

Low applicatives and affected applicatives in Turkish

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Abstract. This paper argues that the dative beneficiary in Turkish has been incorrectly identified as a high applicative structure. While datives are felicitous with certain unergative and stative verbs, they show semantic restrictions that are unexpected on a high applicative analysis. I argue instead that Turkish has two applicative types: low (contra Tonyalı 2015a,b), relating the applied argument to the theme as possessor; and affected (Cuervo 2003), relating the applied argument to the state of the theme as beneficiary. Neither of these is a high applicative relating the argument to the event as a whole. This correctly captures the distribution of non-core datives in Turkish without overgenerating as the high applicative analysis does.

Keywords. applicative; benefactive; affected applicative; Turkish

1. Introduction. In Pylkkänen's (2002,2008) typology, a high applicative takes a vP complement and semantically relates its argument to the event, often as a beneficiary. A low applicative is below vP and semantically relates its argument to the theme entity, typically as a recipient. Only high applicatives are predicted to be compatible with unergative and stative verbs. This is because unergatives have no internal theme to which the argument of a low applicative can be related, while stative verbs cannot denote the dynamic transfer of possession to (or from) such an argument. Turkish non-core datives are found with both types and accordingly have received a high applicative analysis (Özkan 2013; Palaz 2013; Tonyalı 2015).

Unergative

- (1) Palyaço çocuk-lar-a dans et-ti.
 clown child-PL-DAT dance do-PAST
 'The clown danced for the children.' (Özkan 2013:23)

Stative

- (2) Adam kadın-a palto-sun-u tut-tu.
 man woman-DAT coat-3SG.POSS-ACC hold-PST
 'The man held the (her) coat for the woman.' (Tonyalı 2015a:204)

However, they have unexpected semantic restrictions. Pylkkänen (2008) observes that high applicatives can appear with the verb 'eat', since they can relate the argument to the event as a whole. The Chaga sentence in (3), the very first example of a high applicative that Pylkkänen gives, illustrates this. Turkish disallows a non-core dative with 'eat' (4), requiring instead a PP headed by *için* 'for.'

Chaga (high applicative)

- (3) N-ă-ı-lyî-ı-à m-kà k-élyá
 FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
 'He is eating food for his wife' (Pylkkänen 2008:11)

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Turkish

- (4) Çocuk {anne-si için / *anne-sin-e} yemek ye-di.
child mother-3SG for mother-3SG-DAT food eat-PST
'The child ate food for his mother.'

This diagnostic is not invoked as often as the others, yet Pylkkänen treats 'eat' on a par with 'hold': "it is not possible that the food enters into a possessive-like relationship with the wife as a result of the husband's eating it. Similarly...John's holding a bag does not plausibly result in a possessive relationship between Mary.. and the bag..." (Pylkkänen 2008:13).

- (5) a. *He ate the wife food.
b. *John held Mary the bag.

The value of 'eat' as a diagnostic can be seen language-internally in Kazakh, which has two structures introducing non-core datives. The Kazakh high applicative is marked on the verb by the sequence *-(I)p ber-* (6), and the low applicative is zero-marked (7).

Kazakh high applicative

- (6) Men mama-m-a tamak pisir-**ip** ber-di-m.
I mother-1SG(POSS)-DAT food cook-**IP** APPL-PST-1SG
'I cooked food for my mother.'

Kazakh low applicative

- (7) Men mama-m-a tamak pisir- \emptyset -di-m.
I mother-1SG(POSS)-DAT food cook-**APPL**-PST-1SG
'I cooked my mother food.'

When we change the verb to *ze-* 'eat,' only the high applicative is acceptable.

Kazakh high applicative

- (8) Men mama-m-a tamak ze-**p** ber-di-m.
I mother-1SG(POSS)-DAT food eat-**IP** APPL-PST-1SG
'I ate (food) for my mother.'

Kazakh low applicative

- (9) *Men mama-m-a tamak ze- \emptyset -di-m.
I mother-1SG(POSS)-DAT food eat-**APPL**-PST-1SG

The diagnostics, then, appear to yield conflicting results for Turkish. When we probe deeper, we see that Turkish datives do not consistently behave like a high applicative with the other verb types. The general statement that they are compatible with stative verbs is, at best, misleading. Tonyalı (2015b) notes that "...there are only very few stative verbs in Turkish that a non-core dative can combine with" (138 n. 35), and she gives only two: *tut-* 'hold' and *kal-* 'remain.' Other stative verbs, such as *dur-* 'stand,' reject a non-core dative.

