

On external possession and movement

Carol Rose Little

McGill University

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The copy theory of movement

- ▶ Under the copy theory of movement (Chomsky (1993); Nunes (1995, 2004) i.a.), a moved element leaves behind a copy of itself, exhibited in the English in (1)

(1) What did Rosa publish ~~what~~ ?

- ▶ In (1), the higher copy gets pronounced and the lower one is deleted at PF
- ▶ Notion of higher usually is an asymmetric c-command relation, following the Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne, 1994)
- ▶ However, it is not immediately clear what to do with VP remnant movement, as in (2), where the copy in the moved VP is higher, but is not pronounced, as discussed in Gärtner (1998)

(2) ...and published, her poetry was.

(3) ...and [XP [VP published her poetry] [X' [TP her poetry [T' was [VP published her poetry]]]]]

- ▶ A few approaches have been discussed (Nunes (1995, 2004); Boskovic & Nunes (2007) i.a.)
- ▶ In this talk, I consider external possession and focus movement in Ch'ol, a Mayan language, and their implications for theories of remnant movement

External possession in Ch'ol

- ▶ I discuss the applicative morpheme in (4) in external possession constructions in Ch'ol

(4) Tyi k-ilä-be i-chich aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
 'I saw Rosa's sister.'

- ▶ I will provide diagnostics that in (4) the possessor behaves as we would expect of a dependent of the verb, however when the object is moved to the preverbal focus position, the possessor must be pronounced in the DP-internal position as in (5)

(5) [I-chich aj-Rosa]_i tyi k-ilä-be t_i .
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister]'

- ▶ I provide support for a raising analysis of external possession in (4) and that (5) provides evidence against a derivational account for remnant movement that assumes multiple spell-out

Overview

- ▶ The goal is the account for the following empirical properties of Ch'ol external possession with the applicative *-be* morpheme:
 1. Postverbally, the external possessor behaves syntactically like an argument of a verb.
 2. A-bar movement of the object triggers the possessor to be pronounced object-internally.
- ▶ To account for the facts above, I propose:
 1. a movement analysis of external possession, building on raising analyses, particularly Aissen (1987); Deal (2013)
 2. that the copy of the possessor in Spec,CP is pronounced due to a requirement for that position to be associated with phonetic content (as per, e.g., Landau (2006))
- ▶ I will further discuss some theoretical implications about the last point for PF deletion and remnant movement

Roadmap

The applicative in Ch'ol

External possession in Ch'ol

A possessor raising analysis

A-bar extraction

The applicative in Ch'ol

The applicative *-be* in Ch'ol

- ▶ Ch'ol is a Mayan language spoken in Southern Mexico by about 252,000 people
 - ▶ Data comes from my fieldwork with Ch'ol; any other sources are cited
- ▶ The applicative in Ch'ol appears in ditransitive constructions as well as external possessive constructions

- (6) a. Tyi k-choñ-**be** karu aj-Rosa. b. Tyi k-ilä-**be** i-chich aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-sell-APPL car NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
 'I sold Rosa a car.' 'I saw Rosa's sister.'

Basics on ditransitive constructions

- ▶ The applicative *-be* can be suffixed to transitive verb roots in (7), adding an argument to the verb
- ▶ The basic order is usually V-Theme-Goal

(7) Tyi k-choñ-**be** [THEME karu] [GOAL aj-Rosa].
 PFV ERG.1-sell-APPL car NC-Rosa
 'I sold Rosa a car.'

- ▶ Agreement indexes the indirect object

(8) Tyi i-choñ-b-**oñ** karu.
 PFV ERG.3-sell-APPL-ABS.1 car
 'He sold me a car.'

