

Daniel Hole, André Meinunger and Werner Abraham (eds) 2006.
Datives and Other Cases: Between Argument Structure and Event Structure. [Studies in Language Companion Series 75]. Amsterdam/
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This volume is a much-needed overview of the current take on datives from a number of different theoretical perspectives. It is a collection of eleven papers, which grew out of the workshop “Datives and similar cases”, held on February 25–26, 2004 during the 26th Annual Meeting of the German Society of Linguistics (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft* — DGfS) in Mainz, Germany. The immediately apparent focus of the volume is the dative case in German, and it seems that the introduction and the final paper were added to the original workshop contributions to broaden this focus a bit.

Thus, while the majority of the papers presented at the workshop are concerned with the syntax and semantics of the various types of datives attested in German (see “Part II. Focus on Germanic”), the introduction by Werner Abraham, “Datives: Structural vs. inherent — abstract vs. morphological — autonomous vs. combinatory — universally vs. language-specifically configured?”, and the final paper by Walter Bisang, “Widening the perspective: Argumenthood and syntax in Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog”, address issues surrounding case and argumenthood more generally and bring in other languages. Abraham surveys other Germanic languages (Dutch, Norwegian, and English), and Bisang even branches out to non-Indo-European, discussing the challenges presented by languages with low-profile syntax (lacking subject/object asymmetry in some constructions) and with referential status (definiteness, specificity) playing a more important role than argumenthood. It seems that, thanks to Bisang’s paper, it was possible to provide the two workshop papers that are not mainly concerned with German a legitimate place in the volume. Hence, “Part III. Beyond Germanic: From Albanian to Tagalog” consists of Dalina Kalluli’s paper on “Unaccusatives with dative causers and experiencers” in the Balkan languages, Jelena Krivokapić’s paper on “The function of dative in adjectival constructions in Serbian”, and Bisang’s paper. Kalluli offers a uniform analysis of three types of dative unaccusative constructions (passive, anticausative, and middle) in a number of Balkan languages, concluding that they all arise through the suppression of a feature in little *v*. Krivokapić’s paper examines Serbian adjectival constructions with a dative DP, where the meaning of the

adjective is relativized to the point of view of the referent of the dative. It is argued that the dative is generated in the specifier of a DegP projected by the adjective. When there is no dative nominal, this position is filled with *pro*, which is bound by a generic quantifier, so that the construction is interpreted as a general observation. Although, like all contributions in this volume, these papers are well-written and each present interesting research, it is not the case that Serbian, Albanian, Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog are part of the heart of the volume, as the text on the back of the book seems to promise.

In my opinion, the heart of the volume — and the part that will especially satisfy the reader — is clearly Part II, in particular its first five papers, which all nicely build on and respond to each other (see below for a detailed discussion of these contributions). Three of these papers include examples from Icelandic, Norwegian, and English, respectively, but again, the title of this part of the volume, “Focus on Germanic”, promises a bit too much. “Focus on German” would be more fitting. The paper on “Dative and indirect object in German dialects: Evidence from relative clauses” by Jürg Fleischer, which compares Standard German with West Central and Upper German dialects with respect to the linking between morphological case and grammatical role, is somewhat out of place as it does not directly contribute to the discussion of the previous five papers. Similarly, Katrin Schmitz’ paper, “Indirect objects and dative case in monolingual German and bilingual German/Romance language acquisition”, which shows that bilingual children acquire the correct marking of dative case later than monolingual children, presents original research and is interesting in its own right but does not shed much light on the core issue.

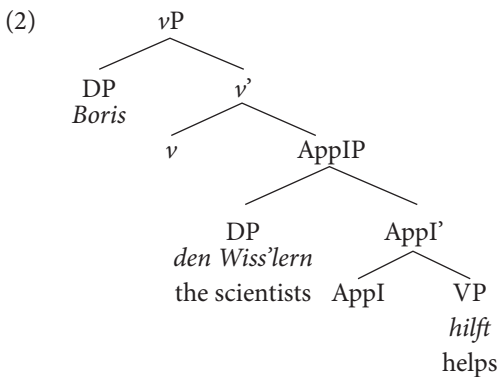
I take the core issue of this volume to be the syntax and semantics of dative nominals in German, in particular, whether they are:

- structurally or inherently case-marked
- variably licensed or licensed in a certain structural position by a certain head
- derived from a PP or not
- occurring to the left or the right of the accusative-marked direct object
- selected by the verb or “free”
- bearing the semantic role of affectee, bene/maleficiary, recipient, and/or possessor.

