

Warlpiri Datives: a High Applicative, a Low Applicative, and an “Applicative”¹

Julie Anne Legate
jlegate@mit.edu

Introduction

Goals:

- Demonstrate that Warlpiri ditransitives provide further evidence for “source” applicatives (Pylkkänen, yesterday)
- Provide a high applicative analysis for a previously problematic construction in Warlpiri
- Confront the “Cascade paradox”

1. The Low Applicative

Ditransitive construction with ERG DAT ABS case frame:

- (1) Warnapari-rli ka-rla kurdu-ku ngapurlu yi-nyi.²
dingo-Erg PresImpf-3Dat child-Dat milk give-Npst
“The dingo gives milk to the little one.”

Issue: Double object or PP-Dative construction?

1. Dative is primary object (Simpson 1991)

Dat controls object agreement, not Abs:

- (2) Ngajulu-rlu kapi-rna-**ngku** karli-patu yi-nyi nyuntu-ku
I-Erg FutC-1sgS-**2sgO** boomerang-pauc give-Npst you-Dat
“I will give you (the) (several) boomerangs” (Hale et al 1995:1432)

Dat controls OBJC clause, not Abs:

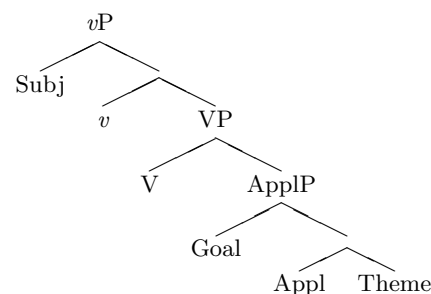
¹Special thanks to Ken Hale for immeasurable help teaching me about the Warlpiri language. This work is partially funded by SSHRC #752-97-2087.

²Data are from the Warlpiri dictionary (Laughren & Hale 1982) unless otherwise noted. Glosses are my own.

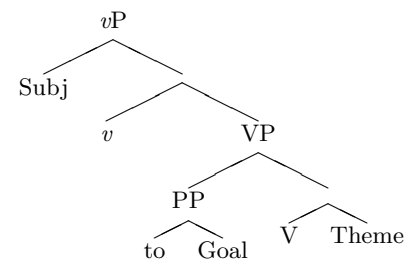
- (3) a. Karnta-ngku ka-ju kurdu miliki-yirra-rni
woman-Erg PresImpf-1sgO child show-put-npst
nguna-nja-**kurra**-(ku)
lie-Infin-**ObjC**-(Dat)
“The woman is showing the child to me while I am lying down”
(Simpson 1991:342)
- b. ?? Yu-ngu-rna-rla kurdu parraja-rla ngunga-nja-**kurra**
give-pst-1sgS-3Dat child coolamon-Loc sleep-Infin-**ObjC**
yali-ki
that-Dat
“I gave the child which was sleeping in the coolamon to that one”
(Simpson 1991:341)

These tests are sensitive to hierarchy = “crossover” PP-dative structure (without object shift) or double object.

(i) Double Object



(ii) Crossover PP-dative



2. Verb classes (cf Pesetsky 1995)

- (4) a. inherently signify act of giving: *yi-nyi* “give”
 b. instantaneous causation of ballistic motion: *kiji-rni* “throw” (cf not *rarra-ma-ni* “drag”)
 c. sending: *yilya-mi* “send/throw to”
 d. communicated message: *ngarri-rni* “tell”, *payi-rni* “ask”, *japi-rni* “ask”, *milki-yirra-rni* “show” (cf not *wangka-mi* “speak/say”, *jaalyp(a)-wangkami* “whisper”)
 e. continuous causation of accompanied motion in some manner: *ka-nyi* “carry, bring, take” (Levin 1993)
 f. inherently signify act of taking: *punta-rni* “take away from”, *jurnta-ma-ni* “take away from”, *jurnta-marda-rni* “take away from”, *punta-punta-yirra-rni* “take away from”

3. Allative Variant

There exists an allative variant with Abs as primary object:

- (5) Yu-ngu-**ju**-lu Jakamarra-kurra
 give-Pst-**1sgO**-3plS Jakamarra-All
 “They gave me to Jakamarra” (Laughren 1985)

