

On the Syntax of U-Possessor Phrases in Ukrainian and Russian

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Possession as location:

Syntactic representation of possession as a location

Freeze (1992):

universal locative paradigm which consists of the predicate locative, the existential and the ‘have’=possessive predication all derived from the same underlying structure.

We present syntactic evidence from the distribution of purpose clauses (Hallman 2015) that syntactic encoding of possession as a locative structure is incorrect:

evidence that u-PP possessors in Russian and Ukrainian can be merged in different positions in the tree:

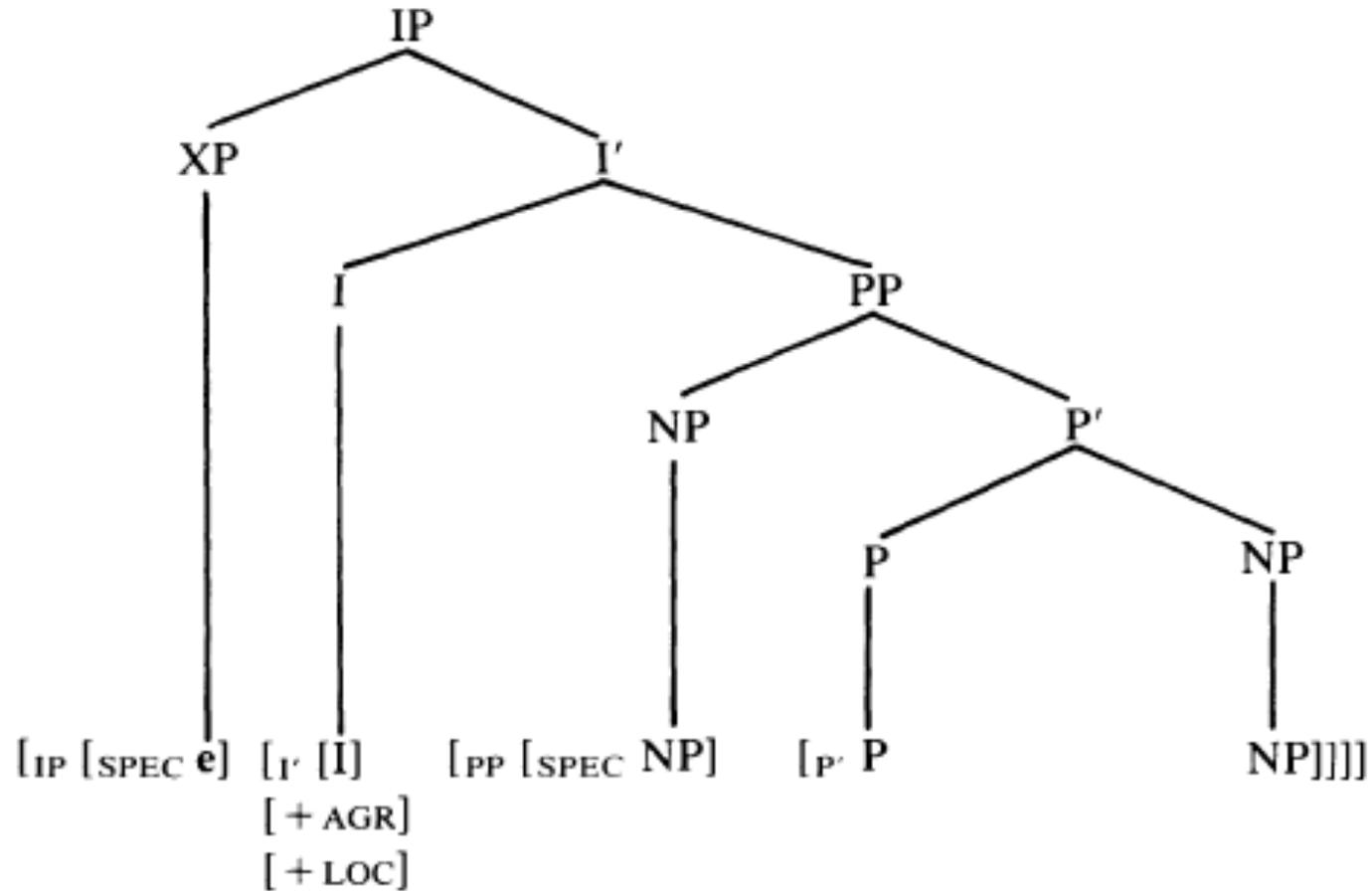
possessor u-PP >> locative u-PP, while possessor-locatives are ambiguous (compatible with two different attachment sites for the u-PP)

Freeze (1992):

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|----------|----------------------------|
| 1a. Kniga | byla | na stole | predicate locative |
| Book | was | on table | |
| ‘The book was on the table’ | | | |
| b. Na stole | byla | kniga | existential |
| On table | was | book | |
| ‘The was a book on the table’ | | | |
| c. U menja | byla | sestra | possessive (‘Have’) |
| At me | was | sister | |
| ‘I had a sister’ | | | |

