CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS ACROSS LANGUAGES

Volume 3

Willy Van Langendonck and William Van Belle (eds)

The Dative
Volume 2: Theoretical and Contrastive Studies

THE DATIVE

VOLUME 2
THEORETICAL AND CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

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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] Willy van Langendonck, William van Belle.
p. cm. -- (Case and grammatical relations across languages ; v. 3)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Contents: v. 2. Theoretical and contrastive studies.
1. Grammar, Comparative and general--Case. I. Belle, William van. II. Langendonck, Willy van. III. Series.
P240.6.D38 1998
415--dc20 96-2114
ISBN 90 272 2813 2 (Eur.) / 1 55619 677 6 (US) (alk. paper) CIP

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

To the Memory of

Brygida Rudzka

who was and remains the inspiration
behind the Case and Grammatical Relations series

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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*

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This book is the second part of a two-volume reader on the 'Dative'. In the first part, which appeared in 1996, eleven papers were presented providing a syntactic and semantic description of the category 'Dative' in eleven languages. The aim of this second part is to discuss several aspects of the Dative in greater detail. It contains eight papers dealing with theoretical considerations on 'dativity' as well as with contrastive, typological and diachronic aspects. A major concern is the relation between form (case, grammatical relation) and meaning (semantic roles or other kinds of meaning).

As in the first volume, the linguistic material mainly stems from Germanic and Romance languages. Contemporary English is the basis for Davidse's theoretical claims; Pasicki studies the dative in Old English. Dutch appears especially in Geeraerts' semantic analysis, but also in the papers by Draye, Lamiroy & Delbecque and Van Langendonck. Draye, Lamiroy & Delbecque and Melis also take German into consideration. Latin is dealt with by Melis and Van Langendonck. Modern Romance languages, especially French, provide further data for Melis and Lamiroy & Delbecque. Finally, Newman adduces a variety of languages for his typological analyses.

The contributions in this volume also represent various complementary theoretical angles. A cognitive linguistic approach is adopted by Pasicki and Van Langendonck and especially advocated by Geeraerts and Newman. A systemic-functional viewpoint is assumed in Davidse's paper, whereas Melis' article displays a more formalist viewpoint.

* 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 Nº 27) that has led to this publication.
We thank Keith Carlon for his help in correcting the English of previous versions of this volume.

Newman's paper investigates the means by which some Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages encode the Recipient in a 'giving' scene. 'Give' constructions can be conceptualized in different ways. It is especially the choice of the Patient which varies: either the thing given or the Recipient may be encoded as the Patient. Compare: *I gave her a book* vs. *I presented her with a book*. A language may conventionalize one or the other, or both of these ways of conceptualizing giving. In Newman's view, neither of these two ways of construing the giving scene is more basic than the other. The various semantic functions of these grammatical devices are discussed. Each of the oblique ways of marking Recipients, for example, is understood as representing one submeaning of a network of related meanings associated with a grammatical morpheme. An attempt is made at providing a general meaning for the dative referent such as 'entity to which an act is directed'. The paper concludes with some reflections on the status of schematic networks.

The paper by Lamiroy and Delbecque offers a comprehensive comparative analysis of the possessive dative and the expression of inalienable possession in general in seven Romance and Germanic languages, viz. French, Italian, Spanish, Rumanian, Dutch, English and German. The comparison is based on the following three parameters: the syntactic structures with a possessive dative, the verb classes patterning with it, and the different entities (body parts, kinship terms, part-whole relations, simply possessed items) which are conceived of as being inalienable. On the one hand, the analysis shows that there are significant correspondences between most of the seven languages. Except for English, which completely lacks the possessive dative, all the languages under investigation display the same four syntactic structures with a possessive dative. On the other hand, there are striking differences between these languages with regard to the productivity of the syntactic constructions and the types of entities which may figure as the 'part' in the inalienable possession construction. Spanish and German appear to be languages which most freely allow possessive datives, whereas in Dutch, and to a lesser extent in French, the construction with a possessive dative is highly restricted.

Moreover, Lamiroy and Delbecque elaborate the relationship between possessive and ethical datives. Languages with few restrictions on the use of possessive dative constructions (e.g., Spanish and German) also make a more extended use of ethical datives. From a semantic point of view, the two datives have in common that the referent NP indicates an interested party which is

affected by the process without being actively involved in it.

Draye discusses the competition between dative and accusative case in causative constructions with German *lassen* and Dutch *laten*. His main thesis is that a generalized monoclausal analysis of *lassen/laten* constructions, as advocated in recent cognitive linguistic literature, cannot account for the diachronic development in German nor for the distribution of 'dative' and 'accusative' in present-day Dutch. Furthermore, the emergence of a 'dative' in Dutch *laten* constructions should not be regarded as a result of the loss of morphological cases in that language.

Draye specifies his findings as follows: both in present-day German *lassen* and in Dutch *laten* constructions, the accusative is the case of the causee. In contemporary Dutch, an IO functioning as an 'interestee' (Experiencer, Beneficiary, Possessor) replaces the 'causee' in *laten* constructions with two-place transitive verbs of perception. Only in this context can we safely assume influence from monoclausal three-participant clauses. Further, German and Dutch went independently through a stage in which the dative broadened its range of application and in which dative and accusative competed for the expression of the causee. Finally, the situation in present-day Dutch should not be regarded as the result of case loss.

Pasicki's article presents a discussion of the entire gamut of the meanings of the dative in Old English and their interrelationships. In its most concrete meaning, the dative denotes 'a spatial point of reference', which can be seen as a location, a goal or a source. Other, less concrete meanings such as the use of the dative in temporal NPs, in comparisons, or with verbs of following, obeying and preferring can be analysed as metaphorical extensions of the basic locative meaning. In comparisons, for instance, the dative denotes a specific point of reference, viz. the object against which another thing is measured. The most important extension of the basic *goal* meaning occurs with verbs expressing the transfer of something to a typically human goal. This yields the familiar Recipient role. In Old English, the Recipient role represents the prototypical meaning of the dative case. The Experiencer role, on the other hand, is derived as an extension of the basic *source* meaning of the dative. Pasicki finds independent evidence for these different accounts of the Recipient and the Experiencer role in the potential ambiguity of some adjectival, nominal and impersonal verbal constructions.

The theme of Davidse's paper is the need to distinguish categories such as Agent, Patient and Dative from categories such as Subject and Object in a

In this paper I explore the main ways in which 'give' clauses are structured cross-linguistically, noting, in particular, how the Recipient phrase is integrated into the clause structure.

2. Agent and Patient

One of the most common ways of conceptualizing the interaction of multiple entities is by construing the interaction in terms of an Agent-Patient kind of interaction. By "Agent", I mean, in the prototypical case, a volitional, human instigator of an action and by "Patient" I mean an inanimate, affected entity, again with the understanding that this is the prototype. The interaction which takes place when an Agent acts upon a Patient, understood in these prototypical senses, may be seen as a basic kind of event structure in human conceptualization. In syntactic terms, the central meaning carried by subject-verb-object structure is the Agent-Patient kind of interaction. Human acts, as well as events not obviously caused by humans, are often construed for the purposes of linguistic encoding as metaphorical extensions of the basic Agent-Patient model. In this way, many predicates of a language appear in a syntactic frame requiring a subject and an object, even though the subject and object referents are not typical Agents and Patients. We begin, then, by inquiring as to how the Agent-Patient model is applied to the giving scene.

It appears all languages allow the Giver to function as an Agent. This is unproblematical since the Giver has a number of agentive characteristics, such as human and volitional and the instigator of an act which affects other entities. One might note, though, that there are ways to construe giving acts in which the Thing or the Recipient functions as the Agent, i.e. subject in an active clause. In English, for example, we have *The document changed hands* where the Thing is viewed as the Agent with respect to the hands of the Recipient. The verb *receive* focuses on the endpoint of the act of giving, backgrounding (but still presupposing) the role of a Giver and requires the Recipient to function as the Agent. In the rest of this paper, however, I will concentrate on 'give' clauses in which the Giver is construed as the Agent.

As for the choice of Patient, one finds that either the Thing or the Recipient in the giving scene may be encoded as the Patient. To put it another way, one finds that the central sense of the Patient category of meaning, associated primarily with the (direct) object at the level of syntax, may be

extended to include either the Thing or the Recipient. This is comparable to the way in which the Agent category may be extended to various other semantic roles. It is not that the Thing or the Recipient is objectively classified as a type of Patient, but rather that either of these entities may be construed as if it were a Patient in an Agent-Patient interaction. The identification of entities in a scene as Agent or Patient is not accomplished in any mechanistic way. Rather, it depends upon a particular way of construing a scene, as reflected in the choice of subject and object in syntax.[2] In the Russian example below, the Thing functions just like the object in a prototypical transitive construction appearing in the Accusative case; in the example from Mandak (Austronesian, Papua New Guinea), the Recipient appears as a direct object of the verb, just like an object in any transitive clause.[3]

(2) a. *Ya dal knig-u uchitel-yu.* (Russian)
I gave book-ACC teacher-DAT
'I gave the book to the teacher.'

b. *Di ga raba i mi la-mani.* (Mandak, Blansitt 1984:141)
they PAST give him with the-money
'They gave him the money.'

A language may conventionalize one or the other, or both, of these two ways of conceptualizing giving. Maori allows only the Thing as object, Ojibwa and Ttzotzil have only the Recipient as object, while both types are found in West Greenlandic, illustrated in (16) below.

Each of these alternative conceptualizations of the giving scene seems well motivated in the light of characteristics of the Thing and the Recipient. The Thing, for example, is a highly suitable candidate for the Patient role associated with the object function when we consider its characteristics vis-à-vis the Giver. In so far as an inanimate entity is maximally differentiated from a fully volitional human actor, the Giver and the Thing enter easily into the asymmetric relationship of Agent-Patient. Furthermore, the inanimate entity can be easily construed as an entity which is affected by an action of the Agent, the location and ownership of the Thing being changed by a wilful act on the part of the Giver. The fact that the Thing moves with respect to the Recipient may also lead to viewing the Thing as a more salient or figure-like entity amongst the landmarks. All these considerations can be seen as providing a cognitive basis for construing the Thing as the Patient in an Agent-Patient kind of interaction. The Recipient, on the other hand, is distinguished from the Thing as typically human with new possession of the Thing. This

makes the Recipient a prominent entity within the scene and allows the Recipient to be construed as a more figure-like entity than the Thing. Understood in this way, it is the Recipient which is naturally singled out as the other entity standing in a relation with the Giver. Being such a complex interaction of entities, it should be no surprise that the scene may be construed or metaphorized in terms of an Agent-Patient model of interaction in alternative ways.

The two basic alternatives for extending the Agent-Patient model to the GIVE scene are depicted in Figure 1. Since the notions of Agent and Patient pertain to the nature of the interaction between entities, it is appropriate to view the meanings involved in terms of force-dynamics. The box on the left depicts the most literal kind of Agent-Patient interaction, with the energy flow proceeding from a person, the "energy source", to an affected Thing, the "energy sink". The box has been enclosed in a darker outline to represent the prototypical case from which proceed the extensions to the less prototypical cases. The double dashed arrow emanating from the person in this diagram represents the volitional instigation of the act by the person. Single dashed lines show the extensions (or "mapping") of this model to the giving scene. In the top box, I have shown how the categories of Agent and Patient are mapped onto Giver and Recipient respectively, while in the lower box they are mapped onto Agent and Thing respectively. Figure 1 suggests another way of thinking about the two extensions of the Agent-Patient model. In the prototypical Agent-Patient model, the Patient is the end of the energy flow and this matches naturally with the Recipient as being the end of energy flow in giving. In other words, the Patient is construed as the first entity you see if you "look" from the energy sink. Alternatively, the Patient can be construed as the first entity encountered as you look downstream from the energy source (as diagrammed in Figure 1), and in this sense it is the Thing transferred which is naturally understood as the Patient. It should be clear that neither of these two ways of construing the giving scene is more basic than the other. Neither the Thing transferred nor the Recipient are examples of prototypical Patients. The Thing transferred is not affected or changed in a very obvious way by the Giver. Nor is the Recipient a typical Patient, since it is a person rather than an inanimate and there is no direct affect that the Giver has on the Recipient. Both construals of the giving scene represent extensions of the Agent-Patient prototype.

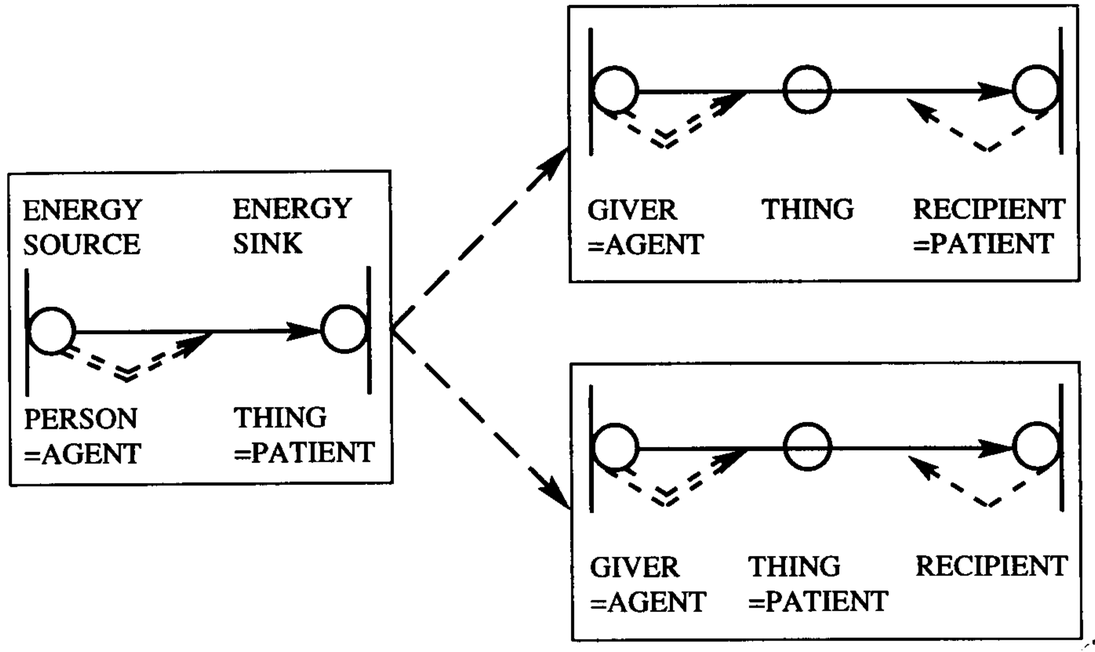


Figure 1. The Agent-Patient model extended to 'give'

It is possible to construe both Thing and Recipient as kinds of objects, as in the ditransitive construction *I gave Harry the book*. The possibility of two object phrases with the 'give' predicate is provided for in a number of approaches. (See, for example, Comrie's (1982) discussion of 'prime objects', Lichtenberk's (1982) discussion of 'primary' and 'secondary' objects, and Kisseberth and Abasheikh's (1977) use of the terms 'principal' and 'subsidiary' object.) The most common type of double object construction is one in which the Recipient phrase functions as the primary object, as in the Mandak sentence (2b). Indeed Andrews (1985:123), in a discussion of double object constructions, observes that where one of the NPs functions like a direct object that NP will *always* be the Recipient-like NP. Cantonese, however, would appear to fall into the category of a double object construction where it is the Thing, rather than the Recipient, which functions as the direct object. Consider in this respect the double object construction with *béi* 'give' in Cantonese:

(3) *A-Sām* *béi* *fóng-jō* *kéuih.* (Cantonese)
A-Sam give room-charge him/her
'A-Sam gave him/her money for the room.'

The lack of any case marking or verb morphology makes it easy to consider *fóng-jō* 'room-charge' and *kéuih* 'him/her' as object phrases, and this, I believe, is appropriate for this construction. Nevertheless, one can also consider *fóng-jō* as the primary object on the basis that it occurs in the immediate post-verbal position typical of object phrases in simple transitive clauses. Word-order facts like this are relevant, but other syntactic facts need to be considered too. In the case of Cantonese, one can consider corresponding passive sentences. With simple transitive clauses, the object in the active can appear as the subject of the passive, with a preposition-like morpheme *yàuh* introducing the equivalent of the *by*-phrase:

(4) a. *Ngóh sé ni fūng wù:ih-sūn.* (Cantonese)
I write this Classifier reply
'I wrote this reply.'

b. *Ni fūng wù:ih-sūn yàuh ngóh sé.* (Cantonese)
this Classifier reply PASS me write
'This reply was written by me.'

The native speakers I consulted agreed that in the case of *béi* 'give', the Thing phrase could appear to the left of *yàuh*. Attempts to position the Recipient phrase to the left of *yàuh*, however, were rejected or considered questionable at best:

(5) a. *Fóng-jō yàuh A-Sām béi kéuih.* (Cantonese)
room-charge PASS A-Sam give him
'The money for the room was given to him by A-Sam.'

b. */? *Kéuih yàuh A-Sām béi fóng-jō.* (Cantonese)
he PASS A-Sam give room-charge
'He was given money for the room by A-Sam.'

One speaker offered the opinion that he thought the passive with Recipient in initial position would be more acceptable in writing than in speech. Judgements, therefore, are not so straightforward as to conclude that promoting the Recipient to subject is completely ungrammatical. Nevertheless, to the extent that the *yàuh* construction can differentiate the behaviour of Thing and Recipient, the evidence points to the Thing as behaving more like a prototypical object than the Recipient.

Sometimes, with double object constructions, there seems to be no real basis for identifying one of the phrases as more object-like than the other. A double object construction in the Central Vanuatu language Namakir, as described by Sperlich (1993:340), would appear to be one such case. Consider the 'give' sentences below:

(6) a. *Ri bi'or na-bokah na-human.* (Namakir, Sperlich 1993:340)
3PL give DET-pig DET-residue
'They gave the left-overs to the pig.'

b. *Ri bi'or na-human na-bokah.* (Namakir, Sperlich 1993:340)
3PL give DET-residue DET-pig
'They gave the left-overs to the pig.'

With the choice of object phrases shown, either word order is permissible. Although there is no passive construction which might serve to distinguish primary and secondary objects in this language, relativization applies equally well to both phrases. (This is not true of all 'give' clauses in the language, there being some constraints on the relativization of human Recipient phrases.)

3. Beyond the object

In the previous section we looked at how either the Thing or the Recipient can function as the object. To convey information about all three of the salient entities in the giving scene, however, one must further integrate into the clausal unit a linguistic expression of the third entity. In what follows, I will review the major ways in which languages encode the Recipient when the direct object corresponds to the Thing.

In examining these different possibilities, I will briefly explore the semantics of the syntactic categories (cases and adpositions) which are employed in the various constructions. Typically, the syntactic category marking the RECIPIENT will also be associated with other semantic roles, giving rise to a multiplicity of polysemous meanings for any one syntactic category. For each of the formal categories involved (Dative case, Allative case etc.), then, we will posit a network of related meanings, referred to as "schematic networks" in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987:369-386). Each schematic network represents a set of meanings associated with the category, structured so that submeanings which are held to be more closely related to one another appear under the same node in the network. Typically, the polysemy we find with cases and adpositions is extensive and complex and it is not possible in this overview to do full justice to each of these morphemes. The schematic networks proposed below are, therefore, only meant to be

suggestive of the kinds of networks which are involved, rather than illustrating the totality of facts associated with each morpheme.

3.1 *Recipient as a Dative*

One speaks of a Dative case where the case is used prototypically to mark a Recipient phrase in 'give' constructions, as in the Russian example (2a), repeated below:

(2) a. *Ya dal knig-u uchitel-yu.* (Russian)
I gave book-ACC teacher-DAT
'I gave the book to the teacher.'

It is true that the Dative case in Russian has more extensive use than just marking Recipient in a 'give' construction. It is used, for example, to mark the nominal object of numerous verbs. These include *verit'* 'to believe (someone)', *pomogat'* 'to help', *sluzhit'* 'to serve (someone)', *sovetovat'* 'to advise', *meshat'* 'to disturb', *grozit'* 'to threaten', and *izmenyat'* 'to betray'. As has often been observed, however, it is possible to construe the role of the Dative nominal with some of these verbs as a kind of Recipient, though admittedly not all of these verbs are equally amenable to such an analysis. If one considers the English counterparts to these verbs, there are 'give' paraphrases with some of them (*give help to someone*, *give service to someone* etc.), but not others (**give betrayal to someone*, **give disturbance to someone*). It is difficult, then, to assign one meaning like 'literal or figurative Recipient' to all these uses. Nevertheless, the Recipient meaning is quite salient within the range of meanings evident in the use of the case. It appears in its most literal sense, of course, with verbs meaning 'give' and 'send' in Russian. In a slightly extended sense it appears with verbs meaning 'show', 'write', and 'tell', and in an even more extended sense with the verbs mentioned above, such as 'to help' and 'to serve'. It seems reasonable, then, to consider the Recipient meaning to be a relatively central meaning of the Dative case in Russian, as reflected in the choice of the label 'Dative' for this case.

Figure 2 sketches part of the schematic network associated with the Dative case in Russian. It indicates a selection of the more specific meanings which the Dative case carries, as well as indicating some of the commonality which holds between groups of meanings. This commonality is a relatively schematic type of meaning, representing what is common to the particular

instantiations of it. Following Langacker (1987, 1991), the instantiation of a schematic meaning is represented by a downward arrow to the specific instantiation. Speakers will extract different schematic meanings, depending on the extent to which they see commonalities between the particular meanings. The schematic meanings indicated in Figure 2 reflect commonalities which occur to me most readily in reflecting on the range of meanings shown. A particular speaker of Russian may be aware of more or less schematic meanings than I have indicated. While a speaker of Russian may be expected to feel a commonality within some pairs of meanings, like 'to give someone something' and 'to help someone', it is less likely that a speaker would feel a commonality between all these meanings. In other words, it may be only the intermediate level schemata in the network which have much reality (from the point of view of speakers' intuitions).

The Dative in other Indo-European languages may be described along similar lines, again with the Recipient sense relatively prominent. As in Russian, other uses of the Dative present themselves which might be relatable in varying degrees to the role of the Recipient in a 'give' scene. For example, the act of giving can be thought of as happening within the sphere of interest

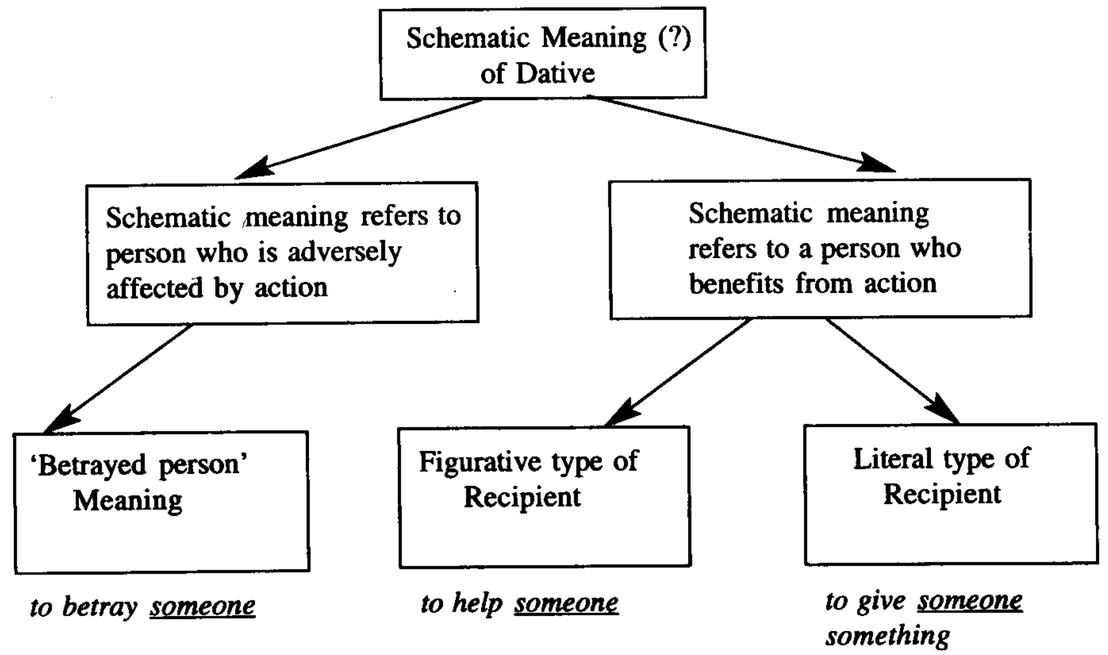


Figure 2. Russian Dative Case

theoretically and descriptively disciplined way. In a linguistic framework based on semiotic foundations, all grammatical categories should be defined in terms of a correlation between their formal and semantic side. As categories such as Agent-Patient-Dative generalize over various syntagms, their formal delineation is to be found in the paradigmatic relations between constructions. The type of meaning they encode is purely representational: they construe causal chains and events. Ditransitive actions can be coded as acting primarily either on the Dative or the Patient. The categories of Subject and Object are formally defined by the syntactic structure and morphological marking of the syntagm itself. The semantic function of the Subject-Object layer is to position the utterance as a speech inter-act between speaker and hearer. In exchanging information about a situation, the speaker integrates a clausal type specification, which designates a class of situations, with the instantiating complex of Subject and Finite. This 'instantiated type' schema motivates certain typical properties of Subjects and Objects, such as their referential and collocational tendencies. Statistically, Subjects and DOs are maximally asymmetric in terms of their referential and collocational characteristics, while IOs share some referential and collocational tendencies with Subjects.

With his paper on the semantic structure of the indirect object in Dutch, Geeraerts has a twofold purpose. First, he intends to show that the semantic structure of the IO can be coherently described by starting from a spatial prototype, i.e. the prototypical indirect object is seen as the recipient of a benefactive material transfer. Other uses of the indirect object can be derived from this prototype by means of four mechanisms of semantic change, viz. generalization, metaphor, metonymy, and subjectification. The semantic changes may take their starting-point in one of the components of the prototype: 'recipient', 'transfer', 'material', and 'benefactive'.

In the second place, Geeraerts elaborates on some theoretical questions in cognitive linguistic theory. His analysis of the semantic structure of the IO corroborates the claim that syntactic categories can be semantically described in basically the same way as lexical categories. In addition, his paper is an illustration and a defence of the view that the semantic structure of categories is best described as a multidimensional space in which "non-prototypical readings are linked among each other by the co-occurrence of semantic shifts along various dimensions".

Van Langendonck proposes an analysis of the meanings of the dative case in Latin and the indirect object in Dutch in terms of semantic roles. His

starting point is the dichotomous nature of the dative, which was established in Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996:xvi-xvii) for several Indo-European languages. One range of meanings denotes approach, purpose, direction, etc.; another refers to interest, possession, sympathy, and so on. The second range can be accounted for by using the typically human roles Possessor, Experiencer, Beneficiary and even Agent. The meanings indicating approach and direction are accounted for by the Goal role. The above roles are combined in specific ways to account for all the submeanings. Thus, Van Langendonck sets up double roles like Goal-Possessor (= Recipient), Goal-Experiencer and Experiencer-Agent, next to the pure Goal role and the purely human endpoint roles. This results in four major classes, linked by either specialization or generalization. The question whether we should start from the Goal role (localist hypothesis) or from the human roles (depersonification hypothesis) or — at least synchronically — from the prototypical combination [Goal + Possessor] cannot be decided on either synchronically or diachronically. Unlike Constructionist Grammar would have it, no one-to-one correspondence between these semantic configurations and the syntactic patterns they occur in can be found. This is even more the case in Latin than in Dutch. Moreover, Dutch displays fewer semantic and syntactic IO/dative patterns than Latin. As in many other languages, the pure Goal-role has disappeared in Dutch. Constructions and/or cases competing with the IO/dative are also discussed. Finally, a general schematic meaning for the IO/dative is not considered plausible.

Melis' main claim is that there exists no direct link between case and semantic role, which appears to be connected with his view of roles as essentially language independent. Rather, the link is claimed to be an indirect one and the path different from language to language. Likewise, he assumes an indirect connection between constructions and roles in languages with an IO.

In the first part of his paper, the author addresses case-languages, especially Latin and German. He confronts two descriptions of the overall distribution of the case form in Latin (Van Hoecke 1996 and Van Langendonck, this volume). It is argued that meaning can and must be described at various levels and in close relation with features of the syntactic system. Formal linguistic strategies are relevant to the way meaning is structured and human experience categorized. For example, the role configurations set up by Van Langendonck (this volume) are said to depend on the interplay between various formal devices: case, grammatical relation, construction, as well as the valency of the

of the recipient, leading to the additional use in which the Dative marks the person in whose sphere of interest an event takes place. This is the 'Dative of Interest', as in German *Fahr mir nicht zu schnell!* 'Don't drive too fast' (and which also occurs in Russian) where the Dative *mir* adds a sense of concern or involvement on the part of the speaker.

Where the Dative is used to refer to the Recipient in an act of giving, there is often some vagueness as to whether the Thing is transferred specifically to the Recipient or whether the Thing is transferred to the vicinity of the Recipient. For example, one might say *I gave the handouts to the students during the lecture* to mean that I handed each student a handout individually, or that I gave a bunch of handouts to just one student who passed them around to the other students in the class, or even that I just placed the whole pile of handouts on a desk in the room and students helped themselves to them. While such vagueness is common with a 'give' morpheme, languages may also keep such meanings distinct. Crowley (1982:197) notes such a distinction of this sort in Paamese (Oceanic, Vanuatu). A "punctual" Dative preposition is used when the Recipient physically receives the object of transfer, while an "areal" Dative is used when the Thing is transferred merely to some physical domain pertaining to the Recipient. The contrast is illustrated in the following sentences:

(7) a. *Inau nesa:n ratio onak mini.* (Paamese, Crowley 1982:197)
inau na-sa:ni ratio: ona-ku mini-e
I 1SG-give radio poss-1SG punctual DAT-3SG
'I gave him my radio.'

b. *Onom vilmemun nesa:ni ven Rei Kalimoo* (Paamese, Crowley 1982:197)
ono-mo vilme-mune na-sa:ni-e veni rei kalimo:
POSS-2SG film-additional 1SG-give-3SG areal DAT Ray Gillmore
'I delivered your film to Ray Gillmore's too
(though I didn't give it to him personally).'

It would be mistaken to assume that the Recipient role must be a prototypical meaning of a Dative case wherever the name "Dative" has been proposed. Nevertheless, I think it is true that the most common criterion for calling a particular case Dative in a language is Recipient-marking, consistent with the centrality of that function of the Dative cases of the major Indo-European languages. So, for example, the role of Recipient is considered a central meaning of the Dative case in a number of related studies, such as Janda (1993a:536ff, 1993b:47ff, 113ff) describing Czech and Russian, and Rudzka-Ostyn (1996) describing Polish. The reference to 'give' predicates is quite

explicit in the following excerpts:

> ...Between these two rather clearcut categories [actor and undergoer] there is an indistinct middle ground: the typically animate, intended goal of an action, i.e. its beneficiary or the recipient of verbs like 'give'. I will refer to these as dative nominals, adopting the usual name for the corresponding case in Indo-European languages. (Foley 1986:96)
>
> The recipient in the prototypic bitransitive is the prototypic dative. In English, the prototypic bitransitive verb is *give*. (Blansitt 1988:186)

Where a Dative case is illustrated in a grammar of a non-Indo-European language, it is not at all uncommon to find an example clause containing a 'give' predicate. Nevertheless, linguists might choose a label "Dative" for reasons other than its use with the Recipient in a 'give' clause. A case which marks benefactives and goals, for example, might reasonably be called a Dative even if it does not mark the Recipient. The name of a case which appears in the published grammar of a formerly undescribed language will have been chosen (presumably) on the basis of some perceived similarity between its functions and the functions of some grammatical case as used in grammars that the author is familiar with. In the end, one has to acknowledge that the basis for naming a case "Dative" in a particular language is subject to some variability.[4] Nevertheless, in the major Indo-European languages which have a distinct Dative case, a prototypical meaning of that case (though not necessarily its only prototypical meaning) is to mark the Recipient in a 'give' clause.

The basicness of the giving act is surely relevant to understanding why the semantic role of Recipient should be a central meaning of a grammatical case in a language. Just as the act of giving can be considered as a basic type of act of considerable functional importance, so too the role of Recipient within the giving schema can be considered as a basic role, in addition to Agent and Patient. It is a privileged role in the way that it can form the semantic nucleus of a case and various peripheral functions of the case are naturally interpreted as metaphorical extensions of the Recipient role. This parallels the way that the concept of 'give' itself is a natural source for metaphorical understandings of many other complex concepts.

3.2 *Recipient as a Goal*

Another common way in which a Recipient phrase is integrated into a 'give' clause is through treating the Recipient as a Goal. A prototypical Goal is to be understood here as the stationary entity located at the end of a well-defined

path along which some other entity moves. The giving scene does not include within it any entity which fits this prototypical Goal function. So, for example, the Thing being transferred is typically touching either the Giver or the Recipient, so that there is no well-defined path which the Thing traverses independent of a Source and a Goal. Furthermore, there is no completely stationary entity to which the Thing moves, since the Recipient typically moves a hand to meet the object being passed. Nevertheless, there is a sufficient match of cognitive typologies involving Goal and Recipient to support equating the two. A match in the cognitive typologies is helped by considering the Thing and Recipient abstracted away from the busy movement of hands which accompanies the act of giving. The fact that the Recipient (understood as a single large entity) is typically stationary and relatively passive in the act of giving presumably encourages a construal of it as a Goal. Abstracting away from the function of the hands, one can also think of the object as moving to the Recipient and stopping at the Recipient, parallel to what happens when an object moves along a path to a Goal. Considered in this way, the giving scene may be understood as including a Recipient functioning as a Goal, parallel to the typical encoding of a scene like 'X hit a ball to Y'.

The concept of a Goal may be encoded in many different ways, including prepositions, postpositions, case marking etc. A very clear illustration of the Goal image can be found in Finnish, where Recipient appears with a suffix marking Allative case:

(8) *Annan* *kirja-n* *tei-lle.* (Finnish)
give-PRES-1SG book-ACC youSG/PL-ALL
'I give the book to you.'

The Allative case marks motion to something or onto something (though not actually into something, for which the Illative case is used) or where some event is construed in this way. Thus, the Allative case appears on the nouns indicating destinations in Finnish equivalents for 'put it on the table', 'go to the church (but not inside the church)', 'go to the market' etc. The Allative in Finnish takes its place alongside other 'local' cases which together form a nicely symmetrical system of oppositions. The relevant cases and their main functions are:

(9) *Inessive* 'location inside' *Elative* 'movement out of' *Illative* 'movement into'
Adessive 'location at/on' *Ablative* 'movement from' *Allative* 'movement to'

Each of the cases has additional functions which may be rather more abstract

than the glosses suggest. From the point of view of systematizing the case system, however, it is convenient to contrast them in terms of their basic spatial meanings. The names given to the cases reflect this. The Recipient marking function of the Allative must be understood as merely one instantiation of a broader function of marking the goal or destination. This is quite different from the Dative case in Russian which, by itself, is incapable of marking the goal or destination.

Figure 3 illustrates the kind of schematic network one finds in languages which mark the Recipient in the same way as a Goal or Allative. It represents some of the meanings associated with the Goal-marking morpheme *to* in English. Specific meanings of this morpheme are: designating the spatial path leading to a landmark entity, as in *the road to Auckland*; a stretch of time leading up to a particular point in time, as in *five minutes to three*; movement along a spatial path over a stretch of time, as in *She walked to the store*; the Recipient in an act of giving, as in *She gave the book to me*. All of these are instantiations of the notion of a path, leading to a goal as landmark. Hence, I have shown this as the schematic meaning underlying all the other meanings indicated. (Again, I have taken only a selection of all the possible meanings of the morpheme.) Furthermore, there is a similarity in the two meanings represented in *She*

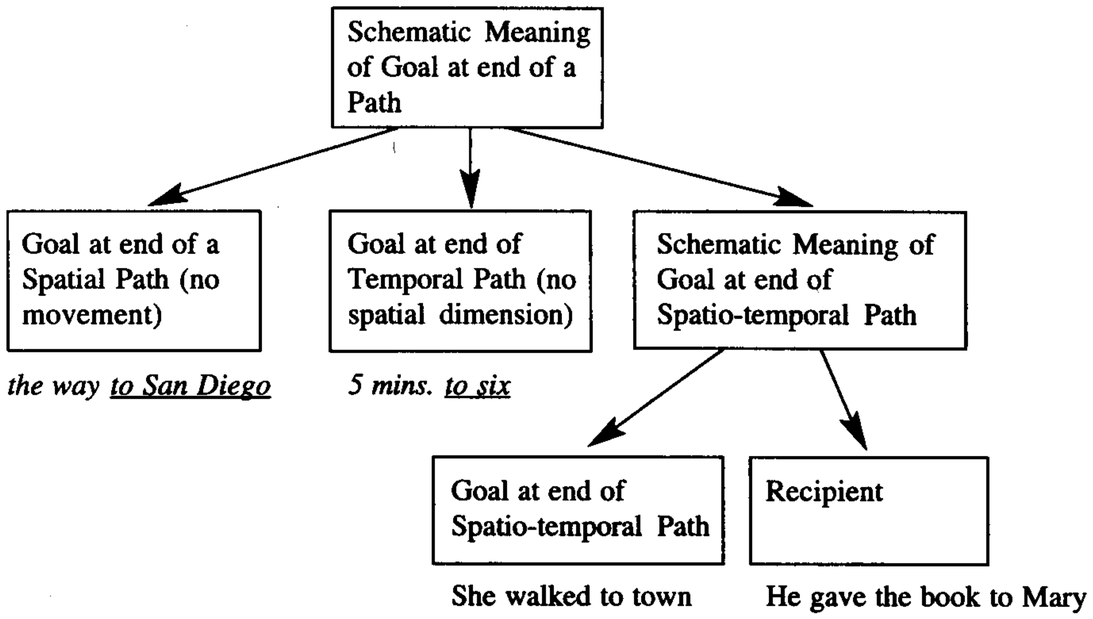


Figure 3. English to

walked to town and *He gave the book to Mary*, as explained above. Both these uses of *to* relate to the movement of some entity through time along a path to a goal. Consequently, I have shown this commonality as a schematic meaning involving movement along a path in a spatio-temporal domain.

Sometimes the Allative marker used in a 'give' construction is related to, or even identical with, a verb meaning 'come' or 'go'. In Iban (Austronesian, Sarawak), for example, the form *gagai* can appear as a full verb (with appropriate inflection — initial *g* being replaced by *ŋ*) meaning 'chase', or as a motion verbal predicate translatable as 'come to, go to', or as a preposition (in the *ŋ* form) meaning 'to'. In all these uses, it appears to be mainly confined to human landmarks, though the expressions *ari pukul 11 ŋagay 12* 'from 11 to 12 o'clock' and *mulayka diri ŋagay mənoa iya* 'return to her country' are possible (cf. Scott 1956:53, 120; Asmah Haji Omar 1981:49, 114-5, 216). Compare:[5]

(10) a. *Iya ŋagay pənchuri.* (Iban, Scott 1956:53)
he/she chased thief
'He/she chased the thief. '

b. *Iya ŋagay aku ləmay kəmari?.* (Iban, Scott 1956:53)
he/she came-to me evening yesterday
'He/she came to me last night.'

c. *Iya rari ŋagay ini iya.* (Iban, Asmah Haji
he/she ran to grandmother his/her Omar 1981:115)
'He/she ran to his/her grandmother.'

d. *Iya məri? ayam to? ŋagay adi iya.*
(Iban, Asmah Haji Omar 1981:216)
he/she gave toy this to younger sibling his/her
'He/she gave this toy to his/her younger sibling.'

Cambodian also makes use of motion verbs ("minor verbs") to express the directionality towards the Recipient in 'give' and other constructions (Jacob 1968:78). Compare the use of *tùu* and *mɔ̀ːk* as full verbs and minor verbs/ prepositions below:

(11) a. *Pùː tùu na?* (Cambodian, Jacob 1968:71)
uncle go where
'Where is uncle going?'

b. *Nèək mɔ̀ːk phnùm-pɛ̀ɲ pìː?ɔŋkal?* (Cambodian, Jacob 1968:71)
you come Phnom Penh when
'When did you come to Phnom Penh?'

c. *Khŋom ʔaoy siəvphùu tùu nèək.* (Cambodian, Jacob 1968:78)
I give book go you
'I give you the book.'

d. *Nèək ʔaoy siəvphùu mɔ̀ːk khŋom.* (Cambodian, Jacob 1968:78)
you give book come me
'You give me the book.'

3.3 *Recipient as a Locative*

Languages may incorporate the Recipient into a 'give' clause through the use of a morpheme covering either location at or direction towards, rather than a morpheme where the meaning is restricted to an Allative function. I will refer to a morpheme like this as a Locative (though sometimes this term is reserved for the 'location at' sense alone). Usually the Allative sense forms a salient part of the schematic network of general Locative-marking morphemes, in which case the Recipient-marking function of the morpheme is still relatable to the Allative submeaning. Examples of this include Modern Greek and Māori. Modern Greek employs a preposition *se* (*s* before the definite article) followed by the Accusative case to mark the Recipient. The range of meanings of *se* includes 'in, at, to, on' and could simply be described as marking location. Cf.:

(12) a. *O Tákis píje s to nosokomío.* (Greek,
Joseph and Philippaki- Warburton 1987:4)
DET Takis-NOM went-3SG to DET hospital-ACC
'Takis went to the hospital.'

b. *Perpatóndas s to drómo, ...* (Greek, Joseph
and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:174)
walk-Gerund on DET street-ACC ...
'While walking on the street, ...'

c. *Édosa s ton Jáni to vivlío.* (Greek, Joseph
and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:125)
gave-1SG to DET John-ACC DET book-ACC
'I gave the book to John.'

Māori has a preposition *ki* with a similarly broad range of locative meanings which is used to integrate the Recipient phrase into a 'give' construction:

(13) a. *Kei te hōatu a Pita i te wai ki a Mere.*(Māori)
PRES give DET Peter OBJ DET water to DET Mary
'Peter is giving the water to Mary.'

b. *I haere au ki te whare.* (Māori)
PAST go I to DET house
'I went to the house.'

c. *I haere au ki roto i te whare.* (Māori)
PAST go I to in OBJ DET house
'I went into the house.'

d. *Ka noho a Ani ki te tūru.* (Māori)
PRES sit DET Ani on DET chair
'Ani is sitting on the chair.'

It appears that in both Greek and Māori, the Allative sense is relatively central within the meanings of the Locative preposition, in which case the Recipient-marking function of the preposition is easily viewed as an instantiation of a schematic Allative meaning, similar to English, Finnish etc. In a review of such types of case-marking in languages, Blansitt (1988:186) arrived at the generalization that if a language contains an adposition marking Dative and Location (understood as 'location at'), then it also marks the Allative. This supports the view taken here that it is the Allative, rather than just the Locative sense, which is the bridge to the Dative sense. Figure 4 sketches part

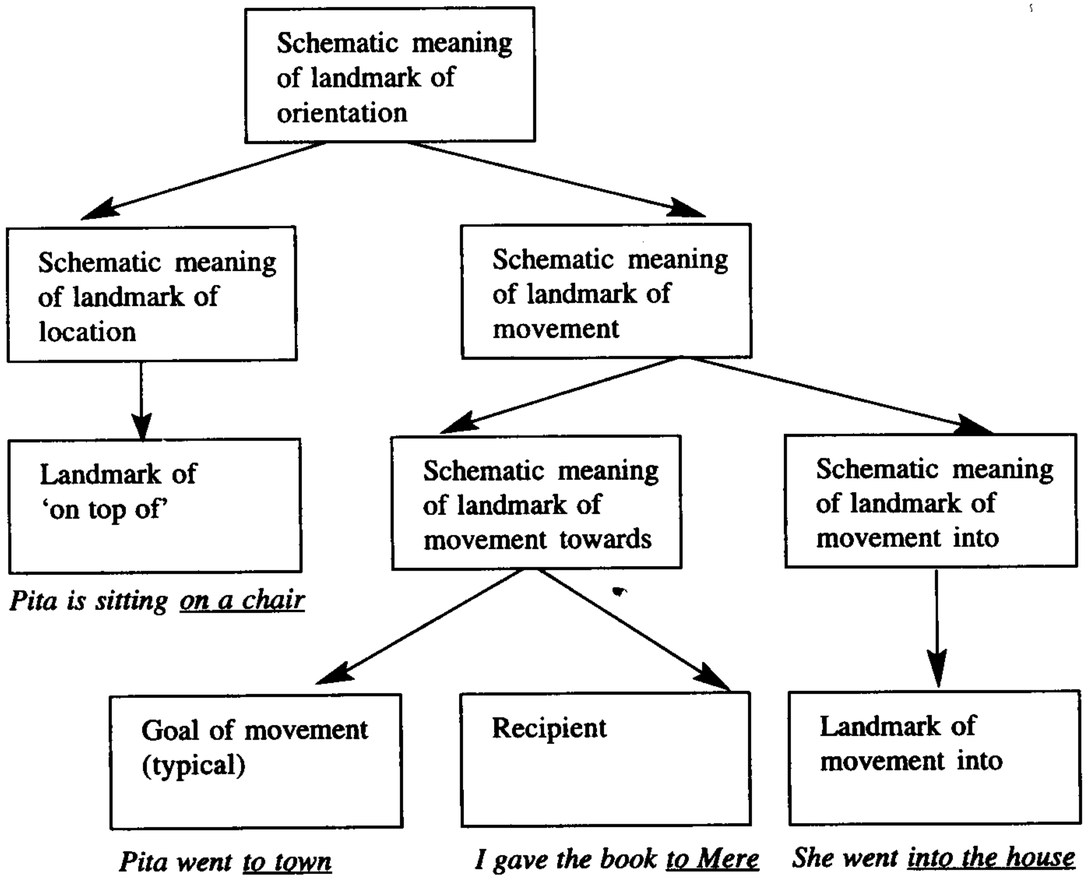


Figure 4. Māori ki

of the schematic network of *ki* in Māori, incorporating my proposals concerning some of the commonalities of meaning.

3.4 *Recipient as a Benefactive*

One feature typical of giving situations is that the Recipient usually makes some use of the Thing for his/her own benefit. This aspect of giving is present as part of the larger semantic frame associated with 'give'. It relates to a chronologically later part of the act of giving, in so far as the benefit to the Recipient may not be fully enjoyed or expressed until some time after the actual act of giving. Many languages have Benefactive morphemes which express a relation between an act and a person for whose benefit or on whose behalf the act was carried out. It may happen that the 'give' construction integrates the Recipient phrase into the clause by marking it in the same way as a Benefactive.

We see the use of what is basically a Benefactive marker to mark the Recipient in a 'give' construction in Chrau (South Bahnaric subgroup of Mon-Khmer, Vietnam). Directional and Benefactive adpositions are clearly distinguished: prepositional *tu* 'to', *tʌt* 'to, arrive' versus postpositional *iin* or *ma?* 'Benefactive'. It is only the latter which occurs in construction with 'give':

(14) a. *aŋ sa? tu tĭ?* (Chrau, Thomas 1971:99)
I go to there
'I'm going there.'

b. *aŋ op rʌm nĕh iin.* (Chrau, Thomas 1971:71)
I make field him BEN
'I make a field for him.'

c. *aŋ an pih nĕh iin.* (Chrau, Thomas 1971:71)
I give knife him BEN
'I gave a knife to him.'

Figure 5 represents part of the schematic network of the Chrau Benefactive marker. One can expect that there will be a range of specific senses which attach to a Benefactive marker in a language. Here I have only indicated the Benefactive meaning which appears in Thomas (1971:71). In addition, some languages might have the sense of 'on behalf of', which has much in common with the 'for the benefit of' meaning. I see a commonality in the specific meanings indicated in Figure 5 ('true' Benefactive and Recipient-marking) and I have described this schematic meaning as referring to a person to whom an act is directed.

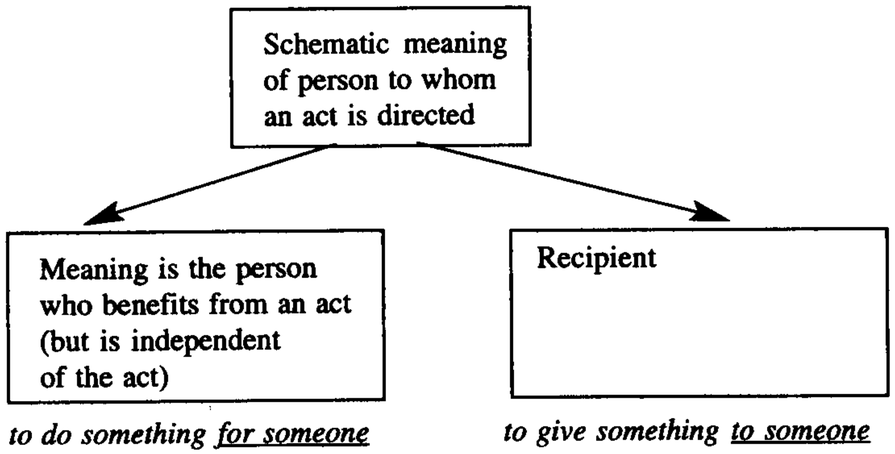


Figure 5. Chrau Benefactive marker

3.5 *Recipient as a Possessor*

Yet another (rare) alternative is to highlight the role of the Recipient as the possessor of the Thing. In Dyirbal (and in the neighbouring language Warrgamay according to Dixon 1980:292), 'give' constructions make aspects of possession quite explicit by the use of a Genitive case with the Recipient. As Dixon (1972:109, 237) explains, there are two Genitive cases in Dyirbal. The "Simple Genitive" refers to alienable possession and indicates a relation of present possession. It contrasts with a "General Genitive" which is used for alienable possession involving a past owner, appropriate in sentences like 'I picked up the white man's cigarettes (which he had dropped and lost)'. Dixon (1972:109) singles out as one of the uses of the General Genitive that it is used 'to describe something given by its owner (particularly European-type giving, involving a white man)'. As an example of the (Simple) Genitive in a 'give' construction, Dixon gives the following sentence:

(15) *balam miraŋ baŋun ḍugumbilŋu baŋgul yaṛaŋgu wugan*
(Dyirbal, Dixon 1972:109)
ABS-III beans-ABS GEN-II woman-GEN ERG-I man-ERG gave
'The man gave the woman beans.'
(I, II, III are noun classes)

In this case, the Recipient is marked in the same way as a typical present possessor of an object, so the sentence above should be understood as 'The man gave the beans to the person to whom they belong' (cf. Dixon 1972:237, 300). In this case, there is no change in any legal sense of possession, only a

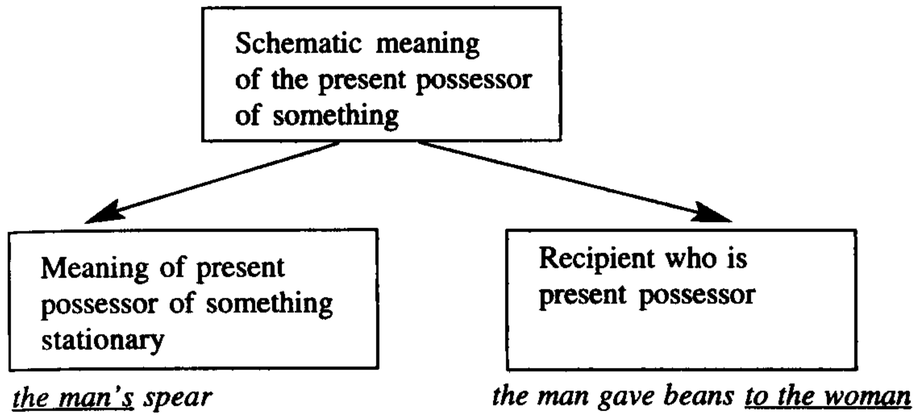


Figure 6. Dyirbal Simple Genitive

change in some accessibility to the Thing. The Dyirbal sentence highlights not the "new" possessor of the Thing, but the "true" possessor.[6]

Figure 6 sketches part of the schematic network of the Simple Genitive morpheme in Dyirbal.

3.6 *More complex networks*

In the preceding sections I have reviewed how Recipient marking may be encoded in the same way as some other type of marking, such as Benefactive, Allative etc. Each of the languages reviewed illustrated a commonality between Recipient marking and one other kind of function. It is possible, however, that a number of these senses may be present in the schematic network of a Recipient marker, giving rise to more complex kinds of schematic networks than we have hitherto seen. A question arises, then, as to which other meaning(s) the Recipient marking sense of a morpheme should be most immediately related to.

Consider, from this point of view, the postposition *rò* in Kanuri (Saharan, Nigeria) as described by Hutchison (1981:259-63) who refers to it as the "indirect postposition". Its uses include marking the Recipient in a 'give' construction, as well as marking the Benefactive and Allative:

(16) a. *Shí-rò yí-k-ìn.* (Kanuri, Hutchison 1981:260)
3SG-to give-1SGSUBJ-TNS
'I will give it to him/her.'
b. *Nyí-rò yíwù-k-ìn.* (Kanuri, Hutchison 1981:260)
youSG-for buy-1SGSUBJ-TNS
'I will buy it for you.'

c. *Kàsúwù-rò lèwó-n-ò.* (Kanuri, Hutchison 1981:260)
market-to go-3SGSUBJ-TNS
'He went to the market.'

What should one consider as the appropriate commonalities in these meanings: Recipient-marking and Benefactive, Recipient-marking and Allative, or all three as making up one commonality? We have seen in the previous sections that there is a good cross-linguistic basis for grouping together Recipient-marking and Benefactive sense, as well as Recipient-marking and Allative. I believe it is reasonable, therefore, to reflect the naturalness of both of these groupings in a schematic network. This means that the Recipient-marking meaning will be grouped simultaneously with each of these other meanings, something which is provided for in Langacker's approach to schematic networks. Figure 7 reflects these observations about the relatedness of the meanings of Kanuri *rò*.

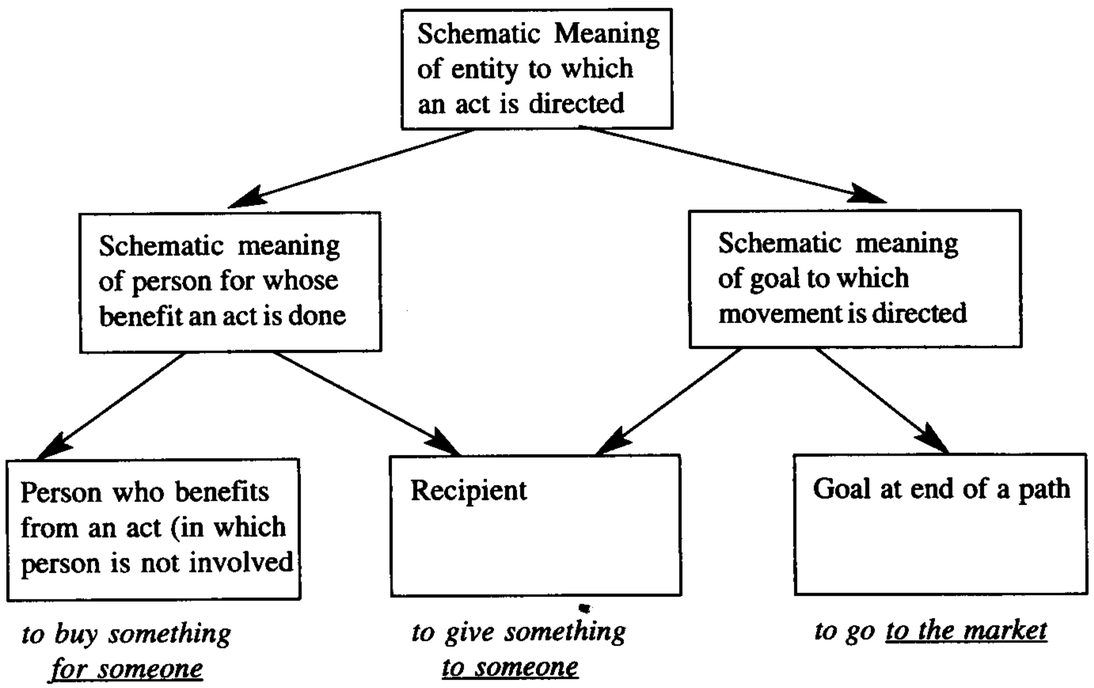


Figure 7. Kanuri rò

Japanese *ni* is another example of a Recipient marker which appears in a large number of other uses, including Benefactive, Locative, Goal, and Agent in a Passive construction.

Faced with such a range of functions, one might be inclined to simply label such adpositions as "Oblique" markers and not attempt to give a semantically based characterization. I have no objection to calling a form an Oblique marker as a way of indicating the very wide range of functions it can have. Furthermore, I agree that characterizing the morpheme in terms of a single, all-encompassing meaning would be difficult and, to the extent it succeeded, highly abstract. Such a characterization would be a highly schematic meaning at the top of a schematic network. I make no assumption that it is necessary to recognize a single, all-encompassing schematic meaning representing what is common to all uses of a morpheme and in the case of Oblique markers like Japanese *ni*, it may not be illuminating to proceed in this way. Whether or not a single, highly schematic characterization of the meanings is appropriate, however, it is possible to identify commonalities on a smaller scale between certain groups of meanings, such as Recipient-Benefactive, Recipient-Allative etc. These intermediate level schemata are not invalidated just because the status of a single, highly schematic meaning is dubious.

3.7 *Verb marking*

Sometimes a 'give' construction requires some marking on the verb. The verb marking may appear when either the Thing or the Recipient phrase occurs as the object (or primary object, as explained below). In West Greenlandic the verb *tuni* 'to give' appears in this form when the Recipient is the object but it occurs with a suffix *-ut* (> *up* before *p*) when the Thing functions as the object:

(17) a. *Aningaasa-t Niisi-mut tunni-up-pai.*
(West Greenlandic, Fortescue1984:88)
money-PL Niisi-ALL give3SGSUBJ/3PLOBJ-Suffix-Indicative
'He gave the money to Niisi.'
b. *Niisi aningaasa-nik tuni-vaa.*
(West Greenlandic, Fortescue1984:89)
Niisi money-INSTR/PL give3SGSUBJ/3SGOBJ-Indicative
'He gave Niisi money.'

Alternatively, the verb may be marked with some affix when the Recipient functions as the object, as in Tzotzil:

(18) a. *ʔa li Xun -e, ba y- ak' chitom*
(Tzotzil, Aissen 1987:104)
TOP DET Xun clitic go 3ERG-give pig
'Xun went to give the pig.'

b. *ʔa li Xun -e, ba y- ak' -be chitom li ʔantz-e*
(Tzotzil, Aissen 1987:105)
TOP DET Xun -clitic go 3ERG-give-Suffix pig DET woman-clitic
'Xun went to give the woman the pig.'

While *li ʔantz* 'the woman' does not appear in the protoypical object position immediately after the verb, there is substantial evidence that the phrase nevertheless functions as the main object for the purposes of syntactic rules (passive and reflexivization). In Tzotzil, the Recipient must function as the object in such sentences so that the inclusion of a Recipient in a 'give'-clause requires that the verb be marked with the *-be* suffix.

The facts about verb marking and choice of direct object raise problems for approaches which assume one of the two structural types is structurally basic. In classical transformational grammar and relational grammar, for example, the Thing is analyzed as the direct object in the underlying or initial representation. A transformational rule (Dative Shift) or a relation changing rule (3-2 Advancement) converts this representation into one in which the Recipient takes over the role of direct object. The addition of a verbal affix is seen as a way of registering the application of the rule. That is, a change to the syntax of the clause is paralleled by the addition of an affix to the verb. The fact that affixation on the verb may register the Thing as direct object in some languages argues against such an analysis. So, for example, in West Greenlandic, the additional verbal morphology appears only when the Thing is the direct object. One could show the verb marking possibilities as follows:

(19) a. Tzotzil:

'give' Verb	*Direct/Primary object*	*Non-object*
V - Ø	Thing	Recipient
V - Affix	Recipient	Thing

b. West Greenlandic:

'give' Verb	*Direct/Primary object*	*Non-object*
V - Affix	Thing	Recipient
V - Ø	Recipient	Thing

One could argue that there is nothing in the theory of transformational grammar or relational grammar which requires that the underlying structure be relatively unmarked compared with the surface structure. Nevertheless, this is what one typically finds. When one converts an active clause into a passive clause, for example, one typically finds verbal morphology in the derived passive structure.[7] If one insists on Dative Shift or 3-2 Advancement as the only means by which a Recipient comes to function as a direct object, then there will be cases where the derived structure cooccurs with the relatively unmarked verbal morphology. We have then a decidedly odd matching of morphological and syntactic facts.

4. The significance of schematic networks

Our discussion of schematic networks has revealed considerable diversity in the range of meanings evidenced by the morphemes which help to integrate the Recipient into clause structure. In constructing these networks I have attempted to highlight the main functions associated with these morphemes and some of the semantic relatedness which holds between some of these functions. The only kind of relatedness I have incorporated into the networks in this chapter has involved a perception of some commonality between meanings, giving rise to a higher-level schematic meaning which subsumes more specific instantiations.

In proceeding in this way I have attempted to capture some, but not all, of the relationships which speakers of a language may be aware of. Two other aspects of the semantics of networks have been omitted, though they are typically part of a native speaker's intuitions about the meanings of morphemes. These are judgements of prototypicality and judgements about dependencies between the submeanings. The range of meanings associated with a morpheme may be viewed as a special case of a category and its members. As such, it may have one or more central members and one or more less central members, in the judgement of users of the language. These central member(s), to the extent there are such members, may be called the prototype(s) of that category. Furthermore, users of the language may perceive a submeaning A as being an extension from another submeaning B. Some of the more peripheral members of a category, for example, may be thought of as variants of a more central member. Not all submeanings must necessarily be perceived as an extension of some other submeaning and sometimes it is not clear just what the directionality of the extension is. As with judgements of prototypicality, so too speakers' judgements about such

extensions are subject to some variation. Such judgements may be murky but they are no less real for that.

While acknowledging the reality of speakers' judgements of prototypicality and semantic extensions, I have nevertheless refrained from incorporating these aspects into the schematic networks. The reason for this is the unavailability to me of reliable judgements by native speakers about such things. Relying, as I have, on published grammars and dictionaries of the languages concerned for much of the data I have collected, I do not feel confident in pinpointing prototypes and extensions in the schematic networks. One can gain some sense of more central meanings direction of extensions from some dictionaries, grammars etc., but only in a very crude way. Dictionaries do not identify prototypical meanings in a reliable enough way to be used for this purpose. This contrasts with proposals for schematic meanings representing what is common between meanings. This is an exercise which can be carried out with a set of meanings by any thinking person reflecting on a given set of meanings and this is what I have done in the case of the schematic networks in this chapter. Even so, I make no claim that a particular native speaker must necessarily see the same higher-level schematic meanings which I have proposed. Speakers may attribute more or less schematic structure than what I have proposed, though I suggest that my proposals are reasonably self-evident.

Bearing in mind that it has not been possible to make very precise claims about prototypes and extensions from one part of a network to another, I feel nevertheless that I can make some relevant suggestions. As far as prototypical meanings are concerned, I suspect that the Recipient-marking and Thing-marking functions of the morphemes we have looked at would be judged to be relatively central meanings of the morphemes concerned. The morphemes which have been considered are the ones which would commonly be used in 'give' constructions — they are not morphemes which have been extended in any novel and creative ways to "fit" into a 'give' construction. As a general observation, I think we must recognize that we are dealing here with some commonly occurring and quite salient functions of morphemes. It leads me to suspect that the Recipient-marking sense and the Thing-marking sense are probably relatively central in the set of meanings of each of the morphemes considered.

The question of which submeanings of a morpheme might be considered as extensions from other submeanings is more difficult to address. In some of

the examples of Recipient-marking discussed above, I would tend to see the Recipient-marking as basic and some other senses as extensions. This is how I would view the Russian Dative. Here we see Recipient-marking as a salient function of the Dative and it is possible to construe some of the other uses of this morpheme as figurative extensions of that submeaning, as discussed above. It is difficult to conceptualize the relationships in the opposite way, whereby there is some schematic meaning common to all the submeanings apart from Recipient-marking which is figuratively extended to Recipient-marking. In the case of morphemes which show a polysemy between Recipient-marking and Allative/Locative uses, on the other hand, I would be inclined to see the Recipient-marking as an extension of the Allative/Locative sense. Underlying this view is a cognitive bias towards viewing spatial relationships as even more basic than our understanding of giving acts. It strikes me as easier to construe the Recipient as being like a Goal to which something moves than to construe a spatial Goal as being a figurative extension of a Recipient. That is, it is easier to see movement to a Goal in the prototypical act of giving than to see movement to a Goal as an act of giving something to a Recipient. Furthermore, I have not found any extensive diachronic evidence of a path of development from Recipient marking to Allative marking.[8] Mandarin *gěi* 'give', for example, has been extended to a variety of other meanings, including Recipient-marking, Benefactive, 'allow', and Agent-marking in a Passive construction, but it has not been extended to mark the Goal in a pure Allative meaning. My view of the directionality here extends quite generally to other non-spatial submeanings of Allative/Locative markers. So, for example, I think of the spatial sense of *to* involving a path to some goal as the source for other senses of *to* as in *five minutes to six*, *being under an obligation to someone*, *the building faces to the north*, *I want to go* etc., rather than the other way around. In the case of the Benefactive and Possessive morphemes discussed above, the labels used for these morphemes suggest these senses are the central ones with the Recipient-marking an extension. While this may be appropriate for the languages concerned, it seems to me one should allow for extensions in the opposite direction, too, viz. Recipient-marking extending to Benefactive or Possessive. Consequently, I am reluctant to make a universal claim about the directionality of extensions involving these three meanings.

Regardless of what extensions one sees in the submeanings of the morphemes discussed above, it remains true that the Recipient and Thing may be

treated as identical with other semantic roles from the point of view of clause organization. Underlying such polysemies is a cognitive act of categorization, or metaphorization. In saying this I am not suggesting that a native speaker carries out a creative metaphorical act. But creative acts of metaphor on the part of speakers in the past are responsible for the range of meanings in the first place. Now as part of the conventionalized images of a language, they have lost their novel, creative values. In exploring these conventionalized images, then, I have been detailing some cognitive tendencies of (past) humans as reflected in (present) linguistic structures.

