APPLICATIVES IN POMAK

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Applicatives in Pomak

This thesis aims at analyzing how non-core arguments are licensed in Pomak, a severely endangered language spoken in the Balkans, within the Generative Framework, focusing on ditranstive constructions, i.e. double object constructions, prepositional ditranstive constructions, and dative possessors. For the analysis of ditranstive constructions, we provide data from two dialects of Pomak, Şahin dialect spoken in Xanthi, Greece and Uzunköprü dialect spoken in Edirne, Turkey. The findings indicate that Uzunköprü dialect does not exhibit low applicative pattern in ditranstive constructions and instead, it shows the properties of prepositional ditranstive constructions based on binding, scopal relationship and weak cross-over effects unlike the Şahin dialect, which constructs ditranstive constructions via a low applicative head. The analysis of the possessor applicatives is restricted to Uzunköprü dialect and we show that applicative possession in Pomak cannot be analyzed, assuming that the applicative head is in the nominal domain proposed by Iovtcheva (2019) for the analysis of Bulgarian, which is the closest relative of Pomak. Finally, we show that unlike Cuervo (2003), possessor applicatives are constructed via a high applicative, which takes VP as its complement, or a higher applicative, which takes vP as its complement, the selection of which yields in a difference in meaning as a high applicative head contributes to the at-issue tier while higher applicative contributes to the not-at-issue tier.

ÖZET

Pomakçadaki Aplikatifler

Bu tez, Balkanlarda konuşulan ve tehlike altında olan Pomakçada Üretici Dilbilgisi kapsamında çift nesneli yapılar, ilgeçli çift geçişli yapılar, yönelme aitlik gibi çift geçişli yapılara odaklanarak temel üye olmayan üyelerin nasıl yetkilendirildiğini çözümlemeyi amaçlar. Çift geçişli yapıların çözümlemesi için Pomakçanın iki ağzından veri sunmaktayız: Yunanistan'ın İskeçe şehrinde konuşulan Şahin ve Türkiye'nin Edirne şehrinde konuşulan Uzunköprü ağızları. Bulgular, çift geçişli yapıları alçak aplikatif baş ile kuran Şahin ağzının aksine, Uzunköprü ağzının çift geçişli yapılarda alçak aplikatif örüntüsü göstermediğini, bunun yerine bağlama, açısal ilişkiler ve güçsüz kesişme etkilerine dayanarak Uzunköprü ağzının ilgeçli çift geçişli yapıların özelliklerini gösterdiğini işaret eder. Aitlik bildiren aplikatiflerinin çözümlemesi Uzunköprü ağzı ile sınırlıdır. Pomakçaya en yakın dil olan Bulgarcanın çözümlemesi için Iovtcheva (2019) tarafından önerilen aplikatif başların adsıl alanda olduğu varsayımı Pomakçadaki aplikatif aitliğini açıklayamamaktadır. Bu tezde Cuervo (2003)'nun aksine, aitlik aplikatiflerinin ya temel anlama katkıda bulunan ve tümleci olarak EÖ alan yüksek aplikatiflerle ya da temel anlama katkıda bulunmayan, konuşmacı merkezli bir anlam getiren ve tümleci olarak eÖ alan daha yüksek aplikatiflerle kurulduğu gösterilmektedir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1Pl	First person plural
1Sg	First person singular
2Pl	Second person singular
2Sg	Second person plural
3Sg	Third person singular
3Pl	Third person plural
Acc	Accusative
Aor	Aorist
Aux	Auixiliary
Cl	Clitic
Dat	Dative
Def	Definiteness
Erg	Ergative
Fem	Feminine
Fut	Future
Gen	Genitive
Masc	Masculine
Neut	Neuter
Nom	Nominative
Pl	Plural

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aim of the thesis

The aim of the present thesis is to document and investigate the non-core dative arguments in the severely endangered Slavic language, Pomak, spoken in Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria by examining their syntactic structures and semantic properties pertaining to event structure within the framework of Generative Grammar. In particular, this thesis examines how and in what constructions non-core arguments in Pomak are realized. In order to achieve this, we analyze double object constructions in two dialects of Pomak (Xanthi dialect in Greece and Uzunköprü- Edirne dialect in Turkey) as illustrated in (1) and possessor datives in Uzunköprü – Edirne dialect as shown in (2).

(1) a. Ayşe dade resima Aliyu. (Xanthi Dialect)

Ayşe gave.3Sg picture-def Ali-dat

Ayşe gave Ali the picture

b. Ayşe resimasa na Ali dade. (Uzunköprü Dialect)

Ayşe picture.poss.def. na Ali dade.

Ayşe sent the picture of him/her to Ali.

(2) Es na Ali-ta mu lajo-ta vide (Uzunköprü Dialect)

I na Ali-def clitic lie-def see.1Sg

i. I saw Ali's lie. (And he is very ashamed of it)

ii. (I swear) I saw ALİ's lie.

As seen in (1a) and (1b), both dialects of Pomak exhibit significant morphosyntactic differences such as the use of dative that marks the goal argument in (1a), which is absent in (1b). The goal argument in (1b) is introduced via *na* in Pomak, which might potentially be either a preposition or a dative case. We will investigate these two options by following Cuervo (2003)'s framework in chapter 3. Furthermore, in (2), we see *na* phrase again accompanied with the dative clitic that is a grammatical gender sensitive item and the sentence is ambiguous between two readings: in one reading, the possessor is affected by the possession relation and in the second reading, the possessor is emphasized. To account for this semantic difference, we will propose two different syntactic structures for the possessor applicatives, one with a high applicative for affected possessors, the other with a higher applicative for the emphasized reading, which we investigate in detail in chapter 4.

In the remaining part of this chapter, we provide the description of the Pomaks and the Pomak language.

1.2 Pomaks and the Pomak language

This section aims at providing some details about the grammar of Pomak focusing on its phoneme inventory, morphological features and some syntactic properties. Another aim of this section is to provide some sociolinguistic background and language profile of Pomak and its speakers. Different dialects of the language are also illustrated in this section.

1.2.1 Pomak people

Pomaks are generally described as a Muslim ethnic group who lives in the Balkan area and to be more precise, “they live in the south and north of Bulgaria, in Macedonia, in the Kosova region, of Serbia, northern Greece, and limited numbers in Albania and Turkey” (Turan, 1999). Furthermore, it is also claimed that Pomaks are Bulgarian-speaking people, who were mostly peasants and were converted into Islam under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in 16th and 17th centuries (Balıkçı, 2008). On the other hand, there are also other claims stating that Pomaks have either Anatolian Turkish roots or Chagatay Turkish roots, separating them from Bulgarians (Memişoğlu, 1991). Since there are many Pomak residing in Greece, especially in the Northern part of Greece, there are also claims that Pomaks used to be Greeks in origin, who later underwent the processes of what is called slavicisation firstly and then islamization (Kriakides, 1980).

As one can see, Pomak people are claimed to have different/multiple identities based on the context as in the literature, their origin is claimed to be Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian. Thus, their origin depending on the perspective is uncertain (Askouni, 2006; Leved, 2015). Askouni (2006) states that the Greek state considers Pomak people as part of the Muslim community living in the territories of Greece by not considering their ethnic roots.



Figure 1. Pomak communities
(Kokkas, 2004 as cited in Kehaya, 2017, p.7)

When it comes to the Muslim minority communities in the Rhodope region, there exist three groups: Turkish-origin Muslims, Pomaks and Roma (Gkiouzelidis, 2018). The Turkish-origin population consists of people who were excluded from the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey (Kanakidou, 1994). Gkiouzelidis (2018) claims that even though Pomaks' origin is still questioned, and a conclusion is not reached yet, they are one of the oldest of Balkan populations in the mountainous area of the Rhodopian region. The third minority group, on the other hand, is not recognized by the Greek state (Abdikeeva et al., 2005; Pavlou, 2009).

Pomak people inhabited the area before the other two minorities (Leved, 2015). The word, Pomak, was first recorded in 1839 and the word, ahriyan[1], was the word to refer the Muslim population in the area (Askouni, 2006). Whether Pomaks were forced to accept Islam and become Muslims (Leved, 2015) or they were

[1] There are many controversies about the meaning of the word. However, the children of Muslim & Christian parents were registered in the official documents as "Ahriyan" (Inalcık, 2002, as cited in Örs, 2008, p.38).

gradually converted to Islam (Memişoğlu, 1991) is also disputed in the literature. The table below shows the population and the religions of the area.

Table 1. Population and the religion

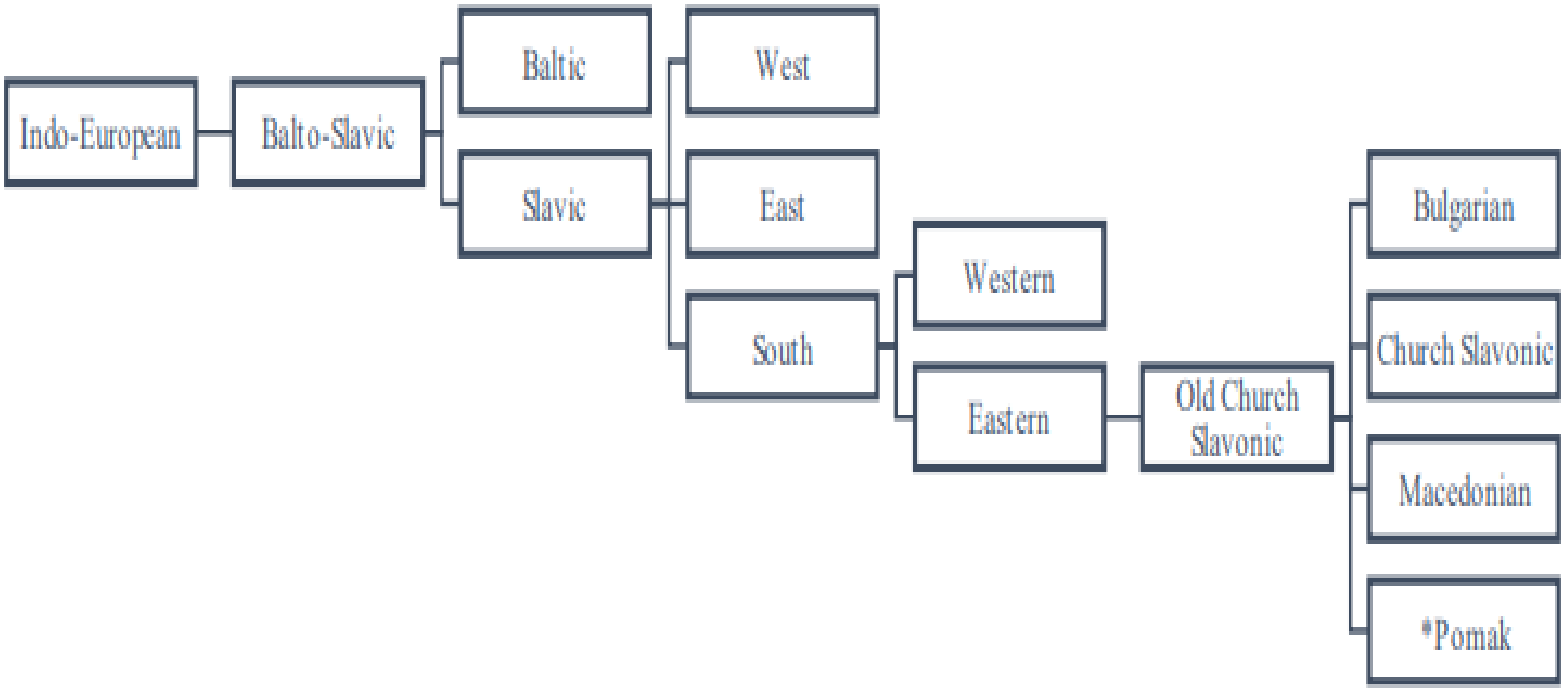
Prefecture	Population	Christians	Muslims
Rodopi	108.555	51.456	57.099
Evros	144.000	135.000	9.000
Xanthi	91.000	51.000	40.000
Total	338.000	226.000	112.000

(Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2011, as cited in Gkiouzelidis, 2018, p.9)

The number of Pomaks who live in Greece is estimated to be about 40.000 according to Gkiouzelidis (2018) and since there are no data about the ethnicity of the citizens of Turkey, there is no information about how many people are Pomak in Turkey; however, the estimated numbers range from 200.000 to 600.000 (Yüksel, 2011, p.111). Furthermore, according to the census in 1965 (as cited in Yüksel, 2011, p.111), 10.324 people living in Edirne, 3.673 people living in Çanakkale, 3375 people living in Kırklareli, 1707 people living in Balıkesir, 1632 people living in Tekirdağ and 1289 people living in İzmir stated that their mother-tongue was Pomak. However, it should be noted that since the Pomaks living in Turkey embrace the Turkish identity, the number of Pomaks should be estimated to be higher. The meaning of the word Pomak is helper in Slavic languages as they helped Ottoman army come to Balkans (Turan 1999). Most Pomaks consider themselves Turkish (Demetriou 2004).

1.2.2 Pomak language

The Pomak language or as some people call Rhodopean language belongs to the South Slavic language branch like Bulgarian and Macedonian. The word, Pomak, was first noted by Felix Kanitz in 1839 and derived from the Slavic verb, *pomaiçi*, or *pomaç*i, which means to help. It is a minority language spoken primarily in Thrace, including Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. There are some other Pomak speakers living in Serbia, however, they are claimed to speak Serbo-Croatian (Turan, 1999). It is an oral language since it does not have any written scripts. Genealogically, it is a member of the South Eastern Slavic Language Family belonging to the Indo-European Language family. There is no established orthography of the language. Very close to Bulgarian language, the Pomak language is claimed to be a "purer and more archaic" version of Bulgarian (Aarbakke, 2012). Manova (2011) states that Bulgarian dialectologists mention that Pomak is a dialect of Bulgarian, mainly spoken in the Rhodope region. Moreover, it is also claimed to be the direct descendant of the Old Church Slavonic (Kehaya, 2017). Even though whether it is a language or a dialect of Bulgarian has been disputable and is currently a matter of discussion, the agreement even amongst the native speakers of Bulgarian is that Pomak sounds like the Archaic and "purer" Bulgarian. Following this line of thinking, Kehaya (2017, p.5) claims "modern Bulgarian can be said to be derived from Pomak rather than vice versa which is often claimed. It follows therefore, that Pomak is not an offspring of Bulgarian". He offers two conclusions based on what native speakers of Bulgarian report: Pomak is either the ancestor of Bulgarian as it is called as the archaic form of Bulgarian or it is a sister language to Bulgarian, rejecting the claims that the Pomak language is an offspring of Modern Bulgarian.



(Kehaya, 2017, p.5)

Figure 2. Pomak within the Indo-European language family

The language itself is an endangered language as many speakers of it do not speak it at home[2] or they give it up due to the fact that the Pomak language is no longer seen to be significant, and the dominant languages in the area, Greek and Turkish, provide social and economic benefits (Manova, 2011).



Figure 3. Places where Pomak is spoken

(Sandry, 2013)

This map shows roughly the areas where Pomak is spoken. However, due to the mobility of people especially in Turkey, it should be noted that it is rather challenging to limit the Pomak speakers to the areas shown. There are Pomak speakers almost all over the Western part of Turkey (Yüksel, 2011).

As part of this thesis, I have been in touch with native speakers of different parts of Thrace, mainly from Uzunköprü, Edirne – Turkey. Even from village to village, there seem to be some dialectal differences in the language observed. This is also observed in the Pomak varieties spoken in Greece as Kehaya (2017) states that

[2] The informants whom I got in touch with reported the fact that Pomak is no longer used at homes and the younger generations do not acquire the language.

depending on the village, there are minor to major dialectal differences, which are not only at the phonological level; but also at the lexical level as well as at the syntactic level. This is also confirmed in the work (Sandry, 2013), who also observes not only lexical and phonological differences; but also, morphosyntactic differences especially in the case system. These differences are also present despite the extremely short distances between villages in Greece and Turkey. Since Pomak does not have a so-called standard dialect, it is rather difficult to compare the dialectal differences. To illustrate the lexical differences, here, I provide a table Sandry (2013) provides and the data I collected on the Pomak variety spoken in Turkey[3].

Table 2. Pomak variety spoken in Turkey

Pasevik Pomak (Sandry, 2013)	Another Pomak[4] Village in Greece (Sandry, 2013)	Pomak Variety in Uzunköprü-Turkey	English Translation
marauška	mravka	Mravuçka	ant
verespit	podilato	Psiklet	bicycle
tumafil	araba/o	Kulata	car
pature	bijami	Gaşti	pajamas /loose trousers
kalčun	çorap	Çorape	sock
urumtsku	gîrtski	Rumsku	Greek
pari	pari/para	Pari	money

[3] Stress is ignored.
[4] She does not provide the source of the data and the location where the data were collected.

As mentioned earlier, it is hard to classify the dialects as each village seems to have their own way of speaking due to the fact that the language is not written. However, there are some attempts in having broad dialectal classifications based on geography, most of which seem to ignore the differences even between villages. One of such attempts is made by Yüksel (2011), whose aim is to provide some information about the languages spoken in Turkey. Yüksel (2011) proposes the following classification of the Pomak dialects:

- Lofça Pomak
- Rhodopes Pomak
- Western Thrace Pomak
- Drama, Karacaova and Tikveş Pomak
- Gora Pomak

According to the classification of Kehaya (2017), the dialects are illustrated below:

- Dialect of Pachni
- Dialect of Kotili
- Dialect of Glafki
- Dialect of Thermes
- Dialect of Medusa
- Dialect of Mandena

Sandry (2013) works on the Paševik variety of Pomak spoken in the Western part of Greece, which could roughly be the dialect of Rhodopes according to the classification of Yüksel (2011)[5].

When it comes to the language use and situation, Pomak is considered to be an endangered language (Sandry, 2013; Kehaya, 2017). Sandry (2013) conducted a questionnaire about the language use in Pasevik Pomak and reports the following results:

Figure 4. Language use in Pasevik Pomak

NO	AGE	SEX	HM LANG AS CHILD	HM LANG NOW	EDUCATION	LIVED AWAY
1	43	f	P	P G	p	no
2	33	f	P	P	p	no
3	35	m	P	P	p + T	no
4	70	m	P	P	p -	G
5	16	f		P G	p + G	G
6	15	f		P G	p + G	G
7	61	f	P	P	p	no
8	60	f	P	P	p	G
9	55	m	P	P	p -	other
10	77	f	P	P	p	no
11	65	m	P	P T	p ++	other
12	22	f	P	P	p	no
14	23	f	P	P G	p ++ G	G
15	45	f	P	P	p	no
16	38	f	P	P G T	p + T	G
17	28	f	P	P G T	p/G + G	G
18	14	m		P T	p + G	no
19	15	f		P	p + G	no
20	38	f	P	P	p	no
21	58	f	P	P	p	no
22	65	f	P	P	p	no
23	71	m	P	P G	p	no
24	61	m	P	P	p	no
25	37	f	P	P G	p	no
26	16	m		P	p + T	no
27	19	m	P	P	p ++ G	G
28	68	m	P	P	p +	G
29	30	f	PT	PT	p + G T	T
30	47	f	P	P	p	no

(Sandry, 2013, p. 26)

[5] However, it should be noted that there are even differences between settlements in the same region even when the distance is short. Therefore, The Pomak variety Sandry (2013) works on may reflect differences especially at the lexical level.

p completed primary school

p/G mainstream primary school with instruction in Greek only

p - did not complete primary school

p + educated beyond primary school level

+ T secondary school or vocational training, Turkish main language

+ G mainstream secondary school or vocational training, Greek only

p ++ higher education

++ G higher education in Greek

The table above shows that in the village of Pasevik, the Pomak language seems to be spoken at home contrary to the situation in Turkey. What is interesting in Pasevik village is that Greek is the second language contrary to the situations even within Greece, where Turkish is the dominant language. Therefore, Pasevik Pomak, as it is spoken as the primary language, seems to be well-preserved compared to the other varieties of Pomak. However, it should be noted that Pasevik village, as it is located in the military zone, was isolated from the other Pomak villages in the area due to some tension between Bulgaria and Greece. The Greek State did not want Pomaks to help Bulgaria invade the Northern part of Greece as both Bulgarians and Pomaks share the same Slavic roots (Sandry, 2013; Kehaya, 2017). Furthermore, residents of this village were banned to have private cars, which made it impossible for Pasevik Pomaks to travel. These bans may have resulted in the preservation of the language, as they had to speak Pomak all the time. Besides, they had very little or no exposure to either Greek or Turkish as Sandry (2013) states.[6] Therefore, it could be case that Pasevik Pomak is more preserved compared to the other dialects due to these bans on the individuals, making them immobile.

[6] This situation changed when the villagers started to have TV at homes.

The Pomak language lexicon mainly consists of materials of Slavic origin as one could expect. Nevertheless, the large body of lexical items is through borrowing as it is a language in contact and has been under the linguistic domination of different languages in the region. These borrowings are generally from Greek and Turkish and Kehaya (2017) observes that the Turkish lexical items are borrowed for daily vocabulary related to daily lives and for Greek, it is generally the specialized vocabulary related to technology, science and as such. The table (3) illustrates such borrowings.

Table 3. Borrowed lexical items

Pomak Word	**The Origin of the Word**
xasker (soldier)	Turkish – asker (soldier)
dort (four)	Turkish – dört (four)
gimnastiki	Greek – γυμναστική (gymnastikí) (gymnastics)
gimnasio	Greek – γυμνάσιο (gymnásio) (high school)

Especially after the islamization of Pomak people during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, lots of Turkish words were borrowed, varying from numbers/counting to the religious terms as well as some daily and household objects. The second language from which Pomak seems to have borrowed many words is the Greek language spoken in the area. However, Kehaya (2017) differentiates between the loanwords from Turkish and Greek in terms of the reasons of borrowing. That is to say that due to the religion shared between Turks and Pomaks, Pomaks happily accepted and used the Turkish words and had they not been converted to Islam, they might not have

borrowed so many words from Turkish When it comes to Greek, being the language of science, education and technology at those times, it was the source of the Pomak words in the aforementioned areas , in which we could also see loanwords in languages that are different from Pomak.

Kehaya (2017), in his thesis, proposes an alphabet that can reflect the phonemes of Pomak as close as possible. This alphabet is based on the Latin script but includes letters like *ş* /ʃ/ and *ç* //tʃ/ that do not exist in the Latin script but exists in the Turkish alphabet, which is the modified version of the Latin script. As Pomak is in contact with Greek as well, the letters Γγ, Δδ, and Θ, θ might be added in the alphabet but it should be noted that these letters are pronounced as /g/, /d/ and /t/ respectively especially by the elders, due to the effect of Turkish as these letters or sounds (for example, dental fricatives or voiced velar fricative) do not exist in Turkish.

Figure 5. Alphabet of Pomak

Letter	Name	Phonemic equivalent	Example and gloss
Aa	a	ɑ	saat 'hour, clock'
Ää	æ	æ	mæstu 'place'
Bb	be	b	bardak 'glass'
Cc	je	dʒ	ikinci 'second'
Çç	tshe	tʃ	çüzdi 'strangers'
Dd	de	d	dete 'child'
Ee	e	e	zeytin '(olive) oil'
Ff	fe	f	maf 'terrible'
Gg	ge	g	glödam 'I see'
Hh	he	x or h	hizmet 'service
İi	i	i	kilu 'kilo'
Iı	ɯ	ɯ	havlıye 'towel'
Jj	zhe	ʒ	jena 'woman'
Kk	ka	k	kufin 'basket'
Ll	le	l	likyo 'senior highschool'
Mm	me	m	mikser 'mixer'
Nn	ne	n	nevæsta 'bride'
Oo	o	o	doska 'plank'
Öö	œ	œ	jõlva 'turle'
Pp	pe	p	pepel 'ash'
Rr	re	r	rabuta 'work'
Ss	se	s	slatko 'sweet'
Şş	she	ʃ	şiye 'neck'
Tt	te	t	tütün 'tobacco'
Uu	u	u	præsnu 'milk'
Üü	ü	y	mjjü 'uncle'
Vv	ve	v	voda 'water'
Yy	ye	j	jenno 'one'
Zz	ze	z	zdraf 'healthy'

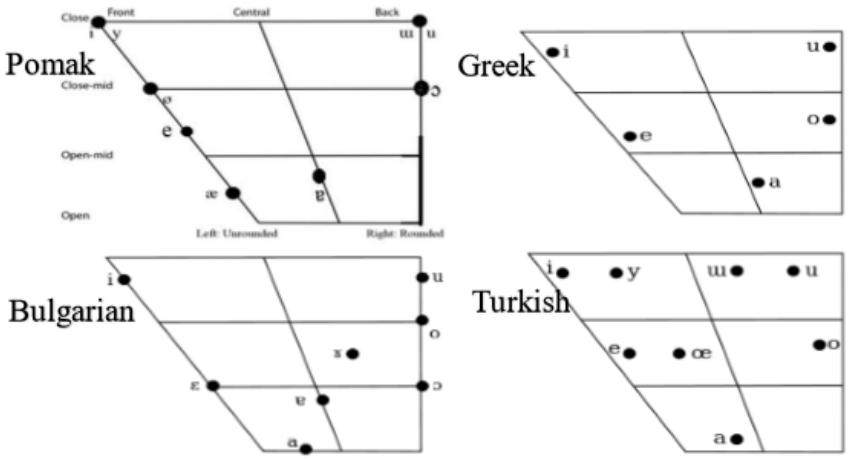
(Kehaya, 2017, p. 9)

The language does not have an established writing system or orthography as well as an alphabet; however, Manova (2011) observes that for the time being, there is a tendency among the speakers to use the Latin alphabet and Anglicized orthography[7].

1.2.3 Pomak vowels

Pomak, being a contact language, has its own vowels common to all Slavic languages as well as the vowels, *y, ɯ, ø*, borrowed from Turkish as the words including these sounds are generally loanwords of Turkic origin. The figure below shows the vowels present in Pomak along with other languages with which Pomak is in contact, based on Kehaya's (2017) classification[8].

Figure 6. Vowels in Pomak



(Kehaya, 2017, p.18)

[7] To my observation, the informants of mine living in Greece either use the Latin or Cyrillic script, while the ones in Turkey use the Latin alphabet only.
[8] To the best of my knowledge, all the vowels are also present in the Pomak variety spoken in Turkey.

1.2.4 Pomak consonants

Although the inventory of Pomak consonants includes all the consonants present in Slavic languages (Sussex & Cubberley, 2006, p. 163), it has significantly changed throughout the history, incorporating a set of additional sounds owing to the fact that it has received so many words from the dominant languages in the region, which are Turkish and Greek. As cited in Kehaya (2017), the Pomak language owns a set of consonantal sounds ranging from eighteen (Panagiotidis, 1997, p. 61), to twenty (Theoharidis, 1996, p. 14), to twenty-one (Sandry, 2013, p. 42), to twenty-two (Papadimitriou et al, 1996, p. 8, Kokkas, 2005, p. 25). What should be noted is that the inventory is still changing and the difference between the older & younger generations especially in Greece can be observed for three consonants: *ð θ ɣ*. These sounds are used extensively in Modern Greek and Kehaya (2017) observes the trend of adapting the aforementioned consonants into its counterparts, *d, t, g* in elder generations's speech when a word is borrowed from Greek. However, this does not seem to be the case in younger generation's speech as almost all of them are fluent speakers of Greek and use the aforementioned consonants as they are without any adaptation. On the other hand, so far, if the adaptation process has already taken place, the Pomak speakers do not reconvert the sounds, *d, t, g* into *ð, θ, ɣ* (Kehaya, 2017). This adaptation does take place in the case of the Pomak variety spoken in Turkey as Turkish does not have the sounds that are present in Greek and since Turkish is the dominant language in Turkey, the Pomak speakers do not seem to have these consonants in their inventory. The following chart adapted from Kehaya (2017) gives the classification of the Pomak consonants.

Table 4. Consonants in Pomak

	Bilabial	L.dental	Dental	Alveolar	P.alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			c ɟ	k g			
Nasal	m			n			ɲ	ŋ			
Trill											
Tap or Flap				r							
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			x ɣ			h
Affricate							tʃ dʒ				
Approximant							j				
Lateral Approximant				l			ʎ				

(Adapted from Kehaya (2017, p 21-22)

1.2.5 Nouns in Pomak

When it comes to the morphosyntax of nouns, one can see that Pomak is rich in terms of inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. It also presents a three-way grammatical gender division as illustrated in the table (5):

Table 5. Grammatical gender division in Pomak

Words in English	**Masculine**	**Feminine**	**Neuter**
cat			kote (indef.)
mother		mayka (indef.)	
brother	brat (indef.)		

Pomak also shows the following case markings on DP's as well as expressing (in)definiteness via suffixation. In the tables (6), (7) and (8) below, case suffixes in three genders are shown. However, it should be noted that the following charts are based on the variety spoken in Greece and the Turkish variety of Pomak makes use of the suffix –(u)mu for dative, which seems to be the default dative case, which is the main investigation of the present study. As far as gender is concerned, the Pomak varities spoken in Turkey behave differently as far as I have been able to observe such that in some varieties, gender is lost[9] unlike the varities in Greece, which preserve three-way gender distinction. Whether there is accusative case, at least visible, is also debated in the literature as Sandry (2013) and Kehaya (2017) describe four cases which are nominative, dative, oblique and vocative, whereas Adamou (2011) assumes that instead of the oblique case, there is accusative case that is

[9] A blog on Pomak grammar written in Turkish states the three-way distinction in Pomak: https://www.pomak.eu/board/index.php?topic=103.0

closely related to differential marking and humanness of the object as shown in tables below.

Table 6. Masculine singular nouns

	NOMINATIVE	DATIVE	OBLIQUE	VOCATIVE
"medicine"	Ilaç	ilaç-imu	ilaç-en	ilaç
"rock"	Kamen	kamen-umu	kamen-an	kamen

(Adapted from Kehaya (2017))[10]

Table 7. Feminine singular nouns

	NOMINATIVE	DATIVE	OBLIQUE	VOCATIVE
girl	Moma	mom-une/xi	momɑ-nɑ	moma
friend(female)	Arkadaşka	ɑrkɑdɑşk- une/xi	arkadaşk-na	arkadaşka

(Adapted from Kehaya (2017))

Table 8. Neuter singular nouns

	NOMINATIVE	DATIVE	OBLIQUE	VOCATIVE
child	Dete	dete-nu/mu	Dete-nu	dete
cat	Kote	kote-mu	kote-nu	kote

(Adapted from Kehaya (2017))

1.2.6 Determiners in Pomak

Definite determiner in Pomak is an affix attached to the noun and/or adjective stem. This definiteness system is puzzling in the closely-related relative Bulgarian especially in terms of the distribution of DEF. The general observation in Bulgarian grammar is that DEF affix attaches to the noun if there is a noun only; if an adjectival

[10] The pomak language, independent of the variety, i.e. a variety spoken in Greece or Turkey, seems to make use of the same suffixes for the same case-marking.

modifier precedes the noun, the DEF affix attaches to the adjective rather than the noun; if there is a numeral preceding an adjective, the DEF is attached to the numeral and finally if a noun has a PP complement, the DEF attaches to the noun, thereby, making the other places where DEF can attach to hypothetically unavailable (Koev, 2011).

