

[draft]

The notion of affectedness in expressing interpersonal functions

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I. Introduction

Dative-marked nominals cover a lot of semantic territory in Czech. Many are governed by specific predicate classes and linked to various argument roles (experience, recipient, goal, etc.) depending on the meaning of the predicate. The examples in (1) show just one role type, one that is associated with a number of 2-place predicates and semantically most directly related to the issues discussed in this paper; the datives and their English equivalents in the translations will be in boldface throughout the paper:¹

- (1) a. *já vám budu chodit po večerech pomáhat*
1SG:NOM 2PL:DAT be:FUT:1SG come:INF on evenings help:INF²
'in the evenings I'll be coming to help **you**' [PMK]
- b. *trend, kterému pomohl především*
trend which:DAT:SG:M help:PST:SG:M especially
{*silný příliv zahraničního kapitálu*}³ [SYNEK]
'a trend **which** was helped particularly {by a strong flow of foreign investment}'

The dative-marked arguments in (1) are affected by the event denoted by the predicate, but in a less direct, perhaps mental, way as compared to the accusative-marked patient (cf. also Croft 1992, Kemmer 1993 on this distinction). We can label this role as 'indirect affectedness'.

Many dative NPs, however, are added as extra elements that must be integrated into the clause structure by a mechanism other than a simple head projection. Some illustrative examples of this type are in (2). The verbs *otevřít* 'open:TRANS' (2a), *ochladit se* 'turn.cooler:INTRANS' (2b), or *poranit* 'injure' (2c) have no dative-marked argument in their valence (i.e., their lexical meaning does not require it) but such a participant can be added.

- (2) a. *Tento balón otevřel lidstvu oblohu.*
this balloon:NOM:SG:M open:PST:SG:M mankind:DAT:SG:N sky:ACC:SG:F
'This balloon opened up the sky **for mankind**.' [SYN]

¹ Unless otherwise noted, the examples come from the Czech National Corpus, both spoken (oral2006, oral2008, PMK, BMK) and written (SYN, SYNEK). By their very nature, the forms discussed in this paper are primarily a feature of conversational language but they are attested in written texts as well.

² Abbreviations in the glosses: SG/PL 'singular/plural', NOM 'nominative', DAT 'dative', ACC 'accusative', LOC 'locative', M/F/N 'masc./fem/neuter', FUT 'future', PST 'past', PRES 'present', IMP 'imperative', IRREAL 'irrealis', NEG 'negative', RF 'reflexive', (IN)TRANS '(in)transitive', DM 'discourse marker'.

³ When larger context is helpful for better understanding of an example or for easier exposition, the text will be added in curly brackets but left without glossing.

- b. {*jo na noc pojedete. to byste měli fajn,*}
kdyby se vám ochladilo vid'. [oral2006]
 if:IRREAL RF:ACC 3PL:DAT turn.cooler:PST:SG:N DM
 ‘{Oh, you’ll be traveling overnight. It’d be good} if **you** had a cooler
 weather, wouldn’t it?’ [lit. ‘if the weather turned cooler for you’]
- c. *Další výstřel mu však těžce*
 next:NOM:SG:M shot:NOM:SG:M 3SG:M:DAT however seriously
poranil nohu. [SYN2006pub]
 injure:PST:SG:M leg:ACC:SG:F
 ‘The second shot, however, seriously injured **his** leg.’

Semantically, the participant’s role in the reported event is related to the role type in (1), but in a narrower interpretation of affectedness: the referent of these extra elements is cast as having a kind of ‘interest’, broadly understood, in the outcome of the reported event while not being in control of the event. Consequently, and in contrast to (1b), the datives in (2) require a human referent. I will refer to the role as Dative-of-Interest (DI; cf. also the notion *dativus (in)commodi* in more traditional terminology). The relationship between (1) and (2) has been discussed and justified elsewhere (e.g. Fried 1999a) and I will take it for granted in the present analysis.

The central concern of this paper is yet another set of patterns, partially illustrated by the example in (3):

- (3) {*přijdu si večer v pátek domů, povečeřím, a*}
začal ti mě bolet zub.
 start:PST:SG:M 2SG:DAT 1SG:ACC hurt:INF tooth:NOM:SG:M
 {*tak sem si hbitě vzala prášek a ono to přestalo*} [PMK]
 ‘{Friday evening I get myself home, have a little supper, and} [**get this**],
 my tooth starts hurting. {so I quickly popped in a pill and it stopped}

The dative in (3) shares one crucial property with (2) in that it is also an extra element, not one required by the head verb (here *bolet* ‘hurt’). It further shares with (2) the requirement that the referent be an animate entity (and more specifically, a human). But it also differs from both (1) and (2) in an important way. In (1) and (2), the dative marks an entity that participates in the narrated event – either on its own, as in (1) and (2a-b), or as a possessor of another affected entity, as in (2c). In contrast, the referent of the pronominal dative *ti* in (3) does *not* participate in the state of having a toothache. Instead, the dative indexes the hearer as a participant in the present *discourse*, not in the reported event itself.

This much is commonly acknowledged in the literature on ‘ethical datives’ in various languages (e.g. Poldauf 1962, Leclere 1976, Berman 1982, *Mluvnice češtiny* III 1986, Borer & Grodzinski 1986, Authier & Reed 1992, Janda 1993, Dabrowska 1997, King 1997). I will argue, however, that the pattern shown in (3) is not the only variant of an ‘interactional’ dative and that the

distribution of all such datives in authentic usage is licensed by a relatively complex set of constraints that have not been addressed in any detail yet. For reasons that will become clear in the exposition, I will refer to these patterns collectively as ‘datives of empathy’ (DE), in order to avoid any misunderstanding that might be brought about by the term ‘ethical dative’. The latter seems to mean somewhat different things to different analysts and at best would cover only a subset of the data discussed in this paper.

The present analysis is framed by the following general question: what is the nature of the linguistic knowledge that allows the Czech speakers to produce and interpret the discourse-based datives with native-like fluency? Put differently, does the distribution of DEs reflect a recurrent, conventional grammatical pattern, or is their use just a matter of context-dependent inference or interpretation based on extralinguistic knowledge? The material also raises broader questions of general theoretical interest. In particular, we must consider (i) the relationship between the conceptual aspects of a linguistic form and its pragmatic function and (ii) the role of interactional factors in shaping linguistic structure. I will argue that the use of DEs indeed involves grammatical knowledge, manifesting a conventional association between a specific morphosyntactic behavior and certain well-defined pragmatic factors, as well as a link to a particular semantic relation conceptualized as a type of affectedness. The gist of the analysis amounts to a proposal for positing an extension of the semantic notion of affectedness from a ‘semantic dative’ to an ‘interactional dative’, as a cognitively plausible transfer from the experiential domain of event types to the domain of communicative strategies and specifically speaker-hearer relations. I will show that both types of datives can be organized in a single network of related but distinct grammatical forms that occupy overlapping conceptual spaces.

