The end of the path for the selected vs. non-selected distinction?

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Overview

Dative arguments present a challenge to argument realization models:

In many languages, the third argument of so called canonical ditransitive constructions (*send*), an optional argument of transitive constructions (*break*), and an inner argument of intransitive constructions (*surrender, lie*) are identically marked, blurring a clear division between selected and non-selected arguments within one language or cross-linguistically.

Russian: a large number of canonical ditransitive verbs (Gropen *et al.*'s 89 classifications) with morphologically marked dative arguments present a semantic and syntactic ambiguity:

(1)   ivan   poslal/prodal   maše   motociklet
        Ivan   sent/sold   Masha.DAT   motorcycle.ACC
        i. 'Ivan sent/old a motorcycle to Masha.'
   ii. 'Ivan sent/sold a motorcycle for Masha.'

Claim

The ambiguity is due to two underlying available orders, featuring respectively low and high datives (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 04, a.o.).

There is a strict correlation between interpretation and height in languages with datives such as Russian (**Part 1**)

A particular property of Russian: it is possible to tease apart the two types of datives: high datives only occur with *bi-argumental* predicates, while low datives can also be found in *mono-argumental* structures, where either Agent *or* Theme is syntactically realized (**Part 2**).

Claim

There is a systematic correlation between meaning and structure
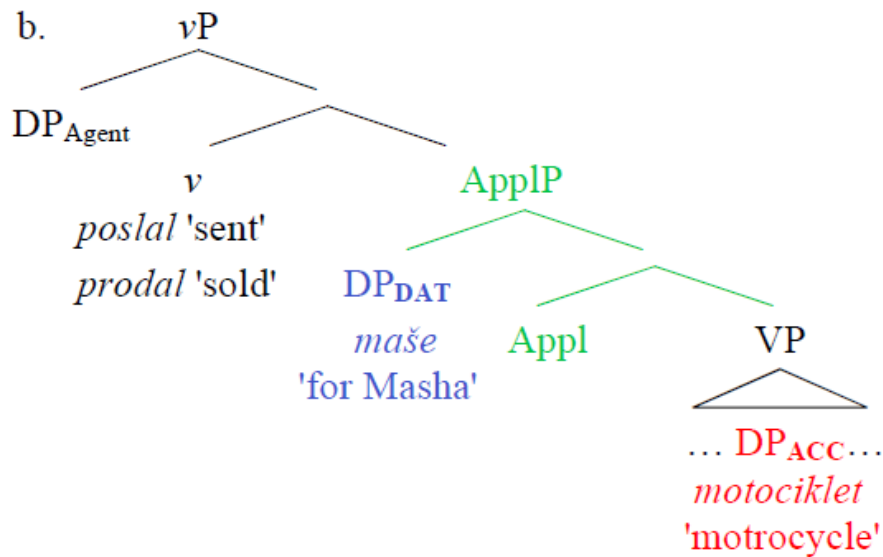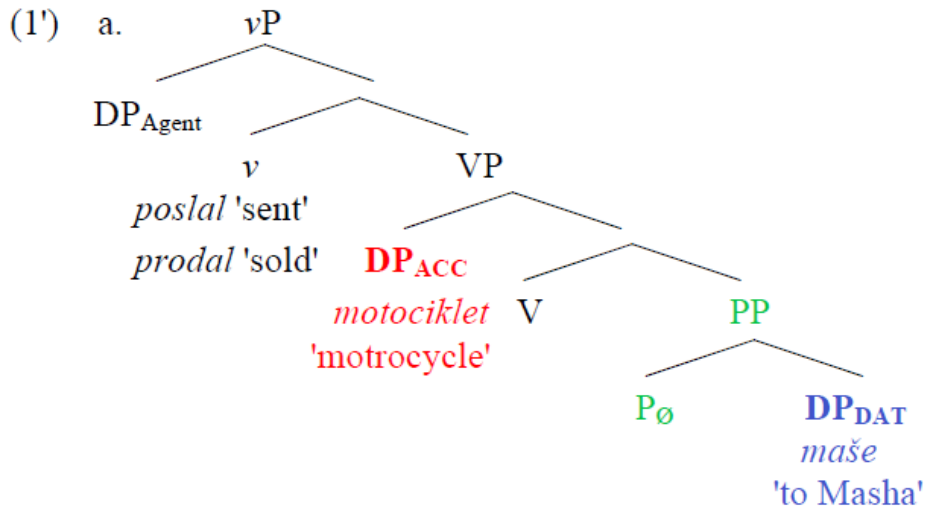
Claim