(3) a. momč-e-to *(Bulgarian)*
boy-neut-def.neut
'the boy'

b. xubav-a-ta žen-a
pretty-fem-def.fem woman-fem
'the pretty woman'

c. [silno vpečatlen-a-ta] žen-a
strongly impressed-fem-def.fem woman-fem
'the strongly impressed woman'

d. [gord-a-ta [ot m?ž-a si]] žen-a
proud-fem-def.fem of husband.masc-def.masc her woman-fem
'the woman who is proud of her husband'

e. tret-a-ta nov-a knig-a
third-fem-def.fem new-fem book-fem
'the third new book'

f. motor-?t [na Ivan]
motorcycle.masc-def.masc of ivan
'Ivan's motorcycle'

(Koev, 2011 p. 134)

The same distribution is also present in Pomak with some differences as in Pomak definite suffixes also exhibit spatial or temporal proximity to the speaker (-s) or the hearer (-t) or spatial or temporal distance from both (-n) shown in the table (9) (Adamou, 2011).

Table 9. Definite Suffixes in Pomak

kote-so	kote-to	kote-no
cat-DEF.S	cat- DEF.A/PAST	cat-DEF.D/FUT/IRR/HAB
'The cat (close to the speaker, here and now).	'The cat (close to the addressee or realis past).'	'The cat (distal, realis future, irrealis or habitual).'

(Adamou, 2011, p. 2)

This spatial and temporal use of definite articles is rare in Slavic languages but is present in unrelated languages such as Chamicuro spoken in Peru. As Pomak exhibits grammatical gender, it should be noted that the definite suffixes have different allomorphs shown in the table (10).

Table 10. Allomorphs of the definite suffixes[11]

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Plural
-as /-es	-sa	-su	-se/-sa
-at /-et	-ta	-tu	-te/-ta
-an/-en	-na	-nu	-ne/-na

(Kehaya, 2017, p. 51)

1.2.7 Verbs in Pomak

This section briefly describes the verbs and verbal morphology in Pomak. It is noted by Kehaya (2017) that lots of denominal and deadjectival verbs are attested. In Pomak, which is rich in verbal morphology, verbs are marked with tense, aspect, modality, person, and number. Therefore, the subjects are generally dropped as they

[11] Due to dialect variation, *-so, -to, -no* suffixes available in Table 9 are not obversed in Table 10.

can be understood from the inflectional verbal morphology. However, when there are disambiguation or empathic readings, the subject pronouns are used. However, this is not the case if the verb is "be" shown in (4).

(4) *Sam xubaf

1st -sg.pres goodmsc.

As reported in Kehaya (2017), in all dialects of Pomak, this construction is not allowed. Based on the data I collected[12], this is the case in Edirne Uzunköprü dialect, too. Verbs in Pomak are conjugated for tense, aspect as well as number/agreement. As the progressive aspect is only limited to past tense, non-past tense yields habitual readings, and at-the-moment readings. The temporal reading is generally revealed with time adverbials such as *now*.

Perfective/Imperfective aspect distinction is also important for Pomak verbs and perfectivity is marked on the verbs. When it comes to future on the other hand, it is analytical and verbs are not inflected, which is another common feature of the Balkan Sprachbund, which more or less patterns alike with English future. To roughly illustrate, non-past, past and future, for the verb *knock*, see the conjugation in the table (11)[13].

[12] Kehaya (2017) reports that when the structure is topicalised, subject-drop is possible, which is not attested in Uzunköprü dialect.

[13] It should be noted that not all verbs follow this pattern as there are some irregular verbs.

Table 11. The conjugation of the word *çuka* (knock)

	Non-past	Past	
Ja	çuka-m	çuka-x	şe çuka-m
Ti	çuk-aş/iş[14]	çuka-şe	şe çuk-aş/iş
Toy	çu-ka	çuka-şe	şe çu-ka
Ne	çuka-me	çuka-xme	şe çuka-me
Ve	çuka-te	çuka-xte	şe çuka-te
Te	çuka-t	çuka-xa	şe çuka-t

(Adapted from Sandry 2013, p. 215)

1.2.8 Mood

This section very briefly discusses mood in Pomak. Like in other languages, imperatives in Pomak have different readings such as request, command and giving directions as well as orders. In Pomak, second person singular and second person plural is used. Besides, there is also prohibitive in the language, which could be regarded as the negative form of the imperative but it has got a different form in certain verb groups as can be seen in table (12).

Table 12. Imperative forms in Pomak

Verb	Sng.Imp.	Pl.Imp.	Sng.Prob.	Pl.Prob	Gloss
pij-em	pij	pijite	nimoj pi	nimojte pi	drink

[14] This difference seems to be dialectical.

As can be seen in the table, when the so-called prohibitive is used, the verb does not inflect for number and person. Instead, the *nimoj* (roughly corresponds to *do not* in English) is inflected. Therefore, the verb remains in its stem form. When it comes to the subjunctive form in Pomak, Kehaya (2017) shows that the marker is *da*. It also behaves like a finite complementizer shown in (5).

(5) Ja ` iʃtam da ` pravem.

I want-1Sg.pres. comp. do-1Sg.pres.imp.

'I want to do.'

(Adapted from Kehaya, 2017, p. 68)

1.2.9 Basic sentence structure in Pomak

Pomak being a morphologically rich language exhibits person/number agreement on verbs and is generally classified as a null-subject language. Subjects are used for empathic purposes otherwise dropped. Word order in Pomak is SVO (Kehaya, 2017). However, it should be reminded that the variety spoken in Turkey is SOV in most cases, accommodating the Turkish Word Order. Sandry (2013) also describes the sentence structure in Pomak, grouping them into six groups.

Table 13. Sentence structure in Pomak

Fatme' ye=de'-0	Fatme' ni ye=de'-0	Fatme' ye=de'-0 li?
Fatme eat=ext-3sg.prs	Fatme neg eat=ext-3sg.prs	Fatme eat=ext-3sg.prs q
'Fatme is eating.'	'Fatme is not eating.'	'Is Fatme eating?'
Fatme' ne li ye=de'-0?	Fatme' yeš	Fatme' ni'muy ye

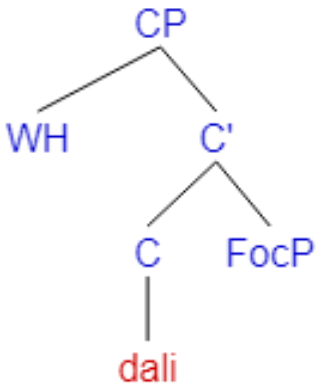
Fatme neg q eat=ext- 3sg.prs	Fatme eat.imp	Fatme proh eat.proh
'Isn't Fatme eating?'	'Eat, Fatme.'	'Don't eat, Fatme.'

(Sandry, 2013, p. 234)

There are two types of negation in Pomak (Sandy, 2013; Kehaya, 2017), which are *ne* and *ni*. The former one, *ne*, is usually found with the copula while the latter negation particle is found with verbs such as *imam* (i.e. have). The questions as shown above are constructed with the question particle *li*. However, there are instances of questions, which have the overt complementizer *da* shown in (6).

(6) Da li Ti ye ne tö'šk|a ča'nta=na?
comp q pro.2sg.dat be.3sg.prs neg heavy|f bag=art.dist
'Isn't your bag heavy?

(Sandry, 2013)



(Izvorski, 1995; Lambova, 2001, 2004)[15].

[15] They give the syntactic tree above for the question formation in Bulgarian. In Pomak, the use of *da* seems to be restricted and not all questions have the *da* complementizer.

1.2.10 Verb types in Pomak

Pomak exhibits intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs, depending on the number of arguments a verb can take. These types are illustrated below.

(7) Intransitive

spi-0

sleep-3sg.prs

'He is sleeping'

(8) Transitive

i'šta-m	kaxvö'
want-1sg.prs	Coffee

'I want (a) coffee.'

In the Pomak language, there are voice alternations as well such as causative-inchoative alternation, illustrated below.

Table 14. Voice alternations in Pomak

ske'mle=na	Sa	ye	sko'rši-l|a
chair=art.dist	Refl	be.aux.3sg.prs	break- ptcp.pst|f
'The chair broke.			

(Sandry, 2013, p. 239)

In these constructions, reflexives are obligatory. It should be noted that also in passives, the reflexive use is mandatory[16].

[16] For the detailed discussion, see (Schafer, 2009)

1.2.11 Noun Phrases in Pomak

To begin with noun phrases in the Pomak language, the first thing to describe, which is also in relation to one of the main topics of this thesis, is the possessive suffix and its use. In Pomak, possessive suffixes encode the gender, number, as well as the definiteness of the possessee rather than the possessor. These suffixes are shown below:

Table 15. Indefinite/definite suffixes in Pomak

Sandry (2013: pp. 149)	**MASC.**	**FEM.**	**NEUTER**	**PL.**
INDEF	Axme't=uv	Axme't=v|a	Axme't=v|u	Axme't=v|i
DEF	Axme't=v=en	Axme't=v|a=na	Axme't=v|u=nu	Axme't=v|i=ne

As one can see from the table (15) above, the gender is crucial in terms of selecting the suffix and neuter is generally attested rarely.

(9) Tuale't-uv kapa'k
toilet-poss-masc-lid
'toilet lid'

(Sandry, 2013, p.152)

(10) Sercan-uv-a sestra:
SERCAN-POSS-FEM SISTER
'Sercan's sister'

In the example above, (9), (10), one can realize that the possessive suffix changes depending on the qualities: i.e. singularity, femininеness etc., of the possessee.

Proper names are also declined to show possessiveness. The whole declension table taken from Sandry (2013) for Pomak can be found in the table (16).

Table 16. Declension

NAME		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
Axme't	indef	Axme't=uv	Axme't=v|a	Axme't=v|u	Axme't=v|I
	def	Axme't=v=en	Axme't=v|a=na	Axme't=v|u=nu	Axme't=v|i=ne
Basri'	indef	Basri'=yuv	Basri'=v|a	Basri'=v|u	Basri'=v|I
	def	Basri'=v=en	Basri'=v|a=na	Basri'=v|u=nu	Basri'=v|i=ne
Ritva'n	indef	Ritva'n=uv	Ritva'n=v|a	Ritva'n=v|u	Ritva'n=v|I
	def	Ritva'n=v=en	Ritva'n=v|a=na	Ritva'n=v|u=nu	Ritva'n=v|i=ne
Mustafa	indef	Mustaf=o'v	Mustaf=o'v|a	Mustaf=o'v|u	Mustaf=o'v|i
	def	Mustaf=o'v=en	Mustaf=o'v|a=na	Mustaf=o'v|u=nu	Mustaf=o'v|i=ne
Meriye'm	indef	Meriye'm=uv	Meriye'm=v|a	Meriye'm=v|u	Meriye'm=v|i
	def	Meriye'm=v=en	Meriye'm=v|a=na	Meriye'm=v|u=nu	Meriye'm=v|i=ne
Burju'	indef	Burju'=v	Burju'=v|a	Burju'=v|u	Burju'=v|I
	def	Burju'=v=en	Burju'=v|a=na	Burju'=v|u=nu	Burju'=v|i=ne

(Sandry, 2013, p. 149)

However, there are dialectical differences in terms of possessive suffixes. To illustrate this, in the Pomak variety reported and described by Kehaya (2017), there is no genitive-poss construction in the language and there is only the dative case, which may potentially show the possession, which is the case in Pomak's closest relative Bulgarian. Bulgarian exhibits one of the features of so-called the Balkan Sprachbund,

which is the merge of the dative case and genitive case. Cinque & Krapova (2010) show in Bulgarian that there exists no one-to-one correspondence between Case features and morphological form to determine whether dative or genitive is underlyingly present. Their claim is that even though morpho-phonologically, there is dative and genitive syncretism, there is a separate genitive in the language as the dative-marked argument on the surface structure may value genitive provided that their surface position in the clause is derived by movement from inside the DP where they are initially merged as invariably genitive (Cinque & Krapova, 2010 pp.18) which is evidenced in Pomak, too. When it comes to the Uzunköprü dialect of Pomak, the observed pattern is different. However, before stating this difference, it should be noted that there are also variations in the different dialects of Pomak, spoken in Turkey. The Pomak variety in Uzunköprü makes use of the so-called preposition, *na*, in order to show possession, illustrated in (11).

(11) Na Esra dete- tu

To Esra baby def

Esra's baby

This pattern is commonly observed in the Uzunköprü dialect of Pomak. In this dialect, there are no genitive suffixes as shown in (Sandry 2013) and the pattern of possession is also different from the dialect described by Kehaya (2017) as this dialect only makes use of dative case without the preposition, which is required in Uzunköprü dialect.

1.3 Informants

The data this present thesis is based on are mainly from four speakers of Pomak variety spoken in Turkey, who are originally from Edirne but live in Istanbul. Their ages are 83 (F), 54 (F), 51 (M) and 25 (M). All of them are Turkish-Pomak bilingual speakers except for the youngest one, who is only partially receptive bilingual. At home, their primary language to communicate is Pomak; however, it is only limited to conversations at home and conversations with some other relatives, who can speak Pomak as well. The level of education also varies among these three people as one is a graduate of primary school; one is a graduate of middle school and one is a student at a university in Turkey. F. (83) acquired Turkish while she was a primary school student and before that, she could only speak in Pomak. F (54) and M (51) are both simultaneous bilinguals as they acquired Pomak and Turkish at the same time. F (54)'s mother spoke only in Pomak to her and her father, on the other hand, spoke in Turkish and Pomak. M (25) had little exposure to Pomak from his mother and can be considered as a receptive bilingual since he said he could understand words and guessed the context, but his language production is very limited to some simplex sentences with basic vocabulary. My language informants informed me that they no longer converse in Pomak with members of the younger generations as the latter use Turkish. Besides, there is also another informant M, who lives in Şahin village in Xanthi, Greece, who has provided data on the Şahin variety of Pomak. Furthermore, I also used the data that Sandry (2013) provides as well as Kehaya (2017)'s descriptive study on Pomak grammar. Besides, I have two other speakers of Pomakfrom Şahin village in Xanthi (İskeçe) in Greece, who provided me with data on double object constructions in the Greek variety of Pomak.

1.4 Data collection

In order to collect data, the verb list was created and later, we tested these verbs with our consultants. Since the aim of this thesis is the applicative constructions in Pomak, particular constructions were tested based on possible use of applicatives such as marking thematic roles such as benefactive, recipient, possession and external possessors via applicatives. The elicitation method of the data was through Turkish – Pomak translation of the created sentences. Besides, the researcher created some sentences in Pomak and asked for judgements in relation to whether the sentence is grammatical or not. Due to the global pandemic going on throughout the stages of the current thesis, most data collection was completed online.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, we will review the approaches to applicatives, providing data from different languages and their various syntactic functions.

In Chapter 3, based on Cuervo (2003), we will analyze ditranstive constructions in Pomak, considering the two dialects, Şahin (Xanthi- Greece) dialect and Uzunköprü (Edirne- Turkey) dialect, showing their distinct syntactic properties and we will show that Xanthi dialect has low applicatives and therefore has double object constructions while Edirne dialect does not have low applicative head in its syntactic inventory and exhibits prepositional ditranstive pattern.

In Chapter 4, we will focus on Uzunköprü dialect and will analyze the possessor applicatives in Pomak which bring in two readings, affectnedness and

emphasis and we will propose two different syntactic structures associated with the readings available.

In the last chapter of this thesis, we will present our concluding remarks in relation to the applicatives in Pomak and we will point out the remaining issues and suggest directions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the views on applicative constructions in various languages in the literature. As there is no other study discussing these particular constructions in the Pomak language, this chapter is limited to the related constructions in unrelated languages as well as discussing them in the Slavic linguistics literature. We only aim at giving the descriptions of applicatives and their distributional properties as well as theoretical discussions and assumptions in accounting for their several functions and how they are mapped onto the syntax.

2.2 Introducing the typology of applicatives

Applicative constructions are the constructions in which the verb typically bears a suffix, the applicative head, whose job is to license a new argument (non-core or oblique argument) in the syntactic structure. Without this suffix on the verb, this newly-introduced argument could not be part of the event otherwise. These particular constructions first drew the attention of linguists through several Bantu languages as Henderson (2020) states that no other morphological element in Bantu languages has drawn more attention than applicatives have since they are omnipresent in almost all Bantu languages spoken in Africa. Even though their morphological form is almost always consistent, their syntactic and semantic functions vary a great deal in this

language family. To illustrate this pattern of applicatives, the following examples from (Bresnan & Moshi, 1990) are given.

(1) a. N - ä - ï - lyì – à k-élyá [Chaga]
FOC-1SUB-PR-eat-FV 7-food
'He/She is eating food.'
b. N - ä - ï - lyì - **í** - à m-**kà** k-élyá
FOC-1SUB-PR-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife.'

(Bresnan & Moshi, 1990)

As can be seen from the examples in (1), the applicative marking on the verb introduces one more argument in the structure, supertransitivizing the predicate, which is already a two-place predicate. However, if the verb is an intransitive verb, then, the applicative morphology can make it a transitive one as shown in (2).

(2) a. N - ä - ï - zrìc - **í** - à mbùyà
FOC-1SUB-PR-run-APPL-FV 9-friend
'He is running for a friend.'

(Bresnan & Moshi, 1990)

In the literature, on the other hand, the term applicative is also used for some constructions in languages without this applicative marking on the verb, which we can see in Chaga. One such construction is the double object constructions in English. In this line of thinking, Marantz (1993) assumes that the constructions with dative or accusative marking to show the affected argument(s) without the presence of this verbal applicative morphology can be considered as applicative constructions illustrated in (3).

(3) a. I read a letter.

b. I read a letter to John.

c. I read **John** a letter

(Adapted from Jeong, 2006)

In (3c), John appears in the argument position as the affected entity of the reading event described by the verb. Therefore, for now, it can be said that there are two types of applicatives in terms of whether a specific language employs an applicative marking on its verb. In general, this additional, non-core, argument is interpreted to be benefactive or instrumental (Baker, 1988). However, the so-called applied argument can receive different theta roles such as malfactive, recipient, goal, locative, and source as such.

(4) a. Nd-áká-úray-**ír** -á nyoká pa-dombó [Chaga]
I-PST-steal-APPL-FV 1-mother 9-money
'I stole money from my mother.'

(Pylkkänen, 2002)

b. Mavuto a - na - umb - **ir** - a mpeni mtsuko [Chichewa]
Mavuto SP-PST- mold-APPL-ASP knife waterpot
'Mavuto molded the waterpot with a knife.'

(Baker, 1988)

c. M-chawi a - li - wa -tup - **ia** ma-pande ma-kubwa [Swahili]
1-wizard 1-PST-them-throw-APPL 6-block 6-big
'The wizard hurled great blocks at them.'

(Marantz 1993:127)

d. Bvut - **ir** - a mw-ana banga [Chisona]
PR-snatch-APPL-FV 1-child 5-knife
'Snatch the knife from the child.'

(Mabugu, 2000)

Not only do the applicatives mark different thematic roles as illustrated in (4) (from a to d), but they are involved in different types of constructions as well. One such case that is documented in the literature is the so-called possessor applicatives shown in (5).

(5) Nana-k bere-s xe-pe d-u-mbon-u. [Laz]
mother-erg child-dat hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps
'The mother washed the child's hands.'

(Öztürk, 2016)

In the Laz example (5), dative-marked argument behaves as the possessor of the possessed element, hands. This pattern is also available in Pomak and many other Slavic languages and will be the topic of discussion in Chapter 4 of this thesis and the previous analyses of this phenomenon will be discussed later in this chapter.

Furthermore, recently, applicatives are found to be used in different modal constructions and contexts; thus, their modal use has also drawn some attention in the literature. To begin with, their modal meanings vary depending on the language they are used in. To exemplify the different readings available in the literature, we see that they are used in unintentional causation clauses, involuntary state constructions, clauses with dative subjects yielding various modal interpretations like circumstantial modality and necessity modality, out-of constructions etc.

(6) Şana-s k'ai a-bir-en. [Laz]
Şana-dat well appl-sing-impf.
'Şana is able to sing well.'

(Demirok et. al., 2018)

In the example in (6), the possibility reading is attested, which refers to the ability attributed to the dative-marked agent. However, in some cases, there could be instances of this ability, not attributed to the agent of the event but attributed to the external conditions (the circumstantial reading) such as the agricultural or soil-related features of the region as shown in the sentence (7).

(7) a. Laz-epe-s hak k'ivi dv-a-rg-er-an [Laz]
Laz-pl-dat here kiwi pv-appl-grow-impf-pl
'Laz people can grow kiwi here.'

(Demirok et. al., 2018)

b. Ali-s cami a-t'ax-e-n. [Laz]
Ali-dat glass appl-break-TS- pres.3ps
i. 'Ali can break the glass.'
ii. 'Ali involuntarily breaks glasses.'

(Öztürk, 2018)

In the example (7b), the involuntary modal reading is available in the presence of dative and the applicative morphology in the verb. Laz is not the only language allowing for applicatives to bring modal meanings of such different flavors. Slavic languages also exhibit such modal readings when the agent is dative-marked. Rivero et. Al. (2012) propose that involuntary state constructions are available in all Slavic languages with similar morphosyntactic make-up but different semantics.

(8) a. Mne xorošo rabotaet-sja [Russian]

I-dat well workpres·3sg-rfl

'I am feeling well in my working.'

(Benedicto, 1995 as cited in Rivero et. Al. (2012))

b. Janezu se je plesalo [Slovenian]

J-dat refl be3sg danced

'John {was in the mood for/ felt like} dancing.'

(Rivero, 2009)

c. Na decata im se raboteše [Bulgarian]

P children_the 3pl.dat refl work-impf·3sg

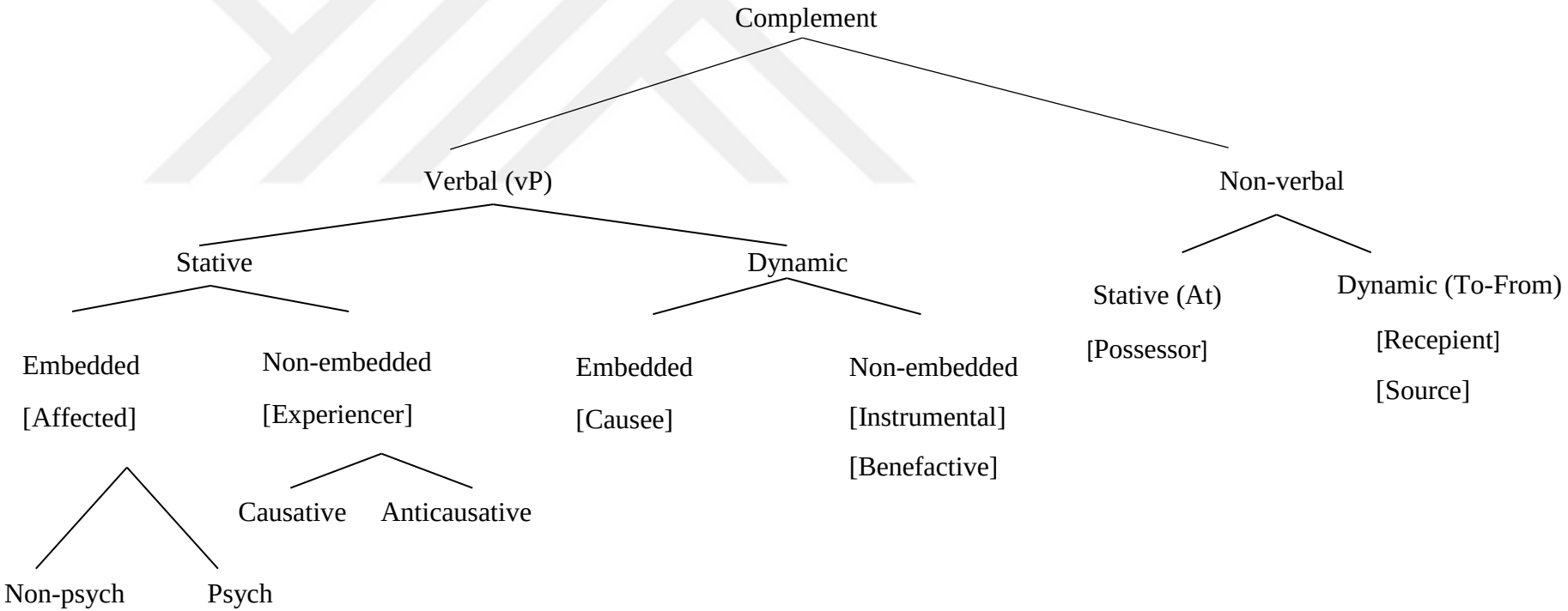
'The children felt like working.'

(Rivero, 2009)

As can be seen through the examples (8a, b, and c), the ingredients of these constructions are dative-marked subjects and a reflexive roughly. However, they yield different meanings, desiderative meaning available in Slovenian and Bulgarian and factual reading available in Russian. It should also be noted that these different readings result in contrastive truth conditions (Rivero, 2003; Rivero & Sheppard, 2003).

To sum up, applicative marking can be seen on verbs and it introduces one new argument in the structure, which is not normally part of it in the absence of this applicative morpheme. However, there are languages that do not mark applicatives on its verbs but dative or accusative marking to show the affected arguments can be considered as applicative constructions as well. Applicatives have different functions even in the same language family, which is illustrated in Bantu Languages and Slavic Languages. They introduce different types of arguments such as benefactive, malfactive, recipient and goal and based on their complement type there are many

different types of applicatives, whose typology is given by Cuervo (2020) and shown in figure (7). They also create modal contexts in different languages as well as showing possession.



(Cuervo, 2020 p. 19)

Figure 7. Different type of applicatives

2.3 Applicative types

This section aims to introduce the applicative types available cross-linguistically. We also discuss in this section the tests to differentiate different types of applicatives suggested in the literature. As one can see, the variation in constructions involving applicatives in terms of morphological marking as well as the thematic roles and functions is vast. However, there have been attempts to classify the types of applicatives in the literature in different frameworks.

2.3.1 Symmetric & asymmetric applicatives

To begin with, Baker (1988) and Bresnan and Moshi (1990) discuss that there are two types of languages in relation to how they code applicatives and these are symmetric and asymmetric languages. To start with the asymmetric applicatives, the applied argument shows the true properties of the objects in contrast to symmetric applicatives in which both direct and indirect objects show the object properties. In fact, these properties are also used to claim that the applied argument cannot be considered as an adjunct. One such difference is about the verbal agreement pattern shown in (9) as applied arguments just like objects can trigger agreement. However, the pattern is not universal among languages that show agreement of objects with verbs, bringing this dichotomy of symmetry.

(9) a. Chitsiru chi-na – wa_i -gul – **ir** – a t_i mpatso [Chichewa]
fool SP-PST-OP-buy-APPL-FV gift
'The fool bought them a gift.'

b. *Chitsiru chi-na – i_i – gul – **ir** – a atsikana t_i
fool SP-PST-OP-buy-APPL-FV girls
'The fool bought the girls it.'

(Marantz, 1993)

c. Umugóre a-rá-**mu$_i$**-he-er-a t_i ímbwa ibíryo [Kinyarwanda]
woman SP-PR-OP-give-APPL-ASP dog food
'The woman is giving food to the dog for him.'

d. Umugóre a-rá-**bi$_i$**-he-er-a umugabo ímbwa t_i
woman SP-PR-OP-give-APPL-ASP man dog
'The woman is giving it to the dog for the man.'

(Kimenyi, 1980)

Another difference between these two types lies within the transitivity requirements and behaviors. An applied argument in a symmetric language can be added to transitive and intransitive predicates, whereas in an asymmetric language, while it is possible to add the applied argument in a transitive predicate, adding it to an unergative predicate yields ungrammaticality (Jeong, 2006).

(10) a. Umugóre a-rá-som-er-a umuhuûngu igitabo [Kinyarwanda]
woman SP-PR-read-APPL-ASP boy book
'The woman is reading a book for the boy.'

b. Umugabo a-rá-som-er-a umugóre.
Man SP-PR-read-APPL-ASP woman
'The man is reading for the woman.'

(Kimenyi, 1980)

c. I bake him a cake

d. *I ran him.

(Jeong, 2006)

One last difference between these two symmetric and asymmetric applicatives is the A-movement properties. In the case of a symmetric applicative, when the construction is passivized, either the direct object or the indirect object could move to the subject position as show in (11).

(11) N – ä – ï – lyì – í – à m-kà k-élyá [Chaga]

foc-1sub-pr-eat-appl-fv 1-wife 7-food

'He is eating food for his wife.'

This sentence can be passivized in two ways as shown in (12).

(12) a. K-ely k – I – lyi – I – o m-ka *t*

7-food 7sub-pr-eat-appl-pass 1-wife

'The food is being eaten for the wife.'

b. M-ka n – a – I -lyi – I – o *t* k-elya

1-wife foc-1sub-pr-eat-appl-pass 7 -food

'The wife is having the food eaten for her.'

(Bresnan & Moshi, 1990)

As can be seen, the active sentence can be turned into a passive one by raising the either of the objects which is not the case in asymmetric applicatives which only allow the applied object to raise to the subject position as shown in (13).

(13) a. John baked Bill a cake

b. Bill was baked *t* a cake

c. *A cake was baked Bill *t*

(Jeong, 2006)

Based on these syntactic differences between asymmetric and symmetric applicatives, Jeong (2006) summarises the core differences as shown in table (17).

Table 17. Differences of the asymmetric and symmetric applicatives

Asymmetric	**Symmetric**
Not showing agreement, direct objects does not show object properties.	Both of the objects can trigger agreement, indicating that both show object properties.
Only the applied argument can raise to a subject position in passives.	Both arguments can raise to the subject position.
There is a transitivity restriction.	There is no transitivity restriction.

(Adapted from (Jeong, 2006))

2.3.2 Baker's Incorporation Approach

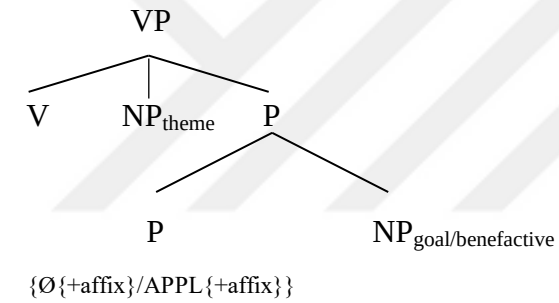
One of the first studies to analyze applicatives with overt morphology in Bantu Languages is the Baker (1988)'s approach in the literature. Baker distinguishes languages based on their case assignments in applicative constructions. To illustrate this, in the languages like Chichewa, inherent case is assigned as opposed to structural case. In the second group of languages, one of which is Kinyarwanda, both inherent and structural cases are assigned (Baker, 1988). Therefore, based on this, he offers two types of languages shown in table (18).

