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 (AFFACTIVES) 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’.

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)

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.
WHERE is it marked? III: Head marking

a. Shuswap applicatives:

\[ M \text{-}kul\text{-}n\text{-}s \ y \ mimx. \]
\[
\text{PERF\text{-}make\text{-}TR\text{-}3\text{-}SUBJ} \ \text{DET} \ \text{basket}
\]

’S/he made the basket.’

\[ M \text{-}kul\text{-}x\text{-}t\text{-}s \ y \ nux\text{-}\text{anx} \to \ mimx. \]
\[
\text{PERF\text{-}make\text{-}APPL\text{-}TR\text{-}3\text{-}SUBJ} \ \text{DET} \ \text{woman} \ \text{DET\text{-}OBL} \ \text{basket}
\]

’S/he made a basket for the woman.’ (Kiyosawa 2006:3)

b. Japanese complex predicates:

\[
\text{Otto=wa} \ \text{Hans=ni} \ \text{jitensha=o} \ \text{naoshite} \ \text{ageru.}
\]
\[
\text{O.=TOP} \ \text{H.=DAT} \ \text{bicycle=ACC} \ \text{repair.CV} \ \text{give.PRES}
\]

‘Otto repaired Hans’ bicycle for him.’ (Ogawa 2003:188)

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

\[ \text{Qan-paj=chu \ chay \ llank\text{'}a-j \ waka-ta \ ranti\text{-}ku\text{'}nk i?} \]
\[
\text{2SG\text{-}DAT = Q} \ \text{DEIC} \ \text{work\text{-}NMLZR} \ \text{cow=ACC} \ \text{buy\text{-}MID\text{-}2SG}
\]

‘Did you buy that cow for yourself?’

\[ \text{Mana \ churi\text{-}y\text{-}paj \ ranti\text{-}pu\text{-}ni.} \]
\[
\text{NEG} \ \text{son\text{-}1SG\text{-}PSR\text{-}DAT} \ \text{buy\text{-}APPL\text{-}1SG}
\]

‘No, I bought it for my son.’ (Van de Kerke 1996:28)


2. Broad characterizations of beneficiaries

  “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 benefitting 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 BENEFACCTOR. A prototypically benefactive situation also includes an Undergoer, which is created (i.e. effected) or affected as BENEFECTUM for the benefit of the beneficiary. [...] If the situation affects or effects a BENEFECTUM 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 BENEFECTUM.”

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


• 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  ēi  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-lulwhay  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

Cuzco Quechua

| recipient | ENG.BEN |
|           | PLAIN.BEN |
| -paq | DEP.BEN |
| -rayku | cause |

Spanish

| recipient | ENG.BEN | para | PLAIN.BEN |
|           |         |      | DEP.BEN |

| cause |
| por | cause |

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 Livi Victōri 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 mihi 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 emoī pote* ‘for Creon’s character was exemplary, I think’)

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

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

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

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

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

e. *Cortó mi cabello.*
   cut.3SG.PFV.PST my hair
   “S/he cut the hair that is/was mine.”

   f. *Pintó mi casa.*
   paint.3SG.PFV.PST my house
   ‘S/he painted my house.’

(15) Mapudungun applicative (p.k.)

a. *Leli-Ø mi ruka.*
   look.at-V3A 2SG.PSR house
   ‘S/he looked at your (SG) house.’

b. *Leli-řma-ene2-1SG nī nīawe.*
   look.at-APPL-3→1SG 1SG.PSR daughter
   ‘S/he looked at my daughter.’


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, had his, head patted by Kyoko.’
Indirect passive: ‘Shota, was affected by Kyot’s patting his* head.’

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{predicative PSR} & \text{external PSR} \\
\text{direction} & \text{recipient} & \text{beneficiary} & \text{judicantis} \\
\text{purpose} & \text{experiencer} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{predicative POSS} & \text{external PSR} \\
\text{direction} & \text{recipient} & \text{ENG.BEN} \\
\text{experiencer} & \text{PLAIN.BEN} & \text{judicantis} \\
& \text{DEP.BEN} & \text{cause} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

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)] ]  
   PURP [ [NOT do´ (Rita)] CAUSE [BECOME baked´ (cake)] ]  
   DEPUTATIVE

c. [ [do´ (John)] CAUSE [BECOME baked´ (cake)] ]  
   PURP [BECOME have´ (Rita,cake)]  
   RECEPTION
(19) Conti’s recent account with PURP and CAUSE (2008:167f)

a. Juan preparó una tarta para Marí a.
‘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, PURP [BECOME have’ (Juan,LS)]

5.2 Jackendoff (1990)

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

a. Bill sang a song for Mary.

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[ AFF ([Bill], ) [ FOR [ AFF⁺ ([X], ) ] ] ]
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b. Susan made Francine a picture.

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[ AFF ([Susan], [picture]*) [ FOR [ AFF⁺ ([α], [Francine]) ] ] ]
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c. My car broke down on me.

