Sturla Berg-Olsen

The Latvian dative and genitive: A Cognitive Grammar account

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor Artium
Department of East European and Oriental Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Oslo

December 2004

For Hanne, Åsne and Runa,
the three reference points in my personal sphere

Table of contents

Preface ix
List of abbreviations xi
Symbols used xiii
1. Introduction 1
2. Theory and method 4
2.1 Traditional approaches to case 4
2.1.1 The Neogrammarians 4
2.1.2 Structuralism – Jakobson 5
2.1.3 Generative grammar 6
2.1.4 Weaknesses pertaining to the traditional approaches 7
2.2 Case in Cognitive Grammar 9
2.2.1 The symbolic thesis 9
2.2.2 Polysemy and homonymy 9
2.2.3 The structure of grammatical categories 10
2.2.4 The meaning and status of case morphemes 12
2.2.5 Schematic networks, schemas and prototypes 14
2.2.6 Earlier studies of case in Cognitive Grammar and similar frameworks 16
2.2.6.1 Wierzbicka 16
2.2.6.2 Smith 18
2.2.6.3 Nikiforidou 18
2.2.6.4 Janda 19
2.2.6.5 Taylor 19
2.2.6.6 Dąbrowska 20
2.3 Earlier work on case in Baltic, especially Latvian 21
2.4 Why the dative and the genitive? 24
2.5 Method 25
2.5.1 General remarks 25
2.5.2 Methods used in the collection of data 27
3. The dative 32
3.1 Functions and traditional treatment 32
3.1.1 The adverbal dative 34
3.1.1.1 Indirect object 34
3.1.1.2 Single (direct) object 35
3.1.1.3 Possessor 39
3.1.1.4 Debitor 40
3.1.1.5 Dative with infinitive 40
3.1.1.6 Other impersonal constructions 43
3.1.1.7 Dative with gerunds in *-ot* (the absolute dative) 46
3.1.2 The adnominal dative 46
3.1.2.1 With adjectives 46
3.1.2.2 With nouns 47
3.1.3 The adverbial dative 48

3.1.4 The ‘possessive’ dative....48
3.1.5 The ethical dative....50
3.1.6 The ‘agentive’ dative with reflexive verbs....51
3.1.7 The dative with prepositions and semi-adpositions....52
3.1.8 The question of the instrumental....57
3.2 A network analysis....61
3.2.1 Affectedness, personal sphere and target person....61
3.2.2 Experiencer....62
3.2.2.1 Nominative vs. dative experiencers....68
3.2.3 Possessor....70
3.2.3.1 Inanimate possessor....74
3.2.4 Debitor....76
3.2.4.1 Inanimate debitor....79
3.2.5 Recipient and benefactive....80
3.2.5.1 Inanimate recipient and benefactive....87
3.2.6 Anti-recipient and malefactive....89
3.2.6.1 Inanimate anti-recipient and malefactive....94
3.2.7 The ethical dative....98
3.2.8 Dative with gerunds in *-ot* (the absolute dative)....99
3.2.9 Dative with adpositions....101
3.2.9.1 Dative with *līdz* and *pa* – the allative meaning....101
3.2.9.2 Dative-marking of all prepositional complements in the plural....105
3.2.9.3 Dative in fixed expressions with prepositions normally used with the genitive....107
3.2.9.4 Dative with semi-adpositions....108
3.2.10 The instrumental uses of the dative....110
3.2.11 Target – a superschema for the dative?....111
3.3 Variation....112
3.3.1 Variation between the dative and the nominative....113
3.3.2 Variation between the dative and the accusative....114
3.3.3 Is the variation a sign of change?....117
3.4 Conclusions – the Latvian dative in a cognitive perspective....118
4. The genitive....120
4.1 Functions and traditional treatment....120
4.1.1 Adverbal partitive functions....121
4.1.1.1 Partitive subject....122
4.1.1.2 Partitive object....123
4.1.2 Adverbal non-partitive functions....123
4.1.2.1 Subject of the existential verb *būt* when negated....123
4.1.2.2 Object of negated verbs....125
4.1.2.3 Object regardless of the polarity of the verb....126
4.1.3 Adnominal partitive functions....127
4.1.3.1 With nouns....128
4.1.3.2 With quantifiers....128
4.1.4 Partitive and non-partitive genitive with adjectives....130
4.1.5 Adnominal non-partitive functions....131
4.1.5.1 The ‘possessive’ genitive....132
4.1.5.2 The genitive of material....133
4.1.5.3 The defining genitive....133
4.1.5.4 The descriptive genitive....134

4.1.5.5 The subjective and objective genitive 135
4.1.5.6 The genitive of emphasis 135
4.1.5.7 The agentive genitive 136
4.1.6 The genitive in time expressions with *ik* ‘every’ 136
4.1.7 The genitive with the adverbs *žēl* ‘sorry’ and *bail* ‘afraid’ 138
4.1.8 The genitive with adpositions and semi-adpositions 139
4.2 A network analysis 140
4.2.1 Reference points and intrinsic relationships 141
4.2.2 Reference point at an instance level ($RP_{INSTANCE}$) 144
4.2.2.1 $RP_{INSTANCE}$ in phrases with a conventionalised unit status 145
4.2.3 Reference point at a type level (RP_{TYPE}) 147
4.2.4 $RP_{INSTANCE}$ involved in an intrinsic relationship ($RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC) 149
4.2.4.1 Kinship terms 150
4.2.4.2 Nouns denoting inherent parts of wholes 153
4.2.4.3 Deverbal nouns 154
4.2.4.4 Representational nouns 157
4.2.4.5 Deadjectival nouns 158
4.2.4.6 Other relational nouns 159
4.2.5 Reference point in connection with prepositions 160
4.2.6 Whole 162
4.2.7 Goal 167
4.2.8 Substance 172
4.2.9 Source 175
4.2.10 Landmark 178
4.2.11 Other intrinsic relationships 179
4.2.11.1 Essential quality 179
4.2.11.2 Appositional relationships 180
4.2.11.3 Trajector 181
4.2.11.4 Conclusions 182
4.2.12 A superschema for the Latvian genitive? 182
4.3 Variation 184
4.3.1 Variation affecting the genitive in the meaning ‘a whole’ 184
4.3.1.1 Variation between the genitive and the nominative 184
a) With quantifiers 184
b) With negated existential *būt* 186
c) With *pietikt* ‘suffice’ and *(pie)trūkt* ‘lack’ 187
d) Denoting indefinite quantity in subjects of affirmative verbs 189
4.3.1.2 Variation between the genitive and the accusative 190
a) With quantifiers 190
b) With negated transitive verbs 191
c) Denoting indefinite quantity in objects of affirmative verbs 192
d) In time expressions with *ik* ‘every’ 193
4.3.1.3 Variation between the genitive and the instrumental or *ar* ‘with’ + the accusative 193
a) With nouns denoting quantity 194
b) With adjectives 195
4.3.2 Variation affecting the genitive in other meanings 196
4.3.2.1 Variation between the genitive and the accusative with *žēl* ‘sorry’ and *vērts* ‘worth(y)’ 196

4.3.2.2 Variation between the genitive and the preposition *pēc* ‘after’ + the genitive 198
4.3.2.3 Variation between the genitive and the preposition *no* ‘from, of’ + the genitive 199
4.3.3 Variation – tendencies and explanations 199
4.4 Conclusions – the Latvian genitive in a cognitive perspective 202
5. Summary and conclusions 204
References 213
Appendix 221
Index 2

Preface

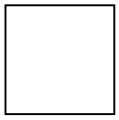
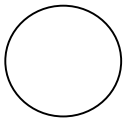
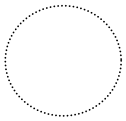
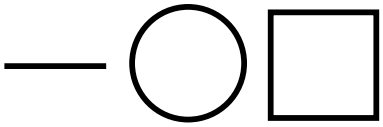
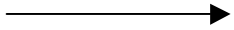
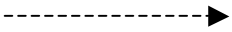
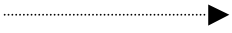
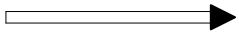
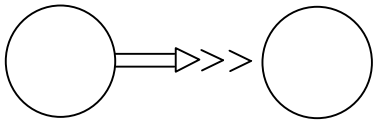
My first encounter with the Latvian case system was in August 1991, when I arrived in Riga to spend a year in Latvia as an exchange student. As I gradually mastered the language, I was struck by what I saw as the simplicity and logic of the Latvian case system. The fact that my fascination for the subject has not diminished since then, is witnessed by the present dissertation. The dissertation is the result of several years of work, and I am indebted to many people for inspiring and contributing to it in different ways. My thanks go to my supervisors, Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten and Hanne Gram Simonsen, as well as to Jānis Valdmanis, who, although technically not a supervisor, read my manuscripts all along and as a native speaker and scholar provided invaluable comments. He also provided help and practical assistance during my stay in Riga in the winter 2001/2002. I would like to thank Ellen Hellebostad Toft for her comments on a late version of the dissertation, as well as Lidija Leikuma, Everita Milčonoka and my mother, Mildred Haakaas, for their remarks. Thanks also to the participants and organisers of the Seminar in Cognitive Grammar at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oslo, and to audiences in Baltimore, Turku, Daugavpils and Stockholm, to whom earlier versions of parts of this work were presented. Caroline Svendsen did a good job of correcting my English, and Dace Strelēvica checked the Latvian examples and their translations. Thanks to the 14 participants in the survey of spoken Latvian, to Snorre Karkkonen-Svensson, Everita Milčonoka (again!) and Gunta Nešpore for helping me to recruit the participants, as well as to Andrejs Spektors and the rest of the people at the Artficial Intelligence Laboratory of the Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science at the University of Latvia for letting me use their rooms for making my recordings. The person who deserves my warmest thanks, however, is my wife Hanne Martine Eckhoff, who was an immense support for me during the work, both on a personal and a professional level. Notably, I am greatly indebted to her for contributing to the network analysis of the genitive presented in chapter 4.

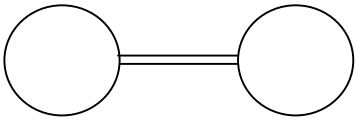
List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
COMP	comparative
D	dominion
DAT	dative
DEB	debitive
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DIM	diminutive
DISTR	distributive preposition
EVI	evidential
FEM	feminine
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
MASC	masculine
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
PAAP	past active participle
PAPP	past passive participle
PART	particle
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
PRAP	present active participle
PRES	present tense
PS	personal sphere
QU	question particle
REFL (in small caps)	reflexive
REFL (in capitals)	reflexive pronoun
RP	reference point
RPO	reflexive possessive pronoun
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive

T	target (in a reference point situation)
TP	target person
V	verb
VOC	vocative

Symbols used

Symbol	*Description*	*Explanation*
	square	entity (anything that may be conceived of or referred to for analytic purposes)
	circle	thing (a region in some domain in conceptual space), ≈ noun phrase (NP)
		NP marked with the case indicated
	dotted circle	non-existent NP (an empty subset)
	heavy line/circle/box	high salience and/or profiled
	solid arrow	1) in schematic networks: (full) schemanticity 2) in diagrams: movement
	dashed arrow	semantic extension
	dotted arrow	1) mental path 2) mental impression
	double arrow	process/action (non-copular verb)
		one NP initiates a process directed towards, but not reaching, another NP
	dashed line	correspondence line between elements in a valency relation

	two circles linked by a double line	an intrinsic relationship pertains between two NPs
		target person (TP)
☞	hand with pointing finger	obligation
!	exclamation mark	affectedness
. . .	three dots	indicates a potential for extending the number of an element in a diagram

1. Introduction

A foreigner learning Latvian is bound to encounter certain difficulties when trying to acquire the grammar of the language. For students whose native language has a relatively limited inventory of morphological forms, as for instance English or one of the Mainland Scandinavian languages, the Latvian case system may seem quite unwieldy at first sight. In my experience, however, learning the actual forms of the different cases is not too difficult. Mastering all the functions of each case, on the other hand, often proves to be a challenging task. When turning to the existing grammars of the language, the student at best finds lists of uses for each case, which he then must learn by heart – unless he is fortunate enough to be immersed in a Latvian-speaking community and thus has a good chance of picking up at least the more frequent functions more or less automatically.

This dissertation represents an attempt at advancing some steps further in the explanation of why two of the Latvian cases, the dative and the genitive, are used in their respective functions. Both the dative and the genitive present the scholar as well as the student with a broad and bewildering range of uses that sometimes even represent polar opposites, as when the genitive can express both a goal and a source. Rather than content myself with a description of the distributional facts, I will seek to explain the functions of the dative and genitive by analysing the semantic content conveyed by these cases in different constructions. My tool in this endeavour will be the framework of Cognitive Grammar, which takes the view that case morphemes, as all linguistic units, always carry a certain meaning. The network model of linguistic meaning employed in Cognitive Grammar will allow me to explicitly formulate how the different uses of a case are related, at the same time not losing sight of important generalisations.

The main aim of this dissertation is to examine all the functions of the dative and genitive in modern Latvian[1] and to develop network analyses of these two cases, representing hypotheses about how these categories are organised in the minds of speakers of Latvian. I will seek to present a picture of the two cases as semantically coherent categories, viewing their many different uses as interconnected by links of schematicity or semantic

[1] I will use the term *modern Latvian* in a broad sense, including both the standard language and the colloquial spoken variety used in the capital Riga and its environs.

extension.[2] Apart from presenting an account of the two cases that is theoretically more satisfactory and psychologically more plausible than the accounts offered in the existing literature, it is my opinion that the insight reached in this work can be employed in the teaching of the Latvian case system to students. In my view, the task of acquiring this system will be much facilitated if the learner when turning to grammars and textbooks not only encounters statements of the type 'the dative is used with the verbs X, Y and Z', but is also provided with explanations: 'the dative is used with the verbs X, Y and Z because these verbs include references to the semantic role A, which is compatible with the general meaning of the dative and connected to the semantic roles B and C, also expressed by the dative'.

Another aim of the present work is to test the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar on a set of data that until now has not been analysed in terms of this framework. By putting Cognitive Grammar to this test, I will not only examine whether it can provide a satisfactory account of the use of the Latvian dative and genitive, but also contribute to assessing the viability of the framework as a whole.

A third aim is to investigate patterns of variation involving the dative and genitive in modern Latvian. As is generally acknowledged, synchronic variation may be a sign of ongoing diachronic changes. Examining the variational patterns in light of the networks proposed for the two cases will provide additional insight into the synchronic structure of the categories and help me to point out possible tendencies of development.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation begins with an overview of different theoretical approaches to the study of case in general. I then move on to a discussion of theoretical notions in Cognitive Grammar considered central to the analysis of case, followed by brief presentations of earlier work on case performed within Cognitive Grammar or closely related frameworks, as well as earlier work on case in the Baltic languages. This is followed by a discussion of my reasons for choosing the Latvian dative and genitive as my objects of study. The chapter is rounded off by a section on methodology and on the data employed in the dissertation, including a survey on colloquial Latvian performed by me.

Chapter 3 in its entirety deals with the dative. The first part of the chapter introduces the functions of this case as presented in traditional grammars, largely following the outline given in Mathiassen 1997. In the second part of the chapter I present my own network analysis of the dative. Moving through the array of meanings expressed by the dative, I con-

[2] These terms will be explained in chapter 2.

sider the nature of these meanings, finally arriving at an analysis where the large majority of the dative's functions can be subsumed under the schematic meaning of *target person*, a concept earlier employed in the analysis of the Polish dative by Ewa Dąbrowska (1997). The final part of the chapter investigates the variation observed in modern Latvian between the dative and the nominative as well as the dative and the accusative.

The subject matter of chapter 4 is the genitive, but the structure of this chapter follows the same lines as chapter 3. The first part presents the functions of the genitive according to the traditional classification, while the second part consists of a network analysis of the case. The investigation of the different uses of the genitive, followed by theoretical discussions, leads to an analysis of this case as having two semantic focal points: Genitive-marked NPs express a *reference point*, a *participant in an intrinsic relationship* or both of these concepts simultaneously. These two notions have earlier been discussed and applied in the work of e.g. Ronald Langacker and John Taylor. Chapter 4 is concluded by a discussion of case variation. The genitive is in a situation of competition with other cases (with or without prepositions) in a number of its functions, especially in the functions where it expresses a whole, i.e. what have traditionally been labelled partitive functions.

Chapter 5 provides the reader with a summary of the dissertation and reviews the conclusions to be drawn from the previous discussions. An appendix towards the end of the dissertation contains several tables pertaining to the survey of colloquial Latvian.

2. Theory and method

Case has been a major object of attention for linguists ever since Pāṇini wrote his grammar of Sanskrit some time between the seventh and the fourth century BC. In the first part of this chapter, I present a brief overview of some of the approaches towards case taken from the end of the 19th century up until today. Approaches related to the framework of Cognitive Grammar are not treated in this part, as a more thorough discussion of case in Cognitive Grammar will follow in the second part of the chapter. The discussion in the first part will necessarily be somewhat brief due to the scope of the dissertation. When selecting the subject matter here I have primarily considered the influence exerted by the different approaches, as well as the degree to which they have raised issues relevant to the theoretical orientation of this dissertation. The third part presents an overview of existing work on case pertaining specifically to the Baltic languages, while in the fourth part I discuss my motivation for selecting the dative and the genitive as the focal points of this study. The chapter is rounded off by some remarks on methodology.

2.1 Traditional approaches to case

2.1.1 The Neogrammarians

As the dominant school of linguistic thought in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the Neogrammarians brought linguistics to a higher scholarly level and laid the foundations for much of the subsequent development in the field. In the realm of case, two somewhat conflicting tendencies can be discerned in the work of a leading Neogrammarian, Berthold Delbrück: On the one hand there is a desire to seek out the original meaning of each Indo-European case, from which the different case meanings found in the single languages could be derived. Delbrück (1893) talks about each case having a basic notion (*Grundbegriff*), although he does admit that this basic notion is not always easy to establish – for instance, a common basic notion cannot be identified for the adverbal and adnominal uses of the genitive (1893:186), although a possible line of development from the adverbal partitive to the adnominal partitive use is hinted at (1893:333). On the other hand,

however, the treatment of each case, be it in the Indo-European languages as a whole or in separate branches of Indo-European (e.g. Delbrück 1907), is characterised by a fundamentally atomistic approach. The functions of each case are divided according to semantic and/or syntactic criteria, thus we find groups such as 'genitive with verbs of perception', 'genitive with verbs meaning "govern", "rule", "have at one's disposal"', 'genitive in positive existential clauses', 'genitive of male human beings' etc. (Delbrück 1893:309, my translations). In other words, the Neogrammarians continue the traditional practice of producing lists of case functions without making explicit statements concerning the relationships between the specific functions. This practice can be traced back to antiquity, and it is still very much alive and often encountered in modern grammars of case languages. However, the idea that a common abstract meaning may exist behind the plethora of functions displayed by each case as mentioned nevertheless surfaced in Neogrammarian writings. This idea would be developed further by the structuralists in the 20th century.

2.1.2 Structuralism – Jakobson

Roman Jakobson, inspired by Louis Hjelmslev (1935[1972]), in his influential work *Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre* (1936[1971]) put forward the view that each case has a separate aggregate meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) distinguishing it from the other cases in a given language. He does not deny the fact that each case has a number of specific meanings (*Sonderbedeutungen*) as well, but takes the view that these are variants of the aggregate meaning conditioned by the context. A satisfactory analysis must take both the aggregate meaning and the specific meanings of a case into consideration. In addition, a central meaning (*Hauptbedeutung*) should be established for each case; thus for instance the basic meaning of the Russian nominative is said to be that of a subject of a transitive action (Jakobson 1971:36). An important point for Jakobson is the idea that the cases form a system of oppositions on the basis of a small number of semantic features, a line of thought that he elaborated in Jakobson 1958. Here the Russian system of eight cases (including the partitive or second genitive as well as the second locative, both being distinguished morphologically only in a limited number of lexemes) is reduced to a matrix of three semantic features – marginality (*periferijnost´*),[3] quantification or extension (*ob´´ëmnost´*) and directionality (*napravlennost´*). Jakobson's feature-based analysis of the Russian case system

[3] I follow the Scando-Slavica system for transliteration of Cyrillic, cf. *Scando-Slavica* 26 (1980) or http://www.hf.uio.no/east/bulg/scsl/instr.html.

has been criticised for being too abstract – on the one hand there is no easy way to derive the specific meanings of a case from the aggregate meanings postulated, while on the other hand the aggregate meanings and feature specifications are vague enough to fit many alternative sets of facts. Still Jakobson's analysis contains several important traits that are also present in some form in the modern framework of Cognitive Grammar: The notion of a hierarchy of meanings based on schematicity where the aggregate meaning is the most schematic, the postulation of a central meaning for each case, as well as the unified treatment of adverbal, adnominal and prepositional functions. Thus, Jakobson talks about the adnominal uses of the genitive being related through metonymy to the adverbal ones (1971:41), and he states that the meaning of the prepositional genitive is no different from the meaning of the genitive elsewhere (1971:44). Also worth noting is the fact that he does not dispute the traditional view that cases are semantic units with a certain inherent meaning.

2.1.3 Generative grammar

Many pre-Chomskyan linguists (e.g. Jerzy Kuryłowicz, cf. Kuryłowicz 1949[1960]) distinguish between *semantic* case on the one hand and *syntactic* or *grammatical* case on the other. Some cases are claimed to have no semantic content, signalling nothing but purely syntactic categories such as subject or object, while others do have a certain semantic content. It is also possible to postulate a continuum where some cases (e.g. the nominative and the accusative) are mostly syntactic, while others (e.g. the instrumental and the locative) are mostly semantic. Chomskyan generative grammar is radical in that it treats case as a purely syntactic phenomenon. Furthermore, it postulates the existence of *abstract* cases, which are universal and may or may not coincide with the actual morphological cases that exist in some languages. In the Government and Binding (GB) framework, case is assigned in the syntactic surface structure (s-structure) if certain structural properties are fulfilled; thus, subject NPs in finite clauses receive nominative case from the head of the inflection phrase (IP) and object NPs receive accusative case from their governing verb. This type of case assignment, called *structural* case, contrasts with *inherent* case. Assignment of inherent case takes place in the deep structure (d-structure) given that there is a thematic relationship between the inherent case assigner and the NP to be case-marked, and the lexical entry of the inherent case assigner may contain specifications as to which case is assigned. This type of case assignment is for instance invoked for verbs governing other cases than the default

object case (the accusative). An important distinction between structural and inherent case in the GB framework is that while inherent case is connected to the assignment of semantic roles, structural case is assigned in the s-structure and is sensitive only to structure, not to semantics (Blake 1994:61). Certain modifications of the basic principles of case assignment are postulated to account for other constructions, such as the oblique case used on subjects in English *I consider him (to be) an idiot*. For an overview of case in GB cf. Haegeman 1994:153–194 and Chomsky 1995:110–124. In Chomsky's most recent version of generative grammar, minimalism, the process of structural case assignment is reformulated; the notion of government is abandoned and instead all structural case assignment relies on specifier-head configurations in the x-bar tree (Chomsky 1995:173).

As the generative framework was originally developed on the basis of data from languages with a very restricted inventory of cases, the issue of (morphological) case has remained somewhat peripheral to the theory in general, although there does exist a number of generative studies devoted to the analysis of (morphological) case in case-rich languages. Some examples are Babby 1986 and 1987 on Russian, Leko 1990 on Serbo-Croatian, Mitchell 1991 on Finnish and Harbert and Toribio 1991 on nominative subjects in languages such as Icelandic and German. Neeleman and Weerman 1999 deals with the subject of case and arguments using a version of the minimalist framework.

2.1.4 Weaknesses pertaining to the traditional approaches

The presentation of three traditional approaches to case given in the preceding sections, albeit brief, has identified certain weaknesses pertaining to each of the approaches. The Neogrammarian framework was designed to explain diachronic facts about language, and cannot necessarily be successfully applied to synchronic analyses. The practice of listing each case function separately without considering in which ways the functions are related was inherited by the Neogrammarians from traditional grammars of classical languages. From the viewpoint of modern linguistics, which rather than simply stating facts about languages aims at explaining these facts, this traditional practice cannot be considered satisfactory.

The structuralist approach as presented in Jakobson's works represents a quite successful attempt at amending the deficiencies of the previous approaches. Jakobson's aim was to explain the workings of a case system in a particular language at a particular stage in the history of this language; in other words, his approach was purely synchronic. Perhaps

the single most important idea on which he based his treatment of case was the assumption that all cases are meaningful entities. However, Jakobson's postulation of a single aggregate meaning for each case has been criticised, because these aggregate meanings tend to be very broad and seemingly all-encompassing. Jakobson's feature-based analysis of the Russian case system (Jakobson 1958) is characterised by Blake (1994:41) as being 'less than perspicuous', while Wierzbicka (1980) criticises the same analysis from the perspective of learnability.

Generative grammar diverges from the structuralist assumption that cases carry meaning. As already mentioned, in the GB framework they are instead considered to be automatically inserted in certain syntactic configurations (for structural case) or when properties of a case-assigning element (e.g. a verb) requires it (for inherent case). Serious doubts have been raised about the feasibility of this model, especially for case-rich languages. Thus for instance Babby, after analysing certain aspects of the Russian case system using the GB framework, concludes that 'the Russian data cast serious doubt on one of the central assumptions of Government and Binding case theory, namely, that case distribution is exhaustively determined by structural relations between the case assigner and assignee […], and that case conflicts result in ill-formed structures' (Babby 1987:136).

I myself have found the framework of Cognitive Grammar, as developed by Langacker and others, to be very well suited to the task of analysing the phenomenon of case and to overcome the deficiencies of other approaches mentioned above. For one thing, the fact that Cognitive Grammar rejects the postulation of linguistic units and structures with no overt realisation (Langacker 1987:53–54) makes it descriptively more stringent than theories operating with hypothesised underlying structures. The view of grammatical structure as consisting exclusively of symbolic units, i.e. correspondences between phonological and semantic units (Langacker 1991b:16), is also theoretically appealing in its simplicity, and implies that also grammatical units such as case morphemes must have a certain semantic content. Finally, the application of the network model of describing the meaning of polysemous linguistic units gives scholars the possibility of making explicit statements about the connections between related meanings, capturing both abstract and more specific meanings at the same time.

In the following sections I will elaborate on the treatment of case in Cognitive Grammar, giving an in-depth presentation of some central concepts in this framework. In section 2.2.6 I will give a brief overview of studies of case conducted by cognitive gram-

marians or scholars with a theoretical orientation close to that of Cognitive Grammar, illustrating some of the advantages of applying this framework to this field of study.

2.2 Case in Cognitive Grammar

2.2.1 The symbolic thesis

Cognitive Grammar is a theoretical framework that aims at linking statements about linguistic knowledge to facts about other human cognitive abilities. The notion of an abstract level of linguistic representation from which actual utterances are derived by means of transformations or movements is rejected by Cognitive Grammar. Instead, the analysis of linguistic phenomena takes as its starting point what generative grammarians would call surface structure, i.e. actually occurring strings of sounds and morphs. A fundamental tenet of Cognitive Grammar is that the grammar of a language may only consist of *symbolic units*, each of which has a phonological and a semantic pole (Langacker 1991b:16). Thus, the theory rejects the existence of certain linguistic units having a phonological expression without expressing any meaning. Following Taylor (1996, 2002), I will refer to this tenet as *the symbolic thesis*. The symbolic thesis has important repercussions for the analysis of case; if the thesis is right, a morpheme expressing a certain case must carry a meaning whenever it occurs in texts and utterances. In other words, case endings are meaningful also where they traditionally are said to be required by certain lexemes, such as verbs and prepositions, or by certain syntactic environments, such as the Latvian debitive construction. There are certainly no compelling reasons for claiming that a linguistic unit that is obligatory under certain circumstances necessarily must also be semantically empty, although its semantic contribution to the construction may be redundant. Importantly, redundancy – which is abundant in all natural languages – must be distinguished from meaninglessness. A challenge for Cognitive Grammar is to show that the use of a certain case with a certain preposition, say, the Latvian genitive used with the preposition *no* 'from', is semantically motivated and can be related to other uses of the case in question.

2.2.2 Polysemy and homonymy

It is widely recognised that polysemy – defined as the association of two or more related meanings with a single linguistic form – is a characteristic of many lexemes, probably of the majority of lexemes in any given language. The idea of grammatical categories being

polysemous is, however, somewhat unconventional. In Cognitive Grammar, there is no sharp distinction between lexical and grammatical structures. The notion of symbolic unit is meant to cover both lexical, morphological and syntactic units, all of which share the same bipolar nature. As Langacker puts it, '[l]exicon, morphology, and syntax are all treated in Cognitive Grammar as symbolic in nature, forming a continuum of symbolic units.' (Langacker 1991b:105). Polysemy is a general characteristic of all symbolic units, and morphological markers such as case endings do not form exceptions in this regard.

Morphological markers are parallel to lexemes also in that they may display a situation of *homonymy*. Similarly to polysemy, homonymy involves the association of two or more meanings with a single form, but these meanings are unrelated. The distinction between homonymy and polysemy thus hinges on whether a given set of meanings may be said to be related or not. As might be expected, the distinction is fuzzy rather than clear-cut, and there may be instances where some speakers perceive two meanings to be related, while others do not (cf. Taylor 1995:103). In principle, though, homonymy is brought about accidentally, for example when two distinct lexemes become phonologically identical as a result of the operation of sound changes affecting the language as a whole. Polysemous units, on the other hand, tend to show the same patterns cross-linguistically, also in genetically unrelated languages. When considering the semantics of single cases such as the dative and the genitive, a key task is to decide – if possible – to what extent the cases display polysemy and homonymy. The Neogrammarian approach, which even today is reflected in many pedagogically oriented grammars of case languages, is to treat most of the meanings of a case as accidentally homonymous. As a reaction to this, cognitive case semanticists have tended to emphasise the high degree of polysemy which is typically displayed by cases, and which is not satisfactorily captured by the lists of uses that make up the chapters on case in many grammars. I share the view that the notion of polysemy is crucial to any analysis of the semantics of particular cases, but one should of course not a priori exclude the possibility of there being a certain degree of homonymy involved as well.

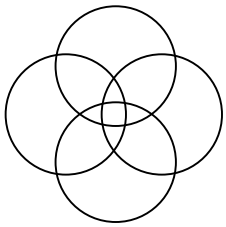
2.2.3 The structure of grammatical categories

If we accept the idea of grammatical categories being polysemous, the next question to be posed concerns the nature of the relations between the different meanings of each polysemous category. Basically, two principles of organisation are possible: The meanings may all share a core meaning, comparable to Jakobson's aggregate meaning for each Russian

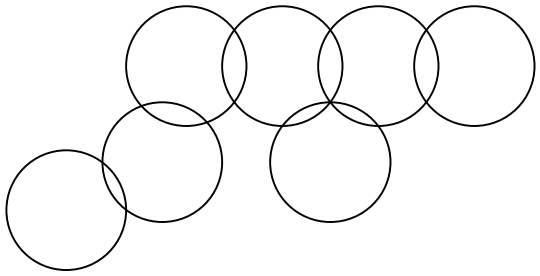
case, or, alternatively, the meanings may be related on a one-to-one basis, forming a chain or a network where A shares some traits with B and B with C, but not necessarily A with C. This last principle of categorisation is known under Wittgenstein's term *family resemblance*, and the semantic structure of such a linguistic unit is a *network* of meanings. The two alternatives may be envisaged as in figure 2.1; the circles represent different meanings of a polysemous category:

Figure 2.1

A polysemous category with a core meaning



A polysemous category based on family resemblance



There is no reason for polysemous categories in a language to be organised exclusively in one of the mentioned ways, but there seems to be a tendency for grammatical units, which typically display a large array of meanings, to be based on family resemblance rather than having a core meaning. Thus for instance Brugman (1983) argues that the English preposition *over* is a polysemous unit with a family resemblance structure, showing that some uses of this preposition that seemingly have nothing in common are nevertheless linked through other, intermediate uses.

The meanings of a polysemous category may be related in several ways. Langacker (1991b:249) remarks that case categories are 'generally complex, comprising a network of alternate senses connected by relationships of schematicity and semantic extension'.

Schematicity in Cognitive Grammar is a technical term pertaining to the relation between a schema – a relatively unspecified conceptual structure – and its instantiations, which have a higher degree of specification. A relation of schematicity is said to be *full* if the instantiation is fully compatible with the schema, simply elaborating it, but it can also be *partial*, if the specifications of the instantiation conflicts with that of the schema (Langacker 1987:68–69). A relation of schematicity between two meanings A and B of a case thus implies that B is more specific than A, but still at least to some extent has specifications that are compatible with A's specifications. Because it represents a limiting instance, full sche-

maticity is accorded special status, and a relation of full schematicity between A and B is also called a relation of *specialisation*, as opposed to *extension* (Langacker 1987:379). The term *schematicity* is commonly used meaning only its limiting case, i.e. full schematicity (cf. for instance Langacker 1991b:2), and this use of the term will be adopted here.

Semantic extension amounts to processes of metonymy and metaphor. *Metonymy* results from the establishing of connections between entities that co-occur within the same conceptual structure. A prime example of metonymy is the relation easily established between a whole and its subparts – thus if meaning B of a case involves only a subpart of the specifications found in meaning A, a relation of metonymy may be said to exist between the two. The part-whole relation underlies several other types of metonymic relations, such as that between an action and a state, a path and a place and a goal and a place (cf. Taylor 1995:127ff.). *Metaphor* can be characterised as the conceptualisation of one cognitive domain in terms of components pertaining to another cognitive domain. In case semantics, a metaphorical relation can arise e.g. if a relationship between event participants profiled by the case morpheme is viewed as pertaining between speech participants instead, the speech act domain thus being analysed in terms of components originally belonging to the event domain. Janda (1993) argues that the ethical dative in Czech and Russian, which has correlates also in the Baltic languages, is due to a metaphorical extension of this kind.[4] The point of departure is that the dative normally marks an event participant, e.g. a recipient or (in Janda's terms) an affected possessor, that in no way needs to be present in the concrete speech situation. Sometimes, however, a dative-marked personal pronoun referring to one of the participants in the concrete speech situation, for instance the hearer, can be inserted, thus implying that this speech participant is affected in some way by what is uttered.

2.2.4 The meaning and status of case morphemes

In line with the symbolic thesis mentioned above, case morphemes – in Latvian realised as suffixes – are meaningful, i.e. in addition to their phonological content, they also have a certain semantic content.[5] According to Langacker, '[t]he meaning of a case marker reflects

---

[4] Janda distinguishes the *ethical* dative from the *emotional* dative, although both of these functions are analysed in terms of semantic extension via metaphor. In chapter 3, I treat both of these uses of the dative under the heading 'ethical dative'.

[5] It should be emphasised that the considerable discrepancies between languages regarding their inventory and use (or non-use) of cases speak against the idea of regarding cases as universal, cross-linguistic notions (cf. Langacker 1991b:234). The semantics of case morphemes should therefore be treated on a language-specific basis. This certainly does not inhibit the undertaking of comparative and contrastive studies in this field.

its function, which is to specify the type of role that a nominal entity plays with respect to some relation.' (Langacker 1991b:235). The relation involving the nominal entity – called *base relation* by Langacker – is the cognitive domain with respect to which the meaning of the case morpheme is defined. Case morphemes in principle may profile either the focused nominal entity or a relation involving this entity. In the first situation the case morpheme profiles a *thing* in the technical sense used in Cognitive Grammar, defined as 'a region in some domain in conceptual space' (Langacker 1987:494).[6] In other words, the case morpheme is itself nominal in nature, although the THING it profiles necessarily must be quite schematic. The schematic profile of the case morpheme is elaborated by the profile of the nominal stem to which it is attached, while the case morpheme heads the composite expression and is schematic for all nominals marked with the case in question. The second possibility is for the case morpheme to profile a relation involving the focused nominal entity. This second analysis parallels the Cognitive Grammar analysis of pre- and postpositions, thus abolishing or at least blurring the distinction between case morphemes and adpositions.

Langacker's view (1991b:235) is that both types of analysis are not only possible in principle; they may even apply to the same case morpheme in its different uses. Taylor (1996:102–108), on the other hand, argues that only markers that profile nominal entities (i.e. THINGS) should be regarded as case markers, at least in a prototypical sense.[7] Firstly, if some case markers, for instance the dative, are recognised as having relational profiles, this conflicts with the fact that these cases are used with prepositions in the same way as the accusative, whose nominal profile presumably is uncontroversial due to its main function of marking a grammatical relation, namely object. One would not want to say that the Latvian dative-marked noun *skolai* in *līdz skolai* 'as far as the school' profiles a relation, while the accusative-marked *skolu* in *uz skolu* 'to the school' profiles a THING, given the close parallel in the structure and use of these phrases.[8] Secondly, Taylor argues that only the nominal-profile interpretation of case morphemes is compatible with a Cognitive Grammar account

---

[6] When I use the word *thing* in this technical sense, this will be marked by small caps: THING.

[7] Taylor's more restrictive definition of 'case marker' is indeed supported by Langacker elsewhere: 'At least some case markers are therefore best analyzed as themselves being nominal in character, […] Let us reserve the term *case* for predications of this sort.' (Langacker 1991a:405), 'Whereas prepositions […] profile atemporal relations, the elements that I would identify as case markers in the strictest sense do not affect the nominal status of the structures they combine with. They can thus themselves be analyzed as nominal in character, on the assumption that a derivational element is generally a schematic representative of the class it derives' (Langacker 2000:35).

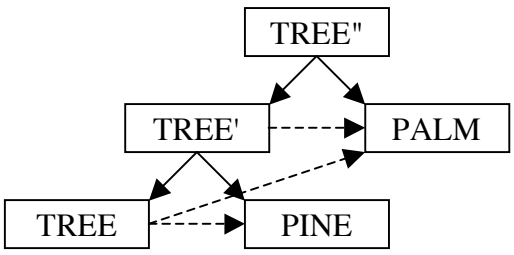
[8] An apparent solution would be to say that the dative after prepositions has a nominal profile, while the dative elsewhere has a relational profile. This solution, although advocated by Langacker (1991b:235), is not considered by Taylor. Indeed, it is not only counter-intuitive, but also seems to conflict with the preference for polysemy instead of homonymy characteristic of Cognitive Grammar in general.

of agreement, i.e. the fact that adjectives and demonstratives are marked in the same way as the noun they combine with. In short, when an adjective stem is combined with a case morpheme, the trajector of the adjective is integrated with the case morpheme's profile. The trajector of an adjective is the entity that the adjective qualifies, and as such is necessarily a THING. It follows that the case morpheme must have a nominal profile; otherwise, the adjective's trajector could not integrate with the case morpheme's profile. Finally, Taylor notes that if one chooses to define the term 'case marker' so as to include elements with relational profiles, one is left with no principled way of distinguishing between case markers and adpositions. In line with Taylor's position, I view the case markers in Latvian as 'morphemes which profile a highly schematic thing, construed in terms of a relation with some other participant(s) in a situation' (Taylor 1996:107).

2.2.5 Schematic networks, schemas and prototypes

At this point we have arrived at a number of assumptions regarding the semantic structure of case markers: They profile a schematic THING construed in terms of a relation, they are typically polysemous (as are all other linguistic units) and their various meanings are related to each other either through (full) schematicity or extension (i.e. partial schematicity), the latter encompassing extension through metonymy and metaphor. As mentioned, the structure of polysemous categories are referred to as *schematic networks*, in which the different meanings associated with the linguistic expression are nodes that are related to each other by links of schematicity and extension. A simplified schematic network for the semantic pole of the linguistic unit 'tree' is drawn up by Langacker (1987:374); here solid arrows denote relations of schematicity and dashed arrows denote relations of extension (note that the following discussion applies just as much to morphological units, e.g. case markers, as to lexical units, although lexical units are used to illustrate the points to be made):

Figure 2.2. A simplified schematic network for the semantic pole of the linguistic unit 'tree' (after Langacker 1987:374).



Starting from the bottom left of the figure with [TREE], the presumed basic-level conceptualisation of 'tree',[9] we see that increasingly schematic representations have been added to the category as new instantiations such as 'pine' and 'palm' have been learned. In the schema [TREE'] the requirement that trees must have leaves has been removed, reflecting the fact that pines, firs etc. are also classified as trees. The schema [TREE"], which allows branchless palms into the category, must necessarily be quite abstract. One might ask whether speakers, upon encountering new members of a category not compatible with their existing schema, will always extract a new, more abstract schema. Take as an example the sea horse. Although this creature is a fish in a scientific sense, and although many of us are probably aware of this fact, it is doubtful whether all of us have established as a conventional unit a high-level schema [FISH] that is compatible with both the sea horse and more typical members of the category. Such a schema may of course be extracted if need be, but for most of us it will scarcely have any significance for our conceptualisation of the linguistic unit 'fish'. One must therefore allow for the possibility of extensions occurring in a schematic network without a new and more abstract schema being extracted, and consequently for the existence of networks without a schema that is compatible with all the nodes in the network.

Although the highest schema in a schematic network is the only one bearing a relation of full schematicity to all the nodes in the network, there is no reason to believe that it must be the cognitively most salient. On the contrary, work by Eleanor Rosch and others (cf. Rosch et al. 1976) indicates that units belonging to what is called *the basic level of categorisation* have a special status in our minds and are psychologically prior to both superordinate and subordinate units. Thus for instance 'dog' is supposedly more basic than both 'mammal' and 'dachshund'. In a schematic network, this is reflected in that the network is likely to contain a basic level node that is cognitively more prominent than the others, i.e. a *prototype* or *core meaning*. The task of identifying the prototype in a network is often a challenging one, and there may be cases where no global prototype exists for the category in question. Indeed, a more fruitful approach is probably to view prototypicality as a matter of degree; for every extension in a network, a local prototype can be identified. Thus in Langacker's figure above, [TREE] is the local prototype in the extension [[TREE]⇢[PINE]], while [TREE'] is the local prototype in the extension

[9] Langacker assumes that the basic conceptualisation of 'tree' and the one that is likely to be learned first is that of 'a tall plant with branches, leaves and bark, […]'. For people growing up in a more harsh climate, however, the conception of a coniferous tree, e.g. a fir, may indeed be more basic.

[[TREE']⇢[PALM]] (Langacker 1987:381). Adding to the difficulty of identifying a single prototype in a network is the fact that the inventory of the network and the status of the nodes is likely to vary between individuals, according to their personal experience, which similarities they perceive, which generalisations they make etc. The structure of any individual's network will also evolve over time. Any attempt to make statements about the schematic network of a linguistic unit in a given language can therefore only be a hypothesis about the organisation of concepts by one or more individuals.

To sum up, a schematic network illustrates the semantic structure of polysemous linguistic units. Among its nodes, there are ideally two whose status set them apart, but for different reasons. The maximally abstract schema represents a generalisation over the individual members of the category. Due to its abstract nature, it cannot necessarily provide any satisfactory semantic definition of the unit. The prototype, however, in a sense does provide such a definition, as it represents the most typical and cognitively most salient example of the unit in question. This ideal picture is, however, complicated by the fact that a network does not necessarily have a prototype, and that the maximally abstract schema does not necessarily exist as a conventionalised unit in the mind of the speaker. Also complicating the matter is the fact that networks are dynamic rather than static and particular to individuals rather than common to all members of a language community. Still I will maintain that an aim of semantic analysis of linguistic units is to establish in greatest possible detail their schematic networks, including relations of schematicity and extension. This also includes identifying a prototype if possible, and establishing the maximally abstract schema of the unit.

2.2.6 Earlier studies of case in Cognitive Grammar and similar frameworks

2.2.6.1 WIERZBICKA

Although Anna Wierzbicka is not a cognitive grammarian in a strict sense of the term, her detailed analyses of the Russian instrumental (1980) and the Polish dative (1986 and 1988) have much in common with the Cognitive Grammar approach to case as outlined above. Wierzbicka adopts the view that cases are always meaningful, i.e. that a case marker never appears only for structural reasons, but always carries a certain semantic weight. She also views cases as categories with a prototype structure, indeed, she maintains 'that a case has one core meaning, on the basis of which it can be identified cross-linguistically (as, say, 'dative' or 'instrumental'), and a language-specific set of other, related meanings, which

have to be specified in the grammatical description of a given language' (1988:391). Wierzbicka formulates the different meanings of a case using what she calls 'a semantic metalanguage', and the way in which the formulas of the meanings overlap show how they are related to the core meaning and to each other. Still she does not attempt to characterise the links between the different meanings more closely, nor does she try to represent the meanings in a network graphically.[10] One of the aims of Wierzbicka's investigations in case semantics is to attain a pedagogically viable analysis; indeed, an important part of her criticism of Jakobson's analysis of the Russian case system is that it is practically useless for a learner of Russian: 'A person who does not know Russian *cannot* learn to use the Russian cases on the basis of Jakobson's formulas' (Wierzbicka 1980:xv, original emphasis). However, it is not self-evident that Wierzbicka's own formulations of constructions with different cases are better suited to this purpose; take for instance her 'formula' for the Polish dative used in the function of a recipient:

> 'X did something to Y
> wanting person Z to come to have Y
> something happened to Y because of that
> one could think (at that time):
> Z will come to have Y because of that' (Wierzbicka 1988:427)

Dąbrowska (1997:180–189) criticises Wierzbicka not only for not explicitly formulating the relations between the various functions of each case, but also for making unnecessary distinctions, leading to an excessive number of functions for each case (e.g. 31 uses of the Polish dative, not counting governed and ethical datives). Another point of criticism deals with Wierzbicka's failing to take into account the role of construal, which according to Dąbrowska is essential to do in situations where a semantic role (such as experiencer or addressee) can be expressed by more than one case.[11] Hansen (2004:31–32) criticises Wierzbicka's conception of meaning from the viewpoint of Cognitive Grammar: By claiming that meanings can be successfully captured by a limited number of words,

---

[10] Janda (1993:35) does draw up a network based on Wierzbicka's treatment of the Russian instrumental, but she emphasises that this is not in line with Wierzbicka's own intentions.

[11] The term *construal* is employed in Cognitive Grammar to denote how we structure the contents of a situation. Alternate construals can often be employed in the conceptualisation of the same situation; often-cited examples include the possibility of referring to the same glass as either half-full or half-empty, or referring to the same motion using either of the verbs *come* and *go*. Cf. Langacker 1987:138–141, Taylor 2002:11.

Wierzbicka views meanings as fixed and delimited, while in Cognitive Grammar meaning is flexible and open-ended.

2.2.6.2 SMITH

Michael Smith is the author of an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the semantics of the dative and the accusative in German (Smith 1987), the main points of which are presented in brief in Smith 1993. Smith defines the prototypical sense of the German accusative as 'the physical movement of a TR along a path which makes contact with a significant aspect of the LM (i.e. either the LM itself or a region associated with the LM)'[12] (Smith 1993:533). He refers to this as 'the contact image' and gives it the status of a kinaesthetic image-schema as defined by Lakoff (1987:267); Lakoff describes kinaesthetic image-schemas as relatively simple meaningful structures 'that constantly recur in our everyday bodily experience'. From the prototypical sense Smith derives a variety of uses of the accusative through semantic extension. He incorporates the prepositional uses of the accusative and the dative in his analysis, showing that patterns of prepositional government are semantically motivated. A somewhat weak point in Smith's analysis is his definition of the dative, which is negative rather than positive: The dative signifies 'a conceptually significant "departure" from the contact image (or one of its extensions)' (Smith 1993:534). The definition of the dative as a departure from the image expressed by the accusative would not seem satisfactory in a system where the dative is in a situation of competition not only with the accusative, but with several cases. In the clausal realm – as opposed to the realm of prepositional phrases – Smith regards the semantic role of experiencer as the prototypical meaning of the dative.

2.2.6.3 NIKIFORIDOU

Kiki Nikiforidou's paper published in 1991 is to my knowledge the first attempt to treat the semantics of the genitive case within the framework of Cognitive Grammar. Nikiforidou analyses the genitive in a number of Indo-European languages as a polysemous grammatical category in which the various different meanings are related through metaphor. She argues that the central or prototypical meaning of the Indo-European genitive is the concept of possession, linking this to the fact that in languages that have undergone reductions in the functional scope of the genitive, the possessive meaning is the last one to be lost. Taylor

[12] Smith uses the abbreviations TR and LM to designate trajector and landmark respectively.

(1996:7–8) points to some weak aspects of Nikiforidou's analysis: She does not provide any independent definition of possession, and in basing her metaphorical extensions on uses of the verb *have* she in reality attains nothing more than a statement to the effect that the relations expressed by the genitive to some extent overlaps with the relations expressed by *have*.

2.2.6.4 JANDA

In her 1993 book, Laura Janda performs a thorough contrastive analysis of the dative and the instrumental in Czech and Russian, taking as her point of departure the Czech dative and the Russian instrumental and presenting tentative networks of the functions of the four cases in question. For the dative, she takes the function as indirect object or recipient to be the central meaning, and proceeds to derive the other meanings from this prototype through variation in the actant structure of constructions and through metaphoric extension.[13] An important point made by Janda is that although it is possible to distinguish several functions of each case, there are almost always transitional examples that may be difficult to categorise unequivocally. Thus the networks she draws up are abstractions, with nodes placed according to which functions are most frequent: 'A truer diagram would look more like a map of the Milky Way, for it would show areas of high density, where instances are thickly clustered about the major submeanings, as well as sparser areas where there are only occasional transitional examples between them.' (Janda 1993:52). Another virtue of Janda's work is that she, like Smith, but unlike Wierzbicka, integrates the prepositional uses in the general treatment of the two cases. Janda's contrastive viewpoint adds interesting aspects to the study. By contrasting the networks of e.g. the Czech and the Russian dative, she is able to pin-point important differences between these two relatively closely related languages, also hinting at lines of diachronic development (Russian in general displaying a more conservative picture than Czech).

2.2.6.5 TAYLOR

Taylor 1996 is an in-depth study of the English possessive morpheme realised orthographically as *'s*. Although this is not a case morpheme in Taylor's own terms (cf. section 2.2.4), many aspects of the analysis are applicable to genuine case morphemes in other languages than English. In contrast to most cognitive grammarians concerned with case, Taylor focu-

[13] Metaphoric extension in Janda's terminology is taken to include extension through synonymy, antonymy and metonymy.

ses more on the abstract schema of the possessive morpheme than on its instantiations, claiming that this specific morpheme invokes a reference-point situation and designates the THING referred to in such a situation. The concept of reference point, i.e. directing the hearer's attention to something salient in order to identify something less salient, is claimed to have its foundation in a basic and possibly innate cognitive ability (Taylor 1996:72). Although it is highly likely that reference points should be reflected in the grammar of most languages, it is a language-specific property of English that there is a morpheme expressing the target entity in a reference-point situation and nothing else. Thus, it is perfectly conceivable that a polysemous case could have this as one among several meanings. In chapter 4 I will argue that one of two schematic meanings of the Latvian genitive is to express reference points.

2.2.6.6 DĄBROWSKA

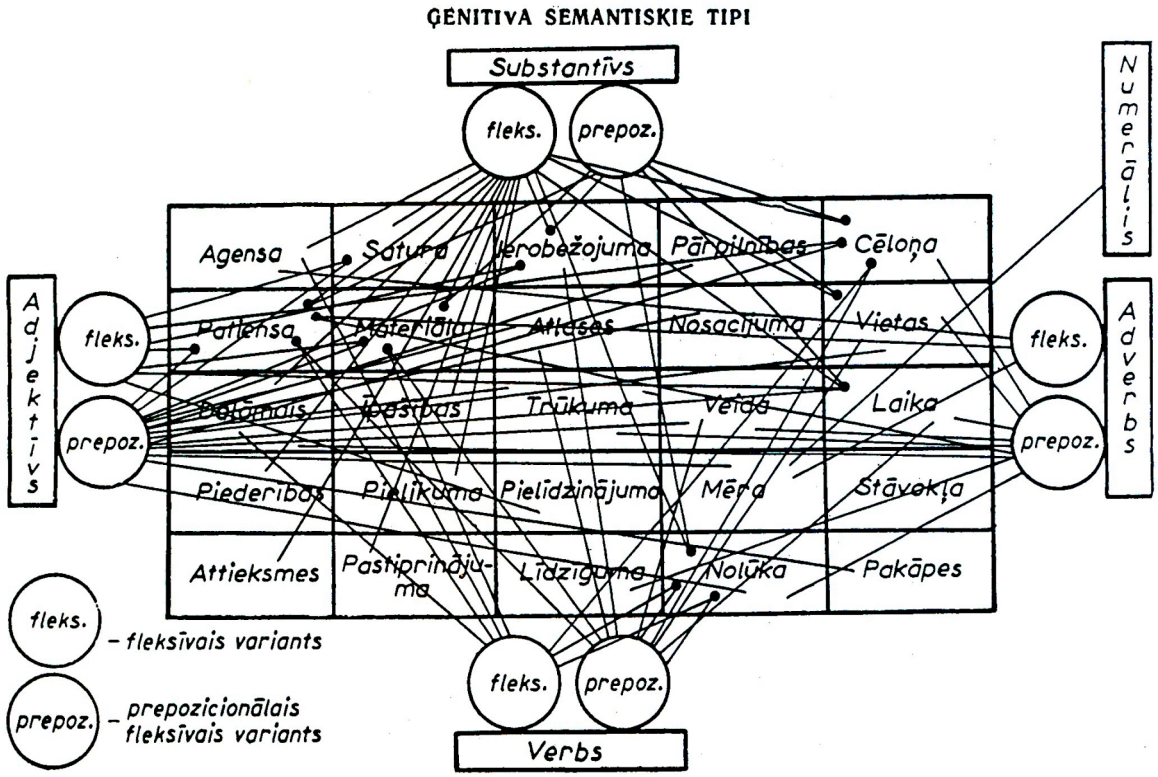
In her book on the Polish dative published in 1997, Dąbrowska argues convincingly for an analysis of this case in terms of cognitive semantics. Two of the central concepts in Dąbrowska's book are those of *personal sphere* and *target person*. A personal sphere includes 'the persons, objects, locations, and facts sufficiently closely associated with an individual that any changes in them are likely to affect the individual as well' (1997:16), while target person is defined as 'an individual who is perceived as affected by an action, process, or state taking place within or impinging upon his personal sphere' (1997:17). In Dąbrowska's view, the Polish dative is in the large majority of its functions a grammatical exponent of the target person role. A key part of Dąbrowska's monograph is her discussion of the contrast between a) the dative and the nominative, which both can encode experiencers, and b) the dative and the accusative, which both can encode targets. She argues that the case-marking of these roles depends on the construal of the situation implied by the verb, and is therefore not arbitrary. The fact that peripheral instantiations of different cases may sometimes cover more or less the same ground is an important point, and in light of this, one must necessarily make a close investigation of the functions where cases border on each other in order to detect the motivation for choosing one case instead of another.
Dąbrowska's work will provide important guidelines for my analysis of the Latvian dative in chapter 3.

2.3 Earlier work on case in Baltic, especially Latvian

Although the existing amount of work on case in the Baltic languages is not insubstantial, these works only to a limited degree reflect the development in this field in the realm of general linguistics as outlined in the preceding sections. The most comprehensive treatments of the Latvian case system as such are found in general grammars of the language, notably Endzelīns 1951 (originally published in German in 1922) and MLLVG (often referred to as the academy grammar), but valuable treatments of the field are also found in shorter and more didactically oriented grammars, such as Mathiassen 1997. The only major work dealing specifically and exclusively with the case system of one of the Baltic languages – Lithuanian – is Fraenkel 1928.

The mentioned accounts of the syntax and semantics of case in the Latvian are primarily influenced by the Neogrammarian tradition, as well as by what could be called traditional school grammar. Two perspectives may be said to dominate: Firstly, the treatments are almost always *atomistic*, in that they describe the separate functions and submeanings of each case without accounting for how these submeanings are related. Often, the use of a certain case to express different notions is seen as purely accidental, resulting in lists of functions – as for instance in MLLVG I:388–409 and Mathiassen 1997:165–182. Certainly, these lists are always structured in some way, so that the subfunctions are grouped by syntactic or semantic criteria – or indeed more often, by a mixture of these. However, this does not alter the impression that the scholars have mostly been occupied with registering the different uses of each case, rather than analysing the semantic structure of the case system. This fact is acknowledged and criticised by Rozenbergs (1968 and 1970) and (for Lithuanian) Paulauskienė (1989), who both are clearly influenced by case theoreticians such as Hjelmslev, Jakobson and Kuryłowicz. Their own analyses, however, are hardly more insightful than the ones found in the traditional grammars; Rozenbergs (1970:65) presents a figure of the syntactic and semantic functions of the Latvian genitive that without any further explanation leaves the reader more confused than enlightened. The figure is reproduced here:

Figure 2.3. The semantic types of the Latvian genitive. From Rozenbergs 1970:65. 'fleks.' = non-prepositional uses; 'prepoz.' = prepositional uses. The cells in the table represent different semantic and syntactic types, e.g. agent, patient, partitive, possession, content, quality, lack, place and time.



Paulauskienė (1989:145) arrives at a structuralist-style table where the six Lithuanian cases (excluding the vocative) are characterised according to their ability to express grammatical relations; thus for instance the nominative is [+subject] and the accusative is [-subject], while both the genitive and the dative are [-subject] with an additional note that in accepting a wider subject definition, one might consider them [+subject]. This kind of argumentation reveals the need for a more principled approach to the concept of grammatical relations and weakens the basis for Paulauskienė's analysis of the Lithuanian case system.

Secondly, many of the existing accounts have a clear *diachronic* orientation. This is especially true of the earlier works, e.g. Fraenkel 1928 and Endzelīns 1951, but it does shine through also in some of the later works, notwithstanding their intended synchronic character. The diachronic perspective is of course an important one, but regrettably, it seems that the strong diachronic focus has resulted in less attention being paid to the synchronic analysis of case in the modern languages, and attempts to make direct use of diachronically based notions in synchronic descriptions have met with obvious problems. Thus, for instance Endzelīns (1951) and MLLVG operate with a group of *ablativic* func-

tions of the Latvian genitive. Although there may be semantic grounds for using this term, the impression is that the authors often fall into the trap of forcing synchronic data into diachronically based categories.

Apart from the more general works, there have been published several articles and a few larger works dealing with more specific questions pertaining to the field of case. Some of these have already been mentioned (e.g. Rozenbergs 1968 and 1970); other works of interest are the articles by Lepika on the Latvian genitive of negation (Lepika 1954) and by Bojāte on the meanings of the Latvian adverbal dative (Bojāte 1958). Kārkliņš (1968) discusses the role of the Latvian dative from a traditional syntactic perspective.

In recent years, a number of articles have been published on the case syntax and semantics in the Baltic languages, primarily in Latvian. A focal point of interest has been the question of the Latvian instrumental, which most scholars argue should not be viewed as part of the case system proper due to its lack of separate forms and the limited functional spectre of its non-prepositional use. Of more central interest for the purpose of this dissertation is a number of articles on different aspects of the Latvian dative (often the principal topic of these articles is the debitive construction) as well as on variation involving the dative and the genitive in both languages. Much of the work done by Axel Holvoet on Latvian is very relevant, e.g. Holvoet 1993 (on adpositional phrases expressing spatial relations), Holvoet 1994 (on the passive), Holvoet 2001a (on the replacement of certain prepositional phrases with pure case forms) and Holvoet 2001b (on the competition between the dative and the genitive in certain functions). Valdmanis 1994 discusses certain frequent constructions with the dative both from a semantic and a syntactic viewpoint. Other recent articles dealing specifically with case and case use in Latvian are Lagzdiņa 1997b (on the different constructions involving the verb *būt* 'be' and a negation), Kalnača 1999 (on the status of the instrumental and the vocative in the Latvian case system), Kalnača 2002 (on variation and competition between different cases in certain functions) and Lokmane 2002 (on the role of the dative in Latvian syntax). Andronov 2001 looks at the entire case system, albeit from a morphological perspective. My own contributions to the field should also be mentioned: Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b on the Latvian and Lithuanian non-prepositional genitive, Berg-Olsen 2000a on the role of morphological homonymy in the development of case patterns in Latvian and Berg-Olsen 2000c on case usage in adverbal and partitive functions in modern Latvian and early Latvian texts. Berg-Olsen and Eckhoff 2002 is a contrastive study of strategies for linking nouns in noun phrases in

Latvian and Old Russian, while Berg-Olsen 2003 represents a preliminary version of my analysis of the semantics of the Latvian genitive, to be presented in section 4.2.

The theories developed within the frameworks of Cognitive Grammar and cognitive linguistics (the latter term encompassing a broader range of theoretical approaches than the former) have not yet been systematically applied to the study of case in Baltic. To my knowledge, the only work that mentions these frameworks and to some extent applies notions from them in the discussion of the category of case in a Baltic language, Lithuanian, is Holvoet and Semėnienė (2004).

Finally, there are some didactically oriented articles (e.g. Freimane 1966) that focus on deviations from the norms of standard Latvian (mostly referred to as 'errors'). These can often provide important hints to contemporary case variation, which is frequently disregarded in the grammars.

As has been shown in this section, much of the existing work on case in Baltic linguistics is somewhat timeworn, and the extent to which contemporary linguistic theory has been applied to this matter is limited. This dissertation is intended to contribute to changing this picture. At the same time, I would like to point out that it would be a grave mistake not to take into consideration the insight reached by the above-mentioned scholars and others. In the following chapters of the dissertation, the work already done in the field will serve as both a reference point and a source of valuable data and theoretical insight.

2.4 Why the dative and the genitive?

Although good arguments could be presented for treating the case systems in either one or both of the Baltic languages in their entirety rather than selecting just a few cases, it would be impossible to give such an analysis the necessary depth in a work of this kind. In my view, the Latvian dative and genitive alone provide a sufficient set of data on which to perform detailed semantic analyses and demonstrate the workings of Cognitive Grammar. These two cases undoubtedly represent some of the most complicated semantic structures in the Latvian case system. Their functional spectres are both broader and more heterogeneous than those of the other cases and encompass both what in traditional terms are called syntactic functions as well as semantic ones. For instance, the Latvian dative in the debitive construction marks what in the indicative would be a nominative subject, and this alternation between the nominative and the dative is no less regular than the alternation between the accusative and the nominative in the active and passive voices respectively.

Examples of the dative's more semantic functions would be the marking of roles such as experiencer, recipient, benefactive and malefactive. This obviously presents a challenge to a model that not only postulates that the dative has a semantic content in all its uses, but also prefers to view the dative as a polysemous category rather than an instance of homonymy.

An interesting approach would be to contrast the Latvian dative and genitive with their Lithuanian counterparts. The two cases display a large degree of parallellism in the two languages, although at the same time there are certain striking dissimilarities. Thus, the Latvian genitive is primarily used adnominally and with prepositions, its adverbal uses gradually becoming more limited (cf. Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b). In Lithuanian, however, the adverbal uses of the genitive are very much alive and thriving. Conversely, the Latvian dative has certain functions that its Lithuanian counterpart lacks, e.g. the possessive use and the use in the debitive construction. Due to the scope of this dissertation, remarks concerning Lithuanian will be given only to a limited extent where deemed essential to the analysis of the Latvian data. This contrastive perspective undoubtedly deserves a more thorough treatment in the future. As indicated in section 2.2.6.4, the network model of semantics is well-equipped to handle situations where otherwise quite similar systems differ on certain points.

Another reason for choosing to focus on the Latvian genitive is the fact that this case in several of its functions – mainly adverbal ones, as well as with quantifiers – is in a state of variation with other forms. Although this variation was thoroughly analysed in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b, in this dissertation it will be analysed in terms of the apparatus of Cognitive Grammar. An additional question will be to what extent the dative is involved in similar variation in contemporary spoken Latvian.

2.5 Method

2.5.1 General remarks

As indicated in the preceding section, the functions of the Latvian cases have been mapped and classified a number of times over the years by different scholars. Although my approach differs from those traditionally applied to this matter, I see no compelling reason for not relying on previous work when it comes to getting an overview of the data to be accounted for. However, as the present dissertation is a synchronic work on the contemporary language, the existing material can be depended on only to the extent that it does not conflict with the intuition of native speakers. Wherever possible, genuine examples from contem-

porary spoken and written sources will be used, and the source of each example will be clearly stated. At times I do use examples from non-contemporary language, e.g. from older works of literature, to demonstrate constructions that are infrequent or no longer in use in the contemporary language. Constructed examples are used only in a few exceptional cases to illustrate points pertaining to other, genuine examples.

The existing grammars of Latvian are only to a small extent based on data from the vernacular. True, in the Neogrammarian tradition represented by Endzelīns 1951, dialect data were often used, especially when dialects could provide data that were interesting from a diachronic or comparative perspective. Apart from dialects, Endzelīns's primary source of data seems to be Latvian folklore, especially the folk songs as compiled in Barons and Wissendorfs 1894–1915. In MLLVG, the examples are mostly taken from literary sources, newspapers and journals. Underlying the presentation both in Endzelīns 1951 and MLLVG are undoubtedly also the authors' intuitions. Also today the object of study in most synchronic accounts of Latvian grammar is the standard language, typically in its written form. An important exception is Nau 1998, a brief grammar of Latvian largely based on a corpus of transcribed recordings from the collection of the Latvian National Oral History Project (*Nacionālās mutvārdu vēstures projekts*). A work in a similar vein is Lauze 2001 and 2004, the first of which is a doctoral dissertation dealing with some aspects of Latvian colloquial syntax on the basis of data from recordings of spontaneous speech. I myself decided to base the present investigation not only on the data provided by existing grammars (which often are of a normative character) and by written sources, but also to use data from spoken language. A similar approach was followed in Berg-Olsen 1999, and in both cases the motive for including spoken language data was a firm belief that written sources can never provide a full picture of the state of a language. The spoken data will be especially valuable in the analysis of variational patterns.

Throughout the dissertation I primarily rely on two sources of examples: my own corpus of spoken Latvian and Latvian web pages published on the internet. The method used in the compilation of the corpus of spoken language will be presented in some detail in the next section. As for the examples from web pages, they were mostly found by using the Latvian version of the search engine Google (http://www.google.lv). Care was taken to exclude examples written by people who were not native speakers of Latvian, although given the nature of the internet, this can often prove difficult. Each example taken from the inter-

net is followed by the web address and the date this page was accessed.[14] An advantage in using the internet as a source rather than texts published on paper is the fact that web pages overall show less conformity to the norms and conventions of the written standard language. Therefore the internet can sometimes provide valuable information on the use of non-standard constructions, serving as a supplement to other sources. A summary of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of internet data in linguistic studies is given on the web page http://www.unc.edu/~lajanda/responsible.html.

2.5.2 Methods used in the collection of data

As this dissertation is a work on the synchronic state of modern Latvian, it was considered important to supplement the data provided by previous work in the field by a corpus of the modern spoken language. This could partly be done by using the corpus already compiled for my dissertation presented for the degree of magister artium (Berg-Olsen 1999). In addition to this, I decided to perform a new survey of spoken Latvian for the dual purpose of increasing the amount of data and enhancing the quality of the data. These two surveys, together with the survey on newspaper language also performed during my work with Berg-Olsen 1999, constitute the primary sources of data for the sections on case variation in the present dissertation. They also provide an important corrective to the existing grammars when assessing the degree to which certain constructions allowed by the standard norms are actually in use today. Finally, the survey performed during the work on this dissertation will provide many of the examples in the discussion of the Latvian dative and genitive. In the following I will discuss the methods used in the two surveys of spoken language, concentrating on the most recent of the two.

The survey of spoken Latvian that provided most of the data on the variation between the non-prepositional genitive and other forms in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b was performed in September 1998. 24 Latvian native speakers with a close connection to the Riga region were interviewed. The sample was selected according to the parameters of sex and age in order to achieve a certain degree of representativeness. However, the sample was not representative in any technical sense, as it was too small and not based on random selection. The results did not display any clear and systematic differences according to the

[14] Unfortunately, many of the pages are bound to be removed from the internet after some time. I do, however, keep copies of all the pages for reference.

sex or age of the respondents – with one possible exception.[15] The principal part of the interviews was a free conversation between the interviewer (i.e. myself) and the participant, to some degree structured by me through the use of questions intended to elicit casual speech or the use of specific constructions. This method was successful to some degree, although certain specific constructions proved difficult to evoke. However, for some frequent constructions, such as those with quantifiers and negated existential *būt* 'be', this survey provided a relatively large amount of data. The survey thus proved that it is possible to obtain a high number of tokens of many of the constructions where the genitive competes with other forms during a face-to-face interview. The atmosphere in which the interviews were recorded must be characterised as relatively formal, given the nature of the interview situation itself and the fact that the participants were questioned by a foreigner with whom they were not acquainted (cf. Labov 1972a:79–80). This is an effect of the well-known Observer's Paradox, i.e. the fact that by actively observing language use, the linguist in effect manipulates the situation and reduces the authenticity of the data (Labov 1972b:113). A more detailed presentation of the 1998 survey and the method used is found in Berg-Olsen 1999:117–123.