There is a systematic correlation between meaning and structure
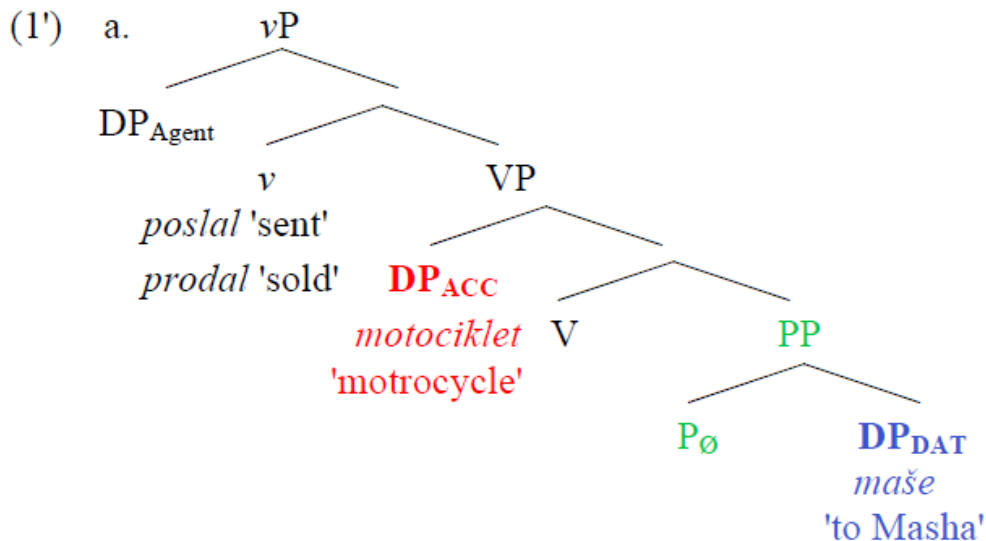
LOW DATIVE: LOCATIONAL
Part of a PP headed by a null preposition (cf. den Dikken 06), which semantically encodes the reference point on a (un)bounded complex or simplex **path scale** (Hay et al. 99, Beavers 11) and forms a complex predicate with V, sharing the figure/theme argument (cf. Svenonius 06, Gehrke 08), cf. Larson (1988).

Claim

There is a systematic correlation between meaning and structure

HIGH DATIVE: NON-LOCATIONAL
Introduced by an applicative head (cf. Bruening 10 et seq.) freely added to VPs with any of the possible scalar structures: extent, path, property (Hay et al. 99).
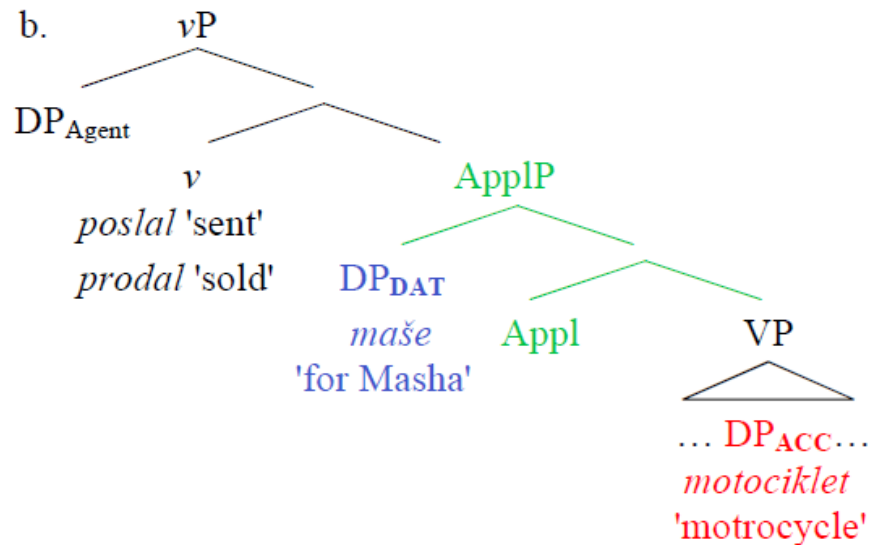
Claim

