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Redefining the possessors

A focus on Russian external
possessor constructions

Supervisor
Ch. Prof. Iliyana Krapova

Assistant supervisor
Ch. Prof. Luisa Ruvoletto

Graduand
Monica Spinello
Matricolation number
871970

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Резюме

На лингвистическом уровне широко признано синтаксическое и семематическое различие между внутренним и внешним посессором. Посессор определяется как «внутренний», когда он генерируется внутри посессума-DP, следовательно, посессор зависит как синтаксически, так и семантически от посессума. Примерами внутреннего посессора являются притяжательное прилагательное и атрибутивный родительный падеж. Напротив, внешний посессор синтаксически зависит от глагола, но семантически связан с посессумом, например, внешний посессор может быть субъектом, прямым или косвенным дополнением. По этой причине внешний посессор может иметь другие тэта-роли, помимо роли посессора. Напротив, внутренний посессор имеет только тэта-роль посессора.

Многие лингвистические исследования сосредоточены на аффективности, которая, кажется, характеризует внешнего посессора в некоторых конструкциях. Например, Куэрво (Cuervo 2003) утверждает, что аффективность зависит от идиосинкратического значения глагола, точнее, от того, выражает ли глагол событие, которое влияет на посессум и косвенно на посессора. Интуитивно, аффективность усиливается в случае неотчуждаемого владения, поскольку «невозможно повлиять на тему, не затронув посессора» (Cuervo 2003: 74).

Что касается синтаксического анализа внешнего посессора, были представлены различные подходы. Первый подход исходит из трансформационной грамматики (англ. *transformational grammar*), которая разработала концепцию повышения посессора (англ. *possessor raising*). Сторонники этого подхода утверждают, что внешний посессор происходит от внутреннего посредством движения в предложении и что конструкции с внутренними и внешними посессорами семантически эквивалентны. Впоследствии подход трансформационной грамматики пересматривается с помощью Реляционной Грамматики (англ. *Relational Grammar*), которая предлагает правило, которое изменяет относительный статус посессора, давая ему грамматические отношения с глаголом. Затем развивается теория управления и связывания (англ. *Government and Binding*), в которой отмечается, что внешний посессор ведёт себя как аргумент глагола, потому что им управляет V (глагол) путем включения существительного

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в V (Deal 2017). Заметив семантическую разницу между конструкциями с внутренним и внешним посессором, лингвисты начали утверждать, что дательный посессор генерируется в глагольном позвоночнике, принимающем тэта-роль затронутого аргумента (англ. *affectee*). Кроме того, он коиндексирован с анафорическим элементом в посессуме-DP, который выражает значение посессора. Впоследствии было предложено, что синтаксически внешний посессор происходит от внутреннего посредством движения, но семантически эти две конструкции различны из-за аффективности, которая характеризует внешнего посессора. Таким образом, Ландау (Landau 1999) предполагает, что посессор в дательном падеже генерируется в спец-позиции без падежа вместе с посессумом, затем он перемещается внутри VP, где он получает дательный падеж, в то время как в посессум-DP остается пустая категория.

Другой подход предлагает контроль-анализ (англ. *control analysis*), который, отказавшись от тета-критерия, позволяет передвижение между тематическими позициями.

А согласно Дил (Deal 2017), есть два типа конструкций с внешним посессором. Первый тип (А) анализируется посредством контроля и повышения посессора анализа, второй тип (В) через А- и Ā-зависимости.

Совершенно иной анализ предлагают лингвисты, рассматривающие конструкции с внешним посессором как аппликативные конструкции. Этот анализ основан на теориях, разработанных Пюльккянен (Pylkkänen 2002), которые предусматривают два типа аппликативных голов - высокий и низкий. Аппликативная голова определяется как высокая, если аппликативная голова синтаксически находится выше VP, и это относится к тематическим отношениям между человеком и событием. С другой стороны, аппликативная голова низка, когда она «обозначает передачу отношения владения между прямым дополнением и применяемым аргументом», а аппликативная голова сливается ниже VP с прямым дополнением (Pylkkänen 2002: 16). Куэрво (Cuervo 2003) пересмотрел предложение Пюльккянена, добавив также третью аппликативную голову, называемую затронутым аппликативом. Эта конструкция состоит из двузначной структуры, где дательный падеж является объектом события изменения и в то же время является посессором конечного состояния объекта (Cuervo 2003: 123). Однако классическое

различие между внутренним и внешним посессором оказывается расплывчато, поскольку не принимает во внимание некоторые детали, которые характеризуют русский язык в конструкциях как с внутренним, так и с внешним посессором. По этой причине я предложила два типа внутреннего посессора - чисто внутренний и экстраполированный - и три типа внешнего посессора - неявный, затронутый аппликативный и незатронутый аппликативный.

Что касается внутреннего посессора, оно генерируется внутри посессума-DP. Примерами внутреннего посессора на русском языке являются притяжательное прилагательное, атрибутивный родительный падеж или предложная конструкция "у" с родительным падежом. Внутренний посессор определяется как чисто внутренний, когда он не совершает никаких движений, например, «у меня собака убежала». Внутренний посессор классифицируется как экстраполируемый, если он выходит за пределы посессума-DP, как в случае «у меня убежала собака». Идя против течения, я утверждаю, что предложная конструкция "у" с родительным падежом является внутренним посессором: в то время как внешние посессоры имеют более одной тэта-роли, посессор "у" с родительным падежом имеет чисто притяжательное значение, точно так же, как атрибутивный родительный падеж и прилагательное притяжательное.

Что касается внешнего посессора, то он генерируется вне посессума-DP, показывая глагольную зависимость. Следовательно, у него более одной тэта-роли. Неявные посессоры на русском языке обычно появляются в именительном падеже как субъекты, в винительном падеже как прямые дополнения, а также в форме предложных конструкций, например "к" с дательным падежом или в родительном падеже, как логический субъект в антикаузативных конструкциях. За исключением посессора в родительном падеже в антикаузативных конструкциях, неявные посессоры могут быть синтаксически объяснены посредством контролья-анализа. Фактически, этот подход позволяет посессору иметь как тэта-роль, задаваемую глаголом, так и роль посессора. Я считаю, что внутри посессума-DP есть безмолвное притяжательное прилагательное, относящееся к посессору, синтаксически помеченное как PRO. Контроль, который внешний посессор осуществляет над посессумом, позволяет исключить притяжательное прилагательное по принципу экономии. Вместо этого для посессоров в

родительном падеже в антикаузативных конструкциях повторно предлагается синтаксический анализ Риверо и Савченко (Rivero, Savchenko 2004). Лингвисты полагают, что эти посессоры лицензированы предикатом CauseP.

С другой стороны, аппликативные посессоры в русском языке появляются в дательном падеже в переходных конструкциях и в конструкциях с двойным дополнением. С точки зрения синтаксиса этот тип посессоров часто объясняется с помощью аппликативного подхода. Путем применения тестов для определения типа аппликативной головы в русском языке были предложены как высокие (Dyakonova 2007; Markman 2007; Bondarenko 2018), так и низкие аппликативные структуры (Bondarenko 2018; Shushurin 2019). Однако я считаю, что тесты, отвечая необходимости пересмотра, должны быть диагностическим средством для анализа различных в плане синтаксиса и семантики конструкций конкретного языка, а не средством классификации языков по низко- или высоко-аппликативным структурам. Следовательно, язык может иметь обе структуры.

В данной диссертации, аппликативные посессоры делятся на незатронутые и затронутые. Не затрагиваемые аппликативные посессоры встречаются в переходных конструкциях или в конструкциях с двойным дополнением, в которых на посессора не влияет действие глагола, например, в конструкциях передачи владения, типа «она дала нам билеты», или в других конструкциях с двойным дополнением, например, «родители проверил сыну домашнее задание» (Nam 2013: 181). Напротив, затронутые посессоры появляются в переходных конструкциях или в конструкциях с двойным дополнением, в которых присутствует каузативный глагол. Следовательно, действию, выраженному глаголом, подвергается не только посессум, но и посессор, например, в предложении «они сломали мне машину».

Для незатронутых посессоров я предложила низкую аппликативную структуру. За исключением посессоров, передающих конструкции владения, в посессуме-DP есть притяжательное прилагательное, относящееся к внешнему посессору, как и в случае неявных посессоров.

Затронутые посессоры, с другой стороны, имеют затронутую аппликативную голову, предложенную Куэрво (Cuervo 2003), к которой в пределах посессума-DP добавляется PRO, отмечающее притяжательное прилагательное, которое относится к внешнему посессору.

На мой взгляд, PRO в конструкциях с внешним посессором объясняется не только принципом экономии, но и концепцией «Притяжательной Оболочки» (англ. *Possessive-Shell*), а именно область действия внутри каждого посессора - одушевленного или чего-то персонифицированного - может владеть чем-то, как будто это было бы его частью. Сущность посессора простирается до диапазона, который может выходить за пределы его физических границ. Таким образом, владения - это не просто неотчуждаемые вещи в строгом смысле слова, но и в более широком смысле, в т. ч. частичное-целое, владение и родство слова. Притяжательная Оболочка показывает различные степени владения, начиная от эпицентра, который выражает самую сильную связь между посессором и посессумом - поскольку он содержит неотчуждаемое владение в строгом смысле - до края, где граница менее интенсивна. Я выделила четыре различных степени владения: часть целого, родство, индивидуальная собственность и общественная собственность. Диапазон Притяжательной Оболочки варьируется в зависимости от языка, поскольку каждый язык выбирает свой диапазон для Притяжательной Оболочки. Это объясняет, почему в некоторых языках определенные конструкции внешнего посессора грамматичны, а в других - нет.

В последней главе диссертации анализируется происхождение внешнего посессора в дательном падеже. Оно кажется не протоиндоевропейское, а ареальным. Фактически, конструкция с внешним посессором в дательном падеже характерна для индоевропейских языков, а не для европейского языкового союза (нем. *Sprachbund*). На самом деле, в индоевропейских языках, не относящихся к европейскому ареалу, например в армянском, индоарийском и индоиранском языках, таких конструкций внешнего посессора больше не существует. Что касается русского языка, Сержант (Seržant 2015) отметил снижение использования дательного падежа в пользу предложной конструкции "у" с родительным падежом, хотя дательный падеж все еще встречается.

List of abbreviations

1:	first person
1°:	noun class 1 in Bantu languages
2:	second person
3:	third person
7°:	noun class 7 in Bantu languages
ABS:	absolutive
ACC:	accusative case
AG:	agent
AOR:	aorist
APPL:	applicative morpheme
AUX:	auxiliary
CAUSE:	causative morpheme
DAT:	dative case
DU:	dual
DEF:	definite article
ERG:	ergative
F:	feminine
FOC:	focus
FUT:	future tense
FV:	final vowel
GEN:	genitive case
IMP:	imperative
INF:	infinitive
INSTR:	instrumental case
LOC:	locative
M:	masculine
N:	neutral
NEG:	negation
NOM:	nominative case
PART:	participle

PASS: passive

PERF: perfect

PL: plural

PLAIN: plain (level of formality in the Korean honorific system)

PREP: prepositional case

PRES: present tense

PST: past tense

PT: particle

REFL: reflexive

SG: singular

VI: class VI

Introduction

Because of their interesting structure and their cross-linguistical commonality and variety, possession and possessor constructions are highly studied by the linguistic community and there is still a vibrant debate going on which produces new theories and increasingly accurate and detailed approaches.

In the presented work, I will deal with *possessor constructions*, which are different from *possession constructions*. With the expression *possession constructions*, I refer to those constructs which display a predicative possession, namely *be-* and *have-* possessives, thus it is the verb that conveys the possession relation. In *possessor constructions*, instead, the possession relation is expressed via the possessor, which can be adnominal (internal possessor) or syntactically dependent on the verb but still referring to its possessum (external possessor).

In the first chapter, I present the standard classification of possessors – internal and external possessors –, demonstrating their primary characteristics. Then, the main approaches developed to explain external possessor constructions will be illustrated, starting from the transformational grammar until Deal's (2017) approach. A separated section is dedicated to the applicative analysis, reporting briefly the major proposals – Pylkkänen's (2002) and Cuervo's (2003).

The first part of Chapter II highlights some aspects that the standard classification of internal and external possessors does not cover, hence a redefinition of the possessors is proposed, introducing two sub-types for internal possessors (purely internal and extrapolated possessors) and three for external possessors (implicit, non-affected applicative, and affected applicative possessors). Once applied the new nomenclature cross-linguistically, the attention then is placed on Russian internal possessors, including to that class also the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive by demonstrating its internal origin.

Chapter III focuses on external possessor constructions in Russian, applying the classification proposed in Chapter II. I present a syntactic analysis for implicit and applicative possessors, revisiting the tests developed for applicative constructions. I also endorse the presence of a silent anaphoric possessive adjective, referred to the possessor, within the possessum-DP in some external possessor construction and argue that its deletion is due to both the Economy Principle and the concept of Possessive-Shell.

Chapter IV gives a brief overview of the origin of the dative argument as an external possessor, demonstrating its European origin, rather than Proto-Indo-European. As a matter of fact, such construction is also attestable in non-Indo-European languages spoken in Europe, e.g. Basque and Maltese, while it is not present in Indo-European languages outside the European *Sprachbund*, as in Armenian and Indo-Iranian.

Finally, the thesis closes with some concluding remarks, proposing future issues to analyse.

Chapter I: Understanding the external possessor constructions

It is common knowledge that the possessors are syntactically distinguished into *internal* and *external*, depending on where the possessor is encoded. Between the two kinds of possessors, external possessor constructions have been the subject of debate in the linguistic community for a long time, due to their interesting structure both on a morpho-syntactic and semantical level. In this chapter, I will first present the standard definition of internal and external possessors provided by the linguistic community, then introduce the main theories and approaches related to the cross-linguistical study of external possessor constructions. Since many linguists consider the external possessor as an extra argument licensed via an applicative head, the chapter closes with a brief overview regarding the applicative constructions. Some of the theories proposed for applicative constructions (e.g. Pylkkänen 2002 and Cuervo 2003) will be treated in depth in Chapter III, which is dedicated to Russian external possessors.

1.1   Internal and external possessor constructions: standard definitions

Possession constructions have been deeply studied cross-linguistically and much attention has been focused on the possessor. Analysing different possession constructions with a "syntactic" spotlight on the possessor, two kinds of possessor have been identified and syntactically distinguished depending on where the possessor is encoded – within the DP denoting the possessed object (*internal possessor*) or outside the DP (*external possessor*). The location where the possessor is generated has important syntactical and semantical consequences. As a matter of fact, internal possessors depend both syntactically and semantically on the possessa, while external possessors are syntactically dependent on the verb but semantically are linked to the possessa (Deal 2017). Below, I provide some instances of internal (1) and external (2) possessor constructions in French, Japanese, and Russian.

(1)   *French*

       a.   J'ai   cassé   [sa   guitare].

             I have-$_{1SG}$ broken   his   guitar

             'I broke his guitar.'

    Japanese

       b.   [Mary-no   kami-ga]   naga-i.

             Mary-$_{GEN}$ hair-$_{NOM}$ long-be

             'Mary's hair is long.'   (Ura 1996: 100)

    Russian

       c.   Sobaka   razbila   [moju   vasu].

             dog-$_{NOM}$ break-$_{PST.SG.F}$ my-$_{ACC}$ vase-$_{ACC}$

             'The dog broke my vase.'

(2)   *French*

       a.   Je lui   ai   cassé   la guitare.

             I   him-$_{DAT}$ have-$_{1SG}$ broken the guitar

             'I broke his guitar.'

    Japanese

       b.   Mary-ga   kami-ga   naga-i.

             Mary-$_{NOM}$ hair-$_{NOM}$ long-be

             'Mary's hair is long.'   (Ura 1996: 100)

    Russian

       c.   Sobaka   razbila   mne   vasu.

             dog-$_{NOM}$ break-$_{PST.SG.F}$ me-$_{DAT}$ vase-$_{ACC}$

             'The dog broke my vase.'

The very first aspect which stands out from the examples just reported above is the fact that both kinds of possessors, but especially external possessor constructions, are not

limited just to a set of languages but are encountered cross-linguistically. Obviously, there may be differences in the structure of external possessor constructions, e.g. in the case-selection, but the possibility to find a possessor generated externally to the possessum-DP is attestable in many languages.

Going into details by comparing (1) with (2), it is easy to notice the difference between internal and external possessors. In internal possessor constructions (1), the possessor forms a single constituent together with the possessum and depends syntactically and semantically on it. The possessor can also be morphologically dependent on its possessum, agreeing in gender, case, and number if it is not in the form of a genitive (1b) but as a possessive adjective (1a; 1c). In external possessor constructions (2), instead, just a semantic dependency exists between the possessor and the possessum, since the possessor syntactically behaves as an argument of the verb (Deal 2017: 2).

However, the differences are not just limited to what has been discussed so far. As a matter of fact, the external possessor construction sounds more emotional, probably due to the fact that depending on the language, the possessor is generally a subject, a direct or indirect object, dative-marked, ergative, or absolutive (Payne and Barshi 1999). Being the possessor not marked as an oblique, the event described by the verb seems to refer not only to the possessum but also to the possessor. Thus, the possessor seems to undergo the same event of the possessum, as if it were affected both physically and mentally (Haspelmath 1999: 111). On the contrary, in internal possessor constructions, such extra meaning is not conveyed. The internal possessor does not convey any "affectedness", rather it seems to have a neutral tone, expressing just a possession relation. Being inside the possessum-DP, the possessor does not assume any other θ-role than the role of possessor (Deal 2017: 9).

The phenomenon affecting external possessors is also treated by Barnes (1985), Paykin and Van Peteghem (2003), and Cuervo (2003). According to Barnes, the affectedness of both the possessum and the possessor is typically physical (1985: 170). Honestly, I believe that what differentiates external possessors from internal possessors it is not essentially about a physical affectedness, rather emotional. As a matter of fact, in both internal (3a) and external possession (3b), the possessor, having a broken leg, is

physically affected. But, only in (3b), it seems that the possessor is more affected as if he/she was feeling the pain, suffering for the action he/she is undergoing.

(3)   *Italian*

    a.   Giulia ha rotto   il   tuo   braccio.

        Giulia has broken   the   your   arm

        'Giulia has broken your arm.'

    b.   Giulia ti   ha rotto   il braccio.

        Giulia you-$_{DAT}$ has broken   the arm

        'Giulia has broken your arm.'

Therefore, I think that the choice between internal and external possessor constructions depends mainly on the intention of the speaker. If the speaker wants to emphasise the possessor affectedness, the choice of the external possessor structure will obviously prevail.

    On the other hand, Paykin and Van Peteghem propose a broader sense of affectedness, clarifying the phenomenon in terms of inalienability (2003: 335):

> The inalienable character of the possessum explains why the possessor is encoded outside the NP as dative: due to the strong connection between the possessor and the possessum, the process expressed by the verb is viewed as affecting not only the possessum, but also the possessor.

    Conversely, Cuervo (2003) argues that the affectedness depends on the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb, or better, whether the verb expresses an event that affects the direct object-possessum and indirectly the possessor. Intuitively, the affectedness becomes stronger in case of an inalienable possession (4) since "there is no way of affecting the theme without affecting the possessor" (Cuervo 2003: 74).

(4)   *Spanish*

    a.   Pablo le   lavó   las manos a Valeria.

        Pablo her-$_{DAT}$ washed   the hands   Valeria-$_{DAT}$

        'Pablo washed Valeria's hands.'   (Cuervo 2003: 74)

      b.   Pablo   le   operó   la   rodilla izquierda a Valeria.

              Pablo her-DAT operated the knee   left   Valeria-DAT

              'Pablo operated on Valeria's left knee.'   (Cuervo 2003: 74)

In order to be affected, the dative possessor should have some characteristics, such as being an animate and a living being. In case the possessor is dead or inanimate, the construction is ungrammatical (Deal 2017), as shown in the following examples:

(5)   *French*

      a.   *Elle   lui   a   cassé le pied,   à cette table.

              she   it-DAT has   broken the foot   to this table

              'She broke the table's leg.'   (Barnes 1985: 168)

      b.   *Le   redacté   el cuento   a Cervantes.

              him-DAT   edited-1SG   the story   Cervantes-DAT

              'I edited Cervantes' story.'   (Kempchinsky 1992: 136)

However, I believe that there could be an exception to the animate constraint on a pragmatic level. In my opinion, an inanimate possessor can occur outside the possessum-DP if the inanimate possessor is personified and/or simply possessed by an animate living possessor who is already known indirectly from the context and must be emotionally bond to the inanimate possessor. In such a case, it is the animate possessor who is affected by the action that the inanimate possessor or part of it is undergoing. The intimate bond between the two types of possessor can also be explained semantically through Kučanda's Empathy Hierarchy (6), which organizes different semantic noun classes regarding their easiness or chance to affect a human participant:

(6)   Empathy Hierarchy

    body parts > kinship terms > other relations among humans > parts of clothes > things that a person is interested in > etc.   (Kučanda 1996: 330)

An example in which an inanimate possessor can occur as an external possessor can be encountered in the following context: a little girl is crying because her brother broke the legs of her favourite doll. She runs to her mother with the doll in her hands, saying in tears:

(7)   *Italian*

Mario le   ha rotto   le gambe!

Mario her-$_{DAT}$ has broken   the legs

'Mario broke her legs!'

The doll-external possessor is not of course suffering, as it is inanimate, but its possessor (the little girl) does. The girl is actually affected by Mario's action towards the doll. If the animate possessor was dead (the little girl), there would be no emotional bond between the animate and inanimate possessor, thus the sentence would be ungrammatical, as in (5).

It has also been observed that syntactically and semantically external possessors can be constrained by nouns and verbs. Regarding the former, Payne and Barshi (1999) report a universal semantic hierarchy that limits accessible possessa in external possession constructions (8):

(8)   Inalienable < alienable

body part < part-whole < other inalienable < alienable + proximate < alienable + distal < non-possessable   (Payne and Barshi 1999: 14)

According to the linguists, the concepts of "other inalienable", "alienable", and "non-possessable" depend on the language and the culture. For instance, some languages, e.g. Japanese, are free in the possessa selection for external possessor constructions (Payne and Barshi 1999: 14).

Concerning the verb, Payne and Barshi (1999) report that external possessors are frequent with predicates expressing a change of state and can occur with stative unaccusatives as well. On the other hand, Landau (1999) noted that transitives with no agentive entry and

verbs which take a Subject Manner (SM) argument are incompatible with possessor dative constructions, as demonstrated by the examples provided by the linguist (9).

