On the syntax of the Russian control verbs *pomoč* 'help' and *pomešat*' 'hinder'

Abstract. This paper examines sentences with the verbs *pomoč* 'help' and *pomešat'* 'hinder' in Russian and demonstrates that, although they are usually listed among object control predicates, these verbs appear in a wide range of constructions that cannot be accounted for by a straightforward control analysis. I argue that *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are, in essence, ditransitive, similarly to 'give' or 'send': they require a Patient (a person or a situation that will be helped/hindered) and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE. The Patient and the Theme are projected by the low applicative head that denotes the relation "to-the-possession", as per Pylkkänen (2008). A saturated clausal dependent, when present, should be analyzed as a Patient. A property-type clausal dependent is merged as a modifier within the Theme NP. The approach is extended to control collocations such as 'give a chance'. It further offers an opportunity to develop a uniform structural representation for various verbs of object control that will reduce the differences between them to particular properties of the Theme.

Keywords: object control, argument structure, ditransitive, applicative, adjunct control, implicit arguments, Russian.

1. Introduction

In this paper I present a thorough examination of the Russian predicates *pomoč* 'help' and *pomešat*' 'hinder'. As they regularly co-occur with a DP argument and a non-finite clause, *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are traditionally listed among object control verbs, such as implicatives ('force', 'compel') or mandatives ('order') and their distinctive semantic and syntactic behavior remains overlooked. *Pomoč* and *pomešat'* allow an unusually broad range of syntactic dependents, as illustrated in (1): they combine with dative [+Sentient] Patients, dative eventive DPs, non-finite clauses with a PRO subject, non-finite saturated clauses with an overt subject, subjunctive clauses, and PPs.[1]

(1) a. Maša pomogla mne / rostu prodaž.
Maša helped I.DAT growth.DAT sales.GEN
'Maša helped me/the growth of sales.'

b. Maša pomogla mne [PRO kupit' knigi] /[v pokupke knig].
Maša helped I.DAT buy.INF books in buying.PREP books.GEN
'Maša helped me to buy books.'

c. Maša pomogla [prodažam vyrasti] / [čtoby prodaži vyrosli].
Maša helped sales.DAT grow.INF so that sales grow.SUBJ
'Maša helped the sales to grow.'

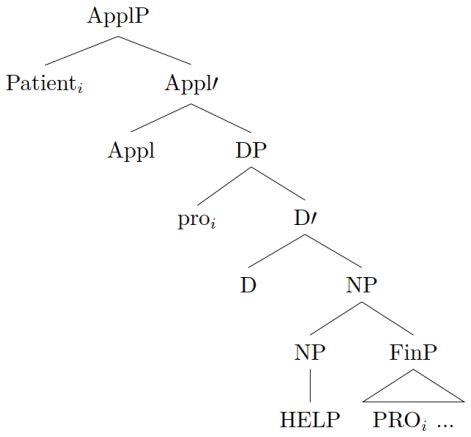
[1] The original examples presented in the paper were elicited with nine monolingual native speakers of Russian, 27–45 y.o.

Upon a closer look at the dependents listed above, the following pattern emerges: first, the dependents divide into arguments (DPs and saturated CPs) and properties (PPs and controlled FinPs) and, second, the arguments cannot co-occur, which suggests that they compete for the same structural/thematic position. To account for this, I develop a novel analysis, whereby *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are ditransitive constructions that involve an abstract verb GIVE, a Patient (i.e. a person or a situation toward which the Agent directs her efforts), and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE. The Patient and the Theme are projected as arguments of a low applicative head that denotes the relation "to-the-possession", following Pylkkänen's (2008) analysis for verbs of transfer across the world's languages; the ApplP is then merged as a complement of GIVE (2).

(2) $[_{\text{VP}}\ \text{GIVE}\ [_{\text{ApplP}}\ \underset{\text{DAT}}{\overset{\uparrow}{\text{Patient}}}\ [_{\text{Appl}'}\ \text{Appl}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ \text{HELP/HINDRANCE}]]]]$

A property clause and a PP, when present, are analyzed as modifiers within the Theme (3). Obligatory control into the embedded adjunct clause is established between the matrix Patient and the embedded PRO via the implicit possessor, *pro*.

(3)



The proposed analysis accounts for the peculiar properties of *pomoč* and *pomešat'*, including the dative case assignment, the variety of possible dependents, the optionality of embedded clauses, and the predicative nature of control established between the matrix Patient and the embedded PRO. It can further be extended to similar expressions with a ditransitive verb and a controlled clause, such as *okazat' pomošč* 'provide help', *dat' šans/vozmožnost'* 'give a chance/opportunity', which are rarely discussed in the literature.

The paper solves a specific empirical puzzle in Russian and contributes to the general discussion of clausal subordination and the nature of control predicates. It also addresses such topics as the distribution of dative DPs, property/proposition distinction for

non-finite clauses, obligatory control into adjuncts, and structural presence of covert arguments.

The paper continues as follows. Section 2 examines sentences with a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause and formulates the main research questions. Section 3 presents a novel analysis for *pomoč* and *pomešat'* as ditransitive verbs. Section 4 discusses the adjunct/argument status of the dependents of *pomoč* and *pomešat'*. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. *Pomoč* and *pomešat'* and a non-finite clause

2.1. The data

Most frequently[2] *pomoč* and *pomešat'* appear together with a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause, similarly to, for example, the English verb *help*.[3] In such cases, the dative DP usually refers to a person who is helped in or prevented from doing something. Throughout the paper I refer to this passive participant as **Patient**, using the term in its broad meaning as described in Andrews (1985), Dowty (1991), Williams (2015), i.a. This will become important in Section 4, where I demonstrate that the dative DP can also denote a situation that the Agent intends to make (im)possible.

When co-occurring with a non-finite clause, the dative DP must be coreferent with the understood subject of the infinitive; consider examples in (4) that show that a non-local or non-c-commanding antecedent for the embedded subject is not acceptable.

(4) Marina$_k$ skazala, čto Sveta$_j$ pomogla [druzjam Peti$_m$]$_j$
Marina said that Sveta helped friends.DAT Petja.GEN
ec$_{i/*j/*k/*m}$ sdat' ekzamen.
pass.INF exam
'Marina said that Sveta had helped Petja's friends to pass the exam.'

In the literature, *pomoč*, *pomešat'* and their translation equivalents in other languages are usually listed among object control verbs; see Arylova (2006) on Russian and Sabel (1996) and Davies and Dubinsky (2004) on Germanic languages. I challenge this assumption and

[2] From the National Corpus of Russian, the search results for the sequence *pomoč/pomešat'* and (i) dative + infinitive = 10681 entries, (ii) dative + *in*-PP = 1750 entries. https://ruscorpora.ru/new/en/search-main.html (accessed on February 28, 2021)

[3] The subject in such sentences is interpreted as either an Agent or a Cause (i).

(i) Rusalka / pogoda pomogla kapitanu izbežat' ataki piratov.
mermaid.NOM weather.NOM helped captain.DAT avoid.INF attack.GEN pirates.GEN
'The mermaid/weather helped the captain to avoid pirates' attack.'

argue that sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* are ambiguous between obligatory control and overt embedded subject analyses. That is, the dative DP is either a matrix Patient controlling the embedded PRO or an embedded argument located within the non-finite clause.