In the introduction, which makes up Part I of the volume, Abraham touches on all of these issues and more. There are useful references to other papers in the volume, but much of the data in the 57 examples and 12 tables of this paper, though impressive, is hard to get through and actually becomes more accessible *after* reading Part II of the volume. Unfortunately, a set of important examples, referred to as “the verbs in (4)” on page 5, appear to be missing.

In “German inherent datives and argument structure”, which is the first of the papers in Part II, **Thomas McFadden** convincingly argues that “the defining characteristic of German inherent dative arguments is not morphological but syntactic” (p. 49). That is, the special syntactic, semantic, and morphological properties of dative arguments, whether sole dative objects or indirect objects (see (1a) vs. (1b), McFadden’s (2a) and (3a)), are argued to be derived from the way they are introduced into the structure, namely in a position distinct from that for direct objects, as the specifier of an applicative head (see the illustration in (2), McFadden’s (6)).

- (1) a. *Boris hat den Wissenschaftlern geholfen.*
 Boris has [the scientists]_{DAT} helped
 ‘Boris helped the scientists.’
 b. *Boris hat den Wissenschaftlern einen großen Auftrag gegeben.*
 Boris has [the scientists]_{DAT} [a big assignment]_{ACC} given
 ‘Boris gave the scientists a big assignment.’



On this view, the dative case is a by-product of being introduced in SpecAppIP. The applicative head has the need for an argument in its specifier **and** the ability to case-license this argument. The result is an affectee or recipient argument bearing dative case. This explains the behavior of datives when it comes to passivization. Passivization removes the external argument and with it the possibility of accusative case assignment, but it does not change the fact that a given argument was introduced in SpecAppIP. It is thus expected that the dative case still be assigned (see (3a–b), McFadden’s (2b–c)).

- (3) a. * *Die Wissenschaftler sind geholfen worden.*
 [the scientists]_{NOM} are helped become
 intended: ‘The scientists were helped.’
 b. *Den Wissenschaftlern ist geholfen worden.*
 [the scientists]_{DAT} is helped become
 ‘The scientists were helped.’

Another important point McFadden makes in this paper is that the difference between dative nominals in subject position in German and Icelandic is not inherent versus structural case-marking but simply the fact that German has stricter case-matching requirements. This explains why Icelandic (4–5a) does, but German (4–5b) does not allow a dative PRO in control structures (see McFadden’s (34)) and conjunction reduction with fronted objects that disagree in case (see McFadden’s (43)).

- (4) a. *Ég vonaðist til [að verða hjálpað.]*
 I hoped for to be helped (i.e. to PRO:DAT be helped)
 ‘I hoped to be helped.’
- b. **Ich hoffte, [geholfen zu werden.]*
 I hoped helped to be (i.e. *PRO:DAT helped to be)
 intended: ‘I hoped to be helped.’
- (5) a. *Ég hafði mikið að gera og (mér) var samt ekki hjálpað.*
 I_{NOM} had much to do and (me_{DAT}) was nevertheless not helped
 ‘I had a lot to do, and no one helped me.’
- b. **Der Mann mag die Bibel und gefällt der Koran.*
 [the man]_{NOM} likes the bible and pleases the Koran
 intended: ‘The man likes the bible and the Koran pleases him.’

In “Remarks on the projection of dative arguments in German”, André Meinunger focuses specifically on those dative nominals that function as indirect objects, i.e. arguments of ditransitives verbs like *abgewöhnen* ‘wean’, *aussetzen* ‘expose’, and *geben* ‘give’. It is argued that the classification of these verbs into three separate classes (see Höhle 1982 and Haider 1992, 1993), namely verbs where the dative is higher than the accusative argument (class I), where the accusative is higher than the dative argument (class II), and where dative and accusative are interchangeable (class III), cannot be maintained. True dative objects (so-called higher datives) are claimed to generally precede and therefore c-command accusative arguments. This means that class II does not exist. Datives that appear to be closer to the verb than accusatives (so-called lower datives) are really “hidden PPs” (p. 79). In (6) (Meinunger’s (3c)), for example, the dative *ihrem Einfluss*, is analyzed as the remnant of a PP. The separable prefix of the verb, which is identical to a locative preposition (here *aus*), is the result of incorporation of the underlying P-head into the verb.