The second survey was performed in the period from 21 November 2001 to 24 January 2002. As mentioned, in the previous survey the age of the respondents generally was not found to correlate with the patterns of case use. Against this background I decided to use a different sampling strategy, performing an in-depth survey of a more narrow range of speakers rather than including the whole spectre of age groups. The age group chosen was the one between the ages of 15 and 30, on the basis of the argument that new linguistic features are more likely to be present in the speech of young people. To be accepted as a respondent, a candidate had to be a native speaker of Latvian who lived in Riga and had lived there for a considerable time. Also the respondent's parents had to be native speakers of Latvian. All the 14 respondents were recruited by myself through acquaintances. Some effort was made to recruit people from different social and educational backgrounds, although the final sample was clearly skewed in favour of people who either had graduated from an institution of higher education or were at the time studying at one.

---

[15] One part of the survey consisted of a written grammaticality test of 34 sentences exemplifying constructions to be studied. In this test, two sentences containing the adjectives *pilns* 'full' and *bagāts* 'rich' with genitive complements were consistently given a more positive grammaticality assessment by older speakers than by younger ones (Berg-Olsen 1999:125–126).

The sample consisted of eight female and six male participants. As in the 1998 survey, no systematic correspondences between the sex of the respondents and their use of forms in the different constructions were found (cf. tables 1, 3 and 5 in the appendix). The composition of the sample according to the sex and age of the participants is seen in figure 2.4. This can be compared with the same data for the 1998 survey, presented in figure 2.5.

Figure 2.4. Composition of the sample in the 2001–2002 survey according to the sex and the age of the participants. Each column represents one participant.

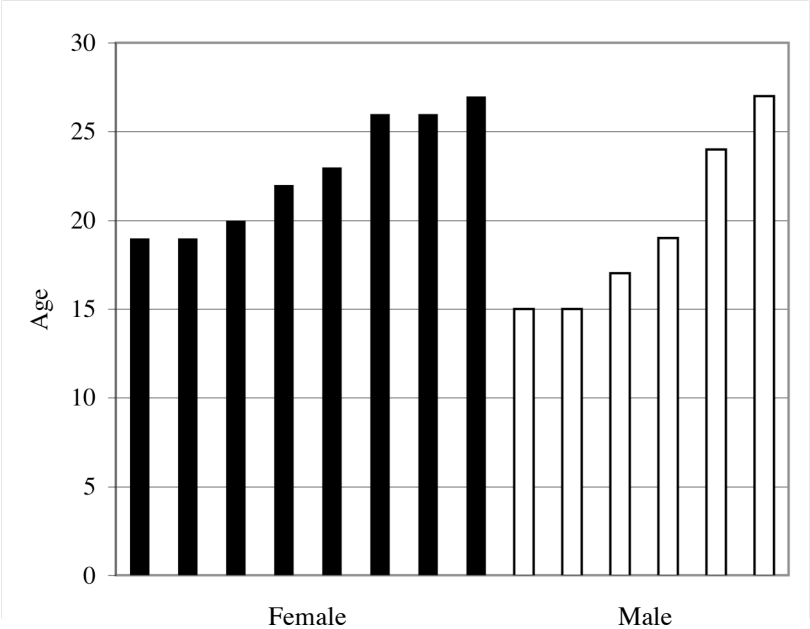
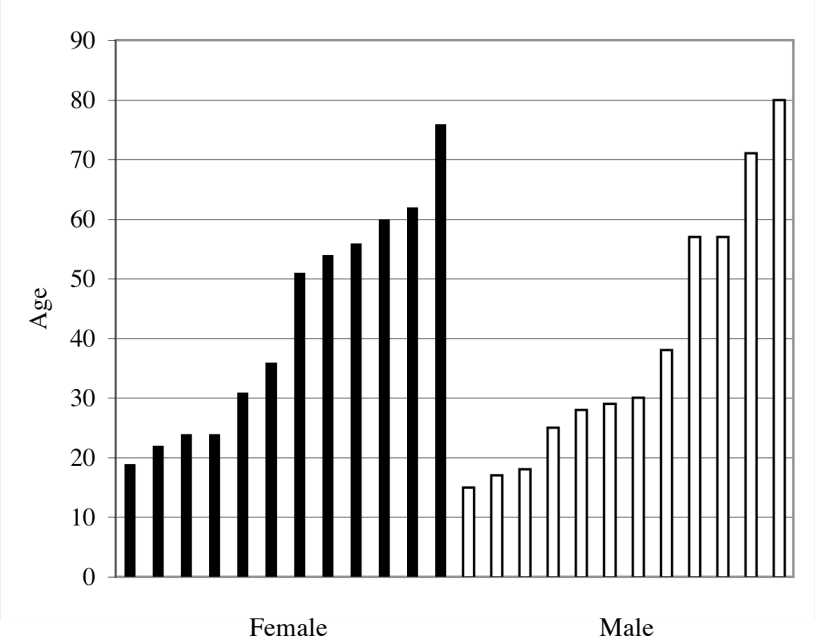


Figure 2.5. Composition of the sample in the 1998 survey according to the sex and the age of the participants. Each column represents one participant.



These two figures in a clear way illustrate the different character of the two surveys. While the participants in the 1998 survey represented all age groups, the 2001–2002 survey was an in-depth study where a smaller sample representing a more narrow age group allowed me to record a larger amount of speech data from each participant.

In order to reduce the effects of the Observer's Paradox, it was decided to perform not only traditional interviews, but also group conversations between people who knew each other well. Therefore the respondents were recruited in the form of groups; there were four groups of three persons and one group of two persons. All the 14 participants were thus recorded speaking with either close friends or relatives with whom they were used to spending time in an informal setting. The group conversations lasted for one hour and were performed without myself taking an active part, although I was at most times present in the room during the conversation. In addition to this, a 30 minute face-to-face interview was performed with each participant. It was believed that the participants would speak in a less constrained manner in the more informal setting of the group conversation, possibly using more non-standard forms than in the face-to-face interviews. However, when the results were analysed, no consistent pattern to this effect was detected (cf. tables 2, 4 and 6 in the appendix).

In the face-to-face interviews I employed the same method as in the 1998 survey, seeking to evoke the use of certain constructions through specific questions. To trigger answers containing quantifiers (numerals or indefinite quantifiers such as *daudz* 'much, many'), I would ask about prices (how much is X?), distances (how far is it from X to Y?), quantities (how many X's do you have?) etc. A central concern was to try to avoid using the construction I wanted to evoke in the question itself. To evoke the use of the verb *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' I could ask if the respondent was experiencing any lacks (*trūkumi*), thus avoiding using the verb myself. Similarly, I could try to get the respondent to use the verb *baidīties* 'be afraid' by asking if (s)he sometimes felt afraid, using the adverb *bail* rather than the verb in my question. This method seems to have been especially felicitous in evoking constructions with quantifiers – not particularly surprising, given the large variety of questions triggering answers of this kind. For the other constructions, the figures are less conclusive on this point. Figure 1 in the appendix presents the distribution of all the registered instances of four constructions in the face-to-face interviews as opposed to the group conversations.

All instances of the relevant constructions appearing in the recordings were registered and classified in a computer database. In the functions where the dative or genitive

competes with other forms, all occurrences of the constructions were registered, also those with the competing forms. While the material in the 1998 survey was recorded on cassettes using a relatively simple tape recorder with a built-in microphone, in the present survey I used a minidisc recorder (which employs digital rather than analogue technology) and a separate microphone. This gave the recordings a considerably better quality. Still, it did not eliminate a problem that occurred in the analysis of the previous recordings, that of case endings at times being difficult to identify. Latvian case forms are frequently differentiated only through vowel quality in word-final syllables, which tend to be reduced – especially in informal and rapid speech and in words with three or more syllables (cf. Bušs 1984:33, Dahlerus 1993:46, Muižniece 2002:73). The fact that the improved recording quality did not solve the problem of identifying case endings seems to indicate that vowels in word-final syllables at times are phonetically reduced to the extent that they become difficult or impossible to distinguish – at least without special equipment. In the tables overviewing the results of the survey, presented in the sections on variation in chapters 3 and 4, occurrences where the case ending could not be decided are included, but indicated with a question mark.[16]

[16] The same category includes instances where the case could not be decided because of homonymy between singular and plural forms.

3. The dative

3.1 Functions and traditional treatment

A common way of presenting case functions is to use distributional criteria, i.e. to group the functions according to whether the case-marked word or phrase occurs together with (or, in traditional terms, is governed by) a verb, a noun or an adjective, alternatively whether it occupies a freer syntactic position. Thus, Mathiassen (1997) groups the functions of each case in three categories: *adnominal* (when the case is governed by a word belonging to a nominal word class), *adverbal* (when the case is governed by a verb) and *adverbial* (when the case-marked phrase functions in the same way as an adverb), cf. Mathiassen 1997:165. Central to this mode of classification is the notion of *government* (not to be confused with the use of this term in generative frameworks), which amounts to whether a verb, noun or adjective must be accompanied by a complement in a certain case in order to form a grammatical construction. However, this notion of government has proven notoriously difficult to define, and judgments as to whether a case-marked phrase is governed or not, what it is governed by and (sometimes) what kind of government one is dealing with[17] often seem to rely on the linguist's intuition rather than on explicit criteria. The present section, which gives an overview of the functions of the Latvian dative as presented by existing grammars, will highlight some of the problems encountered by the syntactic and government-based approach. An alternative to the traditional notion of government will be presented in the course of section 3.2, viewing the combinatorial potential or valence of a linguistic unit as a consequence of its semantic structure.

Apart from Mathiassen 1997, I will mostly refer to MLLVG, and at times also to Endzelīns 1951.[18] A common feature of all these three grammars is that the treatment of the dative (and other cases) with prepositions is kept separate from the other functions. MLLVG

---

[17] Latvian linguists often distinguish between 'weaker' and 'stronger' or 'freer' and 'firmer' government, depending on the degree to which an NP marked with a certain case is necessary for the construction to be grammatical, cf. MLLVG II:7–8. MLLVG also makes a distinction between 'direct' government (with non-prepositional case) and 'indirect' government (with prepositions).

[18] Mathiassen 1997 is much briefer than MLLVG or Endzelīns 1951, and in light of its didactic character one might question whether it deserves to be treated on a par with these. However, the fact that Mathiassen treats the field of case in a very thorough and systematical way more than weighs up for his grammar's lackings.

gives a brief overview of the meanings of the dative in the volume dealing with phonetics and morphology (MLLVG I:396–398). In the volume on syntax, the matter is organised under the main headings 'word combinations' (*vārdu savienojumi*, roughly corresponding to the notion of 'phrase') and 'the sentence' (*teikums*). The subpart on phrases is arranged firstly according to the part of speech of the 'independent component' of the phrase (*neatkarīgais komponents*, roughly corresponding to 'phrasal head') and secondly according to the part of speech and morphological form of the 'dependent component' (*atkarīgais komponents*, which in Western linguistic terminology may be a modifier or a complement to the phrasal head). The subpart on sentences is divided into chapters according to different types of sentences – simple (*vienkārši*) and compound (*salikti*) sentences, simple sentences being divided into two-part (*divkopu*), one-part (*vienkopas*) and zero-part (*bezkopas*) sentences. Two-part sentences contain a 'grammatical centre' consisting of a subject (*teikuma priekšmets*) and a predicate (*izteicējs*). In one-part sentences only one subject-like or predicate-like element is present, and because it cannot be satisfactorily classified as either, it is granted separate status as 'the principal member of a one-part sentence' (*vienkopas teikuma galvenais loceklis*). Verbal one-part sentences include, among other subtypes, also impersonal sentences. Zero-part sentences are characterised by the presence of a subject-like or predicate-like element that is grammatically dependent on an element outside the sentence, whether explicit or implicit. Further on, the organisation of the matter follows the separate members of the sentence (which, apart from subject and predicate include attribute [*apzīmētājs*], object [*papildinātājs*], adverbial [*apstāklis*] and a few others), and the part of speech and morphological form realising each member of the sentence. In this sentence-oriented system, which is typical of the Latvian grammatical tradition and has parallels in the traditions of other countries in Eastern and Central Europe, the different functions of a single case, e.g. the dative, are not treated in connection with each other, but are spread out across several chapters and subchapters. At times, this leads to overlaps – for instance, some of the functions of the dative are covered both under 'Verb phrases where the dependent component is a noun in the dative' (MLLVG II:29–31) and 'Verbal objects expressed by a noun or pronoun in the dative' (MLLVG II:289–293).

In contrast to MLLVG, Endzelīns (1951:568–575) treats all the functions of the dative in one place. His arrangement of the functions is partly based on syntactic and partly on semantic criteria, but diachronic considerations are also of importance to how the matter is organised.

3.1.1 The adverbal dative

3.1.1.1 INDIRECT OBJECT

MLLVG (I:396) states that the dative is used to mark 'the indirect or most distant object of an action – the addressee towards whom the action encompassed in the verb is directed' (my translation, original emphasis). The concept of indirect object is not easy to define, and its relevance is questionable, but it is still applied in such a recent grammar of Latvian as Mathiassen 1997. For Mathiassen, 'indirect object' appears to be roughly synonymous with 'recipient', and his examples (Mathiassen 1997:177) include the verbs *dot* 'give', *rakstīt* 'write', *teikt* 'say' and *sūtīt* 'send', cf. (1):[19]

(1) … *es* *visai* *laboratorijai* *izsūtīšu* *elektronisko*
1sg.NOM all.FEM.DAT.SG laboratory.DAT.SG send-out.FUT.1SG electronic.ACC.SG.DEF
pastu …
mail.ACC.SG
'… I'll send out emails to the whole laboratory …'[20]
(MD 1, 10, 2:14)[21]

MLLVG (I:396), on the other hand, operates with a broad category of indirect objects that includes the majority of Mathiassen's adverbal functions – the exception being the use of the dative in the debitive and possessive constructions as well as with impersonal verbs; here the dative-marked NP is not categorised as an indirect object in MLLVG. Limiting the label 'indirect object' to recipients or benefactives with verbs that can take accusative objects at the same time, Mathiassen's list of verbs can still be considerably extended, and it seems relevant to pose the question whether the use of the dative in constructions of this type is not exclusively dictated by certain properties of the verb, but also by the context and the compatibility in the given context of the semantics implied by the dative case.

A group of verbs parallel in use, but not in meaning to those listed by Mathiassen is the one containing the verbs *(at)ņemt* 'take (away)', *(no)zagt* 'steal', *laupīt* 'rob' and *(aiz)liegt* 'deny, prohibit'. These verbs take a malefactive as a dative complement, cf. (2):

---

[19] Here and in the following examples, the case form under discussion is underscored.
[20] When masculine and feminine forms of adjectives or pronouns are identical, gender is not included in the glosses of examples. This is for instance the case with the adjective form *elektronisko* in (1).
[21] Examples followed by a notation of this kind are taken from the corpus of spoken Latvian compiled in 2001–02. For more information on the survey performed cf. section 2.5.2. The notation refers to the number of the minidisc containing the example, the number of the track and the exact point of time on this track.

(2) … *atbrauc* *te* *visādi* *laucinieki* *un* *atņem*
come.PRES.3 here all-kinds.MASC.NOM.PL country-people.NOM.PL and take-away.PRES.3
rīdziniekiem *darbu* …
Rigan.DAT.PL work.ACC.SG
'… all kinds of people come here from the countryside and take away the work from the Rigans …'
(MD 1, 8, 1:37)

3.1.1.2 SINGLE (DIRECT) OBJECT

Certain verbs appear with a dative complement but cannot take an accusative complement, i.e. the dative seemingly occurs in the place of the normal object case, the accusative. Mathiassen (1997:177–178) mentions several subgroups of verbs in this category, each of which will be treated separately below:

a) *verba commodi*, i.e. verbs denoting an action or state that is to the benefit of the dative-marked NP
b) *verba incommodi*, i.e. verbs denoting an action or state that is to the disadvantage of the dative-marked NP
c) dative-governing verbs that are difficult to incorporate in either of the two categories above
d) verbs used with the dative and a nominative-marked grammatical subject

a) In the group labelled *verba commodi* Mathiassen includes *aplaudēt* 'applaud', *atbilst* 'correspond to', *derēt* 'suit', *glaimot* 'flatter', *imponēt* 'impress', *kalpot* 'serve', *palīdzēt* 'help', *pateikties* 'thank', *simpatizēt* 'sympathise, like' and *uzticēties* 'trust'. Also *izdabāt* 'oblige, please', *klausīt* 'obey', *pakļauties* 'submit', *ticēt* 'believe' and others belong here. An example with *palīdzēt* is given below as (3).

(3) *Kaspars* *man* *palīdz* *ļoti* *daudz* *mācībās.*
Kaspars.NOM.SG 1sg.DAT help.PRES.3 very much studies.LOC.PL
'Kaspars helps me a great deal with the studies.'
(http://www.geocities.com/dagnija_j/dumpiniece/dumpiniece06.html, 10 March 2003)

Simpatizēt is special among the verbs mentioned here, as with this verb the dative can either be used to express the object of sympathy (a benefactive, cf. [4]) or the experiencer (cf. [5]).

(4) *Es* *simpatizēju* *tam* *medniekam,* *kurš […]*
1sg.NOM sympathise.PRES.1SG DEM.MASC.DAT.SG hunter.DAT.SG who.MASC.NOM.SG
prot *pielavīties* *un* *iegūt* *trofeju* *ar* *precīzu*
know.PRES.3 sneak-up.INF and get.INF trophy.ACC.SG with precise.ACC.SG
šāvienu *no* *gludstobra* *bises.*
shot.ACC.SG from smooth-barrel.GEN.SG[22] gun.GEN.SG
'I sympathise with the hunter who […] knows how to sneak up [on the prey] and get his trophy with a precise shot from a smooth-barreled gun.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200106/010605/02.htm, 10 March 2003)

(5) *Pauls* *Kalniņš* *man* *simpatizē* *tāpēc,* *ka* *viņš*
Pauls.NOM.SG Kalniņš.NOM.SG 1sg.DAT sympathise.PRES.3 therefore that 3.MASC.NOM.SG
ir *bijis* *Saeimas* *vadītājs.*
be.PRES.3 be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG Saeima.GEN.SG leader.NOM
'I sympathise with Pauls Kalniņš because he was the leader of the Saeima.'[23]
(http://www.rigaslaiks.lv/vecaiswww/straume.html, 26 February 2003)

The academy dictionary (LLVV VII_1:454) lists only the case pattern seen in (4), but data from the modern language, both spoken and written, show variation between the two construals.[24] The contrast between nominative and dative experiencers will be discussed in section 3.2.2.1, and the variation in case patterns with *simpatizēt* will be examined in section 3.3.

b) Mathiassen's examples of *verba incommodi* include *apnikt* 'become tiresome, boring', *atriebt* 'avenge, revenge', *draudēt* 'threaten', *kaitēt* 'harm, hurt', *pretoties* 'resist, oppose' and *traucēt* 'disturb'.[25] To this group also belongs *spītēt* 'defy, spite'. An example illustrating this group is (6).

[22] *Gludstobra* belongs to the group of words referred to in Latvian grammar as *ģenitīveņi*, for which the English term *genitivelings* is proposed by Nau (1998:26). These are lexemes that occur only in the genitive and are mainly used attributively. Sometimes this is because the other word-forms in the paradigm have been replaced by another lexeme; thus the old nominative plural *vāci* 'Germans' has been replaced by *vācieši*, making the genitive plural *vācu* a relic. More often, genitivelings are formed as combinations of two roots or a prefix and a root: *gludstobra bise* 'smooth-barelled gun' (*gluds* 'smooth' + *bise* 'gun'), *daudzbērnu ģimene* 'family with many children' (*daudz* 'many' + *bērns* 'child'), *starpkaru periods* 'interwar period' (*starp* 'between' + *karš* 'war'). In a Cognitive Grammar account it is unproblematic to recognise genitivelings as fully-fledged genitives, which are formed on the basis of the very frequent scheme 'nominal stem+genitive ending'. This analysis is also valid for the so-called 'false genitive plural' in emigré Latvian discussed by Zeps (1990).
[23] *Saeima* is the name of the Latvian parliament.
[24] Cf. section 2.2.6.1 for a definition of the term *construal*.
[25] *Traucēt* is mostly used with an accusative complement, as is the requirement of the standard language norms. Dative complements, as seen in (6), are however not infrequent.

(6) *te* *<u>mums</u>* *vairāk* *tas* *[telefons]* *netraucēs*
here 1pl.DAT more DEM.MASC.NOM.SG telephone.NOM.SG not.disturb.FUT.3
'here it [the telephone] won't disturb us anymore'
(MD 1, 2, 0:07)

MLLVG (I:396–397) treats the two preceding groups together, preferring the term 'dative of person' (*personas datīvs*) to the more traditional *dativus commodi* and *incommodi*.

c) Mathiassen goes on to list four verbs that take dative complements, but whose semantics does not easily fit into any of the two preceding categories: *atbildēt* 'answer', *piederēt* 'belong', *pārmest* 'reproach' and *gatavoties* 'prepare (oneself)'. It should be added that *pārmest* can take an accusative complement in addition to the dative, and thus hardly belongs under the heading 'Dative as the only Object', cf. (7):

(7) *[…]* *<u>komponistam</u>* *pārmeta* *pārlieku* *lielo* *pietāti*
composer.DAT.SG reproach.PAST.3 excessively large.ACC.SG.DEF piety.ACC.SG
pret *Raiņa* *tekstu, […].*
towards Rainis.GEN.SG text.ACC.SG
'[…] the composer was reproached for his excessive piety towards Rainis's text, […].'
(http://www.lmuza.lv/opera/latviski/Vesture/sezonas/sezona21-22.htm, 26 February 2003)

As for *piederēt* 'belong', this verb follows the same pattern as *būt* 'be' in the possessive construction, the possessor appearing in the dative. Mathiassen mentions *piederēt* both as a verb occurring with a single, dative-marked object and in connection with the possessive construction (cf. section 3.1.1.3).

d) Finally, Mathiassen mentions constructions where the dative marks an experiencer that is the single complement of the verb. This subgroup, represented by the two verbs *garšot* 'like (about food and drinks)' and *patikt* 'like', is presumably listed separately because the dative here has a deviating semantics from the preceding subgroups, and perhaps also because the dative here is seen as expressing a *logical subject*; thus it is explicitly stated that the nominative is the *grammatical subject*. The syntax of these constructions is, however, fully parallel to that of the verbs in subgroups a)–c), and given that the notion 'subject' normally is taken to be of a purely syntactic nature, there is little ground for not granting the nominative used with *garšot* and *patikt* fully-fledged subject status. The term *logical subject* presu-

mably results from comparing constructions of this type with equivalents in languages where the experiencer is realised as a subject. (8) is an example with *patikt.*

(8) … *pirmsākumā* *man* *nepatika* *Rīga* *galīgi.*
beginning.LOC.SG 1sg.DAT not-like.PAST.3 Riga.NOM.SG at-all
'… in the beginning, I didn't like Riga at all.'
(MD 1, 6, 3:39)

It should be noted that the dative-experiencer construction with *simpatizēt* 'sympathise' (example [5]) is closely parallel to the use of *patikt* both semantically and syntactically. Thus, one may question why they are put under different headings by Mathiassen.[26]

The list of verbs taking a single complement in the dative may certainly be extended; MLLVG (I:397 and II:30–31) gives examples with the verbs *līdzināties* 'resemble', *māt* 'wave', *strādāt* 'work', *tuvoties* 'approach', *uzbāzties* 'intrude, obtrude', *uzsmaidīt* 'smile' and many others. Some of them, e.g. *līdzināties*, always require a dative complement, while others can take one if there is a need to express a benefactive or recipient – in traditional terms, with some verbs the dative is required or strongly governed, while with others it is 'freer' or more weakly governed. It would be difficult, however, to draw a clear borderline between strong and weak government on syntactic grounds. As I will endeavour to show in the second part of this chapter, a more promising approach is to take the semantics of the dative itself as a point of departure and view the degree to which a verb requires a dative to be present as relative to the extent to which the semantics of the verb contains a schematic recipient, benefactive, experiencer or any other role congruent with the semantics of the dative.

A special construction that should also be mentioned under this heading consists of motion verbs with the prefixes *ap-* 'around' and *pār-* 'over', which can take a dative as their only complement. Holvoet (1993:143–144) claims that the dative here originally was dependent on the semi-adpositions[27] *apkārt* 'around' and *pāri* 'over, across', but that these semi-adpositions at some point became optional, presumably motivated by the semantic overlap between prefixes and semi-adpositions. At the same time, the motion verbs can still be used

[26] This would be reasonable if Mathiassen were considering only the nominative-experiencer construction with *simpatizēt*, disregarding the dative-experiencer construction. Given the lack of examples, it is not clear whether this is the case.
[27] The term *semi-adpositions* (*pusprievārdi*) is used in Latvian grammar for a group of adverbs that can also function as pre- or postpositions, taking a complement in the dative or genitive, cf. section 3.1.7.

with accusative objects; thus all the three constructions meaning ‘cross the street’ shown in a)–c) are possible:

a) *pāriet* *ielu*
across-go.INF street.ACC.SG

b) *(pār)iet* *pāri* *ielai*
(across-)go.INF across street.DAT.SG

c) *pāriet* *ielai*
across-go.INF street.DAT.SG

As seen in (9), sometimes even the verbal prefix (in this case *ap-* ‘around’) can be dropped in the c) construction. Here the expression *iet ar līkumu* ‘give a wide berth’ seemingly provides the sufficient semantic content for the prefix to be dropped.

(9) *Biežī* *dzīvnieki* *iet* *ar* *līkumu* *istabai*, *kurā*
often animal.NOM.PL walk.PRES.3 with detour.ACC.SG room.DAT.SG REL.LOC.SG
stāv *televizors*.
stand.PRES.3 TV-set.NOM.SG
‘Often animals give a room with a TV set in it a wide berth.’
(http://www.tvnet.lv/communities/animals/index.php?id=2425848, 13 October 2004)

3.1.1.3 POSSESSOR

Mathiassen (1997:178) mentions the use of the dative in possessive constructions with *būt* ‘be’ and *piederēt* ‘belong’ as a separate function. Syntactically, these constructions are parallel to the ones mentioned in section 3.1.1.2, with the exception of negated possessive constructions with *būt*, which have the pattern dative+genitive instead of dative+nominative (although the nominative is often used instead of the genitive in the colloquial language, cf. section 4.3.1.1). It should be emphasised that ‘possessive’ here must be understood in a broad sense of the word. (10) and (11) show the standard case pattern with possessive *būt*, with a nominative subject when the verb is not negated and a genitive one when it is. Note that *ir*, the third person present form of *būt*, under certain circumstances can be omitted (an example of this is [84] in section 3.2.3).

(10) *Kam* *ir* *kosmētikas* *noņēmējs?!*
who.DAT be.PRES.3 make-up.GEN.SG remover.NOM.SG
‘Who’s got make-up remover?!’
(MD 1, 11, 1:40)

(11) *Viņam* *mājās* *telefona* *nav*.
3.MASC.DAT.SG house.LOC.PL telephone.GEN.SG not-be.PRES.3
'He doesn't have a phone at home.'
(MD 3, 5, 0:33)

MLLVG (II:291–292) regards the dative possessor in these constructions as an object (*papildinātājs*) on a par with those discussed in section 3.1.1.2.

3.1.1.4 DEBITOR

With verbs in the debitive form,[28] the entity (typically a person or an institution) obliged to perform the action expressed by the verb is dative-marked. If the verb is transitive and takes an accusative complement in the indicative, this complement appears in the nominative when the verb is used in the debitive (with the exception of the first and second person personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun *sevis*, which appear in the accusative).[29] (12) illustrates the debitive construction.

(12) *mums* *jāraksta* *iesniegums*
1pl.DAT write.DEB application.NOM.SG
'we have to write an application'
(MD 1, 4, 3:46)

MLLVG (II:292–293) treats the dative-marked debitor in the debitive construction on a par with dative-marked NPs with a similar semantics in other constructions: with an infinitive, a present passive participle[30] or the impersonal verb *vajadzēt* 'need, require'. In all these constructions, the dative-marked NP is analysed as an object (*papildinātājs*).

3.1.1.5 DATIVE WITH INFINITIVE

With verbs in the infinitive, the dative is used to mark what would be a nominative subject in corresponding constructions with finite verb forms. The infinitive can be used (with or without a dative) in a number of different senses. In (13) the infinitive expresses possibility, in (14) necessity.

---

[28] The status of the debitive in Latvian grammar is somewhat disputed. Traditionally, it is analysed as a separate mood, but Nau (1998:39) chooses to regard it as part of the voice system because its primary formal (i.e. syntactic) characteristic is a rearrangement of the grammatical relations as compared to the active voice.
[29] The accusative can be encountered elsewhere as well, but its use with other NPs than the mentioned ones is not sanctioned by the norms of the standard language, cf. Kalnača 2002.
[30] The construction with a present passive participle is exemplified by the sentence *Tev man kas sakāms?* 'Do you have anything to say to me?'. This can probably be treated as an instance of the possessive construction with the verb *būt* (here in the third person present form *ir*) omitted.

(13) *Ko* *man* *darīt,* *ja* *zāles* *neiedarbojas?*
What.ACC 1sg.DAT do.INF if medicine.NOM.PL not-work.PRES.3
'What should I do if the medicine doesn't have any effect?'
(http://www.consumer-guide.lv/veseliba/jautajumi_arstam.htm, 27 February 2003)

(14) *Svešiem* *nespert* *kāju* *mūsu* *dzimtenē!*
foreign.MASC.DAT.PL not-step.INF leg.ACC.SG 1pl.GEN homeland.LOC.SG
'Foreigners shall not set foot on our homeland!'
(Lukss 1955:47, cited in MLLVG II:531)

(15) is an example of the so-called analytical debitive construction, which is used to express necessity. This construction is attested in literature from the late 19th century, but is today obsolete except from its use in biblical language (cf. Holvoet 2003:471–472). Here the infinitive is modified by the auxiliary *būt* 'be', occurring in the future third person form *būs*. Similarly, the past third person may be used in conjunction with an infinitive to express necessity in the past (for examples, cf. Endzelīns 1951:994).

(15) *Uz* *sava* *vēdera* *tev* *būs* *līst* *un* *pīšļus*
on RPO.MASC.GEN.SG stomach.GEN.SG 2sg.DAT be.FUT.3 crawl.INF and dust.ACC.PL
ēst *visas* *tavas* *mūža* *dienas.*
eat.INF all.FEM.ACC.PL your.FEM.ACC.PL life.GEN.SG day.ACC.PL
'You shall crawl on your stomach and eat dust all the days of your life.'
(Genesis 3:14, http://www.abc.lv/bible/mozus1/1moz03.htm, 10 March 2003)

Mathiassen (1997:179) lists as a separate function the 'Dative with the Infinitive Passive'. Elsewhere (1997:146) he states that the dative occurs in constructions with passive infinitives consisting of an auxiliary – e.g. *būt* 'be' or *tikt* 'become' – and a past passive participle. In Mathiassen's words, '[t]he participle component of the *passive infinitive* is in the dative case if a logical subject in the dative case is referred to. The same holds true for general statements (with omission of the dative subject)'. (16) is an example of a general statement of this type:

(16) *[…]* *galvenais* *dzīvē* *ir* *mīlēt* *un*
main.MASC.NOM.SG.DEF life.LOC.SG be.PRES.3 love.INF and
būt *mīlētam.*
be.INF love.PAPP.MASC.DAT.SG
'[…] the main thing in life is to love and be loved.'
(http://www.filmas.lv/druka.php?filma=137, 27 February 2003)

However, the use of the dative to mark predicates in embedded infinitival clauses is not confined to participles. In (17) the dative-marked predicate is an adjective, and in (18) a noun.

(17) *Katrai* *sievietei* *taču* *gribas* *būt* *skaistai, […].*
every.FEM.DAT.SG woman.DAT.SG PART want.PRES.3 be.INF beautiful.FEM.DAT.SG
'Every woman surely wants to be beautiful, […].'
(http://www.dzirkstele.lv/zinas.php?rub=7&id=2333, 29 November 2004)

(18) *[…]* *man* *patīk* *būt* *skolotājai, […].*
1sg.DAT like.PRES.3 be.INF teacher.DAT.SG
'[…] I like being a teacher, […].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199812/981205/06.htm, 27 February 2003)

Lokmane (2002:159) argues that dative-marked predicates used with the infinitive can always be analysed as agreeing with a dative-marked NP in the main clause. This NP can either be explicit (as in [17] and [18]) or implicit (as in [16]). It is certainly possible to insert a dative in (16), e.g. the pronoun *jebkuram* 'anyone.DAT', with which the participle then would agree in case. Yet this approach fails to account for sentences where the dative-marked NP is coreferent with an accusative-marked NP in the main clause, as in (19):

(19) *Lūgsim* *viņu* *arī* *šodien* *būt* *mūsu* *viesim.*
ask.FUT.1PL 3.ACC.SG also today be.INF 1pl.GEN guest.DAT.SG
'Let us ask him to be our guest today also.'
(Sakse 1948:455, cited in LLVV II:149 and in Holvoet 2004:80)

Holvoet (2004) views the use of the dative to mark predicates in embedded clauses as an archaic trait of Latvian, which in Lithuanian has been replaced by a twofold pattern where adjectives show agreement with the coreferential main clause NP and nouns are marked with the instrumental. Holvoet explains the use of the dative also in sentences such as (19) as the result of a reanalysis of dative complements as subjects. Thus in a sentence such as *Mums laiks doties* (1pl.DAT time.NOM.SG leave.INF) 'It's time for us to leave'[31] the dative *mums* originally stood in a relationship to *laiks*. Through reanalysis, *mums doties* could be analysed as an embedded clause. The pattern could then be extended to contexts where the subject of the embedded clause was not coreferent with any dative-marked NP in the main clause.

[31] Holvoet (2004:83) uses a parallel Lithuanian example to illustrate the proposed reanalysis.

An exception to the rule of dative-marking is found when the predicate in the embedded clause is coreferential with the (nominative-marked) subject of the main clause, as in (20). Here the predicate shows agreement with the main clause subject.

(20) *[…]* *katrs* *taču* *grib* *būt* *mīlēts.*
everyone.MASC.NOM.SG PART want.PRES.3 be.INF love.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG
'[…] everyone after all wants to be loved.'
(http://www.redcross.lv/intervija/intervija/eriks.htm, 27 February 2003)

3.1.1.6 OTHER IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Impersonal constructions can be defined as constructions that do not include a nominative subject agreeing with the verb, and where such a nominative subject cannot be added without rendering the construction ungrammatical or changing its meaning. The infinitive constructions exemplified in (13)–(15) are impersonal by this definition, as is the negated possessive construction with *būt* in (11). It can also be argued that the debitive construction discussed in section 3.1.1.4 is impersonal – thus there is apparently no agreement between the verb and the nominative-marked noun in (12). On the other hand, verbs in the debitive form only co-occur with nominative-marked NPs in the third person (as mentioned, in the first and second person the accusative is used instead). Only the analytic tenses, consisting of an auxiliary and a participle, may reveal whether there is agreement between the verb and the nominative or not. The debitive is rarely found in these tenses, but the available material shows that agreement in gender and number is optional, cf. (21) with agreement and (22) without agreement. In (22) the participle appears in the default masculine singular form.[32]

(21) *[…]* *visi* *ziedojumi* *bijuši* *jānodod*
all.MASC.NOM.PL donation.NOM.PL be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.PL hand-over.DEB
aizsargu *priekšniekam, […].*
defender.GEN.PL leader.DAT.SG
'[…] all donations were to be handed over to the leader of the *Aizsargi*[33], […].'
(http://www.historia.lv/alfabets/K/ku/kurela_grupa/dokumenti/1944.12.12.htm, 28 February 2003)

[32] It seems likely that the word order to some extent may influence whether speakers use agreement or not in such constructions.
[33] *Aizsargi* ('The defenders') was a paramilitary organisation in Latvia between the first and second world wars.

(22) *[…] allaž esot bijis jāmeklē ziedojumi.*
always be.EVI be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG search.DEB donation.NOM.PL
'[…] (apparently) one has always had to look for donations.'
(http://faculty.stcc.edu/zagarins/KjL/teksti/2002/kjl122102.txt, 28 February 2003)

Apart from the mentioned constructions, there are a number of verbs that can or must be used impersonally with a dative complement. Mathiassen (1997:179) lists *likties* 'seem', *šķist* 'seem', *slāpt* 'be thirsty', *nākties* 'be obliged', *salt* 'feel cold', *trūkt* 'lack' and *vajadzēt* 'need'. Cf. (23) and (24).

(23) *Ar to runāšanu … nu, man <u>leksikas</u> trūkst.*
with DEM.ACC.SG speaking.ACC.SG well 1sg.DAT vocabulary.GEN.SG lack.PRES.3
'When it comes to speaking … well, I lack [a larger] vocabulary.'
(MD 2, 8, 1:16)

(24) *<u>Man</u> salst, bet negribu kliegt.*
1sg.DAT feel-cold.PRES.3 but not-want.PRES.1SG scream.INF
'I am cold, but I don't want to scream.'
(http://www.makslaplus.lv/intervija/01_3_01.htm, 28 February 2003)

It should be noted that some of these verbs can also be used with a nominative subject, in which case the verb shows agreement with the subject. In (25), *salt* is used personally, but the first person singular nominative subject is omitted.

(25) *Salstu un nejūtos labi, nau ogļu,*
feel-cold.PRES.1SG and not-feel.PRES.1SG good.ADV not-be.PRES.3 coal.GEN.PL
jūtos noguris, […].
feel.PRES.1SG get-tired.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG
'I feel cold and not well, there is no coal, I feel tired […].'
(Rainis 1986:631, also http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/Rainis/Dienasgr/1906-1920/1913hronika.htm, 28 February 2003)

Under the heading 'Dative in Impersonal Constructions' Mathiassen also mentions impersonal constructions with predicates consisting of a copula and an adverb, as seen in (26):

(26) *Zini kā, <u>veciem</u> <u>cilvēkiem</u>, <u>viņiem</u> ir grūti, …*
know.PRES.2SG how, old.MASC.DAT.PL person.DAT.PL 3.MASC.DAT.PL be.PRES.3 difficult.ADV
'You know how it is, old people, it's difficult for them, …'
(MD 1, 7, 3:22)

Mathiassen lists several adverbs that occur in this construction: *labi* 'well', *patīkami* 'pleasant, *bēdīgi* 'sad', *slikti* 'not well', *auksti* 'cold', *karsti* 'hot' and *žēl* 'sorry', but this list can

easily be made longer. The copula is often omitted in the present tense (27), and other verbs than *būt* 'be' can also function as copulas (28).

(27) *Tādēļ* *man* *patīkami* *atcerēties* *radiostudijai*
therefore 1sg.DAT pleasant.ADV remember.INF radio-studio.DAT.SG
sūtītos *pieteikumus.*
send.PAPP.MASC.ACC.PL.DEF request.ACC.PL
'Therefore I with pleasure remember the requests sent to the radio studio.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200003/000304/02.htm, 3 March 2003)

(28) *[…]* *skumji* *gan* *viņam* *kļuva.*
sad.ADV PART 3.MASC.DAT.SG become.PAST.3
'[…] he got really sad.'
(http://www.tvnet.lv/fabrika/people/people.php?plid=1617, 3 March 2003)

(29) illustrates the fact that an adjective in the masculine nominative singular (here *skaidrs* 'clear') may take the place of an adverb in this construction. Sometimes either an adverb or an adjective may be used (e.g. *auksti* or *auksts* 'cold' and *silti* or *silts* 'warm'), but with some words, as *skaidrs*, only the adjective is possible.

(29) *Viņam* *kļuva* *pilnīgi* *skaidrs,* *ka* *jāstudē*
3.MASC.DAT.SG become.PAST.3 complete.ADV clear.MASC.NOM.SG that study.DEB
filozofija, […].
philosophy.NOM.SG
'It became quite clear to him that he had to study philosophy, […].'
(http://www.abc.lv/enciklopedija/rubenis_andris.htm, 3 March 2003)

Given the presence of a nominative-marked word (the adjective) in such constructions, one could be tempted not to classify them as impersonal. On the other hand, the clear parallels between the two types of constructions – with adverbs and adjectives respectively – have lead the authors of MLLVG to treat them as syntactically equivalent, labelling them 'adverbial one-part sentences' and 'adjectival one-part sentences' respectively (MLLVG II:534–537). The predicative use of adjectives in the masculine nominative singular is clearly reminiscent of the use of neuter adjectives in e.g. Russian and the special predicative forms – often referred to as neuter forms – in Lithuanian. The fact that one might have to put the dative in (28) and (29) in different categories reveals some of the arbitrariness characteristic of an approach to case based purely on syntactic criteria.

3.1.1.7 DATIVE WITH GERUNDS IN *-OT* (THE ABSOLUTE DATIVE)

In subordinate clauses, the dative may be used together with gerunds ending in *-ot* if the dative-marked NP is different from the subject of the main clause. This construction, traditionally labelled *the absolute dative*, has counterparts in other archaic Indo-European languages, such as Old Church Slavic, Gothic, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit. From a formal point of view, this construction is also impersonal.

(30) *Skaties! – viņa iesaucās un, visiem redzot, izdzēra glāzi.*
look.IMP.2SG 3.FEM.NOM.SG exclaim.PAST.3 and all.MASC.DAT.PL see.GER drink-up.PAST.3 glass.ACC.SG
'Look! – she called out, and emptied the glass, everybody watching.'
(http://home.delfi.lv/latvietis/25_53julijs/lapa6.htm, 3 March 2003)

3.1.2 The adnominal dative

3.1.2.1 WITH ADJECTIVES

There are several adjectives that may take a dative complement. Some of them share the semantics of – and often contain the same root as – verbs that are used with the dative. This group includes, among others, *derīgs* 'suitable, useful' (: *derēt* 'suit'), *gatavs* 'ready' (: *gatavoties* 'prepare (oneself)', *kaitīgs* 'harmful' (: *kaitēt* 'harm, hurt'), *līdzīgs* 'similar' (: *līdzināties* 'resemble'), *padevīgs* 'submissive' (: *padoties* 'surrender, submit'), *paklausīgs* 'obedient' (: *[pa]klausīt* 'obey'), *pateicīgs* 'thankful, grateful' (: *pateikties* 'thank'), *uzticīgs* 'faithful' (: *uzticēties* 'trust') and *tuvs* 'near' (: *tuvoties* 'approach'). (31) illustrates the use of one of these.

(31) *… kā pasniedzēja viņa nav itin nekam derīga.*
as lecturer.NOM.SG 3.FEM.NOM.SG not-be.PRES.3 whatsoever nothing.DAT suitable.FEM.NOM.SG
'… as a lecturer, she's not suitable for anything whatsoever.'
(MD 5, 10, 4:55)

In addition to the mentioned ones, a large number of adjectives that are not linked in a direct way to verbs used with the dative can have dative-marked complements; MLLVG (II:100) lists these: *dārgs* 'dear', *draudzīgs* 'friendly', *kopīgs* 'common', *lieks* 'superfluous', *nepieciešams* 'necessary', *parocīgs* 'convenient', *pretīgs* 'disgusting', *radniecīgs* 'related', *svešs* 'foreign, strange' and *veselīgs* 'healthy'. Indeed, given the right context, it appears that the

dative can be used with a very large number of adjectives, cf. (32) with *mīļš* ‘dear’ and (33) with *aktuāls* ‘current’. This may be taken to indicate that semantic factors are more important to the use of the dative than the claimed ability of a certain adjective to govern this case.

(32) *… te* *uzreiz* *var* *redzēt […]* *kuri* *tev* *priekšmeti*
here at-once can.PRES.3 see.INF which.MASC.NOM.PL 2sg.DAT subject.NOM.PL
ir […] *mīļi,* *kuri* *tev* *nav* *mīļi …*
be.PRES.3 dear.MASC.NOM.PL which.MASC.NOM.PL 2sg.DAT not-be.PRES.3 dear.MASC.NOM.PL
‘… here you can see at once […] which subjects are […] dear to you and which are not …’
(MD 9, 2, 3:03)

(33) *Mums* *vēl* *aktuāli* *špikeri* *un*
1pl.DAT still current.MASC.NOM.PL cheat-note.NOM.PL and
viss *pārējais …*
all.MASC.NOM.SG other.MASC.NOM.SG.DEF
‘Cheat notes and all the rest are still current [things] for us …’
(MD 1, 5, 1:45)

3.1.2.2 WITH NOUNS

With nouns, the situation is quite similar to the one with adjectives. A number of nouns that are related semantically and etymologically to verbs and/or adjectives taking dative complements, can also appear with the dative. Mathiassen (1997:176) mentions *pateicība* (: *pateikties* ‘thank’, *pateicīgs* ‘thankful, grateful’), *kaitīgums* ‘harmfulness’ (: *kaitēt* ‘harm, hurt’, *kaitīgs* ‘harmful’), *atbilde* ‘answer (noun)’ (: *atbildēt* ‘answer [verb]’), *palīdzība* ‘help (noun)’ (: *palīdzēt* ‘help [verb]’) and *pārmetums* ‘reproach (noun)’ (: *pārmest* ‘reproach [verb]’). This list could easily be made longer; in (34) we see the noun *neticība* ‘lack of faith’, which is related to the verb *ticēt* ‘believe’, used with a dative complement:

(34) *Mums* *ir* *tāda* *neticība* *cilvēkiem* *iekšā, …*
1pl.DAT be.PRES.3 such.FEM.NOM.SG lack-of-faith.NOM.SG person.DAT.PL inside
‘Inside us, we have such a lack of faith in people …’
(MD 8, 19, 3:50)

One also finds the dative in connection with a large number of nouns that are not in a direct sense connected to verbs or adjectives used with dative complements. Again, the inherent semantics of the dative (which will be analysed in detail in the second part of this chapter) seems to play a more important role than the properties of the noun in question. Thus in (35) and (36) one would hardly want to claim that the dative is governed by the nouns *turpinājums* ‘continuation’ and *pote* ‘vaccine’.

(35) … *kaut kādā […]* *mērā* *tas* *ir*
some.LOC.SG measure.LOC.SG DEM.MASC.NOM.SG be.PRES.3
kaut kāds *turpinājums* *iepriekšējiem* *gadiem*, …
some.MASC.NOM.SG continuation.NOM.SG preceding.MASC.DAT.PL.DEF year.DAT.PL
'… to some […] extent that's a sort of continuation of [what's been going on for] the last years, …'
(MD 9, 1, 1:56)

(36) *Tā* *ir* *pote* *imunitātei* *pret* *līdzīgu*
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 vaccine.NOM.SG immunity.DAT.SG against similar.GEN.PL
traģēdiju *atkārtošanos, […].*
tragedy.GEN.PL repetition.ACC.SG
'It is a vaccine providing immunity against the repetition of similar tragedies, […].'
(http://www.diena.lv/rigas_zinas/lasit.php?id=178869, 12 March 2003)

3.1.3 The adverbial dative

Mathiassen (1997:180) mentions that the *dative of purpose* may be analysed as being adverbial, i.e. as fulfilling the function of an adverb. (37) illustrates this use of the dative.

(37) … *tā* *nav* *ikdienas* *lasīšanai* *avīze.*
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG not-be.PRES.3 everyday.GEN.SG reading.DAT.SG newspaper.NOM.SG
'… It's not a paper for daily reading.'
(MD 1, 5, 4:15)

MLLVG (II:75), on the other hand, treats this function together with the dative with nouns, cf. section 3.1.2.2.

3.1.4 The 'possessive' dative

Endzelīns (1951:574) mentions that sometimes dative-marked NPs forming part of a predicate are in a close relationship with a noun, and that they under these circumstances at least to some extent could be replaced by a possessive genitive or a possessive pronoun. This construction is also discussed by MLLVG (II:291), but – despite its being fairly frequent – is not mentioned by Mathiassen (1997). The construction, for which the term *possessive dative* could be used (and is used in Holvoet 2001b) is illustrated by the following examples.

(38) *Matīss* *ieskatījās* *man* *acīs […].*
Matīss.NOM.SG look-in.PAST.3 1sg.DAT eye.LOC.PL
'Matīss looked me in the eyes […].'
(http://www.media.lv/laba/texti/50ml/14-2.htm, 4 March 2003)

(39) … *man* *draudzene* *mācās […]* *par* *datorprogrammētāju, …*
1sg.DAT friend.NOM.SG study.PRES.3 for computer-programmer.ACC.SG
'… a friend of mine is studying to become a computer programmer, …'
(MD 5, 18, 2:26)

Holvoet (2001b) remarks that the Latvian 'possessive' dative is not restricted to situations where the dative-marked NP is animate, as is the case e.g. in Lithuanian. Thus the Latvian sentence in (40) is quite acceptable, while the grammaticality of its Lithuanian counterpart in (41) is dubious:[34]

(40) *Vējš* *norāva* *mājai* *jumtu.*
wind.NOM.SG tear-off.PAST.3 house.DAT.SG roof.ACC.SG
'The wind tore the roof off the house.'
(Holvoet 2001b:204, my translation)

(41) (?) *Vėjas* *nuplėšė* *trobai* *stogą.*
wind.NOM.SG tear-off.PAST.3 house.DAT.SG roof.ACC.SG
'The wind tore the roof off the house.'
(Holvoet 2001b:204, my translation, Holvoet's grammaticality judgement)

Although there is a certain possessivity (in a wide sense of the term) present in these examples – the eyes and the friend both 'belong' to the person speaking or writing, and the roof 'belongs' to the house insofar as it is part of it – such sentences with the dative are not semantically equivalent to the corresponding sentences with the genitive or possessive pronouns.[35] It cannot be denied that there are obvious semantic ties between the dative seen here and the dative used in possessive constructions with *būt* 'be' and *piederēt* 'belong' (cf. section 3.1.1.3). At the same time, some examples – notably (40) – are also akin to the adverbal construction with dative-marked malefactive mentioned in section 3.1.1.1 and exemplified in (2). This matter will be further elaborated in section 3.2.6.1.

[34] Still, genuine Lithuanian examples with inanimate dative NPs can be found, e.g. the following one: *Briedis nuplėšė mašinai stogą ir ant klykiančių iš siaubo piliečių sukrito jojo viduriai.* 'The elk tore the roof off the car and its intestines fell over the citizens, who were screaming in horror.'
(http://blog.hardcore.lt/bilekoks/archives/cat_nuogirdos.html, 13 October 2004)

[35] Note that the use of the 'possessive' dative seems to be restricted to instances of *inalienable possession* and that the dative in this function typically occurs with *relational nouns*. For a discussion of the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession cf. Heine 1997:10–16 and 172–183. Relational nouns will be discussed in section 4.2.4.

3.1.5 The ethical dative

The use of the ethical dative, which has close equivalents in languages such as Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, German and Latin, is illustrated in (42).

(42) *Nedomā* *tu* *man* *tajās* *grāmatās* *vien* *gulēt!*
not-think.IMP.2SG 2sg.NOM 1sg.DAT DEM.FEM.LOC.PL book.LOC.PL PART lie.INF
'Don't think you can just lie there amongst your books [, I'll see to it that you don't]!'
(Upīts 1947:107, cited in MLLVG II:293)

Here, the dative-marked person – the speaker – does not take any part in the actual situation described by the sentence. Rather, the dative of the first person pronoun is introduced by the speaker to imply that what is happening affects him – in other words, by inserting the dative *man* he involves himself in the situation expressed. In section 3.2.7, I will argue that the use of the ethical dative with the imperative has the effect of asserting the speaker's authority over the addressee (whether real or imagined), while used in other contexts it can convey solidarity or empathy. Common to the different uses of the ethical dative is the expression of involvement on the part of speech-act participants. In line with this, only personal pronouns are used in this function.

The accounts of the ethical dative in the traditional grammars are surprisingly brief and inadequate. Mathiassen (1997) does not mention the ethical dative at all. Some examples of its use are cited by Endzelīns (1951:571), but he does not provide any account of the meaning and use of this function. In MLLVG its existence is mentioned in a note printed in small type (MLLVG II:293), together with a remark that the dative here should not be regarded as a grammatical object, as it only adds a modal nuance to the sentence. Somewhat more to the point is Kārlis Mühlenbachs's remark in his and Endzelīns's short grammar, the first issue of which was published in 1907: 'The datives of personal pronouns, especially *man* and *tev*, often express participation or indignation' (Endzelins and Mühlenbachs 1907:177; my translation, original emphasis).

The incomplete treatment of the ethical dative in the grammars is perhaps due to the fact that this function does not fit well into the traditional classifications. In a sentence such as (42), the dative is not required ('governed') by any word. It is similar to 'free' datives in the respect that the sentence is fully acceptable also without the dative, but differs from them by projecting the semantic purport of the dative case to the domain of the speech-act

itself. Thus the meaning of the ethical dative may be described as pragmatic rather than semantic in a narrow sense of this term.[36]

3.1.6 The 'agentive' dative with reflexive verbs

Latvian reflexive verbs, which are characterised by the reflexive ending *-s* and the presence of longer person endings than those of their non-reflexive counterparts, can be divided into several groups based on their function. With one of these groups, labelled *passive reflexives* by Mathiassen (1997:141, 143) and *middle reflexive verbs* by myself (Berg-Olsen 2001:220), the dative can be used to mark NPs reminiscent of agents in passive sentences. This is seen in (43) and (44).

(43) *Es* *mācījos* *skolā …* *vācu* *valodu*
1sg.NOM learn.PAST.1SG school.LOC.SG German.GEN.PL language.ACC.SG
septiņus *gadus,* *un* *tagad* *jau* *es* *viņu,* *nu,* *man*
seven.MASC.ACC.PL year.ACC.PL and now PART 1sg.NOM 3.ACC.SG PART 1sg.DAT
viņa *ir,* *neteiktu,* *ka* *aizmirsusies, […]* *bet* *pateikt*
3.FEM.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 not-say.SUBJ that forget.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG.REFL but say.INF
es *nevaru* *gandrīz* *neko, …*
1sg.NOM not-can.PRES.1SG almost nothing.ACC
'I had … German at school for seven years, and now I, well, I wouldn't say that I've forgotten it, […] but I'm almost unable to say anything at all, …'
(MD 6, 13, 4:29)

(44) *… tad* *kad* *es* *atbraucu* *no* *Anglijas,* *tad* *viņiem*
then when 1sg.NOM arrive.PAST.1SG from England.GEN.SG then 3.MASC.DAT.PL
tieši *bij* *atbrīvojusies* *viena* *vieta …*
just be.PAST.3 vacate.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG.REFL one.FEM.NOM place.NOM.SG
'… when I got back from England, they had a place that had just become vacant …'
(MD 8, 5, 0:28)

Ceplīte and Ceplītis (1991:67) state that reflexive verbs are mostly used in a passive sense (as in [43] and [44]) if the activity of the one performing the action is weakly manifested. Actually, it is doubtful whether the dative-marked NPs here should be regarded as agents at all – the semantics of the dative in this construction is probably more akin to that of a possessor. This function will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.3.

[36] In Cognitive Grammar, semantics is taken to include also pragmatic aspects of meaning, and the distinction between pragmatics and semantics is viewed as an artificial one, cf. Langacker 1987:154 and Taylor 2002:21 and 105.

3.1.7 The dative with prepositions and semi-adpositions

A peculiar trait of Latvian grammar is that the case pattern with prepositions differs according to the grammatical number of the preposition's complement. Thus, while prepositions may occur either with the genitive, the accusative or the dative when their complement is in the singular, all prepositions are used with the dative when their complement is in the plural. The reasons for this unusual pattern must be sought in diachronic developments that will be looked more closely into in section 3.2.9.2.[37]

With singular complements, the use of the dative is limited to two prepositions, *līdz* 'as far as, until' and *pa*, whose most frequent function probably is the so-called distributive one, illustrated in (45).

(45) *Vidusskolā* *bij* *tāds* *rets*
secondary-school.LOC.SG be.PAST.3 such.MASC.NOM.SG unusual.MASC.NOM.SG
gadījums, *katrā* *klasē* *bij* *pa* *vienam*
occurrence.NOM.SG each.LOC.SG class.LOC.SG be.PAST.3 DISTR one.MASC.DAT.SG
Rihardam, …
Rihards.DAT.SG
'In secondary school there was this unusual situation, there was one Rihards in each class, …'
(MD 6, 14, 2:34)

The function of *pa* in (45) is to 'distribute' a boy named Rihards into each of the school-classes. In addition to the distributive function, the dative is used with *pa* in a number of more or less lexicalised expressions, e.g. *pa vecam (paradumam)* 'in the old way', *pa ceļam* 'on the way, in passing', *pa laikam* 'from time to time', *pa rokai* 'at hand, within reach' and *pa spēkam* 'in one's power'. *Pa* can also take an accusative complement, rendering the meaning 'along, through, by'.

In certain idiomatic expressions, the dative forms of the demonstrative pronoun *tas* and the relative and interrogative pronoun *kas* are used with prepositions that otherwise occur with the genitive. The most frequent of these expressions are *pēc tam* 'afterwards', *pirms tam* 'before', *priekš kam* 'for what purpose, why', *bez tam*, *pie tam* and *pie kam*, all meaning 'besides, moreover'. If the pronoun refers to an entity in the context, the genitive is used.

[37] Given the fact that the dative is used to mark all plural prepositional complements, statements in this dissertation about which case is used with a certain preposition are valid only for singular complements.

In addition to the prepositions proper, Latvian has a group of words that in the Latvian grammatical tradition are labelled *semi-adpositions (pusprievārdi*, MLLVG I:701, 723, Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:104, but see also the criticism against this term in Lagzdiņa 1997a). Mathiassen (1997:183) employs the term *prepositional adverbs* for these words. Their primary function is adverbial, but they may also function as pre- or postpositions, in which case their complements can appear in the dative.[38] Many of the semi-adpositions display clear etymological relationships to semantically close prepositions. The group includes *apkārt* 'around' (cf. *ap* [+ accusative] 'around, about'), *blakus* 'next to', *cauri* 'through' (cf. *caur* [+ accusative] 'through, via'), *garām* 'past, by' (cf. *gar* [+ accusative] 'along, past, by'), *klāt* 'near, close to', *līdzās* 'next to, besides', *līdz(i)* 'along with', *līdztekus* 'alongside' (cf. *līdz* [+ dative] 'as far as, until'), *pakaļ* 'after', *pāri* 'over, across' (cf. *pār* [+ accusative] 'over, across'), *pretī*, *pretim* 'opposite, towards' (cf. *pret* [+ accusative] 'against'), *priekšā* 'in front of' (cf. *priekš* [+ genitive] 'before, for') and *virsū* 'above, on top of' (cf. *virs* [+ genitive] 'over, above'). (46) and (47) exemplify the use of *blakus* and *pakaļ* respectively.

(46) *[…] novietojiet plaukstas blakus kreisajai pēdai.*
place.IMP.2PL palm.ACC.PL next-to left.FEM.DAT.SG.DEF foot.DAT.SG
'[…] place your palms next to your left foot.'
(http://www.ralfs.net/yoga/yoga04.htm, 20 March 2003)

(47) *Jānis uz ceļiem rāpoja pakaļ Leldei, …*
Jānis.NOM.SG on knee.DAT.PL crawl.PAST.3 after Lelde.DAT.SG
'Jānis was crawling on his knees after Lelde, …'
(http://home.parks.lv/jezusbaznica/jauniesi/TrakasLietas/Valentindiena99/valentindiena99.htm, 20 March 2003)

Among the mentioned semi-adpositions, *priekšā* is special in that it represents the locative singular of the otherwise fully-fledged noun *priekša* 'front'. However, one could argue that *priekšā* is not unique in this respect, as both *aizmugurē* 'behind' (the locative of *aizmugure* 'rear') and *apakšā* 'below, at the bottom of' (the locative of *apakša* 'bottom, lower part') can also be used as semi-adpositions with dative complements, cf. (48) as well as (49), which is closely parallel to one of the two examples quoted by Holvoet (1993:140).

[38] As will be shown further down, with some semi-adpositions either the dative, the genitive or possessive pronouns can be used.

(48) *Tavi* *bērni* *iemācās* *braukt* *uz* *moča* *tev*
your.MASC.NOM.PL child.NOM.PL learn.PRES.3 ride.INF on motorbike.GEN.SG 2sg.DAT
aizmugurē […].
behind
'Your children learn to ride behind you on a motorbike […].'
(http://www.superbike.lv/main.php?x=joki&y=12, 24 October 2003)

(49) *[…]* *jebkurš* *var* *parakstīt* *sagatavotajam*
anyone.MASC.NOM.SG can.PRES.3 sign.INF prepare.PAPP.MASC.DAT.SG.DEF
dokumentam *apakšā* *vārdu* *Jānis, […].*
document.DAT.SG at-the-bottom-of name.ACC.SG Jānis.NOM.SG
'[…] anyone can put the signature Jānis at the bottom of a prepared document, […].'
(http://www.lumii.lv/MII_staff/rusins/13l/main.htm, 20 March 2003)

Also *vidū* 'in the middle of' (the locative of *vidus* 'middle part, centre') can be found with the dative; an example is given in Holvoet (2001:210). *Starpā* 'between' (the locative of *starpa* 'interval, space between something') and *iekšā* 'inside' (the locative of *iekša* 'inside') are mainly, but not exclusively, used with the genitive. Given the fact that the words in this latter group clearly originated as nouns, it is not surprising that they can be used not only with the dative, but also with the genitive and with possessive pronouns. With *priekšā*, all the three constructions, seen in (50)–(53), seem fairly frequent.[39] As for *apakšā* and *vidū*, the construction with the genitive or possessive pronouns is the dominating one, while *aizmugurē* seems to show a pattern similar to that of *priekšā*.[40] Note that the genitive and possessive pronouns always appear before *priekšā*, following the ordinary pattern for the adnominal (non-partitive) genitive. The dative normally appears before *priekšā*, as in (50), but can also appear after it, as in (51).

(50) *[…]* *tev* *priekšā* *ejošais* *cilvēks* *sāk*
2sg.DAT in-front-of walk.PRAP.MASC.NOM.SG.DEF person.NOM.SG begin.FUT.3
uztraukties.
be-nervous.INF
'[…] the person walking in front of you will start getting nervous.'
(http://hopeless.times.lv/, 20 March 2003)

[39] Holvoet (1993:132) writes that when available, possessive pronouns are always used with *priekšā* instead of the genitive. Although there certainly is a clear tendency towards this, examples such as (53) show that the tendency is not absolute.
[40] The semi-adposition *virsū* is used with the genitive only in the expression *zemes virsū* 'on the face of the earth'. It is the locative of *virsus* 'top, upper part', which in the modern language is obsolete and has been replaced by *virsa*.

(51) *Šoreiz es arī, protams, uztraucos, bet, tikko*
this-time 1sg.NOM also of-course be-nervous.PAST.1SG but as-soon-as
izgāju priekšā lielajam korim – nu, to
walk-out.PAST.1SG in-front-of large.MASC.DAT.SG.DEF choir.DAT.SG well DEM.ACC.SG
jau grūti izstāstīt.
PART difficult.ADV convey.INF
'Also this time I was of course nervous, but as soon as I walked out in front of the large choir – well, it is difficult to convey [how I felt].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199807/980711/08.htm, 8 November 2004)

(52) *[…] likās, ka visa pasaule tavā priekšā ir*
seem.PAST.3 that all.FEM.NOM.SG world.NOM.SG your.LOC.SG front.LOC.SG be.PRES.3
atvērta.
open.FEM.NOM.SG
'[…] it seemed like all the world lay open before you.'
(http://www.lielvarde.lv/lv/Kultura/soks/2000/Maijs/inttilaka.htm, 20 March 2003)

(53) *Es tagad bijā tevis priekšā lokos*
1sg.NOM now awe.LOC.SG 2sg.GEN in-front-of bow.PRES.1SG
'I now bow in awe before you'
(Rainis 1981:410, also http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/Rainis/Rigrag/3posms.htm, 20 March 2003)

Holvoet (1993) classifies *priekšā*, *apakšā* and *vidū* together with several other words that never occur with the dative as 'noun-based adpositions' (presumably, *aizmugurē* also belongs in this group, although not mentioned by Holvoet). He asserts (1993:138, 2001:211–214) that there at least sometimes is a semantic opposition between the genitive and dative constructions with e.g. *priekšā*.[41] In Holvoet's words, the genitive simply indicates the position of something in relation to the genitive-marked phrase, while the dative implies a sense of *affectedness* (*Affiziertheit*); the location expressed by the noun-based adposition is conceived as being part of, or at least as standing in some kind of relation to, the dative-marked phrase. Holvoet illustrates this contrast with the following examples:

(54) *Vārtu priekšā ir smilšu kaudze.*
gate.GEN.PL in-front-of be.PRES.3 sand.GEN.PL heap.NOM.SG
'In front of the gate, there's a heap of sand.'
(Holvoet 2001b:211, my translation)

[41] Holvoet (2001:210–211) writes that the choice of the dative is sometimes dictated by positional rather than semantic criteria. His example involves the noun-based adposition *vidū*, which, when modified with *pats* 'self, very' in the phrase *pašā vidū* 'in the very middle', is said to demand a postposed and consequently dative-marked complement. Genitive (preposed) arguments are, however, not hard to find in connection with *pašā vidū*, cf. for instance … *mana vieta ir tukšās rindas pašā vidū* … '… my seat is in the very middle of the empty row …' (http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Musdienas/Celmina/Kaplika/20istV.html, 21 March 2003).

(55) *Vārtiem priekšā ir smilšu kaudze.*
gate.DAT.PL in-front-of be.PRES.3 sand.GEN.PL heap.NOM.SG
'In front of the gate, there's a heap of sand [blocking it].'
(Holvoet 2001b:211, my translation)

While the construction with the genitive in (54) simply amounts to asserting the existence of a heap of sand in front of the gate, the construction with the dative in (55) also implies that there is a relevant relation between the gate and the space in front of it. In this situation, the most neutral interpretation is probably that the heap of sand is obstructing the access to the gate – the space in front of the gate is conceived as part of a larger whole that includes the gate and is affected by the presence of another object (the heap of sand) on its territory. Moreover, due to the common knowledge that gates are used by people to enter and exit, (55) indicates that the heap of sand is inhibiting the use of the gate, thereby affecting anyone wishing to enter or exit through it.

As mentioned, when the genitive is used with noun-based adpositions, it is always preposed, but the dative may be either pre- or postposed, as is indeed the case with all the semi-adpositions. Still, several of them show a clear preference for one of these positions – thus for instance *blakus*, *cauri* and *virsū* show higher frequencies as postpositions, while *pāri* mostly occurs as a preposition.

In addition to the mentioned semi-adpositions (including noun-based adpositions used with the dative, e.g. *priekšā*), one may also be tempted to include in the group certain other words that are not usually regarded as semi-adpositions, but do appear with dative complements, e.g. *papildu(s)* 'in addition to', *pretstatā* 'as opposed to, in contrast to' and *secen* 'past' cf. (56)–(58). *Pretstatā* is also found with the preposition *ar* 'with', which is used with an accusative complement.