(9)   *Hebrew*

    a.   *Gil   ifyen   le-Rina   et   ha-hitnahagut.

      Gil   characterised to-Rina _{ACC} the-behaviour

      'Gina characterised Rina's behaviour.'   (Landau 1999: 33)

A completely different view of possessor constructions is provided by Seržant who, dealing with external possessor datives[1], claims that "there is no external possessor dative construction because the possessor role is not coded but identified by means of a pragmatic procedure" (Seržant 2016: 153). That is why the linguist coined the expression *free-affectee construction* to replace the nomenclature *external possessor construction*. It is true that the external possessor is identified pragmatically, but it is still an external level to the structure, as syntactically the possessor is not encoded internally the possessum-DP, rather outside, hence the denomination "external". On the other hand, in the internal possessor construction, the syntactic structure directly shows the possession relation, without being derived or interpreted on other levels. Therefore, I honestly do not consider it necessary to coin another term for the expression *external possessor construction*, as the classification "external" is wide enough to include all the linguistic fields.

1.2   Approaches to external possessor constructions

Since many linguists agree on the fact that external possessors are not real arguments of the verb, it has been long discussed what they are arguments of and different approaches have been proposed in order to answer exhaustively to such matter.

The earliest analysis that tried to give a syntactic explanation of external possessors is the transformational grammar. This approach developed the notion of

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[1] In some languages, the external possessor is dative-marked. Hence the expression dative-possessor, possessor dative construction, external possessor dative, or *dativus sympatheticus*. This construction has long been studied in Romance languages.

raising possessor which has been continuously revised by many frameworks up to the present day (Deal 2017). Linguists supporting the transformational approach (Fillmore 1968; Langacker 1968; Keenan 1972; Kuno 1973) believe that the external possessor construction derives syntactically from the internal counterpart via a movement called POSS-RAIS, which moves the possessor phrase. Consequently, internal and external possessor constructions are equivalent on a semantic level, according to the transformational grammar approach (Deal 2017).

The analysis proposed by transformational grammarians was then revised by linguists supporting the Relational Grammar (RG) approach, e.g. Perlmutter and Postal (1972/1983). Instead of the movement rule, for external possessors relational grammarians proposed a rule of possessor ascension that changes the relational status of the possessor and gives the possessor a grammatical relation to the verb (Deal 2017).

The analysis continued with the Government and Binding (GB) approach. Linguists of this framework, such as Massam (1985) and Baker (1988), asserted that the possessor behaves as an argument of the verb because it is governed by V (Deal 2017). According to this analysis, it is not the possessor phrase that moves, but it is the possessum head noun, or better the incorporation of the noun into V (Baker 1988).

Studying possessor dative constructions, linguists noticed a semantic difference between internal (10a) and dative possession (10b) in terms of θ-roles.

(10)   *French*

    a.   Le médecin   a   radiographié leur estomac.

          the doctor   AUX.3SG x-rayed   their stomach

          'The doctor x-rayed their stomachs.'

   (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992: 602)

    b.   Le médecin   leur   a   radiographié l'estomac.

          the doctor   them-DAT   AUX.3SG x-rayed   the stomach

          'The doctor x-rayed their stomachs.'

                                  (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992: 597)

In particular, linguists pointed out that in addition to the possessor role, the dative possessor acquires an additional θ-role, namely benefactive or affectee (Deal 2017). The affectee role is assigned by the verb, while the possessor role by the possessum, in order to respect Chomsky's Theta-Criterion[2]. As a consequence, the GB approach treats the dative possessor as an example of base-generated anaphoric binding. The dative possessor is based-generated in the verbal spine receiving the affectee-θ-role. In addition, it is coindexed with an anaphoric element within the possessum-NP, which expresses the possession reading (Deal 2017: 11-12). As for other anaphoric expressions, the possessum must be c-commanded by its possessum (Guéron 1985; Borer and Grodzinsky 1986). The structure proposed by the binding analysis is illustrated in (11).

(11)
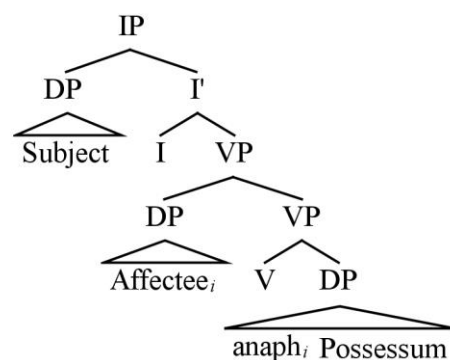
However, the approaches presented so far consider just three of the four potential language types. In fact, the classic analysis (involving raising) would be suitable in case the possessor moves out of the possessum-DP and, following the Theta Criterion, it must locate in a position without other θ-role assigned. The binding analysis would be appropriate in case an extra θ-role is assigned to the possessor, thus, according to the Theta Criterion, the possessor must occur in a position to which it could not have moved. In case the possessor does not receive any other θ-role and does not move, being still dependent on the verb, then the classic analysis (involving government) is suitable.

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[2] According to the Theta-Criterion, "each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Chomsky 1981: 36).

Nevertheless, the fourth case consisting of a possessor that moves and receives another θ-role is not covered (Deal 2017). Below, a chart summarises the four possibilities:

(12)

		Does the possessor phrase move?	
		Yes	No
Does the possessor receive an additional theta-role?	Yes	–	Binding analysis
	No	Classic analysis (raising)	Classic analysis (government)

<div align="right">(Deal 2017: 13)</div>

In this context, another view of external possessors is provided by Keach and Rochemont (1994) and Landau (1999) who argue that syntactically the external possessor derives from the internal one by means of movement. However, unlike the classic approach, the two possessor constructions differ semantically due to the affectedness characterising external possessor constructions. Investigating external possessor constructions in Hebrew and Romance, Landau claims that the dative possessor is generated in a caseless Spec position with the possessum, then it raises to a VP-internal position to check dative case thanks to a syntactic movement, while inside the possessum remains an empty category (a trace). The syntactic structure proposed by Landau (1999: 35) is provided in (13):

(13)
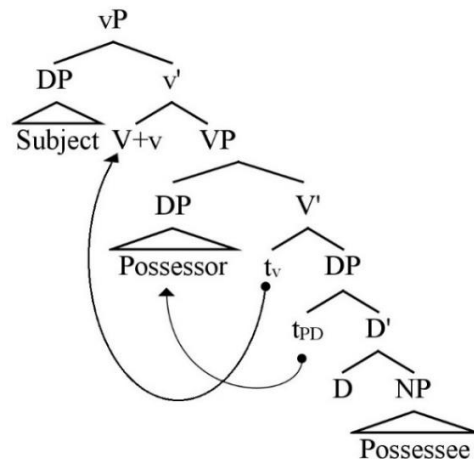
However, Cinque and Krapova (2009) report some evidence against the raising analysis in Romance possessive dative clitic constructions, in particular the possessive raising from inside the inalienable body part-DP, even though it remains unexplained how the external benefactive/malefactive dative receives a possessive interpretation towards the inalienable possession. First, one proof is provided by Kayne (1977), who noticed that this extraction sometimes has to cross a PP node (14). As the examples from Cinque and Krapova (2009: 132) reported below show, the PP blocks the extraction (15a), unlike simple DPs (15b), so the external possessive dative clitic cannot be a result of a movement out the possessum-DP.

(14)   *Italian*

        Gli   hanno   urlato [PP ne[DP gli orecchi]].

        him-DAT have-3PL shouted   in   the ears

        'They shouted in his ears.'

(15)   *Italian*

    a.   *Di chi hanno   urlato [PP ne[DP   gli orecchi]]?

           of whom have-3PL shouted   in   the ears?

           'Who was it that they shouted in his ears?'

    b.   Di chi   hanno   medicato [DP gli orecchi]?

           of whom have-3PL   treated   the ears?

           'Of whom have they treated the ears?'

Another evidence against the possessive dative clitic origin inside the possessum-DP can be found in sentences (16) from Cinque and Krapova (2009: 133). The extraction of the possessor dative clitic in (16b) lacks the singular restriction found in (16a).

(16)   *Italian*

    a.   Hanno   loro   lavato   la testa/*le teste.

        have-3PL   them-DAT   washed   the head/ the heads

        'They washed their heads.'

    b.   Hanno   lavato la loro testa/ le loro teste.

        have-3PL washed the their head/the their heads

        'They washed their head/heads.'

Furthermore, there are cases in which there is no reasonable source for the possessive dative clitic inside the inalienable body-part-DP, as shown in (17) from Kayne (1977: 160).

(17)   Elle lui   a mis la main [là   où   il ne fallait   pas].

        she him-DAT   has put the hand there where it NEG was-appropriate not

        'She put her hand where she shouldn't have.'

        Nevertheless, the approaches mentioned so far did not fully treat the assignment of the θ-roles. It was Hornstein (1999) who proposed a movement analysis of control structures (Deal 2017: 17) which required the Theta-Criterion to be abandoned, making the movement between thematic positions possible. Consequently, control and raising can both be considered as a movement. What differentiates control from raising is the fact that in control the assignment of a θ-role in the higher position of the dependency is expected, while in raising the movement is to a non-thematic position (Deal 2013: 392-393).

        The last approach that is worth mentioning is the one proposed by Deal (2017). According to Deal, there are two types of external possession constructions. The first type (A) is analysed through control and raising, the second type (B) through A- and Ā-dependencies (Deal 2017: 3). For type A, three parameters have been suggested. The first parameter concerns whether a possessor can be DP-generated without receiving case. In case this is possible, there is an additional type of external possession. On the contrary, if

the possessor receives case internally the DP-possessum, thus the external possessor construction is possible only through base-generated binding.

The second parameter is about whether local DP-external heads can assign case to the possessor in situ, without movement, in other words, whether local DP-external heads bear the feature [EPP]. If the heads bear [EPP], the possessor must move externally to the DP. On the other hand, an Exceptional case-marking analysis is expected.

Finally, the third parameter regards the head semantics responsible for possessor movement and its case. If the head has a θ-role, the possessor moves to a thematic position. Otherwise, a raising analysis is expected (Deal 2017). These parameters interact with each other forming a hierarchy called by Baker (2001), Roberts and Holmberg (2010), and Sheehan (2014) *parametric hierarchy*. Below, a schema that illustrates the parametric hierarchy revised by Deal (2017: 25).

(18)

```
                        Caseless possessor possible?
                   _____|_____
                  Yes                               No
                   |                                 |
        Local Case assigner + EPP?    Only base-generated binding [English]
           _____|_____
          Yes           No
           |             |
  Local Case assigner thematic?   ECM analysis [Udmurt]
       _____|_____
      Yes          No
       |            |
Control analysis [German]   Raising analysis [Nez Perce]
```
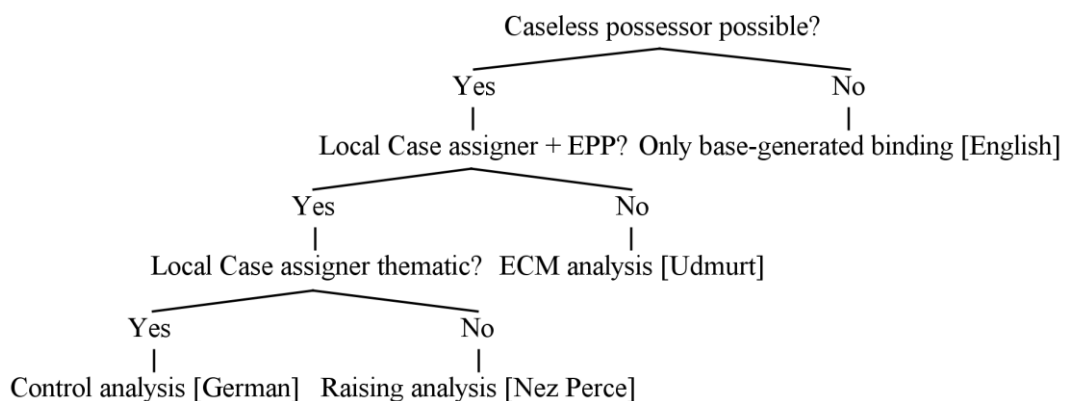
External possessions type B, instead, target subject possessives, analysed through A- and Ā-dependencies. It has to be assumed a head H with feature [EPP$_D$], which commands the subject and it allows movement. On one side, being part of the A system, the head H can assign case and attracts the closest DP. On the other side, as in the Ā system, "H behaves in striking respects" (Deal 2017: 28).

1.2.1   The applicative approach to external possessor constructions

As mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, there are linguists who claim that external possessors are not syntactically licensed by the verb, but by an applicative head (see Payne and Barshi 1999; Cuervo 2003; Markman 2007; Shushurin 2019).

In the linguistic literature, the word "applicative" has gone through revisions and adaptations depending on new linguistic theories developed over the past few years. It is reported that the term first appeared in the 17th century, thanks to the work of some missionaries in Mexico, such as the Jesuit priest and grammarian Horacio Carochi (1586?-1666?)[3], who coined the expression *verbo aplicativo* to refer to a particular verbal form in Uto-Aztecan (Jeong 2007; Peterson 2007; Kiyosawa and Gerdts 2010). In that particular construction, the verb orders or refers its action to someone or something else thanks to the addition of an affix to the verb (Carochi 1759: 86-87; 1892: 466).

Later, probably influenced by the Uto-Aztecan grammar tradition, the word "applicative" was adopted by linguists studying Bantu languages in order to denote a specific phenomenon affecting the verbal inflection. The construction consists of a verb with a specific morpheme which introduces an extra object to the basic argument structure of the verb. Depending on the semantics of the verb, the applied object can assume different thematic roles, such as beneficiary, maleficiary, recipient, instrument, location, or reason/purpose (Bresnan and Moshi 1993; Pylkkänen 2002; Jeong 2007; Peterson 2007; Polinsky 2013). It has also been noted that the applicative suffix has a transitivising effect, turning intransitives into transitives on one hand, supertransitivising transitive verbs on the other (Machobane 1989; Peterson 2007).

It is worth mentioning that during the end of the 20th century many theories developed trying to explain how the applicative constructions originate theoretically, such as Baker's Incorporation Theory and the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) approach. Briefly, Baker's Incorporation Theory explains the nature of the applicative suffix as an incorporation of a preposition into the verb by a head movement (Jeong 2007). Instead, the Lexical Functional Grammar approach believes that applicatives result from a morpho-lexical operation that adds an internal object to the argument structure.

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[3] The dates mentioned are from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* available online on the New Advent website (https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/). Unfortunately, Carochi's dates of birth and death are not certain, as other sources report that Carochi was born in 1579, or even in 1584, and died 1662.

Over the years, the use of the word "applicative" has been extended cross-linguistically also to those constructions lacking overt applicative markers, such as the double object constructions in English and the affected argument constructions in dative/accusative case found in many languages (Marantz 1993). This new perspective led to a revision of what an applicative is, that is a cross-linguistical construction with an additional or *applied* participant treated as a core object rather than an oblique (Pylkkänen 2002; Peterson 2007), regardless of being overtly marked or not.

However, some linguists, e.g. Peterson (2007) and Polinsky (2013), eschew this "inclusive" view of the applicative constructions, preferring to "restrict the designation applicative to those cases where the addition of an object is overtly marked on the predicate" (Polinsky 2013).

Honestly, if I considered just the morphological aspect, at first glance I would agree with the exclusive perspective, as originally the term "applicative" has been used in order to refer to those constructions with a particular affix added to the verb licensing another object in the argument structure of the verb. However, the no morphological realisation of the affix does not mean that it is not present. According to Marantz, double object constructions can be considered as applicative constructions because they always display an affix, regardless of its phonological realisation. Therefore, constructions lacking applicative markers are *de facto* applicative constructions with no phonologically overt applicative affixes (1993: 114). Moreover, even though morpho-syntactic differences can be seen across languages, what is common cross-linguistically is the addition of an object into the argument structure of the verb.

A comprehensive work in support of the inclusive perspective with a lexical-semantic approach is given by Pylkkänen's *Introducing Arguments* (2002), where the linguist proposes two kinds of applicative heads, depending on which complement they take. The applicative head is defined as *high* when syntactically the applicative head is above the VP and it refers to a thematic relation between an individual and an event. On the other hand, the applicative head is *low* when it "denotes a transfer of possession relation between the direct object and the applied argument" and the applicative head merges below the VP with the direct object (Pylkkänen 2002: 16). In addition, the linguist identifies two sub-types of low applicatives: one denotes a recipient-relation between the

direct and the applied object (Low-APPL-TO), the other a source-relation (Low-APPL-FROM).

In order to better grasp the differences among the types and sub-types of applicatives, I provide some examples (19) and the syntactic representation[4] (20) of high and low applicatives according to Pylkkänen (2002):

(19) *Chaga*

    a.   N-ä-ï-lyì-í-à   m-kà   k-élyá.

        FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV   1°-wife   7°-food

        'He is eating food for his wife.'   (Bresnan and Moshi 1993: 49-50)

English

    b.   I baked him a cake.   (Pylkkänen 2002: 21)
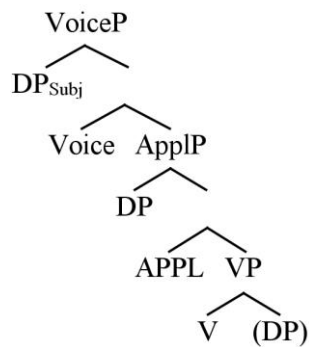
Korean

    c.   Totuk-i   Mary- hanthey   panci-lul humchi-ess-ta.

        thief-NOM   Mary-DAT   ring-ACC   steal-PST-PLAIN

        'The thief stole a ring from Mary.'

        (Lit: 'The thief stole Mary a ring.')   (Pylkkänen 2002: 21)

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[4] According to Kratzer (1996), since external arguments are not arguments of the verb, they are not introduced by the verb, but by a separate predicate, called "Voice". On the contrary, direct objects are arguments of V. As Pylkkänen points out, using Chomsky's external argument introducing head *v* (little *v*) can be confusing, as Marantz employs it for "any functional head that is of verbal category" (Pylkkänen 2002: 14) That is the reason why Pylkkänen adopts the same terminology of Kratzer in the syntactic trees shown in (2).

(20) a. High applicative   b. Low applicative

```
        VoiceP                              VoiceP
       /\                                  /\
   DP_Subj                             DP_Subj
        /\                                  /\
    Voice  ApplP                        Voice  VP
          /\                                  /\
         DP                                 V   ApplP
            /\                                    /\
          APPL  VP                              DP
                /\                                  /\
               V  (DP)                    APPL_TO/FROM  DP
```
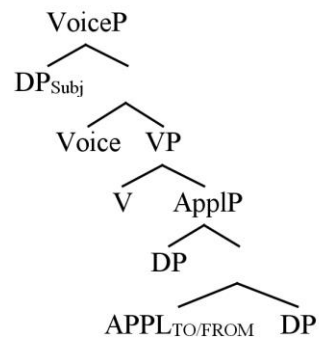
The examples in (19) clarify the differences between high and low applicatives. The sentence in Chaga (19a) displays a high applicative construction, as another participant is added to the event described by the verb and the applicative head is above the verb. On the other hand, (19b-c) contain a low applicative construction, low-recipient and low-source respectively. Semantically, the sentences in English and Korean express a transfer of possession, rather than a participant addition, while syntactically, the applied argument is below the verb. What distinguishes (19b) from (19c) is the fact that in (19b) the indirect object is interpreted as the recipient of the direct object, while *Mary* in (19c) as the possessor of the direct object. Notice that in both high and low applicatives the indirect object c-commands the direct object asymmetrically.

A revision of Pylkkänen's proposal worth mentioning is given by Cuervo (2003), who extended the applicative analysis to dative possessor constructions, finding and proposing an extra variant of the low applicative head, which expresses a static relation of possession (Low-APPL-AT). In this type of low applicative, the dative argument does not lose or get anything, it is just the possessor of the direct object. As evidence of this, Cuervo points out that in Spanish double object constructions the dative argument can be interpreted as a possessor, besides as a recipient and a source. The sentences below show the three roles that dative arguments can take in Spanish double object constructions:

(21) *Spanish*

a. Recipient

Pablo le	regaló	una bicicleta	a Andreína.
Pablo her-$_{DAT}$	gave-$_{3SG}$	a bicycle	Andreína-$_{DAT}$

'Pablo gave Andreína a bicycle (as a gift).' (Cuervo 2003: 55)

b. Source

Pablo le	robó	la bicicleta	a Andreína.
Pablo her-$_{DAT}$	stole-$_{3SG}$	the bicycle	Andreína-$_{DAT}$

'Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreína.' (Cuervo 2003: 55)

c. Possessor

Pablo le	besó	la frente	a Valeria.
Pablo her-$_{DAT}$	kissed-$_{3SG}$	the forehead	Valeria-$_{DAT}$

'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead.'
(Lit: 'Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead.') (Cuervo 2003: 55)

Furthermore, the linguist argues that there are three sub-types of high applicative heads, depending on whether they take a stative (vP$_{BE}$), a dynamic agentive (vP$_{DO}$), or a dynamic non-agentive vP (vP$_{GO}$)[5] (Cuervo 2003: 141).

Finally, analysing Spanish causatives and inchoatives, Cuervo proposes a third applicative head, called affected applicative. This construction consists of a bi-eventive structure, where the dative is an object of the event of change and at the same time is the possessor of the end state of the object (Cuervo 2003: 123). Structurally, the affected applicative includes a resulting state vP and a dynamic v_{DO} and the dative argument lies between the two.

The following sentences are examples of causative (22a) and inchoative (22b) in Spanish. In (23), I provide Cuervo's syntactic representation of affected applicatives in causatives (23a) and inchoatives (23b)[6]:

---

[5] According to Cuervo, there are three sub-types of little v (v_{DO}, v_{GO}, v_{BE}) which correspond to three types of events (activities, changes, states) (2003: 17).
[6] Cuervo argues that there is no vDO, no Voice, and no external argument, since there is no causation in inchoatives (2003: 114).

(22)   *Spanish*

    a.   Emilio le   rompió   la radio   a Valeria.

        Emilio her-$_{DAT}$ broke-$_{3SG}$ the radio-$_{ACC}$ Valeria-$_{DAT}$

        'Emilio broke the radio on Valeria.'