- (10) Ahmet {Leyla için/ *Leyla-ya} kapı-da dur-du.
Ahmet Leyla for Leyla-DAT door-LOC stand-PST
'Ahmet stood at the door for Leyla.'

In Kazakh, the high applicative is acceptable with *tur-* 'stand' but the low applicative is not.

Kazakh high applicative

- (11) Ahmet Ajfa-ga esik-te tur-**up** ber-di.
Ahmet Aisha-dat door-loc stand-**IP appl**-pst.sg3
'Ahmet stood at the door for Aisha.'

Kazakh low applicative

- (12) *Ahmet Ajfa-ga esik-te tur-duu.
Ahmet Aisha-dat door-loc stand-pst.sg3

The Turkish dative's performance on the diagnostics appears to be contradictory. However, the contradiction is illusory; 'hold' and unergatives have confounds that can yield misleading results. In this paper, I argue that Turkish has no high Appl relating the dative argument to the event as a whole. Instead, it has the following structures: low Appl (contra Tonyalı 2015a,b) relating the dative to the theme as possessor, and affected Appl (Cuervo 2003) relating the dative to an embedded state as beneficiary.

The paper is organized as follows: §2 shows that beneficiary datives in Turkish pattern with Cuervo's affected Appl, which is not a high Appl structure but relates the dative to an embedded result state as an affectee. §3 extends the affected Appl analysis to 'hold,' which can embed a state. §4 discusses the problem noted by Cuervo (2003) that low applicatives are acceptable with verbs that appear to be unergative but are in fact transitive, and shows that this is consistent with Tonyalı's (2015b) proposal that datives with unergatives are recipients of an abstract entity. §5 re-examines Tonyalı's (2015a,b) arguments against low Appl in Turkish and shows that they do not go through, and that the possessor semantics of the high goal (Öztürk 2005, 2007) are best explained by a low applicative analysis. §6 concludes.

2. Mapping Turkish datives to applicative structures. Neither the high applicative nor the low applicative is satisfactory for Turkish, as the former overgenerates and the latter undergenerates. The distribution and interpretation of non-core datives is an old problem in Turkish linguistics, going back at least to Gibson & Özkaragöz (1981). Knecht (1985) succeeded in stating the conditions under which a benefactive PP can be replaced by a dative-marked nominal. In this section, I discuss her insights and show how they can be derived through a combination of Pylkkänen's (2002,2008) low Appl and Cuervo's (2003) affected Appl.

2.1. KNECHT'S GENERALIZATION. Working in Relational Grammar, Knecht (1985) set out to establish the conditions on benefactive-to-3 advancement (BEN-3) in Turkish. Though couched in an older framework, her insights are relevant to the matter at hand, and prefigure some of the ideas in 21st-century work on applicatives. Knecht examines the conditions under which a benefactive PP headed by *için* 'for' can be substituted by a dative-marked nominal.

- (13) Erdoğan {Tokay için / Tokay-a} yemek yap-tı.
Erdoğan Tokay for Tokay-DAT food make-PST
'Erdoğan made food for Tokay.' (modification of Knecht's (24a-b):159)

She arrives at the following generalization:

BEN-3 may apply just when an agent's activities make it possible for the entity denoted by the benefactive to use or enjoy something or further his ability to use or enjoy it. Disposition of whatever the agent acts upon should be understood to pass to the benefactive. (Knecht 1985:163-164)

In other words, the dative argument must be related to theme in some way. This covers cases where the theme passes into the dative argument's possession (Pylkkänen's low Appl) or is brought into a state suitable for the dative argument's use (Cuervo's affected Appl—see following subsection). Crucially, it does not apply in cases where the dative argument benefits from the event as a whole (high Appl). Selections from Knecht's examples are given below. She observes that BEN-3 applies in sentences that “describe an act which yields or creates a product” (14) or “which describe acquisition” (15).

(14) Annem-e bir elbise dik-ti-m.
 my mother-DAT a dress sew-PST-1S
 ‘I sewed a dress for my mother.’

(15) San-a bir yüzük çal-dı-m.
 2S-DAT a ring steal-PST-1SG
 ‘I stole a ring for you.’ (Knecht 1985:161)

Of these cases, Knecht observes, “it is understood that whatever the agent creates or acquires is intended for the benefactive and, presumably, will be transferred to him” (p. 162). At least descriptively, this conforms to low Appl as characterized by Pylkkänen. (On Tonyalı's case against low Appl, see §5.)

She next presents a set of examples where “the agent takes temporary control over the patient and modifies it to make it more serviceable for the beneficiary.”

