

Argument-Introducing Pluractionals: A New Way to Introduce Arguments

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1. Introduction¹

- ◆ **Puzzle:** the exponent /*(I)ʃ*/ in Kyrgyz (Turkic) is used in three different syntactic configurations:

1. Assistive

- (1) Men Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-ʃ-tu-m.
I Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: ‘I helped Azim do (wash) the dishes.’

2. Reciprocal

- (2) Men Azim menen œb-yʃ-ty-m.
I Azim INSTR kiss-REC-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: ‘Me and Azim kissed each other.’

3. 3PL agreement

- (3) Kanu d̄ʒana Azim t̄ʃurka-ʃ-tu.
Kany and Azim run-PL-3PST
‘Kany and Azim ran.’

Goal of the talk: First step towards tackling the syncretism of /*(I)ʃ*/

Main focus: Assistives in Kyrgyz and Kazakh (closely related Turkic languages)

Main questions: 1. How can we analyze the assistive?

2. How is the dative-argument introduced in the assistive?

3. What property makes the assistive similar to reciprocals and 3PL agreement?

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2. Some basics

- ◆ **Assistive**: descriptive term (Nedjalkov 2003, also see Abduvaliev 2015)
- ◆ Marked by /**(I)ʃ**/ on the verb
- ◆ The assistive introduces **the assistee** (always dative-marked)

(4) [ASSISTER Men] [ASSISTEE **Azim-ge**] idif-ter-di d̥ʒuu-f-tu-m.
[ASSISTER I] [ASSISTEE **Azim-DAT**] dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: ‘I helped Azim do the dishes.’

- ◆ The assistee is **an argument**: (For the relevant data see Appendix)
 - is always recoverable upon omission (Rákosi 2003, 2008, Siloni 2012)
 - even when omitted, it can license cross-sentential anaphora
 - can be the pivot for clefts (in contrast to adjuncts) (Gribanova 2013, Akkuş 2021)

Main claim: “Assistives” are a type of pluractionals (denote event plurality), which can also introduce an Agent argument

Roadmap: §2.1-2.2: Descriptive generalization; §3: Pluractional analysis; §4: Introducing the assistee; §5. Returning to the initial puzzle & conclusions.

2.1 The “Participation requirement”

Both the assister and the assistee have to perform the event denoted by the base predicate

(5) Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̥ʒuu-f-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
‘Kany helped Azim do (wash) the dishes.’

(a) # Birok Azim idif-ter-di d̥ʒuu-gan d̥ʒok.
but Azim dish-PL-ACC wash-PF NEG.SG3
‘But Azim didn’t do the dishes.’

(b) # Birok Kanu idif-ter-di d̥ʒuu-gan d̥ʒok.
but Kany dish-PL-ACC wash-PF NEG.SG3
‘But Kany didn’t do the dishes.’

2.2 The assistee is an Agent

- ◆ Assistees can't be
 - Patients (see (6)),
 - non-agentive causers (*wind*) (see (7))
 - instrumentals (*hammer*) (see (7))
- ◆ The assistee must bear the Agent theta-role (see *Azim* in (7))

(6) * Kanu **Azim-ge** dʒan-uf-tu. (assistee is **Patient**)
Kany **Azim-DAT** burn(intr)-ASST-3SG.PST
'Kany helped **Azim** burn(intr).'

(7) Kanu **Azim-ge** / ***jamal-ga** / ***balta-ga** vaza-nu sundur-uf-tu.
Kany **Azim-DAT** / ***wind-DAT** / ***hammer-DAT** vase-ACC break-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped *Azim* / *the wind/ *the hammer break the vase.'

