

# External Applicatives and Raising-to-Object/ECM \*

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## 1 Introduction

- The morpheme *-hqa* in Kashaya (Pomoan) has been analyzed as a CAUSATIVE morpheme based on its use in (1) (Oswalt, 1961, 1977).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. *mo -w*  
run -ABS  
'He ran'
- b. *mo -hqa -w*  
run -hqa -ABS  
'He made/let someone run' (also, 'He drove')

- *-hqa* can productively attach to any verbal predicate (iteratively) to yield a causative/permissive reading.
- However, there are other circumstances where *-hqa* appears which are not transparently related to this causative use.

### 1. Psych-verbs:

- *-hqa* (plus a reflexive *-ic'*) may attach to any psychological predicate, often with no clear semantic distinction.

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\*I thank Anita Silva for sharing her time and language with me. I also thank Gene Buckley for introducing me to Kashaya, as well as giving me assistance with both glossing and analysis. I have benefitted from conversations with the following people: Anoop Mahajan, Yael Sharvit, Pam Munro, Margit Bowler, Philippe Coté-Boucher, and Laura Kalin.

<sup>1</sup>All examples were collected by myself unless otherwise noted. The orthography used here is the standard orthography in which /:/ represents a long vowel, /t/ is an apico-alveolar stop, /c/ is an affricate [tʃ], and ʃ is a fricative [ʃ]. /C'/ is an ejective consonant.

Note that the Absolute suffix is not related to ergative/absolutive. It is a semantically bleached verbal suffix.

1/2/3 = 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> person	ABS = absolutive	APPL = applicative	CAUS = causative
CL = clitic	DAT = dative	DET = determiner	DS = different-subject
DIR = directive	DISTR = distributive	ERG = ergative	FACT = factive
GEN = genitive	INFER = inferential	LOG = logophor	NOM = nominative
NFV = non-final verb	OBJ = objective	PERF = perfective	PLAGT = plural agent
POST = postposition	REFL = reflexive	SS = same-subject	sg/pl = singular/plural

- (2) a. *kuška c<sup>h</sup>iya-c' -e· to*  
 cat be.afraid -NFV 1sg<sub>obj</sub>  
 'I'm afraid of cats'
- b. *kuška c<sup>h</sup>iya-c' -hqa -ic' -e· ʔa·*  
 cat be.afraid -hqa -REFL -NFV 1sg<sub>nom</sub>  
 'I'm afraid of cats'

## 2. Subordination

- Certain clausal complements, take *-hqa* on the lower predicate if the matrix and subordinate subject are not co-referential. (Note that there is a *-hqa* on the matrix verb because *da-* is a psych-verb.)

- (3) a. *Anita [ qom -ʔ ] da· -hqa -ic' -∅*  
 A swim -ABS want -hqa -REFL -ABS  
 'Anita wants to have a bath'
- b. *Conrad [ Anita -to qom -hqa -w ] da· -hqa -ic' -∅*  
 C A -OBJ swim -hqa -ABS want -hqa -REFL -ABS  
 'Conrad wants Anita to have a bath'

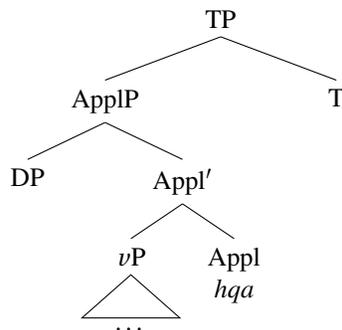
## 3. "Accidental" readings

- With certain predicates, affixation of *-hqa* results in the subject being viewed as "accidentally" affecting the event.

