APPLICATIVES IN LADINO

FATMA BELGİN DİNÇ

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2021

APPLICATIVES IN LADINO

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Linguistics

by
Fatma Belgin Dinç

Boğaziçi University
2021

Applicatives in Ladino

The thesis of Fatma Belgin Dinç

has been approved by:

Prof. Balkız Öztürk Başaran _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Didar Akar _____

Assoc. Prof. Aslı Gürer _____
(External Member)

July 2021

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Fatma Belgin Dinç, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature: . . . . . .

Date: . . . . . .

ABSTRACT

Applicatives in Ladino

This thesis explores how non-core arguments are licensed in Ladino/Judeo Espanyol (JE), a minority language spoken in Turkey by the Sephardic Jews. The language has been in contact with Turkish since the settlement of the Jewish immigrants coming from Spain by the end of the XVth century. We studied low applicative structures in JE with a focus on possessor applicatives. According to our findings, JE does not license the applied arguments below the verb phrase layer except for some frozen expressions, hence the structure is more in line with high applicatives. When the language codes possession or recipients through applicatives, it is restricted to animates therefore it includes also the semantics of affectedness. Another phenomenon observed in JE is that in possessor applicatives the possessor is marked with dative and genitive case interchangeably. In our view this might be a linguistic change towards the merging of dative and genitive case in JE.

ÖZET

Ladino'da Aplikatifler

Bu tez, Türkiye'deki Sefarad Yahudileri tarafından konuşulan Ladino/Judeo Espanyol/Yahudice (JE) dilindeki yapısal olmayan üyeleri sözdizimi bakımından incelemektedir. Dil XV'inci yüzyılda İspanya'dan gelen göçmen Yahudilerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yerleşmesinden beri Türkçe ile etkileşim halindedir. Bu tezde alçak aplikatif yapıları özellikle de ilgeçsel aplikatifler çalışılmıştır. Gözlemlerimize göre JE'de bazı donmuş ifadeler haricinde fiil öbeği tabakasının altında aplikatif yolu ile üye eklenememektedir, dolayısıyla gözlemlenen yapılar yüksek aplikatif yapısıyla uyumludur. Dilde alıcı yahut ilgeç rolündeki üyeler yalnızca canlı olabilmektedir bu nedenle anlambilimsel olarak etkilenen rolünü taşımaktadırlar. JE'de gözlediğimiz diğer bir olgu ise ilgeçsel aplikatiflerde ilgeç üyenin hem yönelme hem de ilgeç durumu ile yüklenebiliyor olmasıdır. Bu olgu JE'de mevcut yönelme ve ilgeç durumlarının birleşmesi ile sonuçlanabilecek bir değişime işaret edebilecek bir dilsel veri olarak görülmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my advisor Balkız Öztürk for her encouragement, support and for making complex issues seem easy. I also thank the members of my committee Didar Akar and Aslı Gürer for their valuable feedback and comments.

My time in Boğaziçi represents to me so much personal growth and fun. I am indebted to all the professors of the department of linguistics Didar Akar, Eser Erguvanlı Taylan, Pavel Logačev, Ergin Öpengin, Elena Guerzoni, Balkız Öztürk, Aslı Gürsel, Stefano Canalis, Metin Bağrıaçık for what I learned from them. I will always cherish the memories with my colleagues and friends especially Assem Amirzhanova, Uğurcan Vurgun and Umut Gülsün.

I feel very fortunate to have met so many members of the Jewish community of Istanbul and to have received their welcoming support about this work. I thank Moiz Niego for sharing with me his knowledge not only about the language but also about the community's history. I am also grateful to Dora Niyego, Dora Beraha, Can Evrensel Rodrik, Istanbul Sephardic Center, and the cohort of students at the Cervantes Institute in 2017 who answered my questions with patience.

Can Evrensel Rodrik helped me edit the Ladino transcriptions according to the orthography Aki Yerushalayim. Furkan Atmaca did all the format checking for the thesis in the end.

My personal aim with this thesis is to defend the multicultural heritage of Asia Minor, so my final acknowledgements should be addressed to all the peoples of Asia Minor today and in history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 The aim of the thesis 1
1.2 A brief history of Judeo Espanyol and the Sepharad 1
1.3 Sociolinguistic definition of the contact situation 5
1.4 A brief note on the overall grammar 6
1.5 Methodology 7
1.6 Outline of the thesis 8
CHAPTER 2: APPLICATIVES IN THE LITERATURE AND EVENT STRUCTURE OF THE VERB 10
2.1 Pylkännen (2002) 11
2.2 Cuervo (2003) 14
2.3 Tonyalı (2015) 28
2.4 Possessor applicatives according to Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) 31
2.5 Conclusion 32
CHAPTER 3: INVENTORY OF APPLICATIVES AND DOCs IN JE 34
3.1 Introduction 34
3.2 Potential applicative constructions in JE 34
3.3 Ditransitives in JE 39
3.4 The function of the clitic and animacy restriction 48
3.5 Conclusion 51
CHAPTER 4: POSSESSOR APPLICATIVES IN JE 53
4.1 Introduction 53
4.2 Dative-Genitive alternation in applicatives 55
4.3 Affectedness, animacy, and possession 58
4.4 The syntactic hierarchy in JE possessive applicatives 63
4.5 Applicatives with complex events 65
4.6 Analysis of the applicatives in Judeo Espanyol as high applicatives 69
4.7 Datives with *mankar*, *kedar*: a possible low applicative 70

4.8 Conclusion 72
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS 73
5.1 Summary of the claims and proposal 73
5.2 Issues for further research 73
REFERENCES 79

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
APPL	applicative
BEN	benefactive
CL	clitic
DAT	dative
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FV	final vowel
GEN	genitive
IMPF	imperfective
INAN	inanimate
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
PLAIN	plain honorific
POSS	possessive
PRET	preterit
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PST	past

REAL	realisational
REFL	reflexive
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Types of Applicatives in Spanish, Adapted from Cuervo (2003, p.28) . . 19

Table 2. Potential Applicatives in JE Mapped onto The Typology Proposed by Cuervo (2003) 38

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aim of the thesis

This thesis aims to explores the syntax of applicatives in Ladino/Judeo Espanyol (JE), a language spoken by the Sephardic community which is a religious minority in Turkey. We will study the verbal argument structure in the language by placing it in a sociolinguistic context.

The objective of the thesis is dual: first of all, an intent to explain the syntactic structure of applicative constructions in JE with a focus on low applicatives.

(1) *A mi vizina le nasyo, a mi me se apego*
My neighbour.DAT CL.DAT it was born, to me CL.DAT.1SG CL.REFL stuck
'To my neighbour it was born, it stuck to me too' (meaning: 'abundance reflects in the environment') (Bardavid & Ender, 2006b, p.155)

As seen in (1), the individual that the dative argument 'a mi vizina' denotes is not part of the core arguments of the verb, however it is introduced into the phrase structure via the marker 'a' and a dative clitic 'le', and so it contributes a meaning. We will explore the mechanisms which allow this phenomenon to occur in JE. Secondly, while studying the argument structure of JE, we will be aware of its sociolinguistic situation. Today all the speakers of the language are bilinguals, and their dominant language is Turkish. Therefore we believe we need to take into account the syntax of Turkish with which JE is in contact so that we have a complete picture of the syntactic situation. And certainly, previous studies on Spanish syntax will be crucial for our study because the two languages used to be one language centuries ago as we will explain below. Pointing out the differences in the syntax of the two languages will be the first step to discover how much of a change contact can have on the syntax of a language.

1.2 A brief history of Judeo Espanyol and the Sepharad

In the following we will introduce a brief history of the Sepharad who speak Judeo Espanyol.

1.2.1 The arrival of the Spanish language to the Ottoman Empire

The term Sepharad refers to the Jewish community around the world who have their roots in the Iberian Peninsula. After the Reconquista by the Catholic powers of the Iberian Peninsula following the Muslim rule, the practising Jews were expelled by the Alhambra Decree in 1492. Bayezid II, the Ottoman ruler at the time decided to welcome this Jewish population and they were dispersed in Asia Minor, Balkans, Middle East and Northern Africa within the empire's territory. The Jewish community in the Iberian Peninsula up until the end of the XVth century spoke Spanish just like the other non-Jewish population around them. Whereas we would expect the Jewish language to differ from the larger population, their variety was deemed mutually intelligible with the Christian varieties (Romero, 2012, p.35).

The JE is mutually intelligible with the varieties of Spanish spoken around the world even today.

The JE as a language thrived in the Ottoman Empire during the XVIth century. The Sephardic Jews brought with them a flourishing civilization; therefore, they became very influential in the Ottoman economy as well as medicine and philosophy. Other Jewish groups like the Greek-speaking Romaniots and the Turkish-speaking Karaite Jews also adopted JE. It also became the language of the religious institutions (Romero, 2012).

Beginning from the XVIIth century, the Sephardic Jews gradually lost their role in the Empire in favour of the Greek and Armenian communities. By the early eighteenth century, Turkish, Greek and Italian were considered as a prestige language for commerce and economy, which led to the loss of some domains of JE within the community (Romero, 2012, p.46). The language remained in the domains of culture and religion, though.

1.2.2 The fall of JE in the Ottoman Empire and in eventual Turkey

Two major language policies had tremendous impacts which led to the fall of the language after the XIXth century (Romero, 2012).

The first one was the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the XIXth century (Romero, 2012). These schools were founded in France with the objective of educating the Jews all around the world (Alliance Israélite Universelle, 2011, Les profondes traces de 50 ans de service en Turquie). According to a study by Varol-Bornes (2008), the Jewish community before the XIXth century was in an economic and cultural stagnation and Alliance schools aimed at pulling the Jewish community out of this through a modern and advanced education system by adopting a European language of culture, which is the French language. The Alliance found that the Jews in the region were dealing with miserable jobs such as the collection, repairing and resale of used materials.

It was true that the Jews who were intellectuals and educated did not receive a serious education in the Ottoman Empire except in religious schools. In these schools of the Alliance, the Jews could learn a foreign language and they were formed with the notion of positive science (Universelle, 2011, para. 2). The institution provided not only education, but also a social network, also including girls in schooling (Universelle, 2011).

Consequently, the Sephardic community, even though they did not stop speaking their heritage language, started to despise their JE and to "frenchify" their language especially in the written language (Varol-Bornes, 2008, 75).

Many Jewish families enrolled their children in these schools which were present in many cities of the country. By time, it created a segregation in the Jewish community such that schooling in Alliance institutions therefore speaking French became an indication of prestige in the community which led to a further degradation of the community's attitude towards their native JE language (Varol-Bornes, 2008; Romero, 2012).

The final language policy which would eventually lead to the loss of JE was the newly found Turkish Republic and its language policies.

The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic after the 1st World War marked at the same time a transition from a multicultural and multilingual empire to a nation state. The disengagement from multiculturalism imposed itself at every level. The Law on Unification of the Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu) was adopted by the parliament in 1924 and after this it became compulsory to deliver the teaching of certain subjects in schools, even in the community schools which were protected by the Lausanne Treaty. This law also led to the closing of the Alliance schools (Romero, 2012).

Aslan (2007) studied the policies for broadening the use of the Turkish language in order to create a homogenous nation state in the first two decades of the Turkish Republic. She shows that apart from the legal imposition, a social pressure also emerged in the first years of the young republic against all the minority languages. Even though the Greek – Turkish exchange of populations had taken place and the Armenian population almost vanished, in the first years of the Republic a considerable amount of linguistic diversity existed in Turkey, including in public appearance. "Citizen, Speak Turkish (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş)" campaign aimed to eradicate the public visibility of these minority languages and it was an attempt to Turkification. The speakers of JE were probably the community which was the first target of this campaign. The campaign was a state-initiative however social actors such as intellectuals and students also played a crucial role in its promotion.

Romero (2012) explains that another factor contributing to the status of JE is the history of migration of the Jewish population after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The community reduced to a smaller and smaller size in the country due to several waves of immigration. Some of them were caused by Turkey's internal politics like the value tax (varlık vergisi) imposed on non-muslim population in the 1940s or the pogrom in 6-7th of September in 1955 against all non-muslim communities in Istanbul. The foundation of the State of Israel led to a huge number of Jews emigrating towards there as well.

As a result of this historical course, today the number of the Sephardic Jewish population in Turkey is estimated to be around 35.000-40.000 by the year 1980 (Gerşon, 1980, 12) and today only the older members of the community are speakers of JE, mostly the ones over 60 and 70 years old Romero (2012).

1.3 Sociolinguistic definition of the contact situation

Gerşon (1980) shows in her sociolinguist study of 1980 that the generation I (as she names it in her work) born before 1920, they all speak JE at home. The generation II who is born between 1921 and 1940, JE is always present at home but rather with aged people and parents whereas with friends they declare to have spoken in French and Turkish with children. When we come to generation III born between 1940 and 1964, they don't speak JE at home any more except with parents or except when they don't want to be understood by their children. Other than that, they speak Turkish. When it comes to generation IV, those who are born after 1960, JE is no longer spoken even though some of them can understand it a little bit or even they can have an exchange with limited number of words. This way she observes how the Turkish is imposed in the community since the beginning of the Republic.

The language maintenance and transmission within the Sephardic community of Istanbul has been studied by Romero in 2007. Some interviews were realized with the members of the community enquiring about the use of the Turkish/JE languages and their attitudes towards their heritage language. He concludes that due to the history of the community and the language policies in place, the speakers of the JE language are "fully integrated into the society and the language is no longer transmitted to new generations". The speakers are mostly over 60 or 70 years old, therefore beyond childbearing age. He makes a reference to Fishman's (1991) scale on measuring how endangered a language is depending on its linguistic domains. The scale ranges from 1 to 8, the latter being the most endangered state. According to his conclusion based on his field study within the Istanbul community, he rates the JE spoken in Istanbul as level 7.

The author describes that "JE in Istanbul is struggling to survive, reduced to peripheral and highly restricted domains such as the language of entertainment, a secret language, and the language of the older generation" (Romero, 2012, p.179). Our personal observation during the thesis studies supports this view that the language is reduced to very few restricted domains.

Romero (2008) at the same time mentions some structural changes in the morphology and syntax of JE such as gender shift, word order changes and the slow disappearance of the subjunctive mood.

1.4 A brief note on the overall grammar

The genetic classification of the Ladino language according to the web edition of the Ethnologue is as follows: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Ibero-Romance, West Iberian, Castilian. This is exactly the same classification given for Spanish (MS) spoken in today's Spain as well. We are going to mention some general characteristics of Spanish here as a reference -as long as we deem that they also hold for JE-, as we are unaware of a similar descriptive or theoretical literature on JE.

Modern Spanish is a head initial language. The construction of a phrasal head gives the order: head – complement. Nouns, adjectives, verbs and prepositions precede their complements (Zagona, 2001, p.7). In JE however, Romero observes (Romero, 2012) adjectives may be placed before or after the noun inside the noun phrase. However this occurs exceptionally, and the rule is JE is still a head initial language. In (2) we present an example of the reversing of the head – complement ordering – most likely due contact with Turkish-, and in (3) we present a head initial occurring of the adjective from our corpus (we will explain our corpus in the next chapter):

(2) *la blanka inyeve*
the white snow
'the white snow' (Romero, 2008, p.167)

(3) *un kuti grande*
a box big
'a big box' from (BAP 11500)

JE has a nominative/accusative case system, and as is typical in the Indo-European family it has relatively rich inflectional morphology. Some examples from inflectional classes are gender and number marking on the nouns as in (4):

(4) a. *chiko* child.M.SG
b. *chika* child.F.SG
c. *chikos* child.M.PL
d. *chikas* child.F.PL

Another example of inflectional morphology is the tense inflection on the verb for the preterit and imperfective past tenses (5):

(5) *topar* 'to find'
a. *Topi* find.PRET.1SG
b. *Topava* find.IMPF.1SG

Amongst the characteristics which are prevalent within the Romance family are the pronominal clitics and null subject phenomena. A relatively isolated characteristics within the Romance family is the clitic doubling of indirect objects (Zagona, 2001, p.7) which we will come to analyse further in this work. Clitics in Spanish attach only to verbs and they can be doubled with indirect objects and dialectally and to a certain extent with direct objects. Below in (a) is an example of dative clitic doubling and in (b) is an example of accusative clitic doubling:

(6) a. *Le hablaron a ella*
CL.DAT spoke.3PL to her
'They spoke to her'
b. *La llamaron a ella*
Her[CL.ACC] called.3PL her
'They called her'

The morpheme *a* 'to' in (6a) marks the dative case, however in (6b) it is a differential object marker (DOM) to mark animate objects, therefore 'a ella' in (6b) is accusative.

1.5 Methodology

The data for this thesis was collected in two methods. The first one is elicitation. We interviewed speakers by asking them questions on how they would utter certain

sentences in JE, by saying the sentences to them in Turkish. The speakers were all aged above 60, the youngest one being 63-year-old male and the oldest being 83-year-old female. They are all Turkish – JE bilinguals with Turkish being their dominant language. They also speak French in addition to JE, because they all had education in schools with French tradition, following the tendency in the community established by the Alliance schools as explained in §1.2.2.

We always tried to describe a context to the speakers in Turkish or in JE prior to eliciting a certain utterance or sentence. This was rather a necessary step because the complexity of the sentences which serve as syntactic tests are in general difficult for them to produce given their age and the restricted use of JE in their daily life.