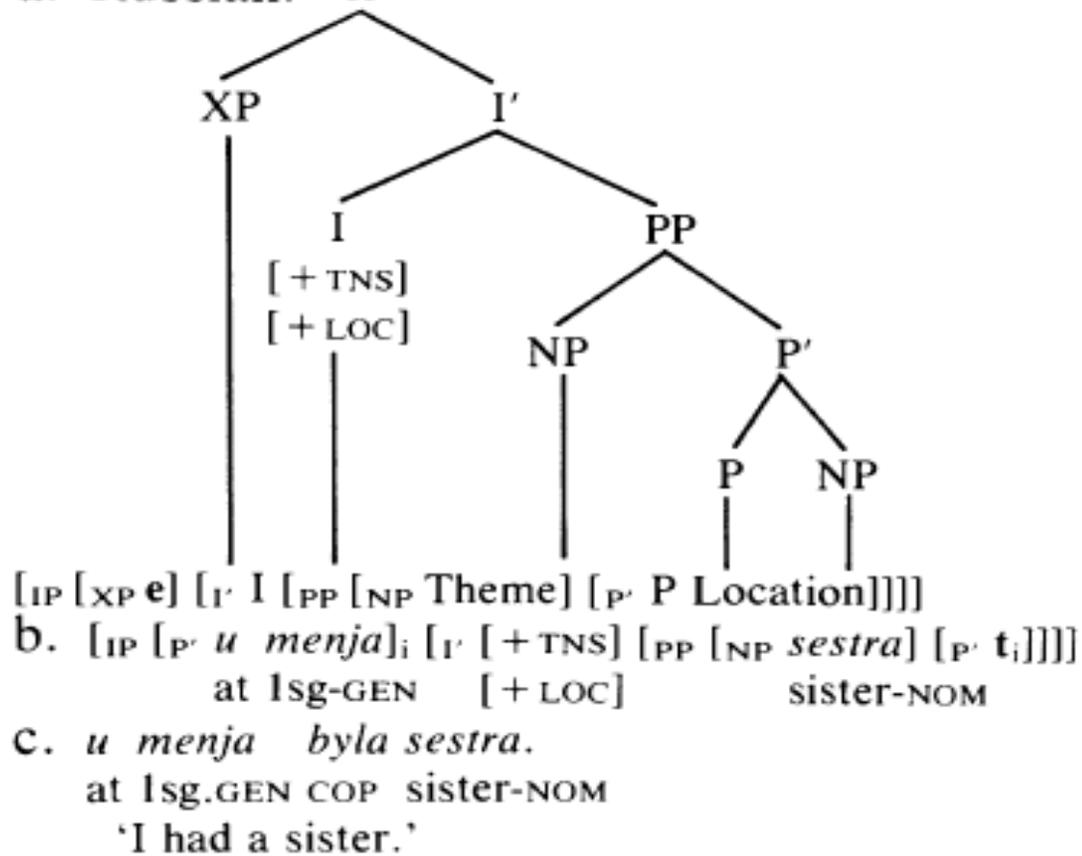
Single underlying structure with two thematic arguments,
LOCATION and THEME

Underlying structure for 1a-c:
1d.



2. U menja byla sestra
 At me was sister
 'I had a sister'

a. Russian: IP



Purpose clauses as a diagnostic of deep structure (Hallman 2015)

3. a. John has a puppy [to play with]
b. Mary gave John a puppy [to play with]

4. a. John has a puppy [CP Op_i [PRO to play with t_i]]
b. Mary gave John a puppy [CP Op_i [PRO to play with t_i]]

The object gap is arguably derived by A'-movement of an operator to the left edge of the purpose clause, deriving a predicate over potential fillers of the gap (Faraci 1974, Chomsky and Lasnik 1977, Chomsky 1981, Whelpton 1995 i.a.)

Hallman (2015) analyzes the purpose clause as a nonfinite CP (Whelpton 1995).

Purpose clauses in English ditransitives:

DP+DP frame

5. a. Mary gave John_i a puppy_j [PRO_i to play with e_j]
- b. Mary sent John_i a manuscript_j [PRO_i to read e_j]
- c. Mary assigned John_i a job_j [PRO_i to do e_j]
- d. Mary offered John_i her apartment_j [PRO_i to stay in e_j]

DP+PP frame

6. a. Mary gave a puppy_j to John_i [PRO_i to play with e_j]
- b. Mary sent a manuscript_j to John_i [PRO_i to read e_j]
- c. Mary assigned a job_j to John_i [PRO_i to do e_j]
- d. Mary offered her apartment_j to John_i [PRO_i to stay in e_j]

