *-se* a mean-

---

<sup>51</sup> Cf. also Keenan and Dryer (2007: 344), who, however, interpret the German *von* as a kind of genitive preposition due to the fact that it can replace the genitive in many contexts.

ing that ‘is hard to determine but may be associated with some sort of dynamism or “starting (at)”’.’ It might thus be this suffix that originally contributed the source component to the complex markers, with the dative part simply specifying a general spatial reference point, as argued above. And while I am not claiming that the morphological complexity of the non-agentive source markers is semantically transparent in modern Korean, I do assume that it helps to understand the semantic connections between the various functions of the dative, in that the restriction of the dative’s source function to causal effectors is a side effect of the emergence of a specialized source marker for non-causal sources. For the Japanese non-agentive source marker *kara*, as illustrated in (153), no morphological relation exists with the dative marker *ni*, so analogous inferences as made here for Korean are less straightforward; but I will leave this issue aside.

The ‘human source’ function of the Korean dative is thus considered to be a spatial metaphor arising from the general spatial function of the case marker, including the expression of the source relation, rather than – as Hansen (2009) assumes – from the recipient-marking function and the property of human reference associated with it. In force-dynamic terms, this analysis implies that the dative in Korean is fundamentally different from the European indirect affectedness dative: the Korean dative in its metaphoric use does not encode a participant at the end of the causal chain, but in an intermediate position – in the terminology of Croft (1991), an ‘antecedent’ role, whereas the role of indirect affectee encoded by the European dative is a ‘subsequent’ role as discussed in Chapter 2. Croft himself (*ibid.*: 190) takes the dative to be a marker for subsequent roles cross-linguistically, and treats languages whose dative can encode antecedent roles as exceptions. However, it turns out that these exceptions are in fact frequent in the languages of the world, Korean and Japanese being prominent examples. These languages contradict the assumption that dative is invariably a marker of force-dynamically subsequent participant roles.

The next set of relevant data concerns the functions of the dative under manipulations of verbal argument structure, in particular in the passive voice and in causative constructions, in which the dative's causal effector function is even more apparent than in the 'human source' examples discussed thus far.

## 5.4 Dative under argument-structural operations

### 5.4.1 Passive

Under operations that reduce or enhance a verb's argument structure, the Korean dative markers have clearly identifiable functions: they encode the demoted agent in the passive voice and, although not necessarily, the causee in causative constructions. These two functions are discussed in turn in this section.

Dative marking on the agent in passive clauses is illustrated in (154). The marking for animate referents is shown in (154a) and for inanimate referents in (154b).

- (154) a. *Yengco-ka swunkeng-eykey cap-hi-essta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM policeman-DAT catch-PASS-PAST  
 'Youngjo was caught by a policeman.'
- b. *Yena-ney cip-i phokphwung-ey mangka ci-ess-ta.*  
 Yuna-GEN house-NOM storm-DAT.INAN damage-INF become-PAST-DECL  
 'Yuna's house was damaged by the storm.'

As Sohn (1994: 242) notes, the dative marks the agent '[i]n all types of passive construction, including suffixal, phrasal, and lexical passives.' Example (154a) illustrates the first, (154b)

the second type: in (a), the verb bears a passive suffix *-hi*, while the passive construction in (b) is periphrastic, consisting of a non-finite form of the base verb combined with an auxiliary with the original meaning ‘get, become’ (cf. S. Martin 1992: 227, Sohn 1994: 306, Lee and Ramsay 2000: 211). Such phrasal passives are used to form passive constructions from verbs that cannot take the passive suffix *-hi* or one of its allomorphs, which, incidentally, also marks causative (see below).<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the periphrastically and morphologically derived passives, Korean has many verbs with passive meaning but without an active counterpart, whose argument structure and case pattern corresponds to that of the passive constructions: the patient NP bears nominative case (or the topic marker) while an agent or instigator, whether animate or inanimate, can be realized by dative marking. Examples are *macta* ‘be hit,’ *tachita* ‘get hurt,’<sup>53</sup> and even *cwukta* ‘die’ in (155a), (b), and (c) respectively.

- (155) a. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey ppyam-ul mac-ess-e.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT cheek-ACC be\_hit-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Youngjo was hit in the face by Yuna.’
- b. *Na-nun mwun-ey pal-ul tachi-ess-eyo.*  
 1SG-TOP door-DAT leg-ACC get\_hurt-PAST-POL  
 ‘I got hurt on the leg by the door.’  
 (Sohn 1994: 305)

<sup>52</sup> In my own data, morphological passives and causatives are scarce, which indicates the greater productivity of the periphrastic constructions. Korean grammars acknowledge that suffixally formed passives and causatives are only available for a limited number of verbal bases (Sohn 1994: 314, Sohn 1999: 367, Lee and Ramsay 2000: 208, 212) and are not productive. S. Martin (1992: 218f.) explicitly calls the morphological passive and causative verb forms ‘lexical.’

<sup>53</sup> *Tachita* technically contains the passive suffix *-hi*. However, the active counterpart is *tahta* ‘touch’ (S. Martin 1992: 221) so the derivation is neither morphologically nor semantically transparent. This is probably the reason why Sohn (1994: 305) treats *tachita* as lexically passive.

- c. *Kumpwunge-ka yengco-hanthey cwuk-ess-ta.*  
 goldfish-NOM Youngjo-DAT die-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The goldfish died from Youngjo,’ i.e. ‘Youngjo killed the goldfish.’

More clearly than the examples in the previous subsection, these data indicate that, regardless of whether the dative is licensed by overt passive morphology or not, it does not have a non-metaphorical spatial meaning when combined with a verb or construction that assigns the patient role to its subject. None of the examples in (154) and (155) involve actual spatial motion, so the dative here functions as an oblique agent expression. In this context, Hansen’s (2009) term of ‘intermediate agent’ does not seem quite appropriate, since an agent in a passive construction is by no means force-dynamically intermediate – it is still the initial instigator of the event. But of course, in the context of the verbs and constructions illustrated here, the dative-marked argument is syntactically demoted, that is, oblique.

Under certain circumstances, the dative marking *hanthey/eykey* on an animate agent term is blocked in a passive construction and substituted by a postpositional expression *-ey uyhay* ‘by, due to’ (which contains the inanimate dative suffix regardless of animacy). This is the case when it could otherwise be understood as indicating a direction or location. Thus, in (156a), the dative-marked phrase is unambiguously interpreted as expressing the person(s) the action is directed to, whereas only the complex marker *-ey uyhay* is available for the agent role.

- (156) a. *Cinsang-i kwukmin-eykey palkhi-e ci-ess-ta.*  
 truth-NOM people-DAT reveal-INF become-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The truth was revealed to the people.’

- b. *Cinsang-i kwukmin-ey uyhay palkhi-e ci-ess-ta.*  
 truth-NOM people-DAT.INAN by reveal-INF become-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The truth was revealed by the people.’

(Sohn 1994: 306)

The distinction in (156) suggests that the argument structure or licensing properties of the base verb take priority in the interpretation of dative-marked NPs with passive forms or constructions, so that any alternative readings that are only licensed by the passive morphology are blocked.

Another factor that bans dative marking for the agent is an inanimate theme, as pointed out by Oshima (2006: 141). This constraint appears to hold only for morphological passive forms (cf. (154b) for a periphrastic passive construction in which the theme is inanimate but dative is acceptable for the – likewise inanimate – effector), which disfavor inanimate themes in general (*ibid.*: 140). Accordingly, a verb like *ssuta* ‘write,’ with the additional meaning ‘use,’ which has a morphologically passive counterpart, cannot express the agent of writing in the dative. Example (157a) shows the only acceptable construction with the agent encoded by *-ey uihay*, as outlined above; in (b), we see that the attempt to replace the postpositional expression by dative marking essentially yields an uninterpretable sentence, because only the direction reading for the dative is available (which here seems to coax the attempt to accommodate it via the alternative meaning of the verb, ‘use’).

- (157) a. *I chayk-un yena-ey uihay ssu-y-ess-ta.*  
 DEM.PROX book-TOP Yuna-DAT.INAN by write/use-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘This book was written by Yuna.’



- b. \*?I                    *chayk-un yena-hanthey ssu-y-ess-ta.*  
                          DEM.PROX book-TOP    Yuna-DAT                    write/use-PASS-PAST-DECL  
                          (only available, nonsensical reading:) ‘This book was used to/for Yuna.’

Data like (156) and (157) show that the use of the dative as oblique agent marker is subject to certain restrictions, and the dative is only available to express the agent in passive constructions if it cannot be understood as directional for some reason (such as a base verb that entails, or strongly suggests, directional information, as in (156)). This might be taken as evidence that its spatial functions are in no way backgrounded by the oblique agent function, but, on the contrary, seem to take priority.

#### 5.4.2 Causative

Let us now turn to the dative in causative constructions. Here, it regularly encodes the causee when the base verb is transitive, so that causativization generates a construction that licenses three individual arguments. Example (158) shows periphrastic causative constructions formed from a transitive base verb with the help of a light verb, with an animate causee. The base verb bears a different suffix than in periphrastic passives, *-key* ‘so that,’ which Sohn (1994: 317) describes as a complementizer or adverbializer.<sup>54</sup> The force-dynamic pattern – causation vs. permission, cf. Talmy (2000: Chapter 7) – can be specified by the choice of light verb. While the most commonly used light verb in periphrastic causatives is *hata* ‘do’ (cf., e.g., Sohn 1994: 317),

<sup>54</sup> This suffix can, in fact, project its own complete clause, so that the structures in (158) can be analyzed as biclausal. Evidence for the biclausal structure is that the causee can be marked with nominative case, as shown by Sohn (1994: 318ff.), as well as dative or accusative, which both indicate monoclausality. Since my own data do not contain any examples with a nominative-marked causee, however, the issue of biclausality is neglected here.

permission or letting can be expressed using *hay cwuta* ‘do for (someone)’; both variants are seen in (158).<sup>55</sup>

- (158) *Yena-ka yengco-hanthey pwulkoki-lul yoli ha-key*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT bulgogi-ACC cooking do-COMP  
*hay-ss-ta / ha-y cwu-ess-ta.*  
 do-PAST-DECL / do-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna made/let Youngjo cook bulgogi.’

As (158) shows, the causee can be marked by dative case in both constructions. However, likewise in both cases, the accusative (*yengco-lul*) is a possible alternative, yielding a double-object construction. According to my consultants, the dative variant is preferred for both, not just for the permissive construction. The frequently made observation that, when dative and accusative are available for the marking of causees, dative is preferred in permissive causation (where the causee is more agentive, as he/she has some control over whether or not the caused action is carried out), while accusative is used in coercive causation (where the causee is more affected or patient-like, as he/she has no control; cf., e.g., the overviews in Cole 1983 or Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 589),<sup>56</sup> is thus not confirmed by the data with transitive base verbs.

This situation changes when an intransitive verb is causativized. (159a) below shows a description of coerced causation, in which accusative marking for the causee is the only option.

<sup>55</sup> Note, also, that the base ‘verb’ in (158) is itself complex, consisting of the light verb *hata* ‘do’ and the nominalized form *yoli* ‘cooking.’ This results in the double occurrence of *hata* in both causative constructions illustrated here.

<sup>56</sup> This correlation should not be generalized to imply that dative in causative constructions is always associated with the highest degree of agentivity, however. If the case markers available for causees are dative and instrumental, for instance, the dative tends to express less agentive causees while the instrumental carries the agentive implicature, as is the case e.g. in French (see, again, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 589).

With permissive causation, however, the causee can bear dative case as an alternative to the accusative, as seen in (b).

- (159) a. *Yena-ka yengco-lul/\*-hanthey ilccik ilena-key mantu-n-tay.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-ACC/\*-DAT early wake\_up-COMP make-PRES-REP  
 ‘(I hear that) Yuna makes Youngjo wake up early.’
- b. *Yena-ka yengco-lul/-hanthey ilccik ilena-key*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-ACC/-DAT early wake\_up-COMP  
*ha-y cwu-nun-tay.*  
 do-INF give-PRES-REP  
 ‘(I hear that) Yuna lets Youngjo wake up early.’

The contrast in dative acceptability illustrated in (159) does provide some evidence that dative in Korean correlates with permissive causation, that is, with such notions as (potential) agentivity and control over the state of affairs, as outlined above. At least this seems to be suggested by the fact that it can be used for the causee in the permissive scenario in (159b), but not with the coercive causation pattern in (159a). Note, however, that just like in (158), different light verbs are used to express the respective causation type; in particular, the construction expressing permissive causation involves the verb *cwuta* ‘give,’ which may be the decisive factor licensing the dative in the permissive constructions in (158) and (159b) (although, of course, this need not exclude the possibility that the dative is associated with enhanced control of the causee). The acceptability difference demonstrated in (159), thus, might be entirely due to the requirements of the respective light verb and, by itself, does not tell us much about the actual functions that dative case may or may not fulfill in causative constructions.

However, a difference in acceptability of dative causees can be observed when the causative light verb is kept constant but the content verb is varied. Some intransitive base verbs allow dative marking for the causee, while others do not. The examples in (160) are from Park (1993; see also Sohn 1994: 319), who analyzes the difference as based on verb class: activity (or unergative) base verbs, as in (160a), allow both dative and accusative marking on the causee when they enter a causative construction, whereas achievement (or unaccusative) base verbs, as those in (b), are only compatible with an accusative-marked causee.

- (160) a. *Na-nun swunhi-lul/-eykey solichi-key / ket-key hay-ss-ta.*  
 1SG-TOP Swunhi-ACC/-DAT cry-COMP / walk-COMP do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘I made Swunhi cry/walk.’
- b. *Chelswu-nun swunhi-lul/\*-eykey hwana-key / cwuk-key hay-ss-ta.*  
 Chelswu-TOP Swunhi-ACC/\*-DAT be\_angry-COMP / die-COMP do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Chelswu made Swunhi angry/let Swunhi die.’

(Park 1993: 52–53)

The data in (160) allow the conclusion that, in causatives formed from intransitive verbs, the dative can substitute for the default accusative on the causee only if the base verb licenses an agent role – that is, it can only express agentive causees. This is exactly what we expect to find given the other effector-related functions of the dative, so the data in (160) provide further support for the force-dynamic analysis of the Korean dative as an antecedent case.