(16) Hasan-a biber döv-dü-m.
 Hasan-DAT pepper grind-PST-1SG
 ‘I ground pepper for Hasan.’ (Knecht 1985:162)

In such cases, the theme does not change possession, but is brought into a suitable state for the dative argument to use or enjoy. A relation still holds between the dative and theme, albeit one mediated by a state. In other words, while these are not low applicatives, they are not high either.

BEN-3 fails when “disposition over the object involved in the action cannot ultimately pass to the benefactive” or “does not contribute toward making something available to the benefactive which he can use or enjoy” as in the following examples.

(17) Ali için/*Ali-ye et-i ye-di-m.
 Ali for Ali-DAT meat-ACC eat-PST-1S
 ‘I ate the meat for Ali.’ (Knecht 1985:162)

(18) Sedef için/*Sedef-e Cengiz-i öp-tü-m.
 Sedef for Sedef-DAT Cengiz-ACC kiss-PST-1S
 ‘I kissed Cengiz for Sedef.’ (Knecht 1985:163)

Note that (17) involves *ye-* ‘eat.’ On the high applicative analysis, such examples are predicted to be good. Knecht's generalization is therefore superior insofar as it does not overgenerate. The next step is to derive this insight in a non-stipulative way within modern theoretical architecture.

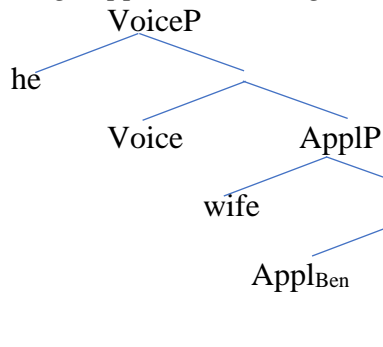
2.2. AFFECTED APPL. A dative beneficiary is not necessarily a possessor in Turkish. This is among the key pieces of evidence for the high applicative analysis.

(19) Seda kardeş-in-e kapı-yı aç-tı.
 Seda sibling-3SG.POSS-DAT door-ACC open-PST
 ‘Seda opened the door for her sister.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:126)

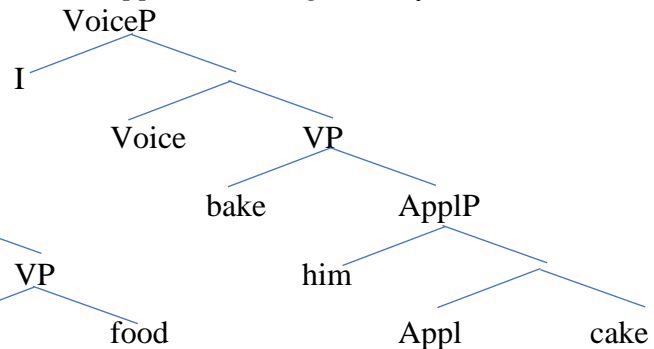
Example (19) conforms to Knecht’s generalization: Seda modifies the door to make it more serviceable to her sister, and in this way disposition passes to the benefactive. However, the lack of a possession entailment does not force a high applicative analysis.

In Pylkkänen’s (2002,2008) binary typology, there are two structural positions where ApplP can merge: Above vP as the complement of Voice (high), or below vP as the complement of the root (low).

(20) a. *High applicative (Chaga)*

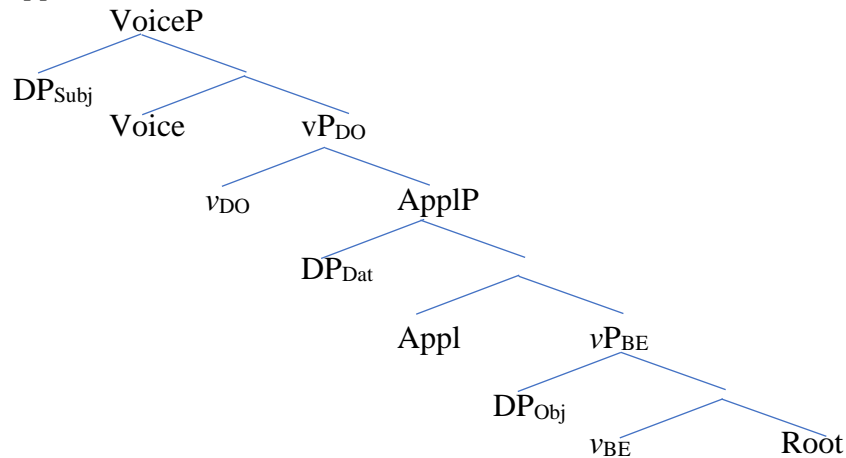


b. *Low applicative (English) (Pylkkänen 2008:14)*



Cuervo (2003) proposes a third, intermediate position, sandwiched between two vPs. She calls this ‘affected Appl.’