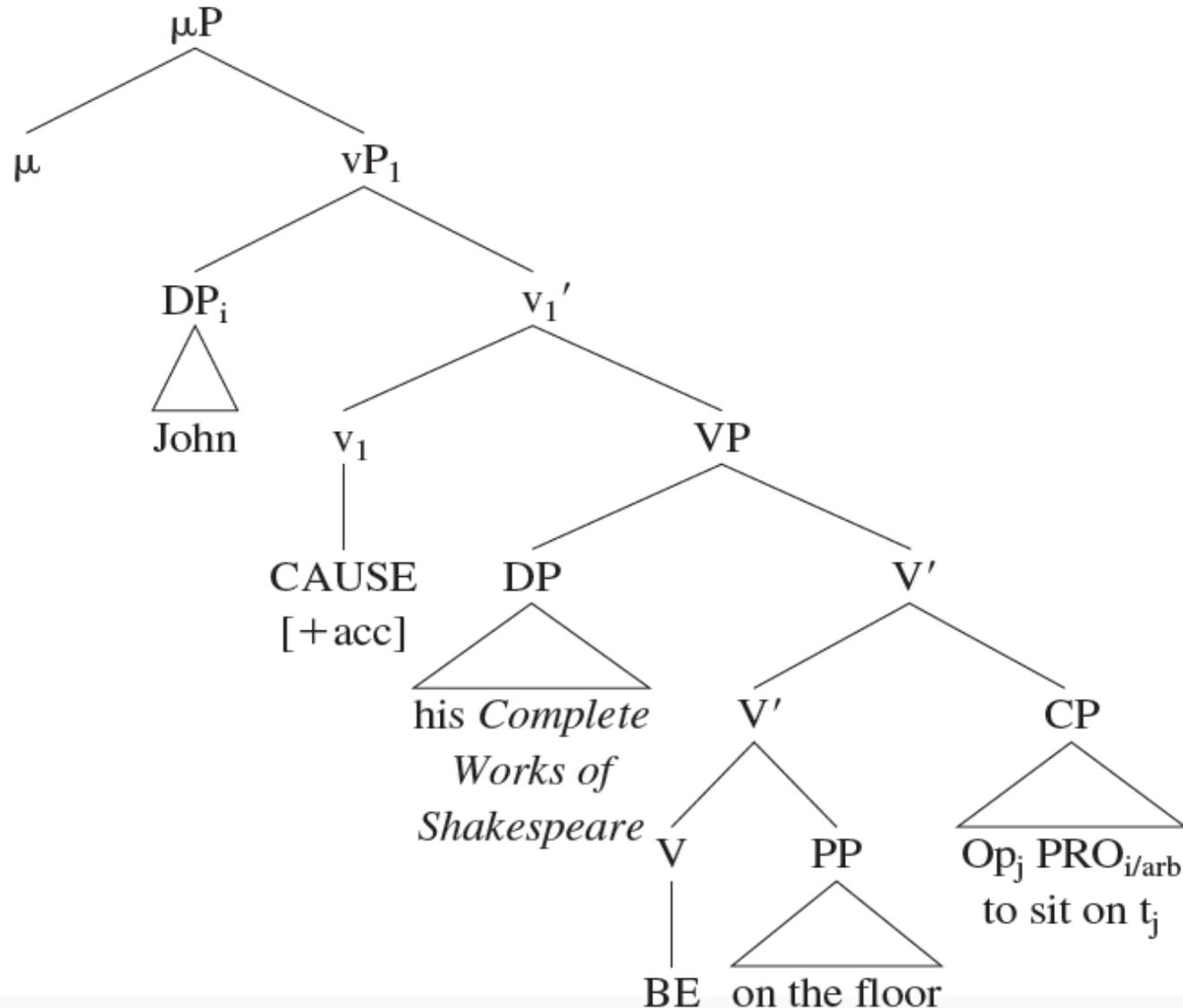
Importantly, such alignment of gaps in the purpose clause with arguments in the matrix predicate is not typical of locative constructions:

Such constructions look superficially identical to the DP+PP frame, but they do not readily accept purpose clauses with the argument alignment seen in (6), where PRO is identified by the LOCATION argument of the matrix clause and the object gap is identified by the THEME.

7. a. *Mary put the child_j on the horse_i [PRO_i to carry e_j]
- b. *Mary led the horse_j to John_i [PRO_i to feed e_j]
- c. *Mary poured honey_j on her little brother_i [PRO_i to lick off e_j]
- d. *Mary immersed the cloth_j in oil_i [PRO_i to permeate e_j]

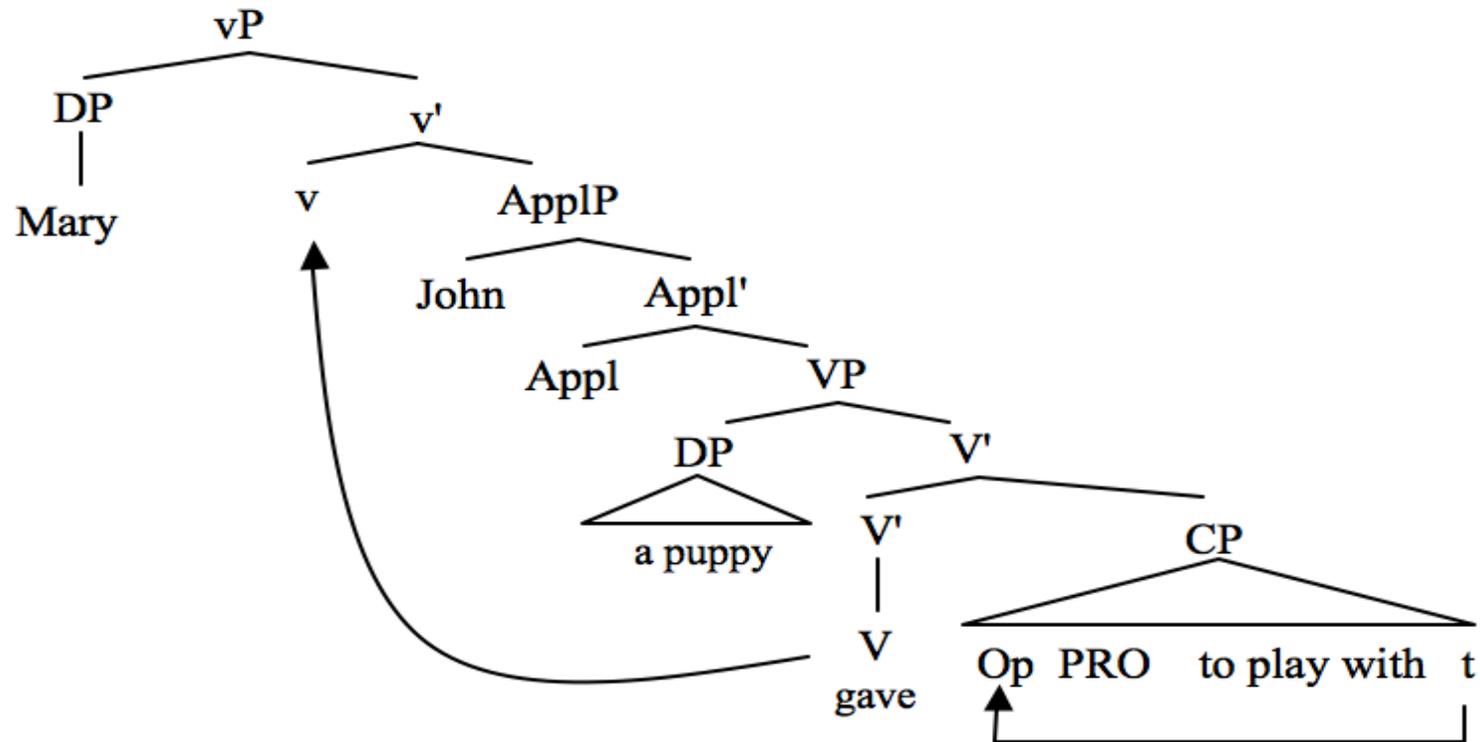
Faraci (1974) and Jones (1991): purpose clauses do not escape ellipsis and other operations on verb phrases and so must attach VP-internally.
Whelpton (1995): purpose clauses modify the V' that introduces the argument that the purpose clause is predicated of (similar to Nissenbaum's 1998, 2000 treatment of parasitic gap constructions)