To begin with, let us discuss the standard diagnostics used to determine whether a DP is an argument of the embedded predicate: the selection test, the idiom chunk test, and the embedded passivization test. In the case under consideration, the results for these tests are mixed: the dative DP can but does not have to be interpreted as an embedded argument.

First, in the absence of an embedded clause, the Patient must be either a [+Sentient] DP or an event noun (5a). Conversely, the dative DP used together with a non-finite clause does not have to comply with this restriction (5b).

(5) a. My pomešajem Pete / stroitel'stvu / *zdanijam.
we hinder.NPST Petja.DAT constructing.DAT buildings.DAT
'We will hinder Petja/construction.'

b. My pomešajem zdanijam byt' dostrojennymi.
we hinder.NPST buildings.DAT be.INF complete.PTCP
'We will prevent the buildings from being constructed.'

Second, sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* and an embedded idiom, such as *čërnaja koška probežala meždu nimi* 'the black cat run between them' (idiomatic reading: 'they quarreled'), are ambiguous between literal and idiomatic interpretations (6). An expression retains its idiomatic reading only if all the components are base-generated together (Davies and Dubinsky 2004). The ambiguity of (6) indicates that it has two corresponding structures: the DP 'black cat' is projected either by the matrix predicate or by the embedded one.

(6) Ja pomešal čërnoj koške probežat' meždu nimi.
I hindered black cat.DAT run.INF between them
Literally: 'I prevented the black cat from running between them.'
Idiomatic, available: 'I prevented them from quarreling.'

Third, constructions with *pomoč* and *pomešat'* often but not always pass the embedded passivization test: a sentence with embedded passive Voice (7a) can receive the same interpretation as a parallel sentence with embedded active Voice (7b). The semantic identity becomes obligatory if the dative DP is infelicitous as a matrix Patient, i.e. if it is not [+Sentient] (7c and 7d).[4]

[4] The unambiguous object control predicates in Russian include, for instance, *vynudit'* 'force'. Such verbs show negative results for the overt embedded subject tests discussed in this section.

(7) a. My pomešaem mal'čiku byt' ubitym volšebnikom.
we hinder.NPTS boy.DAT be.INF killed.PTCP wizard.INST
'We will prevent the boy from being killed by the wizard.'

b. My pomešaem volšebniku ubit' mal'čika.
we hinder.NPST wizard.DAT kill.INF boy.ACC
'We will prevent the wizard from killing the boy.' (≠/= a)

c. Maz' pomožet rane zalečit'sja kak možno bystree.
ointment help.NPST wound.DAT heal.INF as soon as possible
'The ointment will help the wound to heal as soon as possible.'

d. Maz' pomožet zalečit' ranu kak možno bystree.
ointment help.NPST heal.INF wound.ACC as soon as possible
'The ointment will help to heal the wound as soon as possible.' (= c)

The mixed results of the tests discussed above point to the same conclusion: sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* are ambiguous between the two structures schematized in (8).

(8) a. [*pomoč*/*pomešat'* DP_{DATi} [PRO_i *infinitive*]]
b. [*pomoč*/*pomešat'* [DP_{DAT} *infinitive*]]

If the dative DP is [+Sentient] and can be interpreted as a matrix Patient it behaves as either a matrix (8a) or an embedded (8b) constituent. If the DP can be interpreted only as the embedded subject – when it is inanimate or a part of an idiomatic expression, – it remains in the lower clause and does not show signs of movement.

Consider, for example, the placement of adjuncts. In Russian, an adjunct must be merged within the same clause as its predicate and scrambling across a clausal boundary is limited to the A-bar movement from the embedded clause into a peripheral focus position (Bailyn 2003). Thus, a modifier can help us to locate the clausal boundary, as exemplified in (9) for an embedded purpose clause.

(9) a. Petja prišel k Maše ran'še vsex uznat' poslednije novosti.
Petja came to Maša ealier all learn.INF latest news

(i) a. Ja vynudil čërnuju košku probežat' meždu nimi.
I forced black cat.acc run.inf between them
Only: 'I forced the black cat to run between them.'
Idiomatic, not available: 'I forced them to quarrel.'

b. *Maz' vynudila ranu zalečit'sja kak možno bystree.
ointment forced wound.ACC heal.INF as soon as possible

(i) ‘Petja came to Maša first to learn about the latest news.’
(ii) ‘Petja came to Maša to learn about the latest news first.’

b. Petja prišel k Maše [uznat’ ran’še vsex poslednije novosti].
Petja came to Maša learn.INF earlier all latest news
Only: ‘Petja came to Maša to learn about the latest news first.’

c. Petja prišel ran’še vsex k Maše [uznat’ poslednije novosti].
Petja came earlier all to Maša learn.INF latest news
Only: ‘Petja came to Maša first to learn about the latest news.’

As shown in (10), in sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat’* an adjunct that precedes the dative DP can modify either the matrix or the embedded predicate.

(10) a. Volšebnik pomog nemedlenno Pete popravit’sja.
wizard helped immediately Petja.DAT get.better.INF
(i) ‘The wizard helped Peter to immediately get better.’
(ii) ‘The wizard immediately helped Peter to get better.’

b. Volšebnik pomog nemedlenno rane zažit’.
wizard helped immediately wound.DAT heal.INF
(i) ‘The wizard helped the wound to heal immediately.’
(ii) ‘The wizard immediately helped the wound to heal.’

A matrix adjunct can follow the dative DP only when the latter is interpreted as the matrix Patient (11a). Therefore, the adjunct in (11b) must be located within the non-finite clause, together with the inanimate dative DP.

(11) a. Želaju, čtoby vy pomogli rebënku vse vmeste [adaptirovat’sja].
wish.1SG so that you.PL help.SUBJ child.DAT all together adapt.INF
‘I wish that you would altogether help the child adapt.’

b. *Ministry pomogli [stroitel’stvu vse vmeste zakončit’sja vovremja].
ministers helped constructing.DATall together finish.INF in time

Another piece of evidence for the structural ambiguity outlined in (8) comes from the behavior of the dative DP under dislocation and ellipsis. A dative DP that is felicitous only as an embedded argument cannot be separated from the rest of the non-finite clause, for instance, in pseudoclefts (12) or under polarity ellipsis (Kazenin 2006) (13).

(12) a. %V čëm maž’ pomogla mne, tak eto zalečit’ ranu.

in what ointment helped I.DAT so that heal.INF wound.ACC
'What the ointment helped me to do was to heal the wound.'

b. *V čëm maz' pomogla rane, tak eto zažit'.
in what ointment helped wound.DAT so that heal.INF

c. %V čëm maz' pomogla, tak eto rane zažit'.
in what ointment helped so that wound.DAT heal.INF
'What the ointment helped to do was for the wound to heal.'