We interviewed a total of 8 speakers, however not each one of them was asked every sentence that we present in this thesis. We tried to get the judgements from at least 2 speakers for each sentence.

It was difficult to obtain a judgement for some of the complex sentences required to test certain syntactic structures. In fact, in our opinion this constitutes a shortcoming for this thesis.

The second group of data we use in the thesis is the corpus data. Most of it is from the research project "Language Contact in Turkey: Documentation and Analysis" conducted with the support of Boğaziçi University Research Fund Grant Number 115001[1]. The data was collected with a total of 10 speakers, obtaining a semi-structured interview mostly in JE with switches to Turkish from time to time. We might also refer to some written corpus from El Amaneser, the monthly newspaper in JE published as an annex to the weekly newspaper Şalom[2]. Unless otherwise stated, the data in JE is obtained through our own field work.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature on applicatives. We provide previous theories on the applicatives, mainly the theory of introducing applied arguments as proposed by

[1] Throughout the thesis, the Project will be referred to as "BAP 11500".

[2] Şalom and El Amaneser are published by Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş.

Pylkännen (2002). We also include the studies on applicatives in Spanish and in Turkish by Cuervo (2003) and Tonyalı (2015) respectively, as we would like to pose the question of language contact in this thesis. We also introduce the proposal made by Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) on possessor dative constructions which act as benefactive or malefactive at the same time. Chapter 3 provides an inventory of potential low applicatives in JE and analyse the DOCs in JE syntactically. We conclude that in JE these constructions cannot be considered as low applicatives unlike the case in Spanish but behaving rather in parallel to DOC in Turkish.

We will then study the possessor applicatives in JE in Chapter 4. We will explore whether they are low applicatives like in Spanish and present our findings which indicate that they are merged above the VP layer, therefore patterning as high applicatives in JE. We then present data with certain verbs like *kedar* 'be left' and *mankar* 'lack' and posit that these datives that combine with these stative verbs seem to constitute a frozen structure with low applicatives.

In the last chapter, we present our concluding remarks, pointing out the most relevant questions which are open to further research. The first one is the datives in JE that combine with stative unaccusatives like *plazer* 'to please' and dynamic non-agentive verbs like *afitar* 'happen'. The final issue to consider is a comparison in the historical change of Spanish and JE and pinning down the contact induced phenomena and internally caused changes in JE with respect to datives and clitic doubling.

CHAPTER 2

APPLICATIVES IN THE LITERATURE AND EVENT STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

This chapter studies the different approaches to applicatives in the literature. First and foremost, the concept of an applicative is considered within theories of verbal argument structure.

From a typological point of view, an applicative is seen as a valency increasing operation on a verb that makes an optional argument (adjunct) into an obligatory argument (applied object) (Velupillai, 2012, p.263). As this view defines applicatives as an operation on the verb, verbal morphology is crucial for applicatives and is widely studied. Amongst the optional arguments that can be promoted to an obligatory argument are benefactive arguments, locatives and instruments cross-linguistically.

(1) is an example from Yagua where we add an instrumental argument to the structure via an applicative. Below in (2) is an example of benefactive applicative from Tukang Besi:

(1) a. *sjjchtiñíí quiiyá quichitya*
sa-jjchitiy-níí quiiya quichiy-tya
3SG-poke-3SG fish knife-INS
'He pokes the fish with a/the knife'

b. *sjjchtiyara quichiy*
sa-jjchitiy-ta-rá quichiy
3SG-poke-APPL-INAN.OBJ knife
'He pokes it with a/the knife' (Velupillai, 2012, p.264)

(2) a. *no-ala te kau*
3.REAL-fetch the wood
'She fetched the wood.'

b. *no-ala-ako te ina-su te kau*
3.REAL-fetch-APPL the mother-my the wood
'She fetched the wood (as a favour) for my mother.' (Velupillai, 2012, p.263)

An example of a locative applicative structure is from Tagalog below in (3):

(3) *binilhan* *ng=lalake* *ng=isda* *ang=tindahan*
PRF.DAT.buy OBL=man OBL=fish APPL=store
'The/a man bought fish at the store' (Bickel, 2012, p.359)

Within the theoretical framework, the term applicative refers to the mechanism that derives an additional argument to the basic argument structure of the verb. In the following, we will introduce how different patterns of applicatives were classified and analyzed within Generative Grammar. As JE is in contact with Turkish and is genetically very close to Spanish, in our discussion, we will include the literature on applicatives from these two languages.

2.1 Pylkännen (2002)

In Pylkännen (2002), based on the theory that subjects are also external arguments of the verb (Kratzer, 1996), it is argued that causative heads and applicative heads are responsible for introducing additional arguments. She establishes a semantic and structural dichotomy to explain the phenomenon of applicatives, a dichotomy of 'high' and 'low' applicatives. This distinction is based on whether the applicative head relates the DP in its specifier to an event (a vP) or to an individual (the object DP). The semantics of the two types of applicatives will follow from the structure: a low applicative denotes a relation between two individuals and a high applicative denotes a relation between an event and an individual.

In example (4) 'the wife' is the benefactive argument in relation to the event of eating however it "does not bear a direct relation to the object of eating, i.e. 'the food'" (Pylkännen, 2002, p.18). Therefore it is a high applicative. As explained above, the direct object does not enter into a possessive-like relationship with the applied object in Chaga, it is related to the event (Pylkännen, 2002).

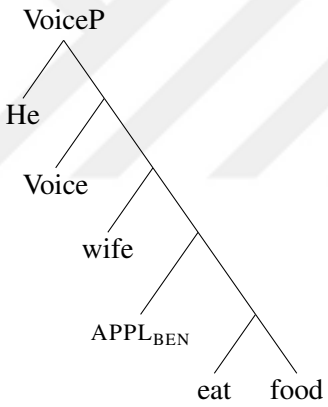
(4) *N-aý-lyì-í-à* *m-kà* *k-èlyá*
FOC-1SG-PRS-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating for his wife' (Pylkännen, 2002, p.17)

English double object constructions (DOC) however are low applicatives because a relationship between the applied object and the direct object is obligatory. The applied argument 'John' in the sentence 'I baked John a cake' indicates a meaning of transfer of possession between the direct object and the dative object. Therefore if we were to utter a benefactive applicative in English we would get ungrammaticality (Pylkännen, 2002) (5):

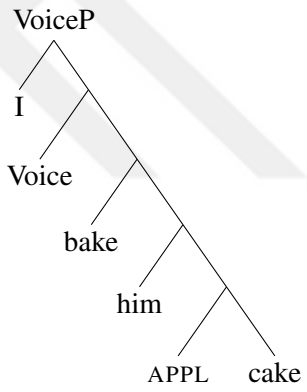
(5) a. *He ate the wife food
b. *John held Mary the bag (Pylkännen, 2002, p.19)

Hence the two different structures for high and low applicatives are as follows (referring to the two examples from Chaga and English):

(6) a. High Applicative (Chaga)



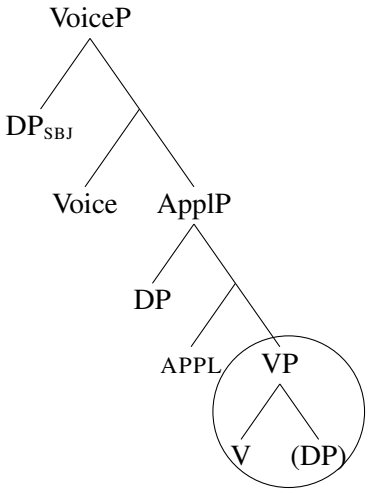
b. Low Applicative (English)



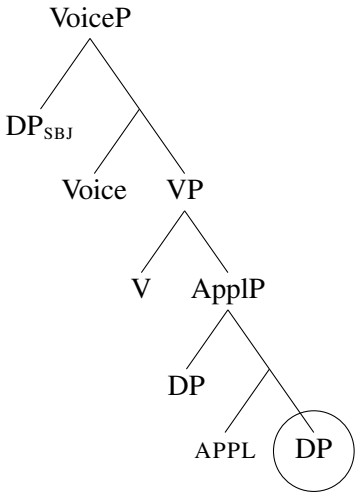
Adapted from (Pylkännen, 2002, p.19)

A high applicative licenses the applied argument DP in a position external to the VP, for that reason it is called a "high" applicative and also for the very same reason Pylkkänen points out the parallelism with the licensing of external arguments. A low applicative on the other hand relates two individuals, the first one is the object DP as its complement and the second one is the DP licensed in its specifier. Then the applicative phrase (ApplP) merges with the VP, for this reason they are called low applicatives (Pylkännen, 2002).

(7) a. High Applicative



b. Low Applicative



Adapted from (Cuervo, 2003, p.19)

According to Pylkänen (2002) the applied arguments in low applicatives can have the semantics of recipient or source. English DOCs are examples of recipient low applicatives. We provide an example of source applicative from Korean:

(8) *Totuk-i Mary-hanthey panci-lul humchi-ess-ta*
thief-NOM Mary-DAT ring-ACC steal-PST-PLAIN
'The thief stole a ring from Mary' (Lit: The thief stole Mary a ring)
Hypothesized meaning: 'The thief stole a ring and it was from Mary's possession' (Pylkänen, 2002, p.21)

Pylkkänen claims that these three heads i.e. High Appl, Low-Appl-TO (recipient low applicative) and Low-Appl-FROM (source low applicative) form a universal inventory of functional heads from which individual languages can select.

She proposes three tests to make a distinction of the two structures. The first one is that low applicatives establishes a transfer of possession between two individuals. A high applicative cannot involve a directional possessive relationship.

As the high applicative head has a DP in its specifier and takes the whole VP as its complement, it relates the beneficiary to an event. The directional possessive relationship is expressed between two individuals when the low applicative head takes a DP specifier and a DP complement.

The second test is that low applicatives cannot combine with unergatives, therefore they exhibit a transitivity requirement. For this reason, the sentence in (9) is ungrammatical.

(9) *I ran him (Pylkännen, 2002, p.24)

The third test is the test of passivization. Low applicatives allow the indirect object to be passivized.

2.2 Cuervo (2003)

Following the Distributed Morphology Framework (Halle & Marantz, 1993), Cuervo (2003) assumes, that verbs are formed in the syntax by the combination of a verbal functional head little v and a root. Apart from the special Appl or Voice heads that introduce arguments, the little v also plays a role on determining whether an argument is projected as a complement or a specifier[3].

She proposes that a sentence can express a simplex or a complex evet. Different subtypes of little v are responsible to create three types of simple events (Cuervo, 2003, p.17):

(10) Little v subtypes

Three types of little v	Three types of simple events	Examples
a. vDO	ACTIVITIES	*dance, sweep, run*
b. vGO	CHANGES	*fall, go, die*
c. vBE	STATES	*like, admire, lack*

Two event predicates can combine to express a complex event, where we get a verb or a bi-eventive structure that consists of two sub-events (Cuervo, 2003, p.18):

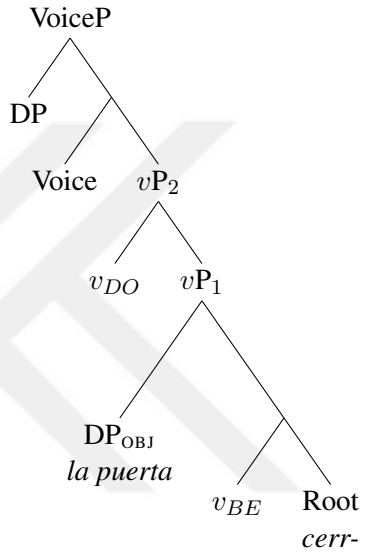
(11) Combinations

Possible combinations	Types of complex events	Examples
a. vDO + vDO	CAUSATIVES	*make wash, make laugh*
b. vDO + vGO	CAUSATIVES	*make grow, make fall*
c. vDO + vBE	CAUSATIVES	*break burn, close*
d. vGO + vBE	INCHOATIVES	*(*INTR*) break, burn, close*

[3]Throughout the thesis, the theoretical discussions and data on Spanish is taken from Cuervo (2003) unless otherwise stated.

In Spanish and English, the causative which embeds a dynamic event is expressed by two separate words. Cuervo focuses on the causatives that embed a stative verb and a dynamic verb as in (11c), as well as the inchoatives that are intransitive single argument verbs as in (11d). A complex event can be decomposed into two different layers of little v. A causative vDO+vBE will have an object DP which undergoes a change and an external argument licensed by Voice which is the surface subject. This is shown in (12):

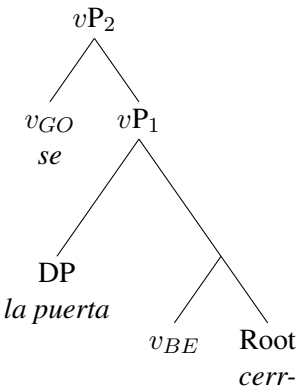
(12) a. *Vicki cerró la puerta*
Vicki.NOM closed the door.ACC
'Vicki closed the door' MS[4]

b.


(Cuervo, 2003, p.24)

In the case of inchoatives vGO+vBE, an argument DP is in the specifier position of the lower little vP which is the stative vBEP and then it combines with the dynamic vGO. This is shown in (13):

(13) a. *Se cerró la puerta*
CL.REFL closed the door.NOM
'The door closed'

b.


(Cuervo, 2003, p.25)

[4]We will mark the examples of Spanish as Modern Spanish 'MS' and the examples from Judeo Espanyol as 'JE' to avoid confusion throughout the thesis.

Cuervo argues that the reflexive clitic *se* in Spanish in this context is the spellout of vGO. Cuervo bases her claim on the idea that these three types of v's are responsible to introduce events. Besides these event introducers, syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments that do not add an event predicate are done by special heads of Voice and Applicative.

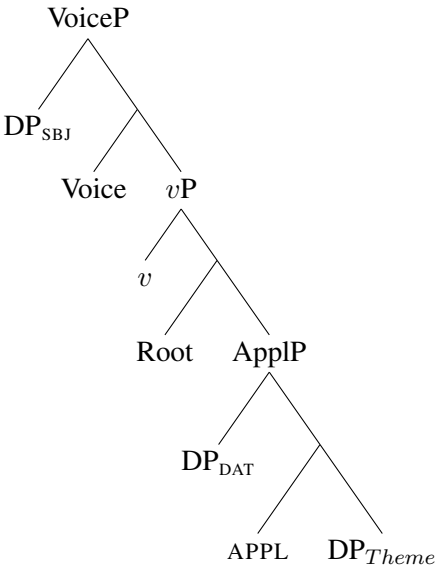
> Voice relates the external argument (projected as its specifier) to the event described by the verbal phrase that Voice takes as its complement. Voice combines with its complement vP via a semantic rule called Event Identification and adds the external argument as a participant of the event.
>
> (Kratzer (1996) as cited in Cuervo (2003))

The other argument introducer will be the applicative head. In Spanish, dative DPs are licensed syntactically and semantically by this specialized head which introduces an additional argument. As to the variety of meanings, this will depend on the event structure of the verb and also on whether the complement of the applicative head is a DP or a vP.

For example, (14) is analysed as a low applicative because according to the structure proposed by Cuervo (2003), it takes a DP as its complement.

(14) a. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT
'Pable sent Gabi a dictionary'

b.



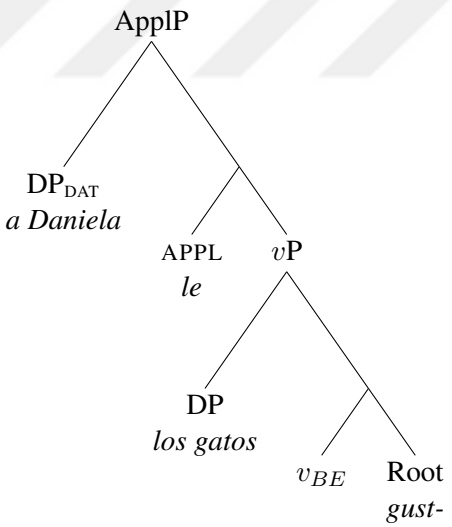
In this structure, the dative DP 'a Gabi' is in the specifier position of the applicative phrase. The dative clitic 'le' is the spell-out of the applicative head. While in many languages, as in English DOCs, the applicative head is null, in Spanish it has a spell out in the form of a clitic. In Bantu languages for example, the applicative head a has a morpheme as a verbal affix.

Cuervo (2003) sees the morpheme 'a' in 'a Gabi' in (14) as the dative marker in this construction.

If the Appl takes a vP as its complement, then it is either an embedded applicative with an affected experiencer meaning, or it is a high applicative above the VP. These applicative heads are also spelled out by the dative clitic, 'le' in the example below in (15):

(15) a. *A Daniela le gustan los gatos*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT like.PL the cats
'Daniela likes cats'

b.



(Cuervo, 2003, p.145)

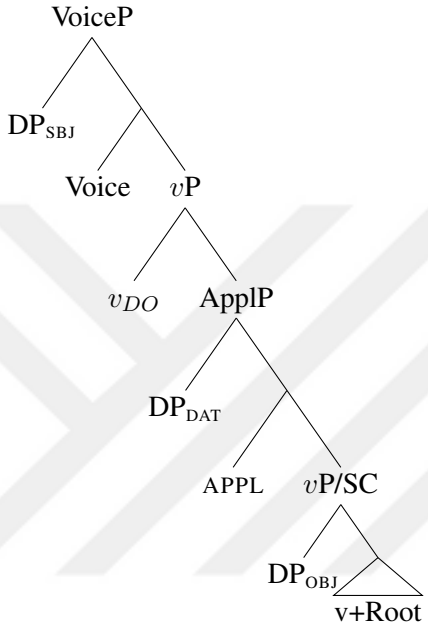
(15) is an instance of high applicative as the first argument of the applicative head is a vP, the vP merges with the applicative head. The semantics of this dative is that Daniela is the experiencer subject of a psychological verb.