- (4) a. *John ca·ška ʔel ʔahay wi p<sup>h</sup>is'a· -bi -w*  
 J dish DET<sub>obj</sub> stick POST break- INFER -ABS  
 'John broke the dish with a stick' (intentionally)
- b. *John ca·ška ʔel ʔahay wi p<sup>h</sup>is'a· -hqa -bi -w*  
 J dish DET<sub>obj</sub> stick POST break -hqa -INFER -ABS  
 'John broke the dish with a stick' (accidentally, while swinging a stick around)

### Analysis

- hqa* is the realization of a (semantically vacuous) APPLICATIVE head merged above *vP*. It can license an EXTERNAL ARGUMENT (following Cuervo (2003); Rivero (2009); Kim (2011a,b, 2012)).



- A phonologically null Voice head is responsible for the Agent/Causer semantics (Kratzer, 1996; Kim, 2012).
- The purpose of this talk will be
  1. to show that the Agent/Causer semantics is not associated with *-hqa*
  2. to describe how analyzing *-hqa* as an Applicative accounts for its full distribution.

## 1.1 Roadmap

- background
- overview of psych-verbs
- diagnosing Voice through agreement
- diagnosing Voice through binding
- summary and interaction with logophoricity
- Raising-to-Object/ECM and causatives as applicative structures
- wrap-up

## 2 Background

- Northern, CA; extremely endangered.
- Predominantly verb-final
- Pro-drop
- Highly polysynthetic; the verb bears most of the information
- Two cases NOMINATIVE and OBJECTIVE. Objective covers everything that's not nominative.

## 3 Psych-verbs

- All verbs in Kashaya which express a psychological state may occur in a “plain-form” or a “HQA-form” – the latter often with reflexive *-ic'*.

- (5) a. *kuška c<sup>h</sup>iya-c' -e· to*  
       cat be.afraid -NFV 1sg<sub>obj</sub>  
       'I'm afraid of cats'
- b. *kuška c<sup>h</sup>iya-c' -hqa -ic' -e· ?a*  
       thing be.afraid -APPL -REFL -NFV 1sg<sub>nom</sub>  
       'I'm afraid of cats'

- An overt subject is always in the objective case with the plain-form, (5a).
- An overt subject is always in the nominative case with the HQA-form, (5b).
- I propose that *-hqa* in these contexts is merely a valency increaser, adding a core argument to the verb, but not altering the semantic interpretation.
- As such, the alternations in (5) are analogous to psych-verb alternations seen in other languages, such as Hindi (also Korean, Italian, K'iche' (Mayan) among others).

(6) Hindi<sup>2</sup>a. **intransitive auxiliary, dative subject**

*us-ko merī yād āyi*  
 3sg-DAT 1sg.GEN remembrance come.PERF  
 'He remembered me'

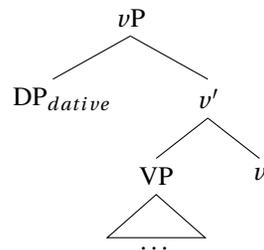
b. **transitive auxiliary, ergative subject**

*us-ne mujhe yād kiyā*  
 3sg-ERG 1sg.DAT remembrance do.PERF  
 'He remembered me'

- The phrases in (6) are reported to be semantically equivalent. The dative case is associated with an intransitive (unaccusative) auxiliary, while the ergative case is associated with a transitive auxiliary.

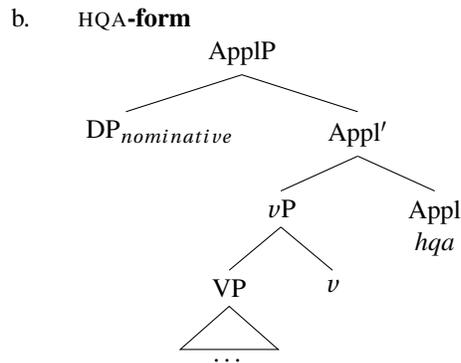
– A valency alternation co-varies with a case alternation

- While homophony of case forms masks the difference between dative and accusative cases in Kashaya, I assume that the subject of the plain-form is a dative-subject.<sup>3</sup>
- And I also assume that the structural difference between the choice of auxiliary *-hqa* is tied to the case-marking: *vP*-internal arguments are dative, and *vP*-external arguments are “canonically” marked.