There is a systematic correlation between meaning and structure

Morphological identity

(2)　　a. v-V-$[_{PP}$ P$_{\varnothing}$ **DP$_{DAT}$**$]$　　　　　b. v-$[_{ApplP}$ **DP$_{DAT}$** Appl$_{\varnothing}]$-VP

▸ Similar coding of P$_{\varnothing}$ and Appl (Wood & Marantz 15): null heads introducing an animate DP. Difference in the directionality of selection (Wood 13).

Outline of the talk

1. Height of attachment correlates with interpretation:

      1.1 Binding of reciprocals

      1.2 Scope: Fluid vs. Frozen

      1.3 The verb *dat'* 'give'

2. Number of arguments affects dative height

      2.1 Unaccusatives

      2.2 *–sja* verbs

Part 1

Height of attachment correlates with interpretation

1.1 Binding of reciprocals

‣ Symmetric binding patterns but with meaning differences:

(3) a.   general   poslal   etix soldat   drug drugu   (na pomošč)
           general   sent   these soldiers.ACC   each other.DAT   (for help)

     b.   general   poslal   drug drugu   etix soldat   (na pomošč)
           general   sent   each other.DAT   these soldiers.ACC (for help)

       'The general sent the soldiers to each other (for help).' **>** The soldiers end up at the same place

(4) a.   sud'ba   poslala   etim soldatam   drug druga
           fate   sent   these soldiers.DAT   each other.ACC

     b.   sud'ba   poslala   drug druga   etim soldatam
           fate   sent   each other.ACC   these soldiers.DAT

       'Fate sent these soldiers each other.' **>** the soldiers may not be at the same place

1.1 Binding of reciprocals

▸ Clear bene-/maleficiary dative (with change of state verbs) only display DAT>ACC:

(5) a. Ja   uspokoil {mal'čikam   drug druga   / *mal'čikov drug drugu}
I   calmed   boys.DAT   each other.ACC /   boys.ACC   each other.DAT
'I calmed the boys for each other.'

b. Ja   zakoldoval {mal'čikam   drug druga   / *mal'čikov drug drugu}
I   jinxed   boys.DAT   each other.ACC /   boys.ACC   each other.DAT
'I jinxed the boys for each other.'

1.1 Binding of reciprocals

VP-internal scrambling does not feed A-binding and counts as an A-bar operation (Wurmbrand 10, contra Bailyn 10, 12):

(5') a.   Ja   uspokoil   {drug druga   mal'čikam   /   *drug drugu   mal'čikov}
          I   calmed   each other.ACC boys.DAT / each other.DAT   boys.ACC
          'I calmed the boys for each other.'

   b.   Ja   zakoldoval {drug druga   mal'čikam   /   *drug drugu   mal'čikov}
        I   jinxed   each other.ACC boys.DAT / each other.DAT   boys.ACC
        'I jinxed the boys for each other.'

