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OBLIQUE ARGUMENTS RAISED

Abstract

In this article, we offer support for two claims and one observation. The claims are the following: first, there are EA (external arguments) of different types and these are introduced by different heads. This claim has been made originally for on Salish languages, but it has been adapted to other languages as well. Second, we see the auxiliary HAVE as a (particular) spell out of auxiliary BE. This move, again, is not unique and it has been proposed for various languages before. Simply put, HAVE is seen as a spell out of the auxiliary BE and certain functional heads. The observation we add is a simple observation that not all Datives in Czech are of the same origin. In particular, we look at the DAT that are introduced as Recipients: only these can be turned into GET-passives (as noted in the literature before).

1. Introduction

In this article[1], we offer support for two claims and one observation. The claims are the following: first, there are EA (external arguments) of different types and these are introduced by different heads (in the spirit of Davis – Demirdache (2000) for Salish, Taraldsen (2010) for Norwegian); second, we see the auxiliary HAVE as a (particular) spell out of auxiliary BE, in the spirit of Kayne (1993), Taraldsen (2010). Simply put, HAVE is seen as a spell out of the auxiliary BE and certain functional heads. The observation we add is a simple fact that not all the DAT in Czech are equal (cf. Daneš 1968, Caha 2006, Medová 2009).

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1   We presented the data and analysis at Second SLS in Berlin in August 2007.

The claims are to be substantiated on the Czech HAVE passives, as shown in (1). The sentence is two way ambiguous. First, it has a reading when somebody cleaned the study for Karel – hence, we call it *benefactive*. On the other hand, the very same sentence can be given a so called *agentive* reading: this time, then, Karel cleaned the study himself. In other words, the benefactor is agent of the cleaning event as well.

(1)   *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou.*
       Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$
       benefactive: 'Karel got the study cleaned, somebody cleaned it for him.'
       agentive: 'Karel managed to clean the study.'

In (1) we show the data we consider in this article; let us briefly explain what we are not interested in. We do not consider SF (short form) participles, mainly because the SF participles are virtually non-existent in spoken Czech. While LF (long form) participles can have both the agentive and benefactive reading (2a), the SF is more likely to be interpreted as agentive, (2b).

(2)   a. *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou.*
           Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$
           OK: 'They had cleaned it for him.'
           OK: 'He managed to clean it himself.'
       b. *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenu.*
           Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{SF.ACC.F}$
           ??: 'They had cleaned it for him.'
           OK: 'He managed to clean it himself.'

In this article, we thus consider only the long form participles, as shown above or in (3a) However, we do not talk about cases where the participle is an adjectival modification, as in (3b).

(3)   a. *Karel   má   tulipány už   rozkvetlé.*
           Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ tulips$_{ACC.PL}$ already blossomed$_{LF.ACC.PL}$
           'The tulips got to blossom on Karel.'
       b. *Karel   má   [rozkvetlé   tulipány].*
           Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ blossomed$_{LF.ACC.PL}$ tulips$_{ACC.PL}$
           'Karel has blossoming tulips.'

This being said, let us start by the closer look at the benefactive HAVE passives.

2. Benefactive HAVE passives

Starting with the sentence (1), repeated in (4), we concentrate on the benefactive reading. Recall that that entails that somebody has to clean the study for Karel. In other words, on the benefactive reading, (4) entails (5).

(4)   *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou.*   (= (1))
      Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$
      'Karel got the study cleaned.'

(5)   *Nina   uklidila   Karlovi   pracovnu.*
      Nina$_{NOM.SG}$ cleaned$_{F.SG}$ Karel$_{DAT}$ study$_{ACC}$
      'Nina cleaned the study for Karel.'

The agent of the cleaning event can be expressed as an oblique adjunct in the benefactive reading of the HAVE passive, as shown in (6).

(6)   *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou   od   Niny.*
      Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$ from Nina$_{GEN.SG}$
      'Karel got the study cleaned by Nina.'

