

The Korean Dative Compared with German: A Grammaticalizational Approach

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Song, Kyung-An & Ahn, Jongki. (2014). The Korean Dative Compared with German: A Grammaticalizational Approach. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 22(4), 99-120. Dative postpositions of Korean were originally derived from lexical words, i.e. nouns, verbs and adverbs. Beside the typical dative functions, the Korean dative markers have developed various other functions such as locative, source, directional, benefactive and malefactive, among others. The Korean dative markers are also used in the passive and causative construction. We now find significant similarities between Korean and German. German dative prepositions originated from lexical words as Korean. They basically have the meanings of source and goal. The German local prepositions are read either as a locative or as a directional depending on the context. It is also interesting that most German free datives find their counterparts in Korean.

Key Words: Korean-German contrast, dative, grammaticalization, specialization, reinforce, origins of dative marker, free dative, benefactive, malefactive, adposition

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the Korean dative in a grammaticalizational perspective, compared with German which also developed various functions of the dative. The two languages are very different. Korean is a typical agglutinative, postpositional SOV language, and German is a typical inflectional, prepositional language with verb-second or verb-final word order. But we find some interesting similarities in the functions of dative markers and

their functional developments of the two languages. Through the contrastive observation of them, we might have found some meaningful results and contribute to linguistic typology and linguistic universals. In section 2 we'll investigate forms and grammaticalizational developments of Korean dative markers. In section 3 we'll discuss some other phenomena related to dative in Korean. In section 4 we'll survey the functions and functional developments of the German dative, comparing with those of the Korean dative.

2. Forms and Functions of the Korean Dative

The postposition *-ege* in (1) is the representative dative marker in Korean. And it has many other diverse functions such as direction, source and location, among others.¹⁾

- (1) Peter-neun Mary-**ege** geu chaeg-eul ju-eoss-da .
 Peter-NOM Mary-DAT the book-ACC give-PAST-END
 'Peter gave Mary the book.'

Since *-ege* can be used both as dative and as a source marker, we have an interesting example sentence as in (2). In relation to this, it is remarkable that Nam (1992: 511) classifies both the case of the source and the goal as dative.

- (2) Peter-neun Mary-**ege** geu chaeg-eul bad-a Paul-**ege** ju-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM Mary-SOUR the book-ACC receive-CONN Paul-DAT gave
 'Peter received the book from Mary and gave it to Paul.'

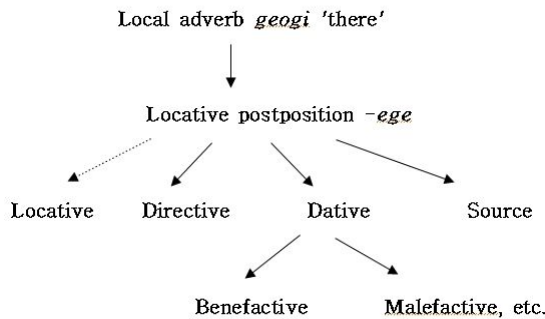
Historically the dative marker *-ege* developed from the local adverb *geogi* ('there') (Kim, 1982b/1992: 296).²⁾ The meaning of the adverb was meanwhile

1) For our efficient discussion, I would like to use the names of cases according to their functions in the related sentences.

2) The related forms in the 15th C were *ui(의)* + *geogui(거의)* and *ui(의)* + *ge(게)* where *geogui(거의)* and *ge(게)* meant *geogi* 'there' (Kim, 1982b/1992: 296). The form *geogui(거의)* originated from the noun phrase *gui(그)* + *eogui(어의)*(NIK, Standard Korean Dictionary, 2014). In

bleached, and it underwent the formal reduction to develop into the postposition, a typical process of grammaticalization (cf. e.g. Kuryłowicz. 1975; Rhee, 1998; Heine, 2003). The postposition *-ege*, which originally only had the local meaning, combined in time with various kinds of verbs to represent also the direction, goal, source as well as benefaction and malefaction, etc.. The developmental process of the form can be summarized as in (3).