(56) *[…] ieslodzītajiem ir būtiski saņemt pārtiku papildus*
prisoner.DAT.PL be.PRES.3 essential.ADV receive food.ACC.SG in-addition-to
tai pārtikai, ar kuru viņi tiek
DEM.FEM.DAT.SG food.DAT.SG with which.ACC.SG 3.MASC.NOM.PL AUX.PRES.3
nodrošināti.
provide.PAPP.MASC.NOM.PL
'[…] for the prisoners, it is essential that they receive [some] food in addition to the food they are provided with.'
(http://www.satv.tiesa.gov.lv/LV/Spriedumi/05-03(01).htm, 21 March 2003)

(57) *Pretstatā* *Artūram* *Irbem* *Ozoliņš* *nevairījās* *no*
in-contrast-to Artūrs.DAT.SG Irbe.DAT.SG Ozoliņš.NOM.SG not-shun.PAST.3 from
bohēmiskas *uzdzīves, […].*
Bohemian.FEM.GEN.SG partying.GEN.SG
'In contrast to Artūrs Irbe, Ozoliņš didn't shun [some] Bohemian partying, […].'
(http://www.didhokejs.yo.lv/speeleetaaji/stat/ozolins.htm, 21 March 2003)

(58) *Liepājai* *nav* *gājuši* *secen* *arī* *kari,*
Liepāja.DAT.SG not-be.PRES.3 go.PAAP.MASC.NOM.PL past also war.NOM.PL
epidēmijas, *ugunsgrēki.*
epidemic.NOM.PL fires.NOM.PL
'Neither has Liepāja been spared from wars, epidemics and fires.'
(http://www.zl.lv/new1/info_liepaja.htm, 3 May 2003)

3.1.8 The question of the instrumental

The question of the Latvian instrumental has been a subject of discussion among scholars in the field for some time. As the answer one chooses to give to this question has repercussions for the perception both of the case system as a whole and of several single cases, among them the dative, it must be given thorough consideration here.

The Latvian instrumental plural, which had been inherited from Proto-Baltic and ultimately from Proto-Indo-European, at some point merged morphologically with the dative plural. In the singular, the instrumental merged with the accusative, and these two developments together lead to the present state, where there no longer are any forms unequivocally signalling the instrumental case (the two morphological mergers probably also played a part in the unification of case-marking of prepositional complements in the plural). The position that Latvian still has an instrumental case is nevertheless in principle tenable. If environments were shown to exist where singular nouns must appear in a form identical to the accusative singular and plural nouns must appear in a form identical to the dative plural, there would be reasons for recognising the existence of an instrumental case despite its lacking separate forms. Perhaps the best candidate for such an environment is the so-called *instrumental of quality* (*īpašības instrumentālis*), which for the most part is used to describe features of human beings. (59) illustrates the instrumental of quality with a singular and a plural NP. Note that the non-prepositional instrumental of quality is used only when the NP contains an attribute.

(59) *Sirmu* *bārdu* *un* *gudrām,* *noguršām*
grey.INSTR?.SG beard.INSTR?.SG and wise.INSTR?.PL get-tired.PAAP.FEM.INSTR?.PL
acīm, *uz* *balti* *krāsota* *soliņa* *sēž*
eye.INSTR?.PL on white.ADV paint.PAPP.MASC.GEN.SG bench.DIM.GEN.SG sit.PRES.3
vecs *vīrs.*
old.MASC.NOM.SG man.NOM.SG
'With a grey beard and wise, tired eyes, on a white-painted little bench an old man is sitting.'
(http://nekuriene.yo.lv/neiepzpilseta.htm, 24 March 2003)

Although such examples can be found, they are not very frequent, and especially in the singular a prepositional phrase with *ar* 'with' tends to be used instead of the non-prepositional instrumental (according to MLLVG [I:401], the non-prepositional form is more frequent with the plural than the singular). In fact, one would be hard pressed to find a function where a form identical to the accusative must be used in the singular and a form identical to the dative must be used in the plural, and where this pair of forms cannot be replaced by the prepositional construction. This is a fact that could seriously undermine the independent status of the instrumental in the Latvian case system. Andronov (2001:205–206) sums up some possible solutions to the problem:[42]

1) Some scholars (e.g. Kalnača 1999, Grīsle 1998) maintain the traditional position that there does exist an instrumental case in Latvian and that the preposition *ar* takes this case. Kalnača argues that there is a semantic consistency in the uses of *ar* and the non-prepositional instrumental. In her view, a solution where *ar* is classified as taking the accusative and where the non-prepositional instrumental is divided between the accusative and the dative conflicts with the semantics of these two cases. In addition to a semantically based argumentation along the same lines as Kalnača's, Grīsle also argues that some dialects still differentiate between dative and instrumental forms in certain paradigms.

2) An alternative would be to view the instrumental singular in examples such as (59) as idiomatic. The corresponding instrumental plural, which clearly is more frequent, could then be classified as a dative, and the preposition *ar* claimed to be used with the accusative. Andronov (2001:206) ascribes this position to Fennell (1975) and Mathiassen (1997), although neither of them seem to explicitly voice this solution.

3) A seemingly elegant solution to the problem is proposed by Fennell (1975); he writes that in functions where the instrumental occurs without the preposition *ar* in both the

[42] A broad historical overview of the treatment of the Latvian instrumental in grammars and textbooks is given by Pauniņa (2001), together with a summary of the different analyses of the status of this case.

singular and plural, 'one would in theory need to posit an obligatorily deleted underlying preposition' (Fennell 1975:43). This view is supported by Holvoet, who describes the non-prepositional instrumental as a stylistic variant of the basic form with *ar*, arrived at by deletion of the preposition (Holvoet 1992:148). Elsewhere he proposes a variety of the preposition *ar* 'with zero realization in phonetic structure' (Holvoet 2000:215).

4) Andronov's fourth solution is somewhat akin to the third, but does not involve the postulation of phonetically empty words. The non-prepositional accusative singular/dative plural pattern in examples such as (59) is of course identical to the pattern found with prepositions used with the accusative in the singular. By extending the scope of this pattern from prepositional contexts to a few other functions, one could theoretically account for these constructions. The idea of a semantically determined context 'governing' a specific case pattern is, however, highly unconventional.

5) Finally, it is possible to retain the idea of a separate instrumental case, but limited to the few functions where it can be used without *ar* both in the singular and the plural. This instrumental would be quite peripheral to the case system as a whole, because of its narrow functional scope, low frequency and limitation to a relatively small number of lexemes (those pertaining to properties and parts of the human body, clothing etc.).

My own view is essentially in accordance with the last of the mentioned positions. Examples such as (59) cannot be satisfactorily explained without positing a separate case, but this case – the instrumental – clearly plays a very peripheral role in Latvian grammar. Although the solution involving deletion of the preposition *ar* or a variant of *ar* that is not phonologically expressed at first glance may seem neat, I have seen no evidence to support these hypotheses. On the other hand, I do not find tenable the traditional position that *ar* governs the instrumental in contrast to the prepositions traditionally said to govern the accusative, as there are no formal traits differentiating them.

The instrumental in modern Latvian must then be considered a defect case, i.e. a case that lacks some, but not all of the characteristics of a full member of the case system. The absence of endings unambiguously signalling the instrumental is accompanied by severe limitations in the functional scope of the case. The original functions of the instrumental are largely taken over by the accusative used with the preposition *ar* (the dative-marking of plural complements of *ar* follows the general rule as outlined in the previous section). However, in a few functions – for instance the one seen in (59) – the instrumental still has the potential of being used instead of prepositional phrases with *ar*.

In accordance with the view outlined above, those functions traditionally assigned to the instrumental case where *ar* is never present and the NP can only be used in the plural, must be ascribed to the dative. This includes two adverbial functions, traditionally labelled *the distributive instrumental* and *the instrumental of time* (cf. MLLVG I:403–404). Their use is exemplified in (60) and (61) respectively.

(60) *Latvijas* *jaunieši* *bariem* *dodas* *studēt* *ekonomiku*
Latvia.GEN.SG youth.NOM.PL crowd.DAT.PL set-out.PRES.3 study.INF economics.ACC.SG
un *jurisprudenci, […].*
and law.ACC.SG
'In multitudes, Latvia's youth set out to study economics and law, […].'
(http://www.diena.lv/pielikumi/izglitiba/index.php, 25 March 2003)

(61) *Viņš* *bieži* *pameta* *māju* *dienām,* *nedēļām,*
3.MASC.NOM.SG often leave.PAST.3 house.ACC.SG day.DAT.PL week.DAT.PL
mēnešiem *ilgi* *un* *palika* *pie* *draugiem, […].*
month.DAT.PL long.ADV and stay.PAST.3 at friend.DAT.PL
'He often left home for days, weeks, months, staying with friends, […].'
(http://www.iclub.lv/ivo/ozzy/ovesture.htm, 25 March 2003)

Also of instrumental origin is the dative plural found in certain isolated and probably idiomatised expressions, e.g. *mēroties spēkiem* 'measure strength', seen in (62), *mainīties lomām* 'reverse the roles' in (63) and *apmainīties apzīmējumiem* 'call each other names' (64). A borderline function is found with the adjectives *pilns* 'full' and *bagāts* 'rich'. These adjectives are sometimes used with the (original) instrumental plural, identical to the dative plural (cf. [65], a headline from the daily newspaper *Diena*). Examples with the (original) instrumental singular can also be found (one is given in MLLVG II:325), but are far between and possibly idiomatised. Although in doubt, I will classify the forms used with *pilns* and *bagāts* as representing the instrumental.

(62) *Ģimeņu* *stafetē* *spēkiem* *mērojās* *18* *komandas.*
family.GEN.PL relay.LOC.SG strength.DAT.PL measure.PAST.3 18 team.NOM.PL
'In the family relay, 18 teams measured strength.'
(http://www.ev.energo.lv/arhivs/2000_09_11/komandas_vecupe.htm, 24 April 2003)

(63) *Komandas* *dalībnieki* *distancē* *var* *mainīties* *lomām.*
team.GEN.SG participant.NOM.PL distance.LOC.SG can.PRES.3 change.INF role.DAT.PL
'The team's participants can reverse their roles during the course of the distance.'
(http://www.kurzemnieks.lv/print.php?sid=4573, 11 October 2004)

(64) *Abi* *politiķi* *jau* *vairākkārt* *apmainījušies*
both.MASC.NOM politician.NOM.PL already several-times exchange.PAAP.MASC.NOM.PL
kolorītiem *apzīmējumiem*.
colourful.MASC.DAT.PL term.DAT.PL
'The two politicians have already several times called each other colourful names.'
(*Diena*, 23 january 2002)

(65) *Pieci* *avārijām* *bagātākie* *krustojumi* *Rīgā* *varbūt*
five.NOM accident.DAT.PL rich.COMP.MASC.NOM.PL.DEF crossing.NOM.PL Riga.LOC.SG perhaps
tādi *paliks* *arī* *nākotnē*
such.MASC.NOM.PL remain.FUT.3 also future.LOC.SG
'The five most accident-ridden[43] crossings in Riga will perhaps remain such also in the future'
(*Diena*, 20 August 2003)

3.2 A network analysis

The aim of this subchapter is to show that the Latvian dative can be viewed as a semantically coherent category. The many different uses of the dative as presented in the preceding subchapter will be shown to be connected to each other and compatible with a small number of schematic meanings at a more abstract level of semantic representation. Finally, the question will be posed whether all the uses of the dative may ultimately be taken to express one single super-schematic meaning.

3.2.1 Affectedness, personal sphere and target person

As mentioned in section 2.2.6.6, Dąbrowska bases much of her analysis of the Polish dative on the concept of *target person*, stating that '[t]he dative case is the grammatical exponent of the target person role' (1997:17). The concept of target person hinges on the notion of *personal sphere*, which in Dąbrowska's words 'comprises the persons, objects, locations, and facts sufficiently closely associated with an individual that any changes in them are likely to affect the individual as well.' (1997:16).[44] She goes on to define target person as 'an individual who is perceived as affected by an action, process, or state taking place within or impinging upon his personal sphere.' (1997:17). The fact that the dative can be

[43] Literally 'most rich in accidents'.
[44] Neither of these terms are coined by Dąbrowska herself. *Target person* was introduced by Wierzbicka (1988:362), while *personal sphere* (or, rather, *sphère personnelle*) was used first by Bally (1926) – cf. Dąbrowska 1997:210, note 14.

used to indicate *affectedness* also in Latvian is perhaps best illustrated by sentence pairs where the dative contrasts with the genitive (or a possessive pronoun),[45] as in (66) and (67):

(66) *Gaidiņa* *piedzima* *13.* *novembrī,* *bet* *21.* *datumā* *jau*
Gaidiņa.NOM.SG be-born.PAST.3 13th november.LOC.SG but 21st date.LOC.SG already
nomira *viņas* *mamma.*
die.PAST.3 3.FEM.GEN.SG mummy.NOM.SG
'Gaidiņa was born on 13 November, but already on the 21st her mummy died.'
(http://vip.latnet.lv/lpra/likt_pazeloja.htm, 24 April 2003)

(67) *Četrpadsmit* *gadu* *vecumā* *viņai* *nomira* *māte.*
Fourteen year.GEN.PL age.LOC.SG 3.FEM.DAT.SG die.PAST.3 mother.NOM.SG
'At the age of fourteen, her mother died (on her).'
(http://www.catholic.lv/w/Svetie/avtereze.htm, 24 April 2003)

In (66) it is simply stated that the little girl's mother died; the statement is neutral as to whether the girl was affected by this in any way. This contrasts with the dative construction in (67), which explicitly expresses that the girl was affected by her mother's death. In other words, by using the dative, the speaker signals that what happened belongs to the personal sphere of the dative-marked person, and that this person is perceived to have been affected by the process denoted by the verb. A genitive or possessive pronoun does not indicate affectedness, but only serves to identify the person or object in question (in [66], the genitive form *viņas* 'her' is a reference point identifying whose mummy one is talking about). The use of the genitive certainly does not exclude an element of affectedness, but it does not code it specifically, as the dative does.

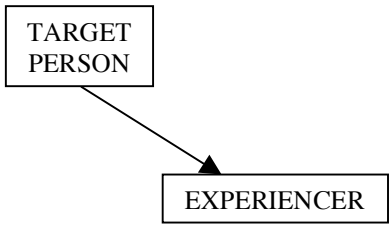
3.2.2 Experiencer

The role of experiencer is defined by Langacker (1991a:285) as 'a person engaged in mental activity (be it intellectual, perceptual, or emotive)'.[46] While a target person is perceived to be affected *in some way* by a process or an action either located within his personal sphere or impinging on it, an experiencer is conceptualised as affected (at least potentially) by a

[45] Adnominally used possessive pronouns can be regarded as equivalent to genitive forms, cf. Taylor 1996:1 on the status of possessive pronouns in English.
[46] Concepts such as agent, patient and experiencer are in Cognitive Grammar referred to as *role archetypes*. They are viewed as 'pre-linguistic conceptions grounded in everyday experience' and can, as any other conceptualisation, 'be invoked as part of the meaning of linguistic expressions or the characterization of linguistic elements' (Langacker 1991a:285). Unlike the semantic or thematic roles in certain frameworks, role archetypes in Cognitive Grammar do not form a limited set; the relevance of a certain archetype for linguistic purposes vary from one language to another and also within a given language.

mental process. In other words, an experiencer is a person affected by something entering or taking place in his mind or, to use Dąbrowska's term, his sphere of awareness.[47] The relationship between the two roles of target person and experiencer is thus one of (full) schematicity (cf. section 2.2.5) – experiencer is a more specific term than target person, but any experiencer is also a target person. This is illustrated in figure 3.1. In this and following figures, solid arrows denote (full) schematicity.

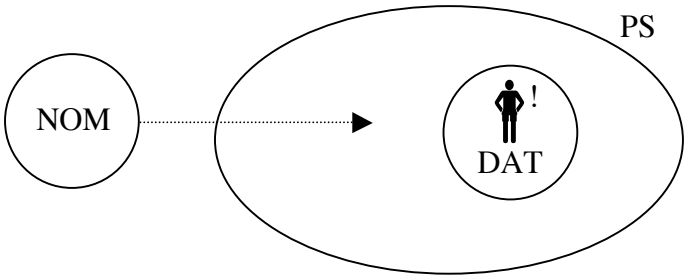
Figure 3.1. The relation of schematicity between the semantic roles *target person* and *experiencer*.



The function of expressing an experiencer is a quite frequent one with the Latvian dative. We find dative experiencers with personal and impersonal verbs, as well as with adverbs and adjectives expressing mental states and activities. (68) is an example with the personal verb *patikt* 'like'.

(68) *Man* *patīk* *Rīga.*
1sg.DAT like.PRES.3 Riga.NOM.SG
'I like Riga.'
(cf. example [8], section 3.1.1.2)

Figure 3.2. Diagram illustrating the purport of (68) and similar sentences, where a dative-marked experiencer is affected by a mental impression originating in a nominative-marked subject.



[47] The *sphere of awareness* is defined by Dąbrowska (1997:41) as 'a region where percepts, feelings, sensations, thoughts, ideas, etc. appear and are experienced by the target person'. It forms a subpart of the personal sphere.

The diagram in figure 3.2 illustrates the situation in (68). The nominative-marked NP represented by the circle to the left generates a mental impression (symbolised by a dotted arrow) in the mind of the dative-marked person. The human figure represents the target person (here an experiencer), while the exclamation mark symbolises the target person's affectedness. PS is an abbreviation for personal sphere. Diagrams of this kind will be used in the following to illustrate the semantics of different constructions and the role of the dative and other participants in these constructions. A list of the different elements used in the diagrams was provided before chapter 1.

With *patikt* and similar personal verbs (*garšot* 'like [about food and drinks]', *riebties* 'loathe', *dergties* 'disgust' and others), the nominative-marked NP generates either a positive or a negative impression in the mind of the dative-marked experiencer. The nature of the experiencer is the same regardless of whether the impression is positive or negative, cf. (69), for which the diagram in figure 3.2 is also appropriate:

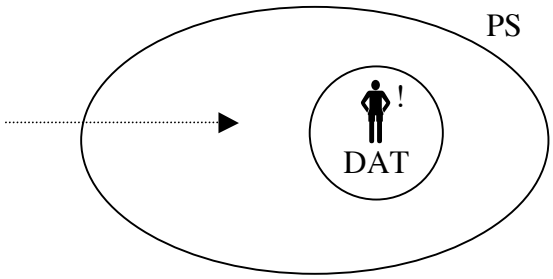
(69) *Man* *derdzas* *šis* *cilvēks, […].*
1sg.DAT disgust.PRES.3 DEM.MASC.NOM.SG person.NOM.SG
'I am disgusted by this person, […].'
(http://teatris.liepajanet.lv/izrazu_lapas/kaupens.htm, 29 April 2003)

Certain sensations and mental impressions have no obvious source, or the source is difficult to identify or conceptualise. Verbs designating such impressions can be used without a nominative subject. (70) is an example with *salt* 'feel cold'.

(70) *Man* *salst.*
1sg.DAT feel-cold.PRES.3
'I am cold.'
(cf. example [24], section 3.1.1.6)

The situation in (70) and similar examples can be illustrated as in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3. Diagram illustrating the purport of (70) and similar sentences, where a dative-marked experiencer is affected by a mental impression, the source of which is not explicitly coded.

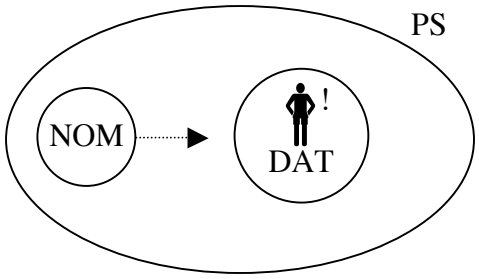


The verb *salt* designates a state pertaining to the experiencer's sphere of awareness, and does not contain any reference to the cause of this state in its semantic specification. It is however possible to use the nominative in order to specify a part of the body that feels cold, as in (71).

(71) *Man* *salst* *kājas*.
1sg.DAT feel-cold.PRES.3 leg.NOM.PL
'My legs are cold.'
(http://journal.bad.lv/users/ringla/day/2003/02/16, 5 May 2003)

Here the affected body part is conceptualised as a separate participant serving as the source of the feeling. Body parts obviously are included in the personal sphere, and whatever happens to them directly affects the experiencer. This is illustrated in figure 3.4 below. Apart from *salt*, this construction is also found with *kutēt* 'tickle', *niezēt* 'itch'and other similar verbs.

Figure 3.4. Diagram illustrating the purport of (71) and similar sentences, where a dative-marked experiencer is affected by a mental impression, the source of which is already located within his personal sphere.



Traditionally, scholars have drawn a strict border between 'governed' and 'free' datives. Governed datives would be those found in constructions where a dative-marked nominal must be present in order for the utterance to be grammatical, while free datives would be found in constructions where their presence was not strictly required by any other element. As mentioned in section 3.1, there have also been attempts at distinguishing between different degrees of government. Apart from the difficulties one encounters when trying to draw the line between governed and free datives, or between weakly and strongly governed datives for that matter, it is my view that the distinction is irrelevant when discussing the semantics of the case as such. What differs is not the meaning of the case morpheme, but the degree to which this meaning is profiled by the verb (or adjective, noun or adposition).[48] Certain verbs, for instance *patikt*, *dergties* and *salt*, contain an experiencer in their semantic profile. The concepts of liking, creating disgust and feeling cold all presuppose a person experiencing these impulses, and without this person being mentioned, constructions with the mentioned verbs would make no sense. On the other hand, there are plenty of verbs that do not profile a semantic role compatible with the dative, but which nevertheless can be used with the dative if the meaning of this case is relevant to what the speaker wants to say. The semantic purport of the dative morpheme, however, remains the same. An example with such a 'free' dative expressing an experiencer has already been given in (67).[49] Another example is (72).

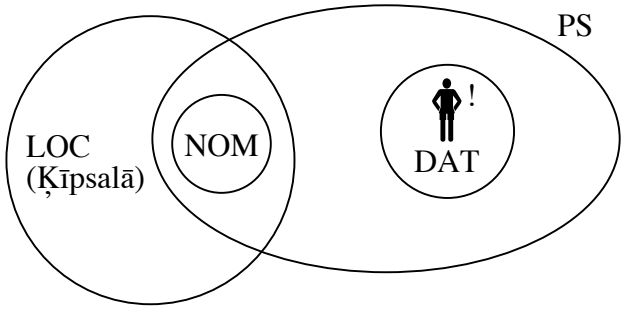
(72) … *principā* *mums* *visas* *tās* *mācības*
principle.LOC.SG 1pl.DAT all.FEM.NOM.PL DEM.FEM.NOM.PL lesson.NOM.PL
notiek *Ķīpsalā,* *bet …*
happen.PRES.3 Ķīpsala.LOC.SG but
'… in principle, all those lessons [that we have] take place at Ķīpsala, but …'
(MD 9, 4, 0:16)

It would be perfectly acceptable to omit *mums* in (72), but in including this dative form in the utterance, the speaker sets up a target person (in this case a group of persons), which is perceived to be affected by the content of the sentence. Here the target person can be char-

[48] Whether a certain lexical unit potentially can combine with a grammatical form is thus a matter of semantics. Whether or not this potential is actually exploited in a given language is however to some extent a matter of linguistic convention (cf. Langacker 1991b:167).
[49] Note that (67) is not rendered ungrammatical if the dative *viņai* is removed. However, *māte*, being a relational noun, in its profile does contain the child as well as the mother. Consequently, the child is normally specified. If no specification is given, the identity of this person is inferred from the context. If we remove *viņai* from (67), a likely inference would be that the mother in question is the speaker's mother.

acterised as an experiencer bordering on a possessor (cf. the tentative English translation with *have*). The situation in (72) can be illustrated as in the following diagram.

Figure 3.5. Diagram illustrating the purport of (72), where the dative marks an experiencer perceived as affected by something located in his personal sphere. Note that the nominative NP (the lessons) in (72) is also described as located at a specific location, on the island of Ķīpsala.



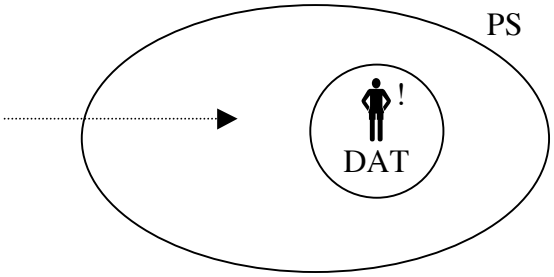
Constructions where a sensation is expressed by an adverb or an adjective are quite similar to the verbal constructions with dative experiencers discussed above. In both construction types a certain state is conceived as pertaining to the experiencer's sphere of awareness, thus affecting him in some way. The diagram for (70), repeated below in figure 3.6, is therefore equally appropriate for instances such as (73) and (74).[50]

(73) (=26)
Zini *kā,* *<u>veciem</u>* *<u>cilvēkiem</u>,* *<u>viņiem</u>* *ir* *grūti, …*
know.PRES.2SG how, old.MASC.DAT.PL person.DAT.PL 3.MASC.DAT.PL be.PRES.3 difficult.ADV
'You know how it is, old people, it's difficult for them, …'
(MD 1, 7, 3:22)

(74) *[…]* *<u>man</u>* *viss* *ir* *skaidrs –* *patriotisms*
1sg.DAT all.MASC.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 clear.MASC.NOM.SG patriotism.NOM.SG
jāmāca *visās* *Latvijas* *skolās, […].*
teach.DEB all.FEM.LOC.PL Latvia.GEN.SG school.LOC.PL
'[…] it's all clear to me – patriotism should be taught in all schools in Latvia, […].'
(http://home.delfi.lv/latvietis/40_117oktobris/, 3 May 2003)

[50] However, as will become apparent in the following sections, not all datives used with adjectives can be classified as experiencers.

Figure 3.6. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (70), (73) and (74), where a dative-marked experiencer is affected by a mental impression, the source of which is not explicitly coded.



3.2.2.1 NOMINATIVE VS. DATIVE EXPERIENCERS

As mentioned in section 3.1.1.6, apart from its use with a dative experiencer, the verb *salt* 'feel cold' is also found in an alternative construction, in which the experiencer occurs as a nominative subject (here no specification of the affected body part is possible). Given the fact that the experiencer here is the most salient participant – indeed the only participant – one should not be surprised that it can be construed as a subject. In fact, nominative-marked experiencers are fairly common in Latvian, and one can often find construction pairs with dative and nominative experiencers respectively. Generally, the construction with the dative signals subjective and internal experiences, while the one with the nominative signals objective and observable ones. This contrast can be observed in the following examples – (75) has a nominative experiencer, (76) a dative one.[51]

(75) *Es* *domāju,* *ka* *ļoti* *traģiski* *ir* *tie*
1sg.NOM think.PRES.1SG that very tragic.NOM.PL be.PRES.3 DEM.MASC.NOM.PL
notikumi, *kas* *saistīti* *ar* *karu*
event.NOM.PL what.NOM connect.PAPP.MASC.NOM.PL with war.ACC.SG
Afganistānā.
Afghanistan.LOC.SG
'I think that the events connected to the war in Afghanistan are very tragic.'
(http://www.tiksanas.lv/zurnals/tik-22/02-politiki.htm, 1 May 2003)

(76) *Man* *liekas,* *ka* *šodien* *ir* *būtiski* *atcerēties* *arī*
1sg.DAT seem.PRES.3 that today be.PRES.3 essential.ADV remember.INF also
ko *citu.*
what.ACC other.ACC.SG
'It seems to me that today it is essential to remember also something else.'
(http://www.saeima.lv/steno/st_955/st0405.html, 1 May 2003)

[51] Another example is the verb *simpatizēt* 'sympathise', which allows both construals. Cf. examples (4) and (5).

The verbs *domāt* 'think' and *likties* 'seem' as used in (75) and (76) differ not in the nature of the mental activity, but in the construal of the situation.[52] With *domāt*, the experiencer is marked with the nominative, a case that primarily is used to mark agents, i.e. initiators of actions. The act of thinking is here conceived as a deliberate action on the part of the experiencer. This construal is based on what Dąbrowska (1994:1031, 1997:77) calls *the craftsman model*, a folk model of the mind according to which we tend to conceptualise ideas and mental experiences as if they were manipulable objects. The fact that *domāt* is agent-oriented is supported by the fact that it can also be used to designate deliberate mental actions, as in *domāt par nākotni* 'think about the future'. In contrast to this, *likties* profiles the mental activity as a process taking place in the experiencer's sphere of awareness. This construal is based on *the mental arena model* (Dąbrowska 1997:77),[53] according to which the mind is viewed as a container for ideas not easily manipulable by the experiencer. While nominative experiencers are agent-like and active, dative ones are more passive. This difference in degree of control is easy to see when comparing the use of the verb *gribēt* 'want' with that of its reflexive counterpart *gribēties* 'feel like, want':

(77) … *es* *gribu* *pēdējo* *iespēju* *izmantot* *un*
1sg.NOM want.PRES.1SG last.ACC.SG.DEF possibility.ACC.SG make-use-of.INF and
aizlaist *rīt* …
go-off.INF tomorrow
'… I want to make use of the last possibility and go off tomorrow …'
(MD 9, 4, 2:44)

(78) *Kad* *nekas* *neiet* *tā* *kā* *vēlos,* *man*
when nothing.NOM not-go.PRES.3 thus like desire.PRES.1SG 1sg.DAT
gribas *izskrieties* *pa* *veikaliem* *lai* *uzlabotu* *garastāvokli*
feel-like.PRES.3.REFL run-around.INF in shop.DAT.PL to improve.SUBJ mood.ACC.SG
'When nothing goes the way I would like it to, I feel like running out and do some shopping to improve my mood'
(http://www.domas.lv/cgi-bin/utest.cgi?testfile=pukutests.txt, 1 May 2003)

Gribēt signals a deliberate wish; the speaker in (77) has decided of his own accord that he wants to go to the place in question tomorrow. By using *gribēties* and a dative experiencer, the speaker signals that the wish is something outside of the experiencer's control, some-

[52] Recall the definition of the technical term *construal* given in section 2.2.6.1.
[53] In Dąbrowska's 1994 paper this is referred to as *the homunculus model* (Dąbrowska 1994:1031).

thing that comes over him whether he wants it or not.[54] Again, this is in accordance with the mental arena model of mental experience. The fact that this model, which motivates the use of dative experiencers, has a firm base in Latvian grammar is supported by the existence of idioms such as those seen in (79) and (80).

(79) *[…] to, kas man iešaujas galvā, es varētu*
DEM.ACC.SG what.NOM 1sg.DAT in-shoot.PRES.3 head.LOC.SG 1sg.NOM can.SUBJ
nospēlēt uz klavierēm.
play.INF on piano.DAT.PL
'[…] I could play anything that flashes into my head on the piano.'
(http://www.platformacd.lv/makslinieki/REINIKS/020510-ja.htm, 1 May 2003)

(80) *Mums varētu nākt prātā tādas domas, ka,*
1pl.DAT can.SUBJ come.INF mind.LOC.SG such.FEM.NOM.PL thought.NOM.PL that
lūk, šis priekšlikums ir tāds
look DEM.MASC.NOM.SG proposal.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 such.MASC.NOM.SG
nejaušs, nepārdomāts.
accidental.MASC.NOM.SG ill-considered.MASC.NOM.SG
'We could get thoughts in our minds saying that, look, this proposal is rather accidental and ill-considered.'
(http://www.saeima.lv/steno/st_96/st0412.html, 20 October 2004)

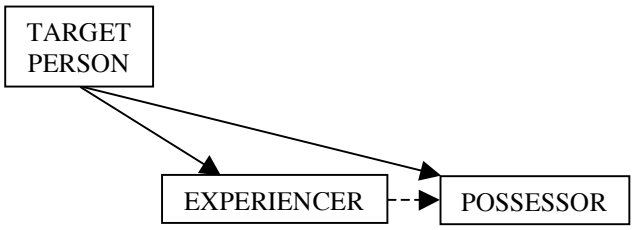
3.2.3 Possessor

As hinted at in the preceding section in connection with example (72), the border between dative experiencers and dative possessors is a fuzzy one. Possession is, in its literal meaning, in many ways a purely mental phenomenon. According to the norms of most modern societies, a person can under certain circumstances claim to have an object in his possession, with the effect that he is free to use it as long as he does not break any law. This also means that it is unlawful for any other person to behave as if he had the same claim to the object. Note that a claim of possessing something is not necessarily accompanied by any tangible trace (although it is of course quite common to mark one's possessions in some way or other). On these grounds, it seems reasonable to say that possession in this sense is indeed a mental notion. The fact that an object is in a person's possession implies that if anything happens to the object, the possessor could be affected by this. In other words, the object is located in the possessor's personal sphere, and the possessor himself is a kind of target person. Just as the experiencer role, the possessor role is in a relationship of (full)

[54] The contrast in construal between (77) and (78) is not signalled exclusively by the different case pattern, but also by the presence or absence of the reflexive morpheme. The addition of this morpheme to a verb can often change the verb's construal.

schematicity to the target person role. At the same time, there is a relation between experiencer and possessor based on semantic extension; while the experiencer is affected by a mental impulse that is either directed towards his personal sphere or located in it, the possessor is affected by something that is either undeniably located within his personal sphere or construed as located within this sphere.[55] The relationships connecting the three roles are shown in figure 3.7 (solid arrows denote relations of schematicity, dashed arrows denote relations of extension, cf. section 2.2.5).

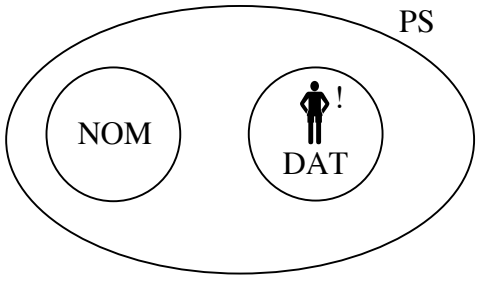
Figure 3.7. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 1.



The possessive construction, with the possessor in the dative and the possession – i.e. the object that is possessed – in the nominative or in the genitive if the existential verb is negated, has already been exemplified in (10) and (11). Another example is given below, followed by a diagram illustrating the semantic purport of the construction.

(81) … *viņai* *bij* *melns* *kaķis* *arī* …
3.FEM.DAT.SG be.PRET.3 black.MASC.NOM.SG cat.NOM.SG also
'… she had a black cat too …'
(MD 1, 11, 1:55)

Figure 3.8. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (81), where a nominative-marked NP exists within the personal sphere of a dative-marked possessor.



[55] The close relationship between the experiencer and possessor role is also displayed by constructions where mental states or impressions are conceptualised as possessions, as in *man ir kauns* 'I am ashamed', literally 'I have shame' and *man ir bailes* 'I am afraid', literally 'I have fear'.

In (81) and in figure 3.8 the nominative is described as existing (cf. the use of the existential verb *būt* 'be') within the possessor's personal sphere. Of course, the possessive construction is not restricted to the possession of objects in a strict sense; parts of the body, thoughts and ideas can be construed as possessions in the same sense as concrete objects, as can characteristic or temporary qualities of the body or the mind. This should not come as a surprise given the fact that the target person role is defined not in physical, but mental terms, through the key notion of affectedness. Because the possessor is a mind and possession is a mental notion, an arm, an idea or a bad cold can be viewed as possessions just as easily as a cat or a car. The following three examples illustrate the use of the dative possessive construction outside the sphere of 'pure' possession. In (84), the verb *būt* 'be' is omitted, as can sometimes be done in the present tense. Note that (82)–(84) are all examples of inalienable possession, i.e. what is perceived as possessed cannot normally be separated from their possessors (cf. Heine 1997:10).

(82) *Man* *ir* *divas* *kājas,* *divas* *rokas, […].*
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 two.FEM.NOM leg.NOM.PL two.FEM.NOM.PL arm.NOM.PL
'I've got two legs, two arms, […].'
(http://roberc.delfi.lv/newdesign/roberc.html, 19 May 2003)

(83) *Tev* *ir* *labas* *domas* *un* *skaidra* *galva.*
2sg.DAT be.PRES.3 good.FEM.NOM.PL thought.NOM.PL and clear.FEM.NOM.SG head.NOM.SG
'You have good thoughts and a clear head.'
(http://www.latnet.lv/lifestyle/horoscopes/, 19 May 2003)

(84) *Man* *šorīt* *iesnas.*
1sg.DAT this-morning cold.NOM.PL
'I've got a cold this morning.'
(http://www.interneta-sistemas.com/vecriga/zdzs03_lv.htm, 19 May 2003)

In addition to the possessive construction with *būt* 'be', the verb *piederēt* 'belong' can also be used to indicate possession. The case pattern, with the possessor in the dative case, is the same as with *būt*, but the semantics of *piederēt* is (as would be expected) much more specific; its sphere of usage is for the most part limited to possession in the strict sense of the word.[56] Consequently, it cannot normally be used in contexts such as those in (82)–(84). (85) is an example with *piederēt*.

[56] *Piederēt* can also be used with the preposition *pie* 'at, by' (used with a genitive complement), rendering the meaning 'belonging (to a group)'.

(85) *Latvijas* *tautai* *pieder* *valsts* *suverēnā*
Latvia.GEN.SG people.DAT.SG belong.PRES.3 state.GEN.SG sovereign.FEM.NOM.SG.DEF
vara.
power.NOM.SG
'The sovereign state power belongs to the people of Latvia.'
(http://www.jm.gov.lv/Ties-s2.htm, 19 May 2003)

A special type of dative possessor is found in some constructions with reflexive verbs – this is the so-called agentive dative briefly discussed in section 3.1.6 and exemplified in (43) and (44). Reflexive verbs can be used in a construction reminiscent of the passive *if the activity of the one performing the action is weakly manifested* (Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:67), and a dative-marked NP expressing the agent can be added to this construction. (86) is yet another example with this 'agentive' dative construction.

(86) *Es* *aizskriešu* *patapināt* *tev* *svārkus,* *tur* *vienam,*
1sg.NOM run-away.FUT.1SG borrow.INF 2sg.DAT suit-jacket.ACC.PL there one.MASC.DAT.SG
redz, *ir* *paņēmušies* *līdz.*
see.IMP.2SG be.PRES.3 bring.PAAP.MASC.NOM.PL.REFL along
'I'll run over and borrow a suit jacket for you, see, someone there has brought [one] with him.'
(Kroma and Burlaks 1956:46, cited in LLVV VI_1:261)

Although the dative-marked NP in this sentence is identical to the person performing the action, i.e. the one who has brought with him a jacket, the main attention here lies not in this person's role as an agent. On the contrary, as underscored by Ceplīte and Ceplītis, the agent is never in focus in constructions with passive (or middle) reflexive verbs of this kind – indeed in most cases, it is simply left out. In examples such as (86), as well as (43) and (44), the dative NP instead has the features of a possessor within whose personal sphere something is located. The only specific trait of this construction as compared to the standard possessive construction is the presence of a reflexive verb expressing a process undergone by the possession.[57]

At least one adjective, *raksturīgs* 'characteristic' is also used with a dative expressing the possessor role. This adjective singles out one or more features that are considered central to the conceptualisation of a person or an object. What is characteristic is thus seen

[57] The dative in examples such as (86) is thus very much akin to the dative in constructions with past passive participles, cf. for instance this example from Augusts Deglavs's novel *Rīga*, cited by Holvoet (1994:134): *Arī mums daži pulciņi jau nodibināti* 'We have also already founded a few circles'. The difference between the two constructions lies in the different perspectives imposed by the respective verb forms: The reflexive verb portrays the process as taking place quite independently, toning down the role of the agent, while the passive participle focuses on the result of the process.

as located within the dative's personal sphere, a situation compatible with the possessor diagram. *Raksturīgs* is used with inanimate as well as animate datives due to semantic extension; the inanimate instances are examples of the role *inanimate possessor*, which will be discussed in the next section. (87) is an example with an ordinary (animate) possessor.

(87) *Jau* *izsenis* *latviešiem* *bijis* *raksturīgs*
already long-time-since Latvian.DAT.PL be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG characteristic.MASC.NOM.SG
īpašs *viesmīlības* *kults*.
special.MASC.NOM.SG hospitality.GEN.SG cult.NOM.SG
'Since ancient times, a special cult of hospitality has been characteristic of Latvians.'
(http://www.rigatourism.com/lv/foto/rigans.htm, 5 September 2003)

3.2.3.1 INANIMATE POSSESSOR

By way of semantic extension, the possessive construction with *būt* can be applied also to inanimate 'possessors'. A few examples are given below.

(88) *galdam* *ir* *četri* *riteņi,* *divi –* *ar* *bremzēm*
table.DAT.SG be.PRES.3 four.MASC.NOM wheel.NOM.PL two.MASC.NOM with brake.DAT.PL
'the table has four wheels, two of them with brakes'
(http://www.aigasnams.lv/main.php?c=1095, 20 May 2003)

(89) … *tad* *kad* *tu* *pagaršo* *tādu* *mazu* *malku* *īstenībā*
then when 2sg.NOM taste.PRES.2SG such.ACC.SG small.ACC.SG sip.ACC.SG reality.LOC
ir *tā,* *tai* *garšai* *ir* *cita*
be.PRES.3 thus DEM.FEM.DAT.SG taste.DAT.SG be.PRES.3 other.FEM.NOM.SG
vērtība …
value.NOM.SG
'… when you taste a small sip like that it's really this way, there's another value to that taste …'
(MD 9, 5, 4:26)

(90) *Šim* *priekšlikumam* *ir* *precizējošs* *raksturs*.
DEM.MASC.DAT.SG motion.DAT.SG be.PRES.3 specify.PRAP.MASC.NOM.SG nature.NOM.SG
'This [parliamentary] motion is of a specifying nature.'
(http://www.saeima.lv/steno/st_955/st0611.html, 20 May 2003)

Although the possessors in these examples seem to behave exactly as the animate possessors discussed above, the semantic purport of the dative morpheme here is clearly of a different nature. Inanimate things, whether concrete or abstract, cannot possess anything in the strict sense of the word, neither can they be mentally affected by something in the way human beings can. Sometimes inanimate possessors can have their basis in metonymy, as when we say 'Latvia has a long tradition of folk songs' or 'The post office didn't have the right

stamps' – here *Latvia* represents the people inhabiting this country over a period of time, while *the post office* represents the staff at the particular post office in question. In these cases, one can argue that the possessors really are animate beings. However, this does not work for most instances of inanimate possessors, and certainly not for those seen in (88)–(90). These inanimate possessors instead represent a separate, but related category, which is linked to the category of animate possessors by way of semantic extension.

The extension is based on certain traits often found in constructions with animate possessors: Firstly, possessions often tend to be located close to the possessor. While inanimate possessors do not have a personal sphere, proximity between possessor and possession is a frequent feature of constructions with animate and inanimate possessors alike. Secondly, important qualities characterising the possessor are often construed as possessions. Thirdly, what is construed as a possession is often a relational noun, i.e. a noun that includes in its semantic specification an intrinsic relationship between the entity it profiles and some other entity or entities.[58] If the possession is a relational noun, the dative-marked possessor will typically be identical to the entity already present in the semantic base of the possession. Taking (88) as an example, a part of our knowledge of wheels is that they are normally attached to another object, or that they at least are intended to be attached to something. In the given context this schematic entity is fleshed out by the NP *galds* 'table'.

Dative-marked NPs of the type seen in example (35), repeated here as (91), also belong to the category of inanimate possessor. *Turpinājums* 'continuation' is a relational noun, and is linked to the dative NP both by proximity and an intrinsic relationship.

(91) (=35)

… kaut kādā […]	*mērā*	*tas*	*ir*	
some.LOC.SG	measure.LOC.SG	DEM.MASC.NOM.SG	be.PRES.3	
kaut kāds	*turpinājums*	*<u>iepriekšējiem</u>*		*<u>gadiem</u>, …*
some.MASC.NOM.SG	continuation.NOM.SG	preceding.MASC.DAT.PL.DEF		year.DAT.PL

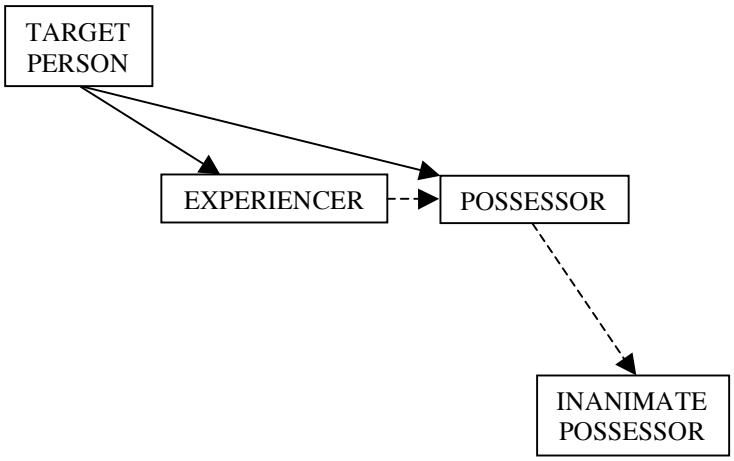
'… to some […] extent that's a sort of continuation of [what's been going on for] the last years, …'
(MD 9, 1, 1:56)

As already mentioned, there is no relation of full schematicity between the inanimate possessor role and the target person role. This is illustrated in figure 3.9, which shows the rela-

[58] Relational nouns will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.4. In constructions with inanimate possessors, there seems to be a strong tendency for the possession to be a relational noun.

tionship between the dative roles discussed thus far, by the lack of a solid arrow from the target person node to the inanimate possessor node.

Figure 3.9. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 2.



3.2.4 Debitor

The debitive construction, which is used to express obligation and necessity, was presented in section 3.1.1.4. It is characterised by the presence of the special debitive form of the verb, the dative-marking of the debitor and the nominative-marking of any NP that in the indicative would be an accusative object. The construction was exemplified in (12), repeated here as (92). (92) contains the transitive verb *rakstīt* 'write', and what in the indicative would be the accusative object of this verb appears in the nominative. In (93) the verb occurring in the debitive form is intransitive. In (92) the auxiliary *būt* 'be' is omitted, as is frequently done in the present tense. In other tenses it is always present.

(92) (=12)
mums *jāraksta* *iesniegums*
1pl.DAT write.DEB application.NOM.SG
'we have to write an application'
(MD 1, 4, 3:46)

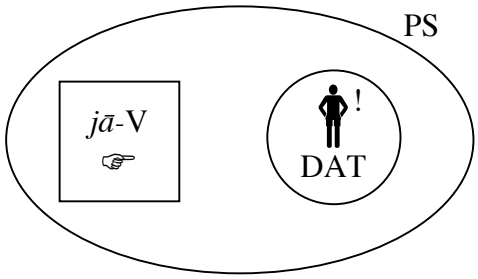
(93) *Donoram* *pirms* *asins* *došanas* *ir* *jāatpūšas.*
donor.DAT.SG before blood.GEN.SG giving.GEN.SG be.PRES.3 rest.DEB
'The donor must take a rest before giving blood.'
(http://www.lu.lv/jauna/jaunumi/lu_medijos_080403_leta1.html, 3 November 2003)

The debitive prefix *jā-* used in this construction has a semantic purport that is reflected in the case pattern accompanying the verb: The debitive prefix indicates that it is obligatory or

necessary that the process[59] expressed by the verb take place, and the dative case marks the person (or, by way of metonymy, the institution) affected by this. The debitive prefix forces the particular reading of debitor on the dative-marked NP, rendering the debitor role a special instantiation of the target person role. This is reflected in figure 3.11 below.

There are clear parallels between the two roles debitor and possessor: In the possessive construction, something is seen as located within the possessor's personal sphere, while in the debitive construction an abstract entity – an obligation – is conceived to affect the debitor, thus it can also plausibly be described as existing within the debitor's personal sphere. The diagram in figure 3.10 illustrates this, the hand with a pointed finger symbolising the obligation expressed by the debitive form.[60] The verb is represented as a square to distinguish it from the dative-marked THING represented by a circle.

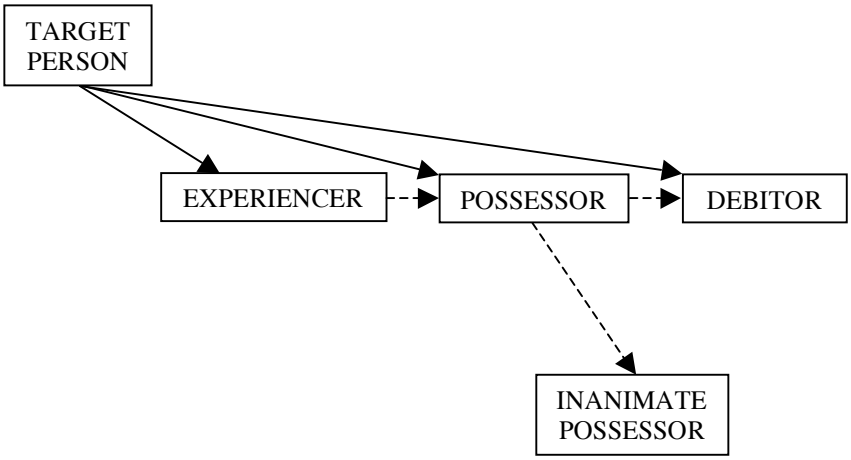
Figure 3.10. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (92) and (93), where a process expressing obligation is perceived as existing within a dative-marked target person's personal sphere and this target person subsequently is viewed as a debitor.



In a certain sense, the debitor role is thus a variant of the possessor role.[61] In figure 3.11 this is indicated by a semantic extension from the possessor node to the debitor node. There are also clear parallels between the experiencer role and the debitor role; Valdmanis (1994:30) thus expresses the opinion that the dative in the debitive construction marks the experiencer of an action or a state, and he groups this use of the dative together with typical experiencers.

[59] In line with the conventions of Cognitive Grammar, the term *process* is here used in the sense 'profile of a temporal relation', thus subsuming all the different subcategories of such profiles, i.e. states, activities etc. (cf. Taylor 2002:394).
[60] In other words, my use of this symbol has nothing to do with the way it is employed in optimality theory.
[61] Constructions and words expressing possession are frequently extended to also express obligation or necessity, cf. English *I have to go*, Lithuanian *Turiu eiti* 'I have to go', Norwegian *Du har å gjøre det jeg sier* 'You have to do what I tell you to'. The basic meaning of both Lithuanian *turėti* and Norwegian *ha* is 'have, own'.

Figure 3.11. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 3.



As was mentioned in section 3.1.1.4, Latvian has several constructions with dative-marked NPs that are semantically close to the debitive constructions, but do not involve debitive forms. The constructions differ in how the modal element of necessity is coded, and this also has repercussions for the semantics of the dative NP.

With present passive participles, the modality is expressed by the participle suffix (as in *Tev man kas sakāms?* 'Do you have anything to say to me?' with the participle *sakāms*, a form of the verb *sacīt* 'say'). The purport of this suffix is quite similar to that of the debitive prefix, and it also has the function of forcing a debitor-reading on the dative-marked NP.

With the verb *vajadzēt* 'need, require', the modal element is inherent in the verb root itself, and the verb can take either a nominal or a verbal complement (cf. *man vajag atpūtu* 'I need rest' vs. *man vajag atpūsties* 'I need to rest'). The necessity is profiled as an independent process that affects the dative-marked NP mentally, in other words the dative NP represents an instantiation of the experiencer role that in some cases borders on the debitor role.

In section 3.1.1.5 it was mentioned that infinitives can express necessity, with accompanying dative-marked NPs expressing the person(s) expected to perform the action (cf. example [14]). However, as shown in MLLVG (II:530–533), necessity is only one of a whole range of relations that may hold between the infinitive and the dative NP. In my opinion, the combination dative NP + infinitive in itself only indicates that the process expressed by the infinitive affects the NP in some way. The actual modality then depends on the context. By taking this view, one can analyse the dative-marked NP in this construction as expressing the target person role. Furthermore, given the right pragmatic circumstances,

the dative NP can express the instantiation of the target person role described as the debitor role above. The same is probably true of the so-called analytical debitive construction, seen in example (15) in section 3.1.1.5, which nowadays is only found in biblical language.

3.2.4.1 INANIMATE DEBITOR

Although the debitive construction is primarily used with animate debitors, it is not difficult to find examples where the debitor is inanimate. Sometimes this can be explained as instances of metonymy, as in (94), where 'The Green Party' is metonymical for the party's members or those of them who decide what views the party as a whole should advocate.

(94) *[…] attieksmē pret dabas vērtībām Zaļajai*
attitude.LOC.SG towards nature.GEN.SG value.DAT.PL green.FEM.DAT.SG.DEF
partijai jābūt kreisai.
party.DAT.SG be.DEB left-wing.FEM.DAT.SG
'[…] concerning the values of nature, The Green Party should be left-wing.'
(http://www.vak.lv/vv/jun99/askolds.html, 15 August 2003)

Frequently, however, the element of necessity in constructions with inanimate debitors cannot in a literal sense apply to the debitor. This is seen in the following two examples: (95) expresses an instruction to persons writing a certain kind of letter, while (96) amounts to a wish or an expectation that a birch-grove should continue to grow in the future.

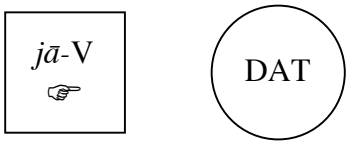
(95) *Vēstulei jābūt rokrakstā, uz skaista vēstuļu papīra, […].*
letter.DAT.SG be.DEB handwriting.LOC.SG on beautiful.MASC.GEN.SG letter.GEN.PL paper.GEN.SG
'The letter should be in handwriting, on a beautiful writing paper, […].'
(http://www.nvsk.jrp.lv/projekti/par_LT.htm, 15 August 2003)

(96) *Lukstiņiem piederot arī maza birztaliņa, kam*
Lukstiņi.DAT.PL belong.EVI also small.FEM.NOM.SG birch-grove.DIM.NOM.SG which.DAT
vēl jāaug un jāaug.
still grow.DEB and grow.DEB
'Evidently, to [the farm] Lukstiņi belongs also a small birch-grove, which still should grow and grow.'
(www.media.lv/kv200003/000322/133.htm, 15 August 2003)

The inanimate debitor role is related to the animate debitor role presented in the preceding section through semantic extension, but it does not instantiate a target person. The extension from animate to inanimate debitor is based on the element of necessity, which both roles have in common. However, while an animate debitor is able to respond to the obligation expressed and carry out whatever process the verb expresses (or, indeed, choose not to do so),

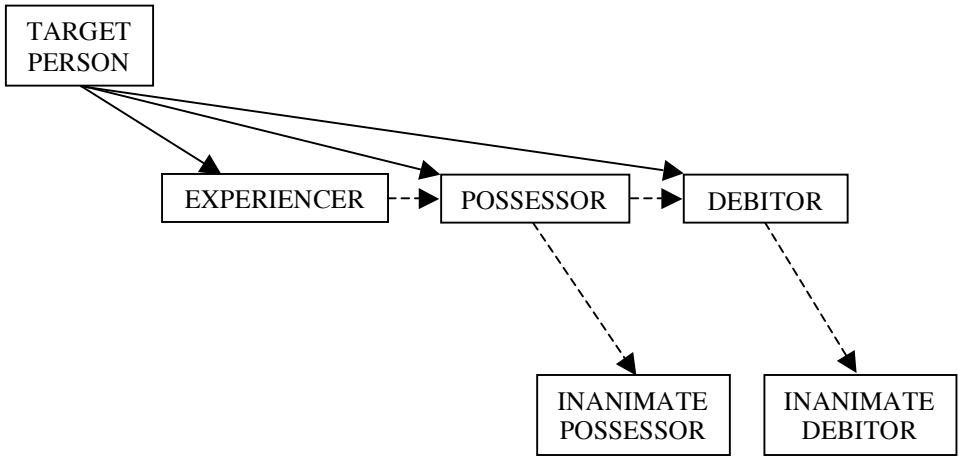
an inanimate debitor cannot do this. While the debitive construction still carries with it an element of obligation, this obligation does not affect the inanimate debitor in a literal sense. Instead, the obligation may be interpreted as affecting someone who is not overtly mentioned in the context; this is the case in (95), where the obligation affects whoever is writing the letter. Alternatively, the inanimate debitor may be construed as affected, as in (96), although the fact that the birch-grove in this example cannot itself decide whether it will be able to grow larger in the future, gives the sentence the character of a wish or an expectation. Figure 3.12 illustrates the construction with an inanimate debitor, which due to its nature cannot be affected by the obligation in a literal sense.

Figure 3.12. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (95) and (96), where an obligation is expressed in the direction of a dative-marked inanimate debitor, which however is not affected by this.



The position of the inanimate debitor role in the schematic network of the dative as developed thus far is indicated in figure 3.13, a semantic extension linking this role to the debitor node.

Figure 3.13. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 4.



3.2.5 Recipient and benefactive

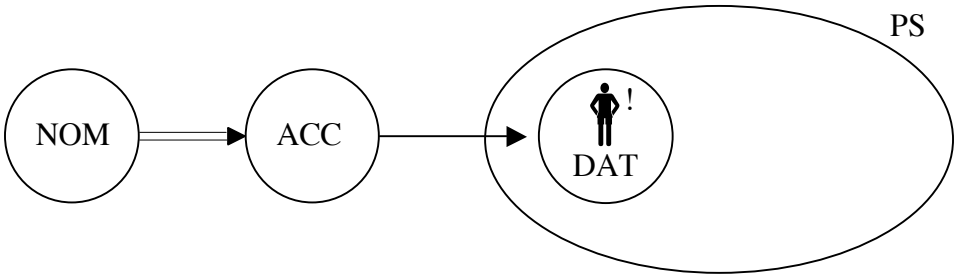
A *recipient* can be defined as the addressee of a process designating the transfer of something (or someone). The most prototypical examples of the recipient role are found with the

verb *dot* ‘give’ and its close synonyms. An example with the prefixed verb *iedot* ‘give, hand’ and a dative recipient is given below.

(97) *Kaļiņingradas* *mērija* *<u>mums</u>* *iedeva*
Kaliningrad.GEN.SG mayor’s-office.GEN.SG 1pl.DAT give.PAST.3
vieglo *automašīnu, […].*
light.ACC.SG.DEF car.ACC.SG
‘The Kaliningrad mayor’s office gave us a passenger car, […].’
(http://www.media.lv/kv199811/981105/04.htm, 3 July 2003.)

The dative recipient construction, encompassing a nominative agent and an accusative patient, can be illustrated as in Figure 3.14.

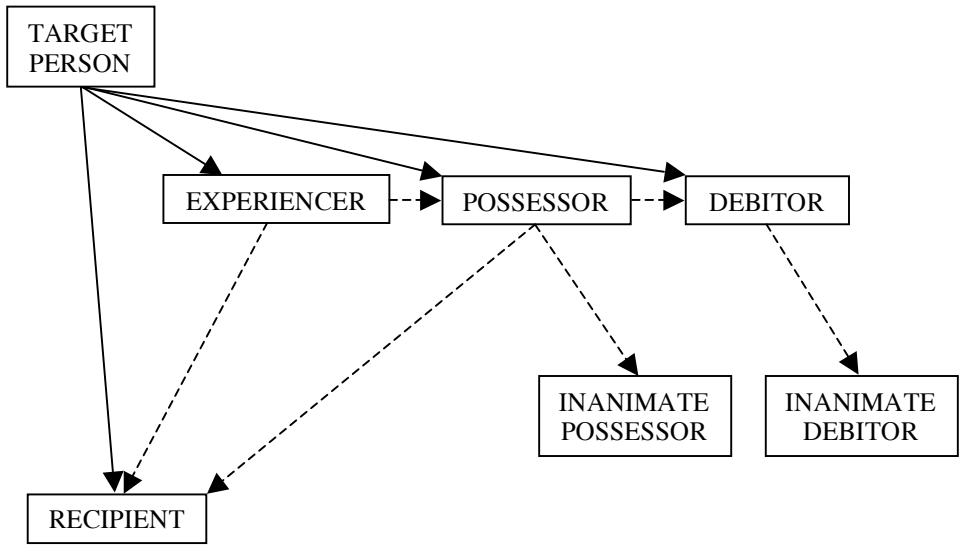
Figure 3.14. Diagram illustrating the purport of (97) and similar sentences with a nominative-marked agent, an accusative-marked patient and a dative-marked recipient.



The diagram in figure 3.14 shows a nominative-marked agent performing an action (symbolised by the double arrow) on an accusative-marked patient, thus transferring the patient into the vicinity of the recipient (the single arrow representing movement). The recipient is affected (or at least potentially affected) by the transfer of the patient, thus the transferred object is conceived as entering the recipient’s personal sphere.

The element of affectedness involved indicates that the recipient role is a special instance of the target person role. At the same time the recipient role is clearly linked to some of the other nodes in the dative network. Receiving an object frequently induces a mental impulse, thus a recipient is often also an experiencer. Similarly, the process of receiving something typically results in a state of possession, linking the roles of recipient and possessor. The preliminary dative network in figure 3.15 illustrates the relationship of the recipient role to the other roles treated thus far, with semantic extensions linking it to the experiencer and possessor nodes.

Figure 3.15. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 5.



The fact that *dot* 'give' and similar verbs in most situations require a dative-marked argument is explained by their semantics: The very act of giving presupposes not only a giver, but also a recipient, and it is difficult or impossible to conceptualise an act of giving without the recipient.

A large number of verbs include the concept of transfer in their semantics and occur with dative recipients. This includes a) verbs expressing the transfer of physical objects (*uzdāvināt kādam grāmatu* 'give someone a book as a gift', *sūtīt kādam vēstuli* 'send someone a letter', *piešķirt kādam balvu* 'award a prize to someone') or a potential transfer of this kind (*piedāvāt kādam darbu* 'offer someone a job'), b) verbs that by metaphorical extension express the transfer of abstract objects (*sūtīt kādam sveicienus* 'send one's regards to someone', *mācīt kādam ģeogrāfiju* 'teach someone geography', *veltīt kādam uzmanību* 'devote one's attention to someone') and c) verbs expressing the transfer of verbal and graphical signals (*teikt*, *stāstīt*, *kliegt*, *rakstīt kādam kaut ko* 'say, tell, shout, write something to someone'; *jautāt kādam kaut ko* 'ask someone about something'; *zīmēt kādam kaut ko* 'draw something for someone'). Needless to say, the mentioned groups are fuzzy rather than mutually exclusive, and the same verb can sometimes be used with slightly different meanings; for instance, *piedāvāt* 'offer' can be used both with physical objects and with abstract concepts. Sometimes the construction does not include an explicit specification of the object being transferred, either because this is inferred from the context, as in (98), or is included in the semantics of the verb, as in *piezvanīt* 'phone', seen in (99).

(98) *Ja* *jums* *radušās* *kaut kādas* *domas –*
if 2pl.DAT arise.PAAP.FEM.NOM.PL any.FEM.NOM.PL thought.NOM.PL
rakstiet *man*.
write.IMP.2PL 1sg.DAT
'If any thoughts have come to your mind, write to me.'
(http://refpapers3614.times.lv/referati.htm, 11 July 2003)

(99) *Aizvakar* *redakcijai* *piezvanīja* *kāds*
day-before-yesterday editorial-staff.DAT.SG phone.PAST.3 some.MASC.NOM.SG
dusmīgs *lasītājs* *no* *Egļu* *ielas*.
angry.MASC.NOM.SG reader.NOM.SG from spruce.GEN.PL street.GEN.SG
'The day before yesterday, an angry reader from Egļu iela phoned the editors.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200201/020105/23.htm, 11 July 2003)

Also nouns can be used with dative recipients if their semantics are compatible with this role. Typically, such nouns are derived from verbs that are also used with dative recipients, e.g. the noun *atbilde* 'answer', derived from the verb *atbildēt* 'answer'. This noun is used in (100).

(100) *Ir* *sagatavota* *rakstiskā* *veidā* *atbilde*
be.PRES.3 prepare.PAPP.FEM.NOM.SG written.LOC.SG form.LOC.SG answer.NOM.SG
visiem *Saeimas* *deputātiem*.
all.MASC.DAT.PL Saeima.GEN.SG member-of-parliament.DAT.PL
'An answer to all the members of the Saeima has been prepared in written form.'
(http://www.saeima.lv/steno/st_96/st1801.html, 20 November 2003)

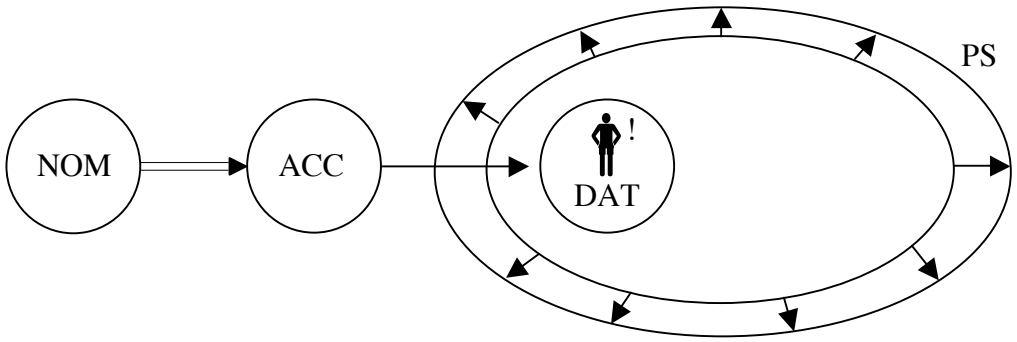
Bordering on the recipient role, and often overlapping with it, is the *benefactive* role. While a recipient is someone at the receiving end of an act of transfer, a benefactive is someone for whose benefit something is done. (101) and (102) are examples with dative benefactives, both of which are close to the recipient role.

(101) *Tētis* *taisīja* *mums* *ģitāru*.
daddy.NOM.SG make.PAST.3 1pl.DAT guitar.ACC.SG
'Daddy made us a guitar.'
(http://www.gramata21.lv/users/godins_aigars/, 3 July 2003)

(102) *Bērnībā* *mamma* *mums*, *visām* *māsām*, *šuva*
childhood.LOC.SG mummy.NOM.SG 1pl.DAT all.FEM.DAT.PL sister.DAT.PL sew.PAST.3
skaistas *kleitas, […]*.
beautiful.FEM.ACC.PL dress.ACC.PL
'In my childhood mummy sewed beautiful dresses for us, all the sisters, […].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv/020409/10.htm, 3 July 2003)

The benefactive construction in these examples can be illustrated as in figure 3.16.

Figure 3.16. Diagram illustrating the purport of (101), (102) and similar sentences, where a nominative-marked agent performs an action on an accusative-marked patient, thereby transferring it into the personal sphere of a dative-marked benefactive and affecting it in a positive way.



The diagram in figure 3.16 shows a nominative-marked agent performing an action on an accusative-marked patient with the benefactive as the goal of the action. The transferred object is conceived as entering the benefactive's personal sphere, and the benefactive is affected – at least potentially – by this. Consequently, the benefactive instantiates the target person role. The diagram also shows how the personal sphere expands, [62] either quite literally (as when an object is made available for the benefactive) or in a metaphorical sense (as when someone enables the benefactive to do something or acts in accordance with his wishes).

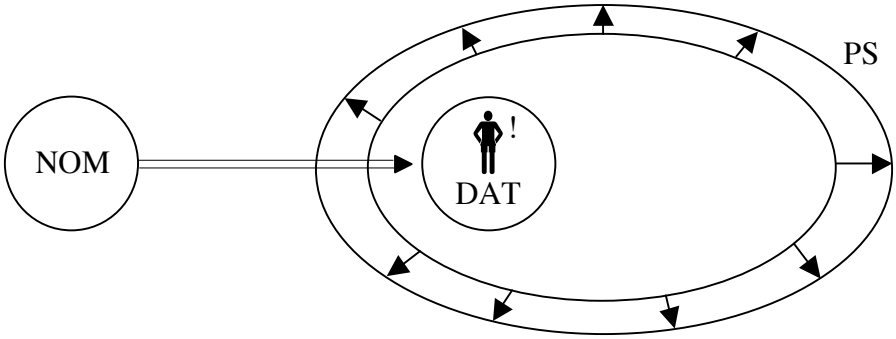
While both of the sentences in (101) and (102) have accusative objects, i.e. there is a situation where someone makes something for the benefit of someone else, benefactives occurring without accusative objects are also quite frequent. Into this group falls the dative used with *verba commodi*, mentioned in section 3.1.1.2. (103) is an example with the verb *uzticēties* 'trust':

(103) *Bieži ir dzirdēta frāze, ka šajos laikos*
often be.PRES.3 hear.PAPP.FEM.NOM.SG phrase.NOM.SG that DEM.MASC.LOC.PL time.LOC.PL
nevienam nedrīkst uzticēties.
nobody.DAT not-dare.PRES.3 trust.INF
'One has often heard the phrase that in these times you can't trust anybody.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199805/980523/02.htm, 14 July 2003)

Such patient-less situations are illustrated by the following diagram:

[62] More specifically, what expands is the part of the personal sphere that Dąbrowska (1997) labels the *sphere of potency*, i.e. the target person's power or ability to do what he wants.