The nature of the data and the generalizations to be drawn from the observed patterns call for an analytic model that allows us to treat grammatical forms as relatively complex signs in which form and meaning/function constitute further indivisible units of linguistic structure, i.e. grammatical constructions in the sense of Construction Grammar (CxG; e.g. Fillmore 1988, 1989, Fried & Östman 2004). This approach is framed by the following hypotheses, which form the conceptual and architectural basis of CxG: speakers rely on relatively complex grammatical patterns – CONSTRUCTIONS – for producing and understanding linguistic expressions; linguistic expressions reflect the effects of interaction between CONSTRUCTIONS and the words that fill them in actual expressions; and CONSTRUCTIONS are organized into networks of overlapping patterns related through shared properties.

Two fundamental features of this approach will be relevant to the present analysis. (i) Constructions (the basic units of analysis) are multidimensional objects in which various *types* of features are integrated in a single, further indivisible, form-meaning/function pairing. The form pole may consist of any combination of syntactic, morphological, or prosodic features and the meaning/function pole may refer to lexical semantics, pragmatics, and/or discourse structure; particular combinations will depend on the construction.

And (ii) the relationships among constructions are identified through inheritance links, which capture the sharing of properties across related constructions and simultaneously ensure representational parsimony.

All of these features of the constructional model will be relevant in the analysis of the material at hand. I will first isolate the properties of each DE variant in section 2, proposing a constructional treatment of their defining characteristics. In section 3 I will suggest a way of linking the variants in a network of related expressions that can be mapped onto a conceptual space of indexing speaker-hearer relations; each DE variant will be treated as a distinct expression of a specific discourse-deictic function, occupying a particular portion of the conceptual space. Section 4 will summarize my conclusions.

2. Variants of DE

2.1 General DE properties

Let us start by surveying the relevant data. DE seems to come in three different flavors, one of which is illustrated in (3) above. Slightly different uses of DE are shown in (4) and (5). For reasons that will become clear in the course of the paper, I will refer to the three patterns as Contact DE (3), Subjective DE (4), and Distancing DE (5); for now let us just note that the labels are motivated by the pragmatic function associated with each variant.

- (4) *No to je mi ale náhoda!* [SYN]
 DM it is 1SG:DAT but coincidence:NOM:SG:F
 ‘My, what a coincidence!’
- (5) *Dej si mu přes hubu, jak chceš,*
 give:IMP:2SG RF:DAT 3SG:DAT on mouth:ACC:SG:F as want:PRES:2SG
mně je to jedno. (Janda 1993: 103)
 3SG:DAT is that:NOM:SG:N one:NOM:SG:N
 ‘[**Help yourself**] and beat him up [**if it makes you feel good**] – as you want, I don’t care.’

The examples (3–5) share certain properties that set them apart from other Czech datives, whether governed (1) or ungoverned (2). The morpho-syntactic idiosyncracies (cf. Fried 1999b for arguments and full discussion) and functional status of the DEs can be summarized as follows:

- They are only pronominal in form and if a pronoun has both a full and a clitic form, the DE can only be in the clitic form. The clitics tend to fall into a particular slot within the second-position clitic cluster, distinct from other dative clitics, although corpus data also show some degree of variable placement (to be addressed in this paper).
- Semantically, they resemble ungoverned datives (2), which always mark human referents with some interest in the reported event (DIs). However, DEs do not behave like syntactic arguments in that they cannot be extracted (in questions or relative clauses).

- They can co-occur with other dative-marked nominals in the same sentence without violating the bi-uniqueness condition; this is exemplified by the verb *dát* ‘give’ in (5), which brings its own dative NP as a recipient (*mu* ‘to him’).
- They serve a discourse-deictic function in speaker-hearer relations. For now, let us just observe that the Contact DE is directed from the speaker to the hearer, the Subjective DE appears to be fully speaker-oriented, and the Distancing DE is primarily also speaker-centered, albeit in a more complicated way.

Another striking feature of the DEs is their textual distribution. They all are associated with emotional speech, whether the speaker makes an appeal to the listener (3), or whether he asserts his own emotional state about a piece of discourse – with respect to himself (4) or to another entity (5). Consequently, these datives are restricted to informal spoken discourse (including its written renditions) and typically occur in emotional, intimate genres in particular. They also necessarily involve features of sub-standard speech or colloquialisms at all levels – phonetic, morphological, and lexical. As, for example, King (1997: 73) observes about the Contact DE, its use would be impossible in a formal situation, such as in the welcoming of an important official guest. A possible form of such a text is shown in (6); the formal language and deferential tone clearly mark the social distance between the speaker and the addressee. The form in (6) contrasts with (7), in which the insertion of DE *vám* ‘2PL:DAT:POLITE’ results in a pragmatically odd utterance; the relevant sections in both examples are underlined, the contextual inappropriateness in (7) is indicated by the symbol ‘#’.

- (6) *Dovolte mi, pane ministře, abych Vás jménem městské rady přivítal v našem městě. Máme _____ velkou _____ radost,*
 have:PRES:IPL big:ACC:SG:F joy:ACC:SG:F
že jste přijal naše pozvání, a doufáme, že se Vám bude u nás líbit.
 ‘Allow me, Mr. Secretary, to welcome you in our town, on behalf of the City Council. We are very pleased that you accepted our invitation and hope that you will enjoy your stay.’
- (7) *Dovolte mi, pane ministře, abych Vás jménem městské rady přivítal v našem městě. #Máme _____ vám _____ velkou _____ radost,*
 have:PRES:IPL 2:PL:DAT:POLITE big:ACC:SG:F joy:ACC:SG:F
že jste přijal naše pozvání, a doufáme, že se Vám bude u nás líbit.
 ‘Allow me, Mr. Secretary, to welcome you in our town, on behalf of the City Council. #[Hey, listen,] we are so pleased that you accepted our invitation and hope that you will enjoy your stay!’

Based on the observations presented so far (and mostly familiar from existing analyses), we can formulate a preliminary generalization as follows. There is a cluster of properties that characterize all the DE variants and identify DEs as a formally and functionally distinct family of expressions that mark certain kinds of interpersonal relations. The features shared across the variants are listed in (8):

- (8) a. form: clitic/unstressed pronoun
dative case
b. semantics: ‘interest’
c. textual: informal, emotional register; (semi)private conversation
d. pragmatics: interpersonal function

However, in order to account fully for all the data in (3–5), the general contours of the DE family must be fleshed out in more detail, since each subtype involves some idiosyncratic behaviors and constraints and as such constitutes a distinct member of the family.

