

DATIVE PERTINACITY

(OR YET ANOTHER MORPHEME THAT WOULD NOT GET AWAY)

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0. Introduction

It has often been observed that datives and genitives tend to retain Case morphology more stubbornly than nominatives and accusatives. To find the reason for that in morphology proper seems to be unrealistic. I will propose a syntactic account, albeit one which attributes a key role to morphology. The theoretical proposal is that ...

- ▶ the structural Cases embrace nominative and accusative but never dative
- ▶ structural Cases have their functional structure in the verbal projection
- ▶ inherent Cases must supply their own functional structure
- ▶ the exponent of the dative's functional structure is its overt Case morphology KASE
- ▶ KASE strongly resembles the semifunctional category P
- ▶ P is (among other things) itself a Case morpheme, not a Case assigner

1. Case syncretism and Case deflexion

Oblique Cases tend to be morphologically marked, while direct Cases (*'casus rectus'*) may be morphologically unmarked. This holds for earlier stages of Germanic as well as for later stages. Tab. 1 shows the nominal inflection in Old High German (OHG):

		<i>a</i> -declension "day"	<i>ô</i> -declension "gift"	<i>i</i> -declension "power"	<i>n</i> -declension "heart"
sing	N	tag	geb-a	kraft	herz-a
	G	tag-es	geb-a	kreft-i	herz-en
	D	tag-e	geb-u	kreft-i	herz-en
	A	tag	geb-a	kraft	herz-a
plural	N	tag-a	geb-a	kreft-i	herz-un
	G	tag-o	geb-ono	kraft-io	herz-ono
	D	tag-um	geb-om	kreft-im	herz-om
	A	tag-a	geb-a	kreft-i	herz-un

Tab.1 – Nominal inflection and Case syncretism in OHG

Although the determiner system was developed at this stage, pure genitive N can still be found in Middle High German (MHG):

- (1) a. der was wol rosseloufes wît Iw. 6987
he was well horse-run-GEN away
"He was well as far away as a horse can run"
- b. dâ wart er vröuden rôt NL 770,1
there was he joy-GEN red
"He blushed with joy"

- c. dar zuo is êren mir geschehen Bit 7377
there to is honor-GEN me happened
"I was honored for that"
- d. swar ih landes kêre MF 52,31
where-ever I land-GEN go
"in whatever land I go"
- e. si füerent roubes eine magt Pz 122,20
they bring robbery-GEN a maiden
"They have with them an abducted maiden"

In modern German such genitives survived only in de-nominal adverbs:

- (2) morgens abends nachts sonntags
morning-GEN evening-GEN night-GEN sunday-GEN
 rechts links flugs unversehens
right-GEN left-GEN flight-GEN unknowing-GEN

Although the nominal inflection of the genitive is retained in the masculine and neuter noun, its functionality has disappeared. Case must be marked in functional structure above N:

- (3) a. *die Ausfuhr Holzes
the export wood-GEN
"the export of wood"
- b. die Ausfuhr (dieses) brasilianischen Holzes
the export this-GEN Brazilian-GEN wood-GEN
"the export of (this) Brazilian wood" (Gallmann, 1997)

In many Germanic varieties, genitive Case has been given up entirely. In this case, P-insertion had to make up for the loss of Case morphology, e.g. Dutch:

- (4) de soep van de dag
the soup of the day

Genitive Case has been equally replaced in dialects such as Swiss-German and Bavarian. But unlike Dutch, these dialects retain distinct dative morphology as shown by the paradigms for the definite article:

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>
	<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>neutr.</i>	
N	de	d	s	d
D	em	de	em	de
A	de	d	s	d

Tab. 2 - Proclitic definite article in Zurich German (Cooper, 1994)

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>
	<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>neutr.</i>	
N	da	d	s	d
D	<i>am/an</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>am/an</i>	<i>de</i>
A	an	d	s	d

Tab. 3 - Proclitic definite article in Bavarian

The fact that there is Case syncretism in which dative morphology collapses with other Cases (as in the *-en* of *Frauen* ("women"), *Professoren* ("professors"), *Dirigenten* ("conductors")) and the fact that proper names, which are notoriously uninflected in Standard German, (as in: *Ich habe Peter gratuliert* ("I congratulated Peter_{DAT}"), *Ich bin Mick Jagger nachgelaufen* ("I ran after Mick Jagger_{DAT}")) leads to the impression that dative Case can be lost without serious consequences for the grammar of the language.

This impression is ☞ WRONG!

