

Title: Motivations for Possessor Dative Raising in Czech
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The possessive function of the dative case has been discussed in analyses of possessor raising and of affectedness-linked external possession in many languages. Under the assumption that possessor raising means that the possessor ascends out of the possessor phrase to become a dependent of the verb (Heine 1997:167), one can wrongly predict that the external possessor is assigned the possessor θ -role by the lexical property of a predicate.

This paper explores the idea that the main motivation for possessor dative raising need not necessarily be the assignment of a ‘possessor θ -role’, but rather of an ‘affectee θ -role’. Considering the fact that the use of the possessor dative in Czech is strongly associated with inalienability (body parts, kinship relations, etc.), possessor movement from the inalienable possessum DP seems to be obligatory. In this respect, the possessor dative occupies a non-thematic A-position assigned a joint ‘possessor and affectee θ -role’.

- (1) a. *Vašek jí_{DAT} pohladil ruku.* ‘Vašek stroked her hand.’
b. *Otec mu_{DAT} zemřel.* ‘His father died.’

However, it is argued that some external possessor phrases are not required to be either affectee or pure possessor, since sometimes the boundary between possessor dative and dativus (in)commodi is vague in Czech.

- (2) *Jana uklízí Pavlovi_{DAT} pokoj.* ‘Jane tidies up Paul’s room.’

Moreover, based on the co-occurrence of a raised possessor with an overt possessor inside the DP, the optional distribution of the DP possessor can provide some counterevidence for possessor raising in Czech, especially in the case of alienable possession. In that case, the overt DP possessor need not necessarily be co-indexed with the external possessor dative.

- (3) *Karel_i mu_j opravil jeho_{j/k} kolo.* ‘Charles repaired his bicycle for him.’