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### Dative or prepositional marking of noun phrases in the context of Russian adjectival experienter predicates\*

#### 1. Introduction

Adjectival experienter predicates in Russian and other Slavonic languages govern either a dative or a prepositional marking of the experienter phrase as in (1):

- (1) *Éto nam<sub>dat</sub> / dlja<sub>prep</sub> nas<sub>gen</sub> očen' važno.*  
'This is very important for us.'

In the case of prepositional marking by *dlja*, the experienter phrase is additionally marked by the genitive. These marking regularities are obviously very similar to the corresponding marking conventions for example, in German, except for the fact that in addition to the preposition in the German prepositional construction, the experienter phrase is marked by the accusative:

- (2) *Das ist uns<sub>dat</sub> / für<sub>prep</sub> uns<sub>acc</sub> sehr wichtig.*  
'(the same as (1))'

Germanic languages with an extremely reduced (if we want to consider the "Saxon genitive" a case) or even no case morphology like Dutch or English show prepositional marking exclusively. There is much evidence that there is an Indo-European continuum of falling "dative friendliness" in this syntactic context from east to west, or, at least, from Slavonic to Germanic or Romanic languages. But of course the "dative friendliness" of a Slavonic language like Russian is by no means unrestricted, neither on a general scale, nor in the specific context to be dealt with here: with experienter adjectives. This paper aims at a first sketch of these restrictions, be they of deterministic

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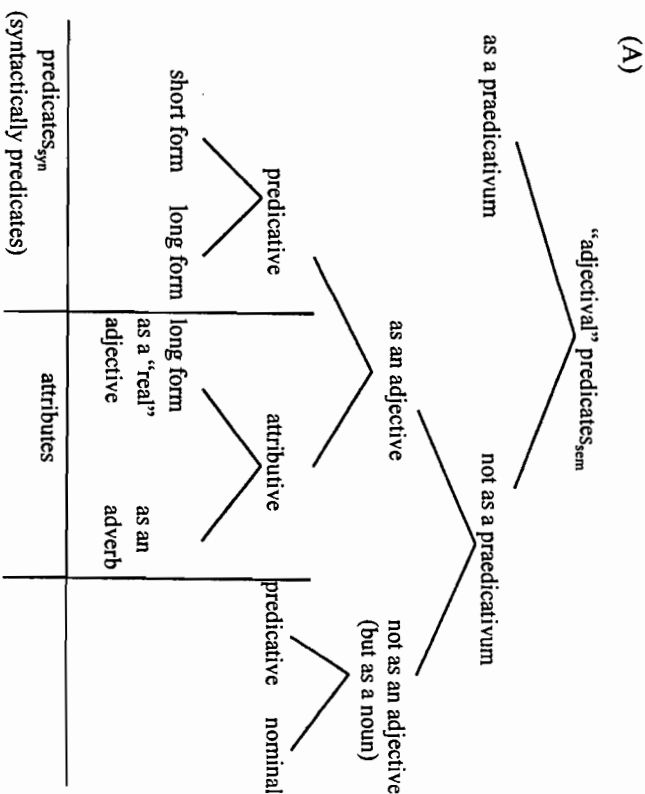
or probabilistic nature. Of course, only in the case of deterministic restrictions can we talk of restrictions in the proper sense, while in the case of probabilistic restrictions we have to do with preferences. This paper has to limit itself to the (in our view) most significant factors influencing the selection of morphosyntactic form. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss syntactic and morphological conditions, and chapter 4 discusses semantic conditions that are usually handled by linguists in terms of semantic roles.

## 2. On the role of syntactic function and morphological form of Russian adjectival experienter adjectives

### 2.1 Their syntactic and morphological representations

By adjectival experienter predicates, we mean those expressing perception (e. g. *šyšno*, 'audible'; *vidno*, 'visible'), emotion (*príjato*, 'pleasant', agreeable'; *srašno*, 'horrible'), cognition (*izvestno*, 'known'; *jasno*, 'clear'; *čuzdo*, 'alien'), evaluation (*vadžno*, 'important'; *polezno*, 'useful'), modality (*nužno*, 'nötig'; *neobchodimo*, 'necessary'), physiological impression (*cholodno*, 'kalt'; *bolno*, 'painful') and maybe some others. The "external" differentiation of experienter predicates from other predicates that are semantically comparable and their internal subclassification is a problem (for a fuller account of this problem cf. LEINONEN 1985, 46ff and REH 1998) that will not be discussed systematically in this paper. Nevertheless the internal differentiation of experienter predicates, i. e. what subtype a given predicate belongs to, does have consequences for the morphosyntactic marking of the experienter phrase. This can only be hinted at in some specific instances here.

A factor that will be shown to be of decisive importance is the syntactic function and / or the morphosyntactic marking of the adjectival predicate itself. In other words, the term "predicate" has been used so far in a semantic sense "predicate<sub>sem</sub>". When this predicate<sub>sem</sub> functions as a syntactic predicate it will be noted as "predicate<sub>syn</sub>". The term "adjectival" was just used to allude to the fact that these predicates typically but not necessarily occur as adjectives in attributive (modifying) or (syntactically) predicative function. A full account of syntactic functions and morphological forms is given in diagram (A) and exemplified by sentences (3) to (8):



#### a) praedicativum

- (3) *Mne budet interesno uznat', v čem moja ošibka.* (Bulyčev)  
'It will be interesting for me to learn what my mistake consisted of.'

#### b) short form of the adjective in syntactically predicative function

Short forms of Russian adjectives can only be used in predicative function.

- (4a) *Éto interesno sovremennikam.* (Žitinskij)  
'This is interesting for (the) contemporaries.'

As to the differentiation between praedicativum<sup>1</sup> and short form adjective, the following should be noticed: There is no morphological difference between the short form of the adjective in predicative function and the praedicativum, when there is a controller of the agreement in the phrase and this agreement controller has neuter gender like the pronoun *éto* in (4a), but cf.

<sup>1</sup> Term and concept of the praedicativum in the sense it is used throughout this paper was introduced to Slavonic linguistics by ISAČENKO (1954, 359).

(4c) with an agreement controller of masculine gender? The structural difference consists in the fact that in sentences like (3) there is neither a nominal or pronominal expression of the "experienced", but rather a propositional or "scenic" one. In this case, we speak of a praedicativum. Sure enough, the pronoun *éto* itself has, in most cases, a propositional antecedent (rarely postcedent – cf. BARTHELS (1999)) or a scenic reference that is hinted at deictically. So it might prove more suitable to delimitate the praedicativum from the adjectival short form by drawing the border line between (4a) and (4b), i. e. between sentences with no agreement controller or with *éto* on the one side and with all other instances of syntactically predicative adjectives on the other, instead of between (3) and (4a), as has been done traditionally.

(4b) *Javlenie bylo mne interesno.*<sup>3</sup>  
'The phenomenon was interesting for me.'

(4c) *Ty mne interesen.* (Bulyčev)  
'You are interesting for me.'