(7) a. **plain-form**

<sup>2</sup>Thanks to Anoop Mahajan for this data

<sup>3</sup>Although nothing crucial depends on this assumption.



- That said, the HQA-form is sometimes associated with a slightly different meaning.

plain-form		HQA-form	
<i>duʔya-qad-</i>	'remember'	<i>duʔya-qad+hqa</i>	'think about' (or 'remember')
<i>da-</i>	'want'	<i>da+hqa</i>	'like' (or 'want')
<i>ʃuʔu-m-</i>	'forget'	<i>ʃuʔu-m+hqa</i>	'leave behind (intentionally)' (or 'forget')
<i>muhk<sup>h</sup>un-</i>	'be embarrassed'	<i>muhk<sup>h</sup>un+hqa</i>	'be antisocial' (or 'be embarrassed')

- I'm calling this meaning the AGENTIVE-READING, since it entails that the subject is acting more agentively, or is more in control of the action. That is, there is an Agent theta-role.

– Because of the correlation between the agentive-reading and the presence of *-hqa*, we might conclude that *-hqa* is in fact licensing this Agent-role, as we would expect from a causative morpheme.

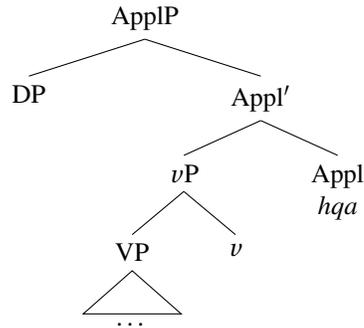
- While the HQA-form often implies this reading, it is not guaranteed.

– That is, the HQA-form can vary between the agentive and non-agentive reading.

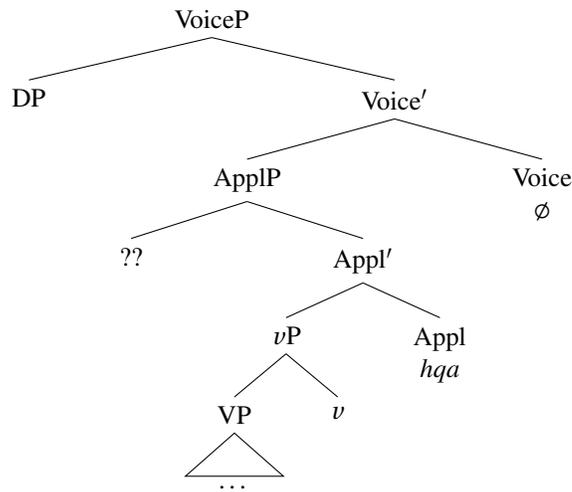
- (8) *Conrad kafé da -hqa -ic' -∅*  
 C coffee want -APPL -REFL -ABS  
 a. 'Conrad wants coffee'  
 b. 'Conrad likes coffee'

- I argue that the difference lies in the availability of a phonologically null Voice head merged above Appl.

(9) a. **non-agentive-reading**



b. **agentive-reading**



- Something needs to be said about what Appl is introducing in this structure.
  - The purpose here is to disassociate the Agent/Causer semantics from the *-hqa*.
- Thus, there are three distinct structures for psych-verbs, and the difficulty comes in teasing apart the three distinct positions available for the subject.

	subject case	agentive-reading
1. <i>vP</i>	objective	no
2. HQA[ <i>vP</i> ]	nominative	no
3. Voice[HQA[ <i>vP</i> ]]	nominative	yes

Table 1

- In the next two sections, I will concentrate on showing the difference between the latter two structures.

- Crucially, I will show that the Agentive/Causer theta-role is not tied to *-hqa*
- Following that, I'll propose a tentative distinction between the first two structures.
- Lastly, I'll show how treating *-hqa* as an Applicative may account for the other occurrences.

