Applicative structure and Mandarin ditransitives

Waltraud Paul  wpaul@ehess.fr
Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l’Asie orientale, CNRS-EHESS

John Whitman  jbw2@cornell.edu
Department of Linguistics, Cornell University

We argue that applicative heads always appear above the lexical VP, regardless of the semantics of the construction. Thematic Applicatives select a nominal expression and a VP as argument, parallel to Pylkkänen’s (2008) “high” applicatives. The applied argument is merged in Spec, ApplP and receives a role such as beneficiary. Raising Applicatives appear in the same position above the lexical VP, but do not select an underlying nominal argument. Instead, they attract a goal DP from within the ditransitive VP to their specifier. This pattern captures the properties of a theme-goal ditransitive construction (Pylkkänen’s “low” applicative). We show that the Mandarin double object construction ‘Verb gě IO DO’ instantiates a raising applicative, where gě realizes Appl0.

Key words: Applicative, thematic vs. raising; high vs. low; Double object construction; Mandarin Chinese; countercyclic agree

1. Introduction

Marantz (1993) makes an influential proposal about the syntax of ditransitive constructions. According to what we will call the Applicative Hypothesis, applicative constructions like the Kinyarwanda benefactive pattern in (1) and ditransitive constructions like (2) both involve a structure like (3), where an Applicative light verb (V1) selects the lexical VP (VP2) as its complement.

(1)  Kinyarwanda  (Kimyeni 1980)
    Umukoòbwa a -ra -som-er -a umuhuûngu igitabo.
    girl she-PR-read-BEN-ASP boy book
    ‘The girl is reading a book for the boy.’

* We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for very detailed and insightful comments. We are also grateful to Victor Junnan Pan, Zhitang Yang-Drocourt, and Yuan Huahung for discussion of the Mandarin data.
This basic analysis has been applied to a variety of ditransitive constructions beyond the Bantu languages that inspired it, including Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003), Japanese (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004), and Korean (Miyagawa & Jung 2004).

The objective of this paper is to apply the Applicative Hypothesis to ditransitive constructions like (4) in Mandarin Chinese.

\[
\text{(4)} \quad \text{Wǒ mài-gěi -le Mǎlì yī-ge shǒuibiāo.}^1 \\
\text{1SG sell-GEI-PERF Mali 1-CL watch} \\
\text{‘I sold Mali a watch.’}
\]

In the course of developing the analysis, we take up an important theoretical challenge for the Applicative Hypothesis. The hypothesis claims that ditransitive constructions involve extra structure above the lexical VP. This is potentially at odds with another tradition, which claims that ditransitive constructions involve additional structure within the lexical VP. Analyses of this type include Kayne’s (1984) small clause analysis, and Pesetsky’s (1995) zero morpheme analysis. The two traditions are combined by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), who proposes that applicative patterns like (1), whose interpretation does not involve a goal argument, are to be associated with a “high” applicative projection above VP as in (3), while ditransitive constructions involving transfer of the theme to or from the goal as in (2) are to be associated with a “low” applicative projection inside the VP.

In this paper we identify Mandarin gěi in (4) as the head of an applicative projection taking the lexical VP as its complement, in exactly the configuration of (3). We show, however, that the ditransitive pattern

---

\footnote{The following abbreviations are used in glossing examples: CL classifier; EXP experiential aspect; NEG negation; PART sentence-final particle; PASS passive; PERF perfective aspect; PL plural (e.g. 3PL = 3rd person plural); SG singular; SUB subordinator.}
associated with applicative gēi has all and only the properties of a “low” applicative, that is, of a theme-goal ditransitive construction. We argue that this is a general pattern across languages: light verb applicatives always appear above the lexical VP, whether they show the syntax and semantics of “high” or “low” applicatives. Nevertheless, the distinction between high and low applicatives is real: the two patterns involve different sets of thematic roles, and they satisfy different diagnostics.

To deal with this apparent paradox, we propose what we call the Raising Applicative Hypothesis. This hypothesis claims that applicative light verbs, like other predicates, come in two familiar flavors. Thematic Applicatives select a nominal expression and a VP as argument. They correspond to Pykkänen’s High Applicative structure. The nominal argument is merged in Spec, ApplP and receives a role such as beneficiary. Raising Applicatives appear in the exact same position above the lexical VP, but unlike Thematic Applicatives, they do not select an underlying nominal argument. Instead, they attract a nominal argument from within the lexical VP to their specifier. The two structures are shown in (5-6).

(5) Thematic Applicative
\[
\text{APPLP} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{Benefactive}} \left[ \text{APPL} \right. \quad \text{Appl} \left[ \text{VP} \quad \text{V DP} \right] \]
\]

(6) Raising Applicative
\[
\text{APPLP} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{Goal}} \left[ \text{APPL} \right. \quad \text{Appl} \left[ \text{VP} \quad \text{tGoal} \left[ \text{V} \quad \text{V DP}_{\text{Theme}} \right] \right] \]
\]

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the basic facts of ditransitive constructions in Mandarin, focusing on patterns involving gēi, and demonstrates in detail that ditransitive gēi is a raising applicative. Section 3 discusses the technical implementation of the Raising Applicative Hypothesis for Mandarin. We see in this section that a widely attested constraint on A’ extraction of indirect objects in double object constructions is attested in Mandarin as well, and show that the constraint falls out naturally from the Raising Applicative analysis in the Agree framework of Chomsky (2000). Section 4 briefly puts the Raising Applicative analysis in a crosslinguistic context, focusing on the fact that overt applicative morphemes in general appear to be suffixes.

