

Topics in the syntax-phonology interface: day 5

Applicatives (well, and some Distinctness...)

annoying questions I always get asked about Distinctness:

- (1) a. the [big] [angry] water-buffalo
b. I gave [the big angry water-buffalo] [a flower]

(1a):

- *Tagalog*

- (2) a.* ang malaking galit na kalabaw
the big-LI angry LI water-buffalo
b. ang malaki at galit na kalabaw
the big and angry LI water-buffalo
'the big (and) angry water-buffalo'

- Adjectives are lexical?
- bigP, angryP? (Cinque)
- phase boundaries?

(1b)?

Pykkänen: applicatives

Kinyarwanda

- (3) a. Umwaana yataaye igitabo mu maazi
child threw book in water
'The child has thrown the book into the water'
b. Umwaana yataaye-**mo** amaazi igitabo
child threw APPL water book
'The child has thrown the book into the water'

(4) *Swahili*

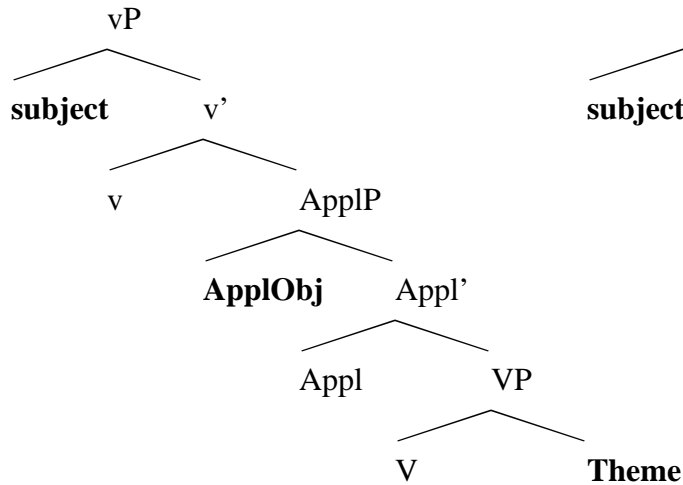
- a. Nilimsom-**e**-a [kila mwandishi] [kitabu chake]
I-read APPL each writer book his
'I read for each author his book'
b.* Nilimsom-**e**-a [mwandishi wake] [kila kitabu]
I-read APPL writer its each book
'I read for its author each book'

- there seems to be more than one kind of applicative:

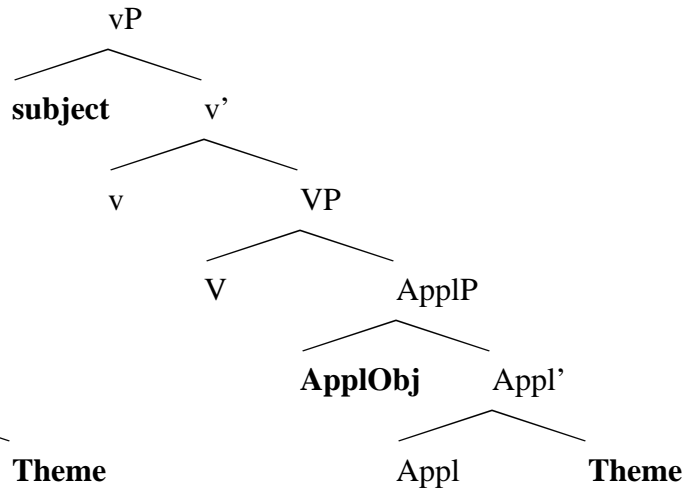
Pylkkänen (2000):

(5)

a. “high applicative”:



b. “low applicative”:



“high applicatives”

- can appear on intransitives
- no relation between NPs
- either “object” can be affected by passive

“low applicatives”

- restricted to transitive verbs
- relates ApplObj, Theme (often possessive)
- only the applicative object can passivize

transitivity

Kichaga: high benefactive applicative

[tones ruthlessly suppressed]

- (6) a. Nailyi-i-a mka kelya
 he-eats-APPL wife food
 ‘He is eating food for his wife’
 b. Naizric-i-a mbuya
 he-runs-APPL friend
 ‘He is running for a friend’

