The role of benefactives and related notions in the typology of purpose clauses

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Abstract

Across the world's languages, adverbial clauses of purpose provide an important constructional environment for the occurrence of benefactive and semantically related markers. Based on a recent cross-linguistic study of purpose clauses (Schmidtke-Bode 2009), the present paper provides a systematic survey of the variegated functions of benefactives in the encoding of purposive relations. It will be argued that the particular distribution of benefactive markers across different types of purpose clauses is well-motivated from an 'integrative functional' point of view, which combines cognitive, functional and diachronic explanations for linguistic structure.

1 Introduction

It has long been noted in the typological literature that adverbial clauses of purpose provide a common constructional environment for the occurrence of benefactive markers. Thompson and Longacre (1985: 186), for example, observe that dative case marking may occur in various slots of a purpose clause, notably as the very marker that lends the clause its purposive interpretation in the first place. However, the first comprehensive study devoted solely to the typology of purpose clauses (Schmidtke-Bode 2009) reveals that benefactive morphemes have a yet more interesting role to play in the expression of purposive relations across the world's languages. In fact, they form part of a cluster of closely related semantic functions that turns out to show particular distributions over various structural types of purpose clauses. Benefactives surface as either primary or secondary gestalt features of purposive constructions; they share their territory with allative, recipient and more general dative markers and are historically related to these other functions in intricate ways; benefactive NP-arguments can substitute for entire purpose clauses and thus provide a compact, economical way of coding purposive situations in language; and while benefactives are very common in certain types of purpose clauses, they tend to be entirely absent from others. The aim of the present paper is to provide a systematic overview of these phenomena, thereby contributing to our understanding of the diversified roles that benefactives play in grammar or, more precisely, in the typology of specific grammatical constructions.

Before we proceed to the actual analysis, a few methodological and theoretical considerations need to be clarified. The paper builds directly on my study on purpose clause constructions in the world's languages (Schmidtke-Bode 2009). Purpose clauses

were defined there as complex sentence constructions which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause. A complex sentence, in turn, was identified as a construction that expresses a specific (contingent) relationship between at least two situations in at least two clauses, with clauses being agreed upon as a universally applicable level of linguistic organisation (cf. Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen 2005, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 25-27). This functional definition ensured that different structural types of purpose clauses would enter into the sample and thus provide a sufficiently representative picture of the variation space that purpose clauses unfold across languages.

With regard to the data presented here, I also draw on the original database, a controlled variety sample of 80 languages.[1] Since most of the languages considered exhibit more than one syntactic means to express purposive relations, I extracted all distinct purpose clause constructions found across the sample. In keeping with typologically-informed versions of Construction Grammar (e.g. Croft 2001, Goldberg 2006), individual constructions were taken to be characterised by a specific constellation of so-called 'gestalt features' that ensures the unique categorisation of the construction in the flow of speech. The resulting more specific corpus comprised a total of 218 purposive constructions, which will form the baseline for all quantitative statements made in this paper. In addition, however, the present study will also discuss material from languages and language families that were not included in the original sample.

With regard to theoretical commitments, finally, the explanations to be offered for the specifics of benefactive marking in purpose clauses are couched in Croft's (1995) framework of 'integrative functionalism'. A basic assumption of this approach is that language structure emerges from the way linguistic symbols are used in discursive interaction (cf. also Hopper 1987), and that various external factors exert selection pressures, as it were, on the shape and combinatorial possibilities of these symbols. Such pressures arise, for example, from the need of mutual intelligibility in discourse (often resulting in a trade-off between economical and iconic motivations), from the human processing system (e.g. the influence of processing on the linear order of elements in constructions, e.g. Diessel 2001, or on the differential ease of relativization and extraction, e.g. Hawkins 2004), or from rhetorical considerations of information-packaging in discourse. Furthermore, cognitively-oriented typologists emphasise that grammatical structure reflects the conceptualization of the experiences we wish to convey (e.g. Croft and Cruse 2004, Langacker 1999). On this view, fundamental

[1] The original sample was established by the criteria of genealogical independence and areal dispersion of languages, trying to represent the number of languages chosen from each of the well-known macro-areas in proportion to the number of stocks in that area (cf. Nichols 2004). Of utmost importance in the sampling process were the quality of available material and the structural diversity of purpose clauses in the respective language family, resulting in a genuine variety (rather than a strict probability) sample. For a brief overview, I will list the languages of the original sample alphabetically: Abkhaz, Abun, Acehnese, Amele, Babungo, Barasano, Basque, Duu ŋidjawu, Epena Pedee, Evenki, (Boumaa) Fijian, Georgian, (Modern) Greek, Hausa, Hdi, Hixkaryana, Hmong Njua, Hungarian, Imonda, Jamul Tiipay, Kana, Kannada, Kayardild, Kewa, Kiowa, Kobon, Kolyma Yukaghir, Korean, Koyra Chiini, Krongo, Lakhota, Lango, Lavukaleve, Lealao Chinantec, Lezgian, Ma'di, Mandarin Chinese, Maori, Mapudungun, Martuthunira, Meithei, (Chalcatongo) Mixtec, Nama (Khoekhoe), Ndyuka, Ngiyambaa, Nishnaabemwin, Nkore-Kiga, Noon, Nunggubuyu, Paumarí, Persian, Pirahã, Punjabi, Qiang, (Huallaga) Quechua, Sanumá, Semelai, Slave, Somali, Supyire, Tetun, Tibetan, Tiwi, Trumai, Tukang Besi, Tümpisa Shoshone, Turkish, Tzutujil, Ungarinjin, Ute, Wambaya, Wardaman, Warao, Wari', West Greenlandic, Wolaytta, Yagua, Yaqui, Yidi ɲ, Yimas.

cognitive-psychological processes such as categorisation, selection and adjustment of attention, schematization, and association are operative in the acquisition, mental representation and actual use of linguistic knowledge. Perhaps the most prominent example of these cognitive processes is the ability to conceptualise an abstract domain of experience in terms of a more concrete, well-developed knowledge structure. Such cross-domain mappings, known as conceptual metaphors in cognitive linguistics (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980), typically arise when two domains of experience regularly co-occur, such that a "permanent neural connection" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 46) is established between them. This is reflected in the way we import the language associated with the source domain in order to apply it systematically to the target domain. As a result, principled patterns of lexical and grammatical polysemy emerge in language use and – through social and linguistic diffusion processes – become consolidated as conventional structures in the language. We will see in due course that benefaction and related notions form precisely such domains of experience that regularly correlate with the experience of purposeful activity and hence show up in the encoding of purpose across languages. In sum, the explanatory constructs applied in this paper do justice to the recognition by many typologists that there are "close correlations between universal preferences in structure with universal preferences in cognition and communication" (Bickel 2007: 240). Although such motivated structural patterns are grounded in language use, it is crucially the mechanisms of diachronic change that lead incrementally to their conventionalised synchronic status. A truly 'integrative functionalism' thus requires us to pay due attention to the historical dimension inherent in current typological distributions. After all, "even though language function is often cited as an explanation for language structure, this must be interpreted as a shorthand for language function explaining diachrony which in turn explains structure" (Moravcsik 2007: 37-38).

