Benefactives: form and function from a cross-linguistic perspective

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In a nutshell

a. Some natural languages have a potentially open class of monoclausal constructions (AF-FACTIVES) that typically consist of an overt predicate π portraying a particular state of affairs and another (overt or covert) predicate π' of which some entity is a semantic argument (AFFICIARY). It is either explicitly said or conventionally implicated that the condition or state of the latter changes as a result of π (AFFACTION).[1]

b. Parameter I: affaction type (neutral, benefaction, malefaction)

c. Parameter II (CENTRALITY): argumenthood of afficiaries with respect to π (agentive [auto-affaction], patientive, and peripheral).

d. Parameter IIa (INVOLVEMENT): relation between peripheral afficiary and π or its arguments (possessive, engagement-participative, event-participative, deputative, and absolute).

e. Parameter III : relation between π and π' (AND, CAUSE, PURPOSE, …).

e. Parameter IV: overtness and determinacy of π'.

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1. Benefactives: The morphosyntactic encoding of benefaction

(1)   WHAT is marked? (Marking, and Parameter 1: affaction type)

    a. Contextual: segmentally unmarked
    b. Neutral affactive: marked but unspecified for benefaction
    c. Benefactive: marked for benefaction

(2)   WHERE is it marked? I: No (segmental) marking (e.g. English DOC with lexical NPs)

    Sue knit her husband a sweater.

(3)   WHERE is it marked? II: Dependent marking

    a. Huallaga Huánuco Quechua case morphology:

        Qam-paq   rura-nqa.
        2-DAT   do-3.FUT
        'S/he will do it for you (SG).' (Weber 1989:204)

    b. English adpositions:

        Sue knit a sweater for her husband.
        [The union] is run by musicians for the benefit of musicians. (BNC A6A 172)

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[1] Seppo Kittilä and I are grateful to Martin Haspelmath for suggesting the terms *affaction, affactive* and *afficiary* to us. These colleagues do not necessarily agree with the particular interpretation given here.

(4) WHERE is it marked? III: Head marking

    a. Shuswap applicatives:

      a₁. *M-k̓úl-n-s*   *ɣ*   *mimx̓.*
           PERF-make-TR-3.SUBJ   DET   basket
           'S/he made the basket.'

      a₂. *M-k̓úl-x-t-s*   *ɣ*   *núx̌ʷənx̌ʷ*   *tə*   *mimx̓.*
           PERF-make-APPL-TR-3.SUBJ   DET   woman   DET.OBL   basket
           'S/he made a basket for the woman.' (Kiyosawa 2006:3)

    b. Japanese complex predicates:

      Otto=wa   *Hans=ni*   *jitensha=o*   *naoshite*   *ageru.*
      O.=TOP   H.=DAT   bicycle=ACC   repair.CVB   give.PRES
      'Otto repaired Hans' bicycle for him.' (Ogawa 2003:188)

(5) WHERE is it marked? IV: Double marking (e.g. Bolivian Quechua)

    Q: *Qan-paj=chu*   *chay*   *llank'a-j*   *waka-ta*   *ranti-ku-nki?*
       2SG-DAT=Q   DEIC   work-NMLZR   cow-ACC   buy-MID-2SG
       'Did you buy that cow for yourself?'

    A: *Mana*   *churi-y-paj*   *ranti-pu-ni.*
       NEG   son-1SG.PSR-DAT   buy-APPL-1SG
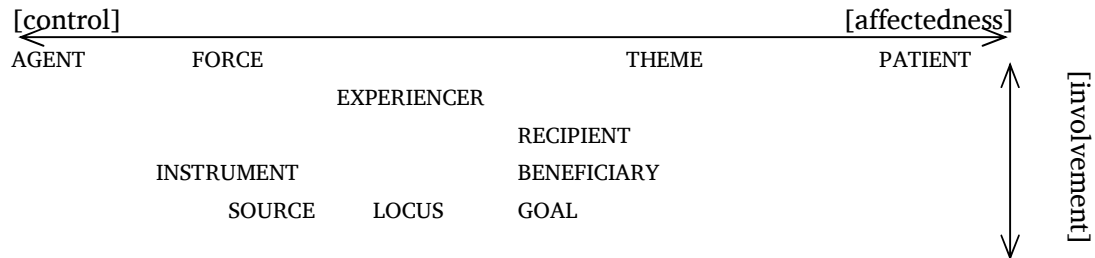   'No, I bought it for my son.' (Van de Kerke 1996:28)