The question that remains is whether the dative can actively influence the interpretation of a given causative construction, in cases where both accusative and dative are permitted, other things being equal. For Japanese, this is often asserted to be the case. Song (2002) provides the following example in which an unergative verb is causativized, with different interpretations

arising from different case marking on the causee: accusative yields a coercive interpretation (161a), whereas the dative in (b) gives rise to a permissive reading. Under the assumption that the dative in Japanese and Korean is an oblique agent marker, this is entirely straightforward.

- (161) a. *John-ga kodomo-o aruk-ase-ta.*  
 John-NOM child-ACC walk-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘John made the child walk.’
- b. *John-ga kodomo-ni aruk-ase-ta.*  
 John-NOM child-DAT walk-CAUS-PAST  
 ‘John let the child walk.’

(Song 2002: 185)

O’Grady (1991) presents an analogous example from Korean to illustrate that it exhibits the same contrast:

- (162) a. *Yena-ka yengco-lul ttwuy-key hay-ss-ta.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-ACC run-COMP do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna made Youngjo run.’
- b. *Yena-ka yengco-hanthey ttwuy-key hay-ss-ta.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT run-COMP do-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna had Youngjo run.’

(O’Grady 1991: 171–172, translations original)

However, my consultants found the two sentences in (162) identical in meaning. Other authors also disagree with O’Grady: according to Yeo (2006: 244), ‘in general, Korean analytic causatives appear to have the potential of being interpreted either as coercive or permissive causation independent of the case particle the causee argument bears.’

Indeed, the factor that makes Japanese and Korean difficult to compare is their constructional differences. While Japanese expresses both causative and passive morphologically, as can be seen in (161), Korean has both morphological and analytic strategies at its disposal, and it is the analytic ones, as exemplified in (162) and earlier examples, that are productive. The light verbs used in these constructions might come with their own lexical properties that determine the thematic interpretation of the arguments, overriding any possible semantic features of the case marking involved. Thus, even though it is possible to determine what semantic circumstances allow or disallow the dative marking of causees in Korean, it is hard to pinpoint what the dative actually contributes to the semantics of the construction.

The same complication also emerges when looking at causative constructions with transitive base verbs. Recall that for example (158), repeated below as (163), consultants preferred dative marking on the causee over accusative marking in both the coercive and permissive construction exemplified.

- (163) *Yena-ka yengco-hanthey pwulkoki-lul yoli ha-key*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT bulgogi-ACC cooking do-COMP  
*hay-ss-ta / ha-y cwu-ess-ta.*  
 do-PAST-DECL / do-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna made/let Youngjo cook bulgogi.’

Note that the (complex) base verb in (163), *yoli hata* ‘cook,’ takes an agentive subject. This might be a factor in the preference for the dative, and the double accusative construction might be more acceptable to speakers if the causee is non-agentive. Unfortunately, I am unable to test this hypothesis at this point.

In sum, it looks like the question of what exactly the dative contributes to the interpretation of a given causative construction cannot be settled here. The cursory observations made in the above discussion confirm the link between dative marking and agentivity, lending support to the analysis of the Korean dative as an oblique agent or effector marker: dative marking is excluded in some constructions of coercive causation (see (159a)), and it is excluded for non-agentive causees when the base verb is intransitive (160). These facts indicate that, wherever agentivity is explicitly ruled out, whether by the thematic requirements of the causative light verb or the base verb, no dative marking is possible. On the other hand, however, when the dative can appear, it is part of a complex system comprising multiple meaningful elements, so we cannot determine what exactly conditions its occurrence, nor whether it actively contributes to the agentive interpretation for the causee. In Japanese, which has only morphological causatives, the semantic effect the dative has on the interpretation of the construction is much clearer. Therefore, we have to conclude that, the similarities between the two datives notwithstanding, the agent function of the Korean dative is less prominent than it is for the dative in Japanese. When turning to benefactive constructions in the following subsection, this impression is confirmed.

## ***5.5 Indirect affectedness constructions involving the dative***

### **5.5.1 Benefactive**

Benefactives are considered here because the fact that dative marking appears on beneficiaries might be taken to indicate a similarity with the indirect affectedness dative, which has benefactive marking as one of its core functions, as outlined in the previous chapters. Since the beneficiary, as an indirectly affected participant role, is force-dynamically subsequent, this would present

a problem to the analysis of the Korean dative as marking effectors, that is, antecedent roles. The present discussion intends to show, however, that the benefactive use of the Korean dative has an entirely different semantic and grammatical basis.

Korean grammars (e.g. Sohn 1994: 244) as well as authors focusing specifically on benefactive constructions in Korean (e.g. You 1997) identify two distinct ways to express benefaction: one does not involve dative marking at all, but uses a non-finite form of the verb *wihata* ‘do for the sake of’ as a postpositional element that takes the beneficiary noun as its argument; the other one does mark the beneficiary with dative case, licensed by the semantically bleached verb *cwuta* ‘give’ in a converb construction. It is thus not generally the case that the dative can function as a benefactive marker on its own. What the following considerations explore is what role the dative plays in the construction with *cwuta*, and whether the findings are compatible with the semantic analysis pursued here.

Consider first example (164). The main verb is *sata* ‘buy,’ which does not, by itself, license a beneficiary participant – a person for whom something is bought. Example (164a) shows the ‘standard’ benefactive construction with the converb *cwuta* ‘give,’ as outlined above. However, some of my consultants also found the version without *cwuta* acceptable, which is given in (b).

- (164) a. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey chokholeys-ul sa cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT chocolate-ACC buy-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo bought chocolate for Yuna.’
- b. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey chokholeys-ul sa-ss-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT chocolate-ACC buy-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo bought Yuna chocolate.’ (= He treated her.)<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> In addition to the translation given here, (164b) can also mean that Youngjo bought the chocolate *from* Yuna, with the dative expressing a human source, as discussed in 5.3.



The translation given for (164b) suggests that if the dative is not licensed by *cwuta*, it is interpreted as encoding a participant who is present in the event and is in fact also the recipient of the item bought for her. Indeed, it expresses the endpoint of a motion or transfer rather than an intended beneficiary, while the latter interpretation is available for (164a). My consultants confirm that only if Yuna is indeed the person who is intended to end up as the possessor of the chocolate, and the transfer of the chocolate into her possession is part of the event described, (164b) is an appropriate description. For a scenario in which Youngjo buys the chocolate for Yuna as a favor, but Yuna then gives it to someone else, (164b) cannot be used; instead, ‘Yuna’ must be expressed by means of the aforementioned postpositional construction, as in (165), which expresses benefaction without specifying whether or not a transfer of possession takes place.

- (165) *Yengco-ka yena-lul wihay chokholeys-ul sa-ss-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-ACC do\_for.INF chocolate-ACC buy-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo bought chocolate for Yuna.’ (e.g., to do her a favor)

If no construal of the possessive transfer as part of the event is possible, then the dative cannot be used without the support of *cwuta* ‘give.’ This is illustrated in (166), where (a), which contains *cwuta*, is the only way to express the cooking of a dinner for Yuna; (b), with the dative unlicensed, is ungrammatical. As a dinner is not an object that can be given to its designated recipient while being made, this grammaticality contrast supports the considerations made above: the dative itself is not a benefactive marker, but merely expresses the direction of a transfer.

- (166) a. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey cenyek-ul hay cwu-te-ntey.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT dinner-ACC do-INF give-RETR-BUT  
 ‘Youngjo made Yuna dinner.’
- b. \* *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey cenyek-ul hay-ss-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT dinner-ACC do-PAST-DECL  
 intended: ‘Youngjo made Yuna dinner.’

In line with this observation, Shibatani (1994a) shows that it is the converb *cwuta* ‘give’ in the benefactive construction that conveys the notion of benefaction, rather than the dative. Shibatani provides the following contrasting pair of sentences, which only differ in whether or not the dative is overt. In (167a), with the overt dative *ku-eykey*, the dative referent, Youngjo, must be understood as being the intended recipient of the apples. In contrast, this is not a necessary reading in (b), which only means that the apples were bought as a favor to Youngjo – regardless of whether Youngjo received them, or gave them to someone else, or even sold them and I bought them from him to help him make money.

- (167) a. *Yengco-eykey pwuthak pat-ass-ki ttaymwun-ey,*  
 Youngjo-DAT request receive-PAST-?? reason-DAT.INAN  
*na-nun ku-eykey sakwa-lul manhi sa cwu-ess-ta.*  
 1SG-TOP DEM-DAT apple-ACC much buy-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Because I was asked to by Youngjo, I bought him a lot of apples.’
- b. *Yengco-eykey pwuthak pat-ass-ki ttaymwun-ey,*  
 Youngjo-DAT request receive-PAST-?? reason-DAT.INAN  
*na-nun sakwa-lul manhi sa cwu-ess-ta.*  
 1SG-TOP apple-ACC much buy-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Because I was asked to by Youngjo, I bought a lot of apples (as a favor) for him.’

(Shibatani 1994a: 56)

The examples in (164)–(167) show that the Korean dative is not the crucial element conveying benefactive information. Where it occurs unlicensed by a converb, as in (164b) (which is not equally acceptable for all speakers), its function is not to encode a beneficiary but a recipient, which, as discussed in subsection 5.2 above, is in fact construed as a direction. Even though it does occur as part of a benefactive construction, it must be licensed by the verb ‘give’; within this construction, it is the verb that expresses the notion of benefaction, while the dative itself merely indicates the intended recipient of the favor – even more, the intended recipient of an actual physical object, the transfer of which constitutes the favor. This is particularly apparent in (167).

On the basis of these considerations, we expect the *cwuta* ‘give’ + dative construction to be acceptable only if the base verb is transitive, since a patient/theme argument must be present whose referent is the transferred object. Moreover, not all transitive clauses should allow the benefactive construction, but only those in which the theme actually has as its referent a physical object that can be transferred. The actual data prove to be slightly more complicated. Although it is true that intransitive verbs generally do not allow the benefactive construction (but see below for exceptions), and neither do transitive phrases that do not express any kind of material result (such as ‘close the door’ or ‘throw out the garbage’; see Shibatani 1994a: 43), some benefactive sentences that do not involve a transferred object are in fact acceptable, contrary to the predictions arising from the analysis above. Consider the following data. Example (168), from my own data collection, features as its base verb the dummy verb *hata* ‘do,’ which is here used with an abstract noun as its object to express the notion of cleaning – certainly not a physical object allowing transfer. Even though not perfectly acceptable, this sentence is not judged ungrammatical by my consultants.

- (168) ? *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey chengso hay cwu-te-la.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT cleaning do.INF give-RETR-DECL  
 ‘Youngjo cleaned for Yuna.’

In (168), the benefactive implications of the action itself might play a role in the (albeit limited) acceptability of the sentence. When benefaction is not so straightforward, other factors come into play to distinguish prototypical benefactive situations, which allow the *cwuta* + dative construction, from less prototypical ones, which do not – at least, not without context. The interesting contrast in (169), quoted again from Shibatani (1994a), shows two different verbs with the same theme referent, expressing two very similar actions. Nevertheless, the variant ‘open the door for someone’ in (169a) is acceptable, while ‘close the door for someone’ in (b), according to Shibatani, is not.

- (169) a. *Na-nun yena-eykey mwun-ul yel-e cwu-ess-ta.*  
 1SG.TOP Yuna-DAT door-ACC open-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘I opened the door for Yuna.’  
 b. \**Na-nun yena-eykey mwun-ul tat-a cwu-ess-ta.*  
 1SG.TOP Yuna-DAT door-ACC close-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 intended: ‘I closed the door for Yuna.’

(Shibatani 1994a: 67, acceptability judgment original)

Shibatani (*ibid.*: 68) explains the contrast in (169) as follows: ‘What seems to be happening is a metonymic construal of the situation, in which what comes under [Yuna’s] possessive control is not really the door but the passage created by the opening of the door. [...] [C]losing a door, which leaves no specific concrete effect that can be enjoyed by the beneficiary, is difficult to apply the metonymic construal.’ [sic!] However, given appropriate context, even the closing

of a door can be construed as beneficial. This is pointed out by You (1997), who complements the examples in (169a, b) above by the following example (169c), establishing a common ground of the teacher asking Yumi a favor and thereby rendering (169b) acceptable.<sup>58</sup>

- (169) c. (*Sensayngnim-kkeyse puthakhasiesski ttaymwuney*)  
(Since her teacher asked Yumi to do so,)

*Yumi-ka sensayngnim-kkey mwun-ul tat-a tuli-ess-ta.*  
Yumi-NOM teacher-DAT.HON door-ACC close-INF give.HON-PAST-DECL

‘Yumi closed the door for her teacher.’

(You 1997: 467)

In (169c), the concrete effect that ‘can be enjoyed by the beneficiary’ is defined through the context of the beneficiary’s request. It is doubtful, though, whether this effect necessarily consists in having possessive control over an (abstract) entity, as Shibatani puts it – if the teacher asked to close the door because the room was getting cold, does the closing of the door give her possessive control of the warmth? It seems that Shibatani’s metonymy analysis, under which the reference of the base verb’s theme argument (here, the door) is understood to extend to the beneficial effect, reaches its limits with such contextually driven acceptability phenomena as (169c). As a consequence, You (1997: 461) suggests that *cwuta* ‘give’ is ambiguous between its literal transfer reading and a more grammaticalized pure benefactive reading, which does not necessari-

---

<sup>58</sup> In (169c), the substitution of *cwuta* ‘give’ by *tulita* ‘give’ is due to the speaker’s reverent attitude towards the person talked about, but has no influence on the interpretation of the construction otherwise.

tate actual transfer; (169c), then, would be an example of the grammaticalized benefactive *cwuta*. I find support for this analysis in my data, which contain examples such as (170), for which the consultants pointed out two distinguishable meanings.

- (170) *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey yachay-lul calla cwu-te-ntey.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT vegetable-ACC cut.INF give-RETR-BUT  
 (i) ‘Youngjo chopped the vegetables and gave them to Yuna.’  
 (ii) ‘Youngjo chopped the vegetables for Yuna (e.g., for her to use later).’

Does this mean that, as a benefactive light verb, *cwuta* licenses a dative-marked beneficiary even if no transfer or movement of any kind, however abstract, is present in the benefitting event? Interestingly, this is not the case. Even though the literal *cwuta*, as represented in the first reading of (170), licenses an intended recipient, the light verb *cwuta* does not have this property in all contexts. This is illustrated by You, using examples with intransitive base verbs that provide a further very clear indication that the dative is not an integral part of the benefactive construction. When the base verb is intransitive, a dative phrase in the benefactive clause is only acceptable if it is an actual, spatial goal that is licensed by the base verb, as is the case in (171a): the dative phrase *yumi-eykey* expresses first and foremost the direction of motion, with the additional beneficiary interpretation coerced by the presence of *cwuta*. In (171b), on the other hand, the base verb is not a motion verb and does not license a spatial dative, which makes the dative unacceptable.

