

**Applicatives TO, FROM, and AT: on Dative and Locative Possessors in Russian**

**1. The Facts**

**1.1. External Possessors: PDs and PLocs**

→ ‘External’ possessors are common in languages and have been much discussed in the literature (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986, Gueron 1985, Szabolcsi 1983, Kempchinsky 1992, Shibatani 1994, Ura 1996, Landau 1999, Pyllkanen 2002, 2001, Pereltsvaig 2003, Lee-Schoenfeld 2006).

→ Russian has two types of ‘external’ possessors: Dative (**PD**) shown in [1] and Locative (**PLoc**), shown in [2]. The **PLoc** involves a locative P ‘u’=‘from/at’, which assigns genitive case to the embedded NP.

RUSSIAN

[1]a. Dima s’jel **nam** ves’ sup                      b. Misha pereportil **nam** Vaniny veschi  
Dima perf-ate we-dat all soup                      Misha spoiled we-dat Vanja’s things  
**PD:** *Dima ate up all our soup on us*                      **PD:** *Misha ruined Vanja’s things on us*

[2]a. Dima s’jel **u nas** ves’ sup                      b. Misha pereportil **u nas** Vaniny veschi  
Dima perf-ate P we-gen all soup                      Misha spoiled P we-gen Vanja’s things  
**PLoc:** *Dima ate up all our soup on us*                      **PLoc:** *Misha ruined Vanja’s things on us*

→ PDs and PLocs can be used interchangeably in [1] and [2].

→ However, only PLocs are allowed with unaccusatives as seen in [3a,b]. PDs are impossible there:

[3]a. **U menja/\*mne** propal kashelik                      b. **U menja /\* mne** upali kljuchi **[unaccusatives]**  
P I-gen \*I-dat disappeared wallet                      P I-gen \*I-dat fell3rdPl keys  
**PLoc:** *My wallet disappeared on me; (\*PD)*                      **PLoc:** *My keys fell on me; (\*PD)*

→ Conversely, only PDs are allowed with unergatives [4a,b] and with inalienable possession constructions [5a,b].<sup>1</sup>

[4]a. **Mne /\*u menja** Dima sbegal v magazin                      b. **Mne /\*u menja** Dima pel **[unergatives]**  
I-dat \*P I-gen Dima ran to store                      I-dat /\*P I-dat Dima sang  
**PD:** *Dima ran to the store for me (\*PLoc)*                      **PD:** *Dima sang love songs for me (\*PLoc)*

[5]a. **Mne/ \*u menja** Dima slomal nogu                      b. **Mne/ \*u menja** Dima vybil glaz **[inalienable poss]**  
I-dat / \*P I-gen Dima broke leg-acc                      I-dat /\*P I-gen Dima hit out eye-acc  
**PD:** *Dima broke my leg; (\*PLoc)*                      **PD:** *Dima put my eye out (\*PLoc)*

→ The facts concerning the existence of the two types of possessives in Russian and their distribution have not received much attention in the literature.

**1.2 Control Locatives**

→ Moreover, in addition to the PLoc reading, sentences in [2a,b] have a reading, *X had Z do Y*, which I call ‘Control Locative’ (**ControlLoc**). I repeat the relevant ambiguous examples below in [6]:

<sup>1</sup> [4a,b] and [5a,b] only have a locative reading ‘at my place’. This reading is generally available to constructions with the locative P ‘u’, unless it is blocked by context. I will abstract away from this reading entirely here.

[6]a. Dima s'jel u nas ves' sup  
 Dima perf-ate P we-gen all soup  
PLoc: Dima ate up all our soup on us  
ControlLoc: We had Dima eat all the soup

b. Misha pereportil u nas Vaniny veschi  
 Misha spoiled P we-gen Vanja's things  
PLoc: Misha ruined Vanja's things on us  
ControlLoc: We had Misha ruin Vanja's things

→ Importantly, ControlLocs are possible with unergatives, unlike PLocs [7a,b]:

[7]a. **U menja** Dima sbegal v magazin  
 P I-gen Dima ran to store  
ControlLoc: I had Dima run to the store  
\*PLoc: Dima ran to the store for me

b. **U menja** Dima pel romansy  
 P I-gen Dima sang romances  
ControlLoc: I had Dima sing love songs  
\*PLoc: Dima sang love songs for me

→ The Control reading is unavailable to PDs. For example, [2a] is ambiguous between a possessive (PLoc) and a Control reading, while PD in [1a] is not.