8. John put his *Complete Works of Shakespeare* on the floor to sit on.



The LOCATION argument is not able to control PRO, since it is lower in the structure than the THEME argument and the purpose clause is predicated of the THEME.

5. a. Mary gave John_i a puppy [PRO_i to play with e_j]



Hallman (2015) argues that since the POSSESSOR argument in DP+PP frame is able to control PRO, in contrast to the LOCATION argument in (8), this means that the DP+PP frame does not share the syntactic structure of verbs such as *put*.

That the POSSESSOR in DP+PP frame can bind PRO means that it c-commands the purpose clause PRO and therefore the purpose clause itself.

The LOCATION argument does not.

PRO can be bound by a quantifier in the matrix clause, confirming that the subject gap in the purpose clause is identified by syntactic binding (Nishigauchi 1984), which requires c-command:

9. Mary gave a puppy_j to every child_i [PRO_i to play with e_j]

Conclusion: the possessor argument of the verbs like *give* occurs in a higher syntactic position than the locative argument of a verb like *put* even when it surfaces in a PP form.

OUR MAIN CLAIM: the purpose clause diagnostic can be used to determine whether Russian and Ukrainian u-PPs are true possessors or are indeed human locations, as argued in Freeze (1992) and elsewhere. It suggests that when u-PPs encode location they are merged lower than the u-PPs that encode possession.

U-PPs have been argued to mark a possessor, a location, or a ‘human location’ (Arylova 2013, Chvany 1975, Błaszczak 2008, Harves 2003, Jung 2011, Kondrashova 1996, Livitz 2012, i.a.).

We claim that the u-PPs found in East Slavic can indeed function as possessors, locations and human locations and as such can be merged either in a high position (possessor), a low position (location) or be ambiguous between the two (human location), meaning the same string can be associated with two distinct structures in which the u-PP is either high or low, thus providing evidence against Freeze (1992).

- 10a. U Masi_i est' ščenok_j [čtoby PRO_i igrat' e_j]
 At Masha is puppy in.order.to play
 'Masha has a puppy to pay with' (POSSESSIVE)
- b. U Koli_i est' mašina_j [čtoby PRO_i ezdit' na rabotu e_j]
 At Kolia_{GEN} is car_{NOM} in.order.to drive on work_{PREP}
 'Kolia has a car to drive to work' (POSSESSIVE)
- 11a. *Kolja_j byl v Moskve_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
 Kolia_{NOM} was in Moscow_{PREP} in.order.to impress_{INF}
 'Kolia was in Moscow to be impressed' (LOCATIVE)
- 11b. *Kolja_j byl u Maši_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
 Kolia_{NOM} was at Masha_{PREP} in.order.to impress_{INF}
 'Kolia was at Masha's for the place to impress him'
 (LOCATIVE)

Purpose clauses in “possessive-locative” (Kondrashova 1996) sentences have an intermediate status, indicating that the human u-PP can be marginally construed as a possessor:

12. (?)Vaše pis'mo_j budet u sekretarja_i [čtoby PRO_i proverit' e_j]
Your letter_{NOM} will.be at secretary_{GEN} in.order.to check_{INF}.
'Your letter will be with the secretary to check'
(LOCATIVE-POSSESSIVE)

Our claims:

The possessor u-PPs (10) are generated in a high position, possibly Spec,AppIP.

The location u-PPs (11) are generated low, in the complement of V.

Locative-possessive u-PPs (12) prefer to function as locations but may also occur in a high position like possessors.

Ditransitives

Russian:

13. Maša dala Ivanu_i ščenka_j [čtoby PRO_i poigrat' e_j]
Masha_{NOM} gave Ivan_{DAT} puppy_{ACC} in.order.to play_{INF}
'Masha gave Ivan a puppy to play with'

