

Advances in formal Slavic linguistics 2016

Edited by

Denisa Lenertová

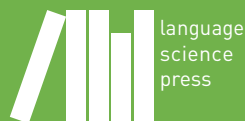
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Open Slavic Linguistics 1



Open Slavic Linguistics

Editors: Berit Gehrke, Denisa Lenertová, Roland Meyer, Radek Šimík & Luka Szucsich

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Preface

The present volume, *Advances in Formal Slavic Linguistics 2016*, marks a delectable double premiere: It initiates both the book series *Open Slavic Linguistics* as a whole, and its sub-series of collective volumes on formal Slavic linguistics.

Open Slavic Linguistics aims at publishing high quality books with a focus on Slavic languages on the empirical side, which at the same time reflect the state of the art and current developments in general linguistics. Its core principles are strict adherence to a genuine Open Access policy and to quality control through double-blind peer review. The series takes a broad linguistic perspective and invites monographs and topical collective volumes from virtually all subdisciplines. This may include theoretically oriented work on Slavic linguistic phenomena, advanced empirical/experimental work on Slavic languages, as well as handbooks, introductions and companions to the linguistic analysis of a given language. The defining characteristics of the series is that it seeks a solid grounding in up-to-date theoretical and empirical methods, fosters mutual understanding of linguists across object languages and subdisciplines, and seeks to contribute both to narrowly defined Slavic linguistics and to general linguistics and linguistic typology.

Advances in Formal Slavic Linguistics 2016 presents a selection of high quality papers authored by young and senior linguists from around the world and contains both empirically oriented work, underpinned by up-to-date experimental methods, and more theoretically based contributions. The volume covers all major linguistic areas, including morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics, phonology, and their mutual interfaces. The particular topics discussed range from argument structure, word order, case, agreement, tense, aspect, and the left clausal periphery to segmental phonology. The thematic breadth and analytical depth of the contributions reflect the vitality of the field of formal Slavic linguistics and testify to its relevance for the global linguistic endeavor.

Early versions of the papers included in this volume were presented at the conference on Formal Description of Slavic Languages 12 or at the satellite Workshop on Formal and Experimental Semantics and Pragmatics, which were held in Berlin on 7–10 December 2016 – the year referred to in the title of the volume. Half of the submitted abstracts made it into the 44 presentations of the

Preface

conference. The 21 papers in the present volume were developed from these contributions in the course of a further thorough reviewing process. Neither the original conference nor the present volume would have been possible without the readiness of so many experts to devote their time and thoughts to the critical evaluation and helpful commenting of their colleagues' research papers. We wish to express our gratitude both to the 75 anonymous reviewers of the original conference abstracts, and to the more than 50 external reviewers for the present volume. Their commitment testifies to the liveliness and ambition of the field of Slavic linguistics. This book would have also been impossible without our student assistants, Bella Badt, Justina Bojarski, Andrei Koniaev and Jake Walsh, and the invaluable help of the Language Science Press editors Sebastian Nordhoff and Felix Kopecky. We gratefully acknowledge their efforts and support. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the authors themselves. Open Access publishing is a collective endeavor and we appreciate the authors' willingness to collaborate with us closely not just on linguistic and scientific issues, but also on editorial matters. We sincerely hope that the authors and readers of this volume will share our conviction that it has been worthwhile.

Denisa Lenertová, Roland Meyer, Radek Šimík & Luka Szucsich
Berlin, 14 December 2018

Chapter 1

Russian datives again: On the (im)possibility of the small clause analysis

Tatiana Bondarenko

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In this paper I use the interpretation of the repetitive adverb *opjat* ‘again’ in Russian to argue that ditransitive structures in this language do not involve a small clause structure (Kayne 1984; Beck & Johnson 2004; a.o.). Under the syntactic approach to the semantics of repetitives that I adopt (von Stechow 1996; Beck 2005; a.o.), the interpretation of repetitives is determined by their attachment in the syntactic representation. I show that in Russian ditransitives, unlike in English ones (Beck & Johnson 2004), only the repetitive reading of ‘again’ is possible, and argue that no reason other than a difference in the syntactic structures of ditransitives in two languages can account for that. I also observe that unlike datives that are found in ditransitives, “higher” dative arguments and locative applicatives in Russian can occur in constructions where there is a syntactic constituent denoting the resultant state, and thus the restitutive reading of repetitives is available.

Keywords: ditransitives, repetitives, datives, small clauses, Russian

1 Introduction

In this paper I will discuss applicability of the small clause analysis (Kayne 1984; Harley 1996; Beck & Johnson 2004; Pylkkänen 2008, among others) that has been proposed for the English double object construction (1) to constructions with dative arguments in Russian (2).¹

¹All examples in this paper are either in English or in Russian, unless explicitly indicated otherwise.



- (1) John gave Mary a letter.
- (2) Vasja otdal {Maše pis'mo / pis'mo Maše}.
- Vasja gave Masha.DAT letter.ACC letter.ACC Masha.DAT
- ‘Vasja gave Masha a letter.’

The small clause analysis involves the idea that in ditransitive constructions a direct object and an indirect object are merged together forming a small clause excluding the verb. This idea is shared by a variety of approaches (Kayne 1984; Pesetsky 1995; Harley 1996; 2002; Cuervo 2003; Beck & Johnson 2004; Jung & Miyagawa 2004; McIntyre 2006; Pylkkänen 2008; Schäfer 2008; Lomashvili 2010; Harley & Jung 2015, among others), which diverge on the exact nature of this formation (small clause/low applicative/PP/HaveP) and a few other details of the derivation. The tree in Figure 1 (adapted from Harley 2002) illustrates a version of this analysis for the English double object construction in (1): the direct object (*a letter*) and the indirect object (*Mary*) are combined with the help of a special P_{HAVE} , and the resulting PP becomes a complement of the verb.