The two examples above (14) and (15) both contain simplex verbs in terms of their event structure, in other words they are mono-eventive. For complex verbs which denote a resultant state, Spanish can merge the applicative phrase with the first

layer of the bi-eventive verb, and this yields an applicative with affected experiencer semantics. In (16), we show the applicative phrase and the complex event structure of the verb:

(16) a. *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
'Pablo broke the radio on Valeria' (Lit. 'Pablo broke Valeria the radio')

b.



The causative verb 'break' in (16) is bi-eventive, and the two v's that compose the verb are $v\text{P}_{BE}$ + vPDO. Here the dative (Valeria) is understood to be affected by the resultant state, i.e. the radio being broken. Therefore Cuervo (2003) positions this type of applicative in between the two layers of events. So the applicative phrase takes the $v\text{P}_{BE}$ as its first argument and then merges with the vPDO. She argues that the vP that the applicative head takes also acts like a small clause (hence the representation SC), i.e. 'the radio is broken'.

Below is the Table 1 of the inventory of applicatives in Spanish according to the event structure and according to their first argument. The verbs given as examples stand for the corresponding Spanish verbs (Cuervo, 2003, p.28).

As shown in Table 1, there are many different types of applicatives in Spanish. As this thesis will focus on the applicatives in Judeo Espanyol, in the

Table 1. Types of Applicatives in Spanish, Adapted from Cuervo (2003, p.28)

1^st Arg:	DP (Low Appl)			vP		
	Dynamic relation		Static Rel.	Stative v		Dynamic v
	TO	FROM	AT	Embedded	Non-embedded	
Meaning / v	Recipient	Source	Possessor	Affected	Experiencer	Benef/Malef
vDO	*send, bake*	*steal*	*wash*	*break*	...	*walk*
vGO	*arrive*	*escape*	*grow*	*break* (Inch.)	*happen, grow*	
vBE	*owe*	*save*	*envy, lack*	...	*like, seem*	...

following we will only discuss the low applicatives and affected experiencer applicatives in Spanish, as only these will be relevant for Judeo Espanyol.

Cuervo's analysis of low applicatives in Spanish shows that a low applicative construction in Spanish is consistent with the DOC in English and with the low applicatives as suggested by Pylkkänen as explained in §2.1. Whilst Pylkkänen lays out two types of low applicatives which are the low recipient applicatives and the low source applicatives, necessarily with semantics of transfer of possession, Cuervo proposes that the meaning of the applied argument in the low applicative structure can be the recipient, the source or the possessor. Therefore Cuervo argues for the existence of three types of low applicatives as to their semantics. Below we give a summary of the three types of low applicatives as proposed by Cuervo (2003):

i. Low-Appl-TO: The first type of low applicative is the low applicative with a directionality in meaning as in (17) and (18). The predicate expresses the transfer of a theme towards a goal and the dative argument is understood as the intended recipient. This construction is compatible with activity verbs vDO.

(17) *Valeria le diseño una pollera a Andreina*
Valeria CL.DAT designed a skirt Andreina.DAT
'Valeria designed Andreina a skirt'

(18) *Pablo (le) mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary to/DAT Gabi
'Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary'

Even though in (17) the verb *diseñar* 'design' does not inherently have a directionality in meaning, the dative DP in interpreted as the intended recipient of the theme DP (the skirt). In these examples, the morpheme *a* expresses the directionality

which can be translated as 'to'. However as we will explain below, Cuervo (2003) proposes that the same morpheme can be the dative marker or a preposition depending on the structure.

As we explained above, verbs which are considered as ditransitives can license an applied recipient and in this case the clitic pronoun *le* is doubled with the dative argument. In other words, even though the full dative DP *a Gabi* is present in the sentence (18), the dative clitic which refers to the same DP is used at the same time. This phenomenon is called 'clitic doubling'. It is observed in many Romance languages.

The type of verbs that are truly directional as 'send' in (18), the sentence will be also grammatical if the clitic is not doubled. In example (19) without clitic-doubling, the phrase *a Gabi* is analysed as a PP and *a* will be a preposition, and not a dative marker.

(19) *Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo sent a dictionary to/DAT Gabi
'Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi'

Cuervo reaches this conclusion that with true directional verbs like 'send', we get two different syntactic structures in Spanish depending on whether the clitic is doubled or not.

A sentence with no clitic doubling is considered ungrammatical in Spanish when the verb does not inherently have a directionality in meaning as in (20). Cuervo takes this as an applicative, and for this reason the spell-out of the applicative head – the clitic *le* – is obligatory. At the same time the morpheme *a* is a dative marker here.

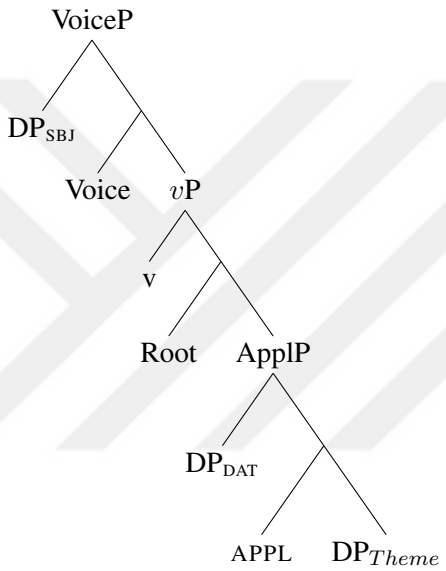
(20) *Andrea *(les) grito a unos gatos*
Andrea.NOM CL.DAT shouted some cats.DAT
'Andrea shouted at some cats' (Cuervo, 2003, p.39)

As a conclusion, Cuervo presents findings that for ditransitive predicates in Spanish an alternation exists between a low applicative and a PP. In terms the morphology of these two structures, they are the same except for the existence or not

of the dative clitic. In low applicative constructions, the clitic is doubled whereas in PP constructions it is not there. On the other hand, in terms of their syntax, they differ substantially. Cuervo shows that in a low applicative the dative DP is higher in the structure than the theme DP. In a PP construction, the theme is higher than the dative. Compare (21) and (22):

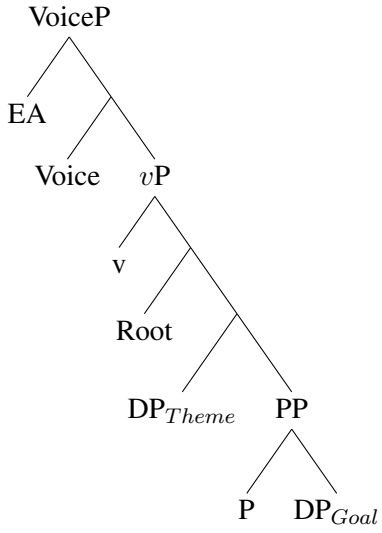
(21) a. *Pablo le mundó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT
'Pable sent Gabi a dictionary'

b. (Cuervo, 2003, p.51)



(22) a. *Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
Pablo sent a dictionary to/DAT Gabi
'Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi'

b. (Cuervo, 2003, p.52)



Cuervo (2003) shows how she concluded to these two different structures by applying binding tests with the anaphors and possessives, scope facts and weak cross over effects.

First of all as to binding, in the construction in (23) without the clitic, the direct object can bind an anaphor in the DP_{Goal} but not vice versa:

(23) a. *Valeria mostró el maestro a si mismo*
Valeria showed the teacher.ACC to himself
'Valeria showed the teacher himself'
b. **Valeria mostró a si mismo al maestro*
Valeria showed himself.ACC to the teacher
'*Valeria showed herself to the teacher'[5] (Cuervo, 2003, p.53)

When it is a clitic-doubled construction hence a low applicative, the dative DP is above the theme so the theme in the accusative DP cannot bind the anaphor in the DP_{DAT} position as shown below in (24):

(24) *Valeria le mostró el maestro a si mismo*
Valeria CL.DAT showed the teacher.ACC himself.DAT
'Valeria showed the teacher to himself' (Cuervo, 2003, p.54)

The contrast between the grammatical (23a) and the ungrammatical (23b) proves that the two structures are syntactically different. For the same reason a possessive in in the direct object cannot be bound by the goal in a PP construction as shown in (25):

(25) **Entregamos sus$_i$ cheques a los trabajadores$_i$*
We-gave their checks.ACC to the workers
'*We gave their checks to the workers' (Cuervo, 2003, p.55)

Compare this with (26) where the possessive in the direct object is bound by a clitic-doubled dative.

(26) *Le presentamos su$_i$ paciente a la doctora$_i$*
CL.DAT we-introduced her$_i$ patient the doctor.DAT
'We introduced the doctor to her patient' (Cuervo, 2003, p.56)

[5]Here 'a' before 'si mismo' is the DOM in Spanish for animate direct objects, and not the dative marker or the preposition.

As shown above, the presence or absence of the clitic inverses the hierarchical relations in the structure. This alternation of low applicative – PP however is only possible for ditransitive predicates in Spanish.

ii. Low-Appl-FROM: The second type of applied arguments in the low applicative configuration in Spanish is the applied sources, which combines with activity verbs like *robar* 'steal', *sacar* 'take' from.

(27) *Pablo le robó la bicicleta a Andreina*
Pablo CL-DAT stole the bicycle.ACC Andreina.DAT
'Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreina' (or Pablo stole Andreina's bicycle)
MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.61)

In (27), the morphological properties are the same as the other types of low applicatives. The clitic is doubled with the dative argument *a Andreina* and *a* is the dative marker.

iii. Low-Appl-AT: Pylkkänen's dichotomy of high and low applicatives as explained in §1.1 allows their semantics to be dependant of their syntactic structure. As the low applicative establishes a relation between two individuals which are the direct and the indirect object, according to her, the low applicative will imply a transfer of possession and therefore would be incompatible with static verbs (Pylkännen, 2002, p.23).

Cuervo on the other hand shows that in Spanish stative vBE verbs can establish a static relation between two individuals and these verbs do not express a transfer relation, not even in a metaphorical way. The dative argument is understood as the possessor or location of the object.

(28) *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience.ACC Valeria.DAT
'Pablo admires Valeria's patience2 (Lit: 'Pablo admires Valeria the patience')
MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.63)

This type of applicatives – possessor applicatives not only combine with vBE verbs, they can also combine with dynamic activity (vGO) verbs such as *besar* 'kiss', *lavar* 'wash', *sostener* 'hold'. Even though the verb is an activity verb, the meaning

of the applied argument is the possessor because there is no transfer relation between the two individuals whatsoever.

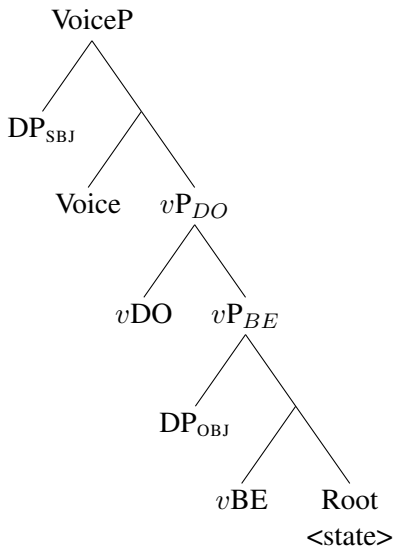
(29) *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT
'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead' (Lit: Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead)
(Cuervo, 2003, p.63)

With the morphosyntactic properties of the low applicative being the same for all the three types, with a verb like *vender* 'sell', we get ambiguity. The same applied argument can be interpreted as the recipient, the source, or the possessor.

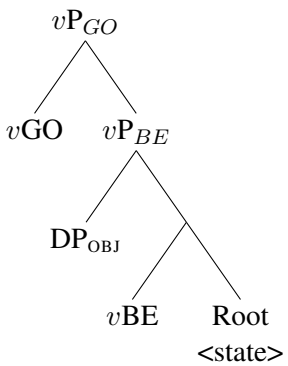
(30) *Valeria le vendió el auto a su hermano*
Valeria CL.DAT sold the car.ACC her brother.DAT
1:'Valeria sold the/her car to her brother'
2:'Valeria sold the car from her brother'
3:'Valeria sold her brother's car' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.71)

In addition to low applicatives, Cuervo (2003) introduces a new type of applicative - affected applicatives - to the established high/low applicative distinction in the literature. In this type of applicative, the verb is a complex bi-eventive verb as in (23a) and (23b) and these events denote a resulting state. In (27) we have a causative which is vP$_{BE}$+vPDO and (23b) represents an inchoative which is vP$_{BE}$+vPDO.

(31) a. Causatives



b. Inchoatives



(Cuervo, 2003, 92)

The dative argument is introduced by an applicative head which is spelled out with the dative clitic and which takes the stative component $v\text{P}_{BE}$ as its complement and combines with a higher v which is either a vDO or a vGO. As a result this dative argument is understood as an affectee, affected by the resultant state.

(32) *Emilio le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
'Emilio broke the radio on Valeria' (Lit: Emilio broke Valeria the radio) MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.91)

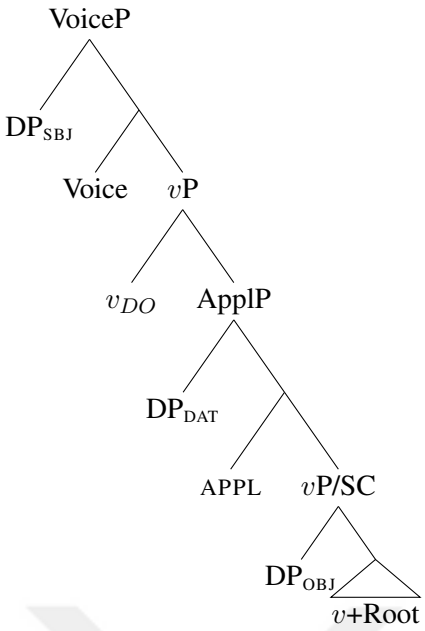
In (32) the dative argument (Valeria) is affected by the resultant state of the radio being broken. The possession relationship is not implied, in fact in this example the radio does not have to belong to Valeria. It is even acceptable in a sentence where dative is not the possessor of the theme DP.

(33) *Pablo le rompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio of the neighbour Valeria.DAT
'Pablo broke the neighbour's radio on Valeria' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.110)

However, in terms of morphology, the affected experiencer (sandwiched) applicative looks exactly the same as the possessor low applicative in Spanish. Moreover, syntactic tests of anaphor binding, possessive binding and weak cross over yield the same results as in DOC. In other words, according binding and weak crossover tests, the dative DP is above the theme DP in the structure.[6] However the applicative is merged lower than the high applicative therefore the structure is in (34):

[6]We will explain the tests more in detail in Chapter 3 in comparison with the results in Judeo Espanyol.

(34)

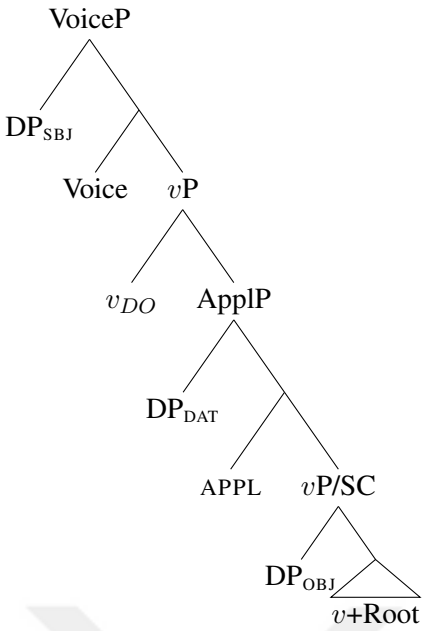


(Cuervo, 2003, p.113)

The structure in (34) shows that the affected experiencer is above the $v\text{P}_{BE}$ as its complement and it is merged below the second layer of the verb which is the vDO in this causative structure. Cuervo argues that for the affectedness reading, the Appl head must take a vP as its complement because the affected individual is related to an event. This structure is not identical as a high applicative, though because it is still below the second vP layer which is vDO.

When the scope is tested for the affected experiencers in Spanish, the result shows that the dative is not in the same minimal domain as the object, following Bruening (2001) as cited by Cuervo (2003). The dative is above the accusative, however they are not in the same minimal domain.

(35)



(36) *Emilio le abrió cada puerta a un actor (distinto)*
Emilio CL.DAT opened each door.ACC an actor.DAT different
'Emilio opened each door for a (different) actor' cada>una (Cuervo, 2003, p.107)

Here in (35) and (36) Cuervo (2003) does not have a very conclusive judgement because it is difficult to obtain judgements in Spanish, however states that it is possible to interpret *a un actor* under the scope of *cada*. This contradicts with the outcome of scope judgements in DOCs in Spanish where we get a frozen scope as in (37).