(21) *affected Appl (Cuervo 2003:120)*



This position is available in Cuervo’s event-structure system, which is based on the combinatory possibilities of three flavors of little-v: vBE (stative), vGO (dynamic) and vDO (dynamic, agentive). A transitive change-of-state predicate such as *open the door* is derived with vPDO stacked onto vPBE. The affected dative is related to the denotation of vPBE: the state of the door. There is thus no possession entailed, even though the applicative is not structurally high.

Spanish affected applicative

(22) Emilio le abrió la Puerta a Carolina
 Emilio CL.DAT opened the door Carolina.DAT
 ‘Emilio opened the door for Carolina.’ * \Rightarrow Carolina has a door (Cuervo 2003:127)

She proposes the following semantics:

(23) **Affected Applicative:** $\lambda x.\lambda e.$ Affected ($e_{s,x}$) (Cuervo 2003:125)

The affected argument is related to an eventuality through event identification (Kratzer 1996), similar to Pylkkänen’s high applicative argument. However, for the affected applicative, this eventuality is the embedded state and not the higher causing event.

I propose that Turkish datives comprise both low applicatives relating the dative to the theme (with a possession entailment) and affected applicatives relating the dative to an embedded state as an affectee.¹ Crucially, Turkish does not have a high applicative relating the dative to an event. This successfully derives Knecht’s generalization.

2.3. THE (ABSENCE OF A) DEPUTATIVE READING. According to Tonyalı (2015b), when a transitive verb has a (pseudo-incorporated) bare noun object, the predicate is a simple activity with no result state. She argues that a non-core dative with such a predicate is a *recipient-benefactive* (Van Valin & Lapolla 1997). In (24), the speaker is the recipient of an egg.

- (24) Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im, Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta kır-dı.
I eat-NEG-FUT-1SG Meliha aunt-1SG.POSS I.dat egg break-PST
Lit. ‘I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me an egg.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:101)

Note that recipient-benefactive is the label Van Valin & Lapolla apply to the English benefactive double-object construction (DOC), as in *Robin baked Sandy a cake*. Such a relation does not require a high applicative structure. Tonyalı goes on to note that the above sentence becomes ungrammatical if the object is marked accusative.

- (25) Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im, *Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta-yı kır-dı.
I eat-Neg-Fut-1Sg Meliha aunt-1SG.POSS I.DAT egg-ACC break-PST
Lit. ‘I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me the egg.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:102)

She argues that the accusative indicates a complex causative structure with a result state, blocking a recipient-benefactive reading. Even so, on a high applicative analysis it is unclear what the source of the ungrammaticality would be.

Another type of benefactive situation is the deputative, in which the subject performs the action instead of the dative argument (Van Valin & Lapolla 1997). This is a clear case of the dative being related to the event as a whole, and so would be good evidence of a high applicative. Tonyalı acknowledges that the deputative reading in Turkish is for some reason quite elusive, but she argues that it can be brought out through an immediate context involving a request or offer using the aorist or optative.

- (26) Bana şu yumurta-yı (bir) kır-ar mı-sın?
I.DAT this egg-ACC (one) break-AOR INT-2SG
‘Can/will you just break this egg for me?’ (Tonyalı 2015b:134)

I suggest that (26) is not deputative, but is rather another case of affected Appl. The most natural interpretation is a context where the speaker is perhaps cooking an omelet or baking a cake. By breaking the egg, the addressee will make it usable by the speaker for this purpose.

¹ In Cuervo (2003) ‘affectee’ is a cover term comprising more specific roles such as benefactive and malefactive. In most of her examples from Spanish, the dative argument is a maleficiary (e.g., *Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria* ‘Pablo broke the radio on Valeria’ (124)), but she notes that the availability of benefactive or malefactive may vary on a language-specific basis. Tonyalı (2015b:129) observes that the malefactive reading is generally absent in Turkish unless indicated through lexical means.

Hence (26) conforms to Knecht’s generalization. The dative is the beneficiary of the broken state of the egg. This also explains the infelicity of the previous example: In (25), the speaker is declining an offer of food, the implication being that she plans to eat the egg that Meliha has broken. However, *broken* is not a suitable state of an egg for the purpose of eating. Thus affected Appl correctly derives the difference between (25) and (26).

