CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS ACROSS LANGUAGES

Volume 2

William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck

The Dative
Volume 1: Descriptive Studies

THE DATIVE

VOLUME 1
DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES

WILLIAM VAN BELLE
University of Leuven

WILLY VAN LANGENDONCK
University of Leuven

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences — Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The dative / [edited by] William van Belle, Willy van Langendonck.
p. cm. -- (Case and grammatical relations across languages ; v. 2)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Contents: v. 1. Descriptive studies.
1. Grammar, Comparative and general--Case. I. Belle, William van. II. Langendonck, Willy van. III. Series.
P240.6.D38 1996
415--dc20 96-2114
ISBN 90 272 2812 4 (Eur.) / 1-55619-676-8 (US) (alk. paper) CIP

© Copyright 1996 - John Benjamins B.V.
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. • P.O.Box 75577 • 1070 AN Amsterdam • The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America • 821 Bethlehem Pike • Philadelphia, PA 19118 • USA

Table of contents

List of abbreviations vii

Introduction ix
William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck

Part I: Romance languages

The Latin dative 3
Willy Van Hoecke

The dative in Modern French 39
Ludo Melis

Towards a typology of the Spanish dative 73
Nicole Delbecque and Béatrice Lamiroy

The Portuguese dative 119
Rosane de Andrade Berlinck

Part II: Germanic languages

The German dative 155
Luk Draye

The indirect object in Dutch 217
William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck

The indirect object in Afrikaans 251
Leon G. de Stadler

Functional dimensions of the dative in English 289
Kristin Davidse

Part III: Unrelated languages

The Polish dative 341
Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn

Dative counterparts in Pashto 395
Wojciech Skalmowski

Dative-like constructions in Orizaba Nahuatl 407
David Tuggy

Subject index 453

List of abbreviations

ABL:	ablative
ABS:	absolutive
A or ACC:	accusative
ACT:	active
ADJ:	adjective
ADV:	adverb
AG:	agent
APPLIC:	applicative
BEN:	beneficiary
CAUS:	causative
COLL:	collective
D or DAT:	dative
DIM:	diminutive
DO:	direct object
DUR:	durative
FEM:	feminine
FUT:	future
G or GEN:	genitive
GER:	gerund
HON:	honorific
HUM:	human
IMP:	imperative
IMPERF:	imperfect
INCHO:	inchoative
INF:	infinitive
I or INSTR:	instrumental
INTR:	intransitive
IO:	indirect object
IONP:	indirect object in the form of a noun phrase
IOPP:	indirect object in the form of a prepositional phrase
LOC:	locative
MASC:	masculine
N or NOM:	nominative
NEUT:	neuter
NMLZR:	nominalizer
NOM-DAT:	dative realized as a NP
NP:	noun phrase
OBJ:	object
OBL:	oblique
PA:	patient
PART:	participle
PASS:	passive
PAST:	past
PERF:	perfect
PL:	plural
POSS:	possessive
POSSD:	possessed
PO:	prepositional object
PP:	prepositional phrase
PQP:	pluperfect
PRE:	prefix
PRED:	predicate
PREP:	preposition
PREP-DAT:	dative realized as a PP
PRES:	present
PRET:	preterite
R or REC:	recipient
RDP:	reduplication

REFL:	reflexive	UDAT:	unmarked for the dative
SG:	singular	UGEN:	unmarked for the genitive
SUBJ:	subject	UNOM:	unmarked for the nom
SUBJUNCT:	subjunctive	UNSPEC:	unspecified object prefix
TEMP:	temporal	VBLZR:	verbalizer
TRANS:	transitive	VOC:	vocative
UACC:	unmarked for the accusative	1SG:	first person singular
		1PL:	first person plural

Introduction*

William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck

University of Leuven

This book is the first part of a two-volume reader on the 'Dative'. It contains eleven papers that deal with a syntactic and semantic description of the category 'Dative' in eleven languages. In the second volume, some theoretical and contrastive contributions on dativity will be presented.

Regarding the methodology, the common denominator of the first volume is a close descriptive look, albeit in a limited space, at the various dative structures encountered in eleven languages, whereby the morphology, the syntax and the internal semantic structure of the dative category are investigated. To this end, authentic databases, sometimes very extensive, are used, supplemented by native speaker intuitions whenever possible. The authors also attempt to provide theoretical explanations for their data and observations, thus going from the lowest to the highest level of abstraction.

Obviously, the present book cannot claim to give a typologically balanced survey of languages. The genetic, paired with a geographical bias, is most obvious: of the eleven languages, ten are Indo-European (Germanic: German, English, Dutch, Afrikaans; Romance: Latin, French, Spanish, Portuguese; Slavic: Polish; and Iranian: Pashto). Nahuatl belongs to the Amerindian group. Despite this bias, this first volume provides us with a sufficiently varied gamut of dative structures, forms and meanings. In other words, the volume suffers much less from a typological bias.

As to forms, we encounter clear morphological means to express dativ-

* We wish to thank the Science Policy Programming Office of the Belgian Prime Minister, which supported the research of the Leuven Inter-University Pole of Attraction (Grant n° 27) that has led to this publication.

ity, as, in the case languages German, Latin and Polish. Other languages employ clear syntactic devices. We find indirect object constructions and/or prepositional structures in English, Dutch, Afrikaans and Pashto. The modern Romance languages French, Spanish and Portuguese occupy an intermediate position in that here pronouns still exhibit case forms while for full NPs these languages resort to PPs.

As to meanings, a whole range of dative senses can be traced. Most of the papers try to relate all these senses via a number of theoretical constructs, which, as a rule, show a cognitivist or functional flavor. Some authors explicitly make use of semantic or thematic roles.

Part I: Romance languages

The article on Latin by W. Van Hoecke refines the classical classification of datives. The dative case expresses the various senses listed hereafter. The dativus proper refers to the typical examples with verbs of giving. The dativus commodi or incommodi indicates the person in whose interest or to whose detriment the action is performed, e.g. *Sol omnibus lucet* 'the sun shines for everybody'. The dative of approach expresses mere transfer, e.g. *It clamor caelo* 'the cry went up to heaven'. A metaphorical extension of it refers to resemblances, e.g. *Canis nonne est similis lupo?* 'Isn't the dog similar to the wolf?'. Another metaphorical transfer is called the dativus finalis, indicating the goal of the action, e.g. *utilitati esse* 'to be advantageous'. The possessive dative is found in *Amplissimae tibi divitiae sunt* 'Very great riches are at your disposal'. The sympathetic dative is a kind of possessive dative reserved for inalienable possession: *Ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem* 'Those things which came to my mind'. With the gerundivum the dativus auctoris points to the agent: *Faciendum est mihi illud...* 'That must be done by me'. The dativus iudicantis (dative of point of view) is found in *Quintia formosa est multis* 'Q. is beautiful in the eyes of many'. Akin to this is the ethical dative, which appears only in pronouns and is not part of the lexical valency of the verb. In the author's view, the basic meaning of the Latin dative seems to indicate the 'pole' to which an action or a process is oriented.

L. Melis discusses the dative in French, which appears in ditransitive, intransitive and peripheral structures. The ditransitive patterns include the dative of equivalence (reminding us of the metaphorical Latin dative of approach): *Il lui compare Vincent* 'He compares V. to him/her'. The dative of attribution typically refers to situations of (physical, notional or communicative) transfer: *Il lui présenta le thé* 'He offered him/her the tea'. Benefactives as well as malefactives are found, as in *Il lui a fermé la porte* 'He shut the door on him/her'. Inalienable possession is again the typical expression of the possessive (partitive) dative. Related to this is the epistemic dative: *Elle te trouve le nez bien fait* 'She thinks you have a nice nose'. In two-term constructions we encounter roughly the same categories: equivalence, attribution and possession. Prototypically, the object of the ditransitive structures corresponds to the subject in the intransitive patterns. This fails to obtain, however, in cases like *Il lui ment* 'He is lying to him/her', where the subject is the source, the dative the goal and the object implied. The dative of point of view and the ethical dative are essentially peripheral.

The dative is characterized as the ultimate object towards which the predicate is directed and as the most salient participant after the subject. This feature is intimately linked with the inherent 'individual' property of the 3rd person dative pronouns *lui* (sg.) and *leur* (pl.) as opposed to the neuter and neutral *y*.

B. Lamiroy and N. Delbecque deal with the dative in Spanish. A conceptual analysis of the dative case here is hindered by a double syncretism of the dative with the accusative. Therefore, the dative can only be defined in a negative way: those *a + NP* complements which can be cliticized by a pronoun *'la' which cannot be replaced by 'le'* are accusatives, the others are datives. Semantically, the difference between dative and accusative complements hinges upon a more stative vs. a more dynamic meaning of the verb, the accusative complement being more directly affected by the process than the dative.

The authors distinguish ditransitive and intransitive structures and dative adjuncts (the so-called ethical dative). In the ditransitive structures the central notion is 'transfer': a) material transfer: *dar* 'to give'; b) verbal and perceptual transfer: *decir* 'to tell'; c) physical motion: *llevar* 'to take'; d) abstract motion: *someter* 'to subject'. All four types share the schematic meaning of 'attribution'; b) and d) are metaphorical extensions of a) and c) respectively. A possessive dative can also be derived. The intransitive structures display the categories: a) interest: *obedecer* 'to obey'; b) physical movement: *llegar* 'to arrive'; c) psych-movement: *gustar* 'to please'; d) possessive dative: *le*

duele la cabeza 'he has a headache'. A special pattern in Spanish is the reflexive *se le* construction, where *le* can either be a participant or an adjunct. Finally, datives also occur as adjuncts in ethical datives: *esto me huele a estafa* 'that smells (me) like swindling'.

R. de Andrade Berlinck describes the dative in Portuguese. Portuguese is not dissimilar from Spanish. Here too, accusative as well as dative complements can be introduced by the preposition *a*, though to a lesser extent than in Spanish. Portuguese also makes more use of prepositional datives. As such, not only *a*, but also *para* and sometimes *em* or *de* introduce dative PPs. A concrete criterion for the dative is the possibility of substitution by the dative pronoun *lhe(s)*. However, it cannot account for it in all varieties of European and Brazilian Portuguese.

Concerning the Romance languages investigated, at least one interesting conclusion can be drawn. The dative of approach (i.e. with purely locative meaning), which we find in Latin, seems to have disappeared in the modern daughter languages. Thus, the dative has become rather a dative of interest, often embedded in a transfer context.

Part II: Germanic languages

Of the Germanic languages dealt with, only German still exhibits case inflection. The pronominal forms of English, Dutch and Afrikaans now merely distinguish between nominative and oblique forms. The IO is thus expressed syntactically. Especially where prepositional structures are used, it becomes difficult to draw the boundary between IO and prepositional object or adjunct.

In his contribution on the German dative, L. Draye focuses on morphological, morpho-syntactic, syntactic, and semantic aspects. Draye discusses, for example, why a sentence like *Er setzt sich nur ungern **Aufregung** aus* 'He only reluctantly exposes himself to excitement', which contains a morphologically unmarked dative singular, is poor grammar, whereas both *Er liebt **Aufregung*** 'He loves excitement', containing an unmarked accusative, and *Er setzt sich nur ungern **Aufregungen** aus* 'He only reluctantly exposes himself

to excitement(s)', at first sight containing an unmarked dative plural, are acceptable. He deals with the different syntactic environments of the dative, considers construal limitations and competing constructions, and proposes a trichotomy into prepositional, adverbal, and sentential use, the latter only comprising the so called ethical dative. As far as dative semantics is concerned, it is argued that a unified synchronic account is made possible only by the adoption of a general meaning of the dative, i.e. as indicating an external domain of reference.

W. Van Belle and W. Van Langendonck offer a description of the IO in Dutch. Intransitive as well as ditransitive IO structures are discerned. Three basic ditransitive patterns are used: [IONP + DO], [IOPP + DO] and [DO + IOPP]. In the IOPP, which is regarded as a kind of prepositional object (in contrast with Afrikaans), a number of prepositions can appear: *aan, naar, tegen, met, bij,* etc. Taking di- and intransitive structures into account gives rise to an ergative conception of the IO-sentence construction. The entity that is in contact with the IO-referent, i.e. the 'Interested Party', is usually a 'Theme': it is the DO in ditransitive patterns, and it is the subject in intransitive ones. In the prototypical pattern, i.e. [IONP + DO], the Interested Party tends to show a maximum of 'involvement', while in [DO + IOPP], the idea of 'transfer' (and thus the role of Goal) is most prominent. Out of this, a five-way classification of predicates emerges. The first, the prototypical category (verbs of giving) displays the largest variation of structures and meaning. In the second, prepositions are excluded. The third marginally allows for a PP. The fourth shows a preference for [DO + IOPP], while in the last one, this pattern is obligatory.

L. de Stadler deals with the IO in Afrikaans, a daughter language of Dutch. As in Dutch, the IO can appear in three syntactic patterns in ditransitive constructions: [IONP + DO], [IOPP + DO] and [DO + IOPP]. In Afrikaans, as opposed to Dutch, the bare NP pattern is far less frequent and the IOPP is to be distinguished from ordinary prepositional objects on syntactic as well as semantic grounds. The IOPP is marked by an even greater variety of prepositions than in Dutch. The occurrence of the IO with two-place predicates is marginal. Passivizations that turn the IO into the subject occur in Afrikaans more often than in Dutch. The general IO role is the Interested Party, which branches into a Recipient, an Experiencer and a Beneficiary (the

latter only with the preposition *vir* 'for'). As in Dutch, the IONP referent tends to be more 'involved' than the IOPP one, where the transfer is focussed on, at least in ditransitive structures. Various metaphorical and other extensions of the prototypical material transfer are possible.

Contemporary English has lost the distinction between IO and DO with two-place predicates. Therefore, K. Davidse looks at the construal variation displayed by ditransitve clauses and at the different roles which the Dative (in this article used in the sense of the thematic role) plays in those. First, the grammatical paradigm of ditransitive clauses is set out in terms of the two transitive structural tensions of causation by an Agent of a possessive relation between Dative and Patient. The vectors of alternation in this pardigm are then interpreted semantically as offering two crossclassificatory options. Firstly, the 'donatory' perspective, with Dative as constant and Patient as variable, contrasts with the 'destinatory' perspective, which takes the Patient as constant and the Dative as the variable whose identity is at issue. Secondly, there is the fundamental contrast between the 'benefiter' model, construed by verbs, or verb uses, which alternate nominal and prepositional realization of the Dative, and the 'transfer' model, in which verbs are used with obligatory prepositional phrase Dative. In the benefiter model, the Dative is 'acted on' as primary Affected and made the main anchorage point in the possessive relation to which the Patient is anchored. In the transfer model, the Patient is the primary Affected as well as the primary participant in the possessive relation and it designates the entity being transferred to the Dative.

Part III: Unrelated languages

In her attempt to come to terms with the Polish dative, B. Rudzka-Ostyn proposes a network model whereby dative-bound syntactic frames can be linked with the concepts they express. The frames include ditransitive, quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions. As in other Indo-European languages, the dative prototype combines with verbs of giving, and extends into the domains of creation, perception and communication. Firmly associated with it is the concept of a Recipient. In non-ditransitive constructions, dative-marked nominals designate (1) an Interested Party or Experiencer, often also a Possessor (cf. *Zgubiły mi się rękawiczki* 'I lost my gloves';

lit. 'My gloves got lost on me') or (2) a Goal or Purpose (cf. *Szli ku miastu* 'They were going to(wards) the city'), in which case a preposition is required. Reflexive and reciprocal dative variants are coded by the pronoun *sobie*. Of particular interest are its expressive uses, as in *Marek jest tam sobie nauczycielem* 'Mark is (only) a teacher there'.

Central to the semantic structure of the dative category is a hierarchy of concepts, at the top of which is the notion of landmark (= point of reference). Although there are no genuine schematic relations between this notion and certain extended meanings of the dative, these meanings can be linked, often by metonymy, to the dative prototype, itself an instantiation of the top schema.

W. Skalmowski deals with Pashto. The IO is expressed here as a PP consisting of an NP in the oblique case plus a postposition indicating direction. Moreover, a wide use is made of three directional pronouns. The prototype is again exemplified by verbs of giving and communication. Three postpositions indicating direction are used to express various kinds of IO: *ta, la, lara*. Directional pronouns appear in conjunction with postpositions or as prefixes of certain verbs. The clitic 2nd person singular pronoun is sometimes used as an ethical dative. For the most part, only ditransitive structures are adduced. The function of the dative is essentially to indicate the place in space or time towards which the action of the verb is directed.

Since Orizaba Nahuatl does not have case markers, D. Tuggy investigates how 'dativity' (i.e. the meanings associated with the dative case in, for instance, Indo-European) is expressed in this language. In Nahuatl, syntactic relationships are specified in different ways. The most important devices are: the use of subject and object prefixes on verb stems; the incorporation of noun stems into the verb; and the use of verbal affixes to produce complex verb stems, such as causatives and applicatives. In ditransitive constructions, the primary object (the most prominent object) is marked on the verb stem by a prefix, whereas the secondary object is usually not. In these constructions, the dative-like object is typically the primary object; secondary objects with a dative meaning are very rare. When the secondary object of a stem has a human referent, the verb stem will normally be applicativized so that the human object may become primary. For instance, in the Nahuatl counterpart of *to buy something from someone, from someone* is the secondary object.

The Latin dative

Willy Van Hoecke

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

In the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition, the term dative (DAT) designates a particular form of the noun or its determiners or substitutes. Formal identification of the dative has embarrassed Latin grammarians because in Latin the dative is often confused with other nominal forms, but these are "neutralizations" which can be disambiguated with the help of some specific forms (1.). The Latin dative appears in quite varied constructions which scholars have tried to describe with the help of semantic distinctions, several of which have left their traces in the terminology used to describe the functioning of the dative; it will, I think, be useful to survey these (2.). Since the 19th century, Latinists have started to attach more importance to specifically syntactic criteria by studying, for example, the constructions which compete with the dative and allow us to better circumscribe the exact nature of the case (3.). In the light of these observations, I will offer a personal interpretation which should allow us to compare the basic characteristics of the Latin dative with those of the other "datives" analysed in this volume (4.).

1. Formal aspects

One of the main tasks of the Latin grammarians was to describe the *cases* (*casus*) of the noun and its determiners or substitutes. By the term *case* they understood the formal deviations (*casus obliqui*) with regard to the nominative (NOM, *casus rectus*).[1] Identification of the *casus dativus* posed problems for them, because only some nouns have a specific form for the dative and this only in the singular. These are mainly non neuter "fourth declension" nouns which have a dative singular in *-ui*, of the type:

(1) NOM *fructus* vs DAT *fructui*, etc.

and nouns of the "third declension" having a dative singular in *-i* and an ablative (ABL) singular in *-e*, of the type:

(2) NOM *dux* vs DAT *duci* vs ABL *duce*
NOM *corpus* vs DAT *corpori* vs ABL *corpore*
NOM *collis* vs DAT *colli* vs ABL *colle*, etc.

Neuter "fourth declension" nouns have a dative singular in *-u*, which can be confused with the nominative, vocative (VOC), accusative (ACC) and ablative singular, viz.:

(3) NOM *cornu* = VOC, DAT, ACC, ABL
vs *cornus* in the genitive (GEN) singular, etc.

and certain "third declension" nouns have an *-i* in both the dative and ablative singular:

(4) NOM *cubile* vs DAT *cubili* = ABL *cubili*
NOM *febris* vs DAT *febri* = ABL *febri*, etc.

Similar "neutralizations" can be observed in most of the other "declensions". These are some of the confusions observable in the first (5), second (6) and fifth (7) declension:

(5) NOM *rosa*
vs *rosae* = DAT and GEN singular, NOM and VOC plural, etc.

(6) NOM *avus*
vs *avo* = DAT and ABL singular,
NOM *donum*
vs *dono* = DAT and ABL singular,
NOM *liber*
vs *libro* = DAT and ABL singular, etc.

(7) NOM *dies*
vs *diei* = DAT and GEN singular, etc.

Moreover, in the plural, the dative is always confused with the ablative:

(8) NOM *rosae*
vs *rosis* = DAT and ABL plural, etc.
NOM *avi*
vs *avis* = DAT and ABL plural, etc.
NOM *duces*
vs *ducibus* = DAT and ABL plural, etc.
NOM *fructus*
vs *fructibus* = DAT and ABL plural, etc.
NOM *dies*
vs *diebus* = DAT and ABL plural, etc.

However, these confusions are not convergent because, whereas the DAT is confused with the ABL in cases (3), (4), (6) and (8), there is neutralization between DAT and GEN in cases (5) and (7). For the rest, there is a specific form for the dative in cases (1) and (2). In addition, most Latin grammarians have posited, since Varron (*De Lingua Latina*, 47-43 BC), the existence of a specific oblique form, the form of the dative, admitting that "the morphological system *in its entirety* obliges us to correct the ambiguous subsystems" (Serbat 1981:13).

We should also be aware that the large number of confusions or "neutralizations" among the cases in Latin is generally considered, in the context of the historical grammar of the Romance languages (the languages issuing from Latin), as one of the decisive factors which led to the disappearance of case inflection.

We should finally note that, among the oblique cases, the dative has the lowest frequency: it appears in only 12.2% of the noun phrases (NP) analysed by Pinkster (1984:49), whereas the accusative, ablative and genitive are found in respectively 45.6%, 21.7% and 20.4% of these NPs.

2. Traditional descriptions of the uses of the dative

In Latin, the dative appears in rather varied constructions where it takes on apparently very different values. These have been described in the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition using semantic distinctions which to some appear "impressionistic". However, it is important to make a survey of these semantic distinctions because they have left traces in the terminology, even in that used in the most recent works. The classification of these different types of datives differs markedly from one manual to another.[2] In the survey which

follows I have retained the *dativus* proper (2.1.), the *dativus commodi* or *incommodi* (2.2.), the dative of approach (2.3.), the *dativus finalis* (2.4.), the *dativus possessivus* (2.5.), the *dativus sympatheticus*, to which I will give a restricted interpretation, while relating to it the *dativus reflexivus* (2.6.); next I will look at the *dativus auctoris* (2.7.), the *dativus iudicantis* (2.8.) and the *dativus ethicus* (2.9.). I will comment on each of these categorizations and I will try to characterize the uses which they cover.

*2.1. The **dativus** proper*

The term *dative* proves that the Latin grammarians considered the case that it designated as above all the *dativus casus* (derived from the Greek *dotikê ptôsis*) or the *casus dandi* (from *dare*, to 'give'), i.e. as the case of attribution;[3] it indicates the person to whom a thing is given (*dare*), said, sent, brought, etc. as in:

(9) *Caesar* *regnum* *Cleopatrae* *dedit.*
Caesar-NOM kingdom-ACC Cleopatra-DAT give-3SG PERF
'Caesar gave the kingdom to Cleopatra.'
(EUTROPIUS, *Breviarum historiae Romanae*, 6,22)

But the dative can also be used in the opposite sense, as the case of removal or separation and refer to the person from whom a thing has been removed, taken away, torn away etc. For example:

(10) *Caesar* *scutum* *militi* *detraxit.*
Caesar-NOM shield-ACC soldier-DAT take away-3SG PERF
'Caesar took the shield away from the soldier.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*, 2,25)

Note that, in these constructions, we are dealing with a transitive verb with three arguments, viz. a noun in the nominative referring in principle to a person and forming the subject (SUBJ), a noun in the accusative most frequently representing an object and constituting the direct object (DO), and a noun in the dative also referring to a person and functioning as indirect object (IO). It should also be noted that the construction presupposes a transfer of the DO: the DO passes from the subject to the IO (9) or from the IO to the subject (10). The dative proper thus implies the idea of a displacement having as its destination or origin the noun in the dative: it is an "oriented" process

which indicates that the DO passes from the "domain" of one of the two people involved into that of the other, i.e. from the domain of the subject into that of the IO, or vice versa, according to which the verb expresses the idea of attribution or removal.

In the examples quoted, the transitive verb is always in the active, but it should be noted that, if the active construction is turned into the passive, this change does not affect the dative (Juret 1933:226). For example, the passive of sentence (10) is:

(10) a. *Scutum* *a* *Caesare* *militi*
the shield-NOM by Caesar-ABL soldier-DAT
detractum est.
take away-3SG PERF PASS
'The shield was taken from the soldier by Caesar.'

*2.2. The **dativus commodi** or **incommodi***

Latinists[4] also draw attention to the fact that in certain constructions the dative indicates the person in whose interest or to whose detriment (*dativus commodi* or *incommodi*) the action is performed, in other words the person "concerned", as in:

(11) *Fortuna* *favet* *fortibus.*
fortune-NOM favour-3SG brave-DAT
'Fortune favours the brave.'
(proverb, cf. Lavency 1985b:161);

(12) *Probus* *invidet* *nemini.*
upright-NOM envy-3SG no-one-DAT
'The upright man envies no-one.'
(CICERO, *Timaeus*, 3)

These constructions are characterized by the fact that the verb has only two arguments, viz. a subject and the dative, which can both be animate or non-animate nouns. To relate this use of the dative to the foregoing (2.1.), it could be proposed that the meaning of the verb implies an "internal" DO to be transferred, viz. a noun denoting a form of "interest" or "detriment". In fact, the intransitive verbs *favere* ('to favour') and *invidere* ('to envy') could be interpreted as the result of underlying transitive constructions of the type

favorem afferre ('to accord favour *to*') and *invidiam conflare* ('to bear envy *to*'). If this kind of analysis is not admitted, the only other interpretation is that in this construction the dative indicates the person to or against whom the action expressed by the predicate is directed. Thus, we find again the idea of an oriented process as with the dative proper (2.1.).

This interpretation is, moreover, the only one possible when one is dealing with intransitive verbs whose meaning excludes the idea of an "internal" DO to be transferred. For example, in:

(13) *Sol* *omnibus* *lucet.*
sun-NOM everybody-DAT shine-3SG
'The sun shines for everybody.'
(PETRONIUS, *Satyricon*, 100)

the verb *lucere* ('to shine') could be considered as the intransitive realization of an underlying transitive construction of the type *lucem afferre* ('to bring light to') and it could be argued that the DO *lucem* ('light') passes from the domain of the subject *sol* ('sun') to that of the IO *omnibus*. But this idea of "transfer" can hardly be invoked in the case of intransitive verbs such as *vivere* ('to live'). In fact, in:

(14) *Alteri* *vivas* *oportet* *si* *vis*
the other-DAT live-2SG SUBJUNCT should-3SG if wish-2SG
tibi *vivere.*
yourself-DAT live-INF
'It is necessary that you live for others if you wish to live for yourself.'
'You should live for others if you wish to live for yourself.'
(SENECA, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 48,2)

one could still see in the verb *vivere* ('to live') the result of an underlying transitive construction of the type *vitam agere* ('to lead his life'), but it is obvious that the DO *vitam* ('life') is not "transferred" to the IO *alteri* ('for others') and *tibi* ('for yourself'). These form the "poles" towards which the action of 'living' is or should be oriented. The idea of an oriented process seems to me also present in such constructions as:

(15) *Lupus* *est* *homo* *homini.*
wolf-NOM be-3SG man-NOM man-DAT
'Man is a wolf to man.'
(PLAUTUS, *Asinaria*, 495)

where the dative *homini* ('to man') depends on a predicate which does not refer to an action but an unfavourable attitude ('to be like a wolf').

One generally associates with these datives of interest or detriment the datives which depend on verbs with a more "neutral" meaning such as *contingere* ('to happen') in (16) and (17), *videri* ('to seem', 'to appear') in (18):

(16) *Non* *cuivis* *homini* *contingit* *adire* *Corinthum.*
not just any man-DAT happen-3SG go-INF Corinth-ACC
'It does not happen to just any man to go to Corinth.'
'It is not given to just any man to go to Corinth.'
(HORATIUS, *Epistulae*, 1, 17,36)

(17) *Romae* *nutriri* *mihi* *contigit.*
Rome-GEN educate-INF PASS me-DAT happen-3SG PERF
'It happened to me to be educated in Rome.'
'I had the good fortune to be educated in Rome.'
(HORATIUS, *Epistulae*, 2, 2,41)

(18) *Divitior* *mihi* *videtur* *esse* *vera* *amicitia.*
richer-NOM me-DAT seem-3SG PASS be-INF true friendship-NOM
'True friendship seems to me richer.'
(CICERO, *Laelius, de amicitia*, 58)

The dative is also found after nouns derived from verbs which can be construed with the dative of interest. Thus the noun *obtemperatio* ('obedience') is construed in:

(19) a. *Obtemperatio* *scriptis* *legibus.*
obedience-NOM written laws-DAT
'Obedience to the written laws.'
(CICERO, *De Legibus*, 1,42)

like the verb *obtemperare* ('to obey', 'to observe'), from which it is derived, in:

(19) b. *Cum* *auspiciis* *obtemperatum esset.*
after auspices-DAT observe be-3SG SUBJUNCT PQP PASS
'After the auspices had been observed.'
(CICERO, *De Divinatione*, 2,20)

However, when this secondary object has to be expressed, the applicative form of the stem is used, which makes that object primary. Applicativization is, according to Tuggy, the mechanism of Nahuatl which is most closely associated with the idea of 'dativity'.

Conclusion

As to the essence of the dative, the following provisional observations can be made.

The notion of 'dativity', as exemplified by verbs of giving, is firmly established in Indo-European languages. In Nahuatl, only the notion of 'applicative' is somewhat analogous to the I.E. dative notion. Indeed, Borg and Comrie (1984:123) argue that "in many languages ... 'give' is syntactically a very atypical ditransitive verb".

Crosslinguistically, two important dative structures can be distinguished: "In many languages, G (the ditransitive indirect object) rather than T (the ditransitive direct object, (VB&VL)) is expressed in the same way as P (the transitive direct object), and T is expressed differently. The combination of G+P is referred to as the 'primary object', and T is the 'secondary object'" (Croft 1990:103; see especially Dryer 1986). In English and Dutch, both these patterns are found. A primary+secondary object occurs in *Jan gaf Piet een boek* 'John gave Pete a book', while a direct+indirect object (in the narrow sense) is exemplified in adpositional IO structures like *Jan gaf een boek aan Piet* 'John gave a book to Pete' (see also Croft 1990:103). Pashto merely displays the latter pattern. In the case languages dealt with, including the modern Romance ones with dative pronouns, the primary+secondary object device is at best marginal.

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 (in a narrower sense, i.e. connected with a transfer) and an Interested Party. When the two are united, we can speak of a Recipient, figuring in the dative of 'giving', which is prototypical at least in the languages investigated. If a transfer is absent, however, we encounter such cases as Spanish *me duele la cabeza* 'my head is aching', where only an 'interested' person is concerned. The principle underlying the Spanish dative, according to Lamiroy and Delbecque, is that it stands for a person or thing 'interested in' the event, which means either 'gaining from' or 'losing by' an event. If, on the other hand, an Interested Party is lacking, a mere transfer or direction (Goal) may occur, as in Latin *It clamor caelo* 'The cry went up to heaven', and in Polish. In Pashto, the notion of dativity has been developed out of the notion of direction.

A typically involved Interested Party may be an Experiencer or a Possessor. The Goal can be the endpoint of a material or a metaphorical transfer, i.e. become an abstract Goal, a standard of comparison, or an entity resembling another.

We can now relate these two semantic roles to the above syntactic dichotomy. At least for English and Dutch, the Interested Party interpretation of the IO is typically expressed by the primary+secondary object pattern. Indeed, here the (human) IO referent is more important. Hence, the IO is promoted in the grammatical relations hierarchy and begins to resemble the DO (but see Goldberg 1992:53). By contrast, when the transfer comes to be emphasized, the IO referent is backgrounded and the IO tends to be expressed as a PP, which is lower on the hierarchy. Occasionally, the duality is even reflected in the presence of two dative cases in one predication, e.g. in Latin: *Amicis utilitati esse* 'to be advantageous to one's friends', where *utilitati* expresses an abstract Goal and *amicis* the Interested Party. As a rule, however, there is only one dative slot in one predication. Consequently, a whole area of merged or transitional senses can be observed in one dative structure. Going into several of the aspects of the Dative in greater detail will be the aim of the second Dative volume.

REFERENCES

Borg, A.J. and Comrie, B. 1984. Object diffuseness in Maltese. In *Objects*, Fr. Plank (ed), 109-126. New York: Academic Press.

Croft, W. 1990. *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, M. 1986. Primary objects, secondary objects and antidative. *Language* 62, 808-845.

Goldberg, A.E. 1992. The inherent semantics of argument structure: the case of the English ditransitive construction. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3, 37-74.

Similarly, adjectives having a meaning analogous to the verbs cited (*commodus*, 'advantageous'; *invisus*, 'envious', etc.), are formed with the dative of interest, for example:

(20) *Lex* *utilis* *est* *plebi.*
law-NOM useful-NOM be-3SG people-DAT
'This law is useful for the people.'
(CICERO, *De Lege Agraria*, 2,12)

2.3. *The* ***dativus*** *of approach*

Several authors point out that the dative is also used with a certain number of verbs designating approach.[5] Often, these are verbs with a prefix indicating the direction or the movement, such as *ap-propinquare* ('to approach'), *con-iungere* ('to join'), *in-ferre* ('to carry towards'). For example:

(21) *Sibi* *nuptiis* *alicuius* *sororem* *coniungere.*
him-DAT marriage-ABL someone-GEN sister-ACC join-INF
'To join the sister of someone to him in marriage.'
'To marry someone's sister.'
(APULEIUS, *Metamorphoses*, 5,26)

(22) *Puer* *adnatat* *delphino.*
child-NOM approach by swimming-3SG dolphin-DAT
'The child approached the dolphin by swimming.'
'The child swam to the dolphin.'
(PLINIUS, *Epistulae*, 9,33)

But the construction also occurs with verbs without prefix, but implying the idea of approach, such as *iungere* ('to join') in the following example:

(23) *Dextram* *dextrae* *iungere.*
the right hand-ACC the right hand-DAT join-INF
'To join the right hand to the right hand.'
'To shake hands.'
(VERGILIUS, *Aeneis*, 1,408)

It should be noted that the dative is used as much with transitive verbs, as in (21) and (22), as with intransitive verbs, as in (23), and that the arguments can

be animate or inanimate nouns. Here again the fundamental characteristic of the dative seems to be to indicate the pole towards which the process expressed by the predicate is directed. Occasionally, the dative takes on the behaviour of a real locative of destination, as in:

(24) *It* *clamor* *caelo.*
go up-3SG cry-NOM heaven-DAT
'The cry went up to heaven.'
(VERGILIUS, *Aeneis*, 5,401)[6]

Figuratively, the idea of approach can be associated with the ideas of convergence, resemblance, etc. It follows that the dative can be found after all sorts of verbs, in general transitive, implying the idea of similarity or divergence, equivalence, comparison, etc.[7] For example:

(25) *Huic* *omnia* *dicendi* *ornamenta* *conveniunt.*
this-DAT all-NOM eloquence-GEN ornaments-NOM belong-3PL
'All the ornaments of eloquence suit this.'
'To this genre all the ornaments of eloquence are suited.'
(CICERO, *De Oratore*, 92)

(26) *Mortem* *servituti* *antepono.*
death-ACC slavery-DAT prefer-1SG
'I prefer death to slavery.'
(CICERO, *Ad familiares Epistulae*, 10, 27,1)

Adjectives indicating approach, resemblance or implying a comparison are also construed with the dative:[8]

(27) *Canis* *none est* *similis* *lupo?*
dog-NOM not be-3SG similar-NOM wolf-DAT
'Isn't the dog similar to the wolf?'
(CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*, 1, 97)

(28) *Mors* *omni* *aetate* *est* *communis.*
death-NOM every age-DAT be-3SG common-NOM
'Death is common to every age.'
(CICERO, *De Oratore*, 68)

2.4. *The dativus finalis*

As its name suggests, Latinists[9] understand by the *dativus finalis* a dative which indicates the goal of the action expressed by the predicate, as in the following example:

(29) *Facundiam* *tuendis* *civibus*
eloquence-ACC protect-DAT GER fellow citizens-DAT
exercebat.
practise-3SG IMPERF
'He practised eloquence to protect his fellow citizens.'
(TACITUS, *Annales*, 15,48)

This use of the dative is like the previous ones because the idea of goal implies the idea of an action directed to an objective. With verbs like *esse* ('to be'), *dare* ('to give'), *mittere* ('to send'), etc., there is an analogous dative, sometimes called the dative of "tendency". It refers in general to an abstract noun designating a qualification which the use of the dative presents as the pole to which the action of the subject tends:

(30) *Amicis* *utilitati* *et* *rei publicae* *emolumento*
friends-DAT advantage-DAT and state-DAT profit-DAT
esse.
be-INF
'To be advantageous to one's friends and profitable to the state.'
'To profit one's friends and the state.'
(CICERO, *De Oratore*, 1,34)

(31) *Summam* *laudem* *S. Roscio* *vitio* *et* *culpae*
highest praise-ACC S. Roscius-DAT vice-DAT and offence-DAT
dedisti.
attribute-2SG PERF
'You have attributed this highest praise to S. Roscius as a vice and an offence.' (CICERO, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, 48)

Note that these verbs often have, next to the dative indicating the "tendency", a dative of the person concerned (2.2.), in this case *amicis* and *rei publicae* in (30) and *S. Roscio* in (31), and sometimes a DO like *laudem* in (31).

Sometimes the dative of goal depends on a noun, as in the example:

(32) *Receptui* *signum* *audire.*
retreat-DAT signal-ACC hear-INF
'To hear the signal to retreat.'
(CICERO, *In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae*, 13,15)

2.5. *The dativus possessivus*

Used with the verb *esse*, the dative often takes on a possessive aspect, which has led Latinists[10] to distinguish a *dativus possessivus*. Literally, the construction signifies 'to be at the disposition of', or, if the subject and the DO are reversed, 'to have something at one's disposal', 'to possess'. For example:

(33) *Amplissimae* *tibi* *divitiae* *sunt.*
very great-NOM you-DAT riches-NOM be-3PL
'Very great riches are at your disposal.'
'You have very great riches.'
(CICERO, *In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae*, 10,4)

If *esse* is understood in the static sense of 'to be at the disposal of', this use of the dative can be considered as related to the dative of approach (2.3.). If, on the other hand, one considers the situation evoked by *esse* as necessarily resulting from a process ('to be put at the disposal of'), then here too the general notion of oriented displacement can be found.

2.6. *The dativus sympatheticus*

Under the *dativus sympatheticus* or sympathetic dative, the grammatical tradition[11] has grouped together quite different uses of the dative, e.g. the *dativus possessivus* (2.5.), such that certain people prefer no longer to use this category (cf. Maurel 1982:67ff). It seems to me useful to retain the sympathetic dative while restricting its use, most often in the pronominal form, to refer to "the individual in contrast to the noun referring to the part of the individual" (Lavency 1985:163). In other words, we are dealing here with a "partitive" relation in the sense that the dative refers to the whole, in this case an individual, part of which is the object of the predication. Instead of indicating the link which unites the part and the whole by the genitive or the possessive, Latin mostly has recourse to the dative when the whole is an individual, as in the following examples:

(34) *Iam tibi istam scelestam linguam abscindam.*
now you-DAT this wicked tongue-ACC tear out-1SG FUT
'I am now going to tear out your wicked tongue.'
(PLAUTUS, *Amphitruo*, 556)

(35) *Ei collum gladio suo dextera*
him-DAT neck-ACC his sword-ABL right hand-ABL
secuerit.
cut-3SG PERF SUBJUNCT
'With his right hand he cut his neck with his sword.'
(CICERO, *Ad familiares Epistulae*, 1, 12,10)

(36) *Nescio qua vox ad aures mihi*
not know-1SG what voice-NOM to ears-ACC me-DAT
advolavit.
fly-3SG PERF
'I do not know what voice flew to my ear.'
(PLAUTUS, *Mercator*, 864)

(37) *Ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem.*
that which-NOM me-DAT come-3PL IMPERF to mind-ACC
'Those things which came to my mind.'
(CICERO, *Ad Familiares Epistulae*, 1, 12,1)

(38) *Sese omnes flentes Caesari*
themselves-ACC all-NOM crying-NOM PART Caesar-DAT
ad pedes proiecerunt.
at foot-ACC throw-3PL PERF
'They all threw themselves crying at the feet of Caesar.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*, 1,31)

In examples (34) and (35) the "part of the individual", viz. *linguam* (34) and *collum* (35), constitutes the DO of a transitive verb, and the datives *tibi* (34) and *ei* (35) could thus be interpreted as simple datives indicating the person to whom something is attributed or from whom it is taken (2.1.). This interpretation hardly fits the following three examples in which the "part of the individual", in *ad aures* (36), *in mentem* (37) and *ad pedes* (38), has the function of a complement of place next to an intransitive verb. But since these complements and intransitive verbs indicate movement to the "part of the individual", the datives *mihi* in (36) and (37) and *Caesari* in (38) could be considered as datives of approach (2.3.). If a common denominator is sought for all the examples quoted, it could also be proposed that the dative here indicates "the link of 'possession' between a person 'concerned' and an object 'reached-affected' by some process" (Maurel 1982:73). In other words we would be dealing with a variant of the *dativus possessivus* (2.5.) demanding, however, a specific syntactic description.

It seems to me that to this type we should relate the *dativus reflexivus* or the reflexive dative. In this usage the reflexive pronoun dative is used to indicate that the person "concerned" by the action is at the same time the subject of the action, as in:

(39) *Dionysius sibi adurebat capillum.*
Dionysius-NOM himself-DAT have burn-3SG IMPERF hair-ACC
'Dionysius had his hair burnt.'
(CICERO, *De Officiis*, 2,25)

2.7. *The* ***dativus auctoris***

In Latin, the agent of a passive verb is usually indicated by the ablative, often preceded by the preposition *ab*. However, the dative is found with the *gerundivum* (GER), an adjectival form of the verb indicating a future passive with a suggestion of obligation, such as *amandus*, 'requiring to be loved', *agendum* 'requiring to be done'. It can be seen in the following examples:

(40) *Faciendum est mihi illud ... quod illaec postulat.*
do-NOM GER be-3SG me-DAT that ... which she-NOM ask
'That which she asks must be done by me.'
'I must do what she asks.'
(PLAUTUS, *Amphitruo*, 891)

(41) *Caesari omnia erant agenda.*
Caesar-DAT everything-NOM be-3PL IMPERF do-NOM GER
'Everything had to be done by Caesar.'
'Caesar had to do everything.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*, 2,20)

that the datives *mihi* (40) and *Caesari* (41) clearly function as agentive complements, assuming the role of subject when the sentence is expressed in the active, which is why the name *dativus auctoris* is generally given to this use of the dative.[12] However, it is obvious that recourse to the dative can be ex-

plained here by the element of obligation inherent in the *gerundivum* and that the dative in fact designates 'the being on whom is incumbent the obligation designated by the verbal adjective' (Lavency 1985b:165). Thus we are dealing with a variant of the dative of attribution (2.1.) indicating that the carrying out of an action is demanded of the referent of the noun in the dative.

The dative is also found with the passive participle of the *perfectum* (like *amatus*, 'loved'; *actus*, 'done', etc.). The example generally quoted is:

(42) *Mihi* *consilium* *captum* *iamdiu* *est.*
me-DAT decision-NOM take-3SG PERF PASS long ago
'It is for me a decision taken long ago.'
'I took this decision long ago.'
(CICERO, *Ad Familiares Epistulae*, 5,19)

Most authors think that this use of the dative is in fact a variant of the dative of interest (2.2.): in this construction the dative is first said to refer to the person for whom an action has been done, but since this action has normally been done by the person concerned himself, the dative soon came to be interpreted as an agent. In the time of the empire, this use of the dative was extended to the personal forms of the passive, yielding constructions such as:

(43) *Militibus* *castra* *in modum* *penatium*
soldiers-DAT camp-NOM in the fashion-ACC homes-GEN
diligebantur.
love-3PL IMPERF
'The camp was loved by the soldiers like their homes.'
'The soldiers loved the camp like their homes.'
(TACITUS, *Historiae*, 2,80)

2.8. *The **dativus iudicantis***

In the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition, they generally distinguished a *dativus iudicantis* or dative of point of view, which indicates "in the eyes of whom the asserted utterance is true" (Ernout and Thomas 1952:72),[13] as in the following examples:

(44) *Quintia* *formosa* *est* *multis.*
Quintia-NOM beautiful-NOM be-3SG many-DAT
'Quintia is beautiful in the eyes of many.'
(CATULLUS, 86,1)

(45) *Nihil* *difficile* *amanti* *puto.*
nothing-ACC difficult-ACC one who loves-DAT think-1SG
'I think nothing is difficult for one who loves.'
(CICERO, *Orator ad M. Brutum*, 10)

To explain this use of the dative, it is important to observe that in this construction the dative is not related to one particular element of the sentence, but to the utterance as a whole: the validity of this assertion is linked to a noun which refers, in principle, to a person, and the construction implies that, if this noun is replaced by another, the utterance may not be valid. Indeed, in saying that many people think that Quintia is beautiful (44) or that for one who loves everything is easy (45), the suggestion is that there are no doubt people who do not think that Quintia is beautiful (44) and that what is easy for one who loves is not necessarily so for someone who does not love (45). Thus, once again, underlying the use of the dative is the idea of an oriented movement in the sense that the dative refers to a person to whom the opinion expressed is attributed: the opinion that Quintia is beautiful (44) or that nothing is difficult (45) is attributed to *multis* (44) and *amanti* (45) respectively.

2.9. *The **dativus ethicus***

By the term ethical dative (*dativus ethicus*) or dative of affect, the grammatical tradition[14] refers to the use of the pronominal datives *mihi, tibi, nobis* and *vobis* when they are "attached to the sentence in a very free manner, with merely affective value" (Ernout and Thomas 1952:72), as in the following examples:

(46) *Ego* *hanc* *machaeram* *mihi* *consolari* *volo.*
I-NOM this sword-ACC me-DAT console-INF want-1SG
'I want to console this dear sword.'
(PLAUTUS, *Miles gloriosus*, 5)

(47) *Alter* *tibi* *descendit* *de Palatio.*
the other-NOM you-DAT come down-3SG from Palatine-ABL
'The other, there you are coming down from the Palatine.'
(CICERO, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, 133)

This "affective value" is often defined as "the interest the person speaking takes in the action performed", which suggests that the dative of affect is only

a variation of the dative of interest (2.2.). But, as the dative of affect is also found in the second person pronoun, it seems preferable to say that this type of dative "designates, in emphatic clauses, the person taken as witness among the performers of the utterance" (Lavency 1985b:168).[15] In this interpretation, the ethical dative is explained rather like the *dativus iudicantis* (2.8.): the verification of the utterance is in some way submitted to the judgment of the person designated by the dative. But, unlike the *dativus iudicantis*, this being taken as witness is not an essential element of the utterance itself.

3. Constructions competing with the dative

Investigation of the uses of the dative surveyed in section 2. leads to the conclusion that in Latin the dative is not really a "dative", a *casus dandi*, indicating attribution. The analysis of the *dativus* proper (2.1.) has already shown that even in this use the dative indicates removal as well as attribution. Similarly, the dative can equally well indicate the person to the detriment (*dativus incommodi*) or in favour (*dativus commodi*) of whom an action is performed (2.2.). The name *dativus* can probably be explained by the prototypical character of the construction *dare aliquid alicui* ('to give something to someone'), but this hardly accounts for the fundamental value of the case.

Furthermore, our investigation suggests that the dative in Latin is a rather homogenous case. As a common denominator allowing us to account for the different uses described, we can perhaps take that of "pole of orientation": in my opinion, the dative indicates that the predication, or some of its constitutive elements, are directed to the noun in the dative. This orientation can take the form of a concrete approach in space (the dative of approach in the strict sense, cf. 2.3.) or a favourable or unfavourable mental approach (dative of interest, cf. 2.2.; figurative dative of approach, cf. 2.3.). In addition, according to the context, this basic value can take on specific connotations such as the intended goal (dative of goal, cf. 2.4.), agent on whom depends the carrying out of an action (dative of agency, cf. 2.7.), person to whom belongs one of the constitutive elements of the predication (dative of possession, cf. 2.5.; dative of sympathy, cf. 2.6.), person to whom the opinion expressed is attributed (dative of point of view, cf. 2.8.), or person taken as witness of the action performed (ethical dative, cf. 2.9.). When the predicative kernel contains a DO, the dative indicates the destination or the origin of the displacement which affects this DO (dative proper, cf. 2.1.).

This essentially intuitive and semantic definition, which is based on a critical examination of the distinctions established by the grammatical tradition, obviously needs to be supported by a more thorough analysis of the syntactic behaviour of nouns in the dative. Fortunately, since the 19th century, Latinists have attached more importance to the syntactic aspect of the analysis, which has led them, for example, to describe the constructions which compete with the dative, thereby making it possible better to define the exact nature of the dative. If one proposes that the basic function of the dative is to indicate a "pole of orientation", one might wonder if the dative were not a sort of locative: it can indeed be observed that sometimes, instead of the dative proper (2.1.) and the dative of interest (2.2.) or of approach (2.3.), destination or removal are sometimes expressed by prepositional complements (3.1.). Furthermore, the dative of goal (2.4.) and the datives of possession (2.5.) and sympathy (2.6.) are found alongside other constructions which also express goal (3.2.) or possession or belonging (3.3.). Similarly, I have already pointed out that the dative of agency (2.7.) is not the normal expression of the agent (3.4.) in Latin. Finally, a very large number of intransitive verbs formed with the dative of interest (2.2.) raise the fundamental problem of the difference between the dative or IO and the accusative or DO (3.5.) in Latin.

3.1. Orientation vs destination or removal

If the Latin dative seems to indicate the "pole" to which an action or a process is oriented, the question is whether we are not dealing with a kind of locative.[16] We should not forget that Latin has lost the locative as a *casus*[17] and indicates the different complements of place by means of the ablative, mostly preceded by a preposition. Example (24) shows that there have been attempts to use the dative as indicator of destination, but this is clearly a "completely factitious extension" (Ernout and Thomas 1952:69-70). The fact that you cannot find examples of a dative combined with prepositions to indicate destination or removal also proves that the dative was not felt to be the right case to indicate specifically spatial relations. What is more, in the spoken language, there was clearly the opposite tendency to substitute prepositional constructions with a spatial connotation for the dative.

It should be remembered here that, to indicate destination, Latin sometimes has recourse to the simple accusative as in (48), but mostly uses the accusative preceded either by the preposition *ad*, expressing the idea of ap-

proach or arrival as in (49), or by the preposition *in*, which implies entry into the place towards which someone is heading (Lavency 1985b:151) as in (50):

(48) *Domos suas* *invitant.*
their houses-ACC invite-3PL
'They invite in their houses.'
'They invite home.'
(SALLUSTIUS, *De Bello Jugurthino*, 66,3)

(49) *Ad urbem* *profisci.*
to city-ACC set off-INF
'To set off for the city.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello civili*, 1,32)

(50) *In portum* *accedere.*
in harbour-ACC enter-INF
'To enter in the harbour.'
(CICERO, *In Verrem actio*, II 5, 138)

A preference can already be observed in classical texts for the prepositional construction when the noun designates a "thing", i.e. a place.[18] Examples (51), (52) and (53) reveal that the same verb is used either with the dative if it is a person, or with a prepositional complement if it is a place:

(51) *Hominem* *alicui* *adducere.*
person-ACC someone-DAT lead-INF
'To lead a person to someone.'
(PLAUTUS, *Mostellaria*, 804)

(52) *Adducere* *exercitum* *ad urbem*
lead-INF army-ACC to city-ACC
'To lead an army to the city.'
(CICERO, *In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae*, 5,22)

(53) *Adducere* *exercitum* *in fines.*
lead-INF army-ACC in territory-ACC
'To lead an army into a territory.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*, 5, 46,3)

In the spoken language, there is a very clear tendency to replace the dative proper by a prepositional construction with *ad*, even when the noun refers to a

person or an abstract noun without locative connotation. Examples like these can be found in the plays of Plautus (248-184 BC):

(54) *Hunc* *ad carnificem* *dabo.*
this one-ACC to executioner-ACC hand over-1SG FUT
'I will hand over this man to the executioner.'
(PLAUTUS, *Captivi*, 1019)

(55) *Ad hostes* *exuvias* *dabit.*
to enemy-ACC skins-ACC leave-3SG FUT
'I will leave the skins for the enemy.'
(PLAUTUS, *Epidicus*, 38)

In the classical era, the construction with *ad* was already the rule after certain verbs such as *scribere* ('to write'); even though the dative was always possible, it was more often used with *ad* (57):

(56) *Scribit* *Labieno* *veniat.*
write-3SG Labienus-DAT come-3SG SUBJUNCT
'He writes to Labienus to come.'
(CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*, 5, 46,4)

(57) *Scribes* *ad me.*
write-2SG FUT to me-ACC
'You will write to me.'
(CICERO, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 5, 4,2)

The prepositional construction with *ad* (> *a*, French *à*) became generalized in the Romance languages, as is evidenced by the French translation of examples (51) *Amener une personne **à** quelqu'un* and (54) *Je livrerai cet homme **au** bourreau*, but not for the pronominal forms as in (57) *Tu **m'écri**ras*.

For movement away, Latin also uses a prepositional construction, often followed by the ablative, as in:

(58) *A Caesare* *redire.*
from Caesar-ABL return-INF
'To return from Caesar's.'
(CICERO, *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem*, 2, 4,6)

This construction also suppresses the dative, and instead of (10), (59) is also found:

(59) *Caesar* *scutum* *a milite* *detraxit.*
Caesar-NOM shield-ACC from soldier-ABL take away-3SG PERF
'Caesar took the shield away from the soldier.'

This prepositional construction with *ab* (> *a*, French *à*) became more and more common in classical Latin and became the normal form in the Romance languages, except for the pronominal forms, as exemplified by the French translation of examples (10) *César enleva le bouclier **au** soldat* and (10a) *Le bouclier a été enlevé **au** soldat par César.*

3.2. Orientation vs belonging

We have seen how the dative of possession (2.5.) and the dative of sympathy (2.6.) can acquire a possessive connotation. But in Latin belonging can also be rendered by the genitive and the possessive. In fact, instead of the dative of possession:

(60) *Quia* *mihi* *est* *natalis dies.*
because me-DAT be-3SG birthday-NOM
'Because it is my birthday.'
(PLAUTUS, *Captivi*, 174)

the personal genitive (61) or the corresponding possessive (62) are also found:

(61) *Quia* *mei* *est* *natalis dies.*
because me-GEN be-3SG birthday-NOM

(62) *Quia* *meus* *est* *dies natalis.*
because my-NOM be-3SG birthday-NOM

Similarly, besides the dative of sympathy *Caesari* in (38), the genitive *Caesaris* also occurs:

(63) *Cum* *se* *ad Caesaris* *pedes*
When himself-ACC to Caesar-GEN feet-ACC

abiecisset.
throw-3SG SUBJUNCT PQP
'When he threw himself at Caesar's feet.'
(CICERO, *Ad familiares epistulae*, 4, 4,3)

According to most Latinists,[19] a thematic distinction has to be made between the dative of possession and the construction with the genitive. In the dative construction, it is the noun in the dative which is the theme and

(64) a. *Domus* *est* *Marco.*
house-NOM be-3SG Mark-DAT

has to be translated by:

(64) b. Mark owns the house.

whereas in the genitive construction it is the subject which forms the theme, and

(65) a. *Domus* *est* *Marci.*
house-NOM be-3SG Mark-GEN

should be rendered by:

(65) b. The house belongs to Mark.

The French translation of examples (33) *De très grandes richesses sont à ta disposition*, (60) *Parce que c'est mon anniversaire* and (64a) *Marc possède la maison* shows that the possessive dative is not retained in French, but it can often be translated using a prepositional construction with (*ad* >) *à* as in (64b) *La maison est à Marc*. This prepositional construction even appears as the complement of a noun, a form which is also attested for the dative in popular Latin, as is shown by:

(66) *Philocomasio* *amator.*
Philocomasius-DAT lover-NOM
'Philocomasius' lover.'
(PLAUTUS, *Miles gloriosus*, 1431)

As for the dative of sympathy, it is no longer used in the Romance languages when the dative is a noun as is illustrated by the French translation of example (38) *Ils se jetèrent tous en pleurant aux pieds de César*. However, it is still very much alive when the dative is a personal pronoun; for instance, examples (34) and (35) are translated in French as (34) *Je vais t'arracher aussitôt la coquine de langue* and (35) *De la main droite, il lui a coupé le cou avec son épée*.

3.3. Orientation vs goal

To express the goal, the only other alternative to the dative of finality is the *gerundivum* preceded by *ad*. Instead of

(67) *Aetati agendae.*
life-DAT spend-DAT GER
'To spend his life.'
(PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, 229)

the following also occurs:

(68) *Ad aetatem agendam.*
to life-ACC spend-ACC GER
'To spend his life.'
(PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, 232)

It was no doubt under the influence of this construction that the dative of finality introduced by a preposition, mostly the preposition of finality *pour*, has become the dominant form in French.

The dative of "tendency" has not survived either and is translated in quite different ways; for instance, in modern French examples (30) and (31) would be translated as (30) *Etre avantageux à ses amis et profitable à l'état* and (31) *Tu as imputé ce mérite suprême à Roscius comme un vice et une faute*.

3.4. Orientation vs agent

I have already pointed out that in Latin the agent of a passive verb is normally indicated by the ablative, mostly preceded by the preposition *ab*. This construction has hardly impinged on the field of the *dativus auctoris* in

the construction with the *gerundivum* as I have sketched it (2.7.). The few exceptions mentioned can generally be explained as motivated by the exigencies of clarity. For example, in:

(69) *Quibus est a vobis consulendum.*
which-DAT be-3SG by you-ABL look after-GER
'Things which you should look after.'
(CICERO, *Pro lege Manilia de imperio Cn. Pompei oratio*, 6)

the use of *ab* followed by the ablative is due to the fact that the verb *consulere* takes as a complement a dative, in this case *quibus*, and that using the agentive dative *vobis* could thus be ambiguous.

Apart from constructions of the *gerundivum*, the use of the agentive dative has never been very frequent and seems to have been absorbed by the prepositional construction, which is introduced by *par* or *de* in French. When the *gerundivum* disappeared, the use of the agentive dative dropped out also, except in constructions which also implied the idea of an action imposed such as:

(70) *Il **leur** a fait chanter cette chanson.*
'He had them sing this song.'

In its lexicalized form, the dative takes the form of a prepositional construction introduced by *à*:

(71) *Il a fait chanter cette chanson **à** ses enfants.*
'He had this song sung by his children.'

3.5. Orientation vs DO

We have seen how a very large number of Latin verbs take as a second argument a dative of interest (2.2.). Scholars have tried to explain the use of the dative as second argument in terms of the meaning of the verbs by suggesting that, in general, they express a favourable or unfavourable feeling, attitude, event or situation. However, several verbs which also express "a good or bad disposition" have a second argument in the accusative: while *favere* ('to favour') takes the dative as in (11), verbs such as *amare* ('to love'), *fovere* ('to caress'), *iuvare* ('to help'), etc. take the accusative. This difference in construction struck the Romans themselves, as can be seen in a

passage from the *Tusculanae disputationes* (3.2.) where Cicero is surprised that the verb *videre* ('to see') takes the accusative and its derivation *invidere* ('to envy') the dative. According to Cicero, this is clearly a constraint of usage (Lavency 1985b:161).

It is clear that we are touching on the fundamental difference here between the accusative and the dative in Latin, and in a more general way on the distinction between DO and IO and between transitive and intransitive verbs. According to the traditional analysis, this difference resides in the fact that the accusative is used for an argument on which the action expressed by the verb bears directly, whence the terms *direct object* and *transitivity* (from the Latin *transire*, 'to pass'), whereas the dative is used for an argument which is only indirectly involved in this action, whence the labels *indirect object* and *intransitivity*. Obviously, the question is to know how we should conceive of the "direct" or "indirect" nature of the argument. For modern Indo-European languages such as French, people often refer to a "difference in form": the object or the complement, i.e. "the term which completes the meaning of the verb", is said to be indirect when it is linked with the verb "by means of a preposition with a very general value, the specific meaning of which can in fact be almost zero", and the object is called direct when it is attached to the verb without the intermediary of a preposition.[20] For Latin, this criterion is hardly valid since the accusative and dative can both be attached to the verb without the mediation of a preposition.

However, it seems to me that a distinction can be established between the Latin accusative and dative in constructions where they both occur, i.e. when the verb has three arguments. The idea is rather widespread that a transitive construction with three arguments can be derived from one underlying transitive construction with two arguments by the addition of a causative or factitive feature (*facere*, 'to make').[21] For example, for sentence (9) *Caesar regnum dedit Cleopatrae* ('Caesar gave the kingdom to Cleopatra'), we can posit the underlying construction *Cleopatra regnum tenet* ('Cleopatra possesses the kingdom') and we then get (9) by the addition of the factitive feature *Caesar fecit* ('Caesar made'), or schematically:

(72) a. *Cleopatra* *regnum* *tenet.*
Cleopatra-NOM kingdom-ACC possess-3SG
'Cleopatra possesses the kingdom.'

b. *Caesar* *fecit* *ut* *Cleopatra*
Caesar-NOM make-3SG PERF that Cleopatra-NOM
regnum *teneret.*
kingdom-ACC possess-3SG IMPERF SUBJUNCT
'Caesar brought it about that Cleopatra possessed the kingdom.'

c. *Caesar* *regnum* *Cleopatrae* *dedit.*
Caesar-NOM kingdom-ACC Cleopatra-DAT give-3SG PERF
'Caesar gave the kingdom to Cleopatra.'

We can see that the introduction of the factitive feature leads to lexical substitution, because the verb *tenere* ('to possess') is replaced by *dare* ('to give'), viz. *facere ut aliquis teneat* ('bring it about that someone possesses') -> *dare* ('to give'). Furthermore, under the effect of the factitive, the subject of the underlying sentence (72a) is transformed into a dative in (72c), whereas the DO in the accusative is not subject to modification. If this kind of analysis is accepted, a hierarchy can be established between the accusative and the dative as complements of the verb: the accusative is the "primary" complement which appears first and which is maintained in both constructions, while the dative is secondary and only appears under the influence of the factitive. This cycle of three arguments can thus be analysed as made up of two embedded constructions. In the underlying factitive construction (72b), the base predicate, 'the kingdom belongs to someone' (72a), is rendered by the verb and the accusative, which "completes" the meaning of the verb ('someone *possesses the kingdom*'). This predicate is maintained in the derived factitive construction ('someone gives the kingdom' = 'someone brings it about that someone *possesses the kingdom*'), but a third argument, the dative, makes an appearance grafting itself on to the predicate thereby giving it an orientation.

The fact that the accusative or the DO plays the role of first "completer" of the verb is revealed by a closer link with the latter. In fact, it is generally impossible to omit the DO in the constructions with three arguments analysed here.[22] For example, in the translation of (10), the IO *from the soldier* can be omitted, but not the DO *the shield*:

(73) a. Caesar took the shield away from the soldier.
b. Caesar took away the shield.
c. *Caesar took away from the soldier.

Similarly, one does not expect to find in Latin the corresponding form:

(73) d. **Caesar militi detraxit.*
*Caesar-NOM soldier-DAT take away-3SG PERF

However, the omission of the accusative does not seem excluded for verbs such as *scribere* ('to write'). In fact, if it is possible to say *scribes ad me* ('you will write to me'), as (57) shows, then instead of (56)

(74) *Scribit Labieno*
write-3SG Labienus-DAT
'He writes to Labienus.'

is also admissible with the omission of the completive *veniat*. This use of the dative without the accusative is further evidenced by examples such as:

(75) *Tarentinis scribere.*
Tarentins-DAT write-INF
'To write to the Tarentins.'
(CICERO, *De Finibus*, 1,7)

However, it seems to me that in these constructions the verb does not have its transitive "non-completed" meaning of 'to write', but it does have a "completed" meaning implying an "internal" accusative of the kind 'to write a *text*' or a '*message*'. In the light of their meaning, most of these verbs take as explicit or implicit accusative an object, which can be, in the case of the verb *scribere*, a message or a text. Some grammarians also believe that when the verb takes only two arguments, "the dative is better suited to persons" (Ernout and Thomas 1952:67), and the accusative more to objects. Indeed, one generally finds *imperare aliquid* ('to order something'), but not *imperare alicui* ('to order someone'). In my opinion, we are dealing here with transitive verbs which, by virtue of their meaning, normally take an object as accusative and a person as dative, viz. *imperare aliquid alicui* ('to order someone something'). The difference observed here can then be explained as non-expression of the dative in the so-called transitive construction and as omission of an "internal" accusative, in this case *imperium* ('order'), in the so-called intransitive construction.

In this context it should also be noted that this kind of analysis allows us to explain why some Latin verbs can take the same noun sometimes as IO and

sometimes as DO. For example, instead of:

(76) a. *Circumdare murum urbi.*
put around-INF wall-ACC city-DAT
'To put a wall around the city.'

one can also find:

(76) b. *Circumdare urbem muro.*
surround-INF city-ACC wall-ABL
'To surround the city with a wall.'

In these sentences, the verb *circumdare* has two complements, viz. *murus* ('wall') and *urbs* ('city'). The IO *urbi* from (76a) functions as DO in (76b), whereas the DO *murum* in (76a) becomes a circumstantial complement in the ablative in (76b). If the analysis is allowed which appeals to the addition of a factitive feature, then an underlying structure of the following type can be proposed for (76a):

(76) c. *Facere ut urbs murum habeat.*
bring about-INF that city-NOM wall-ACC have-3SG SUBJUNCT
'To bring it about that the city has a wall.'

In this structure, *urbs* ('the city') forms the subject of the predicate *murum habere* ('to have a wall') and, just as in (72c), this subject is turned into an IO under the influence of the factitive in (76a). By contrast, for (76b) we need to admit an underlying structure with a predicate of the type *urbs circumdata est* onto which the circumstantial complement in the ablative *muro* can be grafted, viz.:

(76) d. *Facere ut urbs muro*
bring about-INF that city-NOM wall-ABL
circumdata sit.
be surrounded-3SG SUBJUNCT
'To bring it about that the city is surrounded by a wall.'

The predicate of the two constructions is thus different,[23] and this difference is reflected in the valence and the meaning of the verb *circumdare* ('to *put* something *around* something', vs 'to *surround* something *with* something').

In the light of the preceding observations, we can try to explain the difference between the dative and the accusative in constructions with two arguments, i.e. those which have as second argument either an accusative or a dative. Starting from Cicero's remark on the subject of the transitive verb *videre* ('to see') and its intransitive derivation *invidere* ('to envy'), it could be argued that the meaning of the transitive verb *videre* can still be "completed" by a DO in the accusative, as in:

(77) *Apenninus* *Gallica rura* *videt.*
Appenine-NOM countryside of Gaul-ACC face-3SG
'The Appenine faces the countryside of Gaul.'
(LUCIANUS, *Pharsalia*, 2,429)

By contrast, in cases such as (12), the intransitive verb *invidere* already seems to have a "completed" meaning which can be paraphrased by *invidiam conflare* ('to bear envy to') as was indicated above (2.2.), and which can be compared with the implicitly "completed" meaning of transitive verbs such as *scribere* ('to write a text to') in (74)-(75).

This interpretation implies that in the last analysis the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs resides in the fact that the meaning of the former still has to be completed by an accusative,[24] whereas the meaning of the latter is already completed, for example by an "internal" accusative. In Latin, as in most other languages,[25] this distinction was not, however, very clear, since a number of verbs are sometimes constructed with the accusative and sometimes with the dative.[26] Mostly there is a semantic difference, because it is obvious that a change in the valence of the verb has, in principle, an effect on its meaning. For example, in the case of *cavere*, there is an opposition between the transitive (78) *cavere aliquem* ('to beware of someone') and the intransitive (79) *cavere alicui* ('to take care of someone'):

(78) *Cave* *canem.*
beware-2SG IMP dog-ACC
'Beware of the dog.'
(VARRO, *Saturae Menippeae*, 75)

(79) *Caves* *Siculis.*
take care of-2SG Sicilians-DAT
'You take care of the Sicilians.'
(CICERO, *In Verrem actio*, 3,26)

Furthermore, the valence of the verb may have changed in the course of the history of the language.[27] For example, the verb *curare* ('to attend to') takes as second argument the dative in old Latin (80), but the accusative in classical Latin (81):

(80) *Rebus publicis* *curare.*
public affairs-DAT attend to-INF
'To attend to public affairs.'
(PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, 1057)

(81) *Bellum maritimum* *curare.*
war at sea-ACC direct-INF
'To direct the war at sea.'
(LIVIUS, *Ab urbe condita*, 7,26,10)

Similarly, a number of intransitive verbs in Latin have remained intransitive in French (*nocere alicui, nuire à quelqu'un*; *oboedire alicui, obéir à quelqu'un*; etc.), while others have become transitive (*invidere alicui, envier quelqu'un, servire alicui, servir quelqu'un*; etc.).

4. Conclusions

In Latin, the formal identification of the dative hardly poses any difficulties since the dative is a *casus*, i.e. a specific form of the noun or its determiners or substitutes. Of course, there are numerous cases of "neutralization", but they can generally be disambiguated (1.).

Analysis of the uses of the dative (2.) suggests that in Latin the dative forms a rather homogeneous case: it indicates the pole towards which the action or the process referred to by the predicate is oriented. Adopting another perspective, we could also say that the dative serves as the limit of the predicate in the sense that it indicates the ultimate term towards which the action or process referred to tends. This basic value can, however, take on specific nuances according to the actual contexts in which the dative appears. Analysis of the constructions competing with the dative (3.) confirms in broad outline this interpretation and clarifies the basic difference between the dative and the expression of spatial relations (3.1.), of belonging (3.2.), of goal (3.3.) and of the agent (3.4.). It also shows that the field of the dative has shrunk under the influence of prepositional constructions used in the expression of

these relations, which have progressively gained ground. With regard to the accusative (3.5.), the dative is indeed revealed to be an "indirect" object, or better a second object: it is grafted onto the predicate, which, in the case of transitive verbs, is normally made up of the verb and an accusative which "completes" its meaning.

These last considerations lead us to pose the question of the central or peripheral character of the dative. According to Pinkster (1985), it is not always easy to establish whether the dative forms a constitutive element of the sentential kernel or not. The *dativus ethicus* (2.9.) is obviously periphrastic, and the same goes for the *dativus iudicantis* (2.8.), but certain datives of interest (2.2.) and goal (2.4.) are, depending on the construction, either central or peripheral (Pinkster 1984:49). In (31), for example, the datives *vitio* and *culpae* can be considered as non-essential, but the same does not apply for the datives *utilitati* and *emolumento* in (30). The general impression which emerges from the surveys carried out by Pinkster (1984:51) is that in Latin the dative is rather central: of the 12.2% of NP in the dative that he analysed, 7.8% were central, 3.1% were peripheral and 1.2% depended on a noun or an adjective.

Finally it should be pointed out that concerning the order of the arguments Pinkster (1984:52) calculated that the verb in Latin generally takes an accusative as second argument (88.3% of NPs function as a second argument) and rarely a dative (7.6%), but that the dative predominates as third argument (70.3% of NPs function as third argument). It remains no less true that when only NPs in the dative are considered (Pinkster 1984:50), we see that the dative is almost equally frequent as second (33 NPs) and as third argument (33 NPs).

NOTES

1. The terminology (*casus*, a calque of the Greek *ptôsis*, 'fall') can apparently be explained by comparison with an object, for example a knife, which sticks into the ground after it has been dropped: the nominative corresponds to the normal "vertical" position, while the other cases are the positions deviating with regard to the vertical; see, for example, Ernout and Thomas (1952:7).

2. Authors often classify the different uses of the Latin dative in a certain order with a view to relating them to the functions attributed to the dative in Indo-European, and are inspired directly or indirectly by the standard work of Havers (1911) on the syntactic function of the cases in Indo-European: see for example Fay (1911), Kühner and Stegman (1962:307-346) and Hofman and Szantyr (1972:86-191). Ernout and Thomas (1952:62-78) give a more synchronic description proposing three basic functions for the dative, viz. attribution, interest or detriment and, to a lesser extent, goal. In his analysis of the case system in Latin, which is worked out within the framework of Guillaumean linguistics, De Carvalho (1983, 1985) defines the dative as an "unactual ulterior non-protagonist, presupposing the existence of a delocuted present": "by receiving in a durable fashion positive or negative attributions", the dative constitutes "in some way, the homologue of the future" (De Carvalho 1983:64). Often, authors change their criteria: Woodcock (1959), for example, first classifies the datives according to the verbal constructions in which they appear (Woodcock 1959:40-45) and later on according to the relations which they designate (Woodcock 1959:45-50).

3. The function of attribution or separation is the primary function of the Latin dative according to Fay (1911:186-189) and Ernout and Thomas (1959:39, 43-44), Rubio (1966: 150-151), Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:87) and Lavency (1985a). Bennett (1914:104-117, 148-150) classifies the dative of attribution under the dative of IO and treats separately the dative of separation.

4. See, for example, Landgraf (1893:46-48), Fay (1911:188-189), Bennett (1914:150-159), Woodcock (1959:40-43, 47), Kühner and Stegman (1962:313-317), Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:92-93), Ernout and Thomas (1952:63-65) and Lavency (1985a). Haudry (1968) sees in the *dativus commodi* or *incommodi* a "central" use of the dative, but interprets it as a "subjective" or "objective" dative according to whether it represents "the transposition of a subject or an object". According to Rubio (1966:142-148), the "person involved" is said to be the fundamental relation marked by the dative.

5. See Fay (1911:193-194) and Ernout and Thomas (1952:65-67).

6. In this example the dative is claimed to indicate "the term of the movement" according to Hofman and Szantyr (1972:100-101) and Ernout and Thomas (1952:69). Certain authors such as Lavency (1985b:166), interpret the dative *caelo* as a dative of goal. Landgraf (1893:70) considers it as one of the most famous examples of the final-local use of the dative (*final-lokale Dativ*).

7. See, for example, Kühner and Stegman (1962:319-320).

8. See Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:91-92) and Ernout and Thomas (1952:66).

9. On the *dativus finalis* and the dative of "tendency", see, for example, Landgraf (1893: 55-62), Fay (1911:191-193), Woodcock (1959:47-49), Kühner and Stegman (1962:341-346), Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:98-99) and Ernout and Thomas (1952:76-78). Bennett (1914:189-190) analyses separately the dative of goal and, moreover, distinguishes between the "dative of tendency" (Bennett 1914:171-177) and the "dative of reference" (Bennett 1914:133) according to whether the dative is applied to a thing or a person. According to Haudry (1968), the *dativus finalis* constitutes a "central" use of the dative, to which it gives the value of a "dative of deverbal transformation" as much as an "objective" dative. Sbordone (1965:94-99) believes it is particularly important clearly to distinguish the dative of goal, which he also calls the "predicative dative", from the nominative.

10. See, for example, Fay (1911:195), Bennett (1914:159-166), Woodcock (1959:45-46), Kühner and Stegman (1962:307-308), Hofman and Szantyr (1972:90-91), Ernout and Thomas (1952:73-74), Löfstedt (1963), Rubio (1966:148-149) and Haudry (1968:151-153).

11. The term *dativus sympatheticus* became the accepted one after the publication of Havers' (1911) study. Before that the terms *dativus energicus* (cf. Landgraf 1893:40-46) or *dativus dynamicus* were also used. A summary of the functions attributed to the *dativus sympatheticus* can be found in Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:94-96). See also Sbordone (1965:99-114), Rubio (1966:152) and Haudry (1968:155-156). According to Bennett (1914:134-145), the *dativus sympatheticus* is a variant of "the dative of reference", i.e. of the dative of tendency (2.4.) referring to a person.

12. See, for example, Bennett (1914:166-170), Ernout and Thomas (1952:74-76), Woodcock (1959:40, 43), Kühner and Stegman (1962:324-325), Rubio (1966:149-150) and Hofman and Szantyr (1972:96-98).

13. See also Landgraf (1893:50-54), Fay (1911:195), Woodcock (1959:47), Kühner and Stegman (1962:321-323), Rubio (1966:152), Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:96) and Haudry (1968:157-158). Bennett (1914:145-146) sees in the *dativus iudicantis* a variant of the "dative of reference", in other words the dative of tendency (2.4.) referring to a person.

14. See, for example, Landgraf (1893:48-50), Fay (1911:196), Ernout and Thomas (1952:72-73), Woodcock (1959:47), Kühner and Stegman (1962:323-324), Rubio (1966:151-152) and Hofmann and Szantyr (1972:93-94). According to Bennett (1914:146-148), the *dativus ethicus* is also a variation of the "dative of reference", the dative of tendency (2.4.) referring to a person.

15. This definition was proposed by Leclère (1976): see Maurel (1982:79).

16. The question whether the fundamental function of the Latin dative is "locative" or, on the contrary, simply "grammatical" or "logical" has divided Latinists since the 19th century. The argument of the "localists" is based mainly on the morphological resemblances between the locative and the dative in languages which have both cases: see Vilar (1981) and Herslund (1988:282-288). More details about the controversy can be found in Fay (1911:189-191), Woodcock (1959:41-42), Sbordone (1965:82-89) and Hofman and Szantyr (1972:86-87). One of the most brilliant defences of the "localist" thesis is the study of Gustafsson (1904). Instead of giving the dative the value of a real locative indicating the point of arrival (cf. Landgraf 1893:69-76), certain authors interpret it rather as a case indicating direction: see, for example, Bennett (1914:101-103), who believes that the primary function of the dative was to indicate the direction of motion.

17. With the exception of forms such as *domi* from *domus* ('house'), *ruri* from *rus* ('country'), etc.

18. See Ernout and Thomas (1952:69-72).

19. Cf. Ernout and Thomas (1952:73). See also Sbordone (1965:99-114) and Bolkestein (1983).

20. This distinction and definition is defended by, inter alia, Blinkenberg (1960:84).

21. See, for example, Lyons (1968:368-370). The simple transitive construction, i.e. the construction with two arguments of which the second is a DO object, can in its turn be derived from an underlying construction with one argument by the addition of a factitive feature. Concretely, the transitive sentence *John kills Peter* results from the intransitive sentence *Peter dies* by the insertion of a factitive feature, viz. *John makes Peter die*. We note that the verb is subjected to a lexical substitution (*die -> make die -> kill*), and that, moreover, the subject of the intransitive construction becomes the DO of the transitive verb. For more details see Lyons (1968:350-354) and Willems (1981:219-226), who note that instead of lexical substitution there is also a change in the valency of the verb: the sentence *The branch bends* leads to *The wind bends the branch* by the mediation of *The wind makes the branch bend*, and the addition of the factitive feature transforms the intransitive verb *bend* into a transitive verb.

22. See in this volume the observations by Melis on "the dative as second object" in modern French.

23. For the factors which can determine the choice of the predicate see Bolkestein (1985).

24. In the absence of this "completing" accusative, the transitive verb is *intransitivized*, and this *intransitivization* generally involves a change in meaning: see Feltenius (1977).

25. For the relative nature of the idea of transitivity see Hopper and Thompson (1980).

26. A list of these verbs can be found in Müller (1910), Ernout and Thomas (1952:67-68), Kühner and Stegman (1962:336-341) and Sbordone (1965:89-94).

27. See Ernout and Thomas (1952:68).

REFERENCES

Bennett, Ch.E. 1914. *Syntax of Early Latin*. II. *The Cases*. Boston: Allyn, Bacon, XII-409 p. (réimpression Hildesheim: Olms 1966).

Blinkenberg, A. 1960. *Le problème de la transitivité en français moderne. Essai syntacto-sémantique*. (*Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab* 38,1). København: Munksgaard, 366 p.

Bolkestein, A.M. 1983. Genitive and dative possessors in Latin. In Dik (ed.) 1983, 55-92.

Bolkestein, A.M. 1985. Discourse and case-marking: Three-place predicates in Latin. In Touratier (ed.) 1985, 191-225.

Chevalier, J.-Cl. and Gross, M. (eds). 1976. *Méthodes en grammaire française*. Textes présentés. (*Initiation à la linguistique*. Série B. *Problèmes et méthodes* 6). Paris: Klincksieck, 226 p.

De Carvalho, P. 1983. Le système des cas latins. Aperçu d'une théorie morpho-sémantique. In Pinkster (ed.) 1983, 59-71.

De Carvalho, P. 1985. *Nom et déclinaison. Recherches morpho-syntaxiques sur le mode de représentation du nom en latin*. Lille: Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1105 p.

Dik, S.C. (ed.) 1983. *Advances in Functional Grammar*. (*Publications in Language Sciences* 11). Dordrecht: Foris, X-415 p.

Ernout, A. and Thomas, Fr. 1952[2] (1951[1]). *Syntaxe latine*. 2e édition. 5e tirage revu et corrigé. (*Nouvelle Collection àl'Usage des Classes* 38). Paris: Klincksieck, XX-522 p.

Fay, E.W. 1911. The Latin dative: Nomenclature and classification. *The Classical Quarterly* 5, 185-195.

Feltenius, L. 1977. *Intransitivizations in Latin*. (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia* 9). Stockholm: Almqvist, Wiksell, 151 p.

Gustafsson, F. 1904. *De dativo latino*. Helsingforsiae: Weilin, Göös, 75 p.

Haudry, J. 1968. Les emplois doubles du datif et la fonction du datif indo-européen. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 63, 141-159.

Havers, W. 1911. *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. (*Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft* 3). Strassburg: Trübner, XIX-335 p.

Herslund, M. 1988. *Le datif en français*. (*Bibliothèque de l'Information grammaticale* 14). Louvain, Paris : Peeters, I-364 p.

Hofmann, J.B. and Szantyr, A. 1972 (1965[1]). *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. Neubearbeitet ... mit dem allgemeinen Teil der Lateinischen Grammatik. (*Lateinische Grammatik* von Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr 2. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 2,2,2). München: Beck, XCVIII-935-89* p.

Hopper, P.J. and Thompson, S.A. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56, 251-299.

Juret, A.C. 1933. *Système de la syntaxe latine*. 2e édition entièrement refondue. (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg* 34). Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 466 p.

Kühner, R. and Stegman, C. 1962[4] (1912[2]). *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*. Zweiter Teil: *Satzlehre*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, XV-828, IX-738 p. (réimpression Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966).

Landgraf, G. 1893. Der *Dativus commodi* und der *Dativus finalis* mit ihren Abarten. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8, 33-76.

Lavency, M. 1985a. Datif d'attribution et datif d'intérêt en latin classique. *Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 11, 41-51.

Lavency, M. 1985b. *VSVS. Grammaire latine. Description du latin classique en vue de la lecture des auteurs*. Paris, Gembloux: Duculot, 361 p.

Leclère, Chr. 1976. Datifs syntaxiques et datif éthique. In Chevalier and Gross (eds) 1976, 73-96.

Löfstedt, B. 1963. Zum lateinischen possessiven Dativ. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* 78, 64-83.

Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, X-519 p.

Maurel, J.-P. 1982. Datifs libres et datifs liés en latin. *Cahiers de Grammaire* 4, 59-92.

Müller, C.F.W. 1910. Die Syntax des Dativs im Lateinischen. *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* 2, 169-181.

Pinkster, H. (ed.) 1983. *Latin Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Proceedings of the 1st International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Amsterdam, April 1981. (*Studies in Language Companion Series* 12). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins, XVIII-307 p.

Pinkster, H. 1984. *Latijnse syntaxis en semantiek*. Amsterdam: Grüner, VIII-368 p.

Pinkster, H. 1985. Latin cases and valency grammar. Some problems. In Touratier (ed.) 1985, 163-186.

Rubio, L. 1966. *Introducción a la sintaxis estructural del latín*. I. *Casos y preposiciones*. (*Colección Convivium* 4). Barcelona: Ariel, 187 p.

Sbordone, Fr. 1965. *Ai margini della sintassi latina*. Seconda edizione. (*Collana di Studi Latini* 12). Napoli: Libreria Scientifica, 323 p.

Serbat, G. 1981. *Cas et fonctions. Etude des principales doctrines casuelles du Moyen Age à nos jours*. (*Linguistique nouvelle*). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 211 p.

Touratier, Chr. (ed.) 1985. *Syntaxe et latin*. Actes du IIème Congrès International de Linguistique Latine, Aix-en-Provence, 28-31 mars 1983. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, Marseille: Laffitte, 586 p.

Villar, F. 1981. *Dativo y locativo en el singular de la flexión nominal indoeuropea*. (*Theses et studia philologica Salmanticensia* 20). Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 248 p.

Willems, D. 1981. *Syntaxe, lexique et sémantique. Les constructions verbales*. (*Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en de Wijsbegeerte Rijksuniversiteit Gent* 168). Gent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 275 p.

Woodcock, E.C. 1959. *A New Latin Syntax*. London: Methuen, XXIV- 267 p.

The dative in Modern French

Ludo Melis

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

In Modern French only the clitic forms of the personal pronouns and, to a lesser extent, of the relative pronouns show formal oppositions between cases. In accordance with etymology the clitic form of the third person pronoun *lui* ('him/her/it') is termed dative. The extension of this term to uses of other pronouns is based on paradigmatic solidarity. *Leur* ('them'), from the Latin genitive, is also considered a dative pronoun on the basis of the perfect parallelism with *lui*. The term may also safely be extended to cover analogous uses of first and second person clitic pronouns *me* ('me'), *te* ('you'), *nous* ('us') and *vous* ('you') and of the reflexive or reciprocal *se*. A further extension to noun phrases or non-clitic pronouns depends on the recognition of a strong correlation with the clitics, primarily as far as the distribution is concerned, but also on the grammatical-semantic level. The uncovering of a specific distributional pattern and of a particular semantic interpretation associated with it thus constitutes the necessary conditions to use the term dative as a designation of a syntactico-semantic function or case.

The paper is thus organized in two major parts. The first is devoted to the description of the distribution of *lui* and the associated clitic elements. In 1., I will consider three-term constructions and in 2., the more simple two-term constructions. Some special cases that do not fit the general pattern will be considered in 3. The second part of the paper is dedicated to more general questions. I will try to interpret the distribution of the clitics in 4. and to situate the non-clitic realizations in 5.

1. Three-term constructions

Three-term constructions are characterized by the presence of a verb accompanied by a subject (SUBJ), a direct object (DO), and a dative (DAT). Such constructions constitute the most common pattern in which datives could be found and also offer more varied sub-categories. Therefore they will be examined at the outset of the study.

1.1. Types of datives in three-term constructions

To establish different types of datives, I will use two groups of parameters: the first one concerns the relationship between DO and DAT, the second the relationship between DAT and the verb.

In the constructions under examination, DO is almost obligatory for a dative to be acceptable. It may be absent only with a few verbs of communication (Busse 1974:211-213; Kotschi 1981) and in some specific generic contexts (Welke 1988):

(1) *Il écrivit à Marie.*
'He wrote to Mary.' (e.g. a letter)

(2) *Il donne aux pauvres.*
'He gives to the poor.' (e.g. money)

Furthermore, a specific relationship is observed between DO and DAT; it may serve as the basis for sub-classification. I distinguish three major types: class-equivalence, possessive and part-whole relations. In the first case, the referents of DO and DAT are members of the same class. In the second case, the DO is, at some moment in the process, in the possession or in the domain of control of the DAT. In the third case, the DO is a stable and ideally an inalienable part of the DAT. Datives entering the first relationship will be called equivalence datives; datives of the second and of the third type will be called attributive and partitive datives respectively.

A second parameter to be taken into account is the verbal sub-categorization. In this respect, I will distinguish between lexical and non-lexical datives. Lexical datives belong to the valency scheme of the verb participating in verbal sub-categorization (Leclère 1878, Barnes 1980, 1985), whereas non-lexical datives function as mere adjuncts. Despite some borderline cases, the distinction is rather clear and is supported by formal tests (Rooryck 1988). Herslund (1988:32-33) points to semantic correlations of the distinction: in the case of lexical datives as in (3) the use of *à personne* ('to nobody') nullifies the process but in the case of non-lexical datives, as in (4), it does not:

(3) *Elle ne donne de café à personne.*
'She doesn't give coffee to anybody.'

(4) *Elle ne verse de café à personne, mais remplit déjà les tasses.*
'She doesn't pour coffee for anybody, but she is already filling up the cups.'

On the basis of those two groups of parameters, six classes may be defined, five of which are attested and will be presented below: lexical datives of equivalence (1.2.), lexical attributive datives (1.3.), non-lexical attributive datives (1.4.), lexical partitive datives (1.5.) and non-lexical partitive datives (1.6.).

1.2. Datives of equivalence

In the case of the dative of equivalence, both the object and the dative pertain to the same category. The verbal predicate confronts them and institutes a systematic or partial equivalence between them:

(5) *assimiler, comparer, confronter, opposer, préférer, subordonner, substituer.*[1]
'assimilate, compare, confront, contrast, prefer, subordinate, substitute.'

(6) a. *Il lui préfère Hélène.*
'He prefers Helen to him/her.'

b. *Il lui compare Vincent.*
'He compares Vincent to him/her.'

c. *Il lui oppose Gaston.*
'He opposes Gaston to him/her.'

The confrontation lends to the union of the two terms with semantically more complex verbs:

(7) *adjoindre, associer, corréler, jumeler, juxtaposer, unir.*
'adjoin, associate, correlate, twin, juxtapose, unify.'

(8) a. *Il lui adjoint Gontran.*
'He adjoins Gontran to him.'

b. *Il lui associe le dossier SOGIS.*
'He associates the SOGIS dossier to it.'

The sentences in (6) and (8) can be made passive (9) and a reflexive or reciprocal *se*-construction is possible (10):

(9) a. *Hélène lui a été préférée.*
'Helen was preferred to him.'

b. *Gontran lui a été adjoint.*
'Gontran was adjoined to him.'

(10) a. *Gaston s'est opposé à lui.*
'Gaston clashed with him.'

b. *Gaston et Gérard se sont opposés à lui.*
'Gaston and Gérard clashed with him.'

At least for some verbs, there exists also a construction with coordinated objects and one with the preposition *avec*:

(11) a. *Il lui a jumelé le Bas-Rhin.*

b. *Il a jumelé le Bas-Rhin et le Haut-Rhin.*

c. *Il a jumelé le Bas-Rhin avec le Haut-Rhin.*
'He coupled the Bas-Rhin and the Haut-Rhin.'

The three variants are not, strictly speaking, equivalent. In the c-case the prepositional phrase represents a mere addition, a secondary element (Melis 1975). In the b-case both objects are of equal importance. In the dative case (a), OBJ is related to DAT, functioning as the anchorage of the relation. Hierarchical or asymmetrical relations between the referents of both elements are only allowed in this case:

(12) a. *Il lui a adjoint un canton, au département.*

b. **Il a adjoint un département et un canton.*

c. **Il a adjoint un département avec un canton.*
'He has adjoined a canton to the department.'

(13) *Il s'est uni à nous.*
'He united himself with us.'

Verbs which imply a hierarchical relationship between the two terms do not appear in constructions such as (11b, c). This observation points in the same direction as the contrast in (12).

1.3. Lexical attributive datives

Lexical attributive datives are observed with verbs that are lexically coded for the attributive relationship between OBJ and DAT. A first group is constituted by verbs that may express a transaction or a transfer of an object from one owner to another (14).[2] Transitive verbs of movement constitute a typical subset (15). All those verbs share a common semantic schema: SUBJ possesses or controls OBJ at some moment and brings about that DAT possesses or controls OBJ at a later moment:

(14) *allouer, confier, destiner, distribuer, donner, léguer, remettre, rendre.*
'allocate, entrust, intend, give out, give bequeath, hand over, give back.'

(15) *adresser, amener, apporter, apposer, asséner, attirer, envoyer, expédier.*
'adress, convey, bring, affix, strike, attract, send, dispatch.'

As indicated by the contrast between (16) and (17) the transfer may be physical or notional. In the latter case idiomatic expressions may be observed (18):

(16) a. *Les parents lui ont donné trois livres.*
'His parents gave him three books.'

b. *Il lui présenta le thé.*
'He offered him tea.'

(17) a. *Les parents lui ont donné une éducation soignée.*
'His parents gave him a good education.'

b. *Il lui présenta deux solutions.*
'He submitted two solutions to him.'

c. *Il lui présenta le président.*
'He introduced the president to him.'

(18) a. *Elle lui a donné un coup de fer, à ce pantalon.*
'She ironed the pants.'

b. *Il lui administra une fessée.*
'He smacked his bottom.'

c. *Ça lui inculque des réflexes.*
'It inculcates reflexes in him.'

The transferred object may also be a message, as in (19):

(19) a. *Il lui a donné les noms des coupables.*
'She gave him the names of the culprits.'

b. *Il lui adressa une prière.*
He adressed a prayer to him.'

The message is considered as an object passing from the domain of the subject to the domain of the dative. Such examples allow us to link transfer verbs to communication verbs, forming a particular group:

(20) *affirmer, annoncer, apprendre, assurer, avouer, communiquer, dire, écrire, répondre.*
'assert, announce, tell, assure, confess, communicate, say, write, answer.'

(21) *Tu lui as écrit de venir.*
'You wrote him to come.'

In this case, OBJ may be omitted. Following Tasmowski (1992, type (i)), the object is incorporated in the verbal lexeme; delayed coordination (Eggermont 1994) may reveal its presence:

(22) *Il lui a écrit, et même de venir en visite.*
'You wrote him, and even to visit us.'

In the above mentioned cases, the process is oriented from SUBJ to DAT, acting as the end-point of the process. With some verbs bearing a negative feature such as *cacher* ('hide') and *taire* ('hush up'), the transfer does not take place, although the general orientation towards DAT remains:

(23) *Elle lui avait caché tant de choses.*
'She hid so many things from him.'

In other cases, the orientation itself is inverted; the process of transfer takes place from DAT to SUBJ. The role of SUBJ is dual: the subject is acting as the initiator of the process and as the endpoint of the transfer:

(24) a. *acheter, arracher, emprunter, ôter, prendre, voler.*
'buy, snatch, borrow, take away, take, steal.'

b. *demander, réclamer.*
'ask, claim.'

(25) a. *Je lui ai acheté cette montre.*
'I bought this watch from him.'

b. *Il lui a pris sa femme.*
'He ran away with his wife.'

c. *Je lui demandai les noms des coupables.*
'I asked him for the names of the culprits.'

A more complicated variant of the scheme occurs with *pardonner* ('forgive') and *reprocher* ('blame'):

(26) *Pardonnez-nous nos offenses.*
'Forgive us our sins.'

The object pertains to the domain of the dative, which is responsible for it but also to the subject's domain where it has a negative value. The subject transfers the forgiveness or the reproach concerning the DO, thus modifying its relationship with the dative.

Despite the differences between the various sub-types, the unity of the class is firmly established and enhanced by shared formal properties. First, it is to be noted that verbs such as *confier* or *donner* ('give') function in various sub-classes. Second, the verbs share common links between constructions:

periphrastic and pronominal passive (27) and also reflexive or reciprocal pronominal usage, involving SUBJ and DAT (28):

(27) *Cette terre lui a été donnée.*
'This land was given to him.'

(28) *Ils se lancent des injures.*
'They insult each other.'

Subsequently, and even more generally, there is a clear difference between the mostly animate SUBJ and DAT, which behave at some moment as possessors of OBJ, and the typically inanimate OBJ.[3]

1.4. Non-lexical attributive datives

Non-lexical attributive datives are observed with action verbs denoting a process that brings into existence or affects the object.[4] The dative functions as an attractor of the unity formed by the verb and the object; so OBJ is introduced into the domain of DAT, although such an orientation is not included in the inherent features of the verb itself. This results in a benefactive interpretation (29), which may be combined with a possessive one (30).

(29) a. *Il lui a fermé la porte.*
'He shut the door on him.'

b. *Qui me taillera les rosiers?*
'Who will prune my rose bushes?'

(30) a. *Elle lui tricote un pull.*
'She is knitting a sweater for him.'

b. *Les journaux lui fabriquent un passé.*
'The papers are fabricating a past for him.'

The construction has an emphatic component, highlighting the importance of the process for the dative participant. This emphatic component may appear in isolation, particularly with a pseudo-reflexive (31). Such an emphatic dative is frequently observed in figurative usages of verbs (32):

(31) *Tu te mets le chapeau.*
'Put on a hat!'

(32) *Il s'envoie trois tasses de café en un quart d'heure.*
'He takes three cups of coffee in a quarter of an hour.'

Examples (29) to (32) also illustrate the strong parallelism between SUBJ and DAT, which lends in some sentences to an interpretation of SUBJ as a substitute of DAT, executing the process in place of DAT:

(33) *Tu lui as déjà chauffé le potage.*
'You have already warmed up the soup for him.'

As for lexical attributive datives, passive, both periphrastic and pronominal, is possible (34).

(34) a. *Un passé glorieux lui a été fabriqué.*
'A glorious past was made for him.'

b. *La porte ne s'ouvre qu'aux personnes autorisées.*
'The door is only opened for authorized persons.'

The distinction between lexical and non-lexical attributive datives hinges on semantic features of the verb; it is therefore not surprising that some borderline cases can be signaled, involving chiefly specific combinations of a verb and an object. We pass, with *faire* ('do, make'), from a purely non-lexical dative in (35a) to a clear lexical case in (35b), via some intermediate stages (35c):

(35) a. *Il lui a fait un dessin.*
'He made a picture for him.'

b. *Il lui a fait confiance.*
'He placed confidence in him.'

c. *Il lui a fait l'amour/un enfant.*
'He made love to her/he made her a child.'

The non-lexical dative may also appear with some verbs that take a lexical dative of inverted orientation such as *acheter* ('buy'); the non-lexical dative points to the beneficiary and the lexical to the source:

(36) a. *Il lui a acheté une montre chez Cartier.*
'He bought a watch for him at Cartier's.'

Because of their independence from the lexical semantic features of the verb, non-lexical attributive datives systematically exhibit the same global orientation and do not vary in the same way as lexical attributive datives do.

1.5. Lexical partitive datives or epistemic datives

Some epistemic verbs and verbs of perception enter a three-term construction with a direct object and a dative. The latter has an animate referent and is tightly linked to the object which typically denotes a psychological property, an internal state of the dative (37), or a typical attribute (38): a body-part, an article of clothing, an associated person.

(37) *Je lui trouve mauvaise mine.*
'I think that he doesn't look well.' (Olsson 1984)

(38) a. *Elle te trouve le nez bien fait.*
'She thinks that you have a nice nose.'

b. *On ne lui avait jamais vu cette robe.*
'She was never seen in that dress.'

c. *On lui reconnaissait un amant.*
'People aknowledge that she has a lover.'

According to Olsson (1984), this construction occurs mainly with the following verbs:

(39) *connaître, croire, découvrir, sentir, trouver, reconnaître, voir.*
'know, believe, discover, feel, find, acknowledge, see.'

Since the specific usage depends on the presence of the dative, we are faced with a lexical dative, and, because of the stable relationship between DAT and OBJ (the latter being an aspect, a typical feature or a characteristic of the former) it is a partitive dative. Since Ruwet (1982:V) it is also known as the epistemic dative. This denomination alludes to the semantics of the verbal predicate and of the whole construction. The verb does not modify the preexisting relationship between DAT and OBJ, but brings it into attention; the predicate signals that the existing connection is perceived by the subject or belongs to the universe of beliefs shared by the subject.

1.6. Non-lexical partitive dative

In the case of the non-lexical partitive dative, there is also a part/whole relationship between OBJ and DAT, a relationship of which the most typical realization is the inalienable possession, as in (40)

(40) *Maman lui a lavé les cheveux.*
'Mother washed his hair.'

But, as shown by Herslund (1983; 1988:6.1.), the part/whole relationship may extend from body-parts to other cases such as clothes (41a) and psychological states (41b):

(41) a. *Il lui cire les bottes.*
'He polishes his boots.'

b. *Une idée étrange lui traverse l'esprit.*
'A strange idea crossed his mind.'

Although the relationship between OBJ and DAT is of a possessive type, the partitive dative construction is only roughly equivalent to a construction with an object and a possessive determinant. A comparison between (42) and (43) shows that the verbal predicate in the dative construction affects the whole constituted by DAT and OBJ, whereas in the two-term construction of (43) the OBJ only is concerned:

(42) a. *Il se peint la main.*
'He is painting his hand.'

b. *Il te caresse la joue.*
'He is caressing (lit. you on) your cheek.'

(43) a. *Il peint sa main.*
'He represents his hand in a painting.'

b. *Il caresse ta joue.*
'He is caressing your cheek.'

In (42) the whole person is engaged; but in (43), the body-part is distinguished from the whole person. It may even be distinct (Hatcher 1944). Moreover, some figurative senses only appear in the dative construction:

(44) a. *Ça m'a ouvert les yeux.*

b. **Ça a ouvert mes yeux.*
'It opened my eyes.'

The use of the dative construction permits us to focus jointly on the whole person, serving as the domain for the given action,[5] and on the specific target, grammaticalized as the object. If such a dual focalization is not allowed, the non-lexical partitive dative is ungrammatical. This is observed with verbs focussing only on a single object, thus relegating the other components of the scene to the background, such as *aimer* and *regarder* (45), and with verbs focussing on the maximal domain, such as those denoting an act of aggression (46). In the latter case the physical aggression affects the whole person and the specific impact point has to be supplemented in an optional locative adjunct:

(45) a. **Tu lui aimes bien les jambes.*
Tu aimes bien ses jambes.
'You like his legs.'

b. **Il lui regarde le visage.*
Il regarde son visage.
'He looks at his face.'

(46) a. **Il lui a blessé le pied.*
Il l'a blessé (au pied).
'He wounded him (lit. on his foot).'

The close union of the object and the dative explains that passive, which amounts to a separation of both components, is excluded:

(47) **Les mains lui ont été lavées.*
'His hands were washed.'

Besides the three-term construction described above, there is also a more complex partitive construction implying a locative adverbial phrase:

(48) a. *Il lui passa une éponge sur le front.*
'He mopped his brow.'

b. *Il me glissa un billet dans la main.*
'He slipped a note into my hand.'

c. *Il te glissa un mot à l'oreille.*
'He dropped a word in your ear.'

The part/whole relationship is established between the dative and the body-part in the locative; the verb and the object tend to form a unit (Barnes 1985: 167-168) that may be replaced by a single verb:

(49) *Il lui épongea le front.*
'He mopped his brow.'

In such a case, passive is allowed, with the unity formed by the dative and the locative being preserved:

(50) *Le billet a dû lui être glissé dans la main.*
'The note must have been slipped into his hand.'

2. Two-term constructions

2.1. Parameters

Datives also appear in combination with a subject in two-term constructions, the predicate being a verb or a predicative adjective. To handle them, I will use analogous parameters, distinguishing between lexical and non-lexical datives on the one hand, and, on the other hand, between datives of equivalence, attributive and partitive datives. The major difference with three-term constructions is that the dative is now related to the subject. This amounts to a simpler predicate structure.

2.2. Datives of equivalence

The dative of equivalence is attested with some verbs that take an obligatory (51a) or an optional (51b) dative:

(51) a. *correspondre, ressembler, succéder.*
'correspond, resemble, succeed.'

b. *préexister, survivre.*
'pre-exist, survive.'

(52) a. *Marie te ressemble.*
'Mary resembles you.'

b. *Pierre lui a survécu pendant deux ans.*
'Peter has survived him for two years.'

The referents of DAT and SUBJ have to belong to the same category and the predicate establishes a correspondance between them. The dative is acting as the fixed point in the comparison and the subject is brought closer to it. Thus only (53a) is possible and not (53b):

(53) a. *Marie te ressemble; elle a tes yeux.*
'Mary resembles you; she has your eyes.'

b. **Marie te ressemble; tu as ses yeux.*
'Mary resembles you; you have her eyes.'

For verbs such as *succéder* and *survivre*, where a temporal dimension is involved, the comparative dimension has to be present: *succéder* 'fulfill the same function', *survivre* 'having a longer life span'. If this comparative aspect is absent and only the temporal dimension is present, a dative is excluded:

(54) **Il lui suit.*
'He follows him.'

2.3. Lexical attributive datives

A great variety of verbs admit lexical attributive datives. The verbs of movement indicating that something happens to somebody form the first group. The orientation may be towards the dative (55a), or be inverted (55b):[6]

(55) a. *advenir, apparaître, arriver, parvenir, revenir, survenir.*
'happen, appear, happen, reach, return, occur.'

b. *échapper.*
'escape.'

(56) *Il m'arrive une nouvelle aventure.*
'A new adventure is arriving for me.'

A second group is constituted by verbs indicating that SUBJ is suitable for DAT, in a positive (57a) or in a negative (57b) way:

(57) a. *agréer, aller, convenir, plaire, profiter, servir, suffire.*
'agree, fit, suit, please, benefit, be of use, suffice.'

b. *déplaire, nuire, peser, répugner.*
'displease, harm, weigh, disgust.'

(58) a. *Le bleu lui va très bien.*
'Blue goes well on her.'

b. *Ça me sert de lit.*
'It serves as a bed for me.'

c. *Cela te suffit-il?*
'Is it sufficient for you?'

With a third group of verbs (59), the subject is presented as an objective to the dative, and ultimately as possessed by DAT:

(59) *falloir, manquer, importer, incomber, appartenir.*
'need, miss, matter, be incumbent on, belong to.'

(60) a. *Ce livre lui manque.*
'He misses this book.'

b. *Cette décision lui appartient.*
'He must take that decision.'

c. *Ce livre lui appartient.*
'This book belongs to him.'

Because of the absence of a source, no transfer is involved with those intransitive verbs, but there is an analogy with the lexical attributive datives considered in 1.3., namely the subject being introduced into the domain of or made available to DAT by virtue of the verbal predicate. The contrast observed in 1.3. between the inanimate object and the animate dative appears here between the inanimate subject and the dative. It is striking that reciprocal pronominal constructions are difficult to obtain with the verbs in (55, 57, 59):[7]

(61) a. **Ils se manquent (l'un à l'autre).*
'They miss each other.'

b. *?Ils se servent de témoins.*
'They are witnesses for each other.'

The proposed analysis does not fit for intransitive communication verbs (62, 63)[8] and moral predicates (64, 65), where the subject is the source and the dative the goal. The transferred object (be it a message or a moral engagement) is not explicitely stated but implied.

(62) *causer, mentir, sourire.*
'talk, lie, smile.'

(63) *Il lui ment.*
'He is lying to him.'

(64) *(dés)obéir, être fidèle, être loyal.*
'(dis)obey, be faithful, be loyal.'