### 3.1 Diagnosing Voice through agreement

- PLURAL AGENT AGREEMENT: The number of an Agent subject is reflected through agreement on the verb (Oswalt, 1961, p.154).

#### – Plural Agent Agreement

Change all /d/s starting from the end of the word up to and including a final /d/ in the root into /c'/.<sup>4</sup>

- Unless there's a /d/ in the verb, the Plural Agent has no overt reflex. But we can ensure a /d/ by adding a durative suffix.

(10) a. **Non-agentive subject**

*kató·te mo -ht -ad -ǎ*  
 marble run -PLMVT -DUR -FACT  
 'The marbles are rolling'

(Oswalt, 1961, p. 154)

b. **Agentive subject**

*mo -ht -ac' -ǎ*  
 run -PLMVT -DUR.PLAGT -FACT  
 'They are running'

(Oswalt, 1961, p. 154)

- Under the assumption that Agents/Causers are merged in VoiceP (and other theta-roles aren't) Plural Agent agreement can only obtain if the subject has been merged in VoiceP.

Prediction

1. the plain-form should never mark Plural Agent
  2. the HQA-form should variably mark Plural Agent  
 → Furthermore if Plural Agent morphology is present, only the agentive-reading of the verb should be available.
- The plain-form may never mark Plural Agent.

(11) **plain-form**

- a. *c<sup>h</sup>iya·c' -id -e· yal*  
 be.afraid -DUR -NFV 1pl<sub>Obj</sub>  
 'We are afraid'
- b. *\*c<sup>h</sup>iya·c' -wac' -e· yal*  
 be.afraid -DUR.PLAGT -NFV 1pl<sub>Obj</sub>  
 Intended: 'We are afraid'

<sup>4</sup>This is a slight simplification. See Buckley (1994, p. 140-) for in-depth discussion.

- The HQA-form may variably mark Plural Agent.

## (12) HQA-form

- a. *ya q'oʔo ʔel duʔya-qad -hqa -med -u*  
 1pl<sub>nom</sub> song DET<sub>Obj</sub> remember -APPL -DUR -ABS  
 'We are remembering the song'<sup>5</sup>
- b. *ya q'oʔo ʔel duʔya-qad -hqa -mec' -∅*  
 1pl<sub>nom</sub> song DET<sub>Obj</sub> remember -APPL -DUR.PLAGT -ABS  
 a. 'We are thinking about the song'  
 b. ~~'We are remembering the song'~~<sup>2</sup>

- With plural agent morphology on the verb, only the agentive-reading is available.<sup>6</sup>
- The semantic variation seen in the HQA-form has a structural basis, which is overtly manifested in agreement morphology.
  - And crucially, this variation is not tied to the presence or absence of *-hqa*.

## 3.2 Diagnosing Voice through binding

- Kashaya has a set of logophoric pronouns, which display classic anti-locality effects in that they cannot be bound within some “minimal” domain.
- Locally bound anaphora are marked with the suffix *-ic'*.

- (13) a. *John c<sup>h</sup>oq -ic' -bi -w*  
 John shoot -REFL -INFER -ABS  
 'John shot himself'
- b. *\*John tito c<sup>h</sup>oq -bi -w*  
 John LOG shoot -INFER -ABS  
 Intended: 'John shot himself'

- Binding a logophor under a psych-verb is acceptable, but the only interpretation available is the agentive-reading.

- (14) a. *John tito duʔya-qad -hqa -w*  
 John LOG remember -APPL -ABS  
 a. 'John is thinking about himself'  
 b. ~~'John remembers himself'~~
- b. *John duʔya-qad -hqa -ic' -ǎ*  
 John remember -APPL -REFL -FACT  
 a. 'John remembered himself'  
 b. 'John is thinking about himself'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Unfortunately, I do not know whether this phrase can mean “We are thinking about the song”, although I predict that it cannot.