NOTES

1. I have used the term "Absolutive" in place of Dixon's "Nominative" in accordance with more contemporary practice. The Instrumental Case is morphologically identical with the Ergative, but these are distinguished by Dixon on the basis of syntactic tests. The Genitive case refers to the "Simple Genitive", said to indicate a relation of present possession. There is also a "General Genitive", indicating a past owner. Cf. Dixon (1972:105-110).

2. Cf. Langacker (1987:120) on structuring a scene in terms of figure vs. ground asymmetry, which is the broader cognitive distinction underlying the subject vs. object distinction: "Figure/ground organization is not in general automatically determined for a given scene; it is normally possible to structure the same scene with alternate choices of figure." To which one might add that it is sometimes also possible to structure the same scene with alternate choices of ground.

3. Dryer (1986) gives explicit recognition to the frequency of the structure in (2b) where the Recipient is treated just like a prototypical object by proposing a category called "primary object" which includes the object (direct object) in a monotransitive clause and the Recipient in a ditransitive clause where the Recipient functions like a direct object.

4. Barry Blake informs me (personal communication) of his criteria for labelling cases in languages which have hitherto not been described:

> With a 'new' language, I look for the large class of 2-place verbs that includes 'smash', 'bash', etc. and allot accusative to (the) patient. There is usually a minority class, as in Latin, of non-impingement/ non-activity verbs. These take dative in Latin so on grounds of cross-language consistency, I allot the label dative to the corresponding case.

5. The transcriptions used by Scott and Asmah Haji Omar have been slightly modified to show a phonemic level.

6. Dixon's discussion of 'give' constructions in Dyirbal leaves it unclear to me whether one finds the General Genitive in a 'give' construction, contrasting with the Simple Genitive.

7. Baker (1988:12-13) summarizes the situation as follows:

> [Grammatical Function changing rules] all tend to include the *addition* of the characteristic morpheme as a 'side effect' of the change. This morpheme then registers to a language perceiver that a particular [Grammatical Function] change has taken place, so that he or she can undo the change. (my italics)

The "Mirror Principle", as formulated by Baker (1988:13), insists on a very close parallel between morphology and syntax: "morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)". The Mirror Principle would appear to require that some syntactic process has applied just in those cases where an affix has been added to the verb stem.

8. Heine et al. (1993:102) cite examples from the Portuguese-based creole of Equatorial Guinea, Fa d'Ambu, as evidence for a 'give' > 'on, onto' development.

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The possessive dative in Romance and Germanic languages

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it aims at giving a descriptive overview of how a number of Indo-European languages, viz. Romance and Germanic languages, link the conceptual notion of inalienable possession to syntactic structure, and in particular to the grammatical function of the dative case. Following Chappell & McGregor (1996:11), inalienables are defined as "entities which imply the existence of some other entity, the whole to which they belong or with which they are associated". A relation of inalienable possession is understood as "a relation over which possessors exercise little choice or control".

As will appear, languages may display important differences, even within one and the same language family, with respect to the ways in which they organize various relationships between argument structure and semantic concepts such as inalienable possession. The following examples, containing a possessive dative, illustrate this:

(1) a. **G** *Dem brennt die Haut.*[1]
3sg pron[2] DAT burns the skin
'His skin is burning.'
b. **E** * *The skin is burning to him.*
c. **D** * *De huid brandt hem.*
d. **F** *Je lui ai maquillé/ *vu le visage.*
e. **S** *Le he pintado/visto la cara.*
3sg clit DAT (I) have put make up on/seen the face
'I have put make up on/seen his face.'

f. **R** *I-am văzut profilul.* (Manoliu-Manea 1996)
3sg clit DAT (I) have seen profile the
g. **I** ? *Gli ho visto la faccia.*
3sg clit DAT (I) have seen the face

The cross-linguistic description undertaken here will also show that the very concept of inalienability is not a pre-given fact of the world, but a relative notion, a point already made in Bally's (1926) seminal article, and recently verified for Romance languages (Dumitrescu 1990) and a number of non-Indo-European languages (Chappell & McGregor 1996). Even closely related IE languages like those we will focus on in this paper differ as to what they include in the scope of what Bally called *la sphère personnelle* ('the personal domain'), ranging from the most prototypical entities, viz. body parts, over kinship terms to simply possessed objects. But they also differ from a different vantage point, which in spite of the considerable amount of research on the topic of inalienability[3] has been paid less attention to (Manoliu-Manea 1996), viz. the verbal predicates which pattern with the expression of inalienable possession.

The second purpose of this paper is to explore a hypothesis concerning a relationship between the possessive dative and another type of dative whose presence also varies importantly depending on the language, viz. the ethical dative. We will thus investigate to what extent languages which easily admit ethical datives also allow more freely possessive datives into their predicate frames. The underlying hypothesis is that both types of datives co-occur in the same languages because they share important syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics.

The two types of datives obviously have an important syntactic property in common, viz. the fact that they enter into a syntactic relationship with the verb without being lexically selected by the verb. In the French example given in (2a), *casser* (to break) subcategorizes for a direct object but not for an indirect one, and in (2b) *te* obviously cannot belong to the valency of *donner,* since the verb subcategorizes for the other dative *lui* :

(2) a. **F** *On lui a cassé le pied.*
One 3sg clit DAT has broken the foot
'They broke his foot.'
b. **F** *Il te lui a donné une de ces gifles.* (Leclère 1976)
He 2sg clit DAT 3sg clit DAT has given one of those smacks

Despite this similarity, we should not of course forget that the two datives

differ as to the degree to which they are linked to the predicate frame: whereas possessive datives are incorporated into it, forming, as some suggest (Demonte 1995, Leclère 1976, Vandeweghe 1986, Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992), a new complex predicate, ethical datives are much more loosely related to the verbal nucleus: they stay at the edge of sentence structure.

We will argue that both datives are also linked by a crucial semantic property, i.e. they both involve an entity presented as affected by whatever is expressed in the predication. However, there is also a semantic difference between the two, which parallels the syntactic difference we have just noted. Whereas referents of possessive datives are presented as affected by the process itself — if something affects part of a whole, then the whole is affected — those of ethical datives act as mere witnesses, affected not by the process itself but by the statement of it, viz. the utterance (Delbecque & Lamiroy 1996, Wegener 1985).

Finally we would like to argue that possessive and ethical datives also have a pragmatic condition in common, something which is in fact hinted at *avant la lettre* by Bally (1926). While dealing with the possessive dative, Bally says:[4]

> The concepts of personal domain and indivisibility are closely linked to the *social* function of language (...) Every notion that is crucial to the vital functions of the individual tends to be rendered in an *expressive* way (...) Could it be assumed that this tendency might be more established and frequent in informal colloquial speech than in the written language?

Bally's intuitive remarks amount to saying that possessive datives fulfil not only a grammatical but also an expressive function: this function is, of course, dominantly present in ethical datives, whose *raison d'être* is to create an emphatic context where the addressee is called upon as a witness to the process. We will pursue this hypothesis by showing that there are independent properties which indeed suggest that there exists a significant relation between the two datives.

We would further like to argue that our hypothesis is in fact quite natural: if possessive and ethical datives pattern together to a certain extent, this should come as no surprise because both express one of the major notional roles of the dative in general, viz. that of *interested party* (Van Belle & Van Langendonck 1996:XVI). According to Van Belle & Van Langendonck, the dative exhibits, in terms of thematic roles, two logically independent roles, *goal* and *interested party*. The latter typically concerns human referents, the

former does not.[5] Both can be united, as with datives of transfer (prototypically verbs of *giving*), in which case the dative bears a recipient role. But both roles can also occur separately: the dative indicates then either *goal* or *interested party*. A mere *goal* dative is occasionally found in Latin (cf. Van Langendonck, this volume), e.g. *It clamor caelo* 'The cry went up to heaven' (Virgil). In the reverse situation, viz. only *interested party*, two (at least two)[6] possibilities occur: the referent of the dative is either 'interested' in the process as a possessor (the 'whole' in the 'whole-part' relationship), or he is involved by the speaker as a witness of the utterance. The former case is an instance of the possessive dative, the latter of the ethical dative.

Our paper consists of three parts. Before turning to the individual languages, we will briefly comment upon the significant parameters which will be examined for each of the languages under analysis (§1). The languages that are dealt with are English, German, Dutch on the one hand, and French, Spanish, Italian, and Rumanian on the other (§2). In the final part of the paper we develop the above sketched hypothesis about possessive and ethical datives (§3).

2. The parameters

For each language we will examine the following three parameters: first, which syntactic structures allow for the expression of inalienable possession, second, which verb classes pattern with it, and third, which entities are conceived of as being inalienable, i.e. as belonging to the personal domain.

2.1 *Syntactic structures*

At the outset, it should be noted that the possessor in a whole-part relationship is not exclusively expressed by one particular case. As a matter of fact, the dative case, which will be at the center of our interest here, is only one out of several possibilities. As the following French examples show, the possessor can be expressed in any of the following cases, the nominative (3a), the genitive (3b), the accusative (3c) or the dative (3d):

(3) a. **F** *Les enfants ont levé la main.*
The children have raised the hand
'The children raised their hands.'

b. **F** *Le médecin a regardé dans ses yeux.*
The doctor looked into her eyes
c. **F** *On l'a blessé au pied.*
One 3sg clit ACC has injured at the foot
'They injured his foot.'
d. **F** *Luc lui a fait un tatouage au bras.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT has made a tattoo on the arm
'Luke made a tattoo on his arm.'

We will leave aside the most unmarked case of all which is common to all languages under analysis (4), viz. the nominative case:

(4) a **S** *Tiene una pierna rota.*
(He) has a leg broken
b. **I** *Ha una gamba rota.*
(He) has a leg broken.
c. **D** *Hij heeft een been gebroken.*
He has a leg broken
d. **G** *Er hat ein Bein gebrochen.*
He has a leg broken
e. **E** *He has a broken leg.*

Since we are focusing on the dative, we will instead have a closer look at those cases in which the dative competes for the expression of the possessor-possessed relation with the genitive and the accusative.

GENITIVE vs DATIVE

As has repeatedly been pointed out in the literature, the possessive dative often alternates with a possessive determiner within the NP. Though this is true for many languages, it does not hold for English, which lacks the possessive dative:

(5) a. **F** *Il me prend le bras.* (Hatcher 1944)
He 1sg clit DAT takes the arm
b. **F** *Il prend mon bras.*
He takes my arm
c. **E** * *He takes me the arm.*
d. **E** He takes my arm

That the genitive and dative alternate in French to express the possessor is straightforwardly suggested by the fact that they are normally exclusive within the same sentence:[7]

(5) f. **F** ? *Il me prend mon bras.*
He 1sg clit DAT takes my arm

In (5a) the determiner is a definite article because the use of a possessive adjective would be redundant, the possessor of the body part being evidently the referent of the dative. Although both constructions allow the possessor in the whole-part relation to be expressed, they crucially differ in a number of respects. As has been stressed by most scholars who have dealt with the topic (Bally 1926, Chappell & McGregor 1996, Dumitrescu 1990, Haiman 1985, Hatcher 1944, Leclère 1976, Spanoghe 1995, Vandeweghe 1986, Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992, Wegener 1985, Wierzbicka 1979), both structures are not semantically equivalent. The major difference between these two cases is that the genitive entails a greater conceptual separateness between part and whole than the dative. Whereas the latter crucially implies the presence of the possessor experiencing the process, the genitive does not necessarily imply the affectedness or even the presence of the possessor. This is why both are not always interchangeable:

(6) a. **F** *Nous avons vu sa maison.*
We have seen his house
b. **F** * *Nous lui avons vu la maison.*
We 3sg clit DAT have seen the house

In (5), where both structures are possible, the process is presented as more intimately affecting the possessor in (5a) than in (5b): as Hatcher argues, in (5b) my arm is represented as though it were disembodied from my own person. Or as Bally (1926) put it, one would be unlikely to use (5b) unless one is talking about a wooden arm. Therefore, datives pattern with inalienables and genitives with alienables (Chappell & McGregor 1995). For the same reason, possessive datives are usually human NPs (but see footnote 5), a restriction genitives do not share. Compare:

(7) a. **F** ?* *La table, quelqu'un lui a scié toutes les pattes.*
The table, someone 3sg clit DAT has sawn all the legs
b. **F** *La table, quelqu'un a scié toutes ses pattes.*
'The table, someone has sawn all its legs off.'

However, the presence of a restrictive modifier favours the use of the genitive, thus triggering a more specific focus on the inalienable part involved. Compare, e.g., (8a) vs (8b), without modifier, or (8c), with a non-restrictive modifier. The examples are taken from Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992: 603):

(8) a. **F** *Le coiffeur a peigné ses cheveux soyeux.*
The hairdresser has combed her/his hair silky
'The hairdresser combed her silky hair.'
b. **F** *Il lui a peigné les cheveux /* Il a peigné ses cheveux.*
He to-her/to-him has combed the hair /* He has combed her/his hair
c. **F** *Il lui a bandé les doigts gelés.*[8]
He to-him/to-her has bandaged the fingers frozen
'He bandaged his frozen fingers.'

The genitive further contrasts with the dative in that only the latter entails a distributive reading, as pointed out by Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992: 598 ff.). Whereas (9a), e.g., means that for each of the individuals referred to by *leur* 'to them' both hands were washed, the (9b) formulation is vague as to the number of hands washed per individual:[9]

(9) a. **F** *Jean a lavé leurs mains.*
John has washed their hands
b. **F** *Jean leur a lavé les mains.*
John 3pl clit DAT has washed the hands
'John washed their hands.'

The distributive relation between the possessive dative and the inalienable object also explains why the latter remains singular. The lack of number agreement is illustrated in (10):

(10) **F** *Le médecin leur a examiné la gorge /* les gorges.*
The doctor 3pl clit DAT examined the throat /* the throats
'The doctor examined their throat.'

From a syntactic point of view, we will assume, following Chappell & McGregor (1996) and many others, that both structures are basic, i.e. that the dative structure is not 'derived' by 'possessor raising' from a genitive position embedded within the NP. Such a derivation is unmotivated not only for semantic, but also for strictly syntactic reasons. First, as Vandeweghe (1986) argues for Dutch, not all dative structures have a genitive counterpart (11). This is especially true for fixed expressions, as Melis (1996) also observes for French (12).[10] Van Belle & Van Langendonck (1996) provide examples where both dative and genitive are possible, but interestingly, the dative has only the figurative reading, the genitive only the literal meaning (13):

(11) a. **D** *Dit hangt mij de keel uit.*
This hangs 1sg pron DAT the throat out
'I have had enough of it.'

b. **D** * *Dit hangt mijn keel uit.*
This hangs my throat out
c. **D** *Het gaat hem boven de pet.*
It goes 3sg pron DAT over the cap
'It's more than he can take.'
d. **D** * *Het gaat boven zijn pet.*
It goes over his cap

(12) a. **F** *Cela lui a ouvert les yeux.*
That 3sg clit DAT has opened the eyes
'That made him (suddenly) realize the truth.'
b. **F** * *Cela a ouvert ses yeux.*
That opened his eyes

(13) a. **D** *Hij rukte Jan het masker af.*
He tore to John DAT the mask off
'He forced John to tell the truth.'
b. **D** *Hij rukte Jan's masker af.*
He tore off the mask from John
'He tore the mask from John's face.'

Note that the genitive and dative are not interchangeable either when the inalienable NP is subject of the sentence:

(14) a. **S** *Le duele la cabeza.*
3sg clit DAT hurts the head
'He has a head ache.'
b. **S** * *Duele su cabeza.*
Hurts his head

Both in fixed expressions (11-12-13), and when the inalienable NP is in subject position (14), there seems to be a pragmatic motivation for marking with the dative the inherently relational character between the possessor and the nominal entities involved. What is marked, in fact, is the implication in the process of the possessor to whom the entities relate. According to the topicality hierarchy proposed by Givón (1976; see also García 1975: 284 ff.), topicalization goes on the account of the dative, which is better suited than the genitive to enhance participant status. This is further corroborated by the impossibility of fronting the entities involved, e.g. (11e-12c). Similarly, sentences such as (14c) are rather unnatural unless they convey contrastive focus (14d-e), given the unlikeliness of topic function being assigned to the body part:

(11) e. **D** ?* *De keel hangt het mij uit.*
The throat hangs it 1sg pron DAT out

(12) c. **F** * *Les yeux, cela les lui a ouverts.*
The eyes that 3pl clit ACC 3sg clit DAT has opened

(14) c. **S** ?? *La cabeza le duele.*
The head 3sg clit DAT hurts
d. **S** *Hasta la cabeza le duele.*
Even the head 3sg clit DAT hurts
e. **S** *La cabeza entera le duele, no sólo la frente.*
The head whole 3sg clit DAT hurts, not only the forehead

Furthermore, as pointed out by Leclère (1976), when the relation between possessor and possessed is no longer one of strict inalienability, both can co-occur in the same sentence. What is noteworthy is that the presence of the possessive makes the interpretation of example (15a) oscillate in the direction of a dative of interest (cf. Delbecque & Lamiroy 1996). The definite article instead patterns with the possessive dative because the possessor-possessed relation is obvious in the case of strict inalienability:[11]

(15) a. **F** *Paul lui a déchiré son sac.* (Leclère 1976)
Paul 3sg clit DAT has torn her bag
b. **F** ?* *Paul lui a déchiré le sac.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT has torn the bag

Dumitrescu (1990: 412) also provides evidence of the possible cooccurrence of the possessive dative and the genitive (16b). She suggests that the two co-occur due to the simultaneous topicalization, at discourse level, of both the possessor and the possessed object:

(16) a. **S** *Hace fresco, me voy a poner el gabán. ¿Y tú, qué hiciste con el tuyo?*
(It) does fresh, 1sg clit DAT (I) go to put on the coat. And you, what did (you) with the yours?
'It's nippy, I'll put on my coat. And you, what did you do with yours?'
b. **S** *Yo me he dejado el mío / mi gabán en casa.*
I 1sg clit DAT have left the mine / my coat in house
'I left mine / my coat at home.'

However, rather than invoking primarily the discourse level to explain the co-occurrence between dative and genitive, one could see it the other way around, viz. viewing the extra focus on the possessed object as a semantic option operating at clausal level. As indicated above, the genitive instantiates a referential, i.e. a 'token' interpretation, whereas the definite article introducing the possessed object induces a 'type' reading.

At any rate, if the dative structure were derived from the one with genitive by possessor raising, one would expect them to appear in alternating pairs of sentences, on the one hand, and to be mutually exclusive within the same sentence, on the other. Since neither is true, an analysis by 'possessor promotion' has to be dismissed.

ACCUSATIVE vs DATIVE

Languages like German with morphological case neatly show how transitive verbs may not only indicate the possessor in the dative, but also in the accusative. Compare in this respect (17a-b). However, even in German alternations as illustrated in (18) are not always possible (all examples are from Draye 1996):

(17) a. **G** *Der Mann hat mir/mich ins Gesicht geschlagen.*
The man has 1sg pron DAT/ACC in the face hit
b. **E** *The man hit *to me/me in the face.*

(18) a. **G** *Der Regen hat mir/*mich ins Gesicht geschlagen.*
The rain has 1sg pron DAT/*ACC in the face hit
'The rain hit me in the face.'
b. **G** *Er schaut ihr/*sie ins Gesicht.*
He looks 3sg pron DAT/*ACC in the face
'He looks at her face.'
c. **G** *Er küsste sie/??ihr voll auf den Mund.*
He kissed 3sg pron ACC/??DAT on the mouth
'He kissed her on her mouth.'

These examples interestingly suggest, according to Draye, that the possessor is presented as less affected when it stands in the dative case than in the accusative case. *Der Regen* ('the rain') in (18a) is less agentive than *der Mann* ('the man') in (17), and therefore, the patient is less directly concerned by the process: hence, accusative and dative no longer alternate in (18a) as they do in (17). In (18b), only the dative is allowed for an analogous reason, viz. the fact that the verb *schauen* ('to look at') is a less dynamic verb than *schlagen* ('to hit'). In (18c) the reverse situation occurs: the accusative is preferred because *küssen* ('to kiss') necessarily implies that the patient is aware and affected by the process. The same holds for the corresponding Dutch example:

(19) d. **D** *Hij kuste haar op de mond.*
He kissed her 3sg pron ACC on the mouth

e. **D** ** Hij kuste haar de mond.*
He kissed her 3sg pron DAT the mouth

Rumanian, interestingly, presents the same accusative-dative alternation as German.[12] As Dumitrescu (1990) and Manoliu-Manea (1996) observe, the accusative correlates with a higher degree of affectedness of the possessor, thus corroborating Draye's findings for German : in (20a), the structure is 'whole-centered', whereas in (20b) it is 'part-centered' so that the possessor, though in both cases affected by the process, is foregrounded in (20a) and backgrounded in (20b):[13]

(20) a. **R** *Mă închei la cămaşă.*
1sg clit ACC button (I) at shirt
b. **R** *Îmi închei cămaşa.*
1sg clit DAT button (I) shirt ACC the
'I button my shirt.'

Leclère (1995) comments upon the French examples in (21) along the same lines. The whole-centered vs part-centered orientation of the verbal predicate in the part-whole relation also seems to account for the alternation of accusative and dative constructions in the French, Italian and Spanish examples (22-23-24). Note that the ungrammaticality of (22b-23b-24b) cannot be explained by the verbal predicate alone, since the Romance equivalents of the verb *examine* all allow a direct object, as shown in (22c-23c-24c). Hence, what is at stake here is clearly the part-whole relation:

(21) a. **F** *Paul a mordu Marie au bras.*
Paul has bitten Mary at the arm
b. **F** *Paul a mordu le bras à Marie.*
Paul has bitten the arm to Mary

(22) a. **F** *Paul lui a examiné le bras.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT has examined the arm
b. **F** ** Paul l'a examinée au bras.* (Leclère 1995)
Paul 3sg clit ACC has examined at the arm
c. **F** *Paul a examiné Léa.*

(23) a. **I** *Il medico ha esaminato loro la gola.* (Delfitto & D'Hulst 1995)
The doctor has examined 3pl clit DAT the throat
b. **I** * Il medico li ha esaminati alla gola
The doctor 3pl clit ACC has examined at the throat
c. **I** *Il medico li ha esaminati.*

(24) a. **S** El médico les examinó la garganta
The doctor 3pl clit DAT has examined the throat
b. **S** * *El médico los examinó en la garganta.*
The doctor 3pl clit ACC has examined at the throat
c. **S** *El médico los examinó.*

Note further that, as with the genitive, the condition of inalienability (and hence of animacy of the possessor) seems to be stricter for the dative than for the accusative (but see footnote 5). Conversely, the part element that surfaces as a PP in the accusative construction typically receives a concrete interpretation. This probably explains why fixed expressions, which seem to favour the possessive dative over the genitive, also seem to favour dative constructions over accusative constructions:[14]

(25) a. **F** *La table, je l'ai astiquée sur toute la surface.* (Leclère 1995)
The table, I 3sg clit ACC have wiped on the whole surface
b. **F** * *La table, je lui ai astiqué toute la surface.*
The table, I 3sg clit DAT have wiped the whole surface

(26) a. **F** *Paul lui casse les pieds à Luc.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT breaks the feet to Luke
'Paul bothers Luke.'
b. **F** * *Paul casse Luc aux pieds.*
Paul breaks Luke at the feet

In sum, when one considers the genitive, dative and accusative case, which all may indicate the possessor, there appears to be a hierarchy with respect to the degree of affectedness by the process: the accusative has the highest score on the cline, the genitive the lowest. With the genitive case, the process of the verbal predicate primarily affects the object, which therefore is possibly alienable with respect to the possessor. With the dative case, the process crucially affects part (the object NP) and whole (the dative NP) at once, but the structure is essentially part-centered. With the accusative case instead, the structure is whole-centered, i.e. the possessor (the object NP) is primarily affected, whereas the part is indicated in an oblique (locative) case. In other words, with respect to affectedness, the dative case stands in an intermediate position between the genitive and accusative case. Interestingly, it also occupies a special position compared to the other two cases in other respects : either whole (when the possessor is indicated by the genitive) or part (when the possessor is indicated by the accusative) can be absent from the process (cf. example 6). However, when the possessor stands in the dative case, focusing on either part or whole alone is no longer possible. The part-whole

relationship is globally affected so that both part and whole must necessarily be expressed in the same sentence:

(27) a. **F** *Paul lui a cassé le bras.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT has broken the arm
b. **F** * *Paul lui a cassé.*
c. **F** ?* Paul a cassé le bras[15]

Semantically, the possessive dative implies a solidarity link between the part and the whole, the part being bound up with the whole. Discursively speaking, the whole stands out as more topical.

The above sketched semantic ranking with respect to the affectedness of the possessor, which varies according to the case that indicates the possessor, is iconic insofar as it parallels the syntactic ranking of the various grammatical cases with respect to their degree of intricacy with the verbal nucleus: the accusative case is obviously the most intimately linked to the verb, the (adnominal) genitive the least.

Since we are focusing on the possessive dative here, we will concentrate from now on on only those structures which display datives.[16] Various possibilities occur: the verb can be either intransitive or transitive. In the former case, the inalienable part either corresponds to the subject (28) or to a prepositional phrase (29), the whole being indicated by the dative. For practical purposes, we will call these structures I and II:

I (28) a. **F** *La tête lui tourne.*
The head 3sg clit DAT turns
'He is dizzy.'
b. **G** *Mir beschlägt die Brille.*
1sg pron DAT mists up the glasses
'My glasses are misted up.'
c. **S** *Me duele el corazón de quererte tanto.*
1sg clit DAT aches the heart
'My heart hurts from loving you so much.'
d. **I** *Gli cadono i capelli.*
3sg clit DAT fall the hair
'He is losing his hair.'
e. **R** *I-a slăbit vederea.* (Manoliu-Manea 1996)
3sg clit DAT has weakened sight the
'His sight has weakened.'

II (29) a. **D** *Hij tikte mij op de vingers.*
He touched 1sg pron DAT on the fingers
'He rebuked me.'

b. **G** *Die Haare hängen ihm ins Gesicht.*
The hair hang 3sg pron DAT in the face
'His hair is hanging in his face.'

c. **F** *Les larmes lui montent aux yeux.*
The tears 3sg clit DAT well up to the eyes
'Tears are welling up in his eyes.'

d. **S** *Hacer esto nunca me pasaría por la cabeza.*
To do this never 1sg clit DAT would pass through the head
'It would never occur to me to do such a thing.'

e. **I** *Questo fatto mi è subito venuto in mente.*
This fact 1sg clit DAT is suddenly come in mind
'I suddenly remembered this fact.'

When the verb is transitive, the following possibilities exist: the part is either indicated by the direct object (30) or by a prepositional phrase (31), the whole being again in the dative. We will call these structures respectively III and IV:

III (30) a. **G** *Sie haben ihm den linken Arm gebrochen.*
They have 3sg pron DAT the left arm broken
'They broke his left arm.'

b. **D** *Ze hebben haar een tand uitgetrokken.*
They have 3sg pron DAT a tooth extracted
'They extracted one of her teeth.'

c. **F** *Paul lui tire les cheveux.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT pulls the hair
'Paul is pulling her hair.'

d. **S** *Eva se ajusta las gafas.*
Eve 3sg refl DAT adjusts the glasses
'Eva adjusts her glasses.'

e. **R** *Şi a vopsit părul.*
3sg refl DAT (she) has dyed hair the
'She dyed her hair.'

IV (31) a. **G** *Er hat ihm etwas ins Ohr geflüstert.*
He has 3sg pron DAT something in the ear whispered
'He whispered something into his ear.'

b. **F** *Paul lui a jeté un coussin à la figure.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT has thrown a pillow to the face
'He threw a pillow in his face.'

c. **D** *Ze hebben hem een kroon op het hoofd gezet.*
They have 3sg pron DAT a crown on the head put
'They put a crown on his head.'

d. **S** *Se me ha clavado algo en el pie.*
3sg refl 1sg clit DAT has nailed something in the foot
'Something got stuck in my foot.'

2.2 *The verbal predicate*

As we have seen so far, a possessive dative is used to indicate that the part-whole relationship is globally affected by the process expressed by the verb. Although the dative itself is not predicted by the verbal valency, it brings a participant into the predicate frame who is affected by the process because it stands in a part-whole relationship to the affected part. The part in turn occupies an argument position: as we have seen in 1.1., it can be either subject (structure I) or object (structure III) or it can be a prepositional phrase (structures II and IV).

Although the dative does not belong to the valency of the verb, not all verbs allow for the possessive dative to appear, a point which has not been paid much attention to in the literature (Manoliu-Manea 1996, Spanoghe 1995). Given the general semantics of the dative construction, it follows that the verb will be an action verb which brings about a change involving the possessor rather than a stative verb which leaves the possessor unaffected (Vandeweghe 1986). The latter restriction accounts for the contrasts in the following French and Dutch examples:

(32) a. **F** *Le médecin lui a amputé une jambe.*
The doctor 3sg clit DAT has amputated a leg

b. **F** * *Je lui aime bien les jambes.* (Melis 1996)
I 3sg clit DAT like well the legs

(33) a. **F** *Paul lui a bougé son lit.* (Leclère 1978)
Paul 3sg clit DAT has moved his/her bed

b. **F** * *Son lit lui a bougé.*
His/her bed 3sg clit DAT has moved

(34) a. **D** *Hij loopt in mijn weg*[17]
He runs in my way

b. **D** *Hij loopt mij in de weg.*(Vandeweghe 1986)
He runs 1sg pron DAT in the way

c. **D** *Het ligt op mijn weg.*
It lies on my way

d. **D** * *Het ligt mij op de weg.*
It lies 1sg pron DAT on the way

Manoliu-Manea (1996) points to the following types of predicates as relevant categories for the construction under analysis:

- dynamic verbs, i.e. expressing activities such as *hit, tear, break, look at,* etc.

- causative verbs, i.e. expressing activities which cause the object to undergo a certain change (the primary term being normally an agent), e.g. *cut off, kick, amputate*
- movement verbs, i.e. expressing a change in position, e.g. *raise, lower, turn*
- inchoative verbs, i.e. "the activity has a certain point which coincides with the beginning of a new state", e.g. *get fat, redden, fall out.*

One important exception with respect to stative verbs, also pointed out by Manoliu-Manea, is what she calls "statives of suffering", e.g. *ache.*

As we will see, not all languages stick to the general principle we have just outlined for the verbal predicate. Certain languages, in fact, such as German, or Spanish and Rumanian, seem to be less restricted than the other languages under analysis. Compare for example German and Dutch, and French and Spanish respectively:

(35) a. **G** *Das Glass ist mir zerbrochen.* (Draye 1996)
b. **D** * *Het glas is mij gebroken.*
The glass is 1sg pron DAT broken

(36) a. **S** *Flores le adornan la cara.* (Delbecque & Lamiroy 1996)
b. **F** * *Des fleurs lui décorent le visage.*
Flowers 3sg clit DAT decorate the face

2.3 *Inalienable entities*

Since the range of things conceived of as belonging to the personal domain can vary considerably depending on the language, we will also have a closer look at what entities can correlate with possessive datives, i.e. what 'parts' can stand in a part-whole relationship to the 'whole' which is expressed by the dative.

At first sight, those languages which are less restrictive with respect to the former parameter also seem to extend the notion of inalienable possession further than the prototypical body parts which appear in all languages. Kinship terms in particular, as well as locative NPs and even plain objects enter into the range of possibilities. Compare again German with Dutch, and French with Spanish or Rumanian respectively:

(37) a. **S** *Se le murió la madre ayer.*
3sg refl 3sg clit DAT died the mother yesterday
b. **F** * *La mère lui est morte hier.*[18]
The mother 3sg clit DAT is died yesterday

c. **R** *Îmi ud grădina.* (Manoliu-Manea 1996)
1sg refl clit DAT (I) water garden the
d. **F** * *Je m'arrose le jardin.*
I 1sg refl DAT water the garden

(38) a. **G** *Es regnet uns ins Haus.* (Draye 1996)
It rains 1plur pron DAT in the house
b. **D** * *Het regent ons in huis.*
It rains 1plur pron DAT in house

What the grammatical sentences of (37-38) suggest is that the looser the condition of strict inalienability is, the more the possessive dative resembles the so-called dative of interest (dativus commodi or incommodi). In fact, the possessive dative is subsumed under the general case of the dative of interest by certain scholars (Leclère 1976, 1987, 1995, Janssen 1977): as Leclère argues, inalienable possession is just a special case of a much more general and productive structure in which *extended* or *non-lexical* datives occur. Non-lexical datives share a number of characteristics. First, they are not predicted by the lexicon, i.e. the verb does not subcategorize for them. Second, they usually correspond to human NPs and third, their main function is to indicate a person involved in the process. They are shown in the following examples:

(39) a. **F** *Paul lui ouvre la porte à Marie.*
Paul 3sg clit DAT opens the door to Mary
b. **F** *Paul s'est tapé tout le boulot.*
Paul 3sg refl DAT has got landed with all the work
c. **F** *Je vous ai cueilli cette rose.*
I 2 pl clit DAT have picked this rose

With possessive datives, the referent of the dative is affected for a very obvious reason, viz. the fact of being the possessor of whatever is involved in the process expressed by the verb. Although possessive datives and datives of interest share, as we have already pointed out, the property of indicating the interested party, typological reasons seem to justify an analysis in which both categories remain separate. English in particular has the dative of interest (40a-b), but lacks the possessive dative (40c-d):

(40) a. **E** *I baked him a brownie.* (Bresnan & Moshi 1988)
b. **E** *He fixed me a drink.*
c. **E** * *I broke him a leg.*
d. **E** * *The head hurts him.*

In section 3.3. we will come back to the notion of inalienability. After having examined the syntactic structures (2.1.) and listed the corresponding predi-

cates (2.2.), it will become clear up to which point inalienability is a flexible notion.

3. The data

3.1 *Syntactic structures*

We will first describe the Romance, then the Germanic languages. French displays the whole set of possibilities, viz. structure I to IV:

F (41) a. *Les mains lui tremblent.* I
The hands 3sg clit DAT shake
'His/her hands are shaking.'

b. *La moutarde lui monte au nez.* II
The mustard 3sg clit DAT goes up to the nose
'He is getting very angry.'

c. *Marie se bouche les oreilles.* III
Mary 3sg refl clit DAT holds the ears
'Mary puts her fingers in her ears.'

d. *Marie m'a glissé un billet dans la main.* IV
Mary 1sg clit DAT has passed a note in the hand
'Mary handed me a note.'

As a general rule, the reflexive occurs when the possessor is coreferential with the subject of the sentence, as in (41c). As we have already pointed out, possessive datives seem to be particularly productive in fixed expressions, as shown in (41b). The same observation will be particularly relevant for other languages, Dutch for example, as we will show below.

Spanish too has all four constructions:

S (42) a. *Le pica la nariz.* I
3sg clit DAT itches the nose
'His nose itches.'

b. *No me entra en la cabeza hacer esto.* II
Not 1sg clit DAT enter in the head to do this
'I can't conceive of doing this.'

c. *Se pone los zapatos nuevos.* III
3sg refl DAT (he) puts on the shoes new
'He puts on his new shoes.'

d. *Sus hijos le echan en cara que trabaja demasiado.* IV
Her children 3sg clit DAT throw in face that (she) works too much
'Her children reproach her that she works too much.'

Note that the dative, once more, frequently appears in fixed expressions (42d). Two further remarks are in order here. First, the possessive dative seems to pattern with another syntactic construction, viz. the pronominal passive (middle) construction, as the examples in (43) show. In the *se le* construction, the dative clitic signals a referent whose responsibility is denied: he/she is unvoluntarily subjected to the event (Delbecque & Lamiroy 1996, Vázquez-Rosas 1988):

(43) a. *Se me rompió el pantalón.*
3sg refl 1sg clit DAT broke the pants
'I ripped my pants.'

b. *Se le perdió la carta.*
3sg refl 3sg clit DAT got lost the letter
'He/she lost the letter.'

c. *Se le fue la mano con la sal.*
3sg refl 3sg clit DAT went the hand with the salt
'He/she exaggerated with the salt.'

d. *Se le hundió el mundo.*
3sg refl 3sg clit DAT went down the world
'His/her world is falling apart.'

Second, note that in all of these sentences, and also in the case of intransitive verbs (42a-b), the subject typically appears behind the verb. The latter property is often assumed to be characteristic of *unaccusative* (Perlmutter 1978) or *ergative* verbs (Burzio 1981). Both remarks will be of interest for the hypothesis which we will set out in the last part of this paper.

Italian displays the same possibilities as the other Romance languages. Note in the examples with intransitive verbs (44a-b) that the unmarked ordering is again the one with a postposed subject:

I (44) a. *Mi fa male la testa.* I
1sg clit DAT hurts the head
'I have a headache.'

b. *Non mi viene in mente il suo nome.* II
Not 1sg clit DAT comes in mind the his name
'I can't remember his name.'

c. *Il professore ci guardò il compito.* III
The professor 1plur clit DAT looked at the assignment
'The professor looked at our assignments.'

d. *Gli avevano messo una corona sulla testa.* IV
3sg clit DAT (they) had put a crown on the head
They had put a crown on his head

Although the *si passivante* exists in Italian, the combination with the possessive dative does not seem to occur as freely as in Spanish or Rumanian:

(45) a. ? *Mi si sono rotti i pantaloni.*
1sg clit DAT 3sg refl are broken the throusers
b. * *Gli si è persa la lettera.*
3sg clit DAT 3sg refl is lost the letter

In Rumanian, finally, according to Manoliu-Manea's (1996) data, construction I and III are said to be favoured over construction II and IV, i.e. while the whole is indicated in the dative, the part tends to appear either as a subject or an object, rather than as a PP. Yet, constructions II and IV are not excluded, as shown in (46b-d). But these examples (Dumitrescu 1990: 419) belong to a less productive set and are felt to be more archaic. According to Manoliu-Manea (1996), when the part in the part-whole relation appears as a PP, the possessor would rather appear in the accusative case than in the dative (47):

R (46) a. *Mi s-a înroşit faţa.* I
1sg clit DAT 3sg refl has reddened face the
'My face got red.'
b. *Vâd că acum nu-ţ mai intră nimeni în casă.* II
I see that now 2sg clit DAT anymore enters nobody in house
'I see that nobody enters your house anymore.'
c. *Spală-ţi mâinile.* III
Wash 2sg refl DAT hands the
'Wash your hands.'
d. *I-a sos adevărul din gură.* IV
He 3sg clit DAT tore the truth from the mouth
'He forced him to speak.'

(47) *M- ai lovit în pălărie.*
1sg clit ACC have you hit in hat
You hit me in the hat
'Your remark missed the target.'

Example (46a) shows that Rumanian, like Spanish, combines possessive datives with the pronominal middle construction. Compare, for example, with the Spanish equivalent (48). Note, finally, that the subject of intransitive verbs again appears preferably behind the verb. Compare again the Rumanian and the Spanish example:

(48) **S** *Se me quemó la cara.*
3sg refl 1sg clit DAT got burned the face

(49) **R** *Îmi curge nasul.*
1sg clit DAT runs nose the
'I have a running nose.'

(50) **S** *Me sangra la nariz.*
1sg clit DAT bleeds the nose
'I have a bleeding nose.'

Among the Germanic languages considered here, English is a well-known exception with respect to the possessive dative since it totally lacks it. German stands at the extreme opposite from English, constructions with possessive datives being very productive: hence, all four types are found (all examples are from Draye 1996):

G (51) a. *Mir schmerzt der Bauch.* I
1sg pron DAT aches the stomach
'I have a stomachache.'
b. *Er streichelte ihr zärtlich übers Haar.* II
He caressed 3sg pron DAT gently over the hair
'He gently caressed her hair.'
c. *Du brichst mir den Arm.* III
You break 1sg pron DAT the arm
'You are breaking my arm.'
d. *Sie warf ihm das Kissen an den Kopf.* IV
She threw 3sg pron DAT the pillow on the head
'She threw the pillow at his head.'

Note again that with the intransitive structure in which the part is indicated by the subject (51a), the subject is postposed, as in several other languages considered so far.

From a typological point of view, Dutch is known for occupying an intermediate position between English and German. In Dutch, the four relevant syntactic structures with possessive datives are found, but a very striking fact is that they are more often than not fixed expressions. As Vandeweghe (1986, 1987) points out, this may suggest that the possessive dative rule is actually shrinking in Dutch. Interestingly, Burridge's (1996) data taken from Old and Middle Dutch point in the same direction: her findings show that not only the range of syntactic structures but also of entities conceived of as inalienables used to be much larger than now. As the following examples show, structure I in present-day Dutch seems to occur only in expressions with figurative meaning (compare (52a) to **G** (51a)):

D (52) a. *Het zweet brak hem uit.* I
The sweat broke 3sg pron DAT out
'He got scared.'
b. ?* *De buik doet mij pijn.*
The stomach does 1sg pron DAT pain

As for structure II, it appears both in sentences with literal and figurative meaning, but the latter is particularly productive:

D (53) a. *Het bloed steeg hem naar de wangen.* II
The blood went up 3sg pron DAT to the cheeks
'He blushed.'
b. *Dit stuit mij tegen de borst.*
This shocks 1sg pron DAT against the chest
'I find this shocking.'
c. *De baas tikte hem*[19] *op de vingers.*
The boss touched 3sg pron DAT on the fingers
'The boss rebuked him.'
d. *Deze opmerking schoot mij in het verkeerde keelgat.*
This remark went 1sg pron DAT in the wrong throat hole
'I was upset by this remark.'

Structure III and IV appear both as free (54a-55a) or fixed (54b-55b) expressions, but examples such as (54a-c) suggest that the possibilities in Dutch are more restricted than in German:

D (54) a. ? *Ze hebben hem het been afgezet.* III
They have 3sg pron DAT the leg amputated
'They have amputated one of his legs.'
b. *Ze hebben hem de mond gesnoerd.*
They have 3sg pron DAT the mouth bound
'They did not let him speak.'
c. * *Je breekt mij de arm.*
You break 1sg pron DAT the arm
'You are breaking my arm.'

D (55) a. *Hij slingerde haar een boek naar het hoofd.* IV
He threw 3sg pron DAT a book to the head
'He threw a book at her head.'
b. *Ze houden Piet de hand boven het hoofd.*
They keep to Peter DAT the hand over the head
'They are protecting Peter.'

The following examples from Burridge (1996) show that Old and Middle Dutch allowed possessive datives much more freely than modern Dutch:

(56) a. **D** * *Mij is de buik zo vol.*
MD Mi is den buuc so gheladen
1sg pron DAT is the stomach so full
'My stomach is so full.'
b. **D** * *Als iemand de nagels afvallen.*
MD Als enen die naghele afvallen
When to one DAT the nails off-fall
'When one's nails fall off.'
c. **D** * *Dat geneest hem de pijn.*
MD Dat heelt hem dat seer
This heals 3sg pron DAT the sore
'This heals his sore.'
d. **D** * *Dat doet hem het haar dikker worden.*
MD Dat doet hem dat haer dicke worden
This does 3sg pron DAT the hair thick grow
'This makes his hair grow thickly.'

3.2 *The verbal predicate*

From the above structural description it is already clear that the possessive dative obeys specific lexical-semantic restrictions. These cannot solely be derived from the construction types, given that the different constructions are all available in the different languages. What differs is the verbal lexicon that enters the different classes. In order to better understand the cross-linguistic differences, it is, therefore, necessary to take a closer look at the verbs per class and per language.[20]

The minimal valency of type I makes this construction particularly suited for expressing body-internal states and processes. Since these are limited in number, the set of verbs available is, generally speaking, relatively small.

In contemporary French (57), construction type I has a rather literary character and seems to be limited to only a few verbs (Spanoghe 1995: 94).[21] In Italian its use also seems to be restricted to the more elaborate registers. In Spanish and in Rumanian, however, the construction belongs to common usage:

(57) **F** battre 'beat', briller 'shine', brûler 'burn', démanger 'itch', peser 'weigh', piquer 'itch', pousser 'grow', tomber 'fall', tourner 'turn', trembler 'tremble'

(58) **I** cadere 'fall', dolere 'ache', morire 'die', rizzarsi 'rise', rompersi 'break', ronzare 'tingle', uscire 'come out'

(59) **S** arder 'burn', brillar 'shine', caer 'fall', castañetear 'shake', crecer 'grow', doler 'ache', empañarse 'get dimmed', erizarse 'rise', latir 'beat', morirse 'die', pesar 'weigh', picar 'itch', romper 'break', salir 'come out', temblar 'trembler', zumbar 'tingle'

(60) **R** aburi 'get dimmed', amorţi 'die', apăsa 'weigh', arde 'burn', atîrna 'hang', bate 'beat', cădea 'fall', creşte 'grow', curge 'run', durea 'ache', înroşi 'get red', luci 'shine', străluci 'shine', tremura 'tremble'

For Dutch the list given under (61) is nearly exhaustive; the construction is considered to be either substandard or limited to a metaphorical reading. In German, the set is larger but some verbs are felt as archaic: there is a tendency to replace verbs such as *brennen* or *schmerzen* by compound forms like *heiss werden* or *weh tun*, which, however, are still construed with the dative:

(61) **D** (ten berge) rijzen (haren) '(on end) rise (hair)', tintelen (ogen) 'twinkle (eyes)', tuiten (oren) 'tingle (ears)', uitbreken (zweet) 'break out (sweat)'

(62) **G** absterben 'mortify', ausfallen 'fall out', beschlagen 'get dimmed', brennen 'burn', einschlafen 'fall asleep', funkeln 'sparkle', glänzen 'shine', jucken 'itch', klappern 'shake', schmerzen 'ache', wachsen 'grow', wiegen 'weigh', zittern 'tremble', zufallen 'close'

The typical nucleus of type II constructions is a locative verb. Next to statives, such as 'stay', 'stand' or 'lay', and movement verbs, such as 'come', 'go', and the like, there are also more 'expressive' variants available, specific to each language. Among the most prototypical subjects figure bodily products, viz. blood, sweat, tears (63a-b-c). With inanimate subjects in general, this construction type refers to natural or spontaneously occurring phenomena (63d-e-f):

(63) a. **F** *La sueur lui perle au front.*
b. **D** *Het zweet staat hem op het voorhoofd.*
The sweat 3sg pron DAT stands on the forehead
c. **S** *La sangre le sale de la boca.*
The blood 3sg clit DAT comes out of the mouth
d. **I** *Il bicchiere gli cade della mano.*
e. **R** *Paharul îi alunecă din mână.*
f. **G** *Das Glas gleitet ihm aus der Hand.*
'The glass glides 3sg pron DAT out the hand.'

With plain intransitives, it is rare to find animate subjects, except in fixed expressions (63g) or with achievement verbs that normally enter the type IV construction but are occasionally used intransitively (63h):

(63) g. **F** *On lui a ri au nez.*
They 3sg clit DAT have laughed at the nose
'They have laughed at him.'
h. **S** *Le escupieron en la cara.*
3sg clit DAT (they) spit in the face

Typical verbs of construction type II are:

(64) a. **F** apparaître 'appear', arriver 'arrive', claquer 'crack', coller 'stick', couler 'flow', courir 'run', échapper 'escape', entrer 'enter', flotter 'float', glisser 'slip', monter 'well up, go up', passer 'pass', perler 'stand out', pendre 'hang', peser 'weigh', rester 'remain', revenir 'come back', sortir 'come out', taper 'pat', tomber 'fall', trotter 'keep running', venir 'come'
b. **F** cracher 'spit', tirer 'shoot'
c. **F** marcher (sur les pieds) 'step (on the feet)', rire (au nez) 'laugh (at the nose)', sauter (au cou) 'spring (at the neck)'

(65) a. **S** aflorar 'appear', andar 'go', aparecer 'appear', asomar 'appear', brotar 'germinate', caer 'fall', chorrear 'gush', colgar 'hang', correr 'run', deslizarse 'slip', entrar 'enter', escapar 'escape', flotar 'float', llegar 'arrive', pasar 'pass', pegar(se) 'stick', pesar 'weigh', quedar 'remain', resbalar 'slide', salir 'come out', saltar 'spring', subir 'well up, go up', venir 'come', volver 'come back'
b. **S** escupir 'spit', disparar 'shoot', tirar 'disparar'

(66) a. **I** affiorare 'appear', andare 'go', apparire 'appear', arrivare 'arrive', cadere 'fall', correre 'run', entrare 'enter', passare 'pass', pendere 'hang', pesare 'weigh', scapare 'escape', scivolare 'slip', scorrere 'gush', sfuggire 'escape', spuntare 'germinate', uscire 'come out', venire 'come'
b. **I** sparare 'shoot', sputare 'spit', tirare 'disparar'

(67) a. **R** ajunge 'arrive', aluneca 'glide', apărea 'appear', cădea 'fall', curge 'slip', fugi 'run', ieşi 'come out', juca 'play', scăpa 'escape', intra 'enter', pluti 'float', rămîne 'remain', reveni 'come back', rîde 'laugh', sosi 'arrive', trece 'pass', urca 'well up', veni 'come'
b. arunca 'shoot', scuipa 'spit'

(68) a. **G** aufkommen 'well up', aufquellen 'germinate', fallen 'fall', gehen 'go', hängen 'hang', kommen 'come', laufen 'run', regnen 'rain', springen 'spring', steigen 'go up'
b. **G** beissen 'bite', kneifen 'pinch', schiessen 'shoot', schlagen 'strike', spucken 'spit', stechen 'stab', streicheln 'go through', treten 'step'

(69) a. **D** bereiken 'reach', doorgaan 'pass', glijden 'glide', gutsen 'gush', hangen 'hang', lopen 'run', ontsnappen 'escape', opkomen 'well up', opspringen 'jump up', parelen 'pearl', regenen 'rain', schieten 'flash',

staan 'stand', stijgen 'go up', strijken 'go through', stuiten 'bounce', tikken 'pat', vallen 'fall', wegen 'weigh'

b. **D** spuwen 'spit', schieten 'shoot'

Needless to say, the verbal entries only give an idea of the potential of construction II: the type of relation crucially hinges on the selection of the preposition. The less specific the verb is, the more the preposition can vary:

(70) a. **S** *Le sale sangre por/de la nariz.*
3sg clit DAT comes through/out of the nose

b. **S** *Le sale la satisfacción en/a la cara.*
3sg clit DAT comes the satisfaction on/to the face

c. **S** *Esta confidencia le sale del corazón.*
This confidence 3sg clit DAT comes from the heart

In most examples of the type II construction, the metaphorical mapping of the verbal predicate goes from the spatial to the emotional domain (70b-c). Only in very few cases does the mapping stem from another domain than the spatial. A particular case at hand is that of perception verbs such as 'look' in Dutch and Spanish (71). Dutch has even developed a metaphorical usage of the statively oriented 'see', which is another illustration of its figurative plasticity (71c):

(71) a. **D** *Jan keek hem in de ogen.*
John looked 3sg pron DAT in the eyes

b. **S** *Juan le miró a los ojos.*
John 3sg clit DAT looked to the eyes

c. **D** *Hij moet hem naar de ogen zien.*
He must 3sg pron DAT to the eyes see
'He must toady him.'

Type III is the most productive of the four constructions. With the inalienable nominal occupying the direct object slot, there are, in principle, hardly any restrictions on the type of transaction involved: all transitive action and causation verbs that imply physical contact can enter this construction. The degree of interaction, i.e. the possessor's participation in the event, is a function of the context: by default, the involvement will be considered neutral when the contact is gentle. This holds for the verbs that ressort to the domains of grooming and medical care. They imply a change of state, due to what can be called a 'positive energy flow', i.e., a benefactive action. By the number of verbs available, the Romance languages are clearly in the lead, followed by German. Dutch is the most restricted. Yet, Dutch presents a variety of verb

entries that depict a rather 'negative energy flow', i.e. malefactive action: judging from lexemes such as *afhakken* 'chop off', *klieven* 'cleave', *uitslaan* 'beat out' as well as from metaphorical expressions (cf. 54b), the Dutch construction seems better suited for expressing violent action, stressing the forcefulness of the impact, than for referring to services offered in current social interaction. Even constructions that do not involve conflictive or damaging physical action, appear to be highly conventionalized:

(72) **D** *De verpleegster heeft de dode de ogen gesloten.*
The nurse has the deceased DAT the eyes closed
'The nurse closed the eyes of the deceased.'

Moreover, both Dutch and German (77-78) present a relatively high number of prefixed verbs, particularly among those that denote removal, e.g. G *ab-*, *aus-*, *los-*, *weg-*, D. *af-*, *uit-*, *los-*, *weg-*. This can be seen as a tendency to mark the perfectiveness of the action. It runs parallel with a clear reluctance to portray by means of the same construction other interactions than goal oriented ones, thus excluding purposeless as well as casual and affective ways of touching: verbs such as G *berühren* 'touch', *bewegen* 'move', *liebkosen* 'caress', *nehmen* 'take', *umarmen* 'embrace', and the like, do not enter the type III construction. The same holds for perception and emotion verbs. Apart from that, the German verbs seem to be evenly distributed between face-preserving and face-threatening interactions.

The same tendency holds for the Romance languages. Among these, though, there are also differences, French and Italian being lexically more restricted than the other Romance languages. Although French takes goal oriented verbs such as *bouger* 'move', *caresser* 'caress', *ébouriffer* 'tousle', *embrasser* 'embrace', *prendre* 'take', *toucher* 'touch', it hardly accepts perception and emotion verbs: verbs such as *admirer* 'admire', *aimer* 'love', *contempler* 'contemplate', *étudier* 'study', *regarder* 'look', *voir* 'see' are not found among those that allow the type III construction. Spanish and Rumanian, on the other hand, do not present any of the above restrictions.[22] We list hereafter the main verbs for each of the languages under analysis:

(73) **F** ajuster 'adjust', amputer 'amputate', arracher 'lift', arranger 'arrange', astiquer 'polish', attacher 'attach', ausculter 'auscultate', baisser 'lower', bander 'bandage', blondir 'make blond', bouger 'move', briser 'break', brosser 'brush', brûler 'burn', caresser 'caress', casser 'break', chatouiller 'tickle', clouer 'tack', colorer 'colour', couper 'cut', couvrir 'cover', déchirer 'tear', décorer 'decorate', démêler 'untangle', démolir 'destroy',

détruire 'destroy', ébourrifer 'tousle', éclaircir 'lighten', embrasser 'kiss', enfoncer 'stick in', empoigner 'grab', enlever 'take out', entourer 'surround', envelopper 'wrap', examiner 'examine', extirper 'extirpate', fendre 'split', fermer 'close', fouetter 'beat up', frapper 'hit', frictionner 'rub', frotter 'rub', gratter 'scratch', illuminer 'illuminate', laver 'wash', lécher 'lick', lever 'raise', lisser 'smooth', maquiller 'put make up', masser 'massage', mordre 'bite', noircir 'blacken', oppresser 'weigh on', ouvrir 'open', palper 'palpate', parcourir 'go over', peigner 'comb', peindre 'paint', perforer 'perforate', pincer 'pinch', piquer 'prickle', prendre 'take', presser 'grip', raccommoder 'mend', rafraîchir 'refresh', rajeunir 'rejuvenate', raser 'shave', réchauffer 'warm up (again)', refaire 'remake', retourner 'shake', sécher 'dry', serrer 'squeeze', saisir 'grip', soulever 'lift up', soutenir 'support', tamponner 'mop', teindre 'dye', tenir 'hold', tirer 'pull', tordre 'twist', toucher 'touch', tourner 'turn', traverser 'cross'

(74) **S** abrazar 'embrace', abrir 'open', acariciar 'caress', aclarar 'lighten', acomodar 'arrange', adornar 'decorate', afeitar 'shave', agarrar 'lift', ajustar 'adjust', alisar 'smooth', allanar 'flatten', amar 'love', amputar 'amputate', aplastar 'smash', apoyar 'support', apretar 'grip', aprisionar 'capture', arrancar 'lift up', arreglar 'mend', atar 'attach', atenazar 'torture', atormentar 'torture', atravesar 'cross', atusar 'smooth, chop', auscultar 'auscultate', azotar 'beat up', bajar 'lower', bañar 'bathe', 'besar 'kiss', calentar 'warm up', ceñir 'hold tight', cepillar 'brush', cerrar 'close', clavar 'tack', coger 'take', colmar 'fill', contemplar 'contemplate', corroer 'gnaw', cosquillear 'tickle', colorear 'colour', coronar 'crown', cortar 'cut', cruzar 'cross', cubrir 'cover', desenmarañar 'untangle', desgarrar 'tear', destrozar 'destroy', destruir 'destroy', empolvar 'powder', empuñar 'grab', envolver 'wrap', estimular 'stimulate', estrechar 'shake', estrujar 'squeeze', erizar 'tousle', estudiar 'study', examinar 'examine', extirpar 'extirpate', fracturar 'break', frotar 'rub', friccionar 'rub', golpear 'hit', guiar 'guide', herir 'wound', iluminar 'illuminate', inundar 'inundate', irradiar 'irradiate', lavar 'wash', lamer 'lick', leer (la mano) 'read (the hand), levantar 'raise', limpiar 'clean', lustrar 'polish', maquillar 'put make up', martirizar 'martyrize', masajear 'massage', mirar 'look', mojar 'wet', morder 'bite', mover 'move', ennegrecer 'blacken', observar 'observe', oler 'smell', olisquear 'sniff', operar 'operate', oprimir 'weigh on', palmear 'slap', palmotear 'clap', palpar 'palpate', partir 'split', peinar 'comb', pellizcar 'pinch', perforar 'perforate', picotear 'peck', pintar 'paint', quebrar 'break', quemar 'burn', rajar 'scarr', rascar 'scratch', rasgar 'tear', raspar 'scratch', recalentar 'warm up (again)', recorrer 'go over', refrescar 'refresh', regar 'irrigate', rehacer 'remake', rejuvenecer 'rejuvenate', revolver 'shake', rociar 'splash', rodear 'surround', romper 'break', rozar 'skim', sacar 'take out', secar 'dry', soltar 'drop', sorber 'swallow', sublevar 'lift up', sujetar 'secure', surcar 'cut across', tapar 'cover', taponar 'mop', teñir 'dye', tener 'hold', tocar 'touch', tomar 'take', torcer 'twist', vendar 'bandage', ver 'see', volver 'turn'

(75) **I** accarezzare 'caress', accomodare 'arrange', aggiustare 'adjust', agitare 'shake', amputare 'amputate', attravesare 'cross', auscoltare 'auscultate', bagnare 'bathe', baciare 'kiss', bendare 'bandage', bruciare 'burn', chiudere 'close', colmare 'fill', coprire 'cover', corrompere 'gnaw', dipingere 'paint', esaminare 'examine', fasciare 'bandage', fratturare 'break', graffiare 'scratch', illuminare 'illuminate', impolverare 'powder', inchiodare 'tack', inondare 'inundate', inumedire 'wet', irradiare 'irradiate', leggere (la mano) 'read (the hand)', lavare 'wash', leccare 'lick', lisciare 'smooth', mordere 'bite', palpare 'palpate', perforare 'perforate', picchiare 'beat', pizzicare 'pinch', premere 'grip', pulire 'polish', rifare 'remake', rinfrescare 'refresh', (ri)scaldare 'warm up (again)', rizzare 'tousle', rompere 'break', schiacciare 'squeeze', schiaffeggiare 'slap', sentire 'smell', sfregare 'rub', solleticare 'tickle', strappare 'tear', studiare 'study', tagliare 'cut', toccare 'touch', torcere 'twist', torturare 'torture', truccare 'put make up'

(76) **R** acoperi 'cover', ajusta 'adjust', amputa 'amputate', apăsa 'grip', apuca 'take', aranja 'arrange', arde 'burn', asculta 'auscultate', ataca 'attack', atinge 'touch', bandaja 'bandage', bate 'pin', biciui 'beat up', brăzda 'cut across', căuta 'search', captiva 'attach', chinui 'torture', coborî 'lower', decora 'decorate', deschide 'open', desluşi 'lighten', distruge 'destroy', examina 'examine', extirpa 'extirpate', freca 'rub', fricţiona 'rub', găuri 'perforate', împinge 'grab', împleti 'embrace', împodobi 'decorate', înălţa 'raise', încălzi 'warm', înconjura 'embrace', încununa 'coronate', înmuia 'wet', înroşi 'redden', închide 'close', întineri 'rejuvenate', întoarce 'turn', inunda 'inundate', înveli 'envelop', iradia 'irradiate', iubi 'love', lămuri 'lighten', lăsa'înjos 'lower', lega 'attach', limpezi 'lighten', linge 'lick', lovi 'hit', lua 'take', lumina 'illuminate', mânca 'eat', masa 'massage', mîngîia 'caress', mirosi 'smell', mişca 'move', muia 'wet', muşca 'bite', netezi 'flatten', observa 'observe', palpa 'palpate', pătrunde 'perforate', picta 'paint', prinde 'take', privi 'look', racla 'scratch', rade 'shave', răni 'hurt', răsuci 'twist', reface 'remake', ridica 'raise', rupe 'break', scălda 'bathe', scoate 'lift', scurta 'cut off', sfîşia 'tear', smulge 'lift', spăla 'wash', sparge 'break', sprijini 'support', scuipa 'spit', stimula 'stimulate', stoarce 'grip', străbate 'pass through', străpunge 'pass through', strînge 'squeeze', studia 'study', suci 'twist', tăia 'cut off', tunde 'cut', umple 'fill', usca 'dry', vedea 'see'

(77) **G** abdrücken 'pinch off', abschneiden 'cut off', amputieren 'amputate', anschauen 'look', auffrischen 'refresh', aufheben 'lift up', baden 'bath', bedecken 'cover', beleuchten 'lighten', befeuchten 'wet', bemalen 'paint', enässen/benetzen 'wet', binden 'attach', brechen 'break', durchstechen 'perforate', einreiben 'rub in(to)', einwickeln 'wrap', erleuchten 'illumi-

nate', färben 'colour', halten 'hold', herunterholen 'lower', krönen 'crown', küssen 'kiss', lecken 'lick', losbinden 'undo', lösen 'drop', massieren 'massage', öffnen 'open', peitschen 'whip', pudern 'powder', rasieren 'shave', richten 'mend', schliessen 'close', schminken 'put make up', schmücken 'decorate', schneiden 'cut', schwärzen 'black', stimulieren 'stimulate', trocknen 'dry', untersuchen 'examine', übergiessen 'wet', verbrennen 'burn', verbinden 'bandage', verdrehen 'twist', versengen 'burn out', wärmen 'warm up', waschen 'wash', wegnehmen 'take away', wegreiben 'rub off', zerbrechen 'break', zerreissen 'tear', zudecken 'tuck in', zudrücken 'shut', zumachen 'close'

(78) **N** afhakken 'chop off', afrukken 'tear off', afscheren 'shave off', afsnijden 'cut off', afzetten 'amputate', amputeren 'amputate', inbinden 'attach', klieven 'cleave', losbinden 'undo', masseren 'massage', openen 'open', schudden 'shake', sluiten 'close', toedoen 'shut', uitslaan 'beat out', uitsteken 'put out', vasthouden 'hold fast', wassen 'wash', wegnemen 'take away', uittrekken 'pull out'

Of the four construction types distinguished, the last one is structurally most akin to the basic valency type of the dative, i.e. the one that appears with verbs of material and verbal transfer (Delbecque & Lamiroy 1996: 92 ff.). For example, verbs like F *donner* 'give' or *dire* 'say' can be construed either with a protoypical actantial dative or with a possessive dative:

(79) a. **F** *Luc lui a donné un livre.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT gave a book

b. **F** *Luc lui a donné un coup sur la tête.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT gave a knock on the head

c. **F** *Luc lui a dit qu'il l'aimait.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT has said that he her loved

d. **F** *Luc lui a dit dans l'oreille qu'il l'aimait.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT has said in the ear that he her loved

e. **F** *Luc lui a jeté le ballon.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT has thrown the ball

f. **F** *Luc lui a jeté son échec/sa réussite à la figure.*
Luke 3sg clit DAT has thrown his failure/ his success in the face

The fact that the lexical dative construction pertains to all the languages under analysis here also explains the cross-linguistic similarities observed at the level of the verbal lexicon with respect to type IV. Compare, for example, the French examples in (79b-d-f) with the following:

(80) **S** *Le ha echado en cara su fracaso/su éxito.*
I *Gli ha gettato in faccia il suo insuccesso / successo.*
R *I-a aruncat eşecul/succesul în faţă.*

G *Sie hat ihm seinen Misserfolg/Erfolg ins Gesicht geschleudert.*
D *Zij heeft hem zijn mislukking/succes in het gezicht geslingerd.*
She 3sg pron DAT has flung his failure/success to the face
'She reproached him his failure/success.'

However, since the PP specifies the body part — or extended inalienable entity — as the location of the event, it *indirectly* designates the affected possessor as the support necessary for performing the action, whereas with actantial datives, the interested party is presented as directly concerned by the transfer. In other words, in construction type IV, the focus is on the action, instead of on the exchange. This is also testified to by the fact that the recipient is rarely lexicalized, contrary to what happens with lexical datives.