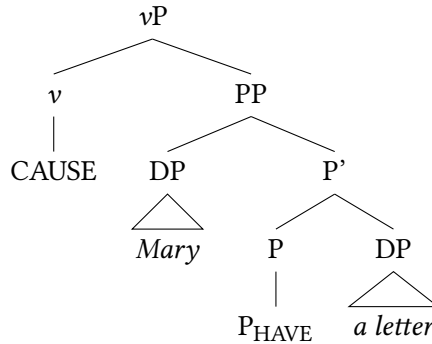


Figure 1: Double object construction (adapted from Harley 2002: 4)

The small clause analysis makes use of lexical decomposition in syntax: different subevents of a predicate are represented by different projections in syntax ($v_{\text{DO/CAUS}}P$ for a causing subevent, $SC/ResultP/HaveP/PP$ for a result state subevent, among some others). Under such approach to the syntax-semantics interface, indirect objects differ with respect to where they are introduced in the syntactically represented lexical decomposition of a given verb (Cuervo 2003; Schäfer 2008; among others). Their positions account for different interpretations and different syntactic properties. Indirect objects in the English double object construction are participants of the result state subevent under the small clause analysis.

The aim of this paper is to argue that Russian ditransitive verbs like *otdavat* ‘give’ in (2) should not be analyzed as involving a small clause structure. While English might decompose ditransitive verbs in syntax (*give* as CAUSE to HAVE), Russian does not exhibit the decomposition of this sort. My argumentation employs the idea that repetitive morphemes like *again* single out subevents in the semantics of a predicate, and thus, are able to detect the exact placement of indirect objects in syntactic structures with lexically decomposed verbs. If an indirect object denotes a participant of some subevent e_1 , then it should be in the scope of a repetitive adverb that singles out that subevent e_1 . I will try to show that Russian has constructions where a dative argument is a participant of a stative subevent of a predicate, but ditransitive sentences are not among such constructions.

The crucial observation for my proposal is that the restitutive reading of AGAIN is available in English ditransitive sentences – in both the DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION, see (3), and the TO-PP CONSTRUCTION, see (4), but not in Russian, no matter if the dative argument precedes the accusative one, as in (5), or conversely, see (6).^{2,3}

- (3) Thilo gave Satoshi the map again. DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

a. **Repetitive:** Available

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before.’

b. **Restitutive:** Available

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before.’

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 113)

- (4) Thilo gave the map to Satoshi again. TO-PP CONSTRUCTION

a. **Repetitive:** Available

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before.’

b. **Restitutive:** Available

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before.’

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 116)

²I do not want to imply that (5) and (6) are equivalents of English double object construction and *to*-PP construction correspondingly. The sentences in (5)-(6) just show that the availability of the restitutive reading does not depend on the relative word order of dative and accusative arguments in Russian.

³I use AGAIN to refer to this kind of repetitive adverbs generally and words in italics (English *again*, Russian *opjat*’) to refer to concrete lexical items of languages.

- (5) Maša opjat' otdala Vase knigu. DAT > ACC
 Masha again gave Vasja.DAT book.ACC
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Masha gave Vasja the book, and that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 'Masha gave Vasja the book, and Vasja had had the book before.'
- (6) Maša opjat' otdala knigu Vase. ACC > DAT
 Masha again gave book.ACC Vasja.DAT
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Masha gave Vasja the book, and that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 'Masha gave Vasja the book, and Vasja had had the book before.'

Under the restitutive reading, the subevent that is singled out by AGAIN is the state of possession between the indirect object and the direct object. For example, in (3) and (4) it is the reading when a state of Satoshi having the map is being repeated.⁴ This reading is impossible for Russian ditransitives: in (5) and (6) AGAIN cannot single out the state of Vasja having the book. The example in (7) illustrates that providing more context does not increase the availability of the restitutive reading in Russian ditransitives.

⁴An anonymous reviewer asks whether the presence of the restitutive reading entails the small clause analysis for the PP datives, given the logic of Beck & Johnson (2004). While the analysis for the PP datives is not spelled out in detail in Beck & Johnson (2004), one can infer from the discussion therein that the authors propose distinct syntactic structures for the double object construction and the *to*-PP construction, both of which include a small clause. Given the logic of Beck & Johnson (2004), the double object construction includes a small clause that consists of the two objects merging with the help of a functional projection (XP), which is then combined with the verb. The *to*-PP construction under their view presents a subcase of a more general NP + PP pattern. In sentences of this sort V merges directly with a PP and takes an NP as its specifier. The PP under consideration contains a null PRO as its subject that corefers with the NP that is the specifier of the verb. Thus, as the authors themselves put it, the PP becomes in effect a small clause (Beck & Johnson 2004: 118). In other words, the presence of the restitutive reading in (4) under the logic of Beck & Johnson (2004) does entail the presence of a small clause in the syntactic structure but does not necessarily entail that the syntactic structures of the double object construction and the *to*-PP construction are identical.

- (7) *Context:* Vasja had always had the book *Two captains* by Kaverin; he had never given it to anyone. One day he accidentally left the book at Masha's place...

a. #I togda Maša opjat' {otdala / otpravila / vernula} Vase
and then Masha again gave sent returned Vasja.DAT
knigu.
book.ACC

Intended: 'And then Masha gave / sent / returned Vasja the book,
and Vasja had had the book before.'

b. #I togda Maša opjat' {otdala / otpravila / vernula} knigu
and then Masha again gave / sent / returned book.ACC
Vase.
Vasja.DAT

Intended: 'And then Masha gave / sent / returned the book to Vasja,
and Vasja had had the book before.'

Why does Russian differ from English with respect to the availability of the restitutive reading in ditransitives? Does this difference reflect different syntactic structures of ditransitive sentences in these languages? Does Russian have constructions with dative arguments where AGAIN is able to single out the stative subevent of a predicate? These questions will be central to the forthcoming discussion.

This paper is structured as follows. In §2 I will introduce the syntactic approach to the meaning of AGAIN and discuss how the availability of the restitutive reading in English ditransitives argues for the small clause analysis. In §3 I will argue against Russian ditransitives involving a small clause structure. I will consider different potential reasons for the unavailability of the restitutive reading in Russian ditransitive sentences and conclude that it has a syntactic explanation. In §4 I will discuss constructions with higher dative arguments and show that in these sentences the stative subevent can be singled out, but the dative argument is not a participant of it. In §5 I will provide evidence that dative arguments in Russian can in principle be participants of the stative subevent of a predicate and that a construction with locative applicatives exemplifies such a case. §6 concludes the paper.