2.2 Contact DE

Judging from the corpus evidence, this DE variant is most frequent of the three; in addition to the introductory example in (3), we can also consider the attestations in (9), to get a relatively full range of the interpretive nuances:

- (9) a. {*ňákou chvíli sme eště vo tom mluvili, vona vodošla a*}
já vám sem vo tom přemýšlela i v noci
 1SG:NOM 2PL:DAT AUX:1SG about it:LOC think:PST:SG:F also at night
 ‘{we kept talking about it for a while longer, she left and} **you [know what]**, I kept thinking about it even at night’ [PMK]
- b. {*ráno sme spolu dneska stály u pokladny v diskontu, tak aby řeč nestála, říkáám: „Štěpánka už má za sebou druhý spalničky a, a to?“ a vona říká:} „ježiš já vám ani nevím.“*} [oral2006]
 Jesus 1SG:NOM 2PL:DAT not.even NEG:know:PRES:1SG
 ‘{this morning we were standing at the cashiers in the market and so to make conversation I say: “Štěpánka’s been through two cases of measles by now, huh, and, and y’know?” and she said:} “Jesus, I don’t even know, **[believe it or not]**.”’
- c. {A: *řikám: „ale to je holka, kam se Erika za ní hrabe“ hele, ...*
 B: *to neni pravda.*}
 A: *Erika ti měla kouli z chemie.*
 E:NOM 2SG:DAT have:PST:SG:F [grade]F:ACC:SG:F from chemistry
 {A: ‘I say: “now that’s [one gem of] a girl, Erika can’t hold a candle to her”, look...’
 B: ‘that’s not true’}
 A: ‘**[hey listen]**, Erika got an F in chemistry.’} [oral2008]

As we can see from the English translations, to render the meaning of the Contact DE (C-DE) in English is not easy, certainly not by using a single equivalent in all contexts. It is generally accepted that the function of the dative is to secure the listener’s attention. But a careful analysis of the distribution in natural discourse suggests that C-DE serves not only to draw the hearer in by issuing a direct appeal; it appears to be used on the assumption that the hearer either is not

(fully) aware of what is going on in relation to the narrated event or that he will find it in some ways surprising (and, hence, interesting). The speaker's intention in using the DE is to emphasize the presumed newsworthiness of what is being said, either because it somehow goes against what can be expected, or because the speaker appeals to the hearer's interest in the speaker's role in a given piece of discourse and hopes to elicit a sympathetic reaction. The surprise reading is quite apparent in (9b-c); the empathy-seeking modulation may sometimes simply follow from the lexical meaning conveyed, as in reporting the pain in (3), but it emerges as very salient especially in contexts where the speaker admits some inadequacy. In such contexts, the use of DE may even imply a mildly apologetic flavor. It may be no coincidence that C-DE often collocates with *nevím* 'I don't know', as we see in (9b) or (10) below; in fact, in the sample of 96 DEs with *ti* (which is the total of C-DE *ti* tokens in the oral2008 corpus), full 20% are of the form *já ti nevím* '[believe it or not], I don't know'.

A precise characterization of this DE variant raises several issues that require a closer study: its relationship to vocatives; its combinability with other nominals that index 2nd person referents; and its linearization habits, especially in relation to the template that normally determines the ordering of multiple second-position clitics in Czech. I will start with the comparison to vocatives, which, however, is closely related to the referential issues.

C-DE is limited to 2nd person referents only; this follows from its pragmatic function of making a direct appeal to the hearer. The latter is a property shared with vocatives, but the two forms cannot be simply lumped together as two formal variants of (roughly) the same functional category. For one thing, the presence of one does not preclude the presence of the other; they can co-occur, as illustrated in (10).

- (10) *já ti Klárko, nevím, {já si to možná vzpomenu někdy}*
 1SG:NOM 2SG:DAT K.:VOC NEG:KNOW:PRES:1SG
 'you [may not believe it], Klárka, I just don't know {maybe it'll come
 back to me later}' [oral2008]

For another, there is referential evidence that (10) is not simply an issue of some kind of double marking of the discourse-deictic function of direct address: unlike the vocative, C-DE is sensitive to the identity of the participants in the narrated event. Specifically, C-DE cannot co-occur with other 2nd person referents in the same clause, as illustrated in the following example. The presence of DE *ti* in (11) below precludes the presence of a thematic dative with a 2nd person referent, while any other referent is possible (cf. also King's 1997: 75 speculation that multiple datives in one clause must have distinct referents). In the corpus example (11a), we have two dative nominals expressed pronominally: the dative that marks the possessor of the patient in the kissing event (*líbat někomu_{DAT} ruce* 'kiss someone_{DAT}'s hands'), followed by a C-DE. The possessor in (11a) happens to refer to the speaker (*mi* 'to me'), but the referent could be anybody, except the hearer, as shown in (11b):

- (11) a. *Von mi ti, představ si, začal líbat ruce*
 3SG:M:NOM 1SG:DAT 2SG:DAT imagine:IMP:2SG RF:DAT start:PST:SG:M
 [SYN]
 kiss:INF hand:ACC:PL:F
 ‘Y’[know], just imagine, he started to kiss my hands.’
- b. *Von_i mu_j/jím/*ti/*vám ti, představ si, začal líbat ruce*
 3SG/3PL/*2SG/*2PL:DAT 2SG:DAT
 ‘Y’[know], just imagine, he_i started to kiss his_j/their/*your(sg/pl) hands.’

This cannot be a matter of form, i.e. a phonetic prohibition on the repetition of *ti ti* (or *vám vám*, in the plural). Such combinations are unproblematic and the *ti ti* sequence can easily occur since the word *ti* is also a form of the demonstrative pronoun ‘that:NOM:PL:M:ANIM’. Moreover, we see in (11b) that the sequence *vám ti* is not a coherent possibility either, even though there is no haplogy involved. Finally, the prohibition on accumulating multiple hearer references in a single clause is not limited to the dative case. It seems equally awkward to use C-DE in combination with other nominals whose referent is the 2nd person, regardless of the event role (and, hence, case marking) of that nominal. Thus, for example, C-DE does not occur in imperative clauses (12a) and would be at best very awkward in other grammatical patterns; the corpus example in (12b) shows a 3rd pers. accusative patient (*ho* ‘him’), which could not be replaced with the accusative *tě* ‘you:ACC:SG’. Notice that this is in obvious contrast to the use of the vocative, which would be equally natural in both (12a) and (12b), in the latter regardless of *ho* or *tě* as the object:

- (12) a. **Podej ti tátovi kladivo!*
 hand:IMP:2SG 2SG:DAT dad:DAT:SG:M hammer:ACC:SG:N
 *‘[Let me tell] you, hand dad the hammer!’
- b. *já už sem ti ho^{??}tě neviděla*
 1SG:NOM already AUX:1SG 2SG:DAT 3SG:M/2SG:ACC NEG:see:PST:SG:F
ted’kon tak dlouho [oral2008]
 now so long
 ‘you [believe it or not], I haven’t seen it [=a TV program] / ??you for such a long time now’

In accounting for these restrictions, we must appeal to the quintessential pragmatic function of C-DE, which presupposes a certain degree of surprise and empathetic attitude on the part of the hearer; this is particularly evident in (12) but it underlies all the clashes. Propositions describing activities that necessarily involve the hearer as one of the event participants must result in a semantic conflict if the hearer is simultaneously expected to be surprised by the reported events.

It is important to emphasize that none of these constraints apply to Czech vocatives, which are truly extra-clausal elements; a vocative could appear freely in all of the above examples. It is clear that C-DE, while a pragmatic device, is at least partially integrated in the semantic structure of the clause. In this respect, the DE resembles real arguments, for which the same restriction holds: a single

referent cannot be cast simultaneously in multiple roles (without a reflexive configuration of participants). C-DEs are special only in that the role-sensitivity carries over to discourse roles as well (speaker, hearer) and is not limited to the domain of event roles (agent, patient, etc.). This partial semantic integration must be a function of the dative form, which, unlike the vocative, is inherently and robustly associated with a particular semantic content. The content – or the speakers’ knowledge of it – evidently does not just disappear when the form gets extended to another function in a new domain.