- ▶ Themes of ditransitives may only be third person

-be as a low applicative

- ▶ Diagnostics provide evidence that this is a *low* applicative in the sense of Pylkkänen (2008).
- ▶ The applicative only appears with transitive verbs and is ungrammatical with unaccusative and unergative constructions

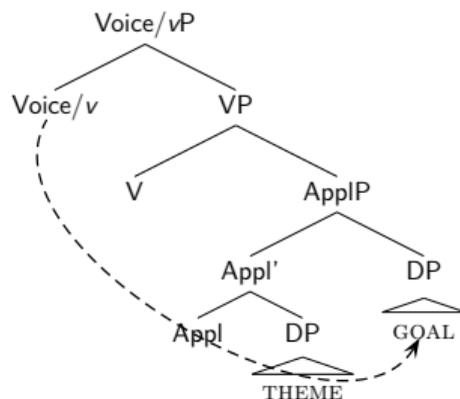
- (9) a. *Tyi chäm-**b-oñ** aj-Wañ. b. *Tyi i-cha'le-**b-oñ** k'ay.
 PFV die-APPL-ABS.1 POSS.1-cow PFV ERG.3-LV-APPL-ABS.1 song
 Intended 'Juan died on me.' Intended: 'He sang for me.'

- ▶ See also discussion in Coon & Henderson (2010); Little (2019)

Ditransitive structure in Ch'ol

- ▶ I therefore adopt (10) for applicative structures in Ch'ol (see also (Coon & Henderson, 2010))
- ▶ Voice/*v* Agrees with/licenses the argument in Spec,ApplP (see discussion in Nie (2020) for nominal licensors and Applicatives)
- ▶ For expository purposes, I place the specifier of ApplP on the right to derive word order

(10) Ditransitive



External possession in Ch'ol

Possession and external possession in Ch'ol

- **Possessors** follow **possesseees** as in (11) and possesseees appear with a **possessive prefix**

(11) **i-karu** **aj-Rosa**
 POSS.3-car NC-Rosa
 'Rosa's car'

- In external possessive constructions with *-be*, the possessor also follows the possessee

(12) Tyi k-ilä-**be** **i-chich** **aj-Rosa**.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
 'I saw Rosa's sister.'

- Note that possessive marking on the theme in (12) is obligatory:

(13) *Tyi k-ilä-be **chich** aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL sister NC-Rosa
 Intended: 'I saw Rosa's sister.'

External possession in Ch'ol

- External possession occurs with alienably possessed nouns, inalienably possessed nouns and part-whole structures, the last which appears with a relational suffix

- (14)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| a. | Tyi k-boñ- be | iy-otyoty | aj-Rosa. | |
| | PFV ERG.1-paint-APPL | POSS.3-house | NC-Rosa | |
| | 'I painted Rosa's house.' | | | alienable |
| b. | Tyi a-mek'- be | iy-erañ | aj-Rosa. | |
| | PFV ERG.2-hug-APPL | POSS.3-sibling | NC-Rosa | |
| | 'You hugged Rosa's sibling.' | | | alienable |
| c. | Tyi k-tsil- be | i-pisl-el | k-bujk. | |
| | PFV ERG.1-rip-APPL | POSS.3-fabric | POSS.1-shirt | |
| | 'I ripped the fabric of my shirt.' | | | part-whole |

External possession

- ▶ In external possessive structures, the possessor controls agreement on the verb; note that third person agreement is null and not marked in the glosses

(15) a. Tyi y-ilä-b-oñ k-chich.
 PFV ERG.3-see-APPL-ABS.1 POSS.1-sister
 'He saw my sister'

b. Tyi k-ilä-b-ety a-chich.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL-ABS.2 POSS.2-sister
 'I saw your sister.'

- ▶ The possessor is not affected in these external possessive constructions—it can be inanimate or also deceased; evidence that the possessor does not receive a new theta role

(16) Ta' k-xul-be iy-ok mesa.
 PFV ERG.1-break-APPL POSS.3-leg table
 'I broke the table's leg.'