In fact, the verbs that belong to both paradigms take a quite specific object when entering the present construction type (e.g. *donner un coup* 'give a knock'). This is due to the fact that they do not convey by themselves the manner in which the transaction takes place, contrary to the verbs that are typical of class IV, e.g. F *enfoncer* 'stick'. The most representative verbs of the class are the following:

(81) **F** administrer 'administer', arracher 'grab', asséner 'strike', balancer 'inflict', chuchoter 'whisper', clouer 'pin', coller 'stick', cracher 'spit', dire 'say', donner 'give', enfoncer 'stick', extraire 'extract', faire 'make', flanquer 'inflict', glisser 'slip', gribouiller 'scribble', jeter 'throw', lancer 'throw', mettre 'put', murmurer 'murmur', pendre 'hang', placer 'place', poser 'put', prendre 'take', tirer 'shoot', tirer 'extract', verser 'pour'

(82) **S** administrar 'administer', arrancar 'grab', asestar 'strike', clavar 'pin', colgar 'hang', colocar 'place', cuchichear 'whisper', dar 'give', decir 'say', deslizar 'slip', disparar 'shoot', echar 'throw', empujar 'push', escupir 'spit', extraer 'extract', hacer 'make', lanzar 'throw', meter 'put', murmurar 'murmur', pegar 'stick', poner 'put', propinar 'inflict', sacar 'take', tirar 'throw', verter 'pour'

(83) **I** amministrare 'administer', assestare 'strike', dare 'give', dire 'say', fare 'make', inchiodare 'pin', infliggere 'inflict', murmurare 'murmur', pendere 'hang', porre 'put', sparare 'shoot', sputare 'spit', strappare 'grab', tirare 'throw'

(84) **R** aluneca 'slip', apuca 'take', arunca 'sling', atîrna 'hang', azvârli 'throw', bate 'stick', da 'give', extrage 'extract', face 'make', mâzgăli 'scribble', împinge 'grab', înfige 'inflict', lipi 'stick', lua 'take', mormăi 'murmur', murmura 'murmur', plasa 'place', pocni 'strike', poser 'put', pune 'put', scuipa 'spit', smulge 'grab', susura 'whisper', scoate 'extract', trage 'shoot', turna 'pour', vărsa 'pour', zice 'say'

(85) **G** ausnehmen 'take out', eingeben 'administer', flüstern 'whisper', geben 'give', kritzeln 'scribble', klopfen 'beat', legen 'put', reissen 'grab', sagen 'say', schieben 'shove', schiessen 'shoot', schlagen 'hit', schmeissen 'throw', schwingen 'throw', setzen 'put', spucken 'spit', stecken 'stick', stellen 'put', stossen 'stick', werfen 'throw'

(86) **D** duwen 'push', fluisteren 'whisper', geven 'give', gooien 'throw', halen 'take', hangen 'hang', maken 'make', nagelen 'pin', plaatsen 'place', plakken 'stick', rukken 'tear', slingeren 'sling', spelden 'pin', splitsen 'push', spuwen 'spit', stoppen 'put', toebrengen 'inflict', toedienen 'administer', trekken 'grab', werpen 'throw', zeggen 'say', zetten 'put'

3.3 *Inalienable entities*

Although there seems to be no conclusive evidence for a universal hierarchy of inalienable entities (Chappell & McGregor 1996), we will adopt the scale proposed by Haiman (1985) and Nichols (1988) according to which the following entities are conceived of in most of the world's languages as belonging to the personal domain:

(87) - body parts and/or kinship terms.
- part-whole and/or spatial relations
- culturally based possessed items

As far as the possessive dative in Romance and Germanic languages is concerned, body parts are no doubt the prototypical instances of inalienable possession, as most of the examples given so far amply illustrate. They thus confirm the typological scale given in (87). For all the languages under analysis, clothing is subsumed under this category: garments, like body parts, are contiguous to their owners and enter therefore in an analogous part-whole relationship, as several of the above given sentences illustrate. Note, however, that the very extension of this prototypical domain of body parts can still vary according to the language (compare German 88a to Dutch 88b). Likewise, it can evolve from a diachronic point of view, as the examples in middle (89a) and modern Dutch (89b) show respectively (see also examples given in 56):

(88) a. **G** *Das verdirbt meinem Vater den Appetit.* (Draye 1996)
This ruins to my father DAT the appetite
'This ruins my father's appetite.'
b. **D** * *Dit bederft mijn vader de eetlust.*

(89) a. **MD** *Daer hem dat evel wast.* (Burridge 1996)
As 3sg pron DAT the evil grows
'As his sickness gets worse.'
b. **D** * *Daar de ziekte hem verergert.*

Kinship terms, however, are less widespread and seem to enter into the possessive dative construction in Spanish and Italian but not in French (90a-b-c). According to Bally (1926), old French had 'a much greater extension of the self' than modern French: examples as those in (90) were apparently possible.[23] As for the Germanic languages, kinship terms fall under the category of inalienables in German (91a), but the Dutch equivalent is totally ungrammatical:

(90) a. **S** *Se le murieron dos hijos en el accidente.*
3sg refl clit 3sg clit DAT died two children in the accident
b. **I** *Gli sono morti due figli nell'incidente.*
c. **F** * *Deux enfants lui sont morts dans l'accident.*
Two children 3sg clit DAT are dead in the accident
'He lost two children in the accident.'

(91) a. **G** *Ihm sind die Kinder abhandengekommen.*
3sg pron DAT are the children from the hands come
'His children got away.'
b. **D** * *De kinderen zijn hem uit de voeten.*

With respect to the second category, all of the languages except French and Dutch seem to allow the possessive dative to appear with locative NPs such as *house* or *garden*. Note that Spanish also allows the structure with items which can merely be characterized by the fact of being in a part-whole relation (94). We recall some of the above given examples here:

(92) a. **S** *Nos han entrado ladrones en casa.*
1plur clit DAT have entered thieves in house
'Thieves came into our house.'
b. **F** * *Des voleurs nous sont entrés dans la maison.*
c. **I** *Ci sono entrati ladri a casa.*
d. **R** *Îmi ud grădina.* (Manoliu-Manea 1996)
1sg refl clit DAT (I) water garden the
'I water my garden.'
e. **F** * *Je m'arrose le jardin.*

(93) a. **G** *Es regnet uns ins Haus.* (Draye 1996)
It rains 1plur pron DAT in the house
'It rains into our house.'
b. **D** * *Het regent ons in huis.*

(94) *Le fregué las manchas al tablero.* (Demonte 1995)
To it 3sg clit DAT (I) wiped off the stains to the table
'I wiped the stains off the table.'

As for the last category, viz. culturally possessed items, German (example from Draye 1996) and Spanish (example from Demonte 1995) include entities in the *personal domain* which the other languages do not, e.g. vehicles,[24] tablecloths, or any other item that one happens to possess:

(95) a. **G** *Plötzlich sprang dem Vertreter eine schwarze Katze vor das Auto.*
Suddenly jumped to the salesman DAT a black cat before the car
'Suddenly a black cat jumped in front of the car of the salesman.'
b. **D** **Plotseling sprong de vertegenwoordiger een zwarte kat voor de auto.*

(96) a. **S** *Le puse un mantel a la mesa.*
3sg clit DAT (I) put a tablecloth to the table
b. **F** ** Je lui ai mis une nappe à la table.*

In sum, in Romance, Spanish seems to be by far the language with the widest range of entities conceived of as inalienables, followed by Rumanian. For the Germanic languages, the widest range is found in German. These languages consider as inalienable not only body parts and garments, but also kinship terms, housing, parts of furniture, vehicles, and simply possessed objects. French and Dutch are clearly the languages with the smallest range of entities. Interestingly, the data from Middle Dutch concerning inalienable entities confirm the other parameters, thus providing evidence for the observation that the construction is more restricted in modern Dutch than it used to be (Burridge 1996, Vandeweghe 1986). The data provided by Grevisse-Goosse (1994) and Bally (1926) lead to a similar conclusion for French.

Hence, Bally's (1926) claim about the flexibility languages have when it comes to deciding upon what enters into one's personal domain is confirmed not only from a typological but also from a diachronic point of view.

That both Spanish and German seem to be the languages which allow most freely possessive datives also leads to another line of inquiry, which we hinted at at the beginning of our paper, viz. the relationship between possessive and ethical datives. In fact, the same languages also turn out to make a more extended use of the ethical datives than the other languages under analysis here:

(97) a. **G** *Da hat er mir ihm etwas zugeflüstert.* (Draye 1996)
Then has he 1sg pron DAT 3sg pron DAT something whispered
'Then (to my surprise) he whispered something to him.'
b. **D** ** Dan heeft hij mij hem iets toegefluisterd.*
c. **S** *No te me vayas ahora.*
Not 2sg refl clit 1sg clit DAT don't go now
'Don't walk out on me now.'
d. **F** ** Ne me pars pas maintenant.*

4. The possessive vs the ethical dative

In line with certain claims made by Burridge (1996), Jacob (1993) and Leclère (1995), we would like to argue that the possessive and the ethical dative are different manifestations of one and the same basic phenomenon, viz. that of introducing entities into the sentence structure which, from a syntactic point of view, are not lexically predicted by the verb and which semantically correspond to entities that are not actively involved in the process but nonetheless affected by it, in one way or another.

In order to provide evidence for our claim, we will show that ethical and possessive datives share a number of *independent* properties both from a formal and a semantic point of view. Syntactically, as will be shown, they behave differently from lexical datives, i.e. datives lexically predicted by the valency of the verb, with respect to passivization, word order and cliticization. However, if they both differ from the lexical dative, they do so to a different degree: the possessive dative occupies an intermediate position between prototypical lexical datives and ethical datives.

As we have already mentioned, neither possessive[25] nor ethical datives belong to the valency of the verb: they are not mentioned under the verb entry in dictionaries. For example, whereas the French verb *donner* will be cited with the relevant syntactic information *donner quelque chose à quelqu'un* 'give something to someone', this would not be the case for *trembler* (**trembler à quelqu'un*) or *monter* (**monter à quelqu'un*), which appear in the following examples with a possessive and an ethical dative respectively:

(98) a. **F** *Les mains lui tremblent.*
The hands 3sg clit DAT shake
'His hands are shaking.'

b. **F** *Au Mont Saint-Michel la mer te monte à une de ces vitesses.*
(Leclère 1976)
At the Mont Saint-Michel the sea 2sg clit DAT goes up with one of those speeds

With respect to passivization, Demonte (1995) noted that sentences with 'real' datives allow passives, but not those which contain a possessive dative (99). The French example supports this: the passive is allowed with lexical datives (100a) but is quite unnatural with possessive datives (100b) and totally unacceptable with ethical datives (100c):

(99) a. **S** *El premio Nobel le fue concedido a Cela el año pasado.*
The Nobel price 3sg clit DAT was awarded to Cela last year
b. **S** * *La mancha le fue frotada a la camisa.*
The stain 3sg clit DAT was scrubbed to the shirt
'The stain was scrubbed out of the shirt.'

(100)a. **F** *Ce livre lui a été donné par son grand-père.*
This book 3sg clit DAT has been given by his grandfather
b. **F** *?? La figure lui a été cassée par la police.*
The face 3sg clit DAT has been broken by the police
'He was stabbed by the police.'
c. **F** * *Une de ces gifles te lui a été donnée.*
One of those smacks 2sg clit DAT 3sg clit DAT has been given

With respect to word order, possessive datives must appear behind the direct object of the verb, a constraint which does not hold for lexical datives, which can be placed either before or behind the direct object, as shown by (101a-b) (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992). The fact that non lexical datives necessarily follow the direct object can be analyzed in terms of iconicity: their position in the sentence indeed suggests that their syntactic relation to the verb is a much looser one than that of lexical datives:

(101) a. **F** *Le médecin a donné à tous les enfants un vaccin contre la polio.*
The doctor gave all the children an inoculation against polio
b. **F** *Le médecin a donné un vaccin contre la polio à tous les enfants.*
c. **F** *Le médecin a examiné la gorge aux enfants.*
The doctor has examined the throat to the children
d. **F** * *Le médecin a examiné aux enfants la gorge.*

Another major syntactic property possessive and ethical datives share, as opposed to lexical datives, is the fact that they appear preferably or necessarily (in the case of ethical datives) as a clitic or pronoun rather than as a full NP. Although full NPs are not totally excluded with possessive datives (as

shown by example (102b), the pronominal form certainly makes sentences often more natural, as has often been pointed out (Bally 1926, Demonte 1995, Leclère 1976). In certain cases, the full NP is simply not possible (103b):

(102) a. **G** *Er gab seiner Freundin/ihr ein Buch.*
He gave to his girlfriend DAT/3sg pron DAT a book
b. **G** *Er legte der Freundin/ihr die Hand auf das Knie.*
He put to the girl friend DAT/3sg pron DAT the hand on the knee
'He put his hand on his girlfriend's/on her knee.'

(103) a. **F** *Marie se bouche les oreilles.*
b. **F** * *Marie bouche les oreilles à elle-même.*
Mary holds the ears to herself

Interestingly, Spanish allows clitic doubling with lexical datives, but with possessive datives, the clitic is compulsory (Demonte 1995): the clitic is needed because it instantiates the possessor argument the inalienable object is referentially dependent upon (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992: 598):[26]

(104) a. **S** *Le dieron/Dieron el libro a María.*
(3sg clit DAT)(they) gave/ (they) gave the book to Mary
b. **S** *Le operaron la nariz a Luisa.*
3sg clit DAT (they) operated the nose to Louise
'They operated upon Louise's nose.'
c. **S** * *Operaron la nariz a Luisa.*

Ethical datives are clitics by definition. As such they cannot be stressed nor can they be antecedents of a relative clause, another property which opposes them to lexical datives. In view of the foregoing remarks, possessive datives appear as an intermediate category between lexical datives and ethical datives: whereas the latter can only be clitics, the former can be either full NPs or clitics. With possessive datives, full NPs are not impossible, but clitics or pronouns are preferred.

The latter entails, in our view, two things. On the one hand, not having a prepositional counterpart is in line with the fact that possessive and ethical datives do not occupy a real slot in the argument structure of the verb frame: clitics are akin to incorporated morphemes rather than being proper constituents in the sentence. On the other hand, Romance clitics appear before the verb and Germanic pronouns closely follow the verb, i.e. they always appear early in the (declarative) sentence. They therefore have a high degree of topicality (Burridge 1996, Popescu & Tasmowski 1988, Tasmowski 1984), which patterns with another property which the two datives share, as we

suggested at the beginning of this paper, viz. their discursive or expressive function. Clitics (especially first and second person of course) are naturally associated with spoken utterances, as their referents are pragmatically known (Jacob 1993).The latter property leads us to another aspect of the two datives, viz. their semantics.

Ethical and possessive dative NPs have exclusively human referents,[27] in contrast with lexical datives. Whereas ethical datives are almost exclusively first and second person pronouns, posssessive datives are not limited in this respect. The latter restriction is merely a consequence of the essential function of ethical datives, i.e. to call upon the speech participants in order to involve them in the process. What the two datives basically share from a semantic point of view, however, is that the referent NP indicates an interested party which is affected by the process *without being actively involved in it.*

In his seminal article on inalienable possession, Bally (1926) establishes a very interesting relation between the dative and middle voice in old Greek, 'the two oldest ways of expressing the person involved in the action'. According to Bally, 'the middle voice, later replaced by the reflexive verb, presents the action as taking place in the domain of the subject of the verb', i.e. the subject is involved without being an agent. This of course recalls the essential property of the datives we have analyzed here, viz. that of being a participant without being actively involved in the process.

What is of interest here is the fact that from an empirical point of view, possessive and ethical datives are particularly productive in Spanish and Rumanian, languages which also make an extensive use of what Bally calls the 'modern' version of the middle voice, viz. the pronominal or reflexive *se*, as we showed in various examples. Precisely these two Romance languages also share the fact of having a 'prepositional accusative' introduced by *a* in Spanish, *pe* in Rumanian, which give rise to a reduplicated dative clitic. Note that the latter dative bears most of the features usually associated with nominative NP's, viz. a human and highly individualized referent, but it crucially differs from the nominative by the fact that it does not indicate the agent but an involved patient.[28]

Note, on the other hand, that there is another category of verbs whose crucial characteristic is to take subjects which are involved in the process without being agents, viz. the so-called unaccusative or ergative verbs. As we pointed out in 2.1., they also seem to co-occur very often with possessive

datives. The latter observation is relevant for the other language for which we have observed that possessive and ethical datives are particularly productive, viz. German. As a matter of fact, German has impersonal dative NP structures with ergative verbs, as in (105). Draye (1996: 193) makes the crucial observation that this construction may alternate with personal nominative NP construals, but 'the dative NP referent is less in control of the process designated by the verb' than when the nominative is used.[29] His examples are:

(105) *Mir ekelt vor fetten Speisen.* (Draye 1996)
1sg pron DAT nauseate before fat food
'Fat food nauseates me.'

(106) a. *Ihm/er träumte von einem schrecklichen Sturm.*
3sg pron DAT/3 sg pron NOM dreamt of a terrible storm
'He dreamt of a terrible storm.'
b. *Er/ * ihm träumte sie schon in New York.*
3sg pron NOM/ * 3sg pron DAT dreamt her already in New York
'He already imagined her in New York.'

In view of all this, it should come as no surprise that similar structures also existed in Middle Dutch but have disappeared in modern Dutch:

(107) *Hem walght.* (Burridge 1996)
3sg pron DAT throws up
'He throws up.'

That the possessive dative structure and impersonal structures such as those given in (107) have both shrunk in modern Dutch strengthens our claim: though independent, both structures may have declined because they share a basic semantic function. Or to put the same thing differently, what the above data show is that there are independent areas in the syntax of a language where the same semantics are involved: possessive datives, ethical datives, middle voice and ergative verbs cluster together to the extent that they are all related to indicating an interested party affected by the process designated by the verb, but not actively involved in it.

However, on a parallel with the syntactic differences between ethical and possessive datives which we have pointed out, it should of course not be forgotten that if the two datives display a common semantic characteristic, they do so to a different degree. While ethical datives are complete outsiders, possessive datives are not, since the inalienable object — no matter whether it functions as grammatical subject, prepositional phrase or direct object — crucially relies on the presence of the dative clitic to be able to function as an

argument.[30] The essential, both syntactic and semantic, relationship between the possessive dative and the inalienable object entity situates the possessive dative in an intermediate position between the ethical and lexical datives. As we already pointed out at the beginning, both refer to an interested party, but possessive datives are affected by the process itself, whereas ethical datives are only involved by the statement of it, viz. the utterance. The latter observation leads to a more general conclusion, viz. that datives correspond to one of those areas in language where form and meaning neatly seem to pattern together.

NOTES

1. The abbreviations in front of the examples indicate the languages to which they belong: G= German, E = English, D = Dutch, F = French, S = Spanish, I = Italian, R = Rumanian.

2. Whereas in Romance languages, the pronominal form of the dative corresponds to a clitic, in Germanic languages this is not the case since pronominal datives can receive stress.

3. This is not only true for the number of languages that have been analyzed but also for the various methodological approaches. For analyses proposed in generative grammar, see e.g. Delfitto & D'Hulst (1995), Demonte (1995), Hoekstra (1984), Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992).

4. Italics ours. The English translation is quoted from Chappel & McGregor 1995. Noteworthy is that Bally calls the possessive dative *le datif de participation*.

5. In certain languages, however, animacy is not a necessary condition, as shown by the Spanish example :

   (i) Le fregué las manchas al tablero (Demonte 1995)
   To it 3sg DAT (I) wiped off the stains to the table

6. Another possibility corresponds to the so-called dative 'commodi', e.g. *I baked him a brownie*. This dative shares with the possessive and the ethical dative the syntactic property of introducing a participant into the process which does not correspond to a slot that is lexically predicted by the verbal predicate. The same holds for the dative 'iudicantis', e.g. *Diese Schuhe sind mir zu gross* ('These shoes are too big to me'). From a semantic point of view, all four types can be subsumed under the same dative function, viz. that of indicating the *interested party*.

7. Such sentences would be acceptable in nonstandard French.

8. As pointed out by Vergnaud & Zubizarretta (1992: 603), *gelés* 'frozen' only picks out a subset of fingers.

9. It may be the case that (i) for each individual only one hand was washed, (ii) for each individual both hands were washed, or (iii) for some only one hand was washed and for others both were washed.

10. This does not mean that fixed expressions with genitives are impossible, e.g.:

    (i) Il prit ses jambes à son cou.
    He took his legs at his neck
    'He ran off.'

11. For a discussion of different degrees of affectedness, see Barnes (1985).

12. In the grammatical tradition (cf. Academia R.P.R. 1963: 214-5) this accusative is called 'accusative of relation'. It invariably takes the clitic form and accompanies a PP that refers to the possessed object. This frame presents the possessor as indissolubly linked to the action exerted on the object.

13. German also alternates accusative and dative with intransitive verbs which indicate some somatic process, e.g. *ache*:

    (i) Mich/mir schmerzt der Bauch.
    1sg pron ACC/DAT aches the stomach

    In this case, however, the semantic opposition between the two cases is neutralized (Wegener 1985).

14. Rumanian seems to be an exception here as both accusative and dative appear in expressions with figurative meaning (examples from Manoliu-Manea 1995):

    (i) a. **R** Mâ doare în cot.
    1sg clit ACC aches in elbow
    'I do not care at all.'
    b. **R** Ii merge mintea.
    3sg clit DAT goes mind the
    'He is very smart.'

15. This sentence is totally unacceptable in a coreferential reading between *bras* and *Paul*. In a non-coreferential reading it is incomplete: *Paul a cassé le bras [de la poupée]*.

16. We will also limit ourselves to adverbal dative constructions. Note that languages such as German and nonstandard Dutch have adnominal possessive datives:

    (i) Dem Nachbar sein Fahrrad steht nicht in der Garage
    The neighbour DAT his bicycle stands not in the garage

17. Interestingly, (34a) has only a literal reading, whereas (34b) has a metaphorical reading, viz.'he is an obstacle to my plans'. This supports the observations made under 1.1. on the relationship between dative case and fixed expressions (cf. examples 11-12 and 25).

18. Interestingly Grevisse-Goosse (1994: 986) provides examples like the following, apparently still frequent in the South of France but no longer in standard French:

    (i) Le chien lui est mort.
    The dog 3sg clit DAT has died
    (ii) Il s'est perdu le parapluie.
    He 3sg refl DAT has lost the umbrella

Likewise, sentences such as

(ii) Un enfant leur est né
A child 3 pl clit DAT is born

are not impossible, but sound somehow literary.

19. In this case, the pronoun *hem* could also be analyzed as a direct object, as claimed by Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996), since the following nominalization is possible:

(i) Het op de vingers tikken van hem door de baas
The on the fingers touching of him by the boss
'His being rebuked by the boss'

20. The listing of representative verbs for the different constructions distinguished above heavily draws on the following sources: Spanoghe (1995) for French and Spanish, Vandeweghe (1987) for Dutch. For German, Italian and Rumanian we owe a special word of thanks, respectively, to Elisabeth Mauder and Kurt Feyaerts, Lucia Gasperini and Dieter Vermandere, and Mircea Branza.

21. According to Spanoghe (1995: 228), French prefers to use the possessive adjective when the inalienable entity is in subject position: with verbs of type I, almost 90% of the data correspond to structures such as *Son menton tremblait* (His chin was shaking) rather than *Le menton lui tremblait.*

22. The Spanish and Rumanian type III construction even opens up to metonymical movement verbs, not listed under (75) or (77). In such cases, the conditions on the type of inalienable entity are also relaxed:

(i) **S** Estas frases me han incitado la curiosidad
These sentences 1sg clit DAT have incited the curiosity
'These sentences have provoked my curiosity.'

23. As noted in footnote 18, a striking fact is that southern French still has examples of the kind but standard French no longer: as is well known, southern French is more conservative in many other respects, not only at the phonetic and lexical level, but also in other syntactic areas such as the use of the 'passé simple'. Interestingly, Grevisse-Goosse (1994: 987) also provide examples like (i) with a dative of interest, which is analysed as purely 'literary' and 'no longer comprehensible for a normal speaker of French':

(i) Elle se prit à l'aimer. Il sentait l'étable. Cependant il lui était beau (A. France)
She fell in love with him. He smelled the stables. Yet he was handsome to her.

24. French has sentences like (i) but they seem to relate to constructions with PPs and a dative of interest (ii) rather than to the possessive dative (cf. Grevisse-Goosse 1994:986):

(i) Il m'est rentré dans l'aile gauche (de ma voiture)
He 1sg clit DAT is entered in the wing left (of my car)
(ii) Il m'est rentré dedans.
'He banged into my car.'

25. As discussed in section 2.2., a few verbs that may appear in construction type IV (e.g. F *donner*) also allow a construction with a lexical dative. However, when the dative appears together with an inalienable entity (body part), the latter occupies an argument position but not the dative.

26. With extended 'inalienables', different possibilities obtain in which the clitic is no longer compulsory:

(i) a. **S** Le robaron la maleta
3sg clit DAT (they) stole the suit-case
b. **S** (Le) robaron su maleta
3sg clit DAT (they) stole his suit-case
c. **S** Robaron su maleta
(They) stole his suit-case

27. Even in Spanish, where inanimate possessor NPs are not totally impossible (cf. footnote 5), the unmarked case certainly remains the one with human NPs.

28. Herslund (1997) proposes the term 'counter-agent' for the Spanish and Rumanian prepositional accusatives, in contrast with the term 'patient', which he reserves for real accusatives which bear the features [inanimate] and [non-specific].

29. Draye's observation that the impersonal dative NP construal is more archaic or formal than the personal nominative NP structure is interesting because it suggests that German may be evolving in the same direction as Dutch.

30. As seen above (section 1.1.), this explains the distributivity effect obtained with plural possessor and the fact that only appositive (i.e., non-restrictive) adjectives may modify the inalienable phrase.

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The case of the causee

On the competition between dative and accusative in Dutch *laten* and German *lassen* constructions

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to Jan Goossens on the occasion of his 68th birthday
to Odo Leys on the occasion of his 71st birthday

1. Introduction*

The analysis and the theoretical status of analytic causative *laten/lassen* constructions as in (1) and (2) are a matter of debate.

(1) *De dictator liet de diplomaten de gevangenen zien.*
the dictator-"NOM" let-CAUS the diplomats-"CASE" the prisoners-"ACC" see

(2) *Der Diktator ließ die Diplomaten die Gefangenen sehen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-ACC diplomats the-ACC prisoners see
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

The central problem is whether a sentence of the type exemplified under (1) and (2) is to be analysed as one single, conceptually and otherwise coherent — though complex — structure, or is to be regarded as a combination of two more or less independent syntactic units. The latter, biclausal

* I owe a special word of thanks to Lieve Jooken for thoroughly revising the English style, and to Joop van der Horst and Willy Van Langendonck for helpful suggestions.

analysis is typical of many generative approaches,[1] whereas — not surprisingly — the former, monoclausal position suits cognitive linguistics, since it does not involve a transformational apparatus. A crucial difference, of course, lies in the assumed status of the second actant. In the biclausal analysis it is regarded as the subject of the main verb (in the above examples: ***de diplomaten*** *zien (de gevangenen)* / ***die Diplomaten*** *sehen (die Gefangenen)* / *the diplomats see (the prisoners)*), while the monoclausal analysis defines its function vis à vis the complex predicates *laten zien / sehen lassen.*

This contribution is in the first place intended to supplement an impressive series of articles by Kemmer and Verhagen (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994, Verhagen and Kemmer 1992 and 1997, and Verhagen 1997), in which they adduce evidence for the monoclausal status of constructions like the type under discussion. In particular, it wants to refine Kemmer and Verhagen's in my opinion underdifferentiated postulate (1994:115) that

> analytic causative constructions can best be described as extensions of simpler kinds of expressions, rather than as reductions from more complex underlying structures. In particular, causatives of intransitive predicates (e.g. *I made Mary cry*) are viewed as modelled on simple two-participant clauses (like *I ate the cake*), and causatives of transitive predicates (e.g. *He had the servant taste the food*) are seen as modelled on simple three-participant clauses (like *I gave Mary a flower*, or *She broke it with a hammer* — i.e. mainly ditransitive and instrumental clause types).

Arguments will be drawn from synchronic, diachronic, and contrastive observations.

2. Preliminaries

In a causative event, Kemmer and Verhagen (1994:119) discern three major semantic roles, which are expressed by what they regard as its 'core participants': the **causer**, i.e. the entity causing the event, viz. the subject of the sentence (the dictator in (1) and (2)); the **causee**, i.e. the entity responding to the causation and implementing the process designated by the main verb (the diplomats in (1) and (2)), and finally the **affectee**, i.e. the entity that is subjected to the causative event (the prisoners in (1) and (2)). In my opinion, however, a fourth core semantic role has to be added to the series, namely that of the 'interested party'[2] or the **interestee**, i.e. the entity in whose sphere of interest the causative event takes place. As will be shown below, it is Kemmer

and Verhagen's systematic omission of this fourth role in causative events which is responsible for the overgeneralization in the above quotation. In (3) and (4) the role of interestee is embodied by *the diplomats*:

(3) *De dictator liet de bewakers de diplomaten de gevangenen tonen.*
the dictator-"NOM" let-CAUS the guards-"CASE" the diplomats-"DAT" the prisoners-"ACC" show

(4) *Der Diktator ließ die Wärter den Diplomaten die Gefangenen zeigen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-ACC guards the-DAT diplomats the-ACC prisoners show
'The dictator let/had[3] the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.'

Notice, further, that in present-day Dutch and German neither the causee nor the interestee need to be realized. Thus, the following reductions of (3) and (4) are all grammatical:

(3) a. *De dictator liet de gevangenen tonen.*
the dictator-"NOM" let-CAUS the prisoners-"ACC" show
'The dictator had (someone) show the prisoners (to someone).'

(4) a. *Der Diktator ließ die Gefangenen zeigen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-ACC prisoners show
'The dictator had (somenone) show the prisoners (to someone).'

(3) b. *De dictator liet de diplomaten de gevangenen tonen.*
the dictator-"NOM" let-CAUS the diplomats-"CASE" the prisoners-"ACC" show
'The dictator had (someone) show the prisoners to the diplomats.'
'The dictator let/had the diplomats show the prisoners (to someone).'

(4) b. *Der Diktator ließ den Diplomaten die Gefangenen zeigen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-DAT diplomats the-ACC prisoners show
'The dictator had (someone) show the prisoners to the diplomats.'

(3) c. *De dictator liet de bewakers de gevangenen tonen.*
the dictator-"NOM" let-CAUS the guards-"CASE" the prisoners-"ACC" show
'The dictator let/had the guards show the prisoners (to someone).'
'The dictator had (someone) show the prisoners to the guards.'

(4) c. *Der Diktator ließ die Wärter die Gefangenen zeigen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-ACC guards the-ACC prisoners show
'The dictator let/had the guards show the prisoners (to someone).'

In German, all reductions are semantically univocal, whereas in Dutch the removal of one of the actors in the causative event results in the inherent

ambiguity of (3b) and (3c). This ambiguity has to be attributed to the fact that unlike German, Dutch shed its surface case system long ago — apart from some relics in its pronominal system, viz. the systematic opposition *rectus* (nominative) vs *obliquus* (non-nominative) in the personal pronoun and some genitival forms of other pronouns. However, as the case system's function was at least partly taken over by, and/or can still be made visible in, other systems in the grammar such as word order, case had better not be regarded as an extinct category in Dutch, but rather as a cryptotypical one, in the sense of Whorf (1956:87-101).[4] That is why in the Dutch examples "cases" appear in double quotes and the "case" of the causee is left unspecified for the time being.

Notice, too, that in some marked cases even the affectee can be dropped:

(5) *De dictator had* [*zijn dienaars*] [*het eten*] *in de danszaal laten opdienen.*
the dictator-"NOM" had [his servants-"CASE"] [the food-"ACC"] in the ballroom let-CAUSE serve

(6) *Der Diktator hatte* [*seine Diener*] [*das Essen*] *im Tanzsaal auftragen lassen.*
the-NOM dictator had [his-ACC servants] [the-ACC food] in the ballroom serve let-CAUS
'The dictator had let/had (his servants) serve (dinner) in the ballroom.'

3. Synchronic variation in *laten/lassen* constructions

As can be inferred from the quotation in 1., Kemmer and Verhagen limit themselves in their analysis and argumentation to what they call causatives of 'intransitive' and of 'transitive' predicates. Thereby, they exclusively mean causatives of one-place intransitives (or absolutes), and causatives of two-place transitives, thus omitting two- and three-place intransitives, and three-place transitives. This reduction to two out of five constructional types is not necessarily detrimental to a correct description of present-day German (3.1.), but it is, in my opinion, to a description of the Dutch data (3.2.).[4a]

3.1 *Present-day German* ***lassen*** *constructions*

3.1.1 *The causee: case and context*

In present-day German *lassen* constructions, there is no variation whatsoever as far as surface case marking is concerned. More precisely, in all of the five

constructional types mentioned above, the causee is in the accusative, regardless of whether the predicate is transitive or intransitive, regardless of the number of places that are occupied by other actants and of the thematic role these actants play, and regardless of the degree of agentivity of the causee in the causative event. The following sentences exemplify the five types. With the exception of three-place intransitives, where examples with a non- or low-agentive causee seem to be lacking, each type is illustrated with two examples, one with a high, the other with a low degree of involvement on the part of the causee; optional actants appear bracketed and causees in bold.[5]

<u>absolute</u>

- <u>high agentivity of the causee</u>
  (G7) *Nach einer Stunde ließ der Diktator* [***seine Generäle***] *zurückschießen.*
  after one hour let-CAUS the-NOM dictator **his-ACC generals** shoot back
  'After one hour, the dictator had/let his generals shoot back.'

- <u>low agentivity of the causee</u>
  (G8) *Der Diktator ließ* ***seine Generäle*** *ruhen.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS **his-ACC generals** rest
  'The dictator let/had his generals take a rest.'

<u>two-place intransitive</u>

- <u>high agentivity of the causee</u>
  (G9) a. *Der Diktator ließ* [***seine Generäle***] *seinem Hund applaudieren.*
  (G9) b. *Der Diktator ließ* ***seine Generäle*** [*seinem Hund*] *applaudieren.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS **his-ACC generals** his-DAT dog applaud
  The dictator had/let his generals applaud his dog.

- <u>low agentivity of the causee</u>
  (G10) *Der Diktator ließ* ***kein Wort*** *seiner Aufmerksamkeit entgehen.*
  the-NOM dictator let **no-ACC word** his-DAT attention escape
  'The dictator did not let a single word escape his notice.'

three-place intransitive

- <u>high agentivity of the causee</u>
  (G11) *Der Diktator ließ* [***seine Generäle***] [*dem Parlament*] *über den Putsch berichten.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS [**his-ACC generals**] [the-DAT parliament] over the coup report
  'The dictator had/let his generals report to parliament on the coup.'

two-place transitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (G12) *Der Diktator ließ* [***seine Sekretärin***] *seine Memoiren herausgeben.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS [**his-ACC secretary**] his-ACC memoirs out-give
  'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

- low agentivity of the causee
  (G13) *Der Diktator ließ* [***die Diplomaten***] *die Gefangenen sehen.*
  the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS [**the-ACC diplomats**] the-ACC prisoners see
  'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

three-place transitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (G14) *Der Diktator ließ* [***die Wärter***][*den Diplomaten*] *die Gefangenen zeigen.*
  the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS [**the-ACC guards**] [the-DAT diplomats] the-ACC prisoners show
  'The dictator had/let the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.

- low agentivity of the causee
  (G15) *Der Diktator ließ* [***den Papst***] *seinem verhaßten Regime gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS [**the-ACC pope**] his-DAT detested regime readily a-ACC touch of legitimacy lend
  'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

3.1.2 *The causee in a* ***von*** *phrase*

The relevance of the distinction low vs high causee agentivity is borne out by the fact that, as a rule, only causees with high agentivity can be shifted to a prepositonal phrase with *von*, which also codes the agent in passive sentences. Compare in this respect (G16a) (active, agent in the nominative) with (G16b) (passive, *von* agent), and (G12) (causee in the accusative) with (G12') (*von* causee). Notice, too, that the shift in topicality of *the secretary* and *the memoirs* is in both cases exactly the same:

(G16) a. *Schließlich gab die Sekretärin die Memoiren des verstorbenen Diktators heraus.*
finally the-NOM secretary gave the-ACC memoirs the-GEN deceased dictator out
'Finally the secretary edited the deceased dictator's memoirs.'

(G16) b. *Schließlich wurden die Memoiren des verstorbenen Diktators von seiner Sekretärin herausgegeben.*
finally became-PASS the-NOM memoirs the-GEN deceased dictator from his secretary out-given
'Finally the deceased dictator's memoirs were edited by his secretary.'

(G12) *Der Diktator ließ seine Sekretärin seine Memoiren herausgeben.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his-ACC secretary his-ACC memoirs out-give
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(G12') *Der Diktator ließ seine Memoiren von seiner Sekretärin herausgeben.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his-ACC memoirs from his secretary out-give
'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

The following are the *von* variants of the above *lassen* constructions, grouped this time according to the degree of agentivity of the causee; only highly agentive causees yield an acceptable *von* variant. As coding agents in *by* phrases seems to be even more restricted in English causative constructions, a correct verbatim English translation is not always available.

- high agentivity of the causee
  (G7') *Nach einer Stunde ließ der Diktator* ***von seinen Generälen*** *zurückschießen.*
  after one hour let-CAUS the-NOM dictator **from his generals** shoot back
  ('After one hour, the dictator had his generals shoot back.')

  (G9') *Der Diktator ließ seinem Hund* ***von seinen Generälen*** *applaudieren.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his dog **from his generals** applaud
  'The dictator had his dog applauded by his generals.'

  (G11') *Der Diktator ließ dem Parlament* ***von seinen Generälen*** *über den Putsch berichten.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS the-DAT parliament **from his generals** over the coup report
  'The dictator had parliament briefed on the coup by his generals.'

  (G12') *Der Diktator ließ seine Memoiren* ***von seiner Sekretärin*** *herausgeben.*
  the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his-ACC memoirs **from his secretary** out-give
  'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

  (G14') *Der Diktator ließ den Diplomaten* ***von den Wärtern*** *die Gefangenen zeigen.*
  the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-DAT diplomats **from the guards** the-ACC prisoners show
  'The dictator had the prisoners shown to the diplomats by the guards.'

(G15') *Der Diktator ließ seinem verhaßten Regime **von dem Papst** gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his-DAT detested regime **from the pope** readily a-ACC touch of legitimacy lend
('The dictator readily had the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.')

- low agentivity of the causee

(G8') ***Der Diktator ließ **von seinen Generälen** ruhen.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS **from his generals** rest
*'The dictator had a rest taken by his generals.'

(G10') ***Der Diktator ließ seiner Aufmerksamkeit **von keinem Wort** entgehen.*
the-NOM dictator let his attention **from no word** escape
*'The dictator let escape his notice by no word.'

(G13') ***Der Diktator ließ die Gefangenen **von den Diplomaten** sehen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS the-ACC prisoners **from the diplomats** see
*'The dictator had the prisoners seen by the diplomats.'

Two more remarks are in order here. First, it should be noted that coding the causee in a *von* phrase generally — and not unexpectedly — results in an exclusively causative reading of the construction. Second, as (G15) was listed as a construction with a lowly agentive causee, the grammaticality of (G15') might at first sight be somewhat unexpected. In this pair of examples, however, the shift from the causee in the accusative (G15) to the *von* causee (G15') implies a subtle semantic shift as well. In (G15) the pope does not (or not necessarily) lend legitimacy to the dictatorial regime intentionally; it is his mere presence in the country concerned that is considered responsible for this effect. Thus (G15) could easily be rephrased as follows:

(G15'') *Der Diktator ließ* [***den Papstbesuch***] *seinem verhaßten Regime gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS [**the-ACC pope-visit**] his-DAT detested regime readily a-ACC touch of legitimacy lend
'The dictator readily let the pope's visit lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

In (G15'), on the other hand, the pope is coded as an intentional agent. Here, a parallel rephrasing would yield an unacceptable sentence:

(G15''') ***Der Diktator ließ seinem verhaßten Regime **von dem Papstbesuch** gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*[6]
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS his-DAT detested regime **from the pope visit** readily a-ACC touch of legitimacy lend

(*'The dictator readily had a touch of legitimacy lent to his detested regime by the pope's visit.')

3.1.3. *Sequence of roles and cases in **lassen** constructions*

In the examples (G7-15) the sequence of roles and corresponding cases is the canonical one for noun phrases, namely causer/nominative — causee/accusative — interestee/dative — affectee/accusative — prepositional object/prepositional case, with this distinction that simple sentences are, of course, unable to accommodate causees. From (G7', 9', 11', 12', 14', 15') it can be inferred that a *von* causee more or less behaves like a regular prepositional object.

Pronominalizing noun phrases can result in a different order, for in German phonetically lighter pronominal forms tend to shift to the left and 'jump over' heavier pronominal and nominal constituents, optionally even over nominal constituents in the nominative. In this respect *lassen* constructions at first sight do not seem to differ from simpler sentences. Compare:

(G17) a. Als *der Diktator **die Journalisten** die Zeitung hatte kaufen lassen, ...*
when the-NOM dictator **the-ACC journalists** the-ACC newspaper had buy let-CAUS
'When the dictator had let/had the journalists buy the newspaper, ...'

(G17) b. *Als er **sie** sie hatte kaufen lassen, ...*
when he-NOM **they-ACC** she-ACC had buy let-CAUS
'When he had let/had them buy it ...'

(G17) c. *Als **sie** sie der Diktator hatte kaufen lassen,...*
when **they-ACC** she-ACC the-NOM dictator had buy let-CAUS
'When the dictator had let/had them buy it,...'

(G18) a. *Als der Diktator **die Journalisten** das Buch hatte kaufen lassen,...*
when the-NOM dictator **the-ACC journalists** the-ACC book had buy let-CAUS
'When he had let/had the journalists buy the book,...'

(G18) b. *Als er es **sie** hatte kaufen lassen,...*
when he-NOM it-ACC **they-ACC** had buy let-CAUS
'When he had let/had them buy it,...'

(G18) c. *Als es **sie** der Diktator hatte kaufen lassen,...*
when it-ACC **they-ACC** the-NOM dictator had buy let-CAUS
'When the dictator had let/had them buy it,...'

(G17a) and (G18a) are completely parallel and show the canonical order causer/causee/affectee. (G17b) retains this order, as it contains only phonetically heavy pronominal constituents, whereas (G18b), containing the pho-

netically weak affectee *es*, has causer/affectee/causee. Finally, (G17c) with (heavy) causee/(heavy) affectee/(nominal) causer is in contrast to (G18c), with (weak) affectee/ (heavy) causee/ (nominal) causer.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to go into greater detail on the sequence of roles. Still, two interesting non-canonical structures seem worthy of mention here. Firstly, a surface syntactic constraint on reflexive pronouns positions the reflexive pronoun referring to the causer before all other oblique actants, irrespective of its role: affectee (G19a,b) or interestee (G20a,b). In subordinate clauses, it can appear to the right (G19a, 20a) or even — as a result of the additional placement potential of pronouns — to the left (G19b, 20 b) of the causer:

(G19) a. *Weil der Diktator sich nie Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM Dictator himself-ACC never strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS

(G19) b. *Weil sich der Diktator nie Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-ACC the-NOM Dictator never strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator never let himself be introduced to strangers;...'

(G20) a. *Weil der Diktator sich nie Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM dictator himself-DAT never strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS

(G20) b. *Weil sich der Diktator nie Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-DAT the-NOM dictator never strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator never let strangers be introduced to him,...'

As a consequence, in these examples the accusative can only code one of its roles, viz. that of the affectee. The causee must either be left implicit or be coded in a *von* phrase; coding it in the accusative, its 'proper' case, results in an ungrammatical sentence:[7]

(G21) a. **Weil der Diktator sich **niemanden** Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM dictator himself-ACC **nobody-ACC** strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS

(G21) b. **Weil sich der Diktator **niemanden** Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-ACC the-NOM dictator **nobody-ACC** strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator let/had nobody introduce him to strangers,...'

(G22) a. **Weil der Diktator sich **niemanden** Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM dictator himself-DAT **nobody-ACC** strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS

(G22) b. **Weil sich der Diktator **niemanden** Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-DAT the-NOM dictator **nobody-ACC** strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator let/had nobody introduce strangers to him,...'

The following are the grammatically correct variants with a *von* causee:

(G21') a. *Weil der Diktator sich **von niemandem** Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM dictator himself-ACC **from nobody** strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS

(G21') b. *Weil sich der Diktator **von niemandem** Unbekannten vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-ACC the-NOM dictator **from nobody** strangers-DAT introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator let himself be introduced to strangers by nobody,...'

(G22') a. *Weil der Diktator sich **von niemandem** Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as the-NOM dictator himself-DAT **from nobody** strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS

(G22') b. *Weil sich der Diktator **von niemandem** Unbekannte vorstellen ließ,...*
as himself-DAT the-NOM dictator **from nobody** strangers-ACC introduce let-CAUS
'As the dictator did not let strangers be introduced to him by anybody,...'

It is this same constraint which precludes reflexive causative constructions with a transitive verb and a lowly agentive causee, both in the accusative and — for most speakers — also in a *von* phrase:

(G23) a. **Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich **ihre Freundinnen** nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
after the accident would the-NOM model herself-ACC **her-ACC friends** not more see let-CAUS
'After the accident the model did not want her friends to see her anymore.'

(G23) b. **?Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich **von ihren Freundinnen** nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
after the accident would the-NOM model herself-ACC **from her friends** not more see let-CAUSE
After the accident the model did not want to be seen by her friends anymore.

In these cases, only a construction without a causee (G23c) or a passive paraphrase (G24) is grammatically correct:

(G23) c. *Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
after the accident would the-NOM model herself-ACC not more see let-CAUS
'After the accident the model did not want to be seen anymore.'

(G24) *Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model nicht mehr von ihren Freundinnen gesehen werden.*
after the accident would the-NOM model not more from her friends seen become-PASS
'After the accident the model did not want to be seen by her friends anymore.'

A second non-canonical structure is the following. German has a limited number of so-called post-accusative dative verbs which require a reversal of the canonical order interestee — affectee:

(25) *Der Vater setzte seinen Sohn großen Gefahren aus.*
the-NOM father set his-ACC son great-DAT dangers out

(26) **Der Vater setzte großen Gefahren seinen Sohn aus.*
the-NOM father set great-DAT dangers his-ACC son out
The father exposed his son to great dangers.

This marked order is maintained when these verbs are predicates in causative constructions:

(27) *Der Vater ließ **seinen Nachbarn** seinen Sohn großen Gefahren aussetzen.*
the-NOM father let-CAUS **his-ACC neighbour** his-ACC son great-DAT dangers expose

(28) **Der Vater ließ **seinen Nachbarn** großen Gefahren seinen Sohn aussetzen.*
the-NOM father let-CAUS **his-ACC neighbour** great-DAT dangers his-ACC son expose
'The father let/(had) his neighbour expose his son to great dangers.'

3.1.4 *Lassen constructions with low agentivity causees*

As was stated before, in present-day German the degree of agentivity of the causee does not affect its basic case marking: all causees are in the accusative. The fact that highly agentive causees can be coded in *von* phrases, whereas lowly agentive ones cannot, apparently does not lead to a systematic cognitive division of the construction along these lines. More precisely, sentences such as (G12) and (G13), which are repeated here for the sake of convenience,

sound equally natural and well formed for native speakers of German:

(G12) *Der Diktator ließ **seine Sekretärin** seine Memoiren herausgeben.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS **his-ACC secretary** his-ACC memoirs edit
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(G13) *Der Diktator ließ **die Diplomaten** die Gefangenen sehen.*
the-NOM dictator let-CAUS **the-ACC diplomats** the-ACC prisoners see
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

In neither of these sentences does the double accusative marking of both the causee and the affectee seem to give rise to a 'coding conflict'.[8] This may seem surprising, especially in the case of (G13) and of comparable causative constructions with two-place transitive verbs of perception like *sehen, hören, fühlen, spüren, riechen, wissen, merken* (see, hear, feel, smell, know, notice), whose lowly agentive causee should — at least from a diachronic and/or contrastive point of view — be equally well encodable as an interestee. Still, (G29), the interestee variant of (G13) with corresponding dative marking, is ungrammatical:

(G29) **Der Diktator ließ **den Diplomaten** die Gefangenen sehen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS **the-DAT Diplomats** the-ACC prisoners see
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

Moreover, the synchronic stability of the accusative marking of the causee also has to be contrasted with the strong tendency of the animate affectee of those biaccusative verbs like *lehren, abfragen, abhören, kosten* (teach, test (2), cost) to be replaced by an interestee and to switch to dative marking:[9]

(G30) a. *Herr Schmidt hat **mich** die deutsche Sprache gelehrt.*
mr. Schmidt has **me-ACC** the-ACC German language taught

(G30) b. *Herr Schmidt hat **mir** die deutsche Sprache gelehrt.*
mr. Schmidt has **me-DAT** the-ACC German language taught
'Mr. Schmidt taught me German.'

Here, the b-version, which represents the most productive pattern for German three-place verbs — with the animate experiencer NP in the dative — is experienced as far more natural by most native speakers of German.

3.1.5 *Are **lassen** constructions modelled on simple sentences?*

This section is devoted to the argumentative relevance of the observations made in the preceding sections. Summarizing, I see five properties of causative constructions that seem to conflict — at least as far as present-day

German is concerned — with Kemmer and Verhagen's postulate that "analytic causative constructions can best be described as extensions of simpler kinds of expressions, rather than as reductions from more complex underlying structures."

First, German has four-place *lassen* constructions which have no counterpart, and thus no potential model for extension, in simple clauses. Though they may be rather unfrequent in corpora, they are perfectly natural:

(G11) *Der Diktator ließ seine Generäle dem Parlament über den Putsch berichten.*
'The dictator had/let his generals report to parliament on the coup.'

(G14) *Der Diktator ließ die Wärter den Diplomaten die Gefangenen zeigen.*
'The dictator had/let the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.

(G15) *Der Diktator ließ den Papst seinem verhaßten Regime gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*
'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

Second, the presence of a reflexive pronoun in causative constructions leads to side effects that are not to be found in simple clauses with reflexive pronouns:

(G23) a. **Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich **ihre Freundinnen** nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
'After the accident the model did not want her friends to see her anymore.'

(G23) b. **?Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich **von ihren Freundinnen** nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
After the accident the model did not want to be seen by her friends anymore.

(G23) c. *Nach dem Unfall wollte das Model sich nicht mehr sehen lassen.*
'After the accident the model did not want to be seen anymore.'

Third, predicates with the unusual case pattern *adverbal accusative before adverbal dative* maintain this pattern in causative constructions. It is hard to see from which simpler expressions other than the basic non-causative construction these causative constructions could be extensions:

(25) *Der Vater setzte **seinen Sohn großen Gefahren** aus.*

(26) **Der Vater setzte **großen Gefahren seinen Sohn** aus.*
The father exposed his son to great dangers.

(27) *Der Vater ließ seinen Nachbarn **seinen Sohn großen Gefahren** aussetzen.*

(28) **Der Vater ließ seinen Nachbarn **großen Gefahren seinen Sohn** aussetzen.*
'The father let/(had) his neighbour expose his son to great dangers.'

Fourth, in causative constructions double accusative marking — on causee and affectee — is unproblematic, even where the predicate is a transitive verb of perception (with a lowly agentive causee.) This is in contradistinction with the tendency for double accusative marking to give way to dative/accusative marking in simple clauses:

(G13) *Der Diktator ließ **die Diplomaten** die Gefangenen sehen.*

(G29) **Der Diktator ließ **den Diplomaten** die Gefangenen sehen.*
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

(G30) a. *Herr Schmidt hat **mich** die deutsche Sprache gelehrt.*

(G30) b. *Herr Schmidt hat **mir** die deutsche Sprache gelehrt.*
'Mr. Schmidt taught me German.'

Fifth, the only variation open to causees in causative constructions is to be coded in a *von* phrase — on condition that their agentivity is high enough. This is a property they share with the (agentive) subject of simple clauses, not with other thematic roles:

(G16) a. *Schließlich gab **die Sekretärin** die Memoiren des verstorbenen Diktators heraus.*
'Finally the secretary edited the deceased dictator's memoirs.'

(G16) b. *Schließlich wurden die Memoiren des verstorbenen Diktators **von seiner Sekretärin** herausgegeben.*
'Finally the deceased dictator's memoirs were edited by his secretary.'

(G12) *Der Diktator ließ **seine Sekretärin** seine Memoiren herausgeben.*
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(G12') *Der Diktator ließ seine Memoiren **von seiner Sekretärin** herausgeben.*
'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

3.2 *Present-day Dutch **laten** constructions*

As was noted above, in present-day Dutch the opposition between dative and accusative is no longer morphologically marked; former adverbal accusatives appear as NPs, former adverbal datives as NPs or as PPs with the preposition *aan*. With three-place transitive verbs the 'dative' NP is restricted to the

position before the 'accusative' NP (31a), whereas the 'dative' PP can appear before or after the accusative NP (32a,b):[10]

(31) a. *De dictator toonde de diplomaten enkele gevangenen.*
the dictator showed the diplomats-"DAT" some prisoners-"ACC"

(31) b. **De dictator toonde enkele gevangenen de diplomaten.*
the dictator showed some prisoners-"ACC" the diplomats-"DAT"
'The dictator showed the diplomats some prisoners.'

(32) a. *De dictator toonde aan de diplomaten enkele gevangenen.*
the dictator showed to[11] the diplomats some prisoners-"ACC"
'The dictator showed to the diplomats some prisoners.'

(32) b. *De dictator toonde enkele gevangenen aan de diplomaten.*
the dictator showed some prisoners-"ACC" to the diplomats
'The dictator showed some prisoners to the diplomats'

Rephrasing (31) and (32) with a causative predicate like *laten zien*, and thus — at least in theory — replacing the interestee by a causee, does not seem to affect this distribution:

(33) a. *De dictator liet de diplomaten enkele gevangenen zien.*
the dictator let-CAUS the diplomats-"CASE" some prisoners-"ACC" see

(33) b. **De dictator liet enkele gevangenen de diplomaten zien.*
the dictator let-CAUS some prisoners-"ACC" the diplomats-"CASE" see
'The dictator showed the diplomats some prisoners.'

(34) a. *De dictator liet aan de diplomaten enkele gevangenen zien.*
the dictator let-CAUS to the diplomats some prisoners-"ACC" see
'The dictator showed to the diplomats some prisoners.'

(34) b. *De dictator liet enkele gevangenen aan de diplomaten zien.*
the dictator let-CAUSE some prisoners-"ACC" to the diplomats see
'The dictator showed some prisoners to the diplomats.'

However, rephrasing them with a causative predicate like *laten bezoeken* does alter the clause, in that the 'dative' *aan* variants need to be replaced by agentive *door* variants:

(35) a. *De dictator liet de diplomaten enkele gevangenen bezoeken.*
the dictator let-CAUS the diplomats-"CASE" some prisoners-"ACC" visit

(35) b. **De dictator liet enkele gevangenen de diplomaten bezoeken.*
the dictator let-CAUS some prisoners-"ACC" the diplomats-"CASE" visit
'The dictator let/had the diplomats visit some prisoners.'

(36) a. *De dictator liet door/*aan de diplomaten enkele gevangenen bezoeken.*
the dictator let-CAUS through/*to the diplomats some prisoners-"ACC" visit

(36) b. *De dictator liet enkele gevangenen door/*aan de diplomaten bezoeken.*
the dictator let-CAUSE some prisoners-"ACC" through/*to the diplomats visit
'The dictator had some prisoners visited by the diplomats.'

It is thus at first sight all but surprising that for Dutch, Kemmer and Verhagen (1994:137) suggest the following variation in case marking of the causee of a 'transitive causative':

Ø ~ Dative ~ Agentive/Instrumental

In their view, zero-marking (Ø) is to be assumed for all prepositionless causees (33a, 35a), 'Dative' marking for causees coded with *aan* (34a,b), and 'Agentive/Instrumental' marking for causees coded with *door* (36a,b). This assumption, however, restricts the (metaphorical) use of case terms like 'Dative' and 'Instrumental' to environments where the category case is made visible by surface forms; word order phenomena are obviously not taken into account when it comes to determining case roles. As indicated above, this position seems to be tenable only if one abstracts from certain types of causative constructions and from intuitions speakers of Dutch have of them. In what follows I shall try to argue for an alternative analysis of Dutch causative constructions. In that analysis the 'accusative' is the basic case for the causee, which only under certain strictly limited conditions is in competition with the 'dative' as the basic case for the interestee — the latter having two regular representations like in simple sentences: NP before NP, or *aan* PP.

3.2.1 *The causee: case and context*

In present-day Dutch the five constructional types mentioned in the corresponding section on German can be exemplified as follows:

absolute

- high agentivity of the causee
  (D7) *Na een uur liet de dictator* [***zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals***] *terugschieten.*
  after one hour let-CAUS the dictator **his generals-"ACC"/*to his generals-"DAT"** shoot back
  'After one hour, the dictator had/let his generals shoot back.'

- low agentivity of the causee
  (D8) *De dictator liet* ***zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals*** *rusten.*
  the dictator let-CAUS **his generals-"ACC"/*to his generals-"DAT"** rest
  'The dictator let/had his generals take a rest.'

two-place intransitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (D9) a. *De dictator liet* [***zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals***] *voor zijn hond applaudisseren.*
  (D9) b. *De dictator liet* ***zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals*** [*voor zijn hond*] *applaudisseren.*
  the dictator let-CAUS **his generals-"ACC"/*to his generals-"DAT"** for his dog applaud
  The dictator had/let his generals applaud his dog.

- low agentivity of the causee
  (D10) *De dictator liet* ***geen woord/*aan geen woord*** *aan zijn aandacht ontsnappen.*
  the dictator let **no word-"ACC"/*to no word-"DAT"** to his attention-"DAT" escape
  'The dictator did not let a single word escape his notice.'

three-place intransitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (D11) *De dictator liet* [***zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals***] [*(aan) het parlement*] *over de staatsgreep berichten.*
  the dictator let-CAUS [**his generals-"ACC"/*to his generals-"DAT"**] [(to) the parliament-"DAT"] over the coup report
  'The dictator had/let his generals report to parliament on the coup.'

two-place transitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (D12) *De dictator liet* [***zijn secretaresse/*aan zijn secretaresse***] *zijn memoires uitgeven.*
  the dictator let-CAUS [**his secretary-"ACC"/*to his secretary-"DAT"**] his memoirs-"ACC" out-give
  'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

- low agentivity of the 'causee'
  (D13) *De dictator liet* [***(aan) de diplomaten***] *de gevangenen zien.*
  the dictator let-CAUS [**(to) the diplomats-"DAT"**] the prisoners see-"ACC"
  'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

three-place transitive

- high agentivity of the causee
  (D14) *De dictator ließ* [***de bewakers/*aan de bewakers***][*(aan) de diplomaten*] *de gevangenen tonen.*
  the dictator let-CAUS [**the guards-"ACC"/*to the guards-"DAT"**] [(to) the diplomats-"DAT"] the prisoners- "ACC" show
  'The dictator had/let the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.

- low agentivity of the causee
  (D15) *De dictator liet* [***de paus/*aan de paus***] *(aan) zijn gehate regime graag een weinig legitimiteit verlenen.*
  the dictator let-CAUS [**the pope "ACC"/*to the pope-"DAT"**] (to) his detested regime-"DAT" readily a touch of legitimacy-"ACC" lend
  'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

These examples show that in most types there is no positive indication whatsoever that the case of the causee would not be the 'accusative', whereas the impossibility of construing an *aan* variant — irrespective of whether the causee's agentivity is high or low — can be considered a clear sign that the causee role does not take the 'dative'.

The only systematic exceptions are some two-place transitive causative constructions with lowly agentive 'causees' (D13): here, the *aan* variant is completely natural, which corroborates the assumption of 'dative' case. To this (sub)type belong causative constructions with verbs of perception like *zien, horen, voelen, ruiken, proeven, weten, merken* (see, hear, feel, smell, taste, know, notice). Interestingly enough, though, they only allow the combination with a 'dative' in transitive constructions: as soon as they are used in absolute constructions, the NP vs *aan* PP variation is no longer possible, and the causee is put in the 'accusative' again:

(37) Laat ***grootvader/*aan grootvader*** ook eens zien/horen/voelen/ruiken/proeven.
let **grandfather-"ACC"/*to grandfather-"DAT"** also once see/hear/feel/smell/taste
'Let grandfather see/hear/feel/smell/taste too.'

3.2.2 *The causee in a* ***door*** *phrase*

Like for German, the distinction low vs high causee agentivity is relevant for present-day Dutch, since only causees with high agentivity can be shifted to a prepositonal phrase with instrumental/agentive *door*, which also codes the

agent in passive sentences. Compare in this respect (D16a) (active, agent as subject) with (D16b) (passive, *door* agent), and (D12) (causee in the 'accusative') with (D12') (*door* causee):

(D16) a. *Tenslotte gaf de secretaresse de memoires van de overleden dictator uit.*
finally gave the secretary-"NOM" the memoirs of the deceased dictator-"ACC" out
'Finally the secretary edited the deceased dictator's memoirs.'

(D16) b. *Tenslotte werden de memoires van de overleden dictator door zijn secretaresse uitgegeven.*
finally became-PASS the memoirs of the deceased dictator-"NOM" through his secretary out-given
'Finally the deceased dictator's memoirs were edited by his secretary.'

(D12) *De dictator liet zijn secretaresse zijn memoires uitgeven.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"ACC" his memoirs-"ACC" out-give
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(D12') *De dictator liet zijn memoires door zijn secretaresse uitgeven.*
the dictator let-CAUS his memoirs-"ACC" through his secretary edit
'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

The following are the *door* variants of the above *laten* constructions, again grouped according to the degree of agentivity of the causee; only highly agentive causees yield an acceptable *door* variant:

- high agentivity of the causee

(D7') *Na een uur liet de dictator **door zijn generaals** terugschieten.*
after one hour let-CAUS the dictator **through his generals** shoot back
('After one hour, the dictator had his generals shoot back.')

(D9') *De dictator liet **door zijn generaals** voor zijn hond applaudisseren.*
the dictator let-CAUS **through his generals** for his dog applaud
The dictator had his dog applauded by his generals.

(D11') *De dictator liet (aan) het parlement **door zijn generaals** over de staatsgreep berichten.*
the dictator let-CAUS (to) the parliament-"DAT" **through his generals** over the coup report
'The dictator had parliament briefed on the coup by his generals.'

(D12') *De dictator liet zijn memoires **door zijn secretaresse** uitgeven.*
the dictator let-CAUS his memoirs-"ACC" **through his secretary** out-give
'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

(D14') *De dictator liet (aan) de diplomaten **door de wachters** de gevangenen tonen.*
the Dictator let-CAUS (to) the diplomats-"DAT" **through the guards** the prisoners-"ACC" show
'The dictator had the prisoners shown to the diplomats by the guards.

(D15') *De dictator liet (aan) zijn gehate regime **door de paus** graag een weinig legitimiteit verlenen.*
the dictator let-CAUS (to) his detested regime-"DAT" through **the pope** readily a touch of legitimacy-"ACC" lend
('The dictator readily had the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.')

- low agentivity of the causee

(D8') **De dictator liet **door zijn generaals** rusten.*
the dictator let-CAUS **through his generals** rest
*'The dictator had a rest taken by his generals.'

(D10') **De dictator liet **door geen woord** aan zijn aandacht ontsnappen.*
the dictator let **through no word** to his attention-"DAT" escape
*'The dictator let escape his notice by no word.'

(D13') **De dictator liet de gevangenen **door de diplomaten** zien.*
the dictator let-CAUS the prisoners-"ACC" **through the diplomats** see
*'The dictator had the prisoners seen by the diplomats.'

Mutatis mutandis, the two concluding remarks that were made in section 3.1.2. on German also hold for Dutch: coding the causee in a *door* phrase generally results in an exclusively causative reading, and in contradistinction with (D15), the pope is an intentional causee in (D15').

One more — exclusively 'Dutch' — remark seems in order here. It concerns causative constructions with the verb *lezen* (read), which are discussed at some length by Kemmer and Verhagen (1994:136f.). *lezen* allows a three-way contrast:

(38) a. De dictator liet **zijn secretaresse** de brief lezen.
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary the letter read
'The dictator let/had his secretary read the letter.'

(38) b. De dictator liet de brief **aan zijn secretaresse** lezen.
the dictator let-CAUS the letter to his secretary read
'The dictator let his secretary read the letter.'

(38) c. De dictator liet de brief **door zijn secretaresse** lezen.
the dictator let the letter through his secretary read
'The dictator had the letter read by his secretary.'

In keeping with their general analysis, Kemmer and Verhagen assume Ø-marking in cases like (38a), dative-marking in (38b), and agentive/instrumental-marking in (38c). As far as the semantics is concerned, they regard their (a) example as more closely related to type (b) than to (c): "With no prepositional marking [..], the interpretation is somewhat similar to that with dative marking [..]. But there is a distinction between the two; in fact, the same distinction as we find between zero-marked and dative-marked indirect objects in simple clauses (cf. Kirsner 1988): zero-marked indirect objects are more topical than dative-marked ones [..]." Whereas their observation on the shift in topicality between the two types of indirect objects certainly has some general relevance, it seems beside the point here. Indeed, as soon as one contrasts minimally differing examples as in (38) — which Kemmer and Verhagen fail to do -, it becomes clear that the (a)-version has more than one systematic reading, viz. an 'accusative' reading with a highly agentive causee (38ac) and a 'dative' reading with a lowly agentive 'causee'(38ab); the 'accusative' interpretation is similar to the *door* variant (38c), while the 'dative' interpretation corresponds with the *aan* variant (38b); in both cases there is a shift in topicality (and not just in the 'dative' reading). This can be shown by supplementing and contrasting the above examples as follows:

(38) ac. De dictator liet **zijn secretaresse** de brief lezen en beantwoorden omdat hij zelf geen tijd had om dat te doen.
the dictator let-CAUS **his secretary-"ACC"** the letter-"ACC" read and answer because he self no time had for that to do
'The dictator had his secretary read and answer the letter because **he** himself had no time to do it.'

(38) c. De dictator liet de brief **door zijn secretaresse** lezen en beantwoorden omdat hijzelf geen tijd had om dat te doen.
the dictator let-CAUS the letter-"ACC" **through his secretary** read and answer because he self no time had for that to do
'The dictator had the letter read and answered by his secretary because he himself had no time to do it.'

(38) ab. De dictator liet **zijn secretaresse** de brief ook lezen omdat er toch geen geheimen in stonden.
the dictator let-CAUS **his secretary-"DAT"** the letter"ACC" too read because there after all no secrets in stood
'The dictator let his secretary read the letter too because it contained no secrets anyway.'