2 The small clause analysis of ditransitives: Evidence from AGAIN

In this paper I will assume the syntactic approach to the ambiguity of repetitive adverbs (von Stechow 1996; Beck & Johnson 2004; Beck 2005; Alexiadou et al. 2014; Lechner et al. 2015; among others), according to which different readings of AGAIN are attributed to different attachments of AGAIN in the syntactic representation. Under this approach the semantics of AGAIN is taken to be always the same and involve repetition of some event:⁵

- (8) $\llbracket \text{again} \rrbracket(e)(P)$
- a. $= 1$ iff $P(e) \wedge \exists e' [e' <_T e \wedge P(e')]$
 - b. $= 0$ iff $\neg P(e) \wedge \exists e' [e' <_T e \wedge P(e')]$
 - c. undefined otherwise

The semantics in (8) states that AGAIN takes an event e and a property of events P as its arguments and returns 1 if the property is true of the event and 0 if the property is not true of the event. The crucial part of AGAIN's meaning is a presupposition that there is another event that temporally precedes ($<_T$) the event under consideration of which the property is true. If the presupposition is not met, the meaning of AGAIN is undefined. Under the syntactic approach different readings of AGAIN arise due to its modification of different subevents in the syntactically represented lexical decomposition: the subevent that is modified by AGAIN is understood as being repeated.

Beck & Johnson (2004) claimed that the presence of the two readings of *again* with the double object construction provides support for the small clause analysis of English ditransitives. If ditransitive verbs such as *give* are lexically decomposed into the subevent denoting the action undertaken by an agent (represented in syntax by v) and the stative subevent (represented in syntax by a small clause – HaveP), then *again* should be able to attach to both vP and HaveP and modify the respective subevents, giving rise to the repetitive-restitutive ambiguity. This expectation is borne out, as we have observed in (3) (repeated here as (9)). The fact that indirect objects are understood as participants of stative subevents of ditransitive verbs suggests that they are inside a small clause that represents

⁵There is a competing semantic approach to the ambiguity of repetitives (Fabricius-Hansen 2001; Jäger & Blutner 2000; among others), according to which different readings of AGAIN emerge due to the lexical ambiguity of repetitive morphemes. In this paper I will not discuss the applicability of the semantics approach to the data under consideration.

a given stative subevent syntactically. The analysis that Beck & Johnson (2004) propose for sentences like (9) is sketched out in (10) and (11) (for the repetitive and the restitutive reading, respectively).⁶

(9) Thilo gave Satoshi the map again.

a. **Repetitive**

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before.’

b. **Restitutive**

‘Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before.’

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 113)

(10) **Repetitive reading**

a. [_{VP} [_{VP} Thilo [give [BECOME [_{HaveP} Satoshi HAVE the map]]]] **again**]

b. $\lambda e. \boxed{\text{AGAIN}}(e)(\lambda e_1. \text{GIVE}(e_1)(\text{THILO})$
 $\quad \wedge \exists e_2[\text{BECOME}(e_2)(\lambda e_3. \text{HAVE}(e_3)(\text{THE MAP})(\text{SATOSHI}))$
 $\quad \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e_2)(e_1)]$

c. ‘Once more, a giving by Thilo caused Satoshi to come to have the map.’

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 114)

(11) **Restitutive reading**

a. Thilo [give [BECOME [_{HaveP} [_{HaveP} Satoshi HAVE the map] **again**]]]

b. $\lambda e. \text{GIVE}(e)(\text{THILO}) \wedge \exists e_1[\text{BECOME}(e_1)$
 $\quad (\lambda e_2. \boxed{\text{AGAIN}}(e_2)(\lambda e_3. \text{HAVE}(e_3)(\text{THE MAP})(\text{SATOSHI}))$
 $\quad \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e_1)(e)]$

c. ‘A giving by Thilo caused Satoshi to come to once more have the map.’

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 114)

In (10) *again* attaches to the *vP* denoting the whole event of Thilo giving Satoshi the map, giving rise to the repetitive interpretation. In (11) *again* attaches to the small clause that denotes the stative event of Satoshi having the map, thus the restitutive reading arises.

For Beck & Johnson (2004) there are no elements CAUSE and BECOME in the syntactic representation of ditransitive sentences. Syntax provides a verb that

⁶Smallcaps in semantic formulas indicate metalinguistic translations of object language. For instance, $\llbracket \text{Satoshi} \rrbracket = \text{SATOSHI}$. This means that **AGAIN** in semantic formulas equals $\llbracket \text{again} \rrbracket$ (the meaning of the word *again*) and not the cover term for English *again* and Russian *opjat'*, used elsewhere in the body of the paper.

takes a small clause as its complement, and it's the semantic component that is responsible for introducing components like CAUSE and BECOME that are required for deriving the correct interpretations. It was proposed by von Stechow (1995) (and further employed in Beck & Johnson 2004 and Beck 2005) that the following special semantic principle is at work in structures with small clauses:

(12) **Principle R**

If $\alpha = [\text{V } \gamma \text{ }_{\text{SC}} \beta]$ and β is of type $\langle s, t \rangle$ and γ is of type $\langle e, \dots \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$ (an n -place predicate), then

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket = \lambda x_1 \dots \lambda x_n \lambda e. \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket(e)(x_1) \dots (x_n) \\ \wedge \exists e_1 [\text{BECOME}(e_1)(\llbracket \beta \rrbracket) \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e_1)(e)].$$

(adapted from Beck 2005: 7)

This principle ensures that a verb (an n -place predicate) is properly “glued” with a small clause (a property of events) by inserting CAUSE and BECOME components into the semantics representation.

This line of reasoning (Beck & Johnson 2004), which makes use of the syntactic decomposition of ditransitive verbs into a verb and a small clause and of the syntactic approach to the ambiguity of repetitive morphemes, allows naturally to explain the possible interpretations of English *again* in the double object construction.⁷ In the next section I will discuss why a similar logic is not applicable to the case of Russian ditransitives.

3 Russian ditransitives: Against the small clause analysis

There could be potentially different reasons for why restitutive readings are not available in Russian ditransitive clauses. The first hypothesis that I will explore is that the Russian repetitive adverb *opjat'* has different properties than English *again*. It has been observed that not all repetitive morphemes across languages have the ability to access different subevents inside decomposition structures (Rapp & von Stechow 1999; Beck 2005; Alexiadou et al. 2014; Lechner et al. 2015).

⁷There has been another attempt to explain the repetitive-restitutive ambiguity of *again* in the English double object construction by Bruening (2010), who argues for the asymmetrical applicative analysis of English ditransitives: a verb merges with a direct object first, and then the VP combines with an applicative head that introduces an indirect object as its specifier. Unlike under a small clause analysis, under this syntactic analysis the two interpretations of *again* do not fall out for free: special assumptions about verb head movement, object movement and interpretation of copies are required in order to obtain both repetitive and restitutive readings in ditransitive structures.