Adverb placement

- ▶ Adverbs may intervene between goals and themes as well as possessors and possessee in *external* possessive contexts

- (17) a. Tyi k-choñ-**be** karu **abi** aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-sell-APPL car yesterday NC-Rosa
 'I sold Rosa a car yesterday.'
- b. Tyi k-ilä-**be** i-chich **abi** aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister yesterday NC-Rosa
 'I saw Rosa's sister yesterday.'

- ▶ Otherwise, adverbs cannot intervene in internal possession constructions

- (18) *Tyi k-ilä [DP i-chich **abi** aj-Rosa].
 PFV ERG.1-see POSS.3-sister yesterday NC-Rosa
 Intended 'I saw Rosa's sister yesterday.'

Interim summary

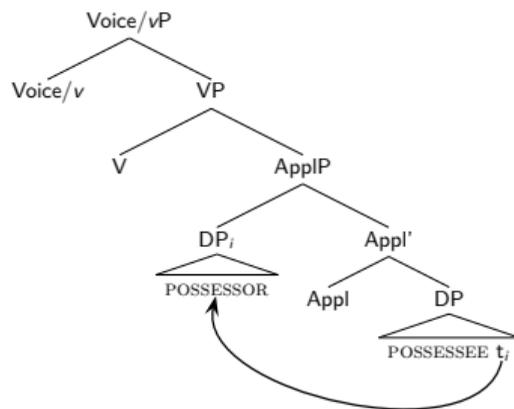
- ▶ External possessors pattern with indirect objects of ditransitives in that they:
 - ▶ Follow the theme
 - ▶ Control agreement
 - ▶ Adverbs may intervene between theme and IO/possessor
 - ▶ Additional diagnostic on depictive secondary predicates can be found in the appendix

A possessor raising analysis

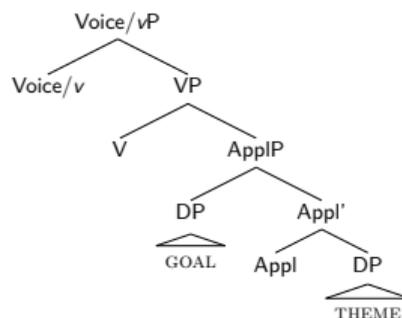
A case of possessor raising

- I analyze the external possessive constructions in Ch'ol as a case of possessor raising as in (19) (e.g., described in Aissen (1987); Deal (2013, 2017)); compare to the ditransitive structure in (20) (e.g., Keenan (1972); Aissen (1979, 1987); Davies (1986); Deal (2013, 2017) i.a.)

(19) Possessor Raising



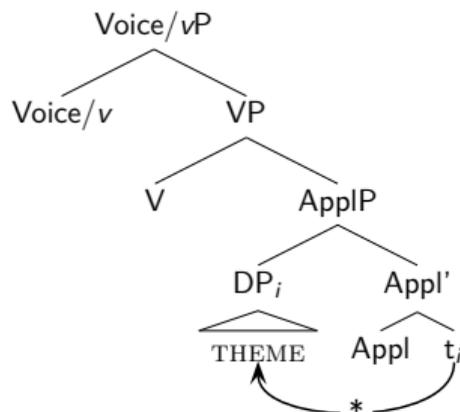
(20) Ditransitive



Why does the possessor move?