Avoiding a discussion of proper names for reasons of time (cf. Bayer, Bader & Meng, 2001)), there is evidence that *-en* is still a sign of dative Case albeit a highly non-distinctive one. In comparison, *-en* is not a sign for genitive Case:

- (5) a. wenn man **Frauen** applaudiert
if one women-DAT applauds
- b. wenn man **Frauen** nachläuft
if one women-DAT after-runs
- c. wenn man den Hans **Frauen** vorstellt
if one the Hans-ACC women-DAT introduces
"If one introduces Hans to women, ..."
- (6) a. *die Benachteiligung **Frauen** Plank (1980)
the discriminations women-GEN
- b. *wenn man sich **Frauen** erwehren muss
if one REF women-GEN defend must
"If one has to defend oneself from women, ..."

2. The grammar's reactions against the loss of dative

„MORPHOLOGISCHE DIFFERENZIERUNGSMERKMALE ALS ÜBERRESTE DER SUBSTANTIV-DEKLINATION BEWAHRT AM FESTESTEN DER DATIV.“ (Schirmunski, 1962: 432)

"Morphological signs of differentiation as relics of the nominal declension are strongest in the dative"

(7) *-e* Affix (Low German, East Middle German)

	NOM	DAT	
a.	gast	gast- <i>e</i>	„guest“
b.	lant	land- <i>e</i>	„land“
c.	hunt	hund- <i>e</i>	„dog“

i.e. these dialects retain the OHG-heritage

(8) Vowel lengthening after *-e* epenthesis (Mülheim/Ruhr)

	NOM	DAT	
a.	dax	da:x	„day“
b.	hof	ho:f	„yard“
c.	berx	be:rx	„mountain“

(9) Loss of coda (Northern Hessian; Southern Thuringian)

	NOM	DAT	
a.	doak	doa	„day“
b.	wäk	wä	„path“
c.	wald	wal	„forest“
d.	land	lan	„land“
e.	räiŋk	reŋ	„ring“

(10) Strengthened dative / „Kraft-Dativ“ (Bavarian, Austrian, Franconian)

	NOM	DAT	
a.	beax	beaŋ / beaŋnan	„mountains“
b.	haufm	haufman	„heaps“
c.	to:x	to: ŋ / to: ŋnan	„days“
d.	bex	bexŋ / bexŋan	„creeks“
e.	šif	šifm / šifnan	„ships“

(11) Prepositionally strengthened dative

	P + N/NP/DP	
a.	em frent	“in-the friend” Alsatian
b.	en de frende	“in the friends”
c.	i mein fo:ter	“in my father” Tyrolian
d.	i dr muater	“in the mother”
e.	i de lait	“in the people”
f.	i mir	“in me”
g.	i weim	“in whom”

- h. a miär “to me” Swiss German / Kanton Uri
 i. a demm “to this-one”

(12) Examples from Seiler (1998)

[all the verbs assign dative Case in German]

- a. daß a de Roos, aba aa a de Leit nix passiert
that to the horses but also to the people nothing happens
 (Bavarian, Traunstein)
- b. du muasst es a deine frau vaschreibn lassn
you must it to your wife prescribe let
 (Bavarian, Malching)
- c. in di Schwainge:bm
in the pigs give
 (Austrian, St. Georgen)
- d. wo:rschinglech het er d' Rößli [...] für vil Geld i irgendwelche
perhaps has he the horses for much money in some
 ri:che Schwö:be [...] verchauft
rich Germans sold
 (Swiss, Aargau)

3. No inflection - no dative!

3.1 Uninflected indefinites (cf. Gallmann, 1996; 1997)

- (13) a. Genug / nichts / allerlei / etwas / wenig ist schiefgegangen NOM
enough / nothing / a lot / something / little has gone-wrong
- b. Wir haben genug / nichts / allerlei / etwas / wenig erlebt ACC
we have enough / nothing / a lot / something / little experienced
- c. *Feuchtigkeit schadet genug / nichts / allerlei / etwas / wenig DAT
humidity harms enough / nothing / a lot / something / little
- d. *Ich konnte mich genug / nichts / allerlei / etwas / wenig entsinnen GEN
I could REF enough / nothing / a lot / something / little remember

The Swiss German correspondent of *etwas* ("something") is *öppis*. Notice that unlike *etwas*, it has a dative form, *öppis-em*, which is obligatory in the context of a dative assigning verb.