(3) The developmental process of Korean dative marker *-ege*



A postposition closely related to *-ege* is the form *-egeseo*, which is composed of *-ege* and *-seo*. The form *-seo* is supposed to derive from the verb *isida* ('exist') (Kim, 1982a/1992: 284). According to this analysis, *-egeseo* was originally composed of three elements as in (4).

(4) *-ege* (locative marker) + *isi* 'exist' + *eo* (conn. ending) > *egeseo*

The original meaning of *Peter-egeseo* would be then 'being with Peter'. In present-day Korean, *-egeseo* is mainly used as source meaning, whereby it developed some other related functions. But this form does not have a directional or dative function. In (2) the first *-ege*, but not the second one, can be substituted by *-egeseo*. We may say that the two forms, starting from local meanings, developed various functions, whereby these are in part overlapped

standard Korean grammar *geogi* is classified as a pronoun, probably because it freely combines with the case-marking postpositions (ibid.). In this paper we'll classify it as a local adverb according to the European linguistic tradition.

and differentiated in some other respects. The form *-egeseo* seems to have been specialized for the source meaning.

If the recipient of the dative construction is inanimate, the dative postposition *-ege* is not used, but should be replaced by the form *-e* (cf. (5a-b)).

- (5) a. Peter neun Mary-**ege** geu chaeg-eul bonae-ss-da.
 Peter-NOM Mary-DAT the book-ACC send-PAST-END
 'Peter sent Mary the book.'
- b. Peter neun doseokwan-**e** geu chaeg-eul bonae-ss-da.
 Peter-NOM library-DAT the book-ACC send-PAST-END
 'Peter sent the book to the library.'

The two dative markers *-e* und *-ege* are differentiated only in the animateness of the recipient (Kim, 1995: 164). Like the form *-ege*, the form *-e* functions also in various other ways, i.e. as locative, temporal and directional marker among others. Historically the dative marker *-e* developed from a noun with the local meaning 'inner part, middle' (Kim, 1982a/1992: 279ff). The grammaticalization process of this form would not be very different from that of *-ege* in (3). Although the two forms are similar in their present forms, they have different etymologies. In contradistinction to *-ege*, the form *-e*, the dative marker for inanimate nouns, is not used as a source marker.

As source marker for inanimate nouns, Koreans use the form *-eseo*, which developed again various other functions such as source, location, time etc. Historically, the form *-eseo* developed from the composition of the three elements as in (6) (Kim, 1982a/1992: 284), a similar grammaticalization process as in (4). According to this analysis, the meaning of *Berlin-eseo* ('in Berlin') was originally 'being in Berlin, staying in Berlin', which developed other functions over time.

- (6) *-e* (locative) + *isi* 'exist' + *eo* (conn. ending) > *eseo*

Comparing (4), (6) and the related phenomena, we may infer that the forms 'locative + *seo*' are specialized for the source meaning (for 'specialization', cf. e.g. Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 113-116).

A further interesting development of the form *-eseo* is that it often functions as subject marker, i.e. if institutions or organizations come to subject position, *-eseo* is often used instead of general nominative markers without any important semantic difference (Nam & Koh, 1995: 99f; Nam, 1992: 515, cf. (7)).

- (7) jeongbu-eseo seongmyeong-eul balpyoha-yeoss-da.
 government-LOC statement-ACC issue-PAST-END
 'The government issued a statement.'

In this context the function of the postposition *-kkeseo* is notable. Historically, this form developed from the composition of the three elements as in (8) (Kim, 1982b/1992, 290ff; cf. also (4) and (6)). The original meaning *abeoji-kkeseo* ('father-adposition') would then be 'being with father' in English.

- (8) -geogi 'there' + isi 'exist' + eo (conn. ending) > kkeseo

The origin and the developmental process of the form *-kkeseo* are very similar to those of *-egeseo* and *-eseo* in (4) and (6). In present-day Korean, it is no more used as locative or source marker, but only as honorific nominative marker (cf. (9)). We find no switch context in the sense of Heine (2002).