---

2 We owe the term Raising Applicative to Julie Legate (pc). It corresponds to the label Expletive Applicative used in Georgala, Paul & Whitman (2008), where the hypothesis is first presented.
2. The Mandarin V-geb double object construction

2.1 Background

Mandarin geb occurs as the independent lexical verb ‘give’. geb also appears in the three positions in (7) in combination with a lexical verb:

\[(7)\]

a. Double Object: V-geb IO DO
   \[Wō mài-geb -le Mālī yī-ge shŏubiāo.\]
   1SG sell-GEI-PERF Mali 1-CL watch
   ‘I sold Mali a watch.’

b. P-dative: V DO [pp geb IO]
   \[Wō mài-le yī-ge shŏubiāo [pp geb Mālī].\]
   1SG sell-PERF 1-CL watch for Mali
   ‘I sold a watch to Mali.’

c. Benefactive: [pp geb DP] V DO
   \[Tā [pp geb wō] dāng fānyi.\]
   3SG for 1SG act interpreter
   ‘He serves as an interpreter for me.’

A number of facts combine to show that dative and benefactive [geb DP] in the P-dative and benefactive patterns (7b-c) is a PP. First, aspectual suffixes such as the perfective -le do not combine with dative and benefactive geb.

\[(8)\]

a. \[Wō mài(-le) yī-ge shŏubiāo [pp geb (*-le) Mālī].\]
   1SG sell-PERF 1-CL watch for -PERF Mali
   ‘I sold a watch to Mali.’

b. \[Tā [pp geb (*-le) wō] dāng (-le ) fānyi.\]
   3SG for -PERF1SG act -PERF interpreter
   ‘He served as an interpreter for me.’

Second, the constituent [geb DP] in the P-dative and benefactive patterns can be fronted, as shown in (9).

---

3 The verb geb ‘give’ is illustrated below:

\[(i)\]

\[Wō geb -le Mālī yī-ge shŏubiāo.\]
   1SG give-PERF Mali 1-CL watch
   ‘I gave Mali a watch.’

The preposition geb and the applicative head geb are both historically derived from the verb geb ‘give’. Modern Mandarin has numerous other instances of co-existing source and derivatives such as verb zài ‘be at’, preposition zài ‘at’, preverbal durative aspect marker zài; verb gèn ‘follow’, preposition gèn ‘with’, conjunction gèn ‘and’ (cf. Djamouri & Paul 2009 for further discussion).

4 Besides PPs, DPs, QPs, adverbs, and clauses may also occupy the sentence-initial topic position. By way of contrast, only VPs selected as a complement by an auxiliary can be topicalized (cf. Tang 1990: 203, footnote 22).
(9)  a. \([pp \, Gêi \, Mâli], \, wô \, mài-le \, yǐ-ge \, shōubiăo.\)
    for Mali 1SG sell-PERF 1-CL watch
    ‘For Mali, I sold a watch.’

    b. \([pp \, Gêi \, Mâli], \, wô \, mài-le \, yīdiān \, jiū.\)
    for Mali 1SG buy-PERF a.little wine
    ‘For Mali, I bought a little wine.’

    c. \([pp \, Gêi \, wô], \, tā \, òng \, fānyì.\)
    for 1SG 3SG act interpreter
    ‘For me, he serves as an interpreter.’

Note that (9a) can only mean ‘I sold the watch for Mali’s benefit’; with the
fronted PP, the transfer of possession implication characteristic of the DOC
pattern in (7a) disappears.

Except for the prepositional status of preverbal gêi, there is no
consensus in the literature concerning these different patterns, as the brief
review of previous analyses below shows.

Li (1990: 110) analyses both instances of postverbal gêi as verbs. In
the DOC ‘V-gêi IO DO’, V-gêi is considered a compound verb to which the
IO adjoins, thus forming a complex verb capable of assigning case to the
DO. The dative construction ‘V DO [gêi IO]’, by contrast, is claimed to
instantiate a serial verb construction.

Tang (1990: 268) discusses only the dative pattern ‘V DO [gêi IO]’
and proposes a structure where the gêi PP is the complement of a lower
PredP (cf. Bowers 1993), which itself is complement of the ditransitive
verb. The DO in the specifier of this VP controls PRO in Spec, PredP:

\[
(10) \quad [\text{PredP} \, [\text{VP} \, [\text{DO} \, [\text{V} \, [\text{PreP} \, [\text{PredP} \, \text{Pred} \, [pp \, gêi \, IO] \, \text{tv} ]]]]]
\]

In a similar vein, Cheng et al. (1999) claim that ‘gêi DP’ in the
dative pattern underlyingly involves a secondary predication on the DO,
akin to purposive clauses such as ‘I brought 30 dollars to give (to) him’.

\[
(11) \quad \text{DP} \, [\text{VP2} \, \text{DO} \, [\text{V2} \, [\text{Vcause} \, gêi] \, \text{OP} \, [\text{VP3} \, \text{IO} \, [\text{V3} \, \text{HAVE} \, \text{t}] ]]]
\]