Strikingly, even unaccusative verbs have the benefactive HAVE passives, as shown in (7). First, (7a) shows the unaccusative verb with an optional benefactive DAT. (7b) then shows the benefactive HAVE passive. Notice that the sentence cannot be read agentively, cf. the sentence does not mean 'Karel made the tulips blossom'.

(7)   a. *Tulipány   (Karlovi)   už   rozkvetly.*
          tulips$_{NOM.PL}$ Karel$_{DAT.SG}$ already blossomed$_{PL.PAST}$
          'The tulips blossomed on Karel.'
      b. *Karel   má   tulipány   už   rozkvetlé.*
          Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ tulips$_{ACC.PL}$ already blossomed$_{LF.ACC.PL}$
   'The tulips got to blossom on Karel.'

Unergatives, on the other hand, cannot have the DAT benefactors, as shown in (14), hence, they cannot have the benefactive HAVE passives either. This is shown in (8b).

(8)   a. *Karel / přístroj (*Petrovi) pracuje.*
          Karel   already Petr$_{DAT.SG}$ work$_{3.SG.PRES}$
          'Karel / the device works (for Petr's benefit).'

b. **Petr   má   pracováno/é.*

Petr$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ worked$_{SF.N.SG/LF.N.SG}$

Intended: 'Petr$_i$ got work done for him$_i$.'

The benefactive HAVE passives thus allow for an adjunct agent, are available from benefactive DAT with unaccusative, but are not possible with unergatives.

We assume – rather uncontroversially, cf. Szucsich (2007), among others – that the benefactive DAT is introduced by an applicative head above the VP shell. This is shown in (9).

(9)
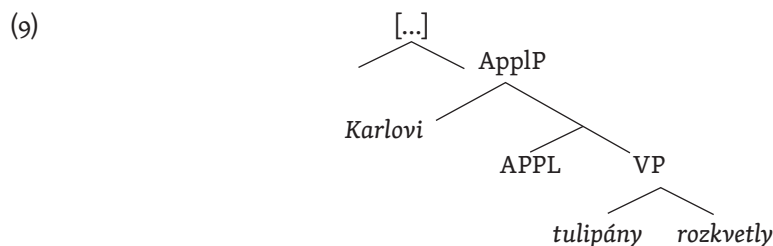
Crucially, we assimilate the applicative introducing the DAT argument in (9) to what Pylkkänen (2008) calls the Low Applicative. According to Pylkkänen, the Low Applicative needs to connect the argument it introduces (the DAT) to an internal argument. Since both transitives and unaccusatives have an internal arguments, but unergatives do not, we therefore correctly predict that benefactive have passives will only be possible with unaccusative and transitive verbs.

The second step in the derivation is – in line with Kayne (1993) – to see the auxiliary HAVE as BE plus something else. In Kayne (1993), the extra piece is a preposition, but in the recent proposal by Caha (2009), we think about the 'extra' piece on top of BE as stranded Case layers. According to Caha, a DAT DP will correspond to a DP with a set of different Case heads on top of it, as shown in (10). The DAT becomes a NOM when you extract the NOM part of the tree, as shown in the right hand tree in (10). The stranded higher heads will be the stranded case heads that lexicalize together with BE as HAVE.

(10)
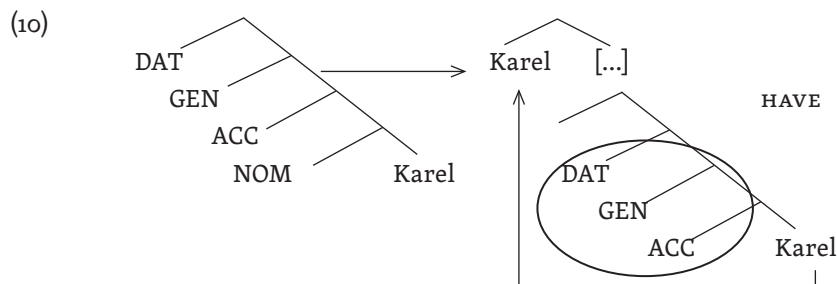
Schematically, then, we assume a derivation along the lines shown in (11). In our view, the BE with the leftover layers left after the DAT argument moved to become NOM are spelled out as HAVE.