With these theoretical assumptions in mind, we are now in a position to begin to describe and motivate the role of benefactives in the typology of purpose clauses.

2 Benefactives as gestalt features of purpose clauses

The starting point for a construction-based typology of purpose clauses is to record the morphosyntactic properties that make up the unique 'gestalt' of each construction. In order for a clause to be interpreted purposively, it is usually (though by no means always) necessary that some symbolic unit in the clause is associated with the semantics of intentional action. Not surprisingly, most constructions in the sample exhibit a morpheme specifically dedicated to the expression of purpose, which we may thus call a purpose marker or 'primary gestalt feature'. There is a fascinating diversity in the formal shape of such markers, ranging from well-known conjunctions and verbal affixes over purposive auxiliaries to participles and suprasegmental marking. In addition to such a primary purpose marker, however, many constructions come with another gestalt feature. If we classify these 'secondary' elements into recurrent semantico-syntactic categories, the following picture emerges (cf. Table 1):

Table 1: Additional gestalt features in purpose clauses

Semantico-syntactic type of feature	absolute frequency	relative frequency (in %)
nominalised verb form or masdar	22	10.1
infinitive verb form	15	6.9
future or sequential tense-aspect markers	12	5.5
irrealis, hypothetical or potential mood (IRR/HYP/POT)	9	4.1
desiderative or optative mood (DES/POT)	6	2.8
intentional mood (INT)	2	0.9
subjunctive mood (SUBJ)	12	5.5
allative marker	2	0.9
dative marker	8	3.7
subordinator	9	4.1
other	19	8.7
no additional element	102	46.8
total	218	100.0

Most of these elements fall out fairly straightforwardly from the conceptual and syntactic peculiarities of purpose clauses. Nominalised and infinitival verb forms, for example, are indicative of a high degree of syntactic integration of the purpose clause into its associated matrix, which is well-motivated in functional terms (cf. Cristofaro 2003). Temporal and modal markers are perfectly compatible with the semantics of purpose: an intended (= desiderative, optative) outcome is necessarily posterior to the action that is meant to bring it about. At the same time, purposes are hypothetical in nature and there is no implication that the intention will actually be realised. This leaves us with a class of allative and dative markers. Admittedly, this class is comparatively small, but we should not dismiss its members as entirely arbitrary properties in a minority of purpose clauses. For one thing, allative and dative case markers do not show up in their canonical function of marking arguments in the clause; instead, they appear on the purposive verb itself, as in Kannada (Dravidian: India):

(1) *Praka:ʃ jarmanige* [*enjiniyaring o:duvudakka:gi*] *ho:gidda:ne.*
Prakash Germany.DAT engineering study.MSD.DAT.for go.N:PST.PRF.3SG.M
'Prakash has gone to Germany to study engineering.'
(Sridhar 1990: 73)

As can be seen, the dative case is suffixed to a nominalised verb which in turn is headed by a postposition. An analogous example showing allative case marking on the predicate is found in Basque (isolate: Spain):

(2) *Zer ez dute egiten Espainiako euskaldunek* [...] *eskuara beren*
what not AUX do.IMPF Spain.REL Basques.ERG Basque their

sor-mintzaia galtzerat ez uzteagatik?
birth-language lose.NOML.ALL not let.NOML.DET.PURP

'What will the Basques from Spain not do not to let the Basque language, their native tongue, die?' (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 742)

It appears that whenever a (nominalised) predicate is case-marked in a purpose clause, it strongly tends to be the allative or dative case that is employed. As is well-known, nominalisations generally serve to construe a verbal action as a nominal entity, and we shall return below to the question of what motivates this particular construal in purpose clauses. For now, we can strengthen our argument against the arbitrariness of allative and dative marking in purpose constructions by recognising that purpose markers themselves are often identical or historically derived from allatives and/or datives. A quantitative approach to this question reveals the following patterns of polysemy that purpose markers establish with the domains we are interested in (cf. Table 2):

Table 2: Polysemy of purpose markers

Purpose marker identical to...	absolute frequency	relative frequency (in %)
locative marker	1	0.5
locative and allative marker	4	1.8
allative marker	7	3.2
allative and benefactive marker	4	1.8
dative/benefactive marker	41	18.8
dative/goal marker	6	2.8
n.i.	6	2.8
no marker of this domain	149	68.3
total	218	100.0

n.i. = no information on multifunctionality available

In the following, I will exemplify and discuss some of the recurrent coding patterns from Table 2 (§2.1), before they will receive an explanation in terms of the integrative-functional framework outlined above (§2.2).

2.1 Principled polysemy patterns

One of the most well-known polysemies exists between allative and purpose. An illustrative example from our sample is found in Maori (Austronesian: New Zealand):

(3) *E* *haere* *ana* *ahau* *ki* *te* *taaone* [*ki* *te*
T/A move T/A 1SG to the town to/PURP the

hoko *mai* *i* *teetahi* *koha*].
barter hither OBJ a.SPEC gift

'I am going to town to buy a present.' (Bauer 1993: 66)

The connecting line indicates the polysemy of the allative morpheme *ki*: whereas in the main clause it appears in its basic directional function ('to town'), it also introduces the subordinate purpose clause. In this latter function, it usually occurs with the definite article, with which it might be said to have formed a complex purposive conjunction. Notice that English *to* in its most basic function is an allative preposition, but has also become a very frequent purpose marker. In a most recent publication, Rice and Kabata (2007) argue that the metaphorical extension to purpose is, in fact, the most widespread pattern of polysemy that allative markers develop: "The single most prevalent cohort sense of an ALLATIVE is to mark PURPOSE" (Rice and Kabata 2007: 472). Although I fully agree with the authors' conclusion, I would like to point out that their study is based on a rather idiosyncratic sample of 44 languages, which are not particularly well-balanced in terms of genealogical and geographical independence.[2] In this sample, they found a striking overlap between purpose and allative in 25 out of 54 allative markers (46.3%). Not surprisingly, a more tightly controlled sample like the present one yields a still notable, yet more moderate relationship: recall from Table 1 that a direct association between ALLATIVE and PURPOSE is attested for only 15 out of 80 languages (18.8%). In my sample, therefore, the association is even less likely to be due to sampling error.