- (171) a. *Sumi-ka yumi-eykey ka cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Sumi-NOM Yumi-DAT go.INF give-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Sumi went to Yumi (for Yumi).’

- b. \*?*Sumi-ka yumi-eykey nol-a cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Sumi-NOM Yumi-DAT play-INF give-PAST-DECL  
 intended: ‘Sumi played with Yumi (for Yumi).’

(You 1997: 459)

Omitting the dative phrase renders (171b) acceptable, as You (*ibid.*) also shows; in this case, the identity of the beneficiary must be inferred from context. This further supports the grammaticalization analysis for *cwuta* ‘give’ as a benefactive light verb. At the same time, however, it also corroborates Shibatani’s metonymy approach: if no movement – however abstract – of an entity into the beneficiary’s sphere of control can be construed at all, as is the case in (171b), the dative cannot appear. These facts suggest that it is not actually the *cwuta* + dative construction that has grammaticalized into a benefactive construction, but *cwuta* alone. As a benefactive light verb, it cannot license the dative to encode the beneficiary unless the beneficiary can be construed, at the same time, as the direction of some (possibly metonymical or metaphorical) motion.

These data confirm the assumption that the semantic nature of the Korean dative is essentially spatial. The fact that it occurs as part of the benefactive construction cannot be interpreted as indicating that benefaction is in any way associated with its meaning – as was argued to be the case for the German dative, which, by virtue of its affectedness semantics, implies affective value as a default inference. For the Korean dative, in contrast, neither affectedness nor affective value can be said to be part of its semantics. Instead, in the benefactive construction, it must be licensed by the presence of actual or metaphorical motion.

### 5.5.2 Adversative passive

While the previous subsection discussed benefactive constructions, the question of how Korean expresses adversative rather than beneficial affectedness should not be ignored here. As mentioned in the context of the indirect affectedness discussion in Chapter 2, a typological split has been observed between the languages of Europe and those of Asia, particularly East and South-east Asia (T. Smith 2005, Radetzky and Smith 2010) in that the latter, but not the former have separate benefactive and malefactive constructions. The findings presented in this dissertation thus far have offered a theoretical approach to this situation, analyzing the German dative as indirect affectedness marker but the Korean dative as spatial, with the extended function of oblique agent marking.

In Korean and Japanese, negative affectedness is expressed by the well-documented adversative passive (cf. e.g. Shibatani 1994b; for recent studies on Japanese, see Iwashita 2007, Ishizuka 2010; for comparisons between the Japanese and Korean passives, Song 2002 and Oshima 2006). The maleficiary is encoded as the subject of a passive construction, which is interpreted as describing the affecting event. As seen in 5.4.1 above for passive constructions in general, the dative's function in the adversative passive is to express the agent. In Korean, such adversative passives are relatively restricted: the affectee, encoded as the subject, must be the possessor of the theme of the affecting event – which essentially renders the Korean adversative passive an external possession construction that, in a sense, is the mirror image of the EP dative, discussed in Chapter 4: the adversative passive codes the affectee as the subject and the dative expresses the effector, while the opposite holds for EP dative constructions.

The possession condition for the Korean adversative passive holds regardless of what type of passive, periphrastic or morphological, is used. Example (172a) illustrates this with a peri-



phrastic passive; Yuna, the subject, must be understood not only to be the possessor of the skirt that is soiled, but to be wearing it in the event. In contrast, in (172b), no possessive relation can be construed between Youngjo and the cake. The passive interpretation is thus blocked and the clause must be interpreted as a causative construction – with Youngjo being the causer rather than affectee – which is possible due to the passive/causative ambiguity of the verbal affix.

- (172) a. *Yena-nun aki-hanthey cima-lul telep-hi-e ci-ess-ta.*  
 Yuna-TOP baby-DAT skirt-ACC be\_dirty-CAUS/PASS-INF become-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna had her skirt dirtied by the baby.’
- b. *Yengco-ka yena-hanthey kheyik-ul motwu mek-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Youngjo-NOM Yuna-DAT cake-ACC all eat-CAUS/PASS-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Youngjo fed Yuna all the cake.’  
 \*‘Youngjo had Yuna eat all the cake on him.’

Japanese, in contrast, does not have such a strict possession constraint on the applicability of its adversative passive construction. Although it is not the case that any random event can be construed as affecting someone and, accordingly, described by an adversative passive construction (cf. Ishizuka 2010 for a detailed investigation on the factors that favor or disfavor acceptability), a possessive relation is not necessary and the base verb does not even need to be transitive. The grammaticality contrast between the two languages in (173) illustrates this.

- (173) a. Japanese
- Mary-ga kodomo-ni nak-are-ta.*  
 Mary-NOM child-DAT cry-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Mary was subjected to the child’s crying.’

b. Korean

\* *Mary-ka ai-eykey wul-li-ess-ta.*  
Mary-NOM child-DAT cry-CAUS/PASS-PAST-DECL  
intended: ‘Mary was subjected to the child’s crying.’

(Song 2002: 188)

Song (2002) describes the difference in scope between the Japanese and Korean adversative passive as a typological difference in ‘agent dominance’: Korean is more agent-dominant in that it is more prone to expressing affectedness in a construction that codes the agent as subject, whereas Japanese is more likely to encode the affectee as the subject.

The fact that the subjects of passive constructions like those in (172a) and (173) are indirect affectees, and thus bear the same participant role that the dative encodes in European languages, has long been acknowledged (cf., among others, Shibatani 1994b, T. Smith 2005, and Radetzky and Smith 2010, who explicitly analyze these parallels). There is, of course, an important structural difference between the elements expressing indirect affectedness in the two types of languages: the European dative is a case form, which is often optional and, thus, may or may not be added to a given sentence (although it is obligatory in certain contexts, e.g., as a verbal argument or in the affected body part configuration). The adversative passive, on the other hand, is a construction based on the manipulation of verbal argument structure, which affects the structure of the entire clause. Put differently, indirect affectedness expressed by dative case is a phenomenon entirely limited to the verbal dependent; indirect affectedness expressed by a voice construction, in contrast, is driven by the verbal head. Note, furthermore, that this dominance of the verb extends to the encoding of positive indirect affectedness, benefaction, as well; as we have seen in

the previous subsection, the light verb ‘give’ is the crucial part of the benefactive construction – rather than the form that actually expresses the beneficiary.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter described the Korean dative as a spatial marker that extends to the force-dynamic notion of effector, thereby capable of expressing oblique agents. It is thus not associated with any force-dynamically subsequent functions in Croft’s (1991) sense. This description provides an account for the fact that external possessor datives are excluded in Korean, and likewise in languages with similar datives such as Japanese: since external possessors are indirect affectees, they are in a different force-dynamic relation within the event than those relations the dative can encode. If a language like Korean is to encode an attributive possessor externally, this must be achieved by a different strategy.

It has been claimed that Korean allows external possessors of themes to be marked by the identical case as the possessum, thus giving rise to double nominative or double accusative EP constructions. An example from the literature is (174).

- (174) *Mary-ka John-ul tali-lul cha-ss-ta*  
 Mary-NOM John-ACC leg-ACC kick-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Mary kicked John’s leg (lit.: kicked John the leg).’

(Vermeulen 2005: 176)

In my own data collection, however, these constructions never occurred, and when asked explicitly, my consultants stated that they would not use them. This seems to indicate that their

status is somewhat marginal. They only volunteered constructions with the possessor unmarked, such as (175a) below, whose constructional status is unclear: since case marking in Korean is not obligatory, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, this might be an instance of internal possession, with the genitive case on the possessor noun omitted. (175b), which attempts to mark an external possessor with dative case, was unanimously rejected.

- (175) a. *Yena-ka yengco syechu-lul telep-hi-ess-e.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo shirt-ACC be\_dirty-CAUS/PASS-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Yuna made Youngjo’s shirt dirty.’
- b. \**Yena-ka yengco-hanthey syechu-lul telep-hi-ess-e.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT shirt-ACC be\_dirty-CAUS/PASS-PAST-INTIM  
 ‘Yuna made Youngjo’s shirt dirty.’

It should be kept in mind, though, that Korean has a different indirect affectedness construction at its disposal for contexts like the above, the adversative passive, as discussed briefly in subsection 5.5.2. As stated there, this construction is verb-dominated: as a voice operation, it assigns the indirect affectee the syntactically prominent status of subject. Therefore, there is no functional need for a dependent-marking form to also adopt the function of indirect affectee marking.

The analysis of the differences between the Korean dative and the German dative in terms of their respective association with a particular force-dynamic configuration leads to the hypothesis that certain dative polysemies are excluded. Thus, just like it was motivated here that the Korean dative will not extend to indirectly affected participant roles due to its (metaphorical) association with the effector role, an indirect affectedness dative should not be able to mark the causee role or other oblique agents. This hypothesis is clearly false; Basque is an example of a

language that uses its dative for indirect affectee roles such as beneficiaries and external possessors (cf. Haspelmath 1999), but also as the case of the causee when the base verb in a causative construction is transitive (cf., e.g., Joppen and Wunderlich 1995). It is thus not possible to generalize the findings made here with respect to the association of a given dative marker with a certain force-dynamic configuration. However, the difference between the spatially based dative in Korean and Japanese on the one hand, and the indirect affectedness dative in German and other European languages on the other, can be accounted for on this basis.

## 6. Case study C: Estonian – landmark expressions

### 6.1 Introduction

After having considered a dative case with indirect affectedness meaning and a dative with spatial meaning, this chapter returns from Asia to Europe and studies a case that seems to unite these two phenomena: a clearly spatial case that has, or so it seems, indirect affectedness functions. The language discussed is Estonian, a Finno-Ugric language closely related to Finnish, whose case system comprises fifteen cases. Twelve of these have very specific functions, many of them spatial; the other three are a nominative, a genitive/accusative,<sup>59</sup> and a partitive (cf., e.g., Viitso 1998). However, none of the Estonian cases traditionally bears the label of ‘dative.’ It therefore may seem unmotivated to include this language in a study that deals specifically with phenomena in the context of dative case. The reason why Estonian is considered here is that one of its spatial cases, the adessive, has been claimed to extend from its basic spatial uses to cover many of the dative functions that have been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 for German (Matsumura 1994, 1996, 1997), notably the marking of external possessors. The aim of this chapter is to test this claim against the data and, in particular, elucidate whether the Estonian adessive has indeed extended to the force-dynamic domain, the domain of the German dative. The main finding is that this is not the case. Rather, the adessive appears to fulfill the function of a ‘landmark’ expression, as claimed by Hole (2006, 2008) for some German datives (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.3.2.3): it encodes a spatial reference point with the requirement of (possibly metaphorical) spa-

---

<sup>59</sup> Estonian has one case category that fulfills both genitive and accusative functions, the former adnominally and the latter adverbally. In this chapter, this case is glossed as GEN or ACC, depending on the context, to facilitate intelligibility of the glosses.

tial contiguity, but does not show the affective value entailments we find for the German dative. Thus, it may be extending to the domain of possession, but not the force-dynamic domain.

In addition to the adessive, which in its basic spatial use encodes stative location, the allative is also considered here because it is the marker for the recipient role. Both the adessive and the allative are associated with possession in Estonian, the adessive being used as an EP marker and the allative for recipients and beneficiaries; so, in a way, these two cases divide many of the functions of the German dative between each other. But for both cases, as the data show, all these dative-like functions can be accounted for by their basic spatial and metaphorical possessive function, whereas indirect affectedness is not a semantic criterion relevant to their use.

## **6.2 Adessive and allative in their spatial uses**

Let us start with a brief introduction of the Estonian spatial cases. Among the twelve semantic cases, six have spatial functions, forming two systematically organized sets in terms of the spatial relations they encode. The first set encodes spatial relations with respect to the inside of an enclosure (the interior locative cases: inessive, illative, and elative) and the second, parallel set encodes the analogous relations with respect to other kinds of grounds (the exterior locative cases: adessive, allative, and ablative). It is the latter set that is of interest here, and in particular, the two cases adessive (expressing the figure's location at or on a ground entity) and allative (expressing motion to or onto a ground).

The three examples in (176) illustrate the set of exterior locative cases: the adessive for stative location in (a), allative for motion to the ground in (b), and ablative for motion away from the ground in (c). In each case, there are two alternative ways of expressing the ground: the case

suffix can either attach directly to the ground-denoting noun or to a relational noun (here *pea* ‘head,’ metaphorically understood as ‘top’) that takes the ground noun as a genitive-marked attributive possessor. Both phrasings are equally natural.

- (176) a. *Raamat on laua-l / laua pea-l.*  
 book.NOM is table.SG.GEN-ADESS / table.SG.GEN head-ADESS  
 ‘The books are on the table.’
- b. *Erki pan-i raamat-u laua-le / laua pea-le.*  
 Erki.NOM put-PAST book-ACC table.SG.GEN-ALL / table.SG.GEN head-ALL  
 ‘Erki put the book on the table.’
- c. *Erki võtt-i-s raamat-u laua-lt / laua pea-lt.*  
 Erki.NOM take-EU-PAST book-ACC table.SG.GEN-ABL / table.SG.GEN head-ABL  
 ‘Erki took the book from the table.’

The recipient argument of a transfer verb is marked by the allative case, illustrated in (176b) and shown in (177) below with the verb *andma* ‘give.’ In this case, no alternative phrasing with a relational noun is possible.

- (177) *Erki and-i-s Mari-le lill-i.*  
 Erki.NOM give-EU-PAST Mari-ALL flower-PL.PART  
 ‘Erki gave Mari flowers.’

As can be inferred from (176b) and (177), giving is construed as a motion event in Estonian and the recipient, accordingly, as a spatial goal. Moreover, similarly to Korean, predicative possession is expressed by means of the copula and adessive case marking on the possessor noun or NP, a construction that, as seen in (176a), also appears in locative descriptions. Possession is thus very generally encoded in terms of spatial relations, similarly to the situation in Korean and



in line with the general metaphoric extension patterns mentioned previously (cf. Seiler 1983, Heine 1997, Stassen 2008). The predicative possession construction with the adessive can be used for both alienable, as in (178a), and inalienable possessive relations, see (178b).