English: low benefactive applicative

- (7) a. I baked **him** a cake
 b.* I ran **him**

possessiveness

- (8) a. Nailyi-i-a mka kelya
 he-eats-APPL wife food
 ‘He is eating food for his wife’
 b.* He is eating **his wife** food

Kichaga: high benefactive applicative

English: low benefactive applicative

passivization (a)symmetries

Kichaga: high benefactive applicative

- (9) a. Nailyi-**i**-a mka kelya
he-eats-APPL wife food
'He is eating food for his wife'
b. Mka nailyi-**i**-o kelya
wife is-eaten-APPL food
'The wife is eaten food for'
c. Kelya kilyi-**i**-o mka
food is-eaten-APPL wife
'The food is eaten for the wife'

Chi-mwi:ni: low goal applicative

- (10) a. Mwa:limu let-**el**-ela chibu:ku na Nuru
teacher was-brought-APPL book by Nuru
'The teacher was brought the book by Nuru'
b.* Chibu:ku chilet-**el**-ela mwa:limu na Nuru
book was-brought-APPL teacher by Nuru
'The book was brought (to) the teacher by Nuru'

A-bar movement asymmetries (Nakamura 1997)

Kinyarwanda: low goal applicative

- (11)* Yatweeretse igitabo [umwaalimu yoohereje -**ho** ishuuri]
he-showed-us book teacher sent APPL school
'He showed us the book that the teacher sent to school'

Kinyarwanda: high instrumental applicative

- (12) N'iibaruwa [umugabo yaandik -**iish**-a ikaramu]
be-letter man write APPL pen
'It's the letter that the man is writing with the pen'

Chi-mwi:ni: low goal applicative

- (13) chibuku [cha Nu:ru mlet -**el**-elo mwa:limu]
book REL Nuru brought -APPL teacher
'the book that Nuru brought to the teacher'

• Kinyarwanda vs. Chi-mwi:ni: availability of a (synonymous) non-applicative version:

- (14) *Kinyarwanda*

- a. Umwaalimu yoohereje igitabo kw'iishuuri
teacher sent book to-school
'The teacher sent the book to school'
b. Umwaalimu yoohereje -**ho** ishuuri igitabo
teacher sent APPL school book
'The teacher sent the book to school'

- (15) *Chi-mwi:ni*
- a. Mwa:limu lesele chibu:ku ka Nu:ru
 teacher brought book to Nuru
 ‘The teacher brought the book to Nuru’s place’
 - b. Mwa:limu mlet -el-ele Nu:ru chibu:ku
 teacher brought APPL Nuru book
 ‘The teacher brought Nuru the book’

Nakamura’s generalization: the Theme of low applicatives cannot be wh-extracted, if there’s a synonymous non-applicative version.

- (16) *Chi-English*: low goal applicatives
- a. Nixon gave a book to Mailer
 - b. Nixon gave Mailer a book
 - c. What did Nixon give Mailer?

The Distinctnesscentric view: low applicatives are the enemy.

Bruening: scope freezing in double object constructions

- (17) a. I gave [a child] [every doll] $a > every, *every > a$
 b. I gave [a doll] [to every child] $a > every, every > a$

[Bruening’s (2001, 234) example is with *each* instead of *every*, which makes the judgment less sharp for me]

- the quantifiers in (17a) just can’t QR? No:

ACD

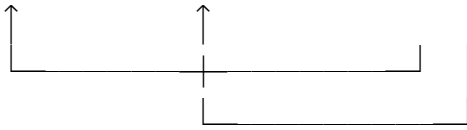
- (18) Ozzy gave someone [everything that Belinda did ___] $some > every, *every > some$

Scope interactions with subject

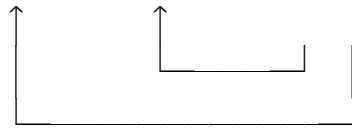
- (19) A (different) teacher gave me every book $every > a$

Bruening's analysis: double object constructions do QR by “tucking in” of the double objects.
to-dative constructions don't have to “tuck in”.