1.1 Binding of reciprocals

‣ When adding a **locational PP**, the dative is interpreted as a bene-/maleficairy only:

(6) a. ja položil maše knigu **na stol**
I put Masha.DAT book.ACC on table
'I put a book for Masha on the table.'

     b. ja otpravil maše ejo učenikov **na uborku**
I sent Masha.DAT her students.ACC to cleanup
'I sent her students to a cleanup for Masha.'

     c. ja vernul maše tufli obratno **v magazin**
I returned Masha.DAT shoes.ACC back in store
'I returned (for) Masha the shoes back to the store.'

     d. ja vybrosila bol'noj babuške ves musor (**v kontejner**)
I threw out sick grandmother.DAT all garbage (in container)
'I threw out all garbage for the sick grandmother into a container.'

1.1 Binding of reciprocals

▸ Only a DAT >ACC binding pattern is then available:

(7) a. pered   ot'ezdom   na front,
         before   departure   to front,

   fotograf   zapе**č**atlel   **na pljonku**   vozljublenym   drug druga
   photographer engraved   on film   beloved.DAT   each other.ACC

   'Before leaving to the front, the photographer engraved for the lovers each other on the film.'

   b. *pered   ot'ezdom   na front
       before   departure   to front

   fotograf   zapе**č**atlel   **na pljonku**   vozljublenyx   drug drugu
   photographer engraved   on film   beloved.ACC   each other.DAT

   'Before leaving to the front, the photographer engraved for the lovers each other on the film'

1.1 Binding of reciprocals in nominalizations

▸ Dative with locational (goal) interpretation only

(8)   *razrušenie   domov   vragam
       destruction   houses.GEN   enemies.DAT
       intended: '(the) destruction of the houses for/on the enemy'

(9)   otpravlenie / vozvraščenie   posylki   nine
       sending   / returning   package.GEN   Nina.DAT
       'sending/returning of the package to Nina.'
       Unavailable reading: (the) sending/returning of the package for Nina

1.1 Binding of reciprocals in nominalizations

▸ Exclusive GEN>DAT binding pattern:

(10) otpravlenie / vozvraš**č**enie {ljubimyx   drug drugu   / *ljubimym   drug druga}
     sending   / returning   lovers.GEN   each other.DAT / lovers.DAT   each.other.GEN
     '(the) sending/returning of lovers to each other'

▸ Scrambling doesn't undo binding:

(11) otpravlenie / vozvraš**č**enie   {drug drugu etix ljubimyx / *drug druga etim ljubimym}

▸ Support for the claim that scrambling is A-bar movement

1.2 Scope patterns

(12) Ja poslal kakomu-to bolel'ščiku každuyu futbolku
      I   sent   some fan.DAT   each tee-shirt.ACC
             'I sent (to) some fan each tee-shirt.'

$(\exists > \forall), ^?(\forall > \exists)$

cf. Antonyuk-Yudina 2015 on scope in Russian ditransitives

1.2 Scope patterns

(14)   Ivan uspokoil kakomu-to učitelju každogo studenta   Ivan calmed some teacher.DAT each student.ACC   'Ivan calmed some teacher each student.'   (∃>∀), *(∀>∃)

(15)   Ja otbelil kakomu-to bolel'ščiku každuyu futbolku
I whitened some fan.DAT each tee-shirt.ACC
'I whitened for some fan each tee-shirt.'   (∃>∀), *(∀>∃)

1.2 Scope patterns

(16) **Scenario 1**: I have noticed that a certain motorcycle brand is becoming very popular with dentists. We ordered 10 of them, and indeed, I sold some different dentist each of these motorcycles.

ja	prodal	kakomu-to zubnomu vraču	každyi motociklet
I	sold	some dentist.DAT	each motorcycle.ACC

'I sold **to some dentist** each motorcycle.'

$(\exists > \forall)$, $^?(\forall > \exists)$ (in this context)

(17) **Scenario 2**: Dentists of this dental society are famous motorcycle collectors. They decided that they would like now to raise funds for just causes and thought that the best way would be to sell their motorbike collections. I helped them.

ja	prodal	kakomu-to zubnomu vraču	každyi motociklet
I	sold	some dentist.DAT	each motorcycle.ACC

'I sold **for some dentist** each motorcycle.'