Gêi ‘give’ heading VP2 results from incorporating the abstract verb of
possession ‘have’ to ‘cause’; whether this happens in the lexicon or in
syntax is left open. The same incorporation is postulated for gêi in the DOC
‘V-gêi IO DO’, where gêi in turn incorporates to the lexical verb, resulting
in a compound \([v \, V- \, gêi]\). Importantly, gêi here originates in a position
below the lexical verb, the exact opposite of our proposal. We show in
section 2.4 that the sequence ‘V-gêi’ in the DOC is syntactically derived.

\[5\]

If taken literally, Tang and Cheng et al.’s secondary predication analyses run afoul of the
fact that in Mandarin, PPs in general can function neither as primary nor as secondary
predicates (Djamouri & Paul 2009). However both analyses of dative gêi as heading a PP
concur with the analysis adopted in this paper, while the structures proposed by Tang and
Cheng et al. are readily translated into a Larsonian VP shell structure.
2.2. ‘V-gěi IO DO’ DOC pattern displays low applicative properties

The DOC pattern has the expected valence for a “low” or VP-internal applicative construction: it involves a goal (IO) and theme (DO) argument. It also satisfies the two diagnostics for a low applicative construction proposed by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008). First, low applicatives are unacceptable with intransitives of any kind, because their semantics stipulate the presence of a theme argument. Second, they are incompatible with static predicates such as ‘hold’ or ‘watch’, the type of event denoted by static predicates being inconsistent with the theme undergoing a change of possession. The English DOC satisfies these diagnostics, as (12-13) show:

(12)  a. I danced for Kim.
     b.*I danced Kim.

(13)  a. I watched the bag for Kim.
     b.*I watched Kim the bag.

The ‘V-gěi’ DOC pattern behaves the same way:

(14)  a. Nǐ gěi wǒ xiăoxīn yīdiănér!
    2SG for 1SG be:careful a.little
    ‘Do me the favor of being a bit more careful!’
    b. *Nǐ xiăoxīn -gěi wǒ!
    2SG be:careful-GEI 1SG

(15)  a. Wǒ gěi Mǎli kān -zhe bāo ne, bù néng lîkāi.
    1SG for Mali watch-DUR bag PART NEG can leave
    ‘I’m watching the bag for Mary, I cannot leave.’
    1SG watch-GEI-DUR Mali bag

We see in (14) that the intransitive predicate xiăoxīn ‘be careful’ allows a preverbal benefactive PP, but disallows the DOC pattern. Similarly, stative kān-zhe bāo ‘hold the bag’ allows the benefactive PP pattern but not the DOC pattern. Thus the DOC pattern satisfies both of Pylkkänen’s tests for a low applicative construction.

For some speakers, there is also a salient contrast between the DOC pattern in (7a) and the P-dative pattern in (7b) with respect to the strength of the implication of successful transfer of possession.

(16)  a. Zhāngsān qiă-gěi -le Lǐsī yīdiănér cōng,
    Zhangsan nip-GEI-PERF Lisi a.little scallion
    (# kēshì Lǐsī mèiyōu jīzhù).
    but Lisi NEG get
‘Zhangsan nipped off Lisi a bit of scallion, but Lisi didn’t get it.’ (Zhu 1979: 82)

b. Zhāngsān nìpǐ lìsì méi yī diǎnr gěi Lìsì, Zhangsan nip a little scallion for Lisi (kēshí Lìsì méiyǒu jiězhù). but Lisi NEG get
‘Zhangsan nipped off a bit of scallion for Lisi, but Lisi didn’t get it.’

The datum in question is often claimed (e.g. Stowell 1982) to distinguish the DOC and P-dative patterns in English as well:

(17) a. I cut Alex a flower (# and gave it to Robin).
   b. I cut a flower for Alex (and gave it to Robin).

These facts provide further support for the view that, in English and Mandarin, the DOC pattern is not directly derivable from the P-dative construction.

Summing up, the DOC pattern ‘V-gěi IO DO’ in (7a) passes the tests for a low applicative construction, and shows clear differences from the P-dative construction ‘V DO [gěi IO]’. In the next section, however, we show in detail that gěi, the head of the DOC, originates above VP.

2.3. The high applicative position of gěi in the DOC

Consider, now, the surface configuration of the gěi DOC: [V-gěi-Aspect IO DO]. This configuration is straightforwardly derivable by head movement of V to APPL to Aspect (cf. Lin 2001 for V-to-Aspect raising in Chinese), if gěi is assigned a position above the VP, in other words, the structural position of a high applicative. This configuration is shown in (18b).

(18) a. Wǒ mài-gěi-le Mǎlǐ yī-ge shōubiāo.
   1SG sell-GEI-PERF Mali 1-CL watch
‘I sold Mali a watch.’ (= (7a))
If, however, gēi heads a low applicative projection in an underlying structure like (19), it is simply not clear how it assumes its surface position. The same difficulty applies to an analysis where gēi is incorporated from PP (as in Soh (1998: 174)).

(19)

If gēi originates inside VP as in (19), it must raise and right-adjoin to the lexical verb, before both raise and left-adjoin to Aspect. Such a derivation runs counter to the widespread consensus that head adjunction is always to
the left (Kayne 1994, Baker 1996); it would also violate the generalization that head adjunction is consistently to the left in Chinese (Lin 2001).