3.2 Which Case for argument clauses?

- (14) a. [Daß wir verreisen wollten] hat niemanden interessiert NOM
that we travel-away wanted has nobody interested
- b. Wir bestritten [daß wir verreisen wollten] ACC
we denied that we travel-away wanted

- c. *Wir widersprachen [daß wir verreisen wollten] DAT
we objected that we travel-away wanted
- d. *Wir erwehrten uns [schon wieder verreisen zu müssen] GEN
we kept-off REF yet again travel to must

CPs can be datives in languages which allow overtly Case-marking on CP, e.g. Turkish:

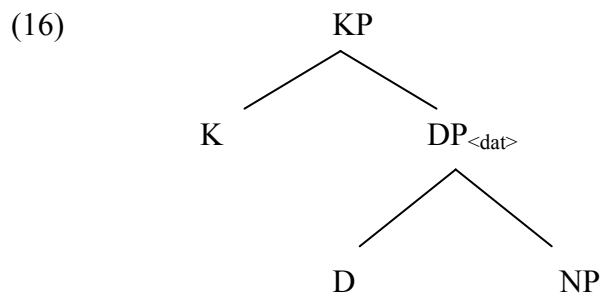
- (15) Ahmet Ayşe-yi [PRO sinema-ya git-meğ]-e zorla-dı
Achmed Ayse-ACC movie -DAT go-INF -DAT force-PAST
"Achmed forced Ayse to go to the movie" Kornfilt (1985)

These data show that anything with nominal features can be nominative or accusative, but not a dative or a genitive. The latter require explicit Case morphology.

4. The dative as a Kase Phrase

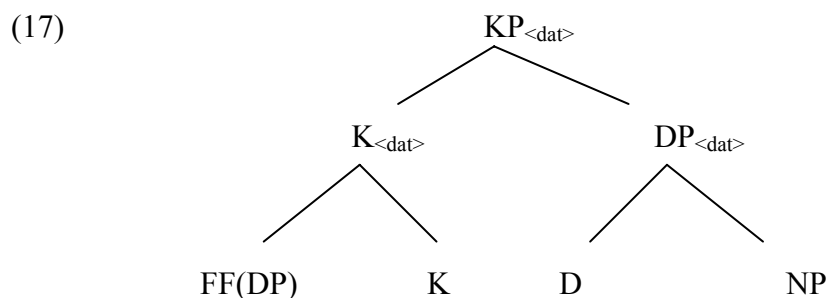
Datives have a strong resemblance with PPs and seem to form a natural class with them. (Cf. Kayne (1984: ch.9) and Emonds (1985) where the dative was seen as a hidden PP.) Witness the loss of Case morphology and its replacement by periphrastic forms in modern Germanic and Romance, e.g. Dutch (*aan, van*), English (*to, of*) and French (*à, de*).

Assume that the head of a dative NP/DP is actually K(ASE). For general motivation of KP: Lamontagne and Travis (1987), Grosu (1996), Bittner and Hale (1996), Calabrese (1996).



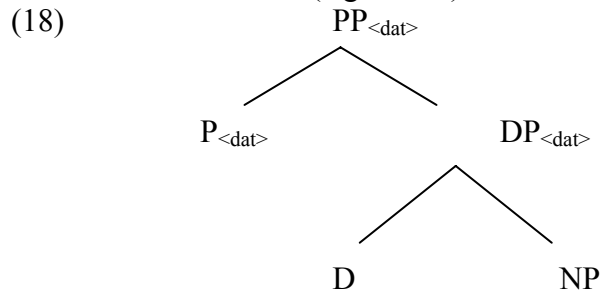
K is a functional head which checks/valuates D-features (or in the absence of D, N-features). The process of checking can be overt or covert. If it is covert, it is restricted to pure feature movement (Chomsky, 1995).

Feature movement gives a free ride to formal features inherent in NP/DP (=FF(DP)).