For example, the German repetitive adverb *erneut* ‘again’ cannot have restitutive readings with lexical accomplishment verbs like *öffnen* ‘open’, unlike another repetitive adverb *wieder* ‘again’; see (13) and (14).⁸

- (13) Maria hat die Tür erneut geöffnet.
 Maria has the door again opened
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 ‘Maria opened the door, and that had happened before.’
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 ‘Maria opened the door, and the door had been open before.’
 (German; Beck 2005: 12)
- (14) ... dass Ali Baba Sesam wieder öffnete
 that Ali Baba Sesam again opened
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 ‘...that Ali Baba opened Sesam, and that had happened before.’
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 ‘...that Ali Baba opened Sesam, and Sesam had been open before.’
 (German; adapted from von Stechow 1996: 3)

This variation with respect to the ability of adverbs to single out different sub-events in the syntactically represented lexical decomposition of predicates was captured by the Visibility Parameter (Rapp & von Stechow 1999; Beck 2005):

- (15) **The Visibility Parameter for decomposition adverbs**
 A D(ecomposition)-adverb can/cannot attach to a phrase with a
 phonetically empty head.
 (Rapp & von Stechow 1999 via Beck 2005: 13)

⁸Note that the unavailability of the restitutive reading in (13) cannot be due to its verb form (which is different from the one in (14)), since the use of the same form as in (14) does not lead to the availability of the restitutive reading:

- (i) ... dass Maria die Tür erneut öffnete. (German)
 that Maria the door again opened
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 ‘...that Maria opened the door, and that had happened before.’
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 ‘...that Maria opened the door, and the door had been open before.’

Under the assumption that lexical accomplishments in (13) and (14) involve a small clause with a null head that corresponds to the stative subevent of the door/Sezam being open, the Visibility Parameter states that the difference between German *wieder* and *erneut* is that the former, but not the latter can attach to a phrase with a phonetically null head, hence only the former can have the restitutive reading in sentences with lexical accomplishments.

The following question can then be asked about Russian *opjat'*: Is it an adverb that can attach to a phrase with a phonetically empty head? It turns out that *opjat'* can single out the stative subevent of lexical accomplishments, see (16) and (17), thus classifying as a decomposition adverb that can “look inside” the decomposition structure and modify subevents that are not expressed by overt phonetic material. *Opjat'* is not different from German *wieder* or English *again* in this respect.

- (16) Vasja *opjat'* otkryl dver'.
Vasja again opened door.ACC
a. **Repetitive:** Available
'Vasja opened the door, and that had happened before.'
b. **Restitutive:** Available
'Vasja opened the door, and the door had been open before.'
- (17) Vasja *opjat'* opustošil butylku.
Vasja again emptied bottle.ACC
a. **Repetitive:** Available
'Vasja emptied the bottle, and that had happened before.'
b. **Restitutive:** Available
'Vasja emptied the bottle, and the bottle had been empty before.'
- (18) Ali Baba opened Sezam again.
a. **Repetitive:** Available
'Ali Baba opened Sezam, and that had happened before.'
b. **Restitutive:** Available
'Ali Baba opened Sezam, and Sezam had been open before.'

Note that unlike *wieder* and *again*, Russian *opjat'* occurs preverbally, see (5)–(7), (16), and (17), which does not prevent it from being able to have restitutive read-

ings see (16) and (17).⁹ The fact that *opjat* generally allows for restitutive readings when it precedes the verb suggests that the word order in (5)–(7) cannot be the reason for the unavailability of restitutive readings in ditransitive clauses. To sum up, it seems highly unlikely that the properties of *opjat* prevent restitutive readings in Russian ditransitives.

A second hypothesis that I will consider is that restitutive readings are unavailable in Russian ditransitives due to the absence of a stative subevent in semantics of ditransitive verbs. I will argue that this hypothesis is also wrong: ditransitives have a stative subevent in their semantics, which can independently be detected by another Russian adverb, namely *obratno* ‘back’/‘again’, and can be introduced into syntax with the help of an eventive goal PP. Crucially, I will argue that the stative subevent is not represented in the syntactic decomposition of ditransitive verbs that take just an accusative argument and a dative one.

The Russian adverb *obratno* ‘back’/‘again’ (glossed below simply as OBRATNO), although similar in its meaning to *opjat*, has different semantics, which involves a return to a state in which an entity had been before (as observed already by Tatevosov 2016). As a consequence, it can modify only descriptions with a target state in the sense of (Kratzer 2000) and allows for restitutive readings only (19).

⁹The situation is different for English and German, where the pre-object position of repetitive adverbs makes the restitutive reading unavailable, see (i) and (ii).

- (i) Ali Baba again opened Sezam.
 - a. **Repetitive:** Available
‘Ali Baba opened Sezam, and that had happened before.’
 - b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
‘Ali Baba opened Sezam, and Sezam had been open before.’

- (ii) ... dass Ali Baba wieder Sesam öffnete. (German)
 - a. **Repetitive:** Available
‘... that Ali Baba opened Sezam, and that had happened before.’
 - b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
‘... that Ali Baba opened Sezam, and Sezam had been open before.’

Unlike English *again* and German *wieder*, Russian *opjat* is generally not very good in a sentence-final position and is mostly used in the preverbal position.

- (19) *Context* (after [Lechner et al. 2015](#)): Three students – Masha, Vasja, and Petja – were studying in the library. They wanted the window in the library to be open, but the librarian wanted the window to be closed. Masha opened the window, but the librarian closed it. Vasja opened the window, but the librarian closed it. Petja opened the window, but the librarian closed it. Finally, Masha opened the window for the second time.
- a. # Rovno odin student otkryl okno obratno.
 exactly one student opened window.ACC OBRATNO
 ‘Exactly one student opened the window again.’
 - i. **Repetitive reading:** Unavailable
 ‘There exists a student that opened the window and had opened it before, and it is not true that other students opened the window and had opened it before.’
 (exactly one x > again > x opened the window > the window was open)
 - ii. **Restitutive reading:** False
 ‘There exists a student that opened the window and no other student opened the window and the window had been open before.’
 (exactly one x > x opened the window > again > the window was open)
 - b. Rovno odin student opjat’ otkryl okno.
 exactly one student again opened window.ACC
 ‘Exactly one student opened the window again.’
 - i. **Repetitive reading:** True
 ‘There exists a student that opened the window and had opened it before, and it is not true that other students opened the window and had opened it before.’
 (exactly one x > again > x opened the window > the window was open)
 - ii. **Restitutive reading:** False
 ‘There exists a student that opened the window and no other student opened the window and the window had been open before.’
 (exactly one x > x opened the window > again > the window was open)
 (adapted from [Tatevosov 2016](#): 31)