- (178) a. *Mari-l            on   raha.*  
              Mari-ADESS   is   money.SG.NOM  
              ‘Mari has money.’
- b. *Ta-l            on   ilus                    nägu.*  
              3SG-ADESS   is   beautiful.SG.NOM   face.SG.NOM  
              ‘She has a beautiful face.’

The examples in (176)–(178) show an asymmetry between the encoding of literal spatial relations and that of possession as metaphorical spatial relations: only in the former case do the speakers have the alternative construction with a relational noun at their disposal. In fact, we saw a similar asymmetry in Korean in the previous chapter, as Korean likewise has the option of expressing specific spatial relations with relational nouns bearing the case marker, as an alternative to the case attaching directly to the ground-denoting noun (see example (145b) in Chapter 5). The two unrelated languages are thus remarkably similar in their construal of spatial and, as a metaphorical extension, possessive relations. The main difference is that the very general spatial function of the Korean dative, which includes the marking of locations, goals, and – to some extent – sources, is broken down in Estonian across three more specific exterior locative cases.

### 6.3 Extended uses

Thus far, it looks like the exterior locative cases of Estonian might show a similar behavior as the dative in Korean, which comprises most of their functions collectively. Since they are semantically more specific than the Korean dative, however, we might expect that they extend metaphorically to various kinds of non-spatial roles. This is indeed the case: especially with human referents, the cases can encode various possessive and causal relations. In (179), an example is given for each of the three cases (more will be discussed shortly). Example (179a) shows the adessive case with a human referent in a description of a theme being force-dynamically affected. The necessary interpretation for this adessive is that its referent is the possessor of the theme: the adessive is thus part of an external possessor (EP) construction. In (179b), the allative is used instead in an otherwise identical event description, giving rise to the interpretation of the referent as a beneficiary. Example (179c) shows the ablative in a description of an event of metaphorical receiving, where it is understood as marking the effector argument.

- (179) a. *Mari lömm-i-s Erki-l auto ära.*  
 Mari.NOM dent-EU-PAST Erki-ADESS car.SG.ACC away  
 ‘Mari wrecked Erki’s car (lit.: wrecked the car on Erki).’
- b. *Mari lömm-i-s Erki-le auto ära.*  
 Mari.NOM dent-EU-PAST Erki-ALL car.SG.ACC away  
 ‘Mari wrecked the car for Erki (as a favor) (lit.: to Erki).’
- c. *Erki auto sai torm-i-lt kahjustus-e.*  
 Erki.GEN auto.SG.NOM receive.PAST storm-SV-ABL damage-SG.ACC  
 ‘Erki’s car got damaged (lit. received damage) from the storm.’

For the Korean dative, as outlined in Chapter 5, only the function in (179c) is available, that of effector. The configurations in (179a) and (b) would have to be expressed in Korean by the adversative passive and the benefactive construction with *cwuta* ‘give,’ respectively (as discussed in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 of the previous chapter), so these are functions that the Korean dative does not share. The following subsections look at these – apparently – non-spatial uses of each of the two Estonian cases in turn, scrutinizing whether these case uses really are indirect affectedness expressions in Estonian. Subsection 6.3.1 studies the adessive and 6.3.2 the allative in more detail.

### 6.3.1 The landmark adessive

The adessive EP construction in (179a) above may provoke the assumption that the Estonian adessive has assumed indirect affectedness functions similar to those of the German dative. Indeed, intensive corpus research on the adessive by Matsumura (1994, 1996, 1997) finds a striking overlap between the uses of the adessive and many of the German ‘free’ datives discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, leading him to label the dative-like uses of the Estonian adessive the ‘adessive dative.’ Some of his examples are provided in (180)–(183), along with their German counterparts for comparison. Example (180) is an EP construction expressing an inalienable possessive relation – as seen in Chapter 4, a prototypical context for the use of this construction – with the external possessor encoded by adessive in Estonian and by dative in German.

- (180) a. Estonian  
*Ta-l sur-i laps.*  
 3SG-ADESS die-PAST child.SG.NOM  
 ‘Her child died (lit.: The child died on her).’  
 (Matsumura 1997: 34)

b. German

*Ihr ist das Kind gestorben.*  
 3SG.F.DAT is DEF.N.SG.NOM child die.PTCPL  
 ‘Her child died (lit.: The child died to her).’

A similar situation holds in (181), but here the possessive relation is less straightforward and can only be construed as alienable. The German sentence (181b) has the implication that the event is either of positive or negative relevance for the dative referent – the value implication of indirect affectedness, as outlined in Chapter 3; for the Estonian construction in (181a), Matsumura does not mention any such inference.

(181) a. Estonian

*Ma alanda-n teil üüri.*  
 1SG.NOM lower-1SG 2PL.ADESS rent.PART  
 ‘I will lower your rent (lit.: lower the rent on/at you).’  
 (Matsumura 1997: 34)

b. German

*Ich werde euch die Miete senken.*  
 1SG.NOM will 2PL.DAT DEF.F.SG.ACC rent lower  
 ‘I will lower your rent (lit.: lower the rent to you).’

In (182), we see the adessive and the dative used to express the experiencer of a temporary state, which is expressed by an adjectival predication. For German, this dative use has been discussed in Chapter 3 only briefly (see the end of subsection 3.3.2.4), mostly because it is lexically governed by a small number of adjectives that can express physical or emotional discomfort (in line with the ability of the German dative to convey pure affective value, as outlined in Chapter 3). In Estonian, the analogous use of the adessive appears to be similarly restricted.

- (182) a. Estonian  
*Mul on külm.*  
 3SG.ADESS is cold.NOM  
 ‘I’m cold (lit.: On/at me is cold).’
- b. German  
*Mir ist kalt.*  
 1SG.DAT is cold  
 ‘I’m cold (lit.: To me is cold).’

Finally, example (183a) shows what might be call an ‘ethical adessive,’ analogous to the German ethical dative it is compared to in (b):<sup>60</sup>

- (183) a. Estonian  
*Ole-d mul kena sõber küll!*  
 be-2SG 1SG.ADESS nice.SG.NOM friend.SG.NOM indeed  
 ‘Fine friend you are!’ (ironic)  
 (Matsumura 1994: 233, fn. 9)
- b. German  
*Du bist mir ein schön-er Freund!*  
 2SG.NOM be.2SG 1SG.DAT INDEF.M.SG.NOM nice-M.SG.NOM friend  
 ‘Fine friend you are!’ (ironic)

Given that examples like (183) are rare (cf. Matsumura 1994: 233) and the experiencer adessive with adjectives illustrated in (182) appears to be lexically conditioned, the most interesting cases are those in (180) and (181): instances of the adessive as an EP case. Matsumura (*ibid.*;

<sup>60</sup> In fact, both examples in (183) can be analyzed as EP constructions analogous to (180) and (181), since the noun ‘friend’ is relational and, therefore, the adessive/dative referent is understood to be its possessor. This particular example of an ‘ethical adessive’ is thus not entirely unexpected. In German, the ethical dative is independent of possession, as seen in Chapter 3 (example (87)); unfortunately, I have no evidence of whether similar examples can be found in Estonian.

cf. also the data in Matsumura 1997) states that the proclaimed ‘adessive dative’ is mainly restricted to such EP uses while other relations expressed by free datives in German, such as benefaction, are encoded by the allative (see the following subsection 6.3.2). The fact that local cases are used in EP constructions in northern European languages is well known (cf., e.g., Haspelmath 1999: 123); however, the question at issue here is whether the Estonian EP adessive shares the indirect affectedness phenomena that EP datives exhibit, as discussed in Chapter 4, subsection 4.3.1 for the German EP dative: a restriction to or at least a bias towards animate referents, resultative events, and inalienable – or more precisely, mereological – possessive relations.

Let us consider the acceptability of the construction in descriptions of a resultative event, so that the direct affectedness of the theme is kept constant, and vary the dimensions of animacy of the possessor and nature of the possessive relationship. Example (184a) shows an animate possessor and the theme is a piece of clothing. This sentence is necessarily understood in such a way that possessor and possessum are spatially contiguous to each other: Erki must have been wearing the shirt when the event happened. On the other hand, when the theme refers to an item that is not necessarily kept close to one’s body, the EP adessive construction becomes inappropriate in most contexts: (184b), where the theme referent is a cup, would only be feasible as a description of an event in which Erki is holding on to the cup while it is being broken. Finally, (184c) shows that the EP adessive is inconspicuous with inanimate referents if the theme is a meronym.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Matsumura (1994: 233) claims it to be used with inanimate referents only ‘occasionally’; in Matsumura (1997: 50), he states the percentage of EP adessives with inanimate referents in his corpus as 2%.

- (184) a. *Mari tõmba-s Erki-l särgi katki.*  
 Mari.NOM pull-PAST Erki.ADESS shirt.SG.ACC broken  
 ‘Mari tore Erki’s shirt apart (lit.: tore the shirt apart on/at Erki).’
- b. #*Mari teg-i Erki-l tass-i katki.*  
 Mari.NOM make-PAST Erki.ADESS cup-SG.ACC broken  
 ‘Mari broke Erki’s cup (lit.: broke the cup on/at Erki).’
- c. *Mari murd-i-s tass-i-l sang-a.*  
 Mari.NOM break-EU-PAST cup-SV-ADESS handle-SG.ACC  
 ‘Mari broke the cup’s handle (lit.: broke the handle on/at the cup).’

The acceptability phenomena in (184) can be contrasted with those for the corresponding EP dative constructions in German, given in (185):

- (185) a. *Lisa hat Greg das Hemd zerrissen.*  
 Lisa.NOM has Greg.DAT DEF.NEUT.ACC shirt tear\_apart.PTCPL  
 ‘Lisa tore Greg’s shirt apart (on him) (lit.: tore to Greg the shirt apart).’
- b. *Lisa mach-te Greg die Tasse kaputt.*  
 Lisa.NOM make-PAST Greg.DAT DEF.FEM.ACC cup broken  
 ‘Lisa broke Greg’s cup (on him) (lit.: broke the cup to Greg).’
- c. #*Lisa mach-te der Tasse den Henkel kaputt.*  
 Lisa.NOM make-PAST DEF.FEM.DAT cup DEF.MASC.ACC handle broken  
 ‘Lisa broke the cup’s handle (lit.: broke the handle to the cup).’

The EP dative description of the shirt-tearing scenario in (185a) appears to have very similar semantic properties as its Estonian EP adessive counterpart: the most natural reading is that Greg was wearing the shirt. However, this spatial contiguity is not entailed: (185a) would also be a feasible description if, for instance, Lisa was an assistant at a dry-cleaner’s and tore the shirt while it was in her care, with Greg being somewhere else, waiting to pick up his dry-cleaning

(and heading for an unpleasant surprise). Likewise, (185b) is acceptable regardless of whether or not Greg was present when the cup was broken. But it is less appropriate if the breaking of the cup does not concern him in any way; in case Greg is the owner of a cup factory and Lisa an employee that accidentally breaks a cup at work, a description like (185b) would only be used with humorous intentions.

Example (185c) is infelicitous because it is generally interpreted as personifying the dative referent, as seen in Chapter 4 for example (96). Even though it was argued there that this personification effect may be triggered, or at least enhanced, by the presence of an actor who is by default understood to be intentional, the relevant factor in the present context is that personification is no effect of the Estonian EP adessive counterpart in (184c), regardless of the agent's intentionality. One important conclusion to be drawn from the comparison between (184) and (185) is thus that the Estonian EP adessive, in contrast to the German EP dative, does not imply affective value. It does, however, seem to entail spatial contiguity – the exact same criterion that was postulated by Hole (2006, 2008) to be relevant for certain German dative constructions, as discussed and refuted in Chapter 3 (subsection 3.3.2.3). As a consequence, it looks as though Hole's 'landmark' analysis might apply to the Estonian adessive rather than the German dative: a fact that would not come as a surprise, seeing that the adessive is by its very nature a spatial case.

To confirm this impression, let us return to a configuration that has been drawn upon in the two previous case studies on German and Korean as well: the description of an event of someone falling asleep and its compatibility with the case form under discussion, as well as the resulting meaning. In German, as seen in Chapter 3 (example (68a)), this combination results in a malefactive reading; in Korean, as observed in Chapter 5 (example (146b)), in a spatial ground interpretation. Estonian allows the adessive in the description of a falling-asleep event as well. The con-



struction in (186a) is understood as the audience being the speaker's and falling asleep during the speaker's lecture or talk, which suggests that, as is presupposed by the label 'EP adessive' used here, possession is the relevant criterion for the acceptability of the adessive. However, considering (186b), it is obvious that this generalization is not entirely adequate: when the theme, the person falling asleep, is a stranger, no interpersonal relation can be construed between that person and the adessive referent. Nevertheless, the sentence is acceptable, expressing that the stranger fell asleep in a location belonging to or associated with the speaker – her car, her garage, or her backyard.

- (186) a. *Mul jõi publik maga-ma.*  
 1SG.ADESS remain.PAST audience sleep-INF  
 'My audience fell asleep [e.g. when I was lecturing]  
 (lit.: The audience fell asleep on/at me).'
- b. *Mul jõi keegi võõras maga-ma.*  
 1SG.ADESS remain.PAST someone.NOM stranger sleep-INF  
 'A stranger fell asleep (on/at me).'

Example (186b) shows that for the adessive, as for the German dative, the referent's possession of the theme is a default inference but no entailment (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.3.2.2 for the argument on German). The difference between them, however, is what the respective case form actually does entail. While the German dative in the counterpart of (186a) invariably portrays the dative referent as being affected and evokes affective value inferences, as discussed in Chapter 3 (example (74)), this does not seem to hold for the Estonian adessive, which, as noted in the context of the previous examples and again observed for (186b), simply entails spatial contiguity.

In case a possessive relationship between the adessive referent and another event participant is presupposed, literal spatial contiguity is not required for the adessive construction to be acceptable. In this case, we can assume that the possessive relation is metaphorically construed as a spatial relation – a construal that also underlies predicative possession, as shown in (178) above. The event descriptions in (187) contain the relational nouns *sõber* ‘friend’ in (a) and *peika* ‘boyfriend’ in (b). In these cases, for the felicitousness of (a), it is not necessary that the friend sings in the presence of the speaker, or, for (b), that the boyfriend is with Mari in the situation depicted.