[1]a. Dima s'jel nam ves' sup  
 Dima perf-ate us-dat all soup  
PD: Dima ate all our soup on us / \*ControlLoc: We had Dima eat all the soup

→ The facts concerning ControlLocs are also little (if at all) discussed in the literature on external possessors

## 2. The Questions

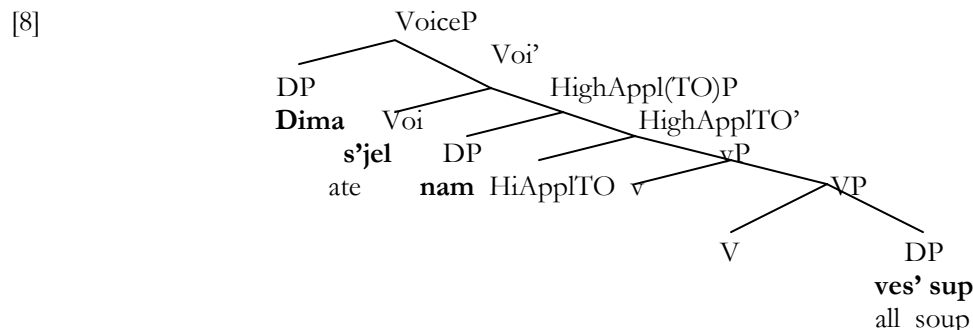
- (1) Why are Dative and Locative possessors used interchangeably in [1,2], but not in [3], [4], or [5]?
- (2) How do Russian PDs and PLocs fit in with external possessors present in other languages?
- (3) What gives rise to the Control reading in [6] and [7]?

## 3. The Syntax of PDs

### 3.1 PDs as High Recipient Applicatives (HighApplTO)

**CLAIM 1:** PDs are arguments of a high Recipient applicative head HighApplTO that relates an individual to an event (Pylkkanen2002, also McIntyre 2003, Hole 2005, and Lee-Schoenfeld 2006).

→ The structure for [1a] is shown in [8]:



→ The HighApplTO also licenses dative case on the applied argument in [8].

→ Semantically, HighApplTO is represented as in [9]:

[9]  $\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{APPL}_{\text{BEN/MAL}}(e, x)$  (Pylkkanen 2002: 21)

→ The possessive interpretation of PDs arises due to pragmatics: one usually benefits/suffers from having one's own possessions affected.

Importantly, internal possessors such as ‘*Vanja’s*’ are always compatible with PDs, in line with the applicative analysis [1b]:

[1b] Misha pereportil nam vsje Vaniny veshchi  
 Misha ruined we-dat all Vanja’s things  
 Misha ruined all of Vanja’s things on us

That PDs can appear with internal possessors indicates that the raising analysis a la Landau 1999 is problematic: the internal possessor “*Vanja’s*” should compete for position with the PD “us”.

### 3.2 Why High?

→ That Russian PDs are *high* applicatives that relate an individual to an event is supported by the tests in Pylkkanen 2002: they are ok not just with unergatives [cf4a,b] but also with statives[10], which involve no transfer of possession:

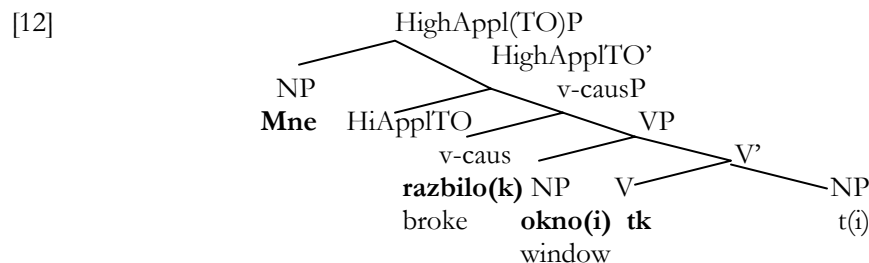
[10] Dima derzhit **Mishe** dver’  
 Dima holds Misha-dat door  
*Dima is holding the door for Misha*

### 3.3 How High?

→ Owing to its high position, HighApplTO cannot appear with unaccusatives, which explains the ungrammaticality of [3a, b].