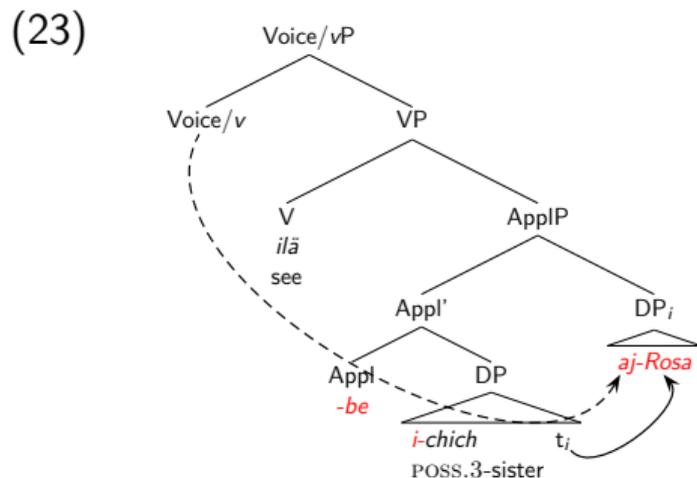
- ▶ I propose that this movement is A-movement, triggered by a nominal/D feature on Appl à la Van Urk (2015)
- ▶ The possessor, and not the whole theme DP, must raise because if the theme DP raises it would incur an antilocality violation as the complement of Appl would be moving to its own specifier

(21)



Possessor raising: an example

- (22) Tyi k-ilä-**be** i-chich aj-Rosa.
 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
 'I saw Rosa's sister.'



► Accounts for:

- Possessor morphology on the theme DP
- Verbal agreement with possessor in Spec,ApplP
- Possibility for adjuncts to appear between possessee and possessor

A-bar extraction

Extraction

- ▶ However, in (24) when the possessor and possessee move via A-bar movement to the preverbal focus position, they behave as expected for a *DP constituent* (similar data is noted in Aissen (1987) for Tsotsil, another Mayan language)

(24) [I-chich aj-Rosa]_i tyi k-ilä-be t_i.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister].'

- ▶ In ditransitive constructions, it is not possible to move the theme and indirect object

(25) *[Karu aj-Rosa]_i tyi k-choñ-be t_i.
 car NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 Intended: 'I sold [_{FOC} Rosa a car].'

Focus movement

- ▶ (26) is a felicitous response to 'Who did you see?' and 'Did you see Eve's sister?' with the latter answer beginning with No...then (26)
- ▶ Importantly, (26) is a felicitous answer to 'Did you see Rosa's brother?' 'No...(26)' where the possessee is focussed

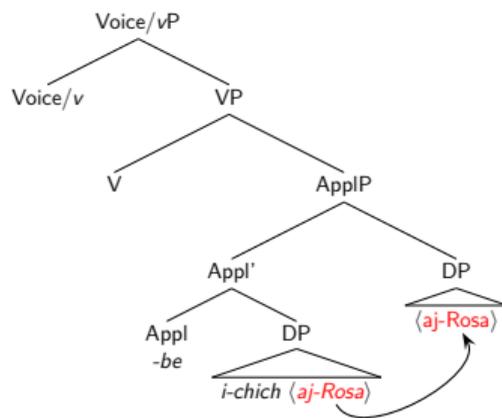
(26) [I-chich aj-Rosa]_i tyi k-ilä-**be** t_i.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 'I saw Rosa's sister.'

- ▶ Evidence that (26) can encode focus of the whole theme DP and contrastive focus of the possessor
- ▶ In Ch'ol, as in other Mayan languages, movement to the preverbal position is associated with focus (Vázquez Álvarez, 2011)

Copy theory of movement and external possession

- ▶ Under a possessor raising construction, the possessor moves to Spec,ApplP and leaves behind a copy of itself in the theme DP
- ▶ In the postverbal cases we went over, this means that the structurally higher copy in Spec,Appl is pronounced and the one in DP is deleted and not realized

(27)