- (9) abeoji-kkeseo Berlin-e ga-si-eoss-da.
 Father-NOM(HON) Berlin-DIR go-HON-PAST-END.
 'Father went to Berlin.'

In Song (2012; 2013) it has been argued that local nouns and adverbs can be used as substitute of personal pronouns to avoid the direct affectedness of the speech. The functional development of *-kkeseo* seems to be related with the preference for the indirectness of human speech.

In Korean, we have a further dative marker *-kke*, which is closely related with *-kkeseo* in its form. From the morphological parallels discussed above we may infer this form as in (10).

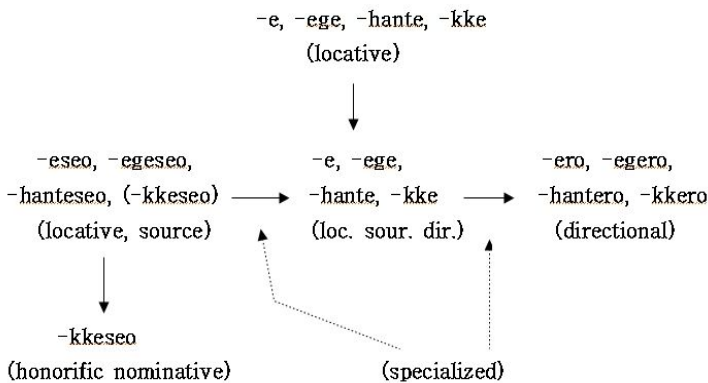
- (10) $-ege : -egeseo = -e : -eseo = x : -kkeseo \implies x = -kke$

The form *-kke* has the same etymology as the form *-ege* of (1), i.e. it developed from the local adverb *-geogi* 'there' (Kim, 1982b/1992: 296ff; see also (3)). The two forms are only differentiated in their honorific levels.

In spite of the formal parallels in (10), we do not find the functional parallels between *-kke* and *-kkeseo*. As mentioned above, the form *-seo* basically represents the meaning of source. But in *-kkeseo*, it has lost this meaning. The form *-kkeseo* functions only as honorific nominative marker in present-day Korean. Korean seems to have now a grammatical gap, i.e. it does not have a main source marker for honorific NPs. The functional gap is filled with other grammatical means, e.g. with the honorific dative marker *-kke*, with composition of the three postpositions *-kke* + *-ro*('source') + *-buteo*('initiation'), or with the honorific-neutral form *-hante(seo)*.

A further dative marker of Korean *-hante*, which developed recently at the beginning of the 20th century, derived from the composition *han*('one, same') and *de*('place') (Kim, 1982b/1992: 299ff). Its functions are almost the same as those of *-ege*. The different point is that *-hante* is colloquial and honorific-neutral. The related nouns should therefore be [+Animate], but need not to be [+Human] and [0 Honorific]. In parallel with *-hante*, we have also the form *-hanteseo* which mainly functions as a source marker (cf. (10)).

(11) Developments of dative and related forms



As is shown in the forms *-eseo*, *-egeseo* and *-hanteseo*, the source meaning is reinforced or specialized through the form *-seo*. In Korean, we now find a

similar specialization in the reverse direction. Through addition of the directional marker *-ro* to the dative/locative markers, the directional meaning of these forms is reinforced or specialized. The two-fold postpositions *-ero*, *-egero*, *-hantero* only have the directional meaning (see section 3.1. for further discussion). The development of these relations could be illustrated as in (11).

-deoreo is derived from the verb *deri-da* ('to have someone in one's care') and *-bogo* from *bo-da* ('see'). In present-day Korean, *deri-da* is no more used as an independent full verb. In combination with the verb 'come' and go', it forms serial verbs (cf. (13a))³, or being more grammaticalized, it functions like a postposition (cf. (13b)).