(20) [a child] [every doll] I gave ___ _

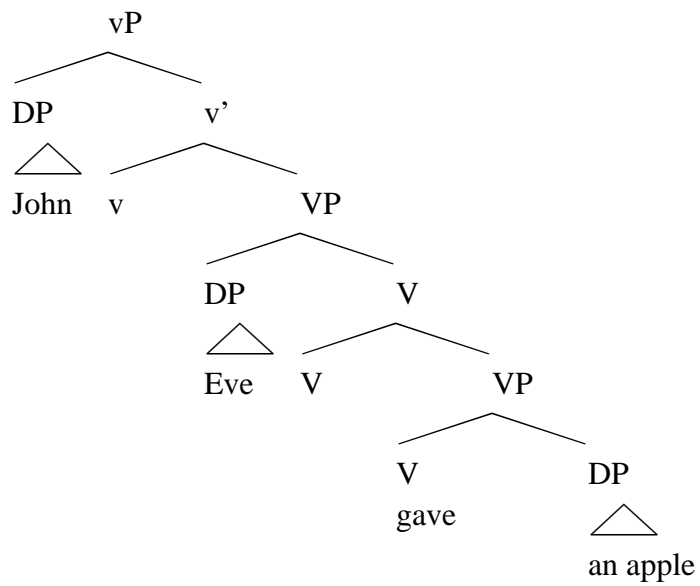


(21) [to every child] [a doll] I gave ___ _



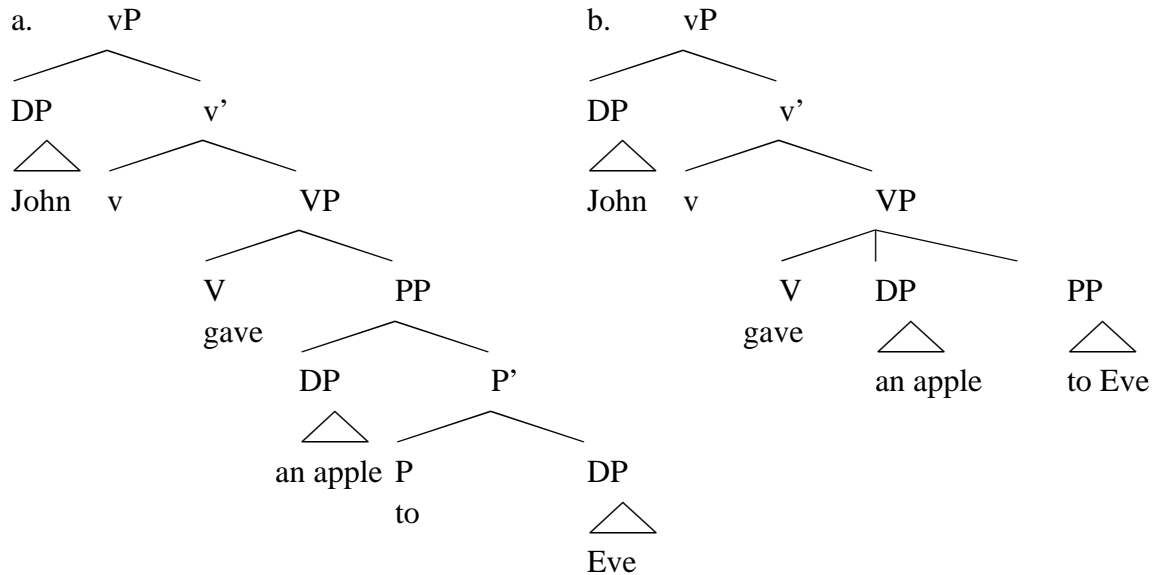
(22) **low applicative**

‘John gave Eve an apple’



(23) **DP-PP**

'John gave an apple to Eve'



English low applicatives freeze the relative scope of the two objects: both can QR, but they have to tuck in.

What about high applicatives?