A closely related pattern is the conflation of locative, allative and purposive meanings into one formative. Tzutujil, a Mayan language of Guatemala, has two prepositions, *pa(n)* and *ch(i)*, both of which govern infinitival purpose clauses. Example (4) shows *pa* in this function:

(4) *Ja nata7 b'enaq [pa tikoj chiij].*
the my.father B3.has.gone PURP plant cotton
'My father has gone to plant cotton.' (Dayley 1985: 380)

The more basic uses of *pa* include the spatial and directional prepositional meanings 'in', 'on' and 'to'. Similarly, *ch(i)* has the locative meaning 'at' and the directional meaning 'to', along with the purposive '(in order) to'.

An interesting pattern is found in the Chadic language Mina, where locative and allative parcel out the work to mark purpose clauses. While the locative preposition *n* is used as the primary purpose marker (i.e. like a conjunction), a so-called 'goal extension' suffix with chiefly allative meaning attaches to the verb as a secondary purpose marker:

(5) *Kwáykwáy à ndə̀ dáp nə̀ gr-á nook.*
hyena 3SG go only LOC find-GL 1PL
'Let the hyena go to find it for us.'
(Frajzyngier and Johnston 2005: 420)

Benefactive purpose markers, finally, form the quantitatively largest 'cohort sense' of purpose markers (cf. Table 2). At this point, we can see how the present investigation is truly complementary to Rice and Kabata's study: while they found that purpose is the most important extension of allatives, in fact the "'seed' sense" or "tipping point [...] licensing abstract usages in other domains" (Rice and Kabata 2007: 490), the opposite

[2] One may criticize, for instance, that their sample contains nine Indo-European languages, many of which are closely related, as well as three relatively similar Oceanic languages, and only very few languages from South America.

perspective reveals that purpose markers do not primarily overlap with allatives, but with benefactives. However, a closer look at the distribution also shows that some markers conflate all three senses. Therefore, it seems that benefactive purpose markers can cluster together with allatives or be independent of directed motion. In Abun (West Papuan: Indonesia), a benefactive preposition (6a) is used as a purposive conjunction (6b), but not for directed motion (6c):

(6a) *An fro nu yo wa men.*
3SG prepare house DET.INDF for 1PL
'She prepared a house for us.' (Berry and Berry 1999: 205)

(6b) *Marta tot su-gato gum do brer gwat ma* [*wa men git sugit mo*].
Marta cut thing-REL name COMP brer bring DIR for 1PL eat food on
'Marta cut some *brer* (leaves) and brought them back for us to eat our food on.'
(Berry and Berry 1999: 205)

(6c) *Án yo ma mo nu nde.*
3PL NEG come LOC house NEG
'They did not come to the house.' (Berry and Berry 1999: 66)

The Italian preposition *per*, similarly, covers benefactive and purposive, but not allative contexts. In (7), *per* introduces a purpose clause that is related to its matrix at the speech-act or interpersonal level (Hengeveld 1989):

(7) *Per dire la verità, non sono d'accordo.*
for say the truth not be.1SG agreeable
'To be honest, I don't agree.'
(Schwarze 1995: 300)

A more intricate example comes from Qiang (Tibeto-Burman: China). The formative *-χua*, commonly in combination with the adverbial suffix *-ɳi*, represents one way of marking benefaction in Qiang:

(8a) *The: qa-χua-ɳi sə gue-k.*
3SG 1SG-BEN-ADV firewood chop-go
'He went to chop wood for me.' (LaPolla 2003: 240)

At the same time, this complex marker has come to be used as an adverbial conjunction[3] of both cause and purpose:

(8b) [*The: stuaha tɕhə-(s ŋuə)-χua-ɳi,*] *(qupu) dziɡu̯ me⁴z̩,*
3SG food/rice eat-NOML COP-for/because-ADV 3SG money look.for(earn)
'In order to live, s/he seeks to earn more money.'

[3] Note that LaPolla (2003: 240) labels *-χua-ɳi* a 'postposition' even though it appears to be a bound morpheme. He further argues that in order "to mark the purpose of an action, the postposition [...] can be used [...] after a clause, or a nominalised clause", which effectively turns it into a conjunction. For this reason, I call it a conjunction here.

(LaPolla 2003: 240)

While thus in Abun, Italian and Qiang, allative marking is distinct from purpose and benefaction, speakers of other languages have conflated the three notions into one morpheme. Purpose clauses in Yagua (Peba-Yaguan: Peru) provide a case in point:

(9a) allative *-ju* = benefactive
ray-jų
1SG-ALL
'for me' (Payne and Payne 1990: 379)

(9b) allative *-ju* = purposive
Jáásiy-janu-jų *núúdya-jitǫǫ-jásiy.*
cut.grass-INF-ALL 1EX-arrive-PST.PROX1
'We arrived there to cut grass.' (Payne and Payne 1990: 274)

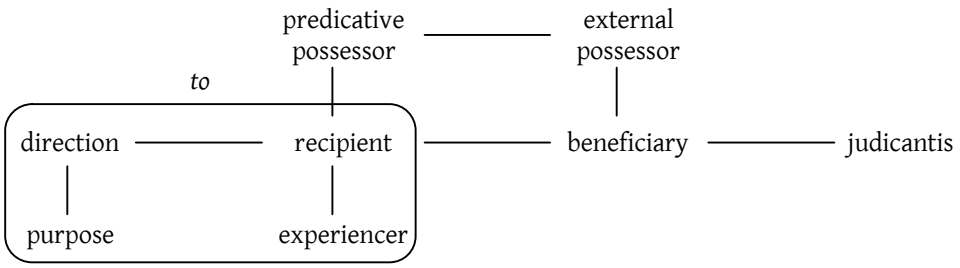
In sum, these recurrent systematic overlaps suggest that benefactives form part of a cluster of semantic distinctions which are related to one another in terms of a 'family resemblance' (Wittgenstein 1958: 66), a chain of similarity that forms a contiguous region in conceptual space (cf. Croft 2001: 92-94). This finding ties in with Blansitt's (1988), who investigated locative, allative, dative and more general object case markers and proposed the following logical connections (cf. Fig. 1):

Figure 1: The conceptual space of goal-encoding devices (Blansitt 1988: 174)

Object —— Dative —— Allative —— Locative

Based on substantial cross-linguistic data, Blansitt argues that case markers can only cover a contiguous region in this space, i.e. disallowing, for example, a marker that covers dative and locative, but not allative functions. In view of the present sample, we are now justified to add purpose to this conceptual space. Haspelmath (2003: 213) has sketched out a possible configuration to draw a semantic map for English *to* (Fig. 2):