- (187) a. *Mul sõber laul-a-b.*  
 1SG.ADESS friend.SG.NOM sing-EU-3SG.PRES  
 ‘My friend is singing (lit.: On/at me the friend is singing).’
- b. *Mari-l ei saa peika täna tööta-da.*  
 Mari-ADESS NEG receive boyfriend.SG.NOM today work-INF  
 ‘Mari’s boyfriend can’t work today  
 (lit.: On/at Mari the boyfriend cannot work today).’

The examples in (187) are also illuminating in that they clearly rule out indirect affectedness as a criterion governing the use of the adessive. In (187a), the verb is *laulma* ‘sing,’ an activity verb whose sole argument is thematically an actor, rather than a theme – in force-dynamic terms, an effector. Indirect affectedness, however, as motivated in Chapters 2 and 3 and as stated by the revised definition in (77) in Chapter 3, is affectedness by a non-effector participant: thus, it is not a property of the adessive-marked participant role in (187a). For German, we saw in Chapter 3 (subsection 3.3.2.2, examples (71a) and (b)) that free datives do not combine with an

activity verb; and indeed, the dative construction that mirrors the Estonian examples in (187) would be ungrammatical, as shown in (188) for the counterpart of (187a):

- (188) \**Mir sing-t der Freund.*  
 1SG.DAT sing-3SG.PRES DEF.M.SG.NOM friend  
 intended: ‘My friend is singing.’

What is more, in case possession is recursive, each of the possessors can optionally be marked by the adessive – including adessive marking for both, which renders both possessors external. In (189), this is shown for a scenario in which the theme is in the possession of the neighbor, who in turn is in an interpersonal relation with the speaker. In (189a), both possessors are realized NP-internally as genitive attributes; in (b), the intermediate possessor is externally adessive-marked, with the top-level possessor still part of the same NP; in (c), only the top-level possessor is external, while the intermediate one is a genitive attribute to the noun denoting the most embedded possessed item, the house; and finally, in (d), both possessors are external, resulting in a clause containing two adessive-marked adverbials.

- (189) a. *Mu naabri maja põle-s.*  
 1SG.GEN neighbor.SG.GEN house.SG.NOM burn-PAST  
 ‘My neighbor’s house was burning.’  
 b. *Mu naabri-l maja põle-s.*  
 1SG.GEN neighbor.SG.GEN-ADESS house.SG.NOM burn-PAST  
 (=a.)  
 c. *Mul põle-s naabri maja.*  
 1SG.ADESS burn-PAST neighbor.SG.GEN house.SG.NOM  
 (=a.)

- d. *Mul põle-s naabri-l maja.*  
 1 SG.ADESS burn-PAST neighbor.SG.GEN-ADESS house.SG.NOM  
 (=a.)

The sentence in (189d) depicts a recursive figure-ground relation analogous to the spatial configurations that Hole (2008: 197–200, section 10.2.2) postulates to be entailed by the German dative construction he calls ‘landmark dative,’ a claim that was refuted in Chapter 3 (subsection 3.3.2.3) of this dissertation. For the Estonian double-adessive construction in (189d), however, his description is fully adequate, although it must allow for the possible metaphorical construal as a recursive possessor-possessum, rather than literal ground-figure, relation. Hole (*ibid.*: 197–98) characterizes the ‘landmark’ relation as follows: ‘The referent [of the ‘landmark’ expression] is a figure on the highest level of *gestalt* organization relevant in the assertion. Simultaneously, the same referent also defines the ground on the next lower level of organization [...]’ (translation by SL). For an Estonian sentence such as (189c), in which the speaker is referred to by an adessive argument, but the neighbor whose house is burning is not, this can be read as follows: the referent of the adessive term, the speaker, is a figure in the highest level of *gestalt* organization (this level, in the given example, could be the neighborhood, for instance), and, at the same time, defines the ground for the second-highest level (which could be the more confined region containing only the speaker’s and neighbor’s houses). This description is accurate because the adessive referent is not literally the ground itself – the neighbor’s house is not located on or with the speaker – but the entity through which the ground of the burning house is identified. Presumably, this ground-defining (rather than literal ground) function is enabled by the referent’s animacy. If the neighbor is additionally marked by adessive case as in (189d), it is a figure within this second-level ground that, in turn, identifies the even lower-level ground for the house. Hole’s land-

mark analysis thus accounts for the complex uses of the adessive that do not actually encode a ground, but do not entail possession in all of their uses either. Rather than labeling this use ‘adessive dative,’ as Matsumura does, thereby suggesting indirect affectedness functions, the term ‘landmark adessive’ would be more appropriate.

The specific interpretations this adessive use receives in different contexts can be described in terms of the semantic properties of the figure, which determine whether the interpretation remains in the spatial domain (i) or is metaphorically extended to the domain of possession ((ii)–(iii)):

- (i) In general, the figure is interpreted as spatially contiguous to the landmark, that is, near the landmark (see example (186)) or in contact with it (see (184a)). This can give rise to an alienable possession reading as a default implicature if the situation is so construable.
- (ii) If the figure expression is a relational noun, the landmark is interpreted as the possessor (see example (187)).
- (iii) As a special case of the preceding, if the figure expression is a meronym of the ground, the landmark is interpreted as the whole (see example (184c)).

Given that the principles (ii) and (iii) involve possession as a necessary component and (i), the basic spatial reading, as a likely component of the interpretation the landmark adessive receives, it is undeniable that the notion of possession plays an important role in these uses. In fact, numerous studies suggest that the adessive, along with the other two exterior locative cases allative and ablative, is undergoing a grammaticalization process from a spatial marker towards a marker of possessive relations. Frequency observations as well as acquisition research point in this direction. As for the former, Matsumura (1994, 1997) finds in various corpus studies that his

‘adessive dative’ uses, the vast majority of which appear in EP constructions, make up 43 (1994) and 45 (1997) percent of the total occurrences of adessive-marked NPs, while the locative uses in spatial descriptions account for a mere 23 and 25 percent, respectively (the remainder being temporal and other uses). In the context of first language acquisition, Dasinger (1997: 46) reports from earlier studies that young children use the adessive – and also the other two exterior locative cases – almost exclusively in possessive functions with animate referents. She attributes this bias to the fact that older speakers show a very strong preference to encode purely spatial relations by means of the complex postpositional markers consisting of a relational noun that bears the case suffix, such as *laua peal* (table<sub>GEN</sub> head<sub>ADESS</sub>), lit. ‘on top of the table,’ rather than by the ground noun marked with the case directly, such as *laual* (table<sub>ADESS</sub>) ‘on the table’ (see the examples in (176)). The input received by children, thus, hardly includes any uses of the exterior locative cases in spatial function without the mediation of a relational noun. No similar tendency is observed for the interior locative cases – inessive, illative, and elative – which are predominantly used to encode actual spatial relations.

On the basis of this bias found in written corpora as well as in the spoken language, the conclusion that the Estonian exterior locatives are undergoing a domain shift from the spatial to the possessive domain (see, e.g., Huomo 1996) is plausible. However, what the data presented here have shown is that indirect affectedness is not a semantic property that the case markers acquire in this process. This renders the EP adessive subtly different from the German EP dative, which the analyses that treat them as instances of the same phenomenon fail to acknowledge. Semantically, in German, external possessors are indirect affectees; in Estonian, spatial landmarks. It is only on the structural level that the two constructions are analogous.

### 6.3.2 The recipient allative

With regard to the allative case, we have already seen it used for the recipient in a ‘give’ construction (see example (177)). The recipient use extends to less prototypical cases, including temporary transfer (190a) or the transfer of an abstract item such as language or a song, where the recipient is a listener (190b) or addressee (190c).

- (190) a. *Erki laena-s Mari-le raha.*  
Erki.NOM borrow-PAST Mari-ALL money.SG.PART  
‘Erki lent Mari money.’
- b. *Erki luge-s Mari-le ajaleht-e.*  
Erki.NOM read-PAST Mari-ALL newspaper-SG.ACC  
‘Erki read the paper to Mari.’
- c. *Erki laul-i-s Mari-le (laul-u).*  
Erki.NOM sing-EU-PAST Mari-ALL song-SG.ACC  
‘Erki sang (a song) to Mari.’

In (190c), we can observe that the transferred item need not necessarily be explicit if implied in the verb; an allative-marked recipient or addressee, thus, does not require the overt presence of a theme – in contrast to a dative-marked recipient, beneficiary, or maleficiary in German, where the counterpart of (190c) without the theme would be ungrammatical (cf. examples (71a–b) in Chapter 3).

The allative naturally extends to the marking of beneficiaries; two examples are shown in (191). Both of these benefactive situations involve a material object that is transferred, although, perhaps, only in the case of (191a), a scenario of buying chocolate for someone, we can actually

speak of ‘giving.’<sup>62</sup> In Korean, we saw in Chapter 5 (examples (164) and (166)) that the two scenarios differ with regard to the acceptability of the dative case without the licensing converb ‘give,’ which is restricted to the chocolate-buying situation. In Estonian, in contrast, the difference is irrelevant: (191b) is acceptable with the allative marking the beneficiary, even though she is not literally given the dinner but is the one who eats it.

- (191) a. *Erki ost-i-s Mari-le šokolaad-e.*  
 Erki.NOM buy-EU-PAST Mari-ALL chocolate-SG.ACC  
 ‘Erki bought Mari chocolate.’
- b. *Erki teg-i Mari-le õhtusöök-i.*  
 Erki.NOM make-PAST Mari-ALL dinner-SG.PART  
 ‘Erki made Mari dinner.’

The condition of the beneficiary being the ‘final’ recipient, as it were, or the recipient who puts the transferred theme to its ultimate use, appears to be a crucial factor in the acceptability of benefactive marking for the allative. Consider the contrast in (192) below. Both sentences mean that Erki cut up vegetables for Mari, and in both situations, Mari ‘gets’ the vegetables and is thus a recipient, but the sentences describe different situations: with allative marking, as in (a), Mari is understood as the person who ends up eating the vegetables – as the final recipient or perhaps ‘consumer-recipient.’ If the chopping of the vegetables happens as part of a cooking event and Mari is not the consumer, but continues to use the vegetables in preparing the meal after she

---

<sup>62</sup> J. Bohnemeyer (pers. comm.) points out that this difference depends largely on prevalent cultural scripts. In a scenario presupposing that Mari regularly takes meals to her elderly neighbor, but is too busy one day so Erki cooks the meal for her, Erki could say *Here, I cooked a meal for you, you can give it to your neighbor*. In this scenario, Mari is not only a beneficiary, but is literally given the meal to do with it whatever she deems appropriate (including, but not limited to, eating it, which in the case at hand is, in fact, not the intended purpose of the benefaction). However, in Estonian, the beneficiary – Mari – would not be marked with allative case, but with one of the benefactive postpositional expressions discussed in the context of (192) below.



receives them, (192a) is an infeasible description; instead, such a non-consumer beneficiary is expressed by means of a postpositional expression consisting of a case-marked noun that takes the beneficiary noun as its genitive attribute, as shown in (b).

- (192) a. *Erki tükelda-s juurvilju Mari-le.*  
 Erki.NOM chop\_up-PAST vegetable.PL.PART Mari-ALL  
 ‘Erki chopped up the vegetables for Mari (e.g., for her to eat).’
- b. *Erki tükelda-s juurvilju Mari jao-ks.*  
 Erki.NOM chop\_up-PAST vegetable.PL.PART Mari.GEN share.SG.GEN-TRANS  
 ‘Erki chopped up the vegetables for Mari’s sake.’  
 (e.g., for her to use in cooking).’

What example (192) illustrates is two points: first, the use of the allative for benefactive marking is restricted to recipients, at least intended recipients, and thus to descriptions of events that involve a transferable theme. Second, in the domain of benefaction, just as in the spatial domain, Estonian has analytic alternatives to the case markers, which are presumably capable of expressing finer semantic distinctions than the cases. In addition to *jaoks* (share<sub>ADESS</sub>, literally ‘turning into someone’s share’) used in (192b), for instance, we find *heaks* (good<sub>TRANS</sub>, literally ‘turning good for someone’) and *eest* (related to the spatial postpositional expression *eest* ‘before<sub>ELAT</sub>’). The existence of these explicit expressions of benefaction renders it unnecessary for the allative to extend to more abstract benefactive functions. Note, however, that there are examples without an actual transfer of possession, such as (193a), which is marginally acceptable. (Without an overt theme, however, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (b).)

- (193) a. ? *Erki korista-s Mari-le tema maja.*  
 Erki.NOM clean-PAST Mari-ALL 3SG.GEN house.SG.GEN  
 ‘Erki cleaned Mari’s house for her.’
- b. \* *Erki korista-s Mari-le.*  
 Erki.NOM clean-PAST Mari-ALL  
 intended: ‘Erki cleaned for Mari.’

Such borderline cases as (193a) can probably be accounted for in terms of metonymy – not the house, but the usability of its clean rooms is transferred into the possession of the beneficiary – analogously to Shibatani’s (1994a) approach to similar data in Korean, as discussed in Chapter 5 (subsection 5.5.1). Alternatively, the – marginal – acceptability of the allative could be accounted for in terms of Erki taking possession of the house temporarily, to then return it to Mari clean. For (193b), of course, neither of these construals is possible because no theme is present to (metonymically or literally) refer to an entity that is transferred.

While Matsumura (1994: 233) claims that the allative can also be used to express malefaction, the data at my disposal provide almost no evidence for this. Even in an event description with strong negative connotations, the benefactive reading is the only available interpretation for the allative-marked NP. An example is (179b) above, here repeated as (194): even though the wrecking of a car does not straightforwardly evoke the association of being beneficial to anyone, (194) cannot mean that Erki was negatively affected by this event.

- (194) *Mari lömm-i-s Erki-le auto ära.*  
 Mari.NOM dent-EU-PAST Erki-ALL car.SG.ACC away  
 ‘Mari wrecked the car for Erki (as a favor).’  
 \* ‘Mari wrecked the car and Erki was negatively affected.’

In addition to its benefactive function, the allative can also express the origin of a judgment or perspective when occurring in a state description. In this function, it is reminiscent of the dative in the Cushitic language Sidaama (cf. Chapter 4, subsection 4.3.2) because, similarly to the Sidaama dative, but unlike the German judgment dative (cf. Chapter 3, subsection 3.3.2.4), the use of the allative to express a judging person is not linked to the deviation from a standard or norm and associated with affective evaluation, but simply relativizes a statement to someone's perspective. An example is given in (195).

- (195) *Erki-le on tass katki.*  
 Erki-ALL be.PRES cup.SG.NOM broken  
 'To Erki, the cup seemed (lit. was) broken.'