(37) a. *Andres le mando cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto)*
Andres CL.DAT sent each painting a museum.DAT different
'Andres sent a (different) museum each painting' *cada>un, MS

b. *Carolina le llevo un ariculo distinto a cada revista*
Carolina CL.DAT took an article.ACC (different) each magazine.DAT
'Carolina took each magazine a (different) article' cada>un, (Cuervo, 2003, p.61)

As "*quantifier raising cannot disrupt the hierarchical order of two arguments that share the same domain*" (Bruening (2001) as cited by Cuervo (2003)), she concludes that in DOCs in Spanish the direct object and the dative are in the same domain whereas in affected experiencer applicatives they cannot be in the same domain. To sum up the findings of Cuervo (2003) for applicatives in Spanish;

- The dative clitic is taken as the head of the Applicative Phrase.
- The morpheme 'a' marks the dative case when we have an applicative, i.e. when the clitic is doubled. When the clitic is not doubled with a true directional verb, then we have a PP and the morpheme 'a' is a preposition.
- Three types of low applicatives are possible as to their semantics: recipient, source and possessor applicatives.
- When the verb is complex and a dative is merged above the first layer of the verb that denotes a resultant state, the dative is understood as an affectee. This type of applicative is not a low applicative but syntactically sandwiched between the two layers of a bi-eventive verb.

2.3 Tonyalı (2015)

Tonyalı (2015) studies the non-structural datives and proposes that Turkish can be qualified as a high applicative language. In Turkish applicatives code benefactives, malefectives and experiencers, but never possession according to Tonyalı (2015).[7]

If we were to attest a low applicative construction, the only good candidate would be those with a verb that denotes transfer of possession and involves a dative argument and an accusative theme. These are prototypical ditransitive verbs. Tonyalı (2015) concludes that they are postpositional phrases (PPs) rather than low applicatives or DOCs in Turkish based on evidence from scope facts, idiomatic constructions and binding. She also follows Folli & Harley (2006) as cited by Tonyalı (2015) that "goal and path PPs of motion verbs are generated as VP internal arguments" (Tonyalı, 2015, p.85)

(38) a. *Hasarlı ürün-ü$_i$ pro$_{i/j}$ mağaza-sın-a iade et-ti-m.*
damaged product-ACC store-3SG.POSS-DAT return do-PST-1SG
'I returned the product to its store.' DO>IO

[7] Throughout the thesis, the theoretical discussions and data on Turkish is taken from Tonyalı (2015) unless otherwise stated.

b. *[pro$_{i/j}$ mağaza-sın-a]$_k$ hasarlı ürün-ü$_i$ t_k bu sabah iade et-ti-m.*
store-3SG.POSS-DAT damaged product-ACC this morning return do-PST-1SG
'I returned the product to its store this morning.' O>DO, (Tonyalı, 2015, p.26)

Here the accusative theme DO binds into the dative argument in (38a) and even after scrambling, this binding relationship is maintained. According to Tonyalı (2015) this is explained by the goal going under A' bar movement above the theme. The goal reconstructs and can be bound by the theme which c-commands it.

Tonyalı (2015) also provides evidence from idiomatic expressions to show that Turkish lacks low applicatives. She observes that phrasal idioms in Turkish exhibit both the Theme>Goal and Goal>Theme ordering and once they are scrambled, either we get an ungrammatical sentence, or the idiomatic meaning is lost. This evidence from idiomatic constructions suggests that the Turkish both Theme>Goal and Goal>Theme orders are base generated, and do not result from a derivation by movement.

(39) a. *Ali bana Hanya-yı Konya-yı göster-di.*
Ali I.DAT Hania-ACC Konya-ACC show-PST
'Ali showed me what's what.' Goal>Theme
b. **Ali Hanya-yı Konya-yı bana göster-di.*
Ali Hania-ACC Konya-ACC I.DAT show-PST

(40) a. *Onu Allah-a havale et-ti-m.*
3SG.ACC god-DAT transfer do-PST-1SG
'I will leave (have left) his/her punishment to God.' (Lit: 'I have sent/transferred her/him to God.') Theme>Goal
b. **Allah-a onu havale et-ti-m.* (Tonyalı, 2015, p.36)
god-DAT 3SG.ACC transfer do-PST-1SG

On the other hand, non-core datives can only be accounted for as high applicatives in Turkish.

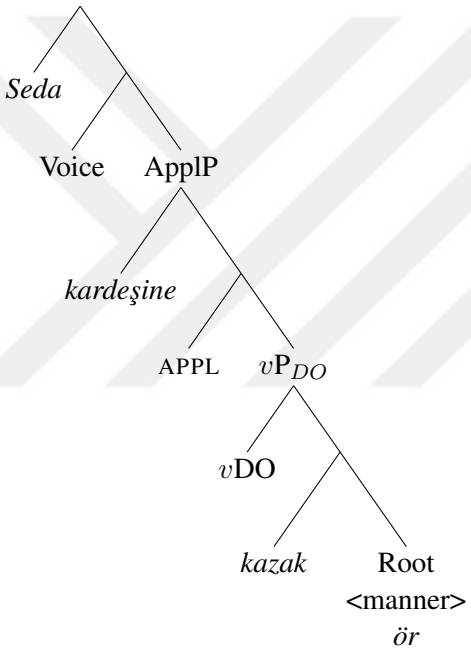
Tonyalı (2015) analyses the event structure of verbs with which a non-core dative can combine. She concludes that these tend to occur with simplex events rather than complex events. They always merge above the VP layer, so as explained above, they are always high applicatives.

A non-core dative in Turkish can combine with a simplex activity verb (vPDO) as recipient-benefactives:

(41) *Seda kardeş-in-e* *kazak* *ör-dü.*
Seda sibling-3SG.POSS-DAT jumper knit-PST
'Seda knitted her sister a jumper.' (Lit: 'Seda did jumper knitting for her sister.') (Tonyalı, 2015, p.109)

This dative is licensed by a high ApplP taking the whole vPDO as its argument. She represents the structure as in (42):

(42) (Tonyalı, 2015, p.114)



A high applicative structure can also be observed in Turkish with simplex verbs of change. The dative in this case is interpreted as an experiencer, recipient or bene-/malefactive who is externally related to an event of happening or rising.

(43) *Kız-a* *piyango/ikramiye çık-tı.*
girl-DAT lottery/prize emerge-PST
'The girl won the lottery.'

A bi-eventive event that denotes a resultant state cannot combine with a high applicative head in Turkish. Therefore, a sentence as in (44) is ungrammatical. Compare it with a sentence like in (43) where the verb is a simple change of movement.

(44) **Seda-ya dondurma eri-di.*
Seda-DAT ice cream melt-PST
'The ice cream melted on Seda'

2.4 Possessor applicatives according to Lee-Schoenfeld (2006)

Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) studies the linguistic phenomenon where a single nominal acts like a possessor and as a complement to the verb where it gets an affected reading.

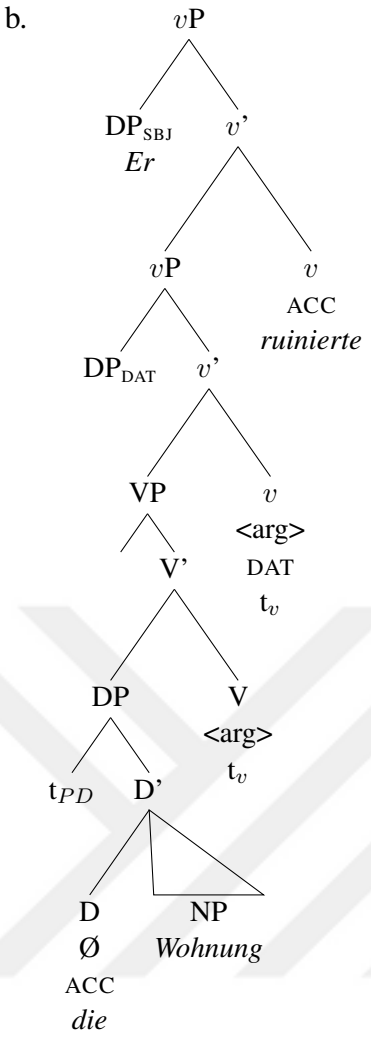
(45) *Tim hat der Nachbarin das Auto gewaschen*
Tim has the neighbour.DAT.F the car washed
'Tim washed the neighbour's car'

She points out that when we assume a deep structure in syntax, all core semantic roles are fixed before movement operations, therefore a nominal cannot be assigned a new or additional semantic role. She argues that it is possible to explain the dual functioning by a theory which eliminates this deep structure.

She proposes a structure in which a possessor – possessee complex starts as the DP sister of a V where it fulfills the theme role. Above in the structure there is a functional v head which assigns the male/benefactive role. If the bundle of features selected from the lexicon fails to provide for another nominal suitable for assignment of this role, then the possessor DP moves "from the specifier position of the possessor-possessee complex to the specifier of the affectee vP" (Lee-Schoenfeld, 2006, p.37). Here the possessor dative checks dative case and receives its additional θ-role (male/benefactive). The dative case assigned to the possessor is inherent case. The structure proposed is given in (46) for the sentence 'He ruined my place'.

(46) a. *Er ruinierte mir die Wohnung*
He ruined 1.DAT the place
'He ruined my place'

b.



Adapted from Lee-Schoenfeld (2006)

As a result, Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) argues for the possibility of a moved argument to receive θ-role with this data from German. The moving element checks its formal features as a direct result of the movement. This way she captures the nature of affectee datives which are simultaneously possessors.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we tried to give a summary of the analysis of different types of applicatives proposed in the literature. We explained that according to Pylkännen (2002) the structure of applied arguments can be resumed by the dichotomy of low/high applicatives. On the other hand Cuervo (2003) adds to this two way distinction a third category of applicatives which takes the first vP of a bi-eventive verb and which denotes an affected experiencer in Spanish.

As to the semantics of low applicatives, Pylkkänen argues that the applied argument can express either a goal or a source, arguing that a stative verb cannot combine with a low applicative head. On the other hand, Cuervo proposes that stative verbs successfully combine with low applicative heads in Spanish and denote a possession relationship between the two individuals.

When it comes to Turkish, a potential language of influence for JE, lacks low applicatives and can only be qualified as a high applicative language. In the following chapter we will observe the potential low applicative constructions in JE in the light of this information.

CHAPTER 3

INVENTORY OF APPLICATIVES AND DOCs IN JE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will introduce the types of applicatives available in Judeo Espanyol (JE) in comparison to the applicative patterns found in Spanish. We will particularly focus on double object constructions in JE and question whether they can be analyzed as low applicative constructions. We will argue that double object constructions cannot be analyzed as low applicatives in JE but they constitute either PPs or high applicatives.

3.2 Potential applicative constructions in JE

In this section, we will take a look at the potential applicative constructions in JE in comparison to Spanish.

3.2.1 Potential low applicatives in JE

Let us start with low applicative constructions first. Recall that in Spanish, applicative heads can combine with DPs which gives us low applicatives as proposed by Cuervo (2003). As to their semantics, low applicatives can have recipient, source or possessor meanings. These structures correspond with double object constructions (DOCs) in English and when the clitic is not doubled, they are PPs in Spanish. In this chapter we use the term DOC/low applicative interchangeably to refer to low applicatives. We use the term ditransitive to refer to PP constructions which are not low applicatives.

The type of constructions which are the best candidates for low applicatives in JE are seemingly dative constructions which express a goal/recipient and the constructions which look like possessors, respectively in (1), (2) and (3):

(1) Goal/Recipient:
Moiz (le) embio un livro a Leon
Moiz CL.DAT sent a book (to/DAT) Leon
'Moiz sent a book to Leon' JE

(2) *Nesim (le) kuzyo una chaketa a Leon*
Nesim CL.DAT sewed a jacket (to/DAT) Leon
'Nesim sewed a jacket for Leon' JE

(3) Possessor:
A Dora$_i$ le$_i$ esta erguelyendo la kavesa
(to/Dat) Dora CL.DAT is hurting the head
'Dora has a headache' JE

In sentence (3), the dative clitic 'le' is coindexed with the dative argument 'Dora'. However the same sentence can be uttered with Dora in genitive case marked with de as in (4) when it is not fronted, but the dative clitic remains:

(4) *Le$_i$ esta erguelyendo la kavesa de Dora$_i$*
CL.DAT is hurting the head of Dora
'Dora has a headache' (Lit: 'Dora's head is hurting to her') JE

A sentence like (4) is ungrammatical in Spanish, because in Spanish a dative clitic and its coreferential NP must always bear the same case.

Unlike Spanish, a dative can never express a source in JE. Recall that in Spanish, a low applicative head can combine with dynamic activity verbs and get the semantics of source (Cuervo, 2003):

(5) *Pablo le sacó la bicicleta a Andreina*
Pablo CL.DAT took away the bicycle Andreina.DAT
'Pablo took the bicycle (away) from Andreina' MS,(Cuervo, 2003, p.63)

In (5) the dative DP 'a Andreina' is understood as the source and the low applicative here relates the two individuals 'Andreina' and 'the bike' via the source applicative. This sentence in (5) is deemed unacceptable in JE with the intended source meaning. Our informants all utter the same information with the structure below in (6):

(6) *Robi kito la bisiklet de Abraham*
Robi took away the bicycle from Abraham
'Robi took the bicycle away from Abraham' JE

To summarize, we have potentially the double object constructions and possessor applicatives in JE. JE definitely lacks source applicatives which are licit in Spanish.

3.2.2 Potential sandwiched applicatives in JE

Recall that the second type of applicative in Spanish according to Cuervo (2003) is the affected experiencers. In such structures, the dative combines with a bi-eventive verb, either a causative or an inchoative. And it is sandwiched between the two layers of the complex vP. In JE, (7) would be unacceptable.

(7) *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
'Pablo broke the radio on Valeria' (Lit: 'Pablo broke Valeria the radio') MS

In JE, the only causative with an 'a' phrase that we have encountered is the following:

(8) *Leon (le) avrio la puerta a Süzet*
Leon CL.DAT opened the door Süzet.DAT
'Leon opened the door for Süzet' (Lit: 'Leon opened Süzet the door') JE

In Spanish an example of an affected experiencer applicative with an inchoative verb is in (9).

(9) *A Carolina se le rompió el florero*
Carolina.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT broke the vase
'The vase broke on Carolina' (Lit: 'To Carolina broke the vase') MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.122)

In JE, with a restricted group of verbs a dative can combine with an inchoative as in (10):

(10) *A mi madre se le kemo la komida*
My mother.DAT se CL.DAT burnt.SG the food
'The food got burnt on my mother' JE

3.2.3 Potential high applicatives in JE

In JE a high applicative can take stative unaccusatives with a vPBE and a dynamic non-agentive with vPGO as a complement, as in (11) and (12) respectively:

(11) *A Robi le afito una koza ermoza*
Robi.DAT CL.DAT happened a thing beautiful
'Something beautiful happened to Robi' JE

(12) *Al puevlo le plazio este filmo*
The people.DAT CL.DAT pleased this film.NOM
'The people liked this film' JE

Spanish has a larger inventory of high applicatives. Datives in Spanish can merge above the VP layer with complex verbs and yield a meaning of unintentional responsibility with inchoative verbs like *quemar* 'burn'. JE does not express unintentional responsibility through datives or any other applied argument.

Another type of high applicative that Spanish has and JE lacks is the ethical datives which are defective benefactives, in other words "a full pronominal DP corresponding to the benefactive clitic is ungrammatical" (Cuervo, 2003, p.195).

(13) a. *Juanita ya le camina*
Juanita already CL.DAT walks
'Juanita can already walk on him/her' MS

b. *Me le_i dieron un helado al $nino_i$*
CL.1.DAT CL.DAT gave an ice cream the kid.DAT
'They gave the kid an ice cream on me' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.194)

3.2.4 Interim summary

The above discussion has compared the potential applicative constructions in JE with their Spanish counterparts as summarized in Table 2 below:

In this thesis, we will focus on the applicative patterns in JE which are considered to be low applicatives in Spanish. In the following we will start with the double object constructions in JE which are taken to be low applicatives in Spanish and show that they behave quite differently constituting either PP constructions or high applicatives in JE.

Table 2. Potential Applicatives in JE Mapped onto The Typology Proposed by Cuervo (2003)

Applicative	Low	Low	Low	Sandwiched	Sandwiched	High	High
1^{st}	DP	DP	DP	vP	vP	vP	vP
Meaning	Recepient	Possessor	Possessor	Affected	Affected	Experiencer	Benef/Malef
Clitic doubling?	DP_{DAT}	DP_{DAT}	DP_{GEN}	DP_{DAT}	DP_{GEN}	DP_{DAT}	DP_{DAT}
vBE	...	be left, lack	hurt	...	...	please, seem	...
vDO	send, sew	...	steal, cover	...	...	...	...
vGO	...	...	leave, tie	...	...	happen	...
vGO + vBE	...	...	...	burn (unacc.), wilt	burn (unacc.), wilt	...	...
vDO + vBE	...	...	...	...	break, burn (caus.)	...	...

3.3 Ditransitives in JE

A typical ditransitive in JE is illustrated in (14) where we have a direct object and an IO which is always marked with *a*:

(14) *Jak (les) embio los livros a sus padres.*
Jak CL.PL.DAT sent the books to his parents/his parents.DAT
'Jak sent his parents the books/sent the books to his parents' JE

In (14) we observe that the verb is a ditransitive and the morpheme 'a' is used before the IO. We get the same *a* in JE also for single argument verbs denoting directionality. The morpheme 'a' expresses goal in JE as in (15) with a single argument verb of change like *abashar* 'to go down' and *suvir* 'go up':

(15) *abasha a la uerta, . . . i suva a su kamareta*
goes down to the garden . . . and goes up to his room
'He goes down to the garden and then goes up to his room' JE, (BAP 11500, S.K)

This sentence would be ungrammatical if the DP expressing the goal was doubled with a dative clitic:

(16) **Le$_i$ abasha a la uerta$_i$*
CL.DAT he goes down to the garden
'He goes down to the garden' JE

These sentences look morphologically alike to the potential applicatives that we presented above. The same morpheme appears in all these sentences with directionality in their meaning.