(13) a. Maša pomogla Pete pobedit', a Anna Kole net.
Maša helped Petja.DAT win.INF but Anna Kolja.DAT no
'Maša helped Petja to win but Anna did not [help] Kolja [to win].'

b. *Maz' pomogla rane zažit', a bal'zam sinjaku net.
ointment helped wound.DAT heal but balm bruise.DAT no

2.2. Obligatory control vs. overt subjects

The data examined in Section 2.1 show that the combination of a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause structurally corresponds either to a constituent with the dative DP merged outside of the infinitival construction (14a) or to a single clause with an overt embedded subject (14b).[5]

(14) a. [*pomoč*/*pomešat'* DP_{DATi} [PRO_i *infinitive*]]
b. [*pomoč*/*pomešat'* [DP_{DAT} *infinitive*]]

The PRO/DP alternation is also attested in Russian in sentences with verbs of order and permission and deontic modals (Burukina 2020). Sundaresan and McFadden (2009) discuss PRO/DP alternation in non-finite clauses in several languages, including English, Irish, and Tamil, and they convincingly demonstrate that controlled and referential subjects are generally allowed in the same syntactic environment. Due to the limitation of space I only give two examples with the Russian verb *razrešit'* 'permit' in (15): the availability of partial coreference in (15a) indicates the presence of PRO (Wurmbrand 2002), while the inanimate dative DP in (15b) must be analyzed as an embedded argument and is infelicitous as a matrix recipient of the permission.

[5] Following Greenberg (1985), Franks and Hornstein (1992), Moore and Perlmutter (2000), and Landau (2008), i.a., I assume that in (14b) the dative case is assigned to the embedded subject locally by an embedded functional head, i.e. the non-finite T/Fin. Alternatively, an ECM-type analysis may be proposed, whereby the overt embedded subject receives the 'matrix' dative case, normally assigned to the Patient, as in (14a).

(15) a. Ivan$_k$ razrešil Pete$_i$ [PRO$_{i+(k)}$ razojtis' v šest'].
Ivan permitted Petja.DAT disperse.INF in six
'Ivan permtted Petja to disperse at six.'

b. Direktor razrešil [večerinke prodolžat'sja do polunoči].
director permitted party.DAT continue.INF until midnight
'The director permitted for the party to continue until midnight.'

On the surface constructions with *pomoč* and *pomešat'* look very similar to the sentences with 'permit' in (15); however, there are several crucial differences between these predicates. *Pomoč* and *pomešat'* do not involve deontic modality and resemble implicative verbs, such as *zastavit'* 'force'; see, for example, Arylova (2006) who calls *pomoč* and *pomešat'* weak implicative predicates. A predicate is classified as 'implicative' when the following requirement is fullfilled: the embedded proposition is true if the sentence with a matrix implicative is true (Karttunen 1971). The contrast between implicative and non-implicative verbs is shown in (16) for English.

(16) a. John forced Bill to wash the dishes (→ Bill washed the dishes) #but Bill didn't.
b. John asked Bill to wash the dishes (↛ Bill washed the dishes) but Bill didn't.

In Russian, the difference between 'force', 'help', and 'hinder' on the one hand and 'order' and 'permit' on the other hand is noticeable (17).[6]

(17) a. Petja zastavil Vasju myt' posudu.
Petja forced Vasja.ACC wash.INF dishes
'Petja forced Vasja to wash the dishes.' → Vasja washed the dishes

b. Petja pomog Vase myt' posudu.
Petja helped Vasja.DAT wash.INF dishes
'Petja helped Vasja to wash the dishes.' → Vasja washed the dishes

c. Petja poprosil Vasju myt' posudu.
Petja asked Vasja.DAT wash.INF dishes
'Petja asked Vasja to wash the dishes.' ↛ Vasja washed the dishes

Compared to the verbs of order and permission, *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are more flexible in regard to their dependents: the embedded clause is optional (18a) and the verbs are also compatible with eventive nominals and PPs (18b); this is discussed in detail in Section 4.

[6] Since *pomešat'* 'prevent' is a negative verb, the embedded proposition is false if the sentence is true.

(18) a. Petja pomog / #velel mne.[7]
Petja helped ordered I.DAT
'Petja helped me.'

b. Petja pomog / *velel mojej sdače ekzamena.
Petja helped ordered my passing.DAT exam.GEN
'Petja helped me to pass the exam.'

Let us look closer at the properties of the embedded non-finite clause with a controlled PRO subject. Unlike object control verbs that select a logophoric CP (15a), *pomoč* and *pomešat'* embed an unsaturated property clause (FinP), adopting the typology of control developed by Landau (2015). [8] Landau (2015) examines obligatory control into complement clauses and proposes to split those into predicative complements and logophoric complements; the approach is applied to adjunct clauses as well in Landau (2017). Predicative embedded clauses are FinPs that contain an operator, namely, a PRO variable, and thus denote a property and must be predicated of a matrix argument. This is schematized in (19) for object control, where Rel is a functional relator head mediating the relation between the controller and the FinP predicate (Bowers 1993, Den Dikken 2006). English *manage* and *force* and Russian *zastavit'* 'compel' are examples of predicative control verbs.

(19) $[_{VP}$ *force/compel* $[_{RP}$ DP_i $[_{R'}$ Rel $[_{FinP}$ PRO_i infinitive ...]]]]
predication

In case of a logophoric embedded clause, the FinP containing PRO is selected first by a special logophoric C head. This C_{+log} introduces the context variables <speaker, addressee, time, world> that depend on the content of the matrix clause. Either the speaker or the addressee variable is syntactically projected as *pro* in Spec,CP. The *pro* is bound by a matrix argument (the controller); at the same time, it is combined with the embedded FinP via predication, determining thus the reference of PRO. Unlike the property-type FinP, the result CP is fully saturated, a proposition. A simplified structure is given in (20); the logophoric control verbs include *intend* and *ask* in English and *velet'* 'order' in Russian.

[7] In (18a) *Petja velel mne* is allowed in a limited set of contexts under the topic-drop, as in *Why did you do this? Petja ordered me. Pomoč* and *pomešat'* do not require for the omitted clause to be retrievable from the context.

[8] Throughout the paper I use the term 'property' to refer to constituents of the type <e,<s,t>> and the term 'proposition' to refer to fully saturated clauses of the type <s, t>, following Landau (2015).

(20) $[_{vP}\ DP_i\ [_{v'}\ v\ [_{VP}\ \textit{intend}\ [_{CP}\ \underbrace{\textit{pro}_i}_{\text{predication}}\ [_{C'}\ C_{+log}\ [_{FinP}\ \underbrace{PRO_i}_{\text{predication}}\ \text{infinitive ...}\ ]]]]]]$

The difference in the structural properties of the two types of control constructions manifests itself in the (un)availability of partial or split coreference between the controller and the controlee. Predication between the embedded FinP and a matrix DP is always strict; thus, the controller and the controlee in (19) must have the same reference (21a). Under the logophoric control, however, the reference of PRO is determined by the embedded *pro* bound by a higher DP; the general flexibility of binding allows for the coreference to be partial (21b).

(21) a. *John managed to meet at 6.
b. John intended to meet at 6.

In Russian, one can use an embedded item that normally requires a plural subject to test whether the control is obligatorily exhaustive. Good candidates for this are *raz – sja* verbs (*rashodit'sja* 'disperse', *razrugat'sja* 'quarrel') that require a semantically plural Agent and subject oriented *together*-type modifiers that must be related to a plural DP. As shown in (22), examples with *pomoč* or *pomešat'*, a semantically/syntactically singular controller, and such an embedded component get low acceptability scores from native speakers.