(65) *Il lui est fidèle.*
'He is faithful to him.'

In those cases, the subject and the dative are both animate and reciprocal constructions are easily obtained:

(66) *Ils s'obéissent.*
'They obey each other.'

2.4. Non-lexical attributive datives

Non-lexical attributive datives occur far less frequently with intransitive verbs or adjectives than with transitive verbs. The absence of an agentive subject makes it difficult to obtain the orientation of the predicate towards an external goal or anchoring point, which is necessary for the attributive reading to obtain. Clear examples of a non-lexical dative are (67) and (68); in the latter case *arriver* has its basic movement meaning of 'arrive' and not the derived meaning 'happen' which is linked to the presence of the lexical attributive dative.

(67) a. *Il lui est né une fille.*
'A daughter is born to him.'

b. *Cela m'est agréable.*
'It pleases me.'

(68) a. *Il m'est arrivé un étrange colis.*
'A strange parcel arrived (litt.) for me.'

b. *Il vous arrivera Melle Flore Brazier.*
'Miss Fl. Brazier will come to you.'

In those cases the predicate introduces an element, the subject, which is afterwards linked to the dative.

2.5. Lexical partitive datives

Lexical partitive datives refer to a stable relationship between the dative, denoting a whole, and another nominal constituent, denoting a specific part; this relationship is independent of the predicate. In the case of the three-term construction, 1.5., the verb higlights this relationship as perceived by the subject. In two-term constructions the predicate has to focus on the relationship itself. A clear case is the adjective *propre* ('peculiar'):

(69) *Ce trait lui est propre.*
'This characteristic is peculiar to him.'

Some uses of *ressembler* are to be mentioned here. Contrary to what may be observed for equivalence datives (52), the subject does not refer to an entity analogous to the dative's referent, but to an aspect of this referent, chiefly a typical action or production:

(70) a. *Son écriture lui ressemble.*
'His writing resembles him.'

b. *Cela lui ressemble.*
'It's typical of him.'

Beside this type of partitive dative, parallel to the dative described in 1.5., another lexical dative has to be mentioned. It occurs in combination with a stranded locative preposition and it is clearly a lexical dative because of the specific interpretation of the combination dative + verb + stranded preposition:

(71) a. *Il lui court après.*
'He runs after her.'

b. *Il m'est tombé sur le râble.*
'He set on me.'

c. *Ils lui tirent dessus.*
'They are shooting at him.'

(72) *L'évidence m'est tombée dessus.*
'It suddenly became evident to me.'

Its interpretation as a partitive dative is not straightforward. This analysis, proposed in Herslund (1988), is founded on the analogy with constructions such as (48) and (76) where a partitive dative is linked to a locative constituent. In (71) and (72), there is also such a link, but it is more difficult to determine the whole/part relationship involved. For (71a, b) and (72) one could point to the fact that some aspect is specifically focused on. In (71c), the whole person seems to be the target of the shooting, a distinction between the person and its body may however be maintained. The analogy with three-term constructions involving a partitive dative and a locative is strenghtened by examples like (73), exhibiting the canonical whole/part relationship.

(73) a. *Il lui tape sur l'épaule.*
'He taps him on the shoulders.'

b. *Il lui tape sur le ventre.*
'He is a bit punchy with him.'

The idiomatic character of most of the cases with stranded prepositions may also explain the fact that the 'part' is not lexicalized.

2.6. Non-lexical partitive datives

Non-lexical partitive datives are observed in two cases, which are very similar to the ones described in 1.6. The first one implies inalienable possession with a body-part in subject position:

(74) *La tête lui tourne.*
'His head is spinning.'

The contrast with the construction 'possessive determiner + noun' is very clear; in (75) the head is seen as distinct from the rest of the body, whereas in (74) the person as such is affected by the discomfort.

(75) *Sa tête tourne.*
'His head is turning around.'

The second one occurs in combination with a locative term:

(76) a. *Les larmes lui montaient aux yeux.*
'Tears welled up in his eyes.'

b. *Une idée lui passa par la tête.*
'An idea crossed his mind.'

Those two cases are parallel with the cases observed in three-term constructions; the contexts are however more restrictive, in particular in the case of the non-locative construction (cf. 74), where only body-parts are attested.

3. Extensions of the attributive datives

The types of datives described above are characterized by their strong connection with a nominal element in the clause, the object in 1. and the subject in 2., and, especially for the lexical cases, by a link with the predicate. This link is also present in the non-lexical cases: the descriptions stressed that the operation, referred to by the predicate, is not limited to the object, or to the subject, but is extended to the domain of the dative. In addition, there exist two more types of datives not so intimately inserted in the clausal structure. The first one appears in connection with infinitives, the dative acting as the controller of the infinitive (3.1.); the second one is a type of peripheral adjunct (3.2.). In both cases, there is no nominal element entertaining a special relationship with the dative and they are more loosely linked to the tensed predicate. Both types share, however, some properties with the attributive datives.

3.1. The dative as the controller of an infinitive

Datives may function as the controller of an infinitive in connection with

three types of predicates. This happens first with verbs taking an infinitive as a direct object or as a subject and an independent attributive dative (77). The infinitive commutes with a noun phrase and the dative pertains to the class of the lexical attributive datives as described in 1.3. or 2.3.

(77) a. *Je lui conseillai de partir.*
'I advised him to leave.'

b. *Partir me plaît.*
'I would like to leave.'

In the second case, the infinitive does not alternate with a noun phrase and the dative appears only in combination with the infinitive (78). This construction resembles the two-term attributive construction (cf. 2.3.); cases such as (79) establish a link between the dative plus infinitive of (78) and the dative plus noun phrase in (56) and (60).

(78) *Il m'est difficile de venir.*
'It's difficult for me to come.'

(79) a. *Il lui arrive de partir la nuit.*
'It happens that he leaves at night.'

b. *Il m'est agréable de vous accueillir ici.*
'I am happy to welcome you here.'

c. *Il lui appartient de prendre la décision.*
'He must make the decision.'

The third case is observed with *faire* ('do, make'), *laisser* ('let'), *envoyer* ('send') and the perception verbs *voir* ('see'), *entendre* ('hear') and *sentir* ('feel'). The use of the dative depends on the presence of a direct object following the infinitive:

(80) *Tu lui as fait/laissé/vu manger le gâteau.*
'You made/let/saw him eat the cake.'

Tasmowski (1985:341ff) points to the various links with the attributive dative, not only on the level of sub-categorization, but also on the interpretative level. In (81a) the controller of the infinitive, realized as a dative, is seen as the beneficiary of the reading process, and in (81b) the controller realized by a *par*-phrase is seen as the executive agent:

(81) a. *Le notaire fait lire le testament aux héritiers.*
'The solicitor makes the heirs read the will.'

b. *Le notaire fait lire le testament par le clerc.*
'The solicitor makes the clerk read the will.'

Therefore the dative as a controller of the infinitive may be seen as an extension of the attributive dative in the presence of two predicates. It functions as an interpretative subject for the subordinate infinitive, and also as the beneficiary of the complex predication.

3.2. The peripheral dative

The last type of datives to be considered is characterized by the absence of specific links with either the predicate or the other constituents in the clause. The dative is only loosely incorporated into the clause structure, but it fulfils a pragmatic function. It may, in the first place, signal the person whose point of view is adopted in the utterance; this happens regularly with *sembler* and *paraître* ('seem'):

(82) *Ça lui semblait/paraissait intéressant.*
'It seemed interesting to him.'

It may also underline the interest of the utterance for the hearer or, in connection with directive acts, for the speaker; the dative is then called ethical:

(83) a. *Ça vous a un côté ancien régime!*
'Look, it has typical ancient regime features!'

b. *Tu vas me lui présenter des excuses!*
'You should apologize to him.'

Those datives may be seen as a special use of the attributive dative with communication verbs. The communication verb involved is not explicitely stated, but is pragmatically implied in the performed speech act.

4. An interpretation of the dative clitic

In this section, two questions of a more synthetic nature will be addressed. The first one concerns the interpretation of the distribution described

in sections 1. to 3.; the focus will thus be on the relational properties of the dative. The second one concerns the inherent semantic features of the dative clitics *lui* and *leur* as opposed to other clitic forms of personal pronouns.

4.1. The relational properties of the dative clitic

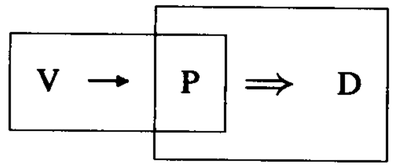
The results arrived at in the sections 1. to 3. may be summarized in the following table, where the numbers refer to subsections:

dative type:	*equivalence*	*attributive*	*partitive*
3 terms			
lexical	1.2	1.3.	1.5.
non-lexical		1.4.	1.6.
2 terms			
lexical	2.2.	2.3.	2.5.
non-lexical		2.4.	2.6.
extensions			
with infinitive		3.1.	
enunciative		3.2.	

The symmetry between the three-term and the two-term constructions is striking and permits a first generalization: the equivalence, attributive and partitive relationships involve the dative and its partner, being the object in 1.2. - 1.6. and the subject in 2.2. - 2.6.[9] The distinction between three- and two-term constructions may thus be discarded in the search for a more precise interpretation of the dative as a grammatical function. The opposition between lexical and non-lexical datives, useful when the question of the interaction between the lexicon and the grammar enters the field, may also be put aside. For a better understanding of the dative, we thus have to look more closely at the three relationships distinguished – equivalence, attribution, part-whole relationship –. The special cases discussed in 3. were characterized as specific types of the attributive case.

A closer inspection reveals that two parameters are involved in those relationships: one concerning the relationship between the nominal terms and one relating to the predicate. For the partitive and attributive datives, the relationship between the referent of the dative and the referent of the object/subject is asymmetrical: the dative denotes the whole and the other term a part entering that whole. In the case of the equivalence dative, the relationship is symmetrical: the dative and the object or the subject denote elements of the same class. As far as the predicate is concerned, the equivalence and attributive datives may be grouped together, the predicate modifying the relationship. They are both opposed to the partitive case, where the predicate is oriented towards a pre-existing relationship between the dative and its partner. Furthermore, it appears that the predicate is admittedly directed towards the object, or the subject for the intransitive verbs, and attains ultimately the dative. Thus we may represent the links between the predicate, the dative and its partner as follows:

(84)



V = verb or adjective as predicate
P = partner of dative: object or subject
D = dative

The dative appears then as the final target of the predicate, acting, in the case of three-term constructions, as a second object, which sets a definitive limit to the predicate. Due to the close imbrication between the object and the predicate, the construction is not simply a construction with two distinct objects, but a more intricate construction where the verb is initially applied to the object. This then constitutes a new complex predicate, which is afterwards applied to the dative.

This analysis of three-term constructions is supported by two arguments. The first one is that datives, apart from some specific cases, do not occur in the absence of objects, as indicated in 1.1. The second argument emerges from modifications of verbal valency as in (85):

(85) a. *Pierre leur sert du porto, aux invités.*
'Peter is serving port wine to the guests.'

b. *Pierre les sert de porto, les invités.*
'Peter is serving the guests port wine.'

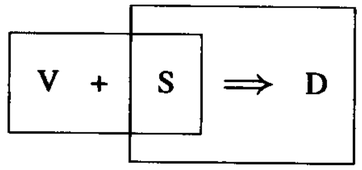
If the theme is not realized as the syntactic object, the beneficiary may not be realized as a dative and is moved to the object position. This reconstruction occurs with various verbs, as appears from (86), from table 36DT in Guillet and Leclère (1992) and from Eggermont (1994).

(86) *commander, demander, dispenser, fournir, garantir, payer.*
'command, demand, dispense, furnish, guarantee, pay.'

It is also attested as a diachronic and diatopic process (Lüdi 1978, 1983).

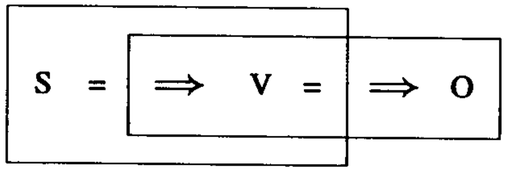
The analysis extends also to two-term constructions. In the case of (87a), the verb and the subject form a unit which is afterwards related to the dative in such a way that the subject is introduced in the domain of the dative (87b):

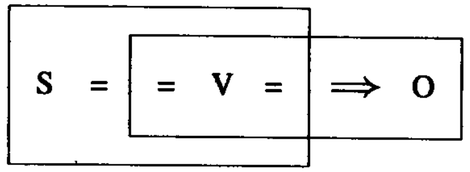
(87) a. *Ça plaît à Jean.*
'It pleases John.'

b. 

Only such an analysis offers a suitable basis for the explanation of the parallelisms between triadic and diadic constructions. It also permits an interpretation of the contrast between (87a) with a dative and (88b) with an accusative:

(88) a. *Ça blesse Jean.*
'It hurts John.'

b. 

c. 

The latter has two readings: a physical one with a causative verb and an agent or force as subject (88b), and a psychological one (88c). In both cases the object is the target of the verb and undergoes the verbal action. In the basic, physical reading, the subject is the cause of the contact and a causative chain is obtained. In the psychological reading, which results from a transposition of the physical reading, the subject affects the object only via the verb and remains out of the domain of the object. Therefore the verb is the mediator, as indicated in (88c); whereas in the dative construction, the subject serves as the mediator (87b). Both constructions differ also on another point. In (87), the dative is the salient participant, exerting a kind of control over the whole process (Huffman 1983). By contrast, in (88) the object is not given prominent status, as appears in (88b) where the subject is higher, and in (88c) where they are on an equal level.

4.2. The inherent properties of the dative clitics

The analysis of the relationship between the dative, the predicate and the other nominal participants leads to a characterization of the dative as the ultimate object towards which the predicate is directed and as the salient participant. This feature, whose importance is stressed by Barnes (1980, 1985), is intimately linked with the inherent properties of *lui* and *leur*, more precisely with the feature [+individual].

This feature is an abbreviation for the combination of the three basic features attributed to those clitics in Melis (1994): [+categorized], [+delimited] and [+differentiated]. The first one implies that the clitic cannot refer to a situation (89), the second that the clitic must refer to elements which are open to quantification (90) and the third, that the clitic must refer to an element which may be opposed within its class to other members (91):

(89) * *Que Pierre présente des excuses, tu lui parviendras.*
'You will see to it that Peter apologizes.'

(90) a. *Je lui donne un livre, à ma fille.*
'I give my daughter a book.'

b. *Je leur donne un livre, à mes filles.*
'I give my daughters a book.'

(91) a. *Cette position lui est réservée, à la femme.*
'This position is reserved for women.'

b. **Un peu de connaissance éloigne de l'homme,*
beaucoup de connaissance lui ramène.
'A little knowledge alienates you from others (lit. mankind),
a lot of knowledge brings you closer (lit. brings you back to it).'

In (91a), modified from Herslund (1988:98), the generic *la femme* is opposed within the category of humans to *l'homme*; in (91b), cited by Herslund (1988: 99), there is no opposition with other members of the class.

Moreover *lui* and *leur* are nominal elements; they are able to transmit gender and number:

(92) *Il leur était difficile de venir seules.*
'It was difficult for them to come alone.'

The combination of those features suggests that the protoypical referent associated with *lui* and *leur* is human, as with the clitics of the first and second person. But, each referent which corresponds to the conditions stated above may be coupled with those clitics (Pinchon 1972, Herslund 1988). Examples like (93) are correct and do not imply any personification.

(93) a. *Ils leur ont réservé bon accueil, à ces nouvelles.*
'They welcomed the news.'

b. *Le pouvoir politique doit leur être subordonné,*
aux normes démocratiques.
'Political power has to be subordinated to democratic norms.'

The clitic *y*, though regularly associated with *lui* and *leur*, does not share any feature with those dative clitics. It is, on the contrary, characterized by the opposite features. Its reference may be situational (94a), it allows for non-quantifiable referents (94b) and for non-differentiated referents (94c).

(94) a. *Que Pierre présente des excuses, tu y parviendras.*
'You will see to it that Peter will apologize.'

b. *La perfection, tu y atteindras.*
'You will reach perfection.'

c. *Un peu de connaissance éloigne de l'homme,*
beaucoup de connaissance y ramène.
'A little knowledge alienates you from others (lit. mankind),
a lot of knowledge brings you closer (lit. brings you back to it).

Its association with the interrogative adverbial *où?* and the fact that it does not transmit gender and number indicate that it is not a nominal element, but an adverbial one. This leads to the conclusion that *y* is not a realization of the dative.

Such a conclusion, already arrived at by some scholars (Kristol 1987, Herslund 1988, Jacob 1991) leaves two questions open. The first one concerns verbs which admit both *lui/leur* and *y*. The second concerns verbs which admit *y* but not a dative clitic.

The first question is addressed in Herslund (1988). This author designed a paraphrase test to distinguish between datives and non datives. If a paraphrase with *avoir*, as in (95), is possible, a dative is present, otherwise not (96):

(95) a. *Le tiroir lui appartient, à cette table.*
'The drawer belongs to the table.'

b. *La table a un tiroir.*
'The table has a drawer.'

(96) a. *Le tiroir y appartient, à cet ensemble.*
'The drawer belongs to it, to the set.'

b. **L'ensemble a un tiroir.*
'The set has a drawer.'

From those and similar examples it appears that *y*, unlike *lui/leur*, is unable to bind the object in a domain, as revealed by the *avoir*-paraphrase, and thus that *y* does not enter a part/whole relation. This may be explained by the adverbial nature of *y*; an adverb is connected with an already existing link, but cannot function as the basis of a link. A similar line of argument may be followed for the equivalence dative, where the relationship between the dative and its partner cannot be paraphrased by *avoir*. If *lui/leur* are used, two nominal terms, the object and the dative, are put together and so the conditions for a judgement of equivalence are met. With *y* there is only place for an analogy, as appears from (97):

(97) *Gaston y ressemble, à un melon.*
'Gaston looks like a melon.'

The second question concerns verbs which take *y* but not *lui/leur*, such as *penser* ('think of'). Gaatone (1984), Jacob (1991), Kristol (1987) and Seel-

bach (1986), who studied those verbs, agree that a dative is not appropriate because the whole process is not directed towards the *y*-phrase. In other words, the scheme proposed in (84) and illustrating that all the elements of the clause converge towards the dative, does not apply in (98).

(98) a. *Il y pense. Il pense à cela.*
'He thinks of it.'

b. *Il y songe. Il songe à cela.*
'He reflects upon that.'

Jacob (1991:179-180) adds that only *y* is possible when the prepositional phrase has somehow to be incorporated in the predicate to enrich the latters features. In (98) the orientation towards *cela* is due to the preposition, or the adverb *y*, as revealed by the contrast with (99).

(99) a. *Il pense cela.*
'He thinks it.'

b. *Il songe cela.*
'He dreams it.'

In such a case an adverb or a prepositional phrase is particularly suitable (Moignet 1974).

The contrast between *y/à lui* and the dative is very clear in the following minimal pair, taken from Jacob (1991:181):

(100) a. *Pierre lui est indifférent.*
'She is unconcerned about Peter.'

b. *Pierre est indifférent à elle.*
'Peter is unconcerned about her.'

In (100a) *Pierre* and *indifférent* are brought together and then related to the dative. In (100b) the first nucleus contains *indifférent à elle* and this is attributed to *Pierre*.

5. From dative clitics to nominal datives

Up to now only the clitics *lui* and *leur* have been considered as true datives. Nominal or prepositional phrases have only been taken into account as associates to those clitics, as in (85) and the following examples. In this section, I will examine more closely those associate *à*-phrases. Three questions will be examined: the choice of *à*, the nominal or prepositional nature of the *à*-phrase and the distribution of non-clitic datives.

5.1. The choice of à

Some authors, such as Blinkenberg (1960), Leclère (1978) and, with some restrictions, Herslund (1988) admit that there are two non-clitic realizations of the dative in modern French: realizations with *à* in all cases, except for the peripheral dative described in 3.2., and realizations with *pour* for non-lexical attributive and partitive datives.[10] In Melis (1992) I discuss various syntactic and semantic arguments indicating that only *à*-phrases are related to dative clitics. The convergence of the definitive features of the dative and of the preposition may be held responsible for the choice of *à*. The dative could be described as the salient term towards which the whole process is oriented and that ensures the anchoring of the object/subject, in an encompassing domain. According to Cervoni (1991) and Lang (1991), the preposition functions as a localizing device that anchors the target globally in an adequate setting. Moreover, in combination with some verbs, this localization is prospective. Justification for the choice of the particular introductory device is thus easy to provide.

5.2. The à-phrase as a nominal or a prepositional phrase

The choice of the preposition *à* as the introductory device for non-clitic datives seems to entail that the *à*-phrase is a PP, but Jaeggli (1982) presents some arguments against this thesis. He argues that datives do not behave as regular PP's. His observations are related to the repetition of the preposition (101), the split antecedent of a relative clause (102) and to the floating quantifier *tout/tous* (103). The (a.) examples contain datives, the (b.) example locative PP's.[11]

(101) a. **Ils ont emprunté ce livre à Jean et Marie.*
(cf. *Ils ont emprunté ce livre à Jean et à Marie.*)
'They borrowed this book from John and Mary.'

b. *Tu penses à Paul et Marie.*
'You are thinking of Paul and Mary.'

(102) a. *Il a parlé à l'enseignant et à l'élève qui se sont disputés hier.*
'He spoke to the teacher and the pupil who quarreled yesterday.'

b. **Il a pensé à l'enseignant et à l'élève qui se sont disputés hier.*
'He thought of the teacher and of the pupil who quarreled yesterday.'

(103) a. *Ces femmes à qui j'ai parlé à toutes.*
'All those women to whom I spoke.'

b. **Ces femmes à qui j'ai pensé à toutes.*
'All those women of whom I thought.'

The author concludes that *à* in the (a.) examples is not a preposition but a case marker and that the *à*-phrase is an NP and not a PP. This conclusion is rejected by Herslund (1988:45-47 and 317-319). He argues that the *à*-phrase in the (a.) and in the (b.) examples is submitted to the A over A principle, so that both types must be prepositional. He also states that promotion to subject position in the passive should be possible if the *à*-phrase is an NP. Those arguments indicate that Jaeggli's conclusions as to the NP-status are not well supported, but his observations are still valid. If the *à*-phrase is a prepositional phrase, it is one of a special kind.

The specificity of the dative *à*-phrase is, in my opinion, due to the fact that the preposition does not act as the head of the phrase, but is a modifier of the nominal head. Arguments for this position are the association with the nominal clitics *lui* and *leur*, the repetition in case of coordination and the facts concerning relative clauses in (102). The phrase introduced by *à*, however, is a prepositional constituent: the first element of it being a preposition, it is subject to constraints on constituent structure such as the A over A principle, which do not refer to heads and thus to dependency. In the case of the dative, dependency relations and constituent structure do not coincide.

Jaeggli's observations and the analysis of the *à*-phrase as a peculiar kind of PP/NP imply that *à*-phrases associated with *lui/leur* and *à*-phrases associated with *y* will differ, the latter being ordinary PP's. This conclusion can be supported by the contrast between the (a.) and the (b.) examples in (104)-(106), which are parallel to (101)-(103):

(104) a. *Il leur consacre beaucoup de temps, aux loisirs et aux passe-temps frivoles.*
'He devotes a lot of time to leisure and to frivolous pastime.'

b. *Il y consacre beaucoup de temps, aux loisirs et passe-temps frivoles.*
'He devotes a lot of time to leisure and to frivolous pastime.'

(105) a. *Il les compare à Gertrude et à Gaston qui auraient rajeuni de vingt ans.*
'He compares them to Gertrude and Gaston, when they were twenty years younger.'

b. *Il les compare à une pomme et une poire ratatinées.*
'He compares them to a shrivelled apple and a shrivelled pear.'

(106) a. *Ces femmes, je leur ai répondu à toutes.*
'I answered all of those women.'

b. **Ces lettres, j'y ai répondu à toutes.*
'I answered all of those letters.'

The examples indicate that *à*-phrases which are superficially alike differ in accordance with their association, on the syntagmatic or on the paradigmatic level, with function or case-marked pronouns. This observation fits in the more general thesis on the primacy of pronouns advocated in Blanche-Benveniste et al. (1984).

5.3. The clitics as basic realizations of the dative

The conclusion reached in the preceding section indicates that the clitic pronouns are a more basic realization of the dative on the level of the language system. Distributional facts point in the same direction. First, only clitics are acceptable in some types of datives; this is the case for peripheral datives which relate to the enunciation (3.2.). Second, clitics are by far more frequent in the case of non-lexical datives (1.4.; 1.6.; 2.4.; 2.6.) as indicated by Herslund (1988:268ff) and of lexical partitive datives (1.5.; 2.5.). According to Olsson (1984), clitics amount to 85% of all datives in the latter category. For the dative with infinitives, I found 82,5% of clitics in combination with *faire, laisser* and the perception verbs; with adjectival predicates, the non-clitic realization is, in contrast with (78), at best marginal (107a) and other constructions are preferred (107b):

(107) a. *?Il est difficile à Jean de venir.*

b. *Jean a des difficultés à venir.*
'It's difficult for John to come.'

A nominal dative occurs regularly only in the case of lexical datives of equivalence (1.2.; 2.2.) and of attribution (1.3.; 2.3.).

This confirms the central position of lexical datives and especially of the attributive dative. The latter is characterized by both central properties, the part/whole relationship with the object/subject which is established through the predicate, and serves as the basis for the extension discussed in 3. The other types are defined by a smaller set of properties. For the dative of equivalence, the relationship with the object (or with the subject) is not a whole/part or a domain/specific target relationship. And for the partitive dative, the predicate does not intervene in establishing the link between the dative and its nominal partner. Finally, non-lexical datives are more loosely related to the verb than lexical datives are.

NOTES

* I whish to thank P. Campe and Br. Rudzka for their comments and for correcting my English.

1. Lists of verbs are by no means exhaustive; they only serve to illustrate the main tenets of the text. More exhaustive lists are furnished in Herslund (1988), Guillet et Leclère (1992) and Eggermont (1994). They are however constituted partially on other grounds.
2. Transfer verbs in French and English are discussed in Kübler (1992).
3. It is striking that reflexive or reciprocal usage involving S and OBJ is limited to fixed expressions such as

   Elle s'est donnée à lui.
   'She had given herself to him.'

   Elle s'adresse à lui.
   'She is speaking to him.'
4. The object may be absent for some verbs in specific contexts; the circumstances in which the utterance is produced determine the interpretation:

   Il lui a ouvert ('la porte').
   'He opened it for him ('the door').'
5. Stative verbs are thus excluded (Barnes 1985:169).

6. The locative verbs *demeurer* ('remain') et *rester* ('stay') have to be added.
7. A noticeable exception is (dé)plaire:

   Ils se plaisent.
   'They like each other.'
8. With *parler* ('talk') the message appears as an indirect object introduced by *de*; this verb establishes a link with the transitive communication verbs in 1.3.
9. For the communication verbs discussed in 2.3., examples (62)-(65), the partner is not the subject, but the implied message.
10. In French, two bare NP's that may be nuclear are not allowed in postverbal position. An introductory device, such as a preposition, is necessary.
11. Examples (101) and (102) are inspired by Jaeggli; example (103) is from Jaeggli (1982).

REFERENCES

Barnes, B. 1980. The notion of 'dative' in linguistic theory and the grammar of French. *Lingvisticae Investigationes* 4, 245-292.

Barnes, B. 1985. A functional explanation of French nonlexical datives. *Studies in Language* 9, 159-195.

Blanche-Benveniste, Cl. et al. 1984. *Pronom et syntaxe*. Paris: Selaf.

Blinkenberg, A. 1960. *Le probème de la transitivité en français moderne.* Copenhague: Munksgaard.

Busse, W. 1974. *Klasse, Transitivität und Valenz*. München: Fink.

Cervoni, J. 1991. *La préposition, Etude sémantique et pragmatique.* Paris, Louvain-la-Neuve: Duculot.

Eggermont, C. 1994. *Reformulations et reconstructions. Deux aspects de la systématique des verbes français*. Ph.D. thesis, K.U. Leuven.

Gaatone, D. 1984. Une allergie syntaxique en français. Réflexions sur l'opposition *lui/à lui. Revue de linguistique romane* 48, 123-137.

Hatcher, A.G. 1944. Il me prend le bras *vs.* Il prend mon bras. *Romanic Review* 35, 156-164.

Herslund, M. 1983. Le datif de la possession inaliénable en français.In *Analyses grammaticales du français. Etudes publiées à l'occasion du 50ième anniversaire de Carl Vikner*, 99-115. Copenhague: Akademisk Forlag.

Herslund, M. 1988. *Le datif en français*. Paris, Leuven: Peeters.

Huffman, A. 1983. Government of the 'dative' in French. *Lingua* 60, 283-309.

Jacob, D. 1991. Dativ im Französischen? Zur Funktionsweise und Semantik der Ergänzungsklasse '*à* + NP'. In *Connexiones Romanicae, Dependenz und Valenz* in *romanischen Sprachen*, P. Koch and Th. Krefeld (eds), 157-186. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Jaeggli, O. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Kayne, R. 1975. *French Syntax, the Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT-Press.
Kotschi, Th. 1981. Verbvalenz im Französischen. In *Beiträge zur Linguistik des Französischen*, 80-122. Tübingen: Narr.
Kristol, A.M. 1987. Pronominalization et système casuel du français, les compléments du verbe introduits par 'à'. In *Romania ingeniosa, Festschrift G. Hilty*, G. Lüdi et al. (eds), 443-461. Bern: Lang.
Kübler, N. 1992. Verbes de transfert en français et en anglais. *Lingvisticae Investigationes* 16, 61-97.
Lang, J. 1991. *Die französischen Präpositionen, Funktion und Bedeutung*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Leclère, Chr. 1976. Datifs syntaxiques et datif éthique. In *Méthodes en grammaire française*, J.-Cl. Chevalier and M. Gross (eds), 73-96. Paris: Klincksieck.
Leclère, Chr. 1978. Sur une classe de verbes datifs. *Langue française* 39, 66-75.
Lüdi, G. 1978. Die Alternanz zwischen Dativ und Akkusativ bei 'prier', 'supplier', 'requérir' im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. *Vox Romanica* 37, 160-192.
Lüdi, G. 1987. Sémantique, syntaxe et forme casuelle. Remarques sur la construction *aider à qn* en français romand. In *Dialectologie, histoire et folklore, Mélanges E. Schüle*, 85-97. Berne: Francke.
Melis, L. 1975. Contraintes d'ordre et coordination. *Handelingen van het Vlaams Filologencongres* 30, 206-212.
Melis, L. 1992. Prépositions en alternance ou rencontre fortuite, le cas de *à* et de *pour* en concurrence avec *lui* comme expression du 'datif' en français. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 81, 311-326.
Melis, L. 1994. Paradigmes de la valence verbale et réalisations nominales et pronominales. *International Journal of Lexicography* 7, 2, 142-157.
Moignet, G. 1974. Sur la transitivité indirecte en français. *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 12, 281-299.
Olsson, H. 1984. La construction *je lui trouve mauvaise mine* en français moderne. *Studia Neophilologica* 56, 183-213.
Pinchon, J. 1972. *Les pronoms adverbiaux en et y*. Genève: Droz.
Rooryck, J. 1988. Critères formels pour le datif non-lexical en français. *Studia Neophilologica* 60, 97-107.
Ruwet, N. 1972. *Théorie syntaxique et syntaxe du français*. Paris: Seuil.
Ruwet, N. 1982. *Grammaire des insultes et autres études*. Paris: Seuil.
Seelbach, D. 1986. A propos d'un *à*-datif en français. In *Sur le Verbe*, S. Rémi-Giraud and M. Le Guern (eds), 133-169. Lyon: Presses Universitaires.
Tasmowski, L. 1985. *Faire* infinitif. In *Les constructions de la phrase française*, L. Melis et al. (eds), 233-365. Gent: Communication & Cognition.
Tasmowski, L. 1992. Le verbe transitif sans complément. *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie* 30, 157-171.
Welke, D. 1988. *Einführung in die Valenz- und Kasustheorie*. Leipzig: VEB.

Towards a typology of the Spanish dative

Nicole Delbecque and Béatrice Lamiroy

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to undertake a descriptive exploration of the "dative" in Spanish. We will adopt the point of view here that a conceptual analysis of the dative case will be possible only when enough empirical evidence has been gathered and coherently analyzed, and this for three reasons.

Firstly, over time the use of the dative has extended in such a way (Haudry 1968) as to render the classical taxonomies insufficient and inadequate, as has been recognized by Fish (1968:863): "It [the dative] was extended to constructions *which are so far from the original* that they are accounted for with difficulty." (italics ours).

Secondly, the problem with the dative case is not only a typological matter – which PrepP's are datives ? –, but also a terminological one. Indeed, in the Spanish grammatical tradition the terminology *direct* vs *indirect object* was introduced at the beginning of the XIXth century, replacing the traditional Latin terms *accusative* and *dative*, apparently under the influence of French school grammar (Vázquez Rozas 1988:23). However, in the French tradition the opposition "direct" vs "indirect" refers to the presence vs absence of a preposition. But in Spanish, this terminology is unfortunate, as Bello (1847) already pointed out, since the "direct object" takes a preposition when it is human and individuated, thus becoming an "indirect" object. According to the Academy (1973:3.4.3) *indirect* refers to the fact that the process passes through a direct object before reaching the referent expressed by the dative. Obviously, this definition is not satisfying either insofar as it cannot account for indirect objects with intransitive verbs (e.g. *obedecer a alguien* 'to obey someone').

Thirdly, a conceptual analysis of the dative case is hindered by a double syncretism of the dative with the accusative, the implications of which we will try to draw below. In order to gain insight into the set of syntagms which could be retained as candidates for the "dative", it is necessary to systematically confront with one another the morphosyntactic variants of different verb constructions, with either a direct or indirect complement as part of the verb valency.

The structures to be analyzed are formally defined as follows: they contain *a NP*, and the clitic pronoun corresponding to that PP is *le(s)*. For instance:

(1) a. *Juan obedece a su padre/a la ley.*
John obeys to his father/to the law
'John obeys his father/the law.'

b. *Juan le obedece.*
John to-him/to-it obeys
'John obeys him/it.'

The proportionality with *le* excludes, in principle, other *a NP*'s, such as the locative and temporal complements:

(2) a. *Juan llega a Bruselas.*
'John gets to Brussels.'

b. **Juan le llega.*
John to-it gets
'John gets to it.'

The syntagm under study can take four different forms:

(a) the PP introduced by the preposition *a*, like in 1a;
(b) *a NP* can be substituted by *le(s)*, as in 1b;
(c) the PP and the coreferential clitic can cooccur. This reduplication is obligatory when *a NP* precedes the VP, at least when the NP is definite and thematized.[1] This is illustrated in example (3).

(3) a. *Juan le obedece a su padre.*
John to-him obeys to his father
'John obeys his father.'

b. *A su padre Juan siempre le obedece.*
To his father John always to-him obeys
'His father John always obeys.'

c. **A su padre Juan siempre obedece.*
To his father John always obeys
'His father John always obeys.'

(d) Finally, the clitic pronoun can appear on its own without possibility of replacing it by *a NP*. The concomitance of the clitic with *a NP* sometimes even appears to be rather odd:

(4) a. *Se le reían.*
REFL 3PL to-him/her (they-)laughed
'They laughed at him/her.'

b. **Se reían a Juan/Carmen.*
REFL 3PL (they-)laughed to John/Carmen
'They laughed at John/Carmen.'

c. *?Se le reían a Juan/Carmen.*
REFL 3PL to-him/her (they-)laughed to John/Carmen
'They laughed at John/Carmen.'

One of the questions to be raised is whether it is sufficient to take *a NP* into account. In other words, could no other oblique NP's be susceptible to entering the realm of the "dative"? Likely candidates are *para NP*[2] and *por NP*:

(5) a. *Juan compró un regalo al/para el niño.*[3]
'John bought a present to/for the child.'

b. *Juan lucha por la vida.*[4]
'John fights for his life.'

But unlike *a NP*, *para NP* and *por NP* are not proportional with the clitic pronoun *le*.[5] This difference justifies that *para NP* and *por NP* are left out of consideration:

(6) a. **Juan le compró un regalo para el niño.*
John to-it bought a present for the child
'John bought a present for the child.'

b. **Juan le lucha por la vida.*
John to-it fights for the life
'John fights for his life.'

As pointed out earlier, the reason why accusative and dative are easily confused is due to a twofold syncretism which may be associated either with the form of the lexical syntagm or with that of the clitic.

With regard to the lexical syntagm, the presence of the preposition *a* is not unambiguously the marker of the indirect object complement, since the "direct object" complement also takes *a* when it is +animate and +individuated, as illustrated in (7). The so-called "acusativo preposicional" is typically Spanish, but also appears in certain Romance dialects (Müller 1971).

(7) *[...] una confusa orden del Comité Central [...] abría las puertas del muro que separaba a los berlineses y a los alemanes.* (*El País*)
[...] a confused order of the Central Committee [...] opened the gates of the wall which separated to the Berliners and to the Germans
'[...] a confused order of the Central Committee [...] opened the gates of the wall which separated the Berliners and the Germans.'

Two questions arise in this respect: first, which criteria distinguish the "prepositional accusative" from the "dative", and, second, why does Spanish allow at all this kind of syncretism? Whereas in (8) the verb *afectar* ('to affect') is clearly transitive (the NP *su vida* is not prepositional), in (9) the same verb *afectar* takes a complement introduced by the preposition *a* (*a la intensidad*), so that the difference between accusative and dative is no longer clear:

(8) *[...] quien lo [= el proceso de la creación novelesca] realiza es un individuo, a partir de experiencias que han afectado su vida de manera negativa y profunda.* (M. Vargas Llosa)
[...] the-one-who it [= the process of the novelistic creation] realizes is an individual, starting from experiences which have affected **his life** in a negative and profound way
'[...] the one who realizes it [= the process of the novelistic creation] is an individual, starting from experiences which have affected his life negatively and profoundly.'

(9) *La adopción de sanciones económicas por parte de la CE [...] no afectó a la intensidad de los combates.* (*El País*)

The adoption of economical sanctions by the European Community [...] did not affect **to the intensity** of the fights
'The adoption of economical sanctions by the European Community [...] did not affect the intensity of the fights.'

At the level of the clitics, the dative form *le(s)* does not automatically signal the dative function either, since Spanish has known since the earliest days a tendency to alter the etymological clitic system for reasons generally considered to be morphological and semantic in nature. So, *le* can be used instead of the masculine accusative *lo*. This phenomenon, called "leísmo" (cf. Roldán 1975) should, according to the norm, be restricted to the masculine singular, but one also finds more than sporadic occurrences of *le* for *la*, the feminine accusative and usage of *les* for *los* – less so for *las* – is not at all exceptional, certainly not in the language spoken in the central part of Spain.

To add to the confusion, the switch goes also the other way around: instead of the dative form *le* the feminine accusative *la* can appear, and exceptionally even the masculine accusative *lo*. The former substitution is known as "laísmo", the latter as "loísmo". Both are condemned by the norm and their use does not seem to extend outside the informal speech of the central peninsular area.[6] The very existence, however, of this potential 'deviation' adds to the aforementioned more central syncretisms.

In this paper we will try to describe, first, the principal intricacies of the use of the prepositional accusative (section 2) and of the clitic *le(s)* (section 3), in order to uncover the elements which belong to the intersection between dative and accusative and the factors that account for the existence of the dative/accusative syncretism. We will then try to sketch a typology of Spanish datives (section 4).

2. *a* NP: prepositional accusative vs dative

2.1. The "rule"

Most grammars of Spanish[7] propose the following rule: the preposition *a* not only serves to introduce the indirect object, but also obligatorily precedes the direct object when it has an animate and individualized referent. The rule thus applies to (10), but not to (11), and accounts for the difference in meaning between (12a, b) and (13a, b):

(10) a. **Veo la niña.*
(I-) see the girl
'I see the girl.'

b. *Veo a la niña.*
(I-) see to the girl
'I see the girl.'

(11) a. *Veo la casa.*
(I-) see the house
'I see the house.'

b. **Veo a la casa.*
(I-) see to the house
'I see the house.'

(12) a. *Buscamos un médico.*
(We-) search a doctor
'We are looking for a doctor (no matter whom).'

b. *Buscamos a un médico.*
(We-) search to a doctor
'We are looking for a doctor (a particular one).'

(13) a. *Perdió su hijo.*
(He/she-) lost his/her son
'He/she lost his/her son.'

b. *Perdió a su hijo.*
(He/she-) lost to his/her son
'He/she ruined his/her son.'

In addition to the general rule, most grammars state that inanimate NP's can occasionally appear as prepositional accusatives in a number of cases:

– when there is a "personification" of the object, e.g.:

(14) *Hemos de matar en los gigantes a la soberbia.* (*Don Quijote*)
(We-) have to kill in the giants to the arrogance
'We have to kill the arrogance in the giants.'

(15) *El Presidente de la Républica de Italia ha sorprendido a la opinión pública [...].* (*El País*)
The President of the Republic of Italy has surprised to the public opinion [...]
'The President of the Republic of Italy has surprised public opinion [...].'

– when the verb expresses a sequence of events, as with *preceder* ('to precede'), *seguir* ('to follow'), *suceder* ('to succeed'), etc., e.g.:

(16) *La primavera sigue al invierno.*
The spring follows to the winter
'Spring follows winter.'

– with "denominative" verbs, e.g.:

(17) *Llaman incunables a los volúmenes anteriores a 1550.* (A. Reyes)
(They-) call incunabula to the volumes anterior to 1550
'The volumes which are anterior to 1550 are called incunabula.'

– in all those cases where a confusion between subject and object can arise, due to the (relatively) free word order in Spanish, e.g.:

(18) a. *El entusiasmo vence a la dificultad.* (Esbozo 1973:3.7.3)
The enthusiasm defeats to the difficulty
'Enthusiasm defeats the difficulty.'

b. *La dificultad vence al entusiasmo.*
The difficulty defeats to the enthusiasm
'The difficulty defeats enthusiasm.'

As the absence vs presence of the preposition *a* does not allow one to distinguish accusatives from datives, the Academy proposes to passivize the sentence in order to determine whether *a NP* is a direct or an indirect object, as only direct objects can become subjects of periphrastic passive constructions (*ser* + past participle):

(19) a. *Vi a Juan.*
(I-) saw to John
'I saw John.'

b. *Juan fue visto.*
'John was seen.'

(20) a. *Escribí a Juan.*
(I-) wrote to John
'I wrote to John.'

b. **Juan fue escrito.*
'John was written.'

However, the passive test is not generalizable to all cases since several transitive verbs do not have passives (cf. Lamiroy 1993), as is shown by (21a, b):

(21) a. *Este problema concierne a todos los estudiantes.*
This problem concerns to all the students
'This problem concerns all the students.'

b. **Todos los estudiantes están/son concernidos por este problema.*
'All the students are concerned by this problem.'

Another test, which seems more reliable to us and which we have actually applied in our typological sketch of dative NP's (cf. section 4), is the following:

(22) only those *a NP* complements which can be cliticized by a pronoun *la* which cannot be replaced by *le* are accusatives.[8]

According to this principle, verbs such as *hundir* ('to depress', lit. 'to sink') take an accusative *a NP*, whereas semantically related verbs, such as *deprimir* ('to depress'), take, according to the same test, a dative *a NP* complement:

(23) *Que Pepe dijera esto hundió a Eva.*
That Pete said that depressed to Eve
'That Pete said that depressed Eve.'

*Que Pepe dijera esto la/*le hundió.*
That Pete said that her/*to her depressed
'That Pete said that depressed her.'

(24) *Que Pepe dijera esto deprimió a Eva.*
That Pete said that depressed to Eve
'That Pete said that depressed Eve.'

*Que Pepe dijera esto le/*la deprimió.*
That Pete said that to her/*her depressed
'That Pete said that depressed her.'

2.2. Exceptions to the rule

What traditional grammar lists as "special" cases of the prepositional accusative rule is in fact not limited to the conditions just stated (cf. also King 1984). The following data show not only the instability of the normative rule, but also suggest that the expansion of *a*, the use of which clearly increased in contrast with earlier usage,[9] is still in progress.

Firstly, the personification-of-the-object hypothesis seems farfetched in many cases in which inanimate NP's take the preposition, e.g.:

(25) a. *La mantequilla ha de acompañar a la carne mejor que el aceite.* (Alcina Franch & Blecua 1975:863)
The butter has to accompany to the meat better than the oil
'Butter combines better with meat than oil.'

b. *Ha desaparecido el triunfalismo que lleva a gran parte de la población de Belgrado a festejar a los carros de combate que partían hacia Croacia.* (*El País*)
Has disappeared the triumphalism which moves to a big part of the population of Belgrado to celebrate to the tanks which left for Croatia
'The triumphalism which moves a big part of the population of Belgrado to celebrate the tanks which left for Croatia, has disappeared.'

The instability of the prepositional accusative is also revealed by contradictory examples such as the following:

(26) *Usted no ama a los niños. La anciana ama los niños.* (Fish 1967:82)
You not love to the children. The old woman loves the children
'You do not love the children. The old woman loves the children.'

(27) *No doy mi hija a un ladrón. Doy a mi hija a un hombre honrado.* (ibidem)
(I-) not give my daughter to a thief. I give to my daughter to a honourable man
'I do not give my daughter to a thief. I give my daughter to a honourable man.'

Furthermore, the preposition should, according to traditional grammar, be omitted when the clause contains another PP which is also introduced by *a*

(Esbozo 1973:3.4.6., 2.b.c.d.):

(28) *Prefiero Juan/*a Juan a Luisa.*
(I-) prefer John/*to John to Liza
'I prefer John to Liza.'

However, the grammar of the Academy itself notes that it is more a recommendation for the sake of clarity than a rule, and in fact the immediate repetition of *a* is not at all prohibited, as is shown by examples such as:

(29) *¡Allí se daría orden de llevar a Dorotea a sus padres*! (*Don Quijote*)
There REFL 3SG would be given order to bring to Dorothea to her parents!
'There the order would be given to bring Dorothea to her parents!'

Finally, the fuzziness of the normative rule appears when one has a closer look at psych-verbs. Psych-verbs, e.g. *alegrar* ('to cheer up'), *entristecer* ('to sadden'), *fascinar* ('to fascinate'), etc. can be defined as follows: they take an inanimate or human subject NP which brings about a positive or negative psychological reaction in a usually human object NP. Psych-verbs constitute a homogeneous class from a semantic and distributional point of view. Their syntactic heterogeneity with respect to dative vs accusative complements is therefore all the more striking.

We would like to point out three facts here. First, although all the verbs of this class subcategorize for *a* +human NP complement, not all verbs cliticize this *a NP* as *le*, as is shown by the already cited examples (23) and (24).

Second, certain psych-verbs (e.g. *agradar* 'to please', *cansar* 'to annoy', *contentar* 'to satisfy', *contrariar* 'to bother', *disgustar* 'to disgust', *desagradar* 'to displease', *perjudicar* 'to harm') can take both the accusative form *la* and the dative form *le*, according to dialectal or idiolectal differences. Thus the verb *agradar*, for example, is described as a transitive verb by the Dictionary of the Academy, but as an intransitive one by Salvá and Cuervo. Certain grammarians (Cuervo 1893, vol. II:950, Cano 1981:338) claim that the difference between dative and accusative complement hinges on a more stative vs a more dynamic meaning of the verb, the accusative complement being more directly affected by the process than the dative. It should be noted that with certain verbs, such as *admirar* ('to admire') or *repeler* ('to repel'), the accusative-dative alternation yields a real semantic contrast:

(30) a. *A Eva le admira el dativo.*
To Eve to-her admires the dative
'The dative surprises Eve.'

b. *Pepe admira a Eva.*
Pete admires to Eve
'Pete admires Eve.'

*Pepe la/*le admira.*
Pete her/*to-her admires
'Pete admires her.'

Note that (30b) can be passivized, whereas (30a) cannot.

Finally, Cuervo (1886, vol. I:257) observed that the prepositional accusative is subject to diachronic evolution; interestingly, he gives an example with a psych-verb (*descontentar*, 'to displease'). According to Cuervo, the object *lo* would nowadays be replaced by *le*:

(31) *Es huésped limpísimo y no es bien darle cosa que lo descontente.*
(He-) is guest very clean and (it-) not is good give to-him something which him displeases
'He is a very clean guest and it is not good to give him something which does not please him.'

3. Clitics

3.1. Leísmo

As mentioned earlier, the dative clitics *le/les* are enabled to function as an equivalent to *lo/los*, the accusative form. The variation is dialectally and idiolectally determined and according to the Academy, it should be limited to the singular +masculine +animate direct object NP:[10]

(32) a. *Conozco a Juan.*
(I-) know to John
'I know John.'

b. *Lo/le conozco.*
(I-) know him/to him
'I know him.'

It is not rare, however, to find examples with plural NP's (33). Similarly, the cases of leism for inanimate (34) or feminine NP's (35) are far from exceptional:

(33) *Además, es probable que me faltara a mí la habilidad literaria indispensable para referirme a España y a los españoles sacándoles del contexto de* [...]. (Francisco Ayala)
Moreover, (it-) is likely that (to-)me lacks to me the skill literary indispensable for-to refer-myself to Spain and to the Spaniards taking-to-them out of the context of [...]
'Moreover, it is likely that I lack the literary skill indispensable for referring to Spain and to the Spaniards taking them out of the context of [...].

(34) *Plegue a Dios que mis ojos le vean antes que les (= los ojos) cubra la sombra de la eterna noche.* (Cervantes)
(May it) please to God that my eyes to-him see before to-them (= the eyes) covers the darkness of the eternal night
'May it please God that my eyes see him before the darkness of the eternal night closes them.'

(35) *Los caballeros de aquel país no pueden coger dulcemente a una dama para ayudarle a cruzar la calle.* (Cela)
The gentlemen of that country not may take sweetly to a lady in-order-to help-to-her to cross the street.
'The gentlemen of that country may not take a lady gently by the hand in order to help her cross the street.'

The study of the *leísmo* phenomenon in a corpus of 100.000 words (De Kock, Gomez Molina & Delbecque 1990) led to the following conclusions:

(1) when a person or a collectivity is designated, its frequency goes up to 33%, against only 3% for inanimate object-referents; animacy is thus relevant.
(2) the difference between the relative frequency of *leísmo* with masculine and feminine forms is situated between 17% and 4%; the most commonly invoked reason for the fact that the masculine is more affected by *leísmo* than the feminine is the homonymy of the masculine *lo* with the neuter *lo*. So, to avoid one type of confusion, it looks very much as if Spanish has, in fact, incurred a still bigger confusion: that between accusative and dative.
(3) as for the criterion of number, the proportions for singular and plural appear to be in equilibrium, with even a slightly higher number on the side of the plurals: 8,2% singular for 9% plural. The restriction to the singular imposed by the grammar of the Academy is thus clearly overtaken by the data.[11]

Since the first two traditional criteria – masculine form and animate reference – seem to favour *leísmo* but are far from necessary conditions and cannot really have explanatory value, it is necessary to look for other factors both at the syntactic and at the semantic level.

Let us point out the following facts. First, there seems to be a quantitatively significant correlation between the presence of *le* and the presence of *a*: in the above mentioned corpus, not one example was found with the clitic *le* reduplicating a complement without *a*.[12] Furthermore, when there is reduplication by an object pronoun of the complement introduced by the preposition *a*, there are ten cases with *le* for five with *lo*. In the singular alone, the difference is one of eight times *le* to two *lo*.

The above mentioned facts point towards the following hypothesis: the reasons for using *le* are basically the same as those for turning to the prepositional accusative. In both cases, the relation instaured between the subject and the object by means of the verb acquires a "personal" character, i.e. the referent of the indirect complement expressed by *a NP* or *le* receives a salient position in the event structure, much more so than the accusative *lo*, which instantiates a patient-like type of involvement. The need to open such an access to a salient position in the actantial configuration may well be the *raison d'être* of both *leísmo* and *a de acusativo*. The use of these forms makes the opposition between accusative and dative fade away and creates an intermediate area in which the event structure is tuned on an animate participant which is conceived of as the most relevant one, without being the agent. Evidence for our hypothesis can be drawn from the following facts.

First, the cooccurrence of the two phenomena, *le(s)* and *a NP* is particularly striking in passive (or impersonal) pronominalized third-person singular constructions, i.e. in constructions without a grammatical subject: six times *le* for two times *lo/la* in the corpus. In the singular the difference is even higher: five to one.

It is as if the absence of a grammatical subject enhances the relevance of

the usually second participant which "takes over", so to say, the dominant role usually associated with the subject. Interestingly, the tendency is predominant regardless of the type of referent and of the presence of *a NP* in the sentence, as shown by (37), where *le* = *el lenguaje cratiliano*:

(36) *[...] al artista se le mirará como el sospechoso disidente*, [...]. (Salinas)
[...] to the artist REFL 3SG to-him will look as the suspect dissident
'[...] the artist (he) will be looked upon as the suspect dissident.'

(37) *el lenguaje cratiliano se resiente cuando se le quiere mecer en cunas que no le son peculiares* [...]. (Cela)
the language cratilian REFL 3SG suffers when REFL 3SG to-it wants(-to) rock in cradles which not to it are proper
'the Cratilian language suffers when one wants to rock it in cradles which are not proper to it.'

Another syntactic frame which favors the use of the clitic *le* is the causative construction: the data consulted contains twice as many examples with *le* than with *lo*. One of the properties of causative verbs is that the object of the verb designates the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive,[13] so that the hypothesis which we suggested earlier seems to find further evidence here: once more, the event structure puts forward a participant which, in the absence of a phonetically realized subject (viz. of the infinitive), is marked as the most relevant one, i.e. as dative rather than as accusative. Contrary to what happens in the *se*-construction, however, the referent of *le* and/or *a NP* is no longer patient of the whole process, but is usually patient of the causative verb *and* agent of the infinitive.

The fact that the object of a causative verb oscillates between the function of accusative and dative,[14] may be an indication of the low relevance of the function classes as traditionally defined for Spanish. What crucially distinguishes *le* from *lo* is that the degree of agentivity with respect to the infinitive seems to be reinforced by the choice of *le*. Note that the same mechanism seems to be at work in the marginal cases in which the complement has an inanimate referent: the choice of *le* causes an interpretative gliding in the direction of an active participant;[15] with *lo* such a reading is not available, as can be derived from the comparison between (38) and (39):

(38) *Una disciplina infusa y amorfa [...] se ha irrogado en los diccionarios una función [...] que le [= la disciplina] ha llevado a repartir patentes y ejercer vetos con notorio peligro para la lengua misma.* (Cela)
A discipline innate and amorphous REFL has assumed in the dictionaries a function which to-it (= the discipline) has led to distribute licenses and exert vetoes with notorious danger for the language itself
'An innate and amorphous discipline assumes in the dictionaries a function which has led it to distribute licenses and to exert vetoes with notorious danger for the language itself.'

(39) *Porque él (Salvador Dalí) [...] empuñó el fiero león del superrealismo por las oníricas melenas, y lo trajo a rendirse sumisamente.* (Salinas)
Since he (Salvador Dalí) grasped the fierce lion of the surrealism by the dreamlike mane and it (he-)brought to surrender submittedly
'Since he (Salvador Dalí) grasped the fierce lion of surrealism by the dreamlike mane and brought it to surrender submittedly.'

The ease with which the accusatives, inanimates as well as animates, are introduced by *a* or expressed by *le(s)* in the two frames which have been under discussion here (passive pronominal and causative constructions) strenghtens the idea that the potential conceptualization of an NP as active entity intervening in the coming about of an event triggers *a/le* whenever the speaker chooses this mental orientation. This consideration might well be at the core of the dative concept.

3.2. Laísmo

In order to find out whether a complement is direct or indirect one could, in principle, start off from the feminine form *la*: supposing that *la* can not be replaced by *le*, it would signal transitive use. This criterion cannot be applied, however, since the dative *le* which refers to a feminine NP, currently gets substituted by the accusative *la* in some regions.[16] *Laísmo* thus penetrates the realm of the dative *le* as a compensation for *le* being used instead of the accusative:[17]

(40) a. *Le/la dije que vendría.*
to-her/her (I-) told that (I-) would come
'I told her that I would come.'

b. *Le/la escribí.*
to-her/her (I-) wrote
'I wrote her.'

Inspite of its marginal character, it cannot be negated as a mechanism which is available and complementary to the *leísmo*. As such, it obliges us to admit that encountering the form *la* does not necessarily represent a true guarantee that an accusative is being used. As marker of an 'authentic' accusative we can thus only retain a *la* form which in no way is susceptible to being substituted by a *le* form.

3.3. Conclusion

The traditional view takes for granted that the dative-accusative distinction as inherited from Latin still holds for modern Spanish. However, the preceding sections illustrate that datives and prepositional accusatives are far less easy to distinguish than is generally being thought (and taught). As the morphosyntactic features alone do not satisfactorily explain the alternative *lo(s)/le(s)*, which appears with the same verbs without it being clear to the average native speaker why he opts for *lo(s)* now for *le(s)* then (while at the same time being pretty sure he is successful in either choice[18]), there seem to be broader semantic-cognitive criteria involved. It begs the question whether it is a loss of casual distinction which is occurring in Spanish, or whether it is rather a remodelling of the grammatical relations in terms of other features (cf. García 1975). The principle underlying the use of the dative seems to be the following: it stands for a person or a thing *interested* in the event, 'interested in' here broadly meaning either 'gaining from' or 'losing by' an event. In the following section we will try to account for the different types of interest or involvement rendered by the dative *le/a NP* complement.

4. Typology

From the preceding sections it follows that the dative forms can be defined as [*a NP*] proportional with the clitic *le(s)* at the exclusion of *lo(s)/la(s)*. The typological categorization of the dative provides the following information: (1) a representative sample of verbs, (2) example sentences, (3) a schematic semantic characterization, (4) the relevant distributional properties.

Two preliminary remarks are in order here. First, the distributional properties retained as characteristic for each type of dative represent the unmarked pattern and do not preclude deviations which are lexically motivated or follow from metaphorization. For example, transitive motion verbs usually take human subjects (class III) and inanimate direct objects, but when used metaphorically, the reverse distribution appears, e.g.:

(41) a. *Juan llevó el coche al taller.*
'John brought the car to the workshop.'

b. *Esto lleva a Juan a la depresión.*
This brings to John to the depression
'This depresses John.'

Second, it is normal for verbs to be polysemous and to have different constructional possibilities; some can, therefore, be listed in more than one set, e.g. *comunicar* 'to communicate':

(42) a. *Juan me comunicó que el congreso no tendriá lugar* (class II).
'John communicated me that the congress would not take place.'

b. *Juan comunicó su entusiasmo a todo el grupo* (class IV).
'John communicated his enthusiasm to the whole group.'

Following scholars such as García (1975) and Vázquez Rozas (1988), we will draw an important distinction between actantial and non-actantial datives. The latter are unusually frequent in Spanish, as was already pointed out by García (1975). It should be noted that the dative differs from the grammatical subject (or nominative) and direct object (or accusative) in that the latter always are actantial complements, whereas the dative can belong to the valency of the verb (fulfilling the function of 'indirect object complement') or not. This is probably one of the reasons why datives can express a great variety of different meanings, more so than subjects and objects. They share the latter property with adjuncts which are also part of the valency of the verb in certain cases while not in others.

The most basic distinction in the typology sketched below is thus that between the uses of *le/aNP* with actantial value and those without. Whereas the former correspond to the representation of the given state or event, the latter are added to the construction, thus contributing to its semantic structure without being part of the realization of the verb valency. This definition does

not imply that an actantial complement should be necessarily expressed; different degrees of omissibility could be distinguished according to the event structure usually associated with the particular verb used[19] and according to the recoverability from the pragmatic context. What matters is that the type of complement, overtly present or not, is predictable from the intertwining of the syntactic frame and the semantic category of the verb.

The survey is subdivided according to the syntactic structure in which the dative is integrated: (1) transitive, (2) intransitive, and (3) pronominalized[20] verb frames. Each of these is further subdivided in parallel syntactic and semantic classes which are on a gradient which goes from events situated in the spatial domain to those referring to abstract domains and, accordingly, from animate datives to abstract ones. Unlike the others, class V is not triggered by the semantics of the verb but by the relationship of inalienable possession holding between two central participants; this possessive dative appears in all of the three syntactic structure types.

4.1. Actantial datives

4.1.1. Transitive structures

The three-place predicate, embodied in the double object construction, represents the most extended valency structure. This pattern is instantiated by a large number of verbs and allows all possible combinations, from the most concrete to the most abstract verbal and nominal concepts. The central notion conveyed by the transitive structures is that of transfer. According to the constraints on the semantic categorization of the verb and the arguments involved, four types of semantic frames can be distinguished, which quite naturally group around related schematic meanings: (1) material transfer, (2) verbal and perceptual transfer, (3) physical motion, (4) abstract motion.

In the notation system used below, N_0 represents the grammatical subject of the active voice, N_1 the accusative (or direct object complement) of a transitive verb or the grammatical subject of an intransitive verb or pronominally (i.e. intransitively) conjugated transitive one; N_2 represents the dative, 3p-V the third person of the verb.

4.1.1.1. Group I: MATERIAL TRANSFER

The prototype verb is *dar* ('to give').
Verbs such as the following can be grouped in this class.

aportar ('to bring')
dar ('to give')
entregar ('to hand')
inyectar ('to inject')
obsequiar ('to present')
pagar ('to pay')
regalar ('to give')
transferir ('to transfer')
vender ('to sell')
atribuir ('to attribute')
dejar ('to let')
enviar ('to send')
legar ('to bequeath')
ofrecer ('to offer')
prestar ('to lend')
restituir ('to restitute')
transmitir ('to transmit')
etc.
confiar ('to confide')
devolver ('to give back')
infligir ('to offer')
mandar ('to send')
otorgar ('to attribute')
proporcionar ('to provide')
servir ('to serve')
valer ('to earn')

They are illustrated by the examples in (43):

(43) a. *Eva le dio un libro a Pepe.*
Eve to-him gave a book to Pete
'Eve gave a book to Pete.'

b. *Los traidores entregaron a los presos al enemigo.*
The traitors handed to the prisoners to the enemy
'The traitors handed the prisoners over to the enemy.'

c. *El dativo le da jaquecas a Eva.*
The dative to-her gives headaches to Eve
'The dative gives Eve headaches.'

d. *Legó todos sus objetos de arte al museo.*
He bequeathed all his objects of art to the museum
'He bequeathed all his art objects to the museum.'

When the verbal concept conveys the notion of MATERIAL TRANSFER, or its metonymic analog, the relationship between the participants can be characterized as follows: N_0 makes N_1 enter the domain of N_2. The verb DAR ('to give'), the most salient of this group, can be considered as the prototype, since it is directly analyzable as 'to make arrive'.

Reversely, instead of entering, N_1 can be made to leave the domain of N_2. The reverse construal is prototypically expressed by the verb QUITAR ('to take away'). The following verbs can be used in this way:

ahorrar ('to spare')
comprar ('to buy')
evitar ('to avoid')
quitar ('to remove')
suprimir ('to suppress')
arrancar ('to remove')
confiscar ('to confiscate')
hurtar ('to rob')
robar ('to rob')
sustraer ('to substract')
arrebatar ('to strike off')
cortar ('to cut')
pedir ('to require')
sonsacar ('to rigle')
tomar ('to take'), etc.

Examples are:

(44) a. *A los padres indignos les quitaron la custodia del niño.*
To the parents unworthy to-them (they-) took away the custody of the child
'They took away the custody of the child from the unworthy parents.'

b. *La intervención del abogado le evitó la cárcel.*
The intervention of the lawyer to-him avoided the jail
'The intervention of the lawyer spared him jail.'

c. *A la anciana le robaron todos sus ahorros.*
To the old woman to-her (they-) robbed all her savings
'They robbed all the old woman's savings.'

The distributional properties which characterize this class can be summarized as follows: [+ANIMATE] N_0 + V + [-ANIMATE] N_1 + *a* + [+ANIMATE] N_2. Metonymic and metaphorical extensions can operate at different levels. Instead of being concrete, N_1 can refer to intangible entities, e.g. (43c) and (44a). The usually animate N_0 and N_2 can denote an institution, e.g. N_2 in (43d). As a departure from the default option, N_0 can be inanimate, e.g. (43c), N_1 animate, e.g. (43b) and N_2 inanimate, e.g. (43d). Even in the latter case, N_2 cliticizes as *le*. The generally inanimate N_1 is not currently expressed as *que-P*, since it primarily denotes material objects.[21]

4.1.1.2. Group II: VERBAL and PERCEPTUAL TRANSFER

The prototype verb is *decir* ('to say').

A first extension maps the foregoing semantic frame on the verbal and perceptual domain. This is typically the case with communication verbs, such as,

aclarar ('to explain')
asegurar ('to assure')
confesar ('to confess')
contar ('to tell')
decir ('to say')
enseñar ('to show')
exponer ('to expose')
implorar ('to implore')
mandar ('to order')
narrar ('to tell')
ofrecer ('to offer')
aconsejar ('to advise')
avisar ('to warn')
confiar ('to trust')
contestar ('to answer')
demostrar ('to demonstrate')
escribir ('to write')
garantizar ('to guarantee')
inculcar ('to inculcate')
manifestar ('to manifest')
notificar ('to notify')
pedir ('to beg')
anunciar ('to announce')
comunicar ('to communicate')
conceder ('to concede')
declarar ('to declare')
dictar ('to dictate')
explicar ('to explain')
gritar ('to shout')
jurar ('to swear')
marcar ('to mark')
objetar ('to object')
prescribir (to prescribe')
probar ('to prove')
recordar ('to remind')
reprochar ('to reproach')
solicitar ('to solicit')
telefonear ('to call')
prometer ('to promise')
repetir ('to repeat')
revelar ('to reveal')
sugerir (to suggest')
transmitir ('to transmit'),
recomendar ('to recommend')
replicar ('to reply')
rogar ('to ask')
suplicar ('to supplicate')
etc.

In some cases, the transfer need not be verbal, but can be perceptual, viz. with *indicar* ('to indicate'), *mostrar* ('to show'), *señalar* ('to signal'), etc. and the reverse *esconder/ocultar* ('to hide'), e.g. (45c) and (45d).

(45) a. *Eva le dijo a Pepe que era un cantamañanas.*
Eve to-him said to Pete that (he-) was an idler
'Eve said to Pete that he was an idler.'

b. *Juana confió su secreto al sacerdote.*
'Joan confided her secret to the priest.'

c. *Juan enseñó la ciudad a un grupo de turistas alemanes.*
'John showed the town to a group of German tourists.'

d. *Ya me está repasando su vídeo por décima vez.*
Already to-me (he-) is showing his video for tenth time
'He is already showing me his video for the tenth time.'

N_0 still makes N_1 enter the domain of N_2, in the sense that N_0 makes N_1 perceptually accessible to N_2 through the transmission of oral or visual information. The instantiation of the positive transfer construal (schema I) which obtains via mapping on the verbal domain, depicts N_1 as included in the (mental) domain of N_0, e.g. (45a) and (45b). The verb DECIR ('to say') can be chosen as prototype, because it is the most salient verb of this class, although it is less polyvalent than, e.g. INDICAR, which expresses both DECIR ('to say') and MOSTRAR ('to show').

In syntactico-semantic terms, the sentence structure can be characterized as follows: [ANIMATE] N_0 + V + [-ANIMATE] N_1 + *a* + [ANIMATE] N_2. With this verb class the animacy constraints are fully operational; N_2 cliticizes as *le*; since N_1 can have a propositional content, it is expressible as subordinate clause (*que-P*).

4.1.1.3. Group III: PHYSICAL MOTION

The prototype verb is *llevar* ('to bring').

Another extension of the basic TRANSFER schema integrates the concept of MOTION. This is seen in verbs such as

acercar ('to bring close(r)')
añadir ('to add')
aproximar ('to bring close(r)')
conducir ('to lead')
lanzar ('to throw')
poner ('to put')
tirar ('to fling')
agregar ('to aggregate')
aportar ('to bring')
atribuir ('to attribute')
echar ('to cast')
llevar ('to bring')
superponer ('to superimpose')
traer ('to bring')

Examples are:

(46) a. *Llevaron a Juan al médico.*
They brought to John to the doctor
'They took John to the doctor.'

b. *A Luisa le pusieron una inyección.*
To Louise to-her (they-) put an injection
'They gave Louise an injection.'

c. *A la salsa le agregamos un poco de coñac.*
To the gravy to-it (we-) add a bit of cognac
'We add a bit of cognac to the gravy.'

d. *Juan le aportó mucho a la empresa.*
John to-it contributed a lot to the enterprise
'John contributed a lot to the enterprise.'

e. *(A María) esta situación la lleva a la desesperación/a desesperar.*
(To Mary) this situation her brings to desperation/to despair
'This situation brings Mary to desperation/to despair.'

PHYSICAL MOTION defines the present event-structure: N_0 makes N_1 move so as to bring N_1 in the realm of N_2. It is prototypically expressed by the verb *llevar* ('to bring, to make move') and yields a locative interpretation of N_2. As far as N_1 and N_2 are concerned, the animacy constraints, as observed above, are relaxed: e.g. (46a) has an animate N_1, (46c), (46d) and (46e) an inanimate N_2. The distributional properties can be stated as follows: [ANIMATE] N_0 + V + (*a*) + [±ANIMATE] N_1 + *a* + [±ANIMATE] N_2. An animate N_1 does not alter the agent-patient relationship between N_0 and N_1, which is typical of the transfer construal. As for N_2, on the one hand, its locative reading does not prevent it from cliticizing as *le*, even when it is inanimate, e.g.

(46c) and (46d). On the other hand, the fact that N_2, unlike N_1, can have a propositional content, expressed as subordinate clause (infinitive or *que-P*), further testifies to the less prototypical character of this dative. When, in turn, N_0 is inanimate, the construction stands at the periphery of the dative construal, e.g. (46e).

4.1.1.4. Group IV: ABSTRACT MOTION

The prototype verb is *someter* ('to submit').

Quite a few transitive verbs[22] convey a conceptual image which is still akin to that of transfer, but departs from it in that the motion expressed is abstract, e.g.[23]

aclimatar ('to adapt')
afectar ('to affect')
anexar ('to annex')
aportar ('to bring')
atar ('to bind')
comunicar ('to communicate')
destinar ('to destine')
imputar ('to impute')
pegar ('to tie up')
remitir ('to refer)
someter ('to submit')
yuxtaponer ('to juxtapose')
acostumbrar ('to accustom')
afiliar ('to affiliate')
añadir ('to add')
asignar ('to assign')
atribuir ('to attribute')
consagrar ('to devote')
extender ('to extend')
ofrecer ('to offer')
reconocer ('to recognize')
reservar ('to reserve')
subordinar ('to subordinate')
adaptar ('to adapt')
agregar ('to aggregate')
aplicar ('to apply')
asociar ('to associate')
conferir ('to confer)
dedicar ('to dedicate')
imprimir ('to (im)print')
oponer ('to oppose')
referir ('to refer')
sensibilizar ('to sensibilize')
transmitir ('to transmit')

Examples are:

(47) a. *Esta operación asocia la empresa a una banca europea.*
This operation associates the entreprise to a bank European
'This operation associates the entreprise with a European bank.'

b. *Juan imputaba la actitud de María a su infancia infeliz.*
'John attributed the attitude of Mary to her unhappy childhood.'

c. *La madre acostumbró a los niños a que el padre no estuviera a menudo en casa.*
The mother accustomed to the children to that the father not was often at home
'The mother accustomed the children to the fact that the father was not often home.'

N_1 is "moved" to the domain of N_2 through N_0: N_0 makes N_1 suitable for entering the realm of N_2. The association or correspondence thus established between N_1 and N_2 can be metaphorically understood in terms of mental motion and prototypically rendered by the verb *someter* ('to submit'). The proximity between N_1 and N_2 is, at best, implied: it is not stated as is the case in the transfer meaning. As for N_0, it remains the source participant, but no direct action is implied, unlike with the "true" movement verbs (group III).[24]

The distributional properties are: [±ANIMATE] N_0 + V + (*a*) + [±ANIMATE] N_1 + *a* + [±ANIMATE] N_2. The animacy constraints are maximally relaxed: all participants, including N_2, can be inanimate, e.g. (47a) and (47b). Unlike with physical motion, N_2 does not receive a locative interpretation and can more easily take a propositional content, e.g. (47c).

4.1.1.5. The possessive dative

In three of the above mentioned classes, viz. I, III, IV, a special configuration obtains when an inclusion relationship holds between N_2 and N_1, because N_1 designates a body part (or, by metonymic extension, clothing and personal belongings).

(48) a. *Pepe le rompió el vestido a Eva.*
Pete to-her ripped the dress to Eve
'Pete ripped Eve's dress.'

b. *Las flores le adornan la frente a Eva.*
The flowers to-her adorn the forehead to Eve
'The flowers adorn Eve's forehead.'

c. *Su agresor le rajó la cara.*
His agressor to-him scarred the face
'His agressor scarred his face.'

The so-called possessive dative, or dativus sympatheticus, signals that an individual's identity is being touched indirectly, viz. by a local change imposed upon a physical aspect or personality trait: N_0 modifies N_1 which belongs to N_2. The schematic meaning conveyed regards the relationship between an animate object and an element which is conceived as an integral part of it. To the degree that the usually animate N_0 is conceived of as conscious, the action will be interpreted as volitional, unless the contrary is explicitated (e.g. by means of adverbials such as *involuntariamente/sin querer* 'unwillingly').

The distributional properties can be represented as follows: [±ANIMATE] N_0 + V + [pars corporis-N_2] N_1 + *a* + [ANIMATE] N_2. Not only is N_2 cliticizable, but the presence of the clitic pronoun (with or without a N_2) is required.

4.1.1.6. Summary

Through (1) material transfer, (2) verbal and perceptual transfer, (3) physical motion, (4) abstract motion, the invariant schematic meaning of attribution can be retained: the 'attributor' N_0 brings the 'attributed' N_1 in the domain of the 'attributee' N_2. The encompassing notion of attribution applies to the four variants of the transfer construal: it is crucial that N_0 be conceived as making N_1 enter the realm of N_2 for the latter to be analyzed as indirect object complement, the dative of the double object construction. The transitive dative construal is characterized by a cause-effect relationship.[25]

We want to draw attention upon a particular construction common to all of the above mentioned classes, viz. that of the reflexive, e.g. (49). Indeed, when N_2 and N_0 are coreferential, the attribution is "reflexive". Reflexive action is, by default, interpreted as volitional, unless N_0 is explicitly negated self-consciousness.

(49) a. *Eva se dio un tiempo de reflexión* (class I).
Eve IO REFL 3SG gave a time of reflection
'Eve gave herself some time for reflection.'

b. *Eva se dijo que no valía la pena* (class II).
Eve IO REFL 3SG said that not (it-) was worth the pain
'Eve said to herself that it was not worth it.'

c. *Eva se puso una inyección* (class III).
Eve IO REFL 3SG put an injection
'Eve gave herself an injection.'

d. *Eva se atribuyó todos los méritos* (class IV).
Eve IO REFL 3SG attributed all the merits
'Eve attributed all the merits to herself.'

The reflexive construction also holds with the possessive dative, viz., when a movement emanating from an animate referent involves a body part of the very same referent:[26] N_2 not only includes N_1 – as any possessive dative –, it also coincides with N_0.

(50) a. *Eva se rompió una pierna.*
Eve IO REFL 3SG broke a leg
'Eve broke her leg.'

b. *Eva se ajustó las gafas.*
Eve IO REFL 3SG adjusted the glasses
'Eve adjusted her glasses.'

The reflexive action is circulary or self-contained: only one domain is concerned, viz. that of the animate entity which is both source or attributer (N_1) and goal or attributee (N_2), part of it being focused upon as the affected or attributed object (N_1). The fact that N_0 is at the same time conceived of as agent and as patient explains the tendency to consider the action as volitional only when N_0 is seen as the "beneficiary", e.g. (50b); otherwise, i.e. when the action turns out at the disadvantage of N_0, the action will rather be considered accidental, e.g. (50a).

4.1.2. Intransitive structures

Basically, the two-place predicates of the type N_1 V *a* N_2 can be characterized as the realization of the same semantic relationships as the ones mentioned so far, but in a stative perspective. The latter perspective is due to the absence of the source argument (N_0).

Three classes can be distinguished. They cluster around the notions of (1) interest, (2) physical motion, (3) psych-movement. As compared with the transitive construction frames, these groups form the intransitive analog of three of the four transitive construals, viz., respectively, (1) material transfer, (2) physical motion, (3) abstract motion.

4.1.2.1. Interest

The prototype verb is *obedecer* ('to obey').

Verbs such as the following can be grouped in the class which constitutes the intransitive counterpart of the transitive transfer class (cf. 4.1.1.1.):

(des)obedecer ('to (dis)obey')
resistir ('to resist')
servir ('to serve')
acceder ('to accede')
participar ('to participate')
renunciar ('to renounce'),
faltar ('to fail')
sonreír ('to smile')
pertenecer ('to pertain')
adherir ('to adhere')
proceder ('to proceed')
etc.
obedecer ('to obey')
parecerse ('to resemble')
sobrar ('to exceed')
acudir ('to have recourse')
colaborar ('to collaborate')

With verbs such as *faltar* ('to fail'), *(des)obedecer* ('to (dis)obey'), *resistir* ('to resist'), *sonreír* ('to smile'), etc., the usually animate N_1 is actively involved; hence, there are no restrictions on the person: the first and second person freely occur, e.g. (51a). With the prototypical verb *obedecer* ('to obey'), N_1 metaphorically "moves" into the domain of N_2.[27] When animate, N_2 is cliticizable and generally seen as the beneficiary, which corresponds to the so-called dative of interest.

The distributional properties can be summarized as follows: [±ANIMATE] N_1 + V + *a* + [±ANIMATE] N_2. Examples are:

(51) a. *Has faltado a tu deber.*
(You-) have failed to your duty
'You have failed in your duty.'

b. *La niña no sonríe ni siquiera a su madre.*
The girl not smiles not even to her mother
'The girl does not even smile at her mother.'

c. *Ya no adhiere nadie al partido comunista.*
Already not adheres nobody to the communist party
'Nobody adheres anymore to the communist party.'

d. *Colaboramos al proyecto con entusiasmo.*
(We-) collaborate to the project with enthusiasm
'We collaborate on the project enthusiastically.'

With some verbs, e.g. *acceder* ('to accede'), *acudir* ('to have recourse'), *adherir* ('to adhere'), *colaborar* ('to collaborate'), *participar* ('to participate'), *proceder* ('to proceed'), *renunciar* ('to renounce'), N_2 is not cliticizable, due to the resemblance the indirect complement bears to a locative complement, e.g.: *Juan acude a él* ('John has recourse to him'), ***Juan le acude.** Moreover, when the verb takes a inanimate N_2, the latter is never cliticizable, and constitutes a zone of intersection with the locatives. This subclass constitutes an exception to our formal definition as given at the beginning of our paper.

Notice that for some verbs of this class, only the third person is allowed: N_1 is usually inanimate and often has a propositional content, e.g. (52a), (52b), (52c):

PART I

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

atañer ('to concern')
caber ('to be incumbent, to fall on')
cuadrar ('to be convenient')
suceder ('to happen')
bastar ('to be sufficient')
convenir ('to convene')
equivaler ('to be equivalent')
tocar ('to be the turn')
competer ('to be incumbent')
concernir ('to concern')
incumbir ('to be incumbent')

(52) a. *A los huelguistas no les basta que se les suba el sueldo.*
To the strikers not to-them (it-) is enough that REFL 3SG to-them raises the salary
'For the strikers it is not sufficient that their salary be raised.'

b. *Te conviene marcharte.*
To-you (it-) is convenient to leave
'It is convenient for you to leave.'

c. *Me cabe el honor de anunciarle la gran noticia.*
To-me fits the honour of announcing to-him the big news
'I have the honour of announcing him the big news.'

This also holds for some other verbs of the present class, when used in a given context, e.g. *corresponder* in the sense of 'to be incumbent', or *faltar*, when it is used in the sense of 'to be lacking'. N_1 is expressible as *que-P* or as infinitive. When [animate], N_2 is always cliticizable, e.g. (52d):

(52) d. *Es probable que a mí me faltara la habilidad literaria indispensable.* (Ayala)
(It-) is probable that to me to-me lacks the hability literary indispensable
'I probably lack the indispensable literary hability.'

4.1.2.2. Physical motion

The prototype verb is *llegar* ('to reach').

Motion verbs can express approximation, contact or inclusion between N_1 and N_2. The N_2 domain is spatial in nature. Verbs of this class are:

alcanzar ('to attain')
escapar ('to escape')
subir ('to go up')
caber ('to be contained')
ir ('to go')
bajar ('to go down')
entrar ('to enter')
llegar ('to arrive')
venir ('to come')

This class obeys the following distributional properties: [±ANIMATE] N_1 + V + *a* + [+ANIMATE] N_2. N_1 is generally inanimate. Although clearly interpreted in locative terms, N_2 is always cliticizable. Metaphorization is possible, e.g. (53a).

(53) a. *Le entraron ganas de llorar*
To-him entered desires of crying
'He felt like crying.'

b. *El paquete me llegó ayer*
The parcel to-me arrived yesterday
'The parcel reached me yesterday.'

c. *La noticia les alcanzó tarde*
The news to-them reached late
'The news reached them late.'

4.1.2.3. Psych-movement

The prototype verb is *gustar* ('to please').
Other examples of this class are:

admirar ('to cause admiration')
alegrar ('to delight')
encantar ('to enchant')
molestar ('to disturb')
repugnar ('to repugnate')
tentar ('to tempt'),
(des)agradar ('to (dis)please')
complacer ('to please')
entristecer ('to sadden')
pesar ('to weigh')
satisfacer ('to satisfy')
etc.
disgustar ('to disgust')
doler ('to hurt')
importar ('to matter')
preocupar ('to preoccupy')
sonar ('to be familiar')

Following the prototypical *gustar* ('to please'), they take an animate N_2 and convey the idea that N_1 affects the mental, emotional domain of N_2. The distributional properties thus are: [±ANIMATE] N_1 + V + *a* + [ANIMATE] N_2. Often, N_1 is inanimate and expressed as subordinate clause, *que P* or infinitive, e.g. (54a), (54b). The animate N_2 is always cliticizable, e.g. (54a). Examples are:

(54) a. *Que Pepe diga eso le encanta/gusta/molesta a Eva.*
That Pete says this to-her delights/pleases/displeases to Eve
'Pete's saying this delights/pleases/displeases Eve.'

b. *Me duele/pesa no haberme disculpado*[28]
To-me (it-) hurts/bothers not to have apologized
'It hurts/bothers me that I did not apologize.'

c. *Mi tía me gusta.*
My aunt to-me pleases
'I like my aunt.'

4.1.2.4. The possessive dative

Unlike with transitive verbs, for which no systematic restrictions have been observed on the use of the possessive dative, with intransitive verbs the latter seems to be restricted to verbs which express a physical or emotional sensation. The prototypical *doler* ('to hurt') and verbs such as, e.g. *arder* ('to burn'), *picar* ('to itch'), establish an inalienable possession relationship between N_1 and N_2: [pars corporis] N_1 + 3p-V + *a* + [animate] N_2. N_2 is not only cliticizable, but the presence of the clitic pronoun (with or without *a NP*) is required. A subclass of verbs, e.g. *ir* ('to go'), *sentar* ('to fit'), *venir* ('to suit'), takes an adverbial or adjectival modifier to qualify the relationship between N_1 and N_2, e.g. (55d).

(55) a. *Le duele la cabeza.*
To-him aches the head
'His head aches.'

b. *Le arde la frente.*
To-him burns the forehead
'His forehead burns.'

c. *Le pica la nariz.*
To-him itches the nose
'His nose itches.'

d. *Le viene ancho el abrigo.*
To-him comes wide the coat
'The coat is too wide for him.'

4.2. The pronominal "se le" construction

Pronominalization of the verb has become the most current device for passivization in Spanish. When the *se*-passive structure takes a dative, there is always a clitic *le(s)* inserted in the verbal nucleus, hence our terminolgy: the "se le" construction. The latter construction is not limited to transitive verbs, but also allows construal of intransitive ones, as will be illustrated below.

As far as the actantial value of the dative is concerned, the "se le" construction apparently takes both actantial and non-actantial dative complements, as we will attempt to show. It therefore constitutes an intermediate category in our classification, between the actantial (4.1.) and the non-actantial complements (4.3.).

Since the "se le 3p-verb" frame presents the event as uncontrolled, the feature "+involuntary" can be assigned to the indirect object.[29] The dative clitic signals a potential agent whose responsibility is denied: he/she is involuntarily subjected to the event.[30]

This interpretation is corroborated by the findings of Berk-Seligson (1983),[31] according to whom this construction is used in order to avoid mentioning the agent and the active voice altogether. It, therefore, is especially suitable for "adverse situations", as illustrated, e.g. in (56).

(56) a. *Se le ocultó que su hijo no vendría a verle.*
REFL 3SG to-him was hidden that his son not would come to see him
'It was hidden from him that his son would not come to see him.

b. *Se le notificó su despedida.*
REFL 3SG to-him was notified his dismissal
'He was notified of his dismissal.'

The question arises whether this dative is to be considered actantial or not, since the "se le" construction is virtually open to nearly any verb. We thus have to determine which datives are triggered by the verb entry and which are not. In order to do so, we use the following test. If the non pronominal counterpart of the "se le" construction yields a grammatical sentence, then the dative is considered as actantial, otherwise it is not. According to this criterion, the datives of (56) are considered actantial, given the acceptability of the corresponding non pronominal construction with dative (57). Those of (58), however, are not considered actantial, in view of the ungrammaticalness of the non pronominal counterpart (59).

(57) a. *Le ocultó que su hijo no vendría a verle.*
'He hid from him that his son would not come to see him.'

b. *Le notificó su despedida.*
'He notified him of his dismissal.'

(58) a. *A cada cual se le agitan las neuronas de manera distinta.*
To everyone REFL 3PL to-him shuffle the neurons of way different
'Everyone's neurons shuffle in a different way.'

b. *Se le hunde el mundo.*
REFL 3SG to-him sinks the world
'His world is falling apart.'

(59) a. **A cada cual le agitan las neuronas de manera distinta.*
To everyone to-him shuffle the neurons in a different way

c. **Le hunde el mundo.*
To-him sinks the world

When such a correspondence relation holds between the "se le" construction and the active non pronominal counterpart, the dative receives the same actantial value as in the corresponding construction without *se*. The correspondence with the non pronominal construction can be established both for transitives and intransitives, as shown by (60) and (61), respectively:

(60) a. *No se le atribuye la menor competencia en este terreno.*
Not REFL 3SG to-him attributes the slightest competence in this field
'Not the slightest competence is attributed to him in this field.'

b. *Se le advirtió que se había cerrado el plazo.*
REFL 3SG to-him notified that REFL 3SG had closed the term
'He was notified that the term had been closed.'

(61) a. *Al Ministerio de Hacienda se le resistieron todos los sectores comerciantes.*
To the Ministry of Economy REFL 3PL to-it resisted all the sectors commercial
'All the commercial sectors resisted the Ministry of Economy.'

b. *Ahora se me vienen unos lectores circunstanciales.* (Unamuno)
Now REFL 3PL to-me come some readers circumstantial
'Now I am being approached by some circumstantial readers.'

The distributional pattern for the "se le" construction is: *se le* (=N_2) V [±ANIMATE] N_1 + *a* [animate] N_2. The clitic *le* designates the domain of the person on which the event expressed by V N_1 is being anchored.

The schematic meaning of the construal can be equated with the one expressed by the intransitive structures (section 4.1.2.), the only difference being that the dative is now marked for [+involuntariness]. That the interpretation of the clitic as [+involuntarily] involved person patterns with the *se*-construction is suggested by the contrast with the non pronominal counterpart (without dative), as shown in (62) vs (63):[32]

(62) *Se le perdió la carta.*
REFL 3SG to-him lost the letter
'The letter got lost on him.'

(63) *Perdió la carta.*
(He-) lost the letter
'He lost the letter.'

As with the actantial datives, there is a class of constructions in which N_1 is a pars corporis of N_2. This possessive dative conveys the following meaning: the modification of N_1, expressed by the verb, affects N_2 (since N_1 is a subpart of N_2), without N_2 having the capacity of intervening, e.g. (64).

(64) a. *Se le cae el pelo.*
REFL 3SG to-him falls the hair
'His hair falls out.'

b. *Se le salen los ojos de horror.*
REFL 3PL to-him come out the eyes of horror
'His eyes stare with awe.'

c. *Se le rompió el pantalón.*
REFL 3SG to-him broke the trousers
'His trousers were torn.'

As for the actantial vs non-actantial value of this possessive dative, Vázquez Rozas (1988:138) classifies examples like (65) as non-actantial. However, the same test as for the preceding examples (56-61) yields that the dative of (65a) parallels that of (66a), whereas (65b) does not have a non pronominal counterpart (66b). This suggests that the dative has actantial value in (65a), but not in (65b):

(65) a. *Se le clavó algo en el pie.*
REFL 3SG to-him nailed something in the foot
'Something got stuck in his foot.'

b. *Se le fue la mano.*
REFL 3SG to-him went the hand
'His hand went off on him.'

(66) a. *Le clavaron algo en el pie.*
To-him (they-) nailed something in the foot

b. **Le fue la mano.*
To-him went off the hand

According to the same syntactic correspondence principle, the datives of (67-68) cannot be considered actantial. Therefore, they are related to the so-called "ethical" datives, since the latter are, by definition, non-actantial, merely fulfilling an "expressive" function (cf. infra section 4.3.).

(67) a. *Se me paró el coche.*
REFL 3SG to-me stopped the car
'My car broke down.'

b. ?**Me paró el coche.*
To-me stopped the car

(68) a. *Se nos están pudriendo las manzanas.*
REFL 3PL to-us are rotting the apples
'The apples are going rotten (on us).'

b. **Nos están pudriendo las manzanas.*
To-us are rotting the apples

In conclusion, we consider that function and meaning of the dative of pronominal verbs are analogous to those of the dative of non pronominal verbs. This means that a dative which is actantial in a non pronominal construction remains actantial in the corresponding pronominal one, and that a dative which is non-actantial in a non pronominal construction, remains so in the corresponding pronominal one. In other words, when the "se le" construction frame applies to a verb which is not susceptible to taking a dative in the non pronominal construction, the dative automatically receives a non-actantial interpretation, which can be qualified as "expressive". The latter datives can in fact be grouped under the heading "ethical datives", which are dealt with hereafter.

4.3. The non-actantial dative

As we have just mentioned, the non-actantial dative has basically an expressive function and can therefore be termed as "expressive dative", traditionally called the "dativus ethicus".[33]

In colloquial speech, Spanish makes a very extended use of this dative. It is not part of the verb valency, is compatible with almost all verbs and can be added to any clause type. Its function is to ground the event structure in relation to the speech participants. This explains the high frequency of the first and second person. The involvement of the speech participants also explains why this dative is typical of spoken more than written language, and often appears in exhortative and exclamative utterances, reflecting intensive interaction. The whole event structure is being related to the person(s) designated by the ethical dative: it marks the concern of the speaker, the hearer, or both.[34]

In accordance with the distinctions made in the preceding sections, it is possible to distinguish two context types: (1) the expressive dative can be added to event structures which do not fit any of the prototypical transitive or intransitive schemata, or (2) it can be superimposed on a structure which already contains one of the actantial datives discussed above.

4.3.1. There is no other dative present

By definition, and in contrast with the actantial dative, the non-actantial dative does not obey any distributional constraint. The ethical dative can be inserted in any kind of construction, intransitive ones as well as transitive ones, e.g. (69a) vs (69b). The dative clitic marks the subjective involvement by relating the event to the person thus presented as highly interested in it. It is generally the speaker or the hearer, but not necessarily so, e.g. (69d). Usually, only the clitic form is used, but the expression of *a NP* seems possible, at least for contrastive purposes, e.g. (69e):

(69) a. *Esto me huele a estafa.*
This to-me smells to swindling
'This smells of swindling to me.'

b. ¡*No te comas todos los pasteles*!
Not to-you eat all the pastries
'Don't you eat all the pastries.'

c. ¡*No te me vayas*!
Not you to-me don't go
'Don't walk out on me!'

d. *Se leyó el artículo sobre el dativo de cabo a rabo.*
REFL 3SG (he-) read the article on the dative from head to tail
'He read the article on the dative from beginning to end.'

e. *A Juan los ladrones le han revuelto todos los papeles, ¿y a ti?*
To John the thieves to-him have turned upside down all the papers, and to you?
'The thieves turned upside down all John's papers, what about yours?'

Note that the easier the verb can conceptually relate to one of the prototypical configurations of the actantial dative, the less the dative will be perceived as syntactically peripheral, semantically exterior to the event. Compare, for example, (69a) with (70):[35]

(70) *Esto me parece una estafa.*
This to-me seems a rip-off
'This seems a rip-off to me.'

4.3.2. There is another dative present

When there is another dative present, the pattern can be intransitive or transitive. It thus looks as follows: N_1 me/te le V (aN_2) in the former case, e.g. (71a), and N_0 me/te le V N_1 (aN_2) in the latter, e.g. (71b). In both cases *me/te* correspond to N_3 and *le* to N_2.[36]

(71) a. *Me le tocó el gordo.*
To-me to-him touched the fat one
'The first price went to him.'

b. *A Luisa me le pusieron una inyección.*
To Louise to-me to-her (they-) put an injection
'They gave Louise an injection.'

The ethical dative is a syntactic outsider. It belongs to the speech act level, as shown by its combinatorial possibilities: usually a first or second (singular) person ethical dative combines with a third person actantial dative, as shown by the examples. Unlike with the other datives, only the clitic pronoun appears, never *a NP* nor the double form *me/te... a mí/a ti*, i.e. the ethical dative which accompanies another dative cannot be thematized nor focused upon.[37]

5. Conclusion

We have tried in this paper to uncover a conceptually coherent meaning

for the different uses of the dative in Spanish. Our goal seemed at first all the more difficult to attain because it is not at all clear, neither from the data nor from what one gathers in traditional grammars, what actually corresponds to a dative in Spanish: not because likely candidates for dative case are scarse, but because they are so plentiful. An important characteristic of Spanish syntax, compared to other Romance languages, is indeed a double syncretism of dative and accusative case, since both lexical NP's and clitics which would be analyzed as direct objects, viz. accusatives on an intuitive basis, take under certain conditions the formal appearance of indirect objects, viz. datives.

In view of this, we have set up a number of strategies.

First, we have preferred, as an overall strategy, to accumulate a substantial amount of empirical data before moving on towards a conceptual analysis. As a consequence of this, we have decided to leave aside the traditional, in our opinion ill-founded, classification in direct and indirect objects, and to adopt the following working definition: we have considered as datives all cases in which an *a NP* appears which corresponds to a clitic *le*, excluding only those cases where *a NP* corresponds to a clitic *la*, so that *la* cannot be replaced by *le*.

Second, as a starting point of our analysis we have looked more closely at what, precisely, appeared as a serious delimitation problem for the Spanish dative: the so-called prepositional accusative and the phenomenon of *leísmo*. As a matter of fact, this problematic area of Spanish syntax has proven to be of great interest for the exploration undertaken here. What emerges clearly from the data observed is that the features traditionally associated with the two phenomena, such as /+animate/, /+individuated/, /+masculine/, cannot account for a large number of cases, too many at any rate to be satisfactorily analyzed as mere exceptions to the rule. What becomes clear, not only from the rule itself but also from the frequent exceptions to it, is that the opposition in Spanish between accusative and dative is a fuzzy one, in which (one of) the participant(s) distinct from the subject is either presented as a mere patient of the process by means of the accusative or is attributed a more salient position by means of the dative case. The latter option varies according to the verb, to the type of NP (mostly animate NP's, indeed, take dative case), and sometimes simply to the choice of the speaker. Diachronic evidence suggests that this fading away of the accusative vs dative distinction, favoring dative over accusative, is a process which has been going on for a long time and which is still in progress.

Furthermore, the fact that the two phenomena are especially frequent, even when the referent of the NP is inanimate, plural, feminine, etc., in two particular types of structures where the formal subject is absent – in the pronominal *se*-construction and in the causative construction – strongly suggests that the dative, without being agentive like the subject, "takes over" in those cases the more salient role usually played by the subject. Its ability to do so follows from its basically intermediate status, between the first role associated with the subject and the third role normally reserved to the direct object. Noteworthy is that in the case of the causative construction, the semantic role of the dative complement is actually most often that of agent of the infinitive. It thus emerges that what traditional grammars state as conditions for the prepositional accusative and the *leism* to appear are rather consequences of the basic option available to users of Spanish between the different ways in which non agentive participants in the event structure are conceived of: as more or less salient with respect to the process (and to the subject if there is one). It therefore comes as no surprise that animacy is prototypically associated with the two phenomena at stake here: animate NP's are more likely to be presented as relevant participants in the process, viz. as datives, than inanimate ones, for the same reason that animate NP's enter into the subject slot more frequently than inanimate NP's do.

A final strategy in our analysis has been to set up as complete as possible a typological sketch of the different syntactic frames in which the dative, as defined in the first part of the paper, is found.

A first observation that arises from the data is that the dative appears in actantial as well as in non-actantial positions: this property, which makes datives different from both subjects and direct objects, is probably also one of the reasons why it is particularly difficult to grasp the basic function of this case. What is striking about the non-actantial or ethical dative, is that it is extremely frequent in Spanish, much more so than in most other Romance languages and Germanic languages.

As for the actantial dative, its different uses can be summarized in a tripartite schema of transitive, intransitive and pronominal constructions, further to be subdivided into different syntactico-semantic subtypes. Worth noting here is that the subclasses of both the transitive and the intransitive structures seem to be organized in such a way that they constitute a network of metaphorical relations. Thus, "transfer", the crucial notion for the transitive constructions, yields four different subtypes, viz. material and verbal transfer,

physical and abstract motion. Classes 2 and 4 can be analyzed, in a straightforward way, as metaphorical extensions of classes 1 and 3. Similarly, in the case of the intransitive constructions, a metaphorical link can be established between the two subtypes of physical and psychological movement.

One of the insights gained by our exploration is that the pronominal construction with *se*, in which the dative is particularly frequent, does not essentially differ from the two non pronominal structures: the "se le" construction indeed is common both with intransitive as with transitive verbs, thus confirming a claim already made by Vázquez Rozas (1988). However, it should be pointed out that the "se le" structure is possible with all of the transitive subtypes, whereas it is not available for all of the intransitive types: intransitive psych-verbs, in particular, do not seem to allow "se le" at all, and motion verbs seem sometimes compatible with "se le" (*escapar*, e.g.) and sometimes not (*llegar*, e.g.).

Our exploration of the Spanish dative has also led to another observation, regarding a difference between the three actantial types (a claim not made by Vázques Rozas). Interestingly, what makes them different is that the saliency of the dative NP, in terms of active participation in the process, decreases as one moves from the transitive via the intransitive to the pronominal type. Note that the latter property correlates with the decreasing agentivity of the subject over the three syntactic types; e.g. in the pronominal type, where the grammatical subject is totally absent, the dative is simply affected by the event in such a way that there is no active participation in the process whatsoever. In the transitive type, on the other hand, where the subject scores highest on the agentivity scale, the dative is also most actively involved in the event structure. If the first part of our study revealed that the dative bears some resemblance to the subject in terms of saliency in the event structure, our typological part allows us to specify further what makes the dative basically distinct from it. Whereas the subject typically represents the agentive instance that triggers the action chain, the dative embodies the non-agentive participant on which the event is tuned or which is affected by the event, its degree of participation varying according to the type of syntactic structure in which it appears: it represents the entity to which the event is attributed in the case of transitive structures, to which it is anchored in intransitive structures, and which is simply involuntarily affected by the process in the case of the pronominal structure.

A special type of dative is the traditionally called possessive dative. Not surprisingly, it is common to all three of the structure types (transitive, intran-

sitive and pronominal): it is indeed triggered not by the verb but by a relation of inalienable possession with either the subject or the object of the sentence. However, according to the data examined so far, this type of dative, again, seems to be more productive with transitive verbs than with intransitive ones, thus recalling the above observation regarding the "se le" construction. But more research will be needed to substantiate the latter observation, and to draw theoretical conclusions for the dative case from these facts.

The question remains whether the results of our analysis will apply to other languages than Spanish – an important matter not only from the point of view of language typology, but also from the point of view of cognitive linguistics. The Spanish case has proven particularly interesting in that it shows, on the one hand, that the borderline between accusative and dative cannot be drawn in terms of complement selection by the verb only, since the choice depends in many cases on the way in which the referent of the complement NP is conceived of: viz. as more or less participative in the process. We have reached the conclusion, on the other hand, that whenever a dative is actually used, it implies a participation at a level of saliency higher than that of the accusative and lower than that of the nominative. The latter observation may be of interest for the hypothesis put forward by scholars like Grimshaw (1979) or Pinker (1984) according to which language acquisition of grammatical functions such as subject, direct object, etc. hinges upon prior acquisition of semantic patterns cognitively associated with those syntactic functions: agentivity for subject, patienthood for direct object, etc. In the case of the indirect object, a valuable cognitive candidate seems to be, after exploring the Spanish case, affectedness, be it voluntary or not.

NOTES

1. By 'definite' we mean that its referent is determined semantically or contextually; it need not be a proper noun nor a noun modified by a definite determiner in order to be identifiable as individual or as class; the generic use of the definite article falls under this notion of 'definite'; even the absence of determiner does not allow one to conclude automatically that the reference is 'indefinite'. Correct interpretation of the context is crucial.

2. Certain grammarians (Esbozo 1973, Seco 1982, Gili Gaya 1970) hold that both *a* and *para* introduce the indirect object, others (Bello 1981, Alcina Franch & Blecua 1988, Alarcos Llorach 1980) separate *a NP* from *para NP*, analyzing only the former as an indirect object. Vázquez Rozas (1988:77ss.) subscribes to the latter analysis and attributes the inclusion of *para* in the realm of the indirect object to the translations into Spanish of the values of the Latin dative case. A detailed survey is given in Vázquez Rozas (1988:70-89).

3. *Para* comes in, in order to avoid the ambiguity of the preposition *a*, which can introduce both the source and the destinee. But the fact that in certain cases *a* can be replaced by *para*, because they are semantically equivalent in a given context, does not mean that their complements have syntactically the same status (Lamiroy 1983).

4. This type of *por NP* is part of the verb valency. Semantically, cause and finality merge. More on the use and meaning of *por* and *para* can be found in Delbecque (1995).

5. Note, in this respect, that there are similar cases with prepositions other than *para*. In *Le noto algo raro* (To-him (I-) notice something strange) *le* corresponds to *a Juan* ('to John'), for example, but the same sentence could also be paraphrased as *(Noto algo raro) en Juan* ((I-) notice something strange in John).

6. Consult García (1975) for the situation in Hispanoamerica.

7. Bello (1980:890), Criado de Val (1958:41), Esbozo (1973:3.4.6), Gili Gaya (1970:51), A. Franch & Blecua (1975:869).

8. As stated by Fernández Ramírez (1986:150), the form of the third person clitic pronoun cannot by itself be taken as criterion for distinguishing direct from indirect transitivity because of the *leismo* phenomenon. However, the existence of *loísmo* and *laísmo*, discussed in section 3.2, does not prevent us from maintaining formula (22), since the latter phenomena are of a limited extent: our definition is based on the way these clitics function in the Spanish speaking community taken as a whole.

9. Lope de Vega (1562-1635) still wrote: "No disgustemos mi abuela" ('Let us not displease our grandmother'). Nowadays this would be an ungrammatical sentence.

10. The strictly normative attitude tends to condemn the *leísmo* altogether.

11. Bello (1980:376), who wrote his grammar in 1847, already stated that the use of *les* for *los* was so widespread that it no longer could be condemned. The study of F. Moreno Fernández et alii (1988) indicates that in the language spoken in the region of Madrid nearly half of the cases of *le* do not belong to the area of the masculine person. There is no significant difference, either, between singular and plural. Moreover, no relevant sociological parameters could be traced.

12. For the exact figures, see De Kock, Gómez Molina & Delbecque (1990:98).

13. This is at least the unmarked case when the object is a human NP; for a discussion of different types of causative structures, see Lamiroy (1994).

14. The choice of the causative verb itself seems to play an important role. The data examined allow to tentatively propose the following tripartition: *hacer* 'to make', *llevar* 'to take', *conducir* 'to conduct' go either way (*le* or *lo*); *obligar* 'to oblige', *forzar* 'to force', *ayudar* 'to help', *constreñir* 'to constrain' direct the attention more often than not to a volitional object-complement, generally expressed by *le*. Finally, *dejar* 'to let', *traer* 'to bring', *arrastrar* 'to get' take (nearly?) always *lo*, which is conform to the patient-role allotted to the animate complement.

15. Personification is but one outcome, maybe the most extreme one, of this inferential process. It is certainly not the metaphorical usage as such which is to be held responsible for the tendency to *leísmo*: first, metaphors are not bound to any construction at the exclusion of others – see, for instance, the animalization in example (39) –, and, second, a human-like interpretation is not to be equated automatically with the actor-role, since humans enter into patient-roles as well.

16. In the region of Madrid it appears to be quite currently used: the data of Moreno Fernández et alii (1988) indicate that the intermediate position of the *laísmo* in fact comes quantitatively nearer to the frequency of the *leísmo* than to that of the *loísmo*: nearly 55% of the *le* forms are accusative, about 45% of the *la* forms are 'dative', against less than 10% of the *lo* forms.

17. *Laísmo* appears in XVth-century texts, i.e. later than *leísmo*, and its use spreads in XVIth-century prose. Although predominant in Quevedo (1580-1645) and Calderón (1600-1681), it never knew a real breakthrough and it has been severely condemned by normative grammar ever since the Academy banned it from cultivated speech in 1796.

18. It is doubtful whether even authors reputed to be *leístas* are really "replacing" an accusative form by another "which was originally 'dative'" and still maintaining the accusative function.

19. Verbs like *dar* 'to give' or *trasmitir* 'to transmit', for instance, can be used more easily without expressed dative than verbs like *regalar* 'to offer' or *entregar* 'to deliver'.

20. Since the pronominalized structure can be used both with intransitive and with transitive verbs, the transitive/intransitive distinction is not relevant for the third class, at least not for our purposes.