[Alexiadou et al. \(2014\)](#) and [Lechner et al. \(2015\)](#) observed that the repetitive and the restitutive readings exhibit different truth conditions in contexts with non-monotone quantifiers like ‘exactly’ or ‘only one student’. For the context in (19),

sentences with subjects that are non-monotone quantifiers are true only under the repetitive reading of AGAIN, see (19b-i) vs. (19b-ii). While *opjat'* can have repetitive readings and thus (19b) is appropriate in the context provided, *obratno* is illicit in this context because it cannot have repetitive readings.

Obratno “looks into” the semantics of a verbal phrase with which it merges and searches for a target state in this semantic representation that it can modify. As the sentence in (20) shows, *obratno* is able to find a target state in the semantic representation of Russian ditransitives.

- (20) Maša {otdala / otpravila / vernula} Vase knigu obratno.
 Masha gave sent returned Vasja.DAT book.ACC OBRATNO
 ‘Masha gave / sent / returned Vasja the book, and Vasja had had the book before.’

Elaboration of the analysis of properties of Russian *obratno* is beyond the scope of this paper. What is important for us here is that *obratno* can serve as a diagnostic for a stative subevent: it shows us that a result state is present in semantics of ditransitive predicates.¹⁰

Another piece of evidence that Russian ditransitive verbs have a stative subevent in their semantics comes from the comparison of ditransitive constructions with a dative and an accusative argument with constructions with the same verbs that take an accusative argument and a goal PP. Consider the following two sentences with the verb *otpravlyat'* ‘send’:

¹⁰There could be different plausible explanations for the unavailability of repetitive readings with *obratno*. For example, it could be the case that *obratno* is actually not a VP-level adverb but a PP modifier which in some cases signals the presence of a silent PP. Some support in favor of this hypothesis is provided by examples like (i) and (ii), where *obratno* seems to form a constituent with an overtly realized PP (the examples involve a movement of *obratno* + PP – scrambling and wh-movement, respectively):

- (i) [Obratno v Moskvu] Vasja rešil priexat'.
 OBRATNO to Moscow Vasja decided come.INF
 ‘Vasja decided to come back to Moscow.’
 (ii) [Obratno v kakoj gorod] oni otpravilis’?
 OBRATNO in what city they went
 ‘What city did they go back to?’

If *obratno* is a PP modifier, then it follows that it can have exclusively restitutive readings. Under this hypothesis, *obratno* signals the presence of a silent goal PP in (20), which introduces the stative subevent into the syntactic representation that was otherwise not present. I will not pursue this idea here, leaving it for the future research.

- (21) Maša opjat' otpravila {Vase igrušku / igrušku Vase}.
 Masha again sent Vasja.DAT toy.ACC toy.ACC Vasja.DAT
 a. Available: 'Masha sent Vasja the toy, and that had happened before.'
 b. Unavailable: 'Masha sent Vasja the toy, and Vasja had had the toy before.'
- (22) Rukovoditel' opjat' otpravil sotrudnika v Moskvu.
 manager again sent employee.ACC in Moscow
 a. Available: 'The manager sent the employee to Moscow, and that had happened before.'
 b. Available: 'The manager sent the employee to Moscow, and the employee had been in Moscow before.'

When this verb takes an accusative argument and a dative one (21), the restitutive reading of *opjat'* is unavailable. When, however, it takes an accusative argument and a goal PP (22), *opjat'* is able to single out the subevent that denotes the state of the theme argument (the employee) being at the location specified by the goal PP (Moscow).

This difference can also be observed with PPs headed by *k* 'to', which can take animate noun phrases as their complements. Sentences with ditransitive verbs that take a direct object and a *k*-PP, see (24), seem almost synonymous to those with ditransitive verbs that take two objects, see (23); but the restitutive reading is available only in the former construction.

- (23) Maša opjat' otpravila knigu Kate.
 Masha again sent book.ACC Katja.DAT
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Masha sent the book to Katja, and that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 'Masha sent the book to Katja, and Katja had had the book before.'
- (24) Maša opjat' otpravila knigu k Kate.
 Masha again sent book.ACC to Katja.DAT
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Masha sent the book to Katja, and that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Available
 'Masha sent the book to Katja, and Katja had had the book before.'

If we assume that ditransitive verbs like *otpravljat* ‘send’ have uniform semantics across their uses, then it follows that they should have a stative subevent in their semantic representation, since it is visible in some clauses with these verbs.

Why does the presence of a goal PP make the restitutive reading available in sentences with ditransitive verbs? I would like to suggest that the reason for that is that PPs, unlike dative arguments, can be eventive (see McIntyre 2006) and introduce subevents that are present in the semantics of a predicate into the syntactic representation. This difference between dative arguments and goal PPs, as well as the fact that they can co-exist in the same clause, see (25) (cf. English (26)), suggests that PP ditransitives and ditransitives with dative arguments cannot be derivationally related.

- (25) a. Oni otpravili {ej vrača / vrača ej} v školu.
 they sent her.DAT doctor.ACC doctor.ACC her.DAT in school
 ‘They sent a doctor into the school for her.’
 b. Ja brosil {Vasje mjač / mjač Vasje} v ruki.
 I threw Vasje.DAT ball.ACC ball.ACC Vasje.DAT in hands
 ‘I threw a ball to Vasje, into his hands.’
- (26) a. *They sent her a doctor into the building.
 b. *I threw Fred a ball into his hands. (McIntyre 2011)

To sum up, sentences with Russian ditransitive verbs can have restitutive readings in two cases. First, the adverb *obratno* can access a target state in the semantic representation of a verbal phrase. Second, a goal PP can introduce a target state into the syntactic representation, making the restitutive reading available even with the repetitive adverb *opjat*, which requires a syntactic constituent corresponding to the result state. This suggests that the unavailability of restitutive readings with dative arguments cannot be explained by the absence of a stative subevent in the semantics of Russian ditransitives.