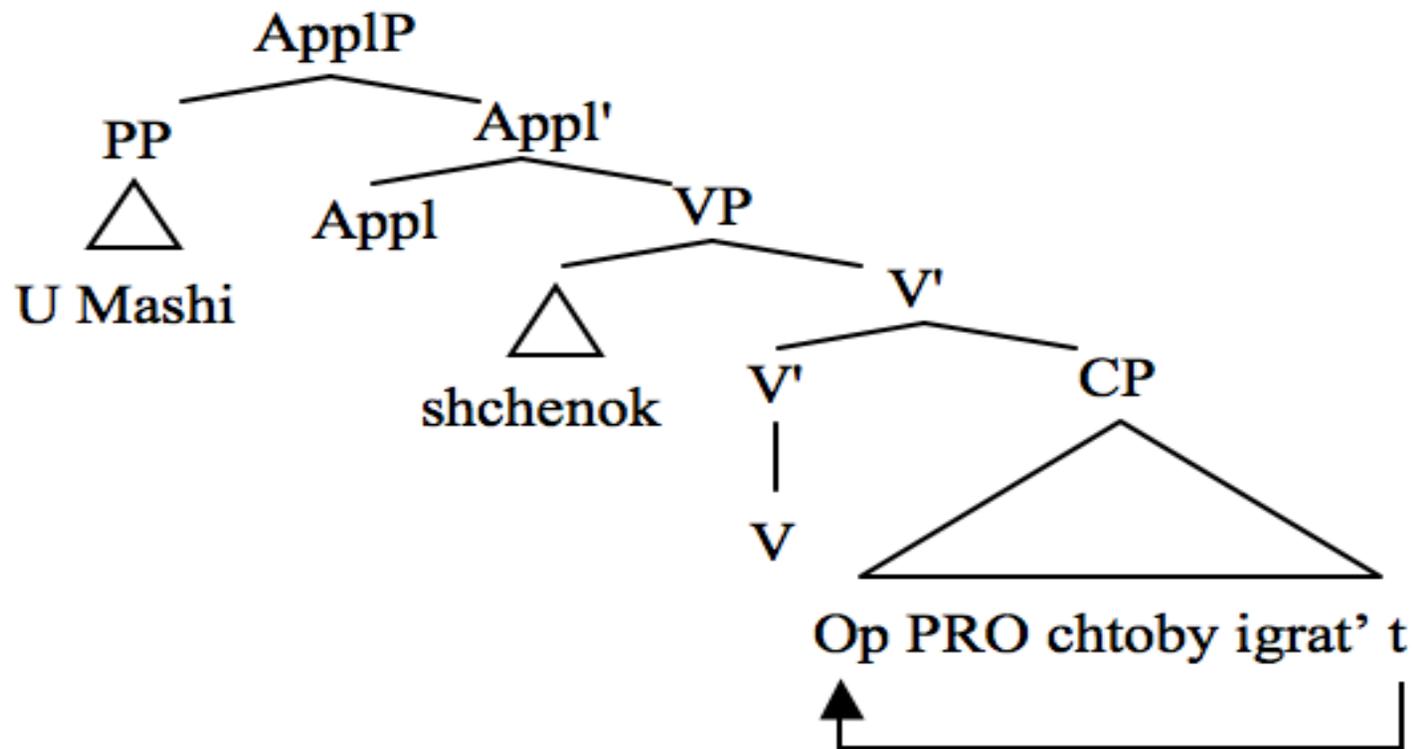
Ukrainian:

14. Marija dala Miškovi_i pesyka_j [ščob PRO_i pogratisja e_j]
Mary_{NOM} gave Mishka_{DAT} puppy_{ACC} in.order.to play_{INF}.REFL
'Mary gave Mishka a puppy to play with'

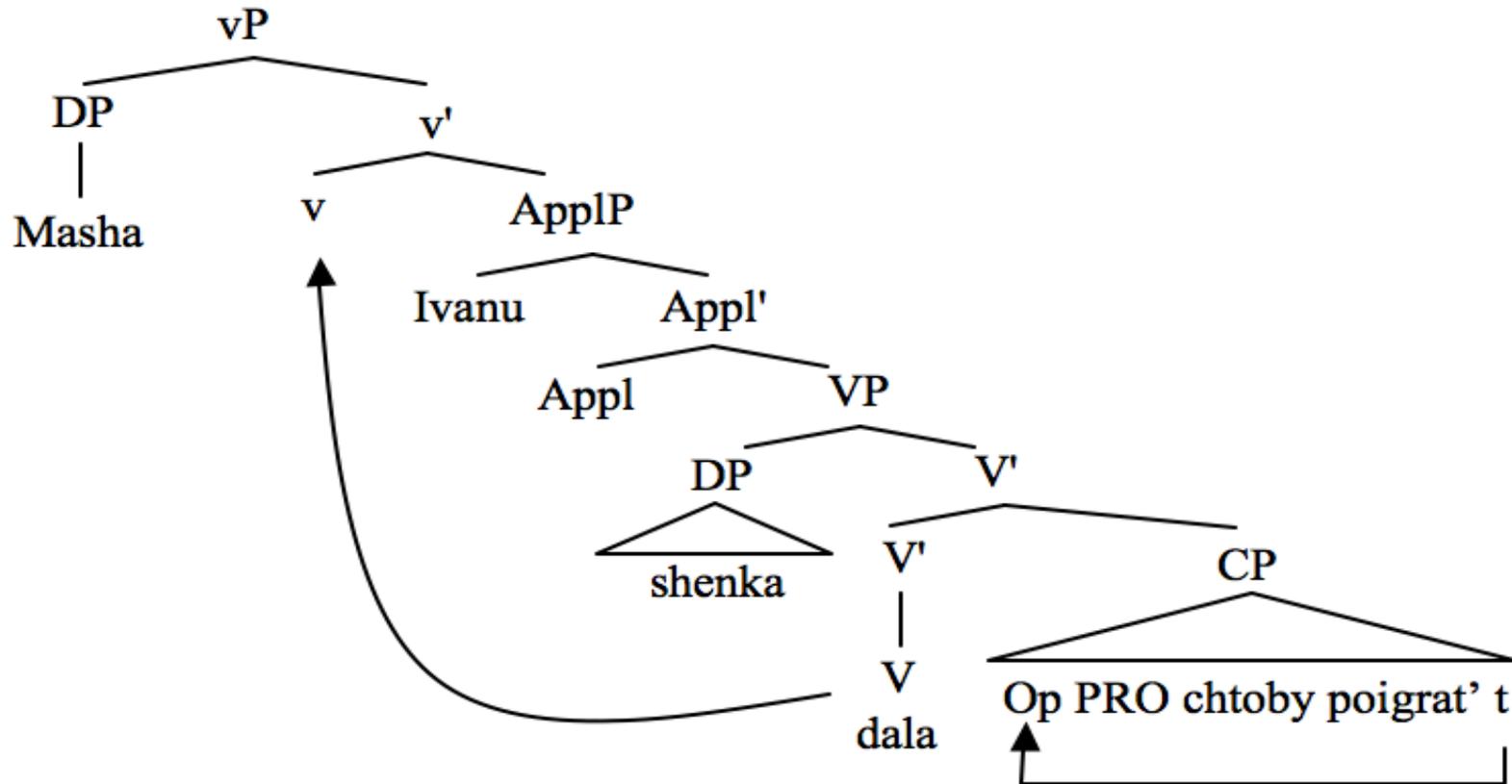
cf. 10b.