21. Although colloquial, constructions such as the following are possible: *Le vendí que le pagarían mucho dinero por este trabajo* ('I sold to him that they would pay him a lot of money for this work'), *Te evita que tengas que pasar por allí* ('It avoids for you that you would have to pass there').

22. Some verbs can also be construed with the preposition *con*: *aliar* 'to ally', *asimilar* 'to assimilate', *comparar* 'to compare', *identificar* 'to identify', *juntar* 'to bring together', *mezclar* 'to mix', *reunir* 'to bring together', *unir* 'to unite', etc. In the latter case, the correspondence established between N_1 and N_2 is conceived of as coincidence.

23. This category also includes verbs which express the reverse transfer, e.g. *oponer* 'to oppose'.

24. Note, once more, that several verbs, according to the context, can become an instance of one of the preceding classes, e.g.: *aportar* 'to bring' can also express a material transfer (class I), *atar* 'to bind' a physical motion (class III), etc.

25. Of course, the question whether the attribution materializes is contingent on the satisfaction of various pragmatic conditions which are not to be accounted for at the semantic level.

26. Dutch and English, e.g. use a possessive adjective instead.

27. Or gets out of it, in case *desobedecer* 'to disobey' is used.

28. Example of Vázquez Rozas (1988:273); this author (see also Vázquez-Rozas (1990: 233)) systematically opposes the transitive constructions to the intransitive ones with indirect complement object by attributing to the latter the feature "+involuntary". If N_1 V a N_2 is generally less volitional than N_0 V N_1 a N_2, this follows in our view from a more general principle, viz., transitive structures pattern with notions as control, intention, dynamic action, whereas intransitives do not. For example: *A Andrés le admira la rapidez con que dibujas* ('to Andrés causes admiration the rapidity with which you draw') versus *Andrés admira la rapidez con que dibujas* ('Andrés admires the rapidity with which you draw'). It thus seems more accurate to us to reserve the "-voluntary" interpretation to the "se le constructions" (section 4.2.) and to consider N_1 V a N_2 as unmarked in this respect.

29. We agree here upon with Vázquez Rozas (1988). However, we do not agree on extending it, as Vázquez Rozas does, to all intransitive constructions (including those without *se*), as opposed to the transitive ones: in view of the data discussed so far, it seems to us that the construal without the *se*, remains unmarked as to the willingness of the N_2 referent (cf. also footnote 28).

30. As far as the role of the grammatical subject in the "se le" construction is concerned, N_1 bears a non-agentivity feature (it cannot be the initiator of the action chain), which explains why the grammatical subject is generally postposed to the verb (cf. Delbecque 1987 and 1991).

31. The study concerns Costa Rican Spanish, but the description applies to the other varieties of Spanish as well.

32. Note that the semantic property of involuntariness seems to pattern with the syntactic fact that the actantial value of these datives seems less clear-cut than that of the non pronominal constructions.

33. Spanish uses the dativus ethicus a lot more than most of the other Romance languages, in particular French, e.g. *El niño no me durmió en toda la noche* ('The child didn't sleep on me of the whole night') vs **L'enfant ne me dormit pas de toute la nuit.*

34. Although the dative is not actantial, we use the shorthand notation "N_3", for commodity's sake.

35. This associative mechanism has been described by Langacker (1991:273) in terms of *accommodation*: the speaker/hearer tends to provide an interpretation which approaches as closely as possible the basic schemata that corresponds to a given expression in the grammar. It is often sufficient that a verb enters into a given construction for it to be viewed as bearing some semantic resemblance to another verb that protoypically enters into the same structure. Verbs thus lend themselves to an interpretive gliding, due to the semantic resemblance they bear to other verbs when they appear in the same syntactic frame.

36. Since only one of the two datives can be actantial, the accommodation principle does not come in here, viz., the very presence of an actantial dative blocks the possibility for the other to be subject to a gliding in the interpretation from a non-actantial reading towards an actantial one.

37. Recall that these conditions are less absolute for the ethical dative which stands alone (cf. 4.3.1.).

REFERENCES

Alarcos Llorach, Emilio. 1980. *Estudios de gramática funcional del español.* Madrid: Gredos.

Alcina Franch, Juan & Blecua, José Manuel. 1975. *Gramática española.* Barcelona: Ariel.

Bello, Andrés. 1847. *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos.* Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Instituto Universitario de Lingüística Andrés Bello (Edición preparada por Ramón Trujillo, 1981.)

Berk-Seligson, Susan. 1983. Sources of variation in Spanish verb construction usage: the active, the dative, and the reflexive passive. *Journal of Pragmatics* 7, 145-160.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. 1981. *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual.* Madrid: Gredos.

Chafe, W.L. 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Criado de Val, Manuel. 1958. *Gramática Española.* Madrid: Saeta.

Cuervo, Rufino José. 1886. *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana.* Tomo I. Instituto Caro y Cuervo 1953.

Cuervo, Rufino José. 1893. *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana.* Tomo II. Instituto Caro y Cuervo 1954.

De Kock, Josse, Gómez Molina, Carmen & Delbecque, Nicole. 1990. *Gramática española: Enseñanza e investigación. II.1. Gramática didáctica.* Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

De Kock, Josse et alii. 1991. *Gramática española: Enseñanza e investigación. III. Textos. Tomo 1. 19 textos.* Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Delbecque, Nicole. 1987. *Problèmes et méthodes de l'étude de la variation syntaxique. Le cas de la position du sujet en espagnol.* Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Delbecque, Nicole. 1991. *El orden de los sintagmas. La posición del regente. Estudio de variación sintáctica en una perspectiva probabilista y cognitiva.* Acta Salmanticensia: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Delbecque, Nicole. 1995. Towards a cognitive account of the use of the prepositions *por* and *para* in Spanish. In E. Casad (ed.). *Cognitive Linguistics in the Redwoods.* Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Fernández Ramírez, Sánchez. 1986. *Gramática española. 4. El verbo y la oración.* (Edición preparada por Ignacio Bosque). Madrid: Arco Libros.

Fish, Gordon. 1968. The indirect object and the redundant construction. *Hispania* 51, 862-866.

García, Erica. 1975. *The Role of the Theory in Linguistic Analysis: The Spanish Pronoun System.* Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1970. *Curso superior de sintaxis española.* Barcelona: Bibliograf.

Grimshaw, J. 1979. Complement selection and the lexicon. *Linguistic Inquiry* 10, 279-326.

Haudry, J. 1968. Les emplois doubles du datif et la fonction du datif en indo-européen. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 63, 1, 141-159.

King, L.D. 1984. The semantics of direct object A in Spanish. *Hispania* 67, 3, 397-403.

Kliffer, M.D. 1973. *The Spanish Dative: Selected Syntactic and Semantic Problems.* Phd. Cornell University.

Lamiroy, Béatrice. 1983. Les prépositions A et PARA devant l'infinitif complément d'un verbe de mouvement en espagnol. *Linguisticae Investigationes* V, 1, 75-90.

Lamiroy, Béatrice. 1993. Pourquoi il y a deux passifs. *Langages* 109, 53-72.

Lamiroy, Béatrice. 1994. Causatividad, ergatividad y las relaciones entre el léxico y la gramática. In V. Demonte (ed.). *Gramática del español,* El Colegio de México: Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 411-431.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1991. *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar.* Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Moliner, María. 1980. *Diccionario de uso del español.* Madrid: Gredos.

Moreno Fernández, Francisco et alii. 1988. Anotaciones sobre el leísmo, el laísmo y el loísmo en la provincia de Madrid. *Epos, Revista de Filología U.Ned.* IV, 101-122.

Müller, B. 1971. Das morphemmarkierte Satzobjekt der romanischen Sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 87, 5-6, 477-515.

Pinker, Steven. 1984. *Language, Learnability and Language Development.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Real Academia Española. 1973. *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española.* Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Roldán, Mercedes. 1975. The great le - lo controversy. *Linguistics* 147, 15-31.

Salvá, Vicente. 1847. *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana.* Madrid: Arco/Libros 1988.

Seco, Rafael. 1930. *Manual de gramática española.* (Edición revisada por Manuel Seco). Madrid: Aguilar.

Vázquez Rozas, María Victoria. 1988. *El complemento indirecto en español.* Phd. Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

Vázquez Rozas, María Victoria. 1990. Una aproximación al análisis de las cláusulas sujeto-predicado-complemento indirecto. *Verba, Anuario galego de filoloxía,* Anexo 32, 231-236.

The Portuguese dative

Rosane de Andrade Berlinck

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

1. Introduction

In Portuguese, the phenomenon that constitutes the object of the present analysis has traditionally been treated as 'indirect object' (IO), following the French tradition. This label, however, is quite misleading since the term 'indirect' implies a less direct relationship between the verb and the complement both semantically and syntactically. It has been assumed by various grammarians (Almeida 1973:385, Cunha & Cintra 1983:139-141) that the presence of a preposition is the formal mark of such indirectness in Portuguese. Nevertheless, these same scholars point out that a 'direct object' (DO) may also be introduced by a preposition when it is animate, as well as under other circumstances.

Moreover, defined in this way, the label 'indirect' refers to complements with quite different semantic values (benefactives, locatives, temporals, etc.) and different morphosyntactic behavior (possibility of replacement with corresponding clitics vs. non-possibility of such replacement; arguments vs. adjuncts). A more appropriate label seems to be the term 'dative', taken from the Latin terminology for case distinctions.

Portuguese is a language which is very poor in terms of overt case distinctions: only the clitic forms of the personal pronouns provide some sort of distinction in form. Even with the clitics, moreover, the distinctions are not numerous: there is no clitic form of the nominative pronouns, for example, and although both the accusative and dative present clitic forms, these involve quite a bit of syncretism. Only the forms corresponding to the 3rd person (also

used to express a formal 2nd person) prove to be clearly identifiable. Table 1 shows the general pronominal system for accusative and dative.

accusative	*dative*
me	me
te / o, a	te / lhe
o, a	lhe
nos	nos
(vos) o, a	(vos) lhes
os, as	lhes

As seen in Table 1, the distinctive character of the 3rd person dative clitic *lhe(s)* leads to its role as a criterion for the identification of the dative complement. Thus, in addition to the pronouns, *dative* refers to those PPs replaceable by *lhe(s)*.

This system corresponds to standard Portuguese[1] (which theorically includes all varieties). However, it does not reveal the complex situation of oral Portuguese, the existence of variations according to the degree of formality, and the specific geographical variety involved. There are, for instance, quite important differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese.

It is impossible to provide a single description of the dative complement which would be valid for all varieties of Portuguese. Consequently, I will first present a description that emphasizes the similarities and principal differences of expression of the dative complement in European and Brazilian Portuguese. I will then try to delineate a typology for the Portuguese dative, always keeping in mind this comparative approach, insofar as it is relevant for a better comprehension of the phenomenon.

2. The form of the dative NP

Considering the previous discussion, the type of verbal complement to be analyzed is formally described as an NP introduced by the prepositions *a* or *para* (or, in rare exceptions, *em* or *de*), whose corresponding clitic pronoun is *lhe(s)*. As has been seen, this is the only dative pronominal form distinct from the accusative one. Thus,

(1) a. *João* ***deu*** *o livro* ***ao Pedro.***
John-SUBJ gave the book-ACC to Peter-DAT
'John gave Peter the book.'

b. *João* ***lhe*** ***deu*** *o livro.*
John-SUBJ him-DAT gave the book-ACC
'John gave him the book.'

As in Spanish, this excludes these prepositional phrases (PPs) when used with locative and temporal values:

(2) a. *João* ***chegou*** ***a Lovaina.***
John-SUBJ arrived at Louvain-LOC
'John arrived at Louvain.'

b. **João* ***lhe*** ***chegou.***
John-SUBJ it-DAT arrived
'John arrived at it.'

c. *João* ***chegou*** ***lá.***
John-SUBJ arrived there-LOC
'John arrived there.'

(3) a. *João* ***chegou*** ***à noite.***
John-SUBJ arrived at night-TEMP
'John arrived at night.'

b. **João* ***lhe*** ***chegou.***
John-SUBJ it-DAT arrived
'John arrived at it.'

The possibility of substitution by *lhe* also makes it possible to distinguish dative complements from accusative ones that are introduced by the preposition *a*. Such cases are much less frequent in Portuguese than in Spanish, mostly being limited to animate NPs and to verbs that express a feeling (the psychological verbs) (cf. Cunha & Cintra 1985:138, Oliveira 1984: 106):

(4) a. *Maria* ***não*** ***ama*** ***ao Pedro.***
Mary-SUBJ not loves to Peter-ACC
'Mary does not love Peter.'

b. *Maria* ***não*** ***o*** ***ama.***
Mary-SUBJ not him-ACC loves
'Mary does not love him.'

c. **Maria não **lhe** ama.*
Mary-SUBJ not (to) him-DAT loves
'Mary does not love him.'

The prepositional accusative is also possible in some special constructions such as when the complement has been topicalized (5) or when it is expressed by the tonic pronominal complement forms (6),[2] (cf. Cunha & Cintra op. cit.). The impossibility of replacement with *lhe* reveals the accusative character of the complement:

(5) a. *À minha mãe, vi- **a** pagar 100$*
To my mother-ACC I saw her-ACC pay 100$
por esse vaso!
for this vase

b. **À minha mãe, vi- **lhe** pagar 100$*
To my mother-DAT I saw (to) her-DAT pay 100$
por esse vaso!
for this vase
'My mother, I saw her pay 100$ for this vase!'

(6) a. *Rubião viu em duas rosas vulgares*
Rubião-SUBJ saw in two common roses
uma festa imperial, e esqueceu a sala,
an imperial party-ACC and (he) forgot the room-ACC
*a mulher e **a si**.*
his wife-ACC and (to) himself-ACC

b. **[...] e esqueceu a sala, esqueceu*
[...] and (he) forgot the room-ACC (he) forgot
*a mulher, e esqueceu **lhe**.*
his wife-ACC and (he) forgot (to) him-DAT
'Rubião saw in two common roses an imperial party, and forgot the room, his woman and himself.'
(Machado de Assis, *Obra Completa*, vol. I:679)[3]

Oliveira (1984:13) remarks that the use of the prepositional accusative is very limited in present-day Portuguese. The work of Ramos (1989), an empirical study of case marking in Portuguese from the XIIIth to the XIXth century, confirms this assertion.

In summary, the dative encompasses complements which assume the following forms, both expressing necessary conditions:

A. The PP is introduced by the prepositions *a*, or *para* (or in rare cases, *em* or *de*):

A.1. The PP includes an NP, as in (1a); (7-9).

(7) *Ele diz **para a irmã:** Levanta que hoje*
He-SUBJ says to the sister-DAT Get up because today
não tem aula, podemos brincar.
there is no class we can play-ACC
'He says to his sister: Get up. Today there are no classes, and we can play.' (Projeto NURC)

(8) *O vestido assenta bem **na menina**.*[4]
The dress-SUBJ fits well in the girl-DAT
'The dress fits the girl well.'

(9) *Joana aproximou sua cadeira **de Pedro**.*
Joan-SUBJ brought closer her chair-ACC to Peter-DAT
'Joan brought her chair closer to Peter.'

A.2. The PP includes a tonic pronominal form, as in (10-12).

(10) *Você perguntou **para ele** como é que ele*
You-SUBJ asked to him-DAT how is that he
dividia o seu tempo, não é?
organized his time-ACC didn't you?
'You asked him how he organized his time, didn't you?'

(11) *O vestido assenta bem **nela**.*
The dress-SUBJ fits well in her-DAT
'The dress fits her well.'

(12) *Joana aproximou sua cadeira **dele**.*
Joan-SUBJ brought closer her chair-ACC to him-DAT
'Joan brought her chair closer to him.'

B. The PP may be replaced by *lhe(s)*, as in (1b); (13-15).

(13) *Ele* ***lhe*** *diz: Levanta que hoje não tem*
He-SUBJ her-DAT says Get up because today there is no
aula, podemos brincar.
class we can play-ACC
'He says to her: Get up because today there are no classes, and we can play.'

(14) *O vestido* ***lhe*** *assenta bem.*
The dress-SUBJ her-DAT fits well
'The dress fits her well.'

(15) *Joana aproximou-* ***lhe*** *sua cadeira.*
Joan-SUBJ brought closer him-DAT her chair-ACC
'Joan brought her chair closer to him.'

C. Forms (A) and (B) can co-occur when the PP is topicalized or dislocated to the left. In this case, the presence of the redundant coreferential element is not obligatory:

(16) a. ***(A/Para) O João,*** *eu* ***lhe*** *dei o livro*
(To) John-DAT I-SUBJ him-DAT gave the book-ACC
ontem.
yesterday

b. ***(A/Para) O João,*** *eu dei o livro* ***para ele***
(To) John-DAT I-SUBJ gave the book-ACC to him-DAT
ontem.
yesterday

c. ***(A/Para) O João,*** *eu dei o livro ontem.*
(To) John-DAT I-SUBJ gave the book-ACC yesterday
'(To) John, I gave (him) the book yesterday.'

Although the possibility of substitution with *lhe(s)* constitutes a very concrete and productive criterion, it is not sufficient if one takes both European and Brazilian varieties into consideration.

As has been seen, the paradigm of accusative and dative clitics in Portuguese is characterized by a double syncretism: that between the forms for

accusative and dative for 1st and 2nd persons (*me/nos, te*), and that between the forms for 2nd and 3rd persons in each of the two systems: *o(s), a(s)* for the accusative, *lhe(s)* for the dative.

In European Portuguese the pronominal expression of accusative and dative complements basically corresponds to this system. Despite the potential ambiguity motivated by the syncretisms, the clitics are still very productive in both the written and the oral language.

This is not the case for Brazilian Portuguese, however; here, the 3rd person clitic pronouns are mainly used only in formal expressions, which greatly limits the scope of their use. Besides, the situation referred to above is associated with a general process of weakening or rejection of the clitics (cf. Duarte 1986, Nunes 1991, Omena 1978); for the whole pronominal system, a gradual and systematic decrease in the frequency of use of the clitic pronouns has been observed, since the end of the XIXth century (Tarallo 1983, 1985).

This process affects both the dative and the accusative sub-systems, generating different alternative solutions for each. For the accusative, instead of the accusative clitic (17b), we observe the adoption of the non-clitic nominative form to function as an accusative complement (17c).

(17) a. *Maria comprou* ***o carro*** *ontem.*
Mary-SUBJ bought the car-ACC yesterday
'Mary bought the car yesterday.'

b. *Maria* ***o*** *comprou ontem.*
Mary-SUBJ it-ACC bought yesterday
'Mary bought it yesterday.'

c. *Maria comprou* ***ele*** *ontem.*
Mary-SUBJ bought it-NOM/ACC yesterday
'Mary bought it yesterday.'

It is also possible to express the accusative complement as an empty category, as long as it is recoverable from the context (18). The latter represents a neutral option (not marked in terms of formality) to the more marked use of the nominative forms (especially for the 3rd person).

(18) *Quando é que a Maria comprou* ***o carro?***
When is (it) that Mary-SUBJ bought the car-ACC
'When did Mary buy the car?'

Ela *comprou* *[e]* *ontem.*[5]
She-SUBJ bought it-ACC yesterday
'She bought it yesterday.'

For the dative, there is a very functional solution, already present in the system: the use of the PP (as in (7-12)). Since the two possibilities of expression (clitic pronoun and PP) coexist, the *lhe* replacement is generally used as the criterion for identification of a dative complement. However, given the increasingly artificiality of the use of *lhe*, this procedure may not be sufficient in some cases. In the 'corpus' of Brazilian Portuguese analyzed for this study, the few cases of *lhe* encountered refer to a formal 2nd person. All 3rd person referents are expressed by *prep. + ele(s)* (10, 19) or *prep. + NP* (7).

(19) *Eu* *disse* ***a ele*** *que* *só* *poderia* *aceitar* *a*
I-SUBJ said to him-DAT that only could-1SG accept the

passagem *se* *fosse* *possível* *levar* *minha* *esposa* *também.*
ticket if (it) was possible to take my wife too

'I told him that I could only accept the ticket if it were possible to take my wife too.' (Projeto NURC)

Considering the lack of uniformity in the situation presented, it seems necessary to go beyond the possibility of substitution with *lhe* in order to identify the dative, including also the use of the PP: *prep. + tonic pronoun* (20).

(20) a. *Maria* *transferiu* *a* *ligação* ***para o João.***
Mary-SUBJ transferred the call-ACC to John-DAT
'Mary transferred the call to John.'

b. *Maria* ***lhe*** *transferiu* *a* *ligação.*
Mary-SUBJ him-DAT transferred the call-ACC
'Mary transferred the call to him.'

c. *Maria* *transferiu* *a* *ligação* ***para ele.***
Mary-SUBJ transferred the call-ACC to him-DAT
'Mary transferred the call to him.'

This reformulation permits us to include all the possible occurrences of the dative complement, while still excluding the expressions with locative and temporal meaning, as can be seen in (21-22):

(21) a. *Maria* *foi* ***para Bruxelas.***
Mary-SUBJ went to Brussels-DIR
'Mary went to Brussels.'

b. **Maria* ***lhe*** *foi.*
Mary-SUBJ it-DAT went
'Mary went (to) it.'

c. **Maria* *foi* ***para ela.***
Mary-SUBJ went to it-DAT
'Mary went to it.'

d. *Maria* *foi* ***para lá.***
Mary-SUBJ went to there-DIR
'Mary went there.'

(22) a. *João* *vem* ***a uma hora da tarde.***
John-SUBJ comes at one o'clock
'John comes at one p.m.'

b. **João* ***lhe*** *vem.*
John-SUBJ it-DAT comes
'John comes to it.'

c. **João* *vem* ***a ela.***
John-SUBJ comes at it-DAT
'John comes to it.'

Besides the criterion of substitution, I will also make use of another distinctive characteristic of the dative complement as a secondary criterion for its identification: the impossibility of the dative being the grammatical subject of a passive sentence:

(23) a. *Paulo* *deu* *as* *chaves* *a Maria*
Paul-SUBJ gave-ACT the keys-ACC to Mary-DAT
'Paul gave the keys to Mary.'

b. *As* *chaves* *foram dadas* *a Maria* *(por Paulo).*
the keys-SUBJ were given-PASS to Mary-DAT (by Paul)
'The keys were given to Mary (by Paul).'

c. **Maria* *foi dada* *as* *chaves.*
Mary-SUBJ was given-PASS the keys-ACC
'Mary was given the keys.'

3. Typology

Using the criteria for identification established above, it is possible to identify all of the contexts of occurrence of the dative. The present section thus intends to provide a typology of such contexts, including the type of verb or verbal construction with which the dative complement can co-occur and the kind of relationship it maintains with the verb or the sentence. During the discussion, the main differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese will be emphasized.

The typology presented here has basically the same structure as that elaborated for Spanish (see Delbecque and Lamiroy, this volume). This is quite comprehensible, given the proximity of the two languages. Nevertheless, there are some important differences between them. The use of similar parameters for the typology permits a better perception of these points of divergence.

3.1. Transitive structures

Transitive structures constitute the prototypical case for the dative complement. These encompass the large majority of the occurrences of this kind of complement. The general syntactic organization of this construction is:

$$N_0 + V + N_1 + \{a,para,em\}\ N_2$$

where N_0 stands for the grammatical subject of the active voice of transitive verbs, N_1 stands for the accusative (or DO) of a transitive verb or the grammatical subject of intransitive verbs or pronominally conjugated transitive ones. N_2 corresponds to the dative. The same notation is adopted throughout the entire discussion.

In the syntactic characterization for transitive structures, N_2 may immediately follow the verb; moreover, when expressed as a clitic, it may either precede or follow the verb (a variation ruled by structural configurations or regional differences).[6]

Differences in the semantic characterization of the verb and the elements it subcategorizes enable us to distinguish four basic types of transitive structures: (1) *material transfer*, (2) *verbal and perceptual transfer*, (3) *physical motion*, (4) *abstract motion*.

*3.1.1. Material transfer; prototype: **dar** ('to give')*

This group includes verbs such as:

alugar ('to rent')	*fornecer* ('to furnish')
atribuir ('to attribute')	*legar* ('to bequeath')
confiar ('to confide')	*mandar* ('to send')
dar ('to give')	*oferecer* ('to offer')
devolver ('to give back')	*pagar* ('to pay')
distribuir ('to distribute')	*passar* ('to pass')
emprestar ('to lend')	*restituir* ('to replace')
entregar ('to hand')	*transferir* ('to transfer')

Some examples are given in (24):

(24) a. *Não entregaram as mercadorias **ao comprador**.*
Not delivered-3PL the merchandise-ACC to the buyer-DAT
'They did not deliver the merchandise to the buyer.'

b. *A gente confia até certo ponto do computador.*
We trust to a certain point of the computer
*A gente dá um dado **para ele**, ele*
We-SUBJ give a bit of data-ACC to it-DAT it-SUBJ
*fornece outro **para a gente** e a gente acredita*
provides another-ACC to us-DAT and we-SUBJ believe
no que ele fornece [e].
in what it provides [e]-DAT
'We trust the computer to a certain point. We give a bit of data to it, it provides another one to us and we believe in what it provides.'
(Projeto NURC)

The general concept expressed by this verb group corresponds to a material transfer, prototypically represented by the verb *dar*: 'N_0 causes N_1 to be owned by N_2'.

The material transfer may also have a reverse construal, when N_1, instead of entering in the domain of possession of N_2, is taken away from this domain. This is the interpretation conveyed by the following verbs:

arrebatar ('to strike off')
arrancar ('to remove')
comprar ('to buy')
confiscar ('to confiscate')
cortar ('to cut')
emprestar ('to borrow')[7]
evitar ('to avoid')
pedir ('to request')
furtar ('to steal')
roubar ('to rob')
subtrair ('to subtract')
suprimir ('to suppress')
tirar ('to remove')
tomar ('to take')

Some examples are given in (25):

(25) a. *Felipe* *pediu* *um chocolate*
Philip-SUBJ asked a chocolate-ACC
para o avô.
from his grandfather-DAT
'Philip asked for a chocolate from his grandfather.'

b. *Maria* *tomou-* ***lhes*** *tudo* *que* *tinham.*
Mary-SUBJ took them-DAT all that had-3PL-ACC
'Mary took everything they had from them.'

Interestingly, most of these verbs occur with a dative complement introduced by the preposition *de*. In these cases, the *a*-dative is possible (although not preferred), but a complement introduced by *para* is impossible. This impossibility resides in the fact that, having a beneficiary value (in a broad view of 'beneficiary'), the dative complement is also interpreted as 'source'. 'Source' is typically conveyed by the preposition *de* in Portuguese, while *para* implies a 'goal' reading.

(26) a. *Pedro* *tirou* *os* *livros* ***das mãos de Joana***.
Peter-SUBJ took the books-ACC from Joan's hands-DAT

b. *?Pedro* *tirou* *os* *livros* ***às mãos de Joana***.
Peter-SUBJ took the books-ACC from Joan's hands-DAT
'Peter took the books from Joan's hands.'

c. *Pedro* *tirou-* ***lhes*** *os* *livros.*
Peter-SUBJ took them-DAT the books-ACC
'Peter took the books from them.'

The distributional properties of the material transfer construction may be described as: *[+/- animate] N_0 + V + [(+)/ - animate] N_1 + {a,para,de}*

[+/-animate] N_2; N_1 is not normally expressed as a subordinate (*que*) clause; N_2 cliticizes as *lhe* and, under specific circumstances, may be coreferential with N_0.

*3.1.2. Verbal and perceptual transfer; prototype: **dizer** ('to say')*

This group contains verbs such as:

aconselhar ('to advise')
anunciar ('to announce')
assegurar ('to assure')
augurar ('to presage')
confessar ('to confess')
contar ('to tell')
dizer ('to say')
ensinar ('to teach')
escrever ('to write')
falar ('to speak')
jurar ('to swear')
narrar ('to tell')
notificar ('to notify')
ordenar ('to order')
perguntar ('to ask')
prometer ('to promise')
protestar ('to affirm')
provar ('to prove')
repetir ('to repeat')
responder ('to answer')
sugerir ('to suggest')
telefonar ('to call')

Examples are:

(27) a. *Pedro* *disse* ***para seus colegas*** *que* *o* *diretor*
Peter-SUBJ said to his colleagues-DAT that the director
estava *doente.*
was sick-ACC
'Peter told his colleagues that the director was sick.'

b. *Ela* ***me*** *ensinou* *a técnica de leitura.*
She-SUBJ me-DAT taught the reading technique-ACC
'She taught me the reading technique.'

This group conveys the general concept of verbal or perceptual transfer. This does not involve the transfer of a concrete entity (as in the case of group 1), but rather the transfer of an abstract one, since, as the effect of an act of communication, N_0 makes N_2 possess a certain knowledge, a certain idea, or a certain perception (N_1).

The meaning expressed by this construction explains why N_2 is always [+animate]. Only an animate entity can participate in the process of the transfer of knowledge. The complete distributional properties of the construction

are: *[+/- animate] N_0 + V + [- animate] N_1 + {a,para} [+ animate] N_2*; N_1 is often expressed as a subordinate (*que*) or an infinitive clause; N_2 is cliticizable as *lhe* and may be coreferential with N_0.

3.1.3. Physical motion; prototype: ***levar*** *('to take (away)')*

This group represents an extension of the idea of transfer because it complements this notion with that of a physical motion. The verbs that convey this meaning are:

acrescentar ('to add')
atirar ('to fling')
conduzir ('to lead')
dirigir ('to lead/to address')
encaminhar ('to lead')
instilar ('to instill')
lançar ('to throw')
levar ('to take away')
pôr ('to put')
trazer ('to bring')

Some examples are given in (28):

(28) a. *No aniversário do amigo* *levou-* ***lhe***
On his friend's birthday, (he)-SUBJ took him-DAT

um livro.
a book-ACC
'On his friend's birthday, he took him a book.'

b. *Elas* ***me*** *trazem* *esse material todo*
They-SUBJ-3PL:FEM me-DAT bring all this material-ACC

para ser discutido em aula.
to be discussed in class
'They bring me all this material to discuss in class.'

The general meaning of this construction is that of a prototypically physical motion directed towards a goal; this implies a transfer from N_1 to N_2. When expressed by a [-animate] entity, the goal has a clear locative meaning. When the entity is [+animate], there is a connotation of beneficiary in addition to the locative reading.

In syntactic-semantic terms, the sentence structure can be described as: *[+/- animate] N_0 + V + [+/- animate] N_1 + {a,para,em,de} [+/- animate] N_2*; N_1 cannot be expressed by a subordinate (*que*) clause nor by an infinitive clause; N_2 and N_0 may be coreferential; the examples of [-animate] N_2 are not easily cliticizable and have a clear locative value.

3.1.4. Abstract motion; prototype: ***submeter*** *('to submit')*

There are other transitive verbs that express the idea of movement, but in an abstract sense:[8]

acrescentar ('to add')
adaptar ('to adapt')
anexar ('to attach')
atribuir ('to attribute')
conferir ('to confer')
consagrar ('to devote')
dedicar ('to dedicate')
destinar ('to allot')
filiar ('to associate')
imputar ('to impute')
incorporar ('to incorporate')
juntar ('to join')
pôr ('to put')
sensibilizar ('to be moved or sensitized')
submeter ('to submit')
subordinar ('to subordinate')
trazer ('to bring')

(29) a. *Os trabalhos* ***lhe*** *foram submetidos ontem.*
The papers-SUBJ him-DAT were submitted yesterday
'The papers were submitted to him yesterday.'

b. *A reputação dos astros foi prejudicada pelo*
The reputation of the stars was damaged by the

amor que os nazis ***lhes*** *dedicaram.*
love-ACC that the Nazis-SUBJ them-DAT devoted

'The stars' reputation was damaged by the love
that the Nazis devoted to them.'

As with the verbs in the previous group, some sort of 'movement' is also implied by these verbs, but here, there is no transfer; instead there is an abstract approximation between an entity and a state, a feeling, an idea, or another entity. This results in an association that, sometimes, implies the establishment of a hierarchy or a state of subordination.

The sentence structure involved presents the following characteristics: *[+/- animate] N_0 + V + [+/- animate] N_1 + {a,para,em} + [+/- animate] N_2*; N_1 may be coreferential with N_0; N_2 may be expressed by a subordinate (*que*) or an infinite clause; N_2 is cliticizable.

3.1.5. The 'dativus commodi/incommodi'

A special construction involving a dative complement is available for all transitive verbs: the so-called 'dativus commodi/incommodi'. The examples in (30) illustrate this:

(30) a. *Ele abre a porta **aos convidados**.*
He-SUBJ opens the door-ACC to the guests-DAT
'He opens the door for the guests.'

b. *O rapaz **lhe** pôs o livro na estante.*
The boy-SUBJ him-DAT put the book-ACC in the bookcase-LOC
'The boy put the book in the bookcase for him.'

In these cases, the dative complement has a clear benefactive interpretation: the action is done for the benefit of somebody.

The context may provide a second interpretation depending on the degree of involvement of the dative referent. It is possible to obtain a reading in which the referent intended to do the action described, but someone else has done it instead (and, consequently, for his benefit). Imagine, for instance, that (30b) was produced in a context where the referent of *lhe* has been sitting and reading; he then showed the intention of getting up in order to put the book in the bookcase. Someone offers to do the task and then puts the book in the bookcase instead of the *lhe* referent.

When the complement is expressed by a clitic pronoun, only the context permits us to choose between a 'passive' or a 'more involved' beneficiary interpretation of the complement. The distinction is easier to perceive when the N_2 is realized as a PP: the preposition *a* usually conveys the first interpretation (30a); *para* may carry both, as in (30a'):

(30) a'. *Ele abre a porta **para** os **convidados**.*
He-SUBJ opens the door for the guests
'He opens the door for the guests' or 'instead of the guests.'

What differentiates the 'dativus commodi/incommodi' construction from its other transitive counterparts is the way in which this complement is linked to the verb. It does not form part of the verbal grid, but is rather governed by the whole verbal complex (the verb plus its complements). This is especially clear in example (30b).

The other syntactic-semantic characteristics of the construction are: [+ *animate*] N_0 + V + [- *animate*] N_1 + {*a,para*} + [+ *animate*] N_2; N_2 is always cliticizable.

3.1.6. The transitive possessive dative

This construction expresses a general meaning of possession, derived from the special relationship existent between N_2 and N_1: N_1 may be conceived of as being included in the domain of the referent of N_2.

What differentiates this construction from the common possessive is the fact that the relationship of inclusion is structurally outside the level of the NP. It is established in the sentence level due to the effect of the association of two syntactically independent arguments - N_1 and N_2.

The examples in (31) illustrate this:

(31) a. *Eu queimei-**lhe** os cabelos.*
I-SUBJ burned him/her-DAT his hair-ACC
'I burned his hair (for him/her).'

b. *Maria limpou-**me** o casaco.*
Mary-SUBJ cleaned me-DAT the coat-ACC
'Mary cleaned my coat (for me).'

c. *Eu descasquei-**lhe** a laranja.*
I-SUBJ peeled him/her-DAT the orange-ACC
'I peeled his/her orange (for him/her).'

As the domain in which N_1 must be included is syntactically independent from N_1, the semantic interpretation is considered as not immediately given. This can be envisaged in two steps: there is a predication that includes N_0 and N_1; and there is the inclusion of the affected complement N_1 in the domain of N_2. The inclusion results in N_2 being an indirect recipient. This can be represented as:

[Eu queimei [os cabelos] [lhe]][9]
I burned his/her hair him/her

> [Eu queimei [lhe [os cabelos]]]
I burned him/her his/her hair

This relationship need not be one of strict inalienability, as shown by the examples (31 b-c).

The general condition for the legitimacy of this interpretation is the existence of an accusative complement in the 'preferential' construction. This constitutes a necessary, but not sufficient condition. The verbs of group two

cannot be interpreted as with a possessive dative; moreover, verbs such as *amar* ('to love'), *adorar* ('to adore'), and *detestar* ('to detest') do not admit such an interpretation.

A closer examination of the facts shows that the general possessive interpretation must be relativized, since considering the case of (31c) out of context, it is impossible to distinguish between a possessive and a 'commodi' reading of the dative complement. It is still interesting to note that, when N_1 is expressed by an indefinite noun phrase (not a part of the body), only the beneficiary interpretation is available:

(32) a. *Eu descasquei- **lhe** uma laranja.*
I-SUBJ peeled him/her-DAT an orange-ACC
'I peeled an orange for him/her.'

Other characteristics of the possessive dative are: [+/- *animate*] N_0 + V + [*pars corporis or 'inalienable possession' of* N_2*; definite*] N_1 + [+ *animate*; *clitic*] N_2.

3.2. Intransitive structures

Intransitive structures with a dative complement serve to describe a state of *association* between the two arguments of the verb. There is no agent or cause involved. The general pattern of the construction is: N_1 - V - {a,para} N_2.

Semantic specificities of the association involved distinguish three basic types of verbs, expressing:

(1) *interest*, (2) *motion* and (3) *psychological movement.*

*3.2.1. Interest; prototype: **obedecer** ('to obey')*

The general meaning of 'interest' summarizes the idea conveyed by the dative complement of this group. However, the verbs which can be included in this category reveal slight differences which must be considered.

The first aspect to consider for intransitive verbs of interest refers to the involvement of the referent of N_1 in the process described. With some verbs, N_1 is actively and voluntarily involved in the association (or reversely, in the negation of the association). This is the case of the following verbs:

acudir ('to assist')	*obedecer* ('to obey')
aderir ('to adhere')	*renunciar* ('to renounce')
assistir ('to atend')	*resistir* ('to resist')
faltar ('to be lacking')	*servir* ('to serve')

(33) a. *Aos 18 anos, todos os jovens começam*
At 18 years all the young men-SUBJ begin
*a servir **ao** **Exército.***
to serve to the Army-DAT
'When they are eighteen, all the young men begin to serve in the Army.'

b. *João sempre obedeceu **às regras de trânsito.***
John-SUBJ always obeyed to the traffic laws-DAT
'John has always obeyed the traffic laws.'

The characteristics of this group are: [+/(-) *animate*] N_1 + V + (*a*) + [+/- *animate*] N_2; as expected from the typically voluntary nature of N_1, the examples of [- animate] N_1 seem marginal; N_2 is always cliticizable when it is [+ animate].

The verbs in this sub-group normally require that N_2 be introduced by the preposition *a*. However, some variation is observed in the sense that some verbs admit the construction without the preposition. This is the case for *obedecer*, *faltar*, *resistir*, *servir*, *aderir*, *assistir*. Thus in examples (33a, b) above, we could have:

a'. ***servir o Exército***
'to serve the Army'

b'. *obedecer **as regras de trânsito***
'to obey the traffic laws'

Such constructions are mostly found in Brazilian Portuguese (we have found no references for this construction in the European variety); moreover, they tend to occur in informal contexts.

For other intransitive verbs of interest, there is no voluntary involvement of N_1, but rather it participates in a static association and/or correspondence with N_2:

concernir ('to concern') *pertencer* ('to belong to')
corresponder ('to correspond') *sobrar* ('to be left over')
equivaler ('to be equivalent')

The relationship is illustrated in (34):

(34) a. *O edifício pertence* ***a um milionário do petróleo.***
The building-SUBJ belongs to a petroleum millionaire-DAT
'The building belongs to a petroleum millionaire.'

b. *O assunto* ***lhe*** *concernia muito*
The subject-SUBJ him-DAT concerned quite
particularmente.
specifically
'The subject concerned him quite specifically.'

c. *O preço deste anel equivale* ***a dois***
The price of this ring-SUBJ (is) equivalent to two
anos de meu salário.
years of my salary-DAT
'The price of this ring is equivalent to two years of my salary.'

As indicated in these examples, N_1 is characteristically [- animate]. On the other hand, N_2 may be either animate or inanimate, being cliticizable when [+ animate]. The presence of the preposition *a* is obligatory when N_2 is expressed by a PP.

The second aspect to consider for the intransitive verbs of interest with dative complements concerns the referentiality of N_2. In the two sub-groups mentioned above, N_2 always has a referential interpretation, even if this is not overtly expressed in the sentence.

With the verbs listed below, N_2 only has a referential reading when lexically realized. The absence of a lexical dative implies an arbitrarily non-referential interpretation for N_2.

acontecer ('to happen') *convir* ('to convene')
bastar ('to be sufficient') *faltar* ('to be lacking')
chegar ('to be sufficient') *parecer* ('to seem')
constar ('to be known') *ser* ('to be')

Compare the pairs (a) and (b) in (35-37).

(35) a. *Quem é que se importa com o que* ***lhe***
Who is that matters with what him-DAT
aconteceu?
happened
'Who cares what happened to him/her?'

b. *Quem é que se importa com o que aconteceu?*
Who is that matters with what happened
'Who cares what happened?'

(36) a. *A questão* ***me*** *pareceu algo académica.*
The question-SUBJ me-DAT seemed a bit academic
'The question seemed a bit academic to me.'
(Rev.-Expr., 4/4/92, p. 26)

b. *A questão pareceu algo académica.*
The question-SUBJ seemed a bit academic
'The question seemed a bit academic.'

(37) a. *O 'Estado de São Paulo' de domingo* ***me***
The Sunday edition of the 'Estado de São Paulo-SUBJ me-DAT
é muito útil.
is very useful
'The Sunday edition of the 'Estado de São Paulo'
is very useful to me.' (Projeto NURC)

b. *O 'Estado de São Paulo' de domingo é muito útil.*
'The Sunday edition of the 'Estado de São Paulo' is very useful.'

In the (a) sentences, the overt presence of the dative specifies the entity by whom the state is envisaged. Although in the (b) sentences this entity is implicit, it may be a specific 1st, a 2nd or a 3rd person referent (depending on the context) as well as a generic 'someone' or 'everyone'. The absence of an explicit N_2 results in a focus on N_1, with an emphasis on its own properties and those attributed to it by the verb.

In syntactic-semantic terms, this alternative construction presents the following characteristics: [+/- *animate*] N_1 + V + {*a,para*} + [+ *animate*] N_2. N_1 may be expressed by a proposition (finite or infinitive clause); N_2 is always cliticizable and is preferably expressed as a clitic.

3.2.2. *Motion; prototype:* ***chegar*** *('to reach')*

Verbs of motion normally subcategorize a locative or a directional argument. When this argument is [+ animate], in addition to the locative interpretation, it is marked [+affected]. Its referent is in some sense involved in the process described, even if this involvement is involuntary.

Verbs included in this group are:

chegar ('to reach')	*fugir* ('to escape')
escapar ('to escape')	*ir* ('to go')
entrar ('to enter')	*vir* ('to come')

The characteristics of this construction may be described as: [+/-*animate*] N_1 + V + a + [+ *animate*] N_2. N_2 is always cliticizable and is preferably expressed as a clitic pronoun:

(38) a. *Veio- **lhe** uma necessidade enorme de*
(It) came him/her-DAT a need enormous to

sair.
go out-SUBJ
'He felt a tremendous desire to go out.'

b. *Alguns erros de ortografia **me** escaparam.*
Some orthographic errors-SUBJ me-DAT escaped
'Some orthographic errors have escaped my attention.'

As in the cases exemplified in (35-37), only lexical dative complements receive the specific interpretation with motion verbs. When non-overtly expressed, the complement normally receives a 'default' value, and is interpreted as a deictic related to the 1st or 2nd persons. The [+ affected] feature is lost, and only a locative interpretation is possible.

(39) a. *O menino veio [e], pedindo ajuda.*[10]
The boy-SUBJ came [e]-LOC asking help
'The boy came, asking for help.'

b. *De fora, chegava um cheiro bom de solo*
From outside (it) arrived a smell good of soil

úmido [e].
humid-SUBJ [e]-LOC
'The good smell of humid soil came from outside.'

The symbol [e], which represents an empty category (see note 5), may be interpreted as 'here', 'the place from which the speaker speaks'.

3.2.3. *Psychological movement; prototype:* ***agradar*** *('to please')*

This class includes some of the so-called psychological verbs:

agradar ('to please')	*repugnar* ('to cause aversion')
importar ('to matter')	*satisfazer* ('to satisfy')
interessar ('to interest')	etc.

These verbs take a [+ animate] N_2 that represents the 'bearer' of the psychological process conveyed by the verb. N_1 represents the cause or source of the process.

The characteristics of the group may be summarized as follows: [+/-*animate*] N_1 + V_{3p} + a + [+ *animate*] N_2; N_1 may be expressed as a subordinate (*que*) or infinitive clause (40b, c); N_2 is always cliticizable, as in (40c).

(40) a. *A inteligência do rapaz agradou*
The intelligence of the boy-SUBJ pleased

a todos.
(to) everybody-DAT
'The boy's intelligence pleased everybody.'

b. ***A eles** não importa como você utiliza*
To them-DAT (it) not matters [how do you use

o seu tempo de trabalho.
your time of work]-SUBJ
'For them it does not matter how you make use of your working time.'

c. *Fugir dali; fugir o mais depressa possível.*
Run away from there run away as quick as possible

*Nem **lhe** interessava saber por quanto*
(It) neither him-DAT was interesting [to know for how much

tempo.
time]-SUBJ

'Run away from there; run away as quickly as possible. It wasn't even of interest to him to know for how long.' (Rev.-Expr., 4/4/92, p. 28)

This group is much smaller than its equivalent in Spanish. Verbs such as the following, for example are used with accusative complements in Portuguese, although with dative ones in Spanish: *admirar* ('to cause admiration'), *alegrar* ('to delight'), *emocionar* ('to cause emotion'), *encantar* ('to enchant'), *entristecer* ('to sadden'), *molestar* ('to disturb'), *preocupar* ('to preoccupy'), *tentar* ('to tempt'). Even the majority of the psychological movement verbs can have an optional accusative construction, at least in Brazilian Portuguese. As seen below, the accusative clitic pronoun in (b) confirms the accusative nature of the complement:[11]

(41) a. *A comida satisfez* ***o menino.***
The food-SUBJ satisfied the boy-ACC
'The food satisfied the boy.'

b. *A comida* ***o*** *satisfez.*
The food-SUBJ him-ACC satisfied
'The food satisfied him.'

(42) a. *A nova decoração agradou* ***o diretor.***
The new decoration-SUBJ pleased the director-ACC
'The new decoration pleased the director.'

b. *A nova decoração* ***o*** *agradou.*
The new decoration-SUBJ him-ACC pleased
'The new decoration pleased him.'

(43) a. *Todos os detalhes da construção interessavam*
All the details of the building-SUBJ interested
o proprietário.
the owner-ACC
'All the building details interested the owner.'

b. *Todos os detalhes da construção* ***o***
All the details of the building-SUBJ him-ACC
interessavam.
interested
'All the building details interested him.'

3.2.4. The intransitive possessive dative

The intransitive possessive dative differs from its transitive counterpart only with respect to certain selectional restrictions. The set of intransitive

verbs which can be used with a possessive dative is more limited than that of transitive verbs. Only verbs expressing a physical or emotional sensation seem to accept such a construction: *arder* ('to burn'), *coçar* ('to itch'), *doer* ('to ache'), and *tremer* ('to tremble'), as shown in (44).

(44) a. *Dõem-* ***me*** *as costas.*
Aches me-DAT the back-SUBJ
'My back aches.'

b. *Tremem-* ***lhe*** *as mãos.*
Tremble him-DAT the hands-SUBJ
'His/her hands are trembling.'

The same effect of inclusion described for the transitive possessive dative (see 3.1.6.) holds in the case of intransitive verbs. There is a derived semantic interpretation of inclusion due to the syntactic independence of the 'owner' (N_2) and the 'owned object' (N_1). This constitutes the main difference between (45a) and (45b), which represent the common and the dative possessives, respectively.

(45) a. *Minha cabeça dõe.*
My head-SUBJ aches
'My head aches.'

b. ***Me*** *dõe a cabeça.*
Me-DAT aches the head-SUBJ
'I feel my head aching.'

The structural difference that not only permits, but requires a different semantic interpretation for each construction may be represented as follows:

(45') a. [[[minha] cabeça] dõe]]
my head aches

b. [[[a cabeça] [me]] dõe]
my head me aches

> [[[a cabeça] me] dõe]

The characteristics of this construction are: *[part of the body or inalienable possession of N_2; definite] N_1 + V + [+ animate; clitic pronoun] N_2.*

3.3. *The* ***se lhe*** *construction*

The *se lhe* construction is a variant of the *se* construction, one of the means of expressing a passive idea in Portuguese.[12] In contrast to the simple pronominal construction, it presents a dative complement with a general benefactive value.

The general pattern of the construction is:

V - se - lhe N2 + [+/- animate] N1

The nature of the verb leads to certain differences in the interpretation of the dative complement. Two main types can be envisaged. The first is illustrated in (46):

(46) a. *Passaram-* *se-* ***lhe*** *todas as informações*
Passed-3PL se-PASS him/her-DAT [all the informations
sobre o novo projeto.
about the new project]-SUBJ
'All the information about the new project was passed to him/her.'

b. *Ensinou-* *se-* ***lhe*** *uma nova técnica*
Taught-3SG se-PASS him/her-DAT a new technique
de pintura.
of painting-SUBJ
'A new painting technique was taught him/her (to him/her).'

c. *Trouxeram-* *se-* ***lhe*** *algumas caixas.*
Brought-3PL se-PASS him/her-DAT some boxes-SUBJ
'Some boxes were brought to him/her.'

d. *Consagraram-* *se-* ***lhe*** *os estudos.*
Devoted-3PL se-PASS him/her-DAT the studies-SUBJ
'The studies were devoted to him/her.'

e. *Abriu-* *se-* ***lhes*** *a porta.*
Opened-3SG se-PASS them-DAT the door-SUBJ
'The door was opened for them.'

All the cases exemplified above correspond to transitive structures: the existence of an agent is implicit in the verbal grid. The dative complement is either part of the verbal complex (46a-d) or highly predictable, given the verb's subcategorization (46e). The proof lies in the fact that the corresponding non-pronominal sentences are perfectly grammatical with the dative complement:

(46') a. *Passaram-* ***lhe*** *todas as informações.*
Passed-3PL him/her-DAT all the informations-ACC

b. *Ensinou-* ***lhe*** *uma nova técnica.*
Taught-3SG him/her-DAT a new technique-ACC

c. *Trouxeram-* ***lhe*** *algumas caixas.*
Brought-3PL him/her-DAT some boxes-ACC

d. *Consagraram-* ***lhe*** *os estudos.*
Devoted-3PL him/her-DAT the studies-ACC

e. *Abriu-* ***lhes*** *a porta.*
Opened-3SG them-DAT the door-ACC

As in the active counterpart sentences (46'), the dative complement has a clear benefactive interpretation. The presence of the passive pronoun *se* lends a character of *involuntary involvement* of the dative referent in the action described.

This construction represents an important point of divergence between European and Brazilian Portuguese. In addition to the examples illustrated in (46), European Portuguese also admits the following types of *se lhe* constructions:

(47) a. *Secaram-* *se-* ***lhe*** *as flores.*
Dryed-3PL se-PASS him/her-DAT the flowers-SUBJ
'The flowers dried on him/her.'

b. *Quebrou-* *se-* ***me*** *o vaso.*
Broke-3SG se-PASS me-DAT the vase-SUBJ
'The vase broke on me.'

c. *Caiu-* *se-* ***me*** *o muro em cima.*
Fell-3SG se-PASS me-DAT the wall-SUBJ above
'The wall fell on me.'

In Brazilian Portuguese, only those examples presented in (46) are possible. In fact, they correspond to the *se*-passives of the following active structures:

(48) a. *X* ***transferiu-*** ***lhe*** *as* *informações.*
SUBJ transferred him-DAT the informations-ACC

b. *X* ***ensinou-*** ***lhe*** *uma* *nova* *técnica.*
SUBJ taught him-DAT a new technique-ACC

c. *X* ***trouxe-*** ***lhe*** *algumas* *caixas.*
SUBJ bought him-DAT some boxes-ACC

d. *X* ***consagrou-*** ***lhe*** *os* *estudos.*
SUBJ devoted him-DAT the studies-ACC

e. *X* ***abriu-*** ***lhes*** *a* *porta.*
SUBJ opened them-DAT the door-ACC

The examples presented in (47) are not felt to be natural in Brazilian Portuguese. This is partially because of the same clitic rejection process referred to in section 2.

In (46), the clitic *se* has a clear passive function: it constitutes the formal mark of the agent that has been 'dethematized'. This explains why it is relatively more resistent to the clitic erosion process.[13] The *se* that appears in (47) has no argument value, and is, consequently, more easily lost.

The dropping of *se* would generate the following sentences in Brazilian Portuguese:

(49) a. *Secaram-* ***lhe*** *as* *flores.*
Dryed-3PL him-DAT the flowers
'Someone dried his flowers' or 'Someone dried the flowers for him.'

b. *Quebrou-* ***lhe*** *o* *vaso.*
Broke-3SG him-DAT the vase
'He broke his vase' or 'He broke the vase for him.'

c. *Caiu-* ***lhe*** *o* *muro* *em cima.*
Fell-3SG him-DAT the wall above
'The wall fell on him.'

However, with the exception of (49c), these sentences do not correspond to an 'involuntary and non-responsible involvement', as is the case of the sentences in (47). (49a-b) constitute, in fact, examples of the already mentioned 'dativus commodi' and/or 'possessive dative'.

In order to maintain the involuntary reading, it is necessary to make use of a completely different strategy: word order.[14] The pre-verbal position of N_1

eliminates the 'possessive' reading, giving the idea that the event takes place without the voluntary or responsible participation of the *lhe* referent.

(50) a. *As* *flores* *secaram-* ***lhe.***
The flowers-SUBJ dried him-DAT
'The flowers dried on him.'

b. *O* *vaso* *quebrou-* ***lhe.***
The vase-SUBJ broke him-DAT
'The vase broke on him.'

The constructions presented in both (50) and (47) imply two secondary meanings: the event was not desired and it could have been avoided.

3.4. The 'dativus ethicus'

This special type of dative is always expressed by a clitic and is limited to the 1st and 2nd persons. It can occur in any sentence configuration, with or without another dative complement, as in (51c) and (51a, b), respectively.

(51) a. *Não* ***me*** *chegue* *tarde!*
Do not me-DAT arrive-2SG late
'Do not arrive late on me.'

b. *Aquele* *lá* ***te*** *saiu* *um* *belo* *idiota!*
That one-SUBJ you-DAT came out a pretty idiot
'That one showed himself to be a pretty idiot to you.'

c. *Conta-* ***me*** *bem* *essa* *história* *ao* *rapaz!*
Tell me-DAT well this story-ACC to the boy-DAT
'Go and tell this story well to the boy!'

If there is a second dative complement, only the 'dativus ethicus' occurs as a clitic, and the nuclear dative will necessarily be expressed with a PP.

The non-restrictive character of the 'dativus ethicus' is due to its non-argumental nature.

This construction occurs in emotionally marked sentences and helps to enhance the intensity of the emotional involvement of the speaker (or listener) in what is being said.

4. Conclusion: a tentative hierarchy

The typology presented in section 3 shows that it is possible to unify all these various complements under the common dative label on the basis of similar morpho-syntactic behavior. On the other hand, it also reveals some peculiarities that cannot be eliminated through generalizations, such as subtle differences in semantic interpretation (e.g. the possessive dative (3.1.6. and 3.2.4.) and the intransitive structures with motion verbs (3.2.2.)).

A central point in the identification of these complements is the way in which they are linked to the verb and its other complements. This corresponds to the degree of involvement in which the dative complement participates in the specific process described. And it also relates to the nature of the relationship between this complement and the other sentence members: inclusion, benefactive, association, goal, recipient or some combination of these.

Considering these aspects, it is possible to outline a hierarchy for datives. The degree of cohesion of the dative to the verbal complex constitutes the criterion for the establishment of such a hierarchy. Thus, cohesion is defined in terms of the predictability of the element in the construction. The notion of predictability is preferable to that of argument, as it permits a gradation and leads to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

On a primary level, we have the truly nuclear datives. This is the case of the *material transfer* verbs (3.1.1.), the *verbal and perceptual transfer* verbs (3.1.2.), the *physical motion* verbs (3.1.3.), the *abstract motion* verbs (3.1.4.) (three-place predicates); the *interest* verbs (3.2.1.), the *motion* verbs (3.2.2.) and the *psychological movement* verbs (3.2.3.) (two-place predicates); the *possessive dative*; and the *se lhe* constructions with three-place predicates (46a-d).

In these constructions the dative constitutes part of the verbal complex; it is expected, since it is defined as one of the arguments of the verb. In this sense, the dative maintains a linear relationship with the other elements of the verbal complex. This relationship may be represented as in (52).

(52) [Maria [deu [o livro] [ao João]]]
Mary gave the book to John

The second level of cohesion includes the *dativus commodi* (3.1.5.) and the *se lhe* construction with intransitives. The dative does not constitute part of the verbal complex. It is not incorporated into the thematic grid of the verb,

but it is in some sense linked to the verbal complex.[15] The process described by the verbal complex is directed towards the dative, and there is a clear connotation of beneficiary/recipient. This level of involvement can be visualized as in (53).

(53) [Pedro [[abriu [a porta]] aos convidados]]
Peter opened the door to the guests

Finally, at the bottom of the cohesion scale comes the 'dativus ethicus'. This is completely beyond sentence level, belonging to the level of the speech act. This explains its unlimited nature, as it is not selected by any element on the sentence level. There is no longer a syntactic link between the dative and the rest of the sentence; this link is made pragmatically, as represented in (54).

(54) [[Ele [gastou [todo o salário]]] me]
He spent the whole salary (on) me

As we move from the first level, through the second to arrive at the third level of cohesion of the dative, we pass from a totally predictable (and obligatory) complement to a gradually less predictable one. The final category – that of the dativus ethicus – represents the total absence of predictability in syntactic terms.

This hierarchy, as well as the typology presented in section 3, holds for Portuguese today. It would be quite enriching, and theoretically desirable, to evaluate its validity for other related and non-related languages. This task, however, has been left for future analysis.

NOTES

1. 'Standard' refers here to the traditional description found in grammars, a description which represents principally a partial reality: that of written language, and that employed in formal contexts.
2. These forms (*mim*, *ti*, *si*, *ele*, *ela*, *nós*, *vós*, *eles*, *elas*) always require an introductory preposition.
3. The information between parenthesis includes the source from which the example was taken. Some are examples of the written language. Those taken from 'Projeto NURC'

are examples of oral language. The absence of source reference indicates an example given by the author.

4. The prepositional phrase *na menina* corresponds to *em a menina*. In Portuguese, when the preposition *em* occurs before the definite article (*o(s)/ a(s)*), a contraction is formed from a reduced form of the preposition (*em* > *n*) and the article.

5. The symbol *[e]* represents an argument not lexically expressed, but predictable in the verb's thematic grid and recoverable from the previous syntactic or pragmatic context.

6. European Portuguese prefers to put the clitic immediately after the verb; in Brazilian Portuguese, the preverbal position is the norm.

7. The verb *emprestar* means both 'to lend' and 'to borrow', the difference in meaning depending on the form of its complement: in the sense of 'to lend', *emprestar* takes an *a/para*-complement; in the sense of 'to borrow', it takes a *de*-complement. When the complement is cliticized, it is impossible to distinguish the meaning without taking into account the surrounding context.

8. Many verbs of this group also appear in 3.1.3. (e.g. *aproximar*, *conduzir*, *levar*, *pôr*, *trazer*). They may convey either a physical or an abstract motion interpretation, the second being a metaphorical derivation of the first.

9. The brackets delimit the scope of each sentence component.

10. The placement of the empty category in the examples must not be interpreted as indicative of its placement in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Its presence is relevant only in the discussion.

11. These cases might be more properly considered to be in transition from a dative to an accusative construction. Proof of this transitory stage is the fact that they still do not accept passivization of the complement.

12. *Passive interpretation* must not be confounded with *passive construction*. The latter is only possible in transitive structures and corresponds: (a) to the postposing of the agent (which functions as the grammatical subject in the active sentence) and (b) the promotion of the accusative complement to the function of grammatical subject. On the contrary, the *passive interpretation* is a much broader notion that encompasses both transitive and intransitive structures.

13. We must admit that this construction is not completely immune to the process of clitic rejection. Although the *se* construction is still possible in Brazilian Portuguese, it is limited in terms of frequency and modality: it is much more common in writing than in speaking, and in general, it is replaced by a construction with a null 3rd person subject and an indefinite reading.

14. The presence of the dative *lhe* is not obligatory for this involuntary interpretation. In fact, the corresponding construction without the dative is more frequent than that with *lhe*.

15. Vilela (1983:147) has already observed that the so-called 'dativus commodi' is governed by the verbal complex, which includes the verb and all complements linked to it.

REFERENCES

Almeida, N.M. de. 1973. *Gramática Metódica da Língua Portuguesa*. São Paulo: Edição Saraiva.

Borba, F. da S. (ed.). 1990. *Dicionário Gramatical de Verbos do Português Contemporâneo do Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade Estadual Paulista.

Câmara Jr., J.M. 1985. *História e estrutura da língua portuguesa*. 4th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Padrão.

Cunha, C. and Cintra, L.F. 1985. *Nova gramática do português contemporâneo*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.

Duarte, M.E.L. 1986. *Variação e Sintaxe: Clítico acusativo, pronome lexical e categoria vazia no português do Brasil*. Dissertação de mestrado. São Paulo: PUC/SP.

Holanda, A.B. de. 1986. *Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.

Nunes, J. 1991. *SE* apassivador e *SE* indeterminador: o percurso diacrônico no português brasileiro. *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos* 20, 33-58. Campinas: Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem.

Oliveira, M.E. de M. 1984. *Syntaxe des verbes psychologiques du portugais*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica.

Omena, N.P. de. 1978. *Pronome Pessoal de Terceira Pessoa: Suas formas variantes em função acusativa*. Dissertação de mestrado. Rio de Janeiro: PUC/RJ.

Ramos, J. 1989. O emprego de preposições no Português do Brasil. In *Fotografias Sociolingüísticas*, F. Tarallo (ed.), 83-93. Campinas, SP: Pontes; Editora da Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

Seabra, M.T. 1983. Contribution à l'étude du '*lhe*' adjoint en portugais. In *Morphosyntaxe des Langues Romanes*. vol. 4. Actes du XVIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes (1983), 181-192. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1986.

Tarallo, F.L. 1983. *Relativization Strategies in Brazilian Portuguese*. Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn.: University Microfilms International.

Tarallo, F.L. 1985. The filling of the gap: Pro-drop rules in Brazilian Portuguese. *Currents Issues in Linguistic Theory* 36, 355-375. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Vilela, M. 1983. As categorias de 'objecto indirecto' em português. In *Morphosyntaxe des Langues Romanes*. vol. 4. Actes du XVIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes (1983), 139-151. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1986.

PART II

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

The German dative

Luk Draye

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

German linguistics has a discouragingly long tradition of research in the field of case morphology, syntax, and semantics. The present study is therefore, perforce, of a summarizing nature and can only add some marginal comments to this tradition. It owes a lot to Wegener (1985), to which the reader is referred for a concise survey of research on the (nonprepositional) dative up to the early eighties.*

1. Morphological aspects

German has preserved a relatively complex inflectional morphology without, however, attaining absolute biuniqueness in signalling the oppositions between its nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive case. This relative semiotic deficiency holds for both the nominal and the pronominal system. In the pronominal system, case syncretism obviously provokes no reaction:

(1) a. *Er unterstützt* ***dich***.
He supports you-ACC SG
'He is supporting you.'

b. *Er hilft* ***dir***.
He helps you-DAT SG
'He is helping you.'

c. *Er unterstützt/hilft* ***euch***.
He supports/helps you-ACC/DAT PL
'He is supporting/helping you.'

In the nominal system, however, in some instances morphological syncretism leads to morphosyntactic complications in the genitive and, to a lesser extent, also in the dative case. Therefore, it seems useful to first give a short outline of present-day German nominal inflection.

Irrespective of whether one adheres to a determiner=head or to a noun=head analysis,[1] as far as declension of its constituents is concerned, the present-day German NP is best described as consisting of maximally three different inflectional positions whose actual realization is, to a not unimportant degree, hierarchically determined and interdependent. Morphological differentiation is dependent both on case, number, and gender and on the position within the nominal group. Morphological differentiation is more prominent in the masculine singular than in the feminine and neuter singular and in the plural, these latter three being characterized by case syncretism. Further, it is maximal in the first inflectional position and minimal in the third one, the position of the noun, which is inflectionally the most eroded element of the NP. The only noun endings which primarily and freely function as case morphemes are *+(e)s* in the genitive singular of 'strong' masculines and neuters and *+n* in the dative plural of all genders.[2] Facultative *+(e)* in the dative singular of 'strong' masculines (*dem Mann(e)* - 'the man'-DAT) and neuters (*dem Kind(e)* - 'the child'-DAT), and *+(e)n* in 'weak' masculines[3] (*des/dem/den Präsidenten* - 'the president'-GEN/DAT/ACC), no longer function as case markers; they can only be used in combination with adnominal or syntactic agreement markers.

Inflectional morphemes of the noun on the one hand, and inflectional morphemes in the first ('determiner') and second ('adjective') position on the other, are, as a rule, formally independent of each other. Inflection in the second position ('strong' or 'weak'), however, is formally dependent on inflection in the first one (zero or 'strong').

1.1. position 1 = 'strong' > position 2 = 'weak' // position 3

When the first position of an NP consists of a determiner with a 'strong', i.e., a maximally differentiating ending, the optional second one shows 'weak', i.e., nondifferentiating or less differentiating declension, as should become clear on the basis of the following chart:

(2) paradigm of *that good man-that good woman-that good child-those good people*

	MASC SG		FEM SG		NEUT SG
N	jen*er* gut*e* Mann				
A	jen*en* gut*en* Mann	N=A	jen*e* gut*e* Frau	N=A	jen*es* gut*e* Kind
D	jen*em* gut*en* Mann(e)	D=G	jen*er* gut*en* Frau	D	jen*em* gut*en* Kind(e)
G	jen*es* gut*en* Mann*es*			G	jen*es* gut*en* Kind*es*

	PL
N=A	jen*e* gut*en* Kinder
D	jen*en* gut*en* Kindern
G	jen*er* gut*en* Kinder

Note that only in the genitive case is there an interference between position 1 and 3: some determiners optionally take 'weak' *+en* instead of 'strong' *+es*, provided that the third position contains the 'strong' masculine or neuter singular ending *+(e)s*:

(3) a. *die Hoffnung jedes (europäischen) Königs*
the hope every-GEN (European-UGEN) king-GEN

b. *die Hoffnung jeden (europäischen) Königs*
the hope every-UGEN (European-UGEN) king-GEN
'the hope of every (European) king'

vs.

c. *die Hoffnung jedes (europäischen) Fürsten*
the hope every-GEN (European-UGEN) sovereign-GEN

d. *die Hoffnung *jeden (europäischen) Fürsten*
the hope every-UGEN (European-UGEN) sovereign-UGEN
'the hope of every (European) sovereign'

Example (3d) is disallowed as the genitive remains morphologically opaque, i.e., unmarked vis-à-vis the accusative. Arguably, (3d) is automatically interpreted as not being in the genitive on the basis of markedness relations between the German cases.

Interestingly enough, suffixing a 'strong' masculine or neuter singular

dative *+e* to the noun does not lead to a similar facultative alternation 'strong'/'weak' in the determiner position:

(4) a. *nach jedem Krieg*
after every-DAT war-UDAT

b. *nach jedem Kriege*
after every-DAT war-DAT

vs.

c. **nach jeden Kriege*
after every-*DAT war-*DAT

Unlike genitive *+(e)s*, dative *+e* clearly cannot influence determiner inflection. Rather, it depends on the presence of a preceding 'strong' ending in position 1 (or 2, see next section) and is excluded without one:

(5) a. *nach Krieg und Okkupation*
after war-UDAT and occupation-UDAT

b. **nach Kriege und Okkupation*
after war-*DAT and occupation-UDAT

1.2. position 1 = zero ending

1.2.1. > position 2 = 'strong' if position 3 unmarked for case

(7) paradigm of *much sweet wine-much sweet milk-much sweet beer-many sweet beers*

	MASC SG		FEM SG		NEUT SG
N	viel-ø süß*er* Wein				
A	viel-ø süß*en* Wein	N=A	viel-ø süß*e* Milch	N=A	viel-ø süß*es* Bier
D	viel-ø süß*em* Wein*(e)*	D=G	viel-ø süß*er* Milch	D	viel-ø süß*em* Bier*(e)*
G	[missing]			G	[missing]

	PL
N=A	viel-ø süß*e* Biere
D	viel-ø süß*en* Bieren
G	viel-ø süß*er* Biere

1.2.2. > position 2 = 'weak' if position 3 marked for case (i.e., 'strong')

(8) paradigm of *much sweet wine-much sweet milk-much sweet beer-many sweet beers*

	MASC SG	FEM SG	NEUT SG	PL
N	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]
A	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]
D	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]	[missing]
G	viel süß*en* Wein*es*	[missing]	viel süß*en* Bier*es*	[missing]

Again, the only context in which the third position is to be taken into account is in the genitive case. Here, a strong *+(e)s* ending in the third position obligatorily leads to a weak one in the second position, which explains the complementary distribution in the above charts.

Note as well that the facultative dative *+e* does not count as a case marker and thus does not influence inflection in the second position:

(9) a. *Er hat immer mit Fleiß/*Fleiße studiert.*
He has always with diligence-UDAT studied
'He always studied diligently.'

b. *Er hat immer mit großem Fleiß((e)) studiert.*
He has always with great diligence(-DAT) studied
'He always studied very diligently.'

1.3. 'Reduced' or 'extended' NPs

Extension or reduction of the above patterns by multiple occupation of position 1 and/or 2, or by leaving one position empty, does not lead to any unexpected morphological changes,[4] as may be exemplified by the following nominative forms:

(10) *ein guter alter Freund* = 1+2+2 // 3
'my good old friend'
all(e) meine guten alten Freunde = 1+1+2+2 // 3
'all my good old friends'
viele gute Freunde = 2+2 // 3
'many good friends'
alle Freunde = 1 // 3
'all friends'
alle Reisenden = 1+2 //
'all travellers'

However, special mention must be made of NPs which consist of only one position:

1.3.1. only position 3 occupied

Nominative and accusative, though unmarked for case, can be freely used:

(11) a. *Wasser ist billig.*
Water-UNOM (=NOM) is cheap
'Water is cheap.'

b. *Er liebt Aufregnung.*
He loves excitement-UACC (=ACC)
'He loves excitement.'

The genitive, both marked (in the masculine and neuter singular) and unmarked (in the feminine singular and in the plural), is disallowed and has to be replaced by either a semantically neutral genitival *position 1 = 'strong' // position 3* construction or a construction with the preposition *von*:[5]

(12) a. **Worte Reue/ *Worte Trostes*
words remorse-UGEN (=*ACC)/ words comfort-GEN
'words of remorse/of comfort'

b. *Worte der Reue/ Worte des Trostes*
words the-GEN remorse/ words the-GEN comfort-GEN
'words of remorse/of comfort'

c. **der Export Milch/ *der Export Bieres/*
the export milk-UGEN (=*ACC)/ the export beer-GEN

**der Export Biere*
the export beers-UGEN (=*ACC)
'the export of milk/of beer/of beers'

d. *der Export von Milch/ von Bier/ von Bieren*
the export from milk/ from beer/ from beers
'the export of milk/of beer/of beers'

Note that *der Reue* (12b) vs. *von Milch* (12d) are not in free variation, but are basically in a semantically motivated complementary distribution. Indeed, the genitive solution is only possible (and in standard language practically obligatory) in contexts in which the definite article is bound to be interpreted as secondary and as serving only the morphosyntactic function of marking the genitive. This interpretation results from the abstractness of the genitive noun, which normally precludes an opposition *bare N* vs. *definite article + N*:

(13) *Jetzt empfindet er Reue/ *die Reue.*
Now feels he remorse-UACC (=ACC)/ the-ACC remorse
'Now he is feeling remorse/*the remorse.'

The *von* solution is obligatory in contexts in which the genitive solution would lead to an unintended semantic side effect of definiteness. Compare:

(14) *Jetzt mag er Bier/ das Bier.*
Now likes he beer-UACC (=ACC)/ the-ACC beer
'Now he likes beer/the beer.'

and:

(15) *der Export von Bier/ des Bieres*
the export from beer/ the-GEN beer-GEN
'the export of beer/of the beer (in question)'

The dative singular, which from a systemic viewpoint is to be considered as inherently unmarked for case,[6] appears to stand midway between genitive and nominative/accusative. In two place predicates with nominative and dative arguments, it cannot be used without a definite article as an extra case marker, although the use of this article obscures the semantic opposition between *bare N* and *definite article + N* which holds in (14, 15):

(16) *Er trotzt gern *Gefahr/ der Gefahr.*
He defies gladly danger-UDAT (=*ACC!)/ the-DAT danger
'He likes to defy danger/the danger.'

Herein, case marking, or, more precisely, preventing an unacceptable accusative interpretation, seems to be more important than saving the opposition between indefinite/definite. Note that the opposition is maintained in two place predicates with a nominative and an accusative argument:

(17) *Er liebt Gefahr/ die Gefahr.*
He loves danger-UACC (=ACC)/ the-ACC danger
'He loves danger/the danger.'

In three place predicates with nominative, dative and accusative arguments, the bare unmarked dative N can be used only when it is in its canonical syntactic position, i.e., between the nominative and the accusative argument:

(18) *weil* *er* *Unehrlichkeit* *keine*
as he-NOM dishonesty-UDAT (=DAT!) no-ACC
Chance *gibt*
opportunity gives
'as he does not allow dishonesty'

Here, the semantic opposition between definite/indefinite is maintained:

(19) *weil* *er* *der* *Unehrlichkeit* *keine* *Chance*
as he-NOM the-DAT dishonesty no-ACC opportunity
gibt
gives
'as he does not allow the (aforementioned)/this dishonesty'

When, however, for semantic reasons the canonical order dative argument/ accusative argument has to be reversed, the following holds:

1° in the case of an animate accusative argument followed by an inanimate dative argument, the dative has to be overtly marked with a definite article like in (16):

(20) a. *weil* *ich* *mich* *nur* *ungern*
as I-NOM my(self)-ACC only reluctantly
**Aufregung* *aussetze*
excitement-UDAT (=*ACC!) expose

b. *weil* *ich* *mich* *nur* *ungern* *der*
as I-NOM my(self)-ACC only reluctantly the-DAT
Aufregung *aussetze*
excitement expose
'as I only reluctantly expose myself to excitement'

(21) a. *weil* *er* *seinen* *Sohn* **Kälte*
as he-NOM his-ACC son coldness-UDAT (=*ACC!)
aussetzt
exposes

b. *weil* *er* *seinen* *Sohn* *der* *Kälte* *aussetzt*
as he-NOM his-ACC son the-DAT coldness exposes
'as he exposes his son to coldness'

2° in the case of an inanimate accusative argument and an inanimate dative argument in combination with a so-called 'correspondence' verb, the use of an extra case marker is facultative:[7]

(22) a. *weil* *er* *Bier* *Wein* *vorzieht*
as he beer-UACC (=ACC) wine-UDAT (=DAT!) prefers
'as he prefers beer to wine'

b. *weil* *er* *Bier* *dem* *Wein* *vorzieht*
as he beer-UACC (=ACC) the-DAT wine prefers
'as he prefers beer to wine/beer to the (aforementioned) wine'

Recall that in present-day German (facultative) dative singular *+e* no longer functions as an independent case marker:

(22) c. *weil* *er* *Bier* **Weine* *vorzieht*
as he beer-UACC (=ACC) *wine-DAT prefers
'as he prefers beer to wine'

Note that sentences like (22b) lose their ambiguity only when both arguments are accompanied by a definite article. Indeed, this combination automatically entails a semantic shift from indefinite to definite (and in (23) from material noun to count noun):

(23) *weil* *er* *das* *Bier* *dem* *Wein* *vorzieht*
as he the-ACC beer the-DAT wine prefers
'as he prefers the (aforementioned) beer to the (aforementioned) wine'

The data with bare dative plural forms, however, appear to indicate that the system regards all dative plurals as marked for case, not only those which take the typical dative plural marker *+n* (24), but also those which cannot morphologically mark the dative plural (25):

(24) *Hund+e* (NOM ACC GEN PL) *vs.* *Hund+e+n* (DAT PL)
'dogs'

(25) *Rose+n/Gärten+/Chef+s* (NOM ACC GEN DAT PL)
'roses/gardens/chiefs'

As a consequence sentences like the following are fully grammatical even though they contain no overtly marked dative plural form:

(26) *weil er gern Gefahren trotzt*
as he gladly dangers-UDAT (=DAT!) defies
'as he likes to defy dangers'

(27) *weil ich mich nur ungern*
as I my(self)-ACC only reluctantly
Aufregungen aussetze
excitements-UDAT (=DAT!) expose
'as I only reluctantly expose myself to excitement(s)'

(28) *weil er Tulpen Rosen vorzieht*
as he tulips-UACC (=ACC) roses-UDAT (=DAT!) prefers
'as he prefers tulips to roses'

In light of this discussion of bare nouns, it can be concluded that the nominative and the accusative do not appear to need extra morphological support in order to function properly; bare datives tend to take an additional agreement marker only in atypical syntactic dative contexts; and bare genitives are excluded. Or, to put it differently, a NP morphologically unmarked for case is either a nominative or an accusative; it can only function as a dative in contexts in which expectations make us anticipate a dative, and it is not able to function as a genitive at all.

1.3.2. Only position 2 occupied

When the only element of an NP is a position 2 element, i.e., morphologically has adjective status, it always exhibits case marking 'strong' endings in accordance with 1.2.1. As the third position is empty, the genitive masculine and neuter singular cannot be used as they coincide with the accusative (and the nominative) neuter. They have to be replaced by a *von*-phrase:

(29) *Heuriger/ Geräuchertes schmeckt*
(wine) of this vintage-NOM/ smoked-UNOM (=NOM) (meat) tastes
gut.
good
'Heuriger/smoked meat tastes good.'

(30) *Ich liebe Heurigen/ Geräuchertes.*
I like (wine) of this vintage-ACC/ smoked-UACC (=ACC) (meat)
'I like Heuriger/smoked meat.'

(31) *Er zieht Bier Heurigem/*
He prefers beer-UACC (=ACC) (wine) of this vintage-DAT/
Gesottenes Geräuchertem vor.
cooked-UACC (=ACC) (meat) smoked-DAT (meat)
'He prefers beer to Heuriger/cooked meat to smoked meat.'

(32) a. *der Export *Heuriges/*
the export (wine) of this vintage-UGEN (=*ACC)/
**Geräuchertes*
smoked-UGEN (=*ACC) (meat)

b. *der Export von Heurigem/ von*
the export from (wine) of this vintage/ from
Geräuchertem
smoked (meat)
'the export of Heuriger/of smoked meat'

2. Syntactic aspects

2.1. Preliminary remarks

The German dative occurs in a number of syntactic contexts, which I will describe in the following sections. I will first briefly consider two specific dative uses, viz. the appositional and the adnominal.

The adnominal dative is found in constructions like:

(33) *Dem Nachbarn sein Fahrrad steht nicht in der*
the-DAT neighbour[1]-DAT his[1] bike stands not in the
Garage.
garage
'The neighbour's bike is not standing in the garage.'

Therein, a preposed dative NP (*dem Vater*) or pronoun is governed by a subsequent NP which obligatorily contains a 3rd person anaphoric possessive as a determiner, whereby the referents of the two NPs are in a *possessor-posses-*

sum relationship. The adnominal dative is believed to have emerged from adverbal datives as in:

(34) *Sie haben dem Nachbarn sein Fahrrad gestohlen.*
They have the-DAT neighbour his bike stolen
'They have stolen the neighbour's bike.'

That it now clearly functions as an adnominal attribute can be concluded from the construction's completely fixed word order:

(35) **Dem Nachbarn mit seinem Fahrrad fahre ich nicht gerne.*

vs

Mit dem Nachbarn seinem Fahrrad fahre ich nicht
With the-DAT neighbour his bike ride I not
gerne.
gladly
'I don't like riding the neighbour's bike.'

The adnominal dative is consonant with the general dative concept (cf. below). It is left out here as is it restricted to substandard varieties of German.

In German, there is case agreement between appositions and governing NPs. Thus, the second dative in (36) is functionally comparable to, e.g., the second accusative in (37):

(36) *Sogar seinem Bruder ,/als seinem ältesten Mitarbeiter,*
Even his-DAT brother ,/(as) his-DAT oldest collaborator,
hat er nichts gesagt.
has he nothing told
'He didn't tell anything, not even to his brother, his oldest collaborator.'

(37) *Sogar seinen Bruder ,/als seinen ältesten Mitarbeiter,*
Even his-ACC brother ,/(as) his-ACC oldest collaborator,
hat er nicht informiert.
has he not informed
'He didn't even inform his brother, his oldest collaborator.'

If it were not for an increasing tendency in present-day German to indiscriminately use the dative as a general apposition case, this phenomenon of case attraction would not have to be mentioned. Consider, however, the following data, which show the dative after governing NPs in the genitive, the accusative, and even the nominative:

(38) *die Bedeutung der Bundesrepublik als wichtigem*
the importance the Federal Republic-GEN as major
Eckstein in der Nato
cornerstone-DAT in Nato
'the Federal Republic's importance as a cornerstone in NATO'
(Abraham 1983:99)

(39) *Zwischen das finite Verb als erstem*
Between the-ACC finite verb as first-DAT
Rahmenteil und das Partizip als
part of the discontinuous structure and the-ACC participle as
zweitem Rahmenteil treten
second-DAT part of the discontinuous structure insert
normalerweise verschiedene Satzglieder.
normally various constituents
'Normally, various constituents are inserted between the finite verb as the first part of the discontinuous structure and the participle as the second one.' (Leirbukt 1978:10)

(40) *Eine besondere Anerkennung verdient jedoch N. als*
A special recognition deserves however N.-NOM as
dem mutigsten Festivalteilnehmer.
the-DAT bravest festival competitor
'However, N. deserves special recognition as the bravest competitor in the festival.' (Gippert 1981:58)

Normative grammars tend to disqualify the generalized use of the dative in appositions as ungrammatical and substandard. As such, this tendency decidedly demonstrates that, at least in this secondary context, the case system is eroding. It would therefore be unwise to try to motivate this development in semantic terms by generalizing about the semantics of all four German cases. Such an attempt would inevitably entail circularity in the argumentation, and it would weaken the semantic analysis in those contexts where case selection is still fully, or to a large extent, semantically motivated.

2.2. *Syntactic environments of the dative*

2.2.1. The prepositional dative

2.2.1.1. Prepositions governing the dative

German core prepositions, i.e., those which primarily introduce spatial configurations, govern either dative or accusative ('one-way prepositions') or both dative and accusative ('two-way prepositions'):

(41) a. *Er lief aus dem Wald/ *den Wald.*
He ran out of the-DAT forest/ *ACC
'He ran out of the forest.'

b. *Er lief durch den Wald/ *dem Wald.*
He ran through the-ACC forest/ *DAT
'He ran/was running through the forest.'

c. *Er lief in den Wald/ dem Wald.*
He ran in the-ACC forest/ the-DAT forest
'He ran into the forest/was running in the forest.'

One-way spatial dative prepositions are *bei* ('near to'), *gegenüber,* ('across'), *zu* ('to, at'), *nach* ('to, at'), *von* ('from'), and *aus* ('out of'); one-way spatial accusative prepositions are *durch* ('through'), *um* ('(a)round'), and *gegen* ('against'); and two-way spatial prepositions are *über* ('over'), *auf* ('on'), *unter* ('under'), *vor* ('before'), *hinter* ('behind'), *neben* ('next to'), *zwischen* ('between'), *an* ('on, at, to'), and *in* ('in, into'). The semantic motivation for the dative/accusative alternation will be discussed at some length in section 3.1.1.

Other frequent, but semantically less central, prepositions govern accusative (*ohne* ('without')), dative (*mit* ('with') and *seit* ('since')) or genitive/dative (*während* ('during'), *statt* ('instead of'), *trotz* ('in spite of'), and *wegen* ('because of')). In this domain, attempting to motivate case selection semantically must be considered a dubious undertaking. The fact, e.g., that genitive and dative are in a purely morphosyntactically based complementary distribution after *während, statt, trotz*, and *wegen* – which are traditionally listed as genitive prepositions – is rather revealing. Indeed, these prepositions govern the genitive only when inflection provides morphologically distinguishable genitive forms, as in

(42) *während dieser Jahre*
during these-GEN years

Otherwise, the dative takes over, obviously without conveying a different meaning:

(43) a. *während 4 *Jahre*
during four years-UGEN

b. *während 4 Jahren*
during four years-DAT

Unlike the bare adnominal genitive, masculine and neuter singular, the bare prepositional genitive, masculine and neuter singular, does occur, but is frequently replaced by an uninflected, indeed by a deflected, form:

(44) *wegen Umbaus/ Umbau geschlossen*
because of alteration-GEN/ alteration-UGEN closed
'closed for alterations'

Here, again, the masculine and the neuter seem to follow the feminine singular, which is inherently unmarked for case and is left unmarked without further morphological clarification. Compare in this respect (12) with (45):

(12) a. **Worte Reue/ *Worte Trostes*
words remorse-UGEN (=*ACC)/ words comfort-GEN
'words of remorse/of comfort'

b. *Worte der Reue/ Worte des Trostes*
words the-GEN remorse-UGEN/ words the-GEN comfort-GEN
'words of remorse/of comfort'

(45) a. *wegen Gefahr/ Umbaus*
because of danger-U/ alteration-GEN

b. *wegen Gefahr/ Umbau*
because of danger-U/ alteration-U
'because of danger/for alterations'

The distribution genitive vs. deflection vs. dative clearly precludes any synchronic semantic motivation for the case alternations in this context.

2.2.1.2. Topological restrictions

Prepositional phrases with dative core prepositions do not all exhibit the same topological behaviour. The two-way dative prepositional phrases and the one-way prepositional phrases with *bei/gegenüber*[8] do not have fixed syntactic positions within the sentence, which is, by the way, reflected suprasegmentally by their intonational independence of the verb. Rather, in a sentence with a verb such as *fallen*, they can occupy nearly all constituent positions:[9]

(46) a. *Im Schwimmbad/ beim Onkel ist mein*
In the-DAT swimming pool/ near the-DAT uncle is my
Bruder nie gefallen.
brother never fallen

b. *Mein Bruder ist im Schwimmbad/ beim*
My brother is in the-DAT swimming pool/ near
Onkel nie gefallen.
the-DAT uncle never fallen

c. *Nie ist mein Bruder im Schwimmbad/ beim*
Never is my brother in the-DAT swimming pool/ near
Onkel gefallen.
the-DAT uncle fallen

d. *Mein Bruder ist nie gefallen*
My brother is never fallen
im Schwimmbad/ beim Onkel.
in the-DAT swimming pool/ near the-DAT uncle

e. **Mein Bruder ist nie im Schwimmbad/ beim*
My brother is never in the-DAT swimming pool/ near
Onkel gefallen.
the-DAT uncle fallen
'My brother never fell in the swimming pool/at his uncle's.'

(46e) demonstrates how its independence of the verb disallows the prepositional phrase to enter into contact with it.[10]

Changing the dative to the accusative, or replacing the two-way prepositions or *bei/gegenüber* by a one-way dative or accusative preposition (except *bei/gegenüber*), renders sentences comparable to (46b, d) ungrammatical and corrects sentences comparable to (46e):

(47) a. *Ins Schwimmbad ist mein Bruder nie*
In the-ACC swimming pool is my brother never
gefallen.
fallen

b. **Mein Bruder ist ins Schwimmbad nie*
My brother is in the-ACC swimming pool never
gefallen.
fallen

c. *Nie ist mein Bruder ins Schwimmbad*
Never is my brother in the-ACC swimming pool
gefallen.
fallen

d. **Mein Bruder ist nie gefallen*
My brother is never fallen
ins Schwimmbad.
in the-ACC swimming pool

e. **Mein Bruder ist nie ins Schwimmbad*
My brother is never in the-ACC swimming pool
gefallen.
fallen
'My brother never fell into the swimming pool.'

(48) a. *Zur Stadt/ in die Stadt ist mein Bruder*
To the-DAT town/ in the-ACC town is my brother
nie gefahren.
never driven

b. **Mein Bruder ist zur Stadt/ in die Stadt*
My brother is to the-DAT town/ in the-ACC town
nie gefahren.
never driven

c. *Nie ist mein Bruder zur Stadt/ in die*
Never is my brother to the-DAT town/ in the-ACC
Stadt gefahren.
town driven

d. **Mein Bruder ist nie gefahren zur Stadt/ in*
My brother is never driven to the-DAT town/ in
die Stadt.
the-ACC town

e. *Mein Bruder ist nie zur Stadt/ in die*
My brother is never to the-DAT town/ in the-ACC
Stadt gefahren.
town driven
'My brother never drove to town.'

Setting aside topicalization in (47a, 48a), we can infer from (47, 48) that in this and comparable configurations, one-way accusative and dative prepositional phrases (except those with *bei/gegenüber*) and two-way accusative prepositional phrases are limited to the position immediately before the main verb (47c, e and 48c, e) and thus are syntactically highly dependent on it. The absence of an intonation peak on the verb mirrors this strong dependency relation as well.

The different dependency degree between two-way dative prepositional phrases and *bei/gegenüber*-phrases and the verb on the one hand, and between the other prepositional phrases and the verb on the other hand, can also be illustrated by sentences which contain two (or more) prepositional phrases.

In case of two prepositional phrases with a two-way dative preposition, there are no significant additional restrictions as to the position of these phrases. They can, e.g., be separated by topicalizing just one of them:

(49) a. *Die Frau hat neben mir auf der Bank*
The woman has next to me-DAT on the bench-DAT
gesessen.
sat
'The woman was sitting next to me on the bench.'

b. *Neben mir hat die Frau auf der Bank*
Next to me-DAT has the woman on the bench-DAT
gesessen.
sat
'Next to me, the woman was sitting on the bench.'

When the two prepositional phrases belong to the other group, this is impossible:

(50) a. *Die Frau hatte sich neben mich/ zu*
The woman had her(self) next to me-ACC/ to
mir auf die Bank gesetzt.
me-DAT on the-ACC bench set
'The woman sat down next to me on the bench.'

b. **Neben mich/ zu mir hatte sich die*
Next to me-ACC/ to me-DAT had her(self) the
Frau auf die Bank gesetzt.
woman on the bench-ACC set
'The woman sat down next to me on the bench.'

Topicalizing both prepositional phrases yields a correct sentence:

(50) c. *Neben mich/ zu mir auf die Bank hatte*
Next to me-ACC/ to me-DAT on the bench-ACC had
sich die Frau gesetzt.
her(self) the woman set
'The woman sat down next to me on the bench.'

So too does shifting towards a two-way dative construction, this time in both configurations:

(51) a. *Die Frau hatte sich neben mir auf*
The woman had her(self) next to me-DAT on
die Bank gesetzt.
the-ACC bench set
'Next to me, the woman sat down on the bench.'

b. *Neben mir hatte sich die Frau auf die*
Next to me-DAT had her(self) the woman on the
Bank gesetzt.
bench-ACC set
'Next to me, the woman sat down on the bench.'

The latter transformation entails, of course, a clear semantic shift as well.

Finally, the syntactic independence of two-way dative prepositional phrases has the effect that only in cases where these phrases have attribute status can they, as a part of a complex constituent, occur between a one-way prepositional phrase or a two-way accusative prepositional phrase and the main verb. Therefore, only (52a) is correct, personal pronouns, proper names and the like not being attributable (cf. 52b, c):

(52) *a.* *Die Frau hatte sich neben den Mann/*
The woman had her(self) next to the-ACC man

zu dem Mann auf der Bank gesetzt.
to the-DAT man on the bench-DAT set
'The woman sat down next to [the man on the bench].'

b. **Die Frau hatte sich neben mich auf*
The woman had her(self) next to [me-ACC on

der Bank/ zu mir auf der Bank gesetzt.
the-DAT bench]/ to [me-DAT on the-DAT bench] set
'*The woman sat down next to [me on the bench].'

c. **Die Frau hatte sich neben Johann auf*
The woman had her(self) next to [John-ACC on

der Bank/ zu Johann auf der Bank
the-DAT bench]/ to [John-DAT on the-DAT bench]

gesetzt.
set
'*The woman sat down next to [John on the bench].'

2.2.2. *The adverbal dative*

2.2.2.1. The dative in relation to verbal valency

Studying verbal valency within the framework of dependency grammar, German linguists have invested a rather disproportionate amount of energy in the problem of discerning verbal complements – obligatory and especially facultative – from free adjuncts. Here, the nonprepositional dative plays an important role as in many contexts its complement status is contested. For lack of space I cannot enter into much detail here, but must refer the reader to the survey in Wegener (1985:107-135) and to her conclusion that "German is, at least as far as the dative is concerned, a language which cannot be adequately described within the framework of dependency grammar" (1985:135).

In my view, the obligatory or facultative status of dative NPs is not in the first place a matter of syntactic dependency. Rather, it is a matter of dative semantics, or, more precisely, of the necessity or employability of the dative concept in structuring and wording certain states or events.

Thus, the distribution of the dative with, e.g., *verba dicendi* can be considered from two angles. Taking the verb as the (traditional) starting point, one could say that the less specific the *verbum dicendi* in question is, the easier it can be combined with a dative NP in a scene of verbal transfer. Taking the dative NP as the point of departure, it appears that the dative concept or the dative role only combines with unspecific (53) or specific prefix (55) or PP (56) verbs of verbal transfer and disallows more specific simplex *verba dicendi* (54):

(53) *Er hat (ihm) etwas gesagt, mitgeteilt, erzählt,*
He has (him-DAT) something said, announced, told,

geantwortet.
answered
'He told, announced, told, answered (him) something.'

vs

(54) *Er hat [*ihm!] etwas geflüstert, geraunt, gebrüllt,*
He has [*him-DAT!] something whispered, id., roared,

geschrieen.
shouted
'He whispered, roared, shouted something.'

The verbs in (54) can only be combined with a dative NP when they are prefixed with *zu-* or extended with a PP, the dative NP then becoming obligatory:

(55) *Er hat ihm etwas zugeflüstert, zugeraunt,*
He has him-DAT something to-whispered, id.,

zugebrüllt, zugeschrieen.
to-roared, to-shouted
'He whispered, roared, shouted something to him.'

(56) *Er hat ihm etwas ins Ohr geflüstert, geraunt,*
He has him-DAT something in the ear whispered, id.,

gebrüllt, geschrieen.
roared, shouted
'He whispered, roared, shouted something in my ear.'

Traditionally, the dative NP in (53) is analysed as a facultative complement, the one in (55) as an obligatory complement, and the one in (56), a so-called *Pertinenzdativ*, as an attribute (cf. Wegener (1985:120ff.) It will be clear however that as far as dative semantics is concerned, the role of the dative referent is exactly the same in these three contexts. It would, therefore, be un-

desirable to deny actantial status to any of these dative NPs or to treat them on the basis of the assumed difference in dependency as representing two (or three) semantically different types of dative.

In the following, I will be assuming actantial status for all traditional types of dative except for the so called ethical dative (see section 2.2.3.).

2.2.2.2. The dative as verbal argument

Taking the order *nominative NP - dative NP - accusative NP - prepositional NP*[11] as the unmarked one (cf. Lenerz 1977), the dative can be described as occurring in:

One place predicates

1° DAT - verb

(57) *daß meinem Vater schwindelte*
that my-DAT father grew dizzy
'that my father grew dizzy'

Two place predicates

2° DAT – PP[12] – verb

(58) *daß meinem Vater vor dem Gerede graute*
that my-DAT father before the-DAT gossip abhorred
'that my father abhorred that gossip'

3° NOM – DAT – verb

(59) *daß das Kind seinen Eltern hilft*
that the-NOM child its-DAT parents helps
'that the child is helping its parents'

Three place predicates

4° NOM – DAT – ACC – verb

(60) *daß der Vater seiner Tochter ein Buch*
that the-NOM father his-DAT daughter a-ACC book
geschenkt hat
presented has
'that the father presented his daughter with a book'

5° NOM – DAT – PP – verb

(61) *daß der Ober der alten Dame in den*
that the-NOM waiter the-DAT old lady in the-ACC
Mantel half
coat helped
'that the waiter helped the old lady into her coat'

Four place predicates

6° NOM – DAT – ACC – PP – verb[13]

(62) *daß er der Freundin die Hand auf das*
that he-NOM the-DAT girlfriend the-ACC hand on the-ACC
Knie legte
knee put
'that he put his hand on his girlfriend's knee'

2.2.2.3. Transformational restrictions

The adverbal dative is subject to a number of transformational restrictions which distinguish it from the adverbal accusative and, to a lesser degree, from the adverbal PP as well.

Semantics permitting, sentences which contain an adverbal dative can be regularly passivized (*werden*-passive). The adverbal dative and the adverbal PP are not affected by this passivization, the adverbal accusative appears in the nominative, and the original nominative turns into a (facultative) PP with *von/durch*:

(59') *daß den Eltern von ihrem Kind geholfen wird*
that the-DAT parents from their child helped becomes
'that the parents are being helped by their child'

(60') *daß der Tochter von dem Vater ein Buch*
that the-DAT daughter from her father a-NOM book
geschenkt worden ist
presented become is
'that the daughter was presented by her father with a book'

(61') *daß der alten Dame von dem Ober in den*
that the-DAT old lady from the waiter in the

Mantel geholfen wurde
coat helped became
'that the the old lady was being helped into her coat by the waiter'

(62') *daß ihr von ihrem Freund die Hand auf*
that she-DAT from her-DAT boyfriend the-NOM hand on
das Knie gelegt wurde
the knee put became
≈ 'that her boyfriend put his hand on her knee'

A transition from the *werden*-passive (the *Vorgangspassiv*/event passive) to the *sein*-construction, which refers to the resultant state, is impossible in sentences with adverbal dative (and adverbal PP) even when the agentive *von*-phrase is left out:

(59'') **daß den Eltern geholfen ist*
that the-DAT parents helped ist
'that the parents are (<have been) helped'

(60'') **daß der Tochter ein Buch geschenkt ist*
that the-DAT daughter a-NOM book presented is
'that the daughter is (<has been) presented with a book'

(61'') **daß der alten Dame in den Mantel geholfen war*
that the-DAT old lady in the coat helped was
'that the the old lady was (<had been) helped into her coat'

(62'') **daß ihr die Hand auf das Knie gelegt war*
that she-DAT the-NOM hand on the knee put was
'that her boyfriend's hand was (<had been put) on her knee'

This restriction leads to oppositions as in:

(63) a. *Er hat sie beeindruckt/ ihr imponiert.*
He has her-ACC impressed/ her-DAT impressed
'He impressed her.'

vs.

b. *Sie ist beeindruckt./* vs. **Ihr ist imponiert.*
sher-NOM is impressed/ *Her-DAT is impressed
'She is impressed.'

(64) a. *Er hat das Fahrrad gestohlen./ Er hat dir*
He has the-ACC bike stolen/ He has you-DAT
das Fahrrad gestohlen.
the-ACC bike stolen
'He has stolen the bike. / He has stolen your bike.'
'He has stolen that bike for you.'

vs.

b. *Das Fahrrad ist gestohlen.* vs. *?/* Das*
The-NOM bike is stolen vs. The-NOM vs. ?/* The
Fahrrad ist dir gestohlen.
bike is you-DAT stolen
'The bike is stolen vs. ? Your bike is stolen.'
*'That bike is stolen for you.'

Seeming exceptions such as (65) are the result of a lexicalization process. They can no longer be regarded as synchronically motivated derivations of *dienen* or *helfen*:

(65) *Damit ist uns nicht gedient/ geholfen.*
With that is us-DAT not served/ helped
'None of that with us. / That isn't of any help to us.'

Further restrictions concern 'reduced' participle and infinitival constructions of various kinds, the a-variants in the following being ungrammatical as they presuppose a nominative NP that the passivized main verbs in question cannot provide:

(66) a. **Beigestanden von seinen Freunden, konnte er das*
Assisted from his friends could he the
Problem lösen.
problem solve
'Assisted by his friends, he was able to solve the problem.'

b. *Unterstützt von seinen Freunden, konnte er das*
Supported from his friends could he the
Problem lösen.
problem solve
'Supported by his friends, he was able to solve the problem.'

(67) a. **Er wußte sich von seinen Freunden beigestanden.*
He knew him(self) from his friends assisted
≈ 'He knew that his friends supported him.'

b. *Er wußte sich von seinen Freunden unterstützt.*
He knew him(self) from his friends supported
≈ 'He knew that his friends supported him.'

(68) a. **der imponierte Präsident*
'the impressed president'

b. *der beeindruckte Präsident*
'the impressed president'

(69) a. **der Gratulierte*
'the congratulated one'

b. *der Beglückwünschte*
'the congratulated one'

(70) a. **ein nicht zu vertrauender Mitarbeiter*
a not to be trusted collaborator
'an untrustworthy collaborator'

b. *ein nicht zu unterschätzender Mitarbeiter*
a not to be undervalued collaborator
'a collaborator who shouldn't be undervalued'

(71) a. **Geholfen werden ist nicht immer angenehm.*
Helped to become is not always pleasant
'It's not always pleasant to be helped.'

b. *Unterstützt werden ist nicht immer angenehm.*
Supported to become is not always pleasant
'It's not always pleasant to be supported.'

(72) a. **Das Beiwohnen von Kongressen beansprucht viel Zeit.*
The to attend from congresses takes up much time
'Attending congresses takes up much time.'

b. *Das Veranstalten von Kongressen beansprucht viel Zeit.*
The to organize of congresses takes up much time
'Organizing congresses takes up much time.'

Note that the predicative variants of modal constructions such as (70a) are fully grammatical, as they force the dative NP to surface:

(70) a'. *Diesem Mitarbeiter ist nicht zu vertrauen.*
This-DAT collaborator is not to trust
'This collaborator cannot/should not be trusted.'

Note too that only nominalized infinitives of dative verbs (71a) are disallowed, and that an absolute passive infinitive as the main verb is unproblematic. Here, the dative NP can be facultatively realized:

(73) *Hier kann nicht mehr/ niemandem mehr geholfen werden.*
Here can no more/ nobody-DAT more helped become
'Helping is impossible here/nobody can be helped here any more.'

An interesting conflict arises when modal verbs or adverbs with nominative NP control, such as *wollen, mögen* or *gerne*, are to be combined with dative verbs in the passive (77b). Compare:

(74) a. *Der Bräutigam darf die Braut küssen.*
The-NOM groom^{i} may^{j} the-ACC bride^{k} kiss
'The groom may kiss the bride.'
≈

b. *Die Braut darf vom Bräutigam geküßt werden.*
The-NOM bride^{k} may^{j} from the-DAT groom^{i} kissed become
'The bride may be kissed by the groom.'

with

(75) a. *Der Bräutigam will die Braut küssen.*
The-NOM groom^{i} will^{i} the-ACC bride^{k} kiss
'The groom wants to kiss the bride.'
≠

b. *Die Braut will vom Bräutigam geküßt werden.*
The-NOM bride^{k} will^{k} from the-DAT groom^{i} kissed become
'The bride wants to be kissed by the groom.'

and compare

(76) a. *Der Bräutigam darf der Braut schmeicheln.*
The-NOM groom^{i} may^{j} the-DAT bride^{k} flatter
'The groom may flatter the bride.'
≈

b. *Der Braut darf vom Bräutigam*
The-DAT bride^{k} may^{j} from the-DAT groom^{i}

geschmeichelt werden.
flattered become
'The bride may be flattered by the groom.'

with

(77) a. *Der Bräutigam will der Braut schmeicheln.*
The-NOM groom[i] will[i] the-DAT bride[k] flatter
'The groom wants to flatter the bride.'

b. **Der Braut will vom Bräutigam geschmeichelt*
The-DAT bride[k] will[k] from the-DAT groom[i] flatter

werden.
become
'The bride wants to be flattered by the groom.'

(77b) can only be corrected by converting the monoclausal construction into a biclausal one, the latter construction allowing *wollen* to be combined with a controlling nominative NP and *geschmeichelt werden* with a dative NP:

(77) b'. *Die Braut will, daß ihr der Bräutigam*
The bride-NOM will, that her-DAT the-NOM groom

schmeichelt.
flatter
'The bride wants the groom to flatter her.'

or

b''. *Die Braut will, daß ihr vom Bräutigam*
The bride-NOM will, that her-DAT from the-DAT groom

geschmeichelt wird.
flatter become
'The bride wants to be flattered by the groom.'

As far as the *bekommen*-passive (the recipient or addressee passive) is concerned, the presence of an adverbal dative in the active is almost an absolute prerequisite.[14] Here, the adverbal dative turns up in the nominative; the adverbal accusative and PP are not affected; and the original nominative again turns into a (facultative) PP with *von/durch*:

(59''') *daß die Eltern von ihrem Kind geholfen bekommen*
that the-NOM parents from their-DAT child helped get
'that the parents are being helped by their child'

(60''') *daß die Tochter von dem Vater ein Buch*
that the-NOM daughter from her-DAT father a-ACC book

geschenkt bekommen hat
presented got has
'that the daughter was presented by her father with a book'

(61''') *daß die alte Dame von dem Ober in den Mantel*
that the-NOM old lady from the waiter in the coat

geholfen bekam
helped got
'that the old lady was being helped into her coat by the waiter'

(62''') *daß sie von ihrem Freund die Hand auf das*
that she-NOM from her-DAT boyfriend the-ACC hand on the

Knie gelegt bekam
knee put got
≈ 'that her boyfriend put his hand on her knee'

2.2.3. *The sentential dative*

The only dative type I assume on sentence level, i.e., the only 'free' dative, is the so-called ethical dative. Under the appropriate pragmatic conditions – the expression of surprise, astonishment, displeasure or incitement in less formal communicative situations – it occurs freely, usually as a 1st or 2nd person personal pronoun, and clearly is not case-governed by the verb. Compare in that respect:

(54) *Er hat [*ihm!] etwas geflüstert.*
He has [*him-DAT!] something whispered
'He whispered something.'

with

(78) *Plötzlich hat er mir zu flüstern angefangen.*
Suddenly has he me-DAT to whisper begun
'To my dissatisfaction/surprise he suddenly began to whisper.'