2.3 Other argument introducing heads?

- ◆ Assistive is not Cause/AppI/Voice, the assistee is not introduced by Cause/AppI/Voice
- ◆ See a detailed discussion and data in the Appendix

2.3.1 The Assistive is not Cause

- ◆ Kyrgyz assistives do not have causative semantics
- ◆ I.e., no causing event present to combine with a noncausative predicate (following Pylkkänen's (2008: 83-84) definition of causatives)

2.3.2 The Assistive is not Applicative

- ◆ In Kyrgyz, similarly to many languages cross-linguistically, the low and high applicative cannot co-occur (Marantz 1993, Peterson 2007, Nie 2020)
- ◆ The assistive can co-occur with the applicative → **The assistive does not pattern with applicatives** [data in the Appendix]
- ◆ The assistee is an Agent → **Appl introduces Beneficiaries not Agents**

2.3.3 The Assistive is not Voice

- ◆ Voice-selecting adjuncts: (For more data see Appendix)
 - instrumentals (*with vacuum cleaner*) (Bruening 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Legate et al. 2020)
 - comitatives (*with the neighbor*) (Bruening 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Legate et al. 2020)
 - agent-oriented and mental-attitude adverbs (*patiently*) (Matsuoka 2013)
- (8) Men kofuna menen apam-a (kofuna menen) yj-dy tazala-f-tuu-m.
I neighbor INSTR my.mother-DAT (neighbor INSTR) house-ACC clean-ASST-PST-1SG
Yes: ‘[I together with the neighbor] helped my mother clean the house.’
Not: *‘I helped [my mother together the neighbor] clean the house.’

3. Assistives as Pluractionals

- ◆ Main claim: Assistives are a type of pluractionals

3.1 Pluractionals

- ◆ Predicates marked with a pluractional can only be used truthfully in plural-event contexts (Cusic 1981, Xrakovskij 1997, Lasersohn 1995, Garrett 2001, Wood 2007, Faller 2012, Henderson 2012)
 - ◆ There are different types of pluractionals:
 - Frequentative in (9)
 - Repetitive in (10)
- (9) X-i-tzuy-**ulöj**. (KAQCHIKEL, Henderson 2012: 2)
com-A1s-sit-**löj**
‘I sat many times.’
- (10) X-in-Ø-tzuy-**utzu**’. (KAQCHIKEL, Henderson 2012: 2)
com-E1s-A3s-sit-**Ca**’
‘I made the motion of sitting there repeatedly.’

3.1 Event plurality

Both the assister and the assistee have to perform the event denoted by the base predicate

(11) Kanu Azim-ge tʃurka-ʃ-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT run-ASST-3SG.PST
'Kany helped Azim run.'

(a) # Birok Azim tʃurka-gan dʒok.
but Azim run-PF NEG.3SG
'But Azim didn't run.'

(b) # Birok Kanu tʃurka-gan dʒok.
but Kany run-PF NEG.3SG
'But Kany didn't run.'

→ **Plurality of *running* events:** 1. Kany ran. 2. Azim ran.

- ◆ BUT: The assistive-pluractional **does not simply denote the plurality of events**
- ◆ If this was the case, we would predict that the assistive could be used in contexts (12)

(12a) Kany ran next to Azim, cheering for him.

(12b) Kany taught Azim how to run by showing him how to run. (They ran side by side.)

Kanu Azim-ge tʃurka-ʃ-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT run-ASST-3SG.PST
'Kany helped Azim run.'

- ◆ → The assistive **does not simply denote event plurality**
- ◆ Rather, the event plurality denoted by the assistive is defined some other way
- ◆ **Preview of the proposal:** The assistive denotes event plurality in such a way that it breaks the event denoted by the base predicate into two sets of subevents, divides the argument into proper parts, and then maps subevent sets onto unique argument-parts.

3.3 Assistives as pluractionals

- ◆ Let's take (13) as our model example

(13) Kanu Azim-ge bak-tu kuj-**uŋ**-tu.
 Kany Azim-DAT tree-ACC cut-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim cut down the tree.'

- ◆ To paraphrase (13): there was a unique tree on which Kany and Azim performed *cutting* subevents

- ◆ Crucially, some conditions holds between the event and the argument
 - the argument (*tree*) has proper parts
 - each *tree*-part is affected by proper event-parts of the *cutting* event
 → obeys the *mapping to subevents principle*

(14) θ shows *mapping to subevents* (MSE(θ)), iff
 $\forall x,y \in U_P \forall e \in U_E [\theta(x,e) \wedge y <_P x \rightarrow \exists e' [e' <_E e \wedge \theta(y, e')]]$

- for every proper *tree* part, there is a corresponding unique *cutting* subevent

