Applicatives
*Introducing Arguments*, Liina Pylkkänen, 2002 (MIT doctoral dissertation)
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**HIGH AND LOW APPLICATIVES**
What to do with non-core arguments?

**BENEFACTIVE**

Benefactive in Bantu -- appears to be an argument with Case: High applicative

1. Chaga
   a. N-á-í-lyì-í-à
      m-kà k-élyá
      FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
      'He is eating food for his wife.'
   b. N-á-i-zric-í-à
      mbùyà.
      FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 9-friend
      'He is running for a friend' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993: 49-50)

Benefactive in English --often appears to be an adjunct, no Case: absence of High applicative

2. a. *He ran a friend.
   b. *He ate his wife food.

(3) Hypothesis pursued: Syntactic structure building is the only mode of structure building in natural language (p. 12).

(4) Non-core arguments are introduced by syntactic heads.

(5) Structure of high applicative

```
  VoiceP
    ┌── He
    │   └── Voice
    │       └── wife
    │         └── ApplBEN
                       └── VP
                            └── eat
                                └── food
```

High Applicate: *relates an individual (wife) to an event (VP): common meaning -- benefactive, malfactive*

"'wife stands in in a benefactive relation to the event of eating, but bears no relation to the object of eating...'the food.'" (p. 18)
(6) **High APPL** "the high applicative head combines with the VP by Event Identification and relates an additional individual to the event described by the verb" (p. 21):
\[ \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{APPL}(e, x) \] (APPL\(_{\text{BEN}}\), APPL\(_{\text{INSTR}}\), APPL\(_{\text{LOC}}\), and so forth)

**DIAGNOSTICS**

(7) Diagnostic 1: transitivity restrictions
Only high applicative heads combine with unergatives. Low applicative heads denote a relation between the direct and indirect object; it cannot occur in a structure that lacks a direct object.
In Bantu: *I ran a friend.*

(8) Diagnostic 2: verb semantics
Low applicatives don't occur with verbs that are completely static because they imply a transfer of possession. High applicatives should have no such restriction.
*John held Mary the bag.*

**DOUBLE-OBJECT CONSTRUCTION**

(9) John baked Mary cake.

(10) *Mary comes in possession of cake.*

(11) Low applicative

(12) **High applicative:** "very much like the external argument introducing head: they simply add another participant to the event described by the verb"

**Low applicative:** low applied arguments bear no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever: they only bear a transfer of possession relation to the direct object" (p. 19) (Pesetsky's 1995 "Possessor-Goal")

Depictive secondary predicate can't be predicated of an indirect object (Williams 1980)
(13) a. I gave Mary the meat raw.
    b. *I gave Mary the meat hungry.* (Baker 1997)
Object depictive
a. John ate the meat raw.

Subject depictive
b. *John wrote the letter drunk.

*Implicit external argument
c. *This letter was written drunk.

*DP inside PP
d. *I talked to Sue drunk.

*Indirect object
e. *John told Mary the news drunk.

Depictives: may combine with Voice and verb. But not with low applicative head. Depictives: <st>, Voice', transitive verbs: same -- both have an event argument and an unsaturated argument of type e. It cannot combine with low applicative head (<e,st>,<st>>>), but should be fine with high applicatives.

JAPANESE ADVERSITY PASSIVE (some of the data taken from Kubo 1992)

Direct passive

a. Taroo-ga Ziroo-o hihansita.
   Taro-Nom Jiro-Acc criticized
   ‘Taro criticized Jiro.’

b. Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni / -niyotte hihans-are-ta.
   Jiro-Nom Taro-by criticize-PASS-PAST
   ‘Jiro was criticized by Taro.’

Adversity passive

a. gapless
   Taroo-ga ame-ni /*-niyotte fur-are-ta.
   Taro-Nom rain-Dat fall-PASS-PAST
   ‘Taro was rained on.’

b. Gapped
   Taroo-ga doroboo-ni / -niyotte heya-o aras-are-ta.
   Taro-Nom thief-Dat/by room-Acc destroy-PASS-PAST
   ‘Taro’s room got destroyed on him by the thief.’
(17) Two types of adversity passive: high (gapless) and low (gapped)

a. High applicative

```
  Taro
   VP
   Appl  = rare
   rain  
   fall  
```

b. Low applicative

```
  Hanako
    thief
    ApplP
      V
      Appl
      room
``` 

(18) -ni/-niyotte (-niyotte is only with gapped passive)