Table 18. Baker (1988)'s two types of language classification

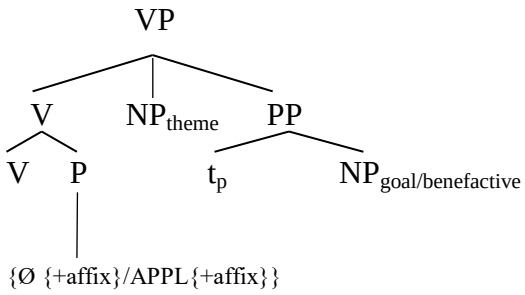
Language Type	Property
Chichewa-type languages (a)	One object shows object properties in applicative constructions.
Kinyarwanda-type languages (b)	Both of the objects can show object properties in applicative constructions.

Baker (1988) analyzes these applicative constructions as instances of incorporation of prepositions inside the verb by suggesting a head-movement shown in (14).

(14)



(15)



(Jeong, 2006)

When it comes to licensing of the object of the preposition, it is exactly the same as licensing of the direct object in the structure. To be more precise, this object receives its case that would normally be assigned to the direct object, which also results in the fact that the underlying direct object becomes the oblique object as it is not licensed by the verb. Baker's approach also predicts that applicative marking is possible when there is a transitive verb and not generally possible with intransitive verbs due to the fact that intransitive verbs have got no case to assign in general and thus the applied argument is not licensed (Jeong, 2006).

2.3.3 Applicatives in Lexical-Functional Grammar

In the Lexical-Functional Grammar model, applicatives are considered to be an instance of a morpho-lexical operation on the argument structure of a verb, which allows the insertion of an internal object. In this view, there is a thematic hierarchy, named as Lexical Mapping Theory, according to which, the following ordering is proposed:

agent>beneficiary>goal>instrument>patient/theme>locative

In this view, the grammatical functions, on the other hand, have two features, which are +/-restricted. This restriction depends on whether or not a function can map on a thematic role and/or +/- objective depending on whether a given function is a complement to a transitive verb or not. Based on this, Jeong (2006) gives the table in (19) to show the grammatical functions in this model of grammar.

Table 19. Two features of the grammatical functions

[-restricted, -objective]	SUBJ ‘subject’
[-restricted, +objective]	OBJ ‘unrestricted object’
[+restricted, -objective]	OBL_{theta} ‘restricted object’
[+restricted, +objective]	OBL_{theta} ‘oblique object’

(Jeong, 2006)

The arguments marked as OBL are for the applicative constructions and those functions are for theta roles such as goals, locatives, instruments and so on and so forth. In this view, applicative structure arises when there arederived verbs that introduces a new object argument to the base verb.

2.3.4 Object Shift Approach (Ura, 1996)

Ura (1996) also acknowledges the differences between symmetric and asymmetric applicatives discussed in the literature. She offers a distinction between these two types of applicatives, or in more general languages, based on whether there exists an extra specifier position in vApplP, which she considers to be a parametric variation. She assumes a strong connection between the Object Shift and (symmetric) passivization. To be more precise, Object Shift occurs as an instance of movement to the specifier position of the highest VP which is also for successive cyclic raising to T in passives. Therefore, only when the indirect object is somehow removed from its base position via Object Shift, is the direct object allowed to move to T since the intervening indirect object is no longer there. Based on this explanation, one implication of this could be the fact that if any given language allows for the Object

Shift of the indirect object DP, it also allows for symmetric passivization (Jeong, 2006).

(16) a. Jon ble gitt en bok [Swedish]
John was given a book
'John was given a book.'
b. En bok ble gitt jon
a book was given John
'A book was given John'

(Holmberg and Platzack, 1995)

Swedish falling into the group of symmetric languages, both objects can be targeted for passivization operation compared to another language Danish, which does not allow Object Shift to occur shown in (17), thereby being categorized as asymmetric languages.

(17) *En stilling blev tilbudt ham
'A job was offered him'

(McGinnis, 1998)

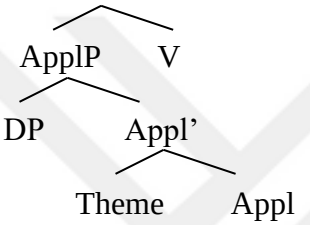
2.3.5 Low & High Applicatives Approach (Pylkkänen, 2002 & 2008)

After the seminal work of Pylkkänen, there exist two types of applicative constructions, namely low and high applicatives based on their lexico-semantic behaviors and applicatives in their basic sense are valency-increasing operations in which the verb typically bears a suffix, the applicative head, whose job is to license a new argument (non-core or oblique argument) in the syntactic structure. In that sense, the process of applicativization can be considered to be a similar process as causativization during which a new argument is also added.

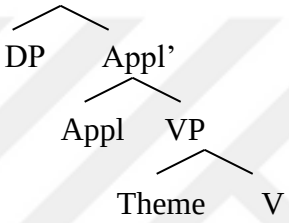
In the case of applicatives, this newly-added argument is generally benefactive, source, goal or instrument in terms of the thematic roles. Furthermore, as has been established already in the previous sections, languages do not behave in a uniformed way in terms of applicative marking as some languages mark applicatives on verbs while some do not.

Based on these properties and previous analyses, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) considers two types of applicatives whose structures are shown in (18).

(18) a.



b.



In both cases shown in (18), the direct object is asymmetrically c-commanded by the applied argument, which is considered to be a defining property of double object constructions (Marantz, 1993).

In addition to that similarity, there are important syntactic and semantic differences. As can be seen in (18), in the structure of low applicative in (18a), applicative head selects a DP as its complement, which means that it denotes a relation between individuals, whereas high applicative whose structure is illustrated in (18b) selects a VP as its complement and this means that it denotes a relation between an individual and an event. These two types of applicatives not only differ syntactically as shown above, but also differ semantically in such a way that "high applicatives simply add another participant to the event described by the verb. In contrast, low applied arguments bear no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever:

"they only bear a transfer of possession relation to the direct object." Pylkkänen (2002, 2008).

These two categories are also acknowledged by Marantz (1993), who argues that in capturing the syntactic similarities and differences between English-type double object constructions and Bantu-type double object constructions, there should be an instance when some indirect objects should be semantically external to the event that is described by the verb, which means that applicative affixes take an event as their argument and then introduce an individual that is semantically linked to the same event. However, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), building on Marantz (1993), shows that Marantz is successful capturing the similarities between English-type double object constructions and Bantu-type double object constructions, but he does not capture the syntactic behavior of these two types of languages shown in (19).

(19) a I baked Ece a cake.

b. *I ran her.

c. N – ä – ï – lyì – í – à m-kà k-élyá [Chaga]
foc-1sub-pr-eat-appl-fv 1-wife 7-food
He is eating food for his wife.

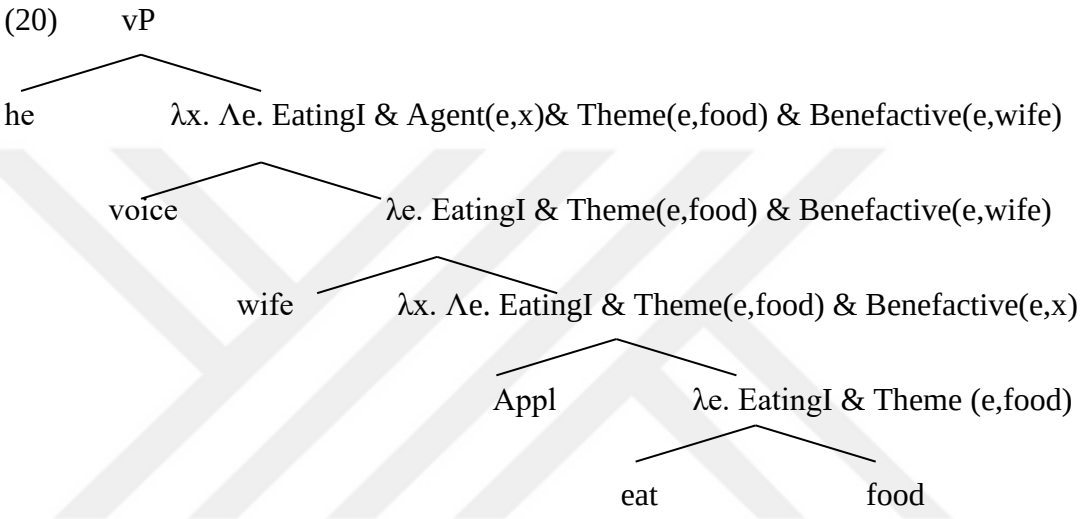
d. N – ä – ï – zrìc – í – à mbùyà
foc-1sub-pr-run-appl-fv 9-friend
He is running for his friend.

(Pylkkänen, 2002)

As can be seen in the examples in (19), the same verb, *run*, cannot be used in English in order to bring an extra argument, which is not the case in Chaga as it allows the verb, *run*, to be used in the same sense. Therefore, we see that applicatives are bad in English if the verb is an unergative one.

These two types of applicatives differ not only in their syntactic positions as a low applicative head selects a DP as its complement and a high applicative head takes a VP as its complement, thereby being syntactically higher, but also they differ in their semantics. Coaching in Kratzer (1996)'s Event Semantics and Marantz (1993)'s structure, Pylkkänen (2002) gives the following semantic analysis of the sentence in (20).

(20)



(Pylkkänen, 2002)

In terms of the meaning shown in (20), the applied argument *wife* bears no relation of the theme argument of the eating event but bears a benefactive relation to the event of eating. However, this kind of meaning is not available in English-type languages. For example, the sentence "I baked Ece a cake" cannot mean the subject did the event of baking for Ece, so that she would not have to but the sentence means that somehow, Ece will receive the cake so she will be the possessor of the cake, not related to the baking event. Pylkkänen, following a lexical semantic approach to the understanding of applicative constructions, proposes two lexical entries for the two types of applicatives available cross-linguistically shown in (21).

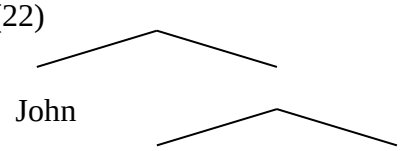
(21) [[High Applicave]] = λx. Λe. APPL (e,x)

[[Low Applicative $_{recipient}$]] = λx. Λy. $\Lambda f_{<e<s,t>>.}$ Λe.f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & to-the-possession (x,y)

[[Low Applicative $_{source}$]] = λx. Λy. $\Lambda f_{<e<s,t>>.}$ Λe.f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & from-the-possession (x,y)

These two lexical entries distinguish the applicative types in such a way that in low applicatives, the applied argument is semantically related to the theme argument of the structure whereas in the case of high applicatives, the applied argument bears no relation to the theme argument as it takes the whole event. In high applicatives, Event Identification is how the applicative head combines with the VP, thereby adding an additional participant to the event described by the verb. The semantics of low applicatives is more challenging to formalize due to the c-commanding dictations of low applicatives since the indirect object must c-command the direct object, which gives us a structure that is not very right for the interpretation of the clause. For the right c-commanding relation between direct and indirect object, the structure of a low applicative in English is shown in (22).

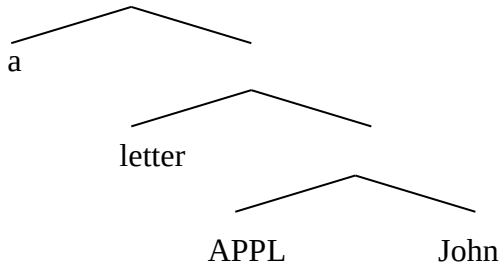
(22)



(Pylkkänen, 2002)

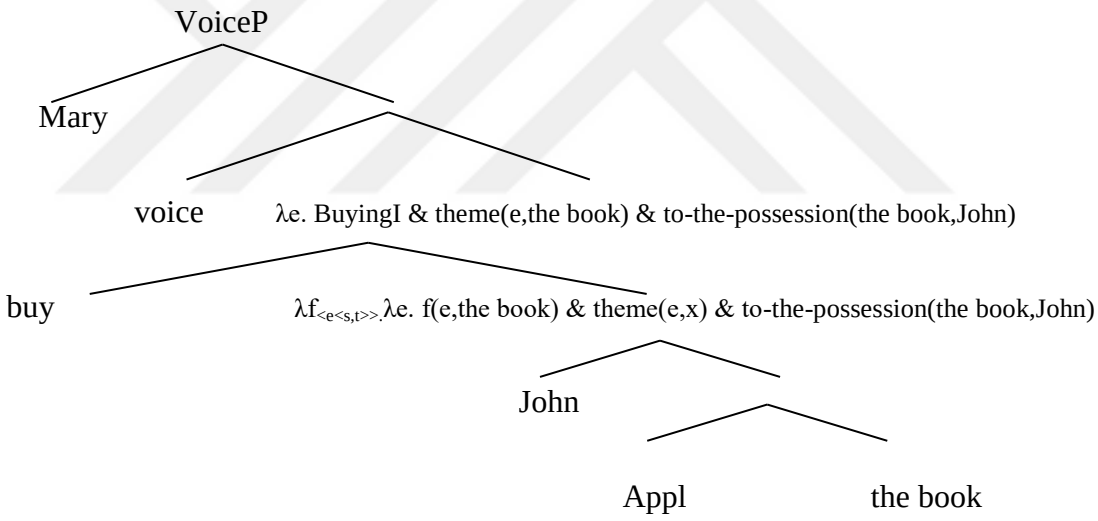
When it comes to the semantics of a low applicative in English, Pylkkänen (2002) gives the representation in (23).

(23)



The solution Pylkkänen offers to this problem is that she treats low applicatives as higher order predicates, which enables us to analyze the Appl-P taking a verb as the third argument in addition to a direct object and an indirect object. Based on this, she gives the following derivation for a low applicative illustrated in English in (24).

(24) a.



λx. Λy. Λf<e<s,t>>. Λe.f(e,x) & theme (e,x) & to-the-possession (x,y)

This derivation finally gives the following:

b. = λe. BuyingI & agent(e,Mary) & theme(e,the book) & to-the-possession(the book,John).

(Pylkkänen, 2002)

Based on these different structures of applicatives, Pylkkänen (2002) offers some tests to distinguish between low and high applicatives. The first test that she proposes is the transitivity test. According to this test, high applicatives can merge with unergative verbs while low applicatives cannot as they show a transfer of possession to the internal argument, which unergative verbs lack. Therefore, if an unergative verb is used in an applicative construction, it should be an instance of a high applicative rather than a low applicative.

The second test that she proposes is related to verbal semantics as low applicatives showing transfer of possession should not be good in constructions in which there is a static verb, not allowing this transfer of possession in terms of its meaning. The verb, *hold*, is given as example for this test as the thing that is being held does not necessarily end up in the possession of somebody else. However, high applicatives can merge with a static VP like this, as holding event can benefit somebody in some ways.

Albanian:

(25) a. I vrapova
him(DAT.CL) ran.1sg
'I ran for him.' (Unergative)

b. Agimi I mban Drites çanten time
a.nom dat.cl holds drita.dat bag.acc my
'Agim holds my bag for Drita.' (Static Verb)

English:

c. *I ran him.

d. *I held him the bag.

(Pylkkänen, 2002)

Based on these two tests explained, Pylkkänen (2002) shows that English has low applicatives while Albanian, on the other hand, has high applicatives.

An additional test that Pylkkänen (2002) proposes is the depictive modification test, according to which only high applied arguments areavailable for depictive modification since they are interpreted like external arguments. This is illustrated in (26).

(26) a. Mustafa ya-ko-le-dde Katonga nga mulwadde

Mustafa past.3SG-work-APPL-past Katonga DEP sick

'Mustafa worked for Katonga sick'

b. Mukasa ya-ko-le-dde Katonga nga akooye

Mukasa past.3sg- work-APPL-past Katonga DEP tired

'Mukasa worked for Katonga tired'

(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 34)

However, in English, which has low applicatives, the depictive can only modify the direct object with which the applicative head is merged as seen in (27).

(27) I bought John the VCR *new*.

However, it should also be noted that the direct object in a low applicative language is still available for this depictive modification as the verb creates a site for DEP-P. The table (20) summarizes the tests that are proposed in Pylkkänen (2002).

Table 20. The tests that are proposed in Pylkkänen (2002).

Test	Low Applicative	High Applicative
OK with unergatives	X	√
OK with static verbs	X	√
Applied argument is OK for depictive modification	X	√

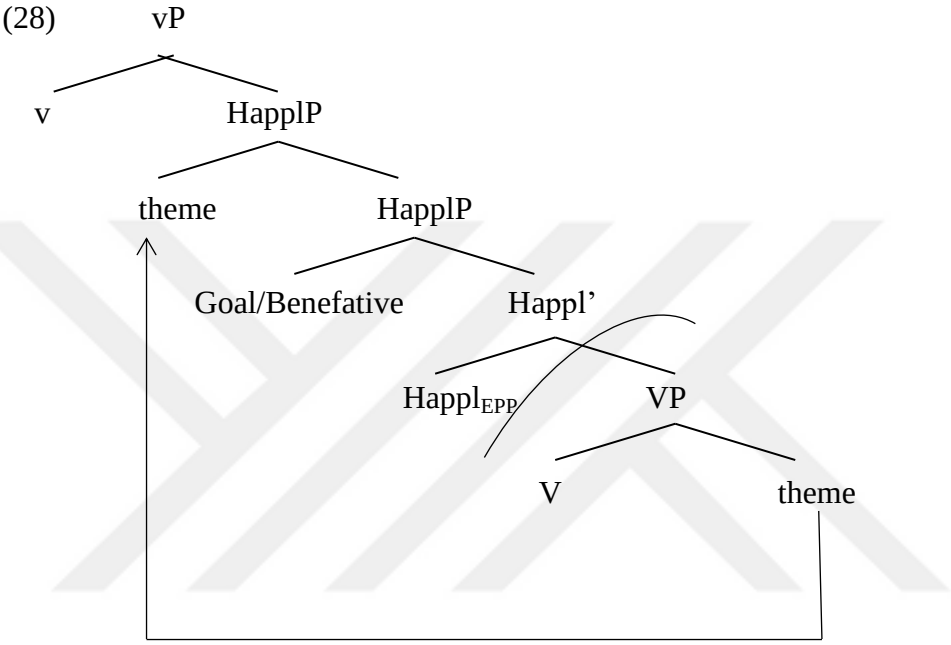
2.3.6 A phase based approach (McGinnis, 2001)

Adopting Chomsky's theory of phase (2000, 2001), McGinnis (2001) considers the properties of derivation rather than stating that it is a parameter, depending on the individual languages, claimed by Ura (1996) and Anagnostopoulou (2003).[17] McGinnis (2001) proposes that there exist two possible base generation sites for indirect objects in the structure and these sites are not governed by parametrization in cross-linguistically but depend on semantic distinctions. Adopting Chomsky's Phase Theory (2000, 2001), according to which syntactic derivation takes place in phases and once a phase is completed, it is sent to phonological and semantic spell-out and then the higher syntactic derivation takes place and only those at the edge of the phases are accessible to higher operations, McGinnis (2001) differentiates these two types of applicatives based on a phasal distinction. Considering the distinction between high and low applicatives in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008)'s sense, McGinnis assumes that the high type of applicatives constitutes a phase. To clarify the derivation of high applicatives within the phasal theory, in the symmetric applicative languages which allow for either of the objects to move into the subject position in passivization, the lower object, which is the theme argument, is within the domain of

[17] This approach is explained later in the thesis.

Happl, which has the EPP feature as it is a phase can be attracted to the specifier position of Happl. If it attracts the theme argument into this position, which makes it closer to the specifier position of T, thus being the best candidate to move compared to the other object in the structure, this situation yields the theme-passive structure shown in (28).

(28)

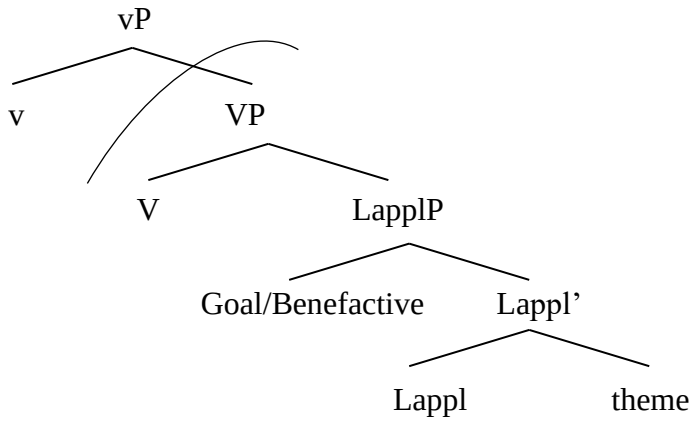


This assumption does not exclude the possibility of the indirect object to move to the subject position during passivization since it merges into the edge of a phase, thus being able to be accessible to the material in the higher phase.

As far as the languages allowing asymmetric applicatives to occur are concerned, they do not allow the theme argument, the lower object, to move to the subject position in passivization. Within the phasal account of McGinnis, these applicatives are low applicatives and their syntax is different from high applicatives as low applicatives are not phases, therefore they do not allow the theme argument to

move due to the violation of locality as the goal/benefactive argument is the only argument that can raise. The structure is shown in (29).

(29)

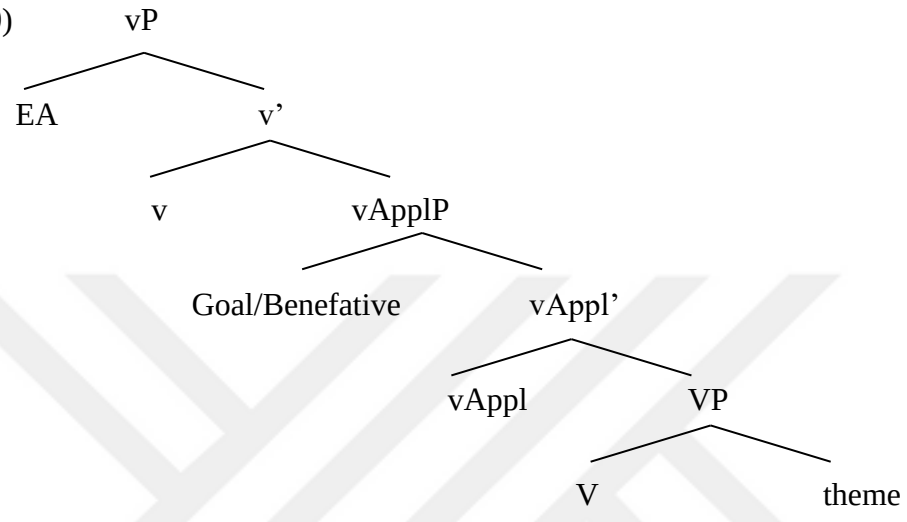


The most important distinction according to McGinnis (2001) is that asymmetric applicatives emerge when there is a competition between direct and indirect object for the phasal edge while symmetric applicatives emerge when the direct object raises to the edge of a phase and there is no competition because the indirect object is already there. What is more important in her analysis as also acknowledged by Jeong (2006) is that McGinnis captures one-to-one mapping between syntax and semantics by bringing a reduction of this syntactic asymmetrical behavior of these two types to thematic relations in passivization of double object constructions. Therefore, approaching to this phenomenon through semantic point of view is also evidenced in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008)'s approach towards applicatives, who also distinguishes two types of applicatives, high and low, and gives two distinct syntactic positions and semantic interpretations.

2.3.7 The Parametric Approach (Anagnostopoulou, 2003)

Based on Chomsky (1995), Anagnostopoulou (2003) assumes the assumptions like feature attraction and move. For structures having two objects present, Anagnostopoulou assumes Marantz (1993)'s proposal as shown in (30).

(30)



(adapted from Marantz, 1993)

In the structure shown in (30), the goal/benefactive argument is not in the same domain as the theme is. Therefore, the movement of the theme argument is blocked owing to the Shortest Move condition. Before explaining the passivization properties that applicatives, depending on the type show, let us repeat the differences between symmetric and asymmetric applicatives.

Table 21. Differences of the asymmetric and symmetric applicatives

Asymmetric	**Symmetric**
Not showing agreement, direct objects does not show object properties.	Both of the objects can trigger agreement, indicating that both show object properties.
Only the applied argument can raise to a subject position in passives.	Both arguments can raise to the subject position.
There is a transitivity restriction.	There is no transitivity restriction.

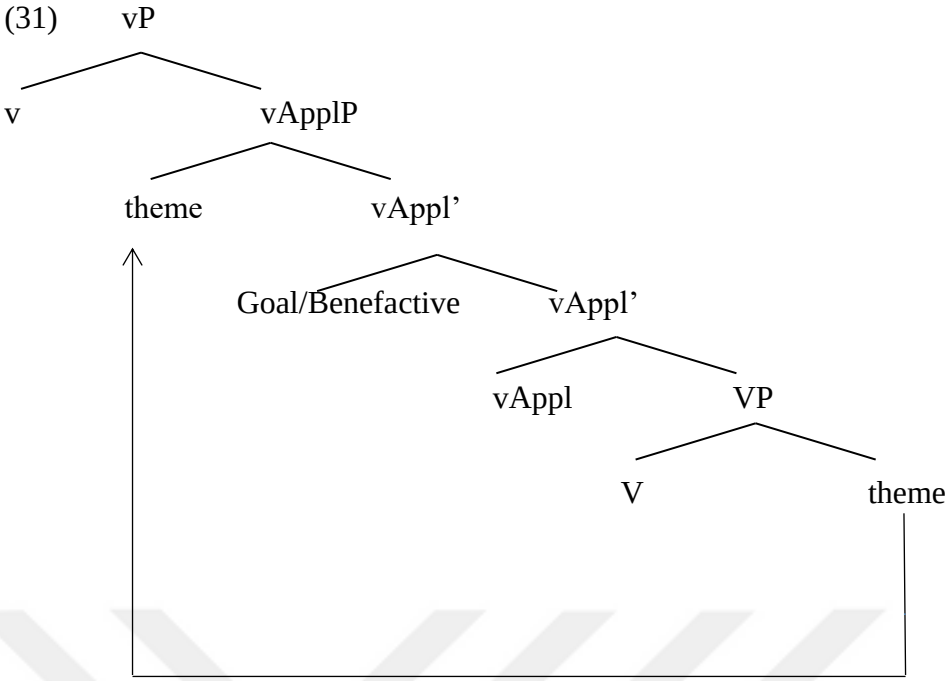
As far as the so-called symmetric applicatives are concerned, they allow either of the objects to be passivized, which is not possible in asymmetric applicatives, Anagnostopoulou (2003) assumes the parameter below.

"Symmetric movement languages license movement of DO to a specifier of vAPPL. In languages with asymmetric movement, movement of DO may not proceed via vAPPL."

(as cited in Jeong, 2006, p. 30)

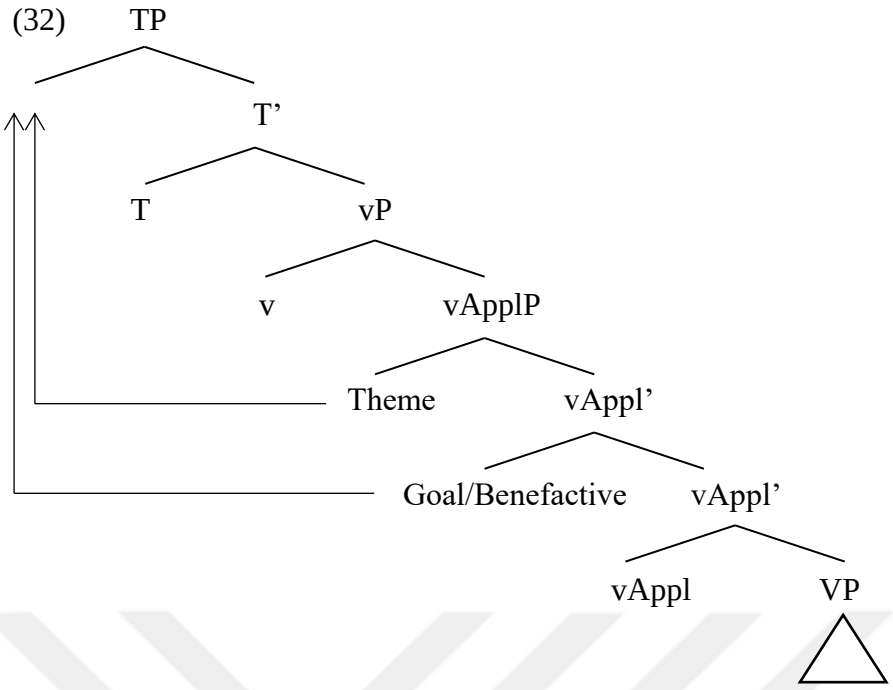
Based on this parametric variation, so-called symmetric languages have an extra specifier position of vAPPL, so that they allow the movement of a theme direct object to occur, thereby enabling both objects to move in an instance of a passive operation shown in (31).

(31)



As can be seen in (32), potentially, there could be an instance of movement to the Spec position of vAppl and upon movement, the theme argument is higher than the goal/benefactive argument, and this makes it possible to have a passive construction with the theme moving to the subject position. This additional specifier position does not exist in asymmetric applicatives, which explains why only the goal/benefactive argument could surface in the subject position rather than the theme as they violate the Minimal Link Condition.

(32)



However, as discussed in (Jeong, 2006), Anagnostopoulou's (2003) approach can be thought to be a descriptive stipulation as she offers a parameter to explain this difference in terms of passivization that symmetric and asymmetric applicatives differ in; nonetheless, it is still a debatable question whether this parameter can boil down to a single property or a set of properties of symmetric and asymmetric applicative languages.