(15) θ shows *uniqueness of events* (UE(θ)), iff
 $\forall x,y \in U_P \forall e \in U_E [\theta(x,e) \wedge y \leq_P x \rightarrow \exists! e' [e' \leq_E e \wedge \theta(y, e')]]$

- There are *cutting* subevents, and there is a unique subevent corresponding to each *tree*-parts

(16) θ shows *mapping to subobjects* (MSO(θ)), iff
 $\forall x \in U_P \forall e, e' \in U_E [\theta(x,e) \wedge e' <_E e \rightarrow \exists y [y <_P x \wedge \theta(y, e')]]$

(17) θ shows *uniqueness of objects* (UO(θ)), iff
 $\forall x \in U_P \forall e, e' \in U_E [\theta(x,e) \wedge e' \leq_E e \rightarrow \exists! y [y \leq_P x \wedge \theta(y, e')]]$

(Krifka 1998: 12-13)

→ These are the same principles that define *incremental* relation between an event and its argument (Krifka 1998)

→ **Prerequisite for the assistive to apply:** There must be incremental relation between the event and its argument

- ◆ The contribution of the assistive:
 - The assistive defines two sets of subevents
 - in such a way that each subevent is mapped to a unique proper part of the argument

(18) Denotation of the assistive (1st version)
 $\lambda V_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda e_s, e_s' \exists e_s'', x_e, x_e', x_e'' [e, e' <_E e'' (V(e'')) \wedge x, x' <_P x'' \wedge \theta(e'', x'') \wedge \theta(e, x) \wedge \theta(e', x')]$

- ◆ The proposal at work:
 - Event denoted by the predicate: *cutting* event
 - Argument: *the tree*
 - Dividing the path argument into proper parts: *tree-part1*, *tree-part2*
 - Dividing the *cutting* event into proper event parts: *cutting* subevent1, *cutting* subevent2
 - Theta role: *cutting* subevent1 → *tree-part1*, *cutting* subevent2 → *tree-part2*

(19) Azim had to run 5km. There was an option that Kany could run some of the distance for him, so she ran 2km out of Azim’s 5km.

Kanw Azim-ge t̄jurka-f-tu-m.
 Kany Azim-DAT run-ASST-PST-1SG
 ‘Kany helped Azim run.’

- Event denoted by the predicate: *running* event
- Argument: 5km
- Dividing the path argument into proper parts: 2km, 3km
- Dividing the *running* event into 2 sets of subevents: *running* subevent1, *running* subevent2
- Theta role: *running* subevent1 → 2km, *running* subevent2 → 3km

3.3.1 Prediction 1

Prediction1: the assistive is disallowed with verbs lacking an internal argument, as there is no argument to divide into subparts and then to map sets of subevent onto them
 → This prediction is borne out

- ◆ Predicates without an internal argument are incompatible with the assistive

(20) * D̄zanara bala-ga ukta-f-tu.
 Janara child-DAT sleep-ASST-3PST
 Intended: ‘Janara helped the child sleep.’

- ◆ Activities such as *run*, *swim*, *drive* etc., are only compatible with the assistive if they take a path argument (5km in (19))

3.3.2 Prediction 2

Prediction2: The assistive is only available with predicates that have an incremental relation between the event and the internal argument
→ This prediction is borne out

- ◆ *Drive a car, push a cart*, etc. are predicates where there is no incremental relation between the event and the internal argument (*car, cart*) (Krifka 1998, inter alia)
- ◆ The assistive is only felicitous with these predicates **if there is a path argument**, with which the event is in incremental relation

(21a) Kany drove Azim's car to make sure it runs well before letting Azim drive it.

(21b) Kany showed Azim how to drive a car (by driving Azim's car).

Kanu Azim-ge mafina ajda-f-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT car drive-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped Azim drive the car.'

(22) Azim had to drive from Bishkek to Yssyk-Kul, Kany went along and drove some of the distance.

Kanu Azim-ge mafina ajda-f-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT car drive-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped Azim drive the car.'

3.4 Distribution of tasks

- ◆ The assistee (*Azim*) has to do work than the assister (*Kany*)

(23) Azim cleaned more than half of the house, Kany cleaned the rest. (**Azim's contribution > Kany's contribution**)

Kanu Azim-ge yj-dy tazala-f-tu
Kany Azim-DAT house-ACC clean-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped Azim clean the house.'