        (Lit. 'Emilio broke Valeria the radio.')   (Cuervo 2003: 91)

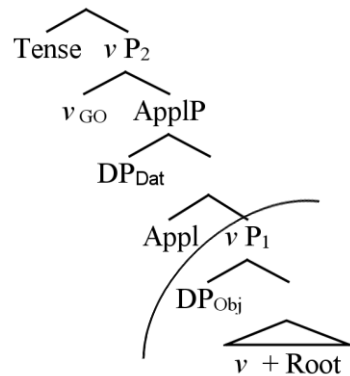   b.   A Emilio   se le   quemaron las tostadas.

        Emilio-$_{DAT}$ se him-$_{DAT}$ burned-$_{3PL}$ the toasts

        'The toasts burned on Emilio.'

        (Lit. 'To Emilio burned the toasts.')   (Cuervo 2003: 91)

(23)   a.   Affected applicatives in causatives
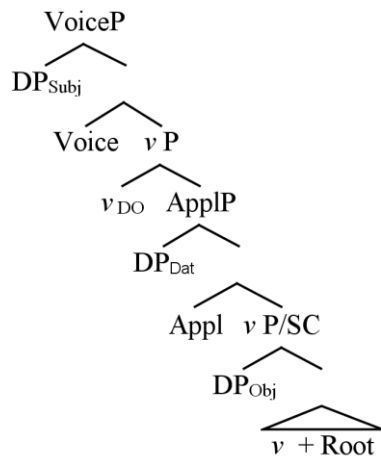
        (Cuervo 2003: 113)

b.   Affected applicatives in inchoatives

Following the linguists who claim that external possessors are licensed by an applicative head and based on the assumption that an applicative is a cross-linguistical construction with an additional participant treated as a core object rather than an oblique, I consider some external possessor constructions as a type of applicative construction which expresses a possession relation. As evidence of this, the possessor is syntactically dependent on the verb but it is an added indirect object which semantically establishes a possession relation towards the possessum.

In the following chapters, I will first redefine the possessors and then focus on Russian external possessor constructions, taking into consideration some aspects that have been arisen hitherto.

Chapter II: Towards a new view of possessors

As reported in the previous chapter, it is generally agreed that the difference between internal and external possessors is typically syntactic – internal possessors, being encoded internally of the possessum-DP, depend on it, while external possessors are encoded out of the possessum-DP showing a verbal dependency. However, the definition provided so far by the theoretic linguistic literature seems not to be completely exhaustive since it does not cover some details which Russian possession constructions display. In particular, analysing Russian external possessor constructions, I wondered whether possessors in sentences such as in (24) should be considered as internal or external. Compare the constructions reported in (24) with an example of internal possessor (25a) and external possessor (25b):

(24)   *Russian*

    a.   Ivan   poceloval   menja   v lob.

          Ivan-NOM   kiss-PST.SG.M   me-ACC   in forehead-ACC

          'Ivan has kissed my forehead.'

          Lit. 'Ivan has kissed me on the forehead.'

    b.   Roditeli   proverili   synu   domašnee zadanie.

          Parents-NOM   check-PST.PL   son-DAT homework-ACC

          'The parents checked their son's homework.'   (Nam 2013: 181)

    c.   U menja u babuški   est' koška.

          at me-GEN at grandma-GEN is   cat-NOM

          'My grandma has a cat.'   (Arylova 2013: 171)

    d.   U nego   fašisty   povesili   otca,   brata   i   sestru.

          at him-GEN fascists-NOM hang-PST.PL   father-ACC brother-ACC and sister-ACC

          'The fascists hanged his father, brother, and sister.'

                                          (Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

(25)   *Russian*

  a.   Boris   slomal   moju   mašinu.

        Boris-NOM   break-PST.SG.M my-ACC car-ACC

        'Boris has broken my car.'

  b.   Boris   slomal   mne   mašinu.

        Boris-NOM   break-PST.SG.M me-DAT   car-ACC

        'Boris has broken my car.'

From the comparison, what stands out is that the possessors in (24) are slightly different from the ones in (25). In (24a), *menja* is the possessor of *lob* and it is an argument of the verb *pocelovat'*. The possessor *menja* does not show any morpho-syntactic dependency towards its possessum. Because of its structure, the sentence cannot be treated as an internal possessor construction like the one in (25a), where the possessor *moju* is a possessive determiner belonging to the DP, in which occurs also the possessum *mašinu*. The possessive determiner clearly depends on its possessum above all morphologically, showing case, gender, and number agreement. Thus, due to its external position to the possessum and its verbal dependency, the possessor *menja* in (24a) seems to be an external possessor construction. However, it is still different from the external possessor construction of the sentence in (25b). As a matter of fact, in (24a) *menja* is an internal argument of the verb *pocelovat'* and is not affected by the action expressed, while in (25b) *mne*, which is the possessor of *mašinu*, is an extra argument of the verb *slomat'* and the possessor seems affected by the verb. The same reasoning can be applied to (24b), which is not an internal possessor construction for the same reasons reported for (24a). However, unlike in (24a), the sentence has the same structure as (25b), namely, the possessor *synu* is an external argument. But, similarly to *menja* in (24a), *synu* does not seem to be affected by the verb *proverit'*. These observations seem to prove the existence of at least three external possessor constructions – one with the external possessor as a non-affected internal argument of the verb (as in 24a), the second one with the external possessor as a non-affected external argument of the verb (as in 24b), and the last one with the external possessor as an affected external argument (as in 25b).

Regarding the structure in (24c), according to Arylova (2013), the sentence has a *be-possessive* construction (*u babuški est' koška*) with an external possessor (*u menja*). However, I do not think that *u menja* in (24c) is an external possessor since it does not seem to be an argument of the verb, rather it forms a single phrase with the possessum *u babuški*, showing a structure more similar to the internal possessor in (25a), despite the morphological independence on the possessum *u babuški*. In such a case, the possessor in the form of the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive appears to behave like an internal possessor in the genitive case. The same applies to (24d). However, it has a different syntactic structure to the internal possessors in (24c) and (25a), as the possessor *u nego* in (24d) is separated from its possessa *otca*, *brata*, and *sestru* by the subject *fašisty* and the verb *povesili*, while the possessors in (24c) and (25a) are close to their possessa. This suggests that also internal possessor constructions have at least two sub-types within the category – one with the possessor close to its possessum (as in 24c; 25a), the other with the possessor detached from the possessum (as in 24d).

The structures presented in (24-25) give clear evidence of the fact that the definition of internal and external possessors generally accepted is piecemeal, hence the need to re-define and complete the classification of internal and external possessors introducing two sub-types for internal possessors and three for external possessors, which I will call *purely internal* and *extrapolated possessors* for the internal type, while *implicit*, *non-affected applicative*, and *affected applicative possessors* for the external type. In the following sections, I will first define theoretically internal and external possessors and their sub-types. I will then present purely internal and extrapolated possessor constructions in Russian, leaving aside the analysis of Russian external possessors, which will be the focus of the following chapters.

2.1   Purely internal, extrapolated, implicit, and applicative possessors

By definition, a possessor is classified as *internal* when it originates internally to the possessum-DP and, being directly dependent on the possessum both syntactically and semantically, it forms a single phrase together with the possessum. Thus, in internal possessor constructions, just a possession relation is conveyed. There are two kinds of internal possessors, namely *purely internal* and *extrapolated*. The two simply differ in

whether the possessor is detached from its possessum (*extrapolated*) or not (*purely internal*). In (26), I provide some examples of purely internal possessors. The possessors are highlighted in bold, while the phrases that the possessors form together with the possessa are marked with square brackets:

(26) *English*

   a.   I read [**Mary's** book]/[the book **of Mary**].

   Italian

   b.   [Il   gatto   **di Francesco**] è grasso.

        The   cat   of Francesco   is fat

        'Francesco's cat is fat.'

   Spanish

   c.   [**Mi** hermano] me enseñó   como   tocar la guitarra.

         My brother   me teach   how   play the guitar

        'My brother taught me how to play the guitar.'

   Portuguese

   d.   [A   avó   **dela**] mora   em outro   país.

        The   grandmother of.her lives   in another   country

        'Her grandmother lives in another country.'

   French

   e.   Le   medecin   a   radiographié [**leur** estomacs].

        The   doctor   has x-rayed   their stomachs

        'The doctor x-rayed their stomachs.'   (Vergnaud, Zubizarreta 1992: 598)

As the examples just reported show, purely internal possessors can take different forms, such as a prepositional phrase (26a-b; 26d) or a possessive determiner (26c; 26e). Notice that the possessor can precede or follow the possessum, depending on the language and the morphological form the possessor takes. For example, in English, in case the speaker

uses the Saxon genitive, the possessor precedes the possessum. On the contrary, if the possessor is a prepositional phrase, then it follows the possessum, as it occurs in (26a).

Extrapolated possessors are less common than purely internal ones because not all languages allow the extrapolation of the possessor. As a matter of fact, the possessors in (26) cannot be extrapolated, without the sentences becoming ungrammatical, as demonstrated in (27):

(27)   *English*

    a.   *Mary's/*Of Mary I read the book.

          or,

          *The book I read Mary's/*of Mary.

    Italian

    b.   *Di Francesco è grasso   il   gatto.

          Of   Francesco is fat   the   cat

          or,

          *Il gatto è grasso di Francesco.

          The cat   is fat   of Francesco

          Intended: 'Francesco's cat is fat.'

    Spanish

    c.   *Mi me enseñó hermano   como   tocar la guitarra.

          My   me taught brother   how   play the guitar

          or,

          *Hermano me enseñó mi como tocar la guitarra.

          Brother   me taught my how play the guitar

          Intended: 'My brother taught me how to play the guitar.'

Portuguese

d.　*Dela　a　　avó　　　　　mora　em outro　　país.

Of.her　the　grandmother　　　lives　in　another　country

or,

*A avó　　　　　mora　　em outro　　país　dela.

the grandmother　lives　　in　another　country of.her

Intended: 'Her grandmother lives in another country.'

French

e.　*Leur　le　medecin　　a　radiographié estomacs.

Their　the　doctor　　　has x-rayed　　stomachs

or,

*Estomacs le　medecin　a　radiographié leur.

Stomachs　the doctor　　has x-rayed　　their

Intended: 'The doctor x-rayed their stomachs.'

I think that the ungrammaticality is due to the movement characterising extrapolated possessors which requires a language with more flexible word order, such as Russian. In fact, the possessor extrapolation is possible in Russian (see section 2.2 of this chapter).

　　On the contrary, *external* possessors have a completely different nature than the internal category. As a matter of fact, they do not originate internally to the possessum-DP, to which they are just semantically connected, rather externally, showing a verbal dependency. External possessors are of two types – *implicit* and *applicative*. Implicit possessors can have both a DP or a PP structure, depending on the language and the sentence. This type of external possessors is very common, since it appears with different verbs and prepositions, as evidenced in the following examples:

(28)　*Italian*

　　a.　**Claudio**　ha perso　le chiavi　di casa.

Claudio　　has lost　　the keys　　of house

'Claudio lost the keys to the house.'

Portuguese

b.   **Anita** mora no   Brasil com   <u>o marido</u>.

Anita lives   in.the Brazil with   the husband

'Anita lives in Brazil with her husband.'

French

c.   J'ai   volé   <u>500 euros</u>   à **mes parents**.

I.have   stolen 500 euros   to my parents

'I stole 500 euros from my parents.'

In (28), the possessors are marked in bold, while their possessa are underlined. In (28a), it is not explicitly expressed that *Claudio* is the possessor of the keys, in fact, the possession relation between the two can only be derived pragmatically – only the speakers know that the keys that have been lost are Claudio's. Obviously, it is also highly likely the situation in which Claudio lost the keys owned by someone else but also this kind of information can be deducted only pragmatically unless explicitly stated. In (28b), the possession relation is implicit but easily inferred thanks to the semantics of the kinship term *marido*. Unlike in (28a), there is no ambiguity regarding the husband "owner", due to the strong semantical connection between the possessor and the possessum given by the kinship term. In case the possessor is not *Anita* but someone else, then it should be explicitly expressed (29), and not just derived on a pragmatic level. Finally, in (28c), the possessor *mes parents* is semantically identified, since the verb *to steal* implies a possessor from whom someone steals the possessum.

(29)   *Portuguese*

Anita mora   no   Brasil com   o marido da   Leia.

Anita lives   in.the Brazil with   the husband of.the Leia

'Anita lives in Brazil with Leia's husband.'

On the other hand, applicative possessors are DPs and appear in double object constructions. They receive two θ-roles – [+possessor] towards the possessum on a semantic level and [+benefactive/malefactive] syntactically given by the verb. However,

unlike in implicit possessor constructions, applicative possessors can be affected by the action of the verb, making the whole sentence more emotional and emphatic. Hence, the need to distinguish applicative possessors being affected by the action of the verb (*affected applicative possessors*) from those in which the possessor is not affected (*non-affected applicative possessors*). The difference between the two consists merely in the selection of the verb – in affected applicative constructions the verb has a causative effect not only on the possessum but also on the possessor that, consequently, undergoes the action together with the possessum (30a). On the contrary, in non-affected applicative constructions, as the name suggests, the possessor does not seem to be affected by the verb (30b).

(30)　　*Italian*

　　　　a.　　Mio fratello mi　　ha distrutto　la macchina.

　　　　　　My brother me-$_{DAT}$　has destroyed　the car

　　　　　　'My brother destroyed my car.'

　　　　b.　　I　miei genitori mi　　hanno comprato　una　　macchina nuova.

　　　　　　The my　parents me-$_{DAT}$ have　bought　　a　　　car　　new

　　　　　　'My parents bought me a new car.'

In order to clarify the distinction between the two types of external possessors, some instances of implicit possessors (31) and their relative applicative constructions (32) with ditransitive verbs are presented. The possessors are marked in bold, while the possessa are underlined:

(31)　　*French*

　　　　a.　　Le　medecin　a　radiographié l'estomac　**aux enfants**.

　　　　　　The doctor　　has x-rayed　　the stomach to.the children

　　　　　　'The doctor x-rayed the children's stomachs.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992: 597)

Italian

b.   Luigi salvò   <u>la vita</u> a **Gianni**.

       Luigi saved   the life to Gianni

       'Luigi saved Gianni's life.'

English

c.   John gave <u>the guitar</u> to **Mary**.

(32)   *French*

a.   Le médecin **leur**   a   radiographié <u>l'estomac</u>.

       the doctor   them-$_{DAT}$ has x-rayed   the stomach

       'The doctor examined their stomachs.'

                              (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992: 597)

Italian

b.   Luigi **gli**   salvò   <u>la vita</u>.

       Luigi him-$_{DAT}$ saved   the life

       'Luigi saved his life.'

English

c.   John gave **Mary** <u>the guitar</u>.

As the examples in (28) and (31) show, implicit possessors can appear in different constructions, unlike applicative possessors (30; 32), which show up with ditransitive verbs. Notice that when turning implicit possessors into applicative constructions, in some languages the possessor must change its morphological form, becoming a pronoun, as it occurs in French and Italian (32a-b), while in other languages, e.g. in English (32c), the PP turns into a NP keeping only the noun of the PP. Obviously, for languages in which the applicative construction is formed by pronominalising the implicit possessor, as in Italian and French, the pronominalisation requires that the possessor is already introduced into the context.

For what concerns the semantics, the two external possessors types are different. Depending on the verb, implicit possessors can have several θ-roles. As evidence of this, in (28a-b) the possessor is an agent, in (28c; 31a) a theme, and in (31b-c) a benefactive. On the contrary, applicative possessors can be benefactives or malefactives, as the examples in (30) and (32) demonstrate. However, benefactives/malefactives in applicative possessor constructions are slightly different from benefactives/malefactives in implicit possessors constructions on a semantic level. As a matter of fact, comparing (31a) with (32a), the possessor in (32a) seems to be totally affected by the verb, and not just the possessum, even if it is just the stomach that has actually been examined. The same does not apply to (31a), where the possessor *aux enfants* seems to lose attention in favour of the possessum *estomac*. In fact, the sentence does not convey any total participation or affectedness of the possessor, but just of the possessum. I think that applicative possessors can be affected by the verb also due to their nature. I believe that their NP-structure as indirect objects without prepositions and their higher and closer position to the verb than the implicit possessor counterpart help in conveying directly the action towards the possessor, making it affected. In fact, the form as an indirect object makes the possessor an active participant in the action. On the contrary, in implicit possessor constructions as in (31), the possessor with the preposition seems to take second place compared to the direct object, although the preposition directs the verbal action to the possessor. In the form of a prepositional phrase, implicit possessors appear to be secondary participants, unlike in applicative possessor constructions. That is probably why a sentence with an implicit possessor sounds less emotional than a sentence with an applicative possessor. The choice to use applicative possessors instead of the implicit counterpart will thus depend on what the speaker wants to express – whether to focus the attention on the possessor or not – and what the interlocutor already knows. However, it will also be influenced by the Economy Principle. In fact, both external possessor constructions convey the same meaning but the applicative type in fewer words. For example, between (31b) and (32b), the speaker would prefer the applicative construction, in case *Gianni* is already introduced into the context. There would be no need to reintroduce *Gianni*.

It should also be noted that implicit and applicative possessors can appear in constructions where there is a transfer of possession. As a matter of fact, in (31c) and

(32c), the guitar passes from its original possessor (*John*) to a new possessor (*Mary*). In such a case, there is no affectedness conveyed in the applicative construction. The transfer of possession can be temporary or not. For instance, in (31c) and (32c) there is no information regarding the temporariness, but in (33a), it is supposed that the letter is passed temporarily from its sender to a person (*the secretary*) that later will deliver the letter to its addressee. Thus, the secretary is just a temporary possessor. On the contrary, in (33b), due to the semantic of the verb, the new possessor *Maria* is supposed to keep the status as a possessor.

(33) *Italian*

    a.   Ho   dato   la lettera   alla   segretaria.

        have-$_{1SG}$ given   the letter   to.the secretary

        'I gave the letter to the secretary.'

    b.   Ho   regalato tutti i   miei libri   a Maria.

        have-$_{1SG}$ given   all the my   books to Maria

        'I gave Mary all my books as a gift.'

Cinque and Krapova (2008) show the possibility/impossibility of the coexistence of the dative clitic and the prepositional dative in the same sentence in Spanish, Italian, and French, noting that the construction is possible in Spanish (34a), while the coexistence of both the dative clitic and the prepositional phrase is not possible in Italian (34b) and French (34c).

(34) *Spanish*

    a.   *(Le)   sacaron la muela   del   juicio   a Juan.

        (him-$_{DAT}$) pulled   the tooth of.the wisdom   to Juan

        'They pulled out Juan's wisdom tooth.'   (Jaeggli 1980: 62)

Italian

b. Gli   hanno estratto il dente   del   giudizio (*a Gianni).

him-DAT have-3PL pulled the tooth   of.the wisdom (to Gianni)

'They pulled out Gianni's wisdom tooth.'

(Cinque and Krapova 2008: 67)

French

c. Ils   lui   ont   arraché   les dents de sagesse (*à Patrick).

they   him-DAT have-3PL pulled   the teeth of wisdom (to Patrick)

'They pulled out Patrick's wisdom teeth.'   (Authier 1988:168)

However, for what concerns the Italian case, as a native speaker, I would accept the coexistence of the dative clitic and the prepositional dative only in sentences like (35), which are characterised by a different intonation, with *a Gianni* focused:
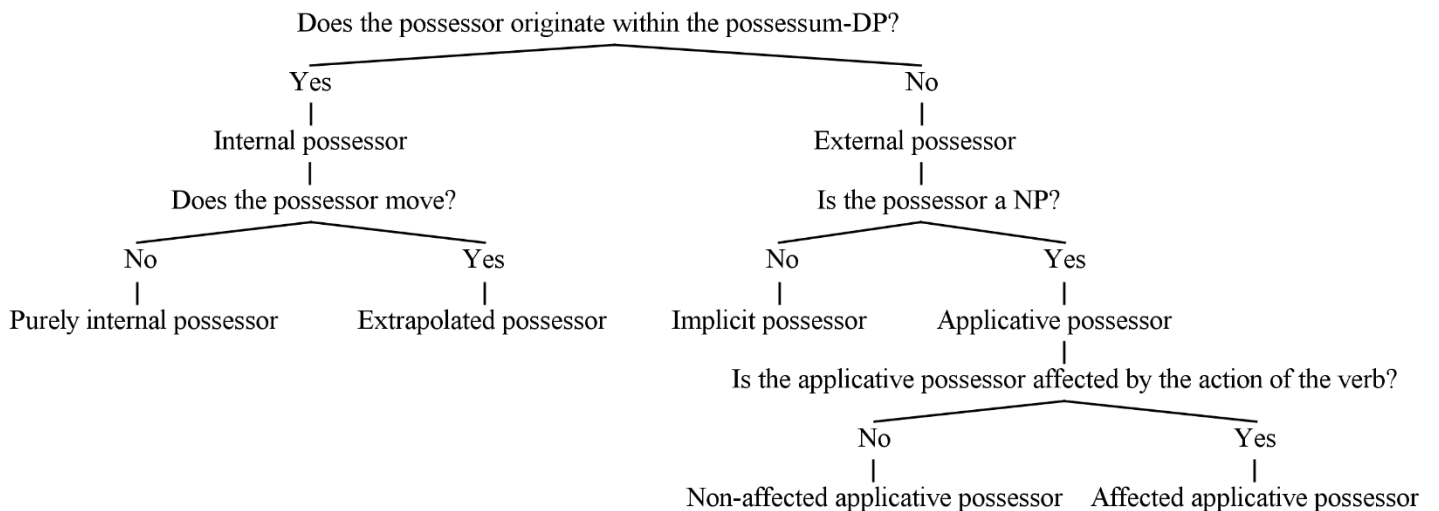
(35) *Italian*

a. Gli   hanno estratto il dente   del   giudizio, A GIANNI.

him-DAT have-3PL pulled   the tooth   of.the wisdom to Gianni

'They pulled him out the wisdom tooth, to GIANNI.'

b. A GIANNI,   gli   hanno estratto il dente del   giudizio.

To Gianni   him-DAT have-3PL pulled   the tooth of.the   wisdom

'To GIANNI, they pulled him out the wisdom tooth.'

To conclude, I provide a chart that summarises the types of possessors and their characteristics presented so far (36). The scheme in (37) helps to identify the type of possessor in a sentence.