While a combination of two dative NPs in one sentence is normally excluded, a combination of a sentential dative NP with an adverbal one is fully acceptable. Compare (55), which contains an adverbal dative, with its (79a) version, to which an ethical dative is added:

(55) *Er hat ihm etwas zugeflüstert.*
He has him-DAT something to-whispered
'He whispered something to him.'

(79) a. *Da hat er mir ihm etwas zugeflüstert und...*
Then has he me-DAT him-DAT something to-whispered and...
'Then, to my surprise/dissatisfaction, he whispered something to him and...'

The ethical dative is topologically restricted to low profile positions, cannot be stressed contrastively, be replaced by a nominal dative NP, or function as the antecedent of a relative clause:

(79) b. **Mir hat er ihm da etwas zugeflüstert und...*
Me-DAT has he him-DAT then something to-whispered and...

c. **Da hat er **mir** ihm etwas zugeflüstert und...*
Then has he **me**-DAT him-DAT something to-whispered and...

d. **Da hat er seinem Nachbarn ihm etwas*
Then has he his neighbour-DAT him-DAT something
zugeflüstert und...
to-whispered and...

e. **Da hat er mir, den er nicht sehen konnte,*
Then has he **me**-DAT, whom he not see could
ihm etwas zugeflüstert und...
him-DAT something to-whispered and...

As the sentential dative is not dependent on specific verbs, and as most adverbal datives are facultative, some sentences which contain only one dative allow both a 'sentential' and an 'adverbal' reading. Compare in this respect the unambiguous sentence (79f) with the ambiguous (79g):

(79) f. *Da hat er mir ihr die Hand auf das Knie*
Then has he me-DAT her-DAT the hand on the knee
gelegt.
put
'Then (to my dislike/surprise) he put his hand on her knee'.

g. *Da hat er mir die Hand auf das Knie gelegt.*
Then has he me-DAT the hand on the knee put
'Then (to my dislike/surprise) he put his hand on his knee.'
or: 'Then he put his hand on my knee.'

The ethical dative can be characterized as referring "to the speaker or the addressee. These are not affected by the facts, but by the statement about the facts. The frame of reference of the *ethicus* is, therefore, not locution, but illocution" (Wegener 1985:50; translation mine (L.D.)).

Unlike Wegener (1985:53-55, 59f.), I do not consider the *dativus judicantis* in sentences like (80) a sentential dative:

(80) *Dieser Mantel ist mir zu groß/ groß genug/ nicht*
This coat is me-DAT too large/ large enough/ not
groß genug.
large enough
≈ 'I find this coat too large/large enough/not large enough.'

The observation that the *judicantis* can be freely combined with the gradation particles *(nicht) X genug* and *zu X*, and is thus not verb specific, is of course correct. Unlike the ethical dative, however, the *judicantis* depends on a specific sentence constituent (one of the particles in question), and its referent is a participant in the scene, is presented as such, or presents himself as such. If, moreover, the *judicantis* did not have actantial status, but rather sentential, it would hardly be able to be combined with an ethical dative, as in:

(81) *Lauf mir der Oma nicht zu schnell!*
run me-DAT the grandmother-DAT not too fast
≈ 'I warn you: you just don't run too fast for grandmother!'

Rather, it would then be able to be combined with a non-sentential dative, *quod non*:

(82) a. **Die Universität gibt den Studenten den*
The university gives the-DAT students the-DAT
Professoren zu viel Freiheit.
professors too much freedom
'In the students' eyes, the university gives the professors too much freedom.'

b. *Die Universität gibt laut den Studenten den*
The university gives according-to the students the-DAT
Professoren zu viel Freiheit.
professors too much freedom
'According to the students, the university gives the professors too much freedom.'

3. Semantic aspects

3.1. Competing constructions

The function of a (grammatical) category tends to be most salient in contexts in which it faces the competition of other categories. To make the transition to dative semantics, it therefore seems worthwile to try to bring out the contrast between the dative and its competitors in minimal pair examples. To avoid interference of other phenomena, it is methodologically important to limit the variation exclusively to the case variable. Thus, exemplifying the dative/accusative opposition with the following two sentences, as is done by Smith (1993:536), seems less justifiable:

(83) *Das Flugzeug prallte auf dem Wasser auf.*
The airplane bounced on the-DAT water on
'The airplane hit the water.'

vs.

(84) *Das Flugzeug prallte auf das Wasser.*
The airplane bounced on the-ACC water
'The airplane hit the water.'

Indeed, this would imply that prefixing a simplex verb *prallen* to complex *aufprallen* is a semantically void operation which bears no effect on case selection.[15]

3.1.1. Prepositional dative

In the prepositional domain, the two-way dative/accusative prepositions provide us with excellent test material. The motivation for case selection is most obvious in examples such as:

(41) *Er lief in den Wald* vs. *im Wald.*
He ran in the-ACC forest vs. the-DAT forest
'He ran into the forest' vs. 'was running in the forest.'

Here, the dative designates that the process in which – in cognitive grammar terminology – the *trajector er* is engaged, is taking place in the *search domain* of the preposition, i.e., on a point or in a set of points which fulfill the (spatial) specifications that the preposition *in* imposes on the *landmark Wald*. The accusative designates that the trajector *er* is engaged in a process which brings it into a position which permanently satisfies the specifications imposed by the preposition on the landmark *Wald*. As a result, the accusative does not normally combine with no-motion verbs:

(85) *Er stand/ lag/ war im Wald/ *in den Wald.*
He stood/ day/ was in the-DAT forest/ *in the-ACC forest
'He was standing/was lying/was in the forest/*into the forest.'

Similar examples could be construed with all other two-way prepositions.

Traditionally, the opposition accusative vs. dative is often reduced to a *motion/no motion* or *direction/no direction* opposition. This is clearly unsatisfactory as case selection after two-way prepositions is then regarded as being exclusively dependent on semantic features of the verb. As a result, case selection would remain unaccounted for in many perfectly acceptable sentences.[16] The traditional account cannot, e.g., motivate the case selection in sentences with the position verb *hängen*, such as in:

(86) *In ihren Wimpern/ *ihre Wimpern hängen Tränen.*
In her-DAT eyelashes/ *her-ACC eyelashes hung tears
'There were tears hanging in her eyelashes.'

vs.

(87) *Die Haare hängen ihm ins Gesicht/ *im Gesicht.*
The hairs hang him-DAT in the-ACC face *in the-DAT face
'His hair is hanging in his face.'

(88) *Die Kabel hingen auf die Schienen/ *auf den Schienen.*
The cables hung on the-ACC rails/ *on the-DAT rails
'The cables were hanging on the rails.'

In (87) and (88), the stative character of the verb is combined with a dynamic reading of the PP: as a result of gravitation effects, the trajector is forced into the landmark's search domain. In (86) such a dynamic reading is, of course, excluded.

A traditional interpretation cannot account for case government in the following sentences either:

(89) a. *Er lief hinter mich.*
He ran behind me-ACC
'He ran behind me.' (e.g., to hide)

b. *Er lief hinter mir.*
He ran behind me-DAT
'He was running behind me.'

c. *Er lief hinter mir her/ *hinter mich her.*
He ran behind me-DAT (origo)/ *behind me-ACC (origo)
(We were both running and) 'he was following me.'

(89a, b) show the same opposition as (41), (89b) being problematic in the motion/no-motion analysis; (89c), which contains both motion and direction, should, on the basis of these two criteria, be in the accusative, which is ungrammatical here. Once one realizes, however, that in (89c) the process is taking place within the preposition's search domain from the very beginning, dative government becomes completely natural and transparent.

In Smith's interesting cognitive grammar contribution on the dative and the accusative in German the accusative is defined as signifying, "in its prototypical sense, the physical movement of a trajector along a path which makes contact with a significant aspect of the landmark" (1993:533) or as designating "the fact that the trajector of the preposition is not always confined to the search domain of the preposition, but enters the search domain at some point along a path" (1993:534). In my view, these definitions cannot motivate case selection in examples such as the following:[17]

(90) a. *Der Schiffer fuhr zwischen den Felsen.*
The captain sailed between the-DAT rocks
'The captain was sailing between/among the rocks.'

b. *Der Schiffer fuhr zwischen die Felsen.*
The captain sailed between the-ACC rocks
'The captain sailed (to a point) between the rocks.'

c. *Der Schiffer fuhr zwischen den Felsen*
The captain sailed between the-DAT rocks

*hindurch/ *zwischen die Felsen hindurch.*
(origo)-through/ *between the-ACC rocks through
'The captain sailed through the rocks.'

While (90a) (non-entering trajector) and (90b) (entering trajector) show the predicted case distribution, in (90c) *zwischen* should govern the accusative as the trajector is clearly of the entering/contact making type. The use of the dative in (90c) shows us that it is not the trajector's entering into contact with the landmark which triggers the accusative, but rather the nature of that contact: only when the established contact is conceived of as being final, i.e., as permanently confining[18] the trajector to the search domain of the preposition, do two-way prepositions govern the accusative.

However, not only passage processes (and processes which take place within the search domain of two-way prepositions) lead to dative selection. A trajector which leaves a search domain, i.e., which crosses the boundary from within that domain, obligatorily triggers dative marking on the landmark as well:[19]

(91) *Das Baby kroch unter dem Tisch hervor/ *unter*
The baby crawled under the-DAT table (origo)-before/ *under

den Tisch hervor.
the-ACC table before
'The baby crawled out from under the table.'

(92) *Der Mann kam hinter dem Baum hervor/*
The man came behind the-DAT tree (origo)-before/

**hinter den Baum hervor.*
*behind the-ACC tree before
'The man came out from behind the tree.'

In summary, one could say that after two-way prepositions, at least in prototypical spatial contexts, landmarks are in the dative[20] unless their search domains are penetrated by trajectors which are then conceived of as being confined by these domains.

Two concluding remarks are called for here:

1° The effects of the above principle stand out in spatial contexts, but it manifests itself in figurative spatial contexts and in temporal contexts as well:

(93) *Wir gerieten in eine gefährliche Situation/ *in einer*
We got in a-ACC dangerous situation/ *in a-DAT
gefährlichen Situation.
dangerous situation
'We became involved in a dangerous situation.'

(94) *Wir befanden uns in einer gefährlichen Situation/*
We found our(selves)-REFL in a-DAT dangerous situation/
**in eine gefährliche Situation.*
*in a-ACC dangerous situation
'We found ourselves in a dangerous situation.'

(95) *Archäologen haben diese Vase im vorigen*
Archeologists have this vase in the-DAT preceding
Jahrhundert ins 3. vorchristliche Jahrhundert datiert.
century in the-ACC 3rd prechristian century dated
'In the preceding century, archeologists dated this vase in the 3rd century B.C.'

In (95) the landmark in the dative (*im vorigen Jahrhundert*) provides the temporal setting in which the dating of the vase took place; the landmark in the accusative (*ins dritte vorchristliche Jahrhundert*) is the temporal domain which is penetrated by dating the vase.

It should be noted however that in more abstract prepositional relationships accusative/dative government must be regarded as arbitrary,[21] at least from a synchronic point of view. Thus, attempting to semantically motivate case government in the following modal adverbials appears to be a dubious undertaking:

(96) *in dieser Weise/ *in diese Weise*
in this-DAT manner/ *in this-ACC manner
'in this manner'

(97) *auf diese Weise/ *auf dieser Weise*
on this-ACC manner/ *on this-DAT manner
'in this manner'

2° Even in spatial contexts, the semantic opposition between accusative and dative government is not always as obvious as it is in sentences such as (41), (89a, b), and (90a, b). Thus, in sentences with certain action verbs, especially with particle or prefix verbs that can function as so-called *end-point focus verbs* (Smith 1993:538),[22] the semantic difference between accusative and dative government is sometimes minimal. Compare the following examples which exhibit decreasing motivation of case distribution:

(98) a. *Der Konzern gräbt einen Tunnel unter dem Parlament.*
The concern digs a tunnel under the-DAT parliament
'The concern is digging a tunnel under the parliament building.'

b. *Die Terroristen hatten einen Tunnel unter das*
The terrorists had a tunnel under the-ACC
Parlament gegraben.
parliament dug
'The terrorists had dug a tunnel under the-parliament building.'

(99) a. *Sie wickelten das Opfer in eine Decke/ *in einer*
They wrapped the victim in a-ACC blancket/ *in a-DAT
Decke.
blancket
'They wrapped the victim in a blanket.'

b. *Sie wickelten das Opfer in eine Decke/ in einer*
They wrapped the victim in a-ACC blancket/ in a-DAT
Decke ein.
blancket in
'They wrapped the victim in a blanket.'

(100) a. *Er hat das Bild an einen Nagel/ *an einem*
He has the photograph on a-ACC nail/ *on a-DAT
Nagel gehängt.
nail hung
'He hung the photograph on a nail.'

b. *Er hat das Bild an einem Nagel/ *an einen*
He has the photograph on a-DAT nail/ *on a-ACC
Nagel aufgehängt.
nail up-hung
'He hung the photograph on a nail.'

(101) a. *Er ließ sich in dem Sessel/ *in den Sessel nieder.*
He let REFL in the-DAT seat/ *in the-ACC seat down
'He sat down in the seat.'

b. *Er ließ sich auf die Bank/ auf der Bank nieder.*
He let REFL up the-ACC bench/ up the-*DAT bench down
'He sat down on the bench.'

(102) a. *Er hatte die Hände in die Hosentaschen/ in*
He had the hands in the-ACC pockets in

den Hosentaschen vergraben.
the-DAT pockets buried
'He had put his hands in his pockets.'

b. *Er hatte das Gemälde an der Wand/ *an die*
He had the painting on the-DAT wall/ *on the-ACC

Wand befestigt.
wall fixed
'He had fixed the painting on the wall.'

In (98), case government is fully motivated: in the a-variant, the digging of the tunnel is viewed as taking place under the parliament building, i.e., within the search domain of the preposition (dative); in the b-variant, the search domain is viewed as being penetrated without its boundaries being crossed again (accusative), as the terrorists want to get under the parliament building, e.g., to blow it up. (99) illustrates the semantic difference between a simplex verb like *wickeln* and its particle variant *einwickeln*. In (99a), only the accusative is grammatical, as the simplex verb does not allow an endpoint interpretation (the wrapping cannot be viewed as taking place within the search domain). In (99b), both accusative and dative are allowed. Here, the accusative version leads to the same interpretation as in (99a). The dative version represents the endpoint focus view. It is as if the prefix *ein-*, by itself, profiles the path along which the trajector penetrates the landmark, with the result that the action of the wrapping can be viewed as taking place in the search domain. (100) is meant to demonstrate that two-way government is not always possible with particle or prefix verbs: unlike *einwickeln, aufhängen* automatically triggers endpoint focus, which is able to be combined only with the dative. (101) demonstrates that one and the same verb (*sich niederlassen*) can – in an unpredictable manner[23] – obligatorily function as an endpoint focus verb in combination with one two-way preposition and facultatively in

combination with another. (102a, b) exemplify the same unpredictability and lack of synchronic motivation with prefix verbs.

3.1.2. Adverbal dative

In this section, it seems methodologically prudent to distinguish the competition between the dative and other cases both from the competition between the dative and prepositonal phrases, as in this case the opposition between the two competing constructions is not minimal in the strict sense, and from competition between the dative and attributive constructions.

3.1.2.1. Competition between the dative and other cases

3.1.2.1.1. *Competition between the dative and the nominative.* With some so-called psychological verbs, a 'personal' nominative NP construal alternates with an 'impersonal' dative NP construal, the dative version often belonging to a more formal or archaic register:[24]

(103) *Er/ ihm träumte von einem schrecklichen Sturm.*
He-NOM/ him-DAT dreamt from a terrible storm
'He was dreaming of a terrible storm.'

(104) a. *Ich ekle mich vor fetten Speisen.*
I-NOM nauseate REFL before fat victuals
'I'm nauseated by fat food/fat food nauseates me.'

b. *Mir ekelt vor fetten Speisen.*
Me-DAT nauseates before fat victuals
'I'm nauseated by fat food/fat food nauseates me.'

The dative variants reveal some interesting semantic restrictions which ultimately seem to boil down to the fact that the dative NP referent is less in control of the process designated by the verb:

(103') a. *Er/ *ihm träumt gerne.*
He-NOM/ him-*DAT dreams gladly
'He likes to dream.'

b. *Er/ *ihm träumte sie schon in New York.*
He-NOM him-*DAT dreamt her already in New York
'He imagined her already being in New York.'

c. *Um seine Sorgen zu vergessen, träumt er/ *ihm*
To his sorrows forget, dreams he-NOM/ him-*DAT
von einer besseren Zukunft.
from a better future
'To forget his sorrows, he dreams of a better future.'

(104') a. *Ich versuchte mich nicht zu ekeln vor dem Essen.*
I tried REFL not to nauseate before the food
'I tried not to be nauseated by the food.'

b. **Ich versuchte zu vermeiden, daß mir ekelte*
I tried to avoid that me-DAT nauseated
vor dem Essen.
before the food
'I tried to avoid to be nauseated by the food.'

With two place predicates whose second actant is not coded as a PP, dative vs. nominative competition in the NP which refers to the animate, 'experiencing' referent entails a shift from the nominative to the accusative in the second NP:

(105) a. *Mir ahnte nichts Böses.*
Me-DAT suspected nothing evil-NOM
'I didn't expect any trouble.'

b. *Ich ahnte nichts Böses.*
I-NOM suspected nothing evil-ACC
'I didn't expect any trouble.'

3.1.2.1.2. *Competition between the dative and the accusative.* In the same class of psychological verbs, there are some verbs with a competition between the dative and the accusative in the NP which refers to the experiencer:

(106) *Mich/ mir dünkt, sie hat Geld genug.*
Me-ACC me-DAT thinks, she has money enough
'I think she's got enough money.'

(104'') b. *Mich/ mir ekelt vor fetten Speisen.*
Me-ACC me-DAT nauseates before fat victuals
'I'm nauseated by fat food/fat food nauseates me.'

The same competition is to be found with two place verbs which designate somatic processes:

(107) *Mich/ mir schmerzt der Bauch.*
Me-ACC me-DAT aches the belly
'My belly is aching.'

Here, the competition does not appear to entail a different degree of involvedness on the part of the experiencer. According to Wegener (1985:180) "the opposition between the dative and the accusative which is normally operative in objects, is neutralized here" [translation mine (L.D.)]. If in the accusative version the experiencer were indeed less personally involved than in the dative version, one would, e.g., expect him to be able to appear as the 'subject' of a passive sentence, which he cannot.

Outside of the domain of 'impersonal' psychological and somatic verbs, there are but few instances of synchronic competition between the dative and the accusative with two place predicates.

In southern German, the verb *rufen* ('to call') can govern both the original dative (see Paul 1919:388f.) and the accusative, which is compulsory in standard German:

(108) *Er ruft dem Ober/ den Ober.*
He calls the-DAT waiter/ the-ACC waiter
'He's calling (for) the waiter.'

Wegener (1985:181) tries to explain this variation as the consequence of an elliptical reduction of two different underlying three place constructions:

(108) a. *Er ruft den Ober [zu sich].*
He calls the-ACC waiter [to him-DAT]
'He's calling for the waiter.'

vs.

b. *Er ruft dem Ober [etwas zu].*
He calls the-DAT waiter [something-ACC to]
'He's calling something out to the waiter.'

This explanation seems implausible, as the second construction contains not only an extra accusative (*etwas*), which is supposed to motivate the dative

of *dem Ober*, but a different verb as well, namely, the particle verb *zurufen*. As a rule, particles of particle verbs are not deleted in elliptical constructions.

A second marginal instance of synchronic alternation between the dative and the accusative is to be found with the verb *schmeicheln* ('to flatter'). In standard German, this verb has reverted to its original dative, but it still shows a trace of the Early New High German alternative accusative government (see Paul 1919:389) in the collocation *sich geschmeichelt fühlen* ('to feel flattered'). In this construction, which is disallowed for dative verbs (see 67a), the predication of the accusative *sich* by the past participle *geschmeichelt* presupposes accusative government for *schmeicheln*.

Given that case government of two place verbs has been all but stable historically, and that there have been many shifts from the dative to the accusative and vice versa, (see, e.g., Paul 1919:380-390), this neutralization should not surprise us. Here, again, we have a context in which the attempt to semantically motivate present-day case marking (of the experiencer NP) is, in my view, doomed to circularity.

Competition between the dative and the accusative is also to be found with three place predicates. A first group of verbs are the so-called 'didactic verbs' (Abraham 1983:51ff.), such as *lehren* or *abhören*, which can or, according to normative grammarians, should govern a 'double accusative':

(109) a. *Frau Schmidt lehrt die Kinder die deutsche*
Ms. Schmidt teaches the-ACC children the-ACC German
Grammatik.
grammar
'Ms. Schmidt teaches German grammar to the children.'

b. *Frau Schmidt lehrt den Kindern die deutsche*
Ms. Schmidt teaches the-DAT children the-ACC German
Grammatik.
grammar
'Ms. Schmidt teaches German grammar to the children.'

(110) a. *Die Mutter hörte ihren Sohn die lateinischen*
The mother heard her-ACC son the-ACC Latin
Vokabeln ab.
words from
'The mother quizzed her son on the Latin words.'

b. *Die Mutter hörte ihrem Sohn die lateinischen*
The mother heard her-DAT son the-ACC Latin
Vokabeln ab.
words from
'The mother quizzed her son on the Latin words.'

Here, the a-versions are clearly atypical in that they contain two oblique NPs with clearly different semantic roles coded with the same case. The b-versions represent the unmarked, productive pattern with the (animate) experiencer NP in the dative. There is no difference of involvement between the referent of the animate dative NP and that of the animate accusative NP.[25]

It should be noted that the animate accusative NP, unlike a 'normal' accusative NP (animate or inanimate), cannot appear as the nominative NP in a *werden*-passive:

(109') a. **Die Kinder wurden von Frau Schmidt die*
The-NOM children became from Ms. Schmidt the-ACC
deutsche Grammatik gelehrt.
German grammar taught
'The children were taught German grammar by Ms. Schmidt.'

vs.

b. *Den Kindern wurde von Frau Schmidt die*
The-DAT children became from Ms. Schmidt the-NOM
deutsche Grammatik gelehrt.
German grammar taught
'The children were taught German grammar by Ms. Schmidt.'

Only when the position of the second accusative actant is not marked for the accusative *per se*, i.e., when it is empty or when it is occupied by a complement sentence, does the animate accusative NP behave 'properly':

(111) a. *Wer lehrt diese Klasse/ *dieser Klasse?*
Who teaches this-ACC class/ *this-DAT class
'Who teaches this class?'

b. *Von wem wird diese Klasse/ *dieser Klasse*
From whom becomes this-NOM class/ *this-DAT class
gelehrt?
taught
'By whom is this class taught?'

(112) a. *Er lehrte die Kinder, was es heißt, bescheiden zu sein.*[26]
He taught the-ACC children, what it means, modest to be
'He taught the children what it means to be modest.'

b. *Die Kinder wurden von ihm gelehrt, was es heißt, bescheiden zu sein.*
The-NOM children became from him taught, what it means, modest to be
'The children were taught by him what it means to be modest.'

A different situation holds in the second group of three place predicates with dative/accusative competition. This group contains a large number of verbs which designate processes affecting body parts and the like. Here, competition between the dative and the accusative as markers of the animate experiencer NP is possible only under the following conditions:

1° the nominative NP is animate as well;
2° the body part is coded as a PP;
3° as a two place predicate with the same meaning, the verb governs an accusative experiencer NP.

The following examples illustrate the effects of these conditions:

(113) a. *Der Mann hat mich/ *mir geschlagen.*
The man has me-ACC/ *me-DAT hit
'The man hit me.'

b. *Der Mann hat mich/ mir ins Gesicht geschlagen.*
The man has me-ACC/ me-DAT in face hit
'The man hit me in the face.'

(114) a. **Der Regen schlug mich/ *mir.*
*The rain hit me-ACC/ *me-DAT
*'The rain hit me.'

b. *Der Regen schlug *mich/ mir ins Gesicht.*
The rain hit *me-ACC/ me-DAT in the face
'The rain hit me in the face.'

(115) a. *Er schaut *sie/ *ihr.*
He looks *her-ACC *her-DAT
'He is looking *her.'

b. *Er schaut *sie/ ihr ins Gesicht.*
He looks *her-ACC/ her-DAT in the face
'He's looking her in the face.'

(116) a. *Du brichst meinen Arm.*
You break my-ACC arm
'You're breaking my arm.'

b. *Du brichst mir/ *mich den Arm.*
You break me-DAT/ *me-ACC the-ACC arm
'You're breaking my arm.'

With this group of verbs, a semantic difference between the dative and the accusative can be safely assumed (compare Wegener 1985:167ff.). Here, dative marking correlates with an experiencer who is less affected by the verbal process than is an experiencer in the accusative. The case marking of the experiencer NP depends on both the intentionality[27] and the intensity of the process. This explains, e.g., the markedness of the accusative in (117b) and of the dative in (118b):

(117) a. *Er streichelte sie/ *ihr.*
He caressed her-ACC/ *her-DAT
'He caressed her.'

b. *Er streichelte ihr/ ?sie zärtlich übers Haar.*
He caressed her-DAT ?her-ACC gently over the hair
'He gently caressed her hair.'

(118) a. *Er küßte sie/ *ihr.*
He kissed her-ACC/ *her-DAT
'He kissed her.'

b. *Er küßte sie/ ?ihr voll auf den Mund.*
He kissed her-ACC/ ?her-DAT full on the mouth
'He kissed her right on the mouth.'

In semantically comparable four place predicates, competition between the dative and the accusative is, of course, excluded. Here, the accusative NP is reserved for affected (usually inanimate) referents, whereas the experiencer is obligatorily in the dative:

(119) *Sie warf ihm das Kissen an den Kopf.*
She threw him-DAT the-ACC pillow on the head
'She threw the pillow at his head.'

3.1.2.2. Competition between the dative and prepositional phrases

I will limit myself to a discussion of the competition between the dative and the prepositions *an* and *für*. These prepositions are semantically the most neutral ones among the competing prepositions, and, arguably as a result, the most active and productive competitors for the dative[28] as well.

Generalizing, one could say that replacing a dative NP with a PP implies the reduction of the dative referent's role from that of a fairly central and potentially active actant to that of a less directly involved prepositional landmark.

Thus, according to Wegener (1985:227), coding the receiving actant as a PP with *an* (*an seinen Freund*, 120a) designates a process of transport or transfer to a passive partner rather than a process of transaction in which the referent of the dative NP (*seinem Freund*, 120b) is more or less actively engaged:

(120) a. *Er hat die Waren an seinen Freund geliefert.*
He has the goods on his friend delivered
'He delivered the goods to his friend.'

b. *Er hat seinem Freund die Waren geliefert.*
He has his-DAT friend the goods delivered
'He delivered the goods to his friend.'

When contextual information leads us to assume a more active role for the second animate NP, coding it as a PP sounds odd indeed:

(120) c. *Er hat seinem Freund die Waren geliefert, die*
He has his-DAT friend the goods delivered, which
dieser bestellt hatte.
this ordered had
'He delivered to his friend the goods which he had ordered.'

d. *?Er hat an seinen Freund die Waren geliefert, die*
?He has on his friend the goods delivered, which
dieser bestellt hatte.
this ordered had
'He delivered to his friend the goods which he had ordered.'

As a result, using the *an*-PP does not imply that the goal is actually reached in all contexts, whereas using the dative does (also cf. Wegener 1985: 228).

Outside of the domain of transaction verbs proper, such as *liefern* ('to deliver'), *verkaufen* ('to sell'), *vermieten* ('to let out'), and *verleihen* ('to lend'), the following data point in the same direction:

(121) a. *Er hat seinem Vater einen Brief geschrieben.*
He has his-DAT father a letter written
'He wrote his father a letter.'

b. *Er hat einen Brief an seinen Vater geschrieben.*
He has a letter on his father written
'He wrote a letter to his father.'

c. *Er hat seinem Vater eine Neuigkeit geschrieben.*
He has his-DAT father a novelty written
'He wrote his father a piece of news.'

d. **Er hat eine Neuigkeit an seinen Vater geschrieben.*
He has a novelty on his father written
'He wrote a piece of news to his father.'

Given the abstractness of the object, (121d) is excluded as the father can hardly be seen as the endpoint (or the spatial landmark) in a transport process.

A similar explanation holds for (122): in (122d) the animacy of the NP excludes a (spatial) PP coding; and in (122a) the spatiality of the NP makes the dative sound peculiar:

(122) a. *?Dem Garten schloß sich eine Wiese an.*
The-DAT garden closed REFL a meadow on
'A meadow ran into the garden.'

b. *An den Garten schloß sich eine Wiese an.*
On the garden closed REFL a meadow on
'A meadow ran into the garden.'

c. *Wir schlossen uns unseren Freunden an.*
We closed REFL our-DAT friends on
'We joined our friends.'

d. **Wir schlossen uns an unsere Freunde an.*
We closed REFL on our friends on
'We joined our friends.'

Note however, that the potential of *an* is on the whole still rather limited, e.g., when compared to that of its Dutch cognate *aan*. With a typical 'dative'

verb like *geben* (to give) for example, *an* is practically excluded, not only with abstract accusative NPs (123a), but in the context of a transfer of concrete objects to animate beneficiaries as well (123b). Only when the process is that of a transfer of an inanimate concrete object into the search domain of an inanimate PP is *an* to be used (123c):

(123) a. *Er gab seinem Freund viele Ideen/ ?viele Ideen*
He gave his-DAT friend many ideas/ ?many ideas
*seinem Freund/ *viele Ideen an seinen Freund.*
his-DAT friend/ *many ideas on his friend
'He gave his friend many ideas/*many ideas to his friend.'

b. *Gib deinem Freund das Buch/ das Buch deinem*
Give your-DAT friend that book/ that book your-DAT
*Freund/ *das Buch an deinen Freund.*
friend/ *that book on your friend
'Give your friend that book/give that book to your friend.'

c. *Er hat *der Suppe zuviel Salz/ zuviel Salz*
He has *the-DAT soup too much salt/ too much salt
der Suppe/ zuviel Salz an die Suppe gegeben.
*the-DAT soup/ too much salt on the soup given
'He has put too much salt in the soup.'

As is to be expected on the basis of the semantics of *an* and *für*, the semantic difference between dative NPs and *für*-PPs is more conspicuous. First, the dative does not code the same roles as the *für*-PP:

(124) a. *Er hat seinem Freund ein Buch gestohlen.*
He has his-DAT friend a book stolen
'He has stolen a book for/from his friend.'

b. *Er hat für seinen Freund ein Buch gestohlen.*
He has for his friend a book stolen
'He has stolen a book for his friend.'

Furthermore, using the dative designates that its referent is actually present in the process or is conceived to be an actant in it, whereas the use of *für*-PP is neutral in this respect. Thus, in a restaurant scene a man can say to his wife:

(125) *Ich will dir/ für dich mal was extra Leckeres*
I will you-DAT/ for you once something extra good
bestellen.
order
'I'll order you something special. / I'll order something special for you.'

However, he could hardly use the dative when telling his wife that he had ordered for her while she was washing her hands:

(126) *Während du weg warst, habe ich für dich/ ?dir*
While you away were, have I for you/ ?you-DAT
Gedeck 4 bestellt.
menu n° 4 ordered
'While you were away, I ordered menu n° 4 for you.'

In the case of a so-called *dativus judicantis*, replacement by a *für*-PP is said to be always possible.[29] However, both constructions code different semantic roles: the dative codes the referent as a subjective experiencer or as an experiencer who is introduced by the speaker on the basis of a subjective judgement, whereas the *für*-PP removes this subjectivity or is supposed to do so.

Thus, parents objecting to their daughter dating a man who is, in their view, far too old for her, cannot use the *judicantis*, as it would be interpreted as representing their daughter's and not their own judgement:

(127) *Der Mann ist doch viel zu alt für dich/ *ist dir*
That man is really much too old for you/ *is you-DAT
doch viel zu alt.
really much too old
'That man is much too old for you.'

Inversely, a daughter objecting to her parents' suggestion that she date an older man they chose for her would, in an immediate subjective reaction, use a *judicantis* rather than a *für*-PP:

(128) *Der Mann ist mir viel zu alt/ (viel zu alt für*
That man is me-DAT much too old/ (much too old for
mich).
me)
'That man is much too old for me.'

As a result of this semantic difference, the *judicantis* can be combined with a *für*-PP in sentences such as:

(129) *Diese Schuhe sind mir zu teuer für dich.*
These shoes are me-DAT too expensive for you
'In my view, these shoes are too expensive for you.'
(and therefore, I won't buy them for you.)

3.1.2.3. Competition between the dative and attributive constructions

In German, the 'possessor' of objects which are considered to be inalienable (body parts, garments, vehicles, housing, friends and relatives, habits and qualities) can be coded as a dative NP (the so-called *Pertinenzdativ*) or as a possessive attribute (a possessive determiner or an adnominal genitive):

(130) a. *Sie haben ihm den linken Arm gebrochen.*
The have him-DAT the left arm broken
'They broke his left arm.'

b. *Sie haben seinen linken Arm gebrochen.*
The have his left arm broken
'They broke his left arm.'

(131) a. *Mir beschlägt die Brille.*
Me-DAT steam-up the glasses
'My glasses are steaming up.'

b. *Meine Brille beschlägt.*
My glasses steam-up
'My glasses are steaming up.'

(132) a. *Plötzlich sprang dem Vertreter eine schwarze Katze*
Suddenly leapt the-DAT salesman a black cat
vor das Auto.
before the car
'Suddenly a black cat leapt before the car of the salesman.'

b. *Plötzlich sprang eine schwarze Katze vor das Auto*
Suddenly leapt a black cat before the car
des Vertreters.
the-GEN salesman
'Suddenly a black cat leapt before the car of the salesman.'

(133) a. *Es regnet uns ins Haus.*
It rains us-DAT into the house
'It's raining in our house.'

b. *Es regnet in unser Haus.*
It rains into our house
'It's raining in our house.'

(134) a. *Terroristen haben den Ägyptern den Präsidenten*
Terrorists have the-DAT Egyptians the president
ermordet.
murdered
'Terrorists have murdered the president of the Egyptians.'

b. *Terroristen haben den Präsidenten der Ägypter*
Terrorists have the president the-GEN Egyptians
ermordet.
murdered
'Terrorists have murdered the president of the Egyptians.'

(135) a. *Das verdirbt meinem Vater den Appetit.*
That spoils my-DAT father the appetite
'That spoils my father's appetite.'

b. *Das verdirbt den Appetit meines Vaters.*
That spoils the appetite my-GEN father
'That spoils my father's appetite.'

Setting aside register differences between the two competing constructions, we can say that coding the 'possessor' in the dative turns him into an (experiencing) actant in the process, which corresponds to his syntactic constituent status. Coding him in the genitive or by a possessive determiner not only reduces his syntactic status to that of an attribute, but reduces his role in the process as well; his presence in it is no longer implied. Thus, (132a) implies that the salesman was in his car when the cat leapt before it, whereas (132b) does not. (Also cf. Wegener 1985:42.)

3.1.3. Sentential dative

In the domain of the sentential (ethical) dative there is no competition with other cases or PPs.

3.2. Characterization and semantic motivation

In order to arrive at a (speculative) general concept for the dative in present-day Standard German, it may be useful to attempt to characterize the dative semantically in its three contexts.

3.2.1. The prepositional dative

After two-way spatial prepositions and after the one-way spatial prepositions *bei/gegenüber*, the dative landmark prototypically functions as an (inanimate spatial) reference point for trajectors which do not enter the preposition's search domain, which pass through it, or which start their trajectory from within it, i.e., for trajectors which obviously do not alter the landmark significantly or permanently. Recall:

(90) a. *Der Schiffer fuhr zwischen den Felsen.*
The captain sailed between the-DAT rocks
'The captain was sailing between/among the rocks.'

c. *Der Schiffer fuhr zwischen den Felsen hindurch.*
The captain sailed between the-DAT rocks (origo)-through
'The captain sailed through the rocks.'

(92) *Der Mann kam hinter dem Baum hervor.*
The man came behind the-DAT tree (origo)-before
'The man came out from behind the tree.'

After the one-way preposition *aus*, the dative can be motivated along the same lines as (92):

(136) *Johann kam aus seinem Zimmer.*
Johann came out his-DAT room
'Johann came out of his room.'

The principle that motivates the use of the dative in sentences like (92) and (136), also pertains to the spatial one-way directional dative prepositions, i.e., to *nach, von,* and *zu*.[30] Indeed, since the use of *nach* and *zu* does not imply that their landmarks are penetrated by the trajectors, they can be conceived of as external reference points or reference domains as well:[31]

(137) *Er fährt nacht Deutschland/ zu seinem Vater.*
He drives to Germany-UDAT/ to his-DAT father
'He is driving to Germany/to his father.'

As far as *von* is concerned, it only differs from *aus* in that it does not imply that the trajector actually leaves or left the landmark, i.e., the trajectory does not necessarily begin within the landmark. Its linkage to the dative is thus even easier to motivate than that of *aus*:

(138) *Johann kam von seinem Zimmer.*
Johann came from his-DAT room
'Johann came from his room.'

As stated above, I do not consider the case government of these prepositions outside the spatio-temporal domain and of non-spatial prepositions to be synchronically motivated. It seems to me that a theory that can motivate the case government of all core prepositions, among them the core inverse prepositions *aus* (dative) and *in* (in its accusative reading), should refrain from trying to motivate the diametrically opposed case government of far less central prepositions like *ohne* (accusative) and *mit* (dative)[32] by the same principle. Attempting to semanticize even peripheral and accidental[33] oppositions would, in my view, make an otherwise attractive theory lose credibility.

3.2.2. The adverbal dative

Wegener (1985:26), following Vater 1973, calls the (non-prepositional) dative the case of the *Betroffener*, i.e, the case which marks the living being (man or animal) affected by a process. Indeed, unlike the prepositional dative, the adverbal dative is prototypically animate. According to Wegener (1985: 285f.), animacy is the only inherent semantic feature of dative NPs (without, however, having the status of an absolute restriction.[34]

The other two relevant semantic features of dative NPs, namely, involvedness and agentivity, are context dependent features. In descending order, the degrees of involvedness are as follows: accusative, nominative, dative; and in terms of agentivity, the order is: nominative, dative, accusative (Wegener (1985:321f.)).

The different semantic or thematic roles dative NPs can play in connection with 'dative verbs',[35] all seem to fit into the general picture of the dative

as the case which marks the animate reference point for a process in which this referent is to some extent involved or felt to be involved:

(139) *Er hat mir ein Buch gegeben.*
He has me-DAT a book given
'He gave me a book.'
(recipient role of the dative referent)

(140) *Er hat ihr den Mantel bespritzt.*
He has her-DAT the coat dirtied
'He dirtied her coat.'
(benefactive role of the dative referent)

(141) *Mir graut vor dir.*
Me-DAT abhors before you
'I abhor you.'
(experiencer role of the dative referent)

(142) *Mir ist das Glas zerbrochen.*
Me-DAT is the glass broken
'I broke the glass (by accident).'
(unintentional causer role of the dative referent)

(143) *Du ähnelst deinem Großvater.*
You resemble your-DAT grandfather
'You resemble your grandfather.'
(correspondent role of the dative referent)

(144) *Das ist mir neu.*
That is me-DAT new
'That is new to me.'
(referent role of the dative referent)

(145) *Der kleine Max ging seinem Vater entgegen.*
Little Max went his-DAT father toward
'Little Max went part of the way to meet his father.'
(co-agent role of the dative referent)

3.2.3. The sentential dative

For the sentential (ethical) dative, the restriction that its referent be animate is absolute. Moreover, as was stated above, this referent is not actually affected by the process in which he is coded or in which he codes himself. It

is as if he wants to profile himself or his addressee as (emotionally) involved in a process in which he himself or the addressee play no role and in which they would normally be considered to be absent. Thus, the notion of an external (animate) reference point is even more easily applied to the sentential dative than to the adverbal dative.

3.3. Towards a general concept of the dative

On the basis of the foregoing, it is arguable that the dative function can be defined in terms of a reference point function,[36] the reference point displaying varying degrees of involvement: prepositional (spatial or temporal) dative reference points (or domains) are external in that they are not or are not permanently affected by a trajector; sentential dative reference points are animate referents which lose their externality by being coded into a process in which their presence would not normally be expected; and adverbal datives code animate referents whose primary reference point function can be obscured, to a greater or lesser extent, by the role they play in the process in which they are understood to take part.[37]

In brief, it may be said that prepositional datives are prototypically [-animate, +external], sentential datives are [+animate, +external], and adverbal datives are [+animate, -external]. If one were to attempt to draw up a synchronic dative network, the sentential dative then may very well prove to constitute a bridge between the prepositional and the adverbal dative.

NOTES

* I would like to thank my informants C. Berger, C. Bredanger, M. Buck, J. Meltens, K. Scheel, and T. Scholten for their patience, and C. Mryglod for thoroughly revising the English style. Abraham 1995, an adaptation of Abraham 1983, appeared after the completion of this article.

1. For an overview of the DP analysis applied to present-day German, see Vater 1991 and Olsen 1991; for a general critique, Van Langendonck 1994.

2. Suffixing of the dative plural *+n* is excluded in nouns which take *+s* or *+n* as a plural marker and in those which end in *-n* in the singular.

3. In the following, I shall disregard the weak masculine nouns as their morphological behaviour does not lead to any significant additional observations.

4. When position 1 is empty and position 2 is occupied twice, the first 'adjective' can optionally function as a (strong) 'determiner', i.e., as a position 1 element, in the dative singular and the genitive plural:

mit teurem-DAT französischem-DAT Wein = 2+2 //3
mit teurem-DAT französischen-UDAT Wein = 1+2 //3
'with expensive French wine'

der Export teurer-GEN französischer-GEN Weine = 2+2 // 3
der Export teurer-GEN französischen-UGEN Weine = 1+2 // 3
'the export of expensive French wines'

5. It seems safe to assume here that the marked bare genitives (masculines and neuters) followed the 'deficient' unmarked ones (feminines and plurals), thus restoring the balance in the system:

   *Worte *Reue* vs. *Trostes > Worte der Reue* vs. *Trostes > Worte der Reue/ des Trostes*
   'words of remorse/comfort'

   *der Export *Milch* vs. *Bieres > von Milch* vs. *Bieres > von Milch/von Bier*
   'the export of milk/beer'

6. Even when overtly marked with the (facultative) dative singular suffix *+e*, cf. (5b, 9a).

7. My informants seem to disagree with Vater (1991:18f.) in that they do not consider sentences like (22a) to be ambiguous.

8. Incidentally, *bei* is a former two-way preposition, and in some present-day regional variants of German it still governs both the accusative and the dative. Thus, in Cologne German

Gehen	*Sie*	*mal*	*bei*	*den*	*Jungen.*
go	you	just	near	the-ACC	boy

   'Just go to the boy (over there).'

   is used instead of standard German

Gehen	*Sie*	*mal*	*zu*	*dem*	*Jungen.*
go	you	just	to	the-DAT	boy

   'Just go to the boy (over there).'

9. All examples in (46) and (47) are meant to be read without contrastive stress on the main verb.

10. Even with contrastive stress on *gefallen* this sentence would be intonationally hard to realize.

11. I am deliberately avoiding the notions subject, direct object and indirect object in favour of the neutral Nom NP, Acc NP, Dat NP and prepositional NP or PP. For a critique on the traditonal notions see, e.g., Reis 1982, Wegener 1986, and Lutzeier 1992.

12. Prepositional NPs as verbal complements, i.e., all those PPs that are syntactically and intonationally dependent on/in close relation to the verb. This category not only comprises the traditional prepositional object as in:

daß	*er*	*(im Bahnhof)*	***auf***	***den***	***Zug***	*wartet*
that	he	(in the station)	on	the	train	waits

    'that he is waiting for the train (in the station)'

    but all PP constituents with fixed preverbal position status, i.e., immediately preceding the main verb in SOV structures:

daß	*er*	*ihr*	***auf***	***die***	***Stirn***	*geküßt*	*hat*
that	he	her	on	the	forehead	kissed	has

'that he kissed her on the forehead'

daß	*er*	*(im Schwimmbad)*	***ins***	***Wasser***	*gesprungen*	*ist*
that	he	(in the swimming pool)	in	the water	jumped	is

'that he jumped into the water (in the swimming pool)'

13. In cases where the PP is not a traditional prepositional object, this pattern is extendible by increasing the number of PPs:

daß	*er*	*mir*	*das*	*Faß*	*in*	*den*	*Saal*	*auf*	*den*
that	he	me	the	barrel	in	the-ACC	room	on	the-ACC

Teppich	*unter*	*den*	*Tisch*	*rollte*
carpet	under	the-ACC	table	rolled

    'that he rolled the barrel into the room, onto the carpet, and under the table for me'

14. For many speakers, the presence of an adverbal accusative – diachronically the accusative case governed by the main verb *bekommen* – next to the dative is no longer compulsory. Lehmann (1991:517) even reports on speakers allowing the *bekommen* – passive with verbs such as *schimpfen*, which do not combine with a dative in the active. Here, *schimpfen* is *ACC – PP -verb*:

Sie	*schimpften*	*ihn*	*wegen*	*seiner*	*Faulheit*	>
They	cursed	him-ACC	for	his	laziness	>

Er	*bekam*	*wegen*	*seiner*	*Faulheit*	*geschimpft.*
He-NOM	got	for	his	laziness	cursed

    'They cursed him for his laziness > He got cursed for his laziness.'

    PP - verb constructions cannot be converted into the *bekommen*-passive:

Sie	*warteten*	*auf*	*mich*	> **Ich bekam gewartet (auf)/*auf mich bekam gewartet.*
They	waited	on	me	

    'They waited for me.'

15. Moreover, in (83) the accusative can be used as well.

16. For a critique on traditional analyses see also Leys (1989) and (1995).

17. Nor can, of course, traditional accounts.

18. Leys (1993:13) speaks of an *internal boundary*.

19. This could also motivate the exclusive dative government of the preposition *aus* and put an end to the exception status it still has in analyses using Paul's (1919) concepts *entstehendes Verhältnis* (→ accusative government) vs. *bestehendes Verhältnis* (→ dative government). Cf. Leys (1995).

20. Thus, the dative does not appear to be "a departure from the accusative prototype" (Smith 1993:551). Rather, the accusative could be defined negatively as a departure from the dative prototype. This would also explain why combinations of two-way prepositions with landmarks unmarked for case are felt to govern the dative:

auf Kuba
on Cuba-UDAT/UACC (=DAT!)

in Deutschland
in Germany-UDAT/UACC (=DAT!)

21. Also cf. Leys (1993:312).

22. Unlike Smith (1993:539f.), I would not regard change of state verbs such as *sich auflösen* ('to dissolve') as endpoint focus verbs. Here, case government is fully motivated: the dative version does not stress "the final state of the trajector" (Smith 1993:540), but rather the environment in which the transition takes place, whereas the accusative version designates, as Smith correctly notes, the change of the trajector to a new state (referred to by the landmark). As a result, accusative and dative government are perfectly combinative in one and the same sentence:

Die	*Tablette*	*löst*	*sich*	*in*	*warmem*	*Wasser*	*in*
The	tablet	dissolves	it(self)	in	warm-DAT	water	into

eine	*klebrige*	*Substanz*	*auf.*
a-ACC	sticky	substance	

'In warm water, the tablet dissolves into a sticky substance.'

23. In sentence pairs such as the following, the opposition dative/accusative would, according to Smith (1993:540f.), signify the changing or unchanging state of the landmark. In the dative versions the landmarks would be conceived of as "finished wholes with fixed boundaries into which the trajectors are inserted into prearranged positions", whereas "in the accusative versions the landmarks are not conceived of as complete wholes, but rather expand (change) to accomodate the newly inserted trajectors":

Ich	*werde*	*die*	*Briefmarke*	*in*	*meiner*	*Sammlung/*	*in*
I	will	the	stamp	in	my-DAT	collection	in

meine	*Sammlung*	*aufnehmen.*
my-ACC	collection	up-take

'I'll add the stamp to my collection.'

where

a) DAT = "The collection is finished except for a missing stamp (for which a place was left)."
b) ACC = "The collection is expanded to include a new section."

All my informants regard this analysis as a *post factum* attempt to motivate dative/accusative government in contexts in which there is no semantic opposition.

24. This does not mean that the construction type *psychological verb + dative NP* as such would be threatened. Rather, it has again become productive, even in colloquial language (Wegener (1985:191ff.)).

25. According to Smith (1993:558), competition between the dative and the accusative in the following sentences would reflect a difference in meaning:

Der	*Lehrer*	*fragt*	*dem*	*Kind/*	*das*	*Kind*	*die*
The	teacher	asks	the-DAT	child/	the-ACC	child	the

Wörter	*ab.*
words	from

'The teacher quizzes the child on the words.'

In the accusative variant, "the teacher knows the answer and quizzes the child, as if in a test situation". In the dative variant, "the teacher may not know what the child knows and asks the child to inform him". None of my informants were able to confirm this interpretation. The only difference they see is one of register, the dative version being less formal.

On double accusative verbs, see also Plank (1987) and Lutzeier (1992).

26. Here, the dative would be allowed as well, of course.

27. This also explains why inanimate nominative NPs do not normally combine with accusative experiencer NPs.

28. For a complete list, see Wegener (1985:220f.) and Matzel (1976).

29. See, e.g., Wegener (1985:229).

30. I am leaving out the archaic use of stative *zu* instead of *in*+DAT in sentences like:

Er	*wurde*	*zu*	*Köln*	*geboren.*
He	became	to	Cologne-UDAT	born

'He was born in Cologne.'

It does not pose any problem for our analysis. On the relation between directional and stative *zu*, see Leys (1994).

31. See Leys (1989).

32. This is done by Smith (1993:546) for *ohne* ("completeness sense as a motivation for ACC") and *mit* (1993:547f.)

Compare on *mit* and *ohne* Milan Kundera's *The gesture of protest against a violation of human rights*:

> Brigitte left her German lesson firmly determined to end her study of the language. First of all, she herself found no use for Goethe's tongue (the lessons had been forced on her by her mother), and in addition she felt deeply at odds with German. The language irritated her with its lack of logic. Today it really made her angry: the preposition *ohne* (without) takes the accusative case, the preposition *mit* (with) takes the dative. Why? After all, the two prepositions signify the positive and negative aspect of the same relationship, and so they should be linked to the same case. She raised the objection with her teacher, a young German, who became embarrassed and immediately felt guilty. He was a likable, sensitive man who found it painful to belong to a nation once ruled by Hitler. Ready to blame his country for every possible fault, he believed at once that there was no acceptable reason why the prepositions *mit* and *ohne* should be linked to two different cases. (Milan Kundera, *Immortality*, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, 1992:133)

33. Note that case government with *mit* and *ohne* is the outcome of a long process, *mit* having governed the genitive, the accusative, and the dative, and *ohne* having governed

both the dative and the accusative (as is still visible in *ohnedem* (DAT) 'anyway' and *ohnedies* (ACC) 'anyway'.)

34. With so-called *Funktionsverbgefüge* ('function verb constructions'), i.e., lexicalized combinations of original main verbs with accusative NPs (or PPs) which function as the construction's semantic core, the animacy restriction is omitted, as the NP which is external to the construction has to be coded in the dative, the accusative not being available anymore:

Die	*letzten*	*Entwicklungen*	*in*	*Rußland*	*verleihen*	*dem*
The	latest	developments	in	Russia	lend	the-DAT

Staatsbesuch	*eine*	*besondere*	*Bedeutung.*
visit	a-ACC	particular	importance

'The latest developments render the state visit particularly important.'

In Wegener's view, the rapid spread of such constructions might alter the semantics of the dative (1985:293).

35. For a survey of dative verbs and dative NP roles see Wegener (1985:266-284).

36. Leys (1993:324), using a somewhat more spatial terminology, speaks of the *reference domain function* of the dative.

37. For the adverbal dative, a possible involvedness scale would be *referent < correspondent < experiencer < benefactive < recipient < unintentional causer < co-agent.*

REFERENCES

Abraham, W. 1983. Der Dativ im Deutschen. In *Colloque du Centre de Recherches germaniques de l'université de Nancy II*, 2-101. Nancy.

Abraham, W. 1995. Struktureller und lexikalischer Kasus: Dativ gegenüber Akkusativ. In *Deutsche Syntax im Sprachenvergleich. Grundlegung einer typologischen Syntax des Deutschen*, W. Abraham (ed.), 161-239, Tübingen: Narr.

Gippert, J. 1981. Zur Dativ-Apposition im Deutschen. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 103, 31-62.

Lehmann, C. 1991. Grammaticalization and related changes in contemporary German. In *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, (vol. 2), E. Closs Traugott and B. Heine (eds), 493-535. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Leirbukt, O. 1978. Über dativische Appositionen bei akkusativischem Bezugswort im Deutschen. *Linguistische Berichte* 55, 1-17.

Lenerz, J. 1977. *Zur Abfolge nominaler Satzglieder im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Narr.

Leys, O. 1989. Aspekt und Rektion räumlicher Präpositionen. *Deutsche Sprache* 17, 97-113.

Leys, O. 1993. Reflections on the German case system. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82, 305-328.

Leys, O. 1994. Die Präposition *zu* als Bezeichnung der Lage und der Richtung. In *Texttyp, Sprechergruppe, Kommunikationsbereich. Studien zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (= Festschrift H. Steger), H. Löffler, K. Jakob and B. Kelle (eds), 271-276, Berlin: de Gruyter.

Leys, O. 1995. Dativ und Akkusativ in der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 84, 35-58.

Lutzeier, P. 1992. Double accusatives in German: An application of CRMS-theory. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literatures* 4, 55-79.

Matzel, K. 1976. Dativ und Präpositionalphrase. *Sprachwissenschaft* 1, 144-186.

Olsen, S. 1991. Die deutsche Nominalphrase als "Determinansphrase". In *>DET, COMP und INFL<. Zur Syntax funktionaler Kategorien und grammatischer Funktionen*, S. Olsen and G. Fanselow (eds), 35-56. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Plank, F. 1987. Direkte indirekte Objekte, oder: Was uns *lehren* lehrt. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 76, 37-61.

Paul, H. 1919. *Deutsche Grammatik. Band III, Teil IV: Syntax.* Halle a. S.: Niemeyer.

Reis, M. 1982. Zum Subjektbegriff im Deutschen. In *Satzglieder im Deutschen*, W. Abraham (ed.), 171-211. Tübingen: Narr.

Smith, M. 1987. *The Semantics of Dative and Accusative in German* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California). San Diego.

Smith, M. 1993. Cases as conceptual categories: Evidence from German. In *Conceptualizations and Mental Processing in Language*, R.A. Geiger and B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds), 531-565. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Van Langendonck, W. 1994. Determiners as heads? *Cognitive Linguistics* 5, 243-259.

Vater, H. 1973. *Dänische Subjekt- und Objektsätze*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Vater, H. 1991. Determinatien in der DP. In *>DET, COMP und INFL<. Zur Syntax funktionaler Kategorien und grammatischer Funktionen*, S. Olsen and G. Fanselow (eds), 15-34. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Wegener, H. 1985. *Der Dativ im heutigen Deutsch*. Tübingen: Narr.

Wegener, H. 1986. Gibt es im Deutschen ein indirektes Objekt? *Deutsche Sprache* 14, 12-22.

The indirect object in Dutch

William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

1. Introduction

In the traditional grammar of Dutch, the indirect object (IO) is seen as a distinct syntactic category that is used with both two-place predicates and three-place predicates. (Den Hertog 1892:44 ff.; Rijpma & Schuringa 1972: 250.) The IO can take the form of a NP (henceforth: IONP) and a PP (henceforth: IOPP). This alternation is even seen as a distinctive feature of the IO (Den Hertog 1892:46). Hence, typical examples of IOs are such phrases as *(aan/voor/bij) Jan* in:

(1) a. *Ik heb (aan) Jan een boek gegeven.*
I have (to) John-IO a book given

b. *Ik heb een boek aan Jan gegeven.*
I have a book to John-IO given
'I have given John a book.'

(2) a. *Ineke schonk (voor) Jan een borrel in.*
Irene poured (for) John-IO a drink in

b. *Ineke schonk een borrel voor Jan in.*
Irene poured a drink for John-IO in
'Irene poured John a drink.'

(3) *Het zweet brak (bij) Jan uit.*
the sweat broke (with) John-IO out
'John was in a sweat.'

However, it should be mentioned that some three-place predicates (e.g. *benijden* 'envy') and many two-place predicates (e.g. *ontvallen* 'fall away', *aanstaan* 'please') do not normally allow for an IO in the form of a prepositional phrase.

Other syntactic criteria used in Dutch linguistics to distinguish the IO from the DO are related to word order and passivization.

When both the DO and the IO are full NPs three patterns are possible:

- IONP + DO (cp. *Jan een boek* in (1a))
- IOPP + DO (cp. *aan Jan een boek* in (1a))
- DO + IOPP (cp. *een boek aan Jan* in (1b))

The IONP invariably precedes the DO (ANS 1984:988). When both object NPs are clitics, the reverse order obtains (ANS 1984:984). Compare the following example:

(1) c. *Ik heb 't 'm gegeven.*
I have it him-IO given

Usually, passivization is possible only with a DO, but not with an IO. There are, however, a number of lexical exceptions to this general rule. On the one hand, certain transitive verbs such as *krijgen* 'get' and *bezitten* 'possess' do not allow for passivization. On the other hand, in certain patterns the IO happens to be passivized. However, as we have already pointed out (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992:21), passivization of the IO is normally only possible if the pattern contains a non-prototypical DO.

By means of these three criteria (NP-PP variation, word order and passivization), it is possible to distinguish the IO from the DO with three-place predicates. In the case of two-place predicates, however, the criteria do not yield a conclusive test to differentiate between an IO and a DO. The word order criterion is not applicable and the other two are not conclusive. Firstly, some transitive verbs do not allow for passivization, as mentioned above, and secondly, some objects that are traditionally considered as IOs have no prepositional counterpart.

It has also been observed that some originally dative two-place verbs increasingly display the tendency for the IO to take on the characteristics of the DO. Moreover, when the DO of a three-place predicate is not expressed, the IO behaves as the DO and becomes the subject of the passive sentence (Van den Toorn 1971:291).

(4) a. *Hij betaalt zijn medewerkers een goed loon.*
he pays his collaborators-IO a good remuneration-DO

b. *Hij betaalt zijn medewerkers.*
he pays his collaborators-DO

c. *Zijn medewerkers worden (door hem) betaald.*
his collaborators-SUBJ are (by him) paid

All these observations indicate that with some two-place predicates, the distinction between the DO and the IO is no longer felt as clearly by a number of Dutch language users. In view of these facts the conclusion could be drawn that, in present-day Dutch, there is no longer a distinction between the historical DO and IO of two-place predicates, due to a lack of both this 'felt' distinction and of syntactic criteria. Disregarding a few exceptions, the IO in this view is restricted to three-place predicates that encode a material or a communicative transfer, the prevention of such a transfer or the privation of something (cp. ANS (1984:844, 856-857) and Schermer-Vermeer (1991: 266 ff.)). Here are some examples:

- *schenken* 'give', *verkopen* 'sell', *lenen* 'lend', *betalen* 'pay', *onthouden* 'withhold', *ontzeggen* 'deny', *afnemen* 'rob', *afpersen* 'extort'
- *meedelen* 'inform', *beloven* 'promise', *verzoeken* 'request', *aanraden* 'advise', *leren* 'teach', *toeroepen* 'call out', *voorschrijven* 'prescribe', *verzwijgen* 'suppress', *weigeren* 'refuse'.

It appears that the IO, while prototypically encoding the recipient of a transfer, can be described, in other cases, as a metaphorical or metonymic extension of this semantic role (cp. *haat toedragen* 'hate', *de sporen geven* 'set spurs' and *een knipoogje geven* 'give a wink'). We think, however, that things are more complicated.

In the present paper we will argue that cryptotypical syntactic criteria can yield a more refined account of the relationship between the IO and the DO of two-place predicates and that 'recipient' is to be understood as a complex semantic role containing at least two semantic roles which are logically independent.

2. Syntactic definition of the IO

2.1. Syntactic preliminaries

If one is primarily interested in a syntactic definition of the IO, it is a very simple and 'clean' solution to reduce it to the IONP, especially if one denies the existence of IOs with two-place predicates. The IO is then the first object (if a full NP) in ditransitive sentences, e.g. *Jan* in (1a) and (2a) (cf. Schermer-Vermeer 1991). A prepositional IO such as *aan Jan* in (1) and *voor Jan* in (2) is then merely a kind of prepositional object, just as *aan Jan* in *ik denk aan Jan* 'I think of John'.

For methodological reasons, we also started from the NP-PP distinction (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992). According to the principle of isomorphism between form and meaning, we assumed that it was worth investigating as to whether the formal difference between the NP and the PP corresponds to a semantic difference. As a result, we restricted the use of the term IO to the IONP and called the IOPP the 'prepositional counterpart'. As will become clear below, we think we have good reasons to abandon this position (see also De Schutter 1993). However, this is not to say that phrases like *aan Jan* in (1) and *voor Jan* in (2) could not be prepositional objects as well. In our view, they can be considered prepositional objects and IOs at the same time, as they seem to behave in the same way as ordinary prepositional objects, i.e. as PPs with complement status. An interesting syntactic test for prepositional complements (cf. Beeken 1993:29, 233 ff.) is whether the PP, in the shape of a WH-phrase introducing a question or a relative clause, can occur in split position (preposition stranding). Compare the following examples:

(5) a. *De man **waar** ik **aan** dacht*
the man whom-PO I of thought

b. *De vrouw **waar** ik bloemen **aan** gaf*
the woman whom-IOPP I flowers to gave

c. **Het plezier **waar** hij zijn werk **mee** doet*
the pleasure which-ADJ he his work with does

d. *Het plezier **waarmee** hij zijn werk doet*
the pleasure which with he his work does

In (5) we see that ordinary prepositional objects (5a) behave in the same way as IOPPs (5b), in contradistinction from the inseparable adjunct *waarmee* in (5c, d). A similar stranding can be observed for IOPPs and other prepositional objects with full NPs, at least in colloquial sentence types such as the following (compare also ANS (1984:961-962)):

(6) a. *Kinderen is ze dol op.*
Children-PO is she fond of

b. *Zulke stoute kinderen moet je niet te veel snoep aan geven.*
Such naughty children-IOPP must you not too much candy to give

On the other hand, there are arguments for considering both IONPs and IOPPs as IOs.

a) In the vast majority of three-place IO-verbs, the preposition of the IO is optional (see already Den Hertog 1892). With only a few verbs, e.g. *besparen* 'spare', is a preposition impossible, and in an equally limited number of cases, e.g. *rondsturen* 'send round', is a preposition indispensable (see also below).

b) As will become clear below, within the vast class of IO-verbs with an optional preposition, the presence or absence of this preposition is less functional than the order or the topic/focus status of the whole IO (compare, for instance, (50)-(51)).

c) As a rule, passivization is excluded with IONPs as well as with IOPPs (but see Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992:21).

d) In the (marked) nominalization pattern (7b), the difference between the IONP and the IOPP is neutralized because the preposition is obligatory:

(7) a. *Men mag (aan) andere mensen geen idealen ontnemen.*
one must (to) other people-IO no ideals take away

b. *Het ontnemen van idealen aan andere mensen*
the taking away of ideals to other people

Even when an IO-verb resists *aan* or another preposition, it can be inserted in a nominalization:

(8) a. *We moeten (*aan) andere mensen ellende besparen.*
we should (to) other people-IO misery spare

b. *Het besparen van ellende aan andere mensen*
the sparing of misery to other people

e) Also from a semantic point of view, a fundamental syntactic distinction between an IONP and an IOPP is undesirable since both these variants fulfil the same thematic role (which we will call the 'interested party' (see below 3.1)). The remaining functional differences are mainly due to iconicity phenomena.

f) The thesis that the IONP expresses the involvement of the interested party and the IOPP expresses location (Janssen 1993) seems to be too strong. Firstly, in the canonical pattern *ik geef je een boek* 'I give you a book', transfer, as well as involvement, is expressed. Secondly, with some verbs three constructions are possible: bare NP, *aan*-NP and another type of PP, e.g. with *sturen* 'send' and *faxen* 'fax', wherein it turns out that the *aan*-NP cannot express mere location, while the other PP can. Thus, the *aan*-NP behaves rather like the bare NP. Compare the following:

(9) a. *Hij stuurde (aan) de minister een brief.*
he sent (to) the minister a letter

b. *Hij stuurde een brief aan/naar de minister.*
he sent a letter to the minister

c. *Hij stuurde een lading bloem naar de haven.*
he sent a load of flour to the port

d. **Hij stuurde (aan) de haven een lading bloem.*
he sent (to) the port a load of flour

There are also other verbs with three construction possibilities, i.e. bare NP and two kinds of PPs, of which only one kind of PP is the prepositional counterpart of the bare NP. In the case of *spreken* 'speak', for instance, the bare NP and the *met*-NP carry the suggestion of reciprocity and, hence, of an involved IO-referent, whereas the *tegen*-NP does not (compare (10)). We conclude therefore that the dichotomy of IONP vs. IOPP is too simplistic.

(10) a. *Ik heb (met/*tegen) mijn zus over die kwestie gesproken.*
I have (with) my sister about that matter spoken

b. *Hij spreekt weer tegen zijn zus.*
he speaks again against his sister
'he is again on speaking terms with his sister'

g) The latter conclusion is corroborated by the fact that there are three syntactic patterns, each with their own meanings, as will become clear hereafter: IONP + DO, IOPP + DO and DO + IOPP. The order IONP + DO stresses the involvement of the interested party, the order DO + IOPP stresses the transfer, and the order IOPP + DO occupies an intermediate position.

h) From a crosslinguistic viewpoint, it is rather implausible to limit the meaning of dative or IO constructions to the expression of the mere involvement of the IO. On the contrary, often the dative expresses mere location (directional or not), cf. German *bei mir* 'with me', *an mir, zu mir* 'to me', Latin *puer adnatat delphino* 'the child swam to the dolphin' (Van Hoecke, this volume, sentence 22).

Our viewpoint, an equally traditional position, is that IOs occur with both three-place and two-place predicates. As such, we disagree with both the ANS (1984) and Schermer-Vermeer (1991), wherein the existence of IOs with two-place predicates is called into question. As we argued in Van Belle & Van Langendonck (1992), this attitude appears to be linked with the neglect not only of certain formal criteria, but equally of prototypical and of cryptotypical categories. Whorf (1956:87-101) distinguished between phenotypical and cryptotypical categories. While phenotypes are overt grammatical categories, i.e. realized by a morphological, syntactic or intonational mark, cryptotypes are covert grammatical categories, constituting submerged meanings shown only as an influence or a *reactance* (Whorf 1956:89, 105). Davidse (1991:15) states it as follows:

> A reactance is the interaction between the meaning of the cryptotype and the meaning of another system in the grammar such as voice, tense, aspect, participant structure, and nominalization.

Applying the above distinction to our investigation, we argue that in the three-place predicate patterns of (1-2), the IO can still be considered a phenotypical category because it precedes another object NP, which we call the DO (*een boek* in (1a), *een borrel* in (2a)). However, in the two-place predicate pattern of (3), neither word-order nor any other formal mark can act as a criterion to determine whether the object *Jan* is a direct or an indirect one. We only have at our disposal such reactances as passivization and nominalization. Yet, we are convinced of the usefulness of both overt and covert marks.

Likewise, we are convinced of the usefulness of the prototype view as argued for in Lakoff (1987), Langacker (1990), etc. In our case, we will inevitably meet with prototypical and less prototypical types and tokens of (in)direct objects. It appears, for instance, that IOs in three-place predicate frames are more prototypical instances of the category since in this pattern they are in opposition with the DO. In turn, the IOs of two-place predicate frames are 'better examples' than pronominal objects that are called 'ethical datives' (see below). As a rule, the less prototypical an instance is, the more difficult it is to apply the criteria. We need not conclude from this, however, that marginal instances of a category are no instances at all.

2.2. *Syntactic criteria*

Apart from word-order, the cryptotypical criteria passivization and especially nominalization (with the preposition *van*) are interesting with respect to both three-and two-place predicates (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992). We repeat here the nominalization argument.

It is important to distinguish between *nominalization of the DO* and *nominalization of the subject.*

Transitive verbs usually only allow nominalization of the DO. The subject can be added as a *door*-NP 'by-NP' and any possible IO as an *aan*-NP or another prepositional phrase. Since nominalization is more of a marked construction, the NPs have to be non-specific and indefinite, as in the case of the passive construction (cf. Van Langendonck 1989). Compare (11a) [-specific] with (11b) [+specific].

(11) a. *Het geven van een boek door de ene aan de andere*
the giving of a book by one to the other

b. ?**Het geven daarvan door mij aan jou*
the giving of that by me to you

c. *Het krijgen van een boek*
the getting of a book

Nominalization of the DO is only possible if the subject is an agent or an experiencer. Only if this condition is fulfilled can nominalization of the DO function as a criterion. In this way, it can be seen that (11a) (with an underlying agentive subject) and (11c) (with an underlying experiencer/possessor

subject) are possible nominalizations, whereas (12b) (with its underlying 'inactive' subject) is ungrammatical. Compare (12a) with (12b):

(12) a. *Dat gebouw beneemt (me) het uitzicht.*
that building takes away (me) the view

b. **Het benemen van het uitzicht door dat gebouw (aan mij)*
the taking away of the view by the building (to me)

Dependent upon the transitive verb used, *nominalization of the subject* with the preposition *van* is either impossible or difficult with transitive verbs. It is impossible in the case of an obligatorily transitive verb (13) and difficult if the verb is optionally transitive (14):

(13) a. *Iemand neemt een pil.*
somebody-SUBJ takes a pill-DO

b. **Het nemen van iemand*
the taking of somebody

c. *Het nemen van een pil*
the taking of a pill

(14) a. *Drinkebroers drinken liters bier.*
boozers-SUBJ drink liters of beer-DO

b. ?*Het drinken van drinkebroers is onprettig.*
the drinking of boozers is not enjoyable

c. *Het drinken van liters bier*
the drinking of liters of beer

On the other hand, if the verb is *intransitive*, the nominalization of the subject with *van* is unproblematic. There are, moreover, no restrictions concerning the role assignment or the [+/-human] character of the subject.

(15) a. *Er sneuvelen soldaten.*
there are killed soldiers

b. *Het sneuvelen van soldaten*
the being killed of soldiers

(16) a. *Er arriveren mensen.*
there arrive people

b. *Het arriveren van mensen*
the arriving of people

(17) a. *Er vallen bladeren.*
there fall leaves

b. *Het vallen van bladeren*
the falling of leaves

From these characteristics of nominalization with *van*, we may derive a test in order to decide whether, in the case of two-place predicates, the only object is a direct or an indirect one: if a verb has only one object and if subject nominalization is possible, the object is an IO.[1]

(18) a. *Er ontvalt me een vriend.*
there loses me a friend-SUBJ

b. *Het ontvallen van een vriend*
the losing of a friend

As we already mentioned, the IO can appear as a prepositional phrase (an *aan*-NP in this case) in the nominalization:

(18) c. *Het ontvallen van een kind aan zijn ouders*
the losing of a child to his parents

2.3. The IO with two-place predicates

2.3.1. Predicative adjectives and nominals

A number of two-place predicates consisting of predicative adjectives or nominals have an IO. In most cases, addition of the preposition *voor* or *aan* is possible.

(19) a. *Dat is hem te moeilijk.*
that is him-IO too difficult

b. *Dat is te moeilijk voor hem.*
that is too difficult for him

(20) a. *Dat is haar een les.*
that is her-IO a lesson

b. *Dat is een les voor haar.*
that is a lesson for her

(21) a. *Dat is hem eigen.*
that is him-IO typical

b. *Dat is eigen aan hem.*
that is typical to him
'that is typical of him'

Some predicates of this kind combine with another type of object in the form of a bare NP. This object is traditionally called a causal object (*oorzakelijk voorwerp*).

(22) a. *Hij is zijn vrienden beu.*
he is his friends tired
'He is tired of his friends.'

(23) a. *We zijn hem gelukkig kwijt.*
we are him fortunately rid
'Fortunately, we got rid of him.'

There is, however, no difficulty in distinguishing the IO from the causal object. Applying object nominalization demonstrates that the causal object behaves like the DO of transitive verbs. If nominalization is applicable to predicative adjectives or nominals, combined with an IO, the IO always appears as a prepositional phrase with *voor* or *aan*. Compare (22b, 23b) with (19c, 21c):

(22) b. *Het beu zijn van vrienden*
the being tired of friends

(23) b. *Het kwijt zijn van vrienden*
the being rid of friends

(19) c. *Het te moeilijk zijn van dergelijke dingen voor iemand*
the being too difficult of such things for somebody

(21) c. *Het eigen zijn van dergelijke gewoontes aan iemand*
the being typical of such habits to somebody

2.3.2. *Two-place verbs*

We have already mentioned that the *traditional* IO of two-place verbs displays a tendency to behave like a DO. We think, however, that it is possible to describe this tendency in a more refined way if we take into account the characteristics of the subject of the verb (see also Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992:32 ff.).

The subject can encode different thematic roles. If we take 'degree of activity' as a parameter, these roles can be seen as forming a continuum. At one end of this continuum is the prototypical *agent* which has the following characteristics: [+volition], [+control], [+source (or causation)], [+responsibility] (Lakoff 1977). However, it is not necessary for an agentive subject to possess all these features. At the other end of the scale we have the *theme*, a subject that represents a completely inactive entity.

We may formulate, then, the following hypothesis: the more the subject of the verb bears the characteristics of a prototypical agent, the more the accompanying object tends to behave as a DO. On the other hand, the less the subject plays these or any other roles, i.e. the more its referent is inactive or inert, the more the accompanying object emerges as an IO.

To defend our hypothesis, we will first take some originally dative verbs, the subject of which can express a certain degree of agentivity: *gehoorzamen* 'obey', *toelachen* 'smile at', *toejuichen* 'applaud', *voorbijgaan* 'by-pass', *weerstaan* 'resist' and *volgen* 'follow'. In all cases, little is left of the dative character of the object. Passivization and object nominalization are possible in all cases, but the object of *gehoorzamen*, *voorbijgaan* and *weerstaan* can also be realized as an *aan*-constituent. Each of these three verbs allow for preposition addition, both in subject-predicate constructions and in nominalizations. With *toelachen*, *toejuichen* and *volgen*, *aan* is excluded, even in a nominalized construction. Here are some examples:

(24) a. *Kinderen gehoorzamen (aan) hun ouders.*
children obey (to) their parents

b. *Ouders worden gehoorzaamd (door kinderen).*
parents are obeyed (by children)

c. *Aan ouders wordt gehoorzaamd (door ...).*
to parents is obeyed (by ...)

d. *Het gehoorzamen van kinderen aan hun ouders*
the obeying of children to their parents

(25) a. *De directie ging hem voorbij bij de benoeming.*
the managing board passed him over on the appointment

b. *Aan hem (hij) werd bij de benoeming voorbijgegaan.*
to him (he) was on the appointment passed over

c. *Het voorbijgaan aan (van) jongeren bij een benoeming*
the passing over to (of) young people on an appointment

(26) a. *Het publiek juichte het orkest toe.*
the audience applauded the orchestra

b. *(*Aan) Het orkest werd toegejuicht (door het publiek).*
(to) the orchestra was applauded (by the audience)

c. *Het toejuichen van (*aan) het orkest (door ...)*
the applauding of (to) the orchestra (by ...)

The subject of *toejuichen* or *toelachen*, for instance, (cf. (26)) has more features of agentivity than the subject of *gehoorzamen* (cf. (24)), which lacks the feature [+source/causation]. Our hypothesis is further corroborated by the following constructional possibilities. In some restricted cases *gehoorzamen*, *toelachen* and *voorbijgaan* can be used with an inanimate subject which bears no characteristics of agentivity. In these cases, passivization is impossible, and the object has still more features of an IO.

(27) a. *Het stuur gehoorzaamde hem niet meer.*
the wheel did not obey him any more

b. **Hij werd niet meer gehoorzaamd door het stuur.*
he was not any more obeyed by the wheel

(28) a. *Het geluk lachte haar toe.*
the fortune smiled upon her

b. **Zij werd toegelachen door het geluk.*
she was smiled upon by fortune

(29) a. *Haar leed ging aan hem voorbij.*
her grief passed to him by
'Her grief passed him by.'

b. **Hij werd voorbijgegaan door haar leed.*
he was passed by by her grief

Furthermore, there are a lot of dative verbs that combine with a subject, the referent of which is inactive (a *theme*). Some examples of these verbs are: *bevallen* 'please', *behagen* 'please', *mishagen* 'displease', *ontvallen* 'fall away, let slip', *toebehoren* 'belong', *overkomen* 'happen', *gebeuren* 'happen', *gelukken* 'succeed', *mislukken* 'fail', *lijken* 'seem', *toeschijnen* 'seem', *mankeren* 'lack, miss', *ontbreken* 'lack', *passen* 'fit, befit', *betamen* 'befit', *berouwen* 'regret', *spijten* 'regret', *aanstaan* 'please', *meevallen* 'turn out better than expected' and *bijblijven* 'stay in one's memory'.

All these verbs are used with an inanimate subject and an object expressing an experiencer. Some of them can also have a [+human] subject, for instance, *bevallen*, *toebehoren* and *lijken*. Notice that the subject also encodes a theme if it is [+human]. Consider the following:

(30) *Je zus/haar gedrag bevalt me.*
your sister/her behaviour pleases me

When we apply our criteria to these verbs, it becomes clear that their object (still) displays the characteristics of the IO:

- passivization is impossible;
- if nominalization is possible, the *van*-constituent expresses the subject;
- if one wants to express the object in the nominalization, one has to use an *aan*-constituent (or a constituent preceded by another preposition that may be used with IOs);
- in a few cases, preposition addition is also possible in the subject-predicate construction (there are individual differences between the verbs in this respect).[2]

(31) a. *Dat voorstel bevalt haar.*
this proposal pleases her

b. **Zij wordt bevallen (door dat voorstel).*
she is pleased (by this proposal)

c. *?Het bevallen van sommige leraars aan sommige leerlingen*
the pleasing of some teachers to some pupils

d. *Aan sommige mensen zal dit voorstel niet bevallen.*
to some people will this proposal not please

(32) a. *Zijn antwoord ontgaat mij.*
his response escapes me

b. **Ik word ontgaan (door zijn antwoord).*
I am escaped (by his response)

c. *?Het ontgaan van zijn antwoord aan vele mensen*
the escaping of his response to many people

d. *De betekenis van zijn antwoord ontging aan vele mensen.*
the meaning of his response escaped to many people

2.4. Prepositions of the IOPP

For a semantic typology of the IO, it will be useful to have an idea of the various prepositions used in the IOPP. At the same time, we will give an overview of the different types of IOs that are traditionally distinguished in Dutch grammar.

The IO of most three- and two-place predicates, referring to the recipient of a material or a communicative transfer or to the experiencer or possessor in the case of two-place predicates, can occur as a prepositional phrase with the preposition *aan*. With some predicates, however, other prepositions are possible.

The IOs that depend on compound verbs with the prefix *af* 'away' can usually be combined with the preposition *van*. This is the case with verbs like *afnemen* 'take away', *afpakken* 'snatch away', *afpersen* 'extort', *aftroggelen* 'wheedle' and *afdwingen* 'wring from'.

(33) a. *Zij persen oude mensen geld af.*
they extort old people money

b. *Zij persen geld af van oude mensen.*
they extort money from old people

c. *Het afpersen van geld van oude mensen*
the extorting of money from old people

But some compound verbs with the prefix *af* combine with the preposition *aan*, as, for example, *afleren* 'cure' and *afraden* 'dissuade'. This appears to be possible when the compound verb has a positive counterpart, such as *afleren - leren* and *afraden - (aan)raden*. Consider the following:

(34) a. *Ik raad je dat af.*
I dissuade you this

b. *Wij raden dat aan de meeste mensen af.*
we dissuade this to most people

c. *Het afraden van zulke dingen aan de meeste mensen*
the dissuading of such things to most people

The preposition *naar* is used with transfer verbs such as: *sturen* 'send', *brengen* 'bring', *telefoneren* 'phone', *telegraferen* 'telegraph', *faxen* 'fax' and *zenden* 'send'.

(35) a. *Jan stuurt je dat.*
John sends you this

b. *Jan stuurt dat naar jou.*
John sends this to you

c. *Het sturen van geld naar daklozen*
the sending of money to homeless persons

The preposition *tegen* can be used with some communicative verbs such as *zeggen* 'say', *verklappen* 'give away' and *vertellen* 'tell'. In these cases, *aan* is also possible.

(36) a. *Ik heb het de studenten gezegd.*
I have it the students said

b. *Ik heb het tegen (aan) de studenten gezegd.*
I have it to the students said

c. *Het zeggen van zulke dingen tegen (aan) de studenten*
the saying of such things to the students

The IO expressing the beneficiary has a prepositional counterpart with the preposition *voor* 'for'.

(37) a. *Ineke schonk Jan een borrel in.*
Irene poured John a drink in

b. *Ineke schonk voor Jan een borrel in.*
Irene poured for John a drink in

c. *Het inschenken van een borrel voor Jan*
the pouring of a drink for John

This type of IO chiefly occurs with verbs that express the provision of food or drink, such as *(een maaltijd) bereiden* 'prepare (a meal)' and *opdienen* 'dish up' (Schermer-Vermeer 1991:219), but regional differences exist in this respect: in some of the Dutch-speaking regions this type of IO is also used with verbs like *kopen* 'buy', *meebrengen* 'bring along' and *wassen* 'clean'; in other regions these verbs allow for a prepositional phrase only, and, therefore, the prepositional phrase is not seen as an IO (Van Bree 1981:211 ff.).

The preposition *voor* can also be used with some predicative adjectives and nominals (compare (19)-(20)). In this case, the IO normally expresses the experiencer.

A particular kind of IO is the *possessive dative*. As in most European languages, this kind of IO occurs in constructions involving two terms in a possessor-possessed relation: the sentence contains a constituent (usually) referring to some part of the body or to a piece of clothing belonging to the referent of the possessive IO. In most cases, the constituent expressing the 'possessed' has the form of a prepositional phrase (cf. (38)), but it can also function as the DO (39) or the subject (40) with some predicates (Vandeweghe 1986, 1987).

The possessive IO usually has no prepositional counterpart. However, if a preposition is required (for instance, in a marked construction, especially the nominalized construction), *bij* 'with' is used in most cases.

(38) a. *De dokter keek de patiënt in de keel.*
the doctor looked the patient-IO in the throat

b. *Het in de keel kijken door de dokter bij de patiënt*
the in the throat looking by the doctor with the patient

(39) a. *Zij trok de patiënt een tand uit.*
she extracted the patient-IO a tooth

b. *Het uittrekken van een tand bij de patiënt*
the extracting of a tooth with the patient

(40) a. *De haren rezen hem te berge.*
the hair stood him-IO on end

b. ?*Het te berge rijzen van de haren bij hem*
the on end standing of the hair with him

The preposition *bij* can also be used with other predicates as in, for instance, *(bij) iemand iets inprenten* 'impress something upon someone', *(bij/van) iemand iets afkijken* 'copy something from someone' and *(bij) iemand iets afsmeken* 'beg someone for something'.

The only type of IO that has no prepositional counterpart is the so-called *ethical dative*. As in other European languages, the ethical dative does not belong to the valency of the predicate. Its only function is to express the emotional involvement of the speaker in the event. Only the clitic pronominals *me* 'me', *je* 'you' and *'m* 'him' can be used as ethical datives, and the use of *je* and *'m*, moreover, seems restricted to some fixed expressions.[3]

(41) a. *Dat is me (*je/*'m) wat moois*!
that is me something fine
'That is something awful.'

b. *Dat was me (je/*'m) daar een drukte*!
that was me (you) there an excitement
'Wasn't there a commotion.'

3. Semantic analysis and typology

3.1. Thematic roles

It is often observed that the feature [+/- human] is important in characterizing the participants in an event where an IO-referent is involved. As a rule, the IO-referent is human, more often even than the subject referent; the DO typically refers to non-human entities. This characterization, however, does not say much about the *role* that these participants play in the event. In our view, thematic roles play a more interesting part in the semantic typology of the IO-construction.

In its most general function, the IO-referent is the person or the entity *concerned* or *interested* (Dutch *belanghebbende*). For instance, this is the case with the IO of such verbs as *benijden* 'envy', where the IO-referent may not even be aware of the feelings of the subject referent. Thus we cannot speak of an *experiencer* in the proper sense of this term, let alone of a *beneficiary*, a *possessor* or a *recipient*. The latter four can be considered as subroles of the *interested party*.

In a number of cases, the interested party can be further specified in terms of such a subrole. An *experiencer* can be encountered in the IO of a verb like *bevallen* 'please', where the IO-referent has an experience. This experience may not only be emotive, but also sensory (*tonen* 'show', *zeggen* 'say, tell') or cognitive (*aanleren* 'teach'). The *recipient* is a complex thematic role: it is, at the same time, the interested person and the goal of a transfer (*geven* 'give'). When something is given to him, he becomes the *possessor*.

Taking three- and two-place predicates into account gives rise to an *ergative* conception of the IO-sentence construction. The entity that is in contact with the IO is usually a *theme*: it is the DO with three-place predicates, and it is the (intransitive) subject with two-place predicates. Consider the following examples:

(42) a. *Ik stuur jou iets/iemand.*
I send you something/somebody

b. *Iets/iemand bevalt je.*
something/somebody pleases you

As mentioned above, the theme is the least 'active' role in the participant structure: it is rather a zero-role. Notice that [+ human] as well as [- human] can 'act' as a theme.

In three-place predicates the subject-agent is the first participant, usually realizing a transfer of the theme to the IO-referent.

In order to give a more elaborated account of the thematic roles associated with the IO, we would like to introduce the concept of *involvement*. 'Involvement' has to do with the iconicity of distance as defined by Haiman (1985): the formal distance between predicate and IO created by the insertion of a preposition iconically reflects a figurative distance between the event and the IO's referent. Consider an example with *voor*:

(43) a. *Ineke schonk voor Jan een borrel in.*
Irene poured for John a drink in

b. *Ineke schonk Jan een borrel in.*
Irene poured John a drink in

Kirsner (1985:252) comments upon this pair as follows:

> It is not difficult to demonstrate that use of the 'bare' NP – as in b – indicates that the referent (the person named Jan) is more directly involved in the event named by the verb (pouring) than use of the prepositional phrase would.

The difference in involvement is shown by the fact that, according to (43a) John was not necessarily present when Irene poured the drink. Sentence (43b), however, implies the presence of John.

Another example is from Janssen (1976:82, 91):

(44) a. *Ik gaf twee paraplu's aan de garderobejuffrouw.*
I gave two umbrellas to the cloakroom attendant

b. *Ik gaf de garderobejuffrouw twee paraplu's.*
I gave the cloakroom attendant two umbrellas.

Sentence (44a) reflects the normal situation in that it means the umbrellas are given away temporarily, while (44b) suggests the attendant is presented with the umbrellas. In other words, the bare NP expresses greater involvement on the part of the participant, while the *aan*-NP does not: it highlights rather the literal or physical transfer. (See Janssen 1976:88-89 for a parallel situation in other Germanic languages such as German and English.)

We think that the nature of this involvement can be further clarified. We see two points here. Firstly, involvement on the part of some participant implies that he fulfils his role in an ideal, prototypical way. If we assume the IO's referent is an interested party, a greater involvement of this participant means that he is being specially advantaged or disadvantaged. Secondly, when the IO's referent is more involved, this automatically entails that the other participants in the same event are more involved in their specific role as well. Thus, in a transfer (three-place predicates) the subject's referent will then be a prototypical agent, while the DO's referent will be a prototypical theme. For instance, in (44b) I commit myself to more than just some transfer, since I am donating something, whereby the status of the thing given, the present, gains importance as well. At the same time, the recipient is more advantaged than in the case of (44a), since in (44a) the attendant is supposed to give the umbrellas back. We may say that in (44a) the interested-person component of the recipient role is backgrounded and that, as a result, the IO-referent is presented as not involved.

We believe that an analysis of the NP-PP variation of the IO and of the (subtle) meaning distinctions associated with it leads to a more fine-grained description of the semantics of IO patterns. Our analysis also gives rise to a classification of IO verbs in the form of a cline (see below 3.3.).

3.2. The NP-PP variation in the IO

First of all, we have to distinguish between canonical sentences and marked constructions. In marked constructions, such as nominalization, afterthought and topicalization, the use of a PP is obligatory. Only in unmarked constructions does a choice exist between IONP and IOPP.

Different factors have already been proposed to account for the IONP-IOPP variation in Dutch. The following is a partial list (see Schermer-Vermeer 1991:283 ff. for an overview): the presence or absence of contact between the referents of the subject and the IO, together with the nature of the DO (Balk 1968); the occurrence of a transfer and the affectedness of the IO (Kooij 1975); the central versus peripheral involvement of the IO's referent in the event (Kirsner, Verhagen & Willemsen 1985); and the topic-focus structure of the utterance (De Schutter 1993).

In our opinion, a conglomerate of factors determines the use of IONP or IOPP. If these factors sufficiently converge in the same direction, we discover that the relevant preposition is either obligatory or impossible. There are at least four factors, the first two of which are essential, the last two being secondary: 1) the involvement of the role participants in the state of affairs, 2) the occurrence of a transfer in the event, 3) the topic-focus structure of the utterance relative to the discourse, 4) the nature of the NPs that constitute the complements (+/-clitic, +/- pronominal, +/- definite, +/- specific, +/-human). The two secondary factors reinforce or weaken the influence of the essential factors.

3.2.1. The involvement of the participants in the state of affairs

We have already explained above that the NP-PP variation (in the IO) allows for a meaning difference that can be accounted for in terms of iconicity. The insertion of a preposition creates a distance between predicate and IO, and this formal distance iconically mirrors a figurative distance between the event and the IO's referent: the referent of an IOPP is then seen as being less involved in the event than the referent of an IONP. Notice, however, that the NP-PP opposition does not necessarily yield this meaning difference. It can, for example, be neutralized due to our world knowledge. Compare the following:

(45) a. *Ik gaf mijn jas aan de kelner.*
I gave my coat to the waiter

b. *Ik gaf de kelner mijn jas.*
I gave the waiter my coat

(46) a. *Ik gaf de kelner een fooi.*
I gave the waiter a tip

b. *Ik gaf een fooi aan de kelner.*
I gave a tip to the waiter

Our world knowledge tells us that to give a tip to a waiter is a gift, whereas to give one's coat to a waiter is normally not a gift but merely a temporary transfer. Sentences (45a) and (46a) reflect these everyday situations: (45a) essentially expresses a transfer, (46a) expresses a transfer and a greater involvement on the part of the waiter as the interested party of a gift. Sentences (45a) and (46a) are also the most common constructions. As to sentence (45b), it may suggest that I presented the waiter with my coat. However, in sentences (46a-b), the opposition NP-PP is neutralized because of our world knowledge: you cannot give a tip away for a limited time span.

In the case of a situation denoted by a two-place predicate there is no DO but the role of the DO is taken over by the subject, which is then a theme (see above). Hence, when there is more involvement in such states of affairs, the IO's referent will be a more interested party (often an experiencer here), while the subject's referent will be accorded a more important status as a theme:

(47) a. *Je zus bevalt (*aan) me.*
your sister pleases me

b. *Dat project zint (*aan) mij niet.*
that project like me not

That such verbs as *bevallen* and *zinnen* do not take a preposition is not only due to the fact that the IO's referent is automatically involved in the state of affairs, but apparently to the absence of any transfer as well (see below).

In some cases, however, involvement appears to be the only relevant factor. Consider a pair such as *afstaan* 'cede, relinquish' and *afgeven* 'hand in'. Both contain the semantic element of 'transfer' but in the case of *afstaan* the donor is much more involved as an agent and the IO-referent much more as a recipient (a possessor) than with *afgeven*. In the latter case the subject is

not necessarily the owner of the thing handed in. It is interesting to note here that *afstaan* is normally construed without *aan*, whereas *afgeven* (mere transfer) usually requires this preposition. This brings us to the second factor.

3.2.2. The occurrence of a transfer

It is striking that with such verbs as the above, *bevallen* and *zinnen*, the IO's referent is typically an involved experiencer, but not a recipient: a transfer is inexistent. With three-place predicates like *geven*, we saw that a greater involvement tends to require an IONP, while a mere material transfer leads to the insertion of a preposition (cp. (44a-b)). Furthermore, with such typical transfer verbs as *overleveren* 'hand over' the preposition for the recipient is obligatory with full NPs. We can hardly speak here of an involved interested party. Therefore, we must conclude that the notion of transfer is as important as 'involvement' in determining the IO patterning. This is again borne out by the following contrast:

(48) a. *Vader bood (? aan) oma zijn arm aan.*
father offered (to) gran his arm

b. *Vader bood zijn arm aan oma aan.*
father offered his arm to gran

In (48a) we find the normal meaning of the expression *zijn arm aanbieden*, wherein no material transfer is concerned at all. As a consequence, granny is not a recipient and an IONP is called for. By contrast, (48b) suggests a rather unpleasant interpretation, viz. a physical transfer of a cut-off arm to a recipient.

Fixed expressions consisting of a verb and a noun phrase normally have an IONP. Some examples:

(49) a. *Zij gaven (*aan) de paarden de sporen.*
they gave (to) the horses the spurs

(50) a. *Zij gaven (aan) de kunstwereld een trap/een duwtje.*
they gave (to) the art world a kick/a dig

(51) a. *Hij rukte (van/?bij) Jan het masker af.*
he tore (from) John the mask off

As is shown in the above examples, in some cases an IOPP also appears to be possible in the sequence IO-DO, but this is certainly not the most common construction. However, the construction DO-IOPP is impossible unless it is possible to interpret it as containing the idea of a material transfer as opposed to the figurative meaning of the a-sentences. The following sentences strongly suggest that the referent of the IOPP has the characteristics typical of a recipient or a materially deprived person.

(49) b. *Zij gaven de sporen ?aan de paarden/aan Jan.*
they gave the spurs to the horses/to John

(50) b. *Zij gaven een trap/een duwtje ?aan de kunstwereld/aan Tom.*
they gave a kick/a dig to the art world/to Tom

(51) b. *Hij rukte het masker van/bij Jan af.*
he tore the mask from John off

3.2.3. The topic-focus structure

In De Schutter's (1993) view, the topic-focus structure of the so-called subrelations is the only determining factor in the choice between IONP and IOPP. As we have argued in Van Langendonck & Van Belle (1993), this position appears to be untenable. This is not to say that the topic-focus structure is completely irrelevant. It does play a role, but rather in conjunction with the other factors. It is useful to distinguish here between IONP-patterns in such verbs as *besparen* 'spare' and IOPP-patterns in verbs such as *overleveren* 'hand over' (see 3.3. below). As a rule, in IONP-patterns, the IONP appears to be topical: involvement naturally accompanies a [+ human] and a [+ topic] structure. This is iconically reflected in the fact that the IONP precedes the DO, which tends to show opposite characteristics. However, in certain contexts, the IO may be the focus and will then receive special stress, without the syntactic structure being altered. Also, the presence or absence of *aan* does not matter much here:

(52) *Vader bood óma (, niet ópa) zijn arm aan.*
father offered gran (not grandpa) his arm

(53) a. *De kunsthistorici schreven (aan) Rúbens een enorme werkkracht toe.*
the art historians attributed (to) Rubens an enormous energy to

In (53a) *toeschrijven* is used in its meaning 'to say that x has the property y' and is an IONP-verb. That is why the order DO + IOPP in (53b) with normal intonation is ungrammatical. The sentence can be remedied when the DO is stressed (focussed on) and the IOPP and the final verbal element are not. Compare the following:

(53) b. ?**De kunsthistorici schreven een enorme werkkracht aan Rúbens tóe.*

c. *De kunsthistorici schreven een enorme wérkkracht aan Rubens toe.*
the art historians attributed an enormous energy to Rubens to

3.2.4. The nature of the NP of the DO and the IO

We could set up a 'feature hierarchy' which is akin to the 'universal animacy hierarchy' of linguistic typology (cf. Comrie 1989:185). For our purposes, we retain that highest on this hierarchy are personal pronouns. Next we find personal proper names, followed by specific definite common noun phrases. Lowest in rank are inanimate, nonspecific, indefinite NPs. Clitic pronouns like *me, je, 'm* rank higher than full pronouns as clitics are inherently topical (i.e. cannot be focal). If clitics are not possible as an IONP, then no other phrase will be. Compare the passive pattern:

(54) a. *Het boek werd 'm gegeven.*
the book was him given

b. ?*Het boek werd hem gegeven.*
the book was him given

c. ??*Het boek werd Piet gegeven.*
the book was Pete given

d. ?**Het boek werd het vriendje gegeven.*
the book was the friend given

e. **Het boek werd een vriendje gegeven.*
the book was a friend given

Conversely, clitics cannot occur as a PP counterpart to the IONP, except with *voor* in the post-DO position (cf. *voor je*):

(55) a. *Ik zal je een boek geven.*
I will you a book give

b. **Ik zal aan je een boek geven.*
I will to you a book give

c. *Ik zal aan je denken.*
I will of you-PO think

d. *Ze zal je koffie inschenken.*
she will you coffee pour out

e. **Ze zal voor je koffie inschenken.*
she will for you coffee pour out

f. *Ze zal koffie voor je inschenken.*
she will coffee for you pour out

The role of the feature [+/- human] is brought to the fore with such verbs as *sturen* 'send', which are transfer verbs. The human IO can be construed as an IONP or as an *aan*-PP or as a *naar*-PP. When, however, the 'recipient' is not human, an IONP is impossible, as is an *aan*-NP. What remains is a directional PP introduced by *naar*, which can no longer be called an IO. Compare (9a-d) above.

The case of [-animate] IOs is usually exemplified, in the grammatical description of Dutch, by sentences such as (56-58).

(56) *Zij gaf (?*aan) haar fiets een nieuw kleurtje.*
she gave (to) her bike a new coat of paint

(57) *Zij gaf (?*aan) de bal een hakje.*
she gave (to) the ball a heel
'she heeled the ball'

(58) *Hij gaf (?*aan) de kamer een goeie beurt.*
he gave (to) the room a thorough cleaning

Such examples may lead to the conclusion that an IONP is preferred with [-animate] IOs (Van den Toorn 1971:35, De Schutter & Van Hauwermeiren 1983:123). However, things appear to be more complicated.

As we have already mentioned, with predicates in which the DO and the verb form a more or less fixed expression, a clear preference for the IONP pattern is displayed (compare (49-51)). However, with [-animate] IOs the IOPP pattern is clearly preferred (compare (59-62)). This pattern is even obligatory with some expressions in which a [+human] IO is excluded (compare (61-62)). (In such cases, the PP is usually no longer called an IO.)

(59) a. *Hij gaf (aan) Piet gehoor.*
he lent (to) Pete an ear

b. **Hij gaf de consensus/de oproep gehoor.*
he lent the consensus/the appeal an ear

c. *Hij gaf gehoor aan de consensus/aan de oproep.*
he lent an ear to the consensus/to the appeal

d. *Hij gaf aan de consensus/aan de oproep gehoor.*
he lent to the consensus/to the appeal an ear

(60) a. *Zij gaf (aan) Jan steun.*
she gave (to) John support

b. *?Zij gaf de coup steun.*
she gave the coup support

c. *Zij gaf steun aan de coup (or: aan de coup steun).*
she gave support to the coup (or: to the coup support)

(61) a. *Hij gaf uiting aan zijn gevoelens.*
he gave expression to his feelings

b. **Hij gaf zijn gevoelens uiting.*
he gave his feelings expression

(62) a. *Zij gaf ruchtbaarheid aan het voorstel.*
she gave publicity to the proposal

b. **Zij gaf het voorstel ruchtbaarheid.*
she gave the proposal publicity

When the DO keeps its DO characteristics, both an IONP and an IOPP are equally possible. In sentences such as (63-64) the idea of a transfer, albeit an abstract one, is present. Compare the following:

(63) a. *Hij gaf (aan) het project een nieuwe inhoud.*
he gave (to) the project a new content

b. *Hij gaf een nieuwe inhoud aan het project.*
he gave a new content to the project

(64) a. *Al die eufemismen geven (aan) het verhaal minder overtuigingskracht.*
all those euphemisms give (to) the story less persuasiveness

b. *Al die eufemismen geven minder overtuigingskracht aan het verhaal.*
all those euphemisms give less persuasiveness to the story

The IONP pattern in (56-58) does not seem to be the rule, but rather the exception. An explanation for this divergent patterning may be found in the nature of the IO's referent. To our knowledge, the IONP in cases such as (56-58) always refers to a concrete object (a room, a ball, a bike). Such an object can be thought of as a metaphorically interested party, in contrast with the abstract 'IO' referents in sentences such as (59b-62b). This is, however, a mere hypothesis. Further research is needed here.

Not only the nature of the NP that constitutes the IO is important, but also the nature of the NP that functions as a DO. In the ditransitive pattern, the first object is normally topical, while the second is focal. Ideally, this goes together with a definite NP in the first object and an indefinite in the second. If one reverses this situation, i.e. if we make the first object nonspecific indefinite and the second specific (in)definite, the sentence will be ungrammatical. Two nonspecific indefinite objects are unusual at best if the IONP is not transformed into its prepositional counterpart:

(65) a. *Hij heeft (aan) het vriendje een trui gegeven.*
he has (to) the friend a sweater given

b. ?**Hij heeft (aan) een vriendje die trui gegeven.*
he has (to) a friend that sweater given

c. *Hij heeft aan een vriendje een trúi gegeven.*
he has to a friend a sweater given

d. ??*Hij heeft een vriendje een trúi gegeven.*
he has a friend a sweater given

3.3. Types of predicates

Taking into account the factors of *involvement* and *transfer*, we can set up a five-way classification of predicates. The five types that we have distinguished, have no clear-cut boundaries, but are to be seen as constituting a continuum. Certain verbs, e.g. *geven* 'give', allow for a lot of variation, at least in principle. In the case of others, such as *besparen* 'spare', a preposition is impossible, thus they take an IONP + DO. Still others, like *ontnemen* 'take from', prefer this pattern, but marginally allow for an IOPP which normally precedes the DO. By contrast, the fourth category, e.g. *overleveren* 'hand over', shows a strong preference for an IOPP, which tends to follow the DO. With verbs of the fifth category, e.g. *rondsturen* 'send round', the IONP is

impossible. Here are some relevant examples:

a) Verbs such as *geven* 'give', *tonen* 'show', *meedelen* 'inform', and *aanbieden* 'offer' do not appear to display any restrictions of the above type, at least in their prototypical readings:

(66) a. *Je mag (aan) kinderen geen gevaarlijk speelgoed geven.*
you may (to) children no dangerous toys give

b. *Je mag speelgoed aan die kinderen geven.*
you may toys to these children give

b) Verbs like *besparen* 'spare', *benijden* 'envy', *ten kwade duiden* 'take something ill of someone', *(haat) toedragen* 'hate', *nadoen* 'copy', *(gezondheid) toedrinken* 'drink to someone's health' and *(een kunstje) flikken* 'play a trick' have no IOPP, apparently due to the fact that transfer is lacking. Most two-place dative verbs also belong to this class.

(67) a. *Zij bespaarden (*aan) de leraar veel werk.*
they spared (to) the teacher much work

b. **Zij bespaarden veel werk aan de leraar.*
they spared much work to the teacher

(68) a. *Hij benijdde (*aan) de buurman een sukses.*
he envied (to) the neighbour a success

b. **Hij benijdde een sukses aan de buurman.*
he envied a success to the neighbour

c) Verbs of the type *ontnemen* 'take from' and *(uit)trekken* 'extract' prefer an IONP. An IOPP is a marked alternative and only possible because there is not only involvement, but also a transfer, albeit in the opposite sense. DO + IOPP can only be obtained if the DO receives sentence stress:

(69) a. *Men mag (? aan) andere mensen geen idealen ontnemen.*
one must (to) other people no ideals take from

b. ?**Men mag geen idealen (aan) de ménsen ontnémen.*

c. *Men mag geen ideálen aan de mensen ontnemen.*
one must no ideals to people take from

(70) a. *De tandarts moet (? bij) iemand een tand (uit)trekken.*
the dentist has to (to) somebody a tooth extract

b. ?**De tandarts moet een tand bij iémand (uít)trekken.*

c. *De tandarts moet een tánd bij iemand trekken.*
the dentist has to a tooth to somebody extract

d) By contrast, such typical transfer verbs as *overleveren* 'hand over', *uithuwelijken* 'give in marriage', *afgeven* 'hand in', *doorgeven* 'pass on' and *uitreiken* 'present' are either preferably or exclusively construed with *aan*, 'preferably' in the case of the DO + IOPP pattern. An IONP is only possible with clitics.

(71) a. *Men heeft de schurk aan de politie overgeleverd.*
one has the scoundrel to the police handed over

b. **Men heeft de politie de schurk overgeleverd.*
one has the police the scoundrel handed over

c. *Ze hebben me de schurk overgeleverd.*
they have me the scoundrel handed over

(72) a. *Zij heeft haar nichtje aan de veearts uitgehuwelijkt.*
she has her cousin to the veterinary given in marriage

b. **Zij heeft de veearts haar nichtje uitgehuwelijkt.*
she has the veterinary her cousin given in marriage

c. ?*Zij heeft 'm haar nichtje uitgehuwelijkt.*
she has him her cousin given in marriage

e) The recipient of transfer verbs such as *rondsturen* 'send round', *rondvertellen* 'spread about', *rondgeven* 'hand round', *rondvragen* 'ask round', *rondbazuinen* 'broadcast', *verdelen* 'divide' and *distribueren* 'distribute' is inherently plural and vague and hence never involved. Therefore it is normally not expressed. If it is expressed, it has the form of a prepositional phrase.

(73) a. *Ik heb het verslag (aan de leden) rondgestuurd.*
I have the report (to the members) sent round

b. **Ik heb de leden het verslag rondgestuurd.*
I have the members the report sent round

(74) a. *We verdelen het geld onder de armen.*
we divide the money among the poor

b. **We verdelen de armen het geld.*
we divide the poor the money

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have presented a syntactic-semantic description of the IO in modern Dutch. Using both phenotypical and cryptotypical criteria and the prototype view on syntactic categories, we argued for the (traditional) position that the IO occurs both with two-place and three-place predicates and in the form of a NP and a PP. The prototype view implies that a syntactic category such as the IO has no clear-cut boundaries: there are less prototypical types and tokens of IOs and an area of overlap with other syntactic categories exists, especially with those of the DO, the prepositional object and the locative. In this way, our syntactic description turns out to be largely in step with our semantic analysis.