- U Masi_i est' ščenok_j [čtoby PRO_i igrat' e_j]
At Masha is puppy in.order.to play
'Masha has a puppy to play with' (POSSESSIVE)

10b. U Mashi_i est' ščenok_j [čtoby PRO_i igrat' e_j]
 At Masha is puppy in.order.to play
 'Masha has a puppy to pay with'

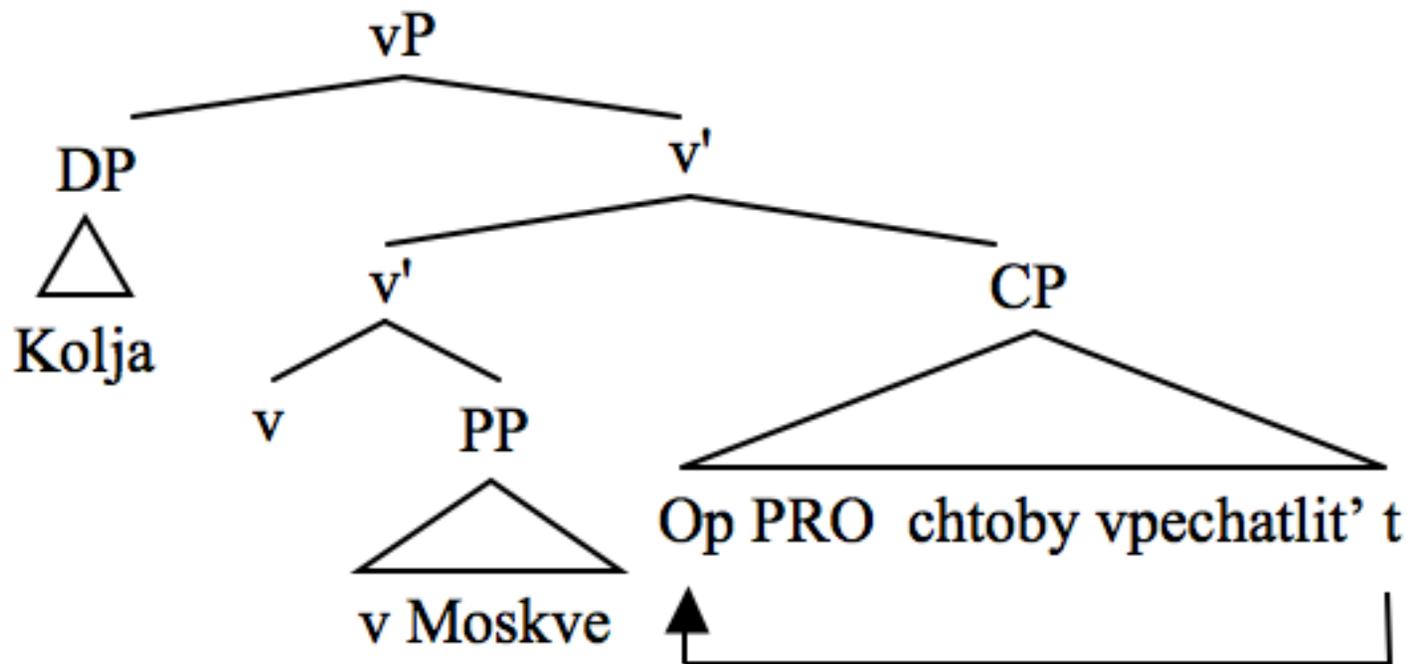


13. Maša dala Ivanu_i ščenka_j [čtoby PRO_i poigrat' e_j]
 Masha_{NOM} gave Ivan_{DAT} puppy_{ACC} in.order.to play_{INF}
 'Masha gave Ivan a puppy to play with'



11a. *Kolja_j byl v Moskve_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
 Kolia_{NOM} was in Moscow_{PREP} in.order.to impress_{INF}
 'Kolia was in Moscow to be impressed' (LOCATIVE)

11b. *Kolja_j byl u Maši_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
 Kolia_{NOM} was at Masha_{PREP} in.order.to impress_{INF}
 'Kolia was at Masha's for the place to impress him' (LOCATIVE)



Additional evidence against Freeze (1992):

Freeze (1992): evidence that ‘have’ constructions are locations

15. a. The tree has a nest in it.
- b. The flour has weevils (in it).
- c. I have a needle (on me).

The PP must be coreferential with the subject.

16. *The flour has weevils in the canister.