Recall that Cuervo presents two different analyses of the marker "a": one as a dative case marker in applicative constructions doubled with a dative clitic and one as a regular PP construction which does not allow for clitic doubling.

The question here is to determine whether this is a dative case marker or a preposition in JE. In other terms we will pose the question of whether it is a low applicative construction in JE where a is analysed as a dative case marker constituting a double-object construction or whether what we have is a Theme and a PP forming a

ditransitive where a acts as a preposition, following the different structures in Spanish as proposed by Cuervo (2003). For the time being, we will call the phrases with the morpheme a 'a-phrases' to be neutral as to their analysis.

Remember that Cuervo (2003) takes the dative clitic *le* as the spell out of the applicative head (low applicative) when the clitic is doubled. We will also assume this for JE.

When informants were asked to utter the sentences with a directional verb as given below, there was no consensus on whether the clitic should be doubled with an a-phrase. We can say that there are two groups of informants in terms of their judgements about clitic doubling with directional verbs. While a group of them finds the clitic doubled version ungrammatical, the rest of them found both versions acceptable.

(17) a. *Moiz (*le) embio un livro a Leon*
Moiz CL.DAT sent a book to Leon
'Moiz sent a book to Leon' JE, two informants

b. *Moiz (le) embio un livro a Leon*
Moiz CL.DAT sent a book (to/DAT) Leon
'Moiz sent a book to Leon' JE, four informants

The same group of informants had the same judgements for the following sentence with the verb *kuzir* 'to sew' or *dezinyir* 'to design' which involve a metaphorical directionality of transfer of possession.

(18) a. *Ceki (*le) dezinyo una chaketa a Jak*
Ceki *CL.DAT designed a jacket to Jak
'Ceki designed a jacket for Jak' JE, two informants

b. *Ceki (le) dezinyo una çaketa a Jak*
Ceki CL.DAT designed a jacket (to/DAT) Jak
'Ceki designed a jacket for Jak' JE, four informants

The difference between these two groups of verbs like 'send' and 'sew' is that the former has a true directionality semantics, whereas the latter only implies directionality in a metaphorical way. For verbs like sew in Spanish, a sentence like (18b) with no clitic is deemed ungrammatical.

In natural speech, we have the following sentences in our corpus from the BAP 11500 Project with verbs *kantar* 'to sing' and *dizir* 'to say', in both sentences the clitic is doubled with an NP.

(19) *A Eda le kanto una kantika*
Eda.DAT CL.DAT singPST a song.ACC
'S/he sang a song for Eda' (Lit: 'S/he sang Eda a song') JE, (BAP 11500 K.K)

(20) *A mozotros mos diziya kuando me va murir las vaj a kemar*
To us CL.DAT.1PL said when CL.REFL.1 will die them you will burn
'She was saying to us when I die you will burn them' JE, (BAP 11500 N.K)

However, the observation in these sentences from natural speech is that these sentences do not bear normal stress, but we have the topicalization of the a-phrase. This is an example of the phenomenon called Clitic Left Dislocation found also in Spanish (Zagona, 2001). The Topic here is analysed as a clausal adjunct rather than involving A' movement. It is assumed that there is a covert pronoun pro in the position of the topicalised indirect object (IO). The clitic, and not the topicalised IO, licenses the covert pronoun pro (Zagona, 2001, p.239). Other than these two sentences we do not have a clitic-doubled example of recipient DPs in our corpus.

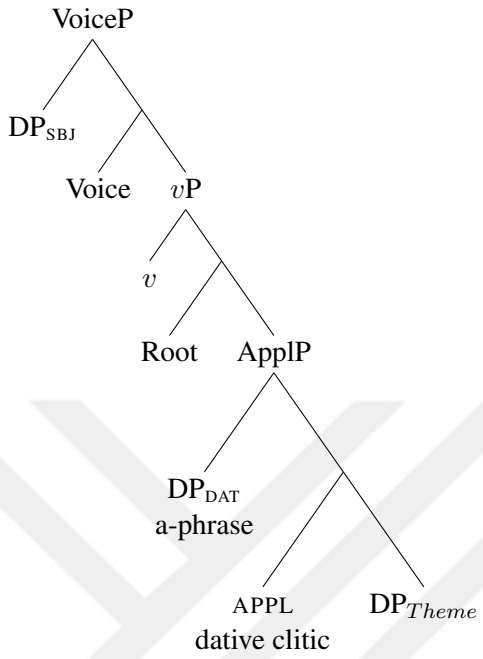
The findings we laid out above do not give us a sharp two-way possibility to use true directional verbs with a direct and an indirect object. The clitic doubling is possible for some speakers and for some sentences, which do not present a coherent pattern to lead us to draw syntactic conclusions as to make a distinction between the two structures.

Let us recall the syntactic evidence presented by Cuervo (2003) that shows that the clitic doubled construction is a low applicative whereas the construction with no clitic is a PP.

The binding relations and weak cross over effects show that in the low applicative construction the dative DP is higher in the hierarchy in Spanish, and we have the dative clitic which is the head of the ApplP. The structure of a low

applicative assumed by Cuervo (2003) is shown in (21). Note that a-phrase is in the Spec of ApplP, while the dative clitic is taken to be its head:

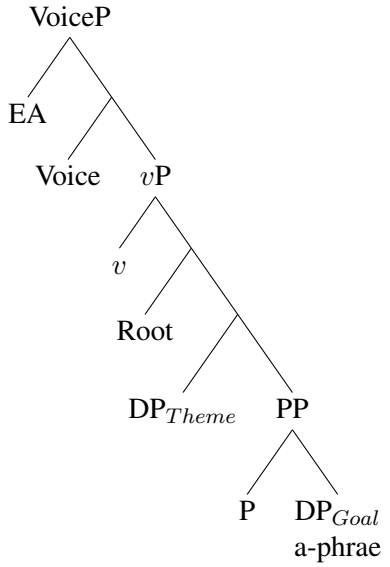
(21)



Adapted from (Cuervo, 2003, p.52)

Spanish shows same asymmetries in binding relations as English exhibits c-command asymmetries in dative alternations and DOC. On the other hand, in a PP which is a construction without the dative clitic, as the direct object is higher than the PP in Spanish, we would expect that it can bind an anaphor in the PP. The structure of a PP with a true directional ditransitive verb is shown in (22).

(22)



Adapted from (Cuervo, 2003, p.51)

In the two sentences below in (23) we have examples of PP constructions with ditransitives in Spanish – for this reason note that the dative clitic is not there – so the theme DP *el maestro* 'the teacher' binds the anaphor, but not vice versa.

(23) a. *Valeria mostró el maestro a si mismo*
Valeria showed the teacher.ACC to himself
'Valeria showed the teacher to himself' MS

b. **Valeria mostró a si mismo al maestro*
Valeria showed himself.ACC to the teacher
'Valeria showed himself to the teacher'[8] (Cuervo, 2003, p.47)

Another evidence that Cuervo (2003) establishes is the binding of possessives. As a result of the same hierarchical relationship between the object and the dative, the predictions resulting from the structures in (21) and (22) is as follows (*su* is the third person possessive for the ease of understanding):

(24) Predictions for binding of possessive *su*
a. In the PP, the string *su* > PP will be ungrammatical, the string DP > su will be grammatical.
b. In the DOC, the string *su* > DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ will be grammatical, the string DP > su will be ungrammatical. (Cuervo, 2003, p.48)

[8]Here *a* in example (23b) is the Differentiated Object Marker (DOM) in Spanish for animate direct objects, and not the dative marker or the preposition.

The results in Spanish bear out these predictions. In (25) where the clitic is not doubled, we have a PP therefore the accusative binds the possessive *su*. On the other hand in (26) where we have a dative clitic, the dative DP binds the possessive *su* even though in the word order the dative comes after the theme DP.

(25) *Presentamos (a) la doctora$_i$ a su$_i$ paciente*
we introduced the doctor.ACC to her$_i$ patient
'We introduced the doctor her patient'[9] MS

(26) *Le presentamos su$_i$ paciente a la doctora$_i$*
CL.DAT we introduced her patient.ACC the doctor.DAT
'We introduced the doctor her patient' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.49)

As the difference in these two sentences shows, the only surface difference here is the presence or the absence of the clitic, so it is an evidence as to the syntactic difference of these two structures.

Scopal relations between the theme and the goal are also presented by Cuervo (2003) as evidence for the syntactic structures of clitic-doubled and the Theme DP-Goal PP versions in Spanish.

She claims that the scope between the theme object and the PP is free with each and *a*, whereas we obtain frozen scope in clitic-doubled DOCs.

(27) a. *Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto)*
Andrés sent each painting.ACC to a museum (different)
'Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum' each>a, MS

b. *Carolina llevó un articulo (distinto) a cada revista*
Carolina took an article.ACC different to each magazine
'Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine' each>a (Cuervo, 2003, p.53)

In (27a) and (27b) we get a distributive meaning in both sentences which have a PP construction, so we see that even if we change the order of 'each' and 'a' in Spanish, they can have scope over each other. This is what Cuervo (2003) refers to as free scope.

[9]Here *a* before *la doctora* is the DOM in Spanish for animate direct objects, and not the dative marker or the preposition.

We tried to apply the binding and scope tests with our speakers of JE. Firstly, with the binding of anaphors, it was difficult to obtain any type of sentence with a binding relationship between the direct object and the indirect object. One of the informants was able to give the following sentences:

(28) a. *Viktor amostro la profesora$_i$ a eya mezma$_i$*
Viktor showed the teacher.ACC to herself
'Viktor showed the teacher$_i$ to herself$_i$' JE

b. *Viktor le amostro la profesora$_i$ a eya mezma$_i$*
Viktor CL.DAT showed the teacher.ACC herself.DAT
'Viktor showed herself the teacher' JE

Note that in (28b) the clitic is doubled and in (28a) it is not. The binding relation shows the same result though.

If the clitic doubled version is a DOC, we would expect that the direct object cannot bind the anaphor, as the DOC reverses the hierarchical relations. However, in JE both constructions can bind the anaphor and the presence of the clitic does not inverse the binding relations. As seen in (28a) and in (28b) the direct object can bind into the a-phrase. This is in line with a PP construction analysis of the marker a where theme is higher than the recipient/goal IO.

The binding test of possessives shows a similar result in the sense that we have a PP construction in JE where the direct objects binds the a-phrase but not the low applicative where the a-phrase c-commands and binds the direct object.

(29) a. **Le amostrimos su hazino$_i$ al doktor$_i$*
CL.DAT we showed his patient to the doctor
'We showed the doctor his patient' JE

b. *(Le) amostrimos al doktor$_i$ su$_i$ hazino*
CL.DAT we showed to the doctor/the doctor.DAT his patient
'We showed the doctor his patient'

(30) a. **Le di su$_i$ chek a Ahmet$_i$*
CL.DAT I gave his check Ahmet.DAT/to Ahmet
'I gave Ahmet$_i$ his$_i$ check'

b. *Le di a Ahmet$_i$ su$_i$ chek*
CL.DAT I gave Ahmet.DAT/to Ahmet his check
'I gave Ahmet$_i$ his$_i$ check'

In both (29a) and (30a) under canonical word order which is Theme>Dative, the possessor cannot bind into the dative. When the word order is reversed, then the sentence becomes grammatical with the intended meaning of the possessor and the dative being co-referential in (29b) and (30b). In both sentences we observe a kind of scrambling to be able to obtain the necessary binding relations.

Note in (29b) again that the presence of the clitic does not change the structure, in other words does not reverse the hierarchical relations.

Another informant understands the following sentence as the possessive referring to a third person different than the recipient DP Ahmet, he cannot understand the possessor being the same person as Ahmet:

(31) **Yo le di el chek suyo$_i$ a Ahmet$_i$*
I CL.DAT gave the check his$_i$ to Ahmet$_i$
'*I gave his check to Ahmet' (intended: 'Ahmet gets his check')

This judgement confirms the prediction that "in the PP, the string su > PP will be ungrammatical". If we had a low applicative construction where the DP_{DAT} is higher than the DP_{ACC}, we would expect the IO (Ahmet) to bind the possessive. But the possessive cannot be understood as co-indexed with the IO.

As we conclude from these examples, the judgements of the speakers indicate that the direct object is higher in the hierarchy than the indirect object. The presence of the dative clitic does not reverse the hierarchy unlike the case in Spanish.

When we questioned the scopal relations between each and a in JE, we asked the informants to produce a sentence that expresses the situation: Dora has five paintings, and she donated a different painting to five different museums. We get the following two sentences from different speakers:

(32) a. *Dora dio kada tablo a un müze*
Dora gave each painting.ACC to a museum
'Dora sent each painting to a museum' each>a, JE

b. *Dora dio un tablo a kada müze*
Dora gave a painting.ACC to each museum
'Dora gave (a different) painting to each museum' each>a, JE

This is also consistent with the prediction that the PP structure has free scope. Even if we change the word order, 'each' can scope over 'a' and we get a distributive reading in both (32a) and (32b) in parallel to what we observe in Spanish PP constructions.

The informants in this case found the clitic-doubled sentences ungrammatical, as shown in (33).

(33) **Dora le dio un tablo a kada müze*
Dora CL.DAT gave a painting to each museum
'Dora gave a (different) painting a each museum.' JE

The ungrammaticality of (33) is probably due the animacy restriction on the indirect object, that we will develop below §4.4 and in Chapter 4. When the indirect object is animate, the speakers find the clitic-doubled version of these constructions grammatical (i.e. 27b, 28b, 29b), in other words when the IO is animate, clitic doubling is optional.

In DOC constructions in Spanish with a doubled clitic however, we get a frozen scope where the direct object cannot take scope over the dative.

(34) a. *Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto)*
Andrés CL.DAT sent each painting.ACC a museum.DAT (different)
'Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum' *cada>un, MS
b. *Carolina le llevó un articulo (distinto) a cada revista*
Carolina CL.DAT took an article.ACC (different) each magazineDAT
'Carolina took each magazine a (different) article' cada>un, (Cuervo, 2003, p.61)

In (34) we have DOCs and we see that in (a) 'each/cada' cannot scope over 'a/un' whereas in (b) it does. We get this result which is inconsistent with the word order in Spanish because in the structure as shown in (21) in a DOC/low applicative the dative is superior in the hierarchy than the accusative.

To sum up, the syntactic tests of binding and scope for directional verbs in JE show that;

- The 'a' phrase is lower than the accusative.

- Clitic doubling does not change the hierarchical position of the two constituents.
- When the NP in the 'a' phrase is animate, the clitic doubling is optional. As we saw in 33), clitic doubling with an inanimate makes the sentence ungrammatical.

Given these patterns, we argue that ditransitives in JE pattern with Theme-PP constructions where a is analysed as a P head. When the clitic is doubled, we do not still have a low applicative construction as the hierarchy shows. However, the behaviour of the dative clitic which can only be co-referential with animate NPs brings up the question of the nature of the clitic. This finding indicates that the clitic is sensitive to animate and sentient individuals. Therefore, for JE we are forced to make a dual analysis of the structures with or without the clitic doubling.

3.4 The function of the clitic and animacy restriction

Our observations so far indicate that verbs with a directionality in meaning such as *embiar* 'send', *dar* 'give' and also verbs with a metaphorical directionality in meaning such as *kuzir* 'sew', *dezinyir* 'design' can involve the clitic doubling with the IO or not. We have also seen that the clitic can only be optional when the doubled IO is animate. Compare (35a) and (35b).

(35) a. *Le trushe el chek al devdor*
CL.DAT I-took the check.ACC the debtor.DAT
'I took the check to the debtor'

b. **Le trushe el chek a la banka*
CL.DAT I-took the check.ACC the bank.DAT
'I took the check to the bank'

With these findings in place, we propose that the structure with the clitic is a different structure, even though in both structures the DO is higher in the hierarchy than the IO, as we showed in §3.3.

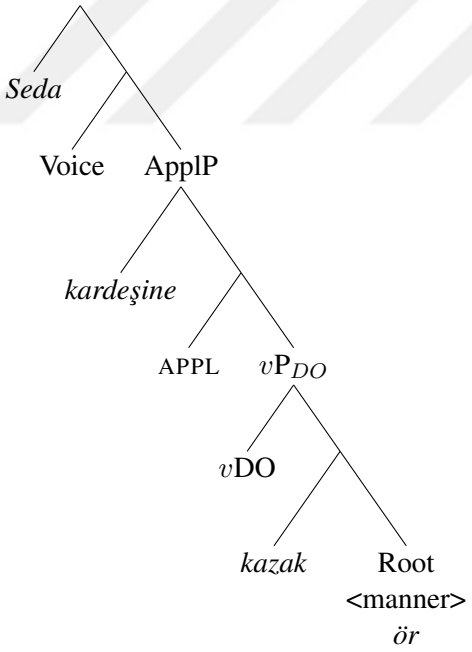
We argue that the IO argument in a structure such as (35a) is introduced by an applicative head and the clitic in this case is the spell out of the applicative head.

The IO is somewhat affected or at least is susceptible to be affected, as this slot is reserved to animate individuals. As the affected argument is higher than VP, then the applicative relates the individual to an event, thus what we have is a high applicative and not a DOC/low applicative.