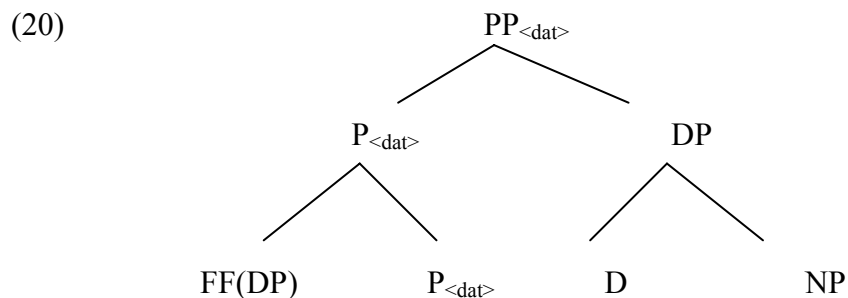
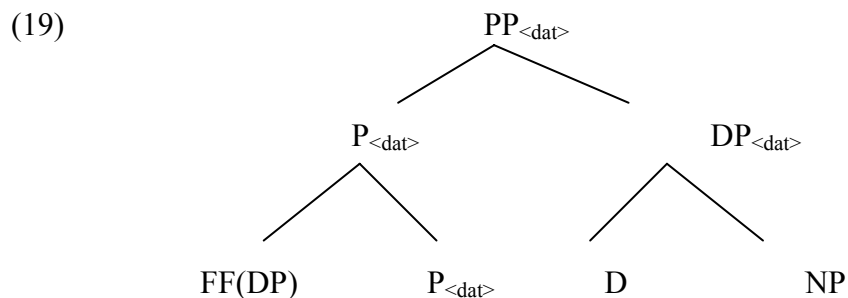


Crucially, K is identified by the overt Case feature of DP. It is the syntactic counterpart of the morphological Case feature of DP.

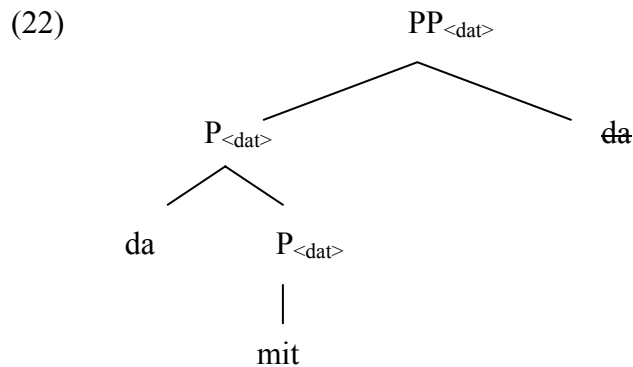
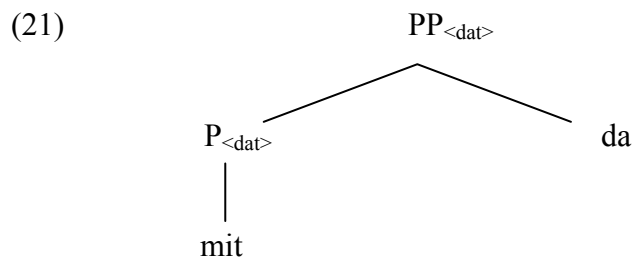
KP has close resemblance with PP, the difference being that P, being a semifunctional head, has a richer feature structure than K. Like K it checks the D-feature of its complement, but it has also a Case feature (e.g. <dat>).



Feature movement from DP to P will lead to checking of the Case feature and subsequent deletion (because it is already present in P). (This replaces Case assignment by P in GB-theory).



This has desirable consequences for the account of pronominal PPs. Being highly underspecified adverbs, German *da*, *wo* and Dutch *daar*, *waar*, *er* obviously do not qualify as NPs, and certainly have no Case (let alone dative!), but P has one. Assuming that P can check the D-feature of these pro-forms, if they raise overtly, they acquire Case rather than checking Case against P. Since they have no Case to begin with, P remains the only category with Case throughout the derivation.



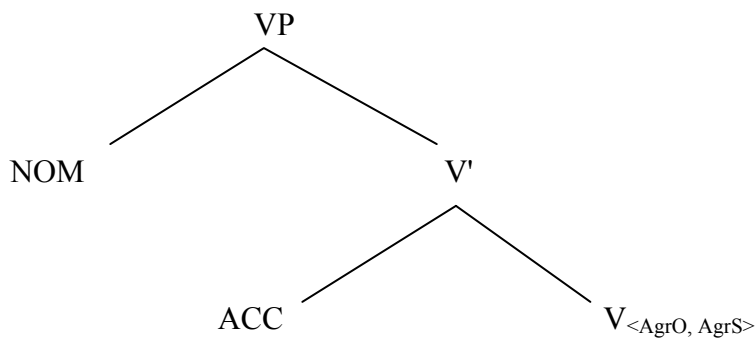
If P is not a Case assigner but rather is the exponent of Case itself, we expect that the uninflected indefinites shown in (13) are possible in PPs in which P would assign/contain dative Case. This expectation is borne out:

- (23) Otto ist mit genug / nichts / viel / allerlei / etwas / wenig zufrieden
Otto is with enough / nothing / much / various / something / little content
"Otto is happy with enough/nothing/much/various things/something/little"