(38) b. De dictator liet de brief ook **aan zijn secretaresse** lezen omdat er toch geen geheimen in stonden.
the dictator let-CAUS the letter-"ACC" too to his secretary-"DAT" read because there after all no secrets in stood
'The dictator let his secretary read the letter too because it contained no secrets anyway.'

Thus, rather than manifesting a threefold opposition, causative constructions with the verb *lezen* are either of the high or of the low agentivity two-place transitive type, with each type implying the two corresponding construals. The verb *lezen* itself, then, obviously collocates both like verbs of action and like verbs of perception.[12]

3.2.3 *Sequence of roles and cases in **laten** constructions*

In the above examples (D7-15) the sequence of roles is, again like in German, the canonical one for noun phrases, namely 1) causer 2) causee 3) (Ø- or *aan*-) interestee 4) affectee.

Bear in mind, first, that in Dutch another order is possible in three-place transitive constructions like (D14) and (D15), since an *aan*-interestee can take the position of the prepositional object, i.e. after the affectee:

(D14) *De dictator liet de bewakers **(aan) de diplomaten** de gevangenen tonen.*
the dictator let-CAUS the guards-"ACC" **(to) the diplomats-"DAT"** the prisoners- "ACC" show

(D14) a. *De dictator liet de bewakers de gevangenen **aan de diplomaten** tonen.*
the dictator let-CAUS the guards-"ACC" the prisoners- "ACC" to the diplomats-"DAT" show
'The dictator had/let the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.

(D15) *De dictator liet de paus **(aan) zijn gehate regime** graag een weinig legitimiteit verlenen.*
the dictator let-CAUS the pope "ACC" **(to) his detested regime**-"DAT" readily a touch of legitimacy-"ACC" lend

(D15) a. *De dictator liet de paus graag een weinig legitimiteit **aan zijn gehate regime** verlenen.*
the dictator let-CAUS the pope "ACC" readily a touch of legitimacy-ACC to **his detested regime**-"DAT" lend
'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

Note, in the second place, that the only structural difference in case marking between German and Dutch concerns (G/D13), in which German

shows accusative marking, while Dutch has 'dative' marking:

(G13) *Der Diktator ließ **die Diplomaten** die Gefangenen sehen.*
the-NOM Dictator let-CAUS **the-ACC diplomats** the-ACC prisoners see

(D13) *De dictator liet **(aan) de diplomaten** de gevangenen zien.*
the Dictator let-CAUS **(to) the diplomats-"DAT"** the prisoners see-"ACC"
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

From a synchronic contrastive point of view, the 'anomaly' is thus clearly a Dutch phenomenon.

In Dutch, like in German, pronominalizing noun phrases results in a different word order, though the surface syntactic variation is more limited in Dutch: pronominalized constituents cannot jump over nominals in the 'nominative'. Nevertheless, *laten* constructions at first sight do not seem to differ from simpler Dutch sentences either. Compare:

(D17) a. *Toen de dictator **de journalisten** de krant had laten kopen, ...*
when the-NOM dictator **the journalists-"ACC"** the newspaper-"ACC" had let-CAUS buy
'When the dictator had had/let the journalists buy the newspaper, ...'

(D17) b. *Toen hij ze ze had laten lezen, ...*
when he-"NOM" **they-"ACC"** she-"ACC" had let-CAUS read
'When he had had/let them read it ...'

(D18) a. *Toen de dictator **de journalisten** het boek had laten kopen,...*
when the dictator-"NOM" **the journalists-"ACC"** the book-"ACC" had let-CAUS buy
'When he had had/let the journalists buy the book,...'

(D18) b. *Toen hij het ze had laten kopen,...*
When he-"NOM" it-"ACC" **they-ACC** had let-CAUS buy
'When he had let/had them buy it,...'

In Dutch, the surface syntactic constraint on reflexive pronouns mentioned in the corresponding German section is operative too: the reflexive pronoun referring to the causer is positioned before all other oblique actants, irrespective of its own role: affectee (D19a) or interestee (D20a). As a result, the interestee in (D19a) necessarily takes the *aan*-variant:

(D19) a. *Omdat de dictator zich nooit aan onbekenden liet voorstellen,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"ACC" never to strangers-"DAT" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator never let himself be introduced to strangers;...'

(D20) a. *Omdat de dictator zich nooit onbekenden liet voorstellen,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"DAT" never strangers-"ACC" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator never let strangers be introduced to him,...'

Again like in German, the 'accusative' in such sentences can only code the affectee. The causee must either be left implicit or be coded in a *door* phrase; coding it in the 'accusative' produces an ungrammatical sentence:

(D21) a. **Omdat de dictator zich **niemand** aan onbekenden liet voorstellen,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"ACC" nobody-"ACC" to strangers-"DAT" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator let/had nobody introduce him to strangers,...'

(D22) a. **Omdat de dictator zich **niemand** onbekenden liet voorstellen,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"DAT" nobody-"ACC" strangers-"ACC" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator let/had nobody introduce strangers to him,...'

The following are the grammatically correct variants with a *door* causee:

(D21') a. *Omdat de dictator zich **door niemand** aan onbekenden liet voorstellen,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"ACC" through nobody to strangers-"DAT" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator let himself be introduced to strangers by nobody,...'

(D22') a. *Omdat de dictator zich **door niemand** onbekenden liet voorstellen,,...*
as the dictator-"NOM" himself-"DAT" through nobody strangers-"ACC" let-CAUS introduce
'As the dictator did not let strangers be introduced to him by anybody,...'

In contradistinction to German, however, this constraint does not preclude reflexive causative constructions with a transitive verb of perception and a lowly agentive 'causee'. Here, the Dutch 'dative' leaves a way out:

(D23) a. *Na het ongeval wilde het model zich niet meer **aan haar vriendinnen** laten zien.*
after the accident would the model-"NOM" herself-"ACC" not more **to her friends-"DAT"** let-CAUS see
'After the accident the model did not want her friends to see her anymore.'

A final problem[13] that has to be addressed is the question whether the Dutch 'datives' in sentences such as (D13), (38a), and (D23a) really encode causees — which clearly is the position of Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) and Verhagen (1997) —, or whether they are to be understood as representing

predicate. In the process, Melis supplements Van Langendonck's analysis of the Latin dative in terms of role configurations, which recognizes these formal aspects but leaves them somewhat implicit. Unlike Van Langendonck, Melis assumes a general meaning of the Latin and German dative, viz. 'prospective orientation' (see also Van Hoecke 1996 and compare Newman, this volume).

The dative in modern German as well as modern French can be explained on a partly syntactic and a partly semantic basis. For both languages, these analyses leave some residual patterns, such as German verbs with a purely locative dative, e.g. *folgen* 'follow', *sich nähern* 'approach', and French 'equivalence verbs' like *préposer* 'prepose', *juxtaposer* 'juxtapose', *ressembler* 'resemble', *comparer* 'compare', etc. (compare Pasicki and Van Langendonck, this volume).

Conclusion

One general conclusion can be drawn. The relation between form and meaning is rather indirect and multi-layered, at least in the realm of the dative/IO structures studied. More specifically, the following points can be made. First, there are formal influences of valency and constructions on cases (Melis), which can also be observed diachronically (Draye). Second, the dative/IO can have not only pragmatic or discourse meaning (Davidse) but also a whole range of submeanings varying crosslinguistically (Newman, Van Langendonck, Lamiroy & Delbecque) and diachronically (Pasicki). It is not always easy to link these various senses, let alone to find a unifying principle. This problem can be solved by either setting up a prototype structure (Geeraerts, Van Langendonck) or by supplementing or replacing this prototypical meaning with a kind of schematic meaning (Melis, Newman).

Recipients and 'give' constructions

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1. Introduction*

'Give' clauses constitute a particularly interesting type of clausal structure on account of the inherent semantic complexity of the 'give' predicate. In its most literal or basic sense, 'give' implies three distinct participating entities: a Giver, a Thing, and a Recipient. The encoding of the sense of 'give' must therefore accommodate all three of these entities. One could say that the study of 'give' (as well as other three-place predicates) serves as a kind of window on the basic mechanics of clause structure in a language. Some sense of the structural significance of three-place predicates may be gleaned from a glance at the three ways of expressing 'give' in the Australian language Dyirbal (based on Dixon 1972:300):[1]

(1)

	Giver	*Thing*	*Recipient*
(i)	Ergative	Absolutive	Dative
(ii)	Ergative	Instrumental	Absolutive
(iii)	Ergative	Absolutive	Genitive

A description of 'give' in Dyirbal thus involves the main case-marking devices available within the language (though it does not include the cases with a strong spatial sense, viz. Allative, Locative, Ablative). Although it is not true that every language will show such syntactic variety (Dyirbal is perhaps extreme in this respect), one can still expect 'give' predicates to be relatively complex in their linguistic encoding.

* I am grateful to Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

interestees. I would like to argue for the latter view by drawing attention to the diagnostic potential of coordinated causative constructions in this respect. As may appear from the following examples, elliptical coordination of the infinitives in *laten* constructions is only possible with identical thematic roles:

(39) *De dictator liet zijn secretaris schaduwen en arresteren.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"ACC" shadow and arrest
'The dictator had his secretary shadowed and arrested'

(40) *De dictator liet zijn secretaris schuld bekennen en ontslag nemen.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"ACC" guilt admit and dismissal take
'The dictator had his secretary admit his guilt and resign.'

(41) *De dictator liet zijn secretaris de handen afhakken en een kogel door het hoofd schieten.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"DAT" the hands chop off and a bullet through the head shoot
'The dictator had his secretary's hands chopped off and a bullet put through his head.'

In (39), the secretary is the **affectee** of both main verbs, in (40) he is the **causee**, and in (41) the **interestee**. Elliptical coordination with two different thematic roles, even when they are encoded by the same case, results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(42) **De dictator liet zijn secretaris schuld bekennen en arresteren.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"ACC" guilt admit and arrest
'The dictator had his secretary admit his guilt and had him arrested.'

(43) **De dictator liet zijn secretaris schaduwen en ontslag nemen.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary-"ACC" shadow and dismissal take
'The dictator had his secretary shadowed and had him resign.'

(44) **De dictator liet zijn secretaris de handen afhakken en vergif drinken.*
the dictator let-CAUS his secretary "DAT+ACC" the hands chop off and poison drink
'The dictator had his secretary's hands chopped off and had him drink poison.'

In (42), the 'accusative' cannot encode both the **causee** and the **affectee**, just as it cannot combine the **affectee** and the **causee** in (43), or the **interestee** and the **causee** in (44). If, then, (45) is grammatical, this must mean that its 'dative' encodes only one thematic role, viz. that of the **interestee**, and that it does not combine the role of **causee** and **interestee**:

(45) *De dictator liet (aan) zijn secretaris niets merken of blijken.*
the dictator let-CAUS (to) his secretary-"DAT" nothing-ACC notice or appear
'The dictator gave no inkling whatsoever to his secretary.'

This is all the more astonishing since the two main verbs in (45) belong to a different category: *blijken* is a two-place intransitive verb (*iets-"NOM" blijkt mij-"DAT" - something appears to me*), whereas *merken* is two-place transitive (*ik-"NOM" merk iets-"ACC" - I notice something*). It is only in the context of the causative construction that they can be combined as in (45).

Summarizing, one can say that the appearance of a 'dative' in sentences like (D13), (38a), (D23a), and (45) can be interpreted as an indication that these causative constructions are indeed modelled on simple three-participant clauses — with this qualification that the 'dative' in these sentences does not encode a **causee**, but an **interestee**.

3.2.4 ***Laten** constructions with low agentivity causees*

In the corresponding section on German, we concluded that the dichotomy between highly and lowly agentive causees was relevant to the extent that only highly agentive causees can be coded in *von* phrases. In that language, the causee's degree of agentivity clearly does not affect the basic case marking: all causees are in the accusative. For Dutch, the first observation holds too: as was shown in section 3.2.2., *door* causees presuppose a high degree of agentivity. The second observation, however, has to be adapted slightly. Indeed, whereas low agentivity of the causee does not lead to a change in 'case' when combined with absolute verbs (D8), with two-place intransitives (D10), and with three-place transitives (D15), it does affect causative constructions with two-place transitive verbs of perception: here, the 'dative' takes the place of the 'accusative' (D13). Yet, as I tried to demonstrate in section 3.2.3., this 'dative' had best be understood as encoding an interestee rather than a causee.

(D8) *De dictator liet **zijn generaals/*aan zijn generaals** rusten.*
the dictator let-CAUS **his generals-"ACC"/*to his generals-"DAT"** rest
'The dictator let/had his generals take a rest.'

(D10) *De dictator liet **geen woord/*aan geen woord** aan zijn aandacht ontsnappen.*
the dictator let **no word-"ACC"/*to no word-"DAT"** to his attention-"DAT" escape
'The dictator did not let a single word escape his notice.'

(D15) *De dictator liet **de paus/*aan de paus** (aan) zijn gehate regime graag een weinig legitimiteit verlenen.*
the dictator let-CAUS **the pope "ACC"/*to the pope-"DAT"** (to) his detested regime-"DAT" readily a touch of legitimacy-"ACC" lend
'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

(D13) *De dictator liet **(aan) de diplomaten** de gevangenen zien.*
the dictator let-CAUS **(to) the diplomats-"DAT"** the prisoners see-"ACC"
'The dictator showed the prisoners to the diplomats.'

Two more remarks seem worth making here. First, it is a necessary but not a sufficient condition that the main verb of the causative construction should be a two-place transitive for a causee in the 'accusative' to yield to an interestee in the 'dative'. As a matter of fact, this shift appears to be restricted to simple transitive two-place verbs of perception, whereas both complex verbs of perception like *aanvoelen* (46) and other lowly agentive two-place transitives like *houden* (47) have a causee in the 'accusative':

(46) *Ze lieten **de minister** de onmogelijkheid van het voorstel duidelijk aanvoelen.*
they let-CAUS **the minister-"ACC"** the impossibility-"ACC" of the proposal clearly on-feel
'They let the minister sense clearly the impossibility of the proposal.'

(47) *De eigenaar liet **de vinder** de helft van het geld houden.*
the owner let-CAUS **the finder-"ACC"** half-"ACC" of the money hold
'The owner let the finder keep half of the money.'

Both coding the causee in a *door* phrase (49,51) and replacing it by an interestee (48,50) yields an ungrammatical sentence:

(48) *?*Ze lieten **aan de minister** de onmogelijkheid van het voorstel duidelijk aanvoelen.*
they let-CAUS to **the minister-"DAT"** the impossibility-"ACC" of the proposal clearly on-feel

(49) **Ze lieten de onmogelijkheid van het voorstel duidelijk **door de minister** aanvoelen.*
they let-CAUS the impossibility-"ACC" of the proposal clearly **through the minister** on-feel
'They let the minister sense clearly the impossibility of the proposal.'

(50) **De eigenaar liet **aan de vinder** de helft van het geld houden.*
the owner let-CAUS to **the finder-"DAT"** half-"ACC" of the money keep

(51) **De eigenaar liet de helft van het geld **door de vinder** houden.*
the owner let-CAUS half-"ACC" of the money **through the finder** keep
'The owner let the finder keep half of the money.'

It thus becomes clear that the competition between the 'accusative' and the 'dative' pattern is not only determined structurally, but lexically as well.

Second, Dutch can clearly not be regarded as a language in which double 'accusative' marking of both causee and affectee leads to a general coding conflict in causative constructions, as is proven by (46,47), but also by sentences like (D12,14,15). On the contrary, in other biaccusative contexts double accusative marking disappeared from the Middle Dutch period onwards.[14] In those contexts, the animate object is now exclusively coded as an interestee, i.e. in the 'dative':

(D30) *Mijnheer Schmidt heeft **(aan) vele leerlingen** Duits geleerd.*
mr. Schmidt has **(to) many pupils-"DAT"** German-"ACC" taught
'Mr. Schmidt taught many pupils German.'

3.2.5 *Are **laten** constructions modelled on simple sentences?*

Summarizing the results of sections 3.2.1.-4., we can say that some of the 'German' arguments against Kemmer and Verhagen's postulate that analytic causative constructions are extensions of simpler kinds of expressions also hold for present-day Dutch.

Like German, Dutch has four-place causative constructions which have no counterpart, and thus no model for extension, in simple clauses:

(D11) *De dictator liet **zijn generaals** (aan) het parlement over de staatsgreep berichten.*
'The dictator had/let his generals report to parliament on the coup.'

(D14) *De dictator liet **de bewakers** (aan) de diplomaten de gevangenen tonen.*
'The dictator had/let the guards show the prisoners to the diplomats.

(D15) *De dictator liet **de paus** (aan) zijn gehate regime graag een weinig legitimiteit verlenen.*
'The dictator readily let/(had) the pope lend a touch of legitimacy to his detested regime.'

Further, in causative constructions double 'accusatives' are ordinarily unproblematic (D12, 46, 47), whereas double accusatives have long disappeared in simple clauses (D30):

(D12) *De dictator liet **zijn secretaresse** zijn memoires uitgeven.*
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(46) *Ze lieten **de minister** de onmogelijkheid van het voorstel duidelijk aanvoelen.*
'They let the minister sense clearly the impossibility of the proposal.'

(47) *De eigenaar liet **de vinder** de helft van het geld houden.*
'The owner let the finder keep half of the money.'

(D30) *Mijnheer Schmidt heeft **(aan) vele leerlingen** Duits geleerd.*
'Mr. Schmidt taught many pupils German.'

And finally, the potential for variation of highly agentive causees in causative constructions — viz. to be coded in the 'accusative' or in a *door* phrase — is comparable to that of the (agentive) subject of a simple clause, and not to that of other thematic roles:

(D16) a. *Tenslotte gaf de secretaresse de memoires van de overleden dictator uit.*
'Finally the secretary edited the deceased dictator's memoirs.'

(D16) b. *Tenslotte werden de memoires van de overleden dictator door zijn secretaresse uitgegeven.*
'Finally the deceased dictator's memoirs were edited by his secretary.'

(D12) *De dictator liet zijn secretaresse zijn memoires uitgeven.*
'The dictator had/let his secretary edit his memoirs.'

(D12') *De dictator liet zijn memoires door zijn secretaresse uitgeven.*
'The dictator had his memoirs edited by his secretary.'

The only positive evidence that some of the present-day Dutch analytic causative constructions are indeed modelled after simple sentences — and can be regarded as truly 'monoclausal' — comes from those examples where a Dutch interestee (in the 'dative') corresponds to a German causee (in the accusative):

(34) a. *De dictator liet **(aan) de diplomaten** enkele gevangenen zien.*
'The dictator showed the diplomats some prisoners.'

(34) b. *De dictator liet enkele gevangenen **aan de diplomaten** zien.*
'The dictator showed some prisoners to the diplomats.'

Here the extension model may well involve three-place transitive verbs like *tonen*:

(32) a. *De dictator toonde **(aan) de diplomaten** enkele gevangenen.*
'The dictator showed the diplomats some prisoners.'

(32) b. *De dictator toonde enkele gevangenen **aan de diplomaten**.*
'The dictator showed some prisoners to the diplomats.'

Recall, however, that in examples like (34) the presence of such a 'secondary' interestee is dependent upon the presence of an affectee, that is: upon a three-place setting:

(37) Laat ***grootvader/*aan grootvader*** ook eens zien/horen/voelen/ruiken/proeven.
'Let grandfather see/hear/feel/smell/taste too.'

Note, further, that the number of verbs allowing this type of construal is limited: they are basic two-place transitive verbs of perception: *zien, horen, ruiken, voelen, weten, merken*, and — in lowly agentive contexts — *proeven* and *lezen*.

4. Diachronic retrospective

From a comparative Indo-European and Germanic point of view, it is not surprising that in Gothic, the oldest reasonably well documented Germanic language, analytic causative constructions with *lassen* and *laten*'s cognate *letan* all have the causee in the accusative. Only two of the five constructional types that can be discerned in present-day German and Dutch are attested — the two-place transitive type with low agentivity not being one of them:

absolute

- high agentivity of the causee
  (52) *ni lailot **thos** rodjan*
  not let-CAUS **they-ACC** talk
  'He did not let them talk.'

- low agentivity of the causee
  (53) *let faurthis sada wairthan **barna***
  let-CAUS first sated become **children-ACC**
  'First let the children eat their fill.'

two-place transitive

high agentivity of the causee
(54) *let **thans dauthans** gafilhan seinans dauthans*
let **the-ACC dead-ACC** bury their-ACC dead-ACC
'Let the dead bury the dead.'

Concerning the older stages of German it is safe to assume that the causee was put exclusively in the accusative in Old and Middle High German

times, also when collocating with lowly agentive two-place transitive verbs. The following is an old, 9th century attestation of that type:

(55) *daz er iz **unsih** lazze wizen*
that he-NOM it-ACC **us-ACC** let-CAUS know
'That he may let us know.'

It is not until the 17th and especially the 18th and 19th centuries that an on the whole evanescent competition between dative and accusative comes to notice in the construal with two-place transitive verbs of perception like *sehen, hören, fühlen, spüren, wissen, merken* (see, hear, feel, feel, know, notice). This occurs in the texts of the most prestigious 18th and 19th century authors, such as Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and Wieland, to such an extent that Grimm (1885:237) notes:

> Zumal bei verben der letzteren art ist in der neuern sprache statt des persönlichen accusativs ein dativ mit vorliebe gesetzt.
> [Especially in constructions with the latter kind of verb a dative is preferred to a personal accusative in recent speech.]

Here are some examples, which all contain a dative that can no longer be used in present-day standard German:

(56) *Das verbot, **ihm** vor seinem achtzehnten jahre kein milchmädchen sehen zu lassen, ist nicht um ein haar gescheidter. (Wieland)*
the ban, **him-DAT** before his eighteenth year no dairymaid see to let-CAUS is not for one hair wiser
'The ban on letting him see a dairymaid before his eighteenth birthday is not one jot better.'

(57) *Diese lieszen **ihm** wissen, sie würden den ort nicht verlassen.* (Heilman)
these let-CAUS **him-DAT** know, they would the place not leave
'They let him know that they would not leave the place.'

(58) *diejenigen, **denen** die schwierigkeiten der sprache eine menge schönheiten nicht mit empfinden lieszen* (Goethe)
those-NOM, **whom-DAT** the difficulties-NOM the language-GEN a-ACC mass beauties not with experience let-CAUS
'those whom the difficulties of the language did not allow to experience much of its beauty'

The dative even occurs with high agentivity two-place transitive verbs like *brauchen* (use) and *tun* (do), though, according to Grimm (1885:237), much less frequently:

(59) *Die insignia und fasces*[..] *kann ich **ihm** brauchen lassen.* (Lessing)
the-ACC insignia and fasces [..] can I-NOM **him**-DAT use let-CAUS
'I can let/make him use the insignia and fasces.'

(60) *Und was lassen sie **ihm** tun?* (Lessing)
and what-ACC let-CAUS they-NOM **him-DAT** do?
And what do they let/make him do?

It is examples such as these that seem to justify the assumption of an agentive causee in the dative, that is: a competition between dative and accusative for one and the same thematic role. Indeed, in examples like (59) and (60) it does not seem to make sense to regard the dative's referent as a mere interestee.

As far as Dutch is concerned, it is well known that the language's oldest periods, until the 12th century, are very poorly documented. In Middle Dutch, however, the use of the **dative** as the case for the causee in all constructional types of analytic causative constructions, both with *doen* and *laten*, is attested so frequently that Stoett (1923:122f.) regards it as the basic case and the competing accusative as a 'variant'. The following are some of his *laten* examples, which have all reverted to 'accusative' causees in present-day Standard Dutch:[15]

(61) *God liet se gheselen **den Ammoniten**.*
God let-CAUS them-ACC whip **the-DAT Ammonites**
'God let/made the Ammonites rack them.'

(62) *Laet ghi u hierave dwinghen **uwen baroenen**?*
let-CAUS you-NOM you-ACC hereto force **your-DAT barons?**
'Do you let your barons force you to do so?'

The following example is attested both with a dative and with an accusative causee; since it contains no affectee, the dative in (63a) can hardly be understood as a reaction to a coding conflict:

(63) a. *Die metti sitten an die banke laet **dien** drinken utermaten.*
Those-NOM with-you sit on the bench let-CAUS **those-DAT** drink exceedingly.

(63) b. *Die metti sitten an die banke laet **die** drinken utermaten.*
Those-NOM with-you sit on the bench, let-CAUS **those-ACC** drink exceedingly.
Let/have those who sit with you on the same bench drink exceedingly.

(64) and (65) are *laten* constructions with two-place intransitive main verbs, in which the dative cannot be ascribed to a tendency to avoid double accusa-

tive coding either:

(64) *Ghine laet* ***der erden*** *niet ghebruken vanden haren.*
you-not let-CAUS **the-DAT earth** not use of-the hair (shirt)
'You do not let/make the earth wear the hair shirt.'

(65) *Die leeuw deilt soe meldelike sijn pride, dat hiere* ***den dieren*** *laet aen winnen.*
the lion shares so generously its prey that he-there **the-DAT animals** lets-CAUS on win
'The lion shares its prey so generously that it lets the animals take advantage of it'.

It is a remarkable fact that both in German and Dutch, in different periods and independently, a dative gained ground in a context where the accusative had an excellent 'patent of nobility', and it is equally remarkable that both languages reverted to coding the causee in the accusative: present-day Standard German has done so completely, present-day Dutch has preserved 'dative' coding only with two-place transitive verbs of perception in three-place (monoclausal) constructions.

5. Conclusion

I would like to summarize the findings of this article as follows:

1° Both in present-day Standard German *lassen* and in present-day Standard Dutch *laten* constructions the accusative is the case of the causee.

2° In present-day Dutch, an interestee — in the 'dative' — replaces the causee in *laten* constructions with simple two-place transitive verbs of perception. Parallel constructions existed in 17th through 19th century German. It is only in such contexts that influence from monoclausal three-participant clauses can be safely assumed.

3° German and Dutch independently went through an evolutionary phase in which the dative temporarily broadened its range of application and in which dative and accusative actually competed for the expression of the causee.

4° A comparison with German and with older Dutch stages shows that the situation in present-day Dutch should not be regarded as the result of case loss in that language: both the competition between causee and interestee (2°) and the competition between dative and accusative (3°) are attested for stages in

which the case system was intact (German) or had not yet been shed (Middle Dutch).

NOTES

1. See Kemmer and Verhagen (1994), Eisenberg (1994:385ff.), and Verhagen (1997) for bibliographical details.

2. Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996:234f.) introduce this terminology to generalize over what are traditionally regarded as thematic roles of the dative: experiencer, beneficiary, possessor, recipient.

3. The meaning of both present-day *laten* and *lassen* ranges from permission, which is the original meaning, to causation. Like Kemmer and Verhagen, I do not systematically distinguish between these two meanings nor between the roles of the entity exerting the causation/permission or between the roles of the entity responding to it. The **causer** can thus also be a **permitter**, and the **causee** can be a **permittee**.

   Further, in present-day German *lassen* is the only systematic analytic causative, whereas in Dutch, there is a competition between causative *laten* and causative *doen*, which Kemmer and Verhagen (1994:141ff) aptly describe as an opposition between indirect vs direct causation. Cf. their example

   De psychiater liet mij aan mijn moeder denken.
   the psychiatrist let me at my mother think
   (indirect causation: communication)
   'The psychiatrist made/had me think of/about my mother.'

   vs

   De psychiater deed mij aan mijn moeder denken.
   the psychiatrist did me at my mother think
   (direct perception)
   'The psychiatrist made me think (reminded me) of my mother.'

   Suchsland (1987) assumes a systematic structural difference between the causative and the permissive meanings, in that 'subjectless' infinitives would automatically yield a causative interpretation. The following example shows that this position is untenable:

   Er ließ seinen Wagen ohne Protest abschleppen.
   he let his-ACC car without protest tow away
   'He let [the police] tow away his car without protesting.'

4. Also cf. Davidse (1991:15) and Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996:223).

4a. The same imbalance is characteristic of the analysis of Dutch *laten* constructions by Polinsky and Kozinsky (1993:208-223).

5. In order to facilitate a systematic comparison of German (G) and Dutch (D) I adopt double numbering (G7/D7, G8/D8, etc.) for parallel examples.

6. Replacing *von* with *durch* (=through) yields a correct sentence:

Der Diktator ließ seinem verhaßten Regime **durch den Papstbesuch** gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.

However, the pope's visit is then interpreted as a mere instrument to legitimatize the regime. Unlike the *von* phrase, this instrumental does not occupy the place of the causee; the 'instrument' can, therefore, easily be combined with a causee:

Der Diktator ließ [***seine Generäle***] *seinem verhaßten Regime* ***durch den Papstbesuch*** *gerne einen Anflug von Legitimität verleihen.*

7. This seems to be a fairly recent restriction. Cf. in this respect Grimm's example (1885: 235)

Da sich der frembde jünglich mich sehen liesz....
when himself-ACC the-NOM foreign youth me-ACC see let-CAUS
'When the foreign youth showed himself to me,...'

and his comment that "jetzt ist nur möglich zu sagen *sich von mir sehen liesz*" (Nowadays it is only possible to say etc.)

8. See Kozinsky and Polinsky 1993.

9. See Draye 1996:196ff.

10. For a detailed analysis of the present-day Dutch 'dative' see Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1992, De Schutter 1993, Van Langendonck and Van Belle 1993 and Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996.

11. Etymologically speaking, the English cognate of *aan* is *on*, not *to*.

12. The same holds for the verb *proeven* (taste).

13. Since postaccusative datives developed into *aan* PPs, former postaccusative dative verbs are no longer a relevant subcategory in Dutch.

14. See WNT VIII,I:1313 i.v. *leeren*.

15. In some Southern Dutch dialects, the dative causee survived as an *aan* PP. The following is an example from the Louvain dialect:

Ge moet uw plan **aan een architect** laten tekenen.
you must your plan-'ACC' to an architect-'DAT' let-CAUS draw
'Have your plan drawn by an architect.'

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Meanings of the dative case in Old English*

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1. Preliminaries

Before embarking on a study of Old English (OE) case meanings we need to take cognisance of the following basic facts.

Modern English and Old English are very different languages as nominal inflections go. Modern English, with its heavy reliance on word order as a means of signalling grammatical functions, has only a residual overt case system: the inflectional genitive is narrowly restricted in distribution and the nominative vs. non-nominative distinction is otherwise marked only on certain pronouns. By contrast, the English of some thousand years ago had a rich set of nominal inflectional paradigms with a basic pattern of two numbers and four cases, the latter conventionally labelled nominative, genitive, dative and accusative. In addition, there was a fifth case, the instrumental, of somewhat uncertain status; more on this, below. Let us note at this point that the terms "dative" and "case" (and their combination) as employed in the present text refer to inflectional categories — a choice made possible by the above-mentioned inflected nature of Old English. This contrasts for instance with "case" as a semantic concept (cf. Fillmorean deep cases) and with such potentially misleading, albeit time-honoured, usage as "dative" in "dative shift" applied to Modern English, where the term must refer to some non-inflectional entity.

* I wish to thank Louis Goossens and Brygida Ostyn-Rudzka for the many helpful suggestions and comments they made on an earlier version of this paper.

OE noun phrases marked for cases other than nominative (the case of the subject and subject complement) could fulfil a variety of syntactic functions: they acted as complements to adjectives and prepositions as well as verbs, or as modifiers; they were also associated with many adverbial roles. There is no one-to-one matching between nominal form (case) and syntactic function.

The study of case meanings in Old English must suffer from the usual disadvantages of a historical linguistic investigation, the most critical of them being: the data base is restricted and almost certainly flawed (do "syntactic *hapax legomena*" represent grammatical expressions or scribal errors?); there is no one to tell us what OE forms actually meant (did *sceamian* 'feel/cause shame' with the dative mean the same as it did with the accusative, and the same again as it did when used with the nominative subject — as claimed by Penhallurick 1975), and this makes arbitrariness of description a very real threat; finally, the term "Old English" itself represents an idealisation, hiding differences of style, dialect and idiolect and, which could be very important, ignoring the fact that the documented part of the period in question spanned some 400 years of language history.

Specifically, to take up this last point, one might expect an increase in the use of prepositional phrases to replace the earlier plain case-marked NPs, or a gradual loss of the instrumental in the course of the OE period. With the available data, however, neither tendency seems to be confirmed: cf. Mitchell (1985:520-522,567) concerning the former and the same author's cautionary note in the concluding section of §1345 about the latter (Mitchell 1985:566). If there is little evidence of evolution in such easily observable points of form as those just mentioned, it may prove difficult to find good attestation of change, in the course of Old English, in the much more subtle sphere of meaning. Any findings about OE semantic change may thus be limited to some isolated observations, with the grander goal of a "diachronic semantic description" of early English only being attainable, as has been the case so far, in comparisons between Old English taken *en bloc* and Early Middle English.

In the more restricted area of OE dative meanings, the following remarks are in order. First, the status of the OE instrumental case is a matter of some dispute. Morphologically the distinction between the instrumental and the dative is marked only in the singular, and then only in the masculine and neuter forms of pronouns (including demonstratives, which often modify nouns) and of adjectives inflected according to the strong declension, but never in the noun itself. It is impossible to determine to what extent the

distinction between the dative and the instrumental was a real thing to the native speaker; consequently, it is unclear whether or not the two cases are to be kept apart in a linguistic description. Mitchell notes the overlap between the cases at the outset of his study (1985:3, §6) and discusses them jointly in the portions of his book relevant to the present topic, speaking for example of "the actual uses of the composite dative/instrumental in OE" (1985:566, §1345). A very clear proof of his practice occurs for instance in §1085, where a morphological instrumental, *ðy heafde* 'the head', serves to illustrate "the dative of the thing". He purposely avoids any separate mention of the instrumental (1985:496, §1177) in his treatment of case uses in prepositional phrases.

Interesting light is shed on the status of the dative vs. instrumental difference by certain data in Visser (1963). Visser distinguishes a special type of object, the "ablative object" (1963:618-620), which co-occurs with a semantically defined class of verbs (verbs of depriving). Among his 70 OE examples, as many as 58 contain ambiguous dative/instrumental forms, while only eight have plain instrumentals; it is noteworthy that the collection also includes four clear instances of the dative. The conclusion that the distinction, while morphologically still observable in certain paradigms, has lost any functional value it might have had in earlier times cannot be far off the mark. The coalescence of the two cases must have had an effect on the semantics of the dative in Old English.

Another remarkable point is the high degree of variation that OE verbs allowed in the choice of the case forms of their objects. This is especially striking in the group of verbs that took a single object in the dative. As indicated by Visser, many of the verbs on his list (1963:283-311) allowed the accusative as an alternative. Judging the fact with the benefit of hindsight we could say that it evidences a stage in the transition from an inflection-rich to an inflection-poor grammar, the latter becoming the norm in the Middle English (ME) period. In accordance with this view, the OE "change in progress" would have been accompanied as a matter of course by a "bleaching" of case meanings. An alternative view would be that the variation existed in Old English independently of the historical process (assuming a more "catastrophic" breakdown of the case system at the close of the period) and that it was associated with systematic pronounced differences between case meanings. The issue cannot be resolved, for reasons already alluded to. It is, therefore, only as a matter of methodological choice that the second hypoth-

esis will be adopted here. The hypothesis will enable us to assume an important "as if": morphological datives will be taken at their face value, i.e. as exponents of "dative meanings", as if variant forms with the accusative or other cases did not exist. Should the hypothesis turn out to be wrong (as it well may), our findings about dative meanings would still retain their value in that they could be regarded as a record of the semantics of the dative prior to the start of coalescence of the two cases.

It is only fair to conclude this introduction by acknowledging my indebtedness to the magna opera of historical English syntax, Visser (1963) and Mitchell (1985). Both have been the source of much information on dative meanings and, equally, if not more importantly, a source of examples. Another major source was the Bosworth-Toller *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

2. Approaching the meaning of OE dative

Brief direct references to the meaning of the OE dative case can be found in both Visser (1963) and Mitchell (1985). Mitchell writes, "The original function of the 'dative proper' seems to have been to indicate personal involvement or interest" (Mitchell 1985:565, §1345), but proceeds to voice a reservation about the word "personal" and settles on the formula "dative of interest" (p.566), a designation broad enough to cover e.g. both the "dative of advantage" and the "dative of separation or disadvantage" (pp. 568 f.) and also some uses of the dative with accompanying nouns and adjectives. Visser describes dative objects (his "indirect objects") as denoting "persons or things towards whom or which the action expressed by the verb is directed in such a way that they may be regarded as a kind of recipient"; "in other words," he goes on, "the action is — either materially or non-materially — advantageous, serviceable, profitable, harmful or injurious to the person or thing denoted by the object" (Visser 1963:280). Elsewhere the dative is said to refer to a person "particularly affected by the result of the action or event" (Visser 1963:321). Special meanings attach to certain other uses of the dative case.

Let us add that the above brief descriptions of OE dative meanings are not unlike Langacker's formula for the meaning of the indirect object in Modern English, which he says represents "an active experiencer in the target domain" (Langacker 1991:327).

Van Kemenade's account of OE dative meaning, couched in the terms of theta-theory, associates the dative case with the thematic roles of goal and experiencer, the former sometimes conceived quite concretely, e.g. when the dative NP occurs with expressions (adjectives or prepositions) which have locative connotations (van Kemenade 1987:79-82).

It is obvious that the investigation of the inherent meaning of a case form must begin by studying contexts in which the form is used. The rationale is that the expressions, in particular predicates, with which the nominal case form is capable of co-occurring will be semantically compatible with that case form and so will give us a clue to its meaning. The result of such investigations may take the shape of vocabulary lists, and lists of this kind figure very prominently in Visser (1963), with verbs and adjectives grouped semantically under labels such as "verbs of following, serving, obeying, etc." or "[adjectives expressing] cleverness, ingenuity, prudence, etc." Similar semantic inventories, though fewer in number, appear in Mitchell (1985). While one need not accept all the broad labels, adhere to the exact number of semantic classes of predicates (it is impossible to be rigorously precise about them), or indeed agree with the description assigned to each individual item, the existing lists will all the same be of great help.

There will be one major departure from earlier treatments: rather than arrange lexical items co-occurring with the dative by grammatical category or construction type, we shall focus on the shared elements of their meaning. In other words, we shall erect semantic classes comprising syntactically diverse expressions such as adjectives, one-object verbs and two-object verbs, because it is the meaning of those expressions that enables them or, as the case may be, requires them to co-occur with a dative NP. This is not to deny that, as shown for instance by Davidse (1996) for Modern English, differences in syntactic structuring can produce subtle semantic differences; it is merely a consequence of the belief that the crucial aspects of dative meaning will primarily be related to the meanings of other expressions present in the context.

3. The dative at its most concrete

3.1 *With verbs and adjectives*

The most concrete meaning is associated with the dative when it accompanies expressions that denote location or movement, as in

(1) *lete hyne licgean ðær he longe wæs wicum wunian*
let him lie where he long had been (in) dwellings live
oð woruldende
until the world's end (V 311) /1/

(2) *and to heora geferum ðe him fore-stopon*
and to their companions who them preceded (V 291)

(3) *ða ... ðreatas ðe him ... embðrungon*
the crowds which him surrounded (V 311)

(4) *Seo fæmne ... genealæhte ðam cafertune*
the woman approached the courtyard (V 300)

(5) *He wæs gehende ðam scype*
he was near the ship (V 334)

(6) *ælc ðara ðe ðas woruldgesælða hæfð ... he wat ðæt*
each of those who these worldly blessings have he knows that
he [sic] him fromwearde beoð
they (from) him about to depart are (V 334)

(7) *Hie sawlum lunnon*
they (from their) souls departed (V 298)

(8) *wilniende ðæt hi ælcum gewinne oðflogen hæfdon*
wishing that they (from) each battle had escaped (V 303)

The examples call for some comments. Examples (1) and (3) contain verbs of location (though 'surround' could also have a dynamic, movement reading). In (1) the dative NP obviously marks a place where something is located , while in (2) and (3) it provides a spatial point of reference for the interpretation of *fore-stopon* (lit. 'before-went') and *embðrungon* (lit. 'around-pressed'). In (4), the dative NP marks the goal of the motion expressed by the verb. Example (5) is like (2) and (3) in that the dative marks the point from which distance is measured. Passages (6)-(8) show the dative as 'source', the point from which something either potentially or actually moves away. Notice that physical location or movement is meant in all the examples with the possible exception of (7), but even in the latter the image evoked is that of separation. Perhaps the most general description that can be given of the use of the dative just illustrated is that it represents a spatial point of reference, with its more exact interpretation as 'point at/before/around/from/towards which' etc., depending on the meaning of the accompanying verb or adjective. Of all the many possibilities, the three main ones are: 'point at which' (i.e. location), 'point towards which' (goal) and 'point from which' (source). In the rare instances when the predicate

does not provide sufficient clues, the exact meaning of the dative can be arrived at via the remaining parts of the clause. Consider:

(9) *gyf his wif him ætfylð*
if his wife him deserts (BT II 21, s.v. *ætfeallan*)

(10) *He bið acolod and for ðon ætfilð him wæterbolla*
He is/will be chilled and therefore comes/will come (upon) him dropsy
(BT II 21, s.v. *ætfeallan*)

Examples like these, and considerations of economy of description, argue convincingly for the superiority of the more general statement of dative meaning (as 'point of reference') to the more specific formulas (dative as 'goal' or 'source'). The potential ambiguity of (9) and (10) is due to the double meaning of OE *æt*, which corresponded to ModE 'towards, at', but also to 'away from', so that the 'goal' vs. 'source' interpretation of the dative need not be invoked.

Syntactically, the V+Dat combinations presented so far would correspond to two distinct construction types of Modern English: V+Adverbial (the case of *wunian*+Dat in (1)) and V+DO (*ætfyllan*, *linnan* and the like). The distinction is observed in Mitchell (1985), where *wunian* appears in the section on the adverbial use of nominal cases and is not mentioned again among dative-taking verbs in the "verbal rections" section. By contrast, the difference appears to be ignored in Visser (1963) , where *wunian* is put alongside other dative-taking verbs in the "indirect object" list — in blatant contradiction, let us note, of the earlier description of indirect objects as "denoting persons or things functioning as a kind of recipient" (p.280). Writers who do keep the distinction point out that the adverbial use of the dative as an indication of place was rare in Old English, prepositional phrases being preferred (cf. Quirk and Wrenn (1957:66), Mitchell (1985:593, §1416). /2/

3.2 *The dative with locative prepositions*

This brings us to the area where the use of the dative as an expression of a spatial reference point seems to be the clearest, viz. prepositional phrases with prepositions of place.

However, it is important to note that the dative is not the only case form to appear with such prepositions. Some place prepositions, e.g. *in*, *on*, *ofer*, can take either a dative or an accusative complement NP, with fairly predict-

able semantic consequences: PPs with a dative tend to denote location, whereas those with an accusative tend to denote the goal of movement (but note Mitchell's (1985:496) observation that the rule was not always followed).

This distribution of the case forms would, on the face of it, represent counterevidence to our view of the dative as having a general meaning as 'point of reference'. Notice that it also seems to contradict the widespread more specific interpretation of the dative as a goal of motion. Still, two observations are in order. First, OE *from/fram*, which introduces the starting point of motion ('source'), co-occurs only with a dative NP, and the dative is also the rule with *to*, which marks the goal of motion (Mitchell (1985: 502f.,512-514)), as in this example:

(11) *and æfter ðam com to Humbran muðe se here*
and after that came to (the) Humber's mouth the army
(Mitchell and Robinson 1982:206)

The second point is that in the case of those prepositions that can select either a dative or an accusative NP it is only the use of the latter to represent 'goal' that constitutes a problem; by contrast, the use of the dative in designations of location accords well with our account of dative meaning and calls for no explanation; the question thus really is whether the 'goal' sense as expressed by the accusative in OE prepositional phrases is identical to the 'goal' meaning conventionally associated with the dative in contexts other than PP. No ready answer concerning Old English is available, but a promising suggestion has been made in the research of Smith (as reported in Langacker (1991:399-403)) on modern German, a language very similar to Old English as regards its case system and the distribution of case forms with prepositions. Langacker (1991:403) summarises the relevant portion of Smith's conclusions as follows: "For the 2-way prepositions in German, Smith draws the generalisation that DAT signals motion (or static location) wholly within the preposition's search domain [...], whereas ACC indicates a trajectory that takes the search domain as its goal and penetrates its boundary [...]." Elsewhere (Langacker (1991:399-400)), "the path's *directionality* and the fact that it *reaches* the goal" are mentioned more generally as factors favouring the choice of an accusative NP object in verbal constructions in German. We might add that the association of the accusative (as against the dative) with the *reaching* of a goal seems to extend beyond Old English or German: Cienki (1994:13) reports J. Miller as concluding that the spatial concepts basic to the

dative and accusative, respectively, in Russian are "movement to the vicinity of" and "movement into/onto". A tentative conclusion we can draw from all this is that in Old English, too, the 'goal' meaning associated with the accusative differs materially from the dative 'goal'. Thus, our broad description of the dative as 'point of reference' can be maintained, despite the apparent counterevidence of accusative prepositional objects.

Case usage with prepositions in Old English represents a major research topic in its own right, and we cannot pursue its minutiae here; all the same, we have to be aware of effects OE diachronic developments might have had on the distribution and, consequently, the meaning of case forms. Mitchell (1985:511,515-516) reports variation in the use of cases with *ðurh* and *ymb*, and his account of the practice of the late OE writer Ælfric (frequent use of the dative with *ðurh*, then, apparently following grammatical reflection on the writer's part, restoration of the more traditional accusative in many places) suggests the intriguing possibility that the range of the dative was spreading at the expense of that of the accusative. Would the dative have ended up as *the* prepositional case had events not taken the analytic turn that they did?

Two further observations need to be made about the locative sense of the dative. One is diachronic: according to Kuryłowicz (1964:190 ff.) the dative case form in Indo-European was historically derived from the locative, resulting in frequent semantic affinities between the two. It is therefore arguable that the OE instances of the dative used in locative sense are a reflex of the dative's original meaning. Many other meanings, some of them to be discussed below, appeared in the course of later development.

The second point is that in contrast to what is often said about the indirect object in Modern English (the most straightforward ModE descendant of the OE dative object), for which the meaning of 'goal' is commonly accepted, the OE dative had a more general locative, or 'spatial reference point' meaning. A 'source' reading was just as possible as a 'goal' reading, and the two again were on a par with a 'point at which' sense. Making the plausible localistic assumption /3/ that other dative meanings will be a reflection of these most concrete senses we can expect further differences between Old and Modern English in other areas of dative usage. We shall look at some of these areas in what follows.

4. Less concrete spaces

4.1 *Non-material space*

As briefly signalled above, spatial configurations (including a dative point of reference) may be regarded either concretely (literally) or more or less abstractly: the *gewinn* 'battle, strife' of (8) may be viewed as a situation rather than simply a place, and the matter of body and soul (7) presents another case in point. The verb *linnan*, which justifies the presence of the dative, is in this regard just one representative of a large group of expressions described in Visser (1963:281) as "verbs of approaching, adhering, touching or the opposite", which can all refer to location or movement, with varying degrees of concreteness. Two other examples of the more abstract sort are:

(12) *se ðe ...forbuhð deofles larum*
he who turns away (from) devil's teachings (V 291)

(13) *ðær him sar oðclifeð*
there him sorrow besets (lit. 'adheres to') (V 303)

Notice that abstract motion/location is involved in both examples, whereas the dative NP is abstract in one (12), but concrete in the other (13). Clearly, the way the event is viewed depends on the lexical composition of the sentence as a whole.

4.2 *Time*

The concrete spatial image can be metaphorically extended along various paths, but its prime natural extension is into the sphere of temporal relations.

The use of the dative with time prepositions (such as *æfter* 'after', *ær* 'before' and *on*) requires no comment or illustration, but we must certainly mark the use of an unaccompanied dative NP in the role of a temporal adverbial (an element of the setting, a point of time reference for the action of the clause), e.g. in

(14) *Ðara cyninga tidum wæs se halga wer Eleuther biscop & papa*
(in) these kings' times was the holy man Eleuther bishop and pope
ðare Romaniscan cyrican
of the Roman church (Bede 32)

The usage is discussed in Mitchell (1985:594-597). Not at all surprisingly, considering what is known about the role of the space metaphor in our

apprehension of time, the use of spatial terminology to render time relations can also include the verb, as in:

(15) *hit nealæcð ðam ende*
it [the world] approaches the end (V 300)

4.3 *Hierarchy*

Certain positions in space are regarded as better than others: up and front are "more important" than back and down. It is this aspect of the way we view spatial relations that lies at the root of the semantics of such verbs as *foresittan* 'preside over' (lit. 'sit in front'), *oferricsian* 'rule over', *for(e)beran* 'prefer' (lit. 'put in front', cf. the etymology of *prefer*), and quite a few others. Some examples follow.

(16) *He sundorlif and munuclif wæs foreberende eallum ðam weolum*
he life of seclusion and monastic life preferred (to) all the riches
and arum ðæs eorðlican rices
and honours of worldly power (BT I s.v. *foreberan*)

(17) *Hi ða ylcan Eald-Seaxan næfdon agenne cyning, ac*
they the same Old Saxons not-had (their) own king, but
ealdormen wæron heora ðeode foresette
chiefs were (to) their people put in front (BT I s.v. *foresettan*)

(18) *ðæt hie beoð oðrum broðrum ofergesett on godcundum ðingum*
that they are (to) other brothers placed over in religious matters
(BT I s.v. *ofergesettan)*

(19) *be ðam sinoðe, ðam wæs foresittende se Arcebiscop Ðeodorus*
about the synod which presided-over the archbishop Theodore
(V 291)

In all these examples the role of the dative NP is to provide the point of reference for the quasi-spatial *for(e)* element in the verb; hence, the entity denoted by the dative NP is one which is subordinate to or less important than the entity denoted by the direct object (in the case of transitive verbs) or the subject (in the case of intransitives such as *foresittan* in (19)).

4.3.1 *Obedience and submission*

A rather special line of extension of the primary locative meaning of the dative, but one that also exploits the association between specific locations/ directions and hierarchic positions, occurs in constructions with verbs whose basic, etymologically transparent meanings are 'move after' or 'place/be

placed under', with the dative providing the point of reference for the locative elements 'after' and 'under'. The actual meanings of the verbs in question are 'follow', obey', serve', 'submit to' and the like; as could be expected, the dative NP stands for the person or thing obeyed, deferred to, submitted to. A few examples follow:

(20) *we* *him* *ne cunnon* *æfterspyrian*
we them cannot follow (V 284)

(21) *Ure* *Hælend* *rodehengene* *underbeah*
our Saviour (to) crucifixion submitted (V 308)

(22) *for ðon* *he* *wæs* *se* *mon* *swiðe* *æfæst* *ond* *regollecum*
therefore he was, this man, very pious and (to) monastic
ðeodscipum *eaðmodlice* *underðeoded*
discipline humbly subjected (Mitchell and Robinson 1982:215)

The etymologically transparent verbs are joined by other verbs of similar meaning and also by their antonyms regardless of etymology (verbs meaning 'disobey', 'oppose', etc.). The dative is also used with adjectives of related meaning. The various possibilities are illustrated in:

(23) *ðæt* *he* *his* *luste* *to* *swyðe* *ne* *fulgange*
that he his desire too much not follow (V 292)

(24) *him* *his* *winemagas* *georne* *hyrdon*
him his kinsmen gladly obeyed (V 295)

(25) *Mancynn* *Gode* *to* *swyðe* *mishyrde*
mankind God too much disobeyed (V 300)

(26) *Hi* *woldon* *him* *beon* *gehyrsume*
They wanted (to) him be obedient (V 333)

(27) *ðæra* *Persiscra* *cyning* *wæs* *ðam Casere* *wiðerræde*
the Persians' king was (to) the emperor opposed (V 333)

4.4 *Comparisons*

Comparisons are another area to which the spatial mode of expression can naturally be applied, for in its simplest form comparison involves putting objects side by side and measuring them against one another. The dative NP represents the standard, i.e. the object against which another thing is measured. The comparative meaning itself is most commonly expressed by an adjective, as in

(28) *on* *his* *gelærednysse* *he* *wæs* *his foregengum* *gelic*
in his learning he was (to) his predecessors similar (V 338)

The dative is also found with a number of adjectives beginning with *ef(e)n-*, *em(n)-* 'equal', e.g.

(29) *Hi* *heora* *tungan* *teoð* *sweorde* *efen-scearpe*
they their tongues make (like) sword equally-sharp
(BT I s.v. *efenscearp*)

(30) *Nan* *wuht* *nis* *betere* *ðonne* *God* *ne* *emngod* *him*
no creature not-is better than God nor equally-good(as) him
(BT I s.v. *emngod*)

Mitchell (1985:570-572) mentions the occasional use of the dative in comparisons of inequality, i.e. with adjectives in the comparative degree; this use, illustrated below, is certainly compatible with our view of the dative as basically marking a point of reference. Notice, besides, an obvious link between comparisons of inequality and hierarchic arrangements like those we have just seen in section 4.3.

(31) *Ac* *se* *ure* *Aliesend,* *ðe* *mara* *is* *&* *mærra*
but this our Saviour who greater is and more glorious
eallum gesceaftum
(than) all created things (M 572, §1364)

Mitchell notes the gradual decline of the dative with adjectives in the comparative and its total loss before the end of the OE period.

The dative is also used with verbs that either express or imply a comparison, e.g.

(32) *ðonne* *bið* *he* *wiðmeten* *nytenum* *and* *na* *mannum*
then is he compared (to) animals and not men (M 570, §1358)

(33) *ða* *ongan* *min* *mod* *efnsorgian*
then began my heart commiserate (lit. 'equally-suffer') (with)
ðam forðferdan breðer
the departed brother (BT II s.v. *efnsorgian*)

Notice that in the first of these instances *wiðmeten* is a past participle and could be rendered as 'comparable' (as suggested by Mitchell); the comparison is not so obvious in the second example, but it is implied by the element *efn-* 'equal(ly) to' (cf. the adjectives in (29) and (30)). The dative also occurs with several other verbs starting with *ef(e)n-/emn-*, such as *efenðrowian* 'sympathise' and *efenlæcan* 'imitate'.

The same comparison-inviting element *ef(e)n-* can be found at the beginning of some OE nouns and these, too, are accompanied by NPs in the dative case, e.g.

(34) *he is efnðeow* *his ðeowe*
he is a fellow-servant (to) his servant (V 341)

(35) *hi wæren him efenceasterwearan ðæs heofonlican rices*
they were (to) him fellow-citizens of the heavenly kingdom (V 341)

As we can see, then, the dative case occurs as a marker of the standard of comparison (i.e. as a point of reference) in various syntactic contexts where comparison is expressed.

5. Dative recipients, at last; or are they just that?

5.1 *Goal-recipients*

In constructions with verbs expressing transfer, i.e. also motion of some sort, which are commonly accompanied by a dative NP denoting a human or, more precisely, a sentient being, the extension of the basic locative meaning of the dative (in this case, the goal of motion) yields the familiar recipient role. The standard construction in this case is the double object construction, with the trajector (the item transferred) normally expressed by a NP in the accusative, although the genitive is possible with some OE verbs. Constructions of this kind are common enough cross-linguistically, both in terms of the numbers of verbs involved and as regards frequency in texts, to have made Recipient the prototypical dative role in the eyes of linguists. Visser (1963:621) describes the construction with an accusative and a dative object as being "extremely common in Old English with verbs whose fundamental meaning is that of giving, bestowing, granting, imparting, etc.". "The indirect object," he goes on, "denotes the person who 'receives' what is referred to by the direct object, which may be an answer, news, a report, a communication, a refusal, a rebuke, a warning, a title, a rank, a confession, a direction, etc." As is quite clear, neither the thing transferred nor the process of transfer itself need be concrete, even though they often are. Visser's list of some 240 two-object dative-taking verbs is not to be accepted uncritically, but most of them fit the description. The list should be extended by the addition of some verbs which take the so-called "dative of advantage"(Visser 1963:627), as quite a few of them fall properly within the two-object group.

5.2 *Experiencer datives*

Rather than illustrate the trivial case of the recipient dative in the two-object structure, we shall go on to look at instances where the role of the dative is other than recipient. Foremost among these are expressions with verbs meaning 'conceal', such as the following, where the thing concealed is expressed in the accusative and the person it is concealed from, in the dative:

(36) *Ic miðan sceal monna gehwylcum siðfæt minne*
I hide must (from) each man course my (BT I s.v. *miðan*)

(37) *Seo rod ðe ge mannum dyrndun*
The cross which you (from) men hid (BT II s.v. *diernan*)

The interpretation of the dative here does not involve the recipient role (associated with goal); nevertheless, it is compatible with the basic dative meaning, that of point of reference, here coming in the guise of source: the dative marks the person or thing that is the pivotal point of centrifugal motion. The meaning in question is still rooted firmly and, I would claim, to the native speaker of Old English, transparently, in the basic locative sense of the dative. For want of a better term, the label Experiencer can be applied to the meaning of the dative illustrated in (36) and (37); notice that it is to be taken here in a more restricted sense than commonly accepted, to denote only a source-derived meaning and to be contrasted with the goal-derived Recipient. While not without its problems, the label is certainly more felicitous than the etymologically mystifying and factually inaccurate (does someone suffer if a *bad* thing is hidden from him/her?) term of recent currency, Malefactive.

It is impossible to draw a clear line dividing cases like those above from some of Visser's "ablative objects", such as

(38) *Ahrede me hearmcwidum heanra manna*
save me (from) calumnies of wicked men (V 619)

(39) *Afyrr me, Frea Drihten, feondum minum*
rescue me Lord (from) enemies my (V 619)

Both here and there, the underlying spatial configuration is obvious and an account deriving these dative uses from the spatial source is much more straightforward than an alternative seeking to fit them into the goal schema

(and Recipient role) by means of some such formula as, "the dative is a recipient, not of any specific thing, but of the effect of the action as whole". But let us repeat, the source-derived Experiencer reading of the datives in question depends crucially on the robustness of the basic spatial association of the dative with source as well as goal in Old English. The interpretation may not be available in a language lacking that basic association.

Further support for the ablative interpretation comes from the fact that when dative inflection came to be replaced by prepositions the new prepositional substitute for the type of dative under discussion was the preposition *from* (sometimes *of*), rather than *to* or *for*, the goal/recipient prepositions.

5.3 *Recipients, but what is received?*

OE recipient datives were not restricted to the construction with two objects. Many of the long lists of verbs taking "an indirect object as sole object" (Visser 1963:283-311) can be given the common denominator as verbs of transfer, with the dative commonly naming the recipient. The question is, where is the object of transfer? Unlike genuine movement/location verbs or adjectives, where it is the subject NP that represents both the agent and the entity moving or resting (cf. the examples in Sec. 3.1, above), the construction we are considering now typically involves the transfer of some other entity than that denoted by the subject. The thing is not specified by any NP in the sentence, there being no candidates available beyond the subject and the dative NP; still, information about the item transferred is expressed, usually by the verb itself.

It is truly remarkable how many of the verbs in this construction are morphologically derived from nouns, either by suffixation, as in *edleanian* 'to reward', from *edlean* 'reward', or by root vowel change essentially due to *i*-mutation.[4] In all these cases the object of transfer can readily be supplied from the nominal base of the derived verb. A few examples will suffice: *fedan* 'to feed' from *foda* 'food', *bysenian* 'to set an example' from *bysen* 'example', *frefrian* 'to console' from *frofor* 'consolation', *miltsian* 'to be merciful to' from *milds* 'mercy', *sceððan* 'to injure' from *sceaða* 'injury', *derian* 'to harm' from *daru* 'harm', *godian* 'to enrich' from *god* 'wealth, property', *betan* 'to make amends' from *bot* 'compensation'. A couple of sentences will do by way of illustration:

(40) *(he)* *<u>nænegum</u>* *arað*
he (to) none shows mercy (V 285)

(41) *Doð* *sylfe* *wel* *and* *lærað* *wel* *<u>ðam</u>* *ðe* *ge* *læran* *sculon*
act yourselves well and teach well those whom you teach should (V 296)

Some verbs where no such link between the base and the derivative can be seen are like movement/location expressions in that their subjects are both agents and trajectors, as was the case with several verbs meaning 'show (oneself)' and the like, e.g.

(42) *he ateowde* *<u>his ðegnum</u>*
he showed (himself) (to) his disciples (V 284)

Notice that a reflexive frequently needs to be supplied in such cases in Modern English.

6. Janus-faced adjectives (and a noun or two)

Before considering more verbs let us take a brief look at adjectives meaning other things than distance or comparison. Some such adjectives are transparently related to nouns and in this regard are akin to the verbs we have just discussed. As we can see in these examples, the role of the dative NP is that of goal and at least potential recipient:

(43) *Culfre* *is* *swiðe* *bylewit* ... *and* *swiðe* *unhearmgeorne* *and* *unhetol* *<u>oðrum</u>*
dove is very gentle and very not-eager-to-hurt and not-hostile (to) others (V 329; cf. *hearm* 'injury', *hete* 'hate, malice')

(44) *Wesað* *ðancfulle* *<u>ðon Hælende</u>* *eoweres* *andleofan*
be thankful (to) the Saviour (for) your sustenance (V 330)

There are other adjectives used with the dative which describe attitudes, intentions, etc. of the entity encoded in the subject NP towards the person or thing expressed in the dative object. It would be fair to say that this use of the dative represents, once again, an extension of the basic point of reference (here, goal) meaning. Examples are plentiful, and only a few can be quoted here.

(45) *Cyning* *sceal* *beon milde* *<u>ðam godum</u>* *and* *styrne* *<u>ðam yfelum</u>*
king should be gentle (with) the good and severe (with) the bad (V 333)

(46) *ic eom getrywe hlaforde minum*
I am faithful (to) lord my (V 338)

In all the adjectival constructions in this section so far, the subject has been the source of an attitude, intention or (at least potential) action directed at the dative NP; the latter represents a goal, i.e. an actual or potential recipient. But there are other adjectives, appearing in constructions where no action or attitude on the part of the subject is meant; indeed, no such thing can usually even be meant, in view of the fact that the subjects in these constructions are mostly non-human and sometimes sentential or pro-sentential (*ðis/ðæt*); in the rare cases with human subjects, such as the one in (49), there is no question of the subject representing an agent. A few examples are:

(47) *ða lac beoð Gode ealra andfengeost*
these offerings are (to) God of all most acceptable (V 328)

(48) *hu lað eow selfum wæs to gelæstanne eowre aðas*
how unpleasant (for) you was (it) to fulfil your oaths (V 331)

(49) *Papinianus wæs Antoninuse ðam Kasere ealra his deorlinga besorgost*
Papinianus was (to) Antoninus the emperor of all his favourites most dear (V 328)

(50) *Uneaðe me is ðis*
difficult (for) me is this (V 335)

(51) *Him wære betere ðæt he næfre geboren wære*
(for) him would be better that he never born were (V 330)

As an examination of these examples reveals, the adjective expresses an attitude or a judgement of some kind on the part, not of the subject, but of the dative NP; the involvement of the dative NP in forming the judgement or attitude may be real (as in most of the above examples) or merely potential (the case of (51)). In all cases, the dative NP is to be regarded as the source rather than the goal of whatever attitude, judgement, etc. is presented in the sentence. Experiencer is the best designation that can be given to such datives.

The adjectival construction with the dative thus presents a case of potential ambiguity as regards the interpretation of the dative NP. The ambiguity is often resolved owing to the meaning of the adjective, but some adjectives seem to admit the complement NP in either role. To take a Modern English instance, *hard* is a case in point, with a preposition being needed to resolve the ambiguity (cf. *be hard for sb.* as against *be hard on sb.*).

Notice that the above classification of dative meanings as attested with OE adjectives cuts across the semantic classification of adjectives proposed in Visser (1963); in particular, two of his largest groups, viz. adjectives expressing "benevolence, goodness, friendliness, gentleness, kindness, etc." (p.328) and those expressing "hostility, unfriendliness, unthankfulness, cruelty, anger, loathing, hatred, etc." (p.331), each include both items calling for a recipient (goal) dative complement (our exx. (43) -(46)) and items requiring an experiencer (source) dative complement.
(our exx. (47)-(51)).

Let us add before concluding this section that the same two major roles occur in dative NPs used as complements to nouns, e.g.

(52) *se is æghwam freond*
he is (to) everyone friend (V 341)

with a recipient dative, and

(53) *Wæs him Beowulfes sið ... micel æfðunca*
was (for) him Beowulf's journey great displeasure (V 342)

with an experiencer dative.

7. Ulterior goals

As Visser (1963:626) points out, a dative object may represent a person "not as a direct 'recipient' of anything 'given', but as a person to whose advantage or disadvantage an action is performed". While we can agree to call such objects "datives of (dis)advantage", we have to observe that the range of occurrence of datives of this kind extends well beyond the list of sixty-nine "principal" verbs in Visser (1963:627). For example, he does not list *abiddan* 'obtain by asking' or *begietan* 'get, obtain' as used in:

(54) *Ðæt oft wæpen abæd his mondryhtne*
it often weapon obtained (for) its lord (BT II s.v. *abiddan*)

(55) *Gif hwa slea his nehstan ... begite he him læce*
if someone strikes his neighbour (should) get he (for) him doctor (BT II s.v. *begietan*)

A major point apparently overlooked is that the dative of (dis)advantage can also be found in single-object constructions such as:

(56) *ðonne* *soðfæstum sawlum* *scineð heah ofer* *hrofas* *hælende* *Crist*
then (for) righteous souls shines high ofer heavens saving Christ
(V 304)

(57) *sawl* *min* *him* *leofað & sæd* *min ðeowað him*
soul my (for) him (will) live and offspring my (will) serve him (V 297)

7.1 *Speech-act verbs*

The line between the immediate goal (i.e. recipient proper) and the ultimate goal/point of reference (i.e. the intended beneficiary or otherwise, one for whose sake the action is performed) is sometimes hard to draw — one would want to know for instance whether (56) differed from the second clause of (57) in this regard — and Visser himself recognises the problem when he notes that "there are numerous border cases making a classification extremely difficult" (Visser 1963:627). Still, there are areas, e.g. clauses with verbs of saying, where the distinction is clear. Such verbs fall into two groups from the point of view of the associated dative meaning. On the one hand, there are verbs like *ætwitan* 'reproach', *andettan* 'confess', *dihtan* 'command', *bebeodan* 'order', *cweðan* 'say' and its many derivatives, with which the dative denotes the addressee, i.e. a particular instantiation of goal. On the other, there are verbs such as *biddan* 'ask', *foreðingian* 'intercede' and *mæssian* 'say mass' (arguably a speech-act verb) whose accompanying dative NP certainly does not represent the addressee, e.g.

