Eugenia Romanova
Institute of International Relations/ Ural Federal University,
Yekaterinburg

Possible and impossible cases of possessive perfect

Abstract. This article discusses the possessive perfect construction, which is not only found in North and North West Russian dialects, but also in Standard Russian, though in the latter, it looks different. The data from Standard Russian is not so straightforward as in North Russian dialects, but part of it persuasively shows signs of possessive perfect. It also seems that the construction in question is not attested when the past passive participle carries the superlexical cumulative prefix *na-*. The paper makes an attempt at looking at the reasons of such a restriction. **Keywords:** possessive, perfect, past passive participle, cumulative *na-*, semantic incorporation.

1. Introduction

The existence of perfect interpretations in Russian is a long-established fact (Potebnya (1958), Šakhmatov (1941), Kurylowicz (1965), Maslov (1984), Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988)). Maslov (2004) classified all the cases of perfect he found in Russian into implicit perfect ((1-a), (1-b)), and explicit perfect ((1-c)-(1-e)). Implicit perfect contexts contain finite verbs, whereas explicit perfect include different kinds of participles. The most common participle used in Standard Russian is past passive participle (PPP). This type occurs in (1-c) and (1-d) below.

The perfect contexts in (Maslov (2004)) are:

- perfective constructions (1-a)
- imperfective constructions (1-b)
- past passive participle constructions (1-c)
- possessive constructions (1-d)
- special colloquial/dialectal forms ending in –ši/-vši (1-e)

1. a. Veki   krasny i   nabryakli   ot   bessonnitsy.
       eyelids.nom red   and swollen^P.past.pl. from insomnia.gen
'The eyelids are red and swollen from insomnia.' Maslov (2004:435)
b. Ja   uže   kosil   travu.
    I.nom already cut^I.past.sg.ms grass.acc
'I have already mowed the grass.'
c.Ty   vsemi   brošen.
   you.nom all.instr dumped.PPP
`You are dumped by everybody.' Maslov (2004:428)
d. U menoa rabota   napisana.
    at me.gen work.nom written.PPP.fem
'I have written the work.' Maslov (2004:68)
e. Oni   privykši.
   they.nom accustomed
'They've got used (to it).' Maslov (2004:54)

Neither a passive reading of PPPs, nor their perfectivity are obligatory. Maslov (2004) cites examples from Šaxmatov (1941) which show that perfect readings can arise without any commitment to grammatical aspect or voice: past passive participles (PPP) can be formed from imperfective stems (2-a), from intransitive verbs (2-b), or both (2-c).

2. a. Lug   ne košen.
       meadow.nom not mowed.PPP.ms
       'The meadow hasn't been mowed.' Maslov (2004:429)

b. Rana   vospalena.
   wound.nom inflamed.PPP.fem
   'The wound is inflamed.' Maslov (2004:428)
c. Po   trave   xoženo.
   along grass.dat walked.PPP.nt
'Someone has walked on the grass.' Maslov (2004:429)

In this article, I am going to discuss one particular case of explicit perfect: a possessive perfect construction. The literature on this construction has up till now focused on languages and dialects other than Standard Russian (SR) (Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, North Russian and North-West Russian (see Seržant (2011), Kuz'mina (1984), Jung (2008)). Even though perfect interpretations are found in Standard Russian, possessive perfect for SR has just been mentioned in passing in Maslov (2004), Kuz'mina (1984), Turbinskiy (1988) and Seržant (2011) and a bit more extensively in Knyazev (2007):519-525.

What is the so-called possessive perfect? Structurally, it is very similar to the possessive construction. To compare:

3. a) PP_{ADE} be + NP_{NOM} possessive
    b) PP_{ADE} be + PPP + NP_{NOM} possessive perfect

In (3), ADE stands for adessive, for this is the interpretation of the prepositional phrase in the possessive construction, NOM for the nominative case on the nominal, and PPP for past passive participle. The only difference between (3-a) and (3-b) is the presence of this passive past participle in the possessive perfect in (3-b), which agrees with the nominative NP in phi-features.

The situation is strongly reminiscent of the one with European perfect, which also makes use of the auxiliary borrowed from the possessive construction. Jung (2009:31-32) cites a number of authors (Vincent (1982), Salvi (1987), and Harris and Campbell (1995)) who claim that perfect has developed from the possessive construction through a number of steps.

4. Step 1: The possessive with a passive small clause: I have the house built.
    Step 2: The bleaching of the possessive semantics in "have" and, as a result
    Step 3: The voice shift

As Jung (2009) states, something similar has happened to the possessive construction in North Russian dialects: it gave rise to the new perfect construction.

However, there are alternative points of view on the origin of possessive perfect. Seržant (2011) rejects the very idea of relatedness of the possessive construction and the so-called possessive perfect in a number of Russian dialects. He believes they have nothing in common, and the latter was borrowed from the neigbouring languages (where it has no connection to possession either). In Seržant's opinion, the stages underlying the rise of perfect constructions in North Russian are the following:

5. Stage 1: the construction with the object-oriented resultative participle
    Stage 2: the development of additional perfect reading in the semantics of the participle
    Stage 3: the split between impersonal passive and impersonal active
    Stage 4: the loss of agreement between the participle and the patient
    Stage 5: the development of a new subject – the adessive PP

Whoever is right in the historical account of this phenomenon, two things are clear from both approaches: to develop into possessive perfect the construction in question had to undergo the voice shift and, as a consequence, the loss of agreement between the participle and the original patient argument. As a result, the adessive PP has acquired the role of a subject (most frequently, with agentive features).