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[ RESULTING.IN [ AFF⁻ ([ , [I]]) ] ]
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d. Opposition of participants: helping/possession AFF⁺, letting AFF⁰, matter AFFⁿ, AFF⁻

e. Volitionality of affectee: AFF⁺vol ([X], ), AFF⁻vol ([X], ), AFF⁻ ([ , [X]])

f. Outcome of causation: give CS⁺, try to V CSⁿ, 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)

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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] = 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 up-shot—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 erkämpft.
   ‘The army gained the peninsula by battling.’
   (As if: ‘The army battled the peninsula into its possession.’)
   [the army _MOVED the peninsula INTO ITS POSSESSION] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [it battled]

b. Action correlating:
   Ich habe ihm die Melodie vorgespielt.
   ‘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 dáŋí!
   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. Nitaŋw 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:

• event₁ = π( ) (in principle, any state of affairs)
• event₂ = π'( ) (conventionally implicates a change of state, with support relation)
• support relation = AND, CAUSE, PURPOSE, ...

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 ?an-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 ml tyA-lA gANe mhaN-Un dAkhay-l-e
      1SG 3M.SG-DAT song(N) sing-PTCLE show-PST-N
      ‘I sang a song for him’ (Pardeshi 1998:148)
   b4. Shared benefactive: beneficiary = agent + other
      Hakha Lai Tsewmaŋ niʔ thil ?a-ka-tsook-tsemʔ.
      T. ERG thing 3M.SG-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
   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 le
   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: Affaction 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 Ah"a r-zo-s-čpa-b.
    sword 3PL.ABS-APPL.1SG-make-FUT
    ‘I will make them a sword.’ (O’Herin 2001:480)

c. Malefaction: Abaza Y-s-č"o-y-yađ-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 \( \pi \)

(29) a. Agentive (autobenefaction): Maybe he’d better go and buy himself a new bike. (BNC A15 1288)
    \( \checkmark \) 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)
    \( \checkmark \) Smith’s allobenefaction is a special case of this type.

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

(30) a. Possessive: Spanish reparé su computador ‘I repaired his/her computer’
    repair’ (I,computer\( ^a \)) AND have’ (s/he,\( ^a \))
    \( \checkmark \) INTERNAL POSSESSION

b. Engagement-participative: Murphy climbed down to open the door for her. (BNC H8X 1076)
    open’ (Murphy,door\( ^a \)) PURP \( \pi ’ \) (she,\( ^a \))
    \( \checkmark \) ENGAGEMENT BEN
    cf. Luraghi’s RECIPIENT BEN

c. Event-participative: Would you cough for me, please? (Internet page)
    cough’ (you) PURP \( \pi ’ \) (I,[cough’ (you)])
    \( \checkmark \) 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)]
    \( \checkmark \) DEPUTATIVE BEN

e. Absolute: It’s not right and I have to lie for him! (BNC KDN 1704)
    lie’ (I) PURP [ (ENABLE) [\( \pi ’ \) (he, \( ^a \))]]
    \( \checkmark \) Kittilä’s CONCRETE BEN
    cf. Smith’s EVENT BEN

(31) Japanese possessive/indirect passive

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Taro}_k = & \text{ga } \text{sensei} = \text{ni } \text{kodomo}_j = \text{o } \text{shikar-are-ta.} \\
\text{T.} = & \text{NOM teacher} = \text{DAT child} = \text{ACC scold-PASS-PST}
\end{align*} \]

‘Taro\( _k \) was adversely affected by the teacher’s scolding his, scolding his, scolding his, scolding his, scolding his,’

“possessive”

“event-p.”
6.6 Parameter III: connector between $\pi$ and $\pi'$

The Fillmorean (cf. Smith) parameter: does $\pi(\ )$ have an agent?

(32) a. $\pi$ AND $\pi'$
   a. $\pi$ CAUSE $\pi'$ cf. Smith's “event benefaction”
   a. $\pi$ PURP $\pi'$ cf. Smith's “agentive benefaction”

6.7 Parameter IV: Overtness and determinacy of $\pi'$

(33) a. $\pi'$ can be overt or covert
    "Cheung gō bēi ngōh *(tèng). (Cantonese)"
    "Chhúi koa hō goá. (Hokkien)"
    sing song give me hear
    ‘Sing a song for me.’

b. Determinate predicates are e.g. have’ (X,y) and PURP [NOT $\pi (X, )$]

c. Indeterminate predicates are e.g.
   - Murphy opened the door for her: open’ (Murphy,doorα) PURP $\pi'$ (she,α)
     $\pi'$ = {go.through.doorway’, fix.lock’, …}
   - Will you sing for me, please?: sing’ (you) PURP $\pi'$ (I, )
     $\pi'$ = {hear’, see’, …}

7. Some (further) open questions

(34) Appalachian “personal datives”

“I've got me one shirt left and it smells of stale perfume. (Bob Dylan, Up to me)

| Table 1. Involvement of peripheral afficiary and determinacy of $\pi'$ |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Possessive | Determinate | Indeterminate |
| Sp. | Le corté el cabello. | — |
| ‘I cut his hair.’ | | |
| Eng. | She baked me a cake. | |
| Cant. | Cheung gō bēi ngōh tèng. | Eng. Cough for me!
| ‘Sing a song for me (to hear).’ | | |
| ‘Cough for me to hear!’ | | |
| Eng. | You went to the market for me. | Eng. It rained on me. |
| ??? | — | |

11
References