$(\exists > \forall)$, $^*(\forall > \exists)$

1.2 Scope patterns: note on scrambling

Focalization is due to scrambling, reconstruction is expected:

(18)   mesi   poslal odnomu bolel'ščiku KAŽDUJU FUTBOLKU
        Messi sent   some fan.DAT   each tee-shirt.ACC
        'Messi sent some fan each SINGLE tee-shirt.'   (∃>∀), (∀>∃)

(19)   mesi   poslal ODNOMU BOLEL'ŠČIKU každuju futbolku
        Messi sent   one fan.DAT   each tee-shirt.ACC
        'Messi sent ONE FAN each tee-shirt (each type of tee-shirt was sent to one fan only, there are no two fans that got the same type of tee-shirt)

(∃ > ∀), (∀ > ∃)

1.2 Scope patterns: note on scrambling

Focalization not due to scrambling: no reconstruction is expected:

(20) a. Ivan uspokoil odnomu učitelju KAŽDOGO STUDENTA
Ivan calmed some teacher.DAT each student.ACC
'Ivan calmed some teacher each student (every single student of that teacher was calmed).' $(\exists > \forall), *(\forall > \exists)$

b. Ivan uspokoil ODNOMU UČITELJU každogo studenta
Ivan calmed one teacher.DAT each student.ACC
'Ivan calmed ONE TEACHER every student (and not for two teachers).' $(\exists > \forall), *(\forall > \exists)$

Focalization is due to scrambling, reconstruction is expected:

(21) a. ivan uspokoil odnogo studenta KAŽDOMU UČITELJU
Ivan calmed one student.ACC each teacher.DAT
'Ivan calmed one student to EACH TEACHER (no teacher was neglected).' $(\exists > \forall), (\forall > \exists)$

b. ivan uspokoil ODNOGO STUDENTA každomu učitelju
Ivan calmed one student.ACC each teacher.DAT
'Ivan calmed ONE STUDENT for each teacher (and not two).' $(\exists > \forall), (\forall > \exists)$

1.3 *dat'* 'give' and its kin

Ambiguity with *dat'* 'give':

(22)   a. *v*-V-[$_{PP}$ P$_ø$ **DP$_{DAT}$**]   *give* in a transfer construal

                                                  DAT locational

    b. *v*-[$_{ApplP}$ **DP$_{DAT}$** Appl$_ø$]-VP   *give* qua creation verb

                                                  DAT non-locational

A word on possession

Verbs with caused possession interpretation that might seem as instantiating only high datives such as *give* and *show*, always have low, locational, datives as well:

▸ A low dative is interpreted as a possessor due to a transfer construal structurally represented by a V-$P_\emptyset$ complex predicate,

▸A high dative is interpreted as a possessor without a transfer construal (Beavers 11) as this interpretation represents a subclass of bene-/maleficiary readings (cf. Levin 08, Boneh & Sichel 10).

1.3 *dat'* 'give' and its kin

(23) The king announces to his servants:

    a.   u   vas net vybora, ja   daju   **vas**   drug drugu
        you haveno choice, I   give   you.ACC   each other.DAT

    b. #u vas net vybora,   ja   daju   vam   drug druga
        you have   no choice, I   give   you.DAT   each other.ACC

(24) a.   ja   dala moim detjam   to čego   ne dali drugie mamy   ix sverstnikam –
        I   gavemy children.DAT that.ACC what.ACC   not give other mothers   their peers.DAT –

        ja   dala   im   drug druga
        I   gave   them.DAT   each other.ACC

        'I gave my children what other mothers did not give their age peers – I gave them each
               other.' (said by a mother) http://forum.nanya.ru/topic/15917-beremennye-mamy-s-malenkimi-detmi/

    b.   #mama dala   detej   drug drugu
        mother gave   children.ACC   each other.DAT
        'Mother gave her children to each other.'