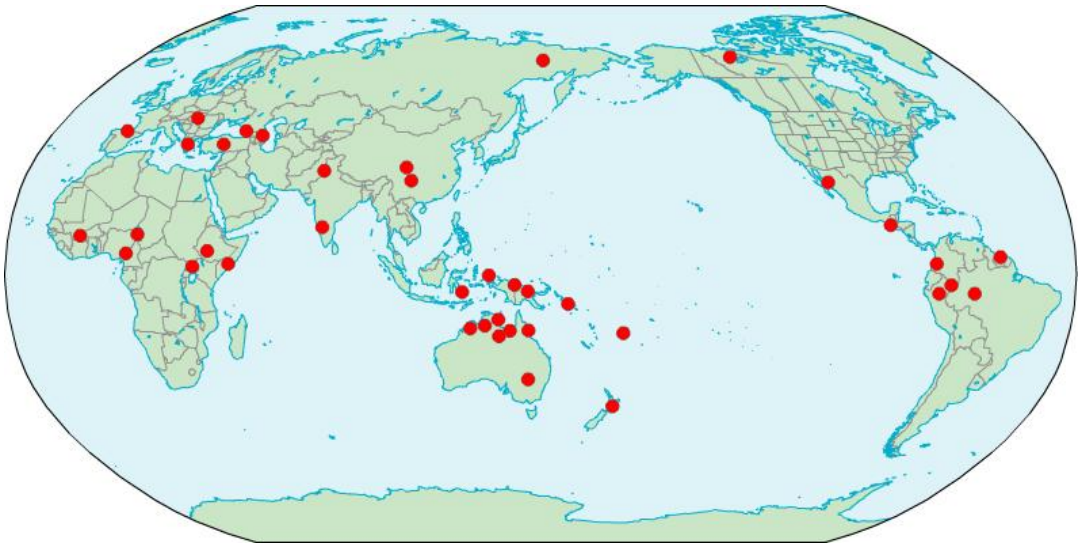
Figure 2: Conceptual space for typical dative functions, with a semantic map of English to



Although there are differences in the subtleties between individual proposals for the conceptual space of allatives, recipient-benefactives and purposives (cf. e.g. Heine 1991 and Rice and Kabata 2007 for yet more fine-grained maps), there appears to be a general consensus that the three functions are closely related. It should be noted again that the

empirical evidence for this position is almost entirely based on data from historically unrelated languages, so genealogy can be excluded as a confounding factor. Likewise, the frequent morphosyntactic clustering of allative, dative and purposive functions is not a (macro-) areal effect. The following map (cf. Fig. 3) shows all languages from my database for which the available material provides clear evidence that at least one purpose clause construction shows traces of allative-dative marking (N=39). As can be seen, languages of this kind are found in all macro-areas of the world. The absence of genetic and areal effects suggests that allative-dative marking in purpose clauses is a 'convergent feature' (Deacon 1997: 116) that has arisen independently in unrelated languages, precisely as an adaptation to functional pressures. We will now turn to the question of what these pressures may be and how various patterns of polysemy emerge and become consolidated over time.

Figure 3: Languages with traces of allative and/or dative marking in at least one purpose clause construction[4]



2.2 Motivating forces

As was mentioned earlier, a prime candidate for external pressures in our 'integrative-functional' framework is the interplay of language and cognition. Indeed, cognitive linguists have anchored recurrent coding patterns in language to the conceptualization of "prelinguistic and extralinguistic experiences" (Sweetser 1990: 7) that are shared across cultures and speech communities. For example, it has been argued that human beings share the ability for metaphorical conceptualization (cf. §1 above), and this, in turn, has been used to motivate polysemous extensions of lexical and grammatical morphemes. Most famous, perhaps, is the recruitment of spatial expressions for verbalising more abstract temporal concepts: although time constitutes as basic and as

[4] The more specific distributions in the map should be taken with great caution. It is the availability of information on patterns of polysemy and historical relationships that heavily biases the distribution to well-documented languages. For many Northern American languages, for example, such information cannot be reliably obtained. Their absence in the map cannot, therefore, be taken to exclude the possibility that allatives and datives are (or have been historically) involved in the construction of purpose clauses. All that the map is supposed to illustrate is the geographically widespread attestation of the pattern in question.

real an experience as (motion in) space, it is extremely difficult to construct mental models of time in its own terms (cf. Evans 2004). Instead, location and movement in space provide the necessary conceptual structure to reason and talk about time. Along the same lines, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 190-91) propose that purposes are also conceptualised metaphorically. Specifically, they hypothesise that PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. On this view, acting purposefully is understood as physical motion towards a destination; the desired result is achieved by metaphorically arriving at the destination. This metaphor, they go on to argue, is ultimately grounded in basic patterns of human experience. From our earliest childhood days onwards, we experience that desires and intentions can be fulfilled by a directed change of location: we need to reach out to grasp a bottle, go to the bathroom (or to a river) to wash our hands etc. In other words, the realisation of purposes is often tied to specific locations, and this experiential correlation leads to the emergence of a 'primary metaphor', a (near-) universal mapping having "minimal structure and aris[ing] naturally, automatically, and unconsciously through everyday experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 46).

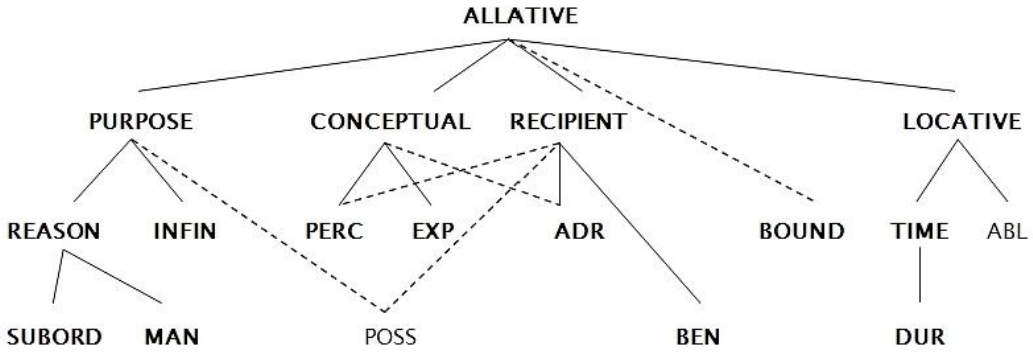
An immediate linguistic reflex of this salient conceptualization is the frequent occurrence of matrix verbs of motion governing purpose clauses (cf. Schmidtke-Bode 2009: ch. 3.4.2); many languages do, in fact, have a distinct 'motion-cum-purpose' construction alongside a more generally applicable purpose clause. Apart from motion verbs, however, the choice of allative markers to encode purposes can also be argued to reflect the metaphorical construal of intentions. More specifically, the intended result state is construed as a goal, and hence an already existing allative marker of the language can be pressed into service for the expression of that goal, resulting in allative adpositions or case affixes flagging a purposive VP (more on this process below). This direct extension arguably applies to Maori *ki* and English *to*.[5]

With dative-benefactive markers, the story is slightly more complicated because different historical scenarios are logically conceivable. The conceptual motivation for extending allatives to recipient-benefactive contexts is easily framed in metaphorical terms: recipients are "human endpoints of a physical transaction" (Rice and Kabata 2007: 479-480), and beneficiaries can also be conceived of as goals towards which the action is directed. In other words, RECIPIENTS AND BENEFICIARIES ARE HUMAN GOALS . It is this inherent goal-orientation that is also shared between recipient-beneficiaries and purposes. Therefore, it may well be that allative markers first encroach onto the domain of recipient-benefactive participant marking, before they become analogically extended to verbal purposive contexts.