(24) Azim cleaned half of the house, Kany cleaned the other half. (**Azim's contribution = Kany's contribution**)

?? Kanu Azim-ge yj-dy tazala-f-tu
Kany Azim-DAT house-ACC clean-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped Azim clean the house.'

(25) Azim cleaned less than half of the house, Kany cleaned the rest. (**Azim's contribution < Kany's contribution**)

Kanu Azim-ge yj-dy tazala-f-tu
 Kany Azim-DAT house-ACC clean-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim clean the house.'

(26) Denotation of the assistive (2nd version)

$\lambda V_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda e_s, e_s' \exists e_s'', x_e, x_e', x_e'' [e, e' \langle_{E} e'' \rangle (V(e'')) \wedge x, x' \langle_{P} x'' \rangle \wedge |x'| > |x| \wedge \theta(e'', x'') \wedge \theta(e, x) \wedge \theta(e', x')]$

- ◆ The unequal distribution of tasks is responsible for the “helping” inference associated with the assistive

4. Introducing the assistee

Desideratum: We want to explain:

- ◆ The assistee is Agent (of a subevent)
- ◆ The assistee is not introduced by Cause, Appl, or Voice (§2.3)

- ◆ **Proposal: The pluractional can assign an Agent thematic-role**
- ◆ The Agent is defined for only one set of subevents (to satisfy the thematic uniqueness principle (Carlson 1984, 1998, Parsons 1990))

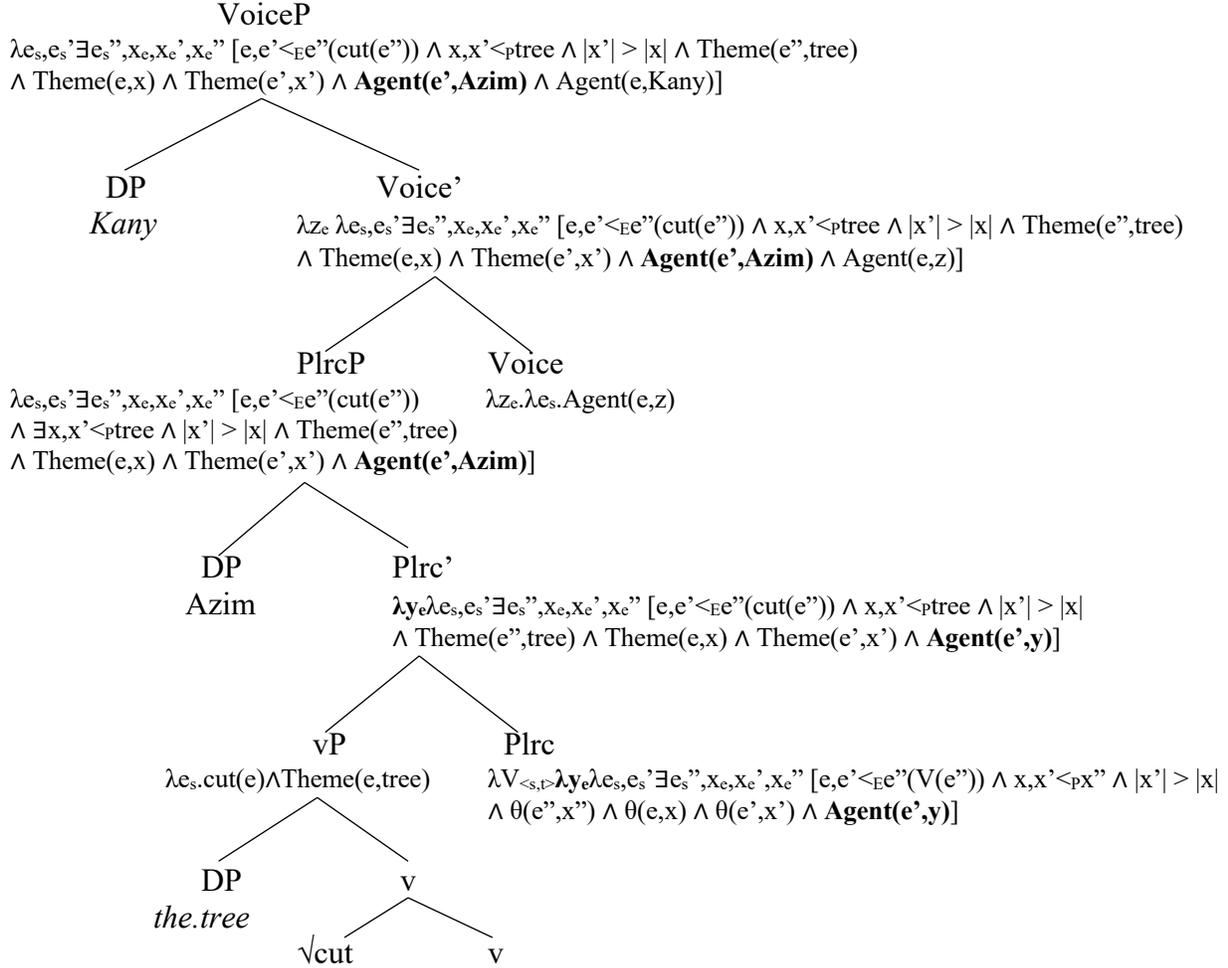
(27) Denotation of the assistive (final version)

