

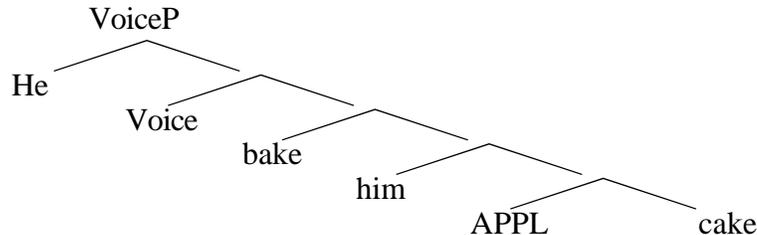
- (6) **High APPL** "the high applicative head combines with the VP by Event Identification and relates an additional individual to the event described by the verb" (p. 21):
 x. e. APPL(e,x) (APPL_{BEN}, APPL_{INSTR}, APPL_{LOC}, and so forth)

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)

- (14) 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*.

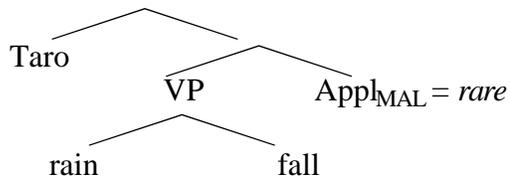
Depictives: may combine with Voice and verb. But not with low applicative head.
 depictives: <e<st>>, Voice', transitive verbs: same -- both have an event argument and an unsaturated argument of type *e*. It cannot combine with low applicative head (<e<e,st>,<st>>>), but should be fine with high applicatives.

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

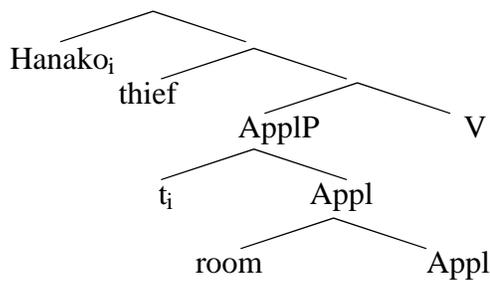
- (15) Direct passive
- a. Taroo-ga Ziroo-o hihansita.
 Taro-Nom Jiro-Acc criticized
 'Taro criticized Jiro.'
- b. Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni / -niyotte hihans-are-ta.
 Jiro-Nom Taro-by criticize-PASS-PAST
 'Jiro was criticized by Taro.'
- (16) Adversity passive
- a. gapless
 Taroo-ga ame-ni /*-niyotte fur-are-ta.
 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



b. Low applicative



(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-isi-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.'

(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 sushi-o tabe]-sae Tagroo-ga ___ sita.
 [VP sushi-Acc ate]-even Taro-Nom ___ did
 ‘Even eat sushi, Taro did.’
- c.* [VP tabe]-sae Taroo-ga sushi-o sita. (cannot strand the object of V)
 [VP ate]-even Taro-Nom 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 doroboo-ni heya-o aras-are]-sae Taroo-ga ___ sita.
 [VP thief-by room-Acc destroy-PASS]-even Taro-Nom ___ did
 ‘Even have his room be destroyed by the thief, Taro did.’
- c.* [VP doroboo-ni heya-o arasi]-sae Taroo-ga ___ s-are-ta.
 [VP thief-by room-Acc destroy]-even Taro-Nom ___ do-PASS-PAST
 ‘Even have his room destroy] Taroo certainly was done.’

(23) gapless

- a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni koukou-o yame-rare-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taro got Hanako dropping out of high school.’
- b. [VP Hanako-ni koukou-o yame-rare]-sae Taroo-ga ___ sita.
 [VP Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out-PASS]-even Taro-Nom ___ did
 ‘Even have Hanako drop out of high school, Taro did.’
- c. [VP Hanako-ni koukou-o yame]-sae Taroo-ga ___ s-are-ta.
 [VP Hanako-Dat high.school-Acc drop.out]-even Taro-Nom ___ 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

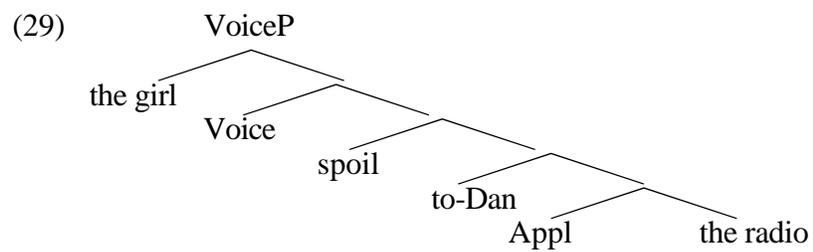
- (25) a. gapped: restricted to verbs with an object because it involves a low applicative
* Tiimu-ga koochi-ni nak-are-ta.
team-Nom coach-by cry-PASS
'The team was cried on by its coach.'
- b. gapped: no transitivity restriction -- high applicative
Taroo-ga koochi-ni nak-are-ta.
Taro-Nom coach-Dat cry-PASS
'Taro was cried on by the coach.'

GAPPED ADVERSITY PASSIVE: problem with Kubo's analysis

- (26) Taroo_i thief-by [_{DP} t_i room] was-destroyed (Kubo 1992)
- (27) Gakusei_i-ga Tanaka-sensei-niyotte t_i futa-ri ronbun-o hihans-are-ta.
students_i-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 hitrocec le-Rina
 the-dog ran-around to-Rina
 'Rina's dog ran around on her.'