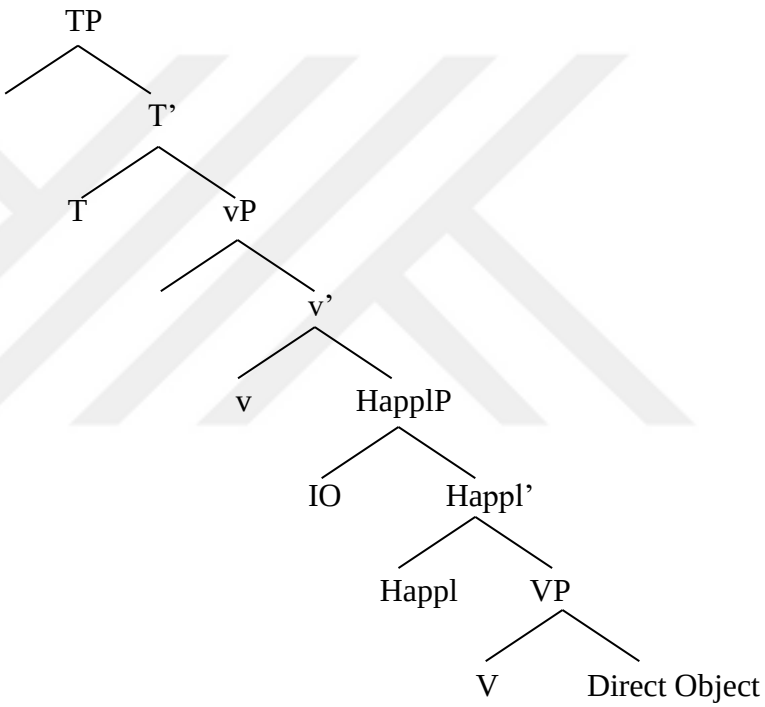
2.3.8 Jeong (2006)

Jeong (2006) discusses that McGinnis (2004)'s account is based on the EPP feature as it allows for an extra specifier position in the structure, which, in turn, explains the movement of the lower object in the passivization operation in a low applicative construction. However, Jeong (2006) considers that this EPP explanation is too permissive even though it seems to explain the situation observed in the case of low applicatives. Therefore, she turns off the phase-based account of applicatives as the

nature of phases is also a question (Ceplova, 2001; Boeckx, 2004) as it is too permissive.

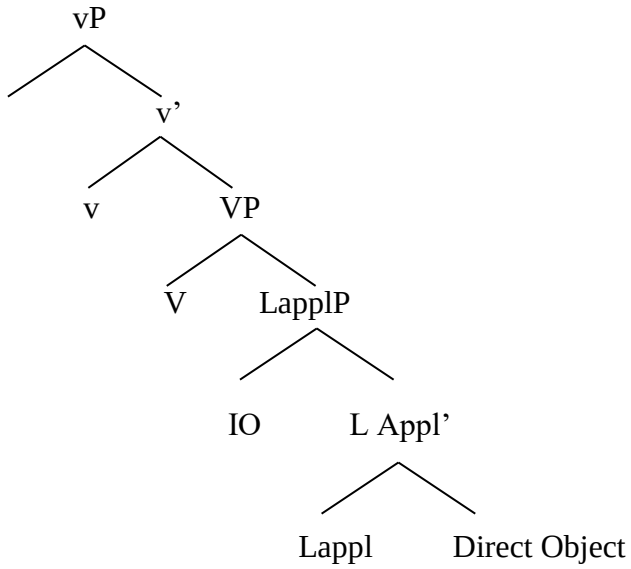
Without resorting to phasal explanations, Jeong (2006) begins her investigation of low applicatives allowing the lower object to move over an indirect object in passives by considering the anti-locality hypothesis, which states that movement must not be too local (Grohmann, 2003). Firstly, let us consider such a movement in (33).

(33)



The case of high applicatives shown in (33) does not violate anything as in principle the direct object can move over the indirect object since they are clearly not in the same projection as they are separated by the VP in between. However, this is not the case in low applicatives shown in (34).

(34)



In the case of low applicatives, the movement of the direct object is not possible due to the locality constraint. Jeong considers the inherent case of the indirect object, which, in turn, makes it unattractive for movement. Before the details, she considers the passivization of double object constructions in Dutch in which indirect object c-commands the direct object shown in (35).

(35) Ik toonde iedere leeuw$_i$ zijn$_i$ trainer
'I showed every lion$_i$ its$_i$ trainer.'

(McGinnis, 2004, p.52)

This example in (35) shows that indirect object c-commands the direct object because an indirect object quantifier can bind a pronoun which is embedded in the direct object. The opposite relation where a direct object quantifier binds a pronoun in the embedded indirect object cannot hold just like in English (Barss & Lasnik, 1986). After establishing this, we turn into passives of the same type of clauses where we see that only the lower object, the direct object being c-commanded by the indirect object, can be the target for passivization, which means that only the direct object can raise to the subject position in the case of passives shown in (36).

(36) Het boek werd Mary gegeven
the book was Mary given
'The book was given to Mary.'

(Koster, 1978, p. 156)

This could be explained through topicalization of the lower object as Dutch has a flexible word order, but it is worth noting that it is not the case due to the indirect object not being able to bear a nominative case and nor can it trigger verb agreement as it has inherent case shown in (37).

(37) *{Zij werd/ De meisjes warden} het boek gegeven
she was/ the girls were the book given
'She was/ The girls were given the book.'

(Den Dikken & Mulder, 1991, p .71)

This pattern of passivization in Dutch shows us that case plays a role according to Jeong (2006), following Boeckx and Hornstein (2005). This system predicts that the direct object can move above the indirect object, which is structurally higher, but the landing site is not the extra specifier position unlike McGinnis (2004). Jeong (2006) then assumes the content that head of the applicative to be an important consideration like Anagnostopoulou's account. To be more precise, in the case of locative and benefactive applicatives, the availability of the extra spec position depends on the content of the applicative. If it is a benefactive applicative head, then the extra specifier position is allowed, while it is not allowed in the case of locative applicative. Therefore, this variation does not depend on the phasal account but is related to the content of the head.

The next element in Jeong (2006)'s account is the early successive cyclic movement proposed by Bošković (2005). In this view, if a syntactic element

possesses an uninterpretable feature, it can move even though it is not at the edge of a phase in order to participate in the further derivation for its own benefit. Therefore, it can be said that movement does not depend on phases but can happen more freely as long as any instance of movement does not violate the anti-locality principle.

Based on the case system described in the context of passivization of Dutch double object constructions where it was shown that the direct object being c-commanded by the indirect object, can be the target for passivization and incorporating the second element of the analysis, which is the early successive cyclic movement, Jeong (2006) shows that the derivation of high applicatives can proceed in such a way that the direct object has a structural case, based on the passivization context, which allows it to move and attach to the specifier position of the applicative phrase, from which it can be attracted to the tense, T^0. In four stages, Jeong (2006) describes the derivation shown in (38).

(38) Stage 1: [VP V^o DO[*u*F]]

Stage 2: [IO $Appl^o$ [$_{VP}$ V^o DO[*u*F]]]

Stage 3: [$_{ApplP}$ DO[*u*F] [IO $Appl^o$ [$_{VP}$ V^o t_{DO}]]]

Stage 4: [$_{TP}$ DO T^o [$_{ApplP\ t'DO}$ [IO $Appl^o$ [$_{VP}$ V^o t_{DO}]]]]

(Jeong, 2006, p.78)

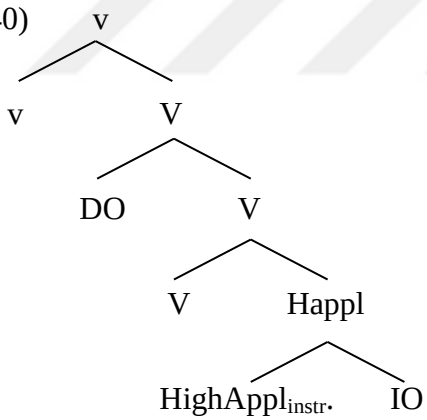
After establishing this path of derivation, Jeong (2006) considers the asymmetric patterns in applicatives in the case of high applicatives merging below the theme argument in the structure.

(39) a. N-a-fúngul-ish-ije buri muryango úrufunguzo rwáwo.
I-PST-open-INST-ASP each door key its
'I opened each door$_i$ with its$_i$ key.'
b. N-a-fúngul-ish-ije umuryango wáyo buri rufunguzo.
I-PST-open-INST-ASP door its each key
'I opened its$_i$ door with each key$_{j/*I}$'

(Jeong, 2006, p. 88)

In order to explain this, McGinnis resorts to an acyclic insertion pattern in such a way that it is an instance of downward merge in such a way that it merges below the theme argument and the high applicative phrase can be built separately in a different workspace and it then merged acyclically below VP. In the case of instrumental applicatives, in which the theme argument c-commands the instrumental argument unlike benefactive or locative applicatives, the derivation is repeated in (40).

(40)



Unlike this system, Jeong (2006) offers a proposal in relation to the features of the applied argument in order to explain this asymmetric behavior of applicatives in Bantu Languages.

In her investigation, Jeong (2006) differentiates two types of applied argument based on their syntactic categories: NP/DP and PP. Consider the examples in (41).

Double object Construction

(41) a. John sent Mary a book

b. John baked Mary a cake

Prepositional ditransitive

c. John sent a book to Mary

d. John baked a cake for Mary

(Jeong, 2006, p. 89)

Based on this difference, the applied NP/DP arguments are higher than the theme arguments whereas the PP arguments are lower than the theme arguments. This difference is called low and high dative arguments in the literature (Miyagawa & Tsujioka, 2004; Anagnostopoulou, 2005) as they behave differently in various environments such as reflexive binding and pronominal binding exemplified in (42) and (43).

Reflexive binding

(42) a. I showed $Mary_i$ $herself_i$

b. *I showed $herself_i$ $Mary_i$

c. I introduced Mary to herself

d. *I introduced herself to Mary

Pronominal variable binding

(43) a. I gave every $worker_i$ his_i paycheck

b. *I gave its_i owner every $paycheck_i$

c. I sent every check$_i$ to its$_i$ owner

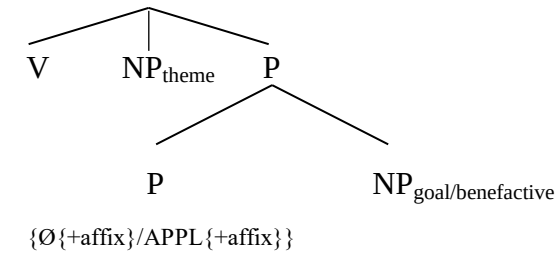
d. ??I sent his$_i$ paycheck to every employee$_i$

(Jeong, 2006, p. 90)

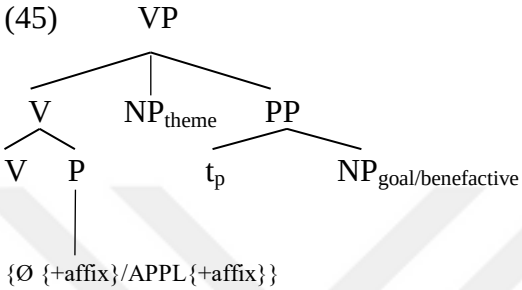
Relying on Anagnostopoulou (2005)'s account of Greek double object constructions to see if they are instances of dative alternation based on several tests, the design of which is based on animacy, predicate restriction, passivization and nominalization, which states that DP in these double object constructions are high datives and PP's are low datives, Jeong (2006) considers that English goal NP's are low applicatives. On the other hand, when it comes to *se*-datives in Greek, this statement does not hold as *se*-datives are considered to be high datives in Greek and *jia*-datives are low. Anagnostopoulou (2005) then shows that *jia*-datives can sit in relatively a lower position in the structure if they are prepositional phrases even though its semantics correlates with high applicatives. Based on this evidence in Greek presented by Anagnostopoulou (2005), Jeong (2006) discusses that the problem of applicatives discussed in McGinnis (2004) can also be solved through the approach which states that applied arguments are either DP's or PP's. This explanation also assumes that one does not have to resort to acyclic insertion discussed in McGinnis (2004).

The role of an applicative is being a thematic mediator and for the case of low applicatives, Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003) among others note that low applicative heads behave like a preposition semantically and some others claim that low applicatives are actually prepositions (Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 2002). This way of thinking was actually the source of the Baker's incorporation analysis discussed in this chapter and repeated in (44).

(44)



(45)

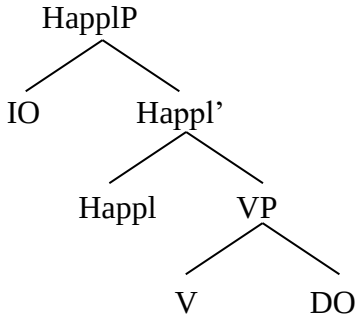


(Jeong, 2006)

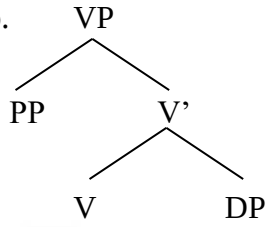
Jeong (2006) then explores the fact that an applied argument can be introduced by a PP and the meaning is that of high applicatives[18]. Therefore, when this PP merges semantically, it shows high applicative reading in the case of instrumental applicatives, which causes the problems that McGinnis (2004) offers some solutions for, "it could combine with V', just like a DP combines with Happl', or it could combine with Vº" (Jeong, 2006, p. 100). This assumption implies that some applicatives that are semantically high in terms of the readings they yield are structurally low. Based on this difference, Jeong (2006) gives three possible ways in which high applicatives can be introduced in the structure shown in (46).

[18] She considers the distinction between low and high applicatives in terms of their semantics rather than their structural positions.

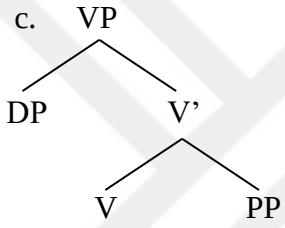
(46) a.



b.



c.



The main difference between this approach and McGinnis (2004)'s approach is that Jeong (2006) does not resort to acyclic movement and in the case of instrumental applicatives, the case assignment is done via the preposition itself.

This assumption that Jeong (2006) entertains neither changes the semantics proposed for high applicatives nor does it modify it, but it just explores the structural differences of the same type of applicatives (high applicatives) and the semantics of high applicatives in configurations in which the indirect object receives its thematic role from a head that marks the direct object. Moreover, in addition to the high applicative structures in which the applicative head is outside the verb phrase that Pylkkänen (2002) discusses, Jeong (2006) shows that there are other structures that involve P^0 with similar semantic properties.

2.4 Possessor applicatives

This section discusses an interesting phenomenon called possessor datives or possessor applicative constructions in various languages. These constructions are generally marked with dative case and if the language exhibits a verbal applicative morphology, then it is present on the verb. One such construction is illustrated in Laz in (47).

(47) Nana-k bere-s xe-pe d-u-mbon-u.
mother-erg child-dat hand-pl PV-3appl-wash-past.3ps
The mother washed the child's hands

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 367)

Based on the possessive reading applicatives introduce, there is a variation in the possessor applicatives (Cuervo, 2020) as shown in (48).

(48) a. DP complement: possessor dative (transitive; French)
Michel lui a lavé les cheveux.
Michel 3sg.dat= has washed the hairs
'Michel washed his hair.'

b. DP complement: possessor dative (unaccusative; Spanish)
A la casale faltan ventanas.
DAT the house 3SG.DAT= miss.PL windows
'The house lacks (some) windows.

c. DP-PP complement: locative-possessor dative (Spanish)
Gabi lepuso el bebé en los brazos a Emilio.
Gabi 3SG.DAT= put the baby in the arms DAT Emilio
'Gabi placed the baby in Emilio's arms.'

d. PP complement: locative-possessor dative (transitive; French)

Elle luia tiré dans le ventre.

She 3SG.DAT= has shot in the belly

'She shot her/him in the belly.' (Boneh & Nash 2012)

e. SC complement: experiencer/locative-possessor dative (Spanish)

Emilio le puso la mano encima a Lucila.

Emilio 3sg.dat put the hand on-top dat Lucia

Emilio laid a 73ompió73 Lucia

(Cuervo, 2020, p.16)

Cuervo (2003) discusses that syntactically and morphologically applicatives showing possession are exactly the same as recipient and source applicatives since they exhibit the same properties and behaviors when it comes to case, word order, hierarchical position and finally spell-out of the syntactic head. Based on these similarities, Cuervo (2003) claims that possessor applicatives have a basic structure of low applicatives. However, she claims that at least in Spanish, possessor applicatives do not show transfer of possession, which low applicatives exhibit according to the applicative typology proposed in Pylkkänen (2002). Therefore, Cuervo (2003) proposes a new type of low applicatives which relates an individual to the theme object as being its possessor in the structure, assuming the same semantic structure as in Pylkkänen (2002)'s low applicative semantics, which only differs in "at" meaning rather than "to/from" meaning as shown in (49).

(49) $[[\text{Low Applicative}_{AT}]] = \lambda x.\ \Lambda y.\ \Lambda f_{<e<s,t>>.}\ \Lambda e.f(e,x)$ & theme (e,x) & in-the-possession (x,y).

Cuervo (2003) compares the possession via the applicative head and via "of" in Spanish, considering the differences between these two as shown in (50).

(50) a. Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat. admires the patience.acc dat. Valeria

Pablo admires Valeria's patience (Lit: Pablo admires Valeria the patience)

b. Pablo admira la paciencia de Valeria.

Pablo admires the patience of Valeria

Pablo admires Valeria's patience.

(Cuervo, 2003, p.74)

Cuervo's interpretation of these two sentences is in such a way that in (50a), there is an implication that the speaker, Pablo, admires Valeria and her patience in general. This reading of (50a) is missing in (50b), which can only mean that Pablo admires the patience embodied in Valeria, which suggests that the focus of admiration in both sentences shown in (50) seems to be different in terms of the meanings presented. In addition to this difference in terms of the meanings present, Cuervo (2003) also notes a difference in terms of temporality in such a way that sentence in (50a) can be uttered in a context in which Valeria shows patience under some circumstance and she is not patient in general unlike the sentence in (50b), which dictates that Valeria should be a patient person. The same contrast can be captured when both of the objects are animate as well, which is shown in (51).

(51) a. Pablo le envidia la hija a Valeria

Pablo clt.dat. envies the daughter.acc Valeria.dat

Pablo envies Valeria's daughter. (Lit: Pablo envies Valeria the daughter)

b. Pablo envidia a la hija de Valeria

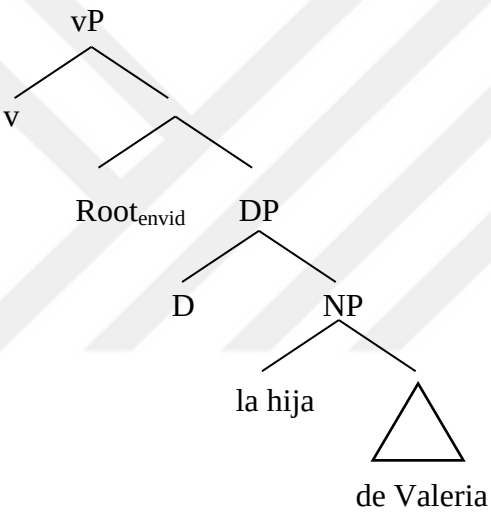
Pablo envies [the daughter of Valeria].acc

Pablo envies Valeria's daughter.

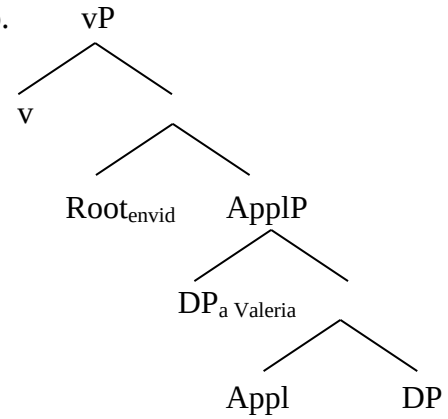
(Cuervo, 2003, p. 75)

In both of the sentences shown in (51), Valeria is related to the theme argument in the structure and the contrast between these two configurations is that Valeria is part of the theme object and is therefore not related to the verb in the genitive construction. On the other hand, in the dative construction to show possession, Valeria is one of the arguments that relates to the verb as it is the complement, which yields two different syntactic structures to explain the differences in terms of the meanings. These two structures are shown in (52).

(52) a.



b.



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 76)

Cuervo (2003) assumes that in the case of dative possession, a low applicative takes a DP, which is *la hija* in this case, and it relates two individuals in the structure embedded under the same phrase. Therefore, in this case, low applicative takes the DP and relates it to another DP that is in the specifier position in the applicative phrase. The same kind of interpretation is also attested when there is a verb denoting an activity unlike a stative verb in Spanish. To illustrate this, in the case of *kissing* event, dative case-marked DP's also appear and generally they are interpreted as the recipient or the benefactive of the theme object.

(53) a. Pablo beso a Valeria en la frente

Pablo kissed Valeria.acc on the forehead

'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead.'

b. ¿Pablo beso la frente de Valeria

Pablo kissed the forehead.acc of Valeria

'Pablo kissed the forehead of Valeria.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 78)

In the case of stative verbs, Cuervo (2003) shows that both preposition construction and genitive construction yield grammatical sentences as shown in (53). However, the genitive construction sounds odd. Cuervo explains this oddness through inalienable possession relation between Valeria and her forehead. To be more precise, in the case of genitive construction, Valeria does not take part in the event, but she is just a possessor of the forehead. However, in the case of the dative construction shown in (52), which does not yield ungrammaticality, nor does it yield oddness, Cuervo (2003) assumes that the dative is considered to be the static possessor of the object and there is no transfer of possession. The meaning is that Pablo kissed the forehead of Valeria and Valeria herself and since the relationship between Valeria and her own forehead is of an inalienable possession type, Pablo did both of the events of kissing at the same time and such kind of a meaning only emerges when there is an applicative construction and therefore does not emerge in genitive construction, which explains the oddness of the kissing event in the genitive construction.

These dative possessors mainly described in the light of Cuervo (2003)'s work on Spanish, which considers them to be low applicatives with a static nature, having in-the-possession semantics rather than the transfer of possession semantics has drawn considerable attention in the literature. The previous approaches to dative possessors tried to account for the dual nature of them, trying to explain how the dative-marked argument can be the argument of a verb syntactically and is somehow semantically related to the theme argument that is possessed. In accounting for the dual nature of dative possessors, there have been three broad proposals in the literature, and these are:

a) The Control Analysis (Borer & Grodzinsky, 1986; Öztürk, 2018, Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali, 2020)

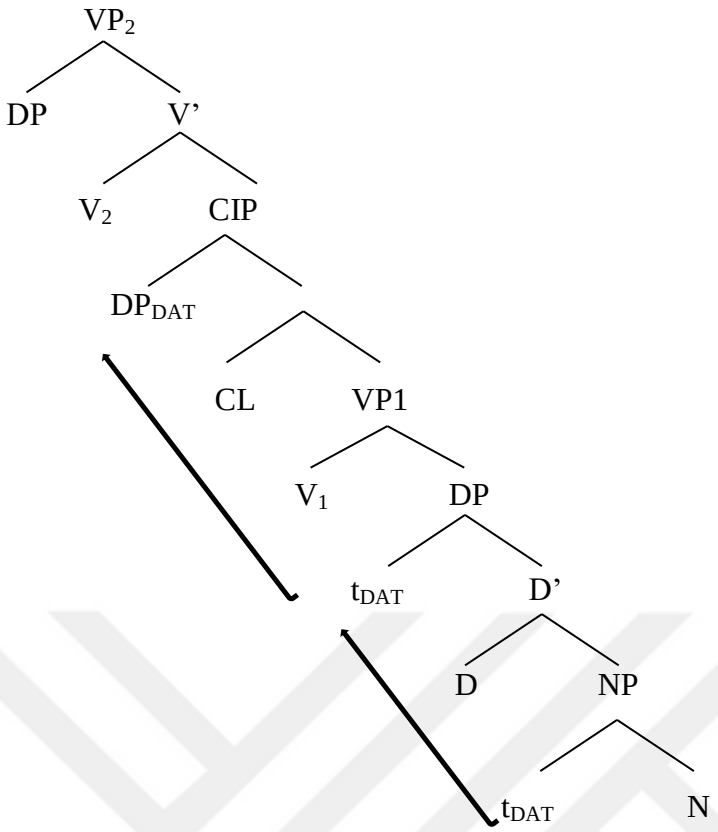
b) The Raising Analysis (Masullo, 1992; Demonte, 1995; Landau, 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2005; Lødrup et.al., 2009; Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008; Cinque & Krapova, 2009; Rodrigues, 2010; Deal, 2019)

c) The Source Low Applicative Analysis (Pylkkänen, 2002)

The basic ingredients of possessor datives are that they cannot show possession for the subject and they are related to the theme argument in the structure. Therefore, what the previous accounts try to explain is the syntactic and semantic licensing of dative possessors and the restrictions as well as the cross-linguistic variation they seem to show. To begin with the control analysis, Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) show that possessor dative must c-command the possessed determiner phrase or possibly its trace at the surface structure. According to their analysis, the possessed DP should contain an anaphoric element that is bound by the possessor DP. The main idea is that the empty category is based generated within the DP (the possessed) and it transmits the possessive interpretation to the possessor dative (Gueron, 1985, 1991; Borer & Grodzinsky, 1986; Cheng & Ritter, 1987 a.o.).

On the other hand, in the raising analysis, Demonte (1995) assumes that the dative-marked possessor DP originates in the specifier position of the theme DP. This position in which the possessor DP originates is not where it can receive its case, and this results in the movement of the DP in order to get its dative case. The landing site of the DP is the specifier position of the Clitic Phrase as shown in (54).

(54)



(Cuervo, 2003)

In a parallel way as Demonte (1995), Landau (1999) assumes a similar syntactic structure, proposing that the possessor DP is part of the DP theme argument, but it is a different position compared to the genitive complement and the possessor raises to check its case in the structure. The question one can raise is why the dative possessors cannot show possession for the subjects can also be answered by case-checking mechanism as the possessor DP originates inside the DP and if it were generated inside the subject DP, then it would not get its case since the subjects are projected above in the structure where it can no longer get its dative case. When it comes to the low applicative analysis, it is very similar to the Raising Analysis if one does not consider the case checking mechanism since the dative possessors are part of the verb in neither account. However, in Pylkkänen (2002)'s approach, there is no case-checking and nor does she assume anything about case-checking; therefore, in

her approach, there is nothing particular to force or, on the other hand, forbid the movement of the possessor DP. However, Cuervo (2003) finds Pylkkänen's approach problematic in terms of semantics as Pylkkänen imposes a dynamic reading to the possessor DP, which Cuervo (2003) shows that it is not always the case like in (55).

(55) Pablo le tiene el gato a Andreina durante las vacaciones
Pablo cl.dat. has the cat Andreina.dat during the holiday
'Pablo keeps Andreina's cat during holidays.'
→ * Andreina loses/gets a cat.

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 82)

Cuervo (2003) assumes that rather than the dynamic reading of possession as proposed in Pylkkänen (2002), the static possession reading, and the analysis would be much convenient in cases in which a static possession relation holds.

Another factor dative possessor seems to have is the affectedness. This affectedness in the case of dative possessors is reported in the literature (Demonte, 1995; Landau, 1999; Cuervo, 2003; Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008; Bosse et. Al. 2012). This is generally thought to be the difference between genitive-possessive constructions and applicative constructions showing possession. This is also captured in Slavic languages as well. One case is the Russian genitive and dative possession as Russian exhibits both dative possession and genitive possession shown in (56).

(56) a. Dima byl mne drugom
Dima was I-dat friend-inst
'Dima was my friend (a friend of mine).'

b. Dima byl moim drugom

Dima was I.gen-instr friend-instr

‘Dima was my friend.’

(Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008, p. 188)

As one can see, (56a) is a dative possession construction while (56b) is a regular genitive construction. The crucial difference reported between these two sentences in terms of the meaning they exhibit, the sentence in (56a), showing dative possession can be uttered in a context in which Dima acted a friend by doing something or helping since these constructions at least in Russian do not seem to create mere possessor-possessee relation. However, when it comes to the sentence in (56b) with genitive marking, it can be uttered to convey that Dima was my friend. This affectedness is also reported in Bosse et. Al. (2012), stating that dative possession involves some sort of affectedness in such a way that the possessor DP is affected by the action of the verb in the structure. This affectedness is also reported in Laz by Öztürk (2018), which states that the possessor in the structure must bear an affectee role, otherwise genitive is used and dative is not licensed shown in (57).

(57) a. *Xordza-k bere-s toma u-nt’in-u

Woman-erg child-dat hair appl-smell-past.3ps

‘The woman smelled the child’s hair.’

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 367)

As there cannot be an affectee reading with predicates like *smell*, since the child cannot benefit from the smelling event, the sentence in (57a) is ungrammatical and can only be grammatical if genitive is used as shown in (57b).

b. Xordza-k bere-şi toma int'in-u

Woman-erg child-gen hair smell-past.3ps

'The woman smelled the child's hair.'

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 367)

However, Cuervo (2003) assumes that affectedness can emerge in the case of dative possessors and this only depends on the verbal semantics of the individual verbs. To be more precise, she claims that the affectedness is an indirect consequence of the lexical semantics of the verb being used when it is combined with the possessive relation that is established by the applicative. To illustrate this, in the case of stative predicates in Spanish, there is no affectedness as shown in (58).

(58) a. Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat. admires the patience.acc dat. Valeria

'Pablo admires Valeria's patience' (Lit: Pablo admires Valeria the patience)

(Cuervo, 2003, p.74)

As one can see in the example in (58a), there is no affected relation that holds even though the construction is the dative possessive construction. This absence of the affectedness is not limited to the stative verbs but can also be observed in activity denoting *verbs look at, study* or *observe.* This is illustrated in (58b).

b. Pablo le miro /estudio / observar 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)

The sentence in (58a) does not have the affected interpretation even though possession via dative is established.

On the other hand, in some cases, this affectedness reading is available in Spanish as well and Cuervo (2003) divides these cases into two groups: causative verbs shown in (59a) and agentive verbs that effect the object as shown in (59b).

(59) a. Pablo le 83ompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria
Pablo cl.dat broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.dat
'Pablo broke neighbor's radio on Valeria.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 87)

b. Pablo le lavo las manos a Valeria
Pablo cl.dat washed the hands Valeria.dat
'Pablo washed Valeria's hands.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 85)

In the sentence in (59b) Valeria can be considered to be affected by the action performed by the agent; however, this meaning of affectedness is the consequence of the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb since the *washing* event without the possessors somehow results in the fact that object is affected. Then, in the case of dative possessor, it is indirectly affected as the theme object is directly affected. Cuervo (2003) also shows that the affectedness relation is stronger in the case of inalienable possession as it would be impossible to affect the theme without affecting the possessor. The main assumption that Cuervo makes, on the other hand, is that this affectedness is not encoded in the structure. Rather, it is realized depending on the individual meanings of the verbs.

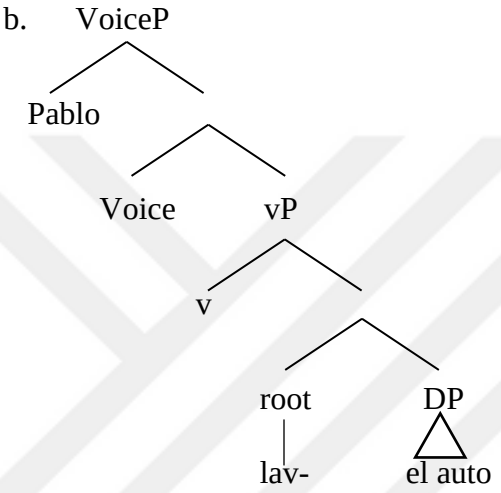
Structurally, as the low applicatives merge as the sister of the verb, it is in the same position as a normal DP would be in as shown in (60).