[5] Notice that there is an alternative explanation that draws, not on metaphorical, but on metonymic reasoning. On this account, destination and purpose are not seen as two different experiential domains, but part of one and the same domain. In terms of Frame Semantics (cf. Fillmore 1982), the location in sentences like *I'm going to the river* constitutes a conceptual frame including the (desired) action typically associated with that location, e.g. *bathe, fish, wash* etc. This contiguity, in turn, can give rise to inference processes by which directed motion becomes associated directly with the accomplishment of the respective action itself. Put differently, the action comes to *stand for* the location, and as a result, the grammatical marker previously flagging the location comes to flag the purposive action, thereby being paradigmatically extended from nominal to verbal environments (*to* NP > *to* VP). In effect, however, both accounts boil down to a close experiential correlation of a location (as the endpoint of directed motion) and a specific goal tied to that location, so it is difficult to decide whether a metaphorical or a metonymic explanation should be preferred (cf. Schmidtke-Bode 2009 for a more detailed discussion).

An alternative to this linear extension model is what Rice and Kabata (2007: 497) call 'unilateral' development. This scenario underlies the intricate semantic map proposed by the authors (Fig. 4):

Figure 4: Polysemous extensions of ALLATIVES *in 44 languages (Rice and Kabata 2007: 490)*



On this view, allatives may give rise to purposive and recipient-benefactive extensions independently since each pathway is equally well-motivated. The synchronic outcome of both linear and unilateral developments can be a conflation of allative, benefactive and purposive meaning in one morpheme, as we have seen for Yagua, and it can be quite difficult to prioritise one of the two scenarios based on synchronic evidence only (cf. the case of Amele *nu* 'go, ALL, BEN, PURP' discussed in Schmidtke-Bode 2009). In any case, however, it seems justified to state that these three semantic domains are unified by the more general notion of GOAL, and it is hence possible to find languages which have grammaticalized an all-embracing goal marker covering these functions simultaneously. Imonda (Border: Papua New Guinea) can serve as an illustration:

(10) *Tëla-l-na* *falgõ* *i-õb-n* [*iam* *maga-na* *uõl-m*].
husband-NOML-POSS bow CLF-PL-PST later what-INSTR shoot-GL
'She got her husband's bow in order to shoot with it later.'
(Seiler 1985: 162)

It should also be acknowledged, however, that a three-way exponence of allative, benefactive and purposive in a single marker is not that common after all. We have rather seen that recipient-benefactive morphemes develop purposive senses independently from allative marking. (Notice that Haspelmath's semantic map of dative functions does not take this option into account.) Empirical evidence for this tendency was amply provided by Genetti (1991) and in the literature on grammaticalization more generally (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 55-57 for an overview). In order to motivate this historical pathway satisfactorily, it can be instructive to distinguish the hitherto conflated notions of reception and benefaction[6] because, crucially, they may cluster with purposive morphemes in different ways. On the one hand, when recipient, benefactive and purposive marking overlap synchronically, the received view in the literature seems to be that the purposive sense draws directly on the recipient one (e.g.

[6] I would like to thank Masayoshi Shibatani for drawing my attention to this important point.

Shibatani 1996), motivated by the underlying goal orientation we encountered above. The benefactive sense, in this scenario, is basically a secondary extension of the recipient meaning, but not *directly* related to the purposive sense in diachrony (thus, another 'unilateral development'). On the other hand, however, there are quite a few languages in which a purposive marker is identical with the benefactive morpheme, but completely distinct from the recipient marker typically used in ditransitive constructions ('give'): Turkish *için* (BEN-PURP) is different from the dative marker *-a* (Kornfilt 1997: 220, 226), in the same way that Lango *mê* ('for') is different from *bòt* ('to') used in ditransive clauses (Noonan 1992: 149). Similarly, the Ndyuka preposition *fu* (BEN-PURP) is not employed for indirect objects of transfer (Huttar and Huttar 1994: 115, 158), and Yaqui, too, separates a directional preposition for *give*-contexts from a benefactive-purposive one (Valenzuela 2004: 17). There is thus a more profound relationship between benefaction and purpose which does not primarily hinge on the notion of transfer. Rather, it seems that benefaction always implies the notion of purpose, as argued by Rice and Kabata (2007: 481): "when one acts for the benefit of another (or out of malevolence), he or she is usually acting purposefully". Therefore, it seems that 'dative'-like purposive markers arise either due to the goal-orientation of reception, or by virtue of the inherent purposive element of benefaction.

These conceptual forces pave the way for 'paradigmatic intraference' (Croft 2006) in diachronic change. In this process, the recipient/benefactive adposition or case affix is functionally extended from participant to event marking, which entails a formal shift from nominal to verbal environments (just as with allative > purpose marking). In many cases, this extension also draws the former adposition into a different part-of-speech paradigm, such that a benefactive preposition, for instance, joins the set of clause-initial conjunctions in the language. Perhaps the most conducive setting for paradigmatic intraference is that of nominalised verb forms denoting purposeful action, precisely because they are easily construed as paradigmatic alternatives to recipient or benefactive NPs (cf. also Harris and Campbell 1995: 310). But the process is, of course, not restricted to nominalisations. In Lavukaleve (Solomons East Papuan), purpose clauses exhibit a bare verb stem (neither overtly non-finite nor nominalised) to which the benefactive postposition *ham* is suffixed. Thus we have minimal pairs such as the following:

(11a) *a-ham*
3SG.M.O-BEN
'for him'
(Terrill 2003: 161)

(11b) *a-vala-ham*
3SG.M.O-pull-BEN
'for pulling it/to pull it'
(Terrill 2003: 439)

In English, benefactive *for* enters a more complex infinitival construction. It has its origins in Early Modern English, specifically in contexts where the preposition *for* is used in combination with a purposive infinitive:

(12) *A tent of purple velvet for the counsailers to mete in.*
(1548 HALL *Chron., Hen. V*, (an. 7) 65b; *OED*)