Albanian: high goal applicative (Massey 1992, 75; Kallulli 1999; McGinnis to appear)

- (24) a. [Secili libër] iu kthye [autorit të tij] __
 each book-Nom Cl.Dat was-returned author-Dat its
 'Each book was returned to its author'
 b. [Secilit djalë] iu dha __ [paga i tij]
 each boy-Dat. Cl.Dat was-given pay his
 'Each boy was given his pay'

No scope freezing if the direct object is clitic-doubled (Kallulli 1999, McGinnis to appear)

- (25) Profesori i -a dha një student i çdo libër
 Professor-Nom Cl.Dat Cl.Acc gave a student-Dat every book-Acc
 'The professor gave a student every book' $E > \forall, \forall > E$

Frozen scope if only the indirect object is clitic-doubled:

- (26) Profesori i dha një student i çdo libër
 Professor-Nom Cl.Dat gave a student every book $E > \forall, * \forall > E$

Soh: Chinese adverbials

- (27) a. wo song-le Zhangsan nei-ben shu
I gave Zhangsan that CL book
b. wo song-le nei-ben shu gei Zhangsan
I gave that CL book to Zhangsan
c. wo song-gei-le Zhangsan nei-ben shu
I gave-GEI Zhangsan that CL book
'I have given that book to Zhangsan'

(Aoun and Li 1989)

- (28) a. wo song san-ge ren mei-ben shu *unambiguous*
I give three-CL person every-CL book
'I gave three people every book'
b. wo song san-ben shu gei mei-ge ren *ambiguous*
I give three-CL book to every-CL person
'I gave three books to everyone'
- (29) a. wo song-le *nei-ge pengyou* (**liang ci**) *xiaoshuo* (**?liang ci**)
I gave that-CL friend twice novel twice
'I have given that friend a novel twice'
b. wo song-guo (**liang ci**) *xiaoshuo gei Zhangsan* (**liang ci**)
I gave twice novel to Zhangsan twice
'I gave a novel to Zhangsan twice'

possible conclusion: in low applicatives in Chinese (29a), ApplObj ends up in a higher position, above adverbs like *liang ci* 'twice'

similarish evidence from English (Koizumi 1993, Emonds 1976):

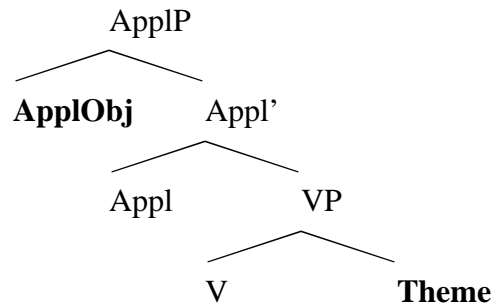
- (30) a. I sent out [the leaflets]
b. I sent [the leaflets] out
- (31) a. *The secretary sent out [the stockholders] [a schedule]
b. The secretary sent [the stockholders] out [a schedule]
c. *The secretary sent [the stockholders] [a schedule] out
- (32) a. I sent out [a schedule] [to the stockholders]
b. I sent [a schedule] out [to the stockholders]

Marantz 1993, Soh 1998, Bruening 2001...:

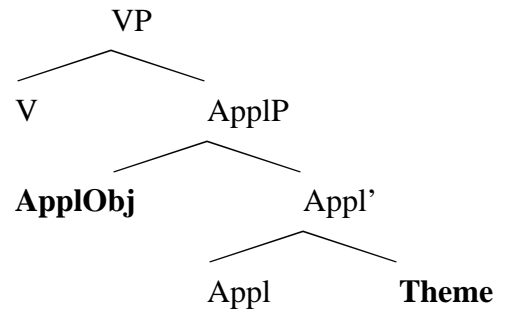
there's more structure between the two DPs in a low applicative
than there is between the DP and the PP in a *to*-dative construction.

But!:

(33) a. “high applicative”:



b. “low applicative”:



Given two DPs in a low applicative, the higher must always be moved to a higher position?