Be it as it may, the question whether the subject phrase in copula constructions of Russian refers to propositions or scenes on the one hand or to "objects" (such as propositions with a condensed cognitive representation in the form of a nominal concept) on the other hand can play a role for the morpho-syntactic marking of other nominal constituents in sentences with nominal predicates (cf. HENTSCHEL 1995; 1998a). Other structural forms of adjectival predicates<sub>sem</sub> are:

c) long form of the adjective in syntactically predicative function

(5a) *Keфіr, on starickam polezn yJnom.* (Vasil'ev)  
'Keфіr, it is useful for elderly people.'

(5b) *Vstreča [...] okazalas' polezn oJins obeim storonom.* (Technika i Nauka)  
'The meeting turned out [to be] useful for both sides.'

2 Formally identical is, furthermore, the corresponding adverb (see below). For the purposes of this paper the adverb can be negatively defined by the criterion that it does not function as the syntactic predicate.

3 From now on the source for Russian examples given will be explicated. When in brackets the name of an author or newspaper/journal is given, this means that that the sentence is a citation. If no such information is given, this means that it has been either triggered by the author with Russian informants, or construed by the author and accepted by Russian informants.

d) the long form of the adjective in attributive function

(6) *Poétomu otkinem ich i poprobuem prislavít' k nemu, k Ivanovu, vse osial'nye, dostupnye želoveku v teatre čuvstva [...]* (Ageev)

'For this reason we leave them aside and try to place near to him, to Ivanov, all other feelings accessible to man in the theatre [literally: accessible to man in the theatre feelings] ...'

e) adverb

(7) *Éto "aga" očen' dlja menja pri atrno zvučalo.* (Ageev)  
'This "aha" sounded very pleasant to (for) me.'

f) noun (nominalized adjective)

(8) *Počemu že proizošlo vse éto stranoe i strašnoe dlja menja v kabine? (Bulgakov)*  
Literally: 'Why does all the for me mysterious and horrible happen in my study?'

All of the examples discussed so far have one thing in common: apart from the experience they always contain an object of experience, which referentially is not identical with the experiencer himself. There are other experiencers where either the object of experience coincides with the experiencer (self-experience) or an "independent" object of experience is not explicated: *Boris<sub>dat-Exp</sub> bylo choložno, nechorošo*, 'Boris felt cold, sick'. In these sentences the dative is obligatory, the prepositional marking ruled out. This will be commented upon at the end of this paper. In the central discussion these constructions will be neglected.

## 2.2 The impact of syntactic function and morphological form of adjectival experienter predicates on the marking of the experienter

The functions and forms differentiated above are organized in the hierarchy

(9):  
(9) praedicativum > short form > predicative long form (>)<sup>4</sup> attributive long form > noun<sup>5</sup>

4 The brackets are motivated by the fact that the difference between these two points on the scale is significant just with the first fact of frequency described below, but much less clear with the second one.

This hierarchy is reflected by two facts of frequency: Firstly, the probability of occurring with an experienter phrase decreases from the left to the right side of the scale, whatever the marking of the experienter may be. In other words, attributive adjectives and – even more rarely – nominalized adjectives very seldom take experienters, whereas experienter phrases freely cooccur with short forms of adjectives and still more frequently with predicativa. Secondly, the frequency of the occurrence of dative marking follows the same line. In principle, dative marking is much more frequent with predicativa and short forms than with long forms and nominalized adjectives. But there are clear differences as to single adjectival lexemes (or classes of lexemes); see below.

As for the first fact of frequency, it of course suffices to realize that this is simply a partial phenomenon of the fact that it is typical for syntactic predicates to bind arguments (or quasi-arguments), but rather untypical for predicates that are not syntactic predicates. As for the second fact of frequency the reader has to be reminded of the following at the very beginning of our discussion: Nearly a hundred years ago HAVERS (1911, 317ff) has pointed out that the dative is, roughly speaking, a good adverbial marker, but only a bad adnominal one. This is obvious in examples like German, where there is the dative with the verb *vertrauen* and a prepositional marking with the corresponding noun *Vertrauen*:

(10a) Er vertraut *ih<sub>Dat</sub>* grenzenlos.

'He trusts her boundlessly.'

(10b) Sein Vertrauen *ih<sub>Dat</sub>* sie<sub>Acc</sub> ist grenzenlos.

'His confidence in her is boundless.'

The Russian sentences discussed here indicate that it might not be just the difference between verbs and nouns, but also the difference between syntactically predicative functions and non-predicative functions.

Sentences with noun phrases that contain adjectival modifiers of their lexical heads contain of course more than one semantic predication. Cf. sentence (11):

(11) No mašina izdala priyatnyj *dlyap* *sluchacem* zvon. (Strugackie)

'But the car gave off a sound pleasant to the ear [literally: to the sense of hearing].'

- 5 The evidence for adverbs taking an experienter phrase is very limited. In our sample there were not more than three examples, all with prepositional marking.

The first and superordinated predication is 'car gives off sound'. It is this one that, due to its superordination, is given an overt syntactic predication. The second and subordinated one<sup>6</sup> is 'sound is pleasant to the ear'. So without doubt, sentences with such subordinated predications are semantically more complex than those without. This is even more so when the corresponding subordinated predicates take complements of their own, like the above 'pleasant' with its complement 'to the ear'. The effect is similar when the adjectival predicate surfaces in nominalized form, cf. (12):

(12) *li stol' polnyj kvorum oznakaet nečto bolee strašnoe dlyap men-*

*ja<sub>Gen</sub>*: [...] (Kozlovskij)

'Or such a full quorum means [even] something more terrible for me ...'

Here the first and superordinated predication is 'such a full quorum has a meaning', the second and subordinated one is 'this meaning is more terrible for me'.

So if the prepositional marking of the experienter is clearly preferred when the adjectival predicate<sub>sem</sub> is not the syntactic predicate, this amounts to saying that prepositional marking correlates with a higher degree of predicative complexity on the semantic level and with a low syntactic rank of the unit where the predication occurs.

But on the other hand, it must be noted that first short predicative adjectives take the experienter dative more readily than long predicative ones, and that second nominalized adjectives in syntactically predicative function do not show a higher inclination to dative marking of the experienter than attributive adjectives. So not only the function, but the mere form of the adjectival lexeme as well has an impact on morphosyntactic marking of the experienter phrase. As to the different marking tendencies between short form and long form adjectives, it has to be taken into account here that Russian long form adjectives have been possible in (syntactically) predicative function only since the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (cf. SCHALLER 1975, 186f). If the (semantically and syntactically) predicative adjective takes a complement (not necessarily an experienter complement), long forms have rarely been up to now. In other words, short forms are more 'verb-like' than long forms,

- 6 Whether a real predication takes place whenever a sequence of adjective – complement to the adjective – noun (lexical head) is uttered or whether it simply refers to an entity and presupposes a predication is not at issue here.

and due to this they more freely occur with the dative as a typically adverbial morphosyntactic marker.