The semantic persistence points toward at least certain remnants of the DE’s relationship to other datives (in the spirit of Hopper’s 1991 idea of ‘layering’ as a concomitant feature of language change), those expressing event roles. At the same time, syntactically, C-DE seems to be asserting itself as an independent category, sufficiently defined by its distinct pragmatic function. The independence manifests itself not just in the fact that the C-DE does not have the status of a full-fledged argument, but also through its unexpected linearization habits. Prosodically, all the DEs are enclitics, whether inherent (*ti, mi, si*) or contextually conditioned (*vám, nám* in their unstressed variant). As such, they are expected to appear in a particular slot in the clitic cluster (Fried 1994: 171-172). The core part of the cluster consists of clitic auxiliaries followed by pronominal arguments in a particular order: [aux – reflexive – dative – accusative]. The corpus material suggests that the distribution of the C-DE follows three different patterns relative to this cluster.

- Pattern 1. The dative slot splits into two positions, to accommodate multiple dative clitics in a sentence. The more common configuration is one with the DE preceding an argument dative, as exemplified in (13a) below; the dative *mi* in this example is added as an extra DI to the verb *sežrat* ‘to gobble up’, patterning after the examples in (2). The cluster is enclosed in brackets [] in (13).
- Pattern 2. Less frequently, DE follows the argument dative (11a).
- Pattern 3. The DE appears immediately to the left of the cluster, i.e. preceding the auxiliary, as in (9a) or even more clearly in (13b).

- (13) a. *von* [*ti mi jí*] *celou*
 3SG:M:NOM 2SG:DAT 1SG:DAT 3SG:F:ACC whole:ACC:SG:F
sežral [oral2008]
 gobble.up:PST:SG:M
 ‘he, [can] you [believe it], gobbled up the whole [thing] on me’
- b. {*von začne řvát a*}
já ti [*bych mu*] *takovou*
 1SG:NOM 2SG:DAT 1SG:IRREAL 2SG:M:DAT such:ACC:SG:F
dala pěsti [oral2008]
 hit.by.fist:PST:SG:F
 ‘he starts howling and [I’ll tell] you, I’d so [like to] let him taste my fist’

Argument datives are *not* attested in the position described in Pattern 3. The minimal pair in (14) demonstrates the difference. The (canonical) post-auxiliary

placement in (14a) allows both a C-DE (i) and a DI reading (ii) of the dative, while (14b), with the (unexpected) pre-auxiliary placement, results in the C-DE reading only. This difference can be confirmed by the choice of a follow-up. A felicitous continuation in (14a) but not in (14b) could be ‘So I’m going to read it to you now – are you ready?’, which unambiguously picks out the argument reading in (ii).

- (14) a. *Tohle [jsem ti] ještě nečetla.*
 this:ACC AUX:1SG 2SG:DAT yet NEG:read:PST:SG:F
 (i) ‘**[Believe it or not]** I haven’t yet read this [one].’
 (ii) ‘I haven’t yet read this [one] **to you.**’
- b. *Tohle ti [jsem] ještě nečetla.*
 this:ACC 2SG:DAT AUX:1SG yet NEG:read:PST:SG:F
 (i) ‘**[Believe it or not]** I haven’t yet read this [one].’
 (ii) *‘I haven’t yet read this [one] **to you.**’

The distributions summarized in Patterns 1-3 can be, again, motivated by the pragmatic function: if the main purpose of using C-DE is to secure the hearer’s attention and, possibly, a reaction, it makes sense that the speaker would signal such an intention early in the utterance. A general leftward tendency, whether inside or outside the cluster, is noticeable in the corpus data.

However, there are also signs that C-DE may be dissociating itself from the formal status of a second-position clitic altogether and becoming a relatively independent unit; prosodically still an enclitic, but not tied to the second-position cluster. Evidence of this dissociation comes from what appears as a ‘free’ placement anywhere in the sentence (except sentence-initially, due to its persisting enclitic status): in the middle (15a) or even at the end of a clause (15b), sometimes also inside a phrase (nominal or adjectival); the empty brackets [_] indicate the position where *ti* could be canonically expected as a true second-position clitic.⁴

- (15) a. *já [_] měla ti pocit,*
 1SG:NOM have:PST:SG:F 2SG:DAT feeling:ACC:SG:M
 {že se ta plachetnice láme} [oral2008]
 ‘**[hey listen]**, it felt as if the sailboat was breaking up’
- b. *tak [_] mu kouká pod nohy ti, jsi*
 so 3SG:M:DAT look:PRES:3SG under feet 2SG:DAT if
někež neukopneš náhodou, [oral2008]
 some:ACC:SG:M NEG:kick.off:PRES:2SG by.chance
 ‘so she looks where he puts his feet **[imagine]**, [to see] if one doesn’t happen to kick one [=stone] out of its place’

⁴ The apparent absence of C-DE in the sentence-initial position is interesting in the light of the fact that other second-position clitics can be, occasionally, found at the very beginning of an utterance in conversational Czech. This asymmetry deserves further investigation, possibly on the hypothesis that the DE’s persistent enclitic status has to do with its pragmatic function. Exploring this hypothesis must be left to future research.

It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate in detail the conditions for such placements; it will be necessary to address this behavior in the general context of pragmatic particles, their functions and distribution, in order to gain a full, comprehensive picture of the C-DE's status in relation to other discourse-pragmatic devices. For the purposes of the present study, it suffices to simply note that through these idiosyncracies, C-DE further confirms its status of a distinct linguistic category.

In order to represent this category, we must posit a construction that contains the features outlined in (8) but narrows down their effect. The construction must specify the phatic function of establishing a particular type of contact with the hearer and it must mark the discourse role of the dative as 'hearer', since this association does not follow from any features of the dative itself, nor from anything in the structure of the surrounding clause. The construction must also indicate the DE's attenuated status as a second-position clitic. A possible formalization of this cluster of co-occurring properties is in Diagram 1. In order to keep the representation as uncluttered as possible I am using a simplified short-hand for the more elaborate CxG notation; including all the details of the formalism would be more distracting than informative (the interested reader is referred to Fried & Östman 2004 for the details of the full formalism). Diagram 1 specifies the *prag*(matics) of C-DE, which consists of the type of discourse, register and the contact function (the latter glossed simply as 'empathy seeking' in the *involvement* statement). These features, together with the restrictions in *cat*(egory), reference to 2nd *pers.*, and the *prosody*, are shown in boldface, to indicate that these are features specific to C-DE, unpredictable from anything else in the form. The italicized statements represent features that are shared with (*inherited* from) the Dative-of-Interest construction, which licenses argument expression in sentences of the type in (2). The inherited features are not idiosyncratic to C-DE and, strictly speaking, we do not need to list them explicitly in the representation; I include them in the interest of clearer exposition.