1.3 *dat'* 'give' and its kin

Non-locational dative (creation verbs):

(25) žizn   imperatora   dala   kakomu-to pisatelju   každuju pjesu
life.NOM emperor.GEN   gave   some writer.DAT   each play.ACC
'The emperor's life gave some writer each play.'   **(∃ > ∀),*(∀ > ∃)**

Locational dative ("Nuptial context"):

(26) korol   dal   kakomu-to rycarju   každuju doč'
king   gave   some knight.DAT   each daughter.ACC
'The king gave some knight each daughter (of his).'   **(∃ > ∀),(∀ > ∃)**

1.3 *dat'* 'give' and its kin

▸ **The verb *dat'* 'give' qua a creation verb, more support:**

(27)   a.   eto   derevo   dajot   (babuške)   vkusnye jabloki
             this   tree   gives   grandmother.DAT tasty apples.ACC

       b.   etot   napitok   dajot   (podrostkam)   prekrasnyj apetit
             this   drink   gives   teenagers.DAT   great appetite.ACC

(28)   *dat' ideju* 'give [create] an idea'; *dat' rezultat* 'yield [create] a result';
         dat' povod 'give [create] a reason'; *dat' koncert* 'give a concert'; *dat'*
         kljatvu 'give an oath';

Part 2

Number of arguments affects height of the dative

2.1 Unaccusatives

Unaccusatives appear only with dative having a locational (goal) interpretation.

(29) a. vskipelo   moloko   (*nine)
       boiled   milk.NOM   (Nina.DAT)
       Intended: 'The milk boiled on/for Nina.'

      b. **č**ek   vernulsja   nine
       cheque.NOM   returned   Nina.DAT
       Only reading: 'The cheque came back to Nina.'

Conjecture: ApplP disrupts a local relation between deficient v and VP.

2.2 *sja-* **verbs**

Agentive verbs with –*sja* can take a dative argument, necessarily interpreted as a Goal.

–*sja* stands for the fake Theme.

V selects the path PP and the VP combines with an external Agent argument, which also serves as the *figure* with respect to the PP. The affix *-sja* functions as an fake Theme, "fake" figure, co-indexed with the Agent (cf. Wood 2014 for Icelandic "fake" figure reflexive *-st* predicates).

(30) a.   sdat'**sja**   vragu   b.   poddat'**sja** soblaznu   c.   otrkyt'**sja**   psixologu

         give up.SE   enemy.DAT   give in.SE temptation.DAT   open up.SE psychologist.DAT

         'surrender to the enemy'   'give in to tempation'   'confess to the psychologist'

2.2 *sja-* **verbs**

VP expresses a property scale, incompatible with low datives. ApplP cannot be projected, as it would introduce an argument to an unsaturated scale and disrupt the strict adjacency between the Agent and the fake Theme –*sja*:

(31) mal'**č**ik   pomyl**sja**/nariadil**sja**   (*mame)
      boy   wash.SE/dress up.SE   mother.DAT
      'The boy washed himself/dressed himself up for (his) mother.'

Summary

Two conclusions, universal (A) and language-specific (B).

A. Cross-linguistically, two types of datives can be instantiated in vP, low and high. Their interpretation goes hand in hand with the structural height.

- Low datives are PPs and make part of the path scale in VP. They are interpreted as human locations (goals).

- High datives are introduced between v and V by ApplP that scopes over any kind of scale in VP.

Summary

B. In Russian, high datives are restricted to active transitive clauses.

- ApplP is sensitive to the deficient thematic properties of v or V.

- Unaccusative verbs (with deficient v) or agentive verbs with *-sja* (with expletive Theme) can only have low datives. (There is evidence that passives are incompatible with high datives as well).

Consequences

- Scalar structure *en lieu* of thematic roles

- Decomposing the distinction between selected and non-selected datives: locational vs. non-locational

- Wood & Marantz *(to appear): * inventory of functional heads in the syntax