Cf. Conti (2008) and Kittilä (2005), as well as Narasimhan et al. (2007) and Margetts & Austin (2007) in Narasimhan et al., eds. (2007)

2. Broad characterizations of beneficiaries

- Chafe (1970:148f), Platt (1971:48f), Halliday (1970:147)
  "the entity gaining possession of something", "non-dynamic possession"

- Cook (1979)   states: (BEN,OBJ)   *have, own, belong to*
                      processes: (BEN,OBJ)   *find, lose, acquire, win*
                      actions: (AGT,BEN)   *arm, bribe, help, supply*
                      act/pro: (AGT,BEN,OBJ) *buy, sell, give, send, accept*
                      BEN is optional and in complementary distribution with LOC and EXP

- Jackendoff (1990:133f)
  give, receive; help, assist, aid, let, allow, permit; give in to, withstand, resist

- Palmer (1994:10)
  "Notionally, Beneficiaries refer generally to animate beings indirectly affected by the action with a possible distinction between the notional roles of recipient and beneficiary."
  The boy bought a book for the girl / the boy bought the girl a book.

- Blake (1994:70)
  "the animate entity on whose behalf an activity is carried out"
  She did the shopping for her mother.

- Lehmann et al. (2000b:68, my translation)
"A benefactive situation is one that occurs to the benefit of a participant. […] The benefiting participant bears the semantic role BENEFICIARY if s/he is coded in a corresponding peripheral function. The situation is prototypically controlled, i.e. includes an Actor —the BENEFACTOR. A prototypically benefactive situation also includes an Undergoer, which is created (i.e. effected) or affected as BENEFACTUM for the benefit of the beneficiary. […] If the situation affects or effects a BENEFACTUM for the benefit of the BENEFICIARY, this frequently implies a possessive relationship in the broadest sense between these two. […] The protagonist is (i) a BENEFICIARY in relation to the situation core [=predicate, FZ] and (ii) a POSSESSOR in relation to the BENEFACTUM."

(6)   Lehmann et al. (2000a:8)

[control] ←——————————————————————————————→ [affectedness]

AGENT   FORCE   THEME   PATIENT
                        EXPERIENCER
                                          RECIPIENT
            INSTRUMENT   BENEFICIARY
                 SOURCE   LOCUS   GOAL

[involvement]

- Lehmann et al. (2000b:52, my translation)
"[T]he PATIENT is inanimate and bears an inherent relation to the protagonist. In the prototypical case, the PATIENT is a body part of the latter. Everything that affects the PATIENT also necessarily affects its possessor —the SYMPATHETICUS."

- Fried (1999:499f, my emphasis)
"With respect to [External Possessors] it means that we could account for their special kind of affectedness as well as for the dative coding by positing *a family of roles that would subsume what I have been labeling 'interest' together with dative-marked experiencers, recipients, beneficiaries, and the like*".

(7)   Fried's CxG approach (1999:496)

   a. "DATIVE OF INTEREST CONSTRUCTION"
      Pragmatics: "introduce an interested party"
      Semantics: "circumstances described by the predicate have significant consequences for the interested party, whose referent is not in control of the event"

   b. "EXTERNAL POSSESSOR CONSTRUCTION"
      Special case of Dative of Interest (possession superimposed on a.)

3. A family of roles I: subtypes of beneficiaries

(8)   Mandarin Chinese (Teng 1975:151)

   a. *wǒ*   *gěi*   *tā*   *xiě*   *xìn*   'I'll write a letter for him (to read)'
      1   give   3   write   letter

   b. *wǒ*   *tì*   *tā*   *xiě*   *xìn*   'I'll write a letter for (=instead of) him'
      1   replace 3   write   letter