2. North Russian data

In North Russian dialects, there is a certain versatility of agreement patterns:

- In most cases, the phi-feature agreement between PPPs and nominative NPs is absent, whereas it is preserved between the link verb and the nominative NP (6-a, 6-b)
- In North Western dialects the morphological form of the participle is always masculine (6-c, 6-f, 6-g)
- In few cases, there is no agreement between the nominative nominal and either the participle or the link verb (6-d, 6-e, 6-f, 6-g)
- There are also examples in which the patient NP is not marked nominative, but some other case, like accusative (6-h, 6-i, 6-k) or genitive (6-j). The sentences with the patient NP marked accusative are highly reminiscent of active impersonal sentences (7).

6. a. U nas takoj byl   bol'šoj tramplin   sdelano
    at us such be.past.sg.ms. big   springboard.nom.sg.ms. made.PPP.sg.nt.
    'We had made such a big springboard (trampoline)' Jung (2008) (citing Kuz'mina I.B. (1971))
b. U nemcev otobran   koni   byli.
   at Germans taken.PPP.sg.ms. horses.nom.pl. be.past.Pl.
'Germans had taken the horses.' Jung (2008) (citing Kuz'mina I.B.(1971))
c. U nas   kadočka   ogurcov   posolen,   a u ljudej   ješče ne probovano.
   at us.gen barrel.nom.fem. cucumbers.gen salted.PPP.sg.ms and at people.gen yet   not tasted.PPP.sg.nt
'We've salted a small barrel of cucumbers, but noone has tasted them yet.' Kuz'mina (1993):134
d. Pro mamu u menja postavleno skamejka, a ne pro tebja.
about mother.acc at me.gen set.PPP.sg.nt. bench.nom.fem. and not about you.acc
'It's for mother that I've set this bench, not for you.' Kuz'mina (1993):134
e. U nego končeno texnikum.
   at him.gen finished.PPP.sg.nt technichal.school.nom/acc.ms.
 'He has graduated from technical school.' Kuz'mina (1993):141
f. U nix   byl   postavlen   konjušnja.
   at them be.past.sg.ms. built.part.sg.ms. stable.nom.sg.fem.
'They had built a/the stable.' Jung (2008) (citing Kuz'mina I.B. (1971))
g. U nix   byl   posožen   jeločki.
   at them.gen was.ms. planted.PPP.sg.ms. fir-trees.nom.pl.
'They have planted little fir-trees.' Kuz'mina (1993):138
h. U menja bylo   telenka   zarezano.
   at me   be.past.sg.nt. calf.acc.anim.sg.ms. slaughtered.PPP.sg.nt.
'I had slaughtered a calf'. Jung (2008)
i. U dedka-to   merežku   ostavleno.

at granddad.gen-prtcl hemstitch.acc left.PPP.sg.nt
'What a hemstitch the old man has left!' Kuz'mina (1993):136
j. U menja bylo vsjakoj kisei vytkan so l'na.
   at me.gen was.nt various.gen.sg.fem. muslin.gen woven.PPP.sg.ms from linen.gen
'I have woven a lot of muslin from linen.' Kuz'mina (1993):139
k. Polja pogubleno u konej i u korov.
   fields.nom destroyed.PPP.sg.nt. at horses.gen and at cows.gen
'The fields have been destroyed by horses and cows.' Kuz'mina (1993)

The default agreement features on the participle (singular neuter) are the same that are found on finite verbs in impersonal constructions:

7. Lodku uneslo volnoj.
   boat.acc. carry-away.sg.nt.Past tide.instr
   'The boat was carried away by the tide.' (Soschen (2002):12)

Interestingly, speaking of the stage of possessive perfect development ambiguous between impersonal passive and impersonal active constructions, Seržant (2011:363) gives two examples from the Polish language where both are represented:

8. a. Piotr był bity przez kaprała.
      P.NOM was beaten by pals
     "Peter was beaten by his friends".
   b. Bito Piotra.
      beaten P.ACC.
     "Someone has beaten Peter."

In spite of a certain similarity in interpretation, there are clear syntactic differences between (8-a) and (8-b): in the former, the subject is marked nominative and the participle agrees with it, in the latter, there is no (and cannot be any) subject, the Patient is marked accusative, and the participle carries the default agreement, exactly like in (7). Jabłońska (2007) calls the structure in (8-a) Periphrastic passive and the one in (8-b) Impersonal Passive, whereas Seržant (2011) believes it's an active-like structure, especially reminiscent of the so-called possessive perfect in North Russian.

The use of intransitives is an additional piece of evidence in favour of treating possessive perfect as an active perfect structure rather than passive.