(22) a. *Ivan$_k$ pomešal direktoru$_i$ PRO$_{i+k}$ razojtis' v sem'.
Ivan hindered director.DAT disperse.INF in seven
b. *Direktor$_k$ pomog Ivanu$_i$ PRO$_{i+k}$ podgotovit' otčet vmeste.
director helped Ivan.DAT prepare.INF report.ACC together
c. Direktor$_k$ skazal / predložil Ivanu$_i$
director told offered Ivan.DAT
PRO$_{i+k}$ podgotovit' otčet vmeste.
prepare.INF report.ACC together
'The director told/offered Ivan to prepare the report together.'

From this I draw the conclusion that in sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* and a PRO-containing non-finite clause the latter denotes a property and is suitable as a predicate/modifier but not as an argument. In turn, the embedded non-finite clause with an

overt subject is fully saturated and argument-like. Notice that the argument clause cannot co-occur with a [+Sentient] Patient (23).[9]

(23) Vrač pomog (*Pete) [rane zažit'].
doctor helped Petja.DAT wound.DAT heal.INF
'The doctor helped for the wound to heal.'

The following questions are to be answered:

1) How exactly are the Patient and the embedded clause brought together in (14a)?
2) What is the source of the dative case assigned to the Patient?
3) How can we account for the incompatibility of a [+Sentient] Patient with a fully saturated embedded clause?

In the remainder of the paper I will develop a novel analysis for *pomoč* and *pomešat'* that provides answers to these questions.

3. The analysis

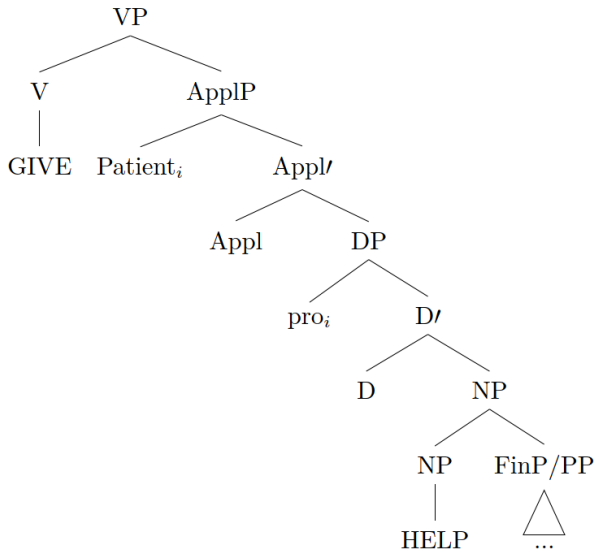
3.1. Outline of the analysis

The ultimate structure that I propose for all sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* is given in (24).

[9] There is no evidence for the structural presence of a covert matrix Patient in (23). The standard diagnostics used to determine whether an argument is projected (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006) do not work for Russian; for instance, neither covert nor overt Patients can be modified by instrumental depictives (i).

(i) Petja$_i$ pomog *ec*$_k$ / Ivanu$_k$ pjanym$_{i/*k}$.
Petja.NOM helped Ivan.DAT drunk.INST
'Peter helped (Ivan) drunk.'

(24)



The lexical verb *pomoč*/*pomešat'* is a morphological realization of the combination of the abstract verb GIVE and a direct object headed by the silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE (H-noun). Thus, 'help someone' is structurally decomposed into 'give someone help' and 'stop someone' into 'give someone hindrance'. Equally with the other ditransitive verbs of transfer, such as 'give', 'send', 'present', etc., *pomoč* and *pomešat'* select as a complement a low applicative phrase, within which the applicative head establishes the "to-the-possession" relation between the direct object (H-NP; in the complement position) and the Patient (in the specifier position), as per Pylkkänen (2008). I further propose that the Patient does not have to be [+Sentient]; this argument position can be occupied by an eventive noun or a fully saturated propositional clause. Finally, a property-type non-finite clause, when present, is introduced as a modifier within the H-NP; in Section 4.1 I elaborate on the mechanism of obligatory control into the adjunct suggesting that it is established via the implicit possessor (*pro*) in the H-NP.

In what follows I will discuss the three main components of this analysis one after another: (1) the presence of a low ApplP, (2) the decomposition of *pomoč* and *pomešat'* into GIVE and an H-NP, and (3) the argument/modifier status of the dependents.

3.2. *Pomoč* and *pomešat'* as ditransitive verbs

I draw a parallel between *pomoč* and *pomešat'* and ditransitive verbs of transfer, such as *give* and *send*, for which I adopt Pylkkänen's (2008) analysis in terms of low applicativization (25). The Theme (direct object) and the Goal (indirect object) are arguments of the low applicative head, which is a predicate interpreted as "to-the-possession"; see Soschen (2005) for similar proposal for Russian and Dyakonova (2005) advocating the Goal-over-Theme analysis.

(25) $[_{VP}$ V $[_{ApplP}$ Goal $[_{Appl'}$ Appl Theme]]]

Adapting the structure in (25) to sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'*, the Patient of *pomoč* and *pomešat'* is comparable to the Goal of *give* and *send*: it is a participant toward which the Agent directs (i.e. transfers) her efforts. Similarly to other applied objects, the Patient is base-generated in the specifier position in the ApplP merged as the complement of the matrix verb.

Analyzing the Patient as a low applied object explains the fact that it must be dative and is never assigned accusative case (26). Following Anagnostopoulou (2003), Cuervo (2003), Svenonius (2006), Wood (2010), Pineda (2014), i.a., I argue that the dative case is uniformly assigned by an applicative head to its specifier under the Spec-Head relation.

(26) a. My pomogli / pomešali kapitanu / *kapitana (spastis').
we helped hindered captain.DAT captain.ACC save.oneself.INF
'We helped/hindered the captain to save herself.'

b My pomogli / pomešali prodaže / *prodažu zontov.
we helped hindered selling.DAT selling.ACC umbrellas.GEN
'We helped/hindered selling of umbrellas.'

The applicative analysis brings an important prediction regarding the distribution of depictives that is borne out. As noticed by Pylkkänen (2008), cross-linguistically low applicatives are incompatible with depictives; in contrast, secondary predicates are perfectly acceptable with applied objects merged higher in the structure, above VP. This is shown for low applied Goals in English (27a) and high applied Beneficiaries in Venda (27b).

(27) a. *I gave Mary the meat hungry. [Pylkkänen 2008:21]

b. Nd-o-shum-el-a Katonga a khou lwala. [ibid. 32]
1SG-PST-work-APPL-FV Katonga 3SG STAT sick
'I worked for Katonga while he was sick.'

In Russian, dative high applied objects are exemplified by so-called Attitude Holders of evaluative and modal adjectival predicates, such as *važno* 'important' and *nužno* 'necessary' (28a); see Burukina (2019, 2020) for argumentation. As expected, Attitude Holders can be modified by instrumental depictives (28b).

(28) a. $[_{ApplP}$ [Attitude Holder] $[_{Appl'}$ Appl $[_{PredP}$ *important/necessary* $[_{CP}$ …]]]]

b. $Pjanym_k$ $Pete_k$ bylo nužno [čtoby Anna ostalas'].
drunk.INST Petja.DAT was necessary so that Anna stay.SUBJ

'When Peter was drunk it was necessary for him for Anna to stay.'

Goal arguments of 'give' and 'send' and the Patient argument of *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are, on the contrary, incompatible with instrumental secondary predicates (29).