- (6) *dass er seine Kinder ihrem Einfluss aussetzte*
 that he [his children]_{ACC} [her influence]_{DAT} exposed
 ‘that he exposed his children to her influence’

This also means that there are no verbs which allow for both the DAT > ACC and the ACC > DAT order simultaneously, i.e. there is no class III either. Meinunger does,

however, point out that Philippa Cook in her paper “The datives that aren’t born equal: Beneficiaries and the dative passive” is right in noting that some verbs which do seem to allow both orders as basic have two different meanings, depending on which order the arguments are in. The verb *entziehen*, for example, triggers what Cook calls the ‘withdraw’ reading when the order of arguments is ACC > DAT and the ‘deprive/strip of’ reading when the order is DAT > ACC (see (7), Cook’s (18)).

- (7) a. *Es hat jemand beschlossen, das Kind dem Vater zu entziehen.*
 it has someone decided the child_{ACC} the father_{DAT} to withdraw
 ‘Someone decided to take the child off the father.’
 ... the father is incapable; for the child’s safety someone took it away from the father.
- b. *Es hat jemand beschlossen, dem Vater das Kind zu entziehen.*
 it has someone decided the father_{DAT} the child_{ACC} to deprive
 ‘Someone decided to deprive the father of the child.’
 ... the father didn’t pay child support so, as punishment, he’s not allowed to see the child.

Cook argues that the two orders derive from two different conceptual structures and gives a carefully worked out account within the Lexical Mapping Theory of Lexical Functional Grammar.

Getting back to Meinunger’s paper, the main claim is “that many ditransitive verbs either refer to a relation between a theme and the theme’s location, or express a process (or a state) in which the dative argument possesses/comes to possess the theme” (p. 88). The former relation (location) is argued to be underlying, and the latter (possession) derived. In line with Kayne (1993), for whom *have* is derived from a preposition which has incorporated into *be*, the locative P-head gets incorporated into the primitive BE, which then yields a constituent denoting possession (PossP). The possession relation is derived from the location relation by movement of the PP remnant (the dative nominal) into the specifier of the BE/PossP.

This analysis of German indirect objects is convincing overall and nicely ties in with Cook’s and McIntyre’s papers in the volume. What did not become entirely clear to me is how incorporation of P into the verb via a BE-head can be motivated when the result is a location, not a possession relation between the accusative and the dative (i.e. a construction with a stranded PP-remnant, a low dative, which has not moved to Spec_{BE}P). Kayne’s incorporation of P into BE clearly is not meant to be divorced from the outcome of a possession relation.

In “Receiving and perceiving datives (cipients): A view from German”, Patrick Brandt discusses not only datives that occur in ditransitive verb constructions, i.e. Double Object Constructions (DOCs) (see (8a), Brandt’s (1a)), but also what Brandt calls Dative Experiencer Constructions (DECs) (see (8b), Brandt’s (1b)).

- (8) a. *Die Anna stahl/ gab/ backte dem Otto einen Kuchen.*
 [the Anna]_{NOM} stole/ gave/ baked [the Otto]_{DAT} [a cake]_{ACC}
 ‘Anna stole/gave/baked Otto a cake.’
- b. *Die Katze war dem Otto zugelaufen/ aufgefallen/ zu gierig.*
 [the cat]_{NOM} was [the Otto]_{DAT} to-run/ struck/ too greedy
 ‘The cat installed itself at Otto’s’/‘The cat struck Otto’/‘Otto found the cat too greedy.’

Like McIntyre (in the reviewed volume), Brandt gives a unified account of these types of datives and argues against an analysis of DEC’s as raised possessors, where the dative starts out in the position of the internal (genitive) possessor of the theme and then raises to get case-licensed DP-externally (cf. Szabolsci 1994, Landau 1999). Unlike both McIntyre and McFadden (this volume), Brandt also argues against an analysis of cipients being licensed by an applicative head.

His elaborate account, both syntactic and semantic, is hard to capture in just a paragraph, but the gist is that cipients are licensed by a tense-related little *t*-head which sits above the outermost verbal shell but below the subject-licensing TP, and which is in an agree relation with a predicate-internal PP-location argument. Brandt presents systematic evidence, supported by more or less convincing examples, that every DOC and DEC involves a PP-location argument (where “location” is understood in a broad sense), even if this argument is invisible, and that the presence of a cipient “gives rise to ‘extra tensing’ options” (p. 117) but cannot be licensed by the standard T projection. The relation between the cipient in *SpectP* and the PP-location argument in the VP is claimed to be one of superlocation to sublocation, so that “possession” needs to be understood as a derivative of “inclusion at a sublocation” (in the sense of Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976).