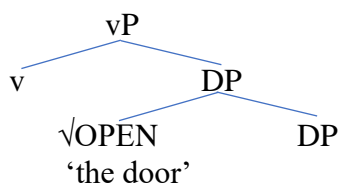
2.4. HIGH-LOW APPL. Marantz (2009a,b) argues that the denotation of the internal argument DP in a change of state predicate is not the entity itself but the state of that entity.

$$(27) \llbracket \text{DP} \rrbracket \rightarrow \text{STATE}(\llbracket \text{DP} \rrbracket) = \lambda s_s . \text{state}(s, \text{DP})$$

This would render Cuervo’s vP_{BE} superfluous. As Wood (2015:29) points out, Marantz’s proposal with one vP is semantically indistinguishable from Cuervo’s with two.

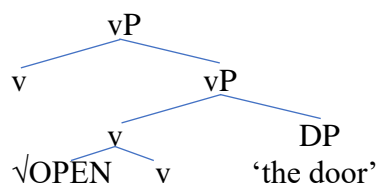
(28) Marantz (2009)

a.



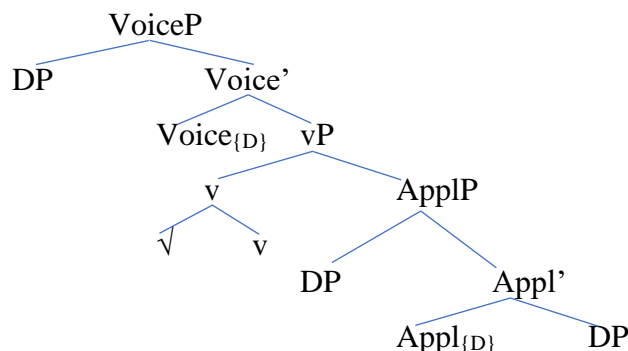
Cuervo (2003)

b.



This has consequences for affected Appl since the structural position between two vPs is unavailable in (28a). The two vPs are collapsed into one, and the affected applicative reduces to a low applicative structure with benefactive semantics, whereby the applied argument is the beneficiary of the state of the theme DP. This is what Wood calls ‘high-low Appl’ (2013, 2015).

(29) a.



$$\begin{aligned} \text{b. } \llbracket \text{Appl} \rrbracket &\leftrightarrow \lambda x_e \lambda s_s . \text{BENEFICIARY}(x, s) \\ \llbracket \text{DP} \rrbracket &\rightarrow \text{STATE}(\llbracket \text{DP} \rrbracket) = \lambda s_s . \text{state}(s, \text{DP}) \end{aligned} \quad (\text{Wood 2015:219})$$

I take no position here on whether Cuervo’s system should be simplified as Marantz (2009a,b) and Wood (2013, 2015) propose. I merely wish to point out that, if one eschews Cuervo’s syntactic event decomposition, then affected Appl collapses to a structurally low applicative with benefactive semantics.

3. Datives and statives. On Pykkänen’s (2002) original formulation, low applicative semantics entail a transfer of possession, either to or from the applied argument.

(30) *Low-App_{To}* (Recipient applicative)

$$\lambda x \lambda y \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e . f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$$

Low-App_{From} (Source applicative)

$$\lambda x \lambda y \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e . f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y) \quad (\text{Pykkänen 2008:18})$$

Transfer of possession being dynamic, Pylkkänen predicts that a stative verb such as ‘hold’ is incompatible with a low applicative, and that compatibility with stative verbs is symptomatic of a high applicative. However, Cuervo shows that this prediction is not borne out in Spanish, where a low applicative is perfect with ‘hold.’ There is still a possession entailment: In the example below, it must be Andreína’s bag that Pablo is holding.

- (31) Pablo le sostuvo la valija a Andreína
 Pablo CL.DAT held the suitcase Andreína.DAT
 ‘Pablo held Andreína’s suitcase.’ (Cuervo 2003:90)

In order to account for static possession, Cuervo adds AT to the low Appl semantic inventory, which Pylkkänen (2008:44-45) subsequently adopts. While TO and FROM indicate that the applied argument is the recipient or source, respectively, AT indicates that the applied argument is in possession of the theme throughout the eventuality.

- (32) *Low-App_{AT} (Possessor applicative)*
 $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{in-the-possession}(x, y)$ (Cuervo 2003:73)

While this weakens the value of stative verbs as a diagnostic generally, the issue does not appear to be relevant to Turkish, where *tut-* ‘hold’ has no possession entailment at all, static or otherwise. In the example below, the bag could belong to anyone.