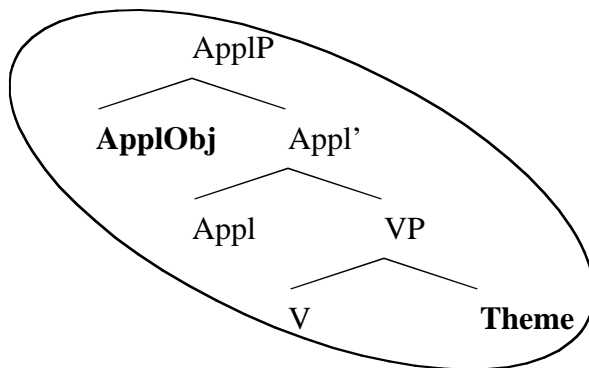
Seidl, McGinnis: applicative height and phonological phrasing

“high applicatives”: objects are in the same phonological phrase

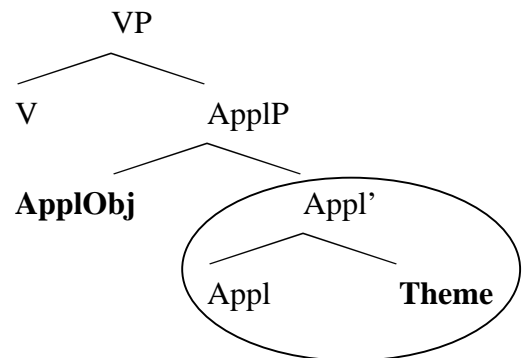
“low applicatives”: objects are in different phonological phrases

(34)

a. “high applicative”:



b. “low applicative”:



Chi-mwi:ni: low goal applicative

(35) a. Mwa:limu let-el-ela chibu:ku na Nuru
 teacher was-brought-APPL book by Nuru
 ‘The teacher was brought the book by Nuru’

b.* Chibu:ku chilet-el-ela mwa:limu na Nuru
 book was-brought-APPL teacher by Nuru
 ‘The book was brought (to) the teacher by Nuru’

Chi-mwi:ni: vowel length shifts to the (ante)penult at the end of a phrase.
 length shift in applicatives-->there’s a phrase boundary between objects

(36) (nimwandik-il-ile nuru:) (xati)----> (nimwandikile **nu:ru**) (xati)
 I-wrote APPL Nuru letter

Kinande: applicative passives are symmetrical--> high
Penultimate Vowel Lengthening applies at the end of a phrase:

- (37) [tukáβitúm-**ir**-a omúkali valinánde]---->(tukáβitúmira omúkali valin**á:nde**)
we-just-sent-APPL woman Valinande
'We just sent Valinande to the woman'

Benefactive applicatives (Seidl 2000)

Kikuyu	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Kinyarwanda	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Kinande	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Kinyambo	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Haya	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Xhosa	Symm	(high appl.)	(V NP NP)
Chimwi:ni	Asymm	(low appl.)	(V NP) (NP)
Kiswahili	Asymm	(low appl.)	(V NP) (NP)

...and in Taiwanese (Franny Hsiao, p.c.):

- (38) [wo] [ho• a• hui] [jid• bun• tse]
I give Ahui one CL book
'I gave Ahui a book'

McGinnis (to appear):