9. a. U menja bylo plakano.
      at me.gen was.nt. cried.PPP.sg.nt.
'I had cried'. Jung (2008)
b. U menja stirano.
   at me.gen washed.PPP.sg.nt
'I have done the laundry.' Kuz'mina (1993:139)
c. U nix prospano.
   at them.gen PRO-slept.PPP.sg.nt.
'They have overslept.' Kuz'mina (1993:140)
d. U nix v saraje obedano.
   at them.gen in barn.loc dined.PPP.sg.nt
'They have eaten dinner in the barn.' Kuz'mina (1993:140)
e. U babki, navernoe, kosit' ujdeno.
at grandma.PPgen probably mow.INF left.PPP.nt.SG
'Grandma has probably left to mow.' Jung (2009:230)

In the following set of examples, I will demonstrate the behaviour of the adessive prepositional phrase suggestive of its subject status.

First, it can bind the reflexive pronoun, like in (10-a) and (10-b). Second, it is largely understood as the agent of the whole event, which is clearly seen in the examples with intransitive verbs above and in (10-c), where the adessive PP controls into the purpose clause and the VP is modified by the adverb *naročno* "on purpose".

10. a. A u menja svoj rebjonok byl vzjato v Slancy.
    and at me.gen self's child.nom was.ms. taken.PPP.sg.nt in S.
  'I have taken my child to Slancy.' Kuz'mina (1993):137

b. U Šrki privedeno svoja staraja nevesta.
  at Š.PPgen brought.PPP.nt.SG own old fiancee.nom.fem.SG
'Šrka has brought his own old fiancee.' Jung (2009): 230

c. U nego naročno eto sdelano, čtoby menja rasstroit'.
  at him.gen on.purpose this.nom.nt done.PPP.nt in.order me.acc upset.Inf.
'He has done it on purpose to upset me.' (Jung (2009):212)

Having shown the main characteristics of possessive perfect described in the literature for North Russian dialects, I would like to go on to discuss the analogous construction in Standard Russian.

3. Data from Standard Russian

The construction that I call here "Possessive Perfect" after Knyazev (2007), Jung (2008) and others has received different names in the literature. In Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988), it is systematically called "resultative"[1], which corresponds to the newer term offered in Kratzer (2004), "target state". The latter term is used in Paslawska and von Stechow (2003) describing the perfect construction in Standard Russian. However I am not going to dwell on the aspectual properties of the construction at this point.

It follows from the North Russian data that possessive perfect a) despite the presence of PPP, is interpreted as an active construction with the agentive adessive PP; b) has partially or fully lost the agreement between the former subject (now object) and the predicate.

So, analyzing the possessive perfect construction in Standard Russian we should ideally pay a special attention to its two outstanding characteristics: non-passive interpretation and subject-like properties of the adessive PP, on the one hand, and the absence of agreement between the ex-subject and the predicate, on the other.

While we can see that some adessive PPs are antecedents of reflexives and controllers into purpose clauses, the absence of agreement between a nominative noun and the predicate of a sentence is impossible to find in SR. The only examples with non-agreeing participles and patient NPs can be observed when the latter are non-nominative. Such cases would include sentences with genitive of negation and na-prefixation, where genitive can sometimes override the assignment of nominative case to the patient argument and, as a result, cancel the sentential agreement.

---

[1] This term is also employed in Pancheva (2003):287-288, but there resultative is treated as an aspectual category different from perfect.

According to Kagan (2011), there are three different cases of argument genitive: genitive of negation, irrealis genitive (used with intensional verbs), and partitive genitive. The latter seems to be different from the other two types.

3.1. A survey layout

I have conducted a survey with 37 native speakers, in which I have asked the participants to assess the grammaticality of possessive perfect sentences and try to elicit certain interpretations of their parts. The survey is divided into four parts.

The first part includes several pairs of sentences. In this set, non-agreeing structures (with genitive-of-negation and partitive genitive arguments in prototypical subject positions) are compared to agreeing structures with nominative subjects in analogous constructions. The absence of agreement could potentially indicate a non-passive status of the construction similarly to North Russian dialects.

Testelec (2001):337 notices that not all transitive verbs license genitive-of-negation with passive verbs and gives the following examples:

14. a. Deneg   ne bylo prislano.
       money.GEN not was sent.PPP
     'No money has been sent.'
      a. *Statej   ne bylo pročitano.
          articles.GEN not was read.PPP
          'No articles have been read.'

In the original active constructions both verbs license genitive-of-negation, however in positive sentences only the counterpart of (16-a) will assign partitive genitive. This corroborate the statement in Kagan (2011):27 that in some cases the use of partitive genitive is licensed only in the presence of negation. I am agnostic of the mechanism underlying this joint quantification, which should certainly be left for further research; however only such partitive genitive intensified by negation seems to be possible in possessive perfect in Standard Russian. For my purposes, it is enough.

The second set of sentences offers a choice between reflexive and anaphoric pronouns determining the patient argument. The choice in favour of the reflexive pronoun would indicate that it has the C-commanding antecedent in the same clause and as is well known, this antecedent should be the subject of the clause. Since the only argument that can C-command anaphors in such sentences is the adessive PP, it is perceived as the subject.