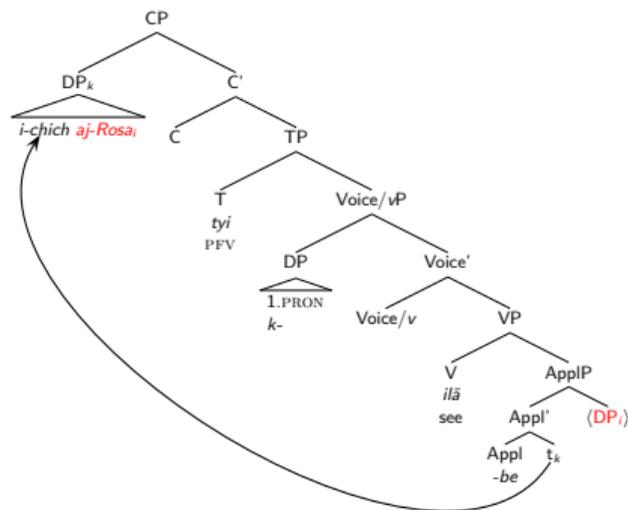


DP-internal copy of possessor is pronounced

- ▶ A-bar movement of the theme DP triggers pronunciation of the DP-internal possessor

(28) a. [I-chich **aj-Rosa**]_k tyi k-ilä-be t_k.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister]'

b.



Copies of the possessor

- ▶ If the possessor has moved to Spec,AppIP in (29), then it should not be possible to have an applied argument occupy Spec,AppIP if the possessor is there, borne out in (30)

(29) [I-chich aj-Rosa]_k tyi k-ilä-**be** t_k.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister]'

(30) a. *[I-chich aj-Rosa]_k tyi k-ilä-**b-ety** t_k.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL-ABS.2
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister] for you.'

b. *[I-chich aj-Rosa]_k tyi k-ilä-**be** **alob** t_k.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL boy
 'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister] for the boy.'

- ▶ These data support that in these instances the possessor has moved and it is the DP-internal copy that has been pronounced

Rooted in Aissen (1987)

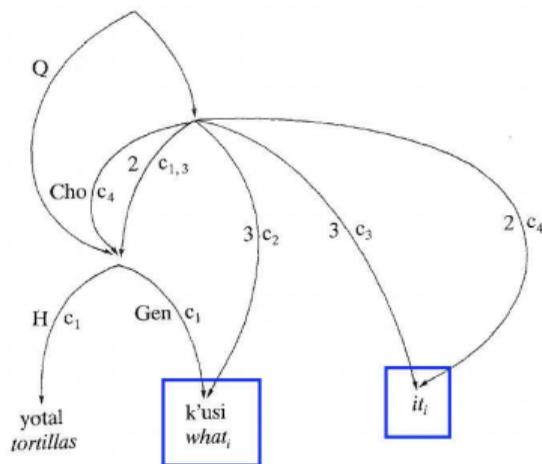
- Aissen (1987) describes similar facts and gives a similar analysis for Tsotsil, a related Mayan language of the same subgrouping, where *k'usi* is the possessor (what) and *yotal* (tortilla) is the possessee

(31) [*K'usi y-ot-al*]_k *ch-a-pak'an-be* t_k ?
 what POSS.3-tortilla-POSS ICP-ERG.2-make-APPL

'What are you making tortillas for?'

Tsotsil (Aissen, 1987: 164) with modified glosses

(29)



- Under an Arc Pair Grammar framework, *k'usi* ascends to indirect object position from its position within the nominal object, leaves a copy
- The copy is pronominalized, leaving the object-internal possessor to be pronounced

Against a multiple spell-out account

- ▶ Boskovic & Nunes (2007) provide a derivational account that assumes multiple spell-out to derive remnant movement, show in (32)
 - ▶ TP spelled out first, lower copy of 'her poetry' is deleted so movement of the VP later in the derivation unaware of that material

(32) ...and published, her poetry was.