→ However, HighApplTO does not require volitional agents that are introduced by Voice (Kratzer 1996). HighApplTO can appear with a non-agentive causative construction [11] that only involves a v-caus (Markman2004 building on Pylkkanen2002), but lacks an agent. This is illustrated in [12]:

[11] **Mne** razbilo okno (vetrom)  
 I-dat break3rdNeut window-acc (wind-instr)  
*PD: The window got broken (by the wind) on me*



→ The grammaticality of [11] and the ungrammaticality of the unaccusative [3a,b] indicates that HighApplTO is positioned above the VP, but below VoiceP.

## 4. The syntax of PLocs

### 4.1 PLocs as Low Source Applicatives (LowApplFROM)

**CLAIM 2:** PLocs involve a low Source applicative (LowApplFROM) that relates two individuals (Pylkkanen 2002).

The semantics of LowApplFROM is shown in [13]:

[13]  $\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f\lambda e f(e,x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e,x)\& \ \text{from-the-possession-of}(x,y)$  (Pylkkanen 2002: 22)

→ PLocs require that the possessed DP be in the possession of the affected individual and then become ‘lost’ (Pylkkanen 2002).

→ Hence, PLocs appear with transitives and unaccusatives, but not with unergatives [4a,b], which lack an internal argument.

→ Since PLocs involve a low Source applicative, they also cannot appear with *inalienable* possession constructions [cf5a,b] which do not involve a ‘loss’. However, in cases where the inalienably possessed part, such as a tooth, can in principle be ‘lost’, PLocs become possible. This is illustrated in [14].

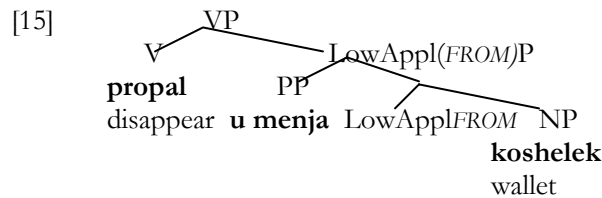
[14] Dima vybil **u Mishi** zub  
 Dima out-hit **P Misha-gen** tooth  
 Dima hit Misha so that his tooth came out

→ Since a tooth, unlike a leg, is something one can lose, [14] is possible, unlike [5a,b].

→ The tree for [3a] is illustrated in [15]. Unlike HighApplTO, LowApplFROM lacks case, requiring the case-licensing P ‘*u*’ to be present

[3]a. **U menja/\*mne** propal k Ashelek *[unaccusatives]*  
 P I-gen \*I-dat disappeared wallet

***PLoc:*** *My wallet disappeared on me*



#### 4.2 Why Low?

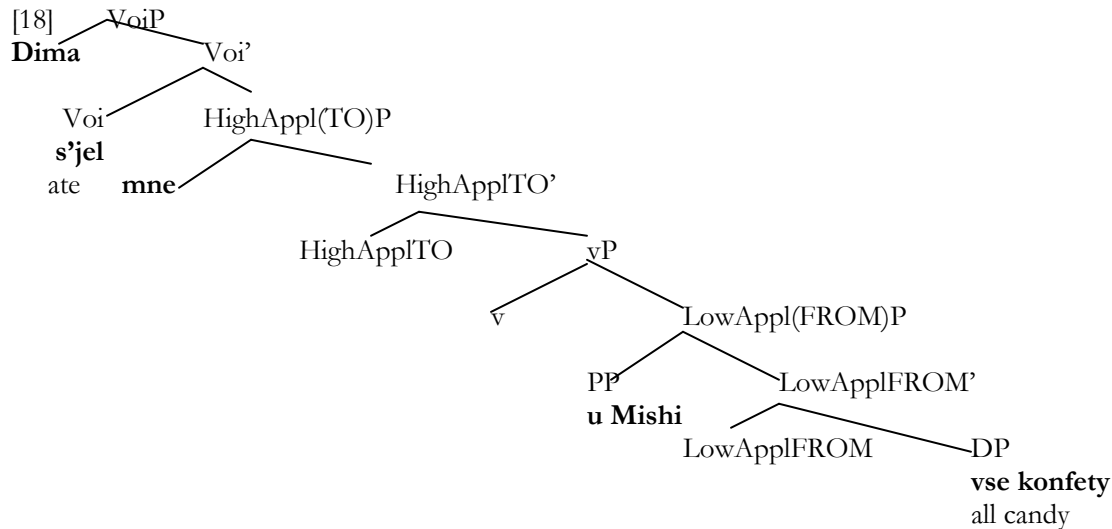
→ Since PLocs are introduced by a low applicative, they are not compatible with statives, much like they are incompatible with unergatives:

[16] \*Dima derzhit **u Mishi** dver'  
 Dima holds P Misha-gen door  
*Dima is holding the door for Misha*

→ A transfer of possession is required with LowApplFROM constructions, which means that purely stative verbs such as ‘hold’ should not appear with PLocs.

→ Finally, being high and low applicatives PLocs and PDs can be combined [17].

[17] Dima **mne** s'jel **u Mishi** vse konfety  
 Dima I-dat ate P- Dima-gen all candy  
*Dima ate all of Misha's candy on me*



→ In [17] the PD is introduced by HighApplTO merged above the vP, but below Voice, while PLoc scopes below the V.

**Interim Conclusion:** Though LowApplFROM arguments that suffer a ‘loss’ are close in meaning to the HighApplTO ‘maleficiaries’, they have different syntax and are not interchangeable in all constructions.

Specifically, while HighApplTO does not require an internal argument, LowApplFROM does. This answers the question (1) raised in Section 2.

## 5. A Comparative Interlude: External Possessors in Russian, Hebrew, and Finnish

→ How do Russian external possessors fit in with those in other languages?

→ A comparison of Hebrew[19] and Finnish[20] with Russian PDs and PLocs suggests that [19] and [20] correspond to PLocs in Russian. They involve a LowApplFROM (Pylkkanen 2002, 2001; cf Landau 1999)

### HEBREW

[19]a. ha-yalda kilkela **le-Dan** et ha-radio  
 the girl spoiled to-Dan acc the-radio  
*the girl broke Dan's radio on him*

b. ha-kelev ne'elam **le-Rina**  
 the-dog disappeared to-Rina  
*Rina's dog disappeared* (Landau 1999)

### FINNISH

[20]a. **Eetu-lta** kuoli poika  
 Eetu-abl died son  
*Eetu's son died on him*

b. Liisa myi **Mati-lta** talo-n  
 Lisa-nom sold Mati-abl house-acc  
*Lisa sold a house from Mati* (Pylkkanen 2001:407)

→ In [19] & [20] the LowApplFROM (Pylkkanen 2002) licenses dative and ablative cases respectively and appears with transitives and unaccusatives, which have a direct object, but not with agentive unergatives [21,22]:

HEBREW (Landau 1999:ex.11)  
 [21] \*Ha-kelev hitrocec le-rina  
 The dog ran around to Rina  
 Rina's dog ran around on her

FINNISH (Pylkkanen 2001:407)  
 [22] \*Mina juoksin Pekka-lta  
 I-nom ran Pekka-abl  
 I ran on Rina

→ NB: Some unergatives are possible in Hebrew PDs: see Landau 1999 and Borer and Grodzinsky 1986 for discussion



→ Importantly, since ControlLocs involve a high applicative head, they can appear with unergatives and statives, much like PDs. They do not require an internal argument [31]:

[31] Dima **u menja** sidel tixo/ derzhal dver'  
 Dima P I-gen sat quietly/held door  
**ControlLoc:** *I had Dima sit quietly/ hold the door*

→ Finally, because ControlLocs, PDs, and PLocs represent AT, TO, and FROM applicatives, layered as very high, high, and low, they can be combined as in [32].

[32] **U menja** Dima s'jel **tebe u Mishy** ves' sup  
 P I-gen Dima perf-ate you-dat P Misha-gen all soup  
*I had Dima eat up all of Misha's soup on you*

→ Thus, we have an answer to our question (3) in Section 2 'What gives rise to the Control reading?'