(60) a. Pablo lavo el auto

Pablo washed the car

'Pablo washed the car.'

b.

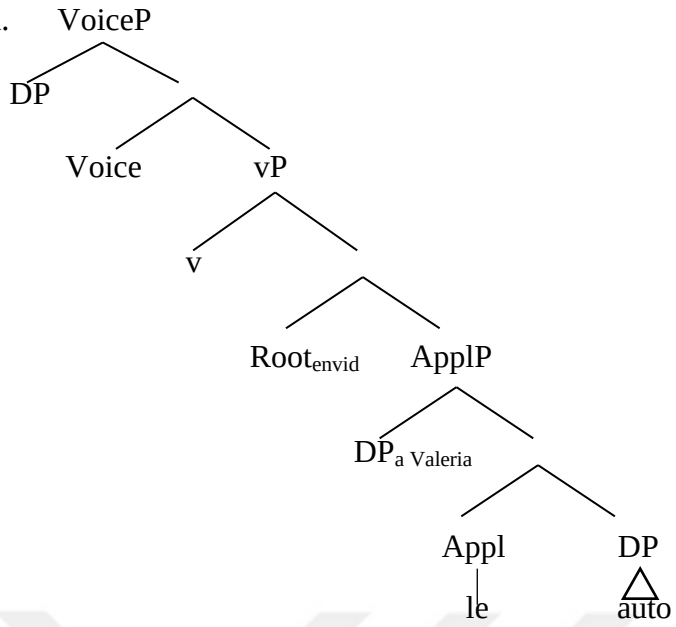


c. Pablo le lavo el auto a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat washed the car Valeria.dat

'Pablo washed Valeria's car.'

d. VoiceP



(Cuervo, 2003, p.86)

In addition to that, Cuervo (2003) shows the properties of low applicatives of possession of static nature in the table in (22).

Table 22. Static low applicatives

Static Low Applicatives$_{AT}$
The dative argument is a static possessor.
The dative possessor is a participant in the event described by the verb as opposed to genitive posesssors.
Affectedness is not a structural meaning.
If there is affectedness, it is affectedness by possession of an affected object.
If alternation with genitive possessor is possible, the dative construction might favor the affectedness reading.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the literature on applicative constructions starting with the applicative types, their properties, and their syntactic and semantic behaviors in different languages as well as their semantic accounts. Generally, it can be said that in applicative constructions, there is a special applicative morpheme on the verb and it introduces one new argument in the structure, which is not normally part of it in the absence of this applicative morpheme. However, there are languages that do not mark applicatives in its verbs but dative or accusative marking to show the affected arguments can be considered as applicative constructions as well. Furthermore, we saw that dative-marked non-core arguments could have different syntactic functions, yielding different readings. The obvious function of them is to mark some certain theta roles such as benefactives, malfactives, instruments, goals and sources. However, they can also participate in several other constructions such as possessive constructions and they can have modal interpretations in some languages.

CHAPTER 3

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN POMAK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an analysis for the double object constructions in two varieties of Pomak. Even though the focus of the present thesis is on the variety spoken in Uzunköprü, Edirne/Turkey, a set of data is also provided from the Şahin Village in Xanthi, Greece in order to show the differences between these two dialects. One striking difference between these two dialects is the use of dative case which seems to be restricted only to the Greek variety and it is not used in the Turkish variety as illustrated respectively in (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. Ayşe dade resima Aliyu. (Xanthi Dialect)

Ayşe gave.3Sg picture-def Ali-dat

'Ayşe gave Ali the picture.'

b. Ayşe resimasa na Ali dade. (Uzunköprü Dialect)

Ayşe picture.poss.def. na Ali dade.

'Ayşe sent the picture of him/her to Ali.'

Theoretically, this chapter is based on the findings of Cuervo (2003) on double object constructions and on the application of the syntactic tests provided in Cuervo (2003) in the closely-related language Bulgarian in Slavkov (2008). Bulgarian, unlike the Pomak variety of Turkey, allows for the indirect object to be marked by the dative clitic like in Romance languages such as Romanian and

Spanish. Throughout this chapter, cross-linguistic data are analyzed within the framework established in Cuervo (2003).

Ditransitive constructions are common in languages and in many languages, there are two alternations as exemplified from English and Greek in (2) and (3).

(2) a. I sent the book to Mary

b. I sent Mary the book.

(3) a. O Giannis estile to gramma stin Maria.

The Giannis-NOM sent.3SG the letter-ACC to the Maria-ACC

'Giannis sent the letter to Mary.

b . O Giannis estile tis Marias to gramma.

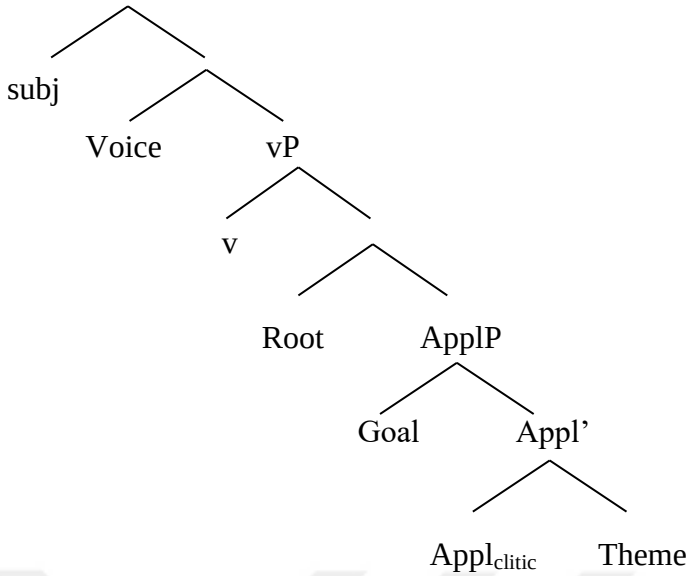
The Giannis-NOM sent.3SG the Maria-GEN the letter-ACC

'Giannis sent Maria the letter.'

(Anagnostopoulou, 2003)

As one can see, the similar type of alternation seems to take place both in Greek and English. However, this alternation has formal consequences as the examples in (2a) and (3a) are prepositional ditranstive constructions whereas the sentences in (2b) and (3b) are double object constructions, resulting in two different syntactic structures shown in (4) and (5).

(4) VoiceP Double Object Construction

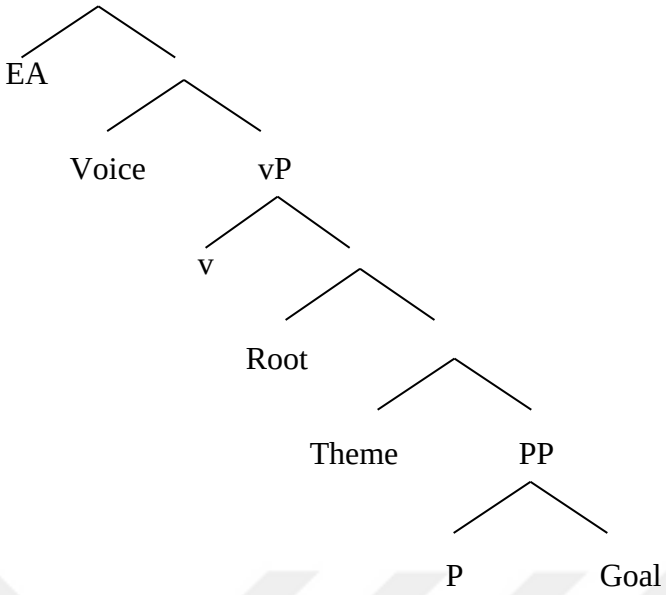


(Cuervo, 2003, p. 45)

In this configuration, one can see that the relationship between the goal argument and the theme argument is established through the Appl head. In other words, the low applicative head in Plykkanen's terms (2002) is the relational head that licenses the dative-marked argument both syntactically and semantically and thus relating it to the theme DP in the structure. For English, this Appl head seems to be null, however, in a language like Spanish, it is realized through the dative clitic. Therefore, it has a spell-out. Following Plykkanen's low applicative analysis, the goal/recipient arguments are not the arguments of verbs contra Pesetsky (1995) but are introduced in the structure via the applicative head as its specifier.

However, in (3a), the configuration, in which there is a preposition but not an applicative head, is different syntactically.

(5) Prepositional Ditransitive Construction



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 44)

This structure in (5) shows that the theme argument c-commands the DP complement of the prepositional phrase in an asymmetric way. This configuration also has the semantic implication that the preposition is the one that establishes the relationship between two arguments, namely theme and the goal just like in the double object construction where there is a clitic filling in the $Appl^0$ slot. However, the relationship between the arguments is reversed.

3.2 Double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions

Based on Cuervo (2003), the underlying syntactic structures for double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions are different as shown in (4) and (5), respectively. The most crucial part in terms of these differences is the relationship between the theme and the goal argument due to the fact that the relationship between these two is reversed as in prepositional ditransitive constructions, the theme argument is higher than the goal whereas in double object

constructions, the goal argument is higher than the theme, which then suggests that there should be syntactic differences in terms of their c-commanding relations if these two constructions are different underlyingly. In the next sections, we discuss these syntactic differences, starting with how both constructions behave in terms of their binding properties with respect to c-commanding.

3.2.1 Binding of Anaphors

Following the observations of Barss and Lasnik (1989), these two constructions, namely, double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions, exhibit some asymmetries in terms of their c-commanding properties. One such asymmetry occurs when there is an anaphor in the structure in English as shown in (6).

(6) a. I showed John to himself in the mirror.

b. *I showed himself to John in the mirror.

(Barss & Lasnik, 1989 as cited in Cuervo, 2003, p. 46)

As can be seen in (6), the sentence in (a) is grammatical and (b) is ungrammatical because the direct object can bind the anaphor in PP in the structure. However, PP cannot bind into the direct object in the structure. A similar type of asymmetry can also be observed in double object constructions reported in Pesetsky (1995).

(7) a. I showed John himself in the mirror

b. *I showed himself John in the mirror

(8) a. I denied every worker$_i$ his$_i$ paycheck

b. *I denied its$_i$ owner every paycheck

(Pesetsky, 1995 as cited in Cuervo, 2003, p. 46)

As can be seen in (7a) and (8a), the first object that corresponds to the dative-marked object in languages like Spanish can bind an anaphor or a possessive in the direct object but the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (7b) and (8b) indicates that the direct object in the structure cannot bind the dative.

Building upon this asymmetry in English, Cuervo (2003) analyzes Spanish double object constructions, using the binding test in order to show the difference in syntactic behavior of double object constructions with clitic and prepositional ditransitive constructions having no clitics. Consider the examples in (9) for prepositional ditransitive construction.

(9) a. Valeria mostró el maestro a sí mismo.
Valeria showed the teacher.acc to himself.
'Valeria showed the teacher to himself.'

b. *Valeria mostró a sí mismo al maestro.
Valeria showed himself.acc to-the teacher.
'*Valeria showed himself to the teacher.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p.46)

In the constructions in (9), in which there is no clitic present, the direct object can bind an anaphor but not the other way around. As far as the constructions with the clitic unlike those in (9) are concerned, the clitic-doubled dative can bind an anaphor shown in Demonte (1995) as shown in (10).

(10) El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima de sí misma a María.

the therapy psychoanalytic cl.dat gave-back the esteem of herself María.dat.

'The psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary her self-esteem.'

(Demonte, 1995)

Therefore, the contrast between the non-clitic version of ditranstive construction and the clitic version in terms of their binding properties reveals that they have different syntactic structures as the hierarchy between the theme argument and the goal argument changes.

3.2.2 Binding of Possessives

In the previous section, we show that there is a difference between the clitic version and the non-clitic version in terms of their syntactic structure based on the binding properties in relation to anaphors. In the clitic configuration, it is suggested that the dative-marked argument is higher than the accusative-marked argument, which is the other way around when the non-clitic version is concerned. Based on this argumentation, Cuervo (2003) also analyzes the possessives and arrives at the conclusion which states that in the non-clitic version, "the string DP > *su*[19] will be grammatical and the string *su* > PP will be ungrammatical" (Cuervo, 2003, p.48). In the clitic variant, on the other hand, "the string su > DPdat will be grammatical and the string DP > su will be ungrammatical" (Cuervo, 2003, p.48).

This prediction is based on the hierarchical relationship between the theme and the goal argument in the structure as the goal argument is higher than the theme argument in the double object construction and it is vice versa for the prepositional

[19] It is the third person possessive.

ditransitive construction, which is independent of the linear word order. Therefore, as expected, the possessive in the direct object cannot be bound by the goal argument in prepositional ditransitive constructions due to the hierarchical position of the arguments. This is illustrated in (11).

(11) a. *Entregamos sus_i cheques a los $trabajadores_i$

we-gave their check.acc to the workers

'*We gave their checks to the workers.'

b. *Presentamos su_i paciente a la $doctora_i$

we-introduced her patient.ACC to the doctor

*We introduced her patient to the doctor

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 48).

However, the sentences in (12) are grammatical due to the fact that the possessive belongs to the complement of the preposition, yielding the reading in which the DP the possessive belongs to binds the possessive.

(12) a. La policía entregó los bebési a susi (respectivos) padres.

The police gave the babies.ACC to theiri respective parents.

'The police gave the babies to their (respective) parents.'

b. Presentamos (a) la doctorai a sui paciente

We-introduced the doctor.ACC to heri patient

'We introduced the doctor to her patient.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 48).

As far as the possessive in the double object constructions is concerned, the possessor in the theme argument can be bound by a clitic-doubled dative,

independent of the linear word order since the dative appears to be on the right of the direct object in the structure as shown in (13).

(13) a. ?Les entregamos susi cheques a los trabajadoresi

cl.dat.pl we-gave their checks.acc the workers.dat

'We gave the workers their checks.'

b. Le presentamos sui paciente a la doctorai

cl.dat we-introduced heri patient.ACC the doctor.dat

'We introduced the doctor her patient.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 49)

In contrast to the grammaticality of the sentences in (13), ((13a) is marginally accepted), the sentences in (14) are ungrammatical since the possessive in the dative-marked DP is bound by the theme argument due to the hierarchy between the goal and the theme argument in double object constructions.

(14) a. */??La policía les entregó los bebés$_i$ a sus$_i$ (respectivos) padres

The police cl.dat.pl gave [the babies.acc]i theiri respective parents.dat

*The police gave their parents the babies

b. *Le presentamos (a) la doctora a sui paciente

cl.dat we-introduced the doctor.acc her patient.dat

*We introduced her patient the doctor.

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 49)

Cuervo (2003) clearly shows that the difference between the prepositional ditransitive constructions and double object constructions is apparent when there is a possessive, and she considers this grammaticality difference to be very significant as

the only difference between these above-mentioned constructions is the absence or the presence of the dative clitic on the surface in Spanish. This suggests that binding properties can be a good test in order to see whether we have an underlying structure like in (3a) or like in (3b), in which the positions of the arguments are different as in (3a), the goal argument is higher and the clitic present sits in the $Appl^0$ slot whereas in (3b), the theme argument is higher than the goal argument, which is the core reason of the difference we observe between these two constructions in terms of binding. The second implication of the results of these two syntactic tests, binding of anaphors and binding of possessives, is that the linear word order of the arguments does not reflect the hierarchical order of the arguments in syntax as the linear order is Acc > Dat, which is not the case in configurations in which the dative is higher than the theme.

3.2.3 Weak cross-over effect

In addition to the syntactic differences observed in relation to binding of anaphors and possessives, double object constructions also behave differently compared to the prepositional ditransitive constructions as they seem to make clear predictions with respect to the weak cross-over effects. To roughly define what weak cross-over is, it is a phenomenon observed in configurations where the possessive pronoun is co-indexed with a constituent that is lower and undergoes movement of WH sort as shown in (15)

(15) ??Who$_i$ does his$_i$ mother like t_i

(Pica & Snyder, 1995, p. 2)

Double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions show different properties with respect to weak crossover. In other words, in double object constructions, if there is a possessive in the dative that is bound by the WH phrase, which is raised, weak crossover effects are observable. This effect is reverse in prepositional ditransitive constructions in such a way that if the possessive is in the prepositional phrase, no problem exists. These differences in English are shown in (16) for prepositional ditranstives and in (17) for double object constructions.

(16) a. *Whoi did Mary give his_i check to t_i?

b. $What_i$ did Mary give t_i to its_i owner?

(17) a. *$What_i$ did Mary give its_i owner t_i?

b. Who_i did Mary give t_i his_i check?

Therefore, based on these structural differences with respect to WCO effects described in English, Cuervo (2003) shows that clitic-doubled ditransitive version in Spanish patterns with English double object constructions and the non-doubled variant is similar to prepositional ditransitives. Thus, it would be predicted that WCO effects arise when a moved WH binds the possessive and not when the possessive inside the PP in the structure as shown in (18).

(18) a. *¿A $quién_i$ entregamos su_i cheque t_i?

to whom we-gave his check.acc

*To whom did we give his check?

b. ¿Qué (libro) entregamos t_i a sui $dueño_i$?

what (book).acc we-gave to its owner

What (book) did we give to its owner?

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 51)

When it comes to the double object constructions in Spanish, which is the clitic-doubled version, the weak cross-over effects should be reversed as the dative clitic is higher in the structure just like in the double object constructions in English. This is illustrated in (19).

(19) a.*¿Quéi (libro) le entregamos a sui dueño?
What (book).acc cl.dat we-gave its owner.dat
What (book) did Lilus give to its owner?
b. ¿A quiéni le entregamos sui cheque?
Who.dat cl.dat we-gave his check.acc
Who did we give his check?

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 51)

In order to account for the grammaticality of (19b) and the ungrammaticality of (19a), Cuervo (2003) assumes that the trace that the wh-object leaves in (19a) is lower than the dative DP unlike in (17b), in which the trace of the wh-element is higher than the position of the object DP.

3.2.4 Scope Relations

Following the observation of Aoun & Li (1989) who state that scope relations between the theme argument and the goal argument are different in English so-called dative alternations. It has been shown that there is free scope between the theme and the goal in prepositional ditransitive constructions in contrast to the double object constructions where the dative argument can take scope over the theme argument but the theme argument cannot take scope over the dative-marked argument, therefore scope is frozen. This scope relation is shown in (20).

(20) a. Mary gave some book to everyone some > every; every > some

b. Mary gave someone every book some > every; *every > some

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 51)

Bruening (2001) also shows parallel scope relations in English with *each* and *a*, which Cuervo (2003) makes use of in her Spanish data.

The similar differences in relation to frozen and free scope are found in the double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions. In parallel to English, one would expect frozen scope in the clitic-doubled variant in Spanish and free scope in the prepositional ones.

To begin with the prepositional ditransitive constructions, each in Spanish can scope over an indefinite article whose place, whether in the goal argument or in the theme argument, does not matter as shown in (21) since it exhibits free scope.

(21) a. Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto) cada > un
Andrés sent each painting.acc to a museum different
'Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum.'

b. Carolina llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista cada > un
Carolina took an article.acc different to each magazine
'Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 53)

As far as the double object constructions in Spanish are concerned, *each* exhibits frozen scope given that it cannot scope over the indefinite article in the direct object as shown in (22), which contrasts with the scopal relations that prepositional ditranstive constructions exhibit.

(22) a. Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto) *cada> un

Andrés cl.dat sent each painting.acc a museum.dat different

'Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting.'

b. Carolina le llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista cada > un

Carolina cl.dat took an article.acc (different) each magazine.dat

Carolina took each magazine a (different) article

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 53)

Similar scope relation facts can be observed in *every* and *some* in Spanish as shown in (23) for prepositional ditransitive constructions and (24) for double object constructions.

(23) a. Tenés que llevar todo candidato a algún buen restaurante

have.2sg that take every candidate to some good restaurant

'You have to take every candidate to a good restaurant.'

b. Tenés que llevar algún candidato a todo buen restaurante

have.2sg that take some candidate to every good restaurant

'You have to take some candidate to every good restaurant.'

(24) a. Tenés que recomendarle todo candidato a algún buen profesor

have.2SG that recommend.CL every candidate to some good professor.

'You have to recommend every candidate to a good professor.'

b. Tenés que recomendarle algún candidato a todo buen profesor

have.2sg that recommend.cl some candidate to every good professor

'You have to recommend some candidate to every good professor.'

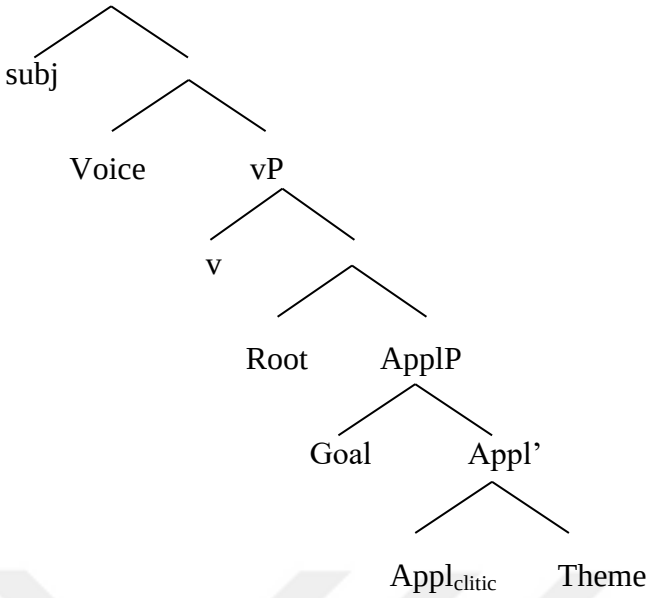
(Cuervo, 2003, p. 54)

In (24), ∀ in the theme object cannot scope over *some* which is in the dative-marked argument. Therefore, in (24a) the reading in which every candidate is recommended to one or other professor is simply unavailable as the only reading, since it exhibits frozen scope, is that every candidate is recommended to some particular professor.

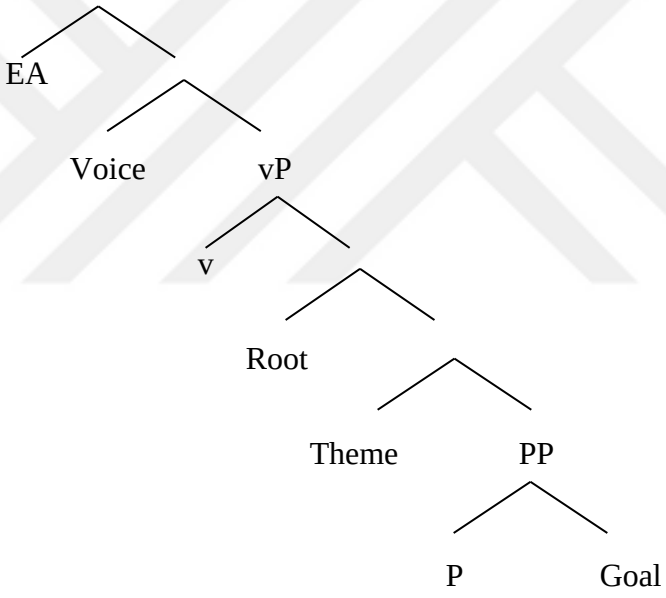
In summary, Cuervo (2003) shows that i) the theme DP can bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the complement, ii) weak cross-over effects do not arise as long as the possessive in the goal argument is bound by a theme that wh-element moves in iii) and the scopal relation between the theme argument and the goal argument is free in the prepositional ditransitive constructions. Contrariwise, the goal argument cannot bind the anaphor or the possessive in the theme DP, "the weak cross-over effects are induced the goal PP wh- moves across a theme that contains a possessive coindexed with it" (Cuervo, 2003, p. 51) and the scopal relation is frozen as the dative argument can take scope over the theme argument but the theme argument cannot take scope over the dative-marked argument in the double object constructions.

Binding data and weak cross-over data show that the relationship between the theme and the goal argument is different in these two distinct constructions, namely, double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions, since the relationship between the arguments is reversed as in prepositional ditransitive constructions, the theme argument is higher than the goal whereas in double object constructions, the goal argument is higher than the theme. Scope facts also show that the linear word order does not truly reflect the hierarchical structure. Therefore, two distinct underlying structures are repeated in (25).

(25) a. VoiceP Double Object Construction



b. VoiceP Prepositional Ditransitive Construction



(Cuervo, 2003, p.44)

3.2.5 Bulgarian Data and Low Applicative Analysis

The clitic doubling is common in Romance languages. However, Slavkov (2008) shows that it is also applicable in the Slavic languages by making similar claims for Bulgarian, which exhibits a parallel pattern like the ones found in Spanish as explored in Cuervo (2003). The discussion of the Bulgarian data in light of Cuervo's findings is important for the analysis of double object constructions in Pomak because Bulgarian and Pomak are very related languages (Kehaya, 2017) in terms of the grammatical patterns that they exhibit with some distinctions, which might range from minor to major. Before discussing these distinctions, it is worth providing an analysis for the Bulgarian data based on the syntactic tests that are proposed in Cuervo (2003). As mentioned earlier, Bulgarian exhibits similar patterns in terms of how it encodes double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions, as illustrated in (26).

(26) a. Ivan **i** izprati pismo na Marija.
Ivan **cl.dat** sent letter to maria
'Ivan sent Maria a letter.'
b. Ivan izprati pismo na Marija.
Ivan sent letter to Maria
'Ivan sent a letter to Maria.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 141)

As can be seen in (26a), there is a dative clitic in the structure, which is absent in (26b). Even though they have more or less the same structure on surface, Slavkov (2008) claims that (26a) is the double object construction and (26b) is the prepositional ditransitive construction. Slavkov (2008) analyzes constructions like in (26a) as applicative constructions within the framework of Plykkanen's; according to which (26a) is a low applicative construction.

The linear order in Bulgarian does not show anything about the order or arguments under discussion, namely theme and goal, as their position can change in the structure as shown in (27) for prepositional ditranstive constructions and in (28) for double object constructions.

(27) a. Ivan izprati pismo na Marija.
Ivan sent letter to Maria
'Ivan sent a letter to Maria.'
b. Ivan izprati na Marija pismo.
Ivan sent to Maria letter
'Ivan sent a letter to Maria.'
(28) a. Ivan i izprati pismo na Marija.
Ivan cl.dat sent letter to Maria
'Ivan sent Maria a letter.'
b. Ivan i izprati na Marija pismo.
Ivan cl.dat sent to Maria letter
'Ivan sent Maria a letter.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 144)

The examples in (27) and (28) clearly show that the order of theme and goal can alter in such a way that theme can precede the goal or the goal can precede the theme in both double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions as Bulgarian has a flexible word order. There seems to be no morphological difference in terms of the order. Nor are there any apparent structural consequences on surface. Therefore, it is evident that the word order is not the determining criterion whether the construction under investigation is double object construction or prepositional ditransitive construction. Instead, the presence (or alternatively absence) of the dative clitic is what determines the status of the construction. Thus, the main claim of Slavkov (2008) is that if the dative clitic is present in the structure, it is the double

object construction in which the indirect object is higher compared to the direct object thus c-commanding it unlike prepositional ditransitive constructions where there is no dative clitic present, in which the direct object is higher and the indirect object is inside the PP. In this line of thinking, the dative clitic sits in the position of $Appl^0$ and this predicts that when there is no clitic, there is no Appl present. What makes Bulgarian slightly different from English is the presence of *na*. Slavkov (2008) assumes that *na* present in (27) is different from *na* in (28) by giving it a dual nature following (Schick, 2000; Vakareliyska, 1994, 2000) in such a way that it is a directional preposition in (27) and a dative case reflex in (28). Therefore, it can be analyzed as a PP in (27) and as a DP in (28).

One striking property of double object constructions is that they are ungrammatical with true locative phrases. This is also noted for English, which is shown in (29).

(29) a. John sent Mary a letter.

b. *John sent Athens a letter.

However, as far as prepositional ditransitive constructions are concerned, they are grammatical with goal arguments showing location as shown in (30).

(30) a. John sent a letter to Mary.

b. John sent a letter to Athens.

This observation is parallel to Bulgarian data in that when the clitic is present, locative goal is ungrammatical and when it is absent, the structure including a locative goal is grammatical as shown in (31) for double object construction and (32) for prepositional ditransitive construction.

(31) a. Ivan mu izprati pismo na Stojan.
Ivan cl.dat sent letter to Stojan.
'Ivan sent Stoyan a letter.'
b. *Ivan mu izprati pismo na Berlin.
Ivan cl.dat sent letter to Berlin
'Ivan sent Berlin a letter.'

(32) a. Ivan izprati pismo na Stojan
Ivan sent letter to Stojan
'Ivan sent a letter to Stoyan.'
b. Ivan izprati pismo na Berlin.
Ivan sent letter to Berlin
'Ivan sent a letter to Berlin.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 147)

Another interesting fact about Bulgarian, which will be useful for the discussion of the Pomak data, is the dual nature of *na* described in the literature. As mentioned earlier in this section, it is either a directional preposition or a dative case reflex, depending on in which construction it is used. Further support to this described dual nature comes from the fact that double object constructions are ungrammatical with prepositions, showing that in those constructions *na* cannot be analyzed as a preposition. This is shown in (33).

(33) Majka mu slaga zaxar na/*v caja.
mother cl.dat put.3sg sugar to/*in the tea
Lit: 'Mother puts the tea sugar.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 148)

In (33), it is shown that the preposition *in* in Bulgarian yields ungrammaticality when it is used in the double object construction, which indicates that *na* in these constructions cannot be a preposition, but it is a case marker. On the other hand, the

same preposition, which is not licensed in the double object construction shown in (33), can be used in the prepositional ditransitive construction as shown in (34).

(34) Majka slaga zaxar **v** caja.
mother put.3sg sugar in the tea
Mother puts sugar in the tea.

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 148)

This difference between the clitic variant construction and the non-clitic construction with respect to whether the location preposition can be used indicates that these two constructions are different and also *na* in these two constructions are different as well. The clitic doubled version has *na* as a dative case marker and in this analysis since it is a case marker, adding a PP yields ungrammaticality as shown in (31) as the second argument should be a DP rather than a PP. However, the grammaticality of (34) is also expected as in this construction, *na* is a preposition and replacing it with a different preposition yields no ungrammaticality.

Bulgarian also exhibits so-called *na-drop* as shown in (35) and (36).