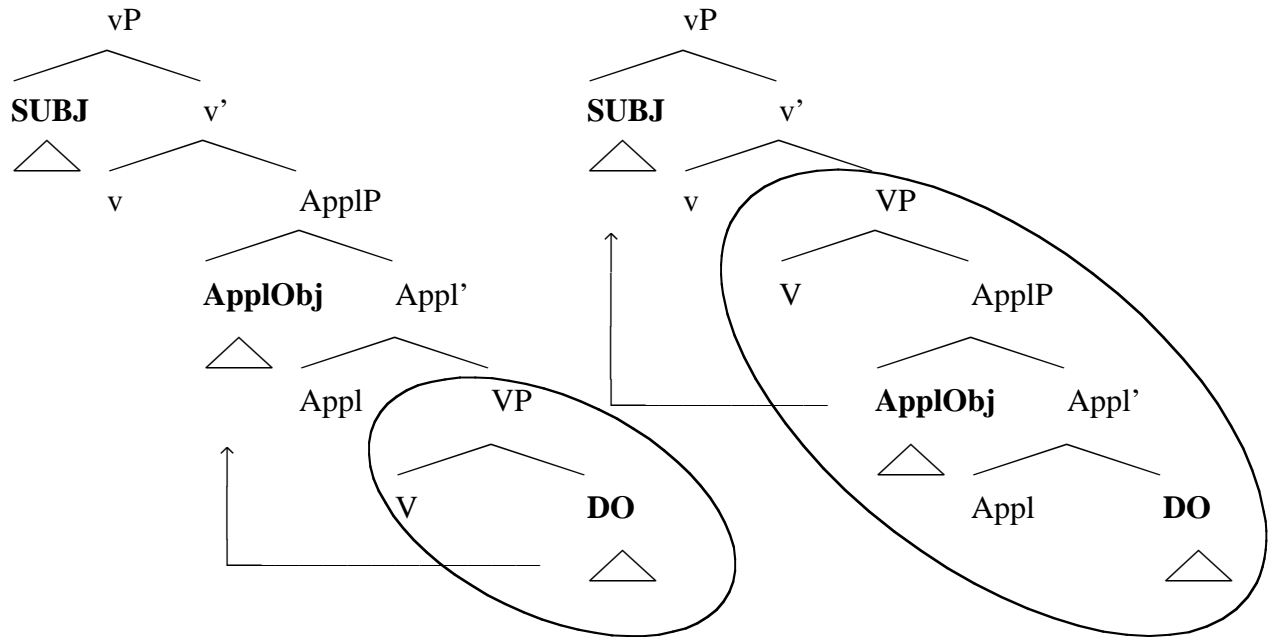
(39) The sister of VP heads a phase if an argument is generated in its specifier.

(40) Such phase heads (can) have (one or more) EPP feature(s), which attract DP(s).

(41)

a. “high applicative”

b. “low applicative”



- because Appl (in (41a)) and v (in (42b)) have two different operation-driving properties--EPP, & selectional properties--the first DP-movement need not tuck in.

Problematic benefactive applicatives:

Kichaga	Symm	(V NP) (NP)
Chichew\$a	Asymm	(V NP NP)

McGinnis (to appear): but Chichew\$a has high applicatives!
(phonology tracks “applicative height”, not symmetry)

(42) Anady-er-a mkazi wake chakudya [Chichew\$a]
ate-APPL wife his food
'He ate food for his wife'

(so now the mystery is why Chichew\$a high applicatives, unlike most high applicatives, have asymmetric passives)

and Kichaga applicative constructions have fixed word order (Bresnan and Moshi 1990),
unlike most high applicatives (McGinnis to appear, Seidl 2000):

- (43) a. Nailyi-i-a mka kelya [Kichaga]
he-eats-APPL wife food
'He is eating food for his wife'
b.* Nailyi-i-a kelya mka
he-eats-APPL food wife

another problem: PPs?

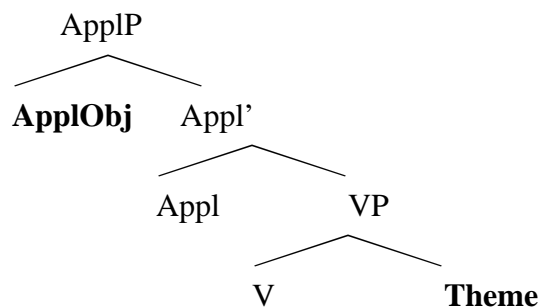
- (44) [wo] [sang•jid•bun•tse] [ho•a•hui] [Taiwanese (Franny Hsiao, p.c.)]
I sent one CL book to Ahui
'I sent a book to Ahui'
- (45) [nthinzile: nama] [ka: chisu] [Chi-mwi:ni (Truckenbrodt 1995, 77)]
I-cut meat with knife
'I cut the meat with a knife'
- (46) [anamenya nyumba ndi mwaala] [Chichew\$a (Truckenbrodt 1995, 77)]
he-hit house with rock
'He hit the house with a rock'