If Russian *opjat* has the same properties as English *again* and Russian ditransitives have a stative subevent in their event structure, then we have to conclude that for some reason this stative subevent is not represented in syntax. In other words, no small clause (or HaveP/PP/LowApplP) is present in Russian ditransitive sentences with dative arguments. Why is it the case that such a small clause cannot be built? I will first explore a semantic hypothesis: the relevant structure can be built, but cannot be interpreted due to absence of the interpretation Principle R in Russian.

It has been argued (Snyder 2001; Beck & Snyder 2001; Beck 2005) that the interpretation Principle R is not universal: languages differ with respect to whether they have a principle allowing to successfully interpret the combination of a verb and a small clause, and this variation is responsible for the (un)availability of a number of constructions, including resultatives, verb-particle constructions, *put*-locative constructions, *make*-causative constructions and the double object construction, among others. Could it be the case that Russian is one of the languages that do not have the Principle R?

This hypothesis is dubious, since Russian seems to require some version of this principle independently for interpreting other constructions.¹¹ One example of a case where such a principle would be needed is sentences with verbs that take lexical prefixes.

- (27) Vasja za-brosil mjač v vorota.
 Vasja PVB-throw ball in goal
 ‘Vasja threw the ball into the goal.’

Svenonius (2004) has proposed that lexical prefixes in Russian, such as *za* in (27), enter the derivation as heads of small clauses that are complements of verbs. Under this view, lexical prefixes head their own projections and take PPs as their complements and direct objects as their subjects (Figure 2).

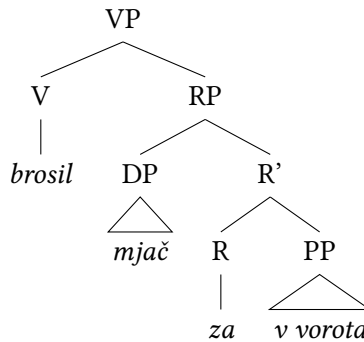


Figure 2: Lexical prefixes as heads of small clauses

This analysis receives additional support from the fact that *opjat'* can have the restitutive reading in sentences with verbs with lexical prefixes. Consider (28):

¹¹As an anonymous reviewer points out, Russian does have resultative constructions. For example, one type of Russian resultatives is discussed in Tatevosov (2010). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this observation, which provides an additional argument against the inaccessibility of Principle R in Russian.

- (28) *Context:* This ball was lying inside the goal for as long as we can remember. For the first time someone threw the ball out of the goal. But five minutes later...

Vasja opjat' za-brosil mjač v vorota.

Vasja again PVB-throw ball in goal

'Vasja threw the ball into the goal, and the ball had been in the goal before.'

Opjat' in (28) has the interpretation under which an event that has occurred before is the event of the ball being inside the goal. Under the syntactic approach to the ambiguity of AGAIN, this suggests that there is a syntactic constituent – a small clause, which represents the stative subevent of the predicate and to which *opjat'* can attach (Figure 3).

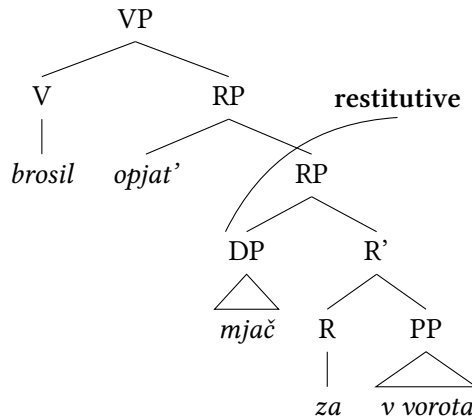


Figure 3: The small clause analysis of Russian *zabrosit'* 'throw'

If Russian did not have means of interpreting the combination of a verb and a small clause (the Principle R or its equivalent), then the sentence in (28) should be uninterpretable and thus lead to a derivation crash. This implies that uninterpretability cannot be the problem that prevents building a small clause structure for sentences with ditransitive verbs in Russian.

This brings us to the conclusion that ditransitive sentences with dative arguments in Russian do not contain a small clause for syntactic reasons: the structure with SC/HaveP/LowAppIP/particular kinds of null P/R cannot be built. As a consequence, under our assumption that the availability of the restitutive reading

entails lexical decomposition in syntax,¹² the syntax of ditransitive clauses in Russian significantly differs from the syntax of similar sentences in English. If English might decompose *give* syntactically as CAUSE to HAVE, this sort of decomposition does not take place in Russian. A more general consequence follows from this difference between the two languages: the lexical decomposition for a given predicate cannot be universal; languages differ with respect to how they map event structures of similar predicates onto syntactic representations.

4 Restitutive readings with Russian datives: Higher datives

Dative arguments can differ with respect to how they are related to a result state of a given predicate. In this section I will show that restitutive readings of *opjat'* are available in sentences with higher, non-subcategorized dative arguments, but that in these clauses dative noun phrases do not denote participants of stative subevents singled out by *opjat'*.

Clauses with non-subcategorized dative arguments and predicates like *otkryt' dver'* 'open the door' do not exhibit the restitutive reading when dative arguments follow the verb (29), but are able to escape the scope of AGAIN when they are scrambled to the left of it, in which case the restitutive reading becomes available (30):

- (29) Vasja opjat' otkryl {Maše dver' / dver' Maše}.
 Vasja again opened Masha.DAT door.ACC door.ACC Masha.DAT
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Vasja opened the door for Masha, that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Unavailable
 'Vasja opened the door for Masha, the door had been open before.'
- (30) Vasja Maše opjat' otkryl dver'.
 Vasja Masha.DAT again opened door.ACC
 a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Vasja opened the door for Masha, and that had happened before.'
 b. **Restitutive:** Available
 'Vasja opened the door for Masha, and the door had been open before.'

¹² An anonymous reviewer reasonably points out that that this assumption is not shared by everyone working on double object constructions. The conclusions that I argue for in this paper follow only if this assumption is retained.

As can be seen from the restitutive reading of (30), the dative argument is not interpreted as a participant of the stative subevent of the predicate *otkryt' dver'* 'open the door'. The interpretation in (30b) states that Vasja did some activity for Masha that resulted in the repeated state of the door being open. This suggests that non-subcategorized datives are introduced higher than the syntactically represented stative subevents.

