

## Non-core arguments in verbal and nominal predication: high/low applicatives and possessor raising

**Key Words:** *high/ low applicatives, Russian, possessor raising*

**Facts& Questions.** Non-core dative arguments (N-CDA) can be added to some verbal predicates in English (e.g. *John bought (me) a pie* (cf. *John gave \*(me) a pie*). However, English N-CDAs are impossible with DP predicates (e.g. *\*He was me a friend*). In contrast, Russian allows N-CDAs in verbal and nominal[1] predication, which has not received much attention. N-CDAs in nominal[1] and verbal[3] predication share syntactic properties: they not only have dative case and are non-obligatory arguments, but are also subject to the same animacy restrictions[2a,b]. However, while N-CDAs in [1] are possessors, those in [3] are not, in English or Russian. We ask **Q1:** Why are N-CDAs necessarily interpreted as possessors in [1], but not in [3]? **Q2:** Why does English forbid N-CDAs in nominal predication, though it allows them with verbal predicates?

**Proposal.** We propose that the N-CDA in nominal predication is a possessor raised from a DP-internal position into spec of a high applicative head, ApplH[4] (cf Szabolcsi1983, Ura1996, Landau1999, Lee-Schoenfeld 2006). Having so raised, the possessor acquires an ‘affected’ interpretation in addition to a possessive one which it inherently has (see Gueron1985; Lee-Schoenfeld2006; Hornstein1999 for analyses allowing double  $\theta$ -marking). [1a] unlike [5a] indicates that I was affected by Dima being my friend; it doesn’t just assert that he was my friend. Moreover, N-CDAs are possible only with those nominal predicates that independently allow possessors [5b,c]. Following Landau 1999, Lee-Schoenfeld2006, we argue that possessor raising is case-driven. Russian possessors can have a genitive or dative case feature. If chosen, the dative case feature needs to be checked, but cannot be checked DP-internally. ApplH is the closest head that can do so. We know that the applicative in [4] is high as it is merged above the secondary PredP (Bowers1993) and thus relates an individual to a situation/state denoted by this predicate, similarly to high applicatives discussed in Pylkkanen 2002 that relate an individual to an event. Evidence for the secondary PredP in [4] comes from the instrumental case on the predicate which is licensed by the Pred (Bailyn & Rubin 1991). **Evidence for extraction.** First, Russian allows extraction from the left edge of the DP, provided that there is no overt D[6], a restriction that also holds for N-CDAs[7a]. In contrast, overt Ds may co-occur with internal possessors[5a]. Second, a DP-internal possessor cannot co-occur with N-CDA[7b], supporting the movement analysis. Third, possessor extraction is blocked if the predicate is a PP: the P in [8] is a barrier for extraction. We further propose that possessor extraction in [4] is possible because ApplH marks a phase (Chomsky 2001; McGinnis 2001) and has an EPP feature which pulls the possessor into spec ApplH to check the dative case. Importantly, possessor raising in[4] is not blocked by the PRO. Extending the idea in Moro1997, Mikkelsen2004,(a.o.) that the predicate DP may, in some cases, raise over the subject (e.g. *The culprit is John*), we treat the possessor at the edge of the predicate DP as also capable of raising across the subject PRO into spec of ApplH for feature checking.

Turning to [3], we propose, a la Pylkkanen 2002, that the N-CDA in [3] is introduced by a low applicative head, ApplL, that relates two individuals, i.e. introduces a recipient argument. ApplL does not mark a phase (McGinnis2001, 2005) and lacks an EPP feature, requiring the applied argument to be externally merged[9a], not raised[9b]. Hence, the N-CDA in[3,9a] cannot be a possessor. In principle, possessive N-CDAs in verbal predication are possible, provided that a phase-head such as ApplH is involved. ‘Affected’ raised possessors exist in German verbal predicates, as independently shown in Lee-Schoenfeld 2006. Importantly, the N-CDAs in [1&3] must be animate since only animates can be affectees /recipients [cf2a,b].

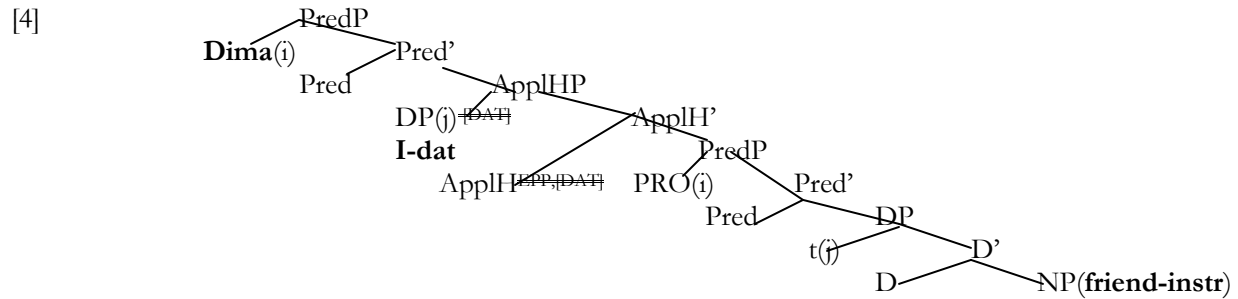
**Why not in English?** We propose that while in Russian the Appl is not bundled with any head (a la Pylkkanen 2002), English can only realize Appl together with the V[10], thus allowing only ApplL (ibid) and only in the presence of the verb. Hence, *\*He is me a friend*’ is ungrammatical on a possessive or recipient interpretation. English also lacks verbless applicatives that relate two individuals. Interestingly, such ‘bare’ applicatives are allowed in Russian[11a,b]. As expected, since it involves ApplL, the N-CDA in[11a] is not a possessor.