<sup>6</sup>I remain agnostic about the mechanism for agreement.

<sup>7</sup>Both forms are fine here, presumably because the reflexive anaphor can be bound from either position. Note as well that the surface form of *hqa+ic'* with the reflexive reading [qayic'] is different that what we normally see with the HQA-form, [qac']. I have no explanation for this.

- This dichotomy is understandable if we suppose that merging an argument in VoiceP above ApplP is satisfactorily non-local for the purposes of binding.
  - We can perhaps insert a phase-boundary between Appl and Voice.
  - Or we can rely on some other Minimality concern. (I can elaborate on this later.)
- Either way, the difference between binding domains and agentive-reading is not tied to the presence or absence of *-hqa*.

### 3.3 Summary

- Both the agreement and binding diagnostics show that the agentive-reading is dependent on the availability of a null Voice, not *-hqa*.<sup>8</sup>

	subject case	agentive-reading?	Plural Agent agreement?	binds a logophor?
HQA-form	nominative	no	no	no
Voice + HQA-form	nominative	yes	yes	yes

Table 2

- Having established the distinction between Voice and *-hqa*, I will briefly address why I think psych-verbs have this alternation.
    - Q: If *-hqa* isn't doing anything, what's the difference between the plain-form and the HQA-form without Voice?
    - A: Logophoricity
  - There is a person restriction on psych-verbs:
    - 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects require the HQA-form.
- (15) a. *Beatrice ?ama· q<sup>h</sup>a?adid -hqa -w*  
 B thing dream -APPL -ABS  
 'Beatrice dreamed about something'
- b. \**Beatrice -to ?ama· q<sup>h</sup>a?adid -u*  
 B -OBJ thing dream -ABS  
 Intended: 'Beatrice dreamed about something'
- However, this restriction is lifted in all contexts in which logophoric pronouns are licensed.
    - *hšiyic'* is a verb meaning "to say". It requires its (indirect discourse) complement to be same-subject and always allows a logophoric pronoun.

<sup>8</sup>See Appendix 1 for more evidence of a null Voice morpheme.

- (16) *Gene* [ *tito kumi?da? tú·lse q<sup>h</sup>a?adi·d -u* ] *hšiyic'* - $\emptyset$   
 G LOG always candy dream -ABS say<sub>log</sub> -ABS  
 ‘Gene says that he always dreams about candy’

- I take this as evidence that *-hqa* is tied to the inherent logophoricity associated with psych-verbs.
  - They require knowledge about the mental state of the experiencer subject.
- Deal and O’Connor (2010), in analyzing Northern Pomo’s case-marking patterns (which are nearly identical to those here, minus the causative suffix), propose that accusative (=objective) case on the subject-experiencer is dependent on the perspective from which the context is being evaluated.
  - An objective-subject case can be used if the subject and the “judge” of the context are the same.
- So *-hqa* in these structures is required for “perspective shifting” reasons.
- In any event, having established that *-hqa* is not associated with the Agentive semantics, I will address in the next sections the implications of treating it as an Applicative head.

#### 4 Raising-to-Object/ECM

- It has been argued that *-hqa* functions as a “switch-reference” marker in certain contexts (Oswalt, 1977)
    - complement of *da·-*, “want”
    - complement to the optative suffix *-iš*, “I hope”
    - Purpose clauses, “in order to ...”
  - All these contexts involve tenseless, irrealis predicates.
  - If the matrix subject and the embedded subject are different, *-hqa* is used on the lower predicate, and the lower subject appears in the objective form.
- (17) a. *Pinocchio* [ *s’imun ?i -w* ] *da· -hqa -ic'* - $\emptyset$   
 P alive ASS -ABS want -APPL -REFL -ABS  
 ‘Pinocchio wants to be alive’
- b. *hi?baya ?em* [ *Pinocchio -to s’imun ?i -hqa -w* ] *da· -hqa -ic'* - $\emptyset$   
 man DET<sub>nom</sub> P -OBJ alive ASS -APPL -ABS want -APPL -REFL -ABS  
 ‘The man wants Pinocchio to be alive’