In terms of thematic roles, the 'dative' can maximally exhibit two logically independent roles, a goal (connected with a transfer) and an interested party. When the two are present, we can talk of a recipient, figured in the prototypical dative of 'giving'. If transfer is absent, we encounter such cases as (67a) *zij bespaarden de leraar veel werk*, wherein only an interested person is concerned. If, on the other hand, the latter is lacking, a mere transfer occurs, as in (73a) *ik heb het verslag aan de leden rondgestuurd*. Therein a preposition (*aan*) is obligatory. Although dealing with a cline in this respect, it can be said that the IONP is thus typical of an involved interested party, which may be an experiencer or a possessor, while the IOPP rather tends to express the goal in a material transfer, which emphasizes the locative aspect.

NOTES

1. Another criterion is based on that of subextraction (*wat voor* split), dealt with in Den Besten (1984) in a different context. It appears that a separation of the WH-expression *wat voor* 'what kind of' is possible with DOs but not with IOs regardless of whether a three- or a two-place predicate is involved. Consider the following:

(1) a. *Wat **heb jij in Italië voor musea bezocht**?*
What have you in Italy kind of museums-DO visited?

b. **(Aan) wat **heb jij** voor mensen **je stuk gestuurd**?*

c. *(Aan) wat voor mensen **heb jij je stuk gestuurd**?*
To what kind of people-IO have you sent your paper?

d. **(Aan) wat **bevalt ze** voor mannen?*

e. *(Aan) wat voor mannen **bevalt ze**?*
What kind of people-IO does she please?

2. Some of the verbs of this category express a psychological state (cf. *please*, *regret*). There is another category of two-place verbs expressing a psychological state, the difference being that their subject encodes the source (or cause) of the psychological state. Some examples of these verbs are: *amuseren* 'amuse', *beangstigen* 'frighten', *verbazen* 'amaze', *verwonderen* 'surprise', *hinderen* 'bother', *verbijsteren* 'bewilder', *verheugen* 'make happy', *verblijden* 'rejoice', *vermaken* 'amuse', *kwellen* 'torment' and *kwetsen* 'hurt, grieve'. All of these verbs are commonly considered transitive in present-day Dutch. In Middle Dutch, however, some of them (for example, *hinderen, kwellen, kwetsen,* and *verblijden*) were occasionally used with a dative object. (Stoett 1923:119 ff.)

The subject of these verbs encodes the semantic role of the source or cause. This can be demonstrated by the following test. All these verbs allow for an alternative construction in which the experiencer becomes the subject and the "source"-subject is expressed by a *door*-NP (by-NP). In this pseudo-passive construction, the verb is realized as a past participle combined with a copula.

(1) a. *Je gedrag amuseert/verwondert mij.*
your behaviour amuses/surprises me

b. *Ik ben geamuseerd/verwonderd door je gedrag.*
I am amused/surprised by your behaviour

3. Since the ethical dative does not belong to the valency of the predicate, it can co-occur with another IO in a sentence. We think, however, that such constructions are only infrequently used in Dutch.

(1) *Wat heb je me nu (aan) je ouders verteld ?*
What have you me-IO now (to) your parents-IO told?

REFERENCES

ANS 1984. = Geerts, G., Haeseryn, W., De Rooij, J. and Van den Toorn, M. (eds) *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Groningen/Leuven: Wolters.

Balk-Smit Duyzentkunst, F. 1968. Het meewerkend voorwerp, een grammaticale vergissing. *Levende Talen* 243, 5-12.

Battistella, E.L. 1990. *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Beeken, J. 1993. *Spiegelstructuur en variabiliteit. Pre- en postposities in het Nederlands*. Leuven: Peeters.

Bos, G.F. 1972. Het indirect object. *Levende Talen* 284, 7-18.

Comrie, B. 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. 2nd edition, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Davidse, K. 1991. *Categories of Experiential Grammar*. Doctoral dissertation KU Leuven.

Den Besten, H. 1984. The ergative hypothesis and free word order in Dutch and German. In *Studies in Germanic Grammar*, J. Toman (ed), 23-64. Dordrecht: Foris.

Den Hertog, C.H. 1892. *Nederlandse Spraakkunst. Eerste Stuk*. Ingeleid en bewerkt door H. Hulshof. Amsterdam: Versluys, 1973.

De Schutter, G. 1993. Towards a cognitive analysis of the NP-PP variation in the indirect object in Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82, 485-499.

De Schutter, G. and Van Hauwermeiren, P. 1983. *De structuur van het Nederlands. Taalbeschouwelijke grammatica*. Malle: De Sikkel.

Geerts, G. and Heestermans, H. 1992. *Van Dale. Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*. 12th, revised ed. Utrecht, Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicografie.

Haiman, J. 1985. *Natural Syntax: Iconicity and Erosion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Janssen, Th.A.J.M. 1976. *Hebben-konstrukties en indirekt-objektskonstrukties*. Doctoral dissertation KU Nijmegen.

Janssen, Th.A.J.M. 1992. Het indirect object. Een grammatisch-theoretisch sjibbolet en een culturele entiteit, maar geen grammatische categorie? *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 108, 354-371.

Janssen, Th.A.J.M. 1993. *'Possession': Expressed or Culturally Conceived?* Third International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Leuven.

Kirsner, R.S. 1985. Iconicity and grammatical meaning. In *Iconicity in Syntax*, J. Haiman (ed), 249-270. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Kirsner, R.S., Verhagen, A. and Willemsen, M. 1985. Over PP's, transitiviteit en het zgn. indirekt objekt. *Spektator. Tijdschrift voor Neerlandistiek* 14, 341-347.

Kooij, J.G. 1975. Idioom en syntaxis. In *Taal- en letterkundig gastenboek voor G.A. van Es*, 85-90. Groningen: Archief van de Nederlandse syntaxis.

Lakoff, G. 1977. Linguistic Gestalts. *Papers Regional Meeting CLS* 13, 236-287.

Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Langacker, R. 1990. *Concept, Image and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rijpma, E. and Schuringa, F.G. 1972. *Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Schermer-Vermeer, E.C. 1991. *Substantiële versus formele taalbeschrijving. Het indirect object in het Nederlands*. Doctoral dissertation University of Amsterdam.

Stoett, F.A. 1923. *Middelnederlandsche Spraakkunst*. Den Haag: Nijhoff.
Van Belle, W. and Van Langendonck, W. 1992. The indirect object in Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 81, 17-43.
Van Bree, C. 1981. *Hebben-constructies en datiefconstructies binnen het Nederlandse taalgebied. Een taalgeografisch onderzoek*. Doctoral dissertation, R.U. Leiden.
Van den Toorn, M.C. 1971. Enkele opmerkingen over het indirect object. *Levende Talen* 274, 32-41.
Van den Toorn, M.C. 1981. *Nederlandse grammatica*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
Vandeweghe, W. 1986. Het semi-indirekt objekt en de zgn. possessieve datief. In *Vruchten van z'n akker. (Album V.F. Vanacker)*, M. Devos and J. Taeldeman (eds), 397-411. Gent: R.U.G.
Vandeweghe, W. 1987. The possessive dative in Dutch: syntactic reanalysis and predicate formation. In *Ins and Outs of the Predication*, J. Van der Auwera and L. Goossens (eds), 137-151. Dordrecht: Foris.
Van Hoecke, W. The Latin Dative. In this volume.
Van Langendonck, W. 1968. Het meewerkend voorwerp van de aktieve zin als onderwerp van de passieve zin. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 57, 101-118.
Van Langendonck, W. 1989. Ergativity, markedness and prototypes. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 4, 173-183.
Van Langendonck, W. and Van Belle, W. 1993. The NP-PP-variation of the indirect object in Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82, 501-520.
Whorf, B.L. 1956. *Language, Thought and Reality. Selected Writings of B.L. Whorf*, J.B. Carroll (ed). Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

The indirect object in Afrikaans

Leon G. de Stadler

Department of Afrikaans and Dutch
University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

1. Introduction

In the two main sections of this contribution I will address two problems concerning the indirect object (IO) in Afrikaans. In section 2 I will discuss those syntactic-semantic aspects of the IO that would seem to be pertinent to the delimitation of the notion, while drawing specific attention to parameters such as the verb types that take the IO as an argument, the variation between noun phrase IO (IONP) and prepositional IO (IOPP), the role of different prepositions, IO and nominalization, IO and passivization and the IO as an argument of two-place predicates.

In section 3 I will deal with the semantics of the IO constructions in Afrikaans, specifically relating these constructions to the different verb types associated with the IO.

The methodology followed in this paper is a data-based one. Some 350 verbs or verbal complexes and some 1 500 examples (about 60% of these were true text examples) were analysed. In the text I quite often opt for fabricated examples simply because they factor out many of the complexities of Afrikaans sentence structure not relevant to the issues discussed here.

Without discussing all the details I will take Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar* as my descriptive framework (for more details, see Langacker 1988, 1991).

As Langacker (1991:282) would have it meanings should be characterized relative to cognitive domains. These cognitive domains can normally be seen as so-called idealized cognitive models providing a naive picture of the world as we see it. Different models and submodels would seem to be rele-

vant here, including Langacker's billiard-ball model (for events) and stage model (for perceptual experience).

It is the billiard-ball model that is of particular interest when discussing the semantics of the IO in Afrikaans, since it is this model that is pertinent to the analysis of a prototypical finite clause containing an IO. This finite clause has a verb denoting some form of interaction between different participants, an interaction that in the prototypical ditransitive case designates a transfer of an entity from one participant to another. This characterization, in Langacker's words, fits the notion of an action chain, and in this action chain the subject of the finite clause is the head of the chain, or, to be more precise, the source of the energy that flows along this action chain. The IO can then best be described as the end-point in this action chain (Langacker 1991:283, 324-329).

Within these models certain submodels pertaining to energy, energy flow, participants, settings and the like also need our attention. Generally speaking, in the most prototypical structures containing an IO the verb profiles an action that could best be characterized as some form of transfer. As will be reiterated in the following sections, this transfer category is essentially polysemic, employing the same kind of polysemic mechanisms found in the polysemic networks of lexical items.

The other category of submodels that we have to deal with is the models that we hold for the participants in our event model. We have conceptions, for instance, of certain relatively clearly distinguishable semantic roles, among them Agent, Patient, Instrument, Experiencer, Recipient and Benefactive, to name but a few. Following Langacker (1991:285) these semantic roles should be seen as "pre-linguistic conceptions in everyday experience" which can eventually be invoked as part of the semantics of the language system. At best they can be described in terms that are wellknown in prototype theory, that is by giving a prototype characterization that abstracts away from the peculiarities of individual cases (see De Stadler 1992). I will adhere to the Dutch and Afrikaans tradition, and will characterize the superordinate semantic role encoded in the IO as the Interested Party (*Belanghebbende* in Dutch and Afrikaans). I do not consider this role to be an Experiencer (for more discussion, see De Stadler forthcoming b). Within the polysemic network this semantic role branches into two subcategories, namely the Recipient and the Benefactive.

2. The IO in Afrikaans: syntactic-semantic description

2.1. Preliminaries

Afrikaans is a Germanic language which, in the course of its development, has shed its case system (Afr. *naamvalsisteem*). One only finds some remnants of an earlier case system, e.g. in the pronoun system (*hy* x *hom*, *sy* x *haar*, *ek* x *my*, *jy* x *jou*). Therefore, in most instances the Afrikaans linguist has recourse only to syntax and semantics when describing the IO.

IOs are found in sentences such as

(1) *Ek het hom 'n fooitjie gegee.*
I have him-IO a tip given
(Full translations will only be given in cases where it is deemed absolutely necessary.)

In this example the IO is encoded as a noun phrase (IONP). A sentence such as (1) quite often has a variant with the IO encoded as the complement of a prepositional phrase (IOPP):

(2) *Ek het 'n fooitjie aan hom gegee.*
I have a tip to him-IO given

This constituent has acquired a reputation of resisting syntactic demarcation, something which has led linguists such as Ron Langacker to opt for a semantic description. Langacker states his position as follows: "I suggest that indirect object ought not to be considered a grammatical relation of the same type as subject and direct object [...]. I thus propose that indirect objects are best characterized in terms of semantic role" (Langacker 1991:326).

I have to disagree with Langacker here, at least as far as the position in Afrikaans goes. Whilst I do not ignore the semantic coherence of the IO, I do recognize it first and foremost as a grammatical relation on a par with subject and DO. I do agree that – and that would seem to be the position in Afrikaans too – description of the IO as a grammatical relation poses a number of problems, but I do not agree that these problems warrant a radical departure from what could be considered the traditional position. To my mind these problems stem from the nondiscreetness of the boundary between the DO and IO categories, and I will seek solutions to the descriptive problems associated with the IO by relating them to this nondiscreet boundary.

The semantics of the IO should be described taking two parameters into consideration, namely (a) the syntax and semantics of the verb categories involved, and (b) the syntax and semantics of the IO construction itself. To my mind, to do (a) would entail analysing the different verb categories in order to seek some insight into the semantic frames denoted by the verbs. To do (b) would entail bringing into play the semantic roles associated with the IO, describing the characteristics of these semantic role categories and giving some indication as to the mechanisms involved in establishing the association between the semantic roles and the grammatical function of the IO. One would also need to reflect on issues such as the syntactic structure of the IO and the question of isomorphism related to the variation between IONP and IOPP. In this contribution I intend taking both avenues, starting with the verb typology in the following section.

2.2. *The Indirect Object: NP or PP or both?*

2.2.1. *The position in Afrikaans*

As the tradition would have it, the constituents marked in bold in the following sentences are considered to be IOs:

(3) a. *Die kinders gee **my** baie plesier.*
The children give me-IO lots of pleasure.

b. *Kom ons deel tog maar die lekkers **aan die kinders** uit.*
Let's dish MODAL MODAL the sweets to the children-IO out.
'Let's dish out the sweets to the children.'

First of all, as (3a) and the following selection of examples show, the IO is a noun phrase:

(4) *bied haar 'n sigaret aan*
'offer her-IO a cigarette (particle)',
bewys die sersant 'n guns
'show the sergeant-IO a favour',
gee hom 'n geskenk
'give him-IO a present',
deel ons die nuus mee
'report us-IO the news (particle)' (Ponelis 1979:206)

However, in Afrikaans one also has what has come to be known as the Dative Shift alternation, a mechanism that allows for the IO to occur in an immediately postverbal position as NP or PP, and in a position after the DO as PP, with prepositions such as *aan*:

(5) *bied almal hierdie geleentheid x bied aan almal hierdie geleentheid x bied hierdie geleentheid aan almal*
'provide everybody-IO this opportunity x provide to everybody-IO this opportunity x provide this opportunity to everybody-IO'

deel al hulle vriende die tyding mee x deel aan al hulle vriende die tyding mee x deel die tyding aan al hulle vriende mee
'communicate all their friends-IO the news x communicate to all their friends-IO the news x communicate the news to all their friends-IO'
(Ponelis 1979:206)

or the preposition *vir*:

(6) *gee haar 'n fiets x gee vir haar 'n fiets x gee 'n fiets vir haar*
'give her-IO a bicycle x give for her-IO a bicycle x give a bicycle for her-IO'

vertel die kinders 'n storie x vertel vir die kinders 'n storie x vertel 'n storie vir die kinders
'tell the children-IO a story x tell for the children-IO a story x tell a story for the children-IO'

In quite a number of instances the PP variant is the only option, as in the following cases with verbs of transfer and distribution:

(7) *Die komitee het 'n bedrag van R5 000 aan die Fonds bewillig.*
The committee has an amount of R5 000 to the Fund-IO granted.

Die mense versprei dan die kospakkies onder die armes.
The people distribute then the food parcels among the poor-IO.

or verbs of communication:

(8) *Ek noem dit aan jou.*
I mention it to you.

Dan kommunikeer hulle die inligting aan die volgende groep.
Then communicate they the information to the next group-IO.

In a number of instances only the NP variant is found:

(9) *Die Here het hom met allerlei talente bedeel.*
The Lord has him-IO with all kinds of talents endowed.

Anna bedien ons met die nagereg.
Anna serves us-IO with the dessert.

In all these cases the verb should be analysed as a so-called prepositional verb, a category dealt with in section 3.3.

2.2.2. IOPP: indirect object or prepositional object?

The Dative Shift alternation has been discussed extensively in linguistic literature over the years (cf. Schermer-Vermeer (1991) for references in this regard), and at least three possible solutions for the phenomenon have been proposed:

1. The PP is a mere variant of the IONP (Geerts et al. 1984).
2. The PP is a prepositional object, to be distinguished from the IO (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992, Schermer-Vermeer 1991, and Ponelis 1979, who takes a strict syntactic position characterising the IOPP merely as a prepositional phrase).
3. The PP is an adjunct (Radden 1989).

I find the traditional point of view (option 1) wellfounded and will take it as departure point, dispensing with options 2 and 3.

Option 2: First of all it is rather important to define the notion "prepositional object". I consider a prepositional object to be the NP complement of the set preposition of what has come to be known as a *prepositional verb* (Afr. *setselwerkwoord*). The following can be considered clear examples of prepositional verbs in Afrikaans:

(10) *aanpas by* 'adjust to', *berus in* 'resign to', *afreken met* 'get even with', *hunker na* 'yearn', *ruik na* 'smell of', *aandring op* 'insist on'

Immediately one might argue that the preposition of the IOPP is also a set preposition. However, in the case of the prepositional object the preposition is determined by the verb, that is each verb has its own unique or almost unique preposition, with verb and preposition forming a semantic unit. In the case of the IO, however, the choice of preposition is a function of the status of

the NP as IO and (for the different IO prepositional markers, partly) the verb category (e.g. *van* or *by* in those cases denoting a perspectival switch in transfer; *teenoor* in the case of verbs of communication).

The difference in semantic cohesion between verb and prepositional object and verb and IOPP is born out by data such as the following:

(11) a. *Hy het 'n klomp geld aan die Universiteit geskenk.*
He has a lot of money to the University-IO granted.

Hy het 'n klomp geld geskenk, en wel aan die Universiteit.
He has a lot of money granted, and that to the University-IO
'He has granted a lot of money, and that to the University.'

b. *Ek het hom van raad bedien.*
I have him-IO with advice served.

**Ek het hom bedien, en wel van raad.*
I have him-IO served, and that with advice
'I have served him, and that with advice.'

In these sentences a focusing mechanism is used (foregrounding with an emphatic conjunct). In (11b) the prepositional object *van raad* (Eng. 'with advice') cannot be foregrounded by separating it from its verb, whereas the IOPP can be foregrounded in this way.

Another difference: The preposition of a prepositional object is an obligatory element, whereas in many cases the preposition of the IOPP is an optional element. Although, in adherence to some principle of isomorphism (see section 2.2.3.), the absence or presence of the preposition can be related to some difference in meaning, there are many instances where this variation does not correspond with such a difference in meaning.

In those instances where the prepositional object is passivizable the object can be separated from the preposition, while this is not possible in the case of a prepositional IO:

(12) a. *Op die vyand word gespioeneer.*
On the enemy-PREP. OBJ. is spied.

Die vyand word op gespioeneer.
The enemy is on spied.

b. *Aan S.A. word die reg ontsê om oor sy eie sake te beslis.*
To S.A. is the right denied to decide ...

**S.A. word die reg aan ontsê om oor sy eie sake te beslis.*
S.A. is the right to denied to decide ...

This difference in cohesion can also be detected in those cases where the prepositional object or prepositional IO is topicalized:

(13) a. *In my lot berus ek.*
In my fate resign I.
'To my fate I resign myself.'

My lot berus ek in.
My fate resign I in.
'My fate I resign myself to.'

b. *Aan die kinders het Marie 'n klomp lekkers gegee.*
To the kids has Mary a lot of sweets given.

**Die kinders het Marie 'n klomp lekkers aan gegee.*
The kids has Mary a lot of sweets to given.

The constructions also differ as far as productivity is concerned. The formation of prepostional objects is restricted to the formation of new prepositional verbs. However, in Afrikaans, as would seem to be the case in other languages (at least in English and Dutch), one finds a productive process of IO formation:

(14) *Hulle het vir ons sitplekke bespreek.*
They have for us-IO seats booked.

Hy het vir haar 'n prentjie geteken.
He has for her-IO a picture drawn.

In most instances the prepositional object is the only argument of the prepositional verb. Furthermore, a prepositional verb has only one prepositional object. In a few instances prepositional verbs do, however, combine with DOs and especially IOs. In most of the latter cases the IO is IONP, but in some cases one would find IOPP, thus ignoring the restriction of only one prepositional object, should one term IOPP a prepositional object:

(15) *melding maak van iets teenoor iemand*
mention make of something towards someone-IO
'mention something to someone'

verslag doen van 'n gebeurtenis aan iemand
report do of an event to someone-IO
'report on an event to someone'

rapporteer oor iets aan iemand
report on something to someone-IO

In a number of cases the prepositional verb combines a prepositional object with a DO. In these cases, however, the two objects do not have the freedom of distribution that one finds with a IOPP and a DO:

(16) a. *Ek gee die boek graag aan Elizabeth.* (IOPP)
I give the book with pleasure to Elizabeth-IO

Ek herinner jou graag aan die vergadering. (prepositional object)
I remind you with pleasure of the meeting-PREP. OBJ.

b. *Ek gee graag aan Elizabeth die boek.*
I give with pleasure to Elizabeth the book

**Ek herinner graag aan die vergadering jou.*
I remind with pleasure of the meeting you

These "transitive" prepositional verbs also differ from their ditransitive counterparts as far as other word order phenomena are concerned. Take the distribution of adverbials as an example:

(17) a. *Ek gee die boek graag/vandag aan Elizabeth.*
I give the book with pleasure/today to Elizabeth

Ek herinner jou graag/vandag aan die vergadering.
I remind you with pleasure/today of the meeting

b. *Ek gee graag/vandag die boek aan Elizabeth.*
I give with pleasure/today the book to Elizabeth

**Ek herinner graag/vandag jou aan die vergadering.*
I remind with pleasure/today you of the meeting

The prepositional object, as opposed to the prepositional IO, can be focused by using a cleft sentence:

(18) a. *Ek sinspeel op jou onvermoë om die te verstaan.*
I allude to your inability to the-IO understand-PREP. OBJ.

Waarop ek sinspeel, is jou onvermoë om die te verstaan.
What I allude to is your inability to the-IO understand

b. *Ek rapporteer oor die vergadering aan myvoorsitter.*
I report on the meeting to my chairman-IO

?**Aan wie ek rapporteer oor die vergadering, is my voorsitter.*
To whom I report on the meeting, is my chairman.

I have to conclude that there is no reason to term the IOPP a prepositional object.

The third option would be to analyse the IOPP as an adjunct/adverbial, an option that I do not find particularly plausible.

First of all the Dative Shift variation (in many instances without any change in meaning, at least in Afrikaans) is a rather strange characteristic for an adverbial. Secondly, it is strange for an adverbial to participate in passivization. Lastly, the IO, be it an IONP or IOPP, profiles a particular participant as playing semantic roles such as Recipient and Benefactive (see section 3), whereas adverbial phrases are typically associated with semantic parameters such as Manner, Time and Place, so that even on a ontological level there seems to be a clear difference. I am therefore forced to conclude that option 3 does not seem to hold any promise.

Against this background I take the position that both IONP and IOPP should be described as IOs. Why then should one accept the fact of what at first glance would seem to be such a strange alternation? The answer, it would seem to me, lies in the understanding of the role of prepositions in the grammar of a language.

Prepositional phrases are exocentric syntactic constructions and, in contrast to the position suggested in Chomskyan theories, the preposition should not be considered a main lexical category on a par with nouns, verbs and adjectives. They seem to fall somewhere between true lexical categories and grammatical categories such as the articles. For that very reason, it is not strange to see them acting as grammatical markers (in a language such as Afrikaans substituting for other grammatical marking systems such as morphological case marking). In Afrikaans we see them acting as case markers for nominative roles (*deur* 'by' in the passive), dative roles (*aan* 'to', *vir* 'for', etc.), the instrument role (*met* 'with'), the genitive (*van* 'of'), and in exceptional cases even accusative roles (*vir* 'for').

Against this background, the Dative Shift alternation should therefore not be seen as something strange. The impact of this alternation on the semantics of the IO will be dealt with in section 3.

2.2.3. The structural variants and the issue of isomorphism

Three structural variants present themselves in the three-place predicate

category, namely (I give a word-order characterization), Subject – DO – IOPP, Subject – IONP – DO and Subject – IOPP – DO. These structural variants interact with a variation parameter, since there are cases that allow the so-called Dative Shift variation and those that do not. Theoretically, three variation categories are possible, namely Dative Shift, IONP – DO only and DO – IOPP only, and they do occur in Afrikaans, as the following examples show:

(19) *Ek gee haar baie geld.*
I give her-IO lots money

Ek gee baie geld aan haar.
I give lot money to her-IO

Ek gee hom 'n klap.
I give him-IO a slap

?**Ek gee 'n klap aan hom.*
I give a slap to him

**Suzaan dek Ma die tafel af.*
Suzaan clears Mother the table (particle)

Suzaan dek vir Ma die tafel af.
Suzaan clears for Mother the table (particle)

One now has to deal with the following questions: Do the different structural variants coincide with differences in meaning, and, secondly, why would some verbs allow the Dative Shift variation while others allow only one of the variants? As will become clear in the discussion to follow, these questions are interrelated.

Let's first deal with those cases where there is a free variation, and then relate them to those cases which do not allow for the variation. Van Belle & Van Langendonck (1992:37-38), in describing the Dutch IO construction, argue for isomorphism (later they term it iconicity) between form and meaning in these cases, specifically that the difference between the pair

(20) a. *Ik gaf twee paraplu's aan de garderobejuffrouw.*
I gave two umbrellas to the cloakroom attendant

b. *Ik gaf de garderobejuffrouw twee paraplu's.*
I gave the cloakroom attendant two umbrellas

lies in the degree of involvement of the participant encoded by the IONP. In the case of IONP there is a higher degree of involvement than would seem to be the case with IOPP.

Two points should be made. First of all, it quite often seems to be the case that there is little or no difference in meaning between the two variants of a ditransitive construction. Although I will agree with Van Belle & Van Langendonck on the issue of isomorphism that arises from the IONP/IOPP variation, it is not necessarily the case that the character of the transfer changes, as they would seem to suggest. In many cases there is little if any difference in meaning between pairs such as

(21) *Ek skenk jou graag hierdie boek.*
I give (as a gift) you with pleasure this book

Ek skenk graag hierdie boek aan jou.
I give (as a gift) with pleasure this book to you

The principle of isomorphism should therefore not be stated in absolute terms (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992:38 concede the point). However, in Afrikaans there is a clear tendency toward isomorphism, which in many cases manifests itself as a preference for one or the other structure, while in other cases a certain variant even becomes obligatory. Thus, although both the sentences

(22) a. *Ek gee jou 'n geskenk.*
I give you a present

b. *Ek gee 'n geskenk aan jou.*
I give a present to you

are acceptable, it is the a-sentence that is preferred. Some speakers even consider the b-sentence to be marginally unacceptable. The explanation in isomorphistic terms would then be that the giving of a present should be construed as one of the clearest instances of (physical) transfer, where the Recipient takes the Patient into possession. The Recipient is therefore highly involved and significantly affected, two features often related to a prototypical Recipient (Wierzbicka 1988:376). The highest peak of affectedness does of course eventually lead us into the Patient domain and the DO schema associated with it. I have already drawn attention to the nondiscreetness of the boundary between these two domains.

There are other IO-types that confirm this (partial) isomorphism. An extreme example is provided by the following examples:

(23) *Ek gee hom 'n klap.*
I give him-IO a slap

Johan gee Amanda 'n soen.
John gives Amanda-IO a kiss

These examples can be related to paraphrases in which the IO becomes a DO profiling a participant as the Patient of a force directed at it, that is a highly affected and involved participant type:

(24) *Ek klap hom.*
I slap him-DO

Johan soen Amanda.
John kisses Amanda-DO

Although I realize the pitfalls of paraphrase arguments, they do seem to suggest that the IO should be considered less (proto)typical in (23). That is, though they can still be related to the Recipient domain metaphorically, they are more Patientlike, revealing the nondiscreet boundary between two typically prototype categories (sic!). This can be related to the fact that they prefer the IONP format while resisting prepositional marking. Examples such as the following are considered to be marginal at best, even with *vir* 'for' (in Afrikaans examples with *vir* are associated with only the most informal registers of speech):

(25) ?*Ek gee aan hom 'n klap.*
??*Ek gee 'n klap aan hom.*
?*Ek gee vir hom 'n klap.*
??*Ek gee 'n klap vir hom.*

The fact that they are more highly affected participants than the prototypical Recipient and especially the Beneficiary, and that they should therefore be considered marginal representatives of the Patient category is also reflected in the fact that they can quite often be inanimate:

(26) *Ek gee die deur nog 'n laag verf.*
I give the door-IO another coat of paint

Ek gee die motor 'n was.
I give the car-IO a wash

and that they passivize much more easily than the other IO roles, especially when they are inanimate:

(27) *Die deur word nog 'n laag verf gegee.*
Die motor word 'n was gegee.

I would even like to suggest that there is a difference between the cases with an animate and inanimate IO. In the latter case the IO departs further from the prototype in the sense that it encodes a prototypical Patient (the prototypical Patient being inanimate). Note again the paraphrases with a DO:

(28) *Ek verf die deur.*
I paint the door

Ek was die motor.
I wash the car

In these cases, however, prepositional marking results not merely in marginally (un)acceptable sentences, but in totally ungrammatical constructions:

(29) **Ek gee aan/vir die deur nog 'n laag verf.*
**Ek gee nog 'n laag verf aan/vir die deur.*
**Ek gee aan/vir die motor 'n was.*
**Ek gee 'n was aan/vir die motor.*

This construction type needs more analysis of course. Note for instance the obligatory [- def] article of the DO. I would like to suggest (be it without the necessary research to confirm my claim) that *gee 'give' + [- def] NP* constitutes a compound predicate with the syntactic IO behaving semantically as DO. The difference between, say, *kiss* and *give a kiss* would simply be that the first profiles the patientlike characteristics of the participant profiled by the IO, whereas the latter profiles the recipientlike characteristics of the participant.

This argument is strengthened when dealing with those verbs that I have come to call prepositional verbs (see section 3.3.). Within a particular conceptual field one often has the choice between an ordinary (di)transitive verb or a semantically related prepositional verb denoting some form of transfer (e.g. *gee* 'give' x *begiftig met* 'gift with'). In some cases it may even be the same morpheme with or without the set preposition (*bedien* 'serve' x *bedien met* 'serve with', *voorsien* 'provide' x *voorsien van* 'provide with' x *voorsien met* 'provide with'). Let's focus our attention on this last category and discuss the following examples:

(30) a. *Anna bedien die nagereg aan ons.*
Anna serves the dessert to us-IO

Anna bedien aan ons die nagereg.

?Anna bedien ons-IO die nagereg.

b. *Anna bedien ons met die nagereg.*
Anna serves us-IO with the dessert

**Anna bedien aan ons met die nagereg.*

**Anna bedien met die nagereg aan ons-IO.*

In the a-sentences the verb profiles a transfer, but the focus is on the transfer of the Patient. In the b-sentences the Recipient becomes the DO, retaining only the semantics of the IO. In this instance the prepositional verb profiles the Recipient as a highly affected and involved participant, while "demoting" the Patient to the prepositional/oblique object position. One might argue that iconically the Patient is put at a distance while the Recipient, encoded as a DO, becomes more patientlike in that the affectedness of the Recipient is profiled. I consider this verbal variation to lie at the boundary between the DO and IO schemata, and it is these cases that reveal the nondiscreetness of this boundary between the DO and IO categories, a nondiscreetness that lies at the very heart of the semantic subtleties hinted at here.

In all these cases the higher degree of affectedness associated with the shift from IO to DO status is also reflected in the higher degree of acceptability of the passivization of this IO, "[...] and passive is generally accepted to be positively correlated with affected subjects [...]" (Goldberg 1992:53).

The principle of isomorphism is also shown up in another instance. In the category of transfer verbs there are a number of verbs profiling the transfer as a loss on the part of the Agent:

(31) *Die maatskappy sal die terrein aan hulle afstaan.*
The company will the terrain to them-IO give up/hand over

?**Die maatskappy sal hulle die terrein afstaan.*

?**Hulle sal die terrein afgestaan word.*
They will the terrain given up/handed over be

?*Aan hulle sal die terrein afgestaan word.*

Because the focus is on the loss on the part of the Agent, it is the Agent and not so much the Recipient that is seen to be affected. Isomorphism lies between this conceptualization and the lesser acceptability or unacceptability of IO-DO word order and passivization.

This line of argument and research should eventually lead to a greater understanding of transitivity in general, the relationship between DO and IO, the prototype characteristics of the two categories and the grammar of the borderline cases that bring all these issues to bear.

2.2.4. The IO-prepositions in Afrikaans

The IO in Afrikaans can be marked by a variety of prepositions. The most frequent preposition is *aan* (*to*), followed by *vir* (*for*). The preposition *aan* typically occurs in those case where the IO profiles the Interested Party as a Recipient of the transfer, whereas *vir* occurs as only prepositional option in those cases where we have productive IO-formation (see section 3.4.). In quite a number of cases both *aan* and *vir* occur, including those with verbs such as *gee* 'give', *bied* 'offer', *gun* 'allow, grant', *toedien* 'administer' and *stuur* 'send'.

Apart from these two prepositions one also finds *van* (*from*) and *by* (*from*) with verbs denoting transfer away from the IO, *onder* (*amongst*) with verbs denoting distribution and *teenoor* (*to*) with some verbs of communicative transfer, to name but a few (for a more detailed discussion, see De Stadler forthcoming a and remarks in sections that follow).

2.3. Syntactic distribution of the IO

In the case of three-place predicates with IONP the word order is subject-IO-DO, be that in main or subordinate clauses:

(32) a. *Ons skenk jou graag daardie stel boeke.*
We give you-IO with pleasure that set of books

**Ons skenk daardie stel boeke jou graag.*

b. *dat ons jou graag daardie stel boeke skenk.*
that we you-IO with pleasure that set of books give

**dat ons daardie stel boeke jou graag skenk.*

In Afrikaans there is a strong cohesion between the verb in second position (called the *spilwerkwoord* in Afrikaans, or *voorste persoonsvorm* in Dutch) and the object, be it a IONP or a DO:

(33) a. *Ons skenk jou graag daardie stel boeke.*
We give you-IO with pleasure that set of books

??*Ons skenk graag jou daardie stel boeke.*

b. *Ek sal jou môre die storie vertel.*
I will you-IO tomorrow the story tell

??*Ek sal môre jou die storie vertel.*

In the second member of each pair the prepositional variant is obligatory, hinting at the lesser degree of "objectivity" of the IOPP.

The prepositional IO has a much less marked distribution, occurring before or after the DO and before or after adverbials. Analysis of the data shows, however, that the word order with the IOPP following the DO is the prototypical word order. There are different parameters that govern these word order phenomena. As I argue in sections 2.2.3 and 3, the IOPP profiles a less affected participant making it less objectlike and less topical, justifying its prototypical position after the DO. This coincides with another factor: Afrikaans word order principles dictate that, in accordance with its SVX typology, more complex syntactic structures normally follow less complex syntactic structures. That would explain why, in the NP complement system, prepositional phrases precede embedded sentences. Applied to the word order of DO and IOPP, that would suggest a DO-IO word order. Placing the prepositional IO before the DO results in a marked syntactic structure, a procedure that should be seen as a focusing mechanism.

Feinauer (1987) mentions a third factor determining the ordering of DO and IO, namely the definiteness of the respective NPs. Since definiteness relates to topicality and indefiniteness to focality (new or unknown informa-

tion) definite objects will precede indefinite objects, be they direct or indirect, for that would be in accordance with the word order principles related to placement of topical or focal elements.

2.4. Passivization and the IO

2.4.1. Passivization of the IO

One possible distinctive feature of the IO often mentioned is its resistance to passivization.

Ponelis (1979:417) mentions the fact that, in Afrikaans, IOs are also accessible to passivization, though to a lesser degree than the DOs. He mentions the following examples:

(34) *[...] sy vra dat verteenwoordigers van ses welsynsliggame toegang verleen moet word [...]*
[...] she asks that representatives of six welfare organizations-IO be given access [...]

Ek is nie 'n glas melk aangebied nie.
I-IO was not a glass (of) milk offered (NEG)

The passivized IO does indeed become the subject of the passive sentence. This is proven by the one remnant of case marking in Afrikaans, namely the nominative form of the pronominal IO (*ek* in the above examples, as opposed to the dative/accusative form *my*).

Opposed to these one does, however, find examples such as the following that seem to be marginally unacceptable:

(35) ?*Ek is die boeke geleen.*
I was the books borrowed

?*Hy is 'n present gegee.*
He was a present given

?*Marie is 'n brief geskryf.*
Mary was a letter written

The following picture evolved after testing the verbs in the data base for passivization of the IO.

First of all it is clear that the possibilities for passivization differ from one category to another. In the category of the verbs of transfer three possibilities present themselves. There are those cases where passivization of the IO is permitted (including the examples in (34)):

(36) *Jy word die geleentheid gebied om navorsing te doen.*
You are the opportunity accorded (infinitive particle) research to do

Hy word sy rykdom gegun.
He is his wealth allowed

Note again the nominative form of the passivized pronominal IOs in the above examples.

Another category of verbs allowing the passivization of the IO is the prepositional verbs with IO:

(37) *Ek word begunstig met die wonderlikste voorregte.*
I am favoured (given) with the most wonderful privileges

Ons word getrakteer op die heerlikste geregte.
We are treated on the most delicious dishes

In all these cases the IO profiles a highly involved and affected participant in the transfer event.

The second category includes the cases where no passivization of the IO is permitted:

(38) **Die tiksters moet die verslag afgegee word.*
The typists must the report handed over be

**Hulle moet die fondse oorgelewer word.*
They must the funds handed over be

The verbs in this category include

(39) *gooi* 'pour', *skink* 'pour', *oorgee* 'hand over', *oorlewer* 'hand over', *oorreik* 'hand over', *opoffer* 'sacrifice', *verdeel* 'divide', etc.

and just about all the verbs in the category denoting transfer from the IO to the Agent:

(40) *bedel* 'beg', *aksepteer* 'accept', *verlang* 'require', *neem* 'take', etc.

The verb *ontneem* 'take away from' provides a notable counterexample:

(41) *Sy word haar voorregte ontneem.*
She is her privileges taken away from

In these cases the IO profiles a less involved and less affected participant (the IOs of verbs such as *ontneem* being the exceptions).

The third category comprises those instances where the acceptability of the passivization is questionable (including the examples in (35)):

(42) ?**Verskillende maatskappye word ons produkte aan gelewer.*
Different companies are our products to supplied

?*Ma word daardie juweliersware bemaak.*
Mother is that jewelry bequeathed

The interesting thing about this category is that the acceptability rises with the addition of the preposition *aan* 'to' (for the sake of brevity the glosses are not repeated here; see (35)):

(43) *Aan my is die boeke geleen.*
Aan hom is 'n present gegee.
Aan Marie is 'n brief geskryf.

One could immediately argue that these sentences should be analysed as variants of existential *there* constructions, that is that a sentence such as

(44) *Aan hom is 'n present gegee.*
To him was a present given

is a reduced variant of a sentence with existential *daar* (Eng. *there*):

(45) *Aan hom is daar 'n present gegee.*
To him was there a present given

This, in turn, would justifiably lead to the analysis of *daar* 'there' as the subject of the passive sentences, with sentence (45) the result of topicalization (the corresponding untopicalized sentence would be *Daar is 'n present aan hom gegee*). However, there are many examples that do not have a corresponding *there*-variant. The sentence

(46) *Aan Ma word daardie juweliersware bemaak.*
To Mother is that jewelry bequeathed

does not have a topicalized or untopicalized *there*-variant:

(47) ??*Aan Ma word daar daardie juweliersware bemaak.*
?**Daar word aan Ma daardie juweliersware bemaak.*

One could also argue that these cases constitute examples of topicalization of the IO based on passive sentences with the active DO as subject:

(48) *Daardie juweliersware word aan Ma bemaak > Aan Ma word daardie juweliersware bemaak.*

There is, however, one phenomenon in Afrikaans that would suggest that the prepositional IO in (46) should be seen as the subject in Afrikaans. Inversion of the verb in second position with the element in first position is only possible when this element is the subject of the sentence. The resultant inverted construction (an interrogative clause) invariably leaves the subject, and no other constituent, in second position. Most if not all the sentences in (43) allow this inversion:

(49) *Is aan my boeke geleen*?
Was to me books borrowed

Is aan hom ooit 'n geskenk gegee?
Was to him ever a present given

Is aan Marie ook 'n brief geskryf?
Was to Mary too a letter written

The cohesion of this verb in second position and the subject is also found in another instance. In those cases where an element is topicalized, thus forcing the subject from its normal first position, the subject will invariably take the third position directly after the particular verb. The IOPP in first position in a passive sentence patterns in the same way:

(50) *Gister is aan hom 'n klomp geld gegee.*
Yesterday was to him a lot of money given

Verlede week is aan die Universiteit 'n reuse skenking gemaak.
Last week was to the University a large grant made

In the category of communicative transfer passivization of IONP is not readily permitted:

(51) *Die kinders word die goed voorgesê.*
The children are the things prompted

?*Jy word al jarelank gesê dat jy moet ophou met jou nonsens.*
You are for many years told that you must stop with your nonsense

**Hy is die feite gemeld.*
He was the facts mentioned

Only instances of the passivization of the prepositional IO are found:

(52) *Aan jou word al jarelank gesê dat jy moet ophou met jou nonsens.*
Aan die kinders word vanmiddag om drie-uur 'n storie vertel in die biblioteek.

Aan hom is die feite gemeld.

The overwhelming majority of two-place predicates allow passivization of the IO:

(53) *Hy word vanaand deur die Vereniging vereer.*
He will be tonight by the Society honoured

Hulle word goed gesalarieer deur die werkgewer.
They are well salaried (paid) by the employer

This phenomenon should be related to the high degree of affectedness of the participant encoded by the IO (see section 3).

Two-place predicates with a [-agent] and often [-animate] subject do not allow passivization of the IO:

(54) **Ek word dit aan behoort.*
I am this to belonged

**Ek word dit aangestaan.*
I am this suited

These cases should be explained against the background of the passivization phenomenon in general. At least the following aspects are relevant to the explanation of (76), namely the lack of the volitionality of the Agent, the fact

that the verb is not a dynamic verb and the fact that the IO participant is not affected to a high degree (see Granger-Legrand 1983 for more discussion).

2.4.2. Passivization of the DO in a ditransitive construction

Passivization of the DO combines with a strong preference for the IOPP:

(55) a. *Die koekies word vir die kinders aangebied.*
The biscuits are for the children offered

?*Die koekies word die kinders aangebied.*

b. *Die eersgeborenes word aan die afgod geoffer.*
The first-born are to the god sacrificed

?**Die eersgeborenes word die afgod geoffer.*

c. *My skaakstel word aan my broer nagelaat.*
My chess set is to my brother left

**My skaakstel word my broer nagelaat.*

d. *Die pragtige vaas word aan my ma geskenk.*
The beautiful vase is to my mother given (as a gift)

**Die pragtige vaas word my ma geskenk.*

Passivization elevates an active object to become the subject of the passive sentence. This "elevation" can be related to different semantic parameters, among them the topicality of the active object/passive subject and the degree of affectedness. In the most prototypical cases the passive subject has to be a highly affected participant (as Patients normally are). By elevating this affected participant one also relevates the other participants, and as will be suggested in section 3 the IOPP variant is used to encode a lesser-affected participant in the transfer event. In the above cases both IONP and IOPP are possible in the active sentences, but by opting for the elevation of the active Patient, a less affected reading is forced on the IO, which in turn dictates the choice of IOPP.

2.5. Nominalization

Nominalization seems to provide a test for IO-hood. The verb is nominalized and when acting as the head of a noun phrase it then combines with specifiers and complements that are realizations of the arguments of the par-

ticular predicate, i.e. the subject as genitive, the DO as a prepositional phrase marked by *van* and the IO marked by the IO prepositions normally associated with it, notably *aan*:

(56) *die gee van geskenke aan 'n man se vrou*
the giving of presents to a man's wife

die toediening van medisyne aan 'n kind
the administering of medicine to a child

In the nominalization the IO phrase follows the DO phrase. A change in this word order leaves one with a highly marked distribution, which is at least marginally unacceptable in most cases.

In those cases where the IO is the Beneficiary nominalization with *vir* seems to be only marginally acceptable if at all:

(57) *?die aanbied van koekies vir die kinders*
the offering of biscuits to the children

?die koop van 'n geskenk vir my vrou
the buying of a present for my wife

That also goes for the productive category:

(58) *?die afkap van 'n boom vir my buurman*
the chopping down of a tree for my neighbour

?die stryk van 'n hemp vir my man
the ironing of a shirt for my husband

In those cases where the verb denotes a transfer from IO to Agent two possibilities arise. First of all the IO can be encoded as a PP with the preposition *van* (in some cases combined with the postposition *af*; co-occurring with *van* as marker of the DO):

(59) *die ontvangs van fondse van die bank (af)*
the receipt of funds from the bank (postposition)

die ontneming van voorregte van hom af
the taking away of privileges from him (postposition)

or as the genitive determiner of the NP of the DO-PP:

(60) *die ontvangs van die bank se fondse*
the receipt of the bank's funds

die ontneming van sy voorregte
the taking away of his privileges

This construction is the syntactic prototype for nominalizations in this particular subcategory.

Nominalization also provides a test for IO-hood in many of the two-place predicate cases. It does, however, also provide an indication that quite often the objects of these predicates seem to lie on the boundary between DO and IO, for in many instances they are marked by the prepositions *aan* (an IO preposition) or *van* (a DO preposition) when the verbs are nominalized:

(61) *hulle toejuiging aan/van die span*
their cheering of the team

hulle ontsnapping aan/van hulle agtervolgers
their escape from their pursuers

die staat se subsidiëring ?aan/van universiteite
the state's subsidising of universities

The objects of these verbs clearly test the boundary between DO and IO. As was argued earlier, they show the syntactic behaviour of DOs, whereas semantically they favour an IO-analysis. When the verbs are nominalized, the choice of preposition highlights profiling of the DO as a Recipient (in the case of *aan*) or a more patientlike or experiencerlike role (in the case of *van*).

3. Predicate types and the polysemic network of the IO

3.1. Introduction

It is at least theoretically possible for an IO to be an argument of both three-place and two-place predicates. For the moment attention will be focused on the three-place predicates. In section 3.5 I will return to the problem of the IO as an argument of a two-place predicate.

3.2. Three-place predicates and the Recipient subschema

The IO in Afrikaans expresses an argument of a variety of verb types.

The most frequent frame for the IO is one in which the IO profiles the Interested Party as a Recipient of a transfer. As can be expected against this background, the most obvious verb category involved is the verbs of transfer, including examples such as

(62) *Ek gee haar baie geld.*
I give her-IO lots money

Ek stuur 'n geskenk aan jou.
I send a gift to you-IO

Die moeder moet self die medisyne aan die kind toedien.
The mother must self the medicine to the child-IO administer

The physical transfer depicted in these examples forms the prototypical core of the polysemic network.

In the physical transfer category there seems to be an unmarked or semantically neutral category and a semantically marked category where the transfer includes transfer of ownership or possession. In the first case Afrikaans allows variants with the preposition *aan* 'to' and *vir* 'for' and in the second a variant with *aan* only. The second category is by far the larger of the two:

(63) a. **Neutral category**: *gee* 'give', *teruggee* 'give back', *bied* 'offer', *toedien* 'administer', *stuur* 'send'

b. **Transfer of ownership/possession**: *afstaan* 'give up, yield', *bedien* 'serve', *bemaak* 'bequeath', *offer* 'sacrifice', *oorhandig* 'hand over', *prysgee* 'give up'

Another subcategory in the physical transfer category is the category of distribution verbs. In Afrikaans these verbs allow only the PP variant, with the prepositions *aan* and *onder* 'among'. The obligatoriness of the PP variant follows from the markedness of this subcategory. Examples include

(64) *uitdeel* 'distribute, dish out', *versprei* 'distribute', *distribueer* 'distribute', *verdeel* 'divide amongst'

Sometimes the verb refers to potential transfer:

(65) *gun* 'grant', *toekom* 'be due', *aanbied* 'offer', etc.

In Afrikaans these verbs favour the IONP variant, a preference related to the involvement and affectedness of the Recipient.

Another special case relates to those structures in which the IO profiles an Interested Party as a Recipient by default. In these cases the verb profiles the transfer as a loss on the part of the Agent and the IO strongly favours the prepositional variant:

(66) *Die maatskappy sal die terrein aan hulle afstaan.*
The company will the terrain to them-IO give up/hand over

?**Die maatskappy sal hulle-IO die terrein afstaan.*

?**Hulle sal die terrein afgestaan word.*
They will the terrain given up/handed over be

?*Aan hulle sal die terrein afgestaan word.*

In many instances the verb refers to prevention of the transfer:

(67) *misgun* 'begrudge', *ontsê* 'deny', *weier* 'refuse', *terughou* 'hold back', *weerhou* 'keep from'

In most of the cases, for example *misgun*, *ontsê* and *weier*, only the IONP is allowed. In these cases the IO profiles an Interested Party as a highly involved and affected participant, explaining why, in most of these cases, the verb allows only an IONP. A few verbs referring to prevention of the transfer combine with a IOPP marked by the preposition *van* 'from', among them *terughou* 'keep back', *weerhou* 'keep away from', *weghou* 'keep away from'. This category seems to mediate between the previous category and the following category, where the IO profiles the Interested Party as the Source of the transfer.

Since transfer can be seen as a concept with an element of directionality, not unexpectedly, one finds transfer to and from the IO. Verbs of transfer from IO to Agent include examples such as

(68) *bedel* 'beg', *neem* 'take', *terugneem* 'take back', *terughou* 'hold back, retain', *kry* 'get', *ontvang* 'receive', *koop* 'buy', *afrokkel* 'wheedle out of'

These verbs combine with the prepositions *van* 'from' or *by* 'at' in the PP variant:

(69) *Ons ontvang gereeld van hulle bydraes.*
We receive regularly from them-IO contributions

Ek kry hopelik van/by Ouma ook 'n geskenk.
I get hopefully from/at Grandmother-IO a present

The IO profiles the Interested Party as the Source of the transfer, that is there is a perspectival switch (terminology due to Dirk Geeraerts) concerning the directionality of the transfer, and in these cases the PP variant is obligatory, the reason being that transfer from Agent to Recipient is the prototype, whereas the perspectival switch resulting in transfer from Source (directional opposite of the Recipient) to Agent is the marked case. Again the obligatory PP variant can be explained as a tendency towards isomorphism: The IO as Source profiles a participant involved and affected to a much lesser degree than would be the case with those IO participants profiled as Recipients. This is confirmed by the fact that passivization of the IO is just about impossible in these cases. The choice of preposition follows from the perspectival switch in transfer encoded in these verbs, since both the prepositions *van* and *by* in Afrikaans have meanings in their polysemic networks marking the referents of their NP complements as Sources.

The transfer network can be extended metaphorically to include those cases where the IO profiles an Interested Party as the Recipient of an abstract transfer. In many cases the particular verbs (polysemically) allow for both physical and abstract transfer, as is the case with the verbs *gee* 'give' and *verskaf* 'provide':

(70) a. *Ek gee haar baie geld.*
I give her lots of money

Ek gee haar baie plesier.
I give her lots of pleasure

b. *Ons verskaf ons produkte aan groot maatskappye.*
We provide our products to large companies-IO

Dit verskaf hom groot plesier.
It gives him-IO great pleasure

As far as abstract transfer is concerned, the data-base examples showed a marked preference for the construction with the IONP preceding the DO. In many instances the DO-prepositional IO word order leaves us with examples that should be considered at least marginally unacceptable:

(71) *?Ek gee baie plesier aan haar.*
I give lots of pleasure to her-IO

The preference for the Recipient of an abstract transfer to be encoded as IONP should be related to the higher degree of involvement and affectedness of the particular participant (see section 2.2.3.).

The second major category of verbs with IO as argument is that denoting communicative transfer, an extension that should be considered a further metaphorical extension from the abtract transfer schema. The first notable characteristic of this category is the fact that in the majority of cases the verbs allow only a IOPP, so that the issue of isomorphism arises again, also when discussing the use of different prepositions.

First of all, communicative transfer does not affect the Recipient of the transfer directly, explaining why it resists encoding by means of an IONP. The Recipient of a communicative transfer is also involved to a lesser degree when comparing it to the Recipient of a physical transfer or abstract transfer. Interestingly enough, this is borne out by prepositional verbs denoting communicative transfer. In section 3.3 I draw attention to the fact that many prepositional verbs can, apart from their prepositional objects, combine with a second object with very clear IO semantics. Some of these IO-like objects are NPs and others are encoded as PPs. As the examples in (79) would suggest, all the cases with PP are verbs denoting communicative transfer.

There are a few verbs denoting communicative transfer that do, however, combine with an IONP, including verbs such as *toesnou* 'snarl, snap (something) at', *toevoeg* 'address a remark to someone' and *inlig oor* 'inform about'. What strikes me here is that in all these cases the IONP profiles a Recipient that is more involved in and more directly affected by the communicative transfer.

There are different categories of communication verbs. The first, and largest category, are those verbs denoting some transfer of information from the Agent to the IO. In most of these cases the IOPP is marked by the preposition *aan* 'to':

(72) *kommunikeer* 'communicate', *konstateer* 'state', *vermeld* 'mention', *oorvertel* 'relate', *skets* 'sketch', *verkondig* 'preach, proclaim'

A second category of communication verbs takes a IOPP with both *aan* 'to' and *vir* 'for':

(73) *sê* 'say', *vertel* 'tell', *stel* 'state', *voorsê* 'prompt', *noem* 'mention', *opnoem* 'name, mention', *skryf* 'write', *uiteensit* 'explain'

The third category of communication verbs take IOPP with the preposition *teenoor* (a more neutral equivalent of the Eng. *to*, perhaps *towards*), and in some cases *aan*:

(74) a. with preposition ***teenoor*** only: *uit* 'express', *uiter* 'express', *uitkom met* 'make known', *melding maak van* 'mention', *merk* 'mention', *jou gedagtes uitspreek* 'express your thoughts'

b. with prepositions ***teenoor*** or ***aan***: *meld* 'inform', *vermeld* 'state', *te kenne gee* 'suggest', *iets laat blyk* 'suggest, hint at', *blyke gee van* 'give evidence of', *uitblaker* 'blurt out', *onthul* 'reveal', *verraai* 'reveal'

In the following cases the verb takes *vir* 'for':

(75) *op skrif stel* 'put in writing', *aanteken* 'write down', *neerskryf* 'write down', *notuleer* 'keep minutes', *afneem* 'take notes'

The next category of communication verbs relate to transfer of information from an IO Source to an Agent, a perspectival switch parallel to those in the physical transfer category mentioned earlier. Again they obligatorily take a prepositional IO with the prepositions *van* or *by*.

(76) *Ek hoor die nuus by hom.*
I hear the news at him-IO

Ek verneem die nuus van hom.
I hear the news from him-IO

Finally, there are a few communication verbs that take the preposition *met* 'with', including among them *praat* 'talk', *behandel* 'deal with', *bespreek* 'discuss' and *afpraat* 'discuss'.

3.3. Prepositional verbs with IO

The prepositional verbs (verbs with a prepositional object in their argument structure) form a category of verbs lying somewhere between three-place predicates and two-place predicates. Strictly speaking a prepositional

verb with an IO should be considered a three-place predicate, with a subject, prepositional object and IO as its arguments.

In Afrikaans there are quite a number of prepositional verbs that, apart from their prepositional objects, take another object as argument. In many cases these objects have typical IO semantics, that is they profile a participant as the Recipient of a transfer. Contrast this with prepositional verbs that combine with a DO in their argument structures, i.e the verb *beskuldig van* 'accuse of' in

(77) *Hy het sy suster beskuldig van oneerlikheid.*
He has his sister-DO accused of dishonesty-PO

In some instances the prepositional verb has an IONP as an argument and in others a IOPP. In no instance is any variation between IONP and IOPP allowed:

(78) a. **With IONP**:
Sanlam sal ons voorsien van die nodige lêers en skryfbehoeftes.
Sanlam will us-IO provide of the necessary folders and stationery

**Sanlam sal aan ons voorsien van die nodige lêers en skryfbehoeftes*

b. **With prepositional IO**:
Ek berig graag oor die kongres aan julle.
I report with pleasure on the congress to you-IO

**Ek berig julle graag oor die kongres.*

These categories include verbs such as the following:

(79) a. **With IONP**: *bedeel met* 'endow with', *bedien met* 'serve, wait upon', *bedien van* 'give', *begiftig met* 'endow with', *begunstig met* 'favour with', *trakteer op* 'treat on/with', *voorsien van* 'provide with'

b. **With prepositional IO**: *melding maak van* 'make mention of', *gewag maak van* 'make mention of', *verslag doen oor* 'report on', *rapporteer oor* 'report on', *uitdrukking gee aan* 'give expression to'

In many instances a prepositional verb with an IONP can be related to a ditransitive verb with an IONP or IOPP and a DO corresponding to the prepositional object of the prepositional verb:

(80) a. *Hulle bedien ons met die heerlikste geregte.*
They serve us-IO with the most wonderful dishes

Hulle bedien die heerlikste geregte aan ons.
They serve the most wonderful dishes to us-IO

b. *My ouma het my begiftig met die mooiste wastafeltjie wat jou oë nog ooit gesien het.*
My grandmother has me-IO gifted with the prettiest washing table that your eyes ever seen have

My ouma het die mooiste wastafeltjie wat jou oë nog ooit gesien het aan my gegee.
My grandmother has the prettiest washing table that your eyes ever seen have to me-IO given

The first impression that one is left with is the synonymy or near synonymy in each case, suggesting that one is dealing with the same verb in both instances of each pair. That, however, would be an unacceptable position. Whereas passivization is only marginally acceptable or unacceptable in the ditransitive cases it is fully acceptable in the cases with prepositional verbs:

(81) a. *Ons word met die heerlikste geregte bedien.*
We are with the most wonderful dishes served

??*Ons word die heerlikste geregte bedien.*
We are the most wonderful dishes served

b. *Ek is begiftig met die mooiste wastafeltjie.*
I was gifted with the prettiest washing table

?**Ek is die mooiste wastafeltjie gegee.*
I was the prettiest washing table given

What semantically seems to be an IO thus patterns syntactically like a DO and, although the meanings of the sentences in each pair seem to differ only slightly, one could argue that in the case of the prepositional verb the NP functioning as object profiles a highly involved and highly affected participant, whereas in the case of the ditransitive construction the IO is less involved or affected, which in turn suggests a less than discreet boundary between IO and DO, since the DO of the prepositional verb still profiles a semantic role (the Recipient of a transfer) typically associated with the IO.

3.4. Three-place predicates and the Beneficiary subschema

There is a second major part of the IO schema, namely the schema relating to the fact that the IO can also profile an Interested Party as the Beneficiary of an action. In many cases the event described by the verb can be related to some concept of transfer, but often only vaguely so. In many cases the event cannot by characterized as transfer at all. As a matter of fact, this part of the polysemic network is highly productive, as one can deduce from examples such as those in (82).

In general the concept of a Beneficiary of an event relates to grammatical structure in the following ways:

- Because it is a less involved and less affected participant than the prototypical Recipient it is encoded as a IOPP, with no IONP variant.
- The preposition is always *vir* 'for'.
- In most cases passivization of the IO is impossible. In those cases where the action can also be profiled as some form of transfer, passivization seems to be possible, even if only marginally so in many cases. First of all the IO can profile an Interested Party benefiting from almost any event.

This is the most general and also the most productive subcategory:

(82) *Gooi vir my 'n drankie.*
Pour for me-IO a drink

Dek vir ons die tafel af.
Clear for us-IO the table (particle)

There are a number of Beneficiary subcategories that move closer to the Recipient subschema, and I would like to draw special attention to them. First of all, the IO can profile the Interested Party as a Beneficiary of a creation process:

(83) *Amanda het vir my 'n trui gebrei.*
Amanda has for me-IO a sweater knitted

Ma bak vir die Belge koeksisters.
Mother bakes for the Belgians koeksisters

In these cases one could argue for a metonymic link with the transfer prototype (creating something for someone = transferring the creation to that per-

son). Though I agree that many IO-construction types can be explained as polysemic extentions by means of conceptual mechanisms such as metonymy and metaphor, I hold the view that there is a certain point in the Beneficiary subcategory where there is a "loosening" of the link with the Transfer prototype. I would now like to suggest that the above example and other examples like it do not result from some metonymic link, but should rather be considered as cases containing a *pragmatic inference*. In the above example the act of knitting a sweater for someone is therefore not seen as a precondition for the transfer of the sweater to the Recipient (for more discussion, see De Stadler forthcoming b).

A subcategory that is not as far removed from the transfer prototype are those cases where the IO profiles the Interested Party as a Beneficiary of an act of acquisition:

(84) *Ek koop vir jou 'n geskenk.*
I buy for you-IO a present

Sal jy vir ons tee bestel?
Will you for us-IO tea order

Kry vir my ook een.
Get for me-IO too one

In these cases the metonymic link to the transfer prototype is much stronger and almost impossible to neutralize.

The fourth category clearly lies on the boundary between Recipient and Beneficiary. In this category the IO profiles an Interested Party as a Beneficiary of the causation of movement:

(85) *Gooi die bal vir ons.*
Throw the ball for us-IO

Ek stuur vir jou 'n poskaart.
I send for you-IO a postcard

Though they behave syntactically like the other categories in the Beneficiary subschema, there is a clear metonymic link with the transfer prototype, a link that is impossible to neutralize. The metonymic model can be described as follows: Causing the movement of something toward someone = transferring something to someone.

Lastly, there are cases where the IO profiles an Interested Party as neither a Recipient nor a Beneficiary, but rather as some neutral interested party with a very low degree of involvement or affectedness:

(86) *Dit lyk vir my na 'n goeie voorstel.*
It seems for me (to be) a good idea

Dit is vir my mooi.
It is for me beautiful

Dit smaak vir my lekker .
It tastes for me nice

3.5. Two-place predicates with IO

As suggested by Van Belle & Van Langendonck (1992:27-37) for Dutch, Afrikaans also has a number of two-place predicates with (what would seem to be) an IO as argument. The first obvious subcategory is to be found among the verbs acting as two-place predicates:

(87) *Die staat subsidieer universiteite.*
The state subsidizes universities

Hulle borg die skoolatletiek.
They sponsor the schools athletics

Die Vereniging vereer hom.
The Society honours him

The object in each of these sentence can be considered an IO to the extent that it profiles a Recipient of some transfer. They even seem to follow the typology of the three-place predicates to quite a degree:

(88) *Die staat subsidieer universiteite.* (physical transfer)
Daardie man gaan sy kinders onterf.
That man will his children disinherit (transfer from IO to Agent)

Die Vereniging vereer hom. (abstract transfer)
Ek antwoord jou. (communicative transfer)

The IO status of the said objects is also suggested by the paraphrase relationship that holds between each of these sentences and a corresponding construction with *gee 'give' + NP*, the ditransitive prototype:

(89) *gee universiteite subsidies* 'gives universities subsidies',
gee 'n borg/borgskap aan skoolatletiek 'give a sponsorship to school athletics', *gee hom eer* 'give him honour'

One could argue that the DO in each of the constructions in (89) is incorporated into the semantic structure of the verbs in (88), and that these verbs therefore combine with an IO. On the other hand, these objects seem to have the syntax of DOs. First of all, they do not have IOPP counterparts and secondly they passivize without any problems:

(90) *Die universiteite word gesubsidieer.*
The universities are subsidized

Die span word toegejuig.
The team is (being) cheered

I think we have much the same explanation that was given for prepositional verbs with an IO-like object holding in these cases as well, that is that the objects encode highly affected Recipients or Experiencers, explaining their DO behaviour. On the other hand their status as IO-like constituents is borne out by the semantics of the verbs that they combine with and by their behaviour in nominalizations, since in the latter case there is the (syntactic) ambiguity that they can be marked by both *aan* ('to'; for the IO) or *van* ('for'; for the DO):

(91) *die subsidiëring van universiteite/aan universiteite; die toejuiging van die span/aan die span*

The behaviour of these two-place predicates, as was the case with the prepositional verbs mentioned earlier, also suggests a less than discreet boundary between the DO and IO categories.

Other two-place predicate types that deserve attention include the following (see Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1992 for more discussion):

a. Predicatively used adjectives and nouns:

(92) *Dit is vir my aangenaam/lekker/moeilik/'n plesier/'n les*
It is for me pleasant/nice/difficult/a pleasure/ a lesson

Note the obligatory IO preposition *vir* 'for' in these cases.

b. Verbs with a subject that is [+/-human, -agent]:

(93) *geval* 'please', *behaag* 'please', *behoort* 'belong', verheug *'delight'*, etc.

4. Conclusion

The picture that evolves from the discussion of the IO in Afrikaans is that of a schematic network. In this schematic network there are two clear "peaks", the Recipient subschema and the Beneficiary subschema. In both cases the IO profiles a participant in a particular event as an Interested Party to that event. This Interested Party can be involved and be affected to different degrees and these degrees of involvement and affectedness can in turn be related to aspects of grammatical structure, among them the issue of variation between IONP and IOPP, prepositional marking with different prepositions, and the passivization of the IO. Higher degrees of involvement and affectedness are associated with the IONP variant, the possibility of passivization, IO-DO word order, and prepositional marking by *aan*. As one moves to that area of the schema associated with the Beneficiary the IOPP becomes the dominant variant, passivization of the IO becomes more difficult, the DO-IO word order prevails and the IO is marked by *vir*.

The second important conclusion is that the schematic network is markedly polysemic in nature. There is a transfer prototype (physical) and other meanings of the IO construction can be related to this prototype via conceptual linking mechanisms such as specialization, perspectival switch, metonymy and metaphor.

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank the participants in the project "Casus en thematische relaties" at the University of Leuven for allowing me to participate in their research programme, especially Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn, Willy van Langendonck, Dirk Geeraerts and Kristin Davidse. I also wish to thank Arthur Mettinger (University of Vienna) and my colleagues at the University of Stellenbosch for their support. None of these colleagues should, however, be held accountable for my mistakes.

REFERENCES

De Stadler, L.G. 1992. Semantic roles as prototypical categories. *South African Journal of Linguistics* 10.4, 191-200.

De Stadler, L.G. (forthcoming a). Aspects of the indirect object in Afrikaans. *South African Journal of Linguistics*.

De Stadler, L.G. (forthcoming b). The indirect object in Afrikaans: a schematic network. *South African Journal of Linguistics*.

Feinauer, A.E. 1987. *Sinsvolgorde in Afrikaans*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

Geeraerts, D. 1993. *The Semantic Structure of the Indirect Object in Dutch*. Ms.

Geerts, G. et al. (eds.). 1984. *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Groningen: Wolter-Noordhof.

Goldberg, A.E. 1992. The inherent semantics of argument structure: the case of the English ditransitive construction. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3.1, 37-74.

Granger-Legrand, S. 1983. *The be + past participle construction in spoken English*. Amsterdam: North-Holland

Langacker, R.W. 1988. An overview of cognitive grammar. In *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics*, B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), 3-48. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Langacker, R.W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Linguistics, Vol. II: Descriptive Applications*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ponelis, F.A. 1979. *Afrikaanse Sintaksis*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Radden, G. 1989. Chapter X: Semantic roles. In *A User's Grammar of English: Word, Sentence, Text, Interaction*, R. Dirven (ed.), 421-472. Frankfurt/Bern/New York/Paris: Lang.

Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1992. Case relations in cognitive grammar. Some reflexive uses of the Polish dative. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 81, 327-373.

Schermer-Vermeer, E.C. 1991. *Substantiële versus Formele Taalbeschrijving. Het Indirect Object in het Nederlands*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Van Belle, W. & Van Langendonck, W. 1992. The indirect object in Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 81, 17-43.

Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Functional dimensions of the dative in English

Kristin Davidse

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

Introduction[1]

In Modern English, the dative does not appear as a morphologically inflected case form either in the nominal or in the pronominal system. In the pronominal system, the only remaining distinction is that between nominative and non-nominative, which has been the situation from Early Middle English on (cf. Sweet 1924:98-106). What happened, then, to the various uses associated with the dative in Old English (OE), which, according to general traditional lines, can be classified into: (1) adverbial uses of the dative; (2) dative governed by nouns and adjectives; (3) dative governed by verbs?

The adverbial functions of the dative, expressing manner, accompaniment, degree, place, time, and cause (Mitchell 1985:589f.) were largely replaced by prepositional phrases, as were the 'adnominal' uses such as *ūs lēofre*, 'dearer to us'; *heom god*, 'good to them' (Mitchell 1985:568f.). Verbs governing the dative (Mitchell 1985:449f.) are traditionally divided into: (i) verbs taking one dative complement, e.g. *derian* ('hurt s.o. or sth.'), *dugan* ('benefit s.o.'), *feligean* ('follow s.o. or sth'.), *fylstan* ('help s.o.'), *hieran* ('obey s.o. or sth.'), *misbeodan* ('offend s.o.'), *þyncan* ('seem, appear to s.o.'); (ii) verbs taking a dative as well as an accusative complement, e.g. *ætbregdan* ('take s.o. or sth. from s.o. or sth.'), *giefan* ('give s.o. sth.'), *sellan* ('give s.o. sth.'), *sendan* ('send s.o. sth.'), *tæcan* ('show s.o. sth.'). The dative with the first class of verbs in OE seems to reflect mainly the dative's original function of indicating 'personal involvement or interest' (cf. Mitchell 1985: 565; Sweet 1924:98). Construals with these verbs, for instance,

(1) him folʒode micel folc
'to him followed a great host'

(2) hēo mē mishierde
'she to me disobeyed'

have been subject to various and far-reaching processes of syntactic and semantic re-analysis, one of the most striking being the re-analysis of construals of items of mental experience such as (2) into a general 'transitive' or 'goal-directed' pattern: *she disobeyed me – I was disobeyed by her*. The central role of the dative in construals with the second class of verbs is characterized by Strang (1970:304) as that of 'attribution', e.g.

(3) he sealde his sweord ðam cyninge
'he gave his sword to the king'

(4) þū ofslōʒe him fætt cealf
'you slew him a fat calf'

This construal type, particularly if the picture is completed with the increasing intrusion of prepositional phrases into the area of the dative from OE onwards, has not been subject to such drastic re-analysis, except for the severe narrowing of the class of 'privation' construals such as

(5) ic ætbræd ðe þinne synna
'I took away from you your sins'

which, in contemporary English has been reduced to uses with a small class of verbs such as *cost, charge, take,* e.g.

(6) It might cost me my job. (DF)[2]

This diachronic development probably explains why, in synchronic descriptive work on contemporary English, the issue of 'the counterparts of the dative' has, by and large, been restricted to the *ditransitive* (henceforth ditrans) environment. The term "Dative" (henceforth Dat) has, in fact, gained acceptance as referring to the 'third' semantic role, besides Agent (henceforth Ag) and Patient (henceforth Pa), in ditrans construals. Regarding the formal side of the Dat role, its appearing sometimes as a nominal group (7a), at other

times as a prepositional phrase (7b) – an alternation not found with the Pa role – is generally taken as a central issue.

(7) ['You don't know how difficult it is to find something which will please everybody – especially the men.']
a. 'Why not just give them cheques ?' I asked.
b. 'You can't give cheques to people. It would be insulting. (DF)

Most authors have taken this "Dative alternation" (also referred to as "Dative shift") as a kind of prototypical recognition mark of the category 'Dative' at the most general level, which, however, requires further subcategorization at a more delicate level into, e.g. 'internal' versus 'external Dative' (Wierzbicka 1988), or simply Dative realized by nominal group (henceforth nom-Dat) versus Dative realized by prepositional phrase (henceforth prep-Dat). Authors have then generally focused their efforts onto elucidating the semantic contrast encoded by these two subtypes of Dative.

The conviction underlying this article is also that, to make headway with the description of 'the counterparts of the dative' in contemporary English, it is necessary to come to terms with Dat alternation. However, the approach that will be taken to Dat alternation is fundamentally different from the mainstream one in that I will investigate the grammar and semantics of the alternating full ditrans *construals*, not of the Dat as an *isolated element of structure*. It will then be revealed that the two-way contrast between nom-Dat and prep-Dat focused on so far is much too simple and has led to generalizations that are descriptively inadequate. The different functional roles played by the Dat can be understood only when investigated as part of the various functional configurations involved.

In this article, I will further develop a specific claim about the grammar of ditrans construals which has been made by Fawcett (1987), viz. that they are best understood as the causation by the Ag of a 'possessive' relation between the Pa and the Dat, i.e. as the combination of two grammatico-semantic tensions: event transitivity and relational transitivity (see also Davidse in press). Event transitivity, or the construal of actions and events, is constituted by the inherent semantic asymmetry between an Ag and a Pa, which mutually define each other's participation in the process (cf. Langacker 1987:14). For instance

(8) The vicar (Ag) hit the burglar (Pa). (CB)

Relational transitivity is concerned with the construal of 'being' and 'having', as in (9) *These castles represent a hundred years of domination* (CB) (10) *Who owns this bit of land?* (CB). Here, too, the two participants display inherent semantic role asymmetries, to which, however, mainstream work on semantic roles has paid hardly any attention. By interpreting ditransitives as construals of 'caused having', I can draw a clear analogy between ditrans and so-called 'complex-transitive' (henceforth complextrans) (Quirk et al 1972: 850f.) clauses such as (11) *Why should we elect him Mayor?* (CB), which encode the causation by the Ag of a 'being' relation between *him* and *Mayor*. Both the ditrans and complextrans categories have among their instantiating structures a 'double object' construction. This can lead to ambiguity, as in

(12) We must make him a mate. (LDC)

In its complextrans reading, the relation effected by *we* between *him* and *a mate* is construed as one of 'being': the intention of the Ag is to turn *him* into *a mate*. In its ditrans reading, the relation effected between *him* and *a mate* is one of 'having': Ag *we* intends *him* to have *a mate*. The fundamental meaning contrast between caused being and caused having that we have here supports the idea that the notion of possession is a central one to ditransitivity. The issue I will deal with, then, in this article is: by what inherent semantic asymmetries is the possessive relation effected between Dat and Pa in ditrans construals characterized?

Thus, my concern is with the *grammar* of 'caused possession', *not* with a pre-grammatical notion of possession, whose content is aprioristically filled out. As we shall see, the grammar of ditrans construals groups together very varied concepts of caused 'possession', ranging from all sorts of ownership relations (13) to very abstract 'associative' relations (14), and including both material (13, 15) and mental (16-19) 'having'. The latter category can be further subdivided into cause to have as a perception (16), as a feeling (17), as knowledge (18), and as a wording (19):

(13) I ought to leave her a hundred or so. (LDC)

(14) Designed to mesh the bloc by assigning restrictive production tasks to each country [...] (WSJ)

(15) Buy us a bottle of scotch. (LDC)

(16) He showed me a picture of a cellar in Yekaterinberg. (LDC)

(17) that must have given him great pleasure (DF)

(18) they taught me all I know (LDC)

(19) I'm addressing my remarks to Oliver. (LDC)

Methodologically, the crucial point will be to identify the full paradigm of grammatical alternations[3] displayed by the Dat-Pa unit in the ditrans construal and, then, to interpret these alternations semantically.

1. The 'identifying' dimension

In this section, I will argue that one important kind of grammatico-semantic alternation in the relation between Pa and Dat is brought to the fore most clearly through its unmarked correlation with a discourse factor, viz. coincidence of 'new' information with either Dat or Pa. This discourse alternation can be illustrated with the following examples:

(20) [I looked back on my own life and it seemed tawdry and of no account.] He showed me all the kingdoms of the earth, [and I was dazzled – such is the power money exerts on the minds of men.] (LDC)

(21) [I was looking for the cuttings album.] – I showed it to Dr Rance. [– You'd no right to do that.] (LDC)

In example (20) *all the kingdoms of the earth* provides the new information in the message, whereas in example (21) it is *to Dr Rance* which is informationally unpredictable. Since the point of departure here is the analysis of ditrans structures from a discourse perspective, we will first have to come to terms with the discourse-functional – or 'pragmatic' – motivations of Dat alternation that have been proposed in the literature (Section 1.1).

1.1. Two different information flow analyses of Dat alternation

In their discourse motivations of Dat alternation, Halliday (1970; 1985), Erteschik-Shir (1979), Foley & Van Valin (1984) and Thompson (1989) all

refer to 'information flow' and 'information packaging'. However, the very concepts of 'given' and 'new' information used by these authors are rather different. The most radically different approaches are that of Thompson, which is concerned with the 'identifiability' of the referent referred to by a nominal group in the discourse, and that of Halliday, which is concerned with 'information structure' as realized by intonation. In this section I will discuss these two approaches and apply them to corpus data in order to determine which yields the sharpest generalizations. (It should be noted that the Dat alternation considered by these authors is the traditional two-way contrast between ditrans construals with nom-Dat and ditrans construals with prep-Dat.)

Halliday (1970:163-164; 1985:149-150) proposed that these alternative construals are largely motivated in terms of which participant, Dat or Pa, the speaker wishes to present as the New, which, in its unmarked position, comes at the end of the clause. For nom-Dat construals, the claim is thus that there is a strong tendency for the *Pa* to coincide with what is 'New' in the information unit, as illustrated by (20) *He showed me all the kingdoms of the world*, where *all the kingdoms of the world* constitutes the New. For prep-Dat construals, the hypothesis is that it is typically the *prep-Dat* which brings in the New information, e.g. *to Dr Rance* in (21) *I showed it to Dr Rance*. Halliday (ibid.) added, as a secondary hypothesis, that, in ditrans construals with nom-Dat, the Dat is typically Given, like *me* in (20) and in ditrans construals with prep-Dat, the Pa is typically Given, like *it* in (21).

Halliday (1985:274-278) characterizes Given and New as the textual[4] 'values' assigned by the speaker to constituents of the information units into which the discourse is divided. Typically, the information unit coincides with the clause – it can also take in less or more than a clause – and consists either only of a 'New' stretch of text (for instance, discourse initially) or of Given and New elements. The significant functional variable is which parts of the information unit are presented by the speaker as recoverable and predictable (Given) and which as non-predictable (New) to the listener (1985:277). Two points should be made here. Firstly, non-predictable or New does not simply mean 'objectively' non-recoverable from the preceding discourse or situational context, but *presented by the speaker* – possibly for rhetorical purposes – as non-predictable or New. Secondly, New is not an isolated, but a relational category: it is what is *related* as New to a stretch of Given in the specific Given-New nexus of each information unit.

The only direct realization of information distribution in discourse, Halliday (1985:Ch. 8) holds, is intonation. Firstly, spoken discourse is a succession of distinctive tones or pitch contours, such as the 'falling' tone typically associated with statements. It is by these tone contours that the linear thread of discourse is divided into information units: one tone contour corresponds to what the speaker wishes to present as one unit of information. In the unmarked case, a clause will be spoken on one tone unit. Secondly, in each tone contour one syllable has 'tonic prominence', that is, on it is realized the main *change* in pitch. As an index of informational value, tonic prominence signals the information focus, the most salient element of the New. It is thus comparable to the traditional concept of 'clause accent', with the proviso that having one main accent per clause is only the default. (In the transcription, the constituent carrying the tonic is conventionally represented by bold type.) The information focus also marks the end of the New. Recognition of where the New begins is somewhat less straightforward and may involve an amount of indeterminacy, even though in real spoken discourse the interplay of text cohesive factors and rhythmic indications tends to reduce this indeterminacy.

This indeterminacy can be illustrated with the following snippet of transcribed discourse (Halliday 1985:348-50):

(22) // In ***this*** job // we're working with ***silver***. //
focus focus
N e w Gi ←——— Ne

// Now silver needs to have ***love***. //
focus
Gi ←——— Ne

In the first clause, the fronted circumstantial of (abstract) place is taken as one information unit, consisting completely of New information. Both in the second and the third information units, the Ne is analysed as an 'extendible' unit which could contain only the Complement with information focus, but which could also take in most of the verbal groups in these clauses. It seems plausible that the common indeterminacy of the New at the front is inherent in the nature of this functional category. New is intrinsically a graded concept: the focus marks the 'most New' element, while, in accordance with Bolinger's (1952) iconic principle of the linear modification of the message, the elements that come before the focus are 'less' New, or, intrinsically, 'in between' Given and New. In terms of cohesive factors (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976), this in between portion will often contain elements that have already been

mentioned in the preceding discourse. For instance, *working* in the second information unit reiterates, via a relation of synonymy, *job* in the preceding information unit. Now, such cohesive elements can be presented by the speaker as either Given or New and it is here that rhythm, the division of the information unit into feet, can provide clues (Halliday 1985:276f.). Thus, with the third information unit, the speaker may wish to present as New 'what I want to tell you about silver'. In this case, the rhythmic rendering will be as follows:

(22) a. // ^it / néeds to have / ***lóve*** //

Needs is given the strong initial beat in a separate foot and this salience signals to the listener that all the information starting with *needs* is to be taken as New. Alternatively, the speaker may also factor out as New 'what silver needs to have'. The division into feet will then be

(22) b. // ^it needs to have / ***lóve*** //

where all of the complex verbal group is ranged as Given in the initial proclitic foot.

Thompson, in her quantitative study of "Information Flow and 'Dative Shift' in English Discourse" (1989), takes stock of factors pertaining to a different concept of given and new information, viz. the *identifiability* of the NPs. Concretely, Thompson coded the Datives and Patients in a database of 196 ditrans construals as, amongst other things, plus or minus 'pronominal', with /+ pronominal/ entailing that they referred to entities retrievable from the preceding text or from the discourse context. Further, if the NPs realizing Dat or Pa were /+specific/, then they were coded as plus or minus 'identifiable'. Thompson notes that she included under 'nominal groups whose referent can be identified by the speaker' pronouns, proper nouns and definite nominal groups.

To illustrate the difference between the two analyses, consider a ditrans construal such as:

(23) [Sir Charles and Dinsdale enter arguing with the Earl of Gurney. [...] Claire takes the book from Dinsdale, opens it]
/^and / shows it / to the ***earl***. // (LDC)

Here, *the earl* is an anaphorically identifiable nominal group whose reference is presumed 'known' to the speaker, i.e. 'given' for Thompson. But, in the information structure, realized by intonation, *the earl* carries the information focus, and constitutes the unpredictable element in the information unit, i.e. 'New' for Halliday.

In other words, 'given' and 'new' information are used here as two very different descriptive constructs. Halliday's definition is a *structural* one. Given and New are constituents of the information unit: they are the values assigned by the speaker to stretches of the *clause*, i.e. to all classes of clause constituents. Thompson's Givon-indebted definition of given and new is a *non-structural* one: it applies only to /+specific/ *nominal groups*, as these have the potential for linking up in cohesive chains throughout the discourse. To find out how these two different concepts of given and new information interact with Dat alternation, I have applied both types of textual analysis to all the ditrans construals in the Leuven Drama Corpus of the verbs *offer*, *show*, *buy*, *owe*, *pay*.

As regards the *information structure* analysis, there are both for the nom-Dat + Pa and for the Pa + prep-Dat structure four logical possibilities: the Dat and Pa constituents in both structures may be Gi-Ne; Ne-Ne; Gi-Gi or Ne-Gi. These possibilities can be illustrated by the following examples:

nom-Dat + Pa

(24) So I bought her (Gi) a ***drink***. (Ne) (LDC)

(25) the future owes no one (Ne) a ***living***. (Ne) (LDC)

(26) I am sorry I didn't ***offer*** you one. (Gi Gi) (LDC)

(27) It gave Sir ***Gerald*** (Ne) rights. (Gi) (LDC)

Pa + prep-Dat

(28) It show it (Gi) to lady bank ***cashiers***. (Ne) (LDC)

(29) You owe 700 pounds (Ne) to the ***Christmas raffle***. (Ne) (LDC)

(30) Just ***give*** it to him. (LDC)
Gi Gi

(31) Don't ever mention ***Dentophil*** to him. (DF)
Ne Gi

These four types of information distribution over the Pa and Dat roles were attested by the data in the following numbers[5] (Table 1):

nom-Dat + Pa		
Gi		Ne
245	93.51%	
Ne		Ne
14	5.34%	
Gi		Gi
3	1.15%	
Ne		Gi
0	0%[6]	

Pa + prep-Dat		
Gi		Ne
40	45.98%	
Ne		Ne
20	22.99%	
Gi		Gi
18	20.69%	
Ne		Gi
9	10.34%	

Table 1: The mapping of information structure sequences onto the nom-Dat + Pa and Pa + prep-Dat structures in ditrans construals with the verbs *buy, offer, owe, pay, show* in the LDC.

How do the data correspond to the Gi-Ne hypothesis proposed by Halliday? For nom-Dat construals the combined hypothesis of Pa typically conflated with Ne and nom-Dat typically conflated with Gi clearly makes a powerful generalization about the unmarked mappings presented by the data (93.51%). However, for prep-Dat construals, the combination of the hypotheses (Pa conflated with Gi and Da conflated with Ne) gives less good results, as it covers less than half of the facts (45.98%).

These results are improved if we do not insist on the strict *co-occurrence* of Gi-Ne in every construal, but simply count, for nom-Dat construals, how many instances of Dat are Gi and how many of Pa Ne, and, for prep-Dat construals, how many Pa's are Gi and how many Dat's Ne (Table 2):

nom-Dat + Pa	
Dat/Gi 248 94.66%	Pa/Ne 259 98.68%
Dat/Ne 14 5.34%	Pa/Gi 3 1.15%

Pa + prep-Dat	
Pa/Gi 58 66.67%	Dat/Ne 60 68.97%
Pa/Ne 29 33.33%	Dat/Gi 27 31.03%

Table 2: The mapping of Gi and Ne onto Dat and Pa in ditrans construals with the verbs *buy, offer, owe, pay, show* in the LDC.

Now, 94.66% of nom-Dat construals and roughly two thirds of the prep-Dat construals fall within the hypothesis.

However, Table 2 also clearly reveals that by far the sharpest generalization is this: in nom-Dat construals the Pa correlates with Ne in a very strong default of 98.68%; in prep-Dat construals, the Dat correlates with Ne in almost 69% of the cases, which, of course, leaves a critical residue of 31%. This, I would like to point out, is because the crucial factor in this quantitative thrust of the data is the *information focus* rather than simply the New. Almost all cases of clause final Pa/Ne in nom-Dat construals and of clause final Dat/Ne in prep-Dat construals are due to the general principle of unmarked clause final information focus, as it applies to the ditrans alternation.

The instances that fail to be covered by the generalization are basically of two types. They include, firstly, ditrans construals with as final constituent an anaphoric, non-contrastive pronoun (*you*, *her*, *it*, etc.) or substitute[7] item (*one*), which, in principle can never be focal (Halliday 1967:206):

nom-Dat construals:

(32) I didn't ***offer*** you one. (LDC)

(33) ***Buy*** her one. (LDC)

prep-Dat construals:

(34) Francesca, you will pay no ***attention*** to that. (LDC)

(35) You ***offered*** it to me. (LDC)

In these examples, the information focus comes on the last lexically full item, which thus marks the end of the New and, by implication, the one or two pro-

nouns following as Given. Alternatively, the pronominal Dat or Pa may be followed by an Adjunct carrying the information focus, as in

(36) Tony offers them to her ***first***. (LDC)

It should be noted that clause final prounouns do receive the tonic if they are used contrastively as in (37)

(37) [You let her walk all over you, Harold] – I don't pay any attention to ***you***. [Jealous bitch!] (LDC)

In the second place, ditrans construals may not have the unmarked assignment of information focus, because they have contrastive information focus on a non-final constituent of the Dat-Pa relation, e.g.

(38) [Does that give you rights?] – It gave Sir ***Gerald*** rights.

Turning to the textual '*identifiability*' of the Dat and Pa roles in nom-Dat and prep-Dat construals, I should, again, clarify the analysis I have applied. Rather than using Thompson's (1989) classification with its traditional but overlapping features such as /+/-pronominal/, /+/-specific/ /+/- identifiable/, I have taken as the central question whether or not the nominal groups realizing the Dat or Pa roles introduce a new discourse referent into the text (i.e. are 'introducing') or whether they refer to a discourse referent which has already been established in the text (i.e. are 'referring') (Martin 1992:102f.).

As 'referring' (ref) I took all the nominal groups which form part of a cohesive referential chain running through the text. This includes all nominal groups whose identity is anaphorically retrievable (Martin 1992:123) from the preceding text, e.g.

(39) [Sir Charles and Dinsdale enter arguing with the Earl of Gurney. [...] Claire takes the book from Dinsdale] and shows it (ref) to the earl (ref). (LDC)

Note that proper nouns, once they have been introduced into the discourse, also link up anaphorically with earlier mentions of the same discourse referent, e.g.

(40) [Bella dabs her stockings as Marie did. [...] Tim picks up the beachball and] throws it to Bella (ref). (LDC)

As 'introducing' (intr) nominal groups I took, besides those which clearly mention a discourse referent for the first time, e.g.

(41) [I'm back in England for good.] I've been offered a partnership in the firm (intr). (LDC)

those whose identity is exophorically retrievable (42), with as a special case homophoric (Martin 1992:122) definite nominal groups (43), which have a culturally identifiable referent:

(42) [Ready Mr Maine. Here we go.] Oh. I never showed you this (intr). (LDC)

(43) She may show her fair head to the people (intr). (LDC, an ironic utterance about the heroine's being brought out to the crowds who will watch her beheading.)

Another set of definite nominals which may nevertheless realize a first mention in the discourse are those with esphoric reference (44), i.e. reference 'forward' within the same nominal group (Martin 1992:123):

(44) I was just showing Edward the lay of the land (intr). (LDC)

The results of the analysis of Dat and Pa in terms of textual identifiability for the same set of ditrans construals as those in Tables 1 and 2 are as follows (Table 3):

nom-Dat	+	Pa
Dat (ref) 244 93.13%		Pa (intr) 228 87.02%
Dat (intr) 18 6.87%		Pa (ref) 34 12.98%

Pa	+	prep-Dat
Pa (ref) 51 58.62%		Dat (intr) 41 47.13%
Pa (intr) 36 41.38%		Dat (ref) 46 52.87%

Table 3: Analysis of the textual identifiability of Dat and Pa in ditrans construals with the verbs *buy, offer, owe, pay, show* in the LDC.

A comparison of Table 3 with Table 2 immediately shows that the identifiability analysis of nominal groups yields different results from the information structure analysis. We clearly have two distinct textual systems here and keeping them separate is a prerequisite to the study of their interaction.

In general, there is a certain default correlation between New and 'introducing' nominal groups, and between Given and 'referring' nominal groups. However, it is the mappings of Gi and Ne onto Dat and Pa that capture the sharper numerical contrasts: the system 'referring'/'introducing' seems to form a secondary default with the choice of Dat or Pa as Gi and Ne. If we look, for instance, at the Pa in both construal types, 'referring'/'introducing' correlates to a certain extent with Gi and Ne, but the contrast between both figures is reduced in the identifiability analysis by 23% for nom-Dat construals and by 16% for prep-Dat construals. The greatest deviation between the information structure and identifiability analysis is found with the Dat in prep-Dat construals: it is attested as Ne in 37% more of the cases than it is Gi, but it occurs as 'introducing' in 5% *fewer* cases than it is 'referring'. The Dat in nom-Dat construals, on the other hand, has the closest correlation between Gi (94.66%) and 'referring' (93.13%). This reveals that, overall, the Dat tends to be a 'referring' discourse participant – overwhelmingly so in nom-Dat construals and with a narrow majority in prep-Dat structures. That is, it is characteristic of the Dat to participate in 'central' cohesive chains of the discourse, i.e. chains referring to central discourse participants the speaker 'stays with' for a while (cf. Hasan 1985:94), or in Thompson's approach, it is typically a 'topical' discourse participant.

However, if we are looking for the discourse factor which correlates most strongly with the *alternation* between both types of ditrans construals, then it is obviously the information structure analysis which brings out the clearest functional *contrast* between them. More specifically, nom-Dat construals are almost always used when the speaker wants to make the Pa the most salient element in the message, while prep-Dat construals are used in a majority of close to 70% of the cases when the information focus is placed on the Dat. As pointed out before, this is no more than the application to ditrans alternation of the general principle of unmarked clause final information focus.

1.2. The identifying dimension

1.2.1. The identifying or constant-variable dimension to ditransitives

In the previous section it was found that the most systematic textual factor in Dat alternation is the occurrence of information focus on Pa in nom-Dat construals and on Dat in prep-Dat construals. However, these mappings present only the typical, not an absolute, correlation. The question remains then: a typical correlation with what more systematic factor?

The thesis[8] I will defend in this section is that the placing of information focus on either Pa or Dat typically correlates with the systematic semantic dimension of *constant-variable* assignment in the Dat-Pa subunit. When construing a ditrans event, the speaker has the fundamental option of whether he will take the Dat as the 'constant' and the Pa as the 'variable' for which he has to identify a value, or whether he will take the Pa as 'constant' and the Dat as 'variable'. Let me illustrate this with the following examples:

(45) We could fairly state that you owe me forty-five ***pounds***. (LDC)

(46) He owes money to the people where he is ***living***. (LDC)

In (45) it is the *Pa* which is taken as the variable, the unknown factor or the 'x' in the possessive implication between Dat and Pa: all sorts of values can be imagined for 'the amount of money owed', until it is identified by the speaker as *forty-five pounds*. In ditrans construal (45) it is precisely the *variability* of the Pa which is semantically at stake. The value of the Dat is not at issue: it is taken as the constant. By contrast, in (46) the speaker construes the *Dat* as the variable, the x which has to be identified: *to whom* does he owe money? – *to the people where he is living*. Here, Pa *money* is the participant whose value is not at issue, or the constant.

The systematic test for identifying the variable in ditransitives is the wh-question presupposed by the speaker. It is clear that (45) answers an implied question like '*What/how much* do you owe me?', while (46) provides the answer to an implied question like '*To whom* does he owe money?'. In these examples with unmarked information focus, it is the focal participant which provides the answer to the wh-question presupposed by the speaker. It is precisely here that we hit on the default correlation between information focus and semantic role assignment: typically the participant whose variability the

speaker is concerned with in the ditrans construal is also the informationally most salient element.

This unmarked correlation applies also to those infrequent cases where we have contrastive information focus on the postverbal rather than on the clause final constituent:

(47) a. Does that give you rights?
b. It gave Sir ***Gerald*** rights. (LDC) :: Who did it give rights?

(48) a. Why not give them cheques?
b. You can't give ***cheques*** to people. (DF) :: What can't you give to people?

In (47) the question *Does that give you rights?* takes the Pa *rights* as variable, but, in a surprise move, the answer changes that semantic perspective, by taking *rights* as the constant and concerning itself with filling in a specific value for the Dat and marking it with contrastive information focus, thus implying that other values should equally be considered for the Dat: *It gave Sir Gerald rights* (so why not me?). In (48) both question and answer take Pa *cheques* as the variable whose value the speakers are concerned with, but, in virtue of the negative polarity and contrastive information focus on *cheques* in (48b), its implication is: so you will have to think of something else to give, i.e. provide another value for the Pa.

However, the typical correlation between variable and information focus falls away when the clause final participant is a non-focal pronoun, which includes the case where both Dat and Pa are pronominal. Yet, these ditransitives also display the systematic contrast between a 'what' and a 'to whom' perspective. Consider

(49) [You don't need to do that.] Just ***give*** it to him, [that's all.] (LDC)

(50) [I haven't got the time.] I'd ***give*** you it [if I had – but I haven't got the time.] (LDC)

In (49) the speaker's concern is with the identification of the *Dat*: *to whom* should it [the letter] be given? In contrast, (50) encodes the perspective corresponding to the question: *what* would I give you? In this ditrans construal,

the *Pa* is taken as the variable whose value is at issue: the speaker's concern is with the giving to you of *time*.

The constant-variable dimension thus helps to explain the textual defaults established in Section 1.1. For instance, with nom-Dat construals the most common type is exemplified by

(51) a. Buy him a ***wreath***. (LDC)
b. Get me a ***whisky***. (LDC)

and the second most common type by

(52) Give the ladies a ***chance***. (LDC)

In these, the Dat/constant – Pa/variable distribution displays its typical textual correlates of 'referring' and Given for the constant, and 'introducing' and New for the variable. Such default convergence of categories from different layers of linguistic organization constitutes, of course, the prototypical realization of, in this case, the nom-Dat type of ditransitive, both objectively (in terms of frequency) and subjectively (the realization we are most aware of). However, such defaults have often been absolutized in linguistic description: layers of organization which should be distinguished are collapsed and what is merely a marked combination of features is rejected as ungrammatical. (Note in this context that examples like (50) and (55) were asterisked rather rashly as 'ungrammatical' in various non-corpus-based articles on Dat alternation (e.g. Givon 1979:162; Erteschik-Shir 1979:452).) Instead, defaults should be systematically unravelled into their various layers of linguistic organization until *all* observable variation has been accounted for.

Thus, in the unmarked case, constant-variable distribution within the ditrans construal grows organically out of the preceding text. However, it is not completely determined by the preceding text. In the first place, the Gi-Ne distribution internal to the clause as message unit may override a sequence of an 'introducing' discourse participant followed by a 'referring' one:

(53) She rises and gives a nun the ***beaker***. (LDC)

where the variability of the Pa – *what* does she give? – is at stake. The dominance of information focus over the 'introducing'/referring' status of the text referents is also brought out by the following examples:

(54) a. Philip [takes a cigarette box from the table and] offers one to ***Braham***. (LDC)

b. Philip [takes a cigarette box from the table and] offers ***Braham*** one. (spoken on a falling, non-contrastive tone)

A constellation like (54a) which has unmarked final information focus on the variable but a marked distribution of discourse referents (Pa/constant/introducing and Dat/variable/referring) is much less marked than one like (54b), which is unmarked for text referents (Dat/constant/referring and Pa/variable/introducing) but has marked, non-final, information focus on the constant. So, information focus is the more systematic textual pattern in Dat alternation in comparison with identifiability of text referents (cf. Tables 2 and 3). However, it is the semantic dimension of constant-variable distribution which is *the* systematic factor. For instance, when both Pa and Dat are anaphoric, non-focal pronouns, different constant-variable distribution is still displayed, as in examples (49)-(50) and (55)-(56).

(55) [If they need money,] let the government ***give*** them it. (LDC) Pa as variable.

(56) [We have been thrown the rose.] – ***Give*** it to me. (LDC) Dat as variable.

If we accept, then, that constant-variable distribution is a fundamental semantic factor in ditransitives, the question is by what semantic role assignment we can best capture it. My proposal is to extend to ditrans clauses the roles of 'Identified' and 'Identifier', first introduced by Halliday (1967a:66-71; 1967b:227-236; 1968:190-193) for copular sentences such as

(57) That girl is the school dux.

Halliday pointed out that, decontextualized and without intonation, (57) is ambiguous between at least two readings. It could be used in a context where, for instance, people saw a girl with medals and inquired:

(57) a. Who is that girl? – That girl (Identified) is the ***school dux*** (Identifier).

But it could also be used as answer to:

(57) b. Who is the school dux? – That ***girl*** (Identifier) is the school dux (Identified).

That is, people knew there was a school dux, but they did not know who won the title this year.

The grammatico-semantic patterning at work here has been described by Halliday as the '*identifying*' dimension. Semantically, there is, rather as in an algebraic equation, a fundamental question as to where the 'constant' is, the term whose value is fixed, and where the 'variable', or the 'x' in the equation, i.e. the term whose value is in question and which, by having its value fixed, will bring about identification. Hence, the constant is referred to as 'Identified' (Id) and the variable as 'Identifier' (Ir). From the grammatical end, Id and Ir can be recognized as follows: the Ir is *always* the participant corresponding to the wh-item of the wh-question presupposed by every 'identifying' utterance and it is *typically* signalled by tonic prominence as in (57a) and (57b). It is, however, important to note that the coincidence of Ir and information focus may be overridden, e.g. in (58)

(58) That (Ir) 's what I ***meant*** (Id).

which answers 'What is it that you meant?', but which does not have tonic prominence on the Ir *that* because non-contrastive anaphoric pronouns can never be intonationally focal (Halliday 1967b:231-233). It is clear that with ditrans clauses we find a very similar constellation of semantic and formal phenomena, viz. different 'constant'-'variable' assignment to Pa and Dat, which is brought out by the different implied wh-questions, and which has information focus as typical textual correlate of the 'variable', or Identifier.

Thus, an interesting grammatical generalization about the various forms of *relational transitivity* emerges. Halliday (1967a:62-66) immediately generalized the 'identifying' dimension from copular sentences – construals of 'being' – (59) to so-called complextransitives (Quirk et al 1972:850f.) – construals of 'caused being' – (60):

(59) a. Roxanne is the ***school dux*** :: what is Roxanne?

b. ***Roxanne*** is the school dux :: who/which is the school dux?

(60) a. The board made Roxanne the ***school dux*** :: what did the board make Roxanne?

b. The board made ***Roxanne*** the school dux :: who did the board make school dux?

Later, he (1985:112-128) also posited an identifying dimension to possessive two-participant clauses – construals of 'having' – (61):

(61) a. Sir Gerald owns that ***title*** :: what does Sir Gerald own?

b. Sir ***Gerald*** owns that title :: who owns that title?

By interpreting ditrans construals grammatically as 'caused having', I could then extend the identifying dimension to ditransitives – construals of 'caused having' – (62):

(62) a. It gave Sir Gerald ***rights*** :: what did it give Sir Gerald?

b. It gave Sir ***Gerald*** rights :: who did it give rights?

In other words, the two-participant construals of 'being' and 'having', as well as their caused counterparts in complextransitive and ditransitive construals, all display systematic identifying alternation. Elsewhere (Davidse 1992b; in press), I have related this 'identifying' dimension to the fact that the transitive coding of relations of 'being' and 'having' is intrinsically reciprocal, whereas the transitive coding of 'actions' is mostly non-reciprocal. Mostly, transitive actions are not 'co-actions': for instance with *hitting*, only one participant does the hitting and the process is strictly unilateral – it is 'one-way'. In contrast, transitive *relations* are intrinsically *correlations*. If two terms participate in a transitive process of 'being' or 'having', then the relation does face both ways. 'Identifying being' and 'identifying having' construe correlative concepts, where both participants co-define each other. This is why each participant can, in principle, be identified in terms of the other. For each specific construal, the direction of identification needs to be indicated: it has to be specified which of the two participants in the relation is the constant and which the variable.

1.2.2. The identifying dimension as vector in the grammatical paradigm of ditransitivity

Having established that the systematic option of taking either Pa as Ir or Dat as Ir is a central parameter in ditransitives, we have to see what grammatical paradigm (see e.g. Matthews 1981:267) is yielded by this vector. It then turns out that the two-way contrast in which Dat alternation is traditionally studied has to be expanded into an *eight*-way contrast (Figures 1 and 2).

Starting with the construal types typically found with *give*, the most frequently used ditrans verb, we find the following paradigm (Figure 1):

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Pa = ?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ia
Does that give you (Id) rights (Ir)?
Give me (Id) it (Ir) here.</td><td>Ib
You can't give cheques (Ir) to people (Id).</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dat = ?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ic
It gave Sir Gerald (Ir) rights (Id).</td><td>Id
I had to give the post (Id) to Joaquin (Ir).
Just give it (Id) to him (Ir).</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1: Paradigm I of ditrans construals with Id-Ir assignment as vector.

Ia and Ib both answer an implied wh-question about the Pa, Ic and Id about the Dat. In this paradigm, Ia and Id, which typically have unmarked focus, are the most frequently attested in textual data, whereas Ib and Ic, with marked information focus are extremely rare (see below, Section 2.1., Table 5). This is the grammatical paradigm of those verbs known as "alternating" Dat-verbs in the literature, viz. verbs whose Dat can be realized alternatively by nom-Dat or prep-Dat, e.g. *feed*, *give*, *grant*, *teach*, *tell*, *trade*.

These Dat-verbs are traditionally contrasted with the "non-alternating" Dat-verbs, so called because they always require a prep-Dat, e.g. *administer*, *donate*, *extend*, *explain*, *repeat*, *transfer*. (Valuable initial lists of these two contrasting categories of Dat-verbs are offered by Levin (1993) under the headings of 'verbs of change of possession' (138f.), 'verbs of throwing' (146f.), 'verbs of creation and transformation' (172f.) and 'verbs of communication' (202f.).) However, when we investigate the grammatical paradigm construed by the verbs, or verb uses, with obligatory prep-Dat, we find that, in full parallelism with the *give* paradigm (Fig. 1), it does incorporate the systematic alternation between Dat as Ir (ex. 63, 64) versus Pa as Ir (65, 66), as well as the distinction between typically focal, clause final Ir (63, 66) versus typically contrastive, postverbal Ir (64, 65). Only, in this grammatical paradigm, the clause final prepositional phrase Dat alternates with a postverbal Dat that is also a prepositional phrase! In other words, in the traditional approach, by limiting the viewpoint to the type of constituent realizing the Dat, the systematic alternation at the level of the whole construal was overlooked.

Consider the following examples and their corresponding implied wh-questions:

(63) IIa You can't explain algebra to a ***dog*** (LDC) :: To whom/ (To what kind of creature) can't you explain algebra?

(64) IIb The buyer has transferred to the ***seller*** the ability to buy goods and services (WSJ) :: To whom has the buyer transferred the ability to buy goods and services?

(65) IIc Don't ever mention ***Dentophil*** to him (DF) :: What shouldn't you ever mention to him?

(66) IId He could have explained to him all about the ***love potion*** (LDC) :: What could he have explained to him?