(36)   Types of possessors and their characteristics:

Internal Possessors		External Possessors	
• Origin: within the possessum-DP • Dependence: syntactically and semantically on the possessum-DP • It forms a single phrase together with the possessum		• Origin: external to the possessum-DP • Dependence: syntactically on the verb, semantically on the possessum-DP • It forms a separate phrase	
Purely internal	Extrapolated	Implicit	Applicative
• No movement	• It moves out of the possessum-DP	• PP • With different verbs • No [+affectee]	• NP • With ditransitive verbs • [± affectee]

(37)

Does the possessor originate within the possessum-DP?

Yes → Internal possessor → Does the possessor move?
  No → Purely internal possessor
  Yes → Extrapolated possessor

No → External possessor → Is the possessor a NP?
  No → Implicit possessor
  Yes → Applicative possessor → Is the applicative possessor affected by the action of the verb?
    No → Non-affected applicative possessor
    Yes → Affected applicative possessor

2.2 Russian purely internal and extrapolated possessors

Thanks to its syntax, the Russian language displays both sub-types of internal possessors. Concerning the purely internal type, it can appear under different forms, such as a possessive determiner (38a), an adjective (38b), a noun (38c-d), or a prepositional phrase (38e-f), as the following sentences show. Below, the possessors are marked in bold, while their possessa are underlined. The single phrase they form together is enclosed into square brackets and syntactically illustrated in (39):

(38) a. [**Eë**   sobaka]   begaet   po   parku.
          Her-NOM   dog-NOM   run-PRS.3SG   around   park-DAT
          'Her dog is running around the park.'

      b. Tixo   i   mirno   žili   Anton   i   Elena
          Quietly and   peacefully live-PST.PL   Anton-NOM   and   Elena-NOM
          [v **babuškinoj**   kvartire].
          in grandmother's-PREP   apartment-PREP
          'Anton and Elena lived quietly and peacefully in their grandmother's apartment.'   (Ruscorpora)

      c. Ja   čitala   [knigu   **Mariny**].
          I-NOM   read-PST.SG.F   book-ACC   Marina-GEN
          'I read Marina's book.'

      d. S   nim   byla   [**deva**   s   volosami čërnymi].
          With   him-INSTR be-PST.SG.F   maid-NOM   with   hair-INSTR black-INSTR
          'With him there was a maid with black hair.'   (Ruscorpora)

      e. [Uxo   **ot   starogo   medvedja**].
          Ear-NOM   from   old-GEN   Teddy bear-GEN
          'A (separated) ear of an old Teddy bear.'   (Weiss and Raxilina 2002: 196)

f.   [**U nas** <u>**u gosudaryni**</u> <u>syn</u>]   s   uma   sošël.

at us-GEN at Empress-GEN son-NOM with mind-INSTR get.off-PST.SG.M

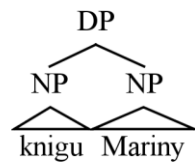'Our Empress's son has gone crazy.'   (Zolotova 1988: 115)
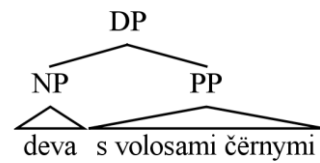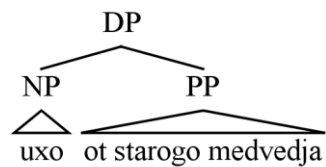
(39) a.   b.

DP
eë sobaka

PP
v babuškinoj kvartire

c.   d.

DP
NP NP
knigu Mariny

DP
NP PP
deva s volosami čërnymi

e.   f.

DP
NP PP
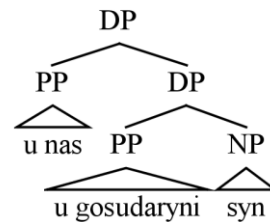uxo ot starogo medvedja

DP
PP DP
u nas PP NP
u gosudaryni syn

At this point, I would make some comments regarding the construction with the preposition *u* followed by the genitive case. The prepositional phrase taken into account has already been analysed and classified as an external possessor (e.g. in Weiss and Raxilina 2002, Paykin and Peteghem 2003, Markman 2007, Arylova 2013, Nam 2013, Seržant 2016, Shushurin 2019a;b), however, I do not agree with such assumption. In my opinion, the *u*+genitive prepositional phrase should be considered as an internal

possessor. As a matter of fact, considering the sentence in (38f), being in a close position to its possessum, the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive seems to behave like a bare genitive, rather than an external possessor. The possessor *u nas* c-commands the possessum/possessor *u gosudaryni*, which in turn modifies the possessum *syn*. If the prepositional phrase in (38f) would be an external possessor, thus the order of the two prepositional phrases could be reversed without any semantical change. However, this does not occur, as demonstrated in (40). Since it is modifying *u nas*, the prepositional phrase *u gosudaryni* cannot refer to *syn*. It is *u nas* that is modifying *syn*.

(40) *[U gosudaryni   u nas   syn]   s   uma   sošël.
       at Empress-GEN at us-GEN son-NOM with mind-INSTR get.off-PST.SG.M
       Intended: 'Our Empress's son has gone crazy.'

The internal origin of the *u*+genitive is also suggested by comparing the use of such prepositional phrase with the external possessor in the dative case. As a matter of fact, *u*+genitive tends to appear with alienable possession (41a) and can occur with generalised possessors (42a). On the contrary, the dative has a tendency to occur with inalienable possession (41b) and animate possessors (42b) (Pete 1979).

(41) a.   U nego   vyrvali   sumku iz   ruk.
           at his-GEN   tear-PST.PL   bag-ACC out.of hands-GEN
           'They tore the bag out of his hands.'   (Cienki 1993: 78)

      b.   Emu   vyrvali   zub.
           him-DAT pull-PST.PL   tooth-ACC
           'They pulled his tooth.'   (Cienki 1993: 79)

(42) a.   Ona   otbila   u čajnika   /*čajniku   nosik.
           she-NOM break-PST.SG.F at tea pot-GEN / tea pot-DAT   spout-ACC
           'She broke the tea pot's spout.'   (Paykin and Van Peteghem 2003: 336)

b. Otrubit' emu golovu!

cut.off-INF him-DAT head-ACC

'Cut off his head!'   (Cienki 1993: 79)

The fact that the prepositional phrase can appear with alienable possessa and also with generalised possessor suggests a great versatility which can be found in internal possessor constructions, rather than in the external ones. Furthermore, while external possessors usually have more than one θ-roles – for example, in constructions with dative arguments, the possessor is also affected by the action, besides being the possessor –, the *u*+genitive seems to express only a possession relation, which is typical of internal possessors. Such prepositional phrase has a particular "locative-possessive" reading which suggests the idea that "something is owned *by* (nearby, in the proximity of) someone". Its interpretation is purely possessive, even though it may appear different from the bare genitive and the possessive adjective.

Therefore, the *u*+genitive prepositional phrase is internally generated within the DP-possessum and should be considered as another kind of internal possessor.

As a consequence, by extension, I would consider internal possessors also the following constructions with the *u*+genitive prepositional phrase:

(43) a. [U nego otec] rabotal glavnym inženerom

At him-GEN father-NOM work-PST.SG.M chief-INSTR engineer-INSTR

kievskoj èlektrostancij.

Kiev-GEN power plant-GEN

'His father worked as the chief engineer of the Kiev power plant.'

(Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

b. [U nas mužiki] ljubili lošadej kormit'.

at us-GEN men-NOM love-PST.PL horses-ACC feed-INF

'Our men loved to feed the horses.'   (Ruscorpora)

c.   [U menja načalnik] nedovolen   rabotoj.

at me-GEN boss-NOM unsatisfied-NOM work-INSTR

'My boss is unhappy with the work.'   (Shushurin 2019a: 1)

The *u*+genitive can also act as a bare genitive, following the possessum-DP but still referring to it (44).

(44) a.   [Serdce   u menja] ëknulo.

Heart-NOM   at me-GEN skip-PST.SG.N a beat

'My heart skipped a beat.'   (Ruscorpora)

b.   [Rubaška u menja]   byla   grjaznaja.

shirt-NOM at me-GEN   be-PST.SG.F dirty-NOM

'My shirt was dirty.'   (Ruscorpora)

c.   [Sobaki   u tebja]   zimujut   v vol'ere

dogs-NOM at you-GEN spend-PRS.3PL the winter in enclosure-PREP

na ulice.

in street-PREP

'Your dogs spend the winter in an enclosure outdoors.'

(Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

I believe that the canonical word order of the *u*+genitive as a possessor is the one presented in (43), namely the prepositional phrase fronting the possessum. This is proved by the fact that the word order of *be-* and *have-*possessives taught to students of Russian as a second language is the following: possessor expressed via the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive followed by the verb *est'*/*imeet'sja*, then the possessum in the nominative case. Other positions of the genitive prepositional phrase are learned later on by students. Furthermore, doubling constructions (38f) show the order possessor > possessor > possessum and not vice versa. Thus, since the word order in Russian is relatively free, the postponed position (44) is due to pragmatical reasons.

Under these circumstances, I asked myself whether the possessor-PP can show up in other positions towards the possessum, besides the prepended and the postponed positions just considered. Consulting the corpora *Ruscorpora* and *Sketch Engine* (*ruTenTen11*), I spotted the following possible positions of the possessor (45):

(45)   a.   V voskresenie, 8 avgusta   2010 goda,   u menja ubežala

               In Sunday-ACC 8 august-GEN 2010 year-GEN,   at me-GEN run.away-PST.SG.F

               koška.

               cat-NOM

               'Sunday, 8 August 2010, my cat ran away.'   (Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

      b.   U Alečki   segodnja u rebënka   vypusknoj   utrennik

               at Alečka-GEN today   at child-GEN graduation-NOM matinee-NOM

               v detskom sadu.

               in kindergarten-PREP

               'Alečka's child has a matinee in the kindergarten today.'   (Ruscorpora)

The examples in (45) show that the prepositional phrase can appear also detached from its possessum. In the examples reported, the possessor and the possessum are separated by a verb (45a) or an adverb (45b). What stands out is the position that the possessor occupies, namely, it is always higher than the possessum. In (45a) *u menja* c-commands *koška*, while in (45b) the possessor *u Alečki* c-commands *u rebënka* that in turn c-commands *vypusknoj utrennik*. The lower position of the prepositional phrase as a possessor is possible (46), however, I believe that such word order is due to pragmatical reasons, since it is not commonly used:

(46)   Noga   slomana   u čeloveka.

           leg-NOM   break-PART.PST.PASS.SG.F at man-GEN

           'A man's leg is broken.'   (Ruscorpora)

The data found on Ruscorpora and the aspect that has emerged regarding the position of the prepositional phrase lead me to assume that the prepositional phrase of the

u-GEN type in (43-46) are all internal possessors, but, since the possessor can occur in various positions, I think it is relevant to distinguish those constructions in which the possessor *u*+genitive moves out of the possessum-DP from those in which it does not. Hence, the decision to propose a merely position-related distinction within the category of internal possessors, introducing the *purely internal possessor* and the *extrapolated possessor* types. With the purely internal class, I mean those constructions in which the possessor does not move out of the possessum-DP, while the extrapolated possessor class refers to those possessors which are detached from their possessa, thus, they appear to be out of the possessum-DP.

Applying these definitions to some sentences already analysed and recalled in (47), the prepositional phrases in (47a-b) would be considered as purely internal possessors, while the one in (47c) extrapolated.

(47) a. U nego   otec   rabotal   glavnym   inženerom
          At him-GEN father-NOM work-PST.SG.M chief-INSTR   engineer-INSTR
          kievskoj èlektrostancij.
          Kiev-GEN power plant-GEN
          'His father worked as the chief engineer of the Kiev power plant.'

                                                          (Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

      b. Sobaki   u tebja   zimujut   v vol'ere
          dogs-NOM at you-GEN spend-PRS.3PL the winter in enclosure-PREP
          na ulice.
          in street-PREP
          'Your dogs spend the winter in an enclosure outdoors.'

                                                          (Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

      c. V voskresenie, 8 avgusta   2010 goda,   u menja ubežala
          In Sunday-ACC 8 August-GEN 2010 year-GEN, at me-GEN run.away-PST.3SG.F
          koška.
          cat-NOM
          'Sunday, 8 August 2010, my cat ran away.' (Sketch Engine-ruTenTen11)

I have no doubts regarding the classification of the possessor-PPs in (47a) and (47c), however, a reflection on the possessor in (47b) should be made. As a matter of fact, the postponed position of the *u*-GEN can be seen either as a purely internal or an extrapolated possessor. Concerning the possessor-PP as a purely internal possessor, the movement occurs internally to the possessum-DP. Thus, the possessor remains inside the DP, in which the word order is just reversed, that is possessum > possessor (as in 48), instead of possessor > possessum (47a). With regards to the possessor-PP as an extrapolated possessor, the possessor moves out to the original DP, leaving a trace, signalling both the internal generation of the possessor and the dominance over the possessum (49a). However, the postponed position of the possessor can be also explained by a movement of the possessum on the left periphery (49b). The same applies to the sentence in (47c). *U menja ubežala koška* could derive either from *ubežala u menja koška* with a possessor movement on the left (49c), or from *u menja koška ubežala* with a possessum movement on the right (49d). Regardless of whether the movement affects the possessor or the possessum, the possessor of the *u*-GEN type in (47c) is still considered extrapolated, since it appears out of the context in which it "should" occur, namely close to the possessum.

(48)　　　　PURELY INTERNAL POSSESSOR

[u menja koška] ubežala > [[u menja] [koška]] ubežala >

> [[koška] [u menja]] ubežala

(49)　　　　EXTRAPOLATED POSSESSOR

a.　　　Possessor movement – Right

[u menja koška] ubežala > [[u menja] [koška]]　　　　ubežala >

> [[t$_i$] [koška]] [u menja]$_i$ ubežala

b.　　　Possessum movement – Left

[u menja koška] ubežala >　　　　[[u menja] [koška]] ubežala >

> [koška]$_i$ [[u menja] [t$_i$]] ubežala

c. Possessor movement – Left

ubežala [u menja koška] >   ubežala [[u menja] [koška]]   >

> [u menja]$_i$ ubežala [[t$_i$] [koška]]

d. Possessum movement – Right

[u menja koška] ubežala > [[u menja] [koška]] ubežala   >

> [[u menja] [t$_i$]] ubežala [koška]$_i$

From what has been discussed so far, it seems to me that the postponed position of the prepositional phrase *u*-GEN is much closer to a purely internal possessor than an extrapolated possessor, behaving like a bare genitive following its possessum. Thus, the *u*-GEN as an internal possessor presents a double function, acting like a possessive determiner, fronting the possessum, or a bare genitive, following its possessum.

I believe that what has been proposed for the prepositional phrase *u*-GEN as an internal possessor can be applied also to a sentence like in (50). This particular construction, formed by the *u*+genitive prepositional phrase, a nominative object, and a verb with the particle *-s'/-sja* attached, can have two interpretations – a possessive and an anticausative reading, depending on which variable the prepositional phrase binds (Rivero and Savchenko 2004, Arylova 2013). I think that in case the prepositional phrase binds the object in the nominative case, then the prepositional phrase can be considered as an internal possessor.

(50)   U Ivana   očki   slomalis'.
         At Ivan-GEN   glasses-NOM   break-PST.PL.REFL
         'Ivan's glasses broke.'   (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 1)

However, further research is needed on this topic. Such construction should be compared with the dative external possessor one in order to find out if the construction with the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive may have an affected interpretation or not. In case a kind of affectedness is conveyed, then it must be compared the genitive with the dative construction to discover which construction expresses more affectedness. In case

the prepositional phrase construction presents just a possessive reading, then it should be considered an internal possessor.

Also, it would be interesting to understand the reasons which lead a Russian native speaker to prefer a specific possessor position towards the possessum in internal possessor constructions and to choose an extrapolated possessor constructions rather than a purely internal possessor one. Furthermore, it should be further examined the double nature of the internal possessor *u*-GEN.

As the focus of this thesis is to analyse Russian external possessor constructions, I leave these aspects out for further research.

Chapter III: Russian external possessor constructions

The Russian language displays both types of external possessors – implicit and applicative. In this chapter, I will present Russian implicit and applicative possessors, proposing my view for their syntactic structure and introducing the concept of "Possessive Shell". For the applicative possessors, I will also show the different syntactic analyses that have been recently proposed by linguists studying applicatives constructions in Russian.
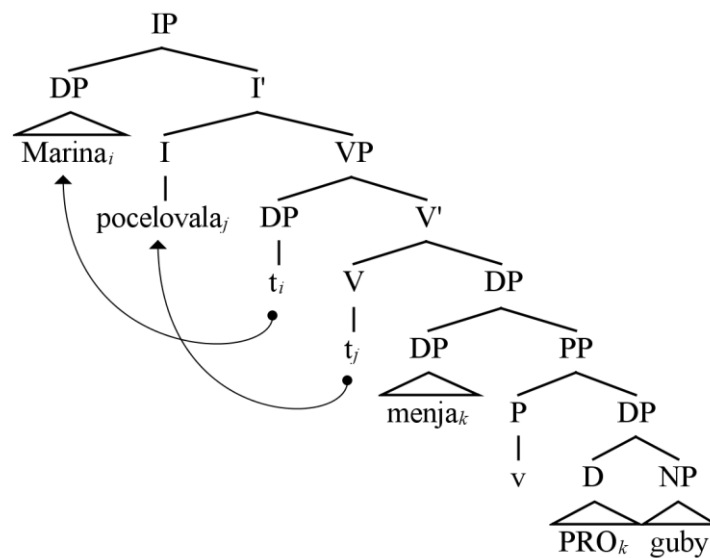
3.1 Russian implicit possessors

As explained and shown in the previous chapter, implicit possessors are syntactically dependent on the verb while semantically bound to the possessum. In Russian, implicit possessors can appear in different ways, depending on the verb. They mainly show up in the nominative case as subjects or in the accusative case as direct objects. They can even appear in prepositional phrases formed by the preposition *k* followed by the dative case, as shown in (51).
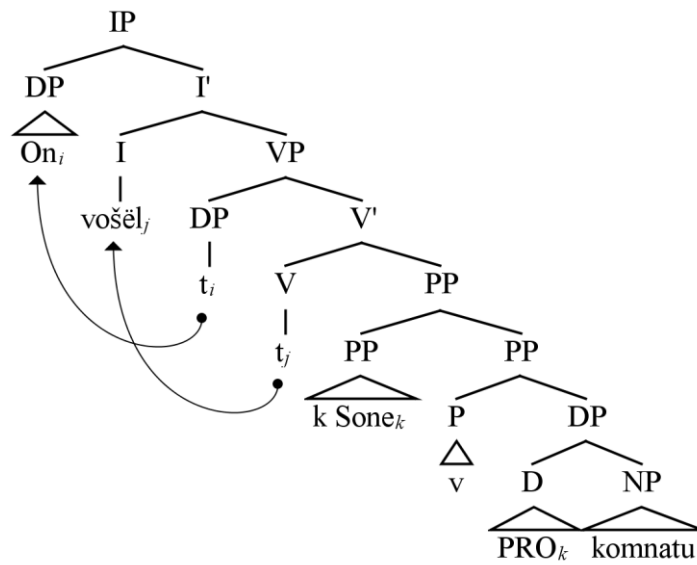
(51) a.   Marina   pocelovala   menja v   guby.

             Marina-NOM   kiss-PST.SG.F   me-ACC on   lips-ACC

             'Marina has kissed my lips.'

             Lit. 'Marina has kissed me on the lips.'

      b.   On   vošël   k Sone   v komnatu.

             He-NOM   enter-PST.SG.M to Sonja-DAT   into the room-PREP

             'He entered Sonja's room.'   (Garde 1985: 183)

      c.   On   pil   čaj   s   ženoj.

             He   drink-PST.SG.M tea-ACC with   wife-INSTR

             'He drank tea with his wife.'   (Ruscorpora)

Implicit possessors can be syntactically explained through the control analysis. I believe that this approach offers a comprehensive structure to illustrate this kind of external possessor. As a matter of fact, it allows the possessor to receive a θ-role from the verb on one hand, while expressing an implicit possession relation between the possessor and the possessum through control on the other hand. I argue that the possessum-DP has a possessive determiner that becomes silent due to the external presence of the possessor. For economic reasons and thanks to the control over the possessum, the external presence of the possessor in the sentence allows the deletion of the possessive determiner, which is syntactically displayed by a PRO, as shown in the syntactic representations (52) of the implicit possessor constructions presented in (51).
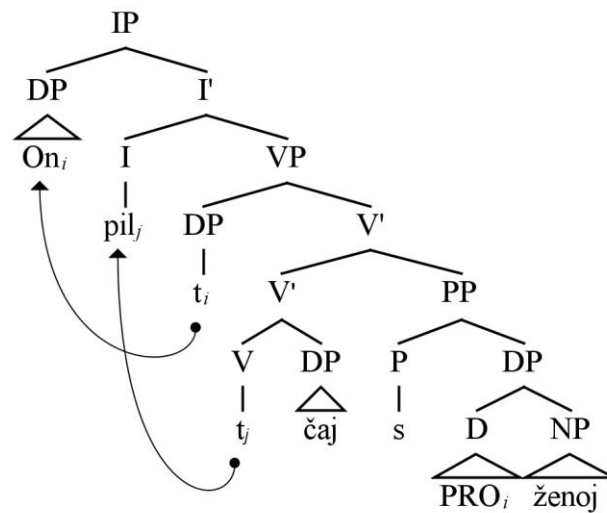
(52)   a.   Marina pocelovala menja v guby

b.	On vošël k Sone v komnatu

IP
DP	I'
On$_i$
	I	VP
	vošël$_j$	DP	V'
		t$_i$	V	PP
			t$_j$	PP	PP
				k Sone$_k$	P	DP
					v	D	NP
						PRO$_k$	komnatu

c.	On pil čaj s ženoj

IP
DP	I'
On$_i$
	I	VP
	pil$_j$	DP	V'
		t$_i$	V'	PP
			V	DP	P	DP
			t$_j$	čaj	s	D	NP
					PRO$_i$	ženoj

In *Marina pocelovala menja v guby* (51a; 52a), the interlocutor does not have any doubt regarding who the possessor of *guby* is – even though it seems that there is no morphological/syntactical bound with the possessum, *menja* is unquestionably

considered the possessor because it c-commands the whole possessum-PP. However, considering the sentence without the argument *menja*, the interlocutor will ask whose lips Marina has kissed since the possessor is not expressed. In case *menja* is missing, then an internal possessor is required in order to understand whose lips are, e.g. *Marina pocelovala v moi guby* (lit. 'Marina has kissed on my lips'), keeping the prepositional phrase, although the more common variant would be with bare accusative in lieu of the prepositional phrase, namely *Marina pocelovala moi guby* (lit. 'Marina has kissed my lips'). On the contrary, the co-occurrence of both the external and the internal possessors – *Marina pocelovala menja v moi guby* (lit. 'Marina has kissed me on my lips') – makes the sentence redundant. In this case, the possessive determiner sounds unnecessary because *anaphoric*, due to the previous presence of *menja*, which already conveys the possession relation. Consequently, being "unnecessary", the internal possessor is phonologically deleted in favour of the phonological realisation of the external possessor.