(9) English (Kittilä 2005:272-273,278)

    a. *the boy parked the car for me (= instead of me)*   SUBSTITUTIVE

    b. *the teacher lied for me (=so that I would not be punished)*   CONCRETE

    c. *s/he baked a cake for me (= for me to eat)*   RECEPTION

(10) English (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:383-384)

    a. *Pat stood in line for Kim*   DEPUTATIVE

    b. *Rita sang for the students*   PLAIN

    c. *Robin baked a cake for Sandy*   RECEPTION

(11) Korean (Song forthcoming)

a. *Kiho-ka*	*ai-taysin*	*swukcey-lul*	*hay-cwu-ess-ta*	DEPUTATIVE
K.-NOM	child-DBEN	homework-ACC	do-give-PST-IND	
b. *Kiho-ka*	*ai-lulwihay*	*swukcey-lul*	*hay-ess-ta*	PLAIN
K.-NOM	child-PBEN	homework-ACC	do-PST-IND	
c. *Kiho-ka*	*ai-eykey*	*swukcey-lul*	*hay-cwu-ess-ta*	ENGAGEMENT
K.-NOM	child-DAT	homework-ACC	do-give-PST-IND	

    All three: 'Keeho did the homework for the child'

(12) English *for* (Jackendoff 1990:183f; selection)

    a. *Bill … sang a song for Mary / sold a book to Harry for Mary*   *for* of BENEFICIARY

    b. *Bill … sang a song for fun / sold a book to Harry for fun*   *for* of BENEFIT

    c. *Susan … made Francine a picture / a picture for Francine*   *for*-dative
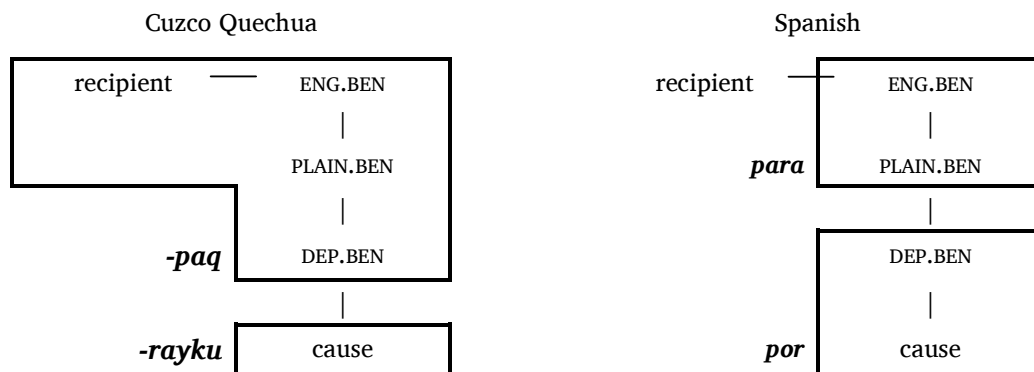

FIGURE 1. Semantic map of selected benefactive functions in Quechua and Spanish

4. A family of roles II: the beneficiary's relatives

(13) Characterizations of "additional" or "extra-thematic" datives in classical languages (Knobloch 1986; see also Luraghi 2008 for beneficiaries)

    a. *D. sympatheticus*: "expresses 'being turned towards an animate being whose body, soul or possessions are affected by the verbal notion'" (AGr. *hē kardia pēdāi* **moi** 'my heart beats')

    b. *D. commodi vel incommodi*: "denotes the person who has a material interest in the action" (Lat. *spolia hostium **Iovī Victōrī** cremāvit* 'he burned the enemies' armors for Jupiter Victor'; AGr. *ho hamartanōn **heautōi** hamartanei* 'the one who sins does so to his own detriment')

    c. *D. ethicus*: "refers to the whole utterance and expresses a participation of the mind / feelings" (AGr. *mē **moi** thorubēsēte* 'do not make noises on me!')

    d. *D. relationis*: "expresses the person perceiving the action" (Lat. *corvos cantat **mihī** nunc ab laevā manū* 'that raven cawing on my left just now!')

    e. *D. iudicantis*: "denotes the person according to whose judgment the utterance is valid" (AGr. *Kreōn gar ēn zēlōtos hōs **emoi** pote* 'for Creon['s character] was exemplary, I think')

(14) Spanish external / internal possession (p.k.)

    a. *Me   cortó   el   cabello.*   b. *Me   cortó   mi   cabello.*
       1SG.DAT cut.3SG.PFV.PST ART hair   1SG.DAT cut.3SG.PFV.PST my hair
    Both: 'S/he cut my hair.'

    c. *Me   pintó   la   casa.*   d. *Me   pintó   mi   casa.*
       1SG.DAT paint.3SG.PFV.PST ART house   1SG.DAT paint.3SG.PFV.PST my house
    Both: 'S/he painted my house.'

    e. ?*Cortó   mi   cabello.*   f. *Pintó   mi   casa.*
       cut.3SG.PFV.PST my hair   paint.3SG.PFV.PST my house
       "S/he cut the hair that is/was mine."   'S/he painted my house.'