- (33) Ali-Ø ban-a çanta-yı tut-tu.
 Ali-NOM I-DAT bag-ACC hold-PST.3SG
 ‘Ali held the bag for me.’ (Özkan 2013:15)

Clearly, (33) is not an example of low-App_{AT}. It is, however, an example of affected Appl: The speaker benefits from the held state of the bag. This is felicitous in a situation where Ali is holding the bag so that the speaker can take it, or take something out of it. It is not appropriate if he holds the bag while she goes off and does something else. Consider the following example:

- (34) Ahmet kadın-a palto-sun-u tut-tu.
 Ahmet.NOM woman-DAT coat.3S.ACC hold-PST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet held the woman’s coat for her.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:204)

This statement implies that Ahmet is holding the woman’s coat so that she can put it on, or otherwise interact with it. In a deputative context, it is ungrammatical.

- (35) Context: Ahmet holds the woman’s coat for her while she goes into the restroom.
 *Ahmet kadın-a palto-sun-u tut-tu.
 Ahmet.NOM woman-DAT coat.3S.ACC hold-PST.3SG

Similarly, (36) is good only if the speaker is going to walk through (or otherwise interact with) the door.

- (36) Ban-a şu kapı-yı bir tut-ar mı-sın?
 1sg-DAT this door-ACC one hold-AOR INT-2SG
 ‘Could you just hold this door for me?’

In a deputative context, the sentence is infelicitous.

- (37) Context: A handyman is fixing a door. He wants to go outside for a smoke, but the door is partway off its hinges and he needs someone to hold it.

*Ban-a şu kapı-yı bir tut-ar mı-sın?
 1sg-DAT this door-ACC one hold-AOR INT-2SG
 Bir sigara içip geleceğim.

‘Could you just hold this door for me? I’m going to go out for a quick smoke.’

The reason that a dative is allowed with ‘hold’ in sentences like (33) and (34) is that this verb embeds a result state to which the dative is related as a beneficiary. Affected Appl is indifferent to whether the higher event is static or dynamic.

Now we can explain why Appl is bad with *dur*- ‘stand’: There is no embedded state to relate the dative argument to.

(38) Ahmet {Leyla için/ *Leyla-ya} kapı-da dur-du.
 Ahmet Leyla for Leyla-DAT door-LOC stand-PST
 ‘Ahmet stood at the door for Leyla.’

4. Datives and unergatives. Knecht’s generalization appears to undergenerate in that it does not predict the acceptability of datives with unergatives.

(39) a. Başbakan-ımız-a dans et-mek isti-yor-um.
 prime minister.1POSS.PL-DAT dance do-INF want-PROG-1SG
 ‘I’d like to dance for our Prime Minister.’
 b. Şahan Gökbakar Erdoğan-a şarkı söyle-di.
 Şahan Gökbakar Erdoğan-DAT song sing-PST
 ‘Şahan Gökbakar sang/sang a song for Erdoğan.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:112)

Cuervo (2003:92-93) cautions that activity verbs such as ‘dance’ and ‘sing’ may be transitive or intransitive, and that this must be controlled for in applying the unergative diagnostic, since low applicatives are licensed by the transitive version, where “the dative is related to the direct object as an intended recipient” (2003:192). Tonyalı too suggests that, although the datives in (39) appear to be plain benefactives, they are in fact the recipient of an abstract dance or song (2015b:112). In other words, a low applicative analysis is satisfactory for (39a,b). Evidence from the English low applicative supports this. While the dative is ungrammatical with the unergative version of *dance* and *sing* it is perfect with the transitive.

(40) a. *Sing me./ *Dance me.
 b. Sing me a song. / Dance me a dance.

However, the dative DP with *çalış*- ‘work’ (42a) does not submit to this analysis. There is no nominal that could be the theme of a low Appl DOC. Tellingly, English *work* does not allow a cognate object with this verb (41).

(41) *I’ll work you a work. / *I’ll work you a job.
 (42) a. Adam-lar hükümet-e çalış-ıyor.
 man-PL government-DAT work-PROG
 ‘The men are working for/for the benefit of the government.’
 b. Çocuk bu sefer konu-ya/ ders-e çalış-tı.
 child thistime subject-DAT lesson-DAT work-PST
 ‘This time the child worked on the subject/studied.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:88)

I propose a different source for the dative in (42a). Tonyalı (2015b) classifies the usage in (42b) as a directional/allative sense of the dative that is lexically licensed by particular roots. She

distinguishes this from (42a), where she claims that *çalış-* is an unergative that is not involved in licensing the dative argument. I suggest instead that (42a) does not contain an applicative, but that it is another example of the dative lexically assigned by this verb. Note that, with an apparent dative beneficiary, *çalış-* resists event modification.