4. Animacy Restriction

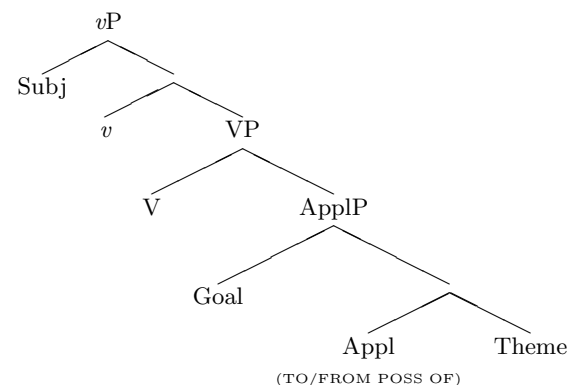
Erg-Dat-Abs requires an animate goal, Erg-Abs-All used for inanimate:

- (6) a. Purturlu kala-**rla** yilya-ja.
 backbone PstC-**3Dat** send-Pst
 “He sent her the backbone”
 b. Marnkurrpa-rna yilya-ja Yalijipiringi-**kirra**
 three-1sgS send-Pst Alice.Springs-**All**
 “I sent three to Alice Springs”

5. Possessive Semantics

Erg-Dat-Abs entails goal is recipient, Erg-Abs-All the goal is merely endpoint (Hale 1982)

Double object structure:



2. The High Applicative

Ethical dative construction:

- (7) Karli yinga-rla paka-rni jinta-kari-rli nyanungu-ku
 boomerang ReasC-3Dat chop-Npst one-other-Erg he-Dat
 “Because the other one will chop a boomerang for him” (Simpson 1991:381)

Previous analysis

Simpson (1991): created “EXTERNAL OBJECT” function for ethical datives, meaning a selected adjunct.

1. Dat is equal object

Both objects must control agreement:

- (8) Ngarrka-ngku ka-**ju-rla** ngaju-ku karli-ki
 man-Erg PresImpf-**1sgO-3Dat** me-Dat boomerang-Dat
 warri-rni
 seek-Npst
 “The man is looking for a boomerang for me” (Hale 1982:255)

The Dat can control a OBJC clause:

- (9) Kamina-rlu ka-rla mangarri purra ngati-nyanu-ku
 girl-Erg PresImpf-3Dat food cook.Npst mother-self-Dat
 nguna-nja-**kurra**-ku
 lie-Infin-**ObjC**-Dat
 “The girl is cooking food for her mother who is lying down.” (Simpson 1991:385)

2. No Transitivity Restriction

Intransitive:

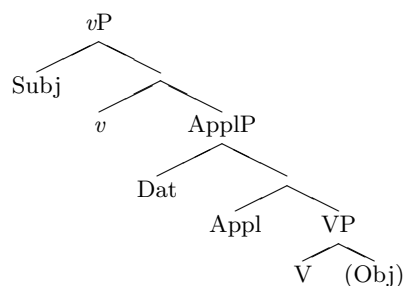
- (10) a. Karnta ka-rla kurdu-ku parnka-mi
 woman PresImpf child-Dat run-Npst
 “The woman is running for the sake of the child” (Simpson 1991:381)
- b. Nantuwu ka-rla Japanangka-ku mata-jarri-mi
 horse PresImpf-3Dat Japanangka-Dat tired-Inch-Npst
 “The horse is tiring on Japanangka” (Hale 1982:254)

3. No Possessive Semantics

“embrac[es] a considerable range of possible semantic connections which may hold between an entity and an event or process” (Hale 1982:254), including benefactive, malefactive, possessive:

- (11) a. Nantuwu ka-rla Japanangka-ku mata-jarri-mi
 horse PresImpf-3Dat Japanangka-Dat tired-Inch-Npst
 “The horse is tiring on Japanangka”
 “Japanangka’s horse is tiring”
- b. Ngarrka-ngku ka-rla kurdu-ku karli jarnti-rni
 man-Erg PresImpf-3Dat child-Dat boomerang trim-Npst
 “The man is trimming the boomerang for the child”
 “The man is trimming the child’s boomerang” (Hale 1982:254)

Ethical dative structure:



Issue: Apparent Condition B violation

- (12) ka-nyanu kuyu nyanungu-ku pi-nyi
 PresImpf-**Reflex** meat **it-Dat** hit-Npst
 Liwirringki-rli-ju
 Burrowing.Skink-Erg-Top
 “...it kills animals for itself, that lizard” (Simpson 1991:382)

cf colloquial English low applicative “I’m gonna bake me a cake”

3. The “Applicative”

Preverbs which add a dative:

<i>jurnta</i>	“away from”
<i>kaji, ngayi</i>	“for”
<i>marlaja, marlangka</i>	“because of”
<i>jurrganja, yirrkirnpa</i>	“with”
<i>piki(piki)</i>	“in danger of”