Alternatively, if gěi were to raise and left-adjoin to the lexical verb, the result would be the ungrammatical order in (20):

```
(20) *Wǒ [ASSP gěi -mài-le [VP tľě-gěi [APPL Mǎlǐ [APPL ‘tľě [shòu.]]. ]]
1SG GEI-sell-PERF Mali watch
```

These facts also argue against an analysis such as Cheng et al. (1999), where it is gěi that incorporates into the lexical verb, thus requiring right-adjunction. Note that assuming the underlying order of heads ‘Aspect - V’, composition of the verb and gěi cannot be derived by a non-syntactic operation such as morphological merger, because V-gěi must be able to raise as a unit to Aspect.

Several additional facts argue against a P-incorporation analysis of the V-gěi DOC, even one which takes place in the syntax. First, postverbal PPs headed by gěi are restricted to the order ‘V DO [pp gěi IO]’ in (7b). A P-incorporation account must explain why P-incorporation is accompanied by a change in the word order of IO and DO. Second, as we saw in (16), the gěi DOC and P dative constructions are semantically distinct. This fact must be explained if the former is derived from the latter by P-incorporation. Finally, we see evidence in 2.5 that the IO is moved out of VP altogether in the gěi DOC. This would be completely unexplained under a P-incorporation account, as P-incorporation is usually considered to case-license the complement of P in situ (Baker 1986).

2.4 Evidence that ‘V-gěi’ is syntactically derived

Evidence that the surface order of the gěi DOC ‘V-gěi IO DO’ is derived by a syntactic operation comes from the contrasting behavior of V-V compounds. At first glance, the combination ‘V-gěi’ in the DOC (21) seems to pattern with V-V compounds like jiăn-chá ‘inspect-examine’ = ‘examine’ (22): in both cases aspectual suffixes must follow the entire sequence:

```
(21) Wǒ sòng (*-le ) -gěi -le Akiū yī-ge shòubìāo
1SG offer -PERF-GEI-PERF Akiu 1-CL watch
‘I gave Akiu a watch as a present.’
```

```
(22) Tāmén [V=jiăn (*-le ) -chá ]-le wǒ -de hùzhào
3PL inspect-PERF-examine-PERF 1SG-SUB passport
‘They examined my passport.’
```

However, data from verb copying show that V-gěi in the DOC and V-V compounds have different derivations, and that the derivation of V-gěi is
Verb copying must copy both members of a V-V compound (24), but it cannot copy V-gěi (23). The most straightforward explanation of this contrast is that verb copying takes place before V-gěi is composed by verb raising in the syntax. By contrast V-V compounds are formed in the lexicon, and are thus available for verb copying as soon as they enter the syntactic derivation.

The so-called A-not-A question pattern (cf. Huang 1982) provides further support for differentiating V-gěi from V-V compounds built in the lexicon. This pattern may optionally treat both members of a V-V compound as a unit, placing both together as a unit before negation (25a):

   3SG like NEG like mathematics
b. Tā xī- bù xī-huān shìxué ?
   3SG like NEG like mathematics
c. Tā [v=xī-huān] shìxué bù [v=xī-huān] shìxué ?
   3SG like math. NEG like mathematics
   ‘Does he like mathematics?’

However V-gěi cannot be treated as a unit, as we see in (26a).

(26) a. *Tā huán -gěi bu huán -gěi nǐ qián?
   3SG return-GEI NEG return-GEI 2SG money
b. Tā huán bu huán -gěi nǐ qián ?
   3SG return NEG return-GEI 2SG money
   ‘Will he return the money to you?’
   (slightly modified example from Peyraube 1980: 227)⁶

⁶ Peyraube (1980: 226) considers these data as evidence for the prepositional status of gěi and adopts the traditional analysis of DOCs in Chinese linguistics: V [v gěi IO] DO.
Once again, this difference between ‘V-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\)’ and lexical V-V compounds is straightforwardly explained if V-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\) is combined in the syntax.\(^7\)

2.5. Evidence that the IO moves out of VP in the DOC

We have provided evidence that \(\text{g\text{"e}}\) in the DOC originates above the lexical VP, in the position of a high applicative, and that ‘V-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\)’ must be syntactically combined, in contrast to lexical V-V compounds. We now examine the position of the indirect object. Consider the contrast in (27):

\[(27)\]

\begin{enumerate}[a.]
    \item \[\text{Wō mài-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\)-le } \text{VP tāmen } \text{VP tāmen } \text{shōubiāo}\].
        \[1SG \text{sell-GEI-PERF } 3PL \text{time watch}\]
        ‘I have sold them three times watches.’
    \item *\[\text{Wō mài-le} \text{VP shōubiāo}\].
        \[1SG \text{sell-PERF watch}\]
        ‘I have sold watches three times to them.’
    \item \[\text{Wō mài-le } \text{VP sān cì } \text{VP shōubiāo } \text{le} .\]
        \[1SG \text{sell-PERF } 3 \text{time watch to 3PL PART}\]
        ‘I have sold watches three times to them.’
\end{enumerate}

In (27a), the frequency adverb sān cì ‘three times’ can intervene between the IO tāmen ‘them’ and the DO shōubiāo ‘watch’ in the DOC, but it cannot

Needless to say, this analysis has difficulty explaining how \(\text{g\text{"e}}\) can be separated from the IO by an aspect marker: ‘V-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\)-Asp IO DO’ (cf. (18), (21) above).\(^7\) Even in a framework such as Distributed Morphology where compounding is reduced to syntactic operations, these differences between compounds such as jiān-chá ‘examine’, xí-huán ‘like’ and the ‘V-\(\text{g\text{"e}}\)’ sequences will need to be somehow captured, perhaps, as a reviewer suggests, by distinguishing higher functional heads such as Appl from compounds composed of purely lexical heads.\(^8\)