(11)
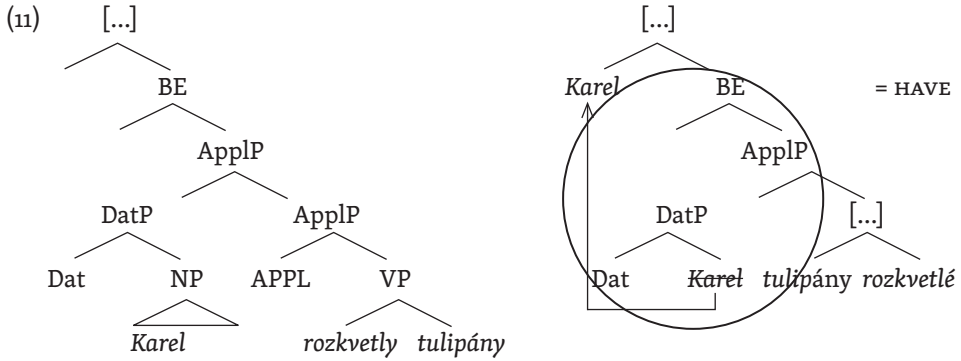
Leaving the details of the analysis aside for now, let us look at the agentive HAVE passives.

3. Agentive HAVE passives

Starting with the same sentence (1), repeated here as (12), we concentrate now on the agentive reading, cf. a reading, where Karel himself cleaned the study.

(12) *Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou.*   (= (1))
Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$
'Karel has cleaned the study.'

On this reading, the following properties follow. First, (12) entails (13).

(13) *Karel   pracovnu už   uklidil.*
Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{M.SG}$
'Karel already cleaned the study.'

Contrary to the benefactive reading, the agentive reading is compatible with unergative verbs. Strictly speaking, the agentive HAVE passive is compatible only with perfective unergative verbs, in particular with those introduced by the prefix *od-*, as the examples show.[2]

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2   Similar condition seems to hold on the parallel Norwegian example (with the auxiliary *get*), as (i) shows.

(14) a. *Petr   má   od-pracováno.*

Petr_{NOM.SG} have_{3.SG.PRES} OD-worked_{N.SG}

'Petr has managed to finish his work.'

b. *Dneska už   mám   od-léčeno.*

today   already have_{1.SG.PRES} OD-heal_{N.SG}

'I have done my healing for today.'

c. *Máme   od-zpíváno.*

have_{1.PL.PRES} OD-sung_{N.SG}

'We are done with our singing.'

Both in Czech and Norwegian agentive passives, there is a certain flavor of 'manage' in the meaning. So, for instance in (14a), most likely there were some obstacles at Petr's shift or it was just long and boring – in any event, Petr 'managed' to get through it and now it is done. From that perspective it might not be surprising that the agentive HAVE passives are incompatible with inanimate subjects. This is neatly shown by the contrast in (15).

Bernard in (15a) can be either a person (a bell-ringer) or the bell. In the agentive HAVE passive (15b), however, only the interpretation of a personal 'bell-ringer' is viable. Should we think about the bell, the sentence would become ungrammatical.

(15) a. *Bernard   od-zvonil   poledne.*

Bernard_{NOM.SG.MA/MI} OD-ring_{M.SG.PAST} noon

'Bernard (the bell-ringer / the bell) chimed noon.'

b. *Bernard   už   má   poledne od-zvoněné.*

Bernard_{NOM.SG.MA/MI} already have_{3.SG.PRES} noon   OD-rung_{ACC.N.SG}

'Bernard (the bell-ringer / *the bell) has managed to chime noon.'