- (13) Kurdu ka-rla karnta-ku marlaja-yula-mi
 child PresImpf-3Dat woman-Dat Cause-cry-Npst
 “The child is crying because of the woman” (Simpson 1991:386)

Dative cannot control an OBJC clause:

- (14) *Jurnta-ju-lu ya-nu ngaju-ku jarda-nguna-nja-kurra
 away-1sgO-3plS go-Pst me-Dat sleep-lie-Infin-ObjC
 “They went away from me while I was sleeping” (Simpson 1991:389)

Previous Analyses

- Bittner & Hale (1996): preverb heads NP in [spec, T] takes dative adjunct as its complement; preverb incorporates into C but realized on V (part of discontinuous head C-I-V)
- Laughren (2000): ApplP is highest projection in VP, licenses Dat (preverb is adjoined to ApplP?)

Considerations

- Preverb may move to pre-aux focus position, but only if C is empty.
 ∴ Preverb is a head. (cf VP in focus position)

- (15) **Jurnta**-ju-lu ya-nu ngaju-ku
 away-1sgO-3plS go-Pst me-Dat
 “They went away from me”

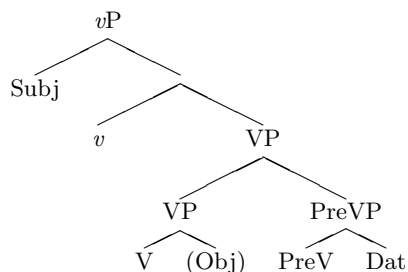
- When preverb is in pre-aux focus position, V must be immediately post-aux. Preverb may appear immediately after V, but never separated from V. ∴ Preverb is a verbal affix or clitic.
- Dative preverbs are outermost, outside domain of regressive vowel harmony. ∴ Preverb is outside complex verb head = verbal clitic.
- Dative is not subj, so must not intervene between T and subj.

- cf Pesetsky (1995) cascade structures: “for”, “by”, etc are *low*
- Dative is related semantically to the event, not an individual

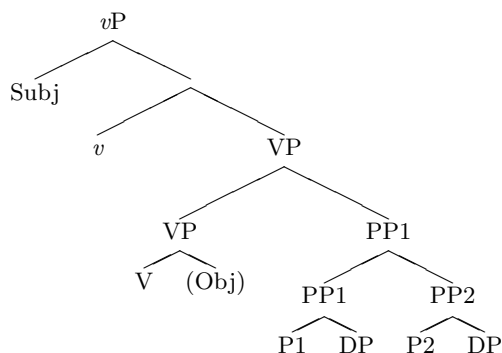
(16) **Cascade Paradox:** Certain PPs behave syntactically as though they appear low (cf low applicative structure) and yet semantically denote a relationship between an individual and an event.

Possibility 1: Low applicative structure, leave cascade paradox unresolved.

Possibility 2: Low adjunction



Low adjunction for English PPs?:



Issues:

- Ruling out layered structure (ie multiple adjunction to VP): *Sue spoke to him_i about Bill_i's mother (Pesetsky 1995:177)
- Predictions ...

References:

- Bittner, Maria & Ken Hale. 1996. Ergativity: towards a theory of heterogeneous class. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27.4,531-604.
- Hale, Kenneth L. 1982. Some essential features of Warlpiri verbal clauses. Swarbrick, J. (ed.) 1982:217-315. *Papers in Warlpiri grammar: in memory of Lothar Jagst*. Work Papers of SIL-AAB, Series A Volume 6. Berrimah, N.T.: SIL-AAB.
- Hale, Kenneth L, Mary Laughren, & Jane Simpson. 1995. Warlpiri Syntax. In *International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, pp 1430-51. Ed. by Joachim J. G. Rehg, Armin von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann. Berlin New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Laughren, Mary. 1985. Warlpiri reflexives, 'inherent' reflexives and grammatical relations. MIT ms.
- Laughren, Mary. 2000. Syntactic Constraints in a 'free word order language. ms. June 2000. To appear in *Language Universals and Variation*, ed. by Mengistu Amberber.
- Laughren, Mary & Ken Hale. Warlpiri Dictionary. Various versions. Esp. 1982 version in three parts: Verbs (42+109pp.). Body Part Domain. (6+73pp.) Fauna (2+86pp.) Xeroxed computer output. Master copy at Warlpiri Literature Production Centre Inc., Yuendumu.
- Levin, B. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Simpson, Jane. 1991. *Warlpiri Morpho-Syntax. A Lexicalist Approach*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory Volume 23.