Figure 3.17. Diagram illustrating the purport of (103) and similar sentences, where a nominative-marked agent performs an action directed towards and favourably affecting a dative-marked benefactive.



Here the process instigated by the nominative-marked subject is directed towards the dative-marked benefactive without the transfer of any object. Again, as a result of the process, the benefactive's personal sphere is conceived as expanding – in the case of the verb *uzticēties* 'trust', as seen in (103), the potency of the benefactive grows because someone puts his confidence in the benefactive's abilities. (104) is a similar example with the verb *piekrist* 'agree':

(104) *Es […] piekrītu* *<u>Ojāram</u>* *<u>Vācietim,</u>* *kurš*
1sg.NOM agree.PRES.1SG Ojārs.DAT.SG Vācietis.DAT.SG who.MASC.NOM.SG
sacījis, *ka* *cilvēks* *ir* *kā* *nots.*
say.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG that person.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 like note.NOM.SG
'I […] agree with Ojārs Vācietis, who has said that man is like a note.'
(http://www.coecidriga.lv/skola/labakiedarbi98-99.htm, 14 July 2003)

The status of the benefactive as a target person is not as obvious here as in some of the situations considered earlier; one might ask, for instance, how the poet Ojārs Vācietis could be affected by someone agreeing with something he wrote in a poem (all the more so as Vācietis died in 1983, while this was written by a school pupil in 1998 or 1999). I would argue that in (104), we are dealing with a relatively atypical use of the verb *piekrist* 'agree'. Typically, when person X agrees with person Y, this will be seen as affecting Y in a positive way, as Y's views thus gain support and Y's sphere of influence expands as a result of this. As this normally is the situation when the verb *piekrist* is used, the conceptualisation implied is conventionalised and forced upon less typical situations as well. In other words, while Vācietis in (104) is not literally affected by someone agreeing with him (although his reputation could be affected), such a conceptualisation – and the use of the dative – is nevertheless motivated by more typical uses of *piekrist*.

Also belonging to the benefactive role is the dative used with a number of adjectives and nouns that typically share the root and certain aspects of the semantics of verbs used with benefactives. This includes *derīgs* 'suitable, useful' and *derīgums* 'suitability, validity' (: *derēt* 'suit'), *gatavs* 'ready' and *gatavība* 'readiness' (: *gatavoties* 'prepare [oneself]'), *līdzīgs* 'similar' (: *līdzināties* 'resemble'), *padevīgs* 'submissive' and *padevība* 'submissiveness, obedience' (: *padoties* 'surrender, submit'), *paklausīgs* 'obedient' and *paklausība* 'obedience' (: *[pa]klausīt* 'obey'), *pateicīgs* 'thankful, grateful' and *pateicība* 'gratitude' (: *pateikties* 'thank'), *uzticīgs* 'faithful' and *uzticība* 'faithfulness' (: *uzticēties* 'trust') and others. In section 3.1.2.1 an example with *derīgs* was cited; here is one with *līdzīgs*:

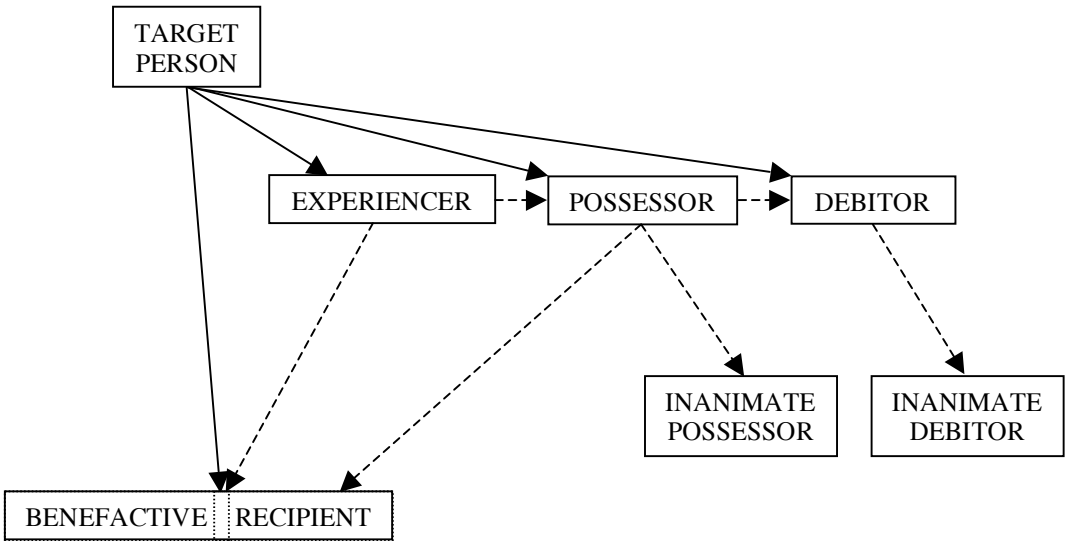
(105) *Vai* *jūs* *apzināties* *cik* *esat* *līdzīga* *Ingrīdai*
QU 2pl.NOM realise.PRES.2PL how-much be.PRES.2PL similar.FEM.NOM.SG Ingrid.DAT.SG
Bergmanei?
Bergman.DAT.SG
'Do you realise how much you look like Ingrid Bergman?'
(http://www.filmas.lv/druka.php?aktieris=22, 4 September 2003)

Most or all of the mentioned adjectives and nouns can be used with inanimate datives as well as animate ones due to semantic extension. Inanimate benefactives will be discussed in the following section.

In the schematic network, the benefactive role to a large extent overlaps with the recipient role – indeed, one might plausibly ask whether the two cannot be collapsed into one role by analysing all benefactives as recipients at some level of abstractness.[63] Still, I will argue that the semantic difference between the two is large enough to justify their separate status in the network. Due to the high degree of overlap between them, they still for many practical purposes can be analysed as sharing one node in the network – thus, in figure 3.18 a single solid arrow denoting schematicity has been drawn from the target person node to a joint benefactive/recipient node.

[63] Note that Dąbrowska (1997:35) takes the opposite view, analysing recipient as a special instance of the benefactive role (Dąbrowska also prefers the term *beneficiary* for what I call benefactive).

Figure 3.18. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 6.



3.2.5.1 INANIMATE RECIPIENT AND BENEFACTIVE

Although recipients and benefactives typically are animate beings, inanimate instances of these roles are also frequently found. Sometimes they can be attributed to metonymy or metaphor – this is the case in (1), repeated here as (106). Here a place of work (the laboratory) is used to refer to the people working there – a clear instance of metonymy.

(106) (=1)

… *es*	*visai*	*laboratorijai*	*izsūtīšu*	*elektronisko*
1SG.NOM	all.FEM.DAT.SG	laboratory.DAT.SG	send-out.FUT.1SG	electronic.ACC.DEF

pastu …
mail.ACC.SG
'… I'll send out emails to the whole laboratory …'
(MD 1, 10, 2:14)

Other examples display inanimate recipients or benefactives that are linked to the animate role prototypes by way of semantic extension. As inanimate objects of course cannot be affected personally in the way animate beings can, the concept of target person is irrelevant here.[64] Rather, inanimate recipients and benefactives mostly serve as the passive targets towards which actions are directed. (107) shows an inanimate recipient with the verb *veltīt* 'devote', while (108) shows an inanimate benefactive with the verb *kalpot* 'serve'.

[64] Indeed, one may argue that the terms *recipient* and *benefactive* are rather misleading as labels for inanimate entities, as they imply affectedness. I choose to retain these terms in order to demonstrate the strong links that nevertheless exist between recipients and benefactives proper on the one hand and their inanimate counterparts on the other.

(107) *Mēs* *uzaicinām* *veltīt* *uzmanību* *mūsu* *kultūras*
1pl.NOM urge.PRES.1PL devote.INF attention.ACC.SG 1pl.GEN culture.GEN.SG
pieminekļu *<u>bēdīgajam</u>* *<u>liktenim</u>* *[…].*
monument.GEN.PL lamentable.MASC.DAT.SG.DEF fate.DAT.SG
'We urge [the authorities] to devote attention to the lamentable fate of our cultural monuments […].'
(http://www.historia.lv/alfabets/H/he/helsinki_86/dok/1987.10.02.htm, 14 July 2003)

(108) *<u>Ideoloģiskai</u>* *<u>ietekmēšanai</u>* *kalpoja* *prese* *un*
ideological.FEM.DAT.SG influence.DAT.SG serve.PAST.3 press.NOM.SG and
citi *masu* *informācijas* *līdzekļi, […].*
other.MASC.NOM.PL mass.GEN.PL information.GEN.SG means.NOM.PL
'The press and other mass media served to exert ideological influence, […].'
(http://www.politics.lv/vesture/1985/3.htm, 14 July 2003)

Dative-marked inanimate benefactives can also be found with nouns, as seen in example (36), repeated here as (109).

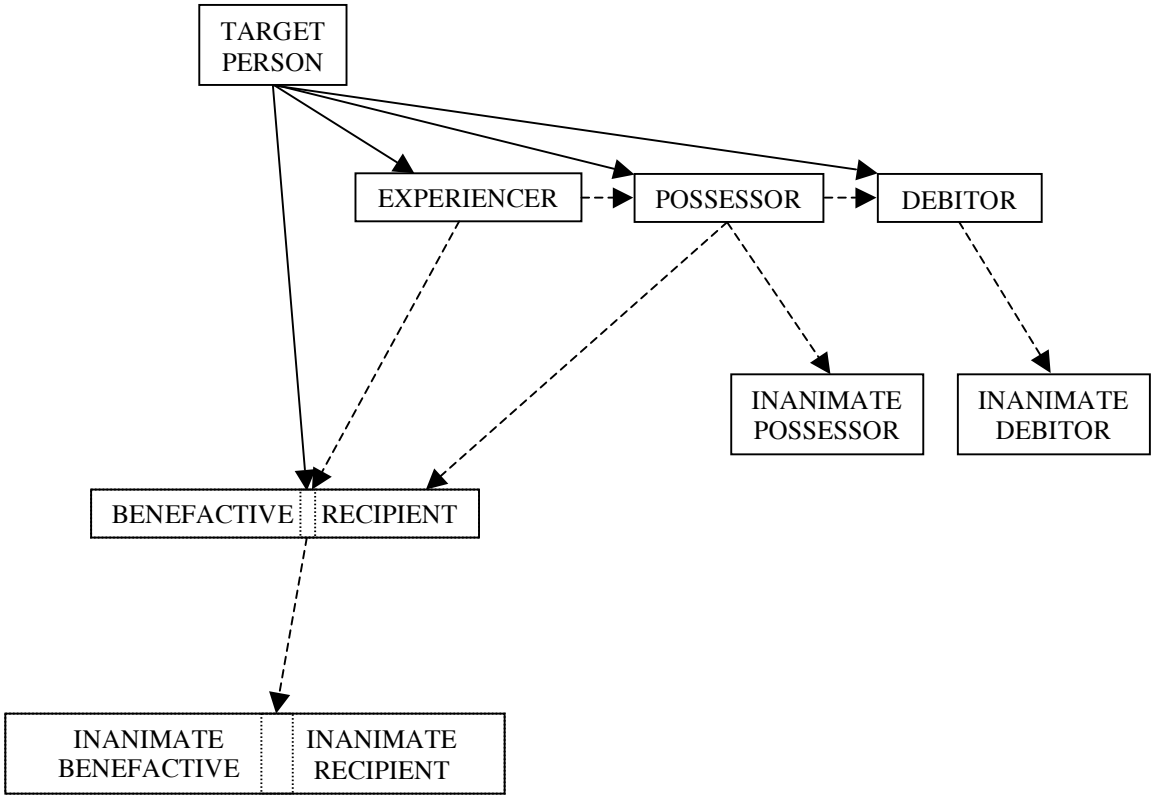
(109) (=36)
Tā *ir* *pote* *<u>imunitātei</u>* *pret* *līdzīgu*
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 vaccine.NOM.SG immunity.DAT.SG against similar.GEN.PL
traģēdiju *atkārtošanos, […].*
tragedy.GEN.PL repetition.ACC.SG
'It is a vaccine providing immunity against the repetition of similar tragedies, […].'
(http://www.diena.lv/rigas_zinas/lasit.php?id=178869, 12 March 2003)

Dative-marked NPs in the construction traditionally labelled 'dative of purpose' can also to a large extent be classified as inanimate benefactives – here the dative NP expresses a nominalised process characterised as the purpose of a noun. This function was exemplified in (37), repeated here as (110).

(110) (=37)
… tā *nav* *ikdienas* *<u>lasīšanai</u>* *avīze.*
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG not-be.PRES.3 everyday.GEN.SG reading.DAT.SG newspaper.NOM.SG
'… It's not a paper for daily reading.'
(MD 1, 5, 4:15)

Inanimate recipients and benefactives are linked to their animate counterparts by way of semantic extension, but they are not instantiations of the target person role. Their placement in the dative network is indicated in figure 3.19.

Figure 3.19. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 7.

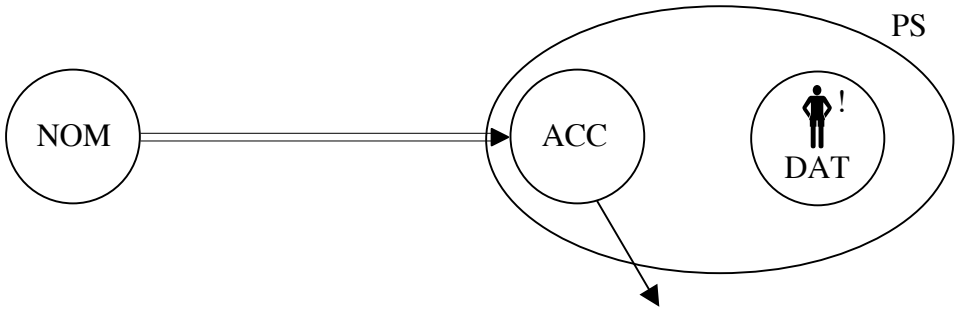


3.2.6 Anti-recipient and malefactive

Related to the recipient and benefactive roles by semantic extension are the roles of anti-recipient and malefactive. In both cases, the extension is based on antonymy, preserving the semantic frame, but reversing the polarity of the recipient and benefactive roles. The concept of semantic extension on the basis of a relation of antonymy is used by Janda (1993) to explain similar uses of the Czech dative.

An *anti-recipient* is someone who is affected by the removal of something that is in his possession or otherwise under his influence. A typical situation is the one illustrated in the diagram below, where a nominative-marked subject removes an accusative-marked patient from the personal sphere of the anti-recipient, which is dative-marked.

Figure 3.20. Diagram illustrating constructions where a nominative-marked agent removes an accusative-marked patient from the personal sphere of a dative-marked anti-recipient.



The verb prefixes *at-* and *no-* can convey a notion of removal, and verbs with these prefixes are consequently frequently used with anti-recipients, as are non-prefigated verbs with a similar semantics. Perhaps the most typical verbs used in constructions of this type are the ones already mentioned in section 3.1.1.1 – *atņemt* 'take away', *(no)zagt* 'steal' and *laupīt* 'rob'. The construction with *atņemt* was exemplified in (2), repeated here as (111). (112) is an example with *nokost* 'bite off', while in (113) we see an anti-recipient with the verb *konfiscēt* 'confiscate'.

(111) (=2)
… atbrauc *te* *visādi* *laucinieki* *un* *atņem*
come.PRES.3 here all-kinds.MASC.NOM.PL country-people.NOM.PL and take-away.PRES.3
rīdziniekiem *darbu …*
Rigan.DAT.PL work.ACC.SG
'… all kinds of people come here from the countryside and take away the work from the Rigans …'
(MD 1, 8, 1:37)

(112) *Dzīvnieks* *zēnam* *nokoda* *ausi, […].*
animal.NOM.SG boy.DAT.SG bite-off.PAST.3 ear.ACC.SG
'The animal bit off the boy's ear, […].'
(http://www.lu.lv/tiesa/kazuss2001.html, 31 July 2003)

(113) *[…]* *zelta* *gredzens,* *kuru* *1941.* *gadā* *čeka*
gold.GEN.SG ring.NOM.SG which.ACC.SG 1 941st year.LOC.SG Cheka.NOM.SG
Padomju *Savienībā* *konfiscēja* *Berķim.*
soviet.GEN.PL union.LOC.SG konfiscate.PAST.3 Berķis.DAT.SG
'[…] the gold ring that the Cheka[65] confiscated from Berķis in the Soviet Union in 1941.'
(http://www.diena.lv/sestdiena/lasit.php?id=232904, 7 November 2004)

Note the close semantic link between the anti-recipient and experiencer roles – all of the anti-recipients in (111)–(113) can plausibly also be said to be experiencers, given that they are affected at a mental level by the process involved. The anti-recipient role is also closely linked to the possessor role; indeed, the dative-marked NPs in (111)–(113) can easily be construed as possessors of the entities taken from them. Because constructions with anti-recipients frequently presuppose a state of possession, a semantic extension between the anti-recipient and possessor roles can be postulated.

A *malefactive* is in many ways the negative counterpart of a benefactive – someone who is adversely affected by a process. This role is demonstrated by the dative used with *verba incommodi*, mentioned in section 3.1.1.2. Example (6), repeated here as (114), contains a malefactive dative with the verb *traucēt* 'disturb', while (115) is an example with *atriebties* 'take revenge'.

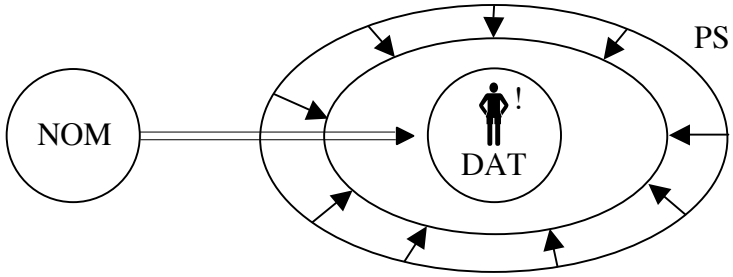
(114) (=6)
te *mums* *vairāk* *tas* *[telefons]* *netraucēs*
here 1pl.DAT more DEM.MASC.NOM.SG telephone.NOM.SG not.disturb.FUT.3
'here it [the telephone] won't disturb us anymore'
(MD 1, 2, 0:07)

(115) *Vai* *esat* *vēlējies* *atriebties* *šiem*
QU be.PAST.2PL wish.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG take-revenge.INF DEM.MASC.DAT.PL
picas *piegādātājiem?*
pizza.GEN.SG deliverer.DAT.PL
'Have you ever wished to take your revenge on these pizza deliverers?'
(http://feini.times.lv/joki/joks30, 11 August 2003)

The diagram in figure 3.21 illustrates this construction type, where a nominative-marked agent performs an action that affects a dative-marked target person adversely by shrinking his personal sphere.

[65] Cheka (an abbreviation for *Črezvyčajnaja komissija po bor´be s kontrrevoljuciej i sabotažem*) was the name of the secret police established by the Bolsheviks in 1917. It ceased to exist under this name in 1922. In Latvian, however, the word *čeka* is used for the Soviet secret police regardless of its official name at any given time.

Figure 3.21. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (114) and (115), where a nominative-marked agent performs an action directed towards and adversely affecting a dative-marked malefactive.

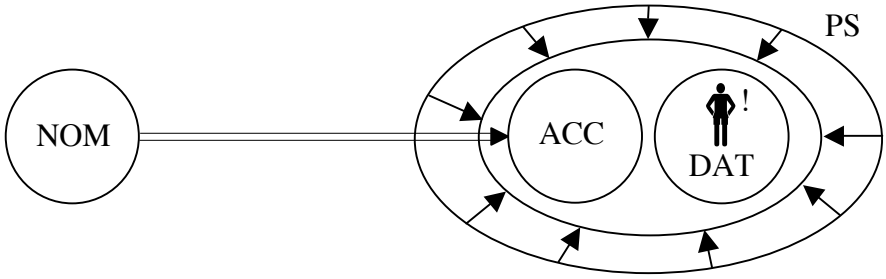


The shrinking of the personal sphere implied by the diagram in figure 3.21 amounts to a reduction of the target person's power or ability to do what he wants. In other words, the part of the personal sphere affected is the sphere of potency (in the terminology of Dąbrowska 1997).

Dative-marked NPs expressing a malefactive are also found in sentences where the action is directed towards an object located within the personal sphere, rather than towards the target person himself. An example of this is (116). The construction type is illustrated in figure 3.22. Note that there is no nominative-marked agent in (116), as the agent here is unspecified. As indicated by the translation, the effect of omitting the agent is comparable to that of using the passive in English, although (116) is an active sentence. In figure 3.22 this (potential) agent is included.

(116) *Izdemolē* *automašīnu* *<u>žurnālistam</u>*, *kurš* *atmaskoja*
smash.PRES.3 car.ACC.SG journalist.DAT.SG who.MASC.NOM.SG unmask.PAST.3
krievu *skolu* *aizstāvības* *štābu*
Russian.GEN.PL school.GEN.PL defence.GEN.SG staff.ACC.SG
'The journalist who demasked the Russian school defence staff gets his car smashed'
(http://www.tvnet.lv/news/latvia/crime/index.php?id=2602407, 11 October 2004)

Figure 3.22. Diagram illustrating the purport of sentences such as (116), where a nominative-marked agent performs an action on an accusative-marked patient located within the personal sphere of a dative-marked malefactive.



The close semantic connection between malefactives and benefactives is witnessed by the fact that with some verbs, the dative-marked NP can instantiate either of the two roles, depending on the context. This is the case with verbs such as *sekot* 'follow', which in its basic meaning is used with a benefactive. Given the right context, as in (117), a dative-marked NP with *sekot* must be interpreted as a malefactive:

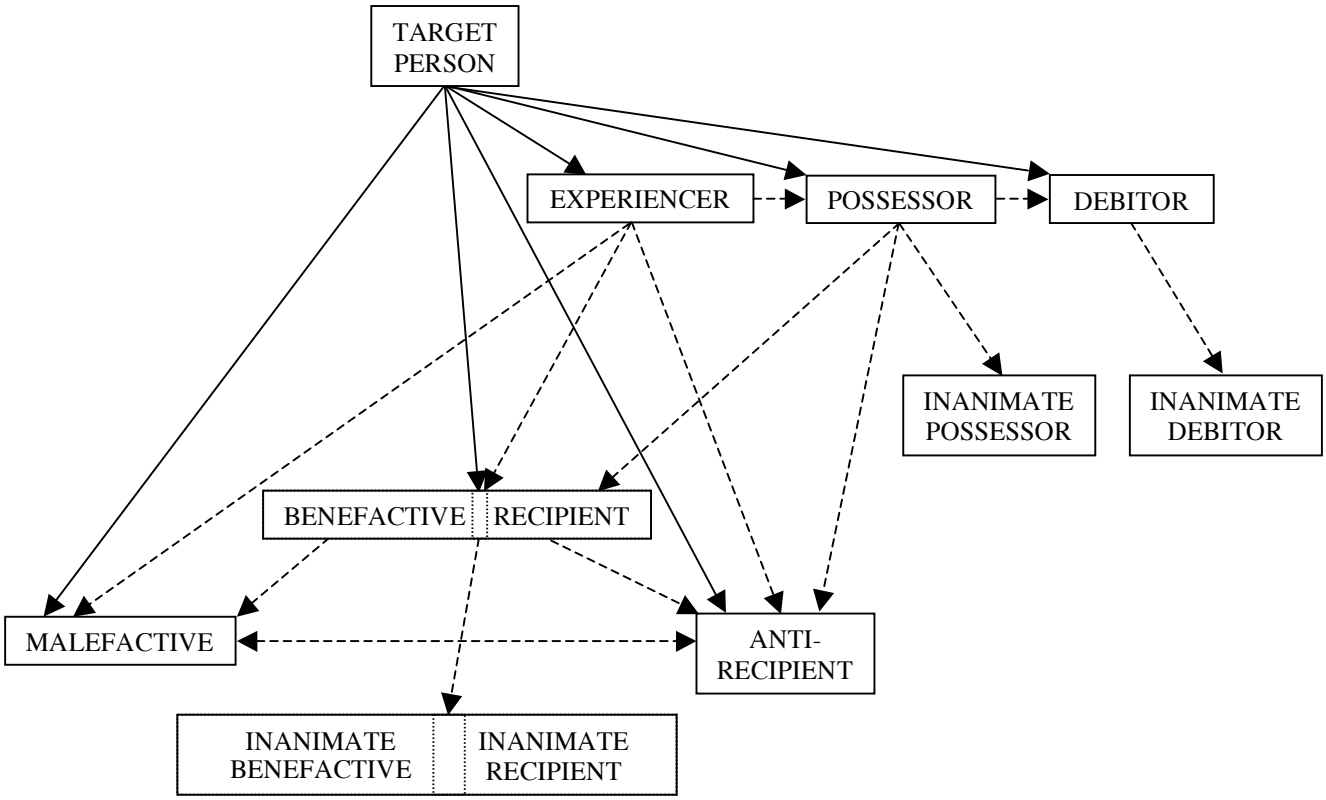
(117) *Tūlīt* *ieradušies* *arī* *policisti,* *kas* *abiem*
immediately arrive.PAAP.MASC.NOM.PL also policeman.NOM.PL who.NOM both.MASC.DAT.PL
vīriešiem *sekoja* *pa* *pēdām.*
man.DAT.PL follow.PAST.3 along track.DAT.PL
'Immediately also some policemen arrived, following in the tracks of the two men.'
(http://www.ltv-panorama.lv/raksts/4770/, 21 October 2004)

The adjectives *bīstams* 'dangerous', *kaitīgs* 'harmful' *pretējs* 'contrary, opposed' and others are also used with malefactive datives. Their use is not restricted to animate datives; inanimate datives used with these adjectives instantiate the inanimate malefactive role, which will be discussed in the next section. The same applies to a number of nouns, e.g. *bīstamība* 'danger' and *kaitīgums* 'harm'. (118) illustrates the use of animate malefactive datives with *kaitīgs* and *bīstams.*

(118) *Daudzi* *augi* *kaķim,* *tāpat* *kā* *cilvēkam,* *ir*
many.MASC.NOM.PL plant.NOM.PL cat.DAT.SG just as person.DAT.SG be.PRES.3
kaitīgi *un* *bīstami […].*
harmful.MASC.NOM.PL and dangerous.MASC.NOM.PL
'Many plants are harmful and dangerous to cats, just as they are to people […].'
(http://www.latnet.lv/communities/animals/index.php?id=1932109, 5 September 2003)

As mentioned above, the malefactive role is linked to the benefactive role by way of semantic extension based on antonymy. Given that an element of mental activity on the part of the target person is typically present in constructions with malefactives, a semantic extension can also be claimed to link this role with the experiencer role. The anti-recipient and malefactive roles are closely related and do overlap to some extent (most anti-recipients can be categorised as malefactives as well). However, in order to preserve the readability of the figure, this overlapping relationship is not explicitly rendered in figure 3.23, but replaced by a dashed double arrow denoting mutual semantic extension.

Figure 3.23. The schematic network of the Latvian dative. Preliminary version 8.



3.2.6.1 INANIMATE ANTI-RECIPIENT AND MALEFACTIVE

Not unexpectedly, also the anti-recipient and malefactive roles have been extended to inanimate things, as is the case with several of the roles already discussed. Compared to the animate instances, inanimate datives of these two types are less frequent. With certain verbs, e.g. *pretoties* 'resist, oppose' and *kaitēt* 'harm, hurt', they are nevertheless not uncommon. The two following examples contain inanimate anti-recipients; (119) was presented in section 3.1.4 as (40).

(119) (=40)

Vējš	*norāva*	*mājai*	*jumtu.*
wind.NOM.SG	tear-off.PAST.3	house.DAT.SG	roof.ACC.SG

'The wind tore the roof off the house.'
(Holvoet 2001b:204, my translation)

(120)

Viņš	*runādams*	*atvilka*	*logam*	*aizkarus […].*
3.MASC.NOM.SG	talk.GER.MASC.SG	draw-back.PAST.3	window.DAT.SG	curtain.ACC.PL

'As he was talking, he drew back the curtains from the window […].'
(http://www.geocities.com/dagnija_j/dumpiniece/dumpiniece03.html, 28 August 2003)

The anti-recipient role was earlier defined as 'someone who is affected by the removal of something that is in his possession or otherwise under his influence'. Inanimate things certainly cannot possess anything in a strict sense of this word, but nevertheless the parallels between the dative-marked NPs in (119) and (120) and animate anti-recipients are quite obvious. In (119), the roof, i.e. an integrated part of the house, is torn off by the wind and thus removed from the house as a whole. As has been argued repeatedly in connection with the inanimate roles of the dative, the main difference from the animate roles is the inability of inanimate objects to be mentally affected by actions or processes. Still, (119) shows that affectedness sometimes may be a factor in dative constructions also when the dative-marked noun is inanimate. It is not difficult to see that a house is indeed affected (although not *mentally* affected) by the removal of one of its main parts – in this case the roof.

While (119) clearly involves an element of affectedness, this is less obvious in (120). Nevertheless, the kinship with animate anti-recipients is clear; the curtains belong to the same region as the window, and the drawing of the curtains serves to remove an integral part of this region. The region where the windows are located can be viewed as affected by the process in the sense that it changes when the curtains are drawn. Anyway, the inanimate dative-marked NPs in (119) and (120) are not instantiations of the target person role, as there is no mental affectedness involved in these situations.

Just as a close relation between animate anti-recipient and animate possessor was postulated in the previous section, the postulation of a link between their inanimate counterparts seems equally well-founded. As was mentioned in section 3.2.3.1, a key feature in the inanimate possessor construction is proximity, and the dative in examples such as (119) and (120) also primarily seems to be motivated by this factor.[66] The use of the dative to express possession (with animate nouns) and proximity (with inanimate nouns) at times brings it very close to the domain of the genitive. Among the examples of this 'possessive' dative quoted by Holvoet (2001b) are the following two, (121) with a dative-marked animate possessor and (122) with an inanimate dative-marked NP. (122) does not seem to involve any element of mental affectedness.

[66] Another motivating factor is that inanimate anti-recipients, like inanimate possessors, are typically used together with relational nouns.

(121) *Bet* *pilsētnieks,* *pamanīdams* *puisim* *spožo*
but city-dweller.NOM.SG notice.GER.MASC.SG boy.DAT.SG shining.ACC.SG.DEF
naudas *akmentiņu,* *izgājis* *uz* *viltību.*
money.GEN.SG stone.DIM.ACC.SG go-out.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG to cunning.ACC.SG
'But the city-dweller, noticing the small shining money-stone[67] the boy had, decided to play him a trick.'
(Holvoet 2001b:208,[68] my translation. Also http://www.ailab.lv/pasakas/gr07/0701616.htm, 2 September 2003)

(122) *Ella* *zināja* *nosaukumus* *augiem* *un* *radībām.*
Ella.NOM.SG know.PAST.3 name.ACC.PL plant.DAT.PL and creature.DAT.PL
'Ella knew the names of the plants and the creatures.'
(Holvoet 2001b:206, my translation)

In (121) one could argue that there is an element of mental affectedness involved, given the presence of an animate possessor, but still the semantic nuance rendered by using the dative instead of the genitive here is small. In (122), the use of the dative seems to be motivated by proximity and by the fact that *vārds* is a relational noun and thus includes in its semantic basis a schematic entity which the name applies to. The dative-marked NPs in examples such as these, then, although structurally similar to anti-recipients, are semantically closer to possessors (animate or inanimate). The semantic difference between using the dative and the genitive can be very slight indeed; however, I would argue that the dative typically implies an element of affectedness, while the genitive does not. Nevertheless, the dative and the genitive are sufficiently close on this point that the choice between them is at times dictated by extra-semantic factors. Thus, to avoid relative clauses and other longer elements from appearing between a genitive and its head noun, the dative (which can be postposed, as opposed to the always preposed non-partitive genitive) can be used instead, making the parsing of the sentence easier. This is noted by Holvoet (2001b:207).

The two following examples show the dative expressing inanimate malefactives. Again, these inanimate objects cannot be adversely affected in a mental sense, and thus do not instantiate the target person role. However, inanimate malefactives are often *materially* affected; this is the case in (124).

---

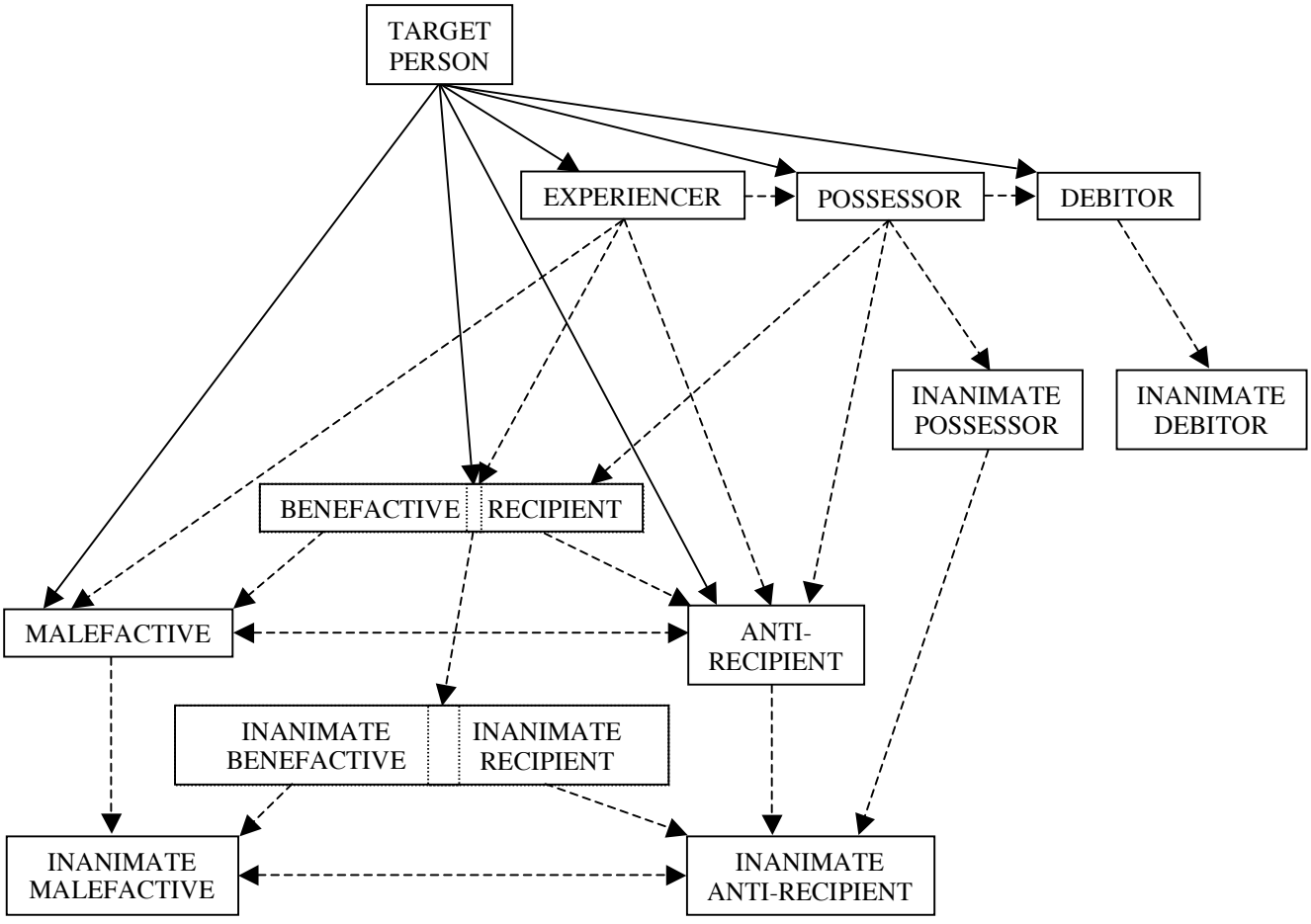
[67] In the fairy-tale from which the example is taken, the money-stone is a small stone that is given to the boy by a snake and gives the bearer money when he turns it around in his hand three times.
[68] In Holvoet's article, the preposition *uz* is replaced by *zu*, which is not a Latvian word. This is probably the work of an over-zealous German spellchecker.

(123) *Ir* *trīs* *galvenie* *iemesli,* *kāpēc* *darbinieki*
be.PRES.3 three.NOM main.MASC.NOM.PL.DEF reason.NOM.PL why employee.NOM.PL
pretojas *pārmaiņām* *[…].*
oppose.PRES.3 change.DAT.PL
'There are three main reasons why the employees oppose changes […].'
(http://www.es.energo.lv/latvian/Nr_6/parmain.html, 28 August 2003)

(124) *[…]* *mitrums* *kaitē* *materiāla* *kvalitātei.*
moisture.NOM.SG damage.PRES.3 material.GEN.SG quality.DAT.SG
'[…] moisture damages the quality of the material.'
(http://www.zalais.lv/lv/skirosanalat/, 28 August 2003)

With the addition of the inanimate anti-recipient and inanimate malefactive roles, the schematic network of the dative takes the form shown in figure 3.24. Note that these two roles, like their animate counterparts, do overlap, although in order to preserve the lucidity of the figure, this relationship is represented by a dashed double arrow. Although the dative network will be extended somewhat in the remaining part of this chapter, figure 3.24 is the final version of the part of the network that is organised around the target person role.

Figure 3.24. The part of the schematic network of the Latvian dative that encompasses the target person role, its instantiations and the inanimate meanings connected to it by semantic extensions.



3.2.7 The ethical dative

In section 3.1.5 the function of the ethical dative was described as expressing involvement on the part of speech-act participants in a given situation. Given that the schematic meaning of the dative morpheme is that of a target person, i.e. a person perceived as affected by something taking place within or impinging upon his personal sphere, the speaker can use the dative form of a personal pronoun to indicate that a speech-act participant is affected by something happening in the given context. In other words, by using the ethical dative the speaker expresses affectedness on the part of himself or someone else in the speech-act situation. A typical use of the ethical dative is with imperatives, as seen in (42), repeated here as (125):

(125) (=42)

Nedomā	*tu*	*man*	*tajās*	*grāmatās*	*vien*	*gulēt!*
not-think.IMP.2SG	2sg.NOM	1sg.DAT	DEM.FEM.LOC.PL	book.LOC.PL	PART	lie.INF

'Don't think you can just lie there amongst your books [, I'll see to it that you don't]!' (Upīts 1947:107, cited in MLLVG II:293)

Although this utterance certainly would be just as grammatical without the dative *man*, this word is deliberately used by the speaker to achieve a specific effect, namely to assert his own authority over the addressee. By using the dative *man*, the speaker construes the situation in such a way that the addressee is located within the speaker's personal sphere, thus the speaker is claiming to be in a position where he can give orders to the addressee. The use of the ethical dative often adds to imperatives a nuance of categoricalness, due to the assertion of authority which underlies the construction. The same effect can, however, also be attained in utterances that are not strictly imperatives. (126) was uttered by a bus conductor in Riga just after the bus doors were shut:

(126)

Aizmugurē	*kas*	*man*	*tagad*	*iekāpa?*
behind.LOC.SG	who.NOM	1sg.DAT	now	get-on.PAST.3

'Who got on in the back now?'[69]

The conductor's words should of course be interpreted as something close to this: 'Those of you who got on through the back doors on this stop, come here and buy tickets or show me your tickets if you already have valid ones'. Thus, the utterance may indeed plausibly be

[69] Given the relatively free word order in Latvian and the possibility of using *aizmugurē* as a semi-adposition with a dative complement (cf. section 3.1.7), (126) could also mean 'Who got on behind me now?'.

interpreted as an imperative. By inserting the ethical dative *man*, the conductor asserts her power over the passengers, openly stating that by getting on the bus, they have entered her personal sphere and that she has the authority to force them to buy tickets or, if they refuse, to throw them off the bus.

Apart from its use with imperatives, the ethical dative can also be used to express the solidarity or empathy of a speech-act participant towards someone. Consider this example:

(127) *Tēti […]* *Tu* *<u>man</u>* *esi* *tāds* *neuzmanīgs […].*
daddy.VOC.SG 2sg.NOM 1sg.DAT be.PRES.2SG such.MASC.NOM.SG inattentive.MASC.NOM.SG
'Daddy […] you're so inattentive (towards me) […].'
(http://www.workingday.lv/akademija/j61.htm, 27 October 2003)

(127) is not an order, and it contains no assertion of the speaker's authority over someone else. Instead, the child speaking uses the dative *man* to assert the close emotional link between father and child. In a close relationship of this kind, the individuals presumably share a large part of each other's emotions. By using the ethical dative, the child asserts that he or she is also affected by what the father feels or does. This use of the ethical dative is labelled *empathic* by Dąbrowska (1997:59–60).

The ethical dative instantiates the target person role in a very direct sense – it contains no additional semantic specifications apart from that of a target person. I will therefore not grant it the status of a separate node in the schematic network of the dative. What sets the ethical dative apart from the other uses of the dative, is the application of the target person role to the speech-act domain rather than to the action chain itself.

3.2.8 Dative with gerunds in *-ot* (the absolute dative)

The use of the dative with gerunds in *-ot* to mark the subject in subordinate clauses when this is different from the subject of the main clause, was discussed in section 3.1.1.7 and exemplified in (30). This example is repeated here as (128).

(128) (=30)
Skaties! – viņa *iesaucās* *un,* *<u>visiem</u>* *redzot,*
look.IMP.2SG 3.FEM.NOM.SG exclaim.PAST.3 and all.MASC.DAT.PL see.GER
izdzēra *glāzi.*
drink-up.PAST.3 glass.ACC.SG
'Look! – she called out, and emptied the glass, everybody watching.'
(http://home.delfi.lv/latvietis/25_53julijs/lapa6.htm, 3 March 2003)

The subordinate clause containing the gerund functions as an adverbial clause with a temporal or (more seldom) conditional meaning (MLLVG II:434). To understand how the dative came to be used in this function, one must consider the historical background of the construction and its components.

The gerund in *-ot* in all probability derives from a masculine dative singular form of the present active participle, originally containing the suffix **-ant* and the dative ending **-i* or **-ei* (for Lithuanian examples of the absolute dative with a preserved dative ending on the participle, cf. Ambrazas 1962:15 and 1990:167). The participle originally formed part of the dative NP, agreeing with its head, but at some point it changed into an indeclinable gerund, the masculine singular form being used regardless of the gender and number of the dative NP. In Latvian folk songs, fairy-tales and dialect texts one can find examples of the absolute dative construction containing active participles agreeing with the dative head of the NP; one of these is seen in (129):

(129) *viņam* *gribuošam,* *negribuošam* *bija*
3.MASC.DAT.SG want.PRAP.MASC.DAT.SG not-want.PRAP.MASC.DAT.SG be.PAST.3
jàklausa *svešniecei*
obey.DEB female-stranger.DAT.SG
'whether he wanted it or not, he had to obey the stranger'
(Lerchis-Puškaitis 1891–1902 VI:586, cited in Endzelīns 1951:1010)

Examples such as (129) illustrate how the absolute dative construction can have arisen. Here the dative NP is a debitor in the debitive construction – thus the dative is clearly semantically motivated. The participles form part of the NP and agree with its head. Ambrazas (1990:164) remarks that the dative NP in constructions of this type have the potential of turning into an independent clause, and that is probably what happened. The dative NP containing a participle or a gerund was reanalysed as a subordinate clause, and the link between the NP and the elements in the main clause that motivated the dative marking was weakened. Ambrazas (1962:10–11 and 1990:164) quotes examples from Lithuanian 16th and 17th century texts where the dative is repeated in the main clause, a clear sign of the independent status of what can at this point be called a subordinate clause. One of Ambrazas's examples is given in (130).[70] I have not found similar examples from Latvian, but consider it safe to assume that the two languages underwent the same development on this point.

[70] Another fact indicating the independence of the subordinate clause in (130) is the use of a comma to separate it from the main clause.

(130) *Inencziam* *tadda* *Iosephui* *namůsna,* *atnesche* *anis*
in-go.PRAP.MASC.DAT.SG then Joseph.DAT.SG house.ILL.PL bring.PAST.3 3.MASC.NOM.PL
iem *Dowanas* *ing* *Namus […].*
3.MASC.DAT.SG gift.ACC.PL to house.ACC.PL
'When Joseph then went into the house, they brought him gifts to the house […].'
(Genesis 43:26. Bretkūnas 1590, cited in Ambrazas 1990:164)

When the dative NP had been reanalysed as an independent clause and the earlier dative participle was replaced by an indeclinable gerund, the construction could freely be used with an adverbial meaning, regardless of whether the dative was motivated by any element of the main clause. This is the situation in modern Latvian. In a synchronic perspective, the absolute dative must probably be considered a relict where the use of the dative is no longer semantically motivated.[71]

3.2.9 Dative with adpositions

3.2.9.1 Dative with *līdz* and *pa* – the allative meaning

As mentioned in section 3.1.7, the Latvian dative singular[72] is only used with two prepositions (leaving aside the semi-adpositions, which are traditionally either considered a separate class or included in the class of adverbs). The most frequent of the two is *līdz* 'as far as, until'. Its central use is the spatial one seen in (131), but through semantic extension based on metaphor it can also be used in the temporal (132) as well as other spheres (of which [133] is but one example).

(131) … *no* *Siguldas* *līdz* *Juglai* *man* *iznāk* *ātrāk,*
from Sigulda.GEN.SG as-far-as Jugla.DAT.SG 1sg.DAT work-out.PRES.3 fast.ADV.COMP
nekā *no* *Ziepniekkalna* *līdz* *Juglai.*
than from Ziepniekkalns.GEN.SG as-far-as Jugla.DAT.SG
'… [getting from] Sigulda to Jugla works out faster for me than from Ziepniekkalns to Jugla.'
(MD 1, 8, 4:04)

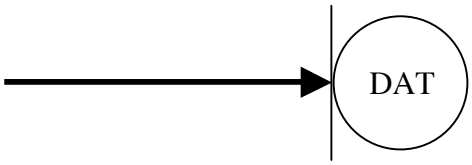
(132) … *un* *tad* *to* *televizoru* *no* *rīta* *līdz* *vakaram,* …
and then DEM.ACC.SG TV.ACC.SG from morning.GEN.SG as-far-as evening.DAT.SG
'… and then [she watches] that TV from morning till evening, …'
(MD 1, 7, 2:27)

[71] But see Andersen 1970, where an attempt is made to motivate the Baltic absolute dative synchronically by relating it to Jakobson's definition of the dative as a directional and marginal case.
[72] As was mentioned earlier, *all* prepositions are used with dative complements in the plural.

(133) … *beigās* *tas […]* *tiek* *novests* *līdz*
end.LOC.PL DEM.MASC.NOM.SG AUX.PRES.3 bring.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG as-far-as
tādam *stāvoklim […]* *kad* *tu* *vienkārši* *vairs*
such.MASC.DAT.SG state.DAT.SG that 2sg.NOM simple.ADV longer
nespēj *to* *pacelt* …
not-manage.PRES.2SG DEM.ACC.SG bear.INF
'… and in the end it […] is brought to such a state […] that you simply can't manage to bear it any more …'
(MD 9, 7, 3:07)

As indicated by the glossing of *līdz* as *as far as*, this preposition denotes a movement (metaphorical or not) not only towards a target, but right up to the limit of that target. This distinguishes *līdz* from *uz*, which is used with the accusative and has the more general meaning of 'to, towards'. In other words, both *līdz* and *uz* are allative prepositions, but *līdz* is more specific. The meaning of *līdz* can be illustrated as in figure 3.25, the heavy arrow indicating the relation profiled by the preposition.

Figure 3.25. Diagram illustrating the purport of the preposition *līdz* 'as far as, until'.



The semantics of the preposition *pa* at first sight may seem less transparent. When used with the dative its primary function is distributive, i.e. it singles out units that are distributed across a certain domain. In (134) the distributive meaning is quite literal, as one unit – a present – is given to each individual in a group. In (135), earlier presented as (45), the distribution is metaphorical.

(134) *Iznāca* *ķēniņi* *un* *ķēniņa* *meita* *un* *deva*
come-out.PAST.3 king.NOM.PL and king.GEN.SG daugther.NOM.SG and give.PAST.3
katram *nabagam* *pa* *dāvanai*.
each.MASC.DAT.SG beggar.DAT.SG DISTR present.DAT.SG
'The kings and the princess came out and gave each beggar a present.'
(http://www.ailab.lv/pasakas/gr06/0600401.htm, 10 September 2003)

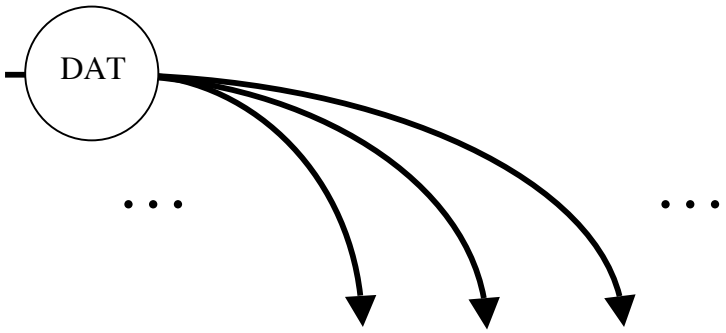
(135) (=45)

Vidusskolā	*bij*	*tāds*	*rets*		
secondary-school.LOC.SG	be.PAST.3	such.MASC.NOM.SG	unusual.MASC.NOM.SG		
gadījums,	*katrā*	*klasē*	*bij*	*pa*	*vienam*
occurrence.NOM.SG	each.LOC.SG	class.LOC.SG	be.PAST.3	DISTR	one.MASC.DAT.SG
Rihardam, …					
Rihards.DAT.SG					

'In secondary school there was this unusual situation, there was one Rihards in each class, …'
(MD 6, 14, 2:34)

I will argue that the meaning of *pa* in examples like these is also of an allative nature, although in a different sense than in the examples with *līdz*. In (134) the preposition *pa* expresses a path – or, rather, several parallel paths – followed by the dative-marked NP from its original position to the specified domain. In (135), these paths are metaphorical. The diagram in figure 3.26 illustrates the meaning of *pa*; the dots on each side of the arrows represent the potential for more parallel paths than those included in the diagram.

Figure 3.26. Diagram illustrating the purport of the preposition *pa* when used distributionally.

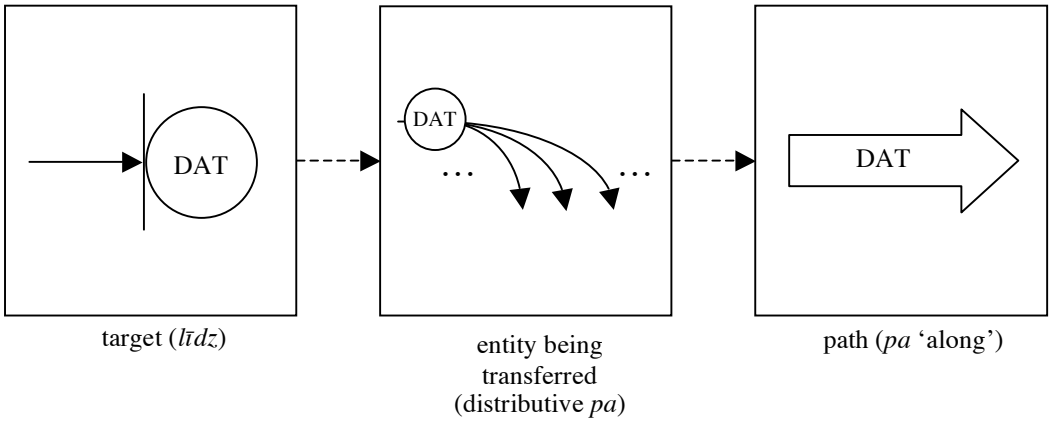


Apart from the distributive function, *pa* is used with the dative in several expressions that to a greater or lesser extent are fixed. Many of these expressions include the notion of a path, either literally (e.g. *pa ceļam* 'on the way, in passing') or metaphorically (e.g. *pa laikam* 'from time to time', *pa vecam [paradumam]* 'in the old way', *pa rokai* 'at hand, within reach', *pa spēkam* 'in one's power', *pa prātam* 'to one's liking' and *pa jaunam* 'anew, again'). Here the dative marks the path along which something moves.

The constructions with the prepositions *līdz* and *pa* and the dative necessitates the acknowledgment of an allative meaning of the dative case. With *līdz* the dative-marked NP is the target of the path, the path leading up to but stopping at the border of this target. With *pa*, the dative-marked NP either follows the path or itself forms the path along which something moves. From the meaning of 'target' found with *līdz*, semantic extension leads to

the meaning ‘something being transferred’ (with distributive *pa*), from which yet another semantic extension leads to the meaning of ‘path’. This is illustrated in figure 3.27.

Figure 3.27. Diagram illustrating the different meanings of the dative in combination with the prepositions *līdz* and *pa* and the semantic extensions linking these meanings.

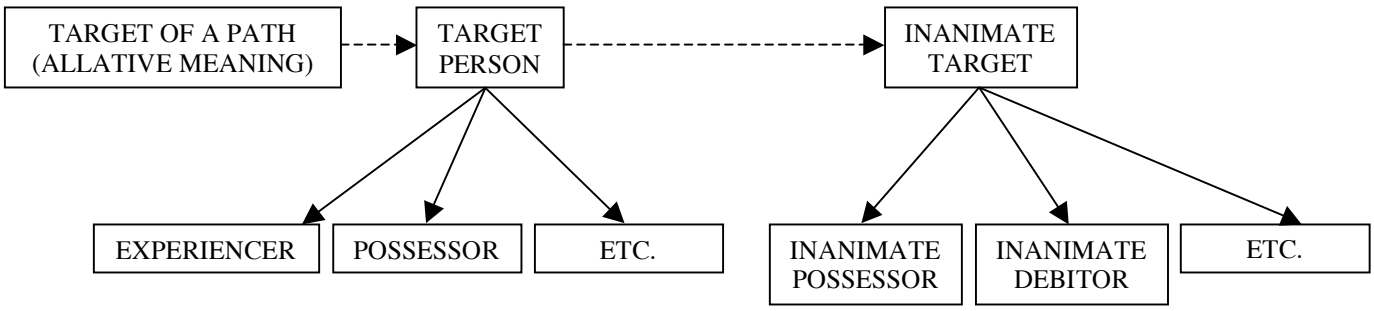


The allative meaning of the dative seen with prepositions is clearly distinct from the target person role, which has dominated the discussion of the semantics of this case up till now. Dąbrowska (1997:52–54) argues that the allative meaning of the Polish dative is related to the target person role through a series of semantic extensions that supposedly took place in the diachronic development of the case from Proto-Slavic to modern Polish. Although a development where the semantic centre of the dative case gradually moved from an allative meaning to the target person role quite plausibly can have taken place in Baltic just as in Slavic, any claim in this respect must remain speculative due to the lack of evidence. Anyway, the semantic extensions proposed by Dąbrowska can certainly be viewed as valid in a synchronic perspective independently of diachronic facts. In my view, it is highly probable that such extensions are made by at least some speakers, thus linking the allative meaning to the rest of the dative network.

Dąbrowska’s line of arguments goes like this: 1) A purely allative meaning consists of a trajector moving along a path towards a landmark and stopping in the vicinity of the landmark. 2) In a special case of the allative, the landmark is a person, and the trajector through its movement enters the landmark’s personal space. As a consequence of this, the person is likely to be affected in some way. 3) In the course of time, the aspect of affectedness can become conventionalised and gain greater prominence because of the central position of human beings in our perception of the world. Finally, the aspect of movement along a path disappears altogether.

The question whether the meanings of the dative with *līdz* and *pa* are related to the dative's other meanings will be further discussed in section 3.2.11. Figure 3.28 presents a simplified version of the schematic network of the Latvian dative, capturing the proposed semantic extensions from the allative meaning to the target person role and from the target person role to the related inanimate uses (here subsumed under the schema 'inanimate target'). Note that this figure illustrates the meanings of the dative from a somewhat different angle compared to the network presented in figure 3.24. It is not meant as an alternative, but as a supplement to that network.

Figure 3.28. The schematic network of the Latvian dative (simplified).



3.2.9.2 DATIVE-MARKING OF ALL PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS IN THE PLURAL

In modern standard Latvian (and in all but a few dialects) plural complements of all prepositions are marked with the dative case. Because from a diahcronic viewpoint the dative plural represents the merged dative and instrumental plural, this pattern is indeed the expected one for prepositions that are used with these two cases in the singular (*ar* 'with' was originally used with the instrumental, although following the merger of this case with the accusative in the singular and with the dative in the plural, *ar* patterns just like prepositions used with the accusative). What needs to be explained, then, is why the dative plural is used also with prepositions that have accusative and genitive complements in the singular.

In his large Latvian grammar (1951:632–635), Endzelīns provides a diachronic account of how the unification in case-marking of prepositional complements in the plural may have come about. This explanation more or less sums up Endzelīns's own discussion of the matter in the earlier work *Latyšskie predlogi* (Ėndzelin 1906:14–18, Endzelīns 1971:536–539). Although it does contain some weak points, it has to my knowledge not been contested to date. Endzelīns argues as follows:

Firstly, the accusative and instrumental singular merged in all noun declensions, either as the result of regular sound changes (in the *o*-stems, *ā*-stems and *ē*-stems) or, in the smaller classes, through extension of the dominant pattern.[73] As a result of this merger, accusative and instrumental prepositions were used with the same form in the singular, but not in the plural. This led to uncertainty among the speakers, and eventually to the generalisation of the instrumental plural to all the prepositions in question. As to why the instrumental plural was preferred and not the accusative plural, Endzelīns mentions two arguments: 1) the old instrumental forms *manim*, *tevim* and *sevim* of the first and second person and reflexive pronouns were already used also with accusative prepositions, and this could strengthen the instrumental pattern; 2) the instrumental plural was less ambiguous than the accusative plural, which in the feminine declensions was homophonous with the genitive singular. By choosing the instrumental, speakers could avoid ambiguity between the singular and plural in certain environments where both the accusative and the genitive were possible. In any case, at some point the case pattern of the accusative and instrumental prepositions came to merge also in the plural.

Secondly, the dative and instrumental plural merged, both in nouns and pronouns (a change involving the replacement of the original forms with forms expressing the dual), leading to a situation where forms identical to the dative plural of modern Latvian were used with prepositions originally taking either the dative, instrumental or accusative.

Thirdly, the use of the dative plural was extended also to genitive prepositions. To explain this, Endzelīns once more appeals to the old instrumental forms *manim*, *tevim* and *sevim*, which already were in use with the genitive prepositions and could serve as a pattern for the further extension of the dative/instrumental plural.

Whether or not one chooses to agree with all points in Endzelīns's row of arguments, it seems clear that what has happened is a wide extension of the pattern of using the dative (or, strictly speaking, dative/instrumental) plural with prepositions. The merger of certain case forms – e.g. the dative and instrumental plural in all nouns and pronouns – certainly can have contributed to the strengthening of the dative plural pattern. From a semantic viewpoint, the development can be analysed as a bleaching of the dative plural morpheme when used with prepositions, right up to the point where the dative plural is compatible with all prepositions and can be analysed as a general prepositional case form. Speaking in

[73] The term *extension* should here be understood in the sense of Harris and Campbell (1995:51). To some extent this term corresponds to the more traditional term *analogy*.

favour of such an analysis of the dative is the fact that the dative under certain circumstances is used in environments where other cases would be expected (cf. section 3.2.9.3), as well as with all semi-adpositions (cf. section 3.2.9.4). On the other hand, there are no signs of the dative emerging as the default case with singular complements of the conventional prepositions, as it has with plural ones.

3.2.9.3 Dative in fixed expressions with prepositions normally used with the genitive

As mentioned in section 3.1.7, there exist certain expressions where the demonstrative pronoun *tas* and the relative and interrogative pronoun *kas* occur in the dative after prepositions that are otherwise used with the genitive.[74] The dative is used only when the prepositional phrase has a fixed, lexicalised meaning, while if the pronoun refers to an entity in the context, the genitive is used. This difference can be observed in the following examples, (136) with the dative and (137) with the genitive.

(136) *Tā* *ir* *normāla* *fāze,* *kurai*
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 normal.FEM.NOM.SG phase.NOM.SG that.FEM.DAT.SG
jāiziet *ir* *cauri,* *un* *pēc* *tam* *atkal* *viss*
go-through.DEB be.pres.3 through and after DEM.MASC.DAT.SG again all.MASC.NOM.SG
ir *kārtībā.*
be.PRES.3 order.LOC.SG
'That's a normal phase that you have to get through, and afterwards everything is all right again.'
(MD 9, 10, 3:14)

(137) *Citātu* *raksta* *pēdiņās,* *oriģinālvalodā,* *un*
quotation.ACC.SG write.PRES.3 inverted-comma.LOC.PL original-language.LOC.SG and
pēc *tā* *apaļajās* *iekavās –* *autora* *iniciāļus,*
after DEM.MASC.GEN.SG round.FEM.LOC.PL.DEF bracket.LOC.PL author.GEN.SG initial.ACC.PL
uzvārdu, […].
surname.ACC.SG
'A quotation is written in inverted commas in the original language, and after it in brackets the author's initials, surname, […].'
(http://lspa.lanet.lv/metron/sakotn.html, 28 October 2003)

Note that in (136) there is no noun that the dative demonstrative pronoun can refer back to. The obvious candidate would be *fāze* 'phase', but as this is a feminine noun, the pronoun would of course also have to appear in the feminine gender. *Pēc tam* must in other words be

[74] Endzelīns (Ėndzelin 1906:9, Endzelīns 1971:531) mentions the use of *tam* and *kam* also with prepositions that otherwise take the accusative. In the modern language, these expressions seem to be obsolete.

a fixed expression, translatable as 'afterwards'. By contrast, the demonstrative pronoun in (137) refers to the noun *citāts*, and it appears in the genitive, as expected after the preposition *pēc*.

The semantic purport of the dative in *pēc tam* and the other fixed expressions of this kind is in all probability very slight, and can be compared to that of the dative endings of adverbs that originated from prepositional phrases or nouns in the dative case, e.g. *pareizi* 'correctly'[75] and *mūžam* 'always, forever'. The key question, then, is how the dative under certain circumstances came to be used with prepositions that otherwise appear with another case. Unfortunately, the lack of diachronic evidence makes this a difficult question to answer. Endzelīns (1951:629–630) proposes that the use of the dative forms *tam* and *kam* with *pēc* and other prepositions is a relict from an earlier state when some of today's prepositions were adverbs. Supposedly, these adverbs at some point were used much like today's semi-adpositions, with dative complements, before they turned into fully-fledged prepositions used with the genitive (or accusative). The use of *tam* and *kam* in some expressions remained fixed, possibly spreading also to prepositions that did not originate as adverbs. In addition to this, Endzelīns notes that part of the reason may have been contamination of the dative *kam*, which used on its own can mean 'why', and the phrases *pēc kā*, *dēļ kā*, *par ko* and *priekš kā*, all meaning more or less the same, rendering *pēc kam*, *dēļ kam* etc. Again, certain facts about the use of the dative in modern Latvian seem difficult to explain without to some extent resorting to diachrony.

3.2.9.4 Dative with semi-adpositions

The class of semi-adpositions was presented in section 3.1.7. This class consists of a number of words that primarily function as adverbs, but also can have nominal complements in much the same way as ordinary pre- and postpositions. While most semi-adpositions can only have dative complements, some of them can also be used with the genitive or with possessive pronouns – this subgroup includes *aizmugurē* 'behind', *apakšā* 'below, at the bottom of', *iekšā* 'inside', *priekšā* 'in front of', *starpā* 'between' and *vidū* 'in the middle of', all representing locative forms of existing nouns. While dative complements can occur either before or after all semi-adpositions, genitive complements and possessive pronouns always

[75] The original meaning of *pareizi* was probably 'consecutively' (Karulis 1992 II:21). The archaic dative ending *-i* shows that the expression was lexicalised relatively early – the new ending *-ei* is found alongside the old one already in the earliest Latvian texts, dating from the 16th century. The adjective *pareizs* 'correct' was formed from the lexicalised adverb.

precede the six mentioned noun-based semi-adpositions. As mentioned in section 3.1.7, by choosing to use the dative instead of the genitive with these, the speaker can convey a sense of affectedness. The contrast between the dative and the genitive was demonstrated in examples (54) and (55), repeated here as (138) and (139).

(138) (=54)
Vārtu *priekšā* *ir* *smilšu* *kaudze.*
gate.GEN.PL in-front-of be.PRES.3 sand.GEN.PL heap.NOM.SG
'In front of the gate, there's a heap of sand.'
(Holvoet 2001b:211, my translation)

(139) (=55)
Vārtiem *priekšā* *ir* *smilšu* *kaudze.*
gate.DAT.PL in-front-of be.PRES.3 sand.GEN.PL heap.NOM.SG
'In front of the gate, there's a heap of sand [blocking it].'
(Holvoet 2001b:211, my translation)

The purport of the dative in (139) harmonises well with the target person role, which of course also is grounded in the concept of affectedness (cf. Dąbrowska's definition of target person quoted in section 3.2.1). In (139) the gate is 'affected' by the presence of a heap of sand in front of it, preventing people from using it to enter or exit. As an inanimate object, the gate cannot be characterised as a target person; here, as in many other instances, the target person role is extended to inanimate things.

In my opinion, the use of the dative with semi-adpositions always implies a construal where the dative is affected in some way. This claim is supported by what seems to be a certain preference for using semi-prepositions with animate complements where ordinary prepositions with a similar meaning exist. Thus for instance the semi-adposition *garām* 'past, by' is mostly preferred instead of the preposition *gar* 'along, past, by' when the complement is animate.[76] With semi-adpositions that can be used either with the genitive or the dative, pragmatic factors may also at times play a role in deciding which case is used – as the genitive is always preposed, choosing the dative instead e.g. gives the speaker the possi-

[76] Searches performed on http://www.google.lv in October 2003 and October 2004 showed a clear preference for using *garām* with first and second person personal pronouns. When the preposition *gar* was used with these pronouns, it almost exclusively had the meaning 'concerning', which *garām* cannot express. Cf. the following example: *[…] neviens tevi nepazīst, nevienam gar tevi nav nekādas daļas […].* '[…] nobody knows you, nobody cares about you at all […].'
(http://www.aktualnet.lv/design/kultur_zinjas.php?a=1&msid=1&mfid=2554#mhash, 29 October 2003).

bility to topicalise the adpositional complement by placing it in front of the adposition (Holvoet 1993:139).

3.2.10 The instrumental uses of the dative

The discussion of the status of the instrumental case in Latvian in section 3.1.8 concluded with the view that the instrumental should be considered a defect case. Most of its functions are in the modern language covered by the preposition *ar* 'with', which after the merger of the instrumental with the accusative in the singular must be described as occurring with the accusative. The only functions justifying the existence of the instrumental as a separate case are those where it is used without *ar* and where both singular and plural NPs are possible – most prominently the instrumental of quality, which was exemplified in (59). Even here the instrumental is not the only possible form, as it can be substituted by a prepositional phrase with *ar*. Those functions where *ar* cannot be used and only plural NPs are possible, were ascribed to the dative. This includes the functions traditionally labelled *the distributive instrumental* and *the instrumental of time*, seen in (60) and (61) respectively, repeated here as (140) and (141).