- (13) a. Monica-neun ai-reul haggyo-eseo deri-eo-o-nda.
 Monica-NOM child-ACC school-from *deri*-CONN-come-END
 'Monica takes the child from school.'
- b. Monica-neun ai-reul deri-go nol-ass-da.
 Monica-NOM child-ACC *deri*-CONN play-PAST-END
 'Monica played with the child.'

deri-eo-o-nda in (13a) is a serial verb which is registered as a lexical entry in Korean dictionaries (cf. e.g. Yonsei Korean Dictionary, 2014). In (13b) *derigo* has almost lost its verbal character and functions in combination with the accusative marker *-reul* as a postposition, which corresponds in whole to the English preposition *with*. The form *derigo* can also be used without the accusative marker *-reul*. The original meaning of *deri-da* ('to have someone in one's care') was meanwhile bleached and can now combine even with verbs of a negative meaning, which may be called 'conventionalized stage' in the sense of Heine (2002). (13b) might be considered a switch context, i.e. the sentence can be interpreted either in a positive or negative meaning.

The form *deoreo* in (12a) is more grammaticalized than the related forms in (13). In contradistinction to these, *deoreo* is no more analysed as consisting of two morphemes and is registered as an adposition in Korean dictionaries (cf. e.g. Yonsei Korean Dictionary, 2014; see also Nam, 1992: 511). Like other adpositions,

3) Bernd Heine (p.c.) talked about the possibility of analyzing *deri-eo* as a derivational prefix. But according to my intuition, it does not seem to have been grammaticalized so far.

we write it together with the nouns, not separated (cf. (12a) and (13b)).

The form *-bogo* in (12b) seems less grammaticalized than *deoreo*. In present-day Korean it can be taken to be a conjugated form of the verb *boda* ('see') (cf. (14)), whereas *deoreo* is no more considered a conjugated form of a verb.

- (14) Peter-nuen TV-reul bo-go us-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM TV-ACC see-CONN laugh-PAST-END
 'Peter watched the TV and laughed.'

We find now some characteristics of the dative markers of verbal origins *-deoreo* and *-bogo*. Firstly, they can combine with the accusative marker, which may be the trace of their earlier usage as verbs. In the dative NPs of (12), we can insert the accusative marker *-reul* as in (15).⁴ In this case, 'accusative marker + *deoreo/bogo*' function in whole as dative markers. And we may be concerned here with a process of grammaticalization.

- (15) a. Mary-deoreo = Mary-reul deoreo 'Mary-DAT = Mary-ACC *deoreo*'
 b. Mary-bogo = Mary-reul bogo 'Mary-DAT = Mary-ACC *bogo*'

The second characteristic of the dative markers *-deoreo* and *-bogo* is that their usage is restricted to 'say'-verbs, i.e. to the verbs of 'say', 'tell', 'promise', 'command', 'compel', etc. (cf. the examples of (12)). They do not appear in the construction of the typical dative verb 'give'. Besides, the two dative markers do not have the directional, locative or source meaning unlike the dative markers of locative origins.

The latter two characteristics seems to be related to the original meaning of the forms. It is not very probable that the original abstract meanings of the two forms, i.e. 'to have someone in one's care' and 'see', develop into the concrete meaning of locative, goal or source (cf. Traugott, 1978; Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer, 1991).

In brief, Korean developed two groups of dative markers. One group developed out of locative nouns or adverbs⁵), and another group is of verbal

4) An anonymous reviewer finds the expression *Mary-reul deoreo* unacceptable.

5) Heine & Claudi (1986: 36) report that most of the preposition-like units of Maa are derived

origin. Depending on the related verbs in the sentences, the adposition (dative marker) of locative origin can have the meaning of locative, source, goal and various other functions. The source meaning of the dative seems to be reinforced or specialized by addition of the form *-seo* to the dative marker, and the directional is reinforced by attaching the directional marker *-ro* to the dative postposition. On the contrary, the usage of dative markers of verbal origins is restricted to a small group of verbs, i.e. they are combined only with 'say'-verbs. The characteristics of Korean dative markers and related forms are summarized in table 1.