From the above it follows that if the adessive PP is the subject and the agent of the possessive perfect construction, adding any other agent will lead to contradiction. Thus, the third part of the survey contains additional sentences with a subject different from the one specified by the adessive PP in a possessive perfect precursor. So, if the speakers reject an addendum with a different subject, the adessive PP indicates the true agent and the possessive perfect construction is not passive. Nevertheless, it is also possible to accept the second sentence. This is accounted for by the interpretation of the adessive PP ambiguous between the agent and the location. *U nas* 'at us' can be understood as 'at our place'. So, if the second statement with a different subject led to no contradiction, the adessive PP in the first could have been taken for a location expression.

In the fourth set, possessive perfect constructions are continued with instrumental agentive NPs (*by*-phrases). It has the purpose of revealing the voice interpretation of the sentence. Instrumental agentive phrases are only available in passive constructions, so if the speakers reject them, the

agent in a sentence is expressed by the adessive PP. If the instrumental NP is accepted, the adessive PP is again understood as a location.

The percent of those who accepted or rejected the sentences I offered, or (dis)liked both, is given after the translation of each example below.

3.2. Non-agreeing and agreeing structures

As I outlined in the previous section, arguments marked by genitive could indicate that they are not true subjects of the sentences under study, along the lines of traditional approaches[2]. On the other hand, it is known that subjects in SR can be marked genitive[3] (see also (14-a) above). At this point it is not clear how to deal with the examples in (15) with respect to the subjecthood of genitive nominals. Whatsoever, the survey participants had strong preference for their nominative counterparts.

Genitive of negation (+ 'partitive' genitive?)

15. a. U menja   ne kupleno   xleba.
        at me.gen not bought.PPP.nt.sg. bread.gen
'I haven't bought any bread'. GEN yes 19% GEN no 75% GEN ? 6%
b. U menja   ne kuplen   xleb.
   at me.gen not bought.PPP.ms.sg. bread.nom
'I haven't bought bread'. NOM yes 81% NOM no 8% NOM ? 11%
c. U nas   ne zavareno   čaja.
   at us.gen not brewed.PPP.nt.sg. tea.gen
'We haven't brewed any tea.' GEN yes 6% GEN no 86% GEN ? 8%
d. U nas   ne zavaren   čaj.
   at us.gen not brewed.PPP.ms.sg. tea.nom
'We haven't brewed tea.' NOM yes 97% NOM no 3% NOM ? 0%

The situation seems really different for (16). First of all, genitive here does not have to be licensed/supported by negation. Second, it is much more acceptable to native speakers. The presence of the accumulative prefix na- looks like a decisive factor in such a distinction between (15) and (16). Yet, in the traditional literature the possessive perfect structures involving this prefix are treated on a par with any other structure with the genitive patient argument: namely, as passive impersonal constructions with no grammatical subject (Trubinskiy (1988): 390, 402).

Genitive after na-verbs

16. a. U nee   nakupleno   odeždy.
        at her.gen nabought.PPP.nt.sg. clothes.gen
        'She's got a lot of clothes bought'. GEN yes 57% GEN no 30% GEN ? 13%
b. U nee   nakuplena   odežda.
   at her.gen nabought.PPP.fem.sg. clothes.nom
'She's got a lot of clothes bought'. NOM yes 46% NOM no 46% NOM ? 8%
c. U sosedej   navaleno   xlama.

---

[2] Knyazev (2007):554 calls clauses with genitive of negation in the subject position "subjectless" (see also Trubinskiy (1988)).
[3] For example, some unaccusative verbs allow bare genitive in negative clauses:
    i.   Otveta   ne prišlo.
            answer.GEN not arrived.PPP.def
            'There arrived no answer.' (Testelec (2001):336)

at neigbours.gen   napiled.nt.sg. rubbish.gen

'The neighbours have lots of rubbish piled up.' GEN yes 43% GEN no 43% GEN ? 14%

d. U sosedej   navalen   xlam.

  at neigbours.gen napiled.ms.sg. rubbish.nom

'The neighbours have lots of rubbish piled up.' NOM yes 76% NOM no 19% NOM ? 5%

3.3. The adessive PP as an antecedent of the reflexive pronoun

In the next set of sentences, I asked the participants to choose between the reflexive and the anaphoric pronouns determining the patient argument. In (17-a) and (17-b), the choice between the two kinds of pronoun seems to be more hesitant than in (17-c), where the absolute majority of informants opted for the reflexive. However, this fact only shows the ambiguity of the pronoun *svoj* 'self's', that in addition to the usual reflexive interpretation can have an independent use roughly corresponding to the English word *own*. It follows then that the survey participants understood *svoj* in (17-c) as *own*, and the validity of the other two test sentences increases at this background.

