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Locative alternation in English and Croatian

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This paper discusses the locative alternation, a type of alternation that involves transitive verbs taking more than one VP-internal argument. This alternation allows location arguments to alternate with theme arguments and thus become realized as the direct object (i.e. the primarily affected entity). The paper attempts to give a theory-neutral overview of locative alternation in English in comparison with Croatian. Our analysis shows that locative alternation in Croatian is expressed through both derivational morphology and a kind of alternating parallel to English. We may conclude that even though verb alternations carry different semantic implications and restrictions in different languages, they still remain a valuable tool for determining the relevant semantic properties through grammatical means

1.0 Verbs in English and other languages may participate in various sets of alternations, or alternate expressions, that involve possible combinations of their arguments, and that are sometimes accompanied by changes in meaning. The interpretation of arguments is largely determined by the meaning of a verb, so verbs may be classified according to the type of alternation that their arguments are involved in, though

'Not all dimensions in which the meaning of verbs can differ influence verb alternations.' (Krifka, 2001:2)

Still, verb alternations represent an important linguistic means in determining the relevant semantic properties of verbs and verb classes.



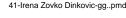
- **1.1** Relying primarily on Levin (1993) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), this paper will focus on the so-called locative alternation the type of alternation displayed by transitive verbs taking more than one VP-internal argument¹, as in
 - (1) a. Colin loaded boxes on the cart. dir. object = Theme) b. Colin loaded the cart with boxes. (dir. object = Location)

The first part of this paper deals with English verbs exhibiting this alternation, while the second part presents a brief analysis of locative alternation in Croatian and points to some language specific differences in comparison with English.

- **2.0** Arguments involved in locative alternation bear the semantic roles of Theme and Location so roughly put, this type of alternation allows arguments that would not usually appear as direct objects to be realized as such. Since Themes, and not Locations, are the default choice for direct objects, (1.a) is considered to be the unmarked construction², whereas (1.b) would be the marked construction. The only argument-type that never alternates with any other argument-type are Patients. Thus (2.a) and (2.b) mean two different things:
 - (2) a. Annie broke the jar against the window.
 - b. Annie broke the window with the jar.

It is worth noting that cross-linguistically no coding property represents a consistent and unique feature of direct objects. In case marking languages they are typically coded by the accusative case, whereas in English they are positionally defined as the first NP after the verb. However, this is not a consistent feature since in some languages indirect objects can be marked with the accusative case as well. Also, being the subject of the passive sentence is not a unique property of direct objects and in many languages arguments other than the direct object of the active sentence can be the subject of the corresponding passive sentence. Therefore in many cases it is more appropriate to talk about objects in terms of their semantic roles.

2.1 Among the alternations involving arguments within the VP, Levin (1993) distinguishes some 14 types of alternations, many of which have several sub-types. For





¹ Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) call these arguments *core arguments* because they are found with the predicate in the core of the clause, as opposed to the periphery that contains adjuncts, which are optional.

² Within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997) this is also known as variable linking to the macrorole of undergoer – one of the two semantic macroroles that represent the highest point in generalization and neutralization over specific semantic roles. Variable linking to undergoer represents one of the crucial features of language variation.

Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) the variable linking takes three basic forms in English and the other languages that allow it. The first one is dative alternation, which involves Recipient and Theme arguments with verbs of transfer.³

The second type are instrument and locative alternations, where Instrument and Location alternate with Theme arguments. The final type are the so called applicative constructions, where a non-argument of the verb shows marked linking. This last type of alternation is in most languages (but not in English) morphologically indicated on the verb, such as, for instance, in German (cf. Kailuweit, 2002). Levin (1993: 66), on the other hand, lists the alternation with some verbs of transfer⁴, such as *present* or *supply*, as the 'fulfilling alternation', stating that this alternation is superficially similar to both the dative alternation and the locative alternation. But the latter similarity seems to arise solely because of the analogy in form – in the marked construction the Theme argument is oblique, headed by the preposition *with*. However, the semantic relations between the verb and its arguments are the same as those in the dative alternation, regardless of whether the transfer was fulfilled or not. We might therefore see the dative alternation and the 'fulfilling alternation' as two facets of a more general transfer alternation since, according to Levin (1993: 65).

'Most verbs that permit the dative alternation do not show [[the fulfilling]] alternation.' and 'Some of the verbs showing the fulfilling alternation also show the dative alternation.' (Levin, 1993:66).

However, upon closer inspection we found out that this 'overlap'-class was not explicitly cited with either one of the two types of alternation.

2.2 Locative alternation involves verbs that refer to putting substances or things on surfaces or in containers, or to removing them from surfaces or containers (Levin, 1993:50). This type of alternation does not involve a change in the transitivity of the



³ This alternation (also known as 'dative shift') involves examples of the type:

⁽i) a. Evan sent a box of chocolates to Flo.

a'. Evan sent Flo a box of chocolates.

Janko je Ladi darovao cvijeće. (Ladi = DAT, cvijeće = ACC)
 Janko gave flowers to Lada.

b'. Janko je Ladu darovao cvijećem. (Ladu = ACC, cvijećem = INST) Janko gave Lada flowers.

What distinguishes this type of alternation from other alternations involving arguments within the VP is that both arguments in the marked construction are direct, i.e. not preceded by a preposition. This gave rise to many linguistic debates concerning the syntactic interpretation of the arguments involved. For a more detailed account of the dative alternation in English and Croatian see Zovko (2001).

⁴ She calls them 'verbs of fulfilling' (Levin, 1993:65), presumably because they express fulfilled transfer

verb but only a change in the perspective of the event. Thus alternate expressions of arguments often carry subtle differences in meaning such as what Anderson (1971) termed the 'holistic/partitive effect'. When Location is the primarily affected argument, it is expressed as the direct object and the Theme argument is the object of the preposition *with* or of(3):

- (3) a. Daniel stuffed feathers into the pillow.
 - a'. Daniel stuffed the pillow with feathers.
 - b. Sandra sprayed some water on the plant.
 - b'. Sandra sprayed the plant with some water.
 - c. The pool cleaner drained the water from the pool.
 - c'. The pool cleaner drained the pool of its water.

When Location is not the object of a preposition, but the direct object, it is presumed to be completely affected by the action. Thus, in (3.a') and (3.c') the effect is 'holistic' – the pillow is completely full of feathers and there is no water left in the pool. With (3.a) and (3.c) this may but need not be the case. The holistic effect is also shown by (4.a, a')

- (4) a. Daniel stuffed feathers into the pillow one by one.
 - a'. *Daniel stuffed the pillow with feathers one by one.

(3.b) and (3.b') in our opinion do not show this kind of distinction clearly, since spraying or sprinkling by its nature need not cover the whole of the plant. Levin (1993:50) thus rightly concludes that the term 'holistic' may not be entirely accurate or applicable to all instances of this alternation. We may assume that exhibiting the holistic/partitive effect is not a prerequisite for locative alternation, although it is one of its most prominent features.

2.3 Levin (1993) distinguishes five subtypes of alternations within the locative alternation. The first one is the 'spray/load alternation' that involves nearly 50 verbs such as load, cram, plant, stuff, stack, sow, spray, sprinkle, shower, splatter, etc. The second is the transitive variant of the 'clear alternation', with the verbs clear, clean, drain and empty. The third subtype is termed 'wipe alternation' because the verbs in this class, along with the so called clear verbs, semantically represent the opposites of the spray/load verbs. The 'wipe alternation' does not allow the Theme argument to be expressed when the Location is the direct object, i.e. the primarily affected entity. The two remaining subtypes are the 'swarm alternation', which would be the intransitive counterpart of the 'spray/load alternation', and the intransitive version of the 'clear alternation'. (3.a, a', b, b') and (3.c, c') are instances of the 'spray/load' and the 'clear alternation' respectively, while (5.a, a'), (5.b, b') and (5.c, c') represent the 'wipe', the 'swarm' and the intransitive 'clear alternation' respectively.

- (5) a. Dana hoovered the crumbs off the carpet.
 - a'. Dana hoovered the carpet. (*of the crumbs)
 - b. Voices are echoing in the hall.
 - b'. The hall is echoing with voices.
 - c. People emptied from the room.
 - c'. The room emptied.

It is also worth noting that (5.b, b') and (5.c, c') involve two-place predicates where the Location and the Theme argument alternate on the position of subject (and not direct object), whereas other subtypes of locative alternation involve three-place predicates. All subtypes display the holistic/partitive effect, though this does not always seem to be the case (cf. 2.2). However, the marked constructions that display the holistic effect in the active voice, do so in the passive as well:

- (6) a. Daniel stuffed the pillow with feathers.
 - a'. The pillow was stuffed with feathers by Daniel.

The logical structure of verbs that may be involved in locative alternation would basically, expressed in general, theory-neutral terms, look something like this:

(7) **predicate** (x, y) (**x** CAUSE **y** to be/not be-LOC' **z**)⁵ Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997)

In locative and other types of alternations we are dealing with different perspectives of the same event (and thus with the same basic meaning), we could assume that the logical structure would be the same for all verbs involved in the locative alternation. However, no language needs two semantically identical constructions and we have already seen that marked constructions do carry slight differences in meaning (of which the holistic/partitive effect is just one instance). We may therefore suppose a slightly different logical structure for unmarked and marked constructions. Thus all the unmarked constructions such as (3.a, b, c) would have the structure in (7), while all the marked constructions would have a structure of the type (8)

- (8) **predicate** (x, y) (x CAUSE z to have-LOC'/not have-LOC' y)
- **2.4** Under each type of alternation Levin (1993) cites not only the classes of verbs that allow it, but also verb classes where arguments do not alternate, i.e. where only one



⁵ Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997) would have this kind of logical structure representation for verbs in locative alternation:

do'(x, [pred'(x,y)]) CAUSE [[BECOME be-LOC'(z, y)]]

combination of arguments is possible with verbs in a certain class. This actually means that those verbs do not exhibit that particular alternation. But since they probably participate in some other alternation, we think it would be more effective to place under each type of alternation only those verb classes that allow it, and then to generalize over different types of alternations for various verb classes, much along the lines of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:336-338).

We believe that such an approach would provide more appropriate means of identifying possible verb alternations in languages other than English.

- **3.0** Croatian is a case marking language in which different perspectives of events are usually lexicalized by two different verbs or two different aspectual forms of one verb. Even so, Croatian has a small number of verbs that exhibit the 'English type' of locative alternation. Namely, there are verbs whose Location arguments may become the primarily affected entity (and thus the direct object, marked with the accusative case) while the Theme arguments become obliques, in most cases marked with the instrumental case. These verbs include some verbs of loading, sprinkling and cleaning, such as *natovariti*, 'load on(to)' (PERF.), *natrpati* 'stuff' (PERF.), *nakrcati* 'cram' (PERF.), *prskati/poprskati* 'sprinkle' (IMPF./PERF.), *zasaditi* 'plant' (PERF.), *zasijati* 'sow' (PERF.), *čistiti/očistiti* 'clean' (IMPF./PERF.), etc.:
 - a. Ivan je *natovario* vreć-e kamion-Ø. (dir. object = Theme) John loaded (PERF.) sacks-ACC on the truck-ACC. a'. Ivan je *natovario* kamion-Ø vreć-ama. (dir. object = Location) John *loaded* (PERF.) the truck-ACC *with* sacks-INST. b. Ana je *prskala/poprskala* ruž-e vod-om. Anna sprinkled (IMPF./PERF.) the roses-ACC with water-INST. b'. Ana je prskala/poprskala vod-u po Anna sprinkled (IMPF./PERF.) water-ACC on the roses-LOC. c. Zasadili su cvijeć-e u/po They planted (PERF.) flowers-ACC in/around the garden-LOC. c'. Zasadili su cvijeć-em. vrt-Ø They planted (PERF.) the garden-ACC with flowers-INST. d. Policija je čistila/očistila mrlj-e zid-a. The police *cleaned* (IMPF./PERF.) the stains-ACC *off* the wall-GEN. d'. Policija je čistila/očistila zid-Ø od (lit.) The police *cleaned* (IMPF./PERF.) the wall-ACC *of* the stains-GEN.
- **3.1** As in English, the marked constructions in Croatian show the holistic effect. However, it appears that aspect plays a significant role in the alternation. In some cases, as it is demonstrated by the examples in (9), only the perfective form of the verb allows the alternation, whereas the imperfective form does not. Thus, marked constructions such as (10) are unacceptable:



- (10) a. *Sadili su vrt-Ø cvijeć-em.
 They planted (IMPF.) the garden-ACC with flowers-INST.
 b. *Tovarili su kamion-Ø vreć-ama.
 They loaded (IMPF.) the truck-ACC with sacks-INST.
- 3.2 The majority of Croatian imperfective verbs form their perfective counterparts by adding a prefix.. Some verbs may have more than one perfective form, such as the verb tovariti, 'load', that has the perfective forms natovariti 'load onto', utovariti 'load into', istovariti 'unload' and pretovariti 'overload'. However, out of these four, only natovariti allows the locative alternation. Utovariti and istovariti allow only the unmarked construction, in which the Location argument is oblique, whereas pretovariti, on the other hand, allows only the construction that would be considered marked (i.e. the one in which Location is the direct object) and Theme is oblique. The situation is similar with the verbs sijati 'sow' (IMPF.) and plant 'saditi' (IMPF.) Their perfective forms zasijati and zasaditi allow the locative alternation, whereas the imperfective forms do not. However, the imperfective forms may appear with Location arguments as direct objects in two-place predicate constructions:
 - (11) a. Radnici su tovarili vagon-e.

 The workers were loading the wagons-ACC.
 b. Janko je sadio vinograd-Ø/posjed-Ø/park-Ø.
 (lit.) Janko planted a vineyard-ACC/estate-ACC/park-ACC.
 c. Seljaci će sijati zemlj-u na proljeće.
 (lit.) The peasants will sow the land-ACC in springtime.
- **3.3** Since the completeness of the action seems to increase the affectedness of the argument functioning as the direct object, it is logical that the perfective forms are more involved in locative alternation than the imperfective ones. It is interesting that in some cases the marked constructions are preferred over the unmarked constructions (i.e. the primarily affected entity is more often Location and not Theme). By looking at the Croatian National Corpus⁶, we discovered the following: out of some 173 tokens for the verb *prskati* 'sprinkle' (IMPF.) almost all were marked constructions. Only two or three were unmarked, with Location as a prepositional phrase. There were some 19 examples of the perfective form of this verb, *poprskati*, and they were all marked. Most of the 51 tokens of the verb *zasaditi* 'plant' (PERF.) were marked constructions, as well as 10 out of 35 for the verb *zasajati* 'sow' (PERF.) However, the majority of the marked constructions were in the passive voice, with only two or three in the active voice.⁷



⁶ Currently under construction at the Institute of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, the Croatian National Corpus is available at http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr

⁷ This result may be biased because these verbs appear mostly in agricultural publications where passive voice and impersonal constructions are one of the major features of written formal style.

- **3.4** Another curious fact is that the perfective forms of the verbs *saditi* 'plant' and *sijati* 'sow' that are formed with the prefix *po* may not be involved in locative alternation, although their meaning is similar to that of the forms with the prefix *za*-: they all refer to a completed activity or to the reaching of a goal. Still, the forms with the prefix *po* allow only unmarked constructions, with Themes as primarily affected entities. In our opinion, this indicates a subtle difference in the meaning of these forms. Namely, it seems that the forms with the prefix *za*-, when they are in a marked construction, imply that the whole surface is affected. This semantic difference is manifested by a different choice of prefix and by the ability of the verb to participate in different types of constructions such as the locative alternation.
- **3.5** A certain number of imperfective verbs in Croatian have prefixes in themselves. However, these verbs were not formed through prefixation but through the imperfectivization (i.e. the adding of particular suffixes) of perfective forms. Such verbs usually mark iterative or continuous action. Thus we have the verbs *zasađivati* 'plant (ITER.)' or *zasijavati* 'sow (ITER.)', that were formed out of the perfective forms *zasaditi* and *zasijati*. These iterative verbs also permit locative alternation:
 - (12) a. Petar je zasađivao drveć-e u svom vrt-u.

 Peter was planting/kept planting trees-ACC in his garden-LOC.
 a'. Petar je zasađivao svoj vrt-Ø drveć-em.

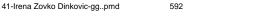
 Peter was planting/kept planting his garden-ACC with trees-INST.

The situation is quite the opposite with the verb *prskati* 'sprinkle' (IMPF.) Its perfective form with the prefix *po*- permits locative alternation but the perfective form *zaprskati* 'sprinkle' (PERF.) and the iterative imperfective form *zaprskavati* do not allow the alternation, but only the marked constructions. The reason might lie in the fact that the location arguments of verbs of sprinkling are not restricted to flat surfaces. Also, sprinkling itself need not cover the whole object so the holistic effect may or may not be present.

Verbs of cleaning are also semantically unresticted as to the choice of location. However, these verbs keep the holistic interpretation in the marked constructions. The perfective forms of these verbs have the prefix o- that marks the achievement of some result , in the case of these verbs, the removing of something from some location. The perfective forms with the prefix po-, which simply marks the end of some activity, are again not likely to be involved in locative alternation.

The iterative forms *natovarivati* 'load on(to)' and *utovarivati* 'load in(to)' behave like their perfective counterparts – the former allows the locative alternation, the latter does not. How can we account for these facts?

It seems obvious that the syntactic behavior reflects different meanings that verbs acquire in different patterns they find themselves in. This led us to offer a possible explanation for the fact that some perfective and iterative forms allow locative alternation while others do not.





- **3.6** It is often the case that one imperfective form has several perfective forms with different prefixes. Each of these perfective forms carries a different meaning that is often, though not always, visible from the prefix. This is especially true of verbs that involve any kind of location arguments, regardless of whether they allow alternation or not. These location arguments are prepositional phrases headed by prepositions that repeat the prefix⁸:
 - (13) a. Marko je natovario kutije na kamion.⁹
 Marko *loaded* the boxes *on* the truck.
 b. Ana je poprksala vodu po ružama.
 Ana *sprinkled* some water *on* the roses.

So, unlike similar prefixes used to obtain perfective forms – eg. *smiješiti se* 'smile' (IMPF.) vs. *nasmiješiti se* 'smile' (PERF.) – that do not carry any additional meaning, some prefixes seem to imply not only aspect, but also location. This is true even when the preposition does not repeat the prefix, as with verbs *zasijati* and *zasaditi* that take the prefix *za*-. And even though *posijati* and *zasijati* 'sow' (IMPF.) have the same basic meaning, the latter seems to imply sowing on a cosiderably large, flat surface and affecting all of it.

- **3.7** Thus it seems that the type of surface or container in combination with the holistic interpretation determines the selection of verbs in Croatian that are involved in locative alternation in the following way:
- a) verbs of loading that refer to putting things onto flat open surfaces. The marked construction has the holistic interpretation i.e. the whole surface is affected natovariti, natovarivati 'load' (PERF./ITER.), natrpati, natrpavati 'stuff' (PERF./ITER.), nakrcati, nakrcavati 'cram' (PERF./ITER.). These verbs may also refer to putting things into containers if the preposition u 'in' is used. The holistic effect is retained.
- b) verbs of sowing and planting on flat open surfaces. The marked construction has the holistic interpretation i.e. the whole surface is affected *zasaditi*, *zasađivati* 'plant' (PERF./ITER.), *zasijati*, *zasijavati* 'sow' (PERF./ITER.)



⁸ It is not clear whether the preposition repeats the prefix or vice versa so it would be interesting to further investigate this issue.

⁹ In colloquial Croatian people tend to use several prepositions with verbs that mark specific location. In other words, we can find the preposition *na* 'on' with the verbs *utovariti* 'load in' or *utrpati* 'stuff into'and with *natovariti* 'load on', *natrpati* 'stuff onto' and *nakrcati* 'cram' we may sometimes find the preposition *u* 'in', mostly when we are dealing with loading into some sort of closed container such as a trunk of a car or a train wagon.

- c) verbs of cleaning. They are semantically unrestricted as to the type of location that is affected. The marked construction has the holistic interpretation *čistiti/očistiti* 'clean' (IMPF./PERF.), *prati/oprati* 'wash' (IMPF./PERF.), *brisati/obrisati* 'wipe' (IMPF./PERF.), *ribati/oribati* 'scrub' (IMPF./PERF.), *usisavati/usisati* 'vacuum' (IMPF./PERF.), *četkati/očetkati* 'brush' (IMPF./PERF.)
- d) verbs of sprinkling, semantically unrestricted as to the type of location that is affected. The marked construction may, but need not display the holistic effect <code>prskati/poprskati</code> 'sprinkle' (IMPF./PERF.), <code>posipavati/posipati</code> 'spread' (IMPF./PERF.) and two substandard verbs of foreign origin <code>špricati/pošpricati</code> 'spritz' (IMPF./PERF.) and <code>sprejati/posprejati</code> 'spray' (IMPF./PERF.).
- **3.8** We may conclude that some Croatian prefixes do not only produce perfective or imperfective forms, but also consistently denote differences in verb meanings that allow certain verb forms, but not their aspectual pairs, to participate in locative alternation. Thus among verbs of loading, those that permit the alternation have the prefix *na*-which, aside from carrying the perfective meaning¹⁰, also marks what Bennett (1975:67) calls 'locative surface' or 'locative interior' (the latter in substandard use). This same meaning of 'locative surface' is in verbs of planting and sowing expressed by the prefix *za*-. Verbs of cleaning and sprinkling that are semantically unrestricted as to the type of location that is affected, have the prefixes *o* and *po* respectively and they have no iterative forms. The only exception are the verbs *usisati/usisavati* 'vacuum' (IMPF./PERF.) that have the prefix *u* which might be said to mark 'locative goal'.
- **3.9** Because of these facts it seems possible to posit that Croatian exhibits the 'English' type of locative alternation in combination with consistent morphological indication on the verb. This morphological indication is not of the 'German' type or of the type that is found in other languages that mark the alternation with specific derivational morphology, where particular prefixes or suffixes occur only in the marked combinations of alternating arguments, such as the German *be* or the Indonesian –*kan* (cf. Kailuweit, 2002:1 and Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997:336-337). However, the generalization in 3.7 seems strong enough to support the idea that locative alternation in Croatian is a combination of derivational morphology and the 'English' type.
- **4.0** As a case marking language Croatian normally expresses the relationship between the predicate and its argument with cases, and not with the change in the position of elements the way English does. Nevertheless, it allows many different types of alternations



¹⁰ We have to keep in mind that iterative forms are not made by prefixation but by adding a suffix to the perfective form that already has the prefix (cf. 3.5)

that are found in English as well, and where arguments that are usually not realized as direct objects may be realized as such by being placed as the first NP after the verb in English, i.e. by acquiring the accusative case in Croatian, while the other argument becomes an oblique. Thus Croatian displays alternations such as the dative alternation (cf. fn. 3), the benefactive alternation¹¹, the locative alternation discussed in this paper, and possibly some other types of alternations. The number of Croatian verbs involved in these alternations is considerably smaller than in English, since in English they are one of the major means of expressing differences in relations between the predicate and its argument. And even though such Croatian verbs are in most cases the equivalents of the corresponding English verbs, when involved in alternations, they may have considerably different semantic implications than in English. Krifka (2001:1) points out:

"...It is equally remarkable that the syntactic type of an argument may be the same, even though the semantic contribution of the argument can differ widely."

Although verb alternations have many language specific features, they are important as one of the basic examples of linguistic variation, where the semantic properties relevant for grammar are revealed through grammatical means.

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This alternation involves a great number of Croatian verbs in constructions such as (i)Petar je ogulio naranč-u za An-u. / Petar je An-i ogulio naranč-u.
Peter peeled an orange-ACC for Anna-ACC. / Peter peeled Anna-DAT an orange-ACC.

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LOKATIVNA ALTERNACIJA U ENGLESKOM I HRVATSKOM

U ovom se članku obrađuje lokativna alternacija, vrsta glagolske alternacije koja se javlja s prijelaznim glagolima koji imaju više od jednog argumenta unutar glagolskog izraza. Ova alternacija dopušta izmjenjivanje argumenata koji označavaju Lokaciju s onima koji označavaju Temu, pri čemu lokativni argumenti postaju izravni objekti, tj. primarni elementi na kojima je izvršen učinak. Ovaj članak pokušava dati teorijski neutralan pregled lokativne alternacije u engleskom te njezinu usporedbu s hrvatskim. Naša analiza pokazuje da se lokativna alternacija u hrvatskom ostvaruje i putem derivacijske morfologije i alterniranjem srodnim onom u engleskom jeziku. Iako glagolske alternacije nose različite semantičke implikacije i ograničenja u raznorodnim jezicima, možemo zaključiti da one ipak ostaju vrijedan način određivanja relevantnih semantičkih svojstava uz pomoć gramatičkih sredstava.