Examples (63) and (64) clearly have Dat as Ir and examples (65)-(66) Pa as Ir. Here too, construals with marked information focus (IIb and IIc) occur very infrequently (see below, Section 2.1, Table 6). Note that, textually, the alternation between IIb and IIa and between IId and IIc, tends to serve another discourse requirement alongside the Given-New economy, viz. that of 'end-weight'. The principle of 'end-weight' refers to the strong tendency in English to put long and heavy constituents at the end of the clause (Quirk et al 1972:943f.). Thus, the clause final position of *all about the love potion* in (66) is textually motivated both by its carrying the information focus and by its being a 'heavy' constituent. Again, it should be noted that the textual principle of end-weight correlates only *typically*, not always, with this type of identifying alternation, since examples can be found where the postverbal constituent is 'heavier' than the clause final one (67):

(67) Very well, I will give to the Sacred College that statement. (LDC)

Summarizing, we can set out the grammatical paradigm of ditrans construals with obligatory prep-Dat (Figure 2).

From now on, the subparadigm with alternating nom- and prep-Dat will be referred to as ditrans paradigm I (par I) and that with obligatory prep-Dat as paradigm II (par II). Note also that the sequence of Pa and Dat in every cell of par II is the inverse of that in every corresponding cell of par I. As a consequence, the whole system of identifying alternation in par II is the inverse of that in par I.

Dat = ?	
IIa You can't explain algebra (Id) to a ***dog*** (Ir).	IIb whoso attributes to ***God*** (Ir) the power of begetting himself (Id)
Pa = ?	
IIc Don't ever mention ***Dentophil*** (Ir) to him (Id)	IId He could have explained to him (Id) all about the ***love potion*** (Ir)

Figure 2: Paradigm II of ditrans construals with Id-Ir assignment as vector.

1.2.3. The semantic import of the identifying dimension in ditransitives

In this section, the specific semantic import of the identifying dimension to ditransitives will be studied in more detail. Taking either Pa or Dat as Ir leads to two distinct semantic perspectives on the 'ditransitive' event, which, in very general terms, always hinges on causation of some form of possessive implication. When we start investigating these from the end of specific ditrans verbs, we see that contrasts in perspective are involved such as the following:

(68) a. I owe him (Dat/Id) some ***tobacco*** (Pa/Ir) (LDC)
what is owed?: 'debt' perspective

b. You owe 700 pounds (Pa/Id) to the ***Christmas raffle*** (Dat/Ir) (LDC)
to whom is it owed?: 'creditor' perspective

(69) a. my mother left me (Dat/Id) a ***little*** (Pa/Ir) (DF)
what was left?: 'legacy' perspective

b. my wife left the income of her little capital (Pa/Id)
to her ***daughter*** (Dat/Ir) (DF)
to whom was it left?: 'legatee' perspective

(70) a. My father showed me (Dat/Id) your lovely ***letter*** (Pa/Ir) (LDC)
what is shown?: 'exhibit' perspective

b. I don't want you to show that letter (Pa/Id) to ***anybody*** (Dat/Ir) (LDC)
to whom is it shown?: 'exhibitee' perspective

(71) a. I'm selling you (Dat/Id) ***alphabet biscuits*** (Pa/Ir) (LDC)
what is sold?: 'goods' perspective

b. I'm selling it (Pa/Id) to a ***friend*** of mine (Dat/Ir) (LDC)
to whom is it sold?: 'client' perspective

(72) a. they kept sending me (Dat/Id) ***pamphlets*** (Pa/Ir) (LDC)
what is given/sent/etc.?: 'donatory' perspective

b. give that card (Pa/Id) to the fancy ***gentleman*** (Dat/Ir) (LDC)
to whom is it given/sent/etc?: 'destinatory' perspective

A 'dative', or 'giving', construal always involves a participant that is given as well as a participant it is given to. Now, either of those can be construed by the speaker as the variable or Ir, the participant for which different values are under consideration and for which, consequently, a specific value has to be identified. Depending on whether Pa or Dat is taken as Ir, the ditrans event is shown from a different angle, or in a different light. With the Pa as Ir, the potential variability lies with the Pa. For instance with *owe*, the question at stake is 'what is the debt?'. By identifying the value of the Pa in the course of the ditrans construal, it is given a specific orientation: the direction of identification is towards the Pa, or, the searchlight is on the Pa, so to speak. I propose calling this angle the *donatory* perspective on the ditrans event. With the Dat as Ir, the speaker's concern is with the identity of the Dat, e.g. with *owe*: 'who is the creditor?'. Here, the 'possessive' identification is concluded in terms of the Dat. This angle I will refer to as the *destinatory* perspective.

I would like to point out that the semantic generalization of the 'donatory' versus the 'destinatory' perspective arrived at in Section 1 constitutes a criticism against the traditional form-meaning explanation of Dat alternation, which various authors have subscribed to. According to this traditional view, the formal opposition of expressing the Dat as NP or as PrepP is 'isomorphic', or 'iconic', with specific semantic contrasts. According to Kirsner (1985:251), use of the bare NP (73) indicates that the referent is "more directly involved in the event" than is the case with use of the prep phrase (74):

(73) Irene poured John a drink.

(74) Irene poured a drink for John.

Thus, Kirsner holds, when John is not present on the scene of the pouring, (73) would be excluded and (74) would have to be used.

Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:130) claim, with regard to examples (75)-(76)

(75) I taught Harry Greek.

(76) I taught Greek to Harry.

that the formal closeness of *Harry* and *Greek* in (75) reflects an implication that "the teaching had an effect on Harry", whereas in (76), where there is a greater formal distance between *Harry* and *Greek*, this implication would be absent. Green (1974:158) makes the same point with regard to *show*:

(77) John showed Fido a bone.

(78) John showed a bone to Fido.

In her view, (77) implies that Fido perceived the bone, whereas (78) leaves this open.

I am strongly of the opinion that this hypothesis, despite its persistence in the literature, does not hold. Firstly, as argued throughout Section 1, the formal oppositions and alternations involved pertain to construals at clause level, not to the simple contrast between nominal group and prepositional phrase realization of the Dat. Secondly, the semantic claims made are quickly falsified by real language data. For instance, the following nom-Dat construals clearly do not imply that the Dat actually 'got' the Pa.

(79) I throw you a lifeline and you giggle. (LDC)

(80) In this state I fall downstairs to teach eight benighted little sods
what – you change the time-table so often I'm doing woodwork
when I should be teaching chemistry. (LDC)

Example (79) leaves open whether the participant referred to as *you* actually caught the lifeline; it expresses the Ag's strong intention to let the Dat have the lifeline, but it could easily be used to represent a situation in which the Dat refused to grab hold of the lifeline. Similarly, there is definitely no implication in (80) that the teaching has any effect on the benighted little sods!

By the same token, the following prep-Dat construals are clearly used to denote situations where the intended receiver is both present and directly involved in the process (81) and where the Pa reaches the Dat (82).

(81) She gives Gilles his goblet, then takes one and pours wine for herself. (LDC)

(82) Bella picks it up. Throws it to Marie. Marie throws it back. (LDC)

I have argued that what *is* at issue, semantically, is the choice between the destinatory versus the donatory orientation of, for instance, the 'showing': is it construed with the thing shown, or with the person shown to, as the participant in terms of which the relation of perceptual 'having' between both is concluded, or, as the participant onto whose identification the act of showing is ultimately oriented. Compare:

(83) I show it [the castle] to you because you are the firstborn. (LWW)

(84) I'm just going to show this no-good son of mine my prize tomatoes. (LDC)

(83) is destinatory, because the orientation of the ditrans construal is towards identification of the person the castle is shown to; the speaker's concern is with the identity of the person the castle is shown to: *to you [because you are the firstborn]*. (84) is donatory, because the construal is directed towards identification of the things shown; the speaker's concern is with the identity of 'what is shown', viz. the speaker's *prize tomatoes*.

Finally, it is interesting to bring in here the relative frequency of donatory versus destinatory construals with specific verbs in specific text bases. Quantitative research immediately reveals that some verbs are numerically more inclined to construing the donatory perspective and others to construing the destinatory perspective. For instance, exploratory counts of all the ditrans construals occurring in the LDC with *promise*, *deny*, *throw*, and *address* (Table 4) reveal the following relative proportions (it is also indicated whether these verbs construe par I or par II, or both par I and par II).

These figures suggest strongly that the construal choice donatory/destinatory corresponds, to a certain extent, to the semantics of the verb: there is, for instance, a stronger destinatory component in the verb meaning of *throw* and *address* and a stronger donatory component in that of *promise* and *deny*. This can be taken as further evidence for the position that the identifying dimension in ditransitives is a matter of – delicate – semantic role organization, with which textual correlates converge as a default only.

promise (par I):	donatory:	30	96.8%
	destinatory:	1	3.2%
deny (par I + II):	donatory:	17	81%
	destinatory:	4	19%
throw (par I):	donatory:	2	10%
	destinatory:	18	90%
address (par II):	donatory:	0	0%
	destinatory:	10	100%

Table 4: Relative frequency of occurrence of donatory versus destinatory construals with some verbs in the LDC corpus.

2. The implicative dimension

2.1. *The role of the 'implicative' dimension in the grammatical paradigm of ditransitivity*

Study of the identifying alternations led to the establishing of an eight-cell grammatical paradigm for the grammar of ditransitives. However, this paradigm contains more grammatical variation still to be accounted for, viz. the variation pertaining to the contrast between par I and par II.

Par I and par II are typically construed by different verbs. As noted above, par II constitutes the construal paradigm of the verbs with *obligatory* prepositional phrase realization of the Dat, a category which has traditionally been recognized as distinct from those Dat-verbs whose Dat alternates between nom-Dat and prep-Dat (par I). By and large, we find that, in text bases, verbs instantiate rather clearly either predominantly par I or par II. The most obvious recognition mark of par II construals is the obligatory status of the prep-Dat, clearly revealed in corpora by alternation of instances of IIa and IIc with instances of IIb and IId type construals, where the prep-Dat occurs in postverbal position:

(85) a. (IIa) The brown in Wal-Mart's logo conveys "a warmer invitation" to shoppers. (WSJ)

b. (IId) Wall Street yawned through meetings where Bell South executives struggled to convey to investors the potential importance of the company's cellular properties. (WSJ)

Conversely, a ditrans construal with prep-Dat is revealed to be a par I construal by the fact that it alternates with a nom-Dat construal:

(86) a. (Id) a jury awarded $26.6 million to Eli Lilly for patent infringement. (WSJ)

b. (Ia) he says Judge O'Kicki unexpectedly awarded him an additional $100,000. (WSJ)

We can thus form an initial idea of the two categories of verbs involved (cf. Levin 1993:138f., 146f., 172f., 202f.):

typical par I verbs: e.g. *award, feed, give, grant, lease, lend, loan, offer, pay, reimburse, sell, serve*; *tell, teach, show, write*;
typical par II verbs: e.g. *administer, contribute, donate, extend, refund, restore, return, sacrifice, transfer*; *announce, convey, declare, demonstrate, explain, mention, repeat*.

It should immediately be added that some exceptional verbs such as *attribute*, *pass*, *leave* and *owe*, construe both paradigms fairly commonly. Also, with many verbs we find that they construe overwhelmingly one of the two paradigms, but we will also find the odd, marked construal of the other paradigm. For instance, construals with *give*, *send*, *deny*, *pay*, and *show* are overwhelmingly par I, but some par II construals are found, while the majority of construals with *extend* is par II, but the odd par I construal is found. This entails that a purely lexical perspective on the issue is incomplete in that it allows us to predict only the unmarked uses. It needs to be complemented by a study of the semantics of the construals, which can also explain the marked, creative uses. Note also that between the two lists, we find a number of 'doublets' of verbs that would seem to be rather close in an a-grammatical lexical approach: *reimburse-refund*, *show-demonstrate*, *teach-explain*, *grant-extend*, *give-donate*, etc. Clearly, the lexico-grammar is offering the possibility here of construing ditrans events in terms of two distinct, but complementary models. These two models will be investigated further in this and the following section.

In the grammatical contrast between par I and par II, the most central vector is the *inversion* of the position of Dat and Pa in all the corresponding cells of the two subparadigms. To capture all the generalizations and the contrasts that can be noted between par I and par II, we will have to introduce a set of subcategorizing roles for the Dat-Pa subunit. The main thesis of this article is that ditrans grammar can best be understood as a grammar of caused possession. In ditrans construals, Dat and Pa stand in a grammatico-semantic tension with each other which is of the 'possessive' kind. Seiler (1983:59) observes that in the linguistic coding of possession, an important cross-linguistic parameter is constituted by the 'directionality of possession' and its intrinsic invertibility. Either term, possessor or possessed, can be taken as the starting or reference point in a possessive construal. In English, these two directionalities are illustrated clearly by *Peter owns the piano* versus *The piano belongs to Peter*. In view of the possibility of inversion in the coding of possession, Fawcett (1987:140) argues that possession in the sense of 'ownership' is too narrow a concept and that a more abstract semantic concept is involved like the mere 'association' of two terms. However, the problem with a concept such as 'association' is, in my view, that it does not incorporate any notion of directionality at all.

So, instead, I will propose to start work on the grammar of possession in terms of the general concept of 'implication', which is a directional, a-symmetric concept, since it involves an 'Implicans' (henceforth Is) as primary participant, and an Implicatum (henceforth Im) as secondary participant in the possessive implication.[9] The concept of 'implication' intended here is the one closest to the Latin verb *implicare* which it is derived from: 'to fold or twist together', 'to connect intimately' (see *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*). As a general concept, it covers such specific notions as 'part-whole', 'close connection', 'intimate accompaniment'. I would also like to stress that categories such as Implicans and Implicatum should not be reified semantically: they are tools for thinking with on the edge between form and meaning, to decipher the linguistic patterns which are realized in the form of the grammar and which construe very abstract semantic models.

How does the subcategorization of Pa and Dat in terms of the directionality of caused possession work out? Par I has 'own' directionality, with the Dat as Implicans, i.e. as the primary participant in the possessive implication. As we shall see below, the Dat is the participant which serves as the anchorage point to which the Pa is anchored. And, as I will argue in more detail

below, this direction of possessive anchorage obtains both if the Dat occurs in postverbal (87) or in clause final (88) position. Consider

(87) Oliver will give you (Is) breakfast (Im). (LDC)

(88) Pradah Singh gives brandy (Im) to Mem (Is). (LDC)

In both cases, the 'having' of the victuals by the Dat is construed as an anchorage relation between, the intended Dat/Is and Pa/Im.

Par II has 'belong to' directionality, with the Pa as Implicans, or the primary participant in the caused possessive implication. In the ditransitive event, it is the Pa which is primarily acted on. Typically, the Pa designates a participant being transferred to the prep-Dat (see below). Hence, the directionality of 'caused possessive implication' is from Pa/Is to Dat/Im, irrespective of whether the prep-Dat occurs in clause final or in postverbal position:

(89) he administered the vaccine (Is) to a child (Im) (WSJ)

(90) The idea would be to administer to patients (Im) the growth-controlling proteins (Is). (WSJ)

Subcategorizing Dat as Implicans in par I and Pa as Implicans in par II flows from the grammar and the specific semantic model encoded by each subparadigm, which will be discussed below. At this stage, let us set out the paradigm and consider some of its consequences (Figure 3).

The most important point brought out by this paradigm is the potential ambiguity of the Ag + Process + Pa + prep-Dat constellation (with information focus on the prep-Dat). This syntagm can be read in two different ways, since in (Id) the Pa – prep-Dat unit is subcategorized as Im – Is, whereas in (IIa) it is subcategorized as Is – Im. If this ambiguity has been little discussed in the literature, this is probably because it does not occur very frequently in practice. Most Dat-verbs typically construe either par I or par II. Consequently, it is rather rare to strike a ditrans sentence for which both a reading from par I and one from par II is possible. De Schutter (1993:488) discusses an interesting case of the ambiguity at stake with regard to the Dutch example *De chinese geleerden schreven veel goeie eigenschappen van het volk aan voorzitter Mao toe*, the English counterpart of which displays exactly the same ambiguity:

Paradigm I

Pa = ?	
Ia Does that give you (Is/Id) ***rights*** (Im/Ir)?	Ib You can't give ***cheques*** (Im/Ir) to people (Is/Id)
Dat = ?	
Ic It gave Sir ***Gerald*** (Is/Ir) rights (Im/Id)	Id I had to give the post (Im/Id) to ***Joaquin*** (Is/Ir)

Paradigm II

Dat = ?	
IIa You can't explain algebra (Is/Id) to a ***dog*** (Im/Ir).	Ib whoso attributes to ***God*** (Im/Ir) the power of begetting himself (Is/Id)
Pa = ?	
IIc Don't mention ***Dentophil*** (Is/Ir) to him (Im/Id)	IId He could have explained to him (Im/Id) all about the ***potion*** (Is/Ir)

Figure 3: The grammatical paradigm of ditransitive construals with the 'identifying' and 'implicative' dimensions as vectors.

(91) Chinese historians attribute many good characteristics of the people to chairman Mao.

In one reading, Mao himself is said to have displayed *many good characteristics of the people*; in the other reading, it is the people who display many good characteristics and Mao's policies are said to have brought them out in the people. Note that what is involved in this ambiguity is precisely the question of the directionality of possessive implication in the process of attribution: do historians attribute the good characteristics to Mao, with *Mao* as primary participant or Implicans in the Dat-Pa unit? Then, the subcategorization of *Mao* as Implicans and of *many good characteristics of the people* as Impli-

catum conveys the whole-part schema of the 'inherent' possession (Seiler 1983:68-69) of personality traits.

(91) a. Historians attribute many good characteristics of the people (Pa/Im) to Mao (Dat/Is).

Or, does the historians' mental process of attribution target primarily *many good characteristics of the people*, which is taken as the primary participant or Implicans in the possessive implication, and which is then related to Mao (and his metonymically evoked policies)? Here, the relation between *to Mao* and *many good characteristics of the people* is 'possessive' in the wider sense of his being 'established' (cf. Seiler 1983:65) as the cause or the origin of them.

(91) b. Historians attribute many good characteristics of the people (Pa/Is) to Mao (Dat/Im).

Thus, example (91) illustrates very clearly the *inversion* of the direction of possessive implication which lies at the heart of its ambiguity and which motivates the grammatico-semantic break between the two subparadigms of ditransitivity. Note also that the systematic alternation between the cells of each subparadigm helps to identify a specific structure with its meaning. On its 'inherent' reading, example (91a) instantiates structure type Id, which alternates, for instance, with (Ia) *Chinese historians attribute Mao* (Is/Id) *many good characteristics of the* ***people*** (Im/Ir) and all the other cells of par I. On its (91b) reading, it instantiates structure type IIa, which alternates with, for instance, (IIb) *Chinese historians attribute to* ***Mao*** (Im/Ir) *many good characteristics of the people* (Is/Id) and with all other cells of par II. The different subcategorization of Dat and Pa by Is and Im represents two fundamentally different functional configurations, each of which delimits its own set of possible alternates.

Let us now look in more detail at the contrastive grammar of par I and par II. As a preliminary, it is instructive to take stock of the sorts of frequencies in which the different cells of the subparadigms are instantiated in text. Exploratory counts reveal the following proportions (Tables 5 and 6):

Par I construals	cell	Ia	Ib	Ic	Id
	tokens	294	4	1	68
	percentages	80.1	1.1	0.3	18.5

Table 5: Quantitative instantiation of the par I cells by the ditrans construals with *buy, offer, show*, supplemented by 100 construals with *give*, in the Leuven Drama Corpus.

Par II construals	cell	IIa	IIb	IIc	IId
	tokens	136	5	1	22
	percentages	83	3	0.6	13.4

Table 6: Quantitative instantiation of the par II cells by the ditrans construals with *administer, announce, assign, convey, demonstrate, extend, explain, render, transfer*, in the Wall Street Journal Corpus.

For each subparadigm it is the a- and d-cells which are the most frequent. This is clearly related to the fact that these are the cells which, typically, have unmarked information focus; the b- and c-construals with marked, typically contrastive, information focus on the non-final participant are very infrequent. Further, the a-cells are clearly the most frequent *overall*. (Note, though, that these general frequencies may be 'locally' disturbed in function of the meaning of the verb (e.g. *throw* in the LDC: Ia:2 versus Id:16) and/or register impact (e.g. *award* in the economic discourse of the WSJ Corpus: Ia:10 versus Id:38).) In general, however, the most common structure type of par I is Ia and the most common of par II is IIa.

Par I and par II display a number of contrasting grammatical features, which can all be related to the following central difference: par I construals are centred on the *Dat* as the primary participant in the possessive implication caused, whereas par II construals are targeted on the *Pa* as the primary participant in the effected possessive implication.

This emerges particularly clearly when we contrast the most typical structures of each subparadigm, Ia and IIa respectively, e.g.

(92) I'll teach you to swim. (LDC)

(93) Mick's explained the situation to me. (LDC)

It is probably intuitively acceptable to posit that in Ia, the Dat is the 'primary Affected' (cf. Wierzbicka 1988:361f.), whereas in IIa, the Pa is the 'primary Affected': in (92) the ditransitive action acts primarily on the Dat, in (93) it acts primarily on the Pa.

This strong impression can be supported in terms of the differences in degree of 'effectiveness' between the respective Ag-Dat and Ag-Pa relations. The concept of EFFECTIVENESS in the Hallidayan (1985:151) framework is roughly equivalent to the more mainstream concept of 'transitivity' defined by Hopper & Thompson (1980:251) as the property of a construal, in which the action is "typically EFFECTIVE in some way" such that it is "'carried over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient". Transitivity, or 'effectiveness', is a gradable property, which in the English clause, I have argued (Davidse 1992a:127f.), is dependent mainly on the real agenthood of the Agent and the genuine 'affectedness' of the Affected. Now, a crucial test for establishing the 'effectiveness' of a process-participant configuration is, as stressed by such authors as Halliday (1985:151f.) and Rice (1987), the possibility of construing an unmarked passive.

Interestingly, there is a certain consensus in the literature (e.g. Halliday 1967a:56; Dryer 1986:832f.) that, for a par I construal like (94a), the passive with Dat/Subject (94b) is less marked than that with Pa/Subject (94c):

(94) a. Mary paid John the money.
b. John was paid the money.
c. The money was paid (to) John.

This would mean that the relation between Ag and Dat is 'more effective' than that between Ag and Pa. With par II construals such as (95a), it is probably relatively uncontroversial to regard the Pa/Subject passive (95b) as the unmarked option in comparison with the Dat/Subject passive (95c), just as it is uncontroversial to regard the Pa as the primary Affected in view of the obligatory prepositional phrase status of the Dat in the active.

(95) a. The House will extend special protection to AIDS victims.
b. Special protection will be extended to AIDS victims.
c. AIDS victims will be extended special protection.

These markedness judgements are confirmed by the following frequency counts (Tables 7 and 8):

		Dat/Subject	Pa/Subject
Par I passives	tokens	71	14
	percentages	83.5	16.5

Table 7: Distribution of Dat/Subject versus Pa/Subject passives in construals with the verbs *award, lend, grant*, in WSJ.

		Dat/Subject	Pa/Subject
Par II passives	tokens	8	106
	percentages	7	93

Table 8: Distribution of Dat/Subject versus Pa/Subject passives in construals with the verbs *assign, attribute, extend, transfer, pass*, in WSJ.

We will take it, then, that in Ia, the Dat is the primary Affected, and the Pa a secondary Affected. In par II, it is clearly the Pa which is the primary Affected. The possibility of construing a passive with a prepositionless Dat as Subject (95c) indicates that the prep-Dat is not necessarily a mere Circumstance, but may have some features of an oblique participant, or a 'secondary Affected'.

The contrast between ditrans construals which act primarily on the Dat (96) and those which act primarily on the Pa (97) is illustrated pointedly with verbs that might appear as near-synonyms:

(96) Birmingham has agreed to reimburse Harbert $9 million for expenses. (WSJ)

(97) The reversal could require Plains Petroleum and others to refund millions of dollars to customers. (WSJ)

But what about structure type Id, which in the literature has tended to be treated as identical with structure type IIa? It is crucial to the description proposed here that Id is a *different grammatical structure* from IIa. The point

was made above with regard to *attribute* (cf. De Schutter 1993:486-488), such that

(98) a. (Id) Historians attribute energy (Pa/Im) to ***Mao*** (Dat/Is)

is analyzed as a different grammatical structure from

(98) b. (IIa) Historians attribute the rise in living standards (Pa/Is) to ***Mao*** (Dat/Im)

The analysis of Pa and prep-Dat as construing inverse directions of possessive implication in (98a) and (98b) correlates with two distinct but related, i.e. polysemous, senses of the verb *attribute*: the one in (98a) targets, like *grant*, the Dat as primary Affected, the one in (98b) targets, like *impute*, the Pa as primary Affected.

A similar grammatically construed polysemy is found with all the verbs that allow for both par I and par II construals, for instance,

(99) Mum left it to John.

(99) is ambiguous between two different grammatical constellations with different meanings. With the meaning 'bequeath something to John', the ditrans action targets the Dat as the Implicans, or the primary participant in the possessive implication.

(99) a. (Id) Mum left it (Pa/Im) to John (Dat/Is)

With the meaning 'delegate some responsibility to John', the ditrans action acts on the Pa, as the primary participant in the possessive implication.

(99) b. (IIa) Mum left it (Pa/Is) to John (Dat/Im)

I posit, likewise, the same two distinct grammatical constellations, triggering the same kind of polysemy, with the verb *pass*. Consider:

(100) a. (Id) Tim bites the tomato, passes it (Pa/Im) to Bella (Dat/Is). (LDC)

b. (IIa) The couple may pass one of their genetic defects (Pa/Is) to a child (Dat/Im)

The formal argument for considering (98a), (99a), (100a) versus (98b) (99b) (100b) as instances of two contrasting structures is that they have distinct sets of alternatives, or in Gleason's (1965:195-291) terms, they fit in a different network of 'agnates' (cf. note 3), or paradigmatic 'relatives'. For instance, (100a) is related to *Tim passes Bella the tomato* (Ia); (100b), however, cannot be related to **The couple may pass a child one of their genetic defects* but has to be related to *The couple may pass to a child one of their genetic defects* (IId). Thus it is revealed that the prep-Dat *to Bella* in (100a) participates in the process in a different way from the prep-Dat *to a child* in (100b).

With regard to Id structures, it should also be pointed out that, under specific conditions, they may have a realization from which the preposition *to* is absent. This can happen when both Pa and Dat are non-focal pronouns and only with Dat verbs in which the Dat is a rather strongly inherent participant, such as *give*, *promise*, *show*, *teach*, *tell*.

(101) Maybe that's what he wants. Let's give it him then. Death! Death! Death! (LDC)

(102) I have news. [...] I should be the one to give it you, rather than that you read it in the newspapers tomorrow. (LDC)

(103) I spend most of my time in my secret cave near the stream. Come with me. I'll show it you. I'll wash your wounds. (LDC)

This is further argument for the position that the prepositional phrase realization of the Dat in Id has a very different status from that in IIa, which alternates obligatorily with prepositional phrase realizations. The prep-Dat in Id, on the other hand, is the less frequent alternate of the nom-Dat in Ia, and, even in Id, it may receive a purely nominal coding. Semantically, the Dat in examples (101-103) emerges very clearly as the primary Affected in the ditrans constellation.

2.2. *The semantic import of the 'implicative' dimension in ditrans constellations*

Having considered the grammatical characteristics of par I and II, we should now flesh out the semantic models they encode – the two distinct and complementary ways of looking at ditrans events. Moving, in Hjelmslev's (1969:57-60) terms, from the content-form to the content-substance is always

a hazardous undertaking. As language users, we have no *conscious* knowledge of the semantics of grammar and, as language describers, we have to push it to consciousness using systematic methodological tools such as, for instance, the paradigmatic alternation potential of a specific construal. When analyzing the semantics, we have constantly to refer to the formal encoding, or the grammar of the semantics. Moreover, the highly abstract concepts and models encoded by the grammar are typically not 'lexicalized', which in the choice of our metalanguage for the semantics leads to difficult decisions in which maximal but possibly vacuous generality has to be weighed against more relevant models which may not cover the full 100% of the cases.

The line I will develop in this section is that par I construals construe a 'benefiter' model and par II construals a 'transfer' model of ditransitive events.

Par I centres the ditransitive, or 'double goal-directed', event on the Dat as the primary participant in the possessive implication effected. That is, the ditransitive action construed is here primarily one of *benefiting* someone. Think here of the contrast between examples such as

(104) (Ia) Furthermore, I'm offering the tenants of these houses five thousand pounds (LDC)

(105) (IIa) Washington lawyers felt they were sacrificing too much of the revenue they generated to the firm's other offices. (WSJ)

where the 'benefiting' model of par I construals is brought out clearly by the contrast with par II construals, which 'act on' the Pa.

Presence of a preposition is not essential to the construal of the relation effected between Dat and Pa: in its most frequent construal Ia, *both* are coded as Affected, with the Dat as primary Affected and the Pa juxtaposed to it as a secondary Affected. As a consequence, the benefit relation between Dat and Pa is construed as a 'close-knit' tie, in which the Dat, or benefiter, is always the anchorage point to which the benefit associated with the Pa is anchored. (For the possible interpretation of possession as anchorage, I am indebted to Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn, p.c.) Using a technical term, we could say that the relation between Dat and Pa is construed in terms of a 'meronymic', or 'part-whole', schema in the broad sense: the Pa is brought in a part-whole relation to the Dat, or, it is assimilated within the Dat's sphere. Think of

(106) Chinese historians attribute Mao (Dat/Is) energy (Pa/Im).

(107) Just pass me (Dat/Is) that comb (Pa/Im) will you. (LDC)

(108) it was decided [...] not to grant Rockwell (Dat/Is) immunity (Pa/Im). (WSJ)

In par I construals the Dat is always the 'possessor' and the Pa the 'possessed'. The Dat also strongly tends to have a feature of direct or mediated animacy; institutions involve mediated animacy, as, metonymically, they stand for the human beings running them and can, therefore, fill roles which require animacy and volitionality, e.g.

(109) Central Banking has granted Bank of the West an option to acquire up to 24.9% of its stock.

With par I construals, the Ag is typically depicted as *intending* to 'benefit' the Dat. The Ag's vested interest in the ditransitive event is centred on the Dat; the Ag typically wants the Dat to – come to – have the Pa. For instance, in

(110) That oughter show ya I still love ya, don't it? (LDC)

the Ag has a vested interest in the Dat's accepting his message. It can also be noted here that, with par I imperatives, the Dat and the source of the command are very often the same persons. In such cases, the benefiter model is expressive of the vested interest of the Dat, who is also the implied 'agent' of the command. Consider

(111) Show us a miracle. (LDC)

(112) Bring me my supper. (LDC)

A last important observation concerns the differential distribution over par I and par II construals of *to*-Dative and *for*-Dative construals, i.e. construals which have these respective prepositions either in some or all of their alternatives. Corpus exploration quickly establishes that with *to*-Datives the choice for a par II construal constitutes a numerically important alternative to that for a par I construal. However, with *for*-Datives, the overwhelming majority of instances is par I and par II codings are exceptional, albeit not non-existent:

(113) it is as an artist that I salute him and that I hope to win for him your salutes. (LDC)

This suggests that the 'benefiter' model accords particularly well with the semantics of *for*-Dative construals. Their 'benefactive' meaning has, indeed, been generally observed in the literature (e.g. Hudson 1992:261).

Let us now turn to the 'transfer' model (compare Van Langendonck and Van Belle 1993:517f. and this volume) typically encoded by par II construals.[10] I should indicate at once that the semantic model of 'transfer' is a prototypical one, covering the proverbial 99% rather than 100% of instances. It is, precisely, less appropriate for the few cases of par II construals with *for*-Dative such as (113) and (114):

(114) The tabernacle is lost but in its place I shall have built for you a meeting house of ferroconcrete. (LDC)

Here, the model encoded is perhaps better thought of as 'acting on a Pa on behalf of the Dat'. But for the great majority of par II construals, which have preposition *to* (occasionally *unto*, *among*), the transfer model seems the most enlightening.

Par II construals 'act on' the Pa, as the primary participant in the possessive implication effected. The Pa designates the entity being transferred and the prep-Dat designates the entity it is being transferred to. The obligatory presence of preposition *to* – in contrast with its appearance in the less common alternates in par I – imposes a greater distance between Pa and Dat. (To refer back to Kirsner's (1985:251) and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980:130) notion of distance iconicity, I would hold that it applies to par II, where *all* the alternates have the preposition and where its semantics are integral to the 'transfer' model being encoded, but that it applies less to the Id-Ib construals, since the preposition appears only in the more marked alternates, required by the 'identifying' alternation.)

In the first place, I would like to stress that the transfer model, which constitutes the complementary angle to the benefiter model on ditransitivity, is crucially about *possessive* transfer. That this is so is shown by the fact that a number of the verbs at issue here such as *assign*, *extend*, *transfer*, *pass*, also construe clear instances of purely spatial or temporal transfer, besides the possessive transfer associated with ditransitivity. Compare:

(115) a. The [...] bill would extend protection to AIDS victims. (WSJ)
b. Gay city employees [...] were extended special protections. (WSJ)

(116) a. Figgie International Inc. [...] extended its offer to Sept. 19. (WSJ)
b. *Sept. 19 was extended its offer.

(117) a. A chunk of Chevey's field sales force will be assigned specifically to Geo. (WSJ)
b. Grey was assigned Aspercreme. (WSJ)

(118) a. Participants had been assigned to specific wagon circles for the six days of the drive. (WSJ)
b. *Specific wagon circles had been assigned participants for the six days of the drive.

In (115a) *AIDS victims* will have protection, but a date cannot have a possessive relation to an offer (116a). Similarly, in (117a) *Geo* comes to have and control *a chunk of Chevey's field sales force*, but there is no sense in which the *wagon circles* have a possessive relation to those travelling in those formations in (118a). Interestingly, the construals of possessive transfer in (115) and (117) allow for a passive with prepositionless Dat as Subject – an indication of their oblique status and of the ditrans character of the whole construal. The codings of spatial and temporal transfer in (116) and (117) do not allow for such a passive: *to specific wagon circles* and *to Sept. 19* have the status of pure Circumstances.

Whilst it is clear that transfer of a Pa into some form of possessive implication with the Dat lies at the semantic core of par II construals with *to*, the notion of possessive implication is here, in many ways, less clear-cut and more complex than in par I construals, and it leads to more borderline phenomena.

Firstly, a number of borderline cases are found, for which it is hard to tell whether they designate the causation of some sort of abstract possessive bond, with typical notions such as control or mutual co-definition of the two terms by each other, or whether they designate simply movement of an entity to a different, spatial or temporal, location. Consider:

(119) Then, [...] they transferred all five genes to bacteria closely related to the pertussis organism. (WSJ)

(120) And if that happens, the entire process of transferring technology to the marketplace could be harmed, they say. (WSJ)

Secondly, while the entity transferred is mostly the 'possessed' and the prep-Dat the 'possessor', the relation may also be flipped around such that the Pa being transferred is the 'possessor', or 'holder', of the thing denoted by the prepositional phrase. For instance, one can assign a job to persons (or institutions) (121, 123), but one can also assign persons to a job (122, 124). With text examples:

(121) Most law firms assign recruitment haphazardly, to attorneys who are highly competent in law but often have no training in interviewing others. (WSJ)

(122) The agency has assigned many agents to special projects that need more personal attention. (WSJ)

The same phenomenon can be found with *transfer*:

(123) They predict that organized-crime activity will increase once the units are dissolved and their responsibilities transferred to U.S. attorneys' offices. (WSJ)

(124) Desperately hoping to spark sales, Nissan transferred 5,000 middle managers and plant workers to dealerships. (WSJ)

With regard to both types of borderline phenomena, we can observe that, in the 'transfer' model, there is not only no strict association of features such as animacy – direct or mediated – with the 'possessor' (119), the very association of the 'possessor' with the Dat role can be overridden, all of which contributes to a much more complex and abstract notion of 'possession' than that found in par I construals.

With these semantic clarifications, let us briefly return to some of the par I and par II examples discussed above, which involve the same verb. For instance,

(125) a. Crawley passes him a packet, from which he takes one. (LDC)

b. Tim bites the tomato, passes it to Bella. (LDC)

(126) couples at high risk of passing a genetic defect to a child. (WSJ)

It may now be clearer that both (125a) and (125b), irrespective of their opposed 'direction of identification', construe the 'benefiter' model on the 'pass' event, whereas (126) construes the 'transfer' model. Hence, the grammatically construed polysemy observable between the slightly different sense of *pass* in (125a-b) and that in (126). In (125a-b), the act of 'passing' is a 'benefiting' of the Dat, which is also the primary participant in the possessive implication, to which the Pa (*a packet*, *the tomato*) is anchored. In (126), in contrast, the 'passing' event is one of 'transfer', centred on the Pa *a genetic defect*, which may be passed on to the Dat (*to a child*). When *pass* is used in this sense, it is impossible to invert the perspective to a par I construal and centre the ditransitive event on the Dat: **couples at high risk of passing a child a genetic defect*. Similarly with

(127) a. My mother left me a little. (DF)

b. my wife left the income of her little capital to her daughter (DF)

(128) Leave that to the police. (DF)

(127a-b) construe the 'benefiter' model, activating the sense of 'bequeath' in *leave*, in which the Pa (*a little*, *the income of her little capital*) is brought into a meronymic schema of possession with the Dat. (128) construes the 'transfer' model, activating a sense like 'delegate to, fob off on' in *leave*, in which whatever responsibilities referred to by *it* are transferred to the police. We can also reconsider the par I and par II construals with *attribute*:

(129) Chinese historians attribute energy to Mao.

(130) Art historians attribute "Doves and Hens" to Francisco Goya.

These clearly exploit the semantic features of both models. Attributing someone a personality trait is centred on the Dat and imposes an 'inherent', whole-part model of possession on the Dat-Pa relation. Attributing a work of art - or a political development – to its author is centred on the Pa and construes the relation between Pa and Dat as more distanced and 'established' (cf. Seiler 1983:65-68).

Finally, we should also be able to clarify the semantic effect achieved, if a verb is used to construe the marked model not normally associated with it.

This is, for instance, the case with the famous Biblical dictum

(131) Pay to the Emperor what belongs to him and pay to God what belongs to God. (*Good news for Modern Man. The New Testament. Today's English Version*. American Bible Society, 1971, Matthew, 22, 21.)

where *pay*, a typical par I verb, is used in a par II construal, presumably IIb. Here, 'paying' is not 'benefiting' God or the Emperor, which would be presumptuous in this context, but a giving back of what they are entitled to. Hence, the construal is centred on the Pa, and the prep-Dat is a more distanced third party. (131) also illustrates clearly the greater formality of register that often characterizes par II construals in comparison with par I construals. In the following sentence from *Doctor Fischer*, Graham Greene exploits a similar complex of features, viz. marked option of the 'transfer' rather than the 'benefiter' model and imposition of a greater distance, also in terms of register, towards the imperious person designated by the prep-Dat:

(132) I sent to Doctor Fischer the letter that he required. (DF)

This construal choice expresses a neat irony, since the said letter will inform the appalling Doctor Fischer several days late of the death of his own daughter, after he had refused to be bothered by the telephone call that would have informed him directly.

A marked construal option in the opposite sense is illustrated by (133), a par I construal with *extend*, which, in the WSJ corpus, is more frequently used in par II construals:

(133) While they acknowledge the president will attend several meals and a working session also attended by Mr. Ortega, they insist that Mr. Bush won't be extending the Nicaraguan leader any special courtesies. (WSJ)

Whereas *extend* is mostly construed as Pa-centred transfer, as in

(134) In Madison, opposition from church groups helped thwart an effort by city officials to extend health care benefits to workers' unmarried mates. (WSJ)

the choice of a Dat-centred 'benefiter' construal in (133) stresses that the Nicaruguan leader is *not* being specially benefited.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that the traditional description of Dat alternation in terms of two alternates is inadequate, in terms of both the formal and semantic contrasts proposed. If we view ditransitives as embodying the general participant-process tensions of 'causation' of 'possessive implication', then this leads to an eight-cell grammatical paradigm, with the 'identifying' and the 'implicative' dimensions as two independently variable semantic role configurations. The 'identifying' dimension accounts for the orientation of ditransitives on Pa or Dat as the 'variable' which has to be identified. This is the fundamental option of the *donatory* versus the *destinatory* perspective on the ditransitive event. The 'implicative' dimension accounts for the invertibility of the possessive implication between Dat and Pa, yielding the contrasting and complementary *benefiter* and *transfer* models of the ditransitive event. These are prototypically associated with distinct classes of verbs but can, perhaps in more cases than one would at first suspect, also be construed by the same verbs, which will then display a systematic, grammatically-construed, form of polysemy.

Appendix: Exemplificatory application of the description to corpus data

In this article, the systematic construal variation offered by ditrans grammar has been described in terms of two crossclassificatory options: the benefiter model versus the transfer model, and the donatory versus the destinatory perspective. Each ditrans construal is characterized by two features, one from each systemic choice, e.g.

(1) In June, the commission provisionally granted the utility only $3.1 million of the $70 million it was seeking through higher electricity rates. (WSJ) *benefiter - donatory*

(2) It also awarded $196,785 in back bonuses to former trader Michael Newcomb. (WSJ) *benefiter – destinatory*

(3) If you assign your income to another [...] (WSJ) *transfer – destinatory*

(4) The idea, the filing alleges, was to be able to transfer to Dong Yang Express $3.5 millions in termination fees. (WSJ) *transfer – donatory*

The coding of corpus data shows that ditrans verbs are used with their own characteristic relative frequencies regarding these two systemic options, particularly within a fairly strictly defined register context such as the economic discourse of the WSJ corpus. That is, the total instantiation of construal types with a verb in a text base tends to display a clear predominance for one of the four possible combinations of construal features illustrated by examples (1-4). To illustrate this phenomenon, I will give for each combination of features, the relative frequencies in which they are instantiated by one specific verb in the WSJ corpus.

(i) *benefiter – donatory* (more common combination) construals
with *grant* in WSJ: benefiter: 128
transfer: 0
donatory: 95
destinatory: 33

(ii) *benefiter – destinatory* (less common combination) construals
with *lend* in WSJ: benefiter: 74
transfer: 0
donatory: 11
destinatory: 63

(iii) *transfer – destinatory* (more common combination) construals
with *pass* in WSJ: benefiter: 1
transfer: 94
donatory: 7
destinatory: 88

(In the WSJ corpus, *pass* construes almost exclusively the 'transfer' model, i.e. passing sth. or s.o. on to s.o. or sth. in a physical, genetic, legal, or commercial sense, e.g.

(5) Hens sometimes pass salmonella to the eggs. (WSJ)

(6) A federal appeals court struck down a natural gas-regulation that had prevented pipeline companies from passing to customers part of $ 1 billion in costs from controversial "take-or-pay" contracts. (WSJ)

This is in contrast to the LDC corpus, where the majority of instances (20 benefiter against 10 transfer construals) construe the benefiter model, e.g.

(7) Pass me the water-bottle. (LDC)

where *pass me* is used in the sense of 'give me over'.

(iv) *transfer – donatory* (less common combination) construals
with *demonstrate* in WSJ: benefiter: 0
transfer: 8
donatory: 7
destinatory: 1

The four main construal features thus shed light on the construal tendencies – and concomitant semantic make-up – of specific verbs in specific register contexts. They set out highly general grammatico-semantic accents and contrasts; within these, the study of even finer submodes of caused possessive implication in ditrans lexicogrammar could still be pursued in future work.

Data Sources

The examples quoted are taken from *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (CB), Graham Greene (1980) *Doctor Fischer of Geneva or The Bomb Party* (DF), London: The Bodley Head, C.S Lewis (1990) *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (LWW), London: Harper Collins, and from the Leuven Drama Corpus (LDC) as well as from the Wall Street Journal corpus (WSJ).

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn and William Van Belle for their careful and helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2. All examples taken from data sources are followed by abbreviations identifying the data sources, which are listed at the end of the article.

3. The importance of drawing up grammatical paradigms and of understanding the parameters of alternation within these was always a dominant theme in the neo-Firthian tra-

dition. Special attention was given here to Gleason's (1965) thinking about systematic paradigmatic variants, which he referred to as 'agnates'. Levin (1993) offers a more recent affirmation of the importance of systematic alternations of grammatical construals both to the understanding of the grammatical categories involved and to the semantic analysis of the verbs allowing for these variants.

4. Halliday's use of "textual" can be glossed here as 'discourse-functional': the 'textual' area of the grammar comprises all the categories and devices that create discourse and relate the text to the context of situation.

5. It should be noted that for some examples, due to the indeterminacy of the front boundary of the New in written text, the postverbal constituent could potentially be realized either as Given or New. Not to complicate the quantitative comparison, I have, in each of these cases, counted only one reading, viz. the one that seemed the most plausible in the discourse context, e.g.

(i) [You only have to show that letter.]
// I don't want to show that letter / to anybody //
Gi Ne

(ii) [I'm offering the estate a hundred thousand pounds against the ministry of transport's ninety-eight thousand pounds. ... Furthermore,]
// I'm offering / the tenants of these houses / five thousands pounds. //
Gi Ne

Since, as argued below, I will retain only the correlation of the information focus – i.e. the *final* constituent of the New – with Dat or Pa as the most powerful generalization, the occasional indeterminacy regarding the front boundary of the New need not worry us too much.

6. The mapping of Ne + Gi onto nom-Dat + Pa did not occur in the ditrans construals of the verbs investigated. However, by looking at Dat-verbs other than those, examples such as (27) could be found.

7. Halliday & Hasan (1976:89) define a substitute item as "a sort of counter which is used in place of the repetition of a particular item", and which has the same grammatical class and function as the item for which it substitutes.

8. As indicated below, this thesis extends Halliday's (1985:126-127) positing of an 'identifying' dimension in possessive two-participant clauses to ditrans clauses.

9. Davidse (in press) draws a detailed analogy between the semantic roles of Implicans-Implicatum, which fix the direction of possession in possessive: identifying constellations, and the semantic roles of Token-Value proposed by Halliday (1985:112-131), which specify the direction of representation in coding: identifying constellations.

10. The importance of the notion of 'transfer' is pointed out by Van Langendonck and Van Belle (1993:517f.) for Dutch ditransitives with prep-Dat. Their paradigmatic categorization of ditrans construals differs from the one proposed here.

REFERENCES

Bolinger, D.L. 1952. Linear Modification. *PLMA* 67, 205-216.

Davidse, K. 1992a. Transitivity/ergativity: the Janus-headed grammar of actions and events. In *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*, M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds), 105-135. London: Pinter.

Davidse, K. 1992b. A semiotic approach to relational clauses. *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* 6, 99-131.

Davidse, K. In press. Ditransitivity and possession. In *Functional Descriptions: Linguistic Form and Linguistic Theory*, R. Hasan, D. Butt and C. Cloran (eds). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

De Schutter, G. 1993. Towards a cognitive analysis of the NP-PP-variation in the indirect object in Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82, 485-499.

Erteschik-Shir, N. 1979. Discourse constraints on dative movement. In *Syntax and Semantics 12: Discourse and Syntax*, T. Givon (ed), 441-467. New York: Academic Press.

Fawcett, R.P. 1987. The semantics of clause and verb in English. In *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics. Vol. 1. Theory and Description*, M.A.K. Halliday and R.P. Fawcett (eds), 130-183. London: Pinter.

Foley, W. and Van Valin, R. 1984. Information packaging in the clause. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description I. Clause structure*, T. Shopen (ed), 282-364. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Givon, T. 1979. *On Understanding Grammar*. New York: Academic Press.

Gleason, H.A. 1965. *Linguistics and English Grammar*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Green, G. 1974. *Semantics and Syntactic Regularity*. Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1967a. Notes on transitivity and theme in English 1. *Journal of Linguistics* 3.1, 37-81.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1967b. Notes on transitivity and theme in English 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3.2, 199-244.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1968. Notes on transitivity and theme in English 3. *Journal of Linguistics* 4.2, 179-215.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1970. Language structure and language function. In *New Horizons in Linguistics*, J. Lyons (ed), 140-165. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Hasan, R. 1985. Part B. In *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*, M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, Deakin University: Deakin University Press.

Hjelmslev, L. 1969. *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* (revised English translation by F.J. Whitfield of *Omkring sprogteoriens grundloeggelse*. 1943). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Hopper, P.J. and Thompson, S.A. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56, 251-299.
Hudson, R. 1992. So-called 'double objects' and grammatical relations. *Language* 68, 251-276.
Kirsner, R. 1985. Iconicity and grammatical meaning. In *Typological Studies in Language* 6, J. Haiman (ed), 249-270. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago/London: Chicago University Press.
Langacker, R. 1987. *Transitivity, Case and Grammatical Relations: a cognitive grammar prospectus*. Duisburg, L.A.U.D. Series A 172.
Levin, B. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Martin, J.R. 1992. *English Text: System and Structure*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Matthews, P.H. 1981. *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mitchell, B. 1985. *Old English Syntax. Volume I. Concord, the parts of speech, and the sentence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
Rice, S.A. 1987. *Towards a Cognitive Model of Transitivity*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California San Diego.
Seiler, H. 1983. *Possession as an Operational Dimension of Language*. Tübingen: Narr.
Strang, B. 1970. *A History of English*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd.
Sweet, H. 1924. *A Short Historical English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Thompson, S.A. 1989. *Information Flow and 'Dative Shift' in English Discourse*. Duisburg, L.A.U.D. Series A 259.
Van Langendonck, W. and Van Belle, W. 1993. The NP-PP variation in the indirect object in Dutch. A reply to De Schutter. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 82, 501-520.
Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. (= Studies in Language Companion Series 18). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

PART III

UNRELATED LANGUAGES

The Polish dative

Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn

Department of Linguistics
University of Leuven

1. Introduction*

"The deeper I go into the dative, the more elusive it becomes", observed a colleague researching the case system of a Germanic language. This remark fits the Slavic situation perfectly. Here, too, the dative continues to pose innumerable problems despite the insights provided by Jakobson, Wierzbicka, Heinz, Janda, and many other scholars (for references, see Campe (1994)). Regarding Polish, the full range of dative uses has not even been presented, certainly not in a comprehensive way. We do not know how the dative category as a whole is structured; neither do we know how it relates to other elements of Polish grammar.

The purpose of the present study is to explore this *terra incognita*, without, however, claims to exhaustiveness. On the basis of data collected from a variety of sources[1] we will try to identify the major dative variants in Polish. It will soon become evident that relevant to such identification is not only the semantics of the verbal predicate with which nominals in the dative combine, but also the nature of other parts of the sentence as well as hosts of pragmatic factors. All these will have to be taken into account. Yet our ultimate goal is not just a classification of dative uses. We are interested in what motivates them. Another important objective is the internal semantic organization of the dative category. In view of its multiplicity of meanings, we will want to know how they link up with one another. Is there a pattern behind them? And, if this is the case, how can we make it explicit?

In pursuing these questions we will rely on the cognitive-linguistic framework. The theoretical constructs and descriptive tools particularly rele-

vant to the task at hand will be presented briefly in section 2, together with a few basic assumptions. Section 3 will be devoted to a discussion of the major dative groupings as they emerge from our data base and suggest lines for their interpretation. And the final section will bring together the most important findings, both factual and methodological.

2. Basic concepts and assumptions

In terms of theoretical foundations, the approach to case roles advanced here draws primarily on the work of Langacker, Lakoff and Talmy (see references). It assumes that the meaning of a linguistic unit is a conceptual structure conventionally associated with this unit. One of its essential aspects is imagery, which relates to the particular construal of the given object or situation as favored over other possible construals. The construal parameters by which semantic differences can be captured include vantage point, figure/ground alignment, directionality, levels of specificity/schematicity, foregrounding, and backgrounding (Langacker 1987a, 1988a; cf. also Lakoff 1982, 1987 and Talmy 1985, 1988a, 1988b).

The meaning of a linguistic unit, whether a case marker or a lexical item, can be characterized only with respect to a broader knowledge structure, often labelled as a "conceptual domain" or "cognitive model". This knowledge structure provides the conceptual ground against which the meaning receives figure-like prominence. Following Langacker (1982, 1987a), we will use the term *base* to refer to those aspects of the ground that are directly relevant to the unit's characterization; the term *profile* will, in turn, be reserved for the figure-like substructure of the base, i.e. what the unit designates.

To see the applicability of these concepts to case semantics, it is important to consider the role of case systems in general. What purpose do they serve? A legitimate, albeit simplistic answer is that they express event structure. More precisely, they code the way language communities conceptualize whole situations (dynamic or static) or relational episodes. Thus, an individual case like the dative, accusative or locative always profiles an entity in its relation to other entities involved. If we want to know what the dative designates, we necessarily have to bring in the cases with which it co-occurs as well as the verbal predicate which identifies the relationship holding between their referents. Together they constitute the base against which the dative's profile can be described.

It is an empirical fact that the dative is not a monosemic category, which inevitably brings us to the polysemy/homonymy distinction. Like Langacker (1988b:136ff.), I see homonymy as the limiting case of polysemy; that is, homonymy starts where no semantic link, however tenuous, can be established between two or more uses of the form in question. As the perception of such links may well vary from person to person, it is wise to treat homonymy and polysemy as relative notions rather than absolute.

In approaching the semantic polyvalence of the dative, the present study develops further the strategies proposed in Rudzka-Ostyn (1990, 1992). It attempts to grasp the dative's internal organization via a particular variant of the schematic network model, first tried out on *ask* and then applied to other items (Rudzka-Ostyn 1989, 1994). Motivating this attempt is evidence that, with respect to certain basic principles (e.g. schematization and elaboration), the structure of otherwise distinct linguistic categories is alike. As a result, the same or a similar descriptive apparatus can be used to render it explicit. The details of this structure will, of course, vary from category to category, and so will the ways of arriving at them. It is a truism that, depending on the nature of the categories investigated and their position within the given language system, very different parameters may have to be invoked. The set of oppositions and lexico-syntactic frames relevant to the study of *ask* is of little help when one tries to come to grips with the semantics of the dative. Operating at the level of case relations, the dative naturally interacts with categories like the nominative and the accusative as well as particular classes of verbal, adjectival and adverbial predicates. Its meanings cannot be properly identified unless this interaction is taken into account. Ideally, we should check not only the constructions in which the dative occurs but also the ones in which it does not, especially those where it competes for semantic space with other cases. An inquiry into the reasons for the non-occurrence would no doubt shed important additional light on the dative's properties. Before, however, this ideal can be attained, we must fully explore primarily dative-bound constructions.

In order to show the correspondences between the conceptualizations associated with the dative and their formal expression, the network model proposed here presents the two dimensions jointly. Cases of ambivalence and indeterminacy thus come easily to the fore. Moreover, by including in the schematic descriptions information about the dative's designative base, the model automatically signals subtle differences in profiling.

3. The Polish dative: form, distribution, meaning

In this section we will take a brief look at the formal markers of the Polish dative and then examine the lexico-syntactic frames in which it occurs. These frames, together with broader contextual information, will provide a basis for identifying the semantic differences between the many dative uses.

For adherents to cognitive linguistics, the road has been partially cleared by Smith (1985, 1987, 1993), Wierzbicka ([1986] 1988), and Janda (1990, 1993). Within the space allotted here, however, a serious discussion of their proposals cannot be undertaken. Neither will it be possible to go into the rationale behind the many ways in which the present approach departs from theirs.[2]

3.1. Formal markers

The dative in Polish is marked by inflectional endings, which vary depending on the gender and number of the nouns to which they are attached and, in the case of feminine nouns, also on the nature of the stem-final consonant. In the singular, most masculine nouns take the *-owi* ending to express the dative. A few – often monosyllabic – take the *-u* ending, and those that end in *-a* in the nominative singular combine with the *-e* ending. Feminine nouns whose stems terminate in a hard consonant in the nominative singular require the *-e* ending in the dative singular; other feminine nouns take either the *-y* ending (if their stems end in a hardened consonant) or the *-i* ending (if their stems end in a soft consonant). Neuter nouns always combine with the *-u* ending in the dative singular. In the plural, all nouns, irrespective of their gender, express the dative by means of the *-om* ending. For further information, see Rudzka and Goczołowa (1981:273-297).

Table 1 brings together examples of the different categories. As they demonstrate, a dative ending can affect the quality of the preceding vowel and consonant.

No less intricate is the interaction of the dative with pronouns. Polish has developed a set of very complex pronominal categories whose members are inflected, thus giving rise to a whole array of dative forms, too numerous to be listed here. Their structural and functional properties are discussed in Rudzka and Goczołowa (1981).

	Singular		**Plural**
	Nominative	*Dative*	*Dative*
m a s c.	samochód 'car' ząb 'tooth' brat 'brother' kolega 'colleague'	samochod**owi** ząb**owi** brat**u** koled**ze**	samochod- ząb- braci- koleg-
f e m.	noga 'leg' noc 'night' ciocia 'aunt'	nod**ze** noc**y** cioc**i**	nog- noc- cioci-
n e u t.	jabłko 'apple' morze 'sea' słońce 'sun'	jabłk- morz- słońc- + **u**	jabłk- morz- słońc-
			+ **om**

Table 1

3.2. Lexico-syntactic frames and a broader context

3.2.1. Non-reflexive datives

3.2.1.1. Transitive constructions

Like its counterparts in other case-marked languages, the Polish dative exhibits a number of uses, the most typical of which involve ditransitive syntax. Szober (1963:351) identifies here the dative with the indirect object and characterizes its referent as "an entity because of which the given action takes place". We will return to the characterization at a later stage. At this point, it should be noted that a closer look at the semantics of the verbs and of the other arguments that occur in double-object constructions reveals a whole range of dative variants. The most central one, to which others can be related via various extension mechanisms, denotes a human experiencer, specifically a recipient of some object. The verb expresses physical transfer, the object transferred is concrete, and the initiator of the transfer is a human agent. Relevant examples are given below:

(1) *Jan* *dał/wręczył/posłał/przyniósł/* *jej* *książkę.*
John-N gave/handed/sent/brought/ her-D book-A
'John gave/handed/sent/brought her a book.'

Other typical combinations include verbs such as *podać* 'pass', *podarować* 'give as a present', *przekazać* 'transfer', *przywieźć* 'bring (by vehicle)', *dostarczyć* 'bring/supply with', and *rzucić* 'throw'. In each case, the referent of the dative/indirect object serves not only as the endpoint of the transfer but also as an entity that can be affected by it, that can react, mentally or physically, to whatever enters its 'domain of control' (see below for discussion). It is this dual role of an action's endpoint and an affectee (without being acted upon) that distinguishes many dative variants from accusatives. A typical referent of the accusative is also affected by the given action and often serves as its endpoint but, unlike a dative referent, it is (1) acted upon, and (2) its ability to react to the action's effects – even when objectively there – may be totally disregarded.

Correlated with these conceptual differences is the dative's/accusative's behavior with respect to passivization and negation. Unlike the accusative, the dative cannot become the subject of a passive clause. Polish equivalents of *He was given loads of money by the Ford Foundation* do not exist. One of the reasons is no doubt the conceptualization of the dative referent as somewhat external to and independent of what the nominative referent actually does with the accusative referent. This action-independent status also explains why the dative will never be replaced by the genitive case in negated clauses. As a matter of fact, all manifestations of the dative, unlike those of the accusative, remain unaffected by the use of negation. Compare in this respect example (2a) with (2b):

(2) a. *Daj to Ewie!*
give this-A Eve-D
'Give this to Eve!'

b. *Nie dawaj tego Ewie!*
not give this-G Eve-D
'Don't give this to Eve!'

Closely related to the dative prototype are codings of situations in which the acquisition of an object by the dative referent is contingent upon some other act, for instance that of creation, purchase, persistent searching, borrowing, hiring, renting, ordering, or reserving. Verbs that promote such codings include *zrobić* 'make', *przygotować* 'prepare', *zbudować* 'build', *uszyć* 'sew', *ugotować* 'cook', *upiec* 'bake', *usmażyć* 'fry', *kupić* 'buy', *sprzedać* 'sell', *zapłacić* 'pay', *zdobyć* 'manage to get/acquire', *złapać* 'catch', *zostawić w*

spadku 'bequeath', *pożyczyć* 'lend', *wynająć* 'rent/let', *zarezerwować* 'book/reserve', *zamówić* 'order/book/reserve', and others. Sentences (3)-(5) illustrate just a few of the many possibilities of using the dative with reference to acts of contingent acquisition:

(3) *Ania kupiła/sprzedała/pożyczyła Ewie tę książkę.*
Ann-N bought/sold/lent Eve-D this book-A
'Ann bought/sold/lent Eve this book.'

(4) *Kowalski wystawił synowi piękny dom.*
Mr. Kowalski-N built son-D beautiful house-A
'Mr. Kowalski built a beautiful house for his son.'

(5) *Wynajęliśmy/zarezerwowaliśmy wam pokój w centrum.*
rented-we/booked-we you-D PL room-A in center
'We have rented/booked a room for you in the center.'

As we move from examples (1) to (5), we notice that the objects acquired need not be displaced, and the concept of ACCESSIBILITY may suffice. This concept certainly comes to the fore when the objects are immobile. But even when mobile, they need not necessarily reach the recipient. The important thing is that they be INTENDED for the recipient, that they become transferrable or just available for use, and as such fall under his CONTROL. Since actual transfer as associated with the typical dative environment always presupposes an object's accessibility, a metonymic link can be established between this prototype and situations in which the transfer is only potential or outright impossible. Such metonymic linkage operates in other languages as well, but while in Polish it licenses the use of virtually *any* verb of acquisition in the ditransitive frame, in English, for instance, it applies to only a few classes of verbs, and then not always to all their members (cf. Goldberg 1992a, 1992b).

Further departures from the prototypical construal take us to dative referents with a more mental sphere of control. The objects "penetrating" this sphere become increasingly more abstract, and spatial accessibility gives way to perceptual and cognitive accessibility. What justifies such extensions is a manifest analogy with concrete objects transferred into the dative's physical environment. Again, there is an agent working upon or producing an entity which is meant to reach the dative referent; and the latter is the endpoint, temporary or ultimate, of the agent's undertaking. It serves as a "point of orienta-

tion" (cf. Van Hoecke and, for discussion, Rudzka-Ostyn 1992) for the whole undertaking. Among the many examples of perceptually and cognitively accessed endpoints are the following:

(6) *Pokazał dzieciom zabawki.*
showed-he children-D toys-A
'He showed the children the toys.' / 'He showed the toys to the children.'

(7) *Ewa coś mi szepnęła, ale nie pamiętam co.*
Eve-N sth-A me-D whispered but not remember-I what
'Eve whispered something to me, but I don't remember what.'

(8) *Jan napisał synowi, żeby przyjechał.*
John-N wrote son-D that-COND. (he should) come
'John wrote to his son that he should come.'

Particularly common here is a dative variant which codes recipients of information, although not of any kind. The way of presenting the information may also come to the fore (see ex. (7)), which distinguishes Polish from other languages, e.g. English. The verbs with which this variant combines include *mówić* 'speak/tell/say', *opowiedzieć* 'tell', *podpowiedzieć* 'prompt', *dać znać* 'let know', *kazać* 'tell/order', *donosić* 'report/let know', *oznajmiać* 'announce/tell', *zakomunikować* 'communicate/announce', *powtórzyć* 'repeat', *odpowiedzieć* 'answer', *obiecać* 'promise', *pozwolić* 'allow/permit', *odmówić* 'refuse', *radzić* 'advise', *życzyć* 'wish', *grozić* 'threaten', *napisać* 'write', *zabronić* 'forbid', *szeptać* 'whisper', and many others. Excluded from dative-bound constructions are verbs like *pytać* 'ask(=pose a question)', *prosić* 'ask (=request)', *błagać* 'beg', and *przekonać* 'convince', to mention just a few.[3]

As we continue to look through ditransitive constructions with the dative, we notice that it is possible to extend the accessibility schema into the domain of less perceptible experiences, often subjectively attributed to the recipients by someone who comments on the given state of affairs. By analogy with concrete objects which enter a recipient's physical environment, not only ideas brought to his awareness but also feelings and mental states attributed to him can all be conceptualized as entities that enter his mental domain of control. Polish has grammaticalized such conceptualizations, as is witnessed by the co-occurrence of the dative with verbs of attribution, causation, imposition and mental 'acquisition'. Whatever the dative referent is assumed

to experience is construed as coming to him from outside, even when the mental process is totally experiencer-internal, as in (10).[4]

(9) *Ortografia sprawia Jankowi dużo kłopotu.*
orthography-N causes Johnny-D much trouble-A
'Orthography causes Johnny a lot of trouble.'

(10) *Ich nagły wyjazd uświadomił nam całą grozę*
their sudden departure-N made aware us-D whole danger-A
sytuacji.
(of) situation-G
'Their sudden departure made us aware of the full danger of the situation.'

With examples (9)-(10) we are far away from the typical dative scenario; the nominative referents are non-human, the actions are thus non-volitional, and the entities brought to the dative referent's awareness are abstract. The dative referent as such is still human, though. But this does not have to be the case. Our data base provides numerous examples (27%) of non-human dative referents, and what remains of the prototypical situation is only the underlying organizational schema.

Interestingly enough, non-human datives often denote activities, as in (11)-(12):

(11) *Chcieli podporządkować świat grze sił politycznych.*
wanted-they subordinate world-A play-D of political forces
'They wanted to subordinate the world to the play of political forces.'

(12) *Poświęciłam czas pracy/studiom literackim.*
devoted-I time-A work-D /literary studies-D
'I devoted my time to work/to literary studies.'

In both cases the accusative referents are construed as being brought into the scope of these activities, very much by analogy with physical objects submitted to the control of human recipients. And, like the latter, the dative referents in (11)-(12) serve as ultimate landmarks for the agents' endeavors. For details on concepts that facilitate such analogies, see Van Langendonck and Van Belle (forthcoming).

Characteristically, all the ditransitive dative uses discussed so far profile situations in which the nominative referent is construed as the cause of the

relationship established between the accusative and the dative referent. The Polish dative is no less common in what we may call quasi-ditransitive constructions. These constructions profile actions revolving around objects that are already in the dative domain of control. The relationship between the accusative and the dative referents is thus *preexisting* and totally independent of the action initiated by the nominative agent. The endpoint of the objective action chain and energy flow is de facto the accusative referent; the dative referent becomes the endpoint-experiencer, often accidental, of whatever effect the action may produce, but then only via the link with the accusative referent. One of the dative subvariants here is an affectee-loser; another is still a semi-recipient but not of objects, whether concrete or abstract. Examples (13)-(14) provide an illustration of the latter.

(13) *Osoba ta* *sprząta* *nam* *mieszkanie.*
person this-N cleans us-D apartment-A
'This person cleans our apartment (for us).'

(14) *Jan* *naprawi* *Ewie* *radio.*
John-N will repair Eve-D (her) radio-A
'John will repair Eve's radio (for her).'

Superficially, (13)-(14) are like (1)-(3). There is a three-place verbal predicate, with two of its arguments functioning as objects. But do the dative-marked objects have the same status in both (13)-(14) and (1)-(3)? Students of Slavic have long noticed a difference, and to highlight it have distinguished between datives accorded indirect-object status and those functioning as "free datives". Relevant here is Janda's treatment of the Czech and Russian dative (1990, 1993). In examples equivalent to (1)-(3), the dative is said to function as an indirect object, whereas in those equivalent to (13)-(14) – as a "free dative". The latter is distinguished from the indirect object because it "acts as a free modifier that enters into a relationship with the sentence as a whole" and as such can often be deleted (1993:61) (cf. also Wegener (1985)). A 'true' indirect object, by contrast, is found to resist deletion.

The deletion test is not unproblematic, however. While, in some contexts, it may be easier to delete certain free datives than indirect objects of 'give' and related verbs,[5] it should be observed that such deletion often reflects a different construal of the given situation. Moreover, as Janda herself points out, many non-free datives – for instance those accompanying verbs of

communication – are also deletable. All this variation indicates that the indirect object is another prototype-based category. What distinguishes this category from free datives is, in Janda's view, the "independent status" of its members. *Independent status* "refers to the dative entity's potential agency, its inherent ability to function as a nominative in a further event chain by producing a subsequent action, be it physical, cognitive, or emotional" (1990: 272). There are two problems with this characterization: (a) it also fits many free datives and (b) it is partly applicable to non-datives as well. Other cases, too, code the ability to appear in the nominative (in subsequent discourse).

In the case of the free-dative category, Janda points to the notion of 'sphere of control' as its identifying characteristic. This notion is certainly of crucial importance here, but the present data base indicates that it is equally vital to the description of non-free datives. It should immediately be stressed that the concept of domain/sphere of control as it will be invoked in the present study is a relative notion. While it conforms to the conventions licensed by the language system, it is flexible enough to accommodate the conceptualizer's intention to include a non-conventional entity in the dative's domain of control. For instance, in Polish, body parts and alienably owned objects are conventionally included as part of such a domain, and in this respect Polish differs from languages that accord this status only to inalienable possessions. A speaker of Polish may, however, broaden this domain and include in it anything that can be related with the dative referent, either via physical proximity or any other associative link. From the vantage point of the encoder, the use of the dative becomes in fact a means of indicating that the agent or the undergoer is or will be in the dative's sphere of control.[6]

In view of the facts noted, we will relate the concept of domain of control not only to actual but also to would-be possessors and affectees. Moreover, we will abandon the free-dative/indirect-object dichotomy and subsume both under the rubric of 'oblique object'. Since all roles expressed by the dative case are formally marked, one may wonder whether we need the concept of oblique object at all. The answer is positive, and there are at least two reasons why this should be so. First, at the level of grammatical relations, we want to be able to distinguish subject and direct object from relations of lesser prominence. Note that this distinction correlates with specific coding possibilities and structural constraints. Unlike subjects or direct objects, oblique objects do not code central participants in canonical events. In Polish, moreover, they do not become subjects of passive clauses and the roles they express re-

main unaffected by the use of negation. The concept of oblique object captures thus important generalizations. Second, we need it because not all datives function as oblique objects. Some assume the role of adjectival or adverbial adjuncts.

Regarding examples (13)-(14), it is evident that the dative denotes not a prospective but an actual possessor or controller, which is also borne out by the translation equivalents (note the possessive pronouns in English). Because the given object is already in the dative's sphere of control, the dative referent obviously cannot be viewed as recipient of this object. What then is received, and can the dative still be described as 'recipient'? At first glance, the addition of the dative does not seem to augment the action chain as it did in the more prototypical uses of the ditransitive construction. On the other hand, the dative referent is clearly construed as bearing the effect of the given action, and, as in all the other cases, the effect does not precede but follows the action. Instructive here is the contrast between (13) and (15).

(15) *Osoba ta sprząta ich mieszkanie.*
person this-N cleans their apartment-A
'This person cleans their apartment.'

While in (15) only the possessive relation is foregrounded, in (13)-(14) this relation is conflated with the notion of an experiencer-recipient.

Other common instantances of such conceptual conflation are *pomalować/wyremontować komuś mieszkanie* 'paint/renovate sb's apartment/an apartment for sb', *umyć komuś auto* 'wash sb's car/a car for sb', *wyprać komuś koszulę* 'wash sb's shirt/a shirt for sb', *wyczyścić komuś buty* 'clean/polish sb's shoes/shoes for sb', *wyprasować komuś sukienkę* 'iron sb's dress/a dress for sb', *zbadać komuś oczy* 'examine sb's eyes', *zaplombować komuś zęby* 'fill sb's teeth', *podciąć komuś włosy* 'clip sb's hair', or *poprawić komuś błędy* 'correct sb's mistakes',[7] where *komuś* is the dative form of the pronoun corresponding to *somebody*. As already mentioned, it makes no difference whether the object acted upon is possessed by the dative referent in an alienable or inalienable fashion. It may even be within his reach temporarily and by chance, like the door in *otworzyć komuś drzwi* 'open the door for sb'.[8] What matters is that by acting upon it some benefit is obtained for the dative referent.

As actions and events can have adverse effects on people, one should also expect dative nominals to code recipients of such effects. And indeed,

Polish furnishes numerous examples of what Croft (1991:185) calls 'malefactives'. The referent of the direct (accusative) object is either damaged, injured, or mentally harmed, in which case the agent's disservice to the experiencer-recipient acquires prominence. This variant of the dative,[9] illustrated in (16)-(17), may thus be seen as an antonym of the one discussed above.

(16) *Lokatorzy poniszczyli nam meble.*
tenants-N damaged us-D furniture-A
'Tenants damaged our furniture.'

(17) *Jan uwiódł Kowalskiemu córkę.*
John-N seduced (Mr.)Kowalski-D daughter-A
'John seduced Mr. Kowalski's daughter.'

Unlike, for instance, its Russian equivalent (cf. Janda 1993), the Polish dative can code situations in which the object acted upon leaves the dative's domain of control. Vis-à-vis this object, the dative referent is a loser, an antonym of the beneficiaries as represented by (1)-(5). At the same time, however, this referent is a recipient of the action's effect, and the latter need not be evaluated negatively. In example (18) below, the loss of the tumor will be seen as positive. In the majority of cases, however, the action affecting the dative referent carries negative value judgments.

(18) *Usunęli jej nowotwór.*
removed-they her-D tumor-A
'They removed her tumor.'

(19) *Hitlerowcy zabili mu żonę.*
Nazis-N killed him-D wife-A
'The Nazis killed his wife.'

Also included in this category are *zamordować komuś ojca* 'murder sb's father', *skonfiskować komuś towar* 'confiscate sb's merchandise', *ukraść komuś coś* 'steal sth from sb', *odebrać komuś prawo jazdy/pieniądze/stypendium* 'take away sb's driving license/money/scholarship', *wybić komuś zęby* 'knock out sb's teeth', or *zagrabić komuś majątek* 'seize sb's property'. As the examples demonstrate, the experiencer becomes in fact a loser, not a beneficiary. But with regard to the **effect** of the action, he is construed as a recipient.

The same construal pattern is applicable to more abstract phenomena such as acts of forgiveness and absolution, as illustrated by these well-known lines:

(20) *Miłość ci wszystko wybaczy.*
love-N you-D everything-A forgive
'Love will forgive you everything.'

(21) *I odpuść nam nasze winy.*
and absolve us-D (from) our trespasses-A
'And forgive us our trespasses.'

Under normal circumstances, a person is held responsible for his deeds. His sins and mistakes are seen as a part of his domain of control, a part that may cause discomfort, pain, or a sense of guilt, and thus be a burden to him. Through an act of forgiveness the wrong-doer is supposed to be freed from this burden. An obvious analogy with concrete objects taken away from a dative referent is at work here, but to detect it, it is necessary to take into account all that we associate with such acts.

While forgiveness is meant to liberate a person from something negative, envy and jealousy evoke situations in which someone would like to appropriate the good, whatever it may be, belonging to someone else. The act of appropriation is only intentional, yet because it follows the same organizational schema as real acts of appropriation, the use of the dative case is fully justified. The only difference between the dative referent in (22) below and that illustrated in (19) is that the former is an imaginary rather than an actual loser.

(22) *Ludzie zazdrościli mu bogactwa.*
people-N envied him-D wealth-G
'People envied him his wealth/riches.'

Examples with recipients of negative effects call in question the definition of the dative proposed in the literature. Several linguists working on the dative and its various manifestations in different languages have identified its referent as 'the one for whom or to whom an action takes place' (see e.g. Szober's definition above, Diver (1982), or Halliday (1985)). Diver (op. cit.: 25) identifies some variants of the Latin dative as motivators of the given actions. You do certain things for/to someone because he is there, because he and you are part of some interactive chain. Note, however, that when the

dative referent is a loser and, in general, a malefactive, he is often an *unintended* experiencer of the action's effects. In a situation coded by, for instance, *Złodzieje ukradli nam auto* (lit. thieves-N stole (from) us-D car) 'Thieves stole our car', the theft was intentional, but it was not motivated by *our* existence, but by the existence of the car. In all probability, the thieves stole because they wanted the car, not because they wanted to affect us in any particular way. The effect experienced by us was an accidental by-product of the action. While the motivating role of the dative holds for prototypical variants of the category, it certainly cannot be attributed to the more peripheral ones. Once we go beyond the prototype, the dative often expresses unintended affective endpoints.

In the examples discussed so far, the dative combines with a direct object in the accusative (or in the genitive when the sentence is negated), so the syntactic framing is the same. But the relation of the dative vis-à-vis the accusative/genitive may change, which has semantic consequences. At a certain level of abstraction, all the dative variants presented in (1)-(10) code a receiver of some entity, which the nominative referent makes accessible. At a more specific level, these variants can be differentiated further with respect to the nature of the given entity and the mode of rendering it accessible. In turn, the variants illustrated by (13)-(19) code an experiencer-receiver of the effects, sometimes unintended, of the action instigated by the nominative referent. The action involves an entity that is already in the dative's sphere of control, and, by contrast with the first grouping, which coded recipients of primarily positive things, the effect here may be either positive or negative. The division is not strict, however, as certain extended uses of the dative demonstrate (cf. ex. (9)).

Figure 1 (see p. 356) brings together the different [+human] variants of the dative. Solid arrows symbolize schematicity, interrupted-line arrows symbolize any type of extension, including metonymy and antonymy, and heavy lines indicate prototypical values. Sequences of three dots within the boxes indicate an incomplete legend whereas those outside the boxes point to categories that could be added to the network. We enclose the term *recipient* (box C2) in parentheses for readers who do not accept it in reference to experiencers of an action's effects. The term *landmark* (box A1) is used in its very abstract sense of 'point of reference'. This sense is the only one that certain variants of the Polish dative retain, as will become apparent in subsequent sections.

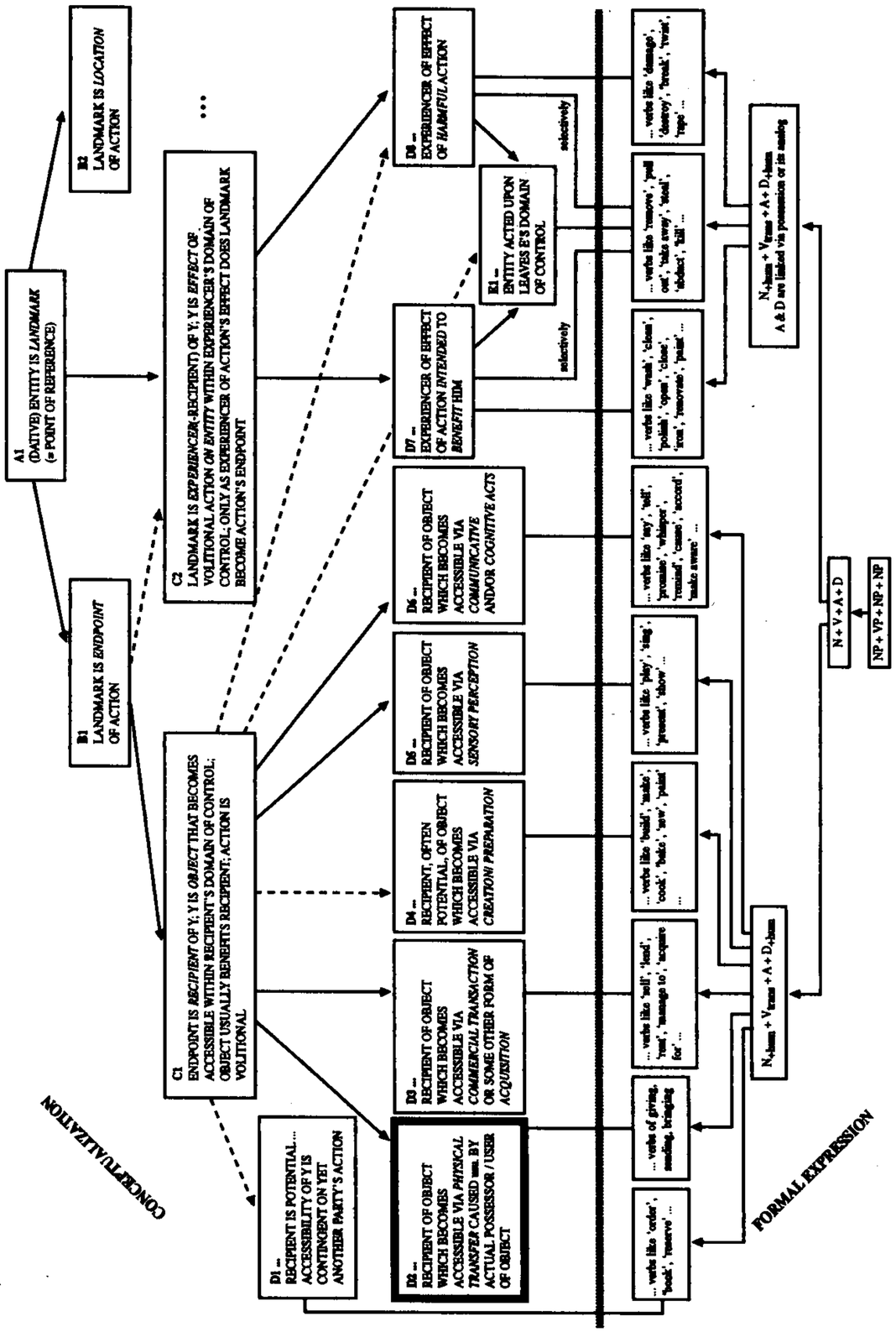


Figure 1: Datives in transitive constructions

The descriptions provided in the CONCEPTUALIZATION boxes are meant to outline, at different levels of abstraction, the events coded by the ditransitive or quasi-ditransitive construction with a dative nominal. Obviously, the network does not offer a definition of the semantics of transitively used datives but provides a basis for an adequate description – an issue to which we will return in the final section. For fear of overloading the figure, we do not represent all the links between the schemata and their content units, in particular those that involve meaning extension. It should therefore be noted that any meaning emerging at a higher level of abstraction is in fact an extension – via concept suspension – with respect to those that elaborate it in greater detail. Thus, meaning A1 is an extension of B1, C1 and C2 as well as of D2, D3, and the like. Somewhat different extension mechanisms link B1 and C2. The latter pertains to experiencers that become actions' endpoints only via their relationship, possessive or otherwise, to the entities acted upon. They are indirect endpoints, and as such are extensions of schema B1 which represents direct endpoints. What we witness here is an imperfect conceptual fit. Other types of extension exhibited by the given dative variants involve metonymy and antonymy. A metonymic relationship combined with an imperfect fit holds between C1, which generalizes over actual recipients, and D1 and D4, both of which represent potential recipients. In turn, D8 is an antonym of C1 and D7 with regard to the concept of benefit, and E1 is an antonym of C1 and most of its instantiations with respect to the concept of accessibility. As D8 and E1 often relate to unintended experiencers-endpoints, they may be seen as antonyms of C1 which represents intended endpoints.

3.2.1.2. Quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions

So far we have looked at occurrences of the dative in what can be broadly described as the ditransitive frame. The dative is no less common in a reduced variant of this frame which involves verbs such as *gotować* 'cook', *sprzątać* 'clean/dust', and *prasować* 'iron' as well as certain verbs of linguistic and non-linguistic communication. Janda (1990, 1993) treats such constructions as metonymic extensions of the ditransitive syntax, and Talmy (1985) speaks in this context of 'conflation'. In each case, the direct object is not mentioned explicitly, but it can be inferred from the meaning of the verb.

As in the prototypical construals, the dative referent coded by 'conflated' constructions is affected by a volitional action; on the other hand he is a recipient of the action's effect rather than of an object, and as such comes closer to the less typical variants. A good example of this ambivalence is (23).

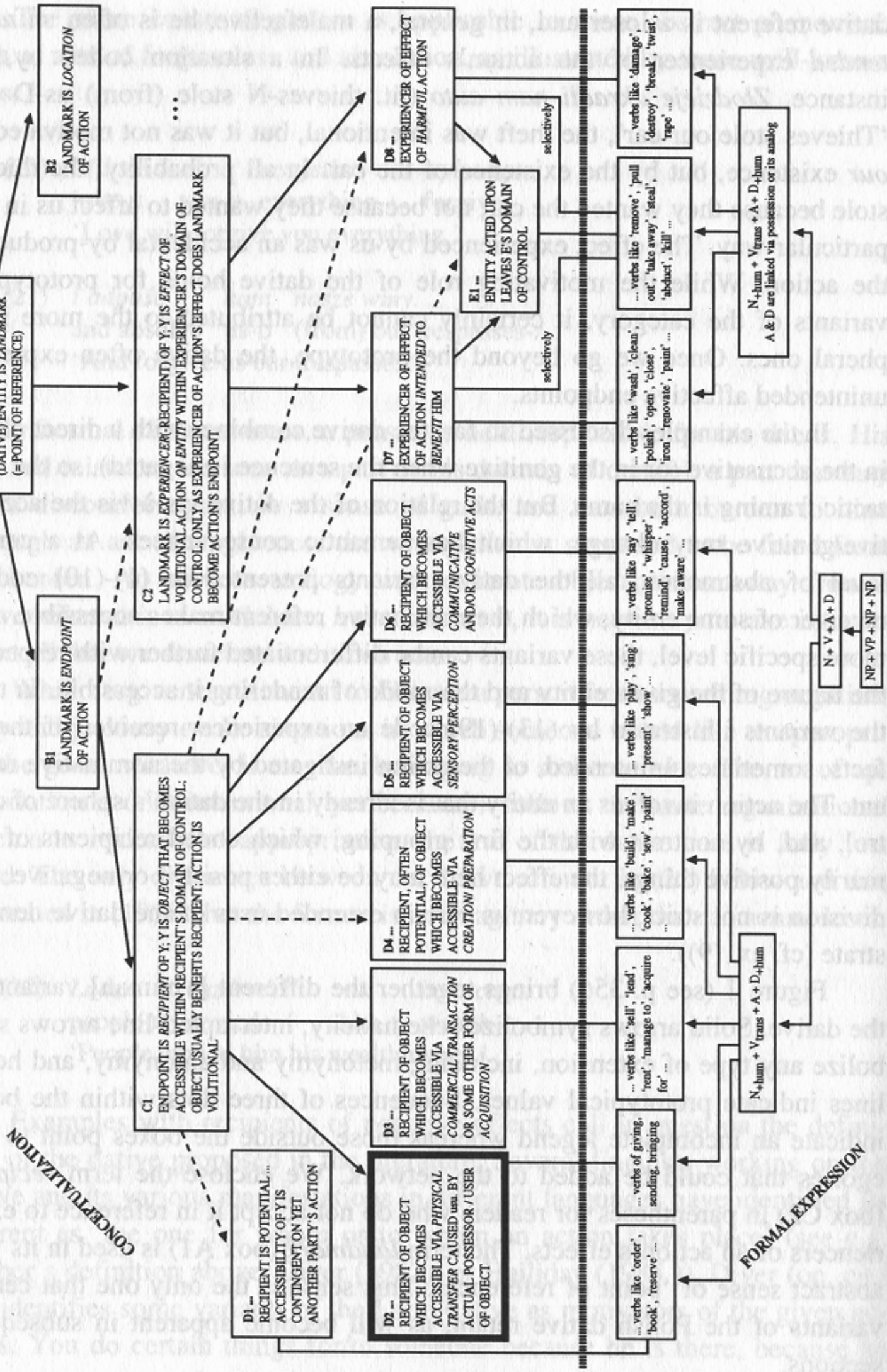


Figure 1: Datives in transitive constructions

(23) *Mimo podeszłego wieku, Marysia im gotuje, pierze i sprząta.*
despite advanced age Mary-N them-D cooks, launders and cleans
'Despite her advanced age, Mary cooks for them and does their laundry and cleaning.'

Volitionality also comes into the picture with a class of verbs which are primarily two-place predicates. As these dative-governing verbs do not combine with objects in the accusative, Heinz (1965) and others treat them as intransitive. The most common are *pomagać* 'help', *służyć* 'serve', *szkodzić* '(do) harm', *przyglądać się* 'look at attentively/observe', *przysłuchiwać się* 'listen to', *dziwić się* 'be surprised, wonder at', *wierzyć* 'believe', and *ufać* 'trust'. We label them as 'quasi-transitive' to mark their departure from both true transitives and intransitives. Their only link with the former is the *direct* relationship between the referents of their arguments. Here are a few illustrations:

(24) *Ewa pomagała/wierzyła/ufała tym ludziom.*
Eve-N helped/believed/trusted these people-D
'Eve helped/believed/trusted these people.'

(25) *Policjant przyglądał mi się podejrzliwie.*
policeman-N looked at/observed me-D ref. suspiciously
'The policeman looked at me with suspicion.'

In all of them, the dative referent is the object towards which the nominative's activity or just attention is directed. Even when human, the referent need not necessarily be aware of what is going on, in which case the concept of experiencer loses its applicability.

Other common dative-bound constructions involve verbs which express the concept of submission, domination, resistance, contradiction, correspondence, and equality, or the state of being good/bad for. An important question that arises here is what exactly motivates the use of dative-marked nominals with these classes of verbs. Further queries concern the nature of the dative referents. Although possible with human referents, the majority of datives in this category pick out non-human referents, specifically principles and laws, values and attitudes, as well as force-dynamic processes and actions. Why? What is the rationale behind it? These and related questions will be addressed in Van Langendonck and Van Belle (forthcoming).

While in many of the cases mentioned above the meaning of the verb may be metaphorically construed as force-dynamic, Polish allows the dative case with verbs totally void of any concept of transitivity. The use of this case marker signals in fact that the given process or state involves entities related to the dative referent one way or another, and consequently this referent can be construed as affected by what happens to them. The processes and states are usually accidental and assumed to be beyond his control. The use of reflexive predicates (see (28) below) reinforces the notion of pure accident and is often exploited by speakers to disclaim any responsibility. The underlying schema is similar to that evoked by (23); but while in (23) the action is intentional, examples (26)-(30) exclude any concept of volitional involvement.

(26) *Dzieci im często chorują/zdrowo rosną.*
children-N them-D often are being sick/healhily grow
'Their children are often sick / are growing up well.'

(27) *Ewie zdrętwiały ręce.*
Eve-D grew numb hands-N
'Eve's hands grew numb.'

(28) *Sąsiadowi zepsuło się auto.*
neighbor-D broke down ref. car
'Our neighbor's car broke down.'

The experience attributed to the dative referent may involve either loss or acquisition of the given entities. Compare in this respect examples (29)-(30) with (31). As in (26) above, the experience itself may be negative or positive, contrary to Wierzbicka's (1988:405) claim that in such a type of construction the event coded is necessarily bad. This axiological antonymy shows again that the descriptive parameters intersect, and that there is no strict dividing line between the dative submeanings.

(29) *Zgubiły mi się rękawiczki.*
got lost me-D ref. gloves-N
'I lost my gloves.' (lit. My gloves got lost.)

(30) *Ani umarła babcia.*
Ann-D died granny-N
'Ann's granny died.' / 'Ann lost her granny.'

(31) *Goście nam się zwalili.*
visitors-N us-D ref. arrived/descended
'Visitors descended upon us.'

Example (31) contradicts Wierzbicka's (1988:394) observation that the Polish dative does not accommodate "spontaneous" acquisitions. There are other problems with Wierzbicka's generalizations as Bacz (1991) correctly points out. However, her criticism of Wierzbicka's position on the dynamic character of the Polish dative is not fully justified. On the basis of examples like the following:

(32) *Coś mi źle dziś wyglądasz.*
somehow me-D bad today look-you
'You are looking bad today, it seems to me.' (Bacz op. cit.:10)

Bacz takes issue with Wierzbicka's (1988:397) statement that the Polish dative "seems to always imply a change, or a possibility of change". Indeed, the objective situation to which the verb *wyglądać* refers is as static as can be. However, by using the dative form *mi*, the speaker can bring in the concept of directionality and construe the static situation as if it were affecting the dative referent. This is where the impression of dynamism comes from, which, again, does not mean that Wierzbicka is totally right. In the following sections, we will see examples of peripheral dative variants which do not express any notion of change and directionality whatsoever.

Nevertheless, the tendency to construe an objectively static scene as dynamic is very strong in Polish. Another of its manifestations is the use of the dative with copulas. Interestingly, the same possibility existed in Latin, as the expression *Homo homini lupus (est)* demonstrates.

(33) *Pani Czapska była im prawdziwą matką.*
Mrs. Czapska-N was them-D true mother-I
'Mrs. Czapska was (like) a true mother to them.'

Copular clauses[10] like (33) highlight the capacity in which the nominative referent is seen to relate to others. In Polish, this capacity is epitomized by the instrumental. In its function as a nominal predicate, the instrumental is asymmetrically related to the nominative. The verb *być* 'to be' designates no transfer in any physical sense of the word; but the speaker can exploit the asymmetry that the verb supports to create an impression of transfer, and attribute its effects to the dative referent.

Another type of copular construction involves adjectives/participles used predicatively. In this case the adjectival predicate specifies the relation holding between the nominative and dative referents. The latter emerge as experiencers, or simply targets-reference points, depending on their inherent properties as well as the nature of the relationship. Examples (34)-(35) bring out the relevant differences.

(34) *Zaściankowość miasteczka była mi nieznośna.*
parochialism-N little town-G was me-D unbearable
'The parochial character of the little town was unbearable to me.'

(35) *Pojęcie to bliskie jest fenomenologii.*
concept/idea-N this close is (to) phenomenology-D
'This concept/idea comes close to phenomenological thinking.'

Note that such adjectival predicates operate on concepts associated with other dative-oriented constructions. We will take a brief look at the semantics of these adjectives in the section devoted to their non-predicative uses.

One final construction to be presented here derives from imperatives via copula deletion. It is confined to a set of more or less fixed expressions used primarily to laud, praise, or bestow blessings, and is thus particularly common in the context of religious ritual. Compare in this respect (37)-(38) with example (36).

(36) *Bogu niech będą dzięki.*
(to) God-D let be thanks-N
'Thanks be to God.'

(37) *Chwała tobie!*
glory-N (to) you-D
'Glory to you!'

(38) *Pokój temu domowi i wszystkim w nim mieszkającym.*
peace-N (to) this house-D and all-D in it living
'Peace be with this house and with all who live in it!'

Although only (36) retains a copula, in all three examples the dative referent is construed as the recipient or target towards whom/which some value is

directed, very much as in the case of other dative variants.

Figure 2 presents the most important construals discussed in this section. We notice an even more complex and differentiated interplay of conceptual clusters than in the case of the ditransitive frame. The dative variants captured by Figure 2 may code direct as well as indirect endpoints (compare C3 with C4 and C5); experiencers of actions' effects but also recipients of objects (compare C3 and C6 with C5); recipients but also losers (compare C5 with E1); experiencers of positive or negative effects (compare D9 with D10 and D11); intended or accidental experiencers (compare D9 with D10); and endpoints which do not become experiencers in certain contexts (see C4). Again, metonymic and antonymic mechanisms manifest themselves; and when the dative referents are non-human, metaphoric extension takes place. Such referents are easily accommodated by the frames linked with schemata C4, D12 and D14. In fact, D12 and D14 are as common with human as with non-human entities (hence the feature [+hum] has been omitted from the relevant boxes).

3.2.1.3. Constructions with dative-governing adjectives and nouns

A number of adjectives and adjectival participles in Polish take nominals in the dative case as their complements. They include *wierny* 'faithful', *życzliwy* 'friendly/well-disposed', *pomocny* 'helpful', *posłuszny* 'obedient', *(nie) przyjazny* '(un)friendly', *niechętny* 'ill-disposed', *wrogi* 'hostile', *przeciwny* 'opposed', and the like.

Most of these items express a tendency to serve or harm, or to obey or defy. As is evident, attitudes as well as services and disservices are normally directed towards someone or something. They need a recipient or just a goal, and this is precisely what the dative case can provide. In the examples that follow, the dative referent does not always function as a recipient, real or potential, of the attitude expressed by the adjectival component. In (39b, c) and (41), for instance, the concept of recipient is suspended. What remains is the notion of a locus, a point of reference with which the given attitude can be linked.

(39) *wierny* *a) przyjaciołom/* *b) prawdzie/* *c) sprawie*
faithful a) friends-D/ b) truth-D c) cause-D
'faithful to friends/the truth/the cause'

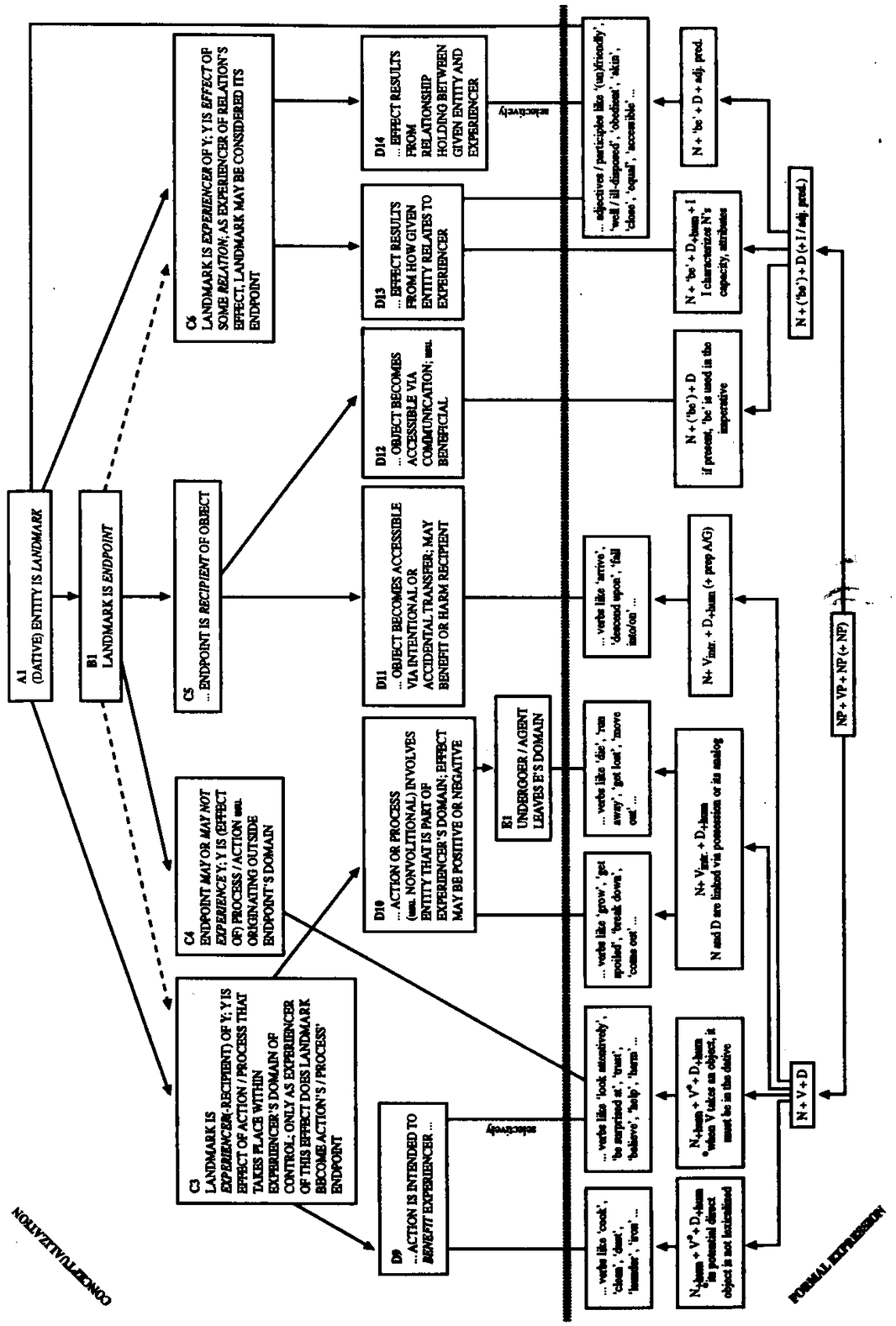


Figure 2: Datives in quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions

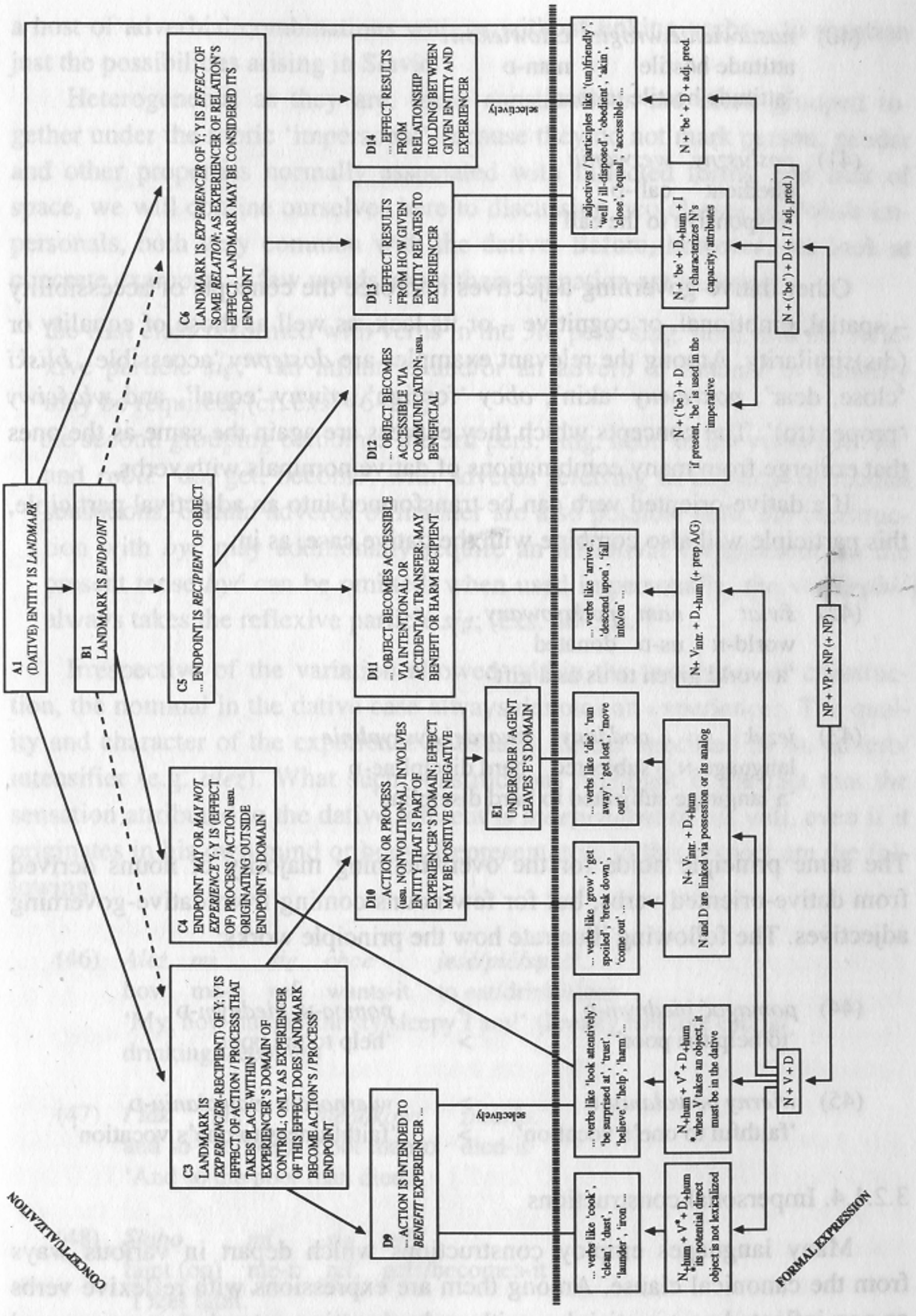


Figure 2: Datives in quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions

(40) *nastawienie wrogie człowiekowi*
attitude hostile man-D
'attitude hostile to man'

(41) *posłuszny wezwaniu*
obedient call-D
'responsive to the call'

Other dative-governing adjectives reinforce the concepts of accessibility – spatial, emotional, or cognitive – or its lack, as well as those of equality or (dis)similarity. Among the relevant examples are *dostępny* 'accessible', *bliski* 'close, dear', *pokrewny* 'akin', *obcy* 'foreign', *równy* 'equal', and *właściwy* 'proper (to)'. The concepts which they express are again the same as the ones that ermerge from many combinations of dative nominals with verbs.

If a dative-oriented verb can be transformed into an adjectival participle, this participle will also combine with the dative case, as in:

(42) *świat nam podarowany*
world-N us-D donated
'a world given to us as a gift'

(43) *język poddany twardej dyscyplinie*
language-N subjected hard discipline-D
'a language subjected to hard discipline'

The same principle holds for the overwhelming majority of nouns derived from dative-oriented verbs, but for few nouns coming from dative-governing adjectives. The following illustrate how the principle works:

(44) *pomagać biednym*-D > *pomoc*-N *biednym*-D
'to help the poor' > 'help to the poor'

(45) *wierny powołaniu*-D > *wierność*-N *powołaniu*-D
'faithful to one's vocation' > 'faithfulness to one's vocation'

3.2.1.4. Impersonal constructions

Many languages employ constructions which depart in various ways from the canonical clause. Among them are expressions with reflexive verbs or non-inflected past participles, with verbs denoting natural phenomena, and

a host of adverbial combinations with or without linking verbs – to mention just the possibilities arising in Slavic.

Heterogeneous as they are, these constructions are often grouped together under the rubric 'impersonal' because they do not mark person, gender and other properties normally associated with inflected forms. For lack of space, we will confine ourselves here to discussing two classes of Polish impersonals, both very common with the dative. Before, however, we look at concrete examples, a few words about their formation are in order:

- the first class is formed with verbs in the 3rd pers. sing. neut. and the reflexive particle *się*;[11] an infinitive and/or an adverb of manner or quantity may be required; (cf. exs. 46-47);
- the second grouping combines the 3rd pers. sing. neut. of the verbs *być* 'be' and *robić* 'do, get, become' with adverbs referring to physical or mental sensations; certain adverbs of manner are also possible here; the construction with *być* may additionally require an infinitival complement; in the present tense *być* can be omitted; when used impersonally, the verb *robić* always takes the reflexive particle *się*; (exs. 48-50).[12]

Irrespective of the variation allowed within the two types of construction, the nominal in the dative case always denotes an experiencer. The quality and character of the experience is usually further specified by an adverb/intensifier (e.g. *ależ*). What such constructions highlight is the fact that the sensation attributed to the dative referent is *independent* of his will, even if it originates in his own mind or body. Representative in this respect are the following:

(46) *Ależ mi się chce jeść/pić/spać!*
how me-D ref. wants-it to eat/drink/sleep
'My, how hungry/thirsty/sleepy I am!' (I really feel like eating/drinking/sleeping.)

(47) *I tak się biedakowi zmarło.*
and so ref.(on) poor man-D died-it
'And so the poor man died.'