17. a. U nas   posažena   svoja/naša kartoška.

        at us.gen planted.PPP.fem.sg. our   potatoes

'We have planted our (own) potatoes.' anaphoric 27% reflexive 60% both 13%

b. Na ètom   al'bome   u nix   zapisany   tol'ko svoi/ix pesni.

  on this.loc album.loc at them.gen recorded.PPP.pl only   their   songs.nom

'They've got only their (own) songs on this album.' anaphoric 49% reflexive 35% both 16%

c. U nego   najden   svoj/jego otvet   na ètot   vopros.

  at him.gen found.PPP.ms.sg. his   answer.nom on this.acc   question.acc

'He has found his own answer for this question.' anaphoric 3% reflexive 92% both 5%

3.4. Adding a sentence with a difference subject

In the third set, the speakers had to continue the sentences by an addendum with a different subject. As the results demonstrate, the locative reading was less preferred, although the difference in preferences was not so serious.

18. a. U nas   kuplen   tort.   (Gosti   kupili).

        at us.gen bought.PPP.nt.sg. cake.nom   guests.nom   boughtP .past.pl

'We have a cake bought. The guests bought it.' yes 46% no 51% ? 3%

b. U nas   posažena   kartoška.   (Sosedi   posadili).

  at us.gen planted.PPP.fem.sg potatoes.nom   neighbours.nom   plantedP .past.pl

'We've got potatoes planted. The neighbours planted them.' yes 38% no 57% ? 5%

3.5. Use of instrumental agentive NPs

In the fourth set, the *by*-phrase was offered as another test for the subjecthood of the adessive PP. The adding of *by*-phrase had another purpose as well: to see the voice interpretation of the sentence. The absence of the agentive *by*-phrase at the end of the following sentences would increase the ambiguity of the adessive PP. Thus, if the survey participants accept the *by*-phrase, they assign a sentence an unambiguously passive interpretation with the locative PP in the initial position. As can be seen below, most speakers rejected the passive scenario in (19-a) and (19-b).

19. a. U koški   nagaženo   sobakoj.

        at cat.gen   pooped.PPP.nt.sg. dog.instr

'The dog has pooped in the cat's toilet.' yes 11% no 89% ? 0%
b. U menja   zavaren   čaj   sestroj.
   at me.gen brewed.PPP.ms.sg. tea.nom   sister.instr
'I have the tea brewed by my sister'. yes 35% no 62% ? 3%

Although the following three sentences were included in the previous group of statements, I have to isolate them from the rest here, since they, again, show a drastically different pattern, where the majority of the speakers accepted the passive interpretation with the adessive PP understood as a location and the *by*-phrase representing the true agent of the event. In all of these problematic cases, the participles carry the superlexical prefix *na-*.

20. a. U nix   natoptano   gostjami.
     at them.gen   natrampled.PPP.nt.sg   guests.instr
    'It is dirty at their place because the guests have trampled here a lot'. yes 70% no 19% ? 11%
    b. U nas   nakureno   posetiteljami.
     at us.gen   nasmoked.PPP.nt.sg. customers.instr
    'It is hazy at our place because the customers have smoked a lot'. yes 65% no 30% ? 5%
    c. U nix   nastrojeno   domov   Atomstrojkompleksom.
    at them.gen nabuilt.sg.nt. houses.gen A.instr.
    'In their neighbourhood, there are a lot of buildings constructed by Atomstrojkompleks.'
    yes 57% no 30% ? 11%

3.6. Interim conclusions

To conclude this data section, I should underline the following two facts:

- there is a clear distinction between resultative participles and the participles carrying the superlexical prefix *na-*, because the former do not allow the absence of agreement with their internal arguments, but allow the subject-like interpretation of the adessive PP
- the interpretation of the initial prepositional phrase and the ability of the *by*-phrase to be used alongside it are indicative of the voice interpretation of the clause: resultative PPPs occur in the sentences that cannot be called passive, whereas *na*-PPPs seem to appear in truly passive sentences.

4. Analysis

4.1. Previous accounts

Jabłoǹska (2007):239 lists "four different constructions displaying different properties" each of which contains a past passive participle (PPP):

21.   a. The book remains unread.   *stative adjectival passive*
    b. The book seems carefully read.   *resultative*
    c. The book is being carefully read by the student. *verbal passive*
    d. The student has read the book carefully.   *perfect tense*

In Standard Russian (SR), the third case is unattested, and the other properties can be found in superciliously the same construction:

22. Kniga   pročitana.
    Book.NOM read.PPP.sg.fem.
    'The book is read.'

It is difficult to tear apart the passive and the perfect interpretations in (20). Paslawska and von Stechow (2003):309 analyse such participles as adjectival target state passives.

23. a. Okno   otkryto   Mašej   dva časa   nazad.
        window.NOM opened.PPP.nt.sg   M. INSTR.   two hour.GEN ago
     b. The window is closed (*by Mary two hours ago).
     c. Das Fenster ist (*von Maria vor zwei Stunden) geschlossen.

As one can see from (23-b) and (23-c), it is impossible in English or German either to use an agentive *by*-phrase, or to indicate the time of the event that led to the target state expressed by the participle. In Russian, nothing precludes the *by*-phrase from appearing next to stative participles, which made Paslawska and von Stechow (2003):310 include the Voice projection into the structure of Russian past passive participles.