(58) *Andreas* *ongann* *mereliðendum* *miltsa* *biddan*
Andrew began (for) sea-farers mercy ask (BT I s.v. *biddan*)

(59) *... nauðer* *ne* *ðam* *scyldigan,* *ne* *ðam* *ðe* *him*
neither (to) the guilty (one) nor (to) him who (for) him
foreðingað
pleads (BT I s.v. *foreðingian*)

The dative in these passages is clearly distinct from the addressee of the speech act and, just as clearly, it indicates the person for whose sake the speech act is performed. The 'point of reference' reading is still there, but with a difference. Unlike the ordinary recipient/goal, which lies within the target area in a spatial representation of the sentence, the datives now under discussion can be said to be situated outside the target area, perhaps above the target area, thus affording a bird's eye view of whatever event the sentence reports.

7.2 *Quasi-reflexive pronominal datives*

A special use of the same general kind of dative appears in constructions with pronouns in the dative case that are coreferential with the subject, where the verb is normally one which can appear without a dative object (and may be intransitive). Visser's (1963:321) intuition that the dative was used "to give linguistic expression to the notion that the person denoted by the subject was particularly affected by the result of the action or event" accords well with the description of the dative point of reference we have just given. Notice that in a sentence such as

(60) *He ...* *mid* *twam criccum* *creap* *him* *to* *wynceastre*
He with two crutches crept him(self) to Winchester (V 323)

it is Winchester that is the immediate goal of motion, while the dative *him* represents the ultimate goal of the action as a whole. Two more examples are

(61) *Culfran* *fleð* *him* *floccmælum*
doves fly them(selves) in flocks (V 323)

(62) *sæton* *him* *ætgædere* *Florus and* *Maurus*
sat them(selves) together Florus and Maurus (V 324)

The examples are akin to a construction with the reflexive dative in Polish (cf. Rudzka-Ostyn 1992:353f., ex.(32) and discussion), except that it is, regrettably, impossible to ascertain whether the parallelism extends fully to the meaning of the OE construction; for instance, we cannot tell whether there was an "expressive" reflexive in Old English. Nor can we determine whether the label "ethic dative" is applicable (Mitchell 1985: 568, §§1352,1353 believes it is not). We shall not venture to describe the meaning of the OE construction with a dative pronoun more closely.

8. Impersonal constructions

There is an extensive literature on the OE impersonal constructions and a full-scale account of the meaning of the dative NP in impersonals surely cannot be undertaken within the framework of the present study. The most that we can do is to offer a few remarks.

One is that a majority of the so-called impersonal verbs could also be used in constructions with a nominative subject (see Fischer and van der Leek

(1983)). The label Experiencer (taken in the broad sense) has traditionally been used to describe the role of the dative NP in both types of construction, but in fact it may subsume different more specific meanings. While I do not share Allen's (1986) view that there may have existed dative subjects in Old English, her intuition that the meaning of the dative NP could vary even in the presence of the same verb but in different construction types merits attention. Her Modern English example, "It grieved her that she had failed her son" vs. "She grieved that she had failed her son" (p.469) is quite suggestive. Notice that we have made a similar observation in our review of the use of the dative with adjectives.

In fact, the term "impersonal" is applicable to certain subjectless constructions with adjectives, e.g.

(63) *ða ascode he, to hwylcum timan him bet were*
then asked he at what time him better was
('he began to recover') (V 328)

(64) *He sæde, ðæt him nære næfre ær swa eðe ne swa myrige*
he said that him not-was never before so easy nor so merry
(V 330)

These plainly subjectless constructions with adjectives are close in meaning to constructions with clausal or pro-sentential subjects (cf. especially (48), (50), (51), above).

With some impersonal verbs, such as those meaning 'happen', 'turn out well/badly', the goal reading can be recovered easily. Consider the following passages:

(65) *ðæm godum becymð anfeald yfel on ðisse worulde*
(to) the good happens mere evil in this world (V 286)

(notice the derivation of *becuman* from *cuman* 'come', a verb of movement; a nominative subject is present)

(66) *gif æðelborenan wifmen ðis gelimpe*
if (to) a nobly born woman this happens (V 298)

(a nominative subject present)

(67) *(gif hit geweorðe,) ðæt folce mislimpe*
if it happens that (to) the people ill fares (V 300)

(the *mislimpan* clause impersonal, no subject)

(68) *hu him ða speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdome*
how (to) them then well fared both in war and in wisdom
(V 304)

As we move from example (65) down the list, the active role of the subject diminishes (to the point of total disappearance) and, concomitantly, there is a shift from a pure recipient (goal) to a source-related experiencer meaning. We thus get, with these verbs, approximately the same range of meanings that we have already seen in datives used with adjectives.

Impersonal verbs such as *genyhtsumian* 'suffice', again, have semantic and morphological links to adjectives (*genoh*), with the dative NP marking the experiencer (i.e. source rather than goal). It would appear that the meanings of the dative with other impersonal verbs will fall within the range of meanings we have mentioned in this section. But it must be stressed yet again that the problem requires further study.

9. Dative possessors

The dative case is used in Old English to mark the possessor in constructions in which inalienable possession is involved. These come in two major variants: with verbs and adjectives. The verbs, in turn, may differ as to the syntactic function of the NP representing the thing possessed. Some of the variety can be seen in:

(69) *Ne forbinden ge na ðæm ðyrstendum oxum ðone muð*
not tie up you never the thirsty oxen the mouth
(BT I s.v. *forbindan*)

(70) *Seo wydewe wæs unhal, swa ðæt hire arn blod*
the widow was ill so that her ran blood (V 296)

(71) *ða arn him ðæt blod into ðam heafde*
then ran him the blood into the head (V 296)

(notice the two "inalienable possessions" in this case)

(72) *him bið grim sefa*
him is grim spirit (V 331)

(73) *ða wæs ðæm cyninge swiðe ange on his mode*
then was the king very anxious(ly) in his spirit (V 332)

(74) *Is* *him* *ðæt* *heafod* *hinden* *grene*
is him the head behind green ('the back of his head is green') (V 338)

While an experiencer reading cannot be ruled out in some of these examples, it would be hard to defend that as an exclusive, or even a primary, interpretation in the case of stative examples with adjectives. As far as I can judge, there is not any experiencer component whatsoever to be detected in (74). The best way of accounting for the use of the dative in the possessive construction is by reference to the necessary physical contiguity between the possessor and the thing possessed; the dative thus appears in one of its customary point of reference roles (here, not as goal or source , but as 'location at which'). The experiencer element, when it exists, is a secondary development.

10. Instrumental datives

Given what is known about the historical connections between the OE dative and instrumental cases, one would expect to find datives with an instrumental meaning. One clear instance is

(75) *He* *his* *sweorde* *gebræd*
he his sword brandished (V 287)

The general meaning of instrument is independent of whether the dative NP appears as an object or as what Mitchell (1985:573) calls the "dative/instrumental of means". Mitchell notes quite a few restrictions on the use of the plain (prepositionless) dative in the latter syntactic role. The instrumental meaning is certainly found in:

(76) *Duru* *sona* *onarn* *fyrbendum* *fæst,* *syððan* *he*
door at once opened (with) fire-forged bars fastened when he
hire *folmum* *gehran*
it (with) hands touched (Beowulf v. 721)

(77) *ðenden* *hie* *ðam* *wæpnum* *wealdan* *moston*
while they the weapons wield could (V 308)

(78) *Ic* *blode* *spau*
I blood vomited (V 304)

(79) *geofon* *deaðe* *hweop*
ocean death threatened (V 296)

(80) ... *.vi. scillingum* *gebete*
(with) 6 shillings let (him) compensate (BT II s.v. *gebetan*)

There does not seem to be any natural way in which this use of the dative could be derived from the basic locative 'point of reference' sense. It thus appears that the instrumental meaning constitutes an independent core meaning of the OE dative case. Extensions from this core in various directions are possible. Take for instance

(81) *sandbeorgum* *ymbseald*
(with/by) sand-banks surrounded (BT I s.v. *ymbsellan*)

where the dative represents neither an instrument in the strict sense nor, of course, an agent; the latter reading was in fact ruled out for an unaccompanied (prepositionless) dative NP in Old English, as observed by Mitchell (1985:579, §1378). A similar quasi-instrumental meaning is found in a dative NP accompanying the verb *fyllan* 'fill'. Mitchell (1985:589-592) suggests links between the dative of "means or instrumentality" and that of manner, then between the latter and the dative of degree or measure and the dative of accompaniment. As regards this last point, a use of the dative illustrated in (82), below, it would appear that it can be derived in a much more straightforward fashion from the 'point of reference' than from the instrumental core meaning: accompaniment is physical contiguity, i.e. 'location at'.

(82) *& ða geascode he ðone cyning lytle werode on wifcyðde on Merantune*
and then learned he (of) the king (with) small company seeing a woman in Merton (M 590, §1412)

The various adverbial uses of the dative associated with the instrumental meaning call for more study before their systematic description can be made, a task rendered difficult by the paucity of material and by the uncertain status of some dative NPs: quite a few of them have to be classified as adverbs rather than nominal constructions already at the OE stage. Already in Old English, too, prepositional phrases, with their greater potential for the precise marking of adverbial relations, were generally preferred to plain NPs as a means of expressing those relations.

11. Some problem cases

While the underlying 'point of reference' meaning can indeed account for an overwhelming majority of (non-instrumental) OE datives, it is doubtful whether it might explain all of them. The difficulty primarily concerns con-

structions where the dative NP is non-human. One fairly well defined subclass of these includes structures with "ablative objects" (Visser's term) in which the verb broadly speaking means 'deprive' and the thing someone (or something) is deprived of is expressed as a dative NP, e.g.

(83) *het* *Johannes,* *godne papan,* *heafde* *beheowan*
(he) ordered John good pope head cut off (V 619)

(84) *his cyrice ealle hire* *eahtum* *wæs bereafod*
his church all its possessions was deprived (V 620)

(85) *He ongyrde hine* *his swurde*
He divested him(self) (of) his sword (V 620)

(86) *ðæt he sona ...* *his lichoman* *tolysed wære*
that he at once (of) his body freed might be (V 620)

The interpretation that Visser accords to such cases would be in line with a point of reference (source) reading, for his comment is, "the person denoted by the direct object is represented as being separated from something that may be looked upon as being 'possessed' by him (Visser 1963:618); he further points out that *from*+NP was occasionally found with the same verbs in Old English, and continued to appear, albeit infrequently, in the ME period. However, the 'separation' paraphrase seems to be far-fetched in view of the fact that of the two, possessor and thing possessed, the former is the more prominent in size and sometimes also from the point of view of the human vs. non-human distinction. To take concrete instances, it is unlikely that the event described in (84) would be construed as consisting of the church being "moved away" from its possessions rather than the other way round, and a similar comment can be made on the event of (85). It is impossible to say what the speaker of Old English would have made of such examples; but, to take a comparable case from Modern English, does the present-day speaker detect the same meaning of 'separation or distance from something' (*something* to be taken as the point of reference!) in *deprive someone of something* as he will in *wide of the mark*?

Visser (1963:619) makes another suggestion in connection with

(87) *His mægas* *hiene anscogen* *oðre fet*
his kinsmen him unshod other foot (V 619)

It is that *oðre fet* expresses "the place where the unshoeing took place". If anything at all, it is this 'location at' rather than a 'source' reading that might

provide a 'point of reference' interpretation for the datives in question. But one cannot be sure, of course.

It is even more difficult to see how the examples below could be subsumed under any of the major dative meanings dealt with so far.

(88) *ðæt he æft* *ðam* *yfelum dædum ne ge-edlæce*
that he again the evil deeds not repeat ('take to'?) (V 290)

(89) *monige ...* *gymeleasedon* *ðam gerynum* *ðæs* *halgan geleafan*
many neglected the sacraments of the holy faith (V 294)

It could be argued, for instance, that since the verb in the last example is derived from *gymeleas* 'negligent' the whole phrase might mean 'were/grew negligent with regard to sacraments' (a 'point of reference' meaning), but once again, one cannot be sure that there is a link between these constructions and the basic meanings of the dative case.

12. Conclusions

Even a necessarily quick review of the OE dative such as ours has been presents us with a fairly clear picture of the set of dative meanings. The first thing about them is that they still bear evidence of the historical origins of the dative and thus comprise two apparently unrelated sub-systems, a rich and productive system of meanings which can be termed locative and a residual, poorly structured and little known system which can be called instrumental. Our study has concentrated on the former. Instrumental datives are touched upon only briefly (Sec. 10).

At the base of all the locative dative meanings is the role of the dative NP as a point of reference in space. The dative appears in that role in combination with various verbs, adjectives and prepositions that express concrete spatial relations. Of the many conceivable spatial configurations vis à vis a point of reference, three are schematised and made particularly frequent use of: with the dative as endpoint (goal), point at which (location) and initial point (source) (Sec. 3).

Since "time is space", the space template is imposed on expressions of time: the dative marks the point of reference in temporal prepositional phrases and can function alone as a designation of 'time at which' (Sec. 4.2). In accordance with other familiar metaphors, the template is also extended to

comparative constructions, where the dative marks the standard of comparison (Sec. 4.4), and to the sphere of hierarchic relations (Sec. 4.3); the more special case of the dative being used in sentences that express the relations of subjection, obedience, etc., or their opposites (Sec. 4.3.1) may be motivated in a twofold manner: directly, as an extension of the basic space image, and indirectly, through the mediation of the dative as used in statements of hierarchic relations.

Spatial contiguity can be regarded as basic in a representation of the relation of possession, the thing possessed being expressed by a noun phrase in the dative (Sec. 9).

The spatial imagery can be used in speaking about non-physical objects; hence, there exist other (i.e. not named above) examples of abstract motion or location with a dative NP as a point of reference (Sec. 4.1.).

The most important schematisation of the dative 'goal' meaning occurs in constructions where something is described as being transferred to or towards a (typically human) goal. The resulting dative meaning is best described by the term Recipient. The di-transitive construction with one of the objects dative and the mono-transitive construction with a dative object can safely be said to account for the majority of datives found in Old English texts. There is little doubt that the Recipient role represents the prototypical meaning of the dative case already in Old English. The role of the dative as Recipient in the di-transitive constructions is merely mentioned in our text (Sec. 5.1), but mono-transitive constructions are dealt with at some length (Sec. 5.3). The dative is furthermore found in its Recipient role with some adjectives and nouns (Sec. 6), and also in some impersonal constructions (Sec. 8).

A rather special extension of the basic 'goal' meaning, probably via the Recipient role, concerns 'ultimate recipients', persons for whose sake something is done; this is best illustrated with certain speech-act verbs (Sec. 7.1) and can also be found in the quasi-reflexive use of pronouns in the dative case (Sec. 7.2).

It is an important finding that the 'source' meaning is almost on a par with the 'goal' meaning of the dative in that it constitutes the basis of independent schematisation. With human NPs, the basic 'source' meaning yields the schematic Experiencer meaning (Sec. 5.2). There is no need for the role of Experiencer to be motivated by or linked with the Recipient meaning. Indeed, being rooted in 'source' and 'goal', respectively, Experiencer and

Recipient represent the polar points of an opposition. This finds interesting reflection in the at least potential ambiguity of some adjectival, nominal and impersonal verbal constructions (Sec. 6 and 8).

A few problem cases are indicated in Section 11.

NOTES

1. In examples drawn from secondary sources (most of our material, in fact) only the latter will be acknowledged: Visser 1963 (V) by page, Mitchell 1985 (M) by page and paragraph, Bosworth and Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (BT) by volume and page or entry. The relevant datives in our examples will be underlined and glosses are added. For typographic reasons, the OE character 'thorn' is represented throughout by 'eth' (*Ð, ð*).

2. The issue can also be regarded as one that concerns the use of the dative as a more or a less "concrete" case in the terminology of Kuryłowicz (1964). Kuryłowicz (1964:179) observes that the status of the dative with respect to the concrete vs. grammatical case distinction is uncertain.

3. See Cienki (1994) for a recent review of localist theories and Anderson (1971) for an instantiation.

4. This brings up the interesting question of the representation of derivational morphology in speakers' knowledge of language. Modern English has a few pairs of the type *food/feed*, a small number of "ornative" and "privative" verbs formed from nouns by affixation (cf. Szymanek (1989:296-299)), and of course many noun-verb pairs related through conversion. But notice, first, that in Modern English the formal link between *food* and *feed* is too tenuous to ensure recognition of the connection in some other pairs; it is doubtful for instance whether a linguistically untrained speaker notices the relationship between *doom* and *deem*; by contrast, *i*-mutation was arguably still part of OE phonology and the number of noun-verb pairs related by it was quite high. Secondly, the semantic relations between the elements of conversion pairs are unpredictable in Modern English (compare *doom/deem* with *food/feed*), whereas in Old English the meaning of the verb in an N/V pair where the noun denoted a thing tended to be 'to give N'. Occasional other meanings were also possible; e.g. with human subjects, such as *ðeow* 'servant, slave', the meaning of the derived verb could be 'to act as N'.

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The Dative as participant role versus the Indirect Object

On the need to distinguish two layers of organization

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1. Introduction*

The general theme of this paper is the need to distinguish categories such as Agent, Patient and Dative from categories such as Subject and Object, Direct and Indirect. These two sets are involved in different layers of grammatical organization in the clause. Traditionally, the first set is referred to as 'semantic' roles and the second set as 'syntactic' roles. The problem with this, not simply with the terminology but also with the traditional thinking associated with these terms, is that 'semantic' roles appear to have nothing to do with form and 'syntactic' roles appear to have nothing to do with meaning.

Indeed, the set of standard 'semantic' roles found in the literature such as Actor, Instrument, Force, Experiencer, etc. is not in a systematic, disciplined way related to the form of the grammar. Nishimura (1993) formulated a pointed criticism of them by evaluating them as *pre*-linguistic concepts which

* For their interest and constructive criticisms, I thank all participants in the seminars at which parts of this material were presented: the workshop 'On the proper function of Subject', University of Sydney, 15 July 1992, the 'Case and thematic relations' seminar of 8 January 1997 at the University of Leuven, the 'Objects' congress, 23 May 1997, at the University of Gent. In particular, I wish to thank for further discussion, Jim Benson, Margaret Berry, Angela Downing, Gill Francis, Michael Halliday, Ruqaiya Hasan, Liesbet Heyvaert, An Laffut, Odo Leys, Chris Nesbitt, Carol Taylor Torsello, Anna Siewierska, and Willy Van Langendonck.

reflect a certain commonsense interpretation of the *extra*-linguistic situations being coded. Underlying this is the tacit assumption that extralinguistic situations have a specific (universal) organization which we have intuitive access to and which is independent of the alternative language specific representations of that situation. Such an assumption is not only in danger of leading to ethnocentrism, it is also untenable in a linguistic framework committed to the description of form-meaning couplings. Like Nishimura, I subscribe to the tenet that the so-called 'semantic', or 'case', roles should be based on lexicogrammatical regularities.

By the same token, the term 'syntactic' roles for Subject and Object suggests that they are purely formal and devoid of semantic import. This is how they have been treated in certain formalistic approaches. Or else, the semantic import of Subject and associated categories has been talked about in terms of their typical but by no means necessary correlation with, on the one hand, case roles and, on the other, textual categories such as 'topic' or Theme. Perhaps the most prevailing way of thinking about Subject is reflected by Comrie's (1981:101) definition of Subject as being at the intersection of Agent and Topic. What the function of Subject is in its own right remains unexplained and even untackled in such an approach.

If the categories of Subject and Agent have often been tacitly collapsed, this is even more strongly the case for the Indirect Object and Dative role. (I am using "Dative" here, as it has been used in a lot of the literature about English, as a more general and neutral label for the participant role than, for instance, Recipient or Beneficiary. The Dative role is then the third main participant role next to Agent and Patient, and on a par with them in terms of generality.) As pointed out by Bloor & Bloor (1995:50), the category Indirect Object (henceforth IO) is defined solely as a semantic role, viz. the recipient by some authors. Both the post-verbal bare nominal group (henceforth NG) in (1a) and the prepositional Adjunct in (1b)

(1) a. I'm selling *you* alphabet biscuits. (LDC) [1]
b. I'm selling it *to a friend of mine*. (LDC)

are labelled IO, *because* they both refer to the recipient. If the semantic value 'recipient' is taken to be defining of IO, one runs into serious problems for examples where that semantic value is associated with the Subject, as in very common types of passive such as

(2) a. *I'*d like to be given details of your clinic. (LDC)
b. *It* has all been given shape by me. (LDC)

Following the logic of these categorial scrambles, one would then be obliged to talk about an IO functioning as Subject.

It is thus essential to *separate* the two layers of organization involved and get a grasp of each of them. More specifically, it should be clarified what form-meaning couplings are involved in each. On the *form* plane, it should be specified what *type* of formal encoding is involved for each layer. For if the type of formal encoding is known, it can be used as a formal heuristic to identify and delineate the categories. On the *meaning* plane, it should be clarified what type of functional meaning is involved. There is some consensus about the type of meaning represented by categories such as Agent and various sorts of Affected, but what type of meaning do Subject and various sorts of Object stand for? What functional role do they play in an utterance?

In this article, I will, in a first movement, sketch a form-function approach to both layers of organization in general, to the Agent-Patient-Dative layer in section 1.1, and to the Subject-Object layer in sections 2.1 to 2.3. In a second movement, I will home in specifically on the Dative role in section 1.2, and, then, on the syntactic codings of the Dative as IO, Adjunct or Subject in section 2.4. General conclusions about the Subject-Object layer will be formulated in section 2.5.

1.1 *The Agent - Patient - Dative layer of organization*

As a starting point, let us consider the following group of related clauses:

(3) a. The Mayor awarded him a medal of merit. (CB)
b. He was awarded a medal of merit by the Mayor.
c. A medal of merit was awarded him by the Mayor.

The three NGs in each receive different Subject-Object assignments, but a constant Agent-Patient-Dative assignment. In other words, the participant roles involved in the process *award* remain constant across the syntactic variation. This points to the fact that process-participant constellations are related to different aspects of the grammatical system than categories such as Subject and Object. Subject and Objects are coded by formal features of the *syntagm* itself such as position, case marking and verb agreement (Keenan 1976:324). In contrast, categories such as Agent and Patient, which capture the different ways in which the designated entities participate in the process,

cannot be read off the syntagm as such. In contemporary English, the syntagmatic structure of clauses is singularly uninformative about the participation type of its nominal constituents. For instance, the following two pairs of examples, due to the morphological identity of the different verb uses and the absence of case marking on the NGs, look very similar, yet they represent different semantic process-participant constellations (see below).

(4) a. The Sioux fought the white invaders.
b. The Sioux fought a just war.

(5) a. Greg broke the glass.
b. The car broke an axle.

Since the syntagm is uninformative, is there nothing else we can do but stoop to intuition and state some obvious semantic differences between (4a) and (4b), and (5a) and (5b) impressionistically? Following the tradition of Gleason and Halliday, I would maintain that there *is* formal evidence to be interrogated, but that this evidence is of a *paradigmatic* nature. As pointed out by Gleason (1965:195-291), apparent structural identity can be disambiguated by bringing in paradigmatically related constructions, or "agnates".[2]

If we bring in the passives of the above examples, then it can be observed that (4a) and (5a) have unmarked passives (4a', 5a'), whereas (4b) has a marked passive (4b') and (5b) has no corresponding passive.

(4) a.' The white invaders were fought by the Sioux.
b.' A just war was fought by the Sioux.

(5) a.' The glass was broken by Greg.
b.' *An axle was broken by the car.

Now, authors such as Halliday (1985:151) and Langacker (1991:344) have argued that the passive in English is a diagnostic for a 'highly transitive', or 'fully effective', Agent-process-Affected relation. A fully effective Agent-Affected relation can be defined as one in which the Agent has the features /+responsible/ and /+initiative force/ (Nishimura 1993) for the causal event designated and one in which the Patient is truly 'affected' or 'effected'. This is clearly the case for (4a), in which *the white invaders* are the target of *the Sioux*'s fighting, and for (5a), in which *the glass* undergoes *Greg*'s instigation of its breaking. In contrast, when there is no unmarked passive, the process-participant configuration is one in which either the Agent or the Patient is 'reduced' in participant status and in which there is no relation of causal affectedness. In (4b), *a just war* is not 'affected' by the process but, rather,

restates the extent of the process. This is why Halliday (1985:135) refers to it as a "Range". In (5b), *the car* is not an Agent which instigates the process and can be held responsible for it. Rather, following Langacker (1991:343f), we can regard it as the "Setting" on which the breaking of *an axle* occurs.

The above examples show that shared 'agnation' reveals similarity in participation types and differences in 'agnation' reveal differences in participation types. Thus, the formal evidence for similar or different participation types is seen to lie in the *paradigmatic* relations linking constructions. One cannot conclude that there is 'identity' of participation type on the basis of observation of isolated syntagms alone. Identity of participation type must be confirmed by the shared agnation patterns of the syntagms in question. Indeed, progress towards a more refined description of process-participant relations will often be made by picking a hole in the apparent, superficial similarity (Gleason 1965:203) between two construals which are, in fact, related to different agnates. For instance, examples (5a) and (5b) might appear as similar process-participant constellations at first sight, but they are characterized by different paradigmatic relatives. For (5a) there is a corresponding passive, whereas for (5b) there is not. Moreover, constellations such as (5b) are systematically related to agnates such as *An axle broke in the car*, which are impossible for (5a): **The glass broke in Greg*. These different agnation patterns not only show *that* different semantic models are encoded, but also provide clues as to *what sort* of semantic models. For instance, the alternative circumstantial coding *in the car* can be related to the 'Setting' status of *the car* in (5b). In the Gleason-Halliday tradition, 'agnates' are thus regarded as a heuristic to the semantics[3] of the construction.

There is an interesting methodological complementarity to be observed here with the use made of 'alternations' in the lexical work of such linguists as Pinker (1989) and Levin (1993). For Pinker and Levin, "alternations" are alternations in the expressions of arguments. The alternations in which a verb participates, Levin (1993:1) claims, "can be used effectively to probe for linguistically relevant pertinent aspects of verb meaning". Verbs behaving in the same way with respect to alternations share semantic components. In this way, a linguistically relevant, rather than intuition-based, classification of lexical verbs can be drawn up.

Thus, in the Pinker-Levin approach, paradigmatically related constructions form a heuristic to the semantics of constructionally relevant verb classes. In the neo-Firthian tradition, paradigmatically related constructions

form a heuristic to the ways in which the nominals participate in processes. In both cases, the formal methodology advocated is opposed to purely intuition-based analyses. It seems to me that, rather than engaging in an at this stage unproductive 'hen-and-egg' discussion about what comes first — the lexical semantics of the verb or the meaning of the construction — both approaches can be put together for descriptive purposes. It seems equally reasonable to me to assume that the meaning of a process-participant configuration results from the interaction between the semantics of the process (as an instance of a constructionally relevant verb class) and the participation types of the nominals in the process. If this assumption is correct, then paradigmatic relations between constructions form *the* formal heuristic to this layer of lexico-grammatical organization.

1.2 *The Dative role in two 'complementary' ditransitivity models*

In this section, we will look at what regular alternations reveal about Agent-Patient-Dative organization, in the sense of their participation in ditransitive processes. In earlier studies (Davidse 1996a, 1996b), I have argued that ditransitive construals can be understood as the combination of two grammatico-semantic relations, viz. causation and possession. Ditransitive construals all code causation by an Agent of a possessive implication[4] between Dative and Patient. In terms of the dimension of causal transitivity, both Dative and Patient are targeted and affected by the Agent. As such, the Dative is a competitor of the Patient. Alternations reveal that the most important manifestation of this competition between Dative and Patient lies in the lexicogrammar offering two complementary[5] construal paradigms: one in which the Agent primarily targets the Dative (Paradigm I) and one in which the Agent primarily targets the Patient (Paradigm II).

Summarizing and simplifying somewhat, in Paradigm I, the central alternation is between the construal consisting of Agent + process + bare nominal Dative + Patient, e.g.

(6) Oliver will give you breakfast. (LDC)

and the construal consisting of Agent + process + Patient + prepositional Dative, e.g.

(7) Pradah Singh gives brandy to Mem. (LDC)

In a small pilot study (Davidse 1996a:321), the construal with nominal Dative was found to occur 294 times against 68 occurrences of the construal with clause final prepositional Dative illustrated by (7). Verbs typically used to express the process in this construal paradigm are, as indicated by Levin (1993:138f, 146f, 172f, 202f): *award*, *feed*, *give*, *grant*, *lease*, *lend*, *loan*, *offer*, *pay*, *reimburse*, *sell*, *serve*, *tell*, *teach*, *show*, *write*. I have proposed that the Dative is the 'primary Affected' here and that the 'most transitive' relation is between Agent and Dative. In this respect, it is instructive to bring in the passive alternation, which, as discussed in 1.1, is generally taken as a diagnostic of 'highly transitive', or 'fully effective', Agent-Affected relations. A preliminary count of passives in Paradigm I construals (Table I) showed that passives with Dative as Subject represent 83% whereas passives with Patient as Subject represent only 17%.

Table 1: Distribution of Dative/Subject versus Pa/Subject passives in construals with award, lend, grant in WSJ.

	Dat/Subject	Pa/Subject
n	73	15
%	83	17

These figures appeared to confirm that the Agent-Dative relation is the most transitive one. I concluded that in Paradigm I construals, the Agent acts primarily on the Dative, to which the Patient is anchored. I then characterized the model of ditransitivity being construed as a 'benefiter' model: the ditransitive action is primarily one of *benefiting* someone by anchoring some 'possession' (in the broad sense) to them.

In Paradigm II, by contrast, the central alternation is between the construal Agent + process + Patient + prepositional Dative, e.g.

(8) He administered the vaccine to a child. (WSJ)

and the construal Agent + process + prepositional Dative + Patient, e.g.

(9) The idea would be to administer to patients the growth-controlling proteins. (WSJ)

It is the construal type with clause final prepositional Dative, illustrated by (8), which is the unmarked and statistically most common option. Processes in Paradigm II are expressed by verbs such as the following listed by Levin (1993:138f, 146f, 172f, 202f): *administer*, *contribute*, *donate*, *extend*, *refund*, *restore*, *sacrifice*, *transfer*, *announce*, *convey*, *declare*, *demonstrate*, *explain*, *mention*, *repeat*. Interestingly, Levin actually identified this class of verbs on the basis of their *not* allowing for the dative alternation illustrated by (6) - (7), which is the only dative alternation discussed in the literature. As recognition criterion for inclusion in a lexical class, this negative criterion is, of course, sufficient. However, as a heuristic to establish the ways in which the participants participate in the process, a positively occurring alternation is required. The alternation illustrated by (8)-(9), despite having been almost totally neglected in the literature, is the main one for construal type (8). In a first application to the data (Davidse 1996a:321) it was found that the construal type illustrated by (8) occurred 136 times versus 22 occurrences of the construal type illustrated by (9).

This alternation iconically reflects the participation type of its nominal constituents. The Agent clearly acts on the Patient as the primary Affected, since in both alternates (8-9), the Patient is the non-oblique participant affected by the process: it is *the vaccine* and *the proteins* which are being administered by the Agent. That the relation Agent-Patient is the most effective one is also confirmed by the passive alternation (Table 2): the Subject/ Patient passive is the most frequent and unmarked passive within Paradigm II. As for the Dative, the fact that it is always preceded by preposition *to* in the active, indicates that it is intrinsically coded as a direction. For these reasons, I proposed that Paradigm II construals express a 'transfer' model of ditransitivity: the Patient designates the entity being transferred and the prepositional Dative designates the entity it is being transferred to.

Table 2: Distribution of Patient/Subject versus Dative/Subject passives in construals with assign, attribute, extend, transfer, pass in WSJ.

	Pa/Subject	Dat/Subject
n	124	10
%	92.5	7.5

In conclusion, in section 1.1 it was proposed that categories such as Agent-Patient-Dative are not 'purely semantic' — and therefore pre-linguistic — categories, but that, like all linguistic categories, they involve form-meaning couplings. To use Hjelmslevian terms, their lexicogrammatical content-*form* lies encapsulated in the paradigmatic relations, or 'alternations', linking constructions. Their content-*substance* consists of the various process-participant constellations, i.e. the different participation types of the nominals and the specific process types expressed by classes of verb senses. The analysis of ditransitive construals in English reported on in section 1.2 is an example of research carried out along these lines.

2. The Subject - Object(s) layer of organization

As was pointed out in section 1.1, unlike process-participant roles which remain constant *across* syntagms, categories such as Subject and Object are *defined by* the syntagm.[6] Formally, they are coded by markers such as position, verb agreement, and case marking (Keenan 1976:324). The question is whether formal characteristics of the syntagm can be correlated with an insight into the functions of the Subject-Object layer. In this section, I will argue that the functional type of meaning realized by this layer is that of anchoring the utterance to the speech event itself, or the "ground" (Langacker 1991:91f; compare Halliday 1985:75), i.e. the interaction between the speaker and the hearer and the type of speech act interchanged by them. This position is based on Halliday's (1985:Ch.4) theory about the *interpersonal* functions of the Subject-Object layer of organization, and combines it with a very specific undercurrent in Langacker's (1991) description of clause structure, viz. the type-instantiation motif in the clause.

The relation of a clause to the speech event has important analogies with the relation of a nominal group to the 'ground'. For the 'grounding' of the NG there is more of a tradition in the literature. At the same time, the relation of a clause to the ground is more complex. Therefore, I will draw a parallel between the grounding of the NG and that of the clause (section 2.2), before turning to the latter (section 2.3). First, a brief discussion of the concept of the 'ground' itself is in order (section 2.1).

2.1 *What is the ground?*

In the literature, there is general agreement that the 'ground' of any utterance is the speech event, its participants, and its immediate circumstances such as time and place of speaking (Langacker 1991:91f). Because notions such as speaker-hearer relation, and the here and now of the utterance, seem so self-evident, there is a danger of reifying and simplifying these concepts and forgetting about their complex semiotic origin. The following observations should guard against this.

Firstly, the speech participants are primary with regard to the definition of the spatio-temporal deictic centre. Spatial deixis (for instance, demonstratives) and temporal deixis (for instance, tense) are proximity systems, dependent on the speech participants as reference points; their semantics have to be understood as 'near/not near' encoder/decoder.

In the second place, since the speech event is 'exchange of language', the ground also contains the fundamental dimensions of language exchange. Halliday (1985:Ch.4) has proposed that the dynamics of language exchange can ultimately be reduced to the following primitives.

1) The *axis* of language exchange, which can be 'wanting' or 'knowing'. If language is exchanged on the volitional axis, it is used as a means towards some extralinguistic service. If there is language exchange on the informational axis, it is a goal in itself.[7]

2) The *orientation* of the exchange, which can be 'giving or 'demanding'.

These vectors define the four primary speech functions of offer and command, and statement and question, which can be set out as in Table 3.

Finally, it is typical of the ground that its co-ordinates and reference points are often left implicit. In this context, Langacker (1991:93) talks about "subjective" and "objective" grounding predications. If the reference points in the ground remain implicit, then the grounding is subjective. For instance,

Table 3: The four primary speech functions (based on Halliday 1985:69).

statement	**question**
'I give you info you don't know'	'I ask you info I don't know'
John's in town.	Where's John?
offer	**command**
'I give you a service you want'	'I ask you a service I want'
Have a seat!	Shut up.

this in *this chair* is a case of 'subjective' grounding, because it means 'near the speaker', without explicitly referring to the speaker. Similarly, *Get out!* is rooted in the speech exchange between speaker and hearer, but does not explicitate its axis and orientation. In contrast, if the reference points are made explicit, then the grounding is objective, as in *the chair near me*, and *I order you to leave the room*. Here, speaker and/or hearer are coded explicitly, as well as the type of grounding relation involved.

2.2 *The functions of the NG in relation to the speech exchange*

In his description of the nominal group, Langacker (1991:Chs 2-3) argues that speakers can use NGs in a communicatively useful way, because NGs express the following four functions: expression of type specification, instantiation, quantification, and grounding. NGs refer to things in the discourse context, and to do this, they can employ basically two strategies, which involve a different realization of the four functions mentioned above.

One way is to use the proper name strategy (Langacker 1991:58-60). A proper name gives a unique name to one specific thing, as a sufficient means of identification. For instance, one could use the proper name *Geneviève* to refer to one's proudly owned but petulant car. A proper name *is* the name of an instance. It refers to *one* instantiation and it is intrinsically definite, i.e. it incorporates quantification and grounding, without requiring separate modifiers such as determiners for these functions. Proper names imply, rather than denote, type specifications, e.g. *Geneviève* implies the type specification 'female(-type) being'.

The other way to refer to things in the discourse context is the common noun strategy (Langacker 1991:55-95). A bare common noun is the name of a class or type, e.g. CAR. To tie it to specific instances, it has to be modified by a determiner, e.g. *a car, my car, that car, your two cars*. Full NGs with common noun refer to specific things in terms of the semantic schema of an 'instantiated type'. What's more, they always designate quantified and speech situationally identified or non-identified instances of a type: *a car* (one instance, not presumed known); *your two cars* (two instances, identified in terms of possession by the hearer).

Summarizing, in NGs with common noun, the four basic functions are normally[8] expressed by the following structural elements (sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.4).

2.2.1 *Expression of type specification*

Since a common noun is the name of a type, a common noun head expresses the basic 'type' component of the NG (Langacker 1991:55-58). This general type specification can be elaborated into a complex type specification, by defining postmodifiers and by the premodifiers which do not have a 'determining' function. For instance, a NG such as *those two splendid old electric trains with pantographs* (Halliday 1985:170) has the complex type specification *splendid old electric trains with pantographs*, in which the general type *train* is more delicately subcategorized by the pre-and postmodifiers.

2.2.2 *Instantiation*

As discussed above, the main contrast between proper names and common nouns is that the former are the names of instances, whereas the latter are the names of types. In NGs with a common noun, for instance *car*, the elements which signal that 'instances' of a type are being designated are the determiners. In contrast with NGs with proper name, which, in principle, have *no* determiner, NGs with common noun head always have a determiner.[9]

2.2.3 *Quantification*

According to Langacker (1991:Ch.3), quantification indicates the size of the instantiation. It is realized either by 'cardinal' quantifiers (specific or non-specific) such as *a/one*, *two*, *three*, ...; *many/much*, *few/little*, etc., or by 'proportional' quantifiers such as *the*, *each*, *every*, *all*, etc.

2.2.4 *Grounding*

The grounding element indicates whether or not the speaker presents the instance as 'identifiable' to the hearer. As pointed out by Halliday (1985: 160f) and Langacker (1991:Ch.3), it is realized by determiners such as

– articles, which signal the 'identifiablity' status but not the manner of retrieval, e.g. *a/the cat*;

– demonstratives, which identify in terms of spatial proximity deixis, e.g. *that cat*;

– possessives, which identify in terms of person deixis, i.e. whether or not the instance is associated with the speech participants, e.g. *my/your/his cat*;

– proportional quantifiers, which make reference to a contextually determined reference mass, e.g. *each cat*.

In conclusion to this section, it is interesting to consider Langacker's (1991:54) point that the four semantic functions of type specification, instantiation, quantification and grounding tend to be reflected *iconically* in a right-to-left reading of the NG's structure. The type specification is expressed by the head noun, its adjectival and nominal premodifiers and its post-modifiers, i.e. the right end of the NG. Quantification and grounding are added from the left as separate layers external to the nucleus of the type specification.

2.3 *The functions of the clause in relation to the speech event*

In this section, I will make a case for clauses being tied to the speech event via analogous mechanisms by which NGs are tied to the ground. Most fundamentally, for a clause to express a proposition which is *negotiable* between speaker and hearer, it employs a mechanism like the common noun strategy: clauses refer to and speech functionally 'construct' a situation in terms of an 'instantiated type' schema. With the aspect of speech function, the analogy between NG and clause reaches its limits. Clauses realize independent linguistic exchanges, in which NGs function as constituents. NGs are used communicatively to identify 'entities' in the discourse context. Clauses are used communicatively to exchange information about situations, i.e. 'processes' involving entities,[10] or to negotiate the execution of a process. The speech function (giving or demanding knowables or desirables) is encoded in the Subject-Object layer of organization. Thus, I will argue that the syntagmatic structure of the clause expresses five basic functions which anchor the utterance to the speech event: the four which are also expressed by the NG, type specification, instantiation, quantification, and grounding, *as well as* the construction of the speech function of the utterance.

In this section, I will first discuss the elements in the work of Halliday and Langacker which have informed and inspired this position (section 2.3.1). Then I will look at the five functions anchoring the utterance to the speech event (section 2.3.2): what meanings are being expressed and by what elements of clause structure are they coded?

2.3.1 *Halliday and Langacker on the clause's relation to the speech exchange*

Langacker (1991:Chs 5-6) has suggested that the functions of type specification, instantiation, quantification and grounding are also realized by the

clause. He (1991:240-281) offers an elaborated discussion of the *grounding* of the clause, which, in its essence, converges with the views expressed by Halliday (1985:75). The clause is grounded by the Finite element, i.e. the first auxiliary, of the verbal group (henceforth VG). The Finite gives the proposition a point of reference in the here-and-now of the speech event, either in terms of primary tense or in terms of modality. Tense expresses temporal deixis vis-à-vis the moment of encoding/decoding (Declerck 1991:14f). Modality assesses the desirability or likelihood of a proposition according to the encoder (in statements) and the decoder (in questions). In addition to the view that the clause is grounded by the Finite, I will argue in section 2.3.2 that the clause is also grounded in terms of the person deixis expressed by the Subject.

Langacker (1991:33) further notes that an instantiation motif similar to that in the NG runs through the clause. He proposes that the type conception expressed by the lexical root in the VG is converted into the conception of an instance distinguished from other instances, by being tied to specific participants. Thus, in Langacker's discussions of the type-instantiation mechanism of the clause, at least in my understanding of them, he views it as primarily concerned with the instantiation of process types by specific participants in the domains of space and time, i.e. with the *representation* of a scene.

In the next section, I will develop a different view, viz. that it is the Subject-Object layer in the clause which incorporates a type-instantiation distinction and that the 'instantiation' semantics serve the *exchange* of the proposition between speaker and hearer. The domain of instantiation is not objectified time and space, but the co-ordinates of the speech exchange. The type of form-meaning coupling that will be investigated is that pointed out by Halliday (1985:Ch.4) in his analysis of the Subject-Object layer of the clause.

The *formal* starting point is the division in the syntactic structure of the English clause into the following two parts, labelled "mood element" and "residue" by Halliday: the Subject-Finite (plus polarity) on the one hand, and the Predicator plus Objects,[11] Complements and circumstantial Adjuncts, if any, on the other.

	MOOD ELEMENT			RESIDUE			
	Subject	Finite	polarity	Predicator	IO	DO	CoS
(10)	I	am		writing	you	a letter.	
(11)	She	was	not	being			a pest.

As formal evidence for this structural break, Halliday (1985:Ch.4;297f)

points out, firstly, the fundamental patterns of *clausal ellipsis* operating in English dialogue, which allow the speaker to elide either the mood element

(12) What were they doing? — Holding hands.

or the residue

(13) Would he marry you? — He would, if he could.

Secondly, the mood element is identified as a central structural unit by the *tag* in the English clause, which 'replays', with or without reversal of polarity, the mood element of the proposition it tags:

(14) You're not being a pest, are you?

Thirdly, the residue is also shown to be an important structural unit in its own right because it can occur as *non-finite* clause:

(15) Being a pest is what I like best.

Halliday (1985:75-77) offers the following *semantic* interpretation of the two main parts of English clause structure. The Mood element is the part that makes the clause 'finite', ties it to the ground so that it becomes arguable/negotiable. The Residue is the 'non-finite' part of the clause, in which the proposition "floats about unattached" (Langacker 1991:57). In section 2.3.2.1, I will argue that Halliday's analysis is compatible with a type-instantiation interpretation, in which the Residue is seen as the *type specification* part of the clause and the mood element as its *instantiating complex*.

2.3.2 *The speech exchange-related functions of the clause*

2.3.2.1 Type specification

As indicated above, I propose that the non-finite residue of the clause expresses a type specification. This is a different position from Langacker's (1991:33;Ch.5), who says that it is *only* the verbal group minus the Finite (i.e. Halliday's Predicator) which expresses the type specification of the process in the clause. As the Predicator constituent includes the markers of voice, secondary tense and aspect (Halliday 1985:79; Langacker 1991:200-239),[12] the type specifications expressed can be further subcategorized as, for instance, active versus passive, *break - be broken*, and non-progressive versus progressive, *break - breaking*. According to Langacker (1991:33), what converts these type conceptions into the conception of an instance is their

being tied to specific participants, expressed by subject and object nominals.

My position is rather that the Predicator, like the common noun head in the NG, provides the *general* type specification, which, however, is further elaborated into a *more delicate* type specification by Objects, Complements and circumstantial Adjuncts,[13] if any of these are present in the residue. The most important *formal* argument for this position is, precisely, the structural break between the Subject-Finite complex and the residue pointed out by Halliday and all the grammatical patterns such as ellipsis, tags, and non-finite clause, which reveal the internal coherence and relative autonomy vis-à-vis each other of these two clause parts. Moreover, if we consider from a *semantic* point of view, some of the most important structural contexts in which non-finite clauses occur, then it is striking that in all of these, a *type* of process is being designated.

(15) Drown a mermaid! — You can't drown a mermaid. (Halliday 1985:94)

(16) Ironing a shirt takes only a few minutes.

(17) She enjoys calling people names.

(18) Threatening sanctions frightens people.

Against Langacker (1991:33), I hold that the mere presence of object nominals does not cause these non-finite clauses to designate instances of processes. *Ironing a shirt* and *calling people names* in principle apply to more than one instance of that type of process. These are, as already pointed out by Davies (1979:68f), the complex names of process types. In this respect, they are fully analogous to common nouns in NGs (see 2.2). I also propose that the function of objects, complements and adjuncts is akin to that of nominal and adjectival modifiers in the NG, in that the latter subcategorize the general type of 'thing' designated by the head noun into more specific subtypes, while the former subcategorize the general type of 'process' expressed by the Predicator into more specific process types.

Collins COBUILD Grammar Patterns: Verbs (1996) is, in some respects, a reference work on patterns observable in clausal type specifications. As the COBUILD research programmatically excludes paradigmatic descriptive methods such as alternations (Francis 1993), and concentrates on the regularities observable in the syntagm, it is logical that their corpus research should unearth the lexicogrammatical patterns observable in that part of attested clauses which they describe as the "verb and the words that come after it"

(Francis et al:vii), i.e. the residue. The lexicogrammatical patterns in question are concerned mainly with word classes, syntactic functions and collocational patterns. These regularities in the process types can, as indicated by the editors (id:xi), be related to lexical verb senses defined on the basis of grammatical and collocational regularities, as in the COBUILD dictionaries. Take, for instance, the following senses of *hail*, described in terms of word classes and syntactic functions:

V: Predicator: *hail*

Vn: Predicator + Cognate Object: *hail huge, great stones*

Vn: Predicator + Direct Object: *hail a taxi*

be V-ed as: passive Predicator + Complement to Subject: *be hailed as the greatest rock 'n roll singer in the world*

With regard to these examples of different verb senses, it can be noted again that, like the meanings of common nouns, they are *type* senses — descriptions which may be more general or more specific, but which, in any case, cover *classes*, rather than instances, of situations.

2.3.2.2 Quantification

To turn, then, to the function of quantification, my suggestion is that quantification in the clause is realized by polarity and modality.[14] As suggested by Davies (1979:67f), polarity expresses 'occurrence value'. Negative polarity states that the 'occurrence value' of the process instance is 'nil', positive polarity states that the 'occurrence value' of the process instance is 'at least one'. Now, as suggested by Halliday (1994:86f), the semantic functions of modal auxiliaries in the clause are closely related to the meaning expressed by polarity. Modality expresses occurrence values "between yes and no". An epistemic modal assesses the likelihood or usuality of occurrence of an instance of a process. For instance,

(19) He'll probably mow the lawn

hedges about the likelihood of occurrence: 'yes or no', 'maybe yes, maybe no'.

(20) He'll mow the lawn each Saturday

assesses the frequency of occurrence: 'yes and no', 'sometimes yes, sometimes no' (ibid.) A deontic modal expresses the degree of obligation ('do-don't' and intermediate degrees), e.g.

(21) You WILL mow the lawn,

or the degree of inclination ('I will - I won't' and intermediate degrees), e.g.

(22) I will NOT mow the lawn.

2.3.2.3 Grounding

As mentioned in 2.3.1, both Halliday and Langacker have argued that the clause is grounded by the Finite, more specifically by the tense or modal meanings expressed by the Finite. However, the Finite is also marked for person, and person deixis, because of its reference to the speech participants, is a 'ground-relating' device. Therefore, I propose that the clause is also grounded in terms of person deixis, which is coded 'subjectively' on the Finite and 'objectively' by the Subject.

To elucidate the ways in which the semantics of person deixis are related to the speech event, we turn briefly to Benveniste's (1966:Chs 10-12) insightful discussion. The apparent symmetry of school grammar treatments of grammatical person should not mislead us, Benveniste cautions, into viewing first, second and third person as symmetric and equivalent terms. The semantics of the person system is cut across by the primary distinction between, on the one hand, participants in the coding act, viz. first person, the encoder, and second person the decoder, and, on the other hand, the entities which lie completely outside the coding act, viz. the third person, which is a mere 'coded'. The most important consequence of this is that the first and second person can be *both actor and designated*, whereas the third person can *only* function as *designated*. For instance, in

(23) I pledge to be faithful.

I is involved both in the performance of an act and in the construction of the description of that act. By contrast, in

(24) He promised to do it.

he only designates the entity of which something is predicated.

First and second person are very specific roles, tied to the specific individual roles of the semiotic interact; they can never be replaced by NGs, which only designate and do not enact. The third person, in contrast, is maximally general (Benveniste 1966:230f). Because it does not render present a participant constitutive of the speech act, it can designate any semiotically coded segment — any piece of text ranging from an 'impersonal' Subject *it* over a NG to a more extended piece of text.

2.3.2.4 Instantiation

As adult speakers, we argue and negotiate about instances, rather than types, of situations. Finite clauses, like full NGs with common nouns, designate *instantiated* types. Just as common nouns are instantiated by determiners (*car — a car, my car*), the process type specification is instantiated in the first place, I propose, by the Finite.[15] Whereas *be, give, break* designate types, *am, is, was, gave, has given, broke* designate instances of processes. Now, as we have already seen with regard to grounding, the Subject explicitates, 'objectifies', the grammatical person of the Finite, which is expressed on the Finite by person and number marking. In turn, the nominative case of the Subject expresses its 'subject of', or 'grammatical person', relation to the Finite. Semantically, instantiation of a process is crucially concerned with being tied to the grammatical person explicitated by the Subject. In sum, I propose that a process is instantiated in English clause structure by being tied to its Subject, not to its Objects. I argue that the Subject's function is that of explicit 'instantiator' of the situation types expressed in the residue of the clause.

Perhaps a certain link can be seen here with the traditional idea that, in an utterance, something is predicated of the Subject. However, the traditional view overlooked the functions of the clause's verbal group, whose Predicator part is the head of the clausal type specification and whose Finite part instantiates — and grounds — the clause subjectively.[16] The type-instance interpretation of the clause proposed here supports Halliday's (1985:79) view that the Subject is "the entity in terms of which the assertion is claimed to have validity".

Along the same lines, I would like to propose that some of the 'universal' formal properties of Subjects and Objects pointed out by Keenan (1976: 312ff) are motivated by the 'instantiating' function of the Subject and the 'type-specifying' function of the Objects. Thus, according to Keenan (1976: 313f), one of the most universal properties of Subject is that its *reference must be determinable by the addressee at the moment of utterance*. In contrast, the reference of the Object can be made to depend on that of Subject — also with backwards anaphora — and is generally controlled by the Subject. In terms of 'typical' tendencies, Keenan claims that the Subject is often highly referential (e.g. proper name, pronoun, demonstrative) and typically definite. By contrast, the Object tends to be more lowly referential and often indefinite. In

other words, the Subject is typically pointed out by the speaker for the hearer in a direct 'naming' or 'pointing' act, whereas Objects may involve indirect or indefinite identification.

Further, Keenan (1976:317f) notes that Subjects, unlike Objects, entail a presupposition of existence. In a sense, declarative clauses can always be recast as 'existential' statements with the original Subject as focus NG. For instance, if the speaker gives the information

(25) John is looking for the perfect woman

this informative claim can be recast as 'There is a person John who's looking for the perfect woman', but not 'There is a person 'the perfect woman' who's being looked for by John'. A related observation (Keenan 1976:318) is that idioms may have suspended reference for their Objects but have literal reference for their Subject, as in

(26) John let the cat out of the bag.

(27) John took the bull by the horns.

(28) John was given a pig in a poke.

Thus, in the exchange of information about specific situations, clausal type specifications can designate classes of situations (e.g. *be given a pig in a poke*) in indirect and figurative ways, but the instantiator, viz. the Subject, should be literally identifiable.

Finally, I would like to suggest one more dimension on which Subjects differ from Objects: by and large, Subjects tend to be collocationally less predictable, whereas Objects are typically linked by collocational ties to the Predicator. Firth (1957:194f) defined collocation as the habitual co-occurrence of lexical items.[17] For the language user, this high frequence of co-occurence is reflected by the predictability of one lexical item, the collocate, from another, the node. In terms of information theory, the statistically increased chance of co-occurrence reduces the information load of both items (Clear 1993). Linguistically, this results in lexical phenomena such as 'de-lexicalization' and 'semantic feature copying' between collocates and nodes (Bublitz 1996), as well as, I would suggest, subcategorization by the collocates of the nodes. Now, typical Subjects such as proper names and pronouns are almost fully unpredictable in terms of the Predicator. In contrast, certain types of Object share a lot of lexical information with the Predicator and subcategorize the general process type expressed by the verb into a more

specific type sense. As also pointed out by Langacker (1991:336), different combinations such as *tie a shoe*, *tie laces* and *tie a knot* activate different subsenses of the Predicator as well as different interconnections between Predicator and Objects. The Objects subcategorize, as it were, the general sense of *tie* into finer subsenses such as 'make a shoe fit', 'put laces in a knot', 'perform the action of knotting', etc.

In conclusion, the hypothesis is that the Subject, which functions as a sort of clausal determiner, has a close tie to the actual speech exchange, whereas the clausal residue is a more 'free-floating' type specification which, however, tends to be internally more integrated via collocational ties. In section 2.4, I will convert some of these proposed characteristics of Subject versus Objects into operational parameters and apply them to a set of ditransitive examples.

2.3.2.5 Speech function

The one ground-related function of the clause for which there is no analogue in the NG is that of speech function, the basic nature of the speech exchange as determined by the ground-related primitives of I-you, give-ask, knowable-desirable (see section 2.1). Typically, speech function is not expressed explicitly, but construed subjectively, as in the statement

(29) John's in town

or the command

(30) Shut up.

Speech function can, however, be explicitated and 'objectified' by so-called 'explicit performatives':

(31) I tell you that John's in town.

(32) I ask you if John's in town.

(33) I offer you to have a seat.

(34) I order you to shut up.

Langacker (1991:252) says of such performatives that they "represent the special situation in which the speech event itself is objectified and goes onstage". One could therefore say that we get the most complete picture of what the ground contains by looking at explicit performatives. The ground is not just the here and now of the speech event, nor just the speech participants,

but it also crucially includes the speech functions.

Awareness of speech functional variation should, as pointed out by Halliday (1985:Ch.4), guard against restricting the functional interpretation of Subject to that in statements. Rather, the principle is that, in all speech functions, the Subject is the constituent "responsible for the functioning of the clause as an interactive event" (Halliday 1985:76). With statements and questions, the Subject is the "resting point" (Halliday 1985:77) of the information negotiated by the speaker. Thus, in a statement such as

(35) Margaret has often been hurt.

information is 'asserted' in terms of the Subject; the Subject is "the entity in respect of which the assertion is claimed to have validity" (Halliday 1985:76). In a question like

(36) Is Derek all that good?

information is sought in terms of the Subject. With offers and commands, the Subject is the entity actually responsible for the execution of the process. In an offer like

(37) I'll take it to the tip.

the realization of the action offered is made dependent on the Subject, viz. I/ the speaker. In a command such as

(38) Get out of my daylight. (Halliday 1985:68)

the realization of the action wanted by the speaker is made dependent on the Subject, viz. you/the hearer.

To conclude section 2.3, it is interesting to note the *iconicity* between the formal realization and the semantic nature of the five functions associated with the communicative use of the clause, which is parallel to the iconicity pointed out for the NG by Langacker (1991:54). The type-instantiation semantic motif is realized in a right-to-left reading of the clause; the type specification is realized by the unit at the right end of the clause. The functions of instantiation, quantification, grounding and expression of speech function are all realized in the unit at the left end of the clause, which, in the English clause, is strictly separated from the type specification.

2.4 *The syntactic functions of Datives and Patients in ditransitive clauses*

In this section, I will pursue further the exploration of the functions of Subject and Object, as distinct from the participant roles of Agent and Affected. More specifically, typical properties of Subjects and Objects will be set up as scalar contrasts. As argued above, the properties involved pertain to fundamentally different semantic dimensions than those which define the asymmetry between Agent and Affected. The - scalar - semantic contrast between Agent and Affected is concerned with the 'causal chain' represented by the clause, and involves dimensions such as degree of initiative power (for the Agent) and degree of affectedness (for the Affected) (see section 1). In contrast, the semantic contrast between Subject and Object is, I have proposed, related to the 'instantiated type' schema realized by the clause's syntactic structure, which constructs the actual communicative exchange between speaker and hearer. I argued in section 2.3.2.4. that some of the main referential and collocational tendencies of Subjects versus Objects appear to be related directly to the 'instantiating' function of the Subject and the 'type specifying' function of the Object. To test these hypotheses, I carried out a pilot corpus study, which will be reported on in this section.

The corpus in question consisted of all the active and passive ditransitive clauses extracted from the Wall Street Journal corpus on the verbs *award*, *lend*, *grant* and *attribute*, *assign*, *extend*, *transfer*, *pass*. The inclusion of the passive clauses is particularly important, because passive clauses constitute the strongest antidote against the collapsing of the Subject and Agent categories, and their respective properties. In passives of ditransitives, either the Patient or the Dative is coded as Subject, and careful consideration was given to these respective conflations. Equally however, the conflation of Dative and Patient with IO and DO, and, in the case of the Dative, with Adjunct, was investigated. Thus, the syntactic coding of Dative and Patient as either *Subject - Object (Indirect or Direct) - Adjunct* constituted the main categorization in terms of which the corpus data were investigated. The instances of Subject - Object - Adjunct were then coded

(i) in terms of their 'referential' properties
as either (1) pronoun, (2) proper name, (3) definite NG with common noun head, (4) indefinite NG with common noun head;

(ii) in terms of their 'collocational' properties
as either plus or minus collocational with the Predicator.

As could perhaps be expected, only the 'referential' analysis yielded sound numerical data. The aim of this analysis was to obtain figures about the proportion of definite versus indefinite NGs occurring as Subject - Object - Adjunct. As well, by analysing personal pronouns and proper names separately, the 'highly referential' nominals *within* the group of definites could be quantified for all the respective syntactic functions. As for the collocational properties, in the absence of a collocational dictionary for the very register-specific data of the Wall Street Journal corpus, it seemed unjustifiable to quantify an analysis based on personal intuition. Still, certain clear collocational tendencies asociated with particular syntactic functions could be observed and will be brought into the discussion. The results of this corpus study will be discussed in 2.4.1. Conclusions will be formulated in 2.4.2.

2.4.1 *The syntactic codings of Patients and Datives in ditransitive clauses: a corpus study*

Let us now turn to the results of the corpus study, beginning with the ditransitive examples which express the 'benefiter' model of ditransitivity (see section 1.2), viz. active and passive clauses with *award*, *lend*, and *grant*. Tables 4 and 5 set out the referential properties of Dative and Patient for their two possible syntactic codings in the active, viz. Indirect Object/Dative (IO/Dat) - Direct Object/Patient (DO/Pa) and Direct Object/Patient (DO/Pa) - Adjunct/Dative (Adj/Dat).

Table 4: Referential properties of IO/Dat and DO/Pa in active clauses with the verbs award, lend, grant in WSJ.

	IO/Dat		DO/Pa	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	14	14	0	0
proper names	52	52	0	0
def. common NG	22	22	25	25
indef. common NG	12	12	75	75

Table 5: Referential properties of DO/Pa and Adj/Dat in active clauses with the verbs award, lend, grant in WSJ.

	DO/Dat		Adj/Dat	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	0	0	0	0
proper names	0	0	44	45
def. common NG	40	41	20	21
indef. common NG	57	59	33	34

Tables 6 and 7 set out the referential properties of Dative and Patient for their two possible codings in the passive, viz. Subject/Dative (Su/Dat) — Direct Object/Patient (DO/Pa) and Subject/Patient (Su/Pa) — Adjunct/Dative (Adj/Dat).

Table 6: Referential properties of Su/Dat and DO/Pa in passive clauses with the verbs award, lend, grant in WSJ.

	Su/Dat		DO/Pa	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	9	12	0	0
proper names	43	59	0	0
def. common NG	14	19	13	18
indef. common NG	7	10	60	82

Table 7: Referential properties of Su/Pa and Adj/Dat in passive clauses with the verbs award, lend, grant in WSJ.

	Su/Pa		Adj/Dat	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	0	0	0	0
proper names	0	0	2	13
def. common NG	8	57	3	20
indef. common NG	7	53	10	67

If we first restrict ourselves to the Object positions in the actives (Tables 4 and 5), we find that there is a clear contrast between the IO on the one hand and the DO (which occurs in the 'second' Object position in Table 4 and as

'sole' Object in Table 5) on the other. Of the nominals occurring as IO, 66% are highly referential and 88% definite. For the DO, if we make an average of its two positions in the active, only 32.5% are definite, and 67.5% indefinite. Moreover, IO has 14% pronouns and 52% proper names, whereas DO has 0% for these two categories. Collocationally, the IOs tend not to be very predictable from the Predicator. Proper names, which represent an important proportion of the IOs, as such tend not to collocate strongly: whether it is, for instance, a company named *Outokumpy Oy* or *W.J. Schafer* which is "awarded a contract" is unpredictable and there are no instances of frequent co-occurrence between, for instance, the names of various companies and lexical verbs such as *award* or *lend*. With IOs realized by common nouns, certain patterns of repeated co-occurrence are found. For instance, in my restricted data set, some such patterns emerged with the verb *lend*, e.g. *lend investors/ traders/ banks/ building owners,* etc. However, the few collocational patterns found with IOs are far outweighed by the very prominent and frequently attested collocations found with DOs. To list just some typical ones, *award (a) contract(s)/ credits/ millions/ patents/ (a) prize(s); lend credibility/ money/ millions/ support; grant access/ (a) licence(s)/ permission/ power/ (an) option(s).*[18] It thus turns out that the DO displays the referential tendencies predicted by Keenan,[19] as well as the collocational tendencies which I expected to be associated with (typical) Objects. The IO, however, displays the referential tendencies associated with *Subjects* by Keenan and in terms of sparsity of collocational relations with the Predicator, it also has more affinities with the Subject. If the relation between the categories of Subject and Object is viewed as a scalar asymmetry, then the asymmetry between Subject and DO is large, but it is much slighter between Subject and IO. If we compare this with the Agent-Affected asymmetry for the same construals, we find, interestingly, a different picture: here the asymmetry of 'causal affectedness' is larger between Agent and Dative, the primary Affected, and it is smaller between Agent and Patient, the secondary Affected. The distinctness of the two layers of organization in the clause is thus, once more, confirmed.

If we turn to the passives, the quantitative contrast that strikes us first — and which was already pointed out in section 1.2 — is that the majority of passives have the Dative as Subject (83%). This implies that the Patient remains overwhelmingly in the clausal residue as Object. Only a minority of Patients are coded as Subject. In terms of the interpretation of Subject

proposed in this article, this means that clausal type specifications with Predicators such as *be awarded/lent/granted* are preferentially instantiated in terms of the Dative. The Subject/Dative displays indeed the typical 'referential' tendencies associated by Keenan with the Subject: it is highly referential in 71% and definite in 90% of the cases.

The conclusion I draw from these figures is that there is nothing anomalous about a Dative/Subject. The Subjects in clauses such as

(39) Thomas M. Gaubert has been granted court permission to sue the regulators. (WSJ)

(40) General Dynamics Corp. was awarded contracts totaling $589 million. (WSJ)

are prototypical ones. 'Agenthood' is not important to the category of Subject in contemporary English. Rather, what counts are properties which make a nominal a constituent to which the speaker can naturally tie the type specification expressed by the clausal residue, such as autonomously determinable reference at the moment of the utterance.

We can now turn to the results of the corpus study obtained for ditransitive examples expressing the 'transfer' model of ditransitivity (see section 1.2), viz. active and passive clauses with *assign*, *attribute*, *extend*, *pass* and *transfer*. Table 8 gives the referential properties of the Patient, always coded as Object, and of the Dative, always coded as prepositional *to*-Adjunct in the actives. Tables 9 and 10 give the results for the passives, the majority of which have Subject/Patient - Adjunct/Dative (Table 9), but a minority of which have Subject/Dative - Object/Patient (Table 10).

Table 8: Referential properties of DO/Pa and Adj/Dat in active clauses with the verbs assign, attribute, extend, pass and transfer in WSJ.