In this form, the construction may be analysed as consisting of a main clause including a benefactive NP and an associated purpose clause. The authors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) note, however, that the construction was reinterpreted and "early

extended to include cases to which this analysis is inapplicable", such as a non-benefactive NP in a generally non-purposive environment (cf. also Cuyckens 1999, De Smet 2007):

(13) *It is high time for the Satyrist to pen something* [...]
(1621 R. BRATHWAIT *Nat. Embass.* Ded., *OED*)

In even more modern cases, the *for*-NP cannot be analysed as belonging to the main clause; instead, *for* is usually treated as "a subordinator marking the start of the non-finite clause" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1203) and the former benefactive NP becomes the subject of the infinitival construction as a whole, with the semantics of benefaction typically being lost:

(14) *He called* [*for Ed to be sacked*]. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1203)

The progression from an infinitival benefactive-purposive construction to a more widely applicable complement clause represents a special case of the more general constructional intraference 'from purposive to infinitive' (Haspelmath 1989). Interestingly, the current verb-specific distribution of 'for...to'-complements in English is to a large extent semantically constrained (albeit not entirely predictable) by the goal-orientation inherent in the elements of the source construction (De Smet 2007: 73ff.).

It should have become clear so far that the family of allatives, recipient-benefactives-datives and purposives forms a network of conceptual and morphosyntactic interdependencies, the latter of which may arise in a variety of different ways. What all of them illustrate, though, is a tendency for economical coding in language. After all, the choice to recruit the same marker for the coding of conceptually related participants and events reduces the overall amount of distinct form-meaning pairings in the language (one of the 'Minimize Form' effects in Hawkins' (2004)). In the following section, we will see that economical coding can go much further, with benefactive arguments occasionally replacing a full-fledged purpose clause altogether.

3 Benefactives as metonymic devices in the expression of purpose

A remarkable phenomenon at the interface of benefaction and purpose is the potential of benefactive/recipient/dative NPs to act as an economical shortcut for the expression of purposive relations. The two constructions to be discussed here have been mentioned – often merely in passing – at various points in the literature, yet neither have they been dealt with systematically in the context of purpose clauses, nor has any attempt been made to account for them in a unified way. As we will see shortly, our present framework provides a tool for doing so.

In the first construction, a goal-directed activity is expressed by simply mentioning the goal participant, i.e. without spelling out the verbal part of the 'underlying' purpose clause. Thus in Imonda, the purpose of a motion event can be expressed by attaching the suffix *-m*, used for allative, benefactive and purposive marking, to the goal NP of the intended situation:

(15) *Tëh-ia-m* *uagl-fan.*
firewood-LOC-GL go-PRF
'He has gone to collect firewood.' (Seiler 1985: 161)

A similar example is provided by purposive NPs in Yidiɲ (Pama-Nyungan: Queensland/Australia):

(16) *Gawu:* *guga* *daŋgan* *buda:gu.*
tree.ABS skin.ABS take:off.IMP blanket.PURP
'Take the Gawu: bark off [the Gawu: tree] for a blanket (i.e. to use it as a blanket).' (Dixon 1977: 342)[7]

Such constructions are reminiscent of, and in fact analogous to, purposive *for* in English. Thus

(17) *He has gone for lunch.*

is the reduced form of

(18) *He has gone in order to have/ for having lunch*.

As can be seen in the three cases, the goal NPs *tëh-ia-m*, *buda:gu* and *for lunch,* respectively, come to stand for the whole verbal situation in which each is a participant, namely 'collecting firewood', 'using something as a blanket' and 'having/eating lunch'. Given that an argument thus represents the whole semantic structure of which it is part, one may best characterise this morphosyntactic construction in terms of a metonymy. Similar to conceptual metaphors, metonymies have long been recognised by cognitive linguists as an important tool by which we organise our conceptual knowledge: just like metaphors, creating metonymies is an imaginative process that allows us to construe one conceptual entity in terms of another (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980). With metaphors, the two entities are from different domains (such as time and space), while with metonymies, both entities are from the same domain (cf. Leite 1994 for ample illustration). In language use, metonymic mappings are economical to the extent that the entity or category which is explicitly mentioned in discourse can activate another category in the same overall cognitive domain or model (an important corollary of the theory of Frame Semantics, cf. Fillmore 1982).

Thus by simply adding a goal NP to a verb denoting directed action, a whole purposive situation – or more precisely, the cognitive model or frame of that situation – can be evoked. In (8) above, we already saw the complex postposition *χua-ɳi* at work in both benefactive NPs and purpose clauses in Qiang. In precisely the way outlined here, this marker can also be attached to nouns that do not themselves denote beneficiaries but the (inanimate) goal or benefit of an action:

[7] A strikingly similar phenomenon also occurs in Nunggubuyu (Gunwinyguan: Northern Territory, Australia), cf. Heath (1984: 208). Heath uses the term 'case-spreading' for such instances.

(19) *The:* *dzigu̱-χua-n̩i* *ha-qə-n̩i* *koŋtsuo-pə-k.*
3SG money-BEN(because-ADV) DIR-go-ADV work-do-go
'For the sake of money, s/he goes to work.'
(LaPolla 2003: 240)

In fact, it is conceivable that such NPs, combining 'indirect' benefaction with purpose, provide the crucial link – i.e. the formal and semantic environment needed – for the development from a benefactive PP to a purposive conjunction.[8] Of course, the absence of systematic diachronic evidence for this hypothesis across languages makes it impossible to go well beyond speculation. Nevertheless, this line of argumentation accords well with the emphasis laid on metonymic inferencing in the recent literature on grammaticalization (e.g. Brinton 1988, Traugott and König 1991, De Mulder 2002). Conceptual metonymies have come to be seen as ways of "indexing or pointing to meanings that may otherwise be only covert, but are a natural part of conversational practice" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 92). As I have tried to show, purpose is an implied 'natural part' of benefaction, and hence the purposive component of meaning may well become salient over time and thenceforth emancipate, being analogically extended to the coding of purpose clauses.[9]

In the second construction to be discussed, a benefactive NP encroaches onto the temporal domain, and the conceptual link between them is again an implicit purposive situation. Haspelmath (1997) observed that a number of languages can express atelic temporal extension by a benefactive construction. More technically, an NP denoting duration in time is flagged by a benefactive adposition or case affix. English *for* provides a good starting point again (cf. also Fuhs submitted):

(20) *When fermentation has finished, the 'green beer' is run into conditioning tanks for a few days.* (BNC A0A 31)

The *OED* labels such constructions 'intended duration' uses of *for*, and they contrast with 'actual duration' as in

(21) *The two great parties ... had for a moment concurred.*
(1849 MACAULAY *Hist. Eng.* I. 166; *OED*)

It is challenging to trace the directionality in the historical emergence of this two-way polysemy. An account that derives intended from actual duration would be broadly compatible with Traugott's concepts of increasing subjectification and internalisation in semantic change (Traugott 1989: 34ff.). It is not straightforward, however, what may have motivated the use of benefactive *for* in contexts of actual temporal duration in the

[8] Note, however, that if the benefactive-purposive marker is also used in causal contexts, as in the Qiang data, the diachronic pathways might be significantly different and, importantly, not unidirectional across languages, i.e. there are multiple chains of semantic extension that can bring about a syncretism of cause, benefaction and purpose (cf. Luraghi 2005).