$\lambda V_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda y_e \lambda e_s, e_s' \exists e_s'', x_e, x_e', x_e'' [e, e' \langle_{E} e'' \rangle (V(e'')) \wedge x, x' \langle_{P} x'' \rangle \wedge |x'| > |x| \wedge \theta(e'', x'') \wedge \theta(e, x) \wedge \theta(e', x') \wedge \mathbf{Agent}(e', y)]$

- ◆ The Agent for the other set of subevents is added by Voice (Kratzer 1996)

- (13) Kanu Azim-ge bak-tuu kuj-uf-tuu.
 Kany Azim-DAT tree-ACC cut-ASST-3PST
 ‘Kany helped Azim cut down the tree.’

(28)



5. Returning to the syncretism puzzle & Future directions

◆ The proposal in a nutshell:

- The assistive is a type of pluractional
- It defines two sets of subevents of the event in the denotation of the base predicate in such a way that it maps these two sets of subevents to unique proper parts of the (internal) argument
- The assistive also introduces an Agent theta-role, defined for one set of subevents
- The Agent of the other set of subevents is added by Voice

- ◆ **The initial puzzle:** the exponent /*(I)ʃ*/ in Kyrgyz (Turkic) is used in three different syntactic configurations:

1. Assistive

- (1) Men Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-ʃ-tu-m.
I Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: ‘I helped Azim do the dishes.’

2. Reciprocal

- (2) Men Azim menen œb-yʃ-ty-m.
I Azim INSTR kiss-REC-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: ‘Me and Azim kissed each other.’

3. 3PL agreement

- (3) Kanu d̄ʒana Azim t̄ʃurka-ʃ-tuu.
Kany and Azim run-PL-3PST
‘Kany and Azim ran.’

- ◆ **The syncretism between the assistive(= type of pluractional) and 3PL agreement** looks less mysterious now: the exponent /*(I)ʃ*/ spells out [-singular] features in the context of [+V] features
- ◆ **The syncretism between the assistive(= type of pluractional) and the reciprocal** can be accounted for if we consider **the reciprocal another type of pluractional**
 - Cross-linguistically it is common to see syncretism between the (verbal) reciprocal marker and pluractionals: Japanese (Yamada 2010, Cuzco Quechua (Faller 2007, 2012), Madurese (Davies 2000)

Japanese (Yamada 2010: 3)

- (29a) [Yasu to Hiroki]-ga hihanshi-**at**-ta. **(reciprocal: /at/)**
[Yasu and Hiroki]-NOM criticize-REC-PST
'Yasu and Hiroki criticized **each other**.'
- (29b) [Yasu to Hiroki]-ga Eli-o hihanshi-**at**-ta. **(pluractional: /at/)**
[Yasu and Hiroki]-NOM Eli-ACC criticize-PLRC-PST
'Yasu and Hiroki criticized Eli **one after the other**.'