Table 1: Origins and characteristics of Korean dative markers and related forms

Form	Origin	Functions and Features						
		Dat	Loc	Source	Dir	Nom	Animate	Hon
-e	Noun 'middle'	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
-ege	Adverb 'there'	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
-kke	Adverb 'there'	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
-hante	Det + Noun 'same place'	+	+	+	+	-	+	o
-eseo	-e + seo Loc + 'be'	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
-egeseo	-ege + seo Loc + 'be'	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
-kkeseo	-kke + seo Loc + 'be'	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
-hanteseo	-hante + seo Loc + 'be'	-	+	+	-	-	+	o
-ero	-e + ro Loc + Dir	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
-egero	-ege + ro Loc + Dir	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
-kero	-kke + ro Loc + Dir	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
-hantero	-hante + ro Loc + Dir	+	-	-	+	-	+	o
-deoreo	verb 'care'	+	-	-	-	-	+	o
-bogo	verb 'see'	+	-	-	-	-	+	o

via metaphor from nouns. For further discussions on the development from concrete nouns to adpositions in African languages, see Heine (1989).

3. Dative and other related phenomena

In this section, we will examine some other phenomena related to the dative in Korean. The directional/source/instrumental marker *-lo/-(eu)ro/*, accusative marker *-(r)eul*, benefactive, causative and passive constructions will be our concern among others.

3.1. Directive/source/instrumental marker *-lo/-(eu)ro*

The three forms *-lo/-(eu)ro* are phonologically determined allomorphs and are representative directional marker in Korean. They have not only the directional meaning, but also various other meanings. Nam (1992: 509, 514) enumerates, for example, eight functions of the markers, on the basis of which we may differentiate three main functions of them: directional, source (cause) and instrumental (cf. (16a-c)).

- (16) a. Peter-neun Berlin-**eu**ro tteona-ss-da.
 Peter-NOM Berlin-DIR leave-PAST-END
 'Peter left for Berlin.'
- b. modeun byeong-eun eumsig-**eu**ro on-da.
 All disease-NOM food-SOUR come-END
 'All kinds of the diseases come from the food.'
- c. Peter-neun kal-**ro** ppang-eul jareun-da.
 Peter-NOM knife-INSTR bread-ACC cut-END
 'Peter cut the bread with the knife.'

Kim (1982a/1992: 301ff) suggests that these forms developed from a noun with the meaning of 'cause'. It would be not so difficult to infer the instrumental meaning from the meaning of 'cause' (cf. Wilmanns, 1906: 612). For example, the 'knife' may be considered the direct cause of 'cutting' in (16c). Kim (1982a/1992: 303) asserts that the directional meaning can also be inferred from the meaning of 'cause'. In this case, the original meaning of (16a) would be 'Peter left because of Berlin.' Comparing with dative markers, it is interesting that the forms *-ro/lo* represent the source, the goal as well as the instrumental at the same time.

3.2. Accusative marker *-(r)eul*

The interaction between the dative and the accusative marker is also remarkable in Korean. The postposition *-(r)eul* is the only accusative marker in Korean (cf. Nam, 1992: 507).⁶ But interestingly, it is also used as dative or directional marker (cf. (17a-b)).

- (17) a. Peter-neun geu chaeg-eul Mary-**reul** ju-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM the book-ACC Mary-DAT give-PAST-END
 'Peter gave Mary the book.'
- b. Peter-neun eoje Berlin-**eul** ga-ss-da.
 Peter-NOM yesterday Berlin-DIR go-PAST-END
 'Peter went to Berlin yesterday.'

These functions are differentiated according to the meaning of the related verbs. Kim (1988/1992, 209) suggested that this adposition developed from a lexical element which meant 'selection', and he called it 'selective case marker'. Logically to say, *-(r)eul* should be used for all kinds of cases, if it had the purely selective meaning. But in present-day Korean, its usage is restricted to some cases. For example, it is not used as nominative or source marker.

To sum up, the dative and the accusative markers of Korean have developed various functions which are differentiated according to their context. In the synchronic system of Korean, they may not be the definitive, but an auxiliary device for the case marking whose functions are to be ultimately determined through the context, i.e. depending on the meaning of the verbs and roles of the NPs in the respective sentences.

3.3. Benefactive construction

In Korean, the verb *juda* ('to give') developed into a benefactive auxiliary verb. Usually, it combines with a dative NP, which may be called 'benefactive construction' (cf. (18)).