(29) a. Vasja$_i$ pomog Pete$_k$ golodnym$_{i/*k}$.
Vasja helped Petja.DAT hungry.INST
Only: 'Vasja helped Petja when he (Vasja) was hungry.'

b. Vasja$_i$ dal Pete$_k$ kotenka$_j$ golodnym$_{i/j/*k}$.
Vasja gave Petja.DAT kitten.ACC hungry.INST
'Vasja gave Petja the kitten when he (Vasja/the kitten) was hungry.'

I leave out the details of Pylkkänen's (2008) account for this restriction, as it is not directly relevant to the present discussion. In essence, her explanation is based on the idea of complex predicate formation: a depictive secondary predicate must combine with another predicate of a particular semantic type. The low Appl', unlike the high one, is semantically too complex for the DepP to modify. The analysis correctly allows the subjects and the direct objects of ditransitives to remain available for depictive modification (29b).

3.3. Decomposing *pomoč* and *pomešat'*

In a low applicative phrase the applicative head is a predicate that takes the Theme DP and the Goal DP as its arguments and establishes the "to-the-possession" relation between them (Pylkkänen 2008). Hence, low applicativization is not possible in the absence of another internal argument, as opposed to high applicativization, which works well with unergative verbs. This is illustrated below for low applicatives in English (30a) and high applicatives in Luganda (30b).

(30) a. *John walked him.

b. Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga. [Pylkkänen 2008:20]
Mukasa 3SG.PST-walk-APPL-PST Katonga
'Mukasa walked for Katonga.'

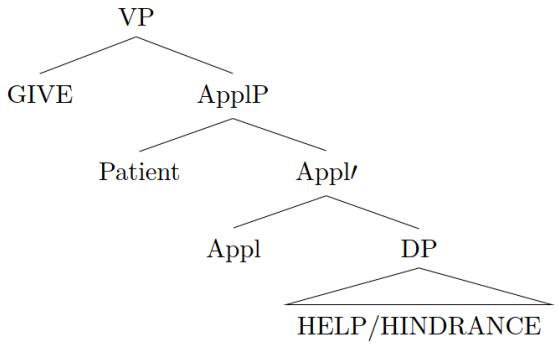
Under the assumption that *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are ditransitive verbs that embed a low ApplP with the Patient merged in its specifier position, the question arises of what occupies the lower complement position. One might suggest that the embedded clause is combined directly with the applicative head, as in (31).

(31) [$_{VP}$ V [$_{ApplP}$ Patient [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{CP/FinP}$ …]]]]

However, such an analysis would run into the following problems. As shown in Section 2, the non-finite clause with a controlled PRO subject is a property. In principle, it can be predicated of the Patient, but it cannot be used as an argument of the applicative head. As for the embedded non-finite clause with an overt subject, although as a fully saturated CP it would be fitting as an argument, placing it in the complement position of the Appl head would require an explanation for its incompatibility with a [+Sentient] Patient (Section 2). In addition to this, recall that all embedded clauses in sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* are optional and can easily be omitted (18). This is unexpected for clausal arguments with a specific thematic role; cf. sentences with a matrix mandative/implicative verb, where the clausal dependent is obligatory (18a).

With these considerations in mind, I propose instead that the complement position of the applicative head is occupied by a nominal phrase headed by the silent abstract noun HELP/HINDRANCE; I refer to it as H-noun. Thus, *pomoč* 'help' is decomposed into 'GIVE someone HELP' and *pomešat'* is decomposed into 'GIVE someone HINDRANCE', as schematized in (32).[10]

(32)



The obligatory phonological silence of the H-head, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (33a), is expected under the assumption that the head is combined with the matrix V via head movement/incorporation and that the lexical items *pomoč* ('help') and *pomešat'* ('hinder') are inserted post-syntactically instead of the [GIVE+H] combination. The structure outlined in (32) brings together *pomoč/pomešat'* sentences and the synonymous expressions with a verb of transfer and the overt nouns *pomošč* 'help', *pomexa, prepjatstvije* 'hindrance', exemplified in (33b, c).

(33) a. Maša pomogla mne (*pomošč).
Maša helped I.DAT help.ACC

[10] While I believe that they share the general properties, I do not claim that the 'hidden' lexical items in (32) are identical to the verb *dat'* 'give' and the nouns *pomošč* 'help' and *pomexa* 'hindrance'.

‘Maša helped me.’

b. Maša okazala mne *(pomošč).
Maša provided I.DAT help.ACC
‘Maša provided me help.’

c. Voditel’ inomarki okazal pomexu dviženiju.
driver foreign.car.GEN gave hindrance.ACC traffic.DAT
‘The driver of the foreign car hindered the traffic.’

The ditransitive analysis put forward in this paper can further be extended to other ditransitive constructions with a meaning similar to ‘help’, such as *dat’ šans/vozmožnost’* ‘give a chance/opportunity’ (34).

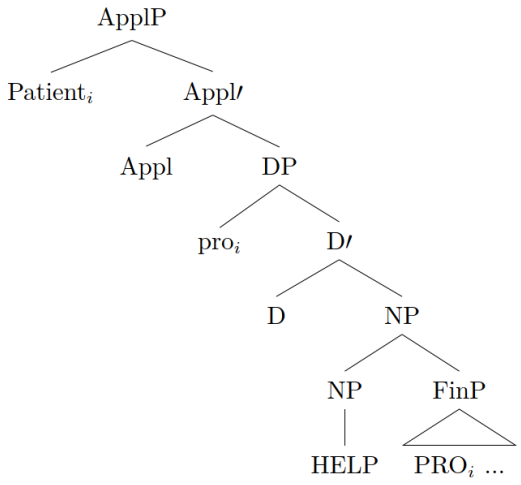
(34) a. Maša dala mne šans / vozmožnost’ (sdat’ ekzamen).
Maša gave I.DAT chance.ACC opportunity.ACC pass.INF exam
‘Maša gave me a chance/opportunity to pass the exam.

b. [VP *dat’* [ApplP Patient [Appl′ Appl [DP *šans*]]]]
DAT

3.4. Argument vs. property clauses

In the previous section I have noted that the embedded non-finite clause with a controlled PRO subject cannot be used as an argument. Instead I propose that it is a modifier within the NP headed by the H-noun (35). The non-finite saturated clause, on the contrary, should be analyzed as an argument of the applicative head, the Patient.

(35)



From a cross-linguistic perspective the idea that a dependent clause is embedded within a nominal phrase headed by a silent element is not novel. On the one hand, there are multiple approaches that postulate the presence of a DP layer on top of the embedded CP in the subject/object position (36a); see Roussou (1991), Farudi (2007), Hartman (2012), Kastner (2015), Knyazev (2016), i.a. On the other hand, more complex analyses whereby the clause is embedded within a DP with a silent lexical N head (36b) have been proposed by Lees (1965), Aygen (2002), Maki and Uchibori (2008), to name a few. It has also been argued that at least some clauses embedded in NPs are modifiers and not complements (36c); see Stowell (1981) and more recent discussions in Kratzer (2006) and Moulton (2009).

(36) a. $[_{DP}\ D_{Ø}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots\ ]]$
b. $[_{DP}\ D\ [_{NP}\ N_{Ø}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots\ ]]]$
c. $[_{DP}\ D\ [NP\ [_{CP}\ \ldots]\ [_{NP}\ N_{Ø}]]]$

I provide additional support for the analysis (35) in Section 4. Section 4.1 discusses the property dependents and predicative control into adjuncts and Section 4.2 focuses on clausal Patients.