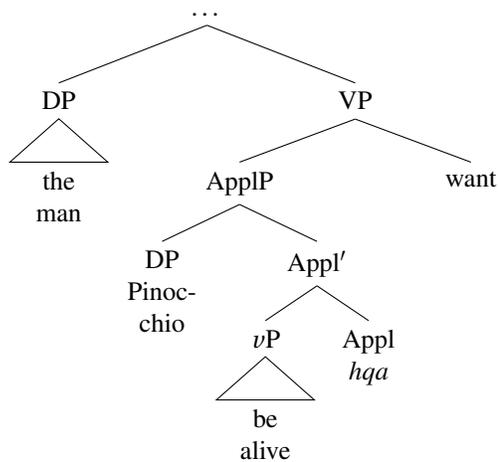
- Note first that the phrase in (17b) does not mean “The man wants to make/let Pinocchio be alive”.<sup>9</sup>
- Secondly, the embedded predicate is non-eventive. The predicate *s’imun ?iw* means “to be alive”, not “to come alive”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Although the two phrases are actually homophonous. This is because the causative form of the lower verb would have a subject which is co-referential with the matrix subject.

<sup>10</sup>The inchoative “come alive” is expressed with the derived verbal form *s’imunam-*.

- See appendix 4 for more evidence that *-hqa* does not come with an event.
- Lastly, the objective case on the lower subject is generally indicative of an ECM or Raising-to-Object (RtoO) construction, where the lower subject is an argument of both the embedded and the matrix predicate.
  - An unembedded subject of *s'imun ?iw* would be nominative.
- I analyze these structures as basically Low Applicatives, where the objectively case-marked lower subject is merged in the Applicative phrase.

(18) *The man wants Pinocchio to be alive*



- As an applicative argument, “Pinocchio” relates to both the lower and higher predicate.
- This use of *-hqa* is restricted to tenseless, irrealis complements, because Appl is merged above the *vP* but below any tense projection.
  - Predictions:
    1. we should never see any “higher” morphology (e.g., evidentials, tense, “true” switch-reference, etc) on these complements.
      - \* this prediction holds
    2. agreement and binding diagnostics from earlier should obtain as well.
      - \* this holds at least for the binding
      - \* I have no negative evidence for the agreement. (Although there are additional complications here as well.)

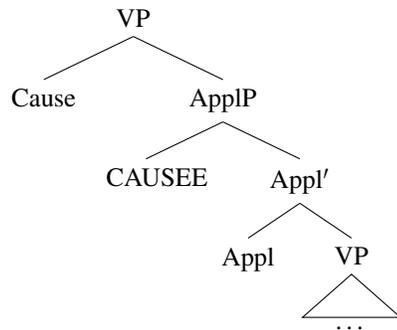
## 5 True causatives

- This analysis is quite similar to that proposed in Ippolito (2000) for Romance causatives. The causee is merged in spec-AppIP.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this analysis to my attention.

- See appendix 2 for evidence that the causee is not merged in VoiceP

(19) **Causative structure** (adapted from Ippolito (2000))



- The applicative analysis of causatives can thus apply RtoO/ECM structures.

## 6 Wrap up

- I have argued that *-hqa* should be treated as instantiating an Applicative head merged externally to the verb phrase.
  - cross-linguistic data for psych-verbs involving valency increases correlated with case alternations.
  - agreement and binding diagnostics divorce the agentive semantics from *-hqa*
  - RtoO/ECM are essentially Low Applicatives, as are “true” causatives.
- What remains unexplained is the interaction of this applicative with the logophorocity inherent to psych-verbs.

