Decomposing the *Give*-type Benefactives in Korean and Japanese

Numerous languages have 'add-on' arguments that are not selected by the verb (Pylkkänen 2002, Bosse and Bruening 2011 inter alia). In this talk, we present a case study of 'add-on' arguments in the *give*-type benefactive construction in Korean and Japanese, as exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1) Yumi-ka	Hana-eykey	pap-ul	mantul-e	cwu-ess-ta.		KR
Yumi-Nom	Hana-Dat	meal-Acc	make-e	give-Pst-Dec		
(2) Yumi-ga	Hana-ni	gohan-o	tukutte	age-ta.		JP
Yumi-Nom	Hana-Dat	meal-Acc	make	give-Pst		

'Yumi made Hana the meal.'

Here, the dative NPs are considered as 'add-on' because, without the benefactive *-give*, the sentences are unacceptable (or awkward at best). Semantically, they seem to be both the recipient of the meal and the beneficiary of the meal-cooking event. (We limit true benefactive meanings to those in which the agent provides enjoyment (plain benefactive) or plays in a deputative role (deputative benefactive), following Van Valin & La Polla 1997). However, further consideration of the data reveals that the beneficiary meaning is not obligatory. For instance, Yumi could have made the meal for the benefit of a contextually salient individual: Yumi made the meal for Hana to eat so that Hana's mother could go out without worrying about making the meal to Hana. That the dative argument does not necessarily serve as the true beneficiary but as the possessor can also be supported by the following fact: (1) and (2) can be followed by a sentence such as 'But it was not for the benefit of Hana', which negates the true benefactive meaning on the dative argument. In addition, intransitive verbs can also appear in the benefactives (3) and (4).

(3) Hana-ka	(*Yumi-eykey)	tally-e	cwu-ess-ta.	(4) Hana-ga	(*Yumi-ni)	hasitte	age-ta.		
Hana-Nom	(Yumi-Dat)	run-e	give-Pst-Dec	Hana-Nom	Yumi-Dat	run	give-Dec		

'Hana gave-run (Hana ran for the benefit of someone)'.

Two important points here are (i) 'add-on' dative arguments are not supported, and (ii) without datives, the sentences are grammatical with implied (i.e., syntactically unrealized) beneficiaries. This fact once again supports the dissociation of the benefactive interpretation from the dative NP.

We propose that true benefactive meaning in Korean and Japanese is encoded as a definite implicit argument in the form of either a free or a bound variable. In (5), for example, a true beneficiary can be quantifier-bound: the one that benefits from Chelswu's action of dancing corresponds to every girl. (6) shows that, unlike the implicit external arguments in passives, the implicit beneficiary cannot be existentially bound; (6) is ruled out since the presence of *cwu-* implies that the speaker is aware that there is a definite beneficiary that benefits from the running event.

(5) Motun	sonye-ka	Chelswu-ka	chwum-ul	chwu-e	cwu-ki-lul	pala-n-ta.	
Every	girl-Nom	Chelswu-Nom	dance-Acc	dance-e	give-Nm-Acc	hope-Pres-Dec	

'Every girl hopes that Chelswu give-dance.'

(6) Hana-ka	tally-e	cwu-ess-nuntay,	#na-nun	nwukwu-lul	wi-han-kes-i-n-ci	molu-n-ta.	
Hana-Nom	run-e	give-Pst-but	I-Top	who-Acc	for-Do-Nml-Cop-Pres-CI	not.know-Pres-Dec	

'Hana gave-run (Hana ran for the benefit of someone), but I don't know for whom.'