24. [$_{AP}$ TARGET **-ed** [$_{VoiceP}$ x AGENT pass [$_{VP}$ **close- the window**]]] (*English/^{OK}Russian)
     [$_{AP}$ TARGET **-t** [$_{VoiceP}$ x AGENT pass [$_{VP}$ **zakry- okno**]]]

The data in section 4 fall out into two distinct classes: the first contains participles based on perfective verbs with lexical prefixes, and the second participles derived from verbs with the superlexical cumulative prefix *na-*. In the first class, the subject properties can be ascribed to the adessive PP; in the second, the adessive PP is perceived rather like an indication of location than a subject of the construction, and there can co-occur with a *by*-phrases. Thus, the second class demonstrate passive behaviour to a larger extent than the first one. Why would this be so?

The obvious solution to the problem stems from the distinction between the two types of prefix: lexical and superlexical. *Na-* is the latter type, and, according to a bulk of literature, syntactically attaches above the little *v*P (or VoiceP). So, we can treat only *na-* participles along the lines of Paslawska and von Stechow (2003): as target state passives (Romanova 2014).

Different sites of prefix attachment explain certain differences in behaviour and interpretation of many (de)verbal constructions in Russian. Since past passive participles ending in *-no/-to* are related to nominalizations containing the suffixes *-n-/-t-* (see, e.g., Jabłońska (2007)), the explanation for the phenomenon in question should be common for both.

An explanation for prefixed nominalizations is offered in Tatevosov (2008). Lexical prefixes merge with the verbal root before the imperfectivizing suffixes *-va/-iva* in a higher functional projection. According to the functional hierarchy offered in the article, the nominalizing suffix –*-n-* (*-t-*) is inserted above the imperfectivizng suffix *-(i)va*. Superlexical prefixes are even higher than the nominalizing suffix, and their attachment is ruled out by the order of morphological operations: nominalizing is only possible after prefixes have attached to the verbal root.

25. Tatevosov (2011):232, 236[4]

     a. [CP ... [HP ... PFV ... [_ ... otkryva- ...]]]
     b. [DP ...D [NP ... [N ij][NominalP [Nominal n] ... [_ ... otkryva- ...]]]]
     c. *[na-[za-bi-va]]-n-ij-e

However, as Jabłońska (2007) claims for Polish, the insertion of the suffixes *-n-/-t-* can take place at different levels of the functional sequence. The highest insertion site yields nominalizations, the lowest the so-called Periphrastic Passives, whereas the intermediate site of

---

[4] HP stands for some unspecified projection *Head Phrase* that hosts the prefix.

insertion results in Impersonal Passive. Although most participles in Russian look the same on the surface (and it is still unclear if we have Impersonal Passive constructions), an interesting pattern is created by the interaction of lexical and superlexical prefixes with certain verbal roots coming in two shapes, like *brosit'* and *brosat'* 'throw'[5]:

> 26. a. *brosit'* 'throw' – *vy-brosit'* 'throw out' – *vybrošen* 'thrown out' (PPP) – **vybrošenije* 'throwing out' (nominalization)
> b. *vybrosit'* 'throw out' (perfective) – *vybrasyvat'* (secondary imperfective) - **vybrasyvan* 'thrown out' (PPP) – *vybrasyvanije* 'throwing out' (nominalization)
> c. *brosat'* 'throw' (imperfective) – *nabrosat'* 'throw a pile of' – *nabrosan* 'thrown in a pile' (PPP) - **nabrosanije* (nominalization)

The examples in (26) show that the imperfectivizing suffix can appear in nominalisations, but not in PPPs. They also demonstrate that the site of attachment of a prefix is not relevant in forming past passive participles.

This view is also supported by empirical facts of a different nature: PPPs with other superlexical prefixes (for example, *pere-* and *po-*) do not behave like *na-*PPPs:

> 27. a. U menja   perečitany   vse knigi   o   robotax.
>   at me.gen pere-read.PPP.pl. all books.nom about robots.loc
> 'I have read all the books about robots.' ! patterns with lexically prefixed (resultative) PPPs.
> b. *U menja   počitan   žurnal   o   problemax   mozga.
>   at me.gen po-read.PPP.sg.ms. journal.nom about problems.loc   brain.gen
> 'I have done some reading of the journal about the brain issues.'

The distributive prefix *pere-* is believed to originate above the prefix *na-* attachment site (Nordlys), yet, it is fine with PPPs. The delimitative prefix *po-* is never allowed on PPPs.

To summarise so far,
- the PPPs in (26-a) and (26-c) can both be analysed as target state passives, so the presence of a prefix of a particular type does not play any role here (which is supported by (27);
- the distinction between prefix types becomes relevant in possessive perfect construction

In addition, there are a number of other confusing cases, like imperfective prefixless participles used in possessive perfect – on the one hand, they can only be eventive, not stative, on the other hand, they pattern more with *na-* participles, than with "normal" PPPs.