- (43) Ali için/ *Ali-ye harıl harıl çalış-ıyor-um.
 Ali for Ali-DAT laboriously work-PRG-1SG
 ‘I am working laboriously for Ali.’ (Knecht 1985:163)

The manner adverbial *harıl harıl* ‘laboriously’ is generally acceptable with *çalış-*, as we would expect of an activity verb; the presence of the benefactive *için* PP does not affect this. However, the version of the sentence with the dative is ungrammatical, which would be surprising for a high applicative related to an unergative activity. I propose instead that this is an instance of the dative lexically assigned by *çalış-*, and that in the apparent benefactive use, the predicate is a stative relation meaning something like ‘be in the employ/service of.’

Dative beneficiaries are not acceptable with all unergatives. They are bad, for instance, with verbs of motion, which lack a theme argument or embedded state to which a beneficiary can be related. Luganda, a language with high applicatives, allows such sentences.

- (44) *Burcu Elif-e yürü-dü / koş-tu. (under a benefactive reading)
 Burcu Elif-DAT walk-PST run-PST
 Intended meaning: ‘Burcu walked/ran for Elif.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:113)

Luganda

- (45) Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga.
 Mukasa 3SG/PST-walk-APPL-PST Katonga
 ‘Mukasa walked for Katonga.’ (Pylkkänen 2008:20)

To account for cases like (44), Tonyalı argues that a beneficiary dative is blocked by verbs that lexically license a directional dative argument. One problem with this is that *çalış-* is just such a verb. This interpretive constraint thus predicts that a dative with *çalış-* should reject a benefactive reading.

Tonyalı’s constraint is reminiscent of Gibson & Özkaragöz’s (1981) condition:

- (46) Benefactive-to-Indirect Object Advancement is blocked if the lexical specification of the verb contains an indirect object. (Gibson & Özkaragöz 1981:92).

Knecht’s (1985) generalization renders any such lexical rule unnecessary: “The semantic conditions on the rule which I have described are more general than GÖ’s [Gibson & Özkaragöz] and, where there is overlap, they account for the same facts” (Knecht 1985:165). This point is conceded by Özkaragöz (1986:42-43), who abandons Gibson & Özkaragöz’s condition in favor of Knecht’s proposal.

5. Tonyalı’s arguments against low Appl in Turkish. Chapter 2 of Tonyalı (2015b), which is a slight re-working of Tonyalı (2015a), presents arguments against the existence of low Appl in Turkish. These are of two types: 1. Turkish non-core datives do not necessarily entail a transfer of possession, and 2. Dative goals can be base-generated either above or below the theme. In this section I review these arguments and show that neither precludes the existence of a low applicative construction, and that in fact low Appl is the best way to account for the possessor reading in the goal > theme order.

5.1. NO POSSESSION. Tonyalı (2015a,b) provides a variety of examples of non-core datives that do not entail a transfer of possession. These include datives occurring with *tut-* ‘hold’ and unergatives, which I have already discussed at length. In addition, she provides a number of examples where datives are added to transitive verbs without a transfer of possession entailment, and argues that these can only be high applicatives.

- (47) Koca dünya-yı bana dar et-ti.
 huge world-ACC I.DAT narrow make/do-PAST
 ‘He/she has made life unbearable for me.’ (Tonyalı 2015a:205)

There are two problems with this argument. The first is that it tacitly assumes that applicative height is parametric, an either/or proposition: high applicatives exist in Turkish, therefore low applicatives do not. Yet, as Cuervo (2003:91) notes, nothing in Pylkkänen (2002) rules out the possibility that high and low applicatives can co-exist in a given language. Even if (47) were a high applicative, this would have no implications about the availability a low applicative structure. The second problem, of course, is that the lack of a possession entailment is not proof of high Appl. There is no such entailment in Cuervo’s affected Appl, which is of intermediate height.² In (47), the dative is related to a particular state of the world.

5.2. TWO GOAL POSITIONS. An applicative argument (of any height) can only be merged above the theme (see the structures in (20)). Relevant to this, Tonyalı provides extensive evidence from binding, quantifier scope, and idiom formation that dative goals can be base-generated either above or below the theme. She concludes that dative goals in Turkish are not applicatives, but postpositional constructions. There is a difference in interpretation between the two positions: the low goal (theme > goal) is a location and the high goal (goal > theme) is a possessor, as first noted by Öztürk (2005, 2007).