Cuzco Quechua (Faller 2007: 255, 263)

- (30a) Hayt'a-**na**-ku-n-ku. **(reciprocal: /na/)**
kick-PLRC-REFL-3-PL
'They kicked **each other**.'
- (30b) ... mana-n saru-**na**-wa-na-nchis-chu ka-sqa-nchis-wan. **(pluractional: /na/)**
... not-DIR step.on-PLRC-1O-NMLZ-1INCL-NEG be-NMLZ-1INCL-COM
'... they must not trample (step on) us **repeatedly** for what we are'

◆ Reciprocals contain an **instrumental-DP**

- The instrumental-DP is an argument
- The instrumental-DP is an Agent of the event denoted by the base predicate

- (2) Men **Azim menen** œb-yf-ty-m.
I **Azim INSTR** kiss-REC-PST-1SG
Commonly used English translation: 'Me and Azim kissed each other.'

→ **Future work:** Analyze verbal reciprocals similarly to the analysis proposed for the assistives, i.e., as pluractionals introducing an Agent argument

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Appendix

Appendix-1: Argumenthood diagnostics

- ◆ The assistee must be recoverable upon omission
- (1) What did you do yesterday?
(Men) **pro** yj-dy tazala-f-tu-m.
(I) **pro** house-ACC clean-ASST-PST-1SG
Intended: ‘I helped **someone** clean the house.’
Only available meaning: ‘I helped **him/her/them** clean the house.’
- ◆ The omitted assistee can license cross-sentential anaphora
- (2) A: - I helped my mother yesterday.
B: - What did you do? / How did you help her?
A:
pro_i (Yj-dy) tazala-f-tu-m. **pro**_i Kœp if-i bar eken.
pro_i (house-ACC) clean-ASST-PST-1SG **pro**_i many work-3POSS COP 3.SG.EVID
‘I helped her (=my mother) clean (the house). She (=my mother) had a lot to do.’
- ◆ Assistee can serve as the pivot in clefts
- (3) [Sinɟim yj-dy tazala-f-kan] (kiʃi) **apam** bol-gon.
[my.sister house-ACC clean-ASST-NF] (person) **my.mother** COP-3SG.PRF
‘It was my mother to whom my sister helped clean the house.’

Appendix-2: The assistee is not introduced by Cause/Appl/Voice

Cause

- ◆ Kyrgyz assistives do not have causative semantics
 - ◆ I.e., no causing event present to combine with a noncausative predicate (following Pylkkänen’s (2008: 83-84) definition of causatives)
- (4) Kany asked/made Azim clean the house, but she also offered to help him.

Kanw Azim-ge yj-dy tazala-f-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT house-ACC clean-ASST-3SG.PST
Intended: ‘Kany made Azim clean the house (and she also helped).’

Applicative

- ◆ Kyrgyz has low and high applicatives (McGinnis 2001, Pylkkänen 2008)
- ◆ In many languages, Kyrgyz including, the low and high applicative cannot co-occur (Marantz 1993, Peterson 2007, Nie 2020)

(5) * (Men) apam-a siŋdim-e tamak d̄ʒasa-Ø-p ber-di-m.
 (I) my.mother-DAT sister-DAT food make-APPL.L-APPL.H-PST-1SG
 Intended: ‘I made food for my sister, for my mother.’

(6) * (Men) pro siŋdim-e tamak d̄ʒasa-Ø-p ber-di-m.
 (I) pro sister-DAT food make-APPL.L-APPL.H-PST-1SG
 Intended: ‘I made food for my sister, for my mother.’

- ◆ **Prediction:** if the assistive is a type of applicative, it would be incompatible with other applicative(s)
 → This prediction is **not** borne out

(7) Men apam_i-a pro_i yj-dy tazala-f-**u**p ber-di-m.
 I my.mother_i-DAT pro_i house-ACC clean-ASST-APPL.H-PST-1SG
 ‘I helped my mother_i clean the house for her_i.’

(8) ?? Men apam-a siŋdim-e yj-dy tazala-f-**u**p ber-di-m.
 I my.mother-DAT my.sister-dat house-ACC clean-ASST-APPL-PST-1SG
 ‘I helped my sister clean the house for my mother.’