5. Structural and inherent Case in trees

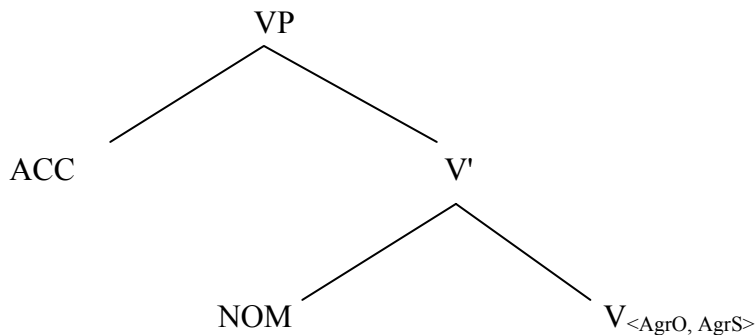
In KP and PP, Case is implemented in the (semi)functional heads K and P respectively. Verb-governed nominative and accusative lack such heads. They rely on functional structure that is provided by the verb. The licensing relation for accusative is agreement with the feature <AgrO> which is by default associated with a transitive verb. The licensing relation for nominative is agreement with the feature <AgrS> which is by default associated with finiteness. In German, both <AgrO> and <AgrS> are part of the verb(al complex). As such they can license the structural Cases anywhere along the verbal projection. The unmarked order NOM < ACC or ACC < NOM is equally available. It is a result of the argument structure of the verb and aspects of information structure that remain outside the discussion.

(24)



e.g. dass der Punk_{NOM} gerne Hochzeitsfeiern_{ACC} stört
that the punk gladly marriage-ceremonies disturbs
"that the punk likes to disturb marriage ceremonies"

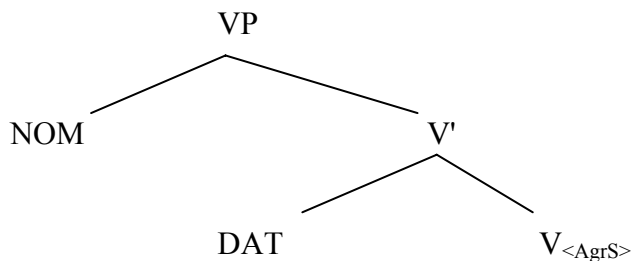
(25)



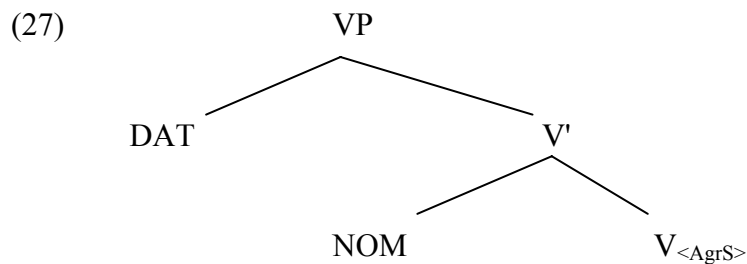
e.g. dass den Punk_{ACC} vor allem Hochzeitsfeiern_{NOM} stören
that the punk mostly marriage-ceremonies disturb
"that the punk is mostly annoyed by marriage ceremonies"

Objects of V without the default accusative enter (a) by absence of AgrO or (b) by affluence of arguments. They are Case-licensed by their own functional structure (KP or PP). This meets with the suggestion that the indirect object is 'adjoined' (Vogel & Steinbach 1995; Sabel, 2002)

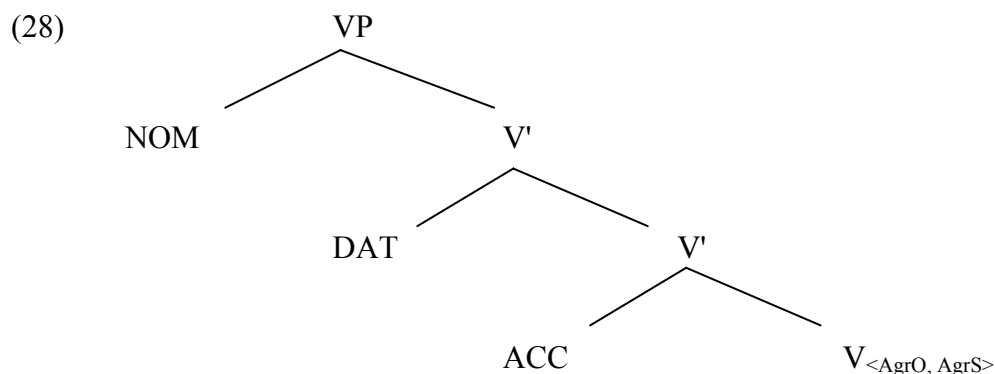
(26)