The analysis is very well worked out in that the pieces fit together nicely. Its weakness is that not all examples are convincing, with some of the crucial data contrasts being extremely subtle (if at all existent), for example judgments of ?* vs. ? in Brandt’s (20)–(22). It should also be noted that, in his dismissal of possessor raising (in his Section 2.2), Brandt does not take into account possessor raising analyses which do not involve absorption of genitive case or a preposition, and in which the possessor relation can hold between the dative and a nominal inside a PP argument, not necessarily between the dative and the theme (see e.g. Lee-Schoenfeld 2005, 2006). The major problems Brandt points out with regard to possessor raising are avoided in such an analysis.

Andrew McIntyre’s paper, “The interpretation of German datives and English *have*”, is the most comprehensive in that it offers an analysis that is intended to account for “possessor datives, beneficiaries, recipients, maleficiaries, privative (source) datives, datives with particle verbs, and datives interpreted as causers” (p. 185). While Brandt’s dative experiencer cipients occur in the context of either a

too-comparative predicate (as in *Die Katze war dem Otto zu gierig*. ‘Otto found the cat too greedy.’) or verbs like *erscheinen* ‘appear’, *auffallen* ‘strike’, and *widerfahren* ‘occur’, which take a dative nominal as an argument, some of McIntyre’s datives are truly “free” in that they are not part of the verb’s “regular” argument structure (see e.g. (9), McIntyre’s (2a)).

- (9) *(weil) Anne ihm den Teller zerbrach*
 since Anne him_{DAT} the plate_{ACC} broke
 ‘since Anne broke his plate’

McIntyre’s main claim is that most German datives can be interpreted like the subject of English *have* and are inherently case-marked specifiers of a V^{dat} applicative head. An example of the parallel between German datives and *have* is given in (10) (McIntyre’s (20)), where the type of *have* whose subject the German dative corresponds to is a so-called ‘experiencer *have*’.

- (10) a. *(weil) ihm ein Sohn starb*: [V^{datP} ihm [$_{\text{VP}}$ ein Sohn sterb-] V^{dat}]
 b. *(since) he had a son die*: [BE [$_{\text{SC}}$ he [$_{\text{PP}}$ HAVE [$_{\text{SC}}$ a son die]]]]

In (10), V^{dat} is argued to take a VP complement because the dative relates to an event, whereas in (11) (McIntyre’s (14a)), where *geben* ‘give’ is analyzed as a causative of *have*, V^{dat} is argued to take a DP complement because, here, the dative relates to an entity. Crucially, the direct objects in (11) are all possible in the context of *Das Haus hat/bekam...* ‘The house has/got...’

- (11) a. *Sie gaben dem Haus [einen Namen/einen Preis/eine neue Fassade/Charakter]*.
 They gave [the house]_{DAT} a name/a prize/a new façade/character.

Although datives like the one in (12a) (McIntyre’s (17b)) are interpreted as possessors of the respective c-commanded entity (here *das Zimmer* ‘the room’ and *das Leben* ‘the life’), McIntyre argues against a possessor raising analysis, where the dative is entity-related, of examples of this kind. The argument is that there is no possessor relation in examples like (12b) (McFadden’s (16c)), which are not quite as common but should not be overlooked, and that possessor raising would make a unified account impossible.

- (12) a. *Sie haben mir [das Zimmer vollgequalmt / das Leben kaputt gemacht]*.
 they have me_{DAT} the room full.smoked / the life ruined
 ‘I had them [stink out my room with cigarette smoke/ruin my life]’
 b. *Sie streckte dem Mann die Zunge raus*.
 she stuck [the man]_{DAT} [the tongue]_{ACC} out
 ‘She stuck out her tongue at the man.’

Since McIntyre also discusses those (few) types of datives to which his analysis has not yet been or should not be extended, his paper serves as an excellent overview of the various types of datives in German. His applicative light verb head, V^{dat} , establishing a relation between its specifier (the dative) and its DP or VP-complement that is identical to the relation English *have* establishes between its subject and complement is an elegant solution to the problem of trying to find a unified account for as many dative constructions as possible. The fact that his analysis also unifies constructions in two languages, English and German, should make this paper even more appealing to the reader.

Overall, *Datives and Other Cases* will certainly appeal to linguists interested in the German dative but also to non-Germanicists who are concerned with finding the right analysis, both syntactic and semantic, of datives in other languages.

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