We assume a Larsonian shell structure for dative VPs ‘V-DO-PP’ (cf. (27c)). In the underlying structure [\[\text{VP DO } \text{VP PP}\]] the DO originates in Spec, VP and the surface order is derived by raising V to V. The alternative, that the DO originates in the complement of V and the PP is right-adjoined to VP, is also consistent with our account of raising applicatives. But it is counterindicated by the relative scope of the DO and PP:

\[(i)\]

\[\text{Wō mài-le } \text{VP jì \text{ge shōubiāo} tv } \text{PP gēi tāmen } ]\]
\[1SG \text{sell-PERF several CL watch to 2 CL person PART}\]
‘I sold several watches to two persons.’

In (i), liáng ge rén ‘two people’ cannot take scope over jì-ge shōubiāo ‘several watches’; that is, (i) cannot mean that for two people I gave each of them a different set of multiple watches. This is unexpected if ‘several watches’ does not c-command ‘two people’.

\(^7\) We assume a Larsonian shell structure for dative VPs ‘V-DO-PP’ (cf. (27c)). In the underlying structure [\[\text{VP DO } \text{VP PP}\]] the DO originates in Spec, VP and the surface order is derived by raising V to V. The alternative, that the DO originates in the complement of V and the PP is right-adjoined to VP, is also consistent with our account of raising applicatives. But it is counterindicated by the relative scope of the DO and PP:

\[(i)\]

\[\text{Wō mài-le } \text{VP jì \text{ge shōubiāo} tv } \text{PP gēi liáng ge rén } ]\]
\[1SG \text{sell-PERF several CL watch to 2 CL person PART}\]
‘I sold several watches to two persons.’

In (i), liáng ge rén ‘two people’ cannot take scope over jì-ge shōubiāo ‘several watches’; that is, (i) cannot mean that for two people I gave each of them a different set of multiple watches. This is unexpected if ‘several watches’ does not c-command ‘two people’.
intervene between the DO *shòubiǎo* ‘watch’ and the PP [pp *gěi tāmen*] ‘to them’ in the corresponding dative pattern in (27b).

Instead, frequency adverbs must precede the DO in the dative pattern as in (27c). Assuming that the frequency adverb is positioned on the left edge of VP,9 (27a) is exactly the order predicted by the Raising Applicative analysis in (18b): the IO moves over the adverb into [Spec, ApplP]. (27c) shows that the DO in the P-dative construction does not undergo similar displacement. The unacceptability of (27b) is due to the fact that adverbs occupy a position left-adjacent to VP and cannot be attached at the V’ level.

Strictly speaking, these adverb placement facts only indicate that the surface position of IO in the Mandarin DOC is outside the lexical VP; we have yet to show that this is a derived position, resulting from movement of the IO. An alternative position would be one close to Marantz’s original applicative analysis in (3), where the IO originates in the specifier of ApplP. Facts from the distribution of quantifiers show that this alternative is untenable.

In Mandarin, distributive adverbial quantifiers such as *méi-rén* ‘every(one)’ and *yī-rén* ‘each’ can occur to the right of the IO in the DOC.10

(28) a.  
*Wǒ sòng-gěi háizimen*
1SG give-GEI children

[méi-rén /yī-ren] [yībāi kuài qián]
every(one)/each 100  CL money

‘I gave the children each 100 dollars.’

b.  
*Xìàozhǎng fèn -gěi wǒmen*
principal allot-GEI 1PL

[méi-rén /yī-ren] [shí-ge dàxuéshēng]
every(one)/each 10 CL student

‘The principal allotted us each 10 students.’

Unlike frequency adverbs, however, the distributive adverbial quantifiers need to be able to scope over the IO. In terms of the classification proposed by Fitzpatrick (2006) *méi-rén* ‘every(one)’ and *yī-rén* ‘each’ are adverbial

---

9 This assumption is consistent either with the view that frequency adverbs are adjoined to VP, or that they occupy a functional projection immediately above VP (cf. Cinque 1999).

10 The observation that a distributive quantifier may intervene between the IO and the DO in the DOC goes back to Kung (1993: 182) and is taken up by Soh (2005). Note, however, that for many native speakers, the adverb *gè* ‘each’ used by Kung (1993) and Soh (2005) is unacceptable or only marginally acceptable in the position between the IO and DO. Instead, *méiren* ‘every(one)’ or *yí rén* ‘each’ must be used here.

Kung (1993) considers the distribution of *gè* ‘each’ as supporting a small clause analysis of the DOC where *gè* ‘each’ adjoins to a null verb heading PredP (cf. Bowers 1993):

(i)  
[VP V [feat IO [feat *gē-Pred” DO]]]

But Kung’s structure fails to explain how ‘each’ scopes over the IO. This is directly explained by our hypothesis that the IO moves from its base position to a position left of the quantifier. Note that Kung does not take into account the ‘V-gěi’ DOC.
quantifiers. Fitzpatrick argues that adverbial quantifier patterns such as these are derived by A-movement of the associated NP over the adverbial quantifier, precisely as required by our raising applicative analysis where the IO raises out of the VP to Spec, ApplP:

(29)  Wǒ sòng-gěi [APPLP háizi-men [VP méi-rén [VP tónghái]]] háizimen
1SG give-GEI children every(one)
yībāi kuài qián]
100 -CL money
‘I gave the children each 100 dollars.’