Since the co-occurrence of both the external and internal possessors makes the internal possessor anaphoric and gives the external possessor the priority to be displayed, I believe that the phonological realisation of the internal possessor depends on the syntactical occurrence of the external possessor. As a matter of fact, in case the external possessor shows up, then both constructions with just the external possessor (*Marina pocelovala menja v guby*) and the one with the external and internal possessors occurrence (*Marina pocelovala menja v moi guby*) are possible. On the other hand, if the external possessor does not display syntactically, then the sentence selects the internal possessor construction. Thus, the internal possessor is syntactically shown by an anaphoric PRO which is semantically bound to the external possessor. This means that the two not necessarily have to share all the same characteristics – in fact, they are morphologically distinct – but the silent internal possessor *must* refer to the same person of the external possessor, in other words, φ-feature agreement (gender, person, and number) between internal and external possessors is required, while for case the internal possessor selects the one required by the prepositional phrase. As evidence of this, *Marina pocelovala menja v tvoi guby* (lit. 'Marina has kissed me on your lips') is not acceptable, since there is a conflict in the selection of the two possessors, namely, the external possessor *menja* refers to a first-person while the internal possessor *tvoi* to a second-person. In order to keep the grammaticality of the sentence, the internal possessor must select a first-person.

The same line of reasoning applies to the sentences in (51b) and (51c). In (51b), the argument *k Sone* is the possessor of the possessum-PP *v komnatu*, which has a silent internal possessor (*eë*, 'her') related to *Sonja*, while in (51c), the subject *on* is the possessor of the possessum-PP *s ženoj*, which has a silent possessive determiner (*ego*, 'his') referring to *on*. Even though in (51c) the possessor and the possessum are not close to each other as in (51a-b), but they are separated by other words – the verb and the direct object – the possession relation is still valid.

Another important aspect in the analysis of external possessor constructions is the control that the external possessor exerts over the possessum. In (52a-b), the possessum is an adjunct of the external possessor, which consequently c-commands it, while in (52c), the possessum-PP modifies the verb, but the possessor-subject still c-commands the possessum. The control over the possessum is sufficient for the external possessor to convey a possession relation implicitly. In fact, if the adjunct were outside the control of the possessor, as illustrated in (53), then there would not be any previous argument for PRO to be referred to but *Marina* in (53a), *on* in (53b), or *čaj* in (53c). However, these options are not possible since it is unlikely that *Marina kisses me on her own lips* (53a) and that tea has a wife (53c). It could be possible the option *he has his own room at Sonja's place* (53b) but the internal possessor must be displayed in order to avoid the possession control of *Sonja* over *komnatu*.

(53)   a.   Marina$_i$ pocelovala menja v (PRO$_i$) guby
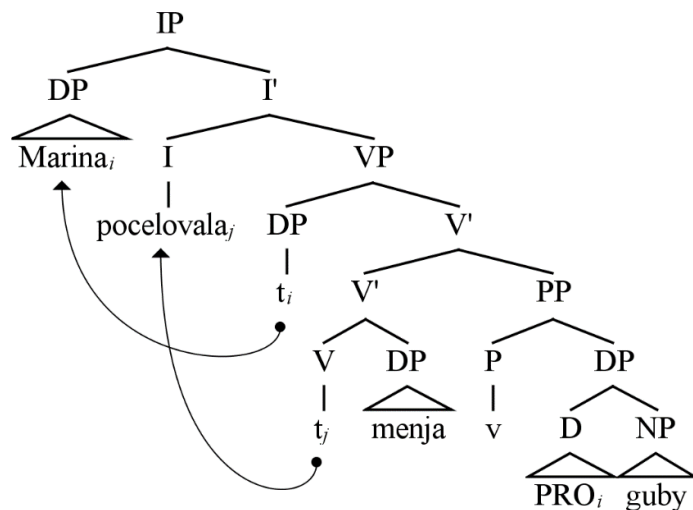
b.   On vošël k Sone v (PRO*i*) komnatu
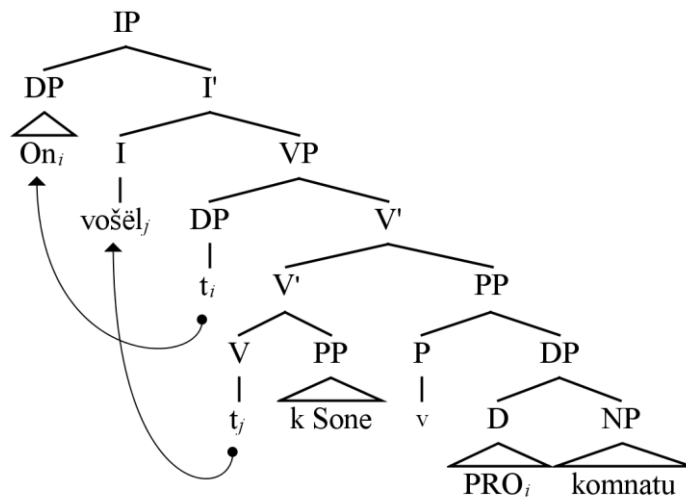
c.   On pil čaj*i* s (PRO*i*) ženoj
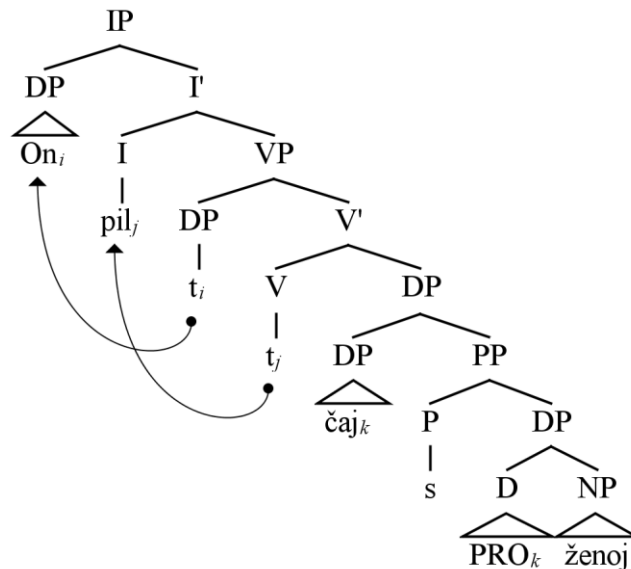
On the other hand, besides the options in which PRO refers to another argument of the sentence (53), there could be another possibility, namely sentences with the possessor left unspecified. Nevertheless, (54a) is ungrammatical, due to the inalienability of *guby*. Being controlled by *menja, guby* cannot be of someone else but only of *menja*.

On the other hand, in (54b-c) the possessor must be specified in order to keep the grammaticality and to avoid the control of the external possessor.

(54) a. *Marina$_i$ pocelovala menja$_j$ v guby$_k$ (Vani$_k$).

Marina-$_{NOM}$ kiss-$_{PST.SG.F}$ me-$_{ACC}$ on lips-$_{ACC}$ Vanja-$_{GEN}$

'Marina has kissed me on Vanja's lips.'

b. On$_i$ vošël k Sone$_j$ v komnatu$_k$

He-$_{NOM}$ enter-$_{PST.SG.M}$ at Sonja-$_{DAT}$ in room-$_{ACC}$

*(otca$_k$) /otca$_k$.

father-$_{GEN}$ / father-$_{GEN}$

'He entered the room of Sonja's father.'

c. On$_i$ pil čaj$_j$ s ženoj$_k$

He-$_{NOM}$ drink-$_{PST.SG.M}$ tea-$_{ACC}$ with wife-$_{INSTR}$

*(Borisa$_k$)/Borisa$_k$.

Boris-$_{GEN}$ /Boris-$_{GEN}$

'He drank tea with Boris' wife.'

The observations made in (53) and (54) are evidence of the existence of a PRO substituting an internal possessor and support the control analysis. In fact, the possessa *guby*, *komnatu*, and *ženoj* do not refer to the very first term preceding them but to the closest available c-commanding argument, as PRO does (Bailyn 2012: 145). In (51a), the closest c-commanding argument is *menja*, in (51b) *k Sone*, while in (51c) *on*. This is the reason why the possessa cannot be controlled by other arguments unless another possessor is expressed, keeping the grammaticality of the sentence (54). The fact that the possessa act like a PRO suggests the hypothesis that the possessum-PP contains a silent PRO and both are controlled by the external possessor. In case the possessor occurs after the possessum, the possessor still controls the possessum. The postponed position is due to pragmatic reasons which allow a possessor movement from its former position fronting the possessum to the postponed one. Below (55), an example showing the implicit possessor in a postponed position towards the possessum:

(55) (ona) krepko pocelovala v guby ego.

she-NOM hard kiss-PST.SG.F on lips-ACC him-ACC

'She has kissed him hard on the lips.' (Ruscorpora)

Besides the constructions analysed so far, the implicit category also includes external possessors marked with the genitive case appearing in anticausatives. Such constructions consist of a bare genitive, a nominative object, and a verb with the particle -*s'*/-*sja* (56). The genitive argument can be an internal possessor if it binds to its possessum (56a) or an external possessor if it binds to the verb (56b), acquiring also the role of non-agentive causer which "lacks control over the event defined by the verb" (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 9).

(56) Ivana očki slomalis'.

Ivan-GEN glasses-NOM break-PST.PL.REFL

a. Possessor reading: 'Ivan's glasses broke.'

b. Causer + possessor reading : 'Ivan caused his own glasses to break.'

(Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 1)

Rivero and Savchenko (2004) provide an exhaustive analysis for Russian anticausatives with bare genitives by assuming that genitive arguments in such constructions have no applicative head, rather they are licensed by a predicate CauseP, in which they are located in its specifier (57).

(57)   Rivero and Savchenko's proposal for bare genitives in anticausatives (2004: 12):
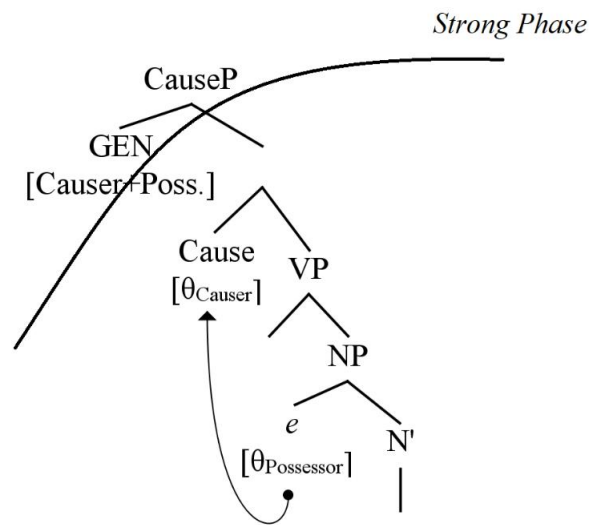
Through their syntactic representation (57), Rivero and Savchenko thoroughly explain why in anticausative constructions bare genitives have two θ-roles, namely causer and possessor. The double assignment is permitted by Bundling[7]. The linguists argue that the possessor role, which refers to the specifier of the logical possessum, is kept unassigned in the possessum-DP. When the possessum-DP is formed, its specifier is projected but without being occupied by any argument. Thus, the possessor θ-role remains within the possessum-DP and the empty specifier carries an "unvalued uninterpretable feature" (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 12). Once the VP is formed, the nominative case is checked thanks to Agree in the derivation, since the presence of the reflexive verbal particle -*sja* restricts the possibility for a verb to check the accusative case. According to Rivero and Savchenko (2004), it is in CauseP where the two θ-roles are assigned in anticausatives. Once [θ$_{Causer}$] of the verb is merged, [θ$_{Possessor}$] joins the [θ$_{Causer}$] already assigned to the genitive argument located in the Spec of CauseP.

Rivero and Savchenko also demonstrate the validity of their claim reporting evidence against an alternative analysis based on the assumption that the genitive

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[7] Bundling is an unconventional θ-role assignment that allows an argument to have two θ-roles (Reinhart and Siloni 2003). Bundling keeps an unassigned θ-role on the verb until the external argument is merged and, since "Merge as canonical Th-assignment is not available for predicates with case-reducing morphology", Bundling can be applied and must be marked morphologically (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 12).

argument is generated within the possessum-DP with [θ_Possessor] and then it moves to the Spec of CauseP for [θ_Causer] assignment. The linguists prove that Russian possessor raising involves dative possessors and not genitives (58). In addition, in Russian possessor raising is restricted to inalienable possessa (Šarić 2002), as shown in (58).

(58)   Ivanu   v drake   slomali   rebro.

         Ivan-DAT   in fight-PREP   break-PST.PL   rib-ACC

         'They broke John's rib in a fight.'   (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 13)

I believe that the introduction of a predicate CauseP in order to explain the coexistence of [θ_Causer] and [θ_Possessor] in bare genitives is valid, however, I think that the possessor θ-role could even derive from the genitive case-licensing. Since the genitive case is predominantly used to denote possession, it would not be surprising that bare genitives in anticausative constructions also have a possessor role, besides the one of causer.

It could be also argued that [θ_Possessor] is assigned by the presence of a PRO in the Spec of the possessum-DP co-referred to the possessor. However, the ungrammaticality found by Rivero and Savchenko (59) may lead to consider the non-existence of a PRO within the specifier of the possessum-DP.

(59)   *Ivana   ego   / svoi   očki   slomalis'.

         Ivan-GEN   his-GEN self-NOM   glasses-NOM   break-PST.PL.REFL

    a.   Possessor reading: 'Ivan's own glasses broke.'

    b.   Causer + possessor reading : 'Ivan broke his own glasses (accidentally).'

                                                         (Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 8)

The bare genitive in Russian anticausative constructions may be substituted by the *u*+genitive prepositional phrase (60). However, such a variant seems to lose the implicit possession relation, thus it cannot be considered as an external possessor construction.

(60)   U Ivana   očki   slomalis'.

              At Ivan-GEN   glasses-NOM   break-PST.PL.REFL

    a.   Possessor reading: 'John's glasses broke.'

    b.   Causer reading: 'John caused the glasses to break.'

<div align="right">(Rivero and Savchenko 2004: 1)</div>

Even though I consider exhaustive Rivero and Savchenko's analysis, I think that further study is needed for bare genitives as external possessors in order to broaden the debate with different proposals.

3.2   Russian applicative possessors

Russian applicative possessors have long been the subject of study and there is still an ongoing debate about this topic. It is widely stated that Russian external possessors syntactically introduced by an applicative head are of two types – one realised as a dative argument and the other as a *u*+genitive prepositional phrase. However, I think that this classification does not account for some details which I consider relevant in defining the different possessors. Firstly, as already stated in the previous chapter, I argue that the prepositional phrase of the *u*-GEN type is an internal possessor. Secondly, a distinction between constructions in which the external possessor is affected by the action of the verb (*affected applicative possessors*) and constructions in which the possessor does not undergo the action expressed by the verb (*non-affected applicative possessors*) should be made.

The following section introduces the different types of applicative possessors and the approaches that have been proposed so far. I will then provide another analysis for dative external possessor constructions.

3.2.1   Dative arguments as applicative external possessors

In Russian applicative possessors constructions with dative arguments, the possessor appears in the dative case while the possessum is marked accusative. The resulting structure is a double object construction, as the examples reported in (61) show.

(61) a. Veter   trepal   emu   volosy na golove.

Wind-NOM blow-PST.SG.M   him-DAT hair-ACC on head-PREP

'The wind was blowing the hair on his head.'

(Paykin and Van Peteghem 2003: 340)

b. Maša   opjat' položila   knigu   Vase   na stole.

Vasja-NOM again put-PST.SG.F book-ACC Vasja-DAT   on table-PREP

'Masha put again the book on the table for Vasja.' (Bondarenko 2018: 44)

c. Im   perevernuli   vsju   kvartiru.

Them-DAT turn-PST.PL upside down   whole-ACC apartment-ACC

'Their whole apartment was turned upside down.'   (Levine 1986: 17)

In the sentences just reported, the first aspect which stands out is the position of dative and accusative arguments – the possessor in the dative case appears before its accusative-possessum. The higher position of the indirect objects in Russian is not unknown to syntacticians – Chvany (1975), Junghanns and Zybatow (1997), Soschen (2005), Slioussar (2007), and Dyakonova (2007, 2009) already argued that in Russian the indirect object is hierarchically higher than the direct object. In particular, rejecting Bailyn's claim (1995) based on the conviction that the direct object c-commands the indirect object and both are introduced within the VP, Dyakonova (2007, 2009) argues and proves that in double object constructions the arguments are generated in the order indirect object > direct object. One of the issues Dyakonova (2009) proposes against Bailyn's view is related to focus projection. Based on the assumptions that in Russian any constituent can be focused at the end of the clause and that focus percolation is allowed only from the internal argument site (Dyakonova 2009: 1), Dyakonova points out that in double object constructions focus projection is possible from the direct object in final position but not from the indirect object (62). Thus, the order indirect object > direct object is unmarked.

(62) a. Nastja   kupila   Sergeju   mašinu.
          Nastja-NOM   buy-PST.SG.F   Sergej-DAT   car-ACC
          'Nastja bought Sergej a car.'
          What did she buy for Sergey?/ What did she do?/ What's new?

                                                    (Dyakonova 2009: 1)

      b. Nastja   kupila   mašinu   Sergeju.
          Nastja-NOM   buy-PST.SG.F   car-ACC   Sergej-DAT
          'Nastja bought a/the car for Sergej.'
          *Who did she bought the car for?/*What did she do?/*What's new?*

                                                    (Dyakonova 2009: 1)

Another evidence comes from the analysis of partial VP-fronting. In Russian, the verb can front together with the direct object leaving the indirect object behind, while vice versa is not possible (Dyakonova 2009: 1), as the examples in (63) demonstrate. This test proves that the indirect object does not form a constituent with the verb.

(63) a. [Čitat' skazki]$_i$ roditeli   detjam   očen' ljubjat t$_i$.
          read-INF tales-ACC parents-NOM   kids-DAT   very like-PRES.3PL
          'Parents like to read tales to their kids very much.' (Dyakonova 2007: 13)

      b. ??/*[Čitat' detjam]$_i$ roditeli   skazki   očen' ljubjat t$_i$.
             read-INF kids-DAT parents-NOM   tales-ACC   very like-PRES.3PL
          'Parents like to read tales to their kids very much.' (Dyakonova 2007: 13)

Furthermore, Dyakonova's study on idioms also proves that the verb and the indirect objects are not syntactic constituents. The linguist reports that Russian lacks idioms in which the indirect object constitutes a single unit together with the verb, excluding the direct object. Instead, Russian idioms tend to be formed as "V-Theme, V-Location/Path, V-Theme-Location/Path" (64) (Dyakonova 2007: 11).

(64)   a.   Vstavlyatj   palki   v   kolesa.

              put-$_{INF}$ sticks-$_{ACC}$ in   wheels-$_{ACC}$

              'To put a spoke in somebody's wheel = to impede.' (Dyakonova 2007: 11)

        b.   Metatj   biser   pered svinjami.

              cast-$_{INF}$ beads-$_{ACC}$ before swines-$_{INST}$

              'To cast pearls before swines.'   (Dyakonova 2007: 11)

Taking into consideration all pieces of evidence against Bailyn's proposal, Dyakonova consequently assumes that in Russian the indirect object is projected outside the VP. Following Marantz (1984) and Pylkkänen (2002), Dyakonova (2007, 2009) supports the hypothesis that the indirect object is syntactically introduced by a functional head called V$_{APPL}$, whose specifier is the indirect object and the complement is the direct object. Semantically, the V$_{APPL}$ functional head has the meaning reported in (65), clarifying that the concept of "possession" includes not only the possession over things but also experiences and psychological states. Thus, the indirect object can be a possessor, a benefactor, a malefactor, and an experiencer (Dyakonova 2007: 18-19).

(65)   HAVE (*x* spec, *y* compl) asserts of *x* that it stands in a possession relationship to *y*.   (Dyakonova 2007: 18)

Under all these circumstances, Dyakonova applies Pylkkänen's (2002) and McIntyre's (2006) tests in order to identify the applicative head type characterising Russian double object constructions. What the linguist discovers is the fact that the indirect object is "always introduced by an event-selecting head" (2007: 19) and that Russian double object constructions pass all the four high applicative tests applied, namely the transitivity restrictions, the verb semantics, the depictive secondary predication[8], and the restitutive operator diagnostics.

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[8] "Depictive secondary predicates describe a state in which one of the arguments of the verb is during the event described by the verb" (Pylkkänen 2002: 26). Pylkkänen provides some example (2002: 26):

(i)   Object depictive:
        John ate the meat raw.

Concerning the first test, since low applicative heads indicate a relation between an indirect and direct object, they cannot appear in non-transitive structures, while high applicatives can show up with unergative verbs (Pylkkänen 2002). Dyakonova notices that some unergative verbs in Russian can appear with applied arguments, as reported in the following example:

(66) Ja   budu vam   pet'   i   tancevat'.
      I-NOM   FUT.1SG you-DAT   sing-INF and   dance-INF
      'I will sing and dance for you.'   (Dyakonova 2007: 19)

The second diagnostic test is related to the semantics of the verb. Pylkkänen (2002) asserts that it is unlikely that low applicative heads select a completely static verb since they implicitly convey a transfer of possession. On the contrary, high applicatives do not seem to have this restriction. In Russian, static verbs of the hold-type can show up with applied arguments (67) (Dyakonova 2007).