As briefly mentioned in the context of the Sidaama judgment dative in subsection 4.3.2, this judgment function of the dative (Sidaama)/allative (Estonian) might be described in terms of metaphoric receiving, the impression being the abstract item that the referent comes to possess. In the literature, their semantic categorization is in fact not uncontroversial: some authors classify dative-marked judges as a type of experiencers (cf., e.g., van Langendonck 1998: 239, Luraghi 2003: 64), whereas Haspelmath (1999: 126, 2003: 213) links them with benefactives, on the basis of the cross-linguistically frequent cooccurrence of these two functions in dative markers. Since the experiencer function is fulfilled not by the allative, but by the adessive case in Estonian (cf. example (182a) in the beginning of section 6.3), the association of judgment allatives with the experiencer role seems unmotivated. Both the recipient and the beneficiary role, however, being likewise encoded by the allative, provide a plausible link.

To conclude the discussion of the dative-like functions of the adessive and allative, I would like to compare the two cases in the external possessive configuration, which is, in fact, also a possible (although restricted) use for the allative. Consider the two examples in (196). They represent the same basic scenario of Erki looking at Mari's eye, but the specifics of their interpretation are different depending on the case marking: only when the possessor is marked by allative case is the scene understood as one of personal interaction (196a), whereas the adessive marking gives rise to the very factual reading of Erki looking at the eye as an independent object (196b) – for instance, as a doctor examining the eye. The German EP dative counterpart is provided in (c) for comparison.

- (196) a. *Erki vaata-s Mari-le silm-a.*  
 Erki.NOM see-PAST Mari-ALL eye-SG.PART  
 'Erki looked Mari in the eye (lit.: looked at the eye to Mari).'
- b. *Erki vaata-s Mari-l silm-a.*  
 Erki.NOM see-PAST Mari-ADESS eye-SG.PART  
 'Erki examined Mari's eye (lit.: looked at the eye on/at Mari).'
- c. German:  
*Erki sah Mari in die Augen.*  
 Erki.NOM see.PAST Mari.DAT in DEF.PL.ACC eyes  
 'Erki looked Mari in the eyes (lit.: looked into the eyes to Mari).'

This contrast between (196a) and (b) is telling since it demonstrates the lack of affectedness associated with the adessive, as pointed out in the previous subsection 6.3.1. While the adessive EP is simply a landmark, as motivated in 6.3.1, and therefore no personal or emotional affectedness is implied by an EP adessive construction, the allative, in contrast, is compatible with such affectedness. In this respect, and in the context of the specific body-part EP construc-

tion illustrated in (196), the Estonian allative is thus more similar to the German EP dative than the adessive is – even though it is the latter that is generally compared to the German dative. However, given the landmark function of the adessive and the recipient function of the allative, and the fact that the latter is semantically more closely related to the notion of indirect affectedness than the adessive’s landmark function is, this contrast does not come as a surprise.

It thus seems that, if any one of the two cases under discussion is associated with indirect affectedness at all, it is the allative, rather than the adessive. And it is perhaps for this reason that the allative can also appear in descriptions of events that involve non-beneficial affectedness of a body part possessor, as in (197a), the description of a body part being hit. This is the only example that I find for Matsumura’s (1994) claim that the allative can encode malefactive relations, as mentioned above. In this particular context, the factual landmark reading of the adessive would simply be inappropriate to convey the impact on the possessor; the EP adessive construction in (197b), although grammatical, is judged as unnatural.

- (197) a. *Mari lõi Erki-le vastu nägu.*  
 Mari.NOM hit.PAST Erki-ALL against face.SG.PART  
 ‘Mari slapped Erki in the face.’
- b. #*Mari lõi Erki-l vastu nägu.*  
 Mari.NOM hit.PAST Erki-ADESS against face.SG.PART  
 ‘Mari slapped Erki in the face.’

## 6.4 Summary

The discussion of the Estonian adessive and allative has shown that, even though EP constructions can look very similar, elusive semantic differences may exist between them. In particular,

the comparison of the EP uses of the adessive with the German EP dative has demonstrated that the Estonian adessive does not share the German dative's essential semantic feature of indirect affectedness, regardless of the largely overlapping distribution of the two constructions. The adessive has instead been analyzed as a landmark expression, which in most cases is interpreted as a possessor. This is in line with the general tendency of the exterior locative cases to be used as possessive, rather than spatial, relators.

Likewise in line with this tendency, the allative is a general recipient marker but has not extended to benefactive uses, beyond those that involve literal (and perhaps metonymical) transfer of possession. Its use as judgment case has been hypothesized to be linked to these recipient functions as well. After the discussion of an indirect affectedness dative (German, Chapter 3) and a spatial dative (Korean, Chapter 5), Estonian thus presents an example of a 'dative,' or rather, a set of dative-like cases which are spatial in nature but in which the possessive metaphor is very prominent. However, the important finding in this chapter is that they have not extended into the force-dynamic domain.

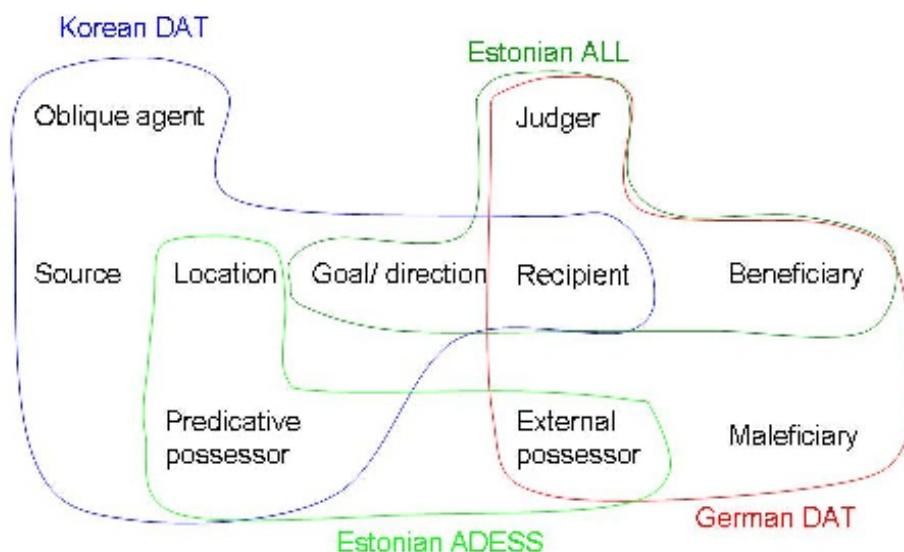
## 7. Concluding remarks

### ***7.1 Summary: What it means to “fall asleep to someone”***

In summarizing the discussion of the preceding chapters, let me return to the research questions posed in the Introduction. We started out from the typological split between the languages of Europe and Asia, most of which are said to have a dative, but with the functions of these datives differing drastically between East and West. Some symptoms of this split are: European languages merge benefactive and malefactive datives into a general affectedness dative, while Asian languages tend to employ different constructions for benefaction and adversative affectedness; European languages use the dative as an external possessor marker, while the dative in Asian languages is not involved in external possession; and in Asian languages, datives have spatial functions, while this is not generally the case in Europe. The questions the present research pursued to investigate this split were: (1) What semantic factors determine which type a particular dative-like case instantiates? (2) Is the European ‘affectedness dative’ unique (considering that one of the constructions in which it appears, the external possessor dative construction, has been claimed to be an areal phenomenon restricted to Europe; cf. König and Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999), or are there other datives outside Eurasia with similar semantic properties (considering that ‘affectedness’ or even ‘indirect affectedness’ are notions frequently found in cross-linguistically oriented descriptions of dative in general; cf. Iggesen 2005: 95, Næss 2009: 572)? And (3) since the European ‘affectedness dative’ is a semantically homogeneous category in that it does not extend to or from any other semantic domains (most notably, it does not show any overlap with the spatial domain), do we find similar homogeneity in the spatial

dative type, seeing that spatial expressions are extremely likely to extend metaphorically to other domains?

The general findings regarding the extensions of the cases discussed in this dissertation are illustrated in Figure 3.



**Figure 3: Extensions of the German and Korean dative, Estonian allative, and Estonian adessive**

Figure 3 may be viewed as a kind of semantic map (more on a systematic approach to semantic mapping is said in 7.2 below). Spatial meanings and functions to which spatial meanings can extend are represented on the left side, while indirect affectedness functions are seen on the right. The figure demonstrates, in particular, the very different extensions of the Korean dative (discussed in Chapter 5) and the German dative (Chapter 3), which only overlap in the recipient function. Aside from this, the Korean dative occupies the spatial and spatially derived functions in the left part of the figure, while the German dative extends only to the indirect affectedness functions on the right. The Estonian cases allative and adessive, discussed in Chapter 6, have



been represented in Figure 3 to extend to some of these functions as well, but it is important to keep in view that they also occupy parts of the spatial part of the diagram, which is not true for the German dative. In Chapter 6, the non-spatial functions of the Estonian cases were argued to be spatial metaphors, rather than genuine indirect affectedness uses. For German, on the other hand, the opposite is assumed to be the case, since, as Figure 3 shows, the German dative has no connections to the spatial functions.

In the literature, the spatial component and the indirect affectedness component of dative case are often viewed as disjunctive. To cite one example, Næss (2009: 575) points to the two distinct dative functions of encoding ‘animate affected entities’ on the one hand and spatial relations on the other hand that are found cross-linguistically, and states that ‘[t]here has been considerable debate concerning which function of the dative should be taken to be primary – the local functions which typically include goal, source, and location, or the use to mark various types of sentient affected entities.’ Her conclusion is that ‘a case with purely or predominantly local functions is perhaps better labelled e.g. allative or locative rather than dative’ (*ibid.*). However, the complex semantic nature of the recipient role is not just a matter of terminology; and is not clear why we should necessarily assume one of the two dative functions to be ‘primary,’ as Næss puts it, rather than simply accepting the existence of two different semantic types of datives that reflect this complexity.<sup>63</sup> The discussion in the preceding chapters has presented these two types as (i) a force-dynamically based dative encoding the recipient as indirect affectee, and (ii) a spatially based dative that encodes the recipient as a goal or direction. Research question

---

<sup>63</sup> It should be pointed out that this assumption does not exclude the conflation of the two types into a dative that has both spatial and indirect affectedness functions. The Spanish preposition *a*, which expresses spatial goals, but also recipients, external possessors and other indirectly affected roles, is a prominent example (cf., e.g., Cuervo 2003).

(1) is thus answered with the analysis of the two dative types as having distinct semantic intentions and overlapping semantic extensions, the latter illustrated in Figure 3.

The discussion consisted essentially of representative case studies that aimed for a certain depth (Chapters 3, 5, and 6 on German, Korean and Estonian, respectively) as well as breadth (Chapter 4 on external possessor datives or, more generally to include coding strategies other than case, EP/IO constructions). The goal was to elucidate the extensions of each dative type in detail, but also, at the same time, to provide evidence that the indirect affectedness dative is not just an areally and genealogically constrained phenomenon. Chapter 4, thus, answered research question (2): it showed that indirect affectedness constructions function as recipient expressions in a variety of languages throughout the world, as these expressions include the recipient function as well as the EP function in their extensions. However, outside Europe, these expressions tend to come in other forms than case. In fact, they show a bias toward head marking: a sample of nine languages found by Gerdtz (1999) to have an EP/IO construction (which only partially overlaps with the sample of languages discussed here in Chapter 4) contains five in which all three ditransitive arguments are cross-referenced on the verbal head, but only one that has exclusively subject agreement – German. Thus, the European EP dative is special in that it is a case, which is explained by the general areal bias toward dependent marking and the homogeneity the European languages show with respect to this feature; but the phenomenon that recipient expressions extend to external possessors has been shown not to be areally restricted.

Research question (3) pertains to the semantic homogeneity of the other type of dative identified here, the spatial dative. With regard to spatial dative markers, I assume that they are based on a different semantic construal of the recipient role than indirect affectedness datives: languages with a spatial dative treat the recipient as a kind of goal, while languages with an indi-

rect affectedness dative treat it as an indirectly affected participant. This implies that spatial datives do not generally extend to further indirect affectedness functions, the right side of the representation in Figure 3 above, unless such indirect affectees can likewise be construed as goals (which is the case for some beneficiaries). In particular, for this very reason, spatial datives cannot come to be used as markers of external possession, since no goal construal is available in this case. This is the explanation offered by the present study for the lack of EP datives in the languages of Asia, including Korean and Japanese.

Since spatial metaphor is the basis for a plethora of domain shifts, however (as described, e.g., by Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987: 511ff.), we may expect spatial datives to show far greater variety in their uses than indirect affectedness datives. Indeed, we have seen in Chapters 5 and 6 that the non-spatial functions of the Korean dative and the Estonian spatial cases can be accounted for as spatial metaphors, but the nature of these metaphors varies. The Korean dative, as discussed in Chapter 5, extends metaphorically to the force-dynamic domain – the very domain that is the conceptual basis of the indirect affectedness dative, but the force-dynamic configuration to which the Korean dative extends is not the indirect affectee configuration but that of origin or source of a force vector. Meanwhile, this dative expresses the recipient by virtue of its non-extended, basic spatial meaning. In contrast, as Chapter 6 showed, the Estonian recipient case, the allative – along with its locational counterpart, the adessive – extends not to the force-dynamic domain but to the domain of possession; and while most, if not all of the uses of these two cases can still be accounted for as spatial metaphors, they might be developing into genuine possessive markers, due to the fact that competing spatial postpositional expressions are the dominant means to encode spatial relations.

The three in-depth case studies, in sum, presented the following three dative phenomena: a genuine indirect affectedness dative (German); a spatial dative with restricted extension to the force-dynamic domain (Korean); and a set of spatial cases with dative-like functions that show a more general extension to the domain of possession. The differences can clearly be seen in a context in which a dative phrase can optionally appear, but is not a verbal argument. In such a context, the respective semantic properties of each case should determine its specific interpretation, rather than the interpretation being governed by the semantic requirements of the verb. Choosing the verb ‘fall asleep’ and reviewing the examples containing its translation equivalents that were discussed at various points in this dissertation, we end up with the comparison in (198).