For the verbs with a directionality in meaning in a metaphorical way such as *kuzir* 'sew' or *dezinyir* 'design', the affectedness meaning for the recipient is clear. In fact in Turkish these constructions are analyzed by Tonyalı (2015) as high applicatives with a benefactive-recipient meaning, as shown in (36), repeated from (41) and (42) in §2.3 above:

(36) *Seda kardeş-in-e kazak ör-dü.*
Seda sibling-3SG.POSS-DAT jumper knit-PST
'Seda knitted her sister a jumper.' (Lit: 'Seda did jumper knitting for her sister.') (Tonyalı, 2015, p.109)

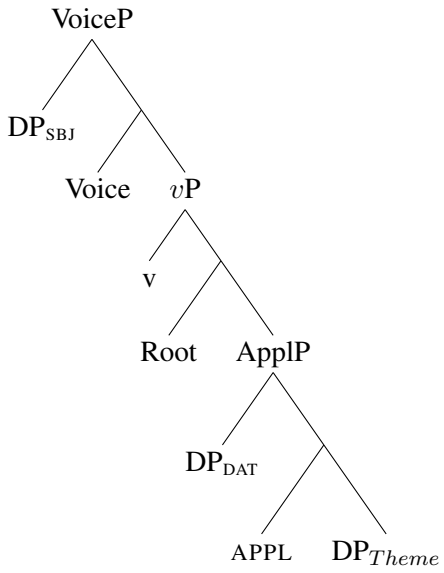
(37) (Tonyalı, 2015, p.114)



On the other hand, compare with the structure for Spanish, as proposed by Cuervo (2003), the same verbs merge with low applicatives with no affectedness involved structurally:

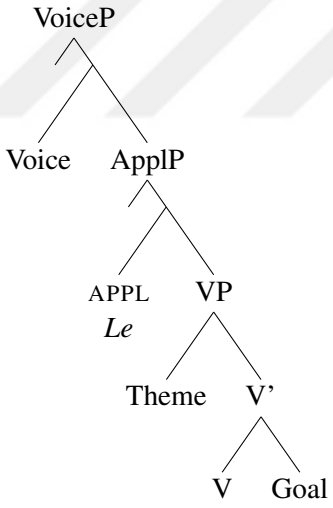
(38) a. *Valeria le diseñó una pollera a Andreina*
Valeria CL.DAT designed a skirt Andreina.DAT
'Valeria designed Andreina a skirt' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.60)

b. (Cuervo, 2003, p.51)



The data we present above for JE indicate that the IO is lower in the structure but the applicative phrase merges above the VP level. We propose the following structure of applicatives with directional verbs in JE:

(39)



As a result, we suggest that when the clitic is doubled, we have a high applicative in JE for verbs of directionality in meaning. The semantics that the applicative contributes is that the applied argument is understood as an affectee recipient. As we will develop further in Chapter 4, we will extend this analysis to possessor/affected applicatives and provide a uniform analysis for possessor and recipient applicatives as high applicatives in JE.

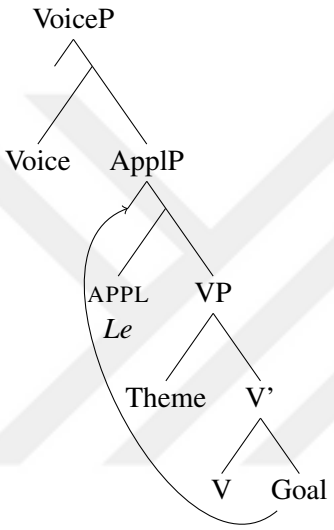
With this analysis we can also explain the scrambling phenomena that we observed in the binding tests. Below are the two examples ((29b) and (30b) above):

(40) a. **(Le) amostrimos al doktor$_i$ su$_i$ hazino*
CL.DAT we showed to the doctor/the doctor.DAT his patient
'We showed the doctor his patient' JE

b. *Le di a Ahmet$_i$ su$_i$ chek*
CL.DAT I gave Ahmet.DAT/to Ahmet his check
'I gave Ahmet$_i$ his$_i$ check'

In these sentences in (40) the canonical word order Theme>Dative is changed through scrambling to Dative>Theme so that the dative can bind into the possessive.

(41)



The goal moves to the specifier position of the ApplP as shown in (39), therefore being able to bind the theme. We argue that the applicative head bears an inherent case feature however the Theme bears a structural case, therefore the Theme does not constitute an intervener for the Goal to move across.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we looked at what the potential low applicatives are in JE. We especially examined the constructions with verbs with a directionality in meaning such as *embiar* 'send', *dar* 'give' and also with a metaphorical directionality in meaning such as *kuzir* 'sew', *dezinyir* 'design'. In these constructions the goal/recipient is marked with the morpheme *a* and when this DP is animate, it is

optionally doubled with the dative clitic *le*. Whether we have clitic doubling or not, the goal/recipient DP is lower in the structure than the theme DP.

This contrasts with Spanish as in Spanish two different structures DOC/PP are observed just like in English. We conclude from this finding that recipients and goals are, unlike Spanish, not low applicatives in JE. In this chapter we will conclude that the versions without the clitic-doubling are PPs. As the clitic is sensitive to animacy, we take this as an applicative but a high applicative. We analyzed them as high applicatives where the applied argument is the recipient-benefactive.

This dual will also explain why different speakers have different judgements for sentences like (17) and (18), repeated below in (42):

(42) a. *Moiz (*le) embio un livro a Leon*
Moiz CL.DAT sent a book to Leon
'Moiz sent a book to Leon' JE, two informants

b. *Moiz (le) embio un livro a Leon*
Moiz CL.DAT sent a book (to/DAT) Leon
'Moiz sent a book to Leon' JE, four informants

As shown in (42a), some speakers find clitic doubling ungrammatical with verbs with a directionality in meaning like 'send', and some find both clitic doubled and non-doubled versions acceptable. If we take the clitic-doubled version as an applicative, we are able to provide an explanation proposing that in the mind of some speakers applicatives are not compatible with directional verbs at all, they can only combine with PPs. The difference of judgements amongst the limited number of informants who participated in our questions for this thesis can be due to several factors: Their levels of competency of the language may vary. Another possibility is that they come from different geographical or social backgrounds. We know that there are different varieties of JE spoken in different parts of Asia Minor and the Balkans and we did not record the geographical backgrounds of the informants. The syntax of those different varieties of the language is beyond the scope of this thesis however here we just limit ourselves to pointing out that different speakers have different judgements of applicatives with directional verbs.

CHAPTER 4

POSSESSOR APPLICATIVES IN JE

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we explore the possessor arguments in JE and analyse if they can be applied through a low applicative construction like in Spanish. We will show that possessor applicatives cannot be low applicatives in JE. A low applicative construction can only be found in a very restricted class of stative verbs *kedar* 'be left' and *mankar* 'lack'.

Recall that Spanish encodes possessors with low applicatives which establish a static relation between two individuals which are the direct and the indirect objects. Cuervo (2003) assumes that such applicatives are combined with stative verbs vBE and dynamic activity verbs vDO.

When the predicate does not involve a transfer of possession, not even in a metaphorical way, and that two individuals are related in an applicative, then it is understood as having a static relationship.

This kind of low applicatives can be seen in Spanish with stative predicates such as *admirar* 'admire', *tener* 'have', *ver* 'see', *envidiar* 'envy' or verbs of activity such as *besar* 'kiss', *lavar* 'wash', *sostener* 'hold'.

(1) a. *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience.ACC Valeria.DAT
'Pablo admires Valeria's patience' (Lit: 'Pablo admires Valeria the patience') MS

b. *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT
'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead' (Lit: Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead) (Cuervo, 2003, p.63)

When asked to utter sentences with possession, our informants never produce them with a DP taking the marker 'a', in other words with a dative a-phrase. They always use the genitive construction with 'de'. Below in (2) and (3) are two examples with stative verbs:

(2) *Karen se esta adorando la pasensia de Abraham*
Karen CL.REFL is admiring the patience of Abraham
'Karen adores Abraham's patience' JE

(3) *Jak se selo la araba de Korin*
Jak se envied Korin's car
'Jak envied Korin's car' JE

The same holds for activity verbs, too:

(4) *Nesim bezo la frente de Eliza*
Nesim kissed the forehead of Eliza
'Nesim kissed Eliza on the forehead' (Lit: 'Nesim kissed Eliza's forehead') JE

The possession relation between the individuals is established through the genitive marker *de* and not via dative case. However, sentences like in (5), which are ungrammatical in Spanish, are equally common:

(5) *Nesim* le_i *rovo la bisiklet de* $Leon_i$
Nesim CL.DAT stole the bicycle of Leon
'Nesim stole Leon's bicycle' JE

In (5), the possession is expressed with *de*, but the sentence also has a dative clitic. The clitic is co-indexed with the noun *Leon* in the genitive construction. When there is no overt DP as the genitive, the dative clitic is preferred over the possessive pronoun:

(6) a. *Le rovaron la bisiklet*
CL.DAT stole.1PL.PST the bike.ACC
'They stole the bike on him/They stole his bike' (Lit: They stole him the bike) JE

b. *?Rovaron su bisiklet*
stole.1PL.PST his/her bike
'?They stole his/her bike' JE

This structure looks like a good candidate for a low possessor applicative. Below we will show that in this structure the applicative head, that is, the dative clitic, merges above the VP, hence it is a high applicative construction. Furthermore, we will show that JE holds animacy restrictions as to the applied argument in these constructions.

4.2 Dative-Genitive alternation in applicatives

Our data show that in JE, the applied argument can bear the dative case a and the genitive *de* interchangeably.

(7) a. *A mi madre se le soldearon las rozas*
My mother.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT wilted the roses
'To my mother the roses wilted' JE

b. *Se (le) soldearon las rozas de mi madre*
CL.REFL CL.DAT wilted the roses of my mother
'My mother's roses wilted on her' JE

c. *Se le soldearon las rozas*
CL.REFL CL.DAT wilted the roses
'Her roses wilted (on her)' JE

The observation is that when the applied argument is fronted in the sentence as in (7a) via topicalization, dative case is preferred. When the applied argument follows the direct object, then the genitive form is preferred as in (7b). Note that when the genitive is used the clitic is optional in (7b) but when the dative is used the clitic is obligatory (7a) and (7c).

An evident question arises from our data about the discrepancy of the case assignment. But before that we should say a few words regarding the status of the genitive form *de*. Is it a preposition similar to of in English or is it a case marker?

We take the form with *de* as genitive case. We have some evidence to show that the structure with *de* behaves like a case marker rather than a preposition. One of the issues to consider is the cases of topicalization. For example, for one informant even when the applied argument is fronted in the sentence, he prefers to use the genitive case over the dative.

(8) *De Nedim$_i$ se le$_i$ rovaron la bisiklet*
Nedim.GEN CL.REFL CL.DAT stole the bicycle
'They stole Nedim's bike' JE

Likewise, all the informants prefer the following with the verb *morir* 'to die':

(9) *De kada madre un ijo se le muryo*
Each mother.GEN a child CL.REFL CL.DAT died
'A child of each woman died.' JE

The sentences in (8) and (9) in Spanish would be ungrammatical, not only because of the mismatching between the cases of the dative clitic and the genitive indirect object bear, but also the genitive possessor cannot be detached from the head, even for the purposes of topicalization or focus in Spanish. This is a pattern acceptable for only a-phrases in Spanish where *a* is taken to be a dative case marker rather than a preposition.

(10) a. **De Maria me gustan las ideas*
Of Maria CL.DAT.1SG please the ideas
'*Maria's ideas please me' MS

b. *Me gustan las ideas de Maria*
CL.DAT.1SG please the ideas of Maria
'Maria's ideas please me' (own fieldwork)

This difference together with the behaviour of the genitives in applicative phrases show that the *de* structure in MS and JE is not the same.

It is seen in that in JE, the dative clitic can agree with the genitive NP in terms of the phi-features, which is not possible in Spanish. Given this pattern, then it would be fair to speculate that the diachronic change in the language can be the gradual replacement of the dative case by the genitive case leading to the syncretism of dative and genitive, a phenomenon which has been observed in Greek – another contact language of JE.

The exact diachronic change that we propose took place in Greek. Stolk (2015) studied the gradual replacement of the dative by genitive case in Greek based on scripts from Egypt during the Byzantine period (332 BCE – 641 CE). The author proposes that the replacement took place through a semantic extension. While the genitive expressed possessor, gradually its semantics was extended "into the role of malefective/benefactive in situations in which the possessor is affected by the event described by the predicate" (Stolk, 2015, p.94). Then this meaning could have been further extended to goal oriented roles.

As a result of this diachronic change, "*Greek has merged the morphological distinction between the genitive and dative case in the direction of the genitive. In DOC patterns in Greek the non-theme argument appears in genitive case*" (Georgala & Whitman, 2007, p.3).

Stolk (2015) points out that the use of the dative case and genitive case is part of a larger process of case syncretism. Barðdal & Kulikov (2009, p.470) explain that "*case syncretism is typically preceded by a period of variation and alternation between case forms or argument structures*", as cited in Stolk (2015, p.96).

Case syncretism phenomenon has also been explained by syntactic motivations by Caha (2008), who extends the syncretism observed between core cases (nominative/absolutive – accusative/ergative) (Baerman, Brown, and Corbett (2005) as cited in Caha (2008)) to all the core and oblique cases which are adjacent in the case hierarchy. A functional sequence arranges all the core and oblique cases in a universal hierarchy. In this hierarchy, cases that are adjacent to each other can be syncretic. The case sequence of genitive – dative will have the following structure and the semantics:

(11) The Case sequence
   a. genitive: [genitive CP]
   b. dative: [dative D [genitive CP]] (Caha, 2008, p.188)

This analysis suggests that the dative contains the genitive. If we assume that the meaning of genitive is possession, then the dative will mean change of possession (Caha, 2008).

As a consequence, we argue that syntactic motivations are there to argue for the structure to be an incident of utilization of the genitive case and the dative case in Judeo Espanyol, which makes dative-genitive alternation possible. Thus, we conclude that *de* in JE is not a preposition but a case marker like dative.

4.3 Affectedness, animacy, and possession

Cuervo (2003) refers to previous work in the literature which argues that datives in ditransitive constructions are affected arguments. She disagrees and shows that there is no sense of affectedness per se in low applicatives in Spanish. Even if we get a sense of affectedness it has to be "an indirect consequence of the lexical meaning of the verb, combined with the possessive relation between the direct object and the dative argument expressed by the low applicative construction" (Cuervo, 2003, p.84). In Spanish verbs of perception like *mirar* 'look at', *ver* 'see' and even other types of activity verbs like *estudiar* 'study' can introduce a possessor with a low applicative.

(12) *Pablo le miró/estudió/observó los pies a Valeria*
Pablo CL.DAT looked at/studied/observed the feet Valeria.DAT
'Pablo looked at/studied/observed Valeria's feet' (Cuervo, 2003, p.84)

No meaning of affectedness can be observed in sentences in (12). Because a low applicative is constructed with these verbs, Cuervo argues that the affected meaning is not even entailed. It is possible to get this meaning in an indirect way especially when one of the arguments involves inalienable possession. However, a low applicative in Spanish does not structurally encode affectedness.

Cuervo on the other hand classifies another type of applied argument with only complex verbs causatives and inchoatives. According to Cuervo (2003) these applicatives code an argument affected by the resultant state.

(13) *Emilio le rompió la radio a Valeria*
Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
'Emilio broke the radio on Valeria' (Lit. Emilio broke Valeria the radio) MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.91)

The example in (13) is not a low applicative in Spanish, the dative takes the vPBE as its complement and the ApplP embeds under a dynamic event introducer (Cuervo, 2003, p.28).

As we will show in the following, in JE the applicative can code affectedness and not possession following from the findings of hierarchical relations, the semantic

component and the fact that an applicative head can only license an animate and sentient argument. This implies that possessor constructions in JE are different from low possessor applicatives in Spanish.

We also mentioned the animacy restrictions for applicatives in Judeo Espanyol in Chapter 3. We showed that the sentences in (14) is found ungrammatical because the dative clitic *le* must refer to an animate individual (examples 33 and 17b above in Chapter 3).

(14) a. **Dora le dio un tablo a kada müze*
Dora CL.DAT gave a painting each museum.DAT
'*Dora gave a (different) painting a to each museum.' JE

b. **Le trushe el chek a la banka*
CL.DAT I-took the check.ACC the bank.DAT
'I took the check to the bank'

As to meaning of verbs, verbs which do not imply an effect on the theme or the possessor such as 'see' are also not compatible with a dative clitic as shown in (15b). We saw previously that (15a) is totally acceptable, with the dative clitic referring to the possessor of the bicycle.

(15) a. *Le rovaron la bisiklet*
CL.DAT stole.1PL.PST the bike.ACC
'They stole the bike on him/They stole his bike' (Lit: They stole him the bike) JE

b. **Le vieron la bisiklet*
CL.DAT see.3PL.PST the bicycle.ACC
'They saw him/her the bicycle' (Intended: 'They saw her/his bicycle') JE

This data shows that even with ditransitive verbs, the clitic requires its coreferential individual to be animate if the verb implies an effect on the possessor. This leads us to think that the applicative head in JE codes affectedness.