On the whole, the described dependency of the morphosyntactic marking of experienter noun phrases on predicative or nonpredicative syntactic function of their adjectival heads and on the morphological form of the latter is not a deterministic rule but a probabilistic tendency. It works like a Jakobsonian implicational scale with single adjectival predicates (or maybe semantically motivated subtypes of them), in the sense that if a given adjectival predicate<sub>sem</sub> allows dative marking when it occurs in nominalized form and nominal function, this adjectival predicate will also allow the dative with adjectival long forms, short forms and predicativa, etc. This is illustrated in table (13) for six adjectival predicates:

(13) Differences in marking preferences with particular predicates in a text corpus of approximately 3,000,000 running forms

predicate <sub>sem</sub>	praedicativum	short form	long form	noun
<i>iznesťno</i> , 'Known'	only dative			
<i>dosťupno</i> , 'accessible'	only dative	most overwhelmingly dative	overwhelmingly dative	∅
<i>poľezno</i> , 'useful'	almost only dative	most overwhelmingly dative	a balance of dative and preposition	only preposition
<i>interesno</i> , 'interesting'	almost only dative		only preposition	
<i>važno</i> , 'important'	overwhelmingly dative	a balance of dative and preposition	only preposition	
<i>gubiel'no</i> , 'ruinous'	only preposition			

It has been pointed out above that the semantic subtype of experienter adjectives will have an impact on the choice of morphosyntactic marking. So far, for example, in a textbase of nearly 3,000,000 running forms, there was not one instance of prepositional marking with adjectival predicates of "pure perception" like *vidno* / *vidnyj*, *slyšno* / *slyšnyj*. But the two adjectives *pol-*

*ezno* / *poleznyj* and *gubiel'no* / *gubiel'nyj* in table (13), which both belong to the same subtype of (positively or negatively, see below) benefactive predicates, suggest that there may be quite clear differences between marking tendencies with single elements of the same subtype of experienter predicates. But this must be left to future investigation. In the following, we will concentrate on certain other semantic factors for the choice of EXPERIENCE marking.

### 3. The role of some other syntactic factors

The discussion in the above chapter suggests that the connection between the morphosyntactic markers discussed already and semantics – if there is any (see chapter 4) – is a rather loose one. The following phenomena reinforce this impression. All of them are relatively infrequent phenomena. So quantitatively speaking their influence on the selection of case marking is relatively insignificant. But whereas the structural and formal dependencies above are relatively systematic in nature, the following ones are completely unconnected. But this fact, that even isolated or punctual circumstances can be shown to have an impact on morphosyntactic marking regularities, underlines the looseness of the connection between morphosyntactic markers and semantics.

The first of the two phenomena is limited to the above-mentioned context where the dative for an EXPERIENTER is infrequent in general. It is the constellation in which the adjectival predicate<sub>sem</sub> functions as an attribute (modifier) of a noun (lexical head) in sentence (14), a citation with prepositional marking, where the dative is not acceptable:

- (14) Tak čto pridetsja privile'e' i vas k *neobchodimomu*<sub>dat-1</sub> *dlyia*  
*obščestva* [*\*obščestvu*<sub>dat-2</sub>] *delu*<sub>dat-1</sub>. (Kabakov)  
'So you have to be attracted as well [literally:] to the necessary  
for the society business.'

The dative is blocked here in order to guarantee syntactic transparency: Due to the fact that *obščestvo*, 'society' and *delo*, 'business' share neuter gender and are in (14) both used in the singular, the experienter adjective *neobchodimyj*, 'necessary' might be misinterpreted as an attribute (modifier) of *obščestvo* and not, as it would be correct, as its predicate<sub>sem</sub> (lexical head). A double dative in similar constructions is not completely ruled out if formal agreement in gender and / or number allows one to track back the syntactic

relations between modifiers and lexical heads. Our informants accepted sentences like (15), where one experiencer dative is embedded in another one:

- (15) Fakty ne udobny dorogoj<sub>dat-1-fem-adj</sub> sercu<sub>dat-2-neut-nom</sub> utopii<sub>dat-1-fem-noun</sub>.  
'The facts are not comfortable for utopia that is dear to one's heart.' [Literally: '... a dear for a heart utopia.']

This example is construed after a Polish example *udobne dla drogich sercu utopii* where the noun phrase in the superordinated experiencer construction is marked by the preposition. The noun in the subordinated experiencer construction takes the dative. All of the few citations from our text basis have such a complementary distribution of the two marking possibilities, either exactly in this constellation or the other way round, i. e. the experiencer of the attributed adjective with a preposition and the experiencer of the (syntactically) predicative adjective in the dative<sup>8</sup>. So we are allowed to state that double dative constructions are either ruled out as in (14) or at least not preferred<sup>9</sup>.

The second structural phenomena to be mentioned here is different in nature. What matters here is not syntactic transparency, at least not in a narrow sense like in the examples discussed above. Cf. sentence (16):

- (16a) Strašna byla sibirskaja zima ... – osobeno dlja detskogo doma (Grekova)  
'Terrible was the Siberian winter ... – especially for the children's home.'

The experiencer phrase is in an isolated, right-dislocated position, where it is marked by the preposition. It is interesting that the prepositional marking would even then be chosen if the experiencer phrase did not consist in the full noun phrase *detckij dom* but even if it were a otherwise highly "dative-friendly" personal pronoun:

- 7 For the "experiencer" status of inanimate nouns see chapter 4.  
8 I owe this Polish example to ZILICH (1999). His investigations suggest that Polish informants accept not only the cited variant but furthermore a double dative *wygodne drogim sercu utopii* and inverted distribution of dative and prepositional marking *wygodne drogim dla serca utopii*. What seems to be unacceptable is a double prepositional construction *\*wygodne dla drogich dla serca utopii*.  
9 For similar phenomena with the instrumental case and prepositional marking to avoid certain double instrumental constellations in Russian and Polish see HENTSCHEL (1998b); HENTSCHEL & MENZEL (in press).

(16b) Strašna byla sibirskaja zima ... – osobeno dlja nas / \*nam.  
Without the dislocation of the experiencer noun phrase (here on the right side) the corresponding sentence (16c) becomes highly acceptable with the personal pronoun:

- (16c) Sibirskaja zima byla nam strašna.

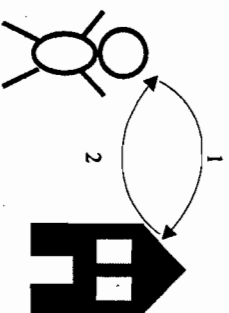
In other words, the dative disallows constituent discontinuity in the (surface) sentence structure and is avoided in isolated and structurally marked positions as right or left dislocation. A dative can occur in these positions only when it is "anaphoric", i. e. when there is a dative marked structural equivalent in the non-dislocated context:

- (16d) Vsem<sub>dat</sub> strašna byla sibirskaja zima – osobeno nam.  
'For all the Siberian winter was terrible – especially for us.'

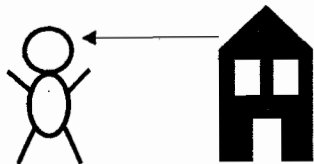
#### 4. On the role of semantic roles

In her study on the Polish dative, DĄBROWSKA (1997, 77ff) differentiates between two models ("folk theories of the mind"), on the basis of which experience will be mapped onto linguistic structure. The first one is called the "craftsman model", the second one the "mental arena model". One may illustrate these two models with the following figures:

- (i) The craftsman model of an experiencer



- (ii) The mental arena model of an experiencer



Both figures stand here for an animate (personal) referent who, for example, visually perceives an object of the surrounding world, a house. In the craftsman model the (visual) experiencer is conceived as an agent taking some effort to perceive his surroundings. In the mental arena model the experiencer lacks this "active characteristic". Instead, he is conceived as a recipient: he receives an image of the object of experience in his mental arena. In other words, whereas in contexts of predicates like 'give' it is (mostly) concrete objects that undergo a transfer, it is mental objects (impressions) that are transferred in the context of experiencer predicates.

Russian offers linguistic mappings for both experiencer models, for example with predicates of visual or auditive perception:

- (17a)  $On_{Nom}$  videl  $dom_{Acc}$ . for (i)  
'He sees the (a) house.'
- (17b)  $Dom_{Nom}$  byl  $emu_{Dat}$  viden. for (ii)  
the same, but literally rather:  
'The house was visible to him.'

The animate object involved in such sentences (with visual, auditive perception etc.) is an experiencer on an ontological or cognitive level and at the same time (at least to some degree) an agent on the same level. Here one may talk of "cognitive participant roles" (c-participants), cf. LEHMAN; SHIN; VERHOEVEN (1998). On an intralinguistic level in (17a) or (i) the agent characteristics are highlighted. In other words, the first or external argument of predicates like Russian *videt* is conceptualized as an *AGENT* in the sense of a linguistic participant role (l-participant) or syntactico-semantic role. L-participant roles will be noted in capitals from now on. In (17b) or (ii) the experiencer is conceptualized as a *RECIPIENT*. As in this paper the variation between dative and prepositional marking is at issue (and not the alternation

between the agent and recipient construction), only the mental arena model will be discussed.

If in this model we speak of an experiencer as a *RECIPIENT*, it is of course a special *RECIPIENT*. In terms of DIK (1989, 98ff), one might call it a *RECIPIENT* with an "experiencer index"<sup>10</sup>. On the cognitive level the aspect of experience is certainly there, but linguistically it is encoded in the predicate. I propose to conceive the experiencer as a (mental) *RECIPIENT*. This conception is justified by the fact that a predicate that takes an argument with the role *RECIPIENT*<sub>[+exp]</sub> does not take a further argument *RECIPIENT*<sub>[-exp]</sub>. In other words, *RECIPIENT*<sub>[+exp]</sub> and *RECIPIENT*<sub>[-exp]</sub> are contextual variants of one *RECIPIENT*-role. They are bound to two different set of predicates. For the ease of exposition in the discussion to follow, I will call these variants *EXPRECIPIENT* and *CONCRECIPIENT* (*CONC* for "concrete"), without intending to treat them as two different l-participant roles.

This treatment of experiencers seems to be similar to the approach of WEGENER (1985, 284). She proposes to treat recipients (*REC*), experiencers (*EXP*), benefactives (*BEN*)<sup>11</sup> and some others as variants of one hyperrole, which she calls "BETROffener" (the affected). But by doing this she misses a decisive difference. Whereas her *REC* and *EXP*-roles can be indeed seen as variants of one role (but not of a hyperrole, see below), namely as the variants *CONCRECIPIENT* and *EXPRECIPIENT*<sup>12</sup> of the constant *RECIPIENT*, the *BEN* or *BENEFACTIVE* can not be seen as a variant of the *RECIPIENT*. *RECIPIENTS* (as we will see later, not only *CONCRECIPIENTS* but *EXPRECIPIENTS* as well) cooccur with *BENEFACTIVES* in the context of one predicate or predication; *CONCRECIPIENTS* and *EXPRECIPIENTS* do not cooccur with each other. The only question that arises is whether the syntagmatic contrast between *RECIPIENTS* and *BENEFACTIVES*, as in

- (18a) Ja kupila tebe<sub>REC-Dat</sub> dlja<sub>PP</sub> malen'kogo<sub>BEN-Gen</sub> botinki.  
'I have bought you for the little one shoes.'

can be neutralized, for example, when recipient and benefactive coincide ontologically, cf. (18b) and (18c) (and furthermore the introductory paper in this volume and STÖRMER this volume):

10 In the same sense the *AGENT* in (17a) / (i) would bear this index.

11 Note that Wegener does not differentiate between c-participant and l-participant roles. Her approach to semantic roles is clearly ontological-situative.

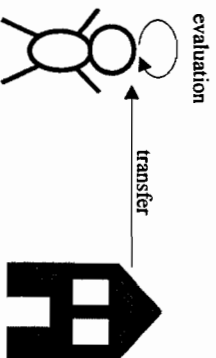
12 Just for clarity's sake: These variants are not treated as two different roles but as one role.

- (18b) Ja kupila sebe<sub>dat</sub> botinki.  
 (18c) Ja kupila dija<sub>pp</sub> se<sub>ja</sub> botinki.  
 'I bought for myself shoes.'

If at all, only in the case of such neutralization should one speak of a hyper-role (somewhat in analogy to Trubetzkoy's "archiphoneme") and thus maintain Trubetzkoy's differentiation between complementary variation and neutralization, although different exponents of the latter ("Archiphonemstellvertreter") may show a positionally complementary distribution as positional variants.

For at least some predicates that bind an *EXPRECIPIENT* the following discussion can not be limited to *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE*. Experience often does not only consist of a perceptual or transfer component, as may well be the case with pure perceptual predicates like *viden* in (17b); with other predicates a second, evaluative component is given. The first fundamental and rational act of experience is of course perceptual transfer. The second one (X' but often connected with some value *y*, which can be illustrated by figure (iii)):

- (iii) experience as transfer and evaluation



This is of course the case with so-called evaluative and emotional predicates like *vážno*, 'important', *interesno*, 'interesting', *prijamno*, 'pleasant', *strašno*, 'frightening, terrible' and others. In what follows, the aspect of evaluation will be discussed first and then the aspect of transfer.

#### 4.1 The dimension of evaluation

The Russian preposition competing with the dative for marking experiencer phrases, namely *dija*, 'for' has a further function that is widely overlooked in Slavonic language research.<sup>13</sup> Russian *dija*, like many "prototypically" beneficiary prepositions in other Indo-European languages, can mark noun phrases which were called "attitudinal disjuncts" by GREENBAUM (1969, 94ff) and "attitudinal satellites" by DIK (1989, 252). Cf. sentence (19):

- (19) On uže davno ne mal'čiška – skazala Tanja. – U nego dlinnaja černaja boroda. – *Dija menja* on ešče mal'čiška – skazala feja. (Kaverin)  
 'He has been no boy any longer since a long time ago – said Tanja. – He has a long, black beard. – For me he is still a boy – said the fairy.'

The prepositional phrase *dija menja*, 'for me' in this sentence can be replaced by sequences like *po moemu* (*mneniju*), 'in my opinion' or phrasal constructions like *me kazetsja*, 'it seems to me' without a significant difference in meaning.<sup>14</sup> These paraphrases for the prepositional phrases with *for* make clear that the referent of the prepositionally marked noun or pronoun does not participate in the expressed state of affairs but rather evaluates it from an external point of observation. For the present I will call the corresponding role "external evaluator", leaving open the question, whether it should be stipulated only on a cognitive level or on a linguistic level as well.

In Contemporary Standard Russian the prepositional marking *dija menja* in (19) can not be replaced by the dative *me*. Other languages like Latin allow a dative for external evaluators and grammarians traditionally speak of a dativus iudicantis, cf. (20) cited from LLS:

13 It is symptomatic that the three most important dictionaries for Standard Contemporary Russian – i. e. SLSRLLJA50, SLSRJA, SLSRLLJA90 – neither acknowledge this function nor offer corresponding citations under one of the other functions.

14 In some instances of attitudinal *dija*, and its English equivalent *for* as well, there seems to be the nuance of conscious subjectivity conflicting with objectivity, whereas formulations like *in my opinion* or *I think* concede the subjective view on the one hand, while on the other hand they imply the possibility of objective truth, cf. *I know that he is already a man, but for me* [*in my opinion*] *he will stay a boy till the end*. It may well be that this moment of subjectivity is the metaphorical link to typical experiencer constructions, but this cannot be discussed here.



- (20) *Quintia formosast multus.* (Catull)  
'For many people (Many people think that) Quintia is beautiful.'

There are, however, Russian constructions where an "evaluator" can be marked by the dative:

- (21) *Emu važno, čoby ona prišla.*  
'It is important to me, that she would come.'

Here the referent of the dative marked pronoun evaluates a state of affairs, too. But in addition, it is his personal interest in this state of affairs that is expressed as well. In cases like this one in contrast to cases like in (19), the evaluation is done from an internal point of view. In other words, the evaluator is simultaneously a participant of the state of affair. The differentiation of internal and external evaluation will prove to be helpful to explain marking variation at least with a certain number of experienter adjectives.

When it comes to evaluation it is not only the evaluator phrase (internal or external) that needs expression<sup>15</sup>. At least in some cases, there is another entity: The entity that sets a norm for the evaluation. And again we find the prepositional marking with *dlija* plus genitive with nominal groups, which represents such a "norm setter". In constructions like (22) only the prepositional marking is possible:

- (22) *No čerty ee lica byli krasivy i pravilny, choťja sliškom velikij dlija semnadcatiletnej devuški.* (Turgenev)  
'But the lines of her face were beautiful and regular, although too big for a girl of seventeen years.'

In sentences like (23), the dative is possible or even obligatory:

- (23) *Noski emu veliki.*  
'The stockings are too large for him.'

There is a parallel between (22) and (23) on one side, and between (19) and (21) on the other: Whereas the referents of the nominal groups in the dative in (21) and (23) are involved in the situations as "real participants", the referents of the prepositionally marked noun phrases in (19) and (22) are not. So one might not only speak of an external or internal evaluator for (19)

15 Of course, an external evaluator does not always need linguistic expression. If it is not expressed, the speaker or writer is the evaluator by default. If a first person evaluator is expressed, there is the nuance of overt subjectivization.

or (21) respectively, but of an external or internal norm setter for (22) and (23) as well.

Sometimes even for sentences like (23), grammarians speak of a dative *indicantis* (e. g. WEGENER 1985, 53ff). But of course a simple test indicates that it is not necessarily the referent of the dative phrase that evaluates the situation as it is expressed. Sentence (23) has an external evaluator, as the evaluation expressed may be explicitly negated for the referent of the dative phrase (the possible internal evaluator):

- (23') *Noski emu veliki, no on etogo ne ponimaet.*  
'The stockings are too large for him, but he does not understand this.'

So the question arises whether it can be internal evaluation that triggers the dative in (1) when the dative in (23') occurs without any doubt in the context of external evaluation. In other words, the interrelation of *EXPERIENTERS*, evaluators and norm setters has to be discussed.

It has been stated that by dative marking of the experienter phrase, a "higher degree of consciousness" of the experienter is expressed than is the case with a corresponding prepositional construction (e. g. WEGENER 1985, 229ff). And indeed, in sentences (24a) and (24b), dative and prepositional marking are seemingly based on a privative opposition in the sense that the referent of the dative phrase is conscious of what is "experienced", whereas the prepositional construction is indifferent to the criterion of consciousness:

- (24a) *On byl pervyj i emu eto bylo važno.*  
'He was the first (he was the winner) and to him this was important.'  
(24b) *... dlija nego eto bylo važno.*  
'for him this was important.'

Accordingly sentence (24a) is unacceptable on the one hand, when embedded in the context of (24a'), because it would result in a contradiction, and, on the other hand, (24a) is strange in (24a') as well, because the postpositive sentence would be tautological:

- (24a') *... emu eto bylo važno. \*No on ne otdaval sebe v etom oščeta.*  
'to him this was important, but he was not aware of it.'  
(24a'') *... emu eto bylo važno. ?I on chorošo znal ob etom.*  
'to him this was important, and he exactly knew about it.'

The indifference of the prepositional marking to the criterion of consciousness is reflected by the fact that it is completely acceptable in both of the above-mentioned contexts. So, obviously, consciousness does play a role in sentences of this type. But it is not a question of degree: With predicates like *važno*, the dative signals the consciousness of the experienter, while the prepositional marking is indifferent. In other words, when the dative is used, the *EXPRECIPIENT* coincides with the evaluator, which is not necessarily the case when the prepositional marking is used.

It must be emphasized, that sentence (24b) has several readings: Reading (A) would be the same as the only possible reading for (24a): The third person referent not only perceives his being the winner (his victory), but he himself evaluates this fact as important, i. e. important to his own interests, his own norms (in a broader sense). Here the three roles *EXPRECIPIENT*, evaluator and norm setter coincide. That such a reading is possible not only for the dative construction but for its prepositional correspondent as well is shown by the citation in example (25):

- (25) Net, pravda, *djia menja* èto sliškom važno ... a mne uže ne po sebe, [...] (Kozlovskij)  
'No, that's right, for me this is too important ... and I already do feel uncomfortable ...'

Reading (B) of (24b) would mean that it is the speaker / writer who perceives the victory of the referent of the prepositionally marked third person pronoun and who evaluates it as important. But it is presented as important for the referent of the third person pronoun, not for the writer / speaker. So here only the *EXPRECIPIENT* and the evaluator coincide in the speaker / writer, who, interestingly, is not overtly represented on the linguistic level of (24b). This becomes evident in (26) which is a paraphrase of this reading of (24b):

- (26) Po-moemu, *djia nego* èto bylo važno.  
'In my opinion, for him this was important.'

Only the norm setter, the entity for interests of which the importance is stated, receives an overt linguistic representation in (24b). As was shown above, this entity does not need to share the evaluation, but additionally, it is even not necessary that it perceives the fact (its being the winner), the importance of which is stated. So in this reading the norm setter does not coincide with *EXPRECIPIENT* and evaluator.

Last not least there is a third reading (C) of (24b) that is parallel to (19). This reading would mean that again the referent of the third person pronoun perceives his being the winner and evaluates it as important. But he is not the norm setter as was the case in reading (A). In contrast to reading (B) it is the *EXPRECIPIENT* that is overtly represented in (C) and the norm setter that is not presented: Reading (C) could be more explicitly represented by (27):

- (27) On byl pervyj. *Djia nego* (= on čuvstvoval èto) èto bylo važno - važno *djia* strany, choťja on lično otnoslisja k ètomu ravnodušno, možet byt' potomu èto on znal èto èta pobeda emu ničego ne prineset.  
'He was the first. To him (=he felt that) this was important - important for the country, although he personally remained indifferent to it, perhaps because he knew that this victory would not be of any advantage to him.'

One must concede that reading (C) is actually triggered only in explicit contexts like the one in (27)<sup>16</sup>. The most "natural" one of all three would be reading (B). But this is dependent on pragmatics. Semantically (24b) is compatible with all three readings.

From the above discussion of the predicate *važno* one might conclude, that the dative is possible only there where *EXPRECIPIENT*, evaluator and norm setter coincide. But this would be a rash conclusion. Predicates like *polezno*, 'useful, healthy', behave differently: Sentences (28a) and (28b) with dative marking are completely acceptable although the parallel constructions in (24a) and (24a') with *važno*, 'important' are not:

- (28a) *Emu* èto bylo polezno, no on ne oldaval sebe v ètom očeťa.  
'It was useful [literally:] to him, but he was not aware of it.'  
(28b) *Emu* èto bylo polezno, i on chorošo znal ob ètom.  
'It was useful [literally:] to him, and he knew it perfectly well.'

16 The possibility to use the prototypically "benefactive" preposition - be it Russian *djia*, German *für* or English *for* - as a syntactic marker of the noun group representing an external evaluator seems to be restricted in more than one respect. Firstly, it is blocked when there is the danger of a misinterpretation as a benefactive. Secondly, it is ruled out for external evaluators, if there is a real (a) or potential (b) internal one: (a) \**Djia menja, emu èto bylo važno*, 'For me (I think), to him this was important'; (b) \**Djia menja, djia nego èto bylo važno*, 'For me (I think), for him this was important.'

It is absolutely clear that in (28a) and (28b) there is an implicit external evaluator. So it is only the *EXPRECIPIENT* and the norm setter that coincide in the nominal group in the dative. This dative in (28a / b) can, of course, be replaced by the prepositional marker *dlya* plus genitive, without "affecting" acceptability or the distribution of the three roles. Whether the recipient of the *pol'za* (noun from which the adjective *poleznyj* is derived), 'advantage' is aware of it, does not play any role for the morphosyntactic representation, in contrast to predicates of the type *vazno*. So dative and prepositional marking do not exhibit a privative opposition, as is the case in the contexts of predicates of the *vazno* type. It is (semantically) free variation that can be stated in the context of the *polezno*-type predicates. This of course leaves room for different positional nuance between the two marking strategies on the paradigmatic level. Cf, for example, (29):

- (29) [...] ne terjajte vremeni – šepital Agapenov – žalet' budete. Takoj tip porazitel'nyj. *Vam*<sub>Dat</sub> v vašich rabotach on n e o b c h o d i m .  
 Vy iz nego v odnu noč' možete nastrič' desjatok rasskazov i každyj vygodno prodadite. (Bulgakov)  
 'Don't lose time – whispered Agapenov – you will regret it. Such a guy attracts attention. For you he is indispensable in your works. In one night you can get a dozen of stories out of him and sell each of them with good profit.'

In this part of a larger dialogue it is the evaluation of the person speaking that a third person is indispensable for the listener. The speaker is trying to convince the listener of the importance of that third person. The fact that the pronoun referring to the listener takes the dative, although the uttered evaluation does not come from of the listener, simply corresponds to the insistence the speaker tries to convince him with. The dative in the examples (28a / b) can be interpreted similarly. If it were replaced by the prepositional construction, then it would leave the impression of a statement uttered by the speaker with emotional distance. The dative on the other hand signals some degree of emotional involvement, but of an involvement of the speaker.

#### 4.2 The dimension of transfer

In the introductory part to this chapter, I have argued that in the center of the concept of experienter predicates stands the idea of immaterial / mental transfer and that some types of experienter adverbs show the added factum

of evaluation. After a first discussion of the impact of evaluation on morpho-syntactic marking it shall now be emphasized that predicates that in their semantics are completely free of evaluation and any other intellectual (rational) involvement (almost) obligatorily receive dative marking.

With the predicates *vidno* and *slyšno* – purely perceptual predicates – not a single instance of prepositional marking of the *EXPRECIPIENT* was found in a corpus of almost 3,000,000 running forms, but dozens of dative experiencers. Another predicate that occurs in the corpus exclusively with the dative is *bol'no*, 'painful (physically or mentally)'. This predicate is interesting because in this meaning it has only the form on -o, the praedicativum. There are other forms, like the one discussed in chapter 2 (*bolel*, ... *bol'noj* ...), but firstly they do not occur in the discussed dative or prepositional constructions and secondly they have a different meaning 'ill, sick'. So it makes sense to describe the praedicativum in *Mne eto bylo očen' bol'no* (Dostoevskij), 'This was very painful for me' and the other forms as two different lexical entries. As far as transfer is concerned, with the praedicativum *bol'no* it is the pain that is conceived as the object of transfer, as a reaction, not as an evaluation.

Similar tendencies of diverging lexical development can be observed with predicates like *chorošo* / *nechorošo*, 'good / not good', *plochko* / *neplocho*, 'bad / not bad'. For the praedicativum with the meaning 'I feel X', only the dative is possible, and a further participant (even in the most abstract sense like *eto* in the above example with *bol'no*) is syntactically ruled out. Other forms occur in the meaning 'entity A is X for entity B' but with this meaning the dative is ruled out, even when this evaluation is made by an internal evaluator (entity B). The behaviour is similar of *strašno*. In contexts like *emu strašno* ..., 'he is frightened, afraid', only the dative is possible with the praedicativum. With other forms and the meaning 'X is terrible for Y', the prepositional marking is possible at least in certain contexts as has been demonstrated by the examples in (16a) and (16b). But here the differentiation between two discrete meanings is more complicated than in the cases discussed above, as can be seen in sentences like the following one: ... *daže smert' čeloveku ne tak strašna, esli on znaet o prodolženii svoego voda* (Bulyčev), 'even the death is not so terrible for man' or 'man is not afraid of death, if he knows about the continuation of his family'. Instances where one of the competing marking strategies is blocked by lexical differentiation will not be considered in the rest of our discussion.

All the predicates discussed so far in chapter 4.2 that (at least in certain meanings) exclusively take the dative, have in common that no intellectual (rational) effort is involved in the semantics of these predicates. It is either mere perception or mere feeling that is expressed. If an intellectual element is involved, than in Contemporary Standard Russian both marking possibilities are given. But there still are differences in these contexts, i. e. between several types of predicates that principally allow both markers. In spite of the differences described for *važno* and *polezno* they have in common that intellectual activity is needed to state importance or usefulness / healthiness, be it in form of an inner or an outer evaluation. With other predicates like *jasno*, 'clear' or *ponjatno*, 'understandable / understood' it is not necessarily evaluation (although both predicates can be used in an evaluative sense) that makes up the intellectual activity. It may be just the act of understanding as in (30a) and (30b):

- (30a) [...] posledovatel'nost' i svjaz' sobytij stanovilis' dlja nego  
[I/emu] vse bolee ponjatny. (Strugackie)  
'sequence and link of the events became more and more understandable to him.'

- (30b) *Dlja našich tehnikov [našim technikam] étot vopros jasen.*  
(Strugackie)  
'For our technicians the question is clear.'

It is clear that with predicates like *ponjatno* and *jasno* there is always an awareness of the mental state expressed by the predicate in contrast to predicates like *važno* and *polezno*. On the other hand the former, cognitive ones behave like the ones of the *polezno*-type. The two markers are in free (semantic) variation and not in some privative opposition, like it was the case with *važno*. What is transferred with cognitive predicates is simply cognition, the understanding of an object or phenomenon.

Before the final discussion of the distribution of the two marking strategies in free semantic variation, it is worth having a look at some special experimenter verbs, which behave in one respect very similarly to verbal predicates like 'to buy', cf. (18a) above and (31a-b) on the one hand and (32a-b) on the other hand:

- (31a) *Ja tebe dlja malenkogo kupila botinki.*  
Literally: 'I bought you for the little one boots.'

This is a sentence a Russian grandmother may say to her daughter. The boots are destined for the child of the daughter, but it is 'the daughter who will receive them first in order to hand them over to the child. In a context where there is only one recipient there is in many cases no need to differentiate between *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE* because they either ontologically coincide or the speaker does not take the effort to differentiate between them:

- (31b) *Ja kupila tebe botinki.*  
'I bought you boots.'
- (31c) *Ja kupila dlja tebya botinki.*  
'I bought boots for you.'

Note that both are compatible with a reading in which the addressee of the utterance is the one and only recipient, and with a reading where both speaker and addressee are aware that the boots are meant for someone else than the addressee (for a further discussion cf. STORMER this volume).

Things are very similar with some experimenter predicates:

- (32a) *Éto mne važno / nužno / neobchodimo dlja syna.*  
Literally: 'To me this is important / necessary / indispensable for my son.'
- (32b) *Éto mne važno.*
- (32c) *Éto dlja menja važno.*

In (32a) there is a direct experimenter *mne*, i. e. the speaker, and an indirect, potential one: his son.

For predicates like 'to buy' I have argued that firstly one should treat constructions like (31a/b) as neutralisations of the syntagmatic opposition of *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE* and that secondly a hyperrole ("archirole") should be assumed. Sentences like (32b/c) should be treated in the same way. Note that often enough with sentences like (31a), the possibility of a concrete transfer is implied pragmatically, if instead of the propositional anaphora *éto* a concrete noun occurs. If in the context of an experimenter predicate apart from the *EXPERIENCER* a norm setter is overtly mentioned, then this is a special variant of the *BENEFACTIVE*. In other words, the traditional *BENEFACTIVE* (concrete benefactive) and the norm-setting benefactive of experimenter predicates are in the same sense positional variants as are concrete recipient and mental recipient (experimenter). If no separate norm setter is mentioned, as in (32a/b), experimenter and norm setter coincide and should be represented by the same hyperrole which one may call *RECEIVER*.

Further, if the animate noun *syn* is replaced by an inanimate one like *rabota*, 'work' or, more typically, a nominalized verb, then linguists prefer to call this role not *BENEFACTIVE* but *PURPOSE*:

(33a) *Éto mne važno dĭja raboty.*

'This is important to / for me for the job.'

(33b) *Éto mne važno dĭja vyĭpolnenĭja raboty.*

'This is important to / for me to do the job.'

But of course the question arises if one should indeed suppose a different role here. The difference between (33a) and (33b) on the one hand, and (32a) on the other hand, consists just in the different values for the feature of animateness. The alternative solution would treat the *PURPOSE* role as a positional variant of the *BENEFACTIVE* role. In other words, experienter predicates like the ones in (32) and (33), apart from a first participant, maximally allow two participant slots<sup>17</sup>. If both are realized, then the first receives a dative marking and the second a prepositional one. As to the second one, a benefactive or purpose reading depends only on the lexical class of the noun.

As these examples suggest, inanimate nouns with the role *PURPOSE* obligatorily take a prepositional marking<sup>18</sup>. But again things are not as simple as that. Cf. citation (34), especially the sentence in italics, which for good reason is offered in a broader context:

(34) Solenye denažnye vody neobchodimo vernut' Aralu. Esli imet' v vidu ne toľko Sarykamyš, no i drugie [reki], to éto kak raz te kubokliometry, kotorye mogut ostanovit' degradacĭju i stabilizirovat' uroven' morĭja. Odnovrememno s étim nado polnost'ju isključit' slučai popadanĭja polivnyĭch vod v reki. *To, éto polezno morĭju<sub>dat</sub> gubitel'no dĭja<sub>pp</sub> rek<sub>gen</sub>.* (Pravda)

17 More than two participants on the *RECIPIENT-BENEFACTIVE-PURPOSE*-dimension are often strange. They nevertheless are construed by linguists like WEGENER (1985, 277): *Großmutter kaufte Großvater zuleibe dem Sohn für den Enkel eine Eisenbahn*, literally: 'To please Grandfather, Grandmother bought their son a model train for their grandson'. Important for our discussion is only that if such a third slot is realized it can never get the typical benefactive marker. This holds also in such contexts where the third participant is inanimate: *Ela informacĭja mne nužna dĭja našego kollektiva* (a) *v plane obščestvenia poslednich voprosov* or better (b) ... *čtoby obščestva' poslednie voprosy*.

18 It is well known that the 'dative finalis' has never been very widespread in Slavonic languages and that it has been even more restricted in recent centuries (BRDOWSKA 1955, 20; BORKOVSKIJ 1978, 385).

'The saline drainage water indispensably has to be returned to the Aral Sea. When we pay attention not only to the Sarykamyš, but also to other rivers, then those are just the cubic kilometres that may stop the sea-level from falling and stabilize it. At the same time, incidents of discharging field irrigation water into the rivers have to be completely excluded. *What is useful to the sea, is disastrous to the river.*

It would seem rather queer to assume different semantic roles for the dative marked *more*, 'sea' on the one hand, and for the prepositionally marked *reka*, 'river' on the other. By the way, the last sentence in (34) would be perfectly acceptable as well with both noun phrases marked by the preposition *dĭja*. And if we replace *gubitel'no*, 'disastrous' by the less drastic *vredno* both noun phrases could stand in the dative, or *reka* may take the dative and *more* the prepositional marking. But significantly, all our informants declared unanimously that prepositional marking for both noun phrases would be the best solution. All this underlines that firstly, differential marking in (34) was chosen for stylistic reasons, i. e. to emphasize the conflicting results for the sea on the one hand and for the river on the other. As there is in both partial sentences only one participant on the "recipient-experienter-benefactive-purpose dimension", the same semantic role should be stipulated, namely the *RECEIVER*.

Among the constructions discussed so far with two participants in the *RECIPIENT-BENEFACTIVE*-dimension the constellation animate – inanimate as in sentence (32a) is undoubtedly less frequent than the constellation animate – inanimate as in (33a) and (33b). Still less frequent or even extremely infrequent is the constellation inanimate – inanimate. But Russian sentences like (35) with an inanimate participant in the dative and the other one marked prepositionally are perfectly possible:

(35) *Éto morĭju polezno dĭja stabilizacĭi ego urovnja.*

'This is useful to the sea for the stabilization of its water-level.'

In general, nevertheless, inanimate nouns are highly preferred with the prepositional encoding. This is a tendency that is linked with the dynamicity- or animacy hierarchy: For predicates of the *važno*-type ('important'), where internal evaluation plays a role for morphosyntactic marking, the dative is ruled out for inanimate nouns and is problematic for animal nouns. Evaluation of course presupposes ratio. For predicates of the *polezno*-type ('useful') many inanimate-concrete nouns may take the dative, but abstract nouns

(obviously) always take the prepositional marking. Other, related hierarchies interfere as well: pronominal representation, definite and referential status of the experiencer phrase obviously are in favour of the dative as well. But this needs more, statistical analysis.

Of interest for my conclusions are furthermore, patterns where firstly on the *RECIPIENT-BENEFACTIVE*-dimension, there are two participants and secondly the first participant already takes prepositional marking, i. e. the prototypically benefactive preposition. In these cases we observe that the second participants receive different prepositional marking:

(36a) *Éto dĵja menĵa vaĵno iz-za syna.*

'This is important for me because of my son.'

(36b) *Éto dĵja nas vaĵno v plane obsuĵdenĵja poslednich voprosov.*

'This is important for us to the discussion of the last questions.'

(36c) *Éto dĵja morĵja polezno v plane stabilizacĵi ego urovnja.*

'This is useful to the sea as to the stabilization of its level.'

Most typically, we find secondary prepositions for the second participants or primary ones, the first function of which is to mark more peripheral participants than the *BENEFACTIVE*. On the other hand, we thus find a hierarchy of participants on grounds of a different degree of their involvement: *RECIPIENT* > *BENEFACTIVE*. Further, we find a hierarchy of markers: dative > primary prepositions for predicate adjuncts > primary prepositions for sentential adjuncts > secondary predicates. Of course, the latter hierarchy is only a "symptomatic one". The values the markers take in that hierarchy, are based on the hierarchy of participants they prototypically stand for. These participant roles become, so to say, connotations of the markers which remain stable, even when the markers are used in different functions (with different denotations). If now, for whatever reason, the first participant of the *RECIPIENT-BENEFACTIVE*-dimension does not get a dative marking but a prepositional ("benefactive") one, the hierarchy of the content plane has to be preserved in the expression plane as well, and thus the second participant of that dimension gets a lower-ranked prepositional marker. In Russian, this is still a question of variation. But the following preference relations are interesting: Whereas a combination of dative-*dĵja*-marking is still preferred with animate – animate values of the two participants – sentence (32a) is "better" than (36a) – this is different with inanimate – inanimate constellations: (36c)

is "better" than (35). In East Polish dialects which have almost lost "all datives", the latter is the case even for animate – animate constellations.

The diachronic scenario is the following: A lower ranked marker can be used with a "higher-ranked reading" in contexts where the basic syntagmatic opposition like the one between *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE*, is neutralized, where only one slot is realized. These contexts function as a Trojan horse for the lower-ranked marker into the first slot of two participant contexts, where he thus marks the first, and not the second of the two participants. The latter in this case actually gets a lower-ranked marker. In other words, the marker hierarchy is shifted to the left, the leftmost marker is given up.

## 5. Final remarks

Dative and prepositional marking with *dĵja* plus genitive thus basically stand in syntagmatic opposition, signalling *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE* roles (in the traditionally narrow sense and in our broader understanding of these roles), but only where both slots are realized. For most adjectival experiencer predicates (and for many – but not all – others that allow *RECIPIENT* and *BENEFACTIVE* slots) this syntagmatic contrast is, as a rule, neutralized, i. e. just one slot is realized where both markers could be used. In contexts where such a neutralization of a principally syntagmatic opposition takes place only with certain predicates (for example the *vaĵno*-'important'-type) a paradigmatic and privative opposition between dative and prepositional marking can be attested. Here the dative signals internal evaluation, and the prepositional marking is indifferent to that criterion. With other predicates, the two marking strategies are in semantically free variation. Preferences can be realized, which are oriented along several hierarchies (animateness-dynamicity, definiteness and referentiality, pronominal – nominal ...). Furthermore, several structural factors (hierarchies), discussed in the first part of this paper, have a clear impact on the choice of markers.

Apart from the few oppositional contexts of the two markers (syntagmatic or paradigmatic ones) in front of us is a clear instance of asymmetry between form and function that was already been commented upon by KARCEVSKIJ (1929, 88) some 70 years ago: "[...] la nature d'un signe linguistique doit être stable et mobile, tout à la fois." If we acknowledge that a natural language (as long as it is a living language) is never a final state but always its own transitional state a asymmetrical relation in the sense of

Karcevskij, i. e. a 1:n-relation between form and function / meaning is as natural as an absolutely transparent 1:1-relation – at least if *n* covers not a set of dispersed, unrelated functions, but functions which are near to each other and often enough do not have to be differentiated.

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### Zur Variation des possessiven Dativs mit dem adnominalen Genitiv im Baltischen (besonders im Lettischen)

In vielen indogermanischen Sprachen kann der adnominale Genitiv bei ei-  
 nem Objekt oder Subjekt unter gewissen Umständen durch einen Dativ er-  
 setzt werden, der alsdann als 'feier Dativ' in eine unmittelbare Beziehung  
 zum Verb gerückt wird. Meistens bleibt dieser mit dem adnominalen Genitiv  
 verwechselbare Dativ auf Bezeichnungen für Belebtes beschränkt. Offenbar  
 handelt es sich somit um einen Dativ des "experienter", und die Widerspie-  
 gelung einer vermittelten Einwirkung auf ein Lebewesen in dessen Bewußt-  
 sein ist eine Voraussetzung für die Verwendung des Dativs. Dieser posses-  
 sive Dativ, auch Dativus sympatheticus genannt, ist auch im Baltischen  
 belegt:

(1) Lit.

Jis paspaudė savo draugo / savo draugui  
 PersPr drücken.Prät.3 sein Freund.GEN / sein Freund.DAT  
 ranką.  
 Hand.ACC

(2)

Lett.  
 Viņš paspieda sava drauga / savam draugam  
 PersPr drücken.Prät.3 sein Freund.GEN / sein Freund.DAT  
 roku  
 Hand.ACC

'Er drückte seinem Freund die Hand.'

Wie obige Beispiele zeigen, braucht diese Variation nicht mit Unterschieden  
 in der Wortfolge verbunden zu sein. Zu bemerken ist hier zunächst, daß der  
 adnominale Genitiv im Baltischen (soweit es kein partitiver Genitiv ist)  
 grundsätzlich immer vor dem von ihm determinierten Substantiv steht. Die  
 gegenseitige Ordnung der Satzglieder ist dagegen im Baltischen ziemlich  
 frei, so daß dafür nur allgemeine Gesetzmäßigkeiten, aber keine absoluten  
 Regeln festgelegt werden können. Der freie Dativ nimmt allerdings, ähnlich  
 wie das indirekte Objekt, durchaus oft die Stellung zwischen dem Verb und



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**Variierende Markierung  
von Nominalgruppen  
in Sprachen  
unterschiedlichen Typs**