(198) a. German

*Das Publikum / das Baby*  
 DEF.N.SG.NOM audience / DEF.N.SG.NOM baby  
*ist ihm eingeschlafen.*  
 is 3SG.M.DAT fall\_asleep.PTCPL

‘The audience fell asleep on him (lit. to him)/  
 The baby (finally) fell asleep (to his relief).’

b. Korean

*Yena-ka yengco-eykey camtul-ess-ta.*  
 Yuna-NOM Youngjo-DAT fall\_asleep-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Yuna fell asleep in Youngjo’s arms/on Youngjo’s chest  
 (lit. to Youngjo).’

c. Estonian

*Mari-l jäi õpilane maga-ma.*  
 Mari-ADESS remain.PAST student.SG.NOM sleep-INF  
 ‘A student of Mari’s fell asleep (lit. A student fell asleep on/at Mari).’

Each of these examples reveals the basic semantic nature of the respective ‘dative’ case. In (198a), we can see that the German dative, depending on the specifics of the falling-asleep events, can have the reading of negative or positive affectedness of its referent. The former has been discussed at length in Chapter 3 (subsection 3.3.2.2), where it was shown that possession is not an integral part of the dative’s semantics. The latter, a kind of benefactive reading, can be achieved if the person falling asleep is someone close to the dative referent and the event of falling asleep is desirable to the referent. The contextual variations thus show that the dative only specifies affectedness and the presence of affective value, but the value itself – positive or negative – is contextually determined.

Example (198b) shows the Korean dative with a clear spatial interpretation. Its metaphorical extensions, the uses as a marker of the oblique agent or the recipient, are not applicable in the given context, so the dative referent must be a spatial ground. It is interesting that this ground cannot be understood in a more abstract way, for instance, as ‘at Youngjo’s place,’ but immediate spatial contiguity is entailed. Recalling from Chapter 5 (section 5.3) that the dative also underlies certain restrictions when expressing possessors in possessive predication, which indicate that, rather than an actual possessor, it expresses the location of the possessum, we can interpret these facts as evidence for the spatial nature of the Korean dative.

Finally, the Estonian adessive, illustrated in (198c), expresses spatial contiguity similarly to the Korean dative, but of a less immediate nature; this function was termed ‘landmark adessive’ in Chapter 6. In contrast to the Korean dative, this ‘landmark’ use of the Estonian adessive does not necessarily encode a contiguous figure-ground relation, with figure and ground in direct contact, but in the given example merely serves to define a ground for the figure, the student falling asleep (as discussed in subsection 6.3.1 of Chapter 6). As a default inference from this ground-

defining function, a possessive relation between figure and ground is inferred, presumably aided by the fact that the reference is human: the student was Mari's student. Thus, this example demonstrates that the Estonian adessive, while encoding a spatial relationship, has strong associations with the domain of possession.

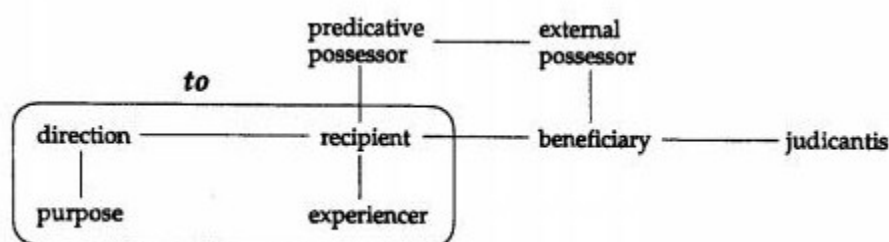
## ***7.2 Implications and future research***

The implications arising from the findings discussed here are twofold:

**Non-localism.** The distinction between the indirect affectedness dative and the spatial dative reveals crucially different conceptual construals of the recipient role, which any model of semantic representation must account for. The spatial dative is based on the construal of the recipient as a goal and thus compatible with localist theories of case, which take the semantic basis of all case morphology to be spatial (J. Anderson 1971, 1977). In contrast, the recipient construed as an indirect affectee is a force-dynamic notion, which cannot be reduced to a spatial base. Therefore, non-localism is a consequence from the analysis advocated here.

**Systematic polysemy.** The observation that dative markers are systematically polysemous has already been discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1) and at various other points in this dissertation, and it is also relevant in light of the insights gained from the data discussed here. If there are really two broad types of datives, as it appears from the data, we expect associations between concepts that belong to the same type to be stronger, and extension more likely accordingly, than between concepts belonging to different types. For instance, the cooccurrence of the various kinds of indirect affectee functions (recipient, beneficiary, maleficiary, etc.) in a dative marker is more likely than, for instance, the cooccurrence of the beneficiary function and the

function of spatial source would be. Needless to say, these hypotheses have to be confirmed, but significant research has already been conducted to establish such associations as those assumed here. In particular, the semantic map approach (see Haspelmath 1999, 2003; Malchukov and Narrog 2009) has been employed to visualize the similarities among concepts in the extension of a given category and make general statements on systematic polysemies. Figure 4 below shows Haspelmath's (2003) semantic map for the dative, based on its functions in European languages. The lines represent cooccurrences of meanings in the dative markers of a representative sample of languages.



**Figure 4: Semantic map of typical dative functions and the boundaries of English *to***  
(Haspelmath 2003: 213)

This map focuses the indirect affectedness functions of dative, but does not include some of the functions of spatial datives we have encountered in the preceding discussion – such as source and location, or the marking of agents – not to mention further polysemies not considered here (cf. Malchukov and Narrog 2009: 529, 532). It should thus be extended to yield a comprehensive representation of possible dative polysemies. This is impossible on the basis of the present research with its very limited range of data and languages (although Figure 3 above, which does

include spatial functions, might be a first step in this direction), but an integration of the findings made here with the current development of the semantic map approach is desirable.

Further research is of course necessary to pursue the question of dative meanings in more depth and detail. Most importantly, this includes a revision of the data set used to elicit the data for this study, as well as its application to more languages. Beyond the further study of dative markers, the elicitation of data from head-marking languages that encode the recipient in a ditransitive construction explicitly would also be promising, the main question being whether head marking shows the same or similar semantic types as dependent marking does. It stands to reason that the spatial component is missing in the verbal marking (cf. Meir 2002: 429), simply because agreement is generally restricted to grammatical functions. Thus, when encoded by verbal marking, the recipient might be a purely grammatical category.



## References

- AHN, Sung-Ho, and Jung-Tag LEE. 1994. The thematic nature of agentive *eykey* in Korean. Kim-Renaud, Young-Key (ed.) *Theoretical Issues in Korean Linguistics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. 191–216.
- ANDERSON, John M. 1971. *The Grammar of Case: Towards a Localistic Theory*. Cambridge: CUP.
- 1977. *On Case Grammar: Prolegomena to a Theory of Grammatical Relations*. London: Croom Helm.
- ANDERSON, Mona K. 1979. Noun phrase structure. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- BALLY, Charles. 1996 [1926]. The expression of concepts of the personal domain and indivisibility in Indo-European languages. Chappell and McGregor (eds.) 31–61.
- BEAVERS, John. 2006. Argument/oblique alternations and the structure of lexical meaning. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- In press. On affectedness. To appear 2010 in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. Ms. available online at <http://comp.ling.utexas.edu/~jbeavers/affectedness-paper-working.pdf>. Accessed Jan. 15, 2010.
- Ms. An aspectual classification of English ditransitive verbs. University of Texas at Austin. Available online at <http://comp.ling.utexas.edu/~jbeavers/ditransitives-paper-working.pdf>. Accessed Mar. 14, 2010.
- BEHAGHEL, Otto. 1924. *Deutsche Syntax: Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Vol. 2: Wortklassen und Wortformen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- BLAKE, Barry J. 2001. *Case*. Cambridge: CUP.

- BLANSITT, Edward L. Jr. 1988. Datives and allatives. Hammond, Michael; Edith A. Moravcsik; and Jessica R. Wirth (eds.) *Studies in Syntactic Typology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 173–191.
- BROADWELL, George Aaron. 2006. *A Choctaw Reference Grammar*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.
- CHAPPELL, Hilary, and William MCGREGOR (eds.) 1996. *The Grammar of Inalienability*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- CHOMSKY, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- COLE, Peter. 1983. The grammatical role of the causee in Universal Grammar. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 49:2. 115–133.
- CREISSELS, Denis; Gerrit J. DIMMENDAAL; Zygmunt FRAJZYNGIER; and Christa KÖNIG. 2008. Africa as a morphosyntactic area. Heine, Bernd, and Derek Nurse (eds.) *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*. Cambridge: CUP. 86–150.
- CROFT, William. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- 1993. Case marking and the semantics of mental verbs. Pustejovsky, James (ed.) *Semantics and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 55–72.
- <sup>2</sup>2003. *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ms. *Verbs: Aspect and Argument Structure*. Oxford: OUP. Draft 2010. Online at <http://www.unm.edu/~wcroft/WACpubs.html>. Accessed Aug. 20, 2010.
- CRUSE, David A. 1973. Some thoughts on agentivity. *Journal of Linguistics* 9:1. 11–23.
- CUERVO, María Cristina. 2003. Datives at large. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

- DĄBROWSKA, Ewa. 1997. *Cognitive Semantics and the Polish Dative*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- DAHL, Östen. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell.
- DASINGER, Lisa. 1997. Issues in the acquisition of Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian: A crosslinguistic comparison. Slobin, Dan I. (ed.) *The Cross-linguistic Study of Language Acquisition Vol. 4*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. 1–86.
- DAVIES, William D. 1984. Inalienable possession and Choctaw referential coding. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 50:4. 384–402.
- DIXON, R.M.W., and Alexandra Y. AIKHENVALD. 2000. Introduction. Dixon, R.M.W., and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.) *Changing Valency. Case Studies in Transitivity*. Cambridge: CUP. 1–20.
- DOWTY, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67. 547–619.
- DRAYE, Luk. 1996. The German dative. Van Belle and Van Langendonck (eds.) 155–215.
- DRYER, Matthew. 1986. Primary objects, secondary objects, and antidative. *Language* 62:4. 808–845.
- DÜRSCHIED, Christa. 1999. *Die verbalen Kasus des Deutschen*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- FILLMORE, Charles J. 1968. The Case for Case. Bach, Emmon, and Robert Harms (eds.) *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 1–88.
- 1970. The grammar of *Hitting* and *Breaking*. Jacobs, Roderick, and Peter Rosenbaum (eds.) *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham: Ginn. 120–133.
- FOLEY, William A. 1991. *The Yimas language of New Guinea*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- FRAJZYNGIER, Zygmunt. 2001. *A Grammar of Lele*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- FRAJZYNGIER, Zygmunt, and Erin SHAY. 2003. *Explaining Language Structure through Systems Interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- FRAJZYNGIER, Zygmunt, with Erin SHAY. 2002. *A Grammar of Hdi*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- FRIED, Mirjam. 1999. From interest to ownership: A constructional view of external possessors. Payne and Barshi (eds.) 473–504.
- FRIESEN, Dianne, and Megan MAMALIS. 2008. The Moloko verb phrase. SIL Electronic Working Papers 2008-003: 70. Online at <http://www.sil.org/silewp/2008/silewp2008-003.pdf>. Accessed July 6, 2009.
- GERDTS, Donna B. 1999. Mapping possessors: Parameterizing the external possession construction. Payne and Barshi (eds.) 137–163.
- GOLDBERG, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- GORDON, Raymond Jr. 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth Edition*. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Online at <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- GOUGE, Earnest. 2004. *Totkv Mocvse / New Fire: Creek Folktales*. Edited and translated by Jack B. Martin, Margaret McKane Mauldin, and Juanita McGirt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Online at [www.wm.edu/linguistics/creek/gouge/analysis/01.pdf](http://www.wm.edu/linguistics/creek/gouge/analysis/01.pdf).
- GRICE, Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. Cole, Peter, and Jerry L. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics vol 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press. 41–58.
- GROPEN, Jess, Steven PINKER, Michelle HOLLANDER, and Richard GOLDBERG. 1991. Affect-  
edness and direct objects: The role of lexical semantics in the acquisition of verb ar-

- gument structure. *Cognition* 41. 153–195.
- GRUBER, Jeffrey S. 1965. Studies in lexical relations. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- GUTZMANN, Daniel. 2007. Eine Implikatur konventioneller Art: Der Dativus Ethicus. *Linguistische Berichte* 211. 277–308.
- HALLIDAY, Michael A. K. 1968. Notes on transitivity and theme in English part 3. *Journal of Linguistics* 4:2. 179–215.
- HANSEN, Tomoko Okazaki. 2009. *The Japanese Dative. A Cognitive Analysis*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.
- HARLEY, Heidi. 2002. Possession and the double object construction. Pica, Pierre, and Johan Rooryck (eds.) *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 31–70.
- HASPELMATH, Martin. 1999. External possession in a European areal perspective. Payne and Barshi (eds.) 109–135.
- 2001. The European linguistic area: Standard Average European. Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher, and Raible (eds.) 1492–1510.
- 2003. The geometry of grammatical meaning: Semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. Tomasello, Michael (ed.) *The New Psychology of Language Vol. 2*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. 211–242.
- 2005. Argument marking in ditransitive alignment types. *Linguistic Discovery* 3:1. 1–21. (free online journal) Online at <http://journals.dartmouth.edu/cgi-bin/WebObjects/Journals.woa/2/xmlpage/1/document/560>. Accessed Sep. 19, 2009.
- 2008. Ditransitive constructions: the verb ‘give.’ Haspelmath, Dryer, Gil, and Comrie (eds.) Chapter 105. Online at <http://wals.info/feature/description/105>. Accessed Oct. 11, 2009.