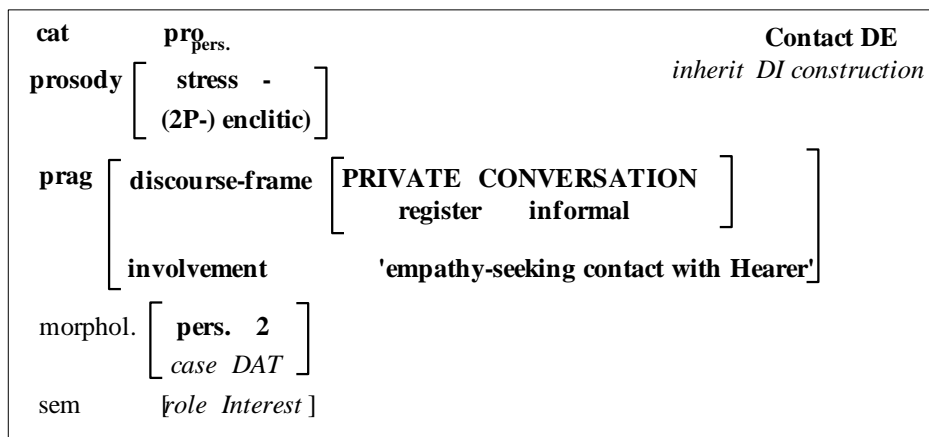


Diagram 1. Contact DE construction

2.3 Subjective DE

The Subjective DE (S-DE), introduced in (4) and further illustrated in (16) below is a more controversial, harder-to-identify example of an international dative, although it is as such briefly mentioned, without further commentary, in the Czech academic grammar (*Mluvnice Češtiny II* 1986: 102).

- (16) a. {*Tak počkej – to máme burzovní makléř, známý umělec, taxikář a teplouš.*} *No to je mi teda bratrstvo.* [SYN]
 DM it is ISG:DAT DM brotherhood:NOM:SG:N
 ‘{Let’s see – we’ve got here a stock-trader, a famous artist, a cabdriver, and a gay.} I mean, quite a brotherhood [if you ask] me.’
- b. *Hehe, to je mi fórek... {- A jak mi vysvětlíš, dědku, že tahle haha it is ISG:DAT joke:NOM:SG:M ženička nabízí všechno a nic za to nechce?}* [SYN]
 ‘Haha, that’s a fine little joke, [what] I [am hearing]... {- And how are you going to explain, you old fart, that this little woman is offering everything and doesn’t want anything in return?’

Some researchers (e.g. King 1997) have questioned its existence altogether on the grounds that it can easily be confused with argument-marking datives and, thus, misidentified. The confusion involves particularly DIs, illustrated in the initial examples in (2a-b) and here repeated in (17a-b), since they, too, are not required by the verb. A brief digression on the DI’s meaning and use is thus now in order.

- (17) a. *Tento balón otevřel lidstvu oblohu.*
 this balloon:NOM:SG:M open:PST:SG:M mankind:DAT:SG:N sky:ACC:SG:F
 ‘This balloon opened up the sky for mankind.’ [SYN]
- b. {*jo na noc pojedete. to byste měli fajn,*}
kdyby se vám ochladilo vid’. [oral2006]
 if:IRREAL RF:ACC 3PL:DAT turn.cooler:PST:SG:N DM
 ‘{Oh, you’ll be traveling overnight. It’d be good} if you had a cooler weather, wouldn’t it?’ [lit. ‘if the weather turned cooler for you’]

As already mentioned, the DI is very commonly added to all kinds of predicates – transitive (17a), intransitive, atransitive (17b) – as a way of introducing an additional participant in the narrated event; the participant is interpreted as having some ‘interest’ in the event denoted by the verb. In this semantic role, we would not expect it to be limited to 1st person referents and the examples in (17) demonstrate that no such restriction applies. This observation is in sharp contrast to the copular sentences in (4) and (16), which are necessarily restricted to the 1st pers. sg. pronoun. Moreover, the dative pronoun in (4) and (16) does not mark an event participant: the coincidence (4), the motley group of

people (16a), or the presumed absurdity (16b) do not exist for the speaker's benefit (or to his detriment, as the case may be); the speaker just expresses his subjective, emotional reaction to the report of their existence. Consequently, the 1st pers. sg. dative in these examples cannot be replaced by any nominal that would have to be interpreted as an event participant, rather than a discourse participant and specifically the speaker. An attempt at such a substitution by a 3rd person referent is shown in (18), in contrast to (4); it is difficult to even provide a coherent interpretation:

- (18) **No to je jim/Evě ale náhoda!*
 DM it is 3PL/Eva:DAT but coincidence:NOM:SG:F
 *‘Hey, what a coincidence **for their/Eva’s** sake!’

Yet, some analysts – both for Czech (Grepel & Karlík 1986, Janda 1993) and for comparable phenomena in other languages (Dabrowska 1997 for Polish, Borer & Grodzinski 1986 for Hebrew) – suggest treating examples such as (2) or (19) below as instances of S-DE, i.e., as comparable to (4) and (16).

- (19) a. *Rostou nám zoubky!* (Janda 1993: 92)
 grow:PRES:3PL 1PL:DAT tooth:NOM:PL:M
 ‘We have new teeth growing!’
- b. {A: *ale, člověče, už tady skoro nic nemáš na stěnách.*}
 B: *no, von mi to všechno sfouknul vítr*
 yeah DM 1SG:DAT it all blow.off:PST:SG:M wind:NOM:SG:M
 {*a já sem hrozně líná to tam ...*} [PMK]
 {A: ‘but, man, there’s hardly anything left [hanging] on your walls here’}
 B: ‘yeah, it all got blown off by the wind **on me** {and I’m too lazy to ...}’

Granted, the example in (19a) is an exclamation expressing excitement over the state of a baby's mouth, and S-DEs often, though not necessarily, are exclamations as well (4). However, given the lexical content of this sentence, the speaker can be just as easily and naturally interpreted simply as an event participant (i.e., construed as the co-owner of the growing teeth),⁵ without carrying any discourse-related function. Furthermore, the sentence would be equally well-formed with any other referent (*mu* ‘3SG:M:DAT’, *vám* ‘2PL:DAT’, *jim* ‘3PL:DAT’, *dětem* ‘children:DAT’, etc.), unlike the sentences in (4) and (16). Moreover, the dative in (19a) cannot be left out without leaving the expression incomplete; that – by definition – is not the case with DEs. The imperative form as well as the context in (19b) make the semantic interpretation of the dative *mi* ‘to me’ even more plausible, casting the speaker as a beneficiary of the narrated event (‘it got blown away – to my loss, as I now have bare walls as a result’),

⁵ Among its other functions, the 1st pers. plural is commonly used by parents or otherwise emotionally involved adults referring to their children's doings, as an inclusive ‘we’ in which the adult identifies with the child (cf. the observations in *Mluvnice češtiny II*, 1986: 370).

rather than as an outside observer commenting on the report of a particular event ('it got blown away – what a notion, if you ask me!'). Furthermore, the datives in (19) behave like true arguments in other ways: they can be questioned (e.g. *Komu_{DAT} rostou zoubky?* 'Whose_{DAT} teeth are growing?') or relativized, which certainly is not true of the datives in (4) and (16).