(48) *Słabo mi się robi.*
faint (on) me-D ref. gets/becomes-it
'I feel faint.'

(49) *Dieciom* *bardzo smutno/przykro/zimno.*
(on) children-D very sad/sorry/cold
'The children feel very sad/sorry. / The children are very cold.'

(50) *Łatwo* *(jest) Ewie* *gadać,* *bo nie o nią chodzi.*
easy (is) (on) Eve-D to talk because it does not concern her
'It is easy for Eve to talk since she is not involved / because it doesn't concern her.'

When commenting on similar cases, Wierzbicka (1988:229f.) claims that because the dative referent is conceptualized as "affected by something about himself, not by something about another entity", no transitive construals are possible; "the verb has to be intransitive or used intransitively (no direct object can be mentioned)". Yet, as (51)-(52) demonstrate, examples of impersonals with direct objects do occur:

(51) *Tę książkę* *pisało* *mi* *się* *ciężko.*
this book-A wrote-it (to) me-D ref. hard
'I wrote this book with difficulty.'

(52) *Marysia* *mówi,* *że* *dobrze* *jej* *się* *szyje*
Mary-N says that well (to) her-D ref. sews-it
bluzki *z jedwabiu.*
blouses-A from silk
'Mary says that making/sewing blouses of silk is easy for her.'

Whether the dative referent is affected by a static condition, an intransitive process, or a transitive one, the choice of the impersonal construction allows the language user to disregard their cause /instigator and construe them as just happening to the dative referent. Although in reality the referent may be the locus or even executor of the given process, it is his role as involuntary affectee that matters and comes to the fore.

Less evident is the grammatical status of datives that code such involuntary experiencers. Croft (1991:22) describes some of their Russian counterparts (e.g. in *Mne* [me 1st SING. DAT.] *nado* [OBLIG] *ujti* [leave INF] 'I have to leave') as "dative (experiencer) subjects". Heinz (1965:68), on the other hand, treats examples similar to (46)-(47) as subjectless, and assigns the dative only the status of "logical subject". But, then, how does one recognize a "logical" subject? What exactly are its properties? If we identify it with the

figure of the relation profiled by the clause, it is not clear that the datives here indeed code figures. Like other dative variants, they allow the speaker to relate the activity or state expressed by the impersonal construction to a particular experiencer. Yet this is precisely where the role of landmark comes in. Although Heinz (1965:67f.) attributes to impersonal datives logical-subject status, he classifies them as "adverbial", so he too recognizes their landmark properties. On the other hand, they all denote human beings, and as such become quite salient. They can, moreover, express discourse topics (cf. Bachman (1980), cited by Janda (1993:210 n.90)). Since, however, non-subjects also assume the role of discourse topics, Bachman's test yields inconclusive results.

Leaving the discussion of all the pros and cons for another occasion, it seems that the datives in impersonal constructions are best viewed as oblique elements.They appear to mark the border between oblique objects and adverbials, but reliable tests in support of this classification have yet to be worked out. Their position within the dative network may be tentatively represented as in Figure 3 (see p. 368).

3.2.1.5. Discourse-mobilizing datives

A very different concept of experiencer is evoked by dative nominals when speakers use them to establish an explicit link between their utterances and their interlocutors. In this function, the dative comes close to what Lamiroy and Swiggers (1993) identify as mobilizing devices; like e.g. imperatives or interjections, the dative signals here the speaker's intention to activate the addressee's involvement in the speech act. This intention is further reinforced by the use of intensifiers (e.g. *ale* 'how (much)'). Consider the following examples:

(53) *Ale* *ci* *się* *dziś* *Janek* *wygłupił!*
how you-D (=addressee) ref. today John-N played the fool
'If you knew what a fool John made of himself today!'

(54) *Ania* *znowu* *ci* *im* *zrobiła kawał!*
Ann-N again you-D (=addressee) them-D made trick-A
'Hey, Ann again played a trick on them!'

This variant is limited to face-to-face conversation or a discourse type (e.g. informal letters) suggesting direct contact. Formal address forms like

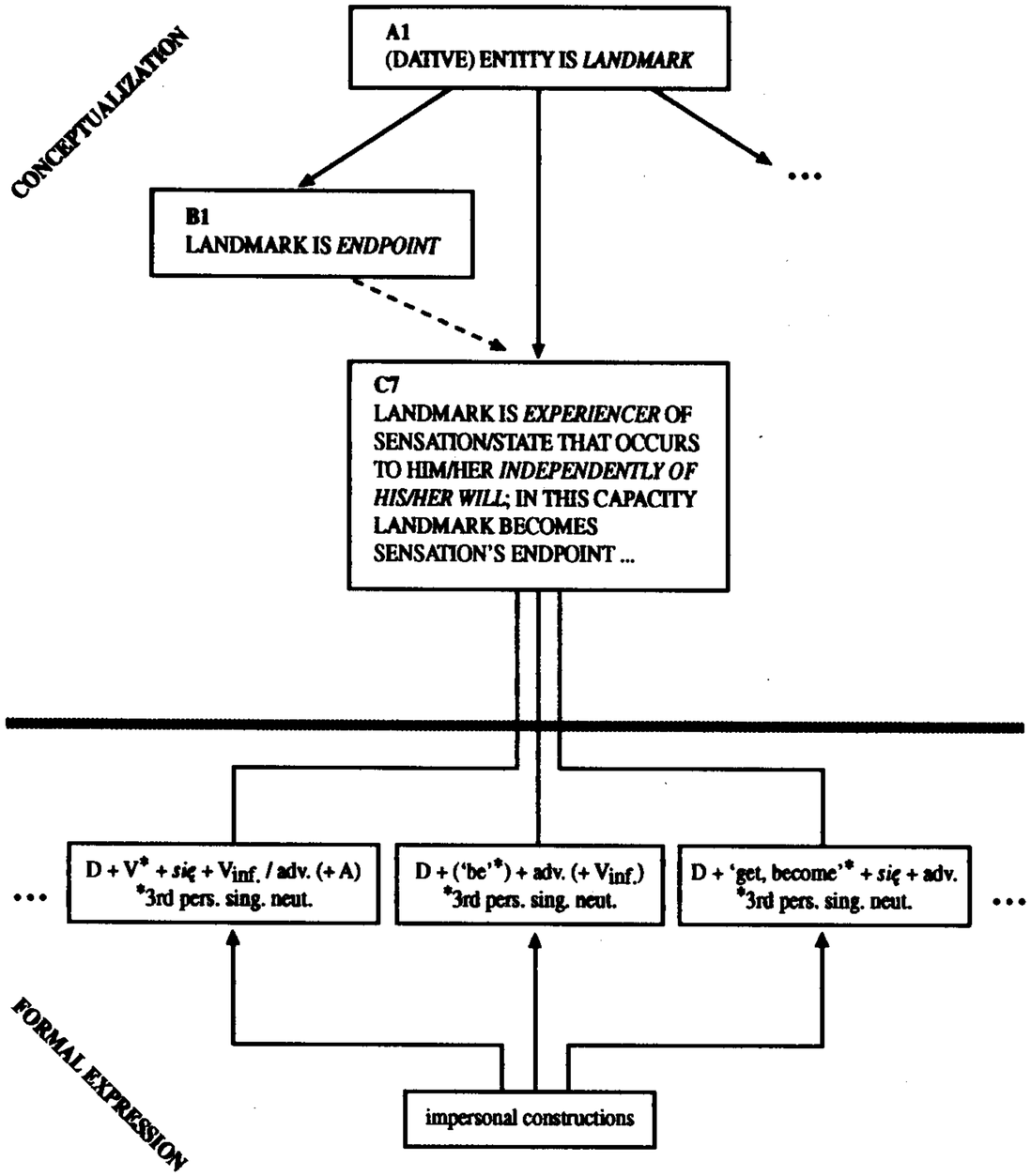


Figure 3: Datives in impersonal constructions

pani 'Mrs' or *pan* 'Mr', otherwise so common in Polish, do not occur in this construction as they would clash with the relationship of intimacy projected. This intimacy licenses the speaker's attempt to link his report directly to the hearer. Normally speech-act participants remain "off-stage", to use Langacker's term (1985), and when they are explicitly mentioned, i.e. put "on stage", there must be reasons for it. Here the reason is a desire to activate the interlocutor's interest in the events reported and to signal the comradeship obtaining between speaker and hearer. Again the choice of the dative marking, rather than any other case form, is entirely in keeping with the addressee serving as the prime recipient of the utterance. What we witness here is a peculiar intersection of the event situation and the actual speech-act situation, which may manifest itself also in the possibility of using two datives in the same sentence. In (54) above, *ci* refers to the actual addressee whereas *im* belongs to the event world, specifically the people affected by Ann's trick.

While the datives illustrated above mobilize the addressee, other extended uses of the dative express attempts to involve both speaker and addressee in the given event, in which case the pronoun *nam* 'us' is used. Still further extensions focus on the speaker alone. By inserting into his utterance *mi* 'me', a pronoun referring specifically to himself, the speaker relates the event described to the actual speech act. The underlying schema is similar to the one proposed above except that the focus is now on the speaker; the given event is presented as part of his, not the addressee's, domain of control. Consequently, he can exploit the dative form to express his emotional state vis-à-vis the event. As example (55) demonstrates, such extended uses of the dative combine with imperatives and usually carry overtones of disapproval.

(55) *Tylko mi nie chodź do Kowalskich!*
only me-D not go-you to the Kowalskis
'Don't you dare go to the Kowalskis!'

3.2.2. Reflexive datives

A different type of dative uses involves reflexivization. Many of them have already been presented in Rudzka-Ostyn (1992), others, notably those conveying reciprocity, are still to be investigated. Due to limitations of space, we will discuss here only the most important characteristics of the reflexive dative variants. Their interaction with prepositions will be illustrated in section 3.2.3.

3.2.2.1. Non-reciprocal *sobie*

In both spoken and written Polish, reflexive uses of the dative (henceforth 'reflexive datives') are expressed by the pronoun *sobie*, which does not inflect for person, gender and number. In some dialects, and occasionally in very informal speech, the shorter form *se* can be used.

a) Transitive constructions

As expected, reflexive datives differ from other manifestations of this case. The very presence of the reflexive makes all the difference. While it constrains heavily the coding of certain construals, it opens up possibilities for many new ones. For obvious reasons, *sobie* does not combine with verbs which express actual possession or use; the verbs must be related to acts of acquisition, and then it does not matter whether they involve physical transfer, commercial transations or creation. In all these cases *sobie* can be used, as the following demonstrate:

(56) *Przyniósł sobie skrzynkę piwa.*
brought-he self-D crate-A beer-G
'He brought himself a crate of beer. / He brought a crate of beer for himself.'

(57) *Moja siostra kupiła/pożyczyła/zdobyła sobie tę książkę.*
my sister-N bought/borrowed/managed to get self-D this book-A
'My sister bought /managed to get herself this book // borrowed this book for herself.'

(58) *Uszyłam sobie sukienkę.*
sewed-I self-D dress-A
'I made myself a dress.'

The ditransitive frame can be further extended into the domains of perception, cognition, and, with lesser ease, communication. The referent of *sobie* now becomes a recipient of perceptual impressions, mental images, new awareness, and attributes, which do not have to be experienced objectively, however. He may be simply construed as such a recipient by an event-external conceptualizer/reporter. Once more the use of the ditransitive syntax activates an analogy with physical transfer, allowing the reporter to present the dative referent as the endpoint of the given process. Here are just two illustrations of the many ways in which the ditransitive frame can be extended:

(59) *Matka przysporzyła sobie samych kłopotów.*
mother-N caused self-D only troubles/worries-D
'Mother caused only trouble/worries for herself.'

(60) *Ojciec wreszcie przypomniał sobie jej nazwisko.*
father-N finally recalled-he self-D her name-A
'Father finally remembered her name.'

Not infrequently a particular variant of the reflexive dative lends itself to two or more different interpretations. In (60), for instance, the referent of *sobie* may be the father as recipient of the name retrieved from memory or his mental domain of control, in which case *sobie* approaches certain expressive variants of the dative (cf. section c) below). Also combinations with verbs of creation or movement can be ambivalent, though in slightly different ways. For instance, *sobie* in *malować sobie coś* (lit. paint self-D something-A) may refer either to a prospective possessor of the thing painted or to an experiencer of the activity as such, a 'recipient' of its effect rather than of the object (for details see Rudzka-Ostyn 1992).

The experiencer-/recipient-of-effect interpretation necessarily imposes itself when the entity acted upon is already in the dative referent's possession. Sentence (61) illustrates one such case; other common instantiations of the same pattern are *pomalować sobie mieszkanie* 'paint one's apartment', *umyć sobie auto* 'wash one's car', *umyć sobie włosy* 'wash one's hair', *wyprać sobie koszulę* 'wash one's shirt', or *wyczyścić sobie buty* 'clean/polish one's shoes'.

(61) *Ewa wyprasowała sobie sukienkę.*
Eve-N ironed self-D dress-A
'Eve ironed her dress (for herself).'

Like certain non-reflexive datives, *sobie* also participates in coding situations in which the object acted upon leaves the dative's domain of control. Vis-à-vis this object, the referent of *sobie* is a loser. At the same time, however he is a recipient of the action's effect, and the latter need not be evaluated negatively. As one does not, under normal circumstances, want to cause damage to oneself, the use of *sobie* usually implies benefit to the recipient. An ambivalent situation arises in the case of deliberate deprivation, of material or other goods, including one's life. The only *sobie*-related construals that

carry clearly negative value judgments seem to involve accidental experiences, as illustrated in (62).

(62) *Rąbiąc drzewo uciął sobie palec.*
chopping wood cut-he self-D finger-A
'When chopping wood, he cut off his finger.'

Figure 4 shows what the variants of *sobie* discussed above share and where they diverge (for more illustrations, see Rudzka-Ostyn 1992). The extension mechanisms operating within and across the C1 and C2 networks are very much like the ones represented in Figure 1 (section 3.2.1.1.). Variant D1 is metonymically related to schema C1 and its instantiations; D9 is an antonym of C1 and C2 with respect to the concept of volitionality whereas D8 is an antonym of C1 with regard to the concept of accessibility. All the variants subsumed under schema C2 express experiencers that become endpoints of the given actions only *indirectly*, usually via their possessive relationship with the accusative referent. They may thus be seen as extensions of the C1 variants, which code *direct* endpoints.

b) Other constructions

Sobie is no less common in quasi-transitive constructions, as there is no object in the accusative. They involve (1) verbs such as *gotować* 'cook', *prać* 'launder', or *sprzątać* 'clean/dust' as well as (2) dative-governing verbs like *pomagać* 'help', *szkodzić* 'harm', *wierzyć* 'believe', or *ufać* 'trust'. Despite the differences between (1) and (2), the referent of *sobie* is again an experiencer and an endpoint of the effects that the action or state may produce. But this is only one of the possible interpretations. In the next section, we will see that when combined with quasi-transitives and intransitives, *sobie* need not denote an experiencer at all. It may be used to refer to his domain of control rather than to himself. Not infrequently, however, it is referentially ambivalent, and here example (63) can serve as an illustration.

(63) *Mimo podeszłego wieku, sam sobie gotuje, pierze i*
despite his advanced age alone self-D cooks-he launders and

sprząta.
cleans
'Despite his advanced age, he does his own cooking, laundering and cleaning.'

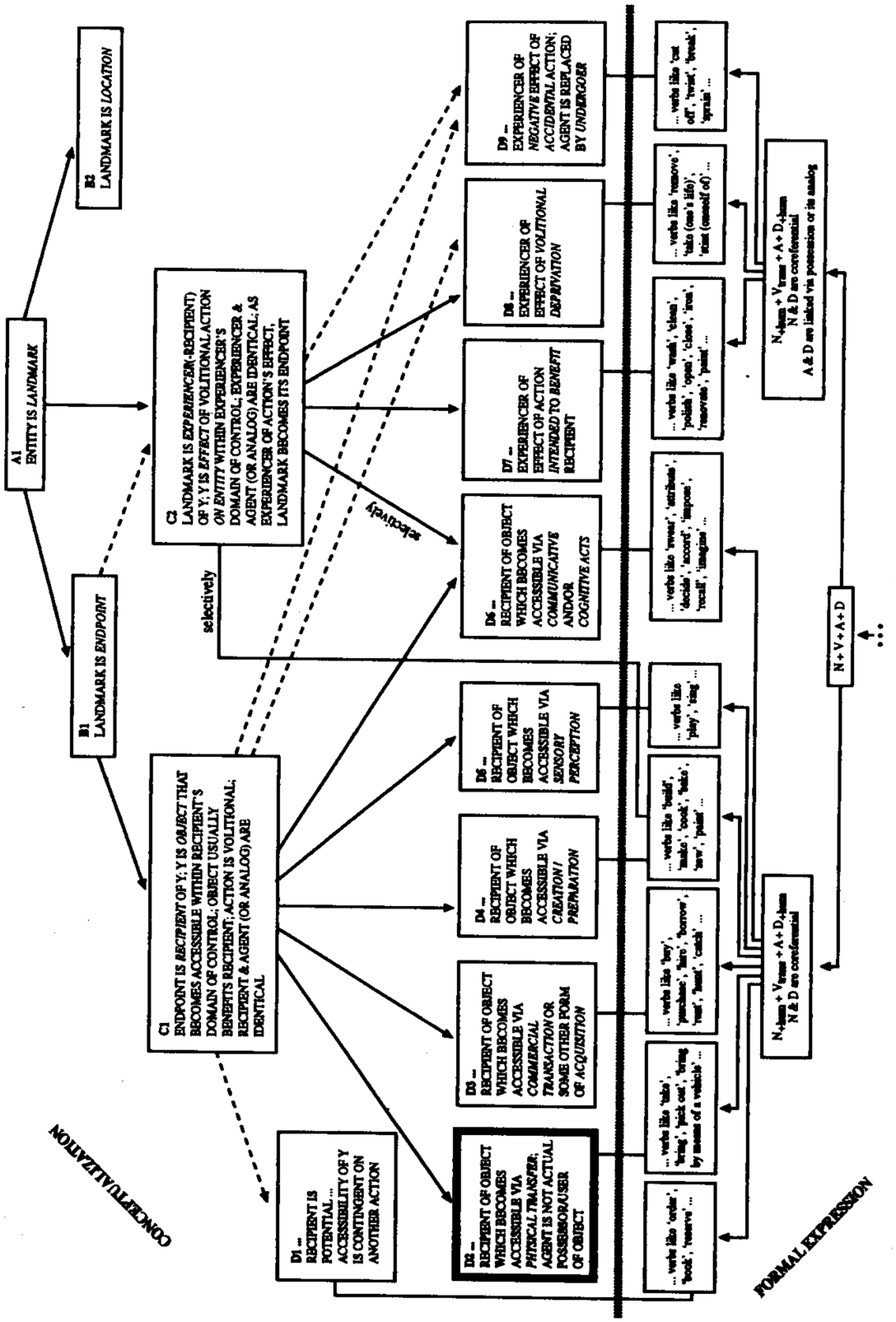


Figure 4: *Sobie* in transitive constructions

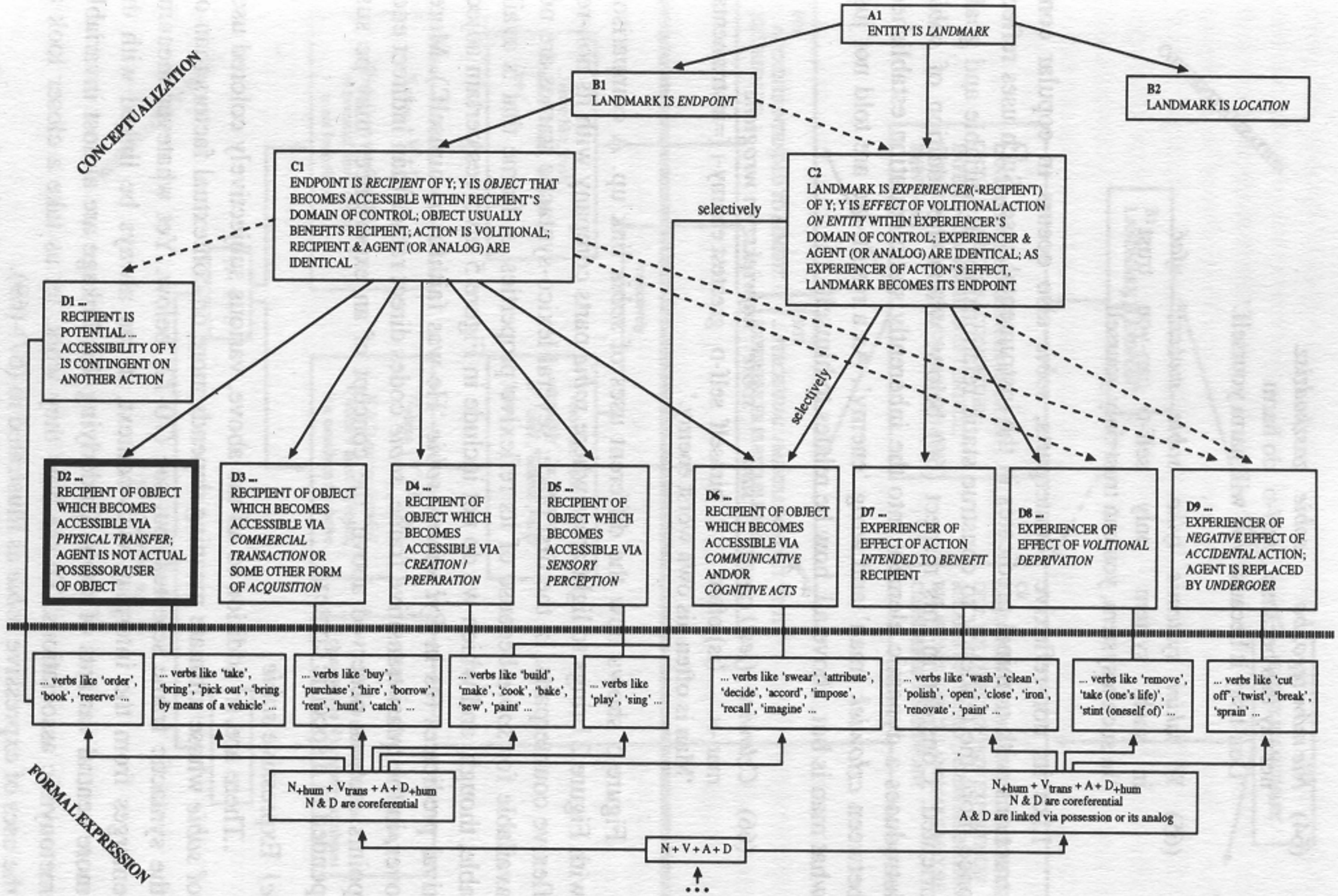


Figure 4: *Sobie* in transitive constructions

(64) *Nie mów tego, bo sobie zaszkodzisz.*
not say this because self-D do harm
'Don't say it because you will harm yourself.'

(65) *W takim systemie tylko sobie możesz ufać.*
in such system only self-D can-you trust
'In such a system, you can trust only yourself.'

Like its non-reflexive counterparts, *sobie* also occurs in copular constructions with nominal predicates in the instrumental case. Such uses reflect once more the tendency to construe static relationships as variable and goal-oriented. Consider in this respect (66) below, where the addition of *sobie* introduces a dynamic element into the inherently static equation established between *człowiek* 'man' and *wróg* 'enemy'. As a result, we are told not just what man is but, above all, how he relates to himself.

(66) *Człowiek (jest) często sam sobie największym wrogiem.*
man-N (is) often himself self-D greatest enemy-I (=instrumental)
'Man is often his own worst enemy.'

Figure 5 shows how the different uses of *sobie* link up. A comparison with Figure 2 brings to light areas where *sobie* parts company with its non-reflexive counterparts. In the first place, several lexico-syntactic frames are not available for *sobie* because of its reflexive properties. A frame that is available, though, and which we do not include in Figure 5 involves certain adjectival predicates (as in *Był wierny sobie* 'He was faithful to himself'). Moreover, in the quasi-transitive frame, *sobie* codes direct rather than indirect endpoints; but, as observed above, the concept of an experiencer may be suspended in a specific context.

c) Expressive *sobie*

There are, in addition to all the above, various subjectively colored uses of *sobie* whose ultimate meaning depends more on contextual factors than on the syntactic frame selected, but see (70-72) below. Yet whatever meaning emerges from the interplay with context, it can always be linked with the more central variants of *sobie*. Underlying this linkage are almost invariably metonymic associations. To see how they work, let us take a closer look at the uses of expressive *sobie* as illustrated in (67)-(69).

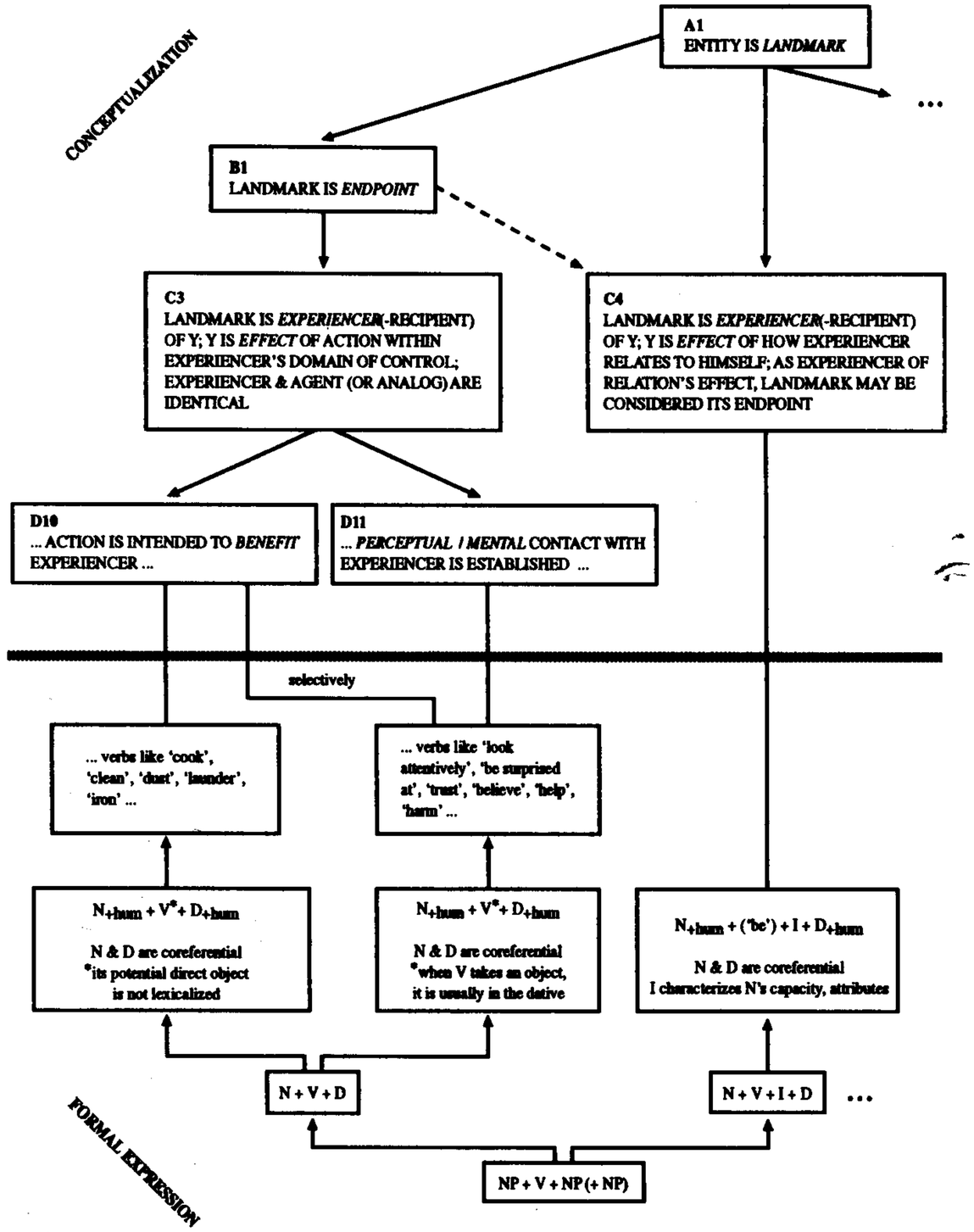


Figure 5: *Sobie* in quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions

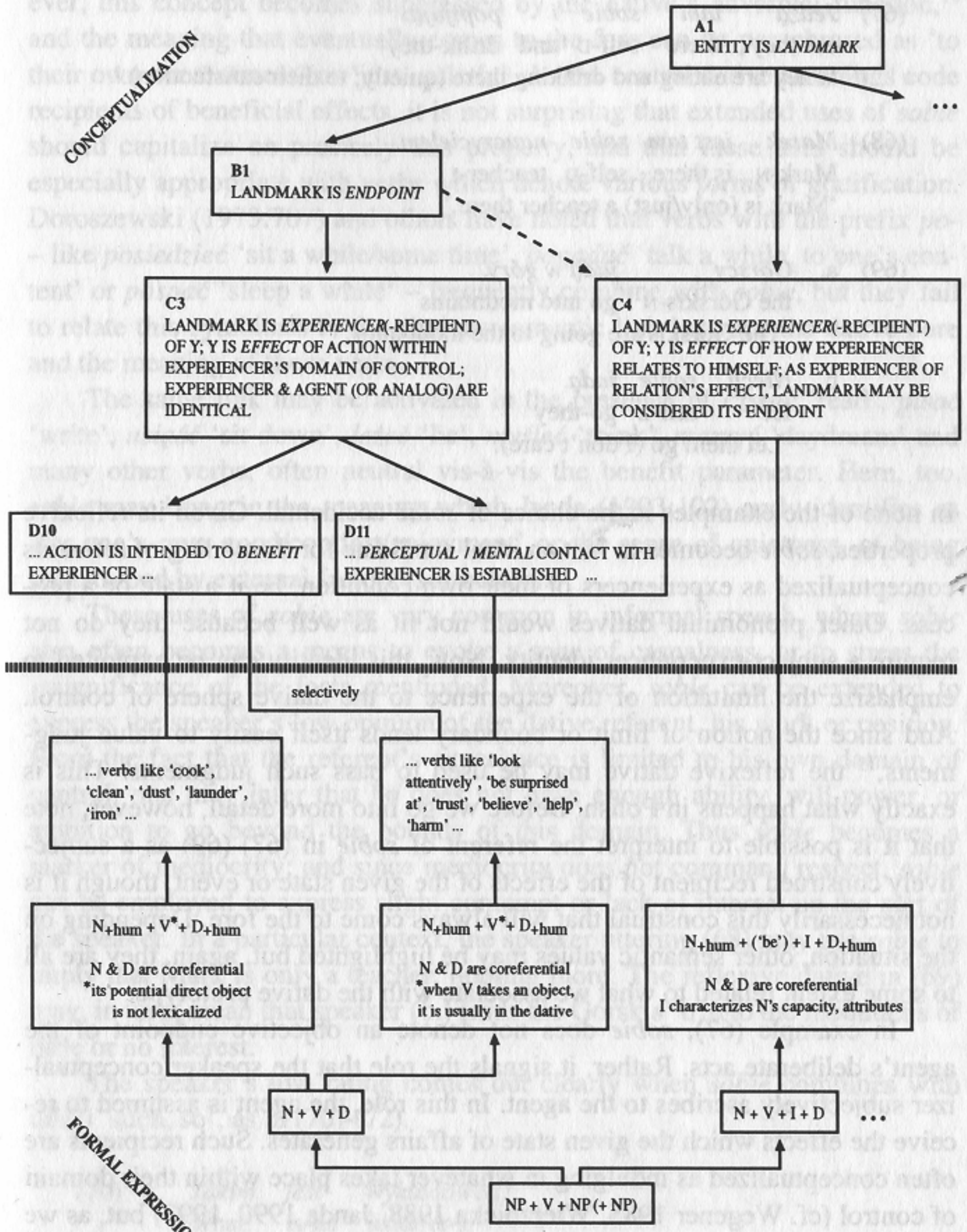


Figure 5: *Sobie* in quasi-transitive, intransitive, and copular constructions

(67) *Jedzą tam sobie i popijają.*
eat-they there self-D and drink-they
'They are eating and drinking there (quietly; to their satisfaction).'

(68) *Marek jest tam sobie nauczycielem.*
Mark-N is there self-D teacher-I
'Mark is (only/just) a teacher there.'

(69) a. *Górscy jadą w góry.*
the Górskis-N go into mountains
'The Gorskis are going to the mountains.'

b. *Niech sobie jadą.*
let self-D go-they
'Let them go (I don't care).'

In none of the examples is the choice of *sobie* accidental. Given its reflexive properties, *sobie* becomes in fact an ideal candidate for the coding of referents conceptualized as experiencers of their own condition, be it a state or a process. Other pronominal datives would not fit as well because they do not require a subject-experiencer identity. Now, this identity can be exploited to emphasize the limitation of the experience to the dative sphere of control. And since the notion of limit or boundary lends itself easily to value judgments,[13] the reflexive dative may be used to pass such judgments. This is exactly what happens in Polish. Before we go into more detail, however, note that it is possible to interpret the referent of *sobie* in (67)-(69) as a subjectively construed recipient of the effects of the given state or event, though it is not necessarily this construal that will always come to the fore. Depending on the situation, other semantic values may be highlighted but, again, they are all to some extent related to what we associate with the dative prototype.

In example (67), *sobie* does not denote an objective endpoint of the agent's deliberate acts. Rather, it signals the role that the speaker/conceptualizer subjectively ascribes to the agent. In this role, the agent is assumed to receive the effects which the given state of affairs generates. Such recipients are often conceptualized as indulging in whatever takes place within their domain of control (cf. Wegener 1985, Wierzbicka 1988, Janda 1990, 1993) but, as we shall see, other interpretations are also possible with the expressive variant of *sobie*, reflecting its ambivalent thematic and grammatical status. Due to its form and what it typically denotes, the reflexive dative in (67) allows the speaker to evoke the concept of an event participant. At the same time, however, this concept becomes suppressed by the dative's adverbial function,[14] and the meaning that eventually comes to the fore can be paraphrased as 'to their own contentment' or 'just, quietly'. As the central dative meanings code recipients of beneficial effects, it is not surprising that extended uses of *sobie* should capitalize on precisely this property, and that these uses should be especially appropriate with verbs which denote various forms of gratification. Doroszewski (1973:707) and others have noted that verbs with the prefix *po-* – like *posiedzieć* 'sit a while/some time', *pogadać* 'talk a while, to one's content' or *pospać* 'sleep a while' – frequently combine with *sobie*, but they fail to relate this symbiosis to the obvious semantic link between the dative core and the meaning of those verbs.

The same link may be activated in the presence of *czytać* 'read', *pisać* 'write', *usiąść* 'sit down', *leżeć* 'lie', *myśleć* 'think', *marzyć* 'daydream' and many other verbs, often neutral vis-à-vis the benefit parameter. Here, too, *sobie* may bring in the meaning which Janda (1993:102) aptly identifies as 'for one's own good/comfort/enjoyment' or the sense of quietness, of being undisturbed by external factors (see below).

These uses of *sobie* are very common in informal speech, where *sobie* also often becomes a means to evoke a tone of casualness, or to stress the insignificance of the facts mentioned. Moreover, *sobie* can be extended to express the speaker's low opinion of the dative referent, his work or position. From the fact that the referent's experience is limited to his own domain of control, one may infer that he does not have enough ability, will-power, or ambition to go beyond the bounds of this domain. Thus *sobie* becomes a marker of mediocrity; and since mediocrity does not command respect, *sobie* can be employed to express slight contempt or lack of interest on the part of the speaker. In a particular context, the speaker uttering (68) may use *sobie* to imply that Mark is only a teacher, nothing more. The reflexive dative in (69) may, in turn, mean that speaker (b.) finds the Górskis' trip to the mountains of little or no interest.

The speaker's low rating comes out clearly when *sobie* combines with *tak(i)* 'such, so', as in (70)-(72).

(70) a. *Jakim jest wykładowcą?*
what is-he lecturer-I
'What sort of lecturer is he?'

b. *Takim sobie.*
such self-D
'Average/ not too good.'

(71) a. *Jak się czujesz?*
how ref. feel-you
'How are you feeling?'

b. *Tak sobie.*
so self-D
'So so.' (= not very well)

(72) *taki sobie film*
such self-D film-N
'an average/rather ordinary film'

As the English glosses indicate, the expressivenes of *sobie* entails its re-categorization. Unlike its central variants, this use of *sobie* refers more to properties of participants, their experiences or their domains, and as such joins the category of adjectival/adverbial adjuncts. In (71), the reflexive dative is used in answer to a *how*-question, which points to its status of adverbial of manner.

The exact value of the manner expressed derives from the concept of domain of control and the constrictive effects associated with its boundaries. This concept as well as the notion of experiencer are, however, no longer part of the semantics of *sobie*. The typically dative notions have been suspended, and the only one that remains is that of 'limited/average value'. *Tak(i) sobie* has become a fixed expression, which is demonstrated also by the possibility of combining it with nouns whose referents are inanimate or abstract.

Another expression in which *sobie* has been lexicalized is *niczego sobie*. It functions as an understatement, which entails a reversal of the 'literal' value expressed.

(73) *Mamy nową sekretarkę. Dziewczyna niczego sobie.*
have-we new secretary-A girl-N (of) nothing self-D
'We have a new secretary. The girl is quite good/nice/attractive.'

In example (73), *niczego sobie* has a clearly positive ring, and its meaning can be paraphrased as 'quite good within her category/domain' or 'quite nice/attractive as a woman/person'. At the origin of this and similar uses of *sobie* is again the notion of domain. However, it relates here more to the referent's social position, his personal traits and abilities than to the physical location over which he exercises control, though a locative sense may also show up in certain expressive versions of *sobie*. For instance, in (74) below, the reflexive dative seems to locate the merchant at some place.

(74) *Żył sobie raz bardzo bogaty kupiec.*
lived-he self-D once very rich merchant-N
'Once upon a time there was a very rich merchant.' / 'There was once ...'

The place remains unspecified but, due to the dative's reflexiveness, it is understood as being part of the merchant's sphere of control. The lack of further specification fits fairy tales well, and explains the frequent occurrence of sentences like (74) in this particular type of narrative. There is also another reason for using *sobie*: it allows the speaker/narrator to create an aura of homeliness and informality.

The concept of the dative sphere of control may be further associated with a focus on what one is actually doing, and thus stress a lack of interference with or from one's environment. Such associations seem to be exploited in example (75), where Stanisławski (1969:1077) proposes 'quietly' as a translation for *sobie*.

(75) *Szedł sobie ulicą.*
walking-he self-D street-I
'He was quietly walking along the street.'

To pass now to the informal character of expressive *sobie*, students of Polish have often drawn attention to it but left its source unexplained. The preceding analysis points to at least two contributory factors. One of them is undoubtedly the reflexiveness of *sobie*. As we have seen, it can be invoked (1) to mark the coreference relation between the nominative and dative nominals or (2) to say that whatever happens is confined to the nominative referent's *own*, familiar world. In the case of ditransitive verbs or verbs that always require a nominal in the dative, reflexivity functions primarily as a coreference-marker. When, however, the verb is intransitive and does not normally take a dative nominal, things become more complex. Since intransitives code events that involve only one participant, objectively there is no room for a coreferential relationship, and so the reflexivity of *sobie* performs the second function. In keeping with this function, *sobie* behaves like an adjectival or adverbial modifier, as we saw in answers to questions beginning with *jaki* 'what sort of' and *jak* 'how'. Yet because the form remains dative, and datives prototypically code experiencers, the very use of the form allows the speaker to subjectively superimpose the role of experiencer onto the nominative referent. At the level of this subjective imposition, the reflexivity of *sobie*

is again a marker of coreference linking the experiencer with the actual participant. In other words, *sobie* plays a double role: it codes a subjectively introduced experiencer and it links the given domain of control with the nominative referent. Depending on context, either one or both roles will come to the fore. In examples profiling the nominative referents as beneficiaries from their own actions (see (67)), the subjective experiencers seem to receive some prominence. By contrast, in examples like (68) or (74) it is the function of confining the given state of affairs to the nominative's domain of control that gains in importance.

In any case, *sobie* is not required by any objective component of the scene or event described. Unless it occurs in fixed expressions, it is felt to be introduced by the speaker for some subjective reason. The reason is often a desire to express a value judgment; and through this blending of subjectivity and expressiveness, informality may come in. Another, perhaps even more important, factor is the possibility of using *sobie* to confine the given state/action to the subject's own world. The connotations of ordinariness and familiarity that such a world evokes inevitably mark the style of the utterance and render it informal.

Whether *sobie* is used to lend an informal ring to one's utterance or to pass a value judgment, of themselves each of these extended uses is bizarre and inexplicable. Polish scholars have thus treated them as more or less conventionalized idiomatic expressions. When, however, one takes into account the various concepts associated with experiencers coded by the dative case, much of the bizarreness disappears. It turns out that the use of *sobie* even in such fixed expressions as *tak(i) sobie* (ex. 70-72) or *niczego sobie* (ex. 73) is highly motivated. There is a rationale behind all the conventionalization. However, to discover this rationale, it is necessary to go into event structure, and then not only into its objectively given components but also into the way members of a language community choose to conceptually construe that structure.

Figure 6 represents the major conceptual paths that lead to the different meanings of expressive *sobie*. They all originate, directly or indirectly, in the more literal dative variants. The semantics of the latter includes the concepts of a recipient, accessibility of some object, and domain of control – which in turn brings in the notion of boundary. In terms of the profile/base distinction, the reflexive dative profiles primarily a human event-participant, and the concepts of domain, boundary, accessibility as well as those of benefit and inten-

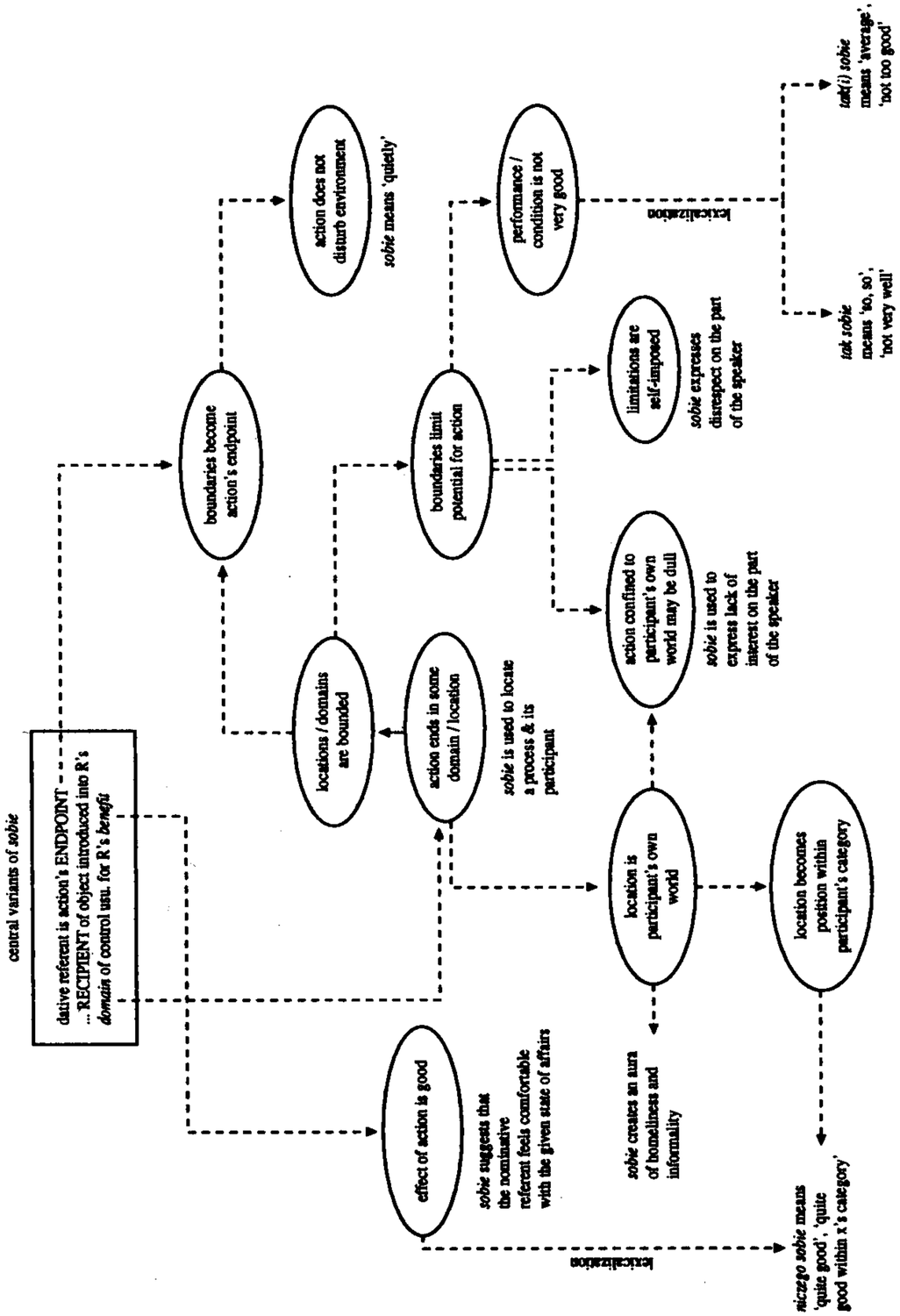


Figure 6: Expressive uses of *sobie*

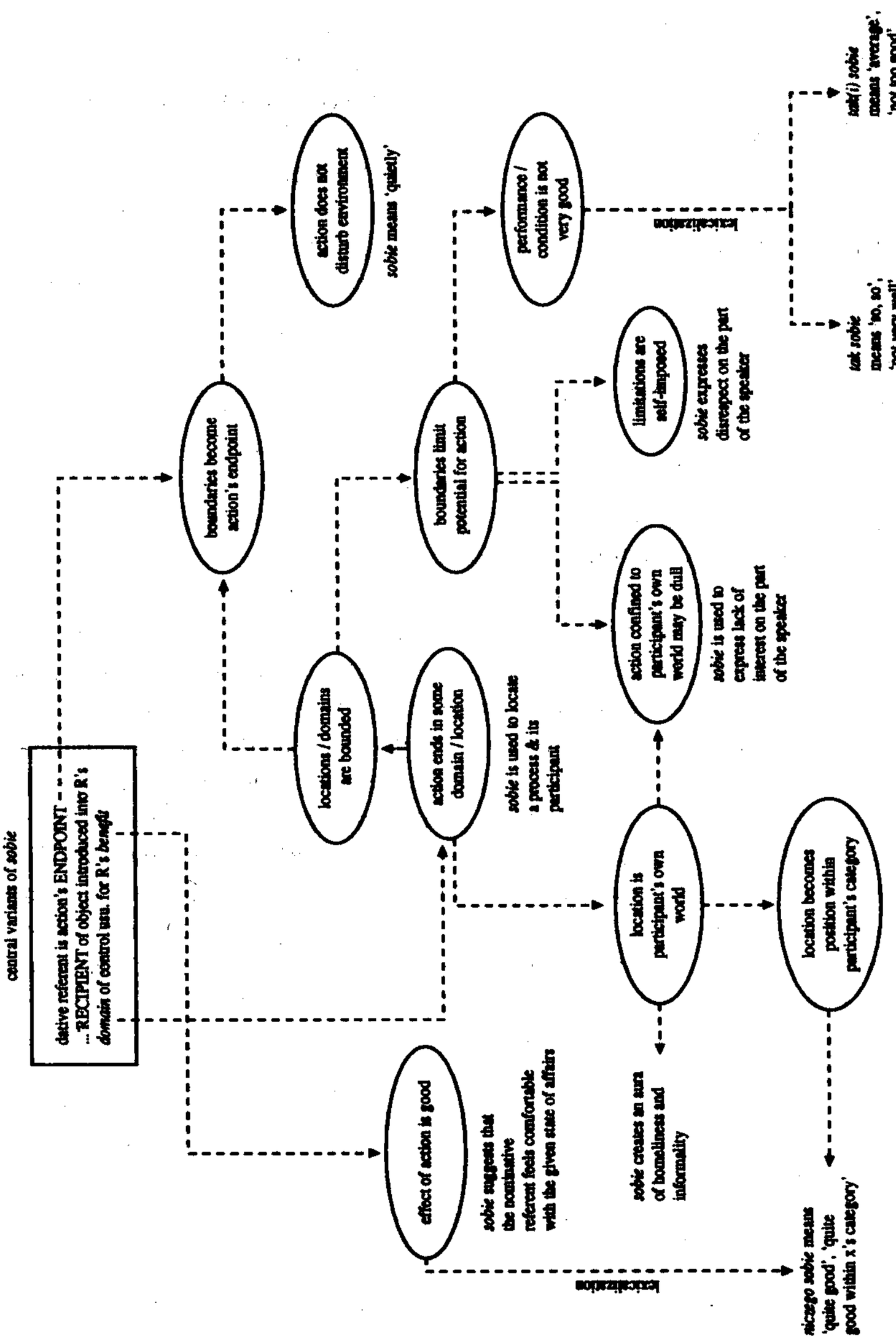


Figure 6: Expressive uses of *sobie*

tionality are more part of the dative's designative base. But, as already pointed out, the profile cannot be determined and properly understood without this base. Given the intimate relation between any profile and base, it should in fact be possible to use the linguistic sign for the former to refer to the latter. This is exactly what has happened with *sobie*. The term has been dissociated, partly or completely, from its profile and applied to different aspects of the designative base. This metonymic process has triggered further extensions, several of which operate not so much on inherent properties of the base but on what we *associate* with the concept of a domain and its boundaries. As a result, we have a whole chain of associations and dissociations. In the case of *sobie*, they have led to categorial shifts and lexicalizations.

3.2.2.2. Reciprocal *sobie*

Sobie is also used to express reciprocal acts, and then it corresponds to the English expressions 'to each other/one another' or 'for each other/one another'. Reciprocal *sobie* differs both from its nonreciprocal and its nonreflexive counterparts. First of all, it has no expressive uses and does not function as a discourse-mobilizing device. It combines with *give* and other prototypically ditransitive verbs, but its collocability with verbs of creation, commercial acquisition, and the like is heavily constrained. It is automatically excluded in any context that is incompatible with a relationship of reciprocity.

The referents of reciprocal *sobie* are primarily human experiencers-recipients, and the few examples of abstract entities that my data base provides involve verbs denoting relationships of contradiction, equality or correspondence, that is, relationships in which the concept of reciprocity constitutes an inherent part. In such cases *sobie* expresses points of referential anchorage, and the concept of recipient is suspended. The following illustrations capture the most natural scenarios for reciprocal *sobie* and their extensions.

(76) *Ministrowie przekazali sobie potrzebne dokumenty.*
ministers-N transmitted self-D necessary documents-A
'The ministers transmitted to each other the necessary documents.'

(77) *Co roku składają sobie wizyty.*
every year pay-they self-D visits-A
'Every year they visit one another / pay visits to one another.'

(78) *Te teorie wyraźnie sobie przeczą.*
these theories-N clearly self-D contradict
'These theories clearly contradict each other.'

3.2.3. Prepositional datives

It will again be instructive to consider the more central members of the dative category. They all profile, as we have seen, a person who is also the final destination of the object transferred, the sensation brought about, or the effect resulting from the given state or event. This being the case, we should be able to use the dative form to express destination alone and disregard the other typical dative characteristics. Such concept suspension is indeed possible in Polish, particularly in combinations with prepositions (hence prepositional datives), and it is to these that we will now turn.

The prepositions and prepositional expressions employed with the dative case are *ku* 'to/towards/in the direction of', *na przeciw* 'to/towards', *na przekór* 'in defiance of', *przeciw* 'against', *wbrew* 'despite, contrary to', and *gwoli* 'for/in order to/for the sake of'. They all operate at the clause as well as at the phrase level. Some are possible with the reflexive and reciprocal dative. The preposition *ku* has a somewhat archaic ring and occurs mainly in written Polish whereas *gwoli* is felt to be obsolete.

Unlike the majority of its non-prepositional counterparts, the prepositional dative assumes the function of an adjunct. Here are a few examples:

(79) *Ludzie szli **ku** miastu.*
people-N were going to(wards) city-D
'People were going to(wards) the city.'

(80) *Droga wiodła **ku** wsi.*
road-N led to(wards) village-D
'The road led to the village.'

(81) *Ciągnął ich **ku** sobie.*
pulled-he them-A towards self-D
'He pulled them towards himself.'

(82) *Wystąpili zbrojnie **przeciw** najeźdźcy.*
came out-they militarily against invaders-D
'They took military action/fought against the invaders.'

In (79)-(80), the notion of an experiencer is absent, and what remains of the recipient conceptual cluster is the concept of a terminal. The city and the village are both endpoints of the trajectory associated with *ku* (as well as with

the verb of motion and the noun *droga*). The scenarios coded by (81), and especially (82) where the element of counterforce comes in, include also the dative referent's potential to react. But even here it is the notion of ultimate target that seems to be the dominating characteristic of the prepositional dative.

Examples (83)-(84) illustrate the use of prepositional datives at the phrase level. The relationships expressed here are often static, and the notion of target gives way to the more abstract concept of a point of reference.

(83) *dwa lwy zwrócone* ***ku*** *sobie*
two lions-N turned to self-D
'two lions facing each other'

(84) *wytrwałość* ***na przekór*** *wszystkim klęskom*
endurance-N in defiance of all setbacks-D
'endurance in the face of all misfortune'

The fact that datives include in their semantics the concept of an endpoint makes them likely to be used as goal indicators in more abstract domains. Moreover, since datives often code recipients intentionally picked out by the agents, the recipients may also be conceptualized as the *reason* for which a given action is undertaken. Such extensions are quite common in Polish and other Slavic languages. In Polish combinations with *ku* frequently refer to intended purposes and aims, in which case an analogy between physical terminals and abstract objectives is at work. Examples (85)-(86) may illustrate the extensions:

(85) *Napisał to* ***ku*** *pocieszeniu.*
wrote-he it for consolation-D
'He wrote it to provide consolation.'

(86) *pomnik* ***ku*** *czci Bohaterów Getta*
monument-N to tribute-D (of) Heroes-G Ghetto-G
'a monument in commemoration of the Heroes of the Ghetto'

Figure 7 locates the prepositional variant within the broader dative network and identifies its major links with non-prepositional datives. The links involve in the first place the two superordinate schemas A1 and B1 as the semantics of many prepositional datives confines itself either to the concept

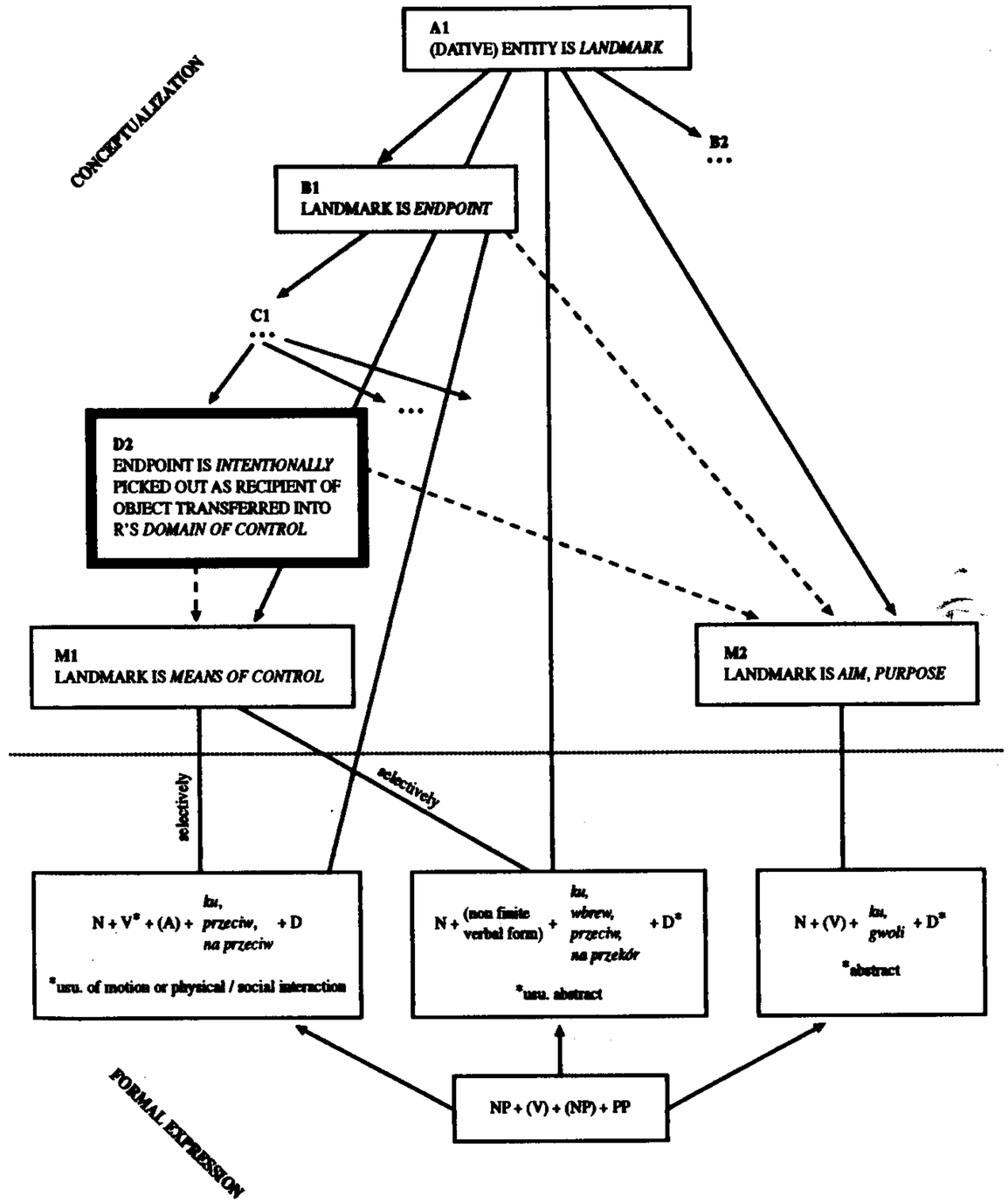


Figure 7: Prepositional datives

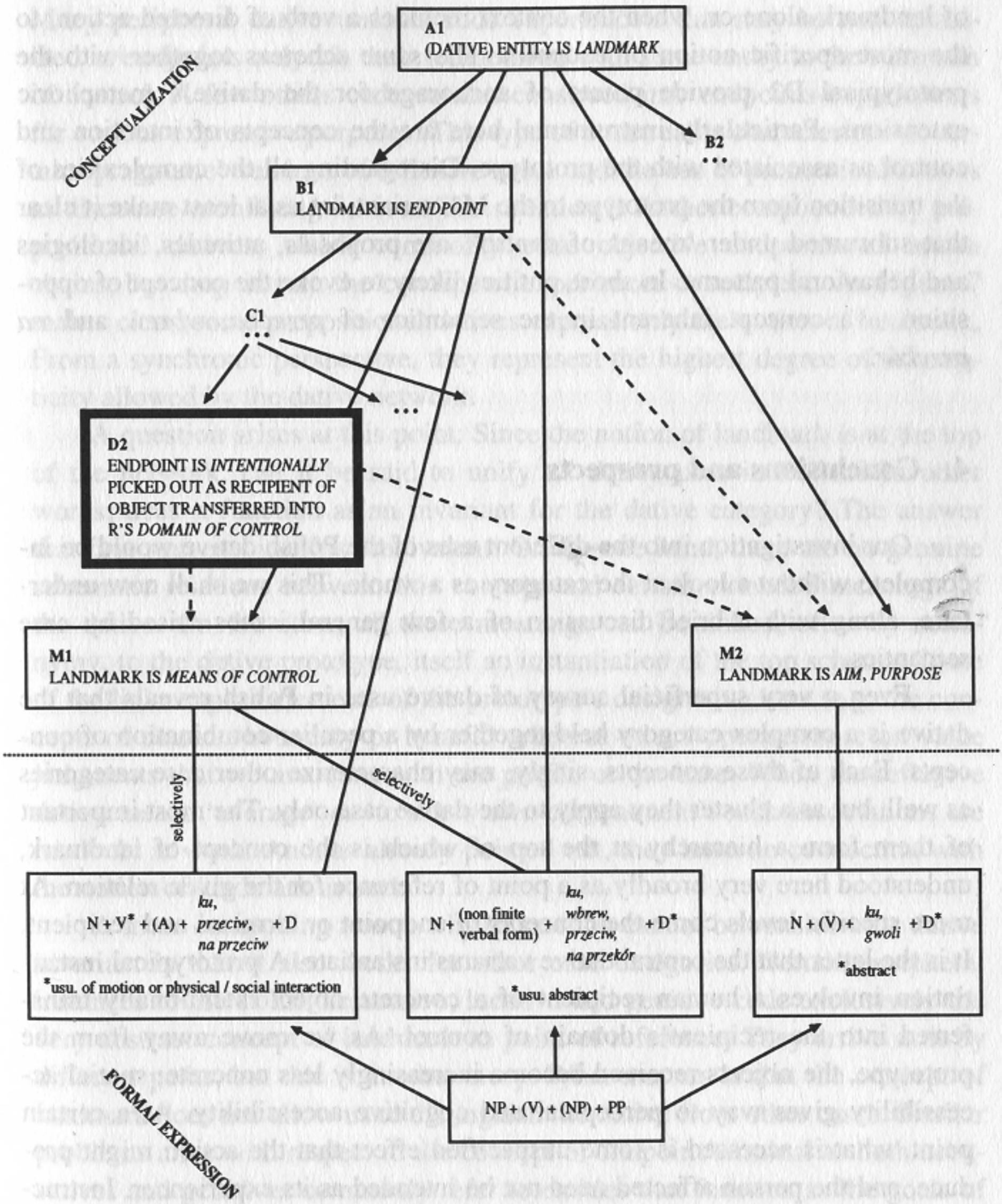


Figure 7: Prepositional datives

of landmark alone or, when the context includes a verb of directed action, to the more specific notion of endpoint. The same schemas together with the prototypical D2 provide points of anchorage for the dative's metaphoric extensions. Particularly instrumental here are the concepts of intention and control as associated with the prototype. Disregarding all the complexities of the transition from the prototype to the M1 variant, let us at least make it clear that subsumed under 'means of control' are proposals, attitudes, ideologies and behavioral patterns. In short, entities likely to evoke the concept of opposition – a concept inherent in the semantics of *przeciw*, *wbrew* and *na przekór*.

4. Conclusions and prospects

Our investigation into the different uses of the Polish dative would be incomplete without a look at the category as a whole. This we shall now undertake, along with a brief discussion of a few general issues raised by case semantics.

Even a very superficial survey of dative uses in Polish reveals that the dative is a complex category held together by a peculiar combination of concepts. Each of these concepts, singly, may characterize other case categories as well, but as a cluster they apply to the dative case only. The most important of them form a hierarchy at the top of which is the concept of landmark, understood here very broadly as a point of reference for the given relation. At more specific levels come the concepts of endpoint or terminal and recipient. It is the latter that the central dative variants instantiate. A prototypical instantiation involves a human recipient of a concrete object intentionally transferred into the recipient's domain of control. As we move away from the prototype, the objects received become increasingly less concrete; spatial accessibility gives way to perceptual and cognitive accessibility. At a certain point, what is accessed is some unspecified effect that the action might produce, and the person affected need not be intended as its experiencer. Instructive in this respect is the contrast between the dative variants associated with schema D7 of Figure 1 and those that combine with certain impersonal constructions (Figure 3).

The actions themselves change from volitional to accidental, but even when volitional, the dative referent is not necessarily their objective endpoint.

Many peripheral dative variants code experiencers that may be conceptualized as endpoints only via their relationship with some entity in their domain of control. A few others code entities construed into endpoints-experiencers for various expressive purposes. This type of construal is characteristic of certain 'pragmatic' versions of reflexive *sobie* and the use of pronominal datives as discourse-mobilizing devices. The situation is further compounded by prepositional datives, which commonly code objective endpoints of action chains, but drop in turn the concept of experiencer or recipient. As Figure 7 makes clear, some prepositional datives express only the notion of landmark. From a synchronic perspective, they represent the highest degree of schematicity allowed by the dative network.

A question arises at this point: Since the notion of landmark is at the top of the network, can it be said to unify all dative uses in Polish? In other words, does it function as an invariant for the dative category? The answer that first suggests itself is ambivalent. On the one hand, there are no genuine schematic relations between this concept and certain extended meanings of the dative. On the other, all these meanings can be linked, often by metonymy, to the dative prototype, itself an instantiation of the top schema. Some of the links exploit elements of the prototype's designative base (e.g. the concepts of domain boundary or benefit) whereas others operate more on value judgments that we associate with the profile or the base. When the reflexive dative means 'average' or 'to one's own contentment', such associations are no doubt at work. And, as already pointed out, they have no connection with the notion of landmark as such.

A more compelling reason why this notion cannot be considered a dative invariant is that it also works for other case categories. Certain peripheral instances of the Polish accusative, locative and genitive code exclusively the very abstract concept of landmark as point of reference. They arrive at it by different paths, but this is another story. What matters is that the concept of landmark does not allow us to distinguish the dative from other cases. Similar problems arise with respect to the concept of endpoint/terminal as both accusatives and genitives commonly refer to entities that function as the goals of actions. Only the notion of recipient and the concepts that cluster around it provide a basis for distinguishing the dative from other case categories, at least from their central members. Note, however, that the concept of recipient cannot be treated as the cover notion for the dative as a whole because many dative variants do not code recipients at all.

Case meanings, like those of other linguistic categories, are interlinked. There is ample evidence that, at their peripheries, related categories often fade into one another. We need therefore tools that would allow us to capture both what is peculiar to the given category and what it shares with others. The schematic network model provides such tools.

While schematization and instantiation are not the only relations by which members of a case, or another linguistic category may be linked, they appear to be the most fundamental ones. They furnish the skeleton on which categorial structure rests. The interaction between this skeleton and various extension mechanisms still remains to be explored. Of particular interest should be here the role of metonymy as a device of semantic extension, capable moreover of recategorizing the given linguistic unit. Quite revealing in this respect is the development of the Polish reflexive dative. Due to a whole chain of metonymic transmutations, some of its variants have become lexical items with comparatively fixed meanings and have shifted from the nominal to the adjectival and adverbial category. Incidentally, it is in this area that the homonymy/polysemy distinction creeps in. Speakers of Polish are generally not aware of the conceptual connection between such extended variants and the dative prototype and regard them as purely homonymic.

In the course of our investigation into constructions with dative-marked nominals, it has become apparent that case meanings cannot be reduced to a single description or definition. One of the problems that arise in this context is: What counts or should count as a semantic distinction? At what level of abstraction do the form-meaning pairings permit us to talk about 'different' dative (sub)meanings? At levels B or C, or at the more specific level of D1, 2, 3, etc. (see Figure 1 or 2)? Although there is no a priori reason for choosing either option, somehow the mid-level in the schematic hierarchy seems to be optimal for meaning distinctions. In our concrete case, it would be level C where the major groupings emerge. At this level the form-meaning-function correlates appear to be maximalized, though admittedly more for subnetwork C1 than for C2 or C3.

If indeed significant meaning distinctions are signalled at the mid-level, it does not imply that the more specific submeanings should be ignored. On the contrary, we may have to go into very subtle, low-level semantic distinctions because it is often there that interesting differences even between genetically related languages come to light (for illuminating examples see Wierzbicka (1988)). Regarding the levels of abstraction higher than that of C,

they are of importance because they allow us to incorporate into the network cases of neutralization and of concept suspension. When concept suspension leads to mergers with neighboring categories, higher-level schemata can be brought in to indicate the points where categories intersect.

Another problem that arises concerns the way meanings should be represented. Instead of lengthy definitions, we have opted for labels which in themselves are neither monosemic nor universal. Our metalanguage certainly does not meet the standards set by Wierzbicka (1993), who requires that all language-specific and ethnic bias be eliminated from it. But it allows us to present the dative submeanings in a maximally condensed way. The words 'recipient', 'experiencer', 'endpoint/terminal' are only convenient shorthand labels for whole conceptual clusters. Yet since they are accompanied by illustrations the risk of misinterpretation appears to be minimal.

The final issue to be taken up is the grammatical function of the Polish dative. As it turns out, the more central dative variants perform the role of oblique objects, a category which includes all traditional indirect objects as well as certain objects of non-ditransitive verbs (see Rudzka-Ostyn 1992 for discussion). Certain 'expressive' variants could be added to the peripheries of the oblique object category, together with datives that occur in impersonal constructions (cf. Figure 3). Several scholars have tried to accord these datives subject status, but their arguments are unconvincing. Unless used as phrase-internal modifiers or complements, the remaining dative variants function primarily as adverbial adjuncts. Underlying the differences in grammatical-role assignment is a common ground, however: all Polish datives, unlike accusatives, are unaffected by passivization and negation.

NOTES

* I owe a special word of thanks to Eugene Casad, Peter Kelly, William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck for their very helpful suggestions and to Joris and Hans Paulussen for computerdrawing my figures.

1. The sources include newspapers, magazines, novels, interviews, collections of essays, scientific texts, and dictionaries. To make the material accessible to readers who do not know the language well or at all, I have either simplified the original examples by leaving out irrelevant elements or replaced them with my own. It should be noted, however, that subsumed under each of my subcategories are dozens of authentic illustrations. The data base contains 1200 sentences.

Abbreviations used: A = accusative, D = dative, G = genitive, I = instrumental, N = nominative, R = recipient; adv. = adverb, adj. = adjective/adjectival, fem. = feminine, hum. = human, inf. = infinitive, intr. = intransitive, masc. = masculine, neut. = neuter, pl. = plural, pred. = predicate, prep. = preposition, ref. = reflexive, sb. = somebody, sing. = singular, trans. = transitive.

2. Of the studies mentioned, only Wierzbicka's deals with the dative in Polish, concentrating, however, only on some of its uses. Many extended versions of the dative, combinations with dative-governing verbs/adjectives/prepositions as well as reflexive datives are not considered.

3. The reason for this exclusion will be discussed in my study on the Polish accusative. Whether a verb of communication combines with a nominal in the dative or accusative, the resulting construction cannot always be treated as a mere extension from the spatially-based prototype. At a certain level of abstraction, the underlying conceptual schema is the same, yet the grammaticalization of this schema differs. In allowing e.g. infinitives, conditional clauses and other types of complement, the transitive mode acquires a new dimension in the communicative domain. This dimension is still to be investigated.

4. Once again, it is not objective reality that is coded by these constructions but the speaker's construal of it, a construal facilitated and licensed by his perception of similarity between reception of physical objects and sensitivity to mental phenomena. It is this perception that is also at the basis of the general metaphor (applicable here) by which we conceptualize the human mind as a container and any impression, thought, or mental picture as elements which enter it. For other manifestations of this metaphor see Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987), and Rudzka-Ostyn (1985).

5. However, even the most prototypical indirect objects can be easily deleted in combination with imperatives, particularly when the potential recipients are present. Relevant here are the following examples: *Dajcie coś do zjedzenia, bo umieram!* (lit. give something-A to eating-G because I'm dying) 'Give me something to eat because I'm starving'!; *Daj trochę pieniędzy* (lit. give some money-G) 'Give me some money'; *Podaj sól, proszę.* (lit. hand salt-A please) 'Please pass me the salt'.

6. Normally, when I say *Pies mi uciekł* (lit. dog-N (on) me-D ran away), I imply that the dog belonged to me. Now assuming that my friend Zosia asks me to take care of her dog when she is away, and this dog runs away, I can say *Zosi pies mi uciekł* (lit. Sophie's-G dog-N (on) me-D ran away). By adding the dative *mi*, I automatically signal that the dog was in my domain of responsibility/interest.

7. Heinz (1965:104) claims that in a case like *Wyszukał mu dwa błędy* (lit. found out-he him-D two mistakes-A) 'He found two mistakes in his text', the dative has a purely locative meaning. This interpretation seems to miss an important aspect of what is going on. The dative nominal can indeed indicate, via metonymy, somebody's text, but at the same time it refers to the person in question as recipient of a service (or disservice).

8. In such cases no possessive counterpart is available. And so *Otworzyła mu drzwi* (lit. opened-she him-D door-A) 'She opened the door for him' cannot be turned into *Otworzyła *jego drzwi* (lit. opened-she his door).

9. Closely related to it is a variant which co-occurs with prepositional phrases. The referent of the dative is again a person affected by what happens to an entity (usually a body part) within his domain of control; but to code this entity a prepositional phrase is used, not a direct object in the accusative. For interesting comments on such constructions see Wierzbicka (1988) and Bacz (1991).

10. We will refer to all clauses with the copula 'be' as copular. These clauses form a heterogeneous group which deserves to become an area of investigation in its own right.

11. Verbs for which *się* is obligatory cannot occur in the impersonal construction. Combinations such as **Tu się starzeje (się), *W domu kłóciło się (się)* are unacceptable.

12. Another very important class involves non-inflected verbal forms in *-no* and *-to* usually derived from passive participles. These forms code situations in which the given action always originates with a *nonspecified*, but clearly human, external agent; the dative referent may be a recipient of some object or an experiencer, voluntary or involuntary, of the action's effect. There are in addition several non-inflected expressions that combine with nominals in the dative case.

    Further details on the classes mentioned, as well as information about impersonal constructions that do not allow the dative can be found in Rudzka-Ostyn (1988b:211ff., 227ff.).

13. The axiological dimension of the concept of boundary manifests itself in other languages and in different types of construction. See, for instance, Rudzka-Ostyn (1985, 1988a).

14. The only function it can assume since, objectively, there is no room for dative-marked objects with the verbs *popijać* and *jeść*. Neither of the verbs can combine with the interrogative *komu* 'to/for whom', a pronoun which picks out true datives.

REFERENCES

Bachman, R.D. 1980. *The Subject Potential of the Dative Case in Modern Russian.* Ohio State University, Ph. D. Dissertation.

Bacz, B. 1991. On the meaning of the dative in Polish. Presented at the 18th LACUS Forum, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 1991. To appear in the 18th LACUS Forum papers.

Campe, P. 1994. *Case, Semantic Roles, and Grammatical Relations. A Comprehensive Bibliography.* Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Croft, W. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations. The Cognitive Organization of Information.* Chicago, London: Chicago University Press.

Diver, W. 1982. The focus-control interlock in Latin. *Columbia University Working Papers in Linguistics* 6, 13-31.

Doroszewski, W. (ed.). 1973. *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny.* Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Geiger, R.A. & Rudzka-Ostyn, B. (eds.). 1993. *Conceptualizations and Mental Processing in Language*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Goldberg, A.E. 1992a. The inherent semantics of argument structure: The case of the English ditransitive construction. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3, 37-74.
Goldberg, A.E. 1992b. *Argument Structure Constructions*. University of California at Berkeley, Ph. D. Dissertation.
Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.
Heinz, A. 1965. *System przypadkowy języka polskiego*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.
Janda, L.A. 1990. The radial network of a grammatical category – its genesis and dynamic structure. *Cognitive Linguistics* 1, 269-288.
Janda, L.A. 1993. *A Geography of Case Semantics: The Czech Dative and the Russian Instrumental*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Johnson, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago, London: Chicago University Press.
Krahe, H. 1972. *Grundzüge der vergleichenden Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Innsbruck: Institut für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
Lakoff, G. 1977. Linguistic Gestalts. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 236-286.
Lakoff, G. 1982. Categories: An essay in cognitive linguistics. *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, ed. by the Linguistic Society of Korea, 139-193. Seoul: Hanshin.
Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
Lakoff, G. 1989. Some empirical results about the nature of concepts. *Mind and Language* 4, 103-129.
Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lamiroy, B. & Swiggers, P. 1993. Patterns of mobilization: A study of interaction signals in Romance. In R.A. Geiger & B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.), 649-678.
Langacker, R.W. 1982. Space grammar, analysability, and the English passive. *Language* 58, 22-80.
Langacker, R.W. 1987a. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 1: *Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Langacker, R.W. 1987b. Transitivity, case, and grammatical relations: A cognitive grammar prospectus. Duisburg: LAUD.
Langacker, R.W. 1988a. A view of linguistic semantics. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), 49-90.
Langacker, R.W. 1988b. A usage-based model. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), 127-161.
Langacker, R.W. 1990. *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Langacker, R.W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 2: *Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1985. Metaphoric processes in word formation. The case of prefixed verbs. In *The Ubiquity of Metaphor*, W. Paprotté & R. Dirven (eds.), 209-241. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1988a. Semantic extensions into the domain of verbal communication. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed), 507-553.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1988b. *Wśród Polaków. Polish for Foreign Students*. Part II. Lublin: Catholic University Press.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. (ed.). 1988c. *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1989. Prototypes, schemas, and cross-category correspondences: The case of *ask*. *Linguistics* 27, 613-661.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1990. Case and thematic relations. Ms.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1992. Case relations in cognitive grammar. Some reflexive uses of the Polish dative. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 81, 327-373. [Special issue in honour of Professor Odon Leys.]
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. 1994. Metaphor, schema, invariance: The case of verbs of answering. In *Perspectives on English. Studies in Honour of Professor Emma Vorlat*, K. Carlon, K. Davidse & B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.), 408-447. Leuven: Peeters.
Rudzka-Ostyn, B. & Goczołowa Z. 1981. *Wśród Polaków. Polish for Foreign Students*. Part I. Lublin: Catholic University Press.
Smith, M.B. 1985. Event chains, grammatical relations, and the semantics of case in German. *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 388-407.
Smith, M.B. 1987. *The Semantics of Dative and Accusative in German: An Investigation in Cognitive Grammar*. University of California, San Diego, Ph.D. Dissertation.
Smith, M.B. 1993. Cases as conceptual categories: Evidence from German. In R.A. Geiger & B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.), 531-565.
Skorupka, S. 1977. *Słownik frazeologiczny języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
Stanisławski, J. 1969. *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
Szober, S. [1923]. 1963[6]. *Gramatyka języka polskiego*, ed. by W. Doroszewski. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
Talmy, L. 1985. Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. 3: *Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, T. Shopen (ed.), 57-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Talmy, L. 1988a. Force dynamics in language and cognition. *Cognitive Science* 12, 49-100.
Talmy, L. 1988b. The relation of grammar to cognition. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), 165-205.
Van Hoecke, W. The Latin dative. In this volume, 3-38.

Van Langendonck, W. & Van Belle, W. (eds.). Forthcoming. *The Dative. Theoretical and Contrastive Studies*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Wegener, H. 1985. *Der Dativ im heutigen Deutch*. Tübingen: Narr.
Wierzbicka, A. 1986. The meaning of a case: A study of the Polish dative. In *Case in Slavic*, R.D. Brecht & J.S. Levine (eds.), 386-426. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica. [Reprinted in Wierzbicka 1988.]
Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
Wierzbicka, A. 1993. The alphabet of human thoughts. In R.A. Geiger & B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.), 23-51.

Dative counterparts in Pashto

Wojciech Skalmowski
Department of Oriental Studies
University of Leuven

1. Basic information on Pashto

Pashto or (colloquially) the 'Afghan' language belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family and is spoken by about 10 million people in south-eastern Afghanistan and north-western Pakistan. As is the case with most Modern Iranian languages its structure is largely analytic, i.e. it has lost the rich inflection of Old Iranian and most syntactic relations in it are expressed by means of word order and free grammatical morphemes (pre-, post- and circumpositions). However, it still retains morphologically marked categories inherited from the older synthetic type like gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural) and case (direct and oblique) which have been lost – except for number – in the best-known representative of Modern Iranian, viz. Modern Persian.

As in other Modern Iranian languages, the verbal system of Pashto is based on two kinds of stems – present vs. past – the former continuing the old present stems, the latter representing the old past passive participles. Since all past tenses in Pashto are in fact periphrastic constructions with past participles, the semantic difference between the intransitive and transitive verbs in these forms (active in the first case and passive in the latter) has led to the development of the so-called ergative construction. In sentences with transitive verbs in a past tense the agent (= logical subject) appears in the oblique case (see § 2), while the predicate agrees in person, number and gender with the patient (= logical DO) (see § 3). Thus, as far as agreement in gender and number is concerned, the situation in Pashto is comparable with the French sentences with transitives in periphrastic past tenses (e.g. *'je l'ai vu'* /masculine

DO/ vs. '*je l'ai vue* ' /feminine DO/).

The IO in Pashto lies beyond the scope of the ergative pattern, i.e. it is expressed regardless of the tense as a PP consisting of a nominal group in the oblique case plus a postposition indicating direction ('to/towards') (see § 4). A particular feature of Pashto concerning the marking of the IO is the wide use made of three so-called directional pronouns (see § 5) – historically pronominal adverbs – indicating one of the three directions: towards the speaking party ('to/towards me/us'), the addressee ('to/towards thee/you') or an external party ('to/towards him/her/it/them'). These three morphemes are used both as generalized substitutes of pronouns in PPs with postpositions (e.g. *rā́ta*, 'to/towards me/us') and as directional prefixes adding semantic nuances to the basic meanings of certain verbs (e.g. *rasədə́l,* 'to arrive' vs. *dər-rasədə́l* 'to come to you/to arrive at your place'). In this latter function the directional pronouns bear some resemblance to the German directional prefixes *hin* and *her*.

Given the great variety of Pashto dialects characterized by both phonetic and morphological differences and due to the absence of a generally accepted norm it is necessary to remember that the notion of 'Standard Pashto' proposed by MacKenzie (1959) is in a way a theoretical fiction. It is useful when one intends to discuss general features of that language and to formulate its grammatical rules in a unified manner, but it does not correspond to any concrete linguistic reality. Moreover, since Pashto has a relatively rich literary tradition going back to the 17th century AD which reflects the various dialectal backgrounds of the authors who created it, the actual examples illustrating grammatical generalizations may show both deviations from the 'Standard' form and divergences between themselves. This unavoidable difference between standardized grammatical descriptions and concrete exemplifications has been maintained in this article. The theoretical side of it, i.e. the discussion of rules and the Latin transcription of Pashto (including the reading of grammatical morphemes in the quoted examples) is presented in a standardized form referring chiefly to Shafeev (1964), while the illustrative material offers actual utterances which reflect the 'unruly' aspects of Pashto as of a language consisting of a great number of dialects and changing over time. Since the comprehension of the examples illustrating various structural patterns with dative-like constructions (see § 6) requires a certain familiarity with other morphological and syntactic particularities of the language discussed, the next four sections will be devoted to a more detailed presentation

of the cases, the ergative construction, the postpositions and the directional pronouns.

2. Case

The basic opposition within this morphological category is that between the direct (abbreviated as REC[tus] in glosses) and the oblique case. Nouns, pronouns and adjectives of both genders distinguish cases in the singular and in the plural by means of endings, stress and/or vowel gradation. Several declensional patterns exist for nouns and adjectives, depending chiefly on their phonetic structure and gender, but sometimes as well on the semantic category to which they belong. Thus, for example, the direct case of plural kinship terms is different from that of other nouns of the same gender with identical endings in the singular. In some declensional patterns the opposition of certain categories – case and/or number – is not marked morphologically. For instance, the masculine nouns ending in a consonant or in certain diphthongs and vowels have the same form for the direct and the oblique cases in the singular, e.g. *halə́k* 'boy', *ʒāy* 'place', *bārxú* 'cheek'. The primary syntactic function of this morphological category is that of marking the difference between the subjects of the sentences in 'nominative' and 'ergative' constructions. The first type – in which the subject takes the direct case – encompasses all non-past sentences (irrespective of the transitive or intransitive character of the verb) and the past ones with intransitives. The second type – in which the subject takes the oblique case – is restricted to past tense sentences with transitive verbs. Besides this basic function the oblique case also marks nominal elements of constructions formed by most pre-, post- and circumpositions.

Certain nouns and adjectives in the singular have a separate case-form (sometimes called 'oblique II') used with certain prepositions and a morphologically marked vocative (MacKenzie 1987:555). Since these two categories are restricted to certain groups of nominal forms only and, moreover, vary from dialect to dialect, they are sometimes treated as a lexical rather than a grammatical phenomenon and are left out of more 'general' descriptions of Pashto (e.g. Shafeev 1964 gives no account of the 'oblique II').

3. The ergative construction

In order to illustrate the typical features of the ergative pattern, in the following the same sentence with the transitive verb *dər-kawə́l* 'to give' (literally: 'you-wards + do/make (over)') will be given in the active present (1a) and past (1b) as well as in the passive present (1c). The latter example is given in order to illustrate the difference between the ergative pattern and the actual passive (for a more detailed presentation see Skalmowski 1968).

(1) a. *zə* *tā́si-ta* *xpə́la* *kitābčá*
I-REC you-OBL PL-to own-REC SG FEM notebook-REC SG FEM

dər-kawə́m.
you-wards make (over)-PRES 1 SG
'I give you my notebook.' (Aslanov 1966:401)

b. *mā* *tā́si-ta* *xpə́la* *kitābčá*
(by) me-OBL you-to own notebook-REC SG FEM

də́r-kṛ(əl)a.
you-wards made (over)-3 SG FEM (= PART PASS SG FEM)
'I gave you my notebook.'

c. *xpə́la* *kitābčá* *tā́si-ta*
own notebook-REC SG FEM you-to

dər-(kawə́l(e))-kéžṛi
you-wards (made (over)-PART PASS SG FEM) gets/becomes-PRES 3 SG)

[də *mā* *lə* *xwā].*
of- me-OBL from side-OBL SG FEM
'My notebook is (being) given to you [by me].'

The passive paraphrase (example (1c)) is formed according to the following pattern: past participle of the transitive verb agreeing with the subject (= patient) in number and gender + finite form of the auxiliary verb *kedə́l* (present stem *kež-*) 'to get/become'. As a rule, in the case of compound verbs consisting of a nominal element (in the example the directional pronoun *dər-* used as a verbal prefix) and the transitive verb *kawə́l* 'to do/make', the passive paraphrase omits the past participle of this verb and replaces it by the finite form of *kedə́l* (in this case the 3rd person singular: *dər-kéžṛi*). Thus the passive paraphrase is an intransitive sentence in which the transitive *dər-*

kawə́l 'to give' has been replaced by its passive counterpart *dər-kedə́l* 'to be given'. While in the ergative pattern the agent in the oblique case is an obligatory part of the sentence, the agent in the passive paraphrase is expressed by an optional PP.

4. Directional postpositions

There are three postpositions in Pashto indicating direction ('to/towards') which are used for marking NPs expressing the IO: *ta*, *la* and *larə́*. Their historical origin is unclear except for the supposition (Skjærvø 1989: 402) that *la* is probably related to the Sogdian preposition *'t(')* 'you (wards)'. The most widely used among them is the postposition *ta* which, according to Aslanov (1966:263), fulfils nine various functions. It indicates:

[1] the addressee of an action, e.g.

(2) *tā́-ta* *wā́yəm.*
thou-OBL-to(wards) (I) speak-PRES 1 SG
'I am telling you.'

[2] the place indicating the goal of an action, e.g.

(3) *dā* *kāγáz* *posté-ta* *yósa.*
this letter-REC postoffice-OBL SG FEM-to(wards) bring-IMPER
'Bring this letter to the postoffice!'

[3] direction in relation to another place, e.g.

(4) *də* *pāmír* *soháyl-ta*
of/from Pamir-OBL (=REC) South-(to)wards
'to the South of the Pamir (mountains)'

[4] the person or object towards which the action is directed, e.g.

(5) *doḍáy* *x(o)lé-ta* *wṛə́l*
bread-REC mouth-OBL SG FEM-(to)wards bring-INFIN
'to put bread in(to) the mouth'

[5] the object for the sake of which the action is taken, e.g.

(6) *hári* *γal(l)í* *aw*
each-OBL SG FEM grain(sort)-OBL SG FEM and

nabā́t-ta *mʒə́ka* *pə* *rāz-rāz*
plant-OBL (=REC) SG MASC-for earth-REC FEM in/on different

dawl *yə́we* *kawí.*
manner digging-REC SG FEM (they) do-PRES 3 PL
'For each grain(sort) and plant one cultivates [lit. digs] the earth differently.'

[6] the aim of the action, e.g.

(7) *də́lta* *obó-ta* *rā́γ(ə)ləm.*
here(to) water-OBL PL (=COLL) FEM-for came-PAST 1 SG
'I came here for water.'

[7] the place at/near which the action is taken, e.g.

(8) *muž* *méz-ta* *kṣénu.*
we-REC table-OBL (=REC) SG MASC-at set (ourselves)-PRES 1 PL
'We take places at the table.'

[8] the time at which the action is taken, e.g.

(9) *sabā́-ta*
morning/next day-OBL (=REC) SG MASC-to(wards)/on
'on the next day/morning'

[9] (with certain verbs of movement) similarity with something or somebody, e.g.

(10) *háγa* *mór-ta* *tlə́lay*
that (one)/he-REC mother-OBL (=REC) FEM-(in)to gone-PART PASS SG MASC
dəy.
is-PRES 3 SG MASC [=PERF]
'He resembles (his) mother.'

Theoretically, the postposition *ta* can always be replaced by *la* and *lará* (Aslanov 1966:772 and 755, s.vv.), but in practice *ta* is predominant since *la* has a somewhat bookish character and *lará* appears only in Eastern Pashto. The postposition *ta* can be preceded by a morpheme *wa/wu* (sometimes even reduplicated: *wa-wa-ta*) apparently also meaning 'to/at', thus serving as a means for 'strengthening' the directional sense. The same morpheme can also precede the IO-clause formed by the postposition *wa-ta*, thus becoming an element of a circumposition *wa ... wa-ta*, e.g.

(11) *maliké* *wa* *xpə́li* *mor wa-ta [...]*
[by] queen-OBL SG FEM to/at own-OBL SG FEM mother-OBL SG FEM
wú-wə.
said/spoken-PAST 3 SG
'The queen spoke to her mother.' (Raverty 1860:195)

The origin of this element is not altogether clear but most probably it represents the shortened form of the directional pronoun of the 3rd person *wər* with the postposition *ta*. That such an evolution is possible is shown by the shortened form *wá-lara* (= *wár-lara*) in an example quoted by Raverty (1860: 47):

(12) *Faγfúr* *der*
[by] F. (=title:'emperor')-OBL (=REC) SG MASC much
gohár *jauhár*
gem-REC SG MASC (and) jewel-REC SG MASC
wá-lara *wə́r-krəl.*
to/at-him/her/them-to(wards) to-him/her/them made (over)-PAST 3 PL
'F. gave unto her numerous gems and precious stones.'

In rare cases the particle *wa* appears alone before the dative-like NPs, thus assuming the character of a preposition indicating direction. However, since this is attested to only in poetry one may assume that this unusual form represents the (secondary) circumposition *wa ... (wa-ta)* with an elision of the second element. Raverty (1860:45) quotes as an example the following line of the 17th-century poet Abd-ur-Rahman:

(13) *če* *di* *rang* *də*
[at the moment] that [by] you-OBL (ENCL) colour-REC SG MASC of-
máyo
wine-OBL SG MASC
wə́r-kəṛ *wa*
to(wards)-him/her/them made (over) [=given]-PAST 3 SG MASC to/at
labā́no
lips-OBL PL MASC
'when thou didst give the colour of wine to thy lips'

5. Directional Pronouns

The indication of direction towards the speaking party ('me/us'), the addressee ('thou/you') or the external party ('him/her/it/them') is often expressed in Pashto by means of the so-called directional pronouns *rā, dər, wər*, which appear either in conjunction with postpositions or as prefixes of certain verbs, e.g. *rā́-ta*, 'to(wards)/for me/us', *dár-ta*, 'to(wards)/for you', *rasedál*, 'to come/arrive' vs. *dər-rasedál*, 'to arrive at your place'. Historically, these elements are pronominal adverbs with the suffix **-tra* (answering the question 'where to?') derived from demonstrative stems **a-*, **ta-*, **ava-* (circa *hic, iste, ille*). They are used not only with directional postpositions, but with other postpositions as well and can form in this way case-substitutes for the pronouns, for instance pseudo-comitative *dár-cəxa* 'with/on you' (e.g. *dár-cəxa co rupáy di*, 'how much money do you have?' [literally: '... is (there) with/on you']); pseudo-allative *wár-bāndi* 'for/to him/them (e.g. *wár-bāndi grān wu*, 'he/they liked him' [literally: 'for/to him/them (he) was dear']), etc. As will be seen later (§ 6 [iii]), in their role of verbal prefixes, directional pronouns are often sufficient for expressing the IO of a sentence.

6. Dative-like constructions: structural patterns

In the following the main patterns of NPs with a dative sense will be listed and illustrated by examples taken from the following sources: (a) the Pashto translation of Mark's Gospel in New Testament (1945), (b) Shafeev (1964), (c) Raverty (1860). The Latin translations – supplemented with the English ones according to the Authorized Version – stress the functional identity of the Pashto constructions under consideration with the Latin dative.

[i] NP-OBL + Postposition

(14) *(no)* *háγa* *xpə́lo*
(thus/and) [by] that (one)/him-OBL (=REC) OWN-OBL PL
muridā́no-ta *wú-wayəl.*
disciples-OBL PL-to(wards) said
'(Et) dixit discipulis suis.' / 'And he spoke to his disciples.' (Mc 3.9)

In the example quoted above *háγa* is a demonstrative pronoun 'that (one)' which also serves as a personal pronoun of the 3rd person. According to Shafeev (1964:35) and Raverty (1860:33) its direct and oblique cases have identical forms in the singular, while MacKenzie (1987:558) distinguishes between direct *háγa* and oblique *háγə*. The verb *wayál* 'to speak/say' is treated in Pashto as an objectless transitive which in the ergative construction agrees with the presupposed patient *cə* (= indefinite pronoun 'what(ever)/something'). This unexpressed logical DO is often treated as if it had a collective meaning and required agreement with the verb in the 3rd person masculine plural ('[by] him - [things/words] [were] said').

(15) *no* *háγa* *dodáy*
thus/and [by] that (one)/him-OBL bread-REC SG FEM
wā́xist(əl)a *[...]* *no* *háγuy-ta*
taken-PAST 3 SG FEM [...] thus/and them-to(wards)
ye
[by] him/her/it-(ENCL) OBL 3 SG
wár-krəla.
them-wards made (over)-PAST 3 SG (=PART PASS SG FEM)
'Et accepit [...] panem [...] et dedit eis.' / 'And [Jesus] took bread [...] and gave to them.' (Mc 14.22)

In its function as a personal pronoun, the demonstrative *háγa* has a special personal form of the direct case in the plural *háγuy* 'they', which is different from the regular plural *háγa* (direct case): *háγo* (oblique case) 'those' (MacKenzie 1987:558). This personal form can be used with the postposition *ta* – which normally requires the oblique case – on a par with the regular form *háγo-ta* (Raverty 1860:33). The clitic pronoun of the 3rd person singular and plural *ye* is essentially oblique, although it may also appear as a DO (e.g. *zə ye na wínəm* 'I do not see him') which, generally speaking, is expressed in Pashto by the direct case.

(16) *zə γwā́rəm* *če* *tə* *mā́-la* *[...]* *sar* *[...]*
I wish that thou me-OBL-to [...] head-REC SG MASC [...]
rā́-kṛe.
me/us-wards make (over)-SUBJUNCT 2 SG
'Volo ut [...] des mihi [...] caput [Iohannis Baptistae].' / 'I will that thou give me [...] the head [of John the Baptist].' (Mc 6.25)

(17) *góra* *če* *hičā́-ta* *cə*
look-IMPER that anyone-OBL SG-to(wards) what(ever)

wú-na-waye.
not-(shouldst) tell-SUBJUNCT 2 SG
'Vide nemini dixeris.' / 'See thou say nothing to any man.' (Mc 1.44)

(18) *wa halə́k ta* *[...]*
to/at boy/child-OBL (=REC) SG MASC-to(wards) [...]

wā́yi *[...]* *rā́-ša*
(they) say-PRES 3 PL [...] to-me/us come-IMPER
'(should) they [...] say unto a child "come here"' (Raverty 1860:8)

(19) *če* *[...]* *də* *bəl*
[by one] that/who [...] of other-OBL (=REC) SG MASC

wa 'ayb wá-ta *nazár*
fault-OBL (=REC) SG MASC-to(wards) look/glance-DIR SG MASC

kəṛ
made-PAST 3 SG
'who [...] scrutinizes [lit. looked at] the fault(s) of other(s)'
(Raverty 1860:8)

(20) *də wá-ta* *[...]* *xwāžə́* *gaṇdhér*
him-OBL-to(wards) [...] sweets-REC PL MASC poison-REC SG MASC

di.
are-PRES 3 PL
'The [...] sweets [...] are to him [...] (as) poison.' (Raverty 1860:37)

[ii] Clitic Pronoun + Verb with Directional Pronouns

(21) a. *axbā́r* *mi* *rā́-ka.*
newspaper (of/to)-me-OBL (ENCL) me/us-wards make (over)-IMPER
'Give me the newspaper!' (Shafeev 1964:33)

b. *axbā́r* *di*
newspaper-REC (of/to)-you-OBL (ENCL)

dər-kawə́m.
you-wards (I) make (over)-PRES 1 SG
'I am giving you the newspaper.'

The clitic personal pronouns (Sg.: *mi, di, ye*; Pl.: *mu, mu, ye*) are inherently oblique and fulfil various case-functions, most often that of the agent in

the ergative construction, as in example (15). Next to the dative-like use as IO – as in example (21b) – the clitic of the 2nd person singular is sometimes used as an ethical dative ('for the sake of yours') which gives the subjunctive a jussive sense, e.g. *kitābúna di rā́-wri*, (literally: 'books - for your sake - to me/us - he should bring'), 'let him bring the books' (MacKenzie 1987:565).

[iii] Verb with Directional Pronouns alone

(22) *har* *če* *[...]* *γwā́re* *suā́l*
everything that [...] (yoy) wish-PRES 2 SG question/demand

kṛa *no* *zə* *bə* *ye*
make-IMPER thus/and I-REC future-particle it-OBL 3 SG (ENCL)

də́r-kṛəm.
you-wards (will) make (over)-PRES 1 SG
'Pete [...] quod vis et dabo tibi.' / 'Ask of me whatever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.' (Mc 6. 23)

[iv] Directional Pronouns + Postpositions

(23) *aw 'Isā́* *wə́r-ta*
and [by] Jesus-OBL (=REC) him/her/them-wards

wú-wayəl
[these words] said-PAST 3 PL MASC
'Et dixit eis Iesus' / 'And Jesus said unto them' (Mc 1. 17)

(24) *no* *wə́r-ta* *ye*
thus/and him/her/them-wards [by] them-OBL (ENCL) 3 PL

wú-w(ay)ə
[this word] said-PAST 3 SG MASC
'dixerunt ei' / 'they said unto him' (Mc 1.37])

(25) *ham* *ye* *wə́r-ta*
also/and [by] him-OBL (ENCL) 3 SG him/her/them-wards

ḥukm *wə́r-kəṛ*
order-REC SG MASC him/her/them-wards made (over)-PAST 3 SG MASC

če *[...]*
that [...]
'Et praecepit eis [ne quid tollerent in via]' / 'And commanded them that [...]' (Mc 6.8)

7. Conclusion

Since the term 'case' refers to a particular form of a single nominal element fulfilling certain definite syntactic and/or semantic function(s) only, one is not entitled to say that Pashto possesses a dative case. Instead, it uses constructions which play the role of that case. The function of the dative (essentially: the indication towards which place in space or time the action of the verb is directed) is expressed in two basically different ways: either by marking the NP which indicates such a 'place' (patterns [i], [ii] and [iv]) or by providing the verb with an indicator of the direction of the action (pattern [iii]). Both these ways may be combined in the same sentence as for instance in example (15). While the primary function of these dative counterparts is to mark the IO of transitive verbs, they may also fulfil various secondary functions of a metaphorical character, e.g. that of an indicator of the reason(s) why the action is taken, as in examples (4) and (5). These secondary functions may have varying degrees of diminishing concreteness and attain the level of the purely abstract sense of jussivity (the so-called 'ethical dative').

REFERENCES

Aslanov, M.G. 1966. *Afgansko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva: Izd. 'Soveckaja Enciklopedia'.

MacKenzie, D.N. 1959. A standard Pashto. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22, 231-235.

MacKenzie, D.N. 1987. Pashto. In *The World's Major Languages*, B. Comrie (ed.), London: Croom Helm.

New Testament (Pushtu. Revised Version). 1945. Lahore: British and Foreign Bible Society.

Raverty, H.G. 1860 (reprint 1987). *A Grammar of the Puk'hto, Pus'hto, or Language of the Afghans*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Shafeev, D.A. 1964. *A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto*. Bloomington: Indiana University / The Hague: Mouton.

Skalmowski, W. 1968. The 'ergative construction' in Pashto. *Folia Orientalia* 9, 99-129.

Skjærvø, P.O. 1989. Pashto. In *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, R. Schmitt (ed.), 384-410. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Dative-like constructions in Orizaba Nahuatl

David Tuggy

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Universidad Nacional
Autónoma de México

0. Introduction

The Nahuatl language does not have case markers. I.e. it does not plac affixes on nominal forms in order to indicate what relationship those nomina forms have to a verb or other predicate which governs them. Thus there is n dative case, properly so called, in Nahuatl. However, it is probable that n language can afford to leave completely unspecified the relationship betwee a verb and the nominal forms it governs. These relationships are specified i Nahuatl in at least five ways. (1) Subject and object prefixes (subject alone o intransitive stems, both on transitive stems) are obligatory on verb stems. Sec ondary objects are also represented by prefixes under certain circumstance (2) Noun stems may be incorporated into the verb, many of them bearing sub ject or object-like relationships to the verb stem. (3) Clausal subjects and ob jects (including secondary objects) may occur with a verb, besides whateve affixes representing those same subjects or objects it bears. The function o these clausal subjects and objects is not marked in any way on the noun or i the clause except by their presence. (4) Adpositional constructions indicat certain other relationships of nouns to verbs. (5) Verbal affixation produce complex verb stems with different expectations as to subject and particularl object relationships. Most relevantly for this paper, transitive suffixes such a applicatives may provoke a change whereby what would not be the (primary object of the simple stem becomes object of the complex stem.

All of these mechanisms may involve a nominal which would be marke with dative case in some other languages. For instance, the nominal which i

'promoted' to primary object status in an applicative construction is often what would be called an indirect object in other languages, and would bear dative case in many of them. None of these constructions, however, is used exclusively for coding dative-type nominal-verbal relationships: in fact only for the applicative is it the typical function.

This paper will briefly survey the mechanisms discussed above, and summarize how they are used in dative-like structures. Although the data will be from Orizaba Nahuatl (ON), they are for the most part quite directly parallel to data from other dialects of the language, including Classical Nahuatl.[1]

For simplicity we will call dative-like nominals "datives" (within double quote marks). They will be assumed to be most typically human recipients in a process of transferring material possessions (cf. the etymology of the word "dative"; cf. also Shibatani to appear.) Also highly typical are addressees of verbs of communication, and beneficiaries, persons positively affected by the process designated by the verb. Maleficiaries, or negatively affected persons, are some what less typical, and even less so are secondary affectees (e.g. relatives of a person directly affected), experiencers, and perceivers, or non-humans or non-animate things bearing any relationship to the verb which can be construed as one of the above. Thus, e.g. locations construed as goals are "dative" in being a kind of recipient, but non-"dative" in being non-human and thus exercising no control over motion to them. Typical "datives" are accordingly both subject-like ("nominative") and object-like ("accusative"): they are object-like in not initiating the process designated by the verb and in being affected by it; they are subject-like in being human and in exercising some degree of control, if not over the process itself, at least over their degree of participation in it.[2] To the degree that their participation approximates initiation and full control of the process, they become "nominative"; to the degree that they are totally affected, moved, or changed by the process, and have no control over being so affected, they are 'accusative'.

In many languages, the tendency to mark 'nominatives', 'accusatives', and "datives" (as described in the preceding paragraph) with nominative, accusative, and dative cases is in part reinforced and in part cross-cut by a very strong predilection to mark with nominative case the most prominent participant (the subject), regardless of its "dativity" or lack thereof, and with accusative case the second-most prominent participant (the direct or primary object), regardless of its degree of "dativity". Dative case is used only when there is a third prominent participant involved. Nahuatl parallels this tendency

in that, when a "dative" nominal is the most prominent participant, it will be coded as subject. However, if there is a non-subject "dative" participant, it will almost invariably be treated as the next-most-prominent, and thus coded as a 'primary object'. Participants of lower levels of prominence are rarely "dative" in Nahuatl, unless their participation is mediated by an adposition. While these factors will be described and referred to in the following pages, the term "dative" itself will not be referring to prominence ranking, but rather to the characteristics described in the preceding paragraph.

The overviews of Nahuatl grammatical features provided in the following sections are suggestive rather than complete – for instance honorific forms and other non-central subject and object markings are not described – but the basic structures relevant to the description of "datives" are laid out. Then, for each category, the "dativity" of typical usages is assessed.

1. Verbal and clausal arguments

In Nahuatl, as universally, particular verbal concepts bring with them expectations as to what nominal or adverbial information is expected or likely to be filled in for particular usages of them. Thus a language may require tense and subject information for any verb, and object information for transitive verbs. This information is often given at a phrasal or clausal level, and may be obligatorily required there (e.g. English verbs usually require phrasal tense marking and a clausal subject and, if transitive, an object). A striking feature of Nahuatl is that this sort of information, insofar as it is obligatory (and often even when it is not), is handled within the verb word rather than phrasally or clausally. I.e., it is coded by elements affixed or incorporated into the verb: only rarely is a separate clausal element expected, though it is often permitted. (The concept of a 'verb phrase' does not seem to be a particularly useful one in Nahuatl, thus phrasal elements are irrelevant to the discussion.) The character of such a clausal element will usually be explicative, adding information to what was already coded by the element in the verb word. Virtually any well-formed Nahuatl verb is complete in itself, and may be used alone to form a clause.