**Conclusion.** In sum, N-CDAs in nominal predication[1] are raised internal possessors that check dative case in spec of the phase-head ApplH, thus getting an additional affected interpretation. In contrast, the N-CDAs in [3] only have the recipient interpretation because ApplL has no EPP feature to raise the possessor. We further argued that English bundles Appl and V and hence lacks N-CDAs in nominal predication. A consequence of our account is that the head-bundling parameter, proposed in Pylkkanen2002 to explain the behavior of causatives, is more general and encompasses, in addition to Caus, the (non-) bundling of Appl. Thus, while English bundles Caus& Voice, Russian does not (Markman 2004) and allows agent-less causatives[12], unlike English[13]. Similarly, Russian does not bundle Appl and V, and has low, high, and ‘bare’ applicatives.

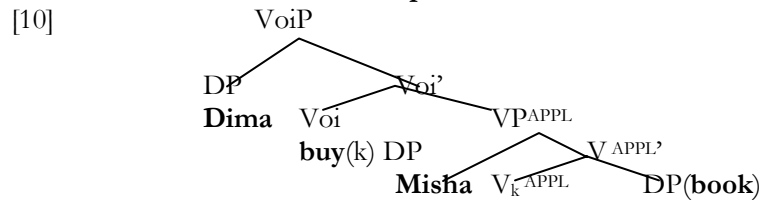
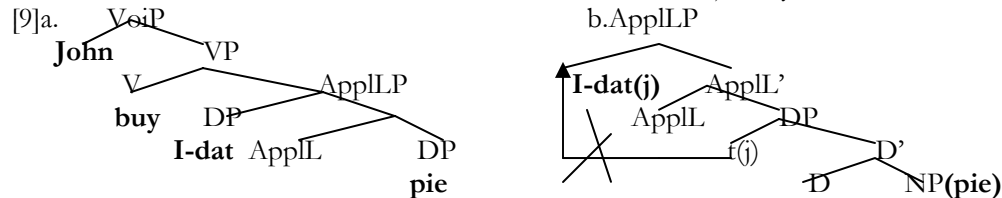
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- [1] a. *Dima byl mne drugom*                      b. *Ona byla mne sestroj*                      c. *Misha byl emu nachal'nikom*  
 Dima was I-dat friend-inst                      She was I-dat sister-inst                      Misha was he-dat boss-inst  
 Dima was my friend                      She was my sister                      Misha was my boss
- [2] a. \**Knigi byli stolu noz'bkaj*                      b. \**Jon kupil offisu pirog*  
 Books were table-dat leg-inst                      Jon bought office-dat pie-acc  
 Books served as a leg for the table;                      \*Jon bought the office a pie
- [3] a. *Jon kupil mne pirog*                      b. *Dima privel mne druga*  
 Jon bought I-dat pie                      Dima brought me friend-acc  
 Jon bought me a pie ≠ J. brought **my** pie                      Dima brought me a friend ≠ J. brought **my** friend [cfl a]



- [5] a. *Dima byl (nekim) moim drugom*                      b. \**Misha byl ego procoz'him*                      c. \**Misha byl emu procoz'him*  
 Dima was some my friend-instr                      Misha was his bystander-instr                      Misha was he-dat bystander-inst  
 Dima was some friend of mine                      \*Misha was his bystander                      \*Misha was his bystander
- [6] a. *Ch'jim Dima byl (\*kakim-to/\*etim) drugom?*                      b. *Ch'ju ty chital (\*kakuju-to/\*etju) knigu?*  
 Whose Dima was some/ this friend-instr                      Whose you read some / this read book?  
 Whose (\*some/\*this) friend Dima was?                      Whose (\*some/\*this) book did you read?
- [7] a. \**Dima byl mne etim/kakim-to drugom*                      b. \**On byl mne Vaninym drugom*                      [8] \**On byl mne v dome*  
 Dima was I-dat this/some friend-instr                      He was I-dat Vanja's friend-instr                      He was I-dat in house  
 \*Dima was to me this / some friend                      \*He was Vanja's my friend                      \*He was in my house



- [11] a. *Eta konfeta byla mne*  
 this candy was I-dat  
 This candy was for me [NOT this candy was mine]
- b. ApplLP  
 DP I-dat ApplL' DP(this candy)

- [12] a. *Okno raz'bilo (vetrom)*  
 Window-acc break3rdNeut (wind-instr)  
 The window got broken by the wind
- b. *Ego ubilo (molnijek / \*ego z'henoj)*  
 He-acc killed lightning/ \*his wife  
 He got killed by lightning/\* by his wife
- [13] a. \**The window broke by the wind*                      b. \**Him killed by lightning*