Only [+HUM] agents are compatible with the agentive HAVE passive. Strikingly, however, these agentive HAVE passives are impossible with agentive modification, as on purpose or intentionally. This is shown in (16).

(16) *Karel   má   pracovnu už   (*záměrně) uklizenou.*

Karel_{NOM.SG} have_{3.SG.PRES} study_{ACC.F} already on purpose cleaned_{LF.ACC.F}

'Karel managed to clean the study (*on purpose).'

(i) *Jens fikk endelig sovet ??(ut).*

Jens got finally slept   out

'Jens finally managed to sleep (enough).'

With the agentive HAVE passives, unergatives are available, only [+HUM] agents are required and, surprisingly, no agentive modification by *on purpose* is possible. In the next section, we offer an analysis of these facts.

4. Analysis in three steps

First, we assume the VP decomposition of Ramchand (2008), as shown in (17) for the active participle.

(17) VP decomposition: Active Participle   (18) VP decomposition: Passive Participle
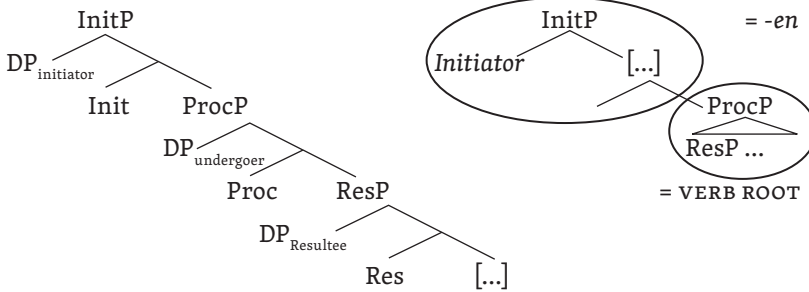
As for lexicalization, we assume that the passive participle ending *-en* spells out the InitP level of the verbal projection, as shown in (18). We also need to assume that no argument can be linked to Init, Proc or Res that are not lexicalized by the verbal root. In other words, arguments are introduced within the space lexicalized by the verbal root. This is schematically indicated in (18). A part of the fseq is spelled out by the verbal root, another part by the *-en* morpheme.

The second ingredient we need to explain the patterns of HAVE passives is a generalization of the idea introduced by Davis – Demirdache (1995), Davis (2000): different types of EAs are introduced by different heads. In their original proposal, they have two heads. First, there is a CAUS(ative) that introduces any kind of DP; on the other hand there is DIR(ective) introducing only DP referring to humans.[3]

The examples of each transitivizer are shown in (19). The [+HUM] EA Bucky is compatible with the DIR transitivizer (19a), but not the inanimate wind (19b). The inanimate EA has to be introduced by the transitivizer CAUS (19c).[4]

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3   Davis (2000, 51): "Control transitives (suffixed with the DIRective transitivizer) entail agency, whilst non-control transitives (suffixed with the CAUSative transitivizer) do not. The difference emerges clearly with inanimate subjects, which are compatible only with the non-control transitivizer."

4   Notice that Czech also makes – at least in a few cases – such a distinction: *slyšet* 'hear' introduces an external argument, which, however, is not intentional (cf. cannot be modified by intentionally) – the intentional agent is introduced for the very same root by a different thematic vowel in *po-slouch-a-t* 'listen'.

(19) a. *k'áx-an'-aš*   *ʔi-šćúqʷaz'-a*   *kʷˀš-Bucky*

dry-DIR-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-NOM-Bucky

'Bucky dried the fish.'

b. **k'áx-an'-aš*   *ʔi-šćúqʷaz'-a*   *ti-šk'éxəm-a*

dry-DIR-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-wind-EXIST

Intended: 'The wind dried the fish.'

c. *k'áx-š-aš*   *ʔi-šćúqʷaz'-a*   *ti-šk'éxəm-a*

dry-CAUS-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-wind-EXIST

'The wind dried the fish.'   (St'át'imcets, DAVIS 2000, 51)

We take the St'át'imcets Causers to be introduced as Initiators, as shown in (20). The true agentive arguments, on the other hand, are introduced by a High Applicative head on top of the ProcP, as shown in (21).

