

## Possessor Datives as High Applicatives in Pazar Laz

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While Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) assume that possessor datives are benefactive/malefactive arguments of the verb, which acquire the possessive reading by binding an anaphoric element in the possessee (1a), Landau (1999) and Lee-Schoenfeld (2005) argue that the possessor is part of the possessive phrase which undergoes raising into a position where the affectedness reading can be established (1b). In this study, we will investigate the possessor datives in Pazar Laz (PL) – an endangered South-Caucasian language spoken in Turkey and argue that they are not derived via possessor raising, but they are merged as high applicatives (cf. Pylkkänen 2008) denoting benefactives/malefactives, which bind into the possessive phrase (1a).

PL makes use of applicative morphology to introduce both benefactives (2), recipients (3) and possessors (4). Applicatives are marked on the verb as *u-* for third person and *i-* for 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>. Applied arguments bear dative case and are marked with object agreement markers on the verb. PL benefactives pattern as high applicatives under Pylkkänen's criteria, as they are not only compatible with transitives (5) or unaccusatives (6), but also with unergatives (7) and statives (8). Unlike benefactives, possessor datives are incompatible with unergatives (11), but can only co-occur with unaccusatives (9) and transitives (10). The possessor reading typically surfaces with inherently relational nouns, e.g. body parts, kinship terms. Furthermore, the possessor has to simultaneously bear an affectee role. Example (9) cannot be used if the child is also dead and cannot be affected by the mother's death. Such a context would require a regular genitive marked possessor without the use of applicative morphology on the verb (12). The possessor construction cannot be used together with benefactive or recipient applicatives (13a-b). Such a reading is only available if the possessor is introduced within the theme DP as a genitive marked possessor, while the applicative introduces the benefactive (14a) or the recipient (14b).

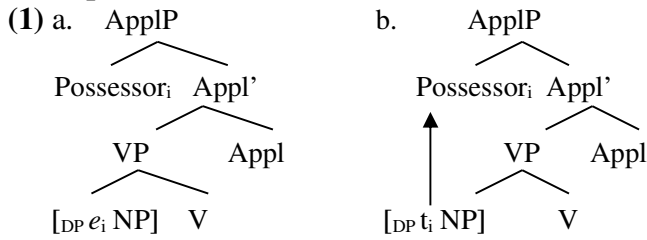
There are three pieces of evidence for the non-raising account of PL possessor datives: First, it is possible to have an overt pronominal possessor marked with genitive case within the possessive phrase which can be interpreted as co-indexed with the dative argument (15) and hence fill up what would be the trace position under the raising account. The use of the genitive pronoun contrastively focuses the possessor. Second, with restructuring verbs, it is possible to insert adverbials in between the possessor and the possessee and interpret them as modifying the matrix verb (16). This implies that the possessor and the possessee do not have to be clause-mates, which then challenges the raising account. Finally, it is not possible to introduce the affected argument via a postpositional phrase in addition to the dative possessor (17). This highlights the close association of the dative possessor with the benefactive/malefactive position.

Based on the evidence above, we argue that PL possessor datives do not undergo raising from the possessor of an object DP, but are directly merged as benefactive/malefactive arguments into the Spec of a high applicative. The possessor reading surfaces in the case of inherently relational nouns, when the dative argument is co-indexed with the covert possessors of such nouns within the object DP. Hence, PL possessor datives support an account along the lines of Borer and Grodzinsky (1986).

Under the non-raising analysis, the incompatibility of PL possessor datives with unergatives can also be easily accounted for. As benefactive applicatives are not introduced above vP but select VPs, possessors within agentive subjects in Spec, vP cannot be bound by a lower affectee argument introduced in Spec, ApplP. Furthermore, the incompatibility of possessor datives with recipients provides further support for the non-raising analysis. As the recipient applicatives thematically occur lower than benefactive applicatives, in terms of locality they intervene and act as potential binders for the covert pronominal possessors within the object DP, hence blocking the possessor reading for the benefactive/malefactive argument.

To conclude, PL possessor datives denote affected arguments and provide evidence for the non-raising account along the lines Borer and Grodzinsky (1986).

**Examples:**



- (2) Ma **Ahmedi-s** pasta v-**u-ç**'v-i.  
I Ahmet-dat cake 1sbj-3appl-bake-past.1ps  
I baked Ahmet a cake.
- (3) Koçi-k **bere-s** cenç'areri **u-nc**ğon-u.  
man-erg child-dat money 3appl-send-past.3ps  
The man sent the money to the child.
- (4) Xorza-k **bere-s** xe-pe d-**u-mbon**-u.  
woman-erg child-dat hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps  
The woman washed the child's hands.
- (5) Xorza-k bere-s pasta u-çv-u.  
woman child cake 3appl-bake-past.3ps  
The woman baked a cake for the child.
- (6) Tzari Ayşe-s u-nçx-u.  
water Ayşe-dat 3appl-heat.up-past.3ps  
The water got heated up for Ayşe.
- (7) Xorza-k bere-s u-çalış-u.  
woman-erg child-dat 3appl-work-past.3ps  
The woman worked for the child.
- (8) K'oçi-k xorza-s şemşiye u-kaç-u.  
man-erg woman-dat umbrella 3appl-hold-past.3ps  
The man held the umbrella for the woman.
- (9) Bere-s nana d-**u-ğur**-u.  
child-dat mother PV-3appl-die-past.3ps  
The mother of the child died.
- (10) Nana-k bere-s xe-pe d-**u-mbon**-u.  
mother-erg child-dat hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps  
The mother washed the child's hands.
- (11) \*Bere-s nana-k d-**u-çalış**-am-s  
child-dat mother-erg PV-3appl-work-TS-pres.3ps  
\*The mother of the child is working.
- (12) Bere-**şi** nana do-ğur-u.  
child-gen mother PV-die-past.3ps  
The mother of the child died (The child died before the mother therefore cannot be affected by the mother's death)
- (13) a. \*Ali-k nana-s bere-s xe-pe d-**u-mbon**-u  
Ali-erg mother-dat child-dat hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps  
Ali washed the child's hands for the mother.  
b. \*Ali-k t'oxtori-s xorza-s bere **u-şk'**-u.  
Ali-erg doctor-dat woman-dat child 3appl-send-past.3ps  
Ali sent the woman's child to the doctor.
- (14) a. Ali-k nana-s [**DP**bere-**şi** xe-pe] d-**u-mbon**-u  
Ali-erg mother-dat child-gen hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps  
Ali washed the child's hands for the mother.  
b. Ali-k t'oxtori-s [**DP**xorza-**şi** bere] **u-şk'**-u.  
Ali-erg doctor-dat woman-gen child 3appl-send-past.3ps  
Ali sent the woman's child to the doctor.
- (15) Xorzha-k **bere-s<sub>i</sub>** **himu-şi<sub>i</sub>** toma u-mbon-u.  
woman-erg child-dat he-gen hair 3appl-wash-pst.3ps  
The woman washed the CHILD's hair (for the child, not someone else's hair).
- (16) Xorzha-k bere-s xolo toma o-mbon-u c-i-tsad-u.  
woman-erg child-dat again hair nomin-wash-nomin PV-val-try-pst.3ps  
The woman again tried to wash the child's hair.
- (17) \*Xorzha-k **himu**/**Ali seni** bere-s<sub>i</sub> toma u-mbon-u.  
woman-erg him/Ali for child-dat hair 3appl-wash-pst.3ps  
The woman washed the child's hair for him/Ali.