Summary

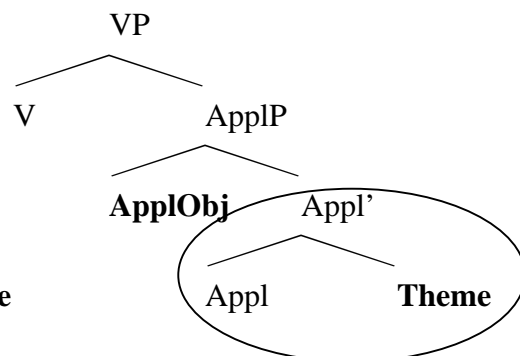
	high appl.	low appl.	NP-PP
(i) transitivity restriction	X	√	
(ii) intervening phonological phrase boundary (Bantu, Taiwanese)	X	√	
(iii) intervening adv (Chinese)		√	X
(iv) scope freezing	?	√	X
(v) asymmetric passives	X	√	
(vi) ban on theme wh-mvmt, if there's a synonymous non-applicative	X	√	

(47)

a. "high applicative":



b. "low applicative":

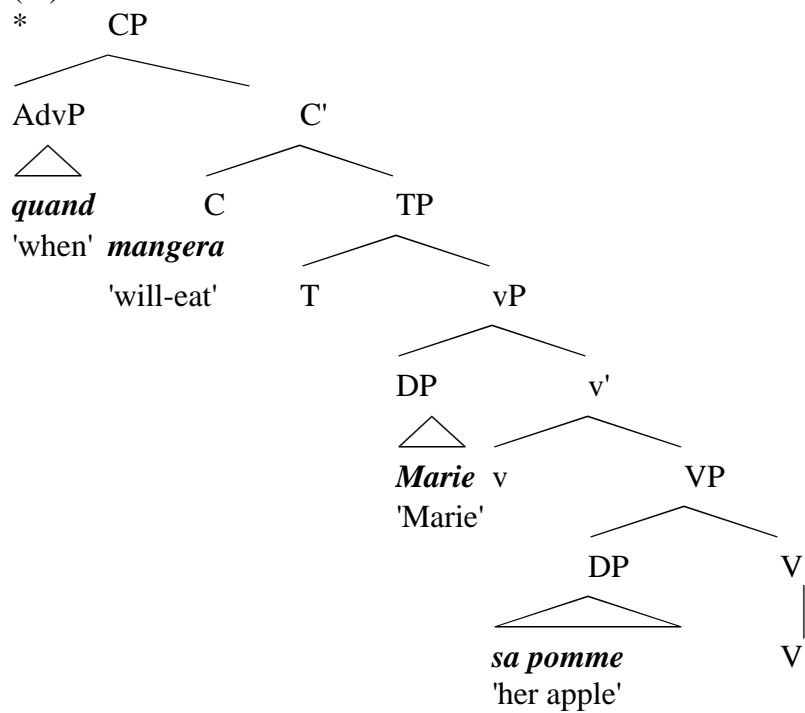


(i): Pylkkänen

(ii):

(47b): Appl can tell that there's a Distinctness violation coming on
-->heads a Phase
(same deal for transitive vP?)
-->phonological phrase boundary

(iii):



-->objects on the edge of a phase are not spelled out
if they are heading somewhere higher.

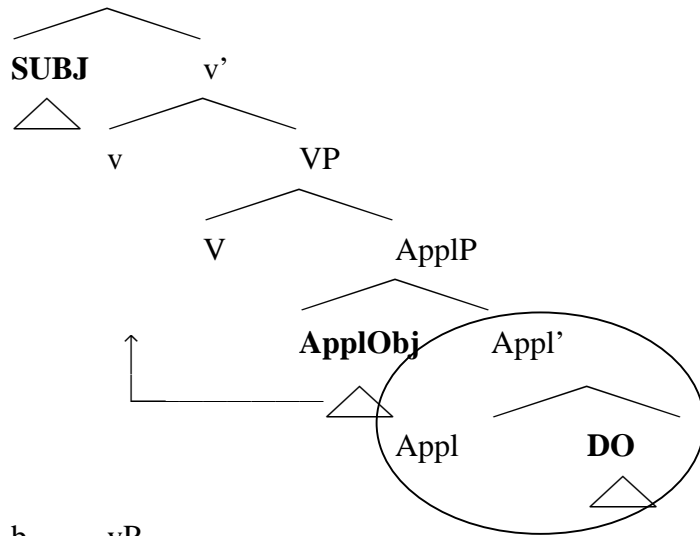
(iv-v):