The subject and object prefixes, for instance, are pronominal in character, and no other subject or object is needed to form a complete clause. The tense information coded by (obligatory) suffixes is also sufficient. In either

case a clausal element may occur to further explicate the information, but it is not required. The usages, in the following examples, of the adverb *mōstla* 'tomorrow' in conjunction with the future tense suffix *-s*, and of various clausal subjects and objects (*neh* 'I', *teh* 'you singular', *tlāka-tl* 'man') in connection with subject and object prefixes, illustrate this.[3]

ni-kochi	I sleep
(ø-)kochi-h	They sleep
neh ni-kochi-s	***I*** will sleep
mōstla ni-kochi-s	Tomorrow I will sleep
(ø-)kochi tlāka-tl	The/a man sleeps
ni-mitz-itta	I see you
mōstla (ø-)nēch-itta-s	Tomorrow he will see me
neh (ø-)nēch-itta-s	He will see ***me***
neh ni-mitz-itta-s	***I*** will see you
teh ni-mitz-itta-s	I will see ***you***
(ø-)k-itta-s tlākatl	He will see the/a man; The/a man will see him/it

A good deal of freedom is given with respect to ordering as well as (non)-occurrence of these elements. Emphasized elements are typically fronted, and pronominal subjects or objects, since they add no information to that already supplied by the verbal prefixes, are rarely if ever used except for emphasis.

What most concerns us is to note that basic verb-argument relationships are, in Nahuatl, typically worked out within the verb, with clausal arguments (if there are any) introducing no change in that relationship. We will accordingly be spending more time on the relationships between stems and prefixes than between verb words and clausal subjects and objects. (The discussion of adpositional objects in section 4 is the biggest exception to this.)

2. Subjects and objects

2.1. Subjects

2.1.1. Subject marking

Verb stems in ON, in order to form a verb word, must have a prefix designating the subject. These 'subject prefixes', as we will call them, are from the following set:[4]

	Sg	Pl
1	*ni-/n-*	*ti-/t-*
2	*ti-/t-*	*am-*
3	*ø-*	*ø-*

In all tenses verbs which have plural subjects also take suffixes indicating plurality of the subject. The suffix is *-h* for present tense verbs, so the following is a typical present tense paradigm.

ni-kochi	I sleep	*ti-kochi-h*	we sleep
ti-kochi	you sleep	*an-kochi-h*	you all sleep
(ø-)kochi	he/she/it sleeps	*(ø-)kochi-h*	they sleep

2.1.2. "Dative" subjects

Like most other languages, ON codes as subject the most prominent participant in the process designated by a verb or verb stem, regardless of the extent to which it is "dative". Any "dativity" is shared by the subject prefix and the clausal subject, if there is one.

Sometimes the choice of 'most prominent participant' or subject is so constrained by the nature of the objective situation described as to be (almost) predictable; e.g. for a verb stem designating the same sort of situation as *kochi* 'sleep' it would be surprising (though by no means inconceivable) for a language to chose as subject something other than the animate entity undergoing sleep. In other cases the role of convention is much clearer; more than one reasonable candidates for subjecthood exist, and the choice between them is not predictable but is a matter of conventional choice. E.g. for the same kind of situation *kōwa* 'buy' and *nemaka* 'sell' have, by convention, different participants singled out as most prominent, i.e. as subject.

In a few cases, where a verb means, more or less, 'receive', the subject is a prototypical "dative", i.e. the recipient in an act of giving. The clearest case for ON would be that of the verb stem *selia* 'receive, accept'; the 1 singular subject of *ni-k-selia* (*I-it-receive*) is clearly a "dative". Verb stems such as *onana* 'take' or *kuī* 'grasp' may also be used in a situation of giving and their subjects will be quite highly "dative", though they include in their meaning a certain agentivity on the part of the subject which makes them less prototypically "dative". *kōwa* 'buy' is similar in these respects, but implies quite a bit of initiative and thus is even less "dative".

In perception verbs (e.g. *itta* 'see', *kaki* 'hear', *machi-lia* (*know-applic*?) 'touch, feel') the subject is often quite fully "dative": he is passive with respect to the reception of a perceptual stimulus and is affected by it, though he has a degree of control over what the effect of the stimulus is. In other usages of these same verb stems he may be construed as actively seeking the perception ('looking' and 'listening' rather than just 'seeing' and 'hearing') and will be correspondingly less clearly "dative". The subject of *kaki* and of certain other verb stems such as *leerowa* 'read'[5] is often perceiving a communication, and may well in fact be the addressee of that communication; if so he will be more prototypically "dative". *ih-nekui* (*smell-take.up*) 'smell', like *itta* and *kaki*, can be used with the subject more passive or less so; unlike them, however, it has a contrasting stem *ih-yo-wilāna* (*smell-possd-pull*) 'sniff, inhale' which specifies active smelling, and whose subject is thus less "dative" than that of *ihnekui*.[6]

Closely related to the perception verbs are verbs of internal perception, i.e. of perception of bodily state. Examples would include *kochi-s-neki* (*sleep-fut-want*) 'be sleepy', *mayana* 'be hungry', *sotlawa* 'be tired' or *tonēwi* 'hurt, feel pain' (with many derivatives such as *ahas-tonēwi* (*wing-hurt*) 'have a pain in the shoulderblade' *ihti-tonēwi* (*stomach-hurt*) 'have a stomach ache' or *īx-tonēwi* (*eye-hurt*) 'have your eye(s) hurt', etc.). (Section 3.1.2. discusses other verbs of internal perception which are formed by a different sort of noun incorporation.) Closely related to these are verbs of emotion, such as *kualāni* 'be/get angry', *neki* 'want, desire', *paki* 'rejoice', *tliokoya* 'be sad'. The subjects of these verbs are "dative" in that they are not physically changed, they typically have some degree of control over the designated emotional state, and they perceive that state; however, their perception of the emotional state is less in focus than is their undergoing of it. Other stems designate a less-than-fully-voluntary bodily change with a subject who is an experiencer and usually a perceiver as well, but do not take the experiencing/perceiving as central, so the subjects in these cases are less fully "dative". In this category are, e.g., *chōka* 'cry', *ekxowa* 'sneeze', *kochi* 'sleep', *mokokowa* (*refl-hurt.trans*) 'get/be sick', *wetzi* 'fall', or *winti* 'be drunk'. The meaning of *pasārowa* 'undergo, experience, it happen to' (borrowed from Spanish) may be seen as hyperonymous for this category; its subject is quite highly "dative".

And of course in most cases where a human is subject of a verb, there is a degree of "dativity" in that the subject is at least aware of the process and may well be affected by it in other ways to some degree. Thus, for instance, the subject of a motion verb such as *nemi* 'walk' or *tzikuini* 'jump' is an experiencer not only in being (typically) aware of what he is doing, but in that his bodily position is changed by the process. Since he is also initiator and controller of the action, however, he is highly 'nominative', and only quite peripherally "dative".

2.2. *Objects*

2.2.1. *Primary objects*

Transitive verb stems in ON, in order to serve as the stem for a verb word, are preceded by a prefix designating the (primary) object. (An incorporated object – see 3.1.1. – may occur instead: other exceptions to this rule are quite rare.) Such an 'object prefix' comes between the subject prefix and the verb stem – one way to view it is to say that subject prefixes always attach to an intransitive stem, and that putting an object prefix on a transitive stem satisfies its object valence, rendering it intransitive and thus a fit candidate for subject prefixation. Object prefixes include the following two sets:

Specific object markers

	Sg	Pl
1	*nēch-*	*tēch-*
2	*mitz-*	*amēch-*
3	*k-/ki-*	*k-im-/k-in-*

Non-Specified object markers

mo-	reflexive
tē-	unspecified human
tla-	unspecified non-human
ne-	unspecified reflexive/reciprocal

ne- is a peripheral member of the set; it is not productively used. The non-specified object prefixes, and especially *tla-*, have many extended meanings, and in some usages may occur on intransitive stems; two important meanings of *tla-* are 'canonical (expected) object' as in *tla-tisi* (*unspec-grind*) 'grind corn' and 'general action' as in *tla-yōwa* (*unspec-get.dark*) 'night fall'.

The following forms exemplify how these prefixes are used together with the subject prefixes to form complete verbs.

ti-nēch-itta	you see me	*(ø-)tēch-itta*	he sees us
ni-mitz-itta	I see you	*n-amēch-itta*	I see you (pl)
ti-k-itta-h	we see him/her/it	*ti-k-im-itta*	you see them

ni-mo-tta	I see myself
ni-tla-itta	I see things, something
ni-tē-itta	I see people, someone

As explained in section 1, a transitive verb with a specific object prefix, especially a third person object prefix, will often have a clausal object as well. Non-specified object prefixes rarely or never cooccur with clausal objects. (This is natural enough: it would be odd to make a point of not specifying an object and then re-specify it at the clause level.)

The object that a transitive verb stem takes in such single-object constructions we will call its primary object, when it is necessary to distinguish it from other objects. (The name reflects my own intuitions that this object is semantically primary as well, i.e. it is the most prominent object of that stem.)

2.2.2. *Secondary objects*

There are times when there is implied in the meaning of a verb stem a 'secondary object', i.e. an argument which is neither subject nor primary object. For example, with the verb stem *maka* 'give' the primary object is the person to whom something is given, and the subject is (as in English) the giver. The thing given is clearly a central participant in the process, but it is relegated to secondary object status. Similarly, when a complex verb stem contains a verb stem which would normally take a different primary object, that 'displaced' primary object functions as a secondary object. Thus the thing bought, which is the primary object of *kōwa* 'buy', is a secondary object in the complex stem *kōwi-lia* (*buy-applic*) 'buy from', whose primary object is the seller.

Secondary objects are usually not marked on the verb (but see discussion regarding *im-* below and of double object constructions in section 2.2.3.). They may, however, be manifested clausally in the same way as are (clausal) subjects and primary objects; e.g. one might easily say *ō-(ø-)nēch-kōwi-lih eyi kilo ētzintli* (*past-(he-)me-buy-applic.pret three kilo beans(hon)*) 'he bought three kilos of beans from me', where the noun phrase *eyi kilo ētzintli* is a clausal secondary object of *ōnēchkōwilih* 'he bought from me'.

Locations, including sources and goals, can often be thought of as a kind of secondary objects, although there are reasons for aligning them with adverbial structures as well. They typically occur in the clause with no special marking, just as do other secondary clausal objects (and clausal primary objects and subjects, for that matter). E.g. *ni-yah mo-chan* (*I-go your-home*) 'I'm going to your house', *ō-ni-wallah Tekila* (*past-I-came Tequila*) 'I came from Tequila'.

The prefix *im-* specifies plurality of a third person object. Typically the object whose plurality is thus specified is in fact the primary object, the same object which is marked by the third person (singular) object prefix *k-*, producing the third person plural object prefix *k-im-* described in section 2.2.1. However, when there is a third person plural secondary object of a transitive verb stem, *im-* may, but need not, be used to mark that plurality. It will follow the primary object prefix (of whatever person). With such a verb, a *k-im-* sequence will be ambiguous between a reading '3 pl primary object, 3 sg/pl unspecified secondary object' and a reading '3 sg primary object, 3 pl secondary object'.[7] The following forms illustrate these patterns.

ti-nēch-maka	you give me (it/them/something/things)
ti-nēch-in-maka	you give them to me
ni-mitz-kōwi-lia	I buy (it/them/something/things) from you
ni-mitz-in-kōwi-lia	I buy them from you
ti-k-in-maka	you give (it/them/something/things) to them /you give them to him

2.2.3. *Double object verbs*

Sometimes a transitive verb will have two objects marked by object prefixes (excluding the cases of *im-* mentioned above); such cases we will call 'double object verbs'. Always the second of these object prefixes, the one next to the verb stem, is non-specified (i.e. it is *mo-*, *tla-*, *tē-*, or *ne-*); we will call this the 'inner object prefix'. The 'outer object prefix', which precedes it, is usually specific, but may also be *mo-*, or, less commonly, *tē-* or *tla-*.

Double object verbs are most commonly built on stems which imply a secondary object, and almost always one of the object prefixes corresponds to that secondary object (the other is, of course, the primary object). Sometimes the inner object prefix is the secondary object; sometimes it is the primary object and the outer object prefix is secondary.[8] The inner.object-verb.stem

combination in a double object verb is almost always a well-established, fixed form which can be viewed as a kind of singly transitive stem. The construction is not freely productive: you cannot take just any transitive verb and put two objects on it. The verb stem *maka* 'give', with its related form *maa* 'hit' has perhaps the fullest set of double object verbs constructed on it (cf. Tuggy 1989). Some examples of this kind of construction are given below.

	Single Object Verbs
ni-k-maka	I give him (it/something/etc.)
ni-mo-maka	I give myself (it/something/etc.)
ni-tē-maka	I give people/someone (it/something/etc.)
	Inner Object is primary
ni-k-mo-maka	I give it to myself
ni-k-tē-maka	I give it away (i.e. to people/someone)
ni-k-ne-maka	I sell it (lit. I give it each to the other)
	Inner Object is secondary
ni-k-tla-maka	I give him food (i.e. the canonical thing)
	Single Object Verbs
ni-k-mach-tia	I teach him (lit. cause him to know)
ni-mo-mach-tia	I learn (lit. cause self to know)
ni-tē-mach-tia	I teach people/someone
	Inner Object is primary
ni-k-mo-mach-tia	I learn it (lit. cause self to know it)
ni-k-tē-mach-tia	I teach it (lit. cause people to know it)
	Inner Object is secondary
ni-k-tla-mach-tia	I teach him (lit. cause him to know things)

Double object verbs show a number of parallels with certain incorporational constructions (section 3.1.1.).[9] It is in many ways helpful to view the non-specified object prefixes as highly abstract incorporated nouns, i.e. nouns meaning 'thing' or 'person', 'self' or 'each other', which are specialized to incorporational constructions (i.e. they do not occur independently of such constructions). If this is done many of the characteristics of double object

verbs fall out automatically from properties of the parallel incorporational constructions.

2.2.4. *"Dative" primary objects*

By far the greatest number of the most highly "dative" nominals in ON are primary objects of the verb stems they attach to. The majority of these owe their primary object status to a derivation of the verb stem: these cases will be dealt with later (in section 3). Even apart from such cases, however, it is quite common for objects, particularly human objects, to be "dative" in some degree. A language with case markers might well use dative case to mark many of these nominals; however, it would be equally unsurprising if a language were to code all or most of them with accusative case instead, since they are often top contenders for the second rank (after the subject) of prominence. ON's giving primary object status can be viewed as equivalent to what accusative case accomplishes in such languages.

A Nahuatl primary object will often correspond to the direct object of the English verb which translates it, but this is not necessarily the case. *maka* 'give', as we have seen, takes as its primary object the person to whom something is given, not the thing given. Thus *ti-nēch-maka* means 'you give me (s.t.)', not 'you give me (to s.o.)';[10] in *ni-k-maka* the *k-* refers not to the thing given but to a third person singular recipient. This primary object of *maka*, then, is as prototypical a "dative" as you can get. The verb stems *ihtowa* and *illia* both mean, more or less, 'speak', but take different primary objects: for *ihtowa*, as for English *say*, the primary object is the thing spoken, whereas in *illia* it is the (highly "dative") addressee, as in English *tell (me)*. In Spanish the verb *decir* would be used to translate both stems, but with an accusative object in the case of *ihtowa* (*decirlo*), and a dative object in the case of *illia* (*decirle*).

There are a number of other verb stems with "dative" primary objects: among them are other communication verbs such as *ahwa* 'reprimand, bawl out', *nōtza* 'call, call out to', *tlahpalowa* 'greet, visit', *nawatia* 'command, order', *nankilia* 'answer, respond to';[11] and others such as *chia* 'await', *chichi* 'nurse (at the breast of)', *chihcha* 'spit at', *neki* 'love', *pitzowa* 'kiss', *tēmiki* 'dream about',[12] *titlani* 'send', *toka* 'follow after', *tlasohtla* 'love, spoil', *tlakēwa* 'hire', *tlāni* 'beat (in a contest)', *tlahtlani* 'ask for, look for'. Some of these have other meanings in which the object is less "dative"; e.g. *chihcha* can also mean 'spit out', *neki* usually means 'want', *titlani* can mean 'hurl' and *tlāni* 'win, earn'.

Other verb stems have more peripherally or contingently "dative" primary objects. For instance the objects of *itta* 'see' or *kaki* 'hear' and other verbs of perception are "dative" in that they are possibly affected but certainly not changed by their participation in the process; however, they generally have little or no control over that participation, and as often as not will be inanimate or at least non-human. It will be remembered that the subjects of these verbs are also quite highly "dative"; thus one would expect that if dative case were to be used anywhere in these situations, it would be to mark the experiencer rather than the thing sensed by that experiencer. One of the meanings of *tzakua* 'shut' (which usually takes a door/gate or an enclosure such as a room for its object) is 'lock up, esp. in jail'; the object of the verb in that usage is "dative" to a degree, but also somewhat 'accusative'. The object of *tēmowa* 'seek, search for', if human, is somewhat "dative", as is the object (if human) of *xīkowa* 'bear, put up with'.

A special class of verbs with highly "dative" primary objects are those which take an inanimate subject and a human object. Some of them are: *kokowa* 'hurt, be painful to', *maa* '(a disease) infect, attack, make sick'; *namiki* '(clothing) fit, be the right size for, (food or medicine) help the ailments of'; *panowa* '(a disease or suffering) pass from, leave'; *pasarowa* 'happen to', *polowa* 'be lacking to, be insufficient for, be strange/surprising to'; *tokarowa* 'pertain to'.[13] Most verbs in this class are causativized and/or have incorporated nouns (cf. 3.2.1. and 3.1.1.); e.g. *īx-mik-tia* (*eye-die-caus*) 'hurt the eye(s) of', *el-moyawa* (*thorax-stir.up*) 'nauseate'.

2.2.5. Almost no "dative" secondary objects

Although secondary objecthood (the third rather than the second ranking of prominence) is an important part of what dative case marks in many case languages, ON secondary objects are much less likely than primary objects to be "dative"; in fact, highly "dative" secondary objects are so rare as to be virtually non-existent. When human participants are understood to be part of the picture, Nahuatl tends to give them primary object status. Even when a human is secondary object of a stem, the secondary object will only rarely surface as such; rather the verb stem will be applicativized so that the human object may become primary. E.g. in *kīx-tia* (*emerge-caus*) 'take out' the thing from which the object is removed is a quite salient secondary object. However, if that secondary object is human (e.g. in a case of removing thorns from a child's skin), it is almost necessary to use the applicative form *kīx-ti-lia* (*emerge-caus-applic*) 'take (it/s.t.) out of' to talk about the situation. Similarly, if the secondary object of *nemaka* 'sell' (i.e. the buyer) or that of *kōwa* 'buy' (i.e. the seller) is to be talked of at all, it almost has to be done by using either (a) the applicative form of the stem (*nemaki-ltia, kōwi-lia*) which makes that object primary, or (b) the other verb, which makes that person subject.

Nevertheless a human secondary object can sometimes occur. E.g. if *ni-mitz-in-maka* (*I-you-3.pl.obj.-give*) 'I give them to you' is given an appropriate context, the plural third person thing that is given can be understood to be human beings. But note that they constitute a quite thoroughly 'accusative' object; they are quite fully affected by the process, and are understood to have virtually no control over their participation in it. If the secondary objects of *ni-mitz-im-itti-tia* (*I-you-3.pl.obj-see-caus*) 'I show them to you' happen to be human, they are perhaps more "dative" in that they are affected only mildly (if at all) by being seen, but again there is no clear expectation that they have any control over their participation in the process, and they are thus still quite highly 'accusative'. In both cases the primary object, the person to whom others are given or shown, is much more clearly "dative".

A rather highly "dative" secondary object is the (outer) object of *tīllia* 'accuse' which is a contraction of *tē-illia* (*unspec.hum.obj-tell*). Although the third person in *ni-k-tīllia* 'I accuse him' is probably rightly to be thought of as the primary object of *tīllia*, he is also a secondary object of *illia* 'tell (someone)'. He is "dative" in that he is not physically or fully affected by the accusation; he can be construed as receiving something (namely condemnation); and he has the ability to respond and lessen his degree of participation (by defending himself). However, the primary (inner) object *tē-*, the unspecified humans whom 'I' tell about him, are even more centrally "dative", as addressees of a verb of speaking.

Another kind of marginally "dative" secondary objects are goals of verbs of motion, e.g. the market in *ni-yah tiankisko* (*I-go market-loc*) 'I'm going to market'. The market is like a typical dative in being a sort of recipient, and in not being highly affected by the process, but untypical in being non-human and thus having no control at all over what happens.

3. Verb-stem changing constructions

There are a number of derivational constructions which affect the "dativity" of the arguments of a verb stem. The following discussion emphasizes

constructions whose primary objects or, less commonly, subjects, are often "dative".

3.1. Incorporational constructions

3.1.1. Incorporated nouns

One of the most common kinds of compounds in Nahuatl has a verb stem as the rightmost member and head; such constructions are called incorporations. Various kinds of stems can be incorporated on a verb stem; the most common (and most relevant to our purposes) are noun stems.[14] Incorporated nouns bear a variety of relationships to the verb stem, from adverbial (e.g. *iknō-itta* (*orphan-see*) 'pity') through more argument-like notions such as time or purpose (e.g. *yōwal-nehnemi* (*night-walk*) 'walk around at night') to instruments (e.g. *lāpis-kuilowa* (*pencil-write*) 'write in pencil') and secondary objects (e.g. *tlakual-maka* (*food-give*) 'feed') to primary objects and subjects (e.g. *ilwi-tta* (*fiesta-see*) 'see/celebrate a fiesta', *tlāl-olini* (*land-move*) '(to) earthquake'). The two most common types are incorporations of the 'subject's active zone' and 'object's active zone', where an 'active zone' is that part of the subject or object that participates directly in the process designated by the verb (the term is from Langacker 1984). Thus *mā-nehnemi* (*hand-walk*) 'walk on (your) hands' would be a subject's active zone incorporation, and *mā-pahpaka* (*hand-wash*) 'wash the hands of', an object's active zone incorporation. (The English structures *hand-weave* and *brain-wash* are directly parallel.) Sometimes a single form will admit of more than one interpretation: *kuī-lia* (*grasp-applic*) means 'snatch (it/something) from', and *mā-kuīlia* means either 'snatch with the hand from' (subject's active zone) or 'snatch from the hand of' (object's active zone).

These constructions are not freely productive: most incorporations are fixed, standardized 'lexical' units, and it is certainly not the case that you can freely combine any conceivable noun-verb pair into an acceptable incorporational construction. In a good many cases a fair degree of productivity may be observed, however. E.g. with the verb *nemaka* 'sell' virtually any saleable object can be incorporated, producing such forms as *xochi-nemaka* 'sell flowers', *elō-nemaka* 'sell corn-on-the-cob', *pantalō-nemaka* 'sell trousers', *kamyon-nemaka* 'sell trucks/busses', etc. Similarly, just about any transitive verb stem denoting something you might do to a person's hand can be used with *mā* incorporated as an object's active zone.

Primary object incorporations normally produce an intransitive stem, i.e. one which neither needs nor in fact permits any other object, and subject incorporations produce a verb which needs (and permits) no other subject. (It could be argued that all subject incorporations actually take the third person singular subject marker – since it is a zero, it is hard to prove or disprove the argument. Certainly no other subject marker, and no clausal subject, is permitted.) Adverbial, instrument, and secondary object incorporations naturally leave the subject and primary object valences intact.

Active zone incorporations apparently do the same: e.g. with *mā-kuīlia* under either reading subject and object prefixes are required; thus *ni-mitz-mā-kuīlia* means either 'I snatch (it/something) from you with my hand' or 'I snatch (it/something) from your hand', but **ni-mā-kuīlia*, with no object prefix, is impossible. (A form with no subject prefix, would, of course, be taken as having the zero third person prefix.) This aligns active zone incorporations with adverbial, instrument, and secondary object incorporations, as against subject and primary object incorporations, and is doubtless a correct way to analyze many cases.

However, it is also possible to view active zone incorporations as a kind of subject or primary object incorporation (whichever the case might be) in which the incorporated subject or object brings into the picture an entity of such semantic importance that it must be further identified: that entity would then take over the subject or object valence. Thus *mā-pahpaka* would mean 'wash a hand', just as one would expect from the primary object incorporational pattern, but the mention of the hand would bring into the semantic picture the owner of the hand, who would then need to be identified, and would therefore be given a primary object valence in the complex stem, making that stem transitive rather than intransitive. Similarly *mā-kuīlia* on the subject's active zone reading would mean 'a hand snatches', but the mention of the hand would bring the hand's owner into the picture, and he would take over the subject valence. Supporting this kind of analysis are a number of cases where the basic verb stem is something that can be felicitously said only of the active zone (e.g. body part) itself, not of the entity with which it is associated. E.g. in *kamisah-ololowa* (*shirt-roll.up*) 'roll up the shirtsleeves of' the verb stem *ololowa* denotes a process that could be achieved only under quite exceptional circumstances if the object were a person, but which readily can be done to a shirt: and in fact the complex stem does not imply that the person who is its primary object is rolled up, but only that his shirt is. It seems natu-

ral, then, to claim that the shirt is primary object of *ololowa* but that its mention brings into the picture its owner, who then takes over as primary object. Similarly in *ēs-kīsa* (*blood-emerge*) 'bleed' the person (or animal) who is subject of the complex stem is not viewed as emerging; rather the blood is what emerges (*ēs* is subject of *kīsa*), but the mention of the blood brings its owner (who also happens to be the object from which the blood emerges and thus is doubly salient) so importantly into the picture that he is accorded the subject status in the complex stem. Perhaps even clearer examples are *tlāka-miki* (*man-die*) 'become a widow' and *xik-tōk-tok* (*umbilicus-bury-passive.dur*), literally 'lie navel-buried' but in usage 'be born (at a particular place)': the widow does not die, but only her man does, and the person is not buried in the place where he is born, only his umbilicus is. The forms *totōnka-kalaki* (*hot-enter*) 'catch a fever' and *sēsek-kalaki* (*cold-enter*) 'catch a chill' are very parallel to these, but they differ from them in two respects: (i) the stem is adjectival rather than strictly nominal (though adjectives function as nouns, and vice versa, rather freely in Nahuatl), and (ii) it is not a 'relational noun'; i.e. it does not bring with it as clearly the idea of an owner, a human to which it is inevitably related. Nevertheless, such a human (who as the entity into which the subject enters is a secondary object of *kalaki*) does take over the subject valence.

Instrument incorporations, for what it is worth, can be analyzed similarly: *lāpis-kuilowa* could be viewed as a subject incorporation meaning 'a pencil writes', but since the issue is immediately raised of who wields the pencil, that person takes over the subject valence.

At the end of the section 2.2.3. we suggested that non-specified object prefixes such as *tla-* and *tē-* may be profitably treated as abstract noun stems which only occur in incorporations. The cases where they function as primary objects of the verb parallel normal primary object incorporations in that they produce an intransitive stem: thus *tla-nemaka* (*unspec-sell*) 'sell (stuff)' and *tlakual-nemaka* (*food-sell*) 'sell food' are directly parallel. The cases where they function as secondary objects in a double object verbal construction parallel secondary object incorporations, making *tla-maka* (*unspec-give*) 'give food to' and *tlakual-maka* (*food-give*) 'feed' directly parallel in structure (as well as in meaning). And the cases where they function as primary inner objects in a double object verb parallel the transitivity-shifting incorporations mentioned above, where the primary object valence is satisfied, but another entity, whether implied by the incorporated noun as in most of the examples

given, or whether already present in the verbal meaning, as in *totōnka-kalaki* and *sēsek-kalaki*, takes over the valence of the incorporated noun. Thus *ki-tē-machtia* (*3.sg.obj-unspec.human.obj-teach*) 'teach it (to people)' is parallel to *ki-kamisah-ololowa* (*3.sg.obj-shirt-roll.up*) 'roll up the shirtsleeves of him'.

The verb stem *miki* 'die' is interesting in that it incorporates a number of different stems (usually nominal) to produce verb stems meaning something like 'suffer from excess/lack of the stem'; thus *ā-miki* (*water-die*) 'be very thirsty', *āpis-miki* (*famine-die*) 'be very hungry, be starving', *koch-miki* (sleep-die) 'be very sleepy', *kualankā-miki* (*angry-die*) 'be very angry', *pāk-miki* (*rejoice-die*) 'be overjoyed', *tli-miki* (*fire-die*) 'be very hot', and so forth. It is probably correct to posit a suffixal form of *-miki* meaning 'suffer from'. Note that these are not incorporations of a subject or object, but rather of a cause.

3.1.2. "Dative" arguments of incorporational constructions

When a body part is incorporated as 'object's active zone', the owner of that body part, who is the primary object of the newly formed verb, is typically "dative" in some degree. E.g. if *maa* 'hit' is used with a human object, that person is taken to be affected in his totality by getting hit; if he is only hit in the finger (*mahpil-maa*) he can be seen as less thoroughly affected and therefore less 'accusative' and more "dative". Similarly, if a person as a whole is object of *nekuilowa* 'twist' or *posteki* 'break', he will be a more highly 'accusative' participant in the action than if only his foot/leg is twisted (*ikxi-nekuilowa*), or broken (*ikxi-posteki*). If *ihtlakowa* is used with a human object, it means 'annihilate, destroy'; with the incorporated noun *ihti* 'stomach', however, it means only 'give a stomach ache to, upset the stomach of', and its object is much less 'accusative'.

Where the verb stem is such that it collocates only with the incorporated 'active zone' noun and not with the subject or object which takes over the valence from that noun (see section 3.1.1.), that subject or object is typically quite highly dative. E.g. in *kamisah-ololowa* (*shirt-roll.up*) 'roll up the shirtsleeves of', the primary object is the person whose shirtsleeves are rolled up; as such he is only slightly affected, not in any clear sense changed, by the action, and he typically has considerable control over whether his sleeves will be rolled up or not. Similarly in *ēs-kīsa* (*blood-emerge*) 'bleed' the subject, the person bleeding, is affected but may not be greatly changed by the action, and has a reasonable degree of control over whether he continues to lose

blood. In *tlāka-miki* (*man-die*) 'become a widow' the woman is affected strongly, and typically has little control over what happens (though some over how it affects her) and thus is somewhat 'accusative'; but in comparison with how strongly her husband is affected, she is quite highly "dative"; a woman in a parallel situation in Spanish would be coded by a dative pronoun. In *totōnka-kalaki* (*hot-enter*) 'catch a fever' and *sēsek-kalaki* (*cold-enter*) 'catch a chill' the subject, which takes over the subject valence from the incorporated (adjectival) noun, is again "dative" to a considerable degree.

Especially interesting in this regard are two cases where forms with an incorporated object occur in synomymous versions with and without an applicative . One of these cases is the stem *toma-nemaka* 'sell tomatoes'. *nemaka* 'sell' (itself formed of a "dative" unspecified reflexive-reciprocal object prefix and the verb stem *maka* 'give') is transitive, taking as its object the thing sold. It often takes incorporated noun stems as objects, e.g. in *ni-toma-nemaka* 'I sell tomatoes'. It also has three applicative forms, all resulting in "dative" objects: *ni-k-nemak-ia* means 'I sell (it/something) for him/behind his back' (the reflexive form is quite common but naturally lacks the 'behind the back' notion), *ni-k-nemaki-lia* means 'I sell (it/something) for him', and *ni-k-nemaki-ltia* means 'I sell (it/something) to him'.[15] However, the stem *toma-nemaka* can also be used transitively, and its object is the owner of the tomatoes that are sold; *ni-k-toma-nemaka* means 'I sell his tomatoes'. Since tomatoes cannot typically be sold without affecting the owner either for good or ill, and typically for good (cf. the discussion in section 3.2.3. on applicatives implying possession), the verb can usually be translated equally well 'I sell his tomatoes for him', though in some contexts it might mean 'I sell his tomatoes in spite of him, even though he doesn't want me to.' These are "dative" notions. One might have expected an applicative form to code them, and such a form does in fact exist: *ni-k-toma-nemak-ia* means 'I sell tomatoes (whether his or not) for him'. I do not have recorded any parallel usage of *nemaka* with any other incorporated noun. But the usage is understandable in terms of the incorporation of possessions, with their owner taking over the object valence. Here we might say that the mention of tomatoes leads speakers to think of the owner of those tomatoes, and to give that owner the object position in the verb, even without an applicative to overtly cause that change in object. Thus, even though this is a unique case for *nemaka*, it can be seen easily as an extension of patterns observable elsewhere.

The other case involves a series of forms with the stem *mik-tia* (*die-caus*) 'kill' and an incorporated kinship noun. E.g. *ni-ki-kni-mik-tia* (*I-him-sibling-die-caus*) can be translated 'I kill his brother', but the meaning clearly involves a focussing on the effects of the killing on the surviving brother, who takes over the object valence as a highly "dative" direct object.[16] The construction *ni-ki-kni-mik-ti-lia* (*I-him-sibling-die-caus-applic*) has the same meaning, but arrives at that meaning by putting an applicative on *mik-tia*, changing its meaning to something like 'kill (s.o.) so as to affect'. (The stem *(i)kni* can be thought of as a standard object incorporation on *mik-tia*, or as a secondary object incorporation on *mik-ti-lia*.[17]) In this case the non-applicative construction with *mik-tia* is preferred over that with *mik-ti-lia*; this holds true for all the half-dozen or so other cases where a kinship noun is incorporated to these verb stems.

Generally the incorporation of a subject's active zone affects the "dativity" of the subject, and the incorporation of an object's active zone affects the "dativity" of the object. The case of *pana-wia* (*pass.intr-applic*) 'pass (trans), surpass' is interesting in this regard. *pana-wia* does not take a highly "dative" object (3.2.3.), but the object of *tēm-pana-wia* (*lip-surpass*) 'surpass in speech, overwhelm in argument' is quite highly "dative". *tēn* 'lip', by metonymy 'power of speech', can be thought of as the subject's active zone (the thing with which he surpasses the object), but also as the object's active zone (the thing with respect to which he is surpassed); there is probably also something right about seeing it as a sort of locational or adverbial incorporation: the sphere in which the surpassing takes place. However it is construed, the result is a "dative" object (not subject).

The subject of *miki* 'die' is at best marginally "dative"; he is changed quite totally and has typically no control at all over undergoing the change. However when a noun stem is incorporated with *miki* the verb takes on the sense of 'suffer' or 'be affected by', and the result is a verb of internal perception (2.1.2.) whose subject is much more highly "dative". Thus the subject of *āpis-miki* (*famine-die*) experiences strong hunger without becoming as totally changed by it as is the subject of *miki*, and can be expected to exercise some control over the situation (by looking for something to eat); similar comments could be made about *ā-miki* (*water-die*) 'be very thirsty', *tōnal-miki* (*day/sun-die*) 'be very hot, get too much sun', etc. Similarly, in *se-kuī* (*cold-grasp*) '(animate being) be/get cold', the incorporation of a noun (this time a non-bodypart noun) produces a verb stem of internal perception, with a highly "dative" subject.

In a few cases the incorporation of a non-nominal stem affects the "dativity" of the participants. *totōnka-kalaki* (*hot-enter*) 'catch a fever' and *sēsek-kalaki* (*cold-enter*) 'catch a chill' were mentioned above: here, although the incorporated stems are adjectival, they function as nouns in the construction. In a quite different way, the incorporation of the adjectival stem *wel* 'delicious, pleasant' to *itta* 'see' produces *wel-itta* 'like, be pleased by'. Here the adjectival notion is presumably linked as a modifier to the object; the object is seen as delicious or pleasant. But the result is a verb stem whose subject is more highly "dative" than that of *itta*. The verb stems *koch* 'sleep (perfective)' and *pāk* 'rejoice (perfective)' are used in the *-miki* construction in a manner directly parallel to the expected nominal stem, and produce stems with highly "dative" subjects: *koch-miki* 'be very sleepy', *pāk-miki* 'be overjoyed'. And, in a number of other cases, incorporation of *koch* produces a stem in which the subject does something in his sleep: e.g. *koch-tlapowa* (*sleep-talk*) 'talk in your sleep', *koch-nehnemi* (*sleep-walk*) 'walk in your sleep', *koch-tlachia* (*sleep-look.up*) 'keep waking up, alternate between waking and sleep'. Here the subject is less fully in control of what he does (though it is still he that does it, and there is no one else that initiates or controls the action); he is accordingly less "nominative" and more "dative".

3.2. Applicatives and causatives

3.2.1. The formation of causatives and applicatives

Nahuatl has a half-dozen or so of etymologically related suffixes which attach to various kinds of stems and produce transitive verbs.[18] They all seem to involve causation in their meaning, and all seem to bear various meanings in different cases. The two main syntactico-semantic groupings are causatives and applicatives: in Tuggy (1981:341-454, 1988) it is claimed that the major difference between the two types is whether the stem to which the suffix attaches is identified with the causing action (applicatives) or with the resulting or caused action (causatives). The two types are closely related in many ways, and there are a number of halfway cases, which show characteristics of both causatives and applicatives but are clear members of neither category. Perhaps the most important and typical usage of these suffixes is on verb stems; their (also quite extensive) usage on nominal and other stems is discussed in section 3.3. Particular affixes tend to specialize in one sort of usage – thus *-lia* is typically an applicative, and *-tia* and *-ltia* are typically causatives (on

intransitive and transitive stems, respectively) – but each does function in the other usage on occasion: e.g. *-tia* is a causative in *kalak-tia* (*enter-caus*) 'put/stick/pull/push in', but, exceptionally, an applicative in *tlakuika-tia* (*sing-applic*) 'sing to, praise'.

In a typical verbal causative the process designated by the verb stem is understood as resulting from some other process. The subject of the causing process is subject of the overall construction, and the subject of the caused process is overall verbal object. If the verb stem is transitive, its object is a secondary object of the overall construction. Thus *miki* means 'die' and its subject is the one who dies; *mik-tia* (*die-caus*) means 'kill';[19] the one who dies is primary object, and the one causing his death is subject. Similarly *kōwa* means 'buy' and its subject is the one who buys, its object the thing bought; *kōwa-ltia* (*buy-caus*) means 'make (someone) buy (s.t.)'; the one who buys is primary object, the thing bought is a secondary object, and the one causing the other to buy is subject. The nature of the causing process is not necessarily highly specified: in *mik-tia* it is likely to be, but need not be, shooting with a gun; in *kōwa-ltia* it is most probably some kind of psychological pressure, perhaps most typically a command, but it could conceivably be some other kind of process.

In a typical verbal applicative, in contrast, the verb stem is understood as causing some effect to occur. The subject of the verb stem remains as overall subject, and the person most involved in the effect is overall object. If the initial verb stem is transitive, its object is a secondary object of the overall construction. Thus in *kōwi-lia* (*buy-applic*) the act of buying is understood as causing an effect, and the person most clearly affected is the primary object; the thing bought is a secondary object. The nature of the effect is not necessarily highly specified: it may, for instance, be one of possession of the thing bought, or one of no longer having an obligation to buy, or one of having money instead of the thing bought (i.e. of having sold). Thus *ni-mitz-kōwi-lia* might mean 'I buy (s.t.) for you', or 'I buy (s.t.) in your place', or 'I buy (s.t.) from you'. In some towns within the ON area it has specialized to mean 'from you' (a different applicative form, *kōw-ia*, means 'buy for'); in others it has not. In any case, where it has so specialized the specialization of meaning pertains to the complex stem *kōwi-lia* rather than to the applicative *-lia per se*. Nevertheless, there are several kinds of effects that are so typical as to constitute part of the meanings of the applicative suffixes; in the absence of any compelling contextual or other factor, the meaning of the applicative can be

expected to fall among them. They include benefit, acquisition (normally a kind of benefit), loss or other detrimental effect, communication, and substitution (normally a kind of benefit involving a release from obligation). So Carochi (1655:466) summarizes them as designating an 'order[ing of] the action of the verb towards another person or thing, connecting it to him [*atribuyéndosela*] by way of damage or benefit, taking it off him or putting it on him, or relating it to him [*refiriéndosela*] in any way whatever, as will be understood by the examples.'

The cause-effect relationship is important in that it accounts for the close tie-in between causatives and applicatives in Nahuatl (as well as for other reasons), but there are some applicatives that do not seem to clearly involve it or for which it does not seem to be of primary importance. The syntactic result of typical applicative usage is to change the primary object-hood of a verb stem to an affected person (i.e. one who is subject to an effect), but some applicatives seem simply to change the primary object-hood without the new object being particularly affected. In one pattern the new object is something already implied in the meaning of the stem. *kōwi-lia* in the sense 'buy (s.t.) from' is an example of this; the new object is the seller, who was already implied in the meaning of *kōwa* 'buy' but was neither subject nor object of that stem. The seller, however, does benefit from having his goods sold, at least in the typical case, so this can simultaneously be viewed as an example of the pattern whereby the new object is a beneficiary. *tlālia* 'place' takes as its object the thing placed, but implies also the existence of some surface on which that object is placed; the applicative construction *tlāli-lia* takes that surface, or an object of which it is a part, as its primary object, relegating the thing placed to secondary object status and yielding the meaning 'place (s.t.) on' (e.g. *ni-mitz-tlāli-lia* means 'I place (s.t.) on you'). The effect the placing has on the new object may well be of secondary importance, and the primary contribution of the applicative to the overall meaning is simply the promotion of the location to primary object status. Similarly the causative stem *kīx-tia* (*emerge-caus*) 'take/put out, cause to emerge' implies the existence of some enclosure-like object or space from which the object is removed, and the applicative construction *kīx-ti-lia* makes that space or object its primary object (e.g. *ni-mitz-kīx-ti-lia* means 'I take (s.t .) out of you'). Again, it is not established to what extent the object is affected by this taking: if the thing removed is a thorn in a person's body, the relationship of benefit may be paramount; if it were a fingernail, the relationship of detriment might be more prominent; in

either case the relationship of physical separation is very prominent and in most usages is likely to be the only one in focus. In some other cases the new object is not even particularly implied by the non-applicative stem. E.g. in *itta* 'see' the subject is the seer and the primary object the thing seen; the applicative form *itti-lia* can take as primary object a person or thing of which the thing seen is an aspect, producing the meaning 'see (s.t.) in/on/with respect to'. This new object is not particularly implied by the meaning of *itta*, and it is by no means necessarily the case that the new object is affected by the seeing.

Applicatives occur most often on transitive stems (as in all the examples above), but they also appear on many intransitive stems. For instance, *ahsi* 'arrive' has the applicative form *ahxi-lia*, with an impressive array of rather different meanings: 'be enough for' (with a non-human subject and a human object), 'have enough time for' (with a reflexive object and a secondary object corresponding to the English object), 'achieve at the same level as, be like (in actions), discover some peculiar characteristic in' (all with a human subject and a human object), and 'have enough money/time for' (with a human subject and a non-human, processual, object). *chiawati* 'be(come) jealous' has the applicative form *chiawati-lia* 'be jealous of', *cholowa* 'flee' has *choli-lia* 'flee from', *kikisi* 'whistle' has *kikixi-lia* 'whistle to', and so forth. A large number of forms with incorporated objects can perhaps best be analyzed as involving putting the applicative on the already intransitivized (by incorporation) stem; thus in *atol-chiwi-lia* (*gruel-do/make-applic*) 'make gruel for', it is probably the case that *atol-chiwa* 'make gruel' is the stem to which *-lia* is suffixed (i.e. the constituency is [*atol-chiwi*]-*lia*). Nevertheless it is usually possible, and probably not totally incorrect, to analyze the same forms as involving incorporation of a secondary object to the applicativized stem (i.e., for the case mentioned above, *atol*[*chiwi-lia*]).

3.2.2. "Dative" arguments of causativized verb stems

The primary objects of causativized verbs are often "dative" but also 'accusative' in some degree; this is especially noticeable when the verb stem which is causativized is one that itself takes a "dative" subject (section 2.1.). Thus the subject of *itta* 'see' is "dative", and when *itta* is causativized, that participant (the seer) is primary object. So the object of *itti-tia* (*see-caus*) 'show' is the person to whom something is shown (i.e. the one who is caused to see that thing), and as an experiencer, and also as a non-instigative partici-

pant who nevertheless has some control over his participation in the process, is quite highly "dative". The subject of *pāki* 'rejoice' is also "dative", and the object of *pāk-tia* 'please, make happy' is perhaps even more highly so. Similarly, the object of *tonēw-a* 'hurt (trans)', a causativized or transitivized form of *tonēw-i* 'hurt (intr)', is quite highly "dative", even though he typically has less control over his own participation in the process than does the object of *itti-tia* or *pāk-tia*. The "dativity" of subjects of *miki* 'die' with incorporated nouns (section 3.1.2.) also carries over to the objects of causative forms: e.g. *tli-miki* (*fire-die*) '(animate being) be (very) hot', *tli-mik-tia* 'cause to feel/be hot'. The subject of *mati* 'know' is "dative" to a degree; however the object of the causative form *mach-tia* 'teach' is more highly so, inasmuch as another person (the teacher) is understood to be initiating and controlling the process to a large degree. However, to the degree that these objects are affected by their participation in the process designated by the verb stem, and especially to the degree that such affectedness is the effect pursued by the causer, they are also quite highly 'accusative', typical candidates for direct objecthood, which is, in effect, the status ON gives them.

In all the forms above it was the object that was more or less "dative". The verbs *tla-hto-ltia* (*unspec-say-caus*) and *powa-ltia* (*recount-caus*) both may mean 'read'; their object under that meaning is not highly "dative", but the subject, as addressee or at least recipient of a communicated message, is. However, he is active enough to be more highly 'nominative' than "dative". The same is true, of course, of the synonymous form *leerowa* 'read' (2.1.2.); in other words, the causative construction per se is probably more incidental than relevant here.

3.2.3. "Dative" objects of applicativized verbs

Most prototypically "dative" arguments in Nahuatl are objects of applicativized verb stems, and most applicativized verb stems take highly "dative" objects. As was mentioned in section 3.2.1., the typical applicative meanings include benefit, acquisition, loss or other detrimental effect, communication, and substitution. These are all highly "dative" notions. We will briefly view a few examples illustrating these categories; as will be seen, the categories overlap considerably.

Many applicatives involve benefit to the object. Typically the object is aware of what is good for him, and thus what benefits him is also in accordance with his wishes; in many cases it is very difficult to judge 'benefit'

except by what the benefitted person desires. In *apurār-wi-lia* (*hurry(trans)-applic-applic*) 'hurry (s.t.) along for' the object typically wants the secondary object (which might be a process, or a herd of animals) hurried along, and thus benefits from the process. In one of the meanings of *chīchiki-lia* (*rub-applic*), 'rub/scrub /scrape (s.t.) for', the object typically, again, wants the secondary object rubbed or whatever; in *nemaki-lia* (*sell-applic*) 'sell (s.t.) for' the object wants the secondary object to be sold: a different applicative form (*nemak-ia*) must be used for selling something the primary object does not want sold. (A third form, *nemaki-ltia*, is used to mean 'sell to'.) In *tlāwi-lia* (*illuminate-applic*) 'shine a light on (s.t.) for' the shining makes it possible for the object to see, which is generally beneficial and desirable from his point of view. In *pohpol-wia* (*erase-applic*) 'forgive' the subject ceases to hold an offense against the object; this is clearly to the object's benefit.

Typically, as in the examples above, the subject as well as the object is human, and he wishes to benefit the object. However, this is not necessarily the case. In *ahxi-lia* (*arrive-applic*) 'there be enough for', the subject is non-human but the object still benefits. In *kawi-lia* (*leave-applic*) 'allow (to do s.t.)' the subject is human, but does not necessarily wish that the object's desire be accomplished; he simply refrains from opposing it. This is presumably a benefit, from the object's point of view.

Where the subject is human, however, and willingly does what the object wishes done, the notion of benefit easily carries over into that of substitution: typically the object, since he desires the end result, would need or at least want to perform the action himself if the subject did not do it for him. In some other cases this notion is even more pronounced: e.g. *ihkuili-lia* (*write-applic*) 'write (s.t.) for' implies that the object wants something written but is unable to write it himself, whether because he is illiterate or because he is too busy or for some other reason. In *chichi-ti-lia* (*suck-caus-applic*) 'suckle (her baby) for', the object is a mother who would normally have to nurse her child, but the subject does it instead.

Perhaps the most typical applicatives are those that combine the notion of benefit with that of acquisition: i.e. the object acquires something, to his benefit. The following forms, and many others, normally have this meaning: *exo-teki-lia* (*green.beans-cut-applic*) 'cut green beans for'; *ihtzomi-lia* (*sew-applic*) 'sew (s.t.) for'; *kahwen-tēki-lia* (*coffee-pour-applic*) 'pour coffee for'; *kow-ia* (*buy-applic*) 'buy (s.t.) for'; *mani-lia* (*spread.out-applic*) 'make tortillas for' or 'offer (food or a ritual offering) to'; *pīxī-lia* (*scatter-applic*) 'scatter

corn for (chickens)'; *tixi-lia* (*grind-applic*) 'grind tortilla dough for'; *tlāli-lia* (*place-applic*) 'offer (s.t.) to, place (s.t.) before as an offering'; *tlaxtlawi-lia* (*pay-applic*) 'pay (s.t.) to', *waliki-lia* (*bring-applic*) 'bring (s.t.) to'; *xehxeli-lia* (*split.up-applic*) 'distribute (s.t.) to'.

Very similar to these are cases where, rather than giving some physical thing to the object, the subject arranges things in a way that will be beneficial to him, giving him, so to speak, the arrangement rather than what is arranged – in many of the previous cases the subject gave the object the arrangement in addition to what was arranged. Thus the subject of *tlatenti-lia* (*sharpen-applic*) 'sharpen (s.t.) for' does not give whatever is sharpened to the object (typically it already belongs to the object), but rather gives him the sharpening of it. The object of *xelwi-lia* (*comb-applic*) 'comb the hair of' is not given the hair; rather the hair is arranged for him in a beneficial way. Similarly in *tlahko-ilpi-lia* (*half-tie-applic*) 'tie (s.t.) around the middle for', the primary object receives not the thing tied around the middle but the tying of it; in *koyōni-lia* (*perforate-applic*) 'put a hole in (s.t.) for' the perforation, not the thing perforated, is what the object receives. In *ixkoyanti-lia* (*separate-applic*) the object is given an arrangement in which the secondary object is separated out from other things; he may also receive the secondary object, but it may well already be his. These cases clearly grade into those of simple benefit, as well as into those of acquisition with benefit.

Also highly typical are the communication applicatives. These are very similar to the acquisition-and-benefit type, in that the object receives something (a message) which typically benefits him in some degree. Examples include *ihkuil-wia* (*write-applic*) 'write (s.t.) to', *īx-ihkopi-lia* (*eye-squint-applic*) 'wink at', *kikixi-lia* (*whistle-applic*) 'whistle to', *powi-lia* (*re-count-applic*) 'tell (s.t.) to, read (s.t.) to', *tla-pow-ia* (*unspec-recount-applic*) 'talk (tell things) to', *tla-kalāni-a* (*unspec-rap-applic*) 'rap on wood to get the attention of, knock at the door of', *tzitzilīki-lia* (*ring(repetitive)-applic*) 'ring a (buzzer-type) bell for', *tzahtzi-lia* (*shout-applic*) 'call out to, demand the attention of', and others.

All of these have their counterparts in which the object is not benefitted but hurt by the action. In *ihtlako-lia* (*ruin-applic*) 'spoil (s.t.) for' the secondary object (what is ruined or spoiled) may be a physical object, an arrangement of things, or a process that was underway, but there was detriment to the object. The object of *patio-ti-lia* (*expensive-caus-applic*) 'raise the price (of s.t.) on (a customer)' is similarly negatively affected by what happens.

Examples of detrimental loss, the opposite of the typical beneficial acquisition, would be *ichteki-lia* (*steal-applic*) or *tla-chtek-ia* (*unspec-steal-applic*) 'steal (s.t.) from'. *teki-lia* (*cut-applic*) means 'cut (s.t.) off of', and typically implies detriment, even when the object is non-sentient; this is especially clear when there is an animate object and a body-part (active zone) incorporation, e.g. in *mā-teki-lia* (*hand-cut-applic*) 'cut off the hand of'.[20] A typical use of *āchiwi-lia* (*move.over-applic*) 'remove from' would be to describe taking eggs away from a setting hen; she doubtless would consider this detrimental to her well-being, though from the perspective of the (human) subject there is no harm being done. There are also forms designating detrimental communications, such as *pōw-a* (*recount-applic*) 'speak ill of',[21] or *istlakati-lia* (*lie-applic*) 'lie to', or *wēwetzki-lia* (*laugh-applic*) 'laugh at'.

Very many forms can be used in either beneficial or detrimental situations. *chiwi-lia* (*do-applic*) 'do (s.t.) to/for', whose meaning generalizes over most applicatives, is of this type. The case of *kīx-ti-lia* (*emerge-caus-applic*) 'take (s.t.) out of' was mentioned above; if a thorn is removed from a person's body, there is benefit; if a fingernail, there is typically detriment (though a doctor might do it to the object's benefit). *pati-lia* (*change-applic*) 'change (s.t.) for/on' may be beneficial (e.g. changing a baby's diaper, or even a car's oil filter) or detrimental (changing the rules of a game on someone, substituting inferior for good merchandise when selling to him). *kahkawi-lia* (*loose-applic*) 'let loose the animals of' can be used of turning a neighbor's animals out to pasture for him, or of letting them out as a prank, or encouraging them to run away, to his detriment. Many other examples could be given as well.

kahkawi-lia is an example of another important group of applicatives, those having to do with actions taken towards a possession of the primary object. This is a natural extension of the meanings already discussed: the object is likely to be affected by what happens to his possessions. If a person's possession is used up (*tlami-lia* (*finish-applic*) 'use up (s.t.) belonging to'), that will affect him; if it is asked for as a loan (*tlanewi-lia* (*ask.for-applic*) 'ask to borrow (s.t.) belonging to'), he is addressed, and, if he acquiesces, he will lose the use of his possession for a time. A baby is affected by having his diaper changed (*tla-pati-lia* (*unspec-change-applic*) 'change the diaper of'). Sometimes the 'possession' is a relative, especially a child. Thus *mach-ti-lia* (*know-caus-applic*), the applicative form of *mach-tia* 'teach (a person)' means 'teach the child of'; parents are affected (less directly than the children, but still affected) by their children being taught; generally this would be con-

sidered a benefit. *chichi-ti-lia* (*suck-caus-applic*) 'suckle the child of' was mentioned above as a case of substitution; it also fits in this category. *tlakuā-tēki-lia*[22] (*baptize-applic*) means 'baptize/sponsor for baptism the child of'. Similarly *pah-ti-lia* (*be.healed-caus-applic*) means 'heal (s.o., esp. a close relative) for' or 'treat a lesion on the body of'; in either case the primary object is affected less directly than the secondary object, to which he is related in a possessive relationship. As this example illustrates, one kind of possession which is relevant in some cases is a part of some whole; if only the part is directly affected, an applicative form may permit the whole to be coded as the primary object. *xelwi-lia* (*comb-applic*) 'comb the hair of' is another example of this pattern, as are *mā-teki-lia* (*hand-cut-applic*) 'cut off the hand of' (discussed above), and a number of forms we will see below.

The objects in all the above forms are very highly "dative". With some applicatives this is less so, however. Many can take non-human objects, and when this is the case, the "dativity" is lessened. Even so it may be quite high, however. For instance, in *kua-lia* (*eat-applic*) 'eat some of, a piece of' the object is typically food; the food is directly affected, and, being inanimate, has no control over the process; it is to that extent 'accusative'. It is not as fully affected as is if it were the object of *kua* 'eat' itself, however, and it is to that extent "dative" by contrast. This is, in any case, clearly an instance of the applicative allowing coding of a primary object which is a whole, of which only a part is directly affected; cf. the discussion of *pah-ti-lia* and *xelwi-lia* in the preceding paragraph. A less "dative" case would be *yankui-lia* (*become.new-applic*) 'replace (with a new one)'; the thing replaced is affected only in that it is no longer used; it is not highly "dative".

tlachku-ia (*dig.out-applic*) 'dig a hole for' may be used in cases where the object wants the hole dug and the subject digs it (a typical benefit/substitution reading); most commonly however, it refers to digging a grave for a dead person. The object is not clearly benefitted by the hole; the idea may be more of appropriateness or fittingness of the secondary object for the primary one. There are other such cases: e.g. *koyōni-lia* (*perforate-applic*) can be used of punching a hole 'for' the buckle in a belt, *chipawi-lia* (*clean-applic*) can be used of clearing a space for a piece of furniture, *aki-lia* (*fit.trans-applic*)[23] means 'fit (s.t.) into', and so forth.

There are a number of cases where none of the above meanings seems prominent, though several may be there to a low degree. The applicative idea in many of these cases can be translated as 'with respect to' or, in some cases,

by a locative. One group of such applicatives have to do with feeling an emotion toward (with respect to) someone or something. In *mawi-lia* (*fear (intr)-applic*) 'fear (trans)' the subject's feeling fear need not affect the object in any way whatsoever; the important idea is that the subject feels fear with respect to that object. It would be truer to say that it is the object that affects the subject, causing him to feel fear; in this and several of the following cases the subject, as experiencer of the emotion, is more highly "dative" than the object. Directly parallel is *chōki-lia* (*cry-applic*) 'mourn, cry for'. Closely related is *choli-lia* (*flee-applic*) 'flee from', in which the subject flees because of something about the object (e.g. it/he is fearsome, or is chasing the subject), but in this case the object is usually affected (negatively) by the fleeing. In *pinaw-a* (*be.ashamed-applic*) 'be ashamed before', the presence of the object does not exactly cause the shame, but it intensifies it. The object himself is not necessarily affected by the subject's feeling, however. In *tlatziwi-lia* (*be.lazy-applic*) 'feel lazy when it comes to, not work hard at' there is not necessarily any idea of the object (a task) causing the laziness, though it does bring it to light, or perhaps it could be viewed as causing laziness in a backwards sort of way, by failing to inspire enthusiasm.[24] It can also be seen as affected, in a similarly backwards way: it fails to get done as you might otherwise have expected it to.

In other cases it may be more of an intellectual than an emotional attitude that the subject holds 'with respect to' the object. These cases all seem to have also some of the notion of interaction with a part or parts of the object. *itti-lia* (*see-applic*), for instance, has a number of meanings: 'see (s.t.) in', 'understand (an issue), decide about', 'understand (an activity), know how to do', 'figure out how to handle, catch on to some difficult aspect of'. To understand something is to see the parts which compose it and how they fit together; such knowledge allows one to act confidently and effectively in situations involving that object. The object itself is not highly "dative" in these situations. The meaning 'see (s.t.) in', however, may be used with a human object, and will often imply criticism of him, which will typically affect him negatively; the object is more "dative" in that case. *ahsikamati-lia* (*understand-applic*) 'understand what is said/meant by' is similar; *ahsikamati* alone takes a concept or the words encoding it as its object; in the applicative form that concept or linguistic structure can be thought of as a part or possession of the one who expressed it; he then is the primary object and his thought is secondary. He is less than fully "dative", however, in that he is not neces-

sarily or strongly affected by being understood, though of course in the typical face-to-face communication situation he will be affected in some degree. *neltoka* means 'believe', and may take as its object a person or a communication. *neltoki-lia* means 'believe what is said by'; again an expression seems to be taken as a part of the one uttering it. The form is parallel to *neltoka* as used with a human object in that the object is likely to be affected by the trust directed towards himself or his words, and he certainly has a degree of control over whether the trusting occurs or whether and to what degree it affects him; he is thus quite highly "dative". *neltoki-lia* can be used even of a person the subject distrusts, however, as long as the subject is convinced of the truth of the particular utterance of that person (the secondary object) which is in view. In this way the object of *neltoki-lia* is not as fully "accusative" as the object of *neltoka*. Similarly, *wel-itti-lia* (*delicious-see-applic*) 'approve of what was done/offered by' takes what the object does or offers as what is liked (seen as delicious or pleasant) by the subject, the object himself is likely to be included in, and to some extent affected by, this approval, but he need not be.

A number of applicatives have more of a locative meaning than anything else. In *pana-wia* (*pass.intr-applic*) 'pass (trans), surpass' the typical idea is simply that of physical motion of the subject which carries him past the object; i.e. the object is a landmark for measuring the subject's progress. It is usually non-human and has no control over the situation, and is not affected by what happens, thus its "dativity" is very low; though in some usages, e.g. in a race where one contestant passes another, it might be more highly "dative" (cf. *tēm-pana-wia*, 'surpass in speaking, overwhelm in argument', discussed in 3.1.2.). Similarly, the object of *tlāli-lia* (*place-applic*) 'place (s.t.) on' is typically non-sentient and exercises no control in the situation, and is not greatly affected by the placing of something on it. It is thus not highly "dative". However, the degree of affectedness that there is is emphasized by this construction vis-á-vis *[ni-k]tlālia ī-pan* (*[I-it]place it-on*) '[I] place ([it] – the primary object) on it'; thus it is still somewhat "dative". The same could be said for the object of *tla-chipawi-lia* (*unspec-clean-applic*) 'clean up around'; the verb stem would be typically used for hoeing weeds around a plant or cleaning up the yard around a house. The plant is affected (benefitted) to some degree by the cleaning, the house less so; but the structures contrast with *[ni]tla-chipawia ī-tenko* or *[ni]tla-chipawia ī-nawak* '[I] clean up around/next to' in emphasizing that affectedness. Another example would be *chīchiki-lia* (*rub-applic*) (discussed above with the meaning 'rub/scrub/scrape (s.t.) for'). *chīchiki* takes as its object the thing that is rubbed or scraped on something else, e.g. a rag as used to clean a table. *chīchiki-lia* can mean 'scrub', i.e. 'rub with the expected thing in order to clean' (it might be used of scrubbing a rag with your hand or a soap bar, or scrubbing it against itself, or of scrubbing a table with a rag); it can also mean 'rub/brush/scrape (s.t.) across'. In any case, the thing across which something else is rubbed, which is the primary object of *chīchiki-lia*, is often inanimate, and while it may be affected somewhat, is not highly "dative". However, it contrasts with *[ni-k]chīchiki ī-pan* '[I] scrub/brush/scrape ([it] – the primary object) across it', in that the thing across which something else is rubbed is more in focus, by virtue of its status as primary object, and what happens to it is thus more in view than what happens to what is rubbed across it.

The above discussion is far from exhaustive, but it may serve to give some idea of the complexities involved in the meanings of applicativized verb stems. They provide Nahuatl speakers with a versatile and powerful tool for expressing "dative" relationships and other concepts of that sort.

3.3. Verbalizers

3.3.1. Verbalization of non-verbal stems

Many of the same forms that function as causatives and applicatives on verb stems can also be suffixed to non-verbal stems, converting them into transitive verb stems, and there are other suffixes that produce intransitive stems.

For instance, *-tia* occurs commonly with noun stems and produces verb stems meaning, more or less, 'give (i.e. cause to have) a [noun stem]'. Thus when *-tia* is put on the noun stem *tlāl* 'earth, dirt, land', the stem *tlāl-tia* results, meaning 'give (by inheritance) a piece/pieces of land'. This stem is transitive, and the heir is the direct object. *Pantalōn-tia* (*trousers-caus*) can mean either 'give a pair of trousers to' or 'put his trousers on'; again the recipient or wearer of the trousers is the direct object. *Nāmik-tia* (*spouse-caus*) means 'marry' in the sense 'cause to be married'; the one who is married (gets a spouse) is the direct object. (Usually the form is reflexive: *mo-nāmik-tia* (*refl-spouse-caus*), literally 'give yourself a spouse', would be the normal way to say 'get married (by the church)'.)

-tia also occurs (though less commonly) with non-nominal stems: with adjectival stems in *patio-tia* (*expensive-caus*) 'raise the price of' and *yeka-*

witzok-tia (*nose-spiky-caus*) 'sharpen the point of'; of a postposition in *māk-tia* (*in.the.hand.of-caus*) 'hand over to'; of an adverb in the case of *ixkoyan-tia* (*apart-caus*) 'separate out, set apart'. The most common verbalizer of adjectives, however, is *-lia*, which, somewhat surprisingly, usually has a causative meaning in such cases, e.g. *chikāwi-lia* (*strong-caus*) 'strengthen', *miekilia* (*much-caus*) 'increase, multiply', *nexti-lia* (*sooty/black-caus*) 'blacken', *poye-lia* (*salty-caus*) 'salt (food)'. The suffix *-wia* also verbalizes a number of non-verbal stems. Usually it has a meaning something like 'put (noun) on'; e.g. *ah-atol-wia* (*rdp-gruel-vblzr*) 'spill gruel on', *chihchi-wia* (*spittle-vblzr*) 'lick, moisten with saliva', *chil-wia* (*chile-vblzr*) 'put chile on (food)', *ista-wia* (*salt-vblzr*) 'salt (food)'; but sometimes it has other meanings, e.g. in *tekoch-wia* (*hole-vblzr*) 'put into a hole', *oppa-wia* (*twice-vblzr*) 'give (a stand of corn) the second hoeing', *mo-newian-wia* (*refl-alone-vblzr*) 'do something on your own hook, contrary to advice.'

Among the suffixes that produce intransitive stems from non-verbal stems are, for instance, *-wa* or *-wi* 'inchoative' (e.g. *kuecha-wi* or *kuecha-wa* (*humid-incho*) 'become humid', *pitza-wi* (*thin-incho*) 'lose weight, become skinny', *se-wi* (*cold-incho*) '(fire) die down, be quenched', *se-wa* '(the weather) be(come) cold '). Another is *-ti* 'inchoative, there be' (e.g. *tla-ā-soki-ti* (*unspec-water-mud-vblzr*) 'it (the weather) is muddy', *tla-apis-ti* (*unspec-famine-vblzr*) 'there is famine', *chan-ti* (*home-vblzr*) 'live, make your home', *konē-tzin-ti* (*child-dim-incho*) 'become little, get smaller', *tlāka-ti* (*man-incho*) 'be born'). There are a number of others and the patterns of their usage are quite complex, but they are not central to our concerns here.

3.3.2. "Dative" arguments of verbalized stems

Verb stems formed by adding *-tia* to a noun stem, since they generally mean 'give the noun to', take highly "dative" primary objects. Examples are *ama-tia* (*paper-caus*) 'give documents to', *tlakual-tia* (*food-caus*) 'give food to, feed', *koton-tia* (*shirt-caus*) 'dress in a shirt, give a shirt to', *misah-tia* (*mass-caus*) 'celebrate a mass for', *tliokol-tia* (*gift/charity/sadness-caus*) 'inspire pity in'. Even here, however, not all cases are equally "dative": a number of verbs take non-human objects – e.g. in *pah-tia* (*medicine-caus*) 'put insecticide on (a plant)', or *tēn-kolal-tia* (*rim-corral-caus*) 'fence in (a piece of land)', the objects are "dative" in that they are affected but not actually changed, but 'accusative' in being non-human, in fact inanimate, and (therefore) having no control over what is happening. In other cases the

'giving' coded by *-tia* may actually involve a change of state of the object, even of its physical form – e.g. *tlawēl-tia* (*rage-caus*) 'send into a rage', *tlan-tia* (*tooth-caus*) 'sharpen (a saw), roughen the surface of (a millstone)' (or, 'fit false teeth to'), or *yak-tia* (*nose-caus*) 'sharpen (a pointed object)'. The objects in these cases are more 'accusative' than "dative": they are changed rather than simply affected, and they have little or no control over their participation in the process.

Objects of stems formed by verbalization with *-wia*, especially when human, are also often quite highly dative; e.g. the objects of *atol-wia* (*gruel-vblzr*) 'give corn gruel to', *ah-atol-wia* (*rdp-gruel-vblzr*) 'spill gruel on', *popōch-wia* (*incense-vblzr*) 'bathe in incense smoke', *tlāl-wia* (*earth-vblzr*) 'get dirty', *tzekawas-wia* (*comb(n)-vblzr*) 'comb the hair of'. However, many of these verbs commonly or even usually take inanimate objects, as *ah-atol-wia, popōch-wia*, and *tlāl-wia* above, or *chihchi-wia* (*saliva-vblzr*) 'lick', *chil-wia* (*chile-vblzr*) 'add chile to (food)', *ista-wia* (*salt-vblzr*) 'salt (food)', *pah-wia* (*medicine-vblzr*) 'anoint (a wound)'. Even when there is a human object, that object may have little control over what happens to it, and thus be 'accusative' to a large extent ; this is quite clearly the case in e.g. *īx-teh-wia* (*eye-mote-vbzlr*) 'throw dust in the eyes of', or *kamanal-wia* (*jokester-vblzr*) 'mock, make fun of', or *(mo)tlapyas-wia* (*(refl)-urinary.bladder-vblzr*) 'wet your bed'. In a few cases the verb indicates motion or a change of state of an inanimate object, e.g. *seh-se-wia* (*rdp-cold-vblzr*) 'make cold', *ekawian-wia* (*shadow-vblzr*) 'place in the shade'; these cases are quite fully 'accusative'.

As with causatives, there are a few cases of transitive verbalizations which have a "dative" subject rather than object. For instance, *tlālia* 'place', (which, probably incidentally, is a verbalization of *tlāl* 'earth, land' by *-ia*), has 'think' as one of its meanings. Presumably the idea is that of placing an idea in your head, '(sup)posing' it, to use a parallel Latinate metaphor. It is the subject, rather than the object, of this form, which is "dative" to a considerable degree.

Human subjects of inchoative (intransitive) verbalizations tend to be "dative" to a degree, since change of state is usually more something that happens to us than something that we do. Thus the subjects of *tlāka-ti* (*man-incho*) 'be born', *konē-tzin-ti* (*child-dim-incho*) 'become little, get smaller', *pitza-wi* (*thin-incho*) 'lose weight, become skinny', and *tomaw-i* (*fat-incho*) 'get fat, put on weight', are somewhat "dative". The same is not necessarily true for human subjects of non-inchoative intransitive verbalizations, how-

ever; e.g. the subject of *chan-ti* (*home-vblzr*) 'live, make your home' is not particularly "dative". And most of these forms usually, some always, take inanimate subjects (e.g. *kuecha-wi* or *kuecha-wa* (*humid-incho*) 'become humid', *se-wa* '(the weather) be(come) cold'); the degree of "dativity" is naturally low in such cases.

4. Adpositional objects

4.1. Adpositions and adpositional phrases

The basic adpositions of Nahuatl are postpositions, although a few prepositions (mostly borrowed from Spanish) also exist. Postpositions are suffixed to their object, which is usually a pronominal prefix. The postpositional object prefixes are listed below.

Specific postpositional objects

	Sg	Pl
1	*no-*	*to-*
2	*mo-*	*amo-*
3	*ī-*	*im-/in-*

Non-specified postpositional objects

ne-	reciprocal
tē-	unspecified human
tla-	unspecified non-human

The similarity of this list to that of verbal object prefixes (section 2.2.1.) should be obvious. Their functions are similar also in many respects (cf. the discussion in sections 1 and 2.2.1.): the postposition with its object prefix is a complete unit, not needing a phrasal object, though such a phrasal object may occur. It is most commonly a third person nominal, following the object.prefix-postposition construction, though for emphasis it may be fronted within the phrase. Pronouns may also be used, but they are generally emphatic because they are redundant. The same pronouns are used for phrasal objects of postpositions as are used for clausal subjects or objects of verbs.

no-wan	with me
mo-wan	with you
neh no-wan	with ***me***
ī-wan tlāka-tl	with the/a man
no-pan	on me
ī-pan tlápech-tli	on a/the bed/table
im-pan tlāka-meh	on (the) men

Postpositional structures, whether simple postpositions with object prefixes or more extensive postpositional phrases, are sometimes used adjectivally, modifying a noun, but adverbial usage, in which they modify verbs, is more common. One can say, for instance, *tlákual-li ī-pan tlápech-tli* (*food-abs it-on table-abs*) 'the food on the table', but constructions like *xi-k-tlāli ī-pan tlápech-tli* (*imp-it-place it-on table-abs*) 'put it on the table' are more numerous in text or in normal conversation.

The object prefixes which are used with postpositions are identical in form to possessive markers which are prefixed to noun stems;[25] an analysis that would call the postpositions themselves 'relational nouns' is not unreasonable.

no-pan	on me
no-tlāka-h	my husband (*my-man-possd*)
tlāl-li	land, the ground
mo-tlāl	your land

Although the object of a postposition is usually a pronominal prefix, it may also be a noun stem.[26] These noun.stem-postposition combinations are the closest formal analogue in Nahuatl of a noun stem with a case marker. They may have a corresponding phrasal construction in which the postposition takes the third person singular object prefix *ī-* and the noun follows it; the two constructions are often not totally synonymous.

ī-pan tlāl-li	on the ground
tlāl-pan	on the ground, at ground level
kuaw-itl	tree, wood, stick
kuaw-tlan	(at the) place where there are trees, woods
mo-nawak	next to you, near you
kuaw-nawak	next to the trees, near the woods
mo-tlāl-nawak	next to your land

The noun stem to which the postposition is attached may itself be possessed, as in the last example above. This kind of structure is the source of a number of complex postpositions: (e.g. *no-kuā-pak* (*my-head-on*) 'on my head, on top of me' is reanalyzed from [*no-kua*]-*pak* ([*my-head*]-*on*) to *no-*[*kuā-pak*] (*me-*[*on.the.head.of*]).

Besides the native postpositions, there are a few prepositions borrowed from Spanish (the two most common being *de* 'of, from' and *por* 'for, on account of, in place of, (etc.)'); the postposition *-ka* 'with, for, as regards, in place of, by means of, because of' or its most common form *ī-ka* (*it-with*) is used in some constructions as a preposition; this is more common in some towns than in others.

4.2. "Dative" adpositional objects

The meanings of Nahuatl postpositions, like those of adpositions in most languages, center around locative notions, but are both highly complex and abominably difficult to pin down (and thus to translate). The one that most centrally connects with dative-like ideas is probably *-pampa* 'on account of, for the sake of, in behalf of'. *-pampa* is not very common in my texts – it is hardly used at all in the town of Rafael Delgado (one of the most populous in the area and the one from which most of my texts come).[27] *-ka* 'with, for, as regards, in place of, by means of, because of' also occurs with "dative" meanings, although it is used much more often with a non-human object and a variety of less clearly "dative" meanings, among which instrumental or causal are the most common.[28] *-patka* 'in place of' often has a fairly "dative" meaning, and *-nawak* 'next to, toward', and the extremely common and virtually synonymous *-tech* and *-pa(h/n)* 'in, on, at', also have usages with varying degree of "dative" force. To these should be added the Spanish preposition *por* 'for, on account of, in place of, (etc.)', which may be used in a prepositional phrase (e.g. *por neh* 'for me') or in combination with *-pampa* (e.g. *por no-pampa* 'for my sake, on my behalf').

All of these adpositions, and others, tend to convey "dative" force as (a) they modify a verb rather than a nominal structure, and (b) their object is human. Even when the sense in such cases is primarily non-dative (e.g. locational), there is often a distinct "dative" flavor. For instance, in all uses in the illustrative sentences database of the word *mo-pah* (*you-on*) 'on you', *mo-* is some what "dative"; the first three are listed here.

¿Amitlah mopah ochachapakak ihkuak otipanōk īnawak nēkan
nothing on.you it.fell.in.bits when you.passed next.to.it that

kalli, nēs ahkopah ompa tekipanowah?
house, it.seems above there they.work
'Didn't any little bits of anything fall on you when you walked by that house, where it looks like they're doing some work up top?'

Nēkah sē chapōlih, piltontli, amo mitzmahtis tla
that.there one grasshopper, boy, not it.will.frighten.you if

mopah otzikuīn.
on.you it.jumped
'There's a grasshopper there, boy; don't get scared if it jumps on you.'

Ximāchih, eheka chikawak welitis kotōnis n tli-mekatl
move.away it.blows strong possibly it.will.break the fire-rope

iwan mopah wetzis.
and on.you it.will.fall
'Get out of the way! It's blowing hard and the electric cable is likely to break and fall on you!'

mo-pah (*you-on*) in all three cases doubtless refers primarily to the addressee as the physical location on which something might fall or onto which the grasshopper might jump, but also important to the meaning is the addressee's character as a sentient being who will be affected by the action of the verb (likely annoyed, dirtied or hurt by something falling from the construction, perhaps frightened by the grasshopper jumping, put in danger of electrocution by the electric cable falling). This aspect of the meaning is a highly "dative" characterization.

There are myriad structures similar to these, in which postpositions have a more or less "dative" force; space forbids discussing them further here. We should, however, at least mention the numerous standard verb-postposition combinations which take a strongly "dative" object. Some, including some of the more fixed expressions, occur in the order postposition-verb; e.g. [*no*]-*pah mo-chīwa* ([*me*]-*on refl-do*) (or [*no*]-*tech mo-chīwa*) 'it happen to [me]', [*no*]-*pah kīs-tok* ([*me*]-*on emerge-dur*) 'it happen to [me], it be [my] turn', [*no*]-*ka tlah-tla-htowa* ([*me*]-*with rdp-unspec-say*) 'slander [me], say bad things about [me]', [*no*]-*ka wēwetzka* ([*me*]-*with laugh*) 'laugh at [me]'. Most prefer the order verb-postposition: e.g. *mo-machtia* [*no*]-*ka* (*refl-recite* [*me*]-*with*) 'say *a* prayer for [me]', *mo-xīkowa* [*no*]-*nawak* (*refl-bear* [*me*]-*near*) 'be envious of

[me]', *mo-tlasohkā-mati* [*no*]-*nawak* (*refl-loved-know* [*me*]-*near*) 'be thankful to [me]'. Others may occur in either order, with perhaps subtle differences of emphasis: e.g. [*no*]-*ka tlahtlani* ([*me*]-*with ask*), or *tlahtlani* [*no*]-*ka*, 'ask about [me]', [*no*]-*ka tekiti* ([*me*]-*with work*) or *tekiti* [*no*]-*ka* 'work for [me]'. Sometimes a change of order will have more drastic semantic consequences: *powi* [*to*]-*tech* (*be.counted* [*us*]-*on*) means 'he is one of ours (counted among us)'; [*to*]-*tech powi* can mean the same thing but is more likely to mean 'we deserve it, it is ours by right'.

5. Miscellaneous and unusual "dative" structures

The types of constructions described in sections 2.1.2., 2.2.4., 3.1.2., 3.2.2., 3.3.2., 4.2., and especially 3.2.3., cover the vast majority of "dative" structures in ON. A few cases deviate from those types and express a "dative"-like concept in an exceptional way.

1. The stem *ihyo-wia* (*breath-vblzr*) is one of the noun-*wia* structures discussed in section 1.5.; if it followed the pattern fully one would expect it to mean 'breathe on', and its object would be somewhat "dative" (i.e. it would be affected but not changed by the action of breathing; if it were a human he might well have a degree of control over whether he was breathed on or not). In fact, however, the verb stem means 'suffer, put up with', and its subject, rather than its object, is "dative"; the object is the situation which needs to be put up with or which causes suffering.

2. Applicatives are virtually always transitive. There are a few intransitive applicative forms, however: they all seem to involve a time or meteorological verb as the stem, and a human, fairly highly "dative", subject. Examples are *tlanēxi-lia* (*dawn-applic*) 'get up in the early morning, stay up till early morning, have it dawn on you', *tlahkahti-lia* (*become.noon-applic*) 'have it get late (in the morning) on you, arrive late (in the morning)' *tlayowi-lia* (*get.dark-applic*) 'faint, have things go blank (because of faintness) on you' *yowi-lia* (*night.fall-applic*) 'have it get late (at night) on you, arrive late (at night)'.

3. Although we have not discussed them as such, we have seen a number of reduplicated forms, with an identical CV or a CV*h* prefixed to the initial CV of a stem. Reduplication has a number of vague and difficult-to-pin-down meanings, most of them iconic, having to do with some kind of semantic replication (e.g. plurality, repetitivity, distribution through space or time, intensity, completeness). In a few cases a reduplication will affect dativity. E.g. in some towns *tzakua* means 'shut, close' (taking e.g. a door or a window as object), but its reduplicated form *tzah-tzakua* means 'shut up (esp. in jail)'; taking as object a human or animal affected by the closing of a door or gate. (In other towns *tzakua* alone can bear both meanings.) This is of course a rather highly dative kind of object. *tzah-tzakua* usually also bears the meaning 'shut up completely (e.g. a house)', and the dative meaning is probably an outgrowth of that sense.

   Another, and somewhat different, case is that of *teh-teki* (*rdp-cut*) which can mean 'cut the hair of'; this meaning looks very much like those of applicatives which take a possessor as object. Perhaps in this case the fact that *teki-lia* (*cut-applic*) is already established with the meaning 'cut off from/for' made it less attractive to add yet another meaning to the form, and prompted the exceptional usage of the reduplication. This is far from a predictive explanation, however; one would much sooner have expected a different applicative (e.g. **tek-ia*).[29]

4. Two verb stems formed with the rarely occurring suffix *-lo*, which was a passive or non-active in Classical Nahuatl (Andrews 1975:71-78), take highly "dative" subjects. In one case *-lo* attaches to the intransitive stem *kiawi* '(it) rain'; *kiawi-lo* means 'get rained on'. In the other case the stem *eheka*, which is either a noun 'wind, spirit' or a verb '(wind) blow' is followed by *-wi* (which is probably the reflex of the transitive verbalizer/applicative/causative *-wia*, cf. 3.3.1., but could be the intransitive, usually inchoative suffix *-wi*) and then by *-lo*; *eheka-wi-lo* means either 'be buffeted by the wind' or 'go crazy (esp. by agency of an evil spirit)'. In all these cases the subject is highly "dative".

6. Summary

To sum up, although Nahuatl does not have dative case, "dative" meanings are expressed by other means in the language.

Where the "dative" nominal is the most prominent nominal associated with the verbal meaning, it naturally is coded as a subject. Representative cases of this type are charted in Figure 1.

Where a non-dative nominal is subject, any "dative" nominal is virtually always either a primary object or an adpositional object: only rarely are secondary objects "dative" to any considerable degree. Adpositional objects, though they may be high in "dativity", are usually only secondarily "dative", but primarily locational. Representative cases illustrating "dativity" of primary objects are charted in Figure 2.

A number of the morphological operations that derive complex verb stems from simpler forms produce stems that take "dative" primary objects or subjects; among them are incorporational constructions, causativizations and verbalizations, but especially applicativizations. The objects of applicativized verb stems are in most cases quite highly "dative", and a high proportion of the highly "dative" nominals in the language are objects of applicativized stems. Applicativization, then, is the mechanism of the Nahuatl language which is most closely associated with the idea of "dativity".

Highly "dative"	Not highly "dative"	More highly "nominative"	Fully "nominative"
Verbs of reception, passive perception or experience	Verbs of active perception, reception or experience	Verbs of action with concomitant experience	Verbs of action
E.g. *selia* 'receive' *kaki* 'hear' *ihti-tonēwi* 'have a stomach-ache'	E.g. *tlachia* 'look for' *onana* 'grab, take' *machilia* 'touch, feel'	E.g. *wetzi* 'fall' *nehnemi* 'walk' *tzikuīni* 'jump'	E.g. *teki* 'cut' *ihkuilowa* 'write' *miktia* 'kill'
Some simple stems, some incorporations, some others	Some simple stems, some others	Many verbs of all kinds	Many verbs of all kinds

Figure 1: "Dativity" of human subjects with different types of verbs.

Highly "dative"	Less highly "dative"	Less highly "accusative"	Highly "accusative"
Verbs of giving, communication, caused perception, caused experience, benefit, etc.	Verbs of affecting a part of, or a thing related to, a sentient being	Verbs of partially affecting non-sentient things, (fully) affecting sentient beings	Verbs of fully affecting non-sentient beings
E.g. *maka* 'give' *machtia* 'teach' *tlālilia* 'offer to' *kikixilia* 'whistle to' *exōtekilia* 'cut green beans for'	*machtilia* 'teach the children of' *kuātōnia* 'heat the head of, puzzle' *ēskīxtia* 'drain blood from, bleed'	E.g. *tekilia* 'cut off of (it)' *cholōltia* 'chase away' *kuapa* 'turn (him) over, around'	E.g. *teki* 'cut' *chihchīwa* 'build' *miktia* 'kill'
Very many applicatives, many verbalized stems, some causatives, some simple stems	Many applicatives, many incorporations	Many causatives, some applicatives, many simple stems, many others	Many simple stems, many verbalized stems, some causatives, some others

Figure 2: "Dativity" of primary objects with different types of verbs.

NOTES

1. ON is spoken in the mountainous area south of the city of Orizaba, Veracruz. It is also sometimes called Zongolica Nahuatl. It is described in Burnham 1981 and Tuggy 1991; a number of other works describe various aspects of its structure (e.g. Goller, Goller, and Waterhouse 1974, Tuggy 1986, 1988, 1992, Hernández de Jesús and Tuggy [in preparation]). I would like to acknowledge the help of various speakers of ON, especially Victor Hernández de Jesús, who have shared their knowledge of their beautiful language with me.

   Representative works covering Classical Nahuatl are Olmos (1547), Molina (1571), Carochi (1645), Andrews (1975), Campbell (1985).

2. In Langacker (1991:239-240) the EXPERIENCER role is thought of as the central meaning of dative case (what I have called a recipient is an EXPERIENCER-POSSESSOR), and it is like AGENT (the typical subject) in being an active rather than a passive participant, but like PATIENT, MOVER, and ABSOLUTIVE (typical object roles) in being in the 'recipient domain' with respect to energy transmission. It is thus opposed to INSTRUMENT, which is AGENT-like in being a source rather than a recipient of energy, but is also like a PATIENT, etc., in being a passive rather than an active participant.

3. The following conventions are used when citing ON data. The citations are in *italics*, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of them are (*in parentheses and italicized*), and translations of them are 'between single quotes'. Particular forms (and their glosses) which are cited only to make the nature of the construction clear are [included between square brackets]; e.g. [*no*]-*pah* ([*me*]-*on*) 'on [me]' might be used in an example when *-pah* 'on' is under discussion. The orthography used is that adopted by the (Roman Catholic) Decanato de la Sierra de Zongolica, except that vowel length is marked (by a macron). The phonemes of ON are pronounced much like their Spanish counterparts which use the same symbols, with the following exceptions: *x* is the alveopalatal affricate [š] (IPA [ʃ]). *l* is generally voiceless when syllable-final. *w* is pronounced [v] in many towns of the ON region in some or all contexts. *tl*, *ch*, *tz*, and *ku* are digraphs, representing [ɬ], [č], [ć], and [kʷ] (IPA [tɬ], [tʃ], [ts], and [ḵ]), respectively. Stress is penultimate unless otherwise marked. Vowel length, though difficult to pin down, does exist, and where it is marked it has been heard clearly at least once.

   In glosses the following abbreviations and conventions are used: 1 or 1p = 'first person', 2 or 2p = 'second person', 3 or 3p = 'third person', abs = 'absolutive', applic = 'applicative', caus = 'causative', dimin = 'diminutive', dur = 'durative', hon = 'honorific', imp = 'imperative', incho = 'inchoative', intr = 'intransitive', loc = 'locative', nmlzr = 'nominalizer', obj = 'object', pl = 'plural', possd = 'possessed', pret = 'preterite', rdp = 'reduplication', refl = 'reflexive', sg = 'singular', s.o. = 'someone', s.t. = 'something', subj = 'subject', trans = 'transitive', unspec = 'unspecified object prefix', vblzr = 'verbalizer'. 'You' unless otherwise specified means 'you sg'. 'He', 'him', 'his' mean 3 sg (typically) human subject, object, or possessor; 'it', 'its' mean 3 sg (typically) non-human argument or possessor.

   Occasional reference is made to the 'illustrative sentences database'; this consists of 11,689 sentences (over 1.95 Megabytes of data) composed by Victor Hernández de Jesús in Nahuatl (with translations in Spanish), to illustrate the usages of words in Hernández de Jesús and Tuggy (to appear).

4. The alternations of the subject prefixes *ni-/n-* and *ti-/t-* (in both its senses) and of the object prefix *k-/ki-* (section 2.2.1.) can be accounted for by epenthesis or by deletions: either analysis can be independently motivated to some extent (Tuggy 1981b). Final *m* as in *am-* and *k-im-* assimilates to a following consonant.

5. *leerowa* is from Spanish *leer* 'read' plus the nativizer-verbalizer *-owa*. Cf. also *tla-htoltia* and *powa-ltia* in 3.2.2.

6. *itta* does have a kind of active counterpart in *tēmowa* 'seek, look for', but *tēmowa* does not necessarily imply seeing as *(i)hyowilāna* implies smelling.

7. The sequence *k-im-im* occurs but is marginal: e.g. *?k-im-in-maka* 'he gives them to them'.

8. Perhaps a better way to view these cases is to say that there is a transitivity shift after the inner object prefix is attached: the inner.object-verb.stem combination takes what was a secondary object of the bare verb stem and converts it into the primary object. Such transitivity shifts are parallelled in noun incorporations (section 3.1.1.).

9. It is not impossible for a noun stem to be incorporated on a stem with a non-specified object, giving another kind of double object construction. E.g. *toma-ne-maka* (*tomato-reciprocal.unspec-give*) 'sell tomatoes'.

10. In glossing forms with both a primary and a secondary object, the secondary object will often by represented by a parenthesized '(s.t.)' (= 'something') or '(s.o.)' (= 'someone').

11. These last two examples look like they end in (causative) *-tia* and (applicative) *-lia*, respectively; they very likely did, etymologically, but it is not clear that they do so synchronically: the leftover pieces *nawa* and *nanki* are difficult if not impossible to identify. The same could be said for *illia* 'tell, say to'.

12. This is etymologically from *tē-* 'unspec human obj' plus *miki* 'die' in the sense 'suffer, be affected by'. Most speakers probably never make the connections to these component pieces, however. Cf. *namiki* 'meet', mentioned in the next footnote; the usage of these two unspecified object prefixes with *miki* in its attenuated sense underscores the relatedness of the unspecified object prefixes to incorporated nouns: *miki* has that sense always and, except for these two cases, only when it has an incorporated noun.

13. The following comments pertain to the above-mentioned verbs: *kokowa* is reduplicated; in some towns a different reduplication (*koh-kowa*) means 'hurt, cause pain to', in others the same form has both meanings. *maa* more normally means 'hit'; it is derived etymologically from *maka* 'give'. *namiki* etymologically comes from the unspecified reciprocal object prefix *ne-/na-* and *miki* 'die', presumably in its attenuated sense 'suffer, be affected by'; it usually bears the meaning 'meet'. *pasarowa* is a Nahuatlized form of Spanish *pasar* 'pass, happen', which in the sense 'happen' occurs with dative pronouns. *polowa* usually means 'lose' (with a "dative" subject rather than object). *tokarowa* is from Spanish *tocar* 'touch', which is used with a dative object in the same meaning 'pertain to'.

14. For more thorough discussion of Nahuatl incorporational constructions, see Tuggy (1981a:243-261, 557-572; 1986).

15. This last case is interesting in that the buyer, who ends up as the verbal object, is presumably also one of the participants coded in the *ne-* prefix, who give things to each other in the selling/buying transaction; it is quite unusual for a participant to be thus coded in two different object prefixes.

16. In the parallel case of *tlāka-mik-tia* 'kill the husband of' it may well be that we are dealing, rather than with an object incorporation on *mik-tia*, with a causativization of *tlāka-miki* 'become a widow'; since **(i)kni-miki* does not seem to be well-established if it occurs independently at all, this is a less attractive analysis for *(i)kni-mik-tia*.

17. It could also conceivably be taken as a subject incorporation on *miki*, but that seems less likely (see previous footnote). *mik-ti-lia*, by the way, does occur independently.

18. There are other (often related) suffixes which produce intransitive verbs. E.g. the suffix *-ti* 'inchoative' (as in *konē-tzīn-ti* (*child-dimin-incho*) 'become small') is probably correctly viewed as a component of *-tia* 'causative'; there is a suffix *-a* 'transitive' which would be a natural choice for the other component. This is not the only possible parsing of *-tia*, however, and it is clearly a synchronic unit in any case.

19. A number of phonological changes occur in stems when causative or applicative suffixes are place on them. Three of the most common are truncation of a stem before *-tia*, as in *mik-tia*, dropping of the final *a* of *ia* before either *-tia* or *-lia*, as in *tlāli-lia* below, and change of stem-final *a* to *i* before *-lia* as in *kōwi-lia* below. These changes do not seem to have any clear consistent semantic concomitants (i.e. any clear meaning), and they will not be commented on in future examples.

20. It is interesting to compare *mā-teki-lia* with the non-applicative form *mā-teki* 'cut the hand of'. The objects of stems like *mā-teki*, as we noted above (3.1.2.), are already "dative" in that they are affected less fully by the action of the verb than is the incorporated bodypart (active zone). *mā-teki-lia* presents a similar picture: the object is quite drastically affected, though still perhaps not as much as is his bodypart – it will die, but he won't necessarily –; however, our sympathies are with the human, not with his hand. Here it makes sense to claim that *mā* is incorporated onto *teki-lia* rather than *-lia* attached to *mā-teki*; we might expect an applicative formed from *mā-teki* to mean 'cut the hand of A (the secondary object) for B (the primary object)'. In other words, the active zone incorporation in *mā-teki* and the applicative in *teki-lia* both accomplish the same task, that of conferring primary object status on the possessor of the hand, but *mā-teki-lia* makes more sense if it is analyzed as *mā*[*teki-lia*] than as [*mā-teki*]*lia*.

21. *pow-a* in this sense is presumably *pow-a-a*, i.e. a reapplication of *-a* 'transitive, applicative' to *pow-a* '(re)count, tell (an amount, a communication)'; cf. *pow-i* (*count-intr*) 'be one of, be counted among, belong to (a community)', which takes an object with *-tech* or a locative (4.1.). The action in this case is detrimental to the object, but, unlike the more typical communication applicatives, the object is not the addressee; i.e. the person maligned of is not typically maligned to his face. In *istlakati-lia* and typically in *wēwetzki-lia* the object is addressee as well as maleficiary.

22. Etymologically and to some degree still synchronically, the stem 'baptize' is *tla-kuā-ā-tēk-ia* (*unspec-head-water-pour-applic*) 'pour water on the head of'. *tlakuātēkilia* is thus a double applicative.

23. I assume that *aki-lia* is derived from the transitive (causativized) *aki-a* 'cause to fit' rather than from *aki* 'fit (intr)'. The morphology would be the expected result of either derivation, but the meaning befits an applicative on the transitivized stem.

24. The colloquial Spanish of the area uses a construction with the verb *dar* 'give' and a dative pronoun in this situation: *me da flojera* 'it gives me laziness'. One would expect a causative construction to render that conception in Nahuatl.

25. Most nouns when used independently take an 'absolutive' suffix of the form *-tl* (following a vowel), *-li* (following *l*), or *-tli* (following other consonants); a few stems take an absolutive *-itl* or *-ih*. The absolutive drops when the stem is compounded with a following stem or when any affix (except a singular subject marker) is attached to it, such as the possessive prefixes or a plural suffix such as *-meh*. A few nouns, including *tlāka-tl* 'man' take an *-h* suffix when possessed, but most do not.

26. Noun.stem-postposition combinations are not freely productive; most forms are standardized collocations. Given the paucity of postpositions and the limited number of the object prefixes, most object.prefix-postposition combinations are also pretty well standardized and not necessarily computed productively when used. Some postpositions, including *-wan* 'with', do not take noun.stem objects. Some others, sometimes called 'locatives', take only noun stem objects: among them are *-tlan* and *-ko*. Some, such as *-pan* 'on, at' or *-nawak* 'next to', occur in both constructions. The forms which take noun stem objects frequently show up in Mexican place names (e.g. *Mexi-ko* itself, *Tenochti-tlan*, *Ixta-pan*, etc.). Such locatives are usually quasi-nominal: cf. *kuaw-tlan* which often means 'woods' rather than 'at the woods'. Non-complex place nouns such as *no-chan* 'my home' or *Tekila* 'Tequila' are used adverbially in any case; thus in its most common usages a form like *kuaw-tlan* could be taken either way: as primarily adverbial, or as primarily nominal and only secondarily adverbial (compare e.g. *kate-h Tekila* (*be.pl-pl Tequila*) 'they are in Tequila' with *kate-h kuaw-tlan* 'they are at the woods').

27. In the illustrative sentence database, *-pampa* occurs only in sentences expressly composed to illustrate it.

28. In the illustrative sentence database, *-ka* occurred three times with a human object (one other occurrence was questionable), and never with a highly "dative" meaning, vs. over 170 times with inanimate objects. The human cases were *tlahtlani mo-ka* (*ask you-with*) 'ask about you', and (twice) *ī-ka m-awiltia* (*him-with refl-cause.to.play*) 'make a mockery of him, betray him'.

    -ka is also used to allow 'deposed' objects to occur clausally. E.g. the original object of a stem which was applicativized may occur as a secondary clausal object (2.2.2.), with no marking, or it may sometimes appear as an object of *ī-ka*, e.g. *ni-k-tla-chapani-lia n mo-totol ika salvadiyo* (*I-it-unspec-scatter-applic your-turkey.hen it-with bran*) 'I scattered some bran for your turkey hen'. Similarly when the unspecified object prefix *tla-* is used on a transitive stem, a specific object cannot normally occur clausally, but such an object may occur as object of *ī-ka*, e.g. in *tla-yektlālia-h ī-ka televisión* (*unspec-set.well-pl it-with television*) 'they fix televisions/they do repairs with regard to televisions'.

29. Although I have no instance of **tek-ia* alone recorded, *ē-tek-ia* (*bean-cut-applic*) 'cut (i.e. harvest) beans for' does occur.

REFERENCES

Andrews, J. Richard. 1975. *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Burnham, Jeff. 1981. *Rafael Delgado Nahuatl; a grammatical sketch*. Ms. distributed to members of Friends of Uto-Aztecan.

Campbell, R. Joe. 1985. *A Morphological Dictionary of Classical Nahuatl*. Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Carochi, Horacio. 1645. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Juan Ruíz. (Available in various modern editions).

Goller, Theodore R., Goller, Patricia L., and Waterhouse, Viola G.. 1974. Phonemes of Orizaba Nahuatl. *IJAL* 40, 126-134.

Hernández de Jesús, Victor, and Tuggy, David. In preparation. *Diccionario náhuatl-español de Rafael Delgado*, Veracruz.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1984. Active zones. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 10, 172-88.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1990. *Concept, Image and Symbol: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Molina, Fray Alonso de. 1571. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana.* (Colección de incunables americanos, Siglo XVI, Vol IV, 1944.), Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica.

Olmos, A. de. 1547. *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana.* Published with notes by Rémi Siméon, reissued in Spanish translation with introduction by Miguel León-Portilla, 1972. Guadalajara: Edmundo Aviña Levy.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. To appear. A grammatical structure as a conceptualization schema. The case for benefactive constructions. To appear in a festschrift in 1993.

Tuggy, David. 1981a. *The Transitivity-related morphology of Tetelcingo Nahuatl: an exploration in Space grammar*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego.

Tuggy, David. 1981b. Epenthesis of i in Classical and Tetelcingo Nahuatl: evidence for multiple analyses. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 18, 223-277.

Tuggy, David. 1986. Noun incorporations in Náhuatl. *Pacific Linguistic Conference* 2, 455-470.

Tuggy, David. 1988. Náhuatl causative/applicatives in Cognitive grammar. In *Topics in Cognitive Grammar*, Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn, (ed.), 587-618. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Tuggy, David. 1989. The Nahuatl verb *maka*; a Cognitive grammar analysis. *Work-papers of the SIL at UND* 33, 121-147. Grand Forks, ND: SIL.

Tuggy, David. 1991. *Lecciones para un curso del náhuatl moderno*. Puebla, Mexico: Universidad de las Americas-Puebla.

Tuggy, David. 1992. The affix-stem distinction; A Cognitive grammar analysis of data from Orizaba Nahuatl. *Cognitive Linguistics* 3-3, 237-300.

Subject index

ablative 4-5
accusative 4, 19, 25-31, 73, 76, 79, 82, 86, 87, 88, 109, 112, 120-121, 346
actant(ial) 85, 89, 90, 102-106, 108, 110-111, 176, 185
active 7, 86, 90, 103
adjunct 32, 40, 46-51, 54-57, 89, 174-176, 221, 260, 352, 377-379, 383-386
agent 15-16, 18, 19, 24-25, 31, 47, 85, 86, 94, 103, 110-112, 207-208, 228, 235, 266, 290-292, 313, 322, 327
animate 7-10, 10-11, 20, 63-66, 77, 82-83, 85, 92-96, 99-102, 104, 109-110, 207-208, 230, 234-235, 242, 264, 287, 327, 330, 431
antonymy 353-357, 362, 371-374, 386-388
applicative 424-437

beneficiary 6-7, 46, 98, 208, 232, 274, 283, 326-328, 331-335, 352-354, 370-372, 430-432

causative 86, 110, 208, 418, 426-430
clitic 39, 63-66, 69-70, 74-75, 83, 109, 119-120, 218, 234, 241, 404
complement 40-46, 48-49, 51-56, 74, 82, 85, 87, 89, 102, 112, 174-176
copular 226, 306-307, 360-363, 374

dative:
adnominal 9, 12-13, 165-166
adverbal 3-32, 174-183, 193-205
alternation 237-244, 255-256, 290-291, 293-302, 309-316, 333
appositional 166-167
epistemic 48
ethical 17-18, 59, 106, 108, 147, 183-186, 205, 234, 367, 369
expressive 367, 369, 374-382
free *see also adjunct* 350
partitive 13-15, 19, 22-24, 40, 48-51, 55-57, 60
possessive 13, 19, 22-24, 48-51, 96, 97, 102, 105, 111, 135, 142-143, 233
prepositional 67-69, 96, 97, 102, 105, 111, 123-127, 168-174, 186-193, 206, 290-291, 297-302, 309-332, 383-386, 399-401
reflexive 15, 97, 369-382
role 290-333, 408, 411-413, 417-419, 423-426, 429-437, 442
sentential 183-186, 205, 208
sympathetic 13-15, 18, 19, 22-24, 34, 96
dative of:
agency 15-16, 18, 19, 24-25, 47
approach 10-11, 13, 18, 19, 100, 140
attribution 6-7, 16, 18, 33, 40, 43-48, 52-55, 60, 97, 111
comparison 11, 55
detriment 7-10, 133-134

equivalence 11, 40-43, 51-52, 60
goal 12-13, 19, 24, 33
interest 7-10, 16, 18, 19, 25-26, 98, 107, 133-134, 136-139, 234, 252, 277
point of view 16-17, 18, 34, 185, 203
tendency 12, 33, 34
ditransitive *see three-place*
domain of:
control 7, 57-59, 351
interest 351
reference 53, 206

ergative 235, 398
experiencer 52-53, 208, 235, 348-355, 358-361, 371-374

factitive 26-29
four-place 177, 199

genitive 4-5
goal 12, 18, 24, 31, 54, 247, 361, 383-384

homonymy 343, 388
human *see animate*

iconicity 235, 261, 312-313, 328
impersonal 85, 364-367
inalienable possession 49-51, 102, 112, 204
inanimate 7-11, 63-66, 78, 86, 92-94, 99, 100-101, 104, 110, 242-243, 349, 361-364
instrumental 360
intransitive 10, 14, 19, 26-31, 35, 73, 82, 98, 102, 108, 110, 225, 358-360

landmark 187-193, 206, 355, 386-387
locative 19-22, 34, 99, 100, 121, 442

malefactive 353-355, 371-372
markedness 298-311, 321-323
metaphor 89, 219, 284, 357, 362-364
metonymy 219, 284, 327, 347, 355-357, 362, 374-382

network model 343, 355-357, 386-389
nominalization 221, 224-228, 273-275
nominative 3, 112, 269, 345

object:
direct 6, 7-8, 18, 19, 26-31, 32, 35, 61-62, 73, 87, 89, 90, 109, 112, 218, 263-265, 273, 286
prepositional 19-22, 23-24, 24-25, 31-32, 74-76, 220, 231-234, 256-260, 266-267
primary 27-28, 32, 413, 417, 428, 438
secondary 27-28, 32, 34, 414-415, 418
oblique 3, 75, 351, 367, 389, 397
one-place 176

passive 7, 16, 79, 80, 85, 102, 127, 144, 218, 228-230, 268-273, 322-323, 329, 346, 389
patient 86, 94, 109, 112, 265, 273, 290-333
peripheral *see also adjunct* 108
polysemy 89, 275
possessed 233, 291-292, 308, 311-312, 317-320, 326-332
possessor 13, 19, 22-24, 31, 46, 56, 233, 235, 291-292, 308, 311-312, 317-320, 326-332, 352-355, 371

prepositional accusative 19-22, 23-24, 24-25, 31-32, 73, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 109, 121-122
profile 342, 380-382, 387
prototype 18, 224, 345
pronoun 123-124, 241, 296, 299-300, 304-307, 325, 405
psych-movement 82, 83, 101, 111, 141

recipient 208, 219, 235, 265, 345-348, 370
reciprocal 382

schema 287, 355-357
source 45, 52, 96, 98, 229, 280
subject 6, 7, 15, 27, 62-63, 79, 85, 86, 89, 110-112, 228, 271, 366, 410-413

theme 230, 235
three-place 10, 19, 25, 26-29, 31-32, 40-51, 90, 128-136, 176, 196-199, 218, 244-247, 290-335, 345-349, 370, 415
trajector 187-193, 206
transfer: 328-335
abstract 6-7, 43, 95, 110, 278-279
communicative 44, 54, 92, 231, 272, 279-280, 349, 430-432
material 6-7, 43, 90, 110, 129-130, 231, 236, 240, 276, 345-347, 370
negative 45, 91, 130
perceptual 92, 131, 347-348, 371
verbal *see also communicative* 93, 110, 131, 174
transitive *see two-place*
two-place 25, 30, 31-32, 51-57, 82, 89, 90, 102, 108, 110, 136-143, 176, 218, 223-224, 228, 272, 285, 357-358, 372-374

The series *Case and Grammatical Relations across Languages* includes the following volumes:

1. CAMPE, Petra: *Case, Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations. A Comprehensive Bibliography*. 1994.
2a. VAN BELLE, William and Willy VAN LANGENDONCK (eds): *The Dative: Descriptive Studies*. 1996.
2b. VAN LANGENDONCK, Willy and William VAN BELLE (eds): *The Dative: Theoretical and Contrastive Studies*. n.y.p.
3. DRAYE, Luk and Ludo MELIS (eds): *The Genitive*. n.y.p.
4. DAVIDSE, Kristin and Béatrice LAMIROY (eds): *The Nominative and Accusative*. n.y.p.
5. DELBECQUE, Nicole and Michèle GOYENS (eds): *Non-Nuclear Cases*. n.y.p.