	DO/Pat		Adj/Dat	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	27	6	1	0.3
proper names	4	1	27	5.7
def. common NG	359	76	211	44.9
indef. common NG	80	17	231	49.1

Table 9: Referential properties of Su/Pa and Adj/Dat in passive clauses with the verbs assign, attribute, extend, pass and transfer in WSJ.

	Su/Pa		Adj/Dat	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	8	6.5	2	1.5
proper names	0	0	11	9
def. common NG	92	74	44	35.5
indef. common NG	24	19.5	67	54

Table 10: Referential properties of Su/Dat and DO/Pa in passive clauses with the verbs assign, attribute, extend, pass and transfer in WSJ.

	Su/Dat		DO/Pa	
	n	%	n	%
pronouns	1	11.11	0	0
proper names	3	33.33	1	11.11
def. common NG	3	33.33	2	22.22
indef. common NG	2	22.22	6	66.66

When we look at the codings of the Dative in this construal paradigm, it is remarkable that in the passive, the Dative is coded as Subject in a number of cases, despite the fact that, in the corresponding actives, it can only be coded as prepositional *to*-Adjunct. For instance,

(41) a. Gay city employees in Hartford, Conn., were extended special protections in May 1988. (WSJ)
b. The council extended special protections to gay city employees.
c. *The council extended gay city employees special protections.

(42) a. Employees are assigned lunch partners. (WSJ)
b. Sony assigns lunch partners to employees.
c. *Sony assings employees lunch partners.

Perhaps, a parallel can be drawn here with the passives formed of certain intransitive clauses with prepositional Adjuncts such as

(43) a. No one has ever written with this pen.
b. This pen has never been written with.

(44) a. Someone has slept in this bed.
b. This bed has been slept in.

Such passives have been explained as motivated by semantic components of 'affectedness' and 'resultativeness' in the relation between Actor-process and prepositional complements *this pen* and *this bed*. Because *this pen* and *this bed* are affected by the process, they can be coded as the Subject of the passive, which reverses the representation of the causal chain. Similarly, in passives (41) and (42), the 'affectedness' relation between the Agents and *gay city employees* and *employees* appears to be highlighted.

In the active, 'transfer' construals of ditransitivity have only one Object, the DO/Patient. Interestingly, the DO in 'transfer' construals has a much higher proportion of definite NGs, 83%, than the DO in 'benefiter' construals (Tables 4 and 5), for which, on average, only 32.5% was definite. Also, some first and second person pronouns occur as DO in 'transfer' construals, which was not the case with DOs in 'benefiter' construals. If the referential correlates suggested by Keenan can be maintained as the typical ones for Objects, then the DOs in 'transfer' construals are less typical Objects than those in 'benefiter' construals. Rather, like the IO/Datives in 'benefiter' construals, the DO/Patients in 'transfer' construals are referentially natural candidates for Subject. In the corresponding passives, the Patients in 'transfer' construals do turn out to be preferentially selected as Subjects, and their referential distribution is remarkably similar to the one displayed in Object position:
DO/Patient: pronouns: 6%; proper names: 1%; definite common noun NGs: 76%; indefinite common noun NGs: 17%;
Subject/Patient: pronouns: 6.5%; proper names: O%; definite common noun NGs: 74%; indefinite common noun NGs: 19.5%.
The same sort of equivalence in referential distribution was found between the IO/Dative and Subject/Dative in active and passive 'benefiter' construals:
IO/Dative: pronouns: 14%; proper names: 52%; definite common noun NGs: 22%; indefinite common noun NGs: 12%;
Subject/Dative: pronouns: 12%; proper names: 59%; definite common noun NGs: 19%; indefinite common noun NGs: 1O%
So, referentially, these Subject/Datives and Subject/Patients qualify as typical Subjects.

However, the WSJ data investigated provide some quantitative evidence that the Subject/*Dative* passives are, proportionally, more frequent and therefore less marked than the Subject/*Patient* passives: the Subject/Dative passives constitute 25% of all the 'benefiter' examples investigated, whereas the Subject/Patient passives constitute only 20% of all the 'transfer' examples

investigated. Obviously, further quantitative study of other types of corpus material would be needed before Dative/Subject passives could definitely be regarded as the least marked passive *per se* — and the conflation of Dative with Subject as the least marked for Subject of the passive. Assuming for now that conflation of Dative with Subject does yield a 'more prototypical' Subject than that of Patient with Subject, I would suggest that this is due, amongst other things, to the collocational factor. Patient/Subjects might be less typical Subjects, because Patients, unlike Datives, tend to be collocationally linked to the Predicator. In the 'transfer' examples, collocations between the lexical verb and the Patient were clearly present. However, because of the occurrence of pronouns and nouns referring to humans as DO, the collocational relations are somewhat less massive than those between the DO and Predicator in the 'benefiter' examples. To give an idea of the collocational scatter found with these verbs, the most frequent collocates are listed: *extend aid/benefits/credit/ protection/support/sympathy; assign blame/ (the) job(s)/ priorities/ (the) role(s)/ ratings/ (the) rights/ (the) value(s); pass the baton/ the buck/ the gain(s)/ the money/ the power/ the title/ the word; transfer fees/ licences/ genes/ money, risks; attribute decrease/ increase/ gains/ loss/ reports/ paintings/ the role,* etc. My hypothesis is thus that Patients, because of their collocational relation to the Predicator, have their unmarked position in the residue, where they subcategorize the clausal process type, e.g. *pass the word, pass the information*. For instance,

(45) The customer's bank ... usually passes those costs on to the customer. (WSJ)

(46) The agency said Mr. Walters passed the information on to his broker. (WSJ)

As Subjects, which instantiate the clausal type specification, the Patient/ Subjects in passive 'transfer' construals would then be referentially typical, but collocationally a-typical.

(47) These legal costs are passed on to taxpayers. (WSJ)

(48) The information was passed on quickly to Mr. Orr. (WSJ)

2.4.2 *The Subject - Object asymmetry applied to Patients and Datives in ditransitive construals*

The corpus study reported on in 2.4.1 shows that, if conceived of as a scalar model, the referential and collocational correlates originally proposed for Subjects and Objects (2.3.2.4) can be maintained.

As clausal instantiators, Subjects are typically /+highly referential/, /+definite/ and /-collocational with the Predicator/. They stand in maximal contrast with typical Objects, which are /-highly referential/, /-definite/ and /+collocational with the Predicator/. Such Object/NGs are not strong potential candidates for Subjecthood. They are typically associated with the Object position in the residue, where they subcategorize the process type expressed by the Predicator into a more delicate type specification. DO/Patients in 'benefiter' actives are examples of such typical Objects. In the corresponding passives (only 5% of all the examples), the conflation of Subject and Patient is clearly a marked one.

However, the DO/Patients in 'transfer' actives turned out to be, in a clear majority of cases, /+highly referential/, /+definite/ and /+collocational with the Predicator/. They are a-typical Objects with the referential properties associated with Subjects. In the corresponding passives (20% of all examples), the conflation of Subject and Patient yields, I have suggested, Subjects that are referentially typical but collocationally a-typical.

The IO/Datives in 'benefiter' actives, then, were generally /+highly referential/, /+definite/ and /-collocational with the Predicator/. They are wholly a-typical Objects with the referential and collocational tendencies of Subjects. In the corresponding passives (25% of all examples), the conflation of Subject and Dative leads to a referentially and collocationally typical Subject.

The 'unmarked' nature of the Subject/Dative passive in English has often been pointed out (Halliday 1967:55f; Kanno 1983:175f; Dryer 1986:832f). The approach to the Subject-Object asymmetry developed in this paper allows me to explain this absence of markedness, as illustrated by examples (49)-(51), in more detail.

INSTANTIATING COMPLEX TYPE SPECIFICATION

	Subject	Fin	Polarity	Predicator	Object
(49)	All	have		been given	blankets. (LDC)
(50)	You	'll		be given	a sum of money and a ticket for any destination. (LDC)
(51)	I	've	never	been given	any credit. (LDC)

The Subject/Dative is referentially and collocationally a natural instantiator — a constituent directly 'identified' by the speaker for the hearer, so that the clausal type specification can be tied to it. The Object in these passives is equally typical, since it is generally /-highly referential/, /-definite/ and /+col-

locational with the Predicator/. In this context, it should also be noted that these Subject/Datives are, like Subject/Agents, associated with all three grammatical persons, while the Patient tends to be overwhelmingly restricted to third person. This is confirmed by a count of all the passives of ditransitive *give*-construals in the LDC:

Table 11: Person deixis in Dative/Subject and Patient/Subject passives with give in LDC.

	tot	D 1	D 2	D 3	P 1	P 2	P 3
D/Su passives	(31)	9	5	17	-	-	31
P/Su passives	(13)	4	-	9	-	-	13

In other words, the Subject/Datives activate the semantics of person deixis associated with the interactive speech event. The clausal type specifications are tied to speaker, hearer, or an entity identified as neither speaker nor hearer. As stressed in section 2.3, the 'instantiation' mechanism in the clause is not concerned with some form of 'objectified' spatio-temporal instantiation, but with instantiation in the interactive speaker-hearer meaning area created by every actual speech event.

Speech functionally, there is also nothing anomalous about Subject/Datives: they can function as the instantiating element of the four basic speech functions, those related to 'knowables'

(52) statement: She was given a conditional discharge.

(53) question: Was she given a conditional discharge?

and those related to 'desirables'

(54) offer: I'll be charged the costs, then. ('I undertake to pay')

(55) command: (You) Get yourself sent a free copy by the publishers!

Likewise, in the expression of 'desirability' and 'inclination' through deontic modality, a passive clausal type specification can be unproblematically tied to a Subject/Dative as in

(56) Father shan't be told the truth by the doctors.

(57) Father won't be told the truth by the doctors.

An example such as (57) clearly illustrates the difference between the Agent

and the Subject category. The Agent is *by the doctors*. In the causal chain being represented, *the doctors* are the participants doing the 'telling'. On the other hand, the Subject of the utterance is *father*, to whom the speaker attributes a negative modal inclination 'not to be told the truth'. According to the speaker, father's will not to be told the truth is the factor which 'blocks' the causal chain of the doctors telling him the truth. Similarly, in (55), Agent *the publishers* are the initiators of the causal chain. But, when I utter (55), I construct Subject *you*, in the semantic space of the verbal interaction between 'you and me', as the instantiator of the passive type specification. I hold *you* responsible 'to get yourself sent a free copy'. I thus implicitly order you to do something that will set off the causal chain of the publishers' sending a copy. In sum, the Agent-Patient-Dative layer is concerned with the pure representation of causal chains. The Subject-Object layer constructs speech inter-acts, in which these causal chains are speech functionally slanted and 'instantiated' in the verbal exchange between speaker and hearer.

2.5 *The scalar nature of the Subject-Object asymmetry*

In this section, I will attempt to formulate an overview of the aspects of Subject-Object organization in clauses discussed in this article. In the English clause, with its radical structural break between the Subject-Finite part and the clausal residue, the functional characteristics of the Subject are clearly distinct from those of Objects. The Subject, I argued, is the 'objective' instantiator, to which via person deixis, the speaker ties the clausal type specification, so that the utterance becomes a negotiable exchange between speaker and hearer. I then proposed that the typical 'referential' properties of Subject stem from its instantiating function, viz. its association with the full system of grammatical person (also coded implicitly as agreement on the verb), its autonomously determinable reference at the moment of utterance, its 'control' of the reference of Objects, its strong tendency towards high referentiality and definiteness. As well, the Subject has a strong tendency not to be collocationally predictable from the Predicator.

Objects are at the other side of the 'great divide' in English clause structure, viz. in the type specification part of the clause, where they subcategorize the general process type into a more specific one. I have followed Keenan (1976) in positing as 'typical' correlates of objecthood the characteristics opposed to those of the Subject: 'controlled' reference, tendency to third

person reference only, 'low' referentiality and/or indefiniteness, collocational relatedness with the Predicator. In terms of these 'prototypical' characteristics, there are, however, rather strong discrepancies between various types of Object. Some of these, such as the differences between IO and DO, have been recognized in the literature, others, such as those between different sorts of DO, have scarcely been commented on.

Let us look at the distinct characteristics of the IO first. As has been pointed out by Larson (1988:336-7) and Hudson (1992:264), there are important grammatical asymmetries to be observed between IO and DO, with regard to (i) quantifiers (examples 58a-b), (ii) reflexive pronouns (59a-b) and (iii) reciprocal pronouns (60a-b) (examples from Larson 1988:336-7):

(58) a. I gave every worker his paycheck.
b. *I gave its owner every paycheck.

(59) a. I showed Mary herself.
b. *I showed herself Mary.

(60) a. I showed each man the other's socks.
b. *I showed the other's friend each man.

In all these cases, the DO is shown to be *within* the domain of the IO, so, within the type specification, the IO controls the DO. But within the clause, the IO is controlled by the Subject. Further, as discussed in 2.4, the IO activates the full system of grammatical person, and it strongly tends to be highly referential and definite. Its collocational relations with the Predicator are restricted. It thus shares most of the referential and collocational characteristics of the Subject, and this explains why passives with a Subject/Dative such as *I've never been given any credit* are very unmarked.

A special position is held by the IO which has the role of the so-called 'ethical Dative' mapped on to it, e.g.

(61) a. Kiss me two boys. (Fawcett 1987:149)

(62) a. Kill me that guy. (Fawcett 1987:149)

(63) a. Cry me a river. (Green 1974:96)

(64) a. They're going to kill Reagan a Commie. (Green 1974:95)

This type of IO has the following distinctive features. Firstly, it is strictly confined to the postverbal IO position. The ethical Dative cannot occur as Subject of the passive.

(61)' b. *I have been kissed two boys.

Secondly, it is more restricted in terms of person deixis than other IOs. It is typically second or first person (for example 62a-b), even though the third person occasionally occurs as proper name, as in example (64).

(62) b. Shall I kill *you* that guy?

Thirdly, it is typically associated with offers and commands, as in examples (61)-(63). Fourthly, unlike other IOs, it does not designate a participant in the process represented. It functions purely 'interpersonally'.

As it is restricted to first and second person and direct naming acts by the speaker, it is referentially very close to the ground. Of all Objects, it interacts most closely with the Subject in the grounding of the utterance and the expression of its speech function:

(65) offer: Shall *I* ... *you* ...
(66) command: *(you)* [imperative] *me* ...

Because it does not designate a participant in the process, it is a marginal element in the clausal type specification. Interestingly, its strong interaction with the Subject also seems to exclude it from being 'subjectivizable'.

Within the traditional category of DO, there is also scalarity, as was revealed by the corpus study in 2.4. The majority of DOs in the 'transfer' construals were, rather unexpectedly, definite. Also because they had some first and second pronouns, and more human referents in general, they had to be placed closer to the IO-end of the scale. However, collocationally, at least the inanimate common nouns tended to have collocational relations with the Predicator.

By contrast, the DOs in the 'benefiter' construals were all either lowly referential (which implies restriction to non-pronominal third person reference) or, in the majority of cases, indefinite. There were very regular and frequently repeated collocations between them and the Predicator. These characteristics typify them as 'typical' Objects, contrasting strongly with Subjects.

In this context, it is interesting to bring the traditional category of 'Cognate Object' into the picture, e.g.

(67) She led a hard life.
(68) She died a good death.

Even though I did not carry out a quantified corpus study involving cognate Objects, it seems plausible to view them as 'Objects' which maximize the asymmetry with the Subject even further. They can be expected to score even higher than typical DOs on both indefiniteness and strong collocational ties to the Predicator. They very clearly subcategorize the general process type expressed by the Predicator and can be moved out of the residue into Subject-position with very marked effect only — if at all.

Finally, it is also interesting to look at another type of 'double object' construction, pointed out by Langacker (1991:356), with cognate Object and prepositional Object, as in

(69) a. They took advantage of the widow.

(70) a. They didn't take note of her.

Again, no corpus study has been carried out yet, but it seems plausible to correlate the following referential and collocational properties with the respective Objects. The cognate Object has lower referentiality and a stronger collocational association with the Predicator, whereas the prepositional Object can activate the full system of grammatical person, has higher referentiality and lower collocational predictability. In other words, the prepositional Object would appear to be a better potential Subject, and the cognate Object has what could be viewed as a prototypical subcategorization relation to the Predicator. In any case, the passive in which the prepositional Object becomes Subject is less marked than that in which the cognate Object becomes Subject. Compare

(69) b. The widow was taken advantage of.

(69) c. Advantage was taken of the window.

(70) b. She wasn't taken note of.

(70) c. No note was taken of her.

This type of 'double object' construction is relevant to the general picture, in that it dispels the notion that the 'scalar' nature of the Objects is related to position in the residue. It is not the case that Objects maximally asymmetric with the Subject occur always at the rightmost end of the residue and those less asymmetric with the Subject at the leftmost end. In terms of functional and formal characteristics, the prepositional Object is less asymmetric with the Subject, yet it is the rightmost Object in clauses such as (69a)-(70a). The

scalar nature of the Objects seems to be determined more by their referential and collocational properties than by their position in the clause.

3. Conclusion

Taking ditransitive clauses as the central test case, I have attempted in this article to distinguish the Subject-Object asymmetry from the Agent-Affected asymmetry. In a linguistic framework based on semiotic foundations, all grammatical categories are defined in terms of a correlation between their formal and semantic side. As categories such as Agent-Patient-Dative generalize over various syntagms, their formal delineation is to be found in the paradigmatic relations between constructions. The type of meaning they encode is purely representational: they construe causal chains and events. The Agent-Affected asymmetry is scalar, involving, for instance, highly 'transitive' Agent-Affected relations versus reduced ones. Ditransitive actions can be coded as primarily affecting the Dative or the Patient.

The categories of Subject and Object are formally defined by the syntactic structure and morphological marking of the syntagm itself. Following Halliday (1985), I have argued that they construct the utterance as speech inter-act. In exchanging information about a situation, or in negotiating the execution of an action, the speaker integrates a clausal type specification, which designates a class of situations, with the instantiating complex of Subject and Finite. He thus anchors the utterance to the 'ground', the actual instance of language exchange between speaker and hearer. This 'instantiated type' schema can be seen to motivate certain typical properties of Subjects and Objects, such as their referential and collocational tendencies. The Subject is the clausal determiner, typically definite and even highly referential, but collocationally less predictable. Objects are part of the 'free-floating' type specification, which tends, however, to be internally cohesive. Therefore, Objects are typically more lowly referential but collocationally more related to the Predicator than Subjects. The asymmetry between Subject and Object is also scalar. Statistically, Subjects and DOs are maximally asymmetric in terms of their referential and collocational characteristics, while IOs share more referential and collocational tendencies with Subjects.

NOTES

1. All examples taken from data sources are followed by abbreviations identifying the corpora: the Collins COBUILD Corpus (CB), the Leuven Drama Corpus (LDC), the Wall Street Journal Corpus (WSJ). The examples from the COBUILD corpus have been extracted via remote log-in and are reproduced here with the permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

2. "Agnate" was coined by Gleason on the basis of the Latin term *agnatus* ('related to').

3. The term "the semantics of the construction" refers here to the process-participant relations represented by the clause. In the Hallidayan (1985, 1994) framework, this semantic aspect of the clause is referred to as the "experiential" semantics: process-participant relations construe an interpretation of experience. However, the experiential semantics are not the *sole* semantics of the clause. The Subject-Object layer in the clause, for instance, also serves a semantic function, but one of a different type, which will be discussed in section 2 of this article.

4. 'Possession' is not used here as a *pre*-grammatical notion, equated with, for instance, ownership in a narrow sense. Rather, the notion of possession is used, comparably in a way to the work by Seiler (1983) on possession, as an abstract grammatico-semantic concept, which generalizes over related codings.

5. Halliday (1987) has suggested that the lexicogrammar often offers *complementary* models, which allow the language user to construe interpretations of experience, such as the transitive versus the ergative interpretation of causality. The 'benefiter' versus the 'transfer' model of ditransitivity can be seen as two more examples of complementary models.

6. Unlike in the Chomskyan tradition, there has never been any distinction made between deep and surface syntactic structure, or deep and surface Subjects and Objects, in neo-Firthian linguistics.

7. The system of modality operates on the same two axes. 'Deontic' modality indicates the degree of desirability attaching to an utterance. 'Epistemic' modality indicates the degree of certainty with which something is asserted or predicted.

8. The structural realizations discussed in 2.2.1 - 2.2.4 represent what Langacker (1991:148) calls the 'canonical' structure, i.e. the structure in which the semantic functions are coded *iconically*, viz. type specification by head noun and modifiers, and instantiation, quantification and grounding by determiners in the broad sense. However, there are also NGs which encode these semantic functions in a non-canonical way with, for instance, the explicit determiners applying to the type specification rather than the instantiation. For instance,

   (i) We've encountered those problems before.

   Problems designates 'sorts of problems' here and the specific 'sorts of problems' involved are further identified by the anaphorically referring demonstrative *those*. *Those* is thus part of the type specification.

9. Langacker (1991) in fact seems to distinguish proper names less sharply from common names than I am doing here. He (1991:59) says that proper names 'incorporate' a type specification and 'presuppose' instantiation, and that "the definite article would also be semantically compatible with proper names" (id:101). My position is that, because proper names are names of instances which merely imply type specifications, they do not in principle take instantiating determiners. For further discussion, see Davidse (1997).

10. Traditionally, the clause has often been said to designate "situations". In Halliday (1985) and Langacker (1991)'s terminology, the notion of "process" is taken as the clause's basic designatum.

11. Objects are actually labelled Complements by Halliday, possibly to avoid any possible association with the semantic components of 'patienthood'.

12. Langacker and Halliday do not agree on the division of labour between tense and aspect in the English verb system. Langacker (1991:200-279) views the 'progressive' and 'perfective' verbal markers as expressing aspect, whereas Halliday (1985:175-184) regards both of these as expressing tense.

13. Modal adjuncts such as *perhaps*, *probably*, *certainly* are part of the mood element (Halliday 1985:82).

14. This suggestion goes against Langacker (1991:195-197) who proposes that 'quantification' in the clause is realized by the 'secondary' auxiliaries in the verbal group, i.e. all the auxiliaries minus the Finite. However, the grammatical systems of voice, aspect and/or secondary tense pertain to the process *type*; as recognized by Langacker (1991:197), they derive higher-order type specifications. In contrast, the clausal systems of polarity and modality do presuppose instantiation of the process type and can, as argued in 2.3.2.2, be seen to quantify the process instance.

15. Even though Halliday does not actually use the term 'instantiation', I find it compatible with his description (1985:75) of the function of the Finite: "The Finite element, as its name implies, has the function of making the proposition finite. That is to say, it circumscribes it; it brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about."

16. In this context, it is instructive to consider non-finite embedded clauses. In them, the temporal/modal grounding effect of the Finite is cancelled, which allows one to concentrate on the semantic functions of the Subject. If we look first at embedded non-finite clauses *without* Subject, e.g.

   (i) *Threatening people* will get you nowhere. (Halliday 1985:225)
   (ii) *Writing a letter* is something that can be done in half an hour.

   it is clear that these designate *types* of processes, and that they are the complex names of classes of situations (see section 2.3.2.1). In contrast, embedded non-finite clauses *with* Subject can receive an *instance* interpretation, e.g.

   (iii) *Your having written a letter* made all the difference.
   (iv) *With his being away*, everyone works harder. (Halliday 1985:216)

   where the non-finite clauses refer to specific instances at which 'you wrote a letter' and 'he was away'.

17. For further reading on the concept of collocation, see also Jones and Sinclair (1973), Sinclair (1991), Stubbs (1996).

18. The different collocational tendencies of IO and DO could perhaps be seen to offer a certain justification for the traditional distinction between 'indirect' and 'direct' object in the so-called 'double object' construction. DOs have strong and direct collocational ties to the Predicator and subcategorize its general sense into more delicate process type senses, as in *grant an option / a licence / permission / power*, etc. IOs have weaker collocational ties with the Predicator and often these are mediated by a specific combination of Predicator and DO. For instance, *the Dalai Lama* and *a Norwegian professor* as such do not collocate strongly with *award*, but they collocate more noticeably with *award the Nobel Prize*.

19. To assess the referential properties of the DO, I made an average of the two possible DO positions in these ditransitive construals. These two DO positions display a different *proportion* of definite versus indefinite NGs. There are clearly textual factors at work in this different distribution: the larger proportion of indefinite DOs (75%) is found in the 'double object' construction, where the DO is preceded by the predominantly definite IO (88%). However, the referential properties in the DO/Pa — Adj/Dat structure type do not converge with the 'topicality' scale posited for the clause by Givón (1979), according to which the 'left' end of the clause is associated with definite, known, NGs and the right end with indefinite, unknown, NGs. In these structures (Table 5), the clause final Adj/Dat is still *more* definite (66%) than the DO which precedes it (41%). This seems to indicate that idealized textual models such as Givón's topicality scale can be overridden by the referential tendencies of participant roles such as the Dative (see also Davidse 1996a: 301-302).

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The semantic structure of the indirect object in Dutch

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1. Aims and background of the exercise

The purpose of the present article may be defined from two points of view: a more narrow descriptive one, and a broader theoretical one. Narrowly defined, the paper intends to show that the semantic structure of the indirect object construction in Dutch can be fruitfully described,

a) by starting from a spatial prototype (the indirect object as the recipient of a spatial transfer)
b) by deriving further uses from this basis by taking into account four specific conceptual mechanisms of semantic change, viz. generalization, metaphor, metonymy, and subjectification
c) by systematically exploring the various relations of these mechanisms, i.e. by describing the field of application of the indirect object as a multidimensional space.

Broadly defined, the paper will try to bring home three general theoretical points about the semantic structure of syntactic constructions. The first point implies that such constructions can be semantically described by means of basically the same descriptive mechanisms that apply to lexical categories. The second point involves the view that the semantic structure of categories is best described as a multidimensional space. The third point consists of the recognition that the semantic description of syntactic constructions has to be intimately linked to their syntactic structure. All three points require some additional discussion.

The first point is a straightforward consequence of one of the major methodological strategies employed by Cognitive Linguistics, modelling grammatical research on the basis of lexical research: the study of lexical categories is taken as a methodological point of departure for the study of categorization in the grammar at large, and grammatical construction types are considered categories just like lexical items. Given that linguistic categorization is the major focus of attention for Cognitive Linguistics, studying the lexicon first is, in fact, a plausible step to take: the categorizing function of the lexicon has received more attention in the linguistic tradition (and is also, perhaps, easier to investigate) than that of grammatical constructs. The intention to study the grammar of the language along the same lines as its lexicon obviously leads to a specific kind of grammatical theory, viz. one in which the grammar, like the lexicon, is conceived of as an inventory of symbolic elements (i.e. meaningful units). At this point in time, this idea has received its clearest and most elaborate form of expression in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987, 1990a, 1991), and in Fillmore's Construction Grammar (Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988, Goldberg 1994).

A major difficulty for such a research strategy involves the formal identification of the grammatical constructions. In the domain of lexical research, it is usually quite clear what separate entities have to be distinguished: in spite of (stubborn but relatively marginal) problems surrounding the exact demarcation of homonymy, the fact that lexical items have a constant phonological form by and large suffices to identify what the basic units of the analysis should be. In the domain of grammatical research, however, the formal side of the categories/constructions cannot receive such a straightforward definition. For one thing, the grammatical categories do not necessarily have a constant phonological form: word classes, for instance, may well exhibit a type of formal constancy in terms of their distributional and morphological properties, but these characteristics are already abstract properties that do not correspond in a one-to-one fashion with the presence of an identifiable and constant phonological form. For another, we tend to think of the formal side of grammatical constructions as being subject to variations and transformations (in a non-technical sense), but it is not immediately obvious which changes and alternations are allowed, and which ones undermine the formal identity of the construction.

The purpose of the present article is definitely not to resolve this question, but it should be pointed out from the start that the problem has immediate

consequences for the task at hand. Traditionally, various construction types have been subsumed under the label 'indirect object': ditransitive constructions featuring both a direct and an indirect object, some intransitive constructions, and some prepositional constructions. Against the background of the methodological question that we just raised, it is not clear whether it is entirely justified to lump together these various constructions: does the indirect object exist at all in its traditional definition, incorporating <V NP NP>, some cases of <V NP>, and constructions of the type <V NP *aan* NP> or <V NP *voor* NP> ? The present article will not try to answer the question, but rather circumvent the problem by focussing on the ditransitive constructions (which will belong to the hard core of the construction in any event). There will be some remarks about intransitive indirect objects (that is, indirect objects in a V NP frame rather than a V NP NP frame), but none about the prepositional indirect object. As for the demarcation of the single NP indirect object constructions in contrast with single NP direct object constructions, the paper relies on the groundwork laid by Van Belle & Van Langendonck (1992).

The second theoretical point mentioned above involves the question what kind of semantic structure best describes the semasiological range of grammatical constructions (or, as the case may be, lexical items). Although the representational formats used in Cognitive Semantics basically have the same representational power (see Geeraerts 1995), it is nevertheless the case that some types of representation inadvertently favour a particular type of analysis. Radial set representations of the type promoted by Lakoff (1987), for instance, would seem to suggest a two-dimensional analysis of semantic structures: starting from a prototypical centre, new readings are derived directly or indirectly from the prototype in what ultimately constitutes a two-dimensional plane of interconnected senses. As against this impression of two-dimensionality, it has been argued that a more adequate picture of the semantic structure of lexical items has to take into account the multidimensional nature of semantic extensions: the structure of polysemous categories is characterized by covariation on multiple dimensions. A case in point is the reanalysis suggested in Geeraerts (1992) of the radial set representation of the Dutch preposition *over* proposed by Cuyckens (1991); a related argument for a multidimensional approach is to be found in Deane (1993).

The point to make, to be precise, is not one about representational formats: it is not impossible, for instance, to adapt a radial set representation

in such a way that the multidimensional character of the semantic structure is revealed (see, for instance, the way in which Brugman (1989) enriches a basic radial set representation with a type of componential analysis that reveals the multiple links between the readings in the radial set). Rather, the point is an empirical one: the description of semasiological structures (of lexical items and grammatical constructions alike) requires specific attention for the multidimensional nature of the semantic links among the readings of the item or the construction. In the case that interests us here, a multidimensional analysis of the indirect object construction will be contrasted with two related analyses that do not pay as much attention to this multidimensional character, viz. Goldberg's radial set analysis of the English ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1992), and Rudzka-Ostyn's (1996) hierarchical network analysis of the Polish dative.

The third theoretical point mentioned above might seem to be uncontroversial: it is a rather obvious idea that the semantic description of grammatical constructions should be systematically linked to their formal structure. More concretely, a construction-based definition will have to take a relational form: if the indirect object constituent is explicitly defined as part of the constructional frame <V NP NP>, then it should receive a definition that includes a reference (however indirectly) to the other constituents in the construction. Given the overall plausibility of this idea, the present paper will highlight (by way of example rather than through elaborate theoretical discussion) the connection between this point and the previous one: it will be shown that the relational character of the definition of the indirect object constituent plays a crucial role in the multidimensional nature of its semantic structure.

2. The overall structure of the analysis

The basic goal of the analysis is to show that the indirect object construction is semantically cohesive: the various instantiations of the category are linked to each other by means of semantically plausible links, just as the senses of ordinary lexical items are linked to each other through semantic assocations. The links that will be envisaged here largely belong to the traditional repertoire of semasiology as established by the prestructuralist tradition of diachronic semantics: we will make use of processes of generalization, of metonymy, and of metaphor. In addition, we will invoke the notion of subjectification,

which is a more recent addition to the inventory of mechanisms of semantic change.

The starting-point of the analysis consists of those cases in which the indirect object refers to the recipient of a benefactive material transfer, as in *hij gaf haar een roos* 'he gave her a rose'. The prototypical indirect object, in other words, is defined in terms of a frame featuring a process of transfer, something being transferred, and a specific functional character of the transfer. The indirect object itself, of course, is the person to whom the transfer is directed and who benefits from the transfer. The choice of this particular construction as the prototype of the category is not an arbitrary one: it links up with traditional localist conceptions of case relations, in which spatial aspects of meaning are considered to be basic. Although this lies beyond the scope of the present paper, it should be noted that independent evidence for the identification of the prototype might in fact be looked for: a frequency analysis of corpus data, or data of a psychological type involving the ease with which informants produce particular examples of the indirect object construction, might very well confirm the central position of the 'spatial' kind of use selected here. In the context of the present paper, however, the choice for this particular prototypical center is a hypothesis that can be confirmed only indirectly. It will turn out to be a suitable hypothesis, in fact, if it indeed provides a good starting-point for deriving a plausibly coherent analysis of the indirect object construction.

It is important for the overall structure of the analysis in the following pages, that the prototype as defined here contains three major components: if the prototypical indirect object constituent is the recipient of a benefactive material transfer, semantic changes may take their starting-point in the 'recipient' part of the definition, in the 'transfer' part of the definition, and in the 'material' or 'benefactive' nature of the transfer. The observation that the prototype may be analysed into a number of conceptual components has interesting repercussions in the light of the third theoretical point mentioned in the previous section, but discussion of that point will be saved for the final section of the paper. At this point, it suffices to see that mechanisms of extension such as metaphor and generalization may attach to different components of the prototype. And at the same time, of course, each component may be subject to different types of semantic shift.

	RECIPIENT OF MATERIAL TRANSFER	RECIPIENT OF ABSTRACT TRANSFER	RECIPIENT OF COMMUNICATIVE TRANSFER
transfer into the sphere of *control* of the indirect object	ik geef **hem** een boek (I give him a book)	ik schenk **u** mijn koninkrijk (I give you my kingdom)	
transfer into the sphere of *use* of the indirect object	**haar** werd een hart ingeplant (her was a heart implanted)	ze hebben **je** verkeerde ideeën ingeprent (they have you wrong ideas impressed-upon)	
transfer into the sphere of *experience* of the indirect object	de wind blies **hem** de regen in het gezicht (the wind blew him the rain in the face)	zo'n geluk overkomt **je** nooit meer (such a happiness befalls you never again)	ik zeg **u** dat hij komt (I tell you that he comes)
transfer into the sphere of *affectedness (characterization)* of the indirect object	ik geef **het huis** een nieuw laagje verf (I give the house a new coat of paint)	de jury heeft '**De ontdekking van de hemel**' de eerste prijs toegekend (the jury has 'De ontdekking van de hemel' the first prize allotted)	

Figure 1

3. Extension 1: Generalization

Starting from the indirect object as recipient of a material transfer as prototype of the construction, the first two dimensions leading to extensions from the prototype involve processes of metaphorization and generalization. Figure 1 charts a number of these extensions, in such a way that their mutual combinations become apparent. Generalization features along the vertical dimension in the table, and metaphorization is charted along the horizontal dimension in the table.

Generalization as a traditional mechanism of semantic extension in lexical semantics involves all forms of semantic shift in which the original reading refers to a proper subset of the extension of the new reading. Classical examples are the development from French *arriver* 'to arrive at the river's edge, to land' to the less specific meaning 'to arrive in general', or the development of English *moon* 'earth's satellite' to the more encompassing reading 'any planetary satellite. Alternative terms featuring in the lexical semantic literature for the concept of generalization include 'extension', 'weakening', 'broadening', and 'schematization' (in the Langackerian sense).

The process of generalization identified in Figure 1 basically involves a weakening of the Beneficiary-role of the recipient of the prototypical transfer. In Figure 2, tentative definitions are given of the four positions that are distinguished along the generalization dimension in Figure 1: for each of the four labels distinguished along the vertical dimension of Figure 1, a componential definition is presented that reveals their mutual relations. In accordance with the definition of generalization, each secondary generalized reading includes the original one as a special case. All cases of 'transfer into the sphere of control', for instance, imply 'transfer into the sphere of experience'. The overall structure, then, of the meanings affected by the process of generalization is one of nested subsets.

The broadest category distinguished along the generalization dimension merely implies that the indirect object constituent is affected by the transfer referred to by the construction as a whole: the transfer involves a change (in the broadest possible sense) in the indirect object. At the most generalized end of the scale, the indirect object merely passively undergoes the effect of the transfer, without in any way being able to control or manipulate the transferred entity. At the other end of the scale, the indirect object constituent is a beneficiary in the strong sense: a human being who is free to use the received

	the transfer involves a change of attributes and characteristics in the indirect object constituent	the transfer involves a sentient, mostly human being who is conscious of the change	the transferred entity is used but not manipulated by the beneficiary	the beneficiary has manipulative freedom in his use of the transferred entity
'control'	+	+	+	+
'use'	+	+	+	
'experience'	+	+		
'affectedness'	+			

Figure 2

entity according to his own intentions. In between these two extreme positions, a continuum may be discerned going from 'control' over 'use' and 'experience' to 'affectedness'. Precisely because the generalization dimension is conceived of as a continuum, borderline cases are not to be excluded. For instance, because the 'use'-category distinguished in the figure is probably not a very prominent one as far as frequency of occurrence is concerned, it might already be considered a more or less marginal borderline case between the more prominent poles involving active control and manipulation on the one hand, and mere sentient experience on the other hand. In general, it is not necessarily the case that the intermediary positions distinguished in Figure 2 are the only ones to be retained on a closer analysis.

4. Extension 2: Metaphorization

The metaphorization dimension charted in Figure 1 features two relatively straightforward patterns of metaphorical change. On the one hand, there is a shift from cases involving material transferred entities to cases involving abstract transferred entities. The link with the non-metaphorical readings shows up in the fact that the different positions on the generalization dimension that we distinguished earlier also appear to be relevant for the metaphorized readings. The various abstract entities that are being transferred have effects on the recipient that fall into the same categories as when material objects are being transferred.

On the other hand, there are metaphorical extensions into the domain of communicative actions; broadly speaking, these transfers seem to rely on the conduit metaphor (Reddy 1979): messages are conceived of as entities that are being transferred from one person to the other. Logically, the recipient of a material transfer may thus be metaphorized into the recipient of a communicative transfer.

One question that immediately imposes itself against the background of these metaphorical extensions is: why is the distribution of the instances of 'communicative transfer' over the 'control' etc. series so defective? An immediate answer to the question involves the recognition that a concept such as 'control' (as defined along the generalization dimension) simply does not apply to the objects of communicative transfers: the recipient of the message is more passive with regard to the message received than, for instance, the

recipient of a present with regard to the present. Similarly, communicative transfers presuppose human (or at least animate) recipients, which excludes the 'affectedness' category as defined along the generalization dimension (because it specifically involved non-human recipients).

Going one step further, however, it may be suggested that the asymmetrical distribution of the examples in Figure 1 derives from a shift of perspective with regard to the prototype. Each of the two metaphorical dimensions would then capitalize on different aspects of the prototype, and the different distributional patterns of both metaphors would be a reflection of that shift of perspective. Pursuing this line of thought, let us first identify the two perspectives involved. If the prototype case of the indirect object construction involves the indirect object as the recipient of a material transfer, the focus may lie either on the *functional* aspects of the transfer (the transfer as a process with specific effects for the recipient), or on the *spatial* aspects of the transfer (the transfer as a material change of place of an object). The simultaneous presence of both perspectives is reflected by the fact that the indirect object constituent in the prototypical case may be either identified as a Beneficiary (according to the functional perspective) or as a Recipient (when the focus is shifted somewhat to the spatial point of view). According to the functional perspective, the generalization continuum described in Figure 2 is of prime importance: the various positions on the scale identify different forms of functional effects that the indirect object constituent may be subject to. Conversely, distinctions between 'sphere of control', 'sphere of experience', 'sphere of affectedness' etc. recede to the background when the more purely orientational, spatial perspective is taken. Given, then, that the conduit metaphor takes its starting-point in the orientational conception of the literal prototype case rather than in the functional conception, it is not surprising to find that the distinction between the different positions on the generalization dimension turns out to be largely irrelevant for the metaphorical shifts into the field of communicative transfers.

It may be noted that comparative evidence for the multiple perspectivizability of the prototype case might be found in languages where the dative case (the formally marked indirect object) expresses not just the notion 'recipient of transfer', but also the concept 'goal, direction of movement', in a clear-cut spatial, orientational sense. Such an extension of the category's range is a generalization of the spatial aspect of the transfer prototype, rather than of its functional aspects: the orientation of the movement is entirely

detached from the notion of transfer.

Incidentally, if we consider the dative in languages with a morphologically marked indirect object (e.g. Latin), and if we further take into account that this morphological dative in Indo-European seems to be a development of an original locative case, it becomes clear that the diachronic relationship between the goal-reading and the recipient-reading may well be the converse of the synchronic relationship sketched above: historically speaking, the spatial aspects may have been primary with regard to the functional aspects. Of course, such prototype shifts are not a theoretical anomaly (compare Geeraerts 1997; Van Langendonck, this volume).

5. Extension 3: Metonymy

Two kinds of metonymy may play a role in the structure of the indirect object. First, we find indirect identifications of the indirect object entity: in a pattern like *hij schrijft {het paleis, het stadhuis, het Instituut, de Wetstraat} een brief* 'he writes {the palace, the town hall, the Institute, 10 Downing Street} a letter', the human recipient of the communicative transfer is indicated by means of a reference to something (a building or dwelling-place) that is characteristically associated with the recipient in question. This is a form of metonymy that is quite widespread, and that is in no way specific for the indirect object construction. It will not be envisaged any further in what follows.

Second, and more importantly, we find metonymical ramifications of the transfer aspect of the core indirect object meaning ('recipient of functional transfer'): instead of naming the recipient in an actual process of transfer, the indirect object constituent identifies entities or persons involved in actions or states of affairs that are metonymically associated with processes of transfer. Two important patterns may be discerned. On the one hand, there are states of affairs following acts of transfer: resultant states, effects, effectuated changes. If one says, for instance, *dit cadeau is mij een kostbaar bezit* 'this present is a precious possession to me', one describes oneself as the beneficiary of an act of transfer, but focussing on the situation *after* the actual transfer: the offering of the present itself is implied, but it is not explicitly mentioned. In such cases, the indirect object may be broadly defined as 'the entity affected by an (explicitly mentioned) state resulting from an (unmen-

tioned) functional transfer (such as would be named in a core example of the indirect object construction)'.

On the other hand, we find references to acts and states of affairs preceding acts of transfer: conditions, preparations, preliminary actions, intentions. If, for instance, one promises something to someone (*ik beloof hem het koninkrijk*, 'I promise him the kingdom'), the transfer has not yet taken place, but one describes someone as the beneficiary of a preliminary action (the promise) that will normally lead to the actual transfer. In these cases, the indirect object may be roughly defined as 'the entity affected by an (explicitly mentioned) action that is preparatory with regard to an (unmentioned) functional transfer of which the entity is the recipient'.

Figure 3 features examples of these two metonymical patterns ('resultant state' metonymies and 'preceding conditions' metonymies) for most of the types of use that we distinguished previously. In order not to clutter the figure too much, however, some simplifications have been applied: along the generalization dimension, the 'use' category has been left out; likewise, no instances of communicative transfers are included.

It may be noted that the 'resultant state' cases typically involve the intransitive indirect object. This is probably an automatic, semantically driven consequence of the shift of perspective involved in the 'resultant state' metonymies: when the attention is shifted to the outcome of the transfer, the initiator of the initial transfer recedes to the background of the attention.

A second point to note involves the fact that on top of the cases charted in Figure 3, an additional type of metonymical extension has to be distinguished. Let us notice, to begin with, that metonymical extensions need not imply that the original meaning is always relevant in those contexts where the new metonymical reading is applied. On the one hand, we find cases like *he drank a glass*: what he drinks is a 'quantity of water in a glass', but there is always at the same time a *glass* 'recipient of specific form and substance' around. On the other hand, we get cases like *barrel*: a barrel is a 'specific quantity of oil contained in a barrel', even if it happens to be in a tanker or a pipeline). In the same way, *to fall* signifies 'to be killed by a weapon' even if the person does not fall down ('the parachutist who got caught in the tree fell under enemy fire'). Although this is not traditionally done, developments such as those affecting *barrel* and *to fall* could be seen as a generalization based upon an initial metonymy. For instance, *barrel* would undergo a metonymic shift from the initial 'recipient' reading to the reading 'amount of oil in such a recipient',

		PRECEDENT ACTIONS METONYMY	RESULTANT STATE METONYMY
CONTROL	*material*	hij schenkt **haar** koffie in 'he serves her coffee' ik gun hem het boek 'I grant him the book'	dit cadeau is **mij** een kostbaar bezit 'this present is a precious possession to me'
	abstract	ik beloof **hem** het koninkrijk 'I promise him the kingdom'	het rijk behoort **haar** toe 'the empire belongs to her'
EXPERIENCE	*material*	er stond **hem** een regenbui te wachten 'a shower of rain was awaiting him'	de hagel was **hem** onaangenaam 'the hail was unpleasant to him'
	abstract	zij gunnen **hem** dat genoegen niet 'they do not grant him that pleasure'	het valt **mij** moeilijk dat toe te geven 'it is for me difficult to admit that'
AFFECTEDNESS	*material*	de burgemeester wenste **het nieuwe museum** veel bezoekers toe 'the mayor wished the new museum many visitors'	de nieuwe kleur staat **het huis** goed 'the new colour becomes the house'
	abstract	ik wens **deze nieuwe theorie** niets dan mislukte experimenten toe 'I wish this new theory nothing but failed experiments'	de aanpassingen waren **de theorie** tot voordeel 'the changes were to the advantage of the theory'

Figure 3

	MATERIAL	ABSTRACT
control	van al zijn lichaamsdelen was zijn linkerhand **hem** het dierbaarst 'of all the parts of his body, his left hand was the dearest to him'	je vermogen om zeer snel te lezen zal **je** goed van pas komen 'your capacity for reading very fast will be an advantage to you'
experience	pannekoeken zijn **mij** het lekkerst 'pancakes are the most delicious to me'	alle vriendschap leek **hem** nutteloos 'all friendship seemed useless to him'
affectedness	jungles zijn **tropische landen** eigen 'jungles are typical of tropical countries'	zwaarmoedigheid is **alle romantische muziek** eigen 'melancholy is common to all romantic music'

Figure 4

and then further by generalization to 'same amount of oil, even if not actually in the recipient'.

Now, regardless of the exact kind of analysis that one may wish to apply to such cases, it is crucial to note that the kind of extension exemplified by *barrel* and *to fall* also obtains in the indirect object construction. When, in fact, the metonymical 'resultant state' cases contained in Figure 3 occur without reference to processes of transfer, 'pure' cases of 'possessor', 'experiencer', and 'affected entity' readings arise. For instance, the prototypically active recipient with powers of control and manipulation that features in the central cases of benefactive transfer, turns metonymically into an active, controlling entity in a stative relationship resulting from such a transfer; by a further process of generalization, it becomes an active, controlling entity in a stative relationship (regardless of whether an initial transfer took place or not).

Figure 4 contains a number of examples of the shift intended here. The examples are restricted to cases that link up with the 'resultant state' metonymies, but it should be noted that similar examples may be found with 'precedent conditions' metonymies. For instance, *Ik gun hem zijn overwinning* 'I grant him his victory, I do not begrudge his victory' may be said by someone who has no power at all to bring about (or to hamper) the victory.

6. Extension 4: Subjectification

On the basis of the 'experiencer' and 'affected entity' readings in the stative relations described at the end of the previous paragraph, a further extension leads to the so-called ethical dative, as in the idiomatic expression *het is me wat* 'that's something [to me, as far as I am concerned]!': the information contained in the utterance is part of the sphere of experience of the indirect object (which is identical with the speaking subject), who is concerned, involved, interested with regard to the objective situation or event described by the utterance. Characteristically, the verb phrase need not refer to a process of transfer, which is an indication of the fact that the ethical dative is indeed a further development from the 'stative' cases described at the end of the previous paragraph.

Against the background of the framework sketched so far, the ethical dative may be explained as a shift from the referential domain of the utterance

to the discursive context. The interested party is not part of the referential domain in which the action takes place, but of the pragmatic domain in which the utterance is made. This shift is an example of the subjectification processes as described by Langacker (1990b) or Traugott (1989). (There are some differences between Langacker's and Traugott's conception of subjectification, but the differences need not detain us here). In general, subjectification involves a change in the conceptual construal of a particular relationship: from an objective construal (in which the relationship is construed without reference to the speech situation), a change is made to a subjective construal, in which the speaking subject (or another element from the speech situation) features as one of the relata in the relationship in question. In our case, the relationship could be, for instance, 'affectedness'. In the more common cases of the indirect object construction, the affected entity is part of an objective referential situation that is conceived of as being independent of the speech situation. In the case of the ethical dative, on the other hand, the affected entity is the speaking subject, as a basic element of the speech situation.

7. Extension 5: Perspectival switching

A final extension to be noted involves cases in which the transfers that feature in the prototypical cases change polarity, so to speak, and are transformed into cases of blocked transfers or deprivations. Rather than receiving something, the indirect object entity is deprived of something: something is taken away from him that he already possessed, or he is denied something that he wishes for or that he expects to receive. The nuances that this reading occurs with are largely similar to the ones that were identified before. Without trying to be exhaustive about the possibilities, Figure 5 lists examples involving actual transfers (where 'negative transfer' equals deprivation), together with a few examples involving stative relations; in each case, both material and abstract instantiations are included.

The explanation of the shift of perspective (or, if one wishes, the shift of polarity) that is illustrated by these examples is less straightforward than in the previous cases. Probably the most plausible analysis is to see the shift as the result of a generalization process affecting the 'transfer' component of the prototype case. Earlier on, we saw that the transfer component was subject to

	MATERIAL	ABSTRACT
negative transfer from the sphere of control	hij nam **haar** het speeltje af 'he took the toy from her'	ze ontnamen **hem** alle rechten 'all his righs were taken away from him'
negative transfer from the sphere of experience	een wolk ontnam **ons** het laatste straaltje zon 'a cloud took the last ray of sunshine away from us'	het bericht ontnam **Hermine** haar gevoel van rust 'that message took Hermine's quiet feelings away'
negative transfer from the sphere of affectedness	dit bericht ontnam **haar** de laatste kleur die haar gelaat nog sierde 'this message took the last shade of colour away that adorned her face'	de nieuwe snelweg ontneemt **het landschap** zijn laatste aantrekkelijkheid 'the new highway deprives this landscape of its last point of attractiveness'
stative relation of affectedness	het ontbreekt **hem** aan het nodige geld om dat huis te kopen 'it fails him the necessary money to buy that house'	het ontgaat **haar** dat het hoogtepunt van het generativisme achter de rug is 'she fails to see that the heyday of generativism is over'

Figure 5

a metonymical shift in cases like *Ik gun hem het boek* 'I grant him the book', *ik gun hem de overwinning* 'I grant him the victory'. In the cases that concern us here, the transfer component is subject to a different type of change: it is generalized by dropping the 'benefactive' aspect that was associated with the prototype. The transfers envisaged here, in fact, do not add something to the sphere of control (etc.) of the indirect object constituent, but rather take something away: instead of being transferred in the direction of the indirect object constituent, the transferred entity moves *away from* the indirect object. Obviously, the indirect object can then no longer be characterized as a 'recipient', but should be characterized as 'affected entity' or 'person concerned'. In the cases referred to here, in other words, the generalization of the transfer component correlates with a shift in the 'recipient' component.

Incidentally, this discussion shows that the label 'benefactive' that was used initially to characterize the prototype case may be slightly misleading, in the sense that it combines (in typically prototypical fashion) two different features that co-occur in the prototype case, but that are nevertheless separable. A benefactive transfer is typically one in which something good is given to someone: a positive effect for the indirect object constituent combines with a directionality oriented towards the indirect object. At the other extreme, the cases of deprivation illustrated in Figure 5 involve transfers in which something good is taken away from someone. Notice, however, that giving something bad to someone (*hij gaf hem een klap* 'he gave him a smack, he hit him') combines negative functionality with an orientation towards the indirect object. In the same way, taking something bad away from someone (*haar antwoord ontnam hem zijn somberheid* 'her answer took away from him his melancholy mood') combines a positive, beneficial effect with an orientation of the transfer away from the indirect object constituent. The occurrence of all four combinations of directionality and effect shows, in short, that the generalizing extension of the 'benefactive transfer' aspect of the prototype actually covers two different processes. On the one hand, there is a perspectival change involving the directionality of the transfer. On the other, the functional aspect of the prototypical transfer may similarly (but independently) undergo a perspectival switch.

Needless to say, this discussion as a whole once more establishes the importance of distinguishing between the functional ('benefactive') and the spatial (directional, orientational) aspects of the prototype case — a point that was already stressed in our discussion of the metaphorical extensions based on the conduit metaphor.

9. The resulting picture

If the prototype case of the indirect object construction is defined as 'the active recipient (with controlling power) of a benefactive transfer of material entities', various semantic extensions appear to start from each of the aspects of the prototype. An overview of the various extensions is presented in Figure 6. (For reasons of graphical economy, the extension towards the ethical dative is not included in the figure. Neither have the nuances of the perspectival switch discussed at the end of the previous section been explicitly represented.)

Crucially, the points in the network sketched in Figure 6 are not separate 'senses' of the indirect object construction, but conceptual components that co-occur in various combinations: Figure 6 indicates only the dimensions along which the indirect object construction may vary, but it does not chart all the individual readings that arise from the combination of the different positions that occur along the variational dimensions. In this sense, the representational format of Figure 6 is fundamentally different from the 'radial sets' representations that are common in cognitive linguistic research: while the nodes in radial networks à la Lakoff (1987) constitute individual readings of the category in question, the representation of Figure 6 gives an overview of the conceptual components that may enter into such individual readings. For instance, a sentence like *Zo'n geluk overkomt je nooit meer* 'Happiness like that does not happen to you any more' (see Figure 1) combines a shift from active recipient to passive experiencer along the generalization dimension (represented by the line going from the prototype to the lower right hand corner of Figure 6) with a shift from material to abstract transfer along the metaphorization dimension (the axis drawn vertically downward in Figure 6).

Conversely, it is not necessarily the case that any point in the network that results from the combination of the dimensions in Figure 6, should be considered a different 'sense' (in the technical reading of that word). In the field of lexical semantics, distinguishing polysemy from vagueness is not always an easy task (see Geeraerts 1993). In syntax, then, the difficulties are even greater, because the criteria to apply are even less clear than in the field of lexical studies. Broadly labelled categories like Beneficiary or Affected Entity (Patiens), that occupy specific regions of the overall network, could certainly be considered candidates, but then again, according to what methodology should these categories be distinguished and demarcated ? The road

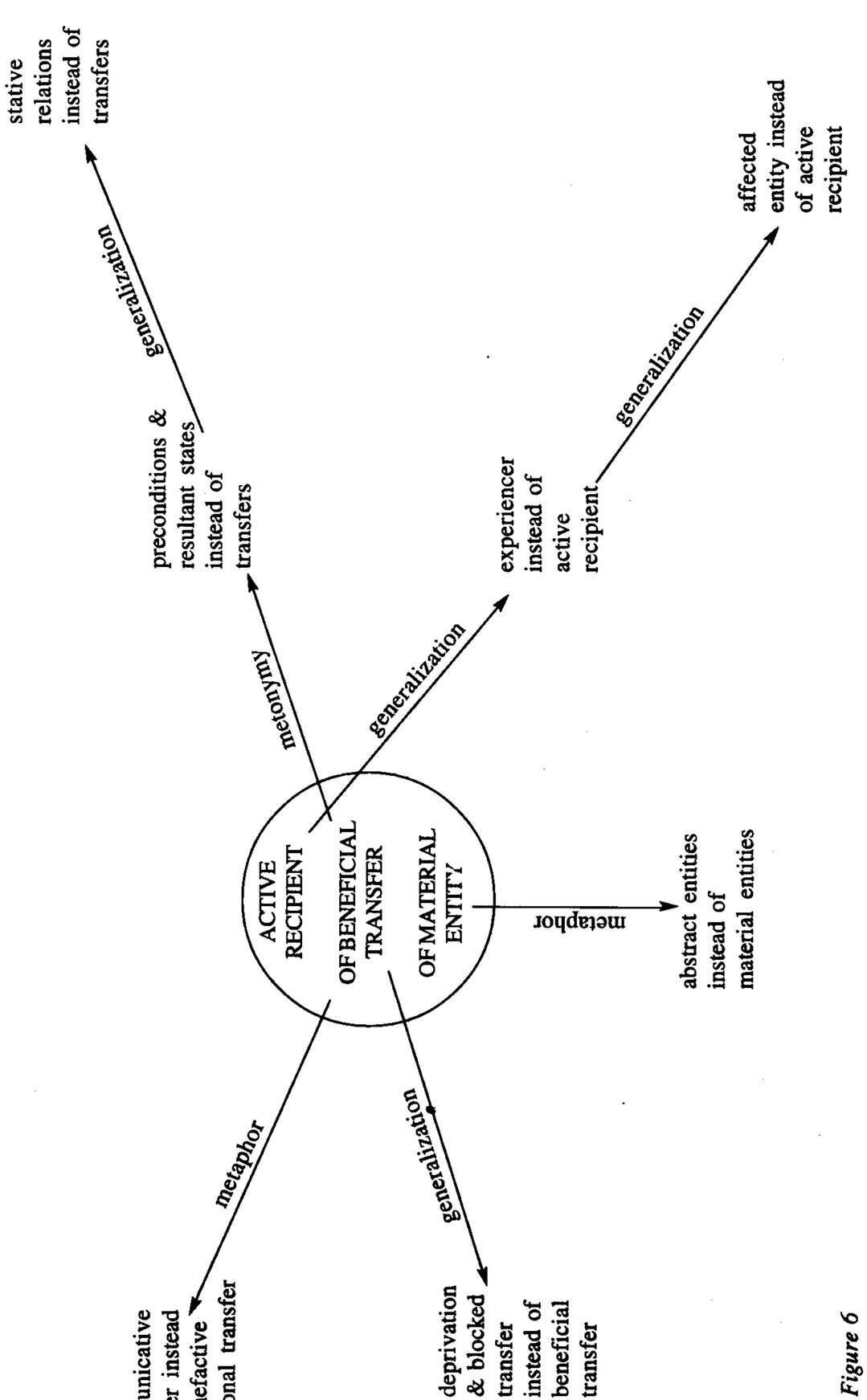


Figure 6

taken in the present paper has not been to try to answer the polysemy question, but rather to sketch the network of different uses with regard to which such a polysemy would have to be defined.

10. Further steps to be taken

The analysis of the Dutch indirect object construction presented here does not pretend to be the final word on the subject, but merely tries to make a number of points that may prove stimulating for further research. In principle, there are two possible areas for a further elaboration of the model presented here. In the first place, the analysis as such will have to be refined. Specifically, by confronting the analyses given here with *corpus data* illustrating actual language use, it may be checked whether any additional semantic nuances have to be added to the picture drawn in the previous pages. Also, corpus data will yield frequency data that may confirm the prototype-theoretical structure assumed here. Is it the case, for instance, that the shades of meaning that are considered peripheral according to the present analysis, do indeed occur less frequently?

In the second place, the model may be elaborated beyond the boundaries of the analysis given here. For one thing, the question arises whether the model has any *typological and comparative* validity: can the same structure be used to describe developments in other languages ? Note that this question has two aspects to it: what languages share a similar construction with the same prototype as the one identified for the Dutch indirect object (see, for instance, Rudzka-Ostyn's identification of the prototype of the Polish dative (1996)) ? And — given such a prototypical similarity — can the extensions from the prototype that occur in the different languages be modelled along lines that are similar to the ones set out for Dutch ? Another area for elaboration concerns the whole field of *onomasiological* research. The present analysis is a semasiological one: it describes the semantic structure of a single construction. At least for a number of the senses within the semasiological range of application of the indirect object construction, alternative modes of expression exist. First among these are the 'prepositional indirect objects', i.e. constructions of the type <V NP *aan* NP> or <V NP *voor* NP>. Assuming that these may indeed be considered different constructions (see the discussion in the first section of the article), the question arises

whether the exact relationship among these onomasiological alternatives might be determined. In particular, would it be possible to analyse the choice between the ditransitive construction and the prepositional indirect object along the same quantitative lines set out in Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Bakema (1994) ? In that monograph, it is shown that the choice among lexical alternatives is determined simultaneously by semasiological and onomasiological salience effects (which may be calculated, given a sufficiently large corpus). Now, if the basic research strategy of Cognitive Linguistics (viz. of modelling the semantic analysis of grammatical constructions on the example provided by lexicological analyses) is carried through systematically, an extension of the analysis towards the onomasiological domain will have to be envisaged sooner or later.

11. Conclusion and discussion

The major conclusion to be drawn from the present analysis involves the recognition that it is indeed possible to systematically and coherently describe the semantic structure of the (ditransitive) indirect object construction in Dutch on a 'lexical' basis, that is to say, by using models for semantic description developed in the lexicological domain. In the present analysis, this takes the form of starting from a prototypical meaning and deriving the other readings of the construction on the basis of well-known mechanisms of semantic extension such as metaphor and metonymy. As it stands, this general conclusion is not entirely original: the same idea lies at the basis of other recent analyses of datives and ditransitives, such as Goldberg (1992) and Rudzka-Ostyn (1996). On specific points of the analysis as well, there are many parallels with existing studies in a functional or cognitive linguistic framework. (These parallels have not been systematically indicated here, but see Rudzka-Ostyn (1996) for relevant references.) In what sense, then, does our analysis differ from these other proposals — in particular, from Goldberg (1992) and Rudzka-Ostyn (1996) ? Restricting the comparison to these two articles, and focusing on fundamental matters rather than questions of detail, three points should be mentioned.

First, instead of restricting (or at least focusing) the analysis on metaphorical links, as in Goldberg's (1992) radial set analysis of English ditransitives, other types of semantic extensions have to be considered. All

the classical and less classical mechanisms of semantic extension (such as metonymy, generalization, and subjectification next to metaphor) have to be envisaged in the analysis. The 'lexical' structure of the semantics of the indirect object construction cannot be adequately described by starting from an impoverished conception of semantic structure. This is an approach that the present analysis shares with Rudzka-Ostyn's (1996).

Second, in contrast to Rudzka-Ostyn's proposal, the present analysis attaches no special structural position to extensions based on processes of generalization (which appear in Rudzka-Ostyn's proposal in the form of 'schematizations'). Just as Goldberg's use of a radial set representation seems to favour focusing on metaphorical links (given that the radial set model is predominantly used in the Lakovian tradition of metaphor-based analyses), Rudzka-Ostyn's adoption of a Langackerian schematic network representation seems to have predisposed her analysis towards overstressing the role of generalizations ('schematic' readings). Generalization, however, is only one of the many mechanisms in which the semantic coherence of a category may be grounded, and there does not seem to be any specific reason for making it more important than others. In particular, a category need not receive a single schematic reading to remain coherent. The obligatory search for such schematic readings easily leads to forced conclusions, and Rudzka-Ostyn's analysis is a case in point. Her identification of the topmost schematic reading of the Polish dative as a 'landmark' is, in fact, *too* schematic: it insufficiently distinguishes the dative from other constructions that also function as landmarks. The whole point, of course, mirrors the discussion in lexical semantics about the possibility of finding single definitions for lexical categories. Such definitions have to be maximally general and minimally specific: maximally general in the sense of applying to all the cases falling within the range of the category, and minimally specific in the sense of distinguishing the category from other, non-synonymous categories. A definition of the dative as a 'landmark', then, does not conform to the requirement of minimal specificity. On a more fundamental level, the point may be formulated as follows: given that lexical semantic research has established beyond doubt that monosemic, 'schematic' definitions of lexical categories need not always be possible (see Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Bakema 1994), one has to beware of a forced search for such definitions in the case of grammatical constructions as well.

Third (and foremost), instead of linking extended individual meanings directly to the prototype or to each other, a *multidimensional* structure has to

indicate how non-prototypical readings are linked among each other by the co-occurrence of semantic shifts along various dimensions. Both Goldberg's radial set analysis and Rudzka-Ostyn's schematic network analysis interconnect individual readings of the construction in question, but insufficiently succeed in indicating the multidimensional structure underlying the interconnections between the individual readings.

To appreciate the importance of these underlying dimensions, let us have another look at Figure 6. The representation used there visualizes an observation that was already brought to the fore in the second section of the article: the dimensions along which the semantic extensions take place relate to specific components of the prototypical reading. For instance, assuming that the prototype case may indeed be defined as the recipient of a benefactive material transfer, one dimension of change pertains to the 'recipient' component, another to the 'transfer' component, and so on. We should now go one step further, however, and recognize that the major components in the definition link up with specific components of the *syntactic frame* in which the indirect object construction occurs. Focusing once more on the ditransitive <V NP NP>-frame, it will be readily appreciated that the 'transfer' component of the definition links up with the verbal part of the formal construction, and the 'material' aspect of the definition with the direct object noun phrase (there is a material transfer when the direct object noun phrase refers to a material object). The 'recipient' itself, of course, is the second noun phrase, the indirect object as such. The definition that we have used, in other words, is a *relational* one that explicitly takes into account the syntagmatic dimension of the indirect object constituent. One could also say, alternatively, that the description is a *frame-based* one, in which the indirect object is defined as part of a larger conceptual structure. (Incidentally, while it might be suggested that this type of analysis characteristically distinguishes the description of verbal lexical items and grammatical constructions from that of nominal ones, this is not entirely adequate. Any relational concept, in fact, including relational nouns, will be most adequately described by incorporating the relational aspects into the definition.) What does not explicitly appear in Goldberg's and Rudzka-Ostyn's approaches, then, is certainly not the idea that the indirect object or the dative have to be described as (part of) a grammatical construction, but rather the insight that it is precisely this relational description that underlies the multidimensional nature of the semantic structure of the indirect object or dative.

To summarize, what we have done, and what largely constitutes the specificity of the present approach, is
a) *to define the indirect object constituent as part of a construction:* the components of the definition systematically evoke the other constituents that feature in the grammatical construction;
b) *to reveal the multidimensional semantic structure that correlates with this relational definition:* the polysemy of the indirect object is determined by covariation of semantic extensions affecting the various components of the relational, construction-based definition;
c) *to stress the lexical nature of the semantic organization of the indirect object construction:* an adequate picture of the changes affecting the components of the definition can only be acquired by envisaging all the mechanisms of semantic extension that have traditionally been identified in lexical semantics.