(67) Ne otvlekaj   ego.   On   deržit   mne   polku.
      NEG disturb-IMP.2SG him-ACC   he-NOM hold-PRES.3SG me-DAT shelf-ACC
      'Don't disturb him. He is holding a shelf for me.'   (Dyakonova 2007: 19)

Regarding the depictive diagnostic, according to Pylkkänen (2002), depictives can modify applied arguments only in high applicative constructions. In low applicative structures, instead, the depictive modification is not available. In Russian, depictive modification is possible, as demonstrated by Dyakonova (2007):

(ii)   Subject depictive:
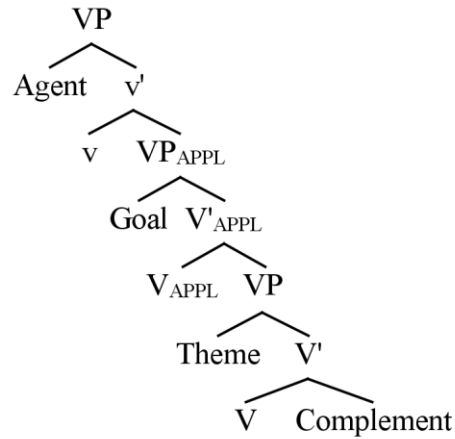   John wrote this letter drunk.

(68)   Ona   izlagala   nam$_i$ svoj plan   uže

        she-$_{NOM}$ state-$_{PST.SG.F}$ us-$_{DAT}$ self   plan-$_{ACC}$ already

        izryadno vypimšim$_i$.

        quite   tipsy-$_{DAT}$

        'She told us her plan while we were already quite tipsy.'

                                                (Dyakonova 2007: 19)

Finally, applying McIntyre's restitutive operator test, Dyakonova remarks that introducing *vnovj*/*snova* (again) does not necessarily convey a restitutive meaning, in other words, the restoration of the result state and not the repetition of the event (Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004). As a matter of fact, in (69) *vnoj*/*snova* refers to the repetition of the event, as the sentence can mean that they sent another book, despite the request not to send. This proves that the applicative head is high since it is event-related, not entity-related.

(69)   Oni   vnovj/snova   poslali   mne   knigu.

        they-$_{NOM}$ again   send-$_{PST.PL}$ me-$_{DAT}$ book-$_{ACC}$

        'They sent me a book again.'

        or

        'They re-sent me the book.'   (Dyakonova 2007: 20)

Based on the collected data, Dyakonova proposes then a high applicative syntactic structure for Russian double object constructions (70). In the illustrated structure, the Theme, generated in the Spec of VP, is c-commanded by the Goal, which is introduced by the V$_{APPL}$ head and receives dative case from it.

(70)   Dyakonova's high-applicative structure for Russian double object constructions (2007: 21):

```
                        VP
                      /    \
                  Agent     v'
                          /    \
                         v     VP_APPL
                             /      \
                         Goal      V'_APPL
                                 /       \
                            V_APPL        VP
                                        /    \
                                   Theme      V'
                                            /    \
                                           V   Complement
```

Although I consider Dyakonova's structure a good proposal for Russian double object constructions, I believe that Russian applicatives should be distinguished into those constructions characterised by affectedness (affected applicatives) and those that are not (non-affected applicatives). As a matter of fact, comparing the sentence in (71), they both have a double object structure but in (71a) Peter is not affected by any action. He is just a beneficiary since Lina embroidered a shirt *for* him. On the contrary, in (71b) the possessor of the car (*mne*) is undergoing the action made by the vandals. For this reason, I am convinced that it is relevant to differentiate the applicative possessor constructions syntactically, distinguishing the affected possessors from the non-affected type.

(71)   a.   Lina   vyšila   Petru   rubašku.

            Lina-NOM   embroider-PST.F.SG Peter-DAT   shirt-ACC

            'Lina embroidered Peter a shirt.'   (Soschen 2005: 3)

   b.   Chuligany   pocarapali   mne   mašinu.

            vandals-NOM   scratch-PST.PL me-DAT car-ACC

            'Vandals scratched my car.'   (Levine 1986: 17)

Another explanation to Russian applicative constructions is provided by Markman (2007) who, similarly to Dyakonova (2007), proposes a high applicative head for dative possessors, precisely a high recipient applicative head (HighApplTO), which connects an individual to an event and licenses dative case to the individual. The functional head suggested by Markman selects a *v*P, thus, it cannot appear with unaccusatives. This assumption is against the raising analysis which would accept possessors in the dative case to appear with unaccusatives, even though in Russian this does not occur (Markman 2007). On the other hand, HighApplTO can occur in non-agentive causative constructions, since it does not need any volitional agents introduced by Voice (Kratzer 1996). The possessive interpretation is conveyed by pragmatics since 'one usually benefits/suffers from having one's own possessions affected' (Markman 2007: 1).

In (73), I provide Markman's applicative structure, which is based on the following example:

(72)   Mne razbilo   okno   (vetrom).

     Me-DAT broke-N.SG window-ACC (wind-INSTR)

     'The window got broken (by the wind) on me.'   (Markman 2007: 1)

(73) Markman's applicative structure for dative possessors (2007: 2):
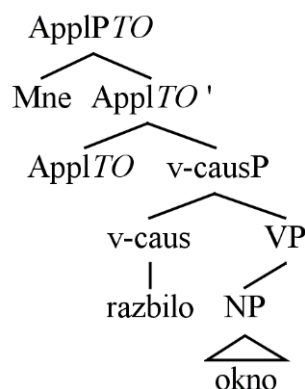
In my view, the structure proposed by Markman is more complete than Dyakonova's (2007), since the possessor affectedness is syntactically explained via the v-causP and ApplP*TO* heads. The former conveys the action which the experiencer

undergoes, the latter directs the action expressed by v-causP *to* the experiencer, the possessor in this case. However, I think that the possession relation should be explained also syntactically and not just pragmatically.

Recently, it has been proposed also a low applicative head structure, besides the high applicative analysis for Russian datives in double object constructions. For instance, analysing the repetitive and restitutive interpretations conveyed by the adverb *opjat'* ('again') in double object constructions, Bondarenko (2018) differentiates constructions with datives in ditransitives (74), "higher", non-subcategorized dative arguments (75), and locative applicatives (76), using Bondarenko's terminology. The latter construction consists of a verb – motion, lexical causative, or change of state predicates – which takes a direct object, an optional indirect object in the dative case, and a goal prepositional phrase (Bondarenko 2018: 44-45).

(74) a. Maša   opjat' otdala   {Vase   knigu / knigu
          Masha-NOM again give-PST.SG.F Vase-DAT book-ACC book-ACC
          Vase}.
          Vasja-DAT

          Repetitive reading: Available
          'Masha gave Vasja the book, and that had happened before.'

          Restitutive reading: Unavailable
          'Masha gave Vasja the book, and Vasja had had the book before.'
                                                        (Bondarenko 2018: 28)

      b. Maša   opjat' otpravila   knigu   k Kate.
          Masha-NOM again send-PST.SG.F book-ACC   to Katja-DAT

          Repetitive reading: Available
          'Masha sent the book to Katja, and that had happened before.'

Restitutive: Available

'Masha sent the book to Katja, and Katja had had the book before.'

(Bondarenko 2018: 38)

c.   # I   togda Maša   Vase   opjat' otdala   knigu.

    and   then Masha-NOM Vasja-DAT   again give-PST.SG.F book-ACC

Intended: 'And then Masha gave Vasja the book, and Vasja had

had the book before.'   (Bondarenko 2018: 43)

(75) a.   Vasja   opjat' otkryl   {Maše   dver'/   dver'

Vasja-NOM again open-PST.SG.M Masha-DAT door-ACC   door-ACC

Maše}.

Masha-DAT

Repetitive reading: Available

'Vasja opened the door for Masha, that had happened before.'

Restitutive reading: Unavailable

'Vasja opened the door for Masha, the door had been open before.'

(Bondarenko 2018: 42)

b.   Vasja   Maše   opjat' otkryl   dver'.

Vasja-NOM   Masha-DAT   again open-PST.SG.M door-ACC

Repetitive reading: Available

'Vasja opened the door for Masha, and that had happened before.'

Restitutive reading: Available

'Vasja opened the door for Masha, and the door had been open before.'

(Bondarenko 2018: 42)

(76)   Maša   opjat' položila   knigu   Vase   na stol.

         Masha-NOM   again put-PST-SG.F book-ACC Vasja-DAT on table-ACC

         Repetitive reading: Available

         'Masha put the book on the table for Vasja, and that had happened before.'

         Restitutive reading: Available

         'Masha put the book on the table for Vasja, and Vasja had had

         the book on the table before.'   (Bondarenko 2018: 44-45)

Analysing the constructions just reported, Bondarenko notices that the restitutive reading is not available in Russian ditransitives with the adverb *opjat'* (74a), unless there is a goal prepositional phrase introducing a target state, as in (74b), while in "higher" dative constructions (75), the restitutive reading is available when the dative argument is scrambled to the left of *opjat'*, escaping its scope (75b). In this case, the dative argument is not a participant of the stative subevent[9], suggesting the hypothesis that the dative is merged higher than the subevent. Bondarenko underlines that, unlike in "higher" datives, scrambling of dative arguments to the left of the adverb *opjat'* in ditransitive constructions does not convey a restitutive interpretation (74c).

Another evidence reported by the linguist to prove that non-subcategorized dative arguments are introduced higher than in ditransitives comes from asymmetrical binding observed in "higher" datives. In fact, only dative arguments can bind accusative ones, but not vice versa (77):

(77)   a.   *Šaman   zakoldoval   oxotnikov drug drugu.

            shaman-NOM   jinx-PST.SG.M hunters-ACC each other-DAT

---

[9] The small clause analysis uses lexical decomposition in syntax, so "different subevents of a predicate are represented by different projections in syntax (vDO/CAUSP for a causing subevent, SC/ResultP/HaveP/PP for a result state subevent, among some others)." (Bondarenko 2018: 26). However, Bondarenko (2018) claims that Russian ditransitive verbs should not be analysed under the small clause approach. The linguist believes that repetitive operators such as *again* select subevents in the semantics of the verb and detect where the indirect object appears in syntactic structures with lexical decomposed verbs (Bondarenko 2018: 27).

b. Šaman   zakoldoval   oxotnikam drug druga.

shaman-NOM   jinx-PST.SG.M   hunters-DAT each other-ACC

c. * Šaman   zakoldoval drug drugu   oxotnikov.

shaman-NOM   jinx-PST.SG.M each other-DAT   hunters-ACC

d. ??Šaman   zakoldoval drug druga   oxotnikam.

shaman-NOM   jinx-PST.SG.M each other-ACC   hunters-DAT

(Intended:) 'The shaman jinxed the hunters for each other.'

(Boneh & Nash 2017: 911-912)

Bondarenko does not provide any syntactic tree to illustrate ditransitives nor constructions with non-subcategorized dative arguments. However, a section of the paper is dedicated to locative applicatives (76), in which dative arguments are introduced lower than the accusative ones, according to the linguist. For this kind of constructions, Bondarenko proposes a low applicative structure, introducing the dative argument via an applicative head on the top of the goal prepositional phrase, since it is argued that the dative argument forms a single constituent with the locative phrase (Bondarenko 2018: 46). One of the examples presented by Bondarenko to demonstrate such assumption is reported in (78). In fact, the wh-word in the dative case can pied-pipe the locative phrase to the left periphery:

(78)   [Komu   na stol]   Maša   položila   knigu?

Who-DAT in table-ACC Masha-NOM   put-PST.SG.F   book-ACC

'Which person x is such that Masha put a book for x on x's table?'

(Bondarenko 2018: 46)

The structure in (79) illustrates Bondarenko's (2018: 48) syntactic representation of the locative applicative construction in (76).

(79)
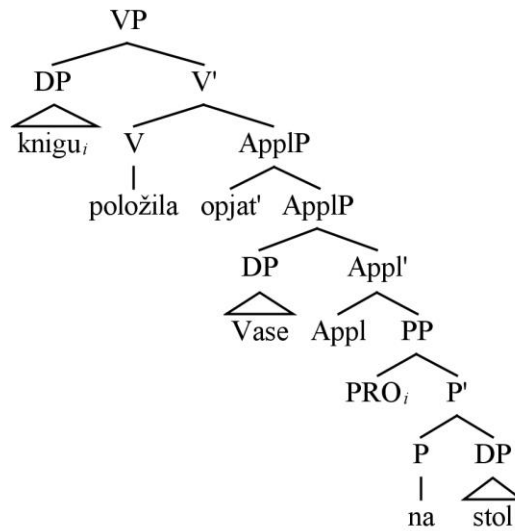
The dative argument in this structure is merged lower than the direct object, as evidence from binding suggests: the dative reciprocal can be bound by the direct object, but the accusative reciprocal cannot be bound by the dative argument.

Regarding Bondarenko's analysis, I consider the distinction among ditransitives, "higher" datives, and locative applicatives a good step towards the recognition of different structures within the double object construction category, although I do not support the classification suggested. Precisely, the introduction of locative applicatives as a class detached from ditransitives and "higher" datives. Since locative prepositional phrases can occur both in ditransitives (80a) and "higher" datives (80b), I would consider locative applicatives as a variant or a sub-class of ditransitives and "higher" datives, rather than a specific and independent class.

(80) a. Ja   sunula   knigu   emu   pod   nos.

         I-NOM shove-PST.SG.F book-ACC   him-DAT   under nose-ACC

         'I shoved the book under his nose.'   (Ruscorpora)

     b. On   mne   položil   snačala   den'gi   v ruku.

         he-NOM me-DAT put-PST.SG.M first   money-ACC   in hand-ACC

         'He put money in my hand first.'   (Ruscorpora)

Secondly, I do not support the syntactic structure for the so-called locative applicatives that Bondarenko (2018) proposes. In my view, the locative prepositional phrase is simply an adjunct modifying the verb, rather than a single constituent together with the dative argument. The fact that the prepositional phrase can follow the wh-word in the left periphery does not necessarily mean that the two form a single constituent. As a matter of fact, (78) could also be (81):

(81)   [Komu]   [na stol]   Maša   položila   knigu?
         Who-DAT   in table-ACC Masha-NOM   put-PST.SG.F   book-ACC
   'Which person *x* is such that Masha put a book for *x* on *x*'s table?'

An analysis with a completely different view of Russian dative external possessors is provided by Shushurin (2019a), who, reporting evidence against a high applicative approach, expresses full support for a low applicative analysis. One of the proofs provided by the linguist comes from a comparison in the licensing of non-coreferential internal possessors between a German high applicative structure and the Russian counterpart. In German (82a), the high applicative argument *Chris* can co-occur with a non-coreferential internal possessor – *Bens* in this case. On the contrary, the co-occurrence is not acceptable in Russian (82b).

(82)   a.   *German*
            Alex zerbrach Chris   Bens Vase.
            Alex broke   Chris-DAT   Ben's vase
            'Alex broke Ben's vase on Chris.'   (Bosse et al. 2012: 1186)

       b.   *Russian*
            *Dima   porval   Nine   moju   knigu.
            Dima-NOM tear-PST.SG.M. Nina-DAT my-ACC book-ACC
            Intended: 'Dima tore my book on Nina.'   (Shushurin 2019b: 11)

For this reason, Shushurin proposes a low applicative head that encodes a possession relation and allows external possessors to be licensed in situ for case assignment.
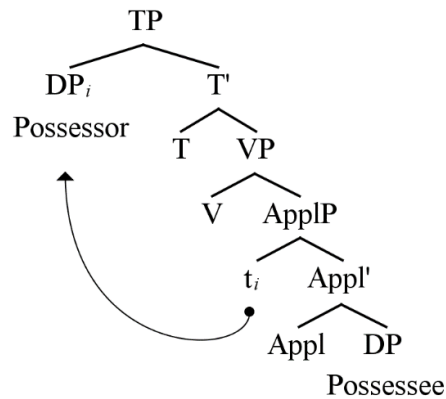
Following Baker (2015), the linguist supports a competition-based model of structural case assignment for dative external possessors, arguing that "dative is a dependent case within the *v*P phase and is assigned only when there is a c-commanded (accusative) DP" (Shushurin 2019a: 2). The external possessor receives dative case and is licensed in situ when it is merged with a DP in the direct object position (Shushurin 2019a: 2). For dative external possessors, Shushurin supports the idea of a low applicative structure, which requires a DP in the specifier of ApplP, where a dative possessor is licensed. The syntactic tree suggested by Shushurin for dative external possessors is provided in (83).

(83)   Shushurin's low applicative structures (2019b: 5-6):
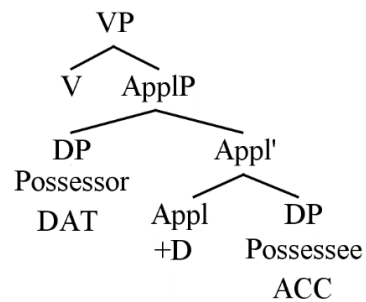
In case the external possessor occurs in the left periphery, Shushurin suggests that the DP possessor moves to the subject position (84). In this case, the movement of the external possessor to the left periphery is allowed only if there is no other higher argument in the clause (Shushurin 2019b).

(84)   Shushurin's structure for external possessors in the left periphery (2019b: 6):