(20)

(21)
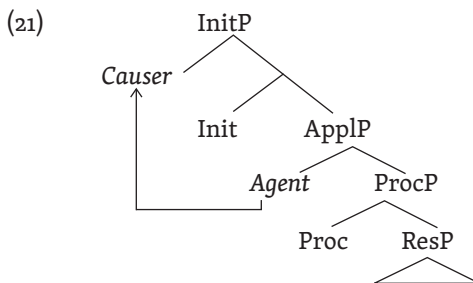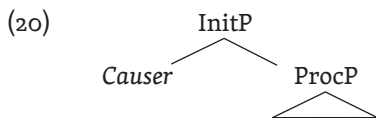
We follow PYLKKÄNEN (2008) in assuming the High Applicatives link the argument they introduce to the event rather than to an internal argument, hence they appear with unergative verbs as well as with unaccusatives and transitives. We also assume that the High Applicative, which Davis identifies as DIR only can introduce [+HUM] arguments.

Returning now to the Czech Agentive HAVE passives, we first note that since the participle passive, Init is not lexicalized by the root and therefore it cannot introduce a Causer EA. Therefore, the external argument of the agentive have passive must be introduced by the High Applicative on top of the ProcP. Since the High Applicative only introduces [+HUM] arguments, as St'át'imcets, we therefore correctly predict that the EA of the agentive HAVE passives must refer to humans. We also assume that the High Applicative introduces an argument with DAT case.

The agentive HAVE passives are then derived straightforwardly, as above: the DAT argument is introduced by a High Applicative head above the ProcP (as in (21)). This argument is then moved to the NOM position and the stranded case layers are spelled out together with BE as HAVE. The semantic and syntactic difference between the benefactive and agentive HAVE passives now depend on the

kind of the applicative introducing the DAT argument. This is actually a welcome result, in line with WOOLFORD (2006) and MEDOVÁ (2009).

Recall that the agentive HAVE passives raise two questions. The first one is why are agentive HAVE passives incompatible with non-human agents? Recall the contrast in (15), repeated here as (22), only [+HUM] agents are allowed. The answer we give is that only Human Agents are introduced by the High Applicative by (21). In other words, the applicative head introduces exclusively [+HUM] 'agents'.

(22) a. *Bernard   od-zvonil   poledne.*
          Bernard$_{NOM.SG.MA/MI}$ OD-ring$_{M.SG.PAST}$ noon
          'Bernard (the bell-ringer / the bell) chimed noon.'
      b. *Bernard   už   má   poledne od-zvoněné.*
          Bernard$_{NOM.SG.MA/MI}$ already have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ noon   OD-rung$_{ACC.N.SG}$
          'Bernard (the bell-ringer / *the bell) has managed to chime noon.'

The second question is the most puzzling property of the agentive HAVE passives: while they require a [+HUM] agent, they still cannot be modified by an agentive adjuncts like on purpose, as shown in (16), repeated here as (23).

(23) *Karel   má   pracovnu už   (*záměrně) uklizenou.*
      Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already on purpose cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$
      'Karel managed to clean the study (*on purpose).'

We, following TARALDSEN (2010), assume that the agentive adjuncts as on purpose pick up only arguments that are introduced by the agentive High Applicative and then raised to the InitP picking up Causer theta role. Since the Causer role is not assigned in agentive HAVE passives, namely, that Init is not lexicalized by the root, it then follows that the subject of the agentive HAVE passives do not meet the requirements of modification by *on purpose.*

5. GET passives

Following the work of DANEŠ (1968) and CAHA (2006), we notice that the Czech GET passives share some characteristics with the HAVE passives. An example of the GET passive is shown in (24). As with the benefactive HAVE passive, (24) entails (25).