(35) (Na) nego/ Ivan **mu** dadox knigite.
to him/ Ivan gave1SG the books
I gave him/Ivan the books.
(36) *(Na) nego/ Ivan dadox knigite.
to him/ Ivan gave1SG the books
I gave him/Ivan the book

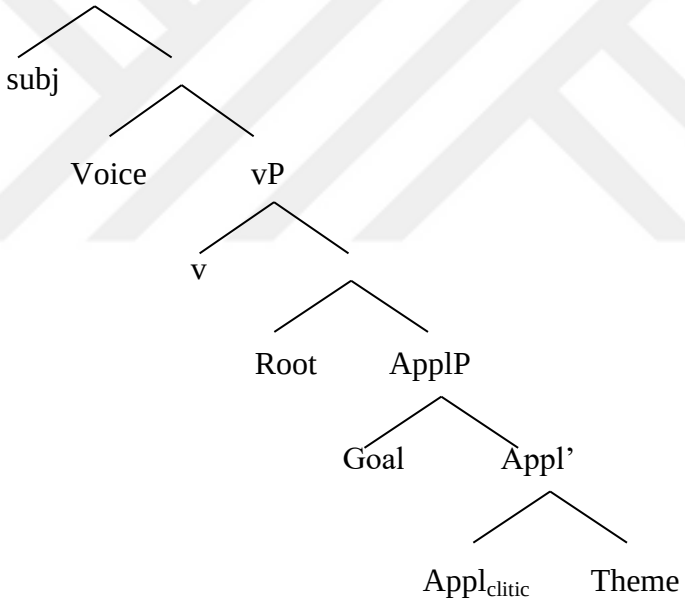
(Slavkov, 2008, p. 149)

In collequal Bulgarian, it is common to drop *na* as shown in (35). However, it should be noted that this drop is only possible when the construction is clitic-doubled version rather than the PP construction. This is also expected as *na* in the

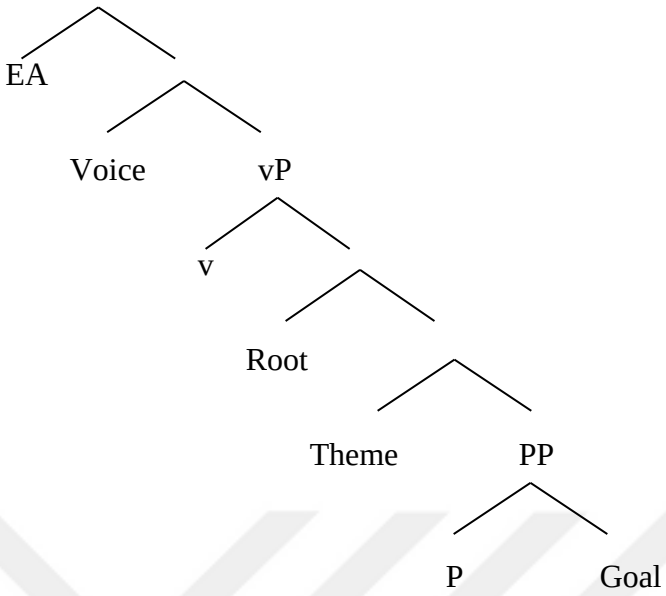
prepositional ditransitive construction is obligatory as it is the head of the PP since it carries a directional meaning. On the other hand, the double object construction, it is a redundant case marker as the goal argument should be a DP.

Establishing these differences in Bulgarian, Slavkov (2008) also considers Cuervo (2003) in order to test double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions by referring to the tests proposed in Cuervo (2003), i.e. binding of possessives, weak crossover effects and scope relations. Slavkov (2008) also follows Cuervo (2003) and proposes the following structures of Bulgarian as well.

(37) a. VoiceP Double Object Construction



b. VoiceP Prepositional Ditransitive Construction



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 44)

To begin with the binding of possesives, as discussed in Cuervo (2003), prepositional ditransitive constructions and double object constructions behave differently as shown in (38) and (39).

(38) Värnaxme recnika$_i$ na negovija$_i$ sobstvenik.

Returned.2pl the dictionary to its owner

'We returned the dictionary to its owner.'

(39) *Varnaxme **mu**$_i$ recnika$_i$ na negovija$_i$ sobstvenik.

Returned.2pl cl.dat dictionary to its owner

Lit: 'We returned its owner the dictionary.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 151)

If the possessive is inside the goal in the prepositional ditransitive constructions, the structure is grammatical as the theme argument, which is higher, can bind into the possessive in the goal as it is lower. However, since the order of the theme and the

goal argument is reversed in the double object constructions in such a way that theme is lower than the goal argument; the theme argument cannot bind the possessive in the goal argument as shown in (39). Following the same reasoning, consider the examples in (40) and (41).

(40) *Otkazaxme negovija$_i$ сек na rabotnika$_i$.

denied.1pl his check to the worker

Lit: 'We denied his check to the worker.'

(41) Otkazaxme mu$_i$ negovija$_i$ сек na rabotnika$_i$.

Denied.1pl cl.dat his check to the worker

'We denied the worker his check.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 151)

These examples show that the non-clitic construction having a possessive in the theme is ungrammatical and the clitic-doubled variant is grammatical as the higher goal can bind the possessive in the lower theme.

As far as the weak cross-over effects are concerned, in the double object constructions, the wh element in the theme, which is lower, raises over the possessive in the goal argument, which is higher, and this construction in English is ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality is not observed in the prepositional ditransitive constructions as the theme argument is already higher by default, which results in the fact that the wh element does not cross over the possessive in the goal argument. As tested in English and Spanish, this difference also correlates with the Bulgarian data as shown in (42) for a double object construction and (43) for a prepositional ditransitive construction.

(42) */???Kakvo$_i$ mu dade Ivan na sobstvenika mu$_i$ t_i?

what cl.dat gave Ivan to the owner its

'What$_i$ did Ivan give its$_i$ owner?'

(43) Kakvo$_i$ dade Ivan t_i na sobstvenika mu$_i$?

what gave Ivan to the owner its

'What$_i$ did Ivan give t_i, to its$_i$ owner?'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 153)

In both of the examples shown in (42) and (43), the possessive is embedded inside the goal argument because of the above-mentioned reasons. Therefore, it would be right to assume that a reverse pattern of (un)grammaticality is attested when the possessive is inside the theme argument rather than the goal argument as shown in (44) and (45).

(44) Na kogo$_i$ mu värna t_i testa mu Ivan?

to whom cl.dat returned.3sg the test his Ivan

Who$_i$ did Ivan return t_i his$_i$ test?

(45) *Na kogo$_i$ värna testa mu t$_i$ Ivan?

to whom returned the test his Ivan

Who did Ivan return his test to?

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 153)

Another piece of evidence that Cuervo (2003) gives and Slavkov (2008) considers in Bulgarian is the scope relations and how each of the above-mentioned constructions behaves with respect to scope. The major difference is that in double object constructions, the scope is frozen and in prepositional ditransitive

constructions, it is free between the theme argument and the goal argument. This is illustrated in (46) and (47) for Bulgarian.

(46) a. Uciteljat dade edno (razlicno) bonbonce na vsjako dete.
the teacher gave.3sg one different candy to each child
'The teacher gave a (different) candy to each child.'

b. Uciteljat dade vsjako bonbonce na edno (razlicno) dete.
the teacher gave.3sg each candy to one different child
'The teacher gave each candy to a (different) child.'

(47) a. Uciteljat mu dade edno (razlicno) bonbonce na vsjako dete.
the teacher cl.dat gave3SG a different candy to each child
'The teacher gave each child a (different) candy.'

b. Uciteljat mu dade vsjako bonbonce na edno (*razlicno) dete.
the teacher cl.dat gave.3sg each candy to a different child.
'The teacher gave a (*different) child each candy.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 155)

Based on these pieces of evidence, Slavkov (2008) summarizes that when there is a clitic in the structure, it is a double object construction and assumes the applicative analysis, whereas, if the clitic is absent, it is a prepositional ditransitive construction and proposes the preposition analysis, considering the Bulgarian element *na* as a preposition.

3.2.6. Low Applicatives and Prepositional Phrases in Pomak

Based on the evidence provided in Cuervo (2003) and confirmed for Bulgarian in Slavkov (2008), this section aims to provide an analysis for the state of double object constructions in Pomak. The data this section is based on are gathered from two different dialects, one in Greece and one in Turkey in order to provide comparative data and to analyze both dialects of the Pomak language. As stated in Kehaya (2017), Pomak exhibits many dialectal differences even from a village to a village in the same area; therefore, there are many differences. However, one striking difference between the Greek variety of Pomak and the Turkish variety of Pomak is the use of *na*, similar to Bulgarian as shown in (1). The example sentences are given in Pomak and each example in this section is specified whether it is the Turkish variety of Pomak, marked as Turkish variety, or the variety of the Pomak language spoken in Greece, marked as Greek variety, in order not to confuse the reader since these two dialects, as we will show, exhibit striking differences with respect to double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions.

To begin with the Pomak data, in both dialects, *na* is used to show directionality as shown in (48).

(48) a. Ayşe provodi miktupe na Ankaro. (Greek variety)
Ayşe sent.3sg letter.def to Ankara
'Ayşe sent the letter to Ankara.'

b. Ayşe na Ankara mektup zaprati. (Turkish variety)
Ayşe to Ankara letter sent.3sg
'Ayşe sent the letter to Ankara.'

As far as the double object constructions in Pomak are concerned, they seem not to have survived in the Turkish dialect. To elaborate on this, the tests proposed in Cuervo (2003) are used. To begin with the binding test, the predication is based on the hierarchical relationship between the theme and the goal argument in the structure as the goal argument is higher than the theme argument in the double object construction and it is vice versa for the prepositional ditransitive construction, which is independent of the linear word order. Therefore, as expected, the possessive in the direct object cannot be bound by the goal argument in prepositional ditransitive constructions due to the hierarchical position of the arguments. Consider the example in (49).

(49) Ayşe resimasa na Ali dade. (Turkish variety)

Ayşe picture.poss.def. na Ali dade.

'Ayşe sent the picture of him/her to Ali.'

In this sentence in (49), the picture cannot be Ali's picture since the theme argument is higher than the goal argument therefore the goal argument cannot bind the possessive in the theme argument. If it were to bind it, the reading in which the picture belongs to the noun in the goal argument, Ali, could be established. When we compare the Turkish variety of Pomak with the Greek variety of Pomak, we observe that these two varieties behave differently. Firstly, in the Greek variety, the preposition *na* is not used. Instead, the goal argument is marked with the dative case. Unlike Bulgarian, *na* and dative marking cannot co-occur in the applicative double object constructions. Only the dative marking on the goal is required. Furthermore, it exhibits the DOC pattern observed in Spanish and Bulgarian in terms of the binding

properties, i.e. whether the theme argument can bind the possessive in the goal argument, which is shown in (50).

(50) Ayşe dade resima Aliyu.

Ayşe gave.3Sg picture-def Ali-dat

Ayşe gave Ali the picture.

In the example (50), the picture that Ayşe gave can be the picture of Ali's. In other words, the possessor in the theme argument can be bound by the dative-marked argument, independent of the linear word order since the dative appears to be on the right of the direct object in the structure, which shows that hierarchically, goal argument is higher as it can bind into the possessive in the theme argument, so that the picture can belong to Ali. The other word order alternatives of the example in (50) are shown in (51).

(51) a. Ayse Aliyu provodi resima.

Ayşe Ali-dat gave.3Sg. picture-def

Ayşe gave Ali the picture

b. Ayse provodi Aliyu resima.

Ayşe gave.3Sg. Ali-dat picture-def

Ayşe gave Ali the picture.

In the Greek variety of Pomak, there is a tendency to put the goal argument to the left of the theme argument even though the other alternative shown in (50) is also possible and in fact, it is the first word order elicited. Like in the Bulgarian language, the word order in the Greek variety of Pomak seems to be flexible and thus does not say much about the underlying word order; binding data show that the goal argument is higher than the theme argument as the DP in the goal argument can bind the

possessive DP in the theme argument. However, this pattern is not possible in the Turkish variety of Pomak as shown in (49). Besides, the Turkish variety does not seem to allow much variation in the word order and the goal argument cannot be bound by the theme argument as expected due to the fact that in this variety, the theme is higher than the goal, following the prepositional structure in which *na* is the head of the PP.

As far as the scope facts are concerned, these two varieties of Pomak behave differently as well. To begin with, recall the assymtery in scopal relations in Bulgarian. The major difference is that in double object constructions, the scope is frozen and in prepositional ditransitive constructions, it is free between the theme argument and the goal argument. This is illustrated in (52) and (53) for Bulgarian.

(52) a. Uciteljat dade edno (razlicno) bonbonce na vsjako dete.
the teacher gave.3sg one different candy to each child
'The teacher gave a (different) candy to each child.'

b. Uciteljat dade vsjako bonbonce na edno (razlicno) dete.
the teacher gave.3sg each candy to one different child
'The teacher gave each candy to a (different) child.'

(53) a. Uciteljat mu dade edno (razlicno) bonbonce na vsjako dete.
the teacher cl.dat gave3SG a different candy to each child
'The teacher gave each child a (different) candy.'

b. Uciteljat mu dade vsjako bonbonce na edno (*razlicno) dete.
the teacher cl.dat gave.3sg each candy to a different child.
'The teacher gave a (*different) child each candy.'

(Slavkov, 2008, p. 155)

In the Greek variety of Pomak, *each* exhibits frozen scope given that it cannot scope over the indefinite article in the direct object.

(54) a. Ali seka detete dade ennomu kitape.

Ali each child.def gave.3Sg. a.dat book.def

'The teacher gave each child a (different) book.'

b. Ali seka kitape dade ennomu detetu

Ali each book gave.3Sg a-dat child-def-dat

'Ali gave a (*different) child each book.'

However, as far as the Turkish variety of Pomak is concerned, it exhibits free scope between the theme argument and the goal argument as shown (55).

(55) a. Ali siçkite kitape na no zagaro dade.

Ali each book-def to a child-def gave.3Sg

'Ali gave each book to a (different) child.'

b. Ali na siçkite zagaro edin şeker dade.

Ali na each child a-def candy gave.3Sg.

'Ali gave each child a (different) candy.'

The sentences in (54) and (55) clearly show that these two varieties behave differently with respect to the scopal relations between the arguments. To be more precise, the Greek variety of Pomak follows the DOC pattern in Spanish and Bulgarian, involving an applicative head, whereas the Pomak variety spoken in

Turkey seems to pattern alike the prepositional ditranstive constructions in Spanish and Bulgarian.

The last piece of evidence comes from the weak cross-over effects described in Spanish and Bulgarian in this chapter. Let us recall the argument related to the weak cross-over effects. In the double object constructions, the wh element in the theme, which is lower, raises over the possessive in the goal argument, which is higher, and this construction in English is ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality is not observed in the prepositional ditransitive constructions as the theme argument is already higher by default, which results in the fact that the wh element does not cross over the possessive in the goal argument. Again, these two varieties of Pomak behave differently as shown in (56) for the Greek variety of Pomak and in (57) for the Turkish variety of Pomak.

(56) *Kakvo Ayşe dade kotro-mu-si?

What Ayşe give owner-dat-its

'What$_i$ did Ayşe give t_i, to its$_i$ owner.'

(57) Ayşe kakvo na sahipe dade?

Ayşe what na owner-def give

'What$_i$ did Ayşe give t_i, to its$_i$ owner.'

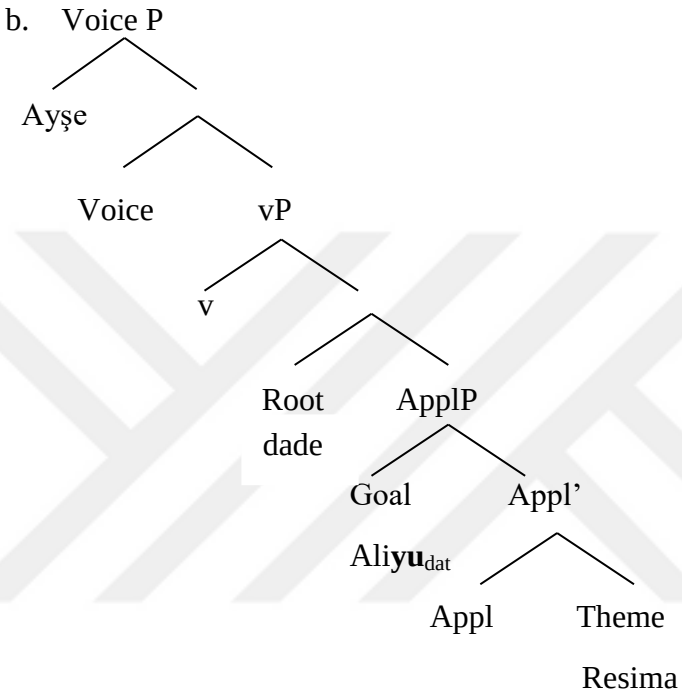
Based on the three pieces of evidence available in the literature, Greek variety and Turkish variety of the Pomak language exhibit two different syntactic structures for constructions with double objects. In the Greek variety of Pomak, the dative case is used, involving an applicative head that shows transfer of possession. This is illustrated in (58).

(58) a. Ayşe dade resima Aliyu.

Ayşe gave.3Sg picture-def Ali-dat

'Ayşe gave Ali the picture.'

b. Voice P



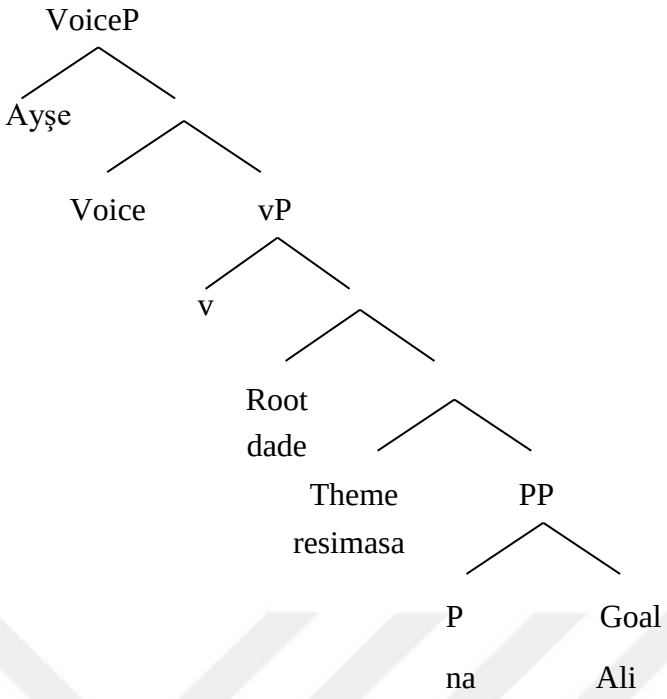
When it comes to the Turkish variety of Pomak, the low applicative analysis is not applicable. Instead, the prepositional analysis is provided as shown in (59).

(59) a. Ayşe resimasa na Ali dade.

Ayşe picture.poss.def. na Ali dade.

Ayşe sent the picture of him/her to Ali.

b.



3.3 Conclusion

To sum up, in the literature, there have been different claims about the nature of double object constructions in relation to how they are derived. There are two possibilities in terms of their derivation and one of them is to derive them via a low applicative head if there is a case-marking. The other, on the other hand, is to propose a prepositional analysis in which the goal argument is part of the PP. Following Cuervo (2003)'s analysis for Spanish and Slavkov (2008)'s application of the same analysis in Bulgarian, we show that Pomak exhibits both of the patterns, based on the variety of it. To be more precise, the Pomak variety spoken in Xanthi, Greece exhibits the following patterns:

i. the goal argument cannot bind the anaphor or the possessive in the theme DP.

ii. in terms of weak cross-over effects, the wh element in the theme, which is lower, raises over the possessive in the goal argument, which is higher, and this construction results in ungrammaticality in Pomak.

iii. the scopal relation is frozen as the dative argument can take scope over the theme argument but the theme argument cannot take scope over the dative-marked argument.

The Pomak variety spoken in Edirne, Turkey, on the other hand, shows the following properties:

i. the theme DP can bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the complement.

ii. weak cross-over effects seem not to arise as long as the possessive in the goal argument is somehow bound by a theme that wh-element moves in.

iii. the scopal relation between the theme argument and the goal argument is free.

This, then, shows that these two different varieties show two different syntactic structures[20]. This might be due to the fact that Turkish does not allow for low applicatives and only licenses high applicatives (Tonyalı, 2015), which may result in the fact that the Turkish variety of Pomak might have lost double object constructions and licenses the goal argument via a prepositional head.

[20] It should be noted that Pomak does not differentiate between goals used along with the verbs of directed motion and the verbs of manner of motion. Including ditranstive constructions and these specific verb types, goal arguments in the Pomak variety spoken in Turkey are all introduced with *na*-phrase.

i. Ali na mektep sastarçe — Verbs of manner of motion
Ali na school run.past.1prs.sng
Ali ran to school.

ii. Ali na mektep utide. — Verbs of directed motion
Ali na school go.past.1prs.sng
Ali went to school

CHAPTER 4

POSSESSOR APPLICATIVES IN POMAK

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at analyzing the possessor applicatives in the variety of Pomak spoken in Turkey as illustrated in (1).

(1) Es na Ali-ta **mu** lajo-ta vide
I na Ali-def **clitic** lie-def see.1Sg
i. I saw Ali's lie. (And he is very ashamed of it)
ii. (I swear) I saw ALİ's lie.

The sentence in (1) is ambiguous between two readings. In one reading, the possessor is affected by the event, which is typical of possessor applicatives (cf. Landau, 1999; Nikolaeva, 2020; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2005; Grashchenkov & Markman 2008; Öztürk, 2019; Iovtcheva, 2019; Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali, 2020, a.o.), and in the second reading, the possessor is emphasized with no affectedness, which seems to be rare cross-linguistically but it is documented for some Bantu languages (cf. Marten & Mous, 2017).

Note that in Pomak, possession can also be achieved without the presence of the clitic as can be seen in (2).

(2) Es na Ali-ta lajo-ta vide
I na Ali-def lie-def see.1Sg
I saw Ali's lie.

The crucial difference between the sentence in (1) and (2) is the presence/absence of the clitic, which yields in a difference in meaning in such a way that the sentence in (2) shows pure possession only without the affectedness or emphasis reading even though the seemingly same marker *na* is used. However, it should be noted that in the Balkan languages, the Balkan Sprachbund, there is so-called dative-genitive syncretism (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Pancheva 2004; Breu 2009; Catasso 2011; Pennington 2012; Krapova & Dimitrova 2015; Oikonomou et. al. 2021, a.o.) and the Balkan languages not behaving in a uniformed way show distinct case properties, probably due to an areal difference[21]. For example, Anagnostopoulou (2003) shows that genitive-marked DPs in Greek ditransitive constructions bear the features of dative case.

In the following, we will show the differences between the constructions in (1) and (2), considering the two distinct meanings of the construction in (1) which are absent in (2). We will analyze them differently compared to Cuervo (2003)'s

[21] The Balkan languages do not exhibit a uniformed merge of these two cases. For example, in Greek, the possessive clitics receive abstract genitive case and the clitic that marks the indirect object receives dative case although both clitics have the same morphological exponence. However, in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian, possessive clitics have dative values in their syntactic derivation and therefore, there is no difference between the case assigned for the indirect object and the case assigned for possessives, both being the dative case (Pancheva, 2004). In the literature, generally, it is argued that although they seem to be the same on the surface structure, they are not the same underlyingly and this case-syncretism is a result of language change in the area, which affects the clitics and full DP's (Tomic, 1996; Schoorlemmer, 1998; Grosu, 1988; Schick, 2000; Avram & Coene, 2000; Anagnastopoulou & Sevdali, 2020).

Pomak holds a special place in the Balkan Sprachbund as some dialects show distinct dative and genitive cases to Express possession as illustrated in (i), unlike the variety spoken in Turkey as shown in (1) above.

(i) a. Ya sam se'stra Meriye'm-u [Paşevik Pomak]
pro.1sg.nom be.cop.1sg.prs sister meriyem-dat
I am Meryem's sister.
b. Ya sam Meriye'm-av|a-na se'stra
pro.1sg.nom be.cop.1sg.prs meriyem-poss|def sister
I am Meryem's sister.

(Sandry, 2013, p. 125)

Furthermore, Kehaya (2017) reports that the dialect he analyzes, the Pachni dialect in Xanthi, Greece does not have genitive case and its semantics is expressed either by denominal adjectives or by dative case. In this chapter, I will solely focus on the variety spoken in Turkey, which exhibits dative-genitive syncretism.

possessor applicatives analysis for which she assumes a low applicative head, which is already absent in the Turkish variety. Following their semantic differences in terms of what tier, at-issue or not-at-issue, the applicatives contributes to, we will present two syntactic analyses, one with a high applicative taking the VP as its complement and the other with a higher applicative, which take the vP as its complement.

4.2 Syntactic approaches to possessive applicatives

In the literature, it has been observed that based on the possessive reading applicatives introduce, there is a variation noted depending on the complement type. In these constructions, there can be a DP complement, a PP complement and a SC complement which results in different interpretations (Cuervo, 2020) as shown in (3).

(3) a. DP complement: possessor dative (transitive; French)
Michel lui a lavé les cheveux.
Michel 3sg.dat= has washed the hairs
'Michel washed his hair.'

b. DP complement: possessor dative (unaccusative; Spanish)
A la casale faltan ventanas.
DAT the house 3SG.DAT= miss.PL windows
'The house lacks (some) windows.'

c. DP-PP complement: locative-possessor dative (Spanish).
Gabi lepuso el bebé en los brazos a Emilio.
Gabi 3SG.DAT= put the baby in the arms DAT Emilio
'Gabi placed the baby in Emilio's arms.'

d. PP complement: locative-possessor dative (transitive; French)
Elle luia tiré dans le ventre.
she 3SG.DAT= has shot in the belly
'She shot her/him in the belly.' (Boneh & Nash 2012)

e. SC complement: experiencer/locative-possessor dative (Spanish)
Emilio le puso la mano encima a Lucila.
Emilio 3sg.dat put the hand on-top dat Lucia
Emilio laid a hand on Lucia

(Cuervo, 2020, p. 16)

Cuervo (2003) discusses that syntactically and morphologically applicatives showing possession are exactly the same as recipient and source applicatives since they exhibit the same properties and behaviors when it comes to case, word order, hierarchical position and finally spell-out of the syntactic head. Based on these similarities, Cuervo (2003) claims that possessor applicatives have a basic structure of low applicatives. However, she claims that at least in Spanish, possessor applicatives do not show transfer of possession, which low applicatives exhibit according to the applicative typology proposed in Pylkkänen (2002). Therefore, Cuervo (2003) proposes a new type of low applicative which relates an individual to the theme object as being its possessor in the structure, assuming the same semantic structure as in Pylkkänen (2002)'s low applicative semantics, which only differs in "at" meaning rather than "to/from" meaning as shown in (4).

(4) $[[\text{Low Applicative}_{AT}]] = \lambda x.\ \lambda y.\ \lambda f_{<e<s,t>>.}\ \lambda e.f(e,x)$ & theme (e,x) & in-the-possession (x,y).

Cuervo (2003) compares the possession via the applicative head and via "of" in Spanish, considering the differences between these two as shown in (5).

(5) a. Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria
Pablo cl.dat. admires the patience.acc dat. Valeria
Pablo admires Valeria's patience (Lit: Pablo admires Valeria the patience)

b. Pablo admira la paciencia de Valeria.
Pablo admires the patience of Valeria
Pablo admires Valeria's patience.

(Cuervo, 2003, p.74)

Cuervo's interpretation of these two sentences is in such a way that in (5a), there is an implication that the speaker, Pablo, admires Valeria and her patience in general. This reading of (5a) is missing in (5b), which can only mean that Pablo admires the patience embodied in Valeria, which suggests that the focus of admiration in both sentences shown in (5) seems to be different in terms of the meanings presented. In addition to this difference in terms of the meanings present, Cuervo (2003) also notes a difference in terms of temporality in such a way that sentence in (5a) can be uttered in a context in which Valeria shows patience under some circumstance and she is not patient in general unlike the sentence in (5b), which dictates that Valeria should be a patient person. The same contrast can be captured when both of the objects are animate as well, which is shown in (6).

(6) a. Pablo le envidia la hija a Valeria

Pablo clt.dat. envies the daughter.acc Valeria.dat

'Pablo envies Valeria's daughter.' (Lit:Pablo envies Valeria the daughter)

b. Pablo envidia a la hija de Valeria

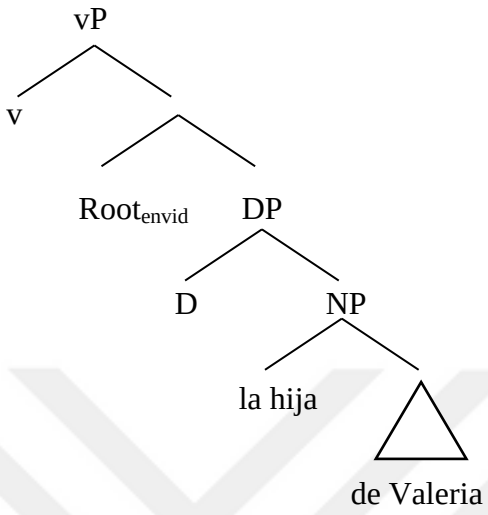
Pablo envies [the daughter of Valeria].acc
'Pablo envies Valeria's daughter.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 75)

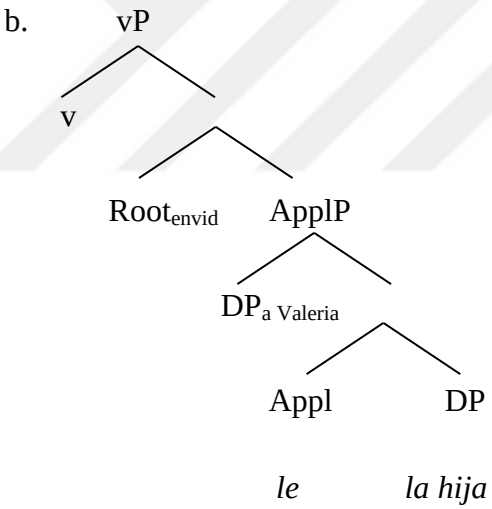
In both of the sentences shown in (6), Valeria is related to the theme argument in the structure and the contrast between these two configurations is that Valeria is part of the theme object and is therefore not related to the verb in the genitive construction. On the other hand, in the dative construction to show possession, Valeria is one of

the arguments that relates to the verb as it is the complement, which yields two different syntactic structures to explain the differences in terms of the meanings. These two structures are shown in (7).

(7) a.



b.



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 76)

Cuervo (2003) assumes that in the case of dative possession, a low applicative takes a DP, which is *la hija* in this case, and it relates two individuals in the structure embedded under the same phrase. Therefore, in this case, low applicative takes the DP and relates it to another DP that is in the specifier position in the applicative phrase. The same kind of interpretation is also attested when there is a verb denoting

an activity unlike a stative verb in Spanish. To illustrate this, in the case of *kissing* event, dative case-marked DP's also appear and generally they are interpreted as the recipient or the benefactive of the theme object.

(8) a. Pablo beso a Valeria en la frente

Pablo kissed Valeria.acc on the forehead
'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead.'

b. ?Pablo beso la frente de Valeria

Pablo kissed the forehead.acc of Valeria
'Pablo kissed the forehead of Valeria.'

