

## Expletive and Thematic Applicatives

Research on “extra object” constructions as theoretically disparate as Rappaport-Hovav & Levin 2005 and Pylkkänen 2002/in press shows a surprising amount of consensus on certain points: for example, the syntactic architecture associated with double object constructions does not involve a causative-type higher predicate, but must be equipped to accomplish such tasks as assigning thematic roles (e.g. the “intended possessor” role on the IO in English DOCs). This paper investigates the exact properties of the light verb or “applicative” head charged with these tasks in the research tradition initiated by Marantz 1993. Generalizing across researchers, applicative heads play two semantic and two syntactic roles: (i) they may relate an argument and an event (Pylkkänen’s (1) high applicative) or two arguments (Pylkkänen’s (2) low applicative); (ii) they may introduce arguments or syntactically license NPs in VP.

Focusing on data from Mandarin, Greek, and languages with affixal applicatives, we show that the projection involved in licensing EOCs is uniformly above VP. The contrast between high and low-type applicatives is that while the former introduce an additional argument above the root VP, as per Pylkkänen’s original analysis (1), the latter function as an expletive head, introducing no additional argument but serving as licenser for the highest eligible NP selected by the root verb (3). This analysis preserves Pylkkänen’s insight that the core arguments in low applicatives (theme and recipient) are introduced in the domain of the root verb, while allowing for a single structural position for applicative heads.

Much convergent evidence suggests that this is correct. First, as Emonds and Whitney (2006) point out, applicative affixes of all types are overwhelmingly suffixes; this is expected if they originate as heads selecting the root verbal projection, but not if they are selected by V. The issue is concrete in Mandarin: the applicative head *gěi* ‘give’ has the semantics of a low-type applicative, but appears in the surface configuration V *gěi* Aspect IO DO (4a). This is straightforwardly derivable by head movement of V to Appl to Aspect (cf. Lin 2001) if Appl selects V (4b); if V selected Appl, Aspect would have to be inserted lower than the root V.

Slightly more complex arguments come from multiple applicative constructions. The best attested MACs involve multiple high-type applicatives, such as locative/benefactive and instrumental/benefactive in Kinyarwanda (Gerds & Whaley 1992) and Abaza (O’Herin 2001). High-type MACs may show multiple applicative affixes, as in Abaza (5). Such patterns appear to truly involve incorporation (e.g. of a preposition, as argued by O’Herin). Combinations of low+high applicative also occur, as in Kinyarwanda recipient+beneficiary examples discussed by McGinnis 2005. On our account, the applicative head in such cases introduces an argument (the beneficiary) and syntactically licenses an NP in the verb phrase. Crucially, however, MACs of this type never occur with two distinct affixes, one a dedicated low-type affix (licensing, for example, only recipient arguments), and the other a dedicated high-type affix.

Finally, we show how the single structure/dual function applicative architecture accounts for the constructional meaning of DOCs. We exploit the proposal that distinct members of an A-chain may be assigned distinct theta roles (Hornstein 2001), resulting in certain configurations of ‘composed’ theta role assignment (Grunau 1985). Under this approach, the expletive low-type applicative selects no argument but assigns the role [POSSESSOR] to its specifier. Thus in Mandarin (4b) the lexical verb assigns the role [GOAL] to the IO; the IO raises to Spec, ApplP where the applicative head *gěi* assigns [POSSESSOR]. Strong evidence that the IO in this family of DOCs raises above VP is provided by placement of adverbs in Mandarin (6) (cf. Sooh 2003), adverbs in Greek (7) (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003), and stranded quantifiers in English (8).

The single structure/dual function analysis establishes a fundamental analogy between the applicative head in EOCs and the Voice (Kratzer 1994) or *v* (Chomsky 1995) head in the extended verbal projection: both types of head may establish a semantic relation between an “extra” argument and the event denoted by the verbal projection they select, and both may serve as syntactic licenser for NPs more deeply embedded in the verbal projection.

## Data

### (1) Pykkänen's (2002) High Applicative Structure

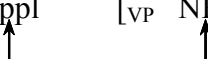
[<sub>APPLP</sub> NP<sub>BENEFAC/LOC</sub> [<sub>APPL'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V NP]]]

### (2) Pykkänen's (2002) Low Applicative Structure

[<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>AppIP</sub> NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub> [<sub>APPL'</sub> Appl NP<sub>THEME</sub>]]]

### (3) "Expletive" Applicative Structure: IO is introduced in VP, licensed by Appl

[<sub>APPLP</sub> Appl [<sub>VP</sub> NP<sub>IO</sub> [<sub>V</sub> NP<sub>DO</sub>]]]



### (4a) Wǒ mài/jì -gěi -le tā yī-ge shǒubiǎo. (Mandarin)

1SG sell/send-GEI ASP 3SG 1 -CL watch

'I sold/sent Akiu a watch'

### (4b) Wǒ [<sub>AspP</sub> mài /jì -gěi -le [<sub>AppIP</sub> tā t<sub>v-gei</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>ta</sub> t<sub>v</sub> yī-ge shǒubiǎo]]]

1SG sell/send-GEI-ASP 3SG 1 -CL watch

'I sold/sent him a watch'

### (5) S-pha ayʔazaʔ<sup>w</sup> a-stol də-y-z-a-k<sup>w</sup>-s-c'a-y-t'. (Abaza; O'Herin 2001)

1SG-daughter doctor the-table A3SG.H-P3PL-BEN-P3SG.N-INST-go-DYN

'I put my daughter on the table for the doctor.'

### (6) Wo mài-gěi-le tāmen jǐ cì shǒubiǎo. (Mandarin)

1SG sell-GEI-ASP them several times watch

'I have sold them many times a watch.'

### (7) Estila [tis Lenas] / [sti Lena] hthes ena dhoro. (Greek)

sent. 1SG the.GEN Lena.GEN to-the.ACC Lena.ACC yesterday a. ACC present.ACC

'I sent [Lena] / [to Lena] yesterday a present.'

### (8) a. I gave/threw the boys each/both a towel.

b. ??I gave/threw the towels each/both to a boy.

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