(140) (=60)

Latvijas	*jaunieši*	*bariem*	*dodas*	*studēt*	*ekonomiku*
Latvia.GEN.SG	youth.NOM.PL	crowd.DAT.PL	set-out.PRES.3	study.INF	economics.ACC.SG

un jurisprudenci, […].
and law.ACC.SG

'In multitudes, Latvia's youth set out to study economics and law, […].'
(http://www.diena.lv/pielikumi/izglitiba/index.php, 25 March 2003)

(141) (=61)

Viņš	*bieži*	*pameta*	*māju*	*dienām,*	*nedēļām,*
3.MASC.NOM.SG	often	leave.PAST.3	house.ACC.SG	day.DAT.PL	week.DAT.PL

mēnešiem	*ilgi*	*un*	*palika*	*pie*	*draugiem, […].*
month.DAT.PL	long.ADV	and	stay.PAST.3	at	friend.DAT.PL

'He often left home for days, weeks, months, staying with friends, […].'
(http://www.iclub.lv/ivo/ozzy/ovesture.htm, 25 March 2003)

These two adverbial functions are inherited from the instrumental, which at some point merged with the dative in the plural (cf. section 3.2.9.2). They are semantically isolated from the rest of the uses of the dative. The same can be said about idiomatised expressions of the kind exemplified in (62), (63) and (64) in section 3.1.8.

3.2.11 Target – a superschema for the dative?

Throughout most of the discussion of the meanings of the dative case and the way they are structured, a pattern of duality has been apparent. Some semantic roles, e.g. benefactive, experiencer and possessor, represent instantiations of the target person role, which by definition is an animate entity. Most of these roles are connected by semantic extensions to inanimate counterparts – inanimate benefactive, inanimate possessor etc. – which cannot be viewed as instantiations of the target person role. An obvious question to raise is whether it is probable that speakers extract an abstract schema covering all the meanings of the dative – both target person and the inanimate uses related to this by semantic extension, as well as the allative meaning, which in line with Dąbrowska's argumentation presented in section 3.2.9.1. can be seen as the starting point for a semantic extension to the target person role.[77]

The postulation of such a superschema is by no means a theoretical requirement in Cognitive Grammar. As mentioned in section 2.2.5, when speakers encounter members of a category that are not compatible with their existing schema for the category, they *might* extract a new schema covering all the known uses of the category. However, this need not be the case, or it may be the case for some speakers, but not for all.[78] Given the high degree of abstractness that a superschema covering all the meanings of the Latvian dative necessarily would have, one might question its practical applicability. Another argument against the existence of such a superschema is the fact that the cognitively most salient nodes in a schematic network tend to belong to *the basic level of categorisation* (cf. Rosch et al. 1976, Croft and Cruse 2004:82–84). In the network of a grammatical category such as the dative, the basic level of categorisation probably consists of frequent schemes such as experiencer and possessor, while a superschema compatible with all the meanings of the category is unlikely to be very salient.

Whether a superschema for the dative really exists in the minds of the speakers of Latvian can perhaps be established by carrying out psycholinguistic experiments – a task outside the scope of this dissertation. Still, I do not consider it unlikely that at least some speakers do extract such a superschema. If this were to be proven correct, what would this

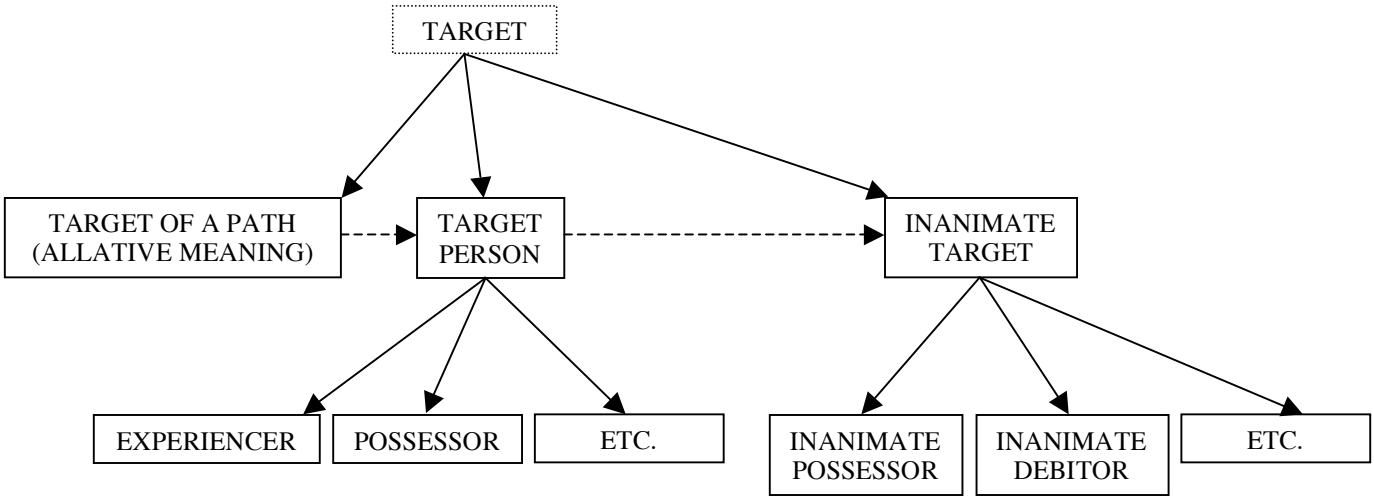
---

[77] The functions taken over by the dative from the instrumental would seem to be semantically separate from its other meanings. I do not envisage a dative schema covering these uses as well.

[78] Recall from section 2.2.5 that a schematic network of a linguistic unit is a hypothesis about the organisation of concepts in the mind of individuals. Networks of this kind are constructed by the speaker on the basis of actual utterances encountered. There is no reason to postulate that all speakers of a language organise concepts in exactly the same way, and it is quite conceivable that some speakers extract schemas where other speakers do not.

superschema look like? I propose as a superschema the role *target*, defined as an entity that is potentially affected by a process directed towards or taking place in its vicinity. The target role would be compatible with all the more specific meanings of the dative as examined earlier in this chapter (except the meanings inherited from the instrumental). Figure 3.29 shows the schematic network of the dative, including the target role. For practical reasons, the network is simplified and does not include all the separate submeanings and links. As in figure 3.28, the inanimate uses connected to instantiations of the target person role by semantic extensions are subsumed under the schema 'inanimate target' The placement of the target role in a dotted box indicates the uncertainty regarding its existence in the minds of the speakers.

Figure 3.29. The schematic network of the Latvian dative, including a hypothesised superschema (simplified).



3.3 Variation

Data from the corpus of spoken language collected for this dissertation, supported by observations in written sources, show that there is variation between the dative and other cases, primarily the accusative, with certain verbs. The fact that the dative is often encountered where the norms of the standard language require the use of another case could possibly indicate that the sphere of usage of the dative is expanding. In order to confirm whether this is true, a closer study of the diachronic evidence would have to be undertaken.

3.3.1 Variation between the dative and the nominative

I have encountered only one verb that displays variation between the dative and the nominative, namely *simpatizēt* 'sympathise'. This verb and its ability to be used with an experiencer marked either as a nominative subject or a dative complement was mentioned in section 3.1.1.2, the examples (4) and (5) illustrating the two construals. Below are two examples from Latvian magazines, (142) with a nominative experiencer and (143) with a dative one. In (142) the nominative experiencer is underlined, not the dative benefactive.

(142) *Un, lūk, šādos apstākļos, kad visi mums*
and PART such.MASC.LOC.PL circumstance.LOC.PL when all.MASC.NOM.PL 1pl.DAT
simpatizē, cilvēks atnāk […].
sympathise.PRES.3 person.NOM.SG come.PRES.3
'And, you see, under those circumstances, when everyone sympathises with us, someone comes […].'
(*Rīgas laiks* 8/2002)

(143) *[…] apzinos, kur dzīvoju, un man simpatizē*
be-conscious.PRES.1SG where live.PRES.1SG and 1sg.DAT sympathise.PRES.3
šī tautība un folklora, […].
DEM.FEM.NOM.SG nationality.NOM.SG and folklore.NOM.SG
'[…] I'm conscious of where I live, and I sympathise with this people and [its] folklore, […].'
(*DEKO* 8/2000)

As mentioned in section 3.2.2.1, the constructions in (142) and (143) can be analysed as instances of two different construals of what is essentially the same situation. The construal with a nominative experiencer is based on the craftsman model, according to which ideas and mental experiences are conceptualised as manipulable objects. Competing with the craftsman model is the mental arena model, where mental experiences are conceptualised as occurring spontaneously, the experiencer being a passive observer of what is going on in his internal mental arena. In the mental arena model, the experiencer is a target person and is consequently marked with the dative case.

In Latvian, the two alternative construals of mental experiences motivate the marking of experiencers with the nominative and the dative case respectively. What is special about the verb *simpatizēt* is that it is used with both construals. The normative dictionaries LLVV and LVV do not mention the construal with a dative experiencer, neither have I found any references to it in the existing grammars, thus it would seem not to be sanctioned by the official norms of the language. In practice, however, dative experiencers

with *simpatizēt* are commonplace, at least when the experiencer is in the first person singular. A search performed on http://www.google.lv 5 November 2003 turned up 15 instances of *man simpatizē* (1sg.DAT sympathise.PRES.2SG/3), but only four of *simpatizēju* (sympathise.PRES/PAST.1SG). When the same search was performed 21 October 2004, the search engine found 31 instances of *man simpatizē* and eight of *simpatizēju*.

Given the observed variation, a logical question is whether the two construals are used in different situations. Judging from the limited amount of data at my disposal, I would suggest that the nominative construal tends to be used more in situations where someone actively does something to express sympathy with someone else. The dative construal, on the other hand, at times comes very close to the meaning of *patikt* 'like', which also has a dative experiencer. This is seen e.g. in (144), where *simpatizēt* can hardly be translated with English *sympathise*:

(144) *[…]* *man* *balti* *kaķi* *ne visai* *simpatizē,* *bet*
1sg.DAT white.MASC.NOM.PL cat.NOM.PL not particularly sympatise.PRES.3 but
šis *bija* *ļoti* *jauks* *un* *mīlīgs […].*
DEM.MASC.NOM.SG be.PAST.3 very nice.MASC.NOM.SG and cute.MASC.NOM.SG
'[…] I don't particularly like white cats, but this one was very nice and cute […].'
(http://www.vecriga.net/rtbr05_lv.htm, 5 November 2003)

The use of *simpatizēt* more or less as a synonym to *patikt* may be a factor in what seems to be a shift from nominative-marking to dative-marking of experiencers with this verb. In any case, with the mental arena model firmly grounded in Latvian grammar and experiencers frequently occurring in the dative case, the application of this construal also to *simpatizēt* is not surprising.

3.3.2 Variation between the dative and the accusative

Variation between the dative and the accusative is found with at least four verbs: *traucēt* 'disturb', *interesēt* 'interest', *saistīt* 'tie together, attract, fascinate' and *uztraukt* 'worry, upset' (note that *uztraukt* also has other meanings with which the dative cannot be used). With the last three of these verbs, the official norm (as indicated in the dictionary LLVV) states that the accusative should be used. In the article on *traucēt* (LLVV VII_2:599–600) it is mentioned that also the dative is used, but only rarely.

In the spoken corpus, no instances of dative complements were found with *saistīt* and *uztraukt*. With *interesēt* there were six occurrences with accusative complements, nine

with dative complements (eight of which were the first person singular pronoun *man*) and in two instances it could not be decided whether the complement was the accusative *mani* or the dative *man*. With *traucēt* only two occurrences were registered, both with dative complements. The following examples with the four verbs all contain dative complements (another example with *traucēt* has earlier been given in [6] and repeated in [114]).[79] Note that *saistīt* is used in the meaning 'attract, fascinate' in (147), while in (148) it has the meaning 'connect'.

(145) *Biznesa* *cilvēku* *ienākšana* *politikā […]* *pēc* *I. Kreituses*
business.GEN.SG person.GEN.PL coming-in.NOM.SG politics.LOC.SG after I. Kreituse.GEN.SG
domām, *ir* *traucējusi* *valsts* *attīstībai.*
thought.DAT.PL be.PRES.3 disturb.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG state.GEN.SG development.DAT.SG
'The fact that business people have entered into politics […] in I. Kreituse's opinion has hampered the development of the state.'
(*Diena*, 7 July 2003)

(146) … *man* *pašam* *vairāk* *interesē* *vēsture …*
1sg.DAT self.MASC.DAT.SG more interest.PRES.3 history.NOM.SG
'… I myself am more interested in history …'
(MD 10, 1, 0:52)

(147) *Visvairāk* *man* *saista* *basketbols,* *laikam* *jau* *tāpēc,*[80] *ka*
most 1sg.DAT attract.PRES.3 basketball.NOM.SG probably PART therefore that
es *spēlēju* *jau* *ilgus* *gadus.*
1sg.NOM play.PRES.3 already long.MASC.ACC.PL year.ACC.PL
'I'm most attracted to basketball, probably because I've played it for many years now.'
(http://home1.ef.lu.lv/Members/01v0504/dey.html, 5 November 2003)

(148) *Man* *šis* *cilvēks* *tiešam* *nav*
1sg.DAT DEM.MASC.NOM.SG person.NOM.SG really not-be.PRES.3
svarīgs *un* *mums* *saista* *tikai* *sekss* *un*
important.MASC.NOM.SG and 1pl.DAT connect.PRES.3 only sex.NOM.SG and
labas *draudzīgas* *attiecības, […].*
good.FEM.NOM.PL friendly.FEM.NOM.PL relation.NOM.PL
'This person is really not important to me, and the only things that bind us together are the sex and good, friendly relations, […].'
(http://journal.bad.lv/talkread.bml?journal=marla&itemid=4014, 15 October 2004)

[79] In (147) and (149) it is possible that *man* is a misspelling of the accusative *mani*. In the other examples the dative forms are unlikely to be due to misspellings.
[80] In the original text, *tāpēc* is misspelled *tāpāc*.

(149) *[…]* *man* *uztrauc* *apkārtējā* *vide,*
1sg.DAT worry.PRES.3 surrounding.FEM.NOM.SG.DEF environment.NOM.SG
kurā *es* *un* *citi* *makšķerē* *un* *atpūšas.*
which.LOC.SG 1sg.NOM and other.MASC.NOM.PL fish.PRES.3 and relax.PRES.3
'I'm worried about the environment in which I and others go fishing and relax.'
(http://www.zive.lv/site/index.php/forum/messagelist/80/parent/60, 5 November 2003)

The results of searches on http://www.google.lv performed on two occasions, 6 November 2003 and 21 October 2004, are presented in table 3.1. They show a variational pattern similar to the one observed in the spoken corpus with the verbs *interesēt* and *traucēt*. The searches detected variation also with *saistīt* and *uztraukt*.[81]

Table 3.1. Search results on http://www.google.lv on 6 November 2003 and 21 October 2004 for sequences where accusative and dative complements in the first person singular and plural immediately precede the verbs *saistīt*, *uztraukt*, *interesēt* and *traucēt* in the third person present tense.[82]

		saista		*uztrauc*		*interesē*		*traucē*	
		2003	*2004*	*2003*	*2004*	*2003*	*2004*	*2003*	*2004*
1sg	ACC (*mani* …)	88	151	114	298	386	909	14	22
	DAT (*man* …)	3	6	4	8	59	85	38	78
1pl	ACC (*mūs* …)	46	64	21	56	174	531	5	6
	DAT (*mums* …)	2	6	0	0	11	25	28	39

The table shows a clear dominance of the accusative with *saistīt* and *uztraukt*, a somewhat higher percentage of dative complements with *interesēt* and a dominance of the dative with *traucēt*. The figures for *traucēt* are very interesting, and might be linked to the fact that this is the only one among the four verbs where the dative is sanctioned (albeit marginally) by the official norm.

The reasons for the tendency to use the dative instead of the accusative required by the norms is probably for the most part semantically based. All the four verbs in question contain in their semantic profiles roles that are compatible with and central to the meaning

[81] It should be emphasised that these figures are only approximate. The search engine can at times include in its findings instances where the accusative or dative pronoun is not a complement of the verb. The results can also include copies of the same pages. A valuable aspect of using web pages as a source in this kind of study is the relatively large number of pages written in a colloquial style. The first person pronouns were selected because of their high frequency and tendency to occur immediately in front of the verb.
[82] While *saista* is an unambiguous third person form, *uztrauc*, *interesē* and *traucē* are also second person singular forms. The lion's share of the instances still represent the third person.

of the dative; the complement of *traucēt* is a malefactive, while those of *interesēt*, *saistīt* (in the meaning 'attract, fascinate')[83] and *uztraukt* (in the meanings where it can be used with the dative) are experiencers. Construals involving dative complements are thus very much compatible with all the verbs.

Another factor that should be given consideration is the possibility of speakers reanalysing the accusative of the first and second person pronouns, *mani* and *tevi*, as dative forms due to the phonetic reduction or loss of the final *-i*. Reduction of word-final vowels is a well-known trait of Latvian, and especially in casual and fast styles long vowels tend to be pronounced as short and short vowels tend to be reduced or dropped altogether. As the first and second person pronouns are frequently used with the verbs in question, one cannot rule out the possibility that a reanalysis of the accusative *mani* and *tevi* as dative *man* and *tev* here can have lead to the dative pattern spreading to other forms as well. Of special interest is the verb *interesēt*, due to its beginning in an *i-*. In all styles except for very careful speech, the sequence *mani interesē* is hardly distinguishable from *man interesē* (the same of course applies to other forms of the verb, e.g. the past tense third person form *interesēja* and the subjunctive *interesētu*). In my opinion, reanalysis of this kind is possibly a contributing factor in the use of the dative instead of the accusative with *interesēt* and the other verbs under consideration. Without the support of the semantics, however, the reanalysis could certainly not have taken place.

3.3.3 Is the variation a sign of change?

As this is a synchronic study of modern Latvian, I have not examined whether the variation between the dative and other forms is a recent phenomenon, or whether it has older roots. As was shown in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b, variation of this kind can persist for relatively long periods of time (at least several centuries) without one of the patterns definitely gaining the upper hand. Although the official norms as indicated in LLVV (mostly excluding the use of the dative in the environments discussed) would be expected to reflect a conservative language form, the norms of a standard language seldom reflect the whole spectre of variation found in the language at the point in time when the norms are established. A plausible hypothesis that remains to be tested is that the dative is expanding, increasingly being used instead of other forms to mark NPs with semantic roles central to the meaning of

[83] The use of the dative with *saistīt* also in the meaning 'connect', as in (148), is more difficult to explain. It could be that the use of the dative here has spread from the other meanings of the verb.

the dative, especially the experiencer role. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that the verb *imponēt* 'impress', which today is used with a dative experiencer, can be found with the accusative in writings dating from the beginning of the 20th century. As with *interesēt*, also here the initial *i-* can have been a factor contributing to the change in case pattern. (150) is from a letter written by the poet and activist Rainis in 1908, while (151) is from the mammoth novel *Rīga*, written by Augusts Deglavs and published in two parts in 1912 and 1921. Interestingly, further down in the same chapter Deglavs uses the dative with *imponēt*.

(150) *Te* *tad* *beigās* *iepazinos […]* *arī* *ar* *anarķismu*
here then end.LOC.PL acquaint-oneself.PAST.1SG also with anarchism.ACC.SG
(Kropotkins, *vairāk* *<u>mani</u>* *imponēja* *Stirners).*
Kropotkin.NOM.SG more 1sg.ACC impress.PAST.3 Stirner.NOM.SG
'Here I finally also acquainted myself […] with anarchism (Kropotkin, [but] I was more impressed by Stirner).'
(Rainis 1985:88, also http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/Rainis/Vestules/1908.htm, 6 November 2003)

(151) *Viņa* *neimponēja* *pat* *<u>Kārli</u>, […].*
3.FEM.NOM.SG not-impress.PAST.3 even Kārlis.ACC.SG
'She didn't even impress Kārlis, […].'
(http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/ADegl/ADc0106.htm)

In order to confirm or refute the hypothesis that the dative is expanding on the behalf of the nominative and the accusative, a detailed study of diachronic data would be required. In any case, the expansion of the dative would seem to be fairly limited, affecting the verbs mentioned here and possibly a few others.

3.4 Conclusions – the Latvian dative in a cognitive perspective

The picture of the Latvian dative drawn up in section 3.2 shows a complex category with many different meanings that nevertheless to a large extent were shown to be interrelated. Very important to the understanding of the semantics of the dative is the concept of target person, which is schematic to most of the submeanings of the case. Among the submeanings instantiating the target person role, the experiencer role in my opinion is the most likely candidate for the position as prototypical meaning; not only is this a very frequent meaning found in a large number of different constructions, but its features are also to some degree shared by many of the other roles (possessor, benefactive/recipient, malefactive/anti-

recipient). In section 3.3 I also pointed to the possible tendency for experiencers marked with other cases to be marked with the dative instead.

A characteristic feature of the Latvian dative – and a feature that to some extent distinguishes it from its close relative, the Lithuanian dative – is the frequent application of semantic extensions from animate target persons to inanimate targets. Still, the semantic contents of the dative when marking inanimate targets clearly shows that the direction of the extension is from animate to inanimate, not the other way around. Frequency counts also confirm that the typical dative NP is still an animate being – for instance, out of 314 dative NPs that occurred during an hour long group conversation between three young women in the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian, 222 were animate, and among these again 161 were personal pronouns. Among the 92 inanimate dative NPs, 43 were prepositional complements in the plural.

In section 3.2.11 I discussed the possible existence of a superschema covering not only the meanings subsumed under target person and inanimate target, but also the allative meaning found in prepositional constructions with the dative. It was concluded that such a superschema may well exist in the minds of at least some speakers. This would indicate that in spite of the functional heterogeneity displayed by the dative, the bulk of its uses share a common schematic meaning. Some functions still represent challenges to an analysis based on Cognitive Grammar's symbolic thesis: In the case of the absolute dative construction, the dative was originally semantically motivated, but later became conventionalised and integrated in the construction. Other functions – e.g. the dative-marking of all plural prepositional complements and the instrumental functions – arose as a result of phonological and morphological changes, which were probably not semantically motivated. Nevertheless I believe that this account of the Latvian dative shows that it is possible to view this case as essentially meaningful, with a number of distinct, but related senses. Compared to the traditional accounts, the Cognitive Grammar account is both more consistent and intuitive, and it could prove valuable e.g. to foreigners learning Latvian.

4. The genitive

4.1 Functions and traditional treatment

This section will present the functions of the Latvian genitive in the traditional way, which tends to rank distributional criteria above semantic criteria. As in section 3.1 on the functions of the dative, the classification here broadly follows the lines of Mathiassen (1997), relying on a division of the functions into *adverbal* and *adnominal* ones according to whether the genitive is governed by verbs or nominals.[84] As mentioned in section 3.1, the notion of government is notoriously difficult to define. Another important criterion in the traditional classification is the distinction between *partitive* and *non-partitive* functions. This criterion – which I regard as more relevant than the purely distributional criteria – is central to the presentations both in Mathiassen (1997:166–173) and Endzelīns (1951:554–568) and is also applied to some extent in MLLVG (I:390–396).

Most of what was said in section 3.1 about the traditional presentations of the Latvian dative applies to the genitive as well. Endzelīns 1951 is firmly placed in the Neogrammarian tradition and has a clear diachronic orientation. This is seen e.g. in the paragraphs dedicated to those functions of the genitive that supposedly continue the original (Indo-European) ablative case (Endzelīns 1951:566–567). The diachronic orientation is also evident in Endzelīns's heavy reliance on examples from Latvian folk songs, which contain many conservative traits that are absent from the modern language.

The material in the second volume of MLLVG, which is devoted to syntax, is organised according to the parts of speech occurring in different types of phrases and sentences. A consequence of this is that the treatment of the various functions of the genitive is spread out across many different sections. An overview of the functions is, however, presented in the volume on phonetics and morphology (MLLVG I:390–396).

Mathiassen 1997, although much less voluminous than the two older grammars mentioned, contains a relatively detailed section on the use of the different cases in the modern

---

[84] The only candidate for an *adverbial* genitive in modern Latvian is found in time expressions with the word *ik* 'every'. This function will be discussed in section 4.1.6.

standard language. A trait common to all three grammars is that the prepositional uses of the genitive (and other cases) are treated separately from the other functions.

In addition to the mentioned grammars, I will in the following presentation at times also refer to my own work, primarily Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b, especially where variation between the genitive and other forms is concerned.

4.1.1 Adverbal partitive functions

Mathiassen (1997:165) defines the *adverbal* functions of a case as those functions where the case is governed by a verb. Given this definition, one could expect the adverbal genitive to include only functions where the genitive *must* be used to mark verbal complements in order for the sentence to be grammatical. This would exclude cases where the genitive *can* be used with verbs to convey a certain meaning, but where its use is not mandatory. In practice, however, the term *adverbal* is used for all functions where the genitive marks a subject or object, regardless of whether it is obligatory or not.

The *partitive* genitive is defined by Mathiassen (1997:166) as expressing 'a part of a certain quantity'. Mathiassen's definition is probably coined with the adnominal partitive function in mind, as seen in an example such as *glāze ūdens* 'a glass of water', but here and elsewhere it is clearly the phrasal head, not the genitive, that expresses a part of the total quantity. The genitive *ūdens* is the whole of which the nominative *glāze* picks out a subset. A more appropriate definition of the partitive genitive is that it simply expresses *a whole*. In the adnominal partitive function, another word – typically a noun or a quantifier – picks out a part of this whole. The adverbal partitive genitive also expresses a whole, but here with the specification that only a part of this whole participates in, or is affected by, the process denoted by the verb.[85] In grammars of Latvian, the partitive adverbal function is generally not taken to include the genitive encountered with negated verbs. Consequently, in this part of the discussion, the genitive used in connection with negated verbs will be treated under the heading 'adverbal non-partitive functions' in section 4.1.2. In my own network analysis of the genitive I will, however, argue that the genitive used with negated verbs can be seen as expressing a whole of which an empty set is participating in a process. By this analysis,

[85] In Lithuanian grammars, the adverbal partitive genitive can also be referred to as 'the genitive of unspecified quantity' (*neapibrėžto kiekio kilmininkas*), while the adnominal partitive genitive is called 'the genitive of the contents of a quantity' (*kiekybės turinio kilmininkas*) (Šukys 1998:97, 100). While these terms are undoubtedly very precise, I would prefer to retain the term *partitive*, thereby emphasising the commonalities of the two functions.

the genitive with negated verbs represents a borderline instance of the partitive genitive (cf. section 4.2.6).

4.1.1.1 PARTITIVE SUBJECT

The grammatical relation *subject*, although fundamental to many approaches to grammar, is surprisingly hard to define. In Latvian, a definition containing necessary and sufficient criteria for subjecthood is probably not tenable; the facts of the language rather point towards the existence of a continuum where some syntactic entities are more subject-like than others (for a discussion of this continuum and of different subject-like properties, cf. Berg-Olsen 2001). For the purposes of this presentation, I will use the term *subject* for any NP that can be substituted with its nominative-marked counterpart without rendering the sentence ungrammatical (although a change in case-marking practically always also results in a change of meaning). The following example contains a partitive genitive subject conveying a meaning of indefinite quantity. Here, as in most examples of this function, the verb is existential.

(152) … *man* *lekcijas* *pus …* *pustrijos* *sākas,* *tā* *ka …*
1sg.DAT lecture.NOM.PL half half-three.LOC.PL start.PRES.3 so that
laika *man* *ir!*
time.GEN.SG 1sg.DAT be.PRES.3
'… my lectures start at half… half past two, so … I have some time!'
(MD 2, 21, 1:15)

Partitive genitive subjects are not very frequent in modern Latvian, and are not mentioned by Mathiassen (1997). An indication that they may have been more common earlier is the remark made by Mühlenbachs in 1907 that 'The genitive is often used in affirmative sentences instead of the nominative, especially with the verb "be" […].' (Endzelins and Mühlenbachs 1907:172, my translation). Endzelīns (1951:556) also mentions this function and provides several examples. In MLLVG, partitive genitive subjects are discussed in connection with the adnominal partitive genitive and analysed as a kind of elliptical construction where a quantifier, motivating the genitive, is left out. It is also noted that genitive subjects with existential verbs are often used to convey a notion of *large quantity* (MLLVG II:216). Although partitive genitive subjects of this type are encountered in the modern language, there is a clear tendency towards avoiding the marking of indefiniteness through subject case.

4.1.1.2 PARTITIVE OBJECT

The possibility of marking objects with the genitive instead of the accusative to convey that a non-specified part of the object is affected by the action, is mentioned by all the main grammars of Latvian (Endzelīns 1951:556–557, MLLVG II:283, Mathiassen 1997:172, Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:16). Mathiassen lists pairs where the opposition definite/indefinite is expressed solely by the object case, e.g. *(no)pirkt piena* 'buy (some) milk' with the genitive versus *(no)pirkt pienu* 'buy (all) the milk' with the accusative. However, in the modern standard language the opposition definite/indefinite is no longer marked by object case. The accusative, which is the default object case, can be used irrespective of the definiteness of the object. If the speaker wants to specify that the object is indefinite or definite, he can do so by adding an indefinite or definite pronoun to the NP. The neutralisation of the opposition definite/indefinite marked by object case is of course parallel to the one affecting partitive genitive subjects.[86]

4.1.2 Adverbal non-partitive functions

In modern Latvian, the adverbal use of the genitive is restricted to a limited number of functions, and in practically all the non-partitive functions other forms – whether non-prepositional cases or prepositional phrases – compete with the genitive. Although it seems plausible to assume that the genitive earlier had a stronger position in the adverbal functions, the available diachronic evidence is not unequivocal. The fact that variation between the genitive and other forms is found already in texts dating from the 17th and 18th centuries at any rate indicates that this is a very slow change (cf. Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b). Note that the functions with a negation, which here are treated under their traditional label 'non-partitive', will be viewed as semantically akin to the traditional partitive functions in the network analysis to follow in section 4.2.

4.1.2.1 SUBJECT OF THE EXISTENTIAL VERB *BŪT* WHEN NEGATED

While the subject of the verb *būt* 'be' is always in the nominative when the verb is not negated, the genitive is used when the verb is negated and the existence of the subject is included in the scope of the negation. This is seen in the following examples. In (154), an example of

[86] In the Latgalian dialects of Eastern Latvia, however, the opposition seems to be alive. Thus one may say *aizēst sīra* 'eat some cheese, take a bite of cheese' with the genitive, but *ēst sīru* 'eat (the) cheese' with the accusative (Lidija Leikuma, personal communication, cf. also Strods 1990:13 and Bukšs and Placinskis 1973:297).

the possessive construction, *būt* is used in the compound perfect tense, where the participle would normally agree with the subject. As the subject here is genitive-marked because of the negation, the participle appears in the default masculine singular form.

(153) … *tur* *gan* *Sibirijā* *nebij* *neviena* *ozola, […].*
there PART Siberia.LOC.SG not-be.PAST.3 not-one.MASC.GEN.SG oak.GEN.SG
'… over there in Siberia there wasn't a single oak tree, though, […].'
(MD 10, 11, 4:31)

(154) … *man* *nav* *bijis* *laika* *apstāties* *un*
1sg.DAT not-be.PRES.3 be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG time.GEN.SG stop.INF and
padomāt …
think.INF
'… I haven't had the time to stop and think …'
(MD 5, 17, 4:28)

If the verb *būt* is negated, but the scope of the negation does not include the existence of the subject, the subject is always in the nominative. This is seen in (155) and (156). In both of these examples, *būt* is used as a copula, thus the negation applies to the relationship between the subject and the predicate, and not to the existence of the subject.

(155) *Tas* *taču* *nav* *mans* *kaķis.*
DEM.MASC.NOM.SG PART not-be.PRES.3 my.MASC.NOM.SG cat.NOM.SG
'It's not my cat, after all.'
(http://www.e-cat.lv/sviests/dobele.html, 2 december 2003)

(156) *Iedzīvotāju* *pirktspēja* *nav* *liela, […].*
inhabitant.GEN.PL purchasing-power.NOM.SG not-be.PRES.3 big.FEM.NOM.SG
'The inhabitants' purchasing power is not high, […].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv/020404/02.htm, 2 December 2003)

Lagzdiņa (1997b) presents a detailed analysis of the different constructions with negated *būt* and concludes that the genitive is the only possibility when the existence of the subject is negated. This is in accordance with the norms of the standard language. MLLVG (II:206), however, in small type mentions that in colloquial language the nominative is encountered also in situations of this kind. MLLVG ascribes this to interference from dialects, and it is true that the nominative is widespread in the Livonian dialect area (Gāters 1977:161). In any case, data from both spoken and written language presented in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b indicate that the nominative today is used frequently also outside this area (cf. also Lauze 2001:88).

4.1.2.2 OBJECT OF NEGATED VERBS

All grammars of Latvian mention the possibility of marking the objects of negated transitive verbs with the genitive. In MLLVG (II:285) it is noted that the genitive traditionally is preferred in eastern dialects and the accusative in western dialects, and that the two historically have alternated as dominating forms in the standard language. Ceplīte and Ceplītis (1991:16) remark that there nowadays is a strong tendency to use the accusative (i.e. the default object case) rather than the genitive. Evidence presented in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b shows that the use of the genitive is restricted to contexts where the negation is emphasised in some way (e.g. when both the verb and the object is negated, as in [157]) and to idiomatic expressions such as the one seen in (158). This is confirmed by the data from my survey of spoken Latvian performed in 2001–2002.

(157) … *es* *nezināju* *itin* *nekā* *par* *krievu* *valodu, …*
1sg.NOM not-know.PAST.1SG PART nothing.GEN about Russian.GEN.PL language.ACC.SG
'… I didn't know anything at all about Russian, …'
(MD 2, 1, 2:10)

(158) *[…]* *patiesībā* *šis* *uzņēmējs* *ne* *velna*
reality.LOC.SG DEM.MASC.NOM.SG entrepreneur.NOM.SG not devil.GEN.SG
nesaprot *no* *biznesa, […].*
not-understand.PRES.3 of business.GEN.SG
'[…] actually, this entrepreneur doesn't understand a thing about business, […].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200006/000619/7.htm, 2 December 2003)

Also objects of non-negated infinitives can be genitive-marked if they are dependent on a negated finite verb. As remarked in MLLVG (II:287), this mainly occurs when the negated verb is a modal verb, as in (159).

(159) *Ja* *tiesa* *tā* *ir* *izlēmusi,* *tad* *tur* *nekā*
if court.NOM.SG thus be.PRES.3 decide.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG then there nothing.GEN
nevar *grozīt, […].*
not-can.PRES.3 change.INF
'If the court has decided thus, you cannot change anything, […].'
(http://home.parks.lv/leonards/latvietis/25_novembris/lapa5.htm, 2 December 2003)

In this last function the accusative very much seems to be the dominating form – in the material collected in connection with Berg-Olsen 1999 and this dissertation, not a single occurrence with the genitive was registered. Recent examples such as (159) still show that the genitive is not obsolete, but does occur at times in contexts where the negation is

emphasised. It seems to be especially frequent in the expression *(tur) nekā nevar darīt* 'there is nothing you can do about it'.

4.1.2.3 Object regardless of the polarity of the verb

A limited number of verbs can be used with genitive objects regardless of whether the verb is negated or not. This group includes both personal and impersonal verbs, and can be divided into two or three subgroups based on the semantics of the verbs. Common to all of them is the fact that other forms can be used instead of the genitive. The subgroups are:

a) Verbs expressing *striving towards something*; this subgroup includes *alkt* 'long, crave', *ilgoties* 'long, yearn', *kārot* 'desire', *gribēt* 'want', *prasīt* 'ask, demand' and others. (160) is an example with *alkt*.

(160) *Zigita* *alkst* *romantiskas* *mīlestības, […].*
Zigita.NOM.SG long.PRES.3 romantic.FEM.GEN.SG love.GEN.SG
'Zigita longs for romantic love […].'
(http://www.latvijasavize.lv/index.php?la=5800, 8 December 2003)

With some of these verbs, the genitive has been all but replaced by other forms. Thus, *gribēt* and *prasīt* are both used exclusively with the accusative in the modern standard language, and *kārot* is used with the accusative or with prepositional phrases with *pēc* 'after' (used with the genitive). With two verbs, *alkt* and *ilgoties*, genitive objects are still found, but prepositional phrases with *pēc* are clearly more frequent.[87]

b) Verbs expressing *avoiding something*; this includes *baidīties* 'be afraid', *kaunēties* 'be ashamed', *vairīties* 'avoid' – which is exemplified in (161) – and others.

(161) *Bet* *pēdējā* *laikā* *tu* *manis* *vairies.*
but last.LOC.SG time.LOC.SG 2sg.NOM 1sg.GEN avoid.PRES.2SG
'But lately you have been avoiding me.'
(http://journal.bad.lv/users/hekate/, 8 December 2003)

With these verbs, the genitive is competing with prepositional phrases with *no* 'from, of' (used with the genitive). The prepositional phrases are more frequent than the non-prepositional genitive.

---

[87] For an example of *ilgoties* with a prepositional phrase with *pēc* as a complement see (162).

c) The last group is more heterogeneous, and includes *(pie)trūkt* 'lack', *pietikt* 'suffice, be sufficient' and *vajadzēt* 'need, require'. What these verbs have in common, is that they cannot be used with nominative subjects, i.e. they are impersonal.[88] The semantics of *(pie)trūkt* and *pietikt* includes a quantitative element, and the genitive used with these verbs can plausibly be argued to be of a partitive nature.[89] (162) is an example with *trūkt*.

(162) … *jo* *vairāk* *tev* *kaut kā* *trūkst,* *jo* *vairāk* *tu*
PART more 2sg.DAT something.GEN lack.PRES.3 PART more 2sg.NOM
saproti, *cik* *ļoti* *tu* *pēc* *tā* *ilgojies.*
understand.PRES.2SG how very 2sg.NOM after DEM.MASC.GEN.SG long.PRES.2SG
'… the more you lack something, the better you understand how much you long for it.'
(MD 6, 5, 0:18)

While with *vajadzēt* the genitive for all practical intents has been replaced by the accusative,[90] the situation with *(pie)trūkt* and *pietikt* is different. Here the norms of the standard language still require the genitive (Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:16). Nevertheless, the construction where these verbs are used impersonally and with genitive objects is under pressure from a construction where the verbs are personal and the object has been reanalysed as a nominative subject. While the impersonal construction is still preferred in the written language as observed for example in newspapers, the personal construction is quite frequent in the colloquial language (cf. Berg-Olsen 1999:114, 133–135, 2000b:103–104).

4.1.3 Adnominal partitive functions

As has been shown in the preceding sections, the adverbal use of the Latvian genitive is nowadays restricted to a few functions, and the adverbal genitive is practically everywhere in a situation of competition with other forms. This is also to some extent the situation in the adnominal partitive functions, which will be discussed in the present section. Here a genitive expressing a whole is used with a noun or a quantifier expressing a part of this whole. A feature distinguishing the partitive adnominal genitive from its non-partitive counterpart is

---

[88] *Trūkt* is also found in the meaning 'break, snap', and is then always a personal verb.
[89] Mathiassen (1997:172) places *trūkt* and *pietikt* under the heading 'Non-partitive', but mentions that '[w]ith these verbs a nuance of partitiveness is felt'. In Mathiassen 1996a the corresponding Lithuanian verbs *trūkti* 'lack' and *pakakti* 'suffice, be sufficient' are treated as taking a partitive genitive (Mathiassen 1996a:183).
[90] Freimane (1963:57) remarks that according to the norms of standard Latvian, the genitive and not the accusative should be used with *vajadzēt*. However, she admits that the accuative is frequently encountered. Today the accusative seemingly has completely ousted the genitive in the standard language and in the colloquial language of the Riga region.

the placement of the genitive *after* the noun or quantifier. In the non-partitive functions, the genitive is always preposed. Deviations from these positional requirements are sometimes found in the colloquial language.

4.1.3.1 WITH NOUNS

The partitive genitive is used with nouns denoting a quantity. This includes units of measure (*litrs* 'litre', *kilograms* 'kilogram' etc.) and nouns denoting containers and groups (*pudele* 'bottle', *paciņa* 'packet, pack', *grupa* 'group' etc.). The first type of noun is seen in (163) and the second in (164).

(163) *[…]* *cilvēkam* *dienā* *nepieciešami* *aptuveni* *divi*
person.DAT.SG day.LOC.SG necessary.MASC.NOM.PL approximately two.MASC.NOM
litri *šķidruma, […].*
litre.NOM.PL fluid.GEN.SG
'[…] a person needs approximately two litres of fluid a day, […].'
(http://www.vertikalex.lv/alpinisms/noderigi/udens.htm, 8 December 2003)

(164) … *vārdu* *sakot,* *iet …* *vesels* *bars*
word.ACC.SG say.GER walk.PRES.3 whole.MASC.NOM.SG bunch.NOM.SG
jauniešu, […].
young-person.GEN.PL
'… in a word, there goes … a whole bunch of young people, […].'
(MD 1, 11, 2:28)

The partitive genitive seen here remains quite stable, but with nouns denoting containers, the genitive may sometimes be replaced by a prepositional phrase with *ar* (used with the accusative).

4.1.3.2 WITH QUANTIFIERS

A partitive genitive is under certain circumstances used with *indeclinable* quantifiers.[91] This group includes both numerals (*desmit* 'ten', *simt* 'hundred', *pusotra* 'one and a half (masc.)' etc.) and indefinite quantifiers (*maz* 'little, few', *daudz* 'much, many', *cik* 'how much, how many' etc.). In (165) and (166) the genitive is used with a numeral and an indefinite quantifier respectively.

[91] *Declinable* quantifiers, e.g. numerals such as *divi* 'two' and *pieci* 'five' and indefinite quantifiers such as *daudzi* 'many', syntactically behave as adjectives and agree with their head noun.

(165) *Man* *ir* *deviņpadsmit* *gadu*.
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 nineteen year.GEN.PL
'I am nineteen years old.'
(MD 6, 3, 0:23)

(166) … *tur* *vajag* *daudz* *naudas*, *lai* *varētu* *nopirkt* …
there need.PRES.3 much money.GEN.SG in-order-to can.SUBJ buy.INF
jaunu *[dzīvokli] […]*.
new.ACC.SG flat.ACC.SG
'… a lot of money is necessary in order to be able to buy … a new [flat] […].'
(MD 8, 6, 4:27)

Importantly, the genitive can only be used with quantifiers when the phrase occupies a syntactic position where an ordinary noun would appear in the nominative, the accusative or the genitive. Thus in (165) the phrase *deviņpadsmit gadu* is a subject and occupies a nominative position,[92] while in (166) the phrase *daudz naudas* is the object of *vajadzēt*, thus occupying an accusative position (as mentioned in section 4.1.2.3, in modern Latvian *vajadzēt* takes an accusative object). If the phrase containing the quantifier appears in a position where an ordinary noun would be marked with another case, the quantifier behaves as an adjective – in other words it does not force genitive-marking on the quantified element, which instead appears in the case appropriate for the given position. This is seen in (167), where the phrase containing the quantifier *desmit* occupies a locative position.

(167) *Desmit* *dienās* *nobraucām* *5700* *kilometru*.
ten day.LOC.PL cover.PAST.1PL 5 700 kilometre.GEN.PL
'In ten days, we covered 5 700 kilometres.'
(http://www.agrarius.lv/autordarbi/shveice.html, 9 December 2003)

If the phrase containing the quantifier occurs after a preposition, either the genitive or the dative (the case normally used to mark plural complements of prepositions) is used.

Thus we see that two alternative patterns exist: Either the quantifier behaves as a noun and is used with a partitive genitive, or it behaves as an adjective with the quantified element as the phrasal head. According to MLLVG (I:489–495), both patterns are allowed with numerals – but not indefinite quantifiers – when the phrase occupies a nominative or accusative position. MLLVG further states that in accusative positions, the accusative is preferred with numerals. Data from colloquial spoken language, however, show that both

[92] As seen in section 4.1.1.1, subjects of the verb *būt* 'be' can under certain circumstances be genitive-marked. There are severe limitations on the use of partitive genitive subjects with *būt*, and the nominative position status of the phrase *deviņpadsmit gadu* in (165) is incontestable.

models are used with all quantifiers. The accusative is clearly preferred with both numerals and indefinite quantifiers in accusative positions. In nominative positions, the nominative dominates with numerals, while the genitive is slightly more frequent than the nominative with indefinite quantifiers (Berg-Olsen 1999:123–125, 2000b:97–99). Exactly the same tendencies were observed in the spoken material collected for this dissertation.

4.1.4 Partitive and non-partitive genitive with adjectives

MLLVG (II:100, 323) mentions six adjectives that are used with genitive complements: *cienīgs* 'worthy', *kārīgs* 'greedy', *kārs* 'greedy, *vērts* 'worth, worthy', *bagāts* 'rich' and *pilns* 'full'. Examples with *vērts* and *bagāts* are given in (168) and (169).

(168) … *viss* *tāds,* *liekas,* *it kā*
everything.MASC.NOM.SG such.MASC.NOM.SG seem.PRES.3 as-it-were
pierakstīšanas *vērts, […].*
writing-down.GEN.SG worth.MASC.NOM.SG
'… everything of that sort seems, as it were, worth writing down, […].'
(MD 6, 4, 3:40)

(169) *No* *XIII* *gadsimta* *Cieceres* *ezers* *bija* *apbrīnojami*
from 13th century.GEN.SG Ciecere.GEN.SG lake.NOM.SG be.PAST.3 marvellous.ADV
zivju *bagāts.*
fish.GEN.PL rich.MASC.NOM.SG
'From the 13th century onwards, the Ciecere lake was marvellously rich in fish.'
(http://www.zvejnieki2000.lv/lake.html?l=1, 9 december 2003)

An interesting question is to what extent one can divide the genitive used with adjectives into partitive and non-partitive functions. While MLLVG does not operate with a distinction of this kind,[93] Mathiassen (1997) classifies the genitive with *cienīgs*, *kārs* and *vērts* as non-partitive and that with *pilns* and *bagāts* as partitive. He argues that the genitive with *pilns* and *bagāts* is postposed, as is the partitive genitive with nouns and quantifiers. Although this may well be a tendency, it is not absolute, as witnessed by the fact that Ceplīte and Ceplītis (1991:15) give as examples both *sniega pilns* and *pilns sniega* 'full of snow'. Nor is the genitive classified as non-partitive by Mathiassen always preposed, as demonstrated by the example *Viņš ir cienīgs šīs uzslavas* 'He is worthy of this praise' in MLLVG (II:323). I myself have earlier argued that *bagāts* and *pilns* differ from the other adjectives in that the

[93] The fact that *bagāts* and *pilns* are divided from the other adjectives by a semicolon (MLLVG II:100) can perhaps be taken to indicate that they in some way should be viewed apart from the rest. No explicit remark is made to this extent, however.

genitive here – as opposed to with the other adjectives mentioned – is in a situation of competition with other forms (Berg-Olsen 1999:8, 2000b:99). This criterion is however also not absolute, as the adjective *vērts* 'worth, worthy' at least to some extent is also used with the accusative, cf. examples such as *(tas ir) to/tā vērts* '(it is) worth it', where both cases are possible.

In the end, only semantic criteria can decide whether a certain genitive function is partitive or not, and in my opinion there is little doubt that phrases containing *bagāts* or *pilns* and a genitive complement express a part-whole relationship. *Bagāts* singles out a large quantity of a whole, while *pilns* denotes a quantity that is viewed as filling something maximally – in a literal or metaphorical sense. As mentioned, with these two adjectives the genitive competes with other forms – both of them are also encountered with a non-prepositional instrumental (identical to the accusative in the singular and to the dative in the plural)[94] and with the preposition *ar* 'with' (used with the accusative). In (170), the first complement of *bagāts* is in the instrumental, while the second one is in the genitive.

(170) *Jauniem* *speciālistiem* *un* *jaunas* *aparatūras*
young.MASC.INSTR.PL expert.INSTR.PL and new.FEM.GEN.SG equipment.GEN.SG
bagāts *gads*
rich.MASC.NOM.SG year.NOM.SG
'A year rife with[95] young experts and new equipment'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199912/991228/05.htm, 10 december 2003)

4.1.5 Adnominal non-partitive functions

While in the adverbal and partitive functions the Latvian genitive is in a state of competition with other forms and is possibly losing ground, its strong position as the adnominal case *par excellence* remains uncontested. Using the genitive is the default way to combine nouns and NPs, and the genitive is encountered also in functions where even the closely related Lithuanian prefers to use denominal adjectives. Traditionally, the non-partitive adnominal genitive is divided into numerous semantically based subgroups. Although this method at first glance may seem both logical and instructive, in my opinion the traditional subgroups are epiphenomenal and can be derived from the semantics of the genitive morpheme in combination with the semantics of the word it attaches to. Here the traditional subgroups

[94] Recall from section 3.1.8 that the (original) non-prepositional instrumental with these adjectives is mainly used in the plural, making the instrumental status of these forms somewhat uncertain.
[95] Literally 'rich in'.

will be presented briefly, while my own analysis of the adnominal genitive will follow in section 4.2. To facilitate the reading of the examples, curly brackets are used to indicate the NPs containing the adnominal genitive function under discussion both in this section and in following discussions of the adnominal non-partitive genitive.

4.1.5.1 THE 'POSSESSIVE' GENITIVE

Although the most typical examples of this subgroup – and often the examples listed first in grammars – do involve a relationship of possession, the heading *possessive genitive* (Latvian *piederības ģenitīvs*) is also taken to include a multitude of uses that have little or nothing in common with possession in a strict sense of this word.[96] This is illustrated by the following examples, which could easily have been supplemented with others involving other types of relationships. In (171) there is a relationship of strict possession between the father and his house:

(171) *{Mana tēva māja} atrodas Daugavgrīvā, […].*
my.MASC.GEN.SG father.GEN.SG house.NOM.SG be-located.PRES.3 Daugavgrīva.LOC.SG
'My father's house is located in Daugavgrīva, […].'
(http://home.parks.lv/leonards/latvietis/17_julijs/lapa4.htm, 10 December 2003)

In (172) two relationships are expressed by adnominal genitives: firstly that of a ruler, Pericles, and the people he was a part of and partly ruled over (the ancient Greeks) and, secondly, that of two persons (Pericles and Aspasia) linked by marriage.

(172) *Aspazija – tā nav tikai {{{sengrieķu valdnieka} {Perikla}} sieva}, […].*
Aspasia.NOM.SG DEM.FEM.NOM.SG not-be.PRES.3 only ancient-Greek.GEN.PL ruler.GEN.SG Pericles.GEN.SG wife.NOM.SG
'Aspasia is not only the wife of the ancient Greek ruler Pericles, […].'
(http://www.rehab.lv/msbrc/aspazija.html, 10 December 2003)

(173) displays a relationship between a part (the branches) and the whole it belongs to (the tree).

[96] Cf. the discussion of (strict) possession in section 3.2.3.

(173) *Bet* *{koka* *pelēkie* *zari}* *skumji* *slējās*
but tree.GEN.SG grey.MASC.NOM.PL.DEF branch.NOM.PL sorrowful.ADV rise.PAST.3
pret *debesīm.*
towards sky.DAT.PL
'But the grey branches of the tree rose sorrowfully towards the sky.'
(http://journal.bad.lv/talkread.bml?journal=aizliegts_v&itemid=6612, 10 December 2003)

In (174) the genitive is used to express the relationship between two languages and the peoples speaking them (the Chinese and the Tibetans). Further, we here see the NP *valsts valoda* 'official language', where the genitive *valsts* 'state' is used to qualify its head noun *valoda* 'language'. Finally, (174) includes an example of the construction 'NP.GEN *vietā*' ('in NP's place, instead of NP'), which would also in the traditional system be grouped under the possessive genitive.

(174) *{Ķīniešu* *valoda}* *ir* *kļuvusi* *par*
Chinese.GEN.PL language.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 become.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG for
{valsts *valodu}* *{{tibetiešu* *valodas}* *vietā}.*
state.GEN.SG language.ACC.SG Tibetan.GEN.PL language.GEN.SG place.LOC.SG
'Chinese has become the official language instead of Tibetan.'
(http://www.tibet.org/Languages/Latvian/, 10 December 2003)

4.1.5.2 THE GENITIVE OF MATERIAL

In this function, the genitive denotes the material that the phrasal head is made of, whether in a literal (175) or a metaphorical (176) sense.

(175) *Rīga* *nevar* *lepoties* *ar* *daudzām* *ļoti* *vecām*
Riga.NOM.SG not-can.PRES.3 boast.INF with many.FEM.DAT.PL very old.FEM.DAT.PL
{koka *ēkām}, […].*
wood.GEN .SG building.DAT.PL
'Riga cannot boast of [having] a lot of very old wooden buildings, […].'
(http://www.ceroi.net/reports/riga/latviski/kultura/all_state.htm, 11 December 2003)

(176) *Esmu* *{zelta* *zivtiņa},* *man* *jāizpilda* *tavas*
be.PRES.1SG gold.GEN.SG fish.DIM.NOM.SG 1sg.DAT fulfil.DEB your.FEM.NOM.PL
vēlēšanās.
wish.NOM.PL
'I am a golden fish, I must fulfil your wishes.'
(http://bildes.oho.lv/default.php?grupaid=52&bildeid=16, 11 december 2003)

4.1.5.3 THE DEFINING GENITIVE

The defining genitive is used in order to identify something or someone as a member of a category. The thing or person to be characterised appears in the genitive, while the category

is the phrasal head. This is seen in (177) and (178). Another example, *Cieceres ezers* 'the Ciecere lake' was seen in (169).

(177) *{Gaujas upe} ir tuvu pilsētas rietumu robežai, […].*
Gauja.GEN.SG river.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 close.ADV town.GEN.SG west.GEN.PL border.DAT.SG
'The river Gauja is close to the western border of the town, […].'
(http://www.cesis.lv/index.php?cat=33&raksts=333, 11 December 2003)

(178) *{Vīrieša cilvēks}, bet parastu ugunskuru sakurt nemāki!*
man.GEN.SG person.NOM.SG but ordinary.ACC.SG fire.ACC.SG light.INF not-can.PRES.2SG
'You're a man, but you can't even light an ordinary fire!'
(http://zhanette.times.lv/dienasgramata-2.htm, 11 December 2003)

The defining genitive often serves to give additional information about something or clarify which entity of several possible ones the speaker has in mind. For instance, *Ogre* is the name both of a river and a town, but it can be disambiguated by putting it in the genitive and adding *upe* 'river' or *pilsēta* 'town'. It is also used in some fixed expressions, for example with *kungs* 'Mr.' and *kundze* 'Mrs.', as in *Bērziņa kungs* 'Mr. Bērziņš' or *prezidentes kundze* 'Mrs. President'.[97]

4.1.5.4 THE DESCRIPTIVE GENITIVE

While the defining genitive points out a specific instance of a general category expressed by the phrasal head, the descriptive genitive is used to characterise the phrasal head in some way. In this function, the genitive-marked noun expresses a quality of the phrasal head and describes it in terms of this quality. The genitive-marked noun itself is usually, but not always, qualified by an adjective or ordinal numeral. This is the case in (179), but not in (180).

(179) *[…] {otrās šķiras preces} te nepārdod.*
second.FEM.GEN.SG sort.GEN.SG article.ACC.PL here not-sell.PRES.3
'[…] second-rate goods are not sold here.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200112/011205/02.htm, 11 December 2003)

[97] Interestingly, Strelēvica (2003) mentions certain attempts on the part of self-appointed linguistic normalisers to replace the defining genitive with other constructions on the basis of the misconception that the (adnominal) genitive always expresses possession. According to this view, a phrase like *Bērziņa kungs* can only denote Bērziņš' lord or master, i.e. God, and should be replaced by *kungs Bērziņš*. Regardless of such attempts, the defining genitive remains very much alive in modern Latvian.

(180) *Esmu* *{pienākuma* *cilvēks},* *redzēju,* *ka* *jādara* *tas,*
be.PRES.1SG duty.GEN.SG person.NOM.SG see.PAST.3 that do.DEB DEM.MASC.NOM.SG
kas *nepieciešams.*
what.NOM necessary.MASC.NOM.SG
'I am a person of duty, I saw that what was necessary had to be done.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200010/001028/06.htm, 11 December 2003)

4.1.5.5 THE SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE GENITIVE

Common to these two functions is the fact that they occur in phrases that share some of the traits of sentences, and the genitive-marked phrase corresponds to one of the actants in the sentence – either the subject or the object. The phrasal head is always a deverbal noun. The subjective genitive is seen in (181) and the objective genitive in (182).

(181) *{Šī* *dzīvnieka* *ierašanās}* *tika* *gaidīta*
DEM.MASC.GEN.SG animal.GEN.SG arrival.NOM.SG AUX.PRES.3 wait.PAPP.FEM.NOM.SG
ar *lielu* *nepacietību […].*
with large.ACC.SG impatience.ACC.SG
'The arrival of this animal had been anticipated with much impatience […].'
(http://www.rigazoo.lv/?120&&4982, 11 December 2003)

(182) *Kam* *ir* *{kosmētikas* *noņēmējs}?!*
who.DAT be.PRES.3 make-up.GEN.SG remover.NOM.SG
'Who's got make-up remover?!'
(MD 1, 11, 1:40)

4.1.5.6 THE GENITIVE OF EMPHASIS

A genitive-marked adjective or noun can be used as an attribute of the same lexeme to achieve the effect of emphasising this word in some way. Although some phrases containing this genitive of emphasis are more or less fixed expressions, the construction can also be encountered in freer collocations. Still, the function is not very frequent. In (183) the emphasised word is a noun, while in (184) it is an adjective.

(183) *[…]* *zūd* *tādas* *{gadu* *gados}*
disappear.PRES.3 such.FEM.NOM.PL year.GEN.PL year.LOC.PL
iedibinātas *nerakstītas* *tradīcijas.*
establish.PAPP.FEM.NOM.PL unwritten.FEM.NOM.PL tradition.NOM.PL
'[…] such unwritten traditions, which have been established during many years, are disappearing.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199806/980615/08.htm, 11 December 2003)

(184) *Un atkal jāatgādina {<u>vecu</u> vecā patiesība}, ka*
and again remind.DEB old.GEN.PL old.FEM.NOM.SG.DEF truth.NOM.SG that
šajā dzīvē viss ir savstarpēji
DEM.LOC.SG life.LOC.SG everything.MASC.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 mutual.ADV
saistīts, […].
connect.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG
'And again one must remind [the reader] of the age-old truth that everything in this life is interconnected, […].'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200110/011026/06.htm, 30 November 2004)

4.1.5.7 THE AGENTIVE GENITIVE

In Latvian, the genitive is used to mark the agent (or agent-like argument) in NPs containing a passive participle functioning as an attribute to the head noun. This is seen in (185):

(185) *{<u>Ministrijas</u> rediģētais līguma projekta teksts}*
ministry.GEN.SG edit.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG.DEF treaty.GEN.SG draft.GEN.SG text.NOM.SG
pieejams ministrijas mājas lapā […].
available.MASC.NOM.SG ministry.GEN.SG home.GEN.SG page.LOC.SG
'The draft treaty text edited by the ministry is available on the ministry's home page […].'
(http://ngo.deac.lv/?news=628, 11 December 2003)

It is important to emphasise that the agentive genitive can only be used at the phrase level, not in passive sentences as such. In passive sentences, the modern language has no way of expressing agents. Because of this, the agentive genitive must be characterised as adnominal rather than adverbal. By contrast, the Lithuanian agentive genitive *is* used in passive sentences and must be classified as an adverbal function.[98]

4.1.6 The genitive in time expressions with *ik* 'every'

The small word *ik* 'every' is classified as a particle by the authoritative Latvian grammars (MLLVG I:784–785, Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:117) and dictionaries (LLVV III:445, LVV:291). Being a particle, *ik* does not function as a phrasal head and is generally not used with any specific case. Instead, it combines freely with any case compatible with the mea-

[98] At first sight, the possibility of using the agentive genitive (together with the participle) also in a predicative position is reminiscent of the expression of agents in passive sentences in other languages, cf. examples such as this one: *Iestājos «Auseklī», teic, tā esot {<u>strādnieku</u> dibināta}.* 'I joined the Auseklis society, they say it was founded by the workers.' (http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/ADegl/ADd0234.htm, 22 October 2004, also cited in Holvoet 1994:132). There are, however, severe limitations on this use of the agentive genitive, cf. Holvoet 1994.

ning the speaker wants to convey. Thus in (186), *ik* is used with a nominative subject and in (187) with an accusative of time.

(186) *Ik* *solis* *prasīja* *milzu* *pūles, […].*
every step.NOM.SG demand.PAST.3 enormous.GEN.PL effort.ACC.PL
'Every step has demanded an enormous effort, […].'
(http://www.orthodox.lv/lv/lv_history-2.html, 5 January 2004)

(187) *Ik* *mirkli* *automātiski* *tiek* *aprēķināta* *lata*
every instant.ACC.SG automatic.ADV AUX.PRES.3 calculate.PAPP.FEM.NOM.SG lat.GEN.SG
attiecība *pret* *katru* *valūtu.*
ratio.NOM.SG against every.ACC.SG currency.ACC.SG
'At every instant the ratio of the lat to every [other] currency is calculated automatically.'
(http://www.bank.lv/lat/main/pubrun/avrev/1997/1997-1/, 5 January 2004)

Endzelīns (1951:565–566) mentions that *ik* in time expressions of the type seen in (187) can also be used with the genitive, and he proposes that this may be a relict of an earlier genitive of time similar to the one found in Greek and Slavic. Also Mathiassen (1997:172–173) discusses the use of the genitive with *ik* in time expressions; he poses the question whether *ik* is a quantifier that can take a partitive genitive, in the same way as *cik* 'how much, how many' and *tik* 'that much, that many', with which it has clear etymological links. In the modern standard language, it is difficult to find examples of this kind with forms that must be analysed as genitives.[99] Endzelīns (1951:565–566) gives a few examples from the folklore, while the following example is cited in LLVV:

(188) *Bet* *tās* *skatienus* *viņš* *sajūt* *ik* *acumirkļa.*
but DEM.FEM.GEN.SG look.ACC.PL 3.MASC.NOM.SG feel.PRES.3 every instant.GEN.SG
'But he feels her eyes on him every instant.'
(Upīts 1960:139, cited in LLVV III:445)

Frequently, *ik* is used in time expressions with forms that because of formal homonymy can be either accusative or genitive. Thus in *ik dienas* 'every day', *ik reizes* 'every time' and *ik nedēļas* 'every week', *dienas*, *reizes* and *nedēļas* are either genitive singular or accusative plural, while in *ik gadu* 'every year', *ik nedēļu* 'every week' and *ik vakaru* 'every evening',

[99] Note that this is only true of time expressions. One can easily find examples with *ik* and genitive NPs where the NP has other functions, as in *Tad taisnā ceļā dodos sev pagatavot ik rīta kafiju […].* 'Then I go straight ahead to make me my regular morning coffee […].'
(http://meeting.oho.lv/meeting.php?cmd=raxts&raxtsid=42, 6 January 2004). Here the phrase containing *ik* and the genitive *rīta* 'morning' is adnominal.

gadu, *stundu* and *vakaru* are either genitive plural or accusative singular. Given the fact that the accusative is commonly used in time expressions while the genitive is not, the most logical solution would be to analyse these ambiguous forms as accusatives. The use of *ik* with the genitive in time expressions would then be limited to the instances with unambiguous genitives, as (188), which in the modern language are far between.

4.1.7 The genitive with the adverbs *žēl* 'sorry' and *bail* 'afraid'

According to Karulis (1992 II:578), the adverb *žēl* 'sorry' is a loan from Old Russian **žel´* (an unattested variant of *žal´*, cf. the attested noun *želja* 'complaint') that entered Latvian before the 13th century. The genitive is used with *žēl* to mark beings one feels sorry for, and also inanimate things that are the source of a feeling of regret or pity. Different meanings of the genitive NP with *žēl* are illustrated in (189)–(191).

(189) *Man* *ir* *ļoti* *žēl* *to* *dzīvnieku,* *pret* *kuriem*
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 very sorry DEM.GEN.PL animal.GEN.PL against who.MASC.DAT.PL
cilvēki *izturas* *cietsirdīgi.*
person.NOM.PL behave.PRES.3 cruel.ADV
'I feel very sorry for those animals against whom people behave cruelly.'
(http://www.sz.lv/sz/archive/view_articles.php?cid=1&aid=8812, 6 January 2004)

(190) *Visvairāk* *žēl* *zaudētā* *laika,* *ko* *varēju*
most sorry lose.PAPP.MASC.GEN.SG.DEF time.GEN.SG which.ACC can.PAST.1SG
veltīt *mākslas* *studijām.*
dedicate.INF art.GEN.SG study.DAT.PL
'I feel most sorry for the lost time that I could have dedicated to art studies.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199805/980527/07.htm, 6 january 2004)

(191) *Diemžēl* *arī* *šinī* *gadījumā* *jums* *ir* *žēl* *naudas* –
unfortunately also DEM.LOC.SG case.LOC.SG 2pl.DAT be.PRES.3 sorry money.GEN.SG
žēl *1200* *latu.*
sorry 1 200 lat.GEN.PL
'Unfortunately, also in this case you hesitate in spending some money – 1 200 lats.'
(http://www.saeima.lv/steno/2001/st_2606/st2606.html, 6 january 2004)

Sporadically, one also encounters the accusative used with *žēl*, cf. (192). This is not endorsed by the norms of the standard language, and can perhaps be ascribed to Russian influence. While in Old Russian *žal´* was used with the genitive in all contexts (Sreznevskij 1989:845), in modern Russian it is used with the accusative when the speaker expresses that he feels sorry for someone (i.e. chiefly with animate complements) and elsewhere with the genitive (Mathiassen 1996b:213–214).

(192) *No* *cilvēciskā* *viedokļa* *man* *ir* *žēl* *gan*
from human.MASC.GEN.SG.DEF point-of-view.GEN.SG 1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 sorry PART
ASV *jūras* *kājniekus,* *gan* *republikāņu* *gvardus,*
USA sea.GEN.SG infantryman.ACC.PL PART republican.GEN.PL guard.ACC.PL
kas *mirst* *šajā* *karā.*[100]
who.NOM die.PRES.3 DEM.LOC.SG war.LOC.SG
'From the human point of view, I feel sorry both for the US marines and the republican guards who are dying in this war.'
(http://www.tautaspartija.lv/index.php?&tid=467, 7 January 2004)

With the adverb *bail* 'afraid' the non-prepositional genitive can be used to mark the entity one is afraid of, although in the modern language the most frequent form to be used with this adverb is a prepositional phrase with *no* 'from, of' (used with the genitive). MLLVG (II:328) recognises the use of both forms. (193) is taken from Rainis's play *Pūt, vējiņi* ('Blow, little wind'), published in 1913, and thus cannot necessarily be considered representative of modern Latvian.

(193) *Uldi,* *man* *tā* *vēja* *bail: […].*
Uldis.VOC 1sg.DAT DEM.MASC.GEN.SG wind.GEN.SG afraid
'Uldis, I'm afraid of that wind: […].'
(Rainis 1980:440, also http://www.ailab.lv/Teksti/Senie/Rainis/Putvej/4cel.htm, 23 September 2004)

4.1.8 The genitive with adpositions and semi-adpositions

A large number of Latvian prepositions are used with genitive complements in the singular (as mentioned earlier, prepositional complements in the plural are always dative-marked). The genitive is also used with all postpositions (both in the singular and plural) and with several semi-adpositions. The group of prepositions used with the genitive in modern Latvian includes *aiz* 'behind', *bez* 'without', *kopš* 'since', *no* 'from, of', *pēc* 'after', *pie* 'at, by', *pirms* 'before', *priekš* 'before, for', *uz* 'on', *virs* 'over, above' and *zem* 'under', as well as a large number of compound prepositions ending in *-pus* (from *puse* 'side') – *augšpus* 'above', *ārpus* 'outside', *otrpus* 'on the other side of', *šaipus* 'on this side of' etc. MLLVG

[100] Two accusative NPs with *žēl* are encountered further on in the same text: *Man ir žēl tos – vecmātes nostātos dzirdētos – ievainotos vācu karavīrus, kurus 1944. gadā Latvijas ceļmalās nošāva padomju virsnieki. Man tāpat ir žēl tos krievus, kas nepaspēdami izlēkt no tankiem sadega Ērgļu tanku kaujās, tā paša gada 1944. gada augustā.* 'I feel sorry for those wounded German soldiers my grandmother told me about, who were shot by Soviet officers on Latvian roadsides in 1944. I also feel sorry for those Russians who didn't get out of their tanks in time and burned to death in the tank battle at Ērgļi in August of that same year.' (This passage contains two errors. In the first sentence, *nostātos* should read *nostāstos*, while at the end of the passage, the word *gada* 'year.GEN.SG' in front of *1944* should be deleted).