4. *Pomoč* and *pomešat'* and other dependents

4.1. Embedded modifiers

4.1.1. Clausal/PP adjuncts

In Section 3 I argued that sentences with *pomoč* and *pomešat'* involve an abstract GIVE predicate that takes as its complement an applicative phrase. The applicative head relates the direct object (the H-NP) to the indirect object (the Patient). I further proposed that the property-denoting non-finite clause is merged as a modifier within the H-NP.[11]

[11] One might argue that the embedded clause in such cases should be opaque for sub-extraction, due to the Complex NP Constraint (Ross 1967); as shown in (i), A-bar movement is allowed at least by some speakers.

(i) %[K čemu]$_i$ vy pomogli rebënku vse vmeste [adaptirovat'sja t_i]?
to what you.PL helped child.DAT all together adapt.INF
'What did you altogether helped the child to adapt to?'

At this point I do not have an explanation for this fact. However, it is important to mention that clauses embedded in a nominal phrase can occasionally remain transparent (Den Dikken 2017). In (iib) specifically *make the claim* is a collocation semantically equivalent to *claim*, similarly to how in (i) the underlying GIVE+HELP morphs into 'help'.

(ii) a. this is a paper that we need to find someone who understands

This analysis straightforwardly accounts for the optionality of the non-finite clause (37a). Moreover, note that the clausal adjunct can be substituted by a PP headed by the preposition *v* 'in' and including an eventive nominal (*in*-PP*;* (37b)); the two dependents can be coordinated (37c).

(37) a. Rosturizm pomog agentstvam (prodavat' tury v Egipet).
Russiatourism helped agencies.DAT sell.INF tours into Egypt
'Russiatourism helped the agencies to sell tours to Egypt.'

b. Rosturizm pomog agentstvam v prodaže turov v Egipet.
Russiatourism helped agencies.DAT in sale.PREP tours.GEN into Egypt
'Russiatourism helped the agencies to sell tours to Egypt.'

c. %Maša pomogla Pete pozdravit' Svetu
Maša helped Petja.DAT congratulate.INF Sveta.ACC
*(i) v poiske podarka.
and in search.PREP present
'Maša helped Petja to congratulate Sveta and to search for a present.'

PPs are notorious for denoting properties and being modifiers/predicates (Den Dikken 1995). Other examples of non-finite clause/PP alternation are found in Russian; consider, for instance, purpose adjuncts in (38).

(38) a. Ja vzjal sto rublej (čtoby) kupit' knigu.
I took hundred rubles so that buy.INF book.ACC
'I took one hundred rubles to buy a book.'

b. Ja vzjal sto rublej dlja pokupki knigi.
I took hundred rubles for buying.GEN book.GEN
'I took one hundred rubles to buy a book.'

The *in*-PPs in examples such as (37c) differ from ordinary PP adjuncts of the main verb. First, unlike PP modifiers of lexical verbs, the *in*-PPs cannot be stranded when the verbal phrase is dislocated.[12] The same restriction applies to direct objects and PP modifiers of direct objects in ditransitive constructions.

b. ?Who did you make the claim that Bill had talked to?

[12] In Russian a constituent at the right edge of a clause can often be interpreted as a focus which obstructs the comparison. Because of this, I added an independent right focus constituent to the examples in (39).

(39) a. [Pomogat' studentam]$_i$ Marina budet [na ekzamene] t_i SAMA.
help.INF students.DAT Marina will on exam herself
'Marina will HERSELF help Petja at the exam.'
b. *[Pomogat' studentam] Marina budet [v poiske podarka] SAMA.
help.INF Petja.DAT Marina will in search.PREP present.GEN herself
c. *[Otpravljat' studentam] Marina budet granty na issledovanija SAMA.
send.INF students.DAT Marina will grants.ACC on research herself
d. *[Davat' studentam knižki] Marina budet o prirode SAMA.
give.INF students.DATbooks.ACC Marian will about nature herself

Second, the *in*-PPs under consideration can contain a reciprocal pronoun bound by the Patient (40).[13]

(40) a. Marina pomogla / pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ v poiske drug druga$_i$.
Marina helped hindered boys.DAT in search.PREP each.other
'Marina helped/prevented the boys to search for each other.'
b. ??Marina pomogla / pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ na vystuplenijax drug druga$_i$.
Marina helped hindered boys.DAT at performances each.other
Intended: 'Marina helped/hindered the boys at each other's performances.'
c. *Marina pomogla / pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ radi drug druga$_i$.
Marina helped hindered boys.DAT for each.other

These two properties indicate that the *in*-PPs are merged lower in the structure than ordinary prepositional adjuncts, which is captured by the proposed analysis (37a). The binding facts in (40) are unsurprising since the Patient c-commands the whole H-NP. Stranding the PP is not allowed (39) because it would require breaking the applicative phrase into two parts.

A remaining concern is how obligatory control is established between the Patient in Spec,ApplP and the PRO subject in the embedded adjunct clause. Most work on control focuses on clausal arguments of verbal predicates, and the analysis proposed in this paper faces the following two challenges. First, the controlled clause is an adjunct. Second, the controlled clause is embedded in an NP, while the controller is seemingly located higher in the sentence, yet predication relation must be established between the two. The next section addresses these issues; I begin by showing that the first concern is unsubstantial and proceed by proposing a solution for the second problem.

[13] A reviewer suggested that (40b) sounded better than (40c). I elicited this example with nine native speakers of Russian: three marked it as marginal and six as unacceptable.

4.1.2. Control into adjuncts

That non-finite adjunct clauses allow both non-obligatory control and obligatory control was shown already by Clark (1990) and Williams (1992). Most recently, obligatory control into adjunct clauses has been discussed by Landau (2017), who divides non-finite clausal adjuncts into predicative and logophoric, in parallel to clausal complements. Examples of predicative adjuncts in English are given in (41).

(41) a. John excelled in order to find a new job.
b. *John$_i$ excelled [in order PRO$_{arb}$ to admire him$_i$]. [Landau 2017:6]

The obligatory control adjuncts in (41/42a) have the structure identical to that of predicative complements (42b) and get predicated of a matrix argument in the same manner as depictive secondary predicates.

(42) a. [$_{PP}$ *before/in order* [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ t$_i$…]]]
b. [$_{VP}$ *force/compel* [$_{RP}$ DP$_i$ [$_{R'}$ Rel [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ …]]]]]

However, in case of the sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* analyzed as proposed in (42a), it is questionable whether a modifier embedded in the H-NP can serve as a secondary predicate to the matrix Patient. As a solution for this problem, I propose that the H-NP contains an implicit possessor, *pro*, obligatorily coreferent with the Patient. Predication is established locally between the *pro* and the modifier FinP; the same mechanism is at work, for example, in 'give a chance' sentences (43).

(43) a. [$_{ApplP}$ Patient$_i$ [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{DP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{D'}$ D [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ HELP/HINDRANCE] [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ ...]]]]]
predication

b. Maša dala mne šans sdat' ekzamen.
Maša gave I.DAT chance pass.INF exam
'Maša gave me a chance to pass the exam.'

Support for the syntactic presence of implicit possessors in DPs come from the fact that they are generally visible for binding (Williams 1985, 1987; Chomsky 1986) and control (Roeper 1987).