Acknowledgement

A preliminary version of the analysis contained in this article was presented at the workshop 'Spatial language and cognition', organized by Chris Sinha in June 1993 (Sandbjerg, Denmark). I would particularly like to thank David Wilkins, Terry Regier, and Annette Herskovits for the stimulating discussion they offered on that occasion.

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The dative in Latin and the indirect object in Dutch*

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1. Introduction

The direct aim of this paper is to investigate contrastively the dative in an ancient case language, Latin, and the indirect object (IO) in a contemporary caseless language, Dutch. By doing this, I want to achieve some other, more general and theoretical goals. First, I wish to contribute to a more complete and accurate characterization of the meanings and structures of the dative and the IO in Indo-European (I.-E.) languages. Second, I would like to deal with certain theoretical and methodological questions that arise in such analyses.

As to the semantic analysis of dative and IO, I hold that such concepts as semantic (thematic) roles, the general notion of prototypicality and operations like metaphor, metonymy, generalization and specialization, are useful tools for describing the polysemous nature of dative and IO (compare Geeraerts, this volume; Newman 1996, and this volume). Four interrelated role configurations will be set up to describe the Latin dative and the Dutch IO.

Regarding the formal counterpart of the semantic analysis, we are not only confronted with the obvious problem of the connection between cases

* I wish to thank here the members of the discussion group 'Case and Grammatical Relations' in the Department of Linguistics at Leuven University, especially Zofia Kaleta and William Van Belle, for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am especially grateful to Willy Van Hoecke for allowing me to take over a number of Latin sentences with their glosses and translations. Other Latin sentences were taken from various Latinist authors. I owe Dirk Sacré many thanks for his help with translating these additional sentences and checking my glosses for them.

and grammatical relations but also with the connection between the latter two and the corresponding syntactic constructions.

A major issue is whether the dative/IO submeanings should be assigned to the dative case (Latin), to the IO (Dutch, Latin) or to the syntactic patterns the dative/IO appears in. In this matter, it seems obvious that the important part played by the valency and the meaning of the verb cannot be denied. We may also wonder what the Constructionist approach (Goldberg 1992; 1995) can contribute in the debate.

A related question is: what are the edges of the dative/IO category? In other words, to what extent do dative and IO have to yield to alternative formal devices with similar meanings, e.g. DO, PP, subject, passivization, etc.?

From a diachronic viewpoint, we will have to deal with the localist hypothesis in respect of the I.-E. dative and how it relates to the setting up of a synchronic dative/IO prototype, which is fairly generally considered to be the 'dativus dandi' as in *I give you a book.*

From a language typological viewpoint, it is far from obvious that the dative as such is an empirically established universal category. At most, we can claim that it is a typically I.-E. phenomenon. With this restriction in mind, we can attempt to formulate a few I.-E. implicational 'universals'.

This paper relies on the descriptive groundwork laid down in the first volume of the Dative (Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996a, especially the article by Van Hoecke on Latin and Van Belle and Van Langendonck's work on Dutch). It also takes into account the papers of the present volume.

In section 2, I will start with a description of the semantic role configurations of the dative/IO. In section 3, I will attempt to find out how far these submeanings fit in with the syntactic constructions they are accommodated in. In section 4, the more theoretical issues will be discussed and some conclusions will be drawn.

2. Towards a description of dative and IO in terms of semantic roles and some cognitive operations

2.1 *The dichotomous nature of dative and IO*

Nowadays, it is widely held that "...syntactic functions and semantic roles are independent" (Blansitt 1984:148). According to the typological findings in

Blake (1994:145) the dative is "a syntactic case that can encode a variety of roles". It seems indeed that our point of departure is the crosslinguistically polysemous nature of dative structures. What is particularly striking is the dichotomous characterization of dative structures that one encounters time and again. Blake (1994:145-6) speaks of the dative as expressing 'purpose and beneficiary', 'sentient destination', 'target of an activity or emotion'. In the first Dative volume, we constantly met with two rather different ranges of concepts. On the one hand, authors referred to datives of approach, purpose, destination, direction, orientation etc. This points to a notion of (locative) goal or physical motion, i.e. the Goal role. On the other hand, we encountered such concepts as dative of interest, commodi et incommodi, possession, sympathy etc. These notions can easily be connected with such human roles as Possessor, Experiencer and Beneficiary.

The dichotomous nature of the dative is particularly striking in the case of such Latin double datives as *alicui esse auxilio* (ET 77) 'to be of help to somebody'. Here, the dative *alicui* 'to somebody' expresses the Beneficiary, while the dative *auxilio* 'of help' refers to an abstract Goal (compare already Landgraf 1893).

Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996c) stressed the dichotomous nature of Dutch transfer structures, whereby in the ditransitive pattern with a prepositional IO, the directive locative aspect appears to be focussed on, while the IO with a bare NP highlights the idea of an interested party.

In Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996a:XVI; 1996b:247), it is suggested that dativity in general is dominated by two competing roles: Goal and Interested Party. In the prototypical case of transfer, the two are united in the role of Recipient (compare Newman 1996: 102, and this volume).

It is important to realize that the notion of transfer itself and the accompanying role of Recipient, as employed in the literature on the dative, can be decomposed. Pure transfer should be understood as the movement of a Theme from a Source to a Goal, as in: *The ball rolled from the tree to the wall*, where purely locative motion is involved. To obtain an IO transfer structure in English or other modern European languages, we need to add a second component, in this case, the human role of Possessor, so the Goal takes the form of a (potential) Possessor, e.g. *She gave a ball to John,* or: *She gave John a ball,* where John is the Goal-Possessor.

More generally, I would like to argue that the role of Goal can combine with one of the typically human roles Possessor, Experiencer and Benefi-

ciary. In this case, these roles act as endpoint roles since they constitute the endpoint of the 'energy flow' (see also Rudzka 1996:346). I think the various (sub)meanings of dative and IO can be accounted for by combining the above roles in the appropriate way or by leaving out one of the role components. Only one other combination needs to be added, viz. the marginal configuration of Experiencer-Agent.

Obviously, the methodological question arises here whether it is plausible to allow for more than one role in one argument slot. In such a framework as Government and Binding, it is out of the question to assign more than one role to an argument. In my view, this constraint is connected with the denial of polysemy in linguistic structures. Since dativity also proves to be polysemous, it goes without saying that setting up one role for one case will turn out to be too rigid a limitation on theories that work with thematic roles. Otherwise, we will fail to provide an account of all the possible submeanings of a case or a grammatical relation. Double role marking is also accepted implicitly in Langacker's schematic network approach (compare Langacker 1990; Newman 1996: 102, and this volume, fig. 7).

On the other hand, it is obvious that combining thematic roles will be subject to certain restrictions of a semantic as well as a psychological nature. Psychologically, setting up more than two roles per case or per grammatical relation does not seem very plausible. Anyway, the semantic description needed here has not led us into transgressing this barrier. Semantically, there are certain incompatibilities. Roles that behave as opposites do not seem to be combinable, at least not within the limits of one clause, e.g. Agent and Patient, Source and Goal. By contrast, the Goal role and the human roles (Possessor, Experiencer and Beneficiary) appear to be able to supplement each other. The Goal and these three human roles appear to constitute natural companions in that, on the one hand, they share the feature 'endpoint' in the relevant constellations, but on the other, differ enough to make an informative combination. In fact, it has already become clear that anybody employing the notion of Recipient is implicitly assuming two roles per case, viz. [Goal + Possessor]. An Experiencer can behave as an Agent at the same time, e.g. the subject of a verb like *look*, as in: *She was looking at him*. It is implied here that the seer is performing an action while having a sensory experience. It will turn out that dative structures also allow for this constellation of Experiencer and Agent. Another pair is [Beneficiary + Agent] as is implicitly assumed in the analysis of the subject of *to read* by Polinsky (1995:132). This is at least

the case in the normal sense, where the beneficiary is coreferential to the agent, as in *Mary reads*.

A final consideration in respect of setting up such configurations as the above ones is that the roles themselves appear to consist of configurations of features. The standard Agent role, for example, has been decomposed into such concepts as energy source, control, volition, responsibility (Lakoff 1977). In general, it is held that semantic roles are crystallizations of certain combinations of features in polysemous complexes (Melis, this volume).

2.2 *An overview of the relevant semantic role configurations*

As suggested above, the roles needed for our description of dative or IO will be the typically locative role of Goal and the typically human roles of Possessor, Experiencer, Beneficiary and Agent. Of crucial importance will be the ways in which these roles combine and interact, and also the general operations by which they can be connected, so we are able to provide a detailed though unified account of so-called 'dativity'. In addition, it is imperative to describe not only the various shades of meaning the roles exhibit but also the 'frames' they fit in.

a) Goal

An important role in dative meanings is constituted by the Goal role. In the Goal's prototypical appearance, it is part of the frame in which a Theme moves from a Source to a stationary material Goal, i.e. [Source - Theme - process - Goal], as the referents of the subject NPs in the sentences:

(1) a. *The ball rolled from the tree to the wall.*
b. *The load went from the factory to the port.*

The source may be left out [Theme - process - Goal], as in Latin:

(2) *It clamor caelo.* (VH 11)
go up-3SG cry-NOM heaven-DAT
'The cry went up to heaven.'

This process of physical motion can be instigated by an Agent, i.e. [Agent - Source - process - Theme - Goal]:

(3) *They sent the load from the factory to the port.*

Agent and Source may coincide [Agent + Source - process - Theme - Goal], as in:

(4) *The factory sent the load to the port.*

Thus far, we have been dealing with purely locative Goals. If we set out from the idea that the prototypical Goal is locative and material in nature, we can point to at least two specializations.

The first regards the so-called dativus finalis, whereby the Goal becomes abstract (and is often no longer involved in a process), as in the above example: *alicui esse auxilio* 'to be of help to somebody', in which *auxilio* 'help-DAT' is the abstract purpose. Another example is the more or less fixed Dutch expression *de wanhoop nabij* 'close to despair', in which we can still see a metaphorical movement.

Another specialization of the Goal role, which will turn out more relevant to dativity in general, is the humanization of the Goal, e.g.

(5) *Hominem alicui adducere.* (VH 20)
person-ACC someone-DAT lead-INF
'To lead a person to someone.'

Here, *alicui* 'to someone' is simply a human target ('always literal', B 125), without there being any personal involvement on the part of this human Goal.

As far as these examples go, including the last one, it is unlikely that anybody will speak of IOs. Nevertheless, Latin exhibits dative cases here. For our modern languages (and possibly even for Latin, see below), it is customary to speak of an IO if the Goal is supplemented (or even replaced) with a human endpoint role. This can give rise to well-known structures like the dative alternation in English:

(6) a. *The factory sent a letter to the government.*
b. *The factory sent the government a letter.*

Compare the above pattern with a pure Goal *(the port),* which does not allow for an expression with a bare NP:

(7) **The factory sent the port the load.*

Before going into the combinations of Goal and human endpoint roles, we have to consider the latter roles by themselves.

b) Human endpoint roles

The human endpoint roles can represent a dative or IO meaning on their own. For the Possessor, this endpoint may be the result of an act of giving. For the Experiencer, it may be the result of some stimulus or other. For the Beneficiary, it may be the result of some action or process in favour of somebody. In their pure appearance, i.e. without the addition of a Goal, the human endpoint roles mostly occur in intransitive structures (see further below):

i) The Possessor role is encountered in such Latin constructions as:

(8) *Domus est Marco.* (VH 23)
house-NOM be-3SG Mark-DAT
'Mark owns the house.'

ii) The Experiencer occurs in five subcategories. If we regard general experience as basic, we can consider other experiences as specializations. Compare the following Dutch patterns:

General experience: *Het gaat me goed* 'I am well'.
Sensory experience: *Die bloem viel me op* 'that flower came to my attention'.
Cognitive experience: *Het begint me te dagen* 'it is beginning to dawn on me'.
Communicative experience: *Dat is me welbekend* 'that is well-known to me'.
Emotive experience: *Dit werk zint me* 'this work pleases me'.

iii) A pure Beneficiary is found in Latin patterns like:

(9) *Sol omnibus lucet.* (VH 8)
sun-NOM everybody-DAT shine-3SG
'The sun shines for everybody.'

The term Beneficiary suggests that the process in question is always benefactive, but, as is well-known, malefactive processes occur as well.

iv) In so-called partitive (or possessive) dative/IO patterns (see especially Lamiroy and Delbecque, this volume), it turns out that the Possessor of an inalienable body-part at the same time functions as a Beneficiary (in 10=99) or an Experiencer (in 11=101) who are highly involved in the process, e.g. Latin:

(10) *Sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt.* [also GEN, VH 14]
themselves-ACC all-NOM crying-NOM PART Caesar-DAT at feet-ACC
throw-3PL PERF
'They all threw themselves crying at the feet of Caesar.'

(11) *Ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem.* [also GEN, VH 14]
that which-NOM me-DAT come-3PL IMPERF to mind-ACC
'Those things which came to my mind.'

In the genitive counterparts of these constructions, it is mainly the possession of a body-part that seems relevant and hence only a Possessor role will be

needed (see also Lav 163 and KS 313; Rudzka 1996:359; Lamiroy and Delbecque, this volume).

c) Goal + human endpoint roles

As argued above, human endpoint roles are natural candidates for entering into a combination with the Goal role, which is the endpoint role par excellence. For the combination to become possible, the Goal has first to specialize as a human Goal, as in the above Latin example: *hominem alicui adducere* 'to lead a person to someone'. After having assumed a human form, the Goal can easily adopt a human function, i.e. a human role can be introduced.

i) The prototypical dative role configuration appears to be [Goal + Possessor], i.e. the Recipient of the dativus dandi, typically to be found in ditransitive structures. The prototypical frame this role configuration appears in is:

[Agent + Source] - process - Theme - [Goal + Possessor]:

(12) *Do tibi librum* (DS)
give-1SG you-DAT book-ACC
'I give you a book.'

This full-fledged frame corresponding to the ditransitive pattern is, however, not absolutely necessary. A [Goal + Possessor] also occurs in such intransitives as, e.g.

(13) *Ei (ob)venit hereditas* (DS)
Him-DAT came-3SG PERF legacy-NOM
'This legacy fell to his share.'
i.e. Theme - process - [Goal + Possessor]

Note here that the verb *(ob)venire* has a locative origin.

ii) Another configuration is [Goal + Experiencer]. In combination with Goal, Experiencers show the same five subdivisions as above, e.g. in the following Dutch (in)transitives:

General experience: *Er is haar iets overkomen* 'something happened to her' (< *overkomen,* lit. 'come over').
Sensory experience: *Het valt me onder ogen* 'it strikes my eyes'. The locative meaning of *vallen onder* 'fall under' is obvious.
Cognitive experience: *Het kwam me voor de geest* 'it came to my mind'.
Communicative experience: *Ze gaven het haar te kennen* 'they made it clear to her'.
Emotive experience: *Het leger boezemde hem angst in* 'the army gave him a fright'.

iii) The Beneficiary is often accompanied by a Goal. This is particularly clear in Dutch patterns having a prepositional counterpart with *voor* 'for', which is also used for purpose, e.g.

(14) *Ik zal (voor) jou wat koffie inschenken*
'I will pour some coffee for you.'

Mere purpose would be: *Er is geen sleutel voor dit slot* 'there is no key for this lock', where *voor* cannot be left out (compare Lavency 1985b for Latin).

d) Experiencer-Agent

The dative subclass to be discussed here has traditionally been called the dative of agent (dativus auctoris). The pattern is rather marginal cross-linguistically (Blake 1994:149). This seems to be a natural consequence of the fact that it is unusual for an Agent to be in the position of an endpoint role, since normally, it is the instigator of an action, a direct participant, not an indirect one. Since in principle, the Agent role is accommodated by the subject and appears as a strong actor, the agentive dative or IO can only be a weakened actor. Indeed, it appears in the accompaniment of an Experiencer and often in a modal context, as well as in a syntactically marked structure. As Ernout and Thomas (1952:75) put it for Latin: "la personne intéressée était en même temps l'agent", i.e. the interested person was at the same time the agent. In Latin, datives of agent typically occur in gerundive patterns, e.g.

(15) *Faciendum est mihi illud ... quod illaec postulat.* (VH 15)
do-NOM GER be-3SG me-DAT that ... which-ACC she-NOM ask-3SG
'That which she asks must be done by me.'
'I must do what she asks.'

Here, a context of obligation is provided. The same is true of the Dutch counterpart, where the verbal expression *staan te* is used:

(16) *Dat staat me te doen.*
that is me to do
'I should do that.'

Similar semantic patterns occur in Dutch causative constructions with action verbs expressing an experience like *lezen* 'read', *proeven* 'taste' (compare Draye, this volume: 91, 95-96, 110, fn. 12), e.g.

(17) *Ze liet (aan/door) haar gast de wijn proeven*
'She let (to/by) her guest taste the wine.'

In French, we have a clitic in (a) and a full *à*-IO in (b):

(18) a. *Il leur a fait chanter cette chanson.* (VH 25)
'He had them sing this song.'

b. *Il a fait chanter cette chanson à ces gens.*
'He had these people sing this song.'

This French pattern is likely to be the source of such dialectal Flemish (Southern Dutch) sentences with the preposition *aan* as: *Ze lieten aan de secretaris het stuk tekenen* 'They had the secretary sign the document' (Draye, this volume). Rudzka (1996:365) adduces Polish examples in which the dative of agent appears in impersonal constructions with obligatory adverbs that specify the experience for the agent. Indeed, it turns out that "the nominal in the dative case always denotes an experiencer". Rudzka (1996: 366) adds: "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" (see also Polinsky 1995:131). Examples from non-I.-E. languages are to be found in Blake (1994:149). From the above comments it seems clear that the dative of agent can be accounted for by adopting the double role [Experiencer + Agent]. Hence it looks plausible to argue that the Experiencer specializes into an Experiencer-Agent in the patterns adduced. Such linkages as specialization or generalization constitute the topic of the next section.

e) An associative chain of role configurations

Having established the above four role configurations, I would now like to investigate the possibility of uniting them in some way, so as to obtain a unified account of the main dative submeanings. To this end, I will make use of the cognitive operations known as specialization and generalization. We are dealing with specialization if the specialized item is an instance of a more general category, in other words, if a specific feature is added. In the case of generalization, a more specific feature is dropped.

The question arises here what direction these operations should take in linking a pair of role configurations. In principle, nothing prevents us from deriving a [Goal + human role] from a simple Goal by means of specialization or from deriving a Goal from a [Goal + human role] by generalization. Likewise, we could envisage the specialization of a [Goal + human role] out of a human role by itself, as well as the generalization of a human role out of

a [Goal + human role]. The only impossibility is apparently to start from an Experiencer-Agent to derive another configuration (except maybe a pure Experiencer). The obvious way here is to take the other direction and to derive this marginal configuration from an Experiencer, as was suggested above. Schematically, this associative chain of role meanings can be represented as follows (with the prototype in italics):

$$\text{Goal} \left\{ \begin{matrix} < \\ > \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \textit{Goal} + \textit{Poss} \\ \text{Goal} + \text{Exp} \\ \text{Goal} + \text{Ben} \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} < \\ > \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \text{Poss} \\ \text{Exp} \\ \text{Ben} \end{matrix} > \text{Exp + Agent}$$

We should emphasize here that this synchronic constellation of linkages merely provides the theoretical possibilities. The question of the actual language specific linkages as well as of the origin and diachronic evolution of dative meanings in I.-E. languages like Latin and Dutch will be discussed in the final section.

It remains to be shown in what way the above maximal schema can be employed for the description of the dative submeanings in the languages under scrutiny.

f) The role of the lexical valency and meaning of the verb (predicate)

In whatever grammatical theory one may adhere to, the lexical valency and meaning of the verb (or predicate) plays a crucial part. Even the nature of the various role configurations set up here will eventually be determined by the lexical valency and meaning of the predicate (see especially Melis, this volume). In actual linguistic usage, a particular realization of the predicate's valency will activate a particular role configuration.

To relate certain predicates semantically, it is to be expected then that the same operations of specialization and generalization will apply. At this lexical level, however, metaphor and metonymy come in as well. Concerning Latin, for instance, Ernout and Thomas (1952:66) speak about predicates that contain the feature 'nearness' in a metaphorical sense: "Au figuré, la notion de rapprochement se traduisait par celle de ressemblance, d'égalité, de communauté, etc.", i.e. figuratively, the notion of nearness was rendered by that of resemblance, equality, community, etc. An example is *similis* 'similar', which relates to the prototypical (locative) meaning of the Goal role through metaphor: the basic meaning 'near', found in *propinquus,* is altered here into 'near in an abstract way'. The stative meaning of *propinquus* in turn could be

accounted for by applying resultant state metonymy (compare Geeraerts, this volume) to the verb *appropinquare*. However, historically, the reverse appears to have taken place (Ernout and Thomas 1952:65). Therefore, although physical motion seems to be prototypical for the Goal role, we might have to posit a specialization operation to account for the historical transition from *propinquus* to *appropinquare*. More than in the case of the role configurations, we should distinguish then between a synchronic and a diachronic analysis when it comes to determining the direction of the linkage of the various lexemes and their submeanings. At the same time, the above example strikingly illustrates the well-known idiosyncracies of lexical developments. I will come back to these issues in relation to the localist hypothesis (section 4.3).

g) Modes of contact in Goal or [Goal + human role] configurations

As has already become clear, the above role configuration schema leaves room for further metaphorical, metonymical and specializing extensions within each role configuration. Before going into the classification of dative/IO constructions, it is useful to deal with modes of contact in Goal configurations. In Goal configurations with or without the accompaniment of human roles, we can observe several ways in which the contact between Theme and Goal or between (Agent-)Source and Goal is established.[1] Again, the verb's lexical meaning plays an important part in determining these different modes of contact.

We start from the unmarked external contact as occurring in the prototypical scene of giving, whereby something is being 'handed' over, i.e. passed from hand to hand. To account for the deviations from the prototypical scene of giving, we can invoke not only metaphor but above all specialization.

a. An interesting specialization is 'internal contact', as in Dutch:

(19) *Ze plantten (bij) hem een hart in.*
they implanted (to) him a heart in
'They gave him a heart transplant.'

As can be seen, this mode of contact necessitates a PP with *bij* (not *aan*) as a prepositional variant to an IO-NP.

It will be of interest to see that internal contact appears to imply a greater affectedness for the recipient.

b. Inverted transfer implies switching the direction of the transfer. In terms of roles, we could say that Source and Goal are being switched. A previously established contact is being broken:

(20) *Ze nam (van) iemand een boek af.*
'She took a book away from someone.'

Note that the latter construction's prepositional variant *van iemand* is construed with *van* 'from' (not *aan* 'to') in the case of external contact. With internal contact, only *bij* is possible:

(21) *De tandarts trok net (bij) iemand een tand.*
the dentist drew just (to) somebody a tooth
'The dentist just took somebody's tooth out.'

Inverted transfer could be analysed as:

[Agent + Goal] - process - Theme - [Source + Possessor]

It can be seen that the combination [Source + Possessor] is unusual in the context of a dative/IO, but apparently normal for a genitive constellation (compare also the preposition *van* 'of, from'). Dative and genitive thus seem to overlap here.

Confirmation of this analysis of inverted transfer can be found in the fact that when a switch is impossible in the absence of a Source, no inverted transfer is conceivable. This is the case of sensory experience:

(22) *Ze toonde (aan) hem een boek.*
'She showed (to) him a book.'

This state of affairs is then analysable as:

Agent - process - Theme - [Goal + Experiencer]

Note that the contact established here is only of a sensory nature.

c. The Agent-Source may be far away from the Goal, so the (external) contact between Theme and Goal is delayed, as in:

(23) *Ze schreef (naar/ aan) iemand een brief.*
'She wrote a letter to someone.'

Here a prepositional variant with *naar* (or unmarked *aan*) can be employed. The possibility of the use of the unmarked preposition *aan* is apparently due to the fact that the contact between the Theme itself and the Recipient is the

same as in the case of giving, whereas *naar* highlights the distance between Agent-Source and Recipient.

d. Theme and Goal may be in a reciprocal relation, as in Latin:

(24) *Dextram dextrae iungere.* (VH 10)
the right hand-ACC the right hand-DAT join-INF
'To join the right hand to the right hand.'
'To shake hands.'

Syntactic alternatives are a PP with *cum* 'with' or a plural NP in which Theme and Goal merge (as in the final English translation). In Dutch, only these alternatives are possible, not an IO (any more?), compare: *een ding met een ander ding verenigen* 'to join a thing to another thing' = *twee dingen verenigen* 'to unite two things'. In the case where the reciprocal relation occurs between an Agent-Source and a Goal-Experiencer, Dutch sometimes still allows for an IO, as in:

(25) *(met) iemand spreken*
(with) somebody speak
'to speak to somebody'

e. The (external) contact between Theme and Goal can be denied:

(26) *iemand iets ontzeggen*
negare aliquid alicui (ET 63)
deny-INF something-ACC somebody-DAT
'to deny somebody something'

f. Several kinds of metaphorical contact are possible. A few cases are mentioned here.

– Even with the verb *give* itself, the (external) contact may be metaphorical, for instance when the thing given or (more probably) sold or rented is a house or a car, e.g.

(27) *Ze gaf/ verkocht (aan) een vreemdeling een auto.*
'She gave/ sold (to) a stranger a house.'

– With internal contact:

(28) *Incessit timor animis.* (KS 333)
penetrate-3SG PERF fear-NOM minds-DAT
'Fear penetrated the minds.'

g. Finally, it is not impossible that there is simply no contact at all, as in the following Latin example:

(29) *...caelo palmas cum voce tetendit.* (KS 320)
sky-DAT palms-ACC with voice stretch-3SG PERF
'He stretched his palms towards the sky while speaking.'

In the next section, I will investigate for Latin and Dutch what syntactic constructions can be related to each of the four dative submeanings plus their specializations with regard to 'contact'.

3. Classification of dative/IO constructions in Latin and Dutch according to the role configurations

The syntactic constructions fall into two major classes: ditransitives and intransitives. In each of them, the dative/IO NP mostly behaves as a complement, but sometimes also as an adjunct or even as an intermediary valency category. The ethical dative pertains to the level of the speech act. As to intransitive patterns, it is important to distinguish between constructions with an inanimate (or secondarily animate) subject and those with an animate subject. As predicates, not only verbs are involved, but also some nouns, adjectives or adverbs in copular constructions. The Latin dative can even depend exclusively on non-predicative words: certain nouns or interjections. One could also expect prepositions here, but this category never takes the dative in Latin.

The Latin double datives will be listed separately but only subdivided into ditransitives and intransitives.

The Latin syntactic patterns were found scattered all over the traditional Latin grammars. This entails that I am far from sure of presenting here an exhaustive inventory. For each of the patterns, I will give at least one example and possibly list some more relevant predicates for Latin. For certain patterns, more Latin examples can be found in Van Hoecke (1996), among others. For more Dutch examples I refer the reader to Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996c), Geeraerts (this volume) and Lamiroy and Delbecque (this volume), among others. Of course, the classification of datives/IOs in these other works will be rather different.

Whenever a prepositional or case form which alternates with the dative in Latin is mentioned, this will be indicated between square brackets.

For economy's sake, I have constructed the Dutch IO examples in such a way that, whenever possible, they are simply translations of the Latin dative original sentences, so each time only one English translation will be needed. The relevant Dutch examples will precede the corresponding Latin sentences.

3.1 *Dative/IO constructions with Goal*

No Dutch examples are given here since the pure Goal role only produces a few marginal and defective patterns which will be dealt with in the final section.

a) Ditransitive constructions:

– Unmarked external contact:

(30) *Diadema capiti reponere* (KS 320)
diadem-ACC head-DAT put back-INF
'to put the diadem back on one's head'

(31) *Accommodare corpori vestem* (KS 329)
accommodate-INF body-DAT garment-ACC
'to accommodate a garment to one's body'

Other verbs: *addere* 'add' (Lav 162),

– Internal contact:

(32) *Aggeri ignem inferre* (ET 69)
entrenchment-DAT fire-ACC introduce-INF
'To set fire to the entrenchment'

Other verbs: *impingere* 'hit in', *imprimere* 'press in'.

– Inverted transfer:

i) with external contact:

(33) *Diadema capiti detraxit.* [*de capite*, DS]
diadem-ACC head-DAT detraxit-3SG PERF
'He took the diadem from his head.'

ii) with internal contact:

(34) *Venenum corpori extrahere* (KS 331)
poison-ACC body-DAT extract-INF
'to extract poison from the body'

Other verbs: *excudere* 'make spurt out' [*e(x)*, ET 71]

– Distant Source contact:

(35) *Hominem alicui adducere.* [*ad*, VH 20]
person-ACC someone-DAT lead-INF
'To lead a person to someone.'
('always literal', B 125)

– Theme and Goal in a reciprocal relation:

(36) *Dextram dextrae iungere.* (VH 10)
the right hand-ACC the right hand-DAT join-INF
'To join the right hand to the right hand.'
'To shake hands.'

– Metaphorical reciprocal relation:

(37) *Aeri aes iungatur* (KS 317)
money-DAT money-NOM join-3SG OPT PASS
'Let money be joined to money.'

(38) *Ennius equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam* (KS 330, [*cum*, ET 66])
Ennius-NOM horse-GEN strong-GEN and victor-GEN age-DAT
compare-3 SG his-ACC
'Ennius compares his age to that of a strong and victorious horse.'

– Metaphorical contact:

(39) *Addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis Antipater* (KS 329)
add-3SG PERF history-DAT bigger-ACC sound-ACC voice-GEN
Antipater-NOM
'Antipater added a bigger sound of voice to history.'

(40) *Mortem servituti antepono.* (VH 11)
death-ACC slavery-DAT prefer-1SG
'I prefer death to slavery.'

– No contact:

(41) *...caelo palmas cum voce tetendit* (KS 320)
sky-DAT palms-ACC with voice stretch-3SG PERF
'He stretched his palms towards the sky while speaking.'

– Dative NP as an adjunct (compare [Goal + Beneficiary]):

(42) *Quid huic homini faciam?* (KS 321)
what this-DAT man-DAT do-1SG CONJ
'What should I do about this man?'

(43) *Quid faceret huic conclusioni?* (KS 321)
what do-3SG CONJ this-DAT conclusion-DAT
'What should he do about this conclusion?'

b) Intransitive constructions:

i) With inanimate (or secondarily animate) subject:

– Physical motion:

(44) *It clamor caelo.* (Vergilius, VH 11)
go up-3SG cry-NOM heaven-DAT
'The cry went up to heaven.'

(45) *Ruit oceano nox* (HS 100)
fall-3SG ocean-DAT night
'The night falls over the ocean.'

Adverb:

(46) *Ibo huic obviam* (B 188)
go-1SG FUT him-DAT up to
'I will go up to him.'

– Locative stative adjective:

(47) *Flamma fumo est proxima* (Lav 167)
flame-NOM smoke-DAT be-3SG very near-NOM
'The flame is very near the smoke.'

• Other adjectives: *propinquus, vicinus alicui/ loco* 'near somebody/ a place' (ET 65)

– Abstract stative goal:

(48) *Huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt.* (VH 11)
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.'

(49) *Canis nonne est similis lupo?* (VH 11)
dog-NOM not be-3SG similar-NOM wolf-DAT
'Isn't the dog similar to the wolf?'

More adjectives: *communis* 'common' (VH 11), *idoneus* 'suitable' (ET 76), *inutilis* 'useless' (ET 70)

(50) *est exitio* (ET 77)
be-3SG ruin-DAT
'It is the ruin of...' [*exitium* NOM]

– Theme and Goal in a reciprocal relation: *congruens* 'in agreement with' (ET 66)

– Metaphorical contact:

(51) *Ut numquam ulla amori vostro incidere possit calamitas.* ('figuratively', B 127)
that never any-NOM love-DAT your-DAT fall in-INF can-3SG calamity-NOM
'Lest any calamity can ever happen to your love.'

– Dative NP as an adjunct (compare [Goal + Beneficiary]):

(52) *Quid mihi futurum est?* (KS 321)
what-NOM me-DAT be-3SG FUT
'What is becoming of me?'

ii) With animate subject:

– Physical motion:

(53) *Puer adnatat delphino* (VH 10)
child-NOM approach by swimming-3SG dolphin-DAT
'The child approached the dolphin by swimming.'
'The child swam to the dolphin.'

Other verbs: *venire* 'come', *appropinquare* 'approach' (ET 65), *cedere* 'yield', *succedere* 'succeed', *antecedere, anteire, praecedere* 'precede' (ET 64), but: *sequi* + ACC 'follow' (ET 68)

– Abstract goal: *auxilio venire* 'come to help' (ET 77), *pugnare amori* 'fight against love' (ET 66)

– Inverted motion:
i) external contact:

(54) *serta... capiti delapsa iacebant* [*de capite...*, ET 71]
garland-NOM head-DAT fall from-PART PERF NOM lie down-3PL IMPERF
'His garland fallen from his head lay on the floor.'

ii) internal contact:

(55) *evadere pugnae* [*e pugna...*, ET 71]
go out of-INF battle-DAT
'to leave the battle'

– Stative:

(56) *praeesse equitatui* (ET 64)
head-INF cavalry-DAT
'to head the cavalry'

– Dative NP as an adjunct:

(57) *canere receptui* (ET 76)
ring-INF retreat-DAT
'to ring the retreat'

(58) *Non vitae, sed scholae discimus.* (Lav 167)
not life-DAT, but school-DAT learn-1PL
'We learn not for life, but for school.'

c) Noun:

(59) *Facilis descensus Averno* (Lav 166)
easy-NOM descent-NOM Avernus-DAT
'The descent to Lake Avernus is easy.'

3.2 *Dative constructions with [Goal + human role]*

a) Ditransitive constructions:

Possessor:

– Unmarked external contact:

(60) *Caesar gaf (aan) Cleopatra het koninkrijk.*
Caesar regnum Cleopatrae dedit. [*ad; donare aliquem re*, VH 6]
Caesar-NOM kingdom-ACC Cleopatra-DAT give-3SG PERF
'Caesar gave the kingdom to Cleopatra.'

– Potential transfer (precedent action metonymy):

(61) *(aan) iemand iets beloven*
promittere aliquid alicui (ET 63)
promise-INF something-ACC somebody-DAT
'to promise somebody something'

– Internal contact:

(62) *(bij) iemand een hart inplanten*
(to) someone a heart implant
'to give somebody a heart transplant'

– Inverted transfer:

i) external contact:

(63) *Caesar nam (van) de soldaat het schild af.*
Caesar scutum militi detraxit (VH 6) [*a milite*, VH 22]
Caesar-NOM shield-ACC soldier-DAT take away-3SG PERF
'Caesar took the shield away from the soldier.'

ii) internal contact:

(64) *(bij) iemand een kies trekken*
dentem extrahere alicui (DS)
tooth-ACC extract-INF somebody-DAT
'to extract somebody's tooth'

Other verbs: *eripere* 'take away' (Lav 162).

– Denied contact:

(65) *(aan) iemand iets ontzeggen*
negare aliquid alicui (ET 63)
deny-INF something-ACC somebody-DAT
'to deny somebody something'

– No contact:

(66) *(aan) iemand een huis verkopen*
vendere domum alicui (DS)
sell-INF house-ACC somebody-DAT
'to sell somebody a house'

Experiencer:

– Sensory

(67) *(aan) iemand een boek tonen*
monstrare librum alicui (ET 63)
show-INF book-ACC somebody-DAT
'to show a book to somebody'

– Cognitive or communicative:

(68) *Marcus zegt (aan) zijn broer Quintus goeiedag.*
Marcus Quinto fratri salutem dicit (Lav 162)
Marcus-NOM Quintus-DAT brother-DAT greeting-ACC say-3SG
'Marcus is greeting his brother Quintus.'

Other verbs: *narrare* 'tell', *respondere* 'answer', *imperare* 'order', *praescribere* 'prescribe' (ET 63).

– Internal contact:

(69) *(bij) iemand een idee inprenten*
'to imprint an idea on someone'

(70) *inicere terrorem exercitui* (ET 69)
introduce-INF fear-ACC army-DAT
'to frighten the army'

– Inverted transfer:

(71) *(aan/ van) iemand iets vragen*
aliquem aliquid rogare (DS)
somebody-ACC something ACC ask-INF
'to ask somebody something'

No dative in Latin here: note the double accusative and compare: *petere aliquid*-ACC *ab aliquo*-ABL.

– Distant Source contact:

(72) *Hij schrijft (aan) Labienus te komen.*
Scribit Labieno veniat (VH 21) [ad, VH 21)
write-3SG Labienus-DAT come-3SG OPT
'He writes to Labienus that he should come.'

Beneficiary (adjunct):

(73) *Facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat.* (VH 12)
eloquence-ACC protect-DAT GER fellow citizens-DAT practise-3SG IMPERF
'He practised eloquence to protect his fellow citizens.'

(74) *Ik schenk (voor) je wat water in.*
Aquam tibi infundo (DS)
water-ACC you-DAT pour in-1SG
'I am pouring some water for you.'

b) Intransitive constructions:

i) With inanimate (or secondarily animate) subject:

Possessor:

(75) *De erfenis viel hem ten deel.*
Ei (ob)venit hereditas (DS)
him-DAT came-3SG PERF legacy-NOM
'The legacy fell to his share.'

Experiencer:

(76) *Het viel me ten deel in Rome opgevoed te zijn.*
Romae nutriri mihi contigit. (VH 9)
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.'

Also: *accidit, evenit alicui* 'it happens to somebody' (ET 64, KS 326).

– Internal contact:

(77) *Incessit timor animis.* (KS 333)
penetrate-3SG PERF fear-NOM minds-DAT
'Fear penetrated the minds.'

ii) With animate subject:

Experiencer:
– Communicative (distant Source contact):

(78) *(aan/ naar) iemand schrijven*
Scribere alicui [*ad aliquem*, Lav 162]
write-INF somebody-DAT
'To write to somebody'

Beneficiary (adjunct):

(79) *Tibi aras, tibi occas, tibi seris: item tibi metes* (LavII 41)
you-DAT plough-2SG, you-DAT harrow-2SG, sow-2SG, likewise you-DAT reap-2SG FUT
'You plough for yourself, you harrow for yourself, you sow for yourself, likewise you will reap for yourself.'

3.3 *Dative constructions with human endpoint roles*

a) Intransitive constructions:

i) With inanimate (or secondarily animate) subject:

Possessor:

(80) *Het huis behoort me toe.*
Domus est Marco. [also GEN, VH 23]
house-NOM be-3SG Mark-DAT
'Mark owns the house.'

See also VH 13.

Experiencer:

(81) *Het zint me.*
Libet mihi. (ET 64)
please-3SG me-DAT
'It pleases me.'

(82) *Het gaat me goed.*
Bene est mihi. (ET 64)
well be-3SG me-DAT
'I am well.'

Other verbs: *placere* 'please', *licere* 'be allowed' (ET 64, Lav 161).

Beneficiary (complement):

(83) *Lex utilis est plebi.* (VH 10)
law-NOM useful-NOM be-3SG people-DAT
'This law is useful for the people.'

(84) *Dat is je geraden!*
that is you-IO advised
'You are strongly advised to do that.'

Beneficiary (adjunct):

(85) *Sol omnibus lucet.* (VH 8)
sun-NOM everybody-DAT shine-3SG
'The sun shines for everybody.'

ii) With animate subject:

Verbs: *Beneficiary (benefactive or malefactive):*

(86) *(aan) iemand gehoorzamen*
obtemperare/ parere alicui (ET 68)
obey-INF somebody-DAT
'to obey somebody'

(87) *Fortuna favet fortibus.* (VH 7)
fortune-NOM favour-3SG brave-DAT
'Fortune favours the brave.'

Other verbs: *ausculta mihi* 'listen to me, obey me', *servire* 'serve', *auxiliari, opitulari, prodesse, adesse* 'help', *nocere* 'harm' (ET 68-69), *invidere* 'envy' (VH 7), *minari* 'threaten' (Lav 162).

Metaphorical Beneficiary, malefactive:

(88) *Chelone nuptiis irrisit* (Lav 161)
Chelone-NOM marriage-DAT PL laugh-3SG PERF
'Chelone laughed at marriage.'

Adjectives: *Beneficiary*:

(89) *(aan) iemand trouw*
fidus alicui (ET 64)
faithful-NOM someone-DAT
'faithful to someone'

Other adjectives: *amicus, hostis, contrarius* 'opposed'.

Adverbs: *Beneficiary:*

(90) *Praesto est tibi quaestor* (B188)
at hand-ADV be-3SG you-DAT quaestor-NOM
'The quaestor helps you.'

(91) *Tam longe est mihi quam Terentianus* (B 187)
so far-ADV be-3SG me-DAT as Terentianus
'He helps me as little as Terentianus.'

Nouns: *Beneficiary (malefactive):*

(92) *Lupus est homo homini.* (VH 8)
wolf-NOM be-3SG man-NOM man-DAT
'Man is a wolf to man.'

– Theme and Human Role in a reciprocal relation:

(93) *(met) iemand spreken*
alicui colloqui [mostly: *cum aliquo*; also: *aliquem*, ET 66]
somebody-DAT speak-INF
'to speak to somebody'

(94) *mihi illa nubet* (B 120)
me-DAT that one-NOM FEM marry-3SG FUT
'That one is going to marry me.'

Other verbs: *pugnare* 'fight' [*cum aliquo*, ET 66]

b) Noun:

Experiencer:

(95) *Philocomasio amator.* (VH 23)
Philocomasius-DAT lover-NOM
'Philocomasius' lover.'

Beneficiary:

(96) *Obtemperatio scriptis legibus.* (VH 9)
obedience-NOM written laws-DAT
'Obedience to the written laws.'

c) Interjection: Beneficiary (malefactive):

(97) *Vae victis!*
woe to defeated-DAT
'Woe to the defeated!'

d) Partitive dative (adjunct): Inalienable Possessor + Beneficiary or Experiencer:

Ditransitives:

(98) *Iam tibi istam scelestam linguam abscindam.* (VH 14)
now you-DAT this wicked tongue-ACC tear out-1SG FUT
'I am now going to tear out your wicked tongue.'

(99) *Sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt.* [also GEN, VH 14]
themselves-ACC all-NOM crying-NOM PART Caesar-DAT at feet-ACC throw-3PL PERF
'They all threw themselves crying at the feet of Caesar.'

Intransitives:

(100) *Nescio qua vox ad aures mihi advolavit.* (VH 14)
not know-1SG what voice-NOM to ears-ACC me-DAT fly-3SG PERF
'I do not know what voice flew to my ear.'

(101) *Dat wat mij voor de geest kwam*
Ea quae mihi veniebant in mentem. [also GEN, VH 14]
that which-NOM me-DAT come-3PL IMPERF to mind-ACC
'Those things which came to my mind.'

See also Lav 163 and KS 313.

e) Dativus iudicantis: adjunct: Experiencer:

(102) *Quintia formosa est multis.* (VH 16)
Quintia-NOM beautiful-NOM be-3SG many-DAT
'Quintia is beautiful in the eyes of many.'

(103) *Divitior mihi videtur esse vera amicitia.* (VH 9)
richer-NOM me-DAT seem-3SG PASS be-INF true friendship-NOM
'True friendship seems to me richer.'

Also: *certum* 'certain' (ET 75).

f) Nominative of the active > dative of the passive: Experiencer:

(104) *Omnibus hominibus moriendum est* (KS 324)
all-DAT PL human-DAT PL die-NOM GER
'Everybody must die.'

(105) *Neque cernitur ulli* (Lav 166)
neither perceive-3SG PASS anybody-DAT
'Neither is it perceived by anybody.'

(106) *Militibus castra in modum penatium diligebantur.* (VH 16)
soldiers-DAT camp-NOM in the fashion-ACC homes-GEN love-3PL IMPERF PASS
'The camp was loved by the soldiers like their homes.'
'The soldiers loved the camp like their homes.'

g) Dativus ethicus: Experiencer:

(107) *Ego hanc machaeram mihi consolari volo.* (VH 17)
I-NOM this sword-ACC me-DAT console-INF want-1SG
'I want to console this dear sword.'

3.4 *Dative of agent: [Experiencer + Agent]*

a) Nominative of the active > dative of the passive:

(108) *Mihi consilium captum iamdiu est.* (VH 16)
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.'

b) Intransitive verb with passive force:

(109) *Huic cadit infelix* [poetical, *ab...*, HS 97]
this one-DAT fall-3SG unfortunate-NOM
'The unfortunate man is slain by him.'

(110) *Catulo iacuit* (HS 97)
Catulus-DAT lie down-3SG PERF
'He was knocked down by Catulus.'

c) Intransitive modal expression:

(111) *Caesari omnia erant agenda.* (VH 15)
Caesar-DAT everything-NOM be-3PL IMPERF do-NOM GER
'Everything had to be done by Caesar.'
'Caesar had to do everything.'

(112) *Dat staat me te doen.*
that is me to do
'I should do that.'

3.5 *Double datives:*

Ditransitive constructions:

(113) *Summam laudem S. Roscio vitio et culpae dedisti.* (VH 12)
highest praise-ACC Roscius-DAT vice-DAT and offence-DAT
'You have attributed this highest praise to Roscius as a vice and an offence.'

(114) *Hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerant* (Lav 164)
this-ACC them-DAT domicile-DAT place-ACC choose-3PL PLUPERF
'They had chosen this place to be their domicile.'

(115) *His Caesar imperat frumentum exercitui* (LavII 46)
these-DAT Caesar-NOM order-3SG corn-ACC army-DAT
'Caesar required corn for his army from these people.'

(116) *alicui esse auxilio* (ET 77)
somebody-DAT be-INF help-DAT
'To be of help to someone'

See also KS 344.

Intransitive constructions:

(117) *Moderandum est mihi orationi* (Blake 1994:148
moderate-NOM GER be-3SG me-DAT speech-DAT
'I must moderate my speech.'

(118) *Amicis utilitati et rei publicae emolumento esse.* (VH 12)
friends-DAT advantage-DAT and state-DAT profit-DAT be-INF
To be advantageous to one's friends and profitable to the state.'
'To profit one's friends and the state.'

(119) *aetati agundae* [*ad aetatem agundam,* ET 77]
time-DAT spend-DAT GER
'in order to spend his time'

See also Lav 164.

4. Discussion and conclusions

4.1 *Constructions, dative case/IO and semantic roles. The Constructionist approach*

4.1.1 *The situation in Latin*

In Latin, we obviously do not see a one-to-one correspondence between syntactic constructions and semantic role configurations. It strikes us that each of the four role configurations appears in the main syntactic construction types. At the same time, these combinations are not fully arbitrary. There exist some salient patterns. Ditransitives favour the Goal role, also and especially in combination with the human endpoint roles. Intransitive patterns favour human roles without Goal. Only sometimes does the combination [Goal + human role] occur here, and far less frequently, the combination [Experiencer + Agent]. This 'dative of agent' is more typical (though not frequent) in passive sentences, where it is not always an [Experiencer + Agent] but sometimes simply an Experiencer. Nouns favour human endpoint roles in their valency. The dativus iudicantis as well as the ethical dative can be called Experiencers.

Notwithstanding these partial correspondences, it looks highly implausible that a Constructionist approach like Goldberg's (1992; 1995) could be an adequate framework for the description of the Latin dative. It will hardly

even be feasible to set up here a paradigm of constructions (compare Davidse 1996; Melis, this volume).

The Constructionist approach will certainly face some additional problems. From the above list, it will be clear that the dative NP occurs not only in a number of different constructions and with different word-classes, but also at different valency distances from the verb. In the [Goal + Beneficiary] construction (73-74, 79), the dative NP is not a direct participant or complement of the predicate but a 'complément de phrase' (Lavency 1985b), i.e. an adjunct. The same goes for related constructions with pure Goal as in (42-43). The dativus iudicantis has long been assigned adjunct status (see Van Hoecke 1996:32; Pinkster 1983; 1985; Maurel 1982). Neither can the partitive dative be regarded as an ordinary complement of the verb: on the one hand, it seems to be a necessary complement in the clause (see 98-101), on the other, it does not pertain to the lexical valency of the predicate either (compare especially Lamiroy and Delbecque, this volume). Finally, as has been demonstrated for several languages in the first Dative volume, the ethical dative turns out to be neither a complement nor an adjunct but rather a speech act element. Because of all these differences in the syntactic distance between dative NPs and the predicate, it is well-nigh impossible to claim a unitary syntactic treatment of the dative.

Last but not least, it is obviously not easy to fit the existence of double datives in any grammatical framework (see Haudry 1968), but it appears especially hard to explain this in a Constructionist approach.

4.1.2 *The situation in Dutch*

Comparing Dutch to Latin, three facts strike us.

a) With the exception of a few metaphorical expressions, the Dutch IO does not have the first of the four dative submeanings, i.e. the Goal role without human roles, so the Dutch IO almost always displays a human role. Exceptions are such marginal patterns as:

(120) *Ze was de uitputting nabij.*
'She was close to exhaustion.'

(121) *Ze zijn de kinderschoenen ontgroeid.*
'They have grown away from childhood.'

The 'IO' NPs *de uitputting* (the exhaustion) and *de kinderschoenen* (lit. 'the child shoes') are part of a metaphorical expression. In the first, there is an abstract nearness to the Goal; the second shows an inverted abstract motion, so the Goal 'becomes' a Source. It is highly unlikely that these NPs deserve the name 'IO', since they display no human role (semantic problem) and are hardly substitutable by pronouns (syntactic problem).

b) Another restriction in Dutch concerns the semantic-syntactic distance between predicate and IO. In contrast to Latin, the [Goal + Beneficiary] IO cannot appear as an adjunct, although not as a true complement either. Rather it is an argument depending on an action verb (see example 74). The dativus iudicantis has been narrowed down in Dutch to an argument whereby the Experiencer is not only judging, but is also more directly involved in the situation, even emotionally (compare Draye 1996:185), as in:

(122) *Dat is mij te moeilijk.*
'That is too difficult for me.'

This is connected with the fact that adverbs of degree such as *te* 'too' are necessary if we want to construct an IO here, so we can conclude that here too, the IO oscillates between a complement and an adjunct, compare:

(123) **Dat is mij moeilijk.*
'That is difficult for me.'

c) The Dutch IO occurs in far fewer constructions than the Latin dative. Apparently, the mismatch between construction and IO in Dutch is considerably smaller than that between construction and dative case in Latin. The main reason is of a general nature: cases can occur in several grammatical relations and do not even necessarily depend on a predicate, for they may relate to nouns or other word-classes. By definition, grammatical relations usually take the same case (but see Draye 1996) and must depend on a predicate. Indeed, the Dutch IO appears in a few ditransitive and intransitive patterns. IOs in ditransitives almost always contain the [Goal + human endpoint role] configuration. Yet, there are exceptions without a Goal, such as:

(124) *Ze benijdt (*aan) hem zijn IQ.*
'She envies him his IQ.'

(125) *Hij brak (bij) iemand een arm.*
he broke (with) somebody an arm
'He broke somebody's arm.'

IOs in intransitives are mainly assigned a human role, sometimes accompanied by a Goal. The combination [Experiencer + Agent] occurs in intransitive

modal patterns like (112).

Thus it turns out there are many more correspondences between syntactic constructions and semantic role configurations in Dutch than in Latin, but we are still far from a one-to-one correspondence.

Nonetheless, for Dutch we could set out from a paradigm of constructions, to be linked by syntactic specialization or generalization. Going from ditransitives to intransitives, we have a generalization, more specifically a detransitivization; starting from the intransitives, we could speak of a causativization specialization (compare Feltenius 1977). Sometimes, we can even establish a lexical relation, as in:

(126) *Ze maakten ons*-IO *de uitslag bekend.* (ditransitive)
'They informed us about the result.'

(127) *De uitslag is ons*-IO *bekend.* (intransitive, resultant state metonymy)
'The result is known to us.'

The two sentences also share the same Theme *de uitslag*. A further correspondence between Dutch ditransitives and intransitives is the fact that they share the Theme role, in the function of DO and subject respectively. It is very typical of Dutch intransitive IO constructions that their subject is an inanimate (or secondarily animate) Theme. Agentive subjects have almost died out in intransitive IO patterns. An exception is the verb *gehoorzamen* 'obey', where the subject is normally an Agent and the object NP may still be considered a Beneficiary IO without a Goal (example 86, see also Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996c). Intransitive patterns with [Goal + Beneficiary] (as in the Latin sentence 79: *Tibi aras...* 'You plough for yourself...') are completely absent. Even in Dutch ditransitives, these IOs are on the way of extinction (example 74).

In conclusion, using paradigms of constructions instead of just one construction could save the Constructionist approach if we limit ourselves to caseless languages. For a case language like Latin, this sophistication will not suffice. Therefore, if we want to be able to describe languages with and without cases in parallel ways, we might in the first place have to stick to a semantic description of the cases and the grammatical relations as such, thereby taking into account the contribution of the valency structure of the predicate in question. Secondarily, we can investigate how the latter two relate to syntactic patterns.

4.1.3 *Is there an IO in Latin?*

In the above context, the question can be brought up whether a case language such as Latin does or does not have an IO in addition to a dative case. In the last few decades, a consensus has developed in adopting a general definition of IOs or dative structures. As Blansitt (1984:133) puts it: it has become "obvious that, with the exception of a few grammars of Bantu languages, in a clause glossable as *the boy gave the girl food, the girl* would be called indirect object or dative". The corresponding prototypical meaning of such a ditransitive clause has been specified as "a voluntary transfer, not specifically temporary and not specifically involving exchange, intermediary, or motion" (Blansitt 1984:133). However, Borg and Comrie (1984:123) issue a warning here: "in many languages, ... 'give' is syntactically a very atypical ditransitive verb. This is not particularly surprising: items from the most basic vocabulary are more likely to be anomalous morphologically and syntactically" (see also Newman 1996:21).

Some traditional grammars like Bennett (1914:104) recognize an IO in Latin. In so doing, they already start from the dativus dandi and, in conformity with this, from the analogy with modern European languages. However, whereas the boundaries of the dative case are obvious, the IO is a largely arbitrary category. Serious difficulties arise when we come across double datives, as in *alicui auxilio esse* 'to be of help to somebody', and at the same time double accusatives, as in *docere aliquid aliquem* 'to teach somebody something' (compare Draye 1996:196 for German). A way of handling this is to take the dative (or even accusative) NP with a human role as the IO, since it comes closer to the prototypical human IO of the dativus dandi. However, even if this ad hoc procedure can be accepted, it is obvious that the datives in agent phrases, nominalizations, adjuncts (e.g. dativus iudicantis, Beneficiary), the ethical dative as well as the datives with nouns and interjections cannot be considered IOs. Where the borderline should be drawn is not quite clear to me; for example, do ditransitive and intransitive patterns with a pure Goal contain an IO or not? Probably not. But even for human role datives in intransitives, the IO status is not obvious as the IO prototype is generally considered to be found in ditransitives. Finally, it is not immediately obvious what syntactic purposes this IO would serve. By contrast, the basic grammatical relations, subject and DO, appear to serve syntactic purposes, for instance, in the passivization process. (For a similar problem in German, see Wegener 1985).

4.2 *Alternative forms competing with the dative/IO. The edges of the dative/IO category*

In Latin as well as in Dutch, a number of alternative structures have been competing with dative and IO respectively and have eventually made certain dative/IO patterns disappear. At the same time, important differences between the two languages should be mentioned, again due to the contrast between case and grammatical relation.

a) IO-NP vs. IO-PP; dative vs. PP

Especially in Goal configurations, locative prepositional structures compete with the dative. Even the prototypical dativus dandi is not spared this fate, neither in Dutch nor in Latin, compare the following PP with *dare* 'give':

(128) *...hunc... ad carnificem dabo.* (ET 70)
...him-ACC to hangman-ACC give-1SG FUT
'I will hand him over to the hangman.'

Apparently, *ad* 'to' is the unmarked prepositional counterpart to the prototypical dative and later on, gave rise to the Romance dative particle *a / à*. Other prepositions are *in* 'in' (internal contact), *a(b), de* 'from' (inverted motion with external contact), *e(x)* 'out of' (inverted motion with internal contact), *cum* 'with' (reciprocal relation). The Dutch counterparts have been dealt with above and in Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996c). The main prepositions are: *aan* 'to' (unmarked contact), *naar* 'to' (distant Source), *bij* 'by, in' (internal contact), *met* 'with' (reciprocal relation), *voor* 'for' (Goal + Beneficiary). Both Latin *ad* and Dutch *aan/ naar* express the idea of Goal, although Dutch *aan* has become so frequent that it has extended to other patterns, e.g. *Dat is (aan) niemand eigen* 'That is typical of nobody', but not in ditransitives without a Goal, cf. example (124): *Ze benijdt (*aan) hem zijn IQ* 'She envies him his IQ'. Inverted external motion is, however, possible: *(aan) iemand iets ontfutselen* 'to extort something from someone'. The preposition *bij* signals any internal contact pattern (62, 64, 69), including non-motion situations, cf. example (125): *Hij brak (bij) iemand een arm* 'He broke somebody's arm'.

An important difference in analysis between the two languages imposes itself here. It seems inconceivable to regard the competing PPs in Latin as dative counterparts in the way this is mostly done for the Dutch IO-PPs (see Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996c, but compare Schermer-Vermeer

1991). One of the arguments for treating corresponding PPs as real IOs in Dutch is the possibility of coordinating an IO-NP with an IO-PP, as in:

(129) *De namen die zij elkaar, en ... ook aan leerkrachten geven...*
'The names that they give each other, and ... also to teachers...'

One would expect this to be excluded in Latin. This turns out to be the case from the beginning through the classical period, but not later on, as can be inferred from the statement: "Inkonzinne Ausdrucksweisen sind erst für späte Zeit belegt" (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965:101), i.e. disharmonic expressions were attested only in later times:

(130) *Legatos ad Mysiam ceterisque locis mittunt.*
delegates-ACC to Mysia-ACC other-DAT+and places-DAT send-3PL
'They sent delegates to Mysia and the other places.'

Notwithstanding the existence of such coordinations in imperial Latin, it would be inconceivable to assign the same analysis to a PP and an NP with a case, i.e. to treat both these phrases as IOs, as we did for Dutch. It should be pointed out here that, for this caseless language, other arguments were adduced to take this step (Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996c:221-222).

At the same time, this does not prevent one from interpreting the semantic-pragmatic difference between dative/IO-NPs and corresponding PPs in much the same way for Latin and Dutch. For both these languages, we can hold that in general, a dative or IO-NP usually stresses the involvement of the human roles, whereas a PP tends to emphasize the transfer, motion or orientation embodied by the Goal role. This appears to amount to positing a kind of iconic difference. Considering example (128), we can assume that the use of the preposition *ad* with *dare* 'give' is due to the fact that the hangman is not an involved recipient but merely an instrument of the law.

The iconic difference in question may gradually have lost its strength in modern languages and have been reduced in the end to a discourse phenomenon (as in English, see Davidse 1996 for the dative alternation, especially 312-314, 322, 328). A combination of several factors was envisaged for Dutch (Van Langendonck and Van Belle 1993). The matter will not concern us any further here.

b) IO vs. DO; dative vs. accusative

Another competing construction is the one exemplified by such English sentences as *I present you with a book.* In this transitive pattern, the recipient

NP is construed as a DO, and the Theme as an oblique *with*-phrase. The same patterns occur in Latin and Dutch, again paradoxically affecting the prototype (see Newman 1996, and this volume, for a cognitive account):

(131) *Ik begiftig u met een boek.*
Dono te libro. (KS 334)
present-1SG you-ACC book-ABL
'I present you with a book.'

More typically, this pattern occurs with recipients that are affected in a more negative way, e.g.

(132) *Hij beroofde allen van hun wapens.*
Omnes armis exuit. (KS 335)
all-ACC weapons-ABL rob-3SG PERF
'He robbed everybody of their weapons.'

In (131) as well as in (132), the recipient is more involved in the event, even affected by it, whether it concerns a positive (131) or a negative one (132). The event does not seem to be conceptualized as a transfer. Hence, the 'recipient' is conceived of rather as a Patient (construed as an accusative/DO), while the 'thing' is backgrounded as an Instrument, expressed by an oblique ablative case or a PP. In the corresponding dative/IO-accusative/DO patterns, the recipient is viewed as a Goal-Possessor (*dono tibi librum* 'I give you a book') and a Source-Possessor (*exuo alicui vestem* 'I take off somebody's coat') respectively. The recipient appears to be much less affected.[2]

The present analysis indirectly entails that at least for normal Latin dative patterns and Dutch IO constructions, I do not wish to regard the recipient phrase as the main or primary object and the thing phrase as the secondary object (Dryer 1986; Newman 1996:63, 75, and this volume). This is obvious for Latin because of the case marking DAT-ACC. For Dutch, an IO + DO analysis for patterns like (133) is plausible as well. That the IO comes before the DO (at least if the DO is a full NP) is due to the prototypical definiteness and humanness of the recipient and does not entail a primary object status (see especially Hudson 1992, who also gives a number of syntactic arguments for English). Moreover, in Dutch subordinate clauses (the basic structure), the DO is closer to the verb than the IO because of the SOV order, compare:

(133) *dat ik je een boek gaf*
that I you-IO a book-DO gave
'that I gave you a book.'

The (only) partial passivizability of Dutch IOs is at least partly attributable to their topical status (see below).[3] A positive argument in favour of the IO + DO analysis is derivable from the possibility of occurrence of the adverb *maar* 'only' (compare Polinsky 1995:186 for English). Only DOs can be preceded by *maar*, at least if *maar* modifies an indefinite NP:[4]

(134) *Ze kreeg maar een blad*-DO.
'She got only a sheet.'

(135) a. *Hij gaf een meisje*-IO *maar een blad*-DO.
'He gave a girl only a sheet.'

b. ?**Hij gaf maar een meisje een blad.*
?'He gave only a girl a sheet.'

In intransitives, the alternation between IO and DO or dative and accusative is subject to more variation and uncertainty. In Latin, intransitive dative verbs can become accusative verbs, but the reverse is equally possible, or there may even exist a relatively free alternation. Thus, *credere* 'to believe' was able to take an accusative as well as a dative; *sequi* 'to follow' took a dative only in the imperial period, and so on. As Blake (1994:146) puts it: "...one cannot predict the case from the role, since while it is true that entities directly affected by activities are always encoded in the accusative (at least in the active voice), entities that are not affected are encoded as accusatives with some verbs and datives with others".

In Dutch, there is a decline of the IO with intransitively construed agentive verbs like *gehoorzamen* 'to obey', etc. (see also Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996c). For Dutch, the prevalence of the DO is clear: where constructions with DO and IO overlap on the surface, as is the case in such two-place predicate sentences as *Hij gehoorzaamt me* 'He obeys me', the DO is, as the unmarked object, taking over the functions of the marked IO.

c) IO vs. subject, dative vs. nominative in intransitive clauses

In Latin, the dativus finalis in predicative position competes with the nominative, e.g. *est exitio* vs. *est exitium* (ET 77) 'it is the ruin...'. However, a transition from dative to nominative in subject position does not seem to occur. Caseless languages, however, do not resist such an operation. For example, in modern Dutch, there has been for quite some time a transition from intransitive patterns with an inanimate subject and an IO to transitives where the original IO becomes the subject and the original subject turns into a DO, e.g.

(136) *Het mankeert me*-IO > *Ik mankeer het*-DO.
'It misses (to) me > 'I miss it.'
(see also VL 110-111)

d) Active IO becomes passive subject

Case languages block the change of an IO of the active voice into the subject of the passive voice. When cases fade away, this transition becomes possible (compare German, Draye 1996, with English, Davidse 1996:322-324). Such changes have been taking place in Dutch for centuries, e.g.

(137) *Sij werden haer huysen verbrant.* (1575, VL 113)
they were their houses burnt
'Their houses were burnt.'

Nonetheless, prescriptive grammars (following the Latin grammatical tradition!) have been condemning these constructions and calling them nonstandard at best, still following linguists such as Krüger (1919:79), who speaks about 'der Unsinn, der in der ganzen Fügung liegt' (i.e. the nonsense that resides in the whole pattern; still see the ANS 1984:1051-1053 for Dutch). However, nonstandard Dutch (of the North and of the South) allows for quite a number of passive constructions with a subject developed out of an active IO (see VL 1968 and J. Van der Horst's recent material, kindly put at my disposal). These patterns include:

i) Partitive IOs, especially with inalienable possession:

(138) *Hij is gewoon de adem afgesneden.* (VL 114)
he has simply been cut off the breath
'It took away his breath.'

(139) *Ik werd de maat genomen.* (VL 113)
I was the size taken
'My size was taken.'

(140) *Hij werd zijn professorschap ontnomen.* (VL 113)
he was his professorship taken away
'His professorship was taken away from him.'

ii) Partitive IOs in which the (usually inalienably) possessed item is a PP:

a. Derived from a ditransitive active sentence:

(141) *... meermalen werd de kardinaal al de antwoorden in de mond gelegd.* (VL 109)
... several times was the cardinal all the answers in the mouth put
'... several times all the answers were put in the cardinal's mouth.'

b. Derived from an intransitive active sentence:

(142) *De Lieve Olga-fans werden echter duchtig in het haar gezeten.* (VL 105)
the Lieve Olga fans were, however, heavily in the hair sat
'The Lieve Olga fans, however, were given it hot and strong.'

iii) Verbs that take a clausal complement:

(143) *Ze werden verboden over het gras te lopen.* (VL 111)
'They were forbidden to walk across the lawn.'

(144) *Werkwilligen mogen niet belet worden hun arbeid te verrichten.* (VL 111)
'Non-strikers must not be prevented from doing their work.'

iv) Verbs that have an optional DO and an agentive subject (northern Dutch):

(145) *Wij worden weinig gedikteerd.* (VL 104)
'We are not often dictated to.'

(146) *Het liefste werd ik voorgelezen door de meid.* (VL 104)
'What I preferred was to be read to by the housemaid.'

v) Verbs that form a fixed expression with a more or less incorporated DO:

(147) *Hij werd de duimschroeven aangezet.* (VL 106)
he was the thumb-screws put on
'The screws were put on him.'

(148) *Ik werd geen geluk gewenst.* (VL 107)
'I was not wished luck.'

vi) Verbs with an indefinite NP or a pronoun as DO:

(149) *De spelers zijn een nieuw liedje geleerd.* (VL 108)
'The players were taught a new song.'