Returning to the data in (1) through (4), the present view in which the dative argument is not necessarily a true beneficiary but a possessor gives a straightforward account for why the addition of the dative NP in (3) and (4) results in ungrammaticality: the running event does not create anything that can be possessed by the dative argument. In (1) and (2), by contrast, the making event contributes to the creation of the meal and so the dative argument 'Hana' is understood as the possessor of the theme 'meal'. However, establishing the required possession relation turns out to be far less straightforward. Complications arise because a number of non-creation verbs, in addition to creation verbs like 'make' in (1) and (2), can also be

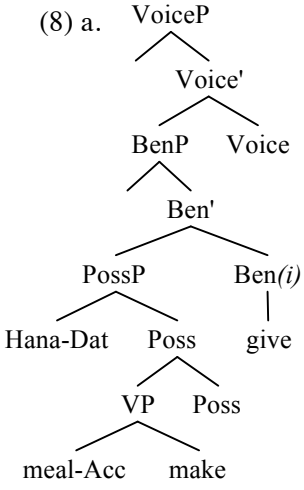
made use of in the benefactive constructions with overt dative arguments. In (7), for instance, it is clear that no direct possession relation holds between the dative argument (the possessor) and the accusative argument (the theme).

(7) Yumi-ka Hana-eykey chayksang-ul tak-a cwu-ess-ta.
Yumi-Nom Hana-Dat desk-Acc clean-a give-Pst-Dec
'Yumi gave-clean the desk to Hana.'

This sentence is felicitous when it is understood to mean that Hana now can have some clean space. In a similar vein, the Korean example *window-Acc open-give* can take the dative argument, but in a minimally different case where the verb 'open' is replaced with *tat-* 'close', the sentence becomes odd. This is because an opening-the-door event creates some space that one can make use, but it is hard to imagine the creation of a possessable entity in a closing-the-door event. It therefore follows that what is possessed is in fact a pragmatically implied entity that comes out of the eventuality, rather than the referent denoted by the accusative NP itself.

Thus, our proposal is doubly pragmatic/implicit. The beneficiary is not expressed by an overt dative argument but is encoded as a definite implicit argument. Dative NPs are possessors/recipients, but the possessed themes are also covert; pragmatically salient entities that have been created by the eventualities denoted by the main verbs. As for the syntax-semantics mapping of the construction, we situate our proposal within the event semantics of Kratzer (2003). In addition, the simplified version of Dowty (1981) is assumed in account for an implicit argument. In (8), a syntactic head Ben(efactive) introduces the true beneficiary in the form of a referential index attached to it and Poss(ession) introduces the dative argument; the event described by the PossP is the source of the beneficiary's benefitting event. The pragmatically implied possession meaning is existentially quantified as in (8c). (We further suggest that there is a presupposition in which the existentially quantified theme comes to an existence as a result of an event described by the VP, which is essentially identical to the presupposition associated with verbs of creation (cf. von Stechow 2001)).

(8) a.



b. $[[\text{Ben}_{(i)}]]^g = \lambda P_{<s,t>}.\ \lambda e.\ P(e) \ \&\ \exists e''(\text{benefit}(e'') \ \&\ \text{Ben}(g(i), e'')\ \&\ \forall e''(P(e'') \rightarrow \text{Source}(e'')(e+e')$

c. $[[\text{Poss}]] = \lambda P_{<s,t>}.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda e.\ P(e) \ \&\ \exists x.\ \lambda e'.\ \lambda y\ [\text{Result}(e)(e') \ \&\ \text{Possess}(e') \ \&\ \text{Possessor}(y,e') \ \&\ \text{Possessee}(x,e')]$

The realization of the benefactive verb *-give* is achieved in the Distributive Morphology fashion; the combination of Poss+ $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ is realized as is *cwu-/ageru*. In other words, Poss cannot stand alone and does not have any morphological realization without $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$. On the other hand, $\text{Ben}_{(i)}$ alone can be realized as *cwu-/ageru* without Poss; that is the case with the intransitive benefactive (without dative arguments). Thus, our proposal explains the distribution patterns: (i) 'Benefactive' dative arguments can appear only with the benefactive marker. Without it, the Poss head is not morphologically licensed. (ii) The benefactive marker can appear without any sense of possession, but in that case, no dative arguments are permitted.

Selected references Dowty, D. 1981. Quantification and the lexicon: A Reply to Fodor and Fodor. In Michael Moortgat, Harry van der Hulst and Teun Hoekstra (eds.), The Scope of Lexical Rules, 79-106. Dordrecht: Foris. Pylkkänen, L. 2002. Introducing Arguments. Ph.D. thesis, MIT. Shibatani, M. 1996. Applicatives and benefactives. In Grammatical Constructions. Oxford: Clarendon Press.