(I:724) also lists the prepositions *apakš* 'under', *iekš* 'in' and *iz* 'out of', which, although somewhat archaic, nevertheless can still be encountered.[101]

Latvian has two pure postpositions, *dēļ* 'because of, for the sake of' and *labad* 'for the sake of', both of which are used with the genitive. The preposition *pēc* can also be used as a postposition with more or less the same meaning as *dēļ* and *labad.* A feature distinguishing these postpositions from the prepositions is that their complements appear in the genitive also in the plural. This is true also for *pēc* when used as a postposition.

As was mentioned in section 3.1.7, certain semi-adpositions are used with the genitive (or possessive pronouns) in competition with the dative. This is the case with *aizmugurē* 'behind', *apakšā* 'below, at the bottom of', *priekšā* 'in front of' and *vidū* 'in the middle of'. Two other semi-adpositions, *iekšā* 'inside' and *starpā* 'between', are mostly used with the genitive, although examples with the dative can also be found. All these semi-adpositions are locative singular forms of spatial nouns – *aizmugure* 'rear', *apakša* 'bottom, lower part', *priekša* 'front', *vidus* 'middle part, centre', *iekša* 'inside' and *starpa* 'interval, space between something', hence the term 'noun-based adposition' used for these by Holvoet (1993). Although these words are probably in the process of developing into adpositions, when used with the genitive it seems quite unproblematic to view them as ordinary nouns combining with adnominal genitives. Speaking in favour of such a solution is the fact that the genitive is always preposed, as is the non-partitive adnominal genitive, while the dative can be either pre- or postposed.

4.2 A network analysis[102]

The presentation of the traditional classification of the functions of the Latvian genitive in the preceding section has shown that the functional scope of this case is very wide. The main aim of the present section is to show that there is semantic coherence between all the different uses of the genitive. It is my view that the semantics of the Latvian genitive can be accounted for by using two basic concepts – reference point and intrinsic relationship – which earlier have been shown to be relevant to phenomena in several other languages. I will show how the different meanings of the genitive are related to these schematic concepts

[101] Of these three prepositions, *iekš* currently seems to be experiencing something of a renaissance, especially in the colloquial language, where it is used with borrowed, indeclinable words instead of the locative case, which cannot be overtly marked in these words: *iekš baznīca.lv*, *iekš Windows 3.11*, *iekš kino* etc.

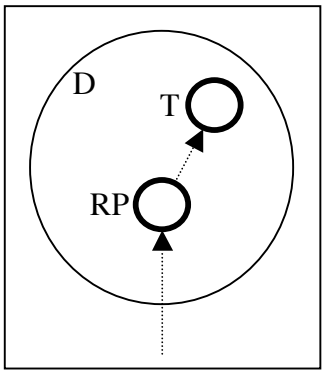
[102] I am greatly indebted to Hanne Martine Eckhoff for her contributions to the analysis of the genitive. Many aspects of the analysis have taken shape in our mutual discussions, for instance in connection with the work on our joint paper at the conference *Cognitive Linguistics East of Eden* in Turku September 2002.

and to each other, also discussing whether one can plausibly posit a super-schematic meaning that would cover all the functions of the genitive.

4.2.1 Reference points and intrinsic relationships

The concept of *reference point* is defined by Langacker as 'the ability to invoke the conception of one entity for purposes of establishing *mental contact* with another, i.e. to single it out for individual conscious awareness' (Langacker 2000:173, original emphasis). A reference-point situation may be illustrated as in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. A reference-point situation (based on Langacker 1991a:172 and 2000:174, Taylor 1996:136).



In this figure, the dotted arrows symbolise the mental path that the conceptualiser follows via a reference point (RP) to a TARGET (T).[103] The large circle represents the dominion (D), defined as the set of entities to which the reference point affords direct access. The heavy-line circles representing RP and T illustrate the fact that both of these entities are cognitively salient, the reference point by virtue of being the first entity to be in focus and the TARGET by virtue of being the ultimate conceptual goal. As the TARGET receives focus and becomes salient, the reference point consequently becomes less salient.

While Langacker's above-mentioned definition is coined especially for the purpose of analysing possessive constructions, the use of reference points is not restricted to constructions of this kind. In fact, we regularly make use of reference points to identify or help others to identify physical entities around us. Imagine that a stranger stops you on the street and asks you where the nearest bank is. If the bank is not visible from where you stand, you

[103] Note that *target* is used in a different sense here than in chapter 3. To avoid ambiguity, targets in reference-point constructions will be marked with small caps: TARGET.

will certainly explain where it is located by using one or more reference points – entities that are visible or easily identifiable. You might say something like 'walk straight ahead, turn right at that crossing over there, continue some fifty metres and you'll see a bank next to a big yellow building'. Here both the crossing (which is visible from where you stand) and the big yellow building (which is probably easy to identify) serve as reference points for the TARGET, in this case the bank. Needless to say, the use of reference points in order to concentrate somebody's focus on a certain entity is not restricted to entities in the physical world – in Taylor's words, '[w]e also use cognitive reference points to locate concepts in our conceptual world' (Taylor 1996:206). Overall, it seems uncontroversial to assume that reference points are fundamental to the way we humans perceive and talk about things in the world around us. Given this assumption, it is hardly surprising that reference-point phenomena are reflected in the grammars of such diverse languages as English, Chinese, Japanese and the Uto-Aztecan languages Papago and Luiseño. (For examples, cf. Langacker 2000:171–202 and Taylor 1996:205–210. As mentioned in chapter 2, Taylor argues that the English possessive morpheme *'s* expresses a schematic reference point.) As I will argue in the following sections, the notion of reference point is also crucial in order to understand how the Latvian genitive functions. Several types of reference-point constructions will be distinguished according to the properties of the reference point and of the TARGET.

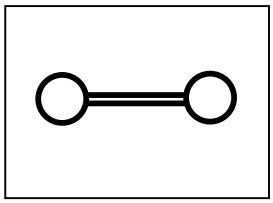
In line with the high degree of schematicity of the reference-point construction, this construction does not encode any specific relation between reference point and TARGET. There are, however, clear restrictions on which entities can function as reference points in a given context – not every entity is well suited to identify any other entity. Taylor (1996:210–221) points out that in English, reference points marked with the possessive morpheme *'s* tend to have a high *topicality*, either by having been introduced earlier on in the context or by their inherent properties (for instance, human beings are inherently more topical than inanimate entities). By contrast, the TARGET entity in the reference-point construction generally has low topicality. This is a logical consequence of the respective roles of the reference point and the TARGET – the reference point must be relatively easily accessible, and at least more accessible than the TARGET. If the TARGET were just as accessible or more accessible to the discourse partners than the reference point, there would be no need to use a reference point to identify it.

Another important constraint on reference points is that they must have high *cue validity* in relation to their TARGETS – in Taylor's words, the reference point 'needs to be

such that it can provide reliable cues for the identification of the target' (Taylor 1996:238). In the discussion of genitive reference points in Latvian, I will return to how the cue validity constraint is reflected in the choice of reference points.

Langacker (2000:73–90) argues that the English preposition *of* expresses a range of senses that can successfully be captured by the schematic concept of *intrinsic relationship*. This concept is closely linked to the notion of *conceptual autonomy*, and can be defined in the following way: If in order to conceptualise an entity X one necessarily has to refer to some other entity or entities, X is conceptually dependent, and there is an intrinsic relationship between X and the one or more entities that must be referred to when conceptualising X. Langacker illustrates the schematic value of an intrinsic relationship involving two participants in the following way:

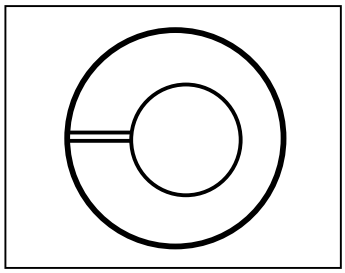
Figure 4.2. An intrinsic relationship between two entities (based on Langacker 2000:77).



This figure is indeed very schematic, consisting of two salient entities linked to one another by an intrinsic relationship, symbolised by the heavy double line, and located in a domain.

A prime example of an intrinsic relationship is the one between a whole and its parts. It is impossible to conceptualise a part without at the same time realising that it is *a part of something else* – this fact is inherent to the whole concept of a part. Langacker considers the intrinsic relationship between part and whole to be the prototypical sense of the English preposition *of*. This relationship can be illustrated as in figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. The intrinsic relationship between a part and a whole (based on Langacker 2000:77).



In Latvian, the genitive is often used to express one of the participants in intrinsic relationships, and as will be shown in section 4.2.6, the sense 'a whole as opposed to one or more of its parts' is quite central to the genitive case. As in the instance of English *of*, several other types of intrinsic relationships are also found in constructions with the genitive.

Importantly, reference-point situations and intrinsic relationships are not mutually exclusive, and in section 4.2.4 I will discuss examples with the genitive that involve both of these concepts at the same time.

4.2.2 Reference point at an instance level ($RP_{INSTANCE}$)

A very frequent use of reference points – marked with the genitive – is to single out a particular entity or set of entities. Good examples of this function are those involving a strictly possessive relationship. Phrases of this kind are often used as typical examples of the possessive genitive in traditional accounts. (194) was presented in section 4.1.5.1 as (171).

(194) (=171)

{Mana	*tēva*	*māja}*	*atrodas*	*Daugavgrīvā, […].*
my.MASC.GEN.SG	father.GEN.SG	house.NOM.SG	be-located.PRES.3	Daugavgrīva.LOC.SG

'My father's house is located in Daugavgrīva, […].'
(http://home.parks.lv/leonards/latvietis/17_julijs/lapa4.htm, 10 December 2003)

Here the house belongs (or belonged) in a strict, legal sense to the father of the person writing. The genitive-marked NP *mana tēva* 'my father's' functions as a reference point identifying the particular house in question, and the possessive relationship between the father and the house identifies the house to an extent that the writer assesses as satisfactory in the given context.[104]

Although examples involving strict possession, such as (194), probably are typical, nothing in the reference-point situation as such indicates that strictly possessive relationships between reference point and TARGET should be special in any way. As suggested by Taylor (1996:264), the privileged status of this type of relationship probably derives from the nature of strict possession. Strict possession is with few exceptions an exclusive relationship between a person and a physical object – for each physical object, there is usually only one possessor. Consequently, a person possessing an object is very well suited – in

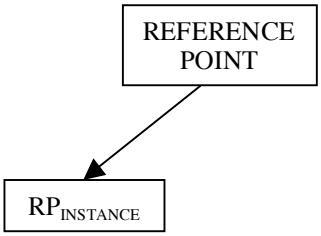
[104] It can further be argued that the possessive pronoun *mana* 'my.MASC.GEN.SG', which in this context is functionally equivalent to a genitive form, serves as a reference point to identify the father in question.

other words, has high cue validity – for the identification of that object. Reference points in strictly possessive constructions furthermore have high inherent topicality (Taylor 1996:219–221), a factor also contributing to making these constructions special.

Nevertheless, the relationship between reference point and TARGET can be of virtually any kind, as long as the reference point serves to identify the TARGET in the given context. Take an example such as *Jāņa cepure* 'Jānis's hat', where one particular hat is identified by the reference point *Jānis*. The default reading of this phrase is undoubtedly strictly possessive, but this is by no means the *only* possible reading. One can easily imagine other relationships between the reference point and the TARGET – Jānis could be the person who made the hat, he might have borrowed it, he might have designed it etc. The key point is that the relation between Jānis and the hat must be sufficient to identify this particular hat in the situation where the phrase is uttered.

The semantic role $RP_{INSTANCE}$ is an instantiation of the more schematic reference point role, as shown in figure 4.4. As in previous figures of this type, the solid arrow in this figure should be read as '(fully) schematic to'.

Figure 4.4. The relation between *reference point* and $RP_{INSTANCE}$.



4.2.2.1 $RP_{INSTANCE}$ IN PHRASES WITH A CONVENTIONALISED UNIT STATUS

A subtype of the $RP_{INSTANCE}$ function consists of reference points used in phrases that have a conventionalised unit status.[105] Take the phrase *ķīniešu valoda* 'the Chinese language', which appeared in example (174) in section 4.1.5.1. In this phrase, the reference point *ķīnieši* 'the Chinese' (appropriately marked with the genitive case) clearly serves to identify one particular language.[106] This fact confirms its status as an example of the $RP_{INSTANCE}$ func-

[105] This function of the Latvian genitive to some extent corresponds to the onomastic possessives in English (Taylor 1996:295–297), as seen in examples such as *Halley's comet* and *Parkinson's disease*. The Latvian genitive is however more frequent in this function than the English possessive morpheme, and this is reflected in the fact that none of the English translations of (195)–(198) contain the possessive morpheme *'s*.

[106] For purposes of simplicity, I choose to disregard the fact that the term *Chinese* or *ķīniešu valoda* actually covers a number of mutually unintelligible Sinitic languages. Moreover, I would suggest that a large number

tion. On the other hand, there is no requirement here that the reference point be topical – the use of the reference point *ķīnieši* in the phrase *ķīniešu valoda* would be felicitous even if the Chinese had not been mentioned earlier in the context.[107] This contrasts with the examples of the $RP_{INSTANCE}$ function discussed in the preceding section, where the high topicality of the reference point is essential for its usefulness in identifying the TARGET entity. (195)–(198) are other examples of reference points in phrases with a conventionalised unit status.

(195) *Rīgas* *Tehniskā* *universitāte*
Riga.GEN.SG technical.FEM.NOM.SG.DEF university.NOM.SG
'Riga Technical University'
(MD 9, 2, 4.43)

(196) *Brīvības* *piemineklis*
freedom.GEN.SG monument.NOM.SG
'The Freedom Monument'

(197) *Pitagora* *teorēma*
Pythagoras.GEN.SG theorem.NOM.SG
'the Pythagorean Theorem'
(http://rex.liis.lv/liis/prog/macmat.nsf/0/ba482bb20c26645bc2256c7900565e20?OpenDocument, 23 February 2004)

(198) *Lāčplēša* *diena*
Lāčplēsis.GEN.SG day.NOM.SG
'Lāčplēsis Day'[108]

A typical trait of this kind of phrase is that they function as names – of languages, places, specific objects, institutions etc. The phrase as a whole is perceived as a unit in itself, and this unit status is entrenched in the minds of the speakers through frequent usage. In some phrases with an especially high usage frequency, such as *latviešu valoda* 'the Latvian lan-

---

of people understand and use the term as if Chinese were indeed a single language (which of course is true if one only considers the written language).

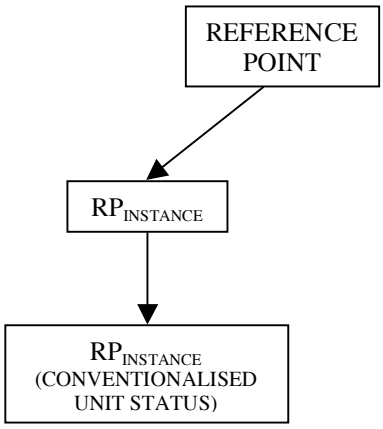
[107] However, felicitous use of the phrase *ķīniešu valoda* presupposes some elementary knowledge about the reference point, i.e. the fact that there exists a group of people conventionally referred to as the Chinese. In frequent constructions, some basic information about the reference point is provided by the construction itself. For instance, a speaker encountering the phrase *gudžaratu valoda* for the first time would certainly recognise it as an instantiation of the common and conventionalised construction 'N.GEN *valoda*', inferring that it refers to a language spoken by a group of people called *gudžarati* 'Gujaratis'. In many contexts, however, some additional information would have to be provided, due to the low usage frequency of this reference point and the corresponding low degree of conventionalisation of this particular phrase in Latvian.

[108] Lāčplēsis Day, 11 November, commemorates the Latvian army's victory over a force of Germans and pro-tsarist Russians and the liberation of the western part of Riga on this day in 1919. Lāčplēsis ('Bear-slayer') is the hero of an epic of the same name by the 19th century writer Andrejs Pumpurs.

guage', the status of the phrase as a conventionalised unit can be reflected in the phrase being pronounced as if it were one word, with one primary stress: /ˈlatvieʃuvaˌluoda/ or /ˈlatvieʃvaˌluoda/. It should be noted that this manner of pronunciation is certainly not mandatory, and is also dependent on style and rate of speech.

A trait that this subgroup shares with the next type of reference points to be discussed, RP_{TYPE}, is the tendency for the whole phrase to denote an entity belonging to a larger set.[109] Chinese and Latvian both belong to the set of the world's languages, Riga Technical University belongs to the set of higher educational institutions, the Pythagorean Theorem belongs to the set of mathematical theorems etc. Differentiating the two types is the fact that a phrase containing a reference point of the RP_{TYPE} kind denotes a subtype of a certain class of entities, while a conventionalised $RP_{INSTANCE}$ phrase denotes an instance belonging to a class of entities. Nevertheless, reference points in phrases with a conventionalised unit status may plausibly be regarded as a transitional category between $RP_{INSTANCE}$ and RP_{TYPE}. The fact that this kind of reference point is a more specific instantiation of $RP_{INSTANCE}$ is captured by the small network in figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 1.



4.2.3 Reference point at a type level (RP_{TYPE})

The next reference point instantiation is labelled 'reference point at a type level'. Unlike $RP_{INSTANCE}$, which serves to identify a single entity or set of entities, RP_{TYPE} serves to identify a category of entities. While the TARGET itself designates a certain type, the entire phrase

[109] Another feature shared by this subgroup and RP_{TYPE} is the high degree of conventionalisation.

designates a subclass of this type.[110] The phrases *sieviešu žurnāls* ‘women’s magazine’ in (199) and *vīna glāze* ‘wine glass’ in (200) serve as examples of this.

(199) *Viens* *no* *Francijas* *populārākajiem* *preses*
one.MASC.NOM.SG of France.GEN.SG popular.COMP.MASC.DAT.PL.DEF press.GEN.SG
izdevumiem – *{sieviešu* *žurnāls}* *«Elle» – […].*
publication.DAT.PL woman.GEN.PL magazine.NOM.SG Elle
‘One of France’s most popular publications – the women’s magazine *Elle* – […].’
(http://www.apollo.lv/portal/articles/7014, 25 February 2004)

(200) *[…]* *sēdēju* *klubā* *un* *dzēru* *alu* *no*
sit.PAST.1SG club.LOC.SG and drink.PAST.1SG beer.ACC.SG from
{vīna *glāzes} […].*
wine.GEN.SG glass.GEN.SG
‘[…] I was sitting in a club and drinking beer from a wine glass […].’
(http://www.aa.org.lv/sad.php?sad_id=86, 25 February 2004)

The phrase *sieviešu žurnāls* in (199) denotes a subtype of the category magazines, more specifically the subtype devoted to an adult female audience. In (200), the phrase *vīna glāze* denotes a subtype of the category glasses that is characterised by being intended to be used for wine rather than other beverages. Note that, given the right context, at least in (199) the genitive could be an example of $RP_{INSTANCE}$ rather than RP_{TYPE} – for instance, if someone had been talking about a group of women who were jointly publishing a magazine, he could certainly refer to this magazine as *sieviešu žurnāls*, meaning ‘(these specific) women’s magazine’. In other words, a phrase such as this one does not contain any formal traits indicating that the genitive is an RP_{TYPE} – this can only be inferred from the context. In the case of *vīna glāze*, one would probably be hard put to imagine a context where the genitive is not an RP_{TYPE}, although in principle, this cannot be excluded.

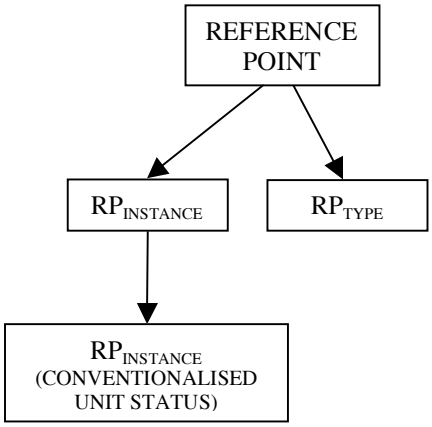
If a phrase containing a reference point at a type level is used frequently, it may be lexicalised as a compound and display the phonological behaviour of a single word. The genitive ending on the first component is mostly retained in such compounds, but can ultimately be reduced or lost. A compound of this kind is *Ziemassvētki* ‘Christmas’, also written *Ziemsvētki*, which is made up of *ziemas* ‘winter.GEN.SG’ and *svētki* ‘holiday.NOM.PL’.

[110] Note that reference points of the $RP_{INSTANCE}$ type may well identify more than one instance, notably when the target is in the plural, as in *Jāņa cepures* ‘Jānis’s hats’. This should not be confused with the categories identified by reference points at a type level. Although the NP *Jāņa cepures* refers to a subset of all hats, this subset is not a relevant subcategory of hats. Cf. Croft and Cruse (2004:147), who distinguish between the relation exemplified in *An X is a Y* (which they refer to as ‘simple’ hyponymy) and the relation present in *An X is a kind/type of Y* (referred to as ‘taxonymy’).

Another example is *mežacūka* ‘wild boar’, which consists of *meža* ‘forest.GEN.SG’ and *cūka* ‘pig.NOM.SG’.

Figure 4.6 illustrates the relationship between the instances of the reference point role discussed thus far.

Figure 4.6. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 2.



4.2.4 $RP_{INSTANCE}$ involved in an intrinsic relationship ($RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC)

I now move on to a function where the genitive-marked NP is both a reference point and a participant in an intrinsic relationship. A characteristic of this group is that the TARGET that the reference point serves to identify is always a *relational noun*. Relational nouns are nouns that include in their semantic specification an intrinsic relationship between the entity they profile and some other entity or entities. Several types of relational nouns can be discerned:

a) kinship terms
b) nouns denoting inherent parts of wholes
c) deverbal nouns
d) representational nouns
e) deadjectival nouns
f) other relational nouns

These subgroups will be presented one by one below, together with an assessment of the role played by genitive-marked reference points used in connection with nouns of each type.

4.2.4.1 KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms, such as *father*, *mother*, *uncle* and *wife* are prime examples of relational nouns. When we hear, read or utter the noun *father*, we also necessarily evoke the conception of a certain kinship relation, namely the one existing between a father and his children. Thus, the concept of *father* is conceptually dependent, and there is an intrinsic relationship between father and children.

The difference between relational and non-relational nouns with respect to how they function in the reference point construction is evident if we compare the phrase *Jāņa Miņina ekipāža* 'Jānis Miņins's crew' in (201) with the phrase *Jāņa sieva* 'Jānis's wife' in (202).

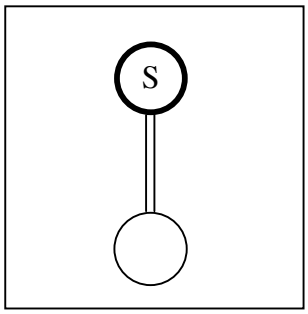
(201) *{Jāņa Miņina ekipāža} kļūst par pasaules*
Jānis.GEN.SG Miņins.GEN.SG crew.NOM.SG become.PRES.3 for world.GEN.SG
junioru čempioniem […]
junior.GEN.PL champion.DAT.PL
'Jānis Miņins's crew become junior world champions […].'
(http://www.tvnet.lv/news/sport/wintaa/index.php?id=2468267, 24 March 2004)

(202) *{Jāņa sieva} Ināra esot pieradusi pie*
Jānis.GEN.SG wife.NOM.SG Ināra.NOM.SG be.EVI get-used.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG by
šī sapņu namiņa.
DEM.MASC.GEN.SG dream.GEN.PL house.DIM.GEN.SG
'Jānis's wife Ināra allegedly has got used to this little house of dreams.'
(http://www.tvnet.lv/news/latvia/regions/index.php?id=2070461, 21 March 2004)

In (201), the Latvian bobsleigher Jānis Miņins is genitive-marked and serves as a reference point identifying one particular bobsleigh crew, namely the one he led to become junior world champions in 2004. This is a straight-forward example of an $RP_{INSTANCE}$. However, no element present in the phrase *Jāņa Miņina ekipāža* specifies the nature of the relationship between the reference point and the TARGET. If we were to consider this phrase without any knowledge of the context, any of a number of different relationships could in principle hold true between the two elements. Jānis Miņins could for instance be a member of the crew rather than the pilot, he could be the coach of the Latvian team, or he could be the team's main sponsor. Only the context together with knowledge of certain facts can provide an unambiguous reading. In (202), by contrast, there is only one possible reading of the phrase *Jāņa sieva* – the relationship between reference point and TARGET here must be of a marital character, i.e. the wife in question must necessarily be Jānis's wife. In principle, one could certainly imagine that the noun *sieva* 'wife' in this phrase could refer to someone else's wife with whom Jānis had some other type of relationship – for instance, she might be a married

woman having an affair with Jānis. Such a reading is however not possible, as it is inhibited by the semantics of the noun *sieva*.[111] This noun does not simply designate any female individual, but construes this individual as a participant in a non-profiled relationship with another human being (cf. Taylor 1996:239–241). Figure 4.7 illustrates the semantics of the noun *sieva*. The heavy-line circle represents the entity profiled by the noun (S stands for *sieva*), while the other circle represents the entity with which the profiled entity is linked through marriage (i.e. the husband). The double line between the two circles represents the intrinsic relationship linking the two entities.

Figure 4.7. The semantics of the relational noun *sieva* 'wife'.

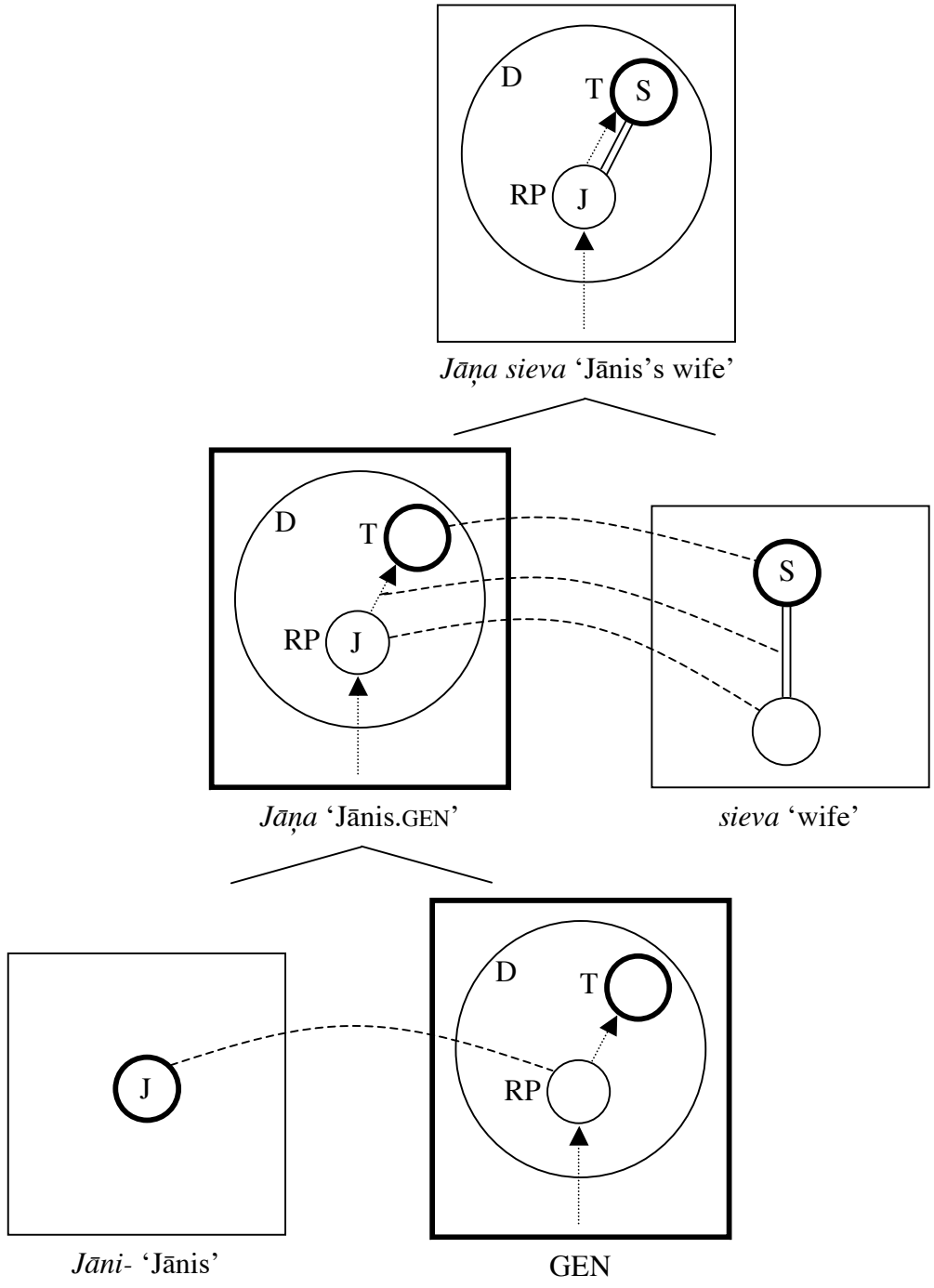


When a relational noun such as *sieva* is used as a TARGET in a reference-point construction, only the non-profiled participant in the intrinsic relationship can be used as a reference point. Because this non-profiled participant is already present in the semantic specification of the TARGET, it is very well suited for identifying the TARGET, i.e. it has very high cue validity. In other words, when a woman is referred to as a wife, it is immediately understood that she is so in relation to someone else, namely her husband. Compared to him, any other person or thing would have very low cue validity. When the genitive morpheme is combined with a relational noun of this type, we witness what Taylor (1992:25, 1996:239) calls *maximisation of overlap* between the two component structures, the relationship between reference point and TARGET being equated with the intrinsic relationship embedded in the semantics of the relational noun. The component structure of the NP *Jāņa sieva* 'Jānis's

[111] This is generally the case with other kinship terms as well, although exceptions are possible: Imagine a situation where the employees of a kindergarten must call all the children's parents and tell them that the kindergarten will be closed tomorrow. The employees have divided the task of calling the children's parents between them, and one of them says to the other: 'Have you called your parents yet?'. Here the special context gives the employee in question high cue validity for identifying a certain group of parents, and this overrides the expected reading of the NP *your parents* as 'the employee's (biological) parents'.

wife' is illustrated in figure 4.8.[112] Starting from the bottom, the figure shows the integration of the uninflected stem *Jāni-* and the genitive morpheme, which is taken to express a schematic reference point. The middle part of the figure shows the integration of the genitive form *Jāņa* and the relational noun *sieva* to form the NP *Jāņa sieva*.

Figure 4.8. The combination of the stem *Jāni-*, the genitive morpheme and the relational noun *sieva* 'wife'.



[112] Figure 4.8 is inspired by and essentially equivalent to the figure in Taylor 1996:240, which shows the integration of the different elements in the English NP *John's wife*.

The diagram at the bottom right of figure 4.8, illustrating the semantics of the genitive morpheme, is essentially identical to the one in figure 4.1, section 4.2.1.[113] The conceptualiser follows a mental path (the dotted arrow) to a reference point (RP), which serves to identify a TARGET (T) within a certain dominion (D). In this figure, the noun stem *Jāni-* 'Jānis' is identified with the schematically characterised reference point entailed by the genitive ending. This is symbolised by the dashed correspondence line. In the complex form *Jāņa* 'Jānis.GEN', the reference point has been elaborated by the stem *Jāni-*. This complex expression inherits all the semantic specifications of the genitive morpheme, which is the profile determinant (as symbolised by the heavy box around the genitive morpheme).

At the next level of complexity, the genitive form *Jāņa* combines with the relational noun *sieva* 'wife' to form the NP *Jāņa sieva* 'Jānis's wife'. The profiled entity of the relational noun is identified with and elaborates the schematic TARGET of the genitive form. At the same time there is a maximisation of overlap between the two structures: The unprofiled entity of the relational noun is identified with the reference point of the genitive form, and the intrinsic relationship between wife and husband is projected to hold between TARGET and reference point. The semantic specifications of the complex expression are inherited from the genitive form; i.e. the genitive form is the profile determinant (again symbolised by a heavy box).

4.2.4.2 NOUNS DENOTING INHERENT PARTS OF WHOLES

The genitive's function of denoting a whole as opposed to its parts will be discussed in section 4.2.6. There I will argue that the use of the genitive case in part/whole expressions is motivated by the existence of an intrinsic relationship between the whole and its subparts – a subpart is only conceivable as such if conceptualised in relation to a whole (by contrast, it is easy to conceive of a whole without making reference to its parts). Thus, also nouns denoting parts must be regarded as relational nouns, and these are frequently used in reference-point constructions, the whole serving as a reference point to identify the subpart. This is seen in (203):

---

[113] The only difference between this diagram and figure 4.1 is the fact that here only the target, not the reference point, is rendered as a heavy-line circle. This reflects the fact that the target is the most cognitively salient of these two entities, although (as noted in section 4.2.1) the reference point is also quite salient at an early stage of the conceptualisation.

(203) *[…] {{palmu* *mājas}* *jumtu}* *bija* *nepieciešams*
palm.GEN.PL house.GEN.SG roof.ACC.SG be.PAST.3 necessary.MASC.NOM.SG
pacelt *par* *trim* *metriem* *augstāk, […].*
raise.INF by three.DAT metre.DAT.PL high.COMP
'[…] the roof of the palm house had to be raised by three metres, […].'
(http://home.lanet.lv/~luua/20012002/16/lu_botaaniskais.html, 8 August 2004)

In this example the roof (*jumts*) is identified by mentioning the specific house that it forms a part of, namely the palm house (*palmu māja*) in the botanical gardens of the University of Latvia in Riga. The fact that roofs form parts of houses can be taken to be included in the semantics of the noun *jumts* 'roof', in the same way as the semantics of kinship terms includes references to other entities than the profiled one. Nouns denoting parts differ from kinship terms in that, when used as TARGETS in the reference point construction, the nature of the relationship between reference point and TARGET is fixed to a lesser degree. For instance, it can make perfect sense to identify a particular roof by using its owner or owners as a reference point instead of the house it forms a part of, as in the NP *kaimiņu jumts* 'the neighbours' roof'. The genitive *kaimiņu* here is a straightforward example of the $RP_{INSTANCE}$ function.

Given that the intrinsic relationship between part and whole is not directional, one might in principle expect that either of the participants in this relationship could function as reference points. However, relational nouns denoting parts are very rarely used as reference points – normally, it is the whole that is used to identify the part, not the other way round. Nevertheless, given the proper context, it is possible to imagine relational nouns of this type being used as reference points. Langacker (2000:177) mentions the situation where someone finds a detached tail on a road and utters the question '*Where is the tail's dog?*'. In the given situation, this could equally well have been uttered in Latvian (e.g. *Kur ir šīs astes suns?*), although the fact that I have not found any authentic examples of this type bears witness to their peripheral status. Given the fact that the noun denoting the whole, e.g. *dog*, is not a relational noun, the part is not special in any way when the speaker chooses a reference point to identify this noun as a TARGET (except perhaps for its particularly low cue validity). Still, to the degree that nouns denoting parts are used as reference points, they can be argued to instantiate the function labelled $RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC.

4.2.4.3 DEVERBAL NOUNS

As mentioned, the group of relational nouns also includes deverbal nouns. A typical deverbal noun refers to a process, but profiles this process (or part of it) as a THING (in the techni-

cal sense used in Cognitive Grammar, cf. section 2.2.4). A subgroup of deverbal nouns are agent nouns, which profile the subject of the process rather than the process itself. Both in Latvian and other languages deverbal nouns typically – but not always – share the stem of their corresponding verb and are formed using one of a limited number of nominalisation suffixes. The most frequent Latvian suffixes of this type are *-šana* and *-ums* (profiling the process) as well as *-ājs*/*-āja*, *-ējs*/*-ēja* and *-tājs*/*-tāja* (profiling the subject of a process).

In the semantics of deverbal nouns are included non-profiled intrinsic relationships between the process and its actants, and these intrinsic relationships are present in the constructions traditionally labelled subjective and objective genitive (cf. section 4.1.5.5). In grammars of Latvian, the subjective and the objective genitive more often than not are lumped together and treated as parallel constructions that only differ with respect to which actant is expressed by the genitive-marked noun (for an example of this, cf. Mathiassen 1997:166–167). However, if one considers the actual semantics of the genitive-marked NP in the two constructions, a clear assymmetry becomes evident: While the subjective genitive typically functions as a reference point, the objective genitive typically does not. Note the difference between the NP *Jēzus apgalvojums* 'Jesus' assertion' with a subjective genitive in (204) and the NP *elektroniskās versijas veidošana* 'the development of the electronic version' with an objective genitive in (205).

(204) *[…] {Jēzus* *apgalvojums}, ka Viņš ir*
Jesus.GEN.SG assertion.NOM.SG that 3.MASC.NOM.SG be.PRES.3
Dieva Dēls, […].
God.GEN.SG son.NOM.SG
'[…] Jesus' assertion that He was the Son of God, […].'
(http://www.kristus.lv/truefalse/two.html, 13 July 2004)

(205) *Es piedalos […] {elektroniskās versijas veidošanā}.*
1sg.NOM participate.PRES.1SG electronic.FEM.GEN.SG.DEF version.GEN.SG development.LOC.SG
'I participate in the development of the electronic version […].'
(MD 1, 1, 1.12)

It is evident that the genitive-marked noun *Jēzus* 'Jesus' in (204) has two functions: First, it serves to specify the schematic subject implied by the deverbal noun *apgalvojums* 'assertion'. Secondly, it functions as a reference point, identifying as its TARGET one particular act of asserting something – the act performed by Jesus. In other words, the genitive here instantiates both a participant in an intrinsic relationship and a reference point at an instance level. In a similar fashion, the genitive *elektroniskās versijas* 'electronic version' in (205)

specifies the schematic object implied by *veidošana* 'development'. However, in most readings this objective genitive does not function as a reference point – *elektroniskās versijas* does not serve to identify one particular act of developing something.

Inasmuch as (205) is a typical example of the objective genitive, it seems clear that objective genitives generally do not function as reference points. The asymmetry between the subjective and the objective genitive in this respect can be viewed as a consequence of general properties of subjects and objects; while subjects are often animate and tend to have high topicality, objects are often inanimate and tend to have low topicality (cf. Taylor 1996:213, referring to Brown 1983). This is, strictly speaking, true of *sentential* subjects and objects only. However, the clear parallels between these on the one hand and subjective and objective genitives on the other warrant the claim that subjective genitives typically have high topicality and objective genitives low topicality. As earlier mentioned, to function successfully as a reference point, an NP must have high topicality, or at least higher topicality than the TARGET it identifies. This observation is in accordance with Langacker's view that, although both the subject and object of a nominalised verb can serve as reference points, '[…] the subject (or trajector) of the nominalized verb does so preferentially by virtue of its greater prominence (as primary figure within the profiled relationship)' (Langacker 2000:178).

Still, given the appropriate context, an objective genitive may have relatively high topicality and may thus function as a reference point. If we imagine (205) occurring in a context where the NP *elektroniskā versija* 'the electronic version' had just been referred to, its use as an objective genitive might well serve to identify an instance. This is the case in the constructed example (206):[114]

(206) *Mēs* *nesen* *sākām* *darbu* *pie* *Mīlenbaha-Endzelīna*
1pl.NOM recently begin.PAST.1PL work.ACC.SG at Mühlenbachs.GEN.SG-Endzelīns.GEN.SG
vārdnīcas *elektroniskās* *versijas.* *Es* *piedalos*
dictionary.GEN.SG electronic.FEM.GEN.SG.DEF version.GEN.SG 1sg.NOM participate.PRES.1SG
{šīs *versijas* *veidošanā}.*
DEM.FEM.GEN.SG version.GEN.SG development.LOC.SG
'We recently started working on an electronic version of Mühlenbachs's and Endzelīns's dictionary. I participate in the development of this version.'

[114] In (206), the adjective in the objective genitive NP has been replaced by a demonstrative pronoun, also as a natural effect of the topicality of the NP.

The use of objective genitives as reference points, as in (206), is certainly possible, but relatively untypical compared to the large bulk of objective genitives. By contrast, subjective genitives to an overwhelming degree seem to function as reference points.

4.2.4.4 REPRESENTATIONAL NOUNS

Representational nouns are defined by Taylor as 'noun[s] designat[ing] an artefact which represents, in some medium, another entity' (Taylor 1996:259). Such nouns include in their semantics a reference to two unprofiled entities: the entity represented by the artefact and the creator of the artefact. Both of these may serve as reference points identifying as their TARGET a representational noun such as *portrets* 'portrait'. In (207) the reference point is the person depicted in the portrait, while in (208) it is the artist who created a number of portraits.

(207) *[…] skolas vestibilā mūs ar laipnu skatu*
school.GEN.SG entrance-hall.LOC.SG 1pl.ACC with kind.ACC.SG look.ACC.SG
sagaidīja zīmēts {pulkveža Kalpaka portrets}.
await.PAST.3 draw.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG colonel.GEN.SG Kalpaks.GEN.SG portrait.NOM.SG
'[…] in the school entrance hall we were met with a kind smile by a drawn portrait of colonel Kalpaks.'
(http://www.latvians.lv/latvietis/index.php?p=370, 26 August 2004)

(208) *Pilnu lapaspusi aizņem fotogrāfijas vecmeistara*
whole.ACC.SG page.ACC.SG occupy.PRES.3 photography.GEN.SG old-master.GEN.SG
{Roberta Johansona portrets} Gleznotājs Voldemārs
Roberts.GEN.SG Johansons.GEN.SG portrait.NOM.SG painter.NOM.SG Voldemārs.NOM.SG
Irbe, […].
Irbe.NOM.SG
'A whole page is occupied by the portrait "The painter Voldemārs Irbe" by the old master of photography, Roberts Johansons, […].'
(http://faculty.stcc.edu/zagarins/JG/223.htm, 26 August 2004)

Apart from *portrets*, the group of representational nouns includes nouns such as *fotogrāfija* 'photograph', *portretējums* 'portrayal', *zīmējums* 'drawing' etc. A subtype of representational nouns are those that denote linguistically encoded information about something, labelled *informational nouns* by Taylor (1996:260); they include nouns such as *apraksts* 'description', *stāsts* 'story' and *ziņojums* 'account, report'. The degree to which other entities than those included in the semantics of the representational nouns can be used as reference points varies, but for most representational nouns the use of other reference points is

fairly common. For instance, the owner of a portrait will in many contexts have sufficiently high cue validity in order to identify it.

4.2.4.5 DEADJECTIVAL NOUNS

In Cognitive Grammar, the traditional class of adjectives are analysed as expressing a certain type of *atemporal relation*. This means that the profile of an adjective is taken to include a relation between two entities (a trajector and a landmark) without any specification of the time span over which the relation in question holds true. Typically, an adjective's landmark is a certain region in a domain or along a scale, while its trajector is a nominal entity located in this region. For example, the adjective *sarkans* 'red' denotes a relation between a (relatively fuzzy) region in the domain of colour space, i.e. the one referred to as *sarkans*, and a schematic nominal entity that is located in this specific region of the colour space. When the adjective is used as an attribute or predicate, its schematic trajector is elaborated by a more concrete nominal expression, such as *māja* 'house' in *sarkana māja* 'red house' or *tā māja ir sarkana* 'that house is red'.

Nouns that are derived from adjectives inherit the relationship implicit in the semantics of the adjective. Such deadjectival nouns profile the adjective's landmark as a THING, but also include in their semantics an unprofiled relation between the profiled entity (the region) and the entity located in this region. Take as an example the Latvian deadjectival noun *sarkanums* 'redness', derived from *sarkans* 'red'. When conceptualising the noun *sarkanums*, one must necessarily also conseptualise a (possibly quite schematic) THING having the quality of being red. Thus, an intrinsic relationship is present in the semantic characteristic of deadjectival nouns, and nouns of this type must be considered relational. When deadjectival nouns appear as TARGETS in the reference point construction, the THING that has the quality in question is very often used as a reference point. This is exemplified in (209).

(209) *{<u>Tērpu</u>* *sarkanums}* *it kā* *saplūst* *ar*
clothes.GEN.PL redness.NOM.SG as-it-were flow-together.PRES.3 with
sarkanbrūno *fonu.*
maroon.ACC.SG.DEF background.ACC.SG
'The redness of the clothes, as it were, flows together with the maroon background.' (http://www.liis.lv/makslasv/17gs/17gsNid/17gsHol/Remb/teksts.htm, 27 August 2004)

The productive suffix *-ums* can be added to most Latvian adjectives to form deadjectival nouns. It should be noted, however, that there is a strong tendency for nouns of this kind to

develop specific uses that are more or less removed from the meaning of the original relational noun. Usually, the original sense exists alongside the lexicalised one(s) – cf. *baltums* 'whiteness' (derived from *balts* 'white') vs. *olas baltums* 'egg white' and *acs baltums* 'the white of an eye' and *līdzenums* 'flatness' (derived from *līdzens* 'flat'), but also 'plain, flat country', as in *Ziemeļvācijas līdzenums* 'The North German Plain'.

4.2.4.6 Other relational nouns

The subgroups discussed thus far do not represent an exhaustive inventory of all relational nouns. Taylor (2002:209) mentions as a subgroup 'nouns which construe a human being in terms of a social or professional relation', and in all probability other subgroups can be discerned as well. The nouns mentioned by Taylor clearly resemble kinship nouns, the main difference between the two types being the nature of the relationship between the profiled entity and its unprofiled counterpart(s). Example (172) in section 4.1.5.1, repeated here as (210), contains an NP with a relational noun of this kind, *valdnieks* 'ruler':

(210) (=172)

Aspazija –	*tā*	*nav*	*tikai*
Aspasia.NOM.SG	DEM.FEM.NOM.SG	not-be.PRES.3	only

{sengrieķu	*valdnieka}*	*Perikla*	*sieva, […].*
ancient-Greek.GEN.PL	ruler.GEN.SG	Pericles.GEN.SG	wife.NOM.SG

'Aspasia is not only the wife of the ancient Greek ruler Pericles, […].'
(http://www.rehab.lv/msbrc/aspazija.html, 10 December 2003)

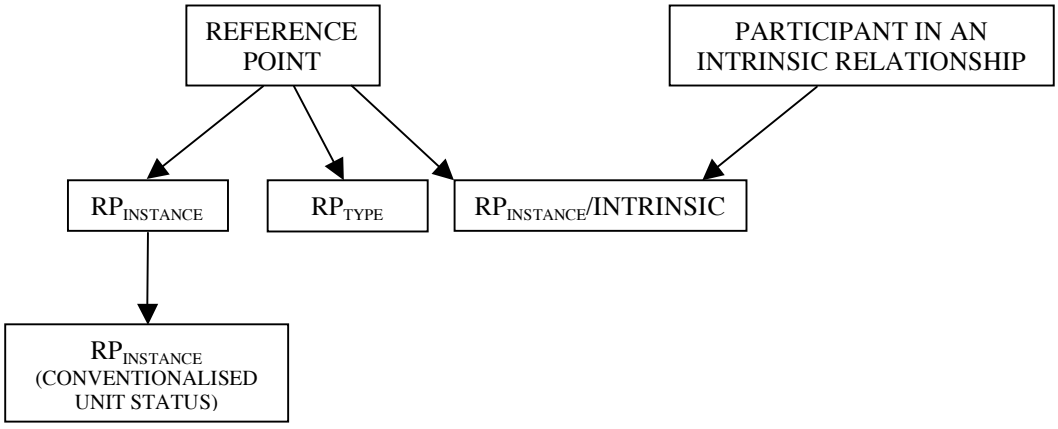
The noun *valdnieks* 'ruler' is clearly relational, given that a ruler necessarily must rule over someone (or – by way of metonymy – something, e.g. a country). In one possible reading of (210), the genitive-marked reference point *sengrieķu* (ancient-Greek.GEN.PL) denotes the people that Pericles ruled over. By this reading, *sengrieķu* here is both a participant in an intrinsic relationship and a reference point at an instance level. However, only a minimum of background knowledge about Pericles seems to render this reading less probable; he admittedly was a statesman, and a *strategós* might be described as a ruler of sorts, but what power Pericles had in Greece at the time only extended to Athens, thus he was in no way the ruler of all the Greeks. A more plausible reading, then, is to view *sengrieķu* as an ordinary reference point at an instance level, much as in *sengrieķu valoda* 'Ancient Greek (language)'. If the NP in (210) had been *atēniešu valdnieks* 'Athenian.GEN.PL ruler.NOM.SG', the $RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC reading would have been more plausible. This illustrates the point

that the exact nature of a given reference point is not always easily defined, and that different readings may result in different analyses of a given genitive-marked NP.

Apart from *valdnieks*, other relational nouns implying a relationship between the profiled human being and some other entity are *draugs* 'friend', *kaimiņš* 'neighbour', *līdzgaitnieks* 'associate', *paziņa* 'acquaintance', *pretinieks* 'enemy' etc.

The uses of the Latvian genitive discussed in this section and labelled $RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC occupy an intermediate position between the two principal groups of meanings expressed by the genitive case. In the schematic network, solid arrows denoting schematicity point to this function from the two nodes labelled 'reference point' and 'participant in an intrinsic relationship', indicating that the function under discussion instantiates both of these roles. This is seen in figure 4.9.

Figure 4.9. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 3.



4.2.5 Reference point in connection with prepositions

As seen in section 4.1.8, the Latvian genitive is used with a large number of prepositions. With several of these prepositions, the genitive is probably best analysed as expressing a reference point – at least when the prepositions occur in their more basic, non-metaphorical meanings. A fact complicating the picture in the field of prepositions is that the prepositions themselves often have developed a large number of diverse meanings that may be far removed from the more basic ones. Leaving the question of the semantic structure of each preposition aside here, I will concentrate on the basic – in most cases spatial – meanings.

The prepositions whose complements express a reference point are *aiz* 'behind', *pēc* 'after', *pie* 'at, by', *pirms* 'before', *priekš* in the meaning 'before' (but not in the meaning

'for'), *uz* 'on', *virs* 'over, above' and *zem* 'under', as well as the compound prepositions ending in *-pus*, meaning 'on … side of'. All of these prepositions express (in their basic meaning) stative spatial location that is identified by something in the relative vicinity of the prepositional complement. The genitive-marked complements of these prepositions serve as reference points whose location make them well suited to identify a certain TARGET.

I will use examples with two prepositions, *pie* 'at, by' and *virs* 'over, above', to illustrate how genitive complements of spatial stative prepositions function as reference points. Examples with the two prepositions are given in (211) and (212).

(211) … *pie* *pašas* … *pie* *pašas* *ieejas*
by the-very.FEM.GEN.SG by the-very.FEM.GEN.SG entrance.GEN.SG
ir *pisuāri* …
be.PRES.3 urinal.NOM.PL
'… right by … right by the entrance there are urinals …'
(MD 9, 11, 4:04)

(212) *[…]* *virs* *galvas* *midžinās* *zvaigžņotā* *debess, […].*
over head.GEN.SG twinkle.PRES.3 starry.FEM.NOM.SG.DEF sky.NOM.SG
'[…] over one's head a starry sky is twinkling, […].'
(http://www.jaffa.lv/jaffa/_ceojumi_iespaidi_reportas/, 10 September 2004)

In (211) the genitive-marked NP *pašas ieejas* is a reference point that serves to identify a TARGET – the objects (urinals) that are located next to it. The role of the preposition is to specify the exact nature of the proximity relationship between reference point and TARGET; here the preposition *pie* denotes that the TARGET is situated next to the reference point. The situation in (212) is quite parallel to that in (211); here the reference point is the genitive-marked NP *galvas*, which together with the preposition *virs* serves to concentrate the hearer or reader's attention on a location above the head of the speaker.

A possible objection to this analysis is that also prepositions used with other cases than the genitive can occur in stative spatial meanings with complements resembling reference points. Take for instance the preposition *ap* 'around' with the accusative in examples like (213):

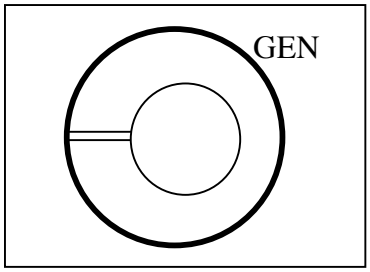
(213) *Ap* *māju* *bija* *puķu* *dārzs, […].*
around house.ACC.SG be.PAST.3 flower.GEN.PL garden.NOM.SG
'Surrounding the house[115] there was a flower garden, […].'
(http://www.tukumamuzejs.lv/index.php?menu=1&submenu=34, 10 September 2004)

In the case of *ap* and *pār* 'over', both used with the accusative, I would hypothesise that their primary meaning includes an element of motion. The stative meaning, as seen with *ap* in (213), would then be secondary. The basic meaning of the prepositions mentioned above, all of which are used with the genitive, are by contrast presumed to be stative, although most of them can also be used to express motion. It should also be noted that the large majority of the prepositions that can denote stative location are indeed used with the genitive, the main exceptions being *ap*, *pār* and *starp* 'between', all of which are used with accusative complements.

4.2.6 Whole

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, the concept of intrinsic relationship hinges on whether in order to conceptualise an entity one necessarily has to refer to some other entity or entities. A central instance of the category of intrinsic relationship is the relationship between a whole and its subparts, and it is this instance that motivates the genitive-marking of a whole when seen in relation to its parts. This situation was diagrammed in figure 4.3 (section 4.2.1), which is essentially identical to figure 4.10 below.

Figure 4.10. The genitive expressing a whole as opposed to one of its subparts (based on Langacker 2000:77).



This figure illustrates the function of the genitive traditionally referred to as the adnominal partitive, where a genitive-marked noun expresses a whole of which the head noun expresses a subpart, as in *glāze ūdens* (glass.NOM.SG water.GEN.SG) 'a glass of water' or *kilograms*

[115] Literally 'Around the house'.

sviesta (kilo.NOM.SG butter.GEN.SG) ‘a kilo of butter’. The heavy-line circle represents the whole, which is marked by the genitive case and is the profiled participant in the intrinsic relationship holding between it and its subpart. The subpart is represented by the smaller circle, and the intrinsic relationship is once again drawn as a double line.

Postulating that an intrinsic relationship holds between a whole and its subparts is relatively uncontroversial. If a noun denotes something that forms part of a larger whole, the (non-profiled) existence of the whole must necessarily be part of its semantics. It is difficult to see how one could use a noun of this kind without at some level of awareness conceptualising the existence of the whole. A tail is a tail only by virtue of being part of an animal’s body, a page cannot be conceived of without any regard of the fact that it is (at least potentially) part of a book, etc. It is of course possible to talk about a tail or a page without mentioning the animal or book they belong to, but embedded in these concepts is still the knowledge that they do not exist independently of the entities they are part of. In Langacker’s words, ‘[…] it is not the case that we think of the world as being populated by entities like elbows, tails, roofs, and on-switches, that we know and recognize autonomously and individually. Rather, we think of the world as being populated by people, animals, houses, and computers, and only with reference to a particular individual of this sort do we normally identify a subpart.’ (Langacker 2000:177).

The genitive expresses a whole in all the constructions traditionally labelled partitive, both adnominal (with nouns, quantifiers and the adjectives *bagāts* ‘rich’ and *pilns* ‘full’, cf. sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4) and adverbal (with partitive subjects and objects [cf. section 4.1.1], and also in connection with specific verbs, such as *pietikt* ‘suffice, be sufficient’, cf. section 4.1.2.3). Below three examples with genitive-marked NPs in the adnominal partitive function are repeated: The subpart is denoted by a noun phrase in (214), by a quantifier in (215) and by an adjective in (216).

(214) (=163)

[…]	*cilvēkam*	*dienā*	*nepieciešami*	*aptuveni*	*divi*
	person.DAT.SG	day.LOC.SG	necessary.MASC.NOM.PL	approximately	two.MASC.NOM
litri	*<u>šķidruma</u>, […].*				
litre.NOM.PL	fluid.GEN.SG				

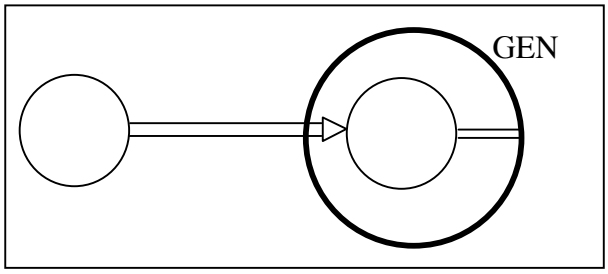
‘[…] a person needs approximately two litres of fluid a day, […].’
(http://www.vertikalex.lv/alpinisms/noderigi/udens.htm, 8 December 2003)

(215) (=165)
Man *ir* *deviņpadsmit* *gadu*.
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 nineteen year.GEN.PL
'I am nineteen years old.'
(MD 6, 3, 0:23)

(216) (=169)
No *XIII* *gadsimta* *Cieceres* *ezers* *bija* *apbrīnojami*
from 13th century.GEN.SG Ciecere.GEN.SG lake.NOM.SG be.PAST.3 marvellous.ADV
zivju *bagāts*.
fish.GEN.PL rich.MASC.NOM.SG
'From the 13th century onwards, the Ciecere lake was marvellously rich in fish.'
(http://www.zvejnieki2000.lv/lake.html?l=1, 9 december 2003)

In the adverbal partitive function, the genitive designates a whole of which only a subpart takes part in or is affected by the process. One instance of the adverbal partitive genitive is the partitive genitive object. In examples such as *(no)pirkt piena* 'buy (some) milk', the genitive-marking of the object implies that only a part of the object is affected by the process. As pointed out in section 4.1.1.2, this construction is obsolete in modern standard Latvian, but it can be encountered in the literature and in dialects. The construction with a partitive genitive object can be illustrated as in figure 4.11.

Figure 4.11. The genitive expressing a whole of which only a subpart is affected by a process.



In figure 4.11 we see an agent – the circle on the left – instigating a process that affects only a subpart of the object. The process is represented by the double arrow, while the large heavy circle represents the genitive-marked object. The subpart being affected by the process is represented by the small inner circle, which is linked to the genitive-marked whole by an intrinsic relationship. The parallels to the adnominal partitive function illustrated in figure 4.10 are obvious, the main difference being the obligatory participation in the adverbal construction of the genitive-marked noun as a downstream participant in an action chain.

Furthermore, the subpart cannot be explicitly identified in the adverbal construction, while it is always specified in the adnominal construction.

A borderline case of a part-whole relationship is the one where the subpart referred to is an empty set, or in other words non-existing. Also in this situation, the genitive may express the whole. This is seen in the constructions involving the genitive with negated verbs and with the verb *(pie)trūkt* 'lack'. As mentioned in section 4.1.2.1, the genitive is used to mark the subject of the verb *būt* 'be' when this is negated and used in an existential (or, rather, non-existential) sense. This is seen in (153), repeated here as (217):

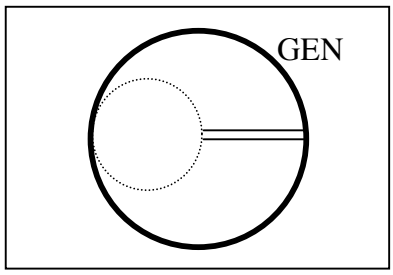
(217) (=153)

… *tur*	*gan*	*Sibirijā*	*nebij*	*neviena*	*ozola, […].*
there	PART	Siberia.LOC.SG	not-be.PAST.3	not-one.MASC.GEN.SG	oak.GEN.SG

'… over there in Siberia there wasn't a single oak tree, though, […].'
(MD 10, 11, 4:31)

Of course, (217) does not deny the existence of oak trees as such – what the sentence expresses, is the fact that in a certain location (Siberia) the subset of existing oak trees is empty. The use of the genitive with the (non-negated) verb *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' is motivated by the same semantic specifications as its use with negated existential *būt* 'be'. This use of the genitive is illustrated in figure 4.12, where the small dotted circle represents the empty subset. The use of the genitive to mark a whole of which a subset is empty probably also motivates the genitive found with the preposition *bez* 'without'.

Figure 4.12. The genitive expressing a whole of which an empty-set subpart is referred to (as seen in constructions with negated existential *būt* 'be' and with *(pie)trūkt* 'lack').



As mentioned in section 4.1.2.3, *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' is one of the verbs requiring a genitive complement regardless of whether it is negated or not. In other words, the genitive is used with this verb also if something is *not* lacking. This is seen in (218).

(218) *Mūsu* *mazajā* *Latvijā* *svētvietu* *netrūkst.*
1pl.GEN small.DEF.LOC.SG Latvia.LOC.SG holy-place.GEN.PL not-lack.PRES.3
'In our small Latvia, there is no lack of holy places.'
(http://tehvi.dv.lv/Tasis/Majas_Viesis-2002.07.26.html, 1 August 2004)

In examples like this, the genitive-marked noun of course *does* exist. As shown by the English translation of (218), using *(pie)trūkt* with a negation normally implies that what you are talking about is fairly plentiful. Thus, it would seem legitimate to ask why genitive complements are used also when a negation is present. After all, while the genitive is used with the verb *būt* 'be' when this is used in an existential sense and negated, it is never used when there is no negation present. If the use of the genitive ultimately has its base in semantics, should we not expect the same pattern to occur with *(pie)trūkt*, i.e. genitive complements when the verb is not negated and nominative complements when it is? My answer would be that the different case marking observed with non-negated *būt* and negated *(pie)trūkt* correlates with the semantic specifications of the two verbs. While existentially used *būt* simply implies that something exists, negated *(pie)trūkt* implies not only that something exists, but that there is no lack of it. The semantics of the verb stem remains the same as in the non-negated version, but the addition of the prefix *ne-* has the effect of negating that the subset of the verb's complement is empty. While this strictly speaking only means that the complement exists in at least a minimal quantity (for mass nouns) or at least in one example (for count nouns), the interpretation will in practice often be that the complement is plentiful. The same is observed e.g. with the English construction *'there is no lack of* NP'.[116]

When used to mark objects of negated verbs, the genitive expresses a whole of which an empty-set subpart is affected by the process. As mentioned in section 4.1.2.2, the use of this construction is somewhat limited in modern Latvian. A few examples of it were quoted in section 4.1.2.2, e.g. (157), which is repeated here as (219). A diagram of the construction is presented in figure 4.13.

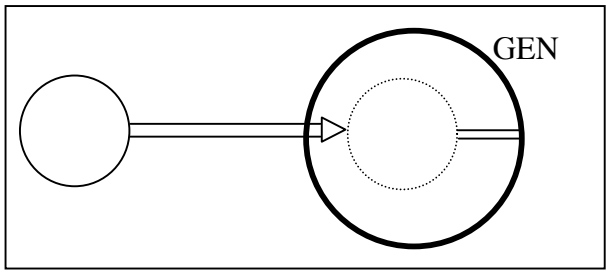
[116] Another question along the same lines would be why the verb *eksistēt* 'exist' is always used with the nominative, regardless of the polarity of the verb. The answer here is probably that negated *eksistēt* construes the situation in a somewhat different way than negated existential *būt*, the subject of *neeksistēt* being viewed as a more active entity than the genitive complement of *nebūt*. One should also keep in mind that *eksistēt* is a loanword and therefore might be expected to behave differently from inherited words.

(219) (=157)

… *es*	*nezināju*	*itin*	*nekā*	*par*	*krievu*	*valodu, …*
1sg.NOM	not-know.PAST.1SG	PART	nothing.GEN	about	Russian.GEN.PL	language.ACC.SG

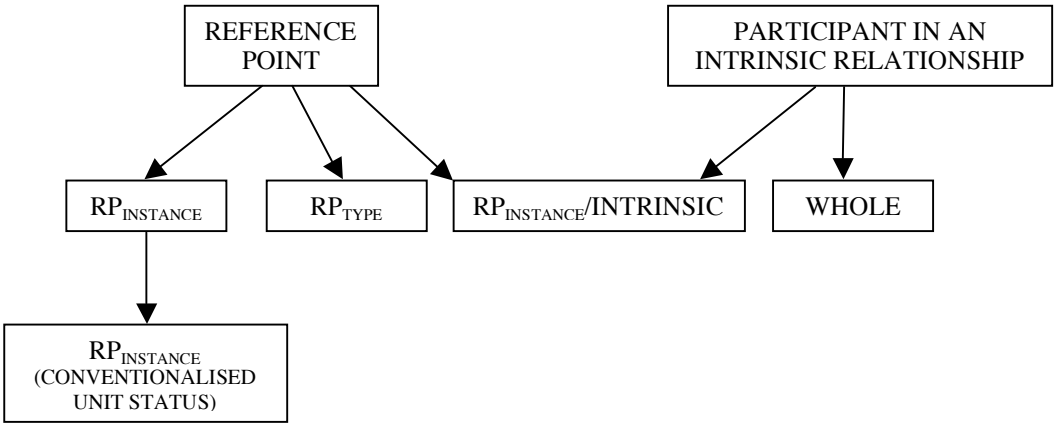
'… I didn't know anything at all about Russian, …'
(MD 2, 1, 2:10)

Figure 4.13. The genitive expressing a whole of which an empty-set subpart is affected by a process (as seen in constructions with genitive objects of negated verbs).



In all the constructions discussed in the present section the genitive expresses a whole as opposed to its parts. Genitive-marked NPs of this kind are instantiations of the role 'participant in an intrinsic relationship'. In the schematic network of the genitive, this is reflected by a solid arrow pointing from 'participant in an intrinsic relationship' to 'whole', cf. figure 4.14.

Figure 4.14. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 4.



4.2.7 Goal

Yet another function of the Latvian genitive is that of expressing a goal, i.e. an entity that is intentionally approached in some way. Compared to the preceding meanings, the meaning of goal is considerably less frequent and should probably be considered more peripheral. It

is encountered with the preposition *priekš* in the meaning ‘for’ (not in the meaning ‘before’), with the verbs *alkt* ‘long, crave’ and *ilgoties* ‘long, yearn’ and with the adjectives *cienīgs* ‘worthy’, *kārīgs* ‘greedy’, *kārs* ‘greedy’ and *vērts* ‘worth, worthy’. (220)–(222) exemplify the use of the genitive with this meaning; in (220) a genitive-marked NP is seen with *priekš* in the meaning ‘for’,[117] in (221) with *alkt* and in (222) with *vērts*. (221) and (222) have earlier been presented as (160) and (168) respectively.