> 28. a. Ty   ne predstavljaješ,   skol'ko   bylo xoženo   mnoj
>   you not imagine.2sg.pres. how.much was walked[I].PPP.sg.nt. me.INSTR.
>   po   odesskim ulicam.
>   along Odessa   streets.DAT
>   'You can't imagine how much I've walked about the streets of Odessa.'
>   (http://club443.ru/lofiversion/index.php/t189631-2100.html)
> b. Po vtoroj   ssylke   mnogo   vsego   mnoj   ne čitano.
>   on second.DAT link.DAT lots.ACC all.GEN   me.INSTR not read[I].PPP.sg.nt.
>   'I haven't read a lot of stuff from the second link.'
>   (http://espavo.ning.com/profiles/blogs/3776235:BlogPost:1009021)

---

[5] *Brosit'* is perfective, *brosat'* is imperfective. According to Jabłońska (2007), the latter contains a high theme vowel and in her theory, only the verbs with high theme vowels can form Impersonal Passive participles.

Whereas with the participle *xoženo* 'walked' the number of search hits with the *by*-phrase and the adessive PP is approximately the same, with the participle (*ne*) *čitano* '(not) read' the specification of the agent via a *by*-phrase is much more acceptable on the net.

Considering all the above and the contradictory judgments in section 4, I should reject a syntactic approach to the solution of arising problems.

4.2. Semantic incorporation and syntactic restrictions

When *na-* attaches to the verb, it changes its properties in a very special way: roughly speaking, it turns it intransitive. *Na*-verbs are opaque creation predicates (Romanova (2007), Žaucer (2008)), which means that their internal argument is non-existent at the setout of the event (von Stechow (2001)).

29. a. John built a house.
   b. $\exists x[x$ is a house at t & John builds x at t]

However, even at the end of the event such verbs do not have an internal argument in the usual understanding. As was shown in (Romanova (2007)), the complement of *na*-verbs is the RHEME (Ramchand (2008)), a measured path, or a range of degrees (Δ). "By measuring Δ, *na*-produces an effect of creating a relatively big amount of stuff, temporal occasions or space coverage" (Romanova (2007):208. RHEME represents the property of the event ($<s,<e,t>>$), and does not necessarily combine with transitive verbs.

I follow van Geenhoven (1995, 1998), McNally (2009), van Geenhoven and McNally (2005), who developed the idea of semantic incorporation (28), and treat the property-type arguments of *na*-verbs through this prism (Romanova (2007); see also Kagan and Pereltsvaig (2011)):

30. a. $\lambda P\lambda x\exists y[eat(x,y)\wedge P(y)]$
    b. T(eat cookies) $=\lambda P\lambda x\exists y[eat(x,y)\wedge cookies(y)]$ (McNally (2009):163)

In Romanova (2007), the syntactic structure of the verbs with the superlexical cumulative prefix *na-* looks like the following:

31. a. navaril   kaši
       na-cooked porridge.GEN
       'cooked a lot of porridge'
    b.
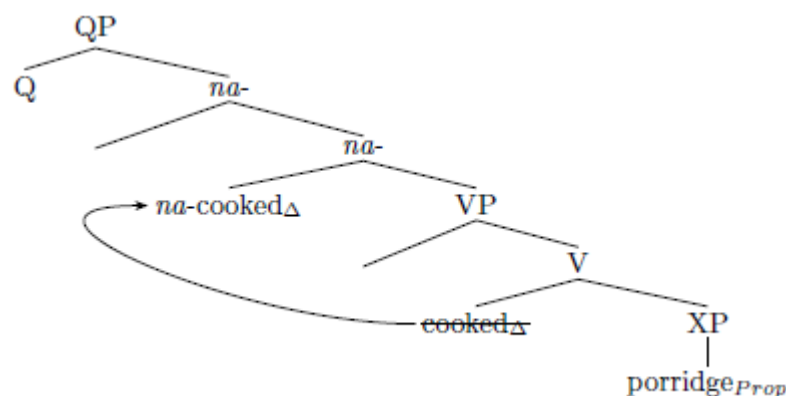
So, how does semantic incorporation help me solve the problem with unacceptability of *na*-PPPs in possessive perfect construction?

I claim that the passive formed by *na*-verbs is a variety of impersonal passive, different though from Polish or German impersonal passive. In the latter, a *by*-phrase is illicit, but as was cited from Paslawska and von Stechow (2003) above, a *by*-phrase is also illicit in Germanic languages for periphrastic target state passives.

I should actually mention that very few speakers admit a *by*-phrase in the impersonal passive with *na*-PPPs. And this is one of the caveats in the whole story: nothing can be considered strictly grammatical or ungrammatical in the structures discussed for Standard Russian above. As could be seen from native judgments, there is certain amount of variation in every tested phenomenon. This is understandable, if I suggest that "possessive perfect" is a construction in the making, an instance of language change in progress. However, the situation with *na*-verbs cannot be analyzed in more detail and depth than presented here for lack of more data.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I demonstrated that the so-called possessive perfect construction can be attested in Standard Russian, mostly due to the change of grammatical roles of the prepositional phrase and the patient argument. The former seems to be gradually becoming a true subject of the construction, whereas the latter should acquire more object-like properties. However, the agreement pattern in such structures does not support the statement about the patient arguments: they still fully agree with the participle in phi-features. Then, we might be witnessing the change of a passive construction into an active perfect construction.