(150) *De mensen werden het opgedrongen.* (VL 109)
people were it imposed on
'It was imposed on people.'

By contrast, sentences such as the following are unlikely to be produced:

(151) **Zij is het mooie jurkje gegeven.*
'She was given the nice dress.'

(152) **Hij is het boek aangeboden.*
'He was offered the book.'

(153) *?*Ze werd een brief geschreven.*
'She was written a letter.'

(154) *?*Ze werden koffie ingeschonken.*
'They were poured some coffee.'

An explanation for these data can probably best be provided in terms of the transitivity parameters 'affectedness' and 'individuation' (Hopper and Thompson 1980). In the above examples, there is a competition between IO and subject in passives. In intransitive active patterns exemplified in (142), the IO can rather easily become the subject in the passive. The sentences under (iv) derive from optionally transitive verbs. When construed intransitively, the same process can apply to them as to real intransitive patterns. If the dependent clauses under (iii) are DOs at all, they are certainly not highly individuated, so the IO readily assumes the subject function in the passive. DOs that form a fixed expression with the verb, as in (v), are poorly individuated. About the same obtains for the indefinite DO and the unstressed pronoun in (vi).

By contrast, the definite DOs *het mooie jurkje* and *het boek* in the ungrammatical sentences of (151-152) are highly individuated. A corollary of this strong individuation is that the DOs in question have their own stress, while the poorly individuated DOs form an intonational unit with the governing verb. The last two examples (153-154) contain an indefinite NP as original DO, but sound fairly bad nonetheless. In the case of letter-writing (153), the Goal is some distance from the Agent-Source, so looks less salient or topicalizable and hence less prone to become subject. The IO with [Goal + Beneficiary] is not a direct participant, i.e. does not belong to the lexical valency of the verb, so cannot become a passive subject so easily. In the last two cases, the mere fact that the Goal role is still salient is also unfavourable. The IO referent will topicalize and hence become subject more easily if its human role is foregrounded, especially if this is a Possessor. A final factor is the affectedness of the IO. In the partitive cases, the IO referent is more affected or involved than in others, certainly more than in the case of a distant Goal (letter-writing) or of a [Goal-Beneficiary] (no immediate contact; syntactic distance).

The question arises why we do find definite DOs in the partitive passive sentences (138-141) of (i) and (iia). Through the (often inalienably) possessive relation between the involved human IO referent and the DO or adjunct, the IO referent becomes more salient and prominent than the DO, apparently since the whole is more important than the part (see also Lamiroy and Delbecque, this volume).

In patterns where all or most favourable factors coincide, the transition from active IO to passive subject turns out quite natural. Kooiman (1963) speaks of quite ordinary phrases like:

(155) *Hij is de nek omgedraaid.*
he has been the neck twisted
'He was killed.'

(156) *Hij is een vinger afgezet.*
he has been a finger amputated
'One of his fingers was amputated.'

In both patterns, we are dealing with a human Possessor and a relation of inalienable possession. In addition, the Possessor is a highly affected Experiencer. The DO referent is of course also affected, but, as was said, the whole is more important than the part. Moreover, the DO forms a semantic and intonational unit with the verb. Finally, *een vinger* is indefinite, and *de nek omdraaien* is a fixed expression.

Of course, native speakers may still refrain from writing such phrases, but if the original IO-NP is in front position and is connected with a transitive and an intransitive verb in coordination, they will not even realize they are making a 'mistake', compare:

(157) *Zij worden geaaid en in den arm geknepen.* (VL 103)
they are caressed and in the(ir) arms pinched
'They are caressed and their arms are pinched.'

4.3 *The dative/IO prototype and the localist hypothesis. Schematic meanings*

4.3.1 *The dative/IO prototype*

As has been suggested above, the prototype of dative/IO structures is the dativus dandi in Latin as well as in Dutch. Indeed, semantically and syntactically, the prototype displays a maximum of structure. Semantically, sentences such as (60) or (12) *Do tibi librum / Ik geef je een boek* 'I give you a book'

contain the 'rich' structure:

[Agent + Source] - Verb - Theme - [Goal + Possessor]

It is a notable fact here that the Goal is enriched by a human role. Syntactically, the dative/IO is in the most conspicuous position when it is accompanied by an accusative/DO, as in the ditransitive construction. As a consequence, it is more difficult here to replace the dative/IO by a different case or grammatical relation (Jakobson 1971:57). In other words, for the dative/IO, the ditransitive pattern is the stronghold that will be given up last.

4.3.2 *The synchronic linkage of the role configurations in Latin and Dutch*

For the synchronic analysis of the dative submeanings, my starting point has been the four role combinations linked by specialization or generalization. I have assumed that, theoretically, the direction of the linkage is more or less open. A decision about a specific language might be inspired by diachronic considerations. We may, for instance, adopt the so-called localist hypothesis, and thus set out from the pure (locative) Goal role, at least for Latin. However, diachronic facts must not influence us when it comes to establishing synchronic relations. As Kuryłowicz (1964:202) puts it: "The so-called 'localistic' theory of cases may be justified from the *diachronic* point of view. From the *synchronic* one the expression of spatial relation generally represents *one* only of the possible functions of a given case-form". Hence, for the direction of the synchronic linkage of the role configurations in Latin, we can merely take over the general schema above, in which a number of possibilities must be left open. In the case of Dutch, however, only two possibilities are left: one can begin with the prototype [Goal + human roles], as is done in Geeraerts (this volume) or from the human roles by themselves, although one may run into difficulties here because of the relative scarcity of this pattern. Anyway, it is absolutely excluded for Dutch to start from the pure Goal role, as almost nothing remains of this category. This brings us back to diachrony.

4.3.3 *The localist hypothesis. Origin and later evolution of the dative*

a) Origin of the dative

Trying to accommodate this synchronic analysis to diachronic considerations is pointless for still another reason. As to the I.-E. origin of the dative, the historical linguists disagree. Bennett (1914:103) favours the localist hypothesis: "On the whole the evidence seems to me strongly to support the view that

the dative originally denoted the direction of motion". Kuryłowicz (1964: 191) is of the same opinion: "The dat. is genetically nothing else than an offshoot of the loc. used with personal nouns. Persons are both physical objects and centres of a sphere of competence or interest". This view is confirmed by the way the dative was innovated in modern analytical European languages: the prepositions that were introduced had originally a locative value, "cf. *ad* in Romance, *to* in English (Dutch *aan,* Swedish *at*, Danish *til*)" (Kuryłowicz 1964:191; see also Skalmowski 1996 on Pashto; Newman, this volume). By contrast, Hofman and Szantyr (1965:86), following Delbrück, consider "die lokale Urbedeutung des Dativs noch keinesfalls erwiesen", i.e. the locative proto-meaning of the dative has not been shown yet. These authors adhere to the 'Entpersönlichung' (depersonification) thesis, which amounts to saying that the dative originated as a carrier of human roles. Anyway, human roles have been connected with the dative case as early as the I.-E. period (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965:87).

It looks very much as if a decision on the origin of 'the' dative, if only in Latin, cannot simply be taken. What is more, matters are complicated by obviously contradictory historical lexical developments. On the one hand, such sentences as *Ei (ob)venit hereditas* (75)'This legacy fell to his share' suggest a metaphorical and specializing development from Goal to [Goal + Possessor] in the case of *venire* 'to come'. On the other hand, the fact that in Early Latin, the verb *sequi* 'to follow' took the accusative (and only much later a dative), but the derivative *obsequi* 'to obey, comply' (HS 89) had a dative much earlier, suggests the opposite development from [Goal + human role] (Beneficiary) to pure Goal.[5] Thus the lexical facts appear to lead to the same conclusion, i.e. that the origin of the I.-E. dative cannot be traced (see also Van Hoecke 1996:note 16).

In terms of our role configurations, this leaves us with two alternatives for the origin of the dative. The first is that the dative originated as an indicator of pure Goals; the second is that it was originally assigned a pure human role. I would like to note that the solution favoured for the synchronic analysis, i.e. regarding the prototype as basic, can hardly be envisaged when it comes to tracing the origin of the dative. It is highly unlikely, indeed, that this case originally referred to such a complex role configuration as [Goal + Possessor]. One would rather expect the first instances of a case to indicate simple concepts like 'place' or 'person'.

b) Later evolution

Notwithstanding the uncertainty about the origin of the I.-E. dative, the general direction of its later evolution seems clear. Although, for example in Latin, the pure Goal role is less frequent than may appear from the above classification, it is still present in quite a few constructions. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Old English (Pasicki, this volume). By contrast, in contemporary English, all traces of a pure Goal role have been wiped out. In modern Romance languages, only a few metaphorical traces of the purely locative Goal have been preserved. The so-called datives of equivalence seem to go back to physical motion or nearness, witness French dative verbs such as: *correspondre* 'correspond', *ressembler* 'resemble', *succéder* 'succeed'. In other cases, a human role was added in the course of time: *arriver* 'arrive > happen' and some formations with *-venir* 'come' (compare Melis 1996:51-53). Not so many more remnants seem to persist in modern Spanish (Delbecque and Lamiroy 1996:74, 94, 100) and Portuguese (Andrade 1996: 132, 140). In Polish too, little is left of the pure Goal role (compare Rudzka 1996). In contradistinction with Dutch, the more conservative case language German has preserved some locative verbs with a dative, e.g. *folgen* 'follow', *sich nähern* 'approach', etc. In the contemporary I.-E. context, however, the purely locative Goal in the dative/IO is on the way to extinction.

4.3.4 *A schematic meaning for dativity?*

The above representational format for the synchronic characterization of the Latin dative does not contain a general 'dative' sense, but role configurations linked by specialization and generalization instead. In this respect, it looks more like a radial set model or an overlapping sets model than a schematic network model.[6] That the constellation of roles used here can be attributed some psychological reality is supported by its being similar to the diachronic evolution sketched above, whether we have to begin with the Goal role (Kuryłowicz) or with the human roles (Delbrück).

Nonetheless, we might wonder whether we could not set up an abstract, schematic meaning to characterize (at least I.-E.) dativity in general. Several authors have ventured to do this. Van Hoecke (1996:31) speaks of the Latin dative as indicating "the pole towards which the action or the process referred to by the predicate is oriented". Melis (this volume) describes the dative as 'prospective'. Rudzka (1996), using a Langackerian schematic network, considers the dative as representing a landmark in its most abstract form. For

Newman (1996:102; this volume, fig. 7) the highest node in the schematic network of the Kanuri 'indirect postposition' *ró* denotes an "entity to which an act is directed". At the same time, he recognizes that in certain cases, the status of a single, highly schematic meaning may be dubious. Following Langacker (1987:381), Newman (1996:104) makes "no assumption that it is necessary to recognize a single, all-encompassing schematic meaning representing what is common to all uses of a morpheme...". Anyway, he leaves room for a weaker claim whereby "it is possible to identify commonalities on a smaller scale between certain groups of meanings, such as recipient-benefactive, recipient-allative etc." (Newman 1996:105). However, that leaves us again with two logically distinct dative meanings: the pure Goal role and the human roles. It would be difficult to set up an abstract top meaning unifying such roles as Goal and Possessor. Newman's (1996:102) schematic network looks like a 'petitio principii' since the human role is defined as 'person for whose benefit an act is done'. In my opinion, this definition already contains a double role, viz. [Goal + Beneficiary]: the benefiting person is the Beneficiary and 'the act done for' denotes an abstract Goal. A pure Beneficiary was encountered above with Latin dative verbs such as *servire* 'serve', *obtemperare* 'obey' etc. A [Goal + Beneficiary] was detected in a pattern like *tibi aras* 'you plough for yourself', in which an act is done with the purpose (abstract Goal) to please somebody (Beneficiary). A closely related pattern with a pure Goal is to be found in the transitive Latin sentences (42) *Quid huic homini faciam?* 'What should I do about this man?' (i.e. with this man as the target) and (43) *Quid faceret huic conclusioni?* 'What should he do about this conclusion?' and in the intransitive (52) *Quid mihi futurum est?* 'What is becoming of me?'.[7]

All in all, it does not look plausible to set up one abstract meaning for 'dativity'. However described, it looks rather arbitrary or even deceiving. This and the fact that such abstractions are never encountered in actual sentences renders the psychological validity of it highly questionable.

4.4 *The dative/IO a universal category? Implicational universals*

Dative case and IO as well as the concept of 'dativity' are typically I.-E. categories. We are concerned here with a local historical evolution. It is true that in non-I.-E. languages, 'datives' and 'IOs' are 'found', or should we say 'set up'? Typologists simply look at the translation of our prototypical

dative/IO structures and carry over European terminology (e.g. Borg and Comrie 1984; Blake 1994). Blake (1994:145) is particularly aware of the problem: "What does one do in describing language x if one case encodes the recipient of giving and another case the complement of some intransitive verbs?".

In general, the main non-core case used to mark complements is called 'dative' (Blake 1994:145, who also provides an interesting list of possible 'dative' patterns).

On the other hand, the semantic roles figuring in the dative/IO configurations are more likely to have a certain universal validity, but much more research remains to be done.

This also goes for the investigation of 'implicational universals'. And again, as far as dative and IO are concerned, and not only semantic roles, we may have to limit ourselves to I.-E. 'universals'. A syntactic candidate could be: if the dative/IO is found in intransitive structures, it is also present in ditransitives. Another: if there are dative adjuncts, there are dative complements. A semantic candidate is likely to be: if the dative/IO has an agentive function, it certainly has an Experiencer meaning. And a final one: if the dative/IO denotes an Experiencer or Beneficiary, it also denotes a Possessor.

NOTES

1. These meanings referring to the various modes of contact bear some resemblance to the senses of Finnish cases like allative 'movement to', illative 'movement into', ablative 'movement from', elative 'movement out of', adessive 'location at/on', inessive 'location inside' (for the connection of these cases to *give*-constructions, see Newman, this volume).

2. This also follows from KS's comments: "*dono te libro* heisst: ich beschenke dich mit einer Belohnung, schmücke, zeichne dich aus; der Dativ der Person..., wenn von solchen Gaben die Rede ist, bei welchen die subjektive Tätigkeit (die Annahme) der Person wesentlich ist" (KS 334), i.e. *dono te libro* means: I present you with a reward, adorn, honour you; the dative of person is used when such gifts are concerned whereby the subjective activity (the reception) by the person is essential. With a DAT-ACC constellation, *exuere* means 'to take away', with ACC-ABL, however, it means 'to rob'. We should remark here that mixed constructions occur, e.g. *interdicere* 'to forbid, deny' is construed with a dative for the person and an ablative for the thing (KS 335).

3. Other positive arguments in favour of the IO + DO view are to be found in Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1992; 1996:221-222). For English, see Polinsky (1995:198-200).

4. It should be noted that sentence (135b) can be patched up by reinforcing *maar* by *alleen*:
   Hij gaf alleen maar een meisje een blad.

5. Compare German, where *folgen*+DAT 'to follow' can be used metaphorically in the sense of 'to obey': *Die Kinder folgen den Eltern* 'The children obey their parents'.

6. It is true that "given a number of straightforward adaptations and additions", the overlapping sets model, the schematic network model and the radial set model can be made into 'notational variants' (Geeraerts 1995, and this volume), but the actual description and elaboration of the meanings of a morpheme may still differ greatly both within the same model and among different models.

7. A similar threefold distinction can be seen in *aggeri ignem inferre* 'to set fire to the entrenchment' (pure Goal), *do tibi librum* 'I give you a book' (Goal + Possessor) and *domus est Marco* 'Mark owns the house' (pure Possessor).

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ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCES

B	=	Bennett (1914)
DS	=	Dirk Sacré
ET	=	Ernout and Thomas (1952)
HS	=	Hofmann and Szantyr (1965)
KS	=	Kühner and Stegman (1962)
Lav	=	Lavency (1985a)
LavII	=	Lavency (1985b)
VH	=	Van Hoecke (1996)
VL	=	Van Langendonck (1968)

From form to interpretation:

Building up the 'dative'-roles

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« Demonstrating that a given form or construction has a certain function does not constitute an explanation for the existence of the form or construction; it must also be shown how that form or construction came to have that function. »

Bybee, Perkins & Pagliucca (1994:3)

Recent studies on case in a non-generative paradigm are mainly interested in the way languages categorize basic human experience. The starting point is generally a more or less precise list of action schemes and of associated roles. The formal aspects are put in the background and differences in formal devices are to a large extent considered irrelevant. It does not matter whether the language under scrutiny is a language with morphological case, such as Latin or German, a language making use of constructions, e.g. English and Dutch, or a mixed type language, such as French or Spanish, using morphologically marked pronouns and syntactically marked noun phrases. It is even unimportant whether neat formal phenomena can be delimited: Blake (1994), for example, offers an analysis of the dative in Kalkatungu, although he recognizes that this language does not present any identifiable formal device; it suffices that the analogs of Latin datives could be found.

This attitude of disregard is questionable in at least three respects. First, it is not proven that the formal strategies languages exhibit are of no importance to the way meaning is structured and experience categorized. Second, in most languages the complex meaning subsumed under a semantic role is directly ascribed to a formal phenomenon that is also complex — e.g. the ditransitive construction of English; the validity of such direct ascription and the conse-

quent denial of the role the internal structure and the formal characteristics could play in the building up of the interpretation are not discussed. Third, the position of the particular formal devices used in a language, be it morphological cases or constructions, with regard to the whole array of formal devices this language exhibits, is not examined and its effect on meaning largely ignored.

The use of the same term, dative for instance, to refer to formal devices and to interpretations may be misleading and to achieve terminological clarity, I will use case only for morphological phenomena, thus for case-forms (Blake 1994), constructions for syntactically defined grammatical relations, and roles for semantico-referential entities (Palmer 1994). The term dative is thus strictly speaking only the name of some case in flectional languages; its use in relation to constructions or roles is always derivative and it will be signaled by inverted commas.

In this contribution, I will examine those three related questions, reanalyzing some of the data presented in Van Belle and Van Langendonck (eds) (1996). In section 1, I will address case-languages, especially Latin and German; confronting two descriptions of the overall distribution of the dative case form in Latin (Van Hoecke 1996 and Van Langendonck this volume), I will attempt to show that meaning can and ought to be described at various levels and in close relation with features of the syntactic system and that striking differences between the dative in Latin and German are related to differences in the case systems. The comparison with German will focus on the importance of the distinction between structural and thematic case, introduced by Leys (1995). Section 2 is devoted to French and to the intricate relationship between the two formal components of the dative paradigm, the clitics *lui* and *leur* and the prepositional phrase. The aim of this section is to show how the 'dative' interpretation is obtained from the various aspects involved in the construction and the case-forms. Section 3 sums up the results and widens the perspective by looking at it in the light of the construction grammar approach proposed for the English V NP NP construction in Goldberg (1992, 1995, 1996).

1. The dative in Latin and German

In flectional languages, such as Latin or German, the correlation between form — a morphological marker — and meaning seems straightforward: a case form that has a specific distribution and thus fulfills various, but precise

grammatical relations expresses a more or less complex meaning that can be identified with one or more related semantic roles. The form / meaning system can be perfectly identified as a morpheme, the role configuration being the meaning side and the grammatical form the expression side. This clearcut picture does not, however, stand up to further scrutiny, because it ignores the existence of subsystems in the language and does not take into account the various oppositions between case-forms and the overall organisation of the case system in different languages.

In the first two parts of this section, I will consider some facts about the Latin dative. First, I will consider Van Langendonck's description of the correlation between forms and semantic roles (Van Langendonck this volume), and compare his analysis with that of Van Hoecke (1996) (1.1.). Then, I will examine some case alternations (1.2.). This will lead to the conclusion that the dative form does not primarily refer to semantic roles, but plays a crucial role in building them up. Structural facts about case distribution intervene. The importance of those formal factors must also be invoked in cross-linguistic comparison, as a brief comparison between Latin and German indicates (1.3.).

1.1 *Two descriptions of the Latin dative*

The case system of Latin can be seen as composed of two subsystems: the system of the dependent or oblique cases — accusative, genitive, dative and ablative — and the system of the non-dependent cases — nominative and vocative. According to Van Langendonck (this volume) a correlation with some semantic roles can be established for each of the oblique cases, and especially the dative, in conformity with the general hypothesis that cases express roles.

As far as the roles are concerned, Van Langendonck distinguishes four complex role configurations:

- 'goal', a typically inanimate attractor (G),
- 'human role', the animate participant involved in the process (HR) acting as a beneficiary (B), an experiencer (E) or a possessor (P),
- the combination of those two roles, the person involved acting as a goal,
- the combination of one of the sub-roles, the experiencer, with the agent role (Agt).

He further specifies the distribution of those roles with regard to the major syntactic environments in which the dative case occurs: datives dependent on predicates — transitive verbs (tr. verb) , intransitive verbs (intr. verb), adjectival predicates (adj.), or adverbial ones (adv.) — nouns (noun) and datives as sentence adjuncts (sentence). The results of the author can be summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

roles	G	G + H.R. (B./E./P.)	H.R. (B./E./P.)	E.+Agt.
tr. verb	+	+: B,E,P	+: P	+
intr. verb	+	+: B,E,P	+: E,B, P	+
adj.	+	+: B,E	+: E,B	
adv.	+		+: E,B	
noun	+		+: E,B	
sentence	+		+: E,B,P	

Given that datives dependent on nouns and adverbs and datives as sentence adjuncts are rather marginal in the language, the overall picture supports the thesis of the independence of roles from case forms and thus of semantics from syntax: all roles appear in the major syntactic contexts. But closer examination raises at least two questions about the combinatory roles: Why does the E + A association appear only with verbs, and why is the goal — H.R. association associated with the use of a dative in combination with a predicate?[1] To answer those questions, attention has to be drawn to the syntactic and lexical environment.

The combination of the experiencer and the agent role is restricted to specific syntactic environments: gerunds and verbal forms related to the passive. Van Hoecke (1996: ex. 40-43)[2] cites the following examples with a gerundivum:

(1) *Faciendum est mihi illud quod illaec postulat.*
(2) *Caesari omnia erant agenda.*

and also examples with a passive participle and even with a personal synthetic passive form:

(3) *Mihi consilium captum iamdiu est.*

It could be said that this meaning, and especially the agent component in it, is an effect of the construction, specifically of the diathesis in the verb possibly in combination with the lexical meaning of the predicate, and does not pertain to the meaning of the dative as such. As indicated by Van Hoecke, grammarians of Latin generally think that the dative refers first of all to the beneficiary of the verbal process and that the agent component is secondary: to benefit from the process, the referent of the dative has to act as an agent, a controller.

If we thus consider only the first three role types in the table, we can posit, with Van Langendonck (this volume) a complex meaning system with two clear ends, the typically inanimate goal role and the human role complex and an intermediate case, where the two basic roles are combined. The author adds that synchronic and diachronic evidence does not indicate a clear starting point: for some cases, the 'goal-role' seems to be the basic one, but for others it is the 'human-role'. His analysis can be represented by Table 2.

Table 2

	→		→	
goal		goal + human role		human role
	←		←	

However, the intermediate position does not have the same status as the two extreme ones; it appears only with predicates that refer to a real or metaphorical motion component and take a human (indirect) object; those predicates include typically verbs of motion, verbs of transfer and verbs of communication,[3] such as

(4) *(ob/e)venire* (to fall to), *contingere* (id.), *accedere* (to take place) *incedere* (to arise)
detrahere (to take away), *eripere* (id.), *extrahere* (to extract)
dare (to give), *vendere* (to sell)
monstrare (to show), *dicere* (to say), *narrare* (to tell), *respondere* (to answer),
rogare (to ask), *scribere* (to write)
promittere (to promise), *imperare* (to order), *praescribere* (to prescribe),
persuadere (to persuade), *minari* (to threaten), *negare* (to deny)

The combination of the two roles is clearly due to the specific semantics of the verbs; putting aside this lexical factor, we are thus left with two roles associated with the dative case form: the goal and the involved person. In the first case, the noun is typically inanimate and, if animate, refers to the spatio-temporal properties of the referent:

(5) *Hominem alicui adducere*
'to bring a man to somebody'

in the second case, the noun necessarily is animate. Those roles appear in all relevant syntactic environments and even in the same sentence, the so-called double dative:

(6) *Esse alicui auxilio*
to be — to somebody (dat) — to help (dat)

Moreover, the opposition between them is due to the contrast between the nouns in the dative, and not to the meaning of the dative itself. The dative is able to refer to a goal if the dative noun is inanimate or is considered as a place if it is animate; it refers to a human participant if the noun, understandably, refers to a person; and finally it refers to a complex role of a human participant acting as a goal of the process if the predicate has a dynamic component and admits an animate noun. The various sub-species of the H.R.-role are obtained by combining the underspecified base-value, human participant, with information provided by the lexicon: the nouns involved — the dative, the accusative (in the case of a three place predicate), and the nominative — and the verb, and by our encyclopedic knowledge about the way the relations function in the action scheme.[4]

Roles appear thus as composite entities, built up from lexical information coming from the nouns and the predicates and from the case-morpheme itself; the specific input of the dative case in that complex figure can be circumscribed, according to Van Hoecke's proposal, as follows: the dative « indicates the pole towards which the action or the process referred to (...) is oriented » (Van Hoecke 1996: 31). This more abstract characterization, which is language specific, provides a basis upon which the more concrete interpretation as a semantic role is built up. In this process of meaning constitution, the lexicon, be it the nouns or the predicates, and the syntax, e.g. the diathesis, play a crucial role. As far as the dative is concerned, the pole or attractor constitutes the basic value; this base is subject to further elaboration, typically as a goal if the noun is inanimate and as an involved participant if it is an animate noun. More refined interpretations, such as beneficiary, possessor or experiencer, and complex ones, like goal plus human role, come out as the product of the intricate interaction of lexical and grammatical information and of knowledge about human interaction in action schemes.

1.2 *The dative in Latin and alternating constructions*

The importance of separating the various factors involved in the building up of interpretations and the role of abstract characterizations, such as 'pole' are even greater when we do not focus only on constructions with datives, but consider the whole range of constructions.

From that point of view, the association between case form and roles which seems to be apparent in Table 1 is not so close. First of all we notice that the same role is expressed by another case form, in some contexts even with the same verb:

(7) *Hoc* *mihi* *donavit.*
this (acc.) — to me (dat.) — he gave
(8) *Te* *donabo* *aliquo.*
you (acc.) — I will give — something (abl.)
'I will provide you with something.'

The verb *donare*, a near synonym of the prototypical dative verb *dare* — 'to give' —, enters not only into a construction with an accusative and a dative, bearing respectively the roles of object and beneficiary of the transfer, but also into a construction with an accusative, referring to the person who ends up as the posessor of the transferred object, and an ablative, referring to the transferred object. Both sentences evoke the same situation. As far as the participants in the situation referred to are concerned the dative *mihi* and the accusative *te* point to the recipient, i.e. the goal and beneficiary of the transfer and the possessor of the object transferred. Similarly, the accusative *hoc* and the ablative *aliquo* evoke the object transferred. However, the two sentences do not have exactly the same meaning: the first speaks of 'giving something to somebody' and the second of 'providing somebody with something'. This observation can be related to the difference between the accusative-dative pattern in (7) and the accusative-ablative pattern in (8). The patterns differ on two levels: the case forms used, bearing each a different meaning, and the structural relations between the noun phrases and the verb. Those differences can be represented schematically as follows:

(7') [(*donare* ACC object) DAT goal+possessor]
(8') [(*donare* ACC patient+possessor) ABL instrumental object]

This alternation illustrates the two basic patterns for ditransitive verbs in Latin: one with an inanimate accusative and an animate dative and one with

an animate accusative and an inanimate ablative or, in certain cases, an inanimate genitive (Lavency 1985: §264). To explain the difference between them, one has to refer to structural principles: with a transitive verb, the accusative is first combined with the predicate and the other oblique case, the dative or the ablative-genitive, is adjoined afterwards (Serbat 1988: 45; Fugier 1996).[5] The different ways used for building up the complex predicate result in semantic differences linked up with perspectivation, with the intrinsic meaning of the case forms, but not with the way the participants are involved in the scene referred to (see also Pinkster 1984: 58).

The alternation commented upon is not isolated. Other transitive verbs with analogous alternations are *(ad)miscere, augere, circumdare, induere, ...*[6]

(9) a. *admiscere* *aerem* *calore*
verb acc abl.
'to mix up air with heat'
b. *admiscere* *versus* *orationi*
verb acc dat.
'to insert verses in a discourse'

(10) a. *augere* *aliquem* *honoribus*
verb acc abl.
'to increase somebody's honours'
b. *augere* *dolorem* *alicui*
verb acc dat
'to increase the pain to somebody'

(11) a. *circumdare* *oppidum* *vallo*
verb acc abl
'to surround a city with a stockade'
b. *circumdare* *munitiones* *oppido*
verb acc dat
'to establish fortifications to a city'

(12) a. *induere* *aliquem* *veste*
verb acc abl
'to cover somebody with a vest'
b. *induere* *vestem* *sibi*
verb acc dat
'to put on a jacket (to oneself)'

The roles as played by the participants in a scene are thus not unequivocally encoded by the cases; they merely indicate a hierarchy between the linguistic expressions in the sentence and thus a specific interpretation of the configuration of transfer. The opposition between the cases is, at least in this case,

linked to structural principles of building up a complex predicate and to foregrounding procedures : the accusative indicates the participant which is most intimately bound to the verb; the other oblique case indicates the more independent, and in some sense more peripheral, participant.

An analogous opposition can be seen with intransitive verbs; the choice between the accusative and another oblique case is determined by the same principle: the accusative indicates a close relationship with the verb, the dative a greater distance:

(13) a. *praestolari* *alicui*
to reach (to) somebody — dat. (cf. French atteindre à quelqu'un)
b. *praestolari* *aliquem*
to reach somebody — acc. (cf. French atteindre quelqu'un)

The same picture arises when we consider near synonyms such as the intransitive verbs:

(14) a. *auxiliari alicui; fauere alicui*
'to bring help / to be of help to somebody'
b. *(ad)iuvare aliquem; fovere aliquem*
'to help somebody'

(15) a. *nocere alicui*
'to do somebody harm'
b. *laedere aliquem*
'to harm / injure somebody'

(16) a. *mederi alicui*
' to bring cure to somebody'
b. *sanare aliquem*
'to cure somebody'

The sketch of the alternating constructions forces us to abandon the conception of cases as direct expressions of semantic roles. On the contrary, in this new view cases function in the first place as syntactic devices: they characterize a noun phrase whose function is not primarily defined in terms of roles, i.e. not thematically defined, but in terms of structural relations (see also Leys 1995: 60). The accusative appears as the case of the noun phrase most intimately linked with the verb and indicating the paradigmatic domain to which the verb is applied. The other oblique cases indicate that the noun phrase is more loosely bound to the verb, retaining a greater degree of autonomy.

The thematic aspects, the semantics, are however not absent; they form a fundamental component of the value of the non-accusative oblique cases.

According to Serbat (1988: 45), the dative indicates a prospective orientation, the ablative not. In this respect, the analysis by Van Hoecke (1996) referred to above can shed light upon the contrast between the dative and the ablative. Thus it is possible to interpret the contrast between (7) and (8) as a contrast between a prospective representation of the scene in (7) and a non-prospective one in (8). The construction with the dative mimics, in the prototypical transfer cases, the temporal structure of the scene referred to: the scene starts with the agent, grammatically the nominative subject, which initiates the transition of the object, the accusative, to the recipient, the dative, which is at the end of the process, the possessor of the object. In (8) by contrast, the linguistic representation of the scene is not parallel to the temporal structure of the scheme: the semantic transitivity of the verb makes a direct connection between the agent and the recipient, presented as the most intimate participant in the process, and the transferred object is only adduced as a secondary element, in a certain sense the instrument used by the agent to reach the recipient. The same opposition can be seen with two-place verbs such as the verb *vacare*:

(17) a. *Aliquid vacat alicui.*
nom dat
'Something is lacking to somebody; somebody lacks something.'
b. *Aliquis vacat aliquo*
nom abl
'Somebody is short of something.'

Some near-synonyms such as *rogare aliquid alicui* and *petere aliquid ab aliquo* can also be differentiated along the same lines. Both mean roughly 'ask something to somebody', but the first one, with a dative, is prospective — the verb implies a demand to somebody -, the second one is not: the representation of the scene could be phrased as 'taking something from somebody by asking it'. Parallel oppositions can be found for datives and ablatives or genitives which appear with expressions of the form verb + adverb. Bennett (1914: 187-188) gives cases with *praesto esse* and *procul esse*; for *longe esse* dictionaries provide us with the following cases:

(18) a. *longe esse alicui aliquo*
to be of no help dat abl
'to be of no help to somebody with something'
b. *longe esse robore*
to be far in strength (abl.)

c. *longe parentum exsulantes*
far from their parents (gen) the exiles (nom)

But even in the case of pairs like dative-ablative and dative-genitive, semantic oppositions are not the only aspects that have to be taken into account. Structural and categorial features also play an important role, be it in combination with semantic or thematic aspects. The importance of categorial features can be seen in the case of sentence adjuncts. The central feature here is the noun class: the ablative case occurs, like the accusative, with inanimate nouns, interpreted as adverbials of means (abl.), manner (abl.), place (acc. and abl.) and time (acc. and abl.); the dative is used for animate nouns, reinterpreted as interested party:

(19) *Certum mihi est.*
certain to me it is / looks
'It looks certain to me.' (cited by Van Langendonck, this volume)

In the case of the genitive / dative opposition, we find pairs such as

(20) a. *similis maiorum* (Bennett 1914: 86)
'similar from the point of view of the elder/ancestors (gen)'
b. *similis puero* (Bennett 1914: 182)
'similar to the child (dat.)'
(21) a. *amicus veritatis*
'friend of the truth'
b. *amicus est Marco*
'friend is to Mark'

which confirm the role of the thematic components in the case semantics. In (20a), the comparison is set up with a fixed and given reference point, whereas with the dative (20b), the similarity has to be built up in reference to the child, which thus serves as the attractor of the comparison. In (21) too, we find the opposition between the prospective dative and the neuter genitive, combined with a difference between the more substantive use of the adjective in (21a) and the more adjective one in (21b). This type of alternation is very common; it is attested for *communis, inimicus, familiaris, par, aequalis, propinquus, necessarius, cognatus, adfinis, vicinus, finitimus, proprius, dissimilis, ...* .

But, with respect to possessive expressions structural factors also have to be considered.

(22) a. *Sunt nobis mitia poma.*
'The apples belong to us.'
b. *Cuiussuis hominis est errare.*
'Everyman can err.'

(23) a. *Domus est Marco.*
'The house belongs to Mark.'
b. *Domus est Marci.*
'It's Mark's house.'

According to Lavency (1984:§ 247), both the genitive and the dative in (22-23) refer to the possessor, but in the (a) sentences, the referent of the dative is seen as an independent participant, defining the domain to which the referent of the nominative is related; the dative noun is thus acting in a certain sense as a theme. In the (b) sentences, on the contrary, the nominative is seen as the basic autonomous entity, the theme, and the genitive merely offers a characterisation (see also Pinkster 1984 and Bolkestein 1983). Here the opposition between case forms is not primarily bound to contrasts in semantic roles. Considerations pertaining to information structure and to the way the speaker builds up his sentence seem more important. The contrast between the use of the dative preserving the autonomy of both noun phrases and the use of the genitive establishing a closer link between the possessor and the possessed also emerges from the following couple of examples:

(24) a. *Sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt.*
(cited Lavency 1984: §246)
themselves all crying to Caesar (dat) at the feet (they) threw
'They all threw themselves crying at Caesar's feet.'
b. *Cum se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset.* (cited id.)
when himself at Caesars'(gen) feet threw
'When he threw himself at Caesar's feet.'

Use of the genitive establishes a closer link with the body part, the noun phrase in the genitive being inserted in the prepositional phrase, whereas the dative functions as a theme to the prepositional phrase and the verb.

The above observations indicate that the link between the case forms and the semantic roles is not so direct as stated in current literature. First of all, the distribution has to take syntactic context into account and the choice of the case is determined by structural relations: the accusative is used for the argument which has a close link to the predicate; the use of another case for a second argument indicates a secondary link. Only in those circumstances do semantic or thematic considerations (Leys 1995) come in to play a role, in

combination with information concerning the category of nouns: the general opposition being that between [+ prospective orientation] (dative) and [– prospective orientation] (ablative and, in specific contexts, genitive).

Even then, the meaning of the case is not directly a semantic role, such as goal or human participant acting as a beneficiary, an experiencer or a possessor, but a more abstract value. The concrete semantic role is then obtained by combination of information from the case itself, the noun, the predicate or the head, the structural relations in the sentence. This explains why a given case is able to express different roles and why the same role may be expressed by various cases, as for one of the typical dative 'roles', the goal:

(25) *It clamor caelo.*
'The rumour goes to heaven (dative of goal).'

(26) *Romam venire*
'to come to Rome (accusative of goal as the limit of motion)'

(27) *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.* (Lavency 1984: §239)
Egypt he goes learn about antiquities
'He goes to Egypt to learn about antiquities. (genitive of goal)[7]'

The view of the case system of Latin we obtain is thus more complex. The semantics of the cases is to be defined on two levels at least. On a first level, the various cases exhibit meanings which are in essence opposed and are sensitive to structural patterns of building up complex expressions. Those meanings serve, on a second level, in combination with other linguistic and non-linguistic information as building blocks for the construction of the interpretation in terms of action schemes and roles. The meaning oppositions between the cases are language dependent; the roles are language independent, and possibly universal.[8]

1.3 *The importance of the overall system: Latin vs. German*

The importance of formal considerations to the determination of meaning can also be illustrated by means of a comparison between various case systems. If we take Latin and German, we notice the following broad distribution:

Table 3

	verb	adjective	noun	preposition	adverb
German	+	+	–	+	–
Latin	+	+	(+)	–	(+)

The most striking fact is the absence of a prepositional dative in Latin and the extent of prepositional datives in German. A closer examination reveals another important contrast: in German, prepositional datives express a pre-existing relation whereas prepositional accusatives serve to render en emerging relation (Leys 1995). This is in sharp contrast, as far as the dative is concerned, with two aspects of case syntax in Latin: the absence of prepositional datives and the prospective aspect of the case.

(28) a. *Sie standen in dem Saal.* (Leys 1995: 40)
'They stood in the room.'

In other contexts, both languages appear to be similar, with both verbs and adjectives; in those cases, the dative refers to the human participant, involved as beneficiary, experiencer or possessor, and in some cases to the non-human goal (Draye 1996).[9]

(28) b. *daß meinem Vater schwindelte*
daß das Kind seinen Eltern hilft
daß der Vater seiner Tochter ein Buch geschenkt hat
Plötzlich hat er mir zu flüstern angefangen.
Dieser Mantel ist mir zu groß.

The German prepositional dative is linked to the absence of an ablative in the language and to the specialization of the genitive as an adnominal case (Leys 1993: 305). So only two oblique cases are available for prepositional complements, the accusative, retaining its basic value of signalling the domain of the predicate's application; it is therefore [+ limitative] (Leys 1995) and thus primarily a syntactic case. The dative is left with all the other contexts, becoming, in the domain of prepositional phrases, also a syntactic case, whereas in Latin the basic accusative after prepositions contrasts with the ablative as the typical non-limitative adverbial case.

For the non-prepositional dative however, a purely syntactic approach is not suitable, according to Leys (1995), and a thematic one is necessary, at least for the dative with two place predicates, and possibly for all types of predicates. Its thematic value is said to be [+ destinative] (Leys 1995: 58) and from this value the various semantic roles obtain in combination with the lexical information from verbs and nouns. So the dative in German is not wholly unified. This lack of unity, which is also pointed out by Draye (1996) (although he admits that a bridge could be built between the two major types), can be related to the pressure of the syntactic system: in two environments

there is a need for a case marked contrast. With predicates it is necessary to oppose the first, typically inanimate, participant and the more independent, secondary, animate participant. After some prepositions a contrast is needed in order to establish a distinction between a pre-existing and an emergent relation. In the first case, the needs of the system encounter the standard 'meaning' of the 'dative'-role, referring to the person involved. On the contrary, in the second case, the structural opposition between the limitative accusative and the non-limitative dative, encoding the elements which are more independent of the predicate, is retained.

In German, as in Latin, the dative is thus not primarily the means by which a specific set of roles is expressed; it is clearly a form which bears a meaning, but this is a more abstract one, which can only be captured by setting up the case-system of the language. The meanings associated with the forms are thus distinct, as are the case-systems themselves, despite the, rather confusing, use of the same labels. For German, the basic opposition is between the accusative and the dative, but for Latin the opposition is more complex: at a first stage the accusative is opposed to the other oblique cases, by structural aspects — intimately bound vs. more independent —, and at a second stage the dative may be contrasted with the ablative - genitive pair, the relevant feature being prospective vs. neutral. Those abstract and rather tenuous but important contrasts combine with information from the nouns, the predicates and the whole syntactic environment to permit the language to refer to action schemes with their roles. The link thus exists between the case form and the semantic role, but it is an indirect one, and the path is different from language to language, so that typological comparison also has to take notice not only of the roles expressed, but also, and in my view more, of the different strategies the languages exhibit.

2. Two ways to 'dative' roles in French

As far as the 'dative' construction is concerned, French is a mixed type language: it combines morphological case for the clitic pronouns, distinguishing a nominative — *il(s)/elle(s)* -, an accusative — *le/la/les* — and a dative — *lui/leur*, and a syntactic pattern or construction for the noun phrases: e.g. the combination of the preposition *à* and an NP.

In opposition to the case forms in Latin or in German, which are deter-

mined only by their position in the paradigm of declension, the dative clitics enter in two opposed systems. On the one hand, they are, as was said above, in a case opposition to the other forms of the third person clitic, but, on the other hand, their referential properties contrast with those of other clitics. Their referent must be an individual, and thus they impose stronger referential conditions than the accusative clitics (Melis 1994), which accept, under certain circumstances, a clause as their referent, and also stronger conditions than the adverbial pro-form *y* (Herslund 1988), the latter even lacking the typically nominal features of person, gender and number. The latter two properties, an individual as a referent and nominal features, are shared by the prepositional construction. Herslund (1988) proves that the prepositional phrases which may be associated with *lui / leur* share the property of individual reference. They also have nominal features, the head of the phrase being the noun and not the preposition, as already stated by Jaeggli (1982) and confirmed by Melis (1996).

In this section, I will indicate how these two features of the dative case marked clitics, which are by far the most frequent realization of the 'dative' construction (Melis 1996), interact with the polarizing value of the preposition *à* (Moignet 1981), appearing in the full NP variant, to build up the various interpretations known as 'dative'-roles and how they can provide an explanation for the specific features of the 'dative' in the language. In 2.1. I will address the hierarchical relation between the 'dative' and the other nominal participants; in 2.2. I will consider the action schemes and the associated roles.

2.1 *Hierarchical relations between noun phrases*

On a formal, syntactic, level, the 'dative' appears within the VP of three-place-predicates as a more peripheral, external, constituent than the 'accusative'. This can be supported by various arguments.

As Busse (1974) states, the 'dative' is normally optional, the accusative obligatory, and when the latter is optional, the 'dative' cannot appear unless the 'accusative' is either expressed or recoverable from the context (Melis 1996).

If the verb is a 'support' verb, in the sense of Gross (1989), the 'dative' is jointly selected by the verb and the 'accusative', as in *donner un coup de fer à quelque chose* (to give something a press) versus *donner un coup de fil à quelqu'un* (to make a phone call to somebody).

In the case of left dislocation, the fronted 'accusative' must leave a pronoun in the kernel sentence — *Le livre, je le donne à Jean* (The book, I give it to John) —, but the 'dative' can enter two configurations: one parallel to the 'accusative' type and one in which it is simply fronted:

(29) a. *Jean, je lui donne le livre.*
'John, I give the book to him.'

b. *A Jean, je donne le livre.*
'To John, I give the book.'

The lack of resumptive pronoun in the second type and the fact that the preposition is retained in this case, brings the 'dative' closer to adjuncts, which systematically lack a resumptive pronoun and keep their prepositions.

With three-place predicates, the relations between 'accusative' and 'dative', as indicated by their syntactic properties, are thus similar in French to those observed for Latin and German. The analysis extends naturally to non-lexical datives as adjuncts in SVO-type sentences (Melis 1996), since the adjunct obviously occupies a more peripheral position. For all those cases the following structure can be given:

(30) [[[V] NP acc] à NP dat].

The 'dative' occupies a more peripheral and a higher position in the syntagmatic tree. This position is in accordance with the referential properties of the noun phrase or the clitic, which is higher on the referential hierarchy than the 'accusative', which is not necessarily an individual. The configuration also provides a basis to explain the use of a preposition to mark the 'dative' noun phrase. This follows from purely formal considerations: French, in contrast with English or Dutch, does not allow for two postverbal phrases with nominal properties. The apparent counterexamples such as

(31) *Il boit son café le matin.*
'He drinks his coffee (in) the morning.'

(32) *Ils ont nommé Pierre président.*
'They appointed Peter president.'

involve a phrase with nominal properties, the 'accusative' object, and a noun phrase entering, in the first case, an adverbial paradigm — *le matin* in (31) belongs to the paradigm of the temporal adverb *quand* —, in the second one, an adjective paradigm, as evidenced by the absence of a determiner. The

same formal or syntactic and hierarchical or semantico-referential properties explain the recourse to the 'dative' for the causee in complex causative constructions when the infinitive is accompanied by an 'accusative' noun phrase:

(33) *Il a fait manger le potage aux enfants.*
'He made eat the soup to the children.'

and the lack of the 'dative' when the infinitive is lacking an object:

(34) *Il a fait manger les enfants.*
'He made eat the children.'

In (33), the causee is higher up in the referential hierarchy and thus occupies the higher, and more external position; the use of a preposition follows from the formal constraints on NPs as nominal participants in the language. In (34) by contrast, even if the relations between the agent subject and the causee are parallel to those in (33), a 'dative' is excluded, both for formal reasons — in the absence of an 'accusative', a bare NP, there is no need to make use of an NP marked by a preposition — and for referential reasons: with only one participant in the VP, there is obviously no hierarchy to be expressed.

This purely formal or structural analysis can be paralleled by a semantic analysis of the relations between the verb and its participants, including the subject. If the latter is considered, in the case of three place predicates, as the external argument controlling the process, the sentence

(35) *Pierre donne le livre à Marie.*
Peter gives the book to Mary
'Peter gives Mary the book.'

can be represented as far as the syntactic structure is concerned as

(36) [[NP] [[[V] NP] à NP]

and, from a semantic point of view, by the following rough analysis, where the verb *donner* is decomposed into two abstract components: the predicate PERFORM taking two arguments, a predicate with its own arguments and an individual argument, and GIFT, the predicate functioning as first argument of PERFORM.[10]

(37) [PERFORM [[GIFT [le livre]] [Marie]], [Pierre]]

As far as three-place configurations are concerned, this semantic analysis does not offer more information than the syntactic analysis in order to

disentangle the relations between the various participants; but, it gives a more suitable starting point to handle the two-place 'dative' configurations (Melis 1996), which cannot be understood starting from the syntactic structure, because the VP contains, at least on the observable syntactic level, only the 'dative'.

The two-place predicates taking a 'dative' are, in general, of the non-agentive type; the subject is not the argument of a superordinated control predicate,[11] but the internal delimiting argument of the core predicate. This corresponds to the so-called 'ergative' properties of those predicates. In a sentence like

(38) *Ceci plaît à Marie.*
this likes to Mary
'Mary likes this.'

Mary's pleasure is delimited, in its extension, by the subject; this complex predicate — 'pleasure restricted to this' is afterwards related to the 'dative' NP *Mary*. This can be captured in the following representation:

(39) [[PLEASE [ceci]] Marie]

where the argument appearing as a 'dative' occupies a higher and more external position than the subject argument. The relational analysis provides a structure of the ergative type and thus a basis for some syntactic properties of those verbs, such as their frequent use in impersonal sentences with extraposition:

(40) *Il plaît à Marie de danser.*
'Mary likes to dance.'

It is also in accordance with the referential properties of both noun phrases; the referent of the 'dative' NP must be an individual, but the referent of the subject need not. An analysis along the same lines can be proposed for

(41) *Pierre ressemble à Marie par son goût du secret.*
'Peter resembles Mary by his taste for secrets.'

The fact that an adjunct indicating in which respect the two persons resemble each other refers necessarily to the subject is an argument to take the subject as the argument that is most intimately linked to the predicate and the 'dative' as the more distant one, acting as a fixed point of comparison. The analysis extends very easily to non-lexical datives (Melis 1996: 2.4 and 2.6) and to 'datives' acting as the controllers of infinitives (Melis 1996: ex. (78)). The

majority of the 'dative' types described in Melis (1996) are thus accounted for by this structure oriented analysis.

However, it cannot be used for some types of two-place predicates: intransitive communication verbs such as *mentir* (to lie), *causer* (to talk) and *sourire* (to smile) and moral predicates like *(dés)obéir* (to (dis)obey), *être fidèle* (be faithful), *être loyal* (be loyal).[12] In those cases the subject has a controlling function and must be considered as the external, higher argument. For the adjectives, the problem is a minor one; the exclusion of the accusative is to be explained on purely formal grounds: adjectives never take a bare NP. For the verbs one could try to maintain the analysis and treat them as hidden three-place predicates with an incorporated object. The sentence

(42) *Gustave ment à Gudule.*
'Gustave is lying to Gudule.'

would be represented as

(43) [PERFORM [[LIE [x]] [Gudule]], [Gustave]].

However such an analysis is not well supported by external evidence and seems rather *ad hoc*.

So far, the 'dative' in French has been approached from the syntactic and semantic relationships between the various nominal participants. This line of investigation enables us to explain the referential properties of the 'dative', which are in harmony with the structural position of the 'dative' marked argument. It also offers an explanation for the saliency of the dative, already noticed by Barnes (1980) and, in contrast with the latter's approach, it avoids the fuzzy notion of theme. It is very near to the proposal of Huffman (1983),[13] who, considering the opposition between *le* and *lui*, states that the pronouns

> are in opposition to each other in a grammatical system (i.e., a semantic system) that gives information relating to the participants in the event denoted by the verb. This opposition indicates to what degree the participant referred to by the pronoun contributes to the bringing about of the event. *Lui* indicates a greater degree of this; *le*, a lesser degree. (Huffman 1983: 288).

But he takes the facts the other way around: Huffman starts from the referential properties of the pronouns and not from the whole configuration of the predicate, thus having some difficulties to extend the treatment to *à* NP. Both treatments also differ on details, especially for two place verbs, but they agree on a central point: the need to distinguish the semantic content of the

configuration and the semantic roles, which are obtained by a calculus taking into account the semantic information provided by the various components of the construction and the knowledge of what the action scheme, or the event, generally is (Huffman 1983: 289-290).

The proposed analysis is not yet fully convincing, not only because there are some verbs which do not fit in it, but also because it does not take into account the selection of *à* as a dative marker, and offers no basis in order to explain the coherence of the roles the dative expresses.

2.2 *Action schemes, roles and the preposition* à

Given the limitations of the structural and hierarchical approach, I will start a second investigation of the 'dative'. As in section 1.1 on Latin, the semantic roles and the action schemes in which they are to be defined will be used as the point of departure. Two questions will be examined: do those schemes and their associated roles permit us to cover the whole array of 'datives' in French and do they provide a basis in order to explain the formal aspects, e.g. the choice of *à*, and the referential properties? For clarity's sake, I will consider only the prototypical uses and start from five sentences:

(44) *Je donne le livre à Marie.*
'I give Mary the book.'

(45) *Maman leur lave les cheveux.*
Mother (to them) washes the hair
'Mother washes their hair.'

(46) *Tu lui ouvres la porte.*
'You open the door for him.'

(47) *Il lui est arrivé une drôle d'histoire.*
'A strange event happened to him.'

(48) *Ceci lui plaît.*
'He likes this.'

In the analysis I will refer to the referent of the subject of three-place predicates by using the letter A, to the referent of the direct object or to the referent of the subject of two-place predicates by B, and to the referent of the dative by C.

Sentence (44) refers to a situation characterized by four properties at least:

(49) P1.1 A performs an action affecting C
P1.2 This action is typically beneficial for C
P2.1 B belongs at some moment to C
P2.2 The property P2.1 is typically realized when the process is completed[14]

These properties define a transfer scheme: A has the agent role, B the role of affected object and C is the recipient, at least for the typical case, i.e. when P2.1 and P2.2 obtain. Sentence (45) is also characterized by P1(1-2), but not by the properties in P2; they need to be replaced by properties P3.1 and P3.2:

(50) P3.1 B is a specific part of C.
P3.2 The process affects C by means of B.

Sentence (46) can be seen as a truncated variant of scheme (49); only the properties sub P1 are preserved. Sentence (47) is also a truncated variant of this scheme, but only the properties sub P2 are now relevant. The last sentence (48) could be seen as a variant of (47): B enters the domain of C, which experiences something about B.

In all the schemes, C appears as the participant involved, who receives, benefits from, possesses or experiences B. The various roles Blake (1994) links up with the dative — recipient, beneficiary, possessor, experiencer — are thus attested, and, in all cases C serves as the attractor of the process. In this respect, the selection of the polarizing preposition *à* in order to mark 'dative' NPs is not surprising. It is the only preposition which is general and specific enough to express this orientation.

Those schemes can be easily extended to cover the more peripheral uses of dative pronouns or constructions with causative verbs and as enunciative markers — ethical dative — (Melis 1996). Some other types, the datives of equivalence with three- and two-place predicates (Melis 1996), however, do not enter the schemes easily; none of the features characterizing the schemes nor the roles are useful to describe the equivalence scheme. Here new features have to be considered. In the sentence

(51) *Je compare Paul à Marie.*
'I compare Paul with Mary.'

A (= *Je*) establishes a relation of similarity between B (= *Paul*) and C (= *Marie*), with C serving as the reference value; the features given above (49-50) are not suitable. In (51) P1 does not apply for there is no action of A on C; the relations between B and C are such that neither P2 nor P3 are suitable to capture them. Turning to the more intuitive roles, as defined by Blake (1994)

is of no help. The role of C is hard to capture with the help of the classical 'dative' roles: C serves rather as the yardstick than as an experiencer, a possessor, a beneficiary or a recipient. The only similarities between (51) and sentences (44-48) are the prospective orientation, which explains the use of the same preposition — C is acting in all cases as the attractor — and the structural relations existing between the 'accusative' direct object, defining the domain of the comparison and thus intimately bound to the verb, and the 'dative' prepositional one, introducing the standard by which the relation will be evaluated.[15]

Thus it appears that the action schemes and the roles which are seen as typical for the 'dative' do not cover the whole spectrum of the 'dative' construction in French. Turning to the action schemes and the roles nevertheless provides interesting information: they allow us to integrate the cases such as (42-43) to which the structural approach did not apply well; the dative carries the beneficiary role. They further shed light on the semantic coherence of the 'dative', which was left unaccounted for in 2.1.

The relation between the roles and the dative pronouns or the associated NPs is, however, not bi-directional; the same roles could be expressed by other means. Although an adequate treatment of alternative ways to encode roles is beyond the scope of the article, a brief discussion of some cases is interesting; it shows how structural and thematic properties interact.

The transfer action scheme with its associated roles presented above in (49), can be expressed not only by *donner* as already stated, but also by *recevoir* and *doter* (Willems 1981):

(52) *Je te donne cela.*
'I give it to you.'

(53) *Je te dote* (de cela).
'I endow you with it.'

(54) *Tu le reçois* (de moi).
'You obtain it from me.'

The recipient role is expressed in (52) by the dative, in (53) by the accusative direct object and in (54) by the nominative subject. In order to explain the various realizations of the same role we have to return to the structural relations between verbal arguments. Leaving aside the last case, where the difference concerns the structuring of the predication and the selection of the entity of which some property will be predicated, a difference in perspectiva-

tion of the same scheme, we will consider the contrast between (52) and (53). The most striking difference is related to the status of the transferred object. In (52) it is the grammatical direct object; the verb itself gives only the information that something is to be transferred. The accusative bearing the object-role is thus obligatory and the dative could not appear unless there is an accusative (see 2.1. and the references given). In (53), by contrast, the object transferred is incorporated into the verb, which offers more elaborated information: *doter* is 'to provide with a dowry, to endow'; the oblique *de cela* serves to explicitate the kind of dowry transferred and is by no means a necessary participant. In the kernel of the predicate there is thus only one argument; so there is no structural reason to make use of a dative (2.1.).

The importance of structural relations can also be brought to the fore in the case of two-place verbs with an experiencer role, as in

(55) *Cela lui plaît.*
'He likes that.'

(56) *Cela le réjouit.*
'It delights him.'

(57) *Il aime cela.*
'He loves / likes it.'

Apart from the contrast in perspectivation between (57) and the other two sentences, we have to point out the difference between (55) and (56) as far as the relation between the subject and the verb is concerned. In (55) *cela* is, as stated above, the internal argument of the verb, thus forcing the second argument to take the form of a dative. In (56) it is on the semantic side the external argument of some causative predicate (Grimshaw 1990, Vermandere 1994); the following paraphrase is adequate 'it is bringing about / making that he is delighted'; such a paraphrase is excluded for (55). This fact entails that *le/lui* 'him' must be realized as an accusative; the case is analogous to the causative construction exemplified in (34). This brief discussion of alternative means to express roles as beneficiary, recipient or experiencer, indicates that the actual construction results from the interplay between thematic factors, related to roles and action schemes, and structural ones.

Summing up the discussion, we can say that neither the structural-hierarchical aspects touched on in 2.1., nor the semantic-thematic ones analyzed in 2.2. enable us to cover all the relevant facts. As stated above, the structural aspects provide an explanation for most of the 'dative' configurations, but not for some two-place verbs. They are also in harmony with the referential properties of the pronouns, inherited by the noun phrases associated with them; in the light of the fact that most 'datives' in French are realized by clitic pronouns (Melis 1996), this is an important element. However, they give no basis for explaining the selection of the preposition *à*. The latter fact is related to semantic or thematic aspects; these also cover most facts, and especially the verbs which are not covered by the structural approach, but even so they leave a residue: the equivalence verbs. Finally, to shed light on the alternations between 'dative' and 'accusative' both aspects have to be taken into account.

Thus it seems that French makes use of two ways to build up 'dative' meanings; in the central cases, both approaches are suitable and they converge, but for more peripheral ones only one way is available. Moreover, in all circumstances, the two ways give prominence to other aspects of the 'dative' complex. Far from being mutually exclusive, the structural, more configurational approach and the thematic approach, which is more in line with the cognitive way of thinking, are complementary in most respects and jointly ensure the functioning of the language.

3. Structural and thematic factors in construction grammar

The results obtained from Latin, German and French support, on the one hand, the idea that grammatical morphemes such as cases and syntactic constructs, such as constructions or paradigms of constructions — e.g. the *lui / leur / à* + NP paradigm —, are meaningful elements and, on the other hand, that complex meanings such as 'dative' roles cannot be attributed directly to specific grammatical elements, be it morphemes or constructions, but that they are built up by combining various means.

These results are not wholly incompatible with construction grammar, as represented by Goldberg (1992, 1995), stating that the problem of the form-function correlation is solved by considering constructions as a special kind of morphemes, whose semantics exhibit the same general characteristics as genuine lexical morphemes, such as polysemy, prototypicality and meaning extensions, but they are not fully in line with Goldberg's analysis of the dative which hypothesises a direct relation between the construction and the action schemes and associated roles. In her Scene Encoding Hypothesis, Goldberg

(1995: 39) actually states that

> Constructions which correspond to basic sentence types encode as their central senses event types that are basic to human experience.

Their meaning is relevant for the syntax and is directly embodied in verbs which carry a very general sense such as *give, do, make* and is conflated with the meaning of more specific verbs by the correspondence principles she states in her work (Goldberg 1995).

In what follows I will adduce some evidence for a more indirect link between constructions and action schemes in English; those elements could lead to the conclusion that in English too construction grammar has to adopt an analysis that allows for a more stratified description of the links between form and meaning.

The first fact to which attention should be directed is the choice of the starting point, the whole NP1 V NP2 NP3 ditransitive construction. For Goldberg the meaning is attributed to that complex entity which is not further analysed on the syntactic level. This fact limits the meaning analysis. It is striking that Goldberg's approach prevents us from asking if there are 'dative' constructions of the two-place type, which are common in all the other languages discussed here. If one adopts a strategy that does not take the whole construction as a meaningful item, but accepts an internal analysis, then the question may be asked and, as Van Belle and Van Langendonck (1996) show for Dutch, which also has the ditransitive construction, the existence of a parallel construction with non-ditransitive verbs can be proven. In doing so, they deconstruct the NP1 V NP2 NP3 construction and consider separately the relations between V NP2 and NP3 for ditransitive verbs and in a parallel way the relations between the noun phrases in the two-place constructions. The meaning of the di-transitive construction is then obtained by conflating or combining meaning aspects relevant to the relation between NP1 and the rest of the construct and to the relation between V-NP2 and NP3.

Further on, Larson (1988: 336-337) brings into consideration some facts indicating that the 'dative' NP defines a domain in which the 'accusative or direct object' NP is included (see also Davidse this volume). Those observations point to the existence of an internal structure, with semantic implications, in the V NP NP construction, thus forcing us to adopt a more stratified analysis.[16]

Moreover, the very existence in English, but not in all languages, of a V NP NP construction is a problem that has to be examined, as Jackendoff

(1996: 100) states. Here clearly structural, purely syntactic, factors are at stake, allowing in some languages, but not in all, for V NP NP. But this pattern, which implies a referential contrast between the two NP — the first being typically animate and individualized, the second inanimate and not so individualized — limits the range of semantic relations which it can encode. The English correspondents of the French equivalence verbs can hardly have a ditransitive construction because the two NPs are not contrasted on the referential level. Structural limitations and semantic capacity are clearly interacting.

Besides, the existence of the alternations between V NP1 NP2 and V NP2 *for / to* NP1 has to be accounted for. Stating boldly that those alternating patterns are homonymous, the position that is in line with Goldberg's approach, is a weak solution with respect to the systematic character of the alternation and does not offer a basis for explaining the differences noticed by Davidse (1996, this volume), who points to the opposition between a 'benefiter' model (typically realized by V NP NP) and a 'transfer' model (typically realized by V NP prep NP) of ditransitivity. The opposition brings into focus the more structure-oriented distinction between primarily and secondarily affected participants and not the roles, thus indicating that more dimensions are to be taken into account than the construction / role scheme pair.

These sketchy remarks on the English ditransitive construction lead to the conclusion that even in English the link between the form, the syntactic pattern, and the role configuration in the action scheme is not so straightforward as some approaches seem to indicate and that there are some arguments in favour of a more stratified approach, in line with the approaches adopted for Latin, German or French, under the pressure of the empirical evidence in those languages.

The overall picture of the relations between form and interpretation emerging from the enquiry is more complex. In accordance with authors such as Goldberg, and more generally with a functional approach to language, syntactic constructs are meaningful, they are signs (Van der Horst 1995). But, the meaning they encode is an abstract one, whose first function is language internal. In parallel with the language specific inventory of forms, the semantic values set up a system of meanings that can be expressed by way of the grammatical means the language exhibits; this system is contrastive and language specific. Various grammatical and lexical signs can be used as tools

to build up a complex meaning referring to an action scheme with the roles it defines. The same scheme can be attained by different combinations of grammatical and lexical tools, which are alike insofar as they can be interpreted as expressions of the same scheme, but which are also different insofar as they vary, even for their semantics, by the strategy used to construct the complex meaning.

To the extent that action schemes and the associated roles are language independent conceptual structures, they allow for comparison between languages, thus providing a basis to talk of 'dative' roles accross languages. But, to the extent that the meaning complex, interpreted as an action scheme or a role in a particular language is heavily determined by the specific properties of the grammatical signs used, their meaning will vary as does the range of situations they could be applied to. A glance at the empirical studies in Van Belle and Van Langendonck (eds) (1996) gives ample confirmation of the existence of such a variation. This appears not as an idiosyncratic fact, but as a natural consequence of the way the global meaning is constructed by the different languages. So the study of roles has to take both aspects into account, the more language independent global one, which is oriented toward thematic aspects, and the language specific one, in which meaningful structural relations play a central role.

NOTES

1. There are some borderline cases, like *tibi aras*; the dative can be considered as a sentence adjunct with a clear beneficiary function; the question is to what extent it also exhibits features of the goal role.
2. For glosses, translations and references, see Van Hoecke (1996: 15-16)
3. For attested examples, see Van Langendonck (this volume).
4. For further details, see the examples in Van Hoecke (1996) and Van Langendonck (this volume).
5. See also the references provided by the latter author.
6. The examples are taken from Van de Vorst & Geerebaert (1962: § 245,1); the authors explicitly mention the existence of differences in meaning associated with the distribution of cases; those differences, however, do not affect the roles of the referents in the action schemes.
7. The use of the genitive is linked with the verbal adjective carrying a final value.

8. On the necessity to set up a semantic description of cases which is independent of, though not unrelated to, semantic roles, see de Carvalho (1985, vol. II). The semantic system set up by this author, however, is radically different from the propositions advanced in this article.
9. The examples in (28) are taken from Draye (1996: 176, 183, 185); glosses are provided there.
10. The recourse to a structure of this type is justified by independent arguments, concerning the distribution of adverbial adjuncts (Melis 1983).
11. Arguments to support this analysis are the absence of subject-oriented manner adverbs or adjuncts of means.
12. The extension to so-called epistemic datives is also problematic, but for different reasons; the ethical dative is not related to the verb, but to the enunciative properties of the utterance.
13. I was unable to see Huffman's book announced by Benjamins for 1996.
14. A fifth property could be added for the standard transfer case:

    B belongs at some moment, typically the initial one, to A.
15. Ernout & Thomas, cited in Van Langendonck (this volume), interpret the Latin counterpart with the adjective *similis* as a metaphorical dative of goal; in the absence of a non-metaphorical dative of goal in French, such an interpretation is not suitable for (51).
16. The ambiguity of *Make me a milkshake.* also calls for an internal analysis both of the formal and of the semantic sides of the constructions.

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