[9] Whether or not the grammaticalization path from benefactive adposition or case marker to purposive conjunction is actually instantiated also depends on the available alternatives for marking purpose. English *for*, for instance, was not fully reanalysed as a purposive conjunction, arguably because the *to*-infinitive had been well-established in this function before (cf. Los 2005).

first place. What is more reasonable, I believe, is that benefactive *for* came to be used in contexts that implied a purposive situation. On this view, the temporal adverbial in a sentence like

(22) *I'm* [...] *going back to Denmark for two weeks.*
(ICE-GB: S1A-089 #093:1:B)

would actually refer to the duration of the state resulting from deliberately going to Denmark (cf. also Haspelmath 1997: 128, Berthonneau 1991). The underlying situation, therefore, is that the person went back to Denmark *for (the purpose of) staying/vacating there over a period of three weeks.* This scenario is analogous to the goal-NPs we saw above: here, too, a benefactive-marked argument is capable of evoking an entire purposive situation, the verbal part of which can easily be inferred from the context (i.e. from the mental model of the situation being spoken about) and is hence left implicit for economical reasons. Once established in this function of intended duration, the *for*+NP construction could be further broadened to actual duration. This process, in which the notion of purpose is lost, i.e. in which "a speaker analyzes out a semantic component from a syntactic element", has been called 'hyperanalysis' by Croft (2006: 81).

Although purposive temporal extent tends not to be systematically covered by reference grammars, there are quite a few instances of this construction both within and beyond my sample. In Turkish, the dative case suffix *-(y)A* basically expresses the typical locative, allative, recipient and benefactive meanings (cf. (23)), but also attaches to arguments expressing temporal extension (cf. (24)):

(23) *Bu kitab-ı Hasan-a al-dı-m.*
this book-ACC Hasan-DAT buy-PST-1SG
'I bought this book for Hasan.' (Kornfilt 1997: 226)

(24) *Bir hafta-lığ-ın-a gel-dı-m.*
one week-ABSTR.N-CMPM-DAT come-PST-1SG
'I have come for one week.' (Kornfilt 1997: 263)

Importantly, such constructions are morphologically different from other arguments expressing temporal extension. In (25), for instance, the NP *iki yıl* '(for) two years' remains completely unmarked, i.e. in its bare form:

(25) *Londra-da iki yıl yaşa-dı-m.*
London-LOC two year live-PST-1SG
'I lived in London for two years.' (Kornfilt 1997: 262)

The crucial semantic difference between the two constructions is that (24) implies the notion of purpose or intention. Unlike English *for*, then, Turkish has retained separate markers for intended and actual duration. Completely parallel examples can be found in Malayalam (Dravidian: India) and Italian:

(26) *Naan iviṯe oru massatteekkə vannirikkayaaŋə.*
1SG here one month.DAT/ALL come.$PERF_1$.$IMPF_2$.PRS
'I have come here for one month.'

(Asher and Kumari 1997: 244)

(27) *Posso restare qui solo per un' ora.*
can.1SG stay here only for one hour
'I can only stay here for one hour.'

Admittedly, however, we also occasionally find constructions in which benefactives have developed various temporal uses, but without purposive extension being attested for them. Thus the temporal uses of the dative case in Kolyma Yukaghir (cf. Maslova 2003: 99) and Gulf Arabic (cf. Holes 1990: 146) do not have any implications of purpose. In Wardaman, the dative case is recruited for repetitive temporal extension ('number of times > 1') only (cf. Merlan 1994: 75). At present, it seems to me that these patterns have a somewhat exceptional status and are, therefore, fairly hard to motivate from a purely functional view.

In conclusion, the bulk of the data presented in this section suggests that Givón's statement that purpose clauses "can disguise themselves in the syntactic form of benefactive objects in English" (Givón 1984: 132) is applicable to other languages as well. Moreover, I have tried to exploit the importance of conceptual metonymies in language use and grammaticalization in order to account for the relevant constructions.

4 Negative purpose and the absence of benefactive marking

Interestingly, there is a class of purpose clauses which is exempt from the previously mentioned tendencies. More precisely, we can observe the systematic absence of goal-encoding devices such as allatives and benefactives in negative purpose clauses (or 'lest'-constructions). Of course, many languages express negative purpose by simply inserting a negative marker into an 'ordinary' purpose clause, so that the goal-marking inherent in the purposive morpheme or elsewhere in the clause remains untouched. However, when languages grammaticalize a construction specifically dedicated to the expression of negative purpose, it seems that neither allatives nor dative-benefactives have a chance to appear in such constructions. We will briefly survey this phenomenon and take first steps towards explaining it in our present theoretical framework.

Negative-purpose clauses are also called 'avertive' constructions since their matrix clause typically encodes that precautions are taken so as to avoid an 'apprehension-causing' situation in the subordinate clause (Lichtenberk 1995: 298). The English construction with *lest*, shown in (28)-(29), is not only a typical representative of this clause type, but has also led to the widely-used Anglocentric name of the construction ('lest'-clause):

(28) *He cut the remark out of the final programme* [*lest it should offend the listeners*].
(BNC BLY 1232)

(29) *Take hede lest eny man deceave you.* (1526 TINDALE *Mark* xiii, *OED*)

Our overall sample of 218 purposive constructions contains 20 negative-purpose clauses, distributed over 19 different languages. (30)-(32) give an impression of the morphosyntactic make-up of different 'lest'-clauses:

(30) negative auxiliary verb *y* + main verb in Yagua (Peba-Yaguan: Peru):
... naada-y-numaa dáátya jiy-daasaada.
3DU-AUX.NEG-now know 2SG-mother.in.law
'... so that your mother-in-law won't know.' (Payne and Payne 1990: 416)

(31) preposed 'lest'-clause with double negative marking in Slave (Athapaskan: Canada)
[*Daniel yegúh ʔále ch'á*] *goghádehk'a.*
Daniel 3OPT.find 4.NEG lest 1SG.threw
'I threw it so Daniel wouldn't find it.' (Rice 1989: 1262)