- ◆ The assistee is the Agent of (a subevent of) the base event (§3.2) – not reconcilable with Appl

Voice

- ◆ Instrumentals

(9) (Men) apa-m-a pil'esos menen yj-dy tazala-f-tuu-m.
 (I) mother-1SG.POSS-DAT vacuum with house-ACC clean-ASST-PST-1SG
 Yes: ‘I, with the vacuum cleaner, helped my mother clean the house.’
 Not: *‘I helped my mother clean the house with the vacuum cleaner (my mother used the vacuum cleaner).’

- ◆ Comitatives

(10) Men kofuna menen apam-a (kofuna menen) yj-dy tazala-f-tuu-m.
 I neighbor INSTR my.mother-DAT (neighbor INSTR) house-ACC clean-ASST-PST-1SG
 Yes: ‘[I together with the neighbor] helped my mother clean the house.’
 Not: *‘I helped [my mother together the neighbor] clean the house.’

- ◆ Mental-attitude adverbs

(11) Men t̄ʃudamdu:luk menen apa-m-a (t̄ʃudamdu:luk menen)
 I patience with mother-1SG.POSS-DAT (patience with)
 yj-dy tazala-f-tuu-m.
 house-ACC clean-ASST-PST-1SG
 Yes: ‘I patiently helped my mother clean the house.’ (I was patient.)
 Not: *‘I helped my mother patiently clean the house.’ (My mother was patient.)

Appendix-3: The distribution of the Assistive with respect to other verbal morphemes

Low ←		→ High	
vP	assistive		✓
Appl.LowP	assistive		?
CauseP	assistive		*
VoiceP	assistive		*
	assistive	CauseP	??
	assistive	Appl.HighP	✓
	assistive	VoiceP	✓

Appendix-4: More on the “participation requirement”

- ◆ The **assistee** must perform the event in the denotation of the base predicate

(12) Azim had to bake a cake and do the dishes. Azim can't come in contact with water, so Kany did the dishes for him(=Azim), while he(=Azim) baked the cake. (Azim didn't do the dishes.)

Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-f-tu.
 Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim do the dishes.'

(13) Azim had dishes that needed washing. He(=Azim) was too sick to do anything, so Kany did the dishes all by herself.

Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-f-tu.
 Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim do the dishes.'

- ◆ The **assister** must perform the event in the denotation of the base predicate

(14) Kany occupied Azim's infant daughter while he(=Azim) was doing the dishes.

Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-f-tu.
 Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim do the dishes.'

(15) Kany explained to Azim how to do the dishes. (I.e., Kany gave advice.)

Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-f-tu.
 Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
 'Kany helped Azim do the dishes.'

(16) Kany entertained Azim while he was doing the dishes. (E.g., chatted with him, sang songs for him.)

Kanu Azim-ge idif-ter-di d̄ʒuu-f-tu.
Kany Azim-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-3PST
'Kany helped Azim do the dishes.'

- ◆ Adding some nuance: The assister & assistee are allowed to perform subevents that are not in the denotation of the base predicate, iff those subevents are part of a scenario (Link 1987, Krifka 1992)
 - Scenarios: Events that do not strictly obey the *mapping to objects* principle (Krifka 1992, 1998)
 - E.g., Scenario: *doing the dishes* (in Kyrgyz lit. 'wash the dishes')
 - Subevent: *washing the dishes* (satisfies the denotation of the predicate)
 - Subevent: *drying the dishes, filling up the sink*, etc. (do not satisfy the denotation of the predicate)
- ◆ For *some* speakers, the assister or the assistee can perform an event that is part of the scenario, but doesn't satisfy the predicate's denotation

(17) There were dishes to be washed. We ran out of warm water, so I boiled water on the stove and poured it into the sink. My mom did the dishes. (I didn't wash any dishes.)

% (Men) apam-a idif-ter-di d̄ʒu:-f-tu-m.
(I) my.mother-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-PST-1SG
'I helped my mother do the dishes.'

- ◆ Importantly, assistives are out if the participants are intended to perform events that can't be conceptualized as part of a scenario

(18a) I occupied my baby sister while my mother was doing the dishes.

(18b) I explained to my mother how to do the dishes. (I.e., I gave advice.)

(18c) I entertained my mother while she was doing the dishes.

(Men) apam-a idif-ter-di d̄ʒu:-f-tu-m.
(I) my.mother-DAT dish-PL-ACC wash-ASST-PST-1SG
'I helped my mother do the dishes.'