Thank you.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Null Voice

- Kashaya is a well-known Fluid-S (Dixon, 1994) or Active-Stative (Mithun, 1991) language.
- Case marking reflects the level of control/agentivity that the subject has over the action of the verb.

- (20) a. *John (mahtaqaṅ) c'e-lic' -bi -w*  
 J (on.purpose) fall -INFER -ABS  
 'John fell (on purpose)'
- b. *John-to (??mahtaqaṅ) c'e-lic' -bi -w*  
 J -OBJ (on.purpose) fall -INFER -ABS  
 'John fell (??accidentally on purpose)'

- The nominative subject in (20a) is compatible an adverbial modifier “on purpose”, while the objective subject in (20b) is not.
- This falls out from merging the agentive subject in VoiceP, an external projection.
- In contrast, the subject in (20b) is merged internally. Adverbial modification is unavailable.

### Appendix 2: causees are not in VoiceP

- We can apply the same agreement and binding diagnostics to show that the causee in a causative construction is not merged in VoiceP.
  - Plural Agent agreement should not be able to obtain with a causee, (21a)
  - A causee should not be able to bind a local logophor, (21b).<sup>12</sup>

- (21) a. **Plural Agent agreement**

*Gene p<sup>h</sup>ala yal ma-kina ?ana- šahya mo -ad -wad -hqa -hqa -med -u*  
 G too us car very fast run -DIR -DISTR -APPL -APPL -DUR -ABS  
 'Gene made us drive the cars too fast'

- b. **Binding**

*Anita John-to tito šu?u-m -hqa -ic' -hqa -w*  
 A J-OBJ LOG forget -APPL -REFL -APPL -ABS

- a. 'Anita made John forget her'  
 b. 'Anita made John forget himself<sup>2</sup>'

- Similar arguments have been put forth by Kim (2012) for the English *have*-causatives in (22).

- (22) John had Mary pick up the book

<sup>12</sup>Although it may be able to bind a logophor even more embedded. I have not attempted to get this phrase.

### Appendix 3: “Accidental”-readings

- The “accidental” use of *-hqa*, repeated in (23), applies to resultative predicates.

- (23) a. *John ca-ška ?el ?ahay wi p<sup>h</sup>is'a· -bi -w*  
 J dish DET<sub>obj</sub> stick POST break- INFER -ABS  
 ‘John broke the dish with a stick’ (intentionally)
- b. *John ca-ška ?el ?ahay wi p<sup>h</sup>is'a· -hqa -bi -w*  
 J dish DET<sub>obj</sub> stick POST break -hqa -INFER -ABS  
 ‘John broke the dish with a stick’ (accidentally, while swinging a stick around)

- This use is analogous to accidental-causatives studied in Cuervo (2003); Rivero (2009); Fernández-Soriano and Mendikoetxea (2013) a.o.

- (24) *Al tintorero se le quemaron los pantalones de Carolina*  
 the tintorero<sub>dat</sub> CL.REF CL.DAT burned.PL the trousers of Carolina
- a. ‘The dry-cleaner (accidentally) burned Carolina’s trousers’  
 (b. ‘The dry-cleaner had Carolina’s trousers burn on him’) (Cuervo, 2003, ex 74, p. 142)

- The reading in (24a) has been shown involve an applied argument high in the structure, which can be applied to resultative predicates to yield an accidental reading.

### Appendix 4: non-eventive *-hqa*

- *-hqa* doesn’t come with a causation event.
- This is demonstrable through embedded contexts.

- (25) a. *hayu ? -∅*  
 dog ASS -ABS  
 ‘It is a dog’ (Oswalt, 1977, p. 51)
- b. *hayu ?i -hqa -iš*  
 dog ASS -APPL -OPT  
 ‘I hope it is a dog’ (Oswalt, 1977, p. 51)

- Oswalt notes that this might be said if someone heard a rustling in the bushes, and s/he thinks it might be a dog or a bear.
- There is no event associated with the copular predicate here.