Note that scrambling of dative arguments to the left of *opjat'* in ditransitive sentences does not feed the restitutive reading:

- (31) *Context:* Vasja had always had the book *Two captains* by Kaverin; he had never given it to anyone. One day he accidentally left the book at Masha's place...

I togda Maša Vase opjat' {otdala / otpravila / vernula}
and then Masha Vasja.DAT again gave sent returned
knigu.
book.ACC

Intended: 'And then Masha gave / sent / returned Vasja the book, and Vasja had had the book before.'

This means that stative subevents are not represented in the syntax of ditransitives with dative arguments. If they were present in the syntactic representation, they could be singled out at least in cases when datives are scrambled.

The fact that the restitutive reading of *opjat'* is available in sentences with non-subcategorized datives, in contrast to ditransitive sentences with datives, is concordant with the proposal that non-subcategorized dative arguments are introduced higher than VPs (Boneh & Nash 2017). One piece of evidence for this comes from the fact that sentences with non-subcategorized datives show asymmetrical binding: only the dative argument can bind the accusative one, but not the other way around:

- (32) a. *Šaman zakoldoval oxotnikov drug drugu.
shaman jinxed hunters.ACC each other.DAT
b. Šaman zakoldoval oxotnikam drug druga.
shaman jinxed hunters.DAT each other.ACC
c. *Šaman zakoldoval drug drugu oxotnikov.
shaman jinxed each other.DAT hunters.ACC
d. ??Šaman zakoldoval drug druga oxotnikam.
shaman jinxed each other.ACC hunters.DAT

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

(Boneh & Nash 2017)

It can be shown that evidence from binding and from the scope of *opjat*’ go hand in hand: sentences with non-subcategorized datives, in which the dative argument asymmetrically binds the direct object, exhibit restitutive readings when the dative argument is scrambled outside the scope of *opjat*’:

- (33) *Context*: Two hunters have been born jinxed and have been this way for a long time. One day a good witch relieved them from the jinx. But after some time, they had a huge fight and were very angry with each other. Each of them came to the shaman to ask him to jinx the other one.

Šaman oxotnikam opjat’ zakoldoval drug druga
shaman hunters.DAT again jinxed each other.ACC

‘Shaman jinxed the hunters for each other, and the hunters had been jinxed before (but the shaman had never jinxed them before).’

Thus, non-subcategorized datives are introduced higher than VPs and cannot be understood as participants of stative subevents of predicates. But if a predicate has a stative subevent, it can be successfully singled out by *opjat*’ in case the dative argument is scrambled to the left of the repetitive adverb.

5 Restitutive readings with Russian datives: Locative applicatives

In the previous section I have discussed a case of the restitutive reading in structures with a dative argument which was not a participant in the stative subevent singled out by *opjat*’. In this section I will show that Russian also has a construction in which a dative argument is a participant of the stative subevent detected by the restitutive *opjat*’.

The construction under consideration, which I will call the LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION (“N-applicatives” in the terminology of [Pshekhetskaya 2012](#)), usually involves a motion verb that takes a direct object, a goal PP and an optional dative argument:

- (34) Maša opjat’ položila knigu Vase na stol.
Masha again put book.ACC Vasja.DAT on table

a. **Repetitive**: Available

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

b. **Restitutive:** Available

‘Masha put the book on the table for Vasja, and Vasja had had the book on the table before.’

In (34) the dative argument is interpreted as a possessor of the small clause that represents the stative subevent “the book is on the table”: Vasja’s having the book on the table is being repeated.

The locative applicative construction is not found exclusively with motion verbs, it is also sometimes possible with lexical causatives (35) and change-of-state predicates (36).

- (35) Vasja opjat’ posadil dočku Maše na stul.
Vasja again seated daughter.ACC Masha.DAT on chair

a. **Repetitive:** Available

‘Vasja seated the daughter on the chair for Masha, and that had happened before.’

b. **Restitutive:** Available

‘Vasja seated the daughter on the chair for Masha, and Masha had had the daughter sit on the chair before.’

- (36) Maša opjat’ pobelila stenu mame v komnate.
Masha again whitened wall.ACC mother.DAT in room

a. **Repetitive:** Available

‘Masha whitened the wall in the room for the mother, and that had happened before.’

b. **Restitutive:** Available

‘Masha whitened the wall in the room for the mother, and the mother had had the wall white in the room before.’

The dative argument in this structure is merged lower than the direct object, as the 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:

- (37) a. Vasja posadil devoček drug drugu na stulja.
Vasja seated girls.ACC each other.DAT on chairs

‘Vasja seated the girls – A and B – in such a way that A has B sitting on A’s chair and B has A sitting on B’s chair.’

(Literally: Vasja seated the girls_i to each other_i on the chairs.)

- b. * Vasja posadil drug druga devočkam na stulja.
 Vasja seated each other.ACC girls.DAT on chairs
 Intended: ‘Vasja seated the girls – A and B – in such a way that A has B sitting on A’s chair and B has A sitting on B’s chair.’
 (Literally: Vasja seated each other_i to the girls_i on the chairs.)

The example in (38) shows that the dative reciprocal that is bound by the direct object can be a participant of the stative subevent identified by *opjat*’:

- (38) Vasja opjat’ posadil devoček drug drugu na stulja.
 Vasja again seated girls.ACC each other.DAT on chairs
- a. **Repetitive:** Available
 ‘Vasja seated the girls – A and B – in such a way that A has B sitting on A’s chair and B has A sitting on B’s chair, and that had happened before.’
 (Literally: Vasja seated girls_i to each other_i on the chairs, and that had happened before.)
- b. **Restitutive:** Available
 ‘Vasja seated the girls – A and B – in such a way that A has B sitting on A’s chair and B has A sitting on B’s chair, and there was a situation before where A had B sitting on A’s chair, and B had A sitting on B’s chair.’
 (Literally: Vasja seated girls_i to each other_i on the chairs, and the girls_i had sat by each other_i on the chairs before.)

It can also be demonstrated that the dative argument forms a constituent with the locative phrase. When a dative argument is a wh-word, it can pied-pipe the prepositional phrase to the left periphery:

- (39) a. [Komu na stol] Maša položila knigu?
 who.DAT on table Masha put book.ACC
 ‘Which person *x* is such that Masha put a book for *x* on *x*’s table?’
- b. [Komu na stul] Vasja posadil devočku?
 who.DAT on chair Vasja seated girl.ACC
 ‘Which person *x* is such that Vasja seated a girl for *x* on *x*’s chair?’
- c. [Komu v školu] Maša otdala syna?
 who.DAT in school Masha gave son.ACC
 ‘Which person *x* is such that Masha gave her son to *x*, to *x*’s school?’