6) The forms *-eul* and *-reul* are phonologically determined allomorphs.

- (18) Peter-neun Paul-ege sadari-reul ab-a ju-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM Paul-DAT ladder-ACC hold-CONN give-PAST-END
 'Peter held the ladder for Paul.'

The benefactive auxiliary *juda* ('to give') is very productive. It can also be used without a dative NP or even in malefactive meaning (cf. (19)).

- (19) a. Peter-neun Paul-ui iyagi-reul deul-eo ju-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM Paul-GEN talk-ACC hear-CONN give-PAST-END
 'Peter heard the talk of Paul (for Paul).'
- b. Peter-neun Paul-eul ttaeri-eo ju-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM Paul-ACC beat-CONN give-PAST-END
 'Peter beat Paul.'

The sentences in (19) can be used without the auxiliary verb *juda* ('give'). In this case, the meaning is slightly changed, which is not easy to explain explicitly. For example, the benefactive reading in (19a) will disappear, if we do not have the auxiliary.⁷⁾

3.4. Causative construction

In Korean, we have two kinds of causative constructions, a morphological and a periphrastic as shown in (20). In both cases, the causative objects take the dative marker (cf. (21)).

- (20) a. meog-da: 'eat'-ending
 b. meog-i-da: 'eat'-causative stem-ending
 c. meog-ge + ha-da: 'eat'-connective ending + 'make'-ending

- (21) a. Mary-neun ai-ege keig-eul meog-i-eoss-da.
 Mary-NOM child-DAT cake-ACC eat-CAUS-PAST-END
 'Mary let the child eat the cake.'
- b. Mary-neun ai-ege keig-eul meog-ge ha-yeoss-da.

7) See Kang (1991, 91ff) and Kim (1998, 176ff) for further discussion.

Mary-NOM child-DAT cake-ACC eat-END make-PAST-END
 'Mary let the child eat the cake.'

There is a slight difference of meaning between (21a) and (21b). In (21a), for example, *Mary* did some action while eating, or she is the main agent of the whole process. But in (21b), the main agent of eating is the child, and *Mary* only told or allowed the child to do so. We may talk about two kinds of causatives here, i.e. the direct and the indirect causative (cf. Nam & Koh, 1995: 294). In both cases, the goal of the action 'let (someone) eat the cake' seems to be represented by the dative marker. Instead of the form *-ege*, we may use other dative markers discussed above. For example, the form *-hante* can substitute *-ege* of (21a, b) without any problem.

3.5. Passive construction

Korean developed various means for the passive, both morphologically and periphrastically. Two typical examples are given in (22).

- (22) a. dodug-i gyeongchal-ege jab-hi-eoss-da.
 thief-NOM police-by seize-PASS-PAST-END
 'The thief was seized by the police.'
- b. Peter-neun Mary-ege moggyeog-doe-eoss-da.
 Peter-NOM Mary-by observe-PASS-PAST-END
 'Peter was observed by Mary.'

The agent of the action is marked by the dative adposition *-ege* here, and it can be replaced by the dative marker *-hante*.⁸⁾ The dative marker seems to denote the source of the action. Instead of *-ege*, we may also use the periphrastic form *-e uihayeo*, which was derived from the directional or source marker *-e* and the verb *uiha-da* 'be due to, be owing to'. In present day Korean, the form *-e uihayeo* is already grammaticalized and may be considered as a postposition which corresponds to *by*, *according to*, *by means of*, etc. in English. The dative

8) The agentive meaning may be derived from the locative meaning of the adpositions (Bernd Heine, p.c.).

markers of verbal origin *-bogo* and *-deoreo* are not used for the passive. It seems to be related to the fact that they do not function as source markers.⁹⁾

4. Characteristics of the German dative compared with the Korean

German may belong to the language group in which the dative is most widely used. In this section we will compare the dative and some related phenomena of German with those of Korean. We expect some similarities between the two languages which have no historical relationship with each other.