(220) *[…]* *es* *jau* *pirku* *divas* *biļetes …* *priekš* *sevis*
1sg.NOM already buy.PAST.1SG two.FEM.ACC ticket.ACC.PL for REFL.GEN
un *arī* *priekš* *Ugo, […]*
and also for Ugo
‘[…] I’ve already bought two tickets … for myself and also for Ugo, […]’
(MD 9, 5, 0:08)

(221) (=160)
Zigita *alkst* *romantiskas* *mīlestības, […].*
Zigita.NOM.SG long.PRES.3 romantic.FEM.GEN.SG love.GEN.SG
‘Zigita longs for romantic love […].’
(http://www.latvijasavize.lv/index.php?la=5800, 8 December 2003)

(222) (=168)
… viss *tāds,* *liekas,* *it kā*
everything.MASC.NOM.SG such.MASC.NOM.SG seem.PRES.3 as-it-were
pierakstīšanas *vērts, […].*
writing-down.GEN.SG worth.MASC.NOM.SG
‘… everything of that sort seems, as it were, worth writing down, […].’
(MD 6, 4, 3:40)

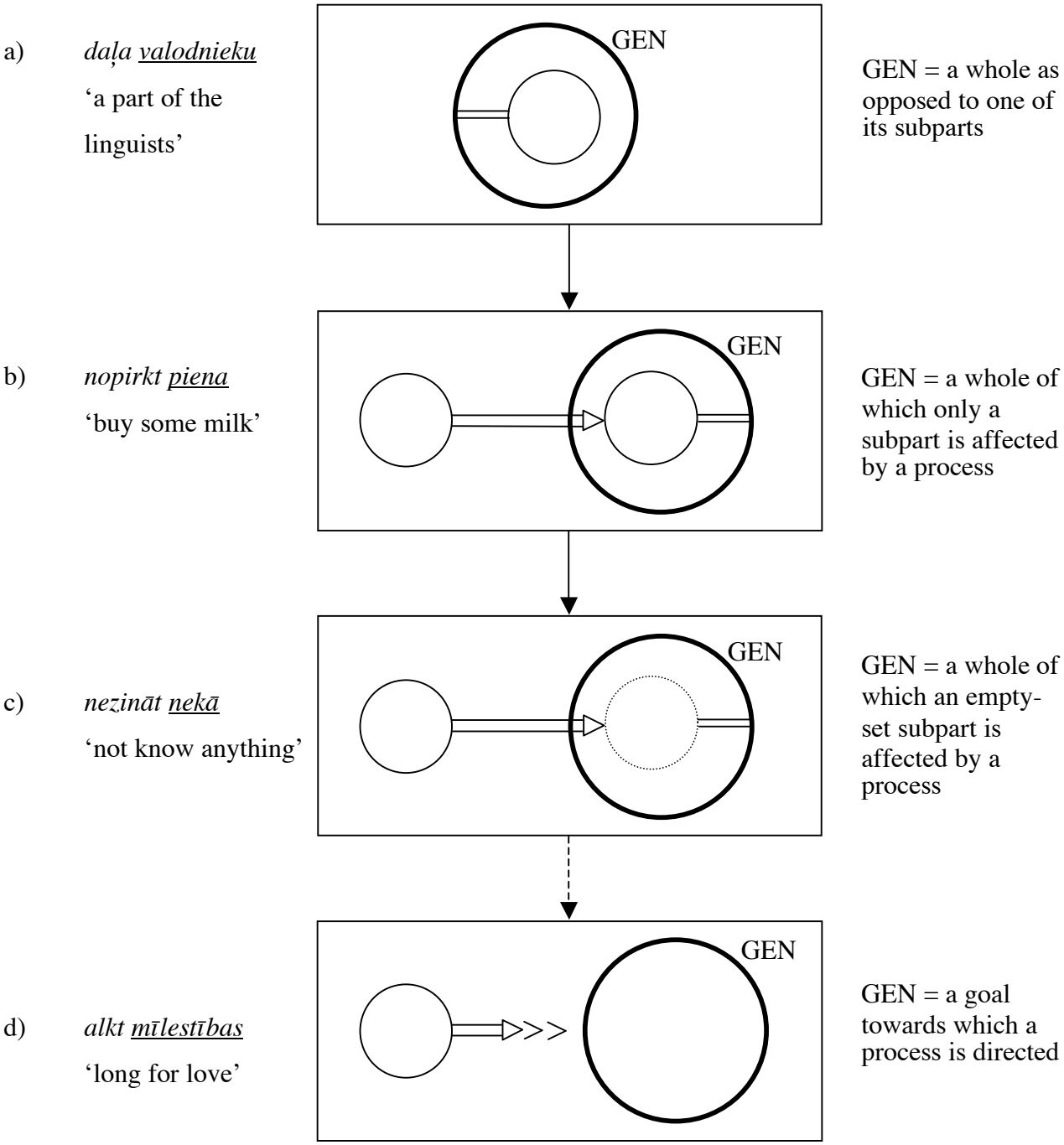
In contrast to the meanings discussed thus far, genitive-marked NPs expressing the notion of goal cannot be classified as either reference points or participants in an intrinsic relationship. The question is then how, if at all, this meaning can be shown to be related to the other meanings of the genitive case. At this point it seems appropriate to repeat Langacker’s remark (1991b:249) that case categories are ‘generally complex, comprising a network of alternate senses connected by relationships of *schematicity* and *semantic extension*’ (my emphasis). The uses of the genitive already discussed have been explicated as instantiations of one of two schematic semantic roles, reference point and participant in an intrinsic rela-

[117] The use of the preposition *priekš* in the meaning ‘for’, as seen in (220), is not sanctioned by the norms of the standard language, and normative dictionaries list this meaning as a colloquialism. According to the norms, the non-prepositional dative should be used instead.

tionship.[118] The concrete uses have in both cases been linked to the more abstract meanings by relationships of schematicity. As for the goal meaning, I will argue that it is linked to the meaning of 'whole' by way of a semantic extension based on metonymy. The metonymic relationship between the two meanings is one of partiality, the semantic specification of 'goal' forming a subset of the semantic specification of 'whole'. The extension, as well as the schematicity links connecting different instantiations of the meaning 'whole', is illustrated in figure 4.15. In the left part of the figure are given examples illustrating four different uses of the genitive (the genitive-marked NP is underscored in each example), while on the right side the semantic purport of the genitive in each of the constructions is stated in plain text.

[118] As we saw in section 4.2.4, some uses instantiate both of these roles.

Figure 4.15. The schematic relationships between the genitive expressing a whole in the adnominal partitive construction (a) and the adverbal partitive construction (b) as well as with a negated transitive verb (c), and the semantic extension from 'whole' to 'goal' (d).



The three upper boxes are identical to figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.13 in section 4.2.6. The meaning of the genitive in these three constructions, a)–c), is essentially the same. In construction a) with an adnominal partitive genitive, the genitive denotes a whole of which a subpart is given special attention. In construction b) the genitive also denotes a whole, but

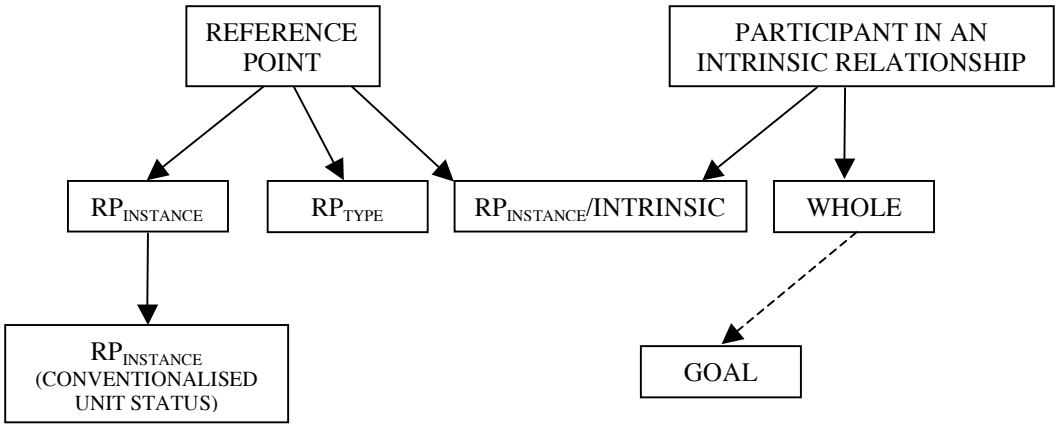
here it is a downstream participant in an action chain, and the process affects the subpart. This makes the meaning of the genitive here fully compatible with, but more specific than the meaning of the genitive in construction a). In other words, the adnominal partitive genitive is schematic to the adverbal partitive genitive, symbolised by the solid arrow linking the two upper boxes. The only difference between construction b) and construction c), with a negated transitive verb, is that the subpart affected by the process is an empty set in c). Again, a solid arrow links b) and c).

Construction d), where the genitive denotes a goal, differs from constructions b) and c) in that no subpart of the genitive-marked NP is singled out for special attention, and the genitive-marked NP is not a participant in an intrinsic relationship. In fact, no part of it is affected by the process, which is directed towards the genitive-marked NP, but does not reach it. To sum up: In constructions b) and c) the genitive denotes a participant in an intrinsic relationship which at the same time is a downstream action-chain participant reached and affected by a process. In construction d) the genitive denotes an entity that does not participate in an intrinsic relationship. The genitive-marked NP here is a downstream action-chain participant that serves as the goal of a process, but which is not reached or affected by it. The semantic specifications of the genitive in construction d) form a subset of the specfications in constructions b) and c), but the genitive in b) and c) is not schematic to the genitive in d) because no intrinsic relationship is involved in d). The relation of metonymy between the genitive in b) and c) on one hand and the genitive in d) on the other is, however, sufficient to establish a semantic extension between them. This extension is symbolised by the dashed arrow from c) to d) in figure 4.15.

A possible objection against postulating a semantic extension from ‘whole’ to ‘goal’ is the fact that the adverbal partitive genitive as in *nopirkt piena* is no longer used in standard Latvian. In figure 4.15 this function of the genitive serves as the link between a) and c), and removing it could indeed seem to undermine the semantic extension. However, I do not consider b) to be a necessary part of the extension; given the analysis of the genitive with negated transitive verbs that was proposed in section 4.2.6, the only difference between it and the genitive in construction b) is the fact that the subset affected by the action is empty when a negation is involved. Because also c) is an instantiation of a), the gradual weakening of construction b) in the minds of the speakers does not change the picture very much.

In the schematic network of the genitive, the meaning ‘goal’ is found below ‘whole’, a dashed arrow symbolising the semantic extension linking these two meanings. This is seen in figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 5.



4.2.8 Substance

The Latvian genitive can also express *a substance*. This meaning is seen in the function traditionally known as the genitive of material, which was presented in section 4.1.5.2 and exemplified in (175), repeated here as (223).

(223) (=175)

Rīga	*nevar*	*lepoties*	*ar*	*daudzām*	*ļoti*	*vecām*
Riga.NOM.SG	not-can.PRES.3	boast.INF	with	many.FEM.DAT.PL	very	old.FEM.DAT.PL
{koka	*ēkām}, […].*					
wood.GEN.SG	building.DAT.PL					

‘Riga cannot boast of [having] a lot of very old wooden buildings, […].’
(http://www.ceroi.net/reports/riga/latviski/kultura/all_state.htm, 11 December 2003)

Langacker (2000:77) argues that the substance from which an entity is made is intrinsic to the entity itself – i.e. when conceptualising an entity, we necessarily realise that this entity must consist of a certain substance. At least for concrete entities, such as *ēka* ‘building’ in (223), this seems reasonable. One would be hard put to imagine a building without at the same time recognising that the building was made of some substance. In such cases, the genitive expressing a substance can quite plausibly be regarded as marking a participant in an intrinsic relationship. However, when it comes to more abstract entities, the intrinsicness of the substance something consists of is less than obvious. Still, it is not uncommon to

encounter NPs with abstract heads and a genitive quite similar to the one seen in (223). One such example is (224), where the abstract noun is *stipendija* 'grant'.

(224) *1. septembrī 18 labākie Rīgas vidusskolu*
1st September.LOC.SG 18 best.MASC.NOM.PL Riga.GEN.SG secondary-school.GEN.PL
beidzēji saņēma tradicionālo Rīgas domes
graduate.NOM.PL receive.PAST.3 traditional.ACC.SG.DEF Riga.GEN.SG city-council.GEN.SG
dāvanu jauno mācību gadu uzsākot –
gift.ACC.SG new.ACC.SG.DEF instruction.GEN.PL year.ACC.SG start.GER
{Zelta stipendiju}.
gold.GEN.SG grant.ACC.SG
'On 1 September the 18 best graduates from Riga's secondary schools received the traditional gift from the Riga city council at the start of the school year, the Golden Grant.'
(http://www.e-skola.lv/page.aspx?p=notikumi&id=1549, 1 September 2004)

Of course, in the NP *Zelta stipendija* 'Golden Grant' the genitive does not denote a concrete substance making up the grant (which is a sum of money, not an amount of gold). The kinship with the genitive of material is obvious, but must be understood in a metaphorical sense. Certainly, one would not want to state that there is an intrinsic relationship between the nouns *zelts* 'gold' and *stipendija* 'grant' in (224) by virtue of any feature inherent in any of these words. Metaphorical extensions of the genitive denoting substance are also found in NPs with a concrete head, as seen in (176), repeated here as (225):

(225) (=176)
Esmu {zelta zivtiņa}, man jāizpilda tavas
be.PRES.1SG gold.GEN.SG fish.DIM.NOM.SG 1sg.DAT fulfil.DEB your.FEM.ACC.PL
vēlēšanās.
wish.ACC.PL
'I am a golden fish, I must fulfil your wishes.'
(http://bildes.oho.lv/default.php?grupaid=52&bildeid=16, 11 december 2003)

The NP *zelta zivtiņa* 'golden fish' in (225) should not be understood in a literal sense – here the genitive form *zelta* is used to denote a colour rather than a substance. It seems clear, then, that the genitive denoting substance has been extended both to non-intrinsic relationships, as in (224), and to other relationships than the the purely substantial one, as in (225).

A very frequent occurrence is for the genitive denoting substance to be used as a reference point at a type level (RP_{TYPE}). As mentioned in section 4.2.3, reference points of this kind identify a certain subclass of the type expressed by the reference point's TARGET. Some typical examples of this are seen in (226).

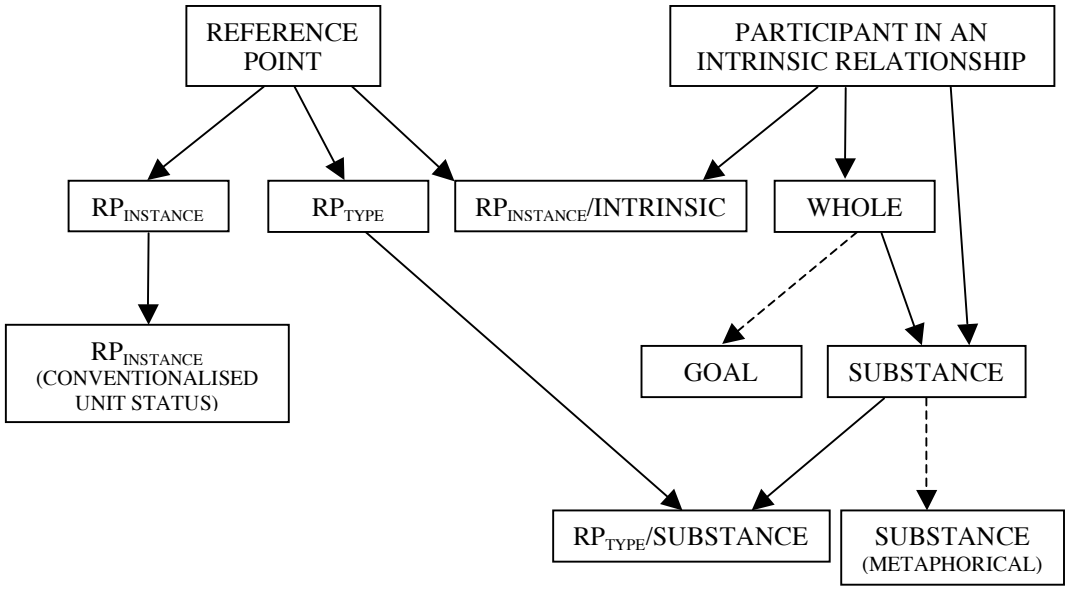
(226) *Mūsdienu* *olimpiskajās* *spēlēs* *trīs* *labākie*
our-day.GEN.PL olympic.FEM.LOC.PL.DEF game.LOC.PL three.NOM best.MASC.NOM.PL
sportisti *tiek* *apbalvoti* *ar* *{zelta,*
athlete.NOM.PL AUX.PRES.3 award.PAPP.MASC.NOM.PL with gold.GEN.SG
sudraba *vai* *bronzas* *medaļām}.*
silver.GEN.SG or bronze.GEN.SG medal.DAT.PL
'At the modern Olympic games, the three best athletes are awarded gold, silver or bronze medals.'
(http://www.lov.lv/abc/?selected=7, 2 September 2004)

In (226) the genitive forms *zelta*, *sudraba* and *bronzas* denote the substance the respective medals are made of, at the same time serving to point out three specific subclasses of medals. This is yet another example of a use of the genitive case that combines the two categories expressed by the case – reference point and participant in an intrinsic relationship.

Apart from the argument that the substance something is made of is intrinsic to the conceptualisation of that entity – at least in prototypical examples, such as *koka ēka* 'wooden building' – it is also possible to argue that the relationship between an entity and the substance it is made of is a subtype of a part-whole relationship. A wooden building in some sense consists of a part of all the wood in the world, and a ring of silver is a part of all the silver available. Thus, the substance meaning can also be viewed as a more specific instance of the meaning 'whole'. In the schematic network as shown in figure 4.17, this is reflected by a solid arrow leading from 'whole' to 'substance'. Two separate nodes represent a) the function combining the meanings of substance and RP_{TYPE} (as in [226]) and b) the uses where the substance meaning is extended to express non-intrinsic relationships (as in [224] and [225]). The dashed arrow leading from 'substance' to 'substance (metaphorical)' denotes a semantic extension and reflects the fact that the genitive in these metaphorical uses does not express a participant in an intrinsic relationship.[119]

[119] The representation of the metaphorical extensions of the substance meaning as a separate node in the network should not be taken to indicate that metaphorical extensions of the genitive's other meanings do not occur. However, the metaphorical uses of the substance meaning seem to be especially frequent as compared to the non-metaphorical uses.

Figure 4.17. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 6.



4.2.9 Source

The genitive has the meaning of 'source' in a number of constructions, but the meaning is by far most frequent with the preposition *no* 'from, of'.[120] (227) is an example with *no* used in what is presumably its basic meaning, the genitive-marked NP denoting the spatial source of a motion.

(227) *No* *<u>Rīgas</u>* *līdz* *Kuldīgai* *var* *nokļūt*
from Riga.GEN.SG as-far-as Kuldīga.DAT.SG can.PRES.3 get-to.INF
nepilnu *2* *stundu* *laikā.*
not-full.GEN.PL 2 hour.GEN.PL time.LOC.SG
'You can get to Kuldīga from Riga in a little less than 2 hours.'
(http://www.kuldiga.lv/svetki/trans.html, 2 September 2004)

Apart from its purely spatial meaning seen in (227), the preposition *no* has a large number of submeanings; the dictionary LLVV lists 13 different uses of *no* (LLVV V:484–487). Accordingly, the concept of 'source' should be seen as covering a broad range of uses of the genitive. The following examples illustrate three of the submeanings of *no*. In (228) the preposition expresses a temporal relationship and the genitive-marked NP denotes a point of departure located on a time-scale:

[120] The use of the genitive to denote a source in all probability has its origin in the Indo-European ablative case, which in Baltic (and Slavic) merged with the genitive. In the synchronic perspective taken here, I nevertheless consider the source meaning to form an integrated part of the schematic network of the genitive case.

(228) *No* *pirmdienas* *obligāti* *jābrauc* *ar* *ziemas* *riepām*
from Monday.GEN.SG compulsory.ADV drive.DEB with winter.GEN.SG tyre.DAT.PL
'Starting from Monday, driving with winter tyres is compulsory'
(http://www.auto.lv/1/1/28/lv/?article=2093, 2 September 2004)

In (229) one entity is perceived to form an integral part of another entity, and this larger entity is construed as a source and marked with the genitive:

(229) *[…]* *pētniecība –* *tā* *ir* *daļa*
research.NOM.SG DEM.FEM.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 part.NOM.SG
no *mācību* *procesa.*
of instruction.GEN.PL process.GEN.SG
'[…] research is part of the process of learning.'
(http://www.ptac.lv/izglitiba4.htm, 2 September 2004)

Finally, in (230) the two genitive-marked NPs denote the material something is made of, i.e. the material source of a certain entity:

(230) *Redeles* *var* *taisīt* *no* *koka* *vai* *metāla.*
crib.ACC.PL can.PRES.3 make.INF from wood.GEN .SG or metal.GEN.SG
'The crib can be made from wood or metal.'
(http://www.agrarius.lv/lopkopiba/bunt1.html, 2 September 2004)

Although the genitive denoting source in most of its uses does not participate in an intrinsic relationship, at least in two of its uses – those seen in (229) and (230) – it does so. In (229) an intrinsic relationship exists between a genitive-marked whole and one of its subparts, while in (230) the substance something is made of is conceptualised as a source. As argued in the preceding section, the substance is intrinsic at least to concrete entities.

Apart from the preposition *no*, the genitive denoting a source is also encountered with the preposition *kopš* 'since' as well as with the postpositions *dēļ* 'because of, for the sake of' and *labad* 'for the sake of'.[121] In addition to this, it is found with verbs designating avoidance: *baidīties* 'be afraid', *kaunēties* 'be ashamed', *vairīties* 'avoid' and a few others. The genitive used with the adverbs *bail* 'afraid' and *žēl* 'sorry' also belongs here.[122] Below

[121] As remarked in section 4.1.8, the preposition *pēc* 'after' can also be used as a postposition with approximately the same meaning as *dēļ* and *labad*.
[122] Alternatively, the genitive with *žēl* can express a goal, a solution proposed by Janda and Clancy (2002) for the Russian genitive with *žal´*. The actual meaning in each concrete example depends on whether the genitive-marked NP is the source that creates the feeling of being sorry or the goal towards which this feeling is directed. Clearly, the two situations are not mutually exclusive.

are three examples illustrating the use of the genitive with *dēļ*, *vairīties* and *žēl*. In (231), the fog is perceived as the causal source of a specific action:

(231) *Miglas* *dēļ* *pārceļ* *biatlona* *sacensības*
fog.GEN.SG because-of postpone.PRES.3 biathlon.GEN.SG competition.NOM.PL
'The biathlon competition is postponed because of fog'
(http://www.esports.lv/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=5120&mode=thread&order=0&thold=0, 2 September 2004)

In (232), presented as (161) in section 4.1.2.3, the person speaking is viewed as being avoided, i.e. as being the source of a motion. This motion can be either actual or metaphorical.

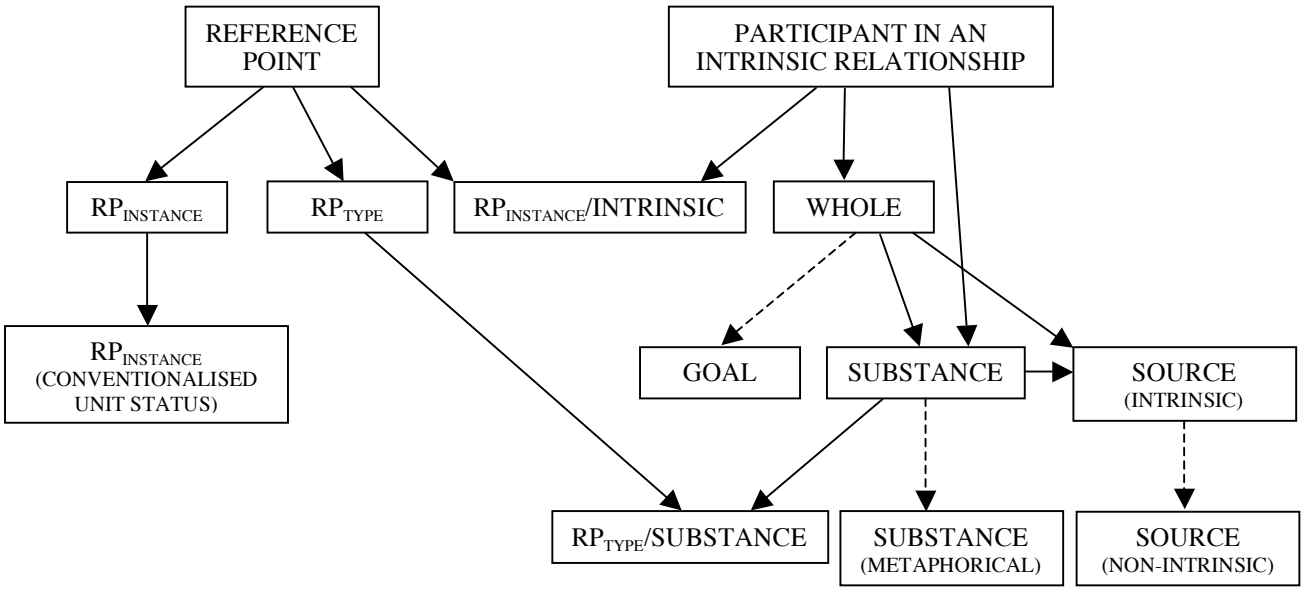
(232) (=161)
Bet *pēdējā* *laikā* *tu* *manis* *vairies.*
but last.LOC.SG time.LOC.SG 2sg.NOM 1sg.GEN avoid.PRES.2SG
'But lately you have been avoiding me.'
(http://journal.bad.lv/users/hekate/, 8 December 2003)

In (233), presented as (189) in section 4.1.7, the animals are the source of the speaker's feeling pity for them:

(233) (=189)
Man *ir* *ļoti* *žēl* *to* *dzīvnieku,* *pret* *kuriem*
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 very sorry DEM.GEN.PL animal.GEN.PL against who.MASC.DAT.PL
cilvēki *izturas* *cietsirdīgi.*
person.NOM.PL behave.PRES.3 cruel.ADV
'I feel very sorry for those animals against whom people behave cruelly.'
(http://www.sz.lv/sz/archive/view_articles.php?cid=1&aid=8812, 6 January 2004)

The use of the genitive denoting sources that are also participants in intrinsic relationships, as seen in (229) and (230), motivates the drawing of links of schematicity from 'whole' to 'source' and from 'substance' to 'source' in the schematic network. The use of the genitive to denote spatial, temporal and other sources can then be viewed as related to the meanings in (229) and (230) by way of semantic extension. This is shown in the schematic network in figure 4.18, where I distinguish between intrinsic and non-intrinsic sources.

Figure 4.18. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 7.



4.2.10 Landmark

In Cognitive Grammar, objects of verbs are considered a subtype of the category *landmark*, which is defined as the second-most prominent participant in a relation. The genitive denotes a landmark in the objective genitive construction, as seen in (205) in section 4.2.4.3, repeated here as (234).

(234) (=205)

Es	*piedalos […]*	*{elektroniskās*	*versijas*	*veidošanā}.*
1sg.NOM	participate.PRES.1SG	electronic.FEM.GEN.SG.DEF	version.GEN.SG	development.LOC.SG

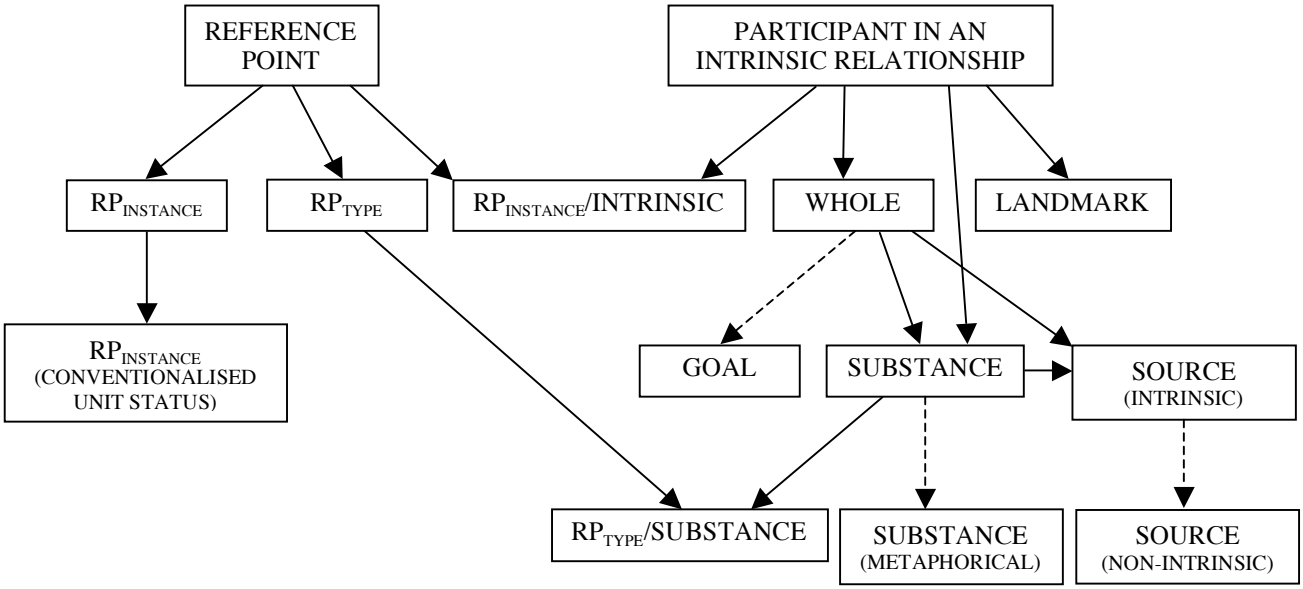
'I participate in the development of the electronic version […].'
(MD 1, 1, 1.12)

As mentioned in section 4.2.4.3, the semantics of deverbal nouns includes non-profiled intrinsic relationships between the process (which is profiled as a THING) and its actants. In the objective genitive construction, the genitive marks the object, i.e. the landmark, of the process. The presence of an intrinsic relationship in the NP seen in (234) is witnessed by the fact that the concept of 'development' presupposes a landmark, i.e. something that is being developed.

While the subjective genitive mostly serves as a reference point, the objective genitive rarely does so. When it does express a reference point (as in the constructed example [206] in section 4.2.4.3), it combines the two roles of landmark and reference point (at an

instance level). This is yet another example of the two schematic meanings of the genitive intertwining. Figure 4.19 shows the schematic network of the Latvian genitive as developed thus far, a solid arrow (denoting schematicity) leading from 'participant in an intrinsic relationship' to 'landmark'. The uses where an objective genitive marks both a landmark and an $RP_{INSTANCE}$ are covered by the node labelled $RP_{INSTANCE}$/INTRINSIC.

Figure 4.19. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Preliminary version 8.



4.2.11 Other intrinsic relationships

In addition to the uses mentioned, the genitive can express participants in intrinsic relationships in a number of other situations. Some of them are presented briefly in the following sections; this list could probably be made even longer.

4.2.11.1 Essential quality

Langacker (2000:77) remarks that 'obviously intrinsic to an entity […] are essential (as opposed to accidental) qualities'. A genitive expressing an essential quality of its phrasal head is found in the construction labelled 'descriptive genitive' (cf. section 4.1.5.4). Note that the extent to which a certain quality is viewed as essential or accidental is dependent on the context and what the speaker wishes to convey. (235) is an example with a genitive-marked NP expressing an essential quality. It was given in section 4.1.5.4 as (179).

(235) (=179)
[…] {otrās šķiras preces} te nepārdod.
second.FEM.GEN.SG sort.GEN.SG article.ACC.PL here not-sell.PRES.3
'[…] second-rate goods are not sold here.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv200112/011205/02.htm, 11 December 2003)

4.2.11.2 Appositional relationships

At least in two constructions the genitive is employed to mark an NP that is identical to its phrasal head, i.e. the relationship between the genitive and its head in these constructions is one of apposition. The most frequent type contains two different conceptualisations of the same entity, one specific and one at the type level. This is the 'defining genitive', which was presented in section 4.1.5.3. Both examples given there, (177) and (178), are repeated below (as [236] and [237] respectively).

(236) (=177)
{Gaujas upe} ir tuvu pilsētas rietumu
Gauja.GEN.SG river.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 close.ADV town.GEN.SG west.GEN.PL
robežai, […].
border.DAT.SG
'The river Gauja is close to the western border of the town, […].'
(http://www.cesis.lv/index.php?cat=33&raksts=333, 11 December 2003)

(237) (=178)
{Vīrieša cilvēks}, bet parastu ugunskuru sakurt nemāki!
man.GEN.SG person.NOM.SG but ordinary.ACC.SG fire.ACC.SG light.INF not-can.PRES.2SG
'You're a man, but you can't even light an ordinary fire!'
(http://zhanette.times.lv/dienasgramata-2.htm, 11 December 2003)

Gauja in (236) is a river (*upe*), and the man (*vīrietis*) in (237) is of course a person (*cilvēks*). The phrases *Gaujas upe* and *vīrieša cilvēks* thus both contain two conceptualisations of the same entity that differ only in their specificity. Given that the head and the modifier in this construction express the same entity, there is little doubt that the two are linked by an intrinsic relationship – in Langacker's words, 'an entity could hardly not be intrinsic to itself' (Langacker 2000:77).

The other construction where the genitive expresses an entity linked to its phrasal head by way of apposition is the genitive of emphasis (cf. section 4.1.5.6). Here the genitive modifier and its head are expressed by the same lexeme, in effect placing greater emphasis on this lexeme. As remarked in section 4.1.5.6, the functional scope of this construction is relatively limited. An example was given in (183), repeated here as (238).

(238) (=183)
[…] zūd tādas {gadu gados}
disappear.PRES.3 such.FEM.NOM.PL year.GEN.PL year.LOC.PL
iedibinātas nerakstītas tradīcijas.
establish.PAPP.FEM.NOM.PL unwritten.FEM.NOM.PL tradition.NOM.PL
'[…] such unwritten traditions, which have been established during many years, are disappearing.'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199806/980615/08.htm, 11 December 2003)

4.2.11.3 TRAJECTOR

As mentioned in section 4.1.5.7, the genitive is used to mark agents or agent-like arguments in NPs where there is a passive participle functioning as an attribute to the head noun. In the sentence corresponding to the NP, this genitive-marked argument corresponds to the subject or, in the terminology of Cognitive Grammar, the trajector. Being defined as 'the more prominent entity within the conceptualization of a relation' (Taylor 2002:206), the trajector is identical to the subject in prototypical active sentences. In (185), repeated here as (239), we see an NP where the trajector is genitive-marked and appears together with a passive participle. The active sentence corresponding to the NP is given in (240).

(239) (=185)
{Ministrijas rediģētais līguma projekta teksts}
ministry.GEN.SG edit.PAPP.MASC.NOM.SG.DEF treaty.GEN.SG draft.GEN.SG text.NOM.SG
pieejams ministrijas mājas lapā […].
available.MASC.NOM.SG ministry.GEN.SG home.GEN.SG page.LOC.SG
'The draft treaty text edited by the ministry is available on the ministry's home page […].'
(http://ngo.deac.lv/?news=628, 11 December 2003)

(240) *Ministrija ir rediģējusi līguma projekta tekstu.*
ministry.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 edit.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG treaty.GEN.SG draft.GEN.SG text.ACC.SG
'The ministry has edited the draft treaty text.'

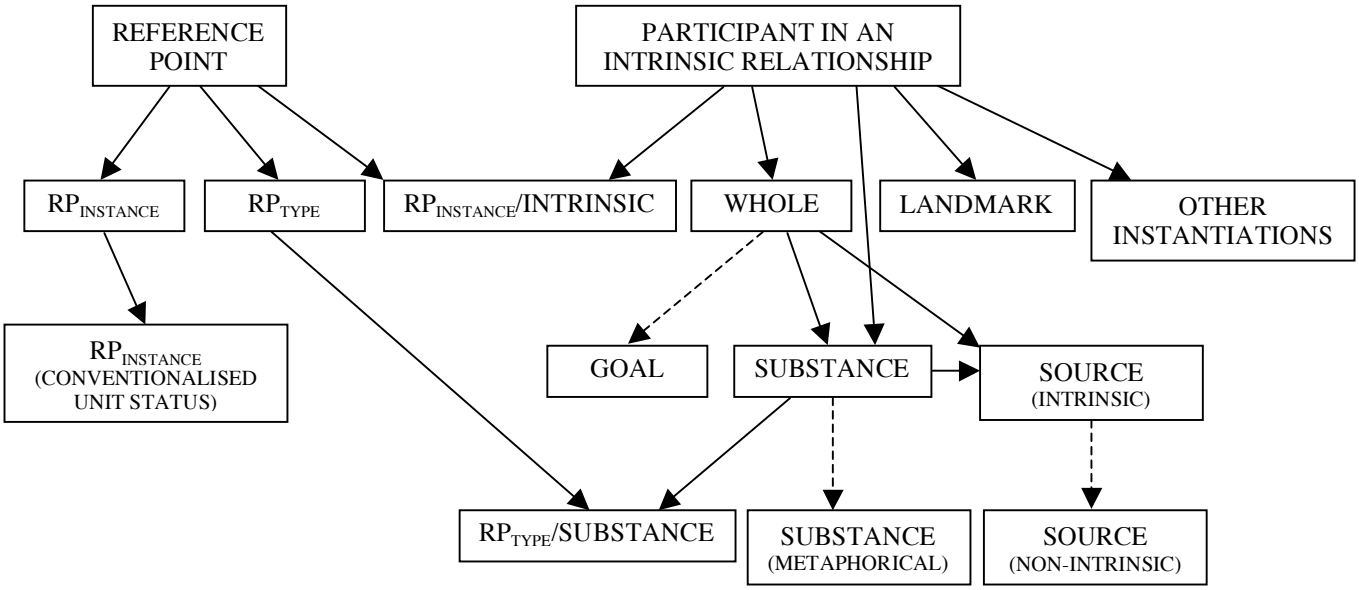
While (240) contains a process coded as a temporal relation, the NP in (239) is a nominal expression with the landmark (i.e. object) of (240) as its head. The status of the noun *ministrija* 'ministry' as a trajector, however, is the same in both constructions. In many ways the relationship between the two constructions in (239) and (240) resembles that between NPs with deverbal nouns as heads and their corresponding sentences. In the same way as deverbal nouns preserve the relationship of the verb to its actants, the NP with a passive participle preserves the relationship between the trajector and the rest of the relation (although the NP as a whole can function as either a trajector or a landmark in the larger context of the sen-

tence; in [239] it functions as a trajector). As in the case of the deverbal nouns, an intrinsic relationship exists between the nominal expression with a passive participle and its trajector, and it is this relationship that motivates the genitive-marking of the trajector in this construction.

4.2.11.4 CONCLUSIONS

The three uses of the genitive discussed in the preceding sections all instantiate the role 'participant in an intrinsic relationship'. In the schematic network shown in figure 4.20, they are for practical reasons subsumed under 'other instantiations'.

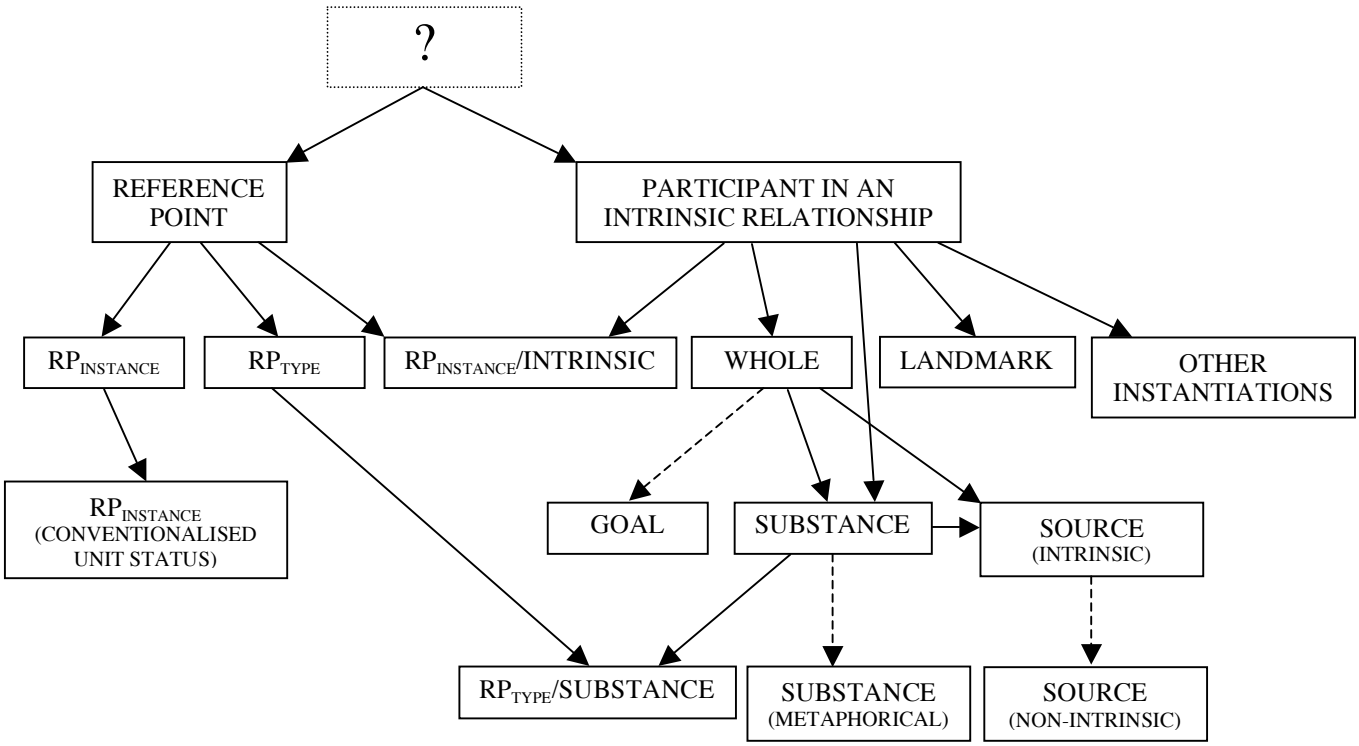
Figure 4.20. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive. Final version.



4.2.12 A superschema for the Latvian genitive?

We have seen that the different uses of the Latvian genitive can be captured successfully by two schematic notions, reference point and participant in an intrinsic relationship. Notably, several uses combine these two notions, forming connecting links between the two parts of the genitive network. A question that naturally presents itself is whether there exists in the minds of the speakers an even more abstract meaning that is schematic to both of the semantic notions expressed by the genitive. In figure 4.21 a superschema for the genitive is included at the top of the network, the dotted box indicating the uncertainty concerning its existence.

Figure 4.21. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive with a superschema subsuming the two notions reference point and participant in an intrinsic relationship.



In section 3.2.11 I expressed serious doubts regarding the plausibility of postulating a superschema covering all the uses of the Latvian dative. As for the genitive, the extraction of such a schema by the speakers seems even less probable in light of the very high degree of abstractness the superschema necessarily must have. The semantic characteristics of a superschema capturing all the uses of the genitive would presumably be something like 'participant in a relationship'. Certainly, one cannot in principle exclude that at least some speakers do extract such a schema, but at the same time the practical value of such an abstract concept is probably not very high. Moreover, the salience of a superschema would be rather low as a consequence of its distance from the basic level of categorisation. I prefer to leave the question as to whether a superschema for the genitive exists in the minds of speakers of Latvian open. It might be a task for future psycholinguistic experiments. In any case, the analysis I propose for the semantics of the Latvian genitive in no way hinges on whether a schema covering all the uses of this case can be shown to exist or not, cf. the discussion in section 2.2.5.

4.3 Variation

In modern Latvian the genitive case is in a state of competition with other forms in a number of functions. As will be shown in the following sections, the variation primarily affects the uses where the genitive-marked NP expresses a whole as opposed to its subparts, i.e. what have traditionally been labelled partitive functions. This will be the focus of section 4.3.1, whereas variation affecting the genitive with other meanings will be discussed in section 4.3.2. In the discussion, I will rely on my own findings presented in Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b, supplementing these with data from the corpus of spoken language collected especially with the present dissertation in mind. The methods used in the compilation of the two corpora were presented in section 2.5.2.

4.3.1 Variation affecting the genitive in the meaning 'a whole'

The functions where the genitive expresses a whole as opposed to its subparts are roughly equivalent to what traditional grammars refer to as the partitive genitive. This meaning, which was presented in section 4.2.6, is found in a number of syntactic environments, and in all of these environments other forms can be found instead of the genitive.

4.3.1.1 VARIATION BETWEEN THE GENITIVE AND THE NOMINATIVE

Variation between the genitive and the nominative is found a) with quantifiers in phrases occupying a nominative position, b) with the verb *būt* 'be' when this is negated and used in an existential sense, c) with the verbs *pietikt* 'suffice' and *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' and d) to a limited extent in the function of denoting indefinite quantity in subjects of affirmative verbs. The different functions are treated separately below.

a) With quantifiers

The genitive can be used to denote a whole of which a subpart is expressed by an indeclinable quantifier, whether a numeral (e.g. *desmit* 'ten') or an indefinite quantifier (e.g. *daudz* 'much, many'). If the phrase as a whole occupies a syntactic position where an ordinary noun would appear in the nominative, either the genitive or the nominative can be used. Example (165) with the genitive, presented in section 4.1.3.2, is repeated here as (241) and contrasted with (242), where the nominative is used.

(241) (=165)
Man *ir* *deviņpadsmit* *gadu*.
1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 nineteen year.GEN.PL
'I am nineteen years old.'
(MD 6, 3, 0:23)

(242) … *nu* *man* *bij* *septiņpadsmit* *gadi* *toreiz.*
well 1sg.DAT be.PAST.3 seventeen year.NOM.PL then
'… well, I was seventeen years old then.'
(MD 8, 17, 2:19)

As mentioned in section 4.1.3.2, the norms of the standard language distinguish between numerals and indefinite quantifiers regarding which forms are allowed. With numerals either the genitive or the nominative can be used in nominative positions, but with indefinite quantifiers only the genitive is allowed (MLLVG I:489–495). In the written language used in newspapers this normative requirement is followed relatively consistently; a survey of several newspapers in 1998 showed that the genitive was used in 92 % of the instances with indefinite quantifiers, but only in 32 % of the instances with numerals (Berg-Olsen 1999:109, 2000b:99). In casual spoken language the distinction is observed only to some extent. This tendency was evident in the corpus of spoken Latvian surveyed in Berg-Olsen 1999, and is confirmed by the findings in the corpus compiled for this dissertation. Findings from both corpora as well as the newspaper survey are presented in table 4.1. The question marks in this and the following tables indicate instances where the case could not be decided because of indistinct pronunciation, poor quality of the recording or formal homonymy (e.g. between the genitive singular and nominative plural in feminines ending in *-a* and *-e*).

Table 4.1. Case marking in phrases with numerals and indefinite quantifiers occupying a nominative position. Data from two corpora of spoken Latvian and the 1998 newspaper corpus.[123]

		1998 (spoken language)		2001–2002 (spoken language)		Total (spoken language)		1998 (newspapers)	
Numerals	Gen	11	12 %	4	8 %	15	10 %	101	32 %
	Nom	82	88 %	46	92 %	128	90 %	218	68 %
	?	7		18		25			
	Total	100		68		168		319	
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	67	57 %	73	61 %	140	59 %	70	92 %
	Nom	51	43 %	47	39 %	98	41 %	6	8 %
	?	5		19		24			
	Total	123		139		262		76	

b) With negated existential būt

As stated in section 4.1.2.1, the subject of the verb *būt* appears in the genitive when this verb is negated and used in an existential sense. Although the use of the genitive here is compulsory according to the norms of the standard language, it does meet competition from the nominative, which is the default case for subjects. In (154), repeated here as (243), we see a genitive subject, while in (244) a nominative subject is used. Both examples show the compound perfect tense, with the participle agreeing with the nominative subject in (244), but not with the genitive subject in (243).

(243) (=154)
… *man* *nav* *bijis* *laika* *apstāties* *un*
1sg.DAT not-be.PRES.3 be.PAAP.MASC.NOM.SG time.GEN.SG stop.INF and
padomāt …
think.INF
'… I haven't had the time to stop and think …'
(MD 5, 17, 4:28)

(244) … *par* *krievu* *un* *angļu* *[valodu]* *man*
about Russian.GEN.PL and Englishman.GEN.PL language.ACC.SG 1sg.DAT
tādas *īsti* *ilūzijas* *nav* *bijušas.*
such.FEM.NOM.PL really illusion.NOM.PL not-be.PRES.3 be.PAAP.FEM.NOM.PL
'… I've not really had illusions like that about Russian and English.'
(MD 2, 1, 2:27)

In newspaper texts the genitive dominates in this function, while in casual speech the nominative is used just about as often as the genitive, as seen in table 4.2.

[123] Note that here and in the following tables the uncertain cases (indicated by a question mark) are not included in the calculated percentages.

Table 4.2. Subject case marking with negated existential *būt*. Data from two corpora of spoken Latvian and the 1998 newspaper corpus.[124]

	1998 (spoken language)		2001–2002 (spoken language)		Total (spoken language)		1998 (newspapers)	
Gen	111	49 %	96	53 %	207	51 %	175	94 %
Nom	115	51 %	85	47 %	201	49 %	12	6 %
?	9		24		33			
Total	235		205		441		187	

c) With pietikt *'suffice' and* (pie)trūkt *'lack'*

In section 4.1.2.3 it was mentioned that the norms of the standard language require that the verbs *pietikt* 'suffice' and *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' be used impersonally with a genitive complement (Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991:16). However, with both verbs the impersonal construction meets competition from a personal construction where the entity that is lacking or occurring in a sufficient amount is construed as a nominative subject. Common to both constructions is a dative-marked experiencer. In (245) and (247) we see the two verbs used impersonally with the genitive, while in (246) and (248) they occur in personal constructions with the nominative. (245) was presented in section 4.1.2.3 as (162).

(245) (=162)
… jo vairāk tev kaut kā trūkst, jo vairāk tu saproti, cik ļoti tu pēc tā ilgojies.
PART more 2sg.DAT something.GEN lack.PRES.3 PART more 2sg.NOM understand.PRES.2SG how very 2sg.NOM after DEM.MASC.GEN.SG long.PRES.2SG
'… the more you lack something, the better you understand how much you long for it.'
(MD 6, 5, 0:18)

(246) *… man angļu valodā … tāds punktiņš uz i pietrūkst …*
1sg.DAT Englishman.GEN.PL language.LOC.SG such.MASC.NOM.SG dot.DIM.NOM.SG on i lack.PRES.3
'… in English I … sort of lack a dot on the i …'
(MD 5, 21, 3:19)

(247) *… tur arī skolotāju vienkārši pie… pietiek.*
there also teacher.GEN.PL simply suffice.PRES.3
'… besides, there are simply enough teachers there.'
(MD 1, 8, 2:47)

[124] In these figures are also included the subject case marking in constructions with *nevarēt būt* 'cannot be' used in an existential sense. In the 1998 corpus there were 5 instances of this construction (3 nominative, 1 genitive, 1 undecided), in the 2001–2002 corpus only one instance (nominative).

(248) *A* *visiem* *pietiek* *tēja?*
PART all.MASC.DAT.PL suffice.PRES.3 tea.NOM.SG
'Do you all have enough tea?'
(MD 7, 2, 1:08)

The use of genitive complements with the two verbs in question is motivated by the semantics of the verbs and the genitive's ability to express the concept of a whole. In this respect, the construction with the genitive closely resembles the genitive construction with negated existential *būt* discussed above. The case pattern found in the competing personal construction – a nominative subject marking the source of a mental experience affecting a dative-marked experiencer – is a very common one, cf. section 3.2.2. In this construction, the source of the mental experience is construed as an agent-like entity rather than as a whole. Given the ubiquitousness of the dative/nominative pattern and the relative rarity of the dative/genitive pattern, it is not surprising that the dative/nominative construction, as it were, should encroach on the territory of the dative/genitive construction.[125]

It seems that the norm, which demands that the genitive be used with *pietikt* and *(pie)trūkt*, is followed quite consistently in newspapers: In the 1998 survey, all the instances found had genitive complements (Berg-Olsen 1999:114, 2000b:104). Again, the picture looks somewhat different when it comes to casual spoken language, cf. table 4.3. Due to the low number of occurrences, table 4.3 only gives percentages for the two spoken language corpora considered together.

[125] Which of the two constructions should be regarded as the original or most archaic one is not entirely clear. In texts dating from the 17th and 18th centuries both of them are used, and folk songs – which are often taken to reflect a more archaic language – also show diversity rather than consistency on this point (Berg-Olsen 1999:58–59 and 72).

Table 4.3. Genitive complements vs. nominative subjects with the verbs *pietikt* 'suffice' and *(pie)trūkt* 'lack'. Data from two corpora of spoken Latvian and the 1998 newspaper corpus.[126]

		1998 (spoken language)	2001–2002 (spoken language)	Total (spoken language)		1998 (newspapers)	
pietikt	Gen	1	1	2	40 %	13	100 %
'suffice'	Nom	1	2	3	60 %		
	?						
	Total			5		13	
(pie)trūkt	Gen	7	6	13	52 %	25	100 %
'lack'	Nom	7	5	12	48 %		
	?	1	1	2			
	Total			27		25	

Although the number of registered occurrences is rather low, especially for *pietikt*, the personal construction with a nominative subject seems to be in common use, and is possibly just as frequent as the impersonal construction with a genitive complement.

d) Denoting indefinite quantity in subjects of affirmative verbs

As remarked in section 4.1.1.1, genitive-marking of subjects – as opposed to the usual nominative-marking – is sometimes employed to express indefinite quantity. In examples such as (152), repeated here as (249), the genitive-marking of the subject *laika* indicates that this subject should be given an indefinite reading.

(249) (=152)

… *man*	*lekcijas*	*pus …*	*pustrijos*	*sākas,*	*tā*	*ka …*
1sg.DAT	lecture.NOM.PL	half	half-three.LOC.PL	start.PRES.3	so	that

laika	*man*	*ir!*
time.GEN.SG	1sg.DAT	be.PRES.3

'… my lectures start at half… half past two, so … I have some time!'
(MD 2, 21, 1:15)

Genitive subjects of this kind are only found in connection with verbs expressing existence, the most frequent of which is *būt* 'be'. In the survey of casual spoken Latvian performed in 1998, four examples of the construction were found, three of which contained the verb *būt*. In the 2001–2002 survey of casual Latvian as spoken by young people two examples occurred, both of them featuring *būt* and the subject *laika* 'time'. The conclusion to be

[126] The figures for *(pie)trūkt* also include one occurrence in the 2001–2002 survey of the reflexive *pietrūkties* used in the same meaning as the non-reflexive verb (in LLVV this use of *pietrūkties* is given with the label *sar.*, i.e. colloquial [LLVV VI_2:154]). In the mentioned occurrence, *pietrūkties* was used personally with a nominative subject.

drawn is that the genitive-marking of subjects to indicate indefinite quantity is a relatively marginal phenomenon in modern Latvian, and that its use is probably restricted to certain lexemes. Normally, case-marking is not used to indicate the indefiniteness of subjects – whether a subject is definite or indefinite is instead indicated by word order or by the use of definite or indefinite pronouns. Still, the fact remains that the genitive can express indefinite quantity in subjects, and its ability to do so is clearly motivated by the meaning 'a whole as opposed to its subparts'.[127]

4.3.1.2 VARIATION BETWEEN THE GENITIVE AND THE ACCUSATIVE

The functions where variation is found between the genitive expressing 'a whole' and the accusative bear a large degree of similarity to the functions with variation between the genitive and the nominative discussed in section 4.3.1.1. The genitive competes with the accusative a) with quantifiers in phrases occupying an accusative position, b) in objects of negated transitive verbs, c) to a very limited extent in the function of denoting indefinite quantity in objects of affirmative verbs and d) in time expressions with the particle *ik* 'every'. Functions where the accusative competes with the genitive in other meanings than that of 'a whole' will be discussed in section 4.3.2.1.

a) With quantifiers

As already mentioned, the genitive can be used to express a whole of which a quantifier (either a numeral or an indefinite quantifier) expresses a subpart. This applies also when the phrase containing the quantifier occupies a syntactic position where an ordinary noun would appear in the accusative. In such environments, the genitive is in a situation of competition with the accusative. Example (166) from section 4.1.3.2 with the genitive is repeated below as (250) and contrasted with (251), which contains an accusative.

(250) (=166)

… *tur*	*vajag*	*daudz*	*naudas*,	*lai*	*varētu*	*nopirkt* …
there	need.PRES.3	much	money.GEN.SG	in-order-to	can.SUBJ	buy.INF

jaunu	*[dzīvokli] […].*
new.ACC.SG	flat.ACC.SG

'[…] a lot of money is necessary in order to be able to buy … a new [flat] […].' (MD 8, 6, 4:27)

[127] This is also the case if one chooses to take the view of MLLVG (II:216) that partitive genitive subjects of this kind occur in elliptical constructions where a quantifier has been omitted.

(251) *Tev* *daudz* *vēl* *runātājus* *vajag?*
2sg.DAT many still speaker.ACC.PL need.PRES.3
'Do you still need many speakers?'
(MD 1, 1, 3:27)

Again, the norms of the standard language distinguish between numerals, which can be used either with the genitive or the accusative, and indefinite quantifiers, which should only be used with the genitive. This is reflected in the 1998 survey of newspaper language, where the genitive was used in 37 % of the instances with numerals, but in 96 % of the instances with indefinite quantifiers (Berg-Olsen 1999:109, 2000b:99). In the casual spoken language, the accusative is clearly preferred with both classes of quantifiers, as seen in table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Case marking in phrases with numerals and indefinite quantifiers occupying an accusative position. Data from two corpora of spoken Latvian and the 1998 newspaper corpus.

		1998 (spoken language)		2001–2002 (spoken language)		Total (spoken language)		1998 (newspapers)	
Numerals	Gen	6	14 %	5	12 %	11	13 %	71	37 %
	Acc	37	86 %	38	88 %	75	87 %	123	63 %
	?	4		3		7			
	Total	47		46		93		194	
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	5	14 %	3	9 %	8	12 %	45	96 %
	Acc	32	86 %	29	91 %	61	88 %	2	4 %
	?	1		1		2			
	Total	38		33		71		47	

b) With negated transitive verbs

In section 4.1.2.2 it was mentioned that the genitive can be used to mark the objects of negated transitive verbs, but that its use in this function in the standard language is largely limited to contexts where the negation is emphasised, such as sentences with a double negation and certain idiomatic expressions. However, the accusative is often used also in these contexts. In the 1998 survey, the objects of negated transitive verbs were genitive-marked in only 2 % of the instances found in newspapers and 4 % of the instances recorded in casual speech (Berg-Olsen 1999:135, 2000b:102). Example (157) from section 4.1.2.2, repeated here as (252), has double negation and a genitive object. (253) shows the same construction with an accusative object.

(252) (=157)
… es *nezināju* *itin* *nekā* *par* *krievu* *valodu, …*
1sg.NOM not-know.PAST.1SG PART nothing.GEN about Russian.GEN.PL language.ACC.SG
'… I didn't know anything at all about Russian, …'
(MD 2, 1, 2:10)

(253) *Uzreiz* *iestājās* *tumša* *nakts,* *vairs*
immediately set-in.PAST.3 dark.FEM.NOM.SG night.NOM.SG longer
neredzēju *itin* *neko.*
not-see.PAST.1SG PART nothing.ACC
'Immediately it got dark as the night, I didn't see a thing anymore.'
(http://www.e-studija.lv/poligons/060501_neredz.htm, 27 September 2004)

As for the case-marking of objects of non-negated infinitives that are dependent on a negated finite verb, the accusative is probably even more dominating. As already remarked in section 4.1.2.2, not a single example of the genitive in this construction was registered in the 1998 or 2001–2002 surveys. In (254), presented in section 4.1.2.2 as (159), a genitive object is used in this construction. This example can be contrasted with (255), where the object is accusative-marked.

(254) (=159)
Ja *tiesa* *tā* *ir* *izlēmusi,* *tad* *tur* *nekā*
if court.NOM.SG thus be.PRES.3 decide.PAAP.FEM.NOM.SG then there nothing.GEN
nevar *grozīt, […].*
not-can.PRES.3 change.INF
'If the court has decided thus, you cannot change anything, […].'
(http://home.parks.lv/leonards/latvietis/25_novembris/lapa5.htm, 2 December 2003)

(255) *[…]* *kam* *jānotiek* *tas* *notiksies* *un* *tur*
what.DAT happen.DEB DEM.MASC.NOM.SG happen.FUT.3 and there
neko *nevar* *grozīt.*
nothing.ACC not-can.PRES.3 change.INF
'[…] what must happen happens, and you can't change anything about it.'
(http://meeting.oho.lv/meeting.php?cmd=redsleja&raxtsid=10, 22 September 2004)

c) Denoting indefinite quantity in objects of affirmative verbs

In section 4.3.1.1 it was concluded that the genitive to some extent can be used to mark that the subject of an existential verbs occurs in an indefinite quantity. The similar function of marking the indefinite quantity of objects is, however, at best marginal in modern Latvian, in spite of all the main grammars of the language mentioning it (cf. section 4.1.1.2). As with subjects, indefiniteness is normally expressed by word order or indefinite pronouns rather than by a specific case-marking.

d) In time expressions with ik *'every'*

In section 4.1.6 I presented the pattern of case-marking found with the particle *ik* 'every'. In time expressions, one can find examples where *ik* is used with what must be a genitive form, as in (188), repeated here as (256).

(256) (=188)

Bet	*tās*	*skatienus*	*viņš*	*sajūt*	*ik*	*acumirkļa*.
but	DEM.FEM.GEN.SG	look.ACC.PL	3.MASC.NOM.SG	feel.PRES.3	every	instant.GEN.SG

'But he feels its looks every instant.'
(Upīts 1960:139, cited in LLVV III:445)

Such examples are, however, very infrequent; (256) is the most recent example of an unambiguous genitive with *ik* in time expressions that I have found. The form normally used in contexts of this sort is the accusative, which is the case generally used to mark NPs denoting extension in time. Because of the formal homonymy that exists in some paradigms between the accusative plural and the genitive singular and between the accusative singular and the genitive plural, it cannot always be unequivocally decided which case is used. The question whether the use of the genitive with *ik* in time expressions is a feature of modern Latvian must then remain open, or possibly depend on one's definition of modern Latvian. As for the motivation for using the genitive with *ik* in such expressions, the most promising approach in my view is to propose a link with the meaning 'a whole', i.e. a solution that is essentially along the same lines as the proposal put forward by Mathiassen (1997:172–173), mentioned in section 4.1.6.

4.3.1.3 VARIATION BETWEEN THE GENITIVE AND THE INSTRUMENTAL OR *AR* 'WITH' + THE ACCUSATIVE

In at least two functions the genitive denoting 'a whole' is in a situation of variation either with the preposition *ar* 'with', which is used with the accusative,[128] or with both *ar* and the non-prepositional instrumental case.[129] This sort of variation is found a) with nouns denoting quantity and b) with the adjectives *bagāts* 'rich' and *pilns* 'full'.

[128] As all other Latvian prepositions, *ar* is used with the dative case when its complement is in the plural.
[129] For a discussion of the status of the instrumental in modern Latvian, cf. section 3.1.8, where I conclude that the instrumental must be recognised as a separate case, albeit defect and with a very limited functional scope.

a) With nouns denoting quantity

The genitive is normally used to denote the whole of which a subpart is expressed by a noun denoting a unit of measure, a container or a group. One of the examples used in section 4.1.3.1 to illustrate this function was (164), repeated here as (257).

(257) (=164)
… vārdu *sakot,* *iet …* *vesels* *bars*
word.ACC.SG say.GER walk.PRES.3 whole.MASC.NOM.SG bunch.NOM.SG
jauniešu, […].
young-person.GEN.PL
'… in a word, there goes … a whole bunch of young people, […].'
(MD 1, 11, 2:28)

In (258) we see a phrase with the preposition *ar* 'with' used with the same head noun as the genitive in (257), and in a context where the genitive could be expected to occur.

(258) *[…]* *kad* *jums* *pakaļ* *dzenas* *bars* *ar*
when 2pl.DAT after chase.PRES.3 bunch.NOM.SG with
satrakotiem *policistiem […]!*
enrage.PAPP.MASC.DAT.PL policeman.DAT.PL
'[…] when you're chased by a bunch of enraged policemen […]!'
(http://gta3-sa.eclub.lv/gamehero.htm)

(258) shows that prepositional phrases with *ar* at least to some extent can be used instead of the genitive with nouns of this kind. Still, a certain difference in meaning between the two forms can often be discerned: The construction with *ar* to a greater extent focuses on the noun expressing a container or measure, and to a lesser extent on the quantity denoted by this noun. This contrast is clear when comparing the phrase *spainis ūdens* in (259) to *spainis ar ūdeni* in (260):

(259) *Man* *laivā* *skalojās* *jau* *tā* *kāds* *spainis*
1sg.DAT boat.LOC.SG flow.PAST.3 already so some.MASC.NOM.SG bucket.NOM.SG
ūdens […].
water.GEN.SG
'Already about a bucketful of water was flowing around in my boat […].'
(http://snow.shulcs.lv/laivas/8, 14 September 2004)

(260) *Ierobežotā* *teritorijā* *atrodas* *spainis* *ar* *ūdeni*
confine.PAPP.LOC.SG territory.LOC.SG be-located.PRES.3 bucket.NOM.SG with water.ACC.SG
un *lupata,* *kuru* *saslapina* *un* *met* *tālumā […].*
and rag.NOM.SG which.ACC.SG wet.PRES.3 and throw.PRES.3 distance.LOC.SG
'In a confined territory there is a bucket of water and a rag, which is wet and thrown at a distance […].'
(http://www.omvua.lv/php_/nestandarta/spele/pielikums.htm, 14 September 2004)

In (259) the focus is not on the bucket – in fact, there presumably is no bucket in the boat at all. What is important is the quantity of water present in the boat. By contrast, in (260) the bucket receives a certain focus. (260) is part of a description of a (rather unconventional) competition in rag-throwing, and the placement of the bucket with water in a certain area is evidently an important part of the description.

The conclusion is then that the genitive and the prepositional phrases with *ar* have somewhat different meanings when used with nouns denoting quantity, but that the meanings are sufficiently close for a certain overlap to occur in their use. Because of insuffcient quantitative data on the construction with *ar*, I have little basis for saying whether it is expanding or not.

b) With adjectives

In section 4.1.4 I presented the different adjectives that can take genitive complements, arguing that *bagāts* 'rich' and *pilns* 'full', as opposed to the other adjectives in question, express a part-whole relationship. In section 4.2.6 the genitive used with these two adjectives was argued to denote 'a whole'. Both with *bagāts* and *pilns* the genitive is in a situation of variation with prepositional phrases with *ar* 'with' as well as with the non-prepositional instrumental.[130] All three forms are sanctioned by the official norm (MLLVG I:393, II:323 and 325), and they may even appear in the same phrase, as the instrumental plural and the genitive singular in (170), repeated here as (261):

[130] Historically, *ar* was of course used with the instrumental, so its use in the same functions as the non-prepositional instrumental should come as no surprise. The motivation for using these forms with *bagāts* and *pilns* should probably be sought in the fact that a substance that is plentiful in a certain location often is so because someone has placed it there. Entities being manipulated by someone can be linked by way of semantic extension to the the meaning 'instrument' or 'means', which is (or, from the viewpoint of modern Latvian, has been) central to the instrumental. Cf. Janda and Clancy 2002:31–32.

(261) (=170)

Jauniem	*speciālistiem*	*un*	*jaunas*	*aparatūras*
young.MASC.INSTR.PL	expert.INSTR.PL	and	new.FEM.GEN.SG	equipment.GEN.SG
bagāts	*gads*			
rich.MASC.NOM.SG	year.NOM.SG			

'A year rife with young experts and new equipment'
(http://www.media.lv/kv199912/991228/05.htm, 10 december 2003)

The surveys of spoken language performed in 1998 and 2001–2002 do not provide a sufficient amount of data to say anything decisive about the frequency of the different forms used with the two adjectives: In 1998 *pilns* was used once with the genitive and four times with the preposition *ar*,[131] while *bagāts* was used only once, with the non-prepositional instrumental. In 2001–2002 *pilns* was used twice with *ar* and once with the non-prepositional instrumental, while *bagāts* did not occur with a complement in the material. The only conclusion to be drawn from this material and from other observations of spoken and written language is that all three forms are in use, and that the prepositional phrase with *ar* is perhaps somewhat more frequent than the other two forms. As mentioned in section 3.1.8, the use of the non-prepositional instrumental is largely limited to the plural. No such restriction is observed for the genitive.

4.3.2 Variation affecting the genitive in other meanings

Under this heading several functions are subsumed, all of them showing variation between the genitive and the accusative or between the genitive with and without prepositions. The meanings expressed by the genitive in these functions are those of 'goal' and 'source'.

4.3.2.1 Variation between the genitive and the accusative with *žēl* 'sorry' and *vērts* 'worth(y)'

As stated in section 4.1.7, the genitive is generally used with the adverb *žēl* 'sorry' to express the being one feels sorry for or the entity causing a feeling of regret or pity. The genitive is also the only form allowed in the standard language by the official norms. Nevertheless, one does also encounter examples with the accusative, as in (192), repeated here as (262).

---

[131] In the 1998 survey, *pilns* was also registered once with the nominative: *jums arī tur … man liekas, ūdens dzirnavas varbūt pilns* 'in your country too … I believe that it's full of water mills'. This is probably an example of the speaker changing his mind in the middle of a sentence, not bothering to correct the nominative-marking of the phrase *ūdens dzirnavas* to something else after deciding to use the adjective *pilns*.