Shortest Attract:

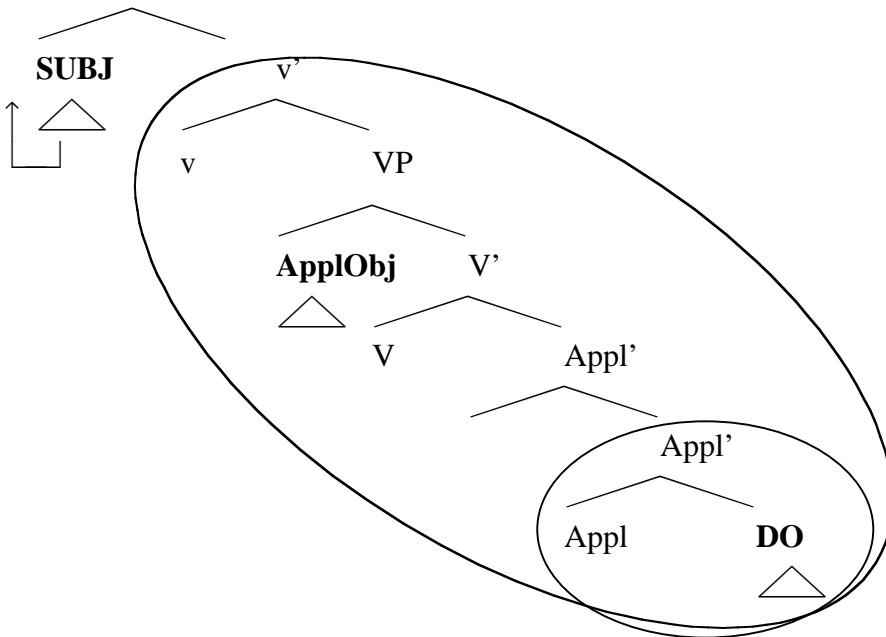
α is closer to β than γ is if there is a phase containing β but not α .

(48) “low applicative”

a. vP

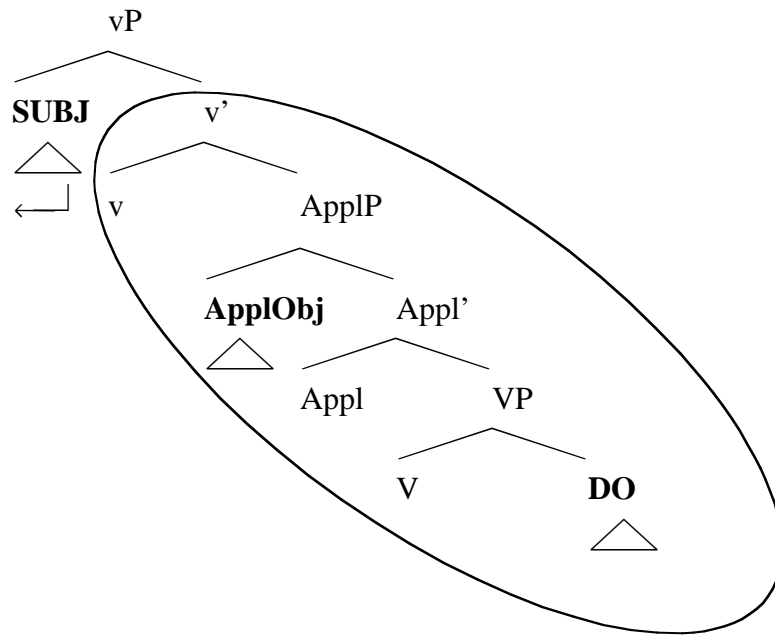


b. vP



- phrase boundary between objects (48a)
- *liang ci* ‘twice’ adjoins to ApplP
- ApplObj, DO in different phases, differently accessible to movement

(49) “high applicative”



- no phrase boundary between objects
- *liang ci* ‘twice’ adjoins to ApplP
- ApplObj, DO in the same phase, equally accessible to movement

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