I would like to propose that in the locative applicative construction the dative noun phrase is an applicative argument that is introduced on top of the PP that introduces a stative subevent into the syntactic representation. Since applicative heads introduce an abstract HAVE relation between the applied argument and the complement of Appl (Cuervo 2003; McIntyre 2006; among others), the fact that the dative argument in Russian locative applicatives is interpreted as a holder of the state that the PP denotes is expected if the dative argument is applied to an eventive PP; see (40) and Figure 4.¹³

- (40) Vasja opjat' povesil kartinu Kate na stenu.
 Vasja again hung picture Katja.DAT on wall
- a. **Repetitive:** Available
 'Vasja hung the picture for Katja on the wall, and that had happened before.'
 - b. **Restitutive:** Available
 'Vasja hung the picture for Katja on the wall, and Katja had the picture on the wall before.'

The restitutive reading of *opjat'* in this construction arises when *opjat'* attaches to an applicative phrase (Figure 4) and takes scope over the stative subevent denoted by a goal PP. The dative argument falls inside the scope of *opjat'* since it is an applied argument of an eventive PP and not an argument of the verb.

6 Conclusions

In this paper I have argued against the small clause analysis of Russian ditransitives. I have observed that although Russian repetitive adverb *opjat'* has the same ability to look inside the decomposition structure as English *again*, it cannot have the restitutive reading in clauses with ditransitive verbs that take two objects, in contrast to *again* in the English double object construction. I have shown that Russian ditransitives have stative subevents in their semantics and that the unavailability of a small clause structure for Russian ditransitives cannot be explained by a semantic restriction, since the Principle R or its equivalent that

¹³The structure in Figure 4 feeds the relevant (restitutive) interpretation. In order to derive the attested word order, cf. (40), I assume that later in the derivation the lexical verb *povesil* 'hung' undergoes further movement to Asp (see Harizanov & Gribanova 2018 for discussion), and the repetitive adverb *opjat'* moves to a position before the verb (the arguments for a movement analysis of repetitives that were proposed in Xu 2016 for Chinese hold for Russian as well), with subsequent reconstruction into its base position at LF.

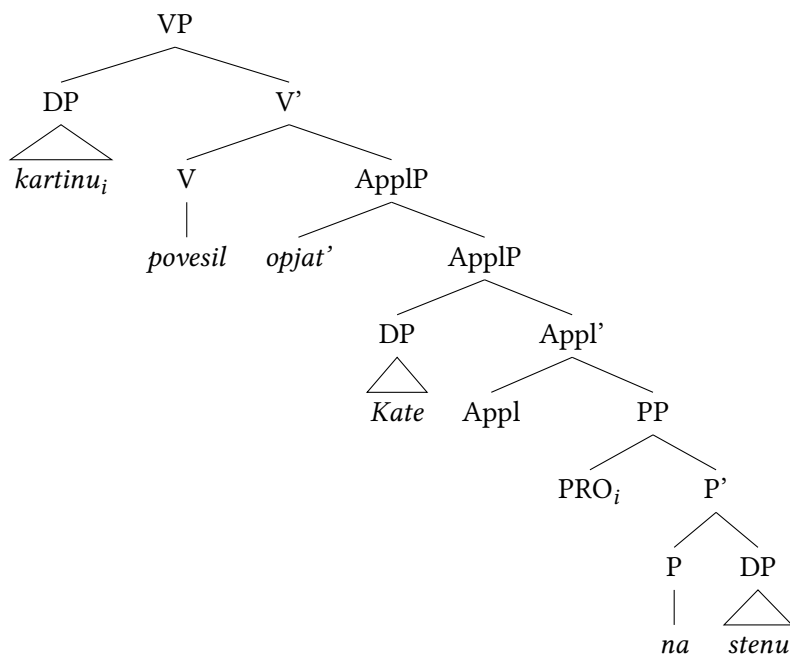


Figure 4: The locative applicative construction (40)

allows to interpret a combination of a verb and a small clause is independently required for other constructions of Russian. I have concluded that the small clause structure is not present in Russian ditransitives due to syntactic reasons: the syntax cannot build such a structure. The unavailability of the restitutive reading in Russian ditransitives suggests that they are not equivalent to the English double object construction or the *to*-PP construction. They also cannot be analyzed as involving a silent (incorporated) P, since the structure with a PP would make the restitutive reading available. Although the new empirical data discussed in this paper is compatible with several analyses of ditransitives (for example, with applicative analysis (Bruening 2010) or non-derivational analysis along the lines of (Boneh & Nash 2017) and does not settle on a particular one, it clearly shows that Russian ditransitives do not involve a small clause structure and differ from English ditransitives significantly.

I have also examined two other constructions with dative arguments in Russian, both of which allow for the restitutive reading of *opjat'*. In sentences with “high” datives the restitutive reading is available if the dative argument escapes the scope of *opjat'*. The dative does not denote a participant of the stative subevent in this case, which means that it cannot be introduced into the structure

lower than the first subevent of the predicate. In the locative applicative construction, the dative argument is a participant of the subevent introduced by a PP and is inside the scope of the restitutive *opjat'*. I have argued that in this construction the dative is an applied argument to the PP, and therefore is always lower than the direct object, forms a constituent with the PP and can be inside the scope of *opjat'* under the restitutive reading.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	INF	infinitive
DAT	dative	PVB	preverb

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Advances in Formal Slavic Linguistics 2016 initiates a new series of collective volumes on formal Slavic linguistics. It presents a selection of high quality papers authored by young and senior linguists from around the world and contains both empirically oriented work, underpinned by up-to-date experimental methods, as well as more theoretically grounded contributions. The volume covers all major linguistic areas, including morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics, phonology, and their mutual interfaces. The particular topics discussed include argument structure, word order, case, agreement, tense, aspect, clausal left periphery, or segmental phonology. The topical breadth and analytical depth of the contributions reflect the vitality of the field of formal Slavic linguistics and prove its relevance to the global linguistic endeavour. Early versions of the papers included in this volume were presented at the conference on Formal Description of Slavic Languages 12 or at the satellite Workshop on Formal and Experimental Semantics and Pragmatics, which were held on December 7–10, 2016 in Berlin.

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