However, the crucial element in establishing S-DEs as distinct from DIs, is their textual status, which can only be identified when we consider the discourse context in which they are used. The interactional – rather than event-based – nature of S-DEs, as compared to the DIs, is easily corroborated by corpus evidence, which reveals two additional features that help identify S-DEs as a category *sui generis*. First, the S-DE is always a direct reaction to an immediately preceding utterance or turn; it is thus dialogical in nature. No such textual requirement is associated with DIs, nor should we expect such an association. This is particularly well illustrated in (19a), which can be very naturally used as a discourse-initial exclamation, in contrast to any of the S-DE examples. And second, just like with C-DE, the speaker's reaction is always an expression of surprise; something in the preceding discourse motivates the speaker's emotional reaction to an unexpected piece of news. In (4), the speaker is incredulous of certain developments to be random, in (16a) the reaction evaluates the unlikely grouping presented by the interlocutor, and the token in (16b) is taken from a dialog in which one interlocutor describes his escapades and the speaker of our token reacts with skepticism. In contrast, (19b) cannot be misidentified as an S-DE token, even though the text is a dialogical exchange: speaker B explicitly agrees with speaker A and only offers an explanation for A's assertion, as also confirmed by the follow-up; there is no surprise to react to.

Finally, notice that all the examples in (4) and (16) display the same syntactic pattern: the clause is introduced by a demonstrative pronoun in the invariant form of a singular neuter (*to*) and the non-verbal predicate is always a noun in the nominative (all other possibilities are excluded – adverbs, adjectives, prepositional phrases of location, and nouns in the instrumental). In contrast, 1st pers. sg. pronouns in other grammatical patterns, such as (19), seem to show at best an ambiguity between the discourse-based DE on the one hand and the DI event role on the other. The potential ambiguity between the event-role and a DE interpretation may, in certain contexts, make the distribution of the S-DE somewhat more fluid than is the case with C-DEs, but that is not the same as concluding that the DE use cannot be identified as a distinct entity. The proposed analysis simply acknowledges the complexity associated with the interaction between various grammatical configurations and with incorporating the discourse-deictic dimension of linguistic structure. The patterns observed in authentic usage lead to the conclusion that an indisputable S-DE status of the 1st pers. pronoun is conventionally associated only with a particular syntactic construction – copular existential statements, as in (4) or (16) – but a discourse-pragmatic interpretation may be invited also in specific morphosyntactic contexts (the dative must be 1st pers. clitic pronoun) and in particular communicative contexts, apparently facilitated by an exclamative, emotional

nature of a given utterance, where it is layered over the primarily semantic status of the dative as an event participant (19).⁶

The S-DE is schematically captured in Diagram 2. Like in C-DE, the construction must specify the following: the pragmatic function of S-DE and the register, in the *prag* statement; the 1st pers. reference as the only possible one; and the second-position enclitic status of the pronoun (in this case obligatorily so – the corpus does not show any other placement). The rest is handled through inheritance relations: the dative form and semantics of interest is again shared with the DI construction, but unlike C-DEs, this pattern also inherits a particular type of a copular construction, which ensures the distribution of S-DE as restricted to this specific clause type; optionally it inherits also the Exclamation Construction, whose existence I simply assume here.

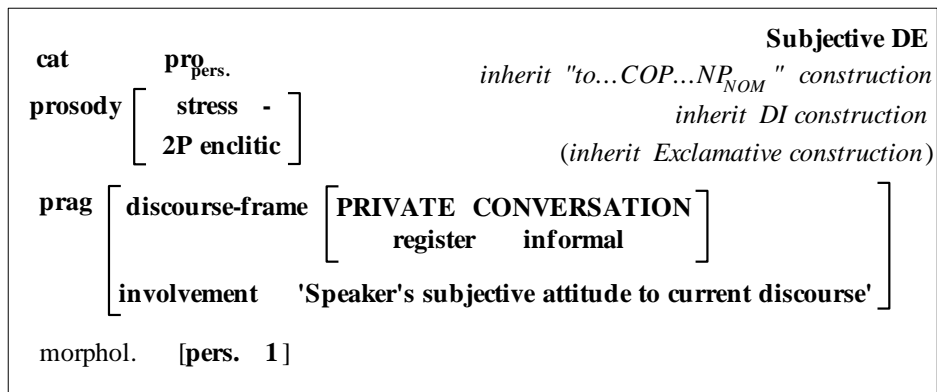


Diagram 2. Subjective DE construction

2.4 Distancing DE

The reflexive pattern illustrated in (5) and in (20) below is perhaps the most elusive of the three types, since the reflexive dative necessarily blurs the distinction between the semantic and discourse domains even more thoroughly than the 1st person referent in S-DE.

- (20) a. {*mohl by to dělat v podstatě v pracovní době, jenže*}
von si radši ten pracovník táhle
 3SG:M:NOM RF:DAT more.happily that worker:NOM:SG:M there
bude ležet {a neudělá navíc ani ň} [PMK]
 be:FUT:3SG lie.down:INF
 ‘{he basically could get it done during regular work hours, but} he’ll, the worker would rather be lying around, [**happily idling away**] {and won’t lift a finger for any extra work}’

⁶ It may also be worth noting that, somewhat surprisingly, the spoken corpora within *CNK* seem to contain no example of S-DE. This finding will require further research.

- b. {*Našlapoval a funěl, funěl a našlapoval,*}
ale motor si klidně stávkoval [SYN]
 but engine:NOM:SG:M RF:DAT calmly be.on.strike:PST:SG:M
 ‘{He kept stepping [on the gas] and huffing, huffing and stepping [on the gas]} but the engine [**had the temerity**] to simply remain on strike.’
- c. *Nechceš-li mě milovati, nechtěj si*
 want:PRES:2SG-if 1SG:ACC love:INF NEG:want:IMP:2SG RF:DAT
 ‘If you don’t want to give me your love, [**help yourself**] and go on not wanting, [**see if I care**] ...’ [Czech folk song]

Reflexive datives are a common sight in Czech; they express self-interest or self-directed affectedness and cover the entire semantic spectrum of dative-marked arguments, governed or ungoverned.⁷ The corpus examples in (21) below show a productive use of *si* in the DI role, parallel to the non-reflexive uses we saw in (17): the dative marks a participant in an action performed in the subject’s own interest, without any pragmatically based overtones. Note that the subject can be any person and that in all cases, the reflexive pronoun simply signals co-reference between the subject and the DI nominal. As shown in the examples, the pronoun *si* could be replaced by any kind of non-reflexive NP, pronominal or otherwise, thus corroborating the argument status of *si*, with a link to a particular semantic relation.

- (21) a. {*ježiš já tady mám půl roku tu špaldu,*}
tak si/mu/jim ji uvařim [oral2006]
 so self/3SG:M/3PL:DAT 3SG:F:ACC cook:FUT:1SG
 ‘{gee, I’ve had this spelt here for half a year,} so that’s what I’ll cook **for myself/him/them**’
- b. *tak to si/někomu/otci přečteš* [oral2006]
 so it:ACC self/someone/father:DAT read:FUT:2SG
 ‘so you’ll read it **for your/someone’s/father’s** information.’