(32) avertive suffix in Martuthunira (Pama-Nyungan: Western Australia)
Ngayu puni-layi-rru nyina-wirri manhamanha-ma-l.yarra nhuwala-a.
1SG.NOM go-FUT-now be-LEST awkward-CAUS-SIM 2DU-ACC
'I'll go now lest I'll be making it awkward for you.'
(Dench 1995: 249)

These examples are indicative of the interesting fact that avertive clauses exhibit an entirely different grammatical shape and behaviour when compared to their positive counterparts. In brief, they show a slight preference for finite (rather than non-finite) verbs, often involve different and overtly coded (rather than implicit co-referential) subjects, and do not preferably select motion verbs in the corresponding matrix clauses. In the present context, it is most remarkable that allative and dative-related morphemes are also absent from avertive clauses. Neither do they surface as additional gestalt features in the clause, nor do they provide the historical source for the development of 'lest'-markers. For positive purpose clauses, I argue in Schmidtke-Bode (2009) that their prototypical morphosyntactic characteristics have arisen as functional adaptations to the conceptual properties of purposive relations and our experience with intentional actions. This approach can only be justified if it also accounts for avertive constructions. Therefore, it may be helpful to consider the scenarios typically expressed by such constructions.

In the original study (Schmidtke-Bode 2009), this was achieved by compiling converging evidence from two data sources, i.e. translations of representative 'lest'-clauses from the typological sample, and a corpus-based query into English 'lest'-clauses in the British National Corpus (BNC). Both sources revealed unambiguously that the conceptual situation associated with negative purposes is prototypically such that an agent is acting (on some entity) in order to prevent some undesired situation from happening to her or to this entity. Crucially, this is not usually contingent on directed motion. Consequently, motion verbs are rather infrequent in main clauses of avertive constructions. In the corpus-based study, verbs of motion constitute a mere 4% of all matrix verbs in 'lest'-constructions. And while it is not a typological rarity for languages to develop distinct 'motion-cum-purpose' constructions in positive contexts (e.g. Aissen 1984 on Tzotzil), none of the avertive constructions in my sample

specifically attracts motion verbs. In terms of Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003), they rather seem to be 'repelled' by avertive clauses (indeed, a collostructional analysis on the corpus data from English yields significant degrees of repellence). Importantly, if avertive situations do not experientially correlate with directed motion, there is no basis for cross-domain mappings (or place-event metonymies, for that matter), and no motivation for allative (or goal-) marking arises in the first place. Avertive situations, on this account, are comparatively harder to construe as spatial goals.

Benefactives, too, do not surface in distinctly grammaticalized avertive contexts, even though such situations typically contain a participant that directly benefits from the precautions expressed in the matrix clause. From the viewpoint of grammaticalization mentioned in §3, it is almost precluded that a benefactive adposition or case marker develops into an avertive morpheme, since this would require this morpheme to fuse with a negative marker (semantically or structurally) during the grammaticalization process (*for* [not-X] > *for-not* 'lest' [X]). I am not aware of any such development.[10]

Instead, there is some convincing evidence that 'lest'-markers typically evolve from lexical or grammatical items that are associated with negative semantics right from the start. Thus English *lest* is the modern form of OE *lǽs þe* 'less-REL', with *less* in its basic form typically being associated with an 'undesirable' NP (e.g. *less trouble*). This would provide an ideal environment for clausal extensions. Somewhat differently, the Tukang Besi (Austronesian: Sulawesi) conjunction *bara* 'lest' functions as a verb meaning 'don't' in main clauses (Donohue 1999: 399) and may thus ultimately have a verbal source. For To'aba'ita, an Austronesian language spoken on the Solomon Islands, Lichtenberk (1995: 304, 320) reports that *ada* 'lest' is historically derived from a lexical verb meaning 'see, look out, watch out', i.e. perception verbs that have a connotation of warning. The point is that the sources of 'lest'-markers are *inherently* negative in one way or the other, and hence benefactives do not lend themselves well to being source constructions for their grammaticalization (interestingly, neither do malefactives).

In sum, allative-based benefactives do not occur in grammaticalized 'lest'-clauses because directed motion is not involved in the conceptualization of avertive situations. Benefactives proper do not overlap significantly with negative purpose from a conceptual point of view, and, moreover, they do not usually occur in structural environments that favour a reanalysis to avertive markers. For these reasons, the historical sources of 'lest'-markers are fundamentally different from the goal-encoding devices that often give rise to positive purpose markers. In both conceptual and historical terms, then, the absence of allatives and dative-benefactives in 'lest'-clauses is well-motivated.

5 Conclusion

This paper has shifted the attention from benefactives as a semantic participant role of NPs to the distribution and functions of benefactive morphemes in the context of larger grammatical constructions. More specifically, I have surveyed the rich functional

[10] In Hungarian, the negative marker *ne* can indeed fuse with the purposive conjunction *hogy* 'that' to form what might be called a complex avertive conjunction *ne-hogy* 'lest'. Crucially, however, *hogy* is a complementizer, not a benefactive morpheme (Kenesei et al. 1998: 51).

potential of the family of 'goal-encoding devices', including allatives, datives, recipients and benefactives, in the typology of purpose clauses. Building on previous literature and a database of 80 languages, I outlined the roles of benefactives as both primary and secondary gestalt features in purpose clauses, their metonymic potential for the economical expression of purposive relations, and their systematic absence from avertive constructions. The cognitive-functional framework provided us with useful tools to develop a principled and coherent account for these phenomena, and for their diachronic evolution. With regard to the latter, it would now be most desirable to obtain more explicit data on patterns of polysemy and their historical connections in order to corroborate the hypotheses put forward in this and previous papers on the topic.

Interlinear glosses

1,2,3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	INDF	indefinite
ACC	accusative	INF	infinitive
B3	person agreement marker	INSTR	instrumental
DAT	dative	LEST	avertive marker
IMPF	imperfective	LOC	locative
LOC	locative	M	masculine
PERF	Perfect	MSD	masdar (verbal noun)
PST	past tense	N:	non- (e.g. N:SG non-singular, N:PST nonpast)
ABS	absolutive		
ABSTR.N	abstract noun	NEG	negative, negation
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ADV	adverbial (case)	NOML	nominaliser
ALL	allative ('to')	OBJ	object
BEN	benefactive	P/O	transitive patient (patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb)
CAUS	causative		
CLF	classifier		
CMPM	compound-marker		
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PRF	perfect
DEF	definite	PRFV	perfective
DIR	directional, directive	PROX	proximal, proximate
DU	dual	PST	past
ERG	ergative	PURP	purpose, purposive
EX	exclusive	REL	relative clause marker
FUT	future	REM	remote (past, future)
GL	goal	SG	singular
IMPF	imperfective	SIM	simultaneous
INCL	inclusive	SPEC	specific, specifier
IND	indicative	T/A	tense-aspect marker

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