(44) a. They$_i$ told [*pro*$_i$ stories about each other$_i$].
b. *They$_i$ told [my stories about each other$_i$].
c. the *pro*$_i$ destruction of the boat [PRO$_i$ to collect the insurance]

d. *the boat's destruction [PRO to collect the insurance]

Sichel (2010) provides support for silent possessors being *pro*-s. Among other arguments, she points out that implicit possessors allow non-c-commanding antecedents, in the same way as overt pronouns.

(45) [John's$_i$ mother]$_j$ was committed to [the pro$_{i/j}$ refusal [PRO to jeopardize himself/herself]].

Implicit possessors in Russian exhibit similar behavior; see Burukina (2014) for a detailed discussion. They can serve as controllers and are often flexible when choosing the antecedent.

(46) a. Ja obradovalsja [*pro* šansu kupit' sebe / *drug drugu konfet].
I rejoiced chance.DAT buy self each.other candies
'I rejoiced at the chance to buy myself candies.'

b. Ja obradovalsja [našemu šansu kupit' sebe / drug drugu konfet].
I rejoiced our chance.DAT buy self each.other candies
'I rejoiced at out chance to buy ourselves/each other candies.'

c. [Petina$_i$ mama] obradovalas' [*pro*$_i$ / jego$_i$ šansu sdat' ekzamen].
Petja.GEN mother rejoiced his chance.DAT pass.INF exam
'Petja's mother rejoiced at his chance to pass the exam.'

On the one hand, as shown in (46c), overt possessors in Russian can establish control into a non-finite adjunct clause; a similar observation has been made by Douglas (2019) based on the behavior of infinitival relatives in English, as in *this is John's book to read.* On the other hand, *pro* is visible as a subject of predication, as evident in examples with a depictive secondary predicate (47).

(47) a. Ja skazal, čto *pro*$_i$ pojdu tuda pjanym$_i$.
I said that go.NPST there drunk.INST
'I said that I would go there drunk.'

b. U menja jest' [*pro*$_i$ fotografii pjanym$_i$].
at me exist photos drunk.INST
'I have my photos where I am drunk.'

Thus, implicit *pro* possessors can saturate a local syntactic predicate. In *pomoč*/*pomešat'* sentences and 'give a chance' constructions the *pro* serves as the subject for the adjunct FinP and determines the value of the embedded PRO variable (43a).

As mentioned above, implicit possessors usually do not impose severe restrictions on a potential antecedent. However, recall that in *pomoč*/*pomešat'* sentences no partial or split control between the Patient and the embedded PRO is allowed (22). I propose that those are ruled out because the applicative head establishes the "to-the-possession" relation between the applied object and the lower argument; by extension, the embedded implicit possessor (*pro*) when present must have the exact same reference as the DP in Spec,ApplP (the Patient).

One piece of data remains to be discussed. This section has focused on sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* and an embedded property-type non-finite clause. In Section 2 I demonstrated that *pomoč* and *pomešat'* can also appear together with a fully saturated non-finite clause with an overt referential subject and that this dependent is incompatible with a [+Sentient] dative Patient. To account for this, I propose that the clausal argument and the animate DP compete for the Patient position; additional support comes from the distribution of other argument dependents: eventive DPs and subjunctive clauses.

4.2. Eventive Patients

In sentences with *pomoč* or *pomešat'* the Patient merged as an applied object denotes either a person or a situation toward which the Agent directs her efforts. The $\text{Patient}_{\text{Situation}}$ can be expressed by an eventive nominal or a fully saturated CP, subjunctive or infinitival. Under such an analysis, we expect the $\text{Patient}_{\text{Person}}$ and the $\text{Patient}_{\text{Situation}}$ to be mutually exclusive, which is true for Russian as I demonstrate below.

Pomoč and *pomešat'* can be combined with an eventive dative DP that refers to the situation that the Agent wants to happen (*pomoč* 'help') or to not happen (*pomešat* 'hinder').[14] As argued by Sichel (2010), silent participants within eventive DPs should be analyzed as *pro*-s (rather than *PROs*); they fill in the argument positions and the result DPs are fully saturated. As shown in (48), such a DP cannot co-occur with a $\text{Patient}_{\text{Person}}$.

(48) Rosturizm pomog prodaže turov v Egipet.
Russiatourism helped sale.DAT tours.GEN into Egypt
'Russiatourism helped to sell tours to Egypt.'

[14] Data from the National Corpus of Russian demonstrate that nominal $\text{Patients}_{\text{Situation}}$ are less frequent than $\text{Patients}_{\text{Person}}$; searching for a sequence of *pomoč* or *pomešat'* and an inanimate dative DP returns only 12 examples with an eventive nominal and about 75 examples with a sentient Patient ('company', 'organization', etc.) among the first 100 results.

Recall from Section 2 that the Patient$_{Person}$ is also incompatible with a fully saturated non-finite clause with an overt subject ((23) reproduced in (49)).

(49) Vrač pomog (*Pete) rane zažit'.
doctor helped Petja.DAT wound.DAT heal.INF
'The doctor helped for the wound to heal.'

The restriction holds for embedded subjunctive clauses as well. The embedded clause should be analyzed as an argument in the absence of a [+Sentient] Patient (50a). Whenever the Patient DP is present, the subjunctive clause must be interpreted as a purpose adjunct (50b,c).

(50) a. Maša pomogla, čtoby Anna sdala ekzamen.
Maša helped so that Anna pass.SUBJ exam
'Maša helped Anna to pass the exam.'
b. Maša pomogla Pete, čtoby on sdal ekzamen.
Maša helped Petja.DAT so that he pass.SUBJ exam
'Maša helped Petja, so that he would pass the exam.'
c. Maša pomogla Svete den'gami, čtoby Petja sdal ekzamen.
Maša helped Sveta.DAT money.INS so that Petja pass.SUBJ exam
'Maša helped Sveta with money, so that Petja would pass the exam.'

Although in affirmative sentences the interpretational difference between an argument subjunctive clause and a purpose clause is often subtle, it becomes more evident when the matrix predicate is negated. Clausal arguments fall under the scope of the sentential negation, while clausal purpose adjuncts do not (51a vs. 51b).

(51) a. Petja ne xotel, čtoby Maša obidelas'.
Petja NEG wanted so that Maša get.hurt.SUBJ
'Petja did not want for Maša to get hurt.'
b. Petja ne zvonil, čtoby Maša obidelas'.
Petja NEG called so that Maša get.hurt.SUBJ
'Petja did not call so that Maša would get hurt.' (Petja wanted her to get hurt.)

Compare now (52a) and (52b), both involving the verb *pomoč* and a subjunctive clause. On the one hand, in (52a) the clause is interpreted as an argument and we infer from the sentence that Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam because she was not interested in Anna's success. The purpose reading – Marina wanted Anna to succeed at the exam and

that is why she deliberately refrained from doing something unmentioned, – is not available. On the other hand, the embedded clause in (52b) allows only a purpose reading.[15]

(52) a. Marina ne pomogla, čtoby Anna sdala examen.
Marina NEG helped so that Anna pass.SUBJ exam
'Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam.'
(Marina was not interested in Anna passing the exam.)
Not available: 'Marina did not help with something, so that Anna would pass the exam.'

b. ?Marina ne pomogla Anne$_i$, čtoby ona$_i$ sdala examen.
Marina NEG helped Anna.DAT so that she pass.SUBJ exam
'Marina did not help Anna, so that she could pass the exam.'
Not available: 'Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam.'