- (48) Ali ban-a kitab-ı Ankara-ya yolla-dı.
 Ali I.DAT book-ACC Ankara-DAT send-PST
 ‘Ali sent me the book to Ankara.’ (Tonyalı 2015b:30)

If we are testing the hypothesis that all dative goals are low applicatives, Tonyalı’s evidence roundly refutes this. We are forced to conclude with her that the low goal (theme > goal) is indeed postpositional. But this does not automatically adjudicate the status of the high goal. Since applied arguments are homophonous with postpositional datives in Turkish, there is another possibility: low goals are postpositional, but high goals are applicatives. Tonyalı (2015a:207) is aware of this: “An issue in my analysis that requires further investigation is whether high possessor goals could receive a high applicative analysis.” This is an important point, but it could be taken a step further: If high goals were instead to receive a *low* applicative analysis, this would automatically explain the possessor reading. Evidence from Japanese and Spanish supports such an approach.

Öztürk’s (2005, 2007) proposal of high possessor goals and low locative goals is based on Miyagawa and Tsujioka’s (2004) observation of the same pattern in Japanese.

- (49) Taro-ga Hanako-ni Tokyo-ni nimotu-o okutta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT Tokyo-to package-ACC sent
 ‘Taro sent Hanako a package to Tokyo.’ (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004:9)

² Or, if one prefers, its semantics can be mapped onto a low applicative structure (Wood 2013, 2015).

While the two datives are homophonous, Miyagawa and Tsujioka show that only the high goal can undergo quantifier float (50). Since PP arguments cannot be floated, they conclude that the low goal is a PP (51) and the high goal an applicative.

(50) Taroo-ga gakusei-ni futa-ri nimotu-o okutta.
 Taro-NOM students-DAT 2-CL package-ACC sent
 ‘Taro sent two students a package.’

(51) *Daitooryoo-ga kokkyoo-ni futa-tu heitai-o okutta.
 president-NOM borders-to 2-CL soldiers-ACC sent
 (Lit.) ‘The President sent two borders soldiers.’ (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004:7)

Pylkkänen (2002,2008) classifies Japanese applicatives as low, which would explain the possessor relation of the high goal.

Cuervo (2003) makes a similar point about Spanish, where applicatives are distinguished from prepositional datives by clitic doubling. In (52), the clitic *le* identifies the first goal as an applicative, which Cuervo classifies as low because of the possessor interpretation. The second goal is a locational PP. Without the clitic doubling, the sentence is ungrammatical (53).

(52) Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona
 Pablo CL.DAT sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT to Barcelona
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary to Barcelona.’

(53) ??/*Pablo mandó un diccionario a Gabi a Barcelona
 Pablo sent a dictionary Gabi.DAT to Barcelona
 ‘Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi in Barcelona.’ (Cuervo 2003:49)

Tonyali (2015b) maintains a PP analysis of both high and low goals. In the absence of an independent diagnostic such as quantifier float or clitic doubling, it is possible to claim—unfalsifiably—that Turkish differs from Japanese and Spanish in just this respect. However, this move is not well-motivated given that high and low goals show the same interpretive distinction in Turkish as in those languages.

6. Conclusion. This paper has presented evidence that beneficiary datives in Turkish are not introduced by a high applicative and that, contrary to the generally accepted view, Turkish does have a low applicative structure. Beneficiaries that are not possessors are instances of affected Appl (Cuervo 2003), which relates the applied argument to the embedded state of the theme but not to the higher causing event. For Cuervo, affected Appl is of intermediate structural height, above the embedded stative vP but below the higher dynamic vP; if one forgoes Cuervo’s syntactic event decomposition, this reduces to a low applicative structure with a beneficiary denotation (Wood 2013, 2015). This approach explains why Turkish datives have interpretations beyond the transfer of possession expected of low Appl (Pylkkänen 2002), but are more restricted than we would expect on the high Appl analysis. The reason for the previous misidentification of the Turkish dative as high Appl is its apparent compatibility with unergatives and the stative verb ‘hold.’ Both of these tests have confounds that need to be controlled for. In particular, ‘hold’ has become something of a go-to for a quick diagnosis of applicative height, which is a serious problem because this verb is highly susceptible to false positives. There are two reasons for this: 1. As Cuervo shows, low Appl can be stative in some languages, such as Spanish; 2. ‘hold’ readily embeds a result state, providing the input for an affected Appl reading. If one needs a go-to test, ‘eat’ is far more reliable.

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