Russian:

17. U menja_i pri sebe est' liš 20 evro_j [čtoby PRO_i zaplatit' t_j za taksi]
At me by self is only 20 euros in order to pay for taxi
'I only have 20 euros on me to pay for the taxi'

=> *pri sebe*, which encodes location, is not present in the deep structure

Further problems for Freeze (1992):

18. Marija u menja (locative)

Maria at me

‘Maria is at my place’

19. U menja Marija (possessive)

At me Maria

‘I have Maria’ (=divorce scenario)

BUT:

20. Marija u menja

Maria at me

1. ‘Maria is at my place’ (locative)

2. ‘I have Maria’ (=the Russian mob scenario)

(20) represents the base order for Freeze, the locative one. Thus the sentence is correctly predicted to have reading 1. But Freeze’s account cannot accommodate reading 2 since it requires fronting of the u-PP to Spec, TP.

20. Marija u menja

Maria at me

1. 'Maria is at my place'

2. 'I have Maria'

21. Marija_j u menja_i [čtoby PRO_i prodat' t_j]

Maria at me in order to.sell

'I have Maria in order to sell her'

22. *Marija_j u menja_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' t_j]

Maria at me in order to.impress

'Maria is at my place in order for it to impress her'

Some interesting cases I:

Ukrainian impersonal passives:

23. Xatu zavždy prybrano
HouseACC always cleanedPASS.NON-AGR
'The house is always cleaned'

Lavine (2010) argues that Ukrainian impersonal passives are necessarily dyadic, requiring two arguments, one to identify the main event, one the causing sub-event. Accusative case licensing is dependent on the presence of a higher non-Theme argument, which may be explicit or implicit. The non-Theme argument identifies a causative feature in v , which serves as an Accusative probe, following Pylkkänen (2008).

External Possessor Causer:

24. U mene xatu zavždy prybrano
At meGEN houseACC always cleanedPASS.NON-AGR
'My house is always tidied up'

We argue that (24) is grammatical with the *u*-PP EP exactly because the EP functions as the higher argument that is interpreted as an (affected) Causer. Thus, the referent of the *u*-PP is interpreted as someone who causes the house to always be clean, irrespective of who does the actual cleaning. ExtPCauser occupies a thematic position and has causative semantics. While the default interpretation for the *u*-PP in (24) is that of a causer *and* a possessor of the house, it is possible that the house belongs to someone else, as in (25), which suggests a base-generation rather than raising analysis.

25. U mene jogo xatu zavždy prybrano
At me his house always cleaned
'I keep his house always tidied up'

ExtPCauser can act as a binder of PRO in purpose clauses, further suggesting that it is base-generated in a high position rather than raised from inside a possessum DP.

26. U mene_i xatu_j zavždy prybrano [ščob PRO_i fotografuvaty e_j]
At meGEN house always cleaned in.order.to photograph
'My house is always tidied up (for me) to photograph'

Some interesting cases (II):

Matushansky et al. 2017: possessive PP complexes in Russian, where NP complement of the first PP is interpreted as the possessor of the NP complement of the second PP.

27. Vor vytaščil košelëk **u neë iz sumki.**

Thief pulled.out wallet **at her out.of bag**

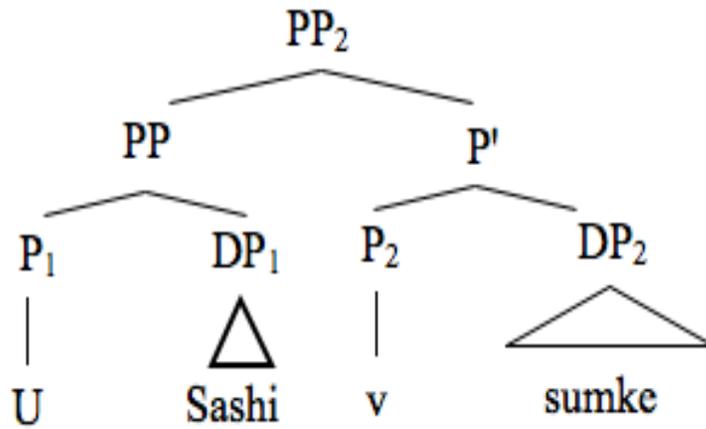
‘The thief pulled the/a wallet out of her bag’

28. Položi spički **ko mne v rjukzak.**

Put.IMP matches **towards me in backpack.ACC**

‘Put the matches in my backpack’

Proposed structure of **possessive PP complexes**:
29.



Matushansky et al. (2017) propose that the interpretation of such structures is derived semantically through predicate modification, which derives the welcome result that if PP2 is locative/directional, then so is PP1.

Needed: a means for converting PP1 meaning from possession into a type of location.

Proposal:

- 1) possession can be recast as a locative notion.
- 2) key concept: the sphere of influence/the purview of a sentient individual

Deriving possession: predicate modification in the structure (29) yields the intersection of two locations, one of which is a sphere of influence:

[[U Sasha]] = in Sasha's sphere of influence

[[U Sasha in the bag]] = in Sasha's sphere of influence and in the bag

=> **deriving possession in pragmatics:** “for an object to be in Sasha's sphere of influence and in a/the bag, the bag in question must itself be in Sasha's sphere of influence, which generally entails that the bag is in Sasha's possession”

30. Ja ostanovljus' u Mariny (na Arbate)
I will.stay at Marina on Arbat.LOC
I will stay at Marina's place (on the Arbat Street).

Matushansky et al. claim that in the sentence in (30) no possession relation is established, “pragmatics is necessary to determine what an animate u-PP denotes”.