- To appear. Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. Language 86. Online at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/staff/haspelmath/pdf/ComparativeConcepts.pdf>. Accessed May 1, 2010.
- HASPELMATH, Martin; Ekkehard KÖNIG; Wulf OESTERREICHER; and Wolfgang RAIBLE (eds.) 2001. *Language Typology and Language Universals*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- HASPELMATH, Martin; Matthew DRYER; David GIL; and Bernard COMRIE (eds.) 2008. The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Online at <http://wals.info/index>.
- HEINE, Bernd. 1997. *Possession*. Cambridge: CUP.
- HEINE, Bernd, and Tania KUTEVA. 2006. *The Changing Languages of Europe*. Oxford: OUP.
- HENTSCHEL, Elke, and Harald WEYDT. <sup>3</sup>2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Grammatik*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- HINDS, John. 1986. *Japanese*. London/Sydney/Dover: Croom Helm.
- HOLE, Daniel. 2005. Reconciling “possessor” datives and “beneficiary” datives – Towards a unified voice account of dative binding in German. Maienborn, Claudia, and Angelika Wöllstein (eds.) *Event Arguments: Foundations and applications* (Linguistische Arbeiten 501). Tübingen: Niemeyer. 213–242.
- 2006. Extra argumentality – Affectees, landmarks, and voice. Hole, Daniel, and Peter Siemund (eds.) *Operations on Argument Structure* (Linguistics 44:2). 383–424.
- 2008. Dativ, Bindung und Diathese. Habilitationsschrift (thesis for postdoctoral lecture qualification), Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.
- 2010. Landmarks in event semantics. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the

- DGfS, Berlin, February 24–26, 2010.
- HOLE, Daniel; Andre MEINUNGER; and Werner ABRAHAM (eds.) 2006. *Datives and Other Cases. Between Argument Structure and Event Structure*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- HORN, Laurence. 2008. “I love me some him”: The landscape of non-argument datives. Bonami, Olivier, and Patricia Cabredo Hofherr (eds.) *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 7*. 169–192. Online at <http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss7/horn-eiss7.pdf>.
- HUOMO, Tuomas. 1996. Domain shifts and the grammaticalization of case: A case study of the Finnish adessive. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 17:1–2. 73–96.
- IGGESEN, Oliver A. 2005. *Case-Asymmetry. A World-wide Typological Study on Lexeme-class-dependent Deviations in Morphological Case Inventories*. München: Lincom Europa.
- ISHIZUKA, Tomoko. 2010. *Toward a Unified Analysis of the Passive in Japanese: A Cartographic Minimalist Approach*. Doctoral dissertation, UCLA.
- IWASHITA, Mami. 2007. *Being Affected: The Meanings and Functions of Japanese Passive Constructions*. München: Lincom Europa.
- JACKENDOFF, Ray. 1987. The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18:3. 369–411.
- 1990. *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- 2007. *Language, Consciousness, Culture. Essays on Mental Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- JAKOBSON, Roman. 1936. Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre. Gesamtbedeutungen der russischen Kasus. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 6: *Études Dédiées au*

- Quatrième Congrès de Linguistes, Prague 1936*. Prague. 240–288. [Reprinted in Eric P. Hamp, Fred W. Householder, and Robert Austerlitz (eds.) 1966, *Readings in Linguistics II*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press. 51–88.]
- JANDA, Laura A. 1993. *A Geography of Case Semantics: the Czech Dative and the Russian Instrumental*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- JOPPEN, Sandra, and Dieter WUNDERLICH. 1995. Argument linking in Basque. *Lingua* 97. 123–169.
- KAWACHI, Kazuhiro. 2007. A grammar of Sidaama (Sidamo), a Cushitic language of Ethiopia. Doctoral dissertation, University at Buffalo.
- KEENAN, Edward L., and Matthew S. DRYER. 2007. Passive in the world’s languages. Shopen, Timothy (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. I: Clause Structure*. Second edition. Cambridge: CUP. 325–361.
- KITTILÄ, Seppo. 2006. The anomaly of the verb ‘give’ explained by its high (formal and semantic) transitivity. *Linguistics* 44:3. 569–612.
- KLUGE.<sup>24</sup>2002. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- KOENIG, Jean-Pierre, Gail MAUNER, and Breton BIENVENUE. 2003. Arguments for adjuncts. *Cognition* 89. 67–103.
- KÖNIG, Ekkehard. 2001. Internal and external possessors. Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher, and Raible (eds.) 970–978.
- KÖNIG, Ekkehard, and Martin HASPELMATH. 1998. Les constructions à possesseur externe dans les langues d’Europe. Feuillet, Jack (ed.) *Actance et Valence dans les langues de l’Europe*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 525–606.
- KRATZER, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. Rooryck, Johan,



- and Lauri Zaering (eds.) *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 109–137.
- KRIFKA, Manfred. 1998. The origins of telicity. Rothstein, Susan (ed.) *Events and Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 197–235.
- 1999. Manner in dative alternation. Bird, Sonya, Andrew Carnie, Jason D. Haugen, and Peter Norquest (eds.) *WCCFL 18: Proceedings of the 18<sup>th</sup> West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 260–271.
- LAKOFF, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- LAKOFF, George, and Mark JOHNSON. 1980. *Metaphors we Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LEE, Iksop, and S. Robert RAMSEY. 2000. *The Korean Language*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- LEVIN, Beth. 2008. Dative verbs: A crosslinguistic perspective. *Linguisticæ Investigationes* 31. 285–312.
- LEVIN, Beth, and Malka RAPPAPORT HOVAV. 2005. *Argument Realization*. Cambridge: CUP.
- LICHTENBERK, Frantisek. 2002. The possessive-benefactive connection. *Oceanic Linguistics* 41:2. 439–474.
- LURAGHI, Silvia. 2003. *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases: The Expression of Semantic Roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- MALCHUKOV, Andrej, Martin HASPELMATH, and Bernard COMRIE. Ms. Ditransitive constructions: a typological overview. To appear in: id. (eds.) 2010. *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions. A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Online at

- <http://email.eva.mpg.de/~haspelmt/DitransitiveOverview.pdf>. Accessed Jan. 31, 2010.
- MALCHUKOV, Andrej, and Heiko NARROG. 2009. Case polysemy. Malchukov and Spencer (eds.) 518–534.
- MALCHUKOV, Andrej, and Andrew SPENCER. 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: OUP.
- MARGETTS, Anna. 2004. From implicature to construction: Emergence of a benefactive construction in Oceanic. *Oceanic Linguistics* 43:2. 445–468.
- MARTIN, Jack B. 1991. Lexical and syntactic aspects of Creek causatives. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 57:2. 194–229.
- 1999. External possession in Creek. Payne and Barshi (eds.) 229–250.
- 2000. Creek voice: Beyond valency. Dixon, R.M.W., and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.) *Changing Valency. Case Studies in Transitivity*. Cambridge: CUP. 375–403.
- MARTIN, Samuel E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean*. Tokyo, Rutland, Singapore: Tuttle Publishing.
- MATSUMURA, Kazuto. 1994. Is the Estonian adessive really a local case? *Journal of Asian and African studies* 46/47. 223–235.
- 1996. The Estonian adessive as ‘dative’. *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, Jyväskylä, 10.–15.8.1995. Pars IV: Sessiones sectionum. Syntaxis et semantica & Contactus linguistici et status hodiernus linguarum & Cetera linguistica*. Jyväskylä. 82–86.
- 1997. The dative use of the adessive case in Estonian: a corpus-based study. Matsumura and Hayasi (eds.) 31–79.
- MATSUMURA, Kazuto, and Tooru HAYASI (eds.) 1997. *The Dative and Related Phenomena*.

- Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- McFADDEN, Thomas. 2006. German inherent datives and argument structure. Hole, Meinunger, and Abraham (eds.) 49–77.
- McINTYRE, Andrew. 2006. The interpretation of German datives and English have. Hole, Meinunger, and Abraham (eds.) 185–212.
- MEIR, Irit. 2002. A cross-modality perspective on verb agreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20:2. 413–450.
- NEALE, Amy C. 2002. More delicate TRANSITIVITY: Extending the PROCESS TYPE system networks for English to include full semantic classifications. Doctoral dissertation, Cardiff University.
- NEWMAN, John. 1996. *Give: A Cognitive Linguistic Study*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- NICHOLS, Johanna, and Balthasar BICKEL. 2008. Locus of marking in the clause. Haspelmath, Dryer, Gil, and Comrie (eds.) Chapter 23. Online at <http://wals.info/feature/description/23>. Accessed Oct. 12, 2009.
- NÆSS, Åshild. 2007. *Prototypical Transitivity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2009. Varieties of dative. Malchukov and Spencer (eds.) 572–580.
- OGAWA, Akio. 1997. On the syntax and semantics of the German dative. Matsumura and Hayasi (eds.) 1–30.
- O'GRADY, William. 1991. *Categories and Case. The Sentence Structure of Korean*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- OSHIMA, David Y. 2006. Adversity and Korean/Japanese passives: Constructional analogy. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15:2. 137–166.

- OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY [OED]. Online edition. <http://dictionary.oed.com.gate.lib.buffalo.edu/entrance.dtl>. Accessed March 14, 2010.
- PARK, Ki-seong. 1993. Korean causatives in Role and Reference Grammar. Master's thesis, University at Buffalo. Online at <http://www.linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/vanvalin/rrg/park/ksparkmasters.pdf>. Accessed October 21, 2009.
- PARK, Chongwon, and Sook-Kyung LEE. 2007. Grammaticalization, construction and Korean datives. *Korea University Working Papers in Linguistics* 1. 65–81.
- PAYNE, Doris, and Immanuel BARSHI (eds.) 1999a. *External Possession*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- 1999b. External possession: What, where, how, and why. Payne and Barshi (eds.) 3–29.
- PINKER, Steven. 1989. *Learnability and Cognition: The Acquisition of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- PYLKKÄNEN, Liina. 2002. Introducing arguments. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- RADETZKY, Paula, and Tomoko Yamashita SMITH. 2010. Languages with separate benefactive and malefactive constructions: Focusing on the languages of Asia. Zúñiga, Fernando, and Seppo Kittilä (eds.) *Benefactives and Malefactives. Typological Perspectives and Case Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 97–120.
- RAPPAPORT HOVAV, Malka, and Beth LEVIN. 2001. An event structure account of English resultatives. *Language* 77:4. 766–797.
- 2008. The English dative alternation: The case for verb sensitivity. *Journal of Linguistics* 44. 129–167.
- RICE, Sally, and Kaori KABATA. 2007. Cross-linguistic grammaticalization patterns of the

- allative. *Linguistic Typology* 11. 451–514.
- SADAKANE, Kumi, and Masatoshi KOIZUMI. 1995. On the nature of the “dative” particle *ni* in Japanese. *Linguistics* 33:1. 5–33.
- SCHMID, Josef. 1988. *Untersuchungen zum sogenannten freien Dativ in der Gegenwartssprache und auf Vorstufen des heutigen Deutsch*. Frankfurt a.M. etc.: Peter Lang.
- SCHÖFER, Göran. 1992. *Semantische Funktionen des deutschen Dativs*. Münster: Nodus-Publikationen.
- SEARLE, John. 1983. *Intentionality*. Cambridge: CUP.
- SEILER, Hansjakob. 1983. *Possession as an Operational Dimension of Language*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- SHIBATANI, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: a prototype analysis. *Language* 61:4. 821–848.
- 1994a. Benefactive constructions: A Japanese-Korean comparative perspective. Aikawa, Noriko (ed.) *Japanese/Korean Linguistics vol. 4*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. 39–74.
- 1994b. An integrational approach to possessor raising, ethical datives, and adversative passives. *BLS* 20. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 461–486.
- SIEWIERSKA, Anna. 1998. Languages with and without objects: The functional grammar approach. *Languages in Contrast* 1:2. 173–190.
- SMITH, Michael B. 1985. Event chains, grammatical relations, and the semantics of case in German. *CLS* 21. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 388–407.
- SMITH, Tomoko Yamashita. 2005. Affectedness constructions: How languages indicate posi-

- tive and negative events. Doctoral dissertation, UC Berkeley.
- SOHN, Ho-Min. 1994. *Korean*. London/New York: Routledge.
- 1999. *The Korean Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- SONG, Nam Sun. 2002. A comparative study of Japanese passive and Korean passive. *Eoneohag* (Journal of the Linguistics Society of Korea) 32. 165–196.
- STASSEN, Leon. 2008. Predicative possession. Haspelmath, Dryer, Gil, and Comrie (eds.) Chapter 117. Online at <http://wals.info/feature/117>. Accessed Aug. 30, 2009.
- TALMY, Leonard. 1976. Semantic causative types. Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.) *Syntax and Semantics Vol 6: The Grammar of Causative Constructions*. New York: Academic Press. 43–116.
- 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Vol. 1: Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- TENNY, Carol. 1992. The aspectual interface hypothesis. Sag, Ivan A., and Anna Szabolcsi (eds.) *Lexical Matters*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. 490–508.
- 1994. *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- TESNIERE, Lucien. 1959. *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- VAN BELLE, William, and Willy VAN LANGENDONCK. 1996a. *The Dative. Vol. 1: Descriptive Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- 1996b. Introduction. Van Belle and van Langendonck (eds.) ix–xvii.
- VAN LANGENDONCK, Willy. 1998. The dative in Latin and the indirect object in Dutch. Van Langendonck and van Belle (eds.) 211–259.
- VAN LANGENDONCK, Willy, and William VAN BELLE. 1998. *The Dative. Vol 2: Theoretical and Contrastive Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- VAN VALIN, Robert D. Jr. 2002. Semantic macroroles in Role and Reference Grammar. Kailuweit, Rolf, and Martin Hummel (eds.) *Semantische Rollen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr. 62–82.
- VAN VALIN, Robert D. Jr., and Randy LAPOLLA. 1997. *Syntax. Structure, Meaning and Function*. Cambridge: CUP.
- VERMEULEN, Reiko. 2005. External possession in Korean. Pearce, Mary, and Nina Topintzi (eds.) *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 17*. London: University College, Division of Psychology & Language Sciences. 175–213.
- WEGENER, Heide. 1985. *Der Dativ im heutigen Deutsch*. Tübingen: Narr.
- 1989. Eine Modalpartikel besonderer Art: Der Dativus Ethicus. Weydt, Harald (ed.) *Sprechen mit Partikeln*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 56–73.
- WIERZBICKA, Anna. 1986. The meaning of a case: A study of the Polish dative. Brecht, Richard D., and James S. Levine (eds.) *Case in Slavic*. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers. 386–426.
- WILLEMS, Klaas, and Jeroen VAN POTTENBERGE. 1998. *Geschichte und Systematik des adverbialen Dativs im Deutschen*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- WOLFF, Phillip. 2007. Representing causation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 136:1. 82–111.
- WUNDERLICH, Dieter. 1996. Dem Freund die Hand auf die Schulter legen. Harras, Gisela, and Manfred Bierwisch (eds.) *Wenn die Semantik arbeitet: Klaus Baumgärtner zum 65. Geburtstag*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 331–360.
- YEO, Seungju. 2006. On the causee argument in Japanese and Korean analytic causative construction [sic]. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 16:2. 231–248.

- YOU, Seok-Hoon. 1997. Argument structure changes in the Korean benefactive construction.
- Sohn, Ho-min, and John Haig (eds.) *Japanese/Korean Linguistics vol. 6*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. 455–472.
- ZÚÑIGA, Fernando, and Seppo KITILÄ. 2010. *Benefactives and Malefactives: Typological Perspectives and Case Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.