(24) Karel   dostal   přidělenou   pracovnu.

Karel$_{NOM}$ get$_{3.SG.PRES}$ granted$_{LF.ACC.F}$ study$_{ACC.F}$

'Karel got granted a study (Somebody granted the study for Karel.).'

(25) Katedra   přidělila Karlovi pracovnu.

department$_{NOM.SG.F}$ grant$_{SG.F}$ Karel$_{DAT}$ study$_{ACC}$

'The department granted a study to Karel.'

Still as the benefactive HAVE passive, the agent can be expressed as an adjunct, as shown in (26).

(26) Karel   dostal   pracovnu přidělenou   od   katedry.

Karel$_{NOM}$ get$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ granted$_{LF.ACC.F}$ from department$_{GEN}$

'Karel got the study granted by the department.'

Contrary to the benefactive HAVE passives, not every DAT (introduced by a Low Applicative) can 'turn' into a NOM with GET passives. As noted by Daneš (1968), the DAT argument must be a true Recipient. Consider the contrast in between (27a) and (27b): while for the benefactive HAVE passive it is enough that the original DAT is a benefactor of the cleaning even, the DAT of the GET passive cannot be of this type: only a true recipient would do. In other words, (27b) does not have the reading where *Karel* would be a benefactor of the cleaning event.[5]

(27) a. Karel   má   pracovnu už   uklizenou.

Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ have$_{3.SG.PRES}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$

Agentive: 'Karel has cleaned the study.'

      b. Karel   dostal   pracovnu už   uklizenou.

Karel$_{NOM.SG}$ get$_{3.SG.PAST}$ study$_{ACC.F}$ already cleaned$_{LF.ACC.F}$

*'Somebody cleaned the study for Karel.'

Notice that the verb *get* can clearly also be used to 'promote' the DAT recipient in the absence of the participle, as shown in (28). Importantly, the DAT is what we call recipient.

(28) a. Ivan   dal   Karlovi   kolo.

Ivan$_{NOM.M.SG}$ give$_{M.SG.PAST}$ Karel$_{DAT.SG}$ bike$_{ACC.SG}$

'Ivan gave a bike to Karel.'

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5   However, it is possible to read (27b) with the participle being an adjectival modification, as similarly to (3b), cf. as 'Karel got a study that is clean'.

b. *Karel*   **dostal**   *kolo.*

Karel$_{NOM.M.SG}$ get$_{M.SG.PAST}$ bike$_{ACC.SG}$

'Karel got a bike.'

The intuitive idea is that the Czech GET passives are 'almost' like the benefactive HAVE passives, but the recipient is lower in the functional sequence than the Low Applicative. The different types of DAT arguments in Czech are schematically shown in (29).

(29)   [...]

Init   ApplP$_{HIGH}$

     DAT   [...]

          ApplP$_{LOW}$

     DAT   [...]

          DAT   XP
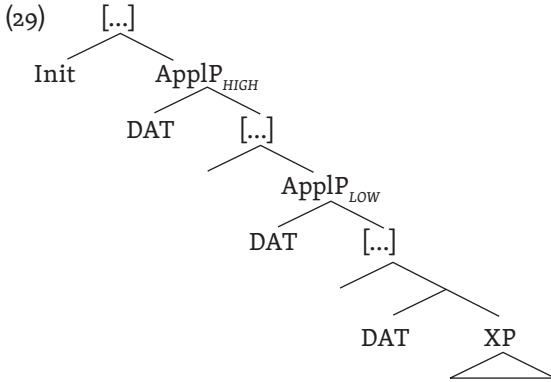
For the future research we leave aside the contrastive issue, namely why the Scandinavian counterparts of the Czech HAVE passives must have GET rather than HAVE.

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