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 78)

In the case of stative verbs, Cuervo (2003) shows that both PP and genitive construction yield grammatical sentences as shown in (8). However, the genitive construction sounds odd. Cuervo explains this oddness through inalienable possession relation between Valeria and her forehead. To be more precise, in the case of genitive construction, Valeria does not take part in the event, but she is just a possessor of the forehead. However, in the case of the PP construction shown in (8a), which does not yield ungrammaticality. Nor does it yield oddness. Cuervo (2003) assumes that the dative is considered to be the static possessor of the object and there is no transfer of possession. The meaning is that Pablo kissed the forehead of Valeria and Valeria herself and since the relationship between Valeria and her own forehead is of an inalienable possession type, Pablo did both of the events of kissing at the same time and such kind of a meaning only emerges when there is an applicative construction and therefore does not emerge in genitive construction, which explains the oddness of the kissing event in the genitive construction.

These dative possessors mainly described in light of Cuervo (2003)'s work on Spanish, which are considered to be low applicatives with a static nature, having in-the-possession semantics rather than the transfer of possession semantics have drawn considerable attention in the literature. The previous approaches to dative possessors tried to account for the dual nature of them, trying to explain how the dative-marked argument can be the argument of a verb syntactically and is somehow semantically related to the theme argument that is possessed. In accounting for the dual nature of dative possessors, there have been three broad proposals in the literature, and these are:

a) The Control Analysis (Borer & Grodzinsky, 1986; Öztürk, 2019)

b) The Raising Analysis (Masullo, 1992; Demonte, 1995; Landau, 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2005; Lødrup et.al., 2009; Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008; Cinque & Krapova, 2009; Rodrigues, 2010; Deal, 2019)

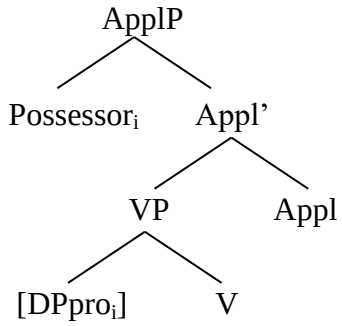
c) The Source Low Applicative Analysis (Pylkkänen, 2002)

The basic ingredients of possessor datives are that they cannot show possession for the subject and they are related to the theme argument in the structure. Therefore, what the previous accounts try to explain is the syntactic and semantic licensing of dative possessors and the restrictions as well as the cross-linguistic variation they seem to show.

To begin with the control analysis, Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) show that possessor dative must c-command the possessed determiner phrase or possibly its trace at the surface structure. According to their analysis, the possessed DP should contain an anaphoric element that is bound by the possessor DP. The main idea is that the empty category is based generated within the DP (the possessed) and it

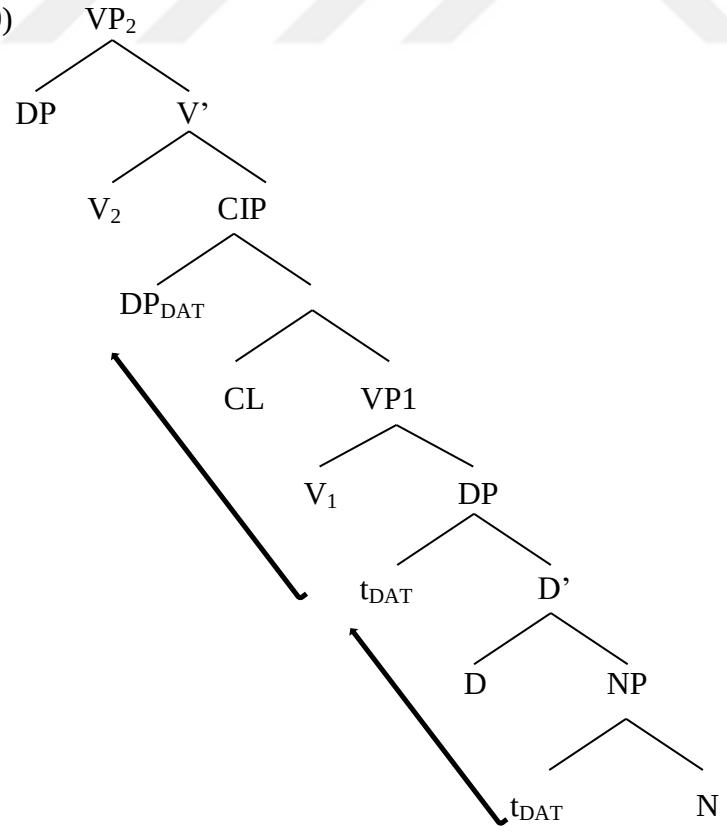
transmits the possessive interpretation to the possessor dative (Gueron, 1985, 1991; Borer & Grodzinsky, 1986; Cheng & Ritter, 1987 a.o) shown in (9).

(9)



On the other hand, in the raising analysis, Demonte (1995) assumes that the dative-marked possessor DP originates in the specifier position of the theme DP. This position in which the possessor DP originates is not where it can receive its case, and this results in the movement of the DP in order to get its dative case. The landing site of the DP is the specifier position of the Clitic Phrase as shown in (10).

(10)



(Pylkkänen, 2002)

In a parallel way as Demonte (1995), Landau (1999) assumes a similar syntactic structure, proposing that the possessor DP is part of the DP theme argument, but it is in a different position compared to the genitive complement and the possessor raises to check its case in the structure. The question one can raise is why the dative possessors cannot show possession for the subjects can also be answered by case-checking mechanism as the possessor DP originates inside the DP and if it were generated inside the subject DP, then it would not get its case since the subjects are projected above in the structure where it can no longer get its dative case.

When it comes to the source low applicative analysis of Pylkkänen (2002), it is very similar to the Raising Analysis if one does not consider the case checking mechanism since the dative possessors are part of the verb in neither account. However, in Pylkkänen (2002)'s approach, there is no case-checking and nor does she assume anything about case-checking; therefore, in her approach, there is nothing particular to force or, on the other hand, forbid the movement of the possessor DP. However, Cuervo (2003) finds Pylkkänen's approach problematic in terms of semantics as Pylkkänen imposes a dynamic reading to the possessor DP, which Cuervo (2003) shows is not always the case, as shown in (11).

(11) Pablo le tiene el gato a Andreina durante las vacaciones

Pablo cl.dat. has the cat Andreina.dat during the holiday
'Pablo keeps Andreina's cat during holidays.'
→ * Andreina loses/gets a cat.

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 82)

Cuervo (2003) assumes that rather than the dynamic reading of possession as proposed in Pylkkänen (2002), the static possession reading, and the analysis would be much convenient in cases in which a static possession relation holds.

Another factor dative possessor seems to have is the affectedness. This affectedness in the case of dative possessors is reported in the literature (Demonte, 1995; Landau, 1999; Cuervo, 2003; Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008; Bosse et. al. 2012). This is generally thought to be the difference between genitive-possessive constructions and applicative constructions showing possession. This is also captured in Slavic languages as well. One case is the Russian genitive and dative possession as Russian exhibits both dative possession and genitive possession shown in (12).

(12) a. Dima byl mne drugom
Dima was I-dat friend-inst
'Dima was my friend (a friend of mine).'

b. Dima byl moim drugom
Dima was I.gen-instr friend-instr
'Dima was my friend.'

(Grashchenkov & Markman, 2008, p. 188)

As one can see, (12a) is a dative possession construction while (12b) is a regular genitive construction. The crucial difference reported between these two sentences in terms of the meaning they exhibit, the sentence in (12a), showing dative possession can be uttered in a context in which Dima acted as a friend by doing something or helping since these constructions at least in Russian do not seem to create mere possessor-possessee relation. However, when it comes to the sentence in (12b) with genitive marking, it can be uttered to convey that Dima was my friend. This affectedness is also reported in Bosse *et. al.* (2012), stating that dative possession involves some sort of affectedness in such a way that the possessor DP is affected by the action of the verb in the structure. This affectedness is also reported in Laz by

Öztürk (2019), which states that the possessor in the structure must bear an affectee role, otherwise genitive is used and dative is not licensed shown in (13).

(13) a. *Xordza-k bere-s toma u-nt'in-u

Woman-erg child-dat hair appl-smell-past.3ps

'The woman smelled the child's hair.'

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 366)

As there cannot be an affectee reading with predicates like *smell*, since the child cannot benefit from the smelling event, the sentence in (13a) is ungrammatical and can only be grammatical if genitive is used as shown in (13b).

b. Xordza-k bere-şi toma int'in-u

Woman-erg child-gen hair smell-past.3ps

'The woman smelled the child's hair.'

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 366)

However, Cuervo (2003) assumes that affectedness can emerge in the case of dative possessors and this only depends on the verbal semantics of the individual verbs. To be more precise, she claims that the affectedness is an indirect consequence of the lexical semantics of the verb being used when it is combined with the possessive relation that is established by the applicative. To illustrate this, in the case of stative predicates in Spanish, there is no affectedness as shown in (14).

(14) a. Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat. admires the patience.acc dat. Valeria

Pablo admires Valeria's patience

(Lit: Pablo admires Valeria the patience) (Cuervo, 2003, p.74)

b. Pablo le miro /estudio / observar 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)

As one can see in the example in (14a), there is no affected relation that holds even though the construction is the possessor applicative construction. This absence of the affectedness is not limited to the stative verbs but can also be observed in activity denoting *verbs look at, study* or *observe*. This is illustrated in (14b).

On the other hand, in some cases, this affectedness reading is available in Spanish as well and Cuervo (2003) divides these cases into two groups: causative verbs shown in (15a) and agentive verbs that effect the object as shown in (15b).

(15) a. Pablo le rompio la radio de la vecina a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.dat

Pablo broke neighbor's radio on Valeria.

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 87)

b. Pablo le lavo las manos a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat washed the hands Valeria.dat

Pablo washed Valeria's hands.

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 85)

In the sentence in (15b) Valeria can be considered to be affected by the action performed by the agent; however, this meaning of affectedness is the consequence of the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb since the *washing* event without the possessors somehow results in the fact that object is affected. Then, in the case of dative possessor, it is indirectly affected as the theme object is directly affected. Cuervo (2003) also shows that the affectedness relation is stronger in the case of inalienable possession as it would be impossible to affect the theme without affecting the

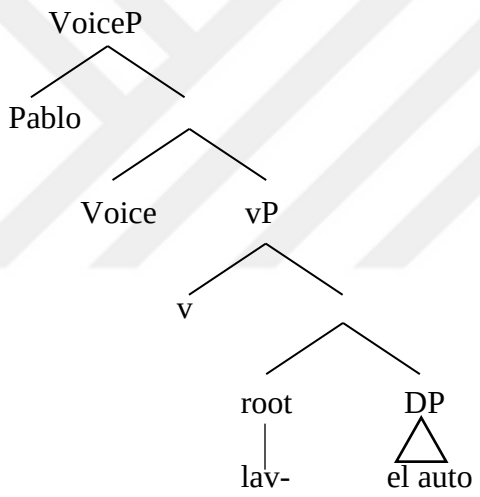
possessor. The main assumption that Cuervo makes, on the other hand, is that this affectedness is not encoded in the structure. Rather, it is realized depending on the individual meanings of the verbs.

Structurally, as the low applicatives merge as the sister of the verb, it is in the same position as a normal DP would be in as shown in (16).

(16) a. Pablo lavo el auto

Pablo washed the car

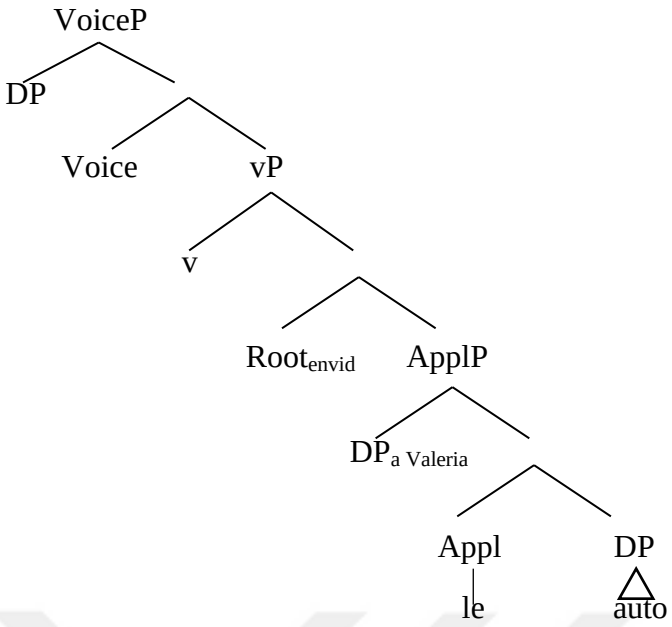
Pablo washed the car



b. Pablo le lavo el auto a Valeria

Pablo cl.dat washed the car Valeria.dat

Pablo washed Valeria's car.



(Cuervo, 2003, p.86)

Cuervo (2003) shows the properties of low applicatives of possession of static nature in the table in (23).

Table 23. Static low applicatives

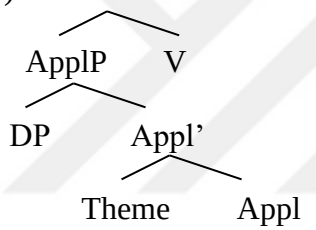
Static Low Applicatives$_{AT}$
The dative argument is a static possessor.
The dative possessor is a participant in the event described by the verb as opposed to genitive posesssors.
Affectedness is not a structural meaning.
If there is affectedness, it is affectedness by possession of an affected object.
If alternation with genitive possessor is possible, the dative construction might favor the affectedness reading.

4.3 Are possessive applicatives low applicatives in Pomak?

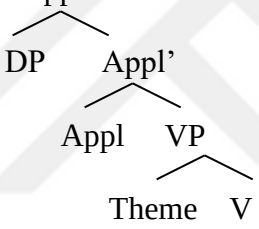
In light of the above discussion, we will now take a look at whether a low applicative analysis is tenable for the Turkish variety of Pomak. Recall that in Chapter 3, we have shown that ditransitives do not consitute low applicatives in Pomak. Therefore, it is significant to consider if this dative possession can be established with low applicatives or not even if the ditransitives are not low applicatives in Pomak.

As also discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 above, Pylkkänen (2002) shows that cross-linguistically, there are two types of applicatives repeated in (17). While low applicatives establish a relation between two DPs as in (17a), high applicatives introduce a new argument to the event that the VP introduces as in (17b):

(17) a.



b.



Unlike low applicatives, high applicatives can be used not only with transitive and unaccusative verbs but also with unergative verbs, which do not have a direct object. The variety of Pomak spoken in Turkey allows for high applicatives with unergatives, where the *na*-marked argument has a benefactive interpretation as shown in (18). Note that different from the PDC pattern discussed in the previous chapter, in addition to the *na*-marked argument we also observe clitic doubling:

(18) Es na Ali-ta mu rabutam (Turkish variety)
I na Ali-def clitic work.1Sg
'I work for Ali.'

Pylkkänen (2002) also states that since low applicatives imply a transfer of possession, they should not merge with verbs that are of static nature, whereas high

applicatives can. We observe that benefactives can combine with static verbs in the Turkish variety as shown in (19).

(19) Es na Sinam çanta-ta yi fanah.

I na Sinem bag-def clitic hold-past.1Sg

I held the bag for Sinem.

Based on these two tests, we can conclude that the Turkish variety of Pomak has high applicatives.

Recall that in low applicatives *a* in Spanish and *na* in Bulgarian get two different analyses depending on the presence or absence of the clitic as shown in Chapter 3 based on the findings of Cuervo (2003) and Slavkov (2008). While these markers behave as a P head when the clitic is absent, they behave as dative case markers when we have the clitic heading the applicative head. In PDCs in the Turkish variety of Pomak, we have analyzed *na* as a P head in the absence of the clitic. As seen in (20), in the case of high applicatives, if we try to replace *na* in example (20) with the preposition *za* 'for', the clitic cannot be used. Similar to the pattern we observe in Spanish and Bulgarian, this indicates that *na* in the context of high applicatives does not behave as a P element but as dative case:

(20) a. Es za Ali-ta (*mu) rabutam (Turkish variety)

I for Ali-def clitic work.1Sg

'I work for Ali.'

The discussion above shows that the Pomak variety spoken in Turkey does not have a low applicative pattern denoting transfer of possession but has high applicatives introducing the benefactive argument. As introduced earlier in this chapter, another pattern of applicatives we have in the Turkish variety of Pomak is

the possessive applicatives which require the use of the marker *na* as well as the clitic. Recall that the sentence has two different interpretations depending on the context, namely, the affected possessor reading and the emphatic stress on the possessor as in (21i) and (21ii), respectively. Note that that it is possible to have the same sentence without the clitic as in (22):

(21) Es na Ali-ta mu kitap-at izuçih

I na Ali-def clitic book-def read.1Sg

i. I read Ali's book. (And he is very happy for this)

ii. (I swear) I read ALİ's book.

(22) Es na Ali-ta (*brizane) kitap-at izuçih

I na Ali-def (*quickly) book-def read.1Sg

I read Ali's book.

When the clitic is absent, the two interpretations in (21) disappear and we simply get a regular possessive reading, where *na* behaves like a regular *of* genitive as shown in (22). While an adverb or the clitic can intervene between the possessor and the possessee in (21), nothing can intervene between them in the construction in (22). This indicates that what we are dealing with in (22) is a regular DP level possessive construction when there is no clitic. Therefore, in the following discussion, we will only focus on the pattern in (21) with clitics. In (23), we show the possible places where the clitic can surface. However, depending on the place in the structure, the sentence gets a different interpretation. In each case, on the other hand, it is possible to insert the adverb unlike the constructions lacking clitics.

(23) Es (mu) na Ali-ta brizane/(mu) kitap-at (mu) izuçih

I clitic na Ali-def quickly/clitic book-def clitic read.1Sg

'I read Ali's book quickly.'

As discussed above, Cuervo (2003) presents a low applicative analysis for the possessor applicatives in Spanish, which she acknowledges to have the potential to express affectedness semantics. However, she assumes that this is not always the case as she considers the affectedness reading as an indirect consequence of the lexical semantics of the verb. In Spanish, there is no affectedness relation that holds when there is a stative verb, even though the construction is the dative possessive construction. This absence of the affectedness is not limited to the stative verbs but can also be observed in activity denoting verbs *look at, study or observe*.

The question which arises for the possessor applicatives in the Turkish variety of Pomak is whether they can be analyzed on a par with Spanish possessor applicatives, that is, as low applicative constructions. Similar to Spanish possessor applicatives, Pomak possessors are not compatible with unergatives, but only with transitives and unaccusatives. As seen in (24), the sentence cannot be interpreted as a possessor applicative construction but only as high benefactive applicatives.

(24) Na dete-tu mayka mu raboti.

Na child-def mother clitic work-3Sg.

i. *The child's mother is working.

ii. The mother is working for the child.

As shown in (24) above, these constructions in Pomak encode two readings which surface in the presence of the clitic. The readings are either affectedness or a strong emphasis on the possessor, depending on the context. Unlike Spanish, the affectedness semantics survives in the context of stative verbs, or activity-denoting verbs such as *admire, look at*. It is not possible to cancel out the affectedness reading, and achieve a pure possession reading:

(25) a. Es na Ali-ta kula-ta mu dragu.

I na Ali-def car-def clitic admire

I admire Ali's car. (This makes him proud.)

b. Es mu na Ali-ta kula-ta mu viduh.

I clitic na Ali-def car-def clitic see-past.1Sg

I saw ALİ's car, I swear.

The sentences above can only be uttered when Ali is somehow affected by my admiration or my act of seeing his car. Only when the clitic is dropped, can a pure possessive reading without any sense of affectedness be achieved. This implies that what we are dealing with is not like an ordinary possessor applicative construction. As noted above, in such applicative constructions, it is possible to insert a VP level manner adverb in between the possessor and the possessee as shown in (26). The clitic can also intervene. This pattern also challenges a low possessor analysis:

(26) Es (mu) na Ali-ta brizane (mu) kitap-at (mu) izuçih

I clitic na Ali-def quickly clitic book-def clitic read.1Sg

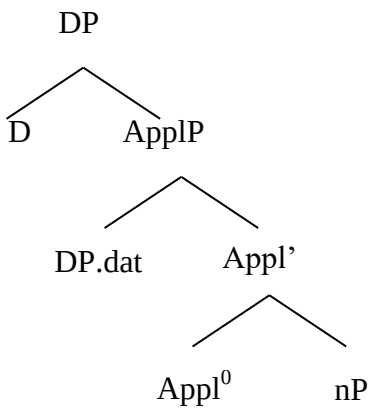
I read Ali's book quickly.

Given the discussion above, we argue that what we are dealing with in the Turkish variety of Pomak is not a low possessor applicative construction.

4.4 Are possessor applicatives in the nominal domain in Pomak?

In a recent study, Iovtcheva (2019) focuses on Bulgarian possessive applicatives and analyzes the clitic-marked DP argument within the nominal domain, rather than the verbal domain, positing an applicative head in the DP domain as shown in (27).

(27)



Bulgarian possessive applicatives do not distinguish between possessors for animacy and alienability. Second, there is an ambiguity in the structure, resulting in three different interpretations as shown in (28).

(28) negovi-(te) dve knigi na decata

his-(the) two book.pl of children

'(the) [children's two books] of his' / 'his two [children's books]' / '(the) children's [two books of his]'

Interpretations available:

i. he = author; the children = theme or possessors

ii. he = possessor; the children = theme or author

iii. he = theme; the children = authors or possessors

(Iovtcheva, 2019, p. 141)

Based on the distribution of the relational meanings of symmetric nature, the agreement patterns between the head and the pronominal noun and the non-obligatory nature of the definite marker, Iovtcheva (2019) assumes that PP and the prenominal argument combines with Predicate Modification and this merge is in the nominal domain (nP domain). For structural evidence, she first compares the patterns of low adverb modification both in DOC and in possessive applicatives and shows that a low adverbial cannot be inserted between the head noun and the DP internal

dative as it forms a constituent in the case of possessor applicatives as in (29a), unlike in DOC where the insertion is possible as in (29b).

(29) a. Az izprat-ix [DP novi-te mu pisma (*tajno) na Ivan

I.NOM send-Past.lSG [DP new.PL-the.PL he.DAT letter.PLsecretly to Ivan]

'I have sent secretly Ivan's new letters immediately' Ivan]

b. Az mu izprat-ix [DP novi-te pisma] tajno [IO na Ivan]

I.nom he.dat send-past.1sg [dp new.pl-the.pl letter.pl] secretly [IO to ivan]

'I have sent Ivan the new letters secretly' (Iovtcheva, 2019, p. 143)

Second, possessor applicatives differ from DOC in terms of their movement patterns. When a clitic modified nominal expression is fronted for focus or wh-movement in possessive applicatives, the entire constituent should move as a unit. Fronting of just the clitic doubled element leads to ungrammaticality as in (30a-b), which is not the case in DOC where discontinuous constituents are possible as shown in (31a-b):

(30) a. [DP knigi-*(te) If na Maria]1 vidjax ti!

[DP books-the.PL she.DAT of Maria] see-Past.1SG t

'I saw MARIA'S BOOKS!'

b. [DP knigi-*(te) mu na kogo] 1 vidjax ti?

[DP books-the.PL he.DAT of who] see-Past.1SG t

'Whose books did I see?'

(Iovtcheva, 2019, p. 143)

(31) a. na Maria i vidjax [DP knigi-(te)]!

to Maria she.DAT see-Past.1SG [DP books-(the.PL)]

'MARIA is such, that I saw (the) books for her (that might or might not be hers).'

*I saw Maria's books!

b. na kogo mu vidjax [DP knigi-(te)]?

to whom he.DAT sce-Past.lSG [DP books-(the.PL)]

'Who is such, that I saw books for him (that might or might not be his)?'

*Whose books did I see?

(Iovtcheva, 2019, p. 144)

Unlike the case in Bulgarian, possessive applicatives in the Turkish variety of Pomak do encode animacy restriction as the clitic only surfaces when the possessor is animate. Otherwise, non-clitic version is used. Besides, when we apply the same tests by Iovtcheva (2019) to Pomak, we see different results. The same low modificational adverb, unlike Bulgarian, can go in between the possessor and the possessee. As can be seen in (32), the adverb *secretly* can be used between the possessor *Ali* and the possessed element *letters*, which indicates that they do not form a constituent as they do in Bulgarian:

(32) Es na Ali-ta pukriyenu mektupe-to mu gipratih.

I na Ali-def secretly letters-def dat.clitic sent-1Sg.

'I sent Ali's letters secretly.'

For focus movement, Bulgarian cannot separate the clitic and the possessor, moving the entire constituent. However, in Pomak, especially, in the emphasis reading, the clitic can be separated from the possessor. Consider the example in (37).

(33) Es **mu** sam videl **na Ali**-ta kitape-ta.

I clitic aux see-perf.1Sg na Ali-def book-def

'I have seen Ali's book.'

These differences indicate that a DP internal nominal applicative analysis is not possible for Pomak, either. In the following, by focusing on the two readings

available in these constructions we will investigate what type of applicatives these constructions constitute.

4.5 Dissociating the two readings of the possessor applicatives: at-issue vs. not-at-issue

Recall that in possessor applicatives there are the two different readings available as given in (21) repeated below as (34i, ii). In one reading, the possessor is emphasized and in the other reading, the possessor is affected. When proper context is given, the ambiguity can be resolved, as we will explain below.

(34) Es na Ali-ta mu lajo-ta vide

I na Ali-def clitic lie-def see.1Sg

i. I saw Ali's lie. (And he is very ashamed of it)

ii. (I swear) I saw ALİ's lie.

As discussed in Öztürk (2019), Pazar Laz also exhibits applicative patterns for possession as in (35a). It also encodes applicatives with the verbal applicative morphology. In Pazar Laz, possessor applicatives are licensed only when there is affectedness semantics and if not, a regular genitive construction as in (35b) is used. Note that the sentence in (35a) can only be uttered if the dying event causes the child to be affected by it. For example, in a context in which the child dies before his/her mother dies, therefore s/he is not able be affected by the event of the mother's dying, possessor applicative in (35a) cannot be used. Instead, the regular genitive is used as shown in (35).

(35) a. Bere-s nana d-u-ğur-u-n.

child-dat mother PV-3appl-die-TS-pres.3Sg

The mother of the child is dying.

b. Bere-şi nana do-ğur-u.

child-gen mother PV-die-past.3Sg

The mother of the child died.

(Öztürk, 2019, p. 367)

When one tests the same thing for Pomak, an interesting pattern occurs. The sentence in (36) can be used when the child is alive or dead, but then the structure will correspond to different meanings. If the child is alive, then, depending on the context, it can mean either that the child is affected, or the possessor is emphasized. However, if the child dies before his/her mother dies, the only reading available is the latter.

(36) Na Ali mayka mu umrela.

Na Ali mother clitic died-3Sg.

i. I swear, ALİ's mother died. (It is not important whether Ali is dead or alive.)

ii. Ali's mother died and he is affected by it. (Ali must be alive)

As shown above, although the same set of clitics is used for both meanings, they actually exhibit a clear variation in their semantics. While the affectedness reading is associated with a non-core dative argument standing for a benefactive or malfactive, the emphasis reading for the possessor brings in the speaker's attitude. This reminds us of the at-issue/not-at-issue distinction.

The meaning in natural language has two tiers: at-issue meaning and not-at-issue meaning. Potts (2005) argues that any content in the structure related to the not-at-issue is independent of asserted core meaning of the sentence, which is different from presuppositions. The not-at-issue meaning is speaker-oriented and in general

reflects an attitude or a comment made by the speaker, which is not essential part of the assertion.

One important feature of not-at-issue tier of meaning is that it does not alter the truth conditions of the utterance. Another characteristic of not-at-issue meaning is that it cannot be targeted by negation. Furthermore, not-at-issue meaning is not considered in the truth conditions of conditionals. Based on these properties of not-at-issue meaning, Bosse (2011) shows that in the applicative constructions, such as ethical datives, affected experiencers in Hebrew and French and subject co-referential applicatives in English and German, the meaning the applied argument receives is at the not-at-issue tier, and thus, these constitute not-at-issue applicatives.

In light of this discussion, let us consider the interaction between the not-at-issue meaning and negation in the Turkish variety of Pomak. If the emphasis is at the not-at-issue tier, it is expected that this meaning survives under negation. In other words, when the core meaning is negated, the emphasis meaning that the clitic in Pomak brings to the possessor should not be altered. This is in fact the case and is shown in (37).

(37) a. Es ne na Ali-ta kula ta viduh
I not na Ali-def car-def saw.1Sg
I didn't see Ali's car.

b. Es ne mu na Ali-ta kula-ta viduh
I not clitic na Ali-def car-def saw.1Sg
I didn't Ali's car, I swear.

In the sentence in (37a), there is no clitic, and the meaning is that I did not see Ali's car. On the other hand, when there is a clitic present in the structure like in the sentence in (37b), the emphasis meaning surfaces again. This is expected as this

emphasis-bringing clitic surfaces when the speaker is so sure about the event and the meaning is at the not-at-issue tier, thus not being targeted by negation in the clause. However, when the clitic brings in the affectedness meaning either in possession or benefactive applicative, this affectedness disappears when the sentence is negated.

(38) Es ne na Ayşe-ta kazak yi platih.

Es neg na Ayşe-def jumper clitic knit-perf.1prs.sing

I did not knit a sweater for Ayşe.

As seen in (38), in benefactive applicatives, when the sentence is negated, the meaning brought by the clitic is also targeted by negation. In other words, negation can target both the event of knitting as well as the affectedness tier unlike the applicative bringing emphasis.

In possession, it is rather difficult to establish the affectedness applicative without providing a proper context since both the emphasis applicative and the benefactive applicative for showing possession are realized with the same clitic. Consider (39), where a particular context is specified:

(39) Context: *The child is very dirty, and I did not want to wash his hands because I did not want to get myself dirty.*

a. Es na dete-tu mu retse-ta mih

I Na child-def clitic hand-def wash.1Sg

I washed the child's hand (and he benefitted from this).

b. Es ne na dete-tu mu retse-ta mih

I neg na child-def clitic hand-def wash.1Sg

I did not wash the child's hand.

In this context, the child can be considered as the affected argument in the structure. When we negate the sentence in (39a) as in (39b), the affectedness disappears similar

to the case in benefactive applicatives and unlike emphasis applicatives. This implies that while the affected reading of possessor applicatives constitutes an at-issue meaning, the emphatic reading appears as not-at-issue.

The two readings of the possessor applicatives also show differences when they are used with conditionals. We observe that the clitic which brings in the emphatic semantics, is not licensed in conditionals. Only the non-clitic version is used. Consider the example in (40).

(40) Aku na Ayşe-ta (*yi) lajo vide, ne nema da yi kaja
If na Ayşe-def clitic lie see.1Sg, not will comp her say.1Sg
'If I see Ayşe's lie, I will not tell her.'