Compare this with modern Spanish where it is possible to utter a similar sentence with a low applicative:

(16) *Pablo le donó un diccionario de portugués a la biblioteca*
Pablo CL.DAT donated a dictionary of Portuguese the library.DAT
'Pablo donated a Portuguese dictionary to the library' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.98)

In Spanish, even though the recipient in this low applicative construction is an inanimate individual 'library', clitic doubling is grammatical. Also low applicatives can combine successfully with perception verbs such as 'see' where the applied argument is understood as the possessor, as in (12).

As we showed in (14) and (15), a clitic can never be doubled in JE when it is co-indexed with an inanimate DP. (17) is also in parallel with this:

(17) a. *La mosa (*le) rompio el pie de la meza*
The girl CL.DAT broke the leg of the table
'The girl broke the leg of the table.' JE
b. *Se (*le) rompio el pie de/a la meza*
CL.REFL CL.DAT broke the leg of/to the table
'The leg of the table broke'

Bardavid & Ender (2006a) compiled JE idioms related to body parts and they accurately named their work 'De Punta Pie a Kavesa (From Head to Toe)'. Below we will give some examples from those idioms including body parts. In all these examples, the possessor of the body part (by definition) is a human, therefore animate. It shows that JE is rich in idiomatic expressions where the possessor/affectee is coded with a dative clitic.

(18) *Ven guerko toma=me la alma*
Come devil take=CL.DAT.1SG the soul
'Come devil, take my soul' JE

(19) *I a la mujer kayada, ata le la alengua*
Too the quiet woman.DAT tie CL.DAT the tongue
'Tie up the tongue of even the quiet woman' JE

(20) *La alengua ke se le tome*
The tongue that CL.REFL CL.DAT take.SBJV
'May his/her tongue be paralyzed (curse)' JE

(21) *Sin komer ajo me golyo la boka*
Without eat garlic CL.DAT.1SG smelled the mouth
'Without eating garlic my mouth smelled (I got involved unwillingly)' JE

(22) *Si le tapas la boka, avla por el kulo*
If CL.DAT cover the mouth.ACC speaks through the ass
'If you cover his mouth, he will talk through his ass' JE

(23) *Al lugar ke le salga la fama, ke le salga la alma*
Instead of CL.DAT come out the fame, that CL.DAT come out.SBJV the soul
'It would be better to die than to have a bad name' (Lit: 'Instead of coming out a bad fame on someone, that his soul leave him') JE

(24) *El guerko se le yeve la alma*
The devil REFL CL.DAT take.SBJV the soul
'May the devil take his soul' JE

(18-24) provide examples of the use of the dative clitic without the full DP in the sentence, in other words without the full DP in dative or genitive case coreferential with the clitic. We have not encountered a clitic doubled sentence with full DP in this book including body parts or inalienable possession like *alma* 'soul'. However we have seen such examples in our own fieldwork and corpus data. Likewise, when we ask our informants to utter a sentence with someone having a headache, we have the possible sentences below in (25a-c):

(25) a. *Le esta erguelyendo la kavesa*
CL.DAT is hurting the head
'She has a headache' JE

b. *Le esta erguelyendo la kavesa de Dora*
CL.DAT is hurting the head of Dora
'Dora has a headache' (Lit: 'Dora's head is hurting to her') JE

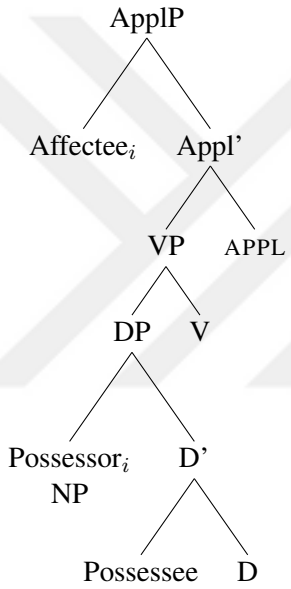
c. *A Dora le esta erguelyendo la kavesa.*
Dora.DAT CL.DAT is hurting the head
'Dora has a headache '(Lit: 'To Dora the head is hurting') JE

What the above data implies is that such possessor constructions in JE behave quite differently than regular low applicatives denoting possession in Spanish. That is, possessor applicatives in JE are not low applicatives. Combined with the animacy restriction, we believe that the applicative does not code possession, but rather affectedness. Cross-linguistically the role of possessor and affectee in applicatives can indeed be intertwined.

Öztürk (2019) studied what looks like a possessor applicative in Pazar Laz. She argues that the possessor applicatives in Pazar Laz are high applicatives, "*the*

possessor reading surfaces with inherently relational nouns, e.g. body parts, kinship terms" (Öztürk, 2019, p.7). The possessor applicatives can combine with unaccusatives and transitives, but not with unergatives. She analyses that the possessor is provided with an affectee role through a benefactive applicative. Borer & Grodzinsky (1986)'s account as cited by Öztürk (2019) is able to explain this phenomenon. Here they "*assume the possessive datives as benefactive/malefective arguments of the verb but they acquire the possessive reading by binding an anaphoric element in the possessee*" (Öztürk, 2019, p.14).

(26)



As we have seen so far, for Spanish, "the affectedness is not always part of the meaning" but comes as an indirect consequence as argued by Cuervo (2003, p.73), whereas for Pazar Laz the applicative codes affectedness and "the possessor reading typically surfaces with inherently relational nouns" as argued by Öztürk (2019, p.15). If we were to argue that possessor applicatives in JE coded exclusively possession, then we would expect inanimate datives or genitives to be able to combine with applicatives as well.

The sentence in (27) shows that even for an inherent relationship such as that of leg - table, this is not possible because the table is inanimate:

(27) a. *La mosa (*le) rompio el pie de la meza.*
The girl CL.DAT broke the leg of the table
'The girl broke the leg of the table.' JE

b. *Se (*le) rompio el pie de la meza*
CL.REFL CL.DAT broke the leg of the table
'The leg of the table broke' JE

When the clitic referring to the table is doubled, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Compare the sentences in (27a-b) to the sentences in (28a-b) where the applied argument is animate:

(28) a. *La mosa le kemo la kamiza de Moiz*
The girl CL.DAT burnt the shirt of Moiz
'The girl burnt Moiz' shirt' JE

b. *Se le kemo la komida de mi madre*
CL.REFL CL.DAT burnt the food of my mother
'My mother's food burnt'

Hence, this shows that cross-linguistically animacy is related to affectedness in applicatives and affectedness can be coded as a high applicative as seen in Laz.

4.4 The syntactic hierarchy in JE possessive applicatives

The above discussion shows that possessor applicatives in JE do not constitute low applicatives, but they should be analysed as high applicatives. The question that arises here is whether we have any syntactic evidence for the high attachment of possessors. We showed in the previous chapter that it is not possible to argue for a double object construction in JE where the goal DP is above the theme DP. In JE, the Goal DP is always below the Theme DP.

When we are to apply binding and scope tests for possessors in JE, for the very nature of possessors, it is difficult to come up with a sentence of binding. Because the dative DP is the possessor and the theme DP is the possessee in these constructions, then we cannot add a possessor pronoun to the theme DP to check the binding. As to reflexives, we would have the same problem as the reflexive in the theme argument cannot be the possessee of the possessor in the dative DP.

In order to determine the syntactic hierarchy, we tried to test the scopal relations via the data below in (29) and (30). In (29), we created a context where a woman sends her children to war and all of her children die and we asked the informants to describe this situation.

(29) a. *A una mujer se le muryo todos los ijos*
A woman.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT died all the children
'All the children of a woman died.' a>all JE

b. **A una mujer se le muryo kada ijo*
A woman.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT died every child
'A woman's every child died' *a>each

The speakers were able to express this situation using the quantifier *todos* 'all' as in (29a). When they were asked to evaluate (29b) to test the scopal relation between *un(a)* 'a' and *kada* 'each', it did not sound acceptable to them and it did not express the situation described above. We asked them to describe the situation where several women send their children to war and each woman lost a child. And their response was (30).

(30) *De kada mujer se le muryo un ijo*
Of every woman CL.REFL CL.DAT died a child
'A child of every woman died.' each>a JE

The reason for the fronting of the dative/genitive in (14) and (15) must be due to the fact that the speakers are introducing new information. As these sentences are obtained through elicitation, the speakers feel that they are describing the situation of a woman out of the blue.

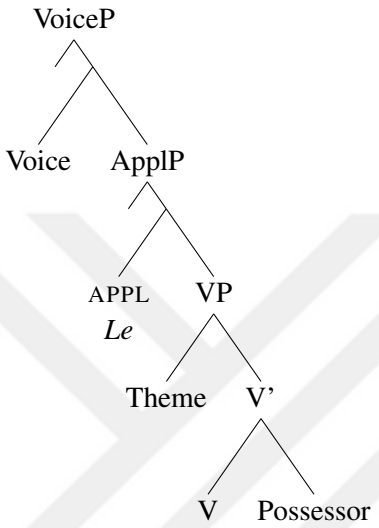
Remember that Cuervo (2003) refers to free scope, citing Bruening (2001) that when two arguments share the same minimal domain, quantifier raising cannot disrupt their hierarchical order (Cuervo, 2003, p.107). In case of a PP, we get free scope therefore the PP and the theme DP are below the same VP.

Judging by (29b) and (30), where we change the ordering of the quantifiers *kada* 'each' and *un* 'a', we would expect to get the same kada>un scope if the scope

is free. The speakers find (29b) ungrammatical so it means that the scope is understood as kada>un, the un>kada reading is found unacceptable.

This is a finding that supports the position that in possessor applicatives in JE the theme DP and the genitive/dative DP are inside the same minimal VP, just like for double object constructions that we explained above.

(31)



This is in contradiction with the high applicative analysis of possessors which we have been arguing for. If in JE double object constructions are actually ditransitives with a Theme and a PP, then this would also imply that maybe possessor constructions also do not encode any applicative structures. However, note that we argued above that *de* in possessors is not a preposition but genitive case. Thus, there seems to be contradicting evidence here. While scope relations imply that we have a PP construction for possessors, the discussion of affectedness in relation to animacy implies we have a high applicative. We will come back to this issue when we present our syntactic analysis in §4.6

4.5 Applicatives with complex events

In JE, applicatives can also appear in the context of causatives and inchoatives. Remember that these verbs are complex verbs with respect to their event structure as introduced in Chapter 2 under Cuervo (2003). These verbs denote a resultant state and when a dative is combined with these verbs in Spanish, the dative is understood

as the individual affected by the change of state (Cuervo, 2003). Cuervo argues that in Spanish, these applicatives do not structurally code possession, but possession reading is an indirect consequence. JE can combine applicatives with some complex verbs as well and we get the affectedness meaning. However in JE, we must make a difference of the two types of causatives in (32) and (33):

(32) *Leon le avrio la puerta a Süzet*
León CL.DAT opened the door Süzet.DAT
'Leon opened the door for Süzet' (Lit: 'Leon opened Süzet the door') JE

(33) *La mosa le kemo la kamiza de Moiz dando uti sin kerer*
The girl CL.DAT burnt the shirt of Moiz giving iron without to-want
'The girl burnt Moiz's shirt unintentionally while ironing it' (Lit: 'The girl burnt Moiz the shirt') JE

In sentences like (33), again the genitive and the dative cases are used interchangeably. When the full DP is not present, the dative clitic is used instead of the possessive pronoun.

(34) *Kemarle la alma*
To burn.CL.DAT the soul
'To burn down one's soul (to hurt)' JE, (Bardavid & Ender, 2006a, p.288)

In (32), the dative argument is the benefactive from the opening of the door. By no means we get a reading as the benefactive is the possessor of the door. Also it is not possible to use it interchangeably with the genitive case. This also looks very much like the structure we encounter in Turkish.

(35) *Seda kardeş-in-e kapı-yı aç-tı.*
Seda sibling-3SG.POSS door-ACC open-PST
'Seda opened the door for her sister.' (benefactive), (Tonyalı, 2015, p.126)

Tonyalı (2015) analyzes these sentences in Turkish as high applicatives. Verbs with complex events merge with the benefactive ApplP which is above the VP layer, and not between the two layers of the vPs. Also according to the same analysis made by Tonyalı (2015) the dative in this sentence is not interpreted as the recipient either. She concludes that the dative in Turkish can only be related to the whole $v\mathrm{P}_{DO}$ event.

This type of benefactive applicatives in Turkish are very restricted to a few verbs like open.

In JE, datives cannot be productively applied to complex causatives either. In (33), the genitive/dative argument is the malefective affected from the burning of the shirt. We also get a reading as if the malefective is the possessor of the shirt. Indeed, the possession relationship cannot be cancelled for (36):

(36) **La mosa le kemo la kamiza de Moiz a Kori*
The girl CL.DAT burnt the shirt of Moiz Kori.DAT
'The girl burnt Moiz's shirt on Kori' JE

Datives or genitives can apply to inchoatives in JE. Below are two examples with single argument verbs *kemar* 'burn' and *kayer* 'fall'.

(37) a. *A mi madre se le kemo la komida*
My mother.DAT se CL.DAT burnt the food
'The food got burnt on my mother' JE

b. *Se le kemo la komida de mi madre*
CL.REFL CL.DAT burnt the food of my mother
'The food got burnt on my mother' JE

(38) *A Djoha le kayo el bokado, disho ke es del ojo malo.*
Djoha.DAT CL.DAT fell the food he-said that is from eye evil
'Djoha dropped a morcel of his food, he said that it was because of the evil eye' JE, (Bardavid & Ender, 2006a, p.288)[10]

We observe the same phenomenon of interchangeable usage of the dative and the genitive case in these inchoative applicatives.

Cuervo (2003) proposes that the dative DP in the inchoative affected applicatives moves to subject position and is not a topic. As the verb is an inchoative, "Voice is not projected hence no external argument is licensed. The closest DP must

[10]We could expect this sentence to be with the reflexive clitic in JE.

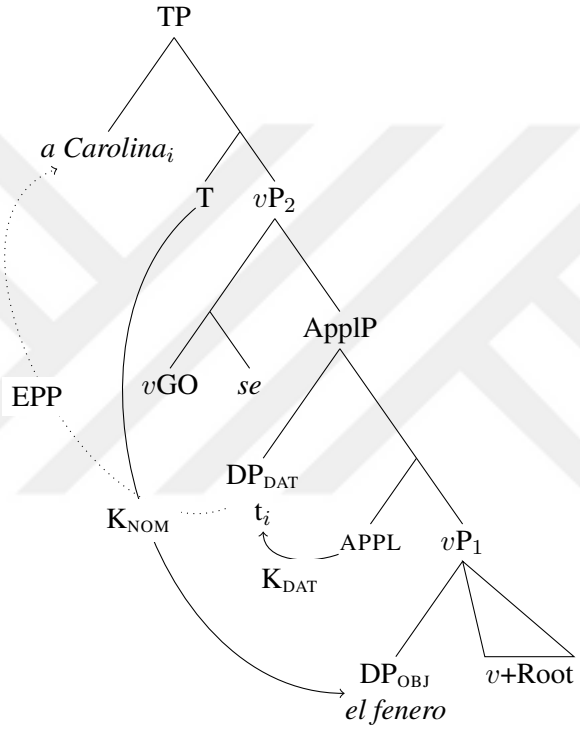
a. *A djoha se le kayo el bokado*
Djoha.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT fell the food
'Djoha dropped a morcel of his food'

Recall from §2.2 that Cuervo (2003) analyses the reflexive clitic (38) the verb is understood as an inchoative without the reflexive clitic "se". The verb fall without the reflexive clitic in Spanish is considered as a simplex verb of change. It seems that JE is able to code the simplex and complex forms of the same verb in a syncretic manner, where the reflexive clitic is optional.

move the specifier of the Tense and checks its EPP feature. The DP subject of the stative vP checks case with Tense and appears in nominative case". (Cuervo, 2003, p.122) Then the structure of the sentence in (39) is as follows

(39) *A Carolina se le rompió el florero*
Carolina.DAT CL.REFL CL.DAT broke the vase
'The vase broke on Carolina' (Lit: 'To Carolina broke the vase') MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.122)

(40) Case and movement in accusatives with applicative (Cuervo, 2003, p.123)



The applied argument in JE is also understood as the possessor of the argument in nominative case. For the inchoatives it is not possible to cancel the possession relationship.

The contrast between (41a) and (41b) shows that the person who is affected from the ruining of the son's life cannot be different than the son himself.

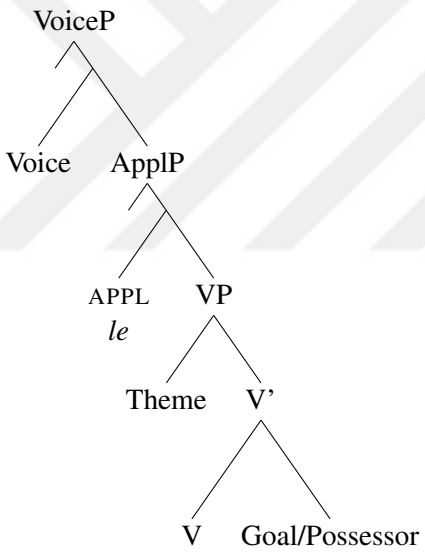
(41) a. *Se le arruino la vida de mi ijo kon esta baja*
CL.REFL CL.DAT ruined the life of my son with this low
'My son's life was ruined with this low (woman)' JE

b. **Se me arruino la vida de mi ijo kon esta baja*
CL.REFL CL.DAT.1 ruined the life of my son with this low woman
'*My son's life was ruined on me with this low (woman)' JE

4.6 Analysis of the applicatives in Judeo Espanyol as high applicatives

The data that we presented so far in JE suggests that the applicatives in JE are merged above the VP layer, without making a distinction of complex events or possessors or goals. We also showed with binding and scope facts that the IO is lower than the theme. As we argue that in all types of applicatives in JE a kind of affectedness whether benefactive or malefective is coded, we would also expect the affected argument to be above the theme. According to the theta-role hierarchy rules the affectedness must be above the theme. UTAH assumes that "*identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships at Merge*" (Baker, 1997; Adger, 2002, p.118).