The distribution of *si* in patterns like these presents an interesting and complicated topic in itself, involving a number of morphosyntactic and semantic nuances. For example, it is not always easy to classify a given instance of *si* as an argument or simply a particle that has become a fixed part of a lexical item (there is certainly a large number of dative-reflexive verbs in Czech that cannot be analyzed as phrasal). It is not necessary in the context of this paper to discuss all the intricacies involved in the patterns illustrated in (21), since those issues are not directly relevant to the problems at hand. It should be clear, however, that we cannot lump them together with the uses shown in (20); these two sets represent two semantically and functionally distinct kinds of *si*.

Specifically, the set of sentences in (5) and (20) cannot be treated simply in terms of co-reference between the subject and a dative NP nor simply in terms

⁷ The reflexive pronoun in Czech comes in the accusative (*se*) and dative (*si*) forms. The details of the use of the accusative form are also quite complex, but it generally has to do with marking self-affectedness and is independent of the dative form (Fried 2007 gives a full constructional treatment of the *se* variant).

of the semantic notion of interest. They exemplify a more complex category that has features of both, further overlaid with a discourse-pragmatic meaning. It is, of course, true that the examples in (5) and (20) express the subject's self-interest; this follows from the presence of the reflexive form. For example, in (20a) the subject is lying around for his own enjoyment, in (5) the subject is given the opportunity to beat up somebody else in order to feel good, and so on. In this respect, the referent of *si* is necessarily a participant in the event. But there are, again, idiosyncratic restrictions that apply only to these examples and not to those in (21). Morphosyntactically, the utterances in (5) and (20) display the same behavior as the Contact and Subjective DEs. The reflexive DE can be used together with a thematic dative, as demonstrated by its co-occurrence with the recipient of the verb *dát* 'give' in (5), and, like the rest of DEs, it cannot be questioned or relativized. Also, only the clitic form *si* is possible, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the full-form dative reflexive *sobě* 'to/for self' in (22), as a modification of (20a).

(22) **von* *sobě* [...] *bude* *ležet* {*a neudělá navíc ani ň*}
 3SG:M:NOM self:DAT be:FUT:3SG lie.down:INF

But most importantly, and in further contrast to the semantic uses of *si*, the presence of *si* in (5) and (20) also carries with it unique pragmatic features. These examples encode more than just the event of somebody doing something for his own benefit. They present a commentary of sorts, conveying the *speaker's* own evaluation of the reported state of affairs. These utterances typically involve elements of sarcasm, irony, defiance, or, less commonly, admiration, but whatever attitude is expressed, it always implies the speaker's disapproval of the reported event, or at least distancing himself from it. The subjective stance is sometimes strengthened by an additional commentary: the D-DE naturally collocates with the adverb *klidně* in the sense of 'without concern [for the rest of the world]', or the explicit disclaimer *mně je to jedno* 'I don't care'.

It follows from the pragmatic function of this pattern that it is also associated exclusively with spoken and informal discourse, thus sharing another important property with the rest of DEs. The reflexive pattern is just more complex than the other two. Overall, it is also speaker-centered, like S-DE, since it presents the speaker's attitude toward the grammatical subject's reported self-interest, but it also puts a distance between himself and the subject's activities. The speaker essentially rejects someone else's self-interest, recasting it as excessive self-indulgence.

The representation in Diagram 2 captures this particular variant of DE. The D-DE inherits properties associated with regular dative reflexives, which accounts for the details of the coreferential mapping, but it also adds features of its own, namely, the pragmatic function that is particular only to this use of the dative reflexive.

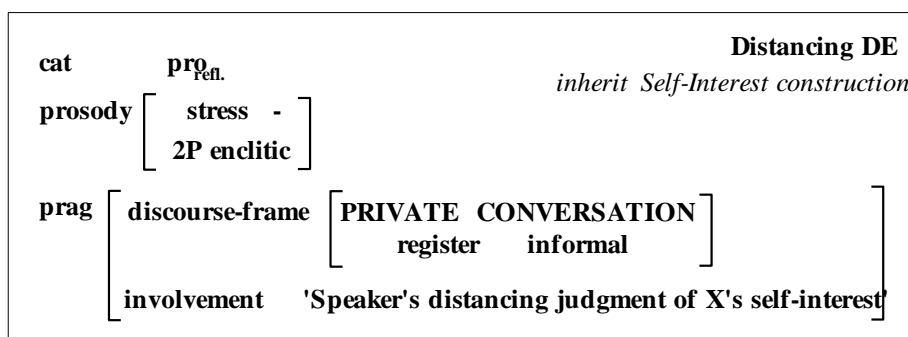


Diagram 4. Distancing DE construction

3. DEs in a constructional network

Several descriptive conclusions emerge from the analysis:

- The three dative patterns (contact, subjective, and distancing) have enough in common to be treated as instances of a single functional category. They all belong to the same register; serve a distinct pragmatic function within the domain of interpersonal relations; reinterpret the semantic notion of ‘interest’ as a discourse-deictic concept; and display the same morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies (non-argument syntactic status, clitic form, and, canonically, clitic placement).
- They are distinct from semantic datives in that their integration into the sentence is limited: they all lack clear semantic status as event roles and therefore are not subject to the bi-uniqueness condition.
- At the same time, they are distinct from other devices that index speaker-hearer relations, in that they may be sensitive to a clause type and/or the referential identity of event participants of the sentence in which they appear.

The question is how this web of relationships can be best represented so that our generalizations reflect the speakers’ conventional knowledge as accurately as possible.

To the extent that this issue has been addressed at all, the most insightful treatments have tended to focus predominantly on either the semantic (Janda 1993) or the pragmatic (King 1997) aspect of the problem, to the exclusion of most other features. Janda’s 1993 cognitively based analysis concentrates on motivating the meaning of the DEs in relation to the meaning(s) of other Czech datives, specifically through the shared feature of affectedness. This is evidently an important part of the picture, but her analysis leaves aside the pragmatic and morphosyntactic dimensions of the DEs. King 1997 is more interested in the pragmatic aspects of Czech datives and thus notices the contextual and register-related features of DEs but overall does not go beyond speculating that in sentences with multiple datives, the referents should be all distinct. Nor does she consider any of their morphosyntactic properties.

Other possible analyses fall short as well. It is clearly not enough to assume a speech-act analysis proposed for ‘ethical datives’ in the spirit of generative approaches, in which the dative has been treated as an argument of a verb of saying, and therefore residing outside of the rest of the clause both structurally and semantically. Such a treatment would not address all the constraints associated with the Contact DE itself and it obviously could not apply to the remaining types. Nor can we reduce DEs to being a matter of contextual interpretation and inference, by positing them as inherently semantic entities (together with other ‘semantic’ datives, along the lines of Dabrowska’s 1997 proposal) and leave the rest to speakers’ assumptions based on extralinguistic knowledge. While this is no doubt a valid view of the utterances in which both semantic and pragmatic interpretations are possible (recall the examples in 19), it fails to identify the cases in which the DE interpretation is unambiguous, grammatically constrained, and the only one available.