- a. ...and [XP [VP published ~~her poetry~~] [X' [TP her poetry [T' was [published ~~her poetry~~]]]]]
- b. ...and [XP [VP published ~~her poetry~~] [X' [TP her poetry [T' was [~~published her poetry~~]]]]]

- ▶ The Ch'ol data pose a challenge to such an account: if the possessor raises from the DP object and a copy of the possessor inside the object DP is deleted, it would be difficult to derive the A-bar extraction data, as once the object moves to Spec,CP the lower copy of the theme DP is oblivious to the deleted content

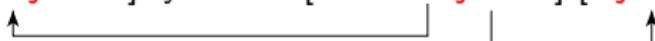
Which copy gets pronounced

- ▶ For the Ch'ol data, it is not possible to rely on c-command to predict which copy gets pronounced:
 - ▶ After A-bar movement of the theme DP, the DP-internal possessor does not c-command the copy in Spec,AppIP
- ▶ I propose that Ch'ol C has an EPP feature and is “associated with phonetic content”, and its specifier must be spelled out (as per the analysis in Landau (2006) where certain positions are associated with phonetic content)
 - ▶ Focus features trigger phrasal movement to Spec,CP and that phrase must be spelled out¹

(33) [I-chich aj-Rosa]_k tyi k-ilä-be t_k.
 POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa PFV ERG.1-see-APPL

'I saw [_{FOC} Rosa's sister]'

- a. [Ichich ajRosa] tyi kiläbe [ichich ajRosa] [ajRosa]
 b. [Ichich ajRosa] tyi kiläbe [~~ichich~~ ajRosa] [ajRosa]



- ▶ Otherwise, when postverbal, the raised possessor is spelled out in Spec,AppIP (asymmetric c-command relation applies)

¹See, however, Clemens et al. (2017) for more on focus and word order.

Implications

- ▶ In this talk:
 - ▶ I have argued that the Ch'ol external possession facts fit well with a possessor raising analysis
 - ▶ I applied a copy theory of movement to derive the A-bar extraction facts
- ▶ The last point raises some questions on what gets pronounced more generally
 - ▶ For A-bar extraction of the theme in possessor raising structures, the DP-internal copy must be pronounced—suggestive of a ban on remnant movement in the language
 - ▶ However, certain theories of word order rely on remnant movement to derive VSO (e.g., Massam (2000); Coon (2010))—how do these two analyses fit together? I note that predicate-fronting is not the same type of movement as the A' movement discussed here
- ▶ Finally, this adds to work on the crosslinguistic typology of external possessive structures, possessor raising and where possessors can be introduced/pronounced more generally in languages of the Americas (e.g. Deal 2013: Nez Perce; Tyler 2020: Choctaw)

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Glosses

Glosses: 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; ABS: absolutive; APPL: applicative; ERG: ergative NC: name classifier; PREP: preposition; PFV: perfective aspect marker

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External possession and binding

- ▶ I additionally discuss the difference exhibited by the following minimal pair, as discussed in Coon & Henderson (2010)

- (34)
- a. Ta' i-boñ-**o** iy-otyoty aj-Rosa.
PFV ERG.3-paint-TV POSS.3-house NC-Rosa
'Rosa_i painted her_{i/*k} (own) house.'
- b. Ta' i-boñ-**be** iy-otyoty aj-Rosa.
PFV ERG.3-paint-APPL POSS.3-house NC-Rosa
'Rosa_i painted her_{*i/k} (somebody else's) house.'

- ▶ The applicative morpheme makes coreference with the possessor in object position and subject impossible

Wh-extraction

- ▶ Furthermore, while *wh*-movement of the indirect object is grammatical, *wh*-movement of the possessor is not in the Tila dialect

- (35) a. Maxki_i tyi a-choñ-be karu t_i?
who PFV ERG.2-sell-APPL car
'To whom did you sell a car?'
- b. *Maxki_i tyi aw-ilä-be i-chich t_i?
who PFV ERG.2-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
'Whose sister did you see?'

Tila Ch'ol

- ▶ The last piece of data however seem to be an instance of dialectal variation

Dialectal variation

- ▶ While *wh*-extraction of the possessor was not possible in the dialect presented earlier, it is possible in another dialect as in (36)

(36) **Majki**; ta' a-k'el-be i-chich t_i ?
who PFV ERG.2-see-APPL POSS.3-sister
'Whose sister did you see?'