Nevertheless, some of the data indicate that not all the participles undergo this change. In particular, participles formed from the verbs with the superlexical cumulative prefix *na-* express more passive behaviours than their counterparts with lexical prefixes, but since such verbs do not really have internal arguments of the individual type, the only passive structure they can form is the one reminiscent of impersonal passive. The passage from impersonal passive to impersonal active does not take place here due to the reasons whose discussion is beyond the scope of this article[6].

References

Filip, Hana. 2005. Measures and Indefinites. In G. N. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier (eds.), *Reference and Quantification: the Partee Effect*. Stanford, CA: SCLI Publications. 229–288
van Geenhoven, Veerle. 1998. *Semantic Incorporation and Indefinite Descriptions: Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Noun Incorporation in West Greenlandic*. The University of Chicago Press.
van Geenhoven, Veerle, and Louise McNally. 2005. On the Property Analysis of Opaque Complements. *Lingua* 115, 885-914.
Jabłońska, Patrycja. 2007. *Radical Decomposition and Argument Structure*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Tromsø.
Jung, Hakyung. 2008. *The Grammar of Have in a Have-less Language: Possession, Perfect, and Ergativity in North Russian*. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
Jung, Hakyung. 2009. Possessive Subjects, Nominalization and Ergativity in North Russian. In V. Bubenik, J. Hewson, S. Rose (eds.), *Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 207-220.
Kagan, Olga. 2012. *Semantics of Genitive Objects in Russian. A Study of Genitive of Negation and Intensional Genitive Case.* Springer.

---

[6] One reason can be connected with the ergativity of possessive perfect constructions as shown in Jung (2008).

Kagan, Olga & Asya Pereltsvaig. 2011. Syntax and Semantics of Bare NPs: Objects of Intensive Reflexive Verbs in Russian. In d'O. Bonami & P. Cabredo Hofherr (eds.), *Emprical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 8, 221-237.

Knjazev, Jurij Pavlovič. 2007. *Grammatičeskaja semantika. Russkij jazyk v tipologičeskoj perspective [Grammatical Semantics. The Russian Language in Typological Perspective]*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskix kul'tur.

Kurylowicz, Jerzy. 1965. The Evolution of Grammatical Categories. Repr. in J. Kurylowicz, 1976, *Esquisses linguistiques 2*, Munich: Fink, 38-54.

Kuz'mina, I.B. 1993. *Sintaksis russkix govorov v lingvogeografičeskom aspekte [The Syntax of Russian Dialects from Linguogeographical Perspective]*. Moskva: Nauka.

Kuz'mina I.B., Nemčenko E.V. 1971. *Sintaksis pričastnykh form v russkikh govorakh [The Syntax of Participial Forms in Russian Dialects]*. Moscow: Nauka.

Maslov, Yu.S. 1984. *Očerki po aspektologii [Essays on Aspectology]*. Leningrad

Maslov, Yu.S. 2004. *Izbrannyje trudy. Aspektologija. Obščeje jazykoznanije [Selected Works. Aspectology. General Linguistics]*. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskix kul'tur.

McNally, Louise. 2009. Properties, Entity Correlates of Properties, and Exitentials. In A. Giannakidou & M. Rathert (eds.), *Quantification, Definiteness and Nominalization*. Oxford University Press.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. and Sergej Je. Jaxontov. 1988. The Typology of Resultative Constructions. In V.P. Nedjalkov & S.Je. Jaxontov (eds.) *Typology of Resultative Constructions*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 3-63.

Potebnya, A.A. 1958. *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike [From Notes on Russian Grammar]*. Vol.1-2. Moskva: Učpedgiz.

Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon.* Cambridge University Press.

Romanova, Eugenia. 2007. *Constructing Perfectivity in Russian*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Tromsø.

Romanova, Eugenia. 2014. Two Ways of (Mis)behaviour of Some Superlexical Prefixes in Possessive Perfect in Standard Russian. A talk presented at FARL, Moscow State University.

Seržant, Ilya. 2012. The So-Called Possessive Perfect in North Russian and the Circum-Baltic Area. A Diachronic and Areal Account. *Lingua 122*, 356-358.

Soschen, Alona. 2002. *On Subjects and Predicates in Russian: Syntax/Semantics Interface*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa.

Tatevosov, Sergei. 2011. Severing Perfectivity from the Verb. *Scando-Slavica 57*, 216-244.

Testelec, Jakov G. 2001. *Vvedenije v obščij sintaksis [Introduction into General Syntax]*. Moscow: RGGU.

Trubinskiy, Valentin I. 1988. Resultative, Passive, and Perfect in Russian Dialects. In V.P. Nedjalkov & S.Je. Jaxontov (eds.) *Typology of Resultative Constructions*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 389-411.

Von Stechow, Arnim. 2001. Temporally Opaque Predicates in Verbs of Creation. In B. Cecchetto, G. Chierchia and M.T. Guasti (eds.), *Semantic Interfaces. Reference, Anaphora, Aspect.* Stanford: CSLI, 278-319.

Šaxmatov, A.A. 1941. *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka [Syntax of Russian]*. 2nd edition. Leningrad.