(42)



We propose that the dative clitic is the spell out of the applicative head in JE in line with Cuervo (2003). The applicative construction in JE however does not have an EPP feature therefore the specifier of the ApplP does not need to be filled.

If we assume that "DPs need to check structural case and this way they enter into an Agree relation with a head bearing an uninterpretable ϕ-feature" (Chomsky (2001) as cited in Adger & Harbour (2007)) The applied argument agrees with the applicative head which bears an uninterpretable ϕ-feature. These features obtain a value from an argument via Agree.

As shown in (42), the applicative head should undergo an Agree relation with the applied argument. However, the accusative theme is between the verb and the applied argument bears the dative case. The question is: Why does not checking features with the applied argument in the presence of an intervening Theme argument lead to a violation of locality? We propose that the applicative head bears an inherent dative feature[11] as observed for many languages (Öztürk, 2019; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2006). The intervening theme DP is specified for accusative case which is a structural case, therefore, does not yield an intervention for case checking, given that it is not a suitable match for case-checking with the Applicative head.

We showed in this chapter that in JE, possessors are not low applicatives just like DOCs are not. The possessor applicative merges above the VP layer. Once our findings about the structure of the applicatives with DOCs and possessives in JE are established and we conclude that they are both instances of high applicatives, it is fair to ask the question of whether JE lacks low applicatives completely.

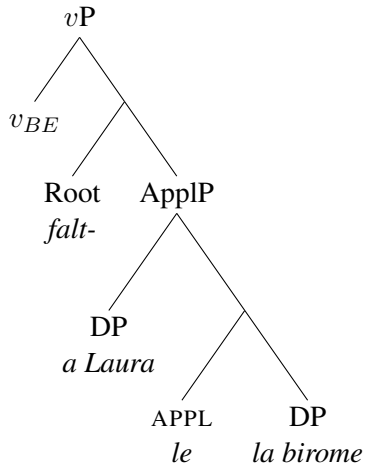
4.7 Datives with *mankar*, *kedar*: a possible low applicative

According to Cuervo (2003) unaccusative vBE predicates *faltar* 'lack, miss', *quedar* 'be left', *sobra* 'be extra' also can assign dative case in preverbal argument position in Spanish. Cuervo argues that the dative in this configuration is embedded under the stative predicate and is a type of low applicative.

(43) a. *A Laura le falta la birome*
Laura.DAT CL.DAT lacks the pen
'Laura is missing her pen' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.153)

[11] Due to the potential genitive-dative syncretism which JE exhibits, this configuration will also be compatible with NPs taking *de*.

b.



Here the dative argument is related to the theme DP and expresses the possessor or the location of the theme.

For three informants, a similar sentence with the JE verb *mankar* 'lack' was unacceptable, and for one of them it was grammatical.

(44) *A Korin le manka el livro*
Korin.DAT CL.DAT lacks the book
'Korin is missing her book' JE, one informant, *three informants

However, similar constructions given below were good sentences for all informants with different DPs:

(45) *Al chay le manka (la) asukar*
The tea.DAT CL.DAT lacks (the) sugar
'The tea lacks sugar' JE

The nominative argument here is a complement of the applicative head, as shown in (43b). In Spanish "*An unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under the conditions of normal stress and intonation*" (Cuervo, 2003, p.100). It seems that this rule also counts in JE, as in this sentence the nominative is not a subject of predication but a complement, it is possible to use it as a bare noun. For the sentence in (45) the non-use of the definite article did not generate ungrammaticality for the speakers. The argument of the existential predicate can be a bare noun, which supports the idea that the structure is low applicative. We also have the following sentence in our corpus with the verb *kedar* 'be left':

(46) *Este anyo no me kedo djente*
This year NEG CL.DAT.1SG were-left people
'This year I don't have anyone left' (Lit: 'This year people were not left to me') (BAP 11500 E.P)

On the other hand, with this structure we do not observe the use of genitive case in lieu of the dative:

(47) **Le manka la asukar del chay*
CL.DAT lacks the sugar of the tea
'The tea lacks sugar/the sugar of the tea lacks' JE

Another difference with the rest of the applicatives studied in the previous chapters is that the animacy restriction that we observed in other applied arguments does not hold for this type of verbs, as seen in (45). The inanimate 'tea' could felicitously combine with the stative verb and when the clitic is doubled it is grammatical.

Our conclusion for this data with these two verbs show that this construction is a low applicative in JE. However given the restricted character of the use, we believe it is ok to stand for the view that this is a frozen pattern limited to a few verbs, but is not productive as in Spanish.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter we took a closer look at possessor applicatives in JE. We conclude that in terms of their syntactic structure they correspond to high applicatives. We observed a type of low applicative with stative verbs *kedar* and *mankar* which are not very productive. The possessor datives in JE at the same time code a type of affectedness. This is shown through the fact that clitic doubling in JE is restricted to animate individuals.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 Summary of the claims and proposal

This thesis explored how Judeo Espanyol licenses non-core dative arguments. In the first chapter we presented the language and the community of Sephardic Jews in Turkey, pointing out how the language lost its vitality over the course of centuries due to several political and social reasons. In the second chapter we went through the syntactic theories on argument structure regarding applicatives. We especially took a look at the applicative structures in Spanish and in Turkish.

In the third chapter we presented the data on the possible good candidates for a low applicative in JE. We showed that the clitic-doubling for directional verbs is optional, but that unlike Spanish, this optionality extends to verbs which do not lexically bear a directional meaning. We analyzed the possible DOCs in JE and concluded that the hierarchical position of the dative and the accusative in applicatives is Theme>Dative and also clitic doubling does not change this hierarchy. Thus we concluded that recipients are coded as benefactives as high applicatives in JE.

In Chapter 4, we analyzed the observation that shows how JE employs datives and genitives as alternatively in possessor applicatives and posited that the language can be on the way towards a case syncretism of these two cases. We then analysed the possessor applicatives in JE as high applicatives.

5.2 Issues for further research

In the following we will focus on the issues which need to be explored in future research: (i) high applicatives in JE and (ii) contact phenomenon.

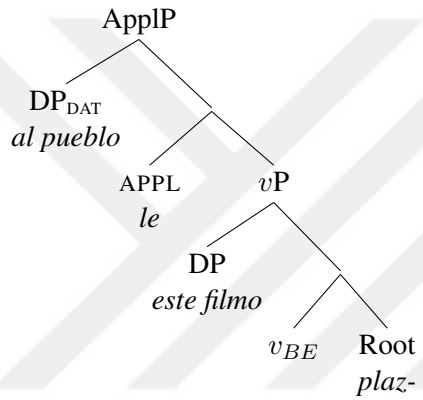
5.2.1 High applicatives

This study has mainly focused on the JE counterparts of low applicatives in Spanish. There are also quite interesting patterns of high applicatives in Spanish which have

JE counterparts, namely, the high applicatives formed with stative unaccusatives with a vPBE and a dynamic non-agentive with vPGO. In Spanish, psych predicates such as gustar 'please', molestar 'bother' can license an argument DP licensed as the specifier of a high applicative. In JE this is also possible. The dative argument is the experiencer and the nominative argument is the theme. Below in (1) is an example from JE, the same construction with Spanish with differences in vocabulary.

(1) *Al puevlo le plazio este filmo*
The people.DAT CL.DAT pleased this film.NOM
'The people liked this film' JE

(2)



Cuervo (2003) also proposes that in this construction the object (the theme) is an inner subject, relying on the restrictions in Spanish on the positions a bare NP can occupy. This constraint is as follows: "*An unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under the conditions of normal stress and intonation*". Therefore, the theme argument of predicates like *gustar* must be a DP.

(3) *A Daniela le gusta *(el) vino*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT likes the wine
'Daniela likes wine' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.147)

A bare noun with the verb *plazer/gustar* is also ungrammatical for JE speakers, so the same restriction holds and we may claim that the nominative theme is the subject, just as shown in the structure in (2).

(4) *A Nesim le plaze muncho *(el) vino*
Nesim.DAT CL.DAT likes a lot the wine
'Nesim likes wine a lot' JE

Predicates built by the combination of copular or quasi-copular verbs can also take a high dative argument and there the dative argument is interpreted as an experiencer, exactly as in the sentences with *gustar/plazer* 'please'. The same holds in JE for many verbs such as *pareser* 'seem', *venir* 'come (seem)', *dar hambre/suenyo* 'give hunger/sleep'.

(5) *A Daniela le son/parecen importantes esos libros*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT are.PL/seem.PL important those books.NOM
'Those books are/seem important to Daniela' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.149)

The Spanish example above was fine with the verb *parecer* 'seem' for JE speakers, however with the verb *ser* 'be' it is unacceptable to the informants. An example of vBE high applicative in JE is given in (6).

(6) *A mi tante le vino muy grande la caza*
My aunt.DAT CL.DAT came very big the house.NOM
'My aunt found the house too big' JE

While in Spanish the verb 'be afraid' also licenses a dative argument above the VP, in JE it does not license a dative argument however. In Spanish a high applied dative DP is used to express the experiencer with the verb dar miedo 'give fear'. Compare (7) and (8) for JE and Spanish respectively.[12]

(7) *Jak se espanta muncho del perro*
Jak.NOM gets scared a lot from the dog
'Andres is scared of the dog/dogs' JE

(8) *A Daniela le dan miedo las arañas*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT give.PL fear the spiders
'Daniela is afraid of spiders' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.150)

Dative arguments can also be licensed with dynamic predicates like *suceder* 'happen', *surgir* 'arise', *salir* 'come out', *crecer* 'grow' which require $v\mathrm{P}_{GO}$ in Spanish (Cuervo, 2003).

[12] In Turkish the theme of the verb *korkmak* 'be scared' gets ablative case, therefore this difference could be explained by contact phenomena.

(9) *A Daniela le sucedió algo buenísimo*
Daniela.DAT CL.DAT happened something.NOM very good
'Something great happened to Daniela' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.163)

A similar sentence can be uttered in JE, too.

(10) *A Robi le afito una koza ermoza*
Robi.DAT CL.DAT happened a thing beautiful
'Something beautiful happened to Robi' JE

In this construction the dative takes the whole $v\text{P}_{GO}$ as its complement. In JE however, not as many verbs as in Spanish are compatible with such construction. Example (11) is from Spanish and (12) from JE.

(11) *A Daniela siempre le crecen bien los helechos*
Daniela.DAT always CL.DAT grow well the ferns.NOM
'Ferns grow well to Daniela' MS, (Cuervo, 2003, p.163)

(12) *Se agrandesiyeron las flores de Andres*
Grew the [flowers of Andres].NOM
'Andres' flowers have grown' JE

When we asked the informants how they would utter a sentence like (11), their proposal was the one in (12). We can see that the sentence does not include any dative argument, so the person (Andres) cannot be related to the event, but just appears as the possessor in a genitive construction.

For future research the internal structure of these two applicative types, namely, the high applicatives formed with stative unaccusatives with a $v\text{P}_{BE}$ and a dynamic non-agentive with $v\text{P}_{GO}$ can be studied for JE with the aim of answering whether they behave identically with respect to their Spanish counterparts.

5.2.2 Language contact and JE

The thesis is limited to the study of Judeo Espanyol syntax in a syncretic manner. Since the Jews of Spain were expelled, the Sephardic Jews living in the Ottoman Empire or Turkey did not have any contact with Spanish from Spain and vice versa. This means the two languages have been without contact for more than five centuries.

Modern Spanish and Judeo Espanyol since then had their respective factors of change whether internally caused or contact induced.

As clitic doubling has a very central place in our thesis, the evolution of clitics and clitic doubling in a diachronic manner will help understand the matter more in depth. The changes that occurred in the phrase structure and system of pronominal clitics were explored by Fontana (1993). According to this study, the status of clitic elements in the grammar of Spanish went through a change between the XIIth and XVIth centuries. In old Spanish non-clitic object pronouns could occur freely without a coindexed clitic (Fontana, 1993, p.1).

(13) *al logar onde dios mando ami salir.*
to the place where god ordered me exit
'To the place where God had ordered me to get out' (Fontana, 1993, p.2)

By the end of the XVth century the existing system of clitics which is that of clitic doubling was already in place (Fontana, 1993, p.4) but the old system of complementarity between the pronominal clitics and non-clitic object pronouns coexisted with the modern system of clitic-doubling. Constructions like in the old system are still found in texts by as late as the mid XVIth century (Fontana, 1993, p.45).

We encountered in our corpus an instance of a non-clitic object pronoun occurring without a clitic. In this sentence we have a dative IO with the verb *meldar* 'to read' and it is used with non-clitic object pronoun *mi*, hence occurring without a coindexed clitic:

(14) *A mi kada vez Rosh Ashana i Pesah se asentava i meldava estas letras*
To me each time Rosh Hashanah and Pesah sat down and read these letters
'Every Rosh Hashanah and Pesah she would sit down and read these letters to me' (BAP 11500 N.K)

This piece of information on the diachronic status of pronominal clitics in Spanish leads us to take into account the internally caused changes in the language

spoken by the Sephardic community who diverged from the remaining community of speakers in the Iberian Peninsula by the end of the XVth century. However, this point needs to be investigated thoroughly in future research.

REFERENCES

Adger, D. (2002). *Core Syntax: A Minimalist Approach*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Adger, D. & Harbour, D. (2007). Syntax and syncretisms of the person case constraint. *Syntax*, *10*(1), 2–37.

Aslan, S. (2007). "Citizen, speak Turkish!": A nation in the making. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *1*(2), 245–272.

Baerman, M., Brown, D., & Corbett, G. G. (2005). *The syntax-morphology interface: A study of syncretism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, M. C. (1997). Thematic roles and syntactic structure. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of Grammar* (pp. 73–137). Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Barðdal, J. & Kulikov, L. (2009). Case in decline. In A. Malchukov & A. Spencer (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of case* (pp. 470–478). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bardavid, B. & Ender, F. (2006a). *De Punta Pie a Kavesa*. Istanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın.

Bardavid, B. & Ender, F. (2006b). *Folklor de la Famiya Djudiya*. Istanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın.

Bickel, B. (2012). The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. In J. S. Song (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology* (pp. 321–360). Oxford, UK: Oxford.

Borer, H. & Grodzinsky, Y. (1986). Syntactic cliticization and lexical cliticization: The case of hebrew dative clitics. In H. Borer (Ed.), *The syntax of pronominal clitics* (pp. 175–217). Leiden: Brill.

Bruening, B. (2001). Qr obeys superiority: Frozen scope and ACD. *Linguistic inquiry*, *32*(2), 233–273.

Caha, P. (2008). *The nanosyntax of case*. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Tromsø, Tromsø.

Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale. A life in language* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cuervo, M. C. (2003). *Datives at Large*. (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Folli, R. & Harley, H. (2006). On the licensing of causatives of directed motion: Waltzing matilda all over. *Studia Linguistica*, *60*(2), 121–155.

Fontana, J. M. (1993). *Phrase Structure and the Syntax of Clitics in the History of Spanish*. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Georgala, E. & Whitman, J. (2007). Ditransitives and applicative structure in greek. In N. Adams, A. Cooper, F. Parrill, & T. Wier (Eds.), *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* (pp. 77–91). Chicago Linguistic Society: Chicago, IL.

Gerşon, K. (1980). *Language Change as Influenced by Cultural Contact: A Case: Ladino*. (Master's thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

Halle, M. & Marantz, A. (1993). Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In K. Hale & S. J. Keyser (Eds.), *The view from building 20* (pp. 111–176). Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Kratzer, A. (1996). Severing the external argument from its verb. In *Phrase structure and the lexicon* (pp. 109–137). Berlin: Springer.

Lee-Schoenfeld, V. (2006). German possessor datives: Raised and affected. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, *9*(2), 101–142.

Öztürk, B. (2019). Possessor datives in pazar Laz. *Revue Roumaine De Linguistique*, *LXIV*(4), 355–372.

Pylkännen, L. (2002). *Introducing arguments*. (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Romero, R. (2008). Turkish word order and case in modern judeo-spanish spoken in istanbul. In M. Westmoreland & J. A. Thomas (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 4th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics* (pp. 157–161). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Romero, R. (2012). *Spanish in the Bosphorous. A sociolinguistic study on the Judeo-Spanish dialect spoken in Istanbul*. Istanbul: Libra.

Stolk, J. V. (2015). Dative by genitive replacement in the Greek language of the papyri: A diachronic account of case semantics. *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, *15*, 91–1212.

Tonyalı, N. (2015). *Non-Structural Datives in Turkish*. (Master's thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.

Universelle, A. I. (2011). Les profondes traces de 50 ans de service en turquie.

Varol-Bornes, M.-C. (2008). *Le judéo-espagnole vernaculaire d'Istanbul, Sephardica 4*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Velupillai, V. (2012). *An Introduction to Linguistic Typology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zagona, K. (2001). *The Syntax of Spanish*. NY: Cambridge University Press.