4.1. Origins

The basic German prepositions are developed from local adverbs which had no case functions, but only modified the verbs of the sentences (cf. e.g. Behaghel, 1924: 34ff; Behaghel, 1968: 234ff; Paul, 1920: 3ff, 21ff; Paul, 1880/1975: 153ff; Schmidt, 1966: 122f; Wackernagel, 1926a: 301ff; Wackernagel, 1926b: 153, 192, 207ff; Wilmanns, 1906: 454ff, 475ff, 685ff). The case functions were attributed to NPs at that time.

In the Indo-European period the dative and the accusative case represented the various local relations. As the time went on, the adverbs are added to express the local relations more exactly, and then they developed into prepositions or verbal prefixes. Because the cases were assigned to NPs, the prepositions were at first used independently of the cases. The local prepositions developed later other abstract meanings such as reason, cause, etc. We may talk about a typical process of grammaticalization here (cf. e.g. Kurylowicz, 1975; Heine, 2002).

Indo-European is supposed to have eight cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, ablative, locative and instrumental. The ablative, locative and instrumental were in time incorporated into dative and the vocative was incorporated into nominative.

9) See Kazenin (2001, 903f) and Keenan & Dryer (2007, 343ff) for further discussions on the agent phrase in the passive construction.

As discussed above, the Korean dative postpositions originated from local nouns or adverbs, which is also the case with German prepositions. Beside this we find some interesting similarities between the two languages.

4.2. Locative and directional with the same forms

In Korean, the dative postpositions have the locative, directional and also the source meaning. In the German prepositions *an*('at'), *auf*('on'), *hinter*('behind'), *in*('in'), *neben*('beside'), *vor*('before'), *über*('over'), *unter*('under') and *zwischen*('between'), which govern the dative or the accusative case according to their context, we also find such a characteristic. Namely, they can have both locative and directional meaning, (but not the source meaning), depending on their context (cf. (23)).

- (23) a. Peter schläft in dem Zimmer.
 'Peter is sleeping in the room.'
 b. Peter geht in das Zimmer.
 'Peter is going into the room.'

In (23a) the preposition *in*('in') is used as locative, and in (23b) it functions as directional, i.e. the locative and directional in the same form. As in the Korean examples (cf. (1), (3)), these German prepositions developed from local adverbs and have twofold functions depending on the related verbs.

4.3. Source, goal, instrumental and the dative

In Korean, both the source and the goal are represented by the dative marker. We find similar cases in German in two points. Firstly, the same form can function both as dative (goal) and also as ablative (source) (cf. (24a-b); see section 4.4. for further discussion).

- (24) a. Ich gebe ihm ein Buch.
 'I give him a book.'
 b. Ich habe ihm ein Buch gestohlen.
 'I stole a book from him.'

Secondly, in the German dative prepositions we find the two basic meanings, the source and the goal. The basic meaning of *nach*('after') and *zu*('to') is directional, whereas *aus*('out of'), *von*('from') and *seit*('since') represent basically the local or temporal source or the starting point. Compared with Korean, it is interesting that the prepositions of source and goal both govern the dative case.

The usage of the two German prepositions *mit*('with') and *zu*('to') is remarkable in this context. The instrumental preposition *mit*('with') governs the dative, and this seems to be related to the source meaning of the dative (cf. also section 3.1).¹⁰ It should not be a pure chance that the earlier ablative, locative and instrumental of German were incorporated into the dative. We would like to remind that the Korean instrumental *-(eu)ro/-lo* and the dative case have also the meaning of the source and the goal at the same time. The behavior of the German preposition *zu*('to') is also interesting. It governs the dative case and has a directional, local, temporal and purposive meaning, among others (cf. (25a-d)), similarly as the Korean dative marker *-e* above.

- (25) a. Peter geht zur Schule 'Peter goes to school.'
 b. Universität zu Köln 'University in Cologne'
 c. zu Goethes Zeit 'at the time of Goethe'
 d. zum Tee einladen 'invite to tee'

One more similarity between Korean and German is found in the agent marker of the passive construction. In Korean, the dative/source marker *-ege* is used for the agent marker, whereas the source preposition *von*('from') is used in German.

4.4. Other functions of German dative

Beside its typical functions, the German dative has developed various other functions, the so-called 'free datives' (cf. e.g. Eisenberg, 1986: 283ff; Flämig, 1991: 153f; Helbig, 1984; Hentschel & Weydt, 1990: 158ff; Wegener, 1985). According to Kim (1993) we can summarize it as in (26).

10) In Gothic the dative was very often used for instrument or cause (cf. Wilmanns, 1906: 612).

(26) Usages of German free datives

- a. Ethic dative (ethischer Dativ)
Du bist mir ein fauler Kerl.
'You are a lazy guy for me.'
- b. Benefactive dative (Dativ des Vorteils)
Er wäscht mir das Auto.
'He washed the car for me.'
- c. Malefactive dative (Dativ des Nachteils)
Die Vase ist mir zerbrochen.
'My vase is broken.'
- d. Possessive dative (Possessiver Dativ)
Der Kopf schmerzt mir.
'I have a headache.'
- e. Dative of bearing (Trägerdativ)
Ich ziehe mir den Mantel an.
'I put on my coat.'
- f. Dative of state bearer (Dativ des Zustandsträgers)
Es ist der Mutter warm.
'It is warm for mother.'
- g. Dative of estimation (Dativ des Maßstabs)
Das ist dem Kind zu langweilig.
'It's boring for the child.'

It is not easy to find clear-cut boundaries between the seven categories above, but the examples show us well the abundant usages of the German dative. It is remarkable that most of these functions of German dative are found in Korean, although the usages of the Korean dative markers are more restricted, i.e. not all the German free datives can translate into the Korean dative construction.

We find now some differences between the 'free datives' of the two languages. For example, the German benefactive dative (cf. (26b)) is differentiated from that of Korean in two points. Firstly, Korean uses the benefactive auxiliary *juda* ('to give') (cf. 3.3.). Secondly, Korean does not use the dative NP, i.e. the reflexive pronoun, if it refers to the subject NP. We may say that the subject NP

is the unmarked beneficiary. The case with the dative of bearing (cf. (26e)) is very similar, i.e. the construction is formed with a benefactive auxiliary in Korean and does not use the dative NP if it is identical with the subject.

The usage of the possessive dative is also very restricted in Korean. For example, we find no dative construction which corresponds to the German dative sentence in (26d). Instead, Korean developed other devices to represent the possessive relation, the so called 'double subject' and 'double object' constructions (cf. (27a-b)).¹¹⁾

- (27) a. Mary-neun meori-ga apeu-da.
 Mary-NOM head-NOM painful-END.
 'Mary has a headache.'
- b. Peter-neun Mary-reul son-eul jab-ass-da.
 Peter-NOM Mary-ACC hand-ACC seize-PAST-END
 'Peter took Mary by hand.'

5. Conclusion

Korean is a typical postpositional language in which the case markers, the prepositions as well as some adnominal particles of European languages are incorporated in the postpositions. It has developed two groups of dative markers, one derived from local nouns and adverbs, and one derived from verbs. Beside the typical dative functions, the dative markers of the first group have various other functions, i.e. the functions of locative, source, directional and benefactive, among others, whereas the usages of the second group are restricted to 'say'-verbs. The functions of the first group are determined according to their contexts.

In relation to our topic, we observed some interesting similarities between Korean and German. Like Korean dative/locative postpositions, most of the basic German prepositions developed from local adverbs. The basic German prepositions can denote both the locative and the directional meaning according to their context. It is remarkable that the German prepositions governing the

11) These constructions are not only used for the possessive relations.

dative case basically have the meaning of source (including instrumental) and goal, whereas Korean dative and instrumental markers have also the meaning of source and goal at the same time. Most of the free datives in German can find their correspondents in Korean, although the usages of the Korean datives are more restricted.

The data of the two languages, a typical agglutinative language of the far East and a typical inflectional language of western Europe suggest that there could be some cognitive universals in the dative case and related phenomena of human languages.

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