Adjunct clauses are islands opaque for A-bar movement (as per Huang's 1982 Condition on Extraction Domain) and argument clauses are usually transparent for sub-extraction. Considering this restriction, a subjunctive clause embedded under *pomoč* 'help' in the absence of a dative DP patterns with complement clauses (53), while a subjunctive clause used together with a dative DP behaves as an adjunct (54).

(53) a. Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla, čtoby Petja postupil t$_i$?
where Maša helped so that Petja enter.SUBJ
'Where did Maša help Petja to get accepted?'

b. Kuda$_i$ Maša xotela, čtoby Petja postupil t$_i$?
where Maša wanted so that Petja enter.SUBJ
'Where did Maša want for Petja to get accepted?'

c. *Kuda$_i$ Maša zaplatila, čtoby Petja postupil t$_i$?
where Maša paid so that Petja enter.SUBJ

(54) a. ?*Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla Pete, čtoby on postupil t$_i$?
where Maša helped Petja.DAT so that he enter.SUBJ

b. *Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla Svete den'gami, čtoby Petja postupil t$_i$.
where Maša helped Sveta.DAT money.INS so that Petja enter.SUBJ

[15] Similar examples where the subjunctive clause would be interpreted as a Patient$_{Situation}$ are not found in corpora (including the National Corpus of Russian) or online by Google search.

Additionally, clausal arguments resist being fronted and normally follows the predicate (55a). An adjunct purpose clause, on the contrary, can be linearized at the right edge of the sentence (55b, c).

(55) a. ?*Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz, Maša xotela.
so that Petja enter.SUBJ into university Maša wanted
b. Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz, Maša zaplatila.
so that Petja enter.SUBJ into university Maša paid
'Maša paid so that Petja would get accepted into a university.'
c. Maša zaplatila, čtoby Petja postupil v vuz.
Maša paid so that Petja enter.SUBJ into university
'Maša paid so that Petja would get accepted into a university.'

As shown in (56), there is a strong contrast between *pomoč*/*pomešat'* sentences with and without a dative DP: the subjunctive clause can appear at the right edge in the former (56a), but not in the latter (56b).

(56) a. Čtoby Petja$_i$ postupil v vuz, Maša pomogla emu$_i$.
so that Petja enter.SUBJ into university Maša helped he.DAT
'Maša help Petja so that he would get accepted into a university.'
b. *Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz, Maša pomogla.
so that Petja enter.SUBJ into university Maša helped

The data discussed above show that the dative DP and the subjunctive argument clause cannot co-occur in a sentence with *pomoč* or *pomešat'*. Such complementarity is unusual among the Russian verbs with two arguments, one of which is nominal and the other is clausal (57).

(57) a. Maša ne zastavljala Marinu, *(čtoby ona ušla).
Maša NEG forced Marina.ACC so that she leave.SUBJ
'Maša did not force Marina to leave.'
b. Maša ne velela Marine, *(čtoby ona uxodila).
Maša NEG ordered Marina.DAT so that she leave.SUBJ
'Maša did not order Marina to leave.'

The restriction is straightforwardly accounted for under the assumption that, in *pomoč*/*pomešat'* constructions, the dative DP and the embedded subjunctive clause compete for the same argument position. The [+Sentient]/eventive alternation should not

surprise us; a well-known example is the Agent/Cause alternation common for many transitive verbs (58).

(58) a. John/Listening to so many podcasts will kill/upset her.

b. Ja obradovalsja Maše / pojezdke / [čto Petja prišel].
I rejoiced Maša.DAT trip.DAT that Petja came
'Maša/the trip/that Petja had come made me happy.'

That a clausal argument can occupy the specifier position is also attested across the world's languages. Alternatively, it can be proposed that a silent proleptic pronoun is merged instead of an applied object, while the clause linked to it is in a peripheral position. Russian examples that can potentially be analyzed as involving clausal prolepsis with a null proform are given in (59); note, however, there is no general consensus in the literature regarding the exact structure of such sentences. At this point I remain agnostic about which of the two analyses – direct merge or prolepsis – is the correct one and leave this issue open for future research.

(59) a. Čtoby ty prišel bylo predloženo ješčo včera.
so that you come.SUBJ was offered already yesterday
'Already yesterday it was offered that you should come.'

b. Ješčo včera bylo predloženo čtoby ty prišel.
already yesterday was offered so that you come.SUBJ
'Already yesterday it was offered that you should come.'

5. Concluding remarks

This paper considered sentences with the verbs *pomoč* 'help' and *pomešat'* 'hinder' in Russian. I presented novel data to demonstrate that, although these predicates frequently embed a non-finite clause with a PRO subject and are usually listed among object control verbs, they appear in various syntactic contexts and can also combine with saturated non-finite clauses, subjunctive clauses, prepositional phrases, and eventive DPs. The possible dependents fall into two categories: arguments (DPs and saturated clauses) and properties (PPs and controlled clauses). The arguments are mutually exclusive; for instance, a dative DP and a subjunctive clause cannot co-occur. The properties are optional and are often omitted, which is also unusual for control predicates.

To account for this peculiar behavior, I argued that *pomoč* and *pomešat'* are, in essence, ditransitive, similarly to 'give' or 'send': they require a Patient (a person or a situation that will be helped/hindered) and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE. The Patient and the Theme are projected by the low applicative head

that denotes the relation "to-the-possession", as per Pylkkänen (2008). A saturated clausal dependent, when present, should be analyzed as a Patient. A property-type dependent is merged as a modifier within the Theme NP.

The analysis brings together various clause-embedding constructions and allows us to draw a parallel between sentences with *pomoč/pomešat'* and other verbs with a dative dependent. Consider, for instance, structures for 'help'/'prevent' (60a), mandatives ((60b), as per Burukina 2020) and verbs of communication (60c). All these verbs share a ditransitive structure with a low applicative phrase, which explains, among other things, the presence of dative case. The differences between the constructions follow from the nature of the Theme argument.

(60) a. [$_{VP}$ GIVE [$_{ApplP}$ Patient [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{DP}$ HELP/HINDRANCE]]]]
b. [$_{VP}$ SAY [$_{ApplP}$ Patient [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{ModP}$ deontic modal …]]]]
c. [$_{VP}$ *say* [$_{ApplP}$ Patient [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{CP}$ that …]]]]

Another direction for future research is to examine the 'outliers' in the class of dative control predicates, such as *obeščat'* 'promise', *kljast'sja* 'swear', *ugrožat'* 'threaten', etc., and their translation equivalents in other languages. The decomposition approach presented in this paper – i.e. analyzing these constructions as [GIVE someone PROMISE/THREAT] – may help to capture the similarities between them, including the dative case on a Patient, and account for their unique properties. For instance, these verbs are subject control predicates. Under the proposed analysis, this could be accounted for by restricting the reference of *pro* within the Theme argument, if PROMISE/THREAT are analyzed as effected objects created by the Agent. I leave this option to be considered in the future.

Acknowledgments

Glossing abbreviations

ACC = accusative, APPL = applicative, DAT = dative, FV = final vowel, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, INST = instrumental, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, NPST = non-past tense, PREP = prepositional case, PST = past tense, SG = singular, STAT = stative, SUBJ = subjunctive.

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