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                DPᵢ    T'
             Possessor  / \
                       T   VP
                          /  \
                         V   ApplP
                            /   \
                          tᵢ    Appl'
                          •     /  \
                              Appl   DP
                                  Possessee
```

Even though I find Shushurin's structure a good proposal, I do not consider the non-coreferential internal possessor test completely valid as a low applicative diagnostic. Actually, the test proposed by Shushurin seems to work only for affected applicative constructions, as demonstrated in (85). In fact, in English, which is considered a low applicative language, the non-coreferential internal possessor is possible in transfer of possession and other double object constructions (85a-b). On the contrary, when the applied possessor is affected by the action, the sentence sounds odd (85c).

(85)   a.   Your parents gave me your house.
        b.   Your parents showed me your house.
        c.   ??Your parents built me your house.

Introducing a distinction within the double object constructions and a different analysis besides the high applicative one, the recent approaches just mentioned have been an important step towards a more precise and clearer differentiation and definition of applicative constructions with dative arguments. On one hand, this has led to take into account the differences characterising double object constructions, on the other hand, it has enriched the debate, making some gaps of the analyses proposed so far stand out. In my view, what is missing is a syntactical differentiation between affected and non-affected constructions, and a syntactical explanation of the possession relation that such constructions may have.

Starting from such a situation, consider three external possessor constructions with ditransitive verbs (86):

(86) a. Ona   dala   nam   bilety.
          she-NOM give-PST.SG.F us-DAT   tickets-ACC
          'She gave us the tickets.'   (Ruscorpora)

      b. Roditeli   proverili   synu   domašnee zadanie.
          parents-NOM   check-PST.PL   son-DAT   homework-ACC
          'Parents checked their son's homework.'   (Nam 2013: 181)

      c. Ja   naročno   razbil   ej   čašku.
          I-NOM   on purpose   break-PST.SG.M her-DAT cup-ACC
          'I broke her cup on purpose.'   (Nam 2013: 186)

Although the three sentences have the same structure – a subject, a verb, direct, and indirect objects – and they all present a possession relation, they are completely different from one another. In the first construction (86a), there is a transfer of possession – the possessum (*bilety*) is passed from a possessor (*ona*) to another (*nam*). The transfer movement is conveyed by the semantics of the verb which is dynamic, suggesting the idea of something that *is passed* to someone (dynamic) and not that someone *has* something (static). On the other hand, in (86b-c), there is no transfer of possession but the possession relation is implicitly expressed – in (86b) the possessor of *domašnee zadanie* is *synu*, while in (86c) *ej* is the possessor of *čašku*. Unlike in transfer of possession constructions, in (86b-c) the possession relation is static – it is not the verb that directs the possession over the possessum from the former possessor to the new one, rather the possessor itself expresses its control over the possessum.

The constructions in (86) present another difference in their semantics – while in (86c) the possessor is affected by the action of the verb, in (86a-b) there is no affectedness conveyed. This is explained by the nature of the event. In (86a-b), the verb is of the activity type, v_{DO} using Cuervo's terminology (2003), while, in (86c) the verb is causative

(v_{DO} + v_{BE})[10]. According to Cuervo, the affectedness reading is due to verbal and pragmatic factors, arguing that "affectedness can arise as an indirect consequence of the dative being the possessor of an affected object, particularly if possession is inalienable" (Cuervo 2003: 56). With regard to the verb type, the linguist points out that a stative verb does not convey any affectedness interpretation towards the dative possessor, while with activity verbs the dative possessor is affected only if the possessum is affected too. Considering the semantics of the verb, I believe that in causatives the possessor-indirect object is always affected since a causative verb expresses an action that the causer exerts on the possessum-direct object.

For this reason, I think that it is essential to differentiate the affected possessors from the non-affected possessor constructions in double object constructions with possession relations. To the non-affected applicative possessor class belong constructions in which the possessor is not affected by the action expressed by the verb, precisely, the constructions in (86a) and (86b), while to the affected possessor class belong the constructions in which the possessor is indirectly affected by the action which the possessum is undergoing, e.g. in (86c).

Regarding the syntactic structure, I believe that it is first essential to reconsider and apply the tests provided for high and low applicatives in order to understand which applicative head external possessor constructions select.

The first diagnostic test is the transitivity constraint – only high applicatives can combine with unergatives, since low applicatives, denoting a relation between the indirect and the direct object, can appear only with transitive verbs (Pylkkänen 2002). As already mentioned, Dyakonova (2007) points out that Russian has high applicatives giving the fact that some unergatives can appear with applied arguments, as proves Dyakonova's evidence (66), repeated below as (87):

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[10] According to Cuervo (2003: 17), there are three types of little v – v_{DO}, v_{GO}, and v_{BE}, which describe three types of events, namely activities (e.g. *dance*, *run*), changes (e.g. *die*, *fall*), and states (e.g. *like*, *admire*) respectively. v_{DO} and v_{GO} are defined as dynamic while v_{BE} as stative. The three types of little v can combine together in order to form complex events formed by two sub-events. The possible combinations are the following: causatives of the type v_{DO} + v_{DO} (e.g. *make laugh*, *make wash*); causatives of the type v_{DO} + v_{GO} (e.g. *make grow*, *make fall*); causatives of the type v_{DO} + v_{BE} (e.g. *break*, *burn*); inchoatives of v_{GO} + v_{BE} (e.g. intransitives *break*, *burn*) (Cuervo 2003: 18).

(87) Ja   budu   vam   pet'   i   tancevat'.

I-NOM FUT   you-DAT   sing-INF and dance-INF

'I will sing and dance for you.'   (Dyakonova 2007: 19)

Dyakonova assumption also finds confirmation by Cuervo's (2003) revision of the transitivity test, reinterpreted as a "structural requirement of an object DP for a low applicative to apply to" (Cuervo 2003: 81). According to Cuervo, the notion of object covers both objects in transitive verbs and underlying objects in unaccusative verbs. Consequently, low applicatives require an object but not transitivity. Under this assumption, Cuervo also points out that, since low applicatives take an overt direct object, a low applicative can show up with "unergatives" only if there is an overt direct object, as demonstrated in the following examples provided by Cuervo (2003: 80):

(88) *English*

  a.   *Daniel sang Stephanie.

  b.   Daniel sang her a song.

(89) *Spanish*

  a.   *Pablo les   bailó   a los invitados.

    Pablo them-DAT   danced   to the guests

    'Pablo danced for the guests.'

  b.   Pablo les   bailó   un malambo   a los invitados.

    Pablo them-DAT   danced   a malambo   to the guests

    'Pablo danced a malambo for the guests.'

Cuervo claims that verbs like *sing*, *dance*, and *run* express activities that entail making sounds or movements. Thus, such verbs can select a low applicative head only if there is an overt direct object. On the other hand, with verbs like *write*, *read*, and *smile* the object can be implied even if not overt. In this case, the low applicative can appear even though an overt object does not show up, as shown in (90).

(90)   *English*

    a.   Daniel wrote me from Ibiza.   (Cuervo 2003: 81)

    Spanish

    b.   Valeria les   escribió   a sus amigos.

        Valeria them-DAT   wrote   to her friends

        'Valeria wrote (to) her friends.'   (Cuervo 2003: 81)

    c.   Valeria les   leyó   a los alumnos   en la clase.

        Valeria them-DAT   read   to the students   in the class

        'Valeria read for her students in class.'   (Cuervo 2003: 81)

Honestly, I do not entirely endorse some remarks by Cuervo and, consequently, Dyakonova's assumption for the sentence in (87). Comparing the Russian construction in (87) with the English and Spanish low applicative examples provided by Cuervo (88-89), it can be concluded that Russian construction (87) has a high applicative structure. As a consequence, Russian should behave like high applicative languages, such as Luganda or Venda (91), accepting a sentence like in (92), but that is not the case. In fact, Russian seem to behave like English (93), which has a low applicative structure.

(91)   *Venda*

        Mukasa   o-se-is-a   Katonga.

        Mukasa   3SG.PST-laugh-CAUSE-FV   Katonga

        'Mukasa made Katonga laugh.'   (Pylkkänen 2002: 10)

(92)   *Russian*

        *Ja   smejus'   tebe.

         I   laugh-PST.1SG   you-DAT

        Lit. 'I laugh you.'

        (Intended: I made you laugh)

(93)   *English*

        *Mary laughed Sue.

        (Intended: Mary made Sue laugh)   (Pylkkänen 2002: 10)

On one hand, Russian seems to behave like a high applicative language (87), but on the other hand, like a low applicative language (92). This appears contradictory if the transitivity diagnostic will not be revised again.

      Reconsidering Dyakonova's example (87), I do not think that it is the right sentence to prove that the functional head introducing the applied argument is high. The verbs *pet'* ('to sing) and *tancevat'* ('to dance') in (87) are not pure intransitives, since they have also a transitive use, e.g. it is possible to say *pet' pesnju* ('to sing a song') or *tancevat' tango* ('to dance the tango'). It is true that in (87) there is no overt direct object, however, *sing* and *dance* imply activities that make sounds or movements, as Cuervo (2003) observed. This means that this kind of verbs has implicitly a "direct object" on their semantics, even though they are used intransitively, i.e. in the expression 'I dance for you' the verb implies that 'I dance (something) for you'. Thus, I do not agree with Cuervo's claim which affirms that verbs like *sing*, *dance*, and *run* can select a low applicative head only if there is an overt direct object. In my opinion, the fact that in Spanish and English the constructions in (88a; 89a) are not acceptable while in Russian is possible (87) is not proof for a low applicative analysis for English and Spanish on one side and a high applicative analysis for Russian on the other side. I rather believe that this difference is due to the fact that there are languages that have a more rigid syntax than others in terms of transitivity, thus they require an overt direct object, as for Spanish and English. In other languages, instead, intransitive verbs that can have a transitive use may appear without a direct object, e.g. in Russian.

      Under these assumptions, I believe that the test should be carried out with verbs that do not have a secondary transitive use, such as *užinat'* ('to dine'), *smejat'sja* ('to laugh'), *obedat'* ('to lunch'), etc. In fact, consulting *Ruscorpora*, the verbs just listed do not show up with applied arguments in the dative case. The fact that Dyakonova highlights that *some* unergative verbs can appear with applied arguments leads me to believe that this aspect has been observed in verbs with double use – transitive and intransitive – and not just intransitives. I think that the concept of "transitivity" should be

understood in its broader sense, namely, it should include all the verbs that can have a transitive use, whatever the verb is transitive or intransitive. Hence, I think that the transitivity test works only in one way, namely, only high applicatives can combine with pure intransitives verbs of the type *laugh*, *dine*, etc. Therefore, in these terms, the revised transitivity restriction test suggests that the applicative head is of the low type for Russian applicative constructions.

For what concerns the verb semantics test, it is argued that low applicatives imply a transfer of possession relation, so they do not appear with stative verbs. In contrast, high applicatives do not have this restriction (Pylkkänen 2002: 23). In Russian, static verbs of the *hold*-type can show up with applied arguments (67) (Dyakonova 2007), suggesting then that the applicative head is high. However, this contrasts with the result obtained in the transitivity diagnostic. The same contradiction has also been noticed by Cuervo (2003). The linguist reports that applying the verb semantics test, Spanish seems to select a high applicative head, while the transitivity restriction diagnostic proves that the applicative head is low. Consequently, Cuervo suggests a revision for the verb semantics test, arguing that "if a language cannot have a sentence of the structure of 'hold somebody something', then it can be concluded that that language does not have high applicatives or stative low applicatives[11]" (2003: 80). Cuervo's assumption comes from a comparative analysis of English, Luganda, and Spanish constructions with the verb *hold*. In English (94a), the sentence is ungrammatical, while in Luganda (94b) and Spanish (94c) is acceptable. According to Pylkkänen's semantic test, in (94c) the applicative would be high, however, Cuervo points out that the applied arguments in Luganda and Spanish are different semantically. While in high applicatives the applied argument benefits of the event, as in (94b), in Spanish the dative argument is not benefiting from holding a suitcase but it is the possessor of the suitcase (Cuervo 2003). Therefore, the linguist considers the structure in (94c) a static low applicative construction.

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[11] In addition to the two dynamic low applicative heads proposed by Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003) argues that there is another type of low applicative, namely an applicative head expressing a static relation of possession. In this case, the applied argument "does not get or lose anything as a result of the event, it is just a participant in the event as the possessor of the theme DP" (2003: 56). Semantically, the static low applicative has an 'at' meaning, rather than 'to' or 'from' characterising the other low applicative heads.

(94) *English*

a.   *I held him the bag.   (Pylkkänen 2002: 24)

Luganda

b.   Katonga   ya-kwaant-i-dde   Mukasa ensawo.

      Katonga   PST-hold-APPL-PST   Mukasa bag

      'Katonga held the bag for Mukasa.'   (Pylkkänen 2002: 25)

Spanish

c.   Pablo le   sostuvo   la valija   a Andreína.

      Pablo her-DAT   held   the suitcase Andreína-DAT

      'Pablo held Andreína's suitcase.'   (Cuervo 2003: 79)

Nevertheless, the Russian language seems to present semantically both Luganda and Spanish applicative constructions with the verb *deržat'* ('to hold'). In the example reported by Dyakonova (95a), the applied argument is benefiting from the event, thus, the applicative head is high. On the other hand, in (95b), as in low applicatives, the dative argument is the possessor of the direct object, probably due to the inalienability of the term *golova* ('head'). I believe that the dative argument in (95b) can benefit from the event turning into a high applicative construction only in case the possessor of the direct object is expressed via an internal possessor (95c).

(95) a.   Ne otvlekaj   ego.   On   deržit   mne   polku.

            NEG disturb-IMP.2SG him-ACC he-NOM hold-PRES.3SG me-DAT shelf-ACC

            'Don't disturb him. He is holding a shelf for me.'   (Dyakonova 2007:19)

      b.   Žanne   deržala   mne   golovu.

            Jeanne-NOM   hold-PST.SG.F me-DAT head-ACC

            'Jeanne held my head.'   (Ruscorpora)

c. Žanne   deržala   mne golovu   statui.
   Jeanne-$_{NOM}$ hold-$_{PST.SG.F}$ me-$_{DAT}$ head-$_{ACC}$ statue-$_{GEN}$
   'Jeanne held my head.'

The verb semantics test leads to contrasting results. While the verb semantics diagnostic demonstrates that the sentences in (95a; 95c) have a high applicative head and (95b) a low applicative head of the static type (see note 11), the transitivity test proves that the applicative is of the low type. I think that the verb semantics test should be reconsidered, due to the discrepancy of the data.

Cuervo (2003) proposes a revised version of the verb semantics diagnostic, affirming that the test "only works in one direction: if a language cannot have a sentence of the structure of 'hold somebody something', then it can be concluded that that language does not have high applicatives or stative low applicatives" (Cuervo 2003: 80). Consequently, according to Cuervo, it is not the grammaticality of a sentence that directly suggests the type of applicative, rather its semantics. In a second moment, it can be checked the grammaticality of high applicatives.

In addition to what Cuervo argues for the verb semantics test, I believe that the test applied to Russian proves that a language can have both high and low applicatives, depending on the construction. This is demonstrated in the sentences in (95). Further evidence can be seen in the depictive diagnostic and analysing the restitutive/repetitive reading of double object constructions. Dyakonova (2007) has proved that in Russian depictives can modify applied arguments, which is a characteristic of high applicatives, and through McIntyre's restitutive operator test, the hypothesis for a high applicative head has been confirmed. However, Bondarenko (2018) tested the restitutive and repetitive meanings in double object constructions, noticing that both readings can be available (see examples 75b and 76). Consequently, the applicative can be low if *opjat'* is entity-related, high if the operator is event-related.

I am therefore convinced that all the tests introduced as a diagnostic to distinguish the applicative type should be considered as an aid to analyse syntactically and semantically different constructions of a specific language, rather than to classify the languages in low or high applicative languages. Regarding Russian, there are both high and low applicative constructions, as seen in (95). However, in high applicatives, the

dative argument does not appear as an external possessor since high applicatives denote a relation between the applied argument and the event described by the event. Thus, reconsidering the examples in (86) reported as (96), it may be assumed that external possessor constructions in Russian are all low applicatives.

(96) a. Ona dala nam bilety.
she-NOM give-PST.SG.F us-DAT tickets-ACC
'She gave us the tickets.' (Ruscorpora)

b. Roditeli proverili synu domašnee zadanie.
parents-NOM check-PST.PL son-DAT homework-ACC
'Parents checked their son's homework.' (Nam 2013: 181)

c. Ja naročno razbil ej čašku.
I-NOM on purpose break-PST.SG.M her-DAT cup-ACC
'I broke her cup on purpose.' (Nam 2013: 186)

The sentence in (96a) is a transfer of possession construction, thus the applicative head is of the low type. Since in such constructions the direct object passes from a possessor to another, I argue that there is no direct possession relation between the applied argument and the direct object, thus the direct object-DP has no PRO, unlike in implicit possessors. The double object construction in (96b) has a low applicative structure as well. The applied argument is not benefiting from the event, rather a possession relation between the dative argument and the direct object is conveyed. Unlike in transfer of possession constructions, an anaphoric PRO co-referred to the applied argument is displayed within the direct object-DP in (96b) since the possession relation is static. Instead, the construction in (96c) differs from the other sentences as it cannot be considered entirely low, due to the affectedness involving the applied argument, nor high, due to the possession relation between the dative argument and the direct object. The different semantics characterising affected possessor constructions must be expressed also syntactically, hence the need to propose a syntactic structure that meets these particular requirements.

A comprehensive analysis of affected possessor constructions and the consequent syntactical solution have been provided by Cuervo (2003). Analysing dative arguments with causative verbs in Spanish, Cuervo notices that affected possessor constructions are semantically different to double object constructions, as the dative argument seems not to be related to the direct object "as a recipient, source, or possessor", rather "as the individual affected by the (change of) state of the theme object" (2003: 91). Considering this kind of construction different from datives in high applicative and double object constructions, Cuervo proposes a third applicative head that licenses affected arguments as a participant in the event expressed by the verb, as anticipated in the first chapter. Since causative verbs consist of two sub-events (see note 10), the linguist argues that dative arguments are "applied to a (resulting) state which is embedded under a dynamic event predicate where an external argument is projected" (Cuervo 2003: 92). The direct object is introduced instead in the specifier of v_{BE}, since it is the subject of the stative verb.

I entirely embrace Cuervo's proposal for affected applicatives. As a matter of fact, affected applicative constructions can be considered neither high – due to the relation between the two objects – nor low – since the affectedness suggests that the individual is related to the event – but something in between, and the introduction of a third applicative head turns out necessary. Thanks to Cuervo's proposal the affectedness can be fully explained syntactically, however, I think that it is also essential to express the possession relation that implicitly is conveyed. I argue that within the direct object-DP there is a PRO internal possessor co-referred to the external one. This is proved by the fact that non-coreferential internal possessors make the sentences ungrammatical, while the co-occurrence of coreferential internal possessors may make the sentence sound redundant but not ungrammatical, as demonstrated in the following examples:

(97)   *Italian*

    a.   *Mi   hai   rotto   la   tua macchina.

       me-DAT have-2SG broken the   your car

       Lit. 'You have broken me your car.'

b. Mi hai   rotto   la mia macchina.

me-DAT have-2SG broken   the your car

Lit. 'You have broken me your car.'

*Russian*

c. *Ona slomala   mne tvoju mašinu.

she-NOM break-PST.SG.F me-DAT your-ACC car-ACC
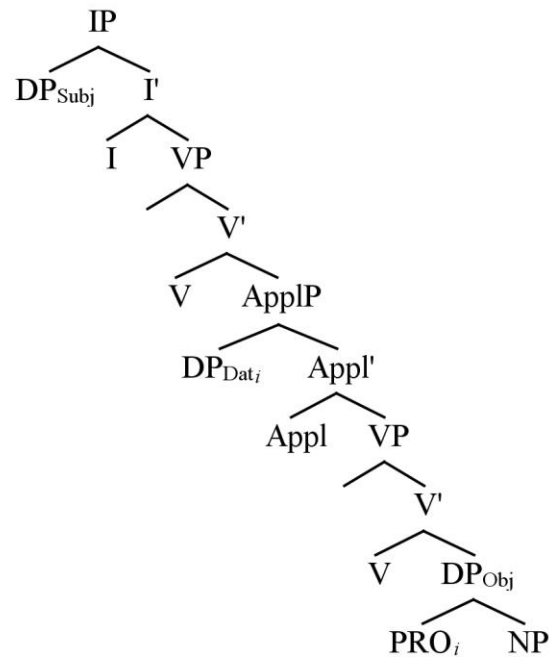
Lit. 'She broke me your car.'

d. Ona slomala   mne moju mašinu.

she-NOM break-PST.SG.F me-DAT my-ACC car-ACC

Lit. 'She broke me my car.'

In conclusion, taking into consideration all the observations made so far, for Russian applicative possessor constructions I propose the following syntactic structures (98-100):
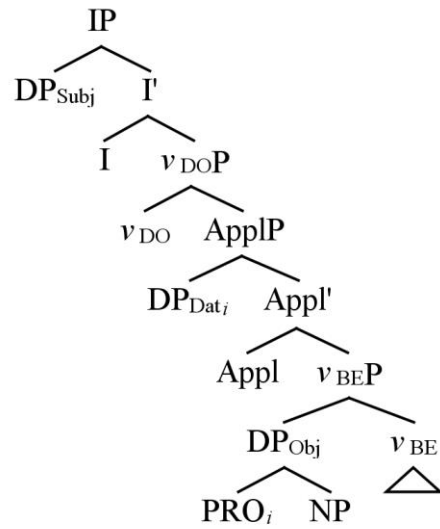

(98) Non-affected possessors (transfer of possession constructions):
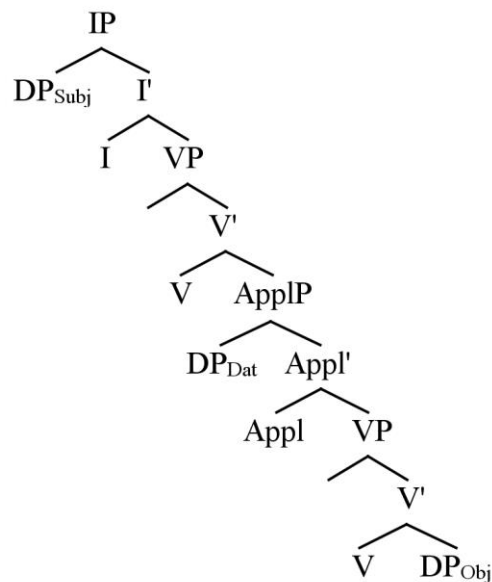
(99)　Non-affected possessors (double object constructions):

```
                IP
              /    \
          DP_Subj   I'
                  /   \
                 I     VP
                      /  \
                     V'
                   /   \
                  V    ApplP
                      /    \
                  DP_Dati   Appl'
                          /    \
                        Appl    VP
                              /   \
                             V'
                           /    \
                          V    DP_Obj
                              /    \
                           PRO_i    NP
```

(100)　Affected possessors:

```
                IP
              /    \
          DP_Subj   I'
                  /   \
                 I    v_DOP
                     /    \
                  v_DO    ApplP
                         /    \
                     DP_Dati   Appl'
                             /    \
                           Appl   v_BEP
                                 /    \
                             DP_Obj   v_BE
                            /    \      △
                         PRO_i    NP
```

3.3   The Possessive Shell

In the previous sections, I claim that in some implicit and applicative possessor constructions, the possessum-DP contains a PRO internal possessor co-referred to the external one. It has also been argued that the deletion of the possessive pronoun in such constructions is due to economic reasons since the phonological realisation of the internal possessor sounds anaphoric in the presence of an overt external possessor.

However, I believe that the deletion is not just influenced by the Economy Principle but is also favoured by the concept of "Possessive Shell", namely a scope within each possessor – animate or something personified – can own something as if it were part of them. The possessor's entity extends itself up to a range that can go beyond its physical boundaries. Thus, the possessa are not just inalienable things in a strict sense, but in a broader meaning, including part-whole, ownership, and kinship terms.

The Possessive Shell shows various degrees of possession ranging from the epicentre, which expresses the strongest bound between the possessor and the possessum – as it contains inalienable possessa in the strict sense – to the edge, where the bound is less intense. Consequently, the farther the possessum is located from the epicentre the less intense the bound between the possessor and the possessum is until the possessum trespasses the edge and the external possessor construction loses its possessive feature becoming another kind of sentence or even ungrammatical/infelicitous.

Compare the following sentences in (101):

(101) a. On   pil   čaj   drožaščimi   rukami.
           He-NOM   drink-PST.SG.M tea-ACC trembling- INSTR   hands-INSTR
           'He drank tea with trembling hands.'

       b. On   pil   čaj   s   mater'ju.
           He-NOM   drink-PST.SG.M tea-ACC with   mother-INSTR
           'He drank tea with (his) mother.'

c. | On | pil | čaj | v | komnate.
He-NOM | drink-PST.SG.M | tea-ACC | in | room-PREP
'He drank tea in (his) room.'

d. | On | pil | čaj | s | molokom.
He-NOM | drink-PST.SG.M | tea-ACC | with | milk-INSTR
'He drank tea with milk.'

e. | On | pil | čaj | v | lesu.
He-NOM | drink-PST.SG.M | tea-ACC | in | woods-PREP
'He drank tea in the woods.'

f. | *On | pil | čaj | s | lesom.
He-NOM | drink-PST.SG.M | tea-ACC | in | woods-INSTR
'He drank tea with the woods.'

The sentences in (101) present the same subject, verb, and direct object, differing only in the optional arguments they select. In (101a-c), the sentences are implicit possessor constructions, showing an inalienable possessum (101a), a kinship (101b), and an ownership term (101c). Actually, (101c) can be ambiguous regarding the possession of *komnata* – it can be *his* room or someone else, but there is still a possession relation. On the contrary, the sentences in (101d-f) are not implicit possessor constructions, although they present the same verb and obligatory arguments of the sentences in (101a-c). As a matter of fact, in (101d) it is unlikely that the agent is drinking some tea with *his milk*, rather a tea with some milk added to it, without any possessive meaning. Even if someone can *have* milk, it is odd to *own* it, apart from those who produce milk. The same applies to (101e), in which the prepositional phrase has only a locative interpretation since the woods are considered as common ownership, apart from those which are private. Finally, (101f) is not a correct expression since it is not possible to have *s lesom* as a participant in that situation.

Comparing (101a-e) and considering all the optional arguments as possessa, the sentences show different degrees of possession, precisely on a decreasing scale. In (101a),

the possessum *rukami* ('hands') is an inalienable part of the possessor *on*, while in (101b) *mater'ju* ('mother') is a kinship term. Even if blood kinship can be considered in some way inalienable, the possession relation in (101a) is stronger than in (101b), since *mater'ju*, being outside of the possessor's physical edge, is physically farther than *rukami*, thus the connection between *on* and *mater'ju* is less intense. However, the possessive bound in (101b) is stronger than in (101c) and a hypothetical possession of *milk*. As a matter of fact, *komnata* ('room') and *moloko* ('milk') are things that can be possessed by a single person and can change owner with less difficulty than inalienable and kinship words. Nevertheless, *komnata* is much more closer to a possessor than *moloko*, since *komnata* is usually someone's private place in a house, while it is unlikely for *moloko* to be something intimate. Similarly, *les* ('wood') is not an inalienable nor a kinship term, nor, exceptions aside, something that a single person can own, unlike *komnata* and *moloko*. *Les* is something of community possession, something that goes beyond individual ownership.

So, summing up, from the observations made so far, I think that the Possessive Shell can be represented as follows:

(102)   Possessive Shell representation:
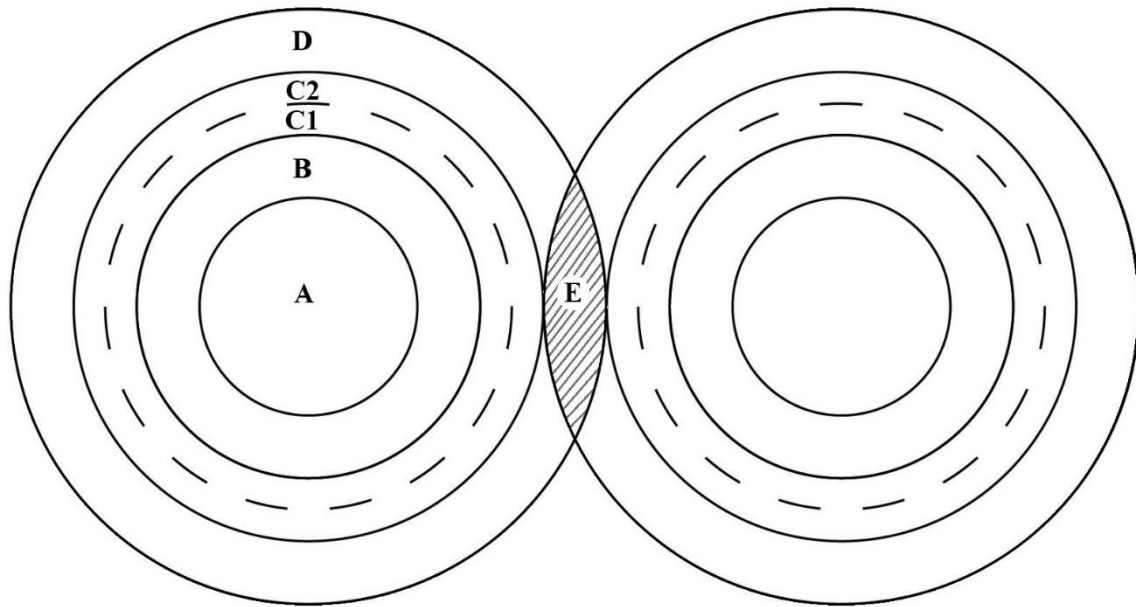
Legend:

A:	Part-whole terms	C2:	Individual ownership
B:	Kinship terms		(individual as a company)
C1:	Individual ownership	D:	Potential community possession
	(personal belongings)	E:	Community possession

The representation (102) illustrates the four different degrees of possession that I have identified, namely, part-whole, kinship, individual ownership, and community ownership. The part-whole degree (A) constitutes the epicentre, where the bound between the possessor and the possessum is the strongest in the Possessive Shell. The degree taken into account contains words related to the body-part of an animate being and parts of something inanimate that has been personified. The nearest section to the epicentre is the kinship degree (B), which, as its name suggests, includes kinship terms. For what concerns the individual ownership degree, it consists of two degrees. The first one, which is closer to the kinship degree, contains terms related to personal belongings (C1), such

as clothes and accessories, vehicles, houses and their related parts, etc. The second section, which is closer to the community ownership degree, includes a range of words belonging to a field in which the individual is understood as a company (C2), in particular business and products terms e.g. food products and companies, vehicles manufacturers and their related vehicles (not intended as personal belonging), etc. Finally, the outer circle of the Possessive Shell is represented by the community ownership degree (D), which includes public properties-related words, such as lakes, woods, air, water, etc. The community ownership degree is formed when someone's shell meets another shell of someone else (E). This occurs when people gather to build a community and each community has its own ownership. A clearer example of community ownership – when formed – is provided in (103). In this case, *nam* refers to a community and *ozëra* and *reki* are in possession of that specific community.

(103)   Fabričnye   otchody   zagrjaznjajut   nam
          Factory-NOM. wastes-NOM. pollute-PRES.3PL   us-DAT
          ozëra   i   reki.
          lakes-ACC   and   rivers-ACC
          'Factory wastes are polluting our lakes and rivers.'   (Levine 1986: 18)

To sum up, the different degrees of the Possessive Shell are represented hierarchically in (104) from the strongest to the less intense bound between the possessor and the possessum.

(104) Possessive Shell degrees:

       EPICENTRE   EDGE
       part-whole   >   kinship terms   >   individual ownership   >   community
       ownership

The Possessive Shell's range varies cross-linguistically, as each language selects its range for the Possessive Shell. This explains why in some languages certain external possessor constructions are grammatical while in other languages are not. For instance,

the Italian applicative possessor constructions in (105) are acceptable with both alienable (105a) and inalienable possessa (105b). On the contrary, the construction in (106a) translated into Russian is not acceptable with an applicative possessor (106a) for a native speaker, rather it is preferred the use of an internal possessor (106b). The external possessor is acceptable in case of an inalienable possessum, as in (106c).

(105)   a.   Gli   hanno   strappato   la borsa   di   mano.
                Him   have-3PL snatched   the bag   from   hand
                'They snatched the bag from his hands.'

        b.   Gli   hanno   strappato   il   dente.
                Him   have-3PL pulled   the   tooth
                'They pulled out his tooth.'

(106)   a.   *Emu   vyrvali   sumku   iz   ruk.
                Him-DAT snatched-PST.3PL   bag-ACC   from hands-GEN.PL
                'They snatched the bag from his hands.'

        b.   U nego   vyrvali   sumku   iz   ruk.
                At his-GEN   snatched-PST.3PL bag-ACC   from hands-GEN.PL
                'They snatched the bag from his hands.'   (Cienki 1993: 78)

        c.   Emu   vyrvali   zub.
                Him-DAT pulled-PST.3PL   tooth-ACC
                'They pulled out his tooth.'   (Cienki 1993: 79)

Comparing (103) with (106a), it is interesting to notice that dative external possessors are acceptable in case of community ownership but not with individual belongings. This is explained by the fact that when people gather to form a community, the community just born has its own ownership as a single individual. Thus, words like *ozëro* ('lake') and *reka* ('river') are in some way inalienable possessa for a community, as if it were the first degree for a single individual

It would be interesting to investigate cross-linguistically the acceptability of external possessors depending on the different degrees of the Possessive Shell. As a matter of fact, in Italian the dative clitic is acceptable in the presence of a kinship term (107), but not in Russian (108). I leave this aspect out for further research.

(107) *Italian*

Mi   hanno   rapito   il figlio.

Me-DAT   have-3PL   kidnapped   the son

'They kidnapped my son.'

(108) *Russian*

*Mne   ukrali   syna.

 me-DAT kidnap-PST.PL son-ACC

'They kidnapped my son.'

Chapter IV: The origin of Russian datives as external possessors

The different types of possession in Russian have been highly studied by the linguistic community not only synchronically but also diachronically. Most diachronic studies on Russian possession constructions concentrate on the type of possession, namely *be-* and *have*-possessives, whose origin is probably Proto-Slavic (McAnallen 2011). For the predicative possession with the prepositional phrase *u*-GEN it has also been proposed another explanation which considers the construction as "a calque from Balto-Finnic languages" (McAnallen 2011: 1).

On the contrary, Russian external possessor constructions have not been given so much attention as *be-* and *have*-possessives received. In this chapter, I will focus on the dative constructions that have been analysed in the previous chapter (see section 3.2), questioning their historical origin.

4.1   Dative external possessors: origin and evolution

Datives as external possessors have been analysed in depth on a diachronological level. The most comprehensive diachronic studies on external possessor constructions with dative arguments that have been proposed so far are Havers (1911), König and Haspelmath (1997), and Haspelmath (1999). What has been discovered is that datives as external possessors seem to be typical of Indo-European languages, inherited from Proto-Indo-European (Havers 1911; König and Haspelmath 1997). As evidence of this, such constructions are attested in Ancient Indo-European languages, as the examples in (109) show.

(109)   *Old Church Slavonic*

      a.   brьnьe   položi   mьně na očiju.

              clay-ACC   put-AOR.3SG   me-DAT on eye-LOC.DU

              'He put clay on my eyes.'   (Havers 1911: 306)

Homeric Greek

b.   enéplēsthen dé hoi   ámphō   haímatos ophthalmoí.

      fill   PT him-DAT both   blood-GEN eyes

      'Both his eyes were filled with blood.'   (*The Iliad* 16.348)

Latin

c.   Cornix   cornici   numquam   ocellum effodit.

      Crow-NOM   crow-DAT   never   eye   guts

      'A crow never guts another crow's eye.'

                          (König and Haspelmath 1997: 552)

Gothic

d.   Fani galagida   mis   ana   augona.

      mud   put   me-DAT on   eyes

      'He put some mud on my eyes.'   (John 9.15)

In recent Indo-European languages, the dative argument as an external possessor still exists. However, investigating the distribution of the *dativus sympatheticus*[12] across the Indo-European languages, Havers noticed a fall in its use. While in Balto-Slavic, Balkan, Romance languages, German and Dutch, the dative argument as external possessor is still attested (110), in other Germanic, e.g. English, and existing Celtic languages, it has gone in disuse (Havers 1911; König and Haspelmath 1997).

(110) *Latvian*

        a.   Viņš   masēja   viņai   kājas.

              he   massage   her-DAT   legs

              'He massaged her legs.'   (König and Haspelmath 1997: 552)

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[12] Havers (1911: 1) defined the expression *dativus sympatheticus* as a dative argument that can be replaced by a genitive. However, unlike the genitive argument, the *dativus sympatheticus* expresses an intimate relationship of the participant to the event. As a consequence, Havers links the notion of *dativus sympatheticus* directly to the one of the external possessor (Seržant 2016: 139).

Russian

b.   Na rabote   mne   slomali   telefon.

at work-PREP me-DAT   break-PST.PL phone-ACC

'Someone at work broke my phone.'   (Seržant 2016: 143)

Bulgarian

c.   Tja   mu   ščupi   malkija prăst.

she   him-DAT   broke-3SG   little.the finger

'She broke his little finger.'   (Cinque and Krapova 2009: 135)

Spanish

d.   Los ojos se   le   llenaron de lágrimas.

the eyes REFL 3SG.DAT filled   of tears

'His eyes filled with tears.'   (Roldán 1972: 27)

German

e.   Die Mutter wusch dem   Kind   die   Haare.

the mother   washed the-DAT child   the-ACC hairs

'The mother washed the child's hair.'   (Haspelmath 1999: 109)

Dutch

f.   Fred   gooit Sylvia een   krant naar   het   hoofd.

Fred   throws Sylvia a   paper at   the   head

'Fred throws a newspaper at Sylvia's head.'   (Vandeweghe 1987: 145)

Havers' observations demonstrate the assumption that dative external possessor constructions are an areal feature typical of the so-called European *Sprachbund* or Standard Average European (SAE) linguistic area (König and Haspelmath 1997; Haspelmath 1999), rather than being a characteristic of Indo-European languages. As a matter of fact, Celtic languages do not belong to the SAE area and, as reports Haspelmath

(1999: 116), "it may not be an accident that English, a language geographically close to Celtic, also lacks EP[13] constructions of the SAE type".

Another evidence comes from the fact that in Indo-European languages outside the European geographic area, for example in Armenian, Indo-Aryan, and Indo-Iranian languages, such external possessor constructions do not exist anymore. In contrast, Basque, Hungarian, and Maltese, which are non-Indo-European languages in Europe, have a dative possessor (111).

(111) *Basque*

    a.   Lagun-a-ri   apurtu d-i-o-gu   beso-a.

        friend-DEF.DAT break 3SG.ABS-AUX-3SG.DAT-1PL.ERG   arm-DEF.ABS

        'We have broken the arm to the friend.'

<div align="right">(König and Haspelmath 1997: 556)</div>

Hungarian

    b.   A   kutya beleharapott   a   szomszéd-nak a   lábá-ba.

        the   dog into.bit   the neighbour-DAT the   leg-3SG.LOC

        'The dog bit (into) the neighbour's leg.'   (Haspelmath 1999: 117)

Maltese

    c.   Ġagħal li   lill-irsiera Torok   jaqtgħulhom rashom.

        forced that   to-prisoners Turkish   cut-to-them   heard-their

        'He forced them to cut off the heads of the Turkish prisoners.'

<div align="right">(König and Haspelmath 1997: 556)</div>

The constructions in Hungarian and Maltese are slightly different from the European one seen in (112) since, besides the presence of the dative external possessor, the possessor is also marked internally by an affix.

Thirdly, taking a look at the external possessor constructions findable in the other languages of the world, there is only one case of dative external possessor construction, similar to the European one, in a non-Indo-European language far away from the

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[13] EP: External Possessor.

European *Sprachbund* is attested in the Yimas language (112), spoken in New Guinea (König and Haspelmath 1997). In this language, the dative possessor appears in the form of an affix.

(112)   *Yimas*

yampaŋ   k-mpu-ŋa-kra-t.

head-VI-SG   VI-SG-T-3PL.AG-1SG.DAT-cut-PERF

'They cut my hair.'   (Foley 1991: 301)

Based on the observations presented so far, Haspelmath proposes the following map which represents the distribution of dative external possessor constructions in Europe (1999: 115)[14]:

(113)   Geographical distribution of dative external possessor constructions in Europe

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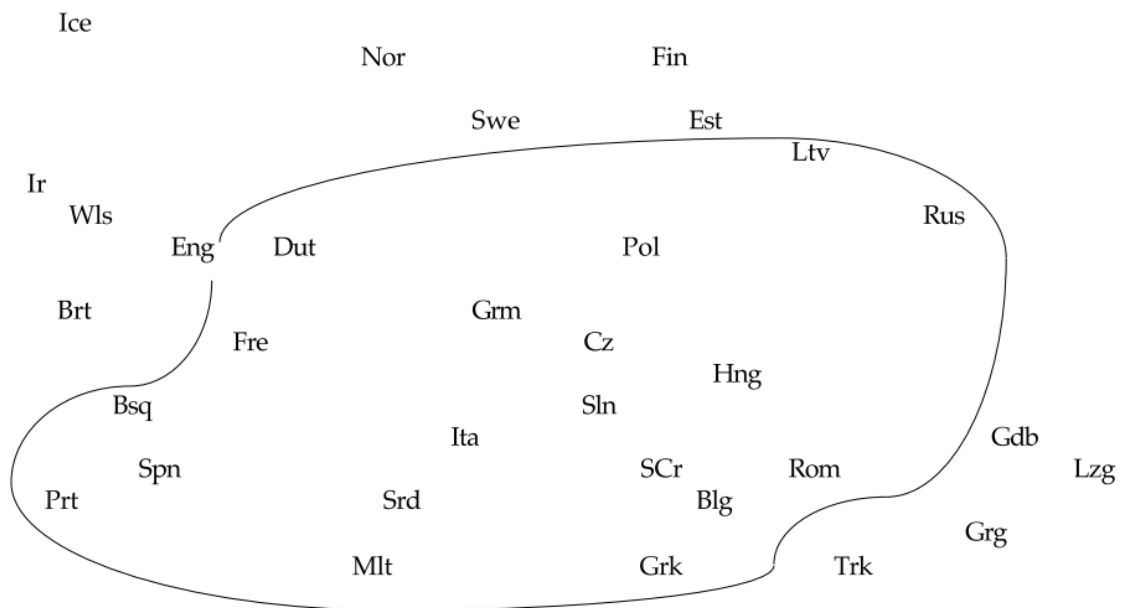
[14] Languages represented (in alphabetical order): Blg = Bulgarian; Brt = Breton; Bsq = Basque; Cz = Czech; Dut = Dutch; Eng = English; Est = Estonian; Fin = Finnish; Fre = French; Gdb = Godoberi; Grg = Georgian; Grk = Greek; Grm = German; Hng = Hungarian; Ice = Icelandic Ir = Irish; Ita = Italian; Ltv = Latvian; Lzg = Lezgian; Mlt = Maltese; Nor = Norwegian; Pol = Polish; Prt = Portuguese; Rom = Romanian; Rus = Russian; SCr = Croatian; Sln = Slovenian; Spn = Spanish; Srd = Sardinian; Swe = Swedish; Trk = Turkish; Wls = Welsh.

As the map illustrates, dative external possessor constructions are typical of the European *Sprachbund*, attested in Romance, some Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Balkan languages, plus Hungarian, Basque, and Maltese. Outside the area identified, such construction is not findable.

Besides the Proto-Indo-European origin and the geographical location, another important aspect should be pointed out regarding the use of the dative case in Russian. Dealing with the dative or DAT domain[15] in the Eastern part of the so-called Circum-Baltic area[16], Seržant (2015) reports that in Russian the use of the dative case is decreasing in favour of the adessive prepositional phrase (*u*-GEN), even though the dative is still frequent. Except for Livonian, Finnic languages do not have dative case in order to express the experiencer, beneficiary, or external possessor roles. They rather display the genitive (in Finnish), adessive, or allative cases (in Estonian, Finnish, Karelian, and Votic) (Ariste 1968; Sands and Campbell 2001; Seržant 2015). It seems that the Russian language borrowed the Finnic adessive case, creating "another dative case" (Seržant 2015: 327), that is the adessive prepositional phrase *u*-GEN. Such prepositional phrase is gradually replacing the old dative, acquiring the functions typical of the dative case (see note 15), besides the original locative reading. This process of innovation is shared by both Finnic and Russian since, on one hand, Russian is replacing the dative case to express the experiencer and external possessor roles with the adessive prepositional phrase, on the other hand, Finnic is substituting the genitive with the adessive case. This may also explain the reason why some expressions are not acceptable with dative arguments but they are possible with the adessive PP, as shown in (114). On the contrary, the translation in Italian and French with the dative argument is completely grammatical (115).

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[15] With the term "dative domain" Seržant refers to "case markers that are typically used to encode dative semantics (…) such as recipient, beneficiary, experiencer, or (external) possessor" (2015: 326). Since it is a semantic-functional domain, it also includes constructions that are not morphologically datives but simply share the dative functions – recipient, experiencer, beneficiary, and external possessor, for instance, the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive in East Slavic (Seržant 2015).

[16] The languages taken into consideration by Seržant (2015) are the following: Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish, and Russian.

(114) *Russian*

    a.   *Mne   drožat   ruki.

        me-DAT shake-PRES.3PL hands

        'My hands are shaking.'   (König and Haspelmath 1997: 538)

    b.   U menja drožat   ruki.

        at me-GEN shake-PRES.3PL hands

        'My hands are shaking.'   (König and Haspelmath 1997: 538)

(115) *Italian*

    a.   Mi tremano   le mani.

        me shake-PRES.3PL   the hands

        'My hands are shaking.'

French

    b.   Les mains me tremblent.

        the hands me shake-PRES.3PL

        'My hands are shaking.'

In my view, the gradual replacement process that the dative case is undergoing in Russian is not leading to the introduction of another external possessor, that is the adessive PP, rather it is a simplification from the use of an external possessor – the dative case – to the use of an internal possessor – the *u*-GEN. I believe that this is due to the geographical location in the European *Sprachbund*. Being close to both group of languages that display dative external possessors and those that do not have such construction, I believe that Russian has been influenced by both sides, leading to the use of the dative on one hand, and its replacement on the other.

A quite similar process can be found in Portuguese. In European Portuguese, a language of the European *Sprachbund*, the external possessor construction is still used. On the contrary, in Brazilian Portuguese, a language far away from the European area, the internal possessor is preferred, instead of the dative external possessor, as demonstrated in the following examples (116).

(116) *European Portuguese*

 a. A mão tremia-lhe.

    the hand was.shaking-him

    'His hand was shaking.'   (König and Haspelmath 1997: 584)

Brazilian Portuguese

 b. A mão dele   tremia.

    the hand of.him was.shaking

    'His hand was shaking.'   (König and Haspelmath 1997: 584)

At the moment, it is not possible to affirm whether the dative case will fall into disuse in favour of the *u*+genitive in Russian. Or whether the prepositional phrase will disappear due to a return to the tide of the dative case. However, it could be conducted regularly a study that investigates the preference of use between the u-GEN and the dative case in native speakers in order to spot any change in the use.

Chapter V: Conclusion and future directions

With this thesis, I have provided a new classification of possessors, after illustrating the standard definition and the different approaches that have been suggested so far to explain possessor constructions. From an accurate analysis of Russian possessor constructions, I have decided to redefine the classic distinction between internal and external possessors, introducing two sub-types within the internal category (purely internal and extrapolated possessors) and three sub-types for the external class (implicit, affected applicative, and non-affected applicative possessors).

Going against the grain, I added the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive into the internal possessor category. This conclusion comes from a careful evaluation of the behaviour of *u*-GEN, taking in mind the characteristics of both internal and compared external possessor constructions. The versatility of the *u*+genitive and its "locative" but purely possessive reading draw near an internal possessor construction rather than external.

For external possessors, different analyses have been proposed, depending on the constructions. Except for genitives in anticausatives, implicit possessors have been syntactically explained via the control analysis and the possession relation through a silent anaphoric possessive adjective referred to the possessor – signalled by a PRO in the syntactic structure. Regarding genitives in anticausatives, the analysis proposed is by Rivero and Savchenko (2003).

Concerning the applicative possessors, the applicative tests have firstly been revised so that they are applied to distinguish different constructions of a specific language, rather than to classify the languages into high and low applicatives. Consequently, each language can have both high and low applicatives. It is a particular construction that selects a specific applicative head. In detail, non-affected applicative possessor constructions select a low applicative head. Transfer of possession constructions do not display a PRO in order to explain the possession relation since the possessum *passes* from a possessor to another, while in other double object constructions the PRO is syntactically present. Affected applicative possessors select instead Cuervo's "affected" head, to which I added an anaphoric PRO to express the possession relation.

It has also been introduced the concept of "Possessive Shell", a scope within each possessor – animate or something personified – can own something, which explains the non-phonological realisation together with the Economy Principle.

Finally, particular attention has been dedicated to the origin of the dative case as an external possessor, which is not only used in Russian but is a typical feature of the European *Sprachbund*. However, it seems that throughout the years the dative case has lost ground in favour of the prepositional phrase *u*+genitive, of Finnic origins.

At the end of Chapter II, III, and IV I have also proposed future issues to analyse, such as what leads a Russian native speaker to prefer the *u*+genitive, rather than bare genitives or possessive adjectives in internal possessor constructions, or to choose a purely internal instead of an extrapolated possessor.

Also, further research is needed regarding the nature of the possessor *u*+genitive, precisely, in constructions in which it occurs with the verb in the passive voice or with the particle *-s'/-sja*. In case the possessor has just a possessive interpretation, then it must be considered as an internal possessor.

Another interesting topic would be to apply cross-linguistically the Possessive-Shell in order to find out differences in the acceptability of external possessors.

Last but not least, monitoring the use of the *u*+genitive and the dative in possession constructions, trying to figure out whether there is a real gradual fall in the use of the dative case, perhaps using the Possessive-Shell as means to assess the different degrees.

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