Sentences (28a-b) cannot be derived by quantifier stranding. The order of distributive adverbial quantifiers and frequency adverbs is fixed:

1SG give-GEI child-PL every(one) 3 time money
‘I gave every child money three times.’

b. *Wǒ sòng-gěi háizi-men sān ci méi-rén qián
1SG give-GEI child-PL 3 time every(one) money

Following the assumption that frequency adverbs mark the left edge of VP, if méi-rén was stranded inside VP, we would expect (30b) to be acceptable.

Second, these quantifiers never form a constituent with the associated NP, in either order of quantifier and NP:

(31)  a. *Wǒ sòng-gěi [méi-(ge) rén háizǐ-men ]
1SG give-GEI every(one) child-PL
yībāi kuài qián
100 -CL money

b. *Xiaozhang fen-gěi [yī (-ge) rén wǒmen]
principal allot-GEI each 1PL
shí-ge dàxuéshēng
10 CL student

1SG scold-PERF child-PL every(one)
(‘*I scolded the children everyone.’)

b. *Wǒ mà -le [háizi-men yī -rén].
1SG scold-PERF child-PL each
(‘*I scolded the children each.’)  

Distributive adverbial quantifiers are thus clearly different from quantifiers within a DP which in combination with a classifier precede the head noun:

(i)  Wǒ sòng-gěi [ VP méi -ge háizi (*men ) ] yībāi kuài qián
1SG give-GEI every-CL child PL 100 -CL money
‘I gave every child 100 dollars.’

11 Distributive adverbial quantifiers are thus clearly different from quantifiers within a DP which in combination with a classifier precede the head noun:
Third, in the case of *yi-rén ‘each’, there are no corresponding constituents formed from *yi-rén plus NP:

(33) a. *Xiàozhăng fēn -gěi [yī -rén wǒmen ] principal allot-GEI each 1PL shí-ge dàxuéshēng 10 CL student

b. Xiàozhăng fēn -gěi [yī -ge lǎoshī] principal allot-GEI 1 -CL teacher shí-ge dàxuéshēng 10 CL student ‘The principal allotted ten students to a teacher.’

While (33a) is simply unacceptable, (33b) has only a nondistributive meaning distinct from (28b).

Last, but not least, distributive quantifiers are impossible to the right of the IO in the P-dative construction (34), or to the right of direct objects (35) in monotransitive clauses, or to the right of the DO in the P-dative construction (36):

(34) * Wǒ sòng -le yībǎi kuài qián 1SG give-PERF 100 CL money [pp gěi háizi-men] měi-rén /yī-rén. to child -PL every(one)/each (?? ‘I gave 100 dollars each to the children.’)

(35) *Wǒ pèngdào-le xuéshēng-men měi-rén /yī-rén. 1SG meet -PERF student -PL every(one)/each (**I met the students each.’)

(36) *Xiàozhăng fēn -le shí-ge dàxuéshēng měi-rén principal allot-PERF 10 -CL student everybody [pp gěi women]. to 1PL

(*‘The principal allotted 10 students each to us.’)

In contrast to (28a), háizi in (i) must be singular and excludes the presence of the collective plural suffix -men, another clear difference between the quantified DP and the structure involving the distributive quantifier adverbs.

In the P-dative construction, the only way to quantify the IO is via a DP-internal quantifier phrase (cf. (34) below):

(ii) Wǒ sòng-le yībǎi kuài qián [pp gěi měi -ge háizi] 1SG give -PERF 100 CL money to every-CL child

‘I gave 100 dollars to every child.’
The contrast between (29) and (34-36) is explained straightforwardly by the hypothesis that (29) involves A-movement out of the VP, as predicted by the Raising Applicative analysis, but (34-36) do not. No A movement is involved in the derivation of (34-36), so no distributive quantifier is licensed.

2.6. Wrap-up

In this section we have provided further evidence that Appl\(^0\), lexicalized as \(gěi\), originates above the VP headed by the donatory verb. Based on Lin’s (2001) derivation of aspectual suffixes via syntactic movement of V to Aspect and drawing on data from verb copying and A-not-A questions, we have shown that the combination ‘V-gěi’ in the DOC is distinct from V-V compounds formed in the lexicon, and that the pattern is most straightforwardly derived by raising the lexical verb and left-adjoining it to gěi. Furthermore, the position of distributive quantifiers provides evidence for movement of the IO from its base position within VP to Spec, ApplP.

3. The licensing role of applicative heads and the A’ restriction on IOs

3.1 Countercyclic Agree

Above we argued that the Chinese DOC in (7a) is a raising applicative, and should be assigned the structure and derivation in (18b), repeated in (37):

(37) \[ TP \left [ \text{Wō} \left [ \text{APP} \text{Mài-gěi-le} \right ] \right ] \]

\[ \text{1SG sell-GEI-ASP} \]

\[ \text{[APP} \text{Mǎlǐ [APP'} \text{tMǎi-gěi [VP tMǎi [v'} \text{tMǎi yī-ge shōubiāo]]]]]}. \]

\[ \text{Mǎlǐ I -CL watch} \]

‘I sold Mali a watch.’