In the sentence in (40), the dative clitic is not and cannot be used for the emphasis purposes since the event of seeing may not take place. In other words, there is a possible world in which Ayşe does not tell a lie and I will not say it to her. In this context, dative clitic is not licensed. The second part of the conditional secures that the sentence cannot be interpreted as affectedness. This is a regular possession relation without the emphasis reading as the clitic would normally bring "I swear" or "I am very sure" readings, which are not possible in the conditionals. If the meaning is at the not-at-issue tier, it is expected that it does not contribute to the truth conditions of the conditionals and Pomak does not even license the clitic bringing this tier of meaning.

As far as the benefactive applicatives or possessor applicatives are concerned, they can appear in the conditionals and contribute to the truth condition of the clause.

(41) Aku na Ayşe-ta lajo-ta yi vide, nezabanni şa napravam mors.

If na Ayşe-def lie-def clitic see.1Sg immediately will do-1Sg disgrace

If I see Ayşe's lie, I will bring disgrace on her.

The dative clitic alters the meaning in such a way that Ayşe will be badly affected by the action of the agent as the agent will bring disgrace on Ayşe. It also contributes to the truth conditions as the lie of Ayşe's should be realized by the speaker, as a result of which the speaker can bring disgrace on her. What is more important is that the emphatic clitic is not licensed whereas the affectedness-coding clitic is licensed.

Given the contrasts in the case of negation and conditionals, we observe that the emphatic possessor applicative brings in a reading, which is at the not-at-issue tier, whereas the benefactive applicative and affectedness-encoding possessor applicative brings a reading of affectedness, which is at-issue.

Another difference, which we observe but is not discussed in Bosse (2011), is related to how these clitics behave in imperatives. Imperatives are said to be performative, and they are not used for reporting necessity or possibility of any sort (Sadock (1974); Schwager (2006); Kaufmann (2012, 2016); Portner (2004, 2007, 2010); Starr (2011); von Fintel and Iatridou (2017); Oikonomou (2016)). Oikonomou (2016) shows that in the imperative context, the truth conditions of the proposition cannot be challenged; neither is the sincerity of the speaker as shown in (42).

(42) a. Park in the center of the city.

b. #That's not true.

c. #You are wrong. Parking is not allowed in the center of the city.

d. #You're lying. You want to get me into trouble because you hate me. You know that parking is not allowed in the center of the city.

(Oikonomou, 2016, p. 110)

Therefore, it is assumed that a performative utterance cannot be judged to be true/false. Therefore, some researchers consider performative utterances (imperatives in this case) as self-verifying, which means that their truthfulness is guaranteed (Ginet, 1979; Bach and Harnish, 1992). Interestingly enough, clitics under investigation in this paper show different patterns in imperatives. Let us consider the examples in (43).

(43) a. Zemi na Fatma yi lep

buy.imp na Fatma clitic bread

Buy bread for Fatma.

b. Na Fatma zemi yi lep

na Fatma buy clitic bread

Buy bread FOR FATMA

c. Miyee yi na Fatma kola-ta

Wash.imp clitic na Fatma car-def

Wash Fatma's car.

d. Na Fatma kola-ta miyee

na Fatma car-def wash.imp

Wash FATMA'S CAR.

In the sentence in (43a), the benefactive applicative is used and the interpretation is that Fatma will benefit/be happy by the event. The same meaning is also attested when there is a possessor applicative a shown in (43c). However, the clitic cannot bring an emphatic reading. One can only achieve this sort of meaning via word order

alternations as shown in (43b and d). However, the strong emphasis in the sense of "I swear" cannot be reached even with the word order and in imperatives, the emphatic clitic is not licensed as expected since imperatives are performative utterances, and their truth conditions cannot be judged. Thus, the speaker-oriented clitic bringing "I swear" or "I am very sure" semantics cannot appear in imperatives.

To summarize, it has been shown that semantically, the constructions in which the same clitic occurs do not behave in a uniformed way. The emphatic clitic is contributing to the meaning of the sentence only at the tier of not-at issue on contrary to benefactive applicative and affectedness-encoding applicatives, which contribute to the meaning of the sentence at the tier of at-issue.

4.6 Internal structure of possessive applicatives in Pomak

As the above discussion shows, the two readings of possessive applicatives are associated with at-issue and not-at-issue meanings. The question at this point is how this semantic difference is mapped on to syntax. When we take a closer look at the distribution of the clitic in the two readings of the possessor applicatives, although there is some partial overlap we also observe differences. To begin with, when the clitic follows the possessed element in the structure, it can only yield the affected reading. The emphatic reading is not possible in that order. On the other hand, if the clitic surfaces in the middle, between the possessor and the possessed, the meaning is ambiguous and one can disambiguate the sentence with the contextual clues, which is the place where we observe the overlap. Finally, if the clitic appears before the *na*-marked element, it could only yield the meaning of emphasis. The affectedness reading is not possible in this order. These three possibilities are shown in (44). Note that regardless of where the clitic occurs, the *na*-marked possessor should always

precede the overt possessee. As seen in (44) the possessor phrase *na Ali-ta* always precedes the possessee *kitap-at*, the reverse ordering leads to ungrammaticality:

(44) a. Es na Ali-ta kitap-at mu izuçih. (only affectedness)
I na Ali-def book-def clitic read.1Sg
I read Ali's book.

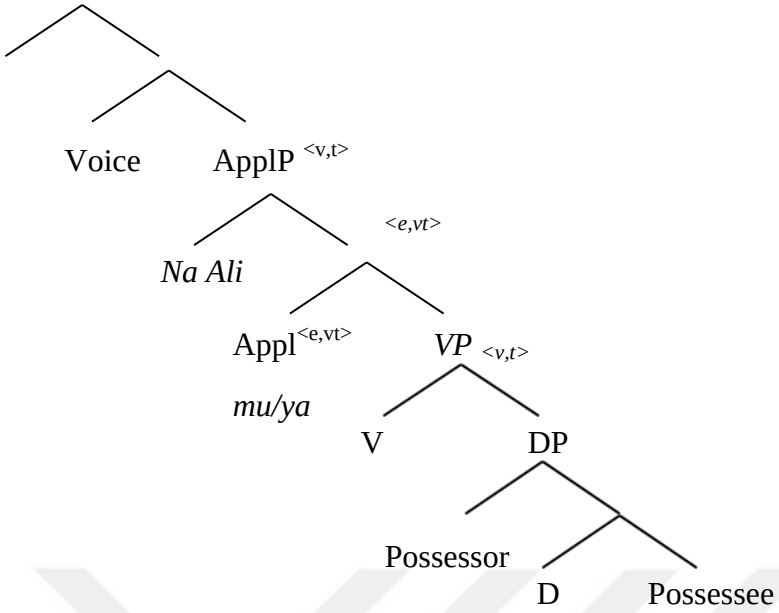
b. Es na Ali-ta mu kitap-at izuçih. (both emphatic reading & affectedness)
I na Ali-def clitic book-def read.1Sg
I read Ali's book.

c. Es mu na Ali-ta kitap-at izuçih (only emphatic)
I clitic na Ali-def book-def read.1Sg
I read Ali's book.

Thus, they clearly behave differently in terms of where they can sit in the structure The first possibility is that the clitics can be considered as second position clitics[22]. However, due to the A-movement properties, which implicates that the clitics do not have a fixed position (clause-second position) in the clausal architecture (cf. Pancheva, 2005), they cannot be second position clitics. The loss of the second position clitics is also documented in languages with which Pomak is in contact such as Bulgarian (Pancheva, 2005) and Greek (Taylor, 1990) even though these clitics were present in Old Church Slavonic (Schenker, 1995). Therefore, given the relatively low position of the possessor applicative and its at-issue semantics, we assume it to be merged as a high applicative selecting the VP-domain as in (45). Similar to the clitics in Spanish (cf. Cuervo, 2003), we also assume that the clitic heads the ApplP.

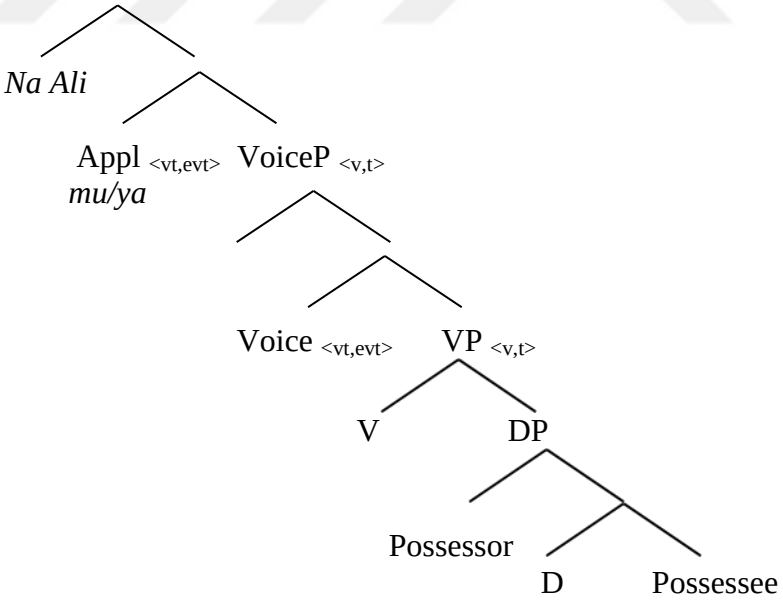
[22] I thank Dr. Metin Bağrıaçık for bringing the discussion of second position clitics into my attention.

(45) VoiceP



As for the possessor applicatives bringing not-at-issue meaning, we observe that they have a relatively higher distribution. Therefore, we represent them as applicatives selecting the VoiceP as their complement as shown in (46).

(46) ApplP <v,t>



The two syntactic representations we propose for possessor applicatives in Pomak are also in line with Bosse (2011)'s semantic analysis of applicatives in German and Japanese. She shows that while the German and Japanese affected experiencers, which bring in not-at-issue meaning, syntactically take the whole VoiceP as their

domain creating an AffP, the benefactive applicatives in German that provide at-issue meaning pattern as high applicatives taking the VP domain as its complement.

The question that arises at this point is how the *na*-marked phrases are introduced to the specifier positions of the applicatives in (45) and (46). Are they merged directly into Spec, ApplP or do they move into that position? In other words, do we observe raising applicatives in Pomak?

As introduced above, Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) propose that the dative argument in possessor applicatives is a benefactive argument of the verb, which binds an anaphoric element within the theme argument yielding the possessive reading. This also means that possessive reading is not possible if the DP (possessee) is outside its binding domain. Landau (1999) on the other hand, assumes that "possessive dative constructions are derived by movement of the possessor DP from a position internal to the possessed DP." (Landau, 1999, p. 35). Therefore, in order to get the possessive reading, movement is obligatory.

As well-observed crosslinguistically, adjuncts constitute opaque domains for extraction, whereas arguments do not (cf. Chomsky, 1986; Huang, 1982). To establish that possessor applicatives are formed via raising of the possessors from within the possessed DP to a higher position but not via binding as argued for by Borer and Grodzinsky (1986), Landau (1999) makes use of the argument-adjunct asymmetry for movement. He shows that it is possible to extract a possessor from within a PP on the condition that the PP is selected by the verb, hence an argument. If the PP is not selected by the verb and is a pure adjunct, then we get ungrammaticality. This implies that in the derivation of possessive applicatives, what we have is movement but not binding, as the adjunct-argument asymmetry will be irrelevant for binding. Thus, the possessor position within the possessed DP cannot

be filled with by an anaphoric element like PRO but should have the trace of the possessor which undergoes raising. This pattern is also observable in Pomak as shown in (47).

(47) a. Ali-ta na jana-ta$_i$ yi [$_{PP}$ ze *possessor*$_i$ çanta-ta] kalem-te ud.
Ali-ta na woman-def clitic from bag-def pencil-def take,past.1Sg
Ali took the pencil from the woman's purse.

b. Na Ali-ta$_i$ mu [$_{PP}$ af *possessor*$_i$ uhotu] sa izrukah
na Ali-def clitic in ear refl shout.past.1Sg.
I shouted in Ali's ear.

c. Ali-ta na mayka$_i$ yi sodvetu [$_{PP}$ biz *possessor*$_{*i}$ deterjanat] izmi
Ali-def na mother clitic dishes without detergent-def wash.past.3Sg.
i. *Ali washed the dishes without the mother's detergent.
ii. Ali washed the dishes for the mother without detergent.

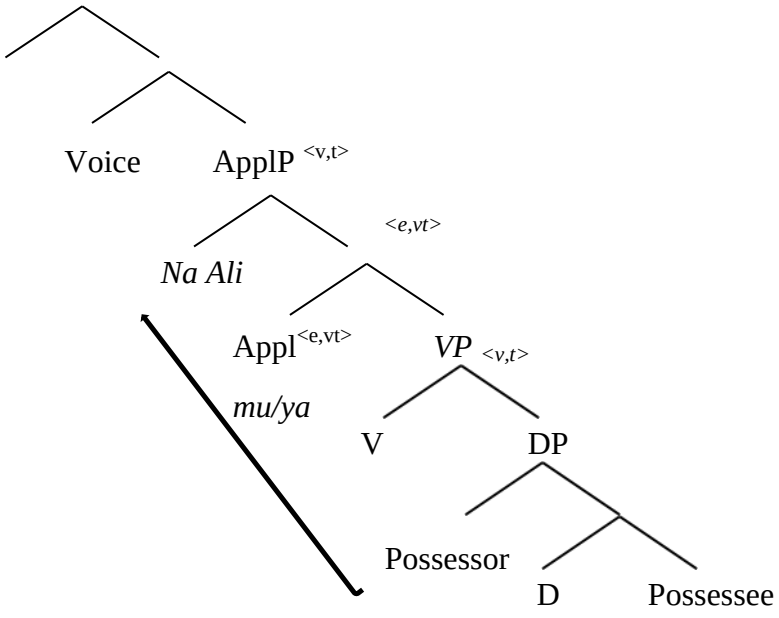
As seen in (47a) and (47b), when the PP is an argument selected by the verb, the *na*-phrase can be read as the possessor of the DP embedded within the PP. Note that both the affectedness reading and the emphatic reading is possible for the possessor in these examples. If the PP is an adjunct as in (47c), it is not possible to establish a possessor reading for the *na*-phrase as in (47ci) but only a pure benefactive reading will be possible as in (47cii). We take this as a piece of evidence supporting the raising analysis for the possessor applicatives in Pomak. That is, the possessor in the PPs in Example (47) is of a trace category but not a PRO.[23]

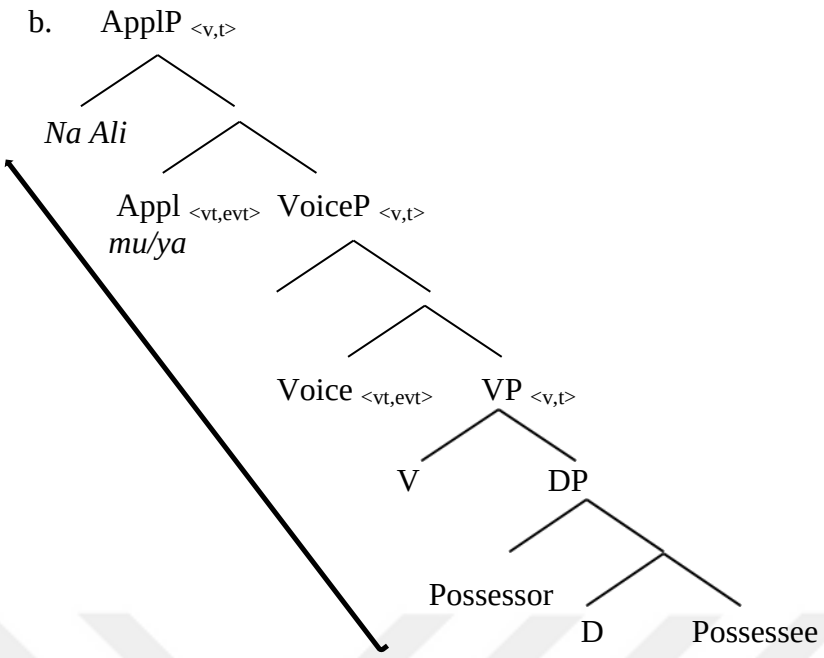
Given the raising analysis of possessor applicatives and the two representations we proposed in (45) and (46) for the affectedness and the emphasis readings respectively, now we can also provide a potential answer as to why we find

[23] Note that as in (44c) in the emphatic reading the clitic can precede the *na*-phrase which then might imply that the head of such applicatives might optionally have an EPP feature, hence raising is not always observed.

the possessor applicatives only with transitives and unaccusatives with theme arguments but not with unergatives. If the affectedness reading is due to raising into the Spec of a regular benefactive applicative introduced lower than VoiceP, then it is not expected to have the possessors within the agent to be able to move into this Spec position as this will require downward movement. As for the emphatic reading, one can ask the question of why a possessor within the agent can not raise into the Spec of the emphatic applicative given that it is above VoiceP but only the possessors within the object can do so. This can be due to the strict possessor>possessee ordering requirement in Pomak. We assume that the agent as the subject needs to move into Spec, TP for EPP purposes, and if the possessor in the Spec of the agent first moves to Spec, ApplP above the VoiceP and then the head of the agent moves to Spec, TP for EPP we get the unacceptable ordering of possessee>possessor. Therefore, such a derivation is not possible given that the emphatic ApplP is introduced right directly above VoiceP but below TP. These two different structures are repeated in (48).

(48) a. VoiceP





4.7 Conclusion

It has been shown that possessor applicatives in Pomak yield two readings, affectedness and emphasis for the possessor. I have argued for the fact that these two possessor applicatives show divergent patterns both syntactically and semantically. Semantically, while the emphatic applicative only contributes to the not-at-issue tier of meaning, possessor applicative denoting an entity affected by the event contributes to the at-issue tier. Syntactically, I have argued that the emphatic applicatives are introduced above VoiceP, while the applicatives with affectedness semantics constitute high applicatives merged above VP. In both types of applicatives the na-marked argument raises into the Spec of the relevant applicative from a possessor position within the theme DP.

There is one last question which has not been answered yet, which is why the emphasis reading, not typical of applicatives but can be found in some Bantu Languages (Marten & Mous, 2017), surfaces with possession only in the Turkish

variety of Pomak. Having features not common in the Slavic languages but present in Pomak is not unusual. For example, Adamou (2011) gives an example of such interesting patterns by analyzing spatial and temporal use of definite articles, which is rare for Slavic languages but can be easily seen in different but unrelated languages such as Chamicuro spoken in Peru. For the emphatic reading in Pomak, there might be different contexts apart from possession in which emphatic reading surfaces, which we are not aware of yet. Alternatively, there may be some language-internal reasons that limit this kind of reading only to possessors, which might be due to the interaction between VoiceP and ApplP. In any case, more data and investigation are needed in order to answer this question.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the findings

The main aim of this thesis was to investigate the argument-increasing operation, applicatives, within the current generative approaches to syntax. The data of this thesis were mainly from two dialects of Pomak, which is an understudied and severely endangered language spoken in Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria.

The first chapter of the current thesis dealt with brief description of the Pomak people and their language, considering the dialectal differences, building upon Kehaya (2017) and Sandry (2013). Pomak belongs to the group of South Slavic languages. Its closest relative is Bulgarian, with which it shares many grammatical features. However, it also exhibits patterns that are very different from what is found in the Slavic languages (Adamou 2011). It is in contact with Turkish and Greek. It exhibits a three-way gender system and grammatical case. Aarbakke (2012) assumes that Pomak might be an archaic form of Bulgarian. Manova (2011) states that Bulgarian dialectologists assume that Pomak is a dialect of Bulgarian, mainly spoken in the Rhodope region. Moreover, it is also claimed to be the direct descendant of the Old Church Slavonic (Kehaya, 2017).

The second chapter provided a detailed literature review on applicatives within the generative accounts starting with the applicative types, their properties, and their syntactic and semantic behaviors in different languages.We showed that dative-marked non-core arguments could have different syntactic functions, yielding

different readings. The obvious function of them is to mark some certain theta roles such as benefactives, malfactives, instruments, goals and sources. However, they can also participate in several other constructions such as possessive constructions.

In chapter 3, we analyzed the ditransitive constructions in Pomak following Cuervo (2003)'s analysis of double object constructions and prepositional ditransitive constructions. Regarding their syntax, there have been different claims about the nature of double object constructions in relation to how they are derived. There are two possibilities in terms of their derivation and one of them is to derive them via a low applicative head if there is case-marking. The other, on the other hand, is to propose a prepositional analysis in which the goal argument is part of the PP. Following Cuervo (2003)'s analysis for Spanish and Slavkov (2008)'s application of the same analysis in Bulgarian, in this chapter, we showed that Pomak exhibits both of the patterns, based on the variety of it. To be more precise, the Pomak variety spoken in Xanthi, Greece exhibits the following patterns:

i. the goal argument cannot bind the anaphor or the possessive in the theme DP.
ii. in terms of weak cross-over effects, the wh element in the theme, which is lower, raises over the possessive in the goal argument, which is higher, and this construction results in an ungrammaticality in Pomak.
iii. the scopal relation is frozen as the dative argument can take scope ovger the theme argument but the theme argument cannot take scope over the dative-marked argument.

The Pomak variety spoken in Edirne, Turkey, on the other hand, shows the following properties:

i. the theme DP can bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the complement.

ii. weak cross-over effects seem not to arise as long as the possessive in the goal argument is somehow bound by a theme that wh-element moves in.

iii. the scopal relation between the theme argument and the goal argument is free.

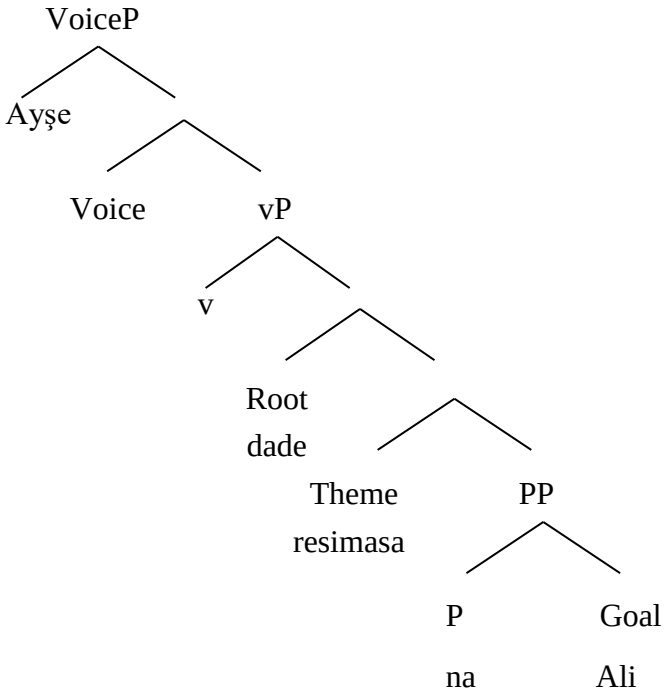
This difference shows that these two different varieties are associated with two different syntactic structures and indicates that for the Turkish variety of Pomak, the low applicative analysis is not tenable. Instead, the prepositional analysis is compatible as shown in (1).

(1) a. Ayşe resimasa na Ali dade.

Ayşe picture.poss.def. na Ali dade.

Ayşe sent the picture of him/her to Ali.

b.

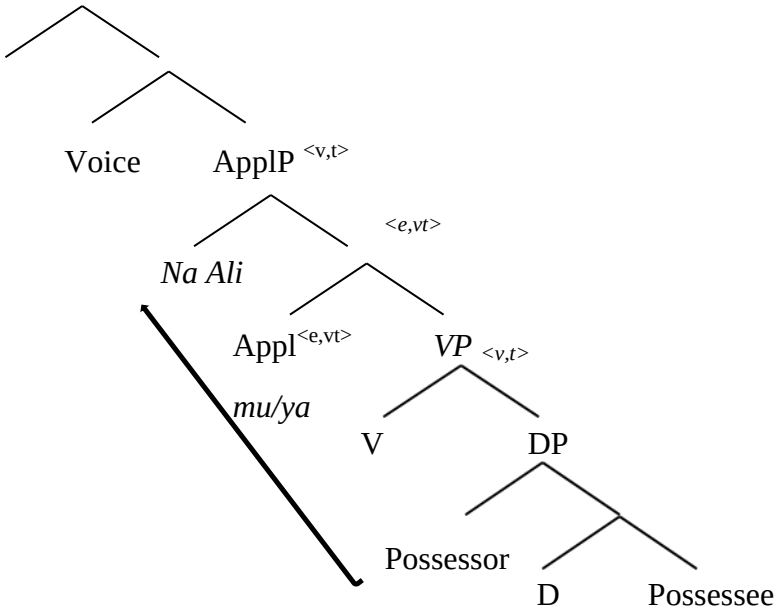


In chapter 4, we analyzed the possessor applicatives in the Pomak variety in Turkey arguing that they constitute high(er) applicatives accounting for the two

different interpretations they can have depending on the context, namely, the affected possessor reading and the emphatic reading.

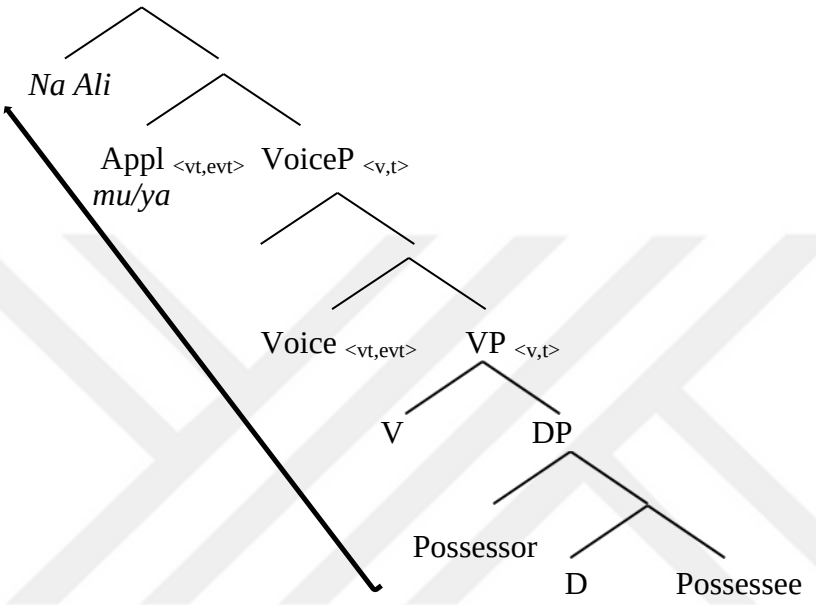
We also argued against Iovtcheva (2019) who proposes that Bulgarian possessive applicatives have an applicative head in the DP domain. We showed that unlike the case in Bulgarian, possessive applicatives in the Turkish variety of Pomak are not DP-internal. Furthermore, for the two readings of the possessor applicatives, based on their usage in conditionals, imperatives and how they behave under negation following Bosse (2011), building on Potts (2005), we have established that emphatic reading is at the not-at-issue tier while the affectedness reading is at at-issue tier. Having established that, we proposed that the construction yielding affectedness reading involves a high applicative headed by the clitic, taking the VP as its complement where the DP raises to the Spec position of the applicative head that is dominated by VoiceP shown in (2).

(2) VoiceP Affectedness reading



As far as the emphatic reading is concerned, the applicative is higher, taking the VoiceP as its complement, different from the construction involving affectedness reading. The possessor DP raises to the Spec position of the applicative phrase as shown in (3).

(3) Emphatic reading



Finally, based on the argument vs. adjunct properties of the extraction domains, we have showed that both types of applicatives are raising applicatives in Pomak, where the *na*-marked possessor in Pomak moves from the Spec position of the theme object into the Spec position of the Applicative phrase. If the PP is not selected by the verb and is a pure adjunct, then we get ungrammaticality. This implies that in the derivation of possessive applicatives, what we have is movement but not binding, as the adjunct-argument asymmetry would be irrelevant for binding. Therefore, we concluded that Pomak shows the raising pattern in line with Landau (1999) and Lee-Schoenfeld (2005).

5.2 Remaining issues and further research questions

This thesis investigated the applicative constructions in an endangered language, Pomak. As Kehaya (2017) addresses, there is a great deal of dialectal variation observed even in the closest villages. Since it was notpossible to address the applicative constructions in every single dialect of Pomak, we limitedour data mainly to the Pomak variety spoken in Uzunköprü, Edirne-Turkey. This variation also happens in the varieties spoken in Greece as reported by Sandry (2013) and Kehaya (2017). Although we collected data from one of the varieties spoken in Greece, it should be acknowledged that the DOC pattern found in that particular dialect might not be found in a different dialect. Likewise, the PDC pattern and the loss of the DOC pattern we reported for the variety in Turkey might not necessarily indicate the presence or absence of them in different dialects. To illustrate this, the dialect of Pomak in Denizli does not seem to have possessor applicatives as shown in (4) due to the loss of clitics, expressing possession via *na* only unlike the variety we analyzed which has two patterns for possession. That also indicates the great deal of variation we can potentially have across dialects, which we hope to investigate in future studies.

(4) Ayşe vide araba-ta na Mehmet.
Ayşe saw.3Sg car-def na Mehmet.
Ayşe saw Mehmet's car.

In chapter 3, we provided an analysis for the DOC and PDC in two dialects of Pomak, concluding that DOC pattern is lost in the variety of Pomak in Turkey potentially due to language contact with Turkish, which lacks low applicatives (cf. Tonyalı, 2015). On the other hand, in the variety spoken in Greece, we have DOC and a dative case despite the genitive-dative syncretism in Greek and in the other

Balkan languages. Anagnostopoulou (2003) shows that in Greek, the case assigned to the DP in ditransitive constructions bears the functions of dative case despite the case syncretism. This may explain that use of dative case in the Greek variety of Pomak however, this certainly requires further research.

In chapter 4, we provided an analysis for possessor applicatives and the two distinct meanings that they can bring in, namely, affectedness and emphasis. However, we did not address why the emphasis reading surfaces with possession only in the Turkish variety of Pomak. There might be different contexts apart from possession in which emphatic reading surfaces, which we are not aware of yet. Alternatively, there may be some language-internal reasons that limit this kind of reading only to possessors, which might be due to the interaction between VoiceP and ApplP. In any case, more data and investigation are needed in order to answer this question. Finally, the counterpart of this construction in the variety of Pomak spoken in Greece is unknown, i.e. whether it has got this rare emphasis reading or not or whether it has possessor applicatives at all, as Greek makes use of clitics of different purposes and there exist different clitic doublings in Greek, which may potentially interact with the Pomak variety, even yielding different readings corresponding to different syntactic structures. Yet, this is also what we left for further research, where we hope to explore the varieties of this language with larger corpus data.

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