The empirical observations and the generalizations we can draw from them thus call for a multidimensional representation, as proposed in the preceding section for each DE. Once we identify the definitional features of each pattern we can also more easily map them onto the functional space they share and treat each of the three DEs as a particular linguistic strategy for expressing different kinds of speaker-hearer relations and particularly, in the domain that has to do with emotional involvement of discourse participants.

I propose the following motivation for the relations that the DEs hold toward semantic datives on the one hand and other discourse-deictic devices on the other. The central notion that holds it all together is ‘indirect affectedness’. It motivates, in a robust and grammatically regular way, the use of the dative form in many semantic modulations: as we have seen, indirect affectedness plays a role in conceptualizing certain types of event participants as having an ‘interest’ in the narrated event. It is cognitively plausible to extend this notion from the event-semantic domain into the discourse domain, where indirect affectedness or interest can be easily reconceptualized in terms of interactional affectedness: as interest in (or affectedness by) hearing, assessing, or reacting to the content of the narrated event, rather than participating in it. Through this central connection between event-based affectedness and interactional affectedness, we can treat the dative form in the DE patterns as a motivated extension of a regular and highly salient linking relationship, rather than as a mere coincidence.

These connections can be organized in the form of a constructional map (in an application parallel to Fried 2007), such as in Diagram 4, that suggests an overlap between two domains: the event-semantic domain (the upper half of the diagram, schematically delimited by the thick line) and the interpersonal domain (the lower half). The central region of the map shows the event-semantic, dative-related features, overlapping with the common DE features listed below the dative. Each type of DE is then enclosed in its own rectangle in such a way that we can see exactly which features are shared either within the DE space or with other, non-DE constructions; the latter are indicated by the ovals extending to specific other patterns (the vocative, the reflexive, or copular structures).

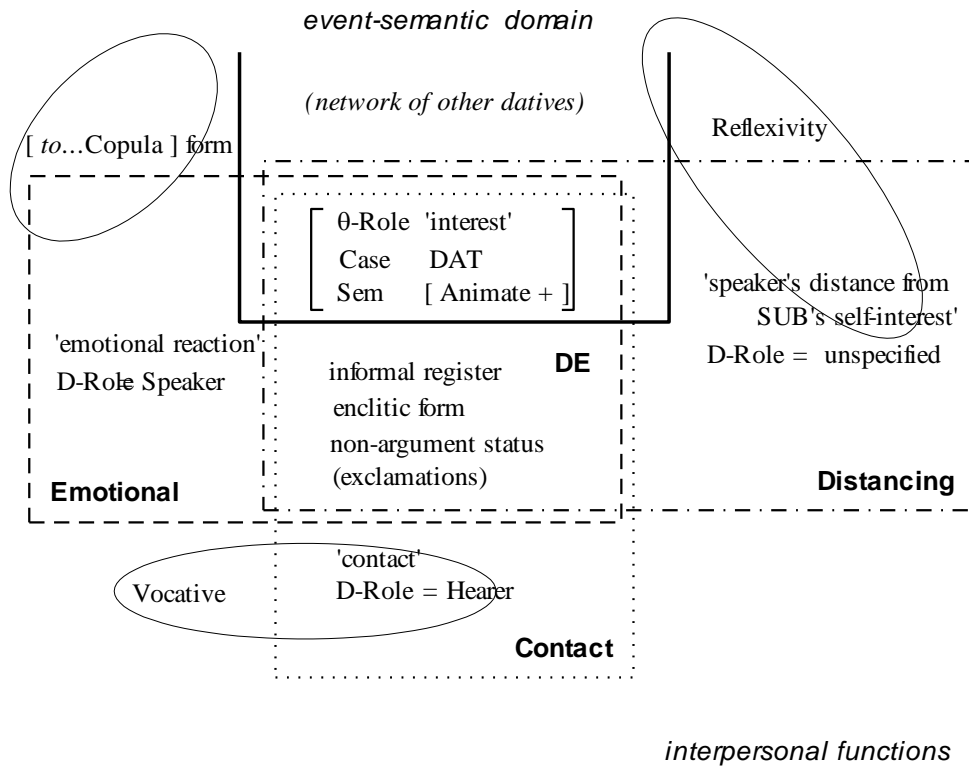


Diagram 5. DE network

Setting up the constructional map can be taken as a way to model grammatical categorization, with explicitly articulated continuities and discontinuities across the relevant patterns, based on specific, empirically grounded criteria. The crucial role given to the *semantic* motivation, revolving around a particular type of affectedness, is also important in that it defocuses the dative *form* as, potentially, the central motivating factor. The dative case may be associated with various semantic concepts in different languages, and it remains an empirical question to determine whether developments similar to the DEs in Czech can be established as a general property of datives. However, without relevant studies concerning other languages and other datives, the present analysis, captured in the configuration of the map, leads at least to the following hypothesis: interactional datives (such as DEs) should not be expected to develop in languages where the dative (or its apparent equivalent) is not associated with expressing the notion of indirect affectedness.

4. Summary and conclusions

We can conclude that all three DE types serve a discourse-deictic function, in three distinct configurations of speaker-hearer relations, and that certain other

properties follow from this fact. For one thing, the deictic function motivates the restrictions on DE referents: in the hearer-directed Contact DE, the only referent can be the 2nd person; the speaker-oriented dative in the Subjective DE is limited to the 1st person; and the reflexive of the distancing DE draws attention, through the speaker's disapproving attitude, to another participant's self-indulgence perceived as excessive.

The decision to use a DE in a concrete utterance is, of course, the speaker's choice since the DE's presence does not depend on any grammatical requirements of the structure of a given sentence. In this respect, DIs are purely a speaker's choice as well. The point of the present investigation and analysis is to show that both the production and reception of DEs in actual discourse involves conventional expectations about their form, meaning, and function, on a par with any other piece of grammatical knowledge speakers must share in order to use and interpret these items with a native-like fluency. Put differently, DEs provide a conventionalized way of pointing to discourse participants for specific interactional purposes and speakers know what type of text and context allows them. Crucially, though, the use of these forms is also constrained by certain grammatical aspects of a given utterance. This further entails that DEs represent relatively complex grammatical objects with specific syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic requirements. At the same time, it is clear that there are some overlaps between DEs and other constructions.

The complexity of the data makes a case for a constructional analysis. Specifically, the material provides evidence that speakers must have access to abstract grammatical patterns, which, in turn, make connections to other patterns. DEs carry a relationship to semantic datives but they also include specific discourse-pragmatic conditions among the factors that affect their grammar. The multi-layered architecture of CxG offers a convenient model not only for representing complex grammatical objects, but also for mapping out the relationships that hold between them. The latter is especially valuable in that it allows us to represent grammar as a network organized around shared features, whether formal, semantic, or pragmatic.

Sources of data:

Czech National Corpus (ČNK), accessible at <http://www.korpus.cz>:
ČNK - *BMK*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha 2002.
ČNK - *ORAL2006*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha 2006.
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