(262) (=192)
No *cilvēciskā* *viedokļa* *man* *ir* *žēl* *gan*
from human.MASC.GEN.SG.DEF point-of-view.GEN.SG 1sg.DAT be.PRES.3 sorry PART
ASV *jūras* *kājniekus,* *gan* *republikāņu* *gvardus,*
USA sea.GEN.SG infantryman.ACC.PL PART republican.GEN.PL guard.ACC.PL
kas *mirst* *šajā* *karā.*
who.NOM die.PRES.3 DEM.LOC.SG war.LOC.SG
'From the human point of view, I feel sorry both for the US marines and the republican guards who are dying in this war.'
(http://www.tautaspartija.lv/index.php?&tid=467, 7 January 2004)

In section 4.1.7 I mentioned the possibility of ascribing the use of the accusative with *žēl* to influence from Russian, where the corresponding adverb *žal´* is used partly with the genitive and partly with the accusative.[132] A language-internal motivating factor for using the accusative here could be the interpretation of the complement of *žēl* as expressing a goal of a feeling rather than the source of it; this possibility was mentioned in section 4.2.9. The accusative denotes a goal e.g. with the preposition *uz* when this is used to express motion towards something, and accusative-marked objects can also often be characterised as goals of a process. The semantics of the accusative case may thus be compatible to *žēl*, although from a somewhat different viewpoint than the genitive.

It was briefly mentioned in section 4.1.4 that the adjective *vērts* 'worth, worthy' can be found either with a genitive or an accusative complement, at least in the expression *(tas ir) to/tā vērts* '(it is) worth it'. In (263) we see the genitive used in this expression, in (264) the accusative.

(263) *Kājas* *man* *bija* *noberztas* *un* *vēl* *tagad* *sāp,*
foot.NOM.PL 1sg.DAT be.PRET.3 rub-sore.PAPP.FEM.NOM.SG and still now hurt.PRES.3
bet *viss* *tiešām* *bija* *tā* *vērts, […]*
but all.MASC.NOM.SG really be.PAST.3 DEM.MASC.GEN.SG worth.MASC.NOM.SG
'My feet were rubbed sore and are still hurting, but it was all really worth it, […]'
(http://members.lycos.co.uk/gastonz/, 23 September 2004)

(264) *Japāņu* *valoda –* *tas* *ir* *to*
Japanese.GEN.PL language.NOM.SG DEM.MASC.NOM.SG be.PRES.3 DEM.ACC.SG
vērts!
worth.NOM.SG
'[Studying] Japanese – that's worth it!'
(http://home.lanet.lv/~luua/20022003/01/japaanju.html, 23 September 2004)

[132] It remains unclear whether the case variation with Latvian *žēl* could in any way be connected to the fact that the Russian accusative of words designating animate beings is identical to the genitive in the masculine singular and in all plural forms.

I have not been able to find examples with the accusative in other contexts than the one seen in these examples, but its use elsewhere can certainly not be excluded. A search performed on http://www.google.lv 27 September 2004 resulted in 336 instances of the sequence *ir tā vērts* (with the genitive) and 247 instances of the sequence *ir to vērts* (with the accusative). Even when taking into account the possible sources of error involved in a web search of this kind, it seems clear that both forms are fairly frequent in this expression. The motivation for the use of the accusative with *vērts* should probably be sought in the nature of the meaning 'goal', as outlined above in the discussion of the case-marking with *žēl*.

4.3.2.2 Variation between the genitive and the preposition *pēc* 'after' + the genitive

In section 4.1.2.3 I presented the group of verbs expressing 'striving towards something' and taking a genitive complement. As was mentioned, with some of the verbs in this group the genitive is not in use today, although the possibility of using it is still mentioned in grammars, and examples of it can be found in older written sources and in dialects. Thus even one of the more recent grammars of Latvian, Ceplīte and Ceplītis 1991, claims that the genitive can be found with *gaidīt* 'wait', *gribēt* 'want', *lūgt* 'ask, beg', *meklēt* 'seek' and *prasīt* 'ask, demand'. For all practical purposes, however, the accusative has replaced the genitive with all these verbs. With *kārot* 'desire' one finds either the accusative or the preposition *pēc* 'after', but not the non-prepositional genitive. There remain two verbs with which the non-prepositional genitive is found, but where it is in a situation of competition with *pēc*; these are *alkt* 'long, crave' and *ilgoties* 'long, yearn'. Given the low usage frequency of these verbs, it is difficult so say anything decisive about the frequency of non-prepositional genitive complements as opposed to prepositional ones with *pēc*, although the general impression is that the prepositional complements are more frequent. The use of the preposition *pēc* with verbs of this kind is in all probability motivated by other expressions where the genitive complement of this preposition expresses a goal, as seen in examples such as *[i]et uz aku pēc ūdens* 'to go to the well after water', *[j]autāt pēc saimnieces* 'ask for the mistress of the house' and *[i]lgas pēc dzimtenes* 'yearning for the homeland' (all these examples are from LLVV VI_1:575).[133] The use of the accusative with e.g. *gribēt*, *mek-*

[133] As pointed out in section 4.2.5, in the basic sense of the preposition *pēc*, its complement expresses a reference point. The meaning 'goal' seen in these examples is one of several non-basic meanings.

lēt and *kārot* is likewise motivated by the ability of this case to express a goal, as indicated in the discussion of *žēl* in the preceding section.

4.3.2.3 VARIATION BETWEEN THE GENITIVE AND THE PREPOSITION *NO* 'FROM, OF' + THE GENITIVE

The non-prepositional genitive is in a situation of variation with prepositional phrases with *no* 'from, of' in its use with certain verbs denoting avoidance and with the adverb *bail* 'afraid'. The principal verbs concerned are *baidīties* 'be afraid', *kaunēties* 'be ashamed', *sargāties* 'beware' and *vairīties* 'avoid'; Ceplīte and Ceplītis (1991:16) also list *bēgt* 'flee, run away', *bīties* 'fear' and *kautrēties* 'feel shy'. All the mentioned verbs are mostly used with the preposition *no*, but examples with the non-prepositional genitive can also be found, especially with the four former verbs.[134]

In section 4.2.9 the genitive used with the mentioned verbs and with *bail* was characterised as expressing a source. This was also considered the basic meaning of the complement of the preposition *no*. The non-prepositional genitive and the genitive with *no* thus have the same semantic motivation, the difference between the two modes of expression residing in the presence or absence of the preposition and its semantic purport. Insofar as there appears to be a tendency among speakers to prefer using the preposition (both with the verbs presently under discussion and those discussed in the preceding section), speakers seem to prefer the more explicit semantic specification entailed by the prepositional phrase. This should in its turn probably be related to the peripherality of the meanings 'goal' and 'source' in the schematic network of the genitive (cf. figure 4.20 in section 4.2.11.4) and the low type frequency of the non-prepositional genitive in these meanings.

4.3.3 Variation – tendencies and explanations

The patterns of variation presented in the previous sections create a picture where the genitive expressing the meaning 'a whole as opposed to its subparts' meets competition from other forms in all of its functions. In some of the functions – notably with nouns denoting a quantity – the genitive is the default mode of expression, but can at times be replaced by

---

[134] With *bīties* also the accusative is found, especially in texts of a religious character, as in this example: *Kā tēvs apžēlojas par bērniem, tā Dievs apžēlojas par tiem, kas <u>Viņu</u> bīstas*. 'As a father takes pity on his children, so does God take pity on those who fear Him.' (http://www.tukums.parks.lv/home/oskars_l/28spred.htm, 24 September 2004).

another form. In other functions, such as with quantifiers and with negated existential *būt*, the genitive is used relatively frequently, but less frequently in spoken than in written language, the norms of the standard language that support its use obviously being more closely followed in published and proofread texts such as those found in newspapers. Elsewhere the genitive's scope of use is clearly limited (as in objects of negated verbs, where the genitive is only found when the negation is emphasised) or all but non-existing (as with certain verbs and as a marker of indefinite quantity in objects). Apart from the meaning of 'whole', also the (non-prepositional) genitive denoting 'goal' and 'source' is to some extent affected by variation.

The use of the forms competing with the genitive can generally be shown to be motivated and connected to other uses of these forms. A recurrent feature is that the genitive when appearing in a syntactic position normally associated with the default subject or object case meets competition from these cases, i.e. the nominative and the accusative. With the verbs *pietikt* 'suffice' and *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' there is competition between a construction type with a genitive complement that is generally infrequent in the language and a more frequent one with a nominative subject. With certain other verbs there seems to be a tendency towards using a prepositional rather than a non-prepositional genitive.

The question whether the variation observed in Latvian today reflects an ongoing process of change is a difficult one. In Berg-Olsen 1999 and 2000b I showed that even in texts from the 17th and 18th centuries one can often find a situation of variation comparable to the one seen in the modern colloquial language. However, there are serious objections to be raised regarding the usefulness of these texts for the diachronic study of lingustic phenomena; for instance, an overwhelming part of them was not written by native speakers of Latvian (Berg-Olsen 1999:36, 2000b:107–108). On the other hand, also the Latvian folk songs, which for the most part were written down no earlier than the 19th century, present a picture of diversity and variation (Berg-Olsen 1999:76–77, 2000b:120–122). Another factor that must be considered is interdialectal variation and the degree to which this is reflected in the texts available for diachronic studies. Generally speaking, the position of the genitive seems to be stronger in the dialects of Eastern Latvia than elsewhere (Berg-Olsen 1999:97).

A fact that speaks in favour of postulating a development where the genitive is gradually replaced by other forms in a number of functions, is that the Lithuanian genitive retains a strong, albeit not uncontested position in the functions where it meets competition from other forms in Latvian (Berg-Olsen 1999:137–147). Generally speaking, Lithuanian is

known to have preserved more archaic features than Latvian. It is also a fact that the Latvian genitive in folk songs and elsewhere is attested in some functions where it is never used in the modern standard language or the colloquial spoken language of the Riga region.[135] The demise of the genitive in these functions could possibly be viewed as part of a more general trend towards replacing it with other forms.

I am inclined to postulate a change as outlined above, whereby the functional spectre of the Latvian genitive is gradually becoming narrower. As we have seen, the functions primarily involved in the change are those where the genitive expresses the meanings 'whole', 'goal' and 'source'. These meanings are all linked to the more schematic meaning 'participant in an intrinsic relationship', either through schematicity or semantic extension (cf. figure 4.20, section 4.2.11.4). Thus, to the extent that there is an ongoing change that affects the Latvian genitive, it manifests itself in a weakening of the intrinsic relationship schema. The other schematic meaning expressed by the genitive, that of reference point, remains strong, and is not affected by the change. In other words, we may be witnessing a shift in the network of the genitive, the function of expressing a reference point gradually becoming more central at the expense of the functions where the genitive expresses a participant in an intrinsic relationship. This is certainly not an across-the-board shift, as the genitive still retains several important functions where it instantiates a participant in an intrinsic relationship. However, it does seem as if the genitive is in the process of losing most of its adverbal uses and developing into a case that is primarily used adnominally and with prepositions. It remains to be seen whether this development will continue, or whether it can possibly be inhibited by the pressure from the norms of the standard language or other factors.

As for the possible reasons for the change that may seem to be going on in Latvian, I have earlier pointed out that the formal homonymy seen between the genitive on the one hand and the nominative and accusative on the other in Latvian noun paradigms possibly plays a certain role (Berg-Olsen 1999:175–178, 2000a). There also seems to be a tendency towards extending certain patterns that occur frequently in the language, such as the nominative-marking of subjects and the accusative-marking of objects and NPs expressing duration in time. The extension of these patterns occurs especially at the expense of the ex-

[135] Thus, the Latvian genitive is no longer used to express intention in connection with verbs of motion or the location something is removed from, cf. Berg-Olsen 1999:23–25 and 27, 2000b:104–106. As previously mentioned, there are also several verbs that could earlier be found with genitive complements, but which no longer are used with the genitive, e.g. *gribēt* 'want', *meklēt* 'seek' and *vajadzēt* 'need, require'.

plicit marking of part-whole relationships through the genitive. Although a tendency towards unified marking of e.g. subjects and objects across the language would seem to be a simplification of the grammar, at times it also leads to what could be seen as more complicated structures. For instance, when the ability to express indefinite quantity in subjects and objects through case-marking is no longer at the speakers' disposal, they will often use explicit definite or indefinite pronouns instead. This, together with the tendency to use prepositional complements instead of the non-prepositional genitive, can perhaps be viewed as a shift from more synthetic to more analytic forms of expression, a type of change that is well-known from the history of other Indo-European languages.

4.4 Conclusions – the Latvian genitive in a cognitive perspective

The Latvian genitive is a case with very diverse and heterogeneous functions. Nevertheless, I believe that the analysis of this case presented in section 4.2 does show that the use of the genitive in all its different functions is not a matter of coincidence. In the course of this analysis, the functions of the genitive have been shown to group around two abstract semantic concepts, that of reference point and participant in an intrinsic relationship. Moreover, links have been shown to exist between these two meanings, in the form of genitive NPs expressing a reference point taking part in an intrinsic relationship. Although it is conceivable that speakers might extract a superschema that is schematic to all uses of the genitive, in section 4.2.12 I voiced serious doubts about this, due to the high degree of abstractness such a superschema would have.

In my opinion, there are two primary candidates for the position of prototypical meaning within the genitive network, namely the meanings 'reference point at an instance level' ($RP_{INSTANCE}$) and 'whole'. $RP_{INSTANCE}$ represents the semantically most simple and probably the most frequent adnominal use of the genitive. As indicated in section 4.2.2, examples of $RP_{INSTANCE}$ based on a relation of strict possession probably in their turn occupy a salient position within this category, due to the nature of strict possession. As for the genitive expressing the meaning 'whole', it is potentially a candidate for prototypicality within the part of the network where the genitive instantiates a participant in an intrinsic relationship, cf. Langacker's remark that '[a] part/whole relation is just one type of intrinsic relationship, albeit one with special cognitive salience.' (Langacker 2000:77). However, as shown in the discussion on variation involving the genitive, there are signs that this meaning gradually is becoming less salient, as other forms compete with and possibly replace the genitive in the

functions where it has the meaning of ‘whole’. Such changes could be expected to affect peripheral meanings, but not central ones. The variation is thus an important argument against positing the meaning of ‘whole’ as prototypical.

Overall, the network model of Cognitive Grammar in this chapter has been proven to cope well also with the Latvian genitive, providing a level of insight that is generally missing or only partly present in the traditional accounts of the semantics of this case.

5. Summary and conclusions

The aim of this study has been twofold: Firstly, I wanted to take a fresh look at all the different uses of the dative and genitive in modern Latvian and propose a new classification of these uses that would be more consistent, psychologically plausible and instructive than the classifications presented in earlier work in the field. Cognitive Grammar, which aims to explain language data by appealing to general facts about how the human mind works, and which defines as its object of study actual utterances rather than non-overt postulated structures, was deemed to be a promising tool for this undertaking. Secondly, I wanted to put the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar to the test on a set of language data to which it had not earlier been applied, thereby on a small scale testing the applicability of the framework to the study of case in Latvian and on a larger scale testing the viability of the framework as such. In addition to the two main goals, I also wanted to analyse patterns of variation involving the dative and genitive and to analyse these patterns in view of the theoretical approach chosen.

Chapter 2 started out with a brief discussion of general historical developments in the study of case, followed by a more in-depth presentation of some notions in the framework of Cognitive Grammar deemed central to the analysis of case semantics. In this part, emphasis was put on the symbolic thesis, which essentially amounts to the view that each occurrence of a linguistic form is associated with a certain meaning. I also discussed the theoretical status of case morphemes and presented the network model of representing the semantics of linguistic units as well as the concepts of polysemy, prototypicality and schematicity, all of which would have important repercussions for the analysis of the data in chapters 3 and 4. The theoretical part of chapter 2 was followed by a presentation of some important works on case in a Cognitive Grammar framework or frameworks close to that of Cognitive Grammar and a survey of earlier work on case in the Baltic languages, primarily Latvian. It was shown that although quite a lot of work has already been done in this field, the synchronic accounts of the meanings and functions of the different cases in modern Latvian have several deficiencies, the most important of which is their failing to acknowledge the (often quite obvious) semantic connections linking the different uses of a single case.

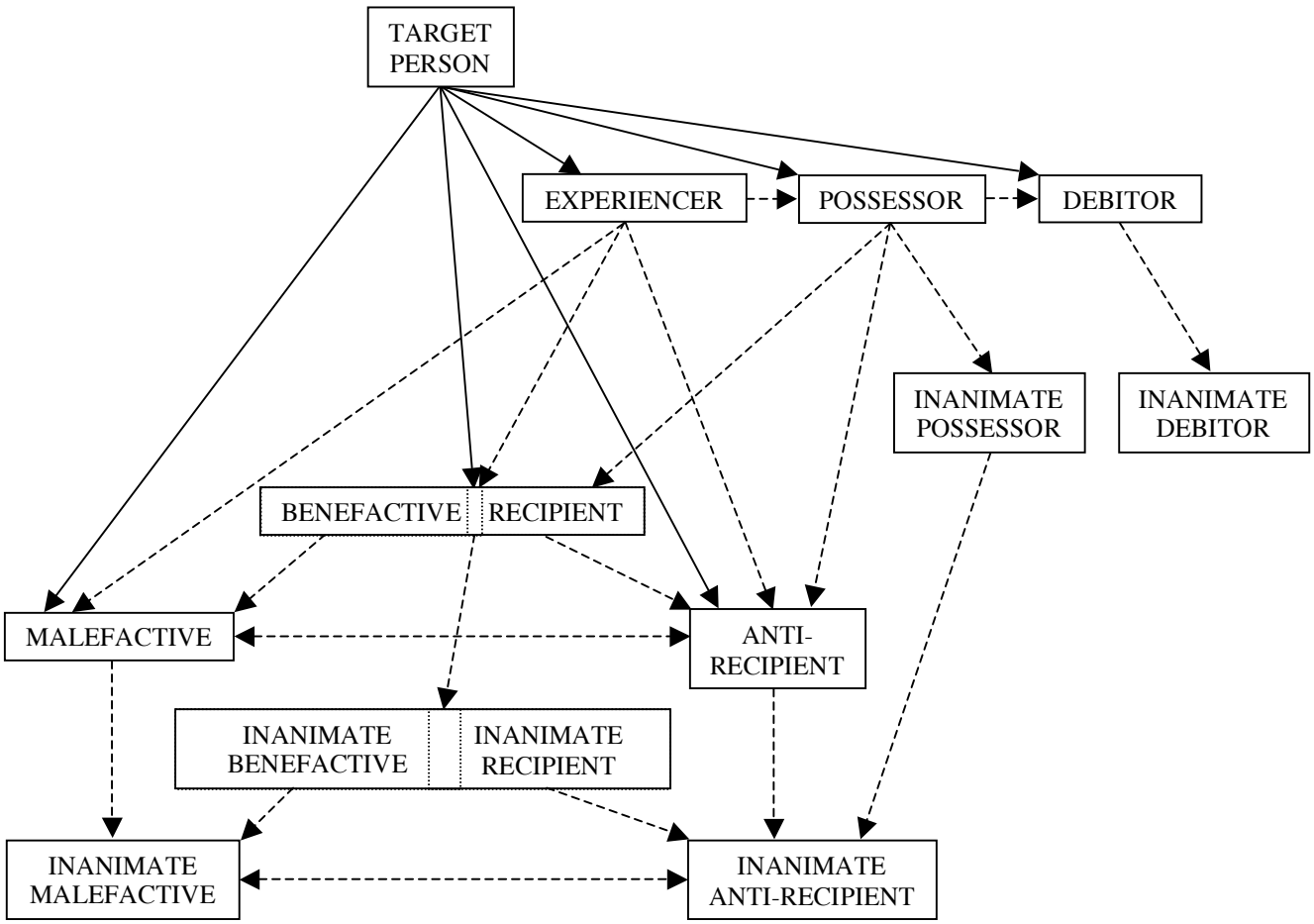
The chapter concluded with a discussion of my reasons to choose the dative and the genitive as my objects of study and a presentation of the data sources and methods employed.

The first part of chapter 3 (on the dative) and chapter 4 (on the genitive) presented the different functions of these cases in modern Latvian arranged in the traditional way, as seen e.g. in Mathiassen 1997. Central to this mode of arranging the functions are three criteria that are essentially based on syntactic facts: a) prepositional versus non-prepositional uses, b) the distinction between adnominal, adverbal and adverbial uses and c) the differentiation between governed and non-governed case. An additional criterion that is used in the presentation of the genitive is the semantically based distinction between partitive and non-partitive functions. Apart from these principal categorisation principles, the arrangement is largely based on semantic criteria, a fact perhaps best illustrated by the division of the adverbal non-partitive genitive into a number of subcategories, e.g. the possessive genitive, the genitive of material and the defining genitive. I argued that the mixing of syntactic and semantic criteria in the grouping of case functions is inconsistent and theoretically ill-founded. From the viewpoint of Cognitive Grammar, case morphemes are linguistic units that carry a certain meaning, and the use of a certain case in any given context is assumed to be semantically motivated. The classification of case functions must therefore be based on semantic criteria. A consequence of this is the rejection of the separation of the prepositional uses of a case from the non-prepositional uses. I further expressed doubts about the applicability of the traditional notion of government, which has proven slippery and hard to define. I instead argued that whether a certain case-marking of an NP in a given context is obligatory or not depends on whether a nominal entity compatible with the meaning of this case is present in the semantic specification of one or more words in the context.

My own analysis of the Latvian dative was presented in the second part of chapter 3. I approached the matter from two angles: Taking as my point of departure the view of Dąbrowska (1997) that a crucial element in the semantics of the dative is *affectedness*, and that the dative ultimately can be analysed as an exponent of the concept *target person*, I subsequently analysed the different semantic roles of the dative, at each step in the analysis evaluating whether the semantic roles could be shown to be related to the supposed schematic meaning of the case. The semantic structure of the dative was found to contain seven semantic roles that could be characterised as full instantiations of the target person role: experiencer, possessor, debitor, recipient, benefactive, anti-recipient and malefactive. There was shown to be a certain overlap between the benefactive and recipient roles as well as be-

tween the malefactive and anti-recipient roles. With the exception of the experiencer role, all the mentioned semantic roles were shown to have been extended from the animate sphere to be used also on NPs denoting inanimate objects – a trait that to some extent distinguishes the Latvian dative from its otherwise quite similar Lithuanian counterpart. The inanimate uses cannot be analysed as instantiations of the target person role, but are connected to such instantiations through semantic extensions. Several other semantic extensions linking separate meanings in the network were also proposed. This is illustrated in figure 5.1 (earlier presented in section 3.2.6.1 as figure 3.24), which represents the part of the schematic network encompassing the target person role, its instantiations and the inanimate meanings connected to it by semantic extensions.

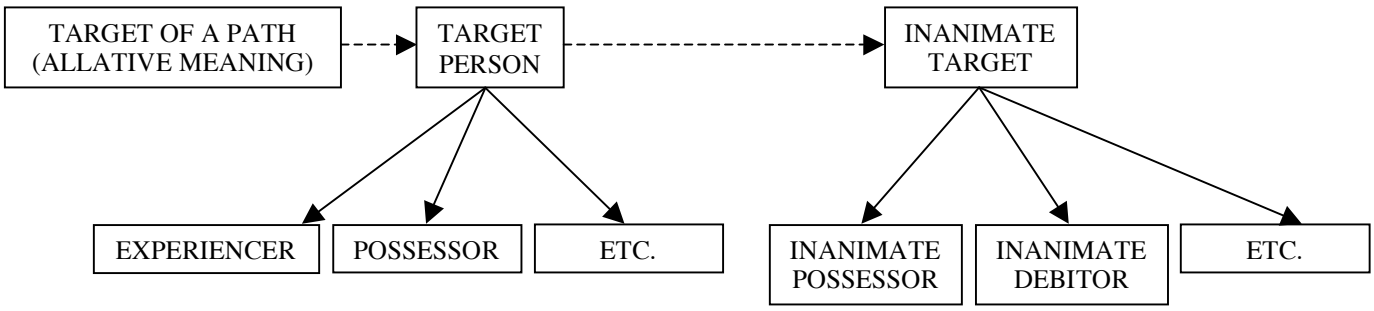
Figure 5.1. The part of the schematic network of the Latvian dative that encompasses the target person role, its instantiations and the inanimate meanings connected to it by semantic extensions.



In its use with the preposition *līdz* 'as far as, until', the dative was analysed as expressing an allative meaning, more specifically the *target of a path*, a concept that could be extended to

an *entity being transferred* and finally to a *path*, the two latter meanings found with the preposition *pa*. I discussed the possibility, suggested by Dąbrowska (1997:52–54), of viewing the allative meaning as the starting point for a semantic extension extending to the target person role. Figure 5.2 (earlier presented in section 3.2.9.1 as figure 3.28) illustrates both this extension from the allative meaning to the target person role and the extension from the target person role to the inanimate uses related to this role. Figure 5.2 thus captures certain aspects of the dative network that are not included in figure 5.1, but it should be seen as a supplement rather than as an alternative to this figure.

Figure 5.2. The schematic network of the Latvian dative (simplified).



Some difficulties were encountered during the analysis; notably, it proved difficult to provide a purely synchronic explanation of the use of the dative to mark all plural complements of prepositions, as well as its use with gerunds in *-ot* and in some fixed expressions with prepositions otherwise used with the genitive (e.g. *pēc tam* 'afterwards'). In all of these instances, diachronic data had to be considered. The use of the dative with gerunds in *-ot* was shown to have been semantically motivated at an earlier point in the development of the language, and its use today can be considered a relict of this earlier state. As for the dative found in plural complements of prepositions and in expressions such as *pēc tam*, this is likely to have its background in phonological and morphological developments involving the merger of certain case forms in the paradigms of nouns and pronouns. The actual nature of these developments remains somewhat unclear due to lack of hard evidence, and the question whether they were semantically motivated must remain open. Nor can diachronic facts be ignored when considering the fate of the Latvian instrumental case, which due to morphological mergers no longer has its own distinct forms, and which today at most can be considered a defect case. As a result of this, certain uses of the non-prepositional instru-

mental plural must be analysed as representing the dative plural. Semantically, these instrumental uses remain distinct from the other meanings of the dative.

I proceeded to discuss the possibility of capturing all the different meanings of the dative by a single, highly abstract superschema. Although the existence of such a superschema – tentatively labelled 'target' – in the minds of at least some speakers could not be excluded, this schema is unlikely to be very salient due to its distance from the basic level of categorisation.

Towards the end of chapter 3 I discussed case variation involving the dative. The verb *simpatizēt* 'sympathise' was shown to have two different construals, with the experiencer expressed either as a nominative subject or a dative complement. All the other instances involved variation between the dative and the accusative; such variation was found with the verbs *interesēt* 'interest', *saistīt* 'tie together, attract, fascinate', *traucēt* 'disturb' and *uztraukt* 'worry, upset'. With all these four verbs as well as with *simpatizēt* the use of the dative is not sanctioned by the official norms, but in their semantic profiles all the verbs include semantic roles that are compatible with the meaning of the dative, and the use of this case is thus semantically motivated.

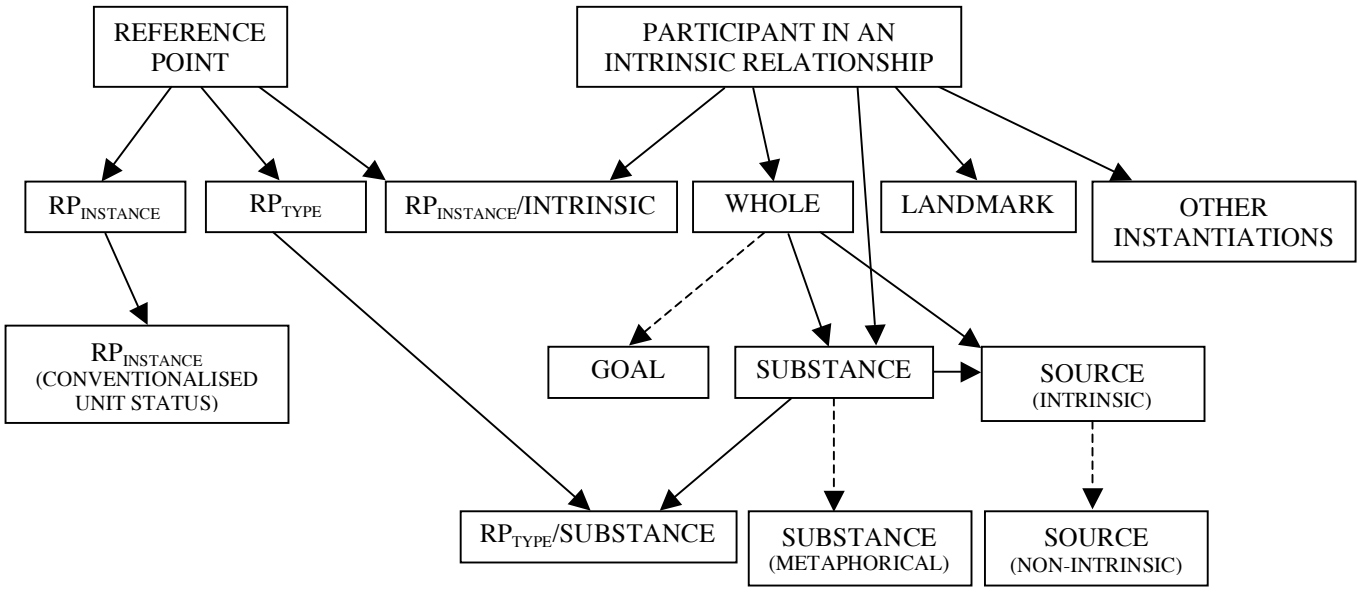
The second part of chapter 4 contained my analysis of the Latvian genitive. Most of the numerous functions of this case were found to instantiate either a *reference point* or a *participant in an intrinsic relationship*, and certain meanings instantiated both of these meanings, creating connecting links between the two parts of the schematic network.

The concept of reference point has earlier been discussed and applied by e.g. Langacker (1991a, 2000) and Taylor (1996). In brief, a reference point serves as an intermediate focus of attention, helping to establish mental contact with another entity, the TARGET. I distinguished between two main types of reference point situations involving the use of the genitive: $RP_{INSTANCE}$, where the reference point identifies one particular entity or set of entities and RP_{TYPE}, where the reference point identifies a category of entities. Instances where a reference point is used in an NP with a conventionalised unit status were recognised as a subtype of $RP_{INSTANCE}$, at the same time sharing some features with RP_{TYPE}. Another subtype of $RP_{INSTANCE}$ is constituted by instances where the TARGET identified by the reference point is a relational noun. Because relational nouns in their semantic specification by definition include an intrinsic relationship between their profiled entity and some other entity or entities, this subtype instantiates both of the schematic meanings of the genitive. The reference point meaning was found to be expressed by the genitive also in its use with a number of

prepositions, at least when these prepositions occur in their spatial meaning, which I consider basic.

The concept of intrinsic relationship (discussed e.g. in Langacker 2000) was also deemed important to the Latvian genitive. In a number of its uses, the genitive was analysed as expressing a participant in such a relationship. This was the case with the genitive expressing a whole (roughly equivalent to the partitive genitive in the traditional classification), a substance (in non-metaphorical senses), a source (in certain senses), a landmark and several other meanings. Some of the uses of the genitive, e.g. that of expressing a goal, were analysed as connected to the schematic network by semantic extensions rather than links of schematicity. Figure 5.3 (presented as figure 4.20 in section 4.2.11.4) presents the proposed schematic network of the genitive.

Figure 5.3. The schematic network of the Latvian genitive.



After discussing the different meanings of the genitive and the relationships linking them, I turned to the question whether it is feasible to postulate a meaning that would be schematic to all the uses of this case. This superschema would have to be very abstract indeed, its semantic specification amounting to something like 'participant in a relationship'. Having already expressed doubts about the existence in the minds of speakers of such a superschema for the dative, I considered it even more unlikely that speakers extract a superschema for the genitive. Still, its existence in the minds of some speakers cannot be excluded on grounds of principle.

The last part of chapter 4 dealt with variation involving the genitive. Compared to the dative, the genitive competes with other forms in a much larger number of functions. Variation is primarily observed in the functions where the genitive expresses a whole, i.e. in the uses traditionally labelled the partitive genitive and the genitive with negation. Generally, the genitive competes with the default subject and object cases, nominative and accusative, when used in phrases occupying subject and object positions respectively. This can be seen in quantifier phrases with indeclinable numerals and indefinite quantifiers, with the verb *būt* 'be' when used in an existential sense and negated as well as with negated transitive verbs. The verbs *pietikt* 'suffice' and *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' are used either impersonally with a genitive complement or personally with a nominative subject. When the particle *ik* 'every' is used in time expressions, the genitive is sporadically found instead of the customary accusative.

The degree to which the genitive is employed in the different functions varies; in the written language used in newspapers there is a tendency to prefer the genitive if it is prescribed by the official norm, while in the colloquial language other forms are often preferred even here. In the function of marking objects of negated transitive verbs, the use of the genitive is restricted to contexts where the negation is emphasised in some way. The possibility of indicating the indefinite quantity of an object solely by genitive-marking seems to have become obsolete, while genitive-marking still to a limited extent can convey indefinite quantity on subjects of existential verbs.

The genitive was found to compete with prepositional phrases with *ar* 'with' (with the accusative) in its use with nouns denoting quantity. I expressed the view that these two constructions represent different construals, but that there nevertheless is a certain overlap between their uses. With the adjectives *bagāts* 'rich' and *pilns* 'full', the genitive competes both with prepositional phrases with *ar* and the non-prepositional instrumental.

Apart from the meaning 'a whole', variation also occurs in some of the functions where the genitive expresses a goal or a source. Variation between the genitive and the accusative was found with the adverb *žēl* 'sorry' (goal or source) and the adjective *vērts* 'worth, worthy' (goal). With certain verbs, e.g. *alkt* 'long, crave', the complement expressing a goal is marked either with the non-prepositional genitive or appears in a prepositional phrase with *pēc* 'after' (used with the genitive). Other verbs, e.g. *baidīties* 'be afraid', have complements expressing a source and appearing either in the non-prepositional genitive or in prepositional phrases with *no* 'from, of' (used with the genitive).

I proceeded to discuss whether the far-reaching variation involving the genitive in modern Latvian is a sign of an ongoing process whereby the genitive is gradually losing some of its functions. The diachronic evidence available shows that a situation of variation seems to have pertained for several centuries. I am nevertheless inclined to see the variation as a sign of change, especially in light of evidence from Lithuanian, where the genitive remains stable in the functions where it seems to be losing ground in Latvian.

I believe that this dissertation has convincingly shown that both the Latvian dative and genitive are semantically coherent categories, the various functions of each case being related through schematicity or semantic extension. By using the tools provided by the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar, I have demonstrated that it is possible to analyse the two cases on a purely semantic basis. The analysis proposed is – at least in my view – psychologically more plausible than the traditional accounts, and its application in the teaching of Latvian to foreign students will probably ease their mastering of parts of the Latvian case system. It should be emphasised that the proposed analyses are hypotheses about the structure of the two categories that could quite conceivably be revised in the light of new data.

Although the application of Cognitive Grammar to the subject matter on the whole must be considered successful, the problems encountered in the analysis of some of the uses of the dative could indicate that it is not always possible to explain language facts through a synchronic analysis. Factors such as conventionalisation and semantic bleaching clearly play a role here, and must also be given due attention.

The dissertation raises several issues that should be given proper attention in the future: Firstly, an obvious extention of the present work would be to analyse the remaining Latvian cases along the same lines. The fact that the dative and genitive in all probability are the two semantically most complicated cases in the Latvian case system indicates that this would be quite a manageable task. Secondly, a parallel study of the Lithuanian case system would provide the basis for contrasting the two systems, possibly gaining new insight into how and why grammatical categories in closely related languages tend to follow either similar or different lines of development. Finally, a tempting undertaking would be to test the hypotheses about the structure of the Latvian dative and genitive put forward here by conducting relevant psycholinguistic experiments.

References

Ambrazas, Vitautas (1990) *Sravnitel´nyj sintaksis pričastij baltijskich jazykov*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Ambrazas, Vytautas (1962) *Absoliutinis naudininkas XVI–XVII a. lietuvių kalbos paminkluose = Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* V. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademija.

Andersen, Henning (1970) 'The Dative of Subordination in Baltic and Slavic', in: Thomas F. Magner and William R. Schmalstieg (eds.) *Baltic Linguistics*. University Park/London: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1–9.

Andronov, Aleksey V. (2001) 'A survey of the case paradigm in Latvian', in: Nicole Nau (ed.) *Typological approaches to Latvian = Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 54/2, 197–208.

Babby, Leonard H. (1986) 'The Locus of Case Assignment and the Direction of Percolation: Case Theory and Russian', in: Brecht and Levine 1986. 170–219.

Babby, Leonard H. (1987) 'Case, prequantifiers and discontinuous agreement in Russian', in: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5, 91–138.

Bally, Charles (1926) 'L'expression des idées de sphère personnelle et de solidarité dans les langues indo-européennes', in: F. Fankhauser and J. Jud (eds.) *Festschrift Louis Gauchat*. Aarau: Verlag H.R. Sauerländer & Co. 68–78.

Barons, Krišjānis and Henrijs Wissendorffs (1894–1915) *Latwju Dainas* (vols. I–VI). Vol. I Jelgava:H.I. Drawin-Drawneeka general-komisija; Vols. II–VI St. Petersburg/Petrograd: Ķeizariskàs Zinibu Akademijas speeztawa.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (1999) *A syntactic change in progress: The decline in the use of the non-prepositional genitive in Latvian, with a comparative view on Lithuanian.* Unpublished mag.art. dissertation. University of Oslo.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (2000a) 'The role of morphological homonymy in the development of case patterns in Latvian', in: *Materialy XXIX mežvuzovskoj naučno-metodičeskoj konferencii prepodavatelej i aspirantov. Vypusk 1. Sekcija baltistiki. 1–3 marta 2000 g. Morfologija i slovoobrazovanie baltijskich jazykov. Tezisy dokladov*. St Petersburg: Izdatel´stvo S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta. 10–12.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (2000b) 'The Latvian non-prepositional genitive – a case losing ground', in: *Res Balticae* 6, 95–146.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (2000c) ‘Latviešu valodas locījumu lietošana partitīvajās un adverbālajās funkcijās senajos rakstos un mūsdienās’, in: *Baltistica IX 2000. Starptautiskais baltistu kongress «Baltu valodas laikmetu griežos». Referātu tēzes*. Riga: Latviešu valodas institūts. 34–36.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (2001) ‘Subjects and valency-changing mechanisms in Latvian’, in: Nicole Nau (ed.) *Typological approaches to Latvian = Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 54/2, 209–225.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla (2003) ‘Latviešu valodas ģenitīva semantika’, in: Alvydas Butkus et al. (eds.) *Valoda – 2003. Valoda dažādu kultūru kontekstā. Zinātnisko rakstu krājums XIII*. Daugavpils: Saule. 9–14.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla and Hanne Martine Eckhoff (2002) ‘Adnominal genitives and denominal adjectives in Latvian and Old Russian – a typological and historical approach’, in: *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija* XV, 175–193.

Blake, Barry J. (1994) *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bojāte, Apolonija (1958) ‘Datīva locījuma nozīmes tiešajā verbālajā pārvaldījumā jaunstrāvnieku publicistiskajos darbos („Dienas Lapā“)’, in: *Latvijas valsts universitātes zinātniskie raksti* 25/3A, 91–114.

Brecht, Richard D. and James S. Levine (eds.) (1986) *Case in Slavic*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.

Bretkūnas, Jonas (finished 1590, unpublished) (translator) *Biblia tatai esti Wissas Schwentas Raschtas Lietuwischkai pergulditas per Janą Bretkuną …*

Brown, Cheryl (1983) ‘Topic continuity in written English narrative’, in: Talmy Givón (ed.) *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 313–341.

Brugman, Claudia Marlea (1983) *Story of over*. Bloomington: Indiana Linguistics Club.

Bukšs, Mikelis and J. Placinskis (1973) *Latgaļu volūdas gramatika un pareizraksteibas vōrdneica*. 2. īspīdums. Munich: P/s Latgaļu izdevnīceiba.

Bušs, Ojārs (1984) ‘Ikdienas runas specifika un tās pētīšana’, in: *Latviešu valodas kultūras jautājumi* 19, 22–34.

Ceplīte, Brigita and Laimdots Ceplītis (1991) *Latviešu valodas praktiskā gramatika*. Riga: Zvaigzne.

Chomsky, Noam (1995) *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Croft, William and D. Alan Cruse (2004) *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dąbrowska, Ewa (1994) ‘Nominative and dative experiencers: Two folk theories of the mind’, in: *Linguistics* 32, 1029–1054.

Dąbrowska, Ewa (1997) *Cognitive Semantics and the Polish Dative*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dahlerus, Lars (1993) *Kortfattad lettisk uttalslära*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för slaviska och baltiska språk.

Delbrück, Berthold (1893) *Vergleichende Syntax der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Erster Theil*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Delbrück, Berthold (1907) *Synkretismus. Ein Beitrag zur Germanischen Kasuslehre*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Ėndzelin, I. (1906) *Latyšskie predlogi. II čast´*. Jur´ev: Tipografija K. Mattisena. Reprinted in Endzelīns 1971.

Endzelīns, Jānis (1922) *Lettische Grammatik*. Riga: Kommissionsverlag A. Gulbis.

Endzelīns, Jānis (1951) *Latviešu valodas gramatika*. (Translated and somewhat expanded edition of Endzelīns 1922.) Riga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

Endzelīns, Jānis (1971) *Darbu izlase*. I. Riga: Zinātne.

Endzelins, J. and K. Mühlenbachs (1907) *Latweeschu gramatika*. Riga: K.J. Eichmaņa apgahdiba.

Fennell, Trevor G. (1975) 'Is there an instrumental case in Latvian?', in: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 6/1, 41–48.

Fraenkel, Ernst (1928) *Syntax der litauischen Kasus*. Kaunas: L.U. Humanitarinių mokslų fakultetas. (Reprint of a text originally published in *Tauta ir žodis* IV and V, 1922.)

Freimane, Inta (1963) 'Vienpersonas verbi, kas mūsdienu latviešu literārajā valodā biedrojas ar ģenitīvu', in: *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas vēstis* 11 (196), 52–62.

Freimane, Inta (1966) 'Ģenitīvs vai cits locījums?', in: *Latviešu valodas kultūras jautājumi* 2, 116–123.

Gāters, Alfrēds (1977) *Die lettische Sprache und ihre Dialekte*. The Hague/Paris/NewYork: Mouton.

Geiger, Richard A. and Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.) (1993) *Conceptualizations and Mental Processing in Language*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grīsle, Rasma (1998) 'Vai latviešu valodā ir instrumentālis?', in: *Brīvā Latvija* 9 (550), 4.

Haegeman, Liliane (1994) *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*. Second edition. Oxford/Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Hansen, Tomoko Okazaki (2004) *The Japanese Dative: A Cognitive Analysis*. Acta Humaniora 195. Dissertation for the degree of Dr. Art. Oslo: Unipub.

Harbert, Wayne and Almeida J. Toribio (1991) 'Nominative Objects', in: *Non-canonical Case-assignment. Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 9, 127–192.

Harris, Alice C. and Lyle Campbell (1995) *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd (1997) *Possession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hjelmslev, Louis (1935) *La catégorie des cas: Étude de grammaire générale*. Acta Jutlandica VII,1. Århus: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus. Reprinted in (1972) *La catégorie des cas: Étude de grammaire générale*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Holvoet, Axel (1992) 'Bemerkungen über die Entwicklung des lettischen Kasussystems: der Instrumental', in: Wojciech Smoczyński and Axel Holvoet (eds.) *Colloquium Pruthenicum Primum. Papers from the First International Conference on Old Prussian held in Warsaw, September 30th–October 1st, 1991*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. 143–149.

Holvoet, Axel (1993) 'On the syntax and semantics of adpositional local phrases in Latvian', in: *Linguistica Baltica* 2, 131–149.

Holvoet, Axel (1994) 'Notes on the Latvian passive', in: *Linguistica Baltica* 3, 131–140.

Holvoet, Axel (2000) '[Review of] Terje Mathiassen. A short grammar of Latvian.', in: *Linguistica Baltica* 8, 214–218.

Holvoet, Axel (2001a) 'Why are prepositional phrases ousted by pure case forms in Latvian?', in: *Linguistica Baltica* 9, 87–98.

Holvoet, Axel (2001b) 'Zur Variation des possessiven Dativs mit dem adnominalen Genitiv im Baltischen (besonders im Lettischen)', in: Winfried Boeder and Gerd Hentschel (eds.) *Variierende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterschiedlichen Typs* (Studia Slavica Oldenburgiensia 4). Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg. 101–118.

Holvoet, Axel (2003) 'Modal constructions with 'be' and the infinitive in Slavonic and Baltic', in: *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 48 (4), 465–480.

Holvoet, Axel (2004) 'On the marking of predicate nominals in Baltic', in: Philip Baldi and Pietro U. Dini (eds.) *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics in Honor of William R. Schmalstieg = Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* vol. 254. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 75–90.

Holvoet, Axel and Loreta Semėnienė (2004) 'Linksnio teorijos pagrindai', in: Axel Holvoet and Loreta Semėnienė (eds.) *Gramatinių kategorijų tyrimai*. (= *Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos darbai 2*).Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla. 11–33.

Jakobson, Roman (1936) 'Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre. Gesamtbedeutungen der russischen Kasus', in: Jakobson 1971. 23–71.

Jakobson, Roman (1958) 'Morfologičeskie nabljudenija nad slavjanskim skloneniem', in: Jakobson 1971. 154–183.

Jakobson, Roman (1971) *Selected Writings. II. Word and Language*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.

Janda, Laura A. (1993) *A Geography of Case Semantics. The Czech Dative and the Russian Instrumental*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Janda, Laura A. and Steven J. Clancy (2002) *The Case Book for Russian*. Bloomington, Indiana: Slavica Publishers.

Kalnača, Andra (1999) 'Lietvārda locījuma formu paradigmātika latviešu valodā', in: *Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti. Rakstu krājums. 3*. Liepāja: Liepājas Pedagoģijas akadēmija, Latviešu valodas katedra. 81–97.

Kalnača, Andra (2002) 'Lietvārda locījumu formu konkurence latviešu valodā', in: *Linguistica Lettica* 10, 135–150.

Kārkliņš, Jūlijs (1968) 'Datīva semantisko un strukturālo funkciju problemātika vienkāršā teikumā', in: Zemzare et al. 1968, 267–297.

Karulis, Konstantīns (1992) *Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca* (Vols. I–II). Riga: Avots.

Kroma, Monta and Boriss S. Burlaks (1956) *Neskarto zemju plašumos*. Riga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy (1949) 'Le problème du classement des cas', in: *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa jezykoznawczego* 9, 20–43. Reprinted in (1960) *Esquisses linguistiques*. Wrocław/Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 131–150.

Labov, William (1972a) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William (1972b) 'Some principles of linguistic methodology', in: *Language in Society* 1, 97–120.

Lagzdiņa, Sarmīte (1997a) 'Adverbi, prievārdi vai pusprievārdi?', in: *Linguistica Lettica* 1, 185–205.

Lagzdiņa, Sarmīte (1997b) 'Verbs *nebūt* morfoloģiskajā paradigmā un teikumā', in: *Savai valodai. Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas goda loceklim Rūdolfam Grabim veltīts piemiņas krājums*. Riga: Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas vēstis.

Lakoff, George (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1987) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume I. Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1991a) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume II. Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1991b) *Concept, Image, and Symbol*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Langacker, Ronald W. (2000) *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lauze, Linda (2001) *Vienkārša teikuma dinamika latviešu sarunvalodā: sociolingvistiskais aspekts. The dynamics of the simple sentence in Latvian colloquial speech: the sociolinguistic aspect. Promocijas darbs filoloģijas doktora grāda iegūšanai valodniecības zinātņu nozarē*. Liepāja: Liepājas Pedagoģijas akadēmija.

Lauze, Linda (2004) *Ikdienas saziņa: vienkaršs teikums latviešu sarunvalodā*. Liepāja: Liepājas Pedagoģijas akadēmija.

Leko, Nedžad (1990) 'Case of Noun Phrases in Serbo-Croatian and Case Theory', in: *Folia Linguistica* XXIII/1–2, 27–54.

Lepika, Milda (1954) 'Par objektu pie noliegta transitiva verba latviešu literarajā valodā', in: *Valodas un literaturas instituta raksti* III, 5–45.

Lerchis-Puškaitis, Anss (1891–1902) *Latviešu tautas teikas un pasakas*. (Vols. I–VII). Jelgava.

LLVV = Laimdots Ceplītis et al. (eds.) (1972–96) *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca*. (Vols. I–V+ VI_1, VI_2, VII_1, VII_2 and VIII). Riga: Zinātne.

Lokmane, Ilze (2002) 'Datīvs latviešu valodas sintaktiskajā sistēmā', in: *Linguistica Lettica* 10, 151–161.

Lukss, Valdis (1955) *Izlase*. Riga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

LVV = Dainuvīte Guļevska et al. (1987) *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca*. Riga: Avots.

Mathiassen, Terje (1996a) *A Short Grammar of Lithuanian*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.

Mathiassen, Terje (1996b) *Russisk grammatikk*. 2. utgave. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Mathiassen, Terje (1997) *A Short Grammar of Latvian*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.

Mitchell, Erika (1991) 'Case and the Finnish Object', in: *Non-canonical Case-assignment. Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 9 (fall 1991), 193–228.

MLLVG = Anna Bergmane et al. (1959–62) *Mūsdienu latviešu literārās valodas gramatika* (vols. I–II). Riga: LPSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas izdevniecība.

Muižniece, Lalita (2002) *Latviešu valodas praktiskā fonoloģija*. Riga: Rasa ABC.

Nau, Nicole (1998) *Latvian.* (Languages of the World/Materials 217.) Munich/Newcastle: Lincom Europa.

Neeleman, Ad and Fred Weerman (1999) *Flexible Syntax. A Theory of Case and Arguments*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Nikiforidou, Kiki (1991) 'The meanings of the genitive: A case study in semantic structure and semantic change', in: *Cognitive Linguistics* 22, 149–205.

Paulauskienė, Aldona (1989) *Gramatinės lietuvių kalbos vardažodžių kategorijos*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Pauniņa, Ingrīda (2001) *Instrumentāļa nozīmes un realizācija*. Maģistra darbs. Latvijas Universitāte, Filoloģijas fakultāte, Baltu valodu katedra.

Rainis (1980) *Kopoti raksti. 10. sējums. Lugas*. Riga: Zinātne.

Rainis (1981) *Kopoti raksti. 13. sējums. Lugas*. Riga: Zinātne.

Rainis (1985) *Kopoti raksti. 21. sējums. Vēstules*. Riga: Zinātne.

Rainis (1986) *Kopoti raksti. 24. sējums. Dienasgrāmatas un piezīmes*. Riga: Zinātne.

Rosch, Eleanor, Carolyn B. Mervis, Wayne D. Gray, David M. Johnson and Penny Boyes-Braem (1976) 'Basic Objects in Natural Categories', in: *Cognitive Psychology* 8/3, 382–439.

Rozenbergs, Jānis (1968) 'Par ģenitīva nozīmju klasifikācijas principiem', in: Zemzare et al. 1968, 249–266.

Rozenbergs, Jānis (1970) 'Ģenitīva funkcionālo tipu sistēma latviešu valodā', in: M. Mieze (ed.) *Latviešu valodas un literatūras problēmas*. Riga: Zvaigzne. 49–66.

Sakse, Anna (1948) *Pret kalnu*. Riga: Latvijas valsts izdeviniecība.

Smith, Michael B. (1987) *The Semantics of Dative and Accusative in German: An Investigation in Cognitive Grammar*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, San Diego.

Smith, Michael B. (1993) 'Cases as conceptual categories: Evidence from German', in: Geiger and Rudzka-Ostyn 1993. 531–565.

Sreznevskij, Izmail I. (1989): *Slovar´ drevnerusskogo jazyka*. Reprintnoe izdanie. Tom pervyj. Čast´ 2. E–K. Moscow: Kniga.

Strelēvica, Dace (2003): 'Attieksme pret pieliekuma ģenitīvu un tā lietojums latviešu valodā', in: *Linguistica Lettica* 12, 48–60.

Strods, Pīters (1990) *Pareizraksteibas vōrdneica*. Atkortots izdevums. Daugavpils: Latvijas PSR Izgleiteibas Minstrija un Daugavpiļs latgaļu saime. (Reprint of the original published in 1933.)

Šukys, Jonas (1998) *Lietuvių kalbos linksniai ir prielinksniai: vartosena ir normos*. Kaunas: Šviesa.

Taylor, John R. (1992) 'Old problems: Adjectives in Cognitive Grammar', in: *Cognitive Linguistics* 3/1, 1–36.

Taylor, John R. (1995) *Linguistic Categorization*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, John R. (1996) *Possessives in English. An Exploration in Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, John R. (2002) *Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Upīts, Andrejs (1947) *Kopoti raksti. IV*. Riga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

Upīts, Andrejs (1960) *Noveles*. Riga: Latvijas valsts izdevniecība.

Valdmanis, Jānis (1994) 'Datīva funkciju problēma latviešu valodas sintaksē', in: *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas vēstis A* 1(558), 28–31.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1980) *The Case for Surface Case*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1986) 'The Meaning of a Case: A Study of the Polish Dative', in: Brecht and Levine 1986. 386–426.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1988) *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zemzare, Daina et al. (eds.) (1968) *Latviešu leksikas attīstība*. Latvijas valsts universitātes zinātniskie raksti, 86. sējums. Riga: Zinātne.

Zeps, Valdis J. (1990) 'The false genitive plural in emigré Latvian', in: Baiba Metuzāle-Kangere and Helge D. Rinholm (eds.) *Symposium Balticum. A Festschrift to honour Professor Velta Rūķe-Draviņa*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 597–599.

Appendix

Table 1. Distribution of case with quantifiers in phrases occupying a nominative position, according to the sex of the respondent. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

		Male		Female		Total	
Numerals	Gen	0	0 %	4	11 %	4	8 %
	Nom	12	100 %	34	89 %	46	91 %
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	28	61 %	45	61 %	73	61 %
	Nom	18	39 %	29	39 %	47	39 %

Table 2. Distribution of case with quantifiers in phrases occupying a nominative position, according to the type of recording. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

		Group conversations		Interviews		Total	
Numerals	Gen	2	17 %	2	5 %	4	8 %
	Nom	10	83 %	36	95 %	46	91 %
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	21	62 %	52	60 %	73	61 %
	Nom	13	38 %	34	40 %	47	39 %

Table 3. Distribution of case with quantifiers in phrases occupying an accusative position, according to the sex of the respondent. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

		Male		Female		Total	
Numerals	Gen	4	17 %	1	5 %	5	12 %
	Acc	19	83 %	19	95 %	38	88 %
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	0	0 %	3	13 %	3	9 %
	Acc	8	100 %	21	88 %	29	91 %

Table 4. Distribution of case with quantifiers in phrases occupying an accusative position, according to the type of recording. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

		Group conversations		Interviews		Total	
Numerals	Gen	2	15 %	3	10 %	5	12 %
	Acc	11	85 %	27	90 %	38	88 %
Indefinite quantifiers	Gen	1	13 %	2	8 %	3	9 %
	Acc	7	88 %	22	92 %	29	91 %

Table 5. Distribution of subject case with negated existential *būt* 'be', according to the sex of the respondent. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

	Male		Female		Total	
Gen	32	46 %	64	57 %	96	53 %
Nom	37	54 %	48	43 %	85	47 %

Table 6. Distribution of subject case with negated existential *būt* 'be', according to the type of recording. Data from the 2001–2002 survey of spoken Latvian.

	Group conversations		Interviews		Total	
Gen	35	49 %	61	56 %	96	53 %
Nom	37	51 %	48	44 %	85	47 %

Table 7. Distribution of instances of quantifiers in a nominative position, according to the sex of the respondents.[136]

Male	79	38 %	(expected: 43 %)
Female	128	62 %	(expected: 57 %)
Total	207		

[136] In tables 7–9 the 'expected' percentages were calculated by looking at the distribution of male and female respondents. Of a total of 14 respondents, 6 were male (43 %) and 8 were female (57 %).

Table 8. Distribution of instances of quantifiers in an accusative position, according to the sex of the respondents.

Male	34	43 %	(expected: 43 %)
Female	45	57 %	(expected: 57 %)
Total	79		

Table 9. Distribution of instances of negated existential *būt* 'be', according to the sex of the respondents. In these figures are also included one instance of the construction *nevarēt būt* 'cannot be'.

Male	76	37 %	(expected: 43 %)
Female	130	63 %	(expected: 57 %)
Total	206		

Table 10. Distribution of instances of quantifiers in a nominative position, according to the type of setting.[137]

Group conversation	62	30 %	(expected: 42 %)
Interview	145	70 %	(expected: 58 %)
Total	207		

Table 11. Distribution of instances of quantifiers in an accusative position, according to the type of setting.

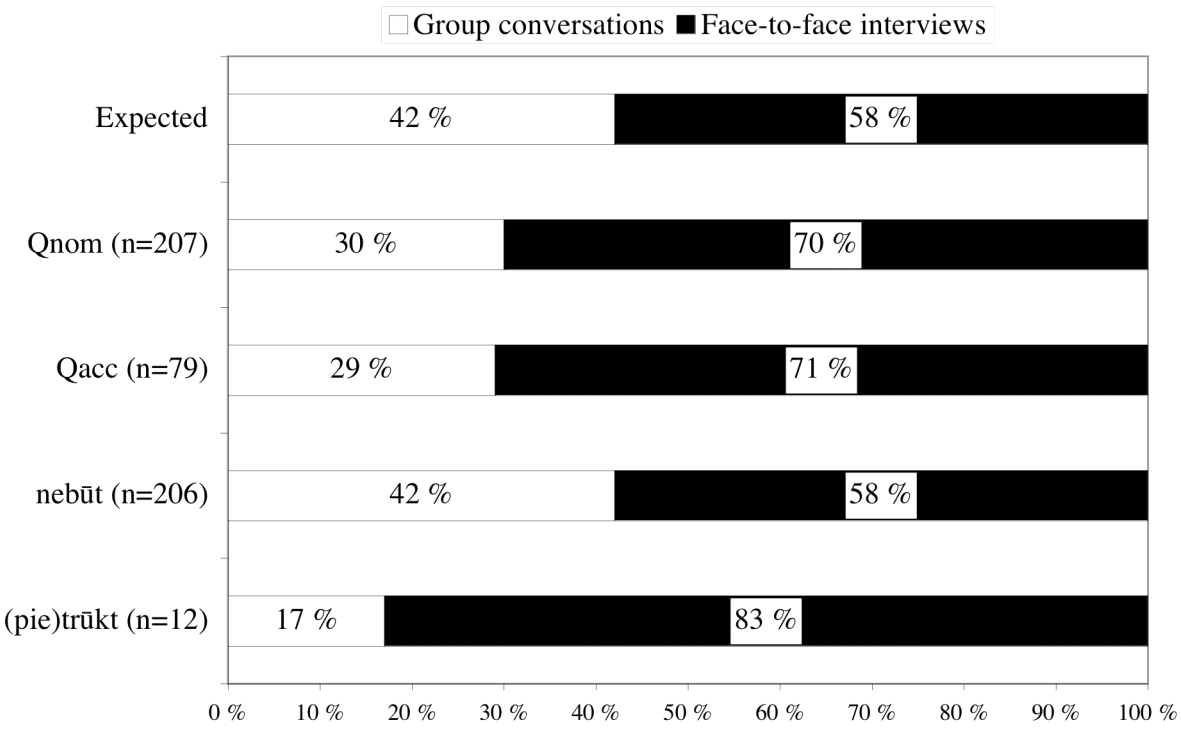
Group conversation	23	29 %	(expected: 42 %)
Interview	56	71 %	(expected: 58 %)
Total	79		

Table 12. Distribution of instances of negated existential *būt* 'be', according to the type of setting. In these figures are also included one instance of the construction *nevarēt būt* 'cannot be'.

Group conversation	85	42 %	(expected: 42 %)
Interview	120	58 %	(expected: 58 %)
Total	206		

[137] In tables 10–12 the 'expected' percentages were calculated by looking at the distribution of group conversations and interviews. There were five group conversations, each of which lasted for an hour, and 14 interviews lasting for half an hour. This gives a total of 5 hours of group recordings (42 %) and 7 hours of interviews (58 %).

Figure 1. The distribution according to the recording situation of all instances of four constructions registered in the 2001–2002 survey. Qnom = quantifiers in phrases occupying a nominative position, Qacc = quantifiers in phrases occupying an accusative position, nebūt = the verb *būt* 'be' used in an existential sense and negated. The 'expected' distribution reflects the total length of the recordings of group conversations (5 hours) and face-to-face interviews (7 hours). The figures for *(pie)trūkt* 'lack' also include one instance of the reflexive variant of this verb, *pietrūkties*.



Index

A

ablative, 120, 175
absolute dative, 46, 99, 100, 101, 119
abstract case, 6
adjectives, 158
affectedness, 62
agent nouns, 155
agentive dative, 51, 73
agentive genitive, 136
agreement, 14, 42, 43, 44
allative meaning (of the dative), 101
analogy, 106
analytic forms of expression, 202
anti-recipient, 89
appositional relationships, 180
atemporal relations, 13, 158

B

Baltic, 2, 4, 12, 21, 23, 24, 104, 204
basic level of categorisation, 15, 111, 183, 208
benefactive, 83

C

Chomsky, Noam, 7
cognitive linguistics, 24
conceptual autonomy, 143
construal, 17, 20, 36, 69, 70, 109, 113, 114
craftsman model, 69, 113
cue validity, 142, 145, 151, 154, 158
Czech, 12, 19, 89

D

Dąbrowska, Ewa, 3, 17, 20, 61, 63, 69, 84, 86, 92, 99, 104, 109, 111, 205, 207
dative of person, 37
dative of purpose, 48, 88
dativus commodi, 37
dativus incommodi, 37
deadjectival nouns, 158
debitive, 9, 23, 24, 25, 34, 40, 43, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 100
  analytical, 41, 79
debitor, 76
defining genitive, 133, 134, 180, 205
Delbrück, Berthold, 4, 5
descriptive genitive, 134, 179
deverbal nouns, 154
distributive instrumental, 60, 110
dominion, 141, 153

E

Eastern Latvian dialects (encompassing Latgalian), 123, 200
empathic dative, 99
empty set, 121, 165, 171
Endzelīns, Jānis, 21, 22, 26, 32, 33, 41, 48, 50, 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 120, 122, 123, 137, 215
English, 7, 11, 19, 92, 142, 143, 144, 166
essential quality, 179
ethical dative, 12, 50, 98, 99
experiencer, 62, 68–70, 71
extension (diachronic), 106, 201
extension (semantic), 11, 12, 14

F

family resemblance, 11
folk songs, 26, 74, 100, 120, 188, 200, 201
free dative, 66

G

generative grammar, 6–7

genitive in time expressions with *ik* ‘every’, 136
genitive of emphasis, 135, 180
genitive of material, 133, 172, 173, 205
genitive of the contents of a quantity, 121
genitive of time, 137
genitive of unspecified quantity, 121
goal (meaning of the genitive), 167
Gothic, 46
governed dative, 66
government, 7, 18, 32, 38, 66, 120, 205
Government and Binding, 6, 7, 8
grammatical subject, 37
Greek, 46, 137

H

Hjelmslev, Louis, 5, 21
Holvoet, Axel, 23, 24, 38, 41, 42, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 73, 94, 95, 96, 109, 110, 136, 140
homonymy, 9, 10, 13, 23, 25, 31, 137, 185, 193, 201

I

impersonal constructions, 43
impersonal verbs, 127
inalienable possession, 49, 72
inanimate anti-recipient and malefactive, 94
inanimate debitor, 79
inanimate possessor, 74, 76, 95, 111
inanimate recipient and benefactive, 87
indeclinable quantifiers, 128
indefinite quantifiers, 30, 128, 129, 185, 186, 191, 210
indirect object, 34
Indo-European, 4, 18, 46, 120, 175, 202
informational nouns, 157
inherent case, 6
inherent topicality, 145
instrumental of quality, 57, 110
instrumental of time, 60, 110
interdialectal variation, 200
intrinsic relationship, 143

J

Jakobson, Roman, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 17, 21, 101
Janda, Laura, 12, 17, 19, 89, 176, 195

K

kinaesthetic image-schema, 18
kinship terms, 150
Kuryłowicz, Jerzy, 6, 21

L

landmark, 158, 178, 181
landmark (meaning of the genitive), 178
Langacker, Ronald, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 51, 62, 66, 141, 142, 143, 154, 156, 162, 163, 168, 172, 179, 180, 202, 208, 209
Leikuma, Lidija, 123
Lithuanian, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 42, 45, 49, 50, 77, 100, 119, 121, 127, 131, 136, 200, 206, 211
logical subject, 37, 41

M

malefactive, 91
mental arena model, 69, 70, 113, 114
metaphor, 12, 14, 18, 87, 101
metonymy, 6, 12, 14, 19, 74, 77, 79, 87, 159, 169, 171
middle reflexive (or passive reflexive) verbs, 51
minimalism, 7
Mühlenbachs, Kārlis, 50, 122

N

Neogrammarians, 4–5, 7
network model, 1, 8, 25, 203, 204
Nikiforidou, Kiki, 18–19
noun-based adpositions, 55, 56
nouns denoting inherent parts of wholes, 153
numerals, 30, 128, 129, 185, 186, 191, 210

O

objective genitive, 135, 155, 156, 178
objects of negated verbs, 166, 167, 200
Observer’s Paradox, 28, 30
Old Church Slavic, 46
Old Russian, 138
onomastic possessives, 145

P

Pāṇini, 4
part-whole relation(ship), 12, 131, 165, 174, 195
personal sphere, 20, 61
Polish, 3, 16, 17, 20, 50, 61, 104
polysemy, 9, 10, 13, 204
possessive dative, 48
possessive genitive, 132
possessor, 70, 71
postpositions, 13, 38, 53, 56, 108, 139, 140, 176
process (technical term), 77
Proto-Baltic, 57
Proto-Indo-European, 57
Proto-Slavic, 104
prototype (core meaning), 15, 16, 19
prototypicality, 15, 202, 204

R

recipient, 34, 80
redundancy, 9
reference point, 20, 140, 141–44
reference point at a type level, 147
reference point at an instance level, 144
relational nouns, 49, 95, 149, 150, 153, 154, 159, 160, 208
representational nouns, 157
role archetypes, 62
Rosch, Eleanor, 15, 111
Russian, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 24, 45, 50, 138, 176, 197

S

Sanskrit, 4, 46
schematic network, 14
schematicity, 11, 14
semantic case, 6
semi-adpositions, 38, 52, 53, 56, 101, 107, 108, 109, 139, 140
Slavic, 104, 137, 175
Smith, Michael, 18
source (meaning of the genitive), 175
sphere of awareness, 63, 65, 67, 69
sphere of potency, 84, 92
structural case, 6
Structuralism, 5–6
subjective genitive, 135, 155, 178
substance (meaning of the genitive), 172
superschema (for the dative), 111
superschema (for the genitive), 182
symbolic thesis, 8, 9, 12, 119, 204
symbolic units, 8, 9, 10
syntactic (grammatical) case, 6
synthetic forms of expression, 202

T

target (of a reference point), 141
target person, 20, 61
Taylor, John, 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19–20, 51, 62, 77, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 151, 152, 156, 157, 159, 181, 208
temporal relation, 77, 181
thing (technical term), 13
topicality, 142, 146, 156
trajector, 14, 156, 158, 181
trajector (meaning of the genitive), 181
type frequency, 199

U

usage frequency, 146, 198

V

verba commodi, 35, 84
verba incommodi, 35, 36, 91

W

whole (meaning of the genitive), 162
Wierzbicka, Anna, 8, 16–18, 19, 61
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 11