e.g. dass der Punk_{NOM} dem Ansehen des Dorfes_{DAT} schadet
that the punk the respectability (of) the village harms
"that the punk harms the village's respectability"



e.g. dass dem Punk_{DAT} die Extasy-Tabletten_{NOM} schaden
that the punk the extasy-pills harm
"that the punk is harmed by extasy"



e.g. dass der Punk_{NOM} dem Touristen_{DAT} das Dorf_{ACC} zeigt
that the punk the tourist the village shows
"that the punk shows the tourist the village"

6. Predictions

6.1 Function changing operations

Function changing operations suppress the subject's theta role and affect the verb's ability of licensing an object. More concretely: They remove AgrO. It is expected that the DO (ACC) but not the IO (DAT) is affected.

(29) a. Oswald hat den Präsidenten ermordet
Oswald has the president-ACC assassinated

b. Der Präsident wurde ermordet
the president-NOM was assassinated

(30) a. Oswald hat dem Präsidenten gehuldigt
Oswald has the president-DAT given-homage

b. Dem Präsidenten/*der Präsident wurde gehuldigt

(31) a. Es ist leicht, diesen Wagen zu fahren
it is easy this car-ACC to drive
"It is easy to drive this car"

- b. Dieser Wagen fährt sich leicht
this car-NOM drives REFL easily
 "This car drives easily"
- c. *Diesen Wagen fährt es sich leicht
this car-NOM drives it REFL easily
- (32) a. Es ist leicht, diesem Weg zu folgen
it is easy this path-DAT to follow
- b. *Dieser Weg folgt sich leicht
this path-NOM follows REFL easily
- c. Diesem Weg folgt es sich leicht
this path-DAT follows it REFL easily

6.2 Binding

Binding shows an asymmetry that disfavors dative arguments as potentials binders. This restriction pertains, however, only to anaphoric (A-) binding, not to variable (A'-) binding. Cf. Vogel and Steinbach (1995) among many others:

- (33) a. Der Arzt₁ hat den Patienten₂ sich_{1/2} im Spiegel gezeigt
the doctor has the patient-DAT REF-ACC in-the mirror shown
- b. Der Arzt₁ hat dem Patienten₂ sich_{1/*2} im Spiegel gezeigt
- (34) a. Peter hat die Gäste einander vorgestellt
Peter has the guests-ACC each-other-DAT introduced
- b. *Peter hat den Gästen einander vorgestellt
Peter has the guests-DAT each-other-ACC introduced

If the binding DP is in a KP-shell, it fails to c-command the anaphor in the same way as a DP under P fails:

- (35) a. Der Ärzte₁ mußten die Patienten₂ erst wieder [an einander_{1/2}] gewöhnen
the doctors must the patients again at REF acquaint
 "The doctors had to get the patients slowly get acquainted with each other again"
- b. Der Ärzte₁ mußten [an [die Patienten]_{1/2}] einander_{1/*2} erst wieder gewöhnen

In all these cases the index is a pure book-keeping device. It has nothing to do with formal grammatical features. Quantification, negation, wh etc. are such features. As such they move to K or P and yields KPs and PPs with exactly these features. Thus, bound variable interpretations are expected:

- (36) a. Der Arzt hat jedem Patienten₁ seine₁ Tabletten gezeigt
the doctor has each patient-DAT his pills-ACC shown
- b. Der Arzt hat keinem Patienten₁ seine₁ Tabletten gezeigt
the doctor has no patient-DAT his pills-ACC shown

- c. Welchem Patienten₁ hat der Arzt seine₁ Tabletten gezeigt?
which patient-DAT has the doctor his pills-ACC shown
- (37) a. Der Arzt hat mit jedem Patienten₁ seine₁ Therapie besprochen
the doctor has with each patient-DAT his therapy-ACC discussed
 b. Der Arzt hat mit keinem Patienten₁ seine₁ Therapie besprochen
the doctor has with no patient-DAT his therapy-ACC discussed
 c. Mit welchem Patienten₁ hat der Arzt seine₁ Therapie besprochen?
with which patient-DAT has the doctor his therapy-ACC discussed

6.3 Secondary predication

According to Vogel & Steinbach (1995) the subject of a secondary predicate can be a nominative or an accusative but not a dative. This follows, if the subject has to c-command the predicate (Williams, 1980; 1994).