(15) Mapudungun applicative (p.k.)

    a. *Leli-Ø   mi   ruka.*   'S/he looked at your (SG) house.'
       look.at-3A   2SG.PSR   house

    b. *Leli-ñma-enew   ñi   ñawe.*   'S/he looked at my daughter.'
       look.at-APPL-3→1SG   1SG.PSR   daughter

(16) Japanese passives (Uda 1994:67f)

    a. *Kyoko=ga   John=ni   nagur-are-ta.*   DIRECT
       K.=NOM   J.=DAT   hit-PASS-PST
       'Kyoko was hit by John.'

    b. *Shota=ga   Kyoko=ni   soko=e   ik-are-ta.*   INDIRECT
       S.=NOM   K.=DAT   there=ALL   go-PASS-PST
       'Kyoko went there on Shota.'

c. *Shota＝ga*　　*Kyoko＝ni*　　*atama＝o*　　*nade-rare-ta.*　　　POSSESSIVE/INDIRECT
　　S. ＝ NOM　　　K. ＝ DAT　　　head ＝ ACC　　rub-PASS-PST

Possessive (direct) passive: 'Shota$_i$ had his$_i$ head patted by Kyoko$_j$.'

Indirect passive: 'Shota$_i$ was affected by Kyoto$_j$'s patting his$_{*i/j/k}$ head.'
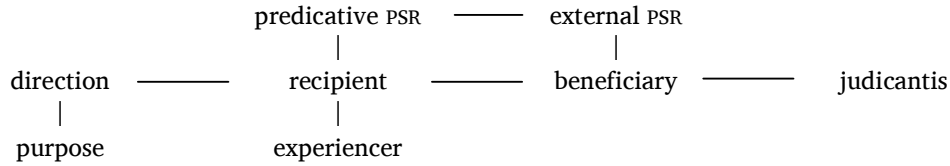

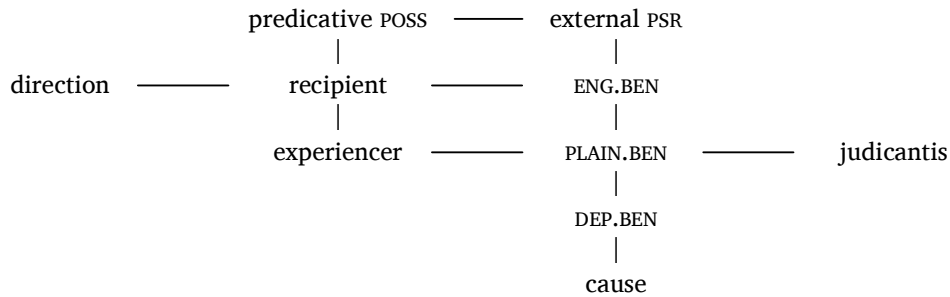FIGURE 2. Semantic map of typical dative functions (Haspelmath 2003:234)

FIGURE 3. Semantic map of typical dative functions plus beneficiary subtypes

5. Semantic representations of benefaction

5.1 Role and Reference Grammar

(17)　Van Valin & LaPolla's suggestions including CAUSE and PURP (1997:383-384)

　　a. *Robin baked a cake for Sandy.*

　　b. [[**do´** (Robin,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (cake)]]　　　　　　DEPUTATIVE
　　　　PURP [NOT [**do´** (Sandy,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (cake)]]

　　c. [[**do´** (Robin,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (cake)]]　　　　　　PLAIN
　　　　PURP [BECOME **entertained´** (Sandy)]

　　d. [[**do´** (Robin,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (cake)]]　　　　　　RECEPTION
　　　　PURP [BECOME **have´** (Sandy,cake)]

　　e. Direct causation, indirect causation (both CAUSE); permission (LET)

(18)　Jolly's semantic representations with CAUSE and PURP (1993:303-304)

　　a. *John baked a cake for Rita.*

　　b. [[**do'** (John)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked'** (cake)]]　　　　　　　DEPUTATIVE
　　　　PURP [[NOT **do´** (Rita)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (cake)]]

　　c. [[**do'** (John)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked'** (cake)]]　　　　　　　RECEPTION
　　　　PURP [BECOME **have'** (Rita,cake)]