Tumbalá Ch'ol (Little, 2020a: 12)

- ▶ In general, however, the Tumbalá dialect allows more instances of left branch extraction than the Tila dialect (Vázquez Martínez & Little, 2020; Little, 2020b)
- ▶ Note that *-be* must be present in (37) in order to extract the possessor

(37) ***Majki**; ta' a-k'ele i-chich t_i ?
who PFV ERG.2-see POSS.3-sister
Intended 'Whose sister did you see?'

Tumbalá Ch'ol (Little, 2020a: 1)

- ▶ Preliminary data on the Tumbalá dialect suggest that only *wh*-possessors are possible for extraction in (36), paralleling the facts about extraction from DPs

Extraction of the external possessor

- ▶ Extraction of an external possessor seem to parallel data exhibited in the nominal domain
- ▶ *Wh*-possessors are possible targets for A-bar extraction in external possessive structures for Tumbalá speakers but non-interrogative possessors seem to not be
 - ▶ There may be a dialectal divide, with Tila speakers less likely to accept discontinuous NPs

Depictive secondary predication

- ▶ Pylkkänen (2008) uses diagnostics such as secondary predication and resultatives to diagnose low versus high applicatives
- ▶ English, which has a low applicative, allows direct objects to control secondary predicates, but not indirect objects

(38) *John told Mary the news drunk. (Pylkkänen, 2008: 22)

- ▶ The reading in (38) is ruled out in Pylkkänen (2008)'s analysis because depictives are semantically incompatible with modifying ²
- ▶ Depictives can modify themes in double object constructions

(39) I bought John the VCR new. (Pylkkänen, 2008: 27)

²Depictives for Pylkkänen modify predicates of $\langle e, st \rangle$ and Appl' is type $\langle e \langle \langle e, st \rangle \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$

Depictives in Ch'ol

- ▶ Pylkkänen (2008) uses depictives (as shown on previous slide) and resultatives as diagnostics for high versus low applicatives
- ▶ In Ch'ol, depictive secondary predicates surface in a preverbal position as in (40)

(40) [_{PRED} Ch'ijiyem] tyi käyle-yoñ.
lonely PFV remain-ABS.1
'I was left lonely.'

- ▶ I use depictives as a diagnostic; resultatives seem to not be grammatical in the preverbal position (Vázquez Álvarez, 2011: 365)

Depictives in Ch'ol

- ▶ Depictives in preverbal position may modify the agent or the theme, but *not* the indirect object³

(41) a. [PRED Tyijikña] tyi k-choñ-b-ety karu.
happy PFV ERG.1-sell-APPL-ABS.2 car
'I sold you a car happy.' Can only be that I am happy

b. [PRED We'ekña] tyi k-äk'-ety muty.
crying PFV ERG.1-give.APPL-ABS2 chicken
'I gave you the chicken crying.' The chicken is crying, I could be too, but definitely not you

- ▶ Evidence for a low applicative (Pylkkänen, 2008)

³Vázquez Álvarez (2011) states that indirect objects can be controllers of secondary predicates, however, it seems that his example may be biclausal.

Depictives

- ▶ As seen with ditransitive constructions, secondary predicates can only modify the theme and not possessor

(42) a. *_[PRED Tyijikña] tyi k-ilä-be i-chich aj-Rosa.
happy PFV ERG.1-see-APPL POSS.3-sister NC-Rosa
Intended 'I saw [Rosa]'s sister happy.' (Can only mean [Rosa's sister] is happy)

b. *_[PRED Tyijikña-yety] tyi k-ilä-b-ety a-chich.
happy-ABS2 PFV ERG.1-see-APPL-ABS2 POSS.2-sister
Intended 'I saw your sister happy (you are happy).'

- ▶ (42b) sounds biclausal; as the speaker wanted to add the complementizer *che* for the meaning 'You are happy that I saw your sister'