Let us now consider in detail how the DO and IO are licensed in this construction. We adopt the basic definition of Agree in Chomsky (2000)

(38) Agree (Chomsky 2000: 122)

The probe P agrees with the closest Matching goal in D.

a. Matching is feature identity.

b. D is the sister of P. [D = c-command Domain of P].

c. Locality reduces to closest c-command.

Based on the evidence discussed in the previous section showing that the IO raises out of VP, we assume that Appl bears an EPP/OCC feature that
attracts the IO to Spec, ApplP. Under this approach, the DO ‘watch’ and verb ‘sell’ are first merged in V; then the IO ‘Mali’ is merged in Spec, VP. Both the DO and IO bear case features which must be checked. Next Appl is merged with VP. As Appl also bears a case feature, it enters into an Agree relation with the closest DP, the IO, and checks off its case feature, and the EPP/OCC feature on Appl attracts the IO to its Spec. Next v is merged with ApplP; v also bears a case feature, so it seeks the closest DP with an unchecked case feature. This is the DO. An Agree relation is established between v and DO, and the case feature of the latter is checked off.

Although the building of the structure in (37) by external and internal Merge is perfectly cyclic, the application of Agree is countercyclic: Agree applies first between Appl and the IO in Spec, VP, then between v and the DO lower in the tree, in V’. The inherently countercyclic nature of Agree has been noted by other researchers (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2007): since Agree applies between a head higher in the structure and a goal it c-commands, it moves ‘down the tree’, while normal external and internal Merge build the tree in cyclic fashion from bottom to top. In most A-licensing applications of Agree, the inherently countercyclic nature of this operation is masked by the fact that there is at most one licensing head per cyclic domain: thus only v triggers Agree in monotransitive vPs, and only T does so in the next cyclic domain (i.e. phase), CP. Applicative structures however render transparent the inherent countercyclic nature of Agree, because they introduce a second Agreeing head, Appl, within a single cyclic domain, vP.

3.2. The A’ movement restriction on shifted IOs

A notable fact about the ‘V-geh IO DO’ DOC pattern in Chinese is that the IO is ineligible for A’ movement (Tang 1977), as shown by (39a-b).

(39)  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>*[Akiū mài-geh tәn chәzи] de nәi -ge rәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akiu sell-GEI car SUB that-CL person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hәn yәouqиәn.very rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>*[Nәi-ge rәn, Akiū mәi-geh tәn chәzи.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that-CL person Akiu sell-GEI car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a property shared by applicative constructions in a wide variety of languages, as pointed out by Emonds & Whitney (2006: 93-99). The restriction was originally observed for English DOCs by Fillmore (1965):

---

12 A reviewer points out that EPP/OCC features are typically associated with functional heads, while Appl might be taken to be a lexical (verbal) head in the original conception of Marantz (1993). This simply reflects the development of the Applicative Hypothesis; other researchers analyzing Appl as a case checking (and therefore functional) head include a.o. Anagnostopoulou (2003), Miyagawa & Tsuijoka (2004), and Miyagawa & Jung (2004).
(40) a. ??The person who Akiu sold a car was very rich.
b. ??Who did Akiu sell a car?

Let us call this long-noted constraint the A’ Restriction on Shifted IOs (ARSIO). Surveying 40 years of literature, Emonds & Whitney note that it applies to many languages with ‘dative shift’-like constructions, including languages with overt applicative morphemes. They (p. 95) cite the following Chichewa data from Baker (1988: 291-292):

(41) a. *Atsikana a-na -perek-er -a mfumu chisteko. girl SP-PAST-hand-APPL-ASP chief door ‘The girl handed the chief the door.’
b. *Iyi ndi mfumu imene ndi-na -nen-a this is chief which 1SS-PAST-say-ASP kuti atsikana a -na -perek-er -a chisteko. that girl SP-PAST-hand-APPL-ASP door (‘??This is the chief which I said that the girl handed the door.’)

Emonds & Whitney observe that the ARSIO is sufficiently widespread to provide support for the view that IOs in DOCs are not simply base generated objects, and endorse the basic raising or ‘dative shift’ analysis of the IO in DOCs adopted in this paper. However as they point out, there is no consensus as to the exact structural implementation of the ARSIO.

3.3. Raising Applicative Structure and the A’ Restriction

We propose that the restriction on A’ extraction on IOs in DOCs is a product of the structure where ApplP is embedded under vP. As we pointed out in 3.1, the derivation of a vP selecting an applicative projection proceeds in normal cyclic fashion, with VP and ApplP constructed from bottom up, and movement of the IO to Spec, ApplP taking place as soon as Appl is introduced in the derivation. We propose that items whose features have been checked by Agree within a cyclic domain are unavailable for operations beyond that cyclic domain, This falls out naturally from Chomsky’s (2001) version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition:

(42) Phase Impenetrability Condition

---

13 Emonds & Whitney (2006) note that there is considerable crosslinguistic and cross-idioclectic variation in the strength of the ARSIO. They cite Den Dikken (1995) who observes that the ARSIO is violable in English with short A’ extraction for some speakers. According to Tang (1977: 82, example (53b)) the ARSIO appears violable with short Topicalization in a Chinese DOC with no overt applicative gēi.
The domain of a strong phase head is not accessible to operations at ZP (the next strong phase); only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. The PIC insures that operations involving Agree in a higher cyclic domain can reach no further than the edge of the next cyclic domain (strong phase) down. Items may escape the PIC by being moved to the edge of the lower cyclic domain. But in the case of an IO that enters into an Agree relation with Appl, both its case and EPP/OCC features have already been checked. The unavailability of the latter feature in particular makes it impossible for the IO to be attracted to the edge of vP. Thus while a category checked under Agree by v and attracted to its Spec can be available for operations in the next cyclic domain (specifically A’ movement in the CP domain), categories checked earlier in the derivation of vP, such as a DP checked by Appl, will not.