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(19) Conti's recent account with PURP and CAUSE (2008:167f)

    a. *Juan preparó una tarta para María.*
       'Juan baked a cake for María.'
       [**do´** (Juan,Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked´** (tarta)] PURP [BECOME **have´** (María,tarta)]

    b. *Los danzarines bailaron para Juan.*
       'The dancers danced for Juan.'
       (i)   [**do´** (danzarines,[**dance´**(danzarines)])] PURP [BECOME **have´** (Juan,Ø)]
       (ii)   LS$_1$ PURP [BECOME **have´** (Juan,LS$_1$)]

5.2 Jackendoff (1990)

(20) Suggestions including AFF, FOR and WITH/RESULTING.IN (Jackendoff 1990:185f)

    a. *Bill sang a song for Mary.*

          sing ([Bill], [song])
          AFF ([Bill],)
          [FOR [AFF$^+$ (, [Mary])]]

    b. *Susan made Francine a picture.*

          make* ([Susan], [picture]$^\alpha$)
          [FOR [AFF$^+$ ([α], [Francine])]

    c. *My car broke down on me.*

          break.down ([my car])
          [RESULTING.IN [AFF$^-$ (, [I])]]

    d. Opposition of participants: helping/possession AFF$^+$, letting AFF^0, *matter* AFF^u, AFF$^-$

    e. Volitionality of affectee: AFF$_{+vol}$ ([X],), AFF$_{-vol}$ ([X],), AFF (,[X])

    f. Outcome of causation: *give* CS$^+$, *try to* V CS^u, *fail to* V CS$^-$

5.3 Talmy (2000)

(21) Suggestions including modals, CAUSE, PURPOSE, ENABLEMENT (Talmy 2000:I:440f, II:221f)

    a. Macro-Event (ME): framing event, co-event, support relation

    b. Framing event (FE)
       ▸ Figure, Ground, activating process (transition vs. fixity), association function (direction)
       ▸ Motion, temporal contouring, change of state, action correlating, realization, …

    c. Support relation: precursion, enablement, cause, purpose, manner, subsequence, …

    d. Purpose: 'in order to benefit / give [it] to / for X' (cf. Atsugewi benefactive APPL *-iray*)

       s'w-cusp'al'-a   *mw-cusp'al'-**iray**-isahk*
       1SG.SBJ-comb.hair-SFX   1SG→2SG-comb.hair-APPL-SFX
       'I combed my hair'   'I combed your (SG) hair'   (Talmy 2000:II:91)

    e. Enablement: co-event "directly precedes main Motion event and enables the occurrence of an event that causes the Motion but does not itself cause this Motion" (II:43-44).
       [X] EVENTS [Y BECOMES FREE NOT to V] = $_E$ENABLE; ENABLE … AND THEN = LET

    f. Framing event: change of state. "Most prevalent" support relations: manner, cause.

- Talmy (2000:II:219; emphasis in the original)

  "[T]he [FE] provides for the whole macro-event the overarching conceptual framework or reference frame within which the other included activities are conceived of as taking place. The [FE] thus determines at least the overall temporal framework and thereby determines the aspect of the sentence that expresses the [ME]. It also generally determines the overall spatial framework where a physical setting is involved—or some analogous reference frame where another conceptual domain is involved. [...] [The FE] determines all or most of the argument structure and semantic character of the arguments overall within the [ME] [...]. [The FE] constitutes the central import or main point —or what will here be termed the **upshot**—relative to the whole [ME]. [It is the FE] that is asserted in a positive declarative sentence, that is denied under negation, that is demanded in an imperative, and that is asked about in an interrogative."

(22) Talmy's explicit proposals for German preverbs (2000:II:242,261)

   a. Change of state (+cause):
      *Die Armee hat sich die Halbinsel **er**kämpft.*
      'The army gained the peninsula by battling.'
      (As if: 'The army battled the peninsula into its possession.')

      [the army ᴀMOVED the peninsula INTO ITS POSSESSION] WITH-THE CAUSE-OF [it battled]

   b. Action correlating:
      *Ich habe ihm die Melodie **vor**gespielt.*
      'I played the melody in demonstration to him.'