## 7. Extensions.

### 7.1 ControlLocs and Pure Possessors

→ Finnish provides evidence that the applicative 'AT' in ControlLocs is the same head as that present in 'pure' possessors shown in [33] (cfFreeze 1992, Kayne1993, DenDikken 1997, Ritter&Rosen1997, Dyakonova2007). Only in 'pure' possessors, ApplAT is merged low.

→ In Finnish, adessive case, licensed by the ApplAT, is used with 'pure' possessors [33] and is needed to get the control reading [34] (Pylkkanen 2002: 56).

[33] Minu-**lla** on koira      [34] Jussi istui Riina-**lla** auto-ssa (*Finnish*, Pylkkanen2001:407, 2002:56  
 I-**adessv** is dog              Jussi-nom sat Riina-**adessv** car-iness  
*I have a dog*                      *Rina had Jussi sitting in the car*

→ In Russian, 'pure' possessors also involve the locative P 'u' [35]. [36] represents the pure possessor construction in [35]:

[35] **U menja** /(\*mne) est' kniga  
 P I-gen / (I-dat) be book  
**'Pure' Possessors:** *I have a book*

[36]

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  graph TD
    PredP --> Pred[BE(est')]
    PredP --> ApplATP[Appl(AT)P]
    ApplATP --> PP[u menja]
    ApplATP --> ApplAT'
    ApplAT' --> ApplLAT
    ApplAT' --> NP["NP(kniga = book)"]
  
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→ So, it appears that while HighApplAT induces a Control reading, LowApplAT induces a purely possessive interpretation.

### 7.2 PDs and Recipients in the double object construction

→ Recipients in double object constructions [37] are also introduced by the ApplTO, only merged low (Pylkkanen 2002, but see Dyakonova 2007)

[37]a. Dima dal Mishe knigu                      b. Dima poslal pis'mo mame

Dima gave Misha-dat book-acc  
*Dima gave Misha a book*

Dima sent letter-acc mother-dat  
*Dima sent a letter to his mother*

→ The applicative head involved in double object constructions is similar to LowApplFROM in that it relates two individuals, only the relationship is different: it is ‘to’ instead of ‘from’, as shown in [38]:

[38] LowApplTO:  $\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f\lambda e f(e,x) \& \text{theme}(e,x) \& \text{to-the-possession-of}(x,y)$  (Pylkkanen 2002: 22)

→ The existence of the LowApplTO head becomes particularly clear in constructions such as [39]

→ [39] is ambiguous between a reading in (i) where Dima is a beneficiary of the baking event, but not the recipient of the pie and (ii) where Dima is the recipient of the pie:

[39] Mama spekla Dime pirog  
 Mama baked Dima-dat pie  
 (i) *Mom baked Dima a pie (so that he does not have to do it)* **PD**  
 (ii) *Mom baked Dima a pie (so that Dima has a pie)* **Recipient**

→ The ambiguity would be unexpected if there were only one HighApplTO in PDs and double object constructions (cf Dyakonova 2007).

## 8. Conclusion

→ In sum, the proposal accounts for the distribution of PDs, PLocs, and ContrLocs by treating them as TO, FROM, and AT applicatives and has consequences for analyzing external possessors found in other languages.

→ We further unify ControlLocs with the ‘pure’ possessors, by treating the latter as Low ‘AT’ applicatives. PDs, in turn, are unified with the Recipient argument in the double object construction: the former involve a HighApplTO, while the latter involve a LowApplTO.

→ The following typology of applicatives emerges from the proposal:

[40]

	<b>ApplTO</b>	<b>ApplFROM</b>	<b>ApplAT</b>
<b>High</b> (above vP/ VoicP)	Possessor Dative	N/A	Control Locative
<b>Low</b> (below VP)	Double object constr	Possessor Locative	Pure possessors

→ Why is there no HighApplFROM? The reason may be semantic: it is conceivable for one to ‘receive’ an event. After all, to receive an event means to be positively or negatively affected by it. However, it is much harder, if not impossible to imagine how one can *lose* an event.

→ HighApplFROM is, thus, not attested, at least in Russian.

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The End.