Insights from the purpose clause diagnostic:

31. *Ja_j ostanovljus' u Mariny_i [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
I will.stay at Marina in.order.to impress
'I will stay at Marina's place in order to be impressed by it'
32. *Ja_j ostanovljus' u Mariny_i (na Arbate) [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit' e_j]
I will.stay at Marina on Arbat in.order.to impress
'I will stay at Marina's on Arbat street in order to be impressed by it/for the place to impress me'

=> another explanation: the interpretation of the u-PP is not determined through pragmatics in such cases, but is syntactically encoded.

Since animate u-PPs in object positions are ambiguous between a possessor and a location interpretation which stems from two different heights of attachment (and since the possessive PP complex requires the two PPs to match in interpretation, as observed by Matushansky et al.), (30) is derived by selecting the lower attachment site of the first PP (the animate u-PP) corresponding to the locative interpretation, which explains why *u Mariny na Arbate* does not have a possessive interpretation.

Some interesting cases (III):

Markman (2009) proposed the following base-generated positions for Russian possessors:

regular possessors: Spec,LowApplAT

possessors in DOC: Spec, LowApplTO

If this were correct, we would predict regular possessors and possessors in DOC to not accept purpose clauses with the possessor binding the PRO subject and the possessee identifying the object gap, contrary to fact.

(33) U Masi_i est' ščenok_j [čtoby PRO_i igrat' e_j]
At Masha is puppy in.order.to play
'Masha has a puppy to pay with' (POSSESSIVE)

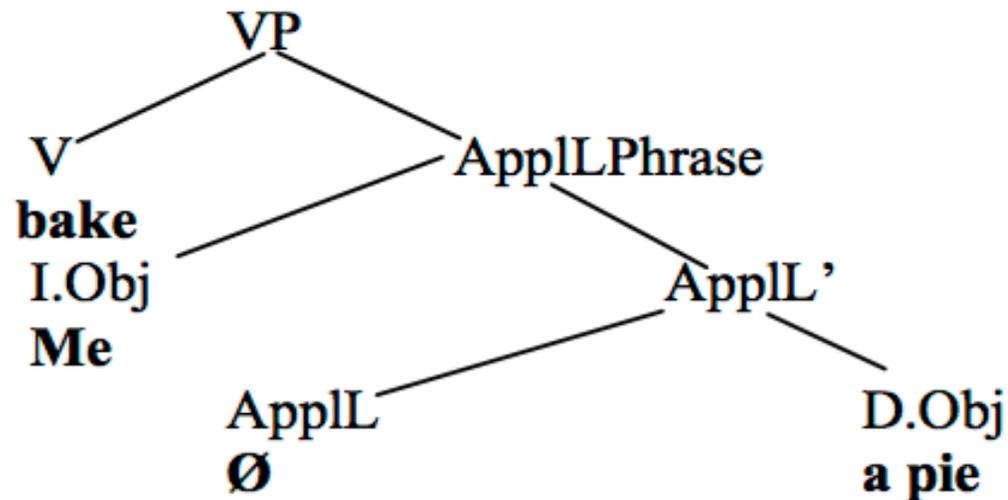
(34) Maša dala Ivanu_i ščenka_j [čtoby PRO_i poigrat' e_j]
Masha_{NOM} gave Ivan_{DAT} puppy_{ACC} in.order.to play_{INF}
'Masha gave Ivan a puppy to play with' (DOC)

Grashchenkov and Markman (2008) argue that the non-core dative argument in (35) and DOC (36) must be base-generated in Spec of LowApplP (following Pytkannen 2002)

(35) John baked me a pie.

(36) John bought me a pie.

(37) the proposed structure for (35):



The claim: the dative argument in Spec, LowApplP can only be interpreted as a recipient, not a beneficiary and cannot have a possessor interpretation.

Thus, on this analysis we predict regular ditransitive predicates and verbs with non-core dative arguments to fail the purpose clause diagnostic, since they are arguably too low to bind the subject of the non-finite purpose clause, PRO.

Compare:

38. John gave me_i a puppy_j [PRO_i to play with e_j].

39. John baked me_i a pie_j [PRO_i to take e_j to a B-day party].

Markman (2009) proposes that sentences such as (40) contain a HighApplP with the Dative External Possessor raising into Spec, HighApplP, thus on her analysis we predict (40) to allow purpose clauses and (41) not to allow purpose clauses due to being generated too low in Spec, LoweApplP.

40. **Dima_i** sjel nam ves' **sup_j** [čtoby **PRO_i** prigotovit' ešče **e_j**]

Dima ate usDAT all soup in.order.to cook more

'Dima ate up all soup on us to cook some more'

41. Dima ispek **nam_i** **pirog_j** [čtoby **PRO_i** vzjat' **e_j** na den' roždenija]

Dima baked usDAT pie in.order.to take to the birthday party

'Dima baked us a pie (for us) to take to the birthday party'

Note: for Markman the External Possessor Dative is derived by raising the possessor from inside the possessum DP. Assuming the raising analysis of ExtPossDat would explain why it is not able to control PRO, unlike the non-core Dative in (41), which is arguably in its base-generated position (recall that the purpose clause diagnostic is a deep structure diagnostic).

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose clauses of the kind discussed in this talk (Hallman 2015) provide a useful diagnostic tool to probe the structure of possessive and locative sentences.

They provide evidence against Freeze (1992), suggesting that u-PPs that have true possessive interpretation are not derived from locative structures.

The purpose clause diagnostic suggests true possessor u-PPs are generated high and u-PPs with locative meaning are generated low in the tree while sentences which are ambiguous between a possessive and a locative interpretation (“possessive-locative” sentences) owe their ambiguity to two possible sites of attachment for the u-PP.

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