- (38) a. Hans_x hat den Rektor_y schon dreimal betrunken_{x/y} getroffen
Hans-NOM has the rector-ACC already three-times drunk met
 b. Hans_x ist dem Rektor_y schon dreimal betrunken_{x/*y} begegnet
Hans-NOM is the rector-DAT already three-times drunk met
- (39) Hans_x hat mit dem Rektor_y schon dreimal betrunken_{x/*y}
 telefoniert
Hans-NOM has with the rector-DAT already three-times drunk telephoned
- (40) a. John ate the meat raw
 b. *John ate at the meat raw (Williams, 1994)

6.4 Extraction

Müller (1995) observes that dative as opposed to accusative DPs do not allow extraction:

- (41) a. [Über Scrambling]₁ habe ich einem Buch über Optionalität
about scrambling have I a book-DAT about optionality
 [einen Aufsatz t₁] hinzugefügt
an article-ACC added
 “I have added to a book about optionality an article about scrambling”
- b. *[Über Optionalität]₂ habe ich einen Aufsatz über Scrambling
about optionality have I an article-ACC about scrambling
 [einem Buch t₂] hinzugefügt
a book-DAT added
 “I have added an article about scrambling to a book about optionality”

If K induces an extra functional layer for dative objects that is absent in accusative objects, the barrier effect is expected. Since in German PPs are extraction island, the close analogy between datives and PP is highly suggestive:

- (42) **[Über Scrambling]₁ habe ich stundenlang [in einem Buch t₁] herumgeblättert*
about scrambling have I hours-long in a book-DAT turned-over-leaves
"I have for hours turned over the leaves in a book about scrambling"

6.5 Synthetic compounds / Rektionskomposita

In synthetic compounds the object of the verb integrates (incorporates?) into the verb, but this integration seems to be confined to direct objects which would be assigned accusative Case in syntax (cf. de Bleser & Bayer, 1985):

- (43) a. Die Studentin betreut die Kinder regelmäßig
the student looks-after the children-ACC regularly

b. Mit Kinderbetreuen verdient man wenig
with child-care earns one little

- (44) a. Das Rote Kreuz hilft vielen Kindern
the red cross helps many children-DAT

b. *Mit Kindernhelfen erlangt man selten Ruhm
with child-help attains one rarely honor

(45) ACC-taking verbs

a. Das Dirigentenverehren ist eine Sucht der Wiener
the conductor-worshipping is a mania (of) the Viennese

b. Das Dirigentenimitieren ist ein Spiel von Musikerkindern
the conductor-imitating is a game of musicians'-children

(46) DAT-taking verbs

a. *das Dirigentenapplaudieren
the conductor-applauding

b. * das Dirigentenausweichen
the conductor-avoiding

c. *das Dirigentenbeispringen
the conductor-assisting

d. *das Dirigentengrollen
the conductor-grudging

e. *das Dirigentenfluchen
the conductor-cursing

f. *das Dirigentenhuldigen
the conductor-praising

g. *das Dirigentenlauschen
the conductor-listening

- h. *das Dirigentenfolgen
the conductor-following
- i. *das Dirigentenmißtrauen
the conductor-mistrusting
- j. *das Dirigentenwidersprechen
the conductor-objecting

These facts are naturally explained if dative objects necessarily require a KP-shell. To the extent that phrases cannot incorporate in heads, the contrast follows.

6.6 Recoverability

There is evidence that certain zero arguments must be recovered by virtue of the functional structure that licenses Case. Since the projection of finite V embraces <AgrO> and <AgrS> but nothing like <AgrIO>, we expect zero forms which recover nominatives and accusatives but no zero form which recover datives (unless certain extra devices come into play).

6.6.1 Topic drop

- (47) a. Ich hab' ihn schon gesehen
I-NOM have him-ACC already seen
"I saw him already"
- b. [] hab' ihn schon gesehen [] = NOM
- c. [] hab' ich schon gesehen [] = ACC
- (48) a. Ich trage die schon
I-NOM wear them-ACC already
"I am wearing them already"
- b. [] trage die schon [] = NOM
- c. [] trage ich schon [] = ACC

Despite the fact that predicates like *denken* ("to think"), *interessiert* ("interested"), *nachdenken* ("to reflect (on)"), *sich freuen* ("to be happy"), *sich ärgern* ("to be angry"), etc. select PPs which are headed by predictable prepositions (*an*, *über*), PP-drop leads to ungrammaticality:

- (49) a. *[] denke ich die ganze Zeit [] = [PP *an* ...]
think I the whole time
- b. *[] bin ich nicht interessiert [] = [PP *an* ...]
am I not interested
- c. *[] hab' ich noch nicht nachgedacht [] = [PP *über* ...]
have I yet not reflected-on
- d. *[] hab' ich mich gefreut [] = [PP *über* ...]
have I REFL been-happy
- e. *[] hab' ich mich geärgert [] = [PP *über* ...]
have I REFL been-angry

Exactly the same restriction holds for dative topics:

- (50) a. *[] widerspricht ja keiner [] = DAT

- objects* *PRT nobody*
- b. *[] würde ich nicht vertrauen [] = DAT
 would I not trust
- c. *[] würde ich kein Geld geben [] = DAT
 would I no money give
- d. *[] laufen doch jetzt alle nach [] = DAT
 run PRT now all after

This gives strong support to the KP-hypothesis. If K (or P) is removed, the nullified element lacks the functional structure that would recover it formally.

6.6.2 Comparative clauses

- (51) a. Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als [NOM __] behandelt werden konnten
 more patients have come than treated become could
 "More patients showed up than could be treated"
- b. Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als der Arzt [ACC __] behandeln konnte
 more patients have come than the doctor treat could
 "More patients showed up than the doctor could treat"
- c. *Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als der Arzt [DAT __] Medikamente
 more patients have come than the doctor medicine
 verabreichen konnte
 administer could
 "More patients showed up than the doctor could give medicine to"

In spoken language (51c) can be repaired with the insertion of a dative marked pronoun, – a solution which (51a,b) would lead to straight ungrammaticality:

- (52) a. *Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als [NOM sie] behandelt werden konnten
- b. *Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als der Arzt [ACC sie] behandeln konnte
- c. (?)Mehr Patienten sind gekommen als der Arzt [DAT ihnen] Medikamente
 verabreichen konnte

7. Conclusion

It is an undeniable fact that Case morphology plays a key role in the syntactic organization of a Case system. Nevertheless, the syntactic Case system must be established in a way that maps onto morphological distinctions only partially. Structural/direct Cases are licensed by the verb's projection, but they may show distinctive Case morphology in addition. We have shown that – strictly speaking – this morphology must be syntactically obsolete (although it undoubtedly of great value for the processing system in languages without positional Case licensing). Lexical/inherent/oblique Cases are licensed by their own functional structure which can be identified as P or K. This has the effect that – strictly speaking – K or P cannot be lacking in these Cases. Developmental and variationist evidence supports this, as well as a large number of syntactic and morphosyntactic arguments. The delineation is fairly clean, but

there may be certain exceptions, i.e. we do find datives without overt Case morphology. Proper names in modern standard German seem to be a case in point, but see the suggestions in Bayer, Bader & Meng (2001). Others are bare nouns (mass nouns, substance nouns, abstracta) which may appear as datives but nevertheless seem to be deviant in a subtle way. I leave the judgement of the examples in the APPENDIX to the speakers with intuitions about German.

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APPENDIX: Datives without morphological Case

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|-----|
| (i) | a. | wenn Kälte | ins | Zimmer | dringt | NOM |
| | | <i>if coldness</i> | <i>into-the</i> | <i>room</i> | <i>moves</i> | |
| | b. | wenn du Kälte | verspürst | | | ACC |
| | | <i>if you coldness</i> | <i>feel</i> | | | |
| | c. | wenn du die Pflanzen | Kälte | aussetzst | | DAT |
| | | <i>if you the plants</i> | <i>coldness</i> | <i>expose-to</i> | | |
| (ii) | a. | wenn Gefahr droht | | | | NOM |
| | | <i>if danger</i> | <i>threatens</i> | | | |

- b. wenn du **Gefahr** witterst ACC
if you danger witness
- c. wenn du **Gefahr** trotzen musst DAT
if you danger brave must
- (iii) a. wenn man **Bier Wein** vorzieht DAT < ACC / ?ACC < DAT
if one beer wine prefers
- b. wenn man **Bier** nicht ablehnen will ACC
if one beer not reject wants
- c. wenn man **Bier** nicht widerstehen kann DAT
if one beer not resist can

Do preferences in interpretation shift in (iv)?

- (iv) a. Ich ziehe [**Bier**] [**Marias Kaffee**] vor
I prefer beer Mary's coffee
- b. Ich ziehe [**Marias Kaffee**] [**Bier**] vor

Finally a real life example (poster at Konstanz University):

- (v) [**Politik** ohne Frauen] fehlt die bessere Hälfte DAT
 politics without women lacks the better half