3.4. A-movement in Mandarin DOCs

Mandarin gěi DOCs exhibit another property which is widespread but not universal among DOCs: the IO is unavailable not only for A’, but for A movement. Thus the IO in the gěi DOC construction is ineligible for passivization (43a) or fronting with bā (43b):

(43) a. *Akiū bèi pěngyǒu mài- gěi chēzi le
   Akiu PASS friend sell-GEI car PART
   (‘Akiu was sold a car by a friend.’)

b. *Pěngyǒu ba Akiū mài- gěi chēzi le
   friend BA Akiu sell-GEI car PART

Chinese patterns with languages such as Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Georgala, Paul & Whitman 2008, Georgala & Whitman 2009), which disallow passive of the IO in DOCs. This falls out straightforwardly from the account in 3.1. Since IO is licensed by Appl and DO by v, only the latter is affected by the failure of defective ([−transitive]) v to check case features in a passive. As predicted by this account, the DO in a DOC may passivize, in Chinese (44a) and Greek (45). Ba-extraction of the DO (44b) is also possible in Chinese.

---

14 One could imagine a less restrictive version of the PIC (either the 2001 version cited above or Chomsky’s 1999 version) that specifies as inaccessible for operations in a higher cyclic domain only categories which have entered into an Agree relation in a lower cyclic domain, and do not occupy its edge. This would have the effect of making Appl-licensed IOs inaccessible to A’ movement in the case at hand, but allowing, for example, PPs to undergo wh-movement out of vP without having first to move to the phase edge. The alternative seems attractive, but we do not pursue it further here.

15 A reviewer points out the apparent Shortest Move/Minimality violation incurred by A movement of the DO over the IO in (44-45). We assume that checking of the case and EPP/OCC features of the IO by Appl prior to passivization eliminates the IO as a possible intervener.
4. Morphological exponence and the Raising Applicative Hypothesis

Georgala et al. (2008) point out that the Raising Applicative Hypothesis predicts that overt applicative affixes are realized uniformly as verbal suffixes. In contrast, if we were to find an overt head in Pylkkänen’s low applicative structure (46), it should be realized as a verbal prefix (assuming that we do not have head adjunction to the right), or as a particle in VP.

(46) $\text{[Voice° [vp V [applp DP goal [appl° DP theme]]]]}$

(Pylkkänen 2002; annotated to indicate thematic roles)

In fact there are clear cases of applicative constructions associated with prefixal morphology, including e.g. Ainu and Abaza.

(47) Ainu instrumental applicative (Shibatani 1990: 69)
Tam -kurpoki a -ko -tam -etaye.
sword-underneath 1SG-APPL-sword-draw
‘I drew the sword underneath the sword.’

(48) Abaza locative applicative (O’Herin 2001: 481)
d-/a- $[\text{δσ-dzqa}]$ -yɔ-r-gal-t’.
a3SG.h-dir[1PL-beside]-c3SG.m-CAUSE-stand-dyn
‘He caused him/her to stand next to us.’

What is interesting about (47-48) is that they have the semantics of high rather than low applicatives in Pylkkänen’s (2002, 2008) terms. Neither expresses transfer of possession; the Ainu applicative is an instrumental, while the Abaza example is a locative. The applicative affix in both of these

---

16 On the assumption that the lexical verb raises uniformly to v. Whitney and Emonds (2006: 106) also point out that applicative affixes are generally suffixes.
patterns is analyzed as an incorporated P (Baker 1996 for Ainu, O’Herin 2001 for Abaza). We are unaware of clear examples of a prefixal applicative restricted to a low applicative (transfer of possession) function.

It is equally difficult to identify exponents of a low applicative head in the shape of a VP-internal particle or verb-like element. A possible candidate is serial verb constructions where the second verb is a transfer-of-possession predicate such as give:

(49) Haitian (Lefebvre 1998: 291)
    Mí mandá biifi dà hen.
    1SG send letter give her
    ‘I have sent letters to her.’

However in such constructions the order of IO and DO is uniformly reversed from the pattern predicted by the low applicative structure (46): the DO precedes the second verb, and the IO follows it. Crosslinguistically, it appears thus that there are no clear candidates for an overt low applicative head, either incorporated or in situ.

5. Conclusion

This article has argued for a distinction between thematic and raising applicatives. The former introduces an additional argument above the root VP, while the latter functions as a case-licensing head, introducing no additional argument, but attracting the IO from its base position in the VP. The Raising Applicative Hypothesis preserves the original structural insight of the Applicative Hypothesis for ditransitives and other “extra object” constructions. This insight is supported by the typical crosslinguistic realization of applicative morphemes as suffixes, and by the behavior of the Chinese V-gěi double object construction that we have examined in detail. At the same time, Pylkkän (2002, 2008) gives ample evidence for two distinct types of extra objects, one originating outside the core VP, another inside it. The Raising Applicative hypothesis allows both types to be licensed with a single position for the licensing head.
References