      [I ACTed IN-DEMONSTRATION-TO him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played the melody]

(23) Kjelsvik's analysis of Nizaa benefactive SVCs (2002:108-109)

   a. *Dèŋw   nī   yì   mvúú   ɗáñì!*
      brew   give.IMPER   LOGO   beer   cultivation.DEF
      'Brew me the beer of cultivation!'

      [you PUT your action TO-AVAILABILITY-OF my CONTROLLING]
      CONSTITUTED-BY [you brew beer]

   b. *Nitaŋẁ   ā   kùú   juû   fúmkí   nì.*
      people   AUX   grandpa   weeds.DEF   cut.AFF.OBJ   give
      'People will clear out the juu-weeds for grandpa.'

      [people PUT their actions TO-AVAILABILITY-OF grandpa's CONTROLLING]
      CONSTITUTED-BY [people cut weeds]

5.4 My proposal (based on Talmy 2000)

(24) Macro-event in the context of benefaction and related roles:

   - event$_1$ = π( ) (in principle, any state of affairs)
   - event$_2$ = π'( ) (conventionally implicates[2] a change of state, with support relation)
   - support relation = AND, CAUSE, PURPOSE, ...

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[2] See O'Connor (2007), Horn (2008); cf. also Barker (2003), Williamson (2003, forthcoming), but contra Bach (1999) and Potts (2005).

6. Parameters of benefactive constructions

6.1 It's all about agency: Smith's (2005) "primary affectedness constructions"

"Free datives" are underspecified "affectedness constructions"

(25) Benefactive

    a. Event benefactive: does not include an agent

        Hakha Lai *Paŋpaar*   *niʔ*   *ʔan-kan-paar-piak.*
                    flowers   ERG   3PL-1SG-bloom-BEN
                    'The flowers bloomed for us.' (Smith 2005:59)

    b. Agentive benefactive: includes an agent and intentionality

      b1.   Unrestricted: beneficiary can be any entity (English *for*-construction)

      b2.   "Egocentric": beneficiary = agent

            Marathi   *tyA-na*   *dADhi*   *kar-un*   *ghetli*
                        3M.SG-ERG   beard(F)   do-CVB   take.PST-F
                        'he shaved his beard / got his beard shaved' (Pardeshi 1998:149)

      b3.   Allocentric: beneficiary≠agent

            Marathi   *mI*   *tyA-lA*   *gANe*   *mhaN-Un*   *dAkhaw-l-e*
                        1SG   3M.SG-DAT   song(N) sing-PTCPLE   show-PST-N
                        'I sang a song for him' (Pardeshi 1998:148)

      b4.   Shared benefactive: beneficiary = agent + other

            Hakha Lai *Tsewmaŋ*   *niʔ*   *thil*   *ʔa-ka-tsook-tsemʔ.*
                      T.   ERG   thing   3M.SG-1SG-buy-BEN
                      'Tsewmang bought things for me in addition to buying things for himself.' (Smith 2005:55)

(26) Adversative

    a. Event adversative: does not necessarily include agent (English *on*-construction).

    b. Malefactive: includes an agent and intentionality

        Hakha Lai *ʔa-fa*   *ʔa-ka-velʔ-hnoʔ.*
                    3M.SG-child   3M.SG-1SG-beat
                    'he beat his child so that I would feel hurt.' (Smith 2005:104)

    c. Adversative with additional semantics (e.g. 'pity')

        Lahu   *chu*   *šē*   *e*   *lɛ*
                   fat   pity PV   PART
                 'continuing, alas, to get fat' (Smith 2005:108)

6.2 It's all about other arguments: Luraghi's (2008) revision of Kittilä (2005) and Smith (2005)

(27) a. Is there an entity the beneficiary gains control over? (RECIPIENT vs. CONCRETE)

      b. Is there an agent whose intention it is to cause benefaction? (AGENT vs. EVENT)

      c. Is the beneficiary replaced by another agent? ("BEHALF" BEN)

6.3 Parameter I: Affection type

(28) a. Neutral: Spanish *Le*   *pinté*   *la*   *pata* *a*   *la*   *mesa.*
                          3SG.DAT   paint.1SG.PFV.PST   ART leg DAT ART table
                          'I painted the table's leg.'

     b. Benefaction: Abaza *Aħʷa*   *r-zə-s-čʹpa-b.*
                          sword   3PL.ABS-APPL-1SG-make-FUT
                          'I will make them a sword.' (O'Herin 2001:480)

     c. Malefaction: Abaza *Y-s-čʷə-y-γəčʹ-d.*
                          3N.SG.ABS-1SG-APPL-3M.SG-steal-IND
                          'He stole it from me.' (O'Herin 2001:480)

6.4 Parameter II ("centrality"): Argumenthood of beneficiary with respect to π

(29) a. Agentive (autobenefaction): *Maybe he'd better go and buy himself a new bike.* (BNC A15 1288)
       ☞ Smith's shared benefaction is a special case of this type (cf. 28c below).

     b. Patientive: *Simon, she was sure, would help her to find the key.* (BNC ACB 288)

     c. Peripheral: *You can tell me all about this while you pour me a drink.* (BNC GWG 696)
       ☞ Smith's allobenefaction is a special case of this type.

6.5 Parameter IIa ("involvement"): Relation between peripheral beneficiary and π or its arguments

(30) a. Possessive: Spanish *reparé su computador* 'I repaired his/her computer'
       repair´ (I,computer$^\alpha$) AND **have´** (s/he,α)   ☞ INTERNAL POSSESSION

     b. Engagement-participative: *Murphy climbed down to open the door for her.* (BNC H8X 1076)
       open´ (Murphy,door$^\alpha$) PURP π' (she,α)   ☞ ENGAGEMENT BEN
                                           cf. Luraghi's RECIPIENT BEN

     c. Event-participative: *Would you cough for me, please?* (Internet page)
       cough´ (you) PURP π' (I,[**cough´** (you)])   ☞ PLAIN BEN
                                           cf. Luraghi's CONCRETE BEN

     d. Deputative: *I went to the market for him.* (Internet page)
       go.to.market´ (I) PURP [NOT **go.to.market´** (he)]   ☞ DEPUTATIVE BEN

     e. Absolute: *It's not right and I have to lie for him!* (BNC KDN 1704)
       lie´ (I) PURP [(ENABLE) [π' (he,)]]   ☞ Kittilä's CONCRETE BEN
                                           cf. Smith's EVENT BEN

(31) Japanese possessive/indirect passive

    Tarō$_k$=ga   *sensei$_i$=ni*   *kodomo$_j$=o*   *shikar-are-ta.*
    T.=NOM   teacher=DAT   child=ACC   scold-PASS-PST
    'Taro$_k$ was adversely affected by the teacher's$_i$ scolding his$_{*i/*j/k}$ child$_j$.'   "possessive"
    'Taro$_k$ was adversely affected by the teacher's$_i$ scolding his$_{i/j/*k}$ child$_j$.'   "event-p."

6.6 Parameter III: connector between π and π'

The Fillmorean (cf. Smith) parameter: does π( ) have an agent?

(32) a. π AND π'

    a. π CAUSE π'   cf. Smith's "event benefaction"

    a. π PURP π'   cf. Smith's "agentive benefaction"

6.7 Parameter IV: Overtness and determinacy of π'

(33) a. π' can be overt or covert

Cheung	*gō*	*béi*	*ngóh*	**(tèng).*	(Cantonese)
Chhĩ́ĩ́	*koa*	*hɔ̄*	*goá.*		(Hokkien)
sing	song	give	me	hear	

    'Sing a song for me.'

    b. Determinate predicates are e.g. **have**´ (X,y) and PURP [NOT π (X,)]

    c. Indeterminate predicates are e.g.

      ► *Murphy opened the door for her:*   **open**´ (Murphy,door$^\alpha$) PURP π' (she,α)
        π' = {**go.through.doorway**´, **fix.lock**´, …}

      ► *Will you sing for me, please?:*   **sing**´ (you) PURP π' (I,)
        π' = {**hear**´, **see**´, …}

7. Some (further) open questions

(34) Appalachian "personal datives"
    I've got <u>me</u> one shirt left and it smells of stale perfume. (Bob Dylan, *Up to me*)

TABLE 1. Involvement of peripheral afficiary and determinacy of π'

	Determinate	Indeterminate
Possessive	Sp. *Le corté el cabello.* 'I cut his hair.'	—
Engagement-participative	Cant. *Cheung gō béi ngóh tèng.* 'Sing a song for me (to hear).' ?	Eng. *She baked me a cake.*
Event-participative	'Cough for me to hear!' ?	Eng. *Cough for me!*
Deputative	Eng. *You went to the market for me.*	—
Absolute	???	Eng. *It rained on me.*

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