Animacy

(19) a. gapless: must be animate

```
  Iwa-ga  ame-ni fur-are-ta.
  rock-Nom rain-Dat fall-PASS-PAST
  ‘The rock was rained on.’
```

b. gapped: need not be animate

```
  Sono daishuzyutu-ga (Yamada-isu-niyotte) sittoo-o kaisis-are-ta.
  that big.operation-Nom (Dr. Yamada-by) performance-Acc begin-PASS
  ‘That big operation had Dr. Yamada start its performance.’
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(20) But Bresnan (1978), etc.

John sent *the boarder*/the border a package.
High and Low Applicatives: VP Preposing (Hoji, Miyagawa, and Tada 198?), Kubo (1992)

(21) a. Taroo-ga sushi-o tabeta.
   Taro-Nom sushi-Acc ate
   ‘Taro ate sushi.’

   b. \[ [VP \text{sushi-o tabe]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } ____ \text{sita.} \]
   \[ [VP \text{sushi-Acc ate } ]\text{-even } \text{Taro-Nom } ____ \text{did} \]
   ‘Even eat sushi, Taro did.’

   c.* \[ [VP \text{tabe]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } \text{sushi-o } \text{sita.} \text{ (cannot strand the object of V)} \]
   \[ [VP \text{ate } ]\text{-even } \text{Taro-Nom } \text{sushi-Acc did} \]
   ‘Even eat sushi, Taro did.’

(22) gapped: shows that the verb and rare cannot be split: Low applicative
   a. Taroo-ga doroboo-ni heya-o aras-are-ta.
      Taro-Nom thief-by room-Acc destroy-PASS-PAST
      ‘Taro had the thief destroy his room.’

   b. \[ [VP \text{doroboo-ni heya-o aras-are]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } ____ \text{sita.} \]
      \[ [VP \text{thief-by room-Acc destroy-PASS]-even} \text{Taro-Nom } ____ \text{did} \]
      ‘Even have his room be destroyed by the thief, Taro did.’

   c.* \[ [VP \text{doroboo-ni heya-o aras]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } ____ \text{do-PASS-PAST} \]
      \[ [VP \text{thief-by room-Acc destroy]-even } \text{Taro-Nom } ____ \text{do-PASS-PAST} \]
      ‘Even have his room destroy] Taro certainly was done.’

(23) gapless
      Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out-PASS-PAST
      ‘Taro got Hanako dropping out of high school.’

   b. \[ [VP \text{Hanako-ni koukou-o yame-rare]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } ____ \text{sita.} \]
      \[ [VP \text{Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out-PASS]-even} \text{Taro-Nom } ____ \text{did} \]
      ‘Even have Hanako drop out of high school, Taro did.

   c. \[ [VP \text{Hanako-ni koukou-o yame]-sae } \text{Taro-ga } ____ \text{do-PASS} \]
      \[ [VP \text{Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out]-even} \text{Taro-Nom } ____ \text{do-PASS} \]
      ‘Even Hanako drop out of high school, Taro did have.’
Meaning of malfactive -- always retained in gapless passive
(24) a. gapped passive: neutral, and can vary with context
   Hanako-ga suugaku-no-sensei-ni sikar-/homer- are-ta.
   Hanako-Nom math-Gen-teacher-by scold/praise - PASS
   ‘Hanako was scolded/praised by the math teacher.’

   b. gapless: always malfactive
   Nagasaki-sityoo-ga bakudan/hoosyoozyoo-o okur-are-ta.
   Nagasaki-mayor-Nom bomb/testimonial-Acc send-PASS-PAST
   ‘The mayor of Nagasaki was sent a bomb/testimonial.’

Transitivity restriction
(25) a. gapped: restricted to verbs with an object because it involves a low applicative
   * Tiimu-ga koochi-ni nak-are-ta.
   team-Nom coach-by cry-PASS
   ‘The team was cried on by its coach.’

   b. gapped: no transitivity restriction -- high applicative
   Taroo-ga koochi-ni nak-are-ta.
   Taro-Nom coach-Dat cry-PASS
   ‘Taro was cried on by the coach.’

GAPPED ADVERSITY PASSIVE: problem with Kubo’s analysis
(26) Tarooi thief-by [DP t_i room] was-destroyed (Kubo 1992)

(27) Gakusei-ga Tanaka-sensei-niyotte t_i futa-ri ronbun-o hihans-are-ta.
   students-Nom Prof. Tanaka-by t_i 2-CL article-Acc criticize-PASS
   ‘Two students’s articles were criticized by Prof. Tanaka.’

Hebrew possessor dative
(28) ha-yalda kilkela le-Dan et ha-radio.
   the-girl spoiled to-Dan Acc the-radio
   ‘The girl broke Dan’s radio on him.’
Transitivity restriction

(30) a. unaccusative
    ha-kelev ne’elam le-Rina.
    the-dog disappeared to-Rina
    ‘Rina’s dog disappeared.’

b. *unergative
   *ha-kelev hitroce le-Rina
   the